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## A NEW SELEUKID MINT: SAMARKAND - MARAKANDA

**Keywords:** Marakanda/Afrasiab, Seleukids, Hellenistic coins, Sogdiana, Bactria, Antiochos

Among the numismatic discoveries in recent years are numerous finds of Hellenistic coins from Sogdiana. They are the subject of a study by A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev who published 53 of these coins dated from the fourth to the second century B.C.: Alexander of Macedon, pre-Seleukid governors of Baktria, Seleukid kings (Seleukos I, Antiochos I, and Antiochos II), and Graeco-Baktrian kings (Diodotos, Demetrios I, Eukratides I, Eukratides II, Antimachos I, and Heliokles I).<sup>1</sup>

Most of the coins come from the site of Afrasiab where between 2004 and 2012, thirty coins were collected from the surface. Moreover, one coin that was hitherto unattributed was found in a cultural level in one of the stratigraphic trenches. All are predominantly small denominations of silver and copper. The earliest is a *chalkos* of Alexander of Macedon.<sup>2</sup> Noteworthy is a group of pre-Seleukid coins: three imitations of Athenian ‘owls’ (two *hemidrachms* and one *hemichalkos*) presumably minted by the governors of Baktria and

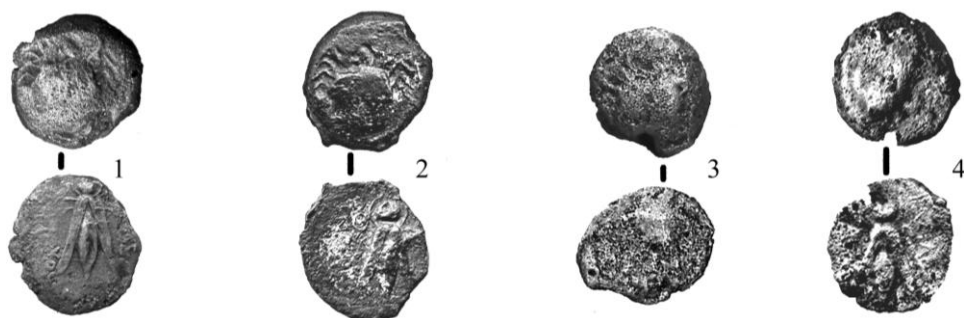
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<sup>1</sup> Atakhodzhaev 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Atakhodzhaev 2013, 223, no. 7. A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev raised doubts about the attribution of this specimen to the mintage of Alexander of Macedon proposing that it may have been struck by Antiochos I. Meanwhile, the type of these coins of Alexander is well known, see e.g.: Bellinger 1949, 108, no. 4, pl. I; Bellinger 1963, 29, pl. I. 29. The fact that this type belongs to his coinage is directly indicated by the legend: “[of the king] Alexander” (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ]). The decreased weight of the coin (according to A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev, referring to a coin from A. Houghton’s collection, it is similar to *chalkoi* of Antiochos I) is due to its state of preservation: the coin is worn or corroded as is visible in its photograph.

Sogdiana<sup>3</sup>, and a *hemidrachm* of the dynast of Caria Hekatomnos (395–377 B.C.)<sup>4</sup>. The most numerous coins are those of Seleukos I (two *drachms*<sup>5</sup>, a *dichalkos* and a *hemichalkos*)<sup>6</sup>, Antiochos I (14 *hemichalkoi* and *chalkoi*)<sup>7</sup>, Antiochos II (four *chalkoi* and two *dichalkoi*)<sup>8</sup>, and the Graeco-Baktrian king(s) Diodotos I or II (a *dichalkos* and a *chalkos*)<sup>9</sup>.



