

22 2019

ISSN 1301-2746

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations

(OFFPRINT)



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED)

Adalya, a peer reviewed publication, is indexed in the A&HCI
(Arts & Humanities Citation Index) and CC/A&H (Current Contents /
Arts & Humanities)
Adalya is also indexed in the Social Sciences and Humanities Database of
TÜBİTAK/ULAKBİM TR index and EBSCO.

<i>Mode of publication</i>	Worldwide periodical
<i>Publisher certificate number</i>	18318
ISSN	1301-2746
<i>Publisher management</i>	Koç University Rumelifeneri Yolu, 34450 Sarıyer / İstanbul
<i>Publisher</i>	Umran Savaş İnan, President, on behalf of Koç University
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Oğuz Tekin
<i>Editor</i>	Tarkan Kahya
<i>Assistant Editor</i>	Arif Yacı
<i>English copyediting</i>	Michael D. Sheridan Mark Wilson
<i>Editorial Advisory Board</i>	(Members serve for a period of five years) Prof. Dr. Engin Akyürek, Koç University (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Mustafa Adak, Akdeniz University (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Nicholas D. Cahill, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Charlotte Roueché, Emerita, King's College London (2019-2023) Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem, Boğaziçi University / Collège de France (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özdoğan, Emeritus, Istanbul University (2016-2020) Prof. Dr. C. Brian Rose, University of Pennsylvania (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Christof Schuler, DAI München (2017-2021) Prof. Dr. R. R. R. Smith, University of Oxford (2016-2020)
©	Koç University AKMED, 2019
<i>Production</i>	Zero Production Ltd. Abdullah Sok. No. 17 Taksim 34433 İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 244 75 21 • Fax: +90 (212) 244 32 09 info@zerobooksonline.com; www.zerobooksonline.com
<i>Printing</i>	Oksijen Basım ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti. 100. Yıl Mah. Matbaacılar Sit. 2. Cad. No: 202/A Bağcılar - İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 325 71 25 • Fax: +90 (212) 325 61 99 Certificate number: 29487
<i>Mailing address</i>	Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 22 Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya - TURKEY Tel: +90 (242) 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 (242) 243 80 13 https://akmed.ku.edu.tr
<i>E-mail address</i>	akmed@ku.edu.tr



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

Contents

Ralf Becks – Betül Fındık <i>New Middle Paleolithic Finds from the Lake District</i>	1
İrfan Deniz Yaman <i>Prehistoric Paintings in the Keçe Cave (Kahramanmaraş-Elbistan)</i>	11
Taner Korkut – Turan Takaoğlu – Kudret Sezgin <i>Pre-Classical Habitation at Tlos, Lycia</i>	25
Güzel Öztürk <i>Post-Akkadian and Ur III Features on Cylinder Seals from Kültepe-Kanesh: An Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis</i>	45
Tevfik Emre Şerifoğlu <i>Kilise Tepe in Rough Cilicia before the Late Bronze Age: An Overview of the Architecture, Pottery Traditions, and Cultural Contacts</i>	69
Aslıhan Yurtsever Beyazıt <i>New Assessments of the Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery Recovered in the First Excavation Period at Tilmen Höyük</i>	101
Claudia Devoto <i>Some Remarks on the Chronology of the First Coins of Knossos, Crete</i>	145
İnci Türkoğlu <i>Civic Coinage of Keramos in Caria</i>	167
Tetiana Shevchenko <i>Attributes of the Mother of the Gods on Terracottas from Olbia Pontike and Asia Minor</i>	201
Julian Bennett <i>The Annexation of Galatia Reviewed</i>	223
Fatih Onur <i>An Investigation around Kragos in Lycia: The Question of Sidyma and Kalabatia</i>	259
Havva İşkan – Şevket Aktaş <i>Überlegungen zu einem Artemis-Relief aus Patara</i>	297
Fatma Avcu – Hüseyin Uzunoglu <i>The Ancient Roads and Routes around Sidyma and New Inscriptions from its Vicinity</i>	319
Emel Erten – Emine Akkuş Koçak <i>Glass Finds from the Monastery at Olba</i>	345

Ahmet Dönmez	
<i>The Role of James Brant in the Process of Structural Changes in British Consulates</i>	363
Fatma Şimşek	
<i>The Role of the Islands and Islanders in the Illegal Felling and Smuggling of Timber from the Ottoman Mediterranean and Aegean Coastlines in the 19th C.</i>	381
Mine Esmer	
<i>Evaluating Repairs and Interventions of the Fethiye Camii through the Perspective of Contemporary Conservation Ethics and Principles</i>	401

Some Remarks on the Chronology of the First Coins of Knossos, Crete

Claudia DEVOTO*

Abstract

The present study deals with the first coins issued by Knossos and their current chronology, which cannot be based on firm evidence due to the absence of stratigraphical data to rely on. According to the current chronology, Gortyn and Phaistos were the first Cretan *poleis* to mint coins (ca. 450 BC), followed by Knossos (after 425 BC). This dating shows a long delay as compared to the majority of Greek *poleis*, and this suggests reconsideration of the subject. Three elements seem to be relevant to this purpose: the now ascertained participation of some Cretan *poleis* in the north–south routes between the Peloponnese and North Africa; the epigraphical evidence suggesting the use of coinage in Crete at least at the end of the 6th century BC; and iconographical and stylistic analysis of Knossian first issues. In the light of the analysis proposed, even if it is not yet possible to assert with certainty the date of Knossos' first issues, it is likely that Knossos began striking coins before 425 BC.

Keywords: Knossos, Crete, Cretan coinage, Minotaur, Labyrinth

Öz

Bu çalışma Knossos'un darp ettiği ilk sikkeleri ve onların, güvenilir stratigrafik veri yokluğu nedeniyle sağlam kanıtlara dayandırılmayan mevcut kronolojisi üzerinedir. Mevcut kronolojiye göre Gortyn ve Phaistos yak. MÖ 450 civarında ilk kez sikke darp eden *polisler* idi ve onları MÖ 425 sonrasında Knossos izlemiştir. Bu tarihleme Yunan *polislerinin* çoğunluğuna nazaran büyük bir gecikmeye işaret etmekte ve konunun tekrar irdelenmesi gerektiğini düşündürmektedir. Bu amaç için üç unsur konuyla ilgili görünmektedir: Peloponnesos ve Kuzey Afrika arasındaki kuzey–güney yönlü yollar üzerinde kimi Girit *polislerinin* artık kesinleşmiş varlığı; Girit'te sikkelerin en azından MÖ 6. yy.'ın başlarında kullanıldığına işaret eden epigrafik kanıtlar; ve Knossos'un ilk darpalarının ikonografik ve stilistik analizi. Önerilen analiz ışığında, Knossos'un ilk darplarını kesin şekilde tarihleyemesek bile, Knossos çok büyük olasılıkla MÖ 425'ten önce sikke basmaya başlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Knossos, Girit, Girit Sikkeleri, Minotaurus, Labirent

The coinage of Knossos,¹ along with those of Gortyn and Phaistos, has always been considered among the most ancient coinages issued in Crete.² This opinion is put forward, for example, in the *Traité* published by E. Babelon in 1901³ and in the *Historia Numorum*, published by B.V. Head in 1911.⁴

* Claudia Devoto, PhD Student, Università degli Studi di Messina. Italy. E-mail: cla.devoto@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9624-5667>

¹ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and comments.

² The general remarks on Cretan coinage I propose have already been made in Polosa 2003 and Polosa 2005.

³ Babelon 1901-1933, I, 873, "Les plus anciennes monnaies de cette grande île – celles de Cnosse – ne sauraient remonter au delà de l'an 500 qui précède notre ère".

⁴ Head 1911, 437 and ff.

