

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIII

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

Kraków 2018



Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

Tłumaczenie tekstów oraz korekta językowa native speakerów tekstów
artykułów naukowych oraz recenzji naukowych w tomach XIII (2018) i XIV (2019)
finansowane w ramach umowy 790/P-DUN/2018 ze środków
Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego
przeznaczonych na działalność upowszechniającą naukę.

The translation and the proofreading by a native speaker of the texts
of academic articles and reviews in the volumes XIII (2018) and XIV (2019)
financed as part of the Agreement 790/P-DUN/2018 from the funds
of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education allocated for the purpose
of promoting and propagating science.

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ISSN 1426-5435

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Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017). Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, September 1995. Photo: I. Feldblum

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31 grudnia 2017 roku zmarła Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017), emerytowany, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, znawczyni mennictwa średniowiecznego i gdańskiego, zastępca redaktora i członek komitetu redakcyjnego *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. Była osobą mocno zaangażowaną w działalność społeczną: reaktywowała w 1989 roku w Muzeum Narodowym Związek Zawodowy „Solidarność”, działała w Towarzystwie Przyjaciół Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego, zakładała Stowarzyszenie Muzealników Polskich, najważniejszą dziś organizację skupiającą pracowników polskich muzeów. Niezwykle pracowita, świadoma odpowiedzialności wynikającej ze sprawowanych przez siebie funkcji, całą sobą oddana była Gabinetowi Numizmatycznemu.

Jej pamięci poświęcamy XIII tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, nie mając wątpliwości, że czasopismo to nie powstałoby bez jej zaangażowania.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present to you Volume XIII of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. In accordance with our customary practice, all the texts concerned with subjects of international interest or significance have been published in the conference languages, while those of more relevance to Polish readers – in Polish. Information for prospective authors as well as previously published volumes of our journal can be found at www.mnk.pl.

A worker of many years at the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow and then the cabinet's director before she retired, Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017) passed away on December 31, 2017. An expert on medieval coinage and coinage from Gdańsk, Haczewska was deputy editor and a member of the editorial committee of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. Whether she was reactivating the Solidarity labor union at the National Museum in 1989 or busy doing work for the Association of Benefactors of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum or else putting together the Association of Polish Museologists, the most important organization for employees at Polish museums, Haczewska was heavily engaged in doing social work. An exceptionally hard worker, Haczewska was conscious of the responsibility resulting from the offices she held, giving her whole self to the Numismatic Cabinet.

It is in memory of Bogumiła Haczewska that we dedicate the 13th volume of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, there being no doubt that the journal would never have been created without her full commitment.

The Editors

PAWEŁ GOŁYŹNIAK
Jagiellonian University

Conference Report:
*Coinage in Imperial Space. Continuity or Change
from the Achaemenid to Hellenistic Kingdoms?*
Krakow, 28th June – 2nd July 2017

The numismatic conference *Coinage in Imperial Space. Continuity or Change from the Achaemenid to Hellenistic Kingdoms?* was held in Krakow (Poland) between 28th June and 2nd July 2017. The event organised by the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, the National Museum in Krakow and the University of Oxford attracted more than 40 top specialists and enthusiasts of numismatics who gathered in the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Palace – the location of the Numismatic Cabinet, a branch of the National Museum in Krakow. This ambitious scientific project was conjoined with another cultural event – opening of exhibition entitled *Coin and Empire. From the Achaemenid Empire to the Hellenistic Kingdoms*, presenting the Achaemenid and Greek coins from the collections of the National Museum in Krakow, National Museum in Warsaw and other Polish public institutions as well as private collections.

International experts (together with extremely engaged audience) investigated and discussed the transition from the monetary practices of the Persian Empire to those of the Macedonian Successor Kingdoms. The point of departure was the second book of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oikonomika*, which famously divides economies into four types: Royal (βασιλική), Satrapal (σατραπική), Civic (πολιτική) and Personal (ιδιωτική). As a theoretical examination of the nature of economies in the ancient Greek world this treatise is all but unique. Although generally given to late 4th century BC, and the school of Aristotle, it is clear from the structure and the terminology of this broad analysis that it was written certainly with the Achaemenid Empire and its satrapal institutions in mind, even if it does belong to the period of

foundation of the first Macedonian kingdoms in the East. It is thus a text of capital importance for the investigation of the transition from the practices of the Persian Empire to the Greeks. In this context, its discussion of monetary administration becomes a matter of potentially major significance in the interpretation of the nature and role of coinage in this period of profound change.

