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ROMAN REPUBLICAN BRONZE COINS FROM POLISH FINDS

ABSTRACT

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The database of Roman Republican bronze coin finds from Poland comprises at present eleven 3rd–2nd century BC issues discovered at ten localities. Only four of these bronzes may be regarded as relatively certain. Due to their small number the interpretation of these finds would be extremely difficult if not for the interpretive key at our disposal — the rich material record from the territory of today's Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. This material leads us to claim that finds of Roman Republican bronze coins from the region north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians need to be examined, first, in a Celtic context, and second, jointly with finds of Celtic coins and 5th–2nd c. BC Greek bronzes. Republican bronzes presumably formed a minor segment in the monetary circulation within the framework of the political and economic activity of the federation of Boii tribes probably up to around 120 BC. The core of this circulation was formed by coinage issued locally (among others on the territory of today's Moravia, Bohemia and southern Poland) and imported Celtic coins, complemented by less numerous coins brought in from outside the Celtic environment, primarily Greek issues. Roman Republican bronze coins most likely found their way to Central Europe with Greek bronzes, some of them from mints in Italy and Sicily, presumably independently of the influx of the 2nd–1st century BC Republican denarii.

Key words: La Tène Period; Poland; Carpathian Basin; Roman Republic Coins; Celts

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While at the current level of knowledge there is no denying the argument¹ that Roman Republican silver coins are seldom discovered in Poland (Dymowski 2011, 138–139; cf. Kunisz 1970, 119; Kolenko 1998, 124), finds of Republican bronze coins are on this territory very uncommon. At present we have a database of eleven Roman Republican bronze coins recovered at ten localities. One of them (from unknown locality within Województwo Zachodniopomorskie) is evidently a secondary find; when discovered this coin had written on it in white paint a number in Arabic numerals suggesting that it used to belong to a modern

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collection. Another suspect find (from Rogożany) is likely to be a modern forgery of a Julius Caesar or an Augustus bronze. Of the remaining nine coins only four may be recognized as relatively certain finds: a coin of an undetermined denomination from Walce in Upper Silesia and three finds from the Carpathian foothills region in south-eastern Poland: a semuncia (Węgierka), a quadrans (Wola Buchowska) and an as (Zbylitowska Góra). The other five, uncertain finds are coins discovered allegedly near Opole, at Pobiedziska, at Sobótka and in Szczecin (see Fig. 1). None of them have a more closely defined archaeological

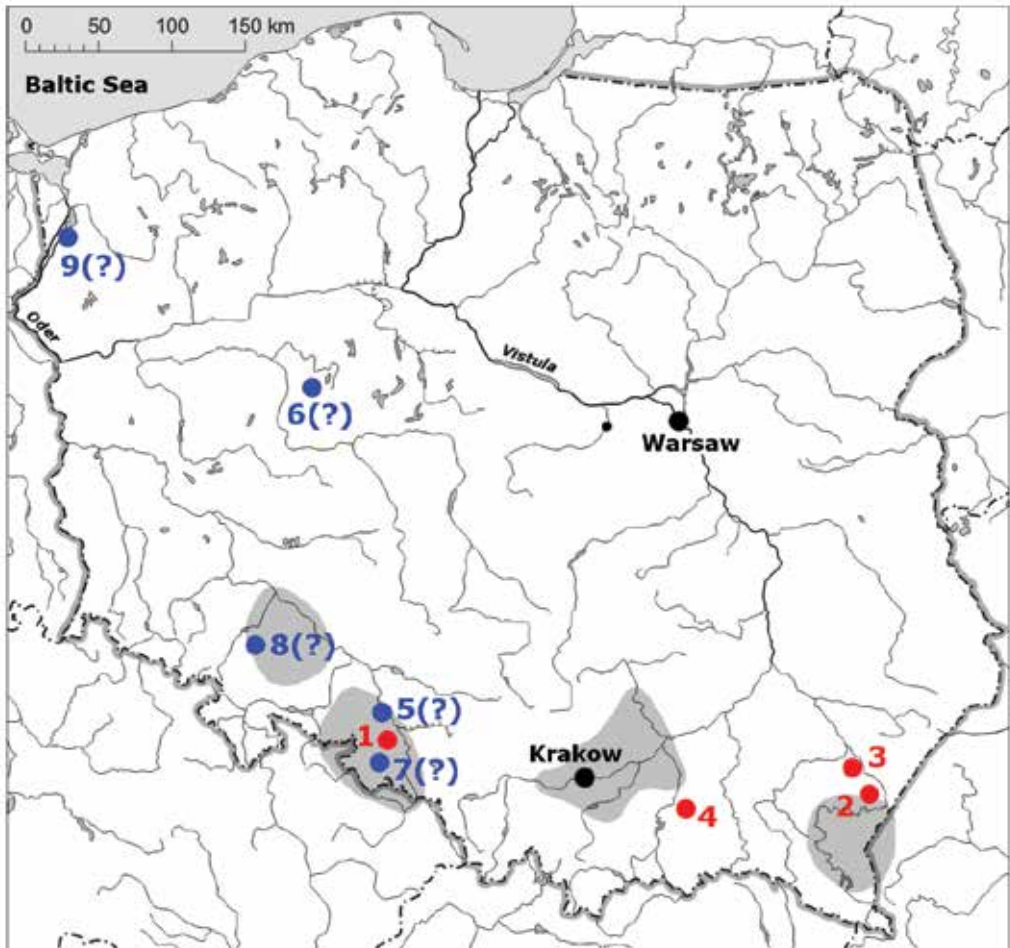


Fig. 1. Finds of Roman Republican bronze coins and areas of Celtic settlement (in grey; source: M. Rudnicki [2012a, 39, map No. 2]; analogical map in M. Karwowski [2008, 144, Fig. 1]) recorded in Poland (p. — powiat; w. — województwo).