Thus far, however, no scholar has dealt extensively with either Knossian archaic coinage⁵ or with the specific dating of Knossian coins:⁶ the same destiny has in fact struck the coinage of all Cretan cities, which were of course included in textbooks of Greek numismatics, but have never been the subject of a focused study, apart from the two exceptions of J. Svoronos⁷ and G. Le Rider.⁸

In 1890 J. Svoronos published his *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne, accompagnée de l'histoire, la géographie et la mythologie de l'île - I^{ère} partie*. The book consisted of a historical and geographical description of all Cretan minting cities, with each followed by a catalogue of these cities' own issues. Unfortunately, the second part of the work, which according to Svoronos' plans would have provided a *commentaire* and a discussion of the chronologies of the coins, was never published due to the author's death.⁹

The gap left by Svoronos' uncompleted work allowed scholars to continue dating Knossian (and Cretan) coins based on either stylistic analysis or reference to historical events, which were of course relevant to Greek history but did not necessarily involve the island of Crete. For example, in the *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Crete and the Aegean Islands* by W. Wroth,¹⁰ Knossian issues are classed among coins struck before or after 431 BC, assuming the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War as the downward limit, even if "so far as we know (...) that war had no direct influence on Cretan politics or Cretan coinage."¹¹

The lack of stratigraphical data about Cretan coin finds, apart from those from the Hellenistic period,¹² did not allow different methods and chronologies, until Le Rider published his work in 1966. His *Monnaies crétoises du Ve au I^{er} siècle av. J.C.* was somewhat revolutionary, since it gave a new dating hypothesis for Cretan coinage by relying on new data. Le Rider's study was indeed based on analysis of the composition of three coin hoards confiscated in Crete¹³ and containing both Cretan and non-Cretan coins, whose chronology was quite certain. Relying on the date of the non-Cretan coins, Le Rider gave a new chronology to Cretan coins, concluding that the beginning of local minting occurred in Crete in about 450 BC. More precisely, according to Le Rider, around 450 BC only Gortyn and Phaistos began producing their own coins (450/425–360/350 BC *ca.*), followed shortly after by Knossos (after *ca.* 425 BC) and maybe by Lyttos; the majority of cities in Crete started to mint coins only after 350 BC. Thus, Cretan *poleis* seemed to have started minting coins with a long delay as compared to the rest of Greek world, where the majority of cities had adopted their own coinage by the end of

⁵ The sole focused study is Forrer 1900, but, as the author asserts, it consisted in a "coup-d'oeil sur (...) la *Numismatique du Labyrinthe de Knossos*" and indeed accepted the current chronology (see below n. 11) without questioning it.

⁶ Knossian coinage is normally considered within global studies on Greek or (rarely) Cretan coinage, but has never been the subject of a specific study.

⁷ Svoronos 1890.

⁸ Le Rider 1966. For an overview of Cretan coinage, see Sheedy 2016 with previous bibliography.

⁹ Svoronos had already published some works on Cretan coinage: Svoronos 1888a and Svoronos 1888b.

¹⁰ *BMC Crete*, 18 ff.

¹¹ *BMC Crete*, 14; the same opinion was already expressed in Wroth 1884, 7. Forrer as well, even while accepting Wroth's chronology, remarked that "la guerre du Péloponnèse, (...) n'a eu qu'une influence indirecte sur l'histoire de Knossos" (Forrer 1900, 198).

¹² For Knossian coin finds, see, e.g., Jackson 1973, 99–113; Ashton 1989.

¹³ The full list of the coins contained in the three hoards is in Le Rider 1966, 7–40. The three hoards are: *IGCH* 151 (confiscated in 1915), *IGCH* 154 (confiscated in 1936), and *IGCH* 152 (confiscated in 1953). In Le Rider's opinion, the coins of another hoard, *IGCH* 153, were possibly part of the hoard *IGCH* 152.

the 6th century BC.¹⁴ However, Le Rider's hypothesis appeared to fit well into the general idea of "Cretan Austerity", the view that Crete suffered economic and artistic recession during the 6th century BC.¹⁵ This idea of a Cretan recession also gained support from the apparent scarcity of ancient sources about Crete for the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Indeed, it seems that, after the Cretans had refused to send their troops against the Persians, their affairs were neglected by ancient historians.¹⁶ Thus, the weakness of archaeological evidence of Cretan economical and cultural development in the 6th century BC, combined with the lack of literary sources, suited well the idea of an isolated island whose *poleis* did not strike coins.

Le Rider's hypothesis, the last global study on Cretan coinage so far, took root, and the idea that the majority of Cretan *poleis* did not use or at least did not mint coins until 350 BC was widely shared by scholars.¹⁷ This view of a retrograde cultural pattern is well expressed by C.M. Kraay's words: "whereas Cyprus (...) was modified by close contacts with the Near East, Crete remained a backwater where archaic institutions and forms of speech long survived, and where influences from without had a slow and tardy effect. Coinage too was adopted at a later date than its primitive appearance has sometimes suggested."¹⁸

Nevertheless, in recent years, scholars have discovered that Crete was not so isolated as they had thought, and that the *poleis* of Crete (or at least some of them) were important sea-ports on the north-south routes between the Peloponnese and North Africa.¹⁹ The studies by B. Erickson have indeed identified at least three Cretan cities that were probably involved in this trade.²⁰ At the same time, some cultural elements deriving from outside of Crete have been identified,²¹ indicating that the isolation of Cretan *poleis* was perhaps not so strong as the literary sources would suggest.²²

¹⁴ As it widely known, archaeological research has pointed out that Aegina was the first city in Greece to strike coins, which it did at the beginning of the 6th century BC. Later on, Corinth and Athens also adopted their own currency, and around the beginning of the 5th century the majority of the cities in Greece and *Magna Graecia* had their own mints. Kroll and Waggoner 1984.

¹⁵ On the absence of archaeological evidence for the 6th century BC, with a specific focus on Knossos: Erickson 2014, with previous bibliography; for a general view of the problem of Cretan austerity: Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 30 ff., with previous bibliography.

¹⁶ Viviers 1993: "L'image que l'on se fait de l'isolement' de la Crète à l'époque classique repose en grande partie sur le comportement politique des Crétois au cours des deux principaux conflits internationaux qui secouèrent le monde grec du V^e s., à savoir les guerres médiques et la guerre du Péloponnèse"; see also van Effenterre 1948, 34–40 and Guizzi 2014.

¹⁷ Le Rider's chronology is adopted in, for example, Kraay 1976, 50 ff., in Mildenberg and Hurter 1985, and in Jackson 1971.

¹⁸ Kraay 1976, 49.

¹⁹ On the sea trade between the Peloponnese and North Africa, see Nafissi 1989. In Erickson's opinion, Eleutherna, Phalasarua, and Kydonia could have functioned as ports of call on this route (Erickson 2010, 288): "Currents and prevailing winds favor a counterclockwise journey from the southern tip of mainland Greece to Cyrenaica and Egypt, with a stopover on the northwestern end of Crete" (Erickson 2010, 284).

²⁰ Erickson 2010, 286: to sum up, the combined presence of Lakonian kraters and Argive cups in Kydonia, Eleutherna, and Knossos "tips the scale in favor of a direct commercial link between the Peloponnese and Crete. Argive pottery was rarely exported overseas, so the possibility of a third-party trader bringing Argive products to Crete is exceedingly remote." In addition, other Cretan sites have produced Lakonian kraters: Castello Varypetrou, Lappa, Priniatikos Pyrgos, and Azoria. Lakonian kraters and small quantities of Cretan pottery found at Tocra and Cyrene seem to support the conclusion that Crete participated in this trade.

²¹ Haysom 2011 argues that Cretan cults show many of the typical features of Greek *polis* religion; Pilz 2014 points out the presence of a number of very likely references to standard Greek myths on late 7th and 6th century metal-work and terra cotta plaques produced in Crete.

²² Some remarks on the (assumed) cultural isolation of Crete can be found in Guizzi 2009.

