

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE – COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL**



**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

**ABSTRACTS – RÉSUMÉS DES COMMUNICATIONS**



**ORGANIZED BY / ORGANISÉ PAR**

*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)*

*The Radboud University Nijmegen*

# ATHENS – October 24–25, 2019

AT THE ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AT ATHENS  
PARTHENONOS 14 – 11742 ATHENS

## PROGRAM

### THURSDAY OCTOBER 24<sup>th</sup>, 2019

09h00–09h30 Welcome of the participants

09h30–09h50 **P.P. IOSSIF** – Defining the general outline of the conference

#### 1<sup>st</sup> SESSION (Chair: P.P. Iossif)

09h50–10h10 **J.-M. DOYEN** – Monnaies et lieux de culte: une archéonumismatique qui se cherche

10h10–10h30 **F. de CALLATAÿ** – Coin spatial distribution in Greek sanctuaries put in perspective with Iron Age and Roman sanctuaries

10h30–10h50 BREAK

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> SESSION (1<sup>st</sup> part) (Chair: S. Kremydi)

10h50–11h10 **N. BOREK** – Promethean Tricks: Bullion, coins, and hoards in Southern Italy and Sicily, c. 550–400 BCE

11h10–11h50 **V. GRIGOROVA-GENCHEVA & L. GROZDANOVA** – Coin finds from sacred places in Pautalia, Thracia: offerings for health and fortune?

11h30–11h50 **L. PAVLOPOULOU** – Dion: Coins found at the Sanctuaries of the sacred city of Macedonians

11h50–12h10 **P. TSELEKAS & S. LIOULIAS** –...ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίμων καὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ. Managerial practices in the sanctuaries in the Macedonian kingdom under the Antigonids

12h10–12h20 DISCUSSION

12h20–14h30 LUNCH

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> SESSION (2<sup>nd</sup> part) (Chair: S. Psoma)

14h30–14h50 **M. IERARDI** – Coins in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Greece

14h50–15h10 **E. ARGYROPOLOU & T. CHRISTOPHILOU** – Coin finds from the Peloponnesian sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Lykaion, Arcadia

15h10–15h30 **L. De ANGELO LAKY** – Coins as votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries: the case of the Zeus altar on Mount Lykaion, Arcadia

15h30–15h50 BREAK

15h50–16h10 **G. KAKAVAS & C. PAPAGEORGIADOU** – Coins for the “initiates” and coins for the commoners

16h10–16h30 **N. PETROPOULOS** – The excavation coins from the sanctuaries of Trapeza and Profitis Ilias–Keryneia in Aigialeia (Achaia)

16h30–16h50 **M.K. KALISCH** – The coin finds from Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea revisited

16h50–17h10 DISCUSSION

## **FRIDAY OCTOBER 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019**

### **3<sup>rd</sup> SESSION (Chair: F. de Callatay)**

09h30–09h50 **A. CHARAMI & S. DRENI** – The coins from the Kabireion at Thebes. A preliminary report

09h50–11h10 **V. ANTONIADIS** – Objectifying faith: managing a private sanctuary in Hellenistic Delos

11h10–11h30 **E. RALLI** – Lead tokens with Alexander III’s portrait from the Adonis Kyrou collection

11h30–11h50 BREAK

11h50–12h10 **A. TANRIÖVER** – ΕΠΙΔΙΔΙΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ [...]. The coin finds from the oracular sanctuary of Didyma

12h10–12h30 **D. S. LINGER** – Votive coins from Arpalık Tepe Cave Sanctuary

12h30–12h50 DISCUSSION

12h50–14h30 LUNCH

### **4<sup>th</sup> SESSION (Chair: J.-M. Doyen)**

14h30–14h50 **C. LAUWERS** – Les monnaies de la Chapelle d’Obodas (Pétra, Jordanie)

