

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIX

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2024

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Lech Kokociński. Photo by Piotr Idem
Lech Kokociński. Fot. Piotr Idem

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIX *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

Bieżący Tom naszego czasopisma chcielibyśmy zadedykować Panu Mecenasowi Lechowi Kokocińskiemu, obchodzącemu w 2024 roku swoje 80-te urodziny. Lech Kokociński (ur. 1944), prawnik, sędzia i wieloletni pracownik Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki, z numizmatyką związany jest w zasadzie od zawsze. Przede wszystkim należy do grona najwybitniejszych kolekcjonerów numizmatów drugiej połowy XX i pierwszych dziesięcioleci XXI wieku. Jego zainteresowania kolekcjonerskie nie ograniczały się przy tym do wąskiego zakresu, lecz obejmowały szerokie spektrum obiektów: od monet antycznych poczynawszy, poprzez pieniądź papierowy, medale, aż po fałszerstwa monet i banknotów. Ważną część jego zbiorów stanowią starodruki i rękopisy numizmatyczne oraz inne obiekty o charakterze bibliofilskim, szczególnie *Lwowiana*. Mecenas Kokociński przez całe życie aktywnie włączał się w animowanie ruchu numizmatycznego. Od 1962 roku był członkiem Polskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego, od 1984 roku przewodniczył Sekcji Numizmatycznej Polskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego i Numizmatycznego, a w 1987 roku został Prezesem tej organizacji. W 1991 roku należał do założycieli Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego i był jego pierwszym Prezesem, a następnie Prezesem Honorowym. Bliskie związki mecenasa Kokocińskiego z Gabinetem Numizmatycznym Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie sięgają XX wieku. Jest członkiem Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego (od 1996 r.), a w latach 2011–2015 pełnił funkcję członka Rady Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Wszedł też w skład Komitetu Honorowego projektu *Europejskie Centrum Numizmatyki Polskiej*, w ramach realizacji którego udało się otworzyć Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego w obecnym kształcie. Przede wszystkim jednak jest jednym z najważniejszych i najbardziej hojnych darczyńców na rzecz Muzeum. Wzbogacił zbiory Gabinetu Numizmatycznego o niemal 11 000 obiektów, w tym monety antyczne, bezprecedensową kolekcję pieniądza fałszywego, pieniądź papierowy i medale. Dodatkowo ofiarował do biblioteki Muzeum ponad 1000 pozycji różnych publikacji, starodruków i znakomite archiwalia związane z życiem i działalnością wybitnych numizmatyków czy towarzystw numizmatycznych, jak np. Związku Numizmatyków Lwowskich czy Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego w Krakowie. Z okazji Jubileuszu życzymy Lechowi Kokocińskiemu, naszemu Drogiemu Przyjacielowi, co najmniej 100 lat!

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 19 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. As is our policy, we publish all texts in the congress languages, with English and Polish abstracts. The contents of current volume and archive numbers are available as PDF files on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). The website also provides all general information about the journal, along with guidelines for authors and reviewers.

We would like to dedicate the current volume of our journal to Mr Lech Kokociński, who celebrated his 80th birthday in 2024. Lech Kokociński (born in 1944), lawyer, judge and long-time employee of the Ministry of Culture and Art, has been involved in numismatics for practically all his life. Above all, he is one of the most outstanding numismatic collectors of the second half of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century. His collecting interests were not limited to a narrow range, but covered a wide spectrum of objects, starting with the ancient coins, through paper money and medals, to counterfeits of coins and banknotes. An important part of his collection consists of antique prints and numismatic manuscripts as well as other bibliophile objects, especially *Lvoviana*. Throughout his life, Kokociński has actively participated in promoting the numismatic movement. He was a member of the Polish Archaeological Society from 1962, chaired the Numismatic Section of the Polish Archaeological and Numismatic Society from 1984 and became its president in 1987. In 1991, he was one of the founders and first president of the Polish Numismatic Society, later becoming Honorary President. The close relationship between Mr Kokociński and the Numismatic Department of the National Museum in Krakow dates back to the 20th century. He is a member of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum Friends Society (since 1996), and in the years between 2011–2015 he was a member of the Council of the National Museum in Krakow. He also became a member of the Honorary *European Center of Polish Numismatics* project, which led to the opening of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum its present form. Above all, however, he is one of the most important and generous donors to the Museum. He enriched the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet with almost 11,000 objects, including ancient coins, an unprecedented collection of counterfeit money, paper money and medals. In addition, he donated more than 1,000 items to the museum library, including various publications, antique books, and valuable archive material related to the life and work of prominent numismatists or numismatic societies, such as the Union of Lviv Numismatists and the Numismatic Society in Krakow. On the occasion of this milestone birthday, we wish Lech Kokociński, our dear friend, at least 100 years!

