Currency in the South Caucasus

Georges Depeyrot¹

French National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris, France

Introduction

One of the questions in the study of large Empires, is the question of whether to study the center of the Empire or the periphery. Of course, the center seems immediately to be the most important part, the richest one, the place where all the decisions were made and immediately applied. On the contrary, the peripheries were the regions where only the echoes of the same decisions arrived, where they were more or less applied, or even more or less understood.

If we consider the Hellenistic Empire, the Roman Empire, the Chinese Empire and, to be brief, all Empires, it is clear that the study of their centers is rarely done or even that very few people have attempted to study their central regions. For example, from a monetary point of view, Rome is largely unknown. The main part of ancient Rome is under the present city; the enormous amount of coins found in excavations and buildings are still unpublished even if they are preserved². It is the same situation with the Hellenistic Empire³, the Chinese Empire, etc. It is possible to imagine that we will never have a complete view of coin circulation in these urban centers, perhaps only some catalogues of marginal excavations.

In such a situation, we have to realize that the main sources are from secondary urban centers, from borders, and that the situation will be the same for years and generations. A Roman coin found in Poland will always be more discussed than the same coins found in Italy. An Italian hoard will only add some thousands of coins to the flood of remains.

Such a situation is not really an obstacle for the study of the large Empires. After all, it is easier to analyze the industrialization of Europe from the ice of the Poles than from European lands. What is easier for coal dust is also easier for coins. Let us just

¹ Georges Depeyrot, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

² For example, the coin-finds of the Mussolini period are not catalogued.

³ What about the coins found in Athens, in the main Greek cities around the Aegean Sea or even Alexandria?

hope that future generations will be more efficient than ours and will find a way to inventory all the coin finds.

In the meantime, it is important to do what is possible, and in particular to analyze the coin finds in those regions where they are available.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the political changes in Eastern Europe were so profound that some archaeological remains and some museums were looted. It had been impossible to buy and use metal detectors in these regions and so sites were perfectly protected. The political changes opened the borders to the importation of metal detectors and to the exportation of archaeological objects including coins. This evolution took place in a general framework of strongly decreased salaries and increased unemployment⁴.

Go East!

In the 90s as I was looking for some comparative sites from which to analyze the coin finds in Zilil⁵, and we had the opportunity of meeting colleagues from Transcaucasia. Publications of coin finds in the Middle East are rare and it is difficult to find important archaeological sites to compare with western roman sites. We decided to try to inventory the coin finds from Armenia⁶ and to publish everything in order to promote numismatic research in the region⁷. I did the same for Georgia⁸.

⁴ A monthly salary of 15–25 Euros was not uncommon for museum keepers in the 90s.

⁵ Depeyrot, G., 1999, *Zilil I, Colonia Iulia Constantia Zilil, Étude du numéraire*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 250, Rome.

⁶ The first visit in September 1998 was followed by others, in April 1999; October 1999; May 2000; October 2000; September 2001; October 2001 and May 2002.

⁷ Mousheghian, A., Depeyrot, G., 1999, *Hellenistic and Roman Armenian, Coinage, (1st c. BC – 1st c. AD)*, Wetteren.

Mousheghian, A., Depeyrot, G., 2000, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Antiquity*, Wetteren.

Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2000, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Coins from Duin, Capital of Armenia (4–13th c.), Inventory of Byzantine and Sasanian Coins in Armenia (6–7th c.)*, Wetteren.

Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2000, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Coins from Garni (4th c. BC – 19th c. AD)*, Wetteren.

Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2000, *History and coin finds in Armenia; Coins from Ani (4th c. BC – 19th c. AD)*, Wetteren.

Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2002, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Inventory of coins and hoards (7–19th c.), I,* Wetteren.

Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2003, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Inventory of coins and hoards (7–19th c.), II*, Wetteren.

⁸ The first visit in October-November 2000 was followed by others, in September 2001, November 2002, July 2009, June 2010 and September 2010.

These publications were followed by similar books in Georgia⁹ and by the publication of the basic books by Kropotkin on coin finds in the USSR¹⁰.

The Armenian documentation that was accessible was composed of a huge number of paper data, rubbings and aluminum casts. This documentation was collected by Kh. Mousheghian, the former director of the Yerevan coin cabinet¹¹. When I saw the collection of papers, some of them were already eaten by mice, including parts of the aluminum casts. We decided to prepare a publication of all the coins in order to save this documentation. Clearly, without the publications the whole documentation would have been lost. The decision was made not to limit the publications to ancient coins, but to include Sasanian coins and all Islamic issues from the Omayyad to the last issues of the 19th century. They included all the European coins found in these regions, such as thalers and even Mongol coins imported from Asia or silver coins struck in Mexico. This decision included the formation of a team joining local and European researchers.

To this documentation we added visits to museum to see, check and analyze the hoards that are included in the final books.

