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**M A T E R I A Ł Y**

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**PRE-NERONIAN DENARII IN HOARDS  
OF ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS FROM THE PRZEWORSK  
CULTURE AND WIELBARK CULTURE TERRITORY**

**ABSTRACT:** From the territory of present day Poland, occupied during the Roman Period by the Przeworsk Culture and the Wielbark Culture, we currently have a record on ten hoards of Roman Imperial silver coinage, 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century (denarii, and a single denarii-and-antoniniani hoard), which also contain one, at most, two Republican or Augustan issues. A comparison of the structure of these hoards with the hoards known from other regions of Barbaricum and the territory of the Roman Empire supports the argument that these early denarii entered the region to the north of the Carpathian range with the later coins during the Imperial period, the second to the mid-third century. Perhaps, some pre-Neronian denarii, known from single and cumulative finds recorded in the Przeworsk and Wielbark culture territory were introduced to the same area during that age.

There is no denying that the largest category of Roman coins recorded in the territory to the north of the Carpathian range, occupied during the Roman Period by the Przeworsk Culture and the Wielbark Culture, are Imperial denarii from the first and the second centuries AD.<sup>1</sup> This is true both of single coin finds, collective finds and hoards, some of them with a few thousand specimens. In terms of their time of issue the denarii found in these hoards are mostly confined to the period between the late reign of Nero (54–68) and the early reign of Septimius Severus (193–211). However, some of these hoards also contain one, at most, two pre-Neronian denarii, and moreover, a similar number of third century denarii. Interpretation of the presence of the latter denarii in hoards of first–second century denarii

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was presented recently by Aleksander Bursche, with a suggestion that third century coins had been later added, in the territory of Barbaricum, to denarii amassed earlier, in the territory of the Empire at the end of the second century.<sup>2</sup> In this study we address the pre-Neronian denarii found in hoards of denarii from the period first to second (third) century. In most cases these are Republican coins, one hoard contained a coin identified as a denarius of Emperor Augustus. A similar phenomenon was observed in the case of a mixed hoard of first–third century denarii and third century antoniniani (dated to 253) unique for our study area,<sup>3</sup> discovered at Owczarnia locality, which also contained a single Republican denarius.

According to the generally and currently accepted view the mass influx of first–second century Roman denarii in the lands east of the Rhine limes and north of the Danube limes may be dated not earlier than the second century.<sup>4</sup> This explains why the hoards (almost) entirely lack the coins issued before 64 AD, i.e., specimens struck before the reforms of Nero when the silver content in the denarius and its weight were reduced.<sup>5</sup> This is because pre-64 AD denarii had been taken out from circulation by Trajan's decree of 107 AD and soon after this date they practically fell out of use, although not at once and not all of them.<sup>6</sup> The decree sanctioned the phenomena which occurred in monetary circulation and were described by the Gresham-Copernicus law. Struck of good silver, the heavier denarii of the first Julio-Claudian emperors, pre-64 issues, were the first to go out of use, before the end of the first century.<sup>7</sup> The next to disappear from circulation were the slightly inferior Republican denarii, with the exception of the so-called legionary denarii of Mark Antony. These coins were minted in 32–31 BC for army pay during the wars against Octavian, according to a reduced weight and silver content, close to that of Imperial denarii issued after Nero's devaluation of 64 AD.<sup>8</sup> Older denarii from the period of the Republic continued in circulation

<sup>2</sup> Bursche 2004, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Some analogy may be found in a deposit from Myshkivtsi (Polish Myszkowce), Ternopil' oblast' in Volhynia, on Wielbark Culture territory — small hoard of a single denarius and five antoniniani with a younger dating (issues from 222–251 AD). See Bursche 1980, p. 83; Bursche 1996, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> 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, pp. 222; Berger 2008, pp. 105; Reece 2008, p. 70; Ciołek 2009, p. 159; Dymowski 2013, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Lucchelli 1998, pp. 160–161; cf. also Bursche 2008, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 195–196; Kunisz 2001, pp. 350–351.

<sup>7</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 195–196.

<sup>8</sup> Kunisz 1970, p. 119; Wielowiejski 1970, p. 132; Crawford 1978, p. 152; Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 196–206; Gązdac 2010, pp. 130–135. Cf. also Bolin 1958, pp. 336–357.

until the reign of Trajan, possibly even Hadrian.<sup>9</sup> The legionary denarii continued to be used for the longest period, which is reflected in the structure of the hoards.

So how can we interpret the presence of solitary pre-Neronian denarii in the Central European hoards of first–second century denarii? The first possibility, intuitively adopted by the researchers who have just briefly addressed this subject in their more general studies,<sup>10</sup> is that there was a small influx of pre-Neronian coinage from the Roman Empire, mostly Republican issues, in the pool of first–second century Imperial denarii. This is because, as we have noted earlier, to a limited extent these coins continued in circulation within the Empire after Trajan’s decree entered into force. According to a different hypothesis, individual pre-Neronian denarii could have been added later, in the territory of Barbaricum, to hoards of younger coins.<sup>11</sup> In the latter case these denarii could have come from a pool which had entered the area to the north of the Carpathian range very likely in the period of first century BC up to early first century AD.<sup>12</sup> In which case we would have a phenomenon analogical to the one described by Aleksander Bursche for third century Imperial denarii.<sup>13</sup>

Ten hoards of silver Roman coins from the Imperial period in which individual pre-Neronian denarii can be found (see the list of finds at the end of this article) are recorded in the territory to the north of the Carpathian range, during the Roman Period under the Przeworsk Culture and the Wielbark Culture settlement. All these hoards were discovered in the territory of present day Poland.<sup>14</sup> Nine of them are hoards of first–second (third) century denarii which we will examine first. Besides the presence of pre-Neronian coins these hoards do not differ

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<sup>9</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> Gumowski 1956, p. 99; Kunisz 1969, pp. 53–54; cf. also Kolendo 1998, p. 124; Bursche, Kaczanowski, Rodzińska-Nowak 2000, p. 117; Dymowski 2011b, p. 139, note 21; Bodzek, Szyber 2012, pp. 190–191.