The Editors

SELENE E. PSOMA

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On a Motivation Clause of IOSPE I² 25 + 31

ABSTRACT: The paper proposes a new reading of the last motivation clause of IOSPE I² 25 + 31, that concerns the minting of bronze coins. It refutes the restoration proposed by Vinogradov and Karyshkovskiy involving silver and gold, and on the basis of evidence from other epigraphic documents mentioning the appointment of citizens responsible for the minting of coins explains the clause in the following way: the text simply says that a prominent citizen was appointed for the minting of bronze coins and did his job well. The bronze coinage mentioned might be the so-called “Borysthenoi”, i.e. bronze coins with the head of the river-god Borysthenes (or Hypanis) on the obverse and Scythian arms, quiver (*gorytos*) and axe (*sagaris*) on the reverse.

KEY WORDS: Olbia, minting, bronze coinage, Kallinikos son of Euxenos, “Borysthenes”

ABSTRAKT: *O klauzurze fundacyjnej IOSPE I² 25 + 31*

W artykule zaproponowano nową interpretację ostatniej klauzuli fundacyjnej inskrypcji IOSPE I² 25 + 31, która dotyczy bicia monet z brązu. Odrzucono zaproponowaną przez Winogradowa i Karyszkowskiego rekonstrukcję przyjmującą produkcję monet srebrnych i złotych, a na podstawie świadectwa innych dokumentów epigraficznych, wspominających o mianowaniu obywateli odpowiedzialnych za bicie monet, wyjaśniono klauzulę w następujący sposób: tekst mówi, że znaczący obywatel został wskazany jako osoba odpowiedzialna za bicie monety brązowej i dobrze wywiązał się ze swoich obowiązków. Wspomniane w tekście monety z brązu mogą być tak zwanymi „Borysthenesami”, tj. monetami z brązu z głową boga rzeki Borysthenesa (lub Hypanisa) na awersie oraz scytyjskim orężem, kołczanem (*gorytos*) i toporem (*sagaris*) na rewersie.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Olbia, produkcja monetarna, mennictwo brązowe, Kallinikos syn Euksenosa, „Borysthenes”

The honorary decree of Olbia for Kallinikos son of Euxenos has been preserved in two marble fragments. The first one was published as IOSPE I² 25 and the second as IOSPE I² 31. They were put together by Vinogradov and Karyshkovskiy in the early 1980s.¹ The decree is heavily restored, and dates from the years immediately following the campaign of Zopyrion, i.e. between 325 and 320 BC.² This short publication will concentrate on the final motivation clause of the decree and the restoration proposed by Vinogradov and Karyshkovskiy with the aim of proposing a new restoration on the basis of a number of parallels.

SEG 32.794 ll. 10–15 (= IOSPE I² 25 + 31), ca. 325 BC

[ροῦν]τες ἐβλάπτοντο ἀφείρηκεν, καὶ τὴν κοπή[ν το]ῦ χαλκοῦ ΚΑΤΑΛ[..... ἴνα]
[καί] οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοτιμότερον ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸ κα[λοὺς κάγαθοὺς εἶναι τῇ πόλει(?), εὖ]
[εἰ]δότες ὅτι τιμῆς καὶ δωρεᾶς ἀξίας ἕκαστο[ς τεύξετα]ι παρὰ τοῦ [δ]ήμου[ν τῶν]
εὐεργετημάτων. δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαιν[έσαι] Καλλίνικον Εὐξέν[ου]
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς τὸ[ν δ]ῆμον καὶ στεφανωθῆνα[ι]
αὐτὸν χρυσοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἀνδριάντι ...

