

# NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

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# ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIX

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE  
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA  
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN  
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2024



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Lech Kokociński. Photo by Piotr Idem  
Lech Kokociński. Fot. Piotr Idem



Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIX *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

Bieżący Tom naszego czasopisma chcielibyśmy zadedykować Panu Mecenasowi Lechowi Kokocińskiemu, obchodzącemu w 2024 roku swoje 80-te urodziny. Lech Kokociński (ur. 1944), prawnik, sędzia i wieloletni pracownik Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki, z numizmatyką związany jest w zasadzie od zawsze. Przede wszystkim należy do grona najwybitniejszych kolekcjonerów numizmatów drugiej połowy XX i pierwszych dziesięcioleci XXI wieku. Jego zainteresowania kolekcjonerskie nie ograniczały się przy tym do wąskiego zakresu, lecz obejmowały szerokie spektrum obiektów: od monet antycznych poczynawszy, poprzez pieniądź papierowy, medale, aż po fałszerstwa monet i banknotów. Ważną część jego zbiorów stanowią starodruki i rękopisy numizmatyczne oraz inne obiekty o charakterze bibliofilskim, szczególnie *Lwowiana*. Mecenas Kokociński przez całe życie aktywnie włączał się w animowanie ruchu numizmatycznego. Od 1962 roku był członkiem Polskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego, od 1984 roku przewodniczył Sekcji Numizmatycznej Polskiego Towarzystwa Archeologicznego i Numizmatycznego, a w 1987 roku został Prezesem tej organizacji. W 1991 roku należał do założycieli Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego i był jego pierwszym Prezesem, a następnie Prezesem Honorowym. Bliskie związki mecenasa Kokocińskiego z Gabinetem Numizmatycznym Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie sięgają XX wieku. Jest członkiem Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego (od 1996 r.), a w latach 2011–2015 pełnił funkcję członka Rady Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Wszedł też w skład Komitetu Honorowego projektu *Europejskie Centrum Numizmatyki Polskiej*, w ramach realizacji którego udało się otworzyć Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego w obecnym kształcie. Przede wszystkim jednak jest jednym z najważniejszych i najbardziej hojnych darczyńców na rzecz Muzeum. Wzbogacił zbiory Gabinetu Numizmatycznego o niemal 11 000 obiektów, w tym monety antyczne, bezprecedensową kolekcję pieniądza fałszywego, pieniądź papierowy i medale. Dodatkowo ofiarował do biblioteki Muzeum ponad 1000 pozycji różnych publikacji, starodruków i znakomite archiwalia związane z życiem i działalnością wybitnych numizmatyków czy towarzystw numizmatycznych, jak np. Związku Numizmatyków Lwowskich czy Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego w Krakowie. Z okazji Jubileuszu życzymy Lechowi Kokocińskiemu, naszemu Drogiemu Przyjacielowi, co najmniej 100 lat!

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 19 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. As is our policy, we publish all texts in the congress languages, with English and Polish abstracts. The contents of current volume and archive numbers are available as PDF files on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). The website also provides all general information about the journal, along with guidelines for authors and reviewers.

