

# EGE DÜNYASI LİMAN KENTLERİ SİKKE, MÜHÜR VE AĞIRLIKLARI

*PORT CITIES OF THE AEGEAN WORLD  
COINS, SEALS AND WEIGHTS*



**Editörler / Edited by**  
**Ceren Ünal – Akın Ersoy**  
**Cengiz Gürbıyık – Başak K. Kasalı**

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**Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Yayınları**

**Yayın No: 0032**

**MANİSA 2018**

**Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Yönetim Kurulu'nun 2018/31 sayılı ve XXIX no'lu kararı ile basılmıştır.**

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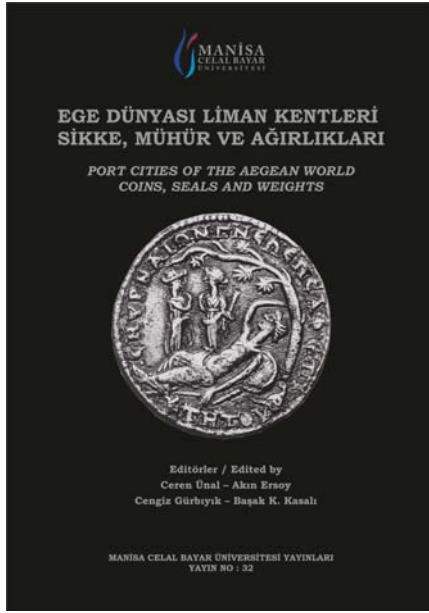
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**Kapak Tasarım:** Serat KOTAN - Ömer YILMAZ

**Baskı - Cilt :** Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Rektörlük Basımevi -MANİSA

1. Baskı - 2018

**ISBN:** 978-975-8628-69-8

Bu kitabın Türkçe yayın hakları kitabın hukuki yayımcısına ait olup her hakkı saklıdır. Hiçbir bölümü ve paragrafı kısmen veya tamamen ya da özet halinde, fotokopi, faksimile veya başka herhangi bir biçimde çoğaltılamaz, dağıtılamaz yeniden elde edilmek üzere saklanamaz. Normal ölçüyü aşan iktibaslar yapılamaz ancak normal ve kanuni iktibaslarda kaynak gösterilmesi zorunludur.

## ÖNSÖZ

Bu yayın, Ege Dünyası Liman Kentleri ile ilişkili Arkaik-Klasik ve Hellenistik döneme, Roma Eyalet sistemine, Bizans İmparatorluğu dönemine, Venedik ve Ceneviz'in yanı sıra Ortaçağ Avrupa, Batı Anadolu Beylikleri ve Osmanlı dönemine ait sikke, mühür ve ağırlıkları hakkında yapılan kapsamlı araştırma ve çalışmalar sonucu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Kitap çalışmasının oluşum temelleri Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sanat Tarihi Bölümü, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü ve Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazılarının ortak çalışmasıyla İzmir ve Manisa'da 01-02 Kasım 2017 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilen "Uluslararası Ege Dünyası Liman Kentleri Sikke Mühür ve Ağırlıklar Sempozyumu" sonunda alınan karara dayanmaktadır. Sempozyumda sunulmuş, araştırma sonuçlarına dayanan, özgün değere sahip ve çok daha kapsamlı çalışmalar yayında bir araya getirilmiştir.

Çalışmada yer alan bölümler alanlarında uzman ve yetkin uluslararası ve ulusal akademisyenler tarafından oluşturulmuştur. Kitap çalışmasına katkı sağlayan akademisyen, uzman ve araştırmacılar Ege Dünyası'nda binlerce yıllık süreci kapsayan içerikte, liman yerleşkelerinin dönemlere dair konumlarını, siyasi ve ticari ilişkilerini ve toplumların iç içe geçtiği yerlerdeki etkileşimlerini oldukça etkileyici bir üslupla sunmaktadırlar. Ege Dünyası liman kentlerinde gerçekleştirilen kazılarda, müzelerde ve özel koleksiyonlarda bulunan sikke, mühür ve ağırlıkların yer aldığı çalışmanın yeni bilgiler ve buluntuları içermesi ise değerini ifade etmektedir.

Uluslararası Ege Dünyası Liman Kentleri Sikke, Mühür ve Ağırlıklar Sempozyumu'nun düzenlenmesi için değerli katkılarını sağlayan T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazıları, Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri Koordinasyon Birimi, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Manisa Şehzadeler Belediyesi, İzmir Ticaret Odası, Tutku Tours ve Fortis Travel'a teşekkür ederiz.

Kitap çalışmasının basımı aşamasında verdikleri destek ile bizleri onurlandıran Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Rektörü Sayın Prof. Dr. Ahmet Kemal Çelebi ve Rektör Yardımcısı Sayın Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Tepekaya'ya teşekkürlerimizi sunarız.