This final motivation clause mentions the involvement of Kallinikos in the procedure of minting bronze coins (l. 10: καὶ τὴν κοπή[ν το]ῦ χαλκοῦ ΚΑΤΑΛ[.....]). The restoration proposed by Vinogradov and Karyshkovskiy κατὰ λόγον ἦχεν led them to explain this clause in the following way: “the demos brought the minting copper into correspondence with the gold and silver circulation on the market”.³ For Vinogradov “one of the meanings of ἄγω with the addition of εἰς βραχύ, ἥμισυ is shorten, reduce (L.S.J s.v. Π6); in our case κατὰ λόγον functions as its addition”.⁴ He cites as an example ll. 5–9 of IG I² 76, i.e. IG I³ 78 (= I.Eleusis 28a): ἀπάρχεσθαι κατὰ τὸν λόγον of l. 9 means “bring the first fruits at the same rate”.⁵ Several problems occur with the restoration proposed by Vinogradov and Karyshkovskiy.

¹ VINOGRADOV and KARYSHKOVSKIY 1982: 24–26; EIDEM 1983: 21–39. See SEG 32.794; BE 1984, 276; NIKOLAYEV, TSYGANENKO and GONCHAROVA 2023. Contra YAYLENKO 1990: 269; IDEM 1996: 200; MÜLLER 2010: 55, 285nn, 380–382, 385. For the different series of coinage see NIKOLAYEV, TSYGANENKO and GONCHAROVA 2023; STOLBA 2015; IDEM 2019 and forthcoming.

² See VINOGRADOV and KARYSHKOVSKIY 1982; EIDEM 1983; NIKOLAYEV 2013: 67–70 (= SEG 64.681); NIKOLAYEV, TSYGANENKO and GONCHAROVA 2023; STOLBA (forthcoming): ca. 325; YAYLENKO 1990; IDEM 1996; MÜLLER 2010: first half of the 3rd century BC. For a comparison of the letter forms of this document with a dedication also from Olbia (IOSPE I² 161) and a date after the siege of Olbia by Macedonian troops (328–320 BC) see NIKOLAYEV 2013. Contra YAYLENKO 1990: 269; IDEM 1996: 200; IDEM 2001: 226: 275–250 BC. See also MÜLLER 2010: 55, 285 with no. 382 for a lower date (“qu’on peut effectivement faire descendre sans difficultés au-delà du IV^e siècle”). Cf. Avram in SEG 64.681 (for the dedication): 331 BC. See also the note of the editor of *Grammateion* 2013: 67, no. 3 about the form of Ω of the dedication: this letter is very different in IOSPE I² 25 + 31.

³ SEG 32.794 based on VINOGRADOV and KARYSHKOVSKIY 1982; EIDEM 1983.

⁴ VINOGRADOV 1997: 290, no. 57 (my translation).

⁵ Osborne-Rhodes, GHI no. 141, 230–238.

These are the following:

- a. It is with the addition of εἰς and not κατὰ that ἄγω means shorten, reduce. According to the L.S.J. with the addition of κατὰ, the verb ἄγω means either “keep”, “observe a date” (L.S.J. IV2: κατὰ σελήνην τὰς ἡμέρας: Ar. Nu. 626) or “reckon” (τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς καθ’ ἥλιον: Gem. 8.6).
- b. There is no example of the use of κατὰ (τὸν) λόγον in epigraphic documents in connection with coinages minted in different metals.⁶
- c. There is no mention of gold and silver in the text and there is no place for these words. In the Eleusinian decree mentioned above the lines (ll. 4–7) preceding the expression “at the same rate” (l. 8) give the rate: ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεοῖν τὸ καρπὸ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τὲν ἐγ Δελφοῦν Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν μεδίμνον [κ]/ριθὸν μὲ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑκτέα, πυρρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν μεδίμνον μὲ ἔλαττον ἡμιέκτεον (*the Athenians shall give first fruits of the harvest to the two Goddesses according to the ancestral practice and the oracle from Delphi, at the rate of not less than a hekteus per hundred medimnoi of barley and not less than half a hekteus per hundred medimnoi of wheat*). The following lines of the Eleusinian decree take a provision for those that produce more or less than a hundred medimnoi of barley or wheat: ll. 7–8: εἰάν τις πλείον καρπὸν ποιῇ ἢ τοσο[ύ]το/ ν ἢ ὀλεῖζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι (*if someone produces a greater harvest than this, or a smaller, he shall give first fruits at the same ratio*).⁷ There is nothing similar including silver and gold in the Olbian decree for Kallinikos.
- d. In epigraphic documents about regulating coinage there is no evidence for minting bronze in correspondence with the gold and the silver on the market.

For these reasons, both the restoration κατὰ λ[όγον ἤχεν] and the interpretation on the basis of this restoration need to be abandoned.⁸

⁶ For the different meanings of κατὰ (τὸν) λόγον in epigraphic documents see L.S.J. s.v. λόγον: on account of, take into account the size; relation; ratio, proportion; plea, pretext, ground; rule, principle, law; reason, ground; reason, law; as theory, abstract reasoning with outward experience or by probable reasoning. This expression also occurs in the epigraphic record: IG II² 1666 (= I.Eleusis 143, 356/5–353/2 BC) face B ll. 39–40; IG V 2, 433 from Megalopolis (103–101 BC), l. 19; IG IX 1, 97 from Phocis (300–250 BC) ll. 8–9; I.Labraunda 5 (letter of Philip V, ca. 220 BC) l. 20; I.Mylasa 212 (2nd/1st century BC) ll. 10–14; I.Mylasa 202 (2nd/1st century BC) ll. 1–2; I.Mylasa 810 (2nd century BC) l. 11; I.Mylasa 801 (2nd century BC) l. 13; I.Mylasa 819 (2nd century BC) l. 7; Milet I 9, 306 (letter of Eumenes II, winter 167/6 BC: Welles, RC 52) ll. 30–32; I.Ephesos 4 + App. p. 1 (297/6 BC) ll. 11–12, 16–17, 45–47; SEG 39.1244 from Claros, 120/119 BC ll. 48–50; OGIS 56A and B; OGIS 168.

⁷ For the translation see fn. 5.

⁸ Cf. MÜLLER 2010: 55: ... the allusion, which is difficult to understand due to gaps in the text, to a monetary measure concerning the minting of bronze coins has been linked to the introduction of a new series of bronzes of reduced weight called “les borysthènes” which replaced the previous coins of the same metal (my translation).

As it was already pointed out, the last word missing from line 10 can only be ἵνα, a final subordinating conjunction meaning “in order that”. This is suggested by the final sentence of the following line that the conjunction ἵνα introduces (l. 11: [καὶ] οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοτιμότερον ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ κα[ὶ λ]έγειν καὶ πρά[ττειν τὰ βέλτιστα]). What is missing in l. 10 is to be connected with the minting of bronze coinage, as it has already been suggested, i.e. a verb, whose object is κοπή (minting). This verb cannot begin with the letters ΚΑΤΑΛ of l. 10. What comes in mind are expressions meaning “being elected” or “being established” in honorary documents for citizens involved in minting coinages.