<sup>11</sup> Dymowski 2011b, p. 139, note 21.

<sup>12</sup> See Dymowski 2011b, pp. 139–144; with a list of references.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Bursche 2004, pp. 202–204.

<sup>14</sup> The inventory of Vladislav V. Kropotkin does not record denarii hoards with coins from before the reign of Nero from the territory of western Belarus and western Ukraine, also Przeworsk Culture and Wielbark Culture territory during the period of interest. See Kropotkin 1961, pp. 50–93 and 96–97 with supplement from Kropotkin 1966, pp. 83–95. From the eastern periphery of Wielbark Culture comes a hoard from Chernytsa, Rivne oblast’ in Ukraine, that contained 340 denarii, 262 of them determined (Trajan to Commodus; Kropotkin 1961, p. 56, no. 393). The attribution to the same hoard of two Republican coins, now in the State Hermitage Museum, is highly suspect (I owe this information to a spoken communication from Dr Kirill Myzgin of Vasyl Karazin Kharkiv National University).

in any special way from many similar ones discovered in our study area and they are likewise varied in terms of their chronological structure. The nine hoards of interest include a hoard (Słochy Annapolskie) of coins not younger than issues of Emperor Hadrian (type A of Arkadiusz Dymowski — see the classification system proposed recently by the author of this article),<sup>15</sup> three hoards (Dorotowo, Przewodów, Żulice) described by Aleksander Bursche as hoards having a later chronological structure with the youngest Marcus Aurelius coins<sup>16</sup> (type B of Arkadiusz Dymowski),<sup>17</sup> a hoard (Drzewicz Nowy) with an earlier chronological structure with the youngest coins of Septimius Severus<sup>18</sup> (type C)<sup>19</sup> and a hoard (Ossa-Rywałdzik) with an intermediate chronological structure (type BC).<sup>20</sup> The last of these hoards ought to be interpreted as a hoard formed by including a similar ratio of coins originally found in type B and C hoards, or as a Severan hoard having a chronological structure alternative to Severan type C hoards. The chronological structure of three hoards (vicinity of Sochaczew, Tursko Małe, Wrocław-Południe) cannot be specified more closely because their composition is insufficiently known or the number of the recorded coins is too small.

The hoards with an unmistakably earliest chronological structure, i.e., the hoard from Słochy Annapolskie discovered not later than in the autumn of 2007 included two Republican denarii (Fig. 1). This extremely interesting find still awaits publication and here we shall only limit ourselves to giving general information on its subject, especially as relates to the presence of coins from the period of the Roman Republic inside the hoard. The hoard definitely included not less than 54 denarii and, very likely, at least 20–30 more unconfirmed specimens of the same denomination. The two Republican coins, which account for 3.7 percent of the recorded part of the hoard, belong to the group of Roman Imperial coinage of the late Republican period when, in order to pay the armies, commanders involved in the struggle for power struck coins in their own name. In this specific case the hoard included a denarius of Julius Caesar struck shortly before his death in 44 BC and a double portrait denarius of Mark Antony and Octavian from the period of the Second Triumvirate. Apart from these Republican denarii, the series of the 54 confirmed coins included denarii dated from the period of late Nero to Hadrian, i.e., struck 64–138 AD. These early Imperial denarii were preserved very well, much better than most first–second century denarii from Polish finds, especially hoards.

<sup>15</sup> Dymowski 2013, p. 105.

<sup>16</sup> Bursche 1994, pp. 471–473, 479.

<sup>17</sup> Dymowski 2013, pp. 105–107.

<sup>18</sup> Bursche 1994, pp. 471–473, 480.

<sup>19</sup> Dymowski 2013, pp. 105–107.

<sup>20</sup> Dymowski 2013, p. 107.

Each of the three hoards which we classified here as type B and which, on the grounds of their chronological structure may be described as have been taken out of the Empire at the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius, possibly at the start of the reign of Marcus Aurelius,<sup>21</sup> contains a single Republican denarius. The hoards from Przewodów, Dorotowo and Żulice were composed of 150, 354 and 425 coins, respectively, with a specified chronology of issue. Thus, in each of them the Republican coins amount to less than 1 percent of the recorded fragment of the hoard. Two of the Republican coins were struck during the first century BC: a denarius of the *triumvir monetalis* P. Servilius Rullus from 100 BC (Przewodów) and a denarius of the Imperial coinage of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus from 41 BC (Żulice). The issuer and the date of minting of the denarius from Dorotowo are unknown. The hoard from the vicinity of Sochaczew, from Tursko Małe, and from Wrocław-Południe would be analogical to the three type B hoards, in terms of the presence of a single Republican denarius in the hoards. Unfortunately, the data on the subject of the composition of these three hoards are inadequate to specify their type of chronological structure<sup>22</sup> and draw more far-reaching conclusions. We have a full determination of the Republican coin only for the hoard from Tursko Małe; this was a denarius of *triumvir monetalis* A. Plautius, from 55 BC, thus, also a first century issue.

