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ON THE INITIAL PERIOD OF COINAGE IN TAURIC CHERSONESUS

Coins of Tauric Chersonesus, which was founded by colonists from Heraclea Pontica and Delos in 422–421 BC¹, in the south of Crimean Peninsula, are represented in virtually all the numismatic collections of the leading museums of the world, and, along with the coins of Olbia and Panticapaeum, they are the best known example of the Greek coinage from the northern Black Sea coast.

Study of Chersonesian coins has been carried out for almost 150 years² and today we can establish the main periods of Chersonesian coinage with certainty, trace the origin of the most significant coin types, and restore the details of coin circulation during various phases of Chersonesian history. But not all the problems of Chersonesian coinage have been examined with equal thoroughness. Coins of the Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic periods have been the main subject of research so far. Our knowledge of the initial stages of Chersonesian coinage, namely, the date of the first coins, attribution of the early coin series and their sequence, as well as their chronology is still at the same level as before the World War II.

The prominent Russian numismatists, A. L. Berthier de la Garde and A. N. Zograph have proposed a date for the earliest Chersonesian coinage using in the first place analogies for the Chersonesian among the coinage of Larissa and Heraclea, using a frontally-facing head as a motive. A. L. Berthier de la Garde suggested 350–330 BC as the date of the Chersonesian coins with frontally-facing heads and thought that the coinage of Chersonesus itself had

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¹ A. I. Tyumenev, *Khersoneskie etyudy*, „Vestnik Drevnei Istorii”, 2, 1938, pp. 257–258.

² Basic bibliography: Anokhin, pp. 6–7, 9–13.

started slightly earlier³. A. N. Zograph pointed out that this date was too late for the appearance of the face motive in Chersonesus and dated it to 370–364 BC on the basis of the close parallels of this date in Larissa. He dated the very beginning of Chersonesian coinage to 390–380 BC⁴. This date was widely accepted by later scholars⁵. A recent attempt to date the beginning of Chersonesian coinage to the second quarter of the 4th century BC⁶ is inconclusive as it is based not so much on any analysis of the coin material as on general ideas about the peculiarities of economic development of early Chersonesus.

Nevertheless the accumulation of new coin material from the northern Black Sea coast, as well as the redating of Larissian coins and special studies of the development of face-motives in Greek numismatics allow us today to partially reconsider our knowledge concerning the initial stages of Chersonesian coinage to specify the date of its start.

Up to now coins with the profile head of Parthenos on the obverse and a club and dolphin on the reverse were considered to be the earliest coin issue of Chersonesus⁷. Silver and copper coins with the same types were minted (Pl. I 1–2). The very appearance of these coins was the main argument in favour of them belonging to the first series — thick flan, small fluctuation of the weights (three denominations of silver coins have been identified so far — tetrobol 3,55 g, diobol 2,11 g, hemiobol 0,43 g and three denominations of copper coins — 3,32–3,96 g, 0,60–0,76 g, 0,26–0,46 g), style of the obverse portrait and its archaic head-dress, the turn of the head to left unusual for Chersonesian coinage, absence of magistrates' names or additional symbols⁸. However, it was believed that a satisfactory absolute date for this series could not be established because of the absence of any clear distinctions pointing out a time-frame for these coins⁹. Meanwhile, a comparison of the obverse type of these coins with the profile heads of city-nymphs on the coinage of some Greek centers, dating from the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century BC, shows an impressive similarity in their general style as well as in the treatment of some details in the portraits.

The only coins demonstrating the use of a similar head-dress (*kekryphalos*) are those of Nymphaeum dating to the last quarter of the 5th century BC (Pl. I

³ A. L. Berthier-Delagard, *Neskol'ko novykh ili maloizvestnykh monet Khersonesa*, „Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei”, XXVI, 1906, pp. 224, 233–234, note 2.

⁴ Zograf, p. 146.

⁵ Anokhin, pp. 19–20; S. Yu. Saprykin, *Gerakleya Pontiiskaya i Khersones Tavricheskii*, Moskva 1986, p. 89.

⁶ E. Ya. Turovskii, *Monety nezavisimogo Khersonesa IV–II vv. do n.e.*, Sevastopol' 1997, pp. 12–13.

⁷ Zograf, Pl. XXXV, 1–2; Anokhin, Pl. I, 2–7.