Delos, ante 169 BC

I.Délos 461A l. 76: [ἄν]δρες ο[ὶ] αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοπὴν τοῦ νομίσματος⁹
...the men elected to strike the coinage (my translation)

Sestos, late 2nd century BC

I.Sestos 1 ll. 43–49: τοῦ τε δήμου προελομέ/γου νομίσματι χαλκίνῳ χρῆσθαι ἰδίῳ χάριν τοῦ νομειτεύεσθαι μὲν τὸν τῆς π[ό/λ]εως χαρακτῆρα, τὸ δὲ λυσιτελὲς τὸ περιγινόμενον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης προσόδου/λαμβάνειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ προχειρισαμένου τοὺς τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ δικαίως τηρήσοντας, νν Μηνᾶς αἰρεθεῖς μετὰ τοῦ συναποδειχθέντος τὴν κα/ήκουσαν εἰσηνέγκατο ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ δῆμος διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν δι/κ αἰοσύνην τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν χρῆται τῷ ἰδίῳ νομίσματι.

... and when the people had decided to use its bronze coinage, in order that the city's type might have currency, and the city might receive the profit which would accrue from a revenue of such a kind, and had selected those who would preserve this position of trust piously and justly, Menas, chosen together with his colleague, discharged the appropriate responsibilities, as a result of which the people, through the righteousness and love of honour of these men, has the use of its own coinage...
 (translation by J.R. Melville Jones)

Magnesia on the Maeander, early Imperial period, honorary decree for Moschion son of Moschion

I.Magnesia 164 ll. 12–13: ...κατασταθεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χαράξεως τοῦ λεπτοῦ χαλκοῦ (καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ φιλοτειμίας τελιάσαντα ἀγνῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως)
...and in addition being placed in charge of the striking of the bronze coinage
 (translation by J.R. Melville Jones)

⁹ See VITIELLO 2000. The city's coinage was the *phoinikophoroi* of the Delian inventories, i.e. coins with Artemis' head on the obverse and the palm tree on the reverse (ROBERT 1951: 168, 177, cf. CHANKOWSKI 2011: 383, 386–387).

Thus, in two out of the three cases we have an election of citizens to oversee the minting of coinage. In the third case Moschion was also appointed (*katastatheis*) *ad hoc* to mint bronze coins (*lepton chalkon*).¹⁰

Back to our decree. On the basis of the letters ΚΑΤΑΑ on l. 10 of the decree I propose καταλεγείς, the equivalent of καταλεχθείς (Hsch. s.v. καταλεγείς). This has the meaning “having been appointed”.¹¹ This is what we would expect in this context. Καταλεγείς with the meaning of being nominated occurs in a number of epigraphic documents from Athens and Scyrus, Stratonicea in Caria, Ephesos and Cyrene.¹² These are:

Attica and Scyrus

IG II³ 1, 1284 l. 9 (IG II² 896), ca. 186/5 BC: τῆς καταλεγείσης κανηφόρου, cf. IG XII 8, 666, m. 2nd century BC, ll. 1–2: τῆς καταλεγείσης κανηφόρου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος (Scyrus)

Being appointed (by the archon) as basket bearer (my translation)

IG II² 1330 ll. 41–42 (SEG 3.129), of 163–130 BC: καταλέγε[ιν] δὲ τὸν ἐπιμελῆ|τὴν τοὺς - -]

Stratonicea, Caria, decree of the boule for appointment and training of *hymnodoi*, 2nd century BC

I.Stratonikeia 1101 ll. 15–16: vacat ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν καθ’ ἕκασ[τον ἐνιαυτὸ]ν γεινόμενον ἱερέα τῆς Ἑκάτης καταλέ/γειν ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς παῖδας καθ’ ἕκαστον [ἐνιαυτὸν] ...

And the priest of Hecate of the year should appoint boys from those in the peripolion of the goddess ... every year (my translation)

From Ephesos, Ionia, 106/7 AD, the honorary inscription for proconsul Ti(berius) Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus by Ti(berius) Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus, on the base of an equestrian statue

I.Ephesos 5102 l. 5: καὶ ἀγορανόμον καταλεγέντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ

And being appointed agoranomos by the divine Vespasian (my translation)

¹⁰ For the meaning see MARCELLESI 2013: 409–413, cf. JONES 1979: 83. See also PICARD 2016.

¹¹ See L.S.J s.v., 3.

