

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVIII

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

Kraków 2023

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XVIII

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

Kraków 2023

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, Prof. Wiesław Kaczanowicz, Elżbieta Korczyńska, Prof. Katerini Liampi, Prof. Andrew Meadows, Prof. Mariusz Mielczarek, Dr Hab. 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 Zajac

Redaktor tematyczny / Theme Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Redaktor językowy / Linguistic Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Recenzenci / Reviewers:

Prof. Peter van Alfen, Dr Hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, Dr Joe Cribb, Dr Przemysław Dulęba, Dr Hab. Arkadiusz Dymowski, Dr Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, Dr Helle Horsnaes, Dr Szymon Jellonek, Dr Łukasz Koniarek, Dr Kyrilo Myzgin, Dr Dariusz Niemiec, Dr Przemysław Nocuń, Prof. Johannes Nollé, Prof. Marek Olbrycht, Dr Julien Olivier, Prof. Janusz Pezda, Dr Magdalena Piwocka, Dr Hab. Judyta Rodzińska-Nowak, Dr Grzegorz Śniezko, Dr Ömer Tatar, Dr David Wigg-Wolf, Dr Dmitriy Yanov, Dr Michał Zawadzki

Redaktorzy prowadzący / Managing Editors:

Barbara Zajac, Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Kowalczyk

Tłumaczenia / Translations:

Piotr Godlewski

Korekta / Proofreading:

Aeddan Shaw

Projekt graficzny i typografia / Graphic design and desk top publishing:

Luiza Berdak

Skład i lamanie / Typesetting and page layout:

Wojciech Skrzypiec

Adres redakcji / Address of the Editorial Office:

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie
ul. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12, 31-109 Kraków
tel. (+48) 12 433 58 50, e-mail: notae@mnk.pl
<http://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>

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

Wersją pierwotną *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* jest wersja elektroniczna.
The electronic edition of the *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* is treated as its original version.

© Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie i Autorzy, 2023

ISSN 1426-5435

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 11 Od redakcji
12 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
15 A Note on a Satrapal Coin with the Inscription ΔH
Notatka na temat satrapiej monety z legendą ΔH
- MATI JOHANANOFF
31 A Case of Competing Attributions: Small Anepigraphic Levantine Silver Coins with a Female Head and an Eagle on a Thunderbolt
Przypadek konkurencyjnych atrybucji: niewielkie, srebrne, anepigraficzne monety lewantyńskie z kobiecą głową i orłem na błyskawicy
- BARTOSZ AWIANOWICZ
49 An Unknown Coin of Castor of Galatia and a Possible New Dating of Deiotarus' Coins with a Monogram of His Name
Nieznaną moneta Kastora z Galacji i możliwe nowe datowanie monet Deiotarosa z monogramem jego imienia
- JOANNA ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA, BARBARA ZAJĄC
57 A Roman Republican Denarius from the Early Roman Period Cemetery in Kazimierza Wielka, Świętokrzyskie Province
Denar republikański z cmentarzyska z wczesnego okresu rzymskiego z Kazimierzy Wielkiej, woj. świętokrzyskie
- MARCIN BOHR, DAWID MACIEJCZUK
73 A Hoard of Early Roman Sestertii from the Region of Święta Góra in the Krucze Mountains, Poland
Skarb wczesnorzymskich sesterców z rejonu Świętej Góry w Górach Kruczych
- BORIS STOKLAS
101 Two Interesting Bulk Finds of Roman Denarii from Horovce – Ostrá Hora Hill (Púchov District)
Dwa interesujące kolektywne znaleziska rzymskich denarów z Horovcůw – Góra Ostrá hora (powiat Púchov)
- MAREK JURKOWSKI
145 On the “Dynastic” Toponymy of Cilicia Pedias in the Roman Empire (until ca. AD 260) with Particular Reference to the Numismatic Evidence
O dynastycznej toponimii Cylicji Pedias w Cesarstwie Rzymskim (do około 260 r. n.e.) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem świadectw numizmatycznych

