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**Essays on
Greeks and Romans between the
Pontic and
Hyrceanian Seas**



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Greek Cities in Colchis.

Point of View

The chapter deals with the principal aspect of Graeco-Colchian relations, i.e. colonization, using narrative, archaeology and numismatics. Empiric level of the issue is as follows: Pomponius Mela narrates that city of Phasis in Colchis at the East Black (Pontic) Sea Coast (modern Photi, West Georgia) was founded by Themistagoras the Milesian (Pomp. Mela. I. 108).¹ The note dates back to the end of the 6th c. B.C. According to Arrianus, Dioscurias (modern Sokhumi, West Georgia) also was founded by the Milesians (Arr. Peripl. 12).² The note dates back again to the end of the 6th c. B.C. Ps.-Scylax writes about Hellenic cities in Colchis. They are as follows – Phasis and Gyenos (modern Ochamchire, West Georgia) (Ps.-Scylax. Asia. 81).³ This note dates back already to the midst of the 4th c. B.C. We do not have Aristotle's (?) full account of Phasian constitution (Ps.-Heracl. Polit. XVIII.).⁴ And Strabo describes Dioscurias and Phasis as trading places of the Colchians (Strabo. XI. 2. 16, 17).⁵ Pliny mentions pillaged Pitius (Bichvinta, Western Georgia), and also, castellum Sebastopolis instead of city of Dioscurias/Sebastopolis (Plin. NH. VI. 14-16).⁶ Arrian in 131 saw no Greeks in Phasis and Sebastopolis (Arr. Peripl. 11-12).⁷ What happened to them? According to Ephorus (via Aristotle), they ran away from there to Miletus (Arist. Fr. 557).⁸ Why did the Greeks leave Colchis? Hippocrates narrates about bad climate and dangerous humidity in Colchis, and also, yellow coloring of the skin of fat and lazy Phasians (Hippocr. 15).⁹

This schematic story needs to be filled up, using numismatics.

Apollo was main deity of Phasis, according to records and numismatics. Lion, symbol of Apollo, is depicted on the local coins.

¹ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I. Fontes. Logos. MMX, p. 487.

² Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, p. 305.

³ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, p. 154.

⁴ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, p. 197.

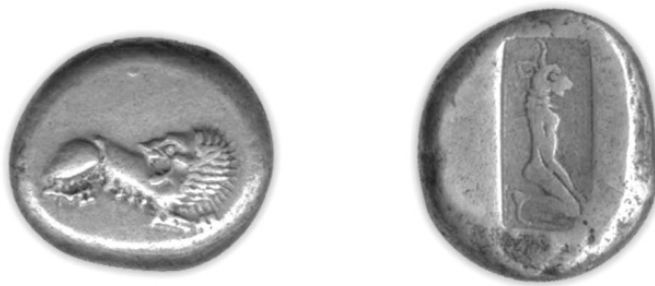
⁵ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, pp. 222-223.

⁶ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, p. 500.

⁷ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, pp. 304-305.

⁸ T. Kaukhchishvili. Greek Authors about Georgia. vol. II (Aristotle, Nicolaus of Damascus, Claudius Aelianus). Tbilisi. 1969, p. 73.

⁹ Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclios Disciplina. Volumen I, pp. 108-109; T. Kaukhchishvili. Hippocrates about Georgia. Tbilisi. 1965, p. 45, 47.



Obverse: Lying hermaphrodite lion to the right/left with a head turned back.

Reverse: Kneeling female figure with a bull's head to the right/left in *quadratum incusum*.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=4>

This is Colchian (Phasian) didrachm, struck in the 5th c. B.C. Lion is depicted also on other denominations. Hermaphroditization is a result of Apollo's merge with the local female sun.

When city has Apollo as main deity, it is oligarchic. Phasis was oligarchic republic.

In the 5th-3rd cc. B.C. Phasis issued the hemidrachms below:



Obverse: Archaic female head to right/left within the linear circle or in border of the dots.