⁸ Berthier-Delagard, *o.c.*, p. 234, note 2; Anokhin, p. 18.

⁹ Anokhin, p. 18.

3)¹⁰. The treatment of the face details on the coins of both cities is identical as well. Heavy lower jaw, big nose, almond-shape eyes, short neck given by two parallel lines — all these features are typical of both Chersonesian and Nymphaean coins as well as for the profile images of goddesses on the silver drachms of Larissa and Sinope with the reverse in *quadratum incisum* dating from the very end of the 5th century BC (Pl. I 4–5)¹¹.

We cannot say with certainty that this image was borrowed by Chersonesian artists from Nymphaeum, Larissa or Sinope, although the above-mentioned identity of the head-dress as well as the geographical closeness both point to Nymphaeum. More probably, one might propose the adoption of artistic canons concerning the treatment of profile female face which could have been in circulation among Greek engravers at the precise moment of the beginning of Chersonesian coinage. The use of these canons could be a result not so much of geographical but of chronological considerations.

The coin series in question was not, however, the earliest one in Chersonesian coinage. In the British Museum Sylloge Catalogue of the Black Sea Region a new coin which might be considered as belonging to the very first issue was published. It is a silver hemiobol¹² (Pl. I 6; weight 0,46 g) from the Doguel collection¹³. A head of Parthenos to left and a fish below it in a dotted border is obverse type, a club and the city name in a dotted border is the reverse one. The most interesting feature of this coin is the treatment of the obverse image which is reminiscent of the Heracles heads on Heracleian hemiobols of the end of the 5th century BC (Pl. I 7–8)¹⁴.

Unproportionally big nose, large eyes shown in profile, lips slightly opened as if in semi-smile, short-neck — all these details give the impression of an archaic image linking it with the above-mentioned Heracleian coins. An irregular border of big dots is common to both as well. The hair-dress of the goddess on the coin in question does not have any analogies among later issues. The placement of the schematic image of a fish under head of the goddess is very unusual as well. All this testifies in favour of the undeveloped character of the coin-types and of the artistic principles which underlie them: a feature which is usual for the initial period of coin production. So, one can suppose that Chersonesian coinage started with the issue of hemiobols just described. This issue hardly was plentiful or long-lasting. The quite archaic appearance of the hemiobols of the first series, comparable to some of the earliest Heracleian

¹⁰ A. Sallet, *Beschreibung der antiken Münzen*, Berlin 1888, p. 8; V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora*, Kiev 1986, Pl. 2, 61.

¹¹ F. Hermann, *Die Silbermünzen von Larissa in Thessalien*, ZfN, 35, 1925, Pl. IV, 4–8; *SNG BM Black Sea*, Pl. LI, 1374–1377. I would like to thank Dr. Ute Wartenberg, the Curator of Classical Coins in the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, for kind permission to reproduce some coins from the British Museum collection in my paper.

¹² *SNG BM Black Sea*, Pl. XXIX, 714.

¹³ NC, 1930, Pl. XIX, 10.

¹⁴ *SNG BM Black Sea*, Pl. LVII, 1570, 1572.

coins with a *quadratum incusum* on the reverse, allows us to place the time of its minting, and, consequently, the very start of Chersonesian coin production closer to the very beginning of the 4th century BC.

Thus the second series mentioned above (Pl. I 1–2) can be dated to the first decade of the 4th century BC, having close parallels among coins which can be dated to the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The second series demonstrates a natural development in the coin typology — the fish was placed on reverse and from that moment became the usual element of the reverse type, the minting of copper coins started, and the variety of denominations was enlarged. A deep impressed circle on the reverse of these coins was a typical feature of Bosporan coins of the beginning of 4th century BC¹⁵. The use of one and the same images for both copper and silver coins points to the undeveloped character of the coin typology at this phase of production.

The next issue consists of copper coins with a *bucranium* on the obverse and a fish and club on the reverse (Pl. I 9; weight 0,82–1,47 g¹⁶). No doubt this issue is connected to the previous one by the type of the reverse. But the obverse type is noteworthy as well. The *bucranium* was not in use on Heracleian coins, which have traditionally been considered to have been the models for all bull-motives in Chersonesian coinage. And though the *bucranium*-motive was indeed very common and was used for coins of numerous Greek cities¹⁷, its appearance in Chersonesian coinage was hardly the result of chance or a mere tribute to current fashion.