We would like to dedicate the current volume of our journal to Mr Lech Kokociński, who celebrated his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2024. Lech Kokociński (born in 1944), lawyer, judge and long-time employee of the Ministry of Culture and Art, has been involved in numismatics for practically all his life. Above all, he is one of the most outstanding numismatic collectors of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. His collecting interests were not limited to a narrow range, but covered a wide spectrum of objects, starting with the ancient coins, through paper money and medals, to counterfeits of coins and banknotes. An important part of his collection consists of antique prints and numismatic manuscripts as well as other bibliophile objects, especially *Lvoviana*. Throughout his life, Kokociński has actively participated in promoting the numismatic movement. He was a member of the Polish Archaeological Society from 1962, chaired the Numismatic Section of the Polish Archaeological and Numismatic Society from 1984 and became its president in 1987. In 1991, he was one of the founders and first president of the Polish Numismatic Society, later becoming Honorary President. The close relationship between Mr Kokociński and the Numismatic Department of the National Museum in Krakow dates back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He is a member of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum Friends Society (since 1996), and in the years between 2011–2015 he was a member of the Council of the National Museum in Krakow. He also became a member of the Honorary *European Center of Polish Numismatics* project, which led to the opening of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum its present form. Above all, however, he is one of the most important and generous donors to the Museum. He enriched the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet with almost 11,000 objects, including ancient coins, an unprecedented collection of counterfeit money, paper money and medals. In addition, he donated more than 1,000 items to the museum library, including various publications, antique books, and valuable archive material related to the life and work of prominent numismatists or numismatic societies, such as the Union of Lviv Numismatists and the Numismatic Society in Krakow. On the occasion of this milestone birthday, we wish Lech Kokociński, our dear friend, at least 100 years!

The Editors

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## A Celtic Stater Associated with the “Lesser Poland Coinage Group” from Site Kaliszany-Folwark 22, Discovered in Orłowiny, Opatów District, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship

**ABSTRACT:** This article presents a new find of a stater of the so-called “Lesser Poland group” of Celtic coinage. The coin was discovered by chance in the village of Orłowiny, in the district of Opatów, in a place listed in the archaeological heritage register as Kaliszany-Folwark 22, about 160 km northeast of Krakow. The coin in question is analogous to a gold coin from Kryspinów, site no. 3, district Krakow, and to a coin from the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (No. BnF 8743). A preliminary chronological and metrological analysis was attempted with reference to the Krakow type staters. The coin from Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 can most likely be dated to the decline of the functioning of the settlement of the Tyniec group near which the coin was found, i.e. the late-1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

**KEY WORDS:** stater, Lesser Poland coinage group, Tyniec group, Przeworsk culture, Celtic import

**ABSTRAKT:** *Celtycki stater „małopolskiej grupy mennicznej” ze stanowiska Kaliszany-Folwark 22, odkryty w Orłowinach, powiat opatowski, województwo świętokrzyskie*

W artykule przedstawiono nowe znalezisko celtyckiego statera tzw. „grupy małopolskiej” mennictwa celtyckiego. Zabytek odkryto przypadkowo w miejscowości Orłowiny, pow. Opatów, na stanowisku oznaczonym w ewidencji zabytków archeologicznych jako Kaliszany-Folwark 22, ok. 160 km na północny wschód od Krakowa. Omawiane znalezisko ma analogie w złotej monecie z Kryspinowa,

stan. 3, pow. Kraków oraz w monecie ze zbiorów Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale de France w Paryżu (nr. BnF 8743). Podjęto próbę wstępnej analizy chronologicznej i metrologicznej w nawiązaniu do staterów typu Kraków. Moneta ze stanowiska Kaliszany-Folwark 22 pochodzi najpewniej ze schyłku funkcjonowania osadnictwa grupy tynieckiej, tj. ze schyłku I w. p.n.e. i pierwszych dziesięcioleci I w. n.e.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** stater, małopolska grupa mennicza, grupa tyniecka, kultura przeworska, import celtycki

## INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2024<sup>1</sup> a Celtic gold coin was delivered to Marek Florek<sup>2</sup> at the Sandomierz local branch of the Province Heritage Monuments Protection Office in Kielce (WUOZ – Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków, Delegatura w Sandomierzu). The finder, Mr Kamil Bilski of the “Wspólne Dziedzictwo” Association from Opatów, indicated that the coin was discovered in the village of Kaliszany, the commune of Wojciechowice, in the district of Opatów, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship. Although according to the provincial archaeological record the coin was found in Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 (AZP 86-72/431), due to the current administrative division it was actually found in the territory of the village of Orłowiny (Map 1). The specimen was found in the course of a field survey conducted by the Association on the basis of a permit issued by the voivodeship conservator of monuments from the mentioned local office in Sandomierz. The coin is 16.5 mm in diameter and weighs 6.29 g. The light yellow colour of the alloy suggests that a significant amount of gold was used in its production.<sup>3</sup> The very good state of preservation is also noteworthy; presumably, the coin had not been in circulation for too long. However, the edge shows cracks (Fig. 1.1), likely formed when the coin was minted, which is unusual. These may indicate technological problems,<sup>4</sup> probably related to the skills of the craftsman who made the coin.