To this paper documentation, it was decided to add all we could find amongst previous publications. The region was very lucky in this respect. In the 20th century,

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⁹ Tsotselia, M., 2002, *History and coin finds in Georgia, coins from Tsitelitskaro (AD 641)*, Collection Moneta, 26, Wetteren.

Tsotselia, M., 2003, *History and coin finds in Georgia, Sasanian coin finds and hoards*, Wetteren.

Tsukhishvili, I., Depeyrot, G. 2003, *History and coin finds in Georgia, Late Roman & Byzantine hoards*, Collection Moneta, 34, Wetteren.

Sherozia, M., Doyen, J.-M., 2007, Les monnaies parthes du musée de Tbilissi (Géorgie), Wetteren.

Tsotselia, M., 2010, Coin finds in Georgia (6^{th} century $BC - 15^{th}$ century AD), with the collaboration of G. Depeyrot, Wetteren.

Kropotkin, Vl., 2005, Les trouvailles de monnaies romaines en U.R.S.S., éd. par G. Depeyrot, Wetteren.

Kropotkin, Vl., 2006, *Les trouvailles de monnaies byzantines en U.R.S.S.* éd. par G. Depeyrot, Wetteren.

Khatchatour Artshesovich Mousheghian, 1919-1992, was educated in Leningrad after the Second World War. He worked during those years at the Coin Cabinet. After returning to Yerevan he worked with E. Pakhomov (Евгений Александрович Пахомов), an influential author on numismatics of Azerbaijan, who in the period 1923–1960s published several volumes containing lists of coin finds from Transcaucasia. These volumes are the essential basis for the study of coin finds in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also in the Caucasian Republics (Dagestan, Ossetia, etc.). In many cases, this information is the only that remains now that some of these treasures have been looted.

E. Pakhomov¹² published a group of books just inventorying the coins finds from the 3 states in South Caucasia (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan), some parts of the northern Caucasian region and some parts of Iran and Turkey. He published 8 volumes, the first one in 1926¹³. I have also been able to visit Georgia many times in order to facilitate the publications of a series of volumes.

For some years this large program was under the auspices of the International Numismatic Commission¹⁴. The group of publications gives a general overview of the coin finds from the region.

An important documentation

The importance of the documentation in this region is clearly linked to the geographic situation of the countries and, in general to the configuration of the Caucasus.

On the eastern side of the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea opens the road to Northern Iran, central Asia, and via these countries to China, India, and the Persian Gulf. It is also the route to Central Russia via the Volga valley and to Northern Russia, and the Baltic countries.

¹² On his life, а. В. Акопян, 2012, Евгений Александрович Пахомов (1880–1965), эпиграфика востока, 30, р. 1-22.

лонетные клады Азероаиджана и других респуолик, краев и ооластеи кавказа Вып. III. -Баку: изд - во АЗФАН, 1940.

Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа. Вып. IV. -Баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1949.

Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа. Вып. V. -Баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1949.

Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа. Вып. VI. Баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1954.

Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа. Вып. VII. -Баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1957.

Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа. Вып. VIII. -Баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1959.

Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа. Вып. IX. -Баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1966.

14 "Programme Transcaucasie", Commission Internationale de Numismatique, *Compte rendu* 48, 2002, p. 22 - 24. *Compte rendu* 49, 2002, p. 88 - 89. *Compte rendu* 50, 2003, p. 34 - 36. *Compte rendu* 51, 2004, p. 73 - 74. *Compte rendu* 52, 2005, p. 75. *Compte rendu* 53, 2006, p. 73 - 74. *Compte rendu* 54, 2007, p. 55.

¹³ Монетные Клады Азербайджана. Вып. І. [труды ооиа. Вып. 3]. -Баку: ООИА, 1926. Клады Азербайджана и других республик и краев Кавказа. Вып. ІІ. [труды института истории, языка и литературы. Т. ІІ/41]. -баку: изд - во ан АЗССР, 1938. Монетные Клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа.

On the western side, the Black Sea is the traditional route for all voyages between Greece and the Northern nations via Crimea and the Dnieper Valley. It is the historic link between North and South, a route for traders coming with amber, iron, slaves or oriental goods characterized by the dissemination of Arabic dirhams along the valleys.

The Caucasus itself is a very mountainous region. The Northern part (the greater Caucasus is composed of the highest mountains in Europe, over than 5,400 m) the Southern part (the lesser Caucasus) is less high. Close to this region is the famous Mount Ararat (5,100 m). Between the two ranges of mountains is the Transcaucasian region, a very long and large valley cutting the region East-West and making it possible to go more or less easily from the Caspian to the Black Seas.

The region is a perfect crossroads, linking North/South and East/West routes of communication.

For this reason, Transcaucasia was the subject of conflicts between all the various empires, beginning with the first wars between the Greeks and the Persians. The borders and zones of influences always cut the region. From the oldest times, Greek cities established colonies on the Georgian coast. It was told that the Golden Fleece was to be found in this region, an allusion to the rich plains of this part of the Caucasus. The eastern side of Transcaucasia was mainly influenced by oriental empires, first the Persian Empire and after it all the others.

