

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.

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XIII

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

Kraków 2018

Komitet naukowy / Scientific Committee:

Prof. Peter van Alfen, Prof. Michael Alram, Prof. Aleksander Bursche, Prof. François de Callataÿ, Dr Karsten Dahmen, Prof. Georges Depeyrot, Dr Haim Gitler, Zofia Gołubiew, Prof. Wiesław Kaczanowicz, Elżbieta Korczyńska, Prof. Katerini Liampi, Prof. Adam Małkiewicz, Prof. Andrew Meadows, Prof. Mariusz Mielczarek, Dr Jiří Militký, Prof. Janusz A. Ostrowski, Prof. Maciej Salamon, Prof. Bernhard Weisser

Redakcja / Editorial Board:

Redaktor / Editor in Chief – Jarosław Bodzek

Zastępca redaktora / Associate Editor – Mateusz Woźniak

Sekretarze / Secretaries – Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Bochnak, Barbara Zając

Redaktor tematyczny / Theme Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Redaktor językowy / Linguistic Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Recenzenci / Reviewers:

Prof. Katarzyna Balbuza, Dr hab. Tomasz Bochnak, Dr Dario Calomino, Dr Karsten Dahmen, Dr Oliver Hoover, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, Dr Adam Kędzierski, Dr hab. Agata Kluczek, Dr Kamil Kopij, Dr Julio M. del Hoyo-Meléndez, Dr Dubravka Ujes Morgan, Dr Kyrylo Myzgin, Dr Ulrike Peter, Dr Adrian Popescu, Prof. Stephen K. Scher, Dr Szymon Tracz, Dr David Wigg-Wolf, Prof. Michel Wiedemann

Redaktorzy prowadzący / Commissioning Editors:

Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Kowalczyk

Tłumaczenia / Translations:

David Daniel

Korekta / Proofreading:

David Daniel, Aedaan Shaw

Projekt graficzny i typografia / Graphic Design and Desk Top Publishing:

Luiza Berdak

Skład i łamanie / Typesetting and Page Layout:

Joanna Słomska

Adres redakcji / Address of the Editorial Office:

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie

ul. Józefa Piłsudskiego 12, 31-109 Kraków

tel. (+48) 12 433 58 50

e-mail: notae@mnk.pl

http://mnk.pl/notae-numismatacae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1

Wyłącznie odpowiedzialność za przestrzeganie praw autorskich dotyczących materiału ilustracyjnego ponoszą autorzy tekstów.
Authors of the texts bear the sole responsibility for observing the copyright illustrations.

Wersję pierwotną pisma *Notae Numismatacae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* jest wersja elektroniczna.

The electronic edition of the *Notae Numismatacae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* is treated as its original version.

© Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie i Autorzy, 2018

ISSN 1426-5435

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 9 Od redakcji
10 *From the Editors*

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- EMANUEL PETAC
13 About the Sarmizegetusa Hoard from 1998 and the Possible Chronology of Burebista's Campaign to the Black Sea Border
O skarbie z Sarmizegetusy z 1998 roku i przypuszczalnej chronologii kampanii Burebisty ku wybrzeżom Morza Czarnego
- HELLE W. HORSNÆS, MALENE REFSHAUGE BECK
37 A Hoard of Republican Denarii from Skellerup, Denmark – A Preliminary Report
Skarb denarów republikańskich ze Skellerup, Dania – uwagi wstępne
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK, RENATA MADYDA-LEGUTKO
53 Coins of the Rulers of Cimmerian Bosphorus Found in Poland
Znaleziska monet władców Bosporu Kimeryjskiego na ziemiach polskich
- EVGENI I. PAUNOV
93 The Start of the Coinage of Philippopolis under Domitian
Początki mennictwa Philippopolis za panowania Domicjana
- SZYMON JELLONEK
101 Roman Foundation Myths on Colonial Coinage
Rzymskie mity założycielskie na monetach kolonialnych
- ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI
127 Pseudo-Ancient Pseudo-Coins from Gdańsk. Remarks in the Margins of the Catalog of Finds of Ancient Coins in Medieval and Modern Contexts in Poland
Pseudoantyczne obiekty monetopodobne z Gdańska. Uwagi na marginesie katalogu znalezisk monet antycznych z kontekstów średniowiecznych i nowożytnych z terenu Polski
- BEATA MIAZGA, BORYS PASZKIEWICZ
137 The Metal Content of Selected Polish and Brandenburg Coins from the 14th and 15th Centuries
Metal wybranych monet polskich i brandenburskich z XIV–XV wieku
- HEINZ WINTER
171 Zu den Medaillen des Benvenuto Cellini – Der Bestand des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien
The Medals of the Benvenuto Cellini in the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna
Medale Benvenuto Celliniego z kolekcji Kunsthistorisches Museum w Wiedniu

PAULINA TARADAJ

- 191 *Quo non augustior alter*. A Few Remarks on the Series of Small Medals Issued to Commemorate the Maneuvers of the Saxon Armies at Mühlberg in 1730
"Quo non augustior alter". Kilka uwag na temat serii małych medali wydanych z okazji kampamentu wojsk saskich pod Mühlbergiem w 1730 roku

ZNALEZISKA / FINDS

JAN BULAS, PIOTR N. KOTOWICZ

- 209 New Roman Coin Finds from the Upper San River Basin
Nowe znaleziska monet rzymskich z dorzecza Górnego Sanu

TOMASZ WAGNER, BARBARA ZAJĄC

- 225 New Roman Coin Finds from the Region of Częstochowa
Nowe znaleziska monet rzymskich z okolic Częstochowy

ANNA BOCHNAK, MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK

- 245 Fragment XVI-wiecznego skarbu z Zawiercia – Kromolowa ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie
Part of a 16th-Century Hoard from Kromolów, Zawiercie, from the Collections of the National Museum in Krakow

VARIA

VIERA HUPALO

- 275 Ikonografia przedstawień na medalikach religijnych z grobów w kościele pobernardyńskim w Dubnie na Wołyniu (Ukraina)
The Iconography of Images on Religious Medallions from Graves in the Former Bernardine Church in Dubno, Volhynia (Ukraine)

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

BARBARA ZAJĄC

ARNAUD SUSPÈNE, VINCENT DROST, ANDREW BURNETT,
LAURENT BRICAULT

- 307 *Rome et les provinces. Monnayage et histoire. Mélanges offerts à Michel Amandry*. Numismatica Anatolica 7. Bordeaux: Ausonius éditions: avec le concours de Spink 2017, 463 pages; ISBN 978-2-35613-197-3

KRONIKA / CHRONICLE

MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK

- 315 Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2017)
322 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow* (2017)

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

331 Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk
Oddział w Krakowie (2017)

333 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Commission on Archaeology of
the Polish Academy of Sciences (Krakow Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences)*
(2017)

PAWEŁ GOŁYŹNIAK

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

NEKROLOGI / OBITUARIES

JAROSŁAW BODZEK, MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK

345 Bogumiła Haczewska (4 maja 1943 – 31 grudnia 2017)

350 *Bogumiła Haczewska (4th May 1943 – 31st December 2017)*

357 Bibliografia prac Bogumiły Haczewskiej

Bibliography of Bogumiła Haczewska's Works

HENRYK WOŹNIAKOWSKI

361 Izabella Godlewska de Aranda (18 grudnia 1931 – 12 czerwca 2018)

363 *Izabella Godlewska de Aranda (18th December 1931 – 12th June 2018)*



Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017). Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego, wrzesień 1995 r. Fot. I. Feldblum
Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017). Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, September 1995. Photo: I. Feldblum

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIII *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętym zwyczajem teksty o tematyce międzynarodowej publikujemy w językach kongresowych, a teksty odnoszące się w większym stopniu do zainteresowań czytelnika polskiego w języku polskim. Wszelkie informacje dla autorów oraz archiwalne tomy naszego czasopisma dostępne są na stronie www.mnk.pl.

