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Coins of the Rulers of Cimmerian Bosphorus Found in Poland¹

ABSTRACT: Among the finds in Poland of ancient coins struck in the provinces of the Imperium Romanum or in the empire's neighboring states, a small but interesting group consists of coins from the so-called Kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. These are coins that were struck between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD. We know of six such finds from the lands of present-day Poland. Four of these coins were found before the mid-20th century. Of these four, two were found in the 19th century – one in Staniątki and one in Zarzecze; the third was found in the 1930s in Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice, though it was not published until 1973; and the fourth was found before 1953 near Zabełcze, Nowy Sącz. In the present age, in which metal detectors have entered into common usage, one Bosporan coin has been discovered in Skłóty, Kutno District, and one in Gąski, Inowrocław District. They come from an area in which there were settlements of the Przeworsk culture or from the lands of the Polish Western Carpathians in which there were settlements of the Púchov culture and then, later, of the Przeworsk culture. All the Bosporan coins

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found on Polish lands were bronze issues struck between the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 3rd century AD. Thus, they belong to what is called Group I (coins struck before the so-called Gothic Wars) and Group II (coins struck during the Gothic Wars), in accordance with G. Beidin and K. Myzgin's classification, which is based on numerous finds from Ukraine and Russia. It is very likely that the coins of interest to us here made their way to the lands of present-day Poland from the east via contacts with the Sarmatians or with the "Gothic" peoples of the Chernyakhov culture. It is less likely – though it cannot be ruled out – that these coins came from the southeast, from the region of Dacia or Moesia or from the south.

KEY WORDS: Cimmerian Bosphorus, finds, Dacians, Goths, Sarmatians

ABSTRAKT: Znalaziska monet władców Bosporu Kimeryjskiego na ziemiach polskich

Wśród polskich znalezisk starożytnych monet bitych w prowincjach Imperium Romanum lub w państwach sąsiadujących z cesarstwem niedużą, ale interesującą grupę tworzą te pochodzące z obszaru tzw. Królestwa Bosporańskiego. Chodzi tutaj o monety bite między I wiekiem p.n.e. a IV wiekiem n.e. Z terenu dzisiejszej Polski znamy jak dotąd sześć takich znalezisk. Cztery z nich zostały dokonane w okresie do około połowy XX wieku. Są to dziewiętnastowieczne odkrycia w Staniątkach i Zarzeczu, znalezisko z lat 30. XX wieku z Gorlic-Glinika Mariampolskiego opublikowane w 1973 roku oraz pochodzące sprzed 1953 roku znalezisko z okolic Nowego Sącza-Zabełcza. Już w erze powszechnego używania wykrywaczy metali dokonano odkryć interesujących nas monet bosporańskich w miejscowości Skłóty (pow. kutnowski) i w Gąskach (pow. inowrocławski). Pochodzą one z obszaru osadnictwa kultury przeworskiej lub z terenu polskich Karpat Zachodnich objętego osadnictwem kultury puchowskiej, a później przeworskiej. Wszystkie monety bosporańskie odkryte na ziemiach polskich należą do emisji brązowych, a czas ich wybicia zawiera się pomiędzy końcem I wieku p.n.e. a połową III wieku n.e. Tym samym należą one do tzw. grupy I (monety wybite przed tzw. wojnami gockimi) i II (monety bite w okresie wojen gockich) według klasyfikacji G. Beidina i K. Myzgina opartej na licznych znaleziskach z obszaru Ukrainy i Rosji. Jest bardzo prawdopodobne, że monety te dotarły na obszar dzisiejszej Polski ze wschodu za pośrednictwem kontaktów z Sarmatami lub „gocką” ludnością kultury czerniachowskiej. Mniej prawdopodobny, choć niewykluczony, jest ich napływ z południowego wschodu, z obszaru Dacji lub Mezji, albo z południa.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Bospor Kimeryjski, znaleziska, Dakowie, Goci, Sarmaci

INTRODUCTION

As of the last sixty years, the number of studies on the influx of Roman coinage into the lands that are currently part of Poland has increased dramatically.² However, only a relatively small number of studies on the coins that have made their way into Poland address the issue of coins struck by provincial mints or ones located beyond the borders of the Imperium Romanum but which were tied either politically or via the monetary system to the Roman mint. By and large, the only attempt thus far to give a comprehensive analysis of the finds of so-called “autonomous coins” within the region of Central and Eastern Europe was made 45 years ago by Prof. Andrzej Kunisz.³ Here, one would also need to mention Stanisława Kubiak’s work on Greek coin finds from the lands of Poland; this work also contains information about the discoveries of coins struck during the Roman Empire.⁴ The remaining works address the products of particular mints or else cover coins from particular chronological periods which were found in particular regions or at particular sites.⁵ Of course, provincial coins are also accounted for in the inventories comparing finds from larger territorial units.⁶ It is worth mentioning here that the discoveries of Greek coins struck before the end of the 1st century BC were discussed in detail against the backdrop of Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe in a number of works by M. Mielczarek.⁷

Among the finds from Polish lands, an interesting group – though not a very large one – is made up of coins struck by the rulers of the Kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus during the age of Roman dominance, that is, between the end of the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD.⁸ Until recently, we only knew of four such

² Cf. WIELOWIEJSKI 1984; BURSCHE 1986; IDEM 1996: 26–57; KUNISZ 1996; IDEM 1997; BURSCHE, CIOŁEK 2005; DYMOWSKI 2011: 11–43; BURSCHE 2012; IDEM 2014. Over the last few years, there have been two large research projects whose goal has been to register the finds of Roman coins from the lands of present-day Poland: one of these projects, directed by Aleksander Bursche, was titled “Finds of the Roman Coins from the territory of Poland and lands historically connected with Poland”; the other one, directed by Arkadiusz Dymowski and financed by the National Center of Science, was titled “The Coins of the Roman Republic in Central Europe”.

³ KUNISZ 1973.

⁴ KUBIAK 1978.

⁵ KUNISZ 1979; IDEM 1983; BURSCHE 1984; IDEM 1999; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999; BURSCHE, KACZANOWSKI and RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK 2000; BODZEK 2004; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013; BOGUCKI, JURKIEWICZ and MACHAJEWSKI 2012; MILUTINOVIĆ 2017; ZAJĄC 2017.

⁶ GUMOWSKI 1958; KONIK 1965; KUBIAK 1978; KUNISZ 1969; IDEM 1985; BURSCHE 1996; KACZANOWSKI and MARGOS 2002; CIOŁEK 2001; IDEM 2007; IDEM 2008; ROMANOWSKI 2008; DYMOWSKI 2011; KACZANOWSKI 2017.

⁷ Cf. above all MIELCZAREK 1989; a list of the older literature is available here; cf. also IDEM 1981; IDEM 1988; IDEM 1996; IDEM 2004; IDEM 2008.

⁸ With regard to the chronological range: cf. MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 58; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013. With regard to the lands of present-day Poland, what are at issue are coins struck in the period from the end of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 3rd century AD. The coins from the Bosporan Kingdom found in the lands of Poland that were struck before the end of the 1st century BC are discussed at length by M. Mielczarek (1981: 16ff; IDEM 1989: 65f; cf. also IDEM 1988: 129f; IDEM 1996: 33; and MITKOWA-SZUBERT 1992: 51–53).

finds from the lands belonging to present-day Poland (cf. Cat. 2–3, 5–6). Two of these finds were already published in the 19th century; the next two were not published until after World War II – at the beginning of the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1970s, respectively.⁹ Although these finds have been known of for a long time, some of them were mistakenly identified in the literature, and in some cases they even went unrecognized. Despite the fact that these mistakes were corrected in a study on the diversity of cultures in the Polish Carpathians during the period of Roman influence – a study that was written by one of the authors of the present article¹⁰ – a new study is needed with regard to the described group of coins, one that takes into account the most recent research on the influx of ancient coins into Central Europe. In recent years, only two finds of Bosporan coins struck in the period that is of interest to us here have been recorded (Cat. 1, 4). What with the fact that metal detectors have entered into common usage, resulting in an enormous increase in information on the subject of new coin finds, this is a puzzling situation. Thus far, information on these new finds has only been published in abbreviated form.¹¹ The present article aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the finds of interest to us here from the lands of present-day Poland in reference to the finds of Roman coins treated as a whole and to similar finds in the lands belonging to neighboring states.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

None of the Bosporan coins from the lands of Poland were discovered during regular archaeological excavations. Thus, these are accidental finds. Three of the discoveries, which have been known of for a long time, should be regarded as single finds (Cat. 3, 5–6); in only one of the cases is a Bosporan coin supposed to have been part of a hoard (Cat. 2). We can probably regard as a single find the recently recorded coin discovered in Skłóty, Kutno District (Cat. 4). However, it is uncertain as to what classification should be given to the recently revealed discovery of a Bosporan coin in Gąski, Inowrocław District (Cat. 1).¹²

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FINDS WITH REGARD TO THEIR DENOMINATIONS

All the Bosporan coins found on Polish lands are bronze issues.¹³ Thus far, no finds in Poland have been noted of any gold, electrum, silver, or billon coins struck

⁹ The last coin mentioned here has a prewar provenance (that is, it was found before 1939).

¹⁰ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995; IDEM 1996a; cf. BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013.

¹¹ Cf. BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013.

¹² Here, we would like to express our gratitude to Mr. M. Rudnicki for providing us with information about the find and for providing a photograph of the coin.

¹³ With regard to the Bosporan mint, cf. e.g. ANOKHIN 1986; FROLOVA 1997a; IDEM 1997b; HØJBERG BJERG 2014.

by the Bosporan rulers. Moreover, at least up until now, no discoveries have been made in Poland of any late Bosporan staters struck in bronze. Most of the coins that have been found belong to issues of large bronze denominations corresponding to Roman imperial sestertii and dupondii. The former denomination is represented by two finds (Cat. 1–2), the latter by one discovery (Cat. 6). One of the finds is a medium-sized bronze described symbolically as a double denarius (Cat. 4). One coin is described as a bronze denarius (Cat. 5). Only one of the Bosporan coins found in Poland was part of an issue of small bronze coins weighing about 2.7 g – this very fact makes it stand out from the other coins (Cat. 3). The structure of the finds in Poland with regard to their denominations is basically in keeping with the structure of the finds of Bosporan coins in Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Moldavia.¹⁴ Except for an extremely dubious find in Minsk, that of an electrum stater of Sauromates II (173/4–210/11),¹⁵ and a few credible finds of gold staters of Cotys I (45–68) and Eupator (154–170) in Vinnytsia Oblast in Ukraine,¹⁶ the difference between the Polish finds and those that have been noted east of the borders of present-day Poland is that the latter group consists in a relatively large number of billon and copper staters.¹⁷ The fact that large bronze coins dominate among the finds from Poland may suggest that their function was similar to that of large bronze imperial coins – sestertii and dupondii. The absence of copper staters is partly the result of the chronological structure of the finds (cf. below).