## FOREWORD

This publication has been brought to light as a result of comprehensive researches and studies worked on the coins, seals and weights belonging to Medieval Europe, the Western Anatolian Beyliks and the Ottoman Empire periods as well as the Archaic-Classical and Hellenistic period, which is related to the Port Cities of the Aegean World, the Roman State system, the Byzantine Empire period, Venice and Genoa. The accrual basis of the compilation is based on the decision taken at the end of the “International Symposium on the Port Cities of the Aegean World: Coins, Seals and Weights” which was carried out inside a collaborative work of Manisa Celal Bayar University, Faculty of Science and Letters, Department of Art History, Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Archaeology between the dates of 01 and 02 November 2017 in İzmir and Manisa. The featured comprehensive studies, which have an authentic value and were presented at the symposium and based on the results of the research, have been assembled in the publication.

The sections included in the study have been formed by international and national academics that are expert and proficient at their fields. The academics, experts and researches contributed to the compilation present the positions, political and commercial relations, and interactions, at the places where societies were intertwined, of the port settlements regarding to the periods in the content that covers up a thousands of years’ continuum in an impressive style. The study, in which the coins, seals and weights found in the excavations performed in the port cities of the Aegean World, museums and private collections are involved, contains new information and findings and it points out the value of the study.

We would like to give our thanks to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, Turkish Historical Society, the Rectorate of Manisa Celal Bayar University, the Rectorate of Dokuz Eylül University, the Ancient City of Smyrna Excavation, Manisa Celal Bayar University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Manisa Şehzadeler Municipality, İzmir Chamber of Commerce, Tutku Tours and Fortis Travel providing their valuable contributions in order to arrange the “International Symposium on the Port Cities of the Aegean World: Coins, Seals and Weights.”

We would like to express our gratitude to the Rector of Manisa Celal Bayar University Dear Prof. Dr. Ahmet Kemal Çelebi and the Vice Rector Dear Prof. Dr. Mr. Muzaffer Tepekaya who have honored us with the support they have bestowed at the stage of publishing the compilation. We are also grateful to them for their support at every meeting in order to carry out the study at high-end level both contextually and visually.

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# HALAI (EAST OR OPOUNTIAN LOCRI, PTHIOTIS): AN IMPORTANT PORT OF THE AEGEAN SEA, THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FROM ANTIQUITY (400 B.C.) TO THE 12TH CENTURY A.D.

George KAKAVAS\*

## Introduction

Halai, a small ancient town in East or Opountian Locris, was situated by the sea on the eastern shore of the bay referred to by Strabo<sup>1</sup> as the Opountian Gulf, and is known in modern times as the bay of Atalanti (Phot. 1). The site falls within the boundaries of the modern town of Theologos, a former fishing village. Earlier excavations by a team representing the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have shown that Halai had a fortified acropolis in Classical times which continued to be occupied until Late Roman and again in Byzantine times and that extensive Neolithic deposits underlay the Classical ones. Two hundred and eighty tombs of Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine date were also excavated near the outer boundaries of the town to the north and east of the acropolis (Drawing 1).

The town flourished in the archaic period, when it was a member of the Opountian league, declined somewhat in the Classical period during the period of Athenian hegemony, and reached its acme in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period when it had become a member of the Boeotian league. It was sacked by Sulla in 85 B.C. but soon recovered. Life continued at Halai throughout the Roman period and the town flourished again in the Early Christian period of the 5th and 6th centuries. The basilica church of Early Christian times was built over by a smaller Comnenian church of the 12th century.

There was evidently a port next to the town that facilitated exchanges of goods between Halai and the hinterland and served as a port-of-call for passing shipping, although its remains have been obliterated by the rise of sea level. The production of salt was probably also a major activity, to judge by the town's name, Halai, which means salt works. In our days the sea extends over much land that was dry in antiquity, probably including the salt works, *αλυκές*.

The coins from Halai were excavated by teams representing the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in two periods, in the years 1911-1935 by Hetty Goldman and Alice Walker Kosmopoulos, and in the years 1990-1992 by J. E. Coleman. Among the finds we also have two hoards of a possible 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. dating. The earliest coins that can be relatively precisely dated come from the end of the first half of the 4th century BC (357-354 BC), while the latest specimen found is from the Modern Greek State, during the reign of King George I.

The numismatic material of various eras and minting authorities that was discovered within the location of the city and the port of Halai will be here presented in four separate chronological categories: The Greek period, from the beginning of the circulation to the destruction of the city by Sulla in 85 B.C., the Roman period, until the end of the fourth century A.D., the Late Roman – Early Christian period, until the late fifth century and the Byzantine and Medieval period, from that point onward (Pic. 1).

Our numismatic data consists of unpublished coins and hoards from the earlier excavations

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<sup>1</sup>In Strab. 9.4.2, the area is reported as a part of the Boeotian coast.

performed by Goldman and her team, recently found in storage at the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, the most recent coins discovered by Professor Coleman's team, also presented here for the first time, as well as the already published coinage material by Hetty Goldman. All of the above mentioned material has been conserved and identified by experts, numismatists and conservators of the Numismatic Museum at Athens.