Taking first the royal administration, we see that while theoretically its power is unlimited, it is in practice concerned with four departments, namely money (νόμισμα), exports, imports, and expenditure.... Taking these severally, I assign to that of money the decision about how much and when to produce of high or low value (περὶ . . . τὸ νόμισμα λέγω ποῖον καὶ πότε τίμιον ἢ εὔωνον ποιητέον); to imports and exports, the profitable disposition, at any given time, of the dues received from provincial governors; and to expenditure, the reduction of outgoings as occasion may serve, and the question of meeting expenses by currency or by commodities. (2.2–3, 1345b).

The administration of coinage, for the author of this treatise, belongs solely in the realm of the King. This presupposition raises a number of questions. Is this true for the period of Achaemenid reign over coin-producing areas? It has become conventional among numismatists to attribute coinages to cities, satraps, karanoi, minor kings and dynasts as well as to the Great King himself. Do we need to re-think the categorisation of these coinages? Do we need to reassess the agents behind these coinages and their ability to strike coinage? Or is the *Oikonomika* simply wrong? And what about the years after Alexander's conquest? Can the new world of his empire and the kingdoms that immediately followed provide a better or different context for the assumption so strongly asserted in the *Oikonomika*? Did the post-Achaemenid world see a transformation in the role and nature of coinage on the new imperial territories? Did coinage become the prerogative or concern of the king alone? Did the Macedonian conquest mark a period of massive change in the monetary administration of large imperial territories?

The scholars specializing in the coinage of particular regions such as Greece, Egypt, Near East and beyond as well as economic history gathered in Krakow and aimed to tackle these questions. The number of 21 speakers presented top quality papers during a two-days-long debate. The conference was officially opened on 29th June at 9.15 a.m. by the organisers of the event: Jarosław Bodzek (Jagiellonian University in Krakow) and Andrew Meadows (University of Oxford).

The first session (chaired by Michael Alram, the President of the International Numismatic Council) included three papers devoted to the Achaemenid coinage. The opening lecture, entitled "Coinage in Imperial Space: Control, Convention or Chaos?" was delivered by Andrew Meadows. The author introduced the questions proposed by the conference, namely: Who controlled coinage in the Imperial Space of the Achaemenid empire? Is all coinage what it purports to be? Is/are

there any established mechanisms for the overall regulation of monetary activity in regional or supraregional spaces within the Empire? Does it make any sense to talk of an imperial space in monetary terms? How does this change with the arrival of Alexander the Great? He delivered a profound analysis of pseudo-Aristotelian *Oikonomika* as a text of capital importance for the studies of Achaemenid coinage, presenting it as divided onto four classes: Royal (βασιλική), Satrapal (σατραπική), Civic (πολιτική) and Personal (ιδιωτική) and analysing from the angles of both income and expenditure. This thought-provoking and well-prepared contribution met a lively discussion – a phenomenon that followed each next paper.

The second speaker in this session was Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert from the Austrian Academy of Sciences. His lecture entitled “The Royal Lydian Coinage before Croesus: Walwet and Kukalim” was an intriguing die-study of the epigraphic group of early Lydian coins and addressed the relevant problems such as whether the chronological order of the coins attributed to the kings Alyattes and Gyges (bearing Walwet and Kukalim legends respectively) should be challenged or not. The speaker observed that the Walwet series is present in the foundation deposit of the Ephesian Artemision, thus having a *terminus ante quem* 650/25 BC. Moreover, he pointed out that the smaller Kukalim series is present by one coin in another layer within the Ephesian Artemision, thus, having a *terminus ante quem* only 610/600 BC. However, both series are interlinked by a reverse punch-die among the hectae, and it is clear the Kukalim hecte was struck somewhat earlier than the Walwet hecte. Unless Alyattes was the immediate successor of Gyges, there is, numismatically speaking, no way of identifying both Κυκάς with Gyges and ΦαλFετ with Alyattes. Assyrian sources confirm that Gyges died during the third Cimmerian invasion in 644 BC. Relying upon Herodotus and further synchronisms in Greek historiography, Alyattes’ accession is traditionally dated to 610 BC. Consequently, as soon as ΦαλFετ is identified with Alyattes, the ΦαλFετ twelfth from the Artemision deposit alone needs us to put Alyattes’ accession to the 3rd quarter of the 7th century, near to 644 BC.