I suppose that the choice of this precise image might be a natural result of, as well as reflection of the close economic and political links which existed at the beginning of the 4th century BC between Heraclea and Chersonesus on one side and Theodosia on another. The motive of a bull's head, depicted *en face* as well as in profile was initially used in Theodosian coinage as one of its main coin types at the end of the 5th — beginning of the 4th century BC (Pl. I 10)¹⁸, i.e. before the appearance of the butting bull motive in Heracleian coins. The representation of the bull's head on Chersonesian coins is very close typologically to that on Theodosian samples, reproducing many of their details.

The mutual influence of coin types of Theodosia and Chersonesus can be observed in some more issues. Recently some very rare coins of Theodosia were published. These are coins with the head of a bull turned three-quarters to the right on the obverse and a six rayed star with the city legend between the rays on the reverse (Pl. I 11). I know only six samples of this type (three coins from the Grandmezon collection¹⁹; one coin in the Hermitage collection — Pl.

¹⁵ Shelov, pp. 49–50.

¹⁶ Zograf, Pl. XXXV, 15; Anokhin, nos. 9–12.

¹⁷ R. Plant, *Greek Coin Types and their Identification*, London 1979, nos. 1032–1043.

¹⁸ Anokhin, *Monetnoe ...*, Pl. 2, 64–65, 73–76.

¹⁹ M. I. Zolotarev, *Dva tipa redkikh monet Feodosii IV v. do n.e.*, „Vestnik Drevnei Istorii” (1984) 1, pp. 89–92.

I 9²⁰; one coin from the Reznik collection, weight 0,53 g²¹; one unpublished coin in the collection of the Pushkin Museum, weight 0,59 g²²). All scholars who have studied these coins have pointed out the similarity of their reverse type to that of Chersonesian coins with a lion's-head on the obverse (Pl. I 12)²³. Using this analogy they dated the Theodosian coins in question to the end of the second quarter to the middle of the 4th century BC.

However, one should admit that there is no certainty as to the date of these latter Chersonesian coins so far. Some numismatists dated them to the middle of the 4th century BC on the basis of their appearance and style²⁴, while others thought that they were minted throughout the second half of the 4th century BC because of the great number of finds, a noticeable fluctuations in the weights, and numerous variants of the obverse and reverse types²⁵.

First of all, I should like to note that the opinion that the Chersonesian series in question was issued over a long period of time is incorrect. Numerous finds of a certain type of coin as well as a multiplicity of variants of coins of one type need not necessarily depend on a long period of production but could equally well be caused by plentiful minting during quite a short period of time. We already have convincing examples of this phenomenon in Chersonesian coinage (the well known „quadriga — kneeling hoplite” series)²⁶. Die analysis and a study of the weights of the „head of lion/star” coins allow us to reject the hypothesis that they were produced over a long period. Various types of reverse dies are indeed combined with one and the same obverse die but that testifies more to a quick change of issues of one type or the simultaneous use of several dies than of coin minting over a long time. Fluctuation in the weight was likewise not caused by degradation of the coins during their long production, as even the weights of coins struck from one and the same pair of dies differ, sometimes by a factor of two. So, one should not talk about a gradual loss of coin weight, but rather of ordinary negligence as to the weight of each coin caused by minting *al marco*²⁷.

So, it might be more useful to try to date these Chersonesian coins on the basis of Theodosian analogies, but not *vice versa*. The chronology of the Theodosian coins with bull's head and star described above could not be established by considering them separately, but rather in connection with other

²⁰ L. N. Belova, *Neskol'ko neizdannyykh khersonesskikh monet iz sobraniya Ermitazha*, (in:) *Proshloe nashei Rodiny v pamyatnikakh numizmatiki*, Leningrad 1977, Pl. I, 9.

²¹ Anokhin, *Monetnoe ...*, Pl. 2, 76.

²² Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. VX 24036.

²³ Belova, *o.c.*, p. 149; Zolotarev, *o.c.*, p. 90.

²⁴ Zograf, p. 148; Anokhin, p. 21.

