

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVIII

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

Kraków 2023

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Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska née Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarov, 1880

Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarow, 1880

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oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XVIII *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.

W roku 2023 przypada 120. rocznica Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Jego autorką była Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916) i jej synowie Jerzy (1861–1930) i Karol (1860–1904) Hutten-Czapscy. Dar hrabiego Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego (1828–1896), obejmujący znakomitą kolekcję numizmatów polskich i z Polską związanych oraz zaprojektowany według jego życzeń i dokończony przez wdowę pawilon muzealny, złożony na rzecz Gminy Miasta Kraków, czyli de facto Narodu Polskiego, miał olbrzymie znaczenie nie tylko dla jakości kolekcji numizmatycznej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, ale także dla rozwoju całościowo pojmowanej numizmatyki polskiej. Ponad 11 tysięcy polskich monet, medali i pieniędzy papierowych, wśród nich wiele unikatów lub rzadkości, stanowiło, stanowi i będzie stanowić podstawę dla organizowanych przez Muzeum wystaw, dla edukacji numizmatycznej i ekonomicznej szerokiej rzesz publiczności i wreszcie dla badań naukowych nad różnymi zagadnieniami z zakresu numizmatyki polskiej i nie tylko. Nie należy również zapominać o społecznym znaczeniu Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Poczynając od 1903 roku, do dziś całe pokolenia zainspirowanych nim darczyńców wzbogacały i wzbogacają kolekcję numizmatyczną Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie w pragnieniu nawiązania do czynu Czapskich czy też chęci uzupełnienia muzealnych zbiorów o obiekty, których hrabia nie posiadał. Zapatrzeni w jakość zbioru zbudowanego przez Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego nie możemy jednak zapomnieć o rzeczywistej ofiarodawczyni, wdowie po kolekcjonerze – Elżbiecie. Bez niej i jej decyzji fantastyczna, unikatowa kolekcja zapewne uległaby rozproszeniu, jak wiele innych zbiorów, a w każdym razie nie byłaby dostępna dla wszystkich zainteresowanych polską i światową numizmatyką. Dzięki jej decyzji o ofiarowaniu zbiorów męża Narodowi możemy dzisiaj podziwiać zbiory hrabiego w Muzeum jego imienia przy ulicy Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12 w Krakowie. Elżbieta poprzez dar realizowała plan zachowania kolekcjonerskiego dziedzictwa męża. Wspierała go zresztą w jego pasji już wcześniej. Pomagała mu przy pracach nad zbiorem, wykonując precyzyjne rysunki monet i medali. Pamięci hrabiny Elżbiety Hutten-Czapskiej pragniemy zadekować obecny tom naszego czasopisma.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 18 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 the 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.

The year 2023 marked the 120th anniversary of the Czapski Family Donation. The donation was made by Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska, née Meyendorff (1833–1916), and her sons Jerzy (1861–1930) and Karol Hutten-Czapski (1860–1904), and comprised Count Emeric Hutten Czapski's (1828–1896) magnificent collection of numismatic items from Poland and connected with Poland, as well as a museum pavilion designed according to his wishes and completed by his widow. It was given to the Municipal Commune of Krakow, i.e. de facto to the Polish Nation, and was of enormous significance not only for the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow, but also for the development of Polish numismatics in general. Including many rare and unique pieces, the more than 11,000 Polish coins, medals, and paper money that comprise the collection have been, and will continue to be, the basis for exhibitions organised by the Museum for the numismatic and economic education of the general public, as well as research into various problems in Polish numismatics and beyond. The social significance of the Czapski Family Donation should not be forgotten either. Since 1903, generations of donors inspired by this act have contributed to the enrichment of the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow in their desire to follow in the footsteps of the Czapski family or to supplement the museum's holdings with objects that the Count did not have. While admiring the quality of the collection assembled by Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, however, we cannot forget the actual donor, his widow Elżbieta. Without her and her decision, this fantastic, unique collection would probably have been dispersed, like many other collections, and in any case would not have been accessible to all those interested in Polish and world numismatics. Thanks to her decision to donate her husband's holdings to the nation, today we can admire the Count's collection in the eponymous museum at 12 Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego Street in Krakow. Through the donation, Elżbieta pursued a plan to preserve her husband's collecting heritage. In fact, she had already supported her husband in his passion previously, assisting him in his work on the collection by making precise drawings of coins and medals. We would like to dedicate the present volume of our journal to the memory of Countess Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska.

The Editors

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A Note on a Satrapal Coin with the Inscription ΔH ¹

ABSTRACT: In recent years, previously unknown coins with the depiction of the Great King and the inscription ΔH on the obverse and a boar protome on the reverse have surfaced on the antiquarian market. They are hemiobols struck to the reduced Milesian weight standard. Apart from the *Historia Numorum Online* website (HNO), the coins have not yet appeared in major Greek coin catalogues. The representation and inscription on the obverse clearly refer to one of the series of the well-known “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue. On the HNO website and in auction descriptions, the coins are dated to the 5th or 4th century, respectively, and are attributed to an unspecified Ionian or Karian mint. This paper presents their iconographic and metrological analysis, examines their relationship to the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue, and attempts to refine the dating. The analysis has confirmed the Karian attribution of the coins, although the mint itself remains undetermined. It is proposed to narrow down the dating of the described issue to the first quarter of the 4th century or slightly later. It is also suggested that it be considered as belonging to the group known as “coins of satraps”, struck out of urgent need, perhaps to finance military activity.