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

EMANUEL PETAC

Senior Researcher

Library of the Romanian Academy, Numismatic Department

About the Sarmizegetusa Hoard from 1998 and the Possible Chronology of Burebista's Campaign to the Black Sea Border

ABSTRACT: In August of 1998, a huge hoard was taken from the Orăștie Mountains, close to the Dacian stronghold in Sarmizegetusa Regia, in a place called the “Plain of the Goat – near the path” (hole C). This hoard contained about 3,600 West Pontic Lysimachus-type staters as well as a few staters of Pharnaces II of Pontus and a few of Asander of Pontus as archon. Unfortunately, the hoard has since been dispersed across Western Europe and the U.S. The strange presence of a hoard of this kind, one that consisted of coins that were specific to the Western Black Sea area – but which were found more than 600 km west of the Black Sea – offers a perfect opportunity to discuss again the chronology of the campaign of the Dacian king Burebista from Olbia to Apollonia, as well as the chronology of Asander's time as archon and king. Burebista's campaign offers the only possible historical explanation for the hoard's presence in the Orăștie Mountains, where several lots of Istros bronze coins have also been found, at the Dacian citadels in Costești and Pietra Roșie or in a tumular tomb in Costești. This essay argues in favor of the traditional chronology of Asander as archon (47–43 BC), suggesting that Burebista's Pontic campaign probably took place in 46 BC.

KEY WORDS: Sarmizegetusa Regia, Asander, Tomis, Istros, Byzantium

ABSTRAKT: *O skarbierz Sarmizegetusyz 1998 roku i przypuszczalnej chronologii kampanii Burebisty ku wybrzeżom Morza Czarnego*

W sierpniu 1998 roku w górach Orăștie, w pobliżu twierdzy Daków zwanej Sarmizegetusa Regia, w miejscu zwanym „Równina Kozy – w pobliżu ścieżki” (wykop C),

znaleziono bardzo duży skarb, zawierający około 3600 monet, w tym zachodnio-pontyjskie statery Lizymacha, kilka staterów króla Pontu Farnakesa II oraz kilka staterów archonta Asandra z Pontu. Niestety, zespół ten został rozproszony na rynkach antykwarycznych Europy Zachodniej i Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej. Zastanawiająca obecność tego rodzaju skarbu, składającego się z monet charakterystycznych dla zachodnich obszarów Morza Czarnego, ale znalezionych ponad 600 km na zachód od niego, to doskonała okazja, aby ponownie omówić chronologię kampanii króla Daków Burebisty, z Olbii do Apollonii, a także okres panowania Asandra jako archonta i króla. Kampania Burebisty wydaje się jedynym prawdopodobnym historycznie wyjaśnieniem obecności skarbu w górach Orăștie, gdzie w cytadelach Daków w Costești i Piatra Roșie oraz w grobowcu w Costești znaleziono również wiele brązowych monet z Histrii. Niniejszy artykuł potwierdza tradycyjną chronologię panowania Asandra jako archonta (47–43 r. p.n.e.), co sugeruje, że pontyjska kampania Burebisty prawdopodobnie miała miejsce w 46 roku p.n.e.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Sarmizegetusa Regia, Asander, Tomi, Histria, Bizancjum

From the famous find from the Strei River¹ in the middle of the 16th century (1543)² to the Austrian excavations at the beginning of the 19th century (1802–1804)³ to the discoveries that have been made over the last twenty-odd years (especially between 1995 and 2005, when the most destructive and spectacular instances of illegal archaeological excavations took place),⁴ many stories have appeared with regard to the unbelievable treasures found in the Orăștie Mountains, with those coming from around Sarmizegetusa Regia, the Dacian religious and political center, being in first place. This paper focuses on a very specific topic: the fact that a number of very valuable but also very unusual and unexpected coins – Lysimachus-type staters from West Pontic Greek cities – were found on the site of the former Dacian stronghold in Sarmizegetusa, more than 600 km away from the seaside. So, to begin with, it seems that a treasure containing around 40,000 coins, especially Lysimachus- but also, perhaps, Koson-type staters, was found in 1543 in the ancient Sargetia River,⁵ “which ran past [the Dacian king Decebalus’] palace”,⁶ though it

¹ In fact, Winkler (1972: 188–192) suggests that the real place of discovery was “one of the Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains” (191); see also: MUNTEANU 2002: 256–260.

² LAZIUS 1598: 927 (in fact, the year was 1551; cf. ȘINCAI 1853: II, 182–183; MUNTEANU 2002: 254, note 7); MITREA 1945: 125–128; PREDA 1973: 353–361; WINKLER 1972: 173–199; PREDA 1998: 226–232; MUNTEANU 2002: 253–270 (the last two pages in this source list all the contemporary documents); PETOLESCU 2011: 16–18 and 51–57.

³ WINKLER 1972: 192–194; MUNTEANU 2002: 260–265; PETOLESCU 2011: 17–19; PETĂN 2012: 81–89.

⁴ PETOLESCU 2011: 9–14; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 98–115.

⁵ See note 2.

⁶ Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 14, 4.

should be noted that this story, which identified the ancient Sargetia River with the contemporary Strei River, was considered a “fable of some humanists who knew the works of Cassius Dio”.⁷ The surrounding ruins probably belonged to a former Dacian fortress from the Orăștie Mountains, and the Sargetia can more plausibly be identified with the Grădiștei River.⁸ This treasure was considered part of the Dacian king Decebalus’ treasury, which was buried before the Roman conquest.⁹ Concerning the finds from the beginning of the 19th century until now, a brief inventory might look like this:

- 1) in September of 1802, A. Popa from Ocolișul Mic found 264 Lysimachus-type staters on Mount Ceata, Anineșului Hill, and by the end of the year another 264 Lysimachus staters were found in the same place. By the end of that same winter, another one-hundred coins of the same type were found. Mount Ceata is in fact a hill southeast of the Costești fortress;¹⁰
- 2) on June 16, 1803, four-hundred Koson-type staters were found on Mount Ceata, and more were probably found in Grădișteia;¹¹
- 3) on around June 23, 1803, another 35 Koson-type staters were found near the same place; it is possible that they were part of the same hoard;¹²
- 4) on March 24, 1804, 987 Koson-type staters were found by three people from Sibișel on the same Grădiște Hill, near the walls of the Sarmizegetusa Regia fortress;¹³
- 5) a hoard partially recovered and containing around 910 Koson-type staters was discovered by S. Grecu, A. Neagu, and Fl. Ghișe, apparently at Târșă;¹⁴ later information informs us that the hoard actually consisted (at a minimum) of around 3,000 coins and that it was discovered in 1996 on Muncelului Hill (in the forest behind V. Bodea’s house, in a place called “Bodea’s beeches”), in Grădișteia de Munte (Orăștioara de Sus, Hunedoara County);¹⁵
- 6) in August of 1998, in the “Plain of the Goat – near the path” (hole C),¹⁶ a great hoard containing around 3,600 Lysimachus-type staters was discovered, as were some staters of Pharnaces II and some of Asander as archon;¹⁷

⁷ See Winkler (1972: 190) about the context of the discovery in Lazius’ story.

⁸ WINKLER 1972: 188–192; MUNTEANU 2002: 256–260.

⁹ PETOLESCU 2011: 57–58; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013b: 411.

¹⁰ PETOLESCU 2011: 19.

¹¹ MUNTEANU 2002: 264; PETOLESCU 2011: 19.

¹² MUNTEANU 2002: 264.

¹³ *Ibidem*; PEȚAN 2012: 82.

¹⁴ CHIRIAC 2002: 247–252; DIMA and ILIE 2007: 35–65; PETOLESCU 2011: 9–14, 85–99.

¹⁵ See Oberländer-Târnoveanu (2013b: 411) for confirmation that the hoard was not in fact found at Târșă (Boșorod, Hunedoara County) but at Muncelului Hill, Grădișteia de Munte (Orăștioara de Sus, Hunedoara County), in the forest behind V. Bodea’s house (“Bodea’s beeches”).

¹⁶ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 103.

¹⁷ IDEM 2013b: 411.