As the border cut the region, it was a place for battles and military actions. Armies were sent to fight and forts were built. The East-West axis of competition was replaced by a North-South axis opened by the Arabian invasion that tried to conquer the Caucasus. This tendency was increased by the Mongol invasion (13th c.) which came from the Orient and crossed the Caucasus from South to North. After this period, the region was dominated by the long conflict between Russia and Turkey.

The coin finds

The first coins¹⁵ came from Greece, with obols from Miletus and at the same time gold or silver darics were imported from Persia. This kind of importation continued during the following centuries. The defeat of Darius in the face of Alexander the Great included Transcaucasia in the Greek part of the world and changed the monetary situation. Looting the treasures of Darius, Alexander took back tons of gold and silver to the main mints in Greece. This metal was used to produce the

¹⁵ I will not list the references to various books again. All the coins finds, hoards, or single finds are published in the volumes quoted above.

considerable amount of coins with his name, used to finance his armies and the organization of his empire. It is now possible to estimate the booty taken to Greece at 200 tons of gold and 3,000 tons of silver¹⁶. Immediately, Greek coinage became common and Transcaucasia received coins from the main mints, including silver coins from Babylon.

The division of the empire of Alexander facilitated the growing influence of Rome. Transcaucasia benefited from the development of the trade between East and West. The Golden Fleece was a Greek myth, and for the Romans the treasures of Armenian kings were very famous.

The influx of Greek and Roman coins certainly came earlier than the first century BC. Nevertheless, it is the conquest by Tigranes II which brought Armenia a monetary economy. Gathering various tribes and the local nobility, Tigranes set out to conquer Syria. Continuing this expedition, he increased his army with mercenaries who had to be paid in cash¹⁷. Tigranes was the first ruler of Armenia to issue coins. The whole Armenian economy used the currency and the standards of Antioch.

During the last century of the Roman Republic, the need for finance by the main competitors to the supreme power pushed Pompey to invade the region and to try to take the reserve of the kings.

The war between Rome and the King of Armenia, Tigranes, ended with the defeat of the Armenian, after 69 BC and the seizure of 6,000 talents of silver (200 tons) in exchange for the restoration of the Armenian kingdom as a kind of protectorate. This amount of silver is given by the main Roman historians, but our studies show that only about 10 tons were transferred to Rome and issued as denarii at the mint.

The defeat of the armies of Tigranes did not result in a return to a pre-monetary economy. Roman occupation brought a modification of the standards: the tetradrachms of the Syrian standard were replaced by a tetradrachm whose weight corresponded to that of four denarii. The looting of the reserves of Tigranes from 69 to 66 BC reduced the precious metal issues of the Armenian kings. By this very fact they facilitated the introduction of Greek and Roman currency which circulated in great numbers. Linked to Rome, the coin circulation was largely dominated by Roman coins, associated with the production of Antioch and other Hellenistic

Depeyrot, G., de Callataÿ, F., Villaronga, L., 1993, L'argent monnayé d'Alexandre le Grand à Auguste, Travaux du cercle d'études numismatiques, 13, 1993.

Depeyrot, G., 1995, Histoire de la monnaie des origines au 18^e siècle, Tome I, Introduction, de l'antiquité au treizième siècle, Wetteren.

¹⁷ Mousheghian, A., Depeyrot, G., 1999, *Hellenistic and Roman Armenian, Coinage, (1st c. BC – 1st c. AD)*, Wetteren.

kingdoms. The hoards were largely dominated by denarii issued during the first century BC.

The main group of first century BC hoards is composed of coins issued after the Roman conquest. This is not a surprise: the conquest introduced great numbers of Roman coins into Armenia. Moreover, the developments of the late first century BC favored the building up of large hoards.

The wars between the Parthians and Romans in the Middle East, against Marcus Antonius in particular, contributed to the importing of many coins and facilitated the constitution of hoards.

This period (from the first century BC to third century AD) was characterized by the development of the Roman influence in Transcaucasia. Pompey went up to

Azerbaijan. Some years after, the legions of Domitian also went to Azerbaijan: the inscription of Qobustan (AD 75) engraved by the soldiers of Legio XII proves this. The Roman temple of Garni (Armenia) was dedicated in AD 77, as the Greek inscription explains. Sometime later, an inscription found in Armenia concerns a building built by the soldiers of Legio III¹⁸.