- 165 ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI
Indian *Putalis* as the Key to Understanding Some Aspects of the Manufacture and Use of Barbarian Imitations of Roman Gold Coins. Some Preliminary Remarks
Indyjskie putali jako klucz do zrozumienia niektórych aspektów wytwarzania i użytkowania barbarzyńskich naśladownictw złotych monet rzymskich. Kilka uwag wstępnych
- 175 JAKUB M. NIEBYLSKI, DARIUSZ ROZMUS,
BARTŁOMIEJ SZ. SZMONIEWSKI
New Finds of Early Medieval Weights and Lead Objects from Dąbrowa Górnicza, Chruszczobród, and Chruszczobród-Piaski, Śląskie Province
Nowe znaleziska wczesnośredniowiecznych ciężarków i wyrobów ołowianych z obszaru pogranicza Dąbrowy Górniczej, Chruszczobrodu i Chruszczobrodu-Piasków, woj. śląskie
- 201 ARTUR BOGUSZEWICZ, BARBARA BUTENT-STEFANIAK
Rogowiec (Hornsberg/Hornschloss) Castle. A New Look at the History of the Stronghold on the Silesian-Bohemian Borderland in Light of Numismatic Material
Zamek Rogowiec (Hornsberg/Hornschloss). Nowe spojrzenie na dzieje warowni ze śląsko-czeskiego pogranicza z perspektywy materiałów numizmatycznych
- 241 ANDRII BOIKO-HAHARIN, SERHII KULESHOV
A Copper Coin with the Princely Sign of Olhovych (?) or Olherdovych (?)
Miedziana moneta z książęcym znakiem Olegowicza (?) lub Olgierdowicza (?)
- 251 AGNIESZKA SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA
Giovanni Maria Mosca (Called Padovano) and Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. A Revision of the *Oeuvre* of Italian Medallists at the Court of the Last Jagiellons
Giovanni Maria Mosca (zwany Padovano) i Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. Rewizja oeuvre medalierskiego artystów włoskich na dworze ostatnich Jagiellonów
- 285 WITOLD GARBACZEWSKI
Medal “To the Ruthenian Brethren Murdered by the Muscovite Tsar for Their Fidelity to the Church and Poland” (the So-Called Chełm Commemorative Medal) from 1875 Engraved by Ernest Paulin Tasset
Medal „Braciom Rusinom pomordowanym przez carat moskiewski za wierność dla Kościoła i Polski” (tzw. pamiątkowy medal chełmski) dłuta Ernesta Paulina Tasseta z 1875 roku

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

- BARBARA ZAJĄC
317 EVGENI I. PAUNOV, *From Koine to Romanitas: The Numismatic Evidence for Roman Expansion and Settlement in Moesia and Thrace (ca. 146 BC – AD 98/117)*, vols. 1–2, ANTIQUITATES: Archäologische Forschungsergebnisse 76, Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg 2021
- BARBARA ZAJĄC
326 JEROME MAIRAT, MARGUERITE SPOERRI BUTCHER with contributions by MICHEL AMANDRY, ROGER BLAND, KEVIN BUTCHER, JACK NURPETLIAN, and ULRIKE PETER, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. VII.2: From Gordian I to Gordian III (AD 238–244): All Provinces Except Asia. Part I: Introduction and Catalogue. Part II: Indexes and Plates*, British Museum Press, Bibliothèque Nationale, London–Paris 2022
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
332 MARTIN BAER, WOLFGANG FISCHER-BOSSERT and NIKOLAUS SCHINDEL (eds.), *CISTA MYSTICA. Festschrift für Wolfgang Szaivert*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 23, Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik, Wien 2020

KRONIKI / CHRONICLES

- MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK
341 *Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2022)*
The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2022)
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
357 *Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2020–2023)*
The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow Branch (2020–2023)
- WIOLETTA PAZOWSKA
365 International Numismatic Conference “NUMISMATICA CENTROEUROPAEA VI” – 18–21 September 2023, Znojmo, Centrum Louka

NEKROLOGI / OBITUARIES

373 JOHANNES NOLLÉ
Wilhelm Müseler – In Memory of a Numismatic ἄωρος

375 CLAIRE FRANKLIN WERZ
Ulrich Werz (January 15, 1964 – June 14, 2023)
Bibliography of Ulrich Werz



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

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

Szanowni Państwo,

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 szerokich 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

BARTOSZ AWIANOWICZ
Nicolaus Copernicus University
ORCID: 0000-0001-7380-2272

An Unknown Coin of Castor of Galatia and a Possible New Dating of Deiotarus' Coins with a Monogram of His Name

ABSTRACT: The paper presents a hitherto unpublished bronze small Galatian coin with the Greek monogram of the name Castor on the reverse (gen. ΚΑΣΤΟΠΟΣ), typologically very close to the small bronzes (denomination C according to Hoover's division) of King Deiotarus of Galatia HGC 7, 776 = SNG von Aulock 6101; SNG France 3, 2332. It seems more likely that the coin published here was struck for Castor, grandson of Deiotarus, who became king of Galatia (and Paphlagonia) after the death of his grandfather in 40 BC, than for Castor Tancondarius, tetrarch of Tectosages in 63/2–43 BC, son-in-law of Deiotarus and father of the younger Castor. This attribution also alters the dating of the type HGC 7, 776, which was probably struck between 44 and 40 BC.