THE CHRONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE FINDS

Of the Bosporan coins that have been discovered in Poland, the earliest is a bronze coin found in Zabełcze, Nowy Sącz (Cat. 3). This coin was initially described in the literature as a “3rd-century Roman tessera”.¹⁸ This description and date were based on the assumption that it was found together with a sestertius of Marciana (112–113 (117)) and an antoninianus of Postumus (260–269).¹⁹ Having reviewed the description of this coin, we concluded that it was struck at the end of the 1st century BC.²⁰ It belongs to an interesting group of Bosporan issues from the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD; the monograms

¹⁴ Cf. MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*: 75, no. 57; SIDAROVICH 2014: 73, 83, cat. 2, pl. I, 3; the older literature is listed here.

¹⁶ BEIDIN 2018: 30, cat. 1, pl. I, 1; 32, cat. 6, pl. I, 6.

¹⁷ MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 63ff, nos. 1, 9, 18, 19, 21, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 46, 47, 53, 54, 56 (billon staters); 15, 16, 25, 26, 48, 49, 50, 52, 58, 59, 61 (bronze staters); cf. also BEIDIN 2017; IDEM 2018: 14f.

¹⁸ GUMOWSKI 1958: 117, no. 30.

¹⁹ MORAWIECKI 1977: 176; KUNISZ 1985: no. 165 II.

²⁰ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995; IDEM 1996a; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013; cf. also FIRST 2014: 16. We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the former archeological conservator of Nowy Sącz Voivodeship, Mr. Adam Szybowicz, M.A., for making the coins available to us, and to Mr. Bartłomiej Urbański, M.A., for his assistance in obtaining important information concerning the find.

on these coins constitute their main characteristic.²¹ The coin described here has the monogram $\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\text{E}$, which is known almost exclusively from issues of bronze coins. The one exception is a rare gold stater that appeared at the turn of the 1970s on the Swiss antiquarian market.²² Taking into account the large number of types and denominations, the bronze issues marked with this monogram were separated into three basic groups differing from each other via the role of the monogram (it can either indicate the main type of coin or it serves as an additional symbol), but at the same time they are clearly related to each other and belong to the same sequence of coins.²³ The coin from Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz, belongs to Group I.²⁴ The coins with the monogram $\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\text{E}$ have been tied to various Bosporan rulers. Passing over earlier attributions, some of which are fantastical in their claims, in the latter half of the 20th and 21st centuries these coins were attributed to Queen Dynamis (21/20–14 BC)²⁵, to Dynamis and Polemon (generally the years 21/20–9),²⁶ and finally to Polemon (15–9).²⁷ That the coins are ascribed to Polemon is based on the attribution to him of the rare gold stater with the monogram $\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\text{E}$, dated by the authors of *RPC I* to the years 15–9 BC.²⁸ In other words, the coin from Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz, was struck in the latter half of the penultimate decade or at the very beginning of the last decade of the 1st century BC, probably during the reign of Polemon.

Among Polish finds, there are basically no comparable coins. Another Bosporan coin with the monogram $\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\text{E}$ was supposed to be part of a hoard from Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice (Cat. 2). As concerns the entire assemblage, which originally contained about two-hundred coins, only four are now available, and these were published for the first time in 1973 by Stefan Skowronek.²⁹ According to this publication, the assemblage included a Bosporan coin with the image of Zeus' head on the obverse and the monogram $\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\text{E}$ on the reverse. Apart from this coin, which was counted as part of Series 1, Group 3, according to Zograph,³⁰ the hoard was also supposed to include the coin of another Bosporan ruler, Rhescuporis II

²¹ Cf. BERTIER-DELAGARD 1911; ZOGRAPF 1951: 197ff; GOLENKO 1971; ANOKHIN 1986: 81ff; FROLOVA 1997a: 13ff, esp. 24ff; *RPC I*: 331; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 6f, 52ff.

²² MuM 44, 1971, no. 11; cf. ANOKHIN 1986: 81nn, 148, no. 255; *RPC I*: 1865, pl. 86; ANOKHIN 1999: fig. 31. 1; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 7.

²³ ZOGRAPF 1951: 193ff and the table on p. 195; FROLOVA 1978: 56ff; IDEM 1997a: 24ff, esp. 41.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ ZOGRAPF 1951: 197.

²⁶ GOLENKO 1971: 46.

²⁷ ANOKHIN 1986: 82; IDEM 1999: 128; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 7 and footnote 67.

²⁸ *RPC I*: 331, no. 1865.

²⁹ SKOWRONEK 1973; KUBIAK 1978: 195, no 8. We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Prof. Stanisław Burkot from the Pedagogical University in Krakow for making the coins available to us and for providing us with valuable information concerning the circumstances behind the discovery of the hoard. We would also like to thank Prof. Stefan Skowronek for his advice concerning the assemblage under discussion.

³⁰ ZOGRAPF 1951: 196, 47, pl. XLV, 3.

(68/69–91/92),³¹ and two Olbian coins.³² Thanks to the courtesy of Prof. Stanisław Burkot, the owner of the coin, it was possible to review the conclusions from the past. The effect was that the attributions of two of the coins changed; this had a significant influence on the interpretation of the whole assemblage.³³ In reality, it turns out that this Bosporan coin with the monogram BAE was struck in Cnossos, in Crete, in the name of the archon Cydas, in 36 BC; thus, it must be excluded from the list of finds of Bosporan coins.³⁴ The attribution of one of the coins described as Olbian also had to change.³⁵ For as it turned out, it comes from the Cilician mint at Corycus and is dated broadly to the 1st century BC or to the period of the early empire.³⁶ However, the descriptions of the two remaining coins from the hoard did not undergo significant change. The “second” Bosporan coin really was struck during the reign of Rhescuporis II (68/69–91/92). Also, the “second” coin described as Olbian in S. Skowronek’s publication was described correctly as coming from this Black Sea mint. This coin belongs to an issue struck in Olbia during the period that more or less corresponds to the reign of Antoninus Pius.³⁷ Thus, the oldest Bosporan coin – and at the same time, in light of our present state of knowledge, the only Bosporan coin – from the hoard at Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice, is the sestertius of Rhescuporis II (68/69–91/92), struck in AD 80–93.³⁸

Also from the latter half of the 1st century AD is the bronze coin of Cotys I (45–68), found in Zarzecze (Cat. 6). This coin, which was published for the first time by L. Piotrowicz, was apparently found in 1882 during work tied to the construction of the Lesser Poland railroad.³⁹ Together with the remaining coins in the engineer E. Benesz’s collection, it made its way to the Archaeological Museum of Krakow, where it is kept to this day.⁴⁰ This coin was initially attributed to the mint in Pergamon,⁴¹ and then it was regarded as a Bosporan coin struck during the reign of Cotys II (123–132).⁴² We were able to give an accurate description of

³¹ Jak FROLOVA 1968: 62, pl. II, 8.

³² Jak ZOGRAPF 1951: pl. XXXIV, 14, and pl. XXXIV, 6, respectively.

³³ MADYDA–LEGUTKO 1995: 11, no. 177; IDEM 1996a: 47; BODZEK, MADYDA–LEGUTKO 2013.

³⁴ Cf. CHAPMANN 1968: 13ff; *RPC I*: 222, no. 934. On the person of Cydas, cf. ROUANET–LIESENFELT 1984: 343ff; cf. also FRASER and MATTHEWS 1987: 277, s.v. *Κυδας*.

³⁵ According to S. Skowronek’s definition, it was supposed to correspond to coin no. 6 on chart XXXIV by A.N. Zograph (1951).

³⁶ *SNG France BN* 1086–1093; cf. *SNG Levante* 791–794.

³⁷ Cf. ZOGRAPF 1951: 142; KARYSHKOVSKII 1988: 116ff; ANOKHIN 1989: 69f.

³⁸ FROLOVA 1997a: 227.

³⁹ PIOTROWICZ 1936: 107. Cf. the original note by the coin’s initial owner, E. Benesz, on the card kept with the coin in the Archaeological Museum of Krakow: “2/8 1882 Gefunden in Zarzecze b. Jarosław”.

⁴⁰ On the history of E. Benesz’s collection, cf. PIOTROWICZ 1936: 95; REYMAN–WALCZAK 1988: 75ff; SKOWRONEK 1998: 113.

⁴¹ PIOTROWICZ 1936: 107.

⁴² KUBIAK 1978: 205, no. 49. This description is based on A.N. Zograph’s study (1951: 202).

the coin thanks to Bożena Reyman-Walczak from the Archaeological Museum of Krakow, who made the coin available to us for study.⁴³ The coin belongs to a series with a representation on the obverse of the frontage of a five-column temple; the coins in this series are accompanied by the legend KA ΠΕ.⁴⁴ The reverse has the monogram  and the letters ΚΔ. Coins of this type were attributed to Cotys I (45–68) by P.O. Karyshkovskii and N.A. Frolova.⁴⁵ In the present study, we adopt AD 63–68 as the date of the issue under discussion; this is the date as determined by the latter researcher.

The Bosporan coin found in Gaški, Inowrocław District (Cat. 1), was probably struck in the 2nd century AD. The circumstances of its discovery in 2014 are not known in detail; however, there is no reason to doubt the credibility of the find.⁴⁶ We know of numerous other finds of Roman coins from this area, including coins struck in the provinces.⁴⁷ This coin comes from a bronze Bosporan issue with the portrait of the king on the obverse and an indication of the coin's value – MH (48) – in the laurel wreath on the reverse. Bronze coins of this type, identified as the equivalents of imperial sestertii, were struck from the time of Rhescuporis II (68/69–93) to that of Sauromates II (174/5–210/11).⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the coin's poor state of preservation and, above all, its illegible legend – at least on the photograph – do not allow us to make a precise identification of the issuer.⁴⁹ The coin's weight (5.075 g), its diameter (22.9 × 21.65 mm), its axis (XII) – none of this information is of very much help to us in this situation. However, the style of the images on the obverse and the reverse would seem to indicate that the coin was probably struck between the end of the 1st century and the first half of the 2nd century AD, during the reign of

⁴³ Cf. BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999: 142f. We would like to express our gratitude to Dr. Hab. Jacek Górski for giving us permission to publish our findings; we would also like to express our gratitude to Ms. Bożena Reyman-Walczak for providing us with access to the coins kept in the numismatic collection at the Archaeological Museum of Krakow.