1 — Walce, p. Krapkowice, w. opolskie; 2 — Węgierka, p. Jarosław, w. podkarpackie; 3 — Wola Buchowska, p. Jarosław, w. podkarpackie; 4 — Zbylitowska Góra, p. Tarnów, w. podkarpackie (uncertain: 5 — near Opole, the capital city of w. opolskie; 6 — Pobiedziska, p. Poznań, w. wielkopolskie; 7 — Rogożany, p. Głubczyce, w. opolskie; 8 — Sobótka, p. Wrocław, w. dolnośląskie; 9 — Szczecin, the capital city of w. zachodniopomorskie).

context. From Ukraine and Belarus, including the territory occupied in the late Pre-Roman Period and early Roman Period by Przeworsk Culture and Wielbark Culture, so far we have no record of Roman Republican bronze coins (Myzgin 2012, 25–27). Similarly, reliable data on finds of this coin type is lacking in the region to the north-east of the area under analysis, i.e., in the Baltic states and the Kaliningrad oblast². On the other hand, from the region lying more to the west, i.e., Germany, its areas found east of the Elbe and north of the Sudetes, so far we have a record on just one find of a Roman Republican bronze coin — a perforated semis, anonymous issue, struck after 211 BC, discovered in an Early Roman (*frühkaiserzeitlich*) Period burial at Wotenitz in Mecklenburg (FMRD XIV 1008; see also Komnick 2008, 114). The other east German find of “Republican” bronze coin from Frankfurt (Oder)-Boossen (FMRD XI 2049) is highly uncertain. Thus, everywhere in the Central European region to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians finds of Roman Republican bronze coins are very rare and tend to cluster in the south of Poland. Interpretation of these finds would be extremely difficult if not for the interpretive key that is available to us in the form of a rich material record from the territory lying south of the Sudetes and the Carpathians.

Let us take a closer look at coin finds from the territory of today’s Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia that have a Celtic (Boii) context. The great Celtic commercial and production centre at Nĕmčice in central Moravia (end of LT B2 up to the end of LT C2 in the relative chronology of La Tène Culture, or, from around the second quarter of the 3rd century BC until the end of 2nd century BC [see Čižmář, Kolníková 2006, 267; Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 664 and 666]) yielded, next to a great quantity of Celtic coins, mostly gold and silver (Kolníková 2012, 11–58), not less than six Roman Republican bronzes: a triens dated to 225–217 BC, an uncia from 217–215 BC and an as, as well as a semis and two trientes issued after 211 BC (Kolníková 2012, 60; see also Kolníková 2007, 27–28 and Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 681). There was also a sizable series (not less than 26) of bronze coins struck in Italy and in Sicily between 5th and 3rd centuries BC (Kolníková 2012, 60–62) and more bronzes, dating to the beginning of 2nd century BC from e.g., Balkan and Northern African mints, some of them Ptolemaic or Punic issues (Kolníková 2012, 58–66; see also Kolníková 2007, 27–28 and Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 678–681). What is significant that so far no Roman silver coins at all have been discovered in the Celtic settlement at Nĕmčice (*cf.* Kolníková 2012, 60). Next, from south-western Slovakia, from the archaeological excavation of a La Tène Period settlement at Nitra dated to LT C1–LT C2, i.e., approximately mid-3rd century–end of 2nd century BC, we have a find of a Roman as (*aes grave*) issued

² Zapolska 2012, vol. I, 92–93 and vol. II, 2–240 (catalogue of finds). Also, spoken communication from Dr A. Zapolska who, preparing the materials for her PhD thesis on Roman coin finds from West Balt circle deposits had made a detailed review of finds databases also from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Kaliningrad Oblast.

225–217 BC, from the fill of a dwelling which also contained two Celtic coins³.

The coin finds from Celtic oppida in Bohemia and Moravia have a slightly younger chronological profile. Similarly as in the settlements at Němčice and at Nitra dating to the earlier period many Celtic coins have been recorded in an oppidum context; some Greek and Roman specimens were recovered also. The site at Staré Hradisko in Moravia (LT C2–LT D1, *cf.* Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 677), i.e., around mid-2nd century–around mid-1st century BC) yielded a quadrans dating to 133 BC (Militký 2013, 47). The site at Stradonice, in the Bohemian Basin (LT C2/D1–LT D2, see Rybová, Drda 1994, 131–132), i.e. around the fourth quarter of the 2nd century–after mid-1st century BC), yielded a series of Greek and Roman coins, almost all of them bronzes. Next to several Numidian coins from 3rd–2nd century BC these finds included individual Greek coins issued by mints in Italy and Sicily in the period 4th–3rd century BC (Militký 2013, 45). Roman coins were represented by two (nominally) silver coins, i.e. a subaerate victoriatus from around 200 BC and a subaerate denarius from 118 BC, and also, by at least ten Roman Republican bronzes from 3rd–1st century BC, some of them dated more closely: a quadrans from 211–210 BC, an as from 179–170 BC, a semis from 169–158 BC, an as from 148 BC, a quadrans from 132 BC and a quadrans from 128 BC (Kolníková, Smrž 2007, 10).