## **The Greek Period**

### *Historical Introduction*

Halai originally belonged to East Lokris. However, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., it is attested to have had a political affiliation to Boeotia.<sup>2</sup> The change may have taken place as early as the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The toponym Halai is first found in Strabo's *Geographica* towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>4</sup> and it is also mentioned by Pausanias,<sup>5</sup> and Plutarch,<sup>6</sup> However, the town is mentioned in inscriptions as the polis of the Halaieis and the inhabitants of the town are described as Halees or Halaioi in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>7</sup> These and other inscriptions attest the existence of religious and political activity from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>8</sup>

### *Greek Archaeological Context*

The location of Halai was used for the first time in the Neolithic period, for almost 700 consecutive years, from approximately 6.000 to 5.300 B.C. Human activity reappears in our material evidence, after a significant gap, in the archaic period.

The most important cult attested in the city was of Athena. The first temple dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.,<sup>9</sup> and was discovered on the Acropolis. The Acropolis itself is in general considered of small height,<sup>10</sup> and was fortified at around 600 B.C., or even earlier<sup>11</sup>. Repairs were made in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.,<sup>12</sup> and a reconstruction in the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>13</sup> (Drawing 1).

Activity on the Acropolis remained at low levels in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>14</sup>, partly due to a destruction that is evident in the 490-480 B.C. which was probably caused by an earthquake<sup>15</sup>. Athenian maritime activity in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. could also have a marginalizing effect on the activities of the port. Traces of a 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., or Hellenistic circuit wall surrounding a lower town were also revealed<sup>16</sup>. The expansion of the town in the Hellenistic times, evident in the extensive building remains,

<sup>2</sup> Goldman and Walker 1915, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Nielsen 2004, 667; Goldman and Walker 1915, 420 - 21; cf. Argoud 1997, 254.

<sup>4</sup> Strab.9.2.13 and 4.2.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 9.24.5.

<sup>6</sup> Plut., *Sulla*, 26.3.

<sup>7</sup> Goldman and Walker 1915, 442 - 44 no. 2 (5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards), testifies to the existence of a board of three eponymous archontes (cf. Sherk 1990, 244). The internal collective use of the ethnic is attested in the same inscription and sub-ethnics are unknown in East Lokris, cf. Nielsen 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Goldman and Walker 1915, no. 3.2 (206/5), and no. 4.2 (208/7), restored.

<sup>9</sup> Goldman and Walker 1915, 439 - 42 no. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Goldman 1940, 382; cf. Argoud 1997, 255 - 56.

<sup>11</sup> Goldman 1940, 430; cf. Fossey 1990, 40.

<sup>12</sup> McFadden 2001, 62.

<sup>13</sup> C. 350 - 330 B.C: Goldman 1940, 396; McFadden 2001, 68.

<sup>14</sup> Coleman 1992, 275.

<sup>15</sup> Quinn 1996, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Coleman 1992, 268 and fig. 2.

can probably be attributed in part to its use as a port-of-call for military and commercial purposes by the Macedonians<sup>17</sup>.

Several necropoleis of the town have been excavated to the north and northeast of the acropolis which include in total at least 400 graves dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onward<sup>18</sup>.

### *The Ancient Greek Coins*

The peak in the number of coins in the Hellenistic period can be combined with other relevant small finds, especially the large quantity of Hellenistic lamps that have been uncovered<sup>19</sup>. They all point out to the reconstruction of the port by the Macedonians, most probably for military uses.

Furthermore, a simple chronological quantification of the ancient Greek coins, that have been discovered in Halai, point directly to the very uneven representation of the turn from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. (Pic. 2). It would seem that the main rate of usage, at least to the point that it is visible in our material record, coincides with the most intense war period in the whole of the Hellenistic times for the area. The main use of the port must have been as a commercial and mostly military intermediate stop in the naval route connecting Macedonia with mainland Greece<sup>20</sup>.

The vast majority of the coinage discovered was of the Boeotian Koinon, from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., as could be expected due to the strong affiliation (Pl. 1). An important number of the bronze coinage of the Boeotian Koinon with the types of Demeter three quarters facing on the obverse and Poseidon standing on the reverse was over-struck on Heracles head/Horseman bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas. According to J.H. Kroll, “the Macedonian coins entered Boeotia during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas or Demetrios II, who occupied the country after 236 BC and the over-striking took place during the sharp anti-Macedonian reaction upon Demetrios’ death in 229 B.C.”<sup>21</sup>.

Of the rest, Opountian Locrians coins come second (Pl. 1), and Chalcis third (Pl. 1). The rest of our finds come from a variety of different authorities. In general, Central Greece is the dominant area of origin for the coins, while other areas contribute only isolated finds, such as the case of a bronze coin from Side in Pamphylia (Pl. 1), as well as a later 1<sup>st</sup> Century B.C. bronze coin from Ephesus (Pl. 1).

The Hellenistic period was probably a peak time for non-military cargoes of all kinds in the Euboean Gulf ports, to and from many towns other than the Macedonian ones. Local trade also continued if the Opountian Locrian and Chalcidian coins are taken into account.

Among the different uses of the bronze coins we can note that six of them, from the Late 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., were found in graves, and ensured the payment to the ferryman for entrance to the afterlife, as part of the burial process, also known as Charon’s obol.

## **The Roman Period**

### *Historical and Archaeological Introduction during the Roman Times*

<sup>17</sup> Quinn 1996, 17, although not completely accurate on the history of Halai before the Late Roman period.

<sup>18</sup> Goldman and Walker 1915, 424, 429; cf. also *ArchDelt* 1987, B. 1, Chron., 228 - 31.

