

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIX

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

Kraków 2024

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XIX

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

Kraków 2024

Komitet naukowy / Scientific Committee:

Prof. Peter van Alfen, Prof. Michael Alram, Prof. Aleksander Bursche, Prof. François de Callatay, 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. Michele Asolati, Dr Hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, Dr Hab. Tomasz Bochnak, Dr Adam Degler, Dr Przemysław Dulęba, Dr Hab. Arkadiusz Dymowski, Prof. Svante Fischer, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, Prof. Koray Konuk, Prof. Stefan Krmniecek, Dr Hab. Kyrilo Myzgin, Prof. Marek Olbrycht, Dr Jan Pelsdonk, Dr Ruth Pliego, Dr Florian Matei-Popescu, Prof. Selene Psoma, Hugo Vanhoudt, Dr David Wigg-Wolf, Dr Hab. Michał Wojenka, Dr Hab. Marcin Wołoszyn, Prof. Bernhard Woytek, Dr Joanna Zagórska-Telega, Dr Bernward Ziegau

Redaktorzy prowadzący / Managing Editors:

Barbara Zajac, Dorota Malarczyk, Katarzyna Kwinta

Korekta / Proofreading:

Aeddan Shaw

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

Luiza Berdak

Skład i lamanie / Typesetting and page layout:

Knight Press Dariusz F. Jasek

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

© Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie i Autorzy, 2024

ISSN 1426-5435

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 9 Od redakcji
10 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
13 Remarks on a Unique Lycian Stater Struck in the Name of Autophradates
Uwagi na temat unikatowego licyjskiego statera bitego w imieniu Autophradatesa
- CATHARINE C. LORBER
35 Die Study of the Middle Facing Head Drachms of Thessalian Larissa
Studium stempli środkowej grupy drachm tesalskiej Larisy z wizerunkiem głowy w trzech-czwartych
- SELENE E. PSOMA
81 On a Motivation Clause of IOSPE P² 25 + 31
O klauzurze fundacyjnej IOSPE P² 25 + 31
- PRZEMYSŁAW DULĘBA
93 First Finds of Celtic Silver Coins from Lower Silesia
Pierwsze znaleziska srebrnych monet celtyckich z Dolnego Śląska
- TOMASZ BOCHNAK
107 A Celtic Stater Associated with the “Lesser Poland Coinage Group” from Site Kaliszany-Folwark 22, Discovered in Orłowiny, Opatów District, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship
Celtycki stater „małopolskiej grupy menniczej” ze stanowiska Kaliszany-Folwark 22, odkryty w Orłowinach, powiat opatowski, województwo świętokrzyskie
- JAN BULAS, MAGDALENA OKOŃSKA-BULAS
125 The Rarest of Finds: A Discovery of a Kryspinów Type Stater from Charbinowice (Opatowiec Commune, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship)
Najrzadsze znalezisko: odkrycie statera typu Kryspinów w Charbinowicach (gmina Opatowiec, województwo świętokrzyskie)
- WIOLETTA PAZOWSKA
139 A New Find of a Kryspinów-type Stater from the Archives of Piotr Adamkiewicz
Nowy egzemplarz statera typu Kryspinów z archiwum Piotra Adamkiewicza

- 149 ANDRZEJ ROMANOWSKI
The Function of Roman Coins in the Settlement Environment
of the Przeworsk Culture
Funkcja monet rzymskich w środowisku osadniczym kultury przeworskiej
- 183 KRZYSZTOF JARZEŃKI
An Ostrogothic Imitation of a Solidus of Anastasius I Found at Jeżewice
Ostrogockie naśladownictwo solida Anastazjusza I znalezione w Jeżewicach
- 193 MICHAŁ MOZYRSKI
Pouches of *Minimi* from Byzantine Egypt. How Should We Deal with Them?
Sakiewki minimi z Egiptu bizantyńskiego. Jak sobie z nimi radzić?
- 215 BARTOSZ AWIANOWICZ
How to Make a Rare Coin out of a Common One? Early Modern Forgeries
Using Original Ancient Coins
*Jak z monety popularnej zrobić rzadką? Wczesnonowożytne fałszerstwa przy
użyciu oryginalnych monet antycznych*
- 229 BARTOSZ SZ. SZMONIEWSKI, DARIUSZ ROZMUS
A New Find of an Axe-like Iron Bar from Kroczyce, Zawiercie County,
Silesian Voivodeship
*Nowe znalezisko grzywny siekieropodobnej z Kroczyce, powiat zawierciański,
województwo śląskie*
- 243 DARIUSZ JASEK
A Manifestation of Friesland's Distinctiveness in its Late Medieval and Early
Modern Coinage
*Manifestacja odmienności Fryzji w jej późnośredniowiecznym
i wczesnonowożytnym mennictwie*
- 255 BARBARA ZAJĄC
Beginnings of the Paper Money Collection of the Numismatic Cabinet
of the National Museum in Krakow
*Początki kolekcji pieniądza papierowego Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum
Narodowego w Krakowie*

