

Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, R. LII, 2008, z. 2 (186)  
Polish Numismatic News VIII, 2009

ANNA ZAPOLSKA

## ROMAN DENARII IN THE BOGACZEWO AND SUDOVIAN CULTURES

### INTRODUCTION

Finds of Roman denarii from the territory of West Balt settlement were not analysed in more detail in the past. To date note was made only of the fact that they are exceedingly rare and their number is negligible in comparison to the much dominant sestertii.<sup>1</sup> The generally accepted view is that the presence of denarii on West Balt territory was not connected to direct exchange of the Balts with the Roman Empire but was the result of influence from and contacts with their southern neighbour — the people of Wielbark culture. In this paper I try to answer a number of questions related to the occurrence of denarii on territory of West Balt settlement, namely when and why these coins made their way to the study area and what could have been their function. My focus are finds of denarii recorded in the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures.

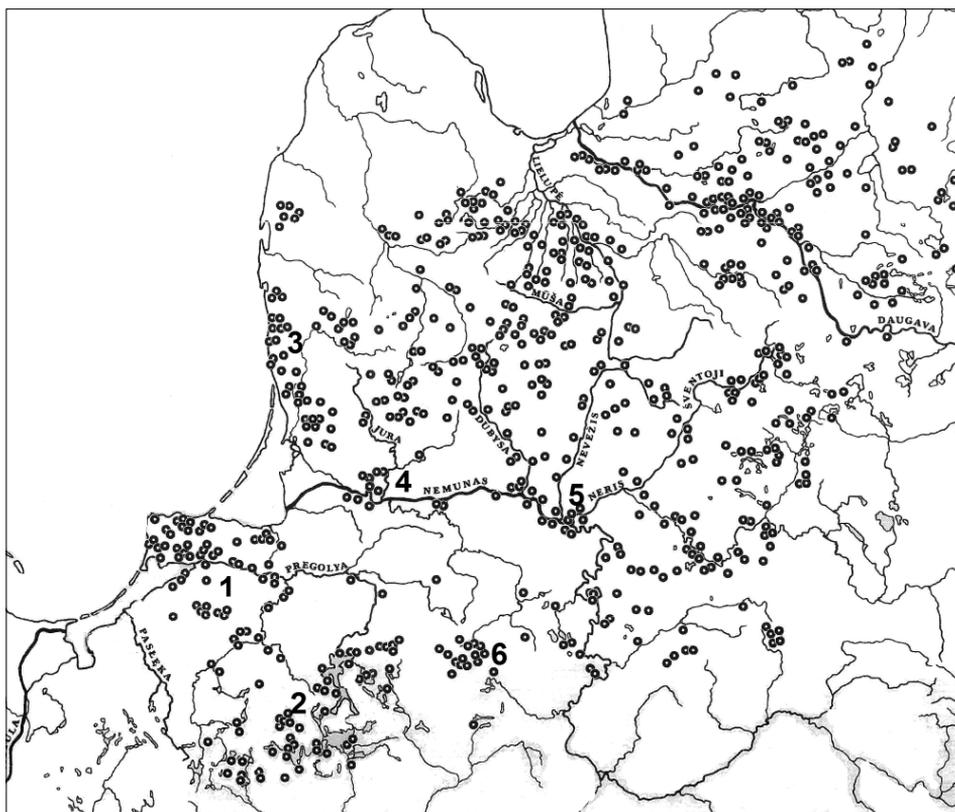
### THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Roman denarii penetrated the area of *Barbaricum* most intensively over quite a brief period — from the time of the Marcomannic Wars until the reign of Septimius Severus, *i.e.* the close of the second century AD,<sup>2</sup> which in relative dating corresponds to the phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> (the turn of the Early and Late Roman period and the phase C<sub>1a</sub> (early phase of the Late Roman period). During this age the West Balt territory had developed a fully crystallised Bogaczewo culture in

---

<sup>1</sup> Silver coins make up around 6% of all coin finds from the area of West Balt settlement; cf. Bursche 1992; Bursche 1996b.

<sup>2</sup> Bursche 1994, p. 471; Bursche 1996a, pp. 95–101; Wolters 1999, pp. 387–389; Bursche 2006, pp. 221–222; Reece 2008a, pp. 59–74; Reece 2008b.



Map 1. Archaeological cultures during phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> (Nowakowski 2007, map 3).

the Mazury Lake District (No. 2 on the Map 1),<sup>3</sup> Sudovian culture (No. 6 on the Map 1) was emerging in the Suwałki region,<sup>4</sup> Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture (No. 1 on the Map 1) was established in the Sambian Peninsula,<sup>5</sup> and on the eastern periphery of West Balt cultures the West Lithuanian group (No. 3 on the Map 1) took in its range the Couronian Lagoon, while the Lower Neman group (No. 4 on the Map 1)<sup>6</sup> occupied the drainage basin of the lower Neman River. During the period of interest (B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>–C<sub>1a</sub>) the West Balt people had for their neighbours to the south and west the people of Wielbark culture, who at this time settled ‘zone A and D’ defined by R. Wołągiewicz,<sup>7</sup> *i.e.*, the basin of the lower Vistula, lands on the Łyna, Pasłęka and upper Drwęca Rivers, Elbląg Heights, the Lake Districts of Iława and Chełmno, and ‘zone E’, or, the area of North Mazowsze

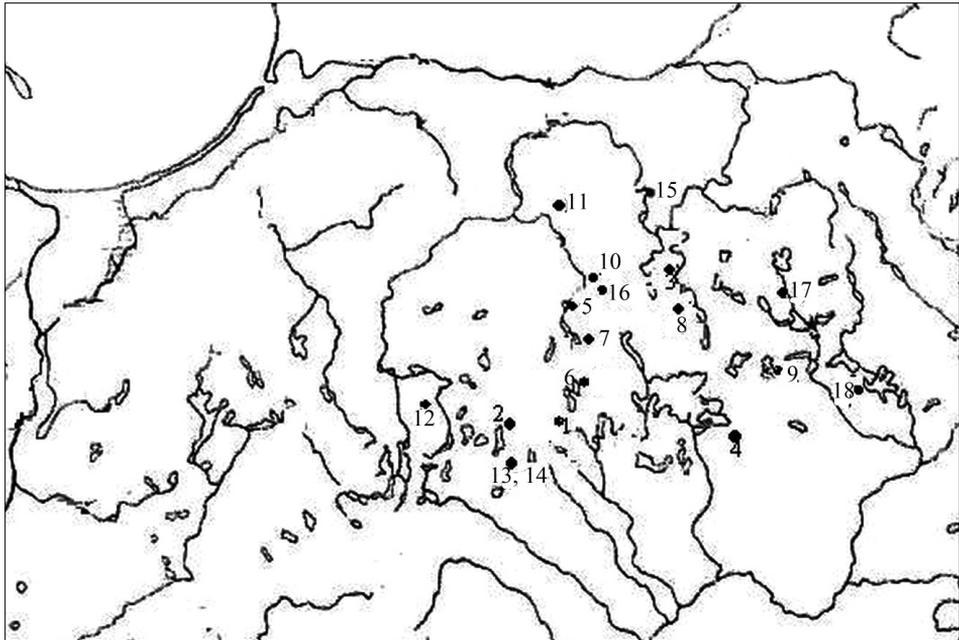
<sup>3</sup> Nowakowski 2007, pp. 131–132.

<sup>4</sup> Nowakowski 1996, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Nowakowski 1996, pp. 48–49; Nowakowski 2007, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Nowakowski 1996, pp. 48–49; Nowakowski 2007, p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Wołągiewicz 1981.



Map 2. Denarii finds in the Bogaczewo culture and the Sudovian culture (numbers of individual sites are the same as in the Catalogue).

and Podlasie, the Lublin region and Volhyn (map 1).<sup>8</sup> To the east, West Balt territory bordered on lands settled by the people of Hatched Ware culture of the woodland zone,<sup>9</sup> by the Central Lithuanian group and the Flat Cemeteries culture in Samogitia in the north-east.

#### ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL

Denarii, including subaerati, are recorded on the territory of all the cultures of the West Balt circle, even if with varying intensity. Their largest number is noted in the area of Bogaczewo culture and Sudovian culture settlement in Mazury Lake District (tab. 1), the smallest number from the area of the Lower Neman group. In cemeteries they are known to occur both in graves and as surface finds,<sup>10</sup> and are also recorded in settlements and hoards (tab. 2). From the territory of West Balt settlement we have mainly issues struck in the second century AD (diagrams 1–4). An identical situation is seen on the territories of Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Wołągiewicz 1981, Kokowski 1999, pp. 25–26; Cieśliński 2005, pp. 257–265.

