# ANONYMOUS COPPER COINS FROM GORGIPPIA

There are three anonymous copper coins in the numismatic collection of the Anapa archaeological museum. Two more are in a private collection. All five coins were found in the past five years at the site of the ancient town of Gorgippia. Collectors say similar anonymous coins were found from time to time but due to their shabby appearance they were not valued by collectors and would usually disappear again. From the numismatic point of view the findings of anonymous ancient coins in Gorgippia (Anapa) are of particular interest therefore we give their detailed description:

## 1. Am 10937/121

Obverse – a leather helmet and an oval-shaped stamp over the rim area of the coin field (a bow?) Reverse – an eight-point star with traces of letters between the points.

Condition – with corrosion cavities on the surface

Weight -7.1 g; table 1.1

### 2. Am-Km 7062/17

Obverse - a leather helmet with traces of a monogram between the cheek plate and neck flap ends; a circle shaped stamp in the form of a gorgoneion.

Reverse - an eight-point star with traces of letters between the points, a bow.

Condition – with corrosion cavities on the surface

Weight -5.15 g; table 1.2

#### 3. Am 10937/118

Obverse – traces of a rose flower (?)

Reverse – an eight-point star

Condition – damaged by corrosion

Weight -0.95 g, table 1.3

# 4. Private collection

Obverse - a leather helmet and an oval-shaped stamp near the rim of the coin - a bow with traces of letters underneath. Traces of recoinage can be seen on the coin field.

Reverse – an eight-point star, a bow with traces of letters underneath.

The field carries traces of recoinage.

Condition: with corrosion cavities on the surface.

Weight -4.9; table 1. 4, 4a

## 5. Private collection

Obverse – traces of a rose flower (?)

Reverse – eight-pointed star

Condition: damaged by corrosion

Weight -1 g.; table 1. 5.

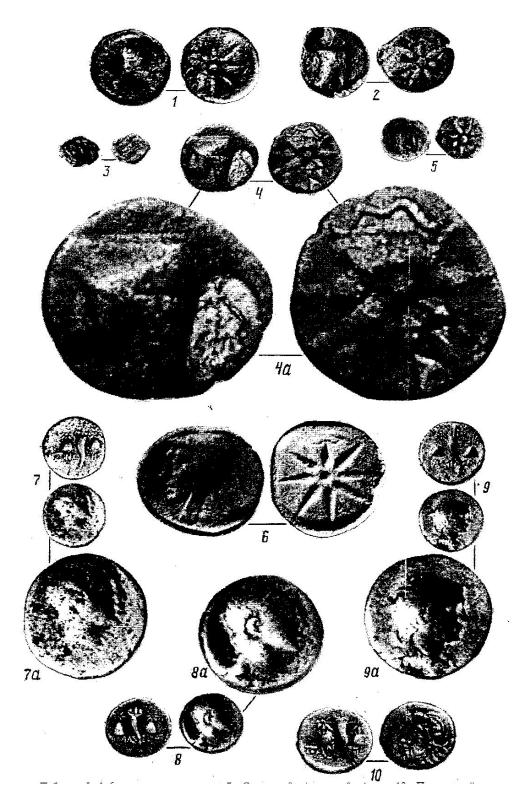


Table I. 1-6 Anonymous coins; 7 – Sinope; 8 – Amasiya; 9 – Amisus; 10 – Pantikapaeum; 4a, 7a, 8a 9a - enlarged

Researchers started paying attention to anonymous copper coinages, which were often referred to as "the Pontus coinage", in the late XX-th century<sup>1</sup>. Today we have a number of works which often have contradictory opinions on the chronology, classification, character and area of these anonymous coinages. F. Imhoof-B lumer attributes anonymous copper coins to the era of the Mithridates the VI-th (120-63 b.c.)

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof - Blumer F. Griechische Münzen, München, 1890, c.40; Imhoof - Blumer F. Zur Münzkunde des Pontos, von Paphlagonien. Tenedos, Aiolis und Lesbos, ZfN, 1897, c.254.

saying that the coinage actually is a vicarian coinage of the Bosporus or Colchis<sup>2</sup>. His point of view is supported by E.Minns and G.Kleiner<sup>3</sup>. Authors of the Recueil general des monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure E.Babelon and Th. Reinach did not give any specific opinion about anonymous coins by not including them in the first edition of their book and treating them as the coins of Pontes or Bosporus in the second edition<sup>4</sup>.

A.Baldwin – author of a compilation work dedicated to anonymous copper coins, attributed these coins to the Pontus coinage of Mithridates VI's era<sup>5</sup>. A.Baldwin refers to the chronological table made by F.Imhoof-Blumer who says that some anonymous coins with a head in a leather helmet (Kyrbasia) have analogs among the first city coinages of Pontus<sup>6</sup>. This point of view was partially supported by A.N.Zograph, but inflicted arguments from P.Kolb, who managed to prove that these coins are to be dated as pre-Mithridates<sup>7</sup>. H.Pfeiler proposes a specific solution to solving the issue of dating anonymous copper coins<sup>8</sup>. H.Pfeiler splits all coins with images of a boy, a youth and a man in a Kyrbasia into chronological groups in accordance with their iconographic properties. Additionally, H.Pfeiler separately classifies coins with the image of a "40-year old man" as a separate coinage which, as the author believes, was issued by Mithridates Euergetes. The presence of Kyrbasia on copper coins from the Pontes makes H.Pfeiler say that Iranian royal traditions were present in the coin types issued during the reign of Mithridates Euergetes and the early years of the reign of his son Mithridates Eupator.

