

JIŘÍ MILITKÝ

Nálezy řeckých, římských a raně byzantských mincí v Čechách. 5. století před Kristem až 7. století po Kristu. Komentovaný katalog nálezového fondu, MONUMENTA NUMISMATICA 2, Praha 2013, pp. 386, 40 plates, 22 maps; ISBN 978-80-7007-390-2

The book is a result of fifteen years of research and study on the Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins which have been found in the territory of the Czech Republic up to 2007. An English version of the catalogue was published in 2010 and this volume is a Czech version of it supplemented by additional analysis of the inflow of the coins from the 5th century BC to the 7th century AD. The discussed aspects were part of J. Militký's dissertation. Militký is an author of several papers and monographs on coin finds in the territory of the Czech Republic. The publication is the second monograph of the Czech series *Monumenta Numismatica*, edited by the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. The first volume of this series, published in 2010, described fragments of Islamic silver coins from the Kelč Hoard by Vlastimil Novák.

The subject-matter of the study is defined in its title and concerns the analysis of finds of Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins and their inflow registered in the area of the Czech Republic extended to 50,971 km². This is the territory corresponding to the administrative division, regardless of historical boundaries between Bohemia and Moravia. It was part of the area of *Barbaricum*. The author presents territorial distribution based on the dispersal of coin finds in respective areas of Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, Germany and Austria, between the 5th century BC and the 7th century AD. The volume is divided into two main parts, it includes detailed and extensive analyses (five chapters) and a catalogue with plates and maps (four chapters). The book is also supplemented with a summary in German.

In a short introduction, the author considers the issue of the finds, the chronological framework, methods of coin registration and obtained information on the creation of the catalogue.

The second chapter is devoted to a historical background and archaeological works in the area of the Czech Republic between the 5th century BC and 7th century AD. The author describes the dating of particular periods and takes into consideration the most important historical events. He focuses on changes in habitation and cultural diversity.

The third chapter is devoted to the current state of research on the findings of the coins in respective territories of the Czech Republic, and those attested for the areas of Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, Germany and Austria. The author describes the beginnings of interest in ancient coins, which can be dated to the 14th century, when king Karol IV received some Roman coins from Petrarch, and began to develop a collection. The author briefly comments on numismatic issues in Czech archaeology. The text also contains useful references to basic literature of relevance about findings of coins from particular regions. In the next part of this chapter the author presents the methodology and catalogue concerning each particular type of coin finds (Greek, Roman and Byzantine). The material is divided into several categories – such as deposits, hoards, stray finds or finds from settlements – and each group is analysed taking into account the archaeological context.

The subsequent chapter is a detailed description of the coin finds and their inflow into the Czech Republic. The author proceeds to discuss the broader issue of the categories of finds and presents their accurate location. The statistics and tables attached to each of the subsections reflect the number of finds, their presumed deposition and interpretation of particular archaeological type. This information is very helpful when attempting to compare the described material and allows for more detailed conclusions. The next subsection is devoted to the chronology of the territorial distribution of the imports. Finds of Greek coins represent the oldest horizon of imports (in terms of coinage) on Czech territory. The author provides the respective location of each find and delineates the proportion of the coins that have been found. The recorded material comes from, *inter alia*, Sicily, Macedonia, Thrace, Ionia and Egypt. Interesting numismatic evidence from Numidia, during the reign of Massinissa between 202 and 148 BC, was discovered in Stradonice 51–52, Zalova 352 and Studence (?) 725. The author suggests that the coins from Numidia were most probably transferred to the territory of the Czech Republic from Western Europe, through Galia. The state of research on the inflow Greek coins to the area of Europe is more advanced now than a few years earlier attested by coin finds in Němčice nad Hanou and Roseldorf in Austria. The transfer of drachms, tetradrachms and bronze coins could be related to the Celtic mercenaries taking part in the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) or evidence of commercial relations. Roman Republic coins represented a very large group with a complicated chronology. The author highlights the importance of the fact that these types of Roman coins had a relevant importance in horizon LTC2/D1–D2 and notes the absence of them in earlier periods. The author stresses the unique role of Oppidum Stradonice 52, where the beginnings of minting activity date back to the 3rd century BC and the coins are dated only to 118 AD. A major amount of the coins constitute bronze coins – mostly asses and single finds of denarii. On the territory of

the Czech Republic, up to the year 2007, there have been registered 29 stray finds from 26 places, dominated by the denarius. The author compares collective coins from Stradonice and stray coin finds and concludes that denarii dominated the other types of coins. The inflow of the coins was regular from the 2nd century until 31–30 BC, compared to Stradonice where finds later than 118 BC are not known. There are no reliable recordings of hoards from the La Tene period in this area but theoretically the deposit from Kysice 675 could be ascribed to this spectrum. The hoard from Libceves 591, presumably from the 2nd century or later, with coins and silver jewellery, is relevant in this context and suggests trade or social/intercultural contact. The Roman Republic denarii were also found in other groups of deposits from Ratenice 304, Dobromerice 587, Radim 171, Trutnov 507 or Litohlary 682. The hoard from Stary Kolin 178, where a range of coin finds occurred between the 2nd century BC until the 5th century AD, deserves special attention. In the subsequent part the author discusses the transfer of coins from the period of the Roman Empire which constitute the largest group of the findings. Chronological analysis is very problematic on account of circulation and depositing. From the beginning of the Imperium Romanum imports of Roman coins greatly increased. Between 27 BC and 98 AD the author notes 97 coin finds. 11 exemplar coins of Octavian August were registered. The author also notes the large amount of finds in the period of reign of Vespasianus (19 coins) and Domitianus (20 coins). The author focuses on the kingdom of Maroboduus on the territory of Bohemia and its wealth, which is reflected in imports but does not find confirmation in numismatic evidence. The largest concentration of coins (174 exemplars) was reported in the period from 98 to 192 AD. The inflow of imports seems to be regular in intensity during this period. A decrease in the amount of Roman coins transferred is visible during the reign of Commodus which may be related to the end of the Marcomannic Wars. The majority of the numismatic material consists of denarii. In the 2nd century there followed a decrease in number of bronze coins. The dating of the deposition of particular coin finds is uncertain in this period. Between 192 and 284 AD a decrease in the number of transferred Roman coins was registered – 112 finds compared to the earlier period. An increase in the amount of numismatic imports is visible during the reign of Alexander Severus (13 coins) and Gallienus (14 coins). The author mentions about 39 groups of finds, of which 10, such as, among others, Lipa 498, Boharyne 427 or Dobrichov-Planany 98, could be classified as hoards. In the last quarter of the 3rd century Egyptian billon tetradrachms were found in the deposits (Radim 171, Dolanky 588 and Stary Kolin 179a). The reasons for this phenomenon may be different. The amount of coins from the next period, between 284 and 395 AD, the amount of coin finds is very similar – 114 specimens. The majority of coin finds is represented by bronze folles with reduced diameter and weight,