<sup>9</sup> Tretiakov 1966.

<sup>10</sup> The latter most likely originated from destroyed grave deposits.

<sup>11</sup> Ciołek 2008, pp. 157–170.

Tab. 1. Denarii from West Balt finds, including hoards.

Bogaczewo C.	Sudovian C.	Dollkeim-Kovrovo C.	Lower Neman group	West Lithuanian group
100 (including one hoard of uncertain provenance: 62 D)	2	13	1	24

Tab. 2. Context of occurrence of denarii.

	settlement	grave	cemetery	hoard	single find/ category unknown
Bogaczewo C.	2	6 <sup>12</sup>	3	Skandawa: 21 D+11 AE I Szczytno: 62 D (uncertain provenance)	6
Sudovian C.		2		0	0
Dollkeim-Kovrovo C.	0	9	4	0	0
West Lithuanian group	0	24	0	7 D in 3 hoards (uncertain)	1
Lower Neman	1	0	0	0	0

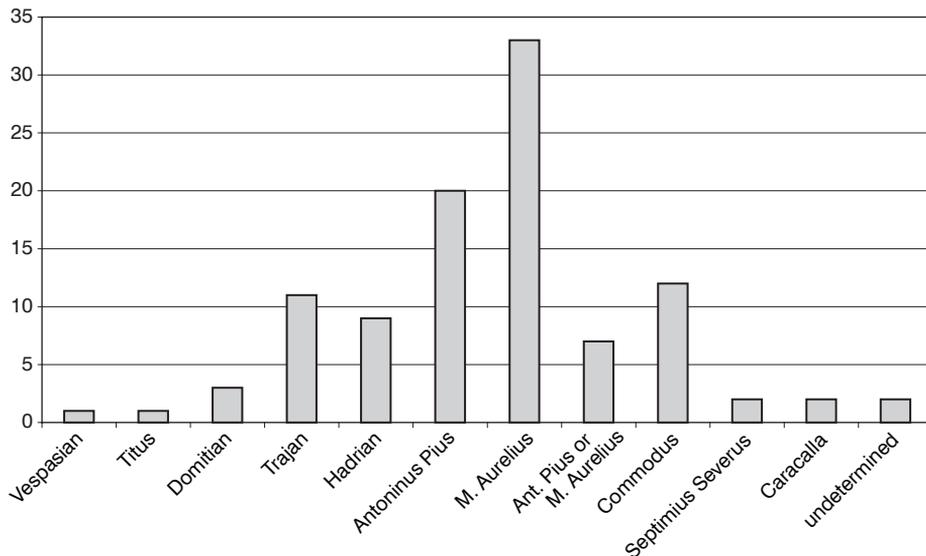


Diagram 1. Denarii finds from territory of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures.

<sup>12</sup> Two subaerati occurred in graves at Paprotki Kolonia and Szczytno, cf. the Catalogue.

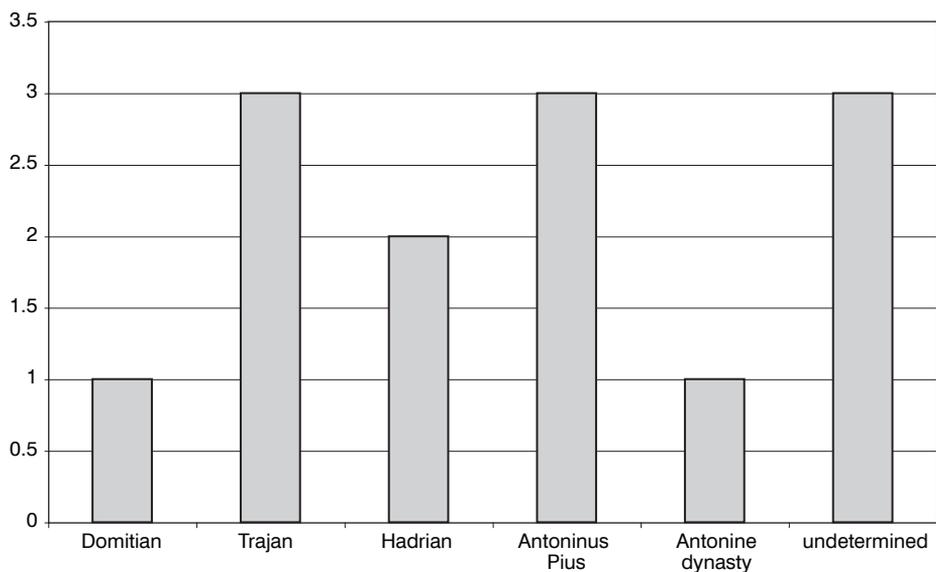


Diagram 2. Denarii finds from the territory of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture.

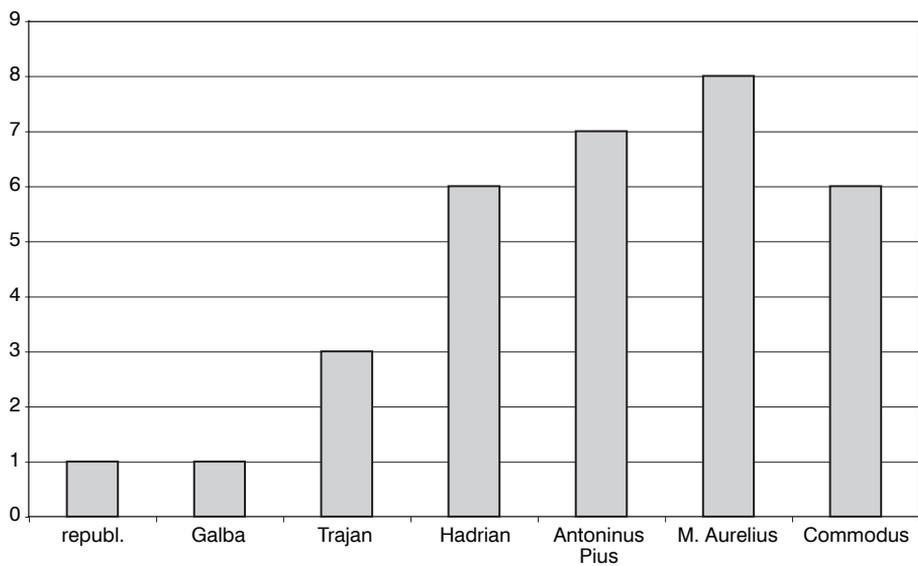


Diagram 3. Denarii from the territory of the West Lithuanian group.

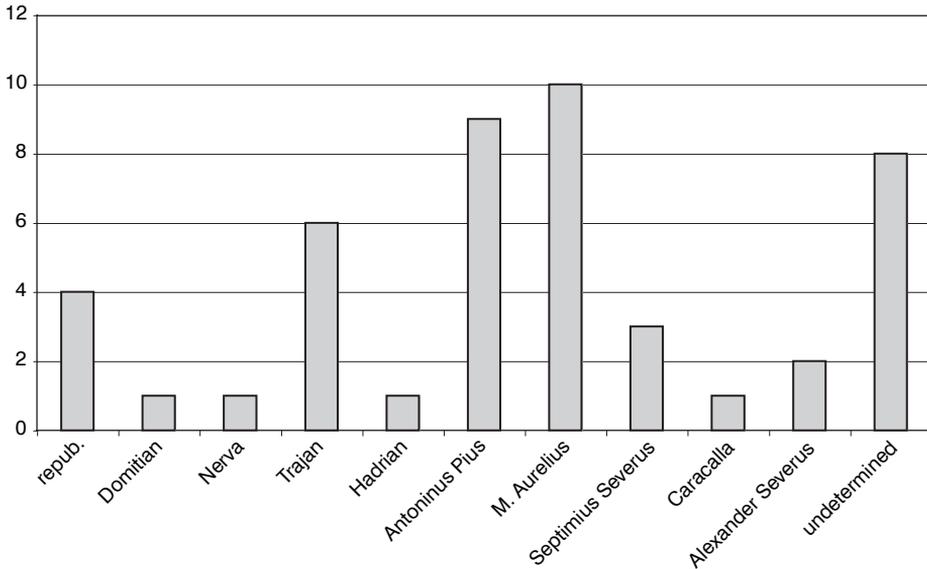


Diagram 4. Denarii from the territory of the Central Lithuanian group.