²⁵ N. N. Grandmezon, *Zametki o monetakh Khersonesa Tavricheskogo*, (in:) *Numizmatika antichnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1982, p. 35; idem, review on V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Khersonesa (IV v. do n.e. — XII v. n.e.)*, Kiev 1977, „Vestnik Drevnei Istorii”, 1983, 2, p. 168.

²⁶ A. N. Zograf, *Dve gruppy khersonesskikh monet s zaimstvovannymi tipami*, „Izvestiya Rossiiskoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury”, V, 1927, pp. 380–381.

²⁷ Shelov, pp. 154–155.

Theodosian issues. Until now, apart from the silver coins, only one issue of Theodosian copper coins of the 4th century BC was known. Coins of this series with a head of Apollo on the obverse and a butting bull on the reverse (Pl. I 14)²⁸ were dated quite broadly from the beginning to the middle of the 4th century BC²⁹. There is a unique copper coin of Theodosia in the collection of the Pushkin Museum (Pl. I 13; weight 1,13 g³⁰; from the Golikov collection³¹). This coin is undoubtedly a smaller fraction of the same series. It has a bare head to left as the obverse type and the protome of a running bull as the reverse one. The publication of this coin in its turn allows to consider the bull's head-star coins (Pl. I 11) to have been the smallest fraction of a whole series of copper coins which had a depiction of a bull as the main element in common.

The butting bull as opposed to the bull's head was initially unknown on Theodosian coins and was most probably borrowed from coins of Heraclea and Chersonesus³². Comparison of this type with that on the silver coins of Phanagoria (Pl. II 1–3)³³ shows their close similarity. Moreover, the protomes of bulls as well as their heads in a three-quarter turn (Pls. I 11, 13; II 2–3)³⁴ were used on the coins of both centers also. The use of a similar set of coin types, as well as the use of their variants to distinguish between various fractions or issues, were obviously not casual and allow us to place the minting these coins in Theodosia and Phanagoria together chronologically. Phanagorian coins were dated on the basis of stylistical and technical data to the first decade of the 4th century BC³⁵. According to common opinion cessation of Theodosian coinage was caused by the capture of the city by the Bosporan king Leucon I. So the date of this event could be considered as a *terminus ante quem* for the issue of the Theodosian coins in concern³⁶. Today the majority of scholars suppose that the submission of Theodosia to Bosphorus took place during the first years of Leucon I' reign³⁷.

The Theodosian series of copper coins in question (Pl. I 11, 13–14), demonstrating the use of Heracleian-Chersonesian coin types could have been

²⁸ Anokhin, *Monetnoe...*, Pl. 2, 82.

²⁹ Zograf, p. 162; Shelov, p. 142; Saprykin, *o.c.*, p. 76.

³⁰ Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. 35010.

³¹ A. G. Golikov, *Redkie monety Prichernomor'ya*, „Sovetskii Kollektioner”, 17, 1925, p. 5.

³² Zograf, p. 162; Shelov, p. 142.

³³ Anokhin, *Monetnoe...*, Pl. 2, 77.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, Pl. 2, 78, 84.

³⁵ Shelov, p. 50.

³⁶ D. B. Shelov, *Feodosiya, Gerakleya i Spartokidy*, „Vestnik Drevnei Istorii”, 1950, 3, p. 171; Yu. L. Dyukov, *Monetnoe delo Feodosii i Fanagorii*, (in:) Tezisy nauchnoi sessii posvyashchenoi robotam Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha v 1967 godu, Leningrad 1968, p. 13; Saprykin, *o.c.*, p. 73; Anokhin, *Monetnoe...*, pp. 18–19.

³⁷ Shelov, *Feodosiya...*, p. 171; V. D. Blavatskii, *Feodosiya v VI–IV vv. do n.e. i ee nazvanie*, „Sovetskaya Arkheologiya”, 1981, 4, p. 23; Yu. G. Vinogradov, A. N. Shcheglov, *Obrazovanie territorial'nogo khersonesskogo gosudarstva*, (in:) Ellinizm: ekonomika, politika, kul'tura, Moskva 1990, p. 370; Yu. G. Vinogradov, V. V. Krapivina, *Ol'viya i Bospor v rannem IV v. do n.e.*, (in:) Antichnye polisy i mestnoe naselenie Prichernomor'ya, Sevastopol' 1995, p. 76.