The third speaker, Christopher Tuplin (University of Liverpool) explored the peculiarity of darics, the oddity of some of the rare numismatic appearances of the winged disk figure, the significance of staters at Ain Manawir and the exceptional Persianism of fourth century Samarian coinage. Apparently, it seems clear that coins, like many other artefacts, illustrate imperial space. For instance, the speaker claimed that according to pseudo-Aristotelian *Oikonomika*, the King decided what was paid in coins and what in commodities and that information is confirmed by the coinages themselves.

During the second session (chaired by Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert), the speakers continued to explore monetary systems of the Achaemenid Empire. First to speak

this time was Jarosław Bodzek, whose talk titled as “King, Satraps, Local Dynasts and Cities in Achaemenid Imperial Space – Pseudo-Aristotle’s *Oikonomika* and the Numismatic Reality” was an exciting analysis of the numismatic material showing that the minting activities within the Achaemenid Empire were of a complex nature. The differentiation between some local coin systems and administrations were due to the pre-Achaemenid times. The point of the departure for this study was to define what is the royal coinage, to separate it from other categories. Then, the author focused his study on the examination of non-royal coinages with emphasis on the coins of satraps and he recognised their position within the Achaemenid Imperial space.

The second talk within this session was delivered by Ute Wartenberg Kagan (Executive Director of the American Numismatic Society) and entitled “A New Persian Coinage of the Archaic and Classical Period”. She discussed the well-known Classical silver coins of Sinope (eagle head/incuse punch) and presented arguments for the hypothesis that this series was not minted in the Milesian colony on the Black Sea but is instead a coinage issued by the satrapy of Daskyleion. For many years, it has been surprising that a small town on the Black Sea, which only gained economic importance in the 4th century BC, would produce such an enormous series of coins. However, examining both, the archaeological and historical data, and the coinage itself, the speaker made clear that the rather arbitrary 19th century attribution must be revised. In conclusion, Daskyleion emerges as the most likely, if not to say, only candidate for this mint. In addition, this study enables us to add new evidence for the discussion about the administration of money in the Persian Empire and provides a well-documented test case of a Satrapal coinage.

The final speaker of the session was Bernhard Weissner, the Director of the Münzkabinett, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, who presented the paper entitled: “The Hoard of Demanhur and the Persian Empire. Remarks on Late Archaic and Early Classic Coinage”. His talk gave an overview of the hoard of Demanhur. Step by step he presented the variety of coinages it included. He also presented a reconstruction of the hoard’s historical context pointing to the question whether it represents part of the coin circulation of the Persian Empire in late archaic and early classical times or not. Together with the audience, he established the first option is the case here, which only led to another question: how does it fit in? But this is a subject of a much broader, forthcoming analysis that the speaker is going to carry out.

The third and last session planned for this day was chaired by Ute Wartenberg Kagan. As the first, her lecture presented Selene E. Psoma (University of Athens). The study entitled “The ΣΥΝ (symmachikon) Coinage of the Classical Period. Agesilaus versus Lysander” concerned the silver coins of Chian weight minted by Byzantion, Kyzikos, Samos, Ephesos, Rhodes, Iasos and Knidos, the gold coins

of the weight of a Daric of Lampsakos, and the Cyzicene electron hekte which were all issued with the same obverse type – baby Herakles strangling the snakes. In short, in this dense paper the author reviewed the attributions of the coinages by examination of the evidence for Lysander's and Agesilaus' finances, as well as Agesilaus' relations with his allies in Asia Minor. Furthermore, the examination spread on the cities that issued the ΣΥΝ coinage and the speaker re-examined the obverse type of coinage in the historical context of the war which ended with the Peace of Antalkidas (and expressed the relationship with Alexander the Great). Ultimately, the author proved that it seems reasonable to link these coinages with the actions of Lysander, a supposition which gained support of the audience too.