⁴⁴ ZOGRAPH 1951: pl. XLVII, 17; ANOKHIN 1986: pl. 14, 370; *RPC I* 1930; *SNG Stancomb*: 973; FROLOVA 1997a: 100, no. 1, pl. XXVIII, 11–18; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 82f, type II, pl. LVII, 11–19, LVIII, 1–1a.

⁴⁵ Cf. KARYSHKOVSKII 1954: 179–190; FROLOVA 1976: 103–111; IDEM 1997a: 100ff; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 10. We need to mention here that the attribution of the above-mentioned issue of Cotys I is not accepted by everyone. V.A. Anokhin (1986: 99, 101) attributed the above-mentioned coin to Rhescuporis II (68/69–91/92), dating it to 69–79 AD. Cf. also *RPC I*: 333.

⁴⁶ We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Marcin Rudnicki for providing us with information about the find; we would also like to thank him for providing us with a photograph of the find and for giving us permission to publish it.

⁴⁷ On the basis of M. Rudnicki's presentation titled "Roman Coins from the Vicinity of Gaški in Kujawy Region (Central Poland)", which was given at the conference titled "5th Joint Meeting of ECFN and nomisma. org, Nieborów, Poland, 17th–19th April 2015". See also: DYMOWSKI and WIĘCEK 2018: 169.

⁴⁸ Cf. FROLOVA 1997a: pls. XXXV–LXXII.

⁴⁹ On the basis of the photograph, the legend is, for all intents and purposes, illegible.

Sauromates I (93/4–123/4), that of Cotys II (123/4–132/3), or that of Rhoemetalces (131/2–153/4).⁵⁰

The rest of the Bosporan coins found in Polish lands were struck in the first half of the 3rd century AD. It was probably during work on the Lesser Poland railroad that the discovery was made, in 1886, in Staniątki, Krakow District, of a bronze coin of Rhescuporis III (211/12–228/9) (Cat. 5).⁵¹ As with the preceding coin, the one from Zarzecze, this one was also published for the first time by L. Piotrowicz, who, on the basis of information stating that it had been found together with asses of Caligula and Hadrian, attributed it to Rhescuporis I or II.⁵² It was attributed to the latter ruler by M. Gumowski and S. Kubiak.⁵³ Thanks to the courtesy of Ms. Bożena Reyman-Walczak from the Archeological Museum of Krakow, who provided us with access to the coin, we were able to give it an accurate description. This coin belongs to a type that was very popular during the reign of Rhescuporis III, with the king's portrait and a legend with his name and title on the obverse, and with the image of a horseman riding at a walk on the reverse. According to N.A. Frolova, while coins of this type were struck between AD 211 and 219, the coin under discussion here belong to the so-called first group, which is dated to between *c.* AD 211 and 216.⁵⁴ The coins in this group are described as bronze denarii.

As concerns the date at which the coin was struck, the latest Bosporan coin found in the lands that make up present-day Poland is the so-called double denarius of King Ininthimeus (234/5–238/239). This coin was found accidentally before 2009, in Skłóty, Kutno District (Cat.).⁵⁵ It belongs to an issue of bronze coins of the VII Type, according to the classification of N.A. Frolova, with the image of the king's bust and a legend with his name and royal title on the obverse and a representation of the goddess sitting on a throne on the reverse. The symbol of its value, B, can also be found on the reverse.⁵⁶

Summing up what we have established thus far, the finds in Poland consist of one coin struck at the end of the 1st century BC, two coins from the latter half of the 1st century AD, one coin that was probably struck at the end of the 1st or in the

⁵⁰ Cf. FROLOVA 1997a: pls. XLIV–LXI.

⁵¹ At present in the Archeological Museum of Krakow; as concerns the date and location of the find, cf. E. Benesz's note, which is kept with the coin in the museum: "7/5 1868. Gefunden in Staniątki b. Niepołomice".

⁵² PIOTROWICZ 1936: 104; similarly, KUNISZ 1985: 207, no. 257, II.

⁵³ GUMOWSKI 1958: 116, no. 4; KUBIAK 1978: 201, no. 34. The latter author relied on the attribution that was given to the coin by A.N. Zograph (1951: Pl. XLVII, no. 4).

⁵⁴ FROLOVA 1980: 19ff; FROLOVA 1997a: 10f, Pl. XIV, 7–10.

⁵⁵ BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013.

⁵⁶ FROLOVA 1997: 37, 232, pl. XXXVII, 13.

middle of the 2nd century AD, and two coins from the first half of the 3rd century AD. Thus far, no coins from Bosporan issues from the latter half of the 3rd century or from the 4th century AD have been found in Poland.

It is interesting to compare the chronological structure of the finds of Bosporan coins from Polish lands with that of the discoveries in other regions of the Central and Eastern European Barbaricum. As concerns the world of the barbarians, the largest number of finds of Bosporan coins has been recorded in the lands of present-day Ukraine and the Russian Federation, mostly in the region of the Chernyakhov culture.⁵⁷ In 2012, K. Myzgin and G. Beidin noted that 44 such discoveries had been made in the lands of Ukraine, 12 in the lands of the Russian Federation, 4 in Belarus, and 1 in Moldavia.⁵⁸ Among these finds, three groups were distinguished. The first is made up of coins struck before the so-called Gothic Wars, that is, from the 1st century BCE to AD 237.⁵⁹ The second group consists of issues struck during the Gothic Wars, and the third group consists of issues struck after the Gothic Wars, that is, from the fourth quarter of the 3rd century AD.⁶⁰ The finds from the lands of Poland thus either belong to the first (Cat. 1–3, 5–6) or to the second group (Cat. 4).⁶¹ The finds from Belarus have a very similar chronological structure.⁶² Except for the find in Minsk of an electrum stater of Sauromates II (173/4–210/11), which is not credible, these finds consist of two coins of Rhescuporis V (242/3–276/7) and only one of Mithridates III (39/40–45/46), that is, they represent groups 1 and 2. A different chronological structure can be seen in the Bosporan coins discovered in present-day Germany. These represent groups 1 and 3 in accordance with the classification mentioned above. It should be emphasized, however, that these finds come from the lands in the west, specifically from Saarland and Hesse,⁶³ which would seem to indicate a different culture backdrop than that of the finds from Poland.

⁵⁷ Cf. MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012; BEIDIN 2017; IDEM 2018; BEIDIN and MYZGIN 2015; SIDAROVICH 2014: 73ff.

⁵⁸ To the coins that have already been mentioned, we need to add two staters of Rhescuporis V (242/3–276/7) that were found on a site from the Roman period in Komariv, Chernivtsi Oblast (MYZGIN 2013), and a hoard from Ksizovo (BEIDIN and MYZGIN 2015). The finds from Komariv are particularly important because of the fact that they were discovered at a site of the Chernyakhov culture during regular archaeological excavations. It should be emphasized that the number of finds of Bosporan coins from Ukraine and Russia is rising. In D. Beidin's most recent studies, mention is made of 85 finds (2017) and of 519 Bosporan coins that have been discovered (2018: 13).

⁵⁹ Cf. BEIDIN 2018: 14.

⁶⁰ MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 60f.

⁶¹ Cf. BEIDIN 2018: 13f.

⁶² MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 75f; SIDAROVICH 2014: 73ff.

⁶³ These are burial finds of coins of Sauromates I (94/124) and Thotorses (279/309) from Wiebelskirchen (FMRD, *abt. 3, Saarland*: 123, no. 1080 1–2) as well as single finds of coins of Sauromates I (94/124) in GROSS-GERAU (FMRD, *abt. 5, bd 2, 1: Hessen*: 339, no. 2210, *58), of Thotorses (279/309) and of Rhescuporis VI (304/342) in Kirchberg (FMRD, *abt. 5, bd 3: Hessen*: 37–38, no. 3011, *7 and *9), and of an undetermined ruler from the years 47 BC–AD 3 in Kirchhain (FMRD, *abt. 5, bd 3: Hessen*: 68, no. 3038, *1–2).

Cat. No.	Reign	Metal	Dates	References	Find spot
3	Polemon (15–9)?	AE	15–9 BC	Frolova 1997a: 42, type III, Pl. XV, 15–16a	Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz
6	Cotys I (45–68)	AE	AD 63–68	Frolova 1997b: 10f, Pl. XIV, 7–10	Zarzecze
2	Rhescuporis II (68/69–91/92)	AE	AD 80–93	Frolova 1997a: 105, 1 st group, Pl. XXXI, 4–15	Glinik Mariampolski
1	Undetermined ruler	AE	End of 1 st to middle of 2 nd cent. AD	Frolova 1997a: Pls. XLIV–LXI	Gąski
5	Rhescuporis III (211/12–228/9)	AE	AD 211–215	Frolova 1997b: 10f, Pl. XIV, 7–10	Staniątki
4	Ininthimeus (234/5–238/239)	AE	234/5–238/239	Frolova 1997b: 37, 232, Pl. XXXVII, no. 13	Sklóty, Kutno District

Table 1. Chronology of the Bosporan coins founds in the lands of Poland

THE CHRONOLOGY AND CREDIBILITY OF THE FINDS

As mentioned above, all the Bosporan coins found in the lands of Poland were discovered accidentally. None of them were found during regular archaeological excavations, nor were any of them found by an archaeologist. The reliability of these finds must therefore be reviewed. While the new finds from Skłóty and Gąski (Cat. 4 and 1) can be regarded as relatively reliable, as based on the information that we have about the circumstances of their discovery, the finds from the 19th and 20th centuries must be subjected to review.

Nowy Sącz

As mentioned above, the information that is available states that the coin of Polemon (15–9) in the Regional Museum in Nowy Sącz (Cat. 3) was found in 1953 in Zabelcze (at that time a town outside of Nowy Sącz though now one of the city's neighborhoods), together with two other coins: a sestertius of Marciana (112–113 (117)) and an antoninianus of Postumus (260–269).⁶⁴ This is not, however, a clear-cut situation. According to the inventory book of the Regional Museum in

⁶⁴ MORAWIECKI 1977: 176; KUNISZ 1985: no. 165 II.