<sup>19</sup> Nankov 2009, 312.

<sup>20</sup> Quinn 1996, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Kroll 1993, 205, no. 595.

The transition from the Late Hellenistic to the Roman period in the case of Halai was without a doubt the destruction of the settlement by Sulla, in 85 B.C., during the Mithridatic wars. However, none of the Hellenistic and Early Roman deposits showed any evidence of a Sullan destruction, meaning the sack was probably not very thorough<sup>22</sup>. Although this event must have been crucial for life in the settlement, activity in the location seems to have continued also afterwards, as the acropolis seems to have been resettled. This fact can be also supported by our numismatic evidence.

### *The Roman Coins*

As it was pointed out in our introduction, the area that has been researched has been not directly related with the port of the town itself, as the water level on the coast has significantly risen since antiquity. The only numismatic evidence that might be associated with the function of the port are two specimens from underwater excavation. One is an Athenian tetradrachm of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., more precisely from the time of Sulla (Pl. 1). The other is a Hellenistic coin, possibly bronze, of Opountian Locris. Although this is a very small sample in comparison with the finds from the area around the acropolis, the fact that one of our few silver coins from the area of Halai comes from the vicinity of the port perhaps signifies the importance of marine commerce for the livelihood of Halai.

Although some samples date to the republican period, most of our Roman numismatic evidence comes from Imperial times. There is a small peak in the second century A.D. and a larger one in the fourth century (Pic. 3). This curve in activity within the settlement is in accordance with the archaeological evidence, as the settlement of the earlier Roman phase, which seems to have been relatively small, made a gradual recovery with a peak in the Late Roman period<sup>23</sup>.

The main problem is that most of these specimens remain unidentified, mainly due to the nature of the material and their condition. Those that have successfully been identified seem to be relatively evenly shared between central Roman issues and local Greek issues. Unlike the Hellenistic period, the local issues of the Roman period come mostly from Southern Greece, mainly from Attica and the Peloponnese<sup>24</sup>.

An interesting case of the increasing contacts of Halai with the Peloponnese is provided by the discovery of one bronze 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Corinthian Tessera with Pegasus<sup>25</sup> (Pl. 1). Although the exact use of that coin-like object remains obscure, it strengthens the argument of the increasing inter-connectivity of Halai after the end of the Hellenistic period.

It is also worthy to mention that countermarks appear relatively often in the coins from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These are mostly symbols and letters, impressed on a coin after it has been struck. This happens in order to revalidate it, and circulate it with new local issues of the same denomination, or to validate and legitimate it for circulation in a new area, or to indicate a change in its value. Therefore, on the aforementioned bronze coin of Side (Pl. 1), the countermark of the pomegranate fruit, from which the city derives its name, is a local countermark imposed by the issuing authority, as in the cases of the countermark with the Boeotian shield apposed on Demeter/Poseidon bronze coin of the Boeotian Koinon and of the poppy head, symbol of Demeter, apposed on the coin of the

<sup>22</sup> Quinn 1996, 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1996, 24-30.

<sup>24</sup> Corinth, Patra and Argos.

<sup>25</sup> Amandry 1988, 247, pl. XLVIII, series 1.

OpountianLocristruck under the emperor Tiberius. However, concerning the countermarks on the two bronze coins of the ThessalianKoinon such as the bunch of grapes, the eagle and the two crossed wheat ears, they could have been applied by different cities, depending on the area of circulation of the above coins. Finally, the countermark ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ in monogram applied on the bronze coin of the ThessalianKoinon struck under Tiberius and Claudius (14-54 A.D.) dates to the period after Nero's death<sup>26</sup>(Pl. 1).

## **The Late Roman Period**

### *Archaeological Context*

The most impressive archaeological feature at Halai during the Early Christian Period is a large apsidal basilica with mosaic floors<sup>27</sup>. The church was probably destroyed by an earthquake of 6,7 magnitude that occurred in mainland Greece in 551 A.D., as reported by Procopius<sup>28</sup>.

The Late Roman finds indicate the existence of a thriving community during that period<sup>29</sup>, in keeping with a more general pattern of resurgence of rural settlements that occurred throughout mainland Greece.<sup>30</sup> This pattern is also observable in central Greece, for instance, at the Early Christian complex at Aghia Kyriaki, on the Livanates coast<sup>31</sup>. Our numismatic evidence seems to support such a conclusion.

### *The Late Roman Coins*

A small hoard of 41 coins dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D., except for a single ancient Opountian coin of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., was discovered in a bath house in the area around the basilica<sup>32</sup> (Pic. 4). Another small hoard of 24 low value bronze coins was also found at Halai, with the oldest dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Pic. 5), although it also contained two Athenian bronzes of the 2nd-1st century B.C.<sup>33</sup>.

The Late Roman coins from Halai, which date to the 5th century A.D., although not extremely numerous, provide us with a variety of types covering almost the whole time span of the period (Pl. 2). However, due to the problematic state of our specimens, it is extremely difficult to exactly identify the majority of the coins (Pic. 6). The small percentage of those that can be attributed to specific minting authorities are evenly shared among a range of 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. emperors, with the exception of Arcadius, to whom eight specimens are attributed. A number of coins of the Late Roman period were also found within graves as *danakes*.

