

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIV

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

Kraków 2019



Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

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

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

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XIV

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

Kraków 2019

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, Zofia Golubiew, Prof. Wiesław Kaczanowicz, Elżbieta Korczyńska, Prof. Katerini Liampi, Prof. Adam Małkiewicz, Prof. Andrew Meadows, Prof. Mariusz Mielczarek, Dr Jiří Militký, Prof. Janusz A. Ostrowski, Prof. Maciej Salamon, Prof. Bernhard Weisser

Redakcja / Editorial Board:

Redaktor / Editor in Chief – Jarosław Bodzek
Zastępca redaktora / Associate Editor – Mateusz Woźniak
Sekretarze / Secretaries – Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Bochnak, Barbara Zajac

Redaktor tematyczny / Theme Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Redaktor językowy / Linguistic Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Recenzenci / Reviewers:

Prof. Bartosz Awianowicz, Prof. Katarzyna Balbuza, Dr Barbara Butent-Stefaniak, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, Dr Adam Kędzierski, Dr Hab. Agata Kluczek, Dr Koray Konuk, Dr Piotr N. Kotowicz, Dr Kyrilo Myzgin, Dr Dariusz Niemiec, Prof. Marek Olbrycht, Prof. Zenon Piech, Dr Hab. Vladimir F. Stolba, Dr Klaus Vondrovec, Dr Eliza Walczak, Dr Tomasz Więcek, Dr David Wigg-Wolf, Dr Hab. Marcin Wołoszyn

Redaktorzy prowadzący / Commissioning Editors:

Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Kowalczyk

Tłumaczenia / Translations:

David Daniel, Grzegorz Haczewski

Korekta / Proofreading:

Aedaan Shaw

Projekt graficzny i typografia / Graphic Design and Desktop Publishing:

Luiza Berdak

Skład i lamanie | Typesetting and Page Layout:

Katarzyna Poznańska

Adres redakcji / Address of the Editorial Office:

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

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

Wersją pierwotną pisma *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, 2019

ISSN 1426-5435

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 11 Od redakcji
12 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
15 The Satraps of Caria and the Lycians in the Achaemenid Period: Where is the Numismatic Evidence?
Satrapowie Karii i Licyjczycy w okresie Achemenidów: czy istnieją świadectwa numizmatyczne?
- EMANUEL PETAC, AUREL VÎLCU
43 About the Diobols Hoard of Apollonia Pontica and Mesembria Discovered in 1911 in Constanța (Ancient Tomis)
O skarbie dioboli Apollonii Pontyjskiej i Mesembrii odkrytym w 1911 r. w Konstancy (starożytnej Tomi)
- YANNIS STOYAS
59 Wheat-Ears and Owls. Remarks on Thessalian Coins with Countermarks
Kłosa i sowy. Uwagi na temat kontramarkowanych monet tesalskich
- MATEUSZ OKOŃSKI
93 Images of Central European *externae gentes* in Trajan's Monetary Iconography and Their Role in the Propaganda of the Imperial Era
Wizerunki środkowoeuropejskich externae gentes w ikonografii monetarnej Trajana i ich pozycja w propagandzie imperialnej epoki
- BARBARA ZAJĄC
123 The Roman Imperial Coinage Model for Some Provincial Coins of Bithynia and Pontus Struck During the Reign of Trajan (98–117)
Rzymskie mennictwo imperialne jako wzór dla niektórych monet Bitynii i Pontu bitych w okresie rządów Trajana (98–117)
- ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI
149 The Problem of the Presence of Barbarian Imitations of Roman Imperial Denarii in the Lands of Present-Day Poland. An Attempt at a Balance
Problem występowania barbarzyńskich naśladownictw denarów rzymskich na terenie obecnej Polski. Próba bilansu
- VITAL' SIDAROVICH
183 New Find of Gold Roman Coin-Pendants in the South-West of Belarus
Nowe znalezisko złotych rzymskich monet-zawieszek z południowo-zachodniej Białorusi