Additionally, some scholars have reconsidered the coin issues of different Cretan *poleis*, suggesting that some cities began striking their own coins before 450 BC.²³ The first study in this direction was by M.J. Price, and, focusing on the earliest coins of Gortyn and Phaistos, placed their first issues at about 470 BC, as we will see. Before recalling Price's specific analysis of the coins, however, we should note his methodological remarks on Le Rider's work. As we have seen, the innovative chronology that Le Rider proposed was based mainly on the dating of the non-Cretan coins in the hoards. Relying on the chronology of the most recent coins in each hoard, he dated the previous coins, assuming that they were part of continuous series of issues.

M.J. Price remarked that this approach did not consider possible breaks in minting, which could have caused gaps in the sequence.²⁴ Breaks were indeed normal for ancient mints, which worked exclusively in response to temporary spending needs.

In the light of the foregoing, it will be useful to analyse the content of the three hoards,²⁵ starting with the non-Cretan coins.²⁶ These can be grouped as follows:

- The coins of Corinth: these bear the letter *koppa* and a flying Pegasus on the obverse, with the head of Athena and a Corinthian helmet on the reverse. They are dated to between 350 BC and 250 BC, according to O. Ravel.²⁷
- The coins of Cyrene, with Hermes on the obverse, are dated to between 308 BC and 290 BC, according to E.S.G. Robinson.²⁸ These specimens are the most recent ones in the hoards and represent the *terminus ante quem* of the hoarding.
- The tetrobols of Argo: these bear a wolf's head on the obverse, and a letter A in incuse square on the reverse. The dating of these issues has recently been discussed by N. Parise,²⁹ who suggested a much earlier chronology than the one normally used, ascribing the type to a period between 490 BC and 371 BC.

There are also a stater of Evagoras of Salamis, some Boeotian coins, and a didrachm from Rhodes, which seem to be datable to the 5th–4th century BC, like Argo's coins. The stater of Evagoras of Salamis shows a beardless Hermes sitting on a rock on the obverse and a goat on the reverse; it is datable to 411–374 BC.³⁰ The didrachm from Rhodes presents the head of Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse, and dates to the 4th century BC.³¹ One Boeotian drachm and two Boeotian hemidrachms (whose provenance is not identified), as well as a hemidrachm of Thebes, are of the same type, with a shield on the obverse and a *kantbaros* in incuse square on the reverse; these are dated to the 4th century BC.³²

²³ Le Rider's chronology has been questioned by Price 1981; Stefanakis 1999; Polosa 2003.

²⁴ The same remark is in Polosa 2003.

²⁵ The hoards were confiscated in Crete in, respectively, 1915, 1936, and 1953; see n. 13.

²⁶ All the Cretan coins suffer the same problem as the Knossian ones concerning their chronology; therefore, the Cretan specimens contained in the hoards are not listed here.

²⁷ Ravel 1936, 26.

²⁸ *BMC Cyrenaica*.

²⁹ Parise 2013.

³⁰ *BMC Cyprus*, 58; on the coinage of Cyprus see also Markou 2011.

³¹ *BMC Caria*, 233.

³² *BMC Central Greece*, 76.

Due to all these non-Cretan coins, we can establish a broad chronological range within which the hoards were put together. Indeed, due to the large number of coins constituting the hoards, it does not seem possible to consider them as quickly gathered emergency hoards: in that case, they would have presumably consisted of coins all belonging to the same period. It seems quite certain that we are dealing with saving hoards made of coins (and collected) issued over a long period. Consequently, the oldest coins in the hoards cannot be valid for defining an exact *terminus post quem*, but simply for suggesting the superior limit of the chronological horizon for the accumulation of the coins.

The Cretan coins in the hoards (or at least the oldest) may even have been produced in a period prior to the hoarding itself. Moreover, the almost complete absence—with the exception being one coin from Phaistos, with Europa on the bull/lion in incuse square³³—of the first issues of Gortyn, Phaistos, and Knossos³⁴ could indicate that these coins were already out of circulation when the hoarding took place, possibly from the 4th to the 3th century BC. This should lead us to conclude that the first Knossian (and also Phaistian and Gortynian) issue was much earlier than 425 BC.

A. Polosa³⁵ has pointed out that certain epigraphic evidence could also help to confirm the idea that Cretan *poleis* started minting before the end of the 5th century. Some inscriptions use terms such as “stater”, “drachm”, and “obol” to prescribe the payment of fines in several Cretan cities.³⁶ According to Cretan inscriptions dated to between the late 7th century and the 6th century BC, fines were imposed in tripods, cauldrons, and spits, which were considered valuables due to the fact that they were used for sacrifices. Between the late 6th century BC and the beginning of the 5th century BC, these terms are superseded or, sometimes, flanked by words like “stater”, “drachma”, and “obelos”: they are *voces mediae* that can be used to indicate both weight measures and coins.³⁷ Due to the ambivalence of these terms, it is difficult to determine with certainty when the transition occurred from words indicating weight measures to terms indicating coins. The assumption that they cannot refer to measures of weight but to minted metal could be suggested by the type of notation of the amount used in the inscriptions.³⁸

The most obvious case is that of the triobol, indicated by the term τριοδελον (= τριοβελον). We know that, in the Aeginetan system, which was used in Crete³⁹ as well, the drachm is equivalent to six obols, so half a drachm corresponds to three obols. When it is a measure of weight, this amount is referred to as *bemidrachmon*, literally half a drachm; normally, the term τριοβελον is used for minted silver. If this interpretation is correct, then the “staters”, “drachms”, “obols”, and multiples of the obol (the τριοβελοι, in fact) that appear in the inscriptions of

³³ Le Rider 1966, 13, n. 1.

³⁴ See below for the full description.

³⁵ Polosa 2005.

³⁶ *IC IV*1, 8, 25u (Gortyn); *Nomima* I 12 (Lyttos).

³⁷ On the transactional value of these objects and their function: Karamesine-Oikonomidou 1969; Parise 2000; Kroll 2001; Schaps 2004.

³⁸ Polosa 2005.

³⁹ Cretan *poleis* used a reduced version of the Aeginetan standard. On the Cretan standard: MacDonald 1909; Manganaro 1978. S. Garraffo studied the overstruck coins produced in Crete, estimating that their weight was reduced between 6 and 12% (Garraffo 1974). Stefanakis 1999 suggests that this reduction prevented Cretan underweight coins from leaving the island.

Gortyn, Eleutherna, Axos, Knossos, and Eltynia⁴⁰ between the late 6th century BC and the early 5th century BC should indicate coins and not simple weight measures.⁴¹

However, if the low chronology proposed by Le Rider were correct, it would mean that when these inscriptions were made (between the late 6th and early 5th century BC) no Cretan cities were minting coins yet. To explain the gap between the date of the inscriptions containing monetary terms and the introduction of minting to the island, Le Rider suggested that the inscriptions refer to Aeginetan coins, which were in circulation in Crete since the end of the 6th century BC.⁴²

Aeginetan coins have been found at Knossos, in the courtyard of the palace,⁴³ as well as in Matala.⁴⁴ Kydonia minted coins with the types of Aegina as well.⁴⁵ Even so, the strong presence of Aeginetan coins in Crete could be easily explained by taking into account the fact that Aeginetan coins were used as “international currency” in the 6th and 5th centuries. Even in the Cyclades the weight standard used was the Aeginetan one, as in Crete, and in addition, Aeginetan coins have been found in late archaic and classical hoards in Melos,⁴⁶ Thera,⁴⁷ and Paros.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the idea that a whole group of cities agreed to use coins coming from outside as legal currency does not seem entirely convincing: the arrival of the Aeginetan “turtles” on the island was indeed subject to randomness and to the lack of continuity of exchanges.