KEY WORDS: Karia, Great King, hemiobol, boar protome, coins of satraps

ABSTRAKT: *Notatka na temat satrapiej monety z legendą ΔH*

W ostatnich latach na rynku antykwarycznym pojawiły się nieznanne wcześniej monety z wizerunkiem Wielkiego Króla i inskrypcją ΔH na awersie oraz protomą

¹ I dedicate this paper to the memory of Wilhelm Müseler (1952–2023). I would like to thank Dr Barbara Zajac of the National Museum in Krakow for discussing some of the issues. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates in the text refer to the time before Christ.

dzika na rewersie. Są to hemiobole bite w obniżonym milezyjskim standardzie wagowym. Poza stroną web *Historia Numorum Online* (HNO) monety nie były dotąd ujęte w podstawowych katalogach monet greckich. Przedstawienie i inskrypcja na awersie nawiązują wyraźnie do jednej z serii znanej emisji „Wielki Król/mapa Jonii”. Na stronie HNO i w opisach aukcyjnych monety są datowane odpowiednio na V lub IV wiek i przypisywane nieokreślonej jońskiej lub karyjskiej mennicy. W niniejszym tekście zostały one poddane analizie ikonograficznej i metrologicznej, zbadano ich związek z emisją „Wielki Król/mapa Jonii” i podjęto próbę uściślenia datowania. W wyniku analizy potwierdzona została karyjska atrybucja monet, chociaż mennica pozostaje nieokreślona. Zaproponowano uściślenie datowania opisywanej emisji na 1. ćwierć IV wieku lub nieco później. Zasugerowano również uznanie jej za należącą do grupy tzw. „monet satrapów”, wybitą w wyniku pilnej potrzeby, być może do sfinansowania aktywności o charakterze militarnym.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Karia, Wielki Król, hemiobol, protoma dzika, monety satrapie

INTRODUCTION

Between 2015 and 2022, several coins of a previously unknown issue emerged on the antiquarian market. They are small silver coins, approximately 8–9 mm in diameter, featuring a figure of an archer, shown in characteristic attire and kneeling, easily identifiable as the Great King.² The representation is accompanied by the inscription ΔH placed behind the archer's back. The reverse features a forepart of boar. Coins of this type are not listed in any of the standard catalogues, although they have been included in the online compilation of Karian coins on the *Historia Numorum Online* website (henceforth HNO).³

Description:

Obv.: Great King in running-kneeling stance r., wearing dentate crown and “court robe”, holding spear and bow; behind ΔH

Rev.: forepart of boar r.

AR, hemiobols

² The identification of the figure featuring on the coins has raised some degree of controversy in the scholarly literature. Some researchers recognise it as a deity, while others identify it as the so-called Royal Hero. Besides, the identification may change depending on the nature of the issue or the place of minting. Discussing this subject exceeds the scope of this text. On this subject, cf. ROOT 1979: 117; IDEM 1988; IDEM 1989; IDEM 1991; STRONACH 1989; NIMCHUK 2002: 63ff; LINTZ 2010: 373; CORFÜ 2010; BODZEK 2011: 64ff; IDEM 2017; ALRAM 1993; IDEM 2012: 64; TUPLIN 2014: 139ff; HOERNES 2021: 802ff with further literature cited there. For clarity and ease of reference, I will use the term “Great King” throughout this paper.

³ HNO, temp. no. 1405 (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2405>).

O1-R1

a. Savoca Numismatik GMBH & Co. KG, Special Auction 79, lot 375, 21 June 2021 (8 mm; 0.48 g) (Fig. 1)

b. Numismatik Naumann Auction 89, lot 213, 3 May 2020 (8 mm; 0.5 g) = Numismatik Naumann Auction 110, lot 428, 7 November 2021 = Numismatik Naumann Auction 112, lot 306, 2 January 2022 = Numismatik Naumann Auction 118, lot 410, 3 July 2022 (8 mm; 0.51 g) (Fig. 2)

c. Aquila Numismatics Auction 3, lot 336, 3 May 2020 (7 mm; 0.5 g) (Fig. 3)

d. Pecunem/Numismatik Naumann Auction 38, lot 347, 6 December 2015 (8 mm; 0.49 g) (Fig. 4)

e. CNG Electronic Auction 418, lot 366, 11 April 2018 (7.5 mm; 0.51 g; 4 h) (Fig. 5)

f. Numismatik Naumann Auction 75, lot 295, 3 March 2019 (9 mm; 0.5 g) (Fig. 6)

All the coins of the described issue that I am aware of were struck with one obverse and one reverse die. Both dies show signs of wear but are not completely worn. Judging by the number of dies this was a small and rather ephemeral issue.