In the only type C hoard examined here (Drzewicz Nowy), among 1,266 recorded coins there is a single legionary denarius of Mark Antony from 32–31 BC. A younger coin, but struck using a higher silver standard, was present in the Ossa–Rywałdzik hoard. A denarius of Augustus struck between 2 BC and 14 AD in the imperial mint in Lugdunum, Gaul, was the only pre-Neronian coin recorded in this hoard of 360 denarii in total. If we accept the hypothesis that this hoard is a type BC hoard, combined from two coin pools which were mixed in the territory of Barbaricum: an older and a younger one, then it is more likely that the early denarius had originally belonged to the older type B pool, of coins not younger than Marcus Aurelius. But if the hoard from Ossa–Rywałdzik was formed in the territory of the Empire and brought to Barbaricum during the reign of Septimius Severus this would make it a Severan hoard containing a single pre-Neronian coin, analogical to the Drzewicz Nowy hoard.

When it comes to the geographic distribution of the nine hoards presented here it is difficult to indicate any simple relationships. Four of them (Drzewicz Nowy, vicinity of Sochaczew, Tursko Małe, Wrocław-Południe) derive from the territory of the Przeworsk Culture. The next three (Przewodów, Słochy Annopolskie, Żulice) were discovered in what originally used to be the Przeworsk Culture

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<sup>21</sup> Dymowski 2013, pp. 105–106.

<sup>22</sup> The presence of denarii younger than Marcus Aurelius in the hoard from the vicinity of Sochaczew definitely prevents us from classifying it as either type A or B.

territory, but during the Roman Period (around the second half of the second century) it was occupied by the Wielbark Culture. Nevertheless these hoards may be most likely attributed to the Przeworsk Culture.<sup>23</sup> Two more hoards (Dorotowo, Ossa–Rywałdzik) were discovered in the Wielbark Culture territory. Thus, even though a greater part of the hoards containing pre-Neronian denarii fits well in Przeworsk Culture contexts we can easily indicate the hoards associated with the Wielbark Culture.

So much for the hoards of first–second century denarii containing pre-Neronian issues discovered in the territory of the Przeworsk Culture and the Wielbark Culture. Now it is time to present a wider context of occurrence for the hoards which are analogical to ours. Quite a few hoards of the described type may be listed for other areas of Barbaricum. Republican denarii older than the legionary issues of Mark Antony are recorded e.g., in hoards from: Kecel 2<sup>24</sup> (Pannonian Basin), Falkirk<sup>25</sup> (Scottish Lowlands) and Tarpești<sup>26</sup> (Moldavian Plateau). For their part, legionary denarii were present e.g., in hoards from Fröndenberg<sup>27</sup> (western Germany), Dellstedt<sup>28</sup> (northern Germany) and in hoards from Falkirk and Tarpești. Hoards of first–second century denarii from the territory of Barbaricum containing single denarii of Augustus are known e.g., from Măgura<sup>29</sup> (Moldavian Plateau) and Jever<sup>30</sup> (north-western Germany). The Fröndenberg hoard featured a denarius of another early emperor, Tiberius, similarly as the hoard from Råmose<sup>31</sup> (Zealand).

In hoards discovered in the territory of the Roman Empire, Republican denarii commonly coincide with Imperial coins from the period first to second century,

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Kokowski 1984, pp. 39–41; Paszkiewicz 2005, pp. 369–371.

<sup>24</sup> Farkas, Torbágyi 2008, p. 250; among its 2596 coins (up to Caracalla) were three Republican denarii.

<sup>25</sup> Reece 2003a, pp. 277–279; among 1925 coins (up to Alexander Severus) were 18 Republican denarii, 17 of them from the legionary series of Mark Antony.

<sup>26</sup> Depeyrot, Moisil 2008a, pp. 339–341; among 137 coins (up to Severus Alexander) were 27 Republican denarii, including 26 legionary ones of Mark Antony.

<sup>27</sup> FMRD VI 5084; among 257 coins (up to Marcus Aurelius) were six legionary denarii of Mark Antony and a single denarius of Tiberius.

<sup>28</sup> FMRD VIII 1037; among 40 coins (up to Commodus) was a single legionary denarius of Mark Antony.

<sup>29</sup> Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, Mitrea 1977, passim, especially, pp. 21–34; Depeyrot, Moisil 2008a, pp. 221–245; the hoard included 2830 denarii ending in Commodus and a single denarius of Augustus from the Lugdunum mint (RIC I 207).

<sup>30</sup> FMRD VII 3019; the recorded fragment of the hoard included 534 denarii ending in Severus Alexander and a single denarius of Augustus minted at Lugdunum (RIC I 350).

<sup>31</sup> Horsnæs 2010, pp. 76–77; among 428 coins (up to Marcus Aurelius) was a single denarius of Tiberius.

even in hoards dated by the youngest coins to the 230s. Usually and obviously, the later a hoard was concealed, the smaller number of Republican coins would be present inside.<sup>32</sup> As has been earlier noted, the coins which lingered in use for an especially long time were the legionary denarii of Mark Antony. Hoards of first–second century denarii from the territory of the Empire containing an addition of Republican denarii, also legionary issues, include large hoards discovered in Pannonia<sup>33</sup> and Dacia<sup>34</sup>, as well as hoards from Gruncharovo<sup>35</sup> (Moesia Inferior), Pavlikeni<sup>36</sup> (the same) and Edston<sup>37</sup> (Britannia). Hoards dated by their youngest coins to the second–third centuries, containing Imperial denarii from before 64 AD and discovered in the territory of the Roman Empire include the hoards from Edston, Potters Bar<sup>38</sup> (Britannia) and Sângeorgiu<sup>39</sup> (Dacia).

