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Coins for the Gods, Coins for the Merchants –
Economy of the sacred compared to the economy of profane
(Athens – October 24-25, 2019)

Edited by Jean-Marc DOYEN, Luc SEVERS
& Francis DIEULAFIT

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COINS FOR THE GODS, COINS FOR THE MERCHANTS – ECONOMY OF THE SACRED COMPARED TO THE ECONOMY OF PROFANE ATHENS, 24-25 OCTOBER 2019

Jean-Marc DOYEN, Panagiotis IOSSIF & Luc SEVERS



From 24 to 25 October 2019, our second colloquium was held in Athens, jointly organised by The Belgian School at Athens (EBSA), The European Center for Numismatic Studies (CEN – Bruxelles), The Netherlands Institute at Athens (NIA), The Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene (SAIA) and The Radboud University Nijmegen. These two intensive days, organized by Jean-Marc Doyen, Panagiotis Iossif and Luc Severs, followed the first event of the same type organized in Athens in 2017 and devoted to coins in funerary contexts. They were held on the premises of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, whose director, Professor Emanuele Papi, we sincerely thank for the warm welcome he has always demonstrated toward our researches.

This second colloquium was entitled: *Coins for the Gods, Coins for the Merchants – Economy of the sacred compared to the economy of profane ; Monnaies pour les dieux, monnaies pour les marchands – L'économie du sacré comparée à l'économie du profane; Νομίσματα για τους θεούς, Νομίσματα για τους εμπόρους – Η οικονομία των ιερών και η σχέση της με την οικονομία της αγοράς*. It focused on the discoveries of coins in religious contexts, again in a limited geographical context, that around the Mediterranean shores, but always covering a long period, from Classical Greece to the Byzantine period.

Over the course of the two days, 22 papers were presented by leading experts in the field. There were 28 of them, coming from ten different countries (Germany, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom and the U.S.A.) showing the interest that the scientific community has in this type of topic. Of the 22 papers presented in 2019, 16 were the subject of a written contribution. At the end of this volume, we have chosen to include the abstracts sent by the other speakers and included in the booklet given to all participants at the beginning of the conference.

A third colloquium, which should have been dedicated to foundation deposits, could unfortunately not be held on the planned date (end of 2021) due to the pandemic. Our small team of volunteers has not withstood this ordeal, which has done great damage to research in the social sciences and humanities around the world, and the organization of other study days of the same kind in the future is unfortunately largely compromised.

COINS AND ANCIENT CULT PLACES: FROM “ARCHAEONUMISMATICS” TO “ANTHROPONUMISMATICS”

Jean-Marc DOYEN*

Abstract – After examining the legal status and role of coinage in sanctuaries, we present a catalogue of the manipulations and transformations that have been undergone by coins discovered in places of worship, whether they are man-made or natural sites. These coins may have been the subject of choices at different levels (denomination, status, iconography) and manipulations (inscribed, fractional, consecrated coins).

In the second part, we present the different categories of natural sites that have received deposits of coins, multiplying examples coming mainly from Northern Gaul.

After observing the weakness of the data to define the role of coins in sanctuaries, we developed a sampling protocol to gather in a standardized form the numismatic information available during the excavation of places of worship.

Keywords: anthroponumismatics – archaeonumismatics – places of worship – sampling protocol

Résumé – Après avoir examiné le statut juridique et le rôle de la monnaie dans les sanctuaires, nous présentons un catalogue des manipulations et transformations qu’ont subi les monnaies découvertes dans les lieux de culte, qu’ils soient construits par l’homme, ou qu’ils soient des sites naturels. Ces monnaies peuvent avoir fait l’objet de choix à différents niveaux (dénomination, statut, iconographie) et de manipulations (monnaies inscrites, fractionnées, consacrées).

Dans une seconde partie, nous présentons les différentes catégories de sites naturels ayant reçu des dépôts de monnaies, en multipliant les exemples venant surtout de Gaule du Nord.

Après avoir constaté la faiblesse des données permettant de définir le rôle des monnaies dans les sanctuaires, nous avons élaboré un protocole de prélèvement afin de réunir sous une forme standardisée les informations numismatiques disponibles lors de la fouille de lieux de culte.

Mots clés : anthroponumismatique – archéonumismatique – lieux de culte – protocole de prélèvement

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PART I

1. COINS AND CULT PLACES

The presence – like the absence – of coins in ancient cult places belongs to two disciplines that have emerged recently by detaching themselves from “classical” numismatics, sometimes referred to as “cabinet numismatics”^[1]. On the one hand, *archeonomismatics*, an essentially descriptive methodology, which attempts to place discoveries in a broad archaeological context, ranging from what we have called megacontexts (region, province or an entire empire) to microcontexts (walls, pits, post holes, etc.). And on the other hand *anthroponumismatics*, an essentially interpretative discipline generally dealing with the long term, seeking elsewhere and at other times interpretative schemes to advance explanations for gestures involving money.

So far, it is mainly the funeral field that has benefited from these cross-approaches. The success of the Colloquium we organized on this theme in Athens in November 2017 [Doyen, Duchemin & Iossif (eds.) 2019] is there to prove it. The major advances observed in this field are the result of a veritable “*Protocol for the acquisition of data concerning coins discovered in funerary contexts*” (Doyen 2012; Duchemin 2012, text updated in Duchemin 2021, p. 981-993), a method now applied quite widely.

Unfortunately, this is not the case with regard to the field we are dealing with here, that of coins from cult contexts, in which the anthropological aspect is generally absent – we will explain later why.

Yet the same questions arise, even if the scale is very different. The surface of a tomb rarely exceeds 2 m², that of a sanctuary rarely drops below 100 m², to easily exceed tens of hectares. But, in the end, the issues are the same: which coins were chosen (denominations, iconographies)? What alterations have they possibly undergone? Where and how were they deposited or “thrown away” if we take the term *iactatio stipis* literally? Can a particular organization of coins in space be highlighted? For example, is the obverse or reverse of the coin systematically turned upwards, as seems to be the case in many burials? All these questions, which are beginning to find answers in funeral contexts, are still waiting even to be raised in the case of places of worship.

Of course, there is a major obstacle with regard to the reconstruction of the gesture: coins in tombs generally belong to a “primary context”: they are discovered, if the excavation is carried out carefully, and if the burial has not been disturbed, exactly in the position they occupied at the time of their deposit. On the other hand, there are few sanctuaries where coins are found in a primary position. Very often they come from backfills or pits that testify to the generally long life of these sanctuaries. In this case, of course, an accurate geolocation makes no sense. Moreover, the very term “sanctuary” or “place of worship” covers extremely different structures.

There are indeed two main categories of places where the gods stay on earth. Some are natural, such as mountains (Mount Olympus or Mount Argaeus overlooking the city of Caesarea of Cappadocia are among the best known), precipices, lakes and ponds, caves, chasms and wells, springs, resurgences and fords, basins and fountains: they are often gateways to the underworld (Doyen 2021, p. 98-129). Not all of them have survived the passage of time: we think of sacred woods and trees, many of which are undoubtedly present. Others were

[1] There is nothing pejorative about the term here. The management of public collections must allow the production of catalogues and corpora which are the indispensable foundation of archeonomismatics.

specifically built by men, often from a natural singularity, and are referred to generically as “sanctuaries”. Their shapes and dimensions are multiple. In addition, some shrines did not necessarily require a constructed structure: by mutual agreement, a community could decide that a singular place, for example the place of a “prodigious event”, such as the fall of lightning or a meteorite, should have a sacred place, and four stakes planted in the ground could serve as boundaries of the sanctuary. The case seems common in the Celtic world, where the marking on the ground can be minimal, for example a simple groove in the ground, or even absent.

If the place of a “prodigious event” was not necessarily accompanied by the construction of a sanctuary, some emblematic cases do exist. Thus, the location of a lightning strike, the *fulgur conditum*, could give rise to the creation of a cult place of and be accompanied by the deposit of coins (Van Andringa 2021, p. 33-61). This is what J. Hiernard assumes about Naintré (Vienne, F). The gallery of a small square temple covered with a concrete floor covered an elongated pit with edges made of irregular stones and without a finished bottom. The pit was filled with a black and barren earth covering a thin clay-sandy layer which itself rested on the natural clay. In the clay-sandy layer at the bottom, 10 cm apart, lay a sestertius of Faustina II showing two children sitting on a pulvinar, and an As of Volusian R / FELICITAS PVBLICA (Hiernard 1990). The *fulgur conditum* is evoked here because the remains of a cult statue representing the chair of a seated deity bore two engraved six-spoke wheels, a well-known symbol of lightning – it may be a Jupiter enthroned – or on the other hand because the lightning strike took place in a bottomless tomb (Hiernard 1990, p. 835).

For the purposes of this presentation it is not possible to deal simultaneously with the two broad categories of places of worship, those built by man, and those exclusively natural. We will therefore mention only the natural sites that the ancients considered, for one reason or another, as inhabited by the gods, or as access routes to come into contact with them. For various reasons, probably due to the existence of many well-documented sites of this kind, we will focus our research on the northwestern provinces of the Empire (*Britannia*, *Gallia Belgica*, *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior*), even if we will often go beyond this geographical framework. Our investigation will extend from the 3rd or 2nd c. BC to end with the disappearance of monetary offerings in many places of worship, following the edicts of Theodosius I intended to put an end to pagan cults, which seem to have been widely followed.

However, a few general considerations are necessary before getting to the heart of the matter.

2. THE FUNCTION AND THE LEGAL STATUS OF COINS DEPOSITED IN CULT PLACES

Where topographical data are available, the distribution of money within and around the sanctuaries seems to indicate that most of the activities involving coins take place elsewhere than in the temple itself: only 28% of the 862 coins in the sanctuary of Matagne-la-Grande (prov. of Namur, Belgium) come from the *fana*, which does not necessarily mean that they have all been lost, as the importance of embankment displacement cannot be estimated (Cattelain & Paridaens 2009). But we must also confess our ignorance about the precise location of the offerings: more than temples or altars, it is the entrances, porticoes and side buildings that currently deliver coins during excavations. Was the clean-up of donations less extensive there than elsewhere? It should be noted that the Italian *thesauri*, when discovered in their original place, flank the staircase leading to the place of worship (Estienne & de Cazanove 2009, p. 25). J. Scheid thinks that they were mainly used to collect the sacrificial tax (Catalli & Scheid 2000, p. 63-65); St. Estienne and O. de Cazanove refer rather to the payment of the duty on entry into the sanctuary, as Tertullian mentions at the turn of the 2nd and

3rd c. AD in his *Ad nationes* (I, 10, 24): *exigitis mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri, pro stipibus, pro hostiis*. Even if it is (partially?) used for the benefit of the sanctuary, the money thus collected at the entrance to the place of worship apparently leaves the religious circuit, since, again according to Tertullian, the royalties can be rented.

In fact, the fundamental question remains, in the various places of worship listed, to be able to characterize the ritual giving of the *stips* as well as its exact form. It is well known that the *stips* are generally the monetary offering that could be paid in various capacities. A distinction must be made according to Seneca (*Ben.* VII, 4, 6) between the *stips* that are deposited and the ones that are thrown away. In fact, money could be thrown away according to a particular rite (Lactantius, *Inst.* 2, 2, 14); the right to sacrifice^[2] was also paid by pouring money into the box or chest; a *silver donum* could also be made (Van Andringa 2002, p. 121). What was the use of coinage in the rituals celebrated in late sanctuaries? Did they continue to throw coins into the cella of the temple (*iactatio stipis*)? Were they still depositing in the chests? To pay the right to sacrifice? The right to use buildings or equipment? It is difficult for the moment to answer these questions, no doubt pending the results given by the other ritual remains (archaeozoology, paleobotany, micromorphology) combined with non-numismatic material sources (ceramics, small objects), even if the latter seem to be less numerous at the very end of the Empire.

It should also be emphasized that deposits in sanctuaries are not inalienable: being *sacer* for an object is a simple *legal quality*. Therefore, coins can be reintroduced into circulation in order to pay for goods and services, such as the maintenance of the place of worship. The money offered by the faithful, usually anonymous^[3], for example in the form of offerings *vota suscepta et sacrum*, can also be used to acquire objects for the cult which will be “sacred” in the modern sense of the term, and therefore inalienable. They are sometimes found in pits (*fauissae*) dug at the time of the voluntary dismantling of the sanctuaries, an operation that began in Gaul in the second and early third centuries, without any Christian influence against paganism (Van Andringa (ed.) 2014).

But to make all the coins discovered in the sanctuaries “offerings to the gods” is undoubtedly an overinterpretation of the facts.

As soon as coins first appeared, around 600 or 560 BC, they were found in temples in the form of deposits to which archaeologists granted, often without any real argument, a status of offering. But the presence in burials sometimes much earlier (VIII-VIIth c. BC) of what looks like paleocoinage – *hackgold* and *hacksilber* – shows that an uneconomic use of “money” begins even before the creation of money as we know it (Heymans 2019). Very quickly this coinage finds its place in temples, next to other deposits of precious metals. It is the dating of the two “foundation deposits” discovered in 1904-1905 by the British archaeologist David Georges Hogarth under the Artemision of Ephesus, which still provides the best chronology of the appearance of money in the classical world, even if their status as offerings

[2] This is the case in Châteauneuf (Savoie, France), as evidenced by the graffito on painted plaster AE 1984, 635 = 1993, 1112b = ILN V/2, n° 00471. See Estienne & de Cazanove 2009, p. 23, note 88.

[3] Kiernan 2009, p. 215, notes that they can be individuals, members of the social elite, or multiple donors. He notes that miniature axes sometimes bear dedicatory inscriptions in Latin, but only one name appears on an axe: DECIMIUS IOVI VOT (Kiernan 2009, p. 260, SU27), from Solothurn, Switzerland.

is questioned^[4]. In the past, economists have advanced the relationship between offerings to the gods and the invention of money. Thus in his classic work of 1924, Bernhard Laum tries to demonstrate a relationship between the regulation of religious offerings and the origin of the monetary system, money gradually replacing gifts in kind (Laum 1924). This hypothesis has long since been abandoned, but the principle of substitution by its monetary value of the offering in kind remains valid. In any case, this is one of the hypotheses sometimes put forward to explain the presence, in Northern Gaul, of burnt coins deposited in burial graves where such exchanges have no place (Duchemin 2012).

Monetary offerings deposited or thrown (*stips*) in sanctuaries are generally anonymous, with some exceptions. There are many cases of buildings or objects made *ex stipe*. The coins offered were not necessarily lost: an inscription dated to the year 56, during the reign of Nero (*CIL* XI, 4123 = *ILS* 5446; de Cazanove 2012) attests that the *stipes* thrown into Lake Velinus in Narni (Umbria) were recovered: on a stelae is the mention of a statue, bronze doors and other ornaments made *ex stipe quae ex lacu V[elino]*, a list associated with the image of a priest walking in water up to his knees in order to retrieve coins thrown by the faithful. Not all, however, could be recovered. In this case, O. de Cazanove puts forward the hypothesis that “certaines de ces eaux peuvent être assimilées à des « trésors » (*thesauri*), des conteneurs à *stipes*” (de Cazanove 2012, p. 272-273).

The existence of *thesauri* – a kind of chests arranged in sanctuaries – raises the question of the non-recovery of coins in cult places, a phenomenon sometimes attributed, wrongly in our opinion, to the low value of cash that would be abandoned on the ground and left behind, gold and silver being immediately collected. Against this theory, it should be noted that among the 22,438 coins collected in the sands of the Vilaine river at the “gué de Saint-Léonard” (Mayenne, F), deposits in principle not recoverable, there are no gold coins, and only a handful of silver coins (Besombes 2003-2004). The rule therefore seems to be the throwing of a simple bronze piece.

Quantitatively speaking, coins dedicated to the gods seem to constitute the least important part of the specimens collected in and around man-made places of worship. These were often accessible only after payment of an entrance fee governed by the *lex templi* of each sanctuary. This duty, which in some cases could even be leased and entrusted to commercial companies, had to be paid in coins (Malrieu 2005, p. 105). The loss of these coins, which often occurs at the entrance, is a first source of monetary discoveries without a direct religious character. Within the sanctuaries themselves, countless secular activities revolving around divine protection required the use of money, another potential source of losses: purchases of animal or vegetable offerings, votive objects (bronze or terracotta statuettes, anatomical ex-votos or others), remuneration of the officiant, butchery activities...

The role of temples as a place to invest the money collected in order to make it grow through loans to individuals is well documented (Malrieu 2005). It justifies the presence of bankers and money changers in the sanctuaries. We think here of the well-known episode of Jesus driving the merchants out of the temple (Matthew 21:12-13).

Sanctuaries are also, under certain conditions, places for the storage of coins withdrawn from circulation (fouree, coins with test cuts and dedicated to the Mother of the Gods (Cybele)

[4] For a synthesis of these findings, see Le Rider 2001, p. 59-67. The status of a homogeneous “deposit” was questioned following the excavations carried out in 1990/1991 by A. Bammer, who sees only the combining of previous sacrifices within a heterogeneous embankment. See the contribution of Matthias K. Kalisch in this volume, p. 149-165.

and given to the Boulè). This is proved by an inscription discovered on the Agora of Athens in 1970, the contents of which were studied recently by H. Nicolet-Pierre (2002, p. 42).

To put an end to cult deposits, we must set aside the monetary reserves tied up in the “treasuries” of temples, resulting from the collection of offerings, donations or fines paid to sanctuaries and gathered in a trunk (Aubin & Meissonnier 1994, p. 149; Malrieu 2005; Estienne & de Cazanove 2009, p. 24-27) or directly invested *ex stipibus* in the purchase of equipment or offerings for the sanctuary. These *thesauri*, carved in stone or made up of reused amphorae, as is the case in Oedenburg (Biesheim-Kunheim, Haut-Rhin, France: Popovitch 2012, p. 30-34), are frequent in Italy, with at least twenty-five attestations, rarer in Gaul^[5], and can contain large sums (Crawford 2003; Estienne & de Cazanove 2009; Gorini 2011, p. 250).

3. SELECTIONS AND MANIPULATIONS

What are the different categories of monetary objects – coins in the strict sense and substitutes – that appear in man-made sanctuaries and natural places of worship?

In addition to coins deposited in the original form they showed when they were minted, there are many possibilities. On the one hand, these are original coins that may have undergone various alterations, and on the other hand, monetiform objects made of different alloys or materials^[6] and produced using different techniques: by minting, by casting in a mould or by stamping. Below, we will analyze the different possibilities available to the archaeonumismatist. But the first question concerns the possible choice of a specific denomination, as is clearly the case for the coins accompanying the dead, even if there are notable differences depending on the region^[7].

3.1. SPECIFIC DENOMINATIONS...

3.1.1. The choice of metal and of the value of the coin

We have pointed out above that some numismatists had once envisaged the systematic recovery by those responsible for the management of the sanctuaries of high-value coins, unlike the “small change” which would not have been recovered in such a careful manner. Therefore, according to them, the material that would come from the sanctuaries would be incomplete and would therefore be of no use in determining which coins were offered to the gods. Against this theory, we will note that in the case of deposits not recoverable without considerable technical means, the number of high value coins is always very limited. Table 1 presents data specific to four “aquatic sites” that are particularly rich in discoveries. Of the 43,199 coins collected, gold barely reached 0.02%, and silver, exceptionally abundant in Bourbonne-les-Bains with almost 5%, was worth barely 1.3% on average.

Thus, the rule seems to be to throw a simple bronze coin, at least in this type of aquatic site. This is a specific use to which we will return, that of an act *pro salute Augusti*, but it is likely that this practice can be extended to all places of worship.

[5] Alesia is thought to be the only site in Roman Gaul to have yielded two *thesauri*: Popovitch 2012, p. 34 and fig. 7-10.

[6] It is obviously possible that some pseudo-coins were made of perishable materials (raw clay, wax, wood), which have therefore left no archaeological trace. Moulds for producing votive coins made of wax are known, as in Great Walsingham (UK): Kiernan 2009, p. 159.

[7] Doyen 2023, p. 23: while in Gaul and Italy the copper as absolutely dominates deposits in funerary contexts, this is not the case in North Africa, where the choice was for *semisses* and *quadrantes*, as in Leptis Magna.

Sites	Total coins	Gold	%	Silver/ billon	%	Ae	%
Bath (Walker 1988: 306-309)	12595	4	0,03	314*	2,5	12277	97,5
Bourbonne-les-Bains (Sauer 2005:17-18)	3950	4	0,1	185	4,7	3761	95,2
Gué de Saint-Léonard (Besombes 2003-2004: 4)	22438			39	0,2	22399	99,8
Condé-sur-Aisne (Giard 1968 & 1969)	4216			18**	0,4	4198	99,6
Total	43199	8	0,02	556	1,3	42635	98,7

* 234 denarii + 80 antoniniani pre-AD 260 ; ** 2 denarii + 2 antoniniani pre-AD 260 + 14 siliquae

Table 1 – Data specific to four aquatic sites in Britain and Gaul

3.1.2. The choice of legal status: the place of forgeries

Certain categories of “coins” or “pseudo-coins” are unambiguously outside the strictly commercial circulation. They often have physical characteristics that make it impossible to confuse them with real currencies or even with “real fakes” made to deceive the user.

The first act we will mention is very simple, since it is the transformation of a coin of little value into a precious coin. There are indeed a considerable number of silver or bronze coins that were gilded in Antiquity. They are found as early as the 4th c. BC both in the Greek world (fig. 1) and in peripheral cultures as well as in Rome and Byzantium. We know of several hundred false *aurei* and *solidi* from the imperial period (fig. 2-3). They never appear in hoards, showing that they had a use other than that of an economic artifact, and that users recognized them as having a different status^[8]. Moreover, the weight of these pseudo gold coins is so different from that of the originals that these objects must not have deceived anyone. Unfortunately, almost all of this material, which has become abundant in recent years, comes from the numismatic trade and these discoveries are therefore deprived of any archaeological context. Only the “false” Celtic gold staters (fig. 4) have been the subject of some comments on the contexts from which they come. Indeed, these gilded coins are carefully excluded



Fig. 1 – False stater (gilded silver) of Alexander III (prototype: “Amphipolis”, c. 330-320 BC), without archaeological context. Demos 4, 26/9/2021, 3 : 3.81 g

Fig. 2 – Billon denarius (ae gilded) of Severina (Rome, AD 275), without archaeological context. Artemide 4, 9/9/2018, 437: 2.54 g

Fig. 3 – False solidus (gilded silver) of Valentinian I (Trier, AD 367-375), without archaeological context. Demos 12, 4/8/2022, 891 : 2.93 g. Note the probable consecration mark on the obverse

Fig. 4 – False stater (ae gilded) of the Gallic tribe of the Ambiani (?), 2nd c. BC, found near Amiens (Somme, France) : 3.35 g. Private collection

^[8] It should be noted that many examples were perforated to be worn, but this is probably a secondary use.

from hoarding to focus on a number of sites considered sanctuaries (Doyen 2018, p. 156). No gilded unofficial coins were found among the 543 Celtic gold staters, mainly minted by the *Nervii* tribe (Hainaut), belonging to the “Fraire/Amby horizon”, a set of a dozen deposits contemporary with Caesar’s campaigns coming from an area straddling Belgium and the Netherlands (Roymans, Creemers & Scheers (eds.) 2012). False Gallic fourree staters, many of which copy the Nervian coinage, are nevertheless frequent – we know of several dozen examples – and when provenances are known, they are systematically sanctuaries or larger sites with a place of worship (Doyen 2018, p. 56).

3.1.3. Substitutes: *tesserae* and temple tokens

In addition to coins – real or fake – transformed into tokens, by gilding for example, there are different categories of objects that can be described as “monetiform”.

Lead substitutes

At the top of the category of monetiform objects come lead pseudo-currencies. This category appears in Gaul as early as the 2nd c. BC, among the *Remi* for example (Champagne/Ardenne, France), where some pre-Roman sanctuaries yielded, among hundreds or even thousands of potins, a number of lead pseudo-coins cast from authentic coins (fig. 5a-b & 6), or sometimes bearing simplified monetary themes (Hollard, Le Brazidec & Gendre 2015, p. 31-34, nos. 11-31).



◀ Fig. 5 – a) Lead potin of the Remi, c. 140/110 BC found in Athies (Aisne, France); b) The prototype after La Tour 1892, pl. XXXII, no. 8124



◀ Fig. 6 – Lead potin in of the Senones, 2nd c. BC, without archaeological context. Comptoir Général de Banque, bga_241338 : 4.42 g

In reality, the same process of producing lead pseudo-coins existed throughout the Empire in the Gallic provinces (fig. 7). Some places of worship have yielded them, such as in Vendeuil-Caply (Oise, France), where tesserae were made from the 60s BC to AD 30/40 (Hollard, Le Brazidec & Gendre 2015). From then on, we can observe the progressive “Romanization” of types. Three copies bear the inscription DESVM(O), a singular indicative of the *desumere* verb: “I take upon myself [the vow]” (fig. 8a-b). Others show the inscription ARAE, the genitive of *ara*, to be understood as “[the tessera] of the altar” (Hollard, Le Brazidec & Gendre 2015, p. 36-37; Doyen 2017a, p. 222).



Fig. 7 – Lead hybrid denarius of Faustina II/Faustine I diva, after 147-150 AD, found in France, without archaeological context: private collection: 3.79 g

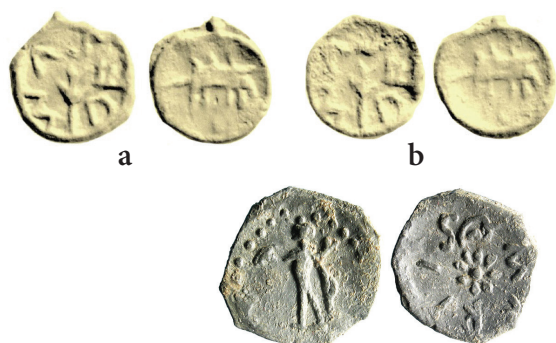


Fig. 8a-b - Lead tesserae from Vendeuil-Caply (Oise, France), with the inscription DESVM(O), after Hollard, *Le Brazidec & Gendre* 2015, p. 30, n° 1-2

Fig. 9 - Lead tessera from Liry (Ardennes, France) : 4.04 g ; 20.5 mm (Doyen 2019, p. 219, fig. 2)

The site of Perthes (Haute-Marne, France) has also yielded a number of lead pseudo-coins, even if the cultic status of the site has not been formally highlighted despite the presence of leads obviously consecrated by chisel strokes placed cross-wise (Bompaire 1990)^[9].

Other tesserae bear the name of the honoured deity, such as this lead from a small rural sanctuary belonging to the *civitas Remorum* in Liry (Ardennes, France)^[10], bearing on the obverse a representation of the god and on the reverse the inscription ♥MARTIS (Doyen 2017a, p. 219-220, fig. 9). Mars *Camulus*, as is well known, was the poliad god of the *Remi*, in whom he is attested by inscriptions and figurative representations (*Ibid.*, p. 226-233).

Orichalcum substitutes

Northern Gaul yielded a vast set of pseudo-coins cast from bronzes (*dupondii* and *Asses*) of Trajan, disseminated from the territory of the *Nervii* in the sanctuaries of nearby cities (Doyen 2017b; Duchemin 2018; Doyen, Duchemin & Severs (eds.) 2021, p. 195-199) (fig. 10). Fifty-two examples of these monetary substitutes, in which we can see, as it were, temple tokens, are now known. Their physical appearance – lack of finish, average weight of 3.64 g, whereas official *dupondii* normally weigh four times as much (12.53 g) – formally excludes the possibility that they are counterfeit money intended to deceive the user (fig. 11). The use of a golden-yellow alloy for both the radiated *dupondii* and the *Asses* (in principle made of red copper) is probably not insignificant. Of the 30 specimens the socio-economic context of which is known, 18 come from certain or probable religious contexts, i.e. 60%, and 2 (+ 2 uncertain) from funerary contexts. The others come mainly from settlements that also have places of worship, although it is not known whether the finds come from them.

Other substitutes of the same type can be found elsewhere, the best known being the *limesfalsa*, cast from denarii and middle bronzes, mainly from the Severan period, now known in their thousands but which never appear in hoards, showing that their use is quite different. Moreover, the iconographic choices have focused preferentially on exceptional reverses rather than on banal representations, specifying their particular status (Pfisterer 2007, p. 699-706) (fig. 12-13).

^[9] Surveys yielded 48 coins from Augustus to Postumus, namely 8 denarii, 2 antoniniani, 7 sesterces, 1 *dupondius*, 11 *Asses* and 1 *semis*. In addition, there are 18 denarii cast in lead, quite heavy (the heaviest reaches 5.96 g!) from Hadrian to Severus Alexander, supposedly produced locally (several examples come from the same mould). One of the lead denarii, bearing the effigy of Lucilla, bears on the portrait two strokes of a chisel in the shape of a cross.

^[10] The site has only been surveyed, but the abundant material collected during the surveys is typically religious; two coins (out of the 10 collected) bear sacrificial chisel strokes.

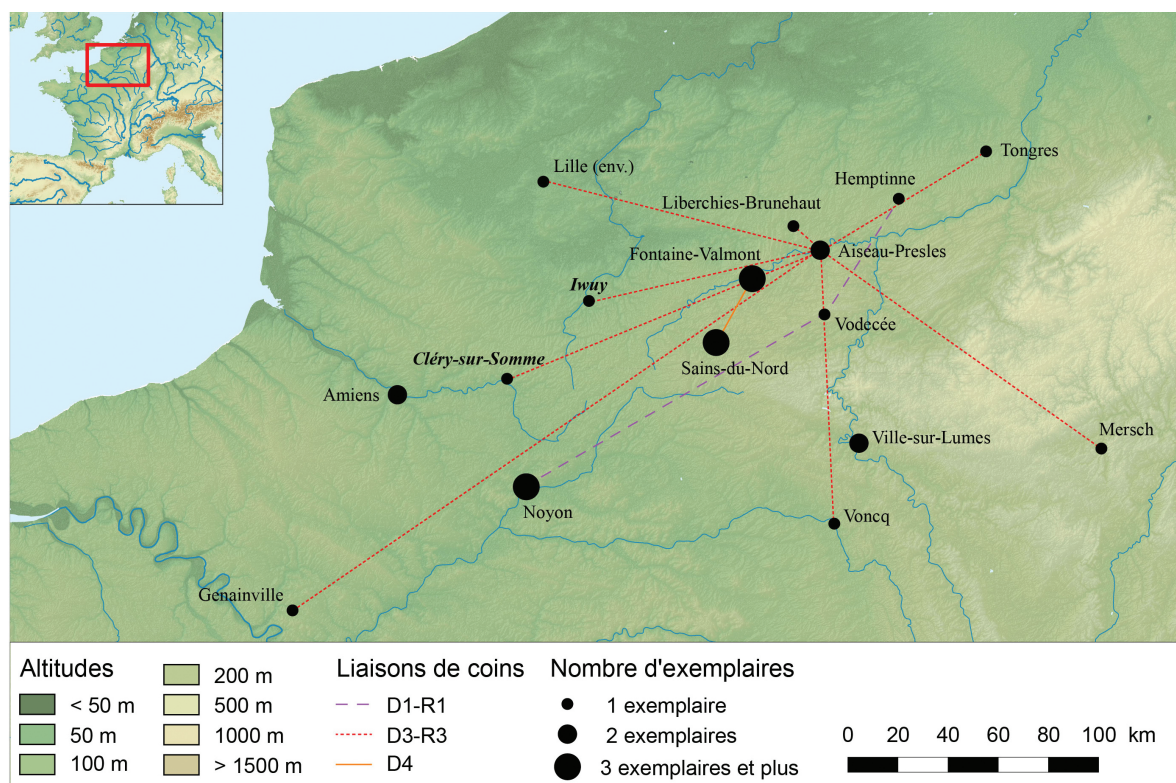


Fig. 10 - Map of the diffusion of the temple tokens of Trajan in northern Gaul, with lie-links D1, D3 and D4 (J.-P. Duchemin)



Fig. 11 - Cast orichalcum dupondius of Trajan (Rome, 98-102 AD) from Harchies (Hainaut, Belgium): 3.90 g; 5h; 23.3 mm (Doyen, Duchemin & Severs (eds.) 2021, p. 196, n° 3, doc. E. Leblois, photography by J.-M. Doyen)



Fig. 12 - Limesfalsa of Caracalla (Rome, 217 AD), coper As type BMC V, no. 310, R/ PM TRP XX COS IIII PP /SC, Sol in a quadriga left. Numismatic Naumann 127, 2/4/2023, no. 716: 2.99 g, 22 mm



Fig. 13 - Limesfalsa of Geta Caesar (Rome, 203 AD), coper As type BMC V, 834. R/ FELICITAS // SAECVLI, Severus, Caracalla and Geta on a platform. The three coins, without archaeological context, come from the same mould:

- a) Comptoir Général de Banque, brm_685929: 3.17 g, 12h;
- b) Triskeles 20, 30/6/2017, no. 598: 5.70 g, 12h, 23 mm;
- c) Aphrodite 13, 26/8/2023, no. 768: 4.40 g, 23 mm

Stamped pseudo-coins

Stampings of coins with a non-economic function existed in funerary contexts in the Greek world as early as the 3rd c. BC in the form of *danakes* (Nikolakopoulou 2019, p. 343-345; Doyen 2023, p. 17-18). Some bear the name of the deceased. The principle seems to have continued into the imperial period, as shown for example by an impression on thin gold leaf of a provincial medallion of Gallienus found in Cologne (Doyen 2023, p. 19, fig. 3) (fig. 14).

Ph. Kiernan proposed to see a specific category of temple token in the seven thin sheets of irregularly shaped bronze discovered at Woodeaton (Great Britain). Three coins used for stamping have been identified. These are of Numinian, Constantine (fig. 15) and Crispus (Kiernan 2009, p. 158-159 and fig. 5.4).



Fig. 14 – Gold *danake* (0,23 g, 29 mm), impression from a large provincial bronze of Gallienus (260-268 AD) found in Cologne (Germany). B. Peus 417, 2/11/2016, n° 574

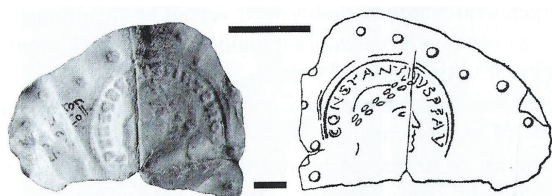


Fig. 15 – Leaf of bronze with the impression of a nummus of Constantine I, from Woodeaton (UK), after Kiernan 2009, p. 159

3.2. MISCELLANEOUS ALTERATIONS

3.2.1. Inscribed coins

An As of the Roman Republic discovered at an undetermined site in Italy bears an inscription made of small punched dots read FORTVNAI STIPE, “offering to *Fortuna*”, without the name of the dedicant (fig. 16). Other coins of the same period, on the other hand, seem to be nominative: the anthroponym DIPILVS appears on a bronze coin of the same type (fig. 17)^[1]. The same principle is known in Greece, but its attestations are rare there (Lagogianni 2003, p. 58, note 33; Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 101; Akamatis in this volume, p. 178, note 77).



Fig. 16 – Republican As with the punched dedication FORTVNAI STIPE (« Offering to *Fortuna* »), CIL I² 2485, after Thury 2016, p. 36, fig. 2



Fig. 17 – Republican As with the name of Dipilus. H. Vanderlinden coll.: 39.06 g, 30/31 mm

[1] This coin is unpublished. According to the EDCS database, this name is attested in ten inscriptions, most of them from the 1st c. BC, coming from Spain (1), Italy (4), Rome (2), Sicily (1). Two are unlocated.

3.2.2. Cut coins

Cutting in half an official coin seems to be the most basic alteration. Intended to provide cash of a lower value than the original coin, it involves gold, silver or bronze, and affects all denominations from multiples of gold and silver to copper *Asses* (Raynaud 2020; Doyen 2016). The smaller denominations – *semisses* and *quadrantes* – do not appear to have been halved (Doyen 2007, p. 122). The practice of splitting was widespread in the ancient world, from Greece to Rome via the Celts, and was still regularly found during the Middle Ages, in Byzantium as well as among the Sassanids, in Merovingian Gaul or in Scandinavia, and continued until at least the nineteenth century.

Nothing seems to prohibit the deposit of fractional coins in shrines. However, it is worth remembering the specific nature of the coins collected in fords, a phenomenon noted only recently (Lambot & Chameroy 2011, p. 63). Thus, under the Julio-Claudians, we never find *Asses* cut in two, an otherwise banal operation but mutilating the imperial portrait. The argument of the “lowest value” does not stand up to scrutiny because on the same sites the *semisses*, worth half an *As*, are just as numerous there as in the habitations. The only common denominator is iconographic: all coins, whole or not, thrown at river crossings bear an intact portrait of the emperor or a member of his family (Doyen 2007, p. 62). This is confirmed by E. Sauer’s meticulous study of the fractional Nîmes *dupondii* of Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne, France). The author highlights a clear deficit of left halves, those bearing the portrait of Agrippa (42% against 58%). The author therefore assumes a deliberate choice of the fragment on the right, the one showing the portrait of Augustus (Sauer 2005, p. 118). Suetonius (*Aug.*, 57, 1) mentions that the population of Rome, of all classes, threw a coin every year into the *Lacus Curtius*, in the forum, during the vows *pro salute Augusti*. It seems logical that in such a setting, the imperial portrait could not be mutilated in any way.

3.2.3. Sanctified coins

Among the different categories of objects described above – monetiform or non-monetiform leads, substitutes for gold staters, cast pseudo-coins – as well as among the authentic gold, silver and bronze coins deposited in places of worship, there are a large number of examples marked with one or more chisel strokes (fig. 18). The best known ensembles are those of La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Aube, France), studied in detail in 1984 by H. Zehnacker, and that of Alésia (Popovitch 1995).

The first attempt to interpret coins bearing marks of this type appear in the study by J.-B. Giard dedicated in 1967 to the treasure of Port-Haliguen in Quiberon (Morbihan, France), or more precisely to the first hoard found in this site, a deposit that ends with copper *Asses* of Lugdunum of the first series, dated 7-3 BC. But it was not until Zehnacker’s work in 1984 on La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot that we saw a real synthesis, even if the interpretation that was then given, that of a political opposition to Augustus, is completely erroneous. In this important homogeneous ensemble ending around 4-10 AD, discovered by chance in 1973, more than 94% of the silver and bronze coins were marked with two chisel strokes arranged in the shape of a cross (fig. 19). This practice refers to a gesture that is now well known to protohistorians. Described as the “ritual killing” of artefacts, especially weapons, it is attested as early as the Bronze Age. A methodologically important study by D. Wigg-Wolf (2018, p. 13-29), deals with the “ritual killing” of coins in religious contexts.

First, the author attempts to define what is meant by the term “ritual”. It concludes that ritual can be considered “an act or series of acts regularly repeated in a set precise manner” (Wigg-Wolf 2018, p. 14). As a result, there are many ritualized gestures that have absolutely no connection with the religious sphere. Therefore, an act identified as ritual does not mean that



Fig. 18 – A selection of coins with “ritual killing”: a) silver stater of the Aulerci Diablintes (type DT 6524 var.), 1st c. BC, Comptoir Général de Banque, bga_646205: 5.54 g, 3h, 22.5 mm; b) electrum stater of the Aedui (type DT 3175), 1st c. BC, Künker 60, 26/5/2020, n° 602: 7.03 g; c) Syria, municipal bronze of Antioch, 1st c. BC, Zeus Budget Auction 9, 20/6/2020, n° 347: 11.20 g; d) Republican denarius of M. TVLLI, 120 BC (RRC 280/1), Aphrodite 9, 25/3/2023, n° 510: 2.80 g; e) Republican denarius of M. VOLTEI M.F., Rome, 78 BC, Vivitelaeti (eBay) 3/2008; f) Ae semis of Tiberius minted in Lyon, 12-14 AD (type RIC I² 246), Comptoir Général de Banque, brm_585716: 4.80 g; 12; g) Ae of Thyatira for Nero, 64-68 AD (type RPC I, 2382), Savoca 99, 10/4/2021, n° 1075: 2.97 g



Fig. 19 – Some denarii of Augustus (type RIC I² 207) minted in Lyon after 2 BC with chisel cuts forming crosses, from La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (after Zehnacker 1984, pl. VI)

we can automatically grant it religious content. However, the ritual killing of coins seems to be specific to religious contexts, even if, as we have seen above, coins deposited in sanctuaries are not sacred and can therefore be reintroduced into the economic circulation. The religious character of the chisel strokes is evident at the Trevire site of the Martberg where 8,500 of the 13,000 coins were discovered in the sanctuary. Among these, many examples testify to a ritual killing attested by the presence of one or more chisel strokes. This practice, which affects almost half of the gold coins (12/26), a third of the silver coins (80/279), but only a small percentage of the Celtic potins (1.6%) and bronze coins (0.6% of the 1069 examples), is completely absent from the adjacent settlement, although contemporary.

While on the sites mentioned above (Port-Haliguen, La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, Alésia) most of the marks concern only the imperial portrait, at the Martberg it is quite systematically the



Fig. 20 - a) As of Divus Augustus Pater, after 15 AD (RIC I² 80), Savoca 170th Blue Auction, 12/8/2023, n° 639: 9.68 g; b) As of Caius, 37-38 AD (RIC 38), Comptoir Général de Banque brm_610506: 10.70 g, 6g; c) As of Claudius, 50-54 AD (RIC 116), Agora 66, 9/5/2017, n° 163: 10.55 g, 7h; d) As of Claudius, 41-50 AD (RIC 95), Comptoir Général de Banque brm_793072: 11.24 g, 7h; e) As of Claudius, 50-54 AD (RIC 111), Numismatic Naumann 92, 2/8/2020, n° 722: 11.76 g; f) As of Nero, 65 AD (RIC 475) found in Château-Porcien (Ardennes, France): 10.37 g, 7h, 27.4 mm; g) Sestertius of Aquilia Severa, 220-221 AD (RIC 389), Comptoir Général de Banque brm_827328: 18.94 g, 12h, 30.5 mm

reverse, showing a horse – perhaps symbolizing royalty – that has received a blow. D. Wigg-Wolf quite logically evokes the hypothesis of the substitution of an animal sacrifice: on the Celtic *oppidum* of Manching, in Bavaria (Germany), archaeologists have indeed observed that the Celts frequenting the sanctuary had selected coins on which a horse appears, a type absent from the regional repertoire, therefore implying the choice of exogenous coins. In Manching, coins with a horse on the reverse were deposited along with harnesses, horse skulls and even a bronze statuette of the same animal. The relationship here is unequivocal.

Alongside the obvious marks mentioned above, there are less visible traces, often resembling simple scratches but belonging to the same principle. These traces, although very frequent (fig. 20), are generally not mentioned by archaeonumismatists because they are often confused with simple traces caused during excavation or by agricultural machinery. At Liry (Ardennes, France), a site already mentioned concerning a lead tessera showing the god Mars, was discovered a cast As of Plautilla struck by Caracalla in 204 AD. The reverse, which shows *Venus victrix*, the consort of the *Mars victor* of the token, reveals a slight deliberate blow to the body of the goddess which, in another context, might not have been reported (fig. 21).



Fig. 21 - Cast copy of an as of Plautilla, 204 AD (type BMC 807-808) from Liry (Ardennes, France): 5.10 g, 12h, 21.7 mm

3.3. ICONOGRAPHIC CHOICES?

The second potential documentary source, which has been completely ignored until now, is the iconography conveyed by the coins, and the possible positioning of it. Indeed, if for several years funerary archaeology has benefited from a meticulous protocol for the removal of coins voluntarily deposited within burials or in the backfill of them, nothing like this exists to date for sanctuaries^[12]. This lack of curiosity is truly distressing. Only a few occasional cases have been mentioned, such as a local over-representation of the SALVS AVG type minted by Hadrian in AD 128, observed for example at Bath (Walker 1988, p. 292-293), as well as in the sanctuary of Halatte (Oise, France) where 15% of the coins of the 2nd c. AD bear an image of *Salus* (Berdeaux-Le Brazidec 2000)^[13].

In addition, nothing is said about the possible positioning of the coins. *Stips* means “to throw”: if this is indeed the case, we should pick up as many pieces on the temple floors with the obverse upwards as the opposite. This has never been demonstrated. It is therefore just as possible that the coins were chosen according to the message they convey, according to their iconography, and carefully arranged on the ground in order to constitute real narrative sequences, as is indeed the case in some funerary contexts.

We have recently shown that Roman coins have a gender, masculine, feminine – or neuter in the case of representations of animals or inanimate objects (Doyen 2019, p. 12-13). It is certain that an abnormal abundance of either gendered coins or reverses favouring the image of a specific divinity or divine couple – Apollo and Diana for example – would not be without consequences for the interpretation of cults, as are *ex votos* or inscriptions when they exist. Apart from Bath, the potential of coins as icons has never been used, or even hinted at.

PART II

1. UNBUILT CULT SITES AND COINS

The preceding pages concern coins discovered both in natural places of worship and in sanctuaries built *ex nihilo* or including a natural structure considered to be the seat of the deity or as his means of expression – one thinks of the toxic emanations of the lair of the Sybil in Cumae or the sanctuary of the forest of Corgebin in Chaumont-Brottes (Haute-Marne, France), organized around a temporary resurgence forming a kind of geyser of bubbling water. This phenomenon is a visible witness to the activity of chthonic deities (Thomas 2003). However, not all natural sites inhabited by the gods receive gifts, or the gifts they receive have an ambiguous status, to say the least. Let us not forget that coins make up only a tiny part of the offerings deposited in places of worship. These are made up of artefacts – perishable or not – such as wooden votive offerings – as well as sacrificed animals and plant offerings, the latter often under-documented, even in recent times.

The main types of natural sites, places where the gods stayed or where humans came into contact with them, where deposits of coins have been discovered, sometimes in very large quantities, are the following.

^[12] See below, p. 33-37.

^[13] However, the sample is small: Berdeaux-Le Brazidec 2000, p. 230 & 259, cites four *Asses* and one *dupondius* of the Antonines. She also evokes the two *Asses* of Hadrian with the reverse *Salus Augusti* coming from the temple of Genainville (Val-d’Oise, France).

1.1. PASSES AND PLACES OF PASSAGE

The monetary offerings made at the top of the passes are well known: G. Thüry notes in his synthesis no less than seven Alpine sites that have yielded deposits of varying importance (Thüry 2016, p. 76-80). The best known is the sanctuary of *Jupiter Poeninus* at the Great St. Bernard (Voutaz & Royer 2013; Golosetti 2018, p. 273). Are the 2000 or so coins and other metal objects (statuettes, votive plaques) that were discovered there during excavations carried out at the beginning of the nineteenth century the result of offerings to the deities residing in the mountain, with Jupiter at the head, or are they simply the testimony of a jet comparable to that observed in the fords, a gesture generally carried out *pro salute Augusti*? Deposits evolved, with 786 Greek, Celtic and Republican coins, 461 coins from Augustus to Nerva, 200 from Trajan to Pertinax, 377 from Severus to Carinus and 387 from Diocletian to the year 400 (Geiser 2005; Thüry 2016, p. 77-78).

1.2. PRECIPICES AND CLIFFS

If caves and chasms seem logical places to host a cult of infernal deities, one may wonder why, in Antiquity, precipices and cliffs attracted attention as potential places of worship. However, the discovery of artefacts in this type of site is subject to different interpretations.

Indeed, the presence of a possible habitat at the top of a rocky outcrop raises the problem of managing waste from domestic activities. Throwing them down the slope seems logical. It is therefore to be expected that food remains, broken dishes and small objects lost during floor cleaning will be found on the slopes of these habitats. But when the quantities become very anomalous, and prestige objects, intact or not, accompany the innumerable coins discovered there, other less prosaic explanations must be sought.

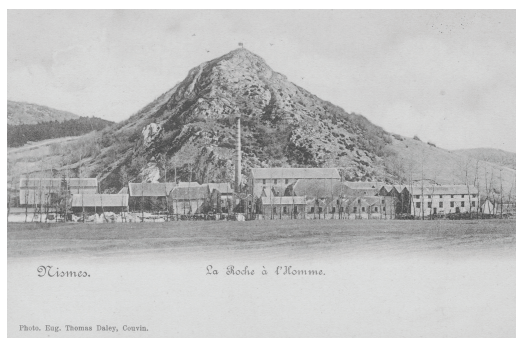


Fig. 22 – Dourbes “la Roche-à-Lomme” (Namur, Belgium), postcard c. 1890/1900 (coll. St. Genvier)

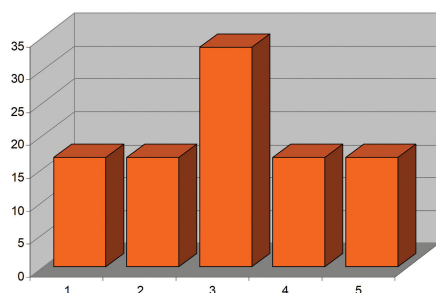


Fig. 23 – Dourbes: repartition between the different denominations (1. Ag/Bi Antoninianus; 2. Ag Denarius; 3. Ae Sestertius; 4. Ae Dupondius; 5. Cu As)

“La Roche-à-Lomme” at Dourbes (Namur, Belgium, fig. 22) has been known as an archaeological site rich in coins since the eighteenth century, but local iconography preserves traces of monetary discoveries as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Currently, 2600 coins have been archived for nearly a century, out of a total probably well over 10,000 units. This number is disproportionate to the surface area of the fortification built at the top of the rock during the 3rd c. AD, estimated at 17.5 areas (Brulet (dir.) 2008, n° 207, p. 575-576). The site remained in operation until at least the 9th c. AD when it yielded three-quarters of gold dirhem from Fatimid sultans of Egypt. The slopes of this site have also yielded quality metal material, including several figural bronzes. The coins are mainly low-value divisions – radiated imitations and those from the Constantinian period are very abundant – but there are also six *siliquae* and imitations of silver *siliquae* issued between 408 and 420 AD. Coins before 260 AD are dominated by the sestertius (fig. 23). Apart from the Arabic coins mentioned above, the site has yielded only one gold coin, a fraction of 9 *siliquae* minted in Siscia in 345 or 346 by Constantius II.

Located a dozen kilometres to the east of this site and overlooking the Meuse valley, the “Mont-Vireux” in Vireux-Molhain (Ardennes, France) has the same chronological and topographical characteristics as the “Roche-à-Lomme”. Although part of the site was destroyed at the beginning of the twentieth century by a quarry, the eastern slope has yielded about 75% of the 2100 ancient coins collected to date since the 1970s. Apart from a gilded silver imitation of a *solidus* of Magnentius, no gold coins have been discovered on the slopes of the site. In addition, small metal furniture, including many figural bronzes with religious connotations, is not uncommon at the Mont-Vireux.

Another remarkable habitat located on a rock, located several hundred kilometres from the previous two, is that of “La Motte” in Écrille (Jura, France), which has delivered more than 2,500 ancient coins (Billoin, Gandel, Doyen & Pactat 2018). Among these are *siliquae* and *argentei* from Valentinian III and Majorian (3 examples), but also two *tremisses* in the name of from Valentinian III. The first is a gilded metal fake, the other is an imitation struck in pale gold. These six precious coins are accompanied by prestigious objects, such as two gilded silver aviform fibulae (5th/beginning 6th c.), a pair of zoomorphic silver fibulae and a bracelet of the same metal.

Many other sites in the Jura attest to similar activities, with valuables being thrown onto the slopes as markers of the social status of the occupants. These objects, sometimes always functional, cannot be interpreted as simple domestic wastes.

1.3. CAVES

Delphi is the seat of a universally known panhellenic sanctuary, located at the foot of Mount Parnassus, in Phocis. Apollo manifested himself in the form of oracles transmitted through his prophetess, the Pythia. Sitting in a room of the temple, she spoke in the name of the god: she answered the questions put to her; her cryptic replies were at once translated into intelligible sentences by priests. During excavations carried out in the 1970s by a French mission in the Corycian lair – named after the nymph Corycia – 50,000 terracotta figurines from the classical period were collected, and 24,000 *astragaloi*, or “knucklebones”, small objects used in astragalomancy, or “divination by the knucklebones”. The excavations also yielded 192 coins, carefully studied by Matthias Kalisch, which show the same characteristics as those observed in the sanctuary of Olympia, namely an activity developing between 400 and around 80 BC (Kalisch 2019, fig. 24)^[14].

The deposit of offerings in caves seems to have been a widespread practice in Gaul as elsewhere. Since the nineteenth century, the south of Belgium, which is essentially limestone and therefore rich in cavities of all kinds, some of which are very large and have been developed for tourist purposes, has revealed numerous traces of underground occupations, often dating back to the Roman period (Warmenbol 1984 and 2006). Discoveries of coins are frequent, as they are in other regions of Gaul. Thus, all the cave-sanctuaries of the *Ruteni* region have yielded coins: the “Grotte des Fées” in Montpeyroux (Puy-de-Dôme, France), that of Mounios in Le Cros (Hérault) or that of Ourtguet in Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon (Aveyron).

However, the money found in the caves poses a problem of interpretation similar to that of the cliffs. Are these deliberate deposits or traces of temporary occupations? While Paleolithic religions relied heavily on the underworld for most of their rituals, caves have always served as a refuge. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between occupations limited in time and the occasional or recurrent presence of individuals for religious purposes.

^[14] The only difference between the two sites is the absence of activity in the Corycian lair during the imperial period and more specifically under Hadrian, a particularly active period at Olympia

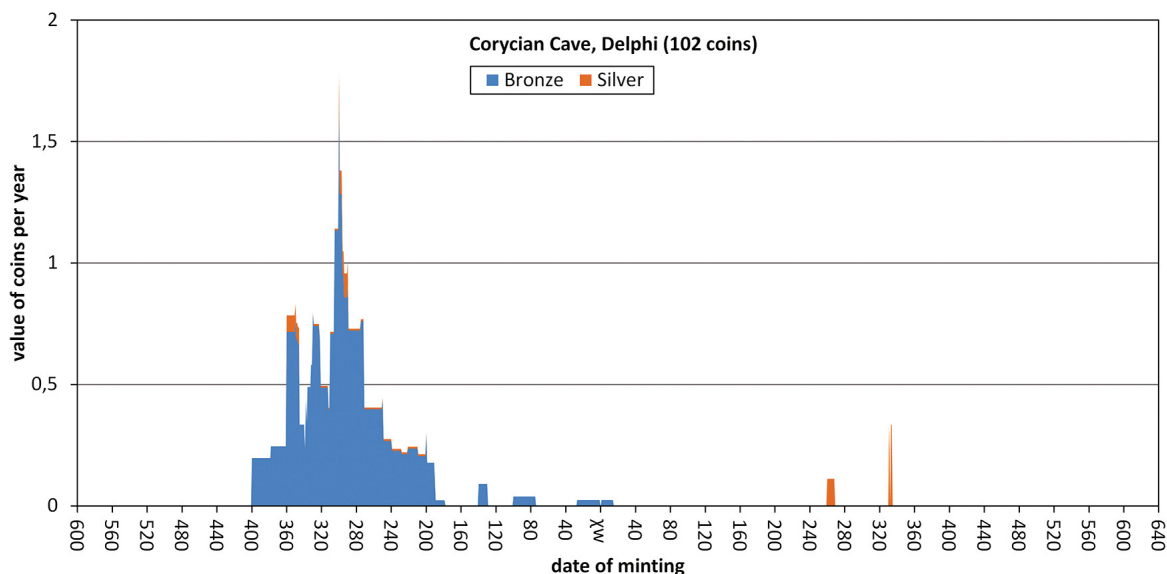


Fig. 24 - Chronological distribution (by metal) of the coin finds in the Corycian Cave at Delphi, after Kalisch 2019, p. 71

The most emblematic case is undoubtedly the “Trou de Han” in Han-sur-Lesse, in the province of Namur (Belgium), whose coin finds were studied in the past by Jacqueline Lallemand, who has never mentioned the reason for the presence of all these coins in the riverbed. The money collected during underwater excavations is quite abundant and includes 120 coins issued between the Gallic period and the years 337-340 AD (Lallemand & Van Laere 1994). At Han-sur-Lesse, the sestertius still dominates deposits prior to 260, but the billon antoniniani are well represented, to the detriment of the silver denarii (fig. 25). The throwing of coins is accompanied by the immersion of other metal artifacts, such as fibulae, but also “valuable” objects such as a military diploma dated to the reign of Trajan^[15]. For such a precious document, for its owner as well as for its heirs, a rejection resulting from a simple domestic activity is hardly conceivable.

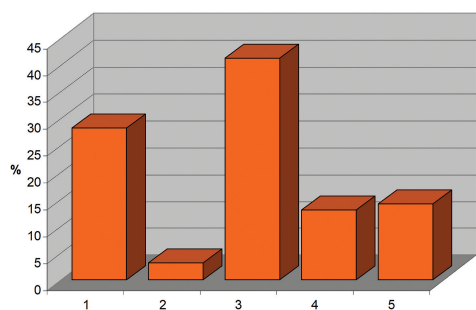


Fig. 25 - Han-sur-Lesse (Namur, Belgium): repartition between the different denominations (1. Ag/Bi antoninianus; 2. Ag denarius; 3. Ae sestertius; 4. Ae dupondius; 5. Cu As)

1.4. CHASMS AND WELLS

Along with caves, karst collapses – and their man-made equivalent, namely wells – are the paths leading directly to the underworld. It is therefore not surprising that both benefited from offerings to the deities.

[15] Act of honourable dismissal (*tabulae honestae missionis*), dated 19 January 108: *ILB*² 138.

The chasms

Chasms, temporarily or permanently drowned by underground rivers, are a relatively sparse subcategory of sites that have served as receptacles for coin throwing. The most famous chasm is probably that of the outburst of the Sorgue river at Fontaine-de-Vaucluse (Vaucluse, France), which is the most important natural site of this type in France and probably one of the largest in the world. The chasm is located at the foot of a sheer cliff 290 m high. Aquatic excavations were conducted in 1998, 2001 and 2003. On this occasion, the researchers used a submarine, the *Spélénaute*, which made it possible to reach the bottom of the siphon, located at a depth of some 315 m, but it was between 40 and 80 m that most of the archaeological material was extracted. It consists of 1600 coins and objects dating from the 1st c. BC to the 5th c. AD^[16].

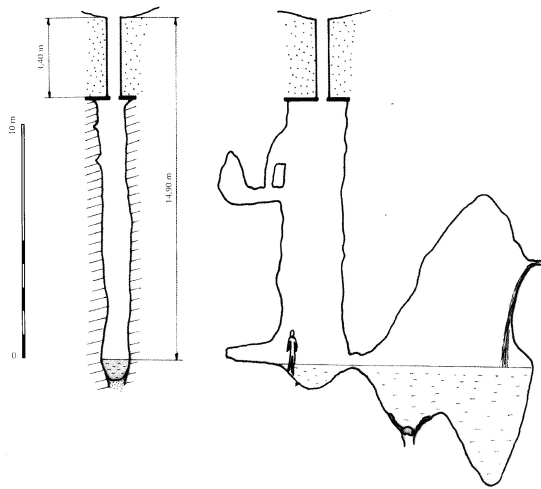


Fig. 26 – Transverse section of the cultural well of Corgebin at Chaumont-Brottes (Haute-Marne, France), after Thomas 2003, p. 17

Another site, with a somewhat similar context, has been mentioned above (Thomas 2003). This is the chasm of the Corgebin Forest in Chaumont-Brottes (Haute-Marne, France). It actually combines the two subcategories of natural sinks and sinks. The Chaumont fault is formed by a 15 m deep tectonic fault temporarily used as an outlet for the waters of an underground river. During the sacralization of the site, in honor of the goddess *Atesmerta* as designated by an inscribed altar discovered during the emptying of the well, a layout of this natural cavity giving access to a small underground lake was rectified in the form of a regular well (fig. 26). The chasm itself yielded 327 coins whose minting extends from the Gallic period to 244 AD, with a peak in deposits during the brief reign of Nerva (fig. 27). The excavation of the small adjoining sanctuary led to the discovery, in addition to a large number of stone votive offerings, of 102 additional ancient coins, some of which were pierced.

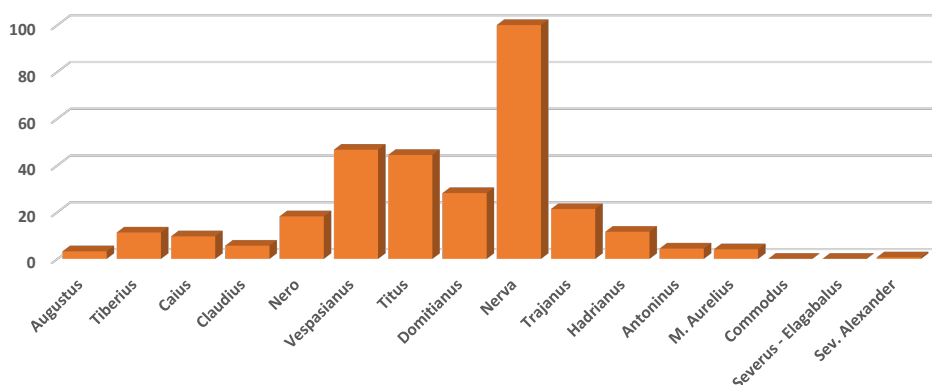


Fig. 27 – Chronological distribution of the coins from Corgebin at Chaumont-Brottes (Haute-Marne, France), data from Thomas 2003, p. 60 (numbers of coins x 100, divided by the number of months of each reign)

[16] To our knowledge, no specific study of this abundant material has been published.

Wells

There is no question here of drawing up any inventory of the very many Roman wells that have yielded “cultic” material, although they are located in settlements and not within sanctuaries. We can also insist on the abnormally high frequency of isolated human skulls found in imperial wells all over Gaul! We will take only one example, located on the northern border of the *civitas Remorum*.

The small rural sanctuary of Matagne-la-Petite (Namur, Belgium) was excavated in 1978/1979 (Brulet (dir.) 2008, n° 177, p. 521-523). It is set in a rectangular enclosure measuring 115 x 62 m and includes a *fanum* which, once rebuilt with two *cellae*, has been reworked several times. During the Late Antiquity, a small square building was built against the most recent temple, enclosing a well, which yielded abundant furniture. We note in its filling 159 coins ending with an *aes* 4 of the years 388-392 AD, but also abundant copper-alloy crockery (two frying pans, a large basin and various vessels), jewels, many keys whose presence is difficult to explain, objects made of bone, wood, jet, as well as a large tin wheel bearing a dedication to IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO (*ILB*² p. 205, No. 139^{ter}). The filling of the well also contained, alternately, plant deposits, including a large number of pine cones and especially boxwood branches, two trees known for their evergreen foliage and their symbolism. There is no doubt that these deposits are in one way or another related to the renewal of the seasons, despite the certainty of a cult to Jupiter, attested in its pre-Roman form of Taranis in the small Celtic temple that preceded the oldest building of the imperial period (De Boe 1982, p. 9). This small building yielded several lead and bronze wheels (*Ibid.*, p. 13, fig. 4, nos. 41-42). However, given the late nature of the coins found in the well and the iconographic impoverishment that can be observed after 294, only two coins show an image of Jupiter^[17].

1.5. SPRINGS, FOUNTAINS AND POOLS

In this chapter, we will find the same distinction that has been made about chasms and wells: an opposition between sites left in their natural state – springs – and those developed by man to transform them into basins or fountains.

Unlike coins thrown into wells and sinkholes, those thrown into springs and fountains were meant to be salvaged.

This category of places of worship, or more precisely those places that have benefited from ritual gestures, is undoubtedly the best supplied quantitatively, without being the best documented (Thüry 2016, p. 68-70). However, limiting himself to the springs and fountains of the northern provinces of the Empire that yielded coins, E. Sauer has identified 11 sites in *Gallia Belgica*, 4 in *Germania inferior* and no less than 18 in *Germania superior* (Sauer 2005, p. 113 & map fig. 35 p. 112). In addition, it is interesting to note that the throwing of coins into springs and fountains appears as early as the Celtic period: it is the continuation of older gestures, dating back to the Bronze Age or even before. G. Kurz listed Celtic monetary deposits made in wetlands in France, Germany, the Czech Republic, the Alps and Northern Italy. Eleven concern fountains, and seven of them were still active in Roman times (Kurz 1995, p. 60, fig. 13; Sauer 2005, p. 100). For his part, M. Crawford once compiled a list of six Italian sites where coins were found in water (Crawford 2003, p. 71 and 80-81); de Cazanove 2012, p. 270).

[17] De Boe 1982, p. 34, nos. 268-270: *aureliani* of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules, minted in Lyon. Note the totally anomalous nature of the coins collected: 13 *aureliani* of the years 276-294 AD, and 43 *nummi* and fractions between 294 and 315 AD.

Discoveries of inscribed tablets show that the bottom of the springs, and more specifically those of hot water, was considered a gateway to the underworld (Sauer 2005, p. 120). In that of Gevrey-Chambertin (Côte-d'Or, France), were collected an inscribed bronze ball and eight dice bearing numbers from I to CCXLII (i.e. 242), associated with 28 coins up to the reign of Theodosius (Berdeaux-Le Brazidec & Feugère 2011). This discovery shows that divination was practised in these places. But hot or cold, springs have always attracted the throwing of objects, including coins sometimes deposited in very large numbers. This ritual is still widely used today: just think of the *Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi* and the other two fountains in *Piazza Navona* in Rome. The ritual, which is relatively recent (after WWII), is to turn one's back on the fountain and throw a low-value coin over the left shoulder with one's right hand. This ritual, which is mainly for touristic purposes, is intended to encourage the return to Rome to supposedly recover the coin thrown away during the previous visit. The underlying symbolism is therefore more or less that of the *Fortuna redux*. It should be noted in passing that this gesture brings the city of Rome about one million euros per year, or nearly 2000 € per day, corresponding each week to a mass of 550 kg of coins, mainly copper. But such gestures, the fruit of a relatively recent "export", exist in many cities in Europe and the New World.

As far as Antiquity is concerned, we can first mention two fountains in Rome. On the one hand, the *Lacus Curtius*, situated in the middle of the forum, where, according to Suetonius (*Aug.*, 57, 1), the population of Rome, all classes combined, threw a coin every year at the vows *pro salute Augusti*. Also in Rome, on the site of a sacred grove mentioned by Ovid in his *Fasti* (6, 395-416), the fountain of Anna Perenna was built. Excavated in 1999, it yielded deposits testifying to exceptional magical practices extending from the 4th c. BC to the 6th c. AD (McIntyre & McCallum (eds.) 2019). Among the remarkable furnishings collected are about 600 coins. It should be noted that other Italian sources have yielded coins, for example, that of Vicarello (*Aquae Apollinares*), in Lazio (Sauer 2005, p. 120).

At the other end of the Empire, Bath, *Aquae Sulis*, in Somerset, 180 km west of London, yielded during the excavations of the hot water basin – the spring flows daily 1.2 million litres of water at 46° – no less than 12,400 coins, of which 7645 predate 260 AD. Like many others, the site fell into disuse during the Theodosian period, around 390 AD. The coin has been the subject of a succinct catalogue, which is not very useful for the representations of the reverses, but it has benefited from a detailed study by David Walker in 1988. This author is the only one to have questioned both the choice of the different denominations thrown into the water over time, but also the iconographic program carried by the coins deposited in the fountain.

By comparing the observed percentages with those from sites in Gaul, Germany, the Rheno-Danubian *limes* and Italy, he was able to show significant differences in the choice of monetary types. He thus notes an overabundance of Hadrian's *Asses* of the SALVS AVG type (*RIC II/3*² 881-886). Attested by nine specimens in the whole of the Rhine-Danube region, there are fifty-two of them in Bath! Similarly, the *dupondii/Asses* of his wife Sabina (*RIC II/3*² 2475/2477) of the VESTA type are proportionately too numerous on the site, without any explanation having been provided. Other reverses are more problematic to interpret, such as the bronzes with the legend BRITANNIA, absent from the Italian and Rhine-Danube sites, but present in very large quantities both in Bath (213 examples) and in Coventina (72 examples). Here again, the choice of the figure of *Britannia* seated on her rock is not obvious, unless, in the collective imagination, this rather banal representation of a province was assimilated to a specific local deity.

Located even further north, close to Carrawburgh – a fort on Hadrian's Wall – *Coventina's well*, dedicated as its name suggests to the Celtic goddess of the waters Coventina, yielded around 8,000 coins, 6715 of which predate 260 AD. Here again, the cults justifying the deposit of coins suddenly came to an end around 380 AD, a decade earlier than in Bath, but

still under Theodosius, whose reign marked a break. We shall see later, in connection with the coins discovered in the fords, the significance of this interruption.

France is not to be outdone for the study of coins coming from fountains and basins, even if it is a German numismatist who has treated the most important site. Excavations conducted in 1875 in the “Roman sump” of Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne, France) yielded, in a layer of barely ten centimetres, more than 10,000 coins of which 4700 were found in the museum’s reserves. However, this material was not published in detail until 2005 by Eberhard Sauer. It includes 4 gold coins (3 *aurei*, 1 *solidus* of Honorius) as well as 158 silver denarii and quinarii of the Republic and Augustus. The rest consists mainly of bronzes from the beginning of the Empire (Nîmes, Lyon and of secondary mints in Gaul), where the “eagle” *semisses* dominate, with 1499 examples. The coinage of coins decreased significantly after the Augustan period – at that time it was carried out by soldiers – and came to an almost complete halt after the Severans: the 4th c. AD is attested by only a dozen coins, of which only five were issued between 364 and 402 AD.

As we have seen above, E. Sauer was mainly interested in the many manipulations and mutilations to which coins were subjected. Thus, by observing the split Nîmes *dupondii*, he highlighted a deficit of the left half (150 examples), the one bearing the portrait of Agrippa, compared to the one on the obverse, with the image of Augustus (204 examples). However, starting from the idea that it is a site specifically dedicated to the cult of the emperor, E. Sauer is not particularly interested in the iconography of the reverses appearing on the 387 post-Augustan coins, despite the presence in the fountain of a stone altar dedicated to Borvo and Damona, goddess of springs and rivers (*CIL* XIII, 5919). These discoveries show that the imperial cult attested by the throwing of coins *pro salute Augusti* went through an intercession with the two ancient local Celtic gods.

1.6. LAKES AND PONDS

Lakes, ponds and marshes have always been a favourite place for metal and other deposits. The most frequently cited example – but one that poses many problems – is that of the incredible treasure thrown by the Tectosages into the “Lake of Tolossa”. The Greek historian Poseidonius, copied by Strabo (*Geogr.*, IV, 1, 12-14), relates that the Tectosages had deposited their treasure – estimated at 15,000 talents (388 tons!) – partly in enclosures (*sèkos*) and partly in “sacred lakes” (*limnai hierai*) which have never been located, but which must have been located in the city of *Tolassè* itself, identified in all probability with the *oppidum* of Vieille-Toulouse (Bourdatchouk *et al.* 2016). These riches, according to Poseidonius, were not composed of artifacts, but of raw metals, gold and silver ingots. In addition, there is the problem of the term *lacus*, translated as “lake”, in an area where nothing like it exists. It seems that the term may refer to fountains or cisterns.

In any case, the relationship with water remains, and it is well-attested in the Celtic world. One thinks of course of the ritual jets carried out at the eponymous site of La Tène, on the northern shore of Lake of Neuchâtel (Switzerland). In addition to innumerable weapons, including many swords often still placed in their scabbards, there are animal offerings – even human offerings since about twenty skulls are preserved – numerous donations of perishable materials (wood, textiles, basketry), as well as coins (nine gold staters and six quarter-staters, and many potins). The gestures practised there began very early, in the 7th-5th centuries BC, but they were still relevant at the beginning of the Roman period.

The same region shows very surprising contexts, such as those observed at the lake cult site of Conjux, on the shores of Lake Bourget (Savoie, France). The deposit of several coins, placed in song and not flat – and there are dozens of them, mainly from the Antonine period – was

marked by a long stick stuck in the ground. The site is characterized by a veritable forest of wooden stakes, between which appear numerous offerings, whether ceramic vases or coins. These pegs may have carried *tituli* or *pinaces* or other markers intended to commemorate a gesture (Nieloud-Müller 2015). This very particular type of staging would be attested in France at Bâlons-Bouvellemont (Ardennes), Noyon (Oise), Paule “Saint-Symphorien” (Côtes-d’Armor), Lavau (Aube) and in Germany, at the Martberg bei Pommern, among the *Treviri* (Wigg-Wolf 2018, p. 23).

However, it is difficult to see Conjux as a purely aquatic site: we know that climate change has caused the level of the lakes to rise and therefore the submersion of the beaches and the sites that used to be there. But the unmistakable throwing of coins into the lakes is well attested by epigraphic sources from the Roman period. We have already mentioned the *stipes* thrown into Lake Velinus at Narni during the reign of Nero.

1.7. FORDS

It is worth recalling the specificity of coins collected in fords, a phenomenon that has been noted for a long time (Doyen 2007, p. 132-133; Lambot & Chameroy 2011, p. 63; Thüry 2016, p. 73-74). The ritual gestures practised there are now well known. Thus, under the Julio-Claudians, we never find *Asses* cut in two, a commonplace operation by the way, but one that mutilates the imperial portrait. We have seen above that E. Sauer’s meticulous study of the fractional Nîmes *dupondii* of Bourbonne-les-Bains had revealed a deficit of left halves, those bearing the portrait of Agrippa.

The deposits of coins made in the fords were very numerous and were certainly not limited to Gaul. Their specificity is such that in the synthesis we have devoted to the Reims coins, we have systematically treated separately the quantitative data derived from them (Doyen 2007, p. 62 & 132-133).

Catalogues of river discoveries, for once, are generally detailed, but the interpretation and contextualization of the finds often leave something to be desired. The conditions of discovery are not unrelated to this, as many of these coins are the result of dredging. In addition, the associated material is rarely studied: a few elements considered “typical” are illustrated, often from old engravings: figural bronzes, fibulae, but small furniture made of metal, glass, stone or bone, and especially ceramics insofar as they are present, are generally not even mentioned. The interpretation is therefore based on truncated material.

Below we will highlight only a few of the most important sites in Italy and Gaul.

The most important is undoubtedly the ford on the river Liri or Garigliano, near the ancient *Minturnae* (Formia), at the point where the *Via Appia* leaves Campania for the Latium. This major site is a veritable “monster” in terms of monetary discoveries. Clive Stannard, who has been patiently studying the site for several decades, estimates the number of coins from the 3rd c. BC to the 6th c. AD at around 800,000 that were discovered there, probably nearly four tons of metal. As one might expect, no real synthesis has yet been published, if it is ever conceivable for such a mass of documents, but we do have some partial papers, often very detailed (Frier & Parker 1970; Metcalf 1974). A set of about 2000 coins, published in 1970, showed the proportionately non-negligible presence of *denarii* (23 examples) or silver *antoniniani* (2 ex.) and *quinarii* (3 ex.). While *Asses* are very abundant, *sesterces* are not uncommon, unlike the fords of Gaul, where the trend is clearly in favour of very small denominations. Curiously enough, two hypotheses have been put forward to explain this incredible accumulation in the Liri: either the throwing by people passing over a bridge crossing the river, or losses (!) from the nearby town and gathered by the current at this point. As the authors of the study note, “the religious terracottas found on the site may favour

the first hypothesis, but both factors could have been operative” (Frier & Parker 1970, p. 91). Surprisingly, one can put forward the hypothesis of domestic discharges collected by the current, unless one assumes that the Minturnins threw money out the window. The progress made in half a century in the interpretation of these river deposits is considerable, even if much remains to be done.

Quite some other river deposits have been recorded in Italy, the best-known being of course that of the Tiber, unfortunately very imperfectly known. However, the astonishingly abundant *quadrantes* from it were the subject of a specific study in 1975: those appearing in a single lot discovered in the years 1965-1975 are 1147 in number, to which are added 30 *semisses* and 991 bronze coins of Claude (King 1975)^[18]. Based on earlier and more recent discoveries, they were published in 1984 by Hans-Markus van Kaenel. The total number of coins discovered is considerable. Two lots preserved in the Museo Nazionale Romano alone totalize 551 sesterces, 3352 *dupondii* and *Asses* as well as 270 *semisses* or *quadrantes*.

The many fords of Gaul have been the subject of detailed studies, the oldest of which – except for the mentions of nineteenth-century discoveries – date from the 1960s, when Jean-Baptiste Giard, then a young curator at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, became interested in this type of deposit.

– The ford of Condé-sur-Aisne (Aisne, France), upstream of the confluence of the Aisne and the Vesle, gave in 1959 a lot of 247 Gallic, 23 Republican and 3072 imperial coins up to 388-392 AD (Giard 1968-1969)^[19]. In addition, there are 871 illegible imperial bronzes. The catalogue published in 1968 and 1969 by J.-B. Giard is remarkable for its time. Above all, it is accompanied by eleven photographic plates illustrating a large number of imitations, mainly *Asses* from the Julio-Claudian period, a theme dear to the author.

– The ford of Montereau (Yonne, France), upstream of the confluence of the Yonne and the Seine, provided between 1971 and 1973, 3928 coins, some consecrated by chisel cuts. In the study by J.-B. Giard in 1977-1978, we find 8 Gallic, 4 Republican and 2464 imperial coins from Augustus to Probus (to which are added 1452 *Asses* and illegible *dupondii*). Only two examples are later than 282 AD, the most recent dating of the years 367-375.

– The bed of the Vilaine in Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine, France) provided in the 19th c. 7615 coins including 18 Gallic, 191 Republican and 7406 imperial coins until 388-402 AD (only 1 ex.). Although the site seems to have been very active between 192 and 294 AD, with 109 coins, only 29 were coined after Diocletian’s reform in 294 AD (Besombes 2003-2004).

– The site of the crossing of the course of the Mayenne at the “gué de Saint-Léonard” in Mayenne (Mayenne, France) provided in 1863 a large lot of 22,438 coins, namely 9 Greek, 1 Gallic, 285 Republican and 22,143 imperial coins, ranging from Augustus to Commodus (and 2 antoniniani of Claudius II). It is the French ensemble that has been the subject of the most detailed study (Besombes 2003-2004). Although gold is absent there, as in the other fords of Gaul, there are nevertheless a certain number of silver coins, namely 36 denarii and quinarii. In addition to these numerous coins, there were votive offerings, including miniature weapons and statuettes of mother goddesses.

^[18] This is an incomplete batch: the large module coins would have been withdrawn and sold separately since the coins were discovered illegally.

^[19] It seems that 3,000 or 4,000 more coins are still waiting to be studied.

– In Namur, in the Belgian province of the same name, a ford or bridge located over the River Sambre, about a hundred meters from its confluence with the Meuse, yielded from the mid-19th c. to the 1950s, 1610 ancient coins (out of an infinitely larger total), which have been the subject of a detailed study (Lallemand 1989). Among this collection, we note 13 Greek and Gallic coins, 9 from the Republic and 1588 imperial coins, 34 of which date after 388 AD. Very unusually, J. Lallemand is the only one to attempt a spatial distribution of the material, according to the data recorded at the time of the discoveries: of the 1586 identifiable coins, 375 are geolocated (Lallemand 1989, tabl. p. 16). It should be noted that the finds, with rare exceptions, are located on the right bank of the Sambre, over a length of about 300 metres, while the ancient *vicus* was installed opposite, on the left bank of the river. It would seem, therefore, that the jet was made once the river had been crossed, before entering the Roman settlement. The geolocation of the Roman artefacts seems to show a shift in the place of passage over time. As J. Lallemand notes, “activity in the vicinity of the confluence decreases sharply, it seems, after 260; we will see that it moves, no doubt, further upstream” (Lallemand 1989, p. 10). While the remarks on the location of coin throws are methodologically important, the associated finds are, once again, barely mentioned, except a bronze statuette of Mercury, preserved in the local museum. We therefore lack the true archaeological context of these discoveries, as in all the other cases mentioned above.

Coins from fords and other river finds in Britain – confined to London Bridge in London and the Piercebridge finds – have been the subject of a recent synthesis. The observations made by Roger Bland finally overlapped with those recorded in Gaul, Germany and Italy (Bland 2020).

If the explanations given in the past for these accumulations of coins are often economic, it is difficult not to see in the deposits in the aquatic environment of eastern and northern Gaul, the testimony of a devotion falling into disuse under the influence of Christianity, as proposed by J.-B. Giard (Giard 1968-1969, p. 66). Is this to be seen as a strict application of the various laws promulgated by Theodosius to prohibit the throwing of coins, among the other measures relating to sacrifices?^[20] In any case, it was around 380 AD that the throwing of money into the rivers stopped, sometimes very suddenly.

The ford of Condé-sur-Aisne, located on the road leading from Reims to Soissons, recorded hardly any more deposits after 378 AD^[21]. Others, however, declined earlier: under Commodus or the Severans at the ford of Saint-Léonard de Mayenne, under Probus at Montereau. But it is possible that the coins of the end of the Empire, of very small modules, were not discovered, at a time when metal detectors were not yet used. On the other hand, J. Lallemand has shown that the places where coins are thrown can move several hundred meters when the road is moved.

1.8. DITCHES

For a long time, numismatists have been struck by the sheer number of coins coming from the ditches surrounding the fortifications of Late Antiquity, sometimes at the expense of any other material. These innumerable coins are almost always denominations of very low value, but their abundance is intriguing. For example, a trench dug in 1981 through the ditch of the Late Roman *castellum* of Brunehaut-Liberchies (Hainaut, Belgium) showed a density of 225

^[20] Laws of 21 December 381 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI.10.7), 24 February 391 (*ibid.*, XVI.10.11) and 8 November 392 (*ibid.*, XVI.10.12).

^[21] Period 363/4-378 AD: 119 coins; period 378-388 AD : 3 coins; after 388 AD : only 1 coin.

coins (up to 388-402 AD) per running metre (Dewert & Severs 1982). This number confirms the results obtained during the digging of another trench carried out in 1931, which led to the discovery of 167 other coins. However, the 1981 work showed that the coins came from a layer also rich in kitchen scraps, accompanied by sigillata or cooking ceramics, and bronze objects (as well as fragments of bronzesmith’s crucibles). In addition, the drop-off area is not located in line with the entry of the fort. Therefore, it is difficult to speak here of a ritual of throwing coins, but the question deserves to be asked.

1.9. MEGALITHIC SITES AND PROTOHISTORIC NECROPOLIS

When they are not purely and simply occupied for religious purposes for several millennia, as in the particularly emblematic case of Tas-Silġ in Malta (Perassi 2018, p. 51-52), many megalithic sites were the object of some form of worship during Antiquity. Thus, Roman coins, often made of gold, are sometimes discovered in and around (?) megalithic tombs. Coins from the 3rd and 4th c. AD were discovered at Stonehenge along with Roman ceramics, but the context of these discoveries is poorly documented (Pearson 2013, p. 212). Similarly, the megalithic site of Newgrange (County Meath, Ireland), yielded twenty-five Roman coins, ten of which were made of gold, spanning from the beginning to the end of the Empire, thus excluding a single deposit (Bland 2012).

On the continent, the discovery of coins in Prehistoric “covered alleys” does not seem to be exceptional, as in Wéris, in Belgian Luxembourg, wherein the 19th c. a dolmen yielded two gold coins (an *aureus* of Tiberius and a *solidus* from the Constantinian period) (Huysecom 1981). Similarly, tombs under pre- and protohistoric burial mounds may have yielded Roman material in the form of secondary tombs but also served as a hiding place for monetary deposits, placed in the custody of the deceased or the gods. This is the case at Han-sur-Lesse (Namur, Belgium), where a burial placed under a prehistoric mound of stones yielded three urns containing 7000 or 8000 coins minted between 69 and 294 AD (Thirion 1967, p. 89, no. 118).

PART III

1. FOR AN ANTHROPONUMISMATICS OF CULT PLACES

While we have long had a protocol for the collection of coins in funerary contexts, this is unfortunately not the case for coins from places of worship. Generally, the “natural” sites described above will do little to advance this issue. Indeed, the coins found there were generally not intended to be recovered. As a result, a staging other than ritual gestures to which we no longer have access is unlikely and, in any case, cannot be highlighted. It is almost certain that the throwing of a coin into the water *pro salute Augusti* was accompanied by the recitation of a specific formula, at the same time as a particular gesture. But was it the throwing of a single coin or several coins simultaneously? Did the position of the imperial effigy play a role in the gesture? These elements are probably definitively lost.

Therefore, the short catalogue below will apply essentially to sites built or materialized by a virtual space materializing a sacred area.

Four points seem to me to have to be taken into account: the topology, the choice of specific denominations used, the manipulations of these and, finally, the possible interpretation of the data.

2. THE TOPOLOGY

The topology should allow for the contextualization of monetary (and other) discoveries, i.e. the relationships between coins and between coins and other offerings. Indeed, depending on the location inside the sanctuary, and therefore the activities that take place there, the coins will have different uses and statuses. The archaeonumismatist's work will be to verify whether there are structural differences in the monetary ensembles unearthed in a cultic context that would allow them to be assigned a specific role within the site. It will therefore be necessary to separate the coins coming from the zones listed below, which all have different functions and can therefore deliver different currencies, whether in the choice of specific denominations and therefore of "value", and in the selection of specific iconographies or manipulations. The different areas that should be separated, and therefore whose cash should be treated in a specific way, are as follows:

A. At the entrance, but outside the temenos (coins for the payment of an entrance fee?).

B. At the entrance, but inside the temenos (*idem*).

C. In the perimeter gallery or the portico if it exists. Care should be taken to check for the presence of any coins with specific holes – central square hole – testifying to coins nailed to the walls (fig. 28), a case attested by an inscription in the temple of Oropos, about forty kilometres from Athens (Melville Jones 1993, I, p. 261; Doyen 2013, p. XXII-XXIII). There is also the possibility of discovering coins with traces of plaster on one side, indicating that they were applied to the walls in the manner of the ancient medallions adorning the *loculi* in the catacombs of Rome (Hostein 2019).



