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All of the nine coins found during the excavation of building U6 came to light in the rooms and the courtyard. Such a small number of coins from a relatively large excavated area (1450 sq metres) and in a single architectural and building complex (1250 sq metres) should not surprise us. A similar yield is characteristic of the rural settlements located not only in the *chora* of Chersonesos but also in the agricultural territory of other Greek settlements, at least in those situated on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The coin finds are generally meagre there, except in the case of hoards or collective finds.

Putting aside examples not related to the state of Chersonesos, I shall limit myself to presenting data from excavations of rural settlements in the territory that formed part of the possessions of Chersonesos in the second half of the 4th century B.C. - the first third of the 3rd century B.C. (using the chronological system devised by A.N. Sčeglov)¹. In the case of the farmland lying close to Chersonesos itself, coin finds from excavations on country estates of that period have proved extremely rare. For example, no coins at all were found in the 'farmhouse' in area 25 near Chersonesos; this building was contemporary with U6 and has long been a classical model.² In all the other farmhouses investigated in the same district, either no coins were found or only very few.³ And the same applies to the settlements located in the more distant parts of the *chora* of Chersonesos. Thus, for instance, not a single coin was found in the one-towered, fortified house on the shore of the Bay of Bolshoi Kastel nor in the unfortified house at Panskoye III. In other places coin finds have been rare – for example at the settlements of South-Donuzlav, Belyaus, and Kulchuk; the farmhouse on the Bay of Vetrenaya near Kalos Limen; the farmhouse of Groty; and the fortified settlement of Vladimirovka. Down to the present time, only three exceptions to the general rule are known. One is the settlement of 'Mayak' ('Lighthouse') on the Cape of Eupatoria. This consists of two rural dwellings that are typical Chersonesean in their lay-out but constructed as a single block. During excavation, 40 coins were found of which 20 fall into the class termed 'accumulations of unclaimed money' (a variety of 'hoards').⁴ The other exceptions are our settlement of Panskoye I, where a grand total of 63 coins have been found, and the fortress of 'Chaika' located near the town of Eupatoria to the west of Kerkinitis (the material from this site has as yet been only incompletely published).

All the coins from building U6 are copper and were minted in Chersonesos. A varied assortment of finds is typical for the settlements of the Western Crimea of the second half of the 4th – the first third of the 3rd century B.C. It was suggested long ago, purely on the basis of archaeological and numismatic evidence, that the coinage, which actually circulated throughout the territory in the period under discussion, was primarily based on Chersonesean copper.⁵ Now this thesis seems even more obviously true and may be regarded as proved. Hitherto only one specimen of a Chersonesean silver coin, from the site of South-Donuzlav near the village of Popovka, has been found during excavations of fortified and unfortified settlements in the North-Western Crimea.⁶ Another silver coin comes from a hoard found by chance in the settlement of Novo-Fedorovka (to the south of the town of Saki), but the composition and chronology of the hoard remains unclear.⁷ Obviously these two finds

do not change the general distribution pattern.

The coins published here were found only in the south-west part of building U6, in

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squares A-5-7 – Zh-5-7 (Pl. 160). Five coins (I 2-4, I 6, I 9) were found lying together and mixed up with broken and crushed pottery and other objects in a thin, ashy layer bearing traces of fire and occurring at a number of different points on the surface of the courtyard. One coin (I 1) was found on the surface of the floor of *room 12* (the household sanctuary). The three remaining coins (I 5, I 7-8) were found in a layer of buried soil beneath the floors of *rooms 22* and *24* located on the south-west side of the building.

It should be noted that none of the coins was found in the topsoil layers that covered the accumulations of crushed pottery lying on the surface of the courtyard. Nor were there any coins in the mud and loam filling of the rooms formed from the decay of mud-brick walls. This rules out any possibility of the coins having got into the archaeological context at some later time. The context included only those objects that had been in use at the time of the fire and destruction of the building, and this circumstance certainly confirms that the coins of various issues found on the surface of the courtyard were actually in circulation at the moment the building met its catastrophic end. Exceptions to this might be the specimens from *beneath* the floors of *rooms 22* and *24*, but even they are not at variance with the general picture, for they correlate with the types found in the fire layer.

Most of the coins were extremely poorly preserved. However, it was possible to identify all of them, or at least their types. We were able to do that owing to the fact that the identification was carried out in three stages. Initially, the coins were identified in the field, at the moment of discovery, by means of mild mechanical cleaning of their surfaces. After that, their chemical cleaning was monitored in the laboratory. During that process the appearance of certain images and legends could be observed, while others unavoidably vanished along with the removed oxides. After cleaning had been completed all the observations were compared.