<sup>1</sup> I had already submitted the article to the editor of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, when I learned of the existence of two more unpublished staters of the BN 8743 Kryspinów type. See W. Pazowska, in this volume, and J. Bulas and M. Okońska-Bulas, in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Dr Hab. M. Florek (Sandomierz local branch of the Province Heritage Monuments Protection Office in Kielce, Institute of Archaeology, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin) for his help in preparing the paper. I also thank Łukasz Kieferling (Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Art in Krakow).

<sup>3</sup> An X-ray fluorescence analysis was performed in the Laboratory of Analysis and Nondestructive Investigation of Heritage Objects (LANBOZ), National Museum in Krakow. Sample Obv.: Au 59.84%; Ag 37.56%; Cu 1.47%; Sn 0.74%; Sample Rev.: Au 57.89%; Ag 40.29%; Sn 0.84%; Cu 0.72%. I would like to thank Dr Anna Klisińska-Kopacz (LANBOZ), who did the metallurgical analysis.

<sup>4</sup> After casting the semi-finished flan should be initially hammered, which leads to hardening of the alloy. Then the prepared disc should be subjected to high temperatures, otherwise it will be more susceptible to small cracks in further processing i.e. using a die. This may be one of the reasons why cracks appear on the coin from Kaliszany-Folwark.

## COIN DESCRIPTION

*Obv.*: on the r. side, two thick parallel lines connected by thin crossbars are visible. From one of those another three thick lines diverge obliquely: the upper one refracts at a r. angle, the middle one is straight, and the lower one follows an arc (Figs. 1, 2.1). *Rev.*: the lower part shows a crescent-shaped base with radial, fan-shaped lines running over it. This feature, distinctive of Boii mussel staters, was classified as typologically older.<sup>5</sup> Younger elements include an elongated, amorphous split, directed obliquely to the r., at the upper end of the shape visible on the l. Above, there is another lengthened form, also arranged obliquely to the r., i.e. facing the upper edge of the coin. Directly over the crescent-shaped base a dot and a set of fine vertical or oblique lines (three on each side) can be seen (Figs. 1, 2.1). At the bottom of the aforementioned base, a small protuberance can be seen (Fig. 1.2). It indicates that the die was damaged at that point. It should be noted that the dies are most susceptible to damage on the edges of the places where the relief is deepest, and this was the case here. Scratches are visible on both sides of the coin; judging by the slightly different colour, they were created relatively recently (Fig. 1.3).

## ANALOGIES TO THE SPECIMEN FROM KALISZANY-FOLWARK, SITE 22

The stater from Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 is representative of the coinage linked to the settlement of La Tène culture in western Lesser Poland. Currently, after Marcin Rudnicki, these particular coins are mostly referred to as BN 8743/Kryspinów type.<sup>6</sup> Until now, only two specimens similar to the one in question were known. One of them (now in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, No. BnF<sup>7</sup> 7843) was a part of the collection of French numismatist Louis Félicien Joseph Caignart de Sauley until 1872 (Fig. 2.2). The coin was initially described as a Menapian stater found in Utrecht.<sup>8</sup> The veracity of that designation was questioned by A. Blanchet, who described it as a one of the *déformations* “*Regenbogenschüsselchen*”.<sup>9</sup> The connection with the Menapii was challenged by Paul-Marie Duval as well.<sup>10</sup> Then the problem of the provenance of the BN 8743 stater was addressed by K. Castelin as a sideline to research on a similar coin (No. BN

<sup>5</sup> CASTELIN 1976: 262–263; RUDNICKI 2012a: 25; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2019: 35.

