

# NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

---

# ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XV

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

Kraków 2020

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE  

---

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XV

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

Kraków 2020

**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 Gołubiew, 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 Zając

**Redaktor tematyczny / Theme Editor:**

Peter van Alfen

**Redaktor językowy / Linguistic Editor:**

Peter van Alfen

**Recenzenci / Reviewers:**

Dr Donald Tzvi Ariel, Dr Gabriela Bijovsky, Dr Hab. Mateusz Bogucki, Dr Joe Cribb, Dr Adam Degler, Prof. Władysław Duczko, Dr Przemysław Dulęba, Dr Hab. Arkadiusz Dymowski, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, Dr Inge Heeren, Dr Johan Van Heesch, Dr David Hendin, Dr Tanja Jones, Prof. Achim Lichtenberger, Dr Kris Lockyear, Dr Kyrilo Myzgin, Prof. Marek J. Olbrycht, Prof. Tomasz Polański, Dr Luboš Polanský, Prof. Pere Pau Ripolles, Dr Hab. Judyta Rodzińska-Nowak, Prof. Nikolaus C. Schindel, Dr Emilia Smagur, Dr Eliza Walczak, Dr David Wigg-Wolf, Dr Hab. Bernhard Woytek, Dr Roman Zaoral, Dr Bernhard Ziegauß

**Redaktorzy prowadzący / Commissioning Editors:**

Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Kowalczyk

**Tłumaczenia / Translations:**

Zsófia Cseh, Marcin Fijak, Piotr Godlewski, Mateusz Krupski, Maria Piechaczek-Borkowska, Jadwiga Szczupak, Grzegorz Żabiński, Lingua Lab s.c.

**Korekta / Proofreading:**

Aedaan Shaw, Keith Horechka

**Projekt graficzny i typografia / Graphic Design and Desk Top Publishing:**

Luiza Berdak

**Skład i lamanie / Typesetting and page layout:**

Zofia Łucka

**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 *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, 2020

ISSN 1426-5435

## SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 9 Od redakcji  
10 From the Editors

## ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- FRANK L. HOLT  
13 On Probability and Proof: Piecing Together the Puzzle of Alexander's Elephant Medallions  
*O prawdopodobieństwie i weryfikacji. Układając puzzle medalionów Aleksandra Wielkiego*
- JERZY CIECIELĄG  
21 The Temple on the Coins of Bar Kokhba – a Manifestation of Longing or a Political Programme? A Few Remarks  
*Świątynia na monetach Bar Kochby – manifestacja tęsknoty czy program polityczny? Kilka uwag*
- TOMASZ BOCHNAK  
37 A Celtic Stater of the Krakow Type from the Opatów Area (Opatów County, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship)  
*Celtycki stater typu krakowskiego z okolic Opatowa, pow. loco, woj. świętokrzyskie*
- MELINDA TORBÁGYI, ISTVÁN A. VIDA  
49 Some Remarks on Eraviscan Coinage  
*Kilka uwag na temat mennictwa Erawisków*
- KAMIL KOPIJ  
65 Mints Locations and Chronology of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey's Bronze Coinage (RRC 471, 478 and 479): A Die Axes Study  
*Lokalizacja mennic i chronologia brązowych monet Gnejusza i Sekstusa Pompeuszów (RRC 471, 478 i 479). Studium rotacji stempli*
- VITAL' SIDAROVICH  
87 New Finds of Roman Republican Period Denarii in the Territory of Belarus  
*Nowe znaleziska denarów Republiki Rzymskiej na terytorium Białorusi*
- ANTONINO CRISÀ  
107 Farmers, the Police Force, and the Authorities: The "Calvatone (1911) Hoard" as Seen Through Archival Records (Cremona – Italy)  
*Rolnicy, siły policyjne i przedstawiciele władzy. Skarb „Calvatone (1911)” w świetle źródeł archiwalnych (Cremona, Włochy)*

