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**EARLY IMPERIAL ROMAN DENARII FOUND
IN CENTRAL EUROPE, NORTH OF THE SUDETES
AND THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS**

ABSTRACT: From the territory of Central Europe that lies north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, occupied during the Roman Period by the Przeworsk and the Wielbark cultures, we currently have a record of only a very small number of Roman Imperial denarii issued before AD 64. The interpretation of these finds is hindered by the small size of this database and the lack of archaeological context. There are three possibilities; one of them is that these coins, or at least some of them, entered the region as a complement of a ‘Republican’ wave of influx, which contained a significant amount of Roman Republican denarii. The second possibility is that the Early Imperial denarii passed into the Central European Barbaricum during the second century as a small admixture to a great wave of denarii struck after AD 64. The third option is that we ought to view the influx of the Early Imperial coins as an independent and a minor occurrence not related directly either to the ‘Republican’ or the ‘second-century’ wave. The view held by the author of this article is that the influx of the bulk of pre-AD 64 Imperial denarii is best explained by the first hypothesis.

Regarding¹ the territory of Central Europe, lying north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, occupied during the Roman Period by the Przeworsk and the Wielbark cultures,² there is ample evidence that the first larger wave of denarii

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² During the Early Roman Period, settlements of the Przeworsk and the Wielbark cultures extended over much of the present-day territory of Poland, much of the north-western Ukraine and a small part of western Belarus. As it is difficult to determine the extent of these cultures (especially in the East), the present article discusses the material

(Republican) and probably some issues of Emperor Augustus, entered the region in the final decades of the first century BC and at the onset of the first century AD,³ very likely from the Danubian region in general.⁴ It is conceivable that Republican silver coinage and that of the first Roman Emperor passed into the territory to the north of these two mountain ranges in substantial numbers and was distributed across the whole territory occupied by the Przeworsk culture during the Younger Pre-Roman and the Early Roman Period (*i.e.* south and central Poland, a part of north-western Ukraine and a fragment of western Belarus), for the most part, without going beyond its northernmost reaches.⁵ The years of the reign of Augustus were followed by several decades, possibly even a century, when silver coinage hardly entered this territory. The onset of the next, much larger influx of denarii, this time, Imperial ones, 1st and 2nd century issues struck after AD 64, started presumably no earlier than in the reign of Trajan, *i.e.* AD 98–117.⁶ With this wave, which possibly ought to be separated into several phases within the second century, came the majority of Roman coins known from finds from the territory occupied during that age by the people of the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures. How are we to interpret the small number of pre-AD 64 Imperial silver coins discovered separate from hoards on the territory occupied by these two archaeological cultures? There are three possibilities: one is that these coins, or at least some of them, entered the region as a complement of the ‘Republican’ wave of influx, in the first decades of the first century AD. The second explanation is that the Early Imperial denarii passed into the Central European Barbaricum during the second century together with a larger quantity of denarii issued after AD 64. Finally, the third solution is that the influx of these coins ought to be viewed as an independent and minor occurrence, not related directly either to the Republican or the second-century wave.

Nevertheless, before addressing these issues a brief introduction to the subject of the circulation of pre-AD 64 Imperial denarii within the Empire is required, which is directly related to their occurrence in the Central European Barbaricum. As noted in the opening paragraph, at present, the generally accepted view is that the mass influx of 1st and 2nd century Roman denarii to the land east of the Rhine

from the whole territory of Poland, the western part of Belarus (oblasts: Hrodna and Brest) and the north-western Ukraine (oblasts: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivs’k Ternopil, Volyn, Rivne, Khmelnytskyi and Chernivtsi).

³ Dymowski 2011, pp. 143–144; see also Kunisz 1970, p. 28; Bursche 1995, pp. 88–89; Kolendo 1998, p. 124; Romanowski 2010, p. 37.

⁴ Kunisz 1970, p. 28; Bursche 1995, pp. 88–89; Kolendo 1998, pp. 124–125.

⁵ Dymowski 2011, p. 143; see also Myzgin 2012, pp. 20–24.

⁶ Dymowski 2011, pp. 143–144; Dymowski 2013a, pp. 111–112; *cf.* Lucchelli 1999, pp. 160–161.

limes and north of the Danubian limes is datable to not earlier than the second century.⁷ This argument may be confirmed by the discovery of hoards of 1st and 2nd century denarii in the territory of the Central European Barbaricum that do not as a rule contain coins issued before AD 64, struck prior to the reform of Nero which lowered the silver content in the denarius and its weight.⁸ This would be because pre-AD 64 denarii were withdrawn from circulation by Trajan's decree of AD 107 and soon after this date they virtually, although not at once, went out of use.⁹ Struck of fine silver, the heavier denarii of the first Julio-Claudian emperors issued before AD 64 were the first to disappear from circulation, predominantly, by the end of the first century.¹⁰ The next to disappear were the slightly inferior Republican denarii, except for the legionary issues of Mark Anthony. The legionary denarii, minted in 32–31 BC according to an inferior precious metal and weight standard to pay the armies during the wars with Octavian, continued in use the longest, even into the first decades of the third century.¹¹

Returning to our main subject let me enumerate finds of silver coins of the Julio-Claudian emperors struck before AD 64 recorded in our study area. Denarii of Augustus are a relatively small fraction of two hoards of Republican denarii discovered in southern Poland. In the territory occupied during the early Roman Period by the people of the Przeworsk Culture these were the hoards from Połaniec,¹² (Gmina Połaniec, Powiat Staszów, Województwo Świętokrzyskie) and the one from the region of Włodzienia,¹³ (Gmina Branice, Powiat Głubczyce, Województwo Opolskie). Next, a single denarius of Augustus was found in a hoard of 1st–2nd century Imperial denarii from Rywałdzik,¹⁴ (formerly Ossa, Gmina Biskupiec, Powiat Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, Województwo Warmińsko-Mazurskie), the territory occupied during the later stages of the Roman Period

⁷ Berger 1992, pp. 157–159; Bursche 1994, pp. 472–475; Lucchelli 1998, pp. 161–162; Wolters 1999, pp. 385–386; Erdrich 2001, pp. 127–128; Ciołek 2003, p. 28; Bursche 2004, pp. 196–198; Bursche 2006, p. 222; Berger 2008, p. 105; Reece 2008, p. 70; Ciołek 2009, p. 159; Dymowski 2013a, pp. 111–113.

