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**Book Review, Jasna Jeličić Radonić, Hermine Göricke-Lukić and Ivan Mirnik, Faros. Greek, Graeco-Illyrian and Roman Coins III (Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana 99), Split 2017, 305 pages [ISBN 978-953-163-454-0 (KKS). ISBN 978-953-352-017-9 (FFST)].**

*Katerini Liampi*

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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**Jasna Jeličić Radonić, Hermine Göricke-Lukić and Ivan Mirnik, Faros. Greek, Graeco-Illyrian and Roman Coins III (Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana 99), Split 2017, 305 pages [ISBN 978-953-163-454-0 (KKS). ISBN 978-953-352-017-9 (FFST)].**

This elegant collective volume is the fruit of the labor of specialized scholars, who, either individually or in collaboration, co-wrote 17 studies under the supervision of the established researchers Jasna Jeličić Radonić, Hermine Göricke-Lukić and Ivan Mirnik. Its 305 pages include texts, urban plans, maps, drawings, site photographs, and coin photographs, all of very good quality. The studies, written in Croatian, are accompanied by brief, succinct translations into English by Graham McMaster, Tomislav Bilić and Ivan Mirnik. The bibliography occupies the final pages of the book (pp. 295-301). The tome is kindly dedicated to the memory of the researchers' partner, Zdenke Dukat (†).

In the Introduction, Jasna Jeličić Radonić (pp. 7-13<sup>1</sup>) introduces the topics discussed in the volume, and the history of research on the coins of Pharos Island (Hvar), both those found abroad and those discovered over the course of *in-situ* excavations. The discovery of the Škudljivac hoard near Stari Grad on Hvar in 1835, which included early coins struck by Greek colonies, provided the impetus for the study of the Adriatic mints, as Josef Brunšmid accurately noted in his book *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens* (1898, p. 35). Subsequent research in local and foreign Museums and Collections brought to light a significant number of coins originating on Pharos. Primarily, however, the archaeological excavations at St. John's church and the site of Remeta Garden in ancient Pharos, uncovered both coins struck by foreign authorities and issues of the city itself, of varying types and denominations, dated from its founding to the beginning of the Roman period. The city adopted the Syracusan monetary system, and initially based its iconography on that of its metropolis, the Cycladic Island of Paros. The Greek coins of Syracuse, Illyrian Herakleia, Dyrrachion, and Pharos exhibited in the Dominican Priory collection, demonstrate the circulation of coins in the Adriatic hinterland. This new knowledge largely re-shapes our previous understanding of the Greek-Illyrian mints of the Adriatic, as will be discussed below. The analyses of the Greek coins showed different ratios in the composition of the metals of coins from Pharos compared with other local Greek settlements. The presence of Roman coins shows the continuity of habitation on ancient Pharos, from the Roman Republic to Late Antiquity.

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<sup>1</sup> The page numbers include both the Croatian texts and the corresponding English translations.

Hermine Göricke-Lukić (The Hoard of Greek Coins from Škudljivac on the Island of Hvar, pp. 15-57) has compiled a catalogue, after identifying the dies of the coins belonging to the important Škudljivac hoard, which is kept at the Department of Numismatics of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek and has not yet been studied in depth; the first attempt to discuss the Graeco-Illyrian issues, by Brunšmid, left numerous questions unanswered. Here, we are provided with definitive proof of the existence of early mints in central Dalmatia in the 4th c. BC.

The hoard is comprised of: a) 23 coins of Pharos (Types I-VII: ΦΑΡΙΩΝ or ΦΑ/ head of Zeus – male goat), b) 37 coins of Issa either with or without the inscription IONIO, that have been overstruck on issues of Pharos –and not *vice versa* as was heretofore accepted, c) 29 coins of Herakleia (ΗΡΑΚΛΕ, ΗΡΑΚΑ, ΗΡΑΚ/ head of Herakles – club and bow). The coins of Pharos and Herakleia are chronologically earlier than the overstrikes with the legend IONIO. Pharos began producing coins after 384/383 BC (Types I-III), with Types IV-V being struck between 344-320 BC and used for overstrikes, while the final phase of the mint (Types VI-VII) is dated to the second half of the 4th c. BC, after the overstrikes. The Issa overstrikes are connected with the type IONIO/ male head – dolphin and have been accurately dated to the period after 344 BC, when the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius II the Younger, lost suzerainty over the region. It is thus no accident that there are no issues of Dionysius in the hoard. The hoard is believed to have come from a temple (of Demeter?), and likely belonged to a banker (*τράπεζα* and *mensa nummularia*) who was responsible for foreign currency transactions.