## **The Byzantine Period**

### *The Byzantine Archaeological Context*

Halai continued to be inhabited at least until the early 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D., despite the disasters that

<sup>26</sup> Howgego 1985, 216, no. 562.

<sup>27</sup> Quinn 1996, 35.

<sup>28</sup> In his *Buildings*, in connection with Corinth. Cf. An inscription from Corinth of the same period citing a certain Theodosios as the re-builder of the city, Bousquet&Pechoux 1983, 33.

<sup>29</sup> Quinn 1996, 10.

<sup>30</sup> Snodgrass 1987, 116.

<sup>31</sup> Kakavas 2015, 297-8.

<sup>32</sup> Papadimitriou&Petrichou 1993, 7.

<sup>33</sup> ΣΒΘ, 24-29, nos 3, 7, 9.

marked the destruction of the Early Christian basilica (Drawing 1). During the following turbulent centuries it witnessed a major decline in human activity that lasted until the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The main cause of this abandonment may have been the Slavic invasions that occurred in mainland Greece at the time<sup>34</sup>, or the omnipresent threat of pirate raids, to which coastal areas such as Halai were always vulnerable, and which caused a move of the population to the hinterland<sup>35</sup>. Although this situation to a loss of any urbanized character of the port, it maintained its importance as a secure shelter in the Aegean.

An important indication of community activity in the area in later times is the small Byzantine one-aisle chapel that was located within the area of the Early Christian three-aisle basilica, and which made use of some of its architectural elements<sup>36</sup>. Graves and other small-sized architectural structures of the same period were also uncovered near the chapel<sup>37</sup>.

### *The Byzantine Coins*

The quantities of numismatic finds from the Late Roman period until the last samples of the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D. point out to the gradual decline in the use of monetary objects, as well as to a gap that lasted for almost 3 centuries, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> A.D., with the single exception of a coin from the reign of Leon VI the Wise, 886-912 A.D. (Pic. 7).

The existence of ancient Greek coins in Byzantine hoards is a relatively common phenomenon. Similar examples, among the acquisitions of the Numismatic Museum, occur in hoards discovered in Elasson<sup>38</sup>, Corinth<sup>39</sup>, Laconia<sup>40</sup>, Olympia<sup>41</sup>, and Kynouria<sup>42</sup>, among others. Many Byzantine hoards concealed in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century contain ancient Greek coins used in everyday transactions and local markets, flans, purchasing power etc. The Late Roman and Byzantine currency in use in Halai is generally of petty value, and represents a continuation of earlier issues.

The Ostrogothic coinage of late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries from Halai, represents the barbaric kingdoms. Ostrogothic and Vandalic coinage circulates in a way that could be considered the norm for this period<sup>43</sup>. The coins are small denominations, and have roughly the same size as the Byzantine 5-nummi specimens and the nummus minimus, with Byzantine-like monograms on the reverse<sup>44</sup> (Pl. 2). The issues originate from Rome and Ravenna, and were possibly brought by troops and invaders. They represent small-scale market purchases in the context of an urban economy.

In the Roman Empire of the East, coins became very necessary to the workings of the provincial economy, especially in the low-value forms. The Greek east was financially stable and managed to survive the frequent instabilities of the late Roman monetary system, such as inflation and floating values. In this context, monetary transactions were usually maintained at a smaller scale.

The Slavic invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries and the Arab raids of the seventh century had

<sup>34</sup> Papadimitriou&Petrichou 1993, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Katsanopoulou 1990, 59-60.

<sup>36</sup> Quinn 1996, 41-42.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, 42-45.

<sup>38</sup> Giannota of Elasson/1963: *ΣΒΘ*, 23, no. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ancient Corinth/1971: *ΣΒΘ*, 23, no. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Trype in Laconia/1936: *ΣΒΘ*, 24, no. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Olympia/1876 & 1911: *ΣΒΘ*, 30, no. 12.

<sup>42</sup> St. Nikolaos of Kynouria/1935: *ΣΒΘ*, 35, no. 19.

<sup>43</sup> *MIB*, 77-91

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 72.

an enormous impact on the coin circulation in the area, as is evident by the gap in our data. Another factor that contributed to that phenomenon was possibly that many low-level transactions probably occurred in a form of barter, without the use of coinage.

The transitional period from the Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, from the second half of the seventh to the second half of the ninth century, is marked by the dramatic reduction of numismatic circulation in mainland Greece is more than obvious, as the center was in decline.

During the economic instability of the twelfth century a small denomination coinage appeared, with tetartera and half tetartera of the Komnenoi<sup>45</sup>. The last such specimen was issued in the name of Manuel I Komnenos, in the first half of the twelfth century (Pl. 2).

## Conclusions

From a wider perspective, the monetary evidence from Halai shows a steady decline in the traces of human activity, at least as far the numismatic evidence is concerned. Our record, however, follows closely usage of coinage in the wider area. Transformations that started with the development of a military port in Hellenistic times were followed by the resurgence of society after successive difficulties. Those occurred in the form of military destruction, as in the case of Sulla, natural disasters, such as earthquakes and tsunamis, and barbaric and pirate raids that transformed the landscape of central Greece.