<sup>6</sup> RUDNICKI 2012a: 178.

<sup>7</sup> In 1994 the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris changed its name to the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Consequently, the acronym “BN” was replaced by “BnF”. In this article, only the acronym “BN” will be used in order to eliminate inconsistencies in nomenclature i.e., the “BN” when sources created before 1994 would be mentioned, and “BnF” when the coin itself would be mentioned in today’s context.

<sup>8</sup> ROBERT 1868: 425; MURET and CHABOUILLET 1889: 201–202, no. 8743; DE LA TOUR 1892: 6; Pl. XXXV.8743.

<sup>9</sup> BLANCHET 1905: 475.

<sup>10</sup> DUVAL 1949: 91, 92.

8744), also in the de Saulcy collection. That coin, described as originating from the Netherlands, is nowadays classified as a Krakow type stater. The Czech researcher who examined both of them had noticed elements typical of Central European coinage.<sup>11</sup> The suppositions of K. Castelin were eventually confirmed by Nico Roymans and Wijnand van der Sanden, authors of a monograph dedicated to the finds of Celtic coins from the Netherlands. Based on K. Castelin and Z. Woźniak's research on Celtic coins from Central Europe, they questioned the reliability of the 19<sup>th</sup> century account concerning where the coin of interest, as well as the BN 8744 stater, was found.<sup>12</sup> The second specimen similar to the Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22, find comes from a settlement of the Przeworsk culture in Kryspinów, Krakow district, site 3 (Fig. 2.3).<sup>13</sup> However, each of the mentioned coins was made using different dies. The clear differentiation of the negatives of the dies indicates that the dies were not made with the same master hub.

The specimen from the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (No. BN 8743) measures 16.6 mm in diameter and weighs just 4.92 g.<sup>14</sup> The coin is in good condition. Its composition is not known, but Henri De La Tour described it as "gold", while the aforementioned Krakow type stater (BN 8744) is referred to as "pale gold".<sup>15</sup> The depictions on the obverse and reverse are both well preserved, which does not mean that they are easy to interpret. Recall that the crescent-shaped base visible in the lower part of the reverse with radial lines resembling the shape of a handheld fan running above is a feature typical of Boii mussel staters, which in turn were the model for coins from Lesser Poland. Sometimes these ornaments have been associated with lunar and solar symbolism. The remaining details visible on the reverse are typologically younger and, in the analyzed case, considered a characteristic feature of the coinage from the Krakow area. Some researchers interpreted all these elements together, as a unified iconographic composition, while others indicated separate and independent "layers".

As mentioned, the depiction on the obverse of the BN 8743 coin is difficult to interpret. The author of the first publication, Pierre Charles Robert, speculated

<sup>11</sup> CASTELIN 1970; IDEM 1976.

<sup>12</sup> ROYMANS and VAN DER SANDEN 1980: 184, 246; Pl. 11.XVII-1.

<sup>13</sup> KACZANOWSKI 1996; IDEM 1997. According to Michał Grygiel, a similar coin was found within a hoard of tetradrachms (classified as a Veľký Bysterec type) in Straník mountain (Zástranie, Žilina District, Slovakia) (ČAMBAL and BUDAJ 2016: 13, 18, 19, Tab. 1.1; GRYGIEL 2022: 137). However, in that case it was a Krakow type stater, according to the classification by M. Rudnicki. Presence of faintly legible motifs in a central part and left side of the reverse, may be used as an indicator. Łukasz Bul classified the find from Straník mountain as the Early Krakow type stater (BUL 2022: 58).

<sup>14</sup> ROYMANS and VAN DEN SANDEN 1980: 246.