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

- 285 BARBARA ZAJĄC
BORIS CHRUBASIK, JUDITH K. SCHUTZ, ANDREW MEADOWS and
JAROSŁAW BODZEK (eds.), *Coinage in Imperial Space: Coins in the
Economy of the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic World*, Phoenix 76 (2022),
Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, Toronto, ON 2023

- BARBARA ZAJĄC
292 ADAM DEGLER (ed.), *The Collection of Ancient Coins in Lviv Historical Museum / Колекція античних монет у Львівському історичному музеї / Zbiór monet antycznych w Lwowskim Muzeum Historycznym*, Yellow Point Publications, Wrocław–Lwów–Paryż 2023
- SZYMON JELLONEK
298 JIŘI MILITKÝ, PETR VESELÝ and LENKA VACINOVÁ, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Czech Republic. Vol. 1: The National Museum, Prague. Part 7: Seleucid Empire and Imitations, Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea, Mesopotamia, Commagene, Armenia and Arabia*, Prague 2023

KRONIKI / CHRONICLES

- MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK
303 *Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2023)*
310 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2023)*
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
318 *Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2024)*
320 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow Branch (2024)*

NEKROLOG / OBITUARY

- WOLFGANG FISCHER-BOSSERT
325 NEVILLE KEITH RUTTER (1939–2024)
327 *Bibliography of Neville Keith Rutter*



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

Szanowni Państwo,

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

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

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

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

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

The Editors

BORIS CHRUBASIK, JUDITH K. SCHUTZ, ANDREW MEADOWS
and JAROSŁAW BODZEK (eds.)

Coinage in Imperial Space: Coins in the Economy of the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic World, Phoenix 76 (2022), Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, Toronto, ON 2023, 310 pages; ISSN 0031-8299

From 28 June to 2 July 2017, the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski's Museum hosted an international conference entitled "Coinage in Imperial Space: Continuity or Change from the Achaemenid to Hellenistic Kingdoms?". The conference was organised by the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University, the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford, and the National Museum in Krakow. The event was also accompanied by the exhibition "Coin and Empire: From the Achaemenid Empire to the Hellenistic Kingdoms" prepared by Jarosław Bodzek from National Museum in Krakow and Andrzej Romanowski from National Museum in Warsaw.¹ In addition to the very fruitful discussions, the conference resulted in this above book, published as the *Phoenix* special volume, Journal of the Classical Association of Canada. It contains 12 articles by some of the most outstanding contemporary specialists in ancient numismatics, dealing with coinage from Achaemenid times to the Hellenistic period in the context of ps.-Aristotle's *Oikonomika*. Abstracts of the individual texts are provided at the end of the volume.

The preface by Andrew Meadows and Jarosław Bodzek (pp. 1–2) provides the most important information about the conference, its participants and organisers. Many people and institutions were involved in the realisation of this event – without their support, the conference could not have been organised in such a fruitful way. A shorten version of the general description of the conference in Polish is also included in the introduction.

The publication opens with the text by Andrew Meadows about "Coinage in Imperial Space: Ps.-Aristotle *Oikonomika* and the Place of Monetary Production" (pp. 3–31). It is worth noting that the author is the head of the CHANGE project on the coinage in Anatolia from its origins in the 7th century BC to the Roman period.² The text outlines the problems, and therefore the beginnings of a dialogue

¹ BODZEK and ROMANOWSKI 2017.

² <https://change.web.ox.ac.uk/home>

“(…) on the nature and role of coinage in imperial space across one of the great turning points in history: the conquest of the Achaemenid empire by Alexander the Great” (p. 3). The author points to articles by individual researchers included in this volume that address this issue from different perspectives. To date, no detailed reference has been made to an ancient work which, contrary to the original assumptions, is not by Aristotle, but contains a four principal types of economy: royal, satrapal, civic, and personal. The author cites key fragments from the source on good governance, together with his own translation. He also considers the time of the work’s composition and, consequently, the chronology addressed in the text. It is estimated that around 70% of the history deals with the period from the Achaemenid empire to its transformation into the empire of Alexander the Great. The author of the *Oikonomika* links the production of coins directly to royal authority. In addition to these, it also points to the role of exports, imports and expenditure. The text examines various examples of coin production in different regions. Some examples, e.g. Byzantium or Athens mint, are accompanied by possible calculations of the number of dies. In the following section, the author very generally analyses the transformations that took place after the Macedonian conquest, focusing on the structure of hoards and the weight standards. The text acts as a synthetic introduction to the issues discussed. In the conclusion, the author refers to the aspects raised in the subsequent texts included in the volume.