⁸ Lucchelli 1998, pp. 160–161; *cf* also Bursche 2008, p. 53.

⁹ Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 195–196; Kunisz 2001, pp. 350–351.

¹⁰ Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 195–196.

¹¹ Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 196–206; see also Bolin 1958, pp. 336–357; Kunisz 1970, p. 119; Wielowiejski 1970, p. 132; Crawford 1978, p. 152; Gązdac 2010, pp. 130–135.

¹² Kunisz 1970, pp. 103–159; Kunisz 1973, pp. 83–83, No. 112; Kunisz 1985, pp. 165–171, No. 202; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, pp. 246–249, No. 582.

¹³ Unpublished material; see Dymowski 2011, p. 134.

¹⁴ Gumowski 1956, p. 120, No. 47; Kunisz 1973, p. 79, No. 106; Ciołek 2007, pp. 139–150, No. 241 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Dymowski 2014, pp. 82–83.

by the people of the Wielbark culture. None of the hoards recorded to-date in Poland, the western region of Belarus and the north-western Ukraine contained any denarii of the successors of Augustus, struck before AD 64.¹⁵ In terms of small (stray) finds from the area of interest, only a very small number of finds of Roman denarii, struck during the early days of the Empire, before AD 64 – a dozen odd finds, the context of discovery unknown, are of silver coins struck in the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14), Tiberius (AD 14–37) and Caligula (37–41); there is no closer data on finds of silver coins of Claudius (41–54) or early issues of Nero (54–68), from before AD 64. To some extent the extremely rare occurrence, and even the entire lack of these coin types in finds can be explained by the small quantity of denarii issued during some years of the indicated period, especially in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius,¹⁶ which could explain their minor outflux from the Empire. On the other hand, however, these denarii are fairly abundant elsewhere in the European Barbaricum, *e.g.* in Dacian finds.¹⁷

At present, the Polish finds include five single finds of denarii of Augustus: a denarius discovered in 1928, issued in 19–16 BC by the Colonia Patricia mint (RIC 97), from Brzezcie,¹⁸ (Gmina and Powiat Opatów, Województwo Świętokrzyskie), a denarius lacking closer determination discovered before 1913 at Bydgoszcz–Prądy,¹⁹ (formerly Prondy near Bromberg, now a district of Bydgoszcz, the capital city of Województwo Kujawsko-Pomorskie), a denarius found in 1871, issued in 12 BC in Rome by the moneyers Cossus Cn. f. Lentulus (RIC 412), from Gąski (formerly Gonsk, Gmina Gniewkowo, Powiat Inowrocław, Województwo Kujawsko-Pomorskie),²⁰ a denarius struck in 15–13 BC at Lugdunum, (RIC 171a) discovered during the second half of the eighteenth

¹⁵ Information in reference publications about the presence of early Imperial denarii, Tiberius to Claudius, in deposits cannot be true. I refer here to the denarius of Germanicus in the hoard from Rekowo, Powiat Bytów (Gumowski 1956, p. 111, No. 5; *cf.* Ciołek 2007, pp. 198–200, No. 280 [with a list of references]) and the denarius of Claudius in the reputed hoard from Błotnica Strzelecka, Powiat Strzelce Opolskie (Gumowski 1956, p. 123, No. 61e; *cf.* Ciołek 2008, pp. 25–26 [with a list of references]).

¹⁶ Kunisz 1978, pp. 56 and 66.

¹⁷ Crawford 1985, p. 235; Moisil and Depeyrot 2003, pp. 176–186. Let us recall that until the conquest of Dacia by Trajan (98–117) this region was a part of the Barbaricum.

¹⁸ Kunisz 1985, p. 34, No. 18; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 21, No. 57 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

¹⁹ Fredrich 1913, p. 156, No. 68a; Bolin 1926, p. 85, No. 5; Gumowski 1956, p. 107, No. 14; Ciołek 2007, p. 20, No. 21, coin 1 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

²⁰ Fredrich 1913, p. 206, No. 29; Bolin 1926, p. 86, No. 26; Gumowski 1956, p. 108, No. 41.

century at Górzec,²¹ (formerly Gurtsch, Gmina and Powiat Strzelin, Województwo Dolnośląskie) and a denarius of the C L CAESARES type from Lugdunum, 2 BC – 4 AD (RIC 207–208 or 210–212), discovered before 1886 at Siennica,²² (Gmina Siennica, Powiat Mińsk Mazowiecki, Województwo Mazowieckie). Moreover, an imitation of an Augustan denarius of the same type was discovered recently at Sarbinowo (Gmina Dębno, Powiat Myślibórz, Województwo Zachodniopomorskie) or near this village.²³ With no legible inscriptions and heavily barbarized imagery, this coin is probably a metal detector find discovered by an amateur prospector in 2014 or a little earlier. In the region north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians it is a unique find to-date and, as such, difficult to interpret. This specimen almost definitely did not originate within the Empire and consequently cannot be examined in our analysis of coinage influx from the Roman state to the Central European Barbaricum. If we omit the reputed and clearly false coin-finds,²⁴ the coin of the successors of Augustus recorded in Poland include four denarii: two of Tiberius that cannot be more closely identified, discovered before World War II in Gorlice,²⁵ (Gmina and Powiat Gorlice, Województwo Małopolskie) and at Zielona Łąka,²⁶ (formerly Grünewiese, Gmina and Powiat Pleszew, Województwo Wielkopolskie), another denarius of Tiberius from AD 14–37 from the Lugdunum mint (RIC 26) discovered in 1875 in Jasło,²⁷ (Gmina

²¹ Bolin 1926, p. 83, No. 114; Gumowski 1956, p. 133, No. 72; Ciołek 2008, pp. 78–79, No. 112, coin 1 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

²² Kopera 1905, p. 232, No. XIV; Fredrich 1909, p. 243, No. 67; Bolin 1926, p. 127, No. 63; Gumowski 1956, p. 130, No. 9; Romanowski 2008, p. 118, No. 190 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

²³ For information about this unpublished coin, I am indebted to Krzysztof Socha, the Fortress Museum in Kostrzyn nad Odrą.