- 7) in March of 1999, in the “Plain of the Goat”, six gold bracelets were found (all of which have been recovered; Pl. 1, Fig. 1),¹⁸ two of them having Koson-type staters inside of them;¹⁹
- 8) in March of 1999, at the “Edge of the Fortress”, 300 m north of the fortress’ sacred zone, one gold bracelet (Pl. 2, Figs. 1–4)²⁰ was discovered, as were 800–1,000 Lysimachus-type staters, none of which have been recovered;²¹
- 9) in the summer of 1999, two gold bracelets and two-hundred late Lysimachus-type staters were found 100 m north of the sanctuary in Sarmizegetusa Regia²² (only the bracelets have been recovered; Pl. 3, Figs. 1–4);²³
- 10) on May 6th, 2000, ten gold bracelets were found at the “Edge of the Goat”, near Sarmizegetusa Regia, of which three have been recovered²⁴ (Pl. 4, Figs. 1–3);²⁵
- 11) on May 26, 2001, five gold bracelets were found in the place called “After the Edge of the Goat – at the pools”, two of which have been recovered²⁶ (Pl. 5, Fig. 1);²⁷
- 12) in 2003, 2,300 Koson-type silver coins were found.²⁸

The great hoard of around 3,600 Lysimachus-type staters was found and illegally extracted from the ground by treasure hunters (M. Mihăilă and D. Baci) in August of 1998. The staters in this hoard mostly came from Tomis, but they also came from Istros, Callatis, and Byzantium. This hoard, which also contained a few coins of Pharnaces II and a few of Asander, was completely dispersed on the international market, especially in the U.S., but elsewhere as well. At first, it was erroneously believed that the treasure had been discovered in 1999, not at Sarmizegetusa Regia, but somewhere north of Callatis,²⁹ or that it had been discovered in 1998 at

¹⁸ Photograph from: OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 96; photographed by Marius Amarie.

¹⁹ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 94 (hoard 1).

²⁰ Photograph of the bracelet from: OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 95; photographed by Marius Amarie.

²¹ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 95 (hoard 2, “Evrika”); the Roman denarii, however, are not included (the 2,000 Roman denarii represent another hoard).

²² OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 95 (hoard 3); we cannot confirm that there were 500 silver coins (Thasos-type tetradrachms and Dacian tetradrachms of the Rădulești-Hunedoara type; see also: RUSTOIU 2016: 74–76).

²³ Photographs of the bracelets from: OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 97; photographed by Marius Amarie.

²⁴ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 95 (hoard 4).

²⁵ Photographs of the bracelets from: OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 98; photographed by Marius Amarie.

²⁶ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 95 (hoard 5); no information is given about silver jewelry or silver coins; see also: RUSTOIU 2016: 74–76.

²⁷ Photographs of the bracelets from: OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 99; photographed by Marius Amarie.

²⁸ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2013a: 103 (only 700 of these staters have been recovered).

²⁹ IDEM 2001: 9 and 32.

Cumpăna, Constanța County: "...a great hoard discovered in the autumn of 1998 (?), somewhere nearby Tomis [Cumpăna?], completely dispersed on the American and European markets for antiquities..."³⁰ The treasure hunters responsible for illegally extracting the find from the ground³¹ made reference to the Triton III catalogue from the Classical Numismatic Group (September 15, 1999), which talks about the purchase of an "extraordinary trove of Greek gold staters from the time of the First Mithridatic war". Some documents suggest that a few years later, in 2000 and 2002, four late Lysimachus-type staters (from Istros and Tomis in 2000, and from Tomis and Callatis in 2002) were sold to the National Museum of History in Bucharest,³² the owner saying only then that they had come from a significant hoard discovered at Cumpăna around 1992.³³ Because in 1999 nobody knew publicly about the treasure hunters from Sarmizegetusa Regia or about when exactly the Cumpăna hoard had been found, an unwanted overlap occurred. Now we know that in fact there were two different stater hoards: one was found at Cumpăna in around 1992 and contained several hundred Lysimachus-type staters from the Mithridatic period that were struck in Greek cities on the Western Black Sea (if this hoard was really discovered and if the four staters did not also come from the enormous hoard of Sarmizegetusa Regia from 1998); the other one was found in August of 1998 at Sarmizegetusa Regia and had around 3,600 late Lysimachus-type staters from Tomis, Istros, Callatis, and Byzantium, but also staters of Pharnaces II of Pontus and of Asander of Pontus as archon.³⁴ At the same time, an intense debate began. In September of 1999, H. Berk and D. Macdonald, writing about the recent appearance on the market of a huge lot of posthumous Lysimachus-type staters from West Pontic Greek cities, said that the hoard also included some staters of Pharnaces II and some of Asander as archon, "the coins of Pharnakes II and Asander as Archon being found with the anonymous staters struck in the name of Lysimachus",³⁵ and that it was not found as a distinct small group having only staters of Pharnaces II and of Asander as archon.³⁶ As stated above, we now know that this huge treasure was found in August of 1998 by two treasure hunters (D. Baci and M. Mihăilă). The find occurred at Sarmizegetusa Regia in a place called "Șesul Căprăreței lângă cărare" ("Căprăreța Plain, near the path"), and it definitely included West Pontic Lysimachus-type staters from Istros, Tomis, Callatis, and Byzantium, as well as staters of Pharnaces II and of Asander of

³⁰ POENARU BORDEA 2001: 18–19.

³¹ See notes 29 and 30.

³² Inventory nos. 302545–302544 for coins bought in 2002.

³³ National History Museum of Romania, Offer 2444 / 2000 and 2508 from April 2, 2002, from Cosmin Galeriu.

³⁴ OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU 2001: 9 and 32; IDEM 2013b: 411.

³⁵ BERK and MACDONALD 1999: 39.

³⁶ MURPHY 1999.

Pontus. We also know that some of these coins (including the ones of Pharnaces II and of Asander) were still in Romania in late 1999, for they were seen at that time in the house of Traian Stănilă, but not afterwards.³⁷ It is obvious that we are speaking about a hoard that is specific to the Western Black Sea border, one that began its journey from there and then arrived at Sarmizegetusa Regia, more than 600 km away. No similar isolated finds involving Greek gold coins from the West Pontic region have been recorded at Sarmizegetusa or its environs except for the one from September 10, 1803, when a few Lysimachi were found by three laborers from Sibișel, close to the ruins at Grădiștea Muncelului.³⁸

The presence, in a great hoard containing thousands of staters from Tomis, Istros, Callatis, and Byzantium, of staters of Pharnaces II and of Asander is not accidental. The presence of these staters may suggest that there was renewed interest on the part of the Pontic kingdom in the Western Black Sea region after the death of Mithridates VI, or else these staters may have been payments for some services that were rendered in the same period. It is not possible to restore the original structure of this huge hoard in a complete and accurate way. However, it is enough to know that the hoard included thousands of West-Pontic staters from the Mithridatic period; it is also necessary to mention that the last coins were of Pharnaces II and especially of Asander as archon. The existence of such a large number of gold coins in the West Pontic area after the death of Mithridates VI Eupator until the reign of Pharnaces II and even that of Asander as archon is surprising given the rise of Rome from the late 70s BC to 61 BC (when Caius Antonius Hybrida, the governor of Macedonia, was defeated “near the city of the Istrians by the Bastarnians and Scythians who came to their aid”).³⁹ This rise in Rome’s influence includes Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus’ campaign, as proconsul of Macedonia, on the western boarder of the Black Sea, in which he conquered Apollonia, Callatis, Tomis, and Istros; it also includes the Mesembrian decree (IGB I², 314 a, from 72–71 BC) for one of Lucullus’ officers, which refers to a Roman garrison in the city at that moment but maybe not afterwards. Still, all of this suggests that, excepting a short period after Lucullus’ campaign, the Roman authority was not very effective in the region until probably Augustus’ time.

There are two groups of coins that indicate the final date of the hoard: the staters of Pharnaces II and those of Asander as archon. We are quite sure that Pharnaces II did not strike gold coins after 50 BC,⁴⁰ so any gold coins struck after this date are not

³⁷ File 175/P/2013, Parchetul Curții de Apel Alba Iulia, statement by E. Dudaș, 2014, September 22.