On the territory of the Bogaczewo culture and of the West Lithuanian group, denarii have occurred also in hoards. Owing to the level of their publication<sup>13</sup> I present here only the hoards from Mazury Lake District which are well published. Table 1 shows that the area of interest yielded two presumable hoards with denarii. The first, a deposit from Skandawa,<sup>14</sup> was discovered buried under a tree in a pottery vessel. It contained both silver and bronze coins of which the former were more numerous (diagram 5). This is an exceptional case for the area of *Barbaricum*, to which the only reliable analogy is a hoard from Gdańsk-Krakowiec on the Wielbark culture territory. That hoard contained two denarii and 13 sestertii, struck up to the times of Commodus.<sup>15</sup> An allegedly similar find is known from the territory of the West Lithuanian group, *i.e.* a hoard discovered in the Klaipeda region,<sup>16</sup> which however is quite dubious.<sup>17</sup> As such it cannot be considered a close analogy to the find from Skandawa. The next hoard find

<sup>13</sup> The find catalogues from the cultures of interest rarely provide data on the context (Michelbertas 2001). In the case of finds from Sambia we have at our disposal an outdated and inaccurate catalogue of Kropotkin (Kropotkin 1961), for the coin finds from Latvia we have to use the work of H. Moora (Moora 1929, 1938). In the future, I plan to reconstruct more detailed information on finds which are the subject of my inquiry.

<sup>14</sup> Nowakowski 2001, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> Bursche 1996b, p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> Bolin 1926, p. 227, no. 130; Kropotkin 1961, p. 99, no. 1415; Michelbertas 2001, p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> Only three coins from this hoard were traced — a Republican issue, a Hadrian and an Antoninus Pius. We do not know the original number of denarii contained in this hoard.

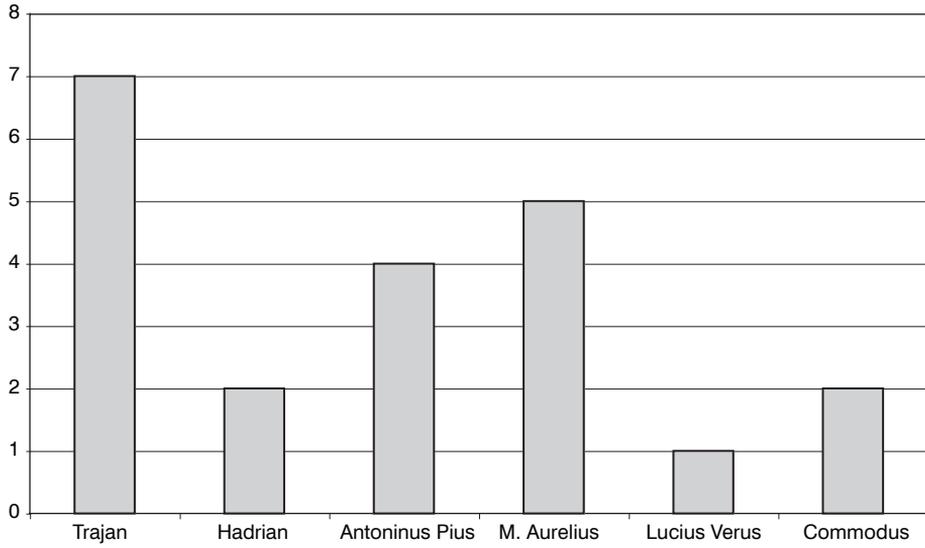


Diagram 5. The Skandawa hoard of silver and bronze coins (including denarii).

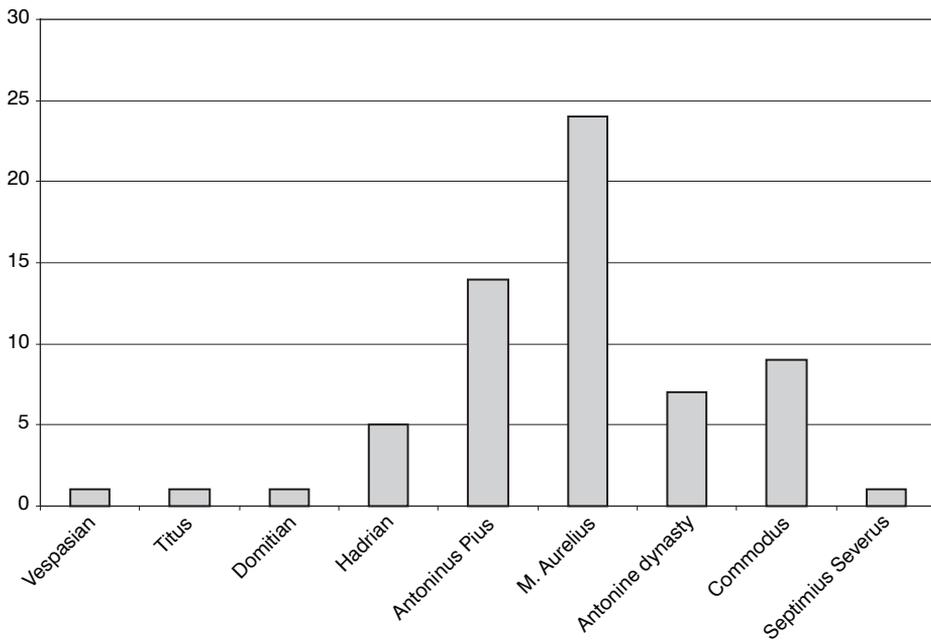


Diagram 6. The Szczytno hoard of denarii.

from the Mazury region is a deposit from Szczytno (diagram 6). According to Toeppen's first report it contained around 200 denarii,<sup>18</sup> only 62 of which have been traced.<sup>19</sup> However the provenance of this find is uncertain so that the hoard may actually originate from the area of the Wielbark culture.<sup>20</sup> It needs to be added that if we subtract the coins from the dubious hoard from Szczytno from the set of denarii discovered on the territories of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures, we are left with 40 coins. In such a case the number of finds in individual areas of the West Balt culture cycle will be relatively similar, if we bear in mind the large area occupied by the Bogaczewo culture.

Three finds are recorded on the territory of the Central Lithuanian group. Jointly, the area of this group yielded 45 finds of denarii, most of them in a hoard. The Raseiniai deposit of 43 denarii, is dubious as next to second and third century coins it included Republican ones. Given the laconic nature of the source record regarding the circumstances of its discovery<sup>21</sup> we have to take into account that rather than being an ancient deposit this hoard actually may be a fragment of a coin collection. Next to this hoard the area of the Central Lithuanian group yielded a single find from a settlement in Kernavė<sup>22</sup> and another dubious single find.

#### COINS IN GRAVES — THE CHRONOLOGY OF INFLUX

A small number of denarii also occurred in graves. In part this fact may reflect the level of research rather than the 'living culture' (*lebende Kultur*) of H. J. Eggers. This is because the majority of these finds were recovered in the course of 19th and early 20th century research by Prussian archaeologists. Due to the methods of research of the day, mainly the absence of metal detectors, the coins were more likely to escape notice. To confirm this speculation we may cite the case of denarii recovered during excavation at Wyszembork which were so plastered by a layer of clay that they resembled flat stones and would not have been identified as such only by sight<sup>23</sup>. Certainly the use of metal detectors would have changed this situation, although not dramatically. We may suppose that denarii would still have the nature of incidental finds among the sestertii recovered *en masse*.

<sup>18</sup> Toeppen 1870, p. 52.

<sup>19</sup> Nowakowski 2001, pp. 106–107 (with a full list of references in the catalogue part).

<sup>20</sup> Bursche 1996b, p. 39, footnote 18.

<sup>21</sup> Michelbertas notes that this hoard was discovered near the town, Moora only mentions several denarii surviving from the hoard; cf. Moora 1938, p. 582, footnote 4; Michelbertas 2001, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Michelbertas notes that this coin was a denarius, but in fact it is a subaeratus, cf. Kernavė 2002, pp. 112–113, photo 98.

<sup>23</sup> Bursche 1996b, p. 39.

When it comes to the small number of silver coins from grave deposits it is worth noting that these also are mostly second century coins, just as elsewhere on the territory of *Barbaricum*. They have occurred in graves dated to phases B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>–C<sub>1a</sub> of the Roman period, until phase D, with the main peak in phase C<sub>1</sub> (tab. 3). This corresponds well with finds of sestertii — as during the same period the tradition of placing Roman coins in graves became widespread in the West Balt environment.<sup>24</sup> It is evident therefore that coins which found their way to the territory of the ‘Germanic’ *Barbaricum* during phases B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>–C<sub>1a</sub> would have reached the West Balt territory during approximately the same period and, soon afterwards, found their way into graves.