Nowy Sącz, two coins – an antoninianus of Postumus (KW 1037, inv. no. A/4) and a bronze Bosporan coin (KW 1038, inv. no. A/5) – were offered to the museum's collections by A. Dmochowski, a resident of Zabelcze. The sestertius of Marciana, however, is the gift of another donor, a Dr. J. Rachwał (KW 2309, inv. no. A/8). According to the acquisitions book, all three items ended up in the museum in 1953. There is no information, however, about their provenance. Writing about all of the three coins from Zabelcze, M. Gumowski was relying on personal information.⁶⁵ It remains unclear as to how he came into possession of the information – whether he got it from the donors themselves or from the staff at the museum in Nowy Sącz. It needs to be asked whether, perhaps, the information about the coins having been discovered in Zabelcze is not a misunderstanding resulting from information about the donors' places of residence becoming tied to the coins' possible origin. If this is the case, the origin of the coins should be changed from Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz, to the area surrounding Nowy Sącz. On the other hand, there are traces, in Zabelcze and at other sites from the area surrounding Nowy Sącz, of a settlement from the Roman period and from the early phase of the migration period.⁶⁶ Roman coins have also been found in the area surrounding Nowy Sącz. A denarius of Antoninus Pius is supposed to have been found in the city itself,⁶⁷ and a hoard of gold, silver, and bronze coins was recorded as having been found in what is today the neighborhood of Naściszowa.⁶⁸ This lends credibility to the coins of Marciana and Postumus having been found in Zabelcze. Large bronze coins from the period of the Principate are recorded as having come from the lands of modern-day southern Poland.⁶⁹ So are finds of antoniniani from the latter half of the 3rd century AD, including ones that were struck in the name of Postumus and of other emperors of the *Imperium Galliarum*.⁷⁰ We also need to add that coins struck in the latter half of the 3rd century have also been recorded in the area of the Polish Carpathians, including the area surrounding Nowy Sącz.⁷¹

Whether or not the Bosporan coin find is authentic is somewhat more complicated. Basically, there is a concern as to whether it is credible to say that a Bosporan coin dated to the end of the 1st century BC was found in the area surrounding Nowy Sącz. As we have already mentioned, the described coin belongs to an issue that is regarded

⁶⁵ GUMOWSKI 1958: 117, no. 30; information about the discovery of the coins in Zabelcze did not appear in museum books until after they were published as finds.

⁶⁶ Cf. MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: 18, nos. 452–468.

⁶⁷ KUNISZ 1985: no. 165 I; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: no. 452.

⁶⁸ KUNISZ 1985: no. 165 III; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: no. 467.

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. Jakuszowice, Kazimierza District; cf. BURSCHE 1997: 134, no. 51; 143, no. 98; 144, no. 104.

⁷⁰ Cf. DYMOWSKI 2013c.

⁷¹ Cf. the aureus of the emperor Tacitus discovered in Gostwica, Nowy Sącz District; KUNISZ 1985: 64f, no. 60; MORAWIECKI 1977: 175f; KACZANOWSKI and MARGOS 2002: 58, no. 161.

as rare: so-called Type 3, Group I coins with the monogram $\overline{\text{BAE}}$. A.N. Zograph only knew of three coins of this type,⁷² though N.A. Frolova knew of five.⁷³ What's more, these five coins were struck with two obverse dies and three reverse dies. According to information on the internet website "Bosporan Coins", 16 coins need to be added to the 5 coins cited by Frolova.⁷⁴ Together with the coin from Nowy Sącz, we know of 22 examples of the type that is of interest to us, and we can expect that more will be published. Therefore, it is clear that the issue of Type 3, Group I coins was not as small as had earlier seemed to be the case. A second important aspect concerns the circulation of these coins. In Frolova and Ireland's catalog, there is no information about the finds of any of the coins known to her of the described type except for one coin discovered during investigations in Nymphaion.⁷⁵ Finds of coins of other types from this period provide us with indirect information about how Bosporan coins struck in the latter half of the 1st century BC could have circulated in remote regions of the Roman and barbarian worlds. A bronze coin of Asander was found in the Oka river basin, in Novosil', Oryol Oblast (Russia) – and thus in a remote region of the eastern Barbaricum.⁷⁶ A coin of Agrippa (Phanagoria) struck in the 1st century BC was found in Taranovka, Kharkiv Oblast (Ukraine).⁷⁷ Both finds show that at least a few Bosporan coins from the end of the 1st century BC circulated in the barbarian environment. The discovery in ancient Side of a coin belonging to a different issue with the monogram $\overline{\text{BAE}}$ is another interesting piece of evidence giving testimony to the distant "travels" of Bosporan coins from the period under discussion.⁷⁸ These examples show that even though there is a lack of clear information about the circumstances in which the coin of Polemon was found in the area surrounding Nowy Sącz, its credibility cannot automatically be called into question. Getting back to the cultural backdrop, let us add that the coin was found in an area settled by the Púchov culture, which is characteristic of the mountainous terrain of Slovakia.⁷⁹ A clear, peripheral settlement of this culture developed in the Polish Western Carpathians, on the outskirts of the Sądecka Valley and in the valley itself, from the Middle La Tène Period (LT C2) to the end of the

⁷² ZOGRAPH 1951.

⁷³ FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 53.

⁷⁴ <https://bosporan-kingdom.com/258-4016/16.htm> (accessed on Dec. 27, 2018).

⁷⁵ FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 53.

⁷⁶ MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 54, no. 51.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*: 70, no. 31.

⁷⁸ This coin was discovered during excavation work in 1956 and published by S. Atlan as a Pontic coin of Mithridates VI Eupator (cf. ATLAN 1976: 33, no. 3). The coin was given a correct description by A. Tolga Tek, to whom we would like to express our deepest gratitude for the information that he gave to us and for providing us with a photograph of the coin.

⁷⁹ PIETA 1982; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 25–35, 47–51; IDEM 1996b; MADYDA-LEGUTKO and TUNIA 2015: 347–380.

Early Roman Period and the beginning of the Younger Roman Period. Within this chronological frame, it is, however, finds that can unambiguously be dated to the very end of the 1st century BC (LT D2) and the beginning of the 1st century AD – and thus to an age that can be synchronized with the date of the coin’s issue – that have the weakest documentation. It is possible, however, that the bronze coin of Polemon came to the area surrounding Nowy Sącz later. After the disappearance of the Púchov culture, we have evidence that a relatively intense settlement – one tied to the Przeworsk culture that was approaching from the south – developed in the lands of the Sądecka Valley all the way to the early phase of the migration period.⁸⁰

Glinik Mariampolski

As mentioned earlier, S. Skowronek’s initial publication indicated that an additional coin belonging to the third group of the issue with the monogram BAE – as described by A.E. Zograph⁸¹ but which has now been shown to be an issue from Cnossos – was part of a hoard from Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice, which initially contained two-hundred bronze pieces.⁸² Our review of the descriptions of the four coins that have survived from the hoard rules out that this could have been the case. Moreover, the character of this assemblage of coins must have been modified, after which it was probably regarded as homogeneous, being composed of Bosporan and Olbian issues. The new findings indicate that the composition of this assemblage was significantly more diverse: besides Bosporan and Olbian coins it also had coins struck in Cnossos, in Crete, and in Corycus, in Cilicia. In order to date the assemblage of coins from Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice, the coin from Olbia in the group is of crucial importance. It belongs to issues forming a large group and differing among themselves by way of the form and the contents of the inscriptions and the degree of barbarization of the die used for the obverse. Together with somewhat later coins of a greater denomination – what are called sestertii – they remained in circulation for a number of decades and were countermarked during this time.⁸³ The coins belonging to these issues can have up to three countermarks. With regard to coins of the type represented by the coin from Glinik, they are as follows: “kerykeion”, “Δ”, and “A”. With regard to the “sestertii”, delta corresponds to “H”; alpha, to “B”. According to P.O. Karyshkovskii, whose chronology we have adopted in this study, the period during which the countermarks were added can be determined as follows: *kerykeion* – the beginning of Hadrian’s reign; “Δ” and “H” – the first part

⁸⁰ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 67f.

⁸¹ ZOGRAPH 1951: pl. XLV, 3; ANOKHIN 1986: pl. 11, 278.

⁸² Cf. footnote 29 above.

⁸³ ZOGRAPH 1951: 144f; KARYSHKOVSKII 1988: 120ff.

of Antoninus Pius' reign; "A" and "B" – the latter half of the AD 150s.⁸⁴ Because the coin from the hoard from Glinik has two countermarks – a *kerykeion* and a "Δ" – it can be assumed that it left Olbia no earlier than the AD 140s and no later the 150s. This in turn affects the date at which the whole assemblage of coins was hidden. For taking into account the date indicated for the Olbian coin under discussion here, it has to be acknowledged that the hoard from Glinik could not have been hidden earlier than around the middle of the 2nd century AD. At the same time, a much later date is rather unlikely what with the described coin's degree of wear.

Both the new findings concerning the composition of the part of the hoard that has survived as well as the date that is currently accepted force us to consider once again the authenticity of the assemblage. Up until now, the interpretation of the hoard was rather clear and relatively easy to accept. All the coins were supposed to have come from the region of the northern coast of the Black Sea, and the date at which they were struck was supposed to have occurred within a period of more or less one-hundred years. We now know that this was not a homogeneous assemblage as concerns the region from which the coins originated, and the time bracket in which particular coins were struck has been extended to around more than two-hundred years. Without going overboard, at first glance it is difficult here to avoid making comparisons to the well known assemblage of coins that was apparently found in Kniazha Krynytsia in Ukraine⁸⁵ and to the one that was found "in the surrounding area of Krakow" (or in Galicia).⁸⁶ In both cases, the "hoards" were supposed to contain about 140 coins of Bosporan rulers, coins from the cities of the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea, provincial issues (including issues from Alexandria), and Roman coins dating from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD.⁸⁷ The compositions of both these groups had already aroused suspicion with regard to their authenticity. Both the chronological spread of the issues creating the "hoards" and the fact that the mints were geographically dispersed suggest that what we have

⁸⁴ Cf. KARYSHKOVSKII 1988: 122. In determining the chronology of the countermarks on the coins under discussion here, the appearance of countermark B on a coin of Antoninus Pius struck in AD 156 is of great significance (cf. *Ibidem*: 25). A different chronology, both of the issues of the type under consideration and the countermarks, was presented by V.A. Anokhin (1989: 71ff).

⁸⁵ PULASKI 1903: column 5ff; NOE 1937: no. 569; KROPOTKIN 1961: 19, no. 1199; KUNISZ 1973: 33; MIELCZAREK 1983: 11f; IDEM 1989: 31ff; IDEM 2015: 310f.

⁸⁶ RENNER 1911: 171ff; NOE 1937: no. 578; KUNISZ 1973: 33; KUBIAK 1978: 194, no. 6; MIELCZAREK 1983: 11f; IDEM 1988: 130; IDEM 1989: 32f; IDEM 2015: 310f.