14h50–15h10 **B. CALLEGHER** – Monnaies dispersées et trésors dans les églises et les monastères de la région syro-palestinienne entre le 5<sup>e</sup> et le 7<sup>e</sup> siècle : plus d’économie que de spiritualité

15h10–15h30 BREAK

15h30–15h50 **L. CLAES** – Coins for a safe passing: The votive hoard of the river Aa (the Netherlands)

15h50–16h10 **S. BETJES** – The mint of Rome and the storage of dies

16h10–16h30 **A.M. FELDMAN** – Mercantilist thought in Byzantium

16h30–17h00 DISCUSSION

## **J.-M. DOYEN\* – Monnaies et lieux de culte: une archéonumismatique qui se cherche**

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Contrairement à la recherche portant sur l'usage de la monnaie en contexte funéraire, qui a fait l'objet d'assez nombreux colloques au cours des trois dernières décennies et qui profite d'une solide réflexion méthodologique fondée sur un protocole de prélèvement précis et largement diffusé depuis longtemps, la « monnaie des dieux » demeure le parent pauvre de l'archéonumismatique.

Alors que des centaines – voire des milliers – de sanctuaires antiques, grands et petits, s'étalant de l'Espagne à l'Asie centrale, ont été fouillés au cours du siècle qui vient de s'écouler, les études portant sur le numéraire qui y fut récolté, souvent très abondant, sont bien souvent restées au niveau de la simple analyse factuelle.

Il convient désormais d'avancer des pistes de réflexion fondées sur des pratiques d'enregistrement précises des données, et sur leur traitement statistique, afin de répondre aux questions élémentaires qui sont : quand ? Pour qui ? Par qui ? Et pourquoi ?

Nous aborderons dans cet exposé, essentiellement méthodologique, la problématique inhérente aux découvertes venant des deux types de séjour des dieux sur terre : les lieux de cultes naturels – parmi lesquels les gouffres, puits, lacs et marais – et les sanctuaires construits, les premiers pouvant du reste être parfois inclus dans les seconds. Si les premiers reçoivent essentiellement des dons définitifs, car techniquement irrécupérables, à des divinités souvent infernales, les seconds sont autant des lieux de culte que des centres périodiques de commerce, de loisir et de consommation. Le statut – cultuel ou non – des trouvailles y est plus ambigu, au point que l'on est souvent en droit de poser la question : les dieux ont-ils vraiment *besoin* de monnaie ?



## **F. de CALLATAY\* – Coin spatial distribution in Greek sanctuaries put in perspective with Iron Age and Roman sanctuaries**

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Up to now, very few archaeological reports have provided a map with the precise location of where Greek, Roman or Celtic coins were found (less than 100 bibliographical entries out of more than 10,000 potential sites). For sanctuaries, Celtic or Gallo-Roman cases are the only kind of evidence for which we do possess enough repetitive evidence to reach some confidence in our assumptions. This paper aims to put in perspective the best documented cases we have at our disposal: Cyrene and Herakleion-Thonis for the Greek world (waiting for Delos!), Corrent or Martberg for the Iron Age, Basiols, Halatte or Liberchies for the Gal-Roman world.



## **N. BOREK\* – Promethean Tricks: Bullion, coins, and hoards in southern Italy and Sicily, c. 550-400 BCE**

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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 in fact 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 finds, 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 came to using money. In order 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.



## **V. GRIGOROVA-GENCHEVA\* & L. GROZDANOVA\*\* – Coin finds from sacred places in Pautalia, Thracia: offerings for health and fortune?**

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The city of Pautalia (modern-day Kjustendil, SW Bulgaria) is a known balneological and medical center since the Antiquity. This aspect of the city reality is well attested by different types of archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic sources.

Furthermore, within the polis are located multiple sacred sites, even including an entire religious complex. Despite the long research conducted on the archaeological remains and constructs from the city, the complicated discussions concerning the identification of the cults that those places were devoted to, remains very much open.