K.V.Golenko made an important contribution in studying anonymous coins<sup>9</sup>. He has fully revised the classification made by A.Baldwin and has demonstratively shown that groups of coins with the head in Kyrbasia (leather helmet) should be attributed to the final issue of the emission. K.V.Golenko proposed to limit the coinage period to the mid 3rd century BC – 30s of the 2nd century BC. According to K.V.Golenko issue of anonymous coins was done by strategoi – governors placed by the king of Pontus to rule different parts of the country.

As seen from the brief historical overview only chronology, classification and coinage specifics were more or less convincingly explained. Regarding the reasons and area of anonymous copper coinages we still have no explanation so far. Currently researchers need to conduct a thorough analysis of this numismatic material with regard to the latest finds of anonymous coins. As for the reasons and place of coinage we could reach certain results only when we take a firm stand regarding the three abovementioned circumstances: accept the dating of anonymous copper coins as pre-Mithridates as most researchers have; use the base on the well-knit and convincing classification system proposed by K.V.Golenko and agree to the arguments proving that the emission was done by local governors.

Trying to find the area of the anonymous coinage, K.V.Golenko paid special attention to the locality where these coins were found. He possessed information about six coins – four from the Bosporus and one from Philadelphia (modern-day Amman) and one from Halicarnassus (Mindos)<sup>10</sup>.

It seems that the data already available should have alarmed K.V.Golenko, but nevertheless he supports the position of A.Baldwin and A.L.Berthier-Delaguard who considered that anonymous coins were found in the Bosporus area and on the northern coast of the Black Sea by chance<sup>11</sup>. The arguments of K.V.Golenko are as follows: Systematic research of the Bosporus produced tremendous numismatic material and findings of uncommon large coins should have attracted the attention of finders and collectors. But that did not happen, while finding four anonymous coins could not prove their local origin.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Imhoof- Blumer F. Die Kupferpragung des mithradatischen Reiches und andere Münzen des Pontos und Paphlagoniens. NZ, XLV, 1912, c.181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Minns E.H. Scythians and Greecs. Cambr., 1913, c.287; Kleiner G. Pontische Re-ichsmunzen. Istanbuler Mitteilungen,6, 1955, p.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Babelon E., Reinach Th. Recueil general des monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure. T.I, fasc.71, Paris, 2-e ed., 1925, tbl. suppl., M.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Baldwin A. Les monnaies de bronze dites incertaines du Pont ou du royaume de <sub>6</sub>Mithridate Eupator. RN, XVII, 1913, p.285-313.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 6}$ Imhoof - Blumer. Die Kupferpragung...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> AM, p L 86.; Kolb P. Monnaies de bronze incertaines du Pont. Remarques sur l'article de m-He Baldwin a propos de la découverte d'une monnaie nouvelle, gRN, 1926, p.23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pfeiler H. Die Frühesten Portrats des Mithadates Eupator und die Bronzepragung seiner Vorgarger. Schweizer Munzblatter. 18, 1968, p75-80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Голенко К.В. Понтийская анонимная медь.//VDI, 1969,N1, p.130-154

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Голенко. Ук. соч., с. 135. In his work K.V.Golenko studies anonymous copper coins from the State Hermitage collection /p. 152/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Op.Cit., p.135

Finding of the other two coins outside of Bosporus makes K.V.Golenko believe that the anonymous coins originate from Asia Minor<sup>12</sup>.

At present we do not need to delve deeply into all aspects of that conclusion which was not considered as final by K.V.Golenko himself<sup>13</sup>. Findings of anonymous copper coins in Gorgippia and Bosporus make the speculations that they are not common to that region unsound.

Almost all anonymous copper coins have monograms and stamps over them.

Researchers attribute monograms to the activities of local coin magistrates. K.V.Golenko specified ten monograms of various types and proposed their relative chronology 14.



However, one important detail alluded Mr. Golenko's attention. It is the fact that some monograms on anonymous copper coins have siblings on coins from the Bosporus which can be dated back to the 2nd century BC. This resemblance of monograms can be seen even more vividly if we accept the assumption of D.B.Shelov <sup>15</sup>. When studying monograms on silver Drachmas from Panticapaeum D.B.Shelov assumed that coin magistrates which have executed their functions for a long time changed their monograms after each reelection. This important notion can be applied to the monograms of anonymous and Bosporus coins as well. All ten monograms shown by K.V.Golenko can be easily divided into three groups.