In her study, Jasna Jeličić Radonić (The History of Research into the Coins of the Pharian Mint, pp. 58-63) provides a comprehensive overview of the history of research on the coins of Pharos, based on the Škudljivac hoard and the hypotheses posited by researchers, which provided a decisive contribution for their interpretation.

Zdenka Dukat and Jasna Jeličić Radonić (Issues of the Pharian Mint in the 4th century BC Restrikes of Pharian and Heracleian Coins into ΔΙ-Issues and Ionio Coins (pp. 64-111) and The Typology and Chronology of Coins of the Pharian Mint in the 4th century BC (pp. 112-114) present all the issues of Pharos in addition to the overstrikes, bringing forward the relevant datings.

The Pharos mint became active soon after the city was founded, as demonstrated by the early coins discovered in excavations, which display classical characteristics. The hemilitra (Zeus – goat) belong to the earlier issues (Types I-III) with examples included in the Škudljivac hoard. The style and quality of the figures on the triases (Persephone – goat) suggest a dating in the first quarter of the 4th c. BC. Most of these were found in the same context with small denominations of Pharos (with Demeter), other Syracusan triases and hemilitra, and triases and half-triases of Herakleia. These all allow a dating before the mid-4th c. BC. After all, these coins were found restruck into a trias of Issa (Artemis – star), or a Syracusan trias, a fact that demonstrates their early circulation, after Dionysius the Elder had lost control over the Adriatic.

Pharos struck a half-trias (Demeter?<sup>2</sup> – grapes) before the mid-4th c. BC, as evidenced by the specimen found together with a Syracusan litra and a trias. This was followed by the Persephone – goat issue, which, due to its discovery together with other

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<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the coin depicts Dionysus and grapes. Unfortunately, the poor quality of the coin in combination with the photograph preclude a definitive identification.



issues of the city in addition to Syracusan triases and hemilitra and a trias of Herakleia, may be tentatively dated to before the mid-4th c. BC.

The earliest coins of Pharos, some of which display elements of Greek architecture, were discovered at a deeper stratigraphy. Therefore, the initial issues of third-triases belong to the early years of the first quarter of the 4th c. BC. These were followed by two issues of the same denomination, albeit with a different style (Demeter – goat). Based on the context in which they were discovered, they appear to have circulated during the mid-4th c. BC.

The Pharian triases (Zeus – goat) were discovered in the same context as a restruck Pharian hemilitron, with a coin of the local dynast ΔΙ, as well as with a coin of Herakleia that was restruck with the 2nd type of the IONIO issues (male head – forepart of lion) and a bronze coin of Dyrrachion. The ΔΙ overstrikes depicted Zeus, like the Pharos coins, and date to the second half of the 4th/early 3rd c. BC.

Local dynasts were active in the Adriatic in the wake of the fall of the tyrants of Syracuse. The dynasts of Pharos began restriking pharian hemilitra with the same iconography, but with the letters ΔΙ on the reverse. These letters are believed to be the initials of an unknown Greek settlement on the island, or of modern-day Hvar, or, more likely, the initials of a local Illyrian dynast. ΔΙ subsequently expanded his rule to encompass Herakleia, as the restruck coins on hemilitra of the city demonstrate. In the same period, the Illyrian dynast IONIO<sup>3</sup> assumed power in Issa, where restrikes of Syracusan coins dating to the rule of Dionysus II have been discovered.

Subsequently, Pharian hemilitra were struck in large quantities, as evidenced by the large number discovered in the Škudljivac hoard. The issues with the inscription IONIO depict either a youthful head and a dolphin or an adult figure and a forepart of lion. As we mentioned previously, Pharian hemilitra were restruck onto the coins of the dynast ΔΙ. Herakleia was lost in the same period, a fact evidenced by the restruck coins a) of ΔΙ on hemilitra of Herakleia, b) with the type that bears the inscription IONIO. This evidence demonstrates just how troubled a period the second half of the 4th c. BC was. The Škudljivac hoard also included restrikes of IONIO and ΔΙ. Thus, the initial restrikes are evidence of a new rule over Pharos.