The current paper aims to address a specific aspect of this problematic – the coin finds retrieved exactly from the sacred sites. Without claiming to be able to ultimately resolve the above mentioned ongoing debates, the work with these materials has the potential to shed additional light on the reconstruction of the city life in Pautalia.

In this concern amongst the questions that need to be closely explored are: what is the coin typology of the finds; are there specific types that prevail and could they be informative on the cults practiced there; what is the chronological distribution of the numismatic materials; are there specific denominations that are being offered, etc.



## **L. PAVLOPOULOU\* – Dion: Coins found at the sanctuaries of the sacred city of Macedonians**

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Dion, the sacred city of ancient Macedonians, lies at the foothills of Mt. Olympus, about five kilometers from the Pierian coast. The archaeological site is being 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 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C., at the Sanctuaries of Olympios Zeus, Demeter, Asclepius, Artemis Baphyria, Hypsistus Zeus and Isis. These coins belong to Macedonian Kings, cities of Macedonia, Roman Republic, foreign rulers and cities. In this paper we will explore the reasons of 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.



## **P. TSELEKAS\* & S. LOULIAS\*\* – ...ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίμων καὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ. Managerial practices in the sanctuaries in the Macedonian kingdom under the Antigonids**

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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 testimonia as well as publications of artifacts 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, a number of 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 from the sanctuary's treasury was, presumably among other, 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 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\* – Coins in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Greece**

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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 BCE and the foundation of the Roman colony of Laus Iulia Corinthiensis by Julius Caesar in 44 BCE. DK thus affords a number of 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 ca. 550 BCE, 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 theatral area plausibly associated with sacred mysteries.

In the Roman phase (beginning in the third quarter of the first century CE), the Upper Terrace was developed by the erection of three small temples. Coins in the foundation deposit of the central temple announce 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 the central temple at the time of the destruction and abandonment of the sanctuary (in the later 380s or 390s, on the basis of 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.



## **E. ARGYROPOLOU\* & C. THEONI\*\* – Coin finds from the Peloponnesian sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion, Arcadia**

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Located high in the Arcadian mountains (at max 1382 m) 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 for the *Lykaia*, the athletic games held in honor of Zeus. On the highest point of the mountain, where the Arcadians took pride on being the birthplace of Zeus, there are signs of activity already from the Final Neolithic period. The cultic use of the site dates according to the hitherto finds from the Late Helladic through to the Roman period. On the lower sanctuary the remnants

of the edifices related to the organization of the games are preserved. They all probably belong to a building program dating to 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, while parts of the site were still in use during the Byzantine period. The pan-Arcadian character of the cult and the Panhellenic reputation of the games are reflected on the coin finds of the site excavated by the Archaeological Society of Athens (in 1897 and 1902-4) and during the Mt. Lykaion Excavation and Survey Project, a collaboration between the Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia and the American School of Classical Studies (since 2004). The study aspires to explore and discuss the contribution of the coin finds to the ongoing study on the enduring life of the sanctuary based mainly on the numismatic material excavated recently by the Greek team of the aforementioned project.



## **L. De ANGELO LAKY\* – Coins as votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries: the case of the Zeus altar on Mount Lykaion, Arcadia**

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The dedication of coins or objects of exchange and value in sanctuaries was a practice somehow disseminated in the Greek world, being the most famous cases the bronze spits from the Argive Heraion and the electrons from the foundations of the Artemision of Ephesus. However, different from the case of the coins dedications found in the sacred area or in the foundations of temples, where metal objects and coins were usually stored in votive deposits or dispersed by the sanctuary, becoming part of the treasure of the deity, the dedication of coins in an altar (the case of the sanctuary of Mount Lykaion) are little known. In this communication, our intention is to discuss the ritual function of money as a votive offering and its use in substitution of other metal objects dedicated to the Greek deities in their sanctuaries such as the correspondence between monetary images and the god worshiped in specific sacred areas.