KEY WORDS: Galatia, Deiotarus, Castor, AE denominations

ABSTRAKT: *Nieznana moneta Kastora z Galacji i możliwe nowe datowanie monet Deiotarosa z monogramem jego imienia*

Artykuł jest poświęcony dotychczas niepublikowanej niewielkiej monecie galackiej z greckim monogramem imienia Kastor na rewersie (gen. ΚΑΣΤΟΠΟΣ), typologicznie bardzo bliskiej małym brązom (nominał C według podziału Hoovera) króla Galacji Deiotarosa HGC 7, 776 = SNG von Aulock 6101; SNG France 3, 2332. Wydaje się bardziej prawdopodobne, że monetę tę wybito dla Kastora, wnuka Deiotarosa, który został królem Galacji (i Paflagonii) po śmierci dziadka w 40 r. p.n.e., niż dla Kastora, tetrarchy Tektosagetów od 63/2 do 43 r. p.n.e., zięcia Deiotarosa i ojca młodszego Kastora. Taka atrybucja zmienia również datowanie typu HGC 7, 776, który mógł być bity między 44 a 40 r. p.n.e.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Galacja, Deiotaros, Kastor, nominały brązowe

In November 45 BC, Cicero delivered his last speech during Caesar's lifetime, which is also the very last defense speech that he gave. These two facts alone make *Pro rege Deiotaro* a priceless monument of Roman literature and a unique historical source. However, the circumstances of its delivery were also exceptional, as Deiotarus' case was heard before Caesar in his home and since the king, loyal to Pompey to the end, was accused of plotting against Caesar's life, the Dictator was the aggrieved party and the judge at the same time.¹

We know quite a lot about the king as the defendant in this case. Deiotarus was one of the three surviving Galatian chieftains after Mithridates' VI slaughter of the Galatian elite organized by Mithridates VI of Pontus at Pergamon in 86 BC. He began his career as tetrarch (leader) of the Tolistobogii tribe, and as B. Kahl observes: "With remarkable shrewdness, prowess, and brutality, he managed in the next four decades to become the sole ruler of all Galatian tribes and an indispensable pillar of Roman rule, similar to the Pergamones earlier. Rome gradually built him into a client ruler and finally granted him the official title of king in 59 BC. Twelve years later, in 47 BC, he had all Galatian tribal territory under his authority."² Deiotarus primarily owed his rise to power to Pompey, to whom he remained loyal until his defeat at Pharsalus where he "was represented by a force of 600 cavalry, twice as large as the contribution of the rulers of the Tectosages, Castor and Domnilius."³ The Castor mentioned here is Castor Tarcondarius, one of the three tetrarchs of Galatia appointed by Pompey, and son-in-law of Deiotarus. After Pharsalus, the latter was deprived of part of his dominions by the victorious Caesar in 47 BC. As Cicero assures us, it was known that Caesar was angry with Deiotarus (*Deiot.* 8: "iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii"). Deiotarus' grandson Castor, son of Castor Tarcondarius, took advantage of this and accused his grandfather of plotting against Caesar's life when he had hosted the Dictator upon his return from Pontus in 47 BC. However, the young Castor was probably acting here in the interests of his father, who saw an opportunity in Caesar's victory to expand his power in Galatia. Despite hearing Cicero's excellent defense speech, Caesar did not make, or at least did not issue, a decision in the case of the Galatian king.⁴ Both Cicero, who defended Deiotarus, and the Caesarian author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*,⁵ who was rather hostile to him, unanimously emphasized the old king's characteristic "prudentia,"

¹ See GOTOFF 1993: xxxvii–xxxviii.

² KAHL 2010: 175. SYME 1995: 129, however, draws attention to the funerary inscription of Deiotarus' discovered in the tumulus at Karalar, which proves that the Galatian king did not acquire the tetrarchy of the Tectosages before the year 43 BC.

³ SYME 1995: 133.

⁴ See *Ibidem*: 134.