Reverse: Bull's head to right within the linear circle. Some of the coins are with the Greek letters – ΜΟ/ΣΟ, Φ, Α, Ο, Ε, Π, Δ.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=13>

Athens, a fashion maker, still preserved archaic style on the coins until

the 2nd c. B.C., thus demonstrating its democratic conservatism. Archaic style on Colchian (Phasian) money, does it mean the same, i.e. fidelity to republican constitution until the 3rd c. B.C.?

When city has symbols of Dionysus on the coins, it could be democratic, even formally.

Municipal copper coins of Dioscurias (105-90 B.C.).



Obverse: Caps of Dioscuri, surmounted by six, or eight-pointed stars.

Reverse: Thyrsos of Dionysus in the center of the coin, the Greek three-line legend on both sides ΔΙΟΣ/ΚΟΥΡΙΑ/ΔΕΩΣ.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=22>

Dioscurians, subjugated to Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, preserved their municipal structures and struck their own copper money. Also, it seems that Mithridates' garrison was located in Dioscurias and official appointed by him controlled the mint.

For the republics in Classical Antiquity there were the gods to justify a legitimacy of a coin. With the decay towards autocracy the first persons started to be portrayed.

Julius Caesar became the first living individual to be portrayed in Rome, and it was done by special senatorial decree.¹⁰

Was he really the first Roman to be honored this way?

What is about Gnaeus Pompejus, that is exactly him on obverse of the light drachm struck in Phasis in 52/51 B.C.

¹⁰ Chr. Howgego. *Ancient History from Coins*. London and New York. 1995, pp. 67-69.



Obverse: Head of Gnaeus Pompeius in solar diadem right.

Reverse: Tyche seated, Greek inscription – ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΚΟΛΧΙΔΟΣ/ΒΙ

“of Aristarchus, the viceroy of Colchis, regnal years 12 (52/51 B.C.)”.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=18>

Pompeius is shown as *rex et deus*, king and god.¹¹

Now we can fix general story for the Greeks living in Colchis. In the 7th-6th cc. B.C. the Ionian city of Miletus possessed exceptional wealth and commercial enterprise. Miletus, the greatest trading city, organized the first Greek settlements in Colchis, daughters of the Ionian metropolis – Phasis, Dioscurias etc. Themistagoras from Miletus is believed to be chargé d'affaires. In the 6th-4th cc. B.C. the Greeks established all their poleis at the East Black Sea Coast. The Greeks served their major purpose during the activity in Colchis having in mind subsequent full economic integration of the region with Hellas and highly Hellenized Anatolia. They were supposed to improve local industrial output. This ended up in failure because of super humidity of the country. In many lowland places there were terrible marshes, and the Greeks had no special idea how to drain those marshlands. There was no chance for maintaining Hellenic industrial structures as agriculture was too slow in development. Hellenism in Colchis failed with the Hellenic communities first becoming bilingual, then completely assimilated within the local society.

¹¹ T. Dundua. Money in Georgia. Appendix. Tbilisi. 2020, pp. 77-80, 99-101.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344202635_Money_in_Georgia_Appendix

Still, the Greeks exported different materials, like timber, linen, metals. They imported industrial goods, mostly ceramics, which was imitated by the Colchians. Phasis and Dioscurias were splendid Greek cities dominated by the mercantile oligarchies. Gradually they became more democratic. To promote trade, Phasis issued its own silver money with Graeco-Colchian types. Trade of the peoples across the Black Sea thrived. Armament industry and ceramic production flourished in Pontus, mining in Colchis and agriculture in Bosphorus. The whole Black Sea area might be looked upon as a multicultural region of which the economic systems were ultimately based on the principle of Hellenism. The age-old maritime route from Sinope towards Phasis was easily covered in three days. From the 3rd c. B.C. Greeks flooded Colchis also for the transit purposes.