Fig. 28 - Pierced fourree denarii (with central square hole). a) Julius Caesar [Gaul, 49/48 BC, RRC 443/1], *Moneta Tintinna* 86, 28/3/2020, n° 160: 2.60 g; b) Augustus [Rome, 10 BC, RIC 299], *Savoca* 120th Blue Auction, 11/12/2021, n° 962: 2.75 g; c) Augustus [Lyon, 2 BC-4 AD, RIC 210], *Savoca* 110th Blue Auction, 14/8/2021, n° 900: 3.37 g; d) Nero for Claudius I divus [Rome, 54 AD, RIC 5], *GNDM* 20, 23/5/2023, n° 9349: 2.27 g; e) Claude I [Rome, 54-54, RIC 81], *Numismatica Prados*, 1.93 g; f) Nero [Rome, 55 AD, RIC 7], *Savoca* 137th Blue auction, 9-7-2022, n° 746: 2.96 g; g) Philippe I, *antoninianus*, Rome, 248 AD (RIC 12), *private coll.*, found near *Viminacium*: 2.20 g, 12h; h) Lead uniface tessera, *London Ancient Coins* 12/3/2017: 0.49 g; 14 mm

D. In temples and around altars

E. In the walls of the different constructions, specify whether the coins are in the centre of the wall (and were therefore put in place during construction) or have been inserted into the wall by the joints between the blocks. In this case, the vertical or horizontal position of the coins will be interesting to take into account.

F. In the outbuildings (butcher’s shop, place of sale of small objects used as offerings).

G. In waste structures (*favissae*), specifying the method of filling (at one time, or in the case of several deposits), noting whether the deposits have been respected, describing the associated material, specifying if possible the date of deposit, either during the period of operation of the sanctuary or after its closure.

H. Some sanctuaries are complemented by external infrastructures intended for the reception and stay of the faithful, such as hotels or inns, and stables for mounts. Not to mention the stalls where it was possible to buy “bondieuseries” intended to be offered within the sanctuary.

In any case, the accurate archiving of coins at the time of their appearance is now a routine phase on all excavation sites. As with coins from funerary contexts, the appearance face (or indication of a vertical position) is an important element. As we have pointed out, this information only makes sense in the case of coins discovered in a primary context, i.e. found in place on the ground where they were deposited in the past.

3. CHOICE OF DENOMINATIONS

It makes little sense to count coins by city or emperor and to plot them on a graph. Similarly, separating metals does not give any information. In the Greek world, putting a tetradrachm and a tiny silver coin on the same footing, because metal is the same, obviously has no value at the economic level. It should be remembered that among the coins discovered during the excavations of the Artemision of Ephesus, the smallest coin (0.13 g) is 1:55 of the heaviest (7.16 g) (Nicolet-Pierre 2002, p. 115). The same principle must be applied to Roman bronze coins, where the largest bronze coin, the sestertius, is worth sixteen times the value of the smallest common denomination, the *quadrans*. To try to solve these difficulties, we refer to our long-standing attempts to transform excavation coins of different metals into a value by weight of the same metal (copper for example), per year. This principle is called the IPA (Indice Pondéral Annuel). This method makes it possible to compare disparate finds (different metals and denominations) and to highlight significant differences in activity that do not appear in elementary statistics in which each coin is worth one unit (Doyen 2011, p. 21-23).

It is therefore necessary, zone by zone, to give not only the chronological distribution but also the distribution by release value of each piece.

It will also be necessary to examine, again zone by zone, the iconographic program conveyed by the coins. A list of types and their frequency (here, equation 1 = 1 is applicable) will be essential to highlight iconographic choices. Let’s not forget that we have shown that each coin has a gender, male, female or neuter (Doyen 2019, p. 12-13). It is quite conceivable that a shrine dedicated to a female deity contains many more portraits of empresses than emperors. Similarly, we have seen previously proven cases of choice relating to reverses, *Salus* at Bath for example. In this context, catalogues that are too compact, with a simple reference to a number in a catalogue such as *SNG* or *RIC*, are a serious handicap to any detailed search. It would therefore be necessary for the iconographic type to be indicated each time, so that the

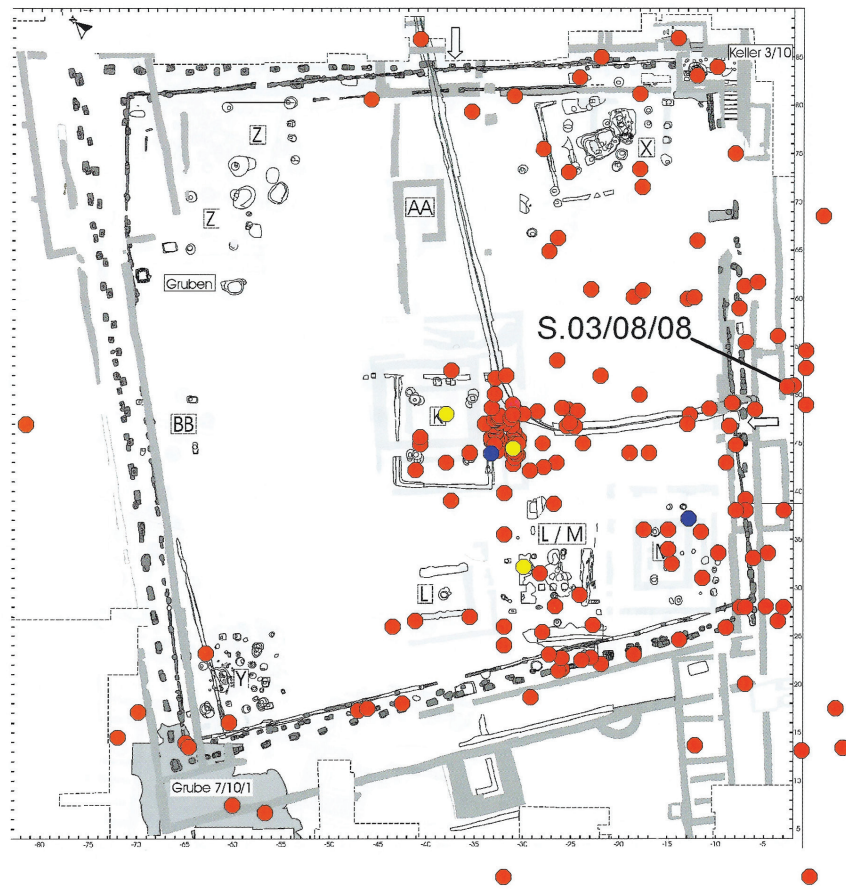


Fig. 29 - Martberg (Germany):
distribution of the coins of Augustus
(after 10 BC) (red = bronze, yellow
= silver, blue = undated coins of
Augustus), after Nickel, Thoma &
Wigg-Wolf 2008, p. 618, fig. 391

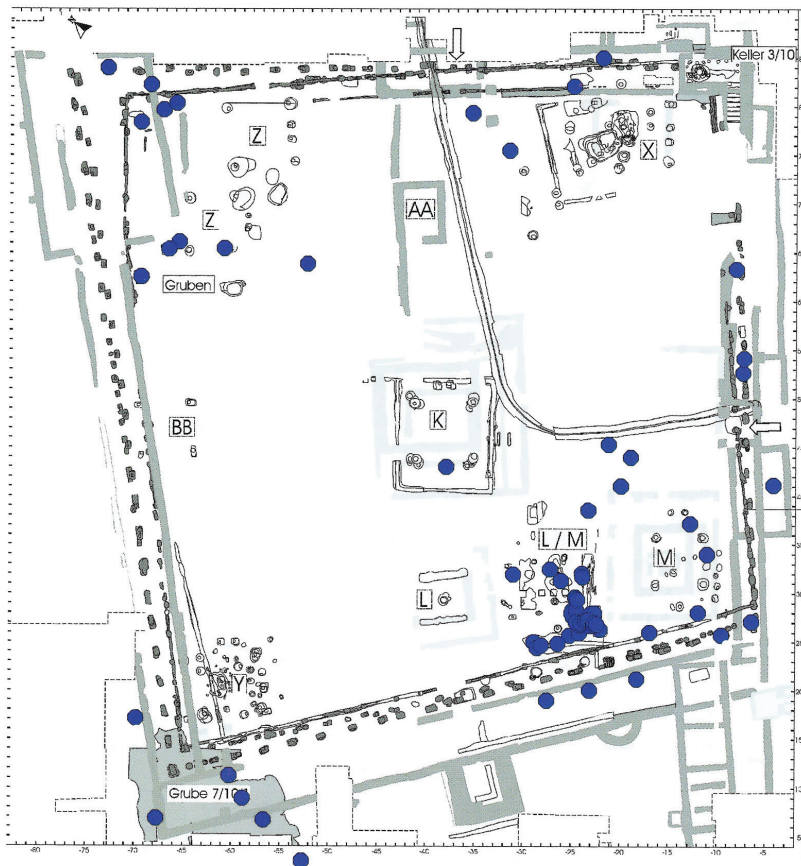


Fig. 30 - Martberg (Germany):
distribution of bronze coins of
Caius and Claudius, after Nickel,
Thoma & Wigg-Wolf 2008,
p. 619, fig. 392

numismatists who will take over the data can easily make iconographic groupings which, perhaps, are not obvious at first sight.

4. MANIPULATIONS

On several occasions, we have insisted on the importance of highlighting the manipulations, sometimes very tenuous, of which the coins may have been a victim before being “deposited” in the place of worship. Of course, splitting and chiselling to consecrate the coins are obvious gestures. Let’s not forget that, in the case of coins cut in half, it is important to indicate whether it is the left or right side (horizontal division seems extremely rare), even if the image is only very poorly identifiable. Of course, care should be taken to note all traces aggregated in the gangue, in the case of heavily corroded coins. We are thinking here of food residues (bones, eggshells), charcoal or traces of textiles. The coins that come back from the metal processing laboratories have made all these light traces disappear, which nevertheless constitutes a part of the life of the coins, undoubtedly the most important. The search for small traces (light scratches, graffiti) should be careful, as well as the examination of the surface of the coin to determine if the coin may have passed through the flames before being deposited/thrown. Digital photography now makes it possible to document all the elements that may, one day or another, be of importance.

5. INTERPRETATION

It is undoubtedly difficult to determine during the excavation of a temple whether a coin is a voluntary deposit intended to honour a deity, or whether it is the evidence of a loss in a simple commercial transaction. So far, we have very little contextual data, either in the Greek or Roman worlds, that allows us to accurately locate the coins resulting from these excavations of sanctuaries^[22]. It is certain that a handful of coins discovered around the base of the statue of a deity or a coin deliberately slipped into the interstices of the blocks forming the podium of a temple, do not have the same meaning as the coins collected in front of the door of the cella, or those collected at the entrance of the sanctuary, whether inside or outside it. In this sense, the remarkable excavations carried out on the sanctuary of Martberg, overlooking the course of the Moselle, 65 km north-east of Trier, can serve as a model, at least as far as the “topology” aspect is concerned, since the iconographic criteria have not been taken into account. On this site, it is indeed possible to map, by phase of occupation (there are 11 of them), the coins of the same reign, distinguishing the metals. Thus, it is possible to show that the activities that caused the deposition or loss of the coins of Caligula and Claudius (fig. 30), are not located in the same places as that issued by Augustus after 10 BC (fig. 29).

From then on, the history of many sanctuaries remains to be written (or rewritten).

^[22] However, the very specific case of the Martberg sanctuary should be noted (Nickel, Thoma & Wigg-Wolf 2008).

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COINS AS VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN GREEK SANCTUARIES: THE CASE OF THE ALTAR OF ZEUS ON MOUNT LYKAION, ARCADIA

Lilian DE ANGELO LAKY*

Abstract – The dedication of coins on altars in Greek sanctuaries is little known. It differs from coin dedications in sacred precincts, or in the foundations of temples, where metal objects and coins were usually kept in votive deposits, becoming part of the treasure of the god. In the case of the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion, we will discuss (1) the

ritual function of coins as votive offerings on altars; (2) their use, instead of other metal objects, as dedicated to Greek deities in their sanctuaries; and (3) the connection between the image of the god on fifth century BC Arcadian League coins and their dedication on the altar of Zeus Lykaios.

Keywords: Mount Lykaion – Zeus – altar – coins – offerings

Résumé – Le dépôt de pièces de monnaie dans les autels des sanctuaires grecs est peu connu. Elle diffère des dédicaces de pièces trouvées dans l'enceinte sacrée ou dans les fondations des temples, où les objets métalliques et les pièces étaient généralement stockés dans des dépôts votifs, devenant ainsi une partie du trésor de la divinité. À partir du cas du sanctuaire de Zeus sur le mont Lykaion, notre intention est de discuter (1) de la fonction rituelle de la monnaie en

tant qu'offrande votive dans les autels ; (2) de son utilisation en remplacement d'autres objets en métal dédiés aux divinités grecques dans leurs sanctuaires ; et (3) de la correspondance entre les images monétaires et le dieu honoré dans des zones sacrées spécifiques à partir du dépôt des pièces de la Ligue Arcadienne du V^e s. av. J.-C. avec les images de Zeus sur l'autel de Zeus Lykaios.

Mots clés : Mont Lykaion – Zeus – autel – monnaies – offrandes

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1. THE SANCTUARY AND ALTAR OF ZEUS ON MOUNT LYKAION

The Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion (1382 m) – now Mount Agios Elias – is located in southwest Arcadia, to the west of Megalopolis, near the modern village of Ano Karyes. Pausanias (VIII, 38) is the only ancient author to give information about the site: the topography, the cult and rituals, as well as some structures in the sacred area, including the temenos, the altar, the Hagno fountain, the hippodrome, and the stadium.

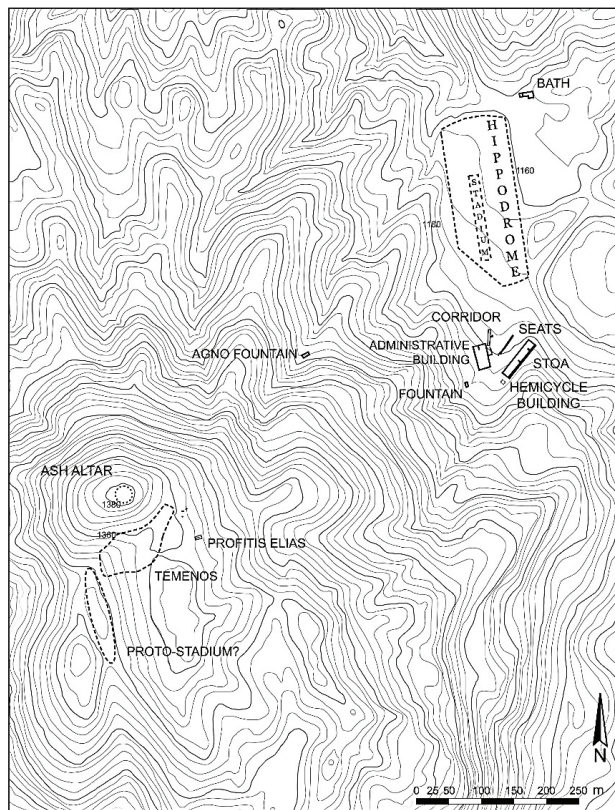


Fig. 1 – The upper and lower parts of the sanctuary on Mount Lykaion (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, fig. 2)

The archaeological site divides into two areas: the so-called upper and lower^[1] sanctuaries (fig. 1). The upper sanctuary extends from the highest peak of the mountain – where the altar of Zeus Lykaios stood, and where the earliest evidence of the cult has been found – to the temenos, some 20 m below the summit. This constitutes the sacred area proper, where the worship of Zeus Lykaios was centred. The lower sanctuary extends to about 200 m below the temenos, in a flat part of the slope. Several structures were built here, mostly related to the athletic contests that were held in the sanctuary, and to its administration.

Recent American excavations have shown that the earliest cult activities on Mount Lykaion date to between Late Helladic IIB and the Late Helladic IIIC: the lowest level of trench Z in the altar area on the summit contains ceramic material of this period. The American researchers place the beginning of cult at this time, although earlier materials of Neolithic, and Early and Middle Helladic

date, were also found in this level. This makes the Mount Lykaion sanctuary one of the oldest sanctuaries of Zeus in the Greek world, which date back to the Bronze Age. The continuity of the cult of Zeus Lykaios on Mount Lykaion, from the Iron Age to the Archaic and later periods, is shown by proto-geometric pottery, and by the dedication of miniature bronze tripods and other votive objects on the altar (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 628). The altar continued in use during the Proto-Geometric and Geometric periods, and there seems to have been a significant expansion of both the upper and lower sanctuary areas during the seventh century (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 632). A large reorganization of the ash altar may have taken place in the seventh century, as shown by the construction of a containment system, and by increased activity, evident from burnt offerings and dedications. Such activity continued in the upper sanctuary until the Late Classical period, from the fifth to the fourth century. There are many dedications, but during the third century, at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, there is little sign of activity on the altar (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 628

All dates in this paper are BC.

[1] The archaeological report on the lower part of the sanctuary of was published by Romano & Voyatzis 2015.

and 632). The lower sanctuary was in use from the early Archaic period until the end of the Hellenistic period. As Romano & Voyatzis point out, “the continuity of the cult from the Mycenaean period to the Iron Age and from this period to the fourth century, so well attested by the archaeological evidence, is a phenomenon proven only in a few places in the Greek world” (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 629). It is possible that further study of the Neolithic and Early Helladic ceramics from the altar area will show that the sanctuary of Zeus is the oldest sacred area of Zeus, older even than the Idaean cave in Crete.



Fig. 2 – The altar area on the south peak of Mount Lykaion, view from east (photo by the author, 2014)

nor an ash-heap, but an artificial hill, 30 m in diameter and 1.5 m high, made of earth blackened by ashes and the bones of burnt animals, and dotted with large stones, which he at the time believed to be a tomb (Jost 1985, p. 180). In his excavation of the altar, he recovered a great variety of votive objects dating from the Archaic and Classical periods: two miniature seventh century bronze tripods; an archaic iron knife; an archaic coin of Aegina; small *phialai* and black-glazed *skyphoi*, typical from the fifth and fourth centuries; fragments of terracotta lamps, and many tiles, some with stamped inscriptions, that probably date to the fourth century; a terracotta bird figurine of the fourth century; and a coin of the Arcadian League (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 575-576). A number of undatable objects were also found, such as bronze rings and an iron key (*Ibid.*, p. 576).

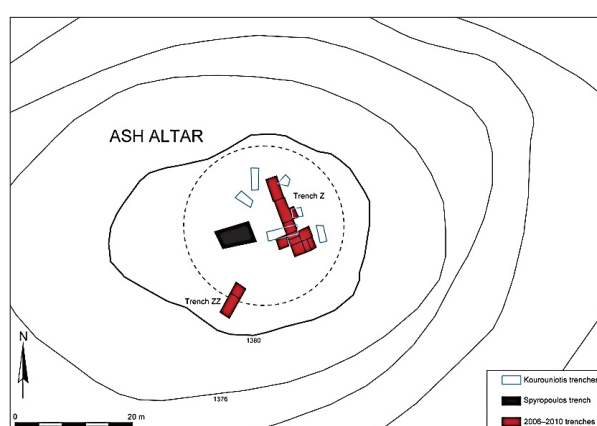


Fig. 3 – Plan of the excavations of the altar area (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, fig.3)

the Late Classical period (*Ibid.*, p. 584). This extends the chronology of the altar, which Kourouniotis had dated to the Archaic period (*Ibid.*, p. 584). Ceramic fragments of the Helladic, Geometric and Archaic periods, as well as a complete miniature bronze tripod, date

The altar of Zeus Lykaios stood on the south peak, the highest point of Mount Lykaion (fig. 2). According to Romano and Voyatzis, the whole southern peak (approximately 700 m²) was covered by the ashes and burnt bones of sacrificial animals (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 579). The oldest literary mention of the altar of Zeus Lykaios appears in Pindar (*Olympian Odes* 13, 105-110) (Zolotnikova 2005, p.106). As described by the Greek archaeologist, K. Kourouniotis, the first excavator of the sanctuary, during the twentieth century, the altar was neither a stone construction

The American excavations between 2007 and 2010 made it possible to establish the phases of cult activity on the altar (fig. 3). The highest concentration of material of the earliest period –between Late Helladic IIB and Late Helladic IIIC and the Iron Age – came from the stone base, which corresponds to the lowest level of trench Z. Most is Mycenaean, but Late Neolithic, and Early and Middle Helladic ceramics were also found (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 581). Late Helladic animal and human figurines were also recovered (*Ibid.*, p. 582). Analysis of the ceramics from trench Z showed materials dating to between the end of the Neolithic and

part of the area of intense burning (Z3) from 10th century to the Archaic and Classical periods (*Ibid.*, p. 581). The significant discovery of a large quantity of Mycenaean pottery on the ash altar may not only help identify a Mycenaean cult at the site, but it also demonstrates cult continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age (*Ibid.*, p. 591).

The American excavations in the altar area also recovered other types of votives: from the Late Bronze Age, terracotta figurines and a crystal seal; from the Iron Age, 40 miniatures bronze tripods, perhaps double axes, and fragments of tripods; from the Archaic period, lead crowns, probably from the seventh century and a miniature *kouros*, two iron skewers, and a knife; from between the Archaic and Classical periods, the hand of a small bronze statue holding a silver thunderbolt (similar to one found by Kourouniotis); and from the Classical period, lamps, fragments of glass vessels, stone tools, and 33 coins (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 615).

We here consider the coins found on the altar, their role as offerings, and the relationship between the image of Zeus Lykaios on the Arcadian League coins – the largest group of coins found – and their dedication on the altar of the god.

2. COINS FROM THE ALTAR OF ZEUS LYKAIOS, AND THE COINS OF THE ARCADIAN LEAGUE



Fig. 4– Sixth and fifth centuries silver coins found by Kourouniotis in the temenos: The Arcadian League (1 and 2), Argos (3) and Aegina (4) (Kourouniotis 1904, fig. 5)



Fig. 5 – Fifth and fourth centuries BC silver coins found by the American excavations on the altar: The Arcadian League (116), Elis (117) and Mantinea (118) (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, nos. 116, 117, 118)

Kourouniotis was the first to find coins in the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion: two silver coins of the fifth century next to the temenos of Zeus Lykaios, one of the Arcadian League and one of Argos (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 577). Next to the bases of two columns in the temenos, he found two more coins: one of the Arcadian League and one of Aegina, as well as a two-headed bronze snake, a bronze greave with a fifth century inscription, and ten engraved rings (fig. 4) (*Ibid.*, p. 578).

The report of the recent American archaeological excavations lists 33 coins, most from the altar area: 32 from trench Z and one from trench ZZ (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 622). We, however, counted only 32 coins. They came from mixed layers throughout the altar, and date from the sixth to the fourth centuries (*Ibid.*, p. 622). From the altar, we have 12 coins of the Arcadian League (three of which from the backfill of Kourouniotis' trench) (*Ibid.*, p. 622); six of Aegina; two of Elis; four of Mantinea; three of Sicyon; and one each of Corinth, Phocis, Delphi, Phokaia, Thebes and Argos (fig. 5) (*Ibid.*, p. 622). Romano & Voyatzis call attention to the fact the more than eleven coins were found in the lower sanctuary, the area used for athletic competitions. These results await publication (*Ibid.*, p. 622, fn. 33).

Although there are coins from outside Arcadia, most coins from the main sacred area are fifth century Arcadian League coinage, 12 of which from the altar area (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 577 and 626). These are the first coins struck in the name of the Arcadians: ARKAΔIKON. They carry an obverse image of Zeus



Fig. 6 – Silver hemidrachm of Arcadian League (Tegea mint), c.460-450.

Obverse: Zeus enthroned right, holding scepter in his left hand and with eagle on his right hand. Reverse: head of Callisto, three-quarter facing to right, her hair bound with a taenia, APKA/ΔΙΚΟΝ retrograde around (Walker 2006, no. 1713)

enthroned, and on the reverse the ethnic and a female head, interpreted as a female deity of regional importance: Artemis, Despoina or Callisto^[2] (fig. 6). There is an extensive debate about the chronology and function of the coinage. The Arcadian League was formed in the fifth century, as a reaction to the expansion of Sparta in the region (Williams 1965, p. 3). Opinion divides between two positions: some see a strictly religious^[3] function for this coinage, relating it to the Mount Lykaion sanctuary of Zeus; while others see minting for military payments by an alliance or league^[4]. In either case, recent scholarship has regarded these coins – because of the image of Zeus Lykaios, a deity with strong regional appeal – as unique evidence for a period of special importance of an Arcadian ethnic identity (Jost 1985, p. 184; Nielsen 1999, p. 27 and 44; Psoma 1999, p. 81; Roy 2009, p. 59).

E. Curtius seems to have been the first to identify the obverse type of Zeus enthroned, used on all Arcadian series, as the image of Zeus Lykaios, which, it seems, he based on the regional importance of the Mount Lykaion sanctuary as the main regional centre of worship of the god at the time of the coinage (*apud* Williams 1965, p. 33). Only later, in the twentieth century, did G. Mylonas establish an iconographic criterion that confirmed this attribution: the presence of the eagle in Zeus' iconography is proper to the sanctuary on Mount Lykaion (*apud* Jost 1985, p. 183). While the true function of these coins is much discussed, it is unanimously agreed that, in using the image of Zeus, the Arcadians wished to allude to the worship on Mount Lykaion of the god of their main regional cult (Kraay 1976, p. 97; Nielsen, 1999, p. 36 and 59; Psoma 1999, p. 88).

The preponderance of Arcadian League coins in the dedications, especially on the altar, shows that they served as votive offerings to Zeus Lykaios. This does not, however mean that the coins were minted specifically for this purpose. Pilgrims also dedicated coins from other places, that had had been made with an economic function, on the altar of the god. In our view, there was, as well as the religious character of the use of the image of Zeus on the Arcadian coins, a further religious connection between these coins and the sanctuary, when they were dedicated in the temenos area of the sanctuary on the mountain top, on the god's altar itself.

^[2] For an identification of Artemis, and not Despoina, see Williams 1965, p. 33; and Psoma 1999, p. 88 and 89. In favour of an identification with Callisto, see Nielsen 1999, p. 32; Walker 2006, p. 334; and Laky 2016, p. 459.

^[3] The first to propose a religious and agonistic character for the coins of the Arcadians were E. Curtius and W.M. Leake. Curtius associated it with the Mount Lykaion sanctuary of Zeus, and Leake with the Lykaian games, on the assumption the issuing authority was Lykossoura (*apud* Williams 1965, p. vii). Babelon accepted Imhoof-Blumer's theory that Heraia made these, adding that Heraia would have presided over the Lykaian games (*apud* Williams 1965, p. viii). Many accepted this attribution, including B.V. Head (Head 1963, p. 444; Jost 1985, p. 183-184; *apud* Williams 1965, p. viii). T. H. Nielsen believes that the Lykaia – the festival and games in honour of Zeus Lykaios – was the most likely occasion for minting these coins (*apud* Psoma 1999, p. 87).

^[4] Williams seems to have been the first to propose that these coins were struck by a confederation or league during the fifth century. This guided his study of these series (Williams 1965, p. 3). According to Psoma, following C. Kraay, "the mint of a large number of triobols may be linked to the payment of Arcadian mercenary soldiers" (Kraay 1976, p. 98; Psoma 1999, p. 94).

3. COINS AS OFFERINGS

According to Morris, “votive offerings are defined as voluntary dedications to the gods, resulting not from prescribed rites or rituals in the calendar, but as individual or community votes in certain circumstances, generally of anxiety, transition, and realization” (Morris 2012, p. 1564). “Dedications consisted on renouncing and long-term symbolic investment on the divine, in hope of good things to come. It differs from sacrifice, which implies destruction; through the deposit of a perceptible object in a sanctuary, it is lost and becomes eternal” (Morris 2012, p. 1564).

On the personal level of prayer, votive offerings emphasize transactional relations with the gods (Morris 2012, p. 1564). The variety of votive objects was enormous, and depended on the occasion, and on the function of the divinity (Morris 2012, p. 1565; Murgan 2014, p. 66). Coins, as objects of dedication, “were among the objects that originally served other purposes – jewels, spoils of war, tripods –, possessed intrinsic value and could have been of personal use before being deposited” (Kindt 2012, p. 64; Murgan 2014, p. 66). Like other kinds of valuable metal objects, coins can tell us something about a pilgrim’s devotion to the god and his sanctuary. Kourouniotis raises the question of the relationship between devotion and the type of offerings dedicated in a remote sanctuary, such as Mount Lykaion. People, he felt, would most often offer low value objects as a sign of devotion in their cult practice, with no particular reason beyond habitual prayer and devotion. However, “those who rarely visited the sanctuary at Mount Lykaion had an important reason to do so, and had to offer something more precious than common clay figurines – bronze statuettes and other objects of metal, such as coins, were certainly more precious than the more common offerings of the sanctuary” (Kourouniotis 1904, p. 179).

The dedication of coins and other objects of value in sanctuaries was a widespread practice throughout the Greek world. The best known examples are the bronze spits from the Argive Heraion, and the electrum coins from the foundations of the Ephesian Artemision. Pafford reminds us that dedicated coins were also used for payment of sanctuary taxes (Pafford 2013, p. 56-57). Inscriptions regarding the financial management of sanctuaries in Kos during the Hellenistic period, describe in detail the use of coins offered, which went into the god’s treasury, for the maintenance of the sanctuary, as part of this tangible and permanent dedication (Pafford 2013, p. 56-57).

The dedication of coins on an altar, as in the Mount Lykaion sanctuary, seems to have had other characteristics, and remaining there for centuries along with other kinds of votive offerings, as immobilized objects of value. “The objects given to the gods enter a long-term sphere, sometimes of ritually performed conversion” (Murgan 2014, p. 73). Once “sacrificed”, they had to remain in context and could not be removed unless this restriction was overruled by a public decision or by additional sacrifices (Murgan 2014, p. 73). In this sense, the coins deposited on the altar of Zeus Lykaios lost their monetary value: from dedication onward, they turned from money to a long-term request to the deity. Kurke explains this act of demonetization with reference to the dedication of iron spits in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (Herodotus 2, 135) (Kurke 1999, p. 223-224). Coins and other valuable objects – which entered into the consecrated sphere through sacrifice – could regain their monetary function once they left this sphere, for example, to pay for sanctuary repairs (Murgan 2014, p. 74). This did not happen with the coins dedicated on the temenos and especially those on the Mount Lykaion altar of Zeus, where they stayed until recovered by archaeologists. They were not retrieved on Antiquity by the sanctuary administration, to be put into a possible treasury of Zeus, of which we anyway know nothing.

What then were the reasons for the dedication of these coins, and more particularly the coins of the Arcadians, as votive offerings, and what was the meaning of dedicating coins with images of Zeus Lykaios on the altar of the sanctuary of the god himself?

4. SOME CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE DEDICATION OF COINS ON THE ALTAR OF ZEUS AT MOUNT LYKAION

4.1. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ARCADIAN IN THE SANCTUARY IN THE 5TH CENTURY BC

As noted, are the most frequently found coins in the sanctuary are Arkadian. We believe this reflects the facts that Arcadians were the largest group visiting the Mount Lykaion sanctuary, and that these coins were part of the only current emission in the region in the fifth century. We cannot, however, ignore the possibility that coins of other origins could also be dedicated by Arcadians, or Arcadian coins dedicated by pilgrims from elsewhere, even if Arcadians are the best attested archeologically, textually and epigraphically^[5]. We will, however, concentrate on the dedication of Arcadian coins bearing the images of Zeus Lykaios on his altar.

4.2. THE IMAGE OF ZEUS LYKAIOS ON THE ARCADIAN COINS DEDICATED ON THE ALTAR

The frequency of dedication of these coins is proof that Arcadians related the coin image of Zeus Lykaios to his sanctuary and his cult. Such a correspondence between the image on a dedicated coin and the god worshiped at the altar is not easily demonstrated in the Greek world, though it seems probably that the donor would have recognized that he was offering an object with an image of the tutelary deity of the sanctuary. This, in our view, makes the offering of an object with the representation of the god worshipped – even a coin – to a certain degree equivalent to the dedication of a votive statuette of the god, like those of Zeus Keraunios of the Archaic and Classical periods, found on Mount Lykaion itself, at Olympia and at Dodona (figs. 7 & 8). As Murgan notes, “coins and their images could hold a particular relevance (besides the offering of an object of personal value), connecting the donor to a target deity, as in the case of the terracotta or bronze figurines made of models produced on a large scale” (Murgan 2014, p. 66).

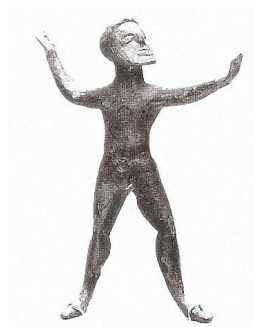


Fig. 7 – Bronze statuette of Zeus Keraunios, of the first half of the fifth century, from Mount Lykaion. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (LIMC VIII, fig. 62a)



Fig. 8 – Bronze statuette of Zeus Keraunios, c. 480, from Olympia. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, (LIMC VIII, fig. 29e)

[5] Two *stelae* with inscriptions, from one of the rooms on the west side of the *xenon* in the lower sanctuary (IG V/2 449-550), provide important information about the religious festival, such as the priests' names and the events in which athletes in the Lykaia were victorious, as well as their origins.

4.3. SOLDIERS AS POSSIBLE DONORS OF THE COINS DEDICATED ON THE ALTAR OF ZEUS LYKAIOS

Unlike votive statuettes, which – though they had an intrinsic value because of the bronze they were made of – were manufactured exclusively as votives, coins also had, in addition to the intrinsic value of the metal, in this case silver, a personal use-value for the donor. Before they entered the ritual sphere of consecration, the coins had had other day-to-day roles in exchange and as payment for services, including as the wages of mercenary soldiers, a known use for these coins. This raises the question of the sort of pilgrims who dedicated the coins. This is very difficult to determine, but some types of votive objects, found with the coins, may give us an indication.

One particular offering that Kourouniotis found in the temenos, of the same period and associated to the Arcadian League coins, shows that soldiers were donors to the sanctuary. It is the fifth century bronze greave, part of a soldier's armor, which was dedicated on the temenos with the inscription "Eutelidas dedicates to Zeus Lykaios and Athena" (*IG V/2*, line 551)^[6] (fig. 9) (Kourouniotis 1904, p. 210-211). Psoma and Kraay interpret the coins of the Arcadian League that circulated in the region during the fifth century, as conceived and initially used for military payment (Kraay 1976, p. 98; Psoma 1999, p. 94). It seems possible that the coins were dedicated in the sanctuary by soldiers, as the greave seems to suggest.

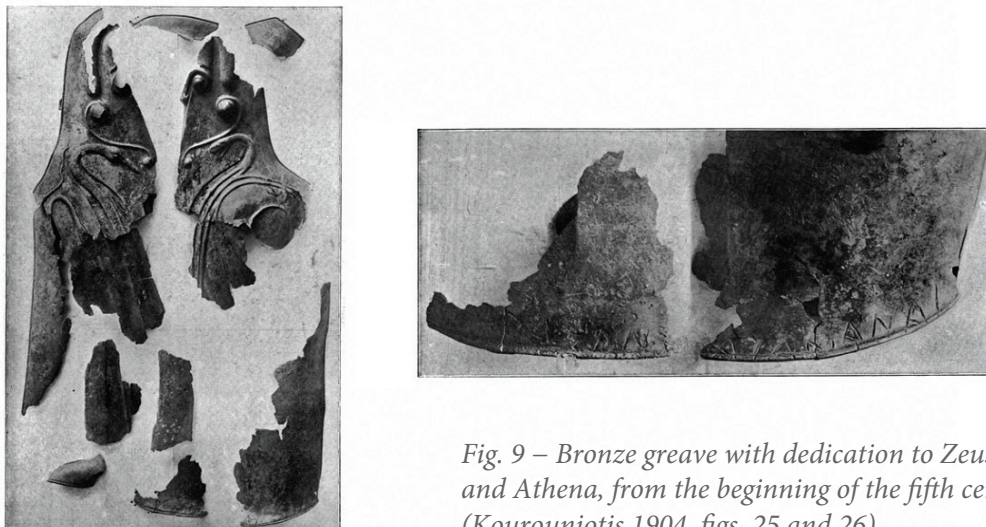


Fig. 9 – Bronze greave with dedication to Zeus Lykaios and Athena, from the beginning of the fifth century (Kourouniotis 1904, figs. 25 and 26)

In our view, the dedication of the bronze greave relates to the warrior aspect of Zeus Lykaios, which is not often mentioned among the roles attributed to him, that had to do, for example, with the atmosphere and the sky. The greave is dedicated not only to Zeus, whose military aspect is one of the main characteristics of his Greek cult, but also to Athena, one of the main deities of the Greek pantheon associated with war. While there is no direct literary or archaeological evidence that associates the Mount Lykaion cult of Zeus with war to the same degree as at Olympia, there is material and literary evidence that may provide some indication of the Zeus Lykaios' warrior role. We think that as early the Archaic period this was a characteristic of the god in the Mount Lykaion cult, as shown by the dedication

^[6] Although the inscription is incomplete and only the part that refers to Athena remains, Kourouniotis argues that the offering was dedicated to both the goddess and Zeus Lykaios (Kourouniotis 1904, p. 211). We agree, because it was dedicated in the temenos of Zeus Lykaios, and the cult association of Zeus and Athena was common in the Greek world.

of the seventh century statuettes of Zeus Keraunios,^[7] the bronze greave, and the fact that Polybios (4.33.2-9) and Pausanias (IV, 22.7) say that the Arcadians or Messenians sought the intervention of Zeus Lykaios in the war against the Spartans^[8]. The agonistic aspect of Zeus Lykaios, which probably dates back to the Archaic period, is also related to Zeus, warlike aspect^[9]. The emergence of these two aspects in the cult of Zeus Lykaios in the Archaic and Classical periods, drew on both aspects.

Despite Zeus Lykaios' military aspect, it is hard to be certain that soldiers were the only or the main donors of these coins to Zeus Lykaios because, in our current stage of knowledge, the spoils of war do not seem to be among the most frequent votive objects dedicated to the god in the sanctuary. The objects dated to the Archaic and Classical periods are in fact very heterogeneous. Along the ceramics of many periods, there are tripods from the Iron Age and coins, both Arcadian, and of other origins.

4.4. ZEUS LYKAIOS AND THE PAN-ARCADIAN IDENTITY BEHIND THE DEDICATION OF ARCADIAN COINS ON THE ALTAR OF THE SANCTUARY ON MOUNT LYKAION

While it is not possible to determine the profile of the pilgrims responsible for the dedications, nor their individual intentions, the main aspects of the cult during the fifth century can at least provide some clues as to their meaning. Well before the Archaic and Classical periods, the celestial and atmospheric aspects of the cult of Zeus Lykaios must have predominated^[10], and attracted the region's pastoralists, as was the case in Olympia during the Iron Age. During the fifth century, the regional importance of the god's cult grew, and started to have meaning in Arcadian identity, as shown by the greater number of pilgrims and participants from this region in the Lykaia coming^[11].

[7] Bronze statuettes of Zeus Keraunios were dedicated in interstate sanctuaries of Zeus between the Archaic and Classical periods, including on Mount Lykaion, Olympia and Dodona. Zeus stands and throws a thunderbolt with his right hand, and may or may not carry the eagle on his left arm, which is common in stone sculptures, on painted pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods, and coins of the Classical period. This representation of Zeus is as a warrior imposing order on chaos, freeing the cosmos from violence and disorder, as described in some ancient texts, for example, Hesiod in *Theogony* (853-858), where Zeus Keraunios is associated with Titanomachia (Laky 2016, p. 392-393). Images of Zeus Keraunios fighting against Typhoeus, in reliefs on sixth century bronze shield armbands that were dedicated to the god in Olympia, confirm this connection.

[8] The passages in Polybios and Pausanias were refer to a stone pillar erected in the sacred area of Zeus Lykaios by the Arcadians (according to Pausanias) or by the Messenians (according to Polybios) after the death of the Arcadian king Aristocrates, because of his betrayal of the Messenian king Aristomenes during an Arcadian and Messenian secret assault on Sparta. According to Polybios, the killing of the Arcadian king for treason was described on the pillar, perhaps as an act of purification, in order to seek the protection by Zeus of all Arcadia (Laky 2016, p. 137).

[9] The ancient texts provide evidence regarding a perceived relationship between war and athletics. In Homer, athletic disputes and battles are often combined. Obvious examples include the funeral games for Patroclus in the *Iliad*, and the archery contest that ends in mortal combat in the *Odyssey*. Pindar (*Isthmian Odes* 1.51-53) declares that victors at war and athletes receive the same awards, and compliments victors in Homeric and elegiac language, usually reserved for the praise of warriors (Barringer 2005, p. 228-229).

[10] Jost 1985, p. 268 and Zolotnikova 2005, p. 112.

[11] Scholars agree that the cult of Zeus Lykaios played a prominent role in articulating Arcadian ethnic identity during the fifth century, when it acquired real political importance, as shown mainly by the coins minted in the name of the Arcadians, with their images of Zeus and Callisto (Morgan 2003, p. 39; Nielsen 1999, p. 27). Nielsen suggests that "the connection between Arcadian ethnic identity and the cult of Zeus Lykaios was emphasized by the participation of individuals from other Greek ethnic groups in the Lykaian games"

Because of this character of the cult of Zeus Lykaios, already predominant during the fifth century, we may interpret the offering of these Arcadian coins as requests for the protection by this god of their group identity, with a very important military aspect, something particularly sought after during the fifth century. The coins, with their image of the god, may have served as tangible symbols of the relationship between the Arcadian identity and the cult of Zeus Lykaios, and to affirm this group identity, both internally and externally. In their turn, the Arcadian coins influenced the Arcadians, to the point of being given as dedications to the protector of the Arcadians, Zeus Lykaios, in his temenos, and on the mountain-top altar.

It is difficult to decide whether the coins – with their pan-Arcadian value – were dedicated by Arcadian mercenary soldiers alone, so offering part of their wages to the god, but this possibility cannot be ignored. It seems more probable, however, that these coins had wide meaning for all inhabitants of the region, and could have been dedicated by any Arcadian – and even by outsiders – who were devoted to a god that had begun to assume a Panhellenic character, by the fifth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My doctoral thesis considered the coins from the altar of Zeus Lykaios in the context of the cult of Zeus and the ancient Greek city, on the basis of a study of sanctuary documentation associated with coin images of the god (Laky 2016). This would not have been possible without the support of my doctoral supervisors, Professors Beatriz Florenzano (University of Sao Paulo) and Alikí Moustaka (University of Thessaloniki). I also thank Professor David Gilman Romano (University of Arizona, director of the American excavations on Mount Lykaion) who kindly and patiently took me to this main sanctuary of the ancient Arcadians in July 2014, and explained it to me in detail. I dedicate this paper to these three scholars. My doctoral research was supported by FAPESP (the São Paulo Research Foundation).

(Nielsen 1999, p. 31-32). Two *stelae* found at the Kato Kambos agonistic complex on Mount Lykaion carry inscriptions with the names of athletes victorious in the Lykaia, which show that the regional Arcadian ethnic, Arkas, was used with the names of athletes from the region, to distinguish them from athletes from elsewhere (Nielsen 1999, p. 28; 2013, p. 236). In literary sources, we also find evidence of the relationship between the cult of Zeus Lykaios and Arcadian identity, as when Pindar refers to Zeus Lykaios' dominance over Arcadia (*Olympian Odes* 13.105-110).

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COINS FROM THE PELOPONNESIAN SANCTUARY OF ZEUS ON MT. LYKAION, ARCADIA

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Abstract – Located high in the Arcadian mountains overlooking ancient Megalopolis and northwest Arcadia as well as the districts of Messenia and Elis, the sanctuary is well known for its impressive open-air ash altar and the Lykaia, the religious and athletic games held in honour of Zeus. The pan-Arcadian character of the cult and the Panhellenic reputation of the games are reflected on the coin finds of the site excavated at the turn of the 20th century by the

Archaeological Society at Athens and since 2004 in the context of the Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project. This preliminary study is based on the hitherto published numismatic material and the unpublished coins excavated recently by the Greek team of the aforementioned project. It aspires to explore and discuss the contribution of the coin finds to the ongoing study of the enduring life of the sanctuary..

Keywords: Arcadia – Lykaion – Zeus – altar – coins

Résumé – Situé dans les montagnes arcadiennes et dominant l'ancienne Mégalopolis et le nord-ouest de l'Arcadie ainsi que les districts de Messénie et d'Élis, le sanctuaire est connu pour son impressionnant autel de cendres en plein air et pour les Lykaia, des jeux religieux et athlétiques organisés en l'honneur de Zeus. Le caractère panarcadien du culte et la réputation panhellénique de ces jeux se reflètent dans les monnaies trouvées sur le site, fouillé au début du XX^e siècle par

la Société archéologique d'Athènes et, depuis 2004, dans le cadre du projet de fouilles et de prospection du Mont Lykaion. Cette étude préliminaire est basée sur le matériel numismatique publié jusqu'à présent et sur les pièces inédites récemment mises au jour par l'équipe grecque du projet susmentionné. Son objectif est d'explorer et de discuter l'apport des trouvailles monétaires à l'étude de la vie du sanctuaire.

Mots clés : Arcadie – Lykaion – Zeus – autel – monnaies

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Fig. 1 – The location of Mt. Lykaion concerning other significant archaeological sites of the Peloponnese. T. Christofilou & E. Argyropoulou after a map by E. Gaba, Wikimedia Commons

AT THE BORDERS OF THE MODERN PREFECTURES OF ARCADIA, Messenia and Elis, defining the Megalopolis basin to the west, Mt. Lykaion was known among the Arcadians as “Olympus” or “Sacred Peak” (Pausanias 8.38.2) (fig. 1). The local tradition places here, within the territory of ancient Parrhasia, instead of the island of Crete, the land where Zeus was born and raised, an account repeated by the third century BC poet Callimachus in his *Hymn to Zeus* (1.4-14). Indicative of the mountain’s sacredness is the establishment of several widely respected religious sanctuaries of local (Parrhasian) and Arcadian character: of Despoina at Lykosoura, in its southeastern foothills, of Apollo Parrhasios on the east side, of Pan on its south slopes above the modern village of Neda (former Berekla), and of Zeus Lykaios on the summit of Prophetes Elias at an altitude of 1382 m, paired with a second one of Pan a few metres lower.

1. THE SITE

The sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios is well known for its imposing open-air ash altar, “a mound of earth” from where “most of the Peloponnese can be seen” (Pausanias 8.38.7). In fact, to the east, the altar overlooks Mt. Mainalon and to the north, the mountains of Achaia. To the west, it affords great views of the famous Temple of Apollo Epikourios located on Mt. Kotilion and of the coast of the Ionian Sea, while to the south, the mountain peaks of Ithome and Taygetos and the gulf of Messene are visible. The area east of the altar is identified with the *temenos*, an *abaton*, where a terrible punishment awaited those, humans or beasts, who disrespected the ban (Pausanias 8.38.6). On the way from the upper to the lower level of the sanctuary, the remains of the Agno fountain, named after one of the nymphs that reared Zeus, have been excavated. This sacred spring was associated with rainwater and accommodated a specific ritual performed in periods of drought (Pausanias 8.38.3). Lower, at an altitude of 1200 m lies the valley of Kato Kambos where Pan was worshipped. The secular sector of the sanctuary is also located there, the so-called Lower Sanctuary, comprising mainly edifices related to the *Lykaia* festival^[1].

The archaeological finds unearthed so far date the activity at the upper level of the sanctuary (altar-*temenos*) from the Final Neolithic period through the Roman period (Romano & Voyatzis 2014; Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2023, p. 92). At the lower sanctuary, the earliest evidence date to the 7th c. BC. In the second quarter of the 4th c., a phase of intensive activity is recorded, which lasted until the 1st c. BC. Parts of the site were in use also during the Byzantine period (Romano & Voyatzis 2015).

The *eortothetis*, the mythological founder of the cult and the athletic games, was Lykaon, the first Arcadian king, son of Pelasgos and grandfather of Arkas, after whom the land and the people were named (Pausanias 8.2.1). According to the myth, Lykaon also initiated the ritual of human sacrifice. In fact, Theophrastus in his work *Περί ἐνσέβειας*, as it was saved by Porphyry (*De l’abstinence* 2.27.2), reports that this happened during the *Lykaia*^[2]. The ritual is also mentioned by Pausanias, who, however, avoids giving further information since the sacrifice on the altar was practised in secret (8.38.7).

[1] *Lykaia* was the religious and athletic festival held maybe every four years in honour of Zeus Lykaios. The games conducted at the stadium and the hippodrome at the Lower Sanctuary earned a pan-Arcadian and Panhellenic reputation. For an overview of the ancient literary sources see Jost 2014.

[2] The issue of human sacrifices and lycanthropy at Mt. Lykaion has been much debated by modern scholars due, partly, to the lack of relevant archaeological evidence. For an overview of the subject including relative bibliography see Jost 2002 & 2005.

The lack of direct evidence leaves the issue of the sanctuary's administration in early historical times unresolved. Since Mt. Lykaion lies within the territory of the Parrhasians, their *ethnos* would likely have held authority over the site (Roy 2013, p. 29 & 41-42; Jost 2014, p. 27)^[3]. Karapanagiotou (forthcoming) takes the discussion a step further by attributing to Trapezous, one of the Parrhasian *poleis*, a key role in the management of the sanctuary^[4]. After its foundation in the 360s BC, Megalopolis, either as the capital of the Arcadian Confederacy or as a *polis*, is reported as the administrator of the cult and the games on Mt. Lykaion (Roy 2013, p. 31).

As for the recent history of the site, the archaeological investigation began at the turn of the 20th century by Kontopoulos and Kourouniotis under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens (Kontopoulos 1898; Kourouniotis 1904 & 1909). Much later, in the late 90s, the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Laconia and Arcadia carried out a brief excavation whose results remain unpublished. Since 2004 the *Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Program* have been conducting a multidisciplinary study of both districts of the sanctuary [Romano & Voyatzis 2010, 2014, 2015 & 2021; 2022; Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2022; 2023].

2. THE COINS

During this enduring survey at the site, a significant number of coins have been unearthed. This paper intends to introduce a preliminary “numismatic map” in an attempt to explore the information coins can give regarding the life of this unique in many ways sanctuary of Zeus. Three are the sources of the data: a) the publications of Kourouniotis (1904 & 1909), b) the reports of the American team on the excavation and survey from 2006 to 2010 (Romano & Voyatzis 2014 & 2015) and c) the unpublished coins excavated at the ash altar by the Greek team between 2017 and 2019. The sample consists of 62 coins, generally very well preserved, some of which represent very rare types^[5]. The archaeological context of the numismatic material will also be presented. The results of the comprehensive study of all the excavated finds will be published after the completion of the Program. More specifically:

2.1. THE ASH ALTAR

The altar covers the relatively flat circular surface of the peak, an area of 706 m² which consists of ashy, black soil mixed with stones. On the northeast side, a low construction of long, flat slabs with a north-to-south orientation has been partly uncovered. Perhaps it was used for the deposition of offerings and defined the main area of worship, particularly during the Mycenaean period and the Early Iron Age. In 2016 a human burial, belonging to an adolescent male was excavated in the centre of the altar. Within the black layer a great variety of finds have been unearthed, including burnt and unburnt animal bones, pottery sherds mainly of drinking vessels and miniatures, lamp fragments, tiles, terracotta human and animal figurines, a lead miniature Kouros, small lead wreaths, various bronze (rings, miniature tripod cauldrons) and iron (knives, spit, key, double axes) objects, fragments of coloured glass and a seal stone. The preliminary study of the material, dating from the Late

[3] The Parrhasians, along with the Mainalians and the Kynourians, were one of the Arcadian “subethnic federations” comprising several settlements that functioned as *poleis* (Nielsen 2015, p. 256-257).

[4] This recently excavated fortified urban centre lying to the northeast of Mt. Lykaion, flourished during the 5th and 4th c. BC. According to the excavator it developed into the political and administrative centre of the Parrhasian state after a *synoikism* (Karapanagiotou 2005 & 2010).

[5] An unspecified number of coins is mentioned by Kourouniotis (1909) while digging in the “Xenon” area.

Neolithic down to the Roman period, suggests that the practice of *thysia*, the ritual of animal sacrifice, had begun already in the 16th and 15th c. BC. In particular, the remarkable variety of Mycenaean pottery offered at the altar may hint at a wider regional or “even early Panhellenic” character of the altar during the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age [Romano & Voyatzis 2014; 2021; Voyatzis 2019; Karapanagiotou 2019; Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2023].

This long list of finds is completed by numerous coins. Regarding their find contexts, they have been collected from generally disturbed layers. For instance, in older trial trenches coins were recovered close to the bedrock while coins discovered in a newly excavated trench came from the upper, near-surface layers^[6]. Except for the coins, various finds dating from prehistoric to Roman times were uncovered. In the lower strata, dating possibly up to the 6th c. BC, metal offerings such as miniature tripod cauldrons and iron tools resembling spits were unearthed suggesting perhaps a pre-monetary use of these objects (Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 99; Karapanagiotou forthcoming).

The numismatic group from the altar consists of 49 specimens, mostly silver (fig. 2). Amongst them there are staters, triobols and obols as well as smaller denominations, a hemiobol and a *tritetetartemorio*, all of the Aeginetan weight standard. Their issue date ranges from the second half of the 6th to the end of the 4th c. BC. As for their provenance, it is the Aeginetan and Peloponnesian mints that are mainly represented, along with single issues from Central Greece and the distant Phokaia in Asia Minor (fig. 3).

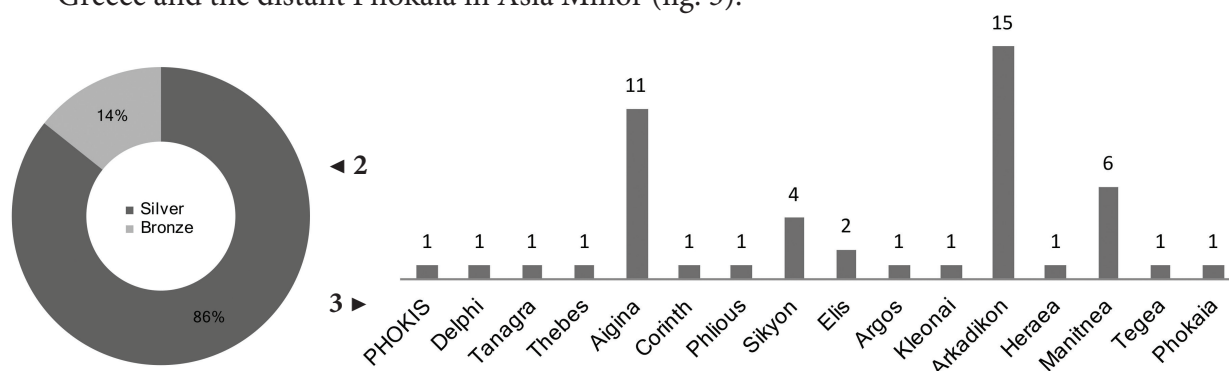


Fig. 2 – Coins from the altar. Classification according to the material

Fig. 3 – Coins from the altar. The number of coins per polis or area

The presence of the Aeginetan turtles is of no surprise since it was the common currency in the Peloponnese in the early phases of minting. Specifically, the staters were widely circulating in the region until c. 370 BC, when the Peloponnesian cities started striking their own. Regarding our group, which consists entirely of staters, two remarks could be made. The first concerns the worn surface of the coins, which may suggest long use after their issue date and before ending up on the altar. The coin presented in figure 4 is an example^[7]. The second point concerns the fact that they were all struck before the Persian Wars. This may be of some interest concerning the coins bearing the legend APKAΔIKON, which probably appeared a little later.

^[6] The trench measuring 3,40 x 2 m was excavated on the west side of the altar and reached the bedrock at 0,90 m.

^[7] Pan-Arcadian Archaeological Museum of Tripoli (P.A.M.T.), cat. n. 10593. Diameter: 19,03 mm. Weight: 12,23 g (Hoover 2010, p. 106, n. 429).



Fig. 4 – Aeginetan stater
(P.A.M.T. cat. n. 10593)
(Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia)



Fig. 5 – Triobol with the legend APKAΔΙΚΟΝ
(P.A.M.T. cat. n. 10149)
(Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia)

The identity of the minting authority/ies of the APKAΔΙΚΟΝ coinage and its/their possible connection to the sanctuary itself is still open to argument (Williams 1965; Nielsen 1996, p. 56-61; Psoma 1999; forthcoming; Roy 2013, p. 31-40; Nielsen 2013, p. 236-240). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy here that this coinage is the most frequently represented in the group (15 coins) (Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2023, p. 95) (fig. 5)^[8]. Even if such a rate of recurrence should not be surprising, taking into account that coins with the legend APKAΔΙΚΟΝ were the most abundant in mid-fifth century Peloponnese (Kraay 1976, p. 98), in any case, it reflects the undoubtedly pan-Arcadian character of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios.

The next most substantial group is the Mantinean with 6 coins (fig. 6) (Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2023, p. 94)^[9]. Specimens that both precede and follow chronologically the APKAΔΙΚΟΝ coinage may reflect the enduring influence of the *polis* of Mantinea over the Parrhasian territory and by extension perhaps also over the sanctuary, in particular during the 5th c. BC. The latter is in any case confirmed by literary sources (Thucydides 5.33.1-3).



Fig. 6 – Mantinean hemiobol
(P.A.M.T. cat. n. 9946)
(Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia)



Fig. 7 – Obol from Heraea
(P.A.M.T. cat. n. 10592)
(Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia)

Two other Arcadian *poleis*, Heraea and Tegea, are also represented by single issues. Both of these coins date to the late fifth-early fourth century BC after the APKAΔΙΚΟΝ coinage ceased circulating. This is very interesting regarding the Heraean coin since it belongs to the rare type of Pan/female head that resembles stylistically the last issue of the APKAΔΙΚΟΝ coinage (fig. 7) (Psoma 1999, p. 86-87)^[10]. The Tegean coin represents the early stages of the local numismatic production. It features the head of Athena Alea paired with the initial T (fig. 8) (Karapanagiotou *et al.* 2023, p. 93), possibly in an attempt to reinforce local identity during a period of tension with Sparta^[11]. Even though the presence of a coin from Tegea,

[8] P.A.M.T., cat. n. 10149. Diameter: 12 mm. Weight: 2,88 g (Williams 1965, p. 61, pl. XII, n. 289).

[9] P.A.M.T., cat. n. 9946. Diameter: 6 mm. Weight: 0,57 g (BCD *Peloponnesos*, n. 1469).

[10] P.A.M.T., cat. n. 10592. Diameter: 11,26 mm. Weight: 0,89 g.

[11] P.A.M.T., cat. n. 9947. Diameter: 3 mm. Weight: 0,97 g (SNG *Cop.* 290; Hoover 2011, p. 268, n. 1048-1050).



Fig. 8 – Obol from Tegea
(P.A.M.T. cat. n. 9947)
(Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia)

one of the greatest *poleis* of the region, is of no surprise, its unique occurrence so far does not elucidate its potential role in the life of the sanctuary.

The silver and bronze coins from Argos, Phlious, Elis, Kleonai, Sicyon and Corinth confirm the broad circulation of these issues in Arcadia, as the recent excavations of Mantinea, Orchomenos and Pallantion have demonstrated (Fritzilas 2014, p. 80-83; Karapanagiotou 2015, p. 32-36; Fritzilas & Grigorakakis 2018; Argyropoulou & Aranitou 2021). Furthermore, the coins from central Greece should be associated with the presence of the Thebans under general Epaminondas, whose role was decisive in the foundation of the Arcadian Confederacy after 370 BC. Notably, in the case of Tanagra, coins of the same type as those unearthed in Mt. Lykaion have also been found in the sanctuaries of Zeus at Nemea and of Asclepius at Epidaurus (Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 82; Klonizaki 2018).

No particular relation is attested so far between the Parrhasians and Phokaieis. However, the appearance of the Phokaian coin in combination with the origin of *Lykaionikai*, victors of the games, listed in inscriptions (IG V.2 549 and 550) of the late 4th c. BC uncovered by Kourouniotis (1905), is indicative of the Panhellenic reputation of the sanctuary (fig. 9) (Jost 1985, p.183-185; Jost 2014, p. 26-27; Romano 2013, p. 184-188).

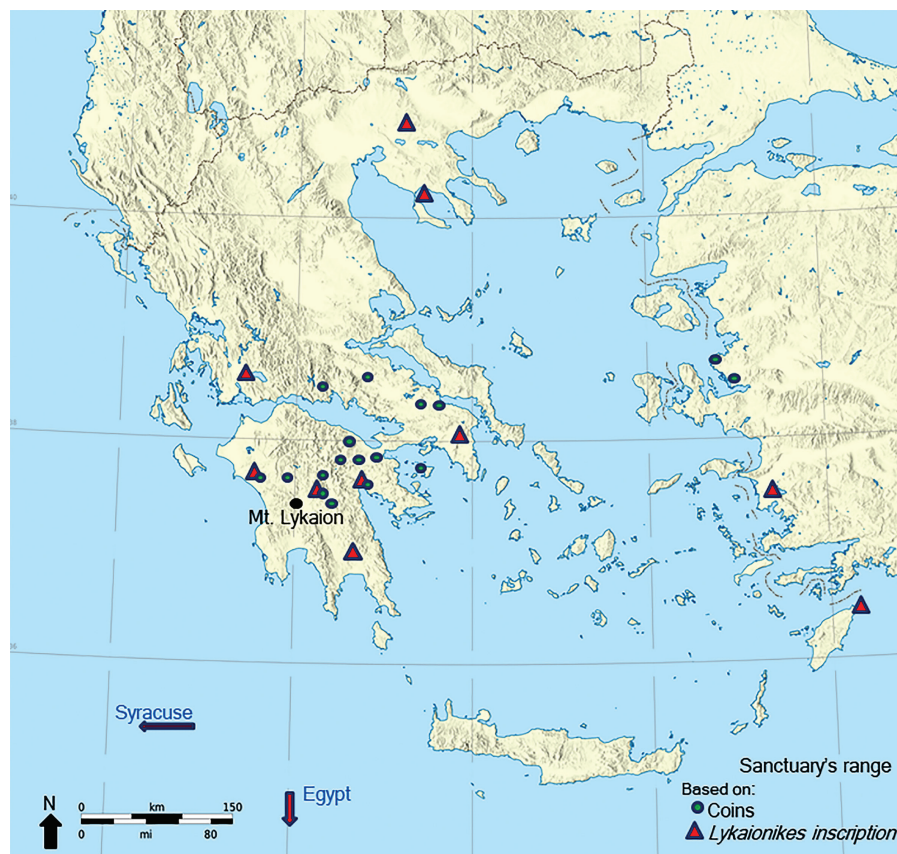


Fig. 9 – Map of Greece showing the provenance of the coins and the origin of the victors of Lykaion games as indicators of the sanctuary's reputation. T. Christofilou & E. Argyropoulou after a map by Fut. Perf., Wikimedia Commons

2.2. AREA OF THE TEMENOS

The flat area in the vicinity of the contemporary chapel of Prophetes Elias was identified by Kourouniotis (1904, p. 170-214) as the *temenos* of the sanctuary. On the east side of the sacred precinct, marking its entrance, there were two columns originally crowned with gilded eagles (Pausanias 8.38.7), of which only the bases are preserved. One of them was offered by the Messenians as an expression of gratitude to the Arcadians, who assisted them against the Spartans during the second Messenian War (Polybius 4.33). A low row of stones 120 m long defined the *temenos* to the south. The exact extent of the sacred area remains unknown partly because modern modifications have altered its ground surface.

The finds from this area, all revealed near the column bases, are significantly less numerous than the altar's but particularly significant as they included the earliest depiction of Zeus from the sanctuary, a bronze figurine of early 6th c. BC. However, this was not the only statuette of Zeus discovered. There were a few more of later dates, as well as some depicting Hermes and one of a runner. An inscribed bronze greave also stands out. Two silver coins of the 5th c. BC, one Argive and one with the legend ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ, were unearthed amongst these finds (Kourouniotis 1904, p. 173).

2.3. THE LOWER SANCTUARY

The edifices at the lower level, apart from the sanctuary of Pan that has not been located yet, served the secular life of the sanctuary relating to the organisational needs of the Lykaion festival (Kourouniotis 1909; Romano & Voyatzis 2015). Remnants of a stoa, seats, fountain house, administrative building/"Xenon", corridor, hippodrome, stadium, and bath facility have been excavated. It has been suggested that they are part of an extensive building program dating to the 4th c. BC, at the period of the foundation of the *Megali Polis*, when the sanctuary became the cult centre of the Arcadian Federation. Despite the transfer of the games to Megalopolis, parts of the sanctuary present continuous activity throughout the 1st c. BC.

The find categories correspond to the function of each edifice. Pottery sherds, mainly banqueting vessels, lamps, tiles, metal objects and tools, such as iron spits, nails, lead clamps and bronze slag, as well as a bone gaming piece are amongst them. Special reference should be made to the two already mentioned inscriptions listing the names of officials and victors related to the *Lykaia* games. They were both discovered inside the administrative building and their contents are unparalleled in many ways (Pretzler 2009, p. 93).

A limited number of only 10 coins has been reported so far from this part of the sanctuary. They are not surface finds and are all related to a structure. Their poor condition of preservation, as evidenced characteristically in the case of two unidentified silver specimens and some Roman types, is noteworthy. The rest of the group is composed of 4th c. BC bronze issues from Corinth of the typical Pegasus/Trident type (Romano & Voyatzis 2015, p. 226-227), one possibly from Mantinea (Romano & Voyatzis 2015, p. 214) and two of Macedonian kings (Romano & Voyatzis 2015, p. 243). The origin of the latter is not surprising. The Macedonian presence in Arcadia is historically attested and archaeologically confirmed (Argyropoulou & Aranitou 2021) and it is in this context that these coins should be placed.

The aforementioned Byzantine period evidence includes the remnants of a structure inside the administrative building and some tombs in the stoa (Romano & Voyatzis 2015, p. 263). The pottery of the Middle to Late Byzantine period and a bronze cross pendant is the most significant finds.

Regarding coins, many issues of the emperors Justinian I (527-565 AD) and Justine II (565-574 AD) were found (Kourouniotis 1909, p. 188).

3. DISCUSSION

Despite the fragmentary and often deficient available information, the coins discovered at both the upper and lower districts of the site allow us to make some interesting preliminary remarks regarding the religious and secular life of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios.

The first point concerns the coins from the altar and the *temenos*, which are considered a unity in the context of the present discussion. Unquestionably, they were among the votive offerings to Zeus. In any case, as Alroth (1988) suggests, the proximity of the dedicated object to the sacrifice environment reinforced the effectiveness of the offer, which may have concerned a request or may have acted as an expression of gratitude to the deity. Furthermore, the location of the specific sacred area, at a high altitude within an imposing landscape would evoke a sense of closeness to the god.

The use of coins as votive offerings was very common (Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 34-35) perhaps as a replacement for earlier bronze offerings. In the specific case of a burnt sacrifice, they would be placed there probably after the *thysia* and remained in god's possession (Ekroth 2017, p. 48). The same custom has been reported in the sanctuaries of Zeus at Nemea (Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 19, 34, 35), of Asclepius at Epidaurus (Klonizaki 2018) and Apollo near Kalapodi at Phocis (Barfoed 2018, p. 117-118). A common element all the sanctuaries share is that the majority of the dedicated coins date to the 5th c. BC. The difference lies in their number which at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios is significantly larger, possibly because the Upper Sanctuary is better preserved in comparison to the altars at the aforementioned sanctuaries.

The available data regarding other categories of finds dating to the Classical period is limited. Kourouniotis (1904) dates to the 5th and 4th c. the pottery (including fragments of roof tiles) he unearthed at the altar as well as some of the bronze offerings of the *temenos*. An interesting reference is made in the American report (Romano & Voyatzis 2014, p. 624) to the significant amount of terracotta roof tiles of the mid-fifth century that roofed perhaps one or two structures on the ash altar. Consequently, one could suggest that the coins constitute the main category of dedications during that period. This is understandable as coins serve simultaneously different needs of the pilgrims, some of whom travelled a long distance to Mt. Lykaion. In other words, a coin is an offering easy to be carried, valuable enough and expressive of the worshipper's civic identity. The latter is following the alteration recorded during the 5th c. to the material behaviour of the pilgrims in favour of less personal statements of identity (Morgan 2009, p. 149).

Furthermore, the number and the variety in the provenance of the offered coins verify the established reputation of the sanctuary and the *Lykaia* games since the 6th c. BC as the literary sources confirm (Simonide, in *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; Pindar, *Ol.* 9.95-96; 13.107-8; *Nem.* 10.48).

A comment should be made also for the coins with the legend APKAΔΙΚON that prevail in the group we study. Psoma (forthcoming) has recently related this coinage with the hegemonic role of Mantinea in the region and the military needs it meant to serve as soldiers' wages. Therefore, the dedicated coins could reflect military presence at the sanctuary during this turbulent period for Arcadia.

However, a coin has two sides. The economic aspect of a sanctuary's function is well attested (Dillon 1997; Lupu 2003, p. 329-332; Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 33-34). At Lykaion, the secret character of the sacrifices at the altar has already been mentioned. This probably suggests that the participation of a worshipper in the rituals would involve an initiation process. Part of it might be the deposit of a symbolic monetary fee (Ehrenheim 2011, p. 44). Therefore, there is a possibility that the coins that ended up in the ashes of the altar were part of this amount.

In the Lower Sanctuary, the emerging picture is different. The few coins scattered in the various edifices are accidentally lost and do not offer much information. One could generally guess that they were meant for paying various kinds of expenses during the pilgrim's stay at the sanctuary (Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 35-36). What is most striking about this group is its limited size in comparison to the large number of people - priests, staff, worshippers, athletes, travellers, merchants - gathered at the plateau of Kato Kampos at the heyday of the sanctuary's function. During this period an ambitious building program was realized, and probably every four years the festival was taking place. Apart from the rituals and the games, the function of *panegyrics* should also be expected, judging from the remote location of the sanctuary, thus increasing further the economic activity. Furthermore, our knowledge of the economic life of the sanctuary itself is fragmental (Roy 2013, p. 31). Nevertheless, some financial activity is implied. Of course, this phenomenon could be explained in various ways such as the fact that the archaeological research is still in progress or that the site has suffered serious ground surface modifications in modern times. Another possible explanation could be that the sums of money circulating before and during the festival were not kept in the sanctuary after the end of the festival. Besides, the sanctuary remained a remote unwelcoming and unprotected place.

If we would like to personify all these carriers of the coins, we could probably recognize at least some groups of worshippers in the shepherds of Parrhesia, aristocrats residing at the powerful Arcadian *poleis* of Tegea or Mantinea, *hoplites*, simple travellers and pilgrims as well as athletes (Karapanagiotou, forthcoming). This variety should not be surprising because, as Jost (1985, p. 268-269) has very accurately pointed out, Zeus Lykaios had a very complex personality. He was the god of the shepherds and farmers, who depended on the weather, the god of the athletes and mostly the protector of a whole *ethnos*. And that is perhaps the reason why his cult was so impressively popular.

4. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE COINS FROM THE SANCTUARIES OF TRAPEZA AND PROFITIS ILIAS IN AIGIALEIA

Nikos PETROPOULOS*

Abstract – The present study, taking into consideration the archaeological context in conjunction with our knowledge relating to the coin use and the worship practices in the ancient Greek world, is attempting to determine the role of the coins found

in two prominent cult centres of ancient Achaëa. Valuable information is being extracted considering the foundation and the abandonment of the sanctuaries while a comparison of the two contexts is being carried out to their further interpretation.

Keywords: classical archaeology – numismatics – sanctuaries – Achaëa – Aigialeia – Rhypai – Trapeza – Keryneia – Profitis Ilias

Résumé – La présente étude, prenant en considération le contexte archéologique mis en parallèle avec nos connaissances relatives à l'usage de la monnaie et aux pratiques cultuelles dans le monde Grec ancien, tente de déterminer le rôle des monnaies trouvées dans deux

centres de culte importants de l'Achaïe ancienne. De précieuses informations en sont extraites quant à la date de fondation et celle de l'abandon des sanctuaires tandis qu'une comparaison entre les deux contextes est menée en vue d'un supplément d'interprétation.

Mots clés : archéologie classique – numismatique – sanctuaires – Achaïe – Aigialeia – Rhypa – Trapeza – Keryneia – Profitis Ilias

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Fig. 1 – Map of ancient Achaia showing Trapeza, Profitis Ilias and the other sites mentioned in the text

UNTIL RECENTLY, OUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ACHAEA in ancient historic times was rather fragmentary and based mainly on the literary sources (see Rizakis 1995). However, during the last decades the picture has been significantly enriched by a number of rescue and systematic archaeological excavations. Among the most outstanding of these are the systematic excavations of two shrines in the mountainous inland of Achaëa's eastern region, Aigialeia^[1]. The first is located on the Trapeza plateau, 8 km SW of Aigion (fig. 1). It was an urban sanctuary, placed in the centre of a citadel within a walled polis which is possibly identified as the ancient city of Rhypai^[2]. The excavation on the acropolis, which started in 2007, has brought to light a Late Archaic doric temple (fig. 2) and, at a lower terrace 50 m to the south, a prostyle temple of the late 5th - early 4th c. BC. According to the evidence, the sanctuary was operating from the Geometric period till its destruction by an earthquake in the Late Hellenistic times.

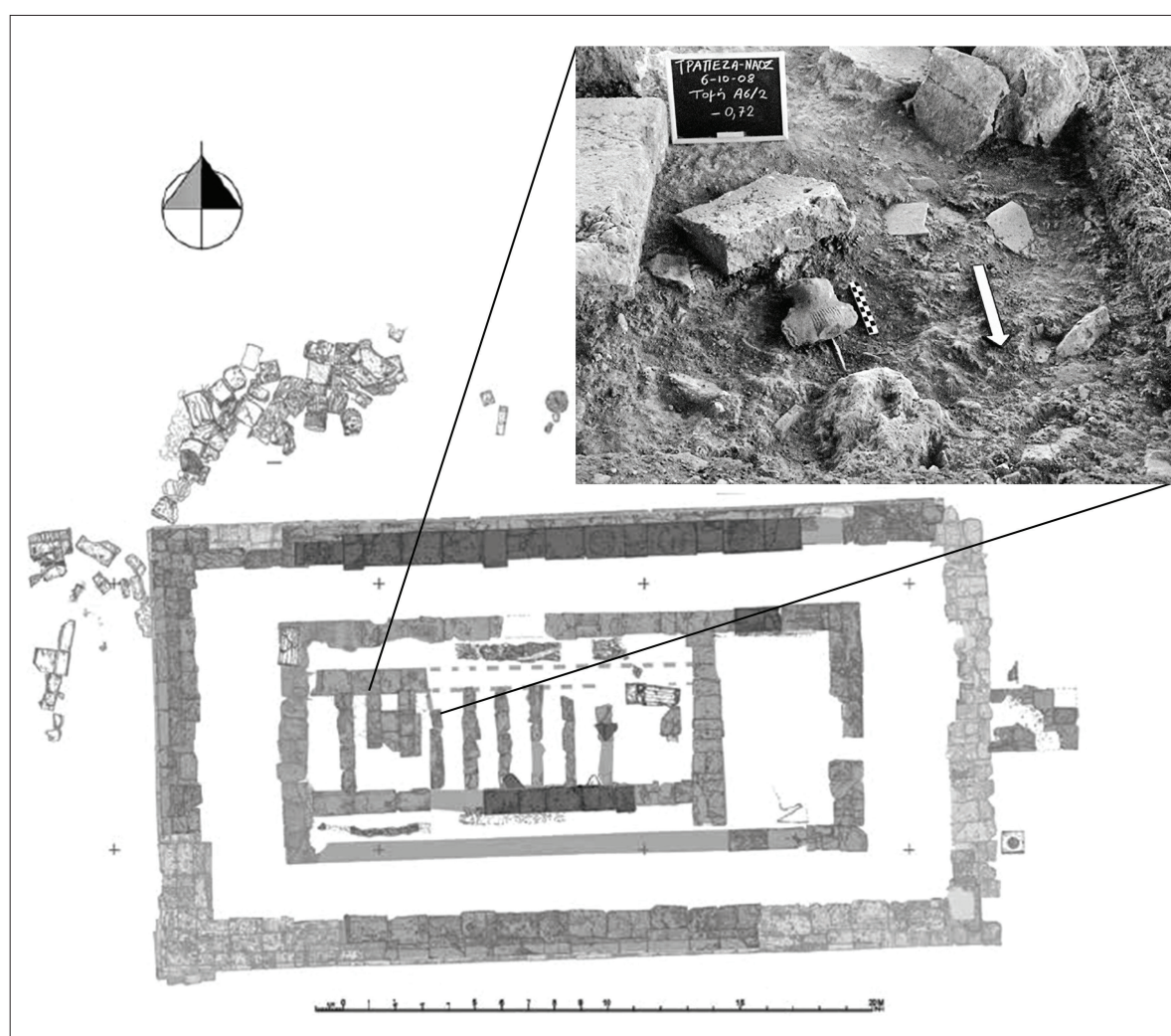


Fig. 2 – Excavation plan of the Late Archaic temple at Trapeza and detail of the destruction layer next to the pedestal of the great cult statue where T 10 was found. (modified from Hellner & Gennatou 2017 and Vordos 2020)

^[1] For a synopsis of the recent archaeological research in Aigialeia, see Βόρδος-Κόλλια 2008; Κόλλια 2012; Κόλλια 2015; Alexopoulou & Vordos & Kolia & Santoriello 2016.

^[2] For the archaeological research at the site and the attribution to Rhypai, see Vordos 2016; Vordos 2006, p. 61-72; Βόρδος 2001a, p. 47-54; Vordos 2002, p. 217-234.

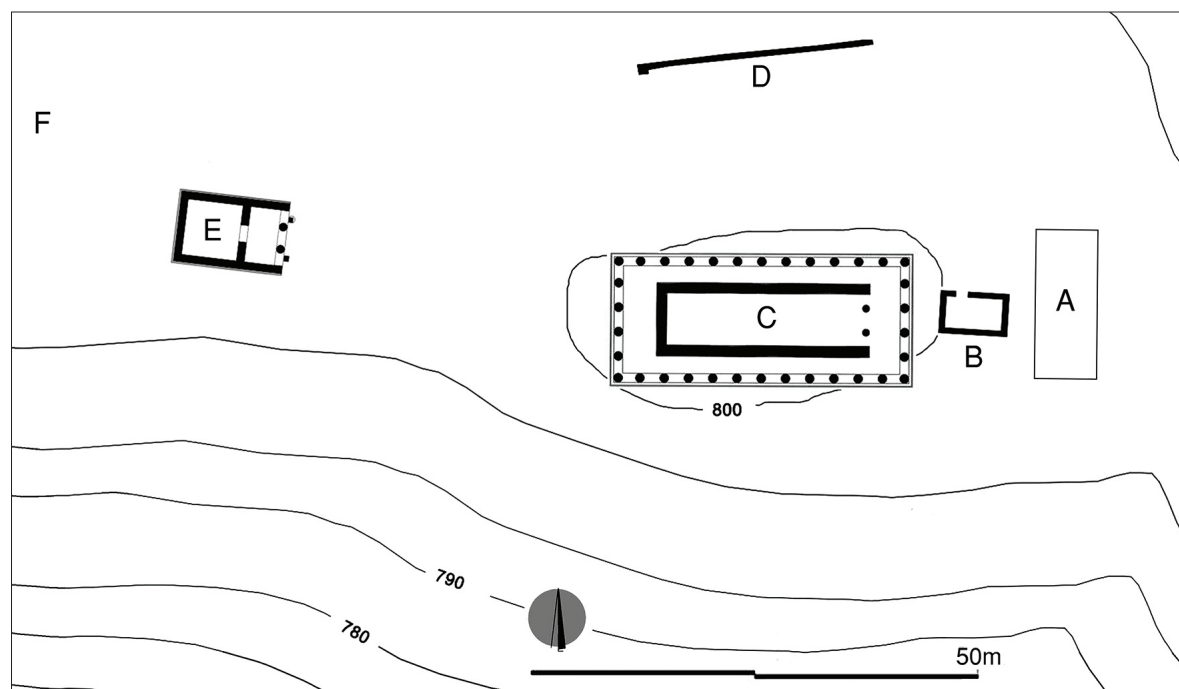


Fig. 3 – Site plan at the summit of Profitis Ilias. A. Altar, B. Oikos, C. Late Archaic temple, D. North wall, E. Late Classical temple, F. Western area.
(modified from Kanellopoulos & Kollia 2011)

At about 12 km to the SE, the excavation from 2001 on the summit of Profitis Ilias at Mamousia, has revealed the remains of another sanctuary (fig. 3). Being situated 900 m away from the ancient city of Keryneia it was possibly a border shrine (fig. 1) (Κόλια 2006; Kanellopoulos-Kolia 2011; Kolia 2019; Πετρόπουλος 2020). The shrine belonged to Helike till its destruction in 373/2 BC by an earthquake, and later to Keryneia. On the peak of the summit the foundations of a Late Archaic doric temple were uncovered along with the remains of an altar and a small *oikos* in the east. 30 m to the west, a smaller distyle temple of the mid 4th c. BC has been investigated. The Late Classical temple replaced the Archaic one after the latter's destruction during Helike's earthquake and operated till the Roman era.

The economic wealth of the sanctuaries and, therefore, of the cities which were administering them during the Late Archaic and Classical times, are indicated by the size and the luxurious construction of both Late Archaic Temples^[3] along with a significant number of valuable metal objects, which have been found scattered in the layers around the Temples or deposited within pits. Among these finds, a number of silver and bronze coins (19 from Trapeza and 13 from Profitis Ilias) have been recovered, supplementing the picture of the Sanctuaries' operation and adding to our knowledge about coin use and circulation in Achaia during this period. These coins constitute the subject of the present study^[4].

^[3] Both peripteral temples were adorned with splendid pedimental sculptures (see Vordos 2019a; Κόλια 2019) and expensive decorative roofing (see Petropoulos 2019; Kolia 2019).

^[4] At this point I would like to thank Dr. Erophile-Iris Kolia (Director of the Antiquities of Ileia) and Dr. Andreas G. Vordos (Ephorate of Antiquities of Achaia), directors of the excavations of Profitis Ilias and Trapeza respectively, for entrusting me with the study of the numismatic material from the two sites. Also, I offer my sincere thanks to the organizing committee for giving me the opportunity to participate in this conference. Finally, I am most grateful to Vasiliki Lempessi for editing the English text.

1. THE COINS WITHIN THE CONTEXTS OF THE SANCTUARIES

At both sites in many excavated areas, the stratigraphy of the soil fill was disturbed owing to the extensive agricultural activities which had been taking place there over the years. Hence, an interpretation which would connect the monetary finds with specific functions or activities within the sanctuaries is not possible in all of the cases. However, we are lucky enough to have found a big part of the numismatic material within a clear archaeological context. These coins can provide us with valuable information about their use within the areas of the two shrines.

1.1. TRAPEZA

The Trapeza coin finds were concentrated in the area of the Great Archaic temple. However, only one coin came from inside the building. This is a Sicyon bronze dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd century BC (T 10, fig. 4). It was found within the destruction layer of the cella's western wall, next to the pedestal of the great cult statue, where the torso of a smaller cult statue of Athena was found too (Bóρδος 2020, p. 177) (fig. 2). Unfortunately, the above-mentioned layer was disturbed in later times and, thus, it is not assured that the coin's primary deposition took place at its find spot. If applicable, the Sicyonian coin could be an individual offering to the worshipped God since placing coins on cult statues was a common practice in the ancient Greek world (Lykke 2017, p. 212, 228-229) and notably in Peloponese and Achaea^[5].

A stater of Aigina (T 5, fig. 4) dated to 456-431 BC, was found at the SW corner of the stereobate on a sub-euthynteria's block. The excavation data showed that it was most probably placed there intentionally during the setting of the crepis. However, the presence of a Classical coin between the foundation elements of an Archaic temple could be justified only in the aspect of a second building phase. The study of the preserved architectural remains so far has showed that over a long period till the end of the 5th c. BC, the temple underwent extended repairs, during which at least a part of the temple's superstructure had been totally rebuilt (Hellner & Gennatou 2017, p. 124; Hellner 2019, p. 171-172). This dating fits in well with the period in which the Aiginetan stater must have been deposited, considering its date and its degree of wear. Consequently, the silver coin find from the stereobate's SE corner suggests that the interventions on the Temple must have been more extensive than has been known so far and down to its crepis. If so, we could presume that we have a foundation deposit which was placed to consecrate the partial rebuilt of the temple^[6].

Three more silver staters, all Elean issues, can be grouped together according to their find spot (T 14-6, fig. 4). T 14 and T 16 were found next to the south side of the temple during cleaning works at the site while T 15 was found inside a shallow trench along the exterior of the building's same side. These coins must have been deposited in a feature such as an altar. The south side of the Archaic temple was the appropriate place for the location of an altar since it was laid in a prominent position, facing the open space area which has been identified as the city's *agora* (Vordos 2019a, p. 148). The significance of this area is also testified by the

[5] Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 98 and 100-101. Pausanias describes the practice of *chalkous* votive offering in an altar placed next to the cult statue of Hermes in the agora of the Achaean city Farai (Paus., VII, 22, 2-3)

[6] The practice of placing coins beneath the foundations of a cult structure during a later building phase is unusual but not unique; a similar foundation deposit has been discovered beneath the undisturbed foundation blocks of a cult statue base at the Temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora (Payne 1940, p. 81). Among its five silver coins there was a 4th c. BC Corinthian diobol. The temple was built and renewed in the early and late Archaic periods respectively and the statue base can also be dated to the archaic period. Nevertheless, the deposit beneath both the base and its foundations suggest that the base was rearranged in the fourth century, during other contemporary renovations undertaken in the sanctuary (Menadier 1997, p. 122).



Fig. 4 – Excavation coins from the sanctuaries of Trapeza and Profitis Ilias

discovery at the same spot of an inscription from the first half of the 5th century on a bronze sheet which, according to the evidence, was originally fastened to the temple's south wall (Vordos 2019a, p. 148).

Two more coins, a silver Phokian triobol of the mid 5th century BC (T 4, fig. 4) and a Sikyonian trichalkon of the last quarter of the 3rd century BC (T 11), were found on either side of the ramp at the temple's eastern front, within the intact fill. The rest of the numismatic finds were recovered from heavily disturbed layers in the vicinity of the building and, therefore, they can only be interpreted in terms of a general circulation pattern at the sanctuary area (see next chapter). However, the fact that none of them can be dated after the end of the 3rd century BC

supports the suggestion of the destruction and the abandonment of the sanctuary some time within the 2nd century BC. After that period, the next coin from the sanctuary, chronologically speaking, is a 10th century AD Anonymous follis (T 19, fig. 4) which was recovered from a mound consisting of the Archaic temple's broken blocks to the NW of the building. This indicates that the monument's ruins served as a quarry in medieval times. As far as we know, the only Byzantine building in the vicinity of Trapeza was Saint Loukas church at the SE edge of the plateau. The presence of the Anonymous follis supports the postulation that part of the architectural material from the temple could have been used for the construction of Saint Loukas, which currently doesn't exist and is known to us only by 19th century travelers' mentions (Lebègue 1871, p. 231-238).

