



**THIRD INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF
MONEY AND NUMISMATICS IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN WORLD**

APRIL 1-4, 2024

ANTALYA

PROCEEDINGS

Oğuz TEKİN
Remziye BOYRAZ SEYHAN

Editors

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FOREWORD

The Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED) has long regarded the history of money and numismatics as a key field in understanding the cultural, political, and economic dynamics of the Mediterranean world. Following the success of the First and Second International Congresses on the History of Money and Numismatics, held in 2013 and 2016, AKMED organized the Third International Congress on the History of Money and Numismatics in Antalya between 1–4 April 2024. This congress once again brought together distinguished scholars working on the monetary history and numismatics of the Mediterranean and Anatolia, continuing a tradition of scientific dialogue and collaboration.

The Mediterranean has, since antiquity, been a crossroads of trade, cultural exchange, and economic innovation. From the earliest electrum coins of Lydia to the diverse coinages of the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic, and Ottoman worlds, money has served not only as a medium of exchange but also as a reflection of identity, sovereignty, belief, and communication. The aim of this congress was to contribute to a deeper understanding of these multifaceted roles of coinage and monetary systems across time.

A total of thirty-three papers by thirty-seven scholars from different countries and institutions covered a wide chronological and thematic spectrum. The contributions included studies on coin production and circulation, economic networks, iconography, epigraphy, metrology, and the role of coins as archaeological and historical evidence. In addition, commercial weights and measuring systems—indispensable components of market economies—were also addressed as integral elements of the broader monetary framework. This rich diversity of topics not only demonstrates the vitality of numismatic research today but also highlights the field’s interdisciplinary character.

The present volume brings together the revised and expanded versions of the papers delivered during the congress. It is our hope that this book will serve as a lasting scholarly resource and further stimulate research on the monetary history of the Mediterranean and Anatolia. We also believe that it contributes to strengthening the dialogue between archaeology, history, economic history, and related disciplines. As in the symposium itself, thematic and chronological coherence and order have been maintained in the present volume, and the papers have been grouped under five sections: “Digital Numismatics,” “Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic,” “Excavation Coins, Hoards, Collections, and Circulation,” “Roman and Roman Provincials,” and “Medieval and Islamic”. We have no doubt that the valuable contributions collected under these headings will provide important information and data for the numismatic scholarly community.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to all participants for their valuable contributions, to the members of the scientific and organizational committees for their support, to Arif Yacı for his significant contribution to the organization of the symposium, as well as to the AKMED team for their dedication throughout the preparation of the congress. Our thanks also go to the institutions and colleagues who contributed in various ways to the success of this event.

It is with great pleasure that we present to the academic community the proceedings of the Third International Congress on the History of Money and Numismatics, and we hope that this volume will inspire new perspectives and future collaborations in the study of the history of money.

Oğuz Tekin & Remziye Boyraz Seyhan

EXCAVATION COINS, HOARDS, COLLECTIONS,
AND CIRCULATION

Giving to Artemis: Coin Deposition at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos (Euboea, Greece)

Marguerite SPOERRI BUTCHER*

Abstract

Amarynthos was the site of an important sanctuary of Artemis, some 10 km away from the city of Eretria. The existence of this sanctuary had been known through classical authors and inscriptions as Eretria's state treasury was kept at the sanctuary and a prestigious festival was organized there, but its location had eluded identification until very recently. A location at Amarynthos was suggested based on a new reading of Strabo's text who mentioned the site's location and archaeological surveys were initiated by the Swiss Archaeological School of Greece. Massive foundations were unearthed in 2007, suggesting the presence of a large public building complex, and in 2017 final evidence for the identification of the site was found in the form of terracotta tiles with the name of the goddess and stone inscriptions mentioning the triad Artemis, Apollo, and Leto. In 2017, these excavations also unearthed a well whose upper steps were built with re-used marble slabs from the Hellenistic period. This well contained 176 coins, ranging from the Hellenistic period (late third / early second century BC) to the late third century AD (AD 295-299). This paper will give a preliminary presentation of the material and compare it to the other coin finds made at the sanctuary, in order to better understand when and why these coins were deposited in this well.

Keywords: Amarynthos, Euboea, Artemis, Sanctuary of Artemis, Excavation coins, Ritual deposition

The excavations conducted jointly by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (ESAG) and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea at the sanctuary of Artemis *Amarysia* at Amarynthos on the island of Euboea have so far unearthed 332 coins. These range in date from the 6th century BC to the Medieval period.