³⁸ PETAN 2012: 88.

³⁹ Dio Cassius, XXXVIII, 10, 1; PETRE 1971: 99.

⁴⁰ GOLENKO and KARYSZKOWSKI 1972: 34.

relevant to our discussion. The situation of Asander's coins would seem to be much more complicated, and thus it is of much greater significance. Asander's gold coins are broken up into two main groups: the first group bears the title of archon, and the second, that of king. All the coins in both groups are dated by the regnal years (and do not use the Bosporan-era dating system), from year 1 (A) to year 29 (ΘK), though for the purposes of this paper we are only interested in those with the title of archon. There are basically two different opinions with regard to the issues of Asander as archon: either that they took place over three years (years one to three, A, B, and Γ, respectively)⁴¹ or four years (from the first year, A, to the fourth year, Δ).⁴² We must note that the general type of these coins is not homogenous but that it presents a number of very special peculiarities. The obverse shows a male head right (that of Asander), beardless, either with short hair (in the Roman style), for years 1 (A), 2 (B) – both of which used the same die – and 4 (Δ) – which used a different die, for the head was smaller – or with long hair (in the Hellenistic style), in much the same way as his predecessor Pharnaces II (on the obverse from the coin for year 3, Γ). On the reverse we see Nike standing left on a prow (different styles are used for years 1, 2, 3, and 4 – A, B, Γ and Δ, respectively), wings downward (year 1 – A)⁴³ or raised (years 2, 3, and 4 – B, Γ, and Δ, respectively),⁴⁴ holding a wreath in her right hand, which is extended, her left hand down (year 1 – A), or holding a wreath in her right hand, which is extended, and a long palm leaf in her left hand (years 2, 3, and 4 – B, Γ, and Δ, respectively), having one or two monograms in the inner left field and the regnal year above the wings (year 1 – A) or between the head of Nike and her raised wings (years 2, 3, and 4 – B, Γ, and Δ, respectively). According to the traditional point of view, the four issues correspond to the years 47–43 BC.⁴⁵ The coins from year 1 (A) have some peculiarities: an obverse (O₁) with a big male head right, beardless, with short hair (in the Roman style) and a reverse showing Nike standing left on a specific kind of prow (having a design that is only present on the first-year coins), keeping her wings downward, holding a wreath in her right hand, which is extended, the regnal date ΕΤ – Α across the upper field, the Α being above the wings and the monogram $\overline{\text{ΑΤ}}$ being in the inner left field, below Φ (R₁; Pl. 5, Fig. 2).⁴⁶ It seems that a second stater is also from the first year. Having the same features, it has a second reverse die (R₂) because the monogram is different

⁴¹ ANOKHIN 1986: 78–79; RPC I, nos. 1842–1844 and also RPC I, Suppl. I, no. 1842ff.

⁴² NAWOTKA 1992: 423–443; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 34–35, nos. 1–5.

⁴³ *Ibidem*: 34, no. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: 34–35, nos. 2–5.

⁴⁵ ORESHNIKOV 1888: 6; for a general discussion about the chronology of Asander, see: NAWOTKA 1992: 29–42. Oreshnikov unexpectedly gives the years 44–40 BC for Asander as archon.

⁴⁶ ANOKHIN 1986: no. 221; RPC I, 1842; NAWOTKA 1992: 42, no. 1a; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 34, no. 1 (O₁-R₁); Auktionshaus Rauch, Auction 73, May 17, 2004, lot 271.

and seems to be $\mathcal{P}_{\Delta T}$ ⁴⁷ (Pl. 5, Fig. 3). So it looks like we have two coins from the first year, A, struck with the same obverse die but having two reverses. The coins of the second year, B, were struck using the same obverse die, O_1 , but a new reverse die, R_3 ,⁴⁸ which shows Nike standing left on a different style prow to left, with wings raised, holding a wreath in her right hand but also introducing a long palm leaf in her left hand; the date is of course $\epsilon T - B$, and, besides having Φ , the inner left field may have the monogram $\mathcal{A}(?)$ (Pl. 5, Fig. 4).⁴⁹ The situation seems to be more complicated for the third year (Γ). Nawotka's description speaks of a new obverse die (O_2), with a male head right, beardless, but with long hair in the Hellenistic style, similar to the Pharnaces II model or to the Asander coins as king.⁵⁰ Regarding the reverse, Nawotka speaks about the date that appears in the upper left and right, $T\Phi - \Gamma$, as well as the A that appears in the inner left field (R_4). Here, we do indeed see Nike left on prow (the same prow style as in the second year), also with her wings raised, $T\Phi$ in the upper left and right, but in fact the date Γ seems to be missing in the inner left field, as does the letter A. It is a strange coin, one that is completely different from the others in the archon series (Pl. 6, Fig. 5). The last archon issue, in the fourth year, Δ , sometimes erroneously considered the same as the issue from the first year, A,⁵¹ shows a third obverse die and effigy: a male head right, beardless, with short hair (in the Roman style), smaller than the effigy from the first two years and somehow reminiscent of Octavian.⁵² The reverse shows Nike left on the same style prow to left, wings raised, holding a wreath in her right hand and a long palm leaf in her left hand, with the date $\epsilon T - \Delta$, and, again, in the inner left field, the monogram $\mathcal{A}_{\Delta T}$ (O_3 - R_5 ; Pl. 6, Fig. 6).⁵³ Also, the letters have some small globules at their ends (something that does not appear before this), which are also visible on the next issues struck as king.

The other possibility, more theoretical than real, assumes that there were only three years of coins for Asander as archon: a first year (A), a second year (B), and

⁴⁷ Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XIX, January 5, 2016, lot 2045; ANOKHIN 1986; RPC I; NAWOTKA 1992; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002.

⁴⁸ ANOKHIN 1986: no. 222; RPC I, 1843; NAWOTKA 1992: 43, no. 1b; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 34, no. 2 (O_1 - R_2).

⁴⁹ We can see an uncertain monogram in Frolova and Ireland (2002: 34, no. 2); Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale, May 5, 2010, lot 576.

⁵⁰ NAWOTKA 1992: 41–42 and 43, no. 2a; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 34, nos. 3–4 (O_2 - R_3); Ira and Larry Goldberg, Auction 91, June 7, 2016, lot 1835.

⁵¹ ANOKHIN 1986: no. 221 (read A, considered from the first year); RPC I, 1842. RPC I (Suppl. I, no. 1842) argues that the year must be read as A and that the coin belongs to the first year.

⁵² NAWOTKA 1992: 41. If this is so, Nawotka is probably right in considering this effigy part “of a diplomatic campaign leading to the recognition of Asander as king by Octavian”, in our opinion not in 41–40 BC, but during the year 43 BC, a few months after the battle of Mulina.

⁵³ ANOKHIN 1986: no. 221 (first year); NAWOTKA 1992: 43, no. 3a; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 35, no. 5 (O_3 - R_4); Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale, May 5, 2010, lot 575.

a third year (Γ).⁵⁴ This conception presents many problems, mainly because of the overlap during the first year of the two obverse dies (male head right, small and big, in Roman style) and at least three reverses, with a large number of changes in the style (Nike standing on prows done in different styles, her wings downward or upward, holding or not holding a long palm leaf, the inner left field with \mathbb{A}_{Γ} / Φ, \mathbb{A}_{Γ} / Φ, or \mathbb{A}_{Γ}). However, if the fourth year (Δ, having a reverse with Nike holding her wings upward) must be read as the first year (Α), this would mean that this was the first issue from the first year, followed by the second issue of the first year having on the reverse Nike with downward wings, while in the second year, Β, again, the wings face upward. There are too many changes. It seems unacceptable, so the four-year archon series seems to be the winner.