Tab. 3. Denarii finds from graves.<sup>25</sup>

Site (culture)	No. of grave	Issuer	Other grave goods	Relative chronology
Korkliny (Sudovian culture)	barrow 2; grave 8	Trajan	heavy crossbow fibula with solid catchplate; potsherds	phase D
Nawiady (Bogaczewo culture)	grave 11	Trajan Antoninus Pius	fibula A VI	phase C <sub>1</sub>
Netta (Bogaczewo culture)	barrow 3; grave 109	Marcus Aurelius	2 small iron buckles with a thickened oval frame knife fragments of iron and bronze	phase D
Nikutowo (Bogaczewo culture)	grave 96	Trajan	knob-headed crossbow tendril fibula, similar to type A 161–162	phase C <sub>1</sub>
Paprotki Kolonia (Bogaczewo culture)	grave 102	Antoninus Pius for Faustina I (subaeratus)	funerary urn; no other grave goods	B <sub>2</sub> /C <sub>1</sub> –C <sub>2</sub>
Szczytno (Bogaczewo culture or Olsztyn group)	grave F	Caracalla (subaeratus)	two A 161–162 fibulae bronze tweezers necklace of amber beads buckle with metope design on the pin potsherds	Contaminated inventory; furnishings from two or more graves phase C <sub>1</sub> –D/E
Wyszembork (Bogaczewo culture)	grave 103	Undetermined	Bronze rivet potsherds	B <sub>2</sub> /C <sub>1</sub> –C <sub>2</sub>

<sup>24</sup> Zapolska 2008, pp. 187–189.

<sup>25</sup> Chronology based on Nowakowski 2001.

It is equally interesting that among the grave finds there were two subaerati (in Szczytno, group F, and Paprotki Kolonia, grave 112). Conceivably such finds would have been more plentiful if not for the fact that the majority of finds from the West Balt territory come from discoveries made before WW II. As a result a part of these coins (actually, *subaerati*) may have been classified incorrectly as denarii. The question of the presence of subaerati on the territory of *Barbaricum* was discussed by A. Bursche<sup>26</sup> who suggested that finds of subaerati ought to be treated differently from finds of denarii. In his view they had not made their way north together with the pool of denarii; the latter came to the territory of *Barbaricum* presumably in connection with political developments, their outflow controlled by Roman officials — *argentarii et numularii*. When it comes to subaerati, rather than co-occurring in hoards with denarii they appear in funerary deposits, votive offerings or in settlements, not infrequently pierced or fitted with suspension loops. This in turn suggests that their influx was altogether different in character and direction from the inflow of denarii. Subaerati may be the evidence of unofficial exchange between private parties settled in areas near the limes, from which area they eventually made their way north.<sup>27</sup> All of which leads us to conclude that the subaerati finds from the territory of West Balt cultures belonged to a different stock of ‘silver’ than the denarii which were used by the leaders of Germanic tribes in the nature of family hoards.<sup>28</sup>

An interesting question worth discussing is the occurrence of denarii in grave inventories of Sudovian culture dating from the Early Migrations period (phase D). Barrow 3, grave 109 at Netta yielded a denarius of Marcus Aurelius in company with two small oval buckles with a thickened frame, a knife and fragments of bronze and iron; whereas at Korkliny in barrow 2, grave 8, a Trajan denarius was accompanied by a large crossbow fibula with a solid catchplate, a vessel with an angular body and cylindrical neck, a biconical pot, and two angular bowls. In this case, the occurrence of first and second century coins in inventories dated to the early fourth century AD can be explained by an assumption that the coins had continued in safekeeping, or even in use, over an extended period. An analogy to this may be the so-called grave no. 213 with the so-called “grandma fibula” from the Wielbark culture site at Krosno, commune Pasłęk, district Elbląg.

#### THE DIRECTION OF INFLUX

A question which needs to be answered is that of provenance and direction of flow of the denarii to the West Balt territory. Presumably they were not used as payment for amber, unlike the sestertii (according to current opinion). This question has been discussed on numerous occasions.<sup>29</sup> If the denarii had func-

<sup>26</sup> Bursche 2004.

<sup>27</sup> Bursche 2004, pp. 200–201.

<sup>28</sup> Bursche 2004, p. 201.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bursche 1992, p. 238; Bursche 1996c, p. 37.

tioned next to sestertii as a medium of exchange, the number of their finds should be much greater, especially in the main source area of amber — *i.e.*, Sambia. Consequently, we need to consider the possibility that rather than making their way to the area directly from the Roman Empire, the denarii passed first by way of exchange with the Empire's Germanic neighbours.

As was noted earlier, denarii came in great numbers to the territories of the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures. From Pomerania alone, occupied by the people of Wielbark culture during the Roman period, we know of some 10 000 coins;<sup>30</sup> from West Mazowsze and Podlasie, of over 1000 specimens.<sup>31</sup> There is no doubt therefore that denarii must have come to the West Balt territory by way of the people of one of these cultures. This state of affairs is confirmed by evidence of lively exchange between the Germanic Wielbark culture and the Przeworsk culture communities on the one hand and the West Balt tribes on the other. This question has also been addressed and discussed on many occasions.<sup>32</sup> Influences from the Wielbark culture and the Przeworsk culture are well apparent in the West Balt culture, just as West Balt influence is observable in the Wielbark culture.<sup>33</sup> One possible example of impact of the Wielbark culture are Balt wrist-band bracelets (*Manschettenarmringe*), a form inspired most probably by Wielbark 'snake' bracelets. Fibula forms inspired by Wielbark culture include types A 130, 132, 133 and 167. Even the tradition, widespread among the Balts, of decorating fibulae with coils of notched wire has its roots in the Wielbark environment. Considering that the coins of interest came to the area at a time of expansion of the Wielbark culture east- and southward, to the former territory of the Przeworsk culture in East Mazowsze and Podlasie, the Wielbark culture would have been the one involved in 'redistributing' Roman silver to the north. Even though the Wielbark culture settlement eventually cut off the territory of the Balt settlement from that of the Przeworsk culture, during the period of interest the impact of the latter on Bogaczewo culture is also clear, evidenced by *e.g.* the presence of iron A 162 fibulae in a Bogaczewo inventory.<sup>34</sup> However quite a strong argument in favour of a Gothic direction of denarii influx is the discovery of an analogy, unique on territory of *Barbaricum*, to the Bogaczewo hoard from Skandawa exactly in the area settled by that Wielbark culture, in Gdańsk-Krakowiec. Next to denarii both these hoards contained sestertii. In addition, apart from the West Balt territory, Pomerania is the only region with a major concentration of sestertii. Consequently we have two regions with an identical stock of coins consisting of denarii and sestertii.

---

<sup>30</sup> Ciołek 2007.

<sup>31</sup> Romanowski 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Nowakowski 1989; Nowakowski 1994; Nowakowski 1996, pp. 98–101; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Bitner-Wróblewska 1989.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Nowakowski 1994.

An additional piece of evidence suggesting that denarii entered the area of West Balt settlement by way of Wielbark culture people may be the question of Roman coins deposited in graves. As noted earlier this tradition became widespread among West Balt tribes starting from the onset of the Late Roman period. This is also the time when coins appear in graves and cemeteries of the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures, more frequently in cemeteries of the former.<sup>35</sup> This suggests that the custom could have become widespread on the territory of the Wielbark culture under the influence of the Bogaczewo culture, and consequently confirms the direction of inflow of denarii to the area of the Bogaczewo culture by way of the Wielbark culture.