This paper aims to give a preliminary presentation of some of this material, focussing more specifically on finds from one single structure, a well, in which more than half of these coins were found.¹

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¹ I would like to thank ESAG for entrusting me with the study of these coins and their constant support. My thanks go more specifically to Karl Reber, Director of ESAG until 2021, Sylvian Fachard, current Director, Tobias Krapf, Scientific Secretary in Greece, and Thierry Theurillat, Scientific Secretary in Switzerland. More detailed publications of all finds, especially the ones from the well, are in preparation.

The Sanctuary

The sanctuary was a renowned shrine of the city of Eretria. Several epigraphical documents and literary sources attest its religious, but also political importance. Strabo, for example, mentions that the sanctuary hosted important public documents, among which was a law regulating the annual procession between Eretria and the sanctuary that took the form of a military parade involving 3,000 armed warriors, 600 cavalymen, and 60 war chariots. The same author also reports that Amarynthos was located 7 stadia (1,250 m) away from its walls.²

Based on the assumption that the sanctuary ought to be in the immediate proximity of Eretria, archaeologists had been searching for it since the early exploration of the site in the 1900s. It is only recently that Swiss archaeologists proved that its true location was in fact 10 km further east, near the villages of Ano and Kato Vathia (contemporary Amarynthos), at the foot of the Paeoekklisies hill (fig. 1).³ Archaeological investigations were initiated there in 2003. In 2017,



Fig. 1
Map of Euboea
with the location
of Eretria and
Amarynthos and
the extensions of
Eretria's territory.
© Th. Theurillat,
ESAG.

² Strab., *Geogr.* X.1, 1-13. On Strabo's text, see Knoepfler 2018a, 922-51.

³ Denis Knoepfler was instrumental in showing that the distance given in Strabo's text was the result of a copyist's error, mis-transcribing ζ (7) for ξ (60, i.e. 10.8 km), see Knoepfler 1972; 1988; 2018a.