Each of the three groups, in its turn, has analogs among Bosporus coins of the third quarter of the 2nd century BC. For example monogram No.4 from Group I was found on copper tetrachalks of the last Spartokus and silver Drachms<sup>16</sup>, monogram no.5 from the second group matches that of the golden Stater from the collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Art<sup>17</sup> and monogram No.10 moved to the second group is found on the silver Didrachmas of the Spartokus era and on the golden Staters of the last Pairisades<sup>18</sup>. Finally, the third group of anonymous copper coin monograms Nos. 7, 8, 9 has analogs in the form of symbols or letter markings on the last, according to D.B.Shelov, issues of Panticapaeian silver Drachmas<sup>19</sup>. In that case both Drachmas and anonymous coins have varieties of K and T letter combinations.

<sup>16</sup> AM, tbl. XLII, 8; MDB, p.160, N10, tbl.VIII, p94

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Op.Cit., p.135-136

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Op.Cit. p. 135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Op.Cit. p.148, fig.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> МДБ, р.162

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Oreshnikov A.V. coins of the Chersonesus Taurica, kings of Cimmerian Bosporus and of the Polemon II of Pontus. // NS, 1913, N2, tbl 1, 3. Monograms made of the letters P and A under the throne on the reverse side of some Perisadovo Staters are deciphered by researchers as the sign of the mint of Panticapaeum, which is in line with the Hellenic coinage tradition. If this is true then the monogram No.5 seen on Staters and on anonymous coins on one hand proves the contact on the anonymous emission with the Bosporus mint and on the other hand makes it possible to assume that some more complex interrelations existed at one of the stages of hat emission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> K.V.Golenko. Новая монета царя Спартока // Нумизматика античного Причерноморья. Kiev, 1982, p.50-55, tbl 111,1-4; MDB, p.186-190, tbl. IX, p106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> MDB, p.160, N11, N12, N1.3.

There could be only one conclusion from the comparative analysis of the monograms – in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century BC Bosporian and anonymous coins were issued by the same people.

Alongside with the monograms, anonymous copper coins have stamps of a bow, Pan's head, a Gorgoneion, a helmet, lightning and trident. K.V.Golenko selected seven types of overstamps and established their relative chronology<sup>20</sup>. Not to delve deep into K.V.Golenko's research, we should mark one particular feature which the researcher himself had noticed but left without any specific attention<sup>21</sup>. Almost all groups of anonymous copper coins, except the first "A" group have variations of bow images<sup>22</sup>. According to observations made by K.V.Golenko, the bow image, having first appeared on the B1 subgroup as an over stamp further on was introduced as an additional obverse element of the B2 subgroup in parallel with the previously introduced additional images of crescents and has completely replaced the crescents in the B3 subgroup coins <sup>23</sup>. Later on, when other subgroups were issued, the bow image gained a firm position on the reverse side of anonymous coins near the main image of the eightpointed star, despite numerous over stamping. For the sake of precision it should be mentioned that apart from the bow image there were also attempts to fix the Pan's head over stamp as a main element 24. In subgroup B4, for example, the Pan's head appears as an over stamp and in the next subgroup - B5, already exists as an additional element of the obverse image of the coin. However, due to reasons unknown to us the issuers dropped the idea of introducing the Pan's head as an additional element. Coins of the later groups V and G have only the bow image as the mandatory additional element<sup>25</sup>.

These constant attempts of the coin issuers to introduce the bow image seem intended. Probably we should study the bow image which has been attributed by K.V.Golenko as the Satrap's symbol more thoroughly<sup>26</sup>.

Judging by the works which study this weapon the image on the anonymous coins is the sigma-shaped combination bow with limbs of different length<sup>27</sup>. Researchers call such asymmetrical bows Scythian. Ye.V.Chernenko notes one specific attribute of Scythian bows – their limb ends are curved<sup>28</sup>. This trait is in most cases very well seen on the bow images of the anonymous copper coins. According to the common opinion Scythian bows started being widely used from the 6th century BC<sup>29</sup>.

Regarding the bow from a purely numismatic point of view we should mention its specific role in the Bosporus coin typology. Having emerged in the second half of the 4th century BC on copper Panticapaeian coins the Scythian bow was reproduced by Bosporus coin issuers for two and a half centuries with some minor time gaps<sup>30</sup>. Such a lengthy period of using the Scythian bow on Bosporus coins is definitely not accidental. It is quite possible that Bosporus coin issuers filled the bow image with two meanings: 1) They hinted to the myth that the kings of Bosporus descended from Heracles<sup>31</sup>; 2) They stressed the official cult of Apollo in Bosporus, which is firmly established by the sources<sup>32</sup>. These, and maybe some other, less important aspects, make the bow image, along with the head of a Satyr,  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\eta\mu\nu$ . Without exaggeration we can consider the Scythian bow the Hellenic symbol of Panticapaeum and Bosporus. Of course, widely known, the Scythian bow could have been successfully reproduced by the coin issuers of the Pontus, but the "Bosporus" attribution of the slightest details (especially of the over stamps), eliminates all possible doubt<sup>33</sup> (see tables 1, 4, 4a). Therefore, the

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  Golenko. Понтийская анонимная медь, pp. 150-151

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Op.Cit., pp 151-152

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Here and further on classification by K.V.Golenko. Op.Cit., pp. 146-152