286

The next text is “Payment, Profit, or Prestige? The Political Economy of Achaemenid Coin Production” by Peter van Alfen (pp. 32–44). According to ps.-Aristotle’s *Oikonomika*, decisions on coin production and their value, as mentioned earlier, were made by the Great King. With regard to antiquity, there is often a lack of clear sources and information that would directly indicate the reasons for coin production. Consequently, the issue remains largely a matter of speculation. The author uses the phrase “political economy” that “incorporates at its core a mode of rationality – maximizing utility – for decision-making in both the economic and political spheres” (p. 34). In doing so, he refers to the term first used in the 18th century, as well as to the definition in relation to the broader meaning from the *Handbook of Political Economy*.³ In this context, the author makes some key assumptions about money. He points out possible reasons for the production of coins: “1) provide coins for markets, both domestic and international; 2) derive revenues from coin production; or 3) meet public debts, or expenditures, with the production of coins” (p. 35). The various reasons are supported by concrete examples. The author also refers to the positions of selected researchers, pointing out commercial, military and prestige motivations. After this introduction, he proceeds to analyse

³ WEINGAST and WITTMAN 2006: 3.

the reasons for coinage in the Achaemenid world, drawing on numerous examples and diverse scholarly interpretations. In conclusion, the author emphasises that the importance of coin production was not limited to economic aspects, but could also have a political dimension – as in the case of Persian darics. The fact that this issue is not in the *Oikonomika* does not mean that it should be definitively excluded. The author also proposes a revised framework for the political economy of coin production (p. 42).

François de Callataÿ is the author of the text “Pseudo-Civic not Civic: The Abundant Double Sigloi Struck by Pamphylian and Cilician Cities (ca 460–333 B.C.E.)” (pp. 45–69). In the introduction, the author clarifies the scope of his research, which includes large-denomination silver coins struck by cities between Lycia and Syria under Persian rule: “(...) these coinages have the legends of civic issues, the flavour of civic issues, but are not civic issues. They were struck at a supra-civic level, mostly for the needs of the Persian army” (p. 46). The author divides his analysis into several parts. In the first, he refers to known studies of this type of coinage, die study and estimates of payments to soldiers. The second part focuses on weight standards and denominations. The coins under study were struck according to the Persian weight standard. The next section focuses on iconography, discussing examples of coins from the time of Tiribazos and Balakros, as well as from individual mints. The fourth part deals with the mint requisitions under which a Persian military commander, satrap or karanos could apply to have coins struck. An anecdote about Datames and his payment to the army is also cited. The issue of overstrikes and countermarks⁴ is also discussed separately. The individual countermarks are accompanied by distribution maps. The article also includes the list of hoards with Pamphylian and Cilician double sigloi. The last section of article focus on chronological implications of hoards, countermarks, and overstrikes. The author concludes: “In short, the monetary landscape was much more fractured than has hitherto been assumed. As is now clear, the big regional changes affecting hoards and countermarks constitute a powerful argument against the civic nature of these coinages (...)” (p. 63).

The following text deals with “Kings, Satraps, Local Dynasts, and Cities in Achaemenid Imperial Space: Pseudo-Aristotle’s *Oikonomika* and Numismatic Reality” by Jarosław Bodzek (pp. 70–121). The author begins the text with a reference to the *Oikonomika*, in the context of the four types of economics and the issue of coin production. He draws attention to the problems of Achaemenid coinage, including the attribution of specific mints and the establishment of the chronology of individual issues. He describes the monetary situation after the defeat of Croesus and the seizure

⁴ Cf. DE CALLATAÿ 2000.

of authority by the Persians – at the time of Darius, Xerxes and later rulers. After presenting the main issues, the author attempts to answer the question of whether the analysed coins can be considered royal or not. He refers to the four groups by Mildenberg and some additional ones. A further section of the article is devoted to satrapal coins, distinguished according to iconography and legends, which were mainly struck for local demand. At the end, reference was also made to dynastic and civic coinages. The author concludes that the monetary situation in the period under analysis was much more complex than this in the work of ps.-Aristotle. The article is enriched by extensive illustrative material, which significantly facilitates the understanding of the issues discussed.