To sum up our discussion so far we may conclude that first, the phenomenon of the presence of pre-Neronian coins in hoards of first–second (third) century Imperial denarii is widespread in the territory of Barbaricum and, even to a greater extent, in the territory of the Empire, where a small pool of Republican coins and these of the Julio-Claudian emperors (prior to 64 AD) continued in circulation even until the beginning of the third century. Secondly, generally speaking, the older a hoard (i.e., first of all, with an older chronological structure), the higher the likelihood that it will contain coins issued before 64 AD. This rule applies to hoards both from the territory of the Empire and from the area occupied during the Roman Period by the Przeworsk Culture and the Wielbark Culture.

Let us now take a closer look at the hoard from Owczarnia near Pasłęk, that is, from a territory occupied during the Roman Period by the Wielbark Culture. Nine

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Bolin 1958, pp. 53–57 and 336–357; Schubert 1992, pp. 262–265; Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 194–200; Kolendo 1998, p. 124; Reece 2003a, p. 278; Reece 2003b, pp. 284–285; Găzdac 2010, pp. 130–135.

<sup>33</sup> Găzdac 2005, pp. 492–493.

<sup>34</sup> Găzdac 2010, pp. 130–135.

<sup>35</sup> Paunov, Prokopov 2002, p. 53; the recorded fragment of the hoard included 375 denarii ending in a Commodus, including 39 legionary denarii of Mark Antony.

<sup>36</sup> Paunov, Prokopov 2002, p. 58; hoard of 3728 denarii ending in coins of Marcus Aurelius, containing six Republican denarii (four of them legionary denarii of Mark Antony and two older ones).

<sup>37</sup> Holmes, Hunter 1997, pp. 158–166; a hoard of 290 denarii ending in Elagabalus issues, containing 13 legionary denarii of Mark Antony and a single denarius of Tiberius.

<sup>38</sup> Meadows, Orna-Ornstein, Williams 1997, pp. 116–120; a hoard of 95 denarii ending in Marcus Aurelius issues and containing a single denarius of Claudius.

<sup>39</sup> Depeyrot, Moasil 2008b, pp. 174–175; a hoard of 57 denarii and antoniniani ending in a Volusian and containing a single denarius of Augustus.



hoards from Polish finds described earlier are standard hoards of Roman Imperial denarii, for the territory of the Wielbark Culture and the Przeworsk Culture — and, more broadly, for the territory of the Central European Barbaricum at large, their core, in terms of chronology of issue, confined to the period between the late reign of Nero and the first years of the reign of Septimius Severus. Against this background the Owczarnia hoard looks unusual and for this reason it should become a subject of an individual analysis. The recorded fragment of this hoard, included nine denarii, Nero to Elagabalus, four other undetermined specimens of the same denomination, and seven antoniniani, Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus (251–253) apart from a legionary denarius of Mark Antony. If we leave out the Republican denarius, this hoard corresponds to the structure of coinage in circulation around AD 250 within the Empire.<sup>40</sup> An anomaly is the presence of the legionary denarius of Mark Antony in this hoard. This type is observed in a relatively large number in hoards from the territory of the Empire dated by the youngest coins to the late 230s, but legionary denarii are generally not present in the hoards from the mid-third century and younger.<sup>41</sup> They have been recorded only in two late hoards of denarii and antoniniani discovered in the territory of Moesia Inferior: at Devnja<sup>42</sup> (Réka–Devnia, ancient Marcianopolis) and at the locality Lipnik<sup>43</sup> (near to the site of the Battle of Abrittus fought in 251). These hoards, dated by their youngest coins to the period of the reign of Trajan Decius (249–251), may be, with a high degree of certainty, linked with the Gothic raids in Balkan provinces during the reign of Trajan Decius<sup>44</sup> who was killed fighting the Goths at Abrittus. This suggests that the denarii of Mark Antony remained in use in the Roman Balkans — presumably, and perhaps only as a means of hoarding, as far as the early 250s. Thus we may assume that the assemblage discovered at Owczarnia had been formed in the territory of the Empire, most likely in the Danubian provinces, and was taken out across the border soon after the date of striking of the youngest coin found in it (251–253).<sup>45</sup> The same hoard may be interpreted as coins looted by the Goths during their plundering raids on the Bal-

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Schubert 1992, pp. 267–271.

<sup>41</sup> Schubert 1992, pp. 267–271; Găzduc 2010, pp. 135–143. Cf. Bolin 1958, pp. 336–357; Duncan-Jones 1994, pp. 196–197 and 205–206.

<sup>42</sup> Paunov, Prokopov 2002, pp. 48–49; a hoard of more than 100,000 denarii and antoniniani ending in coins of Trajan Decius, with at least nine legionary denarii of Mark Antony (without counting the restoration issues from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).

<sup>43</sup> Paunov, Prokopov 2002, pp. 55; a hoard of 619 denarii and antoniniani ending in coins of Trajan Decius and containing a single legionary denarius of Mark Antony.