²⁴ The Tiberius denarius from Nowa Cerekwia, Powiat Głubczyce (Gumowski 1956, p. 122, No. 14a; cf. Ciołek 2008, pp. 158–170, No. 250–253 [with a list of references]), and the denarius of Germanicus from Świniary, Powiat Gniezno (Gumowski 1956, p. 124, No. 10; according to Fredrich 1909, p. 205, No. 14 was an unspecified coin of Germanicus).

²⁵ Almost the only information about this coin comes from a very brief report by an unknown author found in the first volume of *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* (AAC, vol. I, part 1, 1958, p. 130). This record was duplicated in later publications: Kunisz 1985, pp. 64–65, No. 58–I; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, pp. 57, No. 157 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature), Dymowski 2013b, pp. 277–278.

²⁶ Fredrich 1909, p. 206, No. 32; Gumowski 1956, p. 124, No. 29; Dymowski 2013b, p. 275.

²⁷ Piotrowicz 1936, p. 101 (L. Piotrowicz noted that on that same day a medium-sized bronze coin (as) of Titus was discovered in Jasło, but it does not follow from other information found in his publication whether the two coins had surfaced at the same lo-

and Powiat Jasło, Województwo Podkarpackie) and a denarius of Caligula that cannot be identified further, recorded after 1945 as discovered in Biecz,²⁸ (Gmina Biecz, Powiat Gorlice, Województwo Małopolskie).

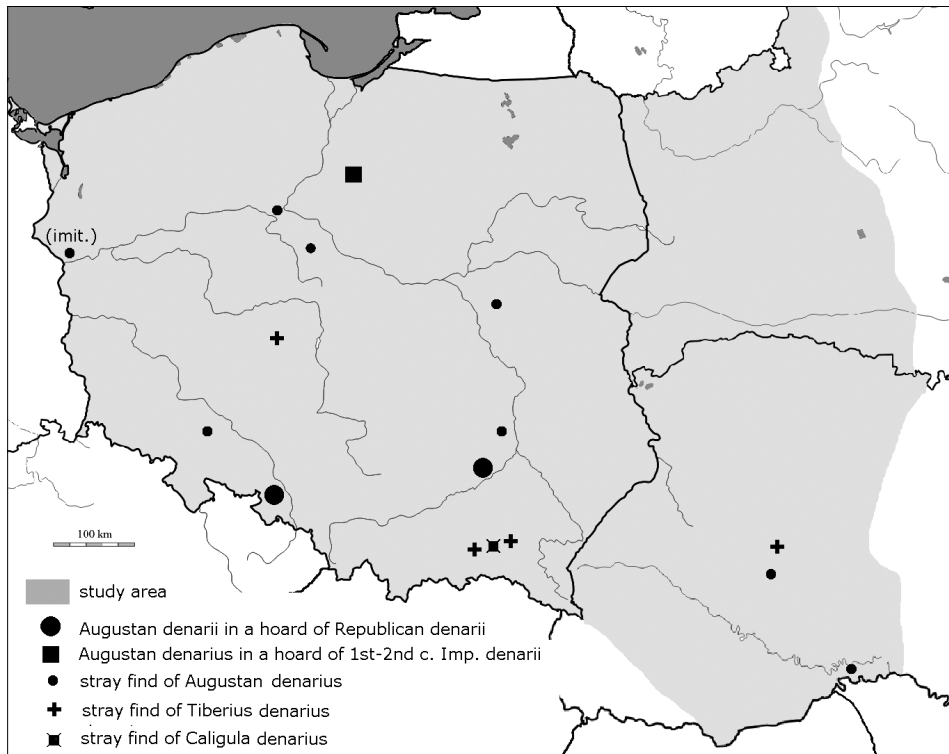


Fig. 1. Finds of Roman Imperial denarii struck before AD 64.

The list of Early Imperial denarii from Polish finds described above may be regarded, even if with some reservation, as reliable. In case of similar finds from western Belarus and the north-western Ukraine due to the lack of a better alterna-

tion). The record of L. Piotrowicz was duplicated in later publications: Gumowski 1956, p. 128, No. 8; Kunisz 1985, pp. 76–77, No. 89; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 78, No. 227 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Dymowski 2013b, pp. 275–276.

²⁸ The coin recorded by A. Kunisz who drew on earlier references in literature and on information from J. Reyman (Kunisz 1985, p. 26, No. 7–V). It is not entirely clear on what grounds A. Kunisz revised his earlier attribution of a denarius of Germanicus to that of Caligula. This determination is duplicated in: Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 14, No. 29 (which also lists earlier literature) and Dymowski 2013b, p. 277.

tive, we have to base our observations mostly on not completely reliable data from inventories published more than half a century ago.²⁹ The published data on more recent finds is very modest. In the reference publications, we find no record of finds of Imperial silver coins from before AD 64 in western Belarus.³⁰ For the north-western Ukraine, we have information about just three finds: a denarius of Augustus, type C L CAESARES, from Lugdunum, issued 2 BC – 4 AD (RIC 207–208 or 210–212),³¹ discovered in 1895 at Підгайчики,³² (Підгайчики or Podgaychiki, former Podhajczyki Justynowe, Rajon Terebovlya, Oblast Ternopil), a perforated denarius of the same emperor struck in a Spanish mint (Colonia Caesar Augusta?) 19–18 BC (RIC 40b), discovered in 2012 at Komariv,³³ (Комарів or Komariv, Rajon Kelmentsi, Oblast Chernivtsi) and a denarius of Tiberius that cannot be more closely identified discovered in 1932 at Zbaraž,³⁴ (Збараж or Zbarazh, former Zbaraž, Rajon Zbarazh, Oblast Ternopil). The distribution map of all these Polish and Ukrainian finds (see Fig. 1), very rare indeed, is difficult to interpret. Generally, stray finds of pre-AD 64 Imperial denarii, similar to finds of Republican denarii, are not recorded beyond the northernmost reaches of the Przeworsk culture.