III. 1–4. Coins of the *crab/bee* type (after A. Kh. Atakhodjaev 2013, 233–235, no. 42–45, fig. 3)

Especially noteworthy are four copper *chalkoi* with a crab on the obverse and a bee on the reverse and a poorly preserved two-line legend at the sides of the image (from top downward): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ right, ANTIOXOY left. A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev with some hesitancy considers these coins as possible emissions of the Seleukid king Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.). It is these specimens that form the basis of this discussion. Their weight is 3.18, 3.20, 2.45, 2.80 g., their diameter ranges from 15 mm to 18 mm, and their axis is set at 6:00 ↓. The coins were found at Afrasiab. In addition, the present article will also consider two other coins. One comes from the excavations of Boysarytepa (near the city of Sazagan), and has been identified as a coin issued by Antiochos I: *head of Apollo turned at 3/4 to the right / Nike in front of a trophy*.<sup>10</sup> Another coin of this type but of a different denomination – a *hemichalkos* – was found in the spring of 2013 at the site of Durmontepa.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Atakhodjaev 2013, 219, no. 2–4.

<sup>4</sup> Biriukov 2011, 23; Atakhodjaev 2013, 219, no. 1 Regnal years of Hekatomnos after Head 1897, LI; see also Seaby 1966, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Atakhodzhaev 2005, 33–34, no. 1–2; Atakhodjaev 2013, 224–225, no. 9–10.

<sup>6</sup> Atakhodjaev 2013, 225, no. 11–12.

<sup>7</sup> Atakhodjaev 2013, 226–229, no. 14–17, 19–23, 25–29.

<sup>8</sup> Atakhodjaev 2013, 230–232, no. 30, 32–34, 36–37.

<sup>9</sup> Atakhodjaev 2013, 232–233, no. 38, 40.

<sup>10</sup> Abdullaev 2006, 108, no. 3 (without illustration); Atakhodjaev 2013, 233–235, no. 42–46. This coin was found in kurgan no. 3, next to a tetradrachm of Seleukos I (Abdullaev 2006, 106, no. 1). This circumstance implies the timing of the issue.

<sup>11</sup> Weight: 1.9 g.; diameter 12×13 mm; ax at 5 o'clock (oral communication of A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev).

The coins of the type mentioned above are unique having no parallels in the Seleukid and Graeco-Baktrian numismatics. However the iconographic motifs from both the obverse and reverse are found in issues of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor and on coins of the Seleukids. Tetradrachms and drachms with a bee were minted at Ephesos in the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.. The bee is found on copper issues struck, according to B. W. Head, in the period of c. 280–258 B.C.<sup>12</sup> The bee is encountered on the coins of Alexander the Great: *staters* (Seleukia-on-the-Tigris or Susa<sup>13</sup>), *tetradrachms* (Karrhai,<sup>14</sup> Babylon<sup>15</sup> and Susa<sup>16</sup>), *drachms* (Susa<sup>17</sup>) as well as on those of Seleukos I: *tetradrachms* (Pergamon,<sup>18</sup> Susa<sup>19</sup>) and *obols* (Susa<sup>20</sup>), on the *tetradrachms* of Antiochos Hierax (ca. 241–227 B.C.) from the mint of Lampsakos,<sup>21</sup> and on the copper coins of Antiochos III from the mint at Susa.<sup>22</sup>

A representation of a crab is an extremely rare iconographic type. Analogous to the bee on the coins from Ephesos, the crab is found only on issues from Kos where it appeared from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. Copper coins with the *head of Herakles/crab* were struck about 300–190 B.C.<sup>23</sup> Still more uncommonly are the representations of the crab found on Seleukid coins where it is used only as a device on the ‘lion’ *staters* of Seleukos I (Babylon)<sup>24</sup> and on the *tetradrachms* of Antiochos Hierax (Parion).<sup>25</sup> The crab also appears on some copper coins of Mithridates III of Kommagene (ca. 20 B.C.) on the obverse accompanied by the legend BA·ME·M·TOY·M.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Bee inside a dotted circle / standing deer facing left, above gorytyos* (Head 1892, 57, no. 80–81. Pl. X. 9; Seaby 1966, 131, no. 1640); *bee inside a dotted border / stag kneeling left, with head turned back, above gorytyos* (Head 1892, 57, no. 82); *bee, the whole in laurel wreath / stag feeding r., above quiver; in exergue magistrate's name* (Head 1892, 58, no. 83–85. Pl. X. 10; Seaby 1966, 131, no. 1641).