Inscription of Qobustan

During the third century and the development of the crisis of the Roman Empire, the Sasanians took control of the main part of the region. The large kingdom of Armenia came under the control of Shapur I, and the defeat and capture of Valerian by Shapur I ended the Roman domination on the region. After the 3rd century, the coin circulation was dominated by Sasanian coins, except for the importation of Byzantine coins brought by the armies fighting against them. The most spectacular coin was the hexagram, a large and heavy coin, weighing around 6 grams and specially produced to pay the armies. Hoards of hexagrams are particularly found along the borders as they were struck for the legions, along the Danube and in Transcaucasia. The Arab conquest and the defeats under the Byzantine armies put an end to the Sasanian Empire¹⁹.

¹⁸ Imp caesar divi nervae filius nerva traianus / optimus aug germ dacicus parthicus pon max / trib pot XX imp XIII cos VI per leg IIII sc fecit.

¹⁹ See the maps in Yannopoulos, P., 1978, *L'hexagramme*, Louvain-la-Neuve.

Temple of Garni

Rock relief of Naqsh-e Rustam Shapur I capturing Valerian (260 AD)

A Roman temporary mint in Transcaucasia?

Everyone knows that the denarii struck by Augustus (31 BC – AD 14) with the name of the two Caesars Gaius and Lucius (C L CAESARES) are very common in Transcaucasia. The genuine coins thought to be struck in Gaul are present in all the Roman hoards and the type was widely imitated, during the following centuries. According to the usual chronologies, the issues did not last a long time, and were minted at Lyon. But in Transcaucasia, these denarii are very frequent and widespread. They are present not only in the great urban centers, but also in rural sites or in isolated tombs.

The proportion of denarii of C L CAESARES type is greater in Transcaucasia than in Central Europe. It is as common in Transcaucasia as in the zones close to the mint which is supposed to have produced these currencies.

As the proportions of these denarii are low in Central Europe, it may be concluded that C L CAESARES denarii had an abnormal distribution in Transcaucasia. Two assumptions can be advanced. Either the coins were sent directly from the mint in Lyon to Transcaucasia, or the coins were minted in an area closer to Transcaucasia.

Under the reign of Augustus, the legions stayed in this area of the Empire and fought against the Parthians. During these engagements, Caius Caesar was killed in 4 AD. One may imagine that during these years of warfare an itinerant mint was active in the region. The death of Caius and the withdrawal of the legions that followed put an end to the itinerant mint. Thus, for a period, Transcaucasia received these coins which were produced during the presence of the legions.

The closure of the moving mint of C L CAESAR denarii created a need for new coins. As the official mint was closed, local mints produced imitations. These typical imitations were struck throughout the first century and certainly during the second century AD. Kropotkin²⁰ publishes a very convincing coin with the standard reverse CL CAESARES associated with a bust typical for the second half of the second century AD²¹.

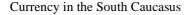
Proportion of coins Caius & Lucius in the denarii of Augustus²²

²⁰ Kropotkin, Vl., 2005, Les trouvailles de monnaies romaines en U.R.S.S., éd. par G.Depeyrot, Wetteren, especially fig. 34, p. 354.

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Sherozia M. 2002, "Spreading of denarii of Octavianus Augustus and so-called drachms of Gotarzes on the territory of Kartli Kingdom (Georgia)", Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques, p. 173–180

²² India does not figure on this map.



The prototype struck in Lyon and the 2nd c. imitation

Transcaucasian imitations of the C L CAESAR denarii

The medieval and modern periods

The Arab invasion was linked to the fall of Sasanian power. The political crisis had no effect on the need for a monetary economy. The end of the official mints and issues brought the emergence of more or less illegal coinage, as was already the case with the C L CAESAR denarii.

The main region of Transcaucasia began to produce local "Sasanian" coins, some of them using Sasanian letters (this was the case with the production of the local mint of Duin in Armenia²³) or beginning to strike with the new local alphabet, as in Georgia.

After the installation of the Omayyad and Abbasid dynasty in Transcaucasia, the mint of Duin produced a huge number of silver dirhams that were mainly used for

²³ Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2000, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Coins from Duin, Capital of Armenia (4–13th c.), Inventory of Byzantine and Sasanian Coins in Armenia (6–7th c.)*, Wetteren.

international trade. They were found in hoards along the Dnieper and Volga up to the Baltic countries and even in Scotland²⁴.



The first Georgian coin, a mixture of Sasanian type and Georgian letters

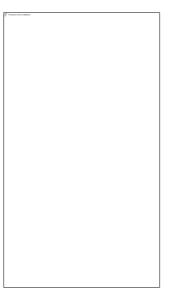
The first crises of the Abbasid regime gave local rulers an opportunity to revolt against the central administration. A new period of discord and territorial division began with the political crisis. To this period belongs the large hoard of Sunik, composed of more than 2,000 silver coins buried around 815 AD.

The desegregation of the main states opened another period of wars with Byzantium. During the 9th-11/12th centuries, the emperors launched many attempts to once again dominate Georgia. The armies went up to Armenia and besieged Duin. These conflicts were financed by the importation of many byzantine gold coins.