## **G. KAKAVAS\* & C. PAPAGEORGIADOU\*\* – Coins for the “initiates” and coins for the commoners**

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ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ coinage is an uncommon, if not unique, case of a currency allowed to be minted in the realm of another authority. Its special and well-established character as a token unit used for the Eleusinian explains this singularity.

The distribution of this currency outside of the Sanctuary, all over Attica demonstrates that these coins were accepted in the local markets and circulated alongside the Athenian ones. Beyond Athens, however, their appearance is scarce, an indication of human mobility rather than commercial transactions.

On the other hand, few coin hoards from the area and its vicinity suggest that the financing of everyday life was not affected and was carried out as usual. In this paper, we will present a more elaborate circulation pattern, based on the numismatic material from the excavations at Eleusis, and kept in the Numismatic Museum.



## **N. PETROPOULOS\* – The exavation coins from the sanctuaries of Trapeza and Profitis Ilias-Keryneia in Aigialeia (Achaea)**

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The submission will present the monetary finds from the systematic excavations of two sanctuaries in the mountainous inland of ancient Aigialeia in eastern Achaea. The first is located on the Trapeza plateau, in the centre of the fortified citadel which probably belonged to ancient Rhypai, and the second, on the summit of Profitis Ilias in the territory of ancient Keryneia. Both sanctuaries, according to the archaeological evidence, they were prominent cult centres of ancient Achaea, operational from the Geometric, in the case of Trapeza, and the Archaic till the Roman period. They were dominated by great peripteral temples, built in Late Archaic period and probably dedicated to Zeus. In this proposal, the data from the archaeological contexts and from our knowledge relating to coin use, social-economic conditions and worship practices in Achaea and the rest of the Greek world will be analyzed in extension to determine possible uses of the coin-finds from the two sites and causes of their final deposition within the area of the sanctuaries. Also, in an attempt to their further interpretation, a comparison of the two sanctuaries' contexts will be discussed.



## **M.K. KALISCH\* – The coin finds from Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea revisited**

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The sanctuaries in Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea represent some of the most significant Panhellenic sites in ancient Greece, which were a destination for worshippers across the entire ancient world and, every four years, the venue of peaceful athletic competitions. Several important landmarks and monuments of the Classical Antiquity have been found in the excavations of the sanctuaries, determining the scientific discussion of Classical Archaeology for decades. Except for the complete catalog of coins from Nemea, the lack of scientific analysis of coin finds from the other three sanctuaries, as well as from many other excavation projects in Ancient Greece, is surprising. For this reason, this presentation will review the state of numismatic research in the sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea and present a methodical comparison of the coin finds from the sites from the beginning of coinage to Roman times. The comparative study of the coin finds will include research questions related to intentionality of the coin depositions in contrast to accidental loss of the specimens. In order to discuss the possibility of new results from old excavations, the presentation attempts to reappraise coin offerings on the basis of case studies from the sanctuaries



## **A. CHARAMI\*& S. DRENI\*\* – The coins from the Kabireion at Thebes. A preliminary report**

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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 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 the 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 for 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 on 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 each of the coins was found could indicate whether it was left there on purpose or lost by a visitor, still shedding light in the origins of each independent carrier of this currency and adding up to the understanding of this particular sanctuary.



## **V. ANTONIADIS\* – Objectifying faith: managing a private sanctuary in Hellenistic Delos**

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From the beginning of the Delian Independence from 314 BC onwards, various private sanctuaries dedicated to Egyptian and eastern deities were established in Delos. Some of them, such as Sarapeion A, remained private, run most probably by the same family for more than one generation, while Sarapeion C, was taken over by the administration of the sanctuary of Apollo. The same occurred to other private sanctuaries in Delos, especially after 167 BC and the second Athenian domination.