<sup>13</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 68, no. 161; Vol. II. Pl. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 28, no. 41.1.

<sup>15</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 41, no. 82.2b.

<sup>16</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 69, no. 164.5.

<sup>17</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 70, no. 166.2.

<sup>18</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 15, no. 1.1.

<sup>19</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 73–74, no. 177. 6, 178. 1. Vol. II. Pl. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 74, no. 182; Vol. II. Pl. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 302–303, no. 849. 3, 850. 2, 852–853. 2; Vol. II. Pl. 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Bee /Hermes with caduceus in a 3/4 turn left* (Houghton 1983, 105, pl. 63, no. 1057; Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 454, no. 1226; Vol. II. Pl. 63). Recently a unique coin of the type *bee/gorytyos* has been published, attributed to Antiochos III (Holt, Wright 2010, 59–61, fig. 1–2).

<sup>23</sup> *Head of young Herakles in lion's skin towards left / crab and club with the legend ΚΩΙΟΝ and magistrate's name* (Head 1897, 202–203, no. 86–100. Pl. I. 11); *Head of young Herakles in lion's skin towards right / crab, club and magistrate's name in «quadratum incusum», legend ΚΩΙ* (Head 1897, 203, no. 101–102. Pl. I. 12).

<sup>24</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 44, no. 88.4.

<sup>25</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 297, no. 835. 4; Vol. II. Pl. 38.

<sup>26</sup> Alram 1986, 84. Tf. 8. 249.

As their legend suggests, the Seleukid coins with a crab and a bee were issued in the name of “king Antiochos”. Only three Seleukid kings – Antiochos I Soter (281–261 B.C.), Antiochos II Theos (261–246 B.C.) and Antiochos III Megas (223–187 B.C.) expanded their power into the eastern satrapies and therefore could be considered as the issuers of the coins under consideration. A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev, although not without some doubt, attributes these coins to Antiochos III during his campaign in the East. In support of this attribution, he claims the following:

1. The combination of the two iconographic types on a single coin can only have taken place during the reign of Antiochos III who succeeded in expanding his influence over much of the southern and western littoral of Asia Minor. Ephesos was incorporated for just a brief period, while Kos had never been part of the Seleukid kingdom.

2. In the course of his *Anabasis* (ca. 212–204 B.C.), Antiochos III reclaimed the eastern satrapies which earlier had seceded from the Seleukid state. After a two-year siege of Baktra, the capital of Bactria, he acknowledged royal status of Euthydemos, a “native of Magnesia” (-on-the-Maeander?) (Polyb. XI.34). It is exactly during this episode, as A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev supposes, that the armies of Antiochos III may have undertaken a brief military expedition to Sogdiana and its capital Marakanda.

3. The bulk of Antiochos’ army was largely constituted of mercenaries – Greeks from Asia Minor. Their presence is presumably attested by the copper coins of the *crab / bee* type.

This line of reasoning is flawed. Our objections to this proposal are listed below.

1. The Greeks had held an important role in the colonization of the East beginning with the campaign of Alexander of Macedon. After his death in 323 B.C., twenty three thousand Greek colonists rose in rebellion in Bactria and Sogdiana with the intention of returning to their homeland but their attempt was cruelly suppressed.<sup>27</sup> Recently, a hypothesis was put forward that the two sculptural clay heads found during excavation of the temple of Oxos (Takhti-Sangin) belonged to the Cypriotes Andragoras and Stasanor. Andragoras, the son of the king of the Cyprian city of Amathus – Androkles – may have gone to Bactria in 312 B.C. after Ptolemy I had abolished the royal court in Cyprus.<sup>28</sup> Stasanor, a Cypriote from Soloi, was among the ‘friends’ of Alexander of Macedon. During the period 321–306 B.C., Stasanor ruled Bactria and Sogdiana.<sup>29</sup> These east-

<sup>27</sup> Koshelenko 1979, 185ff.