The Mongol invasion after 1213 destroyed all the main cities and contributed to the creation of a situation of anarchy. Step by step the local feudal regions developed into new states based on religion, alphabet, tradition and dynasties. Transcaucasia was reorganized around the Georgian kingdom. The coins in circulation were mainly the issues of the queen Tamar and her successors. The monetary system was based on very large issues of copper coins, perhaps a consequence of the looting of precious treasures by the Mongols and the presence of copper mines in the region. The production was so large that some pieces of metal were not transformed into blanks but were struck directly.

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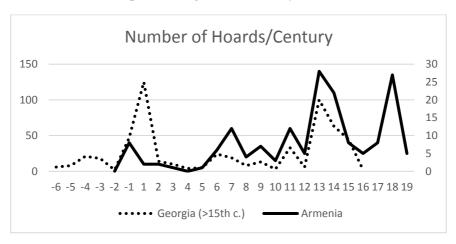
²⁴ Mousheghian, A., Bresc, C., Depeyrot, G., Gurnet, F., 2000, *History and coin finds in Armenia, Coins from Duin, Capital of Armenia (4–13th c.), Inventory of Byzantine and Sasanian Coins in Armenia (6–7th c.)*, Wetteren.



A "coin" of the period of Tamar

The period of the Mongol invasions and the period following the passage of the invaders were characterized by a very great number of hoards.

The stabilization of the region after the 16^{th} century was again followed by a significant period of hoarding, mainly linked to Russian pressure against the Ottoman and Persian Empires during the 18^{th} century.



Conclusion

The three countries of the South Caucasus were always a land of cross-cultural transfers. For this reason, they received coins from everywhere. The number of

hoards is a good way to measure the intensity of wars, invasions, troubles and fears of the population, but also the cost of these events, as these coins were a way to finance the war.

These cooperative programs contributed to the understanding of the history of the region. I only hope that Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani historians will continue this work.

Armenian hoards²⁵

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1st c. BC
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"Armenia"; Artashat n° 1; Artashat n° 2; Artashat n° 3; Artik; Gumri; Parakar; Sarnakounk.

 $1^{st} c$.

Vardenut-Aparan.

2nd century

Echmiadzin; Garni.

3rd century

Oshakan.

5th century

Yerevan.

6th century

Koghb; Lanjaghbyur; Oshakan; Sisian; Yerevan.

7th century

Armenia; Artsvaberd; Duin n° 1; Duin n° 2; Duin n° 3; Duin n° 4; Durtchi; Echmiadzin n° 1; Echmiadzin n° 2; Gumri; Kosh; Stepanavan.

8th century

Dilidjan; Shenavan; Verin Getashen n° 1; Verin Getashen n° 2.

9th century

Duin n° 5; Duin n° 6; Nerkin Getashen; Paravakar; Sunik.

10th century

Duin n° 7; Duin n° 8.

11th century

Artashat; Duin n° 10; Duin n° 11; Duin n° 9; Gavar; Hrazdan; Ohanavank; Vardenis; Yerevan n° 1; Yerevan n° 2; Yerevan n° 3; Yerevan n° 4.

12th century

Armavir; Masis?; Ptghni; Vardenut; Demirgian.

²⁵ Based on our publications; all the catalogue are published in the various volumes.

13th century

Abovian; Abovian; Achajur; Aghavnatoun; Armenia 1225; Artashat; Arzni; Ashnak; Duin n° 12; Duin n° 13; Duin n° 14; Duin n° 15; Echmiadzin; Garni n° 3; Garni n° 4; Garni n° 5; Goght; Gort; Haykavan; Karbi; Karbi; Kartchaghbyur; Stepanavan; Ttujur; Yeghegnadzor; Yeghvard; Yerevan n° 5.

14th century

Armenia; Artik; Changar of Ardahan; Garni n° 6; Garni n° 7; Garni n° 8; Gavar; Goght; Gumri; Haykashen; Meghri; Mets Parni; Panik; Penzashen; Shenavan; Yerevan n° 6; Yerevan n° 7; Yerevan n° 8; Yerevan n° 9; Yerevan n° 10; Yerevan n° 11; Yerevan n° 12.

15th century

Ashtarak; Kosh; Kosh; Saragyugh; Yerevan n° 13; Yerevan n° 14; Yerevan n° 15; Yerevan n° 16.

16th century

Ashtarak; Gusanagyugh; Ohanavank; Sisian; Yerevan n° 17.

17th century

Irind; Nerkin Getashen; Nerkin Getashen; Dilijan; Meghri; Gorayk; Yerevan n° 18; Yerevan n° 19.

18th century

Armenia; Artsvanik; Eranos; Ferik; Gavar n° 1; Gavar n° 2; Goris; Lernatap; Meghri; Meghri; Noragavit; Nouratus; Saragyugh; Sisian; Vardenut; Yerevan Kort; Yerevan n° 20; Yerevan n° 21; Yerevan n° 22; Yerevan n° 23; Yerevan n° 24; Yerevan n° 25; Yerevan n° 26; Yerevan n° 27; Yerevan n° 28; Yerevan n° 29; Yerevan n° 30.