Another text is “Of Darics, Staters, and Disks: Some Issues in Achaemenid Imperial Space” by Christopher Tuplin (pp. 122–145). The author considers the three cases of coins mentioned in the title of the article. He begins his consideration with a discussion of the nature of coinage in the Achaemenid imperial space. The names sigloi and darics and their meaning are analysed in light of the available sources. Athenian tetradrachms are discussed on the basis of historical texts from Egypt. The final topic concerns is the coins of Tiribazos with the image of Baal and a half-figure in or emerging from a winged disc, struck in Cilicia. The author analyses their iconography in detail and identifies the figures depicted. The article provides an interesting and valuable historical analysis of the issue raised.

Selene Psoma is the author of the text “The ΣΥΝ Coinage: Agesilaus versus Lysander” (pp. 146–177). The article concerns the series of coins with the baby Heracles killing the snakes and letters ΣΥΝ (translated as *synmachomai*) on the obverse and civic types on the reverse struck by Greek cities of Asia Minor. The coins are related with the Ionian War and payments by Chios to Sparta. The aim of the article is to verify the attribution and chronology of selected coins, and to reflect on coinage in the imperial space. The author discusses the different coin types, weight standards and coin finds. She also provides a history of the regions in which the coins in question were issued, including the context of the alliance at Cnidus and the years of 391–390 BC. She then focuses on an analysis of the chronology of the coins, based on a detailed interpretation of the historical sources. On the basis of the above aspects, the author proposes a probably dating of the issue to 395–394 BC. She concludes by referring to the next article, which deals with the expenditure, and emphasises that “(...) the world of the Greek cities and the Persian empire therefore had this in common: coinage was used as a financial instrument and in connection with military expenses or as tribute paid to the central authority” (p. 174).

Aneurin Ellis-Evans and Jonathan Kagan focused on “Bimetallism Coinage, and Empire in Persian Anatolia” (pp. 178–227). The authors reconstruct history of the silver/gold exchange rate in Asia Minor during Achaemenid period. The text begins

with an analysis of bimetallism. Croesus fixed a silver/gold exchange rate of 13.33:1. In the following section, the authors analyse how it has been transformed over subsequent periods in various regions. They identify three important ratios for understanding the functioning of a bimetallic currency system. These are: the silver/gold exchange rate on the open market, the silver/gold exchange rate the state would prefer to use, and the ratio of gold to silver coins. Each point was supported by examples. The authors refer to the approaches of selected 20th century economists, juxtaposing them with the historical material analysed. In the case of arbitrage, they refer to three basic conditions, including knowledge of price disparities, the ability to make good on price disparities, and the possibility of exogenous shocks to the market for precious metals. In view of the topic addressed, individual weights standards, as well as expenditures are also analysed. Historical sources, including the works of Xenophon and ps.-Aristotle, are also discussed towards the end. The article is highly readable and well structured.

Frédérique Duyrat describes “Money in Southern Transeuphratene during the Fourth Century B.C.E.” (pp. 228–249). “This article aims to evaluate the degree of overlap between the silver mentioned in texts and the coins that have been locally issued or found” (p. 228). The author refers to ostraca from the area between the Shephelah and the northern Negev (e.g. Idumaea, Beersheba, Tel ‘Ira, Maresha, Tell Jemmeh), as well as to the papyri of the Wadi Daliyeh. These sources can reflect the economic realities of these regions, rural society and tax payments, in the 4th century BC. The author analyses transactions carried out using grain as a medium of exchange, and then already addresses issues closely related to the functioning of the coinage in the region. The papyri found mainly concern the sale of slaves valued in silver shekels or in minae. Based on her analysis, the author recognises important differences in region, and even in different parts of the same city, and also notes that actual economic practices do not correspond to the classification contained in *Oikonomika*.

The next text deals with “Indigenous Coinages in Palestine: Towards an Understanding of the Persian-Hellenistic Transitional Monetary Phase” by Haim Gitler and Oren Tal (pp. 250–260). The article begins with a brief historical and archaeological overview, covering the period after Alexander the Great took control of Palestine. After that, the authors discuss the minting situation and coins in the various regions, including Philistia, Samaria, Edom, Dor and Yehud. The Philistian coins struck in Ashdod, Ashqelon and Gaza are the earliest Palestinian specimens, and their origins date back to Achaemenid times. Most of them are anepigraphic. For now we know about 400 types of Philistian coins. The motifs on the coins are inspired by various influences, including Southern Anatolian, Egyptian, and Athenian imagery. Another group of coins discussed are issues from Samaria. To date, about 350 coins

of this type are known. Quite general information is also presented with regard to coins from Edom, Dor and Yehud. The sites where they were found are also briefly mentioned. The article is a rather brief and general characterisation of this type of issue. It is a pity that the authors did not add more figures – only a reference to the Ashkelon hoard of 1989 and map of coin finds are included. The general aspects of production of coins in Palestine, their denominations, chronology and circulations were discussed separately in a summary.