<sup>28</sup> Balakhvantsev 2010, 540–541.

<sup>29</sup> Koshelenko, Gaibov 2009, 155–160. G. A. Koshelenko ascribes him silver imitations of Athenian “owls” of two types: *head of Athena*, legend *ΣΤΑ-MNA* / owl (style A after Nicolet-

ern satrapies were colonized and placed under strict control by the first two Seleukids.<sup>30</sup> It was important that Antiochos as co-ruler was seen as part of the local aristocracy, since his maternal grandfather Spitamenes had led the Sogdians against Alexander.<sup>31</sup> Greeks from Asia Minor took part in carrying out Seleukid policies in the region. The Milesian Demodamas, for example, while in service of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, crossed the river Silis (Syrdarya) and erected altars to Apollo Didymeios (Plin. *NH* 6.18/49). No less famous is Klearchos from Soloi – a philosopher-peripatetic, and disciple of Aristotle. An epitaph purportedly ascribed to him in Ai Khanum was found at the tomb of Kineas, the founder of the city.<sup>32</sup> It is noteworthy that the Ionian cities declared their loyalty to Antiochos I and his son Antiochos II. In the 260s B.C., a union of twelve Ionian cities enacted a cult dedicated to Antiochos I Soter, his wife Stratonike and their son – the future Antiochos II Theos.<sup>33</sup> The deification of father and son was attested in different years in Bargilia, Miletus, Smirna, Ilion, and Theos.<sup>34</sup> After the Second Syrian war (ca. 260–254/3 B.C.),<sup>35</sup> Antiochos II succeeded not only in winning back territories lost in Asia Minor by his father but expanded his political influence among the Ionian Greeks. According to Josephus, “the grandson of Seleukos, Antiochos who by the Greeks had obtained the nickname of Theos” (Jos. Flav. *Ant. Jud.* 12.125) granted anew liberty to Ionian cities. During his reign, Ephesos became one of his royal residences. This is attested by the Samian decree dating from the 240s B.C. It states that Samian citizens, protesting against the unlawful deprivation of their continental lands by the king’s courtiers, sent an embassy to Antiochos II. The embassy first departed to Ephesos but, not finding the king there, followed him afterwards to Sardes. Antiochos II returned the lands in question to the Samians and sent letters of confirmation to the citizens of the poleis, the chief of the garrison, and the dioiketes.<sup>36</sup>

Pierre, Amandry 1994, 35–36, no. 1–9); *head of Athena / eagle with a vine branch* (style B after Nicolet–Pierre, Amandry 1994, 38, no. 52–64). See Koshelenko 2006, 97–99.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Rostovtsev 2003, 370–371; Tarn 1949, 144–146; Bernard 1994, 91–95; Olbrycht 2013, 171–176.

<sup>31</sup> Smirnov 2009, 162–163 argues in detail that Apama the daughter of Spitamenes was the mother of Antiochos I.

<sup>32</sup> Robert 1968, 443; Rougemont 2012, 200–208, no. 97. This interpretation is widely accepted in studies published in Russian, see: Koshelenko 1979, 155; Litvinskii, Vinogradov, Pichikian 1985, 101; Pichikian 1991, 266. Contra Lerner 2003–2004, 391–395; Martinez-Sève 2014, 274, n. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Bagnall, Derow 2004, no. 20; Austin 2006, 306–307, no. 169.

<sup>34</sup> Bikerman 1985, 228–229.

<sup>35</sup> Dating of the Second Syrian War is given after Balakhvantsev 2011, 88; Gabelko, Kuzmin 2008, 149.

<sup>36</sup> Bagnall, Derow 2004, No. 76; Austin 2006, 243–245, no. 132.