<sup>44</sup> Paunov, Prokopov 2002, pp. 49 and 55.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Bursche 1983, p. 64.



kans.<sup>46</sup> Given the presence of a Mark Antony denarius in this hoard, that is, a coin which was no longer in circulation around 250, we may interpret the assemblage from Owczarnia as the savings of some Roman robbed by the Barbarians, possibly during the raids of 253.<sup>47</sup>

If we consider our discussion so far, the conclusion as to the chronology of the influx of pre-Neronian denarii included in the hoards of first–third century coins from the territory of the Przeworsk Culture and the Wielbark Culture appears to be obvious. But before formulating the final conclusions it is worth taking a look at pre-64 denarii from single and cumulative finds from the same territory. The vast majority of these finds is best interpreted as traces of a stream of coinage which entered Central Europe during the final decades of the first century BC and in the early first century AD.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, for the present we do not have a full case study of these classes of find. Nevertheless, the first conclusions from the analysis of an incomplete record show that, first, the Republican and early Imperial denarii are best linked with the settlement of the Przeworsk Culture of the late Pre-Roman Period and the Early Roman Period<sup>49</sup>, and second, that the series of Republican denarii from single and cumulative finds is dominated by coins from the first century BC with a significant participation of specimens dating to the final years of the Republic.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, at least four denarii of Emperor Augustus from single finds are recorded in the Przeworsk Culture territory.<sup>51</sup> Recently, at Dzielna, a village near Opoczno, therefore, also in the territory of the Przeworsk Culture, a single find of a legionary denarius of Mark Antony has been recorded – so far, the only find of this type from outside a hoard.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the character of coins from single and cumulative finds corresponds to a great extent with that of pre-Neronian denarii from hoards of first–third century coins. However, it is better to highlight the differences, namely (almost) complete lack of pre-64 coins from single and cumulative finds in the territory of the Wielbark Culture and (almost) complete lack of legionary denarii of Mark Antony from single and cumulative finds.

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Bursche 1983, pp. 72–73; Bursche 1996, p. 97 and 128. On the subject of finds of gold coins of Trajan Decius and predecessors from Wielbark Culture territory which may be interpreted as Gothic war booty – the result of the capture of the imperial treasury in the aftermath of the Battle of Abrittus, see also Bursche 2013, pp. 151–164.

<sup>47</sup> See Potter 2004, p. 252.

<sup>48</sup> Dymowski 2011b, p. 143.

<sup>49</sup> Dymowski 2011b, pp. 135–137.

<sup>50</sup> Dymowski 2011b, pp. 141–143.

<sup>51</sup> Romanowski 2008, p. 118, no. 190; Dymowski 2011b, p. 141.

<sup>52</sup> Bodzek, Sztyber 2012, pp. 187–191.

So how can we interpret the presence of individual pre-Neronian denarii in Central European hoards of first–second (third) century denarii (and antoniniani)? It is almost certain that the small number of coins from before 64 AD present in hoards dated by their youngest coins to the second–third centuries entered the territory of Barbaricum together with later coins, not earlier than during the second century, and in extreme cases (the Owczarnia hoard) even around the middle of the third century. Perhaps at this same time some of the pre-Neronian denarii entered the Przeworsk Culture and Wielbark Culture territory noted in areas found to the north of the Carpathian range as single finds.<sup>53</sup> But we cannot completely rule out that in some cases pre-Neronian coins from an earlier influx that took place in the final decades of the first century BC or in the early first century AD, had been added to the hoards of first–second (third) century denarii in the territory of the Barbaricum.

*Translated by Anna Kinecka*

## CATALOGUE OF FINDS

### 1. Dorotowo (gmina Stawiguda, powiat Olsztyn)

**Hoard:** about 600 denarii, 354 determined as to reign, including 1 undetermined Republican denarius and 353 Imperial denarii, Nero (54–68) to Marcus Aurelius (161–180).

**Bibliography:** Gumowski 1956, p. 120, no. 48; Kunisz 1973, p. 27, no. 21; Ciołek 2001, pp. 41–43, no. 51; Ciołek 2007, pp. 36–38, no. 54 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

### 2. Drzewicz Nowy (currently Nowy Drzewicz, gmina Wiskitki, powiat Żyrardów)

**Hoard:** about 1,600 Roman denarii, 1,266 determined, including 1 Republican denarius of Mark Antony from 32–31 BC from the legionary series (RRC 544/21) and 1,265 Imperial coins (including 1 eastern drachma and 5 imitations), Nero to Macrinus (issued 64–218), and a gold ornament (presumably a pendant of local manufacture).

**Bibliography:** Kunisz 1973, pp. 27–28, no. 22; Krzyżanowska 1976, passim, especially pp. 11–14 and 75; Kubiak 1979, pp. 29–43, no. 25 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Bursche 1999, pp. 118–119 (three additional coins).

### 3. Ossa–Rywałdzik (currently Rywałdzik, gmina Biskupiec, powiat Nowe Miasto Lubawskie)

**Hoard:** 360 denarii from the Imperial Period, including 1 denarius of Augustus from the mint at Lugdunum from 2 BC – 14 AD (RIC I 350) and 359 Imperial coins (including an eastern drachma), Nero to Septimius Severus (issued 64–201).

<sup>53</sup> Kunisz 1969, p. 54; Bodzek, Sztyber 2012, p. 191.