The first peculiarity of the coin assemblage under discussion is the total absence of coins from Kerkinitis or Pantikapaion. This is what distinguishes building U6 from other buildings at Panskoye I and other settlements in the agricultural territory of Chersonesos in the North-Western Crimea. Coins from these two centres have been recorded in the contemporary buildings and blocks of buildings in layer A of areas U7 and U2 at Panskoye I, as well as in the country house on the Bay of Vetrenaya near Chernomorskoye (Kalos Limen) and at the settlement of 'Mayak'. Moreover, another coin from Olbia (a so-called 'borysthenes') was found in layer A (upper horizon) of area U7. A likely hypothesis is thus that only Chersonesean copper coinage was used in the monetary economy of the inhabitants of building U6 – though, if so, the coin assemblage under discussion was a peculiar one for the settlement. On the one hand, it corresponds precisely with collections from those sites in the Chersonesean chora on the Herakleian Peninsula that are summarily dated to the last third of the 4th- the first third of the 3rd century B.C., where only coins from Chersonesos have been found. On the other hand, however, it differs completely not only from the coin compositions of other upper-horizon areas at the settlement of Panskoye I but also from the assemblages of a number of other sites in the North-Western Crimea, where coins from other cities are present.

The second peculiarity is that the coins, although found in a single archaeological context, belong to different types and, accordingly, to issues of different periods. The question as to whether they were all coins that were actually in circulation at (or around) the time of the settlement's destruction, or whether some earlier coins that had already gone out of circulation could have got there accidentally, should be answered in favour of the first alternative. That is certainly clear from the stratigraphy of the coin finds, and above all from the

datings of their archaeological contexts (plain and black-glazed pottery, amphora stamps *etc.*) as is shown in Table 1.

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Table 1.

Nos. in Catalogue	Type According to Zograf and Anochin	Place and Conditions of Discovery	Date of the Archaelogical Context
I 1	Z XXXV, 10, var. An 50	Square A-7. Room 12, sanctuary Fire layer. On the floor	Set of pottery of about 330-270 B.C.
I 2	Z XXXV, 10 An 36-56	Square E-5. Courtyard, near the doorway of room 27, on the paved surface, together with I 6 . Fire layer	Upper part of red-figured askos B 3 and pottery of the first third of the 3 rd century B.C.
I 3	Z XXXV, 16 An 60-62	In the same square as, and near to I 2 and I 6	Same material
I 4	Z XXXV, 23 An 76	Square B-6, near the doorway of room 11	Pottery of the first third of the 3 rd century B.C.
I 5	Z XXXV, 23 An 76	Square Zh-7. Room 24. Beneath the floor	No material for dating
I 6	Z XXXV, 24 An 77-81	Square E-5. Courtyard, near the doorway of room 27. Together with I 2	As I 2
I 7	Z XXXV, 24 An 80, var.	Square D-7. Room 22. Beneath the floor, together with I 8	No material for dating
I 8	Z XXXV, 24-25 An 77-81	Square D-7. Room 22. Beneath the No material for dating floor, together with I 7	
I 9	Z XXXV, 24-25 An 80 var.	Square G-5. The surface of the courtyard. Fire layer	First third of the 3 rd century B.C.

All the coins presented in Table 1 belong to types issued from about the middle of the 4th up to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. It should be stressed once again that all these types were still in circulation at the moment of the sudden destruction of the building. At the same time, however, the fact that the finds do not include coins of earlier issues minted during the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. should engage our attention. Such coins have been recorded in other buildings in the adjoining area U7 (types Zograf XXXV, 3, 12, 14, 15). Moreover, it should be noted that all the copper coins of the earlier issues were found in an earlier layer (layer B) of area U7, together with pottery dated to a period not later than the second third or third quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁸ This can hardly be accidental, thus we may suppose that the copper coins issued in the second quarter of the 4th century and circulating at the settlement in the third quarter (or more widely in the second third) of the century had either gone out of use or been withdrawn from circulation at the time of the construction of building U6. However, if such a supposition is justified, then, according to the

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numismatic evidence, the construction could not have taken place any earlier than the withdrawal of the copper issued in the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. Here it should also 248