In the following study, Zdenka Dukat and Jasna Jeličić Radonić (Coins of Syracuse in the Era of Dionysius I the Elder, pp. 115-131) discuss the Syracusan coins discovered over the course of excavations at Stari Grad. In total, 14 bronzes of Dionysius the Elder (2 litrae, Athene – 2 dolphins, stars and 12 triases, Athene – hippocampus) were unearthed. They have been tentatively dated, based on their discovery at a deep stratum, to the founding of Pharos in roughly 385/384 BC. Their discovery confirms the Syracusan influence over the region and the suzerainty of Dionysius I. The same types were introduced in the Syracusan colony of Issa before it struck its own coins, when it was a military outpost connected with the interests of Dionysius I in the Adriatic. The literary sources mention the dynast's contribution to the founding of Pharos, and perhaps of Herakleia, the location of which remains a mystery.

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<sup>3</sup> Was IONIO indeed a dynast? It is accepted that the inscription on the obverse identifies the depicted figure in the nominative case, here IONIO[Σ]. The youthful figure is thus clearly the eponymous hero of the Ionian Sea, as attested by the literary sources, see Vasiliki Chanteli, *The Ancient Names of the Ionian Sea and the Mythological Traditions*, *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο (= Epeirotikon Hemerologion)* 2020-21, pp. 33-35.

Concurrently with the bronzes of Dionysius I, staters of Corinth and Dyrrachion dating to the late 5th/early 4th c. BC also circulated in Issa and Pharos, comprising the earliest issues that were discovered there. Excavations revealed Syracusan specimens in the oldest strata, together with bronzes of Pharos, Herakleia, and Dyrrachion, dated to the mid-4th c. BC. Restruck coins also appeared in the same period, after the fall of the dynast Dionysius II in 344 BC, both in the Adriatic and in Sicily and mainland Italy.

In the next study, Jasna Jeličić Radonić (Coins of Dyrrhachium, pp. 132-147) evaluates the presence of Dyrrachion bronzes, all of which are of the Herakles with his weapons type. These coins were discovered at deeper strata, together with those of Pharos, other Greek cities, and Dyrrachion, a find that proves the existence of contact between Pharos and Dyrrachion already from the founding of the former. The aforementioned coins of Dyrrachion may thus be dated to the first half of the 4th c. BC. The close relations of the two cities are also evident from the staters of Dyrrachion that circulated in Pharos.<sup>4</sup> The coins of Illyrian Herakleia were struck with the same types as those of Dyrrachion, an indicator of their close relations.<sup>5</sup> Among the coins of Dyrrachium there is also a coin of king Mytilos (possibly the son of king Monunios), who fought with the son of Pyrrhus, Alexander II.

Another topic discussed by Jasna Jeličić Radonić (Coins of Illyrian Heracleia, pp. 148-165) concerns the coins of various denominations of Herakleia, which were discovered together with coins of Syracuse, Pharos, and Issa over the course of excavations in Remeta Garden in Pharos.

The largest denomination, as well as the hemilitra and triases, depict Herakles and his weapons, with the inscription ΗΡΑΚΛΕ or abbreviations thereof. The half-triases have depictions of Artemis, the local patron goddess of navigation, and a dolphin, possibly an influence of the Syracusan litrae of Dionysios the Elder. The coins of Herakleia are dated to the 4th c. BC, based on the 49 specimens discovered in the Škudljivac hoard. The coins of the city were restruck by IONIO and ΔΙ.