The Colchians used to write in Greek and build the temples in Greek style, but these did not prevent local kings and sceptuchoi (dukes) in the 3rd c. B.C. from conquering the Hellenic poleis.

Then economic crisis followed. In 105-66 B.C. Colchis was a part of kingdom of Pontus and there could be illusion of short economic revival. End of the 1st c. B.C. was total political chaos for Western Georgia and urban life declined, the Greeks losing their identity. Experiment aiming for inclusion of this land into the Greek economic system failed. And for the Romans Colchis/Lazica was just Pontic *limes* to be defended in a manner of forward defence.¹²

Global story is as follows. Climate determines economics. Hot and less humid environment defines an early advantage of the South over the North – indeed, the Egyptian state and the crafts confront entirely the primitive clan-system which existed in fact everywhere. Then the whole situation was changed.

Times after, some technical improvements towards the North created a very comfortable vegetation process, while the Egyptians still needed time to put the seed beyond the reach of the sun. In the 9th-8th cc. B.C. the Greeks are already vanguard by means of the technics and the structures. The countries being superb before, like Egypt and Babylon, or India, now face a new hegemonic power – Hellas, already overpopulated and needing grain and the raw materials to be imported. Then the perception of Europe has appeared. Europe is a special term for the part of the earth, which stipulates or will stipulate the same vanguard level of development. Even Scythia with its rough spring was thought to be reorganized in the Greek manner, than those countries which needed the

¹² T. Dundua. Colchis in the 6th-4th cc. B.C. The Greek Settlements in Western Georgia. Tbilisi. 2009; T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration. Tbilisi. 2016, pp. 24-33, 48-51, 81-88; T. Dundua. History of Georgia. Tbilisi. 2017, pp.8-10, 121-126.

additional finances for irrigation. So, the making of Europe started.*

The Greek pattern was as follows: 1. occupying or even frequently being invited to the key-points of other economic structures like Caria, Thrace, Bosphorus or Colchis; 2. establishing the autonomous Greek social structures granted heavily with the technics from metropolis; 3. the natives being equipped with the best tools for agriculture; 4. the Greek industrial structures maintained on this background; 5. exporting supplies to Hellas and receiving back some industrial goods. The Aegean and the Pontic (the Black Sea) areas were supposed to form once unique economic space. Anatolia was a complete victory of Hellenism, even being integrated politically under Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, as far back as in the 1st c. B.C. The Roman overlordship gave a new sense to the economic prosperity of the Greek World. But there were the serious failures too. Colchis (Western Georgia) offered a dangerous humidity to the Greek way of life. The Greeks living there had no chance to keep their industrial spirit as the agriculture was very slow in a development. Soon the Greek community became a bilingual one, and after – totally assimilated within the Colchian society. As to Bosphorus (at the Northern Black Sea coast), a corn-supply from Asia Minor to Greece had broken the traditional scheme, and the region soon lost its Greek style.¹³

* The author is largely indebted by the general works about European integration. Some of them are cited here: *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* Saec. I. II. III. Pars VI. Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis. Iteratis Curvis Ediderunt L. Petersen, K. Wachtel. Adivvantibus M. Heil, K. P. Johne, L. Vidman. Berolini. Novi Eborau. MCMXCVIII; A. N. Sherwin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1939. Second edition. Oxford. 1973; D. Braund. *Rome and the Friendly King. The Character of the Client Kingship*. Beckenham, Kent. Fyshwick, Australia. 1984; F. Braudel. *A History of Civilization*. Printed in the USA. 1995; K. Rozen. *Die Geburt Europas. Das Mittelmeer – die Wiege der Europäischen Kultur*. Bonn. 1998, pp. 10-25; K. Held. *Die Entdeckung der Welt bei den Griechen als Ursprung Europas. Das Mittelmeer...*, pp. 26-45; H. Galsterer. *Einheit und Vielfalt im Römischen Reich. Das Mittelmeer...*, pp. 115-129; G. Alföldy. *Das Imperium Romanum – ein Vorbild für das vereinte Europa?* Basel. 1999; K. M. Girardet. *Bundesstaaten im Antiken Griechenland und das Römische Imperium als "supranationale" Ordnung – Modelle für ein vereintes Europa von Morgen?* Europa. Traditionen-Werte-Perspektiven. Beiträge zu einer Ringvorlesung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität des Saarlandes in Sommersemester 1999. St. Ingbert. 2000, pp. 13-48; B. und H. Galsterer. *Romanisation und einheimische Traditionen*. Xantener Berichte. B. 2. Köln. 1992. Kolloquium in Xanten. 2-4 Mai. 1990, pp. 377-387; S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Cambridge. University Press. 1996; J. J. Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*. Published in Penguin Books. 1998.