Moreover, we should consider that in the Greek world, the decision to mint coins was associated with a certain claim of autonomy on behalf of political authorities. The rise of self-consciousness of the *poleis* in Crete was especially manifested in the publication of written laws and the objectification of values: since the late 6th century BC, tools of sacrifice, whose value was due to their belonging to the realm of the sacred, were no longer used as value measures. The metal content of tripods, lebetes, and spits was indeed not quantifiable, as their shapes and sizes were not standardized. The introduction in the inscriptions of the precise amount of metal seems to overcome this lack of objectivity. As part of such a process, the *polis*

⁴⁰ *IC IV 80 = Nomima I 7* (Gortyn); *IC II xii 9 = Nomima I 25; IC II xii 13; Nomima II 15* (Eleutherna); *Nomima I 29* (Axos); *IC I viii 4 = Nomima I 54; IC I viii 2 = Nomima I 17* (Knossos); *IC I x 2 = Nomima II 80* (Eltynia).

⁴¹ It is worth noting that the first issues of Gortyn, Phaistos, and Knossos include also some fractions, both obols and triobols. For instance, for Knossos, we know at least four triobols (Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 7–8; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 9 and 11) and three obols (Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 9c-9d, 10). Bile 1988, 325 ff. gives a list of the words used to mean “coins” (δαρκμα/δαρκνα, οδελοσ, τριοδελον, σταταραν/στατηραν) and states that “A partir du Ve siècle, la monnaie est une réalité, appelée classiquement νομισμα. Un autre terme, παυμα, sur une pièce gortynienne du Ve siècle, désigne ‘la frappe de la monnaie’, d’après le vb. παιω, ‘frapper’”. Gagarin and Perlman 2016 also interpret the word τριοδελον as a coin. The term τριοδελον may indicate the iron *obeloi* found in groups of six, twelve, and eighteen, five or ten, some of which were found in Crete (e.g., in the tomb A1K1 at Orthi Petra: Stampolidis 2004, 284, n. 366-7, with bibliography). But Stampolidis argues that “the earliest spits in Crete date from the 10th century, but they became commoner during the late 8th and 7th century”. Thus, they predate the inscriptions we are dealing with here, and furthermore, even if the spits were found grouped in three (e.g. Stampolidis 2004, 284, n. 367), we would have expected to find these simply called τριοδελα, since the use of a singular neuter noun usually indicates a defined object. In addition, since we have samples of spits grouped together not necessarily by three, we should then assume that such a specific name was invented for each type of group.

⁴² Le Rider 1966, 168.

⁴³ Evans 1928, I, 5–6.

⁴⁴ *IGCH 1*.

⁴⁵ But the presence of a crescent permitted distinguishing the coins minted by Kydonia from the Aeginetan prototypes. On the “Pseudoaeginetica”, see Robinson 1928. On the imitations in ancient Greek coinage, see van Alfen 2005; Fischer-Bossert 2008; van Alfen and Lawall 2010; Psoma 2011.

⁴⁶ *IGCH 8*.

⁴⁷ *CH 2*, 24.

⁴⁸ *IGCH 7*.

gains greater strength and a stronger claim to autonomy:⁴⁹ within this framework, it is difficult to think that Cretan *poleis* would have accepted such a heavy reliance on the influx of minted silver from outside.⁵⁰

Even if we admit that the epigraphs mentioned above refer to Aeginetan coins, we should still consider an additional element: namely, an inscription discovered in Argos reporting a treaty between Knossos, Argos, and Tylissos. V. Vollgraff dated this epigraph to between 462 and 450 BC,⁵¹ based on the alphabet used and on certain elements within the text, which lists the terms of the alliance between the three cities. The fragment of interest here is the one that was found first, in Argos, in 1906. The last line reads:

If someone refuses hospitality he will be fined ten staters.

Even in this case, following Le Rider's hypothesis, one would think that the fee would have been paid in Aeginetan "turtles", since at that time Knossos did not have its own mint. Moreover, according to Le Rider, Tylissos started minting its own coins in 330 BC. But even if one admits that Knossos and Tylissos might have paid with Aeginetan turtles, it would still be reasonable to expect that this particular would have been specified inasmuch as the treaty covered a third, non-Cretan city. The three *poleis* used the Aeginetan weight standard in their transactions (and indeed the weight standard to be used is not specified), but it is worth noting that "weight standard" is not a synonym for currency.

Stylistic analysis of the earliest Knossian types seems to suggest that their iconographical archetypes are archaic. The first issue minted in Knossos bears a running Minotaur (*knielauf* position) on the obverse and an incuse square with a swastika in the center, indicating the labyrinth⁵² where the monster was imprisoned, on the reverse (figs. 1–4).

The iconography of the obverse of these coins seems to be particularly significant: the *knielauf* position is indeed typical of the archaic period, and can easily be compared with other coin types. For example, around 525 BC Thasos produced coins bearing a kneeling-running satyr with a ponytail and sometimes a *kantharos* in his hand⁵³ (fig. 9), while Taras' first coins (*ca.* 510 BC) also bear the image of a kneeling man, either Taras or possibly Hyacinthus⁵⁴ (fig. 10). Electrum coins with a winged Nike running to the left, holding a tunny in her outstretched right hand, with the head turned backwards⁵⁵ (fig. 11), circulated in Cyzicus in the first half of the 5th century BC. The same scheme appears on several carved gems⁵⁶ dated to the middle of the 6th century, depicting satyrs bringing *kantharoi* and other symposium cups. Particularly in

⁴⁹ The so-called "Cretan austerity" mentioned earlier seems to fit in the same scenario: Cretan restraint may have been connected to the "middling ideology" that provided the foundations for the rise of the *polis*. Morris 1987, 11–8; Morris 1998; Kotsonas 2002.

⁵⁰ Polosa 2005. It is worth recalling Le Rider's claim that the absence of native silver sources in Crete inhibited early minting and encouraged the reminting of Aeginetan coins. But Faure 1966, 68–71 points out the presence of silver deposits in Crete; furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the mints of several *poleis*, including Aigina and Athens, must have imported silver at least at the beginning of their production.

⁵¹ Vollgraff 1948; Piccirilli 1973–1977, 1, 82 ff.

⁵² Svoronos 1890, 52. On the iconography of the labyrinth, see: Forrer 1900; Wolters 1907; Williams 1965; Kern 1981; Ackermann 2005; Berthold 2011.

⁵³ Le Rider 1968, 186; these coins are part of the *premier groupe*, dated to between *ca.* 525–463 BC.

⁵⁴ Rutter 2001, 93, n. 824.

⁵⁵ *SNG France* vol. 5, n. 267–9; the *knielauf* position is used also on some Cyzicus coins bearing a male figure running left, with the head looking backwards and holding a tunny in his right hand (*SNG France* 269–270, with variations).

⁵⁶ Boardman 1968, pl. VI, n. 84, 92, 98; pl. VII, n. 102.

the case of the gems, it is worth noting the details of the muscles and the anatomy of the body as well as the perfectly defined hair, which are also characteristic of the Minotaur represented on Knossos' coins.

Kneeling-running figures are depicted on some vase paintings as well, such as on the François Vase (*ca.* 570 BC), whose two handles bear Ajax kneeling and carrying Achilles' body, as well as a Gorgon in motion.⁵⁷ Some Cretan armour and bronze objects also bear reliefs and carvings showing kneeling-running figures: two pairs of winged figures holding serpents are carved on the Afrati helmet (fig. 12; late 7th century BC),⁵⁸ and a winged man in low relief is represented on a bronze handle from Dreros.⁵⁹ The same scheme is adopted on some terra cotta *pinakes* from Gortyn, which bear pairs of antithetically disposed men in *knielauf* postures.⁶⁰

On Knossos' coins, the retrograde legend KNOMI or KNOMION runs around the monster. The use of the ethnical genitive is typical of the issues minted in Greece in the 5th century BC. M. Guarducci⁶¹ dated the legend to between 500 and 400 BC due to the presence of "M" (*san*) instead of *sigma*, the absence of long vowels (the sign O is used in place of Ω), and the direction of the legend. The incuse square on the reverse is generally typical of archaic coinage as well.