This paper investigates the ‘biography’ of Sarapeion A in relation to the motives and struggle over the control of the sanctuary, in the post-independence political and financial Delian context. This occurred during a period when other competitive sanctuaries belonged to the sanctuary of Apollo, the island’s most powerful institution with revenues ranging from dedications of Hellenistic kings to investments, loans and the leasing of farm estates. Private sanctuaries such as Sarapeion A, had to operate at a different economic and financial scale in order to maintain their status in one of the most densely populated places in antiquity.

The author explores the importance of these sanctuaries for the local society, the wealthy entrepreneurs and the numerous foreign traders in the Hellenistic period through the contextual study of architectural features, archaeological finds and epigraphic evidence.



## **E. RALLI\* – Lead tokens with Alexander III’s portrait from the Adonis Kyrou collection**

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Three lead tokens in the Numismatic Museum of Athens, belonging to the Adonis Kyrou collection, bear on one side a male portrait with a diadem and ram’s horn. The closest analogues of these examples are to be found in a private collection of lead tokens with the alleged provenance from Ephesus. The aim of this paper is twofold: a) to argue that the portrait on the tokens can be identified with that of Alexander III, b) to propose Ephesus as a possible place of origin for the tokens from the Kyrou collection and explore possible uses for the tokens within the framework of Artemis Ephesia’s worship and festivals as well as in relation to the Hellenistic rulers’ cult.



## **A. TANRIOEVER\* – ΕΠΙΔΙΔΙΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ [...]. The coin finds from the oracular sanctuary of Didyma**

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The sanctuary of Didyma belonged to the famous Ionian city of Miletus on the west coast of Asia Minor. These two sites were connected by the so-called Sacred Way since the 7th/6th century BC. Didyma was famous for its shrine of Apollo, but other gods such as Apollo's twin sister Artemis were worshipped here, too. The archaic sanctuary - just as Miletus and other poleis - was destroyed by the Persians at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The building of a new temple was not begun before the 4th century BC and lasted until the Roman Imperial time. The rediscovery and exploration of the ancient site began in the 18th century, and since 1962 the work in Didyma has been carried out by the German Archaeological Institute. The coin finds at Didyma can be described as follows: We have mainly bronze coins, of which 34% belong to the Greco-Roman era (until 260 AD) - of which 80% were minted in Miletus, which does not come as a surprise. The majority of the material was found in the area of the Sacred Way, whereas 5% comes from the temple itself. While most of the coins from Didyma were found in "usual" contexts, i.e. as part of the stratigraphy, some coins were discovered during conservation and restoration measures in the Temple of Apollon. As regards find spots of coins, this no doubt constitutes a special case. While some coins had apparently been "lost" over time, the coins discovered between architectural elements such as plinth and base or torus and spira were probably deposited there on purpose. Of course, the question is: when exactly did this happen during the construction process, and why did it happen, in the first place? By the way, the excavation in the temple at Didyma also yielded ancient coins, which were dropped there only in modern times. – Isn't this quite oracular?



## **D. S. LINGER\* – Votive coins from Arpalık Tepe Cave Sanctuary**

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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 worshiped together in the sanctuary. The finds also show that the cult center was used between the 6th century BC. and the 4th century 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 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), gives us the opportunity 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\* – Les monnaies de la Chapelle d'Obodas (Pétra, Jordanie)**

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Le site de la Chapelle d'Obodas a été sans le moindre doute identifié comme un lieu cultuel. 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 cultuel, 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\* – Monnaies dispersées et trésors dans les églises et les monastères de la région syro-palestinienne entre le 5<sup>e</sup> et le 7<sup>e</sup> siècle : plus d'économie que de spiritualité**

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Les monnaies d'or et de bronze (IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles), trouvées dans des contextes religieux (basiliques, petites églises, monastères) dans la région palestinienne syrienne (Hauran, 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 religieux, 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 (comme soutenu par WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe-VIIIe 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 *Apophtegmata 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 *solides*, conserver les *solides*, 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\* – Coins for a safe passing: the votive hoard of the river Aa (the Netherlands)**

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Last year, two metal detectorists, the brothers van Schaijk, found four denarii and almost hundred Roman bronze coins on the banks of the Aa, a river that flows near the city of 's Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands. The coin hoard has been identified as a continual votive hoard which was deposit from the second half of the first century onwards up to the second century. The finding place is far South from 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 happened there. Only the route of a ferriage is known from a 19<sup>th</sup> 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) 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. 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 West-Europa in order to get a better understanding on the votive hoards phenomenon.