With our database defined, it is time to tackle its interpretation. The case of the denarii of Augustus seems relatively straightforward as the key to their interpretation is provided by the hoards in which coins of this type were present. The Augustan denarii accounted for a minor admixture to Republican coins in the hoard from Połaniec in Lesser Poland and the hoard from the region of Włodzienin in Upper Silesia. This leads us to associate fairly confidently the denarii of Augustus recorded as small (stray) finds, or at least a part of them, with the wave of Republican denarii introduced to the north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians, something that was noted already in the opening passages of this article. The composition of the hoards does not supply analogical evidence for the denarii of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and the early Neronian issues from before AD 64.

²⁹ I would like to thank Dr Kirill Myzgin of the Vasil Karazin National University of Kharkiv for his assistance in obtaining access to the material from the territory of the Ukraine and Belarus and for advice on how to interpret it.

³⁰ Kropotkin 1961, pp. 96–97; Kropotkin 1966, p. 95; Mel'nikova 2008, pp. 67–71.

³¹ The RIC determination given here is based on the description of this coin cited by L. Piotrowicz (Piotrowicz 1930, pp. 94–95).

³² Piotrowicz 1930, p. 94–95; Brajčevskij, 1959, p. 179, No. 756; Kropotkin 1961, p. 81, No. 1043. This denarius was published by L. Piotrowicz along with six other denarii (two Republican and four Imperial, 1st–2nd cent.) discovered in the same locality; but this author was not sure whether these coins ought to be treated as single finds or as a deposit.

³³ Didenko and Myzgin 2013, p. 368.

³⁴ Kropotkin, 1961, p. 80, No. 1003. V. V. Kropotkin dates this coin to AD 26 and gives its weight – 3.1 g, citing the report of S. S. Sadowski.

The presence of a single denarius of Augustus in a hoard of the 1st–2nd century Imperial denarii discovered at Rywałdzik in north-eastern Poland has to be examined from a broader perspective of the occurrence of pre-AD 64 denarii (Republican and Early Imperial) in assemblages of coins from the 1st–2nd (3rd) centuries,³⁵ secondary in relation to the phenomenon of the continued circulation of a very small number of these early denarii within the Empire until the end of the second century and even into the first decades of the third.³⁶ Consequently, it is more than likely that a very small number of Augustan denarii and denarii of later emperors up to AD 64 entered the territory of the Central European Barbaricum as part of the great second-century wave. This, presumably, was the case for the Tiberius denarius discovered at Zielona Łąka, and possibly, also of the Tiberius denarius from Zbaraż. However, the same interpretation is less likely to apply to the three finds from the drainage basin of the Wisłoka River in south-eastern Poland (Gorlice, Jasło and Biecz). Firstly, compared to other regions of southern Poland, this area has not produced a more outstanding number of finds of post-64 denarii³⁷ with which the early Imperial denarii would have entered the area. Secondly, it is difficult to explain, using this interpretation, the concentration of three coins atypical for the study area at large in a small area bordering the Ropa River, a left-hand tributary of the Wisłoka.³⁸

The other possible interpretation of these three finds would be to date the very small influx of Imperial denarii struck before AD 64 to the first century, that is, to the time antedating the withdrawal of these coins from circulation within the

³⁵ A more extensive discussion of this phenomenon as observed in Poland see Dymowski 2014.

³⁶ This is confirmed by the modest number of usually single denarii of the first emperors, present in hoards of 1st–2nd (3rd) century coins discovered within the Empire and in the Barbaricum. The former include the deposit from Edston in Britain (Holmes and Hunter 1997, pp. 158–166; a hoard of 290 denarii, the youngest of them of Hellogabalus, containing thirteen legionary denarii of Mark Anthony and one denarius of Tiberius) and the assemblages from Potters Bar, also in Britain (Meadows et al. 1997, pp. 116–120; a hoard of 95 denarii, the youngest of these are coins of Marcus Aurelius, with a denarius of Claudius) and Itești in Dacia (Depeyrot and Moșil 2008, pp. 213–216; a hoard 272 of denarii, the youngest of these is a coin of Septimius Severus, with a single denarius of Tiberius). For the Barbaricum analogous finds would be the deposits from Fröndenbergr in western Germany (FMRD VI 5084; among 257 coins, the youngest of them Marcus Aurelius, there were six legionary denarii of Mark Anthony and a single denarius of Tiberius) and Råmose in Zealand (Horsnæs 2010, pp. 76–77; among 428 coins, the youngest of these are coins of Marcus Aurelius, there was a single denarius of Tiberius).

³⁷ See Kunisz 1985, map on pp. 12–13.

³⁸ Dymowski 2013b.