1.2. PROFITIS ILIAS

Among the numismatic finds from the border shrine at Profitis Ilias, the only coin which can be directly connected with the Archaic temple's operation is a silver Phokian obol of the Early Classical period (PI 2, fig. 4). It was found within an extended layer on the west of the Late Classical temple which consisted of dense clusters of debris and other material and was dated from the 6th to the mid 4th century BC (Kanellopoulos-Kolia 2011, p. 166-167).

The mound of debris originated from the Archaic temple and the altar area and was evenly spread in order to level this area and make space for the new temple's erection after the sanctuary's destruction at 373/2 BC. A small bronze subdivision of Athens (c. early/mid 330's - 322/317 BC, PI 3) was found within another similar layer consisting of debris from the Archaic temple. In this case, the debris had been used as the side fill of a long retaining wall at the north edge of the Sanctuary (Kanellopoulos-Kolia 2011, p. 156-158). The coin shows that the wall was built in the context of spatial rearrangements which took place shortly after the new temple's erection.

Three more bronze coins, of Aigeira (PI 9, 360-330 BC, fig. 4), Kassander of Macedonia (PI 1, 311-306 BC, fig. 4) and Chios (PI 11, 3rd century BC, fig. 4) were collected from a trench next to the SE corner of the Late Archaic temple. The trench contained unstratified pottery dated from the 5th century BC to the Early Hellenistic times and fragments from the Temple's pedimental marble sculptures (Kόλια 2006, p. 145). The three coin finds from that trench differ chronologically from the classical pottery and from the sculpture fragments which relate to the temple's operation and to the time of its collapse respectively. As assumed by the fact that the mid 4th century temple was not erected directly over the older temple's foundations, but, instead, at some distance to the west, the old temple stood for a long time in a ruined state after its destruction in 373/2 BC. But only some of the blocks of the Archaic temple were used in the new temple's construction; the majority of its architectural material was transported later and gradually outside the sanctuary and was reused in the theatre or the fortification walls of the Keryneia (Kanellopoulos-Kolia 2011, p. 142 and 165-166). Under that spectrum, the three Hellenistic coins from the SE corner of the Late Archaic temple should be related to the quarrying activity which was taking place on the Archaic temple's ruins during this period. In this case, the coin of Aigeira is connected, according to its dating, with the building of the small temple in the mid 4th century BC while the other two correlate to the construction of Keryneia's theatre and fortification (3rd-2nd c. BC).

As regards the Late Classical temple (fig. 5), a small coin group, which consists of four bronze Sikyonian fractions (PI 4-5, PI 7-8, fig. 4) and a hexachalkon of Ptolemy III (PI 12, fig. 4), seems to be associated with its operation. These coins were recovered from a layer of clay tiles and rubble which was excavated at the west of the temple (fig. 6). The debris material relates to some alterations which took place during the Hellenistic times in the small temple, namely the removal of its original floor and the replacement of its roofing material



Fig. 5 - The Late Classical temple at Profitis Ilias. View from the east. (Kanellopoulos & Kollia 2011)



Fig. 6 - The layer of clay tiles and rubble which was excavated at the west of the Late Classical temple at Profitis Ilias. (Kanellopoulos & Kollia 2011)

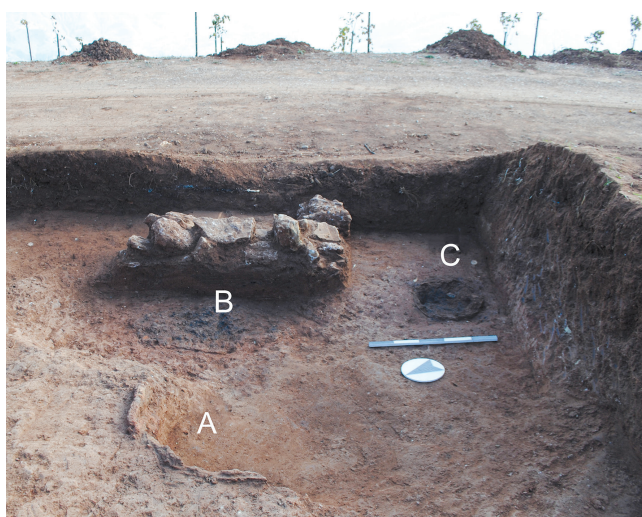


Fig. 7 - The in-ground fire pit (A, B) and the vessel with the charcoal lumps (C) at the west of the altar at Profitis Ilias

(Kanellopoulos-Kolia 2011, p. 162 and 166). The later of the coins, two Sicyonian issues of the first half of the 2nd century, (PI 7-8), have given us a clue to the date of this deposit and, consequently, to the date of the alteration works. However, the chronological spread of these coins covers a much longer period, namely from 330 to 146 BC This is a period which corresponds exactly to the time from the temple's foundation till its renovation. So, it can be reasonably inferred that the primary depositions of the coins took place gradually and in relation to the Classical temple's operation, owing either to cultic activity or to unintentional losses. In this case, at the time before the start of the renovation works these coins must have

been lying scattered on the floor inside the building or on the ground just outside of its walls. By the end of the works, during the debris clearance, they must have been transported and deposited secondarily at their find spot at the west of the temple.

Finally, a bronze Elean dichalkon of the mid 3rd century (PI 10, fig. 4) was revealed in a trench at around 30m to the west of the Altar. The context to which the coin relates consisted of the remains of an in-ground fire pit and a vessel containing charcoal lumps (fig. 7). Beyond doubt the above-mentioned are the remnants of an open-air ritual which was performed at a single time at a distant area of the sanctuary and included a votive coin offering.

2. CIRCULATION PATTERN

Examining the finds in terms of circulation, the most interesting one among the Classical coins is the Early Classical Sicilian litra from Trapeza (T 1, fig. 4). It is well known from the ancient literary sources that during the Second Greek Colonization (late 8th BC) the eastern Achaian cities established important colonies in Magna Graecia^[7]. Rhyapai specifically is mentioned as the metropolis of Kroton^[8]. As suggested by other finds, such as pottery, from the acropolis of Trapeza, the bonds between the Achaian colonies and their mother cities, at least in the form of commercial relations, were still strong in classical times. The presence of the silver Messana coin must be explained from this perspective. The presence of the Aiginetan stater (T 5) is not a surprise too, since these coins were the only widely acceptable currency in the Peloponnese till the Peloponnesian War^[9]. On the contrary, the Elean issues of the 5th century BC, such as the T 14-5, circulated mostly within the Elean limits^[10] and, therefore, their presence at Trapeza is noteworthy. The same can be noted about the Early Classical Phokian silver coinage which is represented in both sanctuaries (T 4, PI 2) since neither of these coin types is commonly found outside Phokis (Williams 1972, p. 132-133). In this case, they are evidence of the connection between eastern Achaea and this region which lies on the opposite shore of the Corinthian Gulf.

Regarding the Hellenistic period, it seems that both sanctuaries attracted visitors mostly from the area of Achaea, since the coin finds depict accurately the contemporary numismatic circulation pattern in the area as we know it through the published coins finds from other east Achaean sites^[11]; thus, the Sicyonian issues, which were the standard currencies of the northeast Peloponnese (Warren 1985, p. 51-52; Warren 1998, p. 359-360), represent the majority of bronze coins (T 7-12, PI 4-8). The bronzes of Ptolemy III, such as T 17-18 (fig. 4) and PI 12, are also commonly found in the area serving as a physical proof of

^[7] For the Achaean Colonization of this period, see Πετρόπουλος 2011, p. 59-66.

^[8] Diodorus 8.17.1, Strabo 7.1.12. where Myskellos from Rhyapai is mentioned as the colonist of Kroton.

^[9] «και μην το Πελοποννησιών νόμισμα, χελώνην τίνες ηξιουν καλείν από του τυπώματος», Pollux IX, 74 (Amsterdam 1706); «χελώνη και νόμισμα Πελοποννησιακόν», Hesychius IV, 343 (Ienae 1862).

^[10] Nicolet 1975, p. 15. Warren has noted that the Elean staters weren't among the currencies which were used by the Peloponnesian alliance for its war preparations and operations (Warren 2005, p. 318). The hoard record (IGCH and CH I-X), also, shows that Elean staters of the 5th c. scarcely occur outside the region of Elis.

^[11] That is to say the coins from the rescue excavation of a coastal settlement in the dominion of Voura (Alexopoulos & Kolia 2016), from the city and the cemetery of Kerγνηια (Πετρόπουλος 2018), from the excavations of the Helike Project in Helike (Weir 2019), from the systematic excavation of the Artemis Aontia sancturay at Rakita (Alexopoulou & Callegher 2005) and from a number of rescue excavations of agricultural settlements in west Aigialeia (Πουλημένου & Πετρόπουλος 2020).

Ptolemy's economic policy, which, as is attested by the historical sources^[12], was aimed at the destabilization of the Antigonids' influence in the Peloponnese region. The same applies for the Macedonian Kingdom's bronzes; Peloponnese was one of the main areas of conflict between the successors of the Macedonian throne in their attempt to dominate Greece, and the presence of the bronze coins of Kassander (PI 1) and Antigonos II Gonatas (T 2, fig. 4) relates to the action of the Macedonian troops in Aigialeia at the beginning of this period. Furthermore, Kassander's coin connects the construction of Keryneia's fortification, for which blocks from the archaic temple ruins were used (see previous chapter), with the Macedonian garrisons which were established at that period in the area^[13]. The 3rd century Chios coin (PI 11), which is also connected with the quarrying activities at Profitis Ilias, could also have come to the area with the Macedonian troops which had passed from Ionia at the Successors period.

Something else that one can notice about the Hellenistic coins from the sanctuaries is that all of them are small bronze denominations. At that time, the silver currency was dominant in the Peloponnese, either in the form of large imported coins or as small denominations of local mints (Ριζάκης & Τουράτσογλου 2011, p. 22-23). The lack of silver among the Hellenistic coins of the two sites most probably reflects a change in cult practices; but it surely indicates the decline of the sanctuaries from the late Classical period onwards as well. During the Hellenistic period both sites lost their importance, apparently due to the shrinking or the abandonment of the inland cities of Aigialeia, such as Keryneia and Rhypai, to the benefit of Aigion, which evolved gradually into a big urban centre (Rizakis 2001, p. 77-79). The decadence is depicted not only in the monetary finds, but also in the total of the finds from the sites as well as in their architectural remains from that time^[14].

3. CONCLUSIONS – COMMENTARY

The numismatic finds from the two east Achaean sanctuaries, which had reached the highest levels of their economic prosperity during a period when monetization was spreading in the Greek world, influence our understanding about the coin use of this era in Achaia.

Most of the earlier dated samples possibly carry an extra importance of a religious character; The issues of the Phokian League and Elis, before being dedicated to the Achaean sanctuaries, could possibly have arrived in Achaia with local pilgrims as holy souvenirs brought from the panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia where they were functioning as festival currencies (see Psoma 2008, p. 240-243). Moreover, it cannot be a coincidence that the only 5th century coin among the numismatic finds from another major eastern Achaean shrine which flourished from the Geometric times to the mid 4th century BC, namely the sanctuary of Aontia Artemis on the southeast slopes of Panachaikon mountain, is also an early classical silver Phokian obol (Alexopoulou & Callegher 2005, Tav. I, n.1). The group of the three Elean

^[12] See Hackens 1968, p. 69-95; Chryssanthaki 2005, p. 168-169. For the circulation of these types in the area of Achaia, see Nikolakopoulou 2017, p. 388.

^[13] Successors' moves in the area have been described by Diodorus (*Bibl. Hist.* 19, 66, 1 – 6). On this, see Rizakis 2008, p. 160, Droysen 1993, p. 343-344. Regarding the Antigonos coin from Trapeza (T 2), it should be noted that a small hoard which consists of ten bronze coins, five of Kassander and five of Antigonos Gonatas, was found at the ancient town of Trapeza. The Antigonos coins from the Trapeza hoard (n. 1-4, 6) and T2 belong to the same type.

^[14] At Profitis Ilias, the great peripteral temple was replaced by the smaller distyle one while the Trapeza Temple underwent some rather rough repairs on its roof at that period (Petropoulos 2019, p. 69-70) until its final collapse and its permanent abandonment.

stater from Trapeza temple deserves some further discussion. They all vary in date (448-440, 416, 365-323 BC) but, even so, their accidental accumulation at their find spot seems unlikely. The deposition of these coins could have happened either gradually at an open air deposit where the pilgrims would add individual coins over a long time period or as a hoard (in this case the three samples could have been part of a greater hoard). The hoard explanation suggests that we may be dealing with the remnants of a family treasure which had been obtained after different visits to Olympia within a long period which exceeded a single generation, before being placed ritually, possibly to an altar, next to the great Trapeza temple. This assumption is also supported by the preservation state of the Elean silvers; the older stater appears to be worn in some degree but the other two, despite the fact that their issuing dates differ greatly, both seem to have circulated only slightly before their final deposition.

Finally, there are some more observations which arise from the study of the coins from the two sites. As mentioned above, the coins from the Classical period are represented by a considerable percentage in the case of Trapeza. The classical coins are almost absent from Profitis Ilias, but this differentiation is to some extent justified since Profitis Ilias's shrine was destroyed and replaced before the end of the Classical period. However, this cannot explain the lack of classical coins in the layers with scattered material of the Archaic sanctuary or within the excavated pits at Profitis Ilias. On this, we could assume that silver coins had been retrieved from the scattered material after the sanctuary's destruction in order to be reused, maybe along with some other valuable objects, for its rebuilding. Another interpretation would be that the site suffered looting during the decades which passed from the sanctuary's destruction till its rebuilding, which appears to be quite rational considering the fact that it was situated in a very isolated position. In contrast to Profitis Ilias, the case of Trapeza is more clear cut since the Archaic temple was operating continuously till the final abandonment of the site in the Late Hellenistic times. In this sanctuary, the Classical coins, and especially those which are dated to the 5th century BC, are the majority of the monetary finds. At the same time, however, the 5th century BC coins are extremely rare among the numismatic contexts from other excavated Classical Achaean sites^[15] and literally absent from the local hoard record of the same period. Thus, the notable representation of them here reveals the important role of the sanctuary, not only concerning the economy but also the monetization of Achaea at a period when coin use in this area appears to be still at a very early stage^[16]. By extension, it reflects the major role of the sanctuaries to the monetary economy and coin use in the Greek world overall during the Classical period.

4. CATALOGUE

The following catalogue presents the 19 coins from the sanctuary at Trapeza and the 13 coins from Profitis Ilias. The catalogue follows the geographical order which is traditionally used for Greek numismatics. Catalogue numbers have been given the format T 1-19 for the

[15] On this, the case of the settlement which has been identified as Voura's seaport (Kόλλια 2018b) is the most characteristic example, since none 5th c. BC coin is recorded from the extended excavation at the site (Alexopoulos & Kolia 2016).

[16] The evidence of the hoards (IGCH and CH I-X), the scarcity of the excavation coin finds of the classical period and the relatively late and limited local mints' production, suggest that the monetization progress in Achaea has been evolved very slow, especially in comparison with the monetization of neighboring regions such as Elis, Arcadia, Corinthia and Phokis. It seems that a late urbanization of the Achaean settlements (Rizakis 2002, p. 50) and a self-efficient and introverted rural economy which was favoring the in-kind exchange (Πουλημένου & Πετρόπουλος 2020, p. 545), were contributed to a late monetization of this region of the ancient Greek world. See also, Μουστάκα 1996, p. 39.

coins from Trapeza and PI 1-13 for those from Profitis Ilias. Despite the fact that most of the bronzes are preserved in a poor condition only one coin is worn to such a degree that makes its identification impossible. Size and weight are given in millimetres and grams respectively. Die-Axis is given in hours. Some general information about the context of each coin is included too.

TRAPEZA (T 1-19)1

- T 1. Sicily: Messana, 480-461 BC**
 Within dotted border hare springing to right.
 Within olive wreath with ties to left MEΣ.
Ar litra : 0,6 g; 12; -- mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
 Caltabiano, 253; *SNG Ans* 324.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, North Trench (euthenteria level).
- T 2. Kingdom of Macedon: Antigonos II Gonatas, 267/6-262/1 BC**
 Head of bearded Heracles to right wearing a lion's skin.
 Horseman riding right, raising arm.
Ae chalkous: 5,6 g; 3; 20 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
SNG Cop 1214-16; Poullos group III.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, South trench (Euthenteria level).
- T 3. Thessaly: Lamia, ca.400-350 BC**
 Head of the nymph Lamia right.
 ΛAMI
 Philoktetes reclining to left on rocks, wearing pilos, raising right hand above head; in left field, bow and quiver.
Ae chalkous : 2,1 g; 3; 14 mm; Wear: Good.
B.C.D. Thessaly II 128.3.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, North Trench.
- T 4. Phokis: Phokian League, ca. 457-446 BC**
 Facing head of bull.
 Head of Artemis to right in incuse square, Φ-O across fields.
Ar triobol : 3 g; 12; 15 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Very Good
 Williams 192.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench B/07.
- T 5. Aigina: Aigina, ca. 456-431 BC**
 Land tortoise with segmented shell. Two uncertain countermarks on the shell.
 Incuse square of "Union Jack" pattern.
Ar stater : 11,9 g; 9; 20 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
 Milbank pl. II, 12.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench E/11, below euthenteria.
- T 6. Corinthia: Corinth, ca. 303-287 BC**
 Pegasos flying to left, koppa below, Δ-Ω across field.
 Trident-head upward, amphora right on field.
Ae chalkous: 1,6 g; 9; 12 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
B.C.D. Corinth 275-6.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, North trench.
- T 7. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 340-330/320 BC**
 Laureate head of Apollo to right.
 Flying dove to right, ΣI above tail.
Ar obol: 0,8 g; 6; 11 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Very Good.
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 259.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench B/07.
- T 8. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 330-310/5 BC**
 Flying dove to right.
 Within olive wreath tied on top ΚΑΕ.
Ae dichalkon : 3 g; 6; 15 mm; Wear: Poor
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 305.9.
 Context: Late Archaic Temple, Trench A/07.
- T 9. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 250-200 BC**
 Flying dove to right.
 Within olive wreath tied on right ΣI.
Ae chalkous : 3,3 g; 12; 15mm; Wear: Poor.
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 316.
 Context: Area North of the Late Archaic temple.
- T 10. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 250-200 BC**
 Flying dove to right.
 Within olive wreath tied on right ΣI.
Ae chalkous : 3,2 g; 4; 15 mm; Wear: Poor.
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 316.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench B5.
- T 11. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. last quarter of the 3rd c. BC**
 Dove standing right feeding, ΣI above.
 Within olive wreath tied on top tripod.
Ae trichalkon : 1,8 g; 9; 14,5 mm; Wear: Good.
 Warren 6B.3b; *B.C.D. Pelop.* 2006 318. 6-7.
 Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench A/07.

- T 12. Achaia: Achaean League, ca. 280-200 BC**
Laureate head of Zeus to right.
Within laurel wreath tied on top, monogram of AX.
Ae dichalkon : 2,1 g; 12; 13,5 mm ; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 384.
Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench B1.
- T 13. Achaia: Aigeira, ca. 360-330 BC**
Head of Athena to right.
Within wreath forepart of goat to right.
Ae chalkous : 1,8 g; 6; 13 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 394.
Context: Late Archaic Temple, Trench B1 (euthenteria level).
- T 14. Elis: Elis, 83rd -85th Olympiad, 448-440 BC**
Eagle flying right with both wings above his body, grasping hare by the back with his talons and tearing at it with his beak. On the field above uncertain countermark.
Thunderbolt with wings below and volutes above, F-A across fields.
Ar stater : 11,5 g; 9; 22,5 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
Seltman 67 (AN/aw); *B.C.D. Olympia* 2004 36.
Context: Late Archaic temple, South side.
- T 15. Elis: Elis, 91th Olympiad, 416 BC**
Eagle's head to left, below, large white poplar leaf with the signature ΔΑ below the center vein. On the field above uncertain countermark.
Thunderbolt with wings below and volutes above, F-A across fields.
Ar stater : 11,7 g; 10; 23,5 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Very Good.
Seltman 148 (BS/γπ).
Context: Late Archaic temple, Trench K.10.
- T 16. Elis: Elis, 365-323 BC**
Head of Hera to right, wearing stephane decorated with palmettes; F/A across field.
Eagle standing right, head left, with outspread wings in wreath of olive.
Ar stater : 11,5 g; 9; 25 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Very Good.
Seltman 330 (FC/iv).
Context: Late Archaic temple, South side.
- T 17. Egypt: Ptolemaic Kings, Ptolemy III, 230-221 BC**
Within dotted border diademed bust of Ptolemy III to right.
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Eagle with closed wings standing left on thunderbolt, cornucopia in left field.
Ae hexachalkon 5,5 g; 12; 20 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
Σβορώνος 1000.
Context: Late Archaic temple, North trench.
- T 18. Egypt: Ptolemaic Kings, Ptolemy III, 230-221 BC**
Same as the previous.
Same as the previous.
Ae hexachalkon : 3,7 g; 6; 18,5 mm; Wear: Good.
Σβορώνος 1000.
Context: Late Archaic temple area, Survey.
- T 19. Byzantine Empire: Romanus I, Constantinople mint, 920-944 AD**
+RWMAN BASILEVS RWM
Facing bust of Romanus, holding transverse labarum and globus cruciger.
+RWMA/N' EN QW BA/SILEVS RW/MAIWN In four lines.
Ae follis: 4,7 g; 12; 25 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
Sear 1760.
Context: From a mound of Late Archaic temple's broken blocks to the NW of the building.

PROFITIS ILIAS (PI 1-13)

- PI 1. Kingdom of Macedon: Kassander, 311-305 BC**
Head of bearded Heracles to right wearing a lion's skin.
ΚΑΣΣΑΝ-ΔΡΟΥ
Lion seated to right, N before.
Ae : 4,4 g; 5; 17 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
SNG Cop. 1140.
Context: Late Archaic temple, Northeast corner.
- PI 2. Phokis: Phokian League, ca. 478-460 BC**
Facing head of bull, Φ-O across fields.
Forepart of boar to right in square incuse.
Ar obol : 0,9 g; 6; 10 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Very Good.
Williams 1972 n. 99.
Context: On the west of the Late Classical temple, within debris and other material originated from the Late Archaic temple and the altar area (6th - mid 4th c. BC)
- PI 3. Attica: Athens, ca. early or mid 330's - 322/317 BC**
Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
Double-bodied owl sitting on mystic staff; in each upper corner, olive spray.
Ae : 1,1 g; 10; 10 mm; Wear: Poor.
Agora 41-43.
Context: Within layer consisted of debris from the Archaic temple which has been used as the side fill of a retaining wall at the north edge of the sanctuary.

- PI 4. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 330-290 BC**
Flying dove to right.
Worn.
Ae dichalkon: 2,6 g; 12; 15 mm; Wear: Poor.
Warren Group 5.5b.
Context: On the west of the Late Classical temple, in a layer of clay tiles and rubble
- PI 5. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 330-270 BC**
Flying dove to left.
Σ
Ae dichalkon: 3,5 g; 9; 15 mm; Wear: Poor.
Warren Group 5.5b.
Context: On the west of the Late Classical Temple, in a layer of clay tiles and rubble.
- PI 6. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. last quarter of the 3rd c. BC**
Dove standing right feeding, ΣI above.
Tripod within olive wreath.
Ae trichalkon: 4 g; 12; 13 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
Warren Group 6 B.3b.
Context: Collected during survey at the area of the sanctuary.
- PI 7. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 196-146 BC**
Flying dove to left, EY before.
ΣI within olive wreath tied at the top.
Ae dichalkon: 3,4 g; 6; 15 mm; Wear: Good.
Warren Group 8 A.1.
Context: On the west of the Late Classical temple, in a layer of clay tiles and rubble.
- PI 8. Sikyonia: Sikyon, ca. 196-146 BC**
Flying dove to left, ΦI above the tail.
ΣI within olive wreath tied at the top.
Ae chalkous: 2,5 g; 9; 14 mm; Wear: Good.
Warren Group 8 A.2a.
Context: On the west of the Late Classical temple, in a layer of clay tiles and rubble.
- PI 9. Achaia: Aigeira, ca. 360-330 BC**
Helmeted head of Athena to right.
Forepart of goat to right within laurel wreath.
Ae chalkous: 1,2 g; 10; 12 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
B.C.D. Pelop. 2006 n.395.
Context: Late Archaic temple, Northeast corner.
- PI 10. Elis: Elis, mid. 3rd c. BC**
Laureate head of Zeus to right.
Thunderbolt, Φ-A and K-AA across fields.
Ae dichalkon: 2,2 g; 9; 13 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Good.
B.C.D. Olympia 2004 n.289.
Context: On the east of the altar, next to an in-ground fire pit.
- PI 11. Islands of Ionia: Chios, mid. 3rd c. BC**
Obverse: Sphinx seated left.
Reverse: Within vine-wreath two bands placed crosswise.
Ae: 2,8 g; 6; 15 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
BMC Ionia n.41-43.
Context: Late Archaic temple, Northeast corner.
- PI 12. Egypt: Ptolemaic Kings, Ptolemy III, 230-221 BC**
Within dotted border diademed bust of Ptolemy III to right.
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Eagle with closed wings standing left on thunderbolt, cornucopia in left field.
Ae hexachalkon: 4 g; 12; 20 mm; fig. 4; Wear: Poor.
Σβορώνος n. 1000.
Context: On the west of the Late Classical temple, in a layer of clay tiles and rubble.
- PI 13. Unknown greek city, 3rd-2nd c. BC**
Illegible.
Illegible.
Ae : 6,2 g ; - ; 18 mm; Wear: Heavily worn.
Reference: -
Context: Trench 1, on the north of the Late Archaic temple.

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EPHODIA: ATHENIAN PUBLIC PAYMENTS FOR SACRED AMBASSADORS AND SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR MONETARY CIRCULATION IN CLASSICAL GREECE

William S. BUBELIS*

Abstract – According to the example of fourth-century Athens, sacred ambassadors received payments for their travel on sacred journeys but only on missions beyond their *polis*' borders. These payments – *ephodia* – were drawn from funds that endowed them with a degree of sanctity and thus by extension allowed the *polis* to enjoy the religious benefits of the sacred journey itself. The *ephodia* were neither intended to pay, nor were large enough, for anything but quotidian travel expenses. The *ephodia*

thus constituted a kind of sacred wealth (*hosia*) that was distributed into the local economy *en route* to major sanctuaries in a manner fundamentally different from wealth that was intended to be spent or deposited at a sanctuary. Sanctuaries are therefore not the exclusive repositories of wealth intended for extra-territorial religious purposes, in which case we must re-think the nature of classical Greek religious landscapes and their relationship to sacred wealth.

Keywords: *ephodia* – sacred ambassador – *theôros* – monetary circulation – boundary – *hosia*

Résumé – Selon l'exemple de l'Athènes du IV^e siècle, les ambassadeurs sacrés recevaient des paiements pour leurs voyages sacrés mais uniquement pour des missions au-delà des frontières de leur polis. Ces paiements, appelés *ephodia*, étaient tirés de fonds qui leur conféraient un certain caractère sacré et permettaient donc, par extension, à la polis de bénéficier des avantages religieux du voyage sacré lui-même. Les *ephodia* n'étaient pas assez importantes pour autre chose que couvrir les frais de voyage

quotidiens. Les *ephodia* constituaient donc une sorte de richesse sacrée (*hosia*) qui était distribuée dans l'économie locale en route vers les grands sanctuaires d'une manière fondamentalement différente de la richesse qui était destinée à être dépensée ou déposée dans un sanctuaire. Les sanctuaires ne sont donc pas les dépositaires exclusifs de richesses destinées à des fins religieuses extraterritoriales, auquel cas nous devons repenser la nature des paysages religieux de la Grèce classique et leur relation avec les richesses sacrées.

Mots clés : *ephodia* – ambassade sacrée – *theôros* – circulation monétaire – frontière – *hosia*

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IN LIGHT OF THE RAPIDLY GROWING AND COMPLEX EVIDENCE for the use, deposition, and loss of coins at sanctuaries of varying type and description, so amply illustrated by the other contributions in this volume, this paper may appear absurdly contrarian because it does not necessarily concern the coins that did in fact reach sacred sites but rather those that were expressly given to a certain type of traveler to be spent *prior* to reaching that destination. The money that is the subject of this paper may be classed conveniently under the rubric that ancient sources habitually use, *ephodia*, which thus encompasses the money given by a Greek polity to one or more sacred ambassadors for use on their official journey to a particular shrine. Other terms may have been used elsewhere or in other eras, and even for funds whose purpose might not always be consistent with the core usage, but given how concentrated the relevant sources are in fourth-century Athenian texts, it is most productive to focus upon *ephodia* in its fourth-century Athenian context and draw attention to other instances where appropriate.

While scholars of Greek religious or political institutions have paid virtually no attention to the *ephodia*, nonetheless the *ephodia* may cause us to rethink how we should approach such subjects as the use of money in sacral contexts. The term *ephodia* itself may be partly to blame for the dearth of scholarship since it was employed in at least some public and private contexts as a term by which to denote some kind of travel payment, and which by its seeming banality (i.e. ‘for-the-road money’) has usually been taken to be nothing more than some kind of subsidy for any kind of travel, an interpretation supported by at least a few texts^[1]. But among Athenians the private usage appears to be restricted to instances where *ephodia* was granted by private benefactors to those who sorely needed the funds in order to return home, such as was the case with prisoners of war, exiles, those captured by pirates, and so on^[2]. And even with regard to public usage in Athens, some distinctions between *ephodia* and other money paid out to support travel ought to have been noticed long ago, since, for instance, it was rarely if ever used of soldiers travelling on or to a campaign (for which *misthos* was usually employed); the specificity with which *ephodia* occurs in such contexts bespeaks its separation from the mundane^[3]. Moreover, *ephodia* is the standard term used for payments

[1] Note, for example, the use of *ephodia* as travel money in the early fourth-century(?) building account from Hermione (IG IV 742) where it applies to a subset of those employed (*misthotoi*) in construction. This account is of numismatic interest insofar as the sums of *ephodia* constituted odd amounts and are enumerated down to the *hemiobolos* where appropriate, in contrast to Athenian practice (explored below) that saw to the distribution of larger sums of money as denominated in whole numbers of *drakhmai*. Presumably reliant upon the usual interpretation of *ephodia* as travel money of any kind whatsoever, even Rutherford (2013) omits it from his otherwise extensive account of Greek sacred ambassadors and their missions.

[2] The earliest instance of this usage occurs where Thucydides (2.70.3) defines the term for his audience in his description of the money given by the Athenians to those evacuating Poteidaia: ἀργυρίον τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντα ἐφόδιον. Noteworthy among early texts is Lysias’ speech against Eratosthenes (12.11) wherein he reports his desperate request for mercy in the sole form of *ephodia*, after surrendering a fortune in cash, to one of his captors among the Thirty Tyrants. In both cases, those receiving the money are to leave their homes irrevocably and so we should perhaps understand that they were meant to travel to the city from which they personally or collectively hailed (thus, Lysias: Syracuse; the Poteidaians: Corinth). I note here also the following Athenian honorific decrees which use *ephodia* to describe the funds given by individuals on behalf of Athenians captured in various circumstances so as to allow them to return thence: IG II² 398 (c. 320/19); 493 (303/2); 657 (= II³, 1 1877) (283/2); 844 (II³, 1 1137) (shortly after 193/2). None of the texts state the amounts awarded.

[3] Loomis (1998), 32-61 and 266-70, provides a useful conspectus of the Athenian evidence (and 321-29 for the non-Athenian evidence) of the language for payments of any kind to soldiers, sailors, and other military personnel and, separately, 316-18, *ephodia* or other emoluments for those traveling officially on behalf of the *polis*. While proper treatment of military *ephodia* lies beyond the scope of this project, it may be important

to political embassies in Athens and elsewhere, but even this usage is not clearly attested until the early fourth century and we may sense even here that there may be a deeper significance to the term than its banal reportage may at first signal^[4]. In any case, while the political usage of the term *ephodia* dominates our (mainly epigraphic) sources, there should be no confusion with its application to sacred matters since the two kinds of traveler (i.e. *presbeus* [diplomatic] vs. (*arkhi-*)*theôros* [sacred]) dispatched on such official journeys nevertheless differed in important institutional respects and probably never carried out the duties of the other office. Moreover, the twelve or so attested decrees from before the end of the fourth century that authorize *ephodia* for diplomatic use cohere as a group in other institutional respects such as the funding formula, whereas we possess only one, fragmentary decree that has something to do with a sacred embassy that was to receive *ephodia* and it does not appear to possess this formula^[5]. Whatever the institutional origin of the word *ephodia* at Athens and why it came to be used for these two kinds of official travel, and whatever *ephodia* was generally held to constitute, signify, or impart, the evidence nonetheless separates the two institutional usages by function, in which case we are permitted to defer discussion of the political as well as the exilic kinds to still other occasions and venues.

A question to consider is whether, or to what degree, *ephodia* money was indeed sacral or sacralized in some degree when applied to sacred embassies. Even if *ephodia* were not sacral in any way but it was merely public money *stricto sensu* (i.e. *dêmosia khrêmata*) given for the purpose of travel, it would still be of interest with respect to the movement of wealth towards certain shrines. But if indeed *ephodia* was itself a kind of money with a religious

to register here the hypothesis that the few texts that employ this term in a military context do so mainly in order to underscore the inappropriate nature of its award in those specific circumstances (e.g. Thuc. 6.31.5, 35.5; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1, 1.6). Nonetheless, while sailors in the regular Athenian fleet thus received *misthos* as a kind of compensation (though this, too, should receive much more attention in future scholarship), it is conceivable that sailors upon the sacred triremes received *ephodia* as I define it below, namely, a sacralized payment, rather than *misthos* since these ships and their crews were organized around the cult of common heroes, for which see Bubelis (2010). This would be consistent with Aristophanes' use of the verb *θεωρεῖν* (*Vesp.* 1188-89) for Philokleon's statement in *Wasps* that he never visited anywhere but Paros, and for that received two *oboloi*. Two of the scholia on this passage take the journey to be military and hence the pay to have been *misthos* (*SVesp.* 1189b, c), but that would be a reasonable mistake by those unfamiliar with the Athenian institution. Otherwise, since it has no parallel in pre-Roman evidence perhaps we may also safely disregard Plutarch's use of *ephodia* (*Them.* 10.6-7) for the payments of 8 dr. each made by the *polis* to citizens embarking upon the fleet before Salamis in 480.

[4] IG I³ 37 (447/6) and 47 (440-425) are often restored as containing the term, but there is nothing in the certain parts of the text that requires us to accept the restorations notwithstanding that the subjects treated therein might be sacred in nature. The earliest epigraphic text that clearly attests *ephodia* is IG II² 102 (c. 370), which concerns the dispatch of political ambassadors to Macedon.

[5] Diplomatic *ephodia* (in chronological order of [certain or possible] attestation): IG I³ 37 (447/60, [*ephodia* restored]); IG I³ 47 (440-425, [*ephodia* rest.]); IG II² 102 (c. 370); *Agora* XXVI 48 (367/6); IG II² 124 (357/6); IG II² 149 (before 355/4); IG II² 207 (349/8); IG II² 264 (before 336/5); IG II² 360 (= I³ 1367; 325/4); IG II² 435 (= II³ 1, 404; after 336/5); IG II² 555 (307/6-304/3); IG II² 653 (= II³ 1 870; 289/8); IG II² 675 (277/6); to this list may be appended the fragmentary, and possibly not diplomatic, *Agora* XXVI 56 (= *IEleusis* 138; 367/6-348/7?). The relevant formula, which is found in c. 155 Athenian decrees covering many other subjects from the fourth to the early third century, is usually articulated as follows (with some variation of word order): τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ. The sacred decree IG II² 365(323/2), which I also discuss further below (n. 30), orders the *apodektai* (i.e. the receivers of funds to the public treasury) to disburse some (unknown amount of) silver from what must be a kind of accounts receivable fund, rather than the regular, budgeted funds available to the *tamias* of the Demos: fr. b, ll. 6-7; cf. fr. a, ll. 13-14.

character or quality intrinsic to it, then every aspect of it – from collection to disbursement to expenditure – intersected with or constituted a religious act. In other words, if *ephodia* was already sacralized to some degree prior to the arrival of a sacred ambassador at his destination then we must think beyond sanctuaries as the only places where money might indeed enter into, or interact with, the divine sphere, whatever that might entail. To the contrary, a sacral payment that was intended to be spent along the way to such a shrine would be both commercial as well as religious in its purpose in a way that donations, gifts, sacrifices, and so on at or within a sanctuary would not be. The question that thus arises next concerns the sanctity of *ephodia* itself.

1. SACRED EPHODIA FOR SACRED EMBASSIES

The degree or particular category of sanctity that is incumbent in *ephodia* when used for sacral purposes can be described in the first instance as possessing a geographic dimension. Indeed, *ephodia* for sacral purposes appears to have been restricted to travel beyond the borders of Attica as is evident in a decree of 352/1 that concerns the urgent dispatch of a mission to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi in response to a violation by the Megarians of land sacred to Demeter and Kore, known as the Hiera Orgas, and located just within the Attic border with Megara^[6]. While no sum is preserved, whether as an aggregate or a *per diem*, the Athenians unmistakably granted money for *ephodia* to those selected to go to Delphi and inquire of the oracle there^[7]. Five *drakhmai* were also given to a group of men who were to go to the Hiera Orgas and examine the boundary markers (*horoi*) there, but the decree (which is perfectly preserved in the relevant section) does not describe this money as *ephodia*^[8]. This difference illustrates something generally important about *ephodia*, namely, that it applied only when one traveled beyond the boundaries of one's own *polis*, however big that was, as Attica certainly was. Further on in the decree, in two lists that identify, first, those men chosen to go to the Hiera Orgas and, second, also those for Delphi, each list appears to have been itself broken into two subsidiary parts; for each destination there is first a list of those who come from the Boule (namely, as members of that institution: ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς) and then who come as individuals (ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν). The significance of this distinction is that for those chosen to journey to Delphi there was no difference in whether as private citizens or public magistrates they were eligible to receive the *ephodia* since all of those journeying to Delphi did in truth receive that *ephodia*. Thus, by implication, private funds (i.e. ἰδιωτικὰ χρήματα) were not a consideration or else the decree would have made the need to use such funds explicit. I will return later to the matter of private funds generally, but wish here to note that while this one text does not resolve all problems in determining just what the *ephodia* was it nonetheless reveals two essential features that require explanation, namely, why was it only used for travel abroad and why was it awarded universally to those chosen to go on the sacred journey to Delphi?

A second text allows us to push our inquiry further. An Athenian account of 374/3 records the great sums paid out by the Athenian *amphiktyones* on a single occasion, namely, 6,000 dr. to several *arkhithēōroi* and 7,000 dr. to a single *triērarkhos* who ferried to Delos their

[6] IG II² 204 + add. p. 659 (= I.Eleusis 144; R/O 58).

[7] ll. 62-63: [δ]οῦναι δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰρεθ- | ἐ[ντων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐκάστωι...] δρ[α]χμᾶς εἰς ἐφόδια.

[8] ll. 63-64: δόναι δὲ κα[ι] | το[ῖς αἰρεθεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερ]ὰν ὀργάδα : Π : δραχμᾶς.

theôria along with no fewer than 109 cattle, which cost an additional 8,418 dr.!)^[9]. But the *amphiktyones* evidently did not pay any *ephodia* for the *arkhitheôroi* out of the 6,000 dr., nor did the *triêrarkhos* do so out of his allotment, since the account shows that the sums derived not from the public treasury but rather from various monies assembled from donations made by a variety of other *poleis*, individuals (mainly from Delos), and income from leases of sacred land on Rheneia and Delos. In other words, the *polis* of the Athenians did not contribute to the sums thus recorded. In principle, there is no reason why the *polis* cannot have paid the *ephodia* out of different funds for the *arkhitheôroi* and conceivably for any others on this sacred journey but if it did so why would that expenditure not still be recorded in this account? Perhaps the simplest explanation is that, as with the Hiera Orgas, no *ephodia* was to be paid if the journey was undertaken within Attic territory and because Delos was under Athenian control in this period perhaps it too constituted an erstwhile extension of Athenian territory in which case no *ephodia* could be paid for sacred travel to it as well. By implication, then, *ephodia* was not intended also to cover the costs of sacrifice or other ritual acts at the destination, a point to which I will return.

At this juncture, I would like to suggest that what we may reasonably take to be three fundamental principles in Greek religion are at work in the case of the *ephodia* and visible in both inscriptions discussed above. First, just as one must sacrifice for oneself to acquire the good will of a deity, and thus to achieve one's wishes or make good on one's vows and the like, so too do sacrifices conducted on behalf of groups or corporate bodies, ranging from a family to a whole *polis*, depend for success upon the identity of the person responsible for, or actually committing, the sacrificial act and offering it to the deity^[10]. It is difficult to imagine that the hekatomb sacrifice (and, indeed, perhaps other sacrifices in light of the other nine cattle) in addition to the many contests and dedications the *stèle* also records, cannot have been intended by the Athenians not to invoke some kind of religious blessing upon themselves. In other words, in the case of sacred embassies the identity of those entrusted with being, say, *arkhitheôroi* acts to transfer the benefits of various religious acts back to those who originally chose the *arkhitheôroi*. Thus, the *polis* and the totality of its citizenry would, in principle, benefit on the sacral plane from the religious acts carried out by its sacred ambassadors.

Second, whoever it is that pays for a ritual act such as the purchase of a sacrificial animal is one who has sacrificed wealth in the pursuit of worship and thus derives a certain benefit from the act of sacrificing the animal and sharing its meat with others, and so on (this benefit, it stands to reason, also exceeds the benefit that is also enjoyed by merely consuming the sacrifice, say, by a member of the sacrificiant's kin)^[11]. In other words, if the *polis* were to pay something toward the journey of an *arkhitheôros* then it did so with the belief that it would

^[9] IG II² 1635 (= ID 98), ll. 34-36. Concerning the possibility that the pay for those rowing sacred triremes (which frequently served as *theôrides* in conveying large groups and cargoes to Delos, as noted by Rutherford [2013], 181) was *ephodia*, see n. 3 above.

^[10] Numerous instances from Athens alone document the prayers and sacrifices offered by specific magistrates or colleges thereof on behalf of the *polis* or parts thereof, e.g. *Ath. Pol.* 54.6-7 (concerning a whole category of *hieropoioi* with such duties); Ant. 6.45 (defendant in murder trial stipulates his sacrifices as a *prytanis* on behalf of the democracy as an intrinsically democratic act); and *Agora XV* 38 (341/0), ll. 74-78 (honors for a *tamias* of the tribe of Aigeis who sacrificed on behalf of the *prytaneis*). For further discussion and examples, see, for example, Evans (2004); Parker (2005), 89-115, and Bubelis (2016), 142-43.

^[11] On ritual commensality as an essential, if not driving, force in Greek religion, amidst the abundance of relevant literature we may point both to the foundational work of Schmitt Pantel (1992), the newer explorations of Bruit and Lissarague (2004), and to the more recent volume of van den Eijnde, Blok, and Strootman (2018).

obtain an important share in the religious benefits that accrue to one making a pilgrimage^[12]. After all, an ambassador is merely a representative for whatever entity it is that dispatched him and as such acts on behalf of that greater authority; sacrifices conducted abroad are, by extension, those of the *polis* who sent the ambassador even when it is only the ambassador that conducts them directly^[13]. This principle would also explain why, at least as early as Solon, the *polis* of Athens paid silver from its treasury on a regular basis to a particular descent group known as the Deliastai for their sacred journeys to Delos^[14]. While those payments are not attested as *ephodia* nonetheless the Deliastai and still other groups likely received public money to carry out their own religious obligations because those acts were believed to benefit the *polis* generally^[15].

The third principle is that pilgrimage was indeed an important religious act for individuals as well as communities, though it need hardly have operated at all like pilgrimage in other religions, and that by definition it did not apply to shrines within one's own community or otherwise under one's own control^[16]. Together, these three principles would appear to

[12] The term has been much debated in recent years, for which see the rich discussion in Elsner and Rutherford (2005), especially their introduction and that of Scullion (2005), but following the lead of Rutherford (2013), 12-14, I use 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage' here as a catch-all for travelers motivated by personal devotion to worship at a specific shrine or set thereof, while recognizing that the nature of such devotion and what it might entail ritually or economically could differ greatly between, say, those hoping to be initiated into mysteries of some sort or those wishing to complete a vow; cf. n. 16 below.

[13] Perhaps this is why, according to the author of *Ath. Pol.* (62.2, with Rhodes [1993], 691-92), it was Delos and not Athens who paid (one *drakhma per diem*) for the Athenian *amphiktyones* who administered the shrine of Apollo on Delos to dine at public expense, namely, to retain whatever benefit the Delians could from this nominally shared institution that otherwise was under Athenian control and operated in Athens' interests.

[14] *Ath.* 6.234 E (= Polemon F78 Preller; F88 Ruschenbusch). Harpokration (s.v. Dhliastav; = Lycurg. fr. 87 Conomis *Lyc.*) cites Lykourgos for the notice that the *arkhitheôroi* to the Delia were called Deliastai. Nonetheless, Chankowski (2008), 95-96, does not wish to equate the Deliastai of the Solonian Calendar with *arkhitheôroi* and questions the relevance of a Delion at Marathon, concerning which see Lambert "Calendar" (2002), 384; Bubelis (2016), 80-81. Chankowski's reasoning, however, is not convincing since the Marathonian Delion is entirely Attic and thus fully in keeping with the implications of the evidence provided by Athenaios and Polemon, among others. Rather, the better point of her critique is that we should indeed be cautious about definitively equating a private, familial religious group in the form of the Deliastai (see e.g. Bubelis [2016] 80-81) with an official magistracy of *arkhitheôroi*. In principal, it is possible that they were the same, but we might also imagine other scenarios where, for example, the Deliastai merely operated alongside such official representatives of the *polis*, especially since there is no evidence for either the shrine or embassies in the sacred calendar for the Marathonian Tetrapolis, for which see Lambert (2000) and "Calendar" (2002), 384. Thus, although it is certain that the Tetrapolis long sent its own embassies (and processions, *pompima*) to Delphi (e.g. *FD* III 2 18 [=SIG³ 541]) as well as to Delos (S S. *OCl.* 1047, quoting Philokhoros *FGrH* 328 F 75), Parker (1996), 332, following an observation of Ziehen seems to hold out the possibility that by the end of the second century the Tetrapolis' deputation to Delphi may have been subsumed at least partially into that of the *polis* itself.

[15] *Ath. Pol.* 8.3 and 21.5 indicate that such money was disbursed by magistrates known as the *kôlakretai* and that it came from the treasury administered by the *naukrariai*, the pre-Kleisthenic divisions of the four Ionian tribes; cf. Kleidemos *FGrH* 323 F 8 and Pollux 8.108. On these texts and their implications for what we know about the budgetary structures and processes of archaic Athens, see in particular Bubelis (2016), 170-78, where I also demonstrate, 62-91, that many of these offices (and whole bodies of the pre-Kleisthenic constitution) survived well after Kleisthenes' reforms under the democracy by dint of their sacrificial privilege and, as a corollary, their continued benefit to the *polis*.

[16] Graf (2002), 195, in his review of Dillon (1997), excoriates what he views as an anachronistic and harmful application of specifically Christian terminology such as pilgrimage to the study of Greek religion. But Dillon, xvi, also pointed to the language of the Peace of Nikias as given by Thucydides (5.18.2), namely,

constitute the overarching reason why a *polis* such as Athens would provide *ephodia* for its sacred ambassadors when they travelled to shrines beyond its boundaries^[17]. With respect to the texts discussed above these three principles thus explain why the Athenians paid an *ephodia* to those travelling to Delphi but only travelling expenses to those travelling to the Hieria Orgas, and even where an abundance of private or other public funds were available, they did not draw upon them for their sacred embassy to Delos for that would have brought no benefit or at least insufficient benefit to the *polis* itself since Delos was indeed under Athenian administration then.

Whereas the first element of sanctity incumbent in *ephodia* for sacred ambassadors thus seems to be a function of extending religious benefits across geographic boundaries, another, second element appears to derive from the origins of the funds themselves. From the epigraphic record it is clear that the *polis* dispensed the funds not from the immutable possessions of any god (i.e. *hiera khrēmata*) or the accounts of those stewarding such

that it protected “those wishing to go, to sacrifice, to consult the oracle, to be spectators, at the common sanctuaries” (Dillon’s trans.) and it is this that Dillon took as a descriptive cover for pilgrimage as it was known and practiced by Greeks. Rutherford (2013), 12-14, sympathetically notes Graf’s (and Scullion’s [2005]) objections but rightly notes also the universality of religious travel across cultures and thus suggests that the broader, anthropological usage of the term to describe such travel in all of its different permutations across those cultures is perfectly appropriate even where the categories of behavior or belief (e.g. the seemingly political nature of many ancient *theōriai*) do not sit comfortably within or against the categories of other cultural systems; cf. Elsner and Rutherford (2005), 1-9, 33-34. With regard to the present discussion, perhaps the most salient difference between Greek pilgrimage and pilgrimage as it is known from other religions such as Christianity as well as Islam is that by virtue of the polytheism of the Greeks there was no overriding, general doctrine promoting the practice nor were there organizations and institutions interested in promoting, or even controlling, the act of pilgrimage. Thus, while Greek travel for devotional purposes, even to shrines of eschatologically-oriented cults such as those of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, is abundantly reflected in our evidence it appears to have been conditioned much more by individual desires and needs even where it had an element of obligation (such as a requirement incumbent upon members of a descent group, for which see n. 14 above). This also appears to have been the case where the *polis* or its constituent parts are concerned, and it would explain the dearth of surviving decrees concerning sacred embassies, for sacred ambassadors do not appear to have been magistrates at Athens (see n. 17 below) but perhaps were merely citizens who either took up the task as a liturgy or whose membership in a descent group such as a *genos* gave them the right as well as the obligation to make the journey to a particular shrine for a particular festival. Wealth, too, played a role in some instances since some important Athenian sacred ambassadors were, in fact, liturgists, for which see ns. 17 and 25 below. In any case Greek pilgrimage even on behalf of a *polis* or even a part thereof does not seem to have taken on a highly institutionalized form characteristic of those other religions.

^[17] In his (2013) survey of sacred ambassadors and embassies, Rutherford adduced no evidence or arguments to suggest that the Athenian ambassadors were also magistrates, as is known to be the case at a few other *poleis* (cf. his p. 126-41). The case of at least one delegation to the Pythais, for which see n. 20 below, seems to suggest that indeed the Athenians decreed who was to serve in that capacity, but Delphi may represent a unique sanctuary given its oracle. As discussed below, Aristotle and Lysias point more generally to sacred ambassadors as liturgists, a position which would seem to be incompatible with magistracy in the classical period. Thus, Rutherford translates perhaps too freely, 164, when he has Deinarkhos (*Dem.* 1.82) say that “Demosthenes volunteered to serve as *arkhithēōros* to Olympia for free,” as if implying that such a position normally cost the *polis* because it was a magistracy when Deinarkhos merely says that Demosthenes put himself forward for the task: ἀρχιθεωρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ. But since we do not otherwise know how Athenians became sacred ambassadors we cannot therefore rule out the possibility that many of them came from *genē* or other ritual groups that were believed to have both the privilege as well as the obligation of carrying out the journey on behalf of the *polis*, as is well documented for nearly all priesthoods and other ritual positions, particular sacrifices, custody of shrines, and the like, for which see the numerous cases discussed in, for example, Parker (1996) and (2005).

possessions but that it did so through the office of the *tamias* of the Demos, in which case the funds originated elsewhere in the Athenian fiscal system and did not possess that highest level of sanctity that *hiera khrêmata* possessed^[18]. Following the general rule concerning the bifurcation of that wealth from less holy forms of property in Athens, it is highly probable that the *ephodia* funds occupied a place between strictly sacred and public categories of wealth since the *polis* employed funds of this very nature for sacred purposes (such as purchasing animals for sacrifice), which we might thus call ‘sanctified’ following the sense of the Greek *hosia* (i.e. *hosia khrêmata*). Fundamentally unlike the *hiera* possessions of a god, which remained fixed, funds of *hosia* nature were fungible and thus had to be generated, disbursed, and spent as appropriate, while the Athenian Boule also had the power to rename strictly public funds (i.e. *dêmosia khrêmata*) as *hosia* since it constituted the ultimate manager of both kinds of property^[19]. Since Athenian sacred ambassadors were not magistrates and the dispatch of sacred embassies (except *ad hoc* ones to Delphi, *vel sim.*) was not a matter that came continuously under the scrutiny of the Demos and Boule, our texts are generally silent on the precise fiscal source or sacral category of *ephodia*. Nonetheless, one small fragment of an inscription may be enough to point us in the right direction. The text appears to be that of a sacrificial calendar inscribed c. 350-335 in which the *polis*, deme, or other entity of state grants an amount of sixty *drakhmai* to another descent group known the Pythaïstai and, in the next line, lists an award of three *drakhmai* that are collectively identified as *ephodia*^[20]. Given the amount of text that is lost to the immediate left of the surviving letters, we cannot be certain that it was the Pythaïstai that received the *ephodia*, but since the Pythaïstai did make sacred embassies to Delphi on behalf of the *polis* it seems quite likely that the *ephodia* was indeed awarded to them or to some related group for that very reason^[21]. Since it is highly

[18] This account of the categories of wealth follows Bubelis (2016), but see also Evans (2004) and Blok (2010).

[19] On the power of the Boule to create *hosia* funds out of *dêmosia*, see Bubelis (2016), 199-213.

[20] *IG I³ 1, 533 (= II² 260)*. The precise representation and discussion of the relevant numeric characters in this difficult line will be the subject of a separate contribution elsewhere, but let it suffice here to note that on this text (his no. 13), Lambert (2004), 149-50, rightly rejected Kirchner’s original identification (thus, II² 260) of the text as the bottom section of a decree and instead points to it as likely a fragment of a sacred calendar. The fragment is non-stoichedon and, in any case, its left margin cannot be positioned or reconstructed though its right side is preserved. An interesting question, perhaps unanswerable from current knowledge, is how the calendar might have expressed additional entries.

[21] Parker (2005), 84-85, takes the irregular journeys of the Pythaïstai to Delphi to be of early origin and as an official deputation of the Athenians (i.e. through the priestly families thus maintaining the privilege, partly on the basis of the fourth-century sacrificial calendar from Erkhia) though the direct evidence is most robust in the late Hellenistic period. The Pythaïstai are also attested in several fourth-century Athenian sacred calendars (F1A, ll. 26-30, and F6 of the so-called Solonian Calendar, for which see Lambert “Calendar” [2002], with his enumeration; the calendar from Erkhia [with text of Daux (1963), 603-34 and corrigenda in (1964), 676-77]). Lambert (2004), 151, expresses uncertainty as to whether these documents relate to the official delegations to Delphi (known as Pythaïdes) of 355 or 326 (citing *Syll.*³ 296 = *FD III 1, 511*), but that may miss the point altogether. The calendars show that the Pythaïstai were obligated to perform certain sacrifices (to Apollo, only) that were paid for by the Athenians as both *polis* and as deme (Erkhia) and that these occurred alongside certain sacrifices carried out by others, even on the same day to the same god, just as the Athenians also dispatched embassies of their own to Delphi (as is the implication of *FD III 1, 511*, a dedication of the Athenians honoring the ten *hieropoioi* who led the Pythaïs in that year [330-324], and which included political figures such as Lykourgos and Demades with uniform representation of the tribes, as per Lewis [1955], 34-36, such that we can be certain that this was this a college of magistrates not the Pythaïstai); cf. n. 17 above. No evidence shows that the two kinds of embassy had the same duties or otherwise overlapped. We should also note other evidence for the group’s fourth-century vitality as witnessed by the c. 370 votive relief from Ikarion (site of a Pythion), for which see Lawton (2007), 51-52, dedicated to Apollo alone and which shows the presentation of boys to Leto, Artemis, and Apollo by an elderly man (presumably

probable that the money in question was *hosia*, it is therefore correspondingly likely that the *ephodia* that Athens granted to the Pythaïstai, other groups of that kind, and, of course, to any and all other sacred ambassadors possessed a degree or quality of sanctity that likewise endowed the act of its expenditure on pilgrimage with a corresponding measure of religious significance.

2. WHAT *EPHODIA* PURCHASED AND WHAT IT DID NOT

The *ephodia* was not intended to cover, nor could it, anything but the minimal travelling costs of those to whom it was granted and thus it played no role in the purchase of sacrificial animals or any other sacred act other than pilgrimage itself. In his early study of *ephodia*, Westerman worked mainly from the few surviving decrees that awarded *ephodia* to political ambassadors and from that data drew the conclusion that if the *ephodia* was truly intended to serve daily traveling costs then it likely amounted to a *per diem* of c. 1.5 *drakhmai* down to c. 325, at which point it may have been raised to 2.5 Attic dr. *per diem*^[22]. Westerman had to calculate that *per diem* because the texts only state the total sum (in units of 10 *drakhmai*) granted for a journey, which he could then divide by an estimate of the number of days needed for a journey (both by land and sea) from Athens to, say, Macedon where the destination was known^[23]. There appears to be no fundamental reason why the sums for the political

a leading member of the Pythaïstai, and not necessarily a chorus leader as Lawton, 51, suggests). Note, too, that the Pythaïstai made use of another pair of sites: (a) the hearth of Zeus Astrapaïos, in the wall between the b) Pythion and the Olympieion, southwest of the acropolis, according to Strabo 9.2.11). From the Pythion they dispatched *theôriai* to Delphi after having observed lightning strike a site (the Harma) on Mt. Parnes, for which see Rutherford (2013), 176-77, and Parker (2005), 83-87 (with bibliography, 85 n. 26, on the possible location of this Pythion at Oinoe, thus not near the akropolis). On this reading of the evidence, then, the Athenians may have provided *ephodia* concurrently to at least two separate kinds of sacred embassy to Delphi and with variable frequency.

[22] Westerman (1910), 205-12. Westerman also drew attention, 207, to the evidence of Demosthenes (19.158) to the effect that Athens paid out a total of 1,000 dr. for ten ambassadors to travel to Macedon in 346, which the orator finds to be a gross abuse of public trust and finances. Westerman wrongly estimates, however, the sum precisely because he assumes that the duration of one's probable or intended stay in a place influenced the size of the sum given, in which case he accepts as accurate his calculation of a *per diem* on that journey, which lasted seventy days, of 1 3/10 dr. *per diem* for each man. But it is easier to explain Demosthenes' outrage in that passage if we accept Westerman's earlier calculation, 205-206, that a trip to Pella from Athens normally took ten days, which, if we double to account for the return journey, should provide us a much higher *per diem*, namely, 5 dr. *per diem*, in which case the sheer wastefulness of the embassy would be more starkly drawn. The grossly inflated sum actually paid thus helps us to explain the comic exaggeration evident in Aristophanes' *Akharnians* of 425, where Dikaiopolis imagines (*ll.* 130-33) paying to Amphytheos 8 *drakhmai* for travel to Sparta so as to conclude a personal peace treaty on his behalf. Westerman, 207, rightly notes that this would be equivalent to a *per diem* of 2-3 *drakhmai*, which in 425 might well have been as inflated a sum as 5 *drakhmai* was for the ambassadors of 346.

[23] Westerman (1910), 211, presumes that twenty-five miles (i.e. c. 40km) would be the expected distance ambassadors would travel on foot in a day, namely, in the case of a journey between Smyrna and Magnesia, but since travel time over terrain is inherently (and often radically) variable, to say nothing of the abilities of those travelling, that estimate should be considered unworkably too high. The distance between the two cities, after all, is closer to 90km and involves crossing two mountain ranges and one major river plain. It is preferable to follow the lead of Sanders and Whitbread (1990) in using time (i.e. hours and minutes) as the essential measure, where it appears that they assume, to judge from their calculations on p. 346 and 353, that the maximum time spent by anyone walking in any Greek environment (namely, during the Ottoman period from which they extracted their data) did not usually exceed a little over 8 hrs. or so *per diem*. Thus, if it is possible to use their data to model roughly the possibilities for travel in the ancient period and to

embassies should have been radically larger or smaller relative to those granted to sacred embassies, in which case we may take those figures of Westerman as a rough proxy for the *ephodia* granted to sacred ambassadors. Thus, even if we take the higher range of the figure Westerman calculated as the effective *per diem*, namely, c. 2.5 dr., it is clear from comparison to fourth-century Athenian sacred calendars that the *ephodia* would have been completely insufficient for purchasing any sacred animals even if not used for any travel whatsoever. For example, the lowest value attested for any animal is that of 3 *drakhmai* for a piglet, which occurs in both the calendars from Erkhia (c. 375-350) and the Marathonian Tetrapolis (c. 375-350), whereas, by way of comparison, the same Marathonian calendar stipulates a sum of at least 20 *drakhmai* for a pregnant sow^[24]. Pigs and piglets, however, are hardly appropriate animals for the sacrifice to any deity but Demeter and Kore, and the impossibility of using *ephodia* for purchasing animals that were indeed likely to be sacrificed is illustrated more starkly by the example of a simple sheep, which range in value from 10 to 15 *drakhmai* in the calendars, while an ox in the same calendar from the Tetrapolis came in at 90 *drakhmai*^[25]. Even if we allow that prices may have been different in the neighborhood of the sanctuary to which the ambassadors were to travel, it is highly improbable that they can have been so radically lower than in Athens that the *ephodia* could be used for their purchase abroad.

Nevertheless, the sacred ambassadors – especially the *arkhithēōros* – might need to contribute a significant amount of their own wealth in order to fulfill either a formal liturgical requirement or to ensure that the embassy be as grand as possible. Lysias and Aristotle make clear that an Athenian *arkhithēōros* was burdened with the most expensive of liturgies such as would involve great cost, perhaps well over a talent for a single year (and thus, presumably only a single major embassy)^[26]. The actual cost of a journey could be very high, especially

work upon the assumption of a relatively steady pace of c. 4-5 km/hour, perhaps the journey from the Attic border (just west of the modern Elefsina shipyards) to, say, Isthmia of c. 50km, over relatively easy ground by most of the Saronic Gulf shoreline, then overland past the Skironian Rocks, should have taken about two days, presumably with a stop overnight in the vicinity of ancient Krommyon. If so, then the *ephodia* granted to those ambassadors should reasonably have covered about four days to allow for the return journey to the Attic border (thus, at four days, requiring for each an *ephodia* of 10 *drakhmai* at a *per diem* of c. 2.5 *drakhmai*). Even if a portion of the journey could be covered by sea it might not have made much difference if the Athenians already used a standard rate by which to calculate the sum of what *ephodia* would be granted for a particular journey; the route (and travel time) of a journey to a site like Isthmia, after all, was surely well established and did not admit much variation.

[24] Erkhia: text of Daux (1963 and 1964), col. I (A), l. 23, e.g.; Marathonian Tetrapolis: text of Lambert (2000), Face A col. 2, l. 4 e.g. (piglet), l. 43 (pregnant sow), with discussion of Lambert, 55, who tentatively suggests that the inscription must indicate that the pregnant sow cost fully 70 *drakhmai*.

[25] The prices for sheep vary within calendars by virtue of different ritual requirements, as for example in the Erkhia calendar (text of Daux [1963 and 1964]) where a sheep is listed at both 10 *drakhmai* for Apollo Lykeios (col. I [A], l. 5) and the Nymphs (col. I [A], l. 16) and then at 12 *drakhmai* for Zeus Meilikhios (col. I [A], l. 44).

[26] Arist. *EN* 1122a; Lys. 21.2. On the grandeur of embassies, and also the role that private as well as public wealth might play we should note the account of Plutarch (*Alc.* 12) as well as the contemporary though hostile account of [Andokides] 4.29 (cf. Plu. *Alc.*13), concerning not only Alkibiades' multiple entries into the equestrian competition at Olympia in 420/19 (or 416/15, following Hornblower [2008], 343), but also his use of Athenian public banqueting silver (*pompeia*) at Olympia, which had been brought by an *arkhithēōros*. Thucydides thus puts into Alkibiades' mouth, at the beginning of his first speech (6.16.2-3) concerning the Sicilian expedition, a cogent expression of his intent, namely, to make his personal efforts so overwhelm athletic competition that the rest of the Greeks would believe Athens to be even wealthier and more powerful than it really was: οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μείζω ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν τῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάζε θεωρίας, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμηθῆαι, διότι ἄρματα μὲν

where large numbers of travelers, sacred animals, and the conveyance of sacred banqueting vessels and other equipment were concerned, but the *ephodia* could never cover those costs^[27]. Although the fourth-century Delphic accounts of the *naopoioi* give us some idea of the usual size of such embassies (that is, two or three official members), even relatively small and isolated communities could on occasion dispatch a large group, as for example Andros, which sent fully twenty *theôroi* on one occasion (perhaps in a year when the Pythian festival was being celebrated)^[28]. We can only imagine how large a proportion of the holdings of a treasury such as that of Andros an embassy like that might constitute, in which case we should not rule out that such efforts might take many years of saving and planning^[29]. But with regard to Athens, if other public money was used, it was not, it seems, ever classified as *ephodia*, as noted above. Otherwise, private money was the key, in which case the sacred ambassadors (*theôroi*) would personally act to defray public costs while nonetheless augmenting the stateliness and religious propriety of their mission.

Well exceeding the formal minimum, the best-known example of such munificence is that of the Athenian general Nicias for the Delia of 424/3. On that occasion he met the whole cost of the embassy from his personal resources – and this included ships full of choristers and a bridge of sorts for them to disembark onto Delos while singing – and in the context of which he also offered a famous bronze palm tree as his personal dedication to Apollo (Plut.

καθήκα, ὅσα οὐδεὶς πω ιδιώτης πρότερον, ἐνίκησα δὲ καὶ δεύτερος καὶ τέταρτος ἐγενόμην καὶ τᾶλλα ἀξιώως τῆς νίκης παρεσκευασάμην. νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ τιμῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου καὶ δύναμις ἅμα ὑπονοεῖται. καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει χορηγίας ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ λαμπρύνομαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀστοῖς φθονεῖται φύσει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ αὐτῆ ἰσχύς φαίνεται. καὶ οὐκ ἀχρηστος ἢ δ' ἡ νόμιμα, ὅς ἂν τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσι μὴ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῇ. In that sense, Alkibiades' usurpation of the *pompeia* to magnify his image further, ostensibly on behalf of the *polis*, would be a sensible part of that effort, and although he does not address the matter directly the general thrust of Thucydides' characterization is amply supported by Alkibiades' own son in a later speech (Isok. 16.32-34). It is thus not surprising that [Andokides] should magnify his accusations against Alkibiades by claiming (4.30) that the Khirotes gave what he explicitly describes as sacred (i.e. *hiera*) *ephodia* for his horses (ἱερεῖα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐφόδια Χίριοι παρεσκευάσαν) while the Ephesians gave him the use of a Persian tent at their own public expense. If [Andokides] can be trusted to report the matter reliably (regardless of the truthfulness of the accusation itself), then perhaps we might have in his claim evidence for Ephesian practice as explained to Athenian jurors or readers. On the cultural politics of Alkibiades' actions at Olympia, see more generally now also Gribble (2012) as well as Bubelis (2016), 126-27, especially concerning Alkibiades' use of the *pompeia* and some of the implications for the transport of sacral wealth (*hiera*) outside of Attica itself.

[27] On the duties and obligations of sacred ambassadors, see especially Rutherford (2013), 126-41, 156-68; Dimitrova (2008), 9-16, and Perlman (2000).

[28] *CID* 2.23 (c. 334-323). Pythian year: Rutherford (2004), 109. As noted by Rutherford (2004), 111, a number of *theôriai* appear to have been the fruits of collaboration between two or more communities, such as Kyrene and Euhesperides in 334. Was this a measure to reduce costs when there was sufficient agreement about the compatibility of their embassies? Was there an *ephodia* of sorts in this case, and who paid it?

[29] Financial costs, nonetheless, could be reduced or at least ameliorated by the actions of the host community, as Boesch (1908), 71-79, was perhaps the first to show by charting out the manner in which offerings would be reciprocated, since the ambassadors would customarily be invited to the *prytaneion* or its equivalent and also offer a sacrifice of their own later; cf. Perlman (2000), 46-48. A text recording the response of Gela to Kos' request to recognize the re-founded Asklepieia (*SEG* 12.380, ll. 27-38) thus delineates the three obligations incumbent upon the community sending a sacred embassy: a) to host those making the initial announcement or request to the embassy's community; b) to offer cash with which to subsidize the cost of a procession (in this case ten *mnai*, rendered by the treasurers known as *pôlêtêres*); c) for the ambassadors along with high magistrates or sacred treasurers (in this case, *hieromnamones* and *hierapoloï*) to conduct sacrifices (in this case, rams) in the embassy's home community as well as at the sanctuary on behalf of both communities.

Nic. 3.5-6). The one extant Athenian decree (323/2) known to deal with an *arkhithēōria* (for Nemea, in this case) is very fragmentary but appears to have established that the Athenian *arkhithēōros* would henceforth not only conduct a sacrifice at Nemea in conjunction with the Athenian *proxenoi* there but also that he would pay for this sacrifice with public money since the Athenian Demos would be the beneficiary of the prayers offered there at the sacrifice^[30]. But, on epigraphic grounds alone, the money in question does not appear to have been *ephodia* nor, as argued above, was it likely to have been. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why a liturgist should receive from the treasury anything at all that was not already a standard disbursement.

3. SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR MONETARY CIRCULATION

Now that the essentials of *ephodia* as a sanctified monetary instrument have been established, we may turn to a few numismatic and economic implications of the institution of *ephodia*. We must first recognize that our discussions of sacred money are almost always, and by necessity, based upon the positive evidence of coins discovered in sacred sites or attested in inventories and accounts thereof. It is probably impossible, too, to recognize a coin issued and spent as *ephodia* from the archaeological record or from any characteristics of the coin itself. But this epistemological deficit misses an important part of the picture and puts too much emphasis, even too positivistic an emphasis, upon sanctuaries as the final resting spots of sacralized money, or upon the *poleis* from which the money travelled, as if sacred money could not otherwise move in the Greek landscape. What I have posited in this paper is that there is also a missing component, one which is thus negatively attested when it comes to the coins themselves but which nevertheless deserves to be taken into account. Some of the Athenian coins found in private or public, but not necessarily sacred, contexts between, say, the Attic boundary and the shrine of Poseidon at Isthmia or that of Zeus at Nemea may indeed have been spent with a sacred purpose in mind though it only purchased lodging or food along the way. Not all money that was believed to possess some level of sanctity was intended to be used or even deposited in a context that we can or should identify as sacred.

More to the point, the *ephodia* constituted a *per diem* that was spent along the way, not necessarily at the destination shrine or its protective *polis* unless the stay extended over several days and there was money left over from the journey itself (and, of course, subtracted from what would have to be saved for the return journey). The money in question perhaps did not usually reach the ambassador's destination itself, at least not in its entirety and not directly, so we should not think of a node-to-node or center-to-center kind of economic connection represented solely by place of origin (e.g. Athens) and destination (e.g. Nemea)^[31]. Instead,

^[30] *IG II²* 365. The decree is also unusual in that the (unknown) proposer acknowledges that he formulated the decree in response to what the (unnamed) *arkhithēōros* and a (named) *proxenos* of Kleonai said, presumably before the Boule or the whole Ekklesia. Since the decree orders the *apodektai* (cf. n. 5 above) to provide whatever money is needed by the *arkhithēōros*, and there is a rider that awards special honors (i.e. the right to dine in the *prytaneion*) to the *proxenos*, it is clear that their report or suggestion was received favorably. Lambert "Parerga II" (2002), argues that the Nemean festival took place on the equivalent of 11 or 12 Metageitnion in the Attic calendar. If it is indeed correct to restore, as *IG* does, the decree as having been passed on 11 Hekatombaion (*Il.* 3-4), then this decree would have altered the financial situation exactly one month before the embassy would be at Nemea, hence the need to have the *apodektai* themselves immediately provide money rather than, say, the *tamias* of the Demos.

^[31] Thus, on the mapping of theoretic routes and their networks, Rutherford (2013), 281-303, provides several case studies that depend entirely on epigraphic evidence that nonetheless, yet unavoidably given the nature of that evidence, implicitly reifies the node-to-node model that I wish to challenge. While Perlman's (2000),

we may think in terms of a more polyvalent cartography, such as with a series of overlapping pathways on a map that mark the various routes taken, all at different frequencies of use by travelers, and thus connecting a number of localities together and so reflecting, in the aggregate, the actual routes of travel from any number of polities to the major (and even relatively minor) shrines and the degree to which the travelers interacted economically with the places and people on their routes. Such an approach, which could be carried out easily in the form of a choropleth map, for instance, would help us to visualize the relative intensity of economic interaction along various routes as well as the frequency by which travelers took those routes^[32]. From an intellectual perspective alone the significance of the *ephodia* may be to re-shape our underlying notions concerning the landscape in which sacred money circulated, in which case we should widen our discussion of sacred money to include the various routes taken to reach a sanctuary as well as the communities that benefited directly and then indirectly from the circulation of that money rather than consider only the sanctuary and the community from which sacred ambassadors and others journeyed.

More to the point, low-level expenditure would have required small denomination coins to enter into a very local economy for lodging, food, and transport. But since the sums granted by Athens for *ephodia* were counted in whole numbers of *drakhmai*, we should perhaps not assume that the coins thus dispensed were in anything smaller than *tetradrachmai* and a remainder consisting of single *drakhmai*. If so, it would have been incumbent upon the recipient of *ephodia*, not the *polis* granting it, to change the money over to smaller denominations if that was felt to be necessary, and presumably this would be done, of course, at the recipient's own expense^[33]. Since we have no evidence or reason to suppose that the coins thus used for *ephodia* were made up out of foreign coins, we might, then, also assume that members of a

74-78, assessment of the epigraphic evidence for the routes taken by Epidaurian *theôroi* through Thessaly (and thus hosted officially by special *theôrodokoi* there) better reflects the real variations that a route might take, we should nonetheless think still more broadly about the problem.

^[32] Following the lead of archaeology, numismatists and historians alike have been somewhat more attentive to the need to re-think connections between places in more polyvalent, dynamic terms, such as outlined by Brughmans (2013) with regard to network analysis and Bevan (2013) with regard to computational modelling. But there is also an important place for many other approaches and for such perspectives as those of Horden and Purcell (2000), 142 and 150, who (taking their cue from F. Braudel) postulate that the movement of goods along Mediterranean coastlines, principally, ought to be likened to Brownian motion; cf. B. D. Shaw's review "Challenging Braudel: A New Vision of the Mediterranean" in *JRA* 14 (2001), 419-53. Likewise, another important, though often overlooked, contribution to our understanding of pathways and the relative ease of connectivity provided by some routes versus others is that of Sanders and Whitbread (1990), which has special relevance to this discussion by virtue of its focus on the Peloponnese (including the Megarid). One lesson implicit from that study, for example, is that those travelling on foot from Athens would likely have found their quickest route to, say, Olympia through the plain of Tripoli. If indeed that was the route most often taken by sacred ambassadors then we might expect that over the long run more *ephodia* was spent along this route than by one that, for instance, hugged the Peloponnesian coastline.

^[33] The issue here is that of the fee (or, *agio*) charged by money-changers (*trapezitai*), concerning which see Cohen (1992), 7-8, 18-22, 142-43, 149-50, 190, 205. Bogaert (1968), 48-49 and 325-29, provides a still useful though brief conspectus of relevant evidence, especially outside of Athens, and suggests that the *agio* typically amounted to c. 5-6% of the value of the currency changed; on how to approach such figures with respect to the actual coins in circulation, see Bubelis (2019). With respect to the circulation of Attic coinage, it may be worth noting that such fees are also attested institutionally at some of the major shrines in the fourth century, especially Delphi (and principally in relation to Athenian and Aiginetan coinage), for which see Doyen (2011) and Sosin (2000) and (2002). Kroll (2011), 236-37 n. 23, provides a salient discussion of some of the evidence concerning such fees, especially as it relates to Athenian institutions of the fifth and fourth centuries.

theôria used their community's own coins typically even in foreign territory, regardless if locals insisted on applying a discount or tariff to those coins. But those assumptions cannot be tested easily, and it remains possible that even where a *polis* such as Athens used a unit of account in its decrees that would point to large value silver denominations it actually disbursed the sum in smaller units, and, naturally, in bronze once bronze coins became acceptable^[34]. Nonetheless, we have in the *ephodia* an official mechanism for the dissemination of coins into foreign territory, often crossing metrological boundaries (such as would be the case for all Athenians crossing the Attic boundary into or through, say, the Megarid or Boiotia, where the Aiginetan standard was uniformly observed, at least with regard to silver)^[35]. In light of the *per diem* amounts that Westerman calculated, it stands to reason that sacred ambassadors would have either spent the larger coins only every few days or would have to have broken their *ephodia* into lower denominations to be spent more frequently. In any case, Athenian coins of various denominations would have been spent most frequently in the Peloponnese and Central Greece on the routes to sanctuaries of Panhellenic significance as well as to Delos, while other regions might never have received such money in circulation.

As per my invocation of a visual analogy earlier, these patterns likely map on to the patterns of monetary circulation arising from pilgrimage and travel by private parties, even where the public *ephodia* was quantifiably negligible compared to private spending on the same journeys to the same shrines. Of course, the effect would only be magnified in the case of whatever other sacred monies were spent along the way for such things as sacred animals. Thus, those communities that, like Athens, dispatched the highest number of sacred ambassadors as well as private pilgrims and the like had, in principle, a correspondingly larger effect in crossing boundaries of one kind or another and thus, in effect, rendering those areas more economically integrated with, and even dependent upon, themselves.

Conversely, polities that did not make use of such an institution as *ephodia* would, therefore, not have had their coins spread beyond their borders quite as much and, likewise, regions through which such travel did not regularly occur would not have regularly benefited from, or be otherwise impacted by, the circulation of such money. Communities that received sacred ambassadors put the money back into circulation when inns and the like purchased other goods and services in turn. We may thus glimpse here the relative power of larger communities to spread their coins abroad, with all that entails for economic, cultural, and political affairs. The economic contribution of public payment in this regard was probably

^[34] This caveat is consistent with the pattern of excavated coins from Nemea, for example, wherein several Attic silver fractions have been recovered from the sixth and fifth centuries (Cat. 297-300 [Knapp and Mac Isaac (2005)], aside from a single tetradrachma, Cat. 301), but Athenian bronzes take over thereafter in abundance to the end of the century (Cat. 302-352, 358-61, perhaps 353-55), displacing entirely, in effect, Attic silver. While that trend is broadly in keeping with the general shift to bronze visible by all mints whose coins are known from the excavations there, it nevertheless raises the possibility that, at least in principle, some of these coins were disbursed as *ephodia* and that they eventually found their way to the sanctuary.

^[35] It is not always clear that the metrological boundaries that affected precious metals should have applied to bronze coinage even though the bronze denominations had taken the place of some of the smallest silver denominations historically and still remained an intrinsic part of a community's monetary system. The vast numbers of metrologically external bronzes recovered from sanctuaries such as Nemea, for instance, point to a leakage, of sorts, across those boundaries. After all, not only do Athenian bronzes appear at Nemea in some quantity but also those of Khalkis and Histiaia (Cat. 238 and 241-70; 273-96 [Knapp and Mac Isaac (2005)], respectively), which shared Athens' metrology and not that of Aigina. Perhaps it is better to think of the bronzes, at least in the later fourth century and in a region of metrological borders, as acting like capillaries in a body that both link and perform the tasks of both arteries and veins albeit at a very small scale, in which case the bronzes also acted to link two metrological systems albeit at a low, quotidian value.

quantifiably negligible in the case of the most popular shrines and festivals, but in some cases it may have been of some economic significance if, for example, a particular community was located at a critical crossroads or the shrine received a proportionally larger share of Athenians than others, and so on.

4. CONCLUSIONS

It hardly stands to reason that such payments as the *ephodia* were restricted to Athens, in which case we should imagine a network of *poleis*, large and small, habitually dispensing such sacred payments to their ambassadors to be spent not at the shrines to which they journeyed so much as an inestimable number of inns, ferries, and other means of transport and lodging through much of Greece in order to support the journey itself. Sacred money, therefore, was not found only at sanctuaries but was used in commerce and circulated outward from where it was spent for goods and services that need hardly have been sacred in any sense. If we are to conceptualize in diagrammatic form the movement of such coins we are compelled to think far beyond two obvious nodes, namely, the *polis* and the shrine to which the ambassadors travelled, and instead imagine a landscape where sacred purposes were fulfilled even in very small ways by the mere travel of those entrusted with the funds, wherever and by whatever route they journeyed. Thus, when we consider the polyvalent relationship between money and religious sites or religious behavior we must go beyond sanctuaries and other ritualized sites and think more broadly about the creation and disposition of sacralized money within the whole of the Greek landscape.

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DION: COINS FOUND AT THE SANCTUARIES OF THE SACRED CITY OF MACEDONIANS

Lila PAVLOPOULOU*

Abstract – Dion, the sacred city of the ancient Macedonians, lies in the foothills of Mt. Olympus, about five kilometers from the Pierian coast. The archaeological site has been excavated since 1963. A well-fortified city has been unearthed, along with a Stadium, a Hellenistic and a Roman theatre and numerous Sanctuaries. In total, two hundred and forty four coins have been found so far, both silver and bronze, dated from the 4th century BC to the 2nd-1st centuries BC, at the Sanctuaries of Olympios Zeus,

Demeter, Asclepius, Artemis Baphyria, Hypsistus Zeus and Isis. These coins belong to Macedonian Kings, cities of Macedonia, the Roman Republic, foreign rulers and cities. In this paper we will explore the reasons for the presence of the coins (especially of the non-Macedonian coins) at the Sanctuaries and try to understand whether they were used as payments e.g. for the sacrifices that took place at the Sanctuaries, if they were votive offerings to the gods, or simply a pilgrim's loss.

Keywords: Dion – coins circulation – sanctuaries – classical coins – hellenistic coins – early Roman coins

Résumé – Dion, la ville sacrée des anciens Macédoniens, est située au pied du mont Olympe, à environ cinq kilomètres de la côte de Piérie. Le site archéologique fait l'objet de fouilles depuis 1963. Une ville fortifiée a été mise au jour, ainsi qu'un stade, un théâtre hellénistique, un théâtre romain et de nombreux sanctuaires. Au total et jusqu'à présent, deux cent quarante-quatre monnaies ont été trouvées, en argent et en bronze, datant du IV^e s. av. J.-C. aux II^e et I^{er} s. av. J.-C. Elles proviennent des sanctuaires d'Olympios Zeus, Déméter, Asclépios, Artémis Baphyria, Hypsiste

Zeus et Isis. Ces monnaies appartiennent aux rois de Macédoine, aux cités de Macédoine, à la République romaine, aux souverains et aux villes étrangères. Dans cet article, nous examinons les raisons de la présence de ces monnaies (en particulier des monnaies non macédoniennes) dans les sanctuaires et nous essayons de comprendre si elles étaient utilisées comme paiements, par exemple pour les sacrifices qui y avaient lieu, s'il s'agissait d'offrandes votives aux dieux ou simplement de la perte d'un pèlerin.

Mots clés : Dion – circulation monétaire – sanctuaires – monnayage classique – monnaies hellénistiques – monnaies romaines républicaines

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IN THE FOOTHILLS OF MOUNT OLYMPUS, about five kilometers from the Pierian coast, lies Dion, the sacred city of ancient Macedonians.

William M. Leake^[1] was the first who identified Dion's exact position in 1806. After few decades, in 1855, Leon Heuzey^[2] confirmed the identification of the site.

The first excavations under the aegis of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki were conducted from 1928 to 1931 under Georgios Sotiriadis and continued from 1964 to 1973 under Georgios Bakalakis. From 1973 until now, the site has been excavated continuously under the directions of Dimitrios Pandermalis. Since August 2019, the Director is Eleni Papagianni.

During all these years, a well-fortified city has been unearthed, along with a Stadium, a Hellenistic and a Roman theater and numerous Sanctuaries. Almost 15000 coins, dated from 5th c. BC to 5th c. AD have been found at Dion. 1353 coins were found at the city, the cemetery and the territory of the Sanctuaries, dated from classic period (5th c. BC) to the years of Augustus. Here, we will present the coins found at the Sanctuaries; in total 244, both silver and bronze.

1. SANCTUARY OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS

The Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (fig.1, 1, next page) was the greatest at Dion and one of the most important in ancient Macedonia (Pandermalis 1999, p. 45-59). There stood the statues depicting Macedonian kings, votive offerings and stelae. A great sacrifice of one hundred oxen, a hecatomb, took place at the Sanctuary, in front of the 22-metre monumental altar (Pandermalis 1998, p. 291-292). Alexander the Great offered sacrifice to the Olympian gods, right before his expedition to Asia (Diodorus XVII,16). The coins found at the Sanctuary

number 62, including a four-coin hoard. They belong both to the "local" coinage, which comprises the coins of the Macedonian kings and the coins of Macedonian cities, and to the "foreign" coinage, the coins struck outside Macedonia by cities, kings, Koina or the Roman Republic.

The coins of Macedonian kings start from the reign of Amyntas III (4th c. BC) and go down to the last Macedonian king, Perseus. Coins in the name of Gaius Publilius and the three Macedonian cities Amphipolis, Thessaloniki, Pella have also been found at the Sanctuary. A hoard of four (burned) coins struck by Philippi was found at the Sanctuary too (fig. 2). The head of Heracles is depicted on the obverse and the tripod on the reverse^[3]. These coins are dated to 356/after 323 BC (Chronology after Bellinger 1964, p. 40; Poullos 1982, p. 198-201; Touratsoglou 1992, p. 50), so, the burial date of the hoard should be around the mid to end of the 4th c. BC. It is difficult to track how these coins came



Fig. 2 – Philippi coins hoard. Heracles/tripod ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΩΝ, mid to end of 4th c. BC. Photo L. Pavlopoulou

[1] Leake 1835, 408-413.