**Bibliography:** Gumowski 1956, p. 120, no. 47; Kunisz 1973, p. 79, no. 106; Ciołek 2001, pp. 126–136, no. 198; Ciołek 2007, pp. 139–150, no. 241 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

#### 4. Owczarnia (gmina Pasłęk, powiat Elbląg)

**Hoard:** unspecified number of Roman coins, 21 recorded, including 1 Republican denarius of Mark Antony from 32–31 BC from the legionary series, 9 Imperial denarii, Nero (54–68) to Elagabalus (218–222; including a coin with a portrait of Julia Maesa, dated more broadly than the reign of this emperor, to the period 218–223), 4 more, undetermined denarii and 7 antoniniani, Gordian III (238–244) to Trebonianus Gallus (251–253).

**Bibliography:** Gumowski 1956, p. 121, no. 57; Kunisz 1973, p. 80, no. 107; Ciołek 2001, pp. 138–139, no. 203; Ciołek 2007, pp. 152–153, no. 247 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

#### 5. Przewodów (gmina Dołhobyczów, powiat Hrubieszów)

**Hoard:** a few hundred coins, 150 recorded, including 1 Republican denarius of P. Servilius Rullus from the Rome mint, 100 BC (RRC 328/1) and 149 Imperial denarii, Galba to Commodus (issued 68–187).

**Bibliography:** Kunisz 1973, p. 90, no. 122; Kunisz 1985, pp. 173–178, no. 209; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, pp. 253–256, no. 601 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

#### 6. Słochy Annopolskie (gmina Siemiatycze, powiat Siemiatycze)

**Hoard:** at least 70–80 denarii, 54 recorded, including 2 Republican denarii (see Fig. 1): a denarius of Julius Caesar from the Rome mint, 44 BC (RRC 480/5a) and a denarius of Mark Antony and Octavian from the military mint in Italy or Gaul, 40–39 BC (RRC 528/2a), and also, 52 Imperial denarii, Nero to Hadrian (issued 64–138).

**Bibliography:** unpublished material.



Fig. 1. Słochy Annopolskie, the Republican denarii from the hoard.  
 Author of photographs unknown.

## 7. vicinity of Sochaczew (powiat Sochaczew)

**Hoard:** not less than 36 denarii, 30 determined, including 1 Republican denarius from 2<sup>nd</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (determination uncertain) and 29 Imperial denarii, Vespasian to Septimius Severus (issued 70–197).

**Bibliography:** Dymowski 2009, pp. 202–206; Dymowski 2011a, pp. 95–98 and 175–178.

## 8. Tursko Małe (gmina Połaniec, powiat Staszów)

**Hoard:** unspecified number of denarii, including 1 Republican denarius of A. Plautius from the Rome mint, 55 BC (RRC 431/1); presumably, the other coins were denarii from the Imperial Period.

**Bibliography:** Gumowski 1956, p. 115, no. 26; Kunisz 1973, p. 120, no. 170; Kunisz 1985, pp. 235–236, no. 285; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, p. 334, no. 805 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

## 9. Wrocław-Południe (former Wrocław-Krzyki)

**Hoard:** unspecified number of silver Roman coins, 5 recorded, including 1 undetermined Republican denarius and 4 denarii from Imperial issues, Vitellius (69) to Lucius Verus (161–169).

**Bibliography:** Kunisz 1973, p. 131, no. 188; Ciołek 2008, p. 289 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature; R. Ciołek described this finds as a duplicate, erroneously locating the actual find at Nowa Wieś Wrocławska, see below, when actually the site of discovery lies within the city of Wrocław<sup>54</sup>).

## 10. Żulice (gm. Telatyn, pow. Tomaszów Lubelski)

**Hoard:** unspecified number of denarii, 425 recorded, including 1 Republican denarius of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus from a military mint on the Adriatic or the Ionian Sea, 41 BC (RRC 519/2) and 424 Imperial coins (including two eastern drachmas), Nero to Marcus Aurelius (issued 64–169).

**Bibliography:** Kunisz 1985, pp. 259–260, no. 338; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, pp. 366–374, no. 921 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature); Paszkiewicz 2005, pp. 369–373 (7 additional coins).

### SPURIOUS FINDS AND DUPLICATED FIND REPORT:

#### 1. Mława (powiat Mława)

A hoard of Roman coins containing 1 Republican denarius – more likely these were coins from single and cumulative finds.

<sup>54</sup> I owe this to a spoken communication from Professor Borys Paszkiewicz, Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław.

**Bibliography:** Gumowski 1956, p. 130, no. 10b; Kunisz 1973, pp. 68–69, no. 89; Kubiak 1979, p. 61, no. 79; Romanowski 2008, pp. 77–78, no. 115 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature).

## 2. Nowa Wieś Wrocławska (gmina Kały Wrocławskie, powiat Wrocław)

A hoard of Roman coins containing 1 Republican denarius – actually a duplicate information on the hoard from Wrocław-Południe.

**Bibliography:** Gumowski 1956, p. 134, no. 113; Konik 1965, p. 107; Kunisz 1973, p. 75, no. 100; Ciołek 2008, p. 172, no. 255 (with a comprehensive list of earlier literature; R. Ciołek described this find as genuine find when actually the site of discovery lies in the district Wrocław-Południe, and the information about the hoard from Nowa Wieś Wrocławska only duplicates the correct information).

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- RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, t. I–X (ed. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland, R. A. G. Carson, P. H. Webb, J. W. E. Pearce, P. M. Brunn, J. P. C. Kent, I. A. Carrdice, T. V. Buttrey), London 1923–2007.
- RRC M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974.