<sup>15</sup> DE LA TOUR 1892: 6, Pl. XXXV.8743, 8744. Judging by the colour scheme of the photo available on the Bibliothèque nationale de France's website, the alloy is lighter than in the case of the Kryspinów coin, and similar in colour to the specimen from Kaliszany (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b112909248.r=8743?rk=107296;4>).

that it might be a depiction of a fish.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, the crescent-shaped motif on the reverse along with a row of dots was interpreted as a ship.<sup>17</sup> The association seems to be due to the combination of the crescent-shaped motif on the lower part of the coin with elements above it. As a result, it can be interpreted as the image of a hull with indefinite objects protruding over the side.

Nico Roymans and Wijnand van der Sanden were rather cautious in their interpretation of the BN 8743 stater. They described the obverse as "an irregular pattern of lines", while on the reverse they saw nothing but "a shell motif with dots".<sup>18</sup>

An original proposal for understanding the iconographic composition of the aforementioned coin was presented by Małgorzata Andrałojć and Mirosław Andrałojć. According to the researchers, the irregular lines on the obverse are a processed and greatly enlarged image of the hairstyle of a female figure visible on the reverse of the Gaulish 1/4 stater, so-called "stater with a boat".<sup>19</sup> They indicated that a combination of two motifs can be seen on the reverse of the BN 8743 coin. However, each of these is only legible on different orientations of the coin. According to K. Castelin, it is supposed to depict a silhouette modeled after Athena Alkidemos with a raised shield, i.e. a motif known from the Boii staters of minting period A. But when the stater is turned about 140° it should reveal the figure of the goddess sitting on the prow of a ship, which is meant to be a reference to the "barbarous imitations" of the Greek silver coins from Histiaia, the island of Euboia, dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>20</sup> M. Andrałojć and M. Andrałojć's concept refers to chronologically diverse patterns from distant parts of the ancient world. At the same time, there is no justification for how all those elements came to be compiled in the peripheral minting center of the La Tène culture north of the Carpathians. The concept is not frequently discussed due to this shortcoming, even if some of its elements resonate in the literature.<sup>21</sup>

A very interesting hypothesis was recently presented by Łukasz Bul, who attempted to identify a Roman coin that may have been the prototype for the reverse of the coin BN 8743. According to the researcher, the origins of this schematic and unclear depiction can be found in Republican coins with a biga driven by a winged Victoria.<sup>22</sup> The comparison presented convincingly demonstrates how the various elements of the reverse of a Celtic stater can correspond to the details of the depiction

<sup>16</sup> ROBERT 1868: 425.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*: 425, 426; CASTELIN 1970: 91.

<sup>18</sup> ROYMANS and VAN DER SANDEN 1980: 246.

<sup>19</sup> SCHEERS 1983: 307, 308, Pl. V.126–127.

<sup>20</sup> ANDRAŁOJĆ and ANDRAŁOJĆ 2014: 18, 20–22, 32, 73, 74, 80, 84, 95, Pls. 5–6.

<sup>21</sup> BUL 2022: 53.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*: Fig. 5.



from the Roman coin. The elongated object on the left side of the stater, for example, would correspond to the figure of Victoria from the Republican denarius. Ł. Bul's analysis neglected the "heritage of Boii shell staters", that is the crescent shape in the lower part of the reverse and the radial lines. An attempt could be made to connect the aforementioned crescent shape with the lower part of Republican coins, which often featured a legend; however, in my opinion the separation of older and younger iconographic threads would be more appropriate.<sup>23</sup>