[2] Heuzey & Daumet 1876, 267. Heuzey 1860, 113-128.

[3] Gaebler 1935, XX, 8. SNG Cop. 296-299, 301. The coins' diameter is 17 mm and their weight varies from 4,6 g to 6,8 g.

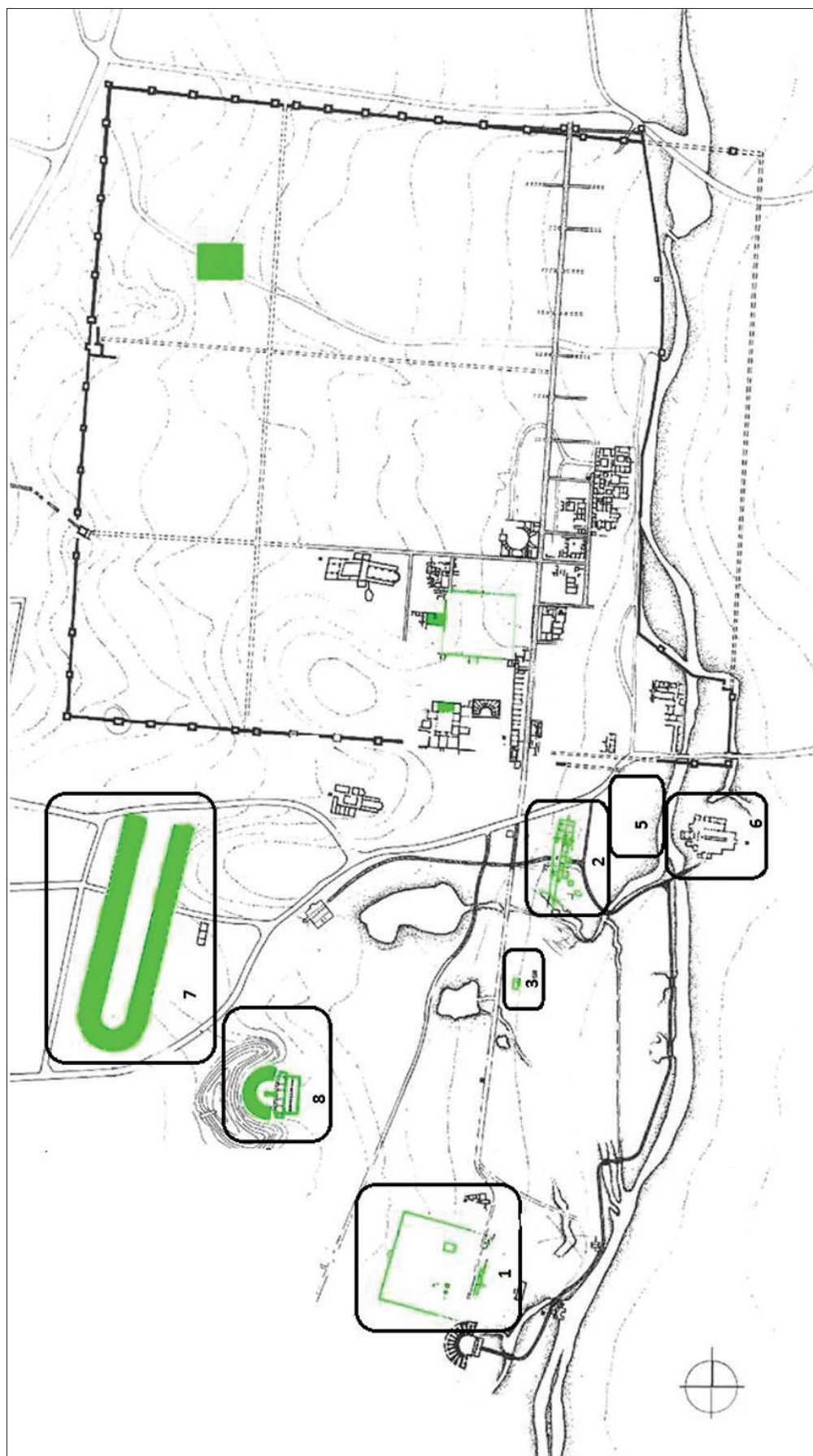


Fig. 1 – The location of the Sanctuaries, Stadium and Hellenistic theatre at Dion: 1. Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, 2. Sanctuary of Demeter, 3. Sanctuary of Asclepius, 4. Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos, 5. Stadium, 6. Hellenistic theatre

	5th c. BC		4th c. BC		3rd c. BC		2nd-1st c. BC		Total
	Local coinage	Foreign mints	Local coinage	Foreign mint	Local coinage	Foreign mints	Local coinage	Foreign mints	
Stadium	Perdiccas II: 1	Tragilos: 1	Amyntas III: 1 Perdiccas III: 2 Philip II: 2	Athens: 1 Chios: 1	Cassander: 1 Antigonos II: 3		Philip V: 2 Amphipolis: 1		16
Hellenistic theater	Alexander I: 1		Amyntas III: 2 Perdiccas III: 1 Philip II: 1 Alexander III: 3		Cassander: 1 Demetrios I: 1 Antigonos II: 2	Chalcis: 1	Philip V: 10 Perseus: 3 Macedonians: 1 Amphipolis: 2 Thessaloniki: 2 Pella: 6	Corinth: 1	49
Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus	1		Amyntas III: 2 Philip II: 5 Alexander III: 5 Cassander: 1 Hoard (Philippoi): 4	Larissa: 1 Pherai: 1	Cassander: 3 Demetrios I: 2 Antigonos II: 10 Philip V: 3 Cassander Antigonos II: 1		24	1	62
Sanctuary of Demeter		Sikyon	Amyntas II: 2 Pausanias: 2 Amyntas III: 12 Perdiccas III: 3 Philip II: 44 Alexander III: 9 Philip III: 2 Cassander: 3 Pydna: 1	Pherai: 1 Locris: 2 Histiaia: 1 Argos: 1	Cassander: 7 Demetrios I: 2 Ptolemy Ceraunos: 2 Antigonos II: 20 Philip V: 1 Cassander Antigonos II: 1	Larissa: 8 Eretria: 1 Chalcis: 1	Philip V: 4 Perseus: 3 Macedonians: 1 Amphipolis: 4 Thessaloniki: 9 Cassandrea: 1 Pella: 5	Koinon of Thessaly: 4 Epirote League: 1 Corinth: 1 Antioch: 1 Roman Republic: 4	164
Sanctuary of Asclepios			78	5	Antigonos II: 2 Philip V: 2	Calchedon: 1	Philip V: 1 Macedonians: 1 Pella: 1	Koinon of Thessaly: 2 Roman Republic: 2	12
Sanctuary of Artemis Baphyria					Cassander: 1			Amphipolis: 1	2
Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos			Alexander III: 1		Antigonos II: 1				2
Sanctuary of Isis			1		Philip V: 1				2
TOTAL	2	1	119	10	67	13	68	29	309

Fig. 3 – Coins found at the Sanctuaries' area at Dion, by century, by mint. Table after L. Pavlopoulou

to Dion, but their find-spot, the Sanctuary of Zeus, and their number, only four, lead us to the assumption that it consisted of a pilgrim's loss.

The foreign coins belong to Antiochus VI, Larissa, Pherai, Koinon of Thessaly, Leucas, Achaean League, Metropolis (Asia Minor) and Roman Republic. They number fifteen of sixty two coins found at the Sanctuary (fig. 3).

This Sanctuary, dedicated to Olympian Zeus, was, as stated above, the most important at Dion. The coin finds are not as numerous as expected; this is because the Sanctuary was totally burned down and destroyed by the Aetolian troops under Scopas^[4] in 219 BC. Also, in modern times the territory of the Sanctuary was covered by fields; the farmers of Dion found coins due agricultural work and delivered them to the Museum. We believe that a high proportion of these coins, collected by farmers, should be added to the total number of the coins found during the excavations at the Sanctuary.

2. SANCTUARY OF DEMETER

The Sanctuary of Demeter (fig.1, 2) is one of the greatest Sanctuaries at Dion (Pandermalis 1999, p. 61-73; Pingiatoglou 2010, p. 201-224. At Pingiatoglou 2015 full bibliography is gathered); its life starts at the beginning of the 5th c. BC and ends in the 4th c. AD It is the oldest Sanctuary that has been excavated at Dion and in the whole Macedonian territory^[5]. The architectural finds date from the end of the 6th c. BC; temples dedicated to Demeter and Kore have been unearthed (Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 21-36), along with altars and a large number of finds (e.g. lamps, votive statuettes etc.) At the Sanctuary Aphrodite, Baubo and Kourotrophos were also co-worshipped (Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 161-165).

Coin finds are analogous with the centuries when the Sanctuary was in use: in total 164 coins, from the 4th to 2nd-1st c. BC were found during the systematic excavations. Coins of the local mints number 138: they belong to Macedonian kings, from Amyntas II to Perseus and to Macedonian cities Pydna, Thessaloniki, Amphipolis, Pella and Cassandreia. Coins that have come to this Sanctuary from foreign mints, number 26: they came from Larisa, Pherai, Thessalian Koinon, Epirote League, Eretria, Histiaia, Locris, Chalcis, Argos, Sikyon, Antioch and the Roman Republic. Eleven of them are silver: coins of Larisa, Opuntii Locri, Histiaia, Argos, Sikyon and Roman Republic (fig. 3). Usually, when pilgrims or visitors lost a bronze coin, they wouldn't search for it, owing to its low value. On the contrary, someone could search for lost silver or gold. For this reason, we suggest that the silver coins found at Demeter's Sanctuary were dedicated to the goddess or to the other deities.

The coins found at this Sanctuary are the most numerous coins found at a Sanctuary at Dion. There are many reasons: it is a well excavated Sanctuary; the cult life was vibrant; the rituals took place with the participation of the pilgrims; visitors deposited coins as offerings in the temples or altars.

[4] Polybius IV, 62: « εἰσελθὼν τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαψε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνέπηρσε τὰς στοὰς τὰς περὶ τὸ τέμενος, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διέφθειρε τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα πρὸς κόσμον ἢ χρεῖαν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις συμπορευομένοις· ἀνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλέων ἀπάσας. »

[5] Pingiatoglou 2015, 18: « Excavation data and the comparison between the finds of the Sanctuary at Dion, showed that this Sanctuary is the oldest and the most extensive Sanctuary of the goddess that has been excavated in northern Greece ».

3. SANCTUARY OF ASCLEPIUS

South of Demeter's Sanctuary lies the temenos of the healing god, Asclepius (fig.1, 3). Archaeological finds show that the god was worshipped at the territory from the second half/end of the 4th c. BC until the 3rd c. AD (Pandermalis 1999, p. 85-87; Pingiatoglou 2006, p. 577-578). Remains of a temple and a stoa came to light. Local coinage starts at the 3rd century BC with coins of Antigonos II Gonatas and Philip V and ends at the 2nd-1st c. BC with coins of Macedonians and Pella. Five coins of the total twelve belong to the foreign currency: coins of Calchedon and Thessalian Koinon (fig. 3).

A comparison between the numismatic finds of the Sanctuaries of Asclepius, Demeter and Zeus, shows clearly a big difference in the number of the coins. There are two main reasons for this difference: the Sanctuary of Asclepius was established after the prosperity period of the Macedonian kingdom; moreover, nowadays it lies under the buildings of the Roman period.

4. SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS BAPHYRIA

Artemis Baphyria was worshipped at a Sanctuary that is located at the mouth of the river Baphyras in the Thermaic Gulf (fig. 4, 4) (Pandermalis 1999, p. 272-279). The image of the Goddess is known from her depictions on Roman coins and from the ritual statue that was found in the temple. The goddess was also named *Soteira* (which means Saviour), as mentioned on a votive stele, found outside the temple. Only two coins were found at this Sanctuary; one of king Cassander^[6], and one of the Amphipolis^[7] mint (fig. 3).



Fig. 4 – Location of the Sanctuary of Artemis Baphyria. Mouth of river Baphyras, Thermaic Gulf

5. SANCTUARY OF ZEUS HYPYSISTOS

The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos (fig. 1, 5) lies east of the Sanctuary of Demeter, in the extra mural area. The excavations brought to light the temple, the altar, the statue and a lot of votive offerings – with marble eagles among them – and votive inscriptions (Pandermalis 2005, p. 417-424; *Id.*, 2009, p. 267-271). Two coins of Macedonian kings Alexander III^[8] and Antigonos Gonatas^[9] were found.

[6] Head of Heracles r./ rider on horse walking r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; 18 mm; 4,5 g ; Macedonian mint, 302-297 BC: Gaebler 1935, XXXII, 7; *SNG Alpha* 900-936.

[7] Head of Artemis/ Europe on bull ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ; 21 mm; 7,9 g : Gaebler 1935, IX, 27; *SNG Cop.* 81-84.

[8] Diademed young male head/horse galloping r. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; 15 mm; 3,4 g : Price 1991, 347.

[9] Macedonian shield with monogram/Macedonian helmet ΒΑ ΣΙ ; 18 mm; 4,35 g: Gaebler 1935, XXXIV, 11.

6. SANCTUARY OF ISIS

East of the Zeus Hypsistus Sanctuary is located the Sanctuary of Isis (fig. 1, 6) (Pandermalis 1999, p. 89-117), which was built in the 2nd century AD and was destroyed by an earthquake and a flood in the 4th century AD. Two coins were found during the excavations; a coin in the name of Philip V^[10] (3rd c. BC) and a coin from Phocis^[11] (4th c. BC).

The coins found at the Sanctuaries had a variety of use. They were used by the visitors to buy necessities, to pay the cost of carrying out the ceremonial sacrifices and to cover the cost of the organization of the celebration of the Olympian Games (*ἐν Δίῳ Ὀλύμπια*)^[12] and of various ceremonies, mostly on behalf of the kings. Usually, they were votive offerings to the gods and deities. R. Knapp mentions that the pilgrims either tossed the coins (as offerings) into ponds, wells or fountains, or they deposited them in a sacred place (e.g. an altar), or they hung them on walls or attached them to statues (Knapp 2005, p. 34). N. Katsikoudis studied the coins from Dodona, and attempts to explain the presence of silver coins at the Sanctuaries: "...a coin, which comes to light at a Sanctuary, is difficult to say, if it is an offering or a random find, a pilgrim's loss, or if it is connected with commercial transactions." (Katsikoudis 2013, p. 310-311).

7. STADIUM AND HELLENISTIC THEATRE

In the area of the Sanctuaries, there is also a Stadium and a Hellenistic theatre. Excavations at the Stadium^[13] (fig. 1, 7), which was one of the sites, along with the Hellenistic theatre and Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, at which the Olympian games took place, have brought to light sixteen coins: thirteen of Macedonian kings, Perdiccas II to Philip V, and Amphipolis and three of foreign mints: Tragilos, Athens and Chios (fig. 3). R. Knapp mentions two convincing reasons why someone could possibly lose a coin at the Stadium: the first was to purchase goods between the games and the second was a game played by the spectators, *chalkismos*^[14]. It consisted on spinning a coin on a finger, a good way to lose small coins. The presence of the foreign currencies probably indicates that visitors came from Tragilos, Athens and the island of Chios. It is noticeable that the only gold coin at Dion, a stater in the name of Philip II^[15] (fig. 5), was found at the Stadium of Dion.

Forty nine coins have come to light during the excavations of the Hellenistic theatre^[16] (fig. 1, 8). Almost all of them belong to the "local" coinage, coinage of kings, from Alexander I

[10] Head of Heracles r./ rider on horse r. BA ΦI, 221-220 BC: Mammoth 1935, 2; *SNG Alpha* 1057-60.

[11] Head of Athena / Φ in wreath, mid. 4th BC: *SNG Cop.* 113-116; BCD Lokris-Phokis 320.

[12] Pandermalis 2004; Mari 2002, p. 51-61; Hatzopoulos 1996, p. 129, n. 2, cites an inscription from Dion, that mentions some of the Games: pentathlon, dolichos and taurotheria. For pentathlon games see Pausanias V, 9,1-3.

[13] The Stadium is located west of the Sanctuaries and the Hellenistic theater and south of the southwest corner of the fortified city of Dion; Pandermalis 1999, p. 80.

[14] Knapp 2005, p. 29-30. *Chalkismos* consisted of a coin spinning on someone's finger, an entertaining way to spend time between the games. It also was a way for some coins to fall to the ground and never be found.

[15] Pella, ca. 340-328 or 336-328 BC. Obv.: laureate head of Apollo r., Rev.: charioteer driving racing biga r. ΦIΔIΠΠIΩY: Le Rider 1977, p. 64, nos. 359-360; Pandermalis 1999, p. 81 fig. 2 (this coin); Edwards-Thompson 1970, p. 348, 35; Gaebler 1935, XXXI, 20.

[16] Pandermalis 1999, p. 74-79; Karadedos 1994, p. 157-169; Karadedos 2007, p. 381-390. At this theatre was played for the first time Euripides "Archelaos", to honour King Archelaos of Macedonia: Dodds 1974, p. xxxix; Pandermalis 1999, p. 76.



Fig. 5 – Gold stater in the name of Philip II.
Head of Apollo/charioteer driving racing biga,
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Pella, ca. 340-328 / 336-328 BC.
Photo L. Pavlopoulou

to Perseus and the three cities (Amphipolis, Thessaloniki, Pella), except two coins, one from Chalcis and one from Corinth (fig. 3).

8. COINS FROM THE “INTRA MUROS” AREA

The coins that have been found at the “intra muros” area, inside the city walls where the classical, Hellenistic and later the Roman city was located, number 847. They were found at the Agora, at the temple of the imperial cult (*Augusteum*), in houses and at the great baths. The coins from foreign mints number 213.

Coins from 37 foreign mints have been found in the city, while the coins from the Sanctuaries number 21 issuing authorities. Coins from Thrace (Abdera, Maronea, Chalcidian League), Thessaly (Ikos, Kierion, Lamia, Metropolis, Pelinna, Rhizous, Phalanna), Epirus (Apollonia, Dyrrhachion), Aetolia-Boeotia-Euboea (Aetolian League, Thebes), Peloponnesos (Phlious), Asia Minor (Abydos, Byrithis, Ephesos, Miletos, Teos, Temnos, Kos, Apamea, Antandros), Africa (Carthage) and Sarmatia (Olbia) have been found in the city but not at the Sanctuaries; on the contrary coins from Tragilos (Thrace), Leucas, Koinon of Epirus (Epirus), Phocis, Eretria (Aetolia-Boeotia-Euboea), Calchedon, Metropolis, Chios (Asia Minor) and Syrian Antioch have been found in the area of the Sanctuaries, but not inside the city walls.

The geographical areas in which the coins were found are almost the same in the areas of the city and the Sanctuaries. Coins from Africa (Carthage) and Sarmatia (Olbia) have been found only in the city. Moreover, more coins that originate from Thracian, Thessalian and Asia Minor mints come from the city; this could mean that the travelers, after their walk to the Sanctuaries, visited the city, where the Agora was located and where they could use their coins to purchase goods.

9. NUMISMATIC CIRCULATION AT DION

A lot of foreign visitors came to Dion, as the numismatic finds indicate. They mostly came as pilgrims, to visit the famous Sanctuaries and to dedicate offerings to gods. Merchants also came to Dion, over land or using the sea route, along the river Baphyras; they transferred goods to the city (food stuff, raw materials, e.g. marble). They carried the currency of their place of origin with them and probably exchanged it at the city for the local money. At Dion various craftsmen were employed (builders, architects, sculptors etc); they probably moved from their home towns to work at Dion, bringing with them their homeland’s currency. Soldiers or mercenaries, athletes who came to Dion to participate in the games in honour of Zeus, visitors who came to watch the theatrical plays at the Hellenistic theatre, also brought with them their currency.

The foreign mints are in total 47. Most of them have a distance of up to 300 km from Dion: within a radius of less than 100 km we find the Chalcidian and Thessalian mints. The mints of Thrace, Aetolia-Boeotia-Euboea, Epirus-Illyria, Attica and Peloponnesos are within a radius of 300 km (fig. 6, totally 149 coins). Within a radius of 600 km we find the mints of Asia Minor (Chios, Birythis, Abydos, Temnos, Teos, Metropolis, Colophon, Ephesos,

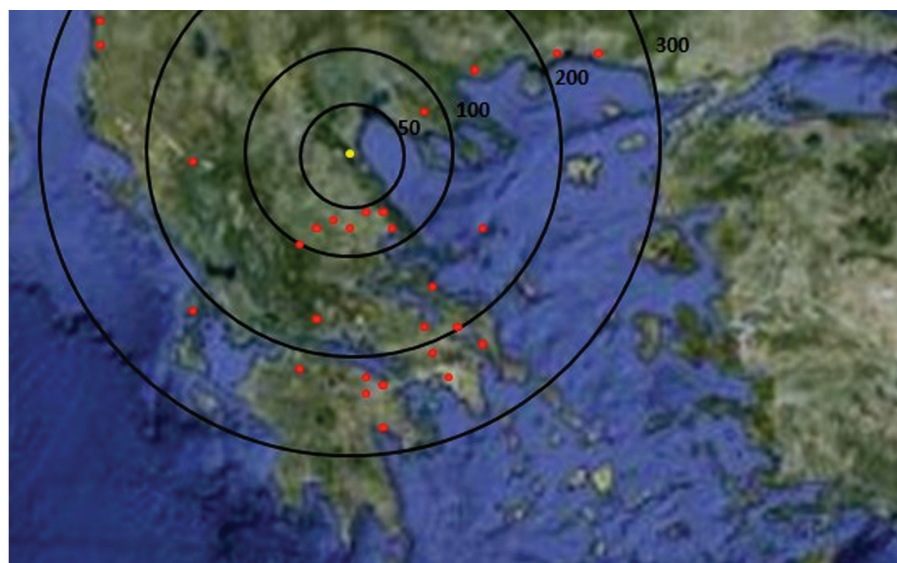


Fig. 6 – Foreign mints within a radius of 50, 100, 200 and 300 km from Dion. Modified by Google maps [by L. Pavlopoulou]

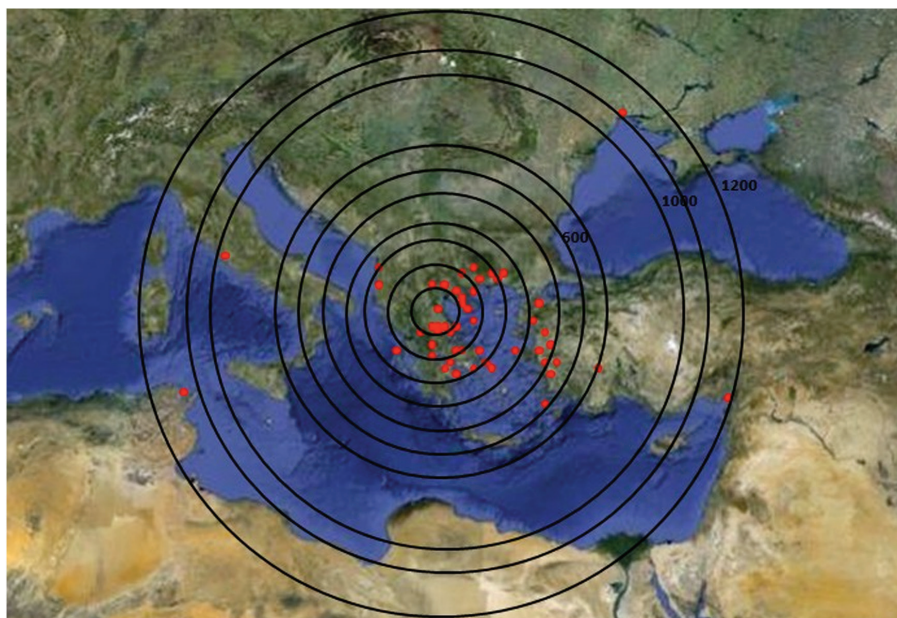


Fig. 7 – Foreign mints within a radius up to 1200km from Dion. Modified from Google maps

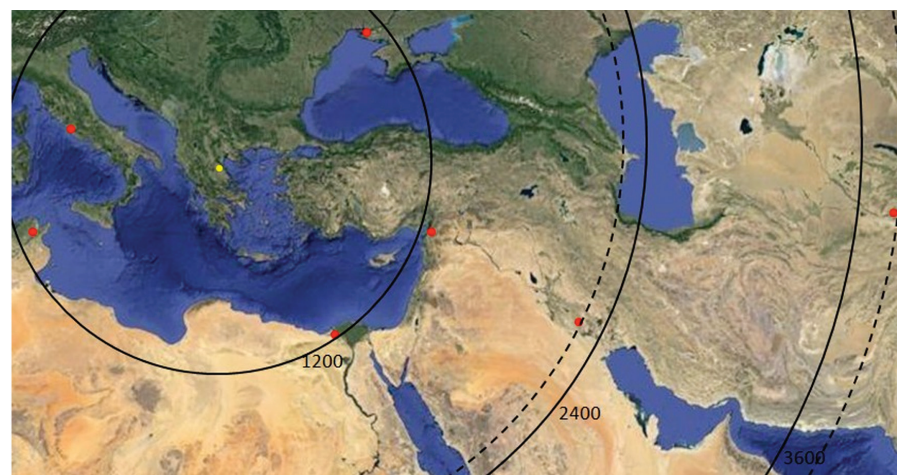


Fig. 8 – Foreign mints (Alexandria, Babylon, Bactra) within a radius of 3845km from Dion. Modified from Google maps

Sardes, Miletos, Kos, Calchedon), while at a greater distance (up to 1300 km) are the mints of Apamea, Rome, Olbia, Carthage and of Syrian Antioch (fig. 7). The mint of Alexandria is at a distance of 1200 km from Dion, Babylon is at a distance of 2280 km and Bactra is the most distant origin, 3845 km (fig. 8).

10. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the foreign coins at Dion number 216 and they come from 13 geographical areas. The earliest coins come from Thrace^[17] (1st half of 5th c. BC) and they indicate relationships between those cities and Dion. The presence of 100 coins from Thessaly shows close relations between Dion and Thessalian cities, either commercial or political. The movement of the currency from Epirus to Macedonia (and vice versa) during the last years of the kingdom might have its roots in the conflicts that took place at Epirus and Illyria between Macedonia and Rome. The coins from Thebes probably came to Dion with Pelopidas and his soldiers, when they came to Dion to enthrone Alexander II. Coins from Asia Minor are hard to explain; most probably they came to Dion with visitors to the ancient city and the numerous Sanctuaries.

In total, the highest percentage of the coins of Dion belongs to local coinage: 84%, 1137 coins, while the foreign coins number 216 coins and 16% of the percentage.

^[17] A coin from Argilos: Liampi 2005, pl. 11, 65-67b.

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OBJECTIFYING FAITH: MANAGING A PRIVATE SANCTUARY IN HELLENISTIC DELOS

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Abstract – During the period of Delian Independence, private sanctuaries dedicated to Egyptian deities were established on the island. After 167 BC, most of these sanctuaries were taken over by the administration of Apollo's sanctuary, with Sarapeion A being a notable exception. This paper investigates

the cultural biography of Sarapeion A in relation to the struggle for control of the sanctuary. The author explores the importance of Sarapeion A for the Egyptian priests who owned and ran the sanctuary through a contextual study of architectural features, archaeological finds and epigraphic evidence.

Keywords: cultural biography – heirloom – Sarapeion – Delos – Isiac cults – aretology

Résumé – Pendant la période de l'Indépendance de Délos, des sanctuaires privés dédiés aux dieux égyptiens se sont installés sur l'île. Après 167 av. J.-C., la plupart de ces sanctuaires sont passés sous le contrôle du sanctuaire d'Apollon, le Sarapieion A restant une exception notable. Cet article explore la biographie

culturelle du Sarapieion A du point de vue de la lutte pour le contrôle du sanctuaire. L'auteur s'interroge sur l'importance du Sarapieion pour les prêtres égyptiens qui possédaient et géraient le sanctuaire, et propose une étude en contexte des caractéristiques architecturales, des trouvailles archéologiques et des inscriptions.

Mots clés : biographie culturelle – héritage – Sarapieion – Delos – cultes isiaques – aréologie

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1. THE HEALING POWERS OF FAITH AND THE OBJECTIFICATION OF MEMORY

When patients visit a doctor's office, they usually stare at degree certificates or family pictures hanging on the walls. When devotees enter a Greek Orthodox church dedicated to a healing saint, they look at the countless votive offerings (*tamata*) of those cured by the saint. There are also icons or wall paintings narrating the patron saint's life and the miracles he or she performed. Both the university degrees and the religious offerings are intended to tell a story to a different audience, either about the doctor's scientific abilities or the saint's miraculous healing powers. Those entering a Sarapeion in antiquity may well have gone through a similar experience. Sarapis and the other Egyptian gods hosted in his sanctuary had long been linked by the Hellenistic Greeks with the healing of various diseases (Fassa 2016, p. 66). Inside the sanctuary there were votive inscriptions, offerings and statues assuring the devotees that Sarapis or Isis would help them to overcome their difficulties^[1]. For example, a votive inscription dating to the late second century BC was discovered on Delos at Sarapeion A (ID 2116). According to the inscription, a Delian family appealed to the sanctuary and especially to the god Horus because the couple's son was facing a health issue.

Since the priesthood of Sarapis' cult was hereditary (Roussel 1916, p. 260-262, 296; Engelmann 1975, p. 15-16; Moyer 2011, p. 39; Martzavou 2011, p. 64; *RICIS* 202/0197; *RICIS* 202/0198), one wonders what the impact was of these religious and non-religious objects on the priests' families. While these objects had a religious dimension for the devotees, for the priests the same items probably had an additional function. One of the best examples highlighting the relationship between the priests and the sanctuary is the votive inscriptions and cult statuettes discovered in the architectural remains identified as Sarapeion A at Delos. In this paper, I suggest that through the story, inscribed on a free-standing column, Sarapis' priests supply a narrative about the sanctuary, but finally end up telling their own life stories and adventures on the island of Delos. The impact of their story is enhanced by other votive offerings and objects. Eventually, both the sanctuary and Sarapis' cult are converted into an "heirloom" that belonged to the same family for at least four generations.

The function of heirlooms in antiquity has been associated more with portable items than with monuments, especially during the Early Iron Age. In the Aegean, there were buildings such as dwellings or abandoned Bronze Age palaces which functioned as a focus for the collective memory of the community^[2], but not for a single family. Objects on the other hand can be associated much more easily with individuals, not only in antiquity but over the entirety of human history. People have a tendency to accumulate objects in their lifetime. According to ethnographic studies, there were men and women who could even "narrate their life through their possessions" (Hoskins 1998, p. 196). This was observed by Hoskins in her ethnographic research at Sumba, a small island in Eastern Indonesia. Hoskins discovered there that she could not collect "*the histories of objects and the life histories of persons separately*" (Hoskins 1998, p. 2). Other authors claim that "*As people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other*" (Gosden & Marshall 1999, p. 169). Many objects

[1] Communicating with the gods was certainly another reason for visiting Sarapeion A at Delos. On this subject see Mazurek (2016). The author rightly supports that those who entered the Sarapeion, read the inscriptions and saw the images of the gods: "*might perceive the sanctuary and its sculpture as prospective loci for a divine encounter, as a catalyst for experiencing the god's presence despite his absence from the mortal plane*" (*ibid.*, 49).

[2] See for example the function of the Tumba building at Lefkandi (Popham *et al.* 1982, p. 169-174) or of the abandoned Bronze Age palace at Knossos during the early Iron Age (Prent 2005, p. 103-209; Antoniadis 2017, p. 60).

however, “live” much longer than people and acquire new “biographies” or lifecycles through exchange, inheritance or purchase. In this respect many scholars, especially anthropologists and archaeologists, have argued that objects have “biographies” or even a social life^[3]. One of the most celebrated examples in ancient literature of an object with an extended “biography” is the Phoenician silver crater offered by Achilles to Odysseus, who won the race in Patroclus’ funeral games (Hom. *Il.* 23.740-745; Aubet 1994, p. 106; Crielaard 2003, p. 53; Whitley 2013, p. 401-402). The crater was crafted by Sidonians who offered it to Thoas, king of Lemnos. Through gift exchange between members of the Aegean elites the crater ended up with Priam, who used it as ransom for one of his daughters captured by Achilles.

Heirlooms are in fact a subcategory of biographical objects, since apart from being old and valuable, they must have been with the same family for more than one generation^[4]. In the archaeological context, for Katina Lillios an heirloom “*is an object that has been inherited by kin, either before or after the death of its original owner, and it has been maintained in circulation (i.e. not buried or destroyed) for a number of generations*” (Lillios 1999, p. 241). Such a valuable object must have been the sceptre of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 2.100). It was crafted by the god Hephaestus for Zeus who gave it to Pelops, Agamemnon’s grandfather. Atreus, son of Pelops and father of Agamemnon, inherited the sceptre. Thyestes, Atreus’ brother took possession of the object for a while, before ending up to Agamemnon as the powerful ruler of “many islands and of all Argos” (Hom. *Il.* 2.100).

One such archaeological find that can be interpreted as heirloom is an inscribed semi-spherical bronze bowl discovered in an undisturbed chamber tomb at the site of Teke, in the North Cemetery of Early Iron Age Knossos. Two burials were discovered in this tomb dating between 970 and 840 BC (Coldstream & Catling 1996, p. 25). The bowl probably dates to before 1000 BC (Hoffman 1997, p. 121). The inscription either is contemporary with the manufacture of the bowl or was added during the funeral of one of the two deceased (Lipinski 2004, p. 182)^[5]. The inscription reads “The cup of Shena, son of...” (Lipinski 2004, p. 182) or “The cup of Shena, son of Labanon” (Cross 1974, p. 1-12). The bowl must have been between thirty and a hundred years old when it was deposited in the tomb. The fact that this Phoenician bowl was found at Knossos in a funerary context with an inscription referring to a very personal possession strongly suggests that it was treated as an heirloom.

To understand the function of a sanctuary as an “heirloom” we must reconstruct its history or cultural biography. The sanctuary ran almost as a family business for more than two centuries in a very competitive environment against Delians, Athenians and other Sarapeia. The direct and comparative evidence analysed in this paper consists mostly of inscriptions discovered at or near Sarapeion A and other sarapeia in Athens, Macedonia and Asia Minor; most of them were published more than a century ago. Roussel carried out the first major investigation at Sarapeion A and authored an exceptional publication on the Egyptian cults of Delos (Roussel 1916, p. 87)^[6]. The current excavator and researcher of all Delian Sarapeia (A, B and C) is Hélène Brun-Kyriakidis (Siard 1998; 2006).

^[3] Kopytoff (1986) was the first to draw a parallel between the cultural biography of objects and slavery.

^[4] On the distinction between heirlooms and biographic objects see Whitley 2013, p. 402 who rightly supports the view that an antique object which is not an heirloom can also be very important because of its “deeply entangled biography” (*ibid.*). On the same subject see Antoniadis 2020, p. 75.

^[5] See Bourogiannis 2018, 62-64 for further discussion.

^[6] J. Pâris excavated Sarapeion A and Roussel (1916) published the finds (Siard 2003, p. 193 n. 2; Barrett 2011, p. 403 n. 1669).

2. ON ARETALOGIES AND OTHER DEDICATIONS

The first object under consideration is the cylindrical-type thesaurus which still stands at Sarapeion A (fig. 1), although it was initially discovered in pieces (Roussel 1916, p. 87). According to the associated inscription (IG XI 4, 1247 = RICIS 202/0124 = ID 4756) translated into English by Harland and Kloppenborg^[7].

“This is dedicated to Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis. Ktesias son of Apollodoros of Tenos (island) set up the offering receptacle and the base according to the command (prostagma) of the god. Do not be surprised when you see me (i.e. the animal in bronze who guards the treasury) looking fierce, oh stranger! For, patrolling day and night, I guard this divine offering receptacle without sleeping. Yet you please me when you throw whatever your heart desires into my spacious body through the mouth”.



Fig. 1 – Sarapeion A, Delos. Photo Panagiotis Chatzidakis (© Ministry of Culture and Sports – Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades). The cylindrical-type thesaurus is in the upper right corner of the central space. Room 1 with the marble benches is in the background. See also fig. 3

The inscription dates to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BC (Kaminski 1991, p. 91 fig. 5; 161, II 3; Zoumbaki 2019, p. 202, 19a). The guardian of the offertory box, placed on the missing part of the thesaurus, was a mythical creature, most likely a bronze dragon as suggested by Nilsson (1947, p. 305-306). What is interesting regarding this thesaurus is that the guardian does not require a specific amount of money, as is the case with all other offertory boxes in Greek sanctuaries (Zoumbaki 2019, p. 194). According to Zoumbaki *“this is a spontaneous, free, and voluntary contribution to the offertory box”*

^[7] <http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=4756>. Consulted on April 10, 2021.

(Zoumbaki 2019, p. 194). From an economic point of view this is very important for the poorer people who would visit the sanctuary. An indication of the revenues of the sanctuary can be seen by the inscriptions carved on the benches of the sanctuary or on marble stelae. Apart from the thesaurus, Ktesias had also paid to the sanctuary ten per cent of his profits (*IG XI,4 1248*). Similar dedications made people from Amorgos and Paros (*IG XI,4 1216-1222 = RICIS 202/0114*). After 168 BC, when Rome granted Delos to the Athenians as a tax-free port, there are dedications at Sarapeion A by others, most probably merchants, from Beirut and Alexandria (Roussel 1916, p. 97). Another indication of the Sarapeion's revenues may be the three New Style Athenian Tetradrachms (196-187 BC) discovered in Room E (Roussel 1916, p. 32).



Fig. 2 - Inscribed votive column from Sarapeion A (Δ. 623). Photograph Panagiotis Chatzidakis (©Ministry of Culture and Sports - Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades)

The next find is a free-standing column (fig. 2) with a votive inscription (*IG XI,4 1299 = RICIS 202/0101*), found in Sarapeion A and dating to the same period, which is related to the foundation of the sanctuary (Roussel 1916, p. 71-83; Engelmann 1975; Bruneau 1975, p. 280-283; Bruneau & Ducat 2005, p. 267-269)^[8]. On this column there are two versions of the same story: on the upper part is a prose account of the priest Apollonios II (line 1-28). In the lower part, from line 29 to line 94, there is an aretalogy to Sarapis composed by the poet Maiistas (Engelmann 1975, p. 1). Both parts describe how Sarapis arrived at Delos in the first place. In summary the grandfather of the dedicator Apollonios, who lived for 97 years, brought Sarapis from Egypt and established his cult on Delos. Demetrios, the son of Apollonios and also a priest of Sarapis, lived for 61 years and after his death, his son, the second Apollonios and dedicator of the inscription, had a dream of Sarapis. In this dream, the god demanded a new temple, because he did not wish to live or to be worshipped in rented accommodation any longer. Apollonios bought a plot and in six months built the Sarapeion (fig. 3). Some locals however were against this sanctuary and its priests, and there was a lawsuit and a public trial. After a divine intervention of the god, the priest won the case and dedicated the free-standing column to Sarapis.

The trial over the sanctuary, which took place at the very end of the third or the beginning of the second century BC, could be related to the size of the sanctuary or to the fact that it was not well built, as suggested in line 81 of the aretalogy according to Engelmann (1975, p. 45). The authors of the votive column fail to mention the real reason, which must be related to the fact that Apollonios probably did not obtain permit to build a temple to a foreign god. In 333-332 BC, the orator Lykourgos supported the request of Phoenician merchants from Kition for permission to acquire a plot and to build there a temple to Astarte in Athens (*IG II³,1 337*; Stager 2005, p. 443). According to the same inscription, the Athenians had already given the same permission to Egyptians to build a sanctuary of Isis. Not applying for permission must have been a serious offence to the local authorities in Athens and Delos.

^[8] For further analysis and bibliography see Mazurek (2016, p. 45 n. 13) and Barrett (2011, p. 4 n. 9).

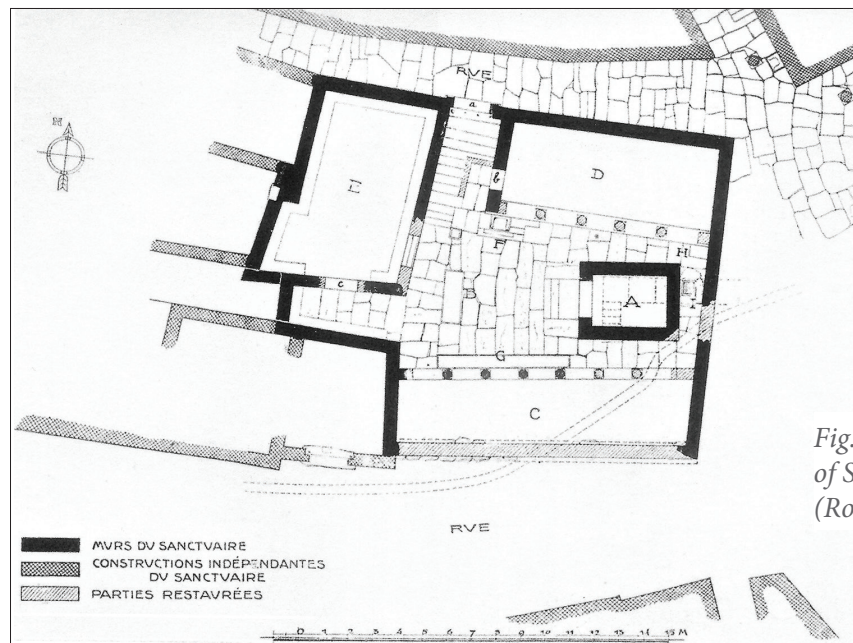


Fig. 3 – Roussel’s original plan of Sarapeion A
(Roussel 1916, p. 21, pl. 1)

There is another example in the decree of Magnesia on the Maeander (SEG 15, 669 = *RICIS* 304/0701) regarding the installation of the cult of Sarapis and the construction of either a temple or an altar. Sokolowski (1974, p. 445-447) points out that Pharsalios, the priest of Sarapis accepts the obligation to “*build something (I think a temple) in the precinct dedicated to Sarapis. He accepts also the obligation to build the chapel nowhere else than in the delimited place, or he will be fined and the potential site confiscated*” (Sokolowski 1974, p. 446). Any disagreement regarding this point would result in a trial by a tribunal being sent to Magnesia from abroad. Harris and Carbon (2015, p. 16, 34) date the inscription to the beginning of the second century BC and it is therefore contemporary with the Delian aretalogy of Sarapis. Finally, a very interesting suggestion regarding the real nature of the trial was made by Brun-Kyriakidis (Siard 1998) who excavated the area between Sarapeion A and the reservoir of the river Inopos. She noticed that the crypt-reservoir of the Sarapeion was fed directly by water from the public reservoir of Inopos (Siard 1998, p. 469-486). This might have been illegal and perhaps the real reason for accusations made by certain locals.

The next inscription (*ID* 1510 = *RICIS* 202/0195.) which dates after 167 BC^[9], is a Decree of the Senate (*senatus consultum*) on the Delian Sarapeion and a letter from the Athenian strategoi to the governor of Delos regarding the sanctuary (Roussel 1913; Huzar 1962, p. 174; Engelmann 1975, p. 46-47; McLean 1996, p. 208, 210-211; Moyer 2011, p. 160, 204 n. 208; Barrett 2011, p. 13 n. 48). This is a stele of white marble discovered in 1911 at the very foot of the staircase that gives access to Sarapeion A (Roussel 1913, p. 310-311). According to the inscription, Demetrios had to protest and appeal to the Roman senate in order to maintain control of the sanctuary. This Demetrios explicitly states that he is from Rheneia, and he is most probably the son of Apollonios II, the dedicator of the aforementioned inscription. He is also a priest of Sarapis. Most if not all the other private sanctuaries of Delos had by this time passed under the control of the central Sanctuary of Apollo and to the Athenians (Engelmann 1975, p. 46-47). This must have occurred for the other two Sarapeia B and C, located very near to the sanctuary of Demetrios’ family. Demetrios won the case and the control of the sanctuary.

[9] Most probably around 165/164 BC (Huzar 1962, p. 174; Bruneau & Ducat 2005, p. 268).

3. SARAPIS AND HIS PRIESTS: A RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP

In the fig. 4 graph, which is based on the evidence of the inscriptions, one can see the relation between Sarapis' priests and the main historical events of the Hellenistic period. In this graph, aside from the inscriptions, I also use the suggestions and calculations regarding the chronological sequence proposed by Engelmann (1975). With the term "Athenian Delos", I mean the periods of Athenian domination over the island.

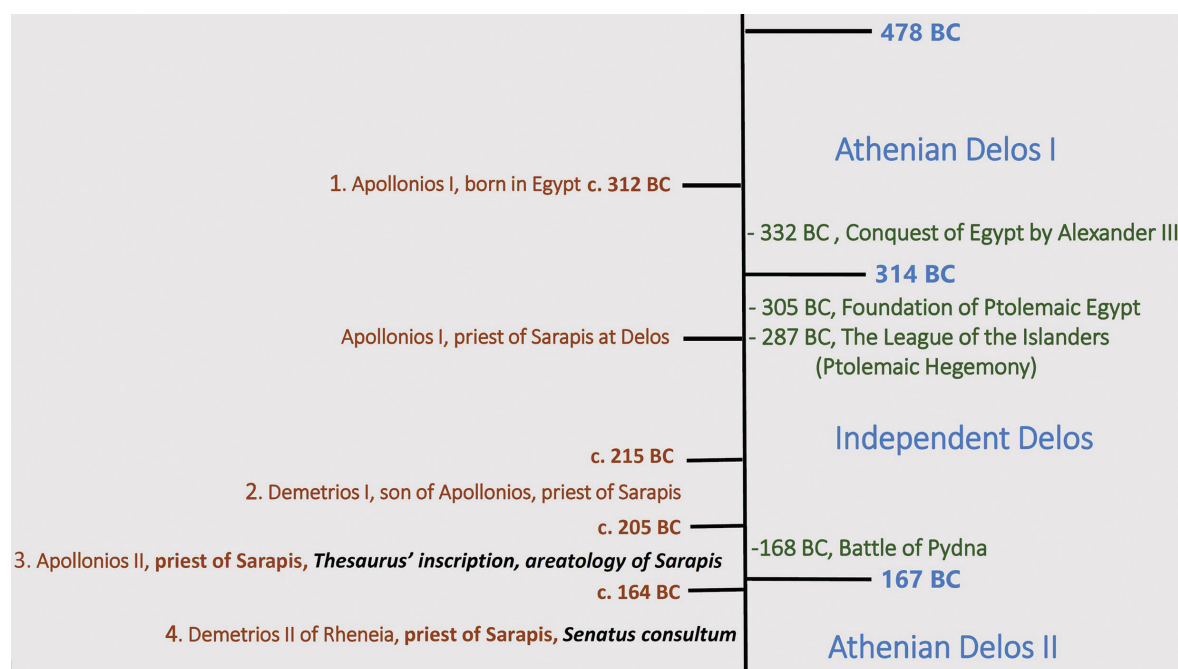


Fig. 4 - The life of Sarapis' priests at Delos in relation to the votive inscriptions of Sarapeion A and the main historical events of the Hellenistic period

The first Apollonios was an Egyptian priest from Memphis, who established the cult of Sarapis in Delos in the first quarter of the third century BC, or more precisely according to Engelmann (1975, p. 14) after 287/286 BC, when the League of the Islanders came under the control of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Meadows (2013, p. 27-28) on the other hand, supports the view that it was Ptolemy II Philadelphus who created the League of the Islanders in 281/280 BC. The first Apollonios, however, could have travelled to Delos after 287 BC during the reign of Ptolemy I, when the powerful Ptolemaic fleet was very active in the Aegean (*IG II² 682*). Demetrios, also a priest of Sarapis and son of Apollonios, lived for 61 years, and since priesthood was hereditary took over after his father's death. Apollonios II, son of Demetrios, priest of Sarapis around 205 BC, constructed the sanctuary of Sarapis and had to face charges over the property of the sanctuary's plot and perhaps other illicit activities. The second Apollonios died before 164 BC, when his son Demetrios was the priest of Sarapis during the *senatus consultum* incident. One cannot be absolutely certain whether Apollonios II was the third priest of Sarapis at Delos, or the first and that everything depicted on the aretology about his past was a forgery. It was rather common for the founders of a cult to have similar dreams, for example the dreams Xenainetos had while at Thessalonike. In a series of dreams, Sarapis urged him to introduce his cult at Opus, Locris (*IG X2, 255*; Sokolowski 1974, p. 441-445; *RICIS 113/0536*). In the Delian case the person who had the dream about Sarapis was the second Apollonios and his grandfather. However, if we consider for the sake of argument that the genealogy inferred in the inscription is truthful we can continue with this analysis.

The first Apollonios probably went to Delos from Memphis a few years after the establishment of the Ptolemaic Kingdom. It is not certain whether he was a priest on a mission for the Ptolemies to establish a new cult in Delos. On the island fierce competition involving votive monuments by the successors and the other Hellenistic rulers had already been initiated by Demetrios Poliorketes in 306 BC (Lorenzo 2020, p. 435-437). Since Apollonios I established the cult of Sarapis in a rented room, he was not particularly rich nor perhaps funded by the Ptolemies (Engelmann 1975, p. 1). Further, as the inscription of the thesaurus indicates, Sarapeion A did not require a specific amount of money from the devotees and this may be an indication of a modest sanctuary throughout its existence, at least compared to Sarapeion C.

Under these circumstances it is interesting to explore where exactly the first Apollonios and his family lived when they arrived at Delos. All three Sarapeia and other temples dedicated to Eastern foreign gods were located in the margins of the city. In the Archaic period the temple of Hera stood and at the same time marked the northernmost point of the city of Delos, while the sanctuary of Zeus stood on the top of mount Kythnos. In a similar way on the mainland in Argos and Corinth the temples of Hera marked the frontier of a city-state in relation to the exploitation of its fertile plains (de Polignac 1995, p. 32-41).

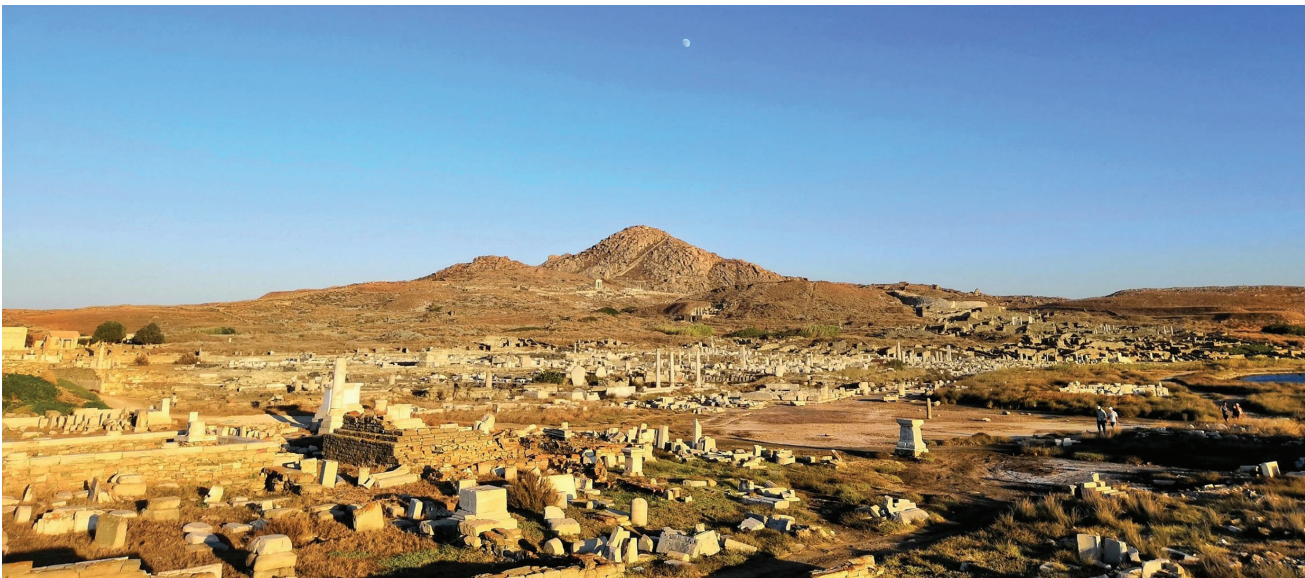


Fig. 5 - The Delian sanctuary of Apollo and mount Kynthos. Photograph Vyron Antoniadis (© Ministry of Culture and Sports - Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades)

In the fig. 5 photo one can see an important part of the urban and sacred landscape of Delos. The picture was taken from the northwest, at the entrance to the premises of the French School. To the south lies the theatre and the adjacent quarter, probably the oldest district of Delos. The sanctuary of Apollo with its associated temples is located in the small valley by the sacred port. In the south-east stands mount Kynthos. Between the sanctuary of Apollo and the mountain there is a terrace with the Archaic temple of Hera and all the temples of Eastern deities including Sarapeion A and the Inopos quarter.

According to the aretalogy, Apollonios II saw the for sale notice of the plot at the entrance (colonnade) to the agora (line 20-21, 56). White (1990, p. 32-37), based on the architectural reforms that took place during the construction of Sarapeion A, and on Bruneau's study (1973, p. 111-136), suggests that that the rented room where the first Apollonios lived must have been part of another building that was later incorporated into the sanctuary (i.e. room E of Sarapeion A). While this very attractive suggestion is not based on textual evidence,

one must admit that it cannot be a coincidence that the people from the East who arrived at Delos in the late third century BC, no matter how rich or poor, initially lived at the margins of the city. The same probably occurred with the Jewish community of the Stadium quarter at Delos (Nielsen 2015, p. 141-153). The first Apollonios was an emigrant who left Memphis to live on Delos and practiced his religion in a private and perhaps hidden place^[10], in a room of his rented house. His son Demetrios continued to live in the same way and was a priest of a limited group, probably constituted of the members of his family and a few more devotees. It is his son Apollonios II, however, who saw a window of opportunity and expanded the worship of Sarapis to a larger place with a proper sanctuary. A couple of decades later, after the battle of Pydna and the very active involvement of the Romans in the Aegean and the East, everything changed once more for Delos: the Athenians expelled the Delians for a second time and new settlers, first from Athens and then from Italy and the East, came to dominate the island. They probably attempted to shut down Sarapeion A as well (Engelmann 1975, p. 46). It is in this context that one should view the post-167 BC events for the Sarapeion. The fourth generation in the line of the Egyptian priests was Demetrios, who presented himself as a native of Rheneia and priest of Sarapis. This is perfectly reasonable after the two centuries his family had lived on the island. As far as we know Rheneia, as well as from being the cemetery of post-425 BC Delos^[11], was a separate city with its main settlement situated in the north-western part of the island. This can be seen in the fifth-century Athenian tribute lists (Meritt *et al.* 1950, p. 273). It is uncertain, however, what the status of Rheineia was in the mid-second century BC^[12]. Demetrios, by saying that he was from Rheneia, was claiming that he belonged to an ancient line of Delians or Rheneians.

It is interesting to explore further is why members of this family persisted for so long not only to establish the cult of Sarapis with a proper sanctuary in the early third century BC, but also why, in 164 BC, they had to take this issue to the Roman senate. There must have been an economic motive for the priests, but this cannot be the main reason, especially as the now official Sarapeion C was much larger and could accommodate many devotees. So the main reason for the family of Demetrios to continue having control of the sanctuary must have been something else. This family of Egyptians who first came to Delos in the early third century BC now called themselves Rheinias or Delians. They had created a very strong bond with their new home, and it seems that under no circumstances did they want to follow the other Delians into exile. At the same time, it seems they were facing some hostility from at least a few locals, first Delians around 200 BC, and then Athenians between 167 and 164 BC.

For all the above reasons, they decided to “objectify” Sarapis and the sanctuary they had built for him. By the time of the second Demetrios, the priests and their families had lived in the island for more than three generations. They had with them the images of the god (i.e. statuettes) from the moment their ancestor the first Apollonios left Memphis at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. I argue that these holy objects together with the entire sanctuary were considered by them to be their most precious possession. Therefore, they decided to use this amalgam of cultic items and beliefs as a single biographical object to appeal to the Senate

^[10] It is not known how the first Apollonios practiced Sarapis’ cult at the birthplace of Apollo or even how open the locals were towards the new god. The late-third century BC events suggest they were probably not very open.

^[11] On the events regarding the establishment of the Delian cemetery at Rheneia see Antoniadis 2019.

^[12] For more information regarding Demetrios and the political status of Rheneia, see Papadopoulou 2020, 58-62.

and win the case against the Athenians^[13]. At the same time the value of the “object” was not only sentimental since it could provide them with an income.

Mazurek (2016, p. 47-50) rightfully approaches Sarapeion A, from the side of the devotees, as the space where they met the gods with the aid of the priests. Once inside Sarapeion A, as in the case of the Greek Orthodox church, objects along with the priests functioned not only as the perfect scenery for contacting the divine but probably also as the most appropriate medium. My concerns, however, in this paper are the priests and their families and not the “outer cycle” of devotees. I would think that if Sarapeion A functioned as an entangled object for the latter, then for the priests it clearly functioned as an heirloom.

From an ethnographic point of view the entire sanctuary was converted into a biographical object, in point of fact into an heirloom since it belonged to the same family for many generations. When narrating the “biography” of Agamemnon’s sceptre, Homer was at the same time narrating the succession of the Atreides. When the Indonesians of Sumba Island were narrating the story of their objects they were also narrating their life stories. A similar very short narration can be seen in the Phoenician bowl discovered at the Teke site, in Knossos. This is exactly what happened with the aretalogy of Sarapis, and with the other associated inscriptions and objects found in the sanctuary. I argue the view that the objects together with the sanctuary constituted a single “object”, because Sarapis’ priests, when narrating the biography of Sarapis at Delos and his sanctuary, were at the same time narrating the biography of the family’s individuals. In this complex relationship, the first Apollonios and his descendants served the god at least for two centuries, but the god and the sanctuary also served the family very well. Sarapeion A continued its function after the events of 164 BC, as later votive inscriptions testify (*ID* 2181 = *RICIS* 202/0200). Demetrios, son of Demetrios was another priest of Sarapis who served the same sanctuary (*ID* 2135 = *RICIS* 202/0202). One can only imagine the stories that the new priests of Sarapis and great-grandchildren of the first Apollonios were told about the adventures of their fathers. To them, the free-standing column of Sarapis’ aretalogy and the stele of the *senatus consultum* must have been the perfect memorabilia to accompany these stories.

^[13] Paoletti (2010, p. 149-157) in a very intriguing approach based on the inscription *IG* XI 4, 1215 sees a relation between the priest Demetrios and Antiochus IV. Perhaps the Seleucid helped Demetrios to appeal to Rome. Scholars view this action of the Roman Senate as “brutally overriding the administrative policy of an allied state in such a trifling matter reveals how little a part either the law of nations (*ius gentium*) or diplomatic amenities played in Roman foreign policy of this period” (Johnson *et al.* 1961, p. 31).

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LEAD TOKENS WITH ALEXANDER III'S PORTRAIT FROM THE ADONIS KYROU COLLECTION IN THE NUMISMATIC MUSEUM AT ATHENS

Efterpi RALLI*

Abstract – Three lead tokens in the Numismatic Museum at Athens, in the Adonis Kyrou collection, bear a male portrait with a diadem and ram's horn. Their closest analogues are to be found in a private collection of lead tokens, with an alleged provenance from Ephesus. The aim of this paper is twofold: a) to

argue that the portrait on the tokens can be identified as Alexander III; and b), to propose Ephesus as a possible place of origin, and explore their possible uses within the framework of Artemis Ephesia's worship and festivals, as well as in relation to the cult of Hellenistic rulers⁷.

Keywords: tokens – Alexander III – portrait – Ephesus – cult

Résumé – Trois jetons en plomb du Musée numismatique d'Athènes, appartenant à la collection Adonis Kyrou, portent un portrait masculin avec un diadème et une corne de bélier. Les analogies les plus proches se trouvent dans une collection privée de jetons en plomb dont la provenance présumée est Ephèse. L'objectif de cet article est double : a) faire

valoir que le portrait sur les jetons peut être identifié avec celui d'Alexandre III, b) proposer Ephèse comme lieu d'origine possible et explorer leurs utilisations éventuelles dans le cadre du culte et des fêtes d'Artémis d'Ephèse ainsi qu'en relation avec le culte des souverains hellénistiques.

Mots clés : jetons – Alexandre III – portrait – Éphèse – culte

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Pl. 1 – Lead tokens with:

- 1) Tyche surrounded by a laurel wreath*
- 2) Medusa's head; 3) A youthful head*
- 4) A poppy head between two wheat ears*
- 5) Letter T*
- 6) A monogram (combination of letters V A P K) and a star*
- 7) An imitation of the reverse of an Athenian obol or half obol of ca. 450-404 BC – owl, olive branch and the inscription AΘE (meaning "of the Athenians")*
- 8) The inscription AΓO, meaning "for" or "of the Agora"*
- 9) The inscription IOVAIANOV, meaning "of Julianus"*

TOKENS HAVE NOT BEEN A SUBJECT OF SYSTEMATIC RESEARCH to the same extent as other antiquities^[1]. They are usually coin-shaped, and mainly made of lead and copper, but also of clay or bone. In numismatic literature, they are usually referred to as *tokens* or *jetons*, while tokens of the Roman era are referred to as *tesserae*^[2]. They are known from Egypt, Italy, Sicily, Asia Minor and Greece, where, according to the archaeological and literary evidence (Ar. Av., 1541; Plut., 277; Eccl., 289ff.; Arist., Ath. Pol., 63), they were in use from Classical Antiquity to the third century AD, and they continue into modern times with new forms and uses. The iconographical themes depicted on the tokens resemble those on other small objects, such as coins and gemstones, and are inspired by personifications (pl. 1, 1), mythology (pl. 1, 2), private and public life (pl. 1, 3), and the natural world of flora and fauna (pl. 1, 4). They are either single-faced or double-faced, and often bear inscriptions, letters (pl. 1, 5) and monograms (pl. 1, 6), and less frequently countermarks. The uses of the tokens are most often associated with the images and inscriptions they carry, but the use of tokens (pl. 1, 7) that imitate coins is not fully understood (Fischer-Bossert 2000/2001, p. 195-205; Fischer-Bossert 2002, p. 1-9; de Callataÿ 2010, p. 219-255; Farhi 2010, p. 177-186)^[3].

The bronze tokens of the Numismatic Museum at Athens were studied and dated by Ioannis Svoronos, who thought that they served as *symbola*, that is, tickets to the Theatre of Dionysus, where, in addition to theatrical performances, meetings of the Ecclesia were held. The letters on the *symbola* corresponded to the seats of the theatre, where similar letters are engraved (Σβορώνος 1898, p. 37-120; Σβορώνος 1900, p. 319-343). Approximately 900 lead tokens come from the excavations of the Athenian Agora, the publication of which has enriched our knowledge of the subject, as they are classified in the archaeological context in which they were found (Agora X). With the exception of the Agora material, most of the published tokens in museum collections are without a known origin and archaeological context, and their publication is not exhaustive, and usually confined to individual articles. Some 269 tokens from the wider area of Ephesus, belonging to a private collection, have also been published (Gülbay & Kireç 2008)^[4].

Most publications generally assume that the tokens were used in the operation of governmental institutions (Agora, Boule, Prytaneion, *Gerousia*) (pl. 1, no. 8), for mass events (religious festivals, contests, etc.), or for state activities (distribution of military equipment (Kroll 1977, p. 141-146; Schäfer 2019, p. 41-61), wheat (Pάλλη 2009, p. 235-245), etc. However, there were also private tokens (pl. 1, no. 9), or tokens issued for commercial or business activities (shops, inns, baths, etc.), mainly during the Roman period.

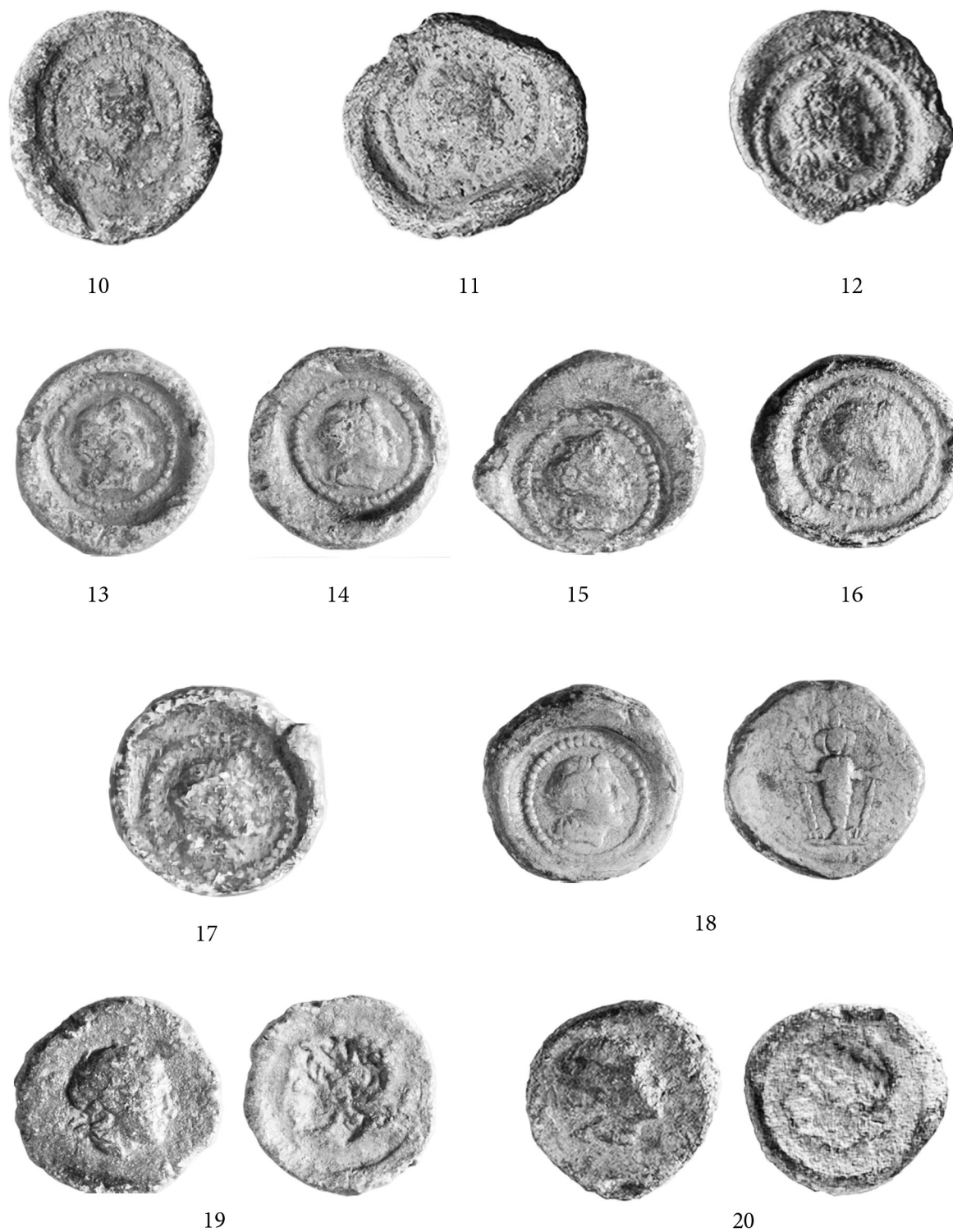
The lead tokens with the head of Alexander III that are here presented are part of the Adonis Kyrou Collection, which was donated to the Numismatic Museum at Athens in 1998, and

[1] For more on the subject, see Dumont 1870; Benndorf 1875, p. 1-29, 83-92 and 579-618; Engel 1884, p. 1-21. Rostovtzeff 1903; Rostovtzeff 1905, p. 1-131; Weinberg and Thompson 1943; Agora X; Pάλλη 2018, p. 121-125. Pάλλη 2019, p. 52-57; Crisà (ed.) 2021.

[2] The wide category of *tesserae* includes the *tesserae frumentariae*, *tesserae nummulariae*, *tesserae hospitales* and *spintriae*.

[3] The terms *plumbeos* or *plumbei nummi* are also given, but it is not known if this refer to coin-shaped tokens or lead coins.

[4] While there is no archaeological context for the Ephesus tokens, they can be classified and dated, by their iconography and technical characteristics, to the second and the first half of the third century AD.



*Pl. 2 – Lead tokens with the portrait of Alexander III, wearing diadem and a ram's horn,
2nd-first half of the 3rd century AD
Nos. 10-12 from the Kyrou Collection (Athens)
Nos. 13-20 from the Gülbay & Kireç Collection (Ephesus)*

consists of approximately 1,700 lead tokens, along with seals and a few weights^[5]. The aim of this paper is to discuss the iconography of this group, as well as evidence which suggests a possible religious context.

Three lead tokens of the Kyrou Collection depict a young male head facing right, in a border of dots (pl. 2, 10-12). He is beardless, has a luxuriant growth of hair, with locks reaching the neck, and wears a diadem with a ram's horn. These distinctive features are characteristic of the portrait of Alexander III as Zeus-Ammon, and possibly reflect his image on Lysimachus' tetradrachms (pl. 3, 22).

It is not entirely certain that the representation is identical on all three tokens, as in some cases the ram's horn is strongly marked, while on the third the diadem is clearly distinguishable. The three tokens in the Kyrou Collection, for which we have no information regarding their origin, find their closest parallels in a group of tokens in another private collection, of a reportedly Ephesian provenance (Gülbay & Kireç 2008, nos. 195-200 and 188-189). This group consists of six tokens similar to the unprovenanced specimens in the Kyrou Collection, while two differ others in not having a border of dots (pl. 2, 13-20).

In the publication of the Ephesian tokens, the portrait is described as Lysimachus, because of the close resemblance of the portrait on coins (Gülbay & Kireç 2008, p. 36). A combination study of the material will help us discuss questions, starting with whether Alexander III is actually the man depicted. However, it is widely acknowledged in the literature that the portrait on Lysimachus' coinage depicts the Macedonian king, Alexander III, better known as Alexander the Great (Dahmen 2007, p. 119-120)^[6]. The description of the head on the tokens as Lysimachus may not have taken into consideration the ram's horn on the diadem, as this is not clearly distinguishable in all the tokens from Ephesus, because of wear^[7].

Similarly, on one token from the Kyrou Collection, the ram's horn is not easily distinguished and could be easily confused with the locks of luxuriant hair (pl. 2, 12). The banded diadem on this token is more clearly discernible than on the other two tokens in the collection, although, in those cases, the hair is rendered as if there were a diadem, with a gap in the area where it should be. The diadem was necessary for practical reasons, since the ram's horn was attached to it. In both of the Ephesian tokens without a border of dots, the diadem is clearly distinguished (pl. 2, 19-20). In these two tokens, we find the rare phenomenon of an incuse image on side B, similar to the relief image on side A^[8].

It is possible that in these eleven tokens there may be two varieties of heads: one with just a banded diadem, and another with a diadem and a ram's horn. We are more inclined, however, to suggest that in both cases we have a head with long hair and many locks, and a banded diadem with a ram's horn. The type became established with Lysimachus's abundant coinage, though he was not the first to use these distinctive features in a portrait of Alexander. Before him, Ptolemy had depicted Alexander with an elephant-skin headdress, as well as with a diadem with a ram's horn, on his silver tetradrachms of 321-c.301 BC (Dahmen 2007, p. 112-114) (pl. 3, 21).

^[5] The lead tokens of the Adonis Kyrou Collection constitute the subject of my doctoral thesis (in progress), at the Department of History, Archaeology and Cultural Management of the University of Peloponnese, with exclusive study and publication rights. I would like to thank the Director of the Numismatic Museum in Athens, Dr George Kakavas, for his support to the token's study and publication and my supervisor professor Dr. Eleni Zymi for her help and instructions.

^[6] This monograph contains a full bibliography of Alexander's depictions on coins.

^[7] Although it is easily seen on at least four of them, cf. Gülbay & Kireç 2008, nos. 189, 196, 198 and 199.

^[8] This unusual characteristic is merely reported, without a discussion of token manufacture techniques.



Pl. 3

- 21) Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I, 321-ca 301 BC, with Alexander III wearing an elephant-skin headdress
 22) Tetradrachm of Lysimachus, 297/281 BC, with Alexander wearing a diadem and a ram's horn
 23) Tetradrachm of the Roman Quaestor Aesillas, ca 90-70 BC, with Alexander with curly hair and a ram's horn
 24) Gold medallion of Aboukir, 218-ca 235 AD, with Alexander wearing a diadem
 25) Modern 100-drachms coin issued by the Greek Republic, 1990, with Alexander wearing a diadem and a ram's horn
 26-27) Bronze coins of the Macedonian league, 3rd c. AD, with Alexander wearing a diadem and a ram's horn
 28) Gemstone, shortly after 323 BC, with Alexander wearing a diadem and a ram's horn

Although Ptolemy, in the final phase of his coin production, replaced Alexander's portrait with his own head, Lysimachus exclusively used Alexander the Great's head, with a diadem and a ram's horn, throughout the minting of his coins from 297/281 BC on (Dahmen 2007, p. 119-120) (pl. 3, 22). As one of Alexander's generals, who was proclaimed king in Egypt in 305/4 BC, Ptolemy reinforced the dynamic of Alexander's portrait, propagating his own policy and vision. Alexander's portrait placed Lysimachus automatically under Alexander's protection, while the royal diadem validated his reign. The ram's horn was one of the most important elements in Alexander's iconography. It was the emblem of Ammon Zeus, and gave divine status to Alexander and divine protection to Lysimachus. Alexander had visited the oracle of Ammon Zeus in the Siwa Oasis and the oracle priests themselves had called him the son of the god. The oracle had pronounced that Alexander would become the ruler

of the world, and would remain invincible until he himself became a god (Quin. Curt. *Alex.*, 4.7.25-27)^[9].

Alexander's portrait, with a diadem and a ram's horn, which Lysimachus introduced, set the pattern for later issues with the same distinctive features, from the Roman Quaestor Aesillas' tetradrachms (Dahmen 2007, p. 122-123)^[10] (pl. 3, 23) to the gold victory medals of Abukir (Dahmen 2007, p. 148-152)^[11] (pl. 3, 24). This type of portrait prevailed to such an extent that it has even been used in the modern times, on the recent 100-drachms coins issued by the Greek Republic in 1990 (pl. 3, 25).

The closest coin iconographic parallels to the tokens are the bronze issues of the Macedonian League, from the time of Elagabalus (218-222 AD) to the time of Philip the Arab (244-249 AD) (Dahmen 2007, p. 136-138). Whether with a simple diadem or with a ram's horn, Alexander's head on the issues of the Macedonian League resembles the heads on the lead tokens (pl. 3, 26-27). His long hair reaches the neck and consists of many locks that tumble together in an almost deliberately wild manner, stressing the movement and dynamism of the portrait. This element is less prominent on the tokens, but one should not forget that tokens are not of equal significance and importance to coins, and that the material of lead, much softer than copper or the precious metals used for the coins, did not allow for the same technical processing and artistic rendering. On both the coins of the Macedonian League of the third c. AD and the tokens, the locks on the forehead turn upward, creating a curve. This detail, known as "*anastole* - suspension", first appeared in Lysimachus' coins, but had become a standard part of the iconography by the third century AD (Dahmen 2007, p. 43). Another common element of Alexander III's head is the "*anavlemma*", the raised head with the gaze looking upwards, a feature borrowed in Rome to represent a second "Great", Constantine I. The ram's horn on the tokens belongs to one of the two types introduced by Lysimachus, namely that which follows the curve of the ear, while on the coins of the Macedonian League the horn covers the top of the ear.

We should also take gemstones into account, the depictions of Alexander the Great on which date from the period immediately after his death to the first century AD (Plantzos 1999, p. 60-62; Spier 1992, nos. 218, 225 and 431). From Pliny and Plutarch we are informed that very few artists were designated as official engravers of Alexander's portrait, including Pyrgotelis, Lysippos, and Apellis (Plin. *HN*, 7.125; Plut. *Alex.*, 4.1). Augustus' personal seal-stone bore Alexander's image (Suet. *Oct. Tib.*, 1). The Hellenistic portraits of Alexander on gemstones are characterised by a moderate "suspension", an upward gaze, deep engraving of the eye sockets, a straight neck that thins and gradually becomes irregular, and relatively short hair that later lengthens and becomes sloppier, with S-shaped locks falling over the ear (Plantzos 1999, p. 60-62). The representations of Alexander's portrait with the ram's horn are, however, rare on gemstones, as is also the case with sculpture. A single such representation, of Eastern origin, bearing the engraver's signature, is connected with Lysimachus' early coin issues and is dated immediately after Alexander's death (Plantzos 1999, p. 60 and no. 142) (pl. 3, 28).

Comparisons between tokens and coins, medals and gemstones are primarily a tool to shed light on issues related to iconography, identification, and the interpretation of the figures or scenes on them. Such *comparanada* may also, sometimes, provide hints about chronology or provenance, if supported by additional evidence. In the case of our tokens with Alexander's

^[9] 1st c. AD.

^[10] Ca. 90-70 BC.

^[11] 218-ca. 235 AD.

head, their morphological and typological similarity to those in the Ephesus Collection, as is the case with several other tokens in the Kyrou Collection, may imply a provenance from Ephesus. Regarding chronology, a possible date between the second and the first half of the third century AD could be proposed, if one accepts the suggested chronology of their Ephesian counterparts (Gülbay & Kireç 2008, p. 16 and 52). Given the lack of information about the provenance of the tokens in the Kyrou Collection, and the absence of inscriptions or representations on their side B, the tokens from Ephesus in a private collection are currently the only comparative material, which, however, offer only limited grounds for speculation.

As to the question of use, the tokens from the Kyrou Collection provide no clues. One token from Ephesus bears an image of the statue of Artemis of Ephesus on side B (Gülbay and Kireç 2008, no. 196) (pl. 2, 18). Their alleged provenance from Ephesus, together with the depiction of the goddess's statue on one token, may imply a connection to the operation of the sanctuary and the worship of Artemis.

The Artemisium of Ephesus was one of the largest and most important sanctuaries, not only of Ionia, but of the ancient world, and Ephesus itself was an important city. It is interesting to note here that the sanctuary was linked to Alexander III, and the city to Lysimachus. According to tradition, the temple was destroyed by fire on the night Alexander was born, and when he visited Ephesus in 334 BC, he admired the splendour of the new temple, which was about to be re-built by the architect Deinocrates. He then offered to cover the costs of its reconstruction, provided that his name be mentioned in the dedicatory inscription. According to Strabo, the Ephesians refused Alexander's offer, on the grounds that it was inappropriate for one god to dedicate a temple to another (Strab. *Geogr.*, 14.1.22).

Lysimachus was also connected with Ephesus, when shortly after 294 BC he re-established the city elsewhere^[12], renamed it Arsinoe or Arsinoeia, after the name of his wife, daughter of Ptolemy, erected a large nine-kilometre-long fortification wall around it, and re-instituted the *Gerousia*. Although initially the residents were negative about moving to a new location, they eventually accepted the move, because of flooding at the old site. According to Strabo, the flood was not caused by natural causes, but by Lysimachus himself, who, after waiting for heavy rains, blocked the streams, causing the city to flood and the inhabitants eventually to accept moving to the new location (Strab. *Geogr.*, 14.1.21). From a group of statues of various deities and Lysimachus, dedicated and erected by Gaius Vibius Salutaris in 104 AD, it appears that Lysimachus was probably worshiped in his lifetime, and that he remained in the collective memory of the citizens as the founder of their city (Cohen 1995, p. 277-279).

The Artemisium was not, however, just a temple, and an important place of worship. With a continuity from the eighth century BC to Roman times, its reputation grew and spread, and became an important economic asset for the city, with large revenues from sponsorship and donations received by the priests (Dignas 2002, p. 200, no. 418). As part of the cult of Artemis of Ephesus, there were also contests, such as the *Ephesia* and *Artemisia*, which were popular with the people, especially during the Roman period. These contests and spectacles often had prominent sponsors, who were responsible for the expenses involved. It has been suggested that some of the tokens from Ephesus with portrait heads could represent sponsors of these contests (Gülbay & Kireç 2008, p. 28).

While we cannot know precisely what particular function of the sanctuary that these tokens could have been used for, it may not be a coincidence that both the coins of the Macedonian League and the gold medals of Abukir, with which the tokens of Ephesus share similarities, were issued in celebration or commemoration of an event that combined imperial worship

[12] Southwest of the River Kaystros, modern Küçük Menderes River.

with games in honour of Alexander the Great, the so-called *Alexandreia* (Dahmen 2008, p. 517-522). The games included athletic and music contests, horse races and duels. They attracted many visitors, professional athletes, and merchants, and were of great economic importance (Dahmen 2007, p. 136). The picture must have been similar in Ephesus during the *Ephesia* and *Artemisia* festivals.

The small number of tokens, and the absence of a city's name (*ethnikon*) on them, makes it risky to suggest that they functioned as coins, unless the representations on the tokens alone were so recognizable, that people could have traded with them. However, even if they had no monetary value, they had an element of value, if used as tickets to festivals and games in honour of the goddess or the emperors, or the preservation of an earlier Hellenistic ruler cult in the third century AD (Chaniotis 2003, p. 436). It is also possible that the lead tokens could have been used as receipts for their holders, in order for them to later receive payment for services they had provided in the context of any of these festivals. They may also have been commemorative objects, for pilgrims visiting the sacred city to carry them away as amulets. Alexander's divine image at that time was already in the realm of the myth, and conveyed great power. John Chrysostom wrote: "What can be said about the people who use magic charms and amulets and wear bronze coins of Alexander of Macedon on their necks and legs?" (John Chrysostom, *Ad illuminandos catechesis* 2.5; *Patrologia Graeca* 49, 240). If there is continuity in these concepts, we see that something similar happens even now. In the practice of worship in most religions, believers wear or take with them an icon or a commemorative item from their visit to a place of worship. Alexander the Great remained in the Greek popular culture over the centuries, and in that tradition, his sister, the mermaid, still asks sailors if the king lives. If they do not say he does and reigns, the ship will sink.

Finally, I would like to mention a group of tokens from the Athenian Agora, which date to the Roman period, most to 267 AD (Agora X, L 266a-b, L 272, L 322). These bear on side B a youthful head facing left, with short curly hair, and head tilted back. In the commentary on the head, it is noted that "the head is not unlike some Alexander heads" (Agora X, p. 113). At this stage, our aim is not to determine whether the tokens of the Agora depict Alexander or not, although the portrait bears common characteristics with those on the tokens presented here, but also many differences, such as the absence of the ram's horn. Their dating, however, which is based on their archaeological context, hints broadly at the same period into which the tokens from Ephesus and consequently those in the Kyrou Collection, could be placed.

Moreover, in the publication of the tokens from the Athenian Agora, the examples bearing the representation of Tyche on side A, and those with the head of Athena on side A, with the same Tyche on side B, are linked to the ephebic contests, primarily to the *Athenaia*, in honour of emperors, heroes, and gods (Agora X, p. 116-117). This interpretation implies the practice in Athens of issuing and using tokens in a religious context of worship or contests, which is similar to the proposed use of the groups of tokens, from Ephesus, and from the Kyrou collection presented here.

In closing, we have seen that tokens may sometimes have played a role in the wider "sacred economy". These objects, which were deeply integrated into the realm of everyday life in antiquity, deserve greater attention.

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COINS IN SACRED SPACES. THE COIN FINDS FROM OLYMPIA, DELPHI, ISTHMA, AND NEMEA REVISITED

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Abstract - The sanctuaries in Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea belong to the constitutive Panhellenic sites in ancient Greece and were a destination for worshippers across the entire ancient world. Over 100 years of excavation history unearthed generously decorated temple buildings, numbers of statues, and votive offerings, which shaped the scientific discussion in Classical Archaeology for decades. Although coins were found at the sites in large numbers, most of the numismatic material from excavation projects in Ancient Greece remains unpublished or is no longer available. The catalog of coins from Nemea remains exceptional. This

paper discusses the benefits, an evaluation of Greek sanctuary coin finds can have beyond the numismatic discipline. A graphical presentation of the finds based on a modern statistical method enables the historical and economic analysis of the sites and the function of the coins within the sanctuary. This comparative study of the coin finds from Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea deals with the origin of the numismatic material and reviews the intentionality of coin depositions in sacred spaces. In order to discuss the possibility of new results from old excavations, this paper attempts to reappraise the dedication of coins on the basis of case studies from the four sanctuaries.

Keywords: panhellenic sanctuaries - statistical methods in numismatics - coins and ritual

Résumé - Les sanctuaires d'Olympie, de Delphes, d'Isthmie et de Némée font partie des sites panhelléniques constitutifs de la Grèce antique. Ils étaient une destination pour les fidèles de tout le monde antique. Plus de 100 ans de fouilles ont mis au jour des temples généreusement décorés, un grand nombre de statues et d'offrandes votives qui ont influencé le débat scientifique dans l'archéologie classique pendant des décennies. Bien que des monnaies aient été trouvées en grand nombre sur les sites, la plupart du matériel numismatique provenant des projets de fouilles en Grèce antique reste inédit ou n'est plus disponible. Le catalogue des monnaies de Némée reste exceptionnel. Cet article examine les avantages qu'une évaluation

des monnaies grecques trouvées dans les sanctuaires peut avoir au-delà de la discipline numismatique. Une présentation graphique des trouvailles, basée sur une méthode statistique moderne, permet l'analyse historique et économique des sites et de la fonction des monnaies dans le sanctuaire. Cette étude comparative des monnaies trouvées à Olympie, Delphes, Isthme et Némée traite de l'origine du matériel numismatique et examine l'intentionnalité des dépôts de pièces dans les espaces sacrés. Afin de discuter de la possibilité de nouveaux résultats provenant d'anciennes fouilles, cet article tente de réévaluer la dédicace des monnaies sur la base d'études de cas des quatre sanctuaires.