issued at the very time of the conflict between the Bosporan kings and Theodosia, which was supported by Heraclea and Chersonesus³⁸. Numismatic evidence clearly points to the possibility of an alliance between Theodosia on the one side and Heraclea and Chersonesus on the other. Mutual use of coin types by both sides was one of the manifestations of such an alliance. The most likely date for the Theodosian coins in question is 390-80 BC which allows us to place the above-mentioned Chersonesian coins in approximately the same period. If we take into account the period of time necessary for the issue of the first and second Chersonesian series one can date the minting of the coins with *bucranium* and lion's head on the obverse (Pl. I 9, 12) to the 80-s of the 4th century BC. A further close stylistical analogy of the lion's head on Chersonesian coins is to those on coins of Panticapaeum with the same type³⁹. The firmest grounded date for the latter is the first quarter of the 4th century BC⁴⁰. In this connection it is noteworthy that finds of Panticapaeum coins of this very date have been made in Chersonesus⁴¹.

The series of silver coins with the face motive on the obverse (Pl. II 4) must be considered to have been next issue of Chersonesian coinage. At the beginning of this paper I gave 370–364 BC as the generally accepted date of this series. But now, however, it seems that there are solid arguments in favour of a higher chronology.

The amazing stylistic closeness of the Chersonesian coins with face-motives to the face images of the city-nymph on Larissaian coins was one of the main arguments in favour of the date mentioned above⁴². The silver coins of Larissa were carefully classified by F. Hermann about 70 years ago⁴³. This work was very important for that time, but numerous coin series of Larissa were distinguished by him often only on the basis of almost invisible distinctions of obverse and reverse types. The chronological scheme proposed by F. Hermann depended almost completely on his own criteria of style. He put the Larissaian face issues in chronological order according to his own conception of a gradual deterioration of style and skill of the die-cutters. Meanwhile, the accumulation of new material, above all from hoards, denies Hermann's chronology. Study of the extent of wear on the Larissaian drachms from the hoards, as well as a comparison with well-dated Macedonian issues from the same hoards, carried out by T. R. Martin, shows that Larissaian coins dated by Hermann to the beginning of the 4th century BC should be at least simultaneous with the issues of Philip II⁴⁴.

³⁸ Basic bibliography on the conflict: Saprykin, *o.c.*, pp. 72–79.

³⁹ Anokhin, *Monetnoe...*, Pl. 2, 93–94.

⁴⁰ Shelov, p. 97.

⁴¹ A. M. Gilevich, *Antichnye inogorodnye monety iz raskopok Khersonesa*, „Numizmatika i Epigrafika”, III, 1968, p. 11.

⁴² Zograf, p. 146.

⁴³ Hermann, *o.c.*, passim.

⁴⁴ T. R. Martin, *The Chronology of the Fourth Century BC Facing-head Silver Coinage of Larissa*, ANSMN, 28, 1983, pp. 5–6.

Hoard data allows us to propose today a new classification of Larissaian face issues and a better grounded chronology. Series from A to M, which F. Hermann considered to have been the earliest⁴⁵, T. R. Martin ascribes to the latest issues dating to a very wide period of time — 375–320 BC⁴⁶. A. N. Zograph referred to the coins of series L as the closest analogy to the Chersonesian ones⁴⁷, though on these coins head of nymph is shown in three-quarter turn to the right (Pl. II 5), whereas those on the Chersonesian coins were turned to the left (Pl. II 4). Among Larissaian coins one can find a more convincing analogy to the Chersonesian ones, which have the same head turn and face treatment (Pl. II 6)⁴⁸. These coins are dated by T. R. Martin to the first quarter of the 4th century BC⁴⁹.

However, one should admit that parallels with Larissaian coins have only an indirect character, reflecting stylistical similarity caused by chronological closeness, but not testifying to any direct influence in the appearance of face motifs on Chersonesian coins. Undoubtedly Chersonesus could adopt this motive only after its appearance in the metropolis, which played a very important role in the creation of Chersonesian coin typology⁵⁰. Use of the face motive in Heraclea in its turn was connected with the wide spread of the fashion for such images, which arose after the Greeks had become acquainted with Cimon's Arethusa and Eucleidas' Athena. Recent studies have shown that the penetration of such motives, and the appearance of numerous imitations and copies on the Greek Mainland, the Aegean Islands and Asia Minor had taken place by the end of the 5th century BC⁵¹.