With regard to the chronology of the coins struck under Asander as archon, several possible dates have been proposed: from 49/48–45/44⁵⁵ to 44/43–41/40.⁵⁶ If Asander's first gold stater as archon (the first year – Α) was struck in 49/48 BC, after he married Dynamis, King Pharnaces II's daughter, then year 4, Δ, would mean 46/45 BC: there are fourth-year coins with the title of archon as well as fourth-year coins with the title of king, for it would have been absolutely impossible to be accepted by the Romans as a king during Julius Caesar's life. If Asander's first year as archon was 48–47 BC, despite the fact that we have no reason to suppose this, the fourth year would be 45–44 BC, and we would be in the same situation. So, the best solution seems to be the traditional opinion which holds that he was archon from the years 47–46 BC until 44–43 BC, from the first (Α) to the fourth (Δ). However, since the earliest stater of Dynamis as queen was struck in 21–20 BC (277 in the Bosporean era),⁵⁷ the beginning of Asander's reign (in which he shared power with King Pharnaces II) is around 50–49 BC⁵⁸ (when Pharnaces II ceased to strike his own coins), after Asander married Dynamis. The conclusion seems to be that in fact Asander did not strike gold coins immediately following his marriage,⁵⁹ but very probably from 47 BC, when he mutinied against his father-in-law. Asander mutinied against Pharnaces II at the beginning of 47 BC if not later in the same year.⁶⁰ It was probably only after Julius Caesar's victory over Pharnaces in the battle of Zela (August 2, 47 BC)⁶¹ and after Asander's victory over Pharnaces and the death of the latter at the end of

⁵⁴ ANOKHIN 1986: nos. 221–223; RPC I, 1842, and also RPC I, Suppl. I, no. 1842.

⁵⁵ FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 34.

⁵⁶ NAWOTKA 1992: 41–42.

⁵⁷ ANOKHIN 1986: no. 243; NAWOTKA 1992: 31.

⁵⁸ ANOKHIN 1986: 78–79; NAWOTKA 1992: 31.

⁵⁹ Anokhin (1986: 78–79) not only holds that Pharnaces II and Asander shared power from 50 BC but also that Pharnaces granted Asander the title of archon and the right to strike gold coins.

⁶⁰ NAWOTKA 1992: 34.

⁶¹ Plutarch, *Caesar* 50; LORD 1938: 19; NAWOTKA 1992: 34.

August 47 BC⁶² that Asander proclaimed himself archon and struck his first gold coin. As the Bosporan year ends in October, Asander's first regnal year as archon could have been from 47 up until October 46 BC, corresponding to the staters with letter A on the reverse. Automatically, that would make the second year (B) last until October 45 BC; the third one (Γ), up until October 44 BC; and his fourth (Δ) and last year as archon, up until October 43 BC. In fact, we have coins from the fourth year (Δ) bearing the title archon, but we also have some coins from the same year with the title basileus, the latter title probably having been awarded in 43 BC. Despite Nawotka's opinion, it would not have been risky at all for Asander to have received this title from Octavian during a period in which the entire East "was in the hands of Republicans (*imperium maius* over all governors of the eastern provinces for Brutus being declared by the Senate in April 43)",⁶³ especially due to the efforts of Cicero. But, after the battle of Mulina (April 21, 43 BC), Octavian was the great winner.⁶⁴ Having become Marcus Antonius' political equal and consul from August 19, he would have been able to sustain an *apellatio* for Asander. So, it is quite possible that sometime after the battle of Mulina and especially after the beginning of Octavian's consulship on August 19, 43 BC, Asander received from him the title of basileus and struck until October 43 his first staters with his new title while still in the fourth regnal year (Δ). Knowing only that the last coins in the hoard discovered at Sarmizegetusa Regia included one or more staters from Asander as archon, we will try to propose a more accurate *terminus post quem*.

There is only one possible reason for this hoard to have come to Sarmizegetusa, the stronghold of the Dacian kings in the Orăștie Mountains: the military campaign of the Dacian king Burebista to the Black Sea border, from Olbia to Apollonia Pontica.⁶⁵ The chronology of this expedition has been the subject of endless debate in Romanian historiography, with older opinions considering it as having taken place around the years 60–48 BC,⁶⁶ 55 BC,⁶⁷ or 52–48 BC,⁶⁸ but more recent discussions have strongly argued in favor of dating it to around 48 BC⁶⁹ or 48–44 BC, if not 47–44 BC.⁷⁰ Appian's statement (II, 8, 51) with regard to Pompey's speech to his army is one of the most relevant arguments. As related by Appian, Pompey told

⁶² NAWOTKA 1992: 35.

⁶³ NAWOTKA 1992: 39.

⁶⁴ Dio Cassius, XLVI, 29–38.

⁶⁵ About this event, see: CONDURACHI 1953: 515–523; PETRE 1971: 97–104; SUCEVEANU 2009: 35–56.

⁶⁶ PÂRVAN 1926: 79.

⁶⁷ PIPPIDI 1965: 228–223.

⁶⁸ CONDURACHI 1953: 522.

⁶⁹ AVRAM 2001: 610–613.

⁷⁰ PETRE 1971: 102. Suceveanu (2009: 35–56 and especially 47–48) gave strong arguments indicating that the conquest of Olbia occurred in 47 BC.

his soldiers that “all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and Barbarian, stand with us and the kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, and are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions and other implements of war”, meaning that at the end of 49 BC the West Pontic Greek cities had not yet submitted to Burebista.⁷¹ In this context it seems difficult to accept that over the course of a few months during the year 48 BC (let’s say between spring and autumn, at the most decisive moment of the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, between the battles in Dyrrhachium and Pharsalos), Burebista’s Getae defeated the strongest Roman army in northern Greece and conquered the entire western shore of the Pontus Euxinus. There is no reason to believe that Olbia fell a short time before Pharnaces’ revolt against Rome.⁷² In fact, it is more likely that this happened after Pharnaces’ revolt, especially as there would not have been any significant Roman armies in the Balkan Peninsula at this point in time.⁷³

It seems now that Appian’s anecdote provides us with a new hypothesis, one that places the famous expedition at the end of the Dacian king’s reign, probably in 46 BC (a few years before his assassination, which took place in around 44 BC), and perhaps within the context of Julius Caesar’s displacement far away to the East because of the war with Pharnaces II. Accepting that Asander struck his first-year stater as archon after the battle of Zela (in August of 47 BC), i.e. after the death of Pharnaces II (at the end of August of 47 BC) and probably from October of 47 BC (according to the calendar of the Bosporan era), it looks as if Burebista’s Pontic campaign from Olbia to Apollonia could have taken place between the spring and autumn of 46 BC. After Burebista’s death in 44 BC, no other context can explain the arrival of such huge quantities of West Pontic gold coins to Sarmizegetusa Regia.

A second discussion concerns the moment at which the hoard was buried. Did it happen shortly after the last coin was struck – so probably during the civil war that followed the assassination of the Dacian king in 44 BC – or did it happen much later, in AD 106, when the Romans conquered Sarmizegetusa and Dacia?⁷⁴ What seems certain is that no hoard has been found that mixes pre-Roman gold artifacts (Lysimachus-type staters from the West Pontic Greek cities, Koson-type staters, and Dacian bracelets) with Roman gold or silver coins. We do not have a single Roman aureus in pre-Roman Dacian contexts; they are rare even in Roman Dacia and it seems that they only came after the Roman conquest.⁷⁵ So, their absence from the famous Dacian gold hoards is less surprising. Even more suggestive is the absence

⁷¹ Appianus, *BC*, II, 51; PETRE 1971: 102; OȚA 2011: 162.

⁷² PETRE 1971: 102.

⁷³ See also: SUCEVEANU 2009: 47–48.

⁷⁴ VILCU 2010: 207.