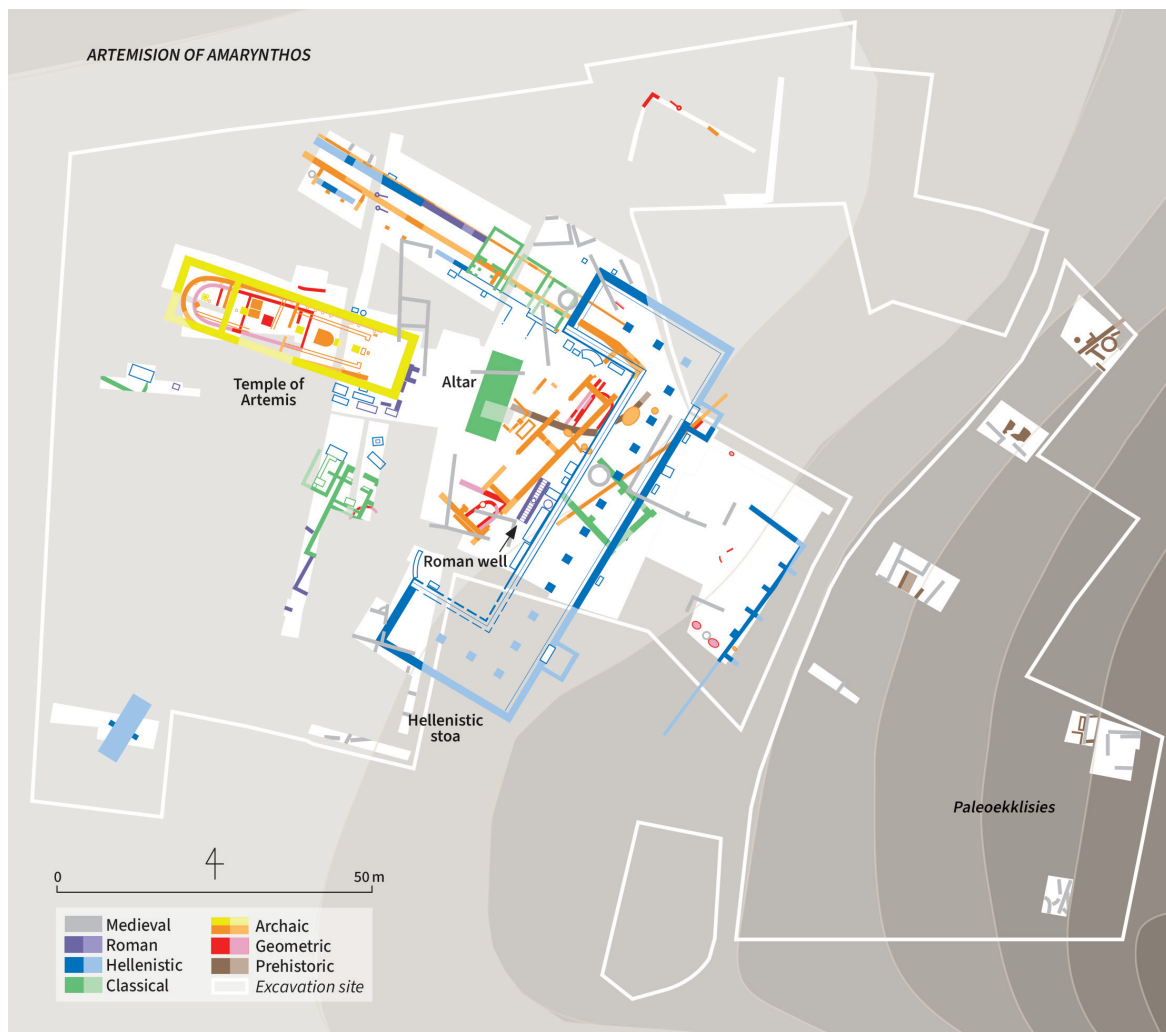


Fig. 2 Amarynthos, plan of the excavated area in 2023. © Th. Theurillat, ESAG.

final evidence for the identification of the site was found in the form of terracotta tiles with the name of the goddess and inscriptions mentioning the triad Artemis, Apollo, and Leto.⁴

Excavations revealed an occupation of the site ranging from the Bronze Age through to the Medieval period (fig. 2). The Geometric and Archaic periods saw a first monumentalisation of the sacred space, with a series of temples going back perhaps to the 8th century BC. Further building activity took place in the Classical period. In the Hellenistic period, the site was redesigned and saw its largest extension, with the construction of an impressive stoa bordering a large courtyard housing votive monuments. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was sacked, possibly during the Mithridatic wars when Eretria was first briefly occupied by Mithridates VI and then seized by the Romans under the command of Sulla in 86 BC.⁵

⁴ Annual excavation reports can be found in the *AntK* journal (available online at <https://www.esag.swiss/antike-kunst-reports/>, consulted 29 April 2024), see especially *AntK* 61 (2018), 132, fig. 6 for the stamped tiles. On the excavations more generally, see Fachard et al. 2017; Reber 2023.

⁵ A destruction of Eretria by Sulla is suggested by Schmid 2000, but see the more nuanced discussion by Ackermann 2021, 177-81.

In the Roman period, a Hellenistic well, located in front of the stoa, was rebuilt. According to the coin finds, this well was in use until at least the second half of the 3rd century AD. At some point after this, the sanctuary fell into disuse.

The Coin Finds

Of the 332 coins found, 242 could so far be identified, or at least assigned to a broad chronological period. Most of these are Classical or Hellenistic (128 coins) or belong to the Roman period (103 coins). Further coins are Archaic (1), Roman republican (1), Medieval (7), or Modern (2). Others defied any identification, being too corroded, and some further coins are still to be cleaned.

Issues from the early 2nd century BC are exceptionally well represented (fig. 3). This coincides with a period seeing the largest extension of the sanctuary, but also a high minting activity in central Euboea, with Chalcis, the Euboean League, and Eretria all producing successive issues of coinage. In contrast, earlier mid-4th, but also 3rd century BC coins are much rarer. First-century BC and first-century AD coins are also poorly represented, which can be explained by the fact that the sanctuary was destroyed or at least damaged during the 1st century BC.