It is noteworthy that for organization of a new colony, it was in no way necessary that a particular polis would be colonized by settlers from a territory controlled by the kings. The lack of cultivable lands coupled with overpopulation necessitated the Greeks to seek their fortune in Asia and Egypt.<sup>37</sup> Greeks of every background from Asia Minor took part in the colonization of the eastern satrapies. Thus Magnesia-on-the-Maeander yielded colonists for a new city – Antiochia-in-Persis and subsequently for Antiochia-of-Pisidia (Strab. 12.8.14), Phrygian Apameia received colonists from Kelenos (Strab. 12.8.15), while Seleukia-on-the-Tigris accepted colonists from Babylon (Paus. 1.16.3). It is probable that Ephesos also sent colonists to Susa (Seleukia-on-the-Eulaios).<sup>38</sup>

2. The total silence of the written sources on an alleged Antiochos' military activities in Sogdiana is the first and most important argument. In particular, Polybius, the most competent among the ancient authors, does not say a single word about the expedition of Antiochos III into Sogdiana. In his account, Polybios records that the Baktrian king Euthydemos knew that hoards of nomads had amassed at his border and were ready to invade his possessions at any moment. He used this fact to exert pressure on Antiochos in order to conclude a peace in the face of a common threat (Polyb. 11.34). As suggested by a number of researchers, the Amu-Darya may have served as the border of the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom during this period. It is to be noted, however, that north of the river, the territory of what is now the Surkhan-Darya region of Uzbekistan and southwestern Tajikistan were subordinate to the Graeco-Baktrian kings.<sup>39</sup>

3. It is unclear in what way these *bee/crab* copper coins attest to the brief presence of the army of Antiochos in Sogdiana, assuming that one accepts the premise. According to A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev, these coins were payment to the mercenaries who served in Antiochos' army. However this hypothesis is refuted by the coins themselves. Seleukid warriors (not only mercenaries) upon entering the army received an advance payment in money or in kind. The historical sources mention their material well-being: they rolled in luxury like their kings.<sup>40</sup> The service of the mercenaries always was paid with coins of precious metals – 'hard currency'. In the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., the payment was predominantly

<sup>37</sup> Tarn 1949, 107–109.

<sup>38</sup> Koshelenko 1979, 175–176; Tarn 1938, 6.

<sup>39</sup> See, e.g., Zeimal 1978, 196–198; Pugachenkova, Rtveldze 1990, 44; Zeimal 1998, 365; Rakhmanov, Rapin 2004, 151; Rapin, Bo, Grenet, Rakhmanov 2006, 92.

<sup>40</sup> The army of Antiochos VII Sidetes (138–129 B.C.), facing the Parthians, is said to be famous for luxury, see Justin 38.10.3–4: *Of silver and gold, it is certain, there was such an abundance that the common soldiers fastened their buskins with gold, and trod upon the metal for the love of which nations contend with the sword. Their cooking instruments, too, were of silver, as if they were going to a banquet, not to a field of battle* (transl. J.S. Watson). This episode naturally is a hyperbole but it is a very indicative account. It seems that pecuniary settlement in copper, more-over of the smallest denominations, hardly was possible as the host of that kind was concerned.

made in silver with the average sum paid per person amounting to 3–5 obols per day.<sup>41</sup> Conscripts regularly preferred well-known coins. Thus the appearance of numerous silver imitations of Athenian coinage in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. was induced by the necessity of paying for the service of mercenaries by Persian authorities.<sup>42</sup> In terms of Antiochos' *Anabasis*, Polybius mentions that before the campaign, silver was withdrawn, by order of the king, from the temple of Anahita in Ekbatana and 4,000 talents were minted (Polyb. 10.27). This information is confirmed by numismatic evidence. Moreover, during his eastern campaign, there is evidence that an excessive amount of coins were emitted at the mints in Seleukia-on-the-Tigris<sup>43</sup> and Ekbatana.<sup>44</sup> It is exactly here – in these two important eastern poleis that the coins produced at these mints were used to pay his army, including the mercenaries, at a rate of 4.5–6 obols per person per day for an infantryman and twice as much to a cavalryman.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the Greeks continued this practice later as the contract composed during the rule of the Graeco-Baktrian king Antimachos (about mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.) indicates: the Scythians who served as mercenaries in his army were collectively paid 100 drachms.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, there is one more argument against the attribution of these coins to Antiochos III. The copper coins of this king issued in Baktria are well known. These coins are represented by *dichalkoi* and *tetrachalkoi* of the type: *laureate head of Apollo, view to the right / tripod*.<sup>47</sup> Coins of this type were struck near Sardis<sup>48</sup> and Antiochia-on-the-Orontes.<sup>49</sup> Antiochos III did not introduce a new copper coinage while in Baktria, and probably had no such possibility, as he seems to have preferred to limit himself by countermarking of the old *chalkoi* of

<sup>41</sup> Marinovich 1975, 152–158.