Mots clés : sanctuaires panhelléniques - méthodes statistiques en numismatique - monnaies et rituel

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DURING THE EXCAVATIONS FROM 1962 TO 1966 of the German Archaeological Institute in the southeast of the sanctuary of Olympia, a rectangular altar surrounded by delimitation marks made of limestone slabs was discovered^[1]. Due to a written passage by Pausanias^[2], excavators identified the worshipped deity as Artemis^[3]. The altar Pausanias noticed on his way back from the hippodrome to the sanctuary belongs to the second phase of the shrine after the altar was transferred and newly constructed on a higher stratigraphic level during the early imperial period^[4]. Because of the large number of finds and the undisturbed character of the assemblage of votive offerings, the late archaic altar is regarded as the only non-intrusive context of finds of the numerous smaller cults and shrines in the sanctuary of Olympia^[5]. Among the approximate 250 objects connected to the layer of finds, coins were also identified by Hildegund Gropengiesser as votive objects in a paper from 1988^[6]. Therefore, the context of the altar of Artemis in Olympia would be the most suitable case study for the examination of coins as votive offerings at smaller shrines apart from temples and treasuries. Unfortunately, the coins found during the excavation of the altar of Artemis are solely mentioned in H. Gropengiesser's paper, but recur in an article by Thomas Völling from 2002 and the publication of the coins from Nemea from 2005 as part of the complex of finds of the shrine^[7]. Despite H. Gropengiesser's earlier paper, Hanna Philipps's publication from 1981 only presents the terracotta objects and bronze jewelry, as well as later publications which do not include coins in their overview of the finds anymore^[8]. While a promised publication of the finds by H. Gropengiesser was regrettably never realized^[9], the reevaluation of the altar and its finds by Joachim Heiden shows that coins were presumptively never found at the site^[10].

The case of the altar of Artemis in the sanctuary of Olympia clearly indicates the difficulties of an analysis of coin finds, especially from Greek sites. Like many other daily life items such as jewelry, vessels, and utensils, money did not serve economic purposes alone. In fact, coins were dedicated to the gods as well and are found in official and private votive offerings at natural or architectural religious places^[11]. Determining whether coins were accidentally lost or intentionally deposited is the most difficult aspect of the evaluation of finds of an archaeological site. This requires information about the location of the objects within the site and their stratigraphic contexts^[12]. In most cases, the problems of coin evaluations from

[1] Kunze 1963, p. 107; Heiden 2013, p. 369.

[2] Paus. 5.15.6.

[3] Kunze 1963, p. 107.

[4] Philipp 1981, p. 23; Kyrieleis 1994, p. 15.

[5] Kunze 1963, p. 108; Völling 2002, p. 100.

[6] Gropengiesser 1988, p. 125.

[7] Gropengiesser 1988, p. 125; Völling 2002, p. 101; Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 34.

[8] Philipp 1981, p. 24; Kyrieleis 1994, p. 16; Heiden 2013, p. 369.

[9] Philipp 1981, p. 23.

[10] Heiden 2013, p. 369-370.

[11] Howgego 1995, p. 92; Houghtalin 2015, p. 105; Thüry 2016, p. 64-65.

[12] The identification of an antoninianus by Krmnicek & Kortüm 2016, p. 40 as purposely deposited shows the importance of a conscientious processing of coin finds; See also Martin-Kilcher 2013, p. 220-221 for the benefits of a reevaluation of coin finds and the usability of the context. Despite the coin finds from 1926 were recorded without modern research methods, it was possible to identify the ritual character of the deposition; Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 232-237 give an example from Greek archaeological sites, where the dispersion of coins by polis in the stadium of Nemea is visible in the numismatic record.

Greek sites are related to the history of the excavations and the substandard treatment of the numismatic material. For the majority of excavation projects in Ancient Greece, coins are recorded poorly and lack scientific analysis of their contexts^[13]. Before the second half of the 20th century, coins were used almost exclusively as accompanying material for age determination, occasionally being thrown away without any further treatment^[14]. In addition, the analysis of coin finds commonly takes place separately from the excavation process and other materials of the site^[15]. As a result, the numismatic material is often published in lists and catalogs, where the archaeological context is often missing^[16].

1. ANALYZING GREEK SANCTUARY COIN FINDS

1.1. THE METHOD FOR THE ANNUAL FRACTIONATION OF COIN FINDS OVER THEIR ISSUANCE PERIOD

Due to the limited nature of numismatic evidence of Greek sites, a statistical and graphical presentation of the finds can provide information regarding the historical and economic setting of archaeological sites and also simplify their comparison. In 2019, the author of this paper presented a study on the implementation of the *method for the annual fractionation of coin finds over their issuance period* applied to the Greek Panhellenic sanctuaries^[17], following the scientific discourse in numismatics for the north and north-western provinces of the Roman Empire^[18]. This method “allows the illustration of both temporal and regional characteristics of the coins [and] enables the comparison between different municipal, religious, or military sites based entirely on the same method and structure”^[19]. The dispersion of the coins of a site to every single year they were potentially issued creates a graph with the chronology of the numismatic material in its x-axis, and the emission of a site per year on the y-axis^[20]. On the x-axis, the time period the coins were potentially issued is represented and not the moment the objects were lost or deposited^[21]. This means, the analysis of the diagrams is based on a relative chronological comparison of the sites and the contradictory shape of the graphs, promoting a contextual comparison with similar or related geographical and substantial settings^[22].

The evaluation of the available coin lists of the sites on the basis of the method presents a large number of universal characteristics in the graphs of Olympia, Nemea, and the Corycian Cave near Delphi (Fig. 1.1-3)^[23]. The earliest coins in Nemea and Olympia belong to the fifth century BC. Around 400 BC, the quantity of coins found at the sites rises rapidly until

[13] Walker 1997, p. 20-21; de Callataÿ 2006, p. 192.

[14] Walker 1997, p. 20-21; Moustaka 1999, p. 152; Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 17.

[15] Krmnicek & Kortüm 2016, p. 3-5.

[16] Krmnicek & Kortüm 2016, p. 3-5; for the intensified discussion of the topic, see e.g. de Callataÿ 2006, and Duyrat & Grandjean 2016.

[17] Kalisch 2019.

[18] Cf. de Callataÿ 2006, p. 192, and von Kaenel 2009, p. 15.

[19] Kalisch 2019, p. 67.

[20] Vondrovec 2005, p. 181; Kalisch 2019, p. 55.

[21] Vondrovec 2005, p. 182; Walton 2012, p. 27.

[22] Kortüm 1998, p. 6; Vondrovec 2005, p. 176; Kalisch, p. 56.

[23] Kalisch 2019, p. 62. The Olympia graph uses the coin list published in Moustaka 1999, containing all 527 antique objects from the excavations in the southeast of the sanctuary between 1977 and 1980. As no publication for Delphi is available, the study used the 102 ancient objects from the catalog of the Corycian

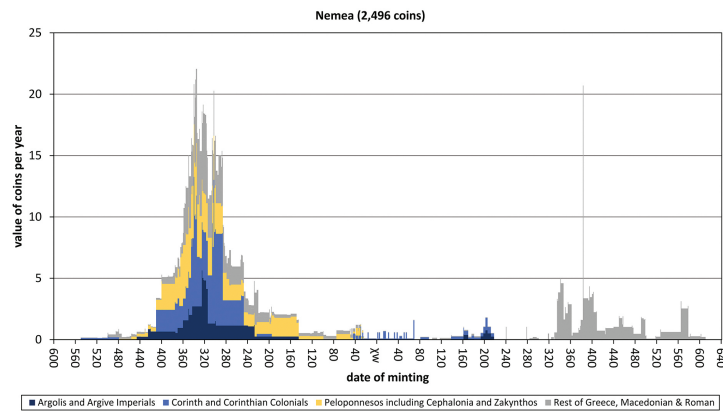


Fig. 1.1 - The distribution of coins by reference area in the sanctuary of Zeus in Nemea

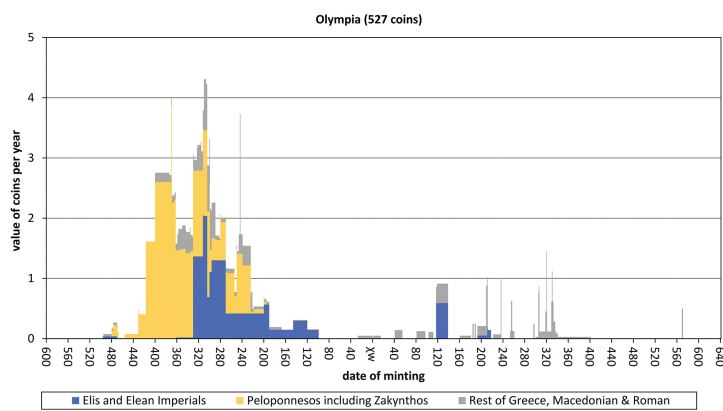


Fig. 1.2 - The distribution of coins by reference area in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia

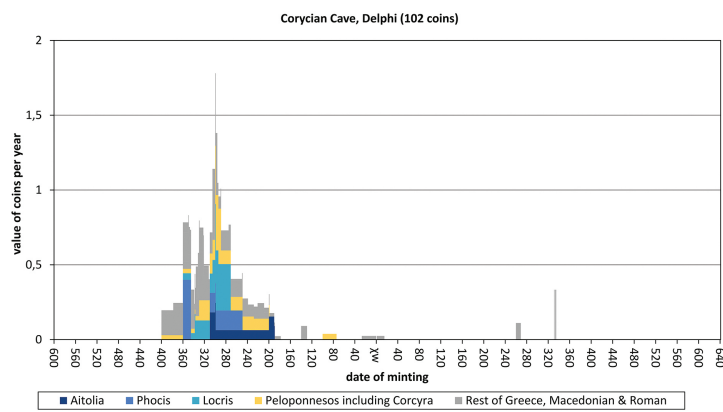


Fig. 1.3 - The distribution of coins by reference area in the Corycian Cave near Delphi

reaching a maximum towards the end of the fourth century BC, leading into a decline to a lower output of coins by the second century BC. From this point onwards, the diagrams of Olympia and the Corycian Cave show several interruptions in the curves (Fig. 1.2; 1.3), while the graph of Nemea stays coherent before a larger gap around 220 AD (Fig. 1.1). Over 93% of the numismatic material displayed in the graphs are bronze coins (Fig. 2)^[24], and represents the regional character of coin circulation in the sanctuaries^[25].

cave in the northeast of the sanctuary by Picard 1984. For Nemea, the diagram shows all 2496 datable coins of the publication by Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005.

[24] Kalisch 2019, p. 47, 49, 53 and 69-71 diagr. A.1-3.

[25] For a more detailed examination of the origin of the finds, see Kalisch 2019, p. 69-71 diagr. B. 1-3. Because of the missing designation of the reference areas of the sanctuaries in the diagrams from 2019, the information

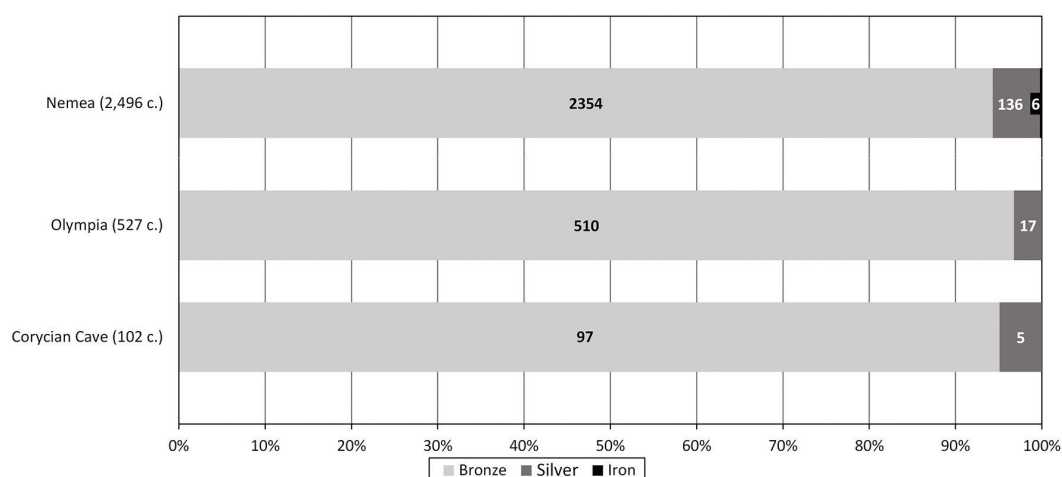


Fig. 2 - The partition of coins by metal

1.2. MISSING EVIDENCE? OLYMPIA AND THE WESTERN GREEKS

The local character of the coins found in the sanctuaries is not surprising in the first place, as Christopher Howgego had already postulated the frequent occurrence of coin types as a normal pattern of the region^[26]. Despite this understanding, the severe differences in the spectrum, the origin of votive offerings found in Olympia and the coins from the site is remarkable and need a further investigation of the relation between the setting of the sanctuary and the provenance of the coin finds. The excavations conducted at the sanctuary of Zeus have repeatedly shown a strong connection between Olympia and the Greek cities in the West^[27]. Statues and heroic poems dedicated to the Olympic victors testify the success of the athletes from southern Italy and Sicily in the Panhellenic games^[28]. In addition, the treasuries represent an architectural manifestation of the participation of the Greek cities from overseas in the cult activities in the sanctuary^[29]. From the twelve buildings erected on the terrace between the Temple of Hera in the southwest and the stadium in the east, Pausanias identifies at least five treasuries from *poleis* in Magna Graeca^[30].

In this context, the absence of coins from southern Italy and Sicily is surprising and raises the question of the treatment of foreign currencies in the ancient world with different weight standards from one city coinage to another^[31]. Considering the similarities in weights and measures of the coins from the Peloponnesos, found in large numbers in the sanctuaries of Nemea and Olympia (Fig. 1.1-2), a mandatory exchange of currencies from other parts of the Greek world appears plausible and could be linked to an exchange fee donated to the

should be repeated briefly in this study. Generally, the reference areas are depicted in blue color. For the graph of Nemea, the coins from the Argolis and the Argive Imperials are presented in a darker blue, while the coins from Corinth and the Corinthian Colonials are piled up above in a lighter blue. The coins from Elis in the diagram of Olympia show the same light blue as the only reference area for the sanctuary. For the Corycian cave, the reference areas Aitolia, Phocis and Locris are piled up in that order from below, bearing three different shades of blue, from a darker to a lighter variant of the color. Above the reference areas in both studies, the coins from the Peloponnesos can be found in yellow.

^[26] Howgego 1995, p. 106.

^[27] Philipp 1994; Valavanis 2012, p. 42.

^[28] Philipp 1994, p. 79; Valavanis 2017, p. 91.

^[29] Valavanis 2017, p. 46.

^[30] Paus. 6.19.1-15; cf. Oberberg-Mavrudis 2017, p. 130-131.

^[31] Meadows 2014, p. 174.

sanctuaries^[32]. An additional notable tendency concerns the occurrence of the coins from Elis in the diagram from Olympia (Fig. 1.2). Unlike other city coinages from the Peloponnesos, which show a rapid increase in the graph from *ca.* 430 BC onwards, most of the Elean coins do not appear before the second half of the fourth century BC. Given the material of the coins, their appearance in the graph can be connected to the invention of bronze coinage in the city in the middle of the fourth century B.C^[33]. While the argument for a compulsory exchange of currencies seems striking, the comparison of the coin finds with the evaluation of the origin of the Olympic victors shows another relevant detail. From the fifth to the fourth century BC, the games changed drastically, where during the fifth century BC, athletes from cities outside of the Peloponnesos achieved the majority of victories, reversing the situation in the fourth century BC^[34]. Hanna Philipp argues that the games lost their international character caused by war like conflicts between the *poleis*^[35]. Such conclusions could also apply to the numismatic setting in the sanctuaries.

2. THE USE OF COINS IN SACRED SPACES

But what was the purpose of the coins found in the sanctuary? Before the invention of bronze coinage in the late fifth century BC, the use of money with its large silver denominations, was overall connected to state expenses and military operations^[36]. The production of smaller denominations made out of more favorable materials such as bronze and iron facilitated the expansion of coined money into the private sector and enabled economic transactions on a smaller scale^[37]. Given the rapid increase of the curves from Olympia, Nemea, and the Corycian Cave, a steady bronze coin circulation in the sanctuaries can be assumed at the beginning of the fourth century BC, related to the availability of coins as daily life items^[38].

Coins did not serve economic purposes alone, however. For centuries, the deposition of coins, whether in profane or religious contexts, has been a widespread phenomenon in the Graeco-Roman world and can be found in various forms and characteristics^[39]. In this discussion, two main questions must be evaluated.

(1) Were coins stored temporary in the event of a war or as protection from thieves^[40]?

Or (2) was the deposition made “in response to a particular event, or an act of personally sacrificing something of value for a specific reason”^[41], caused by the profound religiosity of the Greek and Roman society^[42]? In general, coins can be found as personal offerings for a safe

^[32] Curtius 1897, p. 41; Moustaka 1999, p. 159; Meadows 2014, p. 174. Cf. Howgego 1995, p. 34.

^[33] Hoover 2011, p. 72.

^[34] Philipp 1994, p. 79.

^[35] Philipp 1994, p. 79.

^[36] Carradice & Price 1988, p. 67; Linders 1992, p. 11; Howgego 1995, p. 33-38.

^[37] van Alfen 2012, p. 94; Meadows 2014, p. 188.

^[38] Kalisch 2019, p. 64-65.

^[39] Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 85; Doyen 2012, p. iii-iv.

^[40] As Thüry 2016, p. 24-25 shows in the analysis of Hellenistic and Roman written sources, coins were not only deposited in danger situations like war and turmoils, but also in economic circumstances like profit mongering and tax fraud played an important role, as well as the safekeeping of the money in the situation of personal absence.

^[41] Thomas 2012, p. 36.

^[42] Thüry 2016, p. 84.

journey over streams and mountain ranges and were deposited at altars and shrines^[43]. Unless special vessels or containers, so-called *thesauroi*, were used to collect the money dedicated to the gods, the differentiation between dedicated objects and coins lost in the daily process is difficult and only possible, if the stratigraphic context of the site is sufficiently informative^[44].

Besides the use of coins as private offerings, the dedication of coins within ritual actions in sanctuaries has played an important role in the scientific numismatic debate for decades^[45]. In 1904 and 1905, the excavations at the Temple of Artemis in Ephesos discovered over 98 electrum coins belonging to the oldest coinages in the world^[46]. In the foundation of the temple's oldest phase, 24 of the coins were found together with about 1,000 other objects including jewelry and figurines made out of gold, silver and electrum^[47]. The large quantity of the almost unscathed finds and their position within the foundation lead to the assumption that the objects were dedicated as "a sort of Foundation-Deposit"^[48] for the temple^[49]. In her dissertation about foundation deposits, Rita Müller-Zeis follows David G. Hogarth's interpretation^[50]. However, Stefan Karwiese points out that the coins could have been stored in the temple as well^[51]. Contrary to the opinions mentioned before, Anton Bammer views the objects from the deposit as discarded and removed old votive offerings^[52] and Stefan Weikart states, the classification of coin finds as foundation deposits in Greek archaeology is an incorrect projection of modern customs and tradition to the Classical antiquity^[53]. The example from Ephesos expresses the difficulties interpreting coin finds from sanctuary sites.

Nevertheless, when archaeological contexts are available and complemented by written sources, the deposition of coins as part of religious activities is evidenced since Classical times^[54]. Generally, the appearance of coins in the sanctuaries seems to coincide with a change in the spectrum of finds from the sites, such as the comparison with other types of materials shows (Fig. 3)^[55]. In Olympia, the decisive material for votive offerings was bronze^[56]. While the rural character of the sanctuary of Zeus was underlined by the domination of figurines made of clay and bronze at the beginning of the Geometric period, the eight century BC

^[43] Kaminski 1991, p. 125; Houghtalin 2015, p. 105; Thüry 2016, p. 64-65.

^[44] Melfi 2014, p. 757; Thüry 2016, p. 64.

^[45] Cf. Harris-Cline 2003, p. 7 for the literary sources of private offerings of coins and the hypothetic procedure. The literary sources show a preponderance of dedications by men, women are rarely mentioned as the performing person.

^[46] Bammer 1990, p. 148. 150; Karwiese 2008, p. 133 & 139 ; Cf. Fischer-Bossert 2018 for the dating of the coins of the Artemision.

^[47] Hogarth 1908, p. 232; Robinson 1951, p. 156.

^[48] Hogarth 1908, p. 238.

^[49] Hogarth 1908, p. 237-238; Robinson 1951, p. 156.

^[50] Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 27.

^[51] Karwiese 2008, p. 135.

^[52] Bammer 1990, p. 150; Cf. as well Bammer & Muss 2008, p. 83 and Thüry 2016, p. 46.

^[53] Weikart 2001, p. 146.

^[54] Kaminski 1991, p. 64, 125; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 195; Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 34; Houghtalin 2015, p. 108; Beside the information about possible foundation deposits, Thüry 2016, p. 44-51 also discusses contexts he does not consider as intentional.

^[55] Koenigs-Philipp 1980, p. 89; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 192; Völling 2002, p. 105; Frielinghaus 2013, p. 366; The values shown in the diagram Fig. 3 are generated on the basis of the studies by Moustaka 1999, p. 162-180, Völling 2002, p. 92. 98, Bentz 2013, p. 349, and Frielinghaus 2013, p. 366.

^[56] Frielinghaus 2013, p. 363.

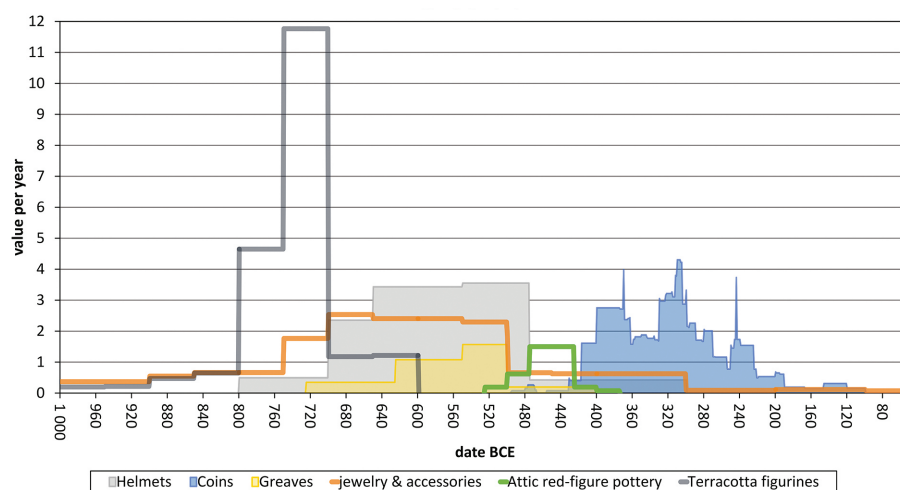


Fig. 3 - Chronological comparison of selected find groups from the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia

marks the first change in habits towards other objects deposited by an increasing international audience^[57]. A rise of votive offerings in the form of jewelry and accessories is seen by the ninth century BC, although dedications dominating the sanctuary in Olympia during the Archaic period were largely weapons and pieces of armor from all over the Greek world^[58]. As is visible in the presented graph, the situation changed dramatically in the fifth century BC (Fig. 3) when the sanctuary underwent architectural modernizations by the construction of the Temple of Zeus, the renovation of the stadium, and the realignment of the terrace for the treasuries^[59]. Dedications of military accessories disappear and the placement of athlete statues and other figures underline the sportive character of the sanctuary^[60]. In addition, imported red-figure pottery from Attica becomes popular in the middle of the century (Fig. 3) before being replaced by a local red-figure production of pottery from Elis^[61]. In this time of monumentalizing, when small dedications like jewelry, bronze mirrors and metal spits decline^[62], the first coin finds emerge in the sanctuary of Olympia and rise to a maximum towards the end of the fourth century BC (Fig. 1.2).

Obviously, the presentation and chronological comparison of the different finds in the graph does not attest a dedication habit of coins in the sanctuaries, but at the very least it shows a conspicuity in the spectrum of finds and deserves further investigation in the future. As Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier states, the small bronze denominations found in the sanctuaries could have replaced personal offerings mentioned above as a consequence of the increasing monetarization of society in the late fifth and fourth century BC^[63]. This change of habits from the dedication of natural goods to merely monetary offerings is also documented in written sources from sanctuaries including Pergamon, Argos, and Oropos^[64].

As the diagrams presented above clearly demonstrate (Fig. 2), the vast majority of coins found in the sanctuaries are base metal denominations. Nonetheless, the situation of the

^[57] Heilmeyer 1980, p. 30-31; Völling 2002, p. 102-103.

^[58] Koenigs-Philipp, p. 88-89; Völling 2002, p. 104; Frielinghaus 2013, p. 364; Baitinger 2016, p. 253.

^[59] Völling 2002, p. 105; Valavanis 2017, p. 53. 75.

^[60] Völling 2002, p. 108; Frielinghaus 2013, p. 364; Valavanis 2017, p. 81.

^[61] Bentz 2013, p. 349.

^[62] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 199.

^[63] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 200; van Alfen 2012, p. 94; Harris-Cline 2003, p. 7.

^[64] Kaminski 1991, p. 123.

material from closed settings is very different. In the past, the excavations in the four Panhellenic sanctuaries adduced a limited number of coin depositions with a presumed religious and cultic connection and therefore must be used as examples for an examination of sanctuary coin finds beyond their statistical analysis and visual presentation.

2.1. THE SILVER COINS OF THE TEMPLE AREA AT ISTHMIA

One of the most substantial examples of a deposit from the four sanctuaries is the so-called *Temple Deposit* from the Temple of Poseidon in Isthmia. Despite the absence of a cohesive publication of the numismatic material from the site^[65], Liane Houghtalin provides a study from 2015 with the most comprehensive analysis of the Isthmia coins thus far^[66]. 130 silver and two bronze coins from the deposit were found during an early excavation campaign in 1954^[67]. The majority of coins belong to types minted by Aegina, with 61 specimens, followed by the city of Corinth with 59 objects, and the remaining coins are distributed among Argos, Sikyon, Athens, Boeotia, Eretria, Naxos and Skyros (Fig. 4)^[68]. All coins from the deposit

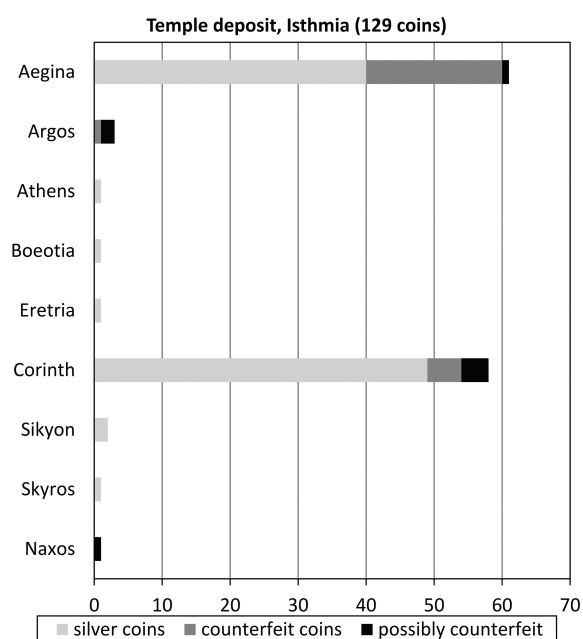


Fig. 4 - Distribution of the coins from the Temple Deposit in Isthmia by mint and denomination

were found in an ash layer along with other votive offerings and decorative objects^[69]. The form of deposition beneath the floor level and the general assemblage of finds draw a connection to the situation in the Temple of Artemis in Ephesos mentioned above and lead to the assumption, that metal objects and pottery served as foundation deposit for the Archaic temple^[70]. Burn marks and the remains of wooden chests reveal, however, that the coins were stored inside the temple building until its destruction in the early fifth century BC^[71]. Because votive offerings retain their sacred character even after they are damaged or destroyed, the coins were never returned to their economic purpose, but rather buried in the foundation when the temple was reconstructed^[72]. The assumption that the finds from Isthmia served as a foundation deposit for the Archaic temple is therefore not sustainable. In contrast to the situation in the Ephesian Artemision, where the coins were scattered across the

^[65] A compilation of the coin finds from Isthmia is recently prepared by Michael Ierardi.

^[66] Houghtalin 2015; Cf. Kalisch 2019, p. 50.

^[67] Broneer 1955, p. 135; Houghtalin 2015, p. 98.

^[68] Houghtalin 2015, p. 99 & 102. Based on a chronological divergence, three Corinthian coins including the two bronze denominations and a *diobol* presumably do not belong to the deposit.

^[69] Broneer 1971, p. 3.

^[70] Hogarth 1908, p. 237-238; Broneer 1971, p. 3; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 30.

^[71] Broneer 1955, p. 135; Houghtalin 2015, p. 103; Thüry 2016, p. 44.

^[72] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 193; Warden 2009, p. 107; Houghtalin 2015, p. 104; as the examples of Howgego 1995, p. 111 and Consolaki & Hackens 1980, p. 289-290 show, not only minted coins were used for votive offerings, also blanks and dies can be found as dedications in the sanctuaries.

foundation^[73], the valuable objects were deposited in specifically created storage pits in the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia^[74]. Another indication regarding the preservation of the coins in the temple is the large quantity of counterfeit coins in the *Temple Deposit*^[75]. The counterfeit coins include 26 verified and nine possible imitations which approximate to about a quarter of the total number of coins (Fig. 4). Even though the production of counterfeit money was highly prohibited and punishable by with death, false coins are still found in the inventory of other sanctuaries as well as is illustrated by the inscription of a stele from Athens dated to the fourth century BC^[76]. By locking these imitations into temple buildings, the coins were withdrawn from circulation and in the hands of official authorities^[77]. Because of this, the *Temple Deposit* must be seen as a ritual burial of these coins after the destruction of the Archaic temple instead of a foundation deposit.

2.2. THE COINS FROM THE PRONAOS OF THE TEMPLE AT OLYMPIA

The coins from the *Temple Deposit* at the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia represent the largest and best reviewed context for coins with a ritual connection for the four sanctuaries. Nevertheless, the following three case studies from Olympia, Nemea and Isthmia show the benefits of a reevaluation of sanctuary coin finds in their archaeological contexts.

Beyond the study by Aliko Moustaka about the coins of the excavations in the southeast of Olympia from 1999^[78], only a few coins found in the sanctuary have been published. In 1965, three coins were found during restoration works beneath one of the mosaics in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Zeus^[79]. Two of the coins, an *obol* of the *polis* Phleious, and a bronze coin from Sikyon, are dated to 400-360 BC and 323-251 BC, respectively^[80]. The third coin can only be dated generally to Hellenistic times^[81]. The location beneath the mosaic prevents a subsequent modification of the archaeological context, which can be dated to the second half of the third century BC^[82]. Because of the lack of knowledge regarding the depositional circumstances of the coins, the classification of the objects in the mosaic's bedding as remains from a ritual act remains questionable. Based on the small value of the coins, a depository seems unlikely, although the discovery of a silver coin contradicts the assumption of an accidental loss as well. Because the coins were found alongside fragments of tripods, an offering of the material in the context of reparation works or the installation of a new mosaic in Hellenistic times is possible^[83].

^[73] Robinson 1951, p. 158.

^[74] Broneer 1955, p. 135; Houghtalin 2015, p. 102.

^[75] Broneer 1955, p. 135; Houghtalin 2015, p. 100-101.

^[76] Broneer 1955, p. 135-136; Houghtalin 104; for the production and dedication of counterfeit coins cf. Melville Jones 1972, and Stroud 1974.

^[77] Stroud 1974, p. 157-177; Valavanis 2002, p. 237-238.

^[78] Moustaka 1999.

^[79] Salzmann 1982, p. 63.

^[80] Yalouris 1968, p. 82.

^[81] Yalouris 1968, p. 82.

^[82] Salzmann 1982, p. 63; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 65.

^[83] Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 73; Thüry 2016, p. 48.

2.3. THE DEPOT SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE AT NEMEA

In comparison to the other sanctuaries, the site of Nemea enables an analysis of coin finds within their archaeological contexts^[84]. Although most of the stratigraphic information are disturbed by the eventual agricultural utilization of the area, the excavation in 1977 revealed six silver coins with the remains of animal sacrifices, fragments of pottery, and figurines^[85]. The ash layer containing the “sacrificial debris”^[86] dates to the third quarter of the fifth century BC^[87]. With a total of six coins dating to the sixth and fifth century BC, the deposit contains one *stater* from Aegina, two *obols* from Athens and Phleious, and two *hemiobols* and a *tetartemorion* from Sikyon^[88]. A stratigraphic analysis of the area reveals that the coins were found above the original surface of the sanctuary, evidenced by the remains of the early temple from the sixth century BC^[89]. Ash residues and the scattered votive material inside the layer indicates a ritual character of the deposition and is linked to the destruction of the sanctuary during the Peloponnesian War, which is indicated by the most recent coin from Sikyon, dating into the last third of the fifth century BC^[90]. This leads to the assumption that the votive offerings originally stored in the Temple of Zeus in Nemea were buried in the ruins of the building, similarly to the situation in the Temple of Poseidon in Isthmia discussed above^[91].

2.4. THE GOLD COINS FROM ISTHMIA

As final case study, this paper discusses the only evidence of gold coins in the four Panhellenic sanctuaries, found in 1961 in the altar court located south of the Northeastern Cave at Isthmia^[92]. Based on their form, metal, and design, which bears an archer in characteristic posture, the three coins are identified as Persian *dareikoi*, the only gold currency in the Greek world before Hellenistic times^[93]. Although the Persian coins were demeaned as “barbaric money”^[94], *dareikoi* and *sigloi* were used as votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries, just as the example of 105 Persian gold coins in the Parthenon shows^[95]. The three coins were found in the Northeastern corner of a walled terrace featuring a square shaped layout with an orientation from Northwest to Southeast^[96]. The only entrance is located on the Northeastern side of the altar court^[97]. Given that the facility was used for the assembly of votive offerings, Oscar Broneer states that the coins were placed as dedications in the courtyard, where they finally

^[84] Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 18 & 22.

^[85] Miller 1978, p. 64; Knapp & Mac Isaac, p. 18-19.

^[86] Knapp & Mac Isaac, p. 19.

^[87] Miller 1978, p. 64.

^[88] Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 87 Cat. 297; 92 Cat. 371; 124 Cat. 1043; 129 Cat. 1193. 1194. 1196. The oldest coins of the deposit were minted in Athens (ca. 550-520 BC), and Aegina (510-485 BC). A *hemiobol* from Sikyon (431-400 BC) is regarded as *terminus postquem*. The three other coins can roughly be dated before 431 BC.

^[89] Miller 1978, p. 39 & 64; Birge *et al.* 1992, p. 87.

^[90] Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, p. 14, 19 & 34.

^[91] Cf. Houghtalin 2015, p. 104.

^[92] Broneer 1962, p. 4-5.

^[93] Broneer 1961, p. 63; Broneer 1962, p. 21. Pl. 2 b; Alram 2012, p. 64-66.

^[94] Alram 2012, p. 66.

^[95] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.

^[96] Broneer 1962, p. 5; Broneer 1963, p. 63; Gebhard 2002, p. 68.

^[97] Broneer 1962, p. 5; Broneer 1963, p. 63; Gebhard 2002, p. 68.

reached into the soil^[98]. Regarding their valuable material and origin, the three *dareikoi* from the altar court in Isthmia represent a remarkable example of a ritual-related deposition of coins in Greek sanctuaries.

3. CONCLUSION

Comparing and analyzing coin finds from ancient archaeological sites poses a difficult task, due to the complicated excavation histories of each site and the questionable treatment of numismatic material during find processing. In order to evaluate the numismatic evidence of excavation projects in the past and future and to properly connect the material to its archaeological contexts, the implementation of modern methods and uniform standards for Greek numismatics must be accepted. Such a task can often prove complex, given that the archaeological environment of the finds is often not available. For this reason, the *method for the annual fractionation of coin finds over their issuance period* used in this paper should be complementary to the analysis of Greek sites and provide assistance in the handling of their numismatic material. The statistical evaluation of coin finds based on this method exceeds solely numismatic approaches, instead further providing a tool for the historical and economic comparison of archaeological sites, whether they are settlements, sanctuaries, or of military function. The graphs of the sanctuaries of Nemea, Olympia, and the Corycian Cave near Delphi visualize the substantial amount of coins from the fourth and third century BC in connection to the invention of bronze coinage, as well as the local character of the coin circulation resulting in standard patterns of regions.

Along with the increasing usage of coins, the dedication of monetary objects in ritual contexts must be seen as an additional reason for the increasing density of coins discovered in the Panhellenic sanctuaries from the fourth century onwards. But, as discussed in this paper, a comprehensive analysis of coin finds can only be accomplished by a synergy between the statistic evaluation and the contexts of the finds, making a complete reappraisal of the material necessary in the future. The results from these four selected case studies from Olympia, Isthmia, and Nemea reveal the potential of the reevaluation of the numismatic material from earlier excavations and contribute to a greater understanding of cult activities in Greek sanctuaries and the function of coins as ritual objects.

^[98] Broneer 1962, p. 5; Broneer 1963, p. 63.

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COINS FOR THE GODS, FOR THE MERCHANTS – OR FOR BOTH? NUMISMATIC MATERIAL FROM THREE SANCTUARIES OF PELLA

Nikos AKAMATIS*

Abstract – In this paper we will study some 300 coins, almost exclusively bronzes, from three sanctuaries located in Pella, capital of the Macedonian kingdom during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Excavations by the local Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities have exposed the sanctuaries of Demeter *Thesmophoros*, of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, and of Darron, a local healing deity. Finds consist mainly of issues of the Macedonian kings, Macedonia or Bottaeatai; following the battle of Pydna, civic issues of Pella, Thessaloniki and Amphipolis appear in large numbers. Coins from

outside Macedonia are scarce, making up only 3,5% of all the total(s).

These finds lead to some interesting conclusions regarding the use and circulation of coins in sanctuaries following the economic, military and cultural growth of the Macedonian kingdom in the early Hellenistic period. Findspots within the sanctuaries can also be related to specific cult activities and numismatic materials can then be compared to previously published finds of coins from other areas of Pella (houses, public buildings and cemeteries).

Keywords: Pella – Macedonia – sanctuaries – coins

Résumé – Nous étudions ici environ 300 monnaies, essentiellement en bronze, provenant de trois sanctuaires de Pella, capitale du royaume de Macédoine pendant les périodes classique et hellénistique. Les fouilles menées par l'Ephorat local des Antiquités préhistoriques et classiques ont mis au jour les sanctuaires de Déméter *Thesmophoros*, de la Mère des Dieux et d'Aphrodite, ainsi que de Darron, une divinité locale de la santé. Les trouvailles sont essentiellement constituées des émissions des rois macédoniens, de la Macédoine et de la Bottiée, tandis qu'après la bataille de Pydna, les émissions civiques de Pella, Thessalonique et Amphipolis apparaissent en nombre. Les monnaies autres que celles de Macédoine

sont rares dans les trois sanctuaires, n'atteignant que 3,5% de l'ensemble.

Ces trouvailles permettent quelques conclusions intéressantes concernant l'utilisation et la circulation des monnaies dans les sanctuaires résultant de la croissance économique, militaire et culturelle du royaume macédonien au début de la période hellénistique. L'emplacement des trouvailles dans les sanctuaires peut également être mis en relation avec des activités cultuelles spécifiques. Ce matériel peut être comparé aux découvertes monétaires précédemment publiées provenant d'autres zones de Pella (maisons, bâtiments publics, nécropoles).

Mots clés : Pella – Macédoine – sanctuaires – monnaies

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THE SUBJECT OF MY PAPER is the study of approximately 300 coins from three sanctuaries at Pella, one of the most important cities of the Macedonian kingdom during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Excavation conducted by the local Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the 1980s and the 1990s brought to light the sanctuaries of Demeter *Thesmophoros*, of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, and of Darron, a local healing god of the Macedonians. Numismatic material from the three sanctuaries is presented first, followed by an analysis and interpretation of the finds.

1. THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER *THESMOPHOROS*

The *Thesmophorion*, a small rural sanctuary, was found inside the modern-day town of Pella, but it is not certain if, in antiquity, it was located within or outside the city walls of the settlement. The excavation undertaken for a short period of time in 1980 and 1981 led to the discovery of a relatively small circular building, demarcating the sacred precinct, which was reached by two sloping ramps. At the centre, an irregular ash altar was discovered. Underneath the earthen floor, small cuttings in the natural bedrock, probably the *megara* of Demeter, were found filled with the bones of small animals. Trial trenches in the surrounding area failed to reveal other constructions that could be connected with the sanctuary, such as temples, stoas and auxiliary rooms (Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 19-26). Although no inscriptions were found, the numerous figurines of pigs, women holding hydrias, and miniature hydrias, amongst other finds, as well as the architectural form of the sanctuary make the connection with the cult of Demeter certain. The complex is dated to the Hellenistic period, probably from the time of Cassander, when a large part of Pella was rebuilt, until the time of the destruction of the city, probably by an earthquake in the beginning of the first century BC^[1].

The coins of the sanctuary have been published by Maria Lilimpaki-Akamati with the architectural remains and all the other finds (Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 95-100)^[2]. In total, 59 coins were discovered; two were silver and the rest were bronze. The numismatic material covers a relatively short chronological period from the second half of the fourth until the second half of the second century BC. With the exception of two coins of Lysimachus^[3], the rest of the material consists of royal issues of the Macedonian kings. In particular and of note are 2 coins of Philip II (359-336 BC)^[4], 1 of Alexander III (336-323 BC)^[5], 23 coins of Cassander (316-297 BC)^[6], 18 of Demetrius Poliorcetes (306-283 BC)^[7], 3 of Ptolemy Keraunos

^[1] For the dating of the sanctuary, see Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 101-101. For the destruction and abandonment of Pella, see Akamatis 1993, p. 320-323; Akamatis 2012, p. 57-59.

^[2] Small changes to this catalogue have taken place after in-hand examination of the coins in the Archaeological Museum of Pella.

^[3] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 95-96, n. 395-396 [silver tetradrachm: Alexander/seated Athena (1), bronze: head with Phrygian cap/trophy (1)].

^[4] *Ibid.* n. 397-398 [Heracles/club (1), male head/horseman (1)].

^[5] *Ibid.*, p. 96, n. 399 (silver drachm: Heracles/enthroned Zeus).

^[6] *Ibid.*, p. 96-97, n. 400-422 [Heracles/seated lion (2), Heracles/horseman (21)].

^[7] *Ibid.*, p. 98, n. 423-426, 435-445, 447-449 [Head with Corinthian helmet/prow (4), Macedonian shield/helmet (14)]. 446, which has been identified as a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, is in fact an issue of Antigonos Gonatas.

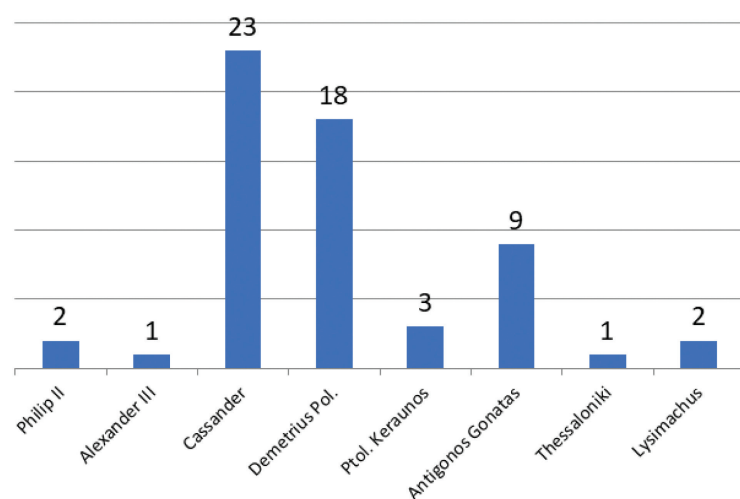


Fig. 1 – Coins from the sanctuary of Demeter

(281-279 BC)^[8], 9 of Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 BC)^[9], and 1 civic issue of Thessaloniki of the Hellenistic period (fig. 1)^[10]. For the interpretation of the coins within the sanctuary, no easy task, knowing the findspot of the coins can be quite helpful. Two coins of the late fourth century BC were found in the *megara*, the irregular cuttings in the natural bedrock, in which parts of sacrificed animals were ritually placed^[11]. The lack of other finds, besides animal bones, in the cuttings makes it highly probable that the two coins, which are dated approximately to the same period, should be considered as offerings.

Numerous coins were also found close to the altar of the sanctuary. According to the excavator, the altar consisted of layers of ash, mud and chisel-dressed stone coated with layers of clay. Around this altar and within the layers mentioned above, numerous finds – mainly figurines, animal bones, sea shells, burned material, as well as ten coins (which cover a relatively long time span^[12]) were found. These coins, as with other finds connected with the altar, should also be considered as offerings of various periods.

The majority of the rest of the coins were found on various layers during the excavation, in the fill or on the floor of the last phase of the circular building. These coins can be interpreted in many different ways: they can be considered as offerings, coins related with the economics of the sanctuary, or pieces lost by those who had visited the sanctuary in antiquity. Although no other buildings were found in the trial trenches outside the circular building, economic transactions close to the sanctuary should not be excluded, since the form of some figurines, such as the gorgon heads, rosettes or *phialai*, and chariots, is relatively rare in other areas of Pella. This has led excavators to believe that these figurines were produced for the specific

^[8] *Ibid.*, p. 99-100, n. 451-453 (Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt). These coins were formerly attributed to Paroreia.

^[9] *Ibid.*, p. 98, n. 427-434, 446 [Athena/Pan erecting trophy (3), Heracles/horseman (1), Macedonian shield/helmet (5)].

^[10] *Ibid.*, p. 99, n. 450 (Dionysos/goat).

^[11] The coins are a posthumous drachm of Alexander III, and a bronze coin of Cassander. See Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 96, n. 399; p. 97, n. 406. For the posthumous drachm, see also Price 1991, p. 251, 1769, P44 (“Colophon”, 323-319 BC). In the case of the sanctuary of Pella within the *megara* mainly bones of goats and sheep were found; those of cows and pigs were fewer. See Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 24, n. 20.

^[12] These coins are all bronze and can be attributed to Philip II (1), Cassander (2), Demetrius Poliorcetes (1), Antigonos Gonatas (5), and Thessaloniki (1). See Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 94-99, n. 397, 402, 403, 424, 427, 428, 429, 446, 447, 450. For the altar and its finds, see *Ibid.*, p. 24, 105.

needs of the sanctuary of Demeter, or of other rural sanctuaries in the city (Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996a, p. 80).

2. THE SANCTUARY OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS AND OF APHRODITE

The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and of Aphrodite is located at the centre of the ancient city of Pella, north of its Agora. The sacred area was organised into two different sectors. In the southern, a large open-air space with a small temple and stoas on three sides was formed. In the north part of the complex another small temple, a small altar, open spaces with stoas, storage areas and workshop facilities were unearthed. A banqueting hall was also identified, along with an open space with an altar and another open space with an underground cistern. Relief stelae, inscriptions, as well as figurines, testify to the cults of Aphrodite, Eros and the Mother of the Gods. A report on the sanctuary with all its finds, dated from the last quarter of the fourth until the beginning of the first centuries BC, has been published by Maria Lilimpaki-Akamati (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 5-33)^[13].

Excavation of the sanctuary led to the discovery of plentiful finds, among them, 91 coins, almost all of which were bronze^[14]. The bulk of the material consists of royal Macedonian coins, specifically 7 coins in the name of Philip II (359-336 BC)^[15], 11 in the name of Alexander III (336-323 BC)^[16], 9 coins of Cassander (316-297 BC)^[17], 2 of Demetrius Poliorcetes (306-283 BC)^[18], 2 of Ptolemy Keraunos (281-279 BC)^[19], 9 of Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 BC)^[20], 8 of Philip V (220-179 BC)^[21], and 6 of Perseus (179-168 BC)^[22]. Also, were retrieved 2 coins of the Macedonians^[23], 1 of the Botteatai^[24], 4 of the Roman quaestors^[25], 9 Hellenistic civic coins of Thessaloniki^[26], and 1 from the same city of the imperial period^[27]. In addition, 11 civic

^[13] Systematic excavation took place in 1983 and 1985, while trial trenches were also dug in 1988, 1996 and 1997.

^[14] Only one silver tetrobol of the Botteatai was found. For this coin, see below.

^[15] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 158-159, n. 462-468 [male head /horseman (6), Heracles/club (1)].

^[16] *Ibid.*, p. 159-161, n. 469-479 [Heracles/club and bow with bow case (2), Heracles/eagle (1), Macedonian shield/helmet (1) male head/horse (7)].

^[17] *Ibid.*, p. 161-162, n. 480-488 [Heracles/seated lion (1), Heracles/horseman (7), Apollo/tripod (1)].

^[18] *Ibid.*, p. 164, n. 498-499 [Helmeted head/prow (1), Macedonian shield/helmet (1)].

^[19] *Ibid.*, p. 167, n. 515-516 [Zeus/eagle (2)].

^[20] *Ibid.*, p. 162-164, n. 489-497 [Athena/Pan erecting trophy (5), Macedonian shield/helmet (3), Heracles/horseman (1)].

^[21] *Ibid.*, p. 164-166, n. 500-507 [Macedonian shield/helmet (1), Poseidon/prow (1), Pan/prow (1), Perseus/eagle on thunderbolt (2), Perseus/harpa (1), Zeus/Athena (2)].

^[22] *Ibid.*, p. 166-167, n. 508-513 [Perseus/eagle (6)].

^[23] *Ibid.*, p. 167-168, n. 518, 522 [Macedonians: Herakles/club (1), Botteatai: Zeus/thunderbolt (1)].

^[24] *Ibid.*, p. 167, n. 514 (silver: Macedonian shield/prow).

^[25] *Ibid.*, p. 167-168, n. 517, 519-521: Gaius Publilius: Athena/cow (1), Pan/cow (1), Dionysos/goat (1)], Silenus/MAKEΔONΩN within wreath (1).

^[26] *Ibid.*, p. 168-170, n. 523-531 [Heracles/club (1), Athena/horse (1), Dionysos/goat (1), Artemis/bow case (3), Zeus/two goats (3)].

^[27] *Ibid.*, p. 170, n. 532 (provincial coin of Thessaloniki under Gordian III, 238-244 AD).

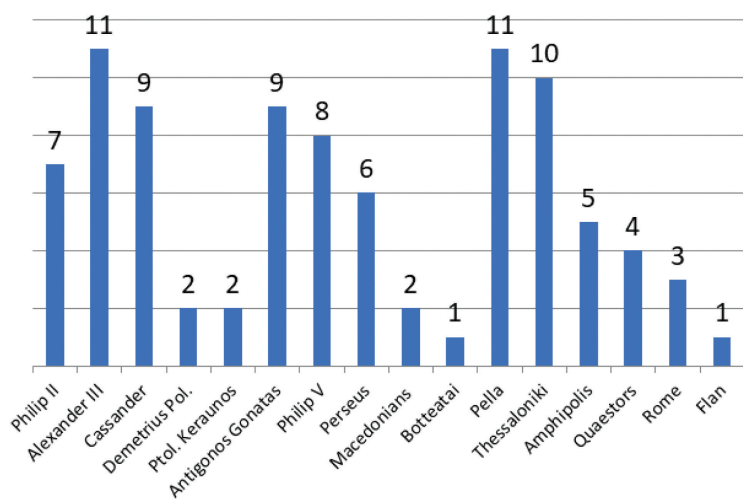


Fig. 2 – Coins from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and of Aphrodite

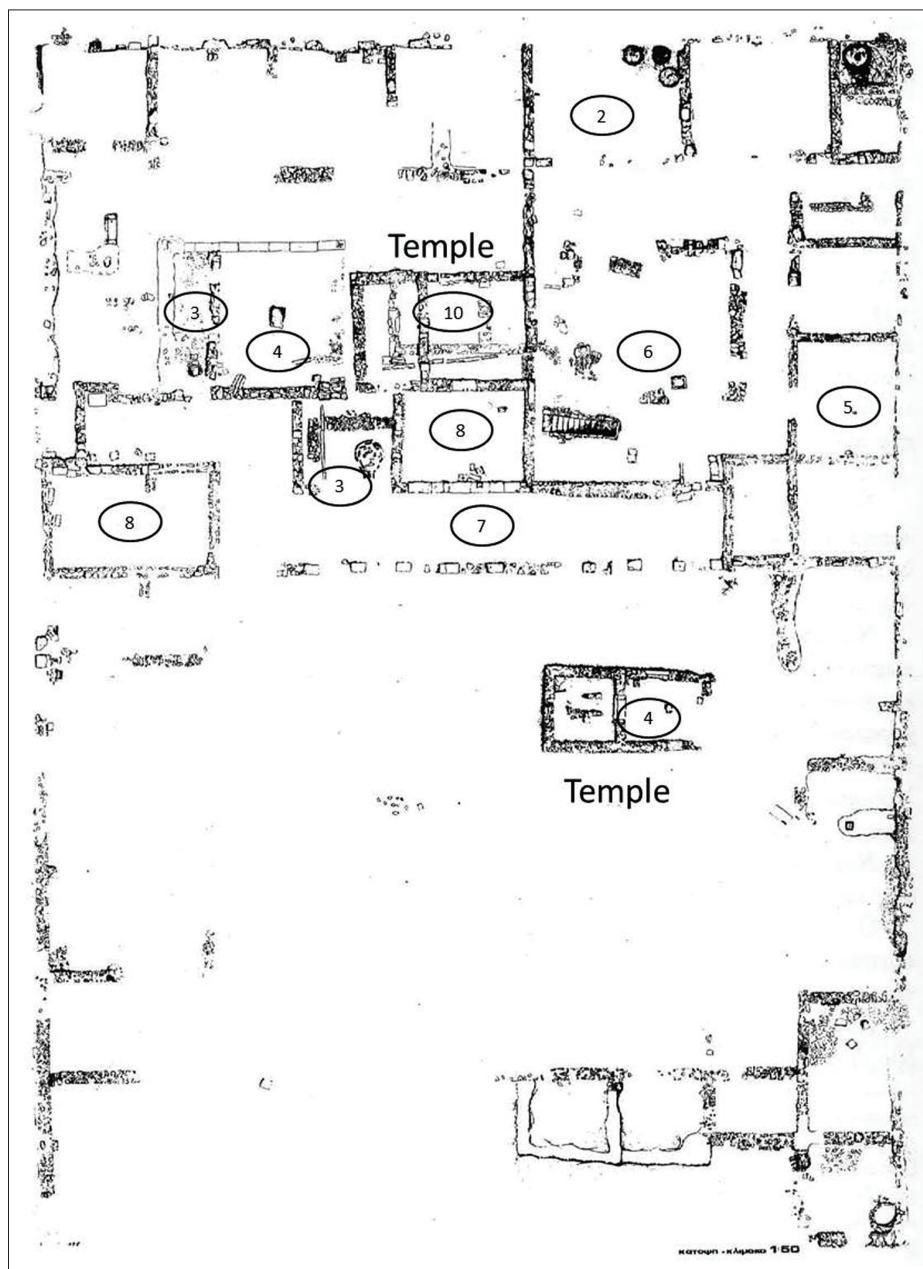


Fig. 3 – Find spot of coins in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and of Aphrodite

Hellenistic issues of Pella^[28], 5 of Amphipolis^[29], 3 of Rome (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 173, n. 549-551 [worn Roman Asses]) and 1 flan (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 173, n. 552) came to light (fig. 2).

The deposition of finds reveals a clear concentration of coins in the northern part of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, around the northern temple that was most probably dedicated to Aphrodite (fig. 3). Many of the 10 coins were found in the north temple^[30], 8 more were found in a room identified as a “banqueting room” south of this temple^[31], and another 8 in a double-space southwest of the temple^[32]. 7 more coins from the south stoa^[33], and 6 in the open space with the cistern^[34]. The remaining rooms of the sanctuary yielded only scattered coins, ranging from five to one in number. Very few coins were found in the south part of the sanctuary, even though that covers a rather large area^[35].

Despite this concentration in the north part of the sanctuary, inside the temple of Aphrodite and in the nearby rooms, it is not certain that these coins were all votive offerings, especially since they cover a long chronological period from the fourth until the second/early first centuries BC. The coins could have to do with the sanctuary’s treasury or lost by the visitors or even the members of the priesthood themselves. In this sanctuary, economic transactions could well have taken place, at least in the late phase of the Hellenistic period, since two small kilns were found, along with waste associated with a workshop (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 14-15, 27). According to the excavator, some of the dedications, figurines or vases were made and probably sold for use as offerings within the sanctuary. These could also have covered the needs of the visitors and/ or the priesthood.

3. THE SANCTUARY OF DARRON

The third sacred area under examination, the sanctuary of Darron, was discovered south of the wall of the Classical period, and southwest of the houses with the mosaic floors. It occupied an important place in the city of Pella, close to a broad paved road that led from

^[28] *Ibid.*, p. 170-172, n. 533-543 [Apollo/tripod (2), Athena/cow (6), Zeus/bull (1), Zeus/eagle (1), Pan/Athena (1)].

^[29] *Ibid.*, p. 172-173, n. 544-548, [Poseidon/club (3), Artemis/goats (1), Poseidon/horse (1)].

^[30] These were struck in the name of Alexander III (2), Antigonos Gonatas, Philip V (2), Thessaloniki (3), Pella and Amphipolis. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 160, n. 471, 472, p. 163, n. 489, p. 165, n. 504, 505, p. 169, n. 526-528, p. 172, n. 542, 545. For the north temple, see *Ibid.*, p. 19-21.

^[31] The coins were minted in the name of Alexander III, Ptolemy Keraunos (2), Antigonos Gonatas, Philip V, Thessaloniki and Pella (2). Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 161, n. 479, p. 163, n. 495, p. 165, n. 503, p. 167, n. 514, 515, p. 170-171, n. 531, 535, 536. For the “banqueting room”, see *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

^[32] These were minted in the name of Philip II, Cassander (2), Antigonos Gonatas, Perseus (2), Gaius Publilius and Amphipolis. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 158, n. 462, p. 162, n. 482, 483, p. 163, n. 494, p. 166, n. 509, 512, p. 167, n. 517, p. 172, n. 544. For the west rooms, see *Ibid.*, p. 14-16.

^[33] These were struck in the name of Alexander III, Cassander, Philip V, the Macedonians, Pella, Amphipolis and Rome. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 160, n. 470, p. 162, n. 484, p. 165, n. 502, p. 168, n. 518, p. 171, n. 540, p. 173, n. 548, 549. For the south stoa, see *Ibid.*, p. 11-13.

^[34] These coins are attributed to Alexander III, Cassander, the Macedonians, Thessaloniki and Pella (2). Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 160-161, n. 477, p. 162, n. 487, p. 168, n. 522, p. 169, n. 524, p. 171, n. 534, p. 172, n. 543. For the open space with the cistern, see *Ibid.*, p. 23-25.

^[35] Only 14 coins in total were found in the southern part of the sanctuary, 4 of which from the south temple which was dedicated to the Mother of the gods. These belong to Alexander III, Philip V, Perseus and Thessaloniki. Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 160, n. 473, p. 166, n. 506, p. 167, n. 513, p. 170, n. 529. For the south temple, see *Ibid.*, p. 5-6.

the port to the palace. The principal features of this sanctuary are its open courtyards and the predominant presence of water. Inside the northern part of the city block, excavated in 1989 and 1990, a small temple in the form of an *oikos* with a stone offering table was found. Around the temple several rooms with stoas, open-spaces and workshop facilities were discovered (Lilimpaki-Akamati 1991, p. 83-95; 1996b, p. 96-97; Lilimpaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2003, p. 57-59)^[36]. Among the finds were numerous figurines, parts of statues, vases and small portable altars. The discovery of a votive inscription with the name of Darron allows for an attribution of this sacred space to this specific demon associated with healing^[37]. Unlike the two sanctuaries presented above, the sanctuary of Darron has not been fully published; the numismatic materials are presented here for the first time^[38].

From the town block containing the sanctuary of Darron, 175 coins were examined. These are mainly bronzes attributed to the Macedonian kings^[39]. Specifically, there are 2 coins of Aeropos (398-394 BC)^[40], 1 of Amyntas II (393 BC)^[41], 5 of Amyntas III (393-370 BC)^[42], 1 of Perdikkas III (365-359 BC)^[43], 37 in the name of Philip II (359-336 BC)^[44], 23 in the name of Alexander III (336-323 BC)^[45], 21 coins of Cassander (316-297 BC)^[46], 9 of Demetrius Poliorcetes (306-283 BC)^[47], 12 of Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 BC)^[48], and 7 of Philip V (220-179 BC)^[49]. 2 coins of the Botteatai^[50] were also discovered, 11 civic Hellenistic issues of Pella^[51], and 3 of Thessaloniki^[52]. In addition, coins of Philippos^[53], Bottice^[54], and the Chalcidian League^[55], 2 coins of Larisa^[56], 4 of Lysimachus^[57], 3 of Rome^[58] and 1 of Histiaia^[59] were found. 28 further coins were so worn that their positive identification was not possible (fig. 4).

^[36] For a presentation of the coins from the broader area of the sanctuary of Darron, which includes archaeological material from four town blocks of Pella, see Akamatis 2016, 177-201.

^[37] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1991, p. 89. For Darron, see Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Darron.

^[38] The fact that the excavation within the town block has not been finished poses another difficulty.

^[39] Only 1 silver coin of Amyntas III was found. For this coin, see below.

^[40] Young male head/horse (1), young male head/lion breaking spear (1).

^[41] Young male head/helmet.

^[42] Silver: Heracles/horse (1). Bronze: Heracles/eagle devouring snake (4).

^[43] Heracles/lion.

^[44] Male head/horseman (21), male head/horseman, denomination AA (4), Heracles/club (10), Heracles/horseman (1), Heracles/thunderbolt (1).

^[45] Heracles/weapons of Heracles (12), male head/horse (10), Macedonian shield/helmet (1).

^[46] Heracles/horseman (13), Heracles/seated lion (6), Apollo/tripod (2).

^[47] Helmeted head/prow (3), Macedonian shield/helmet (6).

^[48] Athena/Pan erecting trophy (8), Macedonian shield/helmet (4).

^[49] Zeus/Athena (3), Perseus/harpa (2), Poseidon/prow (1), Helios/thunderbolt (1).

^[50] Botteatai: Pan/two goats (1), Zeus/thunderbolt (1).

^[51] Athena/cow (3), Apollo/kithara (3), Pan/Athena (3), Zeus/bull (2).

^[52] Athena/horse (1), Artemis/bow case (1), Zeus/bull (1).

^[53] Heracles/tripod.

^[54] Apollo/kithara.

^[55] Apollo/tripod.

^[56] Nymph/horse (1), Nymph/grazing horse (1).

^[57] Athena/lion (4).

^[58] As: Janus/prow (2), victoriatu: Jupiter/Victory crowning trophy.

^[59] Nymph/cow.

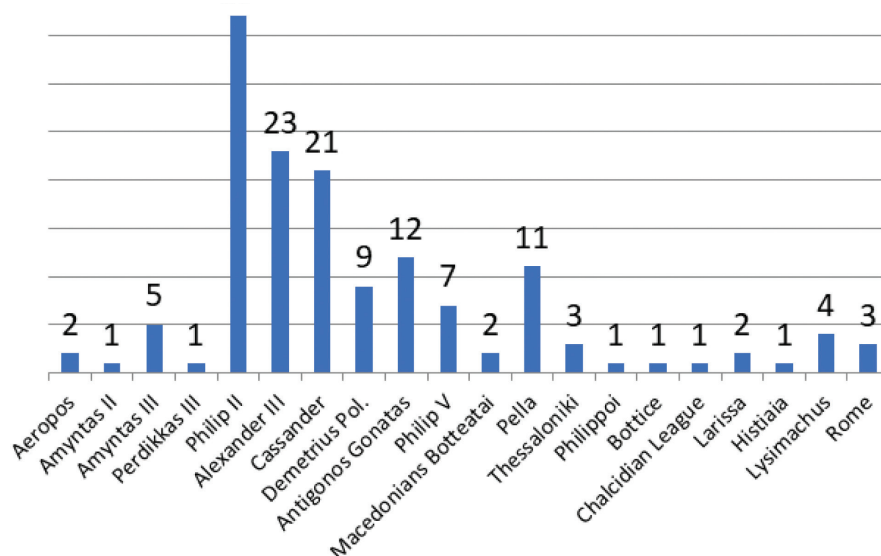


Fig. 4 – Coins from the sanctuary of Darron

Coins from the sanctuary of Darron were found in several rooms of the complex; however, most of them, 50, were found in room 1 of the southeast corner of the town block^[60]. Many coins were also found in a neighboring room, #2, to the west and in the open space to the north^[61]. With the exception of this concentration of coins, a reasonable number were found in the temple of the sanctuary and in its close vicinity, within the rooms to the north and south^[62] (fig. 5). Coins in other areas of the sanctuary were few, ranging from groups of four down to one.

The large number of coins in the southeast part of the town block, and especially in room 1 is possibly related with the identification of this room as a shop, since it most probably had a doorway facing the 9 meter-wide road to the south^[63]. These coins cover a relatively short period from the last third of the fourth until the second quarter of the third centuries BC, and are probably related with economic transactions within the shop itself. It is not clear if the room is linked to the sanctuary, but it is certainly in the same town block. It is also possible that money from the sanctuary was gathered in this room. The second area where a relatively large number of coins were found was in the temple and the adjacent rooms to the north and south; reminiscent of the situation in sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and of Aphrodite described above.

^[60] These are coins struck in the name of Philip II (14), Alexander III (14), Cassander (10), Demetrius Poliorcetes (2), Lysimachus (1) and Antigonos Gonatas (3). 6 coins were completely worn.

^[61] 12 coins were found in rooms 2 and 34 in the open space to the north. Room 2: Philip II (1), Alexander III (1), Cassander (2), Demetrius Poliorcetes (2), Antigonos Gonatas (2), worn (4). Open-space: Aeropos (2), Philip II (7), Alexander III (3), Cassander (4), Demetrius Poliorcetes (1), Antigonos Gonatas (2), Botteatai (1), Pella (2), worn (12).

^[62] 5 coins from within the temple: Philip II (2), Botteatai (1), Pella (1), Thessaloniki (1). Another 13 from room 30, south of the temple [Cassander (1), Philip V (1), Gaius Publilius (1), Philippoi (1), Pella (5), Thessaloniki (1), Rome (1), worn (2)]. Six coins were found in room 29 to the north east of the temple [Cassander (1), Demetrius Poliorcetes (1), Philip V (1), Rome (1), worn (2)]. Seven coins were found in room 7 to the south-west of the temple [Amyntas III (1 silver, 3 bronze), Philip II (2), Demetrius Poliorcetes (1)].

^[63] For the interpretation of other rooms (within buildings) in Pella as shops, see Makaronas 1964, p. 338.

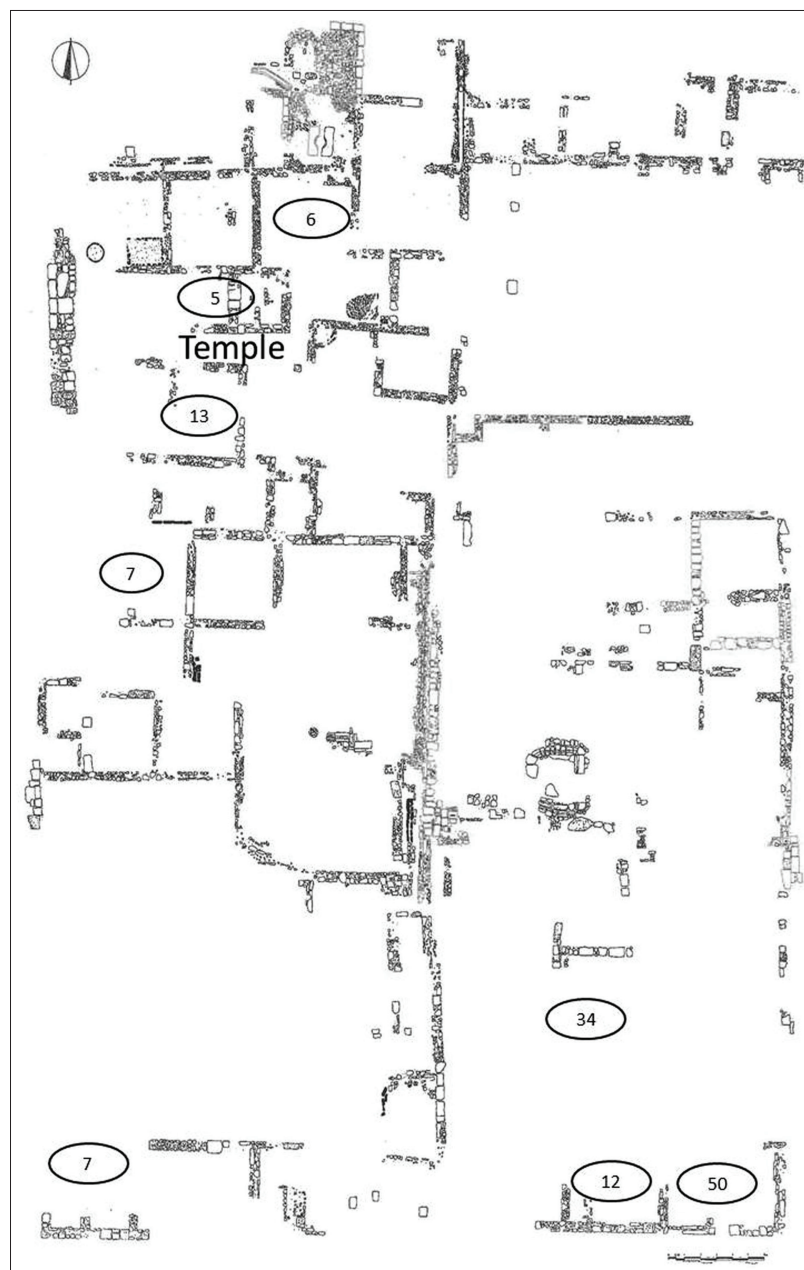


Fig. 5 – Find spot of coins in the sanctuary of Darron

4. INTERPRETATION OF THE NUMISMATIC MATERIALS

Coins within sanctuaries can be interpreted in various ways: as offerings that the believers dedicated directly to the gods or as tribute paid to the sanctuary to cover feasts, sacrifices, festivities, games and/or other occasions. They can also be interpreted as money lost by people who visited the sanctuary, and can therefore potentially shed light on the region where these visitors originated. Money within sanctuaries was also used for the buying and selling of goods, especially since offerings were occasionally manufactured within the *temenos*. On rare occasions, coins were even minted within the sacred boundaries (Galani-Krikou & Tselekas 2015, p. 896-897; Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 129, and especially Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 97-108, with earlier bibliography). As will become evident below, the interpretation of the numismatic materials from Pella is a difficult task.

Coins are a rather common find in all three sanctuaries of Pella, as one would expect to be the case for the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. The amount recovered is related to the size of the excavated area, and the duration of the excavation. In the case of the sanctuary of Darron more coins were retrieved in comparison with the other two, since the excavated area was considerably larger. However, from our knowledge so far, the coins in the sanctuaries of Pella are not quantitatively more numerous than those appearing in other excavated parts of the city, where houses, public buildings or workshop facilities have been found^[64]. The numismatic materials from the three sanctuaries also share other similarities; almost all coins found are bronzes, and there is a conspicuous lack of coin associated with hoards^[65].

The coins found in the three sanctuaries do not noticeably alter our knowledge regarding the circulation patterns in Pella during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, since they consist mainly of issues of the Macedonian kings and of the Macedonians or the Botteatai. Coins postdating the battle of Pydna, civic issues of Pella, Thessaloniki and Amphipolis appear in large numbers (see also Akamatis 2016, p. 180-193). The kings most frequently represented are Philip II, Alexander III, Cassander, and then Antigonos Gonatas and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Coins of Philip V and Perseus are seldom found, as in other excavated sectors in Pella (Akamatis 2016, p. 185). Regarding the Hellenistic civic issues, Pella holds a place of pride, followed by Thessaloniki and Amphipolis^[66]. The study of these coins shows that in the sanctuaries of Darron, and of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, coins appear in relatively large numbers until the early first century BC, while in the sanctuary of Demeter, only one coin of the second half of the second/early first centuries BC has been found. This demonstrates a limited coin circulation in the sanctuary after the third century BC.

Minor differences in the circulation-patterns of coins are noted in all three sanctuaries. In the sanctuary of Demeter *Thesmophoros*, for example, most numerous are the coins of Cassander; in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, coins struck in the name of Alexander III are dominant, and, finally, in the sanctuary of Darron, coins in the name of Philip II appear in some numbers^[67]. In the sanctuary of Demeter *Thesmophoros*, the study of the numismatic materials reveals some peculiarities, since coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes are surprisingly numerous, in contrast with other sectors of the city^[68]. Although the coins from this sanctuary were scattered, some of them can be potentially related with a coin hoard from the period of 294-288 BC, the reign of Demetrius. They can, however, also be the result of an intense human presence or at least of the offering of coins in the sanctuary during the first half of the third century BC^[69]. In contrast, and in the same sanctuary, only one coin of the second/early first century BC was found - a bronze civic issue of Thessaloniki. The differences noted here may be accidental to some extent; on the other hand they do show a pattern regarding the potential use of coins within the sanctuary (see below).

^[64] Characteristic is the comparison with coins which were discovered in the pottery workshop and in the public bath of the north part of the “Enimerosis” town block of Pella. 131 coins were found in the workshop, while 213 coins were discovered in the public bath - in an excavated area that is much smaller than that of the three sanctuaries altogether. For the coins from the “Enimerosis” block, see Akamatis 2013, p. 221-228.

^[65] For the limited number of silver or gold coins in Pella, in contrast to the bronzes, see Akamatis 2016, p. 180-193. For coins hoards found in Pella, see *Ibid.*, p. 193-195.

^[66] In the three sanctuaries altogether there are 22 coins of Pella, 14 issues of Thessaloniki, and 5 of Amphipolis. For coins of these three cities, in general, in Pella, see Akamatis 2016, p. 186-188.

^[67] It should be noted that several of the coins of Philip II and Alexander III are posthumous issues.

^[68] For the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Pella, see Akamatis 2016, p. 183, fig. 3.

^[69] In this sanctuary, coins of the other kings of the late fourth and third centuries BC, such as Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy Keraunos and Antigonos Gonatas are also numerous.

Coins from areas outside ancient Macedonia are scarce at all three sanctuaries, making up only 3.5% of all the coins found^[70]. Fourth-century coins from Larissa, Bottice, the Chalcidian League, and Histiaia were only found in the sanctuary of Darron, while Roman coins of the second century BC were discovered in the sanctuaries of Darron, and of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite^[71]. Coins of Lysimachus found in the sanctuaries of Demeter and of Darron should be related with the period when he was king of Macedonia (288-281 BC). The few non-Macedonian coins appear to show that the sanctuaries of Pella were primarily visited by locals. One should recall, however, that financial transactions with Macedonia were conducted using only local currencies; foreigners would have had to first exchange their money in the kingdom and then again later in the province of Macedonia. The somewhat larger number of foreign coins from the sanctuary of Darron does not necessarily mean that the sanctuary was visited by more foreigners, since these coins are mainly dated in the first half of the fourth century BC, a period when coins from areas outside Macedonia often appear more frequently in Pella^[72]. Such coins also offer us some information on the regions where the people who visited the sanctuary of Darron originated - namely and most often Thessaly, Chalcidice and Histiaia^[73].

Identifying how coins were used in sanctuaries is difficult in general, as different interpretations are possible (see Doyen, this volume, p. 7-43); findspots and local-context is often very helpful. Regarding the sanctuary of Demeter *Thesmophoros*, two coins that were found in the bedrock cuttings of the sanctuary along with animal bones were most possibly dedications to the deities in question. Also votive in nature were probably the coins that were discovered in and around the ash altar of the same sanctuary^[74]. Coins found within the *cella* of the sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, and of Darron, are rather numerous; most of them can also be regarded as votive objects. Similarly abundant coins found within Greek temples and in their surrounds have also been noted in other sanctuaries as well (Donas 2008, p. 9-12, 32-40; Stephani 2010, p. 102; Kallini 2015, p. 86-88; Galani-Krikou & Tselekas 2015, p. 890, 940). Concentrations of coins have also been located in various rooms of the sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, and of Darron^[75]. Although no specific stone or marble construction(s) for the keeping of coins ("thesaurus"/treasury) has been found, it is possible that money was offered to the gods and stored in specific rooms^[76]. It should also be noted that no coins with votive, punctuated inscriptions have been discovered in the sanctuaries of Pella, as such occur only rarely in other sanctuaries^[77].

^[70] For the rare appearance of non-Macedonian coins in other sanctuaries within the kingdom, see Donas 2008, p. 144-146; Drougou & Touratsoglou 2000, p. 315-317; Kallini 2015, p. 92-95; Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 130.

^[71] Coins of Rome probably became legal-tender in Macedonia following the battle of Pydna.

^[72] For non-Macedonian coins in Pella, see Akamatis 2016, p. 188-193.

^[73] Coins of the first half of the fourth century BC are so far absent from the sanctuaries of Demeter, and of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, mainly because the part of the city where they are found was only built in the last quarter of the fourth century BC. For foreigners in Pella, see also Lilimpaki-Akamati 2009, p. 23-31.

^[74] On the other hand, coins were not found close to the altars of the sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite nor that of Darron.

^[75] For these rooms, see above.

^[76] For such constructions, see Kaminski 1991, 63-181; Arapogianni 2014, p. 185-196; Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 103.

^[77] These coins are generally rare. For some examples, see Lagogianni 2003, p. 58, n. 33; Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 101.

In the sanctuaries of Pella, coins may also be related with economic transactions taking place inside or most probably outside the sacred *temenoi*. This conclusion is supported by evidence of the manufacturing of cult objects in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, and again in the sanctuary of Darron. Within the former, two kilns were found for making vases and figurines; numerous parts of chiseled marble attest to the manufacturing of objects in the same, possibly votive offerings as well^[78]. In the latter sanctuary, several molds for figurines and relief vases, as well as waste associated with a workshop, testifies to the possible production of vases and figurines. Figurines were also most probably produced and possibly sold close to the sanctuary of Demeter *Thesmophoros*, since several types of figurines found in this sanctuary are otherwise rare or unknown in other parts of Pella. This leads to the conclusion that such figurines were probably produced locally for the needs of the sanctuary of Demeter and/ or other rural sanctuaries of the ancient city, especially during festivities which were held to honor the venerated gods^[79]. It was noted above that most of the coins in the town block containing the temple of Darron were discovered in a room with direct access to a central road of the city, making it probable that this room was actually a shop. The finds so far do not support an argument that coins themselves were being minted within these sanctuaries^[80].

As has been written repeatedly, the interpretation of coins found within sanctuaries is a difficult task. When found in the sacred boundaries of the sanctuaries, these objects, traditionally related with various economic activities, can be interpreted in many ways which are not always clear. The disturbed archaeological layers, the lack of inscriptions and/ or literary sources makes such even more difficult. It is the findspot of a coin which usually offers the best route to explain its presence within an ancient Greek sanctuary.

^[78] For the workshop of marble objects, see Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, p. 26. Tools and molds were also discovered within this sanctuary.

^[79] For these festivities in general, see De Ligt & De Neeve 1988, p. 392-409; Chandezon 2000, p. 70-100; Bresson 2016, p. 237-238.

^[80] This is based on the non-discovery of numismatic-related equipment: flans and of other objects that could be related with the minting of coins. One single flan was discovered in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. For the minting of coins in sanctuaries, see Andreou & Tselekas 2017, p. 106-107. For the mints of Pella, which were located south of the Agora, and probably on the palace hill, see Oikonomidou 1989, p. 1143-1154; Chrysostomou 1996, p. 114; Chrysostomou 2008, p. 134; Oikonomidou & Kourempas 2007, p. 221-242; Kourempas 2012, p. 333-339.

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COINS FOR INITIATES AND COINS FOR COMMONERS

*Neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus,
sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.
Cicero, De Legibus, 2.36*

George KAKAVAS* & Charikleia PAPAGEORGIADOU**

Abstract – A significant number of coins now in the Numismatic Museum of Athens, which were unearthed during excavations of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, provide evidence for

local small-scale economic activities. They date from the 4th c. to the 2nd/1st c. BC. In a total of over 800 coins, only a few specimens of Eleusinian issues could be identified.

Keywords: Eleusis - Demeter - Kore - coin circulation - Numismatic Museum of Greece

Résumé – Un nombre important de monnaies conservées au Musée numismatique d'Athènes, mises au jour lors des fouilles du sanctuaire de Déméter et de Coré à Éleusis, fournit les preuves d'activités économiques mineures locales s'étendant du 4^e aux

2^e/1^{er} s. av. J.-C. En ce qui concerne ce matériel, il s'avère que, parmi un total de plus de 800 pièces, seuls quelques spécimens ont pu être identifiés comme des émissions éleusiniennes

Mots clés : Éleusis - Déméter - Coré - circulation monétaire - Musée numismatique de Grèce

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A thorough search for coins of Eleusis was undertaken in the archives and coin depot of the Numismatic Museum. Thanks to the dedication of its personnel and to the efficacy of the Museum's Conservation Department, this proved extremely fruitful. The photographs were taken by Mr. George Mestousis, a museum contractor, and Mr. Nikolaos Sougles, the museum's computer specialist, edited these and prepared the layout of the plates



Plate I - Objects (0.75:1)

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE AT ELEUSIS was the centre of a Panhellenic cult, where festivals were held over a long period. It attracted the interest of both commoners and important people (Pakkanen 1996). The intensity of its religious practice had a significant effect on temple finances, which makes Eleusis an excellent case where the economies of sacred places may be investigated.

The first excavations in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis were undertaken in 1882 by Demetrios Philios and the architect, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, under the auspices of the Archaeological Society. A number of prominent archaeologists, including Kourouniotis, Mylonas and Cosmopoulos, and architects such as Travlos, carried out further research on the site, working for both the Society and the Archaeological Service. This showed its long-lasting use and occupation (pl. I).

According to Cosmopoulos, the Late Helladic IIB/IIIA1 Megaron B, where religious rituals took place, could have functioned as a *lieu de mémoire* (Cosmopoulos 2014; Cosmopoulos & Ruscillo 2014),^[1] where the cult of Demeter and Kore was celebrated from Late Geometric to Roman times (Mylonas 1961, p. 222-223; Miles 1998, p. 21; Rigsby 2010). The shrine was then gradually abandoned, as the result of the policies, first of Theodosius (AD 392) and then of Justinian (AD 529), which sought to eradicate the ancient religion. People nonetheless continued to frequent the place, in continuity of either cult or habitation, but leaving scant remains (Mango 2011, p. 369; Tzavella 2012, p. 165-172).

The exceptional character of the site is reflected in its architectural complex, and this has partly overshadowed the other archaeological materials, to which there are fewer references in the archaeological reports. However, artefacts, high quality sculpture, and votive and cult objects, throw light on the otherwise largely unknown mystic world of Eleusis. As far as the numismatic evidence is concerned, there are only a few vague mentions of coin finds, although a Byzantine hoard is mentioned by Philios in *Praktika* 1884.^[2]

The large number of coins found during excavations of the site, now in the Numismatic Museum^[3], and studied in this paper for the first time, provide evidence for the small-scale economic activities of the many worshippers. These, taken with the extremely rich, detailed and well-studied epigraphic material, illuminate, among other things, the financial life of the Sanctuary (Clinton 2008).

Between 2019 and 2021, the specialist staff of the Museum's Conservation Department undertook the conservation of the 1046 silver and copper coins and the small copper objects. The methods used depended on the state of preservation, which ranged from good to largely or totally mineralized. The main goal was to reduce the rate of corrosion in cases of copper disease, and to stabilise the material, as well as to remove soil incrustations and corrosion products, so as to reveal details of the original surface^[4].

^[1] Contra Miles 1998, p. 21.

^[2] *Praktika* 1884, p. 82-83: «εὔρομεν ἐντὸς μικροῦ καὶ προστύχου ὄλως πηλίνου ἀγγείου (ἄνευ λαμοῦ καὶ στομίου) δέκα χρυσᾶ Βυζαντινὰ νομίσματα, ὧν τὸ ἐν ὑπόχαλκον ἦτοι ἀρχαῖον κίβδηλον» in the remains of «Βυζαντινῶν κτισμάτων (οἰκιῶν ἀπλῶν πιθανῶς)». Postolakas identified three coins of Justinian, 527-565 (plated); five of Justin II, 565-578; one of Tiberius II Constantine, 578-582; and one of Mauricius Tiberius, 582-602.

^[3] Found during excavations conducted by the Archaeological Society and the Ephorate of Antiquities: in 1930 (203 coins); 1931 (211); 1933 (179); 1954 (3); and 1962, 1963 and 1964 (152, 71 and 2 respectively).

^[4] Mrs Eleni Kontou, one of the museum conservators, examined the objects' composition, through XRF qualitative and quantitative analysis methods.

A series of bronze coins is attributed to Eleusis, which displays an iconography drawn from the cycle of Demeter and Kore (Thompson 1942, p. 213; Clinton 1992). Despite the mysterious character of the cult, this iconography seems to throw light on important symbolic features of the rites, which include the pig, the *plemochoe* (Mitsopoulou 2011), and the *bakchos*-ring (Beazley 1941)^[5]. Whether these choices added a religious character to this coinage and accordingly a cult use, cannot be said, since this suggestion cannot be supported by any sources.

This coinage, with the legend ΕΛΕΥΣΙ or ΑΘΕ, was introduced in the mid-4th century. The minting authority and its purpose, have been the subject of many studies, most recently by M. Thompson and J. Kroll. Both attributed the coins to Athens, which claimed ascendancy over the sanctuary and its cults. These issues are in fact considered the first bronze coins of the city of Athens (Kroll 1993, p. 27-29)^[6], made to meet the needs of the pilgrims attending the Mysteries or the Panhellenic festivities^[7]. In the middle of the *Triptolemos/piglet with mystic staff* issue, probably by the mid-330s, if not earlier, the ethnic changes from ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (Kroll 1993, Var. 38) to ΑΘΕ (Kroll 1993, Var. 39 and 40). Shortly afterwards, Athens begins coining bronze with owl types, with the legend ΑΘΕ, while Eleusinian issues with the specific ΕΛΕΥΣΙ legend were often struck in parallel. After the middle of the 3rd century, however, the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ legend vanishes, and ΑΘΕ is used on all occasional issues with Eleusinian designs (Kroll 1993, p. 28 and 30).