denarii and solidi are in the minority. The author classifies the finds according to two probable periods of deposition in the 4th century. The first group of deposits is dated to 378 AD 12 coin finds, characterised by a dominant number of bronze coins (as in Stary Plzenec 669) and with an admixture of provincial coins (as in Markvartice 473, Nespeky 40 and Neznasov 690) have been classified as part of this group. The second group, dated between 378 and 395 AD is characterized by the occurrence of coins from earlier periods, known from such sites as Zleby 235, Ceska Lipa 509 or Hradec Kralove 431. In the 80s of the 4th century AD limes on the Danube were left by the Roman army. The author suggests that this fact could be the reason for the decrease in inflow imports. Between the years 395–491 AD the amount of coin finds is equal to 16 exemplars with 14 solidi, 1 tremissis and 1 bronze coin were discovered by stray finds, in the settlements and finds in graves. Coins have holes in order to be hung as a pendant. Their social role and function was different. Finds of provincial coins on the territory of Bohemia dated from the 1st to the 3rd century AD derived from Egypt, Thrace, Asia Minor and Galia. One of the chapter's subsection is devoted to barbarous imitations of Roman denarii. The detailed analysis of the coin finds from particular periods ends with numismatic evidence from Byzantine times. The author stresses a decrease in the amount of imports into Bohemia and compares the state of research to other territories such as Moravia. The intensity of the inflow is combined with social and historical factors in a variety of periods. A separate subsection is devoted to finds of gold coins in relation to Bohemia and Moravia between the 1st century BC and the 7th century AD. In the last part of this chapter the author describes the process of interpretation of numismatic material. The function of coins in ancient times is not always clear. The importance of the Roman coins is ambiguous. Later numismatic evidence, coins with holes in them, may have served a decorative rather than commercial purpose. At the end of the chapter the author presents local concentration in respective districts. The largest amount of coin finds were registered in Kolin (122 exemplars) and in Nymburk (70 exemplars). The author suspects that the mentioned specimens and statistics indicate the historical communication routes.

The fifth chapter includes a summary of the presented analyses, repeated general conclusions concerning the inflow in particular periods. Moreover, a summary in German was also added.

The catalogue includes 768 recorded finds containing at least 5032 coins. This is the state of research up to 2007. It is divided into districts according to the actual administrative division. The catalogue takes into consideration several categories such as group of deposit, location and circumstances of each find, information on the collections they come from, archaeological context, comments and literature. The coin finds were described according to the general standards of metrological

data. The author provides references to the extensive bibliography. A list of coin finds according to ruler or place of origin and an index are included at the end of the text to make searching for particular locations or coin finds easier. Moreover, the author added 40 plates of good-quality photographs of coins and a list of 22 maps with detailed arrangement of numismatic evidence in particular districts.

To sum up, the monograph is a highly valuable interdisciplinary study on numismatics, archaeology and the history of the territory of the Czech Republic. The book includes a comprehensive analysis of the transfer of Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins and attempts to explain the variable inflow of coins in respective historical periods. The author presents a well-structured view of the subject. The amount of numismatic material gathered by the author is very impressive. The work included research conducted up to the year 2007. The author indicates another publication with the same catalogue (Militký 2010). Since the work was published in 2013, it would benefit from an updated supplement. It is a pity that the author did not take into account new coin finds from a later time than 2007, specifying that current research in this field will be published in subsequent papers or monographs. Maybe thanks to those new coin finds, it would be possible to formulate some new thesis. Nevertheless the book is a noteworthy study for researchers interested in the transfer issue and monetary circulation in the European area of *Barbaricum* between the 5th century BC and the 7th century AD. Moreover, it can be useful in order to understand the importance of the coins used in societies in various periods.

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DAVID M. JACOBSON, NIKOS KOKKINOS (eds.)

Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE–135 CE. Paper Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th–14th September 2010, London 2012, pp. 243; ISBN 978-1-907427-22-0

The noticeable intensification of research on coinages related to Ancient Judaea in the recent decades led to the organisation of an international conference devoted to the topic and hosted by Spink in 2010. It was the third conference organised in London related to this topic – the previous two were focused on Herod the Great and his relations with the Nabateans and Augustus, respectively. Papers from both conferences were published in 2001 and 2005. One of the reasons given by the organisers in order to explain the purpose of the conference is a new group of archaeological finds that might cast new light on many subjects related to, *inter alia*, the Bible and the beginning of Christianity. The meeting resulted in the publication *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE–135 CE. Paper Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th–14th September 2010* comprising 14 articles written by eminent specialists on Jewish and Roman coinage and covering the period from the Roman conquest of Judaea by Pompey to the fall of the Jewish uprising under Bar-Kokhba, but also events before the time of the Romans.