Empire. In this case, two possibilities have to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the denarii had entered the area of today's southern Poland directly from the territory of the Roman Empire. If we accept that Imperial silver coinage found its way to the Central European Barbaricum mainly due to political causes,³⁹ then Roman subsidia come into play, or possibly, gifts made to the tribes residing to the north of the Carpathians, all as part of Roman policy pursued in relation to the Quadi state of Vannius, a client of the Roman Empire.⁴⁰ This policy, situated presumably in the south-western region of present day Slovakia and Moravia, foundered around AD 50 after an attack of northern tribes, among them the Lugii,⁴¹ who are identified with the population of the Przeworsk culture, their territory in what today is central and southern Poland.⁴² It is quite feasible that at the back of the action taken by the Lugii was the diplomacy of the Romans who were made uneasy by the growing power of Vannius, a potential source of threat to the borders of the Roman Empire.⁴³

Alternately, early Imperial denarii found in the drainage basin of the Wisłoka River could have passed into the territories north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians because of redistribution within the Barbaricum. To judge from the fact that they were discovered in the Beskidy foothills region, the most feasible direction of inflow would have been from the south. It is important to take a closer look at finds of denarii issued under Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius recorded to the south of Poland. In Slovakia none are recorded⁴⁴ and it is the same in Moravia.⁴⁵ This essentially rules out the possibility of linking the denarii finds from the drainage basin of the Wisłoka to the territory of the Kingdom of Vannius. A tempting hypothesis, not least because this polity functioned in the same period as the reign of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius.⁴⁶ Could it be that within this polity Roman silver coinage was used only by a very narrow political elite of the barbarian community and this

³⁹ A closer analysis of circumstances in which Roman coinage found its way into barbarian hands is presented by P. Kehne (Kehne 2008, pp. 75–81; see also Bursche 1996, pp. 101–121; Bursche 2004, p. 198). The political circumstances of the influx of coinage included tribute payments (*e.g.* for military assistance or maintaining the peace), subsidies (*e.g.* for client states), plunder, ransoming of hostages and army pay.

⁴⁰ *Annales* II.63., pp. 478–481; *Annales* XII.29–30, pp. 352–355; see also Kolendo 2008.

⁴¹ *Annales* XII.29–30, pp. 352–355; see also Kolendo 2008, pp. 203–205.

⁴² Kolendo 2008, pp. 160–169.

⁴³ Kolendo 2008, pp. 203–204.

⁴⁴ See Ondrouch 1964; Hlinka and Kolníková 1978, Kolníková and Hunka 1994; see the Krakow TIR volume (Kaczanowski and Margos 2002) which takes in its range much of the area of Slovakia.

⁴⁵ See Pochitonov 1955. This analysis is out-dated; unfortunately, we do not have an up-to-date list of Roman coin-finds from Moravia.

⁴⁶ *Annales* XII.29–30, pp. 352–355; see also Kolendo 2008.

could be the reason for the absence of these coins from the archaeological record? In which case the finds from the drainage basin of the Wisłoka must be interpreted as coins which entered the area, presumably as gifts, offered to the local political leaders by the ‘authorities’ of *Regnum Vannianum*. Moreover, because of the invasion of AD 50 the Lugii could have captured the treasury of Vannius,⁴⁷ complete with Roman coins⁴⁸ and carried them north of the Carpathian range. To continue the review of early Imperial denarii finds elsewhere in the southern region, in the Bohemian Basin only three silver coins from the period of interest are recorded: two denarii of Tiberius and one of Caligula.⁴⁹ In contrast, a much larger number of denarii with the same chronology was noted among finds from the territory of Dacia⁵⁰ and – given the geographical spread of these coin-finds – an influx from this particular direction may be accepted as the most feasible.

From an archaeological perspective, in terms of culture, the situation in the drainage basin of the Wisłoka during the Early Roman period cannot be regarded as clear at present. The region of the Polish Carpathians and the foothills of the Beskidy was an area penetrated by several cultures, most notably the Przeworsk and Púchov cultures; and there is firm evidence for elements of Dacian culture.⁵¹ The area where the coin-finds of interest were recorded lies to the east of the enclaves of the Púchov culture identified to-date,⁵² and to the west of a concentration of sites with Dacian materials.⁵³ Could it be that we need to tie the finds of early Imperial denarii to the Przeworsk culture? Its settlement network has been documented in the drainage basin of the Wisłoka during the Roman period.⁵⁴ This question will remain unresolved until we have discovered settlements, datable to the Roman period, in the area bordering the River Ropa and establish conclusively its culture attribution. Nevertheless, we have to note that we cannot hope to link the finds of early Imperial denarii to the Púchov culture because of the deficiency in the archaeological record of analogical finds from northern and eastern Slovakia – the cradle of that culture during the Younger Pre-Roman and the Early Roman period.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ Cf. *Annales* XII.29, pp. 352–355; Kolendo 2008, p. 204.

⁴⁸ Kolendo 2008, p. 204.

⁴⁹ Militký 2013, p. 54.

⁵⁰ For hoards, see Moisiil and Depeyrot 2003, pp. 176–186

⁵¹ Madyda-Legutko 2004, pp. 72–81; Kaczanowski and Madyda-Legutko 2005, p. 128.

⁵² Pieta 1985, pp. 26–30; Madyda-Legutko 1995, pp. 38–39 and inserted map No. 3.

⁵³ Madyda-Legutko 1995, pp. 38–39 and inserted map No. 3; Florkiewicz 2004, pp. 672–673 and map on p. 660.

⁵⁴ Madyda-Legutko 2004, p. 76.

⁵⁵ Pieta 1985, pp. 26–28; Kaczanowski and Madyda-Legutko 2005, p. 128.

Therefore, taking into account the historical, archaeological and numismatic context, we can propose two interpretations for the influx of Tiberius and Caligula's denarii to the drainage basin of the Wisłoka. Firstly, the coins entered the territory to the north of the Carpathians in connection with the functioning and the downfall of the Kingdom of Vannius. Possibly, a power centre of the Przeworsk culture was somewhere on the River Ropa around AD 50 in this area and involved itself in political developments in the south. Nevertheless, the existence of such a centre should be evidenced by finds of valuable imports from the Roman Empire, but as yet – barring the finds of early imperial coins – none have been recorded.⁵⁶ Secondly, we may seek the causes of the influx of early imperial denarii in the same development, at present difficult to define more closely⁵⁷, which also resulted in Dacian culture having an impact to the north of the Carpathians. In the latter case, in my view, it is more probable, that if the wave of Republican and Augustan denarii into the territory north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians came from the Dacian direction,⁵⁸ then this phenomenon could have continued to a very limited extent until the end of the reign of Caligula, possibly even a little longer.