- 137 BARTOSZ AWIANOWICZ  
CEREREM and IVNONEM. Why the Accusative Case? Two Rare Reverse Legends on Coins of Julia Domna (RIC IV Caracalla 378, 585, 596 and 599)  
*Dlaczego accusativus? Dwie rzadkie legendy rewersu na monetach Julii Domny (RIC IV Caracalla 378, 585, 596 i 599)*
- 147 JAROSŁAW BODZEK, KRZYSZTOF TUNIA  
New Finds of Roman Coins from the Kazimierza Wielka District, Southern Poland  
*Nowe znaleziska monet rzymskich z terenu powiatu Kazimierza Wielka, pld. Polska*
- 167 ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI  
Some Remarks on the Problem of Occurrence of *Denarii Subaerati* in Barbaricum  
*Kilka uwag na temat występowania denarii subaerati na terenie Barbaricum*
- 179 EMILIA SMAGUR  
Regulated Roman Coins and Their Imitations from India: Did Roman Coins Circulate as Money in the Subcontinent?  
*Standaryzacja monet rzymskich i ich imitacji w Indiach. Czy monety rzymskie funkcjonowały jako pieniądz na subkontynencie indyjskim?*
- 211 ADAM KĘDZIERSKI, DOROTA MALARCZYK,  
DARIUSZ WYCZÓŁKOWSKI  
Recent Finds of Islamic Coins from the Old Town and Zawodzie Districts in Kalisz  
*Najnowsze znaleziska monet islamskich z terenu Starego Miasta i Zawodzia w Kaliszu*
- 235 PAWEŁ MILEJSKI  
Coins from the Streets of Racibórz  
*Monety z ulic Raciborza*
- 275 AGNIESZKA SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA  
Pairing Antagonists: Pisanello's Medals of Niccolò Piccinino and Francesco Sforza  
*Zestawiając przeciwników. Medale Niccola Piccinina i Francesca Sforzy autorstwa Pisanello*

## RECENZJE / REVIEWS

KAMIL KOPIJ

- 307 AGATA ALEKSANDRA KLUCZEK, *Primordia Romana. Mityczna przeszłość Rzymu i pamięć o niej w rzymskich numizmatach zakłeta*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2019, 564 pages, 166 illustrations, 2 maps, 21 tables, 3 charts; ISBN 978-83-226-3443-1

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 311 FRÉDÉRIQUE DUYPAT, *Wealth and Warfare. The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria*, Numismatic Studies 34, The American Numismatic Society, New York 2016, 619 pages, 73 figures, 37 maps; ISSN 0517-4048, ISBN 978-0-89732-346-1

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 318 THOMAS FAUCHER, ANDREW MEADOWS, CATHARINE LORBER (eds.), *Egyptian Hoards I. The Ptolemies*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 168, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire 2017, 579 pages, 236 plates; ISSN 0259-3823, ISBN 978-2-7247-0689-5

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 322 WOLFGANG R. FISCHER-BOSSERT, *Coins, Artists, and Tyrants. Syracuse in the Time of the Peloponnesian War*, Numismatic Studies 33, The American Numismatic Society, New York 2017, 371 pages, 27 plates; ISBN 978-0-89722-341-6

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 326 STEFAN KRMNICEK and HENNER HARDT (eds.), *A Collection in Context. Kommentierte Edition der Briefe und Dokumente Sammlung Dr. Karl von Schäffer*, Tübinger Numismatische Studien 1, Tübingen 2017, 199 pages, 56 illustrations; ISBN 978-3-947251-00-1; DOI: 10.15496/publikation-19401

## KRONIKA / CHRONICLE

MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK

- 333 Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2019)  
340 The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2019)

JAROSŁAW BODZEK

- 349 Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2019)  
351 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) (2019)

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XV *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego numeru 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 internetowej są ponadto dostępne wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XV 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 whole of the present volume can be found as PDF's on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>), 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.