- 197 KYRYŁO MYZGIN, STEPAN STEPANENKO, YURI SYTYI
Discovery of a Panticapaeum Coin at the Shestovytsya Early Medieval Settlement
Znalezisko monety pantikapejskiej z wczesnośredniowiecznej osady Szestowica
- 221 KRZYSZTOF TUNIA, MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK
Coins from an Early-Medieval Burial Ground in Stręgorzycze, Krakow District
Monety z cmentarzyska wczesnośredniowiecznego w Stręgorzycach, pow. Kraków
- 249 DARIUSZ ROZMUS
Early Medieval Lead “Weights” from Młoszowa (near Trzebinia)
Wczesnośredniowieczne „ciężarki” ołowiane z Młoszowej k. Trzebini
- 263 MICHAŁ ZAWADZKI
Remarks on Changes in the Iconography of Jagiellonian Crown Coins
Uwagi o zmianach w ikonografii koronnych monet jagiellońskich
- 281 ANNA BOCHNAK, IWONA MŁODKOWSKA-PRZEPIÓROWSKA
A Seventeenth-Century Hoard of Coins Found at the Cemetery near the Church Dedicated to St. Barbara in the Old Town of Częstochowa
Siedemnastowieczny skarb monet znaleziony na cmentarzu przy kościele pw. św. Barbary na Starym Mieście w Częstochowie

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

- 327 JAROSŁAW BODZEK
WILHELM MÜSELER
Lykische Münzen in europäischen Privatsammlungen, (Gephyra Monographien 4), Istanbul 2016, 207 pages, 29 plates; ISBN 978-605-396-421-6
- 335 JAROSŁAW BODZEK
MARIUSZ MIELCZAREK
Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Poland. Vol. I: The Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź. Part 3: Bosphorus-Cilicia, The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków–Warszawa 2016, 122 pages, 42 plates, indices; ISBN 978-83-7676-258-6
- 338 JAROSŁAW BODZEK
ELIZA WALCZAK, ALEKSANDRA KRZYŻANOWSKA
Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Poland. Vol. II: The National Museum in Warsaw. Part 1: The Northern Black Sea Coast: Chersonesus-Bosporus, The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Kraków–Warszawa 2016, 130 pages, 53 plates, indices; ISBN 978-83-7676-200-5

ELIZA WALCZAK

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Poland. Vol. II: The National Museum in Warsaw. Part 2: The Northern Black Sea Coast: Bosphoran Rulers, The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, The National Museum in Warsaw, Kraków–Warszawa 2017, 174 pages, 71 plates, indices; ISBN 978-83-7676-280-7

ELIZA WALCZAK

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Poland. Vol. II: The National Museum in Warsaw. Part 3: The Northern Black Sea Coast: Bosphoran Rulers – Sarmatia, The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, The National Museum in Warsaw, Kraków–Warszawa 2018, 168 pages, 66 plates, indices; ISBN 978-83-7676-304-0

EVGENI I. PAUNOV

342 JAROSŁAW BODZEK

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Poland. Vol. III: The National Museum in Cracow. Part 3: Thrace and Pontus, The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, The National Museum in Krakow, Kraków–Warszawa 2018, 148 pages, 58 plates, indices; ISBN 978-83-7676-305-7

SZYMON JELLONEK

343 MAREK BUDAJ, JÁN HUNKA

Nálezy Mincí na Slovensku / Coin Finds in Slovakia. V/1. Archeologický Ústav Sav Historické Múzeum SNM, Bratislava–Nitra 2018, 260 pages; ISBN 978-80-8196-026-0

KRONIKA / CHRONICLE

MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK

347 Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2018)

354 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2018)*

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

363 Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2018)

365 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Commission on Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Krakow Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences) (2018)*