The silver staters of the Persian satraps of Cilicia, along with quite a rude copy of Cimon's Arethusa, used as their obverse type the head of a young Heracles wearing a lion-scalp shown in three-quarter turn to the right (Pl. II 7). All the details of this head, down to the shape of the scalp curls on the left side, were imitated by Heracleian die-cutters (Pl. II 8).

The use of face motives on coins of the metropolis no doubt constituted an impulse for the appearance of these images in Chersonesian coinage. Therefore the chronology of the Cilician issues, used as a model by Heracleian die-cutters, becomes crucial for Chersonesian coins as well.

A careful study of the silver staters of Pharnabazos and Datames minted in Tarsus has been carried out by R. A. Moysey⁵². He dated staters with the face

⁴⁵ Hermann, *o.c.*, pp. 41–45.

⁴⁶ Martin, *o.c.*, pp. 23, 33.

⁴⁷ Hermann, *o.c.*, Pl. VII, 4–5.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, Pl. VII, 9–10.

⁴⁹ Martin, *o.c.*, pp. 25, 33.

⁵⁰ Berthier-Delagard, *o.c.*, p. 224.

⁵¹ K. P. Erhart, *The Development of the Facing Head Motive on Greek Coins and its Relation to Classical Art*, Cambridge 1978, p. 241.

⁵² R. A. Moysey, *The Silver Stater Issues of Pharnabazos and Datames from Mint of Tarsus and Cilicia*, ANSMN, 31, 1986, pp. 7–61.

image of Heracles, struck under Pharnabazos to 386–83 BC — the time of the first Persian expedition against Egypt⁵³. Taking into account the amazing closeness of the face image of Heracles on the Heracleian coins to that on the Cilician examples (Pl. II 7–8), one can suppose that there could hardly have been a long chronological gap between them and the date of the Heracleian issue put in the turn of 80–70-s of 4th century BC. Therefore, the period of minting of the Chersonesian series with the face head of Parthenos could be dated to the 70-s of the 4th century BC. Bearing in mind the Larissaian analogies mentioned above, one can make this date more precise as the first half of the decade. Large fractions of the series with face images — in Heraclea and in Chersonesus — have the same weight (ca. 6,20–6,70 g) and could have been octobols⁵⁴. This fact speaks in favour of an earlier date as well. Coins of such weight were not struck longer in Heraclea, and one could suppose that issue of such coins in Chersonesus was not very much later than in Heraclea.

The issue of copper coins comprising three denominations united by the image of a laurel wreath, was next in time and could be dated to the second half of the 70-s of the 4th century BC. The largest denominations has the wreathed head of Parthenos to right or to left on the obverse and a club and the city legend in the laurel wreath on the reverse (Pl. II 9; weights 1,55–2,50 g⁵⁵). The middle denomination had a large crater in a dotted border on the obverse, a club and the city name in the wreath on the reverse (Pl. II 10; weights 0,75–1,33 g⁵⁶). The smallest one had the wreathed head of Parthenos on the obverse and a dolphin above the city name on the reverse (Pl. II 11; weights 0,28–1,09 g⁵⁷). Some coins of the largest denomination of this issue had additional symbols on the reverse — symbol or three-four dots⁵⁸.

It seems that the use of the laurel wreath on the Parthenos head instead of the common head-dress is not casual. Laurel wreaths in Antiquity were supposed to have been a symbol of victory granted by the gods in athletic contests or in war. Adoption of this symbol as a coin type, as well as the appearance of a crown on the head of the goddess could have been occasioned by some military victory won by Chersonesus with the help of Parthenos. The appearance of a crater on these coins does not contradict this hypothesis either. Craters were widely used as temple donations and their image on the coins could reflect a real costly donation of the Chersonesian community to the temple of Parthenos as a token of gratitude for help in battle⁵⁹.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Anokhin, p. 36.

⁵⁵ Anokhin, Pl. I, 13–15.

⁵⁶ Anokhin, Pl. I, 19–20.

⁵⁷ Anokhin, Pl. I, 17–18.

⁵⁸ Anokhin, Pl. I, 13, 15.

⁵⁹ G. P. Alekseev, *Khersoneskie monety*, St. Peterburg 1886, pp. 52–53.