The database from Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia invoked here shows clearly that finds of Roman Republican bronzes from the region north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians should be examined, first, in the context of Celtic activity⁴, notably, the tribes within the range of Boii coinage (see Rudnicki 2012, 49–63), and second, jointly with finds of 5th–2nd c. BC Greek bronzes (*cf.* Mielczarek 2008, 12ff; Rudnicki 2012, 63) and with Celtic coins. As for Celtic and Greek coins, the finds from Němčice find a direct analogy in the finds recovered at the Celtic settlement at Nowa Cerekwia in the Głubczyce Upland in Upper Silesia. During phases LT C1–LT C2 this settlement operated as a transregional centre of commerce and production, similarly as the settlement at Němčice (Rudnicki 2012a, 36–51). In the coin series from Nowa Cerekwia next to numerous Celtic coins, mostly Boii issues struck before the second half of 2nd century BC, there are at least nine Greek bronzes, some of them issues of Sicilian and Italian mints (Rudnicki 2012a, 49–50). So far, no Roman Republican coins have been recorded at Nowa Cerekwia but it is worth recalling that in its immediate vicinity lies the village of Rogożany, which has a record, albeit a very suspect one, on the discovery of a bronze coin, Republican, or Early Imperial; unfortunately, we have to regard this specimen, or at the least, its determination,

³ Kolníková 1964, 391–404 (where the Roman as from Nitra is attributed to the period 235–220 BC); Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 671.

⁴ The first to link the influx of bronze coins of the Roman Republic to the region north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians with Celtic activity was Lesław Morawiecki who invoked the find from Nitra as an analogy when recording the as found at Zbylitowska Góra; See Morawiecki 1984, 20.

as rather dubious. Furthermore, from Central Europe, Poland included, we have a record on a series of small (stray) finds of Greek bronzes from 5th–2nd century BC (Mielczarek 1989, 137–192; 2008, 12–19) that correspond quite well with coin finds recorded in the contexts of Celtic settlements in Nĕmčice and Nowa Cerekwia. One of such finds, attributed to the locality Pobiedziska in Greater Poland, with a record that, unfortunately, must be viewed as uncertain or, at best, inaccurate, is a group of two Roman Republican bronzes from 3rd–2nd century BC, not less than three Greek coins from 4th–3rd century BC — two Ptolemaic and one from southern Italy, and a number of Roman Imperial coins from 1st–2nd century AD. It is highly unlikely that all these coins originally belonged to the same assemblage; what is possible nevertheless is that these specimens were really discovered at Pobiedziska or surrounding area, for instance, as single finds.

Thus, in interpreting the very small series of Republican bronzes discovered to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians we have recourse from the conclusions and hypotheses relating to Greek and Celtic coins finds, much more numerous in our study area. We can link these finds broadly with a physical presence of Celts in the region. There is much to indicate that apart from enclaves of Celtic settlement (see Fig. 1) in Lower and Upper Silesia (LT B1–LT C2; early 4th century–early 2nd century BC; see Rudnicki 2012a, 38–41) and in western Lesser Poland (LT B2 — phase B1a in the relative chronology of the Roman Period; early 3rd century BC–early 1st century AD)⁵, and in the Upper San river basin (mid-3rd–2nd century BC; see Karwowski 2007, 139), up to the first decades of the 1st century AD in south and central Poland there were small groups of Celts who presumably enjoyed high social and political status and coexisted with the local population. The activity of Celts on the territory of today's Poland was expressed not the least by the minting of coinage according to the Celtic (Boii) standard which shows that gold and silver money was needed as a medium of exchange (Rudnicki 2010, 13–20; 2011, 116–117, 2012a, 66–67). Coins were struck in the settlement at Nowa Cerekwia (Rudnicki 2012a, 46–49) and in several workshops in the region of Cracow (Rudnicki 2012b, 46–48). Outside the area of a more concentrated Celtic settlement similar mints operated in the region of Kalisz (Rudnicki 2010, 13–20) and presumably, also in Kuyavia (north-central Poland; see Rudnicki 2011, 117). Moreover, outside the region where we have archaeological material to document the physical presence of Celts, or there are strong arguments in its favour, there are also sporadic finds of coins associated with Celtic activity. This is true of, for instance, the southern coast of the Baltic Sea where we have a record on finds of bronzes from mints in Italy and Sicily⁶. Presumably they may be interpreted as traces of activity of

⁵ If we take into account also the activity of the Tyniec Group, presumably ethnically mixed in character, see Rudnicki 2012b, 44–46.