## **S. BETJES\* – The mint of Rome and the storage of dies**

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Coins and medallions are not the only monetary objects found in sacred precincts. Also found in the same places are the instruments from which they were made. Although few dies have survived to the present day, we know from inventory lists from the Athenian Acropolis of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE that dies indeed occasionally made it into the confines of temples as dedications (Flament 2004). This paper delves into this phenomenon albeit for a different place and period. It connects the storing of dies to the Roman tendency of imitating previous coin designs. Such repetitions took many forms, most notably being the early imperial restoration coinage, the numismatic repertoires of Vespasian and Constantine,

and the designs on the contorniates of the fourth century CE. In studies examining these periods of increased imitation the suggestion that some sort of collection must have existed is a recurring feature (e.g. Mittag (1999); Komnick (2001); Dahmen/Ilisch (2006); Gallia (2012)), yet this notion has thus far never been explored in detail.

This paper tries to fill this void by proposing a form and function for such a collection, taking as a starting point the groundbreaking article of Meadows and Williams (2001). In this article a close connection between the cult and temple of Juno Moneta and the production of coinage in ancient Rome was demonstrated, a link rooted in the goddess' close association with memory. In this paper the argument is furthered by stating that this association took a very physical form in a collection of dies, which were dedicated and stored in her temple to guarantee the memory expressed through the coins that were the products of these dies. Such a sacred component in the production of coinage obviously has repercussions for the status of coins themselves, perhaps even suggesting as much as that monetary objects were invested with sacrality.



## **A.M. FELDMAN\* – Mercantilist thought in Byzantium**

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What is Mercantilism? Is it solely an outdated economic model or is it a comprehensive approach to wealth creation? Frequently the term has been applied to “Renaissance” Italian city-states such as Venice and Genoa from the 14-19<sup>th</sup> c., but where did “mercantilism,” come from? Venice and Genoa, are often seen as developing mercantilism by endeavouring to control the trade of bullion in Byzantium. However, rarely is it acknowledged that these cities’ merchants were frequently regarded as Byzantine subjects by the emperors. Instead, these merchants have been regarded by modern historians as citizens of separate “states.” For this reason, the “foreign” and “domestic” trade of bullion is crucial to understanding the emergence of mercantilist economic thought. Based on many studies of centuries of Byzantine coin debasement and reform, as well as coin circulation models and primary sources detailing monetary policy, such as Constantine VII’s *De Administrando Imperio*, the *Ekloga* and *Nomokanon*, I will argue that mercantilist thought, as defined by the assumption of minute growth and ultimately inelastic wealth available in the world, can easily be applied to Byzantium. While this may seem rather heterodox at first, it would be appropriate to recall that Byzantine emperors, as with Western rulers, constantly sought to augment their respective supplies of precious metals and wrestled with the age-old temptation of coin debasement, in order to increase their short-term purchasing power. However, a crucial difference between the former and latter examples would be the notion of the “foreign” and “domestic” in terms of merchant and marketplace: “nationhood,” as a Western construct, was hardly defined as such in the Orthodox East, where the emperor was theoretically sovereign over all Christians. Therefore, though mercantilism undoubtedly carries connotations of “economic nationalism” in the modern West, by conceiving of mercantilism as the natural by-product of a perpetually limited growth rate and a ruler’s relentless pursuit of inelastic precious metals, we may come to understand modern economic thought (Eastern and Western) as tacitly derived from implicit antique paradigms.

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## **YOUR NOTES**

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