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be stressed that among the coins in building U6 there were no denominations smaller than the two coins of type Zograf XXXV, 10 - i.e. there no coins of type Zograf XXXV, 11 with the Janus-head on the obverse and a lion rending a bull and the inscription XEP on the reverse. On the other hand, coins of that type did come to light in the adjoining excavated area (U7), but, as stated above, in an earlier layer (layer B).⁹ It cannot be ruled out that these denominations might have been issued in a relatively small quantity and had gone out of circulation earlier than the coins with the Parthenos in a quadriga and the bearded kneeling warrior on the reverse (type Zograf XXXV, 10).¹⁰ The latter type of coin, as has often been pointed out, was evidently minted on a very large scale: it is quite a common find in excavations as well as in the hoards of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. All the evidence indicates that this full-weight copper coin circulated for a very long period, and, in our case, the very worn coin of type Zograf XXXV, 10, from the sanctuary (I 1) provides striking confirmation of this fact.

One other aspect of the coins from building U6 is noteworthy. The latest coins from the collection are represented by dichalcoi minted in the name of the magistrate *Klemytadas* (I 7, I 9). An analysis of the dies of the Kuchuk-Moinak hoard from the vicinity of Eupatoria, which I carried out some time ago, gives us reason to suppose that *Klemytadas* was possibly the next to last in the college of magistrates responsible for issuing the coins of the copper series representing the Parthenos spearing the hind on the obverse and a butting bull on the reverse. The last magistrate issuing this series was probably *Theochares*; and either *Diagoras* or, possibly, *Syriskos* was predecessor of *Klemytadas* (this can be elicited only on the basis of the die-linkage study of the Chersonesean copper coinage in *corpus*).¹¹ As A.N. Zograf has already observed, it was under *Eudromos*, the first magistrate in the series under discussion, that the change of types took place. The coins of the preceding issue, bearing representations of a griffin on the obverse and a kneeling Parthenos on the reverse, and also minted in the name of *Eudromos*, occur among our finds as well.

Zograf dated the series of copper coins with the Parthenos spearing the hind and the reverse with the butting bull to the first half of the 3rd century B.C.¹² On the basis of my own observations, the upper limit for the issuing of the coins of that type should be pushed back from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. to the very beginning of that century, so long as we accept that there were no long interruptions in their minting.¹³ Later, V.A. Anochin, evidently on the basis of my analysis of the dies and his a priori supposition of decennial emission cycles, dated the series under discussion to around 300-280 B.C.¹⁴ And although his method of fixing absolute dates, based on the extremely arbitrary subdivision of issues into equal ten-year intervals, seems a very dubious one and has been subjected to severe criticism,¹⁵ the date deduced by him is considerably more precise than Zograf's rather broad time-span. However, on the basis of certain other considerations, V.F. Stolba has recently pushed back the minting-period for coins of type Zograf XXXV, 24 somewhat further, into the late 4th century B.C.¹⁶ The latter date contradicts neither the stratigraphy nor any other archaeological evidence from the excavation of building U6, and I believe it should be accepted, for the minting of coins of this type bearing the name of *Eudromos* can evidently be dated with a fair degree of probability either to the very end of the 4th century B.C. or to not later than the actual turn into the 3rd century.

In this connection, it seems important to consider the stratigraphical and planigraphical position of the spot where the three coins of types Zograf XXXV, 23 and 24-25 (**I 5, I 7-8**) were found. They were actually in a layer of 'buried soil' below the level of the floors of two adjoining rooms of the first building-period (see Part I, pp. 59-61). In A.N. Ščeglov's opinion, the presence of coins beneath the floor inside these rooms is not a mere chance occurrence. According to the stratigraphy, their being put or dropped there must either precede the start

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Descriptions of Type	Num- ber of speci- mens	Nos. in the Cata- logue	Types and Dates (B.C.) according to Zograf, (Z), Anochin(An), Stolba (S), Gilevič (G)
Obv. Quadriga r.; in the chariot standing figure of Parthenos holding torch in hand Rev. XEP Nude kneeling bearded warrior l., with shield and spear in hands	2	I 1-2	Z XXXV, 10: 350-330 An 35-59: 350-330 G: about the middle of the 4 th century
Obv. Griffin l. Rev. XEP. Kneeling Parthenos r., bow and arrow in hand	1	I 3	Z XXXV, 16: 340-330 An 60-62: 330-320 G: last third of the 4 th century
Obv. XEP. Griffin l. Rev. Kneeling Parthenos r., holding bow and arrow in hand; below in exergue: ΕΥΔΡΟΜΟ or ΕΥΔΡΟΜΟΥ	2	I 4-5	Z XXXV, 23: the end of the 4 th century An 75-76: 320-300 G: end of the 4 th century
Obv. XEP. Parthenos striking down hind with spear l. Rev. Butting bull l., ΚΛΕΜΥΤΑΔΑ with club beneath	4	I 6-9	Z XXXV, 24-25: 300-250 An 78-81: 300-290 S: end of the 4 th century G: end of the 4 th or turn of the 4 th and 3 rd century