¹³ T. Dundua. *The Making of Europe (Towards History of Globalization)*. The Caucasus and Globalization. *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*. v. 2. Issue 2. Sweden. 2008, pp. 38-45; Т. Дундуа. Как создается Европа (к истории глобализации). Кавказ и глобализация. *Журнал социально-политических и экономических исследований*. т. 2. вып. 2. Швеция. 2008, pp. 44-52; T. Dundua. *Georgia within the European Integration*. Tbilisi. 2016, pp. 7-23; T.

With no Greek residents any more, Colchis/Lazica still remained a vigorous recipient of the Greek styles.

Beyond the Pontic Limes: Imitations of the Roman Coins in “Transcaucasian” States

There were four states in Classical Antiquity Southwards from the Caucasian Range and Eastwards from the Black Sea: Colchis/Lazica (modern West Georgia), Kartli/Iberia (modern East and South Georgia), Albania (modern Azerbaijan) and Armenia. All of them, more or less influenced by the Roman Empire, had Roman money in circulation. Provincial silver of Caesareian issue, denarii struck in greater quantity by Eastern, e.g. Syrian mints, municipal copper of Trapezus and Imperial copper money, struck predominantly at the mints of Antioch and Asia Minor, circulated in Lazica. In its Eastern provinces Caesareian issues were mixed with denarii of Augustus and late Roman gold imported from Iberia <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=26>. Aurei and Augustan denarii formed a bulk of the money in circulation in Iberia. Then they were imitated.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

Now in details, first, the empiric level.

1) Imitation of Philip I's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9156. Weight – 4 gr. From Armazi necropolis (East Georgia).

Obverse: Bust of Philip I, laureate, cuirassed, r. Legend IMP M IVL PHILIPVS AVG distorted.

Reverse: Mars standing l., holds spear in r. hand, l. hand rests on a round shield. Distorted legend. If this is ANNOI (ANNONA), yet another prototype was used.¹⁴

Dundua. History of Georgia. Tbilisi. 2017, pp. 39-55.

¹⁴ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, р. 165; Л. Н. Казаманова, В. В. Крopotкин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), for the imitations v. pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua.

2) Imitation of Philip I's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9155. Weight – 3,45 gr. From Armazi necropolis (East Georgia). (1) and (2) are struck by the same dies.¹⁵

3) Imitation of Philip I's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №12181. Weight – 3,87 gr. From Maghraneti necropolis (East Georgia). The same dies were used (Pl. I №1).¹⁶

4) Imitation of Trajan Decius' aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9158. Weight – 3,73 gr. From Armazi necropolis (East Georgia) (Pl. I №2).

Obverse: Bust of Trajan Decius, radiate, draped, r. Distorted legend, still ANVS DEC is well traced.