The Editors

THOMAS FAUCHER, ANDREW MEADOWS, CATHARINE LORBER (eds.), *Egyptian Hoards I. The Ptolemies*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 168, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire 2017, 579 pages, 236 plates; ISSN 0259-3823, ISBN 978-2-7247-0689-5

As coin hoards have been among the most important sources in the research on ancient coinage, their recording and publication continues to be one of the principal efforts of modern numismatics. From S. P. Noe's inventory,<sup>1</sup> through the project *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (IGCH)*<sup>2</sup> and its continuation in the form of the successive volumes of *Coin Hoards (CH)*,<sup>3</sup> to the current website *Coin Hoards*,<sup>4</sup> which carries on the idea of coin hoard publishing in the digitalized version, we have witnessed the publication of many substantiated results to facilitate our further investigations into the phenomena of circulation, production patterns, and monetization in Antiquity. In recent years, we have seen the emergence of a tendency towards the regionalization or specialization with respect to the publication of hoards. Good cases in point are the recent work by F. Duyrat concerning the territory of ancient Syria<sup>5</sup> and the presently reviewed study of the Ptolemaic-era hoards. The latter work, co-edited by Th. Faucher, A. Meadows, and C. C. Lorber, is the first part of a greater project entitled *Egyptian Hoards*. The next two volumes (as scheduled) will be dedicated to the hoards from the Roman/Byzantine and Islamic periods, respectively. The present volume deals with the hoards dating from the Ptolemaic period.

Multiple reasons for the creation of such a regionalized publication are stated in the introduction (pp. IX–XI), which also contains a summarized account of the significance of the various data obtained from the hoards of Ptolemaic coins as well as some basic information on the following parts of the volume. Aside from the above introduction, the volume consists of two major parts, namely a list of coin hoards (Chapters 1 and 2) and articles describing the particular hoards or referring to some more broadly discussed problems relating to hoards (Chapter 3).

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–15) contains a simplified list of all the Ptolemaic coin hoards as compiled on the basis of the publications, including the hoard inventories such as *IGCH* and *CH*, with a number of hoards as yet unpublished to date. The list

---

<sup>1</sup> NOE 1937.

<sup>2</sup> THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM and KRAAY 1973.

<sup>3</sup> PRICE et AL 1975–2010.

<sup>4</sup> <http://coinhoards.org/>

<sup>5</sup> DUYPAT 2016.

is in the form of a table which is comprised of the data under the headings such as number, reference to IGCH and/or CH, name of hoard, date of placement/being buried, contents (amount of coins, composition), ruler/series, and references other than the inventories above. The coin hoards are specified in accordance with the geographical criteria and chronologically (within their respective regions). In total, the table is composed of 278 hoards, including 50 from Greece and the Balkans, 7 – Asia Minor, 18 – Cyprus, 64 – the Levant, 115 – Egypt, 7 – Cyrenaica, as well as 12 from the West and 5 from unidentified find spots. In general terms, this sort of listing allows the reader to find a relevant region very quickly, while within a particular coin hoard – a regional or chronological analysis. These are, of course, very general analytical data, which would require consulting the literature mentioned as reference items or Chapter 2 of the volume in the case of new, yet unpublished coin finds (pp. 17–33). The structure of this chapter, titled “New Hoards”, which may be somewhat confusing as some of the hoards in question were found even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with several having been already published in a preliminary form (e.g. *EH* 44 and *EH* 266), is a little different from that of the previous one. The geographical and chronological composition remains the same, but the expression “Greece and the Balkans” is replaced with “The Balkans and the Aegean”, while each coin hoard is identified in accordance with the *Egyptian Hoards (EH)* numbering. Details on each single hoard are given in the form reminiscent of the one previously adopted for the *IGCH* and *CH*, i.e., in a more succinct and informative manner. The chapter contains accounts of 48 hoards, described in more or less detail, depending on the data available. In some instances, the information is limited to the place and date of the discovery, the estimated number of pieces, and the metal type used (e.g. *EH* 44 – Messene, 1991 and *EH* 92 – Unknown Find Spot (the Levant), 1991), whereas in other cases, it is quite detailed (e.g., *EH* 61 – Cyprus before 1916). It is notable that this particular list of coin hoards has been based on a very thoroughly and extensively performed research, as evident in many old and new coin hoards identified in various museum collections (e.g. *EH* 3, Athens, 1922; *EH* 195, Tell Timai, 2011), literature (e.g. *EH* 171, Rüppell, East Delta, before 1822), archives (*EH* 85, Beirut Commerce, 1987/88), as well as some new ones recovered from the antiquarian markets (e.g., *EH* 275, CNG Spring-Summer 2011; *EH* 277, Forum Ancient Coins, 2011). Overall, the chapter may serve as an important complementary addition to the existing lists as known from the *IGCH* and *CH*.