BARBARA ZAJĄC, SZYMON JELLONEK, PAULINA KOCZWARA

367 *Pecunia Omnes Vincit. International Numismatic and Economic Conferences (2013–2018)*

NEKROLOG / OBITUARY

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

373 Stefan Skowronek (16 stycznia 1928 – 11 czerwca 2019)

379 *Stefan Skowronek (January 16, 1928 – June 11, 2019)*

386 Bibliografia wybranych prac numizmatycznych prof. Stefana Skowronka

Selected Bibliography of Prof. Stefan Skowronek's Numismatic Works



Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) podczas wykopalisk archeologicznych w Egipcie (1960/1961)
Ze zbiorów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Filmowej Nauki Polskiej Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie
Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) during archaeological excavation in Egypt (1960/1961)
From the Center of Visual Documentation of Polish Science (Pedagogical University of Cracow)

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIV *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Polskojęzyczne wersje tekstów odnoszących się w większym stopniu do zainteresowań czytelnika polskiego są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). W podobny sposób udostępniamy cały obecny tom oraz tomy archiwalne. Na stronie internetowej dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

11 czerwca 2019 r. w wieku 91 lat odszedł prof. dr hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), nestor polskiej numizmatyki, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, wybitny znawca numizmatyki antycznej, wykładowca i pracownik Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, wykładowca Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, członek wielu towarzystw i organizacji naukowych, w tym członek honorowy Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie.

Jego pamięci poświęcamy XIV tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*, czasopisma, które mocno wspierał jako autor i członek Komitetu Naukowego.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The Polish-language versions of the texts that are more relevant to the interests of the Polish reader can be found as PDFs on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Similarly, the whole of the present volume is available online, as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

Prof. Dr. Hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), the doyen of Polish numismatics, died on June 11, 2019, at the age of 91. For many years, he worked as an employee – and then as head – of the Numismatic Cabinet at the National Museum of Krakow. He was also a lecturer and employee of the Pedagogical University of Krakow, a lecturer at the Jagiellonian University, and a member of numerous scientific societies and organizations, having honorary membership status at the Krakow branch of the Numismatic Section of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Commission on Archaeology.

It is to his enduring memory that we dedicate volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, a journal that he helped to support as both an author and as a member of the Scientific Committee.

The Editors

WILHELM MÜSELER

Lykische Münzen in europäischen Privatsammlungen, (Gephyra Monographien 4), Istanbul 2016, 207 pages, 29 plates; ISBN 978-605-396-421-6

The coinage of ancient Lycia is among the most difficult issues within ancient numismatics. Despite advances in research since the end of the 19th century, the system of the classification of Lycian coins is still unsatisfactory. Moreover, no satisfactory answers have been given to a number of questions concerning the circumstances and conditions in which these coins were produced, not to mention the historical context in which they appeared.¹ This is why all those who are interested in the coinage of Lycia so eagerly awaited the new monograph on the topic that was prepared by Wilhelm Müseler. Titled *Lykische Münzen in europäischen Privatsammlungen*, Müseler's work finally came out in 2016 as part of the monographic series *Gephyra*, which is published by *Forschungszentrum für Sprachen und Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes an der Akdeniz Universität*. The work also received financial support by the *Bayerische Numismatische Gesellschaft* and *Dr Hans Maag Stiftung, Bad Nauheim*. The author, Wilhelm Müseler, is not an anonymous figure within the world of ancient numismatics. Besides having written the work in question, he is also the author of a dozen or so articles on the coinage of Persis, Cilicia, Lycia, and the Seleucids.² More importantly, however, Müseler worked for 30 years as a senior researcher in ancient coinage at Dr Busso Peus Nachfolger, one of the most well-known numismatic trade establishments. As a result, he was able to get first-hand experience of an abundant source of materials within Lycian coinage, including, as he himself writes, a number of excellent private collections such as those of Theo Reuter, Hans Maag, and Kaya Sayar (cf. p. ix). This knowledge was broadened by Müseler's familiarity with public collections. Müseler's examination of the material allowed him in turn to obtain extensive knowledge of the primary sources, so important for numismatic research. In fact, the author writes about the significance of knowledge of this kind in the work's preface (pp. ix–xvi). The preface also contains his thoughts on the current situation in numismatics, including the antiques market,

¹ A summary of the ideas concerning Lycian coins was performed in 1999 by Cau (1999).