The new numismatic testimony provides detailed evidence of the town's highly monetized economy and its continuous habitation. Given the continuity of the economy in the region, it is striking that not even one ottoman coin has been found. It is, however, worth to point out that the Venetian republic is represented by few coins (Pl. 2), the latest one dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

According to Professor J. Coleman, Halai was a town that during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, while ostensibly belonging to Boeotia, was ready to trade with any reasonably friendly ships that came along. The trade may have been mostly small transactions among towns within the Euboean gulf but probably also included merchant ships sailing from port to port along the whole length of mainland Greece and the north Aegean and selling, among others, wine, grain, timber and metals or exchanging them for local products. Halaiotes would then sell some of these products and also local ones such as fish in raw or pickled form, to towns in the hinterland, such as Kyrtones, Hyettos, and Orchomenos.

A characteristic example of how famous the town was for its fish, is reported by Plutarch, as the Roman general Sulla, shortly after the alleged destruction of Halai, enjoyed some of these renown fishes<sup>46</sup>.

“Once, as he was walking along the seashore, certain fishermen brought him some very fine fish. Being delighted with their gift, and learning that they were from Halae, “What!” said he “is any man of Halae still alive?” For when he was pursuing the enemy after his victory at Orchomenos, he had destroyed three cities of Boeotia together, Anthedon, Larymna, and Halae.”

The rich history and material culture of Halai came to light 600 years after the last period at Halai, as represented by the modest chapel in the Middle Byzantine times, thanks to the hard work of the modern era archaeologists.

<sup>45</sup> Hendy 1999, 283-284.

<sup>46</sup> Plut., *Sulla*, 26.3.



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*ArchDelt* = *Archaialogiko Deltio*

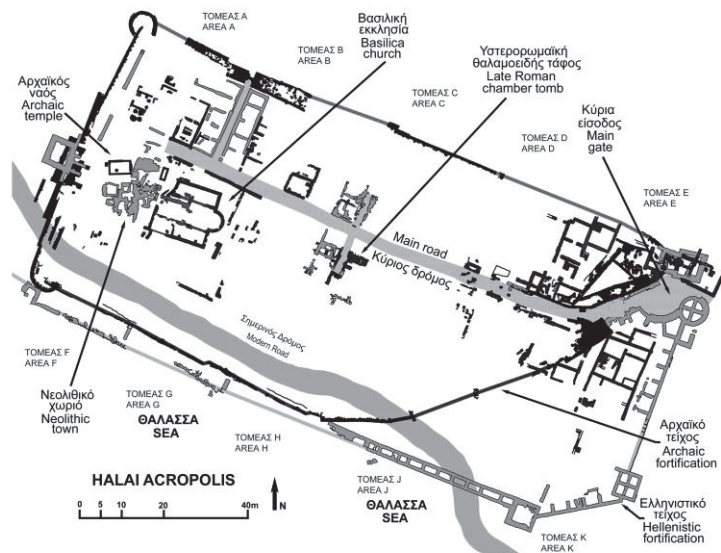
*IGCH* = *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, edited by M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C. M. Kraay, American Numismatic Society, New York 1973.

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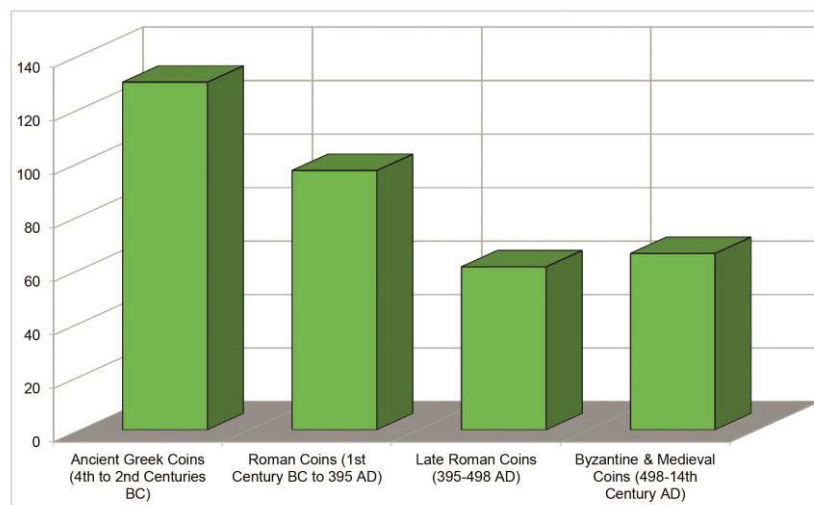
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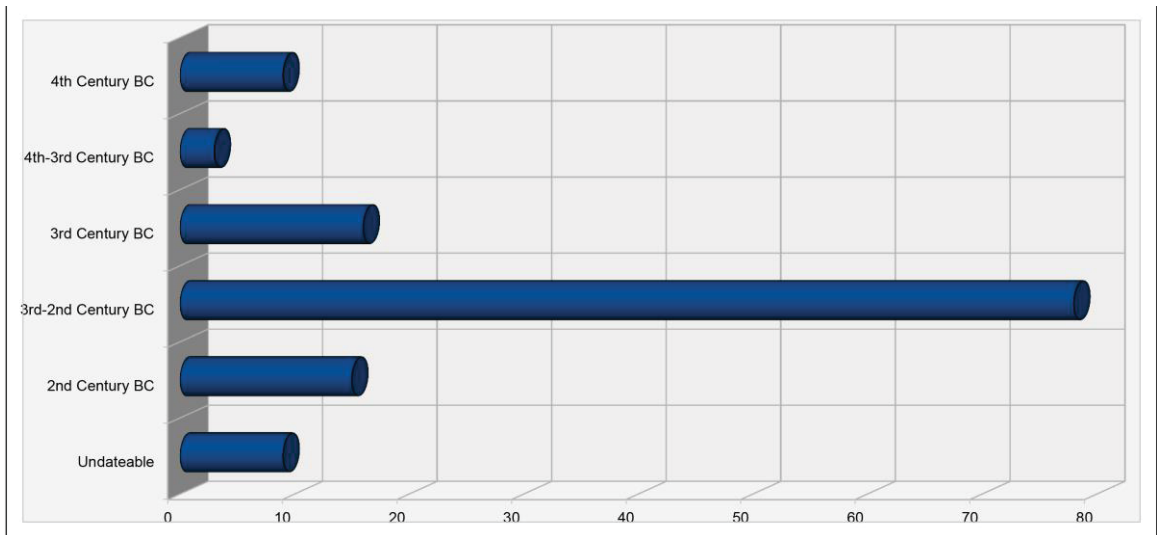
**Phot. 1: Balloon view of the Halai Acropolis from SE.**