Further, François de Callataÿ (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique) stepped on the rostrum presenting his talk: "Not civic but imperial: the abundant silver coinages in the name of Pamphylian and Cilician cities (c. 450–333 BC)". He successfully brought about the audience to the concept that the coinages of several cities located along the Southern Anatolian seashore (Aspendos and Side in Pamphylia, Selge in Pisidia, Nagidos, Kelenderis, Holmoi, Soloi, Tarsos, Mallos and Issos in Cilicia) were minted due to the military purposes of the Persians rather than civic (trade) necessities. Nevertheless, one question asked from the audience, despite the collaborative work of the speaker and other specialists has been unanswered, namely, what was the purpose of the countermarks appearing on some of these coinages? Let us hope this was only a starting point for another stage of this most interesting study that the author presented.

Finally, the last speaker of the day was Frédérique Duyrat, the Director of the Department of Coins, Medals and Antiques at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. In her talk entitled "Money in Transeuphratene during the Achaemenid Period" she presented the coinages circulating in Transeuphratene, produced at the mints located at Arwad, Byblus, Sidon, Tyre and those issued in Samaria, Judaea and Philistia as well as the Hacksilver. She also analysed texts mentioning means of payment (ostraca, papyri, and even the Ancient Testament) in order to examine what sort of monetary landscape they present before Alexander's coinage entirely sweeps away the former system.

At 6.00 p.m. there was official opening of exhibition *Coin and Empire. From Achaemenids to Hellenistic Kingdoms*. Not only the conference's speakers and participants took part in this event but also the numerous guests, academics and enthusiasts of numismatics. We were honoured by a visit of the Dean of the Faculty of History – Professor Jan Świąch, the Director of the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University – Professor Paweł Valde-Nowak and the V-ce Director of the National Museum in Krakow – Assistant Professor Andrzej Szczerski. After a brief speech and words of gratitude from the Director of the Numismatic Cabinet

– Assistant Professor Jarosław Bodzek to the whole museum’s staff and people who were involved in the exhibition’s organisation as well as those who supported it, we could enjoy the view of magnificent treasures displayed in the Palace. Many of the coins were publicly exhibited for the first time. After the scientific brainstorm, one could feast his eyes with beautiful objects.

On Friday, 30th June, the scientific debates were continued. The fourth session of the conference was chaired by Frédérique Duyrat and the first speaker of the day was Peter van Alfen from the American Numismatic Society with his talk “Payment, Profit or Prestige? The Rationalities of Coin Production in (Post-) Achaemenid Imperial Space”. Basically, his paper was the theoretical one and addressed three very important and often neglected issues: 1) the general framework within which we approach the rationalities for ancient coin production; 2) the rationalities for coin production within the Achaemenid Empire; and 3) post-Achaemenid changes in these rationalities. It is a fact that the decisions to produce coins (or not) occurred at several different administrative levels within the Achaemenid Empire. There was no one overarching monetary policy, but instead various bodies undertook minting actions which sometimes might have been on the colliding course. Some of them intended to produce coins not primarily as money, but rather to deliver them to their supporters and by this act they sought political survival.

Later on, Aneurin Ellis-Evans presented his talk prepared in collaboration with Jonathan Kagan. It was entitled “Persian Bimetallism: Fixed or Fluid?”. The authors drawing on new evidence and interpretation argued that the ratio between gold and silver from the late archaic period until the coming of Alexander was not fixed (as it was commonly believed), but indeed fluctuated within Persian Asia Minor and that it is these fluctuations that help us explain the change in local weight standards and denominational structures.

Next, Mariusz Mielczarek (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences) presented his contribution about “Paying Mercenaries. In Imperial Space and not only.” He argued that the authority of the ruler must have had a strong influence on soldiers’ willingness to accept the payment, which is evidenced not only by Pseudo-Aristotle in his *Oikonomika* but also by Aristotle himself in his writings (Arist., Pol. 1256b). Moreover, the necessity of paying mercenary soldiers had a decisive influence on the beginning of minting and the development of the production of coinage. In other words, politics was one of the key reasons why rulers started to produce coins.