Table 2. The qualitative and quantitative compositions of the coin assemblage together with their dates of issue.

of the construction or be contemporary with it (Cf. Part I, p. 60). If the proposed dates of minting are correct, then the coin finds under discussion could present indirect evidence in favour of supposing that the construction of the building could not have taken place before the late 4th or the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. At least, the coin issued in the time of Klemytadas (I 7) was not worn, whereas the coin found in the sanctuary (room 12) was very worn.

In their totality the coins reflect the practically unvarying composition of the monetary circulation in the economy under consideration, from the construction of the building down to the end of its existence in the first third of the 3rd century B.C. (not much later than 270 B.C.). This composition, however, differs from that of the coin-set from the rest of this settlement as well as from other settlements in the North-Western Crimea, being in fact more characteristic of the compositions of coin-sets found in country houses of the last third of the 4th – the first third of the 3rd century B.C. in the immediate vicinity of Chersonesos itself. Nevertheless, the coins from U6 do not contradict the opinion advanced some time ago: that copper coins continued in circulation in the distant parts of the Chersonesean chora rather longer than in Chersonesos itself.¹⁷

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CATALOGUE

The arrangement of the data in the catalogue is as follows: description of specimen; its diameter (D); weight (W); the correlation of axes; state of preservation (G – good, B – bad, VB – very bad); coin type: according to Zograf, Z (Zograf 1951 = Zograf 1977); according to Anochin, An (Anochin 1977 = Anokhin 1980); year and place of discovery; archaeological context; no. according to the find lists; the present location; publications.

I 1. Obv.: Quadriga r.; in the chariot, standing figure of Parthenos holding reins in the left hand and a torch in the right.

Rev.: [XEP]. Nude kneeling bearded warrior l., with shield and spear, helmet on head.

Under the right elbow of the warrior, the letter M.

D. 20 mm; W. 5.756 gr.; \aleph ; B. Worn; the milling is sharp. The stamps of both sides are slightly worn.

Type: Z XXXV, 10, var.; An 50.

1971. Room 12; on the floor surface 0.4 m from the S-W wall and 1.8 m from the N-W wall.

Find list 6/64. Coin Inv. TE-70-72, no. 2.

Gilevič 1998, no. 3.

I 2. Obv.: Quadriga r.

Rev.: [XEP. Kneeling warrior l., holding shield and spear in hands].

D. 18 mm; W. 5.07 gr.; VB. Completely corroded. In the course of mechanically cleaning the surface of chlorine compounds in the field, outlines of a quadriga and a warrior were clearly seen. They vanished almost completely during a chemical restoration. The specimen turned out to be swollen and split apart by protoxides as is typical for the coins of this particular type.

Type: Z XXXV, 10, var.; An 36-56.

1973. Courtyard, E-5; on the surface of paving stones near the doorway of room 27, at the same spot as **I 6**.

Inv. TE-73, no. 3.

Gilevič 1998, no. 12.

I 3. Obv.: [Griffin l.].

Rev.: Kneeling Parthenos r.; in exergue: XE[P. The name behind back is unclear.

D. 20-22 mm; W. 5.06 gr.; B. Rounded milling. Slightly worn.

Type: Z XXXV, 16; An 60-62.

1974. Courtyard, E-5; in an interstice between flagstones of the courtyard paving near doorway of room 27, and 0.8 m from coins **I 2** and **I 6**.

Inv. TE-74 no. 3.

Gilevič 1998, no. 16.

I 4. Obv.: Griffin l.

Rev.: Kneeling Parthenos r.; in exergue: [EYA]POM[O.

D. 20 mm; W. 1.43 gr.; \uparrow ; VB. Broken. Rounded milling. Worn. Badly damaged by chlorous and chloric oxides. The images and magistrate's name were identified during the

guished more precisely in the course of the chemical cleaning in the laboratory. The coin disintegrated in the process of restoration.

Type: Z XXXV, 23; An 76.

1972. Courtyard, B-6; at the edge of an ash-deposit, lying on the surface of the courtyard, near the doorway of room 11.

Inv. TE-70-72, no. 9.

Gilevič 1998, no. 6.

I 5. Obv.: [XEP]. Griffin l.

Rev.: Kneeling Parthenos r.; in exergue: E]Y Δ POM[O.