⁵ See Cicero, *Deiot.* 16: "quis consideratior illo, quis tectior, quis prudentior?" and *Bell. Alex.* 68, 1: "quod homo tantae prudentiae scire potuisset".

understood not as “knowledge” but rather as “sagacity” or “(political) intelligence.” This political cleverness, but also probably a bribe, not only led Antony to approve Deiotarus’ rule over the territory of which he had been deprived after Caesar’s death, but also to issue a decree assigning the tribe of Tokmoi (Lat. Trocemi) to him. Strengthened by this, the old king occupied the capital of the Tectosages tetrarchy and killed Castor Tarcondarius and his wife. In 43 or 42 BC, when Caesarians on one side and Brutus and Cassius on the other were preparing for the final clash in the civil war and had no ability to intervene in Galatian affairs, Deiotarus finally took possession of all Galatia before dying in 40 BC.⁶ Strabo, who wrote his *Geographica* only a few decades later, claims that Deiotarus was succeeded by Amyntas (12. 5.1), son of Brogitarus and a daughter of Deiotarus. He inherited the title of tetrarch of his tribe after the death of his father in ca. 50 BC. Ten years later, Antony granted him a kingdom composed of parts of Pisidia and Phrygia, and in 37/6 BC made him king of Galatia.⁷

Such a succession seems to be reflected in the coinage of the Galatian client kings. Indeed, not counting the unique tetradrachm of Brogitarus, son-in-law of Deiotarus and from 59/58 BC the second king of Galatia,⁸ only the coins of Amyntas are attested after the bronze coin issues of Deiotarus. O.D. Hoover distinguishes two bronze denominations struck by Deiotarus: the larger denomination A (20–24 mm, 10.09–12.99 g – types 773 and 774) and the smaller denomination C (15–18 mm, 4.33–6.94 g – types 775 and 776). Only one type (HGC 7, 774 = SNG France 3, 2333–2335) has a full reverse legend with the king’s name and title: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ. Hoover considers this type to be the latest, minted after he was recognized as king by the Senate in 59/8 BC. While the Greek monogram of Deiotarus’ name without the royal title, present on the reverses of the other three types (HGC 7, 773, 775 and 776) “seems to indicate production while he was still tetrarch.”⁹ Of these, there are more known specimens of the smaller denomination (C),¹⁰ both with the laureate head of Zeus to right on the obverse: type HGC 7, 775 with an eagle with spread wings, standing left on thunderbolt, head reversed, Deiotarus’ monogram to the left (Fig. 1) and type HGC 7, 776 with a large monogram and

⁶ See SYME 1995: 134–135.

⁷ See Appian, *BC* 5, 75 and P. von Rohden in: RE 1894: 2007–2008 (Amyntas 21).

⁸ See HOOVER 2012: 288–289 and SNG France 3, 2336.

⁹ HOOVER 2012: 286.

¹⁰ At least 53 specimens of the type 775 and 32 of the type 776 have appeared in commerce in the past 10 years alone: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?term=Deiotaros+6100&category=1-2&lot=&date_from=&date_to=&thesaurus=1&images=1&en=1&de=1&fr=1&it=1&es=1&ot=1¤cy=usd&order=0 (accessed on 22 December 2023) and https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?term=Deiotaros+6101&category=1-2&lot=&date_from=&date_to=&thesaurus=1&images=1&en=1&de=1&fr=1&it=1&es=1&ot=1¤cy=usd&order=0 (accessed on 22 December 2023).

Galatian (Celtic) *thureos* shield (Fig. 2). According to Hoover, these types were struck in Pessinus between ca. 63/2–59/8 BC.¹¹

This chronology seems logical, since the monogram of Amyntas' name is preceded on the reverses of his bronze coins (HGC 7, 779 and 784)¹² by a B, which, according to tradition dating back to Alexander III the Great, is believed to be an abbreviation of the Greek Β(ασιλέως). However, such a reconstruction of the chronology of the coinage of Galatia as a client kingdom (63–25 BC) may be shattered by the find of a bronze coin with a monogram of the name Castor in the Greek genitive (ΚΑΣΤΟΠΟΣ) in a set of 100 coins sold on November 15, 2022 at auction by Auktionshaus Ulrich Felzmann GmbH & Co. KG (lot 84). This coin (Fig. 3) shows a clear parallel to the type HGC 7, 776 in the Hoover catalog:

Diameter: 18/16.5 mm, 4.00 g

Obv.: laureate head of Zeus to right

Rev.: *Thureos* shield, carnyx and monogram [ΚΑΣΤΟΠΟΣ]