During the 3rd c. BC the Pharos mint produced bronze coins (Jasna Jeličić Radonić, Issues of the Pharian Mint in the 3rd c. BC Pharian Coins with the “Youthful Head of a Man” – Cantharos and the Coins of Ballaios, pp. 166-207). They depict a male head on the obverse and the letters Φ-A and a cantharos on the reverse. 51 coins of various persons with portrait features, which depict numerous different individuals, were discovered in the Vrbani hoard (1900). The author, based on the local history, posits that Pharos had come under the influence of the –historically unattested– local Illyrian dynast Ballaios. The coins he produced in the city included the aforementioned bronzes, in addition to silvers and bronzes with his personal types (his portrait – Artemis, name, royal title in later issues), that are known to research primarily from the Rizan hoard (4.656 coins of Ballaios and one of Dyrrachion). The coins of Ballaios bearing his name in Pharos show the extent of his power, during the period of Illyrian hegemony, roughly 260/250-230/229 BC, mostly in the reign of Pleuratos II’s son, Agron: by conquering Pharos and stabilizing the

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<sup>4</sup> One such stater bears an unidentifiable head, as a countermark, which remains unknown and is absent even from the corpus of Albana Meta, *Le monnayage en argent de Dyrrachion 375-60/55 av. J.-C.* (2015).

<sup>5</sup> The depiction of Herakles on the coins of both cities is not an indication of their close relations. It must be noted that many cities that shared the hero’s name made a habit of depicting him, together with his weapons, on their coins.

Illyrian kingdom, he brought about the necessary conditions for the local dynast Ballaios to achieve his goals, as the coins indicate. By contrast, the restrikes of IONIO of Issa and the dynast ΔΙ on Pharian coins in the 4th c. BC are a testament to the dire straits into which the city had entered during that time.<sup>6</sup>

The coins with the portrait of Ballaios were gradually replaced by coins depicting unknown local dynasts, which circulated until the Roman conquest at which time they were replaced by Roman Republican currency.

Another prominent Pharian figure was Demetrios, who increased his power after the 1st Illyrian War, in 228 BC. His conflicts with Rome, however, directly precipitated the 2nd Illyrian War, in the course of which Pharos was destroyed by Aemilius Paulus in 219 BC. It has been hypothesized, moreover, that one of the local dynasts depicted on most of the bronzes of the city –with a cantharos on the reverse– found in the Vrbani hoard, is Demetrios, with his defining characteristics: a long nose and peculiar hairstyle. These rather hasty issues were produced in adverse conditions; if the figure on the coins is indeed Demetrios, then the hiding of the hoard is most likely connected with the destruction of the city by the Romans.

The author has managed not only to present the coin production of Ballaios in Pharos, but also to connect it with the wider historical situation in the region. This is also true for Demetrios of Pharos, whose identification on bronzes with a specific type of portrait is also convincing when viewed through the lens of the local history.

The next chapter is a catalogue of the few coins, found during excavations, of Issa, Arpi, and Sikyon, written by Zdenka Dukat – Jasna Jeličić Radonić (*Coins of Greek Cities – Issa, Arpi, Sikyon*, pp. 208).

Jasna Jeličić Radonić, *Concluding Considerations*, pp. 209-214. The founding of Pharos, a Parian colony, in 385/384 BC, together with the new political situation introduced by Dionysios the Elder, exerted a formative influence on cultural perceptions in an Illyrian environment. Dionysios founded the colony of Issa to further pursue his commercial objectives, providing the impetus for other Greeks to found new cities, such as Pharos and subsequently Herakleia.

The influence of Dionysios I is evidenced by the Syracusan standard the newly founded colonies adopted for their coins. Dionysios' bronzes (see above) were widely circulated in the region. Concurrently with the Syracusan coins, staters of Corinth and Dyrachion also circulated in the region, in Pharos and Issa; these are the most ancient coins discovered in the Central Adriatic.

As an independent Greek city, Pharos minted its own coins, a source for its history (see above). Pharos and other cities on the Adriatic later restruck Syracusan coins (see above), all while clashing with the Illyrians of the hinterlands. The coins struck during the reign of Agron display the heads of local dynasts with cantharos and the letters ΦΑ on the reverse. The most prominent of these dynasts was Ballaios (see above). Pharos was gradually assimilated by the Illyrians, losing its purely Greek nature, developing into a Greco-Illyrian city, and being ruled by Illyrian dynasts.

The authors subsequently move on to the evaluation of the coinage and personality of king Demetrios of Pharos, whose policies resulted in the destruction of the city. Coins

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<sup>6</sup> The discovery in Pharos of a coin of the Illyrian king Mytilos is not proof of close relations with the Illyrians. The coin may have been brought to the city by a traveler, merchant, etc.

of Dyrrachion circulated widely in the 3rd c. BC, with smaller numbers of coins from Issa, Apulian Arpi, and Sikyon also circulating.