In conclusion, the Augustan denarii, and very probably the silver coins of later emperors, at least until Caligula (inclusive), discovered in the region of Central Europe that lies north of the Sudetes and the Carpathians ought to be interpreted firstly as the younger part of the same wave, which brought to this territory a significant quantity of Roman Republican denarii. Presumably, they entered the region from the south, possibly the south-east, to be more precise, from the Danubian region, most probably, from Dacia. Secondly, definitely some portion of pre-AD 64 denarii, presumably a relatively small one, found its way to the Central European Barbaricum as a complement of the 1st–2nd century denarii with their great wave dated to the second century. Finally, for the denarii of Tiberius and Caligula, (possibly as part of a pool completed by older coins – Republican and Augustan – at present difficult to specify more closely), it cannot be discounted that the influx of these denarii, without a doubt, from the southern or south-eastern direction, directly from the territory of the Empire or the result of redistribution within the Barbaricum, was an incidental occurrence, not related directly to the 'Republican', or to the second century wave of influx.

Translated by Anna Kinecka

⁵⁶ Cf. Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, pp. 6–376 and inserted map No. I.

⁵⁷ According to M. Rudnicki (2012, pp. 478–479) contacts of Pre-Roman Dacia with the area to the north of the Carpathians, datable to the Pre-Roman and the Early Roman period, need to be examined within the framework of long distance exchange maintained along the length of the Daco-Lugian Road.

⁵⁸ Dymowski 2013c, pp. 7–8; cf. Rudnicki 2012, p. 470.

LIST OF FINDS

No.	Type of find	Find location	Description of coins	References
1.	Augustan denarii in a hoard of Republican denarii	Połaniec (Gmina Połaniec, Powiat Staszów, Województwo Świętokrzyskie, Poland)	1) Augustus, denarius, 19 BC, Rome, RIC 288; 2) Augustus, denarius, 19 BC, Rome, RIC 313; 3) Augustus, denarius, 13 BC, Rome, RIC 399; 4) Augustus, denarius, 11-10 BC, Lugdunum, RIC 187b; 5) Augustus, denarius, 2 BC – AD 4, Lugdunum, RIC 207; 6) Augustus, denarius, 2 BC – AD 4, Lugdunum, RIC 207; 7) Augustus, denarius, 2 BC – AD 4, Lugdunum, RIC 212.	Kunisz 1970, pp. 103-159; Kunisz 1973, pp. 83-83, No. 112; Kunisz 1985, pp. 165-171, No. 202; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, pp. 246-249, No. 582.
2.	Augustan denarii in a hoard of Republican denarii	Włodzienin – environs (Gmina Branice, Powiat Głubczyce, Województwo Opolskie, Poland)	At least 2 denarii of Augustus (27 BC – 14 AD).	Unpublished material
3.	Augustan denarius in a hoard of 1 st -2 nd century Imperial denarii	Rywałdzik (former Ossa, Gmina Biskupiec, Powiat Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, Województwo Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Poland)	Augustus, denarius, 2 BC – AD 4, Lugdunum, RIC 207-208 or 210-212.	Gumowski 1956, p. 120, No. 47; Kunisz 1973, p. 79, No. 106; Ciołek 2007, pp. 139-150, No. 241 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Dymowski 2014.
4.	Stray find	Biecz (Gmina Biecz, Powiat Gorlice, Województwo Małopolskie, Poland)	Caligula, denarius.	Kunisz 1985, p. 26, No. 7-V; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 14, No. 29 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Dymowski 2013b, p. 277.

No.	Type of find	Find location	Description of coins	References
5.	Stray find	Brzezie (Gmina and Powiat Opatów, Województwo Świętokrzyskie, Poland)	Augustus, denarius, 19-16 BC, Colonia Patrici, RIC 97.	Kunisz 1985, p. 34, No. 18; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 21, No. 57 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).
6.	Stray find	Bydgoszcz-Prądy (formerly Prondy near Bromberg, now a district of Bydgoszcz, the capital city of Województwo Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Poland)	Augustus, denarius.	Fredrich 1913, p. 156, No. 68a; Bolin 1926, p. 85, No. 5; Gumowski 1956, p. 107, No. 14; Ciołek 2007, p. 20, No. 21, coin 1 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).
7.	Stray find	Gąski (formerly Gonsk, Gmina Gniewkowo, Powiat Inowrocław, Województwo Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Poland)	Augustus, denarius, 12 BC, Rome, RIC 412	Fredrich 1913, p. 206, No. 29; Bolin 1926, p. 86, No. 26; Gumowski 1956, p. 108, No. 41.
8.	Stray find	Gorlice (Gmina and Powiat Gorlice, Województwo Małopolskie, Poland)	Tiberius, denarius.	Kunisz 1985, pp. 64-65, No. 58-I; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 57, No. 157 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Dymowski 2013b, pp. 277-278.
9.	Stray find	Górzec (formerly Gurtsch, Gmina and Powiat Strzelin, Województwo Dolnośląskie, Poland)	Augustus, denarius, 15-13 BC, Lugdunum, RIC 171a.	Bolin 1926, p. 83, No. 114; Gumowski 1956, p. 133, No. 72; Ciołek 2008, pp. 78-79, No. 112, coin 1 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).
10.	Stray find	Jasło (Gmina and Powiat Jasło, Województwo Podkarpackie, Poland)	Tiberius, denarius, AD 14-37, Lugdunum, RIC 26.	Piotrowicz 1936, p. 101; Gumowski 1956, p. 128, No. 8; Kunisz 1985, pp. 76-77, No. 89; Kaczanowski and Margos 2002, p. 78, No. 227 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Dymowski 2013b, pp. 275-276.