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Op.Cit., pp 147-149

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Op.Cit., pp 149

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Op.Cit., pp 150

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Op.Cit., p.144

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Khazanov А.М.. Очерки военного дела сарматов. М., 1971, pp.29-30; Chernenko Ye. V. Скифские лучники. Kiev, 1981, p. 19; Zograph AN. Лук и стрельба из него на монетах Северного Причерноморья. // Нумизматика античного Причерноморья. Kiev, 1982, p.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Chernenko. Op.Cit., p.19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Khazanov, Op.Cit., p.30; Chernenko, Op.Cit., p.137

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> MDB, tbl.IV,52; tbl.V,55,62; tbl.VI,65,66,67,72,73; tbl.VII,76,86,87,88; tbl.VIII,94,95,96, 1006;tbl.IX.110.112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Gaidukevich V.F. Боспорское царство. М-Л., 1949, с.56, 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Shelov-Kovedy ayev F.V. История Боспора в VI-IV вв. до н.э. // Древнейшие государства на территории СССР. 1984 М-, 1985, р.69. As the new epigraphic proof of the cult of Apollo in Bosporus I want to refer to the fragment of a stone dating back to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 4th century BC with dedications to Apollo Phebe, found in the Semibratneye ancient settlement site in 1985. See: Blav atskay a T.V. Посвящение Левкона I // РА. 1993, N2, p.34-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Golen ko. Понтийская анонимная медь, figs 3, 4, tbl I, II. One other fact is in favor of the Bosporus origin of the bow image on the anonymous copper coins – the Fanagoria Chalks of the last group (see Nesterenko N.D. Заметки по денежному обращению меди Боспора последней четверти II в до н.э.)// VDI, 1987, N2, р.80, tbl II, 23/ were issued after the suppression of the Savmak uprising/ the bows are of a different, non-Bosporus shape/MDB, tbl XLII, 13

presence of the Scythian bow on the anonymous copper coins proves its origin to be Bosporus, and not Asia Minor. In his attempts to trace the issuing place of the anonymous copper coins K.V.Golenko noticed the texture, technique and the color of material (copper). He pointed out that coins from the Pontus were usually made of gold-shaded bronze, while almost all anonymous coins were made of red copper<sup>34</sup>.

Another trait that takes the two groups apart is the technique used to make the coin circles, together with the imaging method. Those of the city and anonymous coins vary significantly<sup>35</sup>. To summarize our analysis of the anonymous copper coins we should state the following: findings of anonymous coins in the Bosporus area are regular; these coins have common monograms; these coins have the image of the Scythian bow; the shape of the coin circle, manufacturing technique and copper color are closer to the Bosporus area, rather than to the Pontus<sup>36</sup>.

If the analysis is correct and the presented arguments are convincing, then the conclusion is evident: the anonymous copper coins were minted in the Bosporus. And it will be incorrect to attribute the issue to Panticapaeia, as in that case it will be difficult to explain the origin of the over stamps. However, A.Baldwin considered that anonymous coins could have been issued simultaneously with their counter stamping, the latter being, according to A.Balwdin, the sign of the mint. But P.Kolb and K.V.Golenko noted that such an assumption is paradoxical and have firmly rejected it <sup>37</sup>. It seems that anonymous coins were issued not in the capital of Bosporus, but in some other place, but within state boundaries. Due to a number of geographic, economic and (for the second half of the 2nd century BC) political reasons <sup>38</sup>, Asiatic Bosporus was the most likely place where these coins could have been minted, or, more precisely, one of the large cities in that part of the country. In that case the matching of monograms used in anonymous and Bosporus coins noticed by the author could cause some surprise, but all doubts vanish if we recall that a similar situation existed in the early I century BC, when the coins of Pontus and Bosporus also had similar monograms <sup>39</sup>.

In order to continue our research of the reasons for issuing anonymous copper coins we should study two conclusions made by K.V.Golenko.

One of mr Golenko's arguments in favor of issuing the anonymous coins in Pontus was the fact that there were no small nominal coins there in the pre-Mithridates period<sup>40</sup>. But in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC in Bosporus we also find a very peculiar situation. There is almost no minting of high and medium nominal copper coins. Plenty of small nominal copper coins and rare findings of Tetrachalks of the last Spartokus period cannot fill in the minting void of that period, while the well developed monetary market of Bosporus needed higher nominal copper coins and used to have it previously at almost all times<sup>41</sup>.

It is evident that anonymous copper coins, after mandatory over stamping, covered the deficit of higher and medium nominal coins in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC. As far as the Pontus money market is concerned, we probably should reconsider the chronology proposed by F.Imhoof-Blumer for early group copper coins. Researchers often commented on that issue<sup>42</sup>. Nevertheless, the reasons for issuing anonymous copper coins seem to have had primarily political background.

K.V.Golenko compared issuing of anonymous coins with other similar emissions <sup>43</sup>. For example, Amysus issued anonymous copper coins in the post-Hellenic era <sup>44</sup>, in the I century BC the silver Drachms of

<sup>41</sup> MDB, pp181-182. To compare we can take the previous, 3rd century BC, which is known for its lengthy monetary crisis. There we find medium and high nominal copper coins for approximately every quarter of a century (MDB, tbl V, 62, 63, 64, 65; tbl VI, 68, 72, 74; tbl VII, 76, 77).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Op.Cit., pp. 132-133. The fact was noticed by other researchers as well.