<sup>42</sup> Strelkov 2007, 140–143.

<sup>43</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 440, №№ 1162–1164; Vol. II. Pl. 60.

<sup>44</sup> Newell 1978, 208–210, nos. 588–590; Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 456–457, nos. 1231 (tetradrachms), 1234 (drachms); Vol. II. Pl. 62.

<sup>45</sup> At the mints of Seleukia-on-the-Tigris and Ekbatana, the use of 344 and 55 dies (correspondingly) is known for the silver coinage of Antiochos III. Considering the approximate ratio: 1 die – 20 talents of struck coins (hot minting), the number of produced coins may theoretically have amounted to about 7,000 talents in Seleukia-on-the-Tigris and 1,000 talents in Ekbatana. This is the indispensable minimum of money for over six-year-long campaign of Antiochos III with the army of about 70 thousand men (35 thousand – regular troops, 15 thousand – mercenaries, 20 thousand ‘allies’) (Aperghis 2004, 193, 239–242). The presence of such a large number of dies undoubtedly indicates intensive activities of the mints, however the reliability of such calculations of the monetary production is very approximate, cf. e.g.: Kovalenko, Tolstikov 2010, 44, note 61.

<sup>46</sup> Clarysse, Thompson 2007, 273–277; Rougemont 2012, 193–194, no. 93.

<sup>47</sup> Kriti 2001, 153, nos. 3–4; Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 466–467, nos. 1283–84; Vol. II. Pl. 97.

<sup>48</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 371–373, nos. 971–975A; Vol. II. Pl. 87.

<sup>49</sup> Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 403, № 1060; Vol. II. Pl. 89.

Antiochos I and Antiochos II<sup>50</sup>. Euthydemos, meanwhile, did carry out a monetary reform and, in some of his issues, introduced the new element of the anchor, the dynastic symbol of the ruling Seleukid house.<sup>51</sup>

It is thus reasonable to suppose that a large number of Greeks from Asia Minor poleis participated in the colonizing activities of the Seleukids, especially those promoted by the founder of the dynasty and his son. Seleukid kings usually sent invitations to the poleis to participate in the founding of a new colony. Moreover, the status of newly established colonies was often identical to that of the Greek poleis proper. The city was governed by the people who elected the council and officials. The population was divided into traditional *demoi* and *phylai*, the kings granted to the cities the choice of ethnonyms. According to Elias J. Bickerman, the Seleukids by no means promoted political or social uniformity of their colonies. They organized international centers open to all Greeks, even those who were only slightly familiar with Hellenic civilisation, and left to the cities the possibility of self-organization. The kings knew well that nothing was so dear to the Greeks as liberty. The cities founded by the Seleukids were not reproductions of their mother polis, but authentic new cities each of which was endowed with its own individual features.<sup>52</sup> A similar opinion was held by Gennadii A. Koshelenko who noted that “there is a radical difference between the town-building policy of Alexander of Macedon and that of the Seleukids. The essential difference between them lies in the fact that the Seleukids founded cities in further Asia that as a rule enjoyed polis status.”<sup>53</sup>

One of the privileges that cities enjoyed was the right to mint copper coins. In some cases, the cities were granted with the right to strike even the royal bronze coins. The copper issues are notable for their diversity of types, each of which contain characteristics that belie the place of their manufacture.<sup>54</sup> These coins were envisaged only for their locality.<sup>55</sup> The topography of the find spots indicates the limits of this area – Samarkand (ancient Marakanda) and its surroundings. Since the choice of the iconographic themes for the coins was not accidental but based on the cults of a particular city where a mint was situated<sup>56</sup>, it is quite possible that the adoption of the theme *crab* / *bee* was linked with the personal preferences of

<sup>50</sup> Kritt 2001, 152, nos. 1–2.