⁷⁵ ARDEVAN 1993: 25; PETAC 2006: 136.

of any mixed hoard containing Roman denarii (Republican or Imperial) and Koson-type silver drachms. However, exercising all due caution, it seems that we have some apparently significant coins and jewelry in a few mixed hoards and also at least one relevant analogy. So, in hoard 1 from Sarmizegetusa Regia (March of 1999), there were six gold bracelets,⁷⁶ two of which contained gold Koson-type coins; hoard 2 from the same settlement (the so-called “Evrika hoard”, also discovered in the spring of 1999, on a hill behind the sanctuary) included at least one gold bracelet, 800 or 1,000 Lysimachus-type staters from West Pontic Greek cities and maybe 2,000 unspecified Roman denarii(?);⁷⁷ hoard 3 from Sarmizegetusa Regia (discovered in the summer of 1999, around 100 m north of the sanctuary) contained two Dacian plurispiralic gold bracelets together with 200 West Pontic Lysimachus-type staters and maybe 500 tetradrachms(?) (apparently Thasos-type tetradrachms but also local Dacian coins of the Rădulești-Hunedoara type).⁷⁸ Lysimachus-type staters from West Pontic Greek cities were struck between 90–72 BC; this was connected to the Mithridatic wars.⁷⁹ Koson-type coins seem to have been struck at Sarmizegetusa Regia around the middle of the 40s BC and maybe a few years afterwards,⁸⁰ while Dacian tetradrachms of the Rădulești-Hunedoara type were struck at the end of the 2nd century BC to the beginning of the 1st century BC (around 130–90 BC).⁸¹ Also, hoard 5 from Sarmizegetusa Regia may have contained several gold bracelets and an unknown number of silver coins of an unspecified type as well as, perhaps, silver jewelry.⁸² Despite the specific situation of all this data, which is not very detailed or accurate in several significant situations (there is apparently no confirmation that Roman denarii were present in hoard 2, nor is there any confirmation that Thasos-type and Dacian tetradrachms were present in hoard 3), they seem to give us a *terminus post quem* of around the middle of the 1st century BC. Maybe the most significant analogy is offered by the hoard discovered in 1960 at Peteni⁸³ (Zăbala, Covasna County). It contained silver Dacian jewelry, including a plurispiralic Dacian silver bracelet identical to the golden bracelets from Sarmizegetusa Regia as well as 39 Roman Republican silver coins (35 originals and 4 Dacian imitations of Roman Republican type), the last of which is from 64 BC (RRC 412/1), which suggests a burial date of around the middle of the 1st century BC. It is enticing to imagine that

⁷⁶ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2001: 94.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*: 95.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁹ CALLATAY 1997: 413.

⁸⁰ VILCU 2010: 206; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2001: 113.

⁸¹ PREDA 1998: 206; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2001: 113; RUSTOIU 2016: 74–76.

⁸² OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2001: 95; RUSTOIU 2016: 74–76.

⁸³ SZEKELY 1965: 53–65; OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2001: 310–318.

Sarmizegetusa Regia is the site of an important and very homogenous horizon of gold hoards containing thousands of Greek gold coins from the cities on the western border of the Black Sea together with staters of Pharnaces II and of Asander or with gold Koson-type staters (most of them struck using the gold from West Pontic Greek coins⁸⁴) or even with Dacian gold bracelets. The spectacular discovery of a huge hoard of around 3,600 staters now gives us the image of a small but significant lot of gold coins of Pharnaces II and of Asander as archon from the Pontic kingdom on the western border of the Black Sea (and why not also from Olbia, since it was also conquered by Burebista?), mixing here with thousands of Mithridatic period Lysimachus-type staters, especially ones from Tomis, but also from Istros, Callatis, and Byzantium, and going from there to Sarmizegetusa Regia, probably in 46 BC, following Burebista's expedition from Olbia to Apollonia Pontica. The unexpected and apparently unusual presence of so many bronze countermarked Istros coins in the Dacian fortresses from Costești⁸⁵ and Piatra Roșie,⁸⁶ but also found elsewhere in the entire region,⁸⁷ are more pieces of evidence speaking in favor of the coins having come from Burebista's campaign.⁸⁸ Keeping in mind that the last coin of the hoard seems to belong to the first year of Asander as archon – and so, struck somewhere between October of 47 BC and October of 46 BC (but probably at the beginning of this period) – we think that all conditions have been met to consider this horizon of hoards of gold as a historical trace of the events of the civil war in Dacia that followed the assassination of Burebista in 44 BC, the hoard probably having been buried soon after his death⁸⁹ and after the dissolution of his kingdom into four smaller entities.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ VILCU et AL. 2010: 302.

⁸⁵ MACREA 1936: 147–163; ARDEVAN 2009: 125–131.

⁸⁶ ARDEVAN 2009: 128.

⁸⁷ GRAMATICU and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2005: 25–36; GHEORGHIU 2005: 187; ARDEVAN 2009: 127. These last two sources mention the existence of 13 Istros bronze coins from a Dacian warrior tumulus tomb near the Dacian fortress from Costești, Hunedoara County.

⁸⁸ Ardevan (2009: 129) takes into consideration the idea that the coins came to Sarmizegetusa Regia at some point during the 1st century AD.

⁸⁹ For a different opinion, one that holds that all these hoards were buried much later, when the Romans conquered Sarmizegetusa Regia in 106 A.D., see VILCU 2010: 207.

⁹⁰ Strabo, VII, 3, 5.

ABBREVIATIONS

ActaMN = *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj.

AISC = *Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice*, Cluj.

AJN = *American Journal of Numismatics*, New York.

BHAUT = *Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis*, Timișoara.

BSNR = *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, Bucharest.

CN = *Cercetări Numismatice*, Bucharest.

EDR = *Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della scuola Romana di Roma*.

IGB = MIHAILOV, G. (ed.) 1958–1970. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgariae epertae*, Sofia.

JRS = *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Cambridge.

NC = *The Numismatic Chronicle*, London.

RN = *Revue Numismatique*, Paris.

RPC I = BURNETT, A., AMANDRY, M. and RIPOLLES, P. P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage. From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London-Paris.

RPC I, Suppl. I = BURNETT, A., AMANDRY, M. and RIPOLLES, P. P. 1998. *Roman Provincial Coinage. From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69). Supplement I*, London-Paris.

SCIV = *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie (și Arheologie)*, Bucharest.

SCN = *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatica*, Bucharest.

REFERENCES

ANOKHIN, V.A. 1986. *Monetnoe dello Bospora*, Kiev.

ARDEVAN, R. 1993. “La monnaie d’or dans la Dacie romaine”, *SCN* 10: 15–25.

ARDEVAN, R. 2009. “Monedele grecești de la Costești. O reconsiderare”, *BHAUT* 11: 125–131.

AVRAM, Al. 2001. “Culte, asociații culturale, calendare”. In: Al. AVRAM, M. BABES, L. BADEA, M. PETRESCU-DIMBOVITA and Al. VULPE (eds.), *Istoria Românilor. Vol. 1: Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, Bucharest: 599–610.

AVRAM, Al. 2001. “Aspecte ale culturii locale”. In: Al. AVRAM, M. BABES, L. BADEA, M. PETRESCU-DIMBOVITA and Al. VULPE (eds.), *Istoria Românilor. Vol. 1: Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, Bucharest: 611–613.

BERK, H. and MACDONALD, D. 1999. “Gold staters of Brutus”, *The Celator* 13/9: 1–39.

CALLATAY, Fr. de. 1997. *L’histoire des guerres Mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*, Louvain La Neuve.

CHIRIAC, M. 2002. “O achiziție de monede de tip Koson făcută de Banca Națională a României”, *BSNR* 90–91 (144–145), 1996–1997: 247–252.

CONDURACHI, E. 1953. “Burebista și orașele pontice”, *SCIV* 4/3–4: 515–523.

DIMA, M. and ILIE, D. 2007. *Tezaurul de monede de tip Koson descoperit la Târsa, com. Boșorod, jud. Hunedoara. Lotul păstrat la Banca Națională a României*. In: *Simpozion de numismatică organizat cu ocazia comemorării Sfântului Ștefan cel Mare, Domn al Moldovei (1504–2004). Chișinău, 29 septembrie–2 octombrie 2004. Comunicări, studii și note*, Bucharest.

FROLOVA, N. and IRELAND, S. 2002. *The Coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom from the first century BC to the middle of the first century AD*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1102, Oxford.

GHEORGHIU, G. 2005. *Dacii de pe cursul mijlociu al Mureșului: sfârșitul sec. II a. Ch. – începutul sec. II p. Ch.*, Cluj-Napoca.