⁸⁷ The compositions of both "hoards" differ somewhat – cf. RENNER 1911: 117ff; PULASKI 1903: column 5f. Still, we should give some thought as to whether or not it is the same group of coins that is being referred to here and which was handed over to F. Pułaski and V. Renner for identification. That this would seem to be the case is supported by the small difference in years between the appearance of both publications (in 1903 and 1911, respectively). A. Kunisz (1973: 33) regarded both "hoards" as one assemblage of coins.

here are mixed assemblages of coins or collections.⁸⁸ We can treat two smaller assemblages of coins in much the same way: kept at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź, they were apparently found in Ukraine, in Ivanitse and in Kolomyia.⁸⁹ The former assemblage consisted of 16 coins, these being coins of Panticapaeum, of the rulers of Bosphorus and of Sinop, and Byzantine coins. The latter “hoard” was supposed to contain coins of the Bosphoran rulers from Aspurgus to Rhescuporis VI. As demonstrated by M. Mielczarek, both “hoards” were created by mixing together different finds kept in collections.⁹⁰ Against this backdrop, we can ask ourselves whether the assemblage of coins from Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice, is authentic. No doubt the fact that only four coins are available makes it difficult to answer this question. Still, fully aware of this limitation, we can attempt to verify the authenticity of the hoard.

First of all, we need to consider the circumstances behind the discovery of this assemblage, for these circumstances are an important piece of evidence concerning its authenticity. According to the information contained in S. Skowronek’s publication, the hoard was discovered in 1937 during the removal of a willow tree on the banks of the Ropa River, on a piece of land that belonged to Józef Samsonowicz.⁹¹ Afterwards, the coins apparently became the children’s playthings, and it is from here that the four existing coins were then attained by Mr. Stanisław Wszolek. It was Mr. Wszolek who, via Prof. Stanisław Burkot, made the coins available to S. Skowronek for study. The rest of the hoard was dispersed already during World War II. The conversation that we had with Prof. Stanisław Burkot, who came into possession of the coins in the 1960s, fully confirmed the above-mentioned version of the circumstances in which the assemblage was found. Additionally, according to Prof. Burkot, the coins were found in a vessel which, unfortunately, has not survived. At the moment of discovery, the individual coins were apparently stuck together, creating a compact mass that was difficult to separate. The farmhouse in which the coins were kept no longer exists. On the basis of the information that we were able to attain, there is no reason to doubt the above-mentioned version of the circumstances in which the

⁸⁸ Cf. KROPOTKIN 1961: 19, no. 1199; KUNISZ 1973: 33; MIELCZAREK 1983: 11f; IDEM 1988: 130; IDEM 1989: 30ff. The information stating that the hoard from Kniazha Krynytsia was supposed to have been unearthed in a small cauldron or pot does not prove that it is totally authentic. For the hoard was plundered by the peasants such that only a small part of the find ended up with Antoni Wasiutyński, who then handed the coins over to F. Pułaski in order to have them identified (cf. PUŁASKI 1903: column 6). Even if we accept as true that a hoard of coins was found in the wilderness of Kniazha Krynytsia, we cannot check to see which of the coins taken from the peasants really came from this find. Most likely, it was the Roman coins that were taken, but we cannot rule out other versions (cf. below). Additionally, we do not know whether A. Wasiutyński himself added any coins to the “hoard”. No information is available with regard to the circumstances of the find from Galicia.

⁸⁹ Cf. MIKOŁAJCZYK 1981: nos. 105, 139; MIELCZAREK 1983: 11ff; IDEM 1986 (Kolomyia); IDEM 2015 (Ivanitse).

⁹⁰ IDEM 1983: 11f.

⁹¹ SKOWRONEK 1973: 154.

assemblage was discovered. A weak link in this story is, however, the fact that the coins were attained from children that were playing with them. Were these coins definitely from the hoard? On the other hand, where would children have gotten ancient coins from? After all, these coins would have been rather exotic for the area surrounding Gorlice.

Another important element that needs to be verified is the composition of the hoard from Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice. For while Olbian coins and coins of the rulers of Cimmerian Bosphorus have been found in the lands of Poland and in Ukraine (cf. below), up until now there has been no information about coins found in Poland that were struck in Crete and in Cilicia during the period of interest to us here. However, the state of the research may be what has caused this situation, the best evidence of which is the find under discussion here.⁹² The fact that Cilician coins from the period of interest to us could have come to Poland is also confirmed by the discovery of just such coins in other parts of Europe. The finds from Clavier-Vervoz (in the province of Liege) in Belgium⁹³ and from Carnuntum can serve as examples.⁹⁴ The find from Carnuntum, an important stop on the Amber Road leading towards the Baltic coast, would seem to be of particular importance. Because the hoard from Glinik contained coins from mints located on the northern coast of the Black Sea and because these coins probably arrived by way of the Black Sea Trail,⁹⁵ it would seem to be vital to determine whether the Cilician and Cretan coins made their way to the Black Sea region. Thus far, no Cilician coins have been found in the centers of the Bosporan Kingdom or in Olbia, but we do know that such a coin was found on the western coast of the Black Sea, in Babadag, near Tulcea.⁹⁶ However, no information exists about any finds of Cretan coins from the period of interest to us here.

An analysis of the cultural situation in the area in which the hoard from Glinik Mariampolski was found would seem to be interesting. Thus far, we have no confirmation via archaeological methods of a settlement dated to the period during which the hoard was deposited (and thus, to around the latter half of the 2nd century AD). From the area surrounding Glinik, we only know of single finds of Roman coins. A denarius of Tiberius is said to have been found in the town center of Gorlice,⁹⁷ to the south, in the Lower Beskids, in Wysowa, in Gmina Uście Gorlickie, a denarius of

⁹² Another example might be a coin of Ascalon found in Zarzecze that went unrecognized for years. BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999: *passim*. Also see below.

⁹³ BAR 1991: 42, no. 11.03, ill. 67. Struck in Tarsus, this is a federal, quasi-autonomous coin dated to the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

⁹⁴ FMRÖ 9846.

⁹⁵ On the Black Sea Trail, cf. DOMAŃSKI 1999.

⁹⁶ MUNTEANU and OCHESEANU 1975: 183, no. 4; KUNISZ 1992: 132.

⁹⁷ IDEM 1985: 64f, no. 58 I; KACZANOWSKI and MARGOS 2002: 57, no. 157; DYMOWSKI 2013a: 277f; IDEM 2015: 15.

Trajan is said to have been found.⁹⁸ In particular, the denarius of Tiberius is worthy of attention. Together with the denarius of Caligula found in Biecz, which is also on the Ropa River,⁹⁹ and the denarius of Tiberius discovered in Jasło,¹⁰⁰ they form, on the grounds of the river basin of the Wisłoka, a horizon of finds of denarii struck before Nero's reform.¹⁰¹ It may be – though it does not have to, of course – that this is a reflection of the influx of coins struck by the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty into the area north of the Carpathians before the great 2nd-century wave of Roman silver.¹⁰² Nor is it without significance that elements noticeable in the archaeological material from the Polish Carpathians point to the existence of contacts with the Dacians (cf. e.g. below). Finally, we cannot rule out the possibility that the above-mentioned denarius of Trajan found in Wysowa came to this area already during the age of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.¹⁰³ On the other hand, we also cannot forget about all the Late Roman coins found in Biecz and Sławęcim.¹⁰⁴ With regard to other finds, one has to mention the “Glassworks” site in Wysowa, where two hand-made vessels were discovered. Executed in a style that is characteristic of Púchov pottery of the Early Roman Period, they make use of pottery technology that is atypical for this culture.¹⁰⁵ According to the current state of research, one could come to the conclusion that, in the Early Roman Period and the early phase of the Younger Roman Period, the Ropa valley, the location of the hoard's discovery, was a “transitional” zone between a settlement of the Púchov culture stretching out to the west and a settlement covering the area from the Jasielsko-Krośnieńska Valley to the Upper San river basin, but also the outskirts of the Lower Beskids and the Pogórze Bukowskie, a zone that was clearly influenced by the Przeworsk culture but also the Dacian cultural circle.¹⁰⁶ A similar situation concerns the distribution of a later settlement, one dated from the Younger Roman Period to the early phase of the migration period.¹⁰⁷

Taking into account the cultural context described above and, to a large degree, the circumstances of the discovery of the hoard from Glinik, we cannot regard this find as one that is not credible, though certain doubts remain.

⁹⁸ KUNISZ 1985: no. 314.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*: 26, no. 7 V; KACZANOWSKI and MARGOS 2002: 14, no. 29; DYMOWSKI 2013a: 277; IDEM 2015: 16.

¹⁰⁰ PIOTROWICZ 1936: 101; GUMOWSKI 1958: 128, no. 8; KUNISZ 1985: 76f, no. 89; KACZANOWSKI and MARGOS 2002: 78, no. 237; DYMOWSKI 2013a: 277; IDEM 2015: 15f.

¹⁰¹ IDEM 2013b; IDEM 2015.

¹⁰² This problem is discussed in detail in the following: IDEM 2013b; IDEM 2015.

¹⁰³ Cf. the discussion on this subject in the following: IDEM 2013b: 105ff; DYMOWSKI and MYZGIN 2014: 48ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. BODZEK 2009.

¹⁰⁵ GANCARSKI 1992: 58; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: in cat. 904; VALDE-NOWAK 1995–1996: 26, 27.

¹⁰⁶ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 46, 47, 51–54; MADYDA-LEGUTKO and RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK 2009.

¹⁰⁷ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: juxtaposition III, map 4; IDEM 1996a: 68.