**Drawing 1: Plan of the Halai Acropolis.**



**Pic. 1: Periodology of Coin Circulation in Halai.**



**Pic. 2: Dating Range of Ancient Greek Coins from Halai.**



Boeotian Koinon 3rd-2nd c. B.C.



Opountian Locris 3rd c. B.C.



Chalcis 2nd c. B.C.



Chalcis 2nd-1st c. B.C.



Ephesus 1st c. B.C.



Athens 2nd c. B.C.



Corinth 1st c. BC - 1st c. A.D.



Side, countermark 1st c. B.C.



Athens 1st c. B.C.



Thessalian Koinon,  
countermark 1st c. A.D.

**Pl. 1: Ancient Greek Coins.**



Lucilla, 164-182 A.D.



Julia Domna, 193-211 A.D.



Caracalla, 198-217 A.D.



Constantius I, 293-305 A.D.



Theodosius I, 379-395 A.D.



Theodoric, 493-526 A.D.



Justin II, 565-578 A.D.



Anonymous follis, class I,  
c. 1075-c. 1080 A.D.

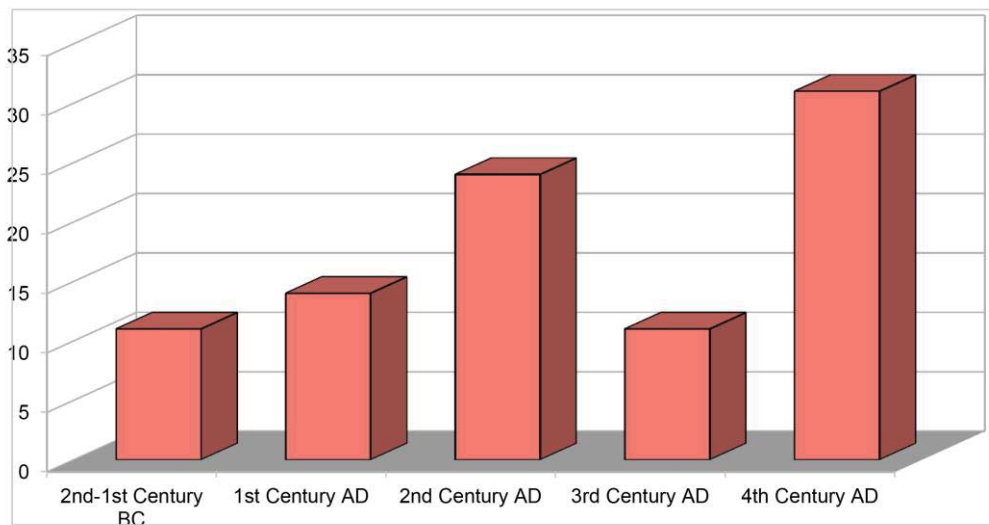


Manuel I Comnenus, 1193-1180 A.D.



Venetian Republic,  
probably Andrea Gritti (1523-28 A.D.)