It is also possible, at least in theory, that denarii came to the study area from the north, to be precise, from Gotland. This solution is suggested by the fact that this island has produced a rich trove of Roman denarii.<sup>36</sup> In such cases the role of intermediary in distribution could have been played by the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture or by the West Lithuanian group. An issue recently raised in literature is the influence of Gotland on the territories of both these cultures, which is illustrated by finds of openwork strap ends.<sup>37</sup>

The case of Gotland is interesting with reference to finds of coins in assemblages dated to the period starting from phase D<sub>1</sub>, recorded on the territory of the Sudovian culture. During this period we see finds of similar silver objects on Gotland and in West Balt deposits, e.g., the widely distributed star- and spade-footed fibulae or, especially, fibulae decorated with an animal head on the foot terminal,<sup>38</sup> which date from this specific phase. Most of these specimens are decorated on the foot and bow with silver inlay and are recorded on territory settled by the people of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo, Bogaczewo or Sudovian cultures, the West Lithuanian group and on Gotland. The latter form may be considered a West Balt import<sup>39</sup> and suggests lively exchange between the West Balt tribes and their Germanic neighbours on Gotland starting from the Early Migration period. Considering that Gotland has yielded the largest number of finds of denarii originating from contexts dated to the Migration period we cannot exclude the possibility that they came to the West Balt territory at exactly this time as a result of exchange between the inhabitants of Gotland and the West Balt people.<sup>40</sup>

Another important question is the determining the place of concentration of denarii finds. As tables 1 and 2 show, their finds are recorded in the area of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures bordering directly on the area of Wielbark

---

<sup>35</sup> From the Wielbark culture area originate 79 coins from 42 well investigated sites, which comprises almost 14% single finds. From the Przeworsk culture on the other hand, we know of 94 coins, which include less than 6% single finds, cf. Ciołek 2008, pp. 158–159.

<sup>36</sup> Lind 1981; Lind 2002; Kyhlberg 1986.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Nowakowski 1996, pp. 102–103; Banytė - Rowell 2007.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Bitner-Wróblewska 1991, pp. 231–236; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, pp. 107–108.

<sup>40</sup> Östergren 1981; Gaul 1983; cf. Zapolska 2007, pp. 150–151.

settlement, also on that of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, the West Lithuanian group and the Lower Neman group, with the largest number recorded in the Mazury Lake District. In my view should to conclude that the ‘Mazurian’ Balts were the principal recipients and redistributors of silver during the Roman period. This assumption is supported by the evidence of quite lively contacts of the people of the Wielbark culture with those of the Bogaczewo culture, both at the turn of the Early and Late Roman period and at the onset of the Late Roman period. This is reflected in archaeological material — on the territory of the Bogaczewo culture we see in inventories similar forms of artifacts, *e.g.* fibulae with three crests (A 96, Mazurian variant), or the distinctive Bogaczewo ‘cuff’ bracelets modelled on a Wielbark snake.<sup>41</sup> Given that in Mazury we have twice as many finds of denarii, I am inclined to accept the thesis that the people of the Bogaczewo culture were the main redistributing agent for Roman denarii brought to the area from the south. A different situation could have prevailed at the onset of the Migration period. If we take into account the ‘Gotland’ direction of inflow of silver coinage then it is not impossible that after passing to the area of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture in Sambia they found their way to the Sudovian culture.

The presence of denarii in the Central Lithuanian group is the result most probably of direct exchange with the Bogaczewo culture or of the involvement on the part of the people of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture or of the West Lithuanian group as intermediaries. At the same time, throughout the Late Roman period the impact of the West Balt cultures on the Central Lithuanian group was negligible. It is evidenced only by finds of type A 72 fibulae, which are represented by three specimens known from the area of this group. Compared to the great number of these fibulae in the West Balt deposits this is a small number. The next piece of evidence to confirm the existence of exchange with the West Balt cultures are finds of Noricum-Pannonian fibulae type A 238 and fibulae A 69, or the forms with three crests.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the occurrence of denarii may have been the result of sporadic contacts with the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture or with the West Lithuanian group. In the final phase of the Late Roman period, exchange between people of the Central Lithuanian group and of the West Balt cultures weakened. This is also a time when the people of this culture turned towards their eastern neighbour — the Hatched Ware culture. The only Roman import known to us from this period, a bronze jug discovered in Versvai, indicates this southern direction of exchange — with the Black Sea zone or with the inhabitants of the lands on the Danube.<sup>43</sup>

With such a small number of finds the answer as to what were the uses of silver coinage among the West Balt tribes must remain open. Nevertheless, given the complete absence of silver ore deposits in West Balt territory the presence of silver specimens in West Balt inventories (some specimens of type A

<sup>41</sup> Nowakowski 1989, p. 143; Nowakowski 1996, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> Nowakowski 1996, pp. 87–88.

<sup>43</sup> Nowakowski 1996, p. 88.

167–168 fibulae or ‘Sambian’ neckrings) suggests that Roman denarii were used as a source of raw metal and remelted for making into jewellery.

In case of specimens discovered within graves dated to phases B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>–C<sub>1</sub> we are tempted to put forward a different hypothesis. These denarii occurred in burials containing quite modest furnishing or none at all (cf. tab. 3). It is possible therefore that the denarii, less striking and consequently in the eyes of the West Balt people less valuable than the sestertii, were used as grave offerings by the less prosperous segment of the West Balt population.

## CATALOGUE

### Bogaczewo culture

#### 1. BABIĘTA, commune Piecki, district Mrągowo

Babienten, Kr. Sensburg

settlement find

? D Trajan  
98–117

**Date of discovery:** 1900.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a settlement from AD 1st–2nd c. investigated by E. Hollack a find of undetermined bronze and silver Trajan issues together with eye fibulae of the Prussian series.

**Preserved at:** until 1945 in *Prussia Museum*, now presumably lost.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Bolin 1926, p. 237, no. 187; Bursche 1996a, p. 172, no. 3; Nowakowski 2001, p. 43.

#### 2. DŹWIERZUTY, commune loco, district Szczytno

Mensguth, Kr. Ortelsburg

single find

1. D Domitian  
88 RIC 110 Rome

**Date of discovery:** before 25 January 1928.<sup>44</sup>

**Circumstances of discovery:** Coin discovered by chance by G. Wittrin, definitely at a site from the Roman period.

**Preserved at:** no data.

**Determination:** A. Bursche.

<sup>44</sup> The discovery of the denarius was reported to K. Regling at the Münzkabinett in Berlin, cf. B u r s c h e 1996b, p. 39, footnote 16.



**Circumstances of discovery:** In a cemetery of the Bogaczewo culture and the Olsztyn group, in grave no. 10 with fragment of a knife and spindle-whorl.

**Dating:** Phase C.

**Preserved at:** until 1945 in *PM*, presumably lost.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Schmiedehelm *Nachlaß*, 7.20<sup>d</sup>/129, 7.13/29; 7.13/31, 7.21/399; Hollack, Peiser 1904, s. 23; Bolin 1926, s. 233, nr 151; Gaerte 1929, s. 319, Abb. 1; Gumowski 1956, s. 121, nr 72; Jaskanis 1977, s. 302; Nowakowski 2001, s. 74.

## 6. MRĄGOWO, town, district *loco*

Sensburg, Kr. Sensburg

single find

1. D Marcus Aurelius  
140, 161–180

**Date of discovery:** before 18th c.

**Circumstances of discovery:** Coin discovered while digging ditches.

**Preserved at:** Bolin does not provide information on the location.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Hollack 1908, p. 149; Bolin 1926, p. 237, no. 195; Gumowski 1956, p. 120, no. 35a; Bursche 1996a, p. 177, no. 38; Nowakowski 2001, p. 77.

## 7. MUNTOWO, commune and district Mrągowo

settlement find

1. D <sup>48</sup>	Antoninus Pius 156	RIC 252	Rome
2. Sub. <sup>49</sup>	Antoninus Pius 151–154	RIC 208 or 237	Rome

**Date of discovery:** 1997–1998.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a settlement during surface survey.

**Preserved at:** Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University.

**Determination:** A. Bursche.

**Comments:** unpublished.

**References:** Bolin 1926, s. 236, nr 185; Gumowski 1956, s. 120, s. 36; Bursche 1996, s. 177, nr 39; Bursche 1999, s. 130; Nowakowski 2001, s. 78.

<sup>48</sup> Obv.: Laureate head right, leg.: ANTONINVS AVG OI[V]S PP IMP II; Rev.: Pax standing left, holding branch and cornucopiae; leg.: TRPOTXI[X] COS IIII. The coin was found on the settlement in Ruska Wieś.

<sup>49</sup> Obv.: Laureate head right, leg.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVSP[PTRPXV]; Rev.: Antoninus standing left, holding account board and roll, leg.: LIBERALITAS VII COS III.

## 8. NAWIADY, commune Piecki, district Mrągowo

Aweyden, Kr. Sensburg

grave find

1. D <sup>50</sup>	Trajan 112–114 Antoninus Pius (Faustina I)	RIC 252	Rome
2. D <sup>51</sup>	after 141	RIC 344–355	Rome

**Date of discovery:** 1904.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a cemetery of the Bogaczewo culture dated to the Late Roman period in the grave no. 11 (unurned); bronze coins were discovered in a number of other graves. The coins co-occurred in the grave with an Almgren group VI fibula.