Staniątki and Zarzecze

So far, the finds from Staniątki and Zarzecze have aroused less controversy. In accordance with the information that was handed over with the collection by R. Szkaradek to the Archaeological Museum of Krakow (at that time operating under the Polish Academy of Learning), these coins were found during work associated with the construction of the Lesser Poland railroad in the latter half of the 19th century and collected by the engineer F. Benesz.¹⁰⁸ Recently, the credibility of E. Benesz's collection as an assemblage of finds was put into question by A. Degler and K. Myzgin.¹⁰⁹ However, except for a short note concerning some 4th-century Roman coins from Lviv Oblast, these authors have not yet published the main theses of their findings, including whether or not they regard as false the information concerning all the finds from Benesz's collection or only some of them. As a result, we regard as unchanged the question of the authenticity of the information about the Bosporan coins found in Staniątki and Zarzecze.¹¹⁰ However, the context of the mentioned finds remains a contentious issue. It is assumed in the literature that the coin of Cotys I found in Zarzecze was accompanied by a bronze coin of Ascalon dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD. In turn, the coin of Rhescuporis III was supposed to have been found in Staniątki together with asses of Caligula and Hadrian.¹¹¹ However, as we have already demonstrated elsewhere, it is unclear whether the coins from Zarzecze were found together or whether they were purchased on the same day.¹¹² The coins from Staniątki are affected by the same lack of clarity.¹¹³

As regards the cultural context of these two coins, both were found on the outskirts of the Carpathians. The coin from Zarzecze, near Jarosław, is localized as having come from an area occupied by a settlement of the Przeworsk culture during the entire period of Roman influence.¹¹⁴ However, there are only a few materials in these lands that can refer to the oldest phase of the period of Roman influence (phase B1), the phase that corresponds chronologically to the coin under discussion. We also know that Roman coins, mostly early Roman coins, have been found in Zarzecze's immediate surroundings;

¹⁰⁸ Cf. footnote 51 above.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. DEGLER and MYZGIN 2017: 150. The main theses of the authors mentioned above were presented, for example, at a lecture titled "Benesz's Collection. True Finds or a Mystification?" given on March 21, 2017, at the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum as part of a session of the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow.

¹¹⁰ We will take a stand with regard to A. Degler and K. Myzgin's arguments after they are published.

¹¹¹ Cf. PIOTROWICZ 1936: 104; KUNISZ 1985: 207f, no. 257 II. Cf. also E. Benesz's original note on the card that is kept together with the coin in the Archaeological Museum of Krakow: "2/8 1882 Gefunden in Zarzecze b. Jarosław".

¹¹² Cf. BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999: *passim*, esp. p. 144.

¹¹³ The note kept with the coin reads as follows: "7/5 1868. Gefunden in Staniątki b. Niepołomice".

¹¹⁴ GODŁOWSKI 1985: maps 3–5; KACZANOWSKI and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1986: maps 5, 6; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999.

so too have single finds from the 3rd century.¹¹⁵ However, the coin from Staniątki, near Krakow, represents a late issue (Rhescuporis III) of the coins under discussion here. The cultural situation during the Roman period in the area in which this coin was localized is complicated. In the early Roman period, on the outskirts of the Carpathians, on the right bank of the Upper Vistula River near Krakow, a local group of the Púchov culture developed, manifesting itself by the presence of settlements that were used most intensively in the mature phase of the Early Roman Period (phase B2) and at the beginning of the Younger Roman Period (phase C1a), and so, until the close of the 2nd century.¹¹⁶ A settlement of the Przeworsk culture extended eastwards at this time.¹¹⁷ During the Younger Roman Period, the lands that up until then had been occupied by a local group of the Púchov culture were included within the sphere of a settlement of peoples of the Przeworsk culture.¹¹⁸ The surface investigations conducted near Staniątki led to the discovery of a series of sites dated to both the Early Roman Period and the Younger Roman Period, but it was not possible to determine which culture they belonged to.¹¹⁹ In light of the settlement and cultural changes that were occurring in the Roman period on the lands on the right banks of the Upper Vistula, the coin of Rhescuporis III should be associated with the Przeworsk settlement. Let us add that a hoard of Roman coins was apparently found in this area at the end of the 16th century.¹²⁰

Both the circumstances in which the finds were made as well as their cultural contexts would seem to allow us to regard them as credible.

Gąski

As already mentioned, the two remaining coins were found after 2000. That still does not mean that we know much about the circumstances in which the finds were made. The coin found in Gąski, Inowrocław District, was discovered at a site in which a large number of Roman coins have been found, including coins struck at provincial mints. Despite the lack of detailed information, the context of this find speaks in favor of its authenticity.

Skłóty

The circumstances behind the discovery of the coin of Ininthimeus in Skłóty, Kutno District, are not entirely clear. It was found accidentally before 2009 a few

¹¹⁵ Cf. *Ibidem*: 146, 147.

¹¹⁶ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 51; MADYDA-LEGUTKO, POLESKI and KRAPIEC 2005: 307–309; LASOTA and PAWLIKOWSKI 2009.

¹¹⁷ GODŁOWSKI 1985: maps 4–5.

¹¹⁸ MADYDA-LEGUTKO, POLESKI and KRAPIEC 2005.

¹¹⁹ *AZP*: 103–59, 104–59, the investigations of U. Bąk, R. Naglik, M. Nowak, and T. Wichman, for access to which we would like to express our gratitude.

¹²⁰ KUNISZ 1985: 207, no. 257 I.

hundred meters from the ruins of a 19th-century manor house.¹²¹ A denarius of Trajan (98–117) was apparently found nearby. Because it is not possible to establish – nor is it possible to rule out – a connection between the Bosporan coin and the manor house, certain doubts remain regarding the authenticity of the find. On the other hand, the coin was found in a settlement cluster of the Przeworsk culture in the Bzura river basin, which grew at a particularly fast pace during the Younger Roman Period.¹²² This in turn can serve as evidence in support of the find's authenticity.

THE MECHANISMS AND ROUTES BY WHICH THE COINS ARRIVED

It is difficult to unambiguously define the mechanism and routes by which coins issued in the Bosporan state entered into both the area of the Polish Western Carpathians and lands located farther to the north, which were occupied by Przeworsk culture settlements. Thus far, no coins of the Bosporan rulers have been found in the mountainous terrain of Slovakia, which could suggest that they did not make their way to the lands of Poland in the Early Roman Period via the environment of the Púchov culture. Nor have any such coins been discovered on the lands of a Suebi settlement, which has been identified as belonging to the Quadi, to the south. However, this settlement should be associated with a coin found in Moravia (Brno-Slatina) and struck in Olbia in the 1st or 2nd centuries AD.¹²³ The absence of any coins from the Bosporan state in cultural areas immediately to the south of Polish lands may indicate that they appeared in the northern part of the Western Carpathians and in the Vistula river basin from the northern coast of the Black Sea via the Dniester river basin. It is likely that they came to the lands of Poland in the Early Roman Period via Sarmatian tribes which, as of the beginning of the 1st century AD, occupied the lands of the Black Sea steppe extending between the Lower Dnieper and the Danube Delta. The peak of the Sarmatian culture on the northern coast of the Black Sea in the Early Roman Period falls in particular on the latter half of the 1st century, when the Sarmatian tribes entered into a strong union under the command of Pharsoes and his successor Inysmeas.¹²⁴ The center of this union was most likely located between the Lower Dniester and the Bug and it was also supposed to include lands extending to the northwest all the way to the upper reaches of the Siret. The leaders mentioned here struck their own coinage in Olbia.¹²⁵

¹²¹ BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013.

¹²² GODŁOWSKI 1985: 84, 94, map 5, map 6; MOSZCZYŃSKI 1994; cf. SKOWRON 2006.

¹²³ MILITKÝ 2004.

¹²⁴ SHCHUKIN 1989b; IDEM 1989a: 314–325; SIMONENKO and LOBAI 1991.

¹²⁵ SHCHUKIN 1982; IDEM 1989b; IDEM 1989a: 314–325; on the coins struck by Sarmatian rulers in Olbia, cf. KARYSHKOVSKII 1988: 108–109; ANOKHIN 1989: 64ff.

Despite the fact that clear cultural differences existed between the regions occupied by these Sarmatian tribes and the lands of the Central European Barbaricum, attention is presently focused on the possibility that contacts existed between the peoples of the Przeworsk culture and the Sarmatians. In light of the archaeological sources, these contacts are not, however, always clear cut. We have evidence that contacts between these two environments already existed at the beginning of the 1st century AD when Sarmatian influences reached the Upper Dniester river basin; they became clear among the materials that were counted among the so-called Zvenigorod-Hryniiov horizon. That these contacts existed can be seen in the fact that elements are present that on the one hand are typical of the Przeworsk culture and on the other of the Sarmatian culture, not to mention elements that are characteristic for the Dacian culture.¹²⁶

Spectacular evidence exists that the peoples of the Przeworsk culture living in the Upper Vistula river basin near Krakow were in contact with the Sarmatian environment of Eastern Europe. This can be seen in the inventory of a richly equipped grave from Giebułtów, near Krakow, dated to the final quarter of the 1st century AD, which included an amphora that almost certainly comes from Chersonesos, a jug with an eastern provenance, and vessels described as censers. These vessels are characteristic of inventories attributed to the Sarmatians.¹²⁷ This burial also included a partially preserved necklace made of interlaced gold wires using a technique that is a continuation of Hellenistic traditions and *terra sigillata* produced near Ephesus in Asia Minor.¹²⁸ Certain elements of the furnishings of the Sandomierz-Krakówka burial – vessels on high pedestals, silver tiles decorated with granulation¹²⁹ – are also supposed to serve as evidence that the peoples of the Przeworsk culture were in contact with the Sarmatians in the last quarter of the 1st century.¹³⁰ It should be emphasized, however, that the provenance of the vessels on high pedestals from both burials – which are understood as having been censers – were previously regarded as Dacian.¹³¹ However, in accepting that these vessels have a Sarmatian provenance, one can surmise that they made their way to the lands on the Upper Vistula by way of the tribal union led by Pharsoes as mentioned above.

Other finds that could have arrived in the first half of the 1st century AD from the region of the Black Sea via the Sarmatian environment include single pieces of ceramic scarabs that have been found on Polish lands, in cremation burials dated to

¹²⁶ SHCHUKIN 1989a: 283–285; IDEM 1989b: 71, 72, pl. 1; cf. KOKOWSKI 1999.

¹²⁷ DOBRZAŃSKA and WIELOWIEJSKI 1997: 88, 89, tab. IV: 2, V: 1–3; DOBRZAŃSKA 1999: 78–79.

¹²⁸ DOBRZAŃSKA and WIELOWIEJSKI 1999: 88, 89, tab. IV: 1, XIV: 1; DOMŻALSKI 1998.

¹²⁹ KOKOWSKI and ŚCIBIOR 1990: tab. 385(7): 35, 385(9): 51–53.

¹³⁰ DOBRZAŃSKA 1999: 81, 85.