The first article, by A. Burnett, presents the Herodian coinage viewed against the Roman perspective (pp. 1–18). The author presents a short overview of Jewish coinage, from the beginning of Hasmonean emissions to coins struck during the time of the descendants of Herod the Great. He discusses the Seleucid's coin tradition, Syrian coinage and its two extremes: the very conservative Phoenician and the more innovative than the general pattern coins of Herodians, who presented a very pro-Roman policy. The main advantage of the article is that it provides photos of almost all the discussed coins. On the other hand, the inclusion of information on a picture of the Warren Cup (Fig. 38) at the end of the conclusion seems rather pointless. That artefact has no grater relation to the topic of the paper than a similar time and place of origin, which is still disputed.

The next article, by R. Barkley, concerning the problem of Roman influences on Jewish coins (pp. 19–26), is almost a copy of the previous one. The author has organised her article into short sections describing all the Herodian rulers and coinages from both the Jewish revolts. However, a look at the bibliography of this article puts into question the purpose of writing the article in the first place. There are only four cited publications and the latest of them are more than ten years old at the moment of publication.

The subsequent article, by A. Lykke, concerns the use of languages and scripts in ancient Jewish coinage and the role of the Temple until its destruction (pp. 27–50). The author demonstrates that palaeo-Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek were used on coins to present the political independence of their makers. The last two languages were in common use, but the first was only used for cultic purposes. This demonstrates the relation between land, people and religion. A very important role in this policy was played by the Temple as a symbol of unity and a centre of local authority.

In the next article, based on her doctoral dissertation, D. Syon describes the circulation of coins in Galilee in the Early Roman Period (pp. 51–64). The longer form of dissertation was probably better suited for the purpose of presenting this topic, because of the limitations of the conference paper format. The author presents factors affecting the circulation of coins, such as the army, trade or mints, describes the distribution of coins from the Hasmonean period to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, and concludes that it was too dynamic to create the circulation pattern.

In the subsequent paper R. Bracey analyses the efficiency of dies by the graphical interpretation of Herod's year 3 coins to find out if they could have been minted in order to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem (pp. 65–83). The author focuses on three work-stations which were minting coins at the same time and concludes that the conquering of the Holy City may have been the purpose for these emissions.

In his paper about the coins of the prefects of Judaea (pp. 86–111) N. Kokkinos concludes that the name 'Augustian era' ought to be used instead of 'Actian era' because it was impossible to assign the year 33, when the province was founded, earlier than the year 6 CE, which is known from other sources.

The paper by R. Deutsch bears similarity to that by A. Lykke, but the author focuses on the coinage of the First Jewish Revolt (pp. 113–122). The article's conclusions also display the aforementioned similarity in that the inscriptions refer to the period of the First Temple as a Messianic symbol of political and religious independence – the main objective of the rebels.

The paper by D. Hendin (pp. 123–144) is similar to the article described above. The author indicates that the coins of the Great War were the first fully independent Jewish coins used to propagate the idea of freedom. He also emphasises the importance of palaeo-Hebrew scripts that were hundreds of years past regular use. In view of coin hoards he has also stated that coins from the first war may have been used as a model for mincers of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

D.M. Jacobson presents an interesting 'motive study' (pp. 145–161). The author explores the mutual relation between the caduceus – a symbol related to trade and Mercury – and facing cornucopias, which have symbolised prosperity and the

goddess Tyche. Both images have also symbolised happiness, peace, concord and fertility. The author concludes that taken together they function as a symbol of the Roman deity Fortuna Felicitas.

T.V. Buttrey's paper is a very good catalogue of Vespasian's Roman Orichalcum (pp. 163–186) in which the author disproves the theory concerning their eastern circulation, mainly because of the fact that most of the coins have been found in western Europe.

M. Heemstra proposes a different translation of the legend of Nerva's *Fiscus Judaicus Sestertius* (pp. 187–201). He suggests that it should be read as 'the removal of the wrongful accusation of *Fiscus Judaicus*'. He has also suggested that Nerva had changed the meaning of *Jew* from an ethnical to a religious one, which also covered Christians.

K. Butcher states that coins in ancient Rome may have been produced in central mints (pp. 203–213). The author provides the examples of Medieval and Ottoman coinage. He also suggests that weight, type and fineness of each denomination were determined centrally, but the quantity of coins was decided by individuals who produced them from privately-held supplies of raw materials.

The papers of B. Zissu and D. Hendin (pp. 215–228) complement the article by D. Hendin. They present three hoards of coins in circulation during the Bar Kokhba Revolt found in Te'Omim Cave and Horvat 'Ethri. Among the many coins of that period, the coins of the Great Jewish War have been found, which allows to conclude that Bar-Kokhba minters could have used them as a model for their emissions.

The final article, by L.J. Kreitzer (pp. 229–242), disproves the theory that Hadrian was a new incarnation of Nero, most probably created by Jews involved in the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. Some evidence from Corinth (coins, sculptures) supports Kreitzer's hypothesis and allows for the statement that this comparison was created for propaganda purposes.

The whole publication attempts to provide a new and important voice in the discussion on the interactions between Jewish and Roman coinages and the advances within scholarship that have taken place in the past few years. Editors have grouped articles chronologically and have not used thematic division, which may have made the composition unclear.

The lack of references to publications of researchers from central Europe, who have been engaged in this issue for many years, is surprising. It is relatively understandable that works in non-conference languages¹ may have been omitted, but other publications, especially in English, should be known to the authors.

¹ See OSTROWSKI 1985; SKOWRONEK 1994; IDEM 2001; CIECIELAĞ 2002.

The paper on the personifications of Judea on Flavian Coins by Ostrowski² falls within the thematic range of some of the presented papers. The case of the articles by Dąbrowa,³ related to the Hasmonean Kingdom, is similar. The same can be said of papers by J. Ciecieląg,⁴ who has even published one of his articles in *Israel Numismatic Research*,⁵ in the same volume as Hendin and Syon.