**Dating:** phase C<sub>1</sub>.

**Preserved at:** until 1945 in *PM*, now presumably lost.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Hollack, Peiser 1904, p. 22; Hollack 1908, p. 9; Bolin 1926, p. 236, no. 186; Gumowski 1956, p. 120, no. 37a and 37b; Bursche 1996a, p. 177, no. 42; Nowakowski 2001, p. 79.

## 9. NIKUTOWO, commune and district Mrągowo

Nikutowen, Kr. Sensburg

grave find

1. D	Trajan 98–117
------	------------------

**Date of discovery:** 1908.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a cemetery of the Bogaczewo culture investigated by F. Peiser. Coin discovered in the grave no. 96 also containing A 161–162 fibula.

**Dating:** C<sub>1</sub>.

**Preserved at:** until 1945 in *PM*, presumably lost.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Bolin 1926, p. 237, no. 193; Gumowski 1956, p. 120, no. 381; Nowakowski 2001, p. 80.

<sup>50</sup> Obv.: Laureate and draped bust to the right, leg.: IMP TRAIANVS AVG GERM DAC P M TR P COS VI P P; Rev.: Trajan's father seated facing left, holds patera and sceptre; leg.: DIVVS PATER TRAIAN (Hollack, Peiser 1904, p. 22).

<sup>51</sup> Obv.: DIVA FAVSTINA; Rev.: AETERNITAS (Hollack, Peiser 1904, p. 22).

## 10. PAPROTKI KOLONIA, site 1, commune Miłki, district Giżycko

grave find

Antoninus Pius

(Faustina I)

1. Sub.<sup>52</sup>

138–141

RIC 344

Rome

**Date of discovery:** 1993.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a cemetery of the Bogaczewo culture inside urned grave no. 102 also containing glass, amber and bone beads; the urn was covered with a bowl.

**Dating:** phase C<sub>1</sub>–C<sub>2</sub>.

**Preserved at:** District Museum in Suwałki; inv.no. 746/92.

**Determination:** A. Bursche.

**Comments:** metal: silver plated bronze; identification of the coin as a subaeratus was possible thanks to the coin's substantial degree of wear.

**Reference:** Karczewska 1996, p. 106; Karczewska 1998, p. 222; Nowakowski 2001, p. 85.

## 11. RÓŻYŃSK, commune and district Elk

Rossinsko, Kr. Lyck

single find

Domitian

1. D

81–96

**Date of discovery:** before 1932.

**Circumstances of discovery:** random discovery.

**Comments:** during early 1930s a number of Roman coins passed into keeping of the museum in Lyck (now Elk). According to an imprecise note they should originate from the region of Różyńsk<sup>53</sup>.

**Preserved at:** until 1932 in Heimatmuseum in Lyck (Elk), subsequent location unknown.

**Reference:** Pogoda 1932, p. 34 [n. v.]; Nowakowski 2001, p. 94.

## 12. RUSKA WIEŚ, site XVI, commune and district Mrągowo

settlement find

Antoninus Pius

1. D

155–156

RIC 252

Rome

<sup>52</sup> Obv.: DIVA — FAVSTINA; draped bust of Faustina the Elder to the right, hair gracefully arranged in a bun behind the head; Rev.: AETER — NITAS; Juno standing left, draped, raising right hand, left hand holding sceptre.

<sup>53</sup> *Alle diese Münzen sollen aus der Umgegend vor Rissinsko stammen und sind durch Herrn Behrend — Kl. Mühle dem Heimatmuseum zugeführt worden. Der genaue Fundort und die näheren Fundumstände lassen sich leider heute nicht mehr ermitteln*, cf. Nowakowski 2001, p. 94.

**Date of discovery:** 1998.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a settlement during surface survey.

**Preserved at:** Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University.

**Determination:** A. Bursche.

**Comments:** A. Bursche claims, that the coin has been found in Mrągowo, but W. Nowakowski suggests that A. Bursche attributes the coin to a wrong settlement. In his opinion the coin comes from Ruska Wieś (cf. Nowakowski 2001, s. 95).

**Reference:** Bursche 1999, p. 130; Nowakowski 2001, p. 95; Szela, Szymański 2004, p. 351; Dymowski, Sobieraj 2008 (in press).

### 13. SKANDAWA, commune Barciany, district Kętrzyn

Skandau, Kr. Gerdauen

hoard (possibly from a cemetery)

	Trajan
1–7. D	98–117
	Hadrian
8. D	117–138
	Hadrian (Aelius Caesar)
9. D	133–138
	Antoninus Pius
10–11. D	138–161
12–13. AE I	138–161
	Antoninus Pius (Faustina I)
14–15. D	141–161
16. AE I	141–161
	Marcus Aurelius
17–18. D	141, 161–180
19–20. AE I	141, 161–180
	Marcus Aurelius (Faustina II)
21. D	161–180

22–24. AE I 161–180

25. D Lucius Verus  
161–169

26–27. D Marcus Aurelius  
(Lucilla)  
161–169

28–29. D Commodus  
172, 180–192

30–31. AE I 172, 180–192

32. AE I Alexander Severus  
222–235

**Date of discovery:** before 1870.

**Circumstances of discovery:** hoard of 32 coins (including 21 denarii) discovered under tree roots in a pottery vessel.

**Preserved at:** in 1870 in private hands; Bolin does not provide information on the location.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Friedlaender 1872, p. 163 [n. v.]; Bolin 1926, p. 221, no. 71; Kunisz 1973, Bursche 1996a, p. 181, no. 66; Nowakowski 2001, p. 97.

#### 14. STARY OLSZTYN, commune Purda, district Olsztyn single find

	Trajan		
1. D <sup>54</sup>	114–117	RIC 332	Rome

**Date of discovery:** August 2007.

**Circumstances of discovery:** in ploughsoil during amateur metal detecting.

**Preserved at:** in private hands.

**Determination:** A. Dymowski.

**Comments:** moderately well preserved.

**Reference:** Dymowski 2008, p. 24.

---

<sup>54</sup> Obv.: Laureate, draped bust to the right, leg.: IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GERM DAC; Rev.: Felicitas standing facing left, holding caduceus and cornucopia, leg.: PARTHICO P M T[RP] COS VI P P SPQR, in exergue [T]R [P] COS.

**15. SZCZYTNO, town, district *loco***

Ortelsburg, Kr. Ortelsburg

grave find

Caracalla

1. Sub.<sup>55</sup> 196, 211–217

hole

**Date of discovery:** 1899–1905.

**Circumstances of discovery:** in a flat cremation cemetery near Szczytno, the Bogaczewo culture from the Roman period and the Olsztyn group from the Migration period. The coin was discovered in grave F containing also two bronze A 161–162 fibulae, bronze tweezers, amber bead necklaces, buckle with a metope on the pin, pottery fragments.

**Comments:** due to the incompleteness of the find documentation may not be treated as an assemblage; the finds are not coterminous.

**Dating:** phase C<sub>1</sub> (fibula A 161–162); phase D/E (buckle).

**Preserved at:** GLM, no. Kbg 1101/2, the Caracalla coin was lost.

**Reference:** Kleeman 1956, p. 74; Nowakowski 2001, pp. 106–107.

**16. SZCZYTNO (ENVIRONS), commune and district *loco***

Ortelsburg, Kr. Ortelsburg

hoard (dubious find)

Vespasian

1. D 69–79

Titus

2. D 79–81

Domitian

3. D 81–96

Hadrian

4–8. D 117–138

Antoninus Pius

9–22. D 138–161

Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius  
(Faustina I or II)

23–29. D 141–180

---

<sup>55</sup> Coin described in the inventory books as a denarius with a hole, ancient forgery (*römischer Denar von Caracalla, durchlochte antike Fälschung aus der Zeit, Bronze*), all of which suggests its identification as a subaeratus.

	Marcus Aurelius
30–40. D	141, 161–180
	Marcus Aurelius (Lucilla)
41–47. D	164–180
	Lucius Verus
48–52. D	161–169
	Commodus
53–61. D	172, 180–192
	Septimius Severus
62. D	193–211

**Date of discovery:** before 1870.

**Circumstances of discovery:** no data.

**Comments:** according to M. Toeppen — approximately 200 denarii.

**Preserved at:** Bolin does not provide information on the location, but the time of discovery of the coin suggests that it probably passed to Albertina.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Comments:** considering its inaccurate provenance the hoard may originate from the territory of Wielbark culture.