Reverse: Concordia standing l., sacrificing out of patera in r. hand at altar and holding cornucopiae in l. hand. CONCORDIAE EXERCITI slightly distorted.¹⁷

Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

¹⁵ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, p. 165; Л. Н. Казаманова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; also v. Д. Г. Капанадзе. Монетные находки мцхетской экспедиции (1937-1948 и 1951 гг.). Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1955. №1 (51), pp. 170-171; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

¹⁶ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Новые находки подражаний римским ауреусам в Грузии. Вестник древней истории. 1970. №4 (114). Москва, p. 84, for all the types v. pp. 81-92; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

¹⁷ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, p. 166; Л. Н. Казаманова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One

5) Imitation of Hostilian's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9157. Weight – 4,8 gr. From Armazi necropolis (East Georgia) (Pl. I №3).

Obverse: Bust of Hostilian, laureate, r. Distorted legend. Scholars mostly see the name of Hostilian.

Reverse: Annona standing l., holds corn-ears and cornucopiae. Distorted legend.¹⁸

6) Imitation of Valerian I's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9735. Weight – 3,51 gr. Vashlovani (East Georgia) (Pl. I №4).

Obverse: Bust of Emperor, laureate, r. Illegible legend.

Reverse: Victoria driving biga l. Illegible legend.¹⁹

7) Imitation of Valerian I's aureus. Azerbaijan State Museum of History. Weight – 3,64 gr. Place of finding is unknown.

(in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

¹⁸ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, p. 166; Л. Н. Казаманова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

¹⁹ Л. Н. Казаманова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), p. 143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

Obverse: Bust of Emperor, laureate, cuirassed, r. Distorted legend.

Reverse: Victoria driving biga r. Distorted legend.²⁰

8) Imitation of Valerian I's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №14595. Weight – 3,63 gr. From Jinvali (East Georgia) burial (together with original coin) (Pl. II №5).

Obverse: Bust of Emperor, laureate, r. Mirror image of inscription IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG.

Reverse: Victoria driving biga l. Mirror image of VICTORI AVCC.²¹

9) Imitation of Valerian I's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9151. Weight – 3,44 gr. From Armaziskhevi tomb (East Georgia).

Obverse: Bust of Emperor, laureate, r. Illegible legend.

Reverse: Victoria driving biga l. Almost illegible legend, still VI is well traced.²²

²⁰ К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), p. 72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²¹ M. Sherozia. New Samples of Local (Iberian) Imitations of Roman Aurei (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Bulletin of the Georgian National Museum. Series of Social Sciences. II (47-B). Tbilisi. 2011, p. 250; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²² M. Sherozia. New Samples of Local (Iberian) Imitations of Roman Aurei (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Bulletin of the Georgian National Museum. Series of Social Sciences. II (47-B). Tbilisi. 2011, p. 251; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

10) Imitation of Numerian's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9340. Weight – 3,52 gr. From Aghaiani burial (East Georgia) (Pl. II №6).

Obverse: Bust of Emperor, laureate, l. Mirror image of inscription, of which first letters IMP C are quite clear.

Reverse: Victoria advancing l., holding wreath. Mirror image of inscription VICTORII V AVGG.²³

11) Imitation of Numerian's aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9336. Weight – 2,68 gr. From Tskhinvali burial (East Georgia). (10) and (11) are struck by the same dies (Pl. II №7).²⁴

The midst of the 1st c. A.D. was a final stage of issue of Georgian imitations of Alexander and Lysimachus' type staters. After a gap of two centuries, Iberia renewed emission of imitations. The same dies for imitations above (№№1-3, 10-11), imitation (№8) found together with its prototype, i.e. original coin, speak about local origin of mentioned gold coins. Chronology of existence of this phenomenon, according to the burials and prototypes, seems to be roughly second half of the 3rd c. This statement can be argued because of data below.

²³ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, pp. 167, 174; Л. Н. Казаменова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²⁴ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, pp. 167, 174; Л. Н. Казаменова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

12) Imitation of Augustus' aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №12215. Weight – 3,52 gr. From Simoniantkhevi burial (East Georgia) (Pl. II №8).