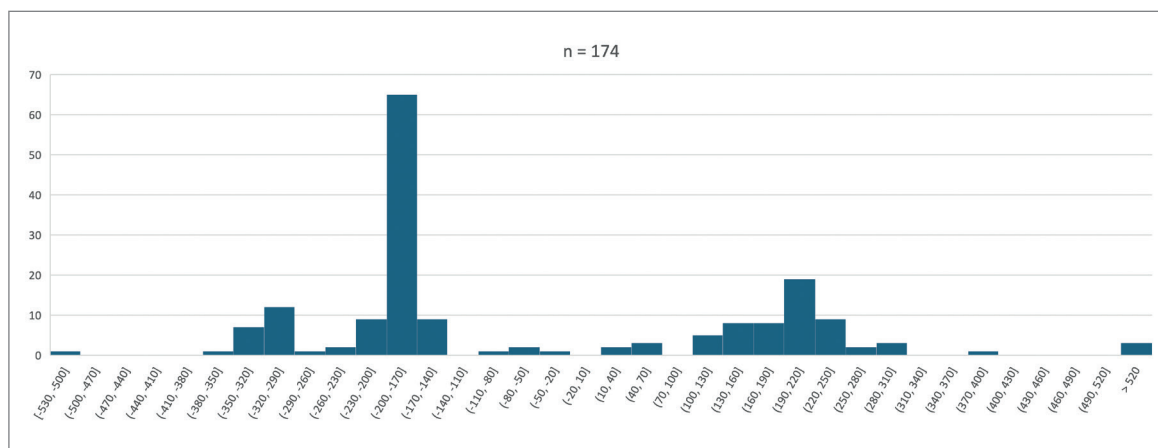


Fig. 3 Histogram of all coins with a secure chronological identification.

Numbers increase again in the 2nd and early 3rd century, with issues from the Antonine and the Severans being particularly abundant. Finally, an aes IV of Theodosius I (383-392) is the latest Roman coin discovered so far and it is to be assumed that the sanctuary was by then largely abandoned. A complete gap then follows until the Medieval period, for which a few torneselli, issued around 1400 by the Republic of Venice, are attested.

Almost all Greek and Roman coins consist of bronze denominations or coins with a relatively low percentage of silver. Only three silver coins have been recorded so far, among which is an archaic obol from Siphnos, found in a dated archaeological context belonging to one of the archaic temples.⁶

⁶ This coin will be the subject of a contribution in the publication dedicated to the excavations of the archaic temples, under the direction of Tamara Saggini, field co-director of the Amarnthos excavations.

Distribution of Finds within the Sanctuary: the Well

Coin finds were made across the entire excavated area, including in some trial trenches at the outskirts of the sanctuary. The study of these contexts is still to be undertaken, as well as a more precise mapping of the distribution of finds across time. However, 176 of the 332 coins found on the site, i.e. 53%, come from a single structure, which is the well located in the courtyard of the sanctuary in front of the monumental Hellenistic stoa (fig. 4).