¹² For a number of documents of later date see SEG 29.127 II ll. 79–81, 174/5 AD (Athens): τὸ πρὸς τὴν βου[λὴν]/ τῶν Πεντακοσίων φέρον [ἀ]ποχρώντως ἔχει ταῦτη τετάχθαι ὥστε αὐτοὺς τοὺς καταλεγόμενους εἰ[ὶ] γέ/γονέναι; I.Cret. iii 20 ll. 4–5: καταλεγέντα εἰς/ τοὺς δημαρχικοὺς (Hierapytna, Crete, 2nd century BC); I.Ancyra I. 29 ll. 2–4: [— — τῶν ὑ]π’ Αὐγού[στου κα]ταλεγέντων ἀπὸ γο/[νέων δεκ]ανίας πρώτης...; I.Alexandrie imp. 27: —/ Ρώμης, ἐπίτρο[πον —]/ γενόμενον πρὸς τ[— —]/ καταλεγέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ —/ — (Alexandria, end 2nd/ beg. 3rd century AD).

Cyrene, 4th century BC

IGCyr 011000¹³ ll. 27–28: ἑταίρους δὲ Θηραίους πλέν ἐπὶ ταῖ ἴσα[ι κ]αὶ ταῖ ὁμοίαι πα[ρ ἑκαστον] ρῖκον· υἱὸν δὲ ἓνα καταλ[έ]γεσθαι.

That Theraeans should sail off as companions; that they should sail off on equal and same terms from each family, one son being chosen from each family.
(my translation)

Similar evidence is found in a number of literary texts. I will cite few of them.

Is. *De Apollodoro* (7) 5: ...ὁ δὲ Θράσυλλος τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταλεγείς τριηράρχων...

...Thrasyllus (died) in Sicily, having been chosen as one of the trierarchs...
(my translation)

Pl. *Leg.* 762e-763a: ἐπειδὴν γὰρ δὴ καταλεγῶσιν οἱ δώδεκα, συνελθόντες μετὰ τῶν πέντε, βουλευέσθωσαν ὥς οἷόν περ οἰκέται οὐχ ἔξουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄλλους οἰκέτας τε καὶ δούλους, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργῶν τε καὶ κωμητῶν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια χρήσονται ὑπηρετήματα διακόνους, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅσα εἰς τὰ δημόσια.

For whenever the Twelve have been chosen, being assembled together with the Five, they shall resolve that, acting like servants, they will keep no servants or slaves to wait on themselves, nor will they employ any attendants belonging to the other farmers or villagers for their own private needs, but only for public requirements. (translation by R.G. Bury)

Diod. Sic. 4.39.4: τὸν δ' οὖν Ἡρακλέα λέγουσι καταλεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην.

They report of Heracles further that Zeus enrolled him among the twelve gods but that he would not accept this honour. (translation by Ch.H. Oldfather)

Diod. Sic. 5.29.2: ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν πενήτων καταλέγοντες, οἷς ἡνιόχοις καὶ παρασπισταῖς χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς μάχας.

They (the Gauls) bring along to war also their free men to serve them, choosing them out from among the poor; and these attendants they use in battle as charioteers and as shield-bearers. (translation by Ch.H. Oldfather)

¹³ Consulted on February 7th 2024.

Arist. *AthPol* 61.1: Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας, <στρατηγούς> δέκα, πρότερον μὲν ἀφ' <ἐκάστης> φυλῆς ἓνα, νῦν δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων· καὶ τούτους διατάττουσι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, ἓνα μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ὃς ἡγεῖται τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἂν ἐξίωσι, ἓνα δ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὃς φυλάττει, καὶ πόλεμος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γίγνηται, πολεμεῖ οὗτος. δύο δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιέα, τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν Μουνιχίαν, τὸν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν, οἱ τῆς φυλ<ακ>ῆς ἐπιμελοῦνται [καὶ] τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ἓνα δ' ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας, ὃς τοὺς τε τριηράρχους καταλέγει, καὶ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰς διαδικασίας αὐτοῖς εἰσάγει· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐκπέμπουσιν.