Even if we assume that Knossos was not the first *polis* in Crete to issue its own coins, and turn instead to the first issues of Gortyn and Phaistos,⁶² we see that, in this case as well, the iconography suggests archaic comparisons more than classical ones. The first issues of Gortyn and Phaistos bear Europa on a bull on the obverse and a lion's head on the reverse (fig. 13). Le Rider took the use of the same coin type as evidence that an agreement linked the two cities. The type of the reverse, with a lion in an incuse square, shows strong similarities with some coins of Samos⁶³ (fig. 14) and Cyrene,⁶⁴ as Price had already noticed,⁶⁵ arguing that these coins were struck around 470 BC. Furthermore, the iconography of the reverse is very similar to that of some fractions of Knossos⁶⁶ and to some Milesian coins⁶⁷ produced in the early 5th century BC (fig. 15). As Babelon⁶⁸ had already argued, some Athenian *Wappenmünzen*⁶⁹ bearing a lion on the obverse provide a good comparison for the Gortynian and Phaistian type.

⁵⁷ Beazley 1986, 24.

⁵⁸ Mitten and Doeringer 1968, 45, n. 29; Kardara 1969; Fittschen 1969, 197, n. 936; Hoffmann 1972, 34–5.

⁵⁹ Mazonaki 1976. The date is towards the end of the first quarter of the 6th century BC.

⁶⁰ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 175, n. 163 a-d; 7th century BC.

⁶¹ *IC I*.

⁶² For a more focused analysis of these coins, see Carbone forthcoming; Polosa forthcoming.

⁶³ Le Rider 1966, 170.

⁶⁴ *BMC Cyrenaica*, pl. V, n. 5, 6, 11.

⁶⁵ Price 1981, 464: "It must also be pointed out that there is a very close parallel to Crete in the closely datable issues of Samos. Samian coins are also overstruck on flans of post 485 Aeginetan coins, and in this case the overstriking can be dated by the presence of several examples in the great Asyut hoard, which was buried no later than 475. The dates for the Samian coins themselves are therefore 485–475, and it should be noted that they share the general features of flan and technique with the Gortyn and Phaistos coins".

⁶⁶ Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 6–8.

⁶⁷ Waggoner 1983, n. 579–580; Babelon 1901–1933, I, pl. I, n. 10–11.

⁶⁸ Babelon argued that these coins were copied from the first coins issued in Athens in the 6th century BC, since the iconography also appears very similar (Babelon 1901–1933, II, 965). Le Rider 1966, 170 objected that "Il s'agissait d'un type monétaire connu, que les Gortyniens et les Phaistiens ont pu adopter à n'importe quelle date"; Waggoner 1983: 6th century BC.

⁶⁹ Hopper 1968, n. 15b.

The legend ΓΟΡΤΥΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΜΑ and ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΜΑ, which runs on the reverse of the coins, distinguished the specimens of the two cities. The term ΠΑΙΜΑ means “sign, seal.”⁷⁰ The mere concept of a “talking object” is usually just archaic. M. Guarducci dates the legend letters of Gortynian and Phaistian coins to between 480 and 430 BC.⁷¹

On the obverse, Europa on the bull, with her left hand outstretched to touch one of the animal’s horns, is portrayed in a stylized and rigid way: a crushed Cretan helmet, found in Delphi and decorated in relief, shows on each side a female figure seated on the back of a bull, in the same posture⁷² as the one on the coins; this was interpreted as Europa, or possibly as a goddess, though its dating remains uncertain.⁷³

To sum up, the iconographic layout of Knossian (Gortynian and Phaistian) coins suggests some parallels with coins, vase paintings, gems, and sculptural decoration that are datable to between the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. The legends and the technique used (incuse square on the reverse) suggest archaic comparisons as well.

No samples of Knossian coins with the Minotaur occurred in the three hoards studied by Le Rider, nor did the hoards include any Gortynian and Phaistian coins bearing Europa/lion, excepting one coin minted by Phaistos.⁷⁴ The almost complete absence of the first Knossian, Gortynian, and Phaistian coins from the hoards could indicate that the hoards were made when these coins were no longer in circulation, which could in turn mean that they are older than the hoards themselves.

As already mentioned, overstriking coins was very common in Crete, and Le Rider provides a complete catalogue of restruck coins, some parts of which are worth analysing.

Le Rider lists two Minotaur staters overstruck on Aeginetan staters with the windmill sail type (before 500 BC), and another five Minotaur staters overstruck on Aeginetan staters whose reverse type is not clearly identified.⁷⁵

A stater of Gortyn is overstruck on an Aeginetan coin with the windmill sail type,⁷⁶ dated to before 500 BC,⁷⁷ and another Gortynian coin is overstruck on an Aeginetan stater of the small skew type, dated to between 500 and 480 BC. Three Phaistian staters⁷⁸ are overstruck on Aeginetan staters with the windmill sail type, while another stater from Phaistos is overstruck

⁷⁰ For the term *παίμα*, see Bile 1988, note 39. These coins can be defined as “talking pieces”, like the notorious Phanes coins found at the Artemision of Ephesus or the coins of the Thracian king Getas (Kraay 1976, n. 483, 480 BC ca).

⁷¹ *JCI* and IV; on this point, Le Rider 1966, 167 argued that “on peut se demander si la date de tout un groupe de textes, parmi lesquels la grande loi de Gortyne, ne doit pas être sensiblement abaissée – ne serait-ce qu’en fonction des monnaies”.

⁷² Marcadé 1949; Snodgrass 1964, 28–30; Hoffmann 1972, 31.

⁷³ Marcadé argues that it belongs to the second quarter of the 7th century BC, whereas A. Snodgrass suggests that it could be dated to the early 6th century BC. Europa on the bull is also depicted on one of the metopes of Temple Y of Selinunte (ca. 500 BC): in this case, her pose is exactly the same as the one on the coins, with her arm outstretched to touch a horn of the bull (Charbonneaux, Martin and Villad 1978). Also, Taras riding a dolphin on the coins of Taranto (late 6th century BC–beginning of 5th century BC) shows a similar iconography (Rutter 2001, 93, n. 826, 827; Kraay 1976, 175: 520–510 BC; Babelon 1901-1933, 1380: 550–510 BC.)

⁷⁴ Le Rider 1966, 13, n. 1.

⁷⁵ The full list of Knossos’ overstruck coins is in Le Rider 1966, 99 ff.

⁷⁶ The full list of Gortyn’s overstruck coins is in Le Rider 1966, 54 ff.

⁷⁷ See Kroll and Waggoner 1984 for all the dating hypothesis on Aeginetan coins.

⁷⁸ The full list of Phaistos’ overstruck coins is in Le Rider 1966, 84 ff.

on a coin with the small skew type from Aegina. We also know of a Phaistian coin that has an undertype of Syphnos and was issued before 500 BC.⁷⁹

All the overstruck coins of these first issues from Gortyn, Phaistos, and Knossos present an undertype datable to the end of the 6th century (Aeginetan windmill sail type: by 500 BC), or in some cases to the beginning of the 5th century (Aeginetan small skew type: 500–480 BC). In both cases, the dating of the undertype clearly provides a *terminus post quem* for the reminting, which must have occurred not long after the issues of those coins took place in Aegina. Aeginetan types changed quite often; therefore, if the reminting happened later, we would expect a different undertype, such as the large skew one. As we have seen, Aeginetan coins circulated abundantly in Crete, and consequently there is no reason to doubt that large skew coins arrived in Crete shortly after they had been minted, eventually being overstruck with Cretan types.