⁶ Mielczarek 1989, 137, Cat. No. 3, 138, Cat. No. 4, 167, Cat. No. 97 and 125, map No. 2; Mielczarek 2008, 32, map No. 2, and also an uncertain/unconfirmed find of a Roman uncia from Szczecin-Golecino which is described in the catalogue of finds annexed to this article.

the local population who were in contact with the Celts, not necessarily, with the Boii. It is not wholly impossible that the Celtic impact on the Baltic seacoast, including the influx of coinage, may be attributed to the hypothetical Northern Route linking this region with Western Celt territory, with Gaul and the British Isles (Bochnak 2010, 391–411). Perhaps the putative Republican uncia find from Szczecin is associated with the Northern Route; nevertheless let us recall that this is an uncertain find.

Drawing on the conclusions reached by M. Rudnicki (2012a, 63–67) we can separate two stages of coinage activity and circulation of Celtic coins and coins imported from the Mediterranean region in the context of the activity of Celts (Boii) on the territory of Poland. The first stage within which we need to examine e.g., the operation of the settlement at Nowa Cerekwia, presumably lasted from late 4th century BC until around 130–120 BC. The second stage continued from the end of the first stage until the first decades of the 1st century AD. The chronological watershed between the two would be the migration of the Cimbri and the Teutones who, on their way from the Jutland Peninsula to the south and the west, presumably passed through the territory of today's Silesia and Moravia. This event, dated to the 110s BC, was an important factor contributing to settlement change which resulted e.g., in the withdrawal of Celts from Silesia, including also the settlement at Nowa Cerekwia (Rudnicki 2012a, 40–41 and 66). An analogical development is observed in Moravia, also in the settlement at Nĕmčice (Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 666 and 677–690). Consequently, in her study of monetary circulation and influx of non-local coinage to the Middle Danube region (at present, Bohemia, Moravia, north-eastern Austria and western Slovakia) E. Kolníková also came to view the second half of the 2nd century BC as a boundary line between the older and the younger stage (Kolníková 2007, 27). For coins imported from the Mediterranean region during what she defines as the older stage E. Kolníková regards to be representative i.a., the coin series from Nĕmčice and coin finds from Nitra (Kolníková 2007, 31). In the younger period belong the finds from the oppida at Staré Hradisko and at Stradonice (Kolníková 2007, 27–28). In the light of what we know at present about monetary circulation in the territory to the south of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, dominated by the tribal federation of the Boii, that is, in the Middle Danube region, and to the north of these mountain ranges, the older stage of E. Kolníková and the first stage of M. Rudnicki display a significant convergence (*cf.* Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 9f; Mielczarek 2008, 12–13; Rudnicki 2012, 45f). This convergence, if we take into account just the Celtic coins (*cf.* Rudnicki 2012a, 66–67; 2012b, 45–52), but it seems that also Greek ones, is evidently smaller during the following period.

Most of the Republican bronzes discovered in Poland are late 3rd century BC issues and presumably date from the first stage of the Celtic coinage activity and circulation of Celtic and imported coins distinguished by M. Rudnicki. To be sure, such coins have been discovered to the south of the Sudetes and the Carpathians

in Eva Kolníková's younger stage contexts (e.g., in the oppidum at Stradonice), but they were in a minority to younger emission bronzes. Moreover, assigning the northern finds of bronzes mainly to the first stage of M. Rudnicki we also based on the evidence of the similarity of structure of Celtic and Greek coin finds in the north and south. The only more closely determined specimen with a younger dating of 133 BC is the quadrans from Wola Buchowska; while its date of issue does not rule out its arrival in our region during the first stage, this is relatively unlikely given the chronological structure of the finds from dated Celtic contexts in Bohemia and Moravia. Upon inspection Rudnicki's map of Celtic (Boii) coin finds from the first stage in Poland (Rudnicki 2012a, 64, map No. 4) is highly convergent with the territorial spread of the Roman Republican bronzes (see Fig. 1), and we need to recall that the enclaves in Silesia, and very likely, also the enclave on the Upper San had ceased to function before or parallel to the end of the first stage. Moreover we cannot help observing that the majority of the Republican bronzes recorded to the north of the Carpathians and the Sudetes turned up on the territory identified as enclaves of concentrated Celtic settlement or the territory bordering on these enclaves (see Fig. 1). The distribution map of Republican bronze coin finds turns out to be similar also, although not as spectacularly as in the case of Celtic coins, to the map of distribution of finds of Greek bronzes from mints in Italy and Sicily (Mielczarek 2008, 32, map No. 2) and from Northern African mints (Mielczarek 1989, 133–134, maps Nos. 10 and 11).

To sum up, the finds of Roman Republican bronze coins from Central Europe to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, and most notably, on the territory of Poland, ought to be regarded in principle as a minor, outright marginal, fraction of the monetary circulation within the framework of the political and economic activity of the Celts, to be precise, the federation of Boii tribes, probably in the period up to around 120 BC. The core of this circulation was formed by coinage issued locally (among others on the territory of today's Moravia, Bohemia and southern Poland) and by imported Celtic coins, complemented by less numerous coins brought in from outside the Celtic environment, primarily Greek issues. Republican bronzes were brought to Central Europe presumably together with Greek bronzes, most notably, from mints in Italy and Sicily. According to the hypothesis put forward by H.-Ch. Noeske when interpreting the finds from the settlement at Němčice, bronze coins imported from outside the Celtic environment entered Central Europe with Celtic mercenaries returning from the wars in the Mediterranean region (Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 687–688). In such a case we can associate the influx of coins issued before the close of the 3rd century BC, in Italy, Sicily and Northern Africa etc., and Roman Republican bronzes too, with the Second Punic War (218–201 BC; see Čižmář, Kolníková, Noeske 2008, 686–690; cf. Mielczarek 2008, 16; Rudnicki 2012a, 49). A different hypothesis, put forward by J. Kolenko (1983, 15–21) and developed by M. Mielczarek (2008, 17–18), points to the possibility that bronze coins were imported to Central Europe from mints in e.g., Italy,