- GOLENKO, K.V. and KARYSZKOWSKI, P.J. 1972. "The gold coinage of king Pharnaces of the Bosphorus", *NC* 12: 25–38.
- GRAMATICU, S. and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, E. 2005. "Un depozit de monede autonome descoperit la Călan, jud. Hunedoara", *CN* 9–11 (2003–2005): 25–36.
- LAZIUS, W. 1598. *Reipublicae Romanae in exterris provinciis bello ac-quistis, constitutae, commentariorum libri duodecimo*, Frankfurt am Main.
- LORD, L.E. 1938. "The date of Julius Caesar's departure from Alexandria", *JRS* 28/1, 19–40. DOI: 10.2307/296901
- MACREA, M. 1936. "Monetele din cetatea dacă de la Costești", *AISC* 2 (1933–1935): 147–163.
- MITREA, B. 1945. "Penetrazione commerciale e circolazione monetaria nella Dacia prima della conquista", *EDR* 10: 1–154.
- MUNTEANU, L. 2002. "Despre descoperirile monetare de tip Koson", *Arheologia Moldovei* 25: 253–270.
- MURPHY, B. 1999. "Mithridates VI or M. Junius Brutus?", *The Celator* 13/11: 1–14.
- NAWOTKA, K. 1992. "Asander of the Bosphorus: his coinage and chronology", *AJN* 3–4 (1991–1992): 21–48.
- OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, E. 2001. "Aurul monetizat în spațiul românesc – două milenii și jumătate de istorie". In: A. VILCU M. DIMA, A. DICU, M. NEAGU, E. PAUNESCU and E. SAVU (eds.), *Monede de aur din colecții românești, I. Colecții din Muntenia*, Bucharest: 7–51.
- OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, E. 2013a. "Brățările regale dacice de aur de la Sarmizegetusa Regia – Apogeul artei metalelor prețioase la daci". In: R. OANTA-MARGITHU (ed.), *Aurul și argintul antic al României. Catalog de expoziție*, Bucharest: 92–115.
- OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, E. 2013b. "Tezaurul monetar de pe dealul Muncelului". In: R. OANTA-MARGITHU (ed.), *Aurul și argintul antic al României. Catalog de expoziție*, Bucharest: 411–412.
- ORESHNIKOV, A. 1888. "Nouvel essai de chronologie des monnaies d'Asandre", *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie* 12: 5–9.
- OȚA, R. 2011. "Burebista și războiul civil de la Roma (49–45 a.Chr.). Considerații asupra relațiilor politice cu Cnaeus Pompeius", *Terra Sebus* 3: 153–169.
- PÂRVAN, V. 1926. *Getica: O Protoistoria Daciei*, Bucharest.
- PETAC, E. 2006. *Aspecte ale circulației monetare în Dacia romană (106–275 p., chr.)*, Wetteren.
- PETOLESCU, C.M. 2011. *Monedele regelui Coson*, Bucharest.
- PETRE, A. 1971. "Cucerirea orașelor pontice de către Burebista", *Pontica* 4: 97–104.
- PEȚAN, A. 2012. "Coin finds at Grădiștea Muncelului during the excavation campaign of 1803–1804", *ActaMN* 47–48/1 (2010–2011): 81–89.
- PIPPIDI, D.M. 1965. "Orașele pontice în epoca elenistică (secolele III–II î.e.n.)". In: D. BERCIU and D.M. PIPPIDI (eds.), *Din istoria Dobrogei. Vol. I: Geți și greci la Dunărea de Jos*, Bucharest: 219–265.
- POENARU BORDEA, Gh. 2001. *Atelierul monetar al cetății Istros în perioada autonomiei*, in *Simpozion de numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima unire a Românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Chișinău, 28–30 mai 2000. Comunicări, studii și note*, Bucharest.
- PREDA, C. 1973. *Monedele geto-dacilor*, Bucharest.
- PREDA, C. 1998. *Istoria monedei în Dacia preromană*, Bucharest.
- RUSTOIU, A. 2016. "Commentaria archaeologica et historica (II)", *Banatica* 26/1: 74–100.
- SUCEVEANU, Al. 2009. "Burebista et la Dobroudja". In: Al. SUCEVEANU (ed.), *Opuscula Scythica. Grecs et Romains au Bas-Danube*, Bucharest: 35–56.
- SZEKELY, Z. 1965. "Noi tezaure dacice descoperite în sud-estul Transilvaniei", *SCIV* 16/1: 51–66.

ȘINCAI, Gh. 1853. *Hronica Românilor*, II. *De la anul 1440 până la anul 1614 de la nașterea domnului Hristos*, Iași.

VILCU, A. 2010. “Sur les statères en or de type Koson”, *Transylvanian Review* 19 (5/1): 199–212.

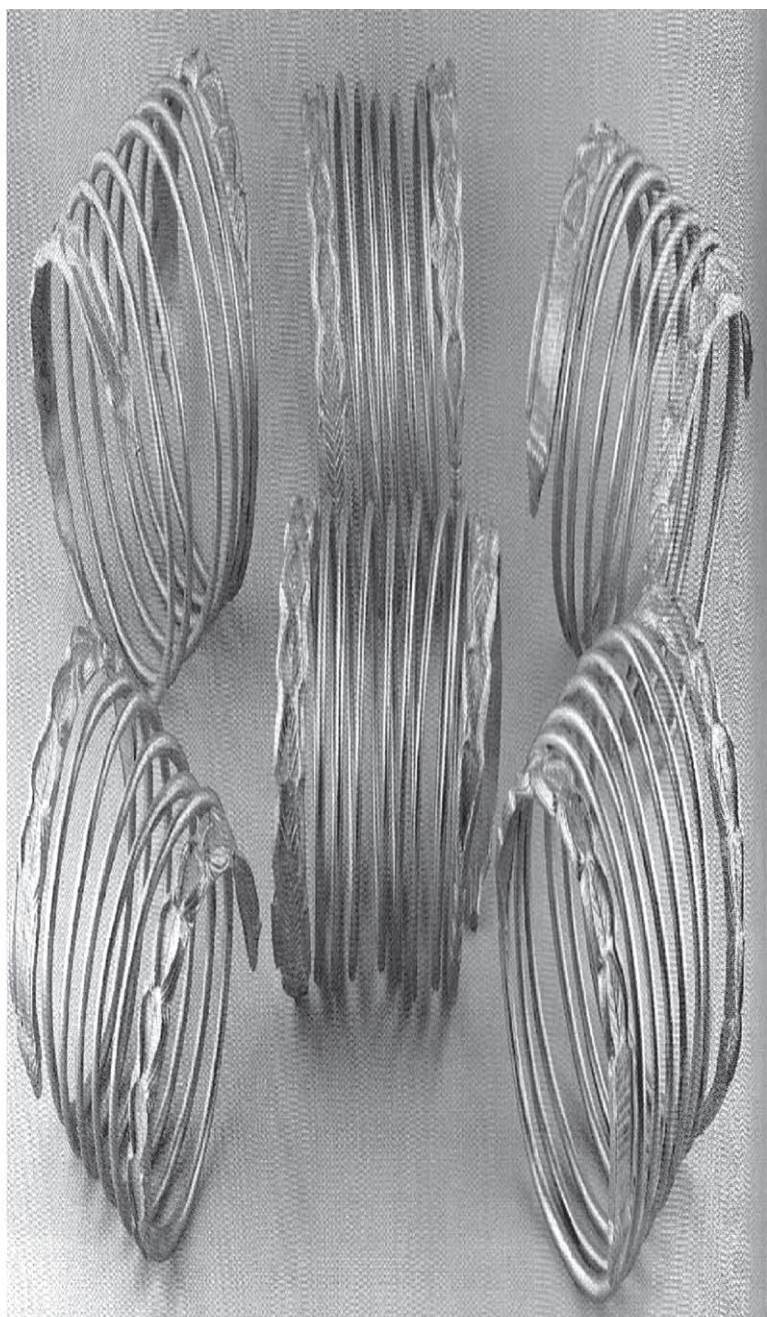
VILCU, A., CONSTANTINESCU, B., BUGOI, R. and PAUNA, C. 2010. “Some considerations on Dacian gold coins of Koson type in the light of compositional analyses”, *RN* 166: 297–310. DOI: 10.3406/numi.2010.2939