The reading of the monogram on the reverse of this hitherto unpublished coin as the genitive of the name Castor (Gr. Κάστωρ) seems to be certain (Fig. 4).¹³ The key question seems to be whether it was minted for Castor Tarcondarius after Pompey granted him the tetrarchy of the Tectosagetes in 63/2 BC, when he might have hoped to elevate him (like his father-in-law and Brogitarus) to the rank of king, or whether it is the coin of his son, Deiotarus' direct accuser in the famous trial in front of Caesar in November 45 BC. The first possibility may be supported by the lack of a royal title and a kind of competition for Celtic symbols, because between the *thureos* shield and the monogram is a *carnyx* – a typically Celtic wind instrument, mainly attested in the 1st century BC on Roman denarii.¹⁴ Such an interpretation, however, is weakened by the fact that Castor Tarcondarius, as suggested in Caesar's *De bello civili* (3. 4, 5), probably shared his power with Domnilaus, or ruled only one of two separate divisions of the Tectosagian territory.¹⁵ Moreover, the style of the coins is very close to bronzes with the monogram of Deiotarus struck in Pessinus, which was situated in his domain. Because of the conflicting ambitions of the two tetrarchs, it is somewhat difficult to assume that the more powerful father-in-law made his engravers available to his son-in-law so that the latter could emphasize his

¹¹ See also NEWELL 1934: 9–10.

¹² See HOOVER 2012: 292–293.

¹³ See also Fig. 5 with the monogram of Deiotarus.

¹⁴ It was a particularly popular motif in the early forties of the 1st century BC. See RRC 437/4 448/3, 450/1, 452/2 and 468/2.

¹⁵ Cf. SYME 1995: 130.

status through coins. If we want to maintain the traditional chronology of Deiotarus' smaller bronze coinage, the monogram on the Galatian coin published here for the first time can also be read as ΒΡΟΓΙΤΑΡΟΥ. Such a reading, however, assumes a Β shape that is unusual in Greek monograms,¹⁶ but it may be supported by the analogous representation of the head of Zeus on the only known type of Brogitarus' coins, the tetradrachm HGC 7, 777, with the small bronze denominations of Deiotarus and the "Castor" monogram. The correspondence is apparent, however, because the tetradrachm minted by Brogitarus according to the Cystophoric standard, popular throughout western Asia Minor, is a piece of money that appears to have been intended for external use whether as a means of payment or rather, due to its rarity, a token of prestige – a confirmation of the issuer's royal authority. The small bronzes bearing only a monogram were more likely to be used in Galatia for small transactions. Since types HGC 7, 775–776 and the new one represent small bronze denominations aimed at the local market, we must assert that we do not know to what extent the Greek title βασιλεύς was relevant for the Gallic recipients of these coins.

Therefore, it is worth to consider departing from Hoover's chronology and to identify the type HGC 7, 776 as the latest of the Deiotarus' coins, minted by 40 BC.¹⁷ The most plausible dating for an issue of this type seems to be the period between April 44, when Antony's decree extending the power of Deiotarus was issued, and the king's death in 40 BC.¹⁸ This is also supported by the stylistic analogy of Zeus' head on the obverse of the same AE denominations minted in Cremna during the reign of Amyntas SNG France 3, 1014–47 = RPC I 3519 (Fig. 6). Then the new issue with Castor's monogram would refer to Castor, son of Tarcondarius, to whom, as Cassius Dio testifies (48. 33, 5), the triumvirs granted the domains of Deiotarus and Attalus, king of Paphlagonia, "who have both died in Galatia"¹⁹ in 40 BC. While a coinage rivalry between tetrarchs Deiotarus and Castor Tarcondarius or Brogitarus cannot be completely excluded, this seems a less likely hypothesis than the fact that the younger Castor took over the mint in Pessinus and continued to produce small bronze denominations already with his monogram and an additional *carnyx*. Although Castor reigned for a much shorter period than his predecessor, only about four years (40–36 BC), it seems that as king of Galatia and Paphlagonia

¹⁶ Cf. monograms of Polemo I as king of Bosphoros (ca. 37–8 BC) on his coins HGC 7, 344–350.

¹⁷ The HGC 7, 774 type with a noticeably larger diameter with the full name and royal title of Deiotarus may have been minted in parallel at a different (probably Phrygian) mint.