In their study, Damir Doračić and Ivana Zamboni (*Elemental Composition Analysis of Greek and Graeco-Illyrian Coins from the Archaeological Excavations in Pharos*, pp. 215-233) have, through chemical analysis, categorized the coins discovered in Pharos into three groups: a) the coins of Paros, b) those of Syracuse, and c) those of Dyrrachion, Pharos, Issa and Herakleia. Each group has different characteristics that indicate different sources of bronze. A successful analysis revealed the ratio of alloy components, as the authors demonstrate in detailed tables: the first two categories utilized different sources of bronze, while the cities in the third category probably all used bronze from the same source.

The coins of the 800-coin Collection kept at the Dominican Priory, which demonstrate the circulation of coinage on the island, are presented by Zdenka Dukat and Ivan Mirnik (*Greek and Graeco-Illyrian Coins in the Numismatic Collection of the Dominican Monastery at Stari Grad*, pp. 235-249). Among the coins presented are silver issues of Dyrrachion, in particular a stater with a male head as a countermark on the obverse, an Apollonian drachm, and a Syracusan trias. Examples of greater interest are undoubtedly the Greco-Illyrian coins from the shores of Dalmatia. Herakleia is represented by 26 bronze hemilitra and triases. Various bronzes bear the inscription ΔI(M), while a particular specimen has been double-struck twice. Additionally, there are nine coins from Issa, numerous examples from Pharos, and a number of coins of Ballaios. It is noted in conclusion that the priory collection is possibly made up of various different hoards.

Hermine Görlicke-Lukić provides a brief overview of the Roman coins discovered in the old city (*Nalazi rimskog novca u Starom Gradu*, pp. 250-252).

The following study, written by Zdenka Dukat – Ivan Mirnik (*Catalogue of Roman Coins from Archaeological Researches into Pharos*, pp. 253-272) is a detailed catalogue of the 157 Roman coins discovered in excavation in Pharos. Three specimens are from the Republican period, while the rest belong to the Imperial period, up to Late Antiquity and the reign of Justinian I. All are bronze, with the exception of two silver coins, of Severus Alexander and Constans II.

An interesting hoard of Late Roman coins has been catalogued by Maja Bonačić-Mandinić (*Late Roman Coin Hoard from the Archaeological Site of Remeta Garden*, pp. 273-287). It was discovered at Remeta Garden and consists of 207 coins, one of which is a silver of Gratian, issued in Trier, while others remain unidentified. The oldest specimens are of Constans II, while the most recent date to the reigns of Leo I and Majorian. They were produced in the mints of both eastern and western Roman cities.

Zdenka Dukat and Ivan Mirnik (*Catalogue of Roman Coins from the Numismatic Collection of the Dominican Priory in Stari Grad*, pp. 288-289) identify a number of silver and bronze coins belonging to the Roman Republican and Imperial periods, as well as a few Byzantine coins up to the reign of Tiberius III.

Finally, Hermine Görlicke-Lukić (*Finds of Roman Coins in Stari Grad*, pp. 291-293) provides an overall evaluation of the circulation of Roman coins throughout the various regions of Pharos, including the Dominican Priory collection and others, focusing

primarily on the Late-Roman Remeta hoard. She interprets the strong presence of roman coins as an indication of the gradual Romanization of the Greek colony of Pharos.

The present collective volume is a vital contribution to the coinage of the city of Pharos, and the circulation therein of local, Greek, and Roman coins. This is the first comprehensive study of the production of the Pharos mint and the affiliated restruck coins; answers are provided on Ballaios and his issues in Pharos, while a group of bronzes is suggested to be connected to the issues of Demetrios of Pharos. The figures of certain unknown dynasts on other bronze coins remain unidentified. The question that arises is whether these were indeed struck by different individuals. Was their poor, often linear and stilted, craftsmanship due to the hurried striking of a single dynast? Certain issues expressed above, as well as a minor number of unnecessary repetitions, spelling errors and typographical oversights, common issues of collective volumes, do not detract from the total impression of the volume, which is well founded in research and constitutes a crucial contribution to the historical and numismatic study of the cities of the Adriatic coast.

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