<sup>51</sup> Bopéarachchi 1991, 162, série 23, pl. 4, 34; Kritt 2001, 100.

<sup>52</sup> Bickerman 1985, 149.

<sup>53</sup> Koshelenko 1979, 222.

<sup>54</sup> Bickerman 1985, 209.

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., Bickerman 1985, 210; Mørkholm 1984, 97; Mørkholm 1991, 6; Aperghis 2004, 235–236. Taking into account this circumstance, and the uniqueness of the *bee/crab* type (without close analogies), the view of A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev that these coins were minted in Anatolia and then circulated in Sogdiana, is very improbable.

<sup>56</sup> Bickerman 1985, 209.



the colonists – natives of Kos and Ephesos, during the rule of Antiochos I<sup>57</sup> or Antiochos II. These facts suggest that we are dealing with the products of a new Seleukid mint. This idea, however, is in no way novel. Finds of new types of copper coins (occasionally even variants of one and the same type differing only in their monogram, arrangement of the legend or the die axis) at particular sites indicate to researchers that a mint had operated there. This is how, for example, P. Bernard<sup>58</sup> determined what was produced at the mint of Baktra, how N. M. Smirnova identified the mint of Margiana,<sup>59</sup> what enabled B. Kritt to recognize emissions produced at Ai-Khanoum,<sup>60</sup> and what led Georges Le Rider to categorize those struck at Susa (Seleukia-on-the-Eulaios).<sup>61</sup> The longevity of Antiochos I's reign as a co-regent in the eastern satrapies (ca. 295–281 B.C.)<sup>62</sup> as well as when he ruled individually (281–261 B.C.) have led researchers to associate him with the foundation of the Hellenistic cities at the sites like Ai-Khanoum,<sup>63</sup> Takhti-Sangin,<sup>64</sup> Gyaur-Kala,<sup>65</sup> and Afrasiab,<sup>66</sup> organization of expeditions of Patrokles and Demodamas, and in general, with the special attention to the eastern regions of the kingdom.<sup>67</sup> This idea of Antiochos' founding activities finds confirmation in Pliny who credits him for refounding Alexandria Margiana as Antiochia Margiana after the city had been devastated by barbarians (Plin. *NH* 6.18/47). Very probably, all these activities were carried out when Antiochos was co-regent in the “Upper Satrapies” and were part of the reorganizing activities of the region.<sup>68</sup>

Monetary circulation was an integral part of the Hellenistic economy. The proposed mint at Marakanda was founded exactly for the needs of the Graeco-Macedonian settlers. On the basis of the materials from Baktria, Boris A. Litvinskii defined three zones of the Hellenization: the first comprised settlements like Ai Khanoum which presumably had a large population of Greeks; a second is characterized by regions near Greek cities that enjoyed close ethnocultural and religious interaction among the Greek and non-Greek population; the third demarcates peripheral territories where isolated elements of Greek culture penetrated the local

<sup>57</sup> F. Grenet informed Lyonnet (2012, 166 n. 71) that these could belong to Antiochos I.

<sup>58</sup> Bernard 1985, 13–18.

<sup>59</sup> Smirnova 1999, 253–254; Smirnova 2004, 45.

<sup>60</sup> Kritt 1996. This view was criticized by Bopearachchi 1999, 82–85; Markov, Naimark 2012, 10–12.

<sup>61</sup> Le Rider 1965, pl. II, 8–12.

<sup>62</sup> A first mention of the joint rule of Seleukos and Antiochos dates at 295/294 B.C. (Smirnov 2013, 198).

<sup>63</sup> Holt 1999, 27–28; Lerner 2010, 58–79; Lyonnet 2012, 143–177.

<sup>64</sup> Litvinskii 2010, 14.