Most anonymous coins, unlike Pontus city coins, have vividly careless detailing of the obverse and reverse sides. This made K.V.Golenko think that the anonymous coins were minted in mobile mints – an idea which he himself has later abandoned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Some anonymous coins of the Kyrbasia-Star type have traces of over stamping. E.g. it seems that the sample from the collection owned by S.G.bandurko (tbII, 4, 4a) is an over stamp of the Panticapaeian Tetrachalk of the last Spartokus, MDB, Tbl VIII, 94). The obverse of the coin has a left-side quiver. The reverse side has some traces of a head turned right under the eight-point star.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Kolb., p.28; Golenko. Op.Cit.., p. 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Blavatskaya T.V. Очерки политической истории Боспора в V - IV вв. до н.э. М.,1959, pp.141-142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Shelov D.B., Махар, правитель Боспора // BDI, 1978, N1, р.63

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Golenko, Op.Cit., p.137

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Maksimova M.I., Античные города Юго-Восточного Приморья. М-Л., 1956, p.219-220; Golenko. Понтийская анонимная медь, p. 145; H.Pfeiler also attempts to pecify pre-Mithridates monetary emissions (Op. cit.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Golenko, Op.Cit. p.146

<sup>44</sup> Recueil..tbl VI, 26-32

Chersonese lose the city name<sup>45</sup> and, finally, anonymous Obols were minted in the Bosporus during the Mithridates era<sup>46</sup>. Coinage of the abovementioned anonymous groups was directly related with Pontus and that allowed K.V.Golenko to establish here the traditional Pontus principles of minting<sup>47</sup>. The Obols of Mahar are very interesting in that sense. Their Bosporus origin and the fact that they were issued by local governors are not doubted today<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, comparing the Obols of Mahar with the anonymous copper coins K.V.Golenko proposed to consider them as the anonymous mint of Pontus revived due to political reasons<sup>49</sup>. But if the reasons for issuing anonymous Mahar Obols in Bosporus are evident, the reasons for minting anonymous coins with mostly Pontus typology in the pre-Mithridates period are unknown.

Without any doubt, minting of anonymous coins is the result or reflection of events which were not reflected in surviving written sources. Having only indirect data we can only speculate on the issue. Most researchers believe that in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Bosporus had catastrophically weakened due to a number of reasons<sup>50</sup>. Weakening of the central power, as seen through numismatic and archaeological data, was especially serious in the Asian part of the country<sup>51</sup>. It is highly probable that the rulers of Bosporus turned to Pontus in their attempt to counter the advance of the Sarmats. In his turn, the king of Pontus, Mithridates Euergetes, whose demonstrative Hellenophylic policy was noted by L.Robert<sup>52</sup>, provided the sought aid, but on some conditions, which were reflected in the fact of minting the Kyrbasia-Star and bow coins. Apart from that emission we also know pre-Mithridates Drachmas of Amysus which were circulated in Bosporus<sup>53</sup> and a group of yellow Chalks with Apollo and Bow in the quiver, minted from Pontic copper<sup>54</sup>. Judging by this indirect information relations between the two countries in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC were very close, maybe even in the form of an alliance. But the traditional Pontic "king-governor" emission scheme which was traced through the mintage of anonymous copper coins in the second half of the 2nd century BC was, probably, more complex than in the times when Mahar, the son of the king of Pontus, was the governor of Bosporus. Researchers say that all mintages of anonymous coins were issued in stages which points to a certain pattern. If we ignore the marginal and the smallest group A with the rose flower, which has not yet been convincingly explained<sup>55</sup>, the typological sequence of all other groups is doubtless. Moreover, at the final stage of the mintage the image of the Pontic Kyrbasia – the Governor's symbol – is found on a head of a youth or a young man<sup>56</sup>.

As mentioned above, anonymous Obols have analogs among copper coins from Amysus and Sinope. But all attempts of the researchers to identify facial images on the copper coins from Pontus and anonymous Obols until today seem very unconvincing <sup>57</sup>.

First of all, the image of a head in a Kyrbasia on many anonymous coins does not reveal any portrait traits of a specific person. The situation gets even worse. Besides the general matching of the types of identified and anonymous Obols, there are principal differences, i.e. the turn of the head on the obverse side, technical features and textural properties<sup>58</sup>.

But all questions with regard to these discrepancies vanish if we agree that the copper coins originate from Bosporus.