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² OSTROWSKI 1999.

³ DĄBROWA 2002; IDEM 2007.

⁴ CIECIEŁĄG 1996; IDEM 1998.

⁵ IDEM 2006.

ROBERT BENNETT

Local Elites and Local Coinage: Elite Self-Representation on the Provincial Coinage of Asia 31 BC–AD 275. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication no. 51, London 2014. xxiv + pp. 178, 31 plates; ISBN: 0901405795

The book is an attempt of explaining the relationship between the local elites and the provincial coinage in Asia. The author took up a sophisticated issue, dealt with it in a fair way and gained profitable results. Apart from numismatic evidence, Bennett used any kind of data that made the results of his research more reliable. Archaeological, iconographical, prosopographical and historical evidence supports his results. The author accurately chose the examples featured in the text. The variety of cited annotations, coin types, mints, eponyms and events indicates that the author is an expert in the discipline of the provincial coinage of Asia. The juxtaposition of provincial coins and local elites is a fresh way to explain the economic, cultural and administrative processes that took place between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD.

Local Elites and Local Coinage contains six chapters, four appendixes, indices, plates, a key to the plates, a list of abbreviations and a bibliography. The total capacity of the book is 177 pages plus 31 plates. Chapter I is an introduction, where the author explains the most important concepts like ‘the provincial coinage (p. 1) or ‘mint magistrates’ (p. 2). Subsequently, he draws the chronological scope between 31 BC and the end of provincial coinage in the late 3rd century. The author also mentions the history of provincial coins studies including the RPC Project (pp. 3–4). The second chapter is devoted to local elites. Bennett interprets the roles of numerous kinds of civil governors such as *strategos*, *grammateus*, *gymnasiarches* and others (pp. 8–11). The author indicates some cases in which inhabitants of Asia gained Roman citizenship or even the equestrian status (pp. 13–15). In the next chapter the role of eponyms in the production of coins is discussed. The difference between the Hellenistic, Pre-Roman and Roman periods is shown. Some formulas placed on provincial coins are analyzed, for instance: the $\epsilon\pi\iota$ +genitive formula (pp. 26–27) and the $\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ formula (pp. 30–32). Sponsorship, in the context of coin production, is also mentioned. The fourth chapter contains two examples of provincial mints in Asia: Laodikeia in Phrygia and Thyateira in Lydia. The author begins with a short introduction on the history of Thyateira and with the known eponyms of the city (pp. 41–47). There are subsections which refer to the denomination, the iconography and the mintage system of Thyateira. Laodikeia is treated in a similar way. At the end of this chapter the author confronts these mints with others in Asia. ‘*Coins as Monuments*’ is the main topic of the next chapter, in which the obverses and the reverses are analyzed. Bennett gives some examples of the

names of eponyms (pp. 76–83) and then analyzes the iconography, development and distribution of local coins. He analyses the system of monumental coinage on the basis of Roman and Asian examples. The author describes the changes that took place in the function of iconography from the 1st to the late 3rd century. The last chapter serves as the conclusion of his work. At the very end Bennett raises the sophisticated issue of the decline of local coinage (p. 103). Four appendixes are added. The third and fourth contain the catalogues of Roman provincial coins of Thyateira and Laodikeia. The plates placed at the end are transparent and the coins are of good quality. The bibliography is well-composed and diverse. However, the lack of Krzyżanowska, A. *Monnaies coloniales d'Antioche de Pisidie*. (Warsaw 1970), should be pointed out. The structure of the book is clear and transparent. The chapters are arranged in a logical order.

The author decided to undertake two difficult issues, local elites and provincial coinage, and confront them. The subject of local coins has been raised frequently in recent years. Bennett is well-informed about the latest publications and theories. Scholars such as A. Burnett, M. Amandry and C. Howgego are cited repeatedly. The problem of prosopography in Asia is known to the author as well. The numerous inscriptions, monuments, and archaeological finds are presented as a confirmation of the author's theories.

Although the chronological scope is limited to the years 31 BC to 275 AD, the author also refers to earlier centuries. In Chapter III, which treats on the eponyms, Bennett presents the role of local governors from the Archaic to the Hellenistic age to provide a comparison with the Roman period. The names of eponyms presented on the coins served as a dating mechanism and protected the coins from adulteration during the Pre-Roman age (pp. 22–24). However, the function of eponyms in coin production was much more broad and diverse. In the age of Roman domination some models of local coinage continued to be produced, e.g. iconographical motives. However, the Augustan revolution brought many direct and indirect changes to provincial coinage. The $\epsilon\pi\iota$ +genitive formula was initiated. The issue of whether the eponyms presented by using this formula were responsible for the coin production (pp. 26–28) is not solved by the author. The problem of funding the coinage from private or public resources is stated by the author with other formulas ($\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\zeta$, $\psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$). Bennett does not determine which formulas are connected with private funding or euergetism, but he is willing to agree that the private financing of civic coinage during the Roman period is a plausible theory (p. 39).

The connections between the Classical/Hellenistic period and the Roman period are also presented in the chapter *Coins as Monuments*. The author suggests that self-representation of local eponyms had become more popular during the Roman Empire, quoting only some uncertain examples from an earlier period. The Roman

families contended in presenting their dynastic symbols on coins, especially in the Late Republic. Although one could find more such examples in Asia, it is correct that during the Roman domination the self-representation of local elites gained new standards and became more obvious and common. One of the eponyms that is described here is Markos Oulpios Karminios Klaudianos who was the *stephanephoros* and the high priest of Asia (pp. 74–76). On his initiative, the *homonoia* coins of Attouda and Trapezopolis were struck. By presenting the goddess Meter Adrastou, Karminios pointed to his own career. Although other scholars traced some other issues, like standing Nemesis or Artemis, as an attempt at self-representation by Karminios, Bennett remains skeptical and correctly states that the same motives had already occurred years before the activity of Markos Karminios.