A significant extension of the Chersonesian chora was the most important achievement of the city at the turn of first-second quarters of the 4th century BC. This process was accomplished by pushing out the barbarians from the near environs of the city (Mayachny peninsula), the demarcation of agricultural land and the foundation of a military settlement there, which would play an important strategic role in the following domination of all the Heracleian peninsula by Chersonesus⁶⁰. So, one could suppose that it was the rout of the Tauroi and the seizure of the Mayachny peninsula which were the events commemorated by Chersonesus through the issue of the coin series with the symbols of victory.

I next place the series of large copper coins with a sitting Parthenos on the obverse and a butting bull on the reverse (Pl. II 12; weights 7,50–9,00 g⁶¹). These coins were previously ascribed, as a rule, to the earliest period of Chersonesian coinage⁶², without, however, any convincing grounds. However the slightly schematic stiff image of a butting bull on the reverse, with a well-proportioned lean body and long feet, is most dissimilar to the ponderous, squat but at the same time vivacious bulls of early Heracleian coins (Pl. II 13–14). The Chersonesian bull is placed over the club only, the image of the fish below it is already absent, whereas it had been indispensable element on the reverse of the earlier Chersonesian coins described above.

The motive on the obverse of the coin issue in question has not been the subject of a special study. There is nothing unusual in this image — neither in the selection of the personage (main goddess of the city), nor in her attributes (bow, arrow and deer) and occupation (checking an arrow). The most interesting thing is the composition of the image, hinting at once that there was some model in front of the die cutter's eyes, which could have prompted this very layout.

A search for analogies shows that the closest and the most suitable in terms of composition and significance is that on the obverse of the silver stater of the Persian satrap Datames, where he was represented as sitting right and checking an arrow (Pl. II 15). Recently these coins have been dated to 369–365 BC⁶³. They had been struck as payment for Greek mercenaries of Datames⁶⁴ and could have reached Heraclea as well as Chersonesus through them, and then be used there as the prototype for the obverse of the Chersonesian coins in question. This analogy allows us to date the Chersonesian issue to the 60-s of the 4th century BC.

⁶⁰ A. N. Shcheglov, *Tavri i grecheskie kolonii v Tavrike*, (in:) *Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Prichernomor'e v period Velikoi grecheskoi kolonizatsii*, Tbilisi 1981, pp. 213–215; Vinogradov, Shcheglov, *o.c.*, pp. 317, 320.

⁶¹ Anokhin, Pl. I, 8.

⁶² Anokhin, p. 20.

⁶³ Moysey, *o.c.*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 19, note 33.

Thus, the main Chersonesian coin issues without magistrates' names and additional symbols such as monograms have been examined. It seems that an analysis of new coin material as well as the application of the results of recent specialists studies in the field of Asia Minor and Larissaian numismatics allow us to give an earlier date for the beginning of Chersonesian coinage than had been thought before and to move it closer to the turn of 5th–4th centuries BC. For the initial period of Chersonesian coinage the issue of coins without magistrates' names was typical practice. The use of a single letter or several dots on the reverse might be considered to constitute evidence for state control over coinage at this time. The influence of the Chersonesian metropolis can be traced in both the range of denominations and the coin types adopted in Chersonesus. The early appearance of copper coinage is evidence for a noticeable development in the internal trade of the Chersonesian state. The economic and political links of Chersonesus with other Greek centres of the northern Black Sea coast is also reflected in Chersonesian numismatics and most likely, was a principal factor determining its development. No doubt, further archaeological and numismatic investigations are required to broaden our knowledge of this very interesting and important field of ancient numismatics of the northern Black Sea coast.