METROLOGY

Regarding the six specimens known to me, the diameter of the coins is between 7 and 9 mm, most frequently 8 mm (3 pcs), with the mean diameter and median diameter both at 8 mm. The weight of the coins is between 0.48 and 0.53 g. The average weight is 0.5 g, as is the median, and also the most frequent weight is 0.5 g (2–3 pcs).⁴ The coins are most commonly referred to as hemiobols.⁵ Indeed, their weight would correspond to a hemiobol struck to the reduced Milesian standard used in part of Karia.⁶

ICONOGRAPHY

Facing right, with long beard and hair and with a dentate crown on his head, the figure of the Great King on the obverse is dressed in a long undulating robe called “court robe”, and holds a bow in the left hand and a spear in the right hand.⁷ It is difficult to

⁴ Here a minor problem arises, due to divergent data for a specimen offered several times in Naumann Numismatik auctions; depending on the auction, different weights are given (0.5 and 0.51 g).

⁵ Cf. e.g. HNO, temp. no. 1405 (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2405>). In some auction descriptions, the coins were considered obols – cf. Pecunem/Numismatik Naumann/Gitbud & Naumann Auction 38, lot 347, 6 December 2015.

⁶ Cf. KONUK 2009: 178.

⁷ On the robe and the different terminology used in its descriptions, cf. e.g. CALMEYER 1979: 307; HARRISON 1982: 14; BITTNER 1987: 90ff; SHAHBAZI 2011; BODZEK 2011: 64f, footnotes 334, 335; IDEM 2017: 34–35. The robe is also sometimes referred to erroneously as a *kandys*, cf. RAWLINSON 1867: 152f; BABELON 1893: vii; LE RIDER 2001: 125; on the dentate crown cf. SCHLUMBERGER 1971: 377ff; on the bow see BITTNER 1987: 146ff, 213ff; on the spear BITTNER 1987: 154ff; further literature there.

determine conclusively whether the engraver marked the footwear.⁸ Such a depiction corresponds to what the accepted classification in numismatics calls Type III, and is known primarily from the gold and silver royal coins of the Achaemenids.⁹ However, Type III was also frequently used by representatives of the Achaemenid civil and military administration for their own coinages and is known from numerous satrapal and local issues throughout the western part of the Achaemenid Empire, from Ionia to Palestine.¹⁰ The image on the obverse suggests interpretation the described coins as one of satrapal issues. Placing an image associated with the king on coins issued by his subjects could demonstrate the issuer's allegiance to the king and thus legitimise both the act of minting the coins and the activity paid for by them.¹¹ At the same time, under the so-called "Dependenztheorie", the reference to the sovereign strengthened the authority of the person behind the minting of the coins.¹²

The forepart of boar on the reverse has a different symbolic meaning. The animal is depicted charging, at full gallop. The impression of aggression and strength is exacerbated by the robust skull, the clearly visible large eye, the forward-slanted ears, and the erect mane, rendered as a semicircular band running from the top of the head to the protome's end. One characteristic detail in the coins under discussion is the way in which the boar's snout is depicted. It has a slight hump in the upper part of the central section and terminates in an almost vertically arched nose. Near the hump in the central part of the snout, a cutter (lower tusk) is visible pointing diagonally upwards. Only one front leg is shown, which is upright and outstretched diagonally forward. The musculature of the animal's torso is also superficially marked.

The forepart or head of a boar or winged boar was a motif used on coins issued by many mints throughout western Asia Minor from Mysia (e.g. Kyzikos) to Karia (e.g. Euromos; Iasos) and above all Lykia.¹³ From an iconographic perspective,

⁸ Perhaps the figure is wearing so-called yellow-striped shoes, with characteristic pointed tips; cf. BITTNER 1987: 123f. For a possible example from another coin with the image of the Great King see: BODZEK 2017: 34.

⁹ For the typology of the Great King representations on Achaemenid royal coins cf. ROBINSON 1958; IDEM 1960; CARRADICE 1987; IDEM 1998; KRAAY 1976: 32f; STRONACH 1989; ALRAM 1993; LE RIDER 2001: 124f; OLBRYCHT 2004: 294; ALRAM 2012; On the importance of the image of the Great King in royal coinage see: OLBRYCHT 2004: 294; NIMCHUK 2010; BODZEK 2014: 60–61; IDEM 2022: 75.

¹⁰ For the definition of "satrapal coinage" see: BODZEK 2011: 84; IDEM 2014: 63; IDEM 2022: 89ff; with further literature there. For the image of the Great King in satrapal coinage: BODZEK 2011: 183–205; IDEM 2014: 67; IDEM 2022: 94; with further literature there.

¹¹ IDEM 2022: 85.