The attention of the author is strictly focused on two mints: Laodikeia and Thyateira. These two cities are the main issue of Chapter IV. The choice of these two places is motivated by the diversity of imagery and well-attested inscriptions. Thyateira was an active mint from the time of Claudius (or earlier) to the time of Valerian (or later). The issues connected with Laodikeia were produced from the rule of Augustus until Traian Decius. The choice seems to be well-motivated and proper. Historical backgrounds, important events, eminent eponyms and connections with other mints are provided. The specification of Thyateira and Laodikeia could not be extended to the rest of the Asia Minor Peninsula, but the author compares these two mints with others. Although there were some differences between them and the rest of Asia (in Thyateira, no eponyms were attested until the time of Antonius Pius), it seems that the selected mints and their denomination, formulas, and iconography are typical examples of the Asian system (pp. 64–68). However, there are some mints that are omitted. Roman colonies, which produced their own coinage: e.g. Sinope, Lapsus, Parium, Antioch, were located in Asia. They played their part in Asian coinage, but are hardly perceptible in the text. A comparison with the other parts of the Roman Empire would also be well-received. It is true that provincial coinage in the West ceased at the end of the 1st century, but there were regions such as Africa, the Balkan peninsula, Greece or other provinces of the Roman East, in which local coinage endured until the end of the 3rd century.

The author states that the local coinage developed from the self-sufficient form to the workshop system in the late 2nd century, when centres of production designed and struck coins for their clients. The iconographical motives began to be shared by a few cities. It is obvious that some pan-Hellenistic or imperial motives were shared during the 1st and 2nd centuries and even before that.

Bennett observes that the nominative formula was obsolete in the Roman period and replaced by the $\epsilon\pi\iota$ +genitive formula which was used to date the coins. The problem that cannot be solved are the permissions of the eponyms. Some of

them were tasked with a wider range of responsibilities. Some of them were the supervisors of the coin production and some of them supported the production with their own resources. The desire of self-representation of local elites could be comparative to that of Roman aristocracy. However, in the case of Asian elites, they were confined by the imperial ideology. The obverse from the time of Tiberius was reserved for the emperor and the members of imperial household. The reverse was maintained for local purposes. It could be a symbol of reminiscence of key historical events, or the monuments that were erected during the rule of the governors. The eponyms used it in their own interests. The author reminds the reader that all of the above was a result of a mixture of the Greek heritage and Roman contribution. Local innovation, related to a particular city or people, could be added.

The end of the book is simultaneously the end of provincial coinage. The author enumerates the most common reasons of the cease of local mintage. The crisis of the 3rd age and the economical downturn led to the fall of many mints at the beginning of the 270s AD. The sudden decline of local coinage was accompanied by a decrease in the number of erected honorific statues, inscriptions and other monuments. It is obvious that the endless lowering of the weight standards of imperial coinage from the beginning of the 3rd century accelerated its decline. The author highlights that the eventual stoppage of local coinage production was brought by the reforms of Diocletian.

To sum up, Bennett's *Local Elites and Local Coinage. Elite Self-Representing on the Provincial Coinage of Asia, 31 BC to AD 275* emphasizes the role of local eponyms in coin production. On the one hand, the local elites are presented as the euergetes, the benefactors and the guardians of the local communities. On the other hand, their main desire is to show their own achievements, their glory, on the coins. Bennett's book deals with a sophisticated issue on which information is scarce. Attempts to determine the function of eponyms in coin production are not always successful. However, these attempts were necessary to gain a higher level of knowledge concerning the relationship between provincial coinage and local elites. This book not only gathers information on eponyms, mints and local coinage, but also contains fresh observations, proper examples and logical conclusions.

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MATEUSZ BOGUCKI, PETER ILISCH, STANISŁAW SUCHODOLSKI (Hrsg.), *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen. Inventar. Bd. IV: B. REYMAN-WALCZAK, P. ILISCH. D. MALARCZYK, T. NOWAKIEWICZ in Zusammenarbeit mit M. WOŹNIAK, Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Kleinpolen; B. BUTENT-STEFANIAK, P. ILISCH. D. MALARCZYK, T. NOWAKIEWICZ in Zusammenarbeit mit W. NAKIELSKI, Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Schlesien*, Warszawa 2013, 494 pages, plates, 2 maps; ISBN: 978-83-63760-19-9

The numismatics of Central and Eastern Europe has become richer by a new publication, the scientific importance of which reaches beyond the geographical frames of the subcontinent. A catalogue of Early Mediaeval monetary finds from the years 500–1150 in the territory of Poland, in the regions of Śląsk (Silesia) and Małopolska (Lesser Poland), has just appeared. The volume is based on reports by Janusz Reyman (1927–2004) and Marian Haisig (1908–1996), published in the work “Early Mediaeval Silver Treasures in Małopolska, Silesia, Warmia and Mazury” published in 1966. It was part of a greater project realised under the leadership of R. Kiersnowski in the 1950s and 1960s and aimed at compiling a catalogue of Early Mediaeval Polish treasures. These volumes were important for Polish science, though most of their authors were not numismatists, at least in the strict sense of the word, and not always were they familiar with European material or had sufficient contact with their European colleagues. The publication remained practically unnoticed in Europe because of its low circulation and due to the language barrier.