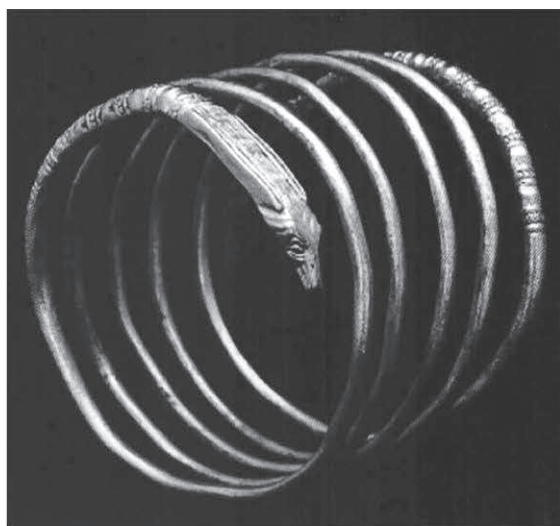
WINKLER, I. 1972. “Considerații despre moneda ‘KOSON’”, *SCIV* 23/2: 173–199.

Author’s address:

Emanuel Petac
Strada Aliorului 6, bl. R 8, sc. 2, et. 7, ap. 70, sect. 4
Bucharest, Romania
viorel.petac@gmail.com

| | |
|---------|---|
| PLATE 1 | Fig. 1. Hoard 1 from Sarmizegetusa Regia: six bracelets (all recovered; National History Museum of Romania; nos. 1–4 and 7–8) |
| PLATE 2 | Figs. 1–4. Hoard 2 from Sarmizegetusa Regia: one bracelet (not recovered) and 1000 West Pontic Lysimachus-type staters (not recovered; coins from the numismatic collection of the Romanian Academy; 2:1) |
| PLATE 3 | Figs. 1–4. Hoard 3 from Sarmizegetusa Regia: two bracelets (recovered; National History Museum of Romania, nos. 5 and 9) and 200 West Pontic Lysimachus-type staters (not recovered; coins from the numismatic collection of the Romanian Academy; 2:1) |
| PLATE 4 | Figs. 1–3. Hoard 4 from Sarmizegetusa Regia: six bracelets (three recovered; National History Museum of Romania; nos. 6, 12 and 13) and the Koson-type staters found inside of them (Collection of the Romanian Academy) |
| PLATE 5 | Fig. 1. Hoard 5 from Sarmizegetusa Regia: five bracelets (two recovered; National History Museum of Romania, nos. 10–11) Figs. 2–6 – staters of Asander as archon (2:1): Fig. 2. Stater of Asander as archon (2:1), first issue, year 1 (A), O_1-R_1 Fig. 3. Stater of Asander as archon (2:1), second issue, year 1 (A), O_1-R_2 Fig. 4. Stater of Asander as archon (2:1), third issue, year 2 (B), O_1-R_3 |
| PLATE 6 | Fig. 5. Stater of Asander as archon (2:1), fourth issue, year 3 (Γ), O_2-R_4 Fig. 6. Stater of Asander as archon (2:1), fifth issue, year 4 (Δ), O_3-R_5 |





1



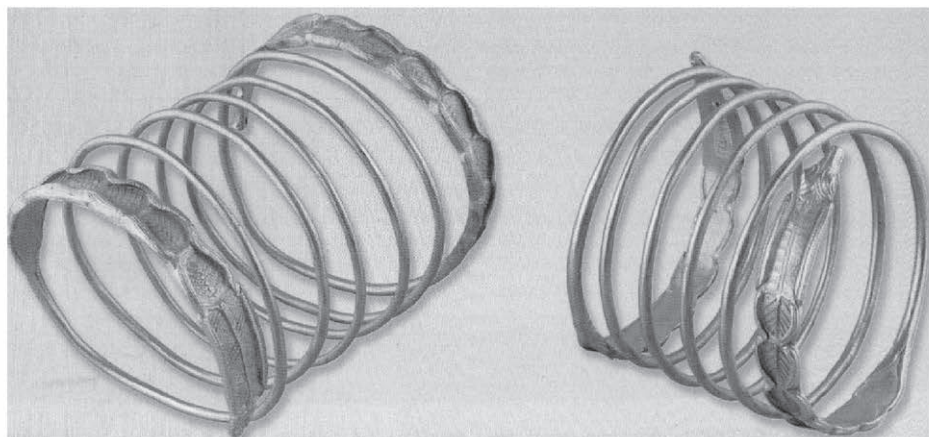
2



3



4



1



2

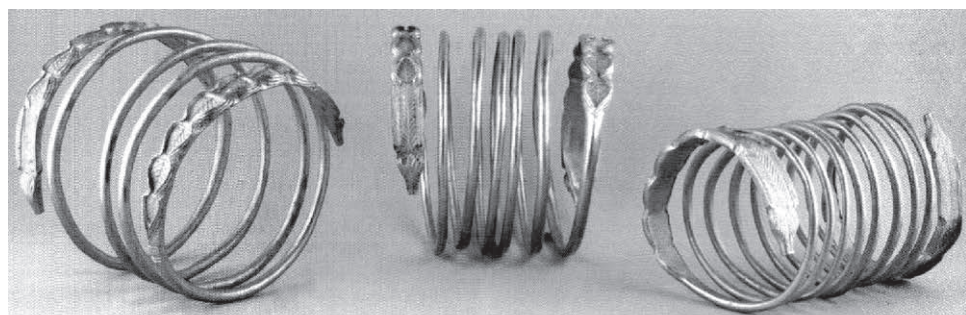


3

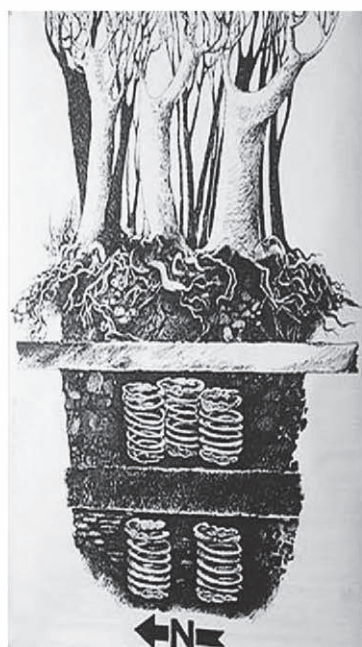


4





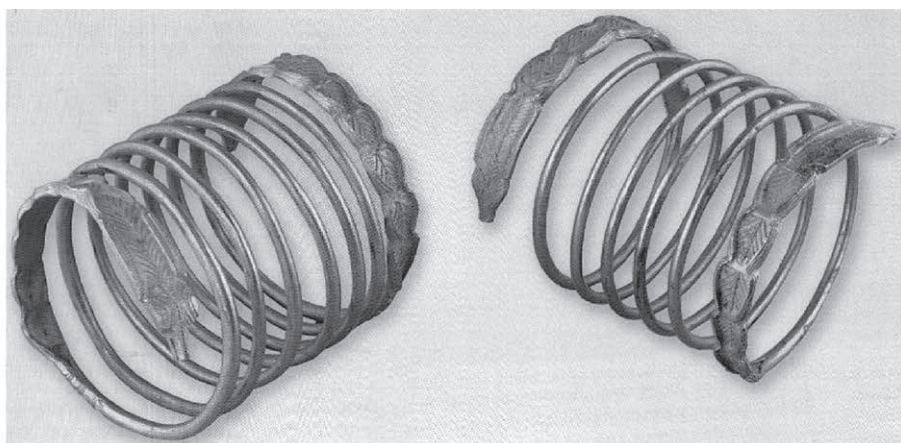
1



2



3



1



2



3



4



5



6