¹² For the "Dependenztheorie" in ancient art cf. BORCHHARDT 1983; IDEM 1985.

¹³ Cf. VON FRITZE 1914: 36, nos. 9–17, Pl. 5.9–18 (Mysia, Kyzikos); BODENSTEDT 1981: Em. 41 (Lesbos, Mytilene); *Ibidem*: Em. 14. (Ionia, Phokaia); SNG KAYHAN I 334 (Ionia Klazomenai); BARRON 1966: Class B, 99 (Ionia, Samos); SNG VON AULOCK 1981–1982 (Ionia, Klazomenai); HNO, temp. nos. 364–367, 540, 634, 769–774, 1909, 1955, 1957, 2133, 2176, 2312, 2398, 2399, 2495–2496, 2498, 2716 (Karia, Ialysos), 563–564 (Karia, Chersonessos), 2643 (Karia, Iasos), 6, 264, 941, 1072, 1074, 1584, 2904 (Karia, Euromos), 976, 2141–2142, 2179–2180 (Karia, uncertain mint), 2759 (Karia, uncertain Mint Gorgoneion); VISMARA 1989: Pl. I.1–12, Pl. 2.13–24, Pl. 3.25, Pl. 4.26–36, Pl. 5.38–42, Pl. 6.43–46, Pl. 9.68, Pl. 12.100–103, Pl. 15.138 (Lykia).

two main variants can be distinguished: with two legs or one leg, with further sub-variants depending on how the legs are depicted.¹⁴ The vast majority of the boar foreparts known from coins issued by the abovementioned mints were depicted with two front legs.¹⁵ Most often, both legs are slightly bent at the knee, with one leg pointing more downwards and the other more lifted. Less often, both legs are straight and outstretched forward: diagonally, and sometimes almost horizontally.¹⁶ Boar foreparts shown with only one leg are less frequent. Still, such depictions are known from both Lykian and Karian coins.¹⁷ As with the two-legged variant, here too the leg may be depicted more upright or bent at the knee. The meaning of the boar motif (its forepart or head) on the coins can be interpreted in many different ways.¹⁸ It may refer to the founding myth of the mint city,¹⁹ a religious cult,²⁰ reflect the reality of the local wildlife,²¹ have a purely aesthetic meaning,²² evoke the power of the animal, or refer to the aristocratic ethos of the issuer.²³ It is difficult to decide unequivocally which interpretation can be taken for the coins discussed. If we agree that these coins represent a satrapal issue, perhaps the boar is a reference to the aristocratic ethos of the issuers, regardless of their ethnic background. Boar-hunting scenes are known from monumental paintings and reliefs linked to the local aristocracy from Lykia and Milyas, but also from objects of the Greco-Persian (epichoric) art associated with Persian settlement.²⁴ This would make the reference to the hunting prowess of the issuer understandable as being important to the ethos of this social stratum. However, is the combination of the Great King motif (obverse) and the boar forepart (reverse) really to be interpreted in this way? Admittedly, examples are known when the motif of a boar forepart (albeit winged) appears in the context of satrapal coinage: on the reverses of issues linked to the satraps Pharnabazos and Orontas.²⁵ The obverses of these issues feature the “head in a tiara”

¹⁴ Cf. MARTINI 1989: 18 (Lykian coins).

¹⁵ Cf. for example VON FRITZE 1914: 36, nos. 9–17, Pl. 5.9–18 (Kyzikos); HNO, temp. no. 2643 (Karia, Iasos), 1854 (Karia, Euromos); VISMARA 1989: nos. 2, 7–12, Pl. I, 13–24, Pl. II, 25, Pl. 3, 29–33, 34–36, Pl. IV.

¹⁶ Cf. TROXELL 1981: 4.

¹⁷ Cf. VISMARA 1989: Pls. 1,3–6; 4,26–28, 33; temp. no. 2179 (Karia, uncertain), 2759 (uncertain Mint Gorgoneion).

¹⁸ With respect to Lykian coinage, but against a broad background, the problem was discussed in depth by J. Nollé (2001).

¹⁹ Examples include Arykanda in Lykia or Aspendos in Pamphylia; cf. NOLLÉ 2001: 45ff.

²⁰ Cf. BABELON 1910: 482f; HEAD 1911: 689; but see NOLLÉ 2001: 19.

²¹ Cf. FELLOWS 1855: 6f.

²² MØRKHOLM and ZAHLE 1972: 109; contra: NOLLÉ 2001: 19.

²³ Cf. NOLLÉ 2001: 62f.

²⁴ For a review of Lykian reliefs and the boar hunting motif in the Kizillbel painting see NOLLÉ 2001: 21ff; on Greco-Persian reliefs see KUBALA 2006; with further literature.