Further comparison of anonymous Obols and Obols from Amysus and Sinope allows for two scenarios of what had happened. The first scenario is that the person that issued copper coins in Bosporus later appeared in Pontus-Pathlagonia and is depicted on the Obols of Amysus and Sinope. This version to some extent explains the differences in Obols of these two groups. The other scenario is that the latest groups of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Anokhin V.A. Монетное дело Херсонеса, Kiev, 1977, p.57, tbl XII, 191

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> AM, pp 187-188, tbl XLIII, 22, 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Golenko, Op.Cit., p.146

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Shelov, Mahar..., p.63-64

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Golenko, Op.Cit., p.146

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Blavatskaya, Op.Cit., pp 141-142

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> MDB, pp 200-205; Sokolskiy N.I. Таманский голос и резиденция Хрисалиска, М., 1079, р.89

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Robert L., Tetrradrachmes de Mithridate V Evergete // Journal des Savants, Jul-Sept., 1978, pp 156-159, 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Golenko K.V., Несколько серебряных монет Пантикапея II в. до н.э. со следами перечеканки // NE, VII, 1968, pp.39-40. <sup>54</sup> Nesterenko N.D. Op.Cit. pp. 79-80. Strengthening of ties with Pontus can be traced on ceramic artefacts as well. Specifically in the second half of the II century BC I.B,Bashinskiy noted plummeting import from Sinope. Brashinskiy I.B., Экономические связи Синопы в VI-II вв. до н.э., Antique City, M, L, 1963, pp 132-145).

<sup>55</sup> Researchers' attempts to explain the appearance of the rose flower with the influence of Rhodes seem not very convincing. It is known that from the late first half of the II century BC Rhodes's economic wealth was significantly undermined by the Rome.
56 Recueil...tbl M. 10-15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Imhoof-Blumer. Die Kupferpragung..., p.172; Kleiner, Op.Cit., p.11; Pfeiler, Op.Cit., pp.75-80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Golenko, Понтийская анонимная медь pp. 169-184.

anonymous copper coins in Bosporus and Obols in the cities of Asia Minor were issued approximately at the same time. But in that case the images on the city Obols and on the Obols from the "B" group cannot depict the same person as it will contradict the idea that minting was done by governors.

Going back to the initial scenario, which provides for the consequential change of groups and types of copper coins, and accepting the conclusion that anonymous coins were issued in pre-Mithridates time, we should again draw our attention to the discrepancies in the classification provided by F.Imhoof-Blumer<sup>59</sup>. In the chronological table provided by him the city of Obols is placed in the second group, while Dichalks with the young man's head are placed in the first group. But as K.V.Golenko has evidently proven, anonymous coins of the Kyrbasia-Star pattern were the first or among the first to be issued and later they were replaced by the group with the Obols with the Head in Kyrbasia – Star, Bow pattern. The latter, according to K.V.Golenko, were replaced by city Obols around the year 120 BC <sup>60</sup>. This assumption leads us to accepting the possibility that Dichalks with the young man's head couldn't have been stamped earlier than anonymous coins and the city of Obols.

There are also other considerations which make us move the Dichalks up the time scale. F.Imhoof-Blumer once proposed that the image on the city of Dichalks was that of the young Mithridates Eupator<sup>61</sup>. Without going deep into this issue which will be analyzed below, we should stress that the Pontus dynast could not have been initially reproduced in the king's diadem (table 1.7, 1.8, 1.9) and later on in the governor's helmet (table 1. 6). Most probably the Dichalks were issued after Obols soon after the death of Mithridates Euergetes, when, according to narrative and epigraphic sources, there were two pretendants on the throne of Pontus - Mithridates Eupator and Mithridates Chrestus<sup>62</sup>. In that case the second scenario of what had happened seems preferable and here we can trace, to a certain extent, the nuances of the fight for power between the two Mithridates or, to be more precise, between the two parties which supported them.

Judging by the anonymous coins, probably, one of them in the 30-s represented Pontic interests in the Bosporus and issued anonymous Kyrbasia-Star coins. It is very probable that after the year 120 each of the successors minted his own copper coins: in case of Bosporus these are groups V and G with Obols having the head in the Kyrbasia turned left<sup>63</sup>, while in the Asia Minor these are similar copper coins from Amysus and Sinope but with the head in the Kyrbasia turned right<sup>64</sup>. Taking into consideration the small quantity of both types of coins the parallel coinage of governor and city Obols was brief and was followed by the Pontus pretendant's appearance on stage with the issue of Dichalks with a head wearing a king's diadem<sup>65</sup> (tbl. 1.7, 1.8, 1.9). Following numismatic data we should note that Bosporus money makers have immediately reacted to the changing situation: they stopped making anonymous copper coins and started issuing Dichalks with the Pontus typology, having changed the head of a young man with the head of a bearded Satyr<sup>66</sup> (tbl. 1.10). With some certainty we can assume that the coinage of Dichalks in Bosporus is connected with the elimination of the person who issued anonymous copper coins. Evidently, at this stage the rulers of Bosporus had to take anonymous coins out of circulation trying to win favors of the new rulers of Pontus. If this is true, then we can explain why there are so few anonymous coins among findings and in treasures<sup>67</sup>. So far we cannot find anonymous coins among later over stampings as well, but in that case the explanation probably lies in the technical field<sup>68</sup>. As stated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, Die Kupferpragung..., pp.169-184

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Golenko, Понтийская анонимная медь pp.14