¹³¹ KOKOWSKI and ŚCIBIOR 1990: no. 52; KOKOWSKI 2005: 112.

phase B1 of the Early Roman Period. These are finds from a Przeworsk cemetery in Zadowice, Kalisz District,¹³² and a Wielbark cemetery in Leśno, Chojnice District.¹³³ Another scarab, with a later chronological position, was discovered at a cemetery of the Luboszyce culture in Sadzarzewice, Krosno Odrzańskie District, in a burial dated to the turn of the Early Roman Period and the Younger Roman Period.¹³⁴ Scarabs from the three sites mentioned here correspond to artifacts of this type known from the northern coast of the Black Sea (type 50c, according to Alekseeva), which appear as of the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD and mostly in the 1st century AD.¹³⁵ They often appear in the Sarmatian environment, also appearing in necklaces together with beads.¹³⁶ According to J. Śliwa, they could have arrived in the lands of Poland by way of other routes – for example, by way of the Amber Road.¹³⁷

Sometimes, the presence of symbols on the inlaid heads of pole weapons are cited as evidence that the warriors of the peoples of the Przeworsk culture were in contact with the Sarmatian world during the mature phase of the Early Roman Period (phase B2b) and in the early phase of the Younger Roman Period (phase C1a) – above all, signs with a double-ended fork corresponding to certain Sarmatian tamgas, especially ones that were similar to the tamgas of Pharsoes, the chief of the Sarmatians.¹³⁸ However, there was great variety in the inlaid symbols on the heads of the pole weapons that were used on the lands of the Przeworsk culture, and it is certainly the case that their contents can only be associated with the influence of the Sarmatians to a certain degree.¹³⁹ It may be that the three-winged iron arrowheads discovered at the burial grounds in Grzybów, Staszów District, in the part of the necropolis dated from the mature phase of the Early Roman Period (phase B2) to the mature phase of the Younger Roman Period (phase C2)¹⁴⁰ should be regarded as Sarmatian in origin.¹⁴¹ However, they correspond to the arrowheads used in the

¹³² Burial 95 (two artifacts, heavily damaged) (ABRAMOWICZ and LEPÓWNA 1957: 27, 28, tab. XVIII: 8; ABRAMOWICZ 1957: 260, tab. XLIV: 8; KASZEWSKA 1984: 39, 89, 90, fig. 69; ŚLIWA 1992: 41, figs. 1, 2; WALENTA 1992: 175–176).

¹³³ Burial 29 (a scarab covered with a green glaze); this grave also contained a silver Celtic coin struck on the lands of the Kalisz settlement cluster (WALENTA 1992: 174, tab. I: 3; IDEM 2009: 44, 72, tab. CXIV; ŚLIWA 1992: 42, fig. 3).

¹³⁴ JENTSCH 1897: 169–170; WALENTA 1992: 176; ŚLIWA 1992: 42, fig. 4.

¹³⁵ ALEKSEEVA 1975: 42, tab. 10.

¹³⁶ GROSU 1990.

¹³⁷ ŚLIWA 1992: 44–45.

¹³⁸ SHCHUKIN 1994: 486, fig. 1; DOBRZAŃSKA 1999: 82–83, figs. 4a-e; VORONYATOV and MACHINSKII 2010: 57–77, figs. 2–3, figs. 5–6.

¹³⁹ Cf. KACZANOWSKI 1988: 51–57; HACHMANN 1993: 373–393.

¹⁴⁰ GARBACZ 2000: 121–122, tab. LXXI: 1–16.

¹⁴¹ DOBRZAŃSKA 1999: 83, 85.

region of the Black Sea¹⁴² as well as to the arrowheads that were used by the auxiliary forces of the Roman army posted along the Danubian and Rhine Limes.¹⁴³

We can also regard as evidence that the Przeworsk culture was in contact with the Sarmatian environment via single elements of attire that have been found in the region of the Przeworsk culture, for example the so-called Sarmatian buckle from the burial grounds in Zakrzów (grave 4) in Upper Silesia¹⁴⁴ and the two-part construction at the end of certain belts.¹⁴⁵ However, it cannot be ruled out that they are rather indicative of contacts with Sarmatian tribes from the Tisza river basin.

On the other hand, it needs to be emphasized that elements of personal equipment characteristic of warriors from the lands of the Central European Barbaricum appear in the Sarmatian environment in the region of the Black Sea and on the Lower Danube at the turn of the Early Roman Period and the Younger Roman Period.¹⁴⁶ This remark concerns the presence, in the mentioned areas, of massive rectangular two-pin buckles, the ends of belts which are similar to a rectangle and characteristic of belts used mostly by warriors of the Przeworsk and West Baltic cultures as well as the Wielbark culture.¹⁴⁷

The nature of the contacts between the Central European Barbaricum and the northern coast of the Black Sea underwent significant changes at the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century. These changes were caused by the migration of Gothic tribes from Pomerania into the region of the Black Sea steppe, changing the political and cultural composition in this part of Europe. The raids in AD 230–270 by the Goths and other peoples cooperating with them led to the destruction, among other things, of cities on the Black Sea.¹⁴⁸ In the latter half of the 3rd century, the Black Sea steppe saw the formation of the Chernyakhov culture, which is mostly attributed to the Gothic peoples.¹⁴⁹ Other tribes were included within this culture, including Sarmatian tribes. During this period of anxiety and destabilization, caused by the incursions of the Goths, the coins issued on the lands of the Bosporan state that are found in the region of the Chernyakhov culture mostly come from the left banks of the Lower Dnieper. Simplifying somewhat, these coins

¹⁴² SIMONENKO 2001: 193–198, fig. 2: 2–15.

¹⁴³ ZANIER 1988: 5–27, fig. 2. Garbacz (2000:121), who conducted investigations on the necropolises in Grzybów, thinks that the arrowheads were brought into the southern reaches of the Przeworsk culture from the south during the Marcomannic Wars.

¹⁴⁴ GODŁOWSKI 1969: 201, 202, fig.18b.

¹⁴⁵ MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2011: 122.

¹⁴⁶ IDEM 1990: fig. 1.

¹⁴⁷ BAZHAN and GERTSEGER 1993; VASILEV 2005: figs. 1–2; ANDRZEJOWSKI and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013; BRUYAKO, DZIGOVSKII and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2017.

¹⁴⁸ WOLFRAM 2003: 61–76; KOKOWSKI 2007: 159–174, maps 10, 12; SHCHUKIN 2005.

¹⁴⁹ MAGOMEDOV 2001.

are noted to a larger extent in the west all the way to the areas between the Lower Dniester and the Prut.¹⁵⁰ Coins from the Bosporan state struck in the 3rd century have also been found in lands located significantly farther north, in present-day Belarus¹⁵¹ and even Lithuania.¹⁵² As we have already mentioned, the issues of the Bosporan state that have been recorded in the lands of the Chernyakhov culture fall on the age directly preceding the Gothic Wars (the coins in group I), the period during which the wars took place (the coins in group II), and on the age following the Gothic Wars (the coins in group III). The coins dated to the age directly preceding the Gothic Wars are synchronized with the period preceding the formation of the Chernyakhov culture.

Although the coins found near Zabełcze in Nowy Sącz, Glinik Mariampolski in Gorlice, Zarzecze, and Gąski come from a period beginning at the end of the 1st century BC and continuing to the 2nd century AD, we cannot rule out that at least some of them could have ended up in Polish lands many years after they were struck – during the period of the Gothic Wars. For example, the date of issue of the coin of Rhescuporis III from Staniątki, Wieliczka District, precedes the Gothic Wars. In turn, the coin of Ininthimeus from Kutno, Kutno District, falls on the period in which these wars were fought. No doubt the appearance of some of the described coins in the region of these Przeworsk culture settlements can be regarded as “scraps” which arrived from the Gothic environment broadly understood. They almost certainly arrived via the Masłomęcz Group, which is genetically tied to the Wielbark culture and which also demonstrates numerous features that are characteristic for the Chernyakhov culture.¹⁵³ With regard to some of the elements of attire that have been found on the lands of the Przeworsk culture, it should be emphasized that certain stylistic similarities have been observed as concerns artifacts that we know of from the Masłomęcz Group and the Chernyakhov culture.¹⁵⁴

The contacts – dated to the latter half of the 3rd century – between the peoples living in the area of the Przeworsk culture and the nomadic peoples from the regions of the northern coast of the Black Sea had, however, a different character. This is due to the fact they are only clearly marked in the graves of the local elite. That the tie should be sought in the east is indicated by certain elements of the belt from a princely burial – no. II – from Wrocław-Zakrzów.¹⁵⁵ In particular, this concerns

¹⁵⁰ MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: fig. 1.

¹⁵¹ RIABCEVICH and SIDAROVICH 2010; RASSADIN 2000: 410; SIDAROVICH 2011: 25; MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 102.

¹⁵² The hoard of Parthian and Bosporan coins (MICHALBERTAS 2001: 58) should be treated with a great deal of caution.

¹⁵³ KOKOWSKI 1995.

¹⁵⁴ RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK 2001: 320–321, fig. 7.

¹⁵⁵ GREMLER 1888: 8, tab. III: 18, 19.

the buckle and the ferrule accompanying it, which were executed in a style marked by the presence of a large carnelian polished flat and fastened in a central position on a gilded surface. This style is dated to the latter half of the 3rd century and the 4th century; it was used in Chersonesus and the Bosporan state, and it was also used on the lands of the Lower Don and the northern outskirts of the Caucasus.¹⁵⁶

However, as concerns the earliest Bosporan coins found in the lands of Poland, those struck at the end of the 1st century BC or in the 1st century AD, we cannot entirely rule out either that they were brought by the Dacians. As already mentioned, Dacian influences are visible in the archaeological material in the mountainous reaches of the San and north of the Carpathians. It may be that the Dacians played an intermediary role in bringing at least some Roman Republican coins to the area of present-day Poland and Ukraine. Moreover, although the number is small, Bosporan coin finds have been noted in the lands of present-day Romania, which indicates that they circulated – though perhaps not very widely – within the region of Dacia and Moesia. A bronze coin of Sauromates I (93/94–122/123) was found in the region of the Danube Delta, in Horia, Tulcea County. A sestertius of Trajan also comes from the same place.¹⁵⁷ In turn, a bronze coin of Aspurgus (14/15–37/38) was found to the northwest, in Poiana (Galați County).¹⁵⁸ This coin, which was found during regular archaeological investigations, on a multi-cultural site located in the Siret river basin, is particularly important. Let us add that many other coin finds have been noted in Poiana. That some Black Sea coins came to the area north of the Carpathians from the south could also be indicated by the Moravian find of the Olbian coin mentioned above, which was struck in the 1st or 2nd century AD.

SUMMARY

The coins of the Bosporan rulers probably entered into the region of present-day Poland from the east, either via the Sarmatians in the 1st or 2nd centuries AD or by way of contacts with the Gothic environment (the Chernyakhov culture) in the 3rd century AD. It is much less likely – though it cannot be ruled out – that they came to the north from the Carpathians via the Dacian peoples (the coins struck in the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD). Besides the discovery of an Olbian coin in Slatina, Brno, no coins of the kind that are of interest to us here have been found south of the Carpathians. However, that it is possible that Bosporan coins made their way to Moesia or Dacia – and that they were then perhaps taken farther

¹⁵⁶ SHAROV 1994; MALASHEV 2000; YATSENKO and MALASHEV 2000; MADYDA-LEGUTKO, forthcoming.