To conclude, thus far it is not possible to assert with certainty the date of Knossos' first issues, but some evidence provided by analysis of the three hoards confiscated in Crete, by epigraphical data from the island of Crete, and by iconographical and stylistic analysis of Knossian coinage (though this is to be taken with caution), all seem to suggest that Knossos, along with other Cretan *poleis* (especially Gortyn and Phaistos), began striking coins well before 425 BC (450 BC for Gortyn and Phaistos). An earlier dating of the beginning of local minting in Knossos⁸⁰ and, more generally, in Crete, seems to fit well with the new evidence, which suggests that the island was not isolated but took an active part in Mediterranean routes in the 6th–5th century BC; moreover, a higher dating for Knossian first issues would also fit better with the dating proposed by Price⁸¹ for Gortynian and Phaistian coins, as well as with the global review of the beginning of local minting in Crete proposed by M.I. Stefanakis.⁸² Nevertheless, new coin finds in connection with stratigraphical data have to be awaited⁸³ in order to draw more solid evidence that could confirm this hypothesis.

⁷⁹ For all the overstruck specimens, see Le Rider 1966, 163.

⁸⁰ As I have already suggested (Devoto 2016).

⁸¹ Price 1981.

⁸² Stefanakis 1999 argues that around 470 BC, Kydonia opened its own mint, producing the “pseudoaeginetic” fractions with the crescent mentioned above, while Gortyn and Phaistos started producing their own coins, followed shortly thereafter by Knossos and Lyttos; Polosa 2003 and 2005 agrees with the idea that the introduction of local minting in Crete is to be dated to the beginning of the 5th century, based on analysis of epigraphical and archaeological data; Stefanaki 2007–2008 accepts Stefanakis' hypothesis.

⁸³ A new sample of a stater with Minotaur/Labyrinth was found in the excavations carried out in Gortyn (Pythion) by the Università di Padova, under the direction of Professor J. Bonetto. The stratigraphical data are currently being studied. For the context, see Bonetto 2016. This coin is n. 3 in the catalogue below.

Catalogue⁸⁴**Staters****Series 1**

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; he holds in r. lowered hand a stone, the l. hand is raised.
 R/ Incuse square with a deep square depression at each corner. Inside, labyrinth of cruciform meander pattern. In centre, star (or flower?) formed by dots (figs. 1–2).

K1. AR, stater, 28 mm, 11.99 g. *

O/ Same type. Border of dots.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

Ira & Larry Goldberg; The New York Sale XXVII, lot 152.

K2. AR, stater, 28 mm, 11.36 g, 0°. Restruck.

O/ Same type. KNOMI (retrograde).

R/ Same type. Star of nine dots.

Babelon 1901–1933, 938, n. 1; Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 5; Kraay 1976, pl. 8, n. 150.

K3.⁸⁵ AR, stater, 24 mm, 12.23 g, 180°. *

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

K4. AR, stater, 28 mm, 11.99 g, 350°.

O/ Same type. Border of dots.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

Ira & Larry Goldberg; The New York Sale XXVII, lot 407.

K5. AR, stater, 20 mm, 11.97 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan stater.⁸⁶

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

Svoronos 1890, 5, n. 1; *BMC Crete*, 18, n. 1; Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 2.

Series 2

O/ Minotaur running to l., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised. He holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square with a deep square depression at each corner. Inside, labyrinth of cruciform meander pattern. In centre, star (or flower?) formed by dots (fig. 3).

⁸⁴ The catalogue lists the coins found in: Head 1887; Svoronos 1890; Babelon 1901–1933; Wroth 1884; Grose 1926; Jenkins 1949; *SNG France*; Le Rider 1966; Kraay 1976; Mildenberg and Hurter 1985. This does not claim to be definitive, but is simply meant to provide a database on which further studies may rely. For each coin are indicated the following: metal, denomination, weight, size, die axis. If some data is missing, it means that it was not available in the original publication. When the same sample is published in different places, all are indicated. The specimens labelled with * are those whose image is provided in the table. As the types of the O/ and R/ are the same (Minotaur/Labyrinth), the coins are grouped based on the variants of these types, thus not necessarily implying a chronological order for them, especially concerning series 1 and 2. Series 3–5 are listed following their stylistic (and chronological) evolution. The number of specimens so far known is too poor to provide a die study.

⁸⁵ This stater was found in 2016 during the excavations in Gortyn carried out by the team of Università di Padova under the direction of Professor J. Bonetto (Bonetto 2016). I would like to thank Professor Bonetto for allowing me to include this coin in the catalogue.

⁸⁶ The list of restruck coins follows Le Rider 1966, 99.

- K6.** AR, stater, 25 mm, 11.40 g. (Holed)
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots. In each of the four meanders, star.
 Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 3
- K7.** AR, stater, 20 mm, 11.53 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
SNG France, pl. 62, n. 2333.
- K8.** AR, stater, 20 mm, 11.74 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Mildenberg and Hurter 1985, 117, n. 1981.
- K9.** AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.97 g, 0°. Restruck
 (R/ Aeginetan turtle, O/-)
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of eight dots.
 Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 1.
- K10.** AR, stater, 25 mm, 11.71 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type. KNOM (retrograde).
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Babelon 1901–1033, 940, n. 1517b; Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 4.
- K11.** AR, stater, 25 mm, 12.07 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan coin.
 O/ Same type. KNOMION (retrograde).
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Babelon 1901–1933, 939, n. 1517; Jenkins 1949, 42, n. 32a; Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 3.
- K12.** AR, stater, 26 mm, 11.13 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type. KNOMI (*iota* with three strokes)
 ON (retrograde).
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1521.
- K13.** AR, stater, 11.41 g, 270°. Holed.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type.
<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41813760q>
- K14.** AR, stater, 26 mm, 11.52 g, 0°. *
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 2.
- K15.** AR, stater, 27 mm, 11.80 g, 225°.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Numismatik Lanz München Auction 163.

Series 3

O/ Border of dots. KNOM (*iota* with three strokes, ⊙) (retrograde). Minotaur running to l., head facing; the l. hand is lowered, the r. hand is raised; he holds a stone in the l. hand and a scepter (trident?) in the r. hand. Braids on both sides of the head.

R/ Double-line swastika ending in meanders. Double line-frame (fig. 4).

K16. AR, stater, 24 mm, 11.76 g, 350°. Restruck on Aeginetan stater. (O/ turtle, R/ windmill)

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type.

Head 1887, 460; Grose 1926, 486, n. 7050;

Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 4.

K17. AR, stater, 27 mm, 11.84 g, 170°. *

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type. On the surface, five deep impressions (two triangle-shaped; three squared).

<http://www.lanzauctions.com/showcoin.php?no=1245631289>

Series 4

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; he holds in r. lowered hand a stone, the l. hand is raised.

R/ Square labyrinth with many rooms and corridors (fig. 5).

K18. AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.62 g.

Babelon 1901–1933, 942, n. 1523; Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12a.

K19. AR, stater, 23 mm, 12 g.

Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12b.

K20. AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.80 g.

Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12c.

K21. AR, stater, 25 mm, 12.09 g.

Babelon 1901–1933, 942, n. 1523b; *BMC Crete*, 18, n. 3; Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12d.

K22. AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.02 g.

Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12e.

K23. AR, stater, 24 mm, 11.75 g. Restruck on Aeginetan stater (O/ turtle, R/ windmill)

Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 6a.

K24. AR, stater, 21 mm, 11.50 g. Restruck on Aeginetan stater (O/ turtle near the r. leg of the Minotaur, R/ windmill)

Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 6b.

K25. AR, stater, 26 mm, 11.71 g, 75°. *

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218282>

Series 5

O/ Minotaur running to r., looking backwards; he holds in r. lowered hand a stone, the l. hand is raised.

R/ Incuse square. Meander pattern; at the center, beardless male head.

K26. AR, stater, 30.22 mm, 11.31 g, 180°.

Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1522; Wroth 1884, 18, n. 2; Kraay 1976, 354, n. 151; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 11.

Drachms⁸⁷

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; the r. lowered hand holds a stone, the l. hand rests on his hip.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot with four rays and four dots all around, in a double-line frame (fig. 6).