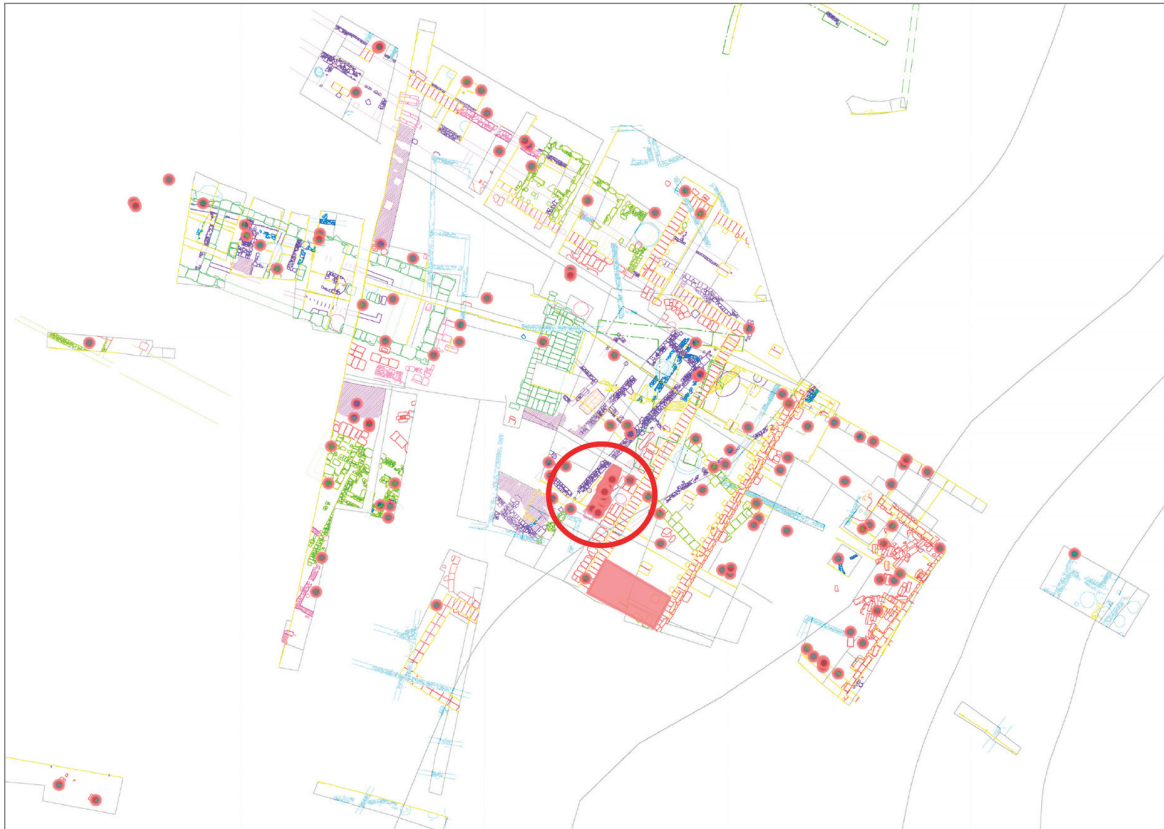


Fig. 4 Distribution of coins across the site, as recorded by the excavation teams on iDig, consulted 29 April 2024, with the well circled in red. © ESAG.

The concentration of such a high number of finds within a single structure warrants an explanation, that will require a combined study of all archaeological evidence retrieved from the well. Meanwhile, a preliminary study of the numismatic evidence allows to draw some first conclusions pertaining to the composition of this material and possible phases of deposition.

This well had been built in the Hellenistic period, but was partly destroyed in the 1st century BC, when the sanctuary was probably sacked in 86 BC during the Mithridatic Wars. Its upper sections were later re-built and an access to it was created by two flights of eight steps (fig. 5). These steps and the adjoining walls were built with re-used Hellenistic marble blocks and architectural fragments, some of which had honorary inscriptions and dedications on them.⁷ When this transformation took place is currently unclear, except that it was after the Mithridatic Wars and

⁷ See Knoepfler and Reber 2021, 80-83, and fig. 8, for a preliminary discussion of these inscriptions. On the well itself, see Reber 2023, 27-29.

possibly only in the early 2nd century AD. Indeed, the chronological profile of the coins found within the well is characterised by a quasi-absence of issues from the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. In contrast, coins from the 2nd century AD and more specifically from the Antonine period are much more numerous. It is therefore not impossible that the re-building of the well could be connected, as suggested by Denis Knoepfler, with benefactions bestowed to the sanctuary by Herodes Atticus (AD 101-177), a rich Athenian rhetorician who had a country residence on Euboea and funded many public building works across Greece and elsewhere.⁸



Fig. 5 The well after excavation. © ESAG.

Despite the well being logged with water, a rudimentary ‘stratigraphy’ composed of several contexts (FK) could be established, most of which contained coins. Within these, a very clear division can be established between the two bottom sections (FK 887 and 889), containing exclusively Hellenistic coins, and the middle and upper sections containing, for the middle section (FK 882, 883, and 884), exclusively Roman coins, and for the top sections (FK 802 and 881) a majority of Roman coins, mixed with a small number of Hellenistic coins (*c.*18%) (fig. 6).