² Cf. MÜSELER 1997; IDEM 2005–2006; IDEM 2015; HOUGHTON and MÜSELER 1990; KLOSE and MÜSELER 2008; MÜSELER and REZAKHANI 2011 and works published yet after the reviewed monograph was released.

the collecting of coins and ancient artifacts, and, finally, ethical questions concerning, among other things, whether or not artifacts of so-called “uncertain origin” should be published. Some ideas put forward by the author may arouse a certain degree of controversy, but most of his views should be regarded as sensible and correct, especially his belief that we should publish all the artifacts that are known to us regardless of their origin. Scholarship should of course be ethical, but it is also unethical to give a distorted view of reality by avoiding the use of data which are often crucial from the point of view of advances in scholarship.

As the title indicates, the focus of the work under review is by definition the Lycian coins in private collections though what it does in reality is record the artifacts of this type that are present on the antiques market. Thus, it is not meant to be an exhaustive discussion of Lycian coinage; rather, it is only supposed to present part of the large amount of material that is available. Still, the author attempted to give a short presentation of the most recent knowledge concerning Lycian coinage.

Not counting the above-mentioned preface, acknowledgements, and summaries in Turkish and in English (p. 207), the work consists of two principal parts: an in-depth introduction elaborating on the fundamental issues concerning Lycian coinage (pp. 1–71) and a catalogue (pp. 73–206).

The introduction is divided into a number of subsections. In the initial part, the author briefly indicates the principles according to which the catalogue was organized. The first subsection, titled “Gewichtsnormen und Umlaufgebieten” (pp. 1–4), gives a brief account of Lycia’s geography, ethnic character, and history; above all – in accordance with the title of the subsection – we are given a brief account of the complex nature of the weight standards used in Lycian coinage. To make it easier for the reader, this part of the introduction contains a table with the most fundamental information about the mints and people producing coins in the various Lycian weight standards, that is, the light, middle, and heavy standards. The information here is expressed in chronological order. It is unfortunate that the chronological arrangement of the table mentioned above only refers to the classification adopted, back in the day, by R. Martini and N. Vismara-Martini³ without at the same time taking into account the propositions for classifying the coins put forward by O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle.⁴ The drawback to Martini and Vismara-Martini’s classification system – which is interesting in many aspects – is its imprecise terminology with regard to the nomenclature of the individual phases of development of Lycian coinage. In my opinion, the fact that that Müseler only refers to Martini and Vismara-Martini’s

³ Cf. MARTINI 1989; VISMARA 1993.

⁴ Cf. MØRKHOLM 1964; ZAHLE 1991. J. Zahle’s classification system should be regarded as a modification of that proposed by O. Mørkholm, which itself is based on propositions of researchers who came before him.