²⁵ TROXELL 1981: 4 (Orontas; Kisthene?), 6 (Orontas, Kisthene), 7 (as Orontas but see WINZER 2005: 9.1 – Pharnabazos).

motif, one of the most characteristic motifs in satrapal coinage. One could interpret the combination of these obverse and reverse types as a reference to the hunting prowess of Achaemenid aristocrats. However, in these cases the iconography of the reverse seems to be related more to the local minting tradition and have little to do with the ideas promoted by the issuers.²⁶ It is therefore possible that the reverse type is also actually related to local traditions in the case of the coins described.

DATING AND ATTRIBUTION

The author of the entry on the HNO website dated the described coins broadly to the 5th century BC, while auctioneers generally date them to the 4th century.²⁷ These are quite divergent propositions and what is crucial for the dating of these coins are the image and inscription on the obverse. One auctioneer has already pointed out that the obverses of these new coins bear similarity to those from the well-known “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue.²⁸ This abundant issue comprises tetradrachms (Figs. 7–11), drachms (Fig. 12) and two small denominations in bronze (Figs. 13–14).²⁹ Their obverses bear the depiction of the Great King in Type III, with spear and bow, while the reverses feature an *incusum* in which A.E.M. Johnston claims to see a map of Ionia, specifically of Ephesos and its environs.³⁰ Most silver coins are anepigraphic, but there are some that have inscriptions, as do bronze coins. In the case of the silver tetradrachms, this is the proper name ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ (Fig. 8)³¹ and the Greek letters ΑΓ (ligature) (Fig. 9) and ΔΗ (Fig. 10), as well as the Aramaic letter מ (mem) (Fig. 11).³² The bronze coins bear the legend ΒΑ (σιλωος)³³ (Fig. 13) and, again the ΔΗ known from the silver tetradrachms (Fig. 14).³⁴ The dating of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue is not fully clear. Until recently, the predominant view was that of J.P. Six, who attributed it to Memnon of Rhodes and dated to ca. 336–334.³⁵ Of crucial importance for verifying this chronology is the hoard discovered at Miletos in 2007. It contained two pieces belonging to this issue and

²⁶ For the iconography of satrapal coins cf. BODZEK 2022: 93ff.

²⁷ HNO, temp. no. 1405 (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2405>); cf. e.g. Pecunem/Numismatik Naumann, Auction 38, lot 47, 6 December 2015 (4th century BC, Karia?), CNG Electronic Auction 418, lot 366, 11 April 2018 (4th century BC, uncertain mint in Ionia or Karia); Numismatik Naumann, Auction 118, lot 410, 3 July 2022 (4th century BC, uncertain Ionian or Karian mint).

²⁸ Cf. CNG Electronic Auction 418, lot 366, 11 April 2018.

²⁹ Cf. JOHNSTON 1967; BODZEK 2011: 72–76, 185–187, Pl. 9.2–3; IDEM 2017: 40–42; IDEM 2022: 82ff; with further literature there.

³⁰ JOHNSTON 1967. In general, such identification is not widely accepted today.

³¹ *Ibidem*: 93, nos. 1–4.

³² *Ibidem*: 94, nos. 31–32 (ΑΓ), 30 (ΔΗ); Gorny & Mosch Giesener Münzhandlung, Auction 269, lot 568, 9 March 2020 (מ).

³³ *Ibidem*: 94, nos. 1–4.

³⁴ Cf. CNG Electronic Auction 444, lot 228, 15 April 2019.

³⁵ JOHNSTON 1967: 89.

was dated by Weisser to ca. 390/385 or even earlier, which moved the start of the production of these coins significantly back in time.³⁶ Another problem is the time span over which the coins were produced. The “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue was very abundant. A.E.M. Johnston managed to identify 21 obverse dies and 25 reverse dies,³⁷ which indicates either a very intensive production or one that was spread out over a long period of time. The long circulation of these coins does not help clarify this issue. That is why, in another publication, I dated the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue broadly to the first quarter of the 4th century.³⁸ I now believe that the coins may even have been minted for a slightly longer period.

The resemblance of the obverses between the tetradrachms and bronzes with the ΔH legend belonging to the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue (Figs. 10, 14) and the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins (Figs. 1–6) is frankly striking. It is not only the portrayal of the figure of the Great King, his pose, and the way his robes are arranged, or even the presence of the ΔH inscription (which is significant in itself), but also the location of this inscription in exactly the same place: behind the king’s back, roughly between the elbow of the right hand and the shin bent in the kneeling posture. The similarity between these two coin types is therefore undeniable and certainly not coincidental. The basic question is whether the two coin types formed a single issue or whether they represent two independent issues? In the first case, we would have to accept that, in addition to the previously known tetradrachms, drachms, and bronzes, the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue included silver obols with a different reverse type. However, there are several arguments against doing so. First of all, although the obverses of both issues are identical in terms of iconography itself, the style of the king’s figure from the “Great King/Boar Protome” type coins is different. The representation lacks finesse and artistry and is more schematic, not only compared to the tetradrachms but also, significantly, to the bronzes of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue. The engraver responsible the dies for the “Great King/Boar Protome” issue was less skilled. Secondly, the use of a different type of reverse in a situation where irregular *incusum* was invariably used for tetradrachms, drachms and bronzes struck with a range of different dies seems difficult to accept. As far as can be judged from the photographic material, the two issues differ in fabric as well.³⁹ Finally, the two issues were struck to different weight

³⁶ WEISSER 2009.