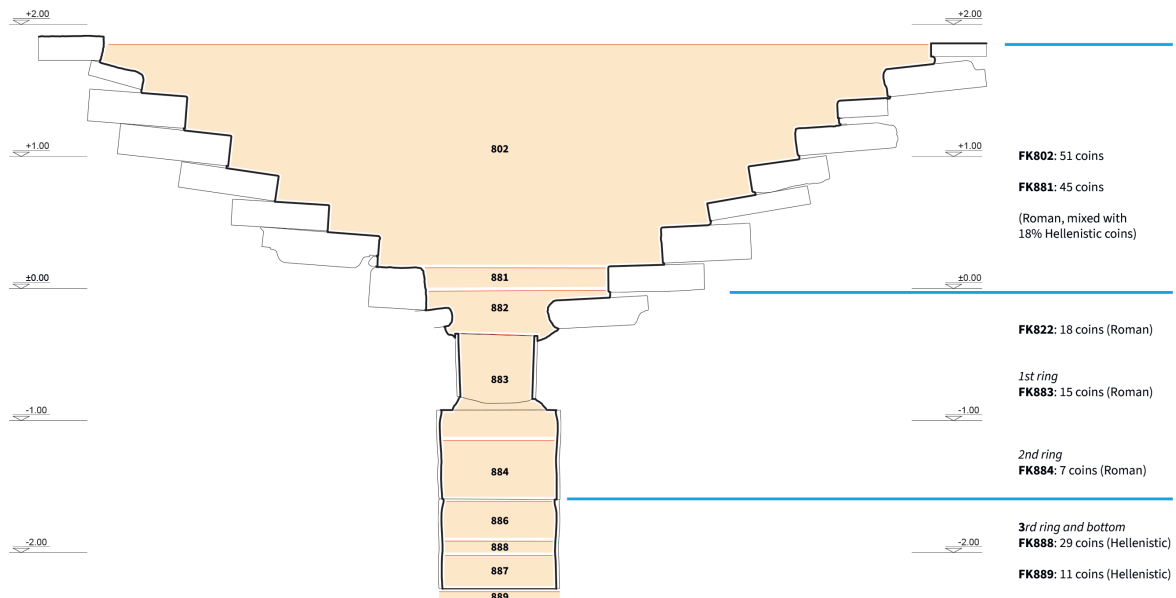


Fig. 6 Cross section of the well and distribution of the coins within the sections. © Th. Theurillat, ESAG.

⁸ Knoepfler 2018b, 356-65.

The Bottom of the Well (FK 888 and 889)

The two bottom sections of the well contained 40 Hellenistic coins, next to a large quantity of ceramic pottery (jugs, goblets, and amphoras, some of which were retrieved intact from the well).

Most of the coins date from the first half of the 2nd century BC, though only very specific coinages are represented. Indeed, of the six series of coinages issued on Euboea at that time and commonly found at Amarynthos in other contexts, only three are present here, in addition to two coins from the Boeotian League:

- Chalcis. Picard 1979, issue 53: 7 coins.
Obv. Facing bust of Hera, XAA; Rev. Eagle holding a serpent in its claws, ΦΙΛΙΣ / AAΘ.
Date: around 200 or perhaps 170 BC.⁹
- Eretria. Picard 1979, 196: 27 coins.
Obv. Veiled female head to the left; Rev. Magistrate's name above recumbent bull, EPETPIEΩN. Six magistrate names are known so far.
Date: around 180-170 BC.¹⁰
- Chalcis. Picard 1979, second series, issues 66-80: 4 coins.
Obv. Head of Hera to the right; Rev. Eagle holding a serpent in its claws.
Date: around 170-150 BC.
- Boeotian League. BCD Boiotia CNG Triton IX, 100; *SNG Cop., Aetolia-Euboea*, 384: 2 coins
Obv. Facing head of Demeter, slightly turned to the right; Rev. Poseidon, standing left, resting right foot on rock and leaning on trident, ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.
Date: around 220 BC.¹¹

In contrast, coins issued in three successive chronological phases by the Euboean League and Eretria between 194 and 180 BC are missing from this assemblage. These are coins of the Euboean League signed by either Satyros or Demarchos (recumbent bull / two bunches of grapes), dated 194-192 BC; coins of Eretria signed by Mantidoros (recumbent bull / two bunches of grapes), dated 192-191 BC; and coins of the Euboean League with various symbols (veiled female head / charging bull), dated 191-180 BC.¹²

Most of the coins found in the two bottom layers are quite worn, and 23 of the 40 found (57%) have been countermarked. A few coins produced in Chalcis (Picard issue 53) have an indistinct circular countermark, always applied on their reverse. Additionally, a substantial number of coins of Eretria and the later coins of Chalcis (Picard issues 66-80) have a rectangular countermark showing a bunch of grapes, always on their obverse. It is currently uncertain who applied this countermark, as grapes were a distinct design of coins both of the Euboean League

⁹ Picard 1979, 175-76 and 349, dating this issue to the very end of the 3rd century and the first years of the 2nd century BC, but no later than 196 BC (context of the Second Macedonian War). More recently, a date in connection with the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC) has been suggested, see Brunner 2019, 163.

¹⁰ Picard 1979, 196-98, suggesting a date from 180-170 BC onwards; Ashton 1989, 46-47, associates these coins with the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC), postulating that they were issued simultaneously to Eretria's Attic weight silver coinage. For a connection between this silver coinage and the outbreak of the war against Perseus, see also Picard 2010, 173 and Knoepfler 2015, 176.

¹¹ See Vlachogianni 2000 for the publication of a hoard of these bronzes and arguments in favour of their production taking place in the 220's BC, as well as Grandjean 1995, in favour of a date of c. 224-217 BC.