classification system obscures somewhat the sense of the above-mentioned table. The next subsection covers the legends and linear devices on Lycian coins (pp. 4–10). Müseler begins this subsection by stating that the legends are the most important instrument that can be used to classify the coins from this region. However, taking into account the numerous anonymous issues struck in Lycia, it is necessary to qualify this statement somewhat. While it is true that legends are one of the most important instruments for classifying the coins, so too are the metrological data mentioned above and, to a certain degree, the iconography of the coins under description. As a matter of fact, the author himself writes about this later on. Though full of complexity and uncertainty, Wilhelm Müseler presents the matter of the proper names and the names of the dynasts in a skillful manner. The author does not avoid taking a position when it comes to interpreting non-numismatic artifacts from Lycia, using, of course, the numismatic material as a base (cf. p. 6 and the matter of the so-called Xanthos Stele). Müseler discusses the place names and the names within the context of the historical transformations that took place in Lycia in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The scope of knowledge displayed by Müseler is no less impressive in the next subsection, which covers the iconography of Lycian coins (“Bildprogramme und deren geographische Zuordnung” – pp. 10–27). As with the inscriptions on the coins, Müseler arranges the iconographic analysis of Lycian coins chronologically, discussing the changes and the trends relating to the motives used and the geographic area that they spread out to. In other words, Müseler demonstrates how particular monetary types are related to particular dynasts, mints, and regions of Lycia. Müseler tries to outline the process by which particular motives spread; he also tries to indicate the principles by which this process occurred. It must be acknowledged that Müseler presents his ideas in a convincing manner; above all, it is worth emphasizing yet again his strong knowledge of the material. One drawback is that the iconography of Lycian coins is not analyzed with regard to their origin; nor is there any analysis of the sources of the monetary types that were made use of by the Lycians, though Müseler does make reference to Athenian types and to inspirations from Assyrian and Persian art and the coins of Mausolus (pp. 14f, 16f, 18f, 27).

The next subsection concentrates on additional symbols, that is, monograms and linear devices (“Die Beizeichen – Monogramme und lineare Symbole” – pp. 27–35). Using the findings of O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle as a starting point,⁵ Müseler analyzed the appearance of linear devices within the context of particular dynasts, mints, and issues. As in the previous subsections, Müseler conducts his deliberations in chronological order, beginning with early Lycian issues. Much as

⁵ MØRKHOLM and ZAHLE 1976: 61ff and Fig. 6.

with the issues discussed earlier, Müseler skillfully addresses the connections between particular symbols and the issuers and mints, hypothesizing as to the region or particular towns that the coins come from. The next subsection is the one that presents the chronological arrangement of the material (“Die chronologische Aufteilung des Materials” – pp. 35–45). This subsection is made up of a discussion as well as an explanation of the ideas that Müseler made use of in arranging the catalogue. For him, the starting point was the above-mentioned classification of Lycian coins by Rodolfo Martini and Novella Vismara Martini. They created four principal groups/phases of Lycian coinage: predynastic, protodynastic (divided into three subgroups labeled A, B, and C), and dynastic, this last group being divided into what is called the Harpagid phase and the Persian phase. This is neither the time nor the place for an analysis of this system of classification. We can only repeat here that it is an attractive system, one that contains a number of accurate and legitimate observations; however, neither the division proposed by these Italian researchers nor the terminology that they use for the individual phases of the development of Lycian coinage are entirely appropriate. The nomenclature for the individual phases of development contains an interpretive element, which, in my humble opinion on the history of Lycia and its coinage, may lead to incomprehension and erroneous conclusions. Here it is worth reminding ourselves of the existence – well known to Müseler (cf. p. xxiii in the work under review) – of Jan Zahle’s alternative classification system, the result of the evolution of older classification systems, an evolution that reaches back in this way to the roots of the tradition of the 19th century.⁶ Zahle divided Lycian coinage into four principal groups marked in a neutral manner with the letters A, B, C, and D. Although this is not an ideal classification system, and it no doubt requires certain modifications, it seems clearer than the one proposed by Martini and Vismara-Martini.

Cognizant of the shortcomings in the classification system devised by these Italian researchers, Müseler made modifications to the catalogue that he arranged. These are mainly related to the second phase of Lycian coinage, which includes the anepigraphic coins or those with linear devices and shortened legends. In Martini and Vismara’s system of classification, this is the “protodynastic” group. Using chronological criteria as his guide, Müseler broke this up into two groups (phases), placing them in the second and third parts of the catalogue. The remaining sections in the catalogue are arranged according to the chronology of the individual issues (cf. below). This section of the introduction is complemented by a useful table containing information about the activity of the individual dynasts and mints in chronological order (p. 45). The introduction closes with a reconstruction of the political situation in Lycia from the end of the 5th to about the middle of the 4th century BC

⁶ ZAHLE 1991.