19th century

Aygezard; Gumri; Harich; Vardenut; Yerevan n° 31.

Georgian hoards

Colchis 6th -2nd c BC

Akhali Abastumani; Akhalsopeli; Anaklia; Bargebi; Batumi; Chitatskali; Chometi; Dablagomi n° 1; Dablagomi n° 2; Dapnari; Dgnorisi; Djagira; Ergeta; Gergeta; Gumistavi; Jumati; Khoni; Kobuleti n° 1; Kobuleti n° 2; Kukhi; Kutaisi n° 1; Kutaisi n° 2; Kutaisi n° 3; Kvirila; Lower Svaneti; Meskheti; Nabakhevi n° 1; Nokalakevi n° 2; Norio; Obcha; Partskhanakanevi n° 1; Partskhanakanevi n° 2; Pichvnari; Poti; Potsko; Racha; Rukh; Saberio; Sajavakho n° 1; Sajavakho n° 2; Satsulukidzo; Sokha; Sukhumi; Takhtisdziri; Tsnisi; Vani n° 1; Vani n° 2; Vani n° 3; Vani n° 4; Vani n° 5; Zarati; Zemo Chibati; Zugdidi n° 1; Zugdidi n° 2; Zugdidi n° 3; Zvaragula.

5th c BC

Pichvnari; Suluri.

4th c BC

Colchis; Gebi; Larilari; Lechkhumi; Pichvnari; Surami; Svaneti n° 1; Svaneti n° 2; Svaneti n° 3; Svaneti n° 4; Sviri; Vachevi; Vani.

3rd c BC

Agaiani; Ajara; Gori; Koroglistskali river; Makriala; Reke; Svaneti; Tsebelda; Vani; Zemo Markhi.

$2^{nd} c BC$

Gerzeul; Gori.

1st c BC

Abisi; Abkhazia; Agaiani n° 1; Agaiani n° 2; Agaiani n° 3; Agaiani n° 4; Agaiani n° 5; Agaiani n° 6; Agaiani n° 7; Agaiani n° 8; Agaiani n° 9; Arkneti; Gori; Gumurishi; Karsniskhevi n° 1; Kavtiskhevi n° 2; Kodistskaro n° 1; Kodistskaro n° 2; Mokhisi; Mtskheta n° 1; Mtskheta n° 2; Mtskheta n° 3; Mtskheta n° 4; Mtskheta n° 8; Mtskheta n° 9; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 1; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 2; Mtskheta-Svetitskhoveli; Mtskheta-Tsitsamuri; Nastakisi; Natakhtari; Pakhulani; Sazodelavo; Sukhumi; Svetitskhoveli; Takhtisdziri; Tbilisi; Uplistsikhe; Vani n° 1; Vani n° 2; Vartsikhe; Zhinvali n° 1; Zhinvali n° 2; Zhinvali n° 3; Zhinvali n° 4; Zhinvali-Bagichala; Zugdidi.

6th -1st c BC

Batumi; Kelasuri River; Pichvnari n° 1; Pichvnari n° 2; Pichvnari n° 3; Pichvnari n° 4.

c 1-50

Agaiani n° 1; Agaiani n° 2; Agaiani n° 3; Agaiani n° 4; Agaiani n° 5; Agaiani n° 6; Aranisi; Avchala; Bagichala; Batumi; Bori n° 1; Bori n° 2; Bori n° 3; Cheremi; Digomi n° 1; Digomi n° 2; Gori n° 1; Gori n° 2; Gori n° 3; Gori n° 4; Gori n° 5; Gremi Monastery; Grmagele; Gumurishi; Karagadji; Kitskhi; Kldeeti n° 1; Kldeeti n° 2; Kldeeti n° 3; Kvirila; Magraneti n° 1; Magraneti n° 2; Mtskheta n° 1; Mtskheta n° 2; Mtskheta n° 3; Mtskheta n° 4; Mtskheta n° 5; Mtskheta n° 6; Mtskheta n° 7; Mtskheta n° 8; Mtskheta-Armaziskhevi n° 1; Mtskheta-Armaziskhevi n° 2; Mtskheta-Armaziskhevi n° 3; Mtskheta-Bagineti n° 1; Mtskheta-Bagineti n° 2; Mtskheta-Bagineti n° 3; Mtskheta-Bagineti n° 4; Mtskheta-Karniskhevi; Mtskheta-Mogvtakari; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 1; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 2; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 3; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 4; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 5; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 6; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 7; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 8; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 9; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 10; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 11; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 12; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 13; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 14; Mtskheta-Svetitskhoveli; Nastakisi n° 1; Nastakisi n° 2; Nastakisi n° 3; Nastakisi n° 4; Nastakisi n° 5; Nazodelavo; Nichbisi n° 1; Nichbisi n° 2; Stirpazi; Sukhumi; Tbilisi; Trani n°; Trani n°; Tsageri; Tsintskaro; Tsitsamuri Mtskheta; Urbnisi n° 1; Urbnisi n° 2; Urbnisi

n° 3; Urbnisi n° 4; Urbnisi n° 5; Vaziani; Zemo Avchala n° 1; Zemo Avchala n° 2; Zguderi n° 1; Zguderi n° 2; Zguderi n° 3; Zhinvali n° 4; Zhinvali n° 5; Zhinvali n° 6; Zhinvali n° 7; Zhinvali n° 8.