Sicily and Northern Africa from Dalmatia, which area has a rich database of this type of coin find. Bronze coinage could have been brought in from the Adriatic region in connection with the long-distance trade in amber obtained on the Baltic coast (Mielczarek 2008, 18). This is quite likely given the presence of Italian and Sicilian bronzes on the southern Baltic coast mentioned earlier. The key role in organizing this trade would have been played by the Celts established in the Middle Danube region and in areas to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians (Mielczarek 2008, 19; Rudnicki 2012a, 66). Both these hypotheses may be treated as mutually not exclusive (*cf.* Mielczarek 2008, 16–18). Additionally we have to take into account the possibility of influx of bronze coinage, including the Republican issues, by the Northern Route, from the Western Celt territory. Possibly, this is exactly the way in which, irrespective of the involvement of the Boii, the large number of Celtic imports entered the area spread along the Baltic coast (Bochnak 2010, 391–411).

A few words of commentary are in order about the coin finds from the Upper San river basin, the area of discovery of not less than two out of four coin finds from Poland that we have recognized as relatively certain. Finds of Republican bronzes from the territory more to the west may be tied, with a likelihood bordering on certainty, to the Celtic tribal federation of the Boii, settled during La Tène Period in today's Bohemia, Moravia and western Slovakia. On the other hand, the Celtic settlement in the Upper San river basin has been tied to the migration into this area of a Celtic population from the south, from the region on the Upper Tisa (Kaczanowski, Kozłowski 1998, 212; Karwowski 2007, 139); in such case this enclave would have had a population identified with the Celtic tribe of the Anartes, most likely to occupy the Upper Tisa basin (Karwowski 2007, 139; 2008, 151; *cf.* also Kaczanowski, Kozłowski 1998, 196). Does this mean that the Republican bronzes discovered in the San river basin entered the territory to the north of the Carpathians in circumstances different than the bronzes recorded in the region more to the west? M. Mielczarek does not discount the involvement of Geto-Dacians living in the Pannonian Basin in the import to Central Europe of Greek coins from Italy and Sicily⁷. On the other hand, at present we have no record on Roman Republican bronze coin finds from regions bordering the Upper San river basin in the south-eastern Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia (western Ukraine; see Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, 382–494). Moreover, in the Upper San river basin an early Boii coin was discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of a Celtic fortified settlement at Trepcza (Stefański 1967, 75–77; Karwowski 2007, 133; *cf.* Rudnicki 2012a, 64, map No. 4), and from an area a little more to the north,

⁷ Mielczarek 2003, 304; 2008, 16. Definitely, Geto-Dacian tribes were involved in the influx of Greek coinage and its imitations to the area north of the Carpathians. This is true of finds such as tetradrachmas of Thasos, and also, Macedonian coins of Philip II and Alexander III and their Geto-Dacian imitations recorded in quantity to the north of the Carpathians, most notably, in south-eastern Poland; see Mikołajczyk 1982, 5–12; Mielczarek 1989, 49–50; 2003, 301–304; 2008, 19–21.

in the region of Zamość, we have single finds of Syracusan and Carthaginian bronzes (Mielczarek 1989, 147, No. 31 and 148, No. 33) which agree well with the Boii context to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians. This lends weight to the argument that Republican bronzes entered the area now in south-eastern Poland through the agency of the Boii. However our understanding of culture processes unfolding in the area now on the border of Poland, Ukraine and Slovakia is currently too poor to discount the possibility of influx of Republican bronzes from the south-east, with the involvement of the Geto-Dacians; so much so that we can even expect to see many new materials which could shed more light on the question of the coin influx and circulation in the San river basin and adjacent region during Antiquity.

Given its time of issue (133 BC) the quadrans from Wola Buchowska requires a separate treatment. Currently this is the only Republican bronze dated precisely to the period after mid-2nd century BC recorded on the territory to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians. This coin supposedly comes from a hoard which also contained Roman Imperial bronze and silver coins, 1st to 4th century issues, struck both in western and eastern mints. It is next to impossible that a deposit of such a composition could have been formed on the territory of the Roman Empire. Thus, either this is an assemblage built up in the Barbaricum using coins that entered the region over the centuries from different directions⁸, or we need to interpret these coins as single or cumulative finds discovered in one, possibly, a larger number of sites. Consequently to examine the question of the influx of Republican coinage within the framework of a group of coins dated very broadly from 2nd century BC to 4th century AD is a pointless endeavour. It is possible to formulate several hypotheses about to the circumstances in which the quadrans from Wola Buchowska found its way to the region north of the Carpathians. The first possibility is influx associated with the activity of the Boii within the second, later, of the described stages of their coinage activity and of circulation of Celtic and foreign coins in the Middle Danube region and areas lying to the north. It is notable that an identically dated quadrans was discovered in the oppidum at Staré Hradisko. Another possibility, at present not supported by any arguments in the form of other similar coin finds, is that the coin find from Wola Buchowska was brought to the territory of today's Poland from the south-east, possibly in connection with the activity of Geto-Dacian tribes. Finally, a third hypothesis would base on the alleged co-occurrence of the quadrans from Wola Buchowska with Imperial coins. Perhaps this coin was brought to the Barbaricum from the territory of the Roman Empire during the