 $<sup>^{61}</sup>$ Imhoof-Blumer, Die Kupferpragung..., pp.172

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Appian., Mithr., 112; Memn.,XXX; we know two inscriptions from Delos (ID, N1560, N1561 or Durrbach, Choix, N113, NI 14), which mention two royal brothers – Mithridates Eupator and Mithridates Chrestus. See. Maksimova, Cit.Op., p.240, 250; Pobert. Öp.cit., p. 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Recueil... tbl M, 10-15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Recueil... Amy sus – tbl VII, 6; Sinope – tbl XXVI, 14

<sup>65</sup> Recueil... Amysus – tbl VII, 28, tbl.G5; Sinope – tbl. XXVI, 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The Dichalks in circulation wereof the "Bearded Satyr-The Horn of Plentiness, star-carrying Pilei of Group I; See Nesterenko N.D. Op. Cit. p.77

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Golenko. Понтийская анонимная медь. p.135; in the two largest treasures of the late II century BC – the Fadeevsky and Kumatyrsky; Nesterenko N.D. Клады Горгиппии // KSIA, 1981, N168, pp.85-87/, there were no findings of anonymous coins, but in the township of Kumatyr' one of the inhabitants had an anonymous coin of the Kyrbasia-Star type whihch, according to the owner, originated from the Kumatyr' treasure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Some Dichalks of Group I of the Fadeevskiy and Kumatyrskiy treasures have traces of over stamping. I could not so far identify the initial type. Taking into consideration the lack in Bosporus in the II century BC of coin nominals with weights close to Dichalks, we can suppose that a part of anonymous copper coins of the "B" group were used to issue the "bearded Satyr-Horn of Plenty, Star-carrying Pilea" type coins.

above, most anonymous coins have over stamps which significantly deform the texture of coin circles which, in its turn, should have affected the quality of over stampings.

Maybe this is the reason why Bosporus money makers did not reuse anonymous coins which had been taken out of circulation.

Comparing anonymous and Pontic Obols the author intentionally avoids iconographic comparisons which would inevitably lead to subjectivity, but the remarks of M.I.Maksimova and other researchers require special attention<sup>69</sup>. It is known that M.I.Maksimova challenged the assumption of F.Imhoof-Blumer that the image of Obols and Dichalks was that of the head of the young Mithridates Eupator by pointing out the absence of character features of the Pontus monarch's appearance.

Besides, M.I.Maksimova pointed out that F.Imhoof-Blumer's opinion contradicted the historic tradition which says that in his young years Mithridates Eupator had to take refuge in the mountains of Pariadres<sup>70</sup>. In view of M.I.Maksimova's criticism and the abovementioned observations regarding anonymous and city coinages the last assumption of T.Reinach<sup>71</sup>. According to this researcher after the death of Mithridates Euergetes in the year 120 BC Mithridates Eupator shared power with his mother and his brother, Mithridates Chrestus, until approximately 113 BC. If this is true and the logic of comparisons is correct the image of a head on the cities of Obols (Sinope, Amysus) and Dichalks (Sinope, Amysus, Amasiya) should be identified as that of Mithridates Chrestus, while on anonymous coins we, probably, see the first attempts of putting the image of the future great monarch of Pontus (tbl. 1, 6). A characteristic example is the head image on the Obol from the Hermitage collection<sup>72</sup>. Without going deep into this evidently portrait image we should point out its similarity to the early portraits of Mithridates VI<sup>73</sup>.

The general political picture of the second half of 2nd century BC can be illustrated by numismatic materials as follows: somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century BC Pontus strengthens its ties with Bosporus. With some certainty we can assume that the changing of Bosporus' rulers in the 30s urged Mithridates Euergetes to move towards unification more actively. On the other hand, Perisades, probably, had to maneuver between the interests of the Pontic and Scythian parties. He takes the Scythian Savmak and, probably, other members of the royal house of king Skylurus, to his bosom<sup>74</sup>.

At the same time Perisades, by agreement with king Mithridates Euergetes, takes young Mithridates Eupator as a pupil and officially declares him the Governor of Asiatic Bosporus with the right to mint copper coins. On the Asian side at that time only the two largest cities—Phanagoria and Gorgippia, could issue copper governor coins. So far it is difficult to say in which of them Mithridates lived. Phanagoria had its own mint, but so far there were no findings of anonymous coins. Additionally, we should take into consideration the proximity of Phanagoria to the capitol of Bosporus and anti-Mithridates traditions of Phanagorians which we know from narrative sources<sup>75</sup>.

Gorgippia had no mint of its own, but we know of anonymous copper coin findings there. Apart from Phanagoria, Gorgippia was conveniently far away from Panticapaeum. It is worth pointing out that Mithridates Eupator had a special attitude towards Gorgippia, which is supported by the Eupator's Inheritance Law, which so far is known to affect only Gorgippia, and the "ephemeral" right to issue silver Didrachmas together with Panticapaeum and Phanagoria,

As already mentioned above, the small A group was issued first. No over stamps were detected on that group of anonymous copper coins <sup>78</sup>. The absence of over stamps can be explained by the fact that at the initial stage the circulation mechanism for anonymous coins had not yet been formalized. But the result of Bosporus money makers' intervention can already be seen in the next group – B. All coins in that group have over stamps, one of which – with the bow image, becomes an additional main element of the coin,