c 51-100

Agaiani; Didi Lilo; Digomi n° 1; Digomi n° 2; Ilemi; Khovle; Kldeeti; Mtskheta n° 1; Mtskheta n° 2; Mtskheta n° 3; Mtskheta n° 4; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 1; Mtskheta-Samtavro n° 2; Naoza; Nastakisi; Nichbisi; Stiphraz; Tskhinvali; Vardisubani.

c 101-150

Bori; Chkorotsku; Kldeeti; Mtskheta; Mtskheta-Bagineti; Mtskheta-Samtavro; Takhulani; West Georgia.

c 151-200

Gerzeul Gulripshi; Gerzeuli; Nobakevi; Nosiri; Pichvnari; Tsebelda.

c 201-250

Bori; Sepieti; Mtskheta-Samtavro; Sukhumi; Pitsunda n° 1; Pitsunda n° 2; Gonio.

c 251-300

Mtskheta; Tskhinvali; Ureki.

c 301-350

Agaiani; Modinakhe; Sukhumi.

c 351-400

Pitsunda.

c 401-450

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c 451-500

Andriatsminda; Archiloskalo; Bolnisi; Zhinvali n° 1; Zhinvali n° 2.

c 501-550

Kvemo Alevi; Mtskheta-Samtavro; Tbilisi-Krtsanisi; Tsitsamuri n° 1; Tskhumari n° 2; Zaridzeebi.

c 551-600

Baisubani; Chkhorotsku; Dedoplistskaro; Dusheti; Gamarjveba; Mtskheta n° 1; Mtskheta n° 2; Mtskheta n° 3; Mtskheta-Mtakartli; Nedzikhi; Nekresi; Nokalakevi; Smekalovka; Tolenji; Tsikhisdziri; Tskhinvali; Urbnisi n° 1; Urbnisi n° 2.

c 601-650

Alevi; Chibati; Dedoplistskaro n° 1; Dedoplistskaro n° 2; Kvirila; Marganeti; Mtskheta n° 1; Mtskheta n° 2; Nekresi; Nokalakevi; Odishi; Sarachilo; Svaneti; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Tbilisi-Sololaki; Urbnisi.

c 651-700

Magraneti.

c 701-750

Mataani; Pitsunda Monastery.

c 751-800

Chikaani; Mtisdziri; Pitsunda; Savane; Tsebelda tower; Zemo Alvani.

c 801-850

Apeni; Avhcala; Chorokhi river; Dilipi; Kavshiri; Leliani; Mtisdziri; Pshaveli; Savane; Tbilisi; Tergi river.

c 851-900

East Georgia; Pichkhovani.

Islamic hoards of the 9th c

Arkabi.

c 901-950

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c 951-1000

Borchalo; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2.

Abbassid fals 8th -9th -10th c

Mtskheta-Samtavro; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2.

c 1001-1050

Akhaltsikhe; Kvakhvreli; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Tbilisi n° 3; Tbilisi n° 4; Tbilisi n° 5; Tsikhisdziri; Tskorda.

c 1051-1100

Bobokvati n° 1; Bobokvati n° 2; Dviri; Gelati; Gubi; Idumala; Kobuleti; Kolkheti; Likhnigold; Meskheti; Ochamchira; Ozurgeti; Racha; Saphara cloister; Saphara Monastery; Tsikhesulori; Tsikhisdziri n° 1; Tsikhisdziri n° 2; Tsintskaro; Tskordza; Unknown; Vani; Vardisubani n° 1; Vardisubani n° 2.

c 1101-1150

Dmanisi; Gurjaani; Sukhumi (Abkhazia); Tsebelda.

c 1151-1200

Djandara; Tbilisi.