⁸ From Central Europe we know of several other deposits which allegedly included coins from mints remote from one another and with a very different chronology. One of them is the hoard from Praga-Nebušice in Bohemia, which allegedly included coins dated from early 1st century up to the 540s AD (Militký 2013, 109–110, No. 24). Inaccurate information about the content of similar hoards and circumstances of their discovery may raise doubt as to the reliability of these finds. Coins described as belonging to the hoards could be a series of specimens discovered singly or even originate from a modern collection of coins having an unknown provenance; cf. Ciołek 1998, 155–192.

Imperial period together with a large pool of later coins entering the region, such as 1st or 2nd century AD issues⁹.

The material collected so far applicable to the finds of Roman Republican bronze coins from the region north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians is exceedingly scant. Nevertheless, drawing support from the knowledge gathered while researching finds of Celtic and Greek coins from the same territory and areas adjacent to it, we can pinpoint fairly accurately the causes and chronology of the influx of Roman Republican bronzes to the northern territories, notably, the territory of today's Poland. At the current level of understanding we can conclude that finds of Roman Republican bronze coins should be examined in the frames of political or economic aspects of operation of Celtic communities inhabiting or penetrating the lands lying to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, first of all, during the 3rd and the 2nd century BC. And so, although the Republican bronzes were the earliest Roman coins to find their way to the territory found north of these two mountain ranges they should not be interpreted as proof of an early, direct impact of the Roman state on the northern regions of the Barbaricum. Moreover, basically the influx of Republican bronzes should be treated as a process with a different (earlier!) chronology and causes other than the influx of the sizable pool of Republican (and Augustan) denarii to the territory of today's Poland¹⁰.

CATALOGUE OF FINDS

(g. — gmina; p. — powiat; w. — województwo)

1. Walce, g. Walce, p. Krapkowice, w. opolskie, Poland.
Roman Republic, bronze coin.
Obv. or Rv. inscription ROMA.
Find circumstances: unknown.
Year found: before 1938.
Collection/Location: formerly in the palace at Waltzen (now, Walce), subsequently, in Ratibor (Racibórz); missing after World War II.
Description: single find (?).
Bibliography: Majewski 1949, 153, No. 1042; Gumowski 1956, 123, No. 52; Wielowiejski 1960, 385, No. 1436B; Konik 1965, 148; Godłowski 1973, 332, No. 208A; Kaczanowski,

⁹ This is likely since, to a limited extent, Republican bronzes remained in monetary circulation within the Roman state during the period of the Early Empire; see Hollander 2007, 29.

¹⁰ See Dymowski 2011, 143–144; 2013, 7. However if we take into account the finds from the oppidum at Stradonice which include Republican bronzes from the 3rd–1st century BC and a single Republican denarius (a subaerate) from late 2nd century BC, we cannot rule out entirely that a part, relatively small presumably, of Roman Republican denarii discovered in the region to the north of the Sudetes and Carpathians should be examined in the same context as the Republican bronzes.

Margos 2002, 338, No. 823; Łonak 2005, 213–214, No. 318; Ciołek 2008, 268–269, No. 407.

2. Węgierka, g. Roźwienica, p. Jarosław, w. podkarpackie, Poland
 Roman Republic (anonymous emission), semuncia, 217–215 BC, Rome, diam. 20.7÷21.7 mm, weight 5,16 g, ↑→, RRC 38/7.
 Obv. Head of Mercury right, wearing winged petasos.
 Rv. Prow right, ROMA above.
 Coin heavily worn and cleaned.
- Find circumstances: stray find.
 Year found: 1949.
 Collection/Location: Museum in Jarosław, The Orsetti House; inv. No. MJ-N 2195.
 Description: coin discovered next to a stream together (?) with 3 Roman Imperial coins from 1st–2nd centuries AD (denarius of Titus, denarius of Trajan and dupondius of Didius Julianus).
- Bibliography: Reymań 1955, 169; Aleksiewicz 1958, 53, 57; Wielowiejski 1960, 208; Jamka 1965, 78; Kunisz 1969, 155, No. 278 II; Kunisz 1985, 239, No. 298 II; Bursche 1996, 211, No. 213; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, 340, No. 832. Fig. 2:1
3. Wola Buchowska, g. Jarosław, p. Jarosław, w. podkarpackie, Poland
 Roman Republic (C. Numitorius), quadrans, 133 BC, Rome, diam. 16.9÷17.0 mm, weight 3,07 g, ↑→, RRC 246/4a.
 Obv. Head of Hercules right, wearing lion skin, with denominational mark (three dots) behind.
 Rv. Prow right, C-NVMITORI above; denominational mark (three dots) before; ROMA below.
 Coin well preserved, cleaned.
- Find circumstances: unknown.
 Year found: 1937.
 Collection/Location: Museum in Jarosław, The Orsetti House; inv. No. MJ-N 2193.
 Description: coin from a hoard (?) held in a ceramic vessel (now lost); the hoard contained other Roman AR and AE coins, of which 16 were recorded: as of Nero (from the Lugdunum mint), as of Trajan, as and dupondius of Hadrian (the last three from the Roman mint), four denarii (all minted in Rome): Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I (posthumous) and Marcus Aurelius, four antoniniani from the 2nd half of the 3rd century: Aurelianus (probably minted in Cyzicus), Maximianus (from unspecified mint) and two of unspecified emperors, Ae4 (follis) of Constantine II (from the Thessalonica mint), Ae2 (maiori-