All the military officers are elected. The ten generals were formerly one from each tribe, but now are appointed from the whole citizen body. Specific duties are voted for the following: one in command of the hoplites, who commands the hoplites if they go out of Attica; one in command of the country, who guards it, and is the general who commands if there is war inside the country; two in command of the Piraeus, one for Munichia and one for Acte, who are responsible for guarding the equipment kept at the Piraeus; and one in charge of the symmories, who registers the trierarchs, conducts their challenges to exchange and introduces into court their adjudications. (translation by P.J. Rhodes)

What we need after καταλεγείς is a verb with τὴν κοπή[ν το]ῦ χαλκοῦ as its object and an adverb. Based on a number of similar cases, I propose ἐξῆχεν, i.e. ἐξῆκεν, perfect active third person singular of ἐξάγω with the meaning ‘exercise’, carry out a duty or office.¹⁴ The verb ἐξῆχεν is parallel to two other verbs in the perfect: ἀφείρηκεν of l. 10 with [τ]ὰ τε τέλη τὰ ἐπιβεβλη[μένα...] of the previous l. 9 as its object, and another verb on l. 8, which ends with the letters κεν pointing also to a verb in perfect. It is with this meaning that the verb is used in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and an epigraphic document from Eleusis, which is also cited by L.S.J.

Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.56.3: ...μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι βαρὺς ἤδη καὶ αὐθάδης εἶναι ἐδόκει (sc. ὁ Ῥωμύλος) καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικώτερον ἐξάγειν.

...but chiefly because he now seemed to be harsh and arbitrary and to be exercising his power more like a tyrant than a king. (translation by E. Cary and E. Spelman)

¹⁴ Cf. L.S.J. s.v. ἐξάγω.

I.Eleusis 211 (= IG II² 1304), 211/10 BC

Il. 2–5: ἐπειδὴ Δ[ημ]αίνετος διατελεῖ εὖ/νους ὦν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ εἰς ὅσας αὐτὸν λ[ε]ιτουργίας κεχειροτόνη/κεν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐξῆχεν...

Because Demainetos is well disposed towards the people and for whatever public services he was appointed by the people, he carried these out in a good and generally approved way... (my translation)

I. 14: ...καλῶς κα[ὶ ἀξί]ως αὐτοῦ ἐξ[ήγαγεν] τὴν [ἀρχὴν το]ῖς τε...
...he carried out the magistracy in a good and a deserving for himself way...
(my translation)

Apart from this document, there are two others from Eleusis.

I.Eleusis 194 (= IG II² 1285), 257/6 BC

Il. 2–4: καὶ εἰς ὅσας/ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος [λειτουργίας καὶ ἀρχὰς κεχειροτόνη/κ] ἐν ἐξῆχεν πάσ[ας καλῶς].

...and for whatever public services he was appointed by the people, he carried these out in a good way. (my translation)

I.Eleusis 207 (= IG II² 1303), after 220–219 BC

Il. 4–5: ...καὶ εἰς ὅσας ἐπιμελεί[α]ς / αὐ[τὸν] παρα[κ]α[λ]ο[ί]η κα]λῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως αὐτ[ᾶ]ς ἐξῆχε...

...and in the employments he was called in, he carried these in a good and generally approved way... (my translation)

Thus, we might have: καὶ τὴν κοπή[ν το]ῦ χαλκοῦ καταλ[εγεῖς καλῶς ἐξῆχεν...]. With these two words the meaning of the final motivation clause is simple: “after being appointed to mint bronze coins”, Kallinikos son of Euxenos accomplished successfully the task’. In this way, we are close to I.Sestos 1 l. 48: τὴν κα/θήκουσαν εἰσηνέγκατο ἐπιμέλειαν or I.Magnesia 164 ll. 13–14: καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ φιλοτειμίας τελιάσαντα ἀγνῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως. There is not a word about the minting of silver and gold. What the text simply says is that a prominent citizen was appointed for the minting of bronze coins and did his job well. The bronze coinage to which the text refers might be the so-called “Borysthenoi”, i.e. bronze coins with the head of the river-god Borysthenes (or Hypanis) on the obverse and Scythian arms, quiver (*gorytos*) and axe (*sagaris*) on the reverse.¹⁵ These were minted immediately after the head of Demeter/Scythian archer series in the years following