Obverse: Head of Emperor, laureate, crude in style, r. Latin inscription CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE distorted.

Reverse: Gaius and Lucius Caesars, standing front, each with a hand resting on a round shield. Spears behind the shields. Incuse instead of simpulum and lituus above. Latin legend C. L. CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT – mirror image and distorted.²⁵

13) Imitation of Augustus' aureus. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №14596. Weight – 2,87 gr. From Jinvali burial (East Georgia). (12) and (13) are struck by the same dies (Pl. III №9).²⁶

14) Imitation of Commodus' aureus (hybrid). GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №12179. Weight – 3,10 gr. From Maghraneti burial (East Georgia) (Pl. III №10).

Obverse: Bust of Commodus, laureate, draped, r. Name of Emperor is clearly seen.

Reverse: Head of Emperor, laureate, crude in style, r. Latin inscription CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE distorted.²⁷

²⁵ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Новые находки подражаний римским ауреусам в Грузии. Вестник древней истории. 1970. №4 (114). Москва, р. 85; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²⁶ M. Sherozia. New Samples of Local (Iberian) Imitations of Roman Aurei (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Bulletin of the Georgian National Museum. Series of Social Sciences. II (47-B). Tbilisi. 2011, p. 250; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²⁷ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Новые находки подражаний римским ауреусам в Грузии. Вестник

Obverse die of above Augustan imitations served as a reverse die for this hybrid, found in Maghraneti burial together with the coins of Severus Alexander and Carus. So, one can suggest again 3rd c. as a date of all these imitations.

15) Imitation of aureus (hybrid/Lucilla, Severus Alexander, Gordian III). GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №9333. Weight – 6,43 gr. From Ureki burial (West Georgia) (Pl. III №11).

Obverse: Female bust r. Distorted legend still contains LUCILLAE.

Reverse: Mars with spear advancing l. Legend IOVI CONSERVATORI (!) distorted. Other prototypes were also used.²⁸

16) One identical piece comes from the site of Photi (West Georgia).²⁹

17) Imitations of Augustus' denarius. GF. (Fund of Treasury, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №№2544, 5103, 9446; QF. (Main Fund of the Georgian Coins, Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia) №№54, 1704, 1705, 3372, 3425, 4049, 4050, 4051, 4052, 4053, 4054; Numismatic Fund, History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan – №14362;

древней истории. 1970. №4 (114). Москва, р. 84; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others.

<http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²⁸ Д. Г. Капанадзе. Ауреусы армазского некрополя. Советская археология. Москва. 1957. №3, pp. 166, 173; Л. Н. Казаменова, В. В. Кропоткин. Подражания римским золотым монетам II-III вв. н.э. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1964. №1 (87), pp. 142-143; К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), for the imitations v. pp. 68-72; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

²⁹ М. Sherozia. New Samples of Local (Iberian) Imitations of Roman Aurei (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Bulletin of the Georgian National Museum. Series of Social Sciences. II (47-B). Tbilisi. 2011, p. 249; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 128-130; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 190-193; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 123-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=28>

Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow – 1 sample. The weights range from 1,28 to 3,55 gr. Places of finding are mostly unknown (Pl. IV-V).

Obverse: Head of Emperor, laureate, crude in style, r./l. Latin inscription CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE distorted.

Reverse: Gaius and Lucius Caesars, standing front, each with a hand resting on a round shield. Spears behind the shields. Simpulum and lituus above the shields. Latin legend C. L. CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IV-VENT distorted.

Hybrid.

Obverse: Head of Emperor, laureate, r. Distorted Latin legend suggests Marcus Aurelius' issue as a prototype.