K27. AR, drachm, 18 mm, 5.75 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan drachm.
Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 5; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 7.

K28. AR, drachm, 18 mm, 5.80 g, 0°. Restruck. *
Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1518; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 6; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 8.

Triobols

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot with four rays and four dots all around, in a double-line frame (fig. 7).

K29. AR, triobol, 14 mm, 2.35 g, 0°. *
Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1519; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 7.

K30. AR, triobol, 14 mm, 2.70 g, 270°. Restruck on Aeginetan triobol.
Grose 1926, 487, n. 7051; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 11.

K31. AR, triobol, 14 mm, 2.97 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan triobol (O/ turtle's head visible under the Minotaur's head, R/ incuse square divided into compartments)
Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 9.

K32. AR, triobol, 15 mm, 2.94 g, 0°
Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG Auction 136, lot 158.

O/ Minotaur running to l., head facing; the l. hand is lowered, the r. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot with four rays and four dots all around, in a double-line frame

K33. AR, triobol, 13 mm, 2.82 g, 0°. Restruck, maybe on Aeginetan triobol.
Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 8; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 10.

Obols

O/ Minotaur running to l., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot surrounded by four rays (fig. 8).

K34. AR, obol.
Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 9b (p. 66, 9).

K35. AR, obol, 10 mm, 0.86 g.
Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1520b; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 9c (p. 66, 9).

⁸⁷ As the type of the flower on the reverse of the fractions (drachms, triobols, obols) recalls the flower of dots in the center of the labyrinth of Series 1–2, they were probably issued together with Series 1–2.

K36. AR, obol, 10 mm, 0.77 g.

Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1520a; Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 9d.

K37. AR, obol.

Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 9a (p. 66, 9).

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot surrounded by four rays.

K38. AR, obol, mm 10, g 0.80.

Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 10 (p. 66, 9).

Bibliography

- Ackermann, D. 2005. "La représentation du labyrinthe sur les monnaies de Cnossos: origine, évolution et signification." *Bulletin de l'Association suisse d'Archéologie classique* 2005: 33–6.
- Ashton, R.H.J. 1989. "Knossos Royal Road South 1971 and 1972 Excavations: The Coins." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 84: 49–60.
- Babelon, E. 1901–1933. *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Beazley, J. 1986. *Development of the Attic Black-Figure. Revised edition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Berthold, A. 2011. "Die Darstellung von Raum auf griechischen Münzen." *eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies* 1: 69–98.
- Bile, M. 1988. *Le dialect crétois ancien*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- BMC Caria* Head, B.V., ed. 1897. *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum. Caria, Cos, Rhodes and co*. London: The Trustees.
- BMC Central Greece* Head, B.V., ed. 1884. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Central Greece*. London: The Trustees.
- BMC Crete* Wroth, W., ed. 1886. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Crete and the Aegean island*. London: The Trustees.
- BMC Cyprus* Hill, G.F., ed. 1904. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Cyprus*. London: The Trustees.
- BMC Cyrenaica* Robinson, E.S.G., ed. 1927. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Cyrenaica*. London: The Trustees.
- Boardman, J. 1968. *Archaic Greek Gems. Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Century B.C.* London: Thames and Hudson.
- Bonetto, J. 2016. "Gortyna (Creta). Nuove ricerche nel Santuario di Apollo Pythios (2012-2015)." *ASAtene* 94: 37–57.
- Carbone, F. Forthcoming. "Seriazione e cronologia delle emissioni di Gortina e Festos." PhD thesis, Università degli studi di Salerno.
- CH 2 Coin Hoards*, 2, London 1976: Royal Numismatic Society.
- Charbonneaux, J., F. Villard, and R. Martin. 1978. *La Grecia arcaica (620-480 a.C.)*. Milano: BUR Rizzoli.
- Devoto, C. 2016. "Cnosso: considerazioni sulla cronologia delle prime emissioni monetali." *ASAtene* 92: 139–55.
- Erickson, B.L. 2014. "Mind the Gap: Knossos and Cretan Archaeology of the 6th Century." In *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*, edited by G. Seleentag and O. Pilz, 67–91. Berlin-Boston: de Gruyter.
- Erickson, B.L. 2010. *Crete in Transition. Pottery Styles and Island History in the Archaic and Classical Period*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Evans, A. 1928. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. London: MacMillan.
- Faure, P. 1966. "Les minerais de la Crète antique." *RA* 1: 45–78.
- Fischer-Bossert, W. 2008. "Athenian and pseudo-Athenian coinages. Some Remarks on the Metrological Side of the Issue." In *I ritrovamenti monetali e i processi inflativi nel mondo antico e medievale*, edited by M. Asolati and G. Gorini, 11–7. Padova: Esedra.
- Fittschen, K. 1969. *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagedarstellungen bei den Griechen*. Berlin: Hessling.

- Forrer, L. 1900. "Le labyrinthe de Knossos et ses représentations sur les monnaies." *SNR* 10: 193–211.
- Gagarin, M., and P. Perlman. 2016. *The Laws of Ancient Crete, 600–450 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garraffo, S. 1974. "Riconiazioni e politica monetaria a Creta: le emissioni argentee dal V al I secolo a.C." In *Antichità Cretesi: studi in onore di Doro Levi*, 59–74. Catania: Istituto di Archeologia.
- Grose, S.W. 1926. *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Guizzi, F. 2014. "I rimproveri della Pizia, ovvero, la neutralità dei Cretesi." *Seminari Romani di cultura greca* 3.2: 389–404.
- Guizzi, F. 2009. "Creta nel Mediterraneo: insularità o isolamento?" In *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico*, edited by C. Ampolo, 347–58. Erice: Edizioni della Normale.
- Haysom, M. 2011. "The Strangeness of Crete. Problems for the Protohistory of Greek Religion." In *Current Approaches to Religion in Ancient Greece. Papers Presented at a Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 17–19 April 2008*, edited by M. Haysom and J. Wallensten, 95–109. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Head, B.V. 1911. *Historia Numorum. A manual of Greek numismatics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hoffmann, H. 1972. *Early Cretan Armorers*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Hopper, R.J. 1968. "Observations on the Wappenmünzen." In *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson*, edited by J.K. Jenkins and C. M. Kraay, 16–39. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- IC* Guarducci, M. ed. 1935–1950. *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato.
- IGCH* Thompson, M., O. Mørkholm and C.M. Kraay, ed. 1973. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. Oxford: American Numismatic Society.
- Jackson, A. 1973. "The coins." In *Knossos. The Sanctuary of Demeter*, edited by J.N. Coldstream, 99–113. London: Thames&Hudson.
- Jackson, A. 1971. "The Chronology of the Bronze Coins of Knossos." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 66: 283–95.
- Jenkins, G.K. 1949. "The Cameron Collection of Cretan Coins." *NC* 1949: 36–56.
- Karamesine-Oikonomidou, M. 1969. "Σιδεροί Οβελοί." *Αρχαιολογικά ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 2: 436–45.
- Kardara, C.P. 1969. "Some remarks on two early Cretan bronzes." *Αρχαιολογικά ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 2: 216–19.
- Kern, H. 1981. *Labirinti: forme e interpretazioni. 5000 anni di presenza di un archetipo*. Milano: Feltrinelli.
- Kotsonas, A. 2002. "The Rise of the Polis in Central Crete." *Eulimene* 3: 37–74.
- Kraay, C.M. 1976. *Archaic and classical Greek coins*. London: Methuen.
- Kroll, J.H. 2001. "Observations on Monetary Instruments in Pre-Coinage Greece." In *Hacksilber to Coinage: New Insights into the Monetary History of the Near East and Greece*, edited by M. Balmuth, 77–91. New York: American Numismatic Society.
- Kroll, J.H. and N.M. Waggoner. 1984. "Dating the Earliest Coins of Athens, Corinth and Aegina." *AJA* 88: 325–40.
- Le Rider, G. 1968. "Les monnaies thasiennes." In *Guide de Thasos*, edited by G. Daux, 185–91. Paris: De Boccard.
- Le Rider, G. 1966. *Monnaies crétoises du V^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.C.* Paris: P. Geuthner.
- MacDonald, G.C.B. 1909. "The Silver Coinage of Crete. A Metrological Note." In *Proceedings of the British Academy* 9: 289–317.