Studies on Polish coin treasures entered a new phase at the beginning of the 1990s. A project carried out by S. Suchodolski in 2000–2003 led to significant advances in relation to this topic, although, by irony of fate, material on the regions which has now been published, was not included in this undertaking. A new phase of research came in 2011–2013, when the catalogue was enriched with new finds. The increase of knowledge was more than significant: while 469 Early Mediaeval treasures and 198 finds from the territory of Poland were known in 1973, these numbers have now increased to 550 and 2000, respectively.¹

This publication presents, arranged according to their geographical distribution, detailed inventories and descriptions of 231 treasures and individual finds, 31921 coins, complete with 78 plates of illustrations. This is the first of four volumes that will cover the whole territory of Poland, according to the chosen chronology of monetary circulation. In this sense, the volumes will be published

¹ The finds from later periods are summarized in: KUBIAK and PASZKIEWICZ 1998.

achronologically as the 1st volume will be dedicated to Wielkopolska (Greater Poland),² the 2nd to the finds in Pomerania, Warmia and Mazury,³ and the 3rd – to the coins of Mazowsze, Podlasie and Central Poland.⁴

The introduction to the present volume (pp. 8–16) presents the history of research, and also a historical and cultural background for the geographical division applied for the area of present-day Poland. Special attention is given to the presentation and description of the treasures. The finding sites, arranged in alphabetical order, are presented according to the actual administrative division of the country (commune-county-voivodeship). Also given are: the date of finding of each treasure, its category (treasure proper, burial, cultural layer, random find, and others), its location and circumstances, finders, method of hiding, number of coins, place of storage, and bibliography.

Specific details on the coins are presented in a table. It contains such columns as: the eminence/sovereign/ruler/monarch? and dates of his or her rule, place of mint, dating and chronology, base of attribution, weight and condition. For German coins, the ruler's minting house is also named. For English coins, additionally given are: ruler, dating type (Haupttyp [Datierung]) and minting master. A separate table contains chronological data, including the oldest and the youngest coin; also listed are *tpq* and total weight. Additional characteristics are presented for specific types of coins; Roman, Persian, Arabic, Indian, Byzantine and German coins are classified according to provinces and cultural zones; 8 types of cross-deniers are distinguished, etc.

The two parts of the coin catalogue, the first dealing with Lesser Poland (pp. 7–222) and the second dedicated to Silesia (pp. 225–494), are differentiated by the colours of their respective running heads for convenience of use: green for Lesser Poland and blue for Silesia. The forewords to these parts were written by B. Reyman-Walczak (pp. 20–21) and B. Butent-Stefaniak (pp. 226–229). These texts are accompanied by lists of abbreviations and a bibliography (pp. 22–26, 230–235). The essential content of the publication is contained in the catalogues proper (pp. 27–177, 236–441). The first part of the volume presents finds of 16,583 coins from 121 sites in Lesser Poland (compared to 66 sites known in 1966, p. 20), including 1494 Arabic, 40 Byzantine, 612 German, 4320 cross-deniers, 6 Italian, 70 Czech, 20 Moravian, 15 Czecho-Moravian, 5712 Polish, 69 Hungarian,

² SZCZUREK et AL. (forthcoming). This volume will be based on the report: SLASKI and TABACZYŃSKI 1959.

³ HOROSZKO et AL. and BOGUCKI et AL. (forthcoming). This summarizing volume will be based on the works: KIERSNOWSCY 1959 and KIERSNOWSKI 1966: 67–78.

⁴ GORLIŃSKA et AL. (forthcoming). This volume will be based on the report: GUPIENIEC and KIERSNOWSCY 1965.

75 English, 2 Scandinavian, 5 Datian, 38 West Slavic, 16 monetary imitations, and 2463 unidentified coins.

The second part of the catalogue, presenting coin treasures from Silesia, comprises 15,338 coins from 110 sites, including 5 Roman, 1 Persian, 2707 Arabic, 7 Byzantine, 2843 German, 2359 cross-deniers, 4 French, 21 Italian, 916 Czech, 73 Moravian, 248 Czecho-Moravian, 2455 Polish, 167 Hungarian, 68 English, 2 Irish, 2 Scandinavian, 159 Datian, 202 imitations and 1340 unidentified coins. Both parts also contain jewellery items found in the treasures, ingots of precious metals, gold and silver scrap. Each part ends with a summary table of the geographical locations of the finds in relation to the distinguished types (pp. 178–182, 442–445).

It should be noted that the editors did not always pay attention to the presence of perforations or loops for hanging or did this in a non-uniform way (*gelocht*, *Löcher*, pp. 82, 287 and others). However, such treatment of coins shows that they served additional functions in Mediaeval culture and could be temporarily or permanently withdrawn from monetary circulation. This characteristics of monetary finds often escape the attention of numismatists. A more or less complete idea about this type of artefact may be obtained only by studying illustrations (for Lesser Poland: Plates: 1:20:15, 11:52:1, 11:55:1, 12:62:1, 12:62:85, 13:62:192, 13:62:202, 14:62:315, 15:62:377, 15:62:397, 15:62:405, 17:62:688, 18:62:695, 20:67:6, 20:67:9, 23:68: 431, 30:52:10–11 [the Opole-Ostrówek treasury includes a cross-denier coined after 1080, enclosed in an S-shaped hanging ring]; for Silesia: Plates 5:29:284; 6:29:570). Although the illustrative material of the catalogue cannot give a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon, it is apparent that the coins-pendants had a small share in the monetary material from Poland as compared to Eastern Europe. These data indicate that coins were less commonly withdrawn from circulation and were not given ornamental and sacral qualities to such a degree as in other Slavic lands.

Maps showing the find sites against a background of a physical map with well readable relief are placed directly before illustrations and after the catalogue (pp. 185, 447). The geographical index, also placed after the catalogue, is split into several categories: treasures, burials, random finds and finds with unknown circumstances (pp. 184, 446); it serves as the map key.

Tables with illustrations of the coins available nowadays for reproduction are important for the presentation and perception of the material. Images are of high quality, though they are not magnified to a desirable degree. It is important that they present not only coin finds, but also elements of archaeological context and containers (Pl. 34, p. 222; Pl. 45, p. 494 and others), including the ceramic vessels in which the treasures from Ojców, Wiślica, Zawada Lanckorońska, Zawichost, Ginkowice, Gniechowice, Gostyń, Maniów, Radzików i Wińsko were found.