**Reference:** Toeppen 1870, p. 52; Bolin 1926, p. 233, no. 152; Gumowski 1956, p. 121, no. 74a; Bursche 1996a, p. 183, no. 76; Bursche 1996b, p. 39, footnote 18; Nowakowski 2001, pp. 106–107.

#### 17. WĘGORZEWO, town, district *loco*

Angerburg, Kr. Angerburg

Type of find — unknown

	Marcus Aurelius
1. D	141, 161–180

**Date of discovery:** no data.

**Circumstances of discovery:** no data.

**Determination:** S. Bolin.

**Reference:** Bolin 1926, p. 205; no. 5; Nowakowski 2001, p. 113.

#### 18. WYSZEMBORK, commune and district Mrągowo

Weißenburg, Kr. Sensburg

18A.	undetermined	grave find
------	--------------	------------

1. D

<b>18B.</b>		stray find from a cemetery	
	Hadrian		
1. D	119–122	RIC 95	Rome
2. D	125–128	RIC 358–362	Rome

**Date of discovery:** 1993–1995.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a cemetery of the Bogaczewo culture and of the Olsztyn group. Undetermined denarius (18A) from the fill of grave no. 103. Discovered together with a bronze rivet and fragments of pottery. The other coins (18B) are surface finds from the same cemetery. Cemetery dated phase A<sub>3</sub> to phase E.

**Preserved at:** Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University, no. 453/93 (Hadrian denarius), 1339/95 (Hadrian denarius).

**Determination:** A. Bursche.

**Reference:** Bursche A. 1996b, p. 38, no. 1–3; Nowakowski W. 2001, p. 117.

### Sudovian culture

#### 19. KORKLINY, commune and district Suwałki

		grave find	
	Commodus		
1. D <sup>56</sup>	172–176	RIC 599–622	Rome

**Date of discovery:** 1962.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a barrow cemetery of the Sudovian culture, in barrow no. 2, double burial no. 8 (woman and child). The coin rested on the cremated remains. Other finds included pottery fragments and a heavy fibula with a solid catchplate<sup>57</sup>.

**Dating:** assemblage dated to phase D.

**Preserved at:** District Museum in Białystok; inv. no. MB/A143 cat. no. 657.

**Comments:** heavily worn.

**Determination:** A. Kietlińska.

**Reference:** Jaskanis 1968, pp. 308–309; Jaskanis 1977, p. 286; Nowakowski 2001, p. 61.

#### 20. NETTA, site I, commune and district Augustów

		grave find	
	Marcus Aurelius		
1. D <sup>58</sup>	173/174	RIC 287	Rome

<sup>56</sup> Obv.: Bust to the right; legible fragment of legend COMMODOCAE; Rev.: worn.

<sup>57</sup> Jaskanis writes only of the ceramics and does not mention the fibula; cf. J a s k a n i s J. 1968, pp. 308–309.

<sup>58</sup> Kaczyński 1987, p. 104; Obv.: Laureate head to the right, leg.: [M AN]TONINVS — AVG TR P XXVIII]; Rev.: Victoria advancing right holding wreath in right hand, trophy over left shoulder, leg.: [IMP VI COS] III.

**Date of discovery:** 1962.

**Circumstances of discovery:** In a cemetery of the Sudovian culture, in grave no. 109, in barrow no. 3. Discovered together with two small iron buckles with a thickened oval frame, a battle knife, fragments of bronze and iron objects and pottery fragments.

**Dating:** phase D.

**Preserved at:** State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IV/364.

**Determination:** A. Bursche.

**Reference:** Kaczyński M. 1987, p. 104, fig. 7; Nowakowski W. 2001, p. 79–80; Bitner-Wróblewska A. 2007, p. 32.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

GLM — Gustav Lübcke-Museum, Neue Bahnhofstraße 9, D-59065 Hamm (Westfalen).

*Schmiedehelm Nachlaß* — Marta Schmiedehelm index file, copy held by the Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University.

#### REFERENCES

- Andrzejowski J., Cieśliński A. 2007 Germanie i Bałtowie u schyłku starożytności. Przyjazne związki czy wrogie sąsiedztwo, A. Bitner-Wróblewska (ed.), *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003*, Warsaw, pp. 279–320.
- Banytė-Rowell R. 2007 Ażurowe okucia końca pasa — wędrówka wzoru między Gotlandią, Mazurami a Litwą zachodnią, A. Bitner-Wróblewska (ed.), *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003*, Warsaw, pp. 329–338.
- Bezenberger A. 1904 *Analysen vorgeschichtlicher Bronze Ostpreussens*, Königsberg.
- Bitner-Wróblewska A. 1989 Elementy bałtyjskie w kulturze wielbarskiej, J. Gurba, A. Kokowski (eds.), *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim*, Lublin, pp. 161–178.
- 1991 Between Scania and Samland. From Studies of Stylistic Links in the Baltic Basin during the Early Migration Period, *Formvånen* 86, pp. 225–241.
- 2001 *From Samland to Rogaland. East-West Connections in the Baltic Basin during the Early Migration Period*, Warsaw.
- 2007 *Netta. A Balt cemetery in Northeastern Poland*, Warsaw.
- Bolin S. 1926 Die Funde römischer und byzantinischer Münzen in Ostpreußen, *Prussia* 26, 1922/1923–1925 (1926), pp. 203–240.
- Bursche A. 1992 Roman coinage in Westbalt circle, *Barbaricum*, vol. 2, Warsaw, pp. 231–244.
- 1994 Die Markomannenkriege und der Zufluß der römischen Münzen in das Barbaricum, H. Friesinger, J. Tejral, A. Stuppner (eds.), *Markomannenkriege; Ursachen und Wirkungen: VI Internationales Symposium „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonauebiet“*, Brno, pp. 471–477.
- 1996a *Later Roman Barbarian Contacts in Central Europe, Numismatic Evidence*, (Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike, Bd. 11), Berlin.
- 1996b Monety rzymskie z cmentarzyska kultury bogaczewskiej w Wyszemborku, gm. Mrągowo, W. Nowakowski (ed.), *Concordia. Studia ofiarowane Jerzemu Okuliczowi-Kozarynowi w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warsaw, pp. 37–39.

- 1996c Contacts between the later Roman Empire and North-Central Europe, *The Antiquaries Journal* 76, pp. 31–50.
- 1999 Znane i nieznanne znaleziska denarów rzymskich z ziem polskich, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XLIII, pp. 115–135.
- 2004 Dalsze monety ze skarbu w Liwie, pow. Węgrów. Trzeciowieczne denary na terenach Barbaricum, W. Kaczanowicz (ed.), *Studia z dziejów antyku. Pamięci Profesora Andrzeja Kunisza*, Katowice, pp. 192–205.
- 2006 Relations between the late Roman world and barbarian Europe in the light of coins evidence, *Bulletin du Cercle d'études numismatiques* 43, pp. 221–227.
- Cieśliński A. 2005 Przemiany osadnicze kultury wielbarskiej w dorzeczu Pasłęki, Łyny i górnej Drwęcy, Warsaw — unpublished doctoral thesis in the Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University.
- Ciołek R. 2007 *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Polen. Pommern*, Wetteren.
- 2008 Ein Beitrag zur Funktion römischer Münzen in der Wielbark und in der Przeworsk Kultur, [in:] A. Bursche, R. Ciołek, R. Wolters (eds.), *Roman Coins Outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Context and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop, Radziwiłł Palace, Nieborów (Poland), 3–6 September 2005*, Warsaw, pp. 157–170.
- Dymowski A. 2008 Najnowsze znaleziska monet rzymskich z Mazur, *Gdańskie Zeszyty Numizmatyczne* 75, pp. 20–24.
- Dymowski A., Sobieraj J. 2008 (in press) Monety rzymskie w zbiorach Działu Archeologii Muzeum Warmii i Mazur w Olsztynie, *Rocznik Olsztyński* XVIII.
- Friedlaender J. 1872 [n. v.] Funde römischer Münzen im nordöstlichen Deutschland, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* IV, pp. 162–168.
- Gaerte W. 1929 *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, Königsberg.
- Gaul J. 1983 Denary rzymskie z I i II w. w znaleziskach z okresu wędrówek ludów w zachodniej strefie Morza Bałtyckiego, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XXVII, pp. 238–249.
- Godłowski K. 1974 Chronologia okresu późnorzymskiego i wczesnego okresu wędrówek ludów w Polsce północno-wschodniej, *Rocznik Białostocki* XII, pp. 9–109.
- Gumowski M. 1956 Moneta rzymska w Polsce, *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 29–31, 1954–1956 [1956], pp. 87–149.
- Hollack E. 1908 *Erläuterungen zur vorgeschichtlichen Übersichtskarte von Ostpreussen*, Berlin–Glogau.
- Hollack E., Peisser F. 1904 *Das Gräberfeld von Moythienen*, Königsberg.
- Jaskanis J. 1968 Materiały z cmentarzyska kurhanowego na stanowisku I w Korklinach, powiat Suwałki, *Rocznik Białostocki* VIII, pp. 299–336.
- 1977 Cmentarzyska kultury zachodniobałtyjskiej z okresu rzymskiego. Materiały do badań nad obrządkiem pogrzebowym, *Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne* IV, pp. 239–350.
- Kaczyński M. 1987 Netta, gm. Augustów, woj. Suwałki, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XXXI, pp. 103–104.
- Karczewska M. 1996 Falszerstwo z czasów Cesarstwa Rzymskiego. Denar subaeratus Faustyny Starszej z cmentarzyskach w Paprotkach Kolonii, W. Nowakowski (ed.), *Concordia. Studia ofiarowane Jerzemu Okuliczowi-Kozarynowi w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warsaw, pp. 105–110.
- 1998 Klasyfikacja ceramiki z cmentarzyska kultury bogaczewskiej w Paprotkach Kolonii, stan. 1, woj. suwalskie, na przykładzie wybranych zespołów grobowych, M. Karczewski (ed.), *Ceramika zachodniobałtyjska od wczesnej epoki żelaza do początku ery nowożytnej*, Białystok, pp. 213–244.