³⁷ JOHNSTON 1967. At least a few new dies should be added to the number indicated by Johnston, including an obverse die with the letter μ , not mentioned in her study. B. Weisser (2009: 155) points out the difficulty of verifying the number of stamps as established by Johnston due to the poor quality of the illustrations in her publication. It seems that the coin issue discussed here is in need of a renewed research.

³⁸ BODZEK 2017: 42.

³⁹ Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to hold the coins under discussion in my hand.

standards: the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue to the Chian standard, the “Great King/Boar Protome” to the Milesian (reduced) standard. All in all, we are dealing with two different issues. Still, it is clear that the coins of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue with the inscription ΔΗ served as the model for the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins. Since the former coins are dated to around the first quarter of the 4th century or later, the latter must have been struck at around the same time or later. The open question remains how much later?

In this context, it is worth reflecting on the meaning of the ΔΗ inscription. In the case of coins of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue, the meaning seems fairly obvious. It is commonly accepted to interpret the inscription ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ as a name, and ΑΓ and ΔΗ as the initial letters of the names of the officials responsible for minting individual series.⁴⁰ However, how to interpret the ΔΗ inscription on the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins? There are three possible explanations here. According to the first, the ΔΗ legend was deliberately retained because the responsibility for minting the coins rested with the same official who supervised the minting of the respective series of tetradrachms and bronzes of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” type. Leaving his initials would be logical in this situation. Alternatively, but less likely in my opinion, the coins of both issues under discussion were struck under the supervision of two different officials with names beginning with ΔΗ. According to yet another explanation, the obverse die was copied automatically as a whole, so the inscription has no connection to the official or other person behind the minting of the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins. Copying the coin design together with the inscription is, of course, not an unknown practice in ancient Greek minting. A glaring example of this are the imitations of Athenian “owls”. However, this seems unlikely to me in the case described. In any case, this last explanation does not provide grounds for narrowing the dating of the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins, nor does the explanation with the names of two different individuals starting with ΔΗ. If we assume, however, that the coins of both issues were minted under the supervision of one and the same official, they cannot be too far apart in time and dating the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins to around the first quarter of the 4th century or slightly later becomes reasonable.

In the descriptions posted by the auction houses, the “Great King/Boar Protome” issue was attributed to an unspecified Karian or Ionian mint.⁴¹ On the HNO side, the

⁴⁰ JOHNSTON 1967: 88. Consequently, the presence of the Aramaic letter מ should be interpreted in the same way. Unless we take the change in the alphabet as evidence of a change in the way how the production of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” coins was controlled, with the replacement of the names of officials by letter designations. However, such an interpretation raises a number of questions and doubts.

⁴¹ Cf. Savoca Numismatik GMBH & Co. KG, Special Auction 79, lot 375, 21 June 2021; Numismatik Naumann Auction 89, lot 213, 3 May 2020 = Numismatik Naumann Auction 110, lot 428, 7 November 2021 = Numismatik Naumann Auction 118, lot 410, 3 July 2022; Aquila Numismatics Auction 3, lot 336, 3 May 2020;

coin in question was published as “uncertain Karia”.⁴² Again, a comparison with the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue may be relevant in this case. A.E.M. Johnston has pointed to the Ionic notation of the name ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ and its presence in epigraphic and numismatic material from Ephesos, linking the production of those coins to this mint.⁴³ In the light of the new research, the Ephesos provenance of the issue, although not excluded, has been somewhat weakened, as the name Pythagores has also been confirmed in other Ionian centres: at Samos and Kolophon.⁴⁴ Taking a similar line, it can be pointed out that the presence of a group of names beginning with the letters ΔΗ is epigraphically confirmed in both Ionia and Karia. In addition to the names attested in Ephesos and indicated by Johnston, these are Δημήτριος, Δημέας, Δημοκρίνης and Δημόνικος.⁴⁵ The most common name recorded in several different cities is Δημήτριος. As noted in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* this name is attested in an early context dating to the 5th/4th century in Halicarnassus,⁴⁶ and a little later, in the 3rd century, in Miletos,⁴⁷ in Theos⁴⁸ and perhaps in an even later context in Ephesos.⁴⁹ The name Δημέας, in turn, was recorded in the 4th/3rd century at Priene,⁵⁰ Δημοκρίνης in the 3rd century at Smyrna,⁵¹ and finally Δημόνικος in the 1st century at Ephesos.⁵² It is, of course, impossible to conclusively determine which name lies behind the initial on the “Great King/Map of Ionia” coins, let alone those of the “Great King/Boar Protome” issue. Perhaps none of the above. It is also difficult on this basis to indicate in which of the abovementioned cities the coins of the former issue were struck. In any case, the presence of the mentioned names certainly does not weaken the hypothesis of the Ionian provenance of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” coins. As for the “Great King/Boar Protome” issue, the confirmed presence of names beginning with ΔΗ in Karian and Ionian cities strengthens the attribution of this issue to one of the mints of the Karian-Ionian region.