The just-published catalogue already allows one to note some regular patterns of coin inflow and circulation in the south of Poland, where, as the authors admit, the share of Bavarian coins was especially high, while German coins in general exceeded the Arabic ones in number and came close to the numbers of coins of local, Polish, production. Polish coins are more numerous in Lesser Poland than in Silesia, while in the case of dirhams the proportions are reversed. It is worth noting that Roman coins, unknown in the east of the country, appeared in Silesia, as did early Byzantine coinage which has been recorded only in this part of Poland. This may reflect the belonging of these provinces of the early Polish state to two different cultural zones and even hint at some forms of inheritance from the Roman and Romanic civilizations.

The absence of Old Rus' coins from the end of the 10th and from the 11th century⁵ in the studied regions of Poland is also interesting. However, later on, in the 13th century, devotional items could appear in Pomerania, made as imitations of Yaroslav's silver coins (*srebrebniki*).⁶ Some regular patterns may also be traced in the appearance of Byzantine coins in this region, and studying them lies close to the interests of the reviewers. Regardless of the fact that in the east of Poland as a whole there are more Byzantine coins than in Silesia (40:7), the treasures are similar in composition to those known from Old Rus' and from the Baltic region.⁷ The *miliaresia* present there apparently arrived from Pomerania through Greater Poland together with Arabic monetary silver. This is indicated also by the finds of French coins which circulated in the circum-Baltic region and, mostly from this area, were transferred to Central and Eastern Europe.⁸

During the same period, Byzantine *miliaresia* were virtually absent in Lesser Poland, which at that point included the western peripheries of Kievan Rus'. This situation may reflect historical reality, in that the circulation of Byzantine monetary silver in Western Europe was reduced to a minimum in the 10th–11th centuries, as is additionally confirmed by the few Byelarusian finds.⁹ This also seems to be demonstrated by the smaller numbers of Arabic dirhams in Lesser Poland, circulating besides *miliaresia*. It should be noted that at the end of the 10th and at the beginning of the 11th century, these lands, especially the area of the „Cherven Towns”, were disputed between the Piasts and the Rurikides and were a zone of military actions.

⁵ SOTNIKOVA and SPASSKYI 1983.

⁶ ŻÓŁKOWSKA 2012: 197, Fig. 4: b, c.

⁷ It is known that 24 treasures with Byzantine coins, of similar composition and hidden before 1010, have been found in Greater Poland. See GLIKSMAN 2003. One more anonymous A2 class *folles* (976–1025) was found during the research on shore reinforcements at Ostrów Lednicki. See GÓRECKI 2010.

⁸ MOESGAARD 2014.

⁹ 15 *nomismi*, 1 *hyperpyron*, 7 *miliaresia* and 6 *folles* are hitherto known from the area of Byelarus. See BEKTINIEJEV 2014.

For this reason, the discussed situation may also partly reflect the „state of the source”, related to the fact that random finds of recent years, appearing in connection with the boom in construction works and with amateur archaeological activity, do not always become known to numismatists. It was by monitoring such finds that a series of anonymous follises from the 11th century were revealed in the area of the Halych-Volhynia territory, as well as Latin and Bulgarian imitations from the 13th century. This corresponds well with the appearance of the coins of the Thessaloniki Empire of the years 1224–1230 in archaeological sites (Miedobory, Chernovskoye hillfort, hillfort by the Shepetivka town in the Khmelnytsk district, Ukraine),¹⁰ thus documenting new stages of appearance of Byzantine coinage and its imitations in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, these findings do not compensate in any way for the already mentioned absence of miliarises. The finding of a subaerat gilded miliaris or its imitation in a burial from the 11th century, investigated in Kraków’s Rynek Główny (Main Market Square) (p. 80, no. 52; the last of the presented options (?), presented by Professor M. Salamon,¹¹ is not presented at all in the catalogue) and converted into a pendant, does not change the general situation, mainly because of the altered function of the artefact converted into an item of devotion. As mentioned above, the publication does not indicate separately the existence of coin pendants. It is apparent, however, that the final conclusions on the nature of the circulation of various coin types on the territory of early Mediaeval Poland will be possible only after the publication of all four volumes of the catalogue.

Accordingly, the fact that import of Byzantine coins to this area continued until after the end of the 11th century, traditionally considered as the end of Byzantine currency circulation in Kievan Rus’,¹² suggests another view on the treasure from Wilków (Kielce county, Świętokrzyskie voivodship, pp. 154–155, no. 105), discovered at the beginning of the 20th century. It consisted of about 20 Byzantine gold coins in a ceramic vessel. Their origin, chronology, attribution and present-day whereabouts are unknown. The publication refers the treasure to the second half of the 11th century. According to the short note on the treasure’s discovery, the coins are described as convex-concave or bowl-shaped (*miseczkowate złote monety bizantyńskie*),¹³ which can be referred to in German as *schüsselartige Münze*, apparently represented in the catalogue by (S). Most analytic papers refer this assemblage to the 12th century, though a broader chronology – from the 11th to

¹⁰ KARGER 1958: 14; RUSANOVA and TIMOSHCHUK 1993: 41, 57, Fig. 47: 4; PIVOVAROV 1999: 156, 157, Fig. 1.

¹¹ SALAMON 2009.

¹² NOONAN 1980.

¹³ GUMOWSKI 1910; ANON 1910.

the first half of the 14th century – is not excluded.¹⁴ It seems that the classification of these coins as solids may be conducted in a more specific manner. If the treasure dates back to the 11th century, then it consisted of coins named *stamenon nomisma* at the time, if to the 12th century, it included *hyperpyra* – a denomination that appeared as a result of the reform in 1091–1092.