¹⁸ The type HGC 7, 775 appears to be slightly earlier due to the marginally higher weight of known specimens (see for instance Savoca Numismatik, 8th Blue Auction (14.07.2018), 481 – 7.09 g and 124th Silver Auction (23.01.2022), 175 – 7.49 g; Numismatik Naumann, auction 75 (03.03.2019), 249 – 6.80 g), but it did not necessarily have to have been minted before Deiotarus obtained the royal title.

¹⁹ Cassius Dio, 48. 33, 5: "Κάστορι τέ τινη ἦ τε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ Δημοτάρου ἀρχῆ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τελευτησάντων ἐδόθη".

he should have left some trace in the coinage as well. That trace seems to be the coin just described above.

ABBREVIATIONS

- HGC 7 = O.D. HOOVER, *Handbook of Coins of Northern and Central Anatolia: Pontos, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lykaonia, and Kappadokia (with Kolchis and the Kimmerian Bosphoros): Fifth to First Centuries BC*, Lancaster–London 2012.
- RE 1894 = G. WISSOWA (ed.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. I.2: *Alexandros–Apollokrates*, Stuttgart 1894.
- RPC I = A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY and P.P. RIPOLLÈS, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. I: *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London–Paris 1992 (online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>; accessed on 22 December 2023).
- RRC = M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, vols. 1–2, Cambridge 2001.
- SNG France 3 = P. WEISS and E. LEVANTE (eds.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: France 3: Cabinet des Médailles: Pamphylie, Pisidie, Lycaonie, Galatie*, Zürich 1994.
- SNG von Aulock = H. von AULOCK (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland, Sammlung Hans von Aulock 3: Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cyprus, Imperial Cistophori, Posthumous Lysimachus, Alexander Tetradrachms*, Berlin 1964.

REFERENCES

- GOTOFF, H.C. 1993. *Cicero's Caesarian Speeches: A Stylistic Commentary*, Chapel Hill, NC–London.
- HOOVER, O.D. 2012. *Handbook of Coins of Northern and Central Anatolia: Pontos, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lykaonia, and Kappadokia (with Kolchis and the Kimmerian Bosphoros): Fifth to First Centuries BC*, Lancaster–London.
- KAHL, B. 2010. *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading With the Eyes of the Vanquished*, Paul in Critical Contexts, Minneapolis, MN. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv19cwb7n
- NEWELL, E.T. 1934. “Un monnayage de bronze de Déjotaros”, *Revue belge de Numismatique* 86: 5–10, Pl. 1.
- SYME, R. 1995. *Anatolica: Studies in Strabo*, Oxford.

Author's address:

Bartosz Awianowicz
Nicolaus Copernicus University, Faculty of Humanities
Fosa Staromiejska 3, 87-100 Toruń, Poland
Bartosz.Awianowicz@uni.torun.pl

PLATE 1

Fig. 1. Galatia, Deiotarus, as tetrarch, 63/2–40 BC (bronze, 18 mm, 5.54 g, 12 h). *Obv.*: laureate head of Zeus to right. *Rev.*: eagle, with spread wings and head turned back to right, standing left on a thunderbolt; in field to left, monogram. HGC 7, 775; SNG von Aulock 6099–6100

Photo: Nomos, Obolos Web Auction 13 (02.07.2019), 419

Fig. 2. Galatia, Deiotarus, 44–40 BC (bronze, 16 mm, 4.83 g, 12 h). *Obv.*: laureate head of Zeus to right. *Rev.*: Galatian shield and monogram [ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡ(ΟΥ)]. HGC 7, 776; SNG France 3, 2332; SNG von Aulock 6101

Photo: Nomos, Obolos Web Auction 11 (08.12.2018), 342

Fig. 3. Galatia, Castor, 40–36 BC (bronze, 18 mm, 4.00 g, 11 h). *Obv.*: laureate head of Zeus to right. *Rev.*: Galatian shield, *carynx* and monogram [(ΚΑΣΤΟΡ(Ος)]. HGC 7 –; SNG France 3 –, SNG von Aulock –

Photo: B. Awianowicz

Fig. 4. Reading of the monogram of the name Κάστωρ in gen.: ΚΑΣΤΟΡΟΣ

Fig. 5. Reading of the monogram of the name Δειόταρος in gen.: ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ

Fig. 6. Pisidia, pseudo-autonomous issue of Amyntas, dated CY 6 = 27/26 BC (bronze, 15 mm, 2.63 g). *Obv.*: laureate head of Zeus to right. *Rev.*: ζ / K, winged thunderbolt sideways. SNG France 3, 1483–4; RPC I 3519

Photo: Numismatik Naumann, auction 42 (03.04.2016), 308