Some indication as to the attribution of the coins under discussion may also be provided by the reverse type. Although, in general, the boar forepart is not

Pecunem/Numismatik Naumann Auction 38, lot 347, 6 December 2015; CNG Electronic Auction 418, lot 366, 11 April 2018; Numismatik Naumann Auction 75, lot 295, 3 March 2019.

⁴² HNO, temp. no. 1405 (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2405>).

⁴³ JOHNSTON 1967: 88f.

⁴⁴ MEADOWS 2002: 209. This author also points out that it is rather unlikely for chronological reasons that the Pythagores from the coins described is the same as the official known from the issues of the city of Ephesos.

⁴⁵ JOHNSTON 1967: 88f.

⁴⁶ LGPN V5b-4412; cf. CLERC 1882: 192, 13.

⁴⁷ LGPN V5b-17407; V5b-17415.

⁴⁸ LGPN V5a-39696.

⁴⁹ LGPN V5a-29570.

⁵⁰ LGPN V5a-39947.

⁵¹ LGPN V5a-35930.

⁵² LGPN V5a-41196.

sufficiently original motif nor one unambiguously linked to a specific mint, it must be stressed that iconographically very similar representations are known from some Lykian coins known as the Predynastic Group⁵³ issues and the Protodynastic issues of Group A.⁵⁴ The similarity here is in that the boar is depicted with one outstretched leg. However, the much earlier chronology of the Lycian coins rather rules out their connection with the “Great King/Boar Protome” issue. Chronologically much closer, and at the same time iconographically most similar, to the coins under discussion are representations of boar forepart on a hemiobol issue from an unspecified Karian mint (Fig. 15).⁵⁵ Here, the boar is depicted on the obverse, while the reverse has an image of a star-like floral motif. The boar’s snout and the outstretched single front leg of the animal, shown diagonally, are elements which are very similar to those featuring on the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins. The HNO authors date this issue to ca. 400–380 and point to the Milesian style of the reverse. This reverse type is also known from Hekatomnid coinage, and is particularly iconographically close to that on the coins of Hekatomnos and Maussollos minted at Mylasa.⁵⁶

Compared to the “Boar Protome/Floral Motif” issue, the representation of the boar forepart on the coins with the ΔH legend is stylistically somewhat inferior. It also differs in detail. Undoubtedly, the die for the coins of the former issue is the work of a different engraver and they probably come from a different mint. Nevertheless, the aforementioned iconographic, but also chronological proximity of these two issues can be seen as a confirmation of the Karian provenance of the coins with the ΔH inscription.

An argument in favour of the Karian attribution of the coins under discussion is also the weight standard according to which they were supposedly struck, i.e. the reduced Milesian standard. As mentioned, it was in use in the territory of Karia at the end of the 5th and in the first half of the 4th century.

Finally, it is worth recalling that in the late 5th and 4th centuries, Karia was one of those parts of the Achaemenid Empire where the production of small-denomination coins reached particularly large scale.⁵⁷ This has no direct bearing on the Karian attribution of the described issue, but neither does it deny such an attribution.

All in all, the mint producing the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins should with all likelihood be sought in Karia. It is currently impossible to indicate a specific mint

⁵³ VISMARA 1989: Pl. 1.1, 3–6.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*: Pl. 2.26–28, 33 (Group A).

⁵⁵ HNO, temp. no. 2179 (<http://hno.huma-num.fr/browse?idType=2179>); SNG KECKMAN II 354; SNG KAYHAN II 1717.

⁵⁶ Cf. HNO, temp. nos. 224–225, 2588 (Hekatomnos, Mylasa), 2506 (Hekatomnos, Mylasa), 645 (Mylasa, Maussollos), 2565 (Halikarnassos, Hidrieus), 448 (Halikarnassos, Pixodaros).

⁵⁷ Cf. TROXELL 1984.

but given the pattern of coinage in the land, it should probably be sought among the coastal centres.