(“Historische Schlussfolgerungen” – pp. 46–71). This brief and reliable introduction to the history of Lycia, despite being a somewhat subjective one, is based on a thorough knowledge of Lycian coinage, epigraphy (a few pages in the subsection consist in an analysis of the contents of the famous Xanthos Stele), and the literature on the subject.

The largest and the most important part of the work under review here is the catalogue. Altogether, the catalogue consists of 673 coins, of which 542 represent Lycian coinage before the conquest of Alexander the Great, that is, *de facto* before c. 360 BC. These are listed in sections I to VIII (pp. 77–184). Among the remaining 131 that are included in the catalogue, 33 coins represent the coinage of Phaselis (Section IX, pp. 185–190); 23, the Hellenistic coinage of Lycian cities (Section X, pp. 191–194); 75, the coins issued by the Lycian League during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Section XI, pp. 195–206). In adding these three groups of coins to the catalogue, Müseler convincingly justifies that they belong to important collections, ones that mainly consist of Lycian coins of the dynastic period. It is no doubt the case that the Lycian coins struck between c. 520 and c. 360 BC are the most interesting assemblage of coins. The catalogue is divided into parts or sections corresponding – as Müseler himself points out – to groups that are defined according to relative chronology (“entsprechend einer relativen Chronologie”) and based to a certain extent on the classification system of Martini and Vismara. The first three sections (parts) are on coinage corresponding to the predynastic and protodynastic groups – according to the classification system of Martini and Vismara – or to groups A and B according to Zahle. Generally speaking, it seems appropriate to divide the material corresponding to Martini and Vismara’s “protodynastic group” between sections 2 and 3 (pp. 81–87 as well as the charts on pp. 88–89, and pp. 89–97 as well as the charts on pp. 98–100, respectively). Martini and Vismara themselves divided this large phase into subgroups A–C, and also Jan Zahle pointed out that it is necessary to divide his main groups into ones that are more precise. Less obvious is the division between sections 2 and 1 (pp. 77–78 as well as the chart on p. 79). However, no sufficient justification is given for adding to section 2 – and thus removing from section 1 – the anepigraphic coins with the image of the protome of a boar and a reverse of the type “Maltese cross” (nos. II.1–II.5). It is almost certainly the case that Müseler did this because of the stylistic, iconographic, and chronological similarities between these coins and ones with linear devices that he counted as belonging to group 2 (nos. II.6–8). However, in both the classification system of Martini and Vismara, as well as that of Zahle, these anepigraphic coins are added – in my view, correctly – to the oldest phase of Lycian coinage. Moreover, Zahle also counted as belonging to group A – and this was also correct – similar coins with linear devices and single letters.