<sup>65</sup> Koshelenko 1979, 150–153; Usmanova 1989, 21–49; Zavialov 2005, 90–91.

<sup>66</sup> Lyonnet 2012, 167.

<sup>67</sup> See Olbrycht 2013, 171–176.

<sup>68</sup> Smirnov 2013, 201–203.

milieu.<sup>69</sup> A similar pattern can be discerned for monetary circulation in this region. For example, in satrapal capitals of Baktra and Marakanda where mints are known to have existed, the level of development of monetary economy was comparable with that in the centre of the empire. Here Graeco-Macedonian colonists were ethnically predominant, as well as in the cities they founded, like Ai-Khanoum, whereas in the rural countryside barter predominated.

Presumably, the Marakanda mint operated for a short period of time between c. 280 and 250 B.C. Some years ago, Alexandr I. Naimark ingeniously determined that the ratio of Seleukid copper to silver coins found in Sogdiana stood at 3:2. On the other hand, no Graeco-Baktrian copper coins dated to the second century B.C. have been found in Sogdiana, which he interpreted as signifying that in the late third and second century B.C. coinciding with the reign of Euthydemus when this territory had already seceded from Graeco-Baktria.<sup>70</sup> It is also noteworthy that for several centuries imitations of the silver coins of Antiochos I were produced in Samarkand (marked by the representation of horse's head on the reverse). This fact may suggest that Sogdiana had never been ruled by the Graeco-Baktrians, otherwise we would not have imitations of Seleukid coins, but imitations of Graeco-Baktrian coins as is the case in Baktria.<sup>71</sup> The totality of the finds reported by Atakhodzhaev confirm this supposition. Of the 29 pre-Seleukid and Seleukid coins found at Afrasiab, the majority are copper, while only two Graeco-Baktrian coins belonging to the founder of this state, Diodotos I, are known. During the rule of Euthydemus, the border of the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom was relocated southward to the 'Iron Gate' where a wall was erected, probably, in response to pressures exerted against the kingdom by nomads.

Recent archaeological investigations of the fortress Uzundara near the 'Iron Gate' (2013–2015) fully confirmed the conclusions presented in this article. The investigations were conducted in the framework of the international Tokharistan Archaeological Expedition (*TAE*) of the Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan (under the general scientific supervision by the Academician E.V. Rtveladze). The works at the site were carried out directly by the members of the Bactrian Branch of the Central Asian Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (headed by N.D. Dvurechenskaia) and the staff of the *TAE*. The gorge of Uzundara, situated about 5–7 km south-west of the Derbent walls, is a narrow, tortuous and prolonged passage that allows to circumvent the reinforced wall portion. To prevent such attempts, another wall with the adjacent fortress on a single eastern slope of

<sup>69</sup> Litvinskii 2010, 460–461.

<sup>70</sup> Naimark 2005, 135–137; Naimark, Iakovlev 2011, 31–33, 37–41.

<sup>71</sup> Naimark, Iakovlev 2011, 37.

the mountain range Susiztag was erected. Without going into detail on the results of the investigations of this monument, we note only that during the three years of the expedition's work following coins were found: a drachm and a dichalkos of Antiochos I, two dichalkoi of Diodotos, 39 bronze coins (various denominations) of Euthydemos, two obols of Demetrios, and a drachm of Eukratides.

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## Abstract

The paper considers a group of four unique copper coins. These coins, representing a new type: *crab / bee* with the legend 'King Antiochos', were found between 2004 and 2012 at the site of Afrasiab – the ancient capital of Sogdiana (Marakanda) – and nearby. In the first publication of these coins, A. Atakhodzhaev attributed the coinage to the Seleukid king Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.) during his eastern campaign (c. 212–204 B.C.). The author argues that this coinage should instead be assigned to Antiochos I (ca. 295–281 B.C. – as co-ruler of the eastern satrapies, 281–261 B.C. – as sole ruler) or Antiochos II (261–246 B.C.). It is further postulated that the short-lived mint of Marakanda operated between c. 280 and 250 B.C.