D. 18 mm; W. 4.116 gr.; \downarrow ; B. Rounded and vertical milling. Struck by a worn die, slightly worn in circulation. Part of the edge is 'eaten away' by chlorous and chloric oxides.

The magistrate's name was read with a fair degree of certainty before the chemical cleaning.

Type: Z XXXV, 23; An 76.

1972. Room 24; under mud floor in a layer of buried soil above the rock.

Inv. TE-70-72, no. 8.

Gilevič 1998, no. 7.

I 6. Obv.: Parthenos striking down hind with spear l., in her left hand a bow; below [XEP].

Rev.: [Butting bull on club l.]. $EY\Delta$]POM[OY.

D. 22 mm; W. 6.56 gr.; \rightarrow ; VB. Rounded milling, sharp. Swollen, badly damaged by cuprous oxides. The magistrate's name was identified both in the field and in the course of chemical cleaning.

Type: Z XXXV, 24-25; An 77-81.

1973. Courtyard, E-5; on the surface of the stone paving, near the doorway of room 27, and close to I 2.

Inv. TE-73 no. 2.

Gilevič 1998, no. 11.

I 7. Obv.: Parthenos striking down hind with spear l., in her left hand a bow; below [XE]P.

Rev.: Butting bull on club l. KA]EMYT[A Δ A. Bow and quiver.

D. 20 mm; W. 4.642 gr.; \uparrow ; G. The milling is slanting, sharp. Struck with new dies on both sides. Unworn in circulation.

Type: Z XXXV, 24; An 80 var.

1972. Room 22; beneath the floor, together with **I 8**. Gilevič 1998, no. 8.

preliminary mechanical cleaning in the field and distin-



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I 8. Obv.: Parthenos striking down hind with spear l., in her left hand a bow; below [XE]P.

Rev.: the name of the magistrate is unclear.

D. 23 mm; W. 2.85 gr.; \rightarrow ; VB. Half of the coin was destroyed during cleaning. Type: Z XXXV, 24-25; An 77-81.

1972. Room 22; under the floor in the top layer of buried soil. Found together with **I** 7.

Inv. TE-70-72 no. 7. Gilevič 1998, no. 9. I 9. Obv.: Parthenos striking down hind l.; below XE[P. Rev.: Butting bull on club l. $K\Lambda EM[YTA]\Delta A$. Bow and quiver.

D. 20 mm; W. 8.06 gr.; \downarrow ; Rounded milling. Slightly worn; not much worn in circulation.

Type: Z XXXV, 24; An 80 var. 1973. Courtyard, G-5; on the surface of the courtyard. Inv. TE-73 no. 1. Gilevič 1998, no. 10.

NOTES

- 1. Ščeglov 1978.
- 2. Strželeckij 1961, 98-102. Cf. Dufková, Pecírca 1970.
- 3. Turovskij 1994, 10.
- 4. Kolesnikov 1991, 186 ff.
- 5. Golenko and Ščeglov 1971, 44 f.; Ščeglov 1974a, 47 f.
- 6. Daševskaja 1964, 50 f. On another Chersonesean silver coin of the same type (Zograf XXXV, 22 var. = SNG BM 778-782) found 1989 during excavations at Chaika see Stolba and Golencov 2000, 276. (Eds.)
- 7. Lancov 1994, 73. For the Novo-Fedorovka hoard see now Stolba and Golencov 2000, note 6. (Eds.).
- 8. For a complete summary of the coins from excavations of the settlement and necropolis of Panskoye I *cf.* Gilevič 1998. The attempt of N.N. Grandemaison (Grandmezon 1982, 35) to assign the issue of coins of type Z XXXV, 12, An 27-32, 'to the entire second half of the 4th B.C.' are not proved by the stratigraphy and by materials from the excavation of Chersonesean necropolis.
- 9. For further references see recently: Stolba 1991, 84; 1996b, 239 f. (Eds.)
- 10. Cf. already Stolba 1990, 148; 1996, 231, 237.
- 11. Gilevič 1970, 14, fig. 2.
- 12. Zograf 1951, 149.
- 13. Gilevič 1970, 9-11.
- 14. Anochin 1977, 139. Arguing against him N.N. Grandemaison dated this series to the second half of the 3rd century B.C. (Grandmezon 1982, 36), with which we cannot agree.
- 15. See Noonan 1980; Grandmezon 1982, 36; Frolova 1988, 124; Stolba 1989, 62.
- 16. Stolba 1989, 63, 67.
- 17. Gilevič 1987, 55.

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