The next sections correspond to Martini and Vismara's dynastic phase or to groups C and D in Zahle's classification system. Section IV (pp. 101–120) lists the coins of Kuprlli and those of his contemporary dynasts and those of his immediate successors. It was a good idea on the part of the author to place in an appendix the coins that are traditionally interpreted as issues either of the Lycian dynast named Uvug or, in the light of K. Konuk's research, the Carian Orou (nos. IV Anhang 1–14).⁷ It is a pity that the author decided not to use a similar solution with regard to the coins listed in section 2 that he himself assigns – in truth with a question mark – to the Greek colony of Phoenike (nos. II.9–II.11). Section V introduces the coinage of the next generation of dynasts, beginning with Wekhssere I and going to Kheriga (pp. 121–125). However, I am not entirely convinced by the author's attempt to add the coins struck by Kheriga to this group. The reason for this is, above all, the fact that they have strong stylistic and iconographic ties to the issues struck by dynasts present in the next section – above all, those of Kherei (Section VI, pp. 131–151). In particular, the motive that links the issues of this group and a significant portion of the coins of Kheriga is that of the “Head of Athena/Maliya” from Athenian coinage. It was this motive, which was used in western Lycia, and an analysis of the weight of the coins that allowed O. Mørkholm to create a separate group 4 (which corresponds to group C according to Zahle's classification system). Section VI contains issues from Kherei to Hntruma. The coins of later dynasts who struck coins in the light standard and made use of the “Head of Athena/Maliya” motive were added to the next two sections, VII and VIII (pp. 153–171 and 173–184, respectively), where they are listed together with coins struck in western and central Lycia, ones with a different weight standard and a different iconography. This arrangement is of course in keeping with the principle of creating sections in accordance with the criterion of relative chronology. In this context, it makes sense to place the coins of Artumpara (nos. VIII.28–33) struck in the light standard among the eastern Lycian heavy issues of Trbbenimi and Perikle (nos. VIII.1–27 and VIII.34–58, respectively). However, from a geographical, typological, or stylistic perspective, the placement here of Artumpara's issues introduces an element of chaos into what is still a mysterious world, that of the coinage of ancient Lycia. As already mentioned, the next three sections (IX, X, and XI – pp. 185–206) cover something other than dynastic coinage from the lands of Lycia. The chronological arrangement used here also does not arouse controversy.

Müseler's work includes a large group of issues that have not previously been published. These coins can be found in nearly each of the sections, that is, in nearly all of the groups representing different phases of Lycian coinage: I. 5, 8–9; II. 12, 27;

⁷ KONUK 2007.

III. 4, 7, 41; IV. 3–5, 12–13, 15, 25, 30, 33, 56, 59, 69, 73; V. 2, 5, 35, 47–48, 52–53; VI. 1, 6, 11, 37, 42–43, 47–49, 60, 65, 66, 93, 95, 102, 105–106, 108; VII. 7, 16–19, 24, 29, 41–44, 47, 52–53, 55–56, 58, 74, 95; VIII. 8, 17–18, 21, 28, 31, 43, 59; IX, 23–24; X, 23. Among the unpublished coins, of particular interest are the hemiobols attributed by Müsseler to Mausolus, the satrap of Caria; they are rightly tied to an issue of diobols struck in Xanthus which have been known for a long time now.⁸ However, not all of the coins that the author regards as unpublished truly belong to this group. For example, coin no. VIII.32 has already been published by N. Vismara.⁹ Some attributions made by the author remain uncertain. For example attribution to Lycia of bronze coin no (VII.95) needs more support. It is somewhat disappointing that no conclusion is made concerning the die-links in the catalogue. Taking into account the enormous amount of work involved when it comes to the whole of Lycian coinage, this is to a certain degree understandable. Still, it is unfortunate that the author does not refer, for example, to the die-links that have been diligently put together by Mørkholm and Zahle in the works that they have published on the coinage of Kuprilli, Kheriga, Kherei, and Erbbina.¹⁰ The present work includes photographs of very high quality of all the published coins. This is, without a doubt, the work's best feature. However, because the reader's appetite is whetted, it is unfortunate that the book does not include a CD with these photographs so that it would be possible to closely examine particular coins.

The critical comments included here do not change the fact that Müsseler's work is one of the most important publications on the issue of Lycian coinage to come out in the last twenty years. Thanks in particular to the published material, Müsseler's work is an outstanding tool for everyone who is interested in Lycian numismatics. The reason for this is that it makes an enormous amount of material available in one place, material that up until now has been scattered across auction sites or private collections. The material published here greatly increases the size of the material base that can be used for future research. Moreover, Wilhelm Müsseler's findings while working on this material will not only enable us to make further advances in coinage, but also in the whole of issues tied to the history and archaeology of Lycia during the period between the 6th and 4th centuries BC.

ABBREVIATIONS

JNG = *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*

NNZN = *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*

⁸ For the attribution and interpretation of this issue, see, however: BODZEK 2019.