- ma) of Constantius II (from unspecified mint), Ae2 (maiorima) of Magnentius (minted in Arelate) and unspecified Ae2 from the 4th century.
- Bibliography: Reyman 1955, 166–169; Aleksiewicz 1958, 33, 54; Reyman 1959, 58; Wielowiejski 1960, 390, No. 1512; Jamka 1965, 78; Kunisz 1969, 156, No. 289; Kunisz 1973, 129–130, No. 186; Lind 1981, 128, No. 318; Kunisz 1985, 249–250, No. 311; Bursche 1996, 212, No. 220; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, 350, No. 862.
- Remarks: given the broad chronological range and the number of mints it is likely that all the coins attributed to this hoard did not originally belong to a single assemblage (see Kunisz 1973, 130; 1985, 250).
4. Zbylitowska Góra, g. Tarnów, p. Tarnów, w. podkarpackie, Poland
Roman Republic (anonymous emission) as, after 211 BC, Rome, diam. 34,0÷35,3 mm, weight 40,10 g, ↑→, RRC 56/2.
Obv. Laureate head of Janus; denominational mark (I) above.
Rv. Prow right, denominational mark (I) above, ROM[A] below.
Coin heavily worn.
- Find circumstances: discovered when digging a drain; the coin rested in soil excavated from a depth of about 1 meter.
- Year found: 1978.
- Collection/Location: Regional Museum in Tarnów; inv. No. MT-N/1048.
- Description: single find from a findspot close to the house of E. Faber.
- Bibliography: Morawiecki 1984, 19–20; Kunisz 1985, 265, No. 344; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, 363, No. 905.

UNCERTAIN AND SECONDARY FINDS

5. Opole (environs), the capital city of w. opolskie, Poland
Roman Republic, bronze coin.
- Find circumstances: stray find (?) or element of a hoard (?).
- Year found: before 1933.
- Collection/Location: in the former collection of the museum in Oppeln (Opole), now missing.
- Description: coin discovered together (?) with 8 Roman Imperial coins from 1st–5th centuries AD (1 bronze coin of Domitian, 1 denarius of Antoninus Pius, 1 posthumous dupondius of Antoninus Pius, 2 bronze coins of Commodus and Gordian III,

- 2 bronze coins of Constantine I and 1 bronze coin of Honorius), 1 unidentified Roman coin.
- Bibliography:** Majewski 1949, 137, No. 839; Horoszkiewicz 1952, 8–9; Gumowski 1956, 123, No. 43c; Wielowiejski 1960, 356, No. 929B; Konik 1965, 112–113; Godłowski 1973, 358, No. 317; Łonak 2005, 156–157, No. 213D; Ciołek 2008, 186–187, No. 272A.
- Remarks:** uncertain find (see Ciołek 2008, 186–187); from a modern collection (?).
- 6.
- a) Pobiedziska, g. Pobiedziska, p. Poznań, w. wielkopolskie, Poland
Roman Republic, as, 3rd–2nd c. BC (?), Rome, diam. 30÷35 mm, weight 39,5 g.
Obv. Head of Janus; denominational mark (I) above.
Rv. Ship, ROMA below.
Coin heavily worn.
- b) Roman Republic, triens, 3rd–2nd c. BC (?), Rome.
Obv. Head right; denominational mark (four dots) behind.
Rv. Ship, ROMA above, denominational mark (four dots) behind.
- Find circumstances:** unknown.
Year found: before 1884.
Collection/Location: in 1909 in the private collection of Dr Zakrzewski at Mirosławice.
- Description:** coins discovered near the town together (?) with 13 (?) coins, of which 8 bronzes were recorded: 3 Greek coins (an Egyptian coin of Ptolemy II, or Ptolemy III, another unspecified Ptolemaic coin and a coin of Neapolis in Campania struck between 340–220 BC) and 5 Roman Imperial coins from 1st–2nd centuries AD (2 Augustus, 1 Germanicus and 2 Trajan).
- Bibliography:** Fredrich 1909, 198–199, No. 1; Zakrzewski 1915, 66; 1938, 62; Majewski 1949, 138, No. 900; Gumowski 1956, 126, No. 74a; Kubiak 1978, 200, No. 29; Mielczarek 1988, 153, No. 23; Mielczarek 1989, 145, No. 24.
- Remarks:** description of coins according to C. Fredrich (1909, 199); uncertain find (see Fredrich 1909, p.199).
7. Rogożany, g. Kietrz, p. Głubczyce, w. opolskie, Poland.
Roman Republic (Julius Caesar) or Augustus, bronze coin (modern forgery?).
- Find circumstances:** during agricultural work.
Year found: before 1820.
Collection/Location: in the former collection of Mr. Mader from Leobschütz (Głubczyce), now missing.