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## PRZEDNERONIAŃSKIE DENARY W SKARBACH MONET CESARSTWA RZYMSKIEGO Z TERENU KULTUR PRZEWORSKIEJ I WIELBARSKIEJ

(Streszczenie)

Bezspornie najliczniej odnotowywaną kategorią wśród monet rzymskich znajdujących na obszarze na północ od Karpat, zajmowanym w okresie wpływów rzymskich przez kultury przeworską i wielbarską, są denary cesarskie z I–II w. po Chr. Dotyczy to m.in. skarbów liczących niejednokrotnie po kilka tysięcy monet. Pod względem chronologii emisji, denary w tych depozytach zawierają się zwykle pomiędzy ostatnimi latami panowania Nerona (54–68) a pierwszymi latami rządów Septymiusza Sewera (193–211). W niektórych skarbach odnotowano jednak obecność pojedynczych (nie więcej niż dwóch) denarów sprzed panowania Nerona. W większości przypadków były to egzemplarze z okresu Republiki, w jednym ze skarbów uchwycono denar cesarza Augusta. Podobne zjawisko zaobserwowano w przypadku znalezionej w Owczarni pod Paślkiem mieszanej skarbu denarów z I–III w. i antoninianów z III w. (datowanych do 253 r.), uzupełnionego pojedynczym denarem republikańskim.

Obecnie dość powszechnie przyjmuje się opinię, że masowy napływ denarów rzymskich z I–II w. na ziemię na wschód od limesu reńskiego i na północ limesu dunajskiego należy datować nie wcześniej niż na wiek II. Tłumaczy to, dlaczego w depozytach (prawie) całkowicie brak jest monet emitowanych przed 64 r., tj. egzemplarzy wybitych przed reformą Nerona obniżającą zawartość srebra w denarze i jego wagę. Denary sprzed 64 r. zostały bowiem wycofane z obiegu na mocy dekretu Trajana z 107 r. i wkrótce po

tej dacie praktycznie, choć nie od razu i nie całkowicie, wyszły z użycia. Jak więc interpretować obecność pojedynczych denarów przedneroniańskich w środkowoeuropejskich skarbach denarów z I–II w.? Pierwsza ewentualność, intuicyjnie przyjmowana przez badaczy, którzy pobieżnie zajęli się opisywaną problematyką przy okazji szerszych studiów, wskazuje na możliwość napływu z terenu Imperium nielicznych monet sprzed panowania Nerona, przede wszystkim republikańskich, razem z denarami z I–II w. W ograniczonym zakresie monety te pozostawały bowiem w obiegu na obszarze Cesarstwa po wejściu w życie wspomnianego dekretu Trajana. Według drugiej hipotezy, pojedyncze denary przedneroniańskie mogły zostać wtórnie dodane, już na terenie Barbaricum, do zespołów monet młodszych. W tym przypadku denary te mogły pochodzić z puli, która napłynęła na tereny na północ od Karpat najprawdopodobniej w okresie od I w. przed Chr. do początków I w. po Chr.

Z ziem na północ od Karpat, zajętych w okresie wpływów rzymskich przez kultury przeworską i wielbarską, znamy 10 skarbów srebrnych monet rzymskich z okresu Cesarstwa uzupełnionych nielicznymi denarami przedneroniańskimi. Wszystkie te depozyty odkryto w granicach obecnej Polski. Dziewięć z nich to zespoły denarów z I–II (III) w. Poza obecnością monet przedneroniańskich depozyty te nie różnią się specjalnie od wielu podobnych, znajdujących na opisywanym obszarze i podobnie jak one są zróżnicowane pod względem struktury chronologicznej. W skład zespołu o najstarszej strukturze chronologicznej z opisywanych, tj. skarbu ze Słoch Annapolskich z najmłodszymi monetami wybitymi za Hadriana, wchodziły dwa denary z okresu Republiki. Obydwie monety republikańskie, stanowiące 3,7% składu zarejestrowanej części depozytu (54 monety), zaliczamy do tzw. mennictwa imperatorskiego schyłku Republiki. W trzech kolejnych skarbach, które na podstawie struktury chronologicznej należy datować jako zespoły, które wypłynęły z terenu Imperium pod koniec panowania Antoninusa Piusa lub w początkowym okresie rządów Marka Aureliusza, odnotowano po jednym denarze republikańskim. Depozyty liczyły odpowiednio 150 (Przewodów), 354 (Dorotowo) i 425 (Żulice) monet określonych pod względem chronologii wybicia. Tak więc w każdym z tych trzech przypadków monety z okresu Republiki stanowiły mniej niż 1% uchwyconej części depozytu. Dwie z opisywanych monet republikańskich wybito w I w. przed Chr.: denar triumwira monetarnego P. Serviliusa Rullusa z roku 100 (Przewodów) oraz denar emisji imperatorskiej Cn. Domitiusa Ahenobarbusa z roku 41 (Żulice). Emitent i data wybicia denara republikańskiego z Dorotowa pozostają nieznanymi. Biorąc pod uwagę wystąpienie pojedynczego denara z okresu Republiki, analogiczne do trzech ostatnich z opisanych zespołów są skarby z okolic Sochaczewa, z Turska i z Wrocławia-Południe. Niestety dostępne informacje na temat składu tych trzech kolejnych depozytów są niewystarczające do określenia ich typu pod względem struktury chronologicznej. Tylko w wypadku skarbu z Turska dysponujemy pełnym określeniem monety republikańskiej; był to denar triumwira monetarnego A. Plautiusa z 55 r. przed Chr. Dwa dalsze zespoły to pod względem struktury chronologicznej skarby seweriańskie. W jednym z nich (Drzewicz Nowy), pośród 1266 uchwyconych monet zarejestrowano pojedynczy denar Marka Antoniusza z lat 32–31 przed Chr. z serii legionowej. Moneta młodsza, ale wybita według lepszej stopy menniczej, wystąpiła w skarbie z miejscowości Ossa–Rywałdzik. Denar Augusta z lat 2 przed Chr. – 14 po Chr. z mennicy cesarskiej w galijskim Lugdunum był

jedyną monetą przedneroniańską odnotowaną w ramach tego depozytu, liczącego łącznie 360 denarów.