Anonymous byzantine copper coins c 11th -12th c

Borchalo; Dmanisi n° 1; Dmanisi n° 2; Gelati; Gonio-Apsarosi; Keda; Nokalakevi; Tbilisi; Tsikhisdziri.

c 1201-1250

Abanoeti; Abulbog; Agaiani; Anaga; Atotsi; Bolnisi; Dedoplistskaro; Digomi (Tbilisi); Dmanisi n° 1; Dmanisi n° 2; Dmanisi n° 3; Dmanisi n° 4; Dmanisi n° 5; Georgia-Racha; Gorana and Kojbaani; Gudarekhi; Khrami ravine; Kojbaani and Gorana; Krtsanisi; Kutaisi n° 1; Kutaisi n° 2; Martkopi; Mashavera; Mataani; Mtskheta n° 1; Mtskheta n° 2; Nichbisi n° 1; Nichbisi n° 2; Patara Dmanisi; Patara Lilo; Pitsunda; Pitsunda Church; Rioni river-bed; Rodionovka; Rustavi; Rustavi; Samshvilde; Signagi; Sukhumi; Svaneti n° 1;

Svaneti n° 2; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Tbilisi n° 3; Tbilisi n° 4; Tbilisi n° 5; Tbilisi n° 6; Tbilisi n° 7; Tbilisi n° 8; Tbilisi n° 9; Tbilisi n° 10; Tbilisi n° 11; Tbilisi n° 12; Tbilisi n° 13; Tbilisi n° 14; Tbilisi n° 15; Tbilisi-Avlabari n° 1; Tbilisi-Avlabari n° 2; Tbilisi-Ganjiskari n° 1; Tbilisi-Ganjiskari n° 2; Tbilisi Metekhi bridge; Tbilisi Ortachala; Tsalka; Tsikhisdziri; Tskhneti; Ujarma; Vedjini; Zhinvali n° 1; Zhinvali n° 2.

c 1251-1300

Akhaldaba; Arukhlo; Boslebi; Dmanisi; Iori river; Kardanakhi; Kheoba n° 1; Kheoba n° 2; Korbouli n° 1; Korbouli n° 1; Kura river; Kura river near Tbilisi; Kutaisi n° 1; Kutaisi n° 2; Manavi; Nojiskhevi; Rekhi; Shalauri; Suzi and Zeda Sazano; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Tbilisi-Telavi; Telavi; Tkviavi; Tobanieri; Ujarma; Zhinvali; Zhinvali-Khertvisi.

Gold concave coins 11th -13th cc?

Dzansul; Gubi; Ozurgeti; Racha.

c 1301-1350

Avchala; Borjomi; Darchieti; Dedoplistskaro; Djandara; Dmanisi; Grigolati; Kheiti n° 1; Kheiti n° 2; Kodala; Korbouli; Leliani; Pantiani; Patara Gomarteli; Phoka; Signagi; Skhlata; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Tbilisi n° 3; Tbilisi n° 4; Uraveli; Vazisubani.

c 1351-1400

Bodbe; Bolnisi; Gjukutau; Karagach n° 1; Karagach n° 2; Karagaji; Kvemo Machkhaani; Podaani; Sukhumi; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Tbilisi n° 3; Tobanieri; Tolo.

The Hulaguids-Ilkanids-Mongols 13^{th} - 14^{th} c

Chachari; Dzegvi; Jandara; Kakabeti; Lagodekhi; Sabatlo; Sartichala; Tbilisi; Tsintskaro; Vashlovani.

Georgian coins ''Kirmaneuli tetri''13th -14th c

Akhaltsikhe; Ali; Ambrolauri; Besleti; Chkhikvta; Cholevi; Dusheti; Gogasheni; Gori; Kobuleti; Kopitnari; Koreti n° 1; Koreti n° 2; Krasnaya Besletka; Kutaisi n° 1; Kutaisi n° 2; Kutaisi n° 3; Kutaisi n° 4; Kutaisi n° 4; Kvitiri n° 1; Kvitiri n° 2; Lori fortress; Manea; Nojiskhevi n° 1; Nojiskhevi n° 2; Ochamchira; Patara Jikhaishi; Poti; Sairme; Sukhumi n° 1; Sukhumi n° 2; Sukhumi n° 3; Sukhumi n° 4; Sukhumi n° 5; Tamishi n° 1; Tamishi n° 2; Tbilisi; Tobanieri; Tsebelda and Kraevich; Tsikhisdziri; Vardzia; Zugdidi.

c 1401-1450

Akhaldaba n° 1; Akhaldaba n° 2; Ali; Almati; Borchalo; Boshura; Chailuri; Dmanisi; Kakheti; Kopitnari; Patara Dmanisi; Patskhiskhevi; Tbilisi n° 1; Tbilisi n° 2; Uraveli; Varkhana and Abastumani.

c 1451-1500

Didgori; Sakobo; Tamarasheni; Tbilisi.

c 1501-1550

Gori; Mna.

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Summary

Currency in the South Caucasus

Georges Depeyrot

French National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris, France

Transcaucasia is a cross-road of all the communication routes between East and West, but also between North and South.

For some years a cooperative program aimed to inventory coin finds in Georgia and Armenia. The result was an important series of publications that give a complete view of coin finds in that region.

The hoards record the main historical problems, from the fights between Greeks and Persians to those between Russia and the Ottomans. The most important period for hoarding was of course the Mongol invasions and the Ilkhanid wars.