The second, and the most extensive, part of this publication is Chapter 3 (pp. 35–332), which consists of 26 articles by 11 authors. Faucher, Meadows, Lorber, Olivier, and Desbordes are authors or co-authors of more than one text. Some of the articles are published in French. As mentioned above, the particular texts concern individual coin hoards, both those recently discovered and those already known and

published before, or studies dedicated to the broader subject matter of Ptolemaic coin hoards. All the hoards discussed in the articles have been marked according to the numbers given to the *Egyptian Hoards* as assumed in the present volume. The articles are varied in their form and length, from some very long analytical texts, which actually are complete or almost complete publications of specific coin hoards (e.g., p. 236, *EH* 196 and 227. “Les Trésors monétaires de la partie nord-ouest du temenos de Mout à Tanis”), to very short texts consisting of several up to more than ten sentences, depending on a limited or sometimes even rudimentary amount of information obtained by the author(s) (cf. p. 63, *EH* 91. “Unknown Find Spot”, 2013 or *EH* 113. “The Bethlehem Area Hoard”, 1984 (*CH* 8.432). In particular, these more in-depth, analytical, and well-illustrated articles can be regarded as important tools by those interested in the Ptolemaic coinage or the circulation of the coins struck in the name of the Ptolemaic rulers. On the other hand, the lack of the uniform method of cataloguing the coins in the individual texts are a sort of a shortcoming. In some of these, the catalogue is presented in the form of tables, while in the other ones, it is descriptive, possibly in agreement with the preference of the individual authors. Generally speaking, the inclusion of the above-mentioned texts (following the concept of the latter *CH* volumes which provided lists of hoards/treasures as well as more detailed articles on some individual hoards) contributes to a greater value of the publication in a significant manner and is crucial to the overall sense of the whole work. This is of particular importance in the modern-day digital world, especially in the context of the web-based *Coin Hoards* platform. In view of the fact that the latter device allows the reader to look up all the relevant hoards in a quick and easy way, the analytical articles as found in Chapter 3 are definitely an added value here.

A point of particular value is the volume's illustration material. According to the information stated by the authors (p. X), the illustrations are provided for a total number of 3,500 pieces in 236 plates or featured as part of some of the articles. In addition, there are many photographs which illustrate the locations of some coin hoards as well as various diagrams and tables.

In conclusion, the *Ptolemaic Hoards* is a publication of great value, collecting in one volume all the factual knowledge on the Ptolemaic hoards found to date, an extensive body of illustrative material, and a number of well-written featured texts on the individual coin hoards or groups of hoards. It is fair to assume that this publication is bound to become a primary reference book for all those interested in the Ptolemaic coinage: numismatists, historians, archaeologists, but also private collectors.

## REFERENCES

- DUYRAT, F. 2016. *Wealth and Warfare. The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria*, Numismatic Studies 34, New York.
- NOE, S.P. 1937. *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 78 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), New York.
- PRICE, M.J., REECE, R., NASH, D., CASEY, I., BENDALL, S., LOWICK, N.M., ARCHIBALD, M.M., WOODHEAD, P., CASEY, P.J., BEMSLEY, E.M., CRIBB, J.E., BURNETT, A.M., MCGREGOR, K.A., WARTENBERG-KAGAN, U., MEADOWS, A. and HOOVER, O.D. 1975–2010. *Coin Hoards*, Vols. I–X, London–New York.
- THOMPSON, M., MØRKHOLM, O. and KRAAY, C.M. 1973. *The Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York.

*Translation: Marcin Fijak*

## JAROSŁAW BODZEK

Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ORCID: 0000-0002-4272-4117

Author's address:

Jarosław Bodzek  
Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University  
11 Gołębia Street, 31-107 Krakow, Poland  
jaroslaw.bodzek@uj.edu.pl