Amongst the more than 800 coins from Eleusis in the Numismatic Museum collection, only a few could be identified as Eleusinian. The absence of this coinage, conceived and designed as *λαλούν σύμβολο* of the religious centre of a sacred and secret cult, is significant. The same is true for the *εν άστει Ελευσίνιον*, where coin-finds in general are rare and do not include Eleusinian coins. Unfortunately, the appearance on the market of 232 Eleusinian coins, formerly in the Dimitriadis collection^[8], is not of much help, because they lack find-information, but this substantial number of coins reinforces the picture of rather large and intensive issues, as suggested by both Thompson and Kroll, mainly on the basis of finds from the Athenian Agora (Thompson 1942, p. 213). These coins stayed and circulated as money in the financial territory of Athens^[9], although, as Charlotte Mann (undated) remarks, Eleusinian coins can be traced beyond Attica to cities throughout the Greek world, where obviously they did not have exchange value: six coins found at Corinth, for example, may have returned with visitors to the festivals. Stannard and Pardini 2011 publishes a coin of the imitative series of the “Pompeian Pseudo-mint” that reproduces an Eleusinian *plemochoe* reverse type (probably Kroll 1993, nos 72-75, of c. 224/3-198 BC), which also probably reflects the many foreigners who frequented the Mysteries^[10].

^[5] For the syncretic nature of Dionysos, see Engel 2016; also, Smith 1996, p. 231-232.

^[6] Kroll 1993, p. 29-30: “the series will have begun sometime in the 350s. A connection with the 368-347 BC decree and reform program for attracting more foreign visitors to the festival is likely”.

^[7] Thompson 1942: following Head, Babelon and Cavaignac, she thought these coins as a product of the Athenian mint for the periodic observance of the Greater *Eleusinia*, and of significant size. She distinguished five different groups: Group I, c. 335-295; Group II, c. 294-288; Group III, c. 287-263; Group IV, c. 262-230; and Group V, c. 229-30. Kroll 1993, p. 27-30, reaffirmed the interpretation of this coinage as issued by Athens in the context of the Eleusinian festivals.

^[8] Smith 2015. A few further specimens, also of unknown provenance, belong to the Empedokles Collection.

^[9] Agallopoulou 2018. See also *IGCH* 99, Aspropyrgos 1951, dated to 400-300, consisting of two coins of Eleusis and one of Salamis.

^[10] The obverse imitates a coin of Ebusus, with the god Bes.

These observations raise the question of the nature of these coins. Thompson associated them with the celebrations of the Greater Eleusinian (Thompson 1942, p. 214) and she arranged her groups accordingly. Kroll, although suggesting minor chronological changes, also accepted their commemorative function, not only of the rites, but also of major political events that seriously affected the Athenian state. Nevertheless, building projects and renovations, probably in the context of political initiatives, cannot be excluded as the occasion of issues, which would mean that they did not only play a functional, but also a commemorative role.

The introduction of this special currency, the first Athenian bronze issues of the 4th c., can be placed in a wider context of Athens' political ambitions, which aimed to integrate the sanctuary of Eleusis not only into its territory and politics, but also into its cultural space (Travlos 1949, p. 138). At that period, both Eleusinian and Athenian heroes are represented on Attic vases, while Eleusinian symbols are depicted on Panathenaic amphoras (Miles 1998, p. 53–56; Valavanis 2011, p. 3–4). Furthermore, an ambitious building programme was undertaken at Eleusis, and a series of contracts give details of the progress of the works^[11].

Margaret Thompson also attributed these issues to Lycurgus' authority in 338–326 BC, as the result of his direct control of finances (Thompson 1941, p. 218), not to mention his special interest in both the *Eleusinia*^[12] and especially the City Eleusinion, along with other sanctuaries (Pollitt 1979, p. 226). Lykurgus was not the first to restore Athenian finances by increasing revenues and state expenditures^[13]. Before him, Euboulus (355–342 BC) had done the same in the context of a wider revival of the Athenian state in 355 BC, after the Social War (Rutishauser 2012, p. 190–192). In this context, the need to increase revenues led to initiatives to normalize commercial life by attracting greater numbers of foreign investors and merchants to the city (Burke 2004, p. 259). These efforts seem to extend to a possible increase in the number of foreigners coming to Athens, as the contemporaneous law on the Mysteries of 353/3–348/7 BC proves (Clinton 1980, p. 275).

At that same time, around the middle of the century, the reorganization of the coinage system seems to have become inevitable, and included the introduction in 353 BC of the silver “pi-style” coins (Kroll 2011). With growing monetisation, other major numismatic developments appeared inevitable, such as the introduction of bronze coinage, which was already common in many Greek states. In this context, the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ bronze coinage could be seen almost as a pretence by Athens that its silver currency was still adequate, without the need for bronze denominations. In this way, by minting under the cover of religion and for a specific purpose Athens entered the era of bronze coinage while keeping up the prestige of its historical silver coinage (Kroll 1993, p. 30). The adoption of a new bronze coinage cannot be detached from the wider financial environment, and can plausibly be explained as part of a general renovation of the coinage system.

[11] IG II² 1666 = I. Eleusis 143, 356/5–353/2 BC; IG II² 1670 = I. Eleusis 152, c. 330 BC; IG II² 1671 = I. Eleusis 151, c. 300 BC; IG II² 1675 = I. Eleusis 157, c. 337/6 BC; IG II² 1680 = I. Eleusis 165; late 4th c. See also Davis 1930.

[12] For the 4th c. sanctuary and city of Eleusis, Travlos 1949. For the building activity in Eleusis, Mylonas 1961, p. 130–132, drawing on archaeological remains and inscriptions that mention the enlargement of the south court of the *Telesterion*, the construction of a new peribolos wall and the so-called Philonian stoa, one of the period's greatest architectural constructions, in front of the Periclean *Telesterion* slightly after 360 BC, finally finished at the time of Demetrius of Phalerum (317–307 BC).

[13] Burke 2004, p. 251 note 2. Lykurgus' programme continued until 323/2 BC. For his interest in religious matters, Rhodes 2009, p. 13 and note 68.

When the legend ΕΛΕΥΣΙ reoccurs in later periods, this seems mostly to refer to the Eleusinian cult and the sanctuary in general, although a possible relationship to specific political events, as suggested by Kroll, must be taken into consideration.

Such is the case for Kroll's var. 44-49 and 50-51. The first group is attributed to the oligarchies established by Antipatros under Phokion (322-317 BC) and installed by Kassandros under Demetrios of Phaleron (317-307 BC) (Kroll 1993, p. 32). It should be noted that in 322 BC a Macedonian garrison was established at Mounichia on the same day that the procession from Athens to Eleusis for the Mysteries took place, while Demetrios of Phaleron, acting as lawgiver, showed great interest in arranging matters regarding ceremonial rituals (Mikalson 1998). The second group (Var. 50-51) is attributed to the democratic government restored to power by Demetrios Poliorketes in 307 BC (Kroll 1993, p. 33), but Demetrios was initiated into the Mysteries in 303/2 BC, which could also be an appropriate occasion for these issues (Kuhn 2006, p. 1-10). He visited the sanctuary in 291 BC. In all probability, the work on the middle wall (*IG II² 1682 = I. Eleusis 141*), datable to 289/8 BC, could be an initiative of his. On the other hand, Demetrios received great honours from the city of Athens, which linked him to Dionysos and to Demeter (Palagia 2016, p. 74-75). Palagia has recently interpreted the Macedonian rulers' special interest in and attraction to the cult of Demeter and Persephone as reflecting the integration of the cult into Macedonian religion (Palagia 2016, p. 79-87). However, the sources show that pro- and anti-Macedonian feelings and politics significantly shaped reactions to the occupation (Mari 2003, p. 89, 91, note 41; Clinton 2003, p. 77). Var. 52-55, dated by Kroll soon after 284 BC and associated with the liberation of Eleusis from the Macedonian occupation and the special games (Kroll 1993, p. 34), seem to fit well in such a context^[14].

The ΕΛΕΥΣΙ legend appears for the last time on Var. 62-63, dated to 261-229 BC (Kroll 1993, p. 35-36; Kroll 2003, p. 211), the turbulent years after the Chremonideian War, when Attica suffered continually from the activities of foreign forces. However, by the middle of the third century, the cult of the two goddesses, their Mysteries and other festivities, had been fully restored, as inscriptions honouring Demetrios of Phaleron the Younger (*IG II² 2971/250 BC; IG II³ 4 281 = I. Eleusis 195/252-253 BC*) and the general, Aristophanes of Leukonoion (*IG II² 1299/ ca 236/5 = I. Eleusis 196/234 BC*), show. Aristophanes was honoured by a *koinon* of soldiers of troops stationed at Eleusis, Phyle and Panakton. Whether this *koinon* functioned as a private cult association, in the context of the major changes occurring during that period in the domain of religion (Arnaoutoglou 2011), is not clear. It is very probable, though, that the growing importance of eastern deities and of religious syncretism promoted by the *thiasoi* (*SEG 24.156*), may have contributed to a revival of the Eleusinian cult and so to the use of ΕΛΕΥΣΙ on these issues.

By the last quarter of the 3rd c. BC (Kroll's period II / 229-183 BC), bronze with Eleusinian types, but without the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ legend, is fully incorporated into the mainstream of the regular bronze coinage, alongside the standard Athenian types. Kroll suggests a growth in the importance and size of the Eleusinian festivals about a decade or so after 229 BC (Kroll 1993, p. 54 and note 87).

In this light, the role of the City Eleusinion – the urban “branch” of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and one of the city's most important sanctuaries (Cole 1994) – may have been more important than supposed. Pausanias (1.14.1-4) saw a temple dedicated to Demeter and Kore (Kroll 1993, p. 51), and in another temple he noted a statue of Triptolemos. The construction of the temple of Triptolemos during the 5th c., could have been an occasion to

[14] Thompson 1941, p. 222, related her Group III to the celebration of the *Eleusinia* of 287. See also Shear 2010.

give prominence to the Athenian sanctuary (Kroll 1993, p. 41-43), while a series of works and probably the construction of another temple in the 4th c. BC (Kroll 1993, p. 60-62) required substantial funds. Whether the movement to incorporate the Eleusinian cult into Athenian traditions also meant giving prominence to the City Eleusinion, also including the inauguration of a new coinage, needs to be considered. It is difficult to distinguish any difference in the use of the Eleusinian and Athenian coinages in a variety of sources: inventories, and accounts referring to expenses and items held in common^[15].

These inventories list high-value coins, and the epigraphic evidence shows that silver coins were donated to the sanctuary (Karatas 2018, p. 40-59). Most of the surplus on revenues^[16], after meeting sanctuary expenses, was held in the treasury, or was transferred to and kept on the Acropolis (*I Eleusis* 19, 470-460 BC, Lewis & Woodward 1975). The accounts of the *Epistatai* show that the sanctuary treasures were immense. Precious objects, ingots and gold and silver coins were listed for their intrinsic value, and not as money (Clinton 2008, p. 46, 149 & 158). This can be seen from the fact that in one of the accounts uncoined silver (αργύριον άσημον) is listed with (ομού) the foreign (χσενικόν) silver, for a total of 504 drachmas (Cavanaugh 1996, p. 152). However, not all of worshippers and donors appear to have been honest, as twenty-five coins in the 4th c. (398/7 BC) Hekatompedon account inventories are listed as counterfeit (αργύριον κίβδηλον Ελευσινόθεν) (Stroud 1974; Lykke 2017, p. 21).

Obols, on the other hand, were the common denomination stipulated for several levels of fees for the various stages of initiation (*I Eleusis* 19 = Attic Inscriptions Online, *IG* I³, 6). It is therefore tempting to argue that the preference for this denomination may not have been only for financial reasons, but to have been related to rites of passage to the underworld.

The growing importance of the sanctuary over time, as well as the changes in the Athenian monetary environment, are reflected in the coin finds.

As might be expected, little remains of the silver coins that circulated in the sanctuary. To date, the earliest evidence is the hoard *IGCH5*^[17], with a closing date of 520-500 BC, which was unearthed in the area east of the *Telesterion* in 1883 (Oeconomides & Nicolet 1981). The few other silver coins found during excavations cover a wide period: a 3rd c. BC Athenian drachm (Svoronos 1904, p. 23, 30); a denarius of Plautius Plancus of 47 B.C (Crawford 1974, 453); and three Imperial denarii, one of Augustus from the mint of Lugdunum (*RIC* I Online, 220); one of Trajan (*RIC* II Online, 142); and one of Gordian III (*RIC* IV Online, 306); as well as a two-kurush of Abdul Hamid II (pl. II). Whether these were coins in local use, votive offerings, or accidental losses from the purses of wealthy visitors, they surely do not represent the economic life of the sanctuary, where the many worshippers used low-value bronze coins to pay for small transactions. The diversity and the relative frequency of such coins gives a better understanding of the life of the sanctuary.

The sanctuary attained its greatest extent in the 4th c. BC, but it was still largely local, as shown by the extremely few foreign coin-finds (fig. 1)^[18]. The picture of a sacred place with a sphere of action confined in the Greek peninsula does not change dramatically in the following centuries, although a considerable increase in the number of coins in circulation

[15] An inventory from Eleusis lists precious items in the City Eleusinion: *IGCH* 13, 386, 387 (408/7 BC) and a financial account, dated to 329/8 BC, lists many expenses (*IG* II1, 1672)

[16] Income from various sources, including initiation fees, as recorded in *I Eleusis* 19, and leasing and selling; Clinton 2008, p. 176, for a lease dated c. 330 BC.

[17] In the Athens Numismatic Museum, to be further studied by Kakavas and Papageorgiadou.

[18] On the assumption that these coins were lost by worshippers and not by workmen.

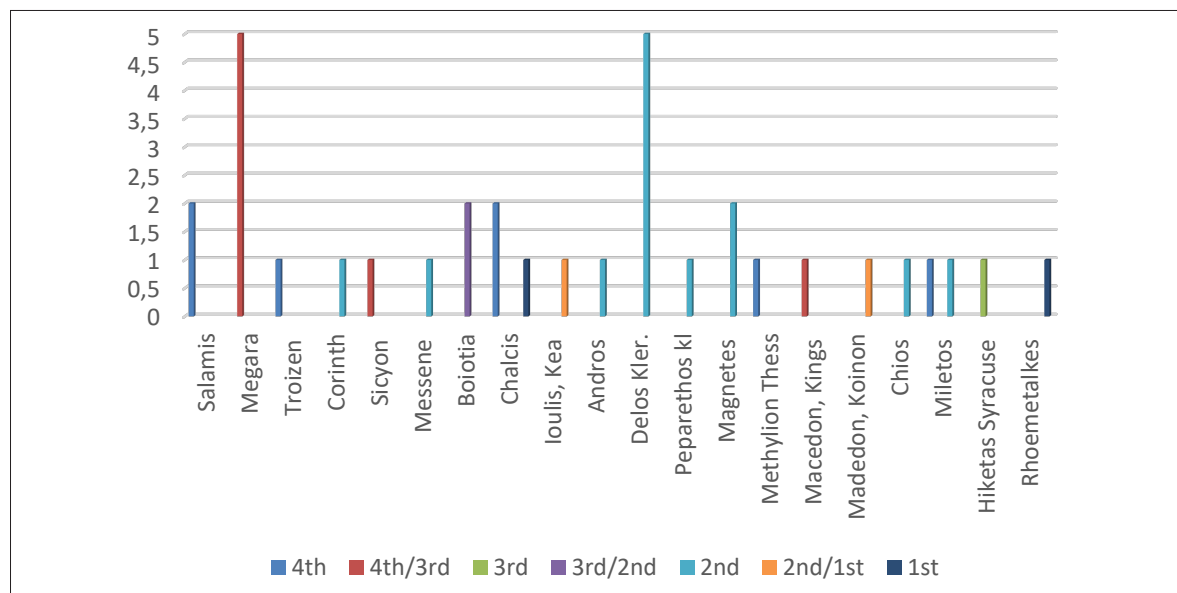


Fig. 1 – Non Athenian coins

testifies to the development of the sanctuary into a Panhellenic centre. Despite this, a decrease in the number of foreign coins (pl. II) contrasts with growing numbers of Athenian coins, particularly after 229 BC, when the Eleusinian types were fully absorbed into the Athenian bronze coinage. From then on, the preponderance of Athenian issues is striking, and they almost became the only coins in circulation (fig. 2 & pl. III-IV).

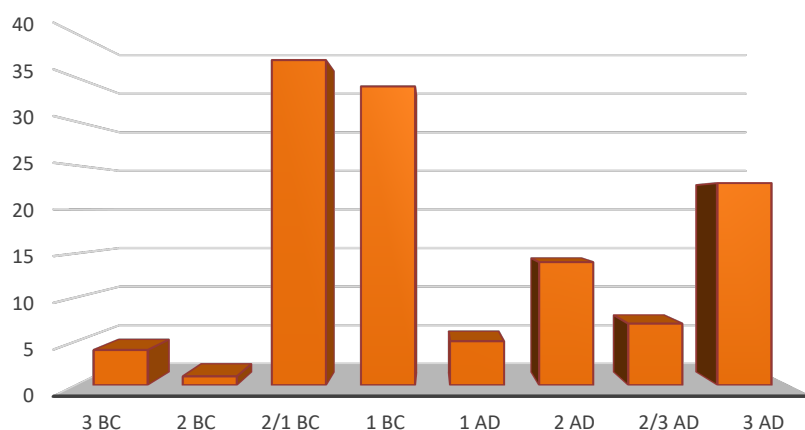


Fig. 2 – Athenian coins

This influx of Athenian issues is greatest from the 2nd/1st c. BC on (Kleiner 1976). Two groups of coins, unearthed during George Mylonas’s 1931 excavations, also date to the 1st c. BC. They should probably be considered as hoards, on the basis of their corrosion and patina, the date of the coins, and the find-spots. The first comprises three coins, and was found at the western part of bench A, while the second, of eleven coins, is from wall Δ of the small house M (pl. V). These small hoards can be added to the Aghia Varvara 1932 (IGCH 341) and Chaidari 1929 (IGCH 342) hoards, which date to 86 BC and consist mainly of Athenian coins. The large number of the 2nd/1st and 1st c. BC Athenian coins provide evidence not only for broad monetisation during this period, but also for the revitalization or expansion of the cult at Eleusis, which boosted the continuing financial and economic dynamic of the sanctuary.

Measuring tables (*sekomata*) from different periods are a rather common class of find at Eleusis (Clinton 2008, p. 179 & 553). Measuring tables are normally found in central public places. They are strongly related to commercial activity^[19], and are not usually known from sanctuaries. For this reason, one might be tempted to interpret them as ritual objects, but this seems unlikely, because written sources in Eleusis show rather intense commercial activity on the *aparchai* that generated income for Demeter and Kore. These were deposited in the acropolis, and administered as part of the goddess's sacred fund, probably first attested from the 5th c. BC (Pafford 2011). Kevin Clinton considers the almost contemporary so-called First Fruits Decree (*IG I³ 78 = I Eleusis 28*), which dates to the mid-430s BC, as the first substantive piece of legislation on this subject (Clinton undated). A series of inscriptions reveal the attention given to administrating and calculating the revenues, which varied from time to time (*IG I³ 391, IG II² 1013, IG II² 1672*; Reger 1993, p. 306; Clinton, 2008, p. 4). This commerce could be substantial and important, not only for the sanctuary, but also for Athens itself, and it is probably for this reason that one of the three official sets of weights and measure standards was held in Eleusis, in addition to those in Athens and the Piraeus (*IG II² 1013 = I. Eleusis 237*).

Weights and tokens (pl. V) are also evidence of large-scale exchange transactions and other activities during special spectacles linked to the sanctuary. Bronze and lead tokens of the mid-4th to the 1st BC that bear Eleusinian symbols (especially the *plemochoe*) are also known from Athens, mostly from in and around the Agora (Miles 2012, p. 140).

From the 2nd c. BC on, the sacred rites and Mysteries of Demeter and Kore (Clinton 1989a & b; Alderink 1989; Clinton 1996) attracted the interest of the Roman *nobilitas*, among whom initiation became fashionable (Pek 1998, p. 24; Benavides 2019, p. 81-82). Benefactors who contributed to the expansion of the sanctuary in the 1st c. BC are known from the honorific inscriptions and the increasing number of dedicatory statues erected (Barnard 2011, p. 48-51, for the Republican period, and p. 52-63, for the Imperial).

The sanctuary may have benefited from a wide programme of restoration of damaged or neglected sanctuaries by Roman benefactors after Sulla; Appius Claudius Pulcher's construction of the lesser Propylaia in Eleusis is the best known (Miles 2012, p. 123-127; Melfi 2013, p. 154-156).

A construction programme also followed Augustus's initiation (Pek 1998, p. 27-28; Clinton 1999; Clinton 2017; Heijnen 2018, p. 84; Benavides 2019), and the sanctuary continued to be highly esteemed throughout Imperial times (Camia 2017). There is a revival under Hadrian, in the context of his interest in and initiation into the Mysteries in AD 125 but also as part of the formation of the Panhellenion and the elevation of Athens^[20]. Almost fifty years later, there was a further revival (Pek 1998, p. 88), when Marcus Aurelius and probably Commodus were not only initiated into the Eleusinian cult in AD 176 (Lichtenberger 2001), but also restored the sanctuary and completed the construction of Hadrianic Greater Propylaia after its destruction by the Costoboci in AD 170/1. From the late 2nd c. AD the emperors were more

^[19] As at Abdera, Dion, Messene, Naxos, Thasos and of course Delos. Chankowski-Sablé & Hasenohr 2012; in later times, *Tabulae ponderariae* are also known from smaller places, such as the *statio* and *emporium* in Moesia Inferior. Klenina & Biernacki 2018, p. 291.

^[20] Pek 1998, p. 29. A revival of the Triptolemos type, which first appeared in the 4th c. BC occurs in the 2nd c. AD, and is probably related to Hadrian's visit; Kroll 1993, p. 123-124. Hadrian also built embankments in the plain, following a flood while he was wintering in Athens (Euseb. *Chron.* 81), as well as an aqueduct (Leake, *Demi of Attica*, p. 154ff.). Spawforth & Walker, 1985; Clinton 1989; for the City Eleusinion, Miles 2012. See also McHugh 2017, p. 102-111.

concerned with the defence of Attica and the strengthening of the fortifications of Eleusis, so as to be able to withstand invaders (Fowden 1988, p. 50). During this period, there is a decline in epigraphical evidence from Eleusis that refers to Romans and Roman initiatives (Clinton 1989, Pek 1998, p. 32), although emperors remained interested in the Mysteries (Gallienus was probably initiated into the Mysteries when visiting Athens in AD 264: Doyen 2020), and the life of the sanctuary continued down to the 4th and 5th c. AD, although in general decline (Kerényi 1967, p. 16–18; Pek 1998, p. 8–9 & 22) (fig. 3).

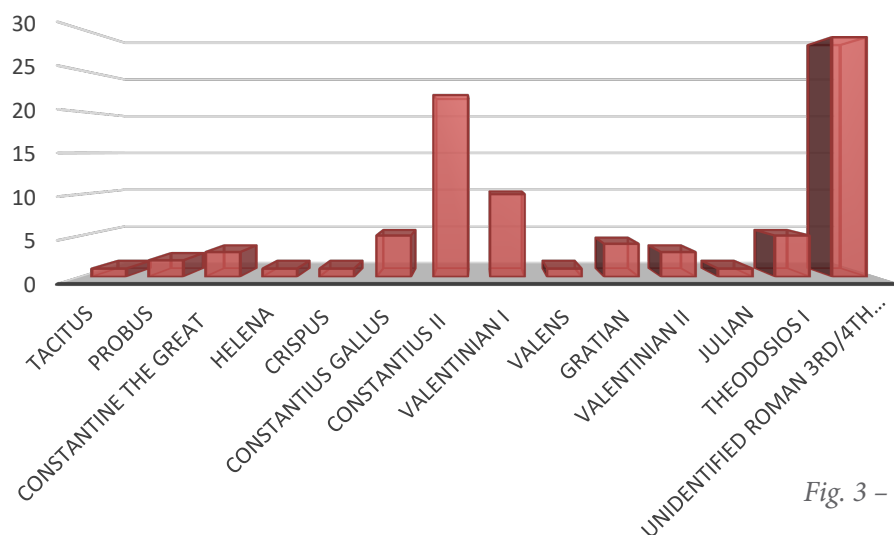


Fig. 3 – 3rd / 4th c. A.D. coins

The increase of coin-finds that date to the first three centuries AD confirms the growth in the prestige of the sanctuary among Romans (Galli 2013, p. 41-42; Lippolis 2013), as well as its importance, not only as a religious centre, but also as a fortified site for the defence of Attica. Athenian coins are commonest, almost exclusively, while Roman coins are rather rare (pl. VI)^[21]. Even Hadrian's building programme did not leave any substantial numismatic trace in Eleusis, as is also true for Athens itself.

Two hoards from the settlement of Eleusis reinforce this picture of circulation: the large Eleusis 1902 hoard, found a few meters east of the enclosure wall of the sanctuary and associated with the Herulian invasion of AD 267/8, which was initially studied by Svoronos and thoroughly republished by Kroll (Kroll 1973), includes a few Roman sestertii and two Greek Imperials. Two brockages attest to the rather hasty production methods of the time (pl. VII–VIII). The same pattern is shown by the Eleusis 1992 I hoard of 130 bronze coins, of which only six are Roman, and the rest 124 Athenian issues of the Imperial times (Galani-Krikou 1993, p. 47).

Despite constant threats to Attica and Athens, the Eleusinian Mysteries continued to be celebrated, and the numismatic evidence testifies to Eleusis' last moment of importance, associated with the emperor Julian (AD 361–363), who was initiated into the Mysteries while in exile in Athens in AD 354. Although the sanctuary lived on for many years, it never regained its former glories, before Alaric's invasion in AD 395/6 put an end to its life.

However, religious practice on the site does not end at that time, as there are traces of a 5th c. AD Christian basilica, and it has been suggested that the *anaktoron* of the *Telesterion* was

^[21] Provincial issues are equally scarce: a coin of Tiberius from Tanagra, one of Nero from Corinth, and a Hierapolitan coin of Antoninus Pius, illustrated on pl. VI.

re-used as a church (Tzavella 2012, 168). Only a few coins of this period have been unearthed in the territory of the ancient sanctuary (pl. VIII), with the exception of Philios' hoard. The monetary evidence from the civic centre seems to be more significant. (For three hoards dated to the late 6th c. AD, see Galani *et al.* 2002, p. 32, no.15; p. 47, no. 26, & p. 54, no. 29.)

The chronological span of the coins with Eleusinian motifs, as well as the finds of single coins from the area of the sanctuary, clearly show its enduring significance as the centre of a cult of importance that reached beyond its immediate region as well as its long life-span. Nevertheless, the limitations of the numismatic evidence provide only a limited picture of the coins in circulation. In any case, this evidence shows that, from the 3rd c. BC, the Eleusinian sanctuary was an integral part of the Athenian religious, financial and political practice.

It must be noted in conclusion that the range of foreign coins at Eleusis is much narrower than that of those found in Athens, as a comparison with the non-Athenian mints and issues from the Agora listed by Kroll reveals (Kroll 1993, p. 163-170 and *Conspectus*, p. XVIII-XXVI). (The absence of Macedonian regal issues, which form a significant part of the Kroll's list, is worth noting. It is impossible to say whether this difference is the result of a centralized monetary policy or merely a coincidence.) In any case, it is evident that the overwhelming mass of Athenian coin production, and the city's political and financial weight, meant that its coins were in practice almost the only coinage used in Eleusis until the middle of the 3rd c. AD, when the Athenian mint closed and only Roman issues remained.



Plate II - Silver coins: a-f; Non-Athenians coins: g-q (0.75:1)



Plate III - Athenians coins (0.75:1)



Plate IV - Athenians coins (0.75:1)



Plate V - Eleusis excavation 1931, hoard I: a - c ; Eleusis excavation 1931, hoard II: d - n;
weight and tokens: o - r (0.75:1)



Plate VI - Roman imperial coins: a - k ; Roman provincial coins: l - n (0.75:1)



Plate VII - The Eleusis 1902 Hoard - The imperial coins (1:1)



Plate VIII - The Eleusis 1902 Hoard - Athenian coins (brockage) a - b;
Byzantine - Tornese - Ottoman coins c - h. (1:1)

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LOST OR DEPOSITED? THE COIN FINDS FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DIDYMA

Aylin TANRIÖVER*

Abstract – Between 1993 and today, a total of 107 coins were discovered during the conservation and restoration activities at the temple of Apollo in Didyma, an extra-urban sanctuary which did not mint its own coins. Most of the coins were found under the bases and plinths of the front columns of the temple. The coins date from Hellenistic to Byzantine times, with almost half of them dating

to the Hellenistic period. The coins found at the temple can be divided into intentionally deposited coins and accidentally lost coins. The examination of the finds' contexts promises new insights into the use and circulation of bronze coins in a sanctuary context, and offers clues to the dating of individual construction phases at the Didymaion and, to some extent, of the Hellenistic coinage of Miletus.

Keywords: Didyma – Temple of Apollo – Miletus – deposition – offering – lucky charm

Résumé – Entre 1993 et aujourd'hui, 107 monnaies ont été découvertes lors des activités de conservation et de restauration du temple d'Apollon à Didyme, un sanctuaire extra-urbain qui ne frappait pas ses propres monnaies. La plupart de ces pièces ont été trouvées sous les bases et les plinthes des colonnes de façade du temple. Ces monnaies vont de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque byzantine, mais près de la moitié d'entre elles date de la période hellénistique. Les

exemplaires trouvés dans le temple peuvent être divisés en pièces déposées intentionnellement et en pièces perdues accidentellement. L'examen du contexte dans lequel les monnaies ont été trouvées laisse espérer de nouvelles perspectives sur l'utilisation et la circulation de ces espèces de bronze dans un sanctuaire, ainsi que des suggestions pour dater les différentes phases de construction du Didymaion et, dans une certaine mesure, dater le monnayage hellénistique de Milet.

Mots clés : Didyme – temple d'Apollon – Milet – dépôt – offrande – porte-bonheur

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THIS ARTICLE EXAMINES THE CONTEXTS OF THE COIN FINDS at the temple of Apollo in Didyma, an extra-urban sanctuary which did not mint its own coins. The collection consists of 107 Hellenistic to Byzantine coins, which were discovered during restoration work in joints between ashlar wall blocks, under plinths, and under column bases, etc.^[1] A detailed examination of the finds' contexts aims to assess whether the coins were intentionally deposited (during or after construction) or simply lost. The study promises new insights into the use and circulation of bronze coins in a sanctuary context and offers clues to the dating of individual construction phases at the *Didymaion* and, to some extent, of the Hellenistic coinage of Miletus. Before turning to the discussion of these coin finds, it is essential to briefly outline the historical setting of Didyma, and to provide a general overview of the coin finds according to the phases of the excavations.

1. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

The extra-urban sanctuary of Didyma is located on the west coast of Asia Minor, 160 km south of modern Izmir, and was connected by a sacred road (about 18 km) to the Ionian *polis* of Miletus^[2]. Didyma was renowned for its sanctuary of Apollo, which was one of the most famous oracle sites in ancient times. Archaeological finds indicate that ritual practices at the site started in the 8th c. BC (Slawisch 2013; Schattner 2008). The importance of the sanctuary found visible expression in the 6th c. BC, when a monumental temple was built, which was one of the largest of its time^[3]. Like Miletus, the archaic sanctuary with its temple was destroyed by the Persians at the beginning of the 5th c. BC (Ionian Revolt 500/499-494 BC) (e.g. Tuchelt 1973, p. 100-101). A new temple began to be built in the 4th or 3rd c. BC, which was subsequently sought out and financially supported by Hellenistic kings and later by Roman emperors^[4]. Nevertheless, construction work on the *dipteros*, measuring approximately 120 x 60 m, was never completed (Bumke 2009, p. 70; Borg 2000, p. 99-100; Voigtländer 1975, p. 9-10; Pülz 1989, p. 3-5). Work on the temple itself continued, as we understand it from the architectural styles, until the 3rd c. AD^[5]. A wall of spolia, which closed off the front of the temple and was still largely up to 4 m high during excavations at the beginning of the

[1] The stray finds found around the temple are not considered in this account. These include 13 coins which have been documented in the finds database since the 1980s. Four coins come from Miletus, two of which date to the Hellenistic and two to the Roman Imperial period, two late antique coins, one Byzantine, two Ottoman, and four modern coins. The "modern hoard" (96 bronze coins) found in 2017 during the restoration of the temple's modern surrounding wall is also excluded. It will be presented separately.

[2] For the "Sacred Way" see Slawisch & Wilkinson 2018. The question of Didyma's independence or dependence on the *polis* Miletus, which has been discussed in research, will not be considered further here, cf. recently Furtwängler 2014, p. 241-248 and Tanriöver 2024 (forthcoming).

[3] For the archaic *Didymaion* see Dirschedl 2019; Dirschedl 2012.

[4] Even if greater support was first provided by the Seleucids, there is evidence to suggest that construction began as early as the middle of the 4th c. BC (with the help of the Hecatomnids?), Tanriöver 2024 (forthcoming); Furtwängler 2009, p. 2-3; Haselberger 1983, p. 111-114 (*contra* Voigtländer 1975); Voigtländer 1975, p. 14-21 (especially 20-21), p. 22-28; Tuchelt 1973, p. 13-15 with note 3 p. 102; Günther 1971, p. 37-38. As for the financing by the Seleucids, see Günther 1971, p. 23-94 (for the stoa dedicated by Antiochus I: Rehm 1958, No. 479 and 480; Prignitz 2019, p. 8). On financial support from Roman emperors (Caligula, Trajan) Günther 2012 (Caligula); Borg 2001, p. 98; Voigtländer 1975, p. 123. For a description of the temple Knackfuß 1941. Further sources: Monetary donation from Naukratis for the construction of the temple around 275 BC (SEG LII 1118); Ivory donations of Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy XIII, Rehm 1958, No. 394 and 218, recently Prignitz 2019, p. 8 with fn. 11.

[5] For the construction phases of the temple Prignitz 2019; Borg 2001; Tuchelt 2000; Haselberger 1983, p. 91 note. 3. Supplement 1; Voigtländer 1975; Tuchelt 1973, p. 100-115; Pülz 1989, p. 6-11.

20th c., is dated to the middle of the 3rd c. AD^[6]. Whether this was accompanied by a break in construction cannot be deduced from the find contexts^[7]. The cult itself probably came to an end only in the 4th c. AD (Günther 1971, p. 115; Tuchelt 2000, p. 346-348; Bumke 2009, p. 76-77; Steuernagel 2008, p. 132-134). In the following phase, a basilica was built into the *adyton* (5th/6th c. AD), for which architectural elements from various buildings were reused^[8]. In the 6th or 7th c. AD and 12th or 13th c. AD, Didyma became an episcopal seat (Bumke 2009, p. 81). The temple, converted into a fort with a church inside the *sekos*, was ultimately destroyed by an earthquake in the 13th c. and then again in the 15th c. (Peschlow 1975, p. 211-213).

2. THE HISTORY OF EXPLORATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND ITS COIN FINDS

The rediscovery and exploration of Didyma began in the 18th c. The investigations carried out since then can be divided into four main phases (Tuchelt 1991, p. 2). The Society of Dilettanti (1765) made drawings of the still visible parts of the ancient architecture (Wilkins *et al.* 1769, p. 29-52 (no coins are mentioned); Tuchelt 1991, p. 2-4), and C. T. Newton carried out the first investigations in the area of the “Sacred Way” a century later^[9]. In 1873, the historian Olivier Rayet and the architect Albert Thomas attempted to excavate the entire Temple of Apollo, but they did not succeed^[10]. This feat could only be realised at the beginning of the 20th c. when Theodor Wiegand took over the operations at Didyma. The execution was entrusted to the architect and building researcher Hubert Knackfuß (Knackfuß 1941). Excavations took place between 1906 and 1913. After the First World War, under the direction of H. Knackfuß, further excavations were carried out by H. Hörmann between 1924 and 1925. In these last two years the archaic temple of Apollo, recorded by Herodotus, was finally discovered (Knackfuß 1941).

The German expedition house, which contained many important finds, burnt down in 1918 and remained a ruin until 1963 (Tuchelt 2017, p. 16). An unknown number of finds and many records were lost, probably including the coins that were found during the 1906-1913 campaign at Didyma (Tab. 1).

^[6] This is traditionally associated with the invasions of the Goths in AD 267, Pülz 1989, p. 11 & 129; Voigtländer 1975, p. 10. However, since this wall was built very carefully around the front columns, no immediate construction can be assumed. Tuchelt 2000, p. 339-346 supposes that the wall was intended to stabilise the columns against earthquakes, see also Steuernagel 2008, p. 131-132; Bumke 2009, p. 78-80 suggests a dating in the 4th c. AD, i.e. after termination of the cult, and sees a connection to the church building inside the *adyton*.

^[7] Voigtländer 1975, p. 124 interprets the wall as a fortress wall and connects it with the end of the construction work on the temple. However, see Tuchelt 2000, p. 346-348; Borg 2000, p. 99-100; Peschlow 1975, p. 211. According to Bumke 2009, p. 75-76 a loss of significance can be observed, since the last inscriptions naming prophets and hydrophores date to this time, the games (Didymeia-Commodeia) are mentioned for the last time, and a decrease in the number of victory statues can be observed, but this does not necessarily mean the end of the cult.

^[8] For example, blocks of the *Naiskos* and the so-called Prophet’s House, Bumke 2009, p. 77-78; Peschlow 1975, p. 211-212.

^[9] Newton 1863, p. 527-553. Newton mentions “a few Greek and Roman copper coins”, which he only lists in addition to other finds from his excavation without any specific information.

^[10] However, they were able to recognise essential parts of the temple and presented for the first time the architecture of the temple, Rayet & Thomas 1880, p. 25-81. When the epigrapher Bernard Haussoullier and the architect Emmanuel Pontremoli came to Didyma about 20 years later in 1895/6, large parts of the excavations of 1873 had already become buried again and the excavated parts of the temple had fallen victim to stone looting, Haussoullier & Pontremoli 1904. In the comprehensive publication no coin finds and no other portable finds are mentioned.

Year found	Coins	Location	Depository
1907	Approx. 400 bowl-shaped bronze coins probably from the 12th century A.D. ^[1]	Apollo Temple area	lost (after Tuchelt)
1909	Bronze coin of A. Pius ^[2]	"Sacred Way"	?
1910	1 electron coin of Alexius I Comnenus (A.D. 1081-1118) ^[3]	Apollo Temple area	lost (after Tuchelt)
1911	1 silver coin of Alexander (A.D. 912) ^[4]	Apollo Temple area	lost (after Tuchelt)
1913	Several bronze coins, probably Hellenistic ^[5]	Apollo Temple area	lost (after Tuchelt)
1925	11 bronze coins ^[6]	?	Museum of Smyrna

^[1] Knackfuß, Diary, 16.02.1907. Baldus was able to date this hoard find to the 12th c. A.D. based on the description, of which he informed K. Tuchelt by letter in 1994 (Didyma Archive).
^[2] Knackfuß, Diary, 1.10 - 30.10.1909.
^[3] Knackfuß 1941, p. 26; Knackfuß, Diary, 15.12.1910.
^[4] Knackfuß, Diary, 03.05.1911; Knackfuß 1941, p. 29.
^[5] Knackfuß, Diary, 31.05.1913: "In der ausgeräumten Füllerde fanden sich drei mit getriebnen strahlenartigen Verzierungen geschmückten Rosetten von ca. 40 mm Durchmesser anscheinend aus ehemals vergoldetem Silber (?), ein Stückchen dünnes Goldblech, mehrere ganz unkenntlich oxydierte Kupfermünzen, – der Größe nach wohl hellenistische –, einige Geflügelknochen und Eisenreste"; Knackfuß 1941, p. 129.
^[6] Weekly report from Hörmann, 05.12.1925: Handing over of eleven bronze coins to the newly founded museum in Smyrna. Unfortunately there are no references to the find contexts.

Tab. 1 – The coin finds from Didyma between 1906–1925

Date	Miletus	Other Poleis
Before Alexander III	5 (2 AR, 3 AE)	1 (AR)
Hellenistic coins	435 (2 AR)	37 (AE): 1 Neapolis Campania, 1 Pergamon, 1 Methymna, 1 Herakleia, 3 Magnesia a. M., 4 Priene, 1 Teos, 2 Chios, 3 Samos, 1 Bargylia, 1 Euromos, 3 Iasos, 1 Mylasa, 1 Kos, 13 unidentified
"Pseudo-autonomous coins"	1	13: 2 Thessalonica, 2 Athens/Attika, 2 Smyrna, 1 Teos, 1 Kos, 1 Nysa a. M., 1 Tralleis, 1 Hyrgaleis, 2 unidentified
"Greek Imperials" coins	135 (+5)	22 (+41 unidentified coins): 1 Nikomedeia, 2 Samos, 1 Alinda, 1 Mastaura, 2 Nysa a. M., 1 Sardis, 2 Tralleis, 1 Apameia 8 Ephesus; 1 Antiochia/Pisidia, 1 Laodicea ad Mare/Syria and 1 Judea
Roman Imperial coins		500 (only 34 before A.D., mainly sestertii), 466 Late Roman coins

Date	Miletus	Other Poleis
Eastern Roman Empire		286 Byzantine coins (235 [+38 unidentified] between A.D. 491/98-668/9; 13 between 8 th and 13 th c. A.D.)
Germanic coins		1 small coin of King Hilderic from Carthage (A.D. 523-530) 2 tiny coins of King Athalaric (A.D. 526-534)
Middle Ages (not including Byzantium)		4 (2 denarii – 1 Crusader, 1 small early Ottoman coin)
Modern		37 Ottoman coins between 1800 and 1918 4 Greek coins from the 19 th /early 20 th c. 2 Imperial and royal coins of the 19 th c.
Turkey since 1918 and others		8 Turkish coins between 1919 and 1961 10 coin-like objects
Remainder unidentified		

Tab. 2 – The range of coins published by Baldus in 2006

When the German Archaeological Institute resumed investigations at Didyma in 1962, the focus of the excavations gradually shifted away from the temple of Apollo to the vicinity of the oracle sanctuary (Bumke 2009, p. 73-75; Tuchelt 1991, p. 7-8). According to literary and epigraphic sources, the sanctuary at Didyma contained cult sites of other deities too, such as Artemis, Zeus, and Leto. The localisation of their sanctuaries was one of the goals of the new excavations^[11]. Under the direction of Klaus Tuchelt, the first systematic investigations of the small finds from the excavations, which were previously neglected, were undertaken^[12]. Tuchelt adopted the digital recording of finds and contexts early on, and has left not only very detailed diaries and field books for the following generation, but also databases of contexts and finds. He was also aware of the importance of the coin finds, and therefore promoted their recording and documentation. The classification of the coins from the excavations of Rudolf Naumann and Tuchelt was carried out by Hans Roland Baldus, who published them in 2006^[13], with the exception of a hoard consisting of 88 bronze coins of Hellenistic times, which were found at the so-called Temenos on the “Sacred Way” between Didyma and Miletus and were presented separately (Baldus 1996, p. 217-232; Tuchelt 1991, p. 40-50 (summary of the context); Baldus 1989, p. 204-206). The Baldus catalogue contains a total of 2147 coins (Tab. 2).

As the table shows, the coin finds from Didyma (until 1998) were mainly bronze^[14], of which approx. 34% are Greco-Roman coins (727 coins) until AD 260. About 80% come from

[11] Tuchelt 1991, 7; Tuchelt 1973, p. 83-88 (list of gods worshipped at Didyma). In addition to other sanctuaries, the inscriptions also document profane buildings, some of which are connected with the cult practices. For example, a *makellum* and a *basilica* have been recorded, and a thermal bath in the area of the “Sacred Way” is still partly standing today. Whether these belong to the sanctuary or were administered by the settlement mentioned in the written sources since the 1st c. BC cannot be determined with certainty, cf. Bumke 2009, p. 72; Tuchelt 1973, p. 29-31.

[12] “Dieses Defizit kennzeichnet die Zielsetzung der älteren Forschung, die der Architektur des Riesentempels gegolten hatte”, Tuchelt 1991, p. 8.

[13] Baldus 2006. Unfortunately, the publication does not include information on the places where the coins were found or their contexts, nor does it give the diameter or die positions, nor does it refer to groups of coins found together.

[14] The high number of bronze coins corresponds to the range of finds from other excavations. Knapp 2005, 19-21 points out that excavation coins are usually bronze coins, as was the case in Nemea. Silver or gold coins

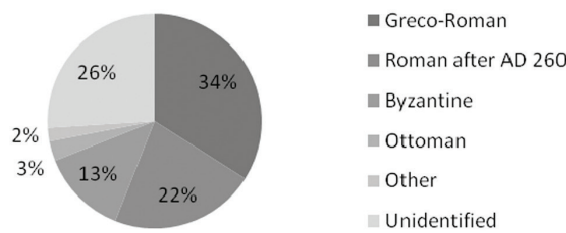


Chart 1 Chronological distribution of the coin finds at Didyma

Miletus (581 coins). Coins after AD 260 account for around 22%, while approximately 13% date from the Byzantine period and approximately 3% from the Ottoman period. Twenty-six percent are listed as unidentified, and approximately 2% can be subsumed under 'other' (Chart 1) (Baldus 2006).

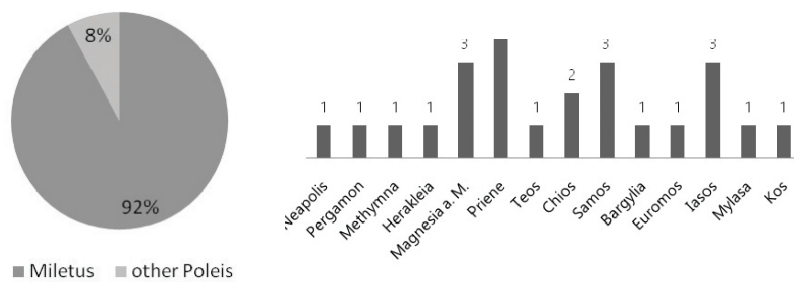
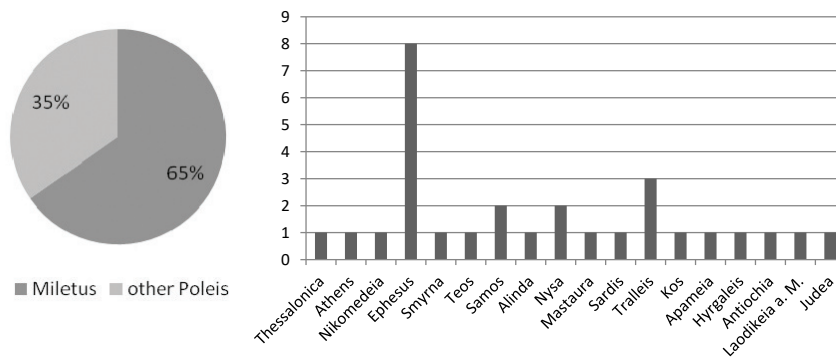


Chart 2-3 – The relative frequency of the Hellenistic coinages

For the Hellenistic period, a few mints other than Miletus are also recorded by Baldus. Except for three outliers, all these coins come from Ionian and Carian cities in the vicinity (Chart 2-3) (Baldus 2006, p. 67 n° 7, p. 11-20, 23, 25-36 & 38). Most cities are located within a radius of 75-100 km with Didyma at the centre (Map 1)^[15]. According to Baldus' dating, most of these coins belong to the 2nd-1st c. BC All non-Milesian coins of this period were found outside the temple in the area of the "Sacred Way" and in the so-called "Western-Excavations".



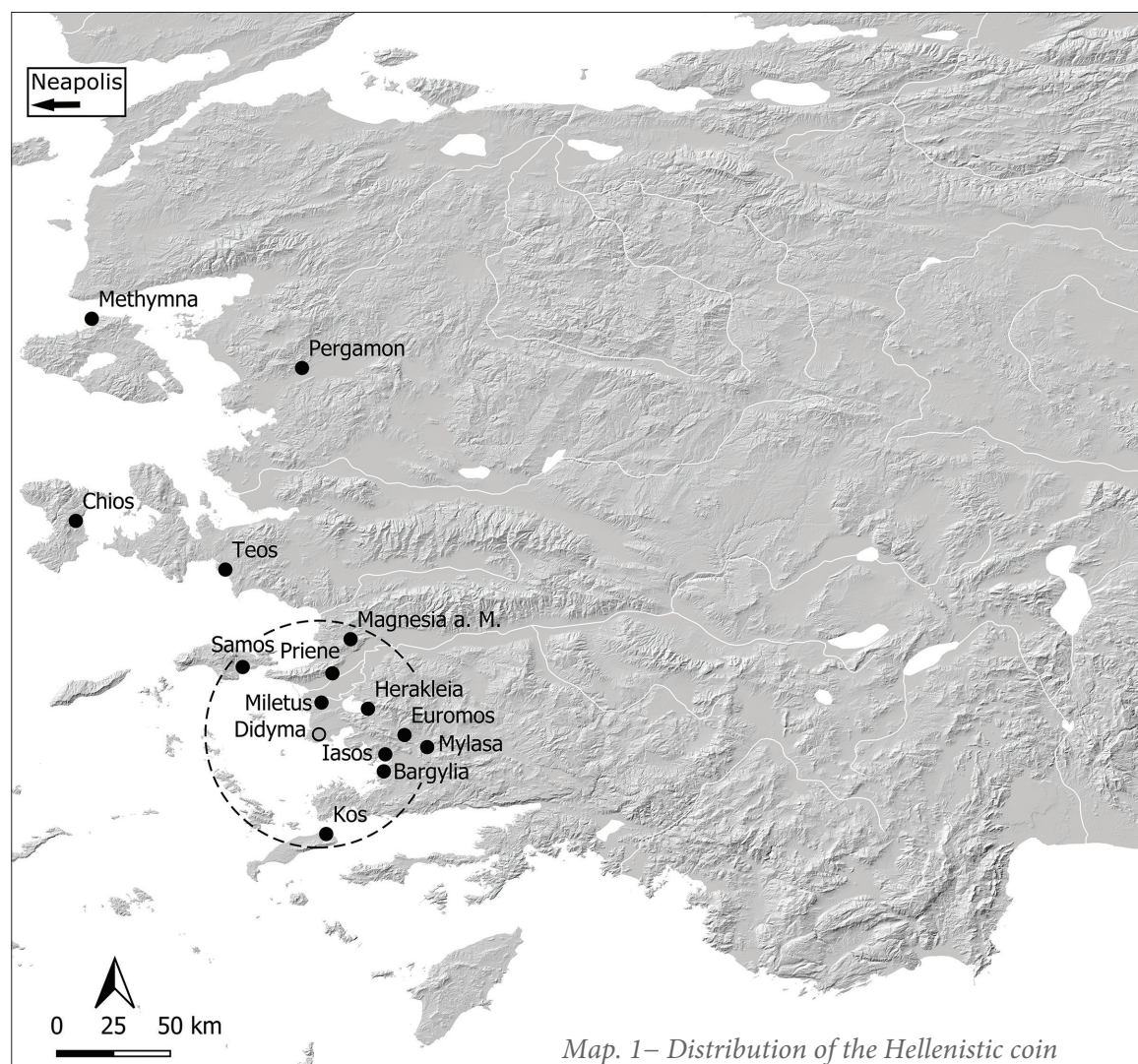
Charts 4-5 – The relative frequency of the Greek imperial coinages

The spectrum of the "Greek Imperials" is somewhat more extensive (with an approx. 200 km radius, Map 2), and the number of foreign versus "local" coins from Miletus is clearly higher than in Hellenistic times (Chart 4-5)^[16]. Ionian cities are represented by Ephesus,

are mostly from hoards. On the circulation of bronze coins, see for example Knapp 2005, p. 36-49.

^[15] Knapp 2005, p. 21 was able to confirm this for Nemea and other places as well. For example, as Knapp explains, most of the coin finds at Priene come from towns within a 100 km radius. In Nemea there are coins from cities within a 75 km radius.

^[16] Just like the Hellenistic coins that came from more distant places, the Greek Imperial coins lying outside the radius could also be related to the fact that Didyma was a famous oracle sanctuary frequented by many



Map. 1– Distribution of the Hellenistic coin finds at Didyma (N. Schwerdt, Halle)

Samos, Smyrna and Teos, and the high number from the capital of the province of Asia is not surprising (Baldus 2006, p. 21 n° 632-639, p. 69). In addition, coins from Caria, Lydia and Phrygia, Bithynia, as well as other cities further west and east, are also represented for the imperial period, albeit mostly by one or two pieces. Most of the coins date from the first half of the 3rd c. AD. Of the non-Milesian coins, all but one were found in the area of the “Sacred Way”.

The number of Roman Imperial coins minted up to AD 260, i.e. until the end of local civic coinages, is relatively low (Chart 6). The earliest coin dates from the reign of Trajan, and subsequent emperors are represented more or less regularly with one coin each (Baldus 2006, p. 24-26 n° 694-726. p. 71). Most of the coins date to the reign of Gordian III (Chart 7). The denominations represented at the site include sestertii (49%), denarii (21%), and radiates (30%). Only five coins were found at the temple, with the majority deriving from excavations on the “Sacred Way”.

visitors, cf. the observations on Nemea by Knapp 2005, p. 44449, where he also refers to the hoard on the “Sacred Way” at Didyma (see above), which is mentioned for comparison. However, this was found far away from the sanctuary, so that in my opinion it should not be considered in this context.

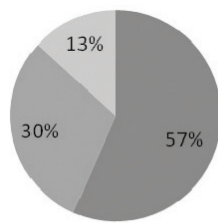
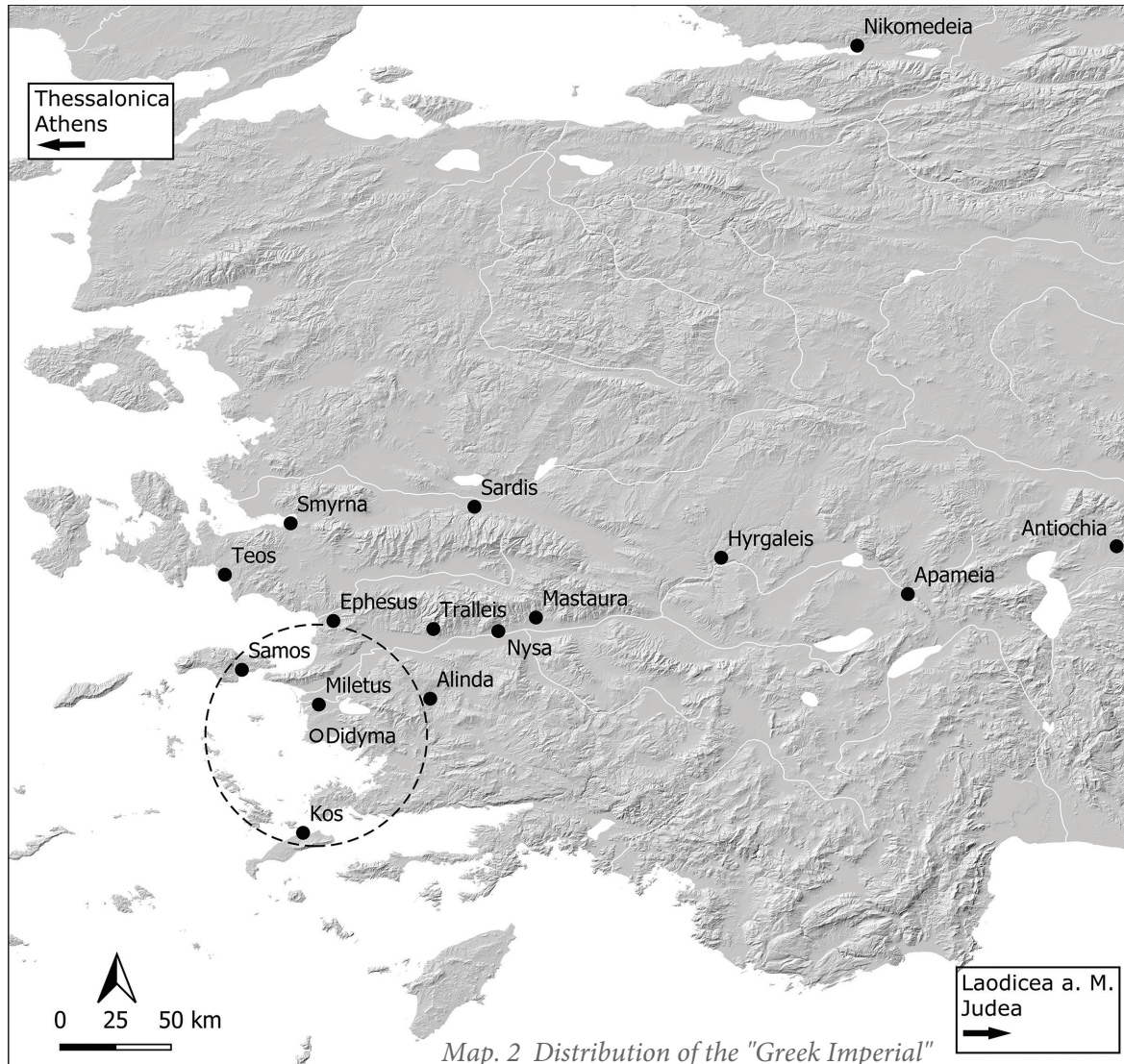


Chart 6 – The relative frequency of "Greek Imperial" and Roman Imperial Coinages until AD 260

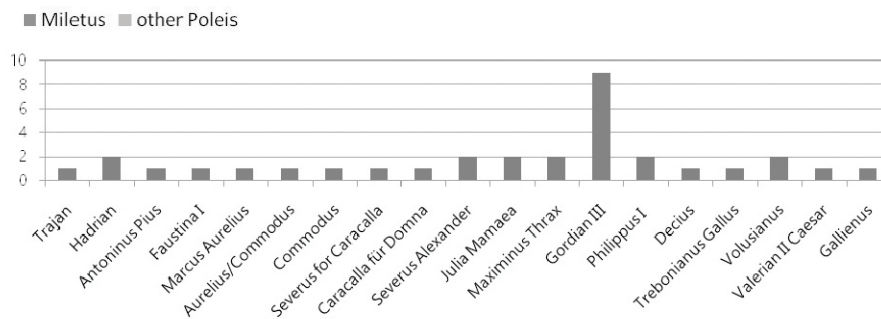


Chart 7 – The relative frequency of the Roman Imperial Coinage, in chronological order

As mentioned above, Baldus' monograph does not include a hoard found at the so-called Temenos on the "Sacred Way", which contains 88 coins (+2 later specimens found nearby)^[17]. According Baldus' 2006 publication, the Tuchelt database contains 45 more coins for the years 1999-2001^[18]. In addition, there are another 241 coins that have been found in Didyma to the present date, making a total of 2523 coins from the site^[19]. The coin finds made since Baldus' publication fit into the known spectrum: the coins of Miletus remain dominant, and coins struck after AD 260 make up the majority of finds.^[20]

3. THE COIN FINDS FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

While most of the coins at Didyma were found in the "normal" way (i.e. within layers of soil), the find contexts of the coins discovered during the conservation and restoration activities at the Temple of Apollo can be described as special. Bronze coins have been revealed during the removal and restoration of loose or broken profiles of column bases, beneath chipped plinth edges, and under chipped wall blocks, with 107 specimens (2%) discovered in this way at the temple between 1993 and the present day. Most of the coins were found under the bases and plinths of the front columns of the temple, and two more turned up between ashlar wall blocks of the southern wall of the *adyton* inside the *sekos*. The coins date from Hellenistic to Byzantine times, with almost half of them dating to the Hellenistic period (Chart 8).

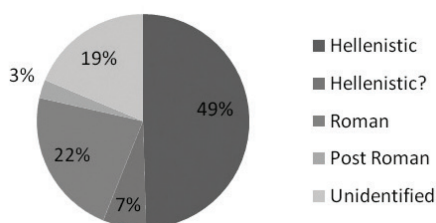


Chart 8 – Chronological distribution of the coins found at the Apollo Temple

The 52 Hellenistic coins that can be identified with certainty are all from Miletus^[21]. The Roman coins can be divided into 19 Greek Imperial and five Roman Imperial specimens, and with one exception (Smyrna) are again all from Miletus. Three Byzantine coins were also found (Plan 1)^[22].

^[17] Baldus 1989, p. 204-206; Baldus 1996, p. 217-222. Knapp 2005, p. 38. 45-46 argues rather for Baldus' thesis that it is the content of a purse rather than that the coins were deposited there by different individuals over time. The geographical distribution of the Hellenistic bronze coins found in this hoard differs from that found elsewhere in the sanctuary. Many of the coins come from cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, from Cyzicus in the north to Perge in the south. This hoard will be discussed separately in connection with the coins found outside the temple.

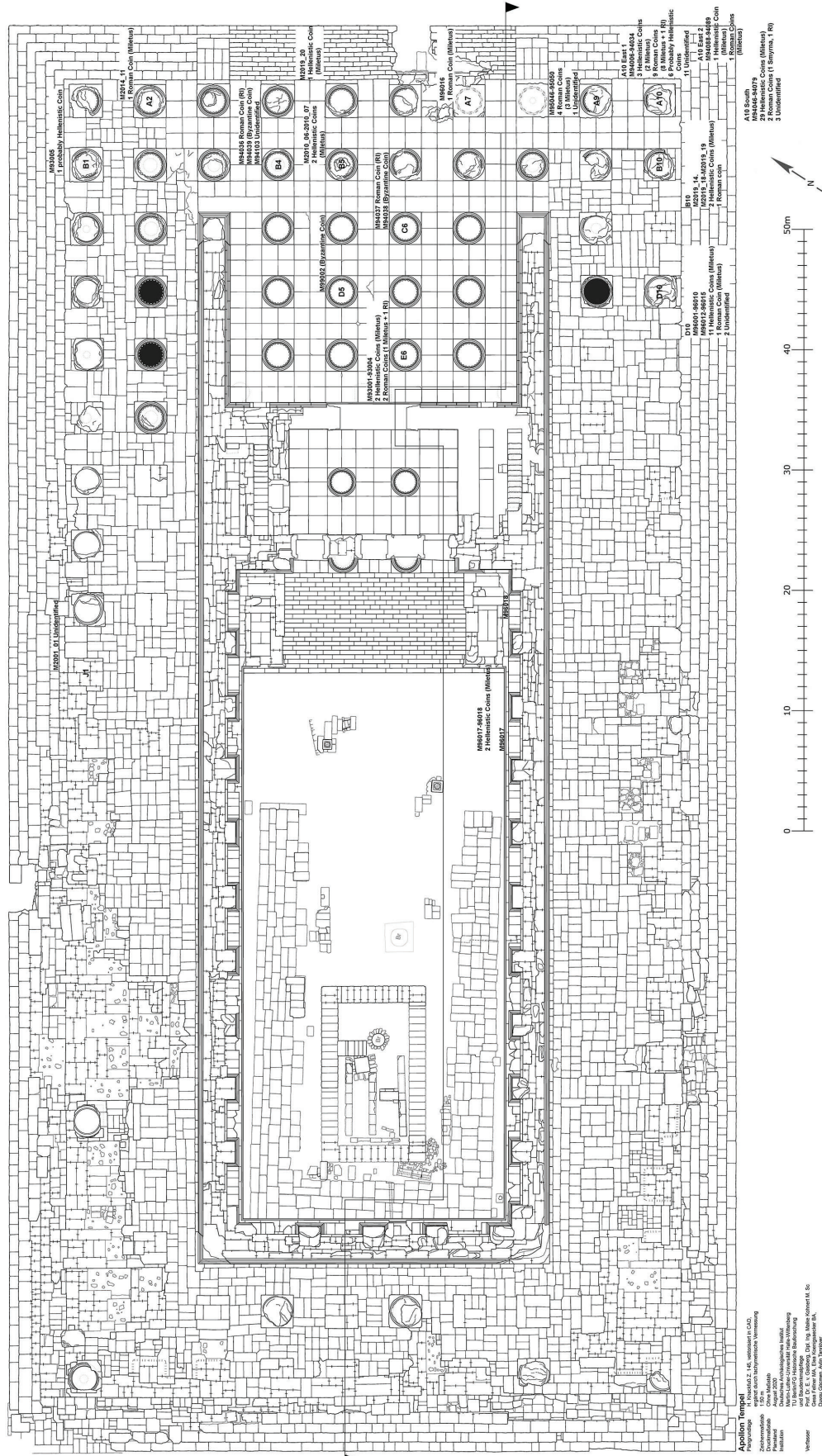
^[18] Except for three coins, which were found at the temple, all the coins come from the area of the "Sacred Way".

^[19] Five coins were found at the temple and the rest during excavations at the so called Taxiarchis Hill, at the theatre, at the Hagios Georgios chapel, and behind the mosque. The coins found after 1998 (not included in Baldus) will be published in another paper.

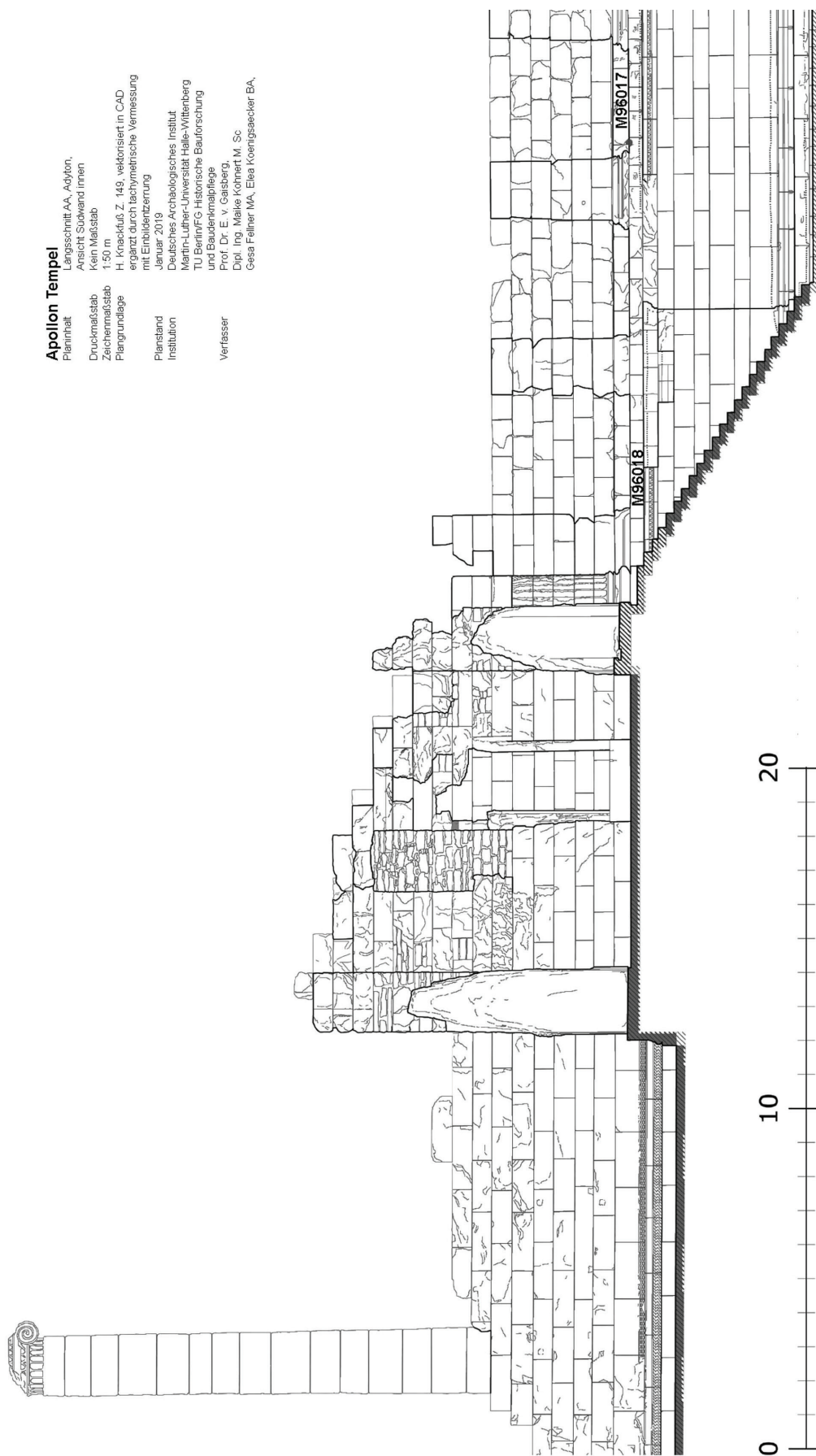
^[20] An exception to this is a "modern hoard", which was found in 2017 during the restoration of the surrounding wall of the temple area in the southeast. The hoard consists of 96 bronze coins and will be discussed elsewhere.

^[21] There are eight more coins, which Baldus has assigned as possibly Hellenistic: Baldus 2006 No. 1666-1668. 1675-1676. 1679. 1682-1683).

^[22] Of the 20 unidentified coins, eleven come from the joint on the east side and three from the joint on the south side of column A10. One coin was found between the spira and torus of column B4. One was found in an elongated cavity in the foundation of the plinth of column A9 (together with coins M95046 and 95048). Two of the coins from the joint between the plinth foundation and the first step on the south side of D10



Plan 1 – Plan of the Apollo Temple with all coin finds
 (© German Archaeological Institute)



Apollo Tempel

Langsschnitt AA, Adyton,
Ansicht Südwall innen
Kein Maßstab
Druckmaßstab
Zeichenmaßstab
Plangrundlage
H. Knackfuß Z. 149, rekonstruiert in CAD
ergänzt durch tachymetrische Vermessung
mit Einbildentzerrung
Januar 2019
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg
TU Berlin/FG Historische Bauforschung
und Baudenkmalpflege
Prof. Dr. E. v. Gaisberg,
Dipl. Ing. Malke Kohnert M. Sc
Ges. Falter MA, Elea Koenigsaecker BA,

Plan 2 – Cross section of the south side of the Apollo Temple with the two coin findings between the wall blocks (© German Archaeological Institute)

The coins found at the temple can be divided into 1) intentionally deposited coins^[23] and 2) accidentally lost coins. In the case of the intentionally deposited coins, it is important to establish whether they were put in place before or during the erection of a building element, possibly as a sacrifice during construction, or afterwards as a votive offering or some kind of lucky charm^[24].

4. INTENTIONALLY DEPOSITED COINS DURING CONSTRUCTION PERIODS^[25]

For seven Hellenistic and three Roman coins a deposition during construction seems possible. These include the coins that were found between ashlar blocks of the southern inner wall of the *adyton*^[26]. One was found in the first niche counting from the east above the entrance of the south tunnel (M96018)^[27], and another (M96017) was found in the third niche below the first course of stone of the upper wall section (Plan 2). The latter was located at the first vertical joint of the second course and about 1 cm deep into the wall (Fig. 1). This second course of ashlar is about 6 m high up in the wall, so that the coin could hardly have been deposited there in later times. Baldus dates the Milesian coin (M96018) to the Hellenistic period, although he does not rule out a dating into the 2nd c. BC (170-150 BC) due to a possible wreath on the reverse (Baldus 2006, p. 13 n° 381). On the second coin from the third niche a wreath is visible, so that this Milesian coin can safely be dated to the 2nd c. BC (170-150 BC)^[28].



Fig. 1 – South Wall of the Adyton, showing the find context of coin M96017 (© German Archaeological Institute)

could also not be identified (M96005–06) as well as a coin between the torus and spira of column C6. In addition there is a coin at column J1 for which no information is available.

^[23] This means deliberately deposited coins without the intention of recovery. In the context of the temple, the deposition could have been based on a ritual (ritual deposition), but this cannot be proven.

^[24] On the terminology cf. Thüry 2016, p. 5 Tab. 2, p. 160-163 differentiated between hoard finds, dedicatory finds, building (?) – and ship finds, funerary finds, single finds, and secondary finds. Most of the coin finds in the *Didymaion* belong to the category of dedicatory finds, which Thüry in turn divides into different subcategories, cf. Thüry 2016, p. 37-83. For building offerings and foundation deposits, see also Müller-Zeis 1989; Weikart 2002.

^[25] The description is deliberately neutral. The coins deposited at the *Didymaion* during the construction period can be described as “construction accompanying sacrifices”, which were offered privately and not officially, cf. Müller-Zeis 1989, p. 18-19. Coins in architectural contexts may have been deposited for various reasons. Official building offerings, official and private votive offerings, and also lucky charms etc. are possible. The problem is how to identify them as such.

^[26] Coin finds in walls are common. Knapp 2005, p. 22 describes a coin from the wall of the so-called Xenon in Nemea as a “foundation deposit/good-luck charm”. There the coin, a posthumous issue of Philip II, dates the building to the late 4th c. BC. Even if the reasons or occasions for depositing coins in walls cannot always be ascertained with certainty, it can be assumed that they “have exercised a function in the ritual sphere”, Krmnicek 2019, p. 79-81 (quote 80).

^[27] The database does not provide more detailed information on the circumstances of the find.

^[28] Baldus 2006, p. 10 n° 249. The dating of these coins is apparently according to Deppert-Lippitz 1984 and is stated by Baldus 2006, p. 8 as 175-125 BC. The dating of the Milesian coins by Deppert-Lippitz 1984



◀ Fig. 2 – Column B5, showing the find context of coin M2010_06-07 between spira and plinth
(© German Archaeological Institute)

Fig. 3 – Column B5, showing the find context of coin M2010_06-07 between spira and plinth, Detail ▶
(© German Archaeological Institute)



◀ Fig. 4 – Reverse of coin M2010-06
(© German Archaeological Institute)

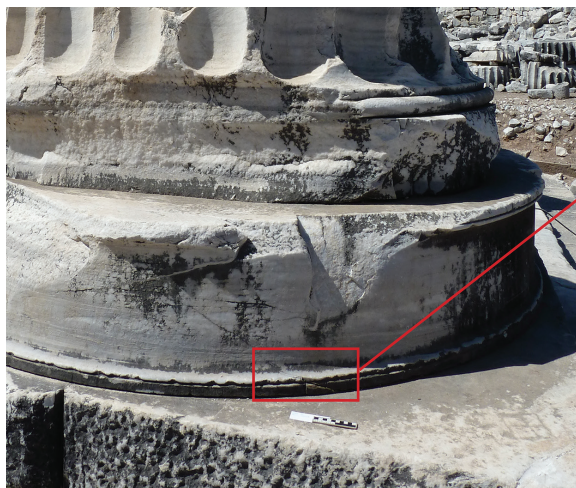


Fig. 5 – Column A2, showing the find context of coin M2014_11 between Spira and Plinth
(© German Archaeological Institute)

Fortunately, a number of building inscriptions have been preserved for the Hellenistic *Didymaion* which allow us to date some construction phases of the huge temple relatively accurately. There are construction reports for the period between 230/25 BC and about 125 BC, but no information is available for the remaining 375 years (within 500 years of construction

was revised by Kinns in 1986. At the same time he proposed a new chronology, which is still valid today. Marcellesi 2004 has assumed the dating of Kinns. The “wreath coins” today are dated around 170-150 BC, cf. Deppert-Lippitz 1984, p. 117. 186-192 n° 766-924; Kinns 1986, p. 259; Marcellesi 2004, p. 125. 182 n° 49.

activity)^[29]. According to the documents, the *sekos* was built first and was followed in a second stage by the *dodecastylos* as well as the *peristasis*, although the latter could never be completed. From the earliest preserved building reports, we learn that in the years 225/4 BC stone blocks between the 12th and 14th wall layer of the *sekos* were moved. Although it was not possible to determine how long the temple was already under construction (Prignitz 2019, p. 17-22), it was possible to precisely date the completion of the *sekos* to around 170 BC (Prignitz 2019, p. 23-27). The coin in the third niche (M96017) was found under the first isodomic wall layer, which according to the epigraphic sources must have been built before 225/4 BC, because in that year blocks twelve courses higher were being moved. However, this contradicts the dating of the Milesian coin, which is traditionally dated between 170-150 BC. However, since the walls of the *sekos* were smoothed around 174 BC (Document E 245, cf. Prignitz 2019, p. 24), the coin could also have been deposited in the wall during this process. It is conceivable that a stonemason deposited the coin there as a lucky charm or votive for Apollo. If, however, the coin had already been deposited there during construction, this would make it necessary to date the “wreath” coins of Miletus 100 years earlier. Nevertheless, in view of the findings (smoothing approx. 174 BC), redating the Milesian coins by several decades (before 170 BC) could be considered.

The two coins at column B5 (Plan 1), which came to light during the removal of a loosened spira fragment, can also be assumed to have been deposited there during the construction period. They were located under the column approx. 15 cm from the spira edge, so that a later deposition seems unlikely (Fig. 2-3)^[30]. Both coins (M2010-06-07) are again Milesian, dated around 170-150 BC due to the wreath on the reverse, which can certainly be recognised on at least one of the coins (Fig. 4). As mentioned above, the *sekos* was completed around 174 BC. Afterwards – around 160 BC, according to the building reports – the columns of the *dodecastylos* were erected^[31], followed by at least some columns of the inner row of the *peristasis*^[32]. The investigations of the marble used at the *Didymaion*, which also allow statements about the construction process and the chronology of the temple, support this dating (Borg 2001 *passim*). As a further source, the coin find under the spira of column B5 can now be cited, because both coins date from the 2nd c. BC (170-150 BC) and were therefore most likely deposited here (for Apollo) during construction.

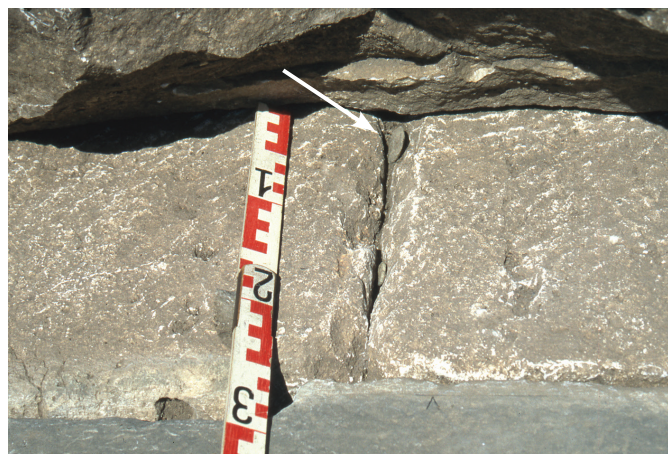
In 2014 a coin was found between the spira and plinth at column A2 (Plan 1, Fig. 5), which is a Milesian coin of the 1st c. AD. It is not possible to decide with certainty whether the coin

^[29] For the building reports compare recently Prignitz 2019, p. 5-8, who lists text documents about the building process that go beyond the building reports. I would like to thank Sebastian Prignitz for his helpful comments regarding the building inscriptions.

^[30] In Aphrodisias two *centenionales* of Arcadius were found under a column of the *tetrapylon*, which were deposited there during the renovation of the gate, cf. Thüry 2016, p. 49, who refers to this find as a building offering. This is the only coin deposited under a column in a (semi-)sacred context known to me. In Kalapodi a coin was found in the foundation of one of the cella columns, cf. Thüry 2016, p. 50; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 65.

^[31] Haselberger 1996, p. 154 assumes that the walls and the marble ceiling of the *dodecastylos* have also been built at this time. According to the building reports also marble slabs of the stylobate (probably for the *dodecastylos*) were at least produced. Voigtländer 1975, p. 32. 74 assumes that some columns of the *dodecastylos* were already built in the 230s, which according to Prignitz (*pers. comm.*) is rather unlikely.

^[32] Cf. Prignitz 2019, p. 28-29 & 32-33; Steuernagel 2008, p. 126; Gliwitzky 2005, p. 97; Borg 2001, p. 89-93, who states that first the inner columns of the *peristasis* in the east, then some columns in the north and south and finally a few columns of the west side were built in Hellenistic times. The columns of the outer *peristasis*, on the other hand, date from the imperial period, see below.



▲ Fig. 7 – Column A9, showing the find context of coins M95049–95050 in a vertical joint of the substructure. (© German Archaeological Institute)

◀ Fig. 6 – Column A9, showing the find context of coins M95046–95048 in an elongated mortise. (© German Archaeological Institute)

was deposited during the construction of the column or afterwards, as it was placed relatively close to the edge of the spira.

The findings for column A9 seem more secure (Plan 1). There, a total of five coins were found under the marble plinth, three of them side by side in an elongated “mortise”^[33] (Fig. 6) and two more in a vertical joint of the substructure (Fig. 7). Of the coins from the mortise, two are certainly from Miletus, one probably dates back to the time of Antoninus Pius, and for the other Baldus only gives a time range from the 1st to the 3rd c. AD; the third coin is undefined (Baldus 2006, n° 630. 692. 1687). The two pieces from the vertical joint are a Milesian coin of Trajan and a coin of Antoninus Pius, which, however, cannot be assigned to any city (Baldus 2006, n° 549. 658). It is highly probable that all the coins were deposited before the plinth was placed, which, according to the coins, happened during the Roman Imperial period. This coincides with the common opinion that the columns of the outer *peristasis*, in contrast to the columns of the *dodecastylos* and the inner *peristasis*, were erected only in the Roman Imperial period (Steuernagel 2008, p. 126; Gliwitzky 2005, p. 97; Borg 2001, 99-100; Pülz 1989, p. 12; Voigtländer 1975, 124-125). This is indicated by the building decoration of the elaborately executed bases of the front columns (Pülz 1989, p. 17-46; Gliwitzky 2005, p. 102-106), the capitals^[34], and the Medusa frieze (Pülz 1989, p. 52-64) above the architrave, and also the marble used in its construction^[35]. There is only disagreement as to whether this step was taken in the 1st c. (reign of Caligula) (for example Gliwitzky 2005) or/ and in the 2nd c. AD (reign of Trajan and Hadrian) (Pülz 1989 and Steuernagel 2008, p. 127-128). Epigraphic, numismatic, and literary evidence speaks for the 1st c. AD, specifically the reign of Emperor Caligula (recently Günther 2012; Steuernagel 2008, 126-127; Gliwitzky

^[33] In the diary the cavity is called a mortise, Tuchelt Diary 1995, p. 2955, 3080 & 3081.

^[34] Cf. Pülz 1989, p. 15-17 on the ionic capitals, p. 47-52 on the figural capitals, which he dates to the Hadrianic era. Current opinion dates them to the Antonine period.

^[35] During the imperial period, Prokonnesian marble was used for the first time in the further construction of the *Didymaion*, Borg 2001, p. 98-101.

2005, p. 99). Apparently, after Augustus in Pergamon and Tiberius in Smyrna had received (divine) honours, the emperor wanted to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, and is said to have chosen the *Didymaion*, in which he wanted to be worshipped alongside Apollo as Synnaos Theos. Even if his wish could not be realised due to his short reign, it seems very likely from the sources that he financially supported building activities at the temple (Günther 2012; Gliwitzky 2005, p. 99-100 ; Burrell 2004, 55-58). For some scholars, the architectural decoration of the bases of the front columns also dates back to the 1st c. AD^[36], while others date them to the time of Hadrian^[37]; the architrave and Medusa frieze are dated to the 2nd c. AD, but rather to the Antonine period^[38]. The figural capitals on the corners of the eastern front of the temple certainly belong to this period^[39]. The fact that the front was raised in one go, i.e. the columns were clamped to the entablature to create stability, seems to have a lot to offer. This would indicate (due to the architrave as well as the figural capitals) a more intensive building activity in the second half of the 2nd c. AD and later. The coin finds under the plinth of column A9 support this chronological approach, since at least the plinth seems to have been positioned only in the second half of the 2nd c. AD.

Also under the plinth of column B1, a coin was found after the removal of a chipped plinth fragment on the northern side, which most likely had been deposited there before the plinth was placed (Plan 1, Fig. 8). The coin is in a very poor condition, and could only be dated by Baldus as “probably Hellenistic” (Baldus 2006, p. 59 n° 1666). Column B1 belongs to the outer *peristasis* and was therefore only erected in the Roman Imperial period, which is also indicated by the use of Prokonnesian marble (Borg 2001, p. 98-101, Plate 28). In this case, if the dating is correct, one has reverted to an old coin (possibly still in circulation) for

[36] Cf. Gliwitzky 2005, p. 102-106, who takes bases 3 (= A7) and 7 (= A4) from the south and links them to works that make a Caligulaean dating probable, contrary to the Hadrianic dating suggested by Pülz. However, since the elements of the entablature certainly date to the 2nd c. AD, he admits that the positioning of the bases may have occurred later together with the entablature. According to Pülz 1989, p. 12-15, this contradicts the building process, according to which first the bases and columns were erected and then worked out from top to bottom in order to prevent damage to already erected building elements. For a contrasting opinion, see Gliwitzky 2005, p. 101. Voigtländer 1975, p. 81 describes the completion of the bases as the last working step. The latter dates the bases to the period between Augustus and Trajan, see Voigtländer 1975, p. 126-131. On the working sequence see also Rumscheid 1994, p. 337-339. Capitals were prefabricated on the ground and then positioned.

[37] Cf. Pülz 1989, p. 15-17, for whom the capitals are the most important dating criterion. His dating to the early 2nd c. AD is based on the arrow-shaped design of the leaves of the *cymation*. However, this design has been documented elsewhere, including in Miletus, at an earlier date, so can be ruled out as a primary dating factor; see Steuernagel 2008, p. 127 fn 23; Köster 2004, p. 51-53; Rumscheid 1994, p. 257-258. After dating the capitals to the early 2nd c. AD, Pülz dates the other architectural elements to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period based on their decoration, compared with other buildings. Epigraphically, there is no evidence of building activities by other emperors after Caligula. Trajan contributed to the expansion of the “Sacred Way”, was a prophet and *Stephanephor*, Hadrian was an *Aisymnetes* and also a prophet of the god. The offices were surely connected with larger expenses, but we cannot be certain of whether these were for the temple. There are no other sources about imperial involvements, cf. Pülz 1989, p. 10-11; Voigtländer 1975, p. 129-130. In my opinion, the renaming of the *Didymaia* to *Commodeia* could indicate an engagement of also this emperor in Didyma. The renaming is dated around AD 177, see Hermann 1975, p. 149-166.

[38] Pülz 1989, p. 52-64 (Hadrianic era); Voigtländer 1975, p. 131-134 dates the frieze to the Antonine period and assumes that the ceiling of the outer *peristasis* in the east was only built afterwards, and that the work continued into the 3rd c. AD.

[39] Pülz 1989, p. 47-52; Voigtländer 1975, p. 131 dates them to the Hadrianic/early Antonine period; Tuchelt 1973, p. 109-111 agrees with an early Antonine dating and assumes building activity up until the second half of the 3rd c. AD (with reference to Knackfuß 1941, p. 41).