¹² For these coins, see Newell 1935, 1-23; Wallace 1956, 119-32; and Picard 1979, 192-98.

and Eretria; nor is it clear when this countermark was applied. While the coins found in the well of Amarynthos are all quite worn, the countermark is also worn, which implies that wear was not the reason for the countermarking. This countermark has also been applied to coins found at Eretria and therefore the countermarking has no connection with the deposition of these coins in the well.¹³

Because of the homogeneous composition of this group of 40 coins, one can probably exclude piecemeal deposition made by several individuals over a prolonged period. The fact that the coins are quite worn indicates a date of deposition quite some time after they were issued, in the later 2nd or even as late as the 1st century BC. This might also account for the absence of early 2nd-century issues that could have been withdrawn or have disappeared from circulation by that time.

Numerous ceramic containers were found in the same contexts, making it plausible that both pottery and coins were deposited at the same time and for the same reason. An analysis of the pottery will certainly bring further clues as to why and when these objects were deposited in the well, but a votive deposition does not necessarily need to be envisaged.

The Middle and Upper Sections of the Well (FK 881 to 884, and 802)

The middle section of the well consists of three contexts (FK 882, 883, and 884) all located within the shaft of the well, just below the bottom of the stairs. In contrast with the bottom sections of the well, no Hellenistic coins could be identified among the 40 coins that were retrieved from these contexts. Except for eight coins that were too corroded to be assigned to a given period, all coins are Roman, broadly dating from the very end of the 1st century BC to the reign of Philip (AD 244-249). The majority of the finds are 2nd and early 3rd century AD coins and there is no chronological differentiation between the three FK contexts.

The top two contexts (FK 881 and 802) encompass the bottom of the stairs (FK 881) and the entire area comprised between the two flights of steps that was filled up when the well was destroyed or fell into disuse (FK 802). The majority of the 96 coins retrieved from these two contexts are also Roman, ranging from the 2nd to the mid-3rd century, with the latest specimens belonging to the reign of Diocletian.¹⁴ Their chronological profile is therefore very similar to the one from the middle section of the well. However, the same two contexts also revealed a small percentage of Hellenistic coins (17 specimens), ranging in date from the end of the 4th to the 2nd century BC, with also a single 1st century BC Athenian bronze.¹⁵

The intrusion of Hellenistic coins in these upper layers is certainly due to secondary deposition. The walls and the steps of the well were built with re-used Hellenistic architectural blocks and coins could have been moved to the area at that occasion. They could then have ended up in the well, mixed with the Roman coins, when the well was filled up, when it was destroyed, or its walls collapsed after it fell into disuse. This is corroborated by the fact that the very top section (FK 802) was filled up with sediments containing a large number of various architectural elements that partly came from one of the retaining walls of the well that had collapsed.

¹³ Brunner 1998, 253 and cat. nos. 16-17 and 20-2, for examples of countermarked coins found at Eretria.

¹⁴ These are two radiate fractions from the mint of Cyzicus, dated AD 295-299, *RIC VI*, Cyzicus, 15a and 18b.

¹⁵ Kroll 1993, period IVA, dated from 86 to the late 80s BC.