- Kernavė 2002 *Kernavė — litewska Troja. Katalog wystawy ze zbiorów Państwowego Muzeum Rezerwatu Archeologii i Historii w Kernavė, Litwa*, A. Bitner-Wróblewska (ed.), Warszawa, 2002.
- Kleemann O. 1956 [n. v.] Völkerwanderungszeitliche Funde aus dem südlichen Ostpreußen, *Documenta Archeologica Wolfgang La Baume dedicata*, Bonn, pp. 71–78.
- Kokowski A. 1999 *Archeologia Gotów. Goci w Kotlinie Hrubieszowskiej*, Lublin.
- Kropotkin V. V. 1961 *Klady rimskikh monet na territorii SSSR*, Moskwa.
- Kunisz A. 1973 *Katalog monet rzymskich odkrytych na ziemiach polskich* (Materiały do prahistorii ziem polskich V, 5), Warsaw.
- Kyhllberg O. 1986 Late Roman and Byzantine solidi: an archaeological analysis of coins and hoards, A. Lundström, H. Clarke (eds.), *Excavations at Helgö 10. Coins, Iron and Gold*, Stockholm, pp. 13–126.
- Lind L. 1981 *Roman Denarii found in Sweden. 2. Catalogue, Text*, Stockholm.
- 2002 Roman denarii found on Gotland: single finds, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 2000–2002*, p. 44–52.
- Michelbertas M. 2001 *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Litauen*, Vilnius.
- Moora H. 1929 *Die Eisenzeit Lettland bis etwa 500 n. Chr.*, Bd. 1, Tartu.
- 1938 *Die Eisenzeit Lettland bis etwa 500 n. Chr.*, Bd. 2, Tartu.
- Nowakowski W. 1989 Kultura wielbarska a zachodniobałtyjski krąg kulturowy, J. Gurba, A. Kokowski (eds.), *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim*, Lublin, pp. 143–160.
- 1994 Kultura przeworska a zachodniobałtyjski krąg kulturowy, J. Gurba, A. Kokowski (eds.), *Kultura przeworska. Materiały z konferencji*, Lublin, pp. 373–388.
- 1996 *Das Samland in der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine Verbindungen mit dem römischen Reich und der barbarischen Welt*, Marburg–Warsaw.
- 2001 *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum*, vol. 1, Masuren, Warsaw.
- 2007 Kultura bogaczewska na Pojezierzu Mazurskim od schyłku późnego okresu przedrzymskiego do starszej fazy późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich. Próba analizy chronologiczno-kulturowej, A. Bitner-Wróblewska, P. Iwanicki, G. Iwanowska (eds.), Warsaw.
- Östergren M. 1981 *Gotländska fynd av solidi och denarer. En undersökning av fyndplatserna*, (Arkeologiska Skrifter från Riksantikvarieämbetets Gotlandsundersökningar, nr 1), Stockholm.
- Pogoda A. 1932 Römische Münzfunde im Lande der Sudauer, *Unser Masurenland VIII*, no. 7 (Mai), p. 34.
- Reece R. 2008a Roman silver goes abroad, A. Bursche, R. Ciołek, R. Wolters (eds.), *Roman Coins Outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Context and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop, Radziwiłł Palace, Nieborów (Poland), 3–6 September 2005*, Warsaw, pp. 59–74.
- 2008b Choosing Denarii, V. Spinei, L. Munteanu (eds.), *Miscellanea numismatica Antiquitatis. In honorem septagenarii magistri Virgilio Mihailescu-Bîrliba oblata*, Iași, pp. 187–195.
- Romanowski A. 2008 *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Polen. Rechtsufriges Masovien und Podlasie*, Wetteren.
- Szela A., Szymański P. 2004 Wyniki badań sondażowych przeprowadzonych na osadzie w Ruskiej Wsi, stanowisko XIV, gm. Mrągowo, M.J. Hoffmann, J. Sobieraj J. (eds.), *Człowiek a środowisko w epoce brązu i wczesnej epoce żelaza u południowo-wschodnich pobrzeży Bałtyku*, (Pruthenia Antiqua vol. I), Olsztyn, pp. 351–360.

- Toeppen M. 1870 *Geschichte Masurens. Ein Beitrag zur preußischen Landes- und Kulturgeschichte*, Danzig.
- Tretiakov P. N. 1966 *Fino-Ugry, Balty i Sloviane na Dneprze i Volge*, Moscow-Leningrad.
- Wolters R. 1999 *Nummi signati, Untersuchungen zur römischen Münzprägung und Geldwirtschaft*, München.
- Wołagiewicz R. 1981 Kultura wielbarska — problemy interpretacji etnicznej, T. Malinowski (ed.), *Problemy kultury wielbarskiej*, Słupsk, pp. 79–106.
- Zapolska A. 2007 Denary rzymskie znajdowane w kontekstach wczesnośredniowiecznych na ziemiach polskich, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* LI, pp. 149–178.
- 2008 Römische Münzen im Westbaltischen Kulturkreis — Kontexte und Funktionen, A. Bursche, R. Ciołek, R. Wolters (eds.), *Roman Coins Outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Context and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop, Radziwiłł Palace, Nieborów (Poland), 3–6 September 2005*, Warsaw, pp. 179–194.

ANNA ZAPOLSKA

#### DENARY RZYMSKIE W KULTURACH BOGACZEWSKIEJ I SUDOWSKIEJ

(Streszczenie)

Denary oraz inne monety srebrne należą do rzadkości wśród znalezisk z terenów kultury bogaczewskiej i sudowskiej. Wśród przeważającej masy sesterców stanowią niewielki procent wszystkich znalezisk. Znajdowane były przede wszystkim na cmentarzyskach (w grobach oraz luźno na powierzchni) i skarbach. Sporadycznie występowały na terenie osad. W znaleziskach grobowych występują, podobnie jak sesterce, wraz z zabytkami typowymi dla późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich. Są to również najczęściej monety bite w I i II wieku po Chr., co sugeruje, że napływały w tym samym czasie, co monety brązowe.

W znaleziskach gromadnych mogą występować wraz z monetami brązowymi (np. depozyt ze Skandawy) lub w skarbach jednorodnych. W tym przypadku pula monet srebrnych również pokrywa się z pulą monet brązowych — przeważają tu monety bite za panowania dynastii Antoninów, a najstarsze emitowane były za panowania Wespazjana.

Przyczyną występowania denarów w kręgu zachodniobałtyjskim były najprawdopodobniej kontakty plemion zachodniobałtyjskich z germańskimi sąsiadami — przedstawicielami kultury wielbarskiej. Pod uwagę należy również wziąć możliwość, że napływ monet srebrnych na tereny kultury bogaczewskiej i sudowskiej mógł odbywać się za pośrednictwem Sambii, gdzie denary napłynąć mogły ze Skandynawii.

Author's address:

Anna Zapolska  
Instytut Archeologii  
Uniwersytet Warszawski  
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28  
00-927 Warszawa  
e-mail: anna@zapolska.eu