¹⁵ NIKOLAYEV, TSYGANENKO and GONCHAROVA 2023; STOLBA 2015; IDEM 2019 and forthcoming.

the campaign of Zopyrion.¹⁶ We are told that Kallinikos received a crown of 1,000 *chrysoi* (l. 15), i.e. gold staters of 8.6 g each. This is the earliest mention of *chrysoi* in epigraphic documents from Olbia during the Hellenistic period.¹⁷ The *chrysoi* mentioned in the honorary decree of Kallinikos were not minted by Olbia, but were gold staters minted with the name and types of Macedonian kings.¹⁸ The reward of Kallinikos can easily be explained by the difficult situation that the city faced during the attack of Zopyrion in 326 BC and by his help and devotion to his mother city. It also reveals that Olbia soon recovered from the Macedonian attack.

ABBREVIATIONS

BE = *Bulletin Epigraphique*

I.Alexandrie imp. = F. KAYSER, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (I^{er}–III^e s. apr. J.-C.)*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 108, Le Caire 1994.

I.Ancyra I. = S. MITCHELL and D. FRENCH (eds.), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*, vol. I: *From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*, Vestigia 62, München 2012.

I.Cret. = M. GUARDUCCI (ed.), *Inscriptiones creticae*, 4 vols., Rome 1935–1950.

I.Délos = F. DURRBACH et AL. (eds.), *Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols., Paris 1926–1972.

I.Eleusis = K. CLINTON, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*, 2 vols., 3 parts, The Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens 236 and 259, Athens 2005–2008.

I.Ephesos = H. WANKEL et AL. (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 8 vols., 9 parts, with a Supplement, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 11–17, Bonn 1979–1984.

I.Labraunda = J. CRAMPA, *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches*, vol. III/1–2: *The Greek Inscriptions*, 2 vols., Skriftur utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, series in 4°, V, III/1–2, Lund–Stockholm 1969–1972.

I.Magnesia = O. KERN (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin 1900. DOI: 10.11588/diglit.4618

I.Mylasa = W. BLÜMEL (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, 2 vols., Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 34–35, Bonn 1987–1988.

I.Sestos = J. KRAUSS (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 19, Bonn 1980.

I.Stratonikeia = M.Ç. ŞAHİN (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Stratonikeia*, part 3, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 68, Bonn 2010.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*

IGCyr = C. DOBIAS-LALOU et AL. (eds.), *Inscriptions of Greek Cyrenaica*, Bologna 2017. DOI: 10.6092/UNIBO/IGCYRGVCYR

IOSPE I² = V. LATYSHEV, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, vol. I²: *Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad regnum Bosporanum*, Moscow 1916.

¹⁶ See previous note.

¹⁷ For *chrysoi* in this and other documents of Olbia see MÜLLER 2010: 76–77, 294, no. 125, p. 295, no. 130 (seven members college), p. 341, no. 136. Cf. PSOMA 2019: 189–190.

¹⁸ See MÜLLER 2010: 76–77. Cf. ANOKHIN 2011: nos. 261, 291: Olbian gold on the Attic standard, cf. BODZEK 2011.

- L.S.J. = H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT and H.S. JONES, *A Greek English Lexicon*, 9th edition, Oxford 1996.
- Milet I 9 = T. WIEGAND, "IV. Die Inschriften". In: A. VON GERKAN and F. KRISCHEN, *Thermen und Palaestren*, Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, vol. I/9, Berlin 1906: 143–195.
- OGIS = W. DITTENBERGER (ed.), *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1903–1905.
- Osborne-Rhodes, GHI = R. OSBORNE and P.J. RHODES (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC*, Oxford 2017.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- WELLES, RC = C.B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, New Haven–Prague 1934.

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