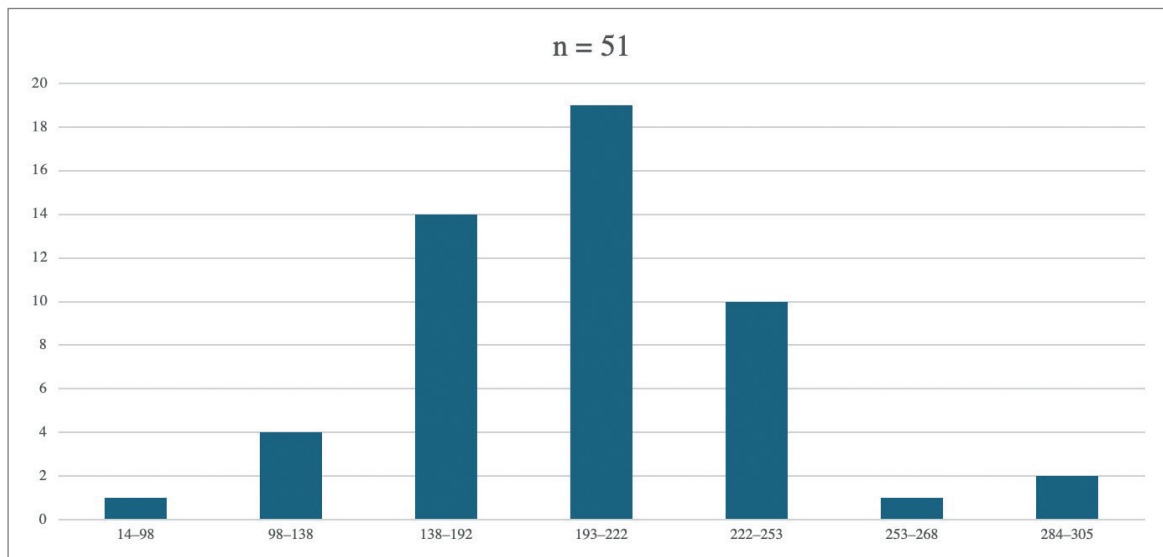


Fig. 7 Chronological profile of the Roman coins found in the well (middle and top sections, FK 881 to 884, and 802), excluding 68 specimens that could not be assigned to a precise reign.

As for the Roman coins of the middle and top sections combined (at least 111 specimens; 25 further coins are probably too corroded to be identified), a different type of interpretation is required to explain their presence.

This assemblage consists of a mixture of provincial and imperial issues, which is to be expected in Greece for that time. Provincial coins are predominantly issues of Chalcis, the main mint of Central Euboea in that period, and peak under the Severans. Imperial coins, mainly sestertii, are present from the reign of Hadrian onwards until the mid-3rd century. A few antoniniani are also documented for Gordian III, Philip, and Gallienus. Chronologically speaking, the Roman coins range from Caligula (AD 37-41) to Diocletian (AD 295-299), with the Antonine and the Severan periods being particularly well represented (fig. 7). The two coins minted under Diocletian's reign are the only ones posterior to the reign of Gallienus.

It is not entirely impossible that these coins, or some of them, were part of a hoard. The chronological range is not that broad and other hoards from central Greece ending in the mid-3rd century show a mixture of antoniniani with provincial or imperial bronzes.¹⁶ Whether the later coins from Gallienus and especially Diocletian were part of it is debatable, as they could have been intrusions or secondary depositions when the well was filled up. However, no obvious container was found and the upper section of a well certainly does not seem like an obvious place to deposit a hoard.

The archaeologists certainly envisaged a ritual deposition of these coins in the well.¹⁷ Several arguments speak indeed in favour of this hypothesis:

- Pausanias I, 34, 2-5, records such a practice at Oropos, on the opposite side of the Euboean Gulf, where silver and gold coins were thrown in the Spring of Amphiaraios in order to pay a healing fee.

¹⁶ E.g. Athens, Hill of the Nymphs, *tpq.* AD 253-264: Kroll 1973, 317-18, d (15 coins: 1 sestertius, 1 denarius, 11 antoniniani, and 2 provincial coins from Athens); Corinth 1962, *tpq.* AD 260-268: *ADelt* 18 (1963): 5-6 (35 coins: 3 sestertii, 9 antoniniani, and 23 provincial coins); Corinth, Theatre 1930, *tpq.* AD 266: Shear 1931 (29 coins: 24 provincial coins and 5 antoniniani).

¹⁷ *AntK* 61 (2018), 134-35; Reber 2023, 35-36.

- The well was enlarged in the Roman period and an access with steps created to it (fig. 5), which implies some kind of specific use.
- Quite a few coins were retrieved from the lower steps of the well, as if they had been deposited there.

In case of ritual deposition, the coins were certainly not recycled or re-used by the administration of the sanctuary but left in the well. The coins were also left in the well when it was destroyed, though we do not know anything about the circumstances of this destruction, nor exactly when it took place.

Towards an Interpretation

While coin use and deposition across the entire sanctuary are still to be studied, some preliminary observations can be made for the coins retrieved from the well.

Two phases of deposition can be differentiated, one in the Hellenistic period and the second in Roman times. The Hellenistic coins found at the bottom of the well seem to be the result of a single act of deposition, made quite some time after these coins were issued in the first half of the 2nd century BC. The study of the pottery found in the same contexts will certainly shed further light on why these objects were found in the well.

As for the Roman coins found in the upper sections of the well, the fact that the well was rebuilt during the early Roman period, with the creation of steps enabling an easy access to it, speaks in favour of a different type of coin deposition. Envisaging a ritual deposition made over time by several individuals is certainly a strong possibility.

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