**Pl. 2: Roman and Byzantine Coins.**



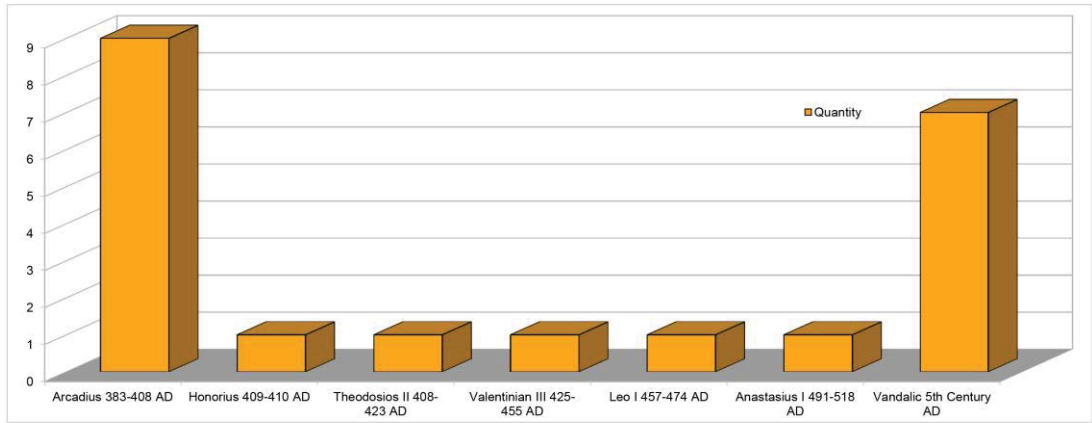
**Pic. 3: Dating Range of Roman Coins from Halai.**



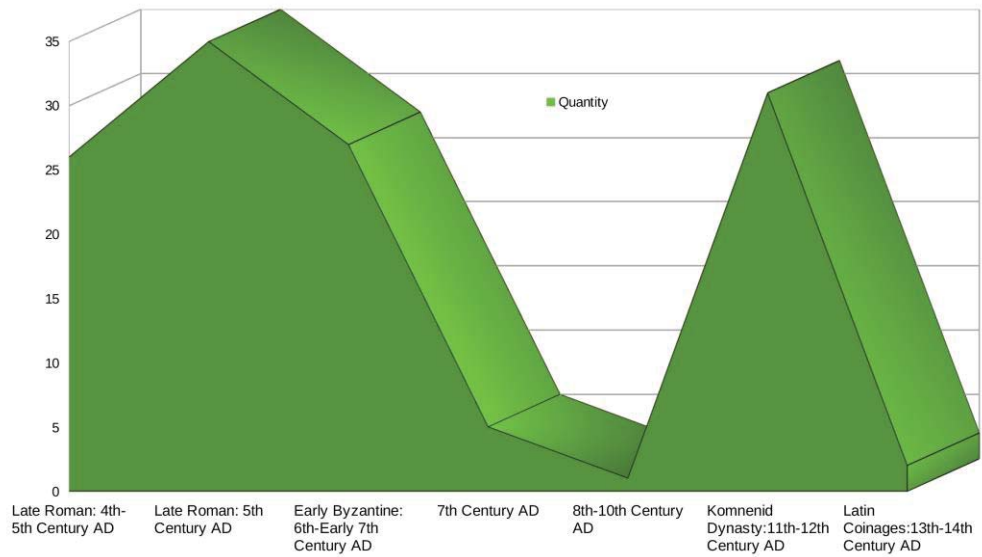
**Pic. 4: Acropolis of Halai I/? (BII 2279).**



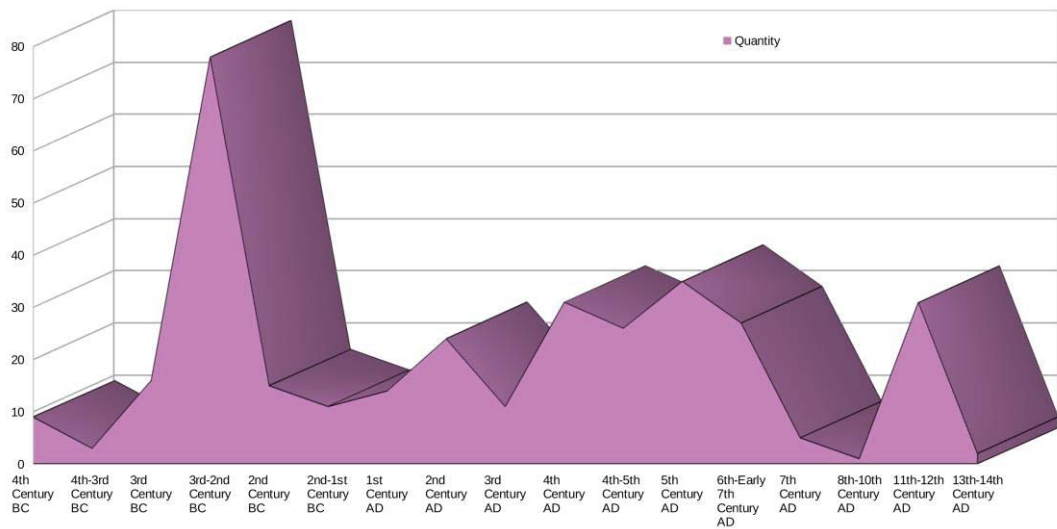
**Pic. 5: Acropolis of Halai II/? (BII 2279).**



**Pic. 6: Identified Late Roman Coins from Halai.**



**Pic. 7: Quantitative Display of the Decline in Numismatic Finds at Halai from the Late Roman to the Medieval Periods.**



**Pic. 8: Total Periodical Quantification of Numismatic Evidence from Halai.**