CONCLUSIONS

The issue under discussion was struck at some mint on the Karian coast in the first quarter of the 4th century or slightly later. It was a small issue produced over a relatively short period using only one obverse die, perhaps for emergency reasons. The iconography of the obverse, modelled on the “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue, seems to indicate that they were most likely minted by an Achaemenid official, perhaps to finance military activity. Although, as indicated by stylistic and metrological differences, this issue is not part of the aforementioned “Great King/Map of Ionia” issue, it is tempting to consider it as supplementary to the latter. Assuming the “Great King/Map of Ionia” coins were minted at one of the Ionian mints (perhaps Ephesos), it could well be that for some reason, in order to finance local needs, it was decided to launch a supplementary production of the “Great King/Boar Protome” hemiobols at one of the Karian mints. To relate to the original issue, an identical obverse type was used. The reverse type, on the other hand, most likely refers to the local tradition. The minting of these coins may have been under the control of the same official with the name starting with ΔH who supervised the production of one of the “Great King/Map of Ionia” series. It is worth mentioning that the image of the Great King, albeit in a different variant known as Type IV, with bow and dagger, was also used for other issues of small denomination coins minted in Karia. This type of obverse is known from the coins attributed by K. Konuk to the Kasobala mint.⁵⁸ Again, we have the same scheme here with the reverse type referring to the local tradition. A similar iconographic solution, i.e. the Great King on the obverse/probably the local type on the reverse, was also applied in an anonymous issue of tetartemorions from an unspecified Karian mint.⁵⁹ It seems that the use of the Great King motif in the listed issues was not a coincidence. This is particularly true of the coins minted at Kasobala, where the Great King image replaced the ram’s head traditionally used at that mint.⁶⁰ Such a replacement of a type traditional for the mint with one referring directly to the iconographic repertoire associated with the Achaemenids seems to have been politically motivated. Such coins may have been used to finance the operations of some representative of the Achaemenid administration or to manifest the political sympathies of the issuer.

⁵⁸ KONUK 2009: 179, no. 11; SNG KAYHAN II 1638.

⁵⁹ SNG KAYHAN II 1724.

⁶⁰ This is indicated by the sequence of coins struck at this mint established by K. Konuk. Cf. KONUK 2009: 179, no. 11; SNG KAYHAN II 1638.

The aforementioned issues minted at Kasobala and an uncertain Karian mint probably date slightly later than the “Great King/Boar Protome” coins. However, they show a certain recurrent pattern present in Karian coinage in the 4th century.

ABBREVIATIONS

- HNO = *Historia Numorum Online*, <http://hno.huma-num.fr/> (accessed on 15 October 2023).
 LPGN = *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, <https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed on 10 October 2023).
 SNG KAYHANI = K. KONUK (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Turkey I: The Muharrem Kayhan Collection*, Istanbul–Bordeaux 2002.
 SNG KAYHAN II = K. KONUK, O. TEKİN and A. EROL-ÖZDIZBAY (eds.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Turkey I: The Muharrem Kayhan Collection*, part 2, Istanbul 2015.
 SNG KECKMAN II = R.H.J. ASHTON (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Finland: The Erkki Keckman Collection in the Skopbank, Helsinki*, part 2: *Asia Minor except Karia*, Helsinki 1999.
 SNG VONAULOCK = P.R. FRANKE et AL. (eds.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans von Aulock*, Berlin 1957–1964.

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Uncertain satrap, Karia, uncertain mint, obol, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Savoca Numismatik GMBH & Co. KG, Special Auction 79, lot 375, 21 June 2021

Fig. 2. Uncertain satrap, Karia, uncertain mint, obol, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Numismatik Naumann Auction 89, lot 213, 3 May 2020 (8 mm; 0.5 g) = Numismatik
Naumann Auction 110, lot 428, 7 November 2021 = Numismatik Naumann Auction 118,
lot 410, 3 July 2022

Fig. 3. Uncertain satrap, Karia, uncertain mint, obol, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Aquila Numismatics Auction 3, lot 336, 3 May 2020

Fig. 4. Uncertain satrap, Karia, uncertain mint, obol, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Pecunem/Numismatik Naumann Auction 38, lot 347, 6 December 2015

Fig. 5. Uncertain satrap, Karia, uncertain mint, obol, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© CNG Electronic Auction 418, lot 366, 11 April 2018

Fig. 6. Uncertain satrap, Karia, uncertain mint, obol, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Numismatik Naumann Auction 75, lot 295, 3 March 2019

Fig. 7. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AR, tetradrachm, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© CNG, Auction 124, lot 332, 19 September 2023

Fig. 8. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AR, tetradrachm, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 269, lot 568, 9 March 2020

Fig. 9. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AR, tetradrachm, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 382, lot 147, 16 March 2023

Fig. 10. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AR, tetradrachm, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Hess-Divo AG, Auction 334, lot 67, 29 May 2018

Fig. 11. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AR, tetradrachm, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 269, lot 569, 9 March 2020

Fig. 12. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AR, drachm, ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© CNG Triton XVIII, lot 606, 5 January 2015

Fig. 13. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AE, chalkous (?), ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© Savoca Numismatik GmbH & Co. KG, Online Auction 148, lot 259, 20 November 2022

Fig. 14. Uncertain satrap, Ionia, Ephesos (?), AE, chalkous (?), ca. 400–375 or slightly later
© CNG, Electronic Auction 444, lot 228, 15 May 2019

Fig. 15. Karia, uncertain mint, AR, hemiobol, ca. 400–380
© CNG Electronic Auction 530, lot 246, 4 January 2023