Pod względem rozrzutu terytorialnego zaprezentowanych dziewięciu depozytów trudno wskazać jakieś proste zależności. Cztery skarby (Drzewicz Nowy, okolice Sochaczewa, Tursko Małe, Wrocław-Południe) pochodzą z terenów kultury przeworskiej. Kolejne trzy (Przewodów, Słochy Annapolskie, Żulice) znaleziono na obszarze pierwotnie przeworskim, który w trakcie okresu wpływów rzymskich (ok. 2. połowy II w.) został zajęty przez kulturę wielbarską; najprawdopodobniej jednak zespoły te również należy wiązać z kulturą przeworską. Dalsze dwa depozyty (Dorotowo, Ossa-Rywałdzik) odkryto na terenie kultury wielbarskiej. Tak więc, pomimo że większa część skarbów z denarami przedneroniańskimi wpisuje się w kontekst przeworski, można bez trudu wskazać depozyty kojarzone z kulturą wielbarską.

Rozpatrując szerszy kontekst terytorialny można stwierdzić, że zjawisko występowania monet przedneroniańskich w skarbach denarów cesarskich z I–II (III) w. jest szeroko rozpowszechnione na terenie Barbaricum i w jeszcze szerszym zakresie na obszarze Imperium, gdzie nieliczne monety republikańskie i cesarzy dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej (sprzed 64 r.) pozostawały w użyciu nawet do początku III w. Ponadto, uogólniając, im starszy skarb (tj. przede wszystkim wykazujący starszą strukturę chronologiczną), tym większe prawdopodobieństwo wystąpienia w nim monet emitowanych przed rokiem 64. Reguła ta dotyczy depozytów zarówno z obszaru Imperium, jak i z terenów zajmowanych w okresie wpływów rzymskich przez kultury przeworską i wielbarską.

Na tle skarbów denarów z I–II (III) w., standardowych dla terenów kultur wielbarskiej i przeworskiej, nietypowo prezentuje się skarb z Owczarni. W ramach uchwyconej części, w skład tego depozytu, poza denarem legionowym Marka Antoniusza, wchodziło dziewięć denarów od Nerona do Heliogabala, cztery dalsze nieokreślone egzemplarze tego samego nominału oraz siedem antoninianów od Gordiana III do Treboniana Galla (251–253). Jeśli nie liczyć denara republikańskiego, zespół ten odpowiada strukturze masy monetarnej obiegającej w połowie III w. na terenie Imperium. Pewną anomalią jest natomiast wystąpienie w opisywanym depozycie denara legionowego Marka Antoniusza. Monety tego typu pojawiają stosunkowo licznie w skarbach z obszaru Imperium datowanych najmłodszymi monetami do końca lat 30. III w., ale w skarbach z połowy III w. i młodszych denary legionowe w zasadzie nie występują. Monety takie odnotowano jedynie w dwóch późnych skarbach denarów i antoninianów odkrytych na terenie Mezji Dolnej. Depozyty te, datowane najmłodszymi monetami na okres panowania Decjusza (249–251), można z dużą dozą pewności łączyć z najazdem Gotów na prowincje bałkańskie w roku 251. Wynika z tego, że na rzymskich Bałkanach denary Marka Antoniusza pozostawały w użyciu — zapewne przede wszystkim, a może nawet wyłącznie jako środek tezauryzacji — na początku lat 50. III w. Tak więc można założyć, że zespół odkryty w Owczarni został uformowany na terenie Imperium, najprawdopodobniej w prowincjach naddunajskich, i zapewne opuścił jego granice wkrótce po dacie wybicia najmłodszej monety (251–253). Opisywany depozyt można interpretować jako pieniądz zagrabiony przez Gotów podczas ich łupieżczych wypraw na Bałkany, być może w wyniku najazdu z 253 r.

Wziąwszy pod uwagę wszystko powyższe, z prawdopodobieństwem granicznym z pewnością możemy założyć, że nieliczne monety sprzed 64 r. wchodzące w skład de-

pozytów datowanych najmłodszymi monetami na II–III w. napłynęły na teren Barbaricum razem z monetami późniejszymi, nie wcześniej niż w II w., a w skrajnym wypadku (skarby z Owczarni) nawet w połowie III w. Być może w tym samym czasie na tereny przeworskie i wielbarskie napłynęły również niektóre denary przedneroniańskie odnotowane na obszarach położonych na północ od Karpat jako znaleziska pojedyncze. Nie można jednak całkowicie wykluczyć, że w niektórych przypadkach do zespołów denarów z I–II (III) w. wtórnie, na terenie Barbaricum dodano monety przedneroniańskie, które napłynęły tam wcześniej, w ciągu kilku ostatnich dziesięcioleci I w. przed Chr. lub na początku I w. po Chr.

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