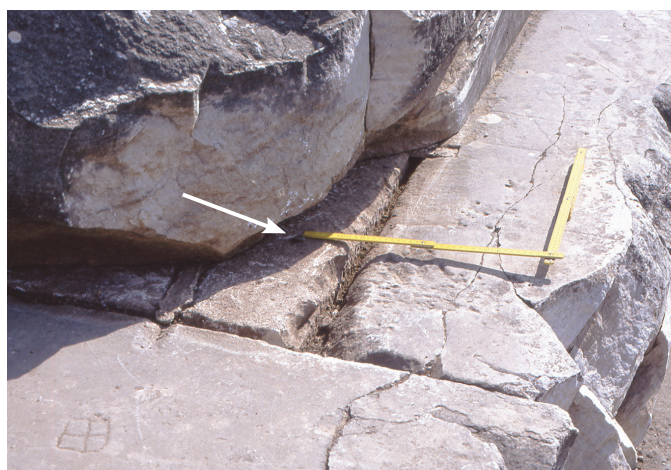


Fig. 8 – Column B1, showing the find context of coin M93005 under the plinth. (© German Archaeological Institute)



Fig. 9 – Column E6, showing the find context of coins M93001–93002 between spira and plinth. (© German Archaeological Institute)

deposition. This could be an indication of how long the coins remained in circulation (Cf. Knapp 2005, p. 21).

5. INTENTIONALLY DEPOSITED COINS AFTER THE CONSTRUCTION PERIOD

The following coin finds were most likely deposited after, rather than during, the construction period. These include three coins recovered between spira and plinth at column E6 in the dodecastylos (Plan 1). According to diary notes, two of the coins (M93001–2) were found in a “cavity of about $\frac{3}{4}$ hand depth” between the plinth and the spira and were firmly bonded to the stone (Fig. 9) (Tuchelt Diary 1993, p. 2601-2603). The third coin (M93003) lay a little further east “in loose dark brown soil with root remains”; some sherds came to light to the south of it.^[40] While the Milesian coins, found only 9 cm from the spira edge, date to the 2nd c. BC (“wreath coins”), the coin of Miletus deposited further east belongs to the time of Nero (Baldus 2006, p. 9, n^{os} 218-219; p. 16 n^o 516). As explained above, the columns of the *dodecastylos* were already erected in Hellenistic times, but the coin of Nero could not have been deposited there before the 1st c. AD. For the two Hellenistic coins we cannot be certain that they were not deposited during the construction period, although the diary would seem to negate this. The three coins between spira and torus of column B4 were also deposited later

^[40] Cf. Tuchelt Diary 1993, p. 2601-2603. Unfortunately, there is no further information about the sherds. According to his description, the coins were found “deeper” under the base, but according to the sketch and the photos this cannot be true. The third coin was found very close to the edge.

(Plan 1). While M94103 cannot be identified, M94036 is a sestertius of Maximinus Thrax and M94039 is a Byzantine coin of the mid-7th c. AD (Baldus 2006, p. 25, n° 709; p. 51, n° 1439; p. 59, n° 1685). The column belongs to the inner *peristasis* in the east and was erected in Hellenistic times. While the coin of Maximinus Thrax was deposited when the cult was still operating in its usual way, this is not the case for the Byzantine coin. At that time, as mentioned above, the temple front was closed off by a wall, the two-columned hall was now reached by a staircase, and the *adyton* contained a church. It is certain that the coin was deliberately pushed under the torus, but probably with a different intention – whether as a votive (for whom?), a lucky charm, or some other pastime.

Three coins found between the spira and torus of column C6 (Plan 1) could also only have been deposited there afterwards, since they date significantly later than the erection of the column. The coins include a radiate of Gallienus and a 40 *nummi* piece of Heraclius (Baldus 2006, p. 27, n° 757; p. 48, n° 1366); the third coin could not be identified. Another coin from the 7th c. AD was found between the spira and torus of column D5, also in the *dodecastylos*. The fact that all three Byzantine coins were found in this part of the temple, which at that time was closed off by a wall, is striking and certainly not a coincidence. The findings show at least that the *dodecastylos* was accessible and people could sojourn.

6. LOST (?) COINS

In the following, the circumstances of the possibly “lost” coins will be considered. Before discussing the striking concentration of coins in the south-east corner, the context of three individual coins shall be assessed. While the sestertius of Faustina I at column E6 (Baldus 2006, p. 24, n° 698), which was recovered wedged between the plinth and the floor slab (Plan 1, Fig. 10), has most probably been lost, a similar status cannot be decided with certainty for the Milesian coin of Marcus Aurelius at column A7 (Plan 1) (Baldus 2006, p. 18, n° 579). The latter piece was found in the vertical joint between the plinth base and the stylobate on the south side.^[41] According to the photograph of the findspot (Fig.11), the plinth block protrudes a few centimetres above the joint, so that a deposition (thus probably during construction) cannot be completely excluded. The same probably applies for coin M2019–20, which was



▲ Fig. 11 – Column A7, showing the find context of coin M96016 in the vertical joint between the plinth base and the stylobate.

(© German Archaeological Institute)

◀ Fig. 10 – Column E6, showing the find context of coin M93004, wedged between the plinth and the floor slab.

(© German Archaeological Institute)

^[41] These are the data in Tuchelt's database and in L. Haselberger's report for 1996.



Fig. 12 – Colum A10 after restoration; the findspots of the numerous coins have been marked (© German Archaeological Institute)

recovered under the second step of the staircase in the east at the level of columns A5 and A6. It is a Milesian coin dating from the 2nd c. BC. From a chronological point of view, the coin could also have been deposited there during construction, but it could just as well have simply been lost.

Eighty-two of the 107 coins at the temple were found at the south-east corner, mostly during the restoration of column A10 in 1994 (Plan 1). The restoration was necessary because of a fig tree growth between the stylobate and the first step, which pushed the steps apart (Tuchelt 1995, p. 84, Fig. 11-12). After removing the loose fragments, 34 coins were uncovered on the south side and 29 more on the east side (Fig. 12). Another two coins were found under the second step on the east side. As the Chart shows (Chart 9), the coins from the deposit on the east side are less well preserved. Eleven could not be identified, and six could only be dated as possibly Hellenistic. Six of the nine Roman coins date to the 1st c. AD, and the remaining three belong to the 2nd c. AD. Apart from one Roman Imperial coin, all of the Roman coins are Milesian. The deposit on the south side is better preserved and more homogenous: 25 of the 34 coins are Milesian and date to between 170-150 BC. Three coins can only roughly be dated to the 3rd/2nd c. BC, but all are Milesian. One Milesian coin dates to the 1st c. BC. Of the two Roman coins of the 3rd c. AD, one is a Roman Imperial coin and the other is from Smyrna.

In the joint between the plinth substructure and the uppermost stylobate step of column D10 (Plan 1), a total of 14 coins were recovered, eleven of which date to the Hellenistic period and one to the 1st c. AD; two could not be identified (M96001–96010.96012–96013). These coins are also all Milesian. At column B10, during the cleaning of the joint between the plinth substructure and the uppermost stylobate step, three more coins were found (Plan 1), two of which date back to the Hellenistic (Miletus) and one to the Roman Imperial period. Fifty-two of the 82 coins at columns A10, B10, and D10 date to the Hellenistic period, 14 to the Roman period, and 16 could not be identified. Twenty-seven of the Hellenistic coins, 26 of which

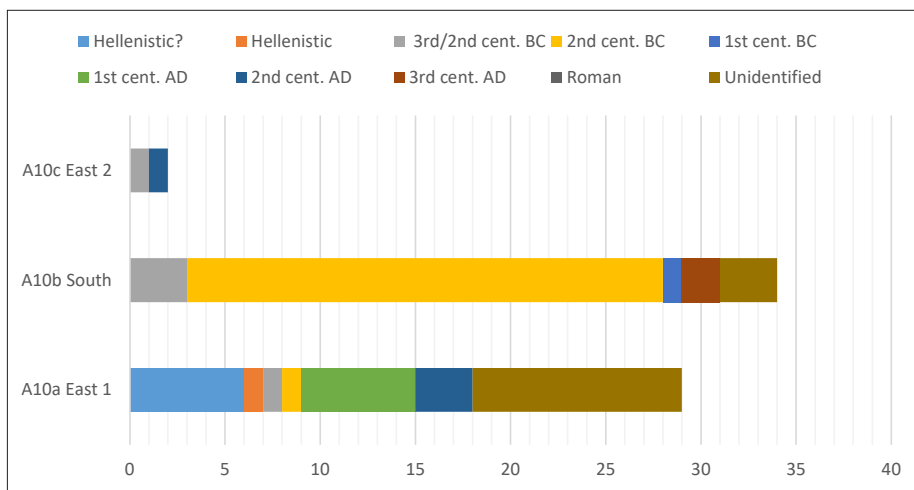


Chart 9 – Coin finds at column A10

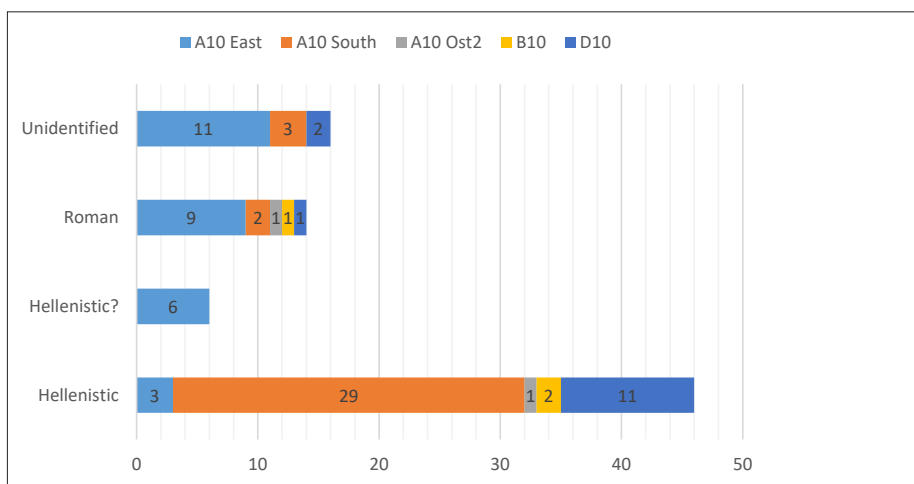


Chart 10 – Coin finds from the south-east corner of the Temple of Apollo

come from column A10, date to the 2nd c. BC, more precisely from 170-150 BC (“wreath coins”). All coins, with the exception of two Roman Imperial coins and a coin from Smyrna, are exclusively from Miletus (Chart 10).

In the case of the Hellenistic coins, it must be noted that they were “lost” at a time when these columns were not yet standing. However, the foundation – including the substructure of the stylobate for the future columns, as well as the steps on the south and east side – had already been completed in the 2nd c. BC^[42]. The question, therefore, is why such a high number of coins were “lost” on the south/south-east side of the temple? The steps on the south side of the temple have been used since Hellenistic times as seating for the stadium, which was

^[42] The steps of the temple were only added to the substructure of the stylobate in a second phase, see Haselberger 1996, p. 154-156; 168-170 & 173-174. First the steps at the front were added to the substructure, then those in the south. Cf. also Rehm 1958, p. 93-97, who was able to determine a sequence from the placing of the “supplier marks” (or slave owners?). Finally, according to building report No. 42, the steps on the west side (in the 160s AD) were added, as Haselberger plausibly explained in 1996. On the new dating of the building reports, see Prignitz 2019, p. 28-29.

built there during this period as part of the establishment of the penteteric Didymaia^[43]. On the opposite side, in extension of the terrace wall, a few steps of the former tribune are still preserved (Knackfuß 1941, p. 140-141; Rehm 1958, p. 97). The starting device is to the east. On the steps of the temple there are *topos* inscriptions, which become more frequent from west to east and are most common at the south-east corner of the temple^[44]. The fact that the names are concentrated on the south-east corner is certainly related to the position of the starting device located on this side, which made it possible for the visitors to watch the start and the finish of the race from the best seats^[45]. A connection between the great number of coins found on the south side of the temple and the stadium seems quite plausible^[46]. As noted above, in Hellenistic times, only the inner columns of the *peristasis* in the east were built, and some columns were erected in the south (max. 6), north (11), and west (4) during this period. The very few columns of the outer *peristasis* were only added in imperial times, and the stylobate on the south side therefore offered a lot of space for the placement of wooden installations during the great games^[47]. This in turn provided opportunities to “lose” money.

Furthermore, coins could be connected to the numerous game boards scratched into the stylobate, which are particularly common at the south-east corner^[48]. It is possible that one or more coins may have been lost here during a game, perhaps having been used as substitutes for a token or knucklebone. However, the much larger proportions of Hellenistic coins makes it difficult to establish a connection, as the boards date back to the Roman Imperial era^[49].

[43] For the stadium see Knackfuß 1941, p. 140-141. Z618. 619. 638 & F627; Tuchelt 2000, p. 352-356, who argues against a stadium in favour of a *dromos*, which could be used for processions as well as for a race track; cf. Tuchelt Herda 2006, p. 362-363. For the games cf. Günther 1971, p. 37 with notes. 71. 100-109; Herda 2006, p. 179-211.

[44] Cf. Rehm 1958, p. 97-98. 101-103; Tuchelt 2000, p. 354-355, who mentions in note 155 the coin finds at column A10. Most of the inscriptions are found on the two lower steps, which were naturally the most popular. In addition to individual names, professions are also listed. According to Rehm 1958, p. 103 only two names allow dating, referring to the 1st c. AD. The group of Τιβέριοι is to be connected with worshippers of the emperor, so chronologically we are again in the 1st c. AD. The *topos* inscriptions of Miletus are being restudied in the context of a doctoral thesis by L. Osthof (University of Hamburg).

[45] It is interesting and certainly not by accident that the starting device is located on an axis with the so-called altar in the east of the temple (round building), cf. Knackfuß 1941, p. 141; Herda 2006, p. 356-370.

[46] In an inscription, a *thesauros* for the *Didymaion* is mentioned, which was established by a college of the *hieropoioi* in the early 2nd c. BC, cf. Rehm 1958, p. 247, n° 418. Tuchelt 1973, p. 40-42, 103 suspects this *thesauros* in the *adyton* or *prodomos* and connects it with the obtaining of oracles. Since *thesauroi* should be lockable, the joints between the steps or between steps and substructure should be ruled out as official *thesauroi*. For *thesauroi* see *ThesCra* IV (2005) s.v. *Thesauros*, p. 123-125 (U. Sinn); Kaminski 1991, p. 63-181 (cf. p. 89, 111. 121 f. for the *thesauros* in Didyma); *RE* VI A1 (1936) s.v. Θεσαυρός (L. Ziehen) p. 1-7.

[47] Cf. Voigtländer 1975, p. 125, who, however, argues that the stadium was the reason why no further columns were built on the south side, which is probably not correct.

[48] Cf. Höckmann 1996, p. 251-262, Fig. 1, who notes that the games were only incised in those parts of the temple that could be completed over the time.

[49] Cf. Höckmann 1996, p. 257-262, who suggests a connection between games with wheel patterns and informal astragal oracles, which flourished in the 2nd c. AD., cf. versus Höckmann Nollé 2007, 12. In Tuchelt's diary there is a note by Haselberger (via W. Hacker), who would like to see the numerous coins also connected with (modern) games. A possible game would be “*Pfennigfuchser*”, where you have to throw a coin as close as possible to the target: see Tuchelt Diary 1995, 3080 (Didyma Archive) about the coin finds at column A9. Haselberger sees this connection confirmed by a die found together with the coins at column D10: see L. Haselberger, report of the work in 1996 (Didyma Archive).

In any case, for the coins at the south-east corner of the temple, it is not easy to decide whether they were lost or deliberately deposited. Since it is a sanctuary, and specifically a temple in an oracular sanctuary, I tend towards the latter interpretation. In my opinion, the large number of coins and their concentration in a particular area speak for this. The accumulation also makes it likely that the deposited coins are linked to the stadium and the celebrated games for Apollo^[50].

7. SUMMARY

Didyma as the extra-urban sanctuary of Miletus did not mint its own coins; the right to mint rested with the city^[51]. Consequently, the coins found at the temple came into the sanctuary with visitors because, like other sanctuaries, the *Didymaion* was almost certainly monetised^[52]. Apart from their function as payment (e.g. for sacrifices, votive offerings, or the consultation of oracles), coins could also be donated as votive offerings in their own right (Krmnicek 2019; Knapp 2005, p. 34-36). This has been documented by literary sources and has been verified repeatedly, as in Didyma, in archaeological contexts^[53]. From the discoveries at the Temple of Apollo in Didyma we now know that coins could also be deposited under plinths and column bases, or between spira and torus of a base, or in joints of the temple foundation. The value of the coin – mostly only bronze – apparently did not play a major role, but the dedication itself was important (Knapp 2005, p. 35 for Nemea).

The predominance of Milesian coins at the temple reminds us of the account of Pausanias (Paus.7, 22, 3), in which explicit reference is made to local coins when an oracle is consulted. By analogy, one could assume that local coins were preferentially deposited as votive or lucky charms, at least at the Temple of Apollo in Didyma. While Milesian coinage also predominates in the Roman Imperial period, the imperial coins as well as the piece from Smyrna could suggest that, at that time, the city that the coin came from was less important than the fact

^[50] The relatively large number of so-called wreath coins, which were found especially at column A10, is striking. As explained above, these are traditionally dated around 170-150 BC. The coin find in the *adyton* wall, makes an earlier dating of these coins likely. The depiction of the wreath on the coins would suggest a connection with the reorganisation of the games as an *agôn stephanites* at the end of the 3rd c. BC. That will be followed up elsewhere.

In the stadium of Nemea, the distribution of the coin finds made it possible to determine in which areas visitors of certain cities preferred to sit, cf. Knapp 2005, p. 222-227; Knapp 2001, p. 232-237. The editor cites various ways in which the coins could have been lost there, such as buying a snack or refreshment. He also lists games that the spectators played to pass time. Of particular interest is the game *chalkismos*, in which you turn a coin on your finger; in the process, one or the other coin could certainly have been lost. Bets are not known for Greek antiquity, so this possibility can be ruled out as a reason for losing coins, cf. Knapp 2005, p. 27-30; Knapp 2001, p. 232-237. In contrast to Didyma, the coins from the Nemea Stadium date almost uniformly to the Late Classical/Hellenistic period, which at the same time marks the site's frame of utilisation. Furthermore, Nemea has coins from various cities, while in Didyma mostly only Milesian coins of Hellenistic and Roman times have been found, cf. Knapp 2005, p. 28-29.

^[51] There is only one series of coins which, according to legend, may have been financed by the sanctuary, see Tanriöver 2024 (forthcoming).

^[52] Cf. Knapp 2005, p. 32-34 with details of financial sources of Greek sanctuaries.

^[53] Cf. Krmnicek 2019, p. 64-66. In general, an increase of coins occurs in the area of rivers, wells, or springs, cf. Krmnicek 2019, p. 72-76; 77-79 (on the findings at Magdalensberg); Thüry 2016, p. 68-80. Coins were also found around altars together with other objects. Coins could also be attached as offerings to statues (in sanctuaries) and hung on walls and in bags from the ceiling (of the temple), cf. Knapp 2005, p. 34-35 with numerous examples: Kaminski 1991, p. 128-129.

that it had been deposited for Apollo^[54]. It is interesting to note that the custom of depositing coins between plinth and spira or between spira and torus continued to be practiced in Late Antiquity^[55]. Apollo was certainly no longer worshipped at this time, but the place retained a certain sanctity, so that the depositing of a votive offering also in the form of a coin was still cultivated, perhaps for the new cult recipient or as a good luck charm.

^[54] Knapp 2005, p. 46-49 assumes that there were fewer controls on coins in circulation in sanctuaries than in cities, which explains the higher number of coins in sanctuaries coming from cities further away. In this context he also notes that “the gods did not care where a coin came from; any coin was good for an offering”. Considering the whole spectrum of coin finds in Didyma, a differentiation within the sanctuary seems appropriate, since most of the non-Milesian coins were found in the area of the “Sacred Way”, which was probably used for mercantile purposes. The hoard at the Temenos (see above) is situated between the polis and the sanctuary and again offers a completely different spectrum to that in the sanctuary. A comparison of the findings between city, sanctuary, and the “Sacred Way” therefore seems very promising and will be undertaken in the near future.

^[55] Cf. For example Krmnicek 2019, p. 73-74, who for the Roman well in Bad Niedernau also mentions a continuity of the ritual of throwing coins into a well. For Christian votive offerings cf. Merrifield 1987, p. 88-93, who mentions that coins and candles were the commonest votive offerings at Christian shrines.

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MONETA, THE MEMORY OF ROMAN COINAGE. THE STORAGE OF DIES (OR COINS) AT THE MINT OF ROME

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Abstract – Studies of the re-use of old coin designs in the Roman period have suggested that mint engravers periodically consulted a ‘reference collection’ of earlier coins or dies. This article explores this notion in detail, and considers the nature and function of

such a Roman mint collection. It suggests that the association between *Moneta* and the production of coins took a rather physical form in an archive of dies, which were stored as a guarantee of the veracity of messages expressed through Roman coinage.

Keywords: coinage – *Moneta* – collection – restorations – Ancient Rome

Résumé – Au cours des recherches portant sur les périodes de recrudescence des imitations de monnaies romaines, on a souvent pensé qu’il a dû exister une sorte de collection, mais cette notion n’a jamais été explorée en détail. Cet article tente de combler ce vide en proposant une forme et une fonction pour

une telle collection. Il suggère que l’association entre *Moneta* et la production de pièces de monnaie a pris une forme plutôt physique dans des archives de pièces de monnaie, qui ont été conservées pour garantir la véracité des messages véhiculés par les monnaies romaines.

Mots clés : monnayage – *Moneta* – collection – restauration – ancienne Rome

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OLD COIN DESIGNS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN readily available in the imperial mint of Rome. As metallurgical analysis of Roman coins has shown, previous mint products were often used as bullion in the striking of new coinage^[1]. It was less common to also use the designs of these old coins on newly produced coins. However, when creating new imperial coin types, die-cutters at times borrowed designs from coins struck under the Republic or earlier emperors. These repetitions were often very detailed, suggesting that Roman engravers used old coins as their models. These models were at times nearly two centuries old, ruling out the idea that it was only coins in circulation that inspired new designs. Instead, it is possible that certain physical points of reference existed, which could be used by Roman engravers in the creation of new numismatic imagery.

One possibility is that the mint had a reference collection of its own, as has been suggested in some case studies of intriguing episodes in the Roman coinage. The first is the so-called restitution coinage, which was issued in relatively small numbers by the emperors of the late first and early second centuries AD^[2]. This coinage included imitations of types issued by previous emperors, as well as rare Republican coin types that had not circulated for over two centuries^[3]. Coin designs that were more than two centuries old are again attested in the fourth century. Around AD 310 we find Trajanic coin designs re-used under Constantine, whose coinage also includes several types that suggest some knowledge of earlier products of the Roman mint^[4]. Then, in the mid-fourth century, medal-shaped objects we now know as contorniates reproduced a whole set of early coin designs ranging from Augustus to the third century^[5]. The fact that these imitations include coins that had previously been imitated makes the existence of a reference collection highly likely^[6].

For three different cases in Roman coinage, therefore, the same conclusion has been drawn independently: engravers working for the Roman mint must have had access to some kind of reference collection. Quite a few of the scholars who drew this conclusion have also discussed the form and function of this collection^[7]. However, perhaps due to the lack of physical evidence for such a collection, none of these studies ever sought to draw together the insights from three cases under a single denominator^[8]. Even if we can only get a vague idea of this collection, however, its very existence has significant implications. Such a collection would have not only provided the Roman mint with a kind of ‘physical memory’, but also would have given its products an added value by merit of the fact that they were worth storing. This article therefore deals with the questions as to (i) where the practice of repeating coin design

[1] Butcher & Ponting 2014; and suggested before by Millar 2004, p. 93. In periods of debasement, this tendency of restriking old coin is likely to have been stronger as it gave the authorities a lucrative source of income, on which see Duncan-Jones 1994, p. 103-105. For other sources of bullion, see Howgego 1990, p. 4-7.

[2] The most detailed account is Komnick 2001.

[3] As suggested by e.g. Mowat 1900, p. 225-226; Duncan 1930, p. 63; Buttrey 1972, p. 103; Komnick 2001, p. 142; Gallia 2012, p. 222-223; Woytek 2018, p. 370. For the repertoire of Vespasian, containing many familiar Republican and imperial designs, see Buttrey 1972, p. 104.

[4] R.-Alföldi 1963; 2001; Dahmen & Ilisch 2006.

[5] On the contorniates see Mittag 1999.

[6] Toynebee 1944a, p. 72-73; Jenkins 1993, p. 343; Holden 2008, p. 123; Cameron 2011, p. 697; Rowan 2014, p. 122.

[7] Among the most detailed in their analysis were Mowat 1900; Zehnacker 1973, p. 41-42; Komnick 2001, p. 142-143; Gallia 2012, p. 222-223.

[8] This does not mean the idea of a collection has never been suggested for Roman coinage as a whole. For such suggestions see e.g. Ehrhardt 1984, p. 47-48; Wolters 1999, p. 315; Abdy 2002, p. 347; Rowan 2012, p. 29-30; Wienand 2012, p. 50. None of these, however, dealt with the implications of such a collection.

came from, and why the practice necessitates the existence of a collection, (ii) what form this collection may have taken, and (iii) why the collection was created and what (additional) functions it may have had. It will be argued that the patronage of *Moneta* was an essential factor in the storage of previous coin designs.

1. THE REPETITION OF COIN DESIGNS IN ANCIENT ROME

Before exploring the implications of repetition and collecting in the creation of Roman coinage, it is important to emphasize that this practice was not restricted to the restitution coinage, the coinage of Constantine, and the contorniates. For the imperial period, this is particularly evident from the many examples of reused coin designs collected by Michael Grant in the 1950s (Grant 1950; 1954). However, repetition of early coin designs produced by a Roman mint was not an invention of the imperial age. It had previously occurred in the mid-second century BC, when the typological conservatism of Republican silver coinage was disrupted^[9]. The first *denarii* that broke with the tradition of unchanging coin types used designs that harked back to the beginnings of Roman coinage^[10]. These were followed by more reproductions of known designs, a practice that may in part be ascribed to the way coins and their designs were regarded during the Republic. Indeed, Andy Meadows and Jonathan Williams have shown that the origins of type variety in Roman coinage must be connected to the generalized monumentalization of Roman high society in the second century B. C. This development was understood as a response “to widespread contemporary uncertainties and anxieties about the moral state of the Roman commonwealth” (Meadows & Williams 2001, cited from p. 48). Just as buildings, inscriptions and immaterial monuments like triumphs and funeral orations found increasing use as a means of enhancing and preserving family status, so too did coins come to be used in the competitive environment of Roman aristocracy^[11]. Meadows and Williams connected this development to physical proximity between the Republican mint and the temple of *Juno Moneta*, who, besides guaranteeing weights and measures, also saw to the preservation of memory. As such, coins stood under her patronage not only as monetary objects, but also as images that were designed to advance a family’s ambitions, attesting to the veracity of the messages that they carried. The connections between the goddess, the mint, and the products under her protection can also be seen in their common designation by the word *moneta*. Etymologically, the word derived from *moneo* (‘remind’, ‘advise’, or ‘warn’), thereby having the same roots as *monumentum* (literally ‘that what brings to mind’) (Meadows & Williams 2001, p. 33-34). In a very literal sense, then, coins could be perceived as ‘monuments in miniature’^[12].

As far as the motivations behind reuse are concerned, it seems useful to compare the restoration of coin designs to the restoration of buildings. Just as restoring a building connected the renovator to the original builder, so too did the reissuing of old coin designs forge a connection with earlier moneyers. For example, among the various coin types C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus issued in 48 BC, we can observe the reuse of a Ceres reverse issued by his father half a decade earlier (*RRC* 449/2-3b; 342/3a-b; fig. 1-2). This restoration of ancestral

[9] For a recent review of the development of Republican coin design, see Woytek 2018, p. 357-367.

[10] *RRC* 234/1, 235/1a-c; with Meadows & Williams 2001, p. 38; Woytek 2012, p. 326; Woytek 2018, p. 360-361.

[11] On the connection between monuments and the aristocratic families, see Flower 1996.

[12] This term, although coined in the context of imperial coinage, comes from Cheung 1998, p. 56-58.



Fig. 1 - Denarius C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus 48 BCE (RRC 449/2).
Source: American Numismatic Society



Fig. 2 - Denarius C. Vibius Pansa 90 BCE (RRC 342/3b). Source: American Numismatic Society

coin types cannot be said to have been commonplace, as only a few examples are known^[13]. However, the very fact that designs could be reused despite the intervention of several years begs the question of the physical source behind the reproduction.

Single reproductions, such as the *denarii* of the Vibii Pansae, are by themselves insufficient evidence for central origins, such as a collection held by the Roman mint. They may just as well have been taken from models that existed in family archives^[14]. While this may be true for restorations of ancestral coin types, for other examples the use of private archives is less likely. Firstly, a scene showing Aeneas on a *denarius* issued by Lucius Liveius Regulus in 42 BC shows that prototypes were also sought outside of familial repertoires (RRC 494/3a; fig. 3). The reverse model for Regulus' coin was a *denarius* issued by Marcus Herennius in 108/107 BC, which depicted one of the Catanaean brothers (RRC 308/1a-b; fig. 4). This example shows that restoration of coin types could also have other motivations. Rather than underlining the family connection of the moneyer, this type may instead have served as a model because of its appropriateness for the message the moneyer wanted to convey^[15].



Fig. 3 - Reverse aureus L. Livineius Regulus 42 BCE (RRC 494/3a).
Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France



Fig. 4 - Reverse denarius M. Herennius 108-107 BCE (RRC 308/1b).
Source: American Numismatic Society

[13] See e.g. Buttrey 1972, p. 104-105.

[14] See e.g. Rowan 2012, p. 29 n. 148.

[15] For the significance of the type, see Rowan 2018, p. 76-77.

Perhaps even more compelling for the suggestion of a central collection during the Republic are three *denarius* types produced under Sulla, which reused coin designs of the second century BC^[16]. The three reverse types were reproduced at the same time, taking as models coins that had been contemporaneously produced by moneyers of the same *gens* half a century before that^[17]. Following apparent die-links between the two emissions, Michael Crawford even suggested that – unlike any of the other reproductions mentioned so far – the same reverse dies may have been used when they were restored (Crawford 1974, p. 752; responding to Alföldi 1971). Rather than assuming that the moneyers toured the city to fetch the required dies from family collections, a more likely scenario is that they needed look no further than the mint from which the eventual products were issued. Archived at such a central spot, the moneyers of the Republic could restore any design they pleased.

As the examples mentioned in the introduction show, the same is likely to have been true for the people responsible for the coinage of the imperial period^[18]. The motivations for reuse are not always apparent, but a desire to express continuity with predecessors, as well as an aesthetic interest, are also likely to have been important for the imperial period. In particular, the restitution coins were a useful means of forging a connection between the coins' original issuers and the emperor in whose name the designs were reused (Komnick 2001, p. 165-178; Seelentag 2004, p. 410-484; Gallia 2012, p. 217-247; Cox 2014, p. 251-252). Whereas restitution coins reused both obverse and reverse designs, the restoration of coin designs under Constantine consisted for the most part of the reuse of reverse types alone. This instead suggests that the reused reverse designs were used for their communicative potential^[19]. Of course, imperial coin design was not all about continuing Republican practice, which also had consequences as far as the restoration of coin designs is concerned. We may note in particular the larger bronzes, whose communicative and aesthetic potential was only drawn upon from the later Julio-Claudian period onwards, and eventually led to the emergence of the medallion as a regular means of imperial expression^[20]. The often detailed compositions found on imperial medallions became another source of inspiration in the creation of imperial coinage, as exemplified by the appearance of the designs of Antonine medallions in Severan *aurei* (Rowan 2014, p. 120-121). Such developments are suggestive of an ever-expanding collection that provided imperial engravers with a growing pool of numismatic models. A coin type issued under Gallienus whose design drew heavily upon the Republican *quadrigati* shows the continued value of old coin designs as a source of inspiration despite the growing importance of medallions^[21].

While the examples discussed above show that the practice of repeating coin designs took place consistently throughout the Republican and imperial period, it cannot be said to have been a regular practice. While imperial coins regularly employed images of gods, emperors, and personifications on their reverses, these rarely required a prototype. The restoration coins, Constantine's borrowings, and the contorniates, on the other hand, belong to periods that witnessed an increased reliance on old coin designs, often resulting in the reappearance

[16] Restorations: *RRC* 369/1-371/1. Prototypes: *RRC* 263/1, 264/1, 265/1.

[17] For dating see Crawford 1974, p. 81, 387-388, 752.

[18] Responsibility for imperial type selection is a vexed question, on which see e.g. Sutherland 1986, p. 87-89; Wolters 1999, p. 262-264; Noreña 2011, p. 250-251.

[19] As was also suggested for Constantine's use of designs of Probus by Dahmen & Ilisch 2006, p. 231.

[20] For the importance of the Neronian coinage in the development of Roman medallions, see Schindel & Woytek 2011. Hadrian's importance in this respect has been noted by Mittag 2010, p. 105.

[21] On the coin type of Gallienus see Abdy 2002.

of unusual coin images that either had long been absent from Roman coinage, or that were otherwise rather rare. These episodic surges in numismatic interest among the Romans are likely to have sparked scholarly interest in these coinages in the first place. Nevertheless, the occasional reappearance of familiar designs in other time periods – like the examples given above – makes it likely that the collection that was consulted during periods of increased numismatic reuse also remained available at other times. However, the exact form of this collection, and why it existed at all, remains to be seen.

2. A QUESTION OF DIES OR COINS: THE NATURE OF THE COLLECTION

The nature of the reference collection at the Roman mint has been discussed in previous scholarship. Some of those who argued for the existence of a reference collection merely listed the various possibilities (see. e.g., Wolters 1999, p. 315; Abdy 2002, p. 347; Wienand 2012, p. 50). This included parallels with collections in other trades, such as the copybooks used by painters and mosaicists and plaster casts used by sculptors of sarcophagi and statuary^[22]. Unlike these artists, however, Roman die engravers worked with tools (the die) and end-products (the coin) that were both portable. Perhaps because of this, the most widespread idea is that Roman die-engravers directly modeled their designs on the products of their predecessors. The major discussion therefore has revolved around the question of whether the collection consisted of dies or of coins^[23]. Some researchers have abstained from the question, leaving the possibility that either source was used^[24]. Others, however, have shown strong predilections for either coins or dies^[25]. The arguments that have been brought forward into these discussions require further consideration.

The idea that the reference collection must have consisted of coins is often paired with a passage from Suetonius, who notes that Augustus presented gifts of old coins during the Saturnalia (Suet. *Aug.* 75). This is useful evidence of the presence and significance of ancient numismatic objects in ancient Rome. However, it is impossible to know whether these old coins derived from the same source as the one consulted by the engravers in the production of their coins, or that they were part of a private collection held by Augustus. A more compelling argument for a collection consisting of coins was brought forward by Andrew Gallia in the context of restitution coins. Dealing with Trajan's restorations of Republican *denarii*, he pointed to the faithful reproduction of even the tiniest details such as control marks as well as the fact that deviations may reflect wear on the models. This led him to conclude that actual coins must have formed the basis of the production of these series (Gallia 2012, p. 222-223).

Other arguments for a collection of coins are essentially objections to the idea of a die archive. The first mainly relates to restitution coins and contorniates, which reused designs from both sides of old coins. This would have been difficult to achieve if the reference collection consisted of dies, unless these had been stored in a meticulously organized system^[26]. This is

^[22] Mosaics: Dunbabin 1999, p. 300-303. Painting: Ling 1991, p. 217-220. Sarcophagi: Froning 1980, p. 340-341. Statuary: Landwehr 2010. I owe some of these references to George Watson, who looked for points of iconographic reference for provincial coinage.

^[23] Mowat 1900; Duncan 1930, p. 63; Toynbee 1944a, p. 73; Zehnacker 1973, p. 41-42; Ehrhardt 1984, p. 47-48; Jenkins 1993, p. 341; R.-Alföldi 2001; Komnick 2001, p. 142-143; Holden 2008, p. 123; Gallia 2012, p. 222-223; Rowan 2012, p. 28-30.

^[24] Toynbee 1944a, p. 73; Jenkins 1993, p. 341.

^[25] Coins: Duncan 1930, p. 63; Ehrhardt 1984, p. 47-48; R.-Alföldi 2001; Komnick 2001, p. 142-143; Gallia 2012, p. 222-223. Dies: Mowat 1900; Zehnacker 1973, p. 41-42; Holden 2008, p. 123; Rowan 2012, p. 28-30.

^[26] Perhaps because of the improbability of this, scholars who dealt with the restitution coins generally prefer coins as models. See e.g. Duncan 1930, p. 63; Komnick 2001, p. 142-143; Gallia 2012, p. 222-223.

not entirely implausible, and in this respect it is interesting to note the reuse of imperial *aurei* under Trajan. Some of these seem to have ‘invented’ prototypes, with familiar obverses and reverses appearing in unprecedented combinations (Buttrey 1972, p. 103; Komnick 2001, p. 145; Seelentag 2004, p. 410-411; Gallia 2012, p. 219-220). This begs the question of whether the makers of these coins intentionally created these combinations, or whether stored dies *were* in fact used for reference, albeit in confused pairs^[27].

The second argument against the use of dies as prototypes is basically an argument *ex silentio*. It follows from the fact that we only have very few surviving imperial dies^[28]. Since dies were made of durable material – iron for base metal coins and bronze for precious metal coins – their rarity stands in sharp contrast with the surviving record of coins. It is therefore often suggested that dies were destroyed upon use, perhaps as an attempt to avoid counterfeiting (see e.g. Vermeule 1954, p. 40; R.-Alföldi 2001, p. 267 n. 18; Paunov 2014, p. 32). This idea is supported by the fact that the small number of genuine imperial dies that have survived to the present day are from first century AD Gaul, and therefore date to a period when imperial coin production may have had a slightly loosened control as a consequence of the temporary move from Rome to Gaul (Vermeule 1954, p. 41, 45; Giard 1983, p. 27-30; Malkmus 2008, p. 78-83, 171; Paunov 2014, p. 32-34). While the destruction of dies may indeed have been an effective method of tackling counterfeiting, this did not necessitate the destruction of every single die. Indeed, as Hubert Zehnacker has argued before, it may be useful to distinguish production dies from their prototypes, which are likely to have been created by skilled artists (Zehnacker 1973, p. 41). Given such a distinction, only a few dies would have sufficed as ‘record dies’^[29].

The same line of reasoning undermines a third argument against a die collection. This holds that if dies were indeed stored in the Roman mint, the minting facility would have eventually been bursting at the seams, given the immense number of dies needed to produce the imperial coinage^[30]. Of course, this apparent problem is solved when we assume that one or a few dies were stored after production. With less than 25 000 coin types in total issued from the Roman mint for the Republican and imperial period combined – with plenty of designs that, due to their endless repetition, would perhaps not even have needed recording – the mass suddenly becomes manageable.

Despite these arguments *against* the storage of dies, a few points may be raised in its favor. The first is of a rather technical nature. During the Roman period dies were produced in the

[27] The restoration of both sides of a coin is mostly attested for the earliest contorniates. Later contorniates regularly confuse combinations of obverse and reverse. The later mix-ups may suggest that this collection was only used in early contorniate production. However, if the consulted objects were pairs of dies, the inaccuracy in combining the obverse with the proper reverse may be evidence of a similar mix up of die combinations as the one suggested for Trajan’s restored *aurei*.

[28] Surviving dies have been collected in the catalogue of Vermeule 1954; to which Malkmus 2008 provided an update.

[29] A similar solution was already suggested by Gnechi 1901, p. 255. Also see Rowan 2012, p. 29-30, who argues against the destruction of dies because of the sacrosanct status of the imperial image it carried. While it is correct that this appears from the literary sources as far as coins in circulation are concerned, we might wonder whether the same veneration of the imperial image held during the *production* of coins. After all, the process involved striking a hammer on the emperor’s head.

[30] This point was raised against Mowat’s collection theory by Gnechi 1901, p. 254-255, and was repeated a century later by Komnick 2001, p. 142. As for the production of imperial dies, Duncan-Jones (1994, p. 144-162) has demonstrated that the annual number of dies used in the Hadrianic age could have been as many 2,000 for silver alone. Republican issues tended to be much smaller, but could still amount to a few hundred, on which see Crawford 1974, p. 640-694.

negative^[31]. Recent studies by Stannard and Fischer-Bossert have shown that piece punches – i.e. instruments to ease die production and allow the engraver to work in the positive – are unlikely to have been part of the production process in Greek and Roman mints (Stannard 2011; Stannard & Fischer-Bossert 2011)^[32]. From the engraver's perspective, therefore, it would have been more convenient to work from dies than from coins, which were the positive result of striking the die. Still, it may be useful to distinguish between the production of coins and the engraving of dies. The lack of piece punches in the production of coins is no evidence for a similar lack in the engraving process. For example, one may think that plaster casts would have been a useful tool for engravers to get negative copies from coins, if these were collected instead.

Notwithstanding practical considerations, there is some testimony for the idea that at least some dies were stored and used for reference by Roman engravers. This evidence takes various forms. The first is the occasional reuse of old dies in the production of new coins. We have already seen this suggestion by Crawford for three reused coin designs of the age of Sulla (Crawford 1974, p. 752). Yet there is imperial evidence for this practice as well. It is attested for some of the medallions produced for Antoninus Pius, which employed dies previously used by the mint at Rome for the medallions of Hadrian (Kaiser-Raiss 1981; Rowan 2014, p. 115-116). We have similar evidence for reused dies in imperial coins struck outside Rome, including a series of Alexandrian coins struck for Septimius Severus using dies from the reign of Commodus (Claes 2012, p. 214-216). For these imperial examples, it may be objected the dies might have been only temporarily stored at the mints in question. However, our second source of evidence suggests a collection of dies that was of a more lasting kind. This is a passage in the *Historia Augusta*, which tells us that the city of Trier still held the dies (*formae*) of the usurper queen Victoria when the author wrote his work in the fourth century CE^[33]. Unlike the passage from Suetonius, this source more convincingly suggests that a public or centralized numismatic collection was held *apud Treviros*, perhaps even at or in the vicinity of the Treveran mint. It is therefore the only piece of literary evidence for such a centralized coin or die collection from the Roman empire. Taken together with the example of reused dies, the preserved dies at Trier suggest that mint engravers of the Roman empire were more likely to preserve dies than collect the end-products themselves. The only hint to the latter is Suetonius' remark, which may just as well have concerned a private collection of Augustus^[34].

In summary, the nature of the reference collection used at the mint of Rome is debatable.

^[31] For technical discussions on the production of dies in antiquity see Hill 1922, p. 16-19; Zehnacker 1973, p. 18-25.

^[32] The studies by Stannard and Fischer-Bossert confirmed the doubts expressed by Bastien (1961) on the use of piece-punches in Roman imperial coinage. Crawford (1974, p. 577, 582) thought the same for Republican coinage. For an overview of the debate on the use of piece punches in ancient coinage see Crawford 1981. The absence of piece-punches in the production of coins in the Greek and Roman mints does not imply that the technique itself was unknown to the ancients. See for example Lauwers (2015: p. 61) on the use of piece-punches in pre-Roman Gaul to speed up die production.

^[33] SHA *Tyr. Trig.* 31. The *Historia Augusta* is a notoriously problematic source, even to the extent that some of the sources it cites appear to be forged. We are in no position to check whether the same is true of the Treveran dies, but, even if fictitious, this fragment is valuable; it is the practice of storing dies that is important, not the specific dies themselves. We might assume that the storage of dies was a familiar practice. It would have defeated the purpose of forging a source if the form in which it was kept was unknown to the work's audience. For a discussion of the *Historia Augusta* and its flaws see Cameron 2011, p. 743-782.

^[34] As shown by Flament 2004, inventory lists of the treasury of the Parthenon of fourth century AD Athens place dies (χαρακτῆρες) among dedications within the confines of sanctuaries. This is another indication that not every die was destroyed upon use and gives another motivation for their preservation. These pieces

On the one hand, details like control marks and reuse of both sides of a coin design suggest that coins were the likely source of reference. On the other hand, working practices at the mint, as well as our only literary evidence, suggests that dies might have been used instead. Of course, it is possible to envisage a situation in which both dies and coins were stored, since collecting may not have occurred in the orderly fashion we normally consider. We are unlikely to find a definite solution to this problem, but some reflection on the reasons for the existence of this collection may bring us closer to the answer of where it was located.

3. *MONETA*'S COLLECTION AND ITS USE

As mentioned previously, the systematic reuse of paired obverses and reverses was a relatively infrequent practice. This makes it unlikely that the storage of old coin designs was intended for the sole, or even main, purpose of providing direct prototypes for future coins. We might therefore wonder about the other possible functions of such a collection. Even though the numismatic evidence leaves little doubt that such a collection existed, no physical remains of such an assemblage of dies, coins or proofs exist, neatly fitting with the overall scarcity of evidence of the Roman minting facilities (Burnett 2001). As such, any function of this collection is as hypothetical as the nature of the collection itself. But even if hypothetical, the motivations that led mint workers to archive (parts of) their products might provide useful insights into how Roman artisans regarded their own profession and products.

In order to place the collection and subsequent imitation of previous coin designs in a proper context, it is essential to grasp the close connection between the production of coinage and the figure of *Juno Moneta*. We must therefore touch upon the second century BC 'restorations' that broke with decades of unchanged typology on the *denarii* (RRC 234/1, 235/1a-c; figs 5-6). It is often assumed that it was the imagery of the coins that attracted the interest of the moneyers Ti. Veturius and Sex. Pompeius, which could be connected in several ways to their respective families^[35]. This may well be true, yet what 'allowed' them to use these coin images in the first place was the fact that similar scenes had previously appeared on products of the Roman mint (figs 7-8)^[36]. By copying designs that had been under *Moneta*'s watch already, they could claim divine approval for their numismatic 'innovation'. Consequently, the restorations that followed when type variety became the norm might also not only link the moneyer to his predecessor, but also pay homage to *Moneta* and the designs produced under her watch^[37].

A *denarius* issued by the moneyer T. Carisius in 46 BC demonstrates that these tokens of deference could also be more explicit than the simple reuse of reverse designs (RRC 464/2; fig. 9). This coin type visualizes the connection between *Moneta* and the Roman mint by depicting the name and portrait of the goddess on the obverse, while the tools used for striking coins fill the reverse field. The combination of obverse and reverse draws an explicit link between Roman mint workers and the divine protection of *Moneta*. This is of course

of evidence are of little help in answering our coin vs. die problem, however, as we also find coins on the same lists (Kosmetatou 2001), the contents of which are moreover not related to a mint.

[35] For the debate on these types see Metcalf 1999, p. 4-10; Meadows & Williams 2001, p. 38 n. 58.

[36] For the reverse the prototypes were of Veturius RRC 28/1-2, 29-1-2, and of Pompeius RRC 20/1. The *denarii* of Pompeius kept the traditional obverse of Roma, while the *denarii* of Veturius paired the changed reverse image with the obverse bust of Mars. This, too, had precedents in early Roman coinage. Mars appears on various denominations, either struck in Rome or in the name of Rome: RRC 13/1-2, 25/1-3, 27/1-2, 44/2-4, 50/1, 72/2, 88/1, 105/2, 106/2.

[37] Also see Buttrey 1972, p. 105.



Fig. 5 - Reverse denarius Ti. Veturius 137 BCE (RIC 234/1). Source: American Numismatic Society



Fig. 6 - Reverse denarius Sex. Pompeius 137 BCE (RRC 235/1a). Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France



Fig. 7 - Reverse Republican half-stater 225-212 BCE (RRC 28/2). Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France



Fig. 8 - Reverse Republican didrachm 269-266 BCE (RRC 20/1). Source: American Numismatic Society



Fig. 9 - Denarius T. Carisius 46 BCE (RRC 464/2). Source: American Numismatic Society

hardly a revelation, given the close vicinity of the mint to the temple of *Juno Moneta*, and the various links between the goddess and the mint discussed above. Nevertheless, it does add a cultic dimension to the production of coins that may be significant for both the origin and the fundamental function of the collection connected to the mint.

In this respect, it seems significant that the temple of *Juno Moneta* on the Capitol, close to where the mint was located until the late first century CE, was used to store standards for weights and measures^[38]. As previously noted, *Moneta* guarded both the fair weight of the coin and the memory that it carried. It was in the close association between these two domains that Meadows and Williams found an explanation for the sudden change of type variety (Meadows & Williams 2001). While the storage of measures and weights at the temple is evident from literary and epigraphic sources, the storage of coins or dies is not similarly attested. Nevertheless, the connections that Meadows and Williams draw between *Moneta*'s role in guaranteeing measures and weights and the 'weighing of memory' may help us crystallize the hypothetical collection of coins or dies (Meadows & Williams 2001, p. 29-

[38] For an examination of the evidence see Meadows & Williams 2001, p. 28-29.

37). *Moneta's* role in the preservation of memory is evident from Livy's claim that the temple of *Juno Moneta* housed the *libri lintei* (Liv. 4.20.8), historical records whose veracity was guaranteed by her divine patronage. Consequently, if we join the hypothesis that increased Republican type variety reflected a growing desire to record family history to the suggestion that at least some designs used by the Roman mint must have been stored, an obvious solution presents itself. Just as the *libri lintei* supposedly recorded age-old lists of magistrates under the patronage of *Moneta*, so too did the later Republican coin designs record family episodes of Rome's glorious past. If such designs were stored in any form, there would be no more convenient place to do so than the temple of the goddess of memory.

The existence of a collection near or within the confines of the temple of *Moneta* would not only have suited the cultic practice of storing the goddess' sacred goods – like the weights, measures and historical records known to have been kept there – at her temple, but would also have been part of a broader archival tendency within Roman society. Any record deemed worthy of memory was archived in the temple of the deity most associated with the record in question (Culham 1989, es p. p. 110-112). In fact, archaeological evidence connects the temple and mint of *Moneta* to a larger complex in which another such archive was similarly integrated (Coarelli 1994, p. 23-65; Purcell 1993, p. 125-155; Meadows & Williams 2001, p. 34-35). This was the temple of Saturn with its *aerarium*, the public treasury, which contained the wealth amassed by the Roman state^[39]. The physical connection between the mint and the *aerarium* provides an explanation of why many Roman coins were struck from old coin, since many coins produced by the state returned to the treasury through taxation^[40]. Yet it was not just state income that was stored in the *aerarium*. The same treasury also housed an archive of state documents, among the most notable being copies of laws and *senatus consulta* (Millar 1964, p. 34-35; Corbier 1974, p. 674-682). In fact, the deposition of laws and senatorial decrees in the *aerarium* was an essential part of the process, with the legitimacy of the document being confirmed through their storage in the treasury^[41].

Since the mint's collection was stored in the same building complex as the *aerarium*, it is tempting to draw a parallel with the latter's archival function. Though perhaps less far-reaching than laws and political decisions, coins were also essentially state documents, bearing a state-sanctioned message on both sides that guaranteed its value by means of an expression of state ideology. This does not mean that coins and legal documents followed the exact same procedures, but does mean that the same practical reasons for storage might apply. Just as the storing of state documents at the *aerarium* recorded and thereby controlled senatorial proceedings, an archive of the mint would have performed a similar role for the state expressions produced by this institution. If so, we may envisage sets of dies that were indeed kept in the orderly fashion as was suggested before, perhaps even in the same way as those kept at Trier^[42]. Of course, we cannot rule out that samples of the coins produced from these dies were kept as well as, or instead of, the dies. Whatever the precise form, such a formal *raison d'être* for the mint's collection would explain why we only have episodic attestations

^[39] On the *aerarium Saturni* see in more detail Sutherland 1945; Millar 1964; Corbier 1974; Mazzei 2009.

^[40] On the return of coins through taxation as well as the logistical problems this must have raised see Millar 2004.

^[41] For examples of this process, see e.g. Suet. *Caes.* 28.3; *Aug.* 94.3; with Millar 1964, p. 34; Corbier 1974, p. 674-682.

^[42] It has been argued that the mint of Rome was of considerable impact on the development of the numismatic tradition of the western empire (Burnett 2005, p. 177-178). Even though physical evidence for the minting facilities themselves is lacking, it is tempting to assume that this impact may also have involved the practical proceedings of the mints, perhaps including the practice of storing dies.

of its use as a source of inspiration for Roman engravers. The relatively infrequent use of the collection in such a manner may simply have been one of the benefits of the mint's collection, which – if it was indeed comparable to the archive at the *aerarium* – could be accessed freely by those allowed inside the mint^[43]. The collection might also have served an educational function, allowing aspiring engravers at some stage of their training to handle actual dies (or coins) in the same way as the training of sculptors and vase painters included working with actual statues and vases^[44].

Whether the hypothesis sketched above accounts for both the Republic and the imperial periods remains to be seen. Indeed, since Meadows and Williams restricted themselves to the Republican period, our remarks on the importance of *Moneta* mainly concern this period of time. Furthermore, coin production at the mint on the Capitol continued only temporarily in the imperial period, as the Flavian period witnessed the opening of a new imperial mint on the Caelian Hill (Melville-Jones 2015). It is therefore worth considering whether the hypothesized collection existed in the same form in the imperial period as in earlier times.

Let us begin with the suggested role of *Moneta* in coin production. Despite the changing function of coinage as a means of communication in imperial times, there is evidence for a change in the importance of *Moneta* in the production of coinage in the same period. Reverse images paired with the obverse portrait of the emperor needed as much divine sanction as the Republican scenes paired with obverse portraits of gods and personifications. Furthermore, there are several clues in imperial coinage that suggest *Moneta* played the same role even after the events around the turn of the millennium profoundly changed Roman society. This is probably best attested by the fact that the *denarius* of T. Carisius was reproduced in its entirety twice during the imperial period. It appeared in the rebel coinage of AD 68 from a mint of Spain with a slightly different legend, as well as among the restitution coins of Trajan at the beginning of the second century (*RIC I*² Civil Wars 30; ii Trajan 805)^[45]. The restored combination of *Moneta*'s head on the obverse and minting tools on the reverse underlined the continued importance of *Moneta* as patron of the people working at the mint.

It is notable that the very appearance of *Moneta* as a figure on the reverse of coins was an imperial invention. She first appeared on *asses* struck under Domitian in AD 84, which are often assumed to relate to the opening of the new imperial mint at the Caelian Hill (*RIC II*² Domitian 207, 221-223, with Wallace-Hadrill 1981, p. 31; Carradice 1983, p. 142-143; Burnett 2001, p. 41; Melville Jones 2015, p. 137 n. 3). If so, her appearance may be read as an imperial attempt to express the unchanging close association between the goddess and her mint, despite the mint's relocation from its former site next to the temple of *Juno Moneta* at the Capitol. After her first appearance under Domitian, *Moneta* found further expression in coinage in the two-and-a-half centuries that followed, often closely associated with *Aequitas*^[46]. Her connection with coin production was never lost. In fact, the later appearance of the *Tres Monetae* may have been a very visual expression of coin production in three metals (Wallace-Hadrill 1981, p. 31-32). The scales that were her inseparable attribute

[43] On the question of who had access to the archives of the *aerarium Saturni* and what this access entailed see Corbier 1974, p. 674-682. Also see Culham 1989, p. 112-114, for the difficulties in accessing the documents at the *aerarium*.

[44] For the suggestion that the collection at the mint may also have had an educational purpose, see Zehnacker 1973, p. 41-42. For apprenticeship for ancient craftsmanship and its various stages see Hasaki 2012.

[45] The later reproduction of the reverse in 68 with the obverse of Vulcan suggest that another patron of the mint may have been – quite logically – the god of smiths and metalworking: *RIC I*² Civil Wars 79, with Wallace-Hadrill 1981, p. 34.

[46] For a chronological overview see Wallace-Hadrill 1981, p. 31-36.

continued to symbolize her role in weighing all that belonged to her domain, which included the coins' weight and fineness as well as their message. *Moneta* appeared to guarantee that all was well, even at times when neither the material nor the message of imperial coins lived up to the promises of authorities (Toynbee 1944b, p. 148; Wallace-Hadrill 1981, p. 32; Butcher & Ponting 2014, p. 418).

Perhaps due to the imperial efforts to have *Moneta* secure the weight and messages of imperial coinage, her sacred association with coin production never ceased. This is probably best attested in the bronze coins issued by the Tetrarchs after the reforms of Diocletian, which could still speak of *sacra moneta* as late as the early fourth century. These bronzes belong to a period when the decentralization of minting institutionalized Rome's declining status as a central mint. For this reason, the *sacra moneta* bronzes were not only issued from Rome, but also from other mints around the empire. The mint of Trier was one of these, perhaps serving as an indication that the Treveran dies discussed previously were stored under the same patron (*RIC VI Treveri* 418a-503, 543-553a).

This brings us back to the question of the mint's collection. Whatever form the collection took in the Republican period, the continued importance of *Moneta* in the imperial period suggests that the practice of collecting under her patronage persisted after the move to a new mint at the Caelian Hill. Whether the opening of a new mint also meant that the collection of the former mint was relocated may be hard to answer, but the fact that some of the most notable issues of old coin designs were produced by the new mint suggests that the models were close at hand^[47]. If it was indeed *Moneta* that was key to the existence of the archive, we may also guess at the eventual fate of the collection. The age of Constantine was the last time that the imperial coinage witnessed a surge in the use of earlier coin designs, and it is tempting to link this fact with the growing importance of Christianity under his reign. The Christianized authorities had no need for *Moneta's* archive, resulting in its eventual abandonment^[48]. Like the minting facilities it was linked with, the collection fell victim to the ravages of time.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The repetition of old coin designs was a recurring phenomenon during the Republic and Imperial periods. Whether driven by an emphasis on lineage or aesthetic desirability, Roman moneyers reused earlier designs from the mint of Rome on several occasions. This practice sometimes resulted in accurate reproductions of rare or ancient coin designs. It is a commonplace of modern scholarship to ascribe reuse to the existence of a reference collection, which Roman engravers could employ in the creation of new designs. There has been some debate about the nature of this collection, most notably over whether it consisted of stored coins or dies. While ancient testimony is not conclusive, the evidence leans towards the idea that dies were considered particularly worth storing by mint staff. Why they chose to do so has been explored less thoroughly, and this article has presented a hypothetical answer. Since the reuse of old coin designs mainly took place in very specific episodes or circumstances, it is unlikely that the collection was intended solely as a reference tool. In light of evidence

^[47] As far as the persistence of Republican archiving practices is concerned, one may also point to the continued importance of the *aerarium Saturni* in the imperial period, as has been noted by Sutherland 1945; Corbier 1974; Mazzei 2009, p. 359-365.

^[48] While the goddess *Moneta* seems inappropriate in a Christian context, the three *Monetae* kept appearing as personifications of the Roman mint until the Valentinian dynasty on bronze medallions struck at Rome: *RIC IX Rome* 12A-B, 19A-B, 38A-B.

for the storage of measures, weights and historical documents in the temple of *Juno Moneta*, this article has suggested that the sanctuary of this deity also housed the mint's archive. As guardian of weights, measures and memory, *Moneta* was the perfect figure to serve as patron of coinage, a situation emphatically expressed in the imperial period after the mint moved away from its old location near her temple. In its old locality the mint and temple of *Moneta* had been in the same building complex as the *aerarium Saturni*. On this basis, a parallel can be drawn between the mint's collection and the archive that belonged to the *aerarium*. Just as the proceedings of the Senate were archived in the *aerarium*, so too might some dies (or coins) have been archived in the vicinity of the mint, possibly as a means of state control of mint output. The coins that have led modern scholars to propose the existence of a reference collection might attest to an additional use of the mint's archive, which may have included a function in training engravers. The principal aim of archiving new designs under the watchful eye of *Moneta*, however, was to assure that the veracity of the messages they expressed received divine approval.

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COIN FINDS FROM SACRED PLACES IN PAUTALIA, THRACIA: OFFERINGS FOR HEALTH AND FORTUNE?

Valentina GRIGOROVA-GENCHEVA* & Lily GROZDANOVA**

Abstract – Pautalia (Kyustendil, SW Bulgaria) has been a balneological and medical center since antiquity. The coin finds retrieved from sacred sites in the city present an intriguing research topic. Certain key questions have the potential to shed additional light on the reconstruction of the city life in Pautalia.

For example: what is the typology of these coin finds? Are there specific types that prevail, and could they be informative about the cults practiced there? What is the chronological distribution of the coin finds? Are there specific denominations that are being offered?

Keywords: Pautalia – hot mineral spring – coin donations – sacred context

Résumé – Pautalia (Kyustendil, sud-ouest de la Bulgarie) est un centre balnéaire et de thalassothérapie connu depuis l'Antiquité. Les monnaies retrouvées sur les sites sacrés de la ville offrent un sujet de recherche intrigant. Parmi les questions clés susceptibles d'apporter un éclairage supplémentaire sur la reconstruction de la vie urbaine à Pautalia,

on peut citer : quelle est la typologie des monnaies retrouvées ? Y a-t-il des types spécifiques qui prévalent, et pourraient-ils nous informer sur les cultes qui y sont pratiqués ? Quelle est la répartition chronologique du matériel numismatique ? Existe-t-il des dénominations spécifiques qui sont offertes, etc.

Mots clés : Pautalia – source d'eau chaude – jets de monnaies – contexte sacré

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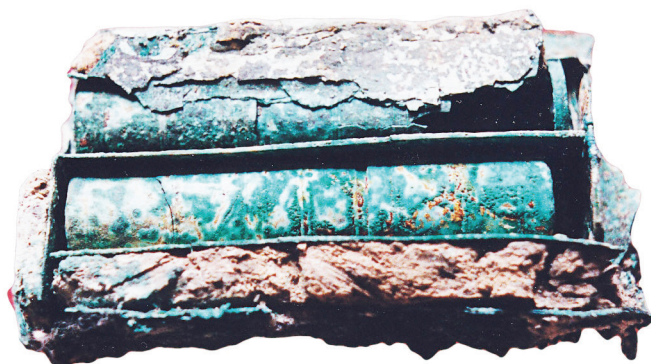
1. WHY PAUTALIA?
 2. THE FINDS
 3. THE COINS FROM SACRED LOCATIONS
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1. WHY PAUTALIA?

Pautalia's advantageous position on major itinerary routes (Grigorova 1995, p. 42-44; Tacheva 2004, p. 89-106; Katsarova 2005, p. 212-219; Katsarova 2012, p. 263-254), coupled with its possession of key natural resources in the form of hot mineral springs (Croon 1967; Valchev 2012), made the city an important economical, balneological, and medical center in antiquity (Grigorova 1995). The city contained multiple sacred sites, including an entire religious complex. Despite the long tradition of archaeological research within the city, the thorny question of which cults the sacred sites were devoted to remains very much open.

2. THE FINDS

Among the various finds recovered during the excavations (Grigorova-Gencheva & Grozdanova 2021) are numerous votive plates dedicated to the health gods Asclepius, Hygieia, and Telesphoros. A fragment of a large Asclepius statue was found during excavations of the presumed asclepieion in 1960s (17 x 14 cm, serpent large 5 cm), as was a mosaic from the same site depicting a 1.2 m long serpent. Excavations of tumuli in the territory of the city of Pautalia have also produced important and intriguing discoveries, including a box with medicinal tubes and surgical instruments dated to the second century AD (Grigorova 2000 ; fig. 1).



*Fig. 1 – Medicine box
(photograph by Valentina
Grigorova-Gencheva)*

The inscription from the village of Spinopara, located within in territory controlled by Pautalia, is the only Thracian inscription of this period to mention ground that is temple property. It also confirms the existence of a priestly community, as it contains a list of the *neokoroi* of the cult of Asclepius (Territorium Pautaliae, *IGBulg IV*, 2129). Unfortunately, it is unclear whether they undertook medical practices like their colleagues from Epidaurus. A 5 cm tall head of Asclepius from a small votive statue, and many similar finds, are recorded from the area, as well as other epigraphic monuments found during the modern piping of the hot mineral spring. Until the end of the nineteenth century a public bath (Shaban hamam) and public laundry for the city of Kyustendil were located nearby, both of which were demolished when the hot mineral spring was newly piped in the beginning of the twentieth century. For at least the last two centuries the agricultural market in Kyustendil was also held just a few meters from one of the main hot mineral water springs. It is important to mention that all of these sacred and profane places are in the limits of the antique sacred area, in the center of the Roman city of Pautalia, testifying to the centuries-long unity of sacred and profane social life and economy.

3. THE COINS FROM SACRED LOCATIONS

It is important to mention that no regular archaeological excavations were undertaken within the territory of the modern city of Kyustendil until fairly recently. All of the coin finds discussed here were discovered during rescue excavations related to the modernization of Kyustendil (Filipova 2004; Filipova 2006; Filipova & Meshekov 2002; Filipova & Tonev 2003). The excavations undertaken at the beginning of the twentieth century near the baths enabled the localization of the antique piping of the hot mineral spring water. Unfortunately, many of the coins found in this area were stolen during the construction and re-construction of the surrounding buildings during the Balkan and the First World War, as well as in modern times. According to the scarce records and preserved specimens, the numerous coins found there date at least to the period from the fifth century BC to the first century AD. Only a small portion (17 coins, see Catalogue) have entered the collection of the Regional History Museum of Kyustendil, but unfortunately without specific provenance. The identification of finds deposited in the waters of the mineral spring is only possible on the basis of unofficial information and the knowledge of local numismatic experts^[1].

The coins from the fifth century BC to first century AD predate the foundation of the city of Pautalia under Trajan (AD 98-117)^[2]. Intriguingly they suggest possible donations made by representatives of cities located far away from Pautalia, including Athens, Ephesus, Euboea, and Parion. The deposits in the springs continue without interruption until the Roman period, represented by some specimens of Imperial coinage.

An important aspect of the Roman provincial coinage of Pautalia is its highly diverse imagery, although nearly a quarter of designs feature health deities and themes (Grozdanova 2016; Grigorova-Gencheva & Grozdanova 2021). Fifty-four Roman provincial coins from the mint of Pautalia found within the city's territory have possible links to religious and mercantile locations, and deserve to be considered. Their iconography is dominated by types depicting Hygieia and Tyche (fig. 2). This must be interpreted with due caution, since the finds do not come from regular excavations, and consequently lack sufficient archaeological context. The local provincial coins were found within the middle one and a half, third, and fourth units (Ruzicka 1933, 18). These, as well as the specimens of other provincial cities found at

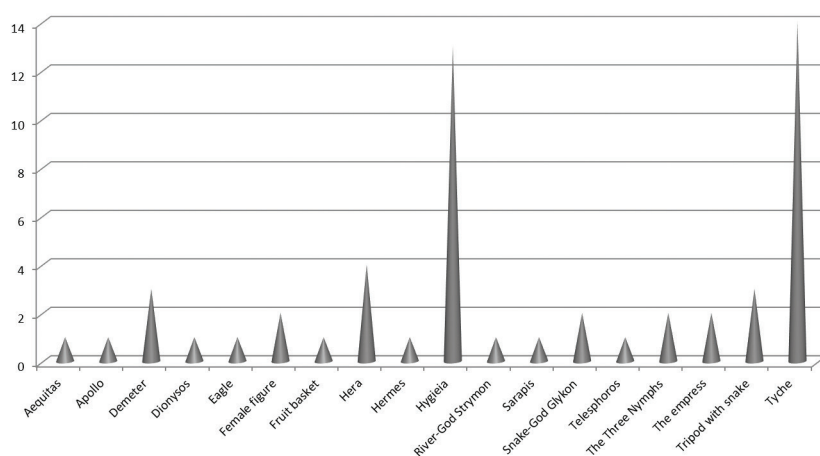


Fig. 2 – Type variety of the Roman provincial coins found in the area of the thermal springs

^[1] We owe a great deal of gratitude to Dr. Svetoslava Filipova, Head numismatist of RHM Kyustendil, for her expertise and help in the process of identifying specimens of interest for the current paper.

^[2] The precise location and the identification of the earlier settlements in the region of Pautalia, as well as the organization and administrative structure of the provincial city are still actively being discussed. On these subjects see Ruseva-Slokoska 1982; Gocheva 2000; Tacheva 2004; Katsarova 2005, p. 95; Katsarova 2012; Delev 2014, p. 222; Parissaki 2016, p. 189-191; Filipova 2018, p. 416.

some of the sites listed below (*CCCHBulg II*), seem to relate to day-to-day city life, and it is difficult to connect them directly with a specific sacred or profane activity without further archaeological research in the city itself. However, they also seem to be not entirely indicative of the polis pantheon (Tonini 2012; Grozdanova 2016; Grigorova-Gencheva & Grozdanova 2021), but are more directly connected to the characteristics of the Pautalian issues of the empress Faustina II (Grozdanova 2017), where a predominance of types featuring Hygieia and Tyche is particularly common. This topic that is being more precisely explored in an ongoing die-study of the city's coinage.

It is important to note that sacred sacrificial traditions continued uninterrupted in the city until the early 1920s. An Ottoman thermal bath (Dervish hamam) is still preserved in modern Kyustendil, which was even actively used during the twentieth century. Practices of prophylactic animal sacrifice, predominantly of roosters, are known within Bulgarian traditional society, and might be traced to the ancient use of the rooster as a cult animal connected to Asklepius. Evidence for this is provided by numerous iron knives found in the hot thermal water fountain close to the bath building. This coincides with the importance of the cult of Asklepius in the city as attested by the numismatic data (Tonini 2012; Grozdanova 2016; Grigorova-Gencheva & Grozdanova 2021).

4. CONCLUSION

The city of Pautalia and its role as religious and economic center in the Struma river valley is undoubtedly an important case study in the influence of the sacred on profane economy and life, both in terms of their direct connection and indirect interaction. However, the data and the state of archaeological research in the city mean that many precise questions relating to the ritual associations of the coins are left open for discussion.

One previously formulated theory concerning the foundation of the city (Katsarova 2005, p. 104; Filipova 2018, p. 416) finds additional support in the arguments presented in the present paper. The territory selected for the foundation of the Ulpia Pautalia seems to have been chosen not for its role as a city center of the Thracian tribe of Dentheletae – a conclusion that is still not attested by convincing archaeological data – but instead for its much more important role as a famous religious and healing center close to the hot thermal spring/or springs, as reflected by the coins deposited in the piping.

5. CATALOGUE

Coins found in the piping of the mineral spring in Pautalia

Unfortunately not all of the coins found during the early twentieth-century piping of the mineral spring in Kyustendil are described in detail. According to Prof. Ilya Prokopov, they include hundreds of coins, easily detectible thanks to their extremely dark patinas, dating between the fifth and fourth centuries BC and the nineteenth century AD. They are an especially significant source for the history of the town and include coins of the Island of Thasos, Athens, Philip II, Alexander III, Histiaia on Euboea, the First Macedonian Region, the quaestor Aesillas, and Republican denarii. Some of these coins are described below.

1. Attica, Athens, ca 300-262 BC.

Head of Athena r., wearing crested helmet ornamented with three olive-leaves and floral scroll.

Owl stg. R, hd. facing; to r., AΘE ; to l., olive-twig, and crescent behind ; all within incuse square.

Ar tetradrachm: 16,45 g ; 10 h ; 20/22 mm.

RHM^[3] Kyustendil, Inv. n° 923.

Kraay 1976, pl. IV, 6.

2. Euboea, Histiaia, 3rd-early 1st c. BC.

Head of nymph Histiaia r., wreathed with vine.
Legend illegible. Nymph Histiaia seated r. on stern of galley, holding mast with cross-piece.

Ar tetrobol: 0,61 g ; 11h; 12/10 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 100.

SNG Cop 3, no. 517.

3. Euboea, Histiaia, 3rd-early 1st c. BC.

Head of nymph Histiaia r., wreathed with vine.

]AIEΩN

Symbol: wing.

Ar tetrobol: 1,27 g ; 11h; 12/12 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 411.

SNG Cop 3, no. 520-524.

4. Euboea, Histiaia, 3rd-early 1st c. BC.

Head of nymph Histiaia r., wreathed with vine.

Symbol: wing.

Ar tetrobol: 1,51 g ; 1h; 15/13 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 99.

SNG Cop 3, no. 522-525.

5. Euboea, Histiaia, 3rd-early 1st c. BC.

Head of nymph Histiaia r., wreathed with vine.

Legend illegible. Symbol: wing.

Ar tetrobol: 1,35 g ; 12h; 12/13 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 412.

SNG Cop 3, no. 523-525.

6. Asia Minor, Mysia, Parion, 5th c. BC.

Gorgoneion.

Quadripartite incuse square.

Ar: 3,07 g ; 12h; 11.5/11 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 406

BMC 15, no. 94,1.

7. Parion, 4th c. BC.

Gorgoneion.

Bull stg. L., beneath bull, corn ear.

Ar: 1,55 g ; 11h; 12/13 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 108.

BMC 15, no. 95-97, 14-37.

8. Illyria, Dyrrachium, 2-1 c. BC.

Cow stg. r., looking back at calf, which it suckles, above: inscription.

ΔΥ[] / ΚΑΕΙ / ΤΟΠΙ / ΟΥ

Inscription around square containing double stellate pattern.

ΦΙΛΩΤΑ[]

Ar drachm: 3,46 g ; 1h; 20/18 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 849

Čeka 1972, no. 454.

9. Thrace, Thraco-macedonian tribes, Bisaltae, ca 475-465 BC.

A naked man, wearing petasos and holding two spears behind a horse r.

Quadripartite incuse square.

Ar drachm: 3,57 g ; 12h; 18 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 80.

Babelon 1907, pl. XLVII, 3-4; *SNG Cop* 2, no. 135.

10. Thasos, Late tetradrachms, 2nd-1st c. BC.

Head of young Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy and with band across forehead.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥ[] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ

Herakles, naked, stg. l., holding club, lion's skin over l. arm ; monogram in l. f.

Ar tetradrachm: 16,30 g ; 12h; 30 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 77.

Prokopov 2006, no. 1180 (V CG4) (R 938/2).

^[3] The abbreviation RHM stands for "Regional History Museum".

11. Thasos, Late tetradrachms, 2nd-1st c. BC.

Head of young Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy and with band across forehead.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ

Herakles, naked, stg. l., holding club, lion's skin over l. arm ; monogram.

Ar tetradrachm: 16,60 g ; 11h; 31/32 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 948.

Prokopov 2006, no. 1563-1570 (V DE2) (R 1250)

12. Thasos, Late tetradrachms, 2nd-1st c. BC.

Head of young Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy and with band across forehead.

]ΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ

Herakles, naked, stg. l., holding club, lion's skin over l. arm ; monogram.

Ar tetradrachm: 15,66 g ; 12h; 29/32 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. n° 76

Prokopov 2006, no. 158 (V AD2) (R 913).

13. Macedonia under Romans, First region, 2nd-1st c. BC.

Macedonian shield, at centre of which, bust of Artemis Tauropols r.

ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΝ / ΠΡΩΤΗΣ above and below club r., in field above and beneath, monogram ; all within oak-wreath ; to l. of which, thunderbolt.

Ar tetradrachm: 15,80 g ; 4h; 29/30 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 1092.

Prokopov 1994, n° FA1/LA29.

14. Macedonia under Romans, First region, 2nd-1st c. BC.

Macedonian shield, at centre of which, bust of Artemis Tauropols r.

ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΝ / ΠΡΩΤΗΣ above and below club r., in field above and beneath, monogram ; all within oak-wreath ; to l. of which, thunderbolt.

Ar tetradrachm: 8,26 g ; 8h; 30/23 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 4464.

Prokopov 1994, n° HA9/LC11.

15. Roman republican coin.

Highly worn.

Ar denarius: 3,32 g ; 10h; 17 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 111.

16. Octavian, Rome, 29/27 BC.

Helmeted head of Mars right

CAESAR on the rim of a round shield, eight-rayed star in the middle, laying on a crossed spear and sword.

Ar denarius: 3,72 g, 19 mm; 3 punch marks; slightly worn-out.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 115

RIC I, no. 274; Vagi 1999, no. 229

17. Octavian, minted in Italy (Brundisium and Rome?), ca 29/7 BC.

CAESAR IMP VII

Bare head right.

ASIA RECEPTA

Victory on *cista mystica* between two snakes.

Ar quinarius: 1,65 g; 9h; 15 mm.

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 2446.

RIC I, no. 276.

Relevant roman provincial coins of the mint of Pautalia from archaeological excavations in modern Kyustendil

ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161)

1.

[] / ANTΩNI[]OC

Laureate head r.

The Three nymphs standing, below: ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙ / ΩΤΩΝ

Ae: 3,21 g; 18 mm.

Archaeological site „Hudojestvena galeria”, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 38.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 22; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 288.

2.

Laureate head r. Illegible inscription.

The Three nymphs standing, below: ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ

Ae: 4,76 g ; 21 mm.

Archaeological site „Sudebna palata 1977”, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 14.

Ruzicka 1933, no.20; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 287.

MARCUS AURELIUS (161-180)

3.

Laureate bust r. Illegible legend.

[] ΛΠΙΑC / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑC

River-god *Strymon* reclining l., holding branch.

Ae: 10,14 g ; 24/22 mm.

Archaeological site „Arakchiev han 1989”, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 13.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 59 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 290.

4.

[] / AN[

Laureate bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑC / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙ[

Telesphoros facing, wearing a long-hooded cloak.

Ae: 4,87 g; 17/18 mm.

Archaeological excavations in Pautalia, Inv. no. 8; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 13.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 59 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 291.

FAUSTINA FILIA (161 - 176)

5.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ / ΝΑΚΕΒΑΚΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΗΑΣΠΙΑ / ΒΤΑΛΙΑΚ

Hera standing l., veiled, holding patera in l. arm, sacrificing over flaming altar, scepter in r. arm.

Ae: 7,56 g; 22 mm.

“Hisarlak”, Kyustendil, 1908; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. Book 1, no. 32.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 62 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 294.

6.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ / ΝΑΚΕΒΑΚ[

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΗΑΣΠΙΑ / ΒΤΑΛΙΑΚ

Hera standing l., holding patera and scepter.

Ae: 7,59 g; 22 mm.

Archaeological site „Dervish Banya 1995“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 71.

Mušmov 1912, no. 4118; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 295.

7.

[]ΕΒΑΚ[

Bust r.

ΟΥΛ[]/[]

Hera standing l., holding patera and scepter.

Ae: 6,99 g; 21/20 mm.

Archaeological site „Dervish Banya 1995“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 86.

Mušmov 1912, no. 4118; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 296.

8.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ / ΝΑΚΕΒΑΚΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΗΑΣΠ / []ΤΑΛΙ[

Demeter seated l., holding ears of corn and scepter.

Ae: 6,11 g; 21 mm.

Archaeological site „Largo 1982“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 28.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 94; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 299.

9.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ / ΝΑΚΕΒΑΚΤΗ

Buste r.

ΟΥΛΠΗΑΣΠΙΑΥ / ΤΑΛΙΑΚ

Demeter seated l., holding ears of corn and torch.

Ae: 6,58 g; 23 mm.

Archaeological site „Staro lyatno kino“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 5131.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 93 var. (fig. 3).



Fig. 3 – Cat. no 9 (Photo by Lily Grozdanova)

10.

[]ΤΕΙ / ΝΑΚΕΒΑ[]Η

Bust r.

ΟΥ[]ΒΤΑΛΙΑΚ

Demeter seated l., holding ears of corn and scepter.

Ae: 7,11 g; 21 mm.

Archaeological site „Vzaimno uchilishte 1977“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 184/2.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 78; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 298.

11.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / []

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΗΑΣΠΙΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΚ

Female figure standing (the empress) facing, r. arm resting on column, around which serpent is entwined, l. arm holding the dress.

Ae: 6,45 g; 22 mm.

Archaeological site „Rimski termi 1962“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΟΦ 770.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 113; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 307.

12.

ΦΑΥΣ[

Bust r.

]ΥΛΠΗΑΣ[

Female figure standing (the empress) facing, r. arm resting on column, around which serpent is entwined, l. arm holding the dress.

Ae: 5,82 g; 20 mm.

Archaeological site „Basilika no. 7 1995“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 16.

Ruzicka 1933, no.113-114; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 306.

13.

]ΑΥΣΤΕΙ / ΝΑ ΚΕΒ[

Bust r.

]Π / Α[]ΤΑ[

Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.

Ae: 6,11 g; 20 mm.

Archaeological site „Hudojestvena galeria 1980“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 97.

Ruzicka 1933, no.115; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 308.



Fig. 4 – Cat. no 14 (Photo by Lily Grozdanova)

- 14.**
 ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒΑΧΘΗ
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 6,46 g ; 21/22 mm.
 Archaeological site „Staro lyatno kino“, Kyustendil;
 RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 5142.
 Ruzicka 1933, no. 121 (fig. 4).
- 15.**
 [] / ΣΕΒΑΧ[
 Bust r.
 Illegible legend.
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 6,09 g; 21 mm.
 Archaeological site „Vzaimno uchilishte 1977“,
 Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 35/2.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.118.
- 16.**
 ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒΑ[
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 7,31 g; 21/20 mm.
 Archaeological site „Extra muros 1991“, Kyustendil;
 RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΟΦ 4836.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.121, *CCCHBulg* II, no. 316.
- 17.**
 ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒΑΧΘΗ
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 5,26 g; 20,5/20 mm.
 Archaeological site „Extra muros 1991“, Kyustendil;
 RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΟΦ 4837.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.121, *CCCHBulg* II, no. 317.
- 18.**
 ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / [
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 7,74 g; 21 mm.
 Archaeological site „Extra muros 1991“, Kyustendil;
 RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΟΦ 4838.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.123, *CCCHBulg* II, no. 319.
- 19.**
 []Α / ΣΕΒΑ[
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 6,21 g; 21 mm.
 Archaeological site „Vzaimno uchilishte 1977“,
 Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 35/1.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.123.
- 20.**
 ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ / ΝΑΧ[]ΑΧΘΗ
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 4,63 g; 21 mm.
 Archaeological site “Largo 1982”, Kyustendil; RHM
 Kyustendil, Inv. no. 1.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.116; Mušmov 1912, no. 4115;
CCCHBulg II, no. 311.
- 21.**
 ΦΑΥ[]ΣΕΒΑΧΘΗ
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 7,35 g; 20 mm.
 Archaeological site „Largo 1982“, Kyustendil; RHM
 Kyustendil, Inv. no. 26.
 Ruzicka 1933, no.120; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 314.
- 22.**
 ΦΑ[] / ΣΕΒΑΧΘΗ
 Bust r.
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ / ΠΑΥΤΑ[
 Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
 Ae: 4,72 g; 20 mm.
 Archaeological site „Hudojestvena galeria 1980“,
 Kyustendil
 Ruzicka 1933, no. 120; Mušmov 1912, no. 4115;
CCCHBulg II, no. 315
 RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 31.

23.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝ / ΑΣΕΒ[

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠΑΥ / ΤΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 6,30 g; 22/21 mm.

Archaeological site „Gradskak repost 1971“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 28.

Ruzicka 1933, Obv. no. 146; Rev. no. 144.

24.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠΑ / V / ΤΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 5,46 g; 22/21 mm.

Archaeological site „Staro lyatno kino“, Kyustendil;

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 5148.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 150 (fig. 5).



Fig. 5 – Cat. no 24 (Photo by Lily Grozdanova)

25.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ[]ΑΣΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 7,38 g; 22/21 mm.

Archaeological site „Staro lyatno kino“, Kyustendil;

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΗΣΦ ΣΤΛΚ 25.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 142.

26.

[]ΑΥΣΤΕΙΝ / []ΣΕΒ[]ΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠΑ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 7,44 g; 21 mm.

Archaeological site „Dom na politicheskata prosveta“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 117.

Ruzicka 1933, no.146; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 338.

27.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒ[

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ[] / Α[]ΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 5,48 g; 21 mm.

Archaeological site „Chitalishte 1988“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 26.

Ruzicka 1933, Obv. no. 138, Rv. no. 142; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 334.

28.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ ΠΑ / [

Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 6,27 g; 20 mm.

Archaeological site „Dom na knjigata 1984“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 26.

Ruzicka 1933, no.138 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 325.

29.

[]ΝΑ / []Ε[]ΑΣΤ[

Bust r.

[] / []ΤΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 5,44 g; 23/22 mm.

Archaeological excavations in Pautalia, Inv. no. 1; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 1.

Ruzicka 1933, no.150; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 336.

30.

ΦΑΥΣ[

Bust r.

ΟΥΛ[]ΑΙΑΣ

Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 5,94 g; 22/21 mm.

Archaeological site „Dom na knjigata 1984“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 84.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 138-145; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 337.

31.

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙ[] / []ΑΣΤΗ

Bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΠΑ / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ

Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 7,03 g; 21 mm.

Archaeological site „Vzaimno utschiliste 1977“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 187.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 143; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 332

32.

ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙ / ΝΑΚΕΒΑ[]Η
Head r.
ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.
Ae: 7,11 g; 21 mm.
Archaeological site „Vzaimno utschilischte 1977“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 184/2.
Ruzicka 1933, no.142; Mušmov 1912, no. 4114; *CCCHBulg* II, 330.

33.

ΦΑΥΚ[] / ΝΑΚΕΒΑ[]
Head r.
ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ Π / ΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.
Ae: 5,82 g; 22 mm.
Archaeological site „Largo 1982“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 24.
Ruzicka 1933, no.142; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 331

34.

Illegible legend.
Bust r.
]ΤΑΛΙΑΣ
Sarapis r., l. arm holding cornucopiae, r. arm holding patera.
Ae: 22 mm
Archaeological site „Poliklinika 1975“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 162-27.
Bozhkova 1977.

LUCIUS VERUS (161-169)

35.

]Α[] / ΟΥΗΡΟΚ
Head r.
ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ / []ΩΤΩΝ
Female figure, standing.
Ae: 2,5 g; 18 mm.
Archaeological site „Hudojestvena galeria 1980“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. Nr. 24.
CCCHBulg II, no. 339

LUCILLA (164-169)

36.

[]ΟΥΚΙΑ / ΛΑ Κ[]ΕΒΑΚ[]
Head r.
ΟΥΛ / ΠΙΑ[] ΠΙΑ[]ΑΚ
Aequitas standing l., holding cornucopiae and balance.
Ae: 10,13 g; 25 mm.
Archaeological site „Extra muros 1991“; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΟΦ 4840.
Ruzicka 1933, no.176 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 340

COMMODUS (176-192)

37.