Evangeline Markou develops “The Coinage of the Kings of Cyprus from Achaemenid to Hellenistic Rule: An Autonomous Royal Coinage?” (pp. 261–274). The author begins the text by quoting the historical sources in which the kings of Cyprus are mentioned, and discusses the degree of autonomy of the island in the archaic and classical periods. It is known that Cyprus was once divided into a number of kingdoms, which, changing their borders and rulers, survived until the Hellenistic period. The example of the kingdom of Tamassos was cited. As far as the Achaemenid rule is concerned, their presence on the island is practically unnoticeable – it is only confirmed by a few archaeological artefacts. As far as coin finds are concerned, only two hoards containing a total of 10 darics have been recorded so far. The most important obligation of the Cypriots towards the empire was the payment of tribute, although its exact amount remains unknown. The general characteristics of the coins struck in Cyprus during the period analysed are presented, which varied according to the specific kingdom. The production of gold coins was mainly determined by military conflicts. The presence of coins minted from different ores was shown on the basis of coin finds. The author emphasises that new discoveries continue to provide additional information regarding coins struck in Cyprus and their circulation. Cyprus seems to have maintained relative independence within the empire during the period of interest, which is also reflected in the names of Cypriot kings on the coins that they issued.

Marek Jan Olbrycht is the author of the text “The India-related Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great” (pp. 275–287). The main theme are coins, probably struck in Babylon, with elephants, referring to Alexander the Great’s victory in India and the defeat of ruler Poros. The author offers a new interpretation of this iconography, discussing in detail the various elements present on the coins. He draws attention to the decisive role of the Iranians in the battle of the Hydaspes, often ignored by scholars. The figure of the archer, visible on the coin in question, could refer to them. The closest analogy for this image is the Greco-Persian scaraboid from Asia. The author also points to other possible iconographic links with the Achaemenids.

The final text of Karsten Dahmen concerns “Money and Legitimacy after Alexander” (pp. 288–305). The author begins his discussion with an analysis of the images and legends placed on the coins of Alexander the Great, and then refers to

the historical context and the coinage of the Diadochi. The use of the royal title in various sources is also the subject of analysis, as well as the appearance of portraits of individual rulers and their iconographic types on coins.⁵ In the context of the links between coinage and the work attributed to ps.-Aristotle, the author concludes that there is “(...) a conflict between a theoretical treatise and a divergent coined reality” (p. 296).

The publication is an extremely valuable and interesting position, offering an overview of the most important and recent research on the economy and coinage of the Achaemenid period, as well as Alexander the Great and his successors. It is a work of a synthetic nature that can serve as an excellent starting point for more in-depth analyses of the subject. The authors clearly emphasise the importance of the parallel use of historical and archaeological sources, which complement each other and allow for a fuller understanding of the economics of the period under study.

REFERENCES

- BODZEK, J. and ROMANOWSKI, A. 2017. *Moneta i imperium. Od Achemenidów po królestwa hellenistyczne. Wystawa w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie, czerwiec 2017 – kwiecień 2018 / Coin and Empire. From the Achaemenids to the Hellenistic Kingdoms. Exhibition at the National Museum in Krakow, June 2017 – April 2018*, Kraków.
- DAHMEN, K. 2007. *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins*, London–New York.
- DE CALLATAÿ, F. 2000. “Les monnayages ciliciens du premier quart du IV^e s. av. J.-C.”. In: O. CASABONNE (ed.), *Mécanismes et innovations monétaires dans l’Anatolie achéménide. Numismatique et histoire. Actes de la Table Ronde d’Istanbul, 22-23 mai 1997*, *Varia Anatolica* 12, Istanbul: 93–127, Pls. IX–XV.
- WEINGAST, B.R. and WITTMAN, D.A. 2006. “The Reach of Political Economy”. In: B.R. WEINGAST and D.A. WITTMAN (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, Oxford: 3–25. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199548477.003.0001

BARBARA ZAJĄC

National Museum in Krakow

ORCID: 0000-0003-4731-5782

Author’s address:

Barbara Zając
National Museum in Krakow
12 Piłsudskiego Street, 31-107 Krakow, Poland
basia.zajac21@gmail.com

⁵ Cf. DAHMEN 2007.