As Byzantine coins have been published in this volume, we would like to propose some refinements. For instance, the denomination of a copper coin of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) from Góra Zamkowa at Biecz (Gorlice county, Podkarpackie voivodship) is shown as 40 nummi, apparently by analogy to the coin of Emperor Justinian I (527–565) coming from the same place (pp. 27–28, no. 3). Nonetheless, we are rather dealing with a follis, which ceased to be associated with nummi after the disappearance of the numeric description of the denomination (M = 40 nummi), starting with the rule of Emperor Basil I Macedonian (867–886). In general, using the denomination of follis as anonymous for Constantinople or as nominal for Thessaloniki, during the time of Alexios I, is preferable only until the reform of 1091–1092. After the reform, the bullion aspron trachy and the copper tetartera were used in circulation. A visual examination or an image could be decisive for the attribution of the coin from Biecz, but this is absent on p. 189, because the coin was stolen in 1975. Unfortunately, its weight also remains unknown. The denomination follis was used by the authors for a copper coin weighing 11.51 g, found at Gródek on the Bug River, referred to the time of Emperor Basil II (976–1025) or Constantine VIII (1025–1028) (p. 49, no. 29), and for a copper coin of Emperor Michael IV (1034–1041) (pp. 163–164, no. 115), found at Zamość. Unfortunately, images of both coins are absent in the book. Nevertheless, as only anonymous folles were minted during that time, the terms used correctly reflect an anonymous A2 class follis (976–1030/31) in the former case, and a C class follis (1042–1050) in the latter case.

It is possible that more attentive reviewers, especially those well-versed in numismatic matter from Polish territory, will be able to identify some errors, inaccuracies or even omissions in the material presented. Nevertheless, in the present authors' opinion, the appearance of this catalogue is a true event, not only summing up a certain stage in development of Polish numismatics, but also stimulating new research. This book will obviously become a handy encyclopaedia not only for professional numismatists but also for students of monetary economics of Mediaeval Europe, based on the circulation of monetary silver as the means of exchange. A special importance for such studies have the descriptions of Arabic coins by D. Malarczyk, and of German monetary silver by P. Ilisch – the two most

¹⁴ WOŁOSZYN 2009: 477–478.

frequent types of monetary finds on the continent – are of particular importance for such studies. Publication in German makes the catalogue accessible for numismatists worldwide. It is worth noting that the work on the catalogue has already resulted in the appearance of publications on monetary silver circulation in the epoch.¹⁵ Also, regardless of the justified and well-defined geographical frame of the catalogue, a complete picture of monetary circulation in the eastern parts of Mediaeval Poland may be obtained only by additional acquaintance with monetary finds in the western parts of Old Rus', now forming the territory of Ukraine. This prospective study area may become a common goal of Polish and Ukrainian scientists.

The appearance of the excellent inventory of coins found in the territory of Poland, clearly poses a question as regards the need for similar publications dealing with the neighbouring regions where a similar type of monetary circulation prevailed. At present a project continues on the publication of the coins from the 10th to the 11th century found in Sweden (1975–1982, Vol. 1. 1–4 [Gotland]; 1979, Vol. 16 [Dalarna]; 1983, Vol. 8 [Östergötland]; 1985–1987, Vol. 3. 1–2 [Skåne]; 2010, Vol. 4 [Blekinge]).¹⁶ A corpus of coins from the territory of Estonia appeared more than 20 years ago;¹⁷ recently, a registry and research on monetary finds in the territory of Byelarusia have appeared.¹⁸ In this context, it should be noted that for acquaintance with the finds of European coins in the territories of Russia and Ukraine one has to use publications issued in the 1920s and 1930s,¹⁹ and between the 1960s and the 1980s.²⁰ These publications are supplemented with reports, published many years ago, on Roman and Byzantine coins,²¹ which are also in need of supplementing and revision as a result of new finds and changes in attributions. Nearly all these publications are in Russian and in most cases remain unused by European colleagues. Summary publications on the finds of Arabic dirhams in Russia have not appeared since the beginning of the 20th century.²²

However, the American scientist T. Noonan (1938–2001), with his command of the Russian language, worked intensively and effectively in this field. A whole series of his articles were dedicated to the interpretation of monetary finds, includ-

¹⁵ ADAMCZYK 2014.

¹⁶ MALMER and RASMUSSEN 1975; MALMER 1977; EADEM 1979; EADEM 1982a; EADEM 1982b; EADEM 1983; EADEM 1985; LAGERQVIST and MALMER 1987; JONSSON 2010.

¹⁷ MOLVÖGIN 1994.

¹⁸ BEKTINIEJEV 2014.

¹⁹ BAUER 1929; IDEM 1930; IDEM 1935.

²⁰ POTIN 1967; IDEM 1968; IDEM 1971; RADVINA 1988.

²¹ KROPOTKIN 1961; IDEM 1962; IDEM 1965.

²² MARKOV 1910.

ing Arabic dirhams in the territory of Old Rus'.²³ A project conducted by the Numismatic Department of the State Hermitage, the purpose of which is publishing a topography of the finds of Sassanian and Kufic coins in the territory of Eastern Europe, started by I.G. Dorovol'skiy (1930–2005), G.B. Shagurina (1949–2002), and continued by V.N. Sed'kh and V.S. Kuleshov, is also nearing its completion. Preliminary results of the research are available for those interested,²⁴ but this cannot compensate for the lack of a fully-fledged corpus. The launch of the catalogue of monetary finds in Poland not only makes us to share the joy with Polish science, but also to reflect on the urgent need for a similar project dealing with Eastern Europe.

Finally, we would like to thank Professor M. Wołoszyn for his advice.

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²³ NOONAN 1975; IDEM 1984; IDEM 1987–1991.

²⁴ DOBROVOL'SKIY, SHAGURINA and SEDYKH 2002; SEDYKH 2007; KULESHOV 2011a; IDEM 2011b.

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