No.	Type of find	Find location	Description of coins	References
11.	Stray find	Komariv (Комарів or Komariv, Rajon Kelmentsi, Oblast Chernivtsi, Ukraine)	Augustus, denarius (pierced), 19-18 BC, Spanish mint (Colonia Caesar Augusta?), RIC 40b.	Didenko and Myzgin 2013, p. 368.
12.	Stray find	Pidgajčiki (Підгайчики or Podgaychiki, formerly Podhajczyki Justynowe, Rajon Terebovlya, Oblast Ternopil, Ukraine)	Augustus, denarius, 2 BC – AD 4, Lugdunum, RIC 207-208 or 210-212.	Piotrowicz 1930, pp. 94-95; Brajčevskij, 1959, p. 179, No. 756; Kropotkin 1961, p. 81, No. 1043.
13.	Stray find	Sarbinowo (Gmina Dębno, Powiat Myślibórz, Województwo Zachodniopomorskie, Poland)	Barbarian imitation of Augustan denarius (RIC 207-208 or 210-212)	Unpublished material.
14.	Stray find	Siennica (Gmina Siennica, Powiat Mińsk Mazowiecki, Województwo Mazowieckie, Poland)	Augustus, denarius, 2 BC – AD 4, Lugdunum, RIC 207-208 or 210-212.	Kopera 1905, p. 232, No. XIV; Fredrich 1909, p. 243, No. 67; Bolin 1926, p. 127, No. 63; Gumowski 1956, p. 130, No. 9; Romanowski 2008, p. 118, No. 190 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).
15.	Stray find	Zbaraż (Збараж or Zbarazh, formerly Zbaraż, Rajon Zbaraż, Oblast Ternopil, Ukraine)	Tiberius, denarius.	Kropotkin, 1961, p. 80, No. 1003.
16.	Stray find	Zielona Łąka (formerly Grünewiese, Gmina and Powiat Pleszew, Województwo Wielkopolskie, Poland)	Tiberius, denarius.	Fredrich 1909, p. 206, No. 32; Gumowski 1956, p. 124, No. 29; Dymowski 2013b, p. 275.

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ABBREVIATIONS

FMRD – *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland*, t. I–XIV (eds. M. R.-Alföldi, H. Gebhart, H.-M. von Kaenel and K. Kraft), Berlin 1960–2010.

RIC – C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. I (revised edition), London 1984.

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WCZESNOCESARSKIE DENARY RZYMSKIE ZNALEZIONE W EUROPIE ŚRODKOWEJ NA PÓŁNOC OD KARPAT I SUDETÓW

(Streszczenie)

W odniesieniu do terenów Europy Środkowej leżących na północ od Karpat i Sudetów, zajmowanych w okresie wpływów rzymskich przez ludność archeologicznych kultur przeworskiej i wielbarskiej (tj. obszaru obecnej Polski, zachodniej Białorusi i północno-zachodniej Ukrainy) wiele wskazuje na to, że pierwszą poważniejszą falą napływu srebrnych monet rzymskich – denarów z okresu Republiki i cesarza Augusta – należy datować na kilka ostatnich dziesięcioleci I w. przed Chr. i na początek I w. po Chr. Pieniądz ten przypuszczalnie dotarł na ziemie północne w znacznej liczbie z szeroko rozumianego regionu naddunajskiego, być może z Dacji, i rozszedł się dość równomiernie po całym obszarze występowania kultury przeworskiej w młodszym okresie przedrzymskim i w okresie wczesnorzymskim, co do zasady nie przekraczając jej północnego zasięgu. Po okresie panowania Augusta miał miejsce kilkudziesięcio- a może nawet około stuletni okres, kiedy srebrna moneta nie napływała na obszary zajmowane przez ludność kultur przeworskiej i wielbarskiej w ogóle lub prawie w ogóle. Kolejną, znacznie większą falę napływu denarów na tereny zajmowane przez obie kultury archeologiczne, tym razem monet cesarskich z I–II w., najprawdopodobniej trzeba datować nie wcześniej niż na II w. po Chr. W wieku II na terenie Cesarstwa prawie nie było już w obiegu denarów emitowanych przez pierwszych cesarzy (Augusta, Tyberiusza, Klaudiusza, Kaliguli oraz Nerona) przed rokiem 64. Monety te, wybite z lepszego kruszcu i według lepszych standardów wagowych niż denary późniejsze, znikły z obiegu przed końcem I w., a formalnie zostały z niego wycofane dekretem Trajana ze 107 roku.

Jak więc interpretować nieliczne monety cesarskie sprzed 64 roku znajdujące poza skarbniami na terenach zajmowanych przez te dwie kultury archeologiczne? W grę wchodzi trzy ewentualności. Po pierwsze monety te, a przynajmniej część z nich, mogły napłynąć w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach I w. jako dopełnienie „republikańskiej” fali napływu. Po drugie, wczesnocesarskie denary mogły dotrzeć na teren środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum w II w., jako niewielka domieszka do denarów emitowanych po 64 r. Po trzecie wreszcie, napływ owych monet należy traktować jako zjawisko niezależne i incydentalne, którego nie należy łączyć wprost ani z falą „republikańską”, ani z drugowieczną.

Denary Augusta stanowiły stosunkowo niewielkie uzupełnienie dwóch skarbów denarów republikańskich znalezionych w południowej Polsce, na terenie zajmowanym w początkach okresu rzymskiego przez ludność kultury przeworskiej: skarbu z Połańca w Małopolsce i skarbu z okolic Włodzienia na Górnym Śląsku. Ponadto pojedynczy de-