¹⁵⁷ MITREA 1964: 380, no. 52; KUNISZ 1992: 158.

¹⁵⁸ MITREA 1978: 366, no. 63, figs. 2: 2–3 (367).

on to the north or northwest – is given testimony to by a small number of coins of this type that have been found in these regions. As emphasized above, the fact that the structure of the finds (groups I and II, according to Myzgin and Beidin) from Poland is in partial agreement with the structure of the finds in Ukraine and Russia suggests that it is rather more likely the case that the coins came from the east. Compared to the large number of such coins that have been recorded in the regions of present-day Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus, the relatively small number of finds in Poland of the coins of interest to us here bears testimony to the fact that this was the periphery region of their influx. This, in turn, is yet another argument speaking in favor of the hypothesis that they came to Poland from the east. The difference in the structure of these finds and their distance from the finds recorded within the present-day western lands of Germany rather rules out that there is a tie between these groups of finds.

CATALOGUE

1. Gaški, Inowrocław District

Cimmerian Bosphorus, Rhescuporis II (68/69–93) – Sauromates II (174/5–210/11)

AE, sestertius, 5.075 g; 22.9 × 21.65 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 7)

Obv.: diademed and draped bust of king right; legend illegible

Rev.: MH in wreath

Cf. FROLOVA 1997a: Pls. XLIV–LXI.

Stray find? Found before 2014.

Private collection?

References: unpublished.

2. Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice, Gorlice District

Cimmerian Bosphorus, Rhescuporis II (68/69–91/92)

AE, sestertius, AD 80–93; 13.17 g; 28.2 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 3)

Obv.: curule chair, wreath on it; in left field shield and spear; in right field staff surmounted with bust of emperor; [TI IOYΛIOY P]HCKOYII[OPIΔOC]

Rev.: MH in wreath; dotted border

Cf. FROLOVA 1968: 62, Pl. II, no. 8; ANOKHIN 1986: Pl. 14, no. 377; FROLOVA 1997a: 105, 1st group, Pl. XXXI, 4–15.

In a hoard of about 200 AE; including 1 AE, Sarmatia, Olbia, mid-2nd cent. AD (Pl. 1, Fig. 4; cf. KARSHKOVSKI 1988: Pl. 10.7); 1 AE, Crete, Cnossos archon Cydas, c. 36 BC (Pl. 1, Fig. 5; cf. CHAPMANN 1968: 13ff; RPC I: no. 934, p. 222); 1 AE, Cilicia, Corycus: 1st cent. BC – early imperial period (Pl. 1, Fig. 6; cf. SNG France 1086–1093).

Found in 1937.

Private collection.

References: SKOWRONEK 1973: 154–155; KUBIAK 1978: 195, no. 9; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: 11, no. 177; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 47; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013: 69.

3. Nowy Sącz, environs (Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz?)

Cimmerian Bosporus, Polemon (15–9 BC)

AE, 2.7 g; 20.0 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 1)

Obv.: dolphin right, behind trident; dotted border

Rev.: monogram $\overline{\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{E}}}$; dotted border

Cf. ANOKHIN 1986: 82, Pl. 10, no. 258; FROLOVA 1997a: 42, type III, Pl. XV, 15–16a; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 53, type III, Pl. XXXIV, 15–16b.

Stray find?; found before 1953?

Nowy Sącz District Museum; Inv. No. A/5 (KW 1038).

References: GUMOWSKI 1958: 117, no. 30; WIELOWIEJSKI 1960: no. 1561; KUNISZ 1960: 133; IDEM 1962: 280; IDEM 1966: 119; IDEM 1969: no. 295; MORAWIECKI 1977: 176; KUNISZ 1985: 151f, no. 165 II; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1995: 18, no. 469; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 47; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013: 69; FIRST 2014: 16.

4. Skłóty, Kutno District

Cimmerian Bosporus, Ininthimeus (234/5–238/239)

AE, double denarius, 5.55 g; 20.7 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 9)

Obv.: diademed and draped bust of king right; BACIAEWC ININΘIMEOY

Rev.: goddess sitting left on throne; in left field star

Cf. FROLOVA 1997b: 37, 232, Pl. XXXVII, no. 13 (group VII).

Stray find; before 2009.

References: BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013.

5. Staniątki, Wieliczka District

Cimmerian Bosporus, Rhescuporis III (211/12–228/9)

AE, denarius; 7.42 g; 23.8 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 8)

Obv.: diademed and draped bust of king right; [B]ΑΣΙΑEWC PHCKOYΠIOPIAOC

Rev.: horseman right, raising right hand; below star

Cf. FROLOVA 1980: 19ff; ANOKHIN 1986: Pl. 31, no. 645; FROLOVA 1997b: 10f, Pl. XIV, 7–10.

Stray Find?¹⁵⁹ Found in 1868, during construction of the Lesser Poland railroad.

Archaeological Museum in Krakow, Inv. No. MAK/10521

References: PIOTROWICZ 1936: 104; GUMOWSKI 1958: 116, no. 4; WIELOWIEJSKI 1960: 375, no. 1268/2; KUBIAK 1978: 201, no. 34; MAJEWSKI 1949: no. 367; KUNISZ 1969: no. 237, 11; IDEM 1985: 209, no. 259, note 1; MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1996a: 105, note 89; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013: 69; KACZNOWSKI 2017: 94, no. 173.

6. Zarzecze, Przeworsk District

Cimmerian Bosporus, Cotys I (45–68)

AE, dupondius, AD 63–68; 6.62 g; 23.0 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 2)

Obv.: temple with five columns; [K]A PE

Rev.: monogram $\overline{\text{B}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}}$ in wreath; below KD, CO

Cf. ANOKHIN 1986: 99f; Pl. 14, no. 370 (as Rhescuporis II); KARYSHKOVSKII 1953/4: 186–187; FROLOVA 1997a: 100, type 1, Pl. XXVIII, 11–18; FROLOVA and IRELAND 2002: 82f, type II, Pl. LVIII 1–18, LVIII 1–1a.

¹⁵⁹ This coin was apparently found together with bronze coins of Caligula and Hadrian. It was on this basis that the coin was mistakenly attributed to Rhescuporis I or II and dated to the 1st century AD.

Stray find?¹⁶⁰ Found in 1882, during construction of the Lesser Poland railroad.

Archaeological Museum in Krakow, Inv. No. MAK/10556

References: PIOTROWICZ 1936: 107; MAJEWSKI 1949: 159; GUMOWSKI 1958: 128, no. 7; WIELOWIEJSKI 1960: 395, no. 1574, B1; WOŹNIAK 1967: 221; GROMNICKI 1973: 10; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1999; BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2013: 69.

ABBREVIATIONS

FMRD, abt. 3, Saarland = KIENAST, D. (ed.) 1962. *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland, Abt. 3. Saarland*, Frankfurt am Main.

FMRD, abt. 5, bd 2,1: Hessen = SCHUBERT, H. (ed.) 1989. *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland, Abt. 5. Hessen. Band 2,1 Darmstadt*, Frankfurt am Main.

FMRD, abt. 5, bd 3: Hessen = SCHUBERT, H. (ed.) 2003. *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland, Abt. 5. Hessen. Band 3. Kassel*, Frankfurt am Main.

FMRÖ = HAHN, W. (ed.) 1976. *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich, Abt. III. Niederösterreich. Band 1: Carnuntum*, Wien.

MuM 44. 1971 = *Münzen und Medaillen, Auction 44. 15–17/VI, 1971*, Basel 1971.

PMMAiE = *Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi*.

RPC I = AMANDRY, M., BURNETT, A. and RIPOLLES, P.P. (eds.) 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. 1. *From the Death of Caesar to Death of Vitellius (44 B.C. – A.D.69)*, London–Paris

SNG Stancomb = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain*, Vol. 11, *The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea Region*, Oxford 2000.

SNG France BN = LEVANTE, E. (ed.) 1993. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France 2. Cabinet des médailles. Cilicie*, Paris–Zürich.

SNG Levante = LEVANTE, E. (ed.) 1986. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Switzerland 1. Levante-Cilicie*, Berne.

WN = *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*.

WNA = *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*.

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¹⁶⁰ This coin was apparently found together with a coin from Ascalon dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

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MAP 1

Finds of Bosporan Coins in Poland and in Germany, by Michał Kasiński:
1 – Gąski, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship; 2 – Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice; 3 – Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz; 4 – Skłóty, Kutno District, Łódź Voivodeship; 5 – Staniątki, near Krakow, Lesser Poland Voivodeship; 6 – Zarzecze, near Jarosław, Subcarpathian Voivodeship (previously Przemysł Voivodeship); 7 – Gross Gerau, Hessen; 8 – Kirchberg, Hessen; 9 – Kirchhain, Hessen; 10 – Wiebelskirchen, Saarland

PLATE 1

Fig. 1. The environs of Nowy Sącz (Zabelcze, Nowy Sącz); Cimmerian Bosporus, Polemon (15–9), AE.

Photo Bartłomiej Urbański

Fig. 2. Zarzecze, Przeworsk District, Cimmerian Bosporus, Cotys I (45–69), AD 63–69, AE, dupondius.

Photo Archaeological Museum, Krakow

Fig. 3. Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice; Cimmerian Bosporus, Rhescuporis II (68/69–91/92), AD 80–83, AE, sestertius.

Photo Henryk Pieczul

Fig. 4. Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice; Sarmatia, Olbia, *c.* mid-2nd cent. AD, AE.

Photo Henryk Pieczul

Fig. 5. Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice; Crete, Cnossos, archon Cydas, *c.* 36 BC, AE.

Photo Henryk Pieczul

Fig. 6. Glinik Mariampolski, Gorlice; Cilicia, Corycus: 1st cent. BC – early imperial period; AE.

Photo Henryk Pieczul

Fig. 7. Gąski, Inowrocław District, Cimmerian Bosporus, Rhescuporis II (68/69–93) – Sauromates II (174/5–210/11), AE, sestertius.

Photo Marcin Rudnicki

Fig. 8. Staniątki, Wieliczka District, Cimmerian Bosporus, Rhescuporis III (211/12–228/9), AE, denarius.

Photo Archaeological Museum, Krakow

Fig. 9. Skłóty, Kutno District, Cimmerian Bosporus, Ininthimeus (234/5–238/239), AE, double denarius.

Photo Tuco