In the fifth session, chaired by Peter van Alfen, the focus of the research has changed towards regional coin production and administration studies. First to speak were Haim Gitler (Chief Curator of Archaeology and the Curator of Numismatics at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem) and Oren Tal (Professor of classical and Near

Eastern archaeology in the Jacob M. Alkow Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures). They brought about a talk entitled “Fourth-century BC Indigenous Coinages in Palestine. Towards an Understanding of Achaemenid-Macedonian Monetary Administration” purposed to survey the minting authorities and royal mints of Palestine under the Achaemenids (c. 450–332 BC), Graeco-Macedonians (332–301 BC) and Ptolemies (301–198 BC). They explained how the transformation between minting authorities to royal mints within the periods of Persian and Hellenistic dominations looked like. It was not a case of “traditional” continuity or evolution, but a rather turbulent process.

Second, Evangeline Markou (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquity (KERA) of the National Hellenic Research Foundation (NHRF)) presented her talk “The Kings of Cyprus from Achaemenid to Hellenistic Rule: an Autonomous Royal Coinage?”. She proved that the numismatic evidence provides with surprisingly big amount of data supplementing the literally and epigraphic testimonies (which are scarce) for the reconstruction of island history from the times of Achaemenid control down to Alexander the Great and his Successors period. The local rulers produced various coinages and their appearances and disappearances are in accordance with the political shifts on the island. Moreover, these coinages testify to the insular identity and richness that resulted from abundant copper and timber resources.

Finally, the session ended up with a contribution from Ulrike Peter (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften), who discussed the coinages of Thrace region in the second half of the 4th century BC in her talk entitled „Die Umbrüche in der Münzversorgung in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. in Thrakien: Überblick und Diskussion.” The paper primarily focused on the urban and dynastic coinages in Thrace as well as the impact of the Persian coins on the local monetary system. Additionally, the coins’ circulation, distribution and the role of individual currencies have been investigated. Finally, the relationships between the regional and supra-regional coinages have been discussed too as were the basic changes introduced first by Alexander the Great and then by Lysimachus.

The last session of the conference was chaired by François de Callataÿ and the emphasis of the talks clearly shifted towards Alexander the Great and his Successors coinages. First, Marek Jan Olbrycht (University of Rzeszów) gained the floor and explained some new insights into the India-related coins of Alexander the Great (talk entitled “The India-related Coins of Alexander the Great: New Insights”). His study focused on Alexander the Great’s famous decadrachms and other issues commonly linked with his Indian campaign. The speaker discussed decadrachms and tetradrachms with elephant and standing archer and with elephant and archer in chariot that were special issues struck in 324–323 BC at Alexander’s orders upon

his return from India. He presented a detailed interpretation of iconography and the political message that these issues transmitted.

Second, Karsten Dahmen (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin) provided an overview of the Royal coinages within the former empire of Alexander the Great from his death in 323 BC to the early 3rd century BC in the talk entitled “Money and Legitimacy after Alexander”.

Lastly, Alicja Jurkiewicz (Jagiellonian University) presented an intriguing paper devoted to the issue of propaganda in the Hellenistic East and application of dynastic myths into coinages. She concentrated her efforts on the case of Seleucid and Bactrian Coin iconography (talk entitled: “Dynastic Myths and Legends in the Hellenistic East in the Case of Seleucid and Bactrian Coin Iconography.”). She supported her own thoughts with the information extracted from a variety of ancient written sources. The main aim of her study was why the dynastic myths were created at the origin of Seleucid and Bactrian Kingdoms and how were they used by the successors of the first kings.

The whole event was brilliantly summarised by Michael Alram. He drew conclusions and pointed to new questions that emerged during the fruitful discussions following each paper. Doing this, on the one hand he has shown how big impact has the conference *Coinage in Imperial Space. Continuity or Change from the Achaemenid to Hellenistic Kingdoms?* on the current discussion over the course of changes between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic coin administration, while on the other hand, how many issues still need clarification. It is hoped that the proceedings being a result of all the scientific debates will bring the outcome of the event to even wider audience and that they will stimulate organisation of further events of this kind.

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