- Manganaro, G. 1978. "Fiscalismo monetale nelle città cretesi." In *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli*, edited by L. Gasperini, 221–38. Macerata: Centro Editoriale Internazionale.
- Marcadé, J. 1949. "Un casque crétois trouvé à Delphes." *BCH* 73: 421–36.
- Markou, E. 2011. *L'or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l'époque classique*. Athens: Centre de Recherches de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine.
- Mazonaki, E. 1976. "Χάλκινη λαβή από τη Δρήρο." *Αρχαιολογικά ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 9: 57–61.
- Mildenberg, L., and S. Hurter. 1985. *The Arthur S. Dewing Collection of Greek Coins*. New York: The American Numismatic Society.
- Mitten, D.G., and S.F. Doeringer. 1968. *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Morris, I. 1998. "Burial and Ancient Society After Ten Years." In *Nécropoles et pouvoir. Idéologies, pratiques et interprétations*, edited by S. Marchegay, M.-T. Le Dinahet, and J.-F. Salles, 21–36. Lyon: Ecole Française d'Archéologie.
- Morris, I. 1987. *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Nafissi, M. 1989. "Distribution and Trade." In *Laconian Mixing Bowls: A History of the Krater Lakonikos from the Seventh to the Fifth Century B.C.*, edited by C.M. Stibbe and M. Nafissi, 68–88. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Nomima van Effenterre, H., and F. Ruzé. ed. 1994–1995. *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec I–II*. Roma: Ecole Française de Rome.
- Parise, N.F. 2013. "Monete di Argo nel tempio di Apollo a Delo." In *Egitto e mondo antico. Studi per Claudio Barocas*, edited by L. Del Franca Barocas and M. Cappelozzo, 385–90. Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra.
- Parise, N.F. 2000. *La nascita della moneta. Segni premonetari e forme arcaiche dello scambio*. Roma: Guidotti.
- Piccirilli, L. 1973–1977. *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci*. Pisa: Marlin.
- Pilz, O. 2014. "Narrative art in Archaic Crete." In *Cultural practices and material culture in Archaic and Classical Crete*, edited by G. Seleontag and O. Pilz, 243–63. Berlin-Boston: de Gruyter.
- Polosa, A. Forthcoming. "Le emissioni monetarie di Festòs." In *Progetto Festos 1: le fonti documentarie*, edited by F. Longo.
- Polosa, A. 2005. "Strumenti di valutazione nella Grande Legge di Gortyna." In *La Grande Iscrizione di Gortina. Centoventi anni dopo la scoperta. Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Studi sulla Massarà, Atene-Haghii Deka 25-28 maggio 2004*, edited by E. Greco and M. Lombardo, 129–51. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.
- Polosa, A. 2003. "Una rilettura di M. Stefanakis, The Introduction of Coinage in Crete and the Beginning of Local Minting." *AJN* 50: 199–206.
- Price, M.J. 1981. "The Beginning of Coinage in Crete." In *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου – 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1976*, 461–66. Athens: Πανεπιστήμιον Κρήτης.
- Psoma, S. 2011. "The Law of Nikophon (SEG 26, 72) and Athenian Imitations." *RBN* 157: 27–36.
- Ravel, O. 1936. *Les 'poulains' de Corinthe, monographie des statères corinthiens*. Basel: Münzhandlung Basel.
- Rizza, G., and V.S.M. Scrinari. 1968. *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- Robinson, E.S.G. 1928. "Pseudoaeginetica." *NC* 5th ed. 8: 172–98.
- Rutter, N.K. 2001. *Historia Numorum. Italy*. London: British Museum Press.
- Schaps, D.M. 2004. *The Invention of Coinage and the Monetization of Ancient Greece*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Sheedy, K. 2016. "Aegina, the Cyclades and Crete." In *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, edited by W.E. Metcalf, 105–27. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SNG France Nicolet, H. ed. 1983–2003. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum France. Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des médailles. Collection Jean et Marie Delepierre*, I–VI. Paris: La Bibliothèque.
- Snodgrass, A. 1964. *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Stampolidis, N.C. 2004. *Eleutherna. Polis – Acropolis – Necropolis*. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- Stefanaki, V.E. 2007–2008. "La politique monétaire des cités crétoises à l'époque classique et hellénistique." *Eulimene* 8–9: 47–80.
- Stefanakis, M.I. 1999. "The Introduction of coinage in Crete and the Beginning of Local Minting." In *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders*, edited by A. Chaniotis, 247–68. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Svoronos, J.N. 1890. *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*. Mâcon: Habelt.
- Svoronos, J.N. 1888a. "Les Levites, monnaies de Crète." *BCH* 12: 405–418.
- Svoronos, J.N. 1888b. "Monnaies crétoises inédites et incertaines." *RN* 6: 353–95.
- van Alfen, P. 2005. "Problems in ancient imitative and counterfeit coinage." In *Making, moving, managing: the new world of ancient economies, 323–31 BC*, edited by Z. Archibald, J. Davies, and V. Gabrielsen, 322–54. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- van Alfen, P., and M. Lawall. 2010. "Caveat Emptor: a Collection of Papers on Imitations in Ancient Graeco-Roman Commerce." In *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 28, edited by H.J. Drexhage, T. Mattern, R. Rollinger, K. Ruffing, and C. Schäfer, 1–19. Rahden: Leidorf.
- van Effenterre, H. 1948. *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Viviers, D. 1993. "Hérodote et la Neutralité des Crétois en 480 Avant Notre ère: La Trace d'un Débat Athénien?" *Hermes* 123: 257–69.
- Vollgraff, W. 1948. *Le décret d'Argos relatif à un pacte entre Knossos et Tylissos*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.
- Waggoner, N.M. 1983. *Early Greek Coins from the Collection of Jonathan P. Rosen*. New York: American Numismatic Society.
- Williams, P.L. 1965. "The Meander Door: A Labyrinthine Symbol." In *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti*, edited by R. Bianchi Bandinelli, 215–22. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Wolters, P. 1907. *Darstellungen des Labyrinths*. München: Franz in Komm.
- Wroth, W. 1884. "Cretan Coins." *NC* 3rd ed. 4: 1–58.



Fig. 1 Knossos, stater.
Courtesy of Goldberg Coins.



Fig. 2 Knossos, stater.
Excavations at Gortyn, Pythion (Bonetto 2016).



Fig. 3 Knossos, stater.
<http://ikmk.smb.museum/object?=18216378>



Fig. 4 Knossos, stater.
Numismatik Lanz Auction, 145.



Fig. 5 Knossos, stater.
<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218282>



Fig. 6 Knossos, drachm.
<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218283>



Fig. 7 Knossos, triobol.
<http://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218285>



Fig. 8 Knossos, obol.
Svoronos 1890, pl. IV, n. 29.



Fig. 9 Thasos, fraction.
Auktionshaus Felzmann, Lot 17, Auction 165.



Fig. 10 Taras, stater.
<http://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18216000>



Fig. 11 Cyzicus, fraction.
Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group,
Triton XXII, lot 233.



Fig. 12 The Afrati helmet.
<https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/gr/web-large/DT262.jpg>



Fig. 13 Phaistos, stater.
J. Babelon, *Catalogue de la collection de Luynes*,
1936, n°2360.



Fig. 14 Samos, tetradrachm.
Courtesy of ANS.



Fig. 15 Miletus, fraction.
With permission of wildwinds.com,
ex-CNG sale, Sept. 2001.