[] / ΑΥΚΟΜΟΔΟΚ
Head r.
ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.
Ae: 4,15 g; 18 mm.
Archaeological site „Mogilata 1981“, tomb Nr. 34 from the Nekropolis of Pautalia; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 2.
Ruzicka 1933, no. 243 var.; Mušmov 1912, no. 4143, tab. X. 29; *CCCHBulg* II, 344.

38.

ΑΥΚΑΙΜ / []
Bust r.
ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ
Apollo standing l., holding laurel branch and patera.
Ae: 4,09 g; 18 mm.
Archaeological site „Dervish Banya 1995“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 78.
Ruzicka 1933, no. 230 var., *CCCHBulg* II, no. 342.

39.

ΑΥΚΜ[] / []ΔΟ[]
Bust r.
Illegible inscription.
Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera in her arm.
Ae: 3,80 g; 18/20 mm.
Archaeological site „Dom na knjigata 1984“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 5.
Ruzicka 1933, no. 240, *CCCHBulg* II, no. 343.

40.

Illegible legend.
Bust r.
[] / ΩΤΩΝ
Tripod, around which serpent is entwined.
Ae: 4,69 g; 18/19 mm.
Archaeological site „Dom na politicheskata prosveta“, Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 136.
Ruzicka 1933, no. 257 var., *CCCHBulg* II, no. 345.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211)

41.

ΑΥ. Κ. Α. ΣΕΠ[]
Laureate head r.
Ο[]ΛΠΙΑΣ[] ΠΙΑΥ[]
Tripod, around which serpent is entwined.
Ae: 3,54 g; 15,5/17 mm.
Archaeological site „Extra muros 1991“; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. ΟΦ 4841.
Ruzicka 1933, no. 425 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 351.

42.

AVTK . Λ / CEVHPOC
Laureate head r.
OYAPIACΠ / AVTAAIAC
Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera
in her arm.

Ae: 3,34 g; 19/18 mm.

Archaeological site „Partien dom 1968”, Kyustendil;
RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 41.

Ruzicka 1933, Rev. no. 353.

CARACALLA (198-217)

43.

AVT[]K[]CEV / ANT[]NEINOC
Head r.
OYAPIAC / Π[]TAAIAC
Hera standing l., holding patera and scepter.

Ae: 16,84 g; 30 mm.

Archaeological site „Largo 1982”, Kyustendil; RHM
Kyustendil, Inv. no. 33.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 542; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 355.

44.

AVTKMAVPCEV / ANTΩNEINOC
Laureate head r.
OYAPIAC / ΠAVTAAIAC
Tyche standing l., holding rudder and
cornucopiae.

Ae: 17,58 g; 29 mm.

Archaeological site „Staro lyatno kino”, Kyustendil;
RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 5139.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 660 (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 – Cat. no 44 (Photo by Lily Grozdanova)

45.

AVTKMAVPH / ANTΩNIENOC
Laureate head r.
OYAPIAC Π / AVTAAIAC
Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera
in her arm.

Ae: 16,03 g; 29/30 mm.

Archaeological site „Staro lyatno kino”, Kyustendil;
RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 5147.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 625 (fig. 7).



Fig. 7 – Cat. no 45 (Photo by Lily Grozdanova)

46.

[]AYP[]ANTΩNIANOC
Radiate bust r.
[]YAPII[]TAAIAC
The Snake god Glykon with radiate head, coiled
to r.

Ae: 27 mm.

Archaeological site „Poliklinika 1975”, Kyustendil;
RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 162-10.

Bozhkova 1977; Ruzicka 1933, no. 679.

47.

[]ANTΩNEINOC
Head r.
OYAPIACΠAVTAAIAC
The Snake god Glykon with radiate head, coiled
to r.

Ae: 11,41 g; 28/29 mm. Damaged on one side.

Archaeological site in Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil,
Archaeological excavations in Pautalia, Inv. no. 5.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 678; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 362.

48.

Legend missing in the publication.
Bust r.
Legend missing in the publication.
Female figure, wearing a kalathos, seated l.

Ae: 24 mm

Archaeological site „Poliklinika 1975”, Kyustendil;
RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 162-7.

Bozhkova 1977.

49.

AVT[]AVPH / ANTΩNEINOC
Bust unknown.
OYAPIACΠAVTAAIAC
Eagle between two standards.

Ae: 13,28 g; 29 mm.

Archaeological site „Dom na knigata 1984”^[4],
Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 97.

[4] In the earlier inventory books of RHM Kyustendil the find location “Archaeological site „Domna knigata 1984” can be found as „Dom na kulturata”.

50.

[]/ ANTΩNEINOC

Laureate head r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑC / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑC

Hermes standing r., holding caduceus and purse.

Ae: 14,11 g; 29 mm.

Archaeological excavations in Pautalia, Inv. no. 7

RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 7.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 563; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 357.

GETA (209-212)

51.

Λ[]C[]TI/ΓΕΤΑCΚ

Head of young Geta r.

ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ

A fruit basket.

Ae: 3,63 g; 19/18 mm.

Archaeological site „Dom na knigata 1984”,

Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 25.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 836; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 369.

52.

[]T/ΓΕΤΑCΚ

Laureate bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑC / ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑC

Tyche wearing a kalathos, standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Ae: 3,93 g; 17 mm.

Archaeological site „Hudojestvena galeria 1980”,

Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 59.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 793; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 365.

53.

ΑCΕΠ / []

Laureate bust r.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑ[]ΛΙΑC

Tripod, around which serpent is entwined.

Ae: 3,32 g; 16/18 mm.

Archaeological site „Barza pomosht 1983”,

Kyustendil; RHM Kyustendil, Inv. no. 15.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 811 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 366.

54.

ΠCΕΠΤΙ /ΓΕΤΑCΚ

Laureate bust r.

[] / ΛΙΩΤΩΝ

Dionysos standing l., holding kantharos and thyrsos, panther at feet.

Ae: 3,09 g; 18 mm.

Archaeological site „Extra muros 1991”; RHM

Kyustendil, Inv. no. 9.

Ruzicka 1933, no. 821 var.; *CCCHBulg* II, no. 367.

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MERCANTILIST THOUGHT IN BYZANTIUM

*“The great truisms of economics have no clear discoverers; they are evident for all to see”
(Galbraith 1987, p. 30)*

Alex M. FELDMAN*

Abstract – Defined by beliefs in finite growth and wealth available, mercantilism is applicable to Byzantium. Like other rulers, Byzantine emperors always pursued bullionism, protectionism and were tempted by coin debasement. Yet the difference was the foreign and domestic statuses of merchants

and markets: the emperor was sovereign over all Christians. While mercantilism connotes economic nationalism today, as a by-product of finite growth and rulers’ pursuits of bullion, it derives from Byzantium.

Keywords: economic history – Roman economy – numismatic history – classical economy – Byzantine economy – Renaissance economy – medieval economy

Résumé – Défini par des croyances en une croissance finie et une richesse disponible, le mercantilisme s’applique à Byzance. Comme d’autres souverains, les empereurs byzantins ont toujours recherché le bullionisme, le protectionnisme, et ont été tentés par la dépréciation de la monnaie. Mais la différence réside

dans le statut extérieur et intérieur des marchands et des marchés : l’empereur était souverain sur tous les chrétiens. Si le mercantilisme évoque aujourd’hui le nationalisme économique, en tant que sous-produit de la croissance limitée et de la quête de lingots par les souverains, il dérive de Byzance.

Mots clés : histoire économique – économie romaine – histoire monétaire – économie classique – économie byzantine – économie de la Renaissance – économie médiévale

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ALTHOUGH TYPICALLY A DIFFICULT CONCEPT TO PIN DOWN, mercantilism is traditionally defined by a few distinct features. Four main points come to mind. First, mercantilism generally refers to a regime's interventions in economic life by pursuing policies supporting its own economy – mainly protectionist policies, trade surpluses and the relentless pursuit of seemingly finite commodities (ie., land, bullion, etc.). Among other traits, mercantilist thought usually rests on three primary assumptions: the assumption of a perpetually limited economic growth rate, which typifies agrarian societies; the assumption of a basically finite amount of wealth (measured in bullion and/or land available in the world); and therefore, the assumption that acquiring such wealth would typically amount to a so-called “zero-sum game” (Heckscher 1935, p. xii-14; Johnson *et al.* 2020, p. 3-5, 36). Second, in its earliest, most basic form, mercantilist thought boiled down to what we now call “bullionism,” which was essentially a regime's relentless pursuit of bullion for its own benefit (Hunt 1992, p. 22). Finally, most historians have commonly understood mercantilism as the economic thought typical of 15-18th century European absolutist regimes, which drew on the bullionist fiscal policies modelled by the medieval Italian maritime cities such as Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Amalfi. However, focus on commercial acquisition of precious metals (bullionism) had existed far earlier (Galbraith 1987, p. 32; Weber 1981, p. 345-348; Cameron & Neil 2003, p. 129-130).

This paper will propose Byzantium as the ultimate economic model from which these Italian cities developed their models of early mercantilism, or bullionism. In 1995, the Ukrainian scholar, S. B. Sorochan, pioneered the idea that Byzantine economic thought had much in common with the mercantilist thought otherwise common to the 15-18th c. absolutist regimes. While his work was quite valuable to many fields, such as historical economics and Byzantine and medieval studies, it did not, unfortunately, reach a wide audience in English-speaking countries as it was published in Russian. Building on his work, I will make four primary arguments. First, Byzantine law codes contain stipulations promoting domestic shipping, protectionism, bullion controls and trade surpluses, which prevented the export of certain goods such as lumber and gold to the enemies of the emperor at various times in history – this is a major part of Heckscher's argument, who explains mercantilism as the natural function of the regime to serve the merchant class and protectionism as a primary means to that end (Heckscher 1935; Roll 1942, p. 59). Second, other Byzantine documents advised emperors to relentlessly pursue bullion for the benefit of the empire. Third, the constant temptation of coin debasement for the purpose of short-term buying power, as prevalent in Byzantium as anywhere else, was a significant indicator of mercantilist thought. Finally, based on the Byzantine imperial model, the medieval Italian entrepôts of Venice, Amalfi, Genoa and Pisa formed their own bullionist economies. This was because theoretically, until 1054, they were still *de jure* subject to imperial law and authority and even up to 1204, they effectively functioned *de facto* according to imperial law and authority, as they fought over access to imperial trading rights and privileges. Therefore, we as economic historians must refrain from imagining the medieval Italian maritime cities as separate “states” outside of Byzantium – at least until 1204. It could be conceived that Italian mercantilism emerged from the environment of Byzantine commercial law and shipping.

1. BYZANTINE SHIPPING

Shipping and maritime commerce had always been a major economic sector and source of sovereign revenue in the Mediterranean, all the way back to the remotest antiquity (Taylor 1960, p. 89-90; Laiou & Morriison 2007, p. 13-16; Patai 1998, *passim*). As the Roman Empire spread to incorporate all of the Mediterranean Basin as “*mare nostrum*” by the early second century, Roman authorities sought to stamp out piracy in an effort to protect revenue

bound for imperial coffers. Unsurprisingly, control over shipbuilding, navigation, maritime commerce and the dividends derived from these became a major part of Roman law.

Likewise, navigation, shipbuilding and maritime commercial traditions have always been crucial parts of mercantilist thought – and these pursuits were therefore highly regulated by Byzantine legal codes since the 5th century. For example, the law of Honorius and Theodosius II in 419 forbid the training of barbarians in shipbuilding on pain of death (Pharr *et al.* 1952, 9.40.24). This injunction was consistently repeated in Justinianic laws and later 8-9th c. civil legal codes (Lipshitz 1965, 17.30; 17.60; Blume & Kearley 2008, 9.47.25). Yet because 8-9th c. Byzantine maritime commerce had gradually increased and shipbuilding became slightly more sophisticated, the discouragement of shipbuilding may not have been heavily enforced (Pulak, Ingram & Jones 2015, p. 102-115; Sorochan 1995, p. 127). The increasing importance of Byzantine shipping and shipbuilding in the 8-9th c. is also indicated by the reissuance of the Sea Law (Νόμος Ποδίων Ναυτικός), which testifies of the maritime community's increasing demand for a highly specialized set of laws (Ashburner 1909). Furthermore, the “sharp increase in the frequency of known Byzantine shipwrecks” from the 9-11th centuries, especially in the sea lanes of the Black Sea, indicate the rising extent of Byzantine maritime commerce during this period (Doorninck 2002, p. 902). By the eleventh century, Byzantine maritime commerce had expanded to a large enough extent to be favored in imperial legislation, thereby threatening (along with the famous *allelengyon* tax: Vasiliev 1952, p. 345-349) the traditional prestige of the landowning aristocracy.

After the reign of Basil II, this is best demonstrated in the domestic policies of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055), who opened Senatorial positions to “nearly all the rascally vagabonds of the market” (Psellos *Chronographia*, 170). This policy was later continued under the Doukids before being ended by the policies of the Komnenians (Jacoby 2017, p. 629-630; Laiou & Morrisson 2007, p. 141), who drew support from the landowning aristocracy. The defense of traditional agricultural prestige predated the rhetoric of the 18th c. French physiocrats by some 800 years. According to the *prooimion* of the 10th c. Byzantine agronomical compilation, the *Geōponika*, “Knowing that the state consists of three elements – the army, the clergy, and agriculture – you have devoted no less care to the latter, which is best able to preserve human life”^[1] (quoted in Lefort 2002, p. 231; explained by Bryer 2002, p. 100-113). Contrary to Galbraith's suggestion that such consideration was unique to the French landed nobility (Galbraith 1987, p. 47), it seems that Byzantine economic thought had evinced a similar position to François Quesnay's 1763 seminal work expounding physiocracy, *Philosophie rurale, ou, Économie générale et politique de l'agriculture*:

“Qu'on remonte à la source de ce payement, en suivant la marche de la circulation des espèces représentatives de la richesse dans les différentes mains, par où elles ont passé, l'on trouvera qu'il provient uniquement de la terre, qui produit seule tous les biens de notre usage.”

Fearing the strengthening of the landowning aristocracy, which was frequently prone to revolt (eg: Bardas Phōkas, Bardas Sklēros, Geōrgios Maniakēs, Leō Tornikios), consecutive emperors since the late 8th century were inclined to support merchants and ship-owners (Laiou 2002, p. 1123-1132; Jacoby 2017, p. 632-648).

[1] “Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς εἰς τρία ταῦτα τὴν πολιτείαν διηρημένον, στατείαν τέ φημι καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ γεωγίαν, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην σπουδὴν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εἰσήνεγκας, ὃ μάλιστα τὴν ἀνθρῶπινὴν ζωὴν συγκρατεῖν ἐξέπιστάται” (ed. Beckh 1895, *Geoponica*, 2). Compiled under the direction of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, it would not be too rash to presume that the *prooimion* was authored by none other than himself.

Maintaining the security of domestic shipping and maritime networks, encouraging credit for ship-owners^[2], appointing tariffs and customs officials comprised an imperial policy (Laiou & Morrisson 2007, p. 139-141), which is described as a “permanent struggle for the sea” (Sorochan 1995, p. 127). As long as the shipping was dominated by loyal imperial subjects and not “foreigners”, prosperity could be assured. But regardless of whether the merchants were Italian, Crimean or Anatolian, once “domestic” merchants became “foreign” merchants, such as the case of the Venetians in the late 12th century, when “Byzantine merchants [became] victims of the imperial economic system of restrictions,” from which the Venetians were exempted, the proverbial genie could not be returned to the bottle (Magoulias 1982, p. 120; Nicol 1988, p. 56-57). The issue of “foreign” and “domestic” – in terms of merchant and marketplace – is the most crucial issue on which mercantilist thought is predicated. Hence, the empire sought to protect its domestic commerce, while weakening that of its enemies, resulting in various forms of protectionist measures.

2. BYZANTINE PROTECTIONISM

Let us begin by noting that older scholarship supposed that protectionism and support for trade surpluses did not exist in antiquity (McCormick 2001, p. 7-9, 573-574; Finley 1973, p. 164). Many archaeologists and economic historians have discussed taxes and duties as imposed on insiders and outsiders, but not as imposed on the trade itself which was *defined* as either foreign or domestic. At least until the 10th century, centralized, bureaucratic Byzantine imperial control over crafts and trades in Constantinople ensured typical protectionist conditions (Sorochan 1995, p. 122; Laiou & Morrisson 2007, p. 233-234). If we consider the Byzantine regulation of importation (εἰσάγο/εἰσκομιδή), we could also note that whatever was realistically deemed as “foreign” in Byzantium, was intermittently regulated, resulting in an inchoate form of protectionism. The central issue here is that the Byzantine definition of “foreign” and “domestic” changed considerably over the centuries.

Beginning in the 4-6th centuries, exporting iron, millstones, salt and bread beyond imperial jurisdiction was prohibited. Simultaneously, there were also tax exemptions for importing goods required by the imperial treasury, household and guardsmen (de Laet 1949, p. 475). Later laws such as the Justinianic Code record that agricultural goods ought to be privileged for export, and objects intended for the needs of the court and the army continued to remain privileged. Wine, olive oil, garon, flax, wool, weapons and materials from which they were manufactured, and, most importantly, gold and silver wares, pearls, precious stones, as well as ingots of gold and silver bullion were included later – according to the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Blume & Kearley 2008, vol. 1. *Digesta*, 39.4.11; *idem*, vol. 2. *Codex Justinianus*, 4.41.1-2; 4.63.2) and the *Basilika* (Tröianos 2007, 56.1.20). The latter is very similar to the spontaneous attempts to establish a “monetary balance” possible under the conditions of an availability in the empire of a relatively small stock of gold and silver bullion. It is important to note that these paramount regulations *did not change*, but were added to, over the *longue durée* of imperial history, if only because the definition of *Rōmanía* – by the Romans themselves – changed so immensely over time.

For example, in the early 540s, according to Prokopios of Caesarea, Justinian granted the right to a maritime trade monopoly with Egrisi in Colchis to an imperial corporation, led by

^[2] The question of the seeming inelasticity of accessible bullion and the availability of credit is difficult to answer. Credit-providing mechanisms are certainly evidenced back to the 5th c. BCE (Cohen 1992, p. 14-18) and credit and debt notices are attested on papyrus and other archival documents up to the 13th century, however the footprint of credit on the seeming overall inelasticity of the larger circulation of coinage is negligible (Morrisson 2002, p. 909-910).

Ioānēs Tzivos (Dewing 1914, II.15.1-26; Martindale *et al.* 1992, p. 638; Greatrex & Lieu 2002, p. 115-117). The granting of monopolistic privileges is, incidentally, a hallmark of mercantilist thought (Galbraith 1987, p. 38-39). Under Tzivos, while exporting raw materials and slaves from Colchis to Constantinople at low prices, this organization began imposing inflated prices on the Laz, which caused a local uprising under king Gubazēs II and his defection to Persia in 542, blurring the status of Lazica/Colchis as within Christendom or beyond it.

Justinian also sought to discourage trade with Sassanid Persia by encouraging importation of silk from Ethiopia, a neighboring Christian polity in an effort to undercut Persian profits (Dewing 1914, I.20.9-12). According to Sorochan (1995, p. 124), while imports were encouraged in order to prevent this civil strife such as the Nika revolts, trade was specifically discouraged with non-Christians. By the 8th c., the *Book of the Eparch* basically sought to ensure the lowest possible prices on as many goods as possible, even if, to summarize Nicole's ideas, it was also an instrument which determined access to profit (Nicole 1894, introduction), itself a product of a larger process of economic bureaucratization (Banaji, 2001, p. 217-218). However, after Islamic forces overran vast swathes of the Levant and Syria containing major centers for silkworm breeding, the importation of silkworms was newly incentivized for the purpose of silk production (Jacoby 2004, p. 197-240). By the time of the issue of the *Book of the Eparch*, regulations were set on silk acquired by local *kommerkiarioi* in order to protect Byzantine merchants from foreigners, who were forced to suppress the price of their goods and to adjust their value based on Byzantine tariffs (Nicole 1894, p. 5-8). In fact, even provincial merchants were restricted from buying more than 10 *nomismata* worth of silk - demonstrating a considerable overlap between the Byzantine imperial conception of "provincial" and "foreign," even before the mid-11th century (Sorochan 1995, p. 124-125). Merchants importing silks to Constantinople in the 9-10th centuries, were also exempt from all trade duties, on a par with their buyers, if the clearance sale took place at a *mitato* (a trading post, usually with servicing taxes), according to the *Book of the Eparch* (Nicole 1894, 6.5).

It is also true that the *Book of the Eparch* stipulated that many types of imports must be discounted in order to be marketed in the imperial capital (Nicole 1894, 5.3, 6.8, 9.3). Constantinople being by far the largest Christian marketplace, importers were essentially forced to obey such protectionist measures, not just for the protection of Christian subject-merchants, but also Christian subject-consumers. In other words, this was for the benefit of Byzantine merchants and also Byzantine consumers (Harris, 2003, 5-6). By the early 8th c., the competitiveness of merchants from outside Constantinople, whether from Corinth, Ephesos or Venice was also significantly weakened by limitations on their residence in the imperial city to a few months, which did not exist before, in the 7th c. (Sorochan 1995, p. 125). Ultimately, early Byzantine imperial policies were not forced to distribute benefits and privileges to the merchants of various cities (again, whether Corinth, Ephesos or Venice) as much as were implemented in later centuries.

Later in the 8th century, we can actually see hard evidence of "foreignness" and "domesticity" regarding Byzantine commercial and foreign policy. For example, the Byzantine wars with the pagan Bulgars and Islamic Caliphate in the 8-9th centuries were characterized as some of the earliest economic wars (Sophoulis 2012, p. 173-179; Domanovskij 2004, p. 158-168), since merchants deemed as "foreign" were not allowed to compete on equal terms in the Christian capital city. These wars have also been held responsible for capital flight from Constantinople and therefore capital controls (Morrisson 2002, p. 928, 941-942). The peace treaties concluding these wars specifically permit the unhampered trade of merchants on both sides with each other (Grypeou *et al.* (eds.) 2006, p. 79; Kaegi 2010, p. 89; Turtledove 1982, p. 176-177). Similar policies were put into place to govern commerce between Romans

and Rus' in the 10-11th centuries, as revealed by Byzantine coin finds along the Dnieper River (Morrisson 2002, p. 964) and in the many commercial treaties preserved in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cross & Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, p. 65-69, 73-78 and 89-90). Similar motivations for plundering Byzantine dominions among Rus' merchants and raiders endured well into the eleventh century (Feldman 2018, p. 3-25).

Elsewhere, we can see protectionist measures distinctly after the coup on August 15, 797, in Empress Irēnē's decree reducing tolls on all ships in general, importing any cargoes into the capital, recorded by Theophanēs the Confessor (Turtledove 1982, p. 157). It seems this decree was meant to stabilize and/or equalize importation opportunities for all Christian merchants, having been endorsed by various merchants and imperial corporations – so long as imports were encouraged.

Beginning in the 9th century, we note several new commercial regulations in various Byzantine law codes (and chronicles) expressly referring to cost protections for many types of basic consumer goods and foodstuffs (ie., meat, fuel, clothing, cereal, fish, etc.) – to the extent that clearly the authorities actively sought to keep food prices low in the capital – ostensibly to prevent famine and the consequent social instability. For example, there was a prohibition against importing so-called “Gallic soap,” punishable by a 25-*nomismata*-fine and banishment from the imperial city, according to the *Book of the Eparch* (Nicole 1894, 12.4). Other examples can be found in the late-9th c. *Basilika*, articles VI, IX, XI, XIII, XV-XIX (Heimbach 1833-1870); in the early-9th c. works of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Nikēphoros (Mango 1990, p. 161); in the *Chrōnographia* of Theophanēs Continuatus (Bekker 1838, p. 87); in the late-9th c. *Eisagōgē* of Leō and Alexander (Signes-Codoñer & Andrés Santos 2007, T4, T6; Macrides 1986, p. 62), and in the work of Iōannēs Skylitzēs (Wortley 2010, p. 266-267). Imperial authority, such as via the novellae of Leō VI, made it clear that vendors of the most in-demand goods could not overcharge for their wares (Trōianos 2007, no. 63). This was ostensibly in service to ideals of maintaining equality before the law (Medvedev 2019, p. 87-88) and social justice (Laiou 2002, p. 1123-1132).

Commercial privileges were never granted equally. At least until the mid-10th century, according to the *Book of the Eparch* (Nicole 1894, 9.1, 9.7), members of certain guilds, such as the linen/cotton workers' guild (οθωνιοπράται – othōniopratai, μιθανεῖς – *mithaneis*), could buy and sell at wholesale prices, while non-guild members could only sell linen at retail prices. According to Koder, these regulations governed “Romaioi as well as non-Romaioi,” and there is no doubt that anyone else wishing to purchase linen items did not have the right to resell the commodity to others (Koder 2013, p. 83) – resulting in a degree of *de facto* protectionism. The flaxen goods imported from “outside” had to be sold purely “carried on their shoulders,” whereas members of local networks of *othōniopratai* could display any quantity of their goods on stationary market stalls and in the *ergastiria* of Constantinople. These were characteristic of “best practices” according to the *Book of the Eparch* (Mavridis & Vatalis 2014, p. 425-434).

Up to at least the 11th century, the regulation for Rus' merchants' purchases of silk changed depending on whether they were deemed as “foreign” within the empire (Lopez 1945, p. 35), even as Venetian merchants were still considered imperial subjects. The regulation of imports into *Rōmanía* essentially became relegated to local merchants (Ahrweiler 1974, p. 161-178). These “local merchants,” whether they were from Anatolia, Cherson, Italy, or points further west, whose status as “foreign” or “domestic” was never clearly specified, should never be automatically assumed as “foreign.” Venetian merchants, therefore, were still considered as Byzantine subjects as late as the 1070s, even if the Venetians themselves may have claimed full independence (Nicol 1988, p. 56-57) – so long as the customs duties on exports were set at seven times greater than those levied on imports for Byzantine subjects, including Venetians

and other Christian merchants (Sjuzjumov 1951, p. 34). These regulations were implemented in the 9-11th centuries as essentially capital controls to prevent the leaking and resulting shortages of bullion, crafts and foodstuffs to points beyond imperial jurisdiction.

However, scholars such as Sorochan (1995, p. 123) and Ducellier (1988, p. 181-187) commit anachronistic analyses when they conclude that therefore, until the Great Schism of 1054, Byzantium *cannot* be considered as protectionist, since it left its “country defenseless” in the face of Western European economic pressure. This position is problematic since it assumes that Western Europe was foreign, or part of a different “state.” There is no evidence of which I am aware of which stipulates that Byzantine emperors until 1054 considered Western Christendom as beyond their jurisdiction. In other words, statehood as we understand it now did not exist.

Many scholars continue to make assumptions regarding the status of certain goods; which were deemed as “foreign” and which as “domestic” in Constantinople before 1204. These assumptions frequently prove oversimplistic – regardless of the variability of imperial legislation privileging one set of merchants or another – because the emperors were theoretically sovereign over all Christians. Therefore, ‘foreignness’ was subject to change over the centuries in Byzantium, even though it remains a relatively stable concept in modern scholarship. Ultimately, even Sorochan himself was forced to conclude that in general, Byzantine laws and decrees supported protectionism, even if the “foreign” and “domestic” were never as neatly defined as they typically are in modern economic discourse, resulting in a measure of *de facto* mercantilist economic thought (Sorochan 1995, p. 29).

In fact, even after 1204, economic protectionism against foreigners was neither ‘something introduced’ – borrowed from “the Latins” nor surprising. We may consider the lamentation of Nikēphoros Grēgoras (c. 1295-1360), that it had become impossible to distinguish a Roman from a foreigner by his clothing; since during his time, Western European merchandise began to supplant the domestic merchandise in Constantinople (Schopen & Bekker 1855, 3.554). During the 13-14th centuries, we can see attempts to implement broadly similar protectionist policies by the Nikaeian emperors, especially under Iōannēs Vatatzēs, and the Palaiologan emperors Andronikos II, Iōannēs V and Iōannēs VI Kantakouzēnos. Geōrgios Gemistos Plēthōn insisted on protectionism, having presented a comprehensive program of economic reforms to the despot of the Morea, Theodōros II and the basileus Manuēl II [*Geōrgios Akropolitēs* (Macrides 2007, p. 230-235); *Nikēphoros Grēgoras* (Schopen & Bekker 1829, p. 41-44 and 229); Dölger 1924, nos. 2945 and 2956; Thiriet 1958, nos. 342, 551, 575; Laiou & Morrisson 2007, p. 229-230).

Protectionism had always been a cornerstone of Byzantine economic policy, if only to restrict the leaking of precious commodities and other goods to points beyond imperial jurisdiction. Emperors were always seeking to fix a positive balance based on the assumption of a finite amount of wealth available in the world – defined in terms of land and/or bullion. Thus, we return to the earliest imperial commercial prescriptions according to the Justinianic *Corpus Juris Civilis* – the most important commodities which *could never leave imperial jurisdiction* were precious gems and pearls, as well as gold and silver bullion. The policy of accumulating as much bullion as possible within one’s sovereign jurisdiction is known as “bullionism” and it is typically regarded as the basic monetary policy of mercantilism. This became a cornerstone of Byzantine economic policy over the centuries.

3. BYZANTINE BULLIONISM

Before we discuss the imperial pursuit of bullion, which is mentioned in several sources, we should also consider that the laws governing manuals and annalistic advisory texts from one

emperor to his successor – to accumulate and preserve as much gold and silver as possible – were just as prevalent in the Byzantine tradition as in any other ruling tradition. The capital controls in the early centuries of Byzantium – those designed to ensure that gold and silver remained accessible to the emperors and within imperial jurisdiction were preserved for centuries. In the 4th c., for example, exports were encouraged by the Theodosianic laws (Pharr *et al.* 1952, 4.13.8; 7.16.3) in order to ensure a positive trade balance, but this encouragement was only limited to certain goods, such as handicrafts, which were objectively profitable for emperors (and therefore encouraged for export) – but never gold, silver or other objects of much higher intrinsic value. The development of craft production was objectively profitable for emperors in order to increase the collection of taxes from their sale and export (Sorochan 1995, p. 29).

Nevertheless, at all times imperial policy sought to prevent the outflow of bullion from the limits of imperial jurisdiction and to “accumulate reserves of metal whenever it could” (Morrisson 2002, p. 940). In the 6th century, Prokopios accuses the emperor Justinian of squandering imperial gold and silver on overly generous gifts to “barbarians” who were not always accountable to the emperors (Atwater 1961, p. 95-97). By the 9th century the novellae of Leō VI explicitly cautioned against hoarding and lamented that the pursuit of money was considered a misery which emperors endeavored to avoid (Trōianos 2007, nos 52-62). Rulers were completely clear on their dependence on the amount of bullion they had access to – something Iōannēs Skylitēs describes in the monetary policy of emperor Nikēphoros II (Wortley 2010, p. 263-264), and which Michaēl Psellos clarifies in his description of the emperor Michaēl VII (Sewter 1979, p. 368). Keeping such high-value objects within imperial jurisdiction was the most reliable guarantee; many sources persistently mention the fluctuation of imperial bullion reserves (Hendy 1985, p. 224-26). In the mid-10th c., Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, writing in the *De Administrando Imperio* (13.12-13.28), specifically broaches the topic of capital controls, advising his successors not to let imperial gems, gold and other objects of high value slip beyond imperial jurisdiction as gifts to any so-called “ἔθνος τῶν βορείων” (Moravcsik & Jenkins 1967, 13.25). By the 12th century, Byzantine authors remark about the “mass-production process that was affected by [those] who worked for whole months, even years, night and day to watch over and control the flux and reflux of the gold” (Morrisson 2002, p. 915-916). After 1204, the diffusion of imperial monetary policy had been adopted by local rulers in the Balkans and Anatolia (Grierson 1982, p. 269-275) and Venetian bullionism largely replaced imperial monetary policy as the main “international media of exchange” (Morrisson 2002, p. 964-966).

Another way to ensure the maintenance of capital controls was to mandate monetary purchases within the capital city, if only “to maintain a continuous and flexible monetary system” (Mavridis & Vatalis 2014, p. 427). For example, Byzantine regimes sought to prevent direct commercial relations between those deemed as “foreigners” within Constantinople and at imperial *mitata*, obliging foreigners to sell their goods only to “Romans” and to purchase exclusively from them (Sorochan 1995, p. 126). However, the issue of the inhabitants of lands deemed as foreign by imperial policy was always subject to change. Therefore, it is difficult to determine where Byzantine emperors thought their jurisdiction ended since they were theoretically sovereign over all Christians, which explains Byzantine coins’ diffusion “outside the empire” as evidence of “a measure of its political and economic influence” (Morrisson 2002, p. 962-963). Because bullion was understood to be an inelastic commodity (and exporting it was prohibited), such merchants were in theory compelled to either spend all their profits before leaving the confines of Byzantium or be limited to barter (Todorova 1987, p. 165-174).

Because bullion was always seen as a finite commodity, and since the content of silver or gold in a given coin bore the actual value of it all kinds of rulers, from emperors to princes, sought to stretch their short-term purchasing power by debasing their own coins (Feldman 2018, p. 1-12). In periods of instability, such as in the third quarter of the 11th century, and for the same reasons of the finite supply of precious metals, we can clearly see that coin debasement had become a serious problem. This too demonstrates ‘bullionism’, if only because economic policy was rooted in the assumption of limited wealth (Luttwak 2009, p. 55; Galbraith 1987, p. 24-30; Morrisson 2002, p. 944-945). Consider the extensive comparative research on Byzantine numismatics before and after the 11th century. Even though Kaplanis and Morrisson may have disagreed slightly over the precise short-term causes of the debasements in the 11th c., they did not seriously disagree about its long-term implications (Kaplanis 2003, p. 768-801; Morrisson 2002, p. 944-46.). From the 1060s up to the late 1070s, Byzantine silver and gold coins had been debased to dreadful levels. Neither scholar disagrees with Nikephoros Vryennios, in that this was ultimately due to the imperial loss of most of Anatolia to the Turks (Meineke 1836, 4.1, Hendy 1985, p. 235); gold could not be replaced because Anatolia itself could not be replaced (Laiou 2002, p. 1126). My argument is that that most incidents of coin debasement were a manifestation of bullionism, and therefore mercantilist thought.

4. THE DIFFUSION OF BYZANTINE MERCANTILIST THOUGHT

The premises of mercantilist thought, which were true for Constantinople and her emperors, would also have been true for any other city and its rulers. All their policies were predicated on the same set of seemingly permanent economic assumptions: first, the assumption of a perpetually limited economic growth rate – typical in agrarian societies; second, the belief in a basically finite amount of wealth (ultimately measured in bullion and/or land) available, and therefore, acquiring such wealth would usually presuppose a policy of zero-sum thinking (Hecksher 1935, p. xii-14; Johnson *et al.* 2020, p. 3-5, 36). This necessitated capital controls, protectionism and the levying of various customs duties (Galbraith 1987, p. 40-41).

It was not just Constantinople which sought to maintain a positive trade balance – ie. exporting high-quality crafts, finished wares and local specialties while effectively seeking to accumulate bullion reserves and other necessities while maintaining currency controls. Constantinople’s trade balance was a simple, yet effective model and other cities increasingly inherited the model even before 1204. An autonomous city council which frequently acted on behalf of commercial interests became established in Thessaloniki in the 11-15th centuries (Kambouri-Vamvoukou & Katsoni 2016, p. 561-590; Necipoğlu 2003, p. 133-151). Similar developments occurred during the same period in Trebizond (Feldman 2013, p. 100-103). Amastris, for example, provided for itself in the late-9th c. by importing many commodities, while exchanging them for something profitable for foreign merchants elsewhere (Migne 1864, p. 421; Sharp 2011, p. 53-117; Zavagno 2009, p. 129-151; Feldman 2013, p. 96-100). Chersōn, which had displayed a centuries-long tradition of autonomy, maintained its own trade balance and merchant class (Cechova 2014, p. 229-236; Feldman 2013, *passim*; Carter (ed.) 2003, p. 27-40; Romanchuk 2000, p. 86-130). Like many other concepts from Byzantium through Chersōn, the Byzantine economic model was also later implemented in Kiev, Novgorod and subsequently, elsewhere in the Rus’ lands (Feldman 2018, p. 1-12; Shepard 2009; Martin 2006, p. 161-172), where bullion brought from Byzantium had “a mercantile and not merely a military role” (Morrisson 2002, p. 964).

We see similar economic policies appearing in other cities in the western half of the empire, especially on the Adriatic coastline (Kontogiannopoulou 2015). After 1204, it is well-known that Italian port cities such as Venice and Genoa, Amalfi and Pisa, adopted similar policies,

such as protecting “domestic” merchantry, relentlessly pursuing bullion, instituting capital controls and other forms of protectionism and so forth. This became widespread by the late 13th c. (Kadens 2015, p. 264; Galbraith 1987, p. 45; Cameron & Neil 2003, p. 59), resulting in specifically merchant classes focused on Constantinopolitan commerce (Reinert & Fredona 2017, p. 3-6). It is no surprise that legal adjudication using the *Corpus Juris Civilis* is so well attested among the archetypal mercantilist classes of these autonomous Italian cities (Haley 2011, p. 31-33). The major difference, however, was that for the Byzantines after 1204, the Italian cities could no longer be considered “domestic.” In fact, from the early 13th century and later, Justinianic law repurposed as Venetian law applied to retrospective Byzantine cities such as Candia and Crete, supported and resulted in urban, merchant classes engaged in pursuit of commercial profit (McKee 2000, p. 168-178).

This is not to say that imperial policies had as much success and maintained as much control over capital as the emperors would have liked. Despite many prohibitions on the movement of bullion beyond imperial jurisdiction, no shortage of modern numismatists can point out the many hoards and single-finds of Byzantine coins from all over Europe and Eurasia, some well away from imperial influence. Still, from the Justinianic era until at least the 11th century, Byzantine “mercantilism” may not have been a unified theory for commercial statecraft. Emperors’ policies were limited only by the changing definitions of “foreignness” and “domesticity” in regards to merchant and marketplace, since the emperor was theoretically sovereign over all Christians. Certainly after 1204, bullionist and protectionist policies became more entrenched in the various guises of Byzantine policymaking. Based on every indicator: the consistent prohibitions on the export and import of certain goods, the efforts to preserve and increase the amount of money and precious metals within the empire, the selective taxation of prices and profits, mandatory public purchasing, the ensured delivery of the most essential products to the marketplace, the adoption of measures against foreign competition, the mandatory obligation for foreigners to spend their monetary profits within the empire, the granting of commercial monopolies to particular corporations or persons and the maintenance of shipping routes, it is clear that mercantilist thought was not accidental in Byzantium.

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ANCIENT COINS ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MAPS: SOME PROVISIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

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Abstract – This study offers a rapid overview of what can be deduced about coin exchanges from archaeological site maps. No more than 68 publications have been collected (a disappointing number in itself) and dealt with by broad categories:

sanctuaries, cities, military camps, villas, etc. The number of robust conclusions we can draw remain meagre and somehow trivial. With special attention to the many biases, a short list of points to bear in mind is presented.

Keywords: archaeological site maps – coin spatial distribution – places of monetary exchanges – numismatic methodology – level of monetization

Résumé – Cette étude propose un rapide tour d’horizon de ce que l’on peut déduire des échanges de monnaies à partir des cartes de sites archéologiques. Soixante-huit publications seulement ont été rassemblées (un nombre décevant en soi) et traitées par grandes

catégories : sanctuaires, villes, camps militaires, villas, etc. Le nombre de conclusions solides que l’on peut tirer reste maigre et quelque peu dérisoire. Avec une attention particulière aux nombreux biais, on fournit une courte liste de points à garder à l’esprit.

Mots clés : cartes de sites archéologiques – distribution spatiale des monnaies – lieux d’échanges monétaires – méthodologie numismatique – niveau de monétarisation

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THIS STUDY OFFERS A GENERAL OVERVIEW of what can be deduced about coin exchanges from archaeological site maps. It is the natural extension of a paper given at a conference in Kassel entitled: “Coins as a proxy for the places of exchanges in Antiquity: what can be deduced so far from archaeological site maps”. As it is about coins as a proxy for places of exchange, it ignores funerary contexts entirely, and for the most ritual depositions also.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MAPS WITH COIN DISTRIBUTION: A DISAPPOINTING QUEST

Collecting archaeological reports with distribution maps for coins proves to be a very disappointing quest, with much less than one report out of one hundred supplying that kind of information (Faucher 2016, p. 114-116). Even the exemplary coin publications of major archaeological sites by distinguished numismatists fail to offer distribution maps^[1], and the number of such maps provided in recent specific enterprises about coins in archaeological contexts remain unimpressive: nothing in the *Coins and the Archaeologist* edited by John Casey and Richard Reece in 1974 (Casey & Reece 1974) or in the recent book by Philippa Walton: *Rethinking Roman Britain: coinage and archaeology* (Walton 2012); only one map in the proceedings of the conference held in Athens in 1995: *Numismatic archaeology. Archaeological numismatics*^[2]; three at the numismatic conference held in Cadiz in 2007 about *Moneda y Arqueología*^[3]; five in the eight first issues of the *Journal of Archaeological Numismatics* launched by Jean-Marc Doyen^[4]; five more in the proceedings of the conference held in Athens in November 2014: *Les monnaies de fouille du monde grec (VI^e-I^{er} s. a.C.). Apports, approches et méthodes*^[5], and a not greater number in the recently published proceedings of the conference held in Rome in September 2011: *Numismatica e Archeologia. Monete, stratigrafie e contesti. Dati e confronto*^[6].

All in all, I have been able to gather some 68 publications including such kinds of maps (see bibliography). Things are certainly missing but likely not to the point of doubling the current bibliography.

Looking at the distribution (see Table 1, column 2), one observes that the Greek world *lato sensu* is much less well represented than the Roman world. Also that Iron Age and Gallo-Roman sanctuaries are very well represented, all the more if we take into account not the number of publications but the number of sites for which we do possess maps covering a substantial part of them, and not just one building (Table 1, column 3). Conversely, the Greek world is poorly documented with only three sites (Nemea, Olynthus and Thonis-Herakleion)

[1] See Kroll 1993; Geneviève 2000; Peter 2001 (despite fig. 3); Butcher 2003; Doyen 2007a; Gricourt, Naumann & Schaub 2009; Picard *et al.* 2012; Frey-Kupper 2013 and Pardini 2017.

[2] Sheedy & Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997 (see Hainzmann 1997 [Aigeira]).

[3] See Arévalo González 2009 (López Rosendo 2009, p. 247 [Cadix], Sánchez Loaiza 2009, p. 529 [Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cadiz]; Domínguez Arranz & Aguilera Hernández 2009, p. 448 [Zaragoza]).

[4] See Severs 2011 (Liberchies); Martin 2011 (Fréjus); Cardon & Lemaire 2014 (Étaples); Bielmann, Gil & Kilka 2018 (Oedenburg); Jambu 2018 (Saint-Germain-en-Laye).

[5] Duyrat & Grandjean (eds.) 2016 (see Davies 2016 [Olynthus]; Faucher 2016, p. 115 [quoting Ujes 2011, p. 117 Rizan]; Meadows 2016 [Thonis-Herakleion], Kremydi & Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2016 [Aigeai]; Akamatis 2016 [Pella]).

[6] Pardini, Parise & Marani 2018 (see Boaro & Pavoni 2018 [Cordignano]; Horsnaes 2018 [Bornholm]; Ivanišević & Stamenković 2018 [Caricin Grad]; Manfredi & Susanna 2018 [Sabratha]; Mora Serrano 2018 [Malaga]).

out of thirteen for which we are fortunate to have maps indicating where coins have been found.

Periods	Publ.	Substantial part of sites
Greek world lato sensu	13	3
Iron age and Gallo-Roman sanctuaries	17	24
Roman world lato sensu	38	24
Medieval	6	6
Modern	5	5
Total	68	51

Table 1 - Distribution of publications with archaeological site maps that take coins into account

The general situation so far is highly disappointing, all the more considering that very few of these archaeological reports provide information on the excavated context a simple but fundamental parameter if we want to have a chance to compare different sites^[7]. To give an order of magnitude, there is not one case of an archaeological site out of 1,000 to give both the location of the coins and the excavated context.

This situation promises to change rapidly. GIS (Geographic Information Systems) are becoming more and more common practice on regular archaeological excavations. It is likely that the current poor number of not even 100 archaeological site maps localizing coins will be at least doubled in the next ten years. Very ambitious projects have been announced such as the emblematic sites of Delos (Fadin & Chankowski 2016) and Pergamon. Not wanting to wait for these expected developments, here what can be deduced with some level of confidence from the available sets of maps at our disposal is considered, focusing on the best case-studies^[8]. As should be clear from the start, there are few robust statements to be made, and most of them are trivial.

Before trying to identify some patterns by looking at coins on archaeological maps, it is important to keep in mind how most coins discovered during excavations are generally not found in primary contexts. It all depends of the history of the site. For Monte Iato, coins in primary contexts are estimated at 16% by Suzanne Frey-Kupper (Frey-Kupper 2013), while this percentage falls to 11% for Gibil Gabib, near Caltanissetta (13 out 117) (Sole 2012, p. 148-149). A totally frightening result (1%) is argued for Pompeii by Steven Ellis:

“Moreover, although reasonably classified as from ‘occupation/use’ contexts, almost all of them were recovered from primary waste deposits. Just nine coins (barely 1 per cent of our entire coin assemblage!) were found in association with a secure, primary context: five were sealed under collapsed architecture and within burnt destruction layers, while four were associated with ritual deposits” (Ellis 2017).

^[7] On this, see Callataÿ 2006, p. 192 (Additional remarks: a surface index), quoting as exceptions for the Greek world Hackens 1970 (Delos: House of the Comedians, 507 coins for c. 1,920 m² = 1 coin per c. 3.8 m²) and Nicolaou 1990 (Paphos: House of Dionysos, 596 coins for c. 5,000 m² = 1 coin per c. 8.4 m²). And beyond surfaces, we would like to be informed about excavated volumes (see Redin 1989, p. 12 “The number of coins found at specific excavations must be considered in relation to the size of the excavated area and the volume of the layers investigated”). See also Callataÿ 2016, p. 245.

^[8] Maps created from a patchwork of small-scale excavations are then of limited help. They normally cannot define zones of higher coin circulation, all the more so if the excavated surface is not given. See the maps produced for the cities of Basel (Furger-Gunti & Kaenel 1976); Evreux (Guihard 2001, p. 167, fig. 64); Famars (Gricourt & Laude 1984, p. 316); Malaga (Mora Serrano 2012, p. 413, fig. 3 and 2018, p. 555, fig. 1.5) or Olten (Schinzel 2018, p. 40).

Among the many possible biases^[9], intensive ploughing is to be taken into consideration as responsible for large dispersal of what originally was together. Helle Horsnaes demonstrates interestingly how 20 Roman Republican denarii, a kind of coinage rarely found in Denmark, have been spread in Skellerup over a large surface (more than 30 metres by 30 metres), although it is certain that they were all part of the same hoard (Horsnaes & Refshauge Beck 2018). Another interesting case is provided by a structure excavated in the ancient city of Rhizon in which 133 bronze coins have been discovered scattered on the floor of several rooms. As all the identified coins are in the name of king Ballaios and belong to the same coinage, we are left with the nearly inescapable conclusion that they come from a hoard concealed in the floor above.

1. SANCTUARIES

Iron Age and Gallo-Roman sanctuaries arguably form our best, although peculiar, repetitive evidence^[10]. David Wigg-Wolf has extensively published on the topic and especially on the Treveran oppidum of Martberg with a strong concentration of coin finds in some sanctuaries, more precisely in ditches located at the entrance (Wigg-Wolf 2005, 2013 and 2018)^[11].

“Clusters of coins at the entrance to sanctuaries or enclosures are a common feature of Iron Age ritual sites, and are presumably linked to *rites de passage*, and the transit from profane to sacred areas” (Wigg 2005, p. 377).

At Martberg, sanctuary entrances in particular are the place where gold coins and chopped coins have been discovered, with the compulsory conclusion that these consecrated coins were left intentionally. Comparing Martberg with Bastendorf and other Treveran oppida, David Wigg-Wolf concludes:

“From this brief survey of ritual practices at several Treveran sanctuaries it is clear that there are certain recurring elements and patterns of deposition which are common to many ritual sites. But at the same time there is a great deal of local variation, not just between individual sanctuaries, but even at the same site” (Wigg 2005, p. 379).

That may be true in the details, but looking at other well documented sites, one is more inclined to see similarities as with the great Arvernan sanctuary of Corrent (Puy-de-Dôme). As a rule, 1) coins have been found in great number and 2) they are located massively at the entrance (which is not the case of other categories of artefacts such as pearls for example), reinforcing the idea of ritual deposits. The same is true for the Gallo-Roman temple excavated in the forest of Halatte (Oise)^[12], and one could add other examples, including the Gallo-Roman sanctuary located on the territory of Saint-Beauzély (Aveyron)^[13].

^[9] Any link between the abundance of coins and some economic prosperity is extremely difficult to establish. It often happens that the opposite is true according to what is known after Richard Reece (Reece 1971) as the “Fishbourne Palace rule”, the functioning of which could be basically described in the following terms: it is because people were rich enough to afford hard floors in their houses that no coins are found there by modern archaeologists. Conversely, it is because they were too poor to afford hard floors that dropped coins were not recovered (see also Doyen 2011).

^[10] For Greek sanctuaries, see Buttrey 1997 and Stefanakis 2009.

^[11] As noticed by Delestrée, there are sanctuaries with coins and sanctuaries without (Delestrée 1996, p. 121-122).

^[12] Berdeaux-Le Brazidec & Durand 2000, p. 260-263, fig. 1-8.

^[13] For other coin maps, see *e.g.* Haselgrove 1987, p. 14 (Woodcock), 363 (Colchester), 384 (Harlow Temple), 421 (Braughing), 437 (St. Albans), 445 (Canterbury), 462 (Caburn); Brunaux 1987, p. 15, fig. 2 (Gournay-

In all these cases, the abundance of recovered coins is not due to the intensity of transactions (the so-called “economy of the profane” of this conference) but to the intentional abandonment of coins leaving forever the economic system (the so-called “economy of the sacred”)^[14]. Saying that, we have to be aware that such an opposition will sound outdated to the many who feel they have recently achieved the opposite consensus: that the finances of Greek sanctuaries were not run differently from public finances and it would be fictitious to maintain such a simplistic opposition. The coin accumulations in Iron Age and Gallo-Roman sanctuaries do not or only very poorly reflect all the commercial fairs and economic activities linked with temples and sanctuaries which formed a major reality of the Greco-Roman world but seem to have left a minor trace in the archaeological record.

2. CITIES

Dealing with the so-called “economy of the profane”, the less ambiguous phenomenon we may observe at the scale of an archaeological site is pretty much a truism: coins tend to be found in greater quantities in places where they have been exchanged. Although not without biases, that is what dramatically appears on two maps for Pompeii. For Regio VI.1, published by Richard Hobbs, there is a remarkable correlation between coins and *tabernae*, or coins and shrines. Conversely, very few coins have been found in the large *Casa delle Vestali* or *Casa del Chirurgo*, which occupy more than half the space (Hobbs 2013, 2015). While for Regio VIII, 7 published by Giacomo Pardini (Pardini 2017) and commented by Steven Ellis, c. 70% (701 coins) of the total assemblage were “recovered from within those trenches along the street front, which mostly represent shops” (Ellis 2017, p. 315)^[15]. That coins were predominantly found along the streets and in or near building’s entrances looks to be the rule with few exceptions^[16]. This is also one of the main conclusions about the coin finds from the Augustan legionary fortress and Flavian *canabae legionis* at Nijmegen, where coins are concentrated along roads and on the premises of houses (Kemmers 2006, p. 29-31 and 143). Commenting on a similar pattern in Fréjus (Var), Stéphane Martin writes: “What are the implications? That coins were mostly lost in the public spaces, next to the street, where productive activities were carried out, and that no or few coins were handled in the private sphere” (Martin 2011)^[17].

Looking at entire cities, coins tend to concentrate near market places. This is what is apparent at Sagalassos, where coins have been found in largest quantities in the upper agora and in the *macellum* (but we have to take into account that these are the most thoroughly excavated areas) (Stroobants 2018, p. 344, fig. 10). This is what seems to emerge as well from the old excavations at Olynthos recently reworked by Nick Cahill, who was able to produce a map showing the relative intensity of coin finds (fig. 1)^[18].

sur-Aronde); Clément *et al.* 1987, p. 40, 43, 45 (Trogouzel); Fisher & Buchsenschutz 1987, p. 141, 143-144 (Levroux); Piette 1987, p. 223-224 (La Villeneuve au-Châtelot); Curteis 2006, p. 71 (Verlamion), 72 (Gorhambury), 73 (Baldock, site BALI), 74 (Baldock A); Guihard 2011, p. 333 (Cracouville-le-Vieil-Évreux) and 339 (Fesques, Le “Mont du Val au Moine” [Seine Maritime]).

^[14] We can be much more assertive than the hypothetical tone used by Theodore V. Buttrey in his publication of the coins of the extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene: “the find coins may reflect intensity of worship rather than of monetary circulation” (Buttrey 1997, p. I).

^[15] For a detailed publication of the coins of Regio VIII, 7, see Pardini 2017.

^[16] For the sanctuary of Nemea, see Knapp & Mac Isaac 2005, fig. 19 (for the coins of Philip II and Alexander); for the *vicus* of Petinesca-Vorderberg (Switzerland), see Frey-Kupper 2002.

^[17] On another case of coins largely concentrated before entrances, see Martin 2015, p. 164 and 171, fig. 2 (Besançon, parking de la Mairie).

^[18] See Clément & Robinson 1938 and Cahill 2002, p. 267, fig. 60 (republished by Davies 2016, p. 32, fig. 1).

The agora itself has not been excavated but Cahill comments on finds found in the adjacent streets and houses, for which both isolated coins and coin deposits seems to be less abundant the further one moves away from the agora towards the north. An additional comment of a different nature comes from Delos, where the mix of various coinages is much higher near the agora than elsewhere^[19].

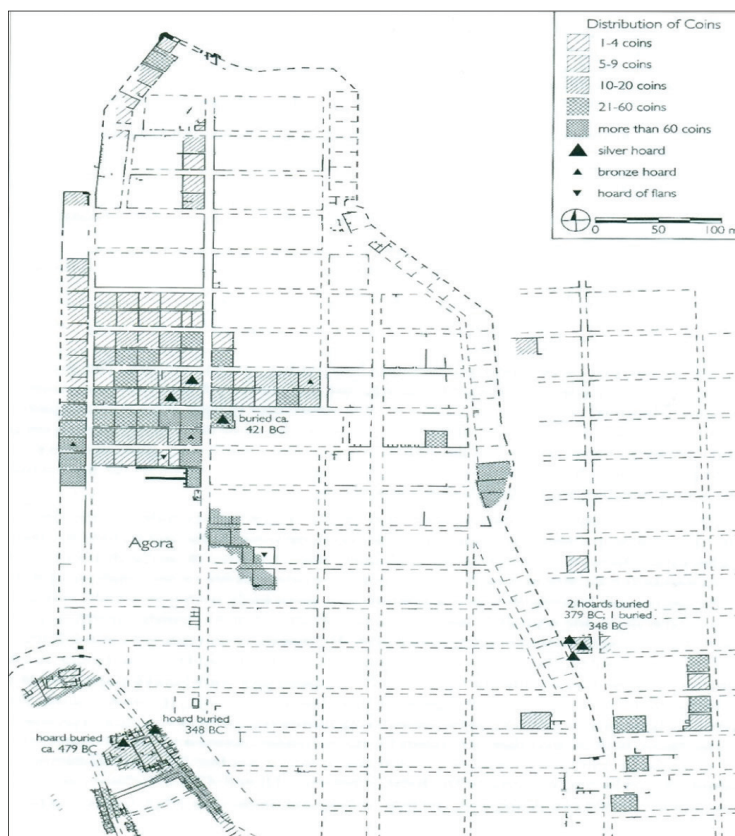


Fig. 1 - Coin distribution at Olynthos (Davies 2016, fig. 1, from Cahill 2002, p. 267, fig. 60)

3. MILITARY CAMPS

What about military camps? After all, if we argue that most ancient coins were struck for military purposes, we should expect a high intensity of recovery there. Not too surprisingly, that is not exactly what emerges and archaeologists are regularly at pain to identify inside military camps any structure which may have been devoted to monetary transactions (see e.g. Kemmers 2004: Albaniana, The Netherlands, no map). Extremely interesting are the excavations at Porolissum, a Dacian, later Roman fortress located in the Carpathian

^[19] I am grateful to Véronique Chankowski for this still unpublished information. But other patterns may be found, as in the harbour of Forum Hadriani (Netherlands), see Kemmers 2018, p. 514 (“The coin assemblage as a whole showed a remarkably high proportion of silver coins when compared to a number of other towns and this could tentatively be connected to the role of the town in tax collecting and a relatively minor role as a market place”). Since the provenance of the coins are from the area which were under water, one may alternatively think that this high proportion of silver is due to them being unintentional losses with no possibility of recovery, hence not biased by the factor of preciousness as would have been the case were they lost on solid ground. For Augusta Raurica, see Peter 2001, p. 267-268 (“The status of the different quarters apparently had no impact upon the currency units employed. Only in the southern suburbs (Südvorstadt), where in the transitional zone between the road to the West gate and the main grid of insulae goods were loaded and traded, do we find indications of a tendency towards larger denominations. On the other hand, among the coins offered in the Gallo-Roman temples asses are most common”).

Mountains. Using metal detectors, archaeologists have identified there outside the camp what looks like a frontier marketplace “where the Barbarians were allowed to trade with the Romans” (Opreanu & Lăzărescu 2016)^[20].

4. VILLAS & OTHERS

Roman villas are another category of structures which look suitable for coin transactions and about which we are quite well informed. As a rule, they do not usually provide a lot of coins. Quite the contrary: the average of coins per square metre is generally low. At the (still so far unpublished) villa of Andilly-en-Bassigny (Haute-Marne), coins have been found in the entrances of the *pars rustica*: at the north entrance during the High Empire and south entrance during the Late Empire (Doyen, to appear)^[21]. A possible and attractive explanation for such a pattern may be the existence of some local fairs (*nundinae*) where consumers would have directly bought from the producer, very much as direct sales are promoted today. As an illustration of what ancient *nundinae* may have look, a famous print of Jacques Callot (1632-1695) illustrates the *nundinae* of Impruneta, located some 14 km south of Florence, at the beginning of the 17th c. (fig. 2)^[22].

We have here a vivid depiction including more than 1,200 figures engaged in mostly commercial activities taking place in front of the church, thus making no great distinction between the sacred and the profane, just as it is likely to have been the dominant model for the Greek world too.

The coin map produced for the villa of the Prés-Bas at Loupian (Hérault) offers an example of how complicated things could be (fig. 3) (Le Brazidec & Pellecuer 2004, p. 126). Particularly apparent is the high proportion of 3rd and 4th c. coins found in the western part of the villa, but



Fig. 2 - Jacques Callot (1632-1695), *Nundinas Imprunetanas quae in Diui Luca Festo quotannis innumerabili populi frequentia, atq̄ affluentia...*, Nancy (between 1621 and 1625)

^[20] 129 coins were found on an area of c. 3,500 m². Future research will confirm or disprove the commonness of such a scenario, but it demonstrates the great benefit of the use of metal detectors.

^[21] I am grateful to Jean-Marc Doyen for this information and Claire Serrano for the map.

^[22] Jacques Callot (1632-1695), *Nundinas Imprunetanas quae in Diui Luca Festo quotannis innumerabili populi frequentia, atq̄ affluentia...*, Nancy (between 1621 and 1625).

these coins were actually found in backfills after the destruction of that part of the villa, while coins found in a primary context were mostly found in the cellar in the eastern part (2nd and 3rd c.). Here again, the number of recovered coins is low with an average of approximately 1 coin per 20 square metres ^[23].

An even lower average is obtained for the big square commercial warehouse excavated at Panskoye in modern Crimea. This large structure of c. 1,200 m² (34.5 m x 34.5 m) has only yielded 9 bronze coins, all from Chersonesos, meaning an average of one coin per 100 m², which is more than an order of magnitude below the number of recovered amphora stamps (142) (Hannestad 2005, p. 186, fig. 6). Here again, coins have been found near the entrance (fig. 4).

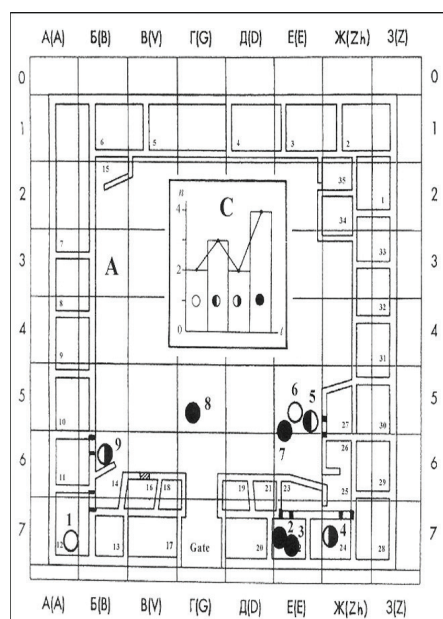
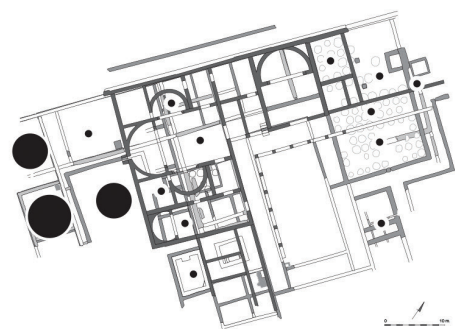


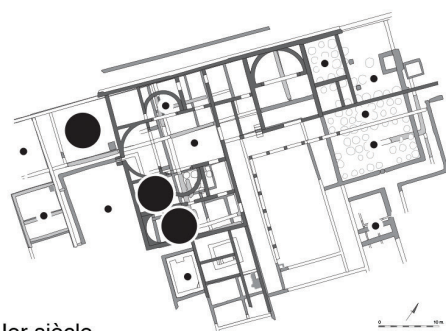
Fig. 4 - Coin distribution at the monumental building U6 at Panskoe I (Hannestad 2005, fig. 6, 186)

Let us conclude this rapid *status quaestionis* with two sites of very different natures which allow us to argue more broadly: the small city of Thonis-Herakelion in Egypt and the *vicus* of Liberchies in Belgium. Now immersed in the bay of Abukir, the city of Thonis-Herakleion was erected around the central temple of Ammon-Gereb, along which the harbour and storerooms were built. Thanks to the underwater excavations, every item has been precisely localised by GIS referencing. As summed up by Andrew Meadows: “The distribution of finds appears to tell a story. Relatively intense deposition of coins centred predominantly on the Temple of Ammon-Gereb at the centre of the site in the late 4th c.” (Meadows 2016, p. 143 and 144-145 for maps fig. 6-9). With some nuances, but whatever the period, most coins concentrated indeed on the central island in the direct vicinity of the temple. What is conversely also remarkable – even more so perhaps – is the conspicuous absence of coins on the north and south islands which were densely covered by domestic buildings. There may be modern biases again in this observation but, as such, it prompts several questions among which the most sensitive one could be: does that mean that a “monetized economy” only occurred around the temple?

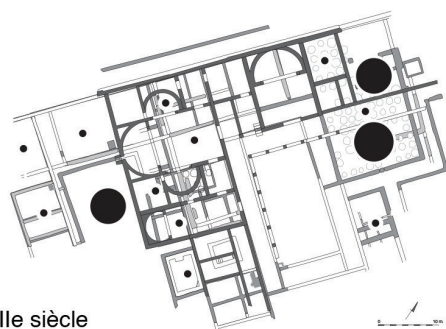
^[23] Only 162 coins found for an excavated surfaces of 3,000m² (i.e. 1 coin per c. 20m²). At Treignes (Namur), only 43 coins have been localized with a slight concentration in the northwest cellar (Doyen 2007b). Also at the villa of Monchy-le-Preux (Pas-de-Calais), the coin evidence was rather scanty (121 coins) and evenly dispersed (Gricourt & Jacques 2007, fig. 3).



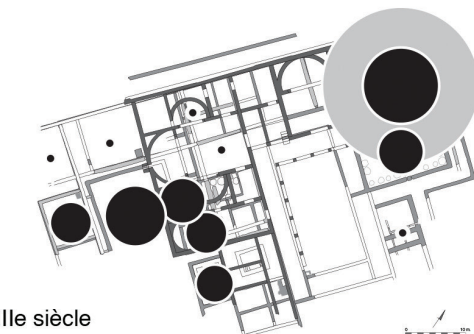
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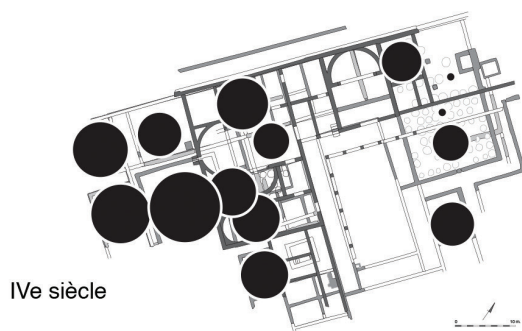
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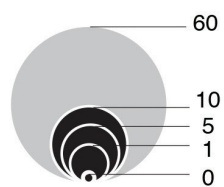


Fig. 3 - Coin distribution at the villa of the Prés-Bas at Loupian (Hérault) (Le Brazidec & Pellecuer 2004, fig. 3)

At Liberchies, a Gallo-Roman *vicus* located along the main Bavay-Cologne road, an artisanal district has been excavated as well as a small *fanum* built some 70 metres south of the road. This provides a rather unique opportunity to compare three different contexts: 1) a main road, by nature favourable to commercial transactions, 2) a temple, by nature favourable to ritual donations, and 3) an artisanal district in the middle, likely to be tanneries. For all this area, locations for coins as well as for *terrae sigillatae* have been carefully reported. While it turns out that most *terrae sigillatae* come from the artisanal district (left-middle of the map), we do have a very different situation for coins (fig. 5).

Nearly no coins have been found in the artisanal district. For a long period, they were quite evenly distributed either along the road (left of the map) or around the *fanum* (right of the map), before concentrating around the *fanum* from the 3rd c. onwards. Taking all the evidence presented by Luc Severs (and not only the Flavian coins, as in the figure), coins prove to be nearly absent in the artisanal district (a not too surprising observation) and found in much greater proportion near the *fanum* than along the highway (a more disturbing observation for those who assume a primarily economic role for coins). We may certainly suppose that fairs happened in that area, but this is not supported by the evidence: all the Celtic wheels, generally considered as ritual objects, as well as all the local coin imitations, have indeed been found exclusively around the *fanum* (Severs 2011, p. 59, fig. 13).

As this rapid survey of the existing literature makes all too clear: the number of robust conclusions we can draw remain meagre and somehow trivial. Here is a short list of points to keep in mind:

- Unintentional losses related to economic transactions have left a comparatively small impression compared with ritual deposition [Marberg, Liberchies better than Bibracte (Gruel & Popovitch 2007, p. 76, fig. 57a) or Thonis-Herakleion].
- Intensity of coins finds tends to increase on a site the closer one gets to the organized places of exchange (Olynthus, Sagalassos, modern military camps).
- Coins are lost at the place of transactions, which is often on the street or near the entrance of a building (Pompeii, Nijmegen, Fréjus).
- Structures with a proven economic function have often left relatively few coins (as with Gallo-Roman villas or the square building at Panskoje).
- Production places, artisanal areas, etc. may be characterized by a nearly absence of coins (Liberchies).
- Places of exchange could be located outside the settlement (Porolissum) and are not necessarily connected with any permanent stone-built structures^[24].

^[24] Wooden booths or stalls are easy to imagine in Claros or *Vicus Petinesca*. See Walker 1997, p. 25 (“groups of coins from along roadsides may indicate market booths or stalls selling souvenirs, as were likely along the Panathenaic Way”).

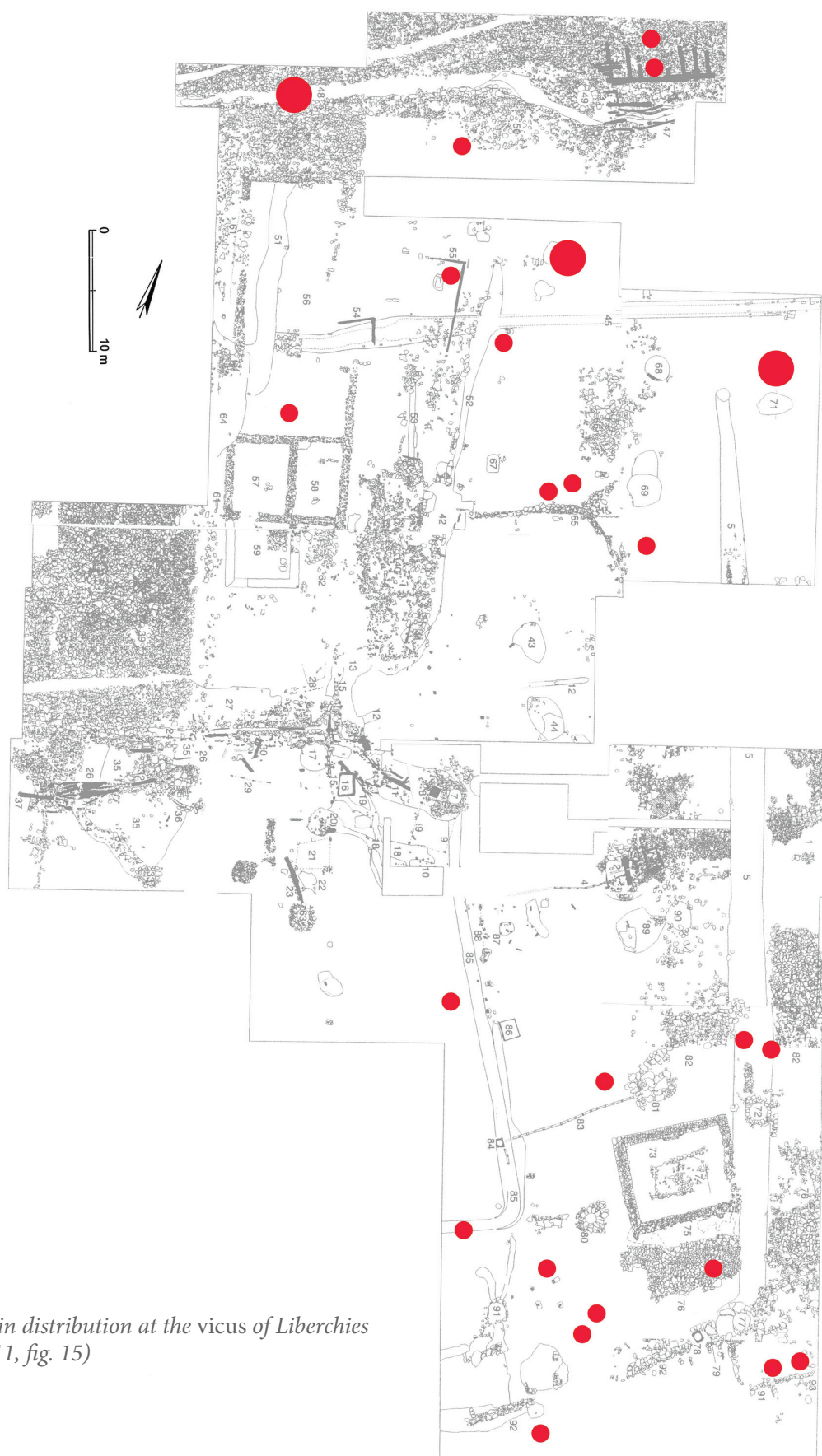


Fig. 5 - Coin distribution at the vicus of Liberchies (Severs 2011, fig. 15)

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Abstracts of papers that have not been the subject of an article in this volume

N. BOREK^[1] – **Promethean Tricks: bullion, coins, and hoards in southern Italy and Sicily, c. 550-400 BC**

Some of the earliest uses of money in southern Italy and Sicily are found in religious or symbolic contexts. Whether or not this is simply an accident of preservation, it is nevertheless significant that money – in the form of bullion, coins, and hoards – was used in this manner at such an early date. If these were offerings to the gods, they show how both “new” (coinage) and “old” (bullion) forms of money could rapidly enter into the long-term spheres of exchange. It also means that they belong to a different class of finds, particularly in the case of the hoards. Unlike conventional hoards – if such a thing exists – the intention was not to preserve value since these offerings were not meant to be retrieved. For this reason, it is perhaps better to view them as transactions considering that something was being given up (money) in exchange for something else (favor). In other words, these offerings were money being spent.

By looking closely at the findings, it is possible to see how these notions of exchange could translate into ritual practice. In some cases, old or worn coins were left behind while foreign coins were used in other cases. Elsewhere, offerings of bullion after the advent of coinage suggest that they also preferred to use “old” forms of money. In all of these examples, the aim was to minimize loss by choosing forms of money that might normally be discounted in the marketplace. While this is not surprising, it is an important observation because it shows a certain degree of “literacy” when it comes to using money. To avoid being cheated (or to cheat others), it was necessary to be able to navigate between different forms of money – bullion or coinage – as well as money on various standards, from distant places, or of varying quality. In this way, expertise played a vital but under-appreciated role in the monetary systems of this era.

P. TSELEKAS^[2] & S. LOULIAS^[3] – **...ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίμων καὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ. Managerial practices in the sanctuaries in the Macedonian kingdom under the Antigonids**

A significant aspect of the economic life in ancient Macedonia concerns the economic and managerial practices of the sanctuaries in the region. This topic, however, has not been thoroughly studied mainly because of the scarcity of written testimonials as well as publications of artefacts associated with economic transactions, namely coins. Nevertheless, a closer look at the evidence that has so far come to light, may provide the discussion with new perspectives. In particular, many inscriptions found in cities, such as Veroia, Thessaloniki and Amphipolis, describe in a more or less detailed manner, the economic practices and the way authorities managed the different types of income and the accumulated wealth. The exploitation of the sacrificial victims and the money

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from the sanctuary's treasury was, presumably among others, one of the sources that contributed to the economic growth of the sacred domain.

The paper explores aspects of the monetization of the sanctuaries in the Macedonian kingdom under the Antigonids. The documents that testify to the managerial procedures implemented in the sacred spaces mention sums of coined money and their equivalent in the form of silverware. These offer the basis of the discussion where major questions are posed. They include the role coins brought to and left in a sanctuary played in the economy of a cult. Moreover, the way coins were managed in the sanctuaries and the purpose behind their deliberate transformation into other forms of commodity, like precious metal ware. Finally, the extent to which the precious metal coins mentioned in the inscriptions reflect the politics and the economies of the day in the Macedonian kingdom, as observed in the evidence of the coin hoards.

M. IERARDI^[4] – Coins in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Greece

The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (DK) on the north slope of Acrocorinth is one of the most thoroughly published sites in the eastern Mediterranean, which permits its 575 coins to be interpreted in the context of all of its material culture (architecture, ceramics, terracotta figurines, inscriptions, etc). It also has the advantage of distinct Greek and Roman phases, separated by the century between Corinth's destruction by Mummius in 146 BC and the foundation of the Roman colony of *Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* by Julius Caesar in 44 BC. DK thus affords many approaches to questions about the roles money played as it moved out of primarily commercial spheres into the realm of the sacred.

The origins of the sanctuary lie in the pre-coinage phase of Greek history; the worshippers' patterns of social interaction and dominant modes of dedicatory practice evolved in an environment largely innocent of coins. The pits established for receipt of offerings revealed ample evidence of animal bones, miniature pottery shapes, and figurines, but no coins: even after the production of silver coinage c. 550 BC, and the addition of an ample bronze coinage at Corinth some two centuries later, money seems to have played no significant role in ritual. But the growth of coinage in the sanctuary does appear to track very closely with the increasing archaeological visibility and complexity of communal dining rooms on the Lower Terrace immediately below the *oikos* containing the cult statue and the theatrical area plausibly associated with sacred mysteries.

In the Roman phase (beginning in the third quarter of the first century AD), the Upper Terrace was developed by the erection of three small temples. Coins in the foundation deposit of the central temple announced that money would play a more prominent role in the Roman sanctuary. The dining rooms of the Greek period were abandoned and used mostly as places of debris disposal, but the substantial volumes of fine wares and glass drinking vessels recovered from the Middle Terrace suggest that some ritual dining continued in the Roman period. A dispersed hoard of third-century radiates and local bronzes, closing in the last years of the reign of Gallienus, was recovered from a cistern beneath the Middle Terrace; it implies that the administration of the sanctuary was routinely collecting small sums from worshippers at the time of the Herulian invasion of southern Greece. The presence of virtually uncirculated Tetrarchic coins in

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the central temple at the time of the destruction and abandonment of the sanctuary (in the later 380s or 390s, based on numismatic evidence) suggests that offerings of coins may have played a part in visitors' attentions to the deity. Fragments of an offering table, and anomalies in the floor compatible with a round thesaurus, might suggest how early fourth-century coins might have become immobilized for the better part of a century.

A. CHARAMI^[5] & S. DRENI^[6] – The coins from the Kabireion at Thebes. A preliminary report

The Kabireion, the sanctuary dedicated to the Kabeiroi, is located 8 km west of Thebes (Boeotia). The Kabeiroi were protectors of the vines and the animal fertility, and Demeter had revealed to them some mystic rituals aiming to reinforce the fertility of all kinds. Their worship there started in the Archaic era and continued until the Late Roman period. The sanctuary was discovered in 1887, and excavated by the German Archaeological Institute in 1888-1889, 1956, 1959, 1962, 1964-1966, and 1971. Although the rest of the finds, such as the figurines, the pottery with very particular shapes and decoration, and the architectural remains have been published in detail, the coins were left unpublished. Although the material is not yet fully conserved, the preliminary information that it provides is indicative of a sanctuary of a mystic cult with a long life. All the coins, with only one exception, are bronze, whereas the Roman period coins provide us with secure information on when the reconstructions and rearrangements of the sanctuary occurred. A preliminary report of the coins currently under study will be presented followed by an approach to the information that they provide regarding their provenance and any possible correlations with the political and social conditions prevailing at the period of their circulation. The place where each of the coins was found could indicate whether it was left there on purpose or lost by a visitor, still shedding light on the origins of each independent carrier of this currency and adding to the understanding of this particular sanctuary.

D. S. LENGER^[7] – Votive coins from Arpalık Tepe Cave Sanctuary

This sanctuary was discovered in 1998 and it is located in Arpalık Tepe in Yumaklar Village of Serik district of present-day Antalya. The sanctuary, which is understood to have been within the territory of Serge in ancient times, is on the border between the south of Pisidia and Pamphylia. It is 20 km away from Selge and Pednelissos and 53 km from Attaleia. The inscriptions found have revealed that the Great God Mamblasenos (Apollo) and the Great Mother Goddess were worshipped together in the sanctuary. The finds also show that the cult centre was used between the 6th c. BC and the 4th c. AD. At first, the sanctuary was just a cave. It is understood that in the second phase; the mouth of the cave was enclosed by a rectangular temenos wall; and in the third and last phase, a Doric temple on a three-step crepidoma was built. A total of 714 coins placed as votives were found at the entrance of the cave along with terracotta and metal figurines and other votive items. The connection to this area is via a well in the naos of the temple and a narrow tunnel running in the northwest direction. The majority of these votive coins in the sanctuary are Selge's autonomous coins. The distribution

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of these coins according to the period in which they were issued (Hellenistic-Roman-Late Roman), the minting authority (autonomous and Roman Provincial coins and Imperial coins), allows us to observe the development of a sanctuary in the Pisidian countryside and, in this context, to understand its recognizability and additionally to observe the pilgrimage circulation in the region. Moreover, analyzing the metal and the iconography of the coins chosen as votives might prove to be important in terms of understanding the connection between the religious structure and the individuals and perhaps perceiving the socio-economic and cultural structure and nature of the visitors.

C. LAUWERS^[8] – Les monnaies de la Chapelle d’Obodas (Pétra, Jordanie)

Le site de la Chapelle d’Obodas a été sans le moindre doute identifié comme un lieu culturel. La Mission archéologique française à Pétra a terminé la fouille de l’endroit. On y a découvert une cour comprenant une cuisine et deux salles de banquet, une semi-rupestre et une construite. Une inscription orne le fond de la salle semi-rupestre ; on y lit la dédicace du lieu à « Obodas le dieu » par trois générations d’une même famille. Cet Obodas est sans doute le roi nabatéen Obodas III, qui régna de 30 à 9 av. J.-C., divinisé. Vingt monnaies et un fragment de monnaie découverts sur le site ont pu être étudiés. Dix pièces ont été identifiées précisément, neuf nabatéennes et une romaine tardive – qui se trouve hors contexte, le site ayant été abandonné suite à la transformation du royaume nabatéen en *Provincia Arabia* par Trajan en 106. Quatre autres, de forme hexagonale, sont certainement nabatéennes. Il est probable que le site ait été délaissé suite à la disparition de la famille royale en 106, le culte dynastique se trouvant interdit par les autorités romaines. Un site certainement culturel, abandonné et non réoccupé, et des monnaies documentées dans leur contexte stratigraphique : la situation paraît idéale pour une interprétation des usages monétaires sur un lieu de culte. Mais c’est là que les difficultés apparaissent : l’échantillon monétaire est petit et incomplet et les monnaies limitées à des petits bronzes, alors que des monnaies d’argent circulaient également dans le royaume à l’époque d’utilisation du sanctuaire. Le carnet de fouille contenant la description des unités stratigraphiques est indisponible. Les descriptions de lieux de découverte ne permettent pas d’attribuer de fonctions particulières aux monnaies. Il s’est avéré impossible de déterminer si ces fonctions étaient économiques (par exemple, liées à la cuisine présente sur le site, où l’on préparait les repas consommés dans les salles de banquet) ou culturelles. L’hypothèse la plus vraisemblable est qu’il s’agit tout simplement de petites pièces perdues par les participants aux banquets. En conclusion, l’étude des monnaies de ce site montre les difficultés que l’on peut rencontrer aux cours de nos recherches, et nous met en garde contre la possibilité de surinterpréter les données.

B. CALLEGHER^[9] – Monnaies dispersées et trésors dans les églises et les monastères de la région syro-palestinienne entre le 5^e et le 7^e siècle : plus d’économie que de spiritualité

Les monnaies d’or et de bronze (IV^e-VII^e s.), trouvées dans des contextes religieux (basiliques, petites églises, monastères) dans la région palestinienne syrienne (Hauran,

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Jordanie) mais aussi dans les agglomérations monastiques d'Égypte sont nombreuses et très bien documentées. Mais quelle était l'utilisation réelle de la monnaie dans de tels environnements ? Dans les basiliques/églises, s'agissait-il uniquement d'offrandes de pèlerins, ayant donc une valeur rituelle ou religieuse, ou y eut-il des échanges qui transformaient ces sites religieux en véritables espaces d'échanges où l'argent avait un rôle libérateur ? En ce qui concerne les monastères : la monnaie était-elle le résultat, le profit de la vente dans le marché des villes voisines d'une production artisanale des cénobites, afin d'assurer leur subsistance et celle du monastère, ou recevaient-ils des rentes en espèces provenant de biens loués ? Les données numismatiques confirment l'indéniable utilisation de la monnaie dans tous ces lieux religieux. L'argent était nécessaire, acheter et vendre étaient indispensables, l'accumulation de biens terrestres ne l'était pas moins : il fallait donc faire du commerce, une hypothèse soutenue par WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e-VIII^e siècles)*, même si apparemment interdit par les principes de pauvreté absolue, du rejet des biens terrestres et de la nature spirituelle de ces lieux. Cependant, les données numismatiques-archéologiques apparaissent en contradiction avec les sources, en particulier les Vies des saints moines, les *Apophthegmata Patrum* ou les récits de Jean Moschus, de Théodore de Cyrus, et de Synésios de Cyrène. Quelle valeur d'usage avaient donc les biens et surtout l'argent accumulé, par rapport à un choix de vie affichant un but différent pour l'accumulation de richesses, plutôt en rapport avec l'*imitatio Christi*, dans un monde éternel ? Compter en *solidi*, conserver les *solidi*, fixer les prix en *follis*, enregistrer les dettes et les crédits en bonne monnaie de compte (*solidus/nomismata*) à convertir en espèces, pour les fidèles et aussi pour les moines avait forcément une fonction qui ne semble pas celle d'activer le circuit vertueux du marché terrestre (numéraire en circulation), de devises pour les échanges. Il s'agissait plutôt d'utiliser l'argent pour organiser et rendre possible la structure logistique et l'organisation sociale d'un investissement abstrait, placé dans la sphère de l'espérance et de la foi. Une nouvelle façon d'interpréter le don et le sacrifice avait abouti à une re-sémantisation de la monnaie et de sa fonction afin de convertir ses notions de l'économie réelle (fixation des prix, achat, vente, accumulation) en économie de biens / récompense / rédemption / futurs paiements. Les fidèles, les donateurs, mais surtout les moines, étaient des entrepreneurs eux-mêmes, ils rassemblaient en eux-mêmes le rôle des détenteurs de l'argent et des commerçants, dans une logique d'offre et de demande, sensiblement opposée à celles visant les objets concrets, mais plutôt au service de la main invisible, de l'économie du Salut.

L. CLAES^{[10]*} – **Coins for a safe passing: the votive hoard of the river Aa (the Netherlands)**

Last year, two metal detectorists, the brothers van Schaijk, found four denarii and almost a hundred Roman bronze coins on the banks of the Aa, a river that flows near the city of Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands. The coin hoard has been identified as a continual votive hoard which was deposited from the second half of the first century onwards up to the second century. The finding place is far South of the Roman limes on the territory of the Batavian tribes. There is, however, no habitation present from the Roman period, nor did any Roman battle happen there. Only the route of a ferriage is known from a 19th-century map. Because of the peculiar site, the National Heritage Institute decided to order an archaeological excavation. This paper will communicate the results of the coin hoard and its historical context. Firstly, we will analyse the composition of the coin hoard, including two possible forgeries (*nummi subferrati*)

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and will go further with the coin type selection patterns that are detected. Furthermore, the paper will elaborate on the archaeological excavations and the historical landscape. The second part will go deeper into the reciprocal gift-giving rituals in antiquity and the theoretical and practical problems with it. The hoard of Aa will also be compared with similar hoards in the Netherlands and Western Europe to get a better understanding of the votive hoards phenomenon.