nar Augusta wystąpił w skarbie denarów cesarskich z I–II w. z miejscowości Rywałdzik koło Nowego Miasta Lubawskiego, na obszarze zajmowanym w późniejszych fazach okresu rzymskiego przez ludność kultury wielbarskiej. W żadnym ze skarbów odnotowanych dotychczas na terenie obecnej Polski, zachodniej Białorusi i północno-zachodniej Ukrainy nie było natomiast żadnych denarów następców Augusta, wybitych przed 64 rokiem. Jeśli chodzi o znaleziska drobne (luźne), z interesujących nas terenów pochodzi bardzo niewielka liczba znalezisk denarów rzymskich wybitych w początkowym okresie Cesarstwa, przed 64 rokiem. Dla wskazanego obszaru, całkiem przecież rozległego, dysponujemy informacjami o zaledwie kilkunastu pozbawionych kontekstu archeologicznego znaleziskach srebrnych monet wybitych w okresie panowań cesarzy Augusta (5 egzemplarzy z Polski i 2 z Ukrainy), Tyberiusza (3 egzemplarze z Polski i 1 z Ukrainy) i Kaliguli (1 egzemplarz z terenu Polski); brak jest konkretnych danych odnoszących się do znalezisk monet srebrnych Klaudiusza i z wczesnych emisji Nerona. Dodatkowo silnie zbarbaryzowane naśladownictwo denara Augusta znaleziono ostatnio na terenie wsi Sarbinowo na Pomorzu Zachodnim lub w jej okolicach. Skrajnie rzadkie występowanie, a nawet zupełny brak wczesnych monet cesarskich w znaleziskach można tłumaczyć mało liczną emisją denarów w początkach Cesarstwa, zwłaszcza za panowania Kaliguli i Klaudiusza. Z drugiej jednak strony monety takie występują całkiem licznie w innych rejonach Barbaricum, przede wszystkim na terenie Dacji.

W przypadku denarów Augusta interpretacja polskich i ukraińskich znalezisk wydaje się względnie prosta, jako że dysponujemy kluczem interpretacyjnym w postaci wspomnianych wyżej skarbów, z Połańca i okolic Włodzienina, w skład których typu monety wchodziły. Z tego względu występujące w znaleziskach drobnych denary Augusta, a przynajmniej część z nich, możemy z dużą dozą prawdopodobieństwa wiązać z napływem denarów republikańskich na tereny na północ od Sudetów i Karpat, co zresztą zostało już wspomniane na wstępie. Skład skarbów nie dostarcza nam analogicznych przesłanek w odniesieniu do denarów późniejszych niż augustiańskie.

Pojedynczy denar Augusta został również odnotowany w skarbie denarów cesarskich z I–II w. znalezionym w miejscowości Rywałdzik w północnowschodniej Polsce. Fakt ten należy rozpatrywać w ramach szerszego zjawiska występowania denarów sprzed 64 r. (republikańskich i wczesnocesarskich) w zespołach monet z I–II (III) w., wtórnego wobec wspomnianego wyżej zjawiska utrzymywana się bardzo niewielkiej liczby tych wczesnych denarów w obiegu na terenie Imperium do końca II w., a nawet po pierwsze dziesięciolecie III w. Z tego względu dotarcie na teren środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum bardzo nielicznych denarów Augusta, jak również późniejszych monet cesarskich tego samego nominału emitowanych przed 64 r., w ramach wielkiej, drugowiecznej fali napływu jest więcej niż prawdopodobne.

Interpretacja taka jest jednak mało przekonująca w odniesieniu do trzech silnie skoncentrowanych pod względem terytorialnym znalezisk pojedynczych (denary Tyberiusza z Gorlic i z Jasła oraz denar Kaliguli z Biecza) z dorzecza Wisłoki. Po pierwsze, na tle innych regionów południowej Polski obszar ten nie wyróżnia się specjalnie pod kątem występowania znalezisk denarów emitowanych po 64 r., do których nieznaną domieszką miałyby być wczesne denary cesarskie. Po drugie, trudno w ten sposób wytłumaczyć koncentrację trzech nietypowych dla całego opisywanego terytorium monet na niewiel-

kim obszarze wzdłuż rzeki Ropy, dopływu Wisłoki. Owe trzy monety mogły dotrzeć na teren obecnej południowo-wschodniej Polski około połowy I w. po Chr. w związku z funkcjonowaniem i upadkiem klientelnego wobec Imperium kwadzkiego państwa Wanniusza, lokalizowanego w południowo-zachodniej części obecnej Słowacji i na Morawach. Jednakże w tych rejonach znalezisk denarów Tyberiusza i Kaliguli nie odnotowano. Natomiast stosunkowo duża liczba denarów o podobnej chronologii występuje w znaleziskach z obszaru Dacji i – biorąc pod uwagę rozrzut terytorialny znalezisk monetarnych – napływ z tego właśnie kierunku należy przyjąć za najbardziej prawdopodobny. W tym drugim przypadku przyczyn napływu denarów wczesnocesarskich możemy upatrywać w tych samych, trudnych obecnie do precyzyjnego zdefiniowania zjawiskach, których efektem były czytelne w materiale archeologicznym dackie wpływy kulturowe na północ od Karpat w okresie wczesnorzymskim.

Podsumowując, denary Augusta, a najprawdopodobniej również monety srebrne późniejszych cesarzy co najmniej do Kaliguli włącznie, znalezione na terenach Europy Środkowej leżących na północ od Karpat i Sudetów należy w pierwszej kolejności interpretować jako młodszą część tej samej fali napływu, w ramach której na tereny te dotarły w znaczącej liczbie denary Republiki Rzymskiej. Monety te przypuszczalnie napłynęły z południa lub z południowego wschodu, precyzyjniej: z terenów naddunajskich, najprawdopodobniej z Dacji. Po drugie, niewątpliwie jakaś część, zapewne stosunkowo niewielka, denarów cesarskich sprzed roku 64 dotarła na tereny środkowoeuropejskiego Barbaricum jako dopełnienie denarów z I–II w. w ramach wielkiej fali napływu denarów datowanej na II w. Po trzecie wreszcie, w stosunku do denarów Tyberiusza i Kaliguli, być może w ramach puli uzupełnionej w trudnym obecnie do doprecyzowania zakresie monetami starszymi – republikańskimi i augustiańskimi, nie można całkiem wykluczyć hipotezy, że napływ owych denarów, bez dwóch zdań z kierunku południowego lub południowo-wschodniego, bezpośrednio z terenu Imperium lub w wyniku redystrybucji w ramach Barbaricum, był zjawiskiem incydentalnym, nie związanym bezpośrednio ani z „republikańską”, ani z drugowieczną falą napływu.

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