<sup>72</sup> Golenko, Понтийская анонимная медь, fig.4, tbl. II, 23

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Maksimova, Op. cit., pp 210-220; Golenko, Понтийская анонимная медь, pp 144-145

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Maksimova, Op. cit., pp 220

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Recueil..., p.7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Apart from technical causes (which can be evidently seen on anonymous coins), the relative value of iconographic analysis of coins with portraits is determined by the political situation as well. Having issued coins with the image of Mithridates Chrestos, depending on the status of political rivalry money makers of the largest cities of Pontus could make the image on the obverse side of coins with common features, thus making reservations for the probable victory of Mithridates Eupator.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Vinogradov Yu.G., Molev E.A., Tolstikov V.P. Новые эпиграфические источники по истории Митридатовой эпохи// Причерноморье в эпоху эллинизма, Materials of the III of the All-Union Symposium on the ancient history of the Black Sea region. Tskhaltubo-1982, Tbilisi, 1985, pp. 589-600.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Appian, Mithr., 108

<sup>76</sup> Blavatskaya T.V., аспург и Боспор//SA, 1965, N3, pp30-31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Golenko K.V. Фанталовский клад боспорских дидрахм I в до н.э.// VDI, 1965, N4, pp. 152-153

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Golenko K.V. Понтийская анонимная медь, р.147, 151.79

probably as a result of a certain pressure from Panticapaeum. The Pontic star and the Bosporian bow combination might have symbolized the union between the two states. Numismatic material allows us to trace the situation after the death of Mithridates Euergetes. The parallel governors' minting became possible only as a result of some kind of agreement between the rivaling parties. Evidently, this is the cause of the typological resemblance of the latest anonymous groups and the city Obols. During the short period of political equilibrium from the year 120 BC until approximately 119/118 BC<sup>79</sup> the heirs issued the following coin groups: Mithridates Eupator – Groups V and G in Bosporus, the image of Mithridates Christos appears on Obols issued in Amysus and Sinope, while the queen Laodicea has issued silver Tetradrachmas<sup>80</sup>. Relative stabilization of the political situation was less favorable for the Pontus party which supported Mithridates Chrestus. Coinage by Sinope, Amysus and Amasiya of copper Dichalks with the head of Mithridates Chrestus without the Kyrbasia, but in the king's diadem, which was the traditional image of the kings of Pontus on coins<sup>81</sup>, supports the assumption of another "confrontation" between the conflicting parties. New elements were also introduced to the coin typology of Bosporus. Species of the Panticapaeum copper Dichalk emission demonstrate how the Bosporus administration adjusted its political course. Selection of the bearded Satyr image for the obverse side of Bosporian Dichalks is quite illustrative. The combination of the Bosporian  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\eta\mu\nu\nu$  on the obverse and the Pontic type on the reverse stressed the Pontus orientation and possible neutrality in the conflict. Following the numismatic data we should mention that at that stage of the fight for power the situation was strongly against the young Mithridates Eupator and his ευντροφον.

But apart from enemies, the heir who revered the memory of his father also had some influential allies within Pontus. Eupator leaves Bosporus and goes to Asia Minor, where events have most probably gone in accordance with the traditional historical reconstruction.

The abovementioned changes in the monetary typology of Pontus and Bosporus can be used as indirect proof of narrative materials telling us about the refugee period of Mithridates Eupator.

Therefore, H.Pfeiler's attempt to expose Justin's tale about Eupator's seven years of refuge should be considered as failed  $^{82}$ . Here we could only review the dates of the refuge because according to the inscription of a gymnasiarch from Delos the sole ruling of Mithridates Eupator started not earlier than 113  $BC^{83}$ .

If the proposed interpretation of the numismatic material upholds criticism we will have an explanation for Claudius Ptolemaeus's notion of Asiatic Bosporus as the Mithridates's Chora (rural region)<sup>84</sup>, for Plutarchs words about the "ancient" power in Pontus and Bosporus<sup>85</sup>, and, finally, the assumption of A.I.Nemirovskiy about the refuge of the young Mithridates Eupator in Bosporus<sup>86</sup> will have its proof and become a real historical fact<sup>87</sup>.

82 Pfailer, Op.Cit., pp.75-80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> It is easily noted that the chronology of Bosporian, Pontic and anonymous emissions of the last quarter of the II century BC is tied to the year 120 – a well established date of Mithridates Euergetes's death. But he latest observations and comparisons of pre-Mithridates series and groups cause doubts regarding that date. The Author's considerations which could lead to shifting that date down the time scale will be published separately.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Reinach Th., Mithradates Eupator konig von Pontos., Leipzig, 1895, p.477

<sup>81</sup> Recueil...tbl. I, tbl.A

<sup>83</sup> Robert, Op.Cit., pp. 59-160

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Ptol., y, 8

<sup>85</sup> Plut., Sull. II

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Nemirovskiy A.I., Митридат Евпатор, Боспор и восстание скифов // Византиеведческие этюды, Tbilisi, 1978, pp. 63-70 <sup>87</sup> The Author wishes to thank the late D.B.Shelov, the late P.O.Karyshkovskiy, N.A.Frolova for a number of valuable remarks and comments made during preparation of this article for publishing.