- Description: coin found together (?) with 10 Roman Imperial coins from 1st–4th centuries AD (3 antoniniani of Gallienus and 7 bronzes: 1 of Trajan, 1 of Hadrian, 2 of Marcus Aurelius, 1 of Lucilla, 1 of Severus Alexander and 1 of Constantine II).
- Bibliography: Bolin 1926, 79, No. 61o; Gumowski 1956, 122, No. 11; Wielowiejski 1960, 366, No. 1134B; Konik 1965, 124; Godłowski 1973, 291, No. 87A; Kunisz 1973, 97, No. 133 (described as a hoard); Bursche 1996, 205, No. 166; Łonak 2005, 177–178, No. 255A; Ciołek 2008, 219–220.
- Remarks: very uncertain find (see Ciołek 2008, 219–220); from a modern collection (?).
8. Sobótka, g. Sobótka, p. Wrocław, w. dolnośląskie, Poland
Roman Republic (anonymous emission), quadrans, after 211 BC, Rome, RRC 56/5.
Obv. Head of Hercules right, wearing lion skin, with denominational mark (three dots) behind.
Rv. Prow right, ROMA above; denominational mark (three dots) below.
- Find circumstances: during agricultural work.
Year found: 1921.
Collection/Location: in the former collection of the museum in Breslau (Wrocław), now missing.
- Description: coin discovered in a hoard contained in a leather sack (!), to the south of the town, to the right of the road to Wieżyca; other than the Republican coin the hoard contained: 1 as of Domitian, 1 posthumous as of Marcus Aurelius and 7 unspecified Roman bronzes.
- Bibliography: Bolin 1926, 83, No. 112; Majewski 1949, 147, No. 958; Gumowski 1956, 134, No. 117; Wielowiejski 1960, 374, No. 1257B; Konik 1965, 131–132; Kunisz 1973, 106, No. 145; Łonak 2005, 187, No. 275A; Ciołek 2008, 231–232, No. 343A.
- Remarks: uncertain (secondary?) find (see Ciołek 2008, 231–232); coin described by A. Dymowski from archival photograph (reproduced in: Ciołek 2008, 358).
9. Szczecin-Golecino, the capital city of w. zachodniopomorskie, Poland
Roman Republic (anonymous emission), uncia, 217–215 BC, Rome, diam. ?, weight ?, ↑ ↑, RRC 39/4.
Obv. Bust of Sol facing, draped.
Rv. Crescent, two stars and denominational mark (one dot) above, ROMA below.

Find circumstances: stray find.
 Year found: 1920–1930s.
 Collection/Location: National Museum Szczecin, Inv. No. MNS/A/22145 (since 2008; before in Kultur-Historisches Museum Stralsund; Inv. No. KMSTR 1962:282).
 Bibliography: Ciołek 2001, 224–225, No. 288A; 2007, 238–240, No. 335A; Kozłowska-Skoczka, Kowalski 2012, p. 228, No. 137.
 Remarks: uncertain find (see Ciołek 2001, 224 and Ciołek 2007, 238); coin described after R. Ciołek (2001, 224).

10. w. zachodniopomorskie, Poland
 Roman Republic (anonymous emission), uncia, 225–217 BC, Rome, diam. 28 mm, weight ?, RRC 35/6.
 Obv. Head of Roma left, wearing Attic helmet, with denominational mark (one dot) behind.
 Rv. Prow right, denominational mark (one dot) below.
 Coin well preserved, inscribed “24” in white paint on the reverse.

Find circumstances: detector find.
 Year found: not later than 2010.
 Collection/Location: private collection.
 Description: coin (most probably a part of modern collection) discovered among rubbish dated to the period of the World War II.
 Bibliography: Dymowski 2011, 158, No. 49.
 Remarks: secondary find; coin identified by A. Dymowski from photograph.

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Fig. 2. Selected Roman Republican bronze coins recorded in Poland; Photo by H. Górecki (Museum in Jarosław, The Orsetti House).

1 — Węgiełka, powiat Jarosław, województwo podkarpackie, Poland. Roman coin: Republic, semuncia, 217–215 BC, Rome; 2 — Wola Buchowska, powiat Jarosław, województwo podkarpackie, Poland. Roman coin: Republic (C. Numitorius), quadrans, 133 BC, Rome.

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Fig. 3. Selected Roman Republican bronze coins recorded in Poland.

1 — Zbylitowska Góra, powiat Tarnów, województwo podkarpackie, Poland. Roman coin: Republic, as, after 211 BC, Rome; Photo by R. Moździerz (Regional Museum in Tarnów); 2 — Szczecin-Golecino, the capital city of w. zachodniopomorskie, Poland. Roman coin: Republic, uncia, 217–215 BC, Rome; Photo by G. Soleccki (National Museum in Szczecin).

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 RRC M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974.

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