Reverse: Gaius and Lucius Caesars, standing front, each with a hand resting on a round shield. Spears behind the shields. Latin legend distorted.³⁰

Even 3rd c. burials from East Georgia show Augustan denarii, while most of their imitations at Numismatic Collection, Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia, are without proper indication about place of finding. Some of the imitations were found in the complexes (2 samples in West Georgia, 4 – in East Georgia), which cannot be dated precisely. Still, general consideration leads to the conclusion that, together with the imitations of aurei, imitations of Augustan denarius were produced locally in the second half of the 3rd c.

Aurei and Augustan denarii formed a bulk of the money in circulation in Iberia, other debased denarii were, in fact, ignored – a situation quite similar to that in the Roman Orient for some time. If we confront this data with Syrian imports discovered in Georgia, one can suggest that the Syrian provincial treasury was the source of supply for Iberia. A severe Imperial crisis of the 3rd c. limited this supply. Even if it did not, Iberia would have bartered the Roman money no more. Transformation of the country towards Feudalism needed a supply different than money. The country's stocks of precious metal could be

³⁰ К. В. Голенко. Заметки об обращении римской монеты в Закавказье. Вестник древней истории. Москва. 1971. №4 (118), p. 66-68; G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 125-126; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Part Two. Tbilisi. 2014, pp. 186-189; T. Dundua, G. Dundua. Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 119-122; T. Dundua, G. Dundua and Others. <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge/en/catalogue/types/?type=27>

exhausted to support the general reform – the strengthening in number of the upper classes meant a gradual conversion of some yeomanry from farmers to high-level administrators. Food-shortages could happen, and large-scale food supply was necessary. Industry suffered also as some of the artisans had to earn living doing agricultural jobs. The amount of industrial goods *per capita* was quickly diminishing, thus creating a demand for small-scale local debased issues with the king as the only potential power to strike these coins.³¹

As mentioned before, there is one sample of Augustan imitation kept at Numismatic Fund, History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan, and imitation of Valerian I's aureus is kept at Azerbaijan State Museum of History. In both cases, place of finding is unknown. So, nothing can be said. Still, it seems that there were no local imitations of the Roman coins circulating in Armenia and Albania (modern Azerbaijan).³²

Not surprisingly, the most faithful Roman ally in the region, Iberia, had the most Roman “numismatic visage”.

³¹ T. Dundua. Influx of Roman Coins in Georgia. Roman Coins Outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Contexts and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop. Radziwill Palace, Nieborow (Poland). 3-6. 09. 2005. Moneta 82. Wetteren, 2008, pp. 309-319.

³² G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Numismatics of Caucasus. Caucasus Antiquus. Encyclos Disciplina. Volumen III. Tbilisi. 2018, pp. 208-224.

Plate I



1



2



3



4

Plate II



5



6



7



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Plate III



9



10



11

21

Plate IV



Plate V



Imitations of the Roman Coins.

Appendix

We received the photos below as soon as the conference presentation was uploaded as

https://www.academia.edu/46905804/Beyond_the_Pontic_Limes_Imitations_of_the_Roman_Coins_in_Transcaucasian_States_Conference_The_Past_Has_a_Future_University_of_Warsaw_Coordinators_A_Bursche_and_Others_2021_March_Session_Exploring_the_Impact_of_Rome_beyond_the_Empire_Imitations_of_the_Roman_Imperial_Coins

Preliminary attribution.

Imitation of Gordian III's (?) aureus (hybrid). Private collection. From east part of West Georgia (?).

Obverse: Bust of Emperor, laureate, draped, r. Legend IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG distorted.

Reverse: Mars advancing r., holds spear in r. hand and shield (?) in l. hand (or Diana holding torch, advancing r.). Distorted legend, still LVC (DIANA LVCIFERA) is well traced.

prototype (?) http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.gor_iii.121





თედო დუნდუა

ნათია ფიფია

ბერძნები და რომაელები პონტოს და ჰირკანიის ზღვებს შორის.
სალექციო მასალები

კომპიუტერული უზრუნველყოფა
თამარ სტეფნაძე

გამომცემლობა „მერიდიანი“
თბილისი, 2022