Abbreviations:

- Anokhin — V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Khersonesa (IV v. do n.e. – XII v. n.e.)*, Kiev 1977 [English ed. BAR Int. Ser. 69, Oxford 1980]
 Shelov — D. B. Shelov, *Monetnoe delo Bospora VI–II vv. do n.e.*, Moskva 1956 [English ed. BAR Int. Ser. 46, Oxford 1978]
SNG BM Black Sea — Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, vol. IX, The British Museum, Part 1: M. Price, The Black Sea, London 1993
 Zograf — A. N. Zograf, *Antichnye monety*, Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR; 16, Moskva–Leningrad 1951 [English ed. BAR Suppl. Ser. 33, I–II, Oxford 1977]

Plates

Plate I

1–2 — Chersonesus (after Anokhin); 3 — Nymphaeum (after V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora...*); 4–5 — Sinope (after *SNG BM Black Sea*); 6 — Chersonesus (after *SNG BM Black Sea*); 7–8 — Heraclea (after *SNG BM Black Sea*); 9 — Chersonesus (Pushkin Museum, Moscow); 10–11 — Theodosia (after V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora...*); 12 — Chersonesus (Pushkin Museum, Moscow); 13–14 — Theodosia (13: Pushkin Museum, Moscow; 14: after V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora...*).

Plate II

1–3 — Phanagoria (after V. A. Anokhin, *Monetnoe delo Bospora...*); 4 — Chersonesus (after Anokhin); 5–6 — Larissa (after F. Hermann, *Die Silbermünzen...*); 7 — stater of Pharnabazus (after R. A. Moysey, *The Silver Stater...*); 8 — Heraclea (after *SNG BM Black Sea*); 9–12 — Chersonesus (after Anokhin); 13–14 — Heraclea (after *SNG BM Black Sea*); 15 — stater of Datames (after R. A. Moysey, *The Silver Stater...*).

PLATE I



1



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PLATE II



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15

O POZĄTKOWYM OKRESIE MENNICTWA
CHERSONEZU TAURYDZKIEGO

(Streszczenie)

Studia nad mennictwem Chersonezu, który został założony przez kolonistów z Heraklei Pontyjskiej i Delos w 422–421 r. p.n.e., prowadzone są od prawie 150 lat. W tym czasie wyznaczono podstawowe okresy w dziejach produkcji monetarnej tego ośrodka, odnosząc je do konkretnych faz w historii polis. Stosunkowo niewiele posunęła się jednak wiedza o najstarszych monetach Chersonezu. Najpopularniejszy wydaje się być pogląd prezentowany przez A. N. Zografa, iż początki mennictwa Chersonezu datować należy na lata 390–380 p.n.e. Powiększenie bazy materiałowej o nowe monety, ostatnie ustalenia odnoszące się do mennictwa Larissy (podobieństwo monet Chersonezu, Larissy i pontyjskiej Heraklei było zasadniczym argumentem w datowaniu monet Chersonezu), oraz rozwój studiów nad ikonografią monetarną, nakazują zajęcie się tym tematem na nowo.

Za najstarsze monety Chersonezu uważane były srebrne egzemplarze z głową Artemidy Parthenos oraz maczugą na rewersie. W zbiorach Muzeum Brytyjskiego w Londynie jest jednak hemiobol, na którego jednej stronie jest głowa Artemidy Parthenos skierowana w lewo i ryba umieszczona poniżej, na drugiej natomiast maczuga i nazwa miasta. Wyobrażenie umieszczone na awersie tej monety ma analogie na monetach Heraklei z końca V w. p.n.e. Pozwała to na sugestię, iż początki mennictwa Chersonezu przypadają na sam początek IV w. p.n.e.

Uściślenia w chronologii wczesnych emisji Chersonezu mogą być dokonane także w oparciu o podobieństwo monet tego ośrodka i monet Teodozji. Dotyczy to brązowych okazów Chersonezu z bukranonem na awersie oraz rybą i maczugą na stronie odwrotnej.

Dawno zwrócono uwagę, że rysunek srebrnych monet Chersonezu z głową nimfy wprost na awersie jest bliski takiemu wyobrażeniu z monet z Larissy. Opierając się na tym spostrzeżeniu, biorąc za podstawę ustalenia F. Hermannna (opublikowane w 1925 r.) odnoszące się do Larissy, monety Chersonezu datowano na lata 370–364 p.n.e. Nowe propozycje chronologii mennictwa Larissy zmieniają datowanie monet Chersonezu. Motyw głowy przedstawionej frontalnie, tak jak na monetach Chersonezu, został jednak wykorzystany także na monetach bitych w Cylicji. Te zaś były wzorem dla monet Heraklei, metropolii Chersonezu. W konsekwencji monety Chersonezu z głową nimfy na awersie mogą być datowane na lata 70. IV w. p.n.e., raczej pierwszą połowę tej dekady.