⁹ VISMARA 2014: 224, Fig. 3:1.

¹⁰ Cf. MØRKHOLM and ZAHLE 1972; IDEM 1976.

REFERENCES

- BODZEK, J. 2019. "The Satraps of Caria and the Lycians in the Achaemenid Period: where is the Numismatic Evidence?", *NNZN* 14: 15–41.
- CAU, N. 1999. "La legenda caria su una serie monetale del dinasta Kuprlli", *Studi Ellenistici* 12: 9–17.
- HOUGHTON, A. and MÜSELER, W. 1990. "The reigns of Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX at Damascus", *Schweizer Münzblätter* 40: 57–62.
- KLOSE, D. and MÜSELER, W. 2008. *Statthalter, Rebellen, Könige – Die Münzen aus Persepolis von Alexander dem Grossen zu den Sassaniden*, München (Staatliche Münzsammlung).
- KONUK, K. 2007. "Coin Legends in Carian". In: I.J. ADIEGO (ed.), *The Carian Language*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden–Boston: 471–492.
- MARTINI, R. 1989. "Introduzione storica (Aspetti e sviluppo della monetazione licia)". In: VISMARA, N. 1989. *Monetazione arcaica della Lycia II. La collezione Winsemann Falghera*, Glaux 3, Milano: 13–32.
- MØRKHOLM, O. 1964. "The Classification of Lycian Coins before Alexander the Great", *JNG* 14: 65–76.
- MØRKHOLM, O. and ZAHLE, J. 1972. "The Coinage of Kuprlli", *Acta Archaeologica* 43: 57–113.
- MØRKHOLM, O. and ZAHLE, J. 1976. "The Coinages of Lycian Dynasts Kheriga, Kherei and Erbbina", *Acta Archaeologica* 47: 47–90.
- MÜSELER, W. 1997. "A coin from the kingdom of Tyllis – ΕΝΑ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΤΥΛΙΑΔΟΣ", *Nomismatika Khronika* 16: 21–24.
- MÜSELER, W. 2005–2006. "Die sogenannten dunklen Jahrhunderte der Persis. Anmerkungen zu einem lange vernachlässigten Thema", *JNG* 55/56: 75–103.
- MÜSELER, W. 2015. "Tarsos und die Anabasis des jüngeren Kyros. Persische Militärprägungen in Kilikien und der Levante zwischen dem späten 5. und frühen 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *JNG* 65: 9–30.
- MÜSELER, W. and REZAKHANI KH. 2011. "Persis – History and coinage", In: B. NELSON (ed.), *Numismatic Art of Persia – The Sunrise Collection*, Lancaster PA (Classical Numismatic Group): 263–271.
- SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, H. and KUHRT, A. (eds.) 1991. *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, Achaemenid Workshops VI, Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshops, Leiden.
- VISMARA, N. 1993. "Proposte per un nuovo ordinamento della monetazione licaica della Licia". In: J. BORCHHARDT and G. DOBESCH (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposions. Wien 6.–12. Mai 1990*, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 17, Vienna: 191–201.
- VISMARA, N. 2014. "Status quaestionis su Artumpara dal punto di vista della numismatica". In: A. LEMAIRE (ed.), *Phéniciens d'Orient et d'Occident. Mélanges Jossete Elayi*, Cahiers de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France (CIPOA) 2: 205–224.
- ZAHLE, J. 1991. "Achaemenid influences in Lycia (Coinage, Sculpture, Architecture). Evidence for Political Changes during the 5th Century B.C.". In: SANCISI-WEERDENBURG and KUHRT (eds.) 1991: 145–160.

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

Jagiellonian University

Author's address:

Jarosław Bodzek

Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University

11 Gołębia Street

31-107 Krakow, Poland

jaroslaw.bodzek@uj.edu.pl

ORCID 0000-0002-4272-4117

Translation: David Daniel