The second stater of the discussed type was found in 1995 at a settlement of the Przeworsk culture in Kryspinów, site no. 3, in an upper layer of a fill of a dugout (Fig. 2.3).<sup>24</sup> The coin weighs 5.8 g and its diameter is approximately 15.5–16.2 mm. The specimen from Kryspinów is light gold in colour and according to P. Kaczanowski it was made of gold with a purity above 800.<sup>25</sup> The coin, as stated by M. Rudnicki, is a "barbaric version" of the BN 8743 stater.<sup>26</sup> The convex obverse features an arrangement of straight and arched lines, resembling the design of the stater BN 8743. However, P. Kaczanowski pointed out that the arrangement may resemble a fantastic animal with lowered head.<sup>27</sup> The depiction on the reverse is somewhat simplified. The main difference, compared to the specimen from Paris, is the absence of a row of dots above the crescent shape at the bottom of the reverse, which were interpreted by Ł. Bul as a transformed image of horse legs. Unlike the BN 8743 and the Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 find, the coin from Kryspinów lacks the radial lines that were the legacy of the Boii coinage. Instead, one can see an arrangement of very fine and broken dashes, approximately parallel to each other, running obliquely at an approximate angle of 45° upward and to the right. On the right side of the coin these are outlined more delicately, while on the left side they are a bit thicker and a bit more chaotic. Possibly, the die maker did not pay attention to the exact shape of the "rays" visible on the Boii prototypes while working on the BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins. The symbolic message behind this depiction might have already been unknown to him.

An arrangement of protuberances visible on the left side of the coin, according

<sup>23</sup> The most radical opinion was presented by Michał Grygiel, who believed that the BN8743 coin was "a converted version of the classical shell stater with a crescent and rays", but he did not substantiate his statement. Instead he inserted a bibliographic reference to the work of M. Rudnicki, which indicates a completely different coin, made from bronze and attributed to the Gallic tribe of Ambiani (RUDNICKI 2012a: 30, 31, Fig. 11; GRYGIEL 2022: 137). I have never seen the BN 8743 coin in person, but I believe that the available illustrative material does not indicate that it was overstruck. In addition, its obverse does not resemble the obverse of "classic shell staters." The weight also very clearly differs from what is claimed to be average weight for "classic shell staters", and which generally is more than 6.5 g.

<sup>24</sup> KACZANOWSKI 1996; IDEM 1997: 89, 90.

<sup>25</sup> IDEM 1996: 124.

<sup>26</sup> RUDNICKI 2012b: 177.

<sup>27</sup> KACZANOWSKI 1996: 128.



to P. Kaczanowski, may represent a human figure, possibly with a depiction of a belt.<sup>28</sup> The same protuberances were considered by Ł. Bul to be an equivalent of the figure of Victoria from a Roman denarius, as was mentioned above.

#### THE BN 8743/KRYSPIŃÓW TYPE STATERS IN RELATION TO THE KRAKOW TYPE STATERS

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the stater from Kryspinów was included in the Krakow type distinguished in 1976 by K. Castelin.<sup>29</sup> At that time archaeologists used it to describe a group of staters that are diverse in terms of die depiction, weight, and amount of gold in the alloy and are typical for the La Tène culture staters. The finds originated mostly from western Lesser Poland and consequently a reasonable assumption has been made that they might represent a local coinage. They were characterized by the presence of a crescent-shaped motif near the edge of the reverse and radial lines above, which is a direct link to the Boii mussel staters. In most cases, in the central part of the reverse a horseshoe- or sickle-shaped depiction with two dots can be seen, which in combination with the crescent motif was interpreted as "a ship". The weight of the staters in question was below the average weight of "classical" mussel staters from Czechia and was more comparable to late coins minted at the *oppidum* in Bratislava.<sup>30</sup> In fact, as M. Rudnicki noted, classifying the coins as one type was rather a kind of convention.<sup>31</sup>

A meticulous study of Celtic staters from Lesser Poland and similar finds from other parts of Europe was published in 2012.<sup>32</sup> Following methods current in numismatic analysis, Marcin Rudnicki proposed to narrow the term "Krakow type stater" to coins with a sickle-shaped thickening in the central part of the reverse and two dots above the various additional elements. The specimen from Kryspinów and the similar one from the Bibliothèque nationale de France were included in "other series of Lesser Poland coinage".<sup>33</sup> The same researcher subsequently denoted them as type BN 8743/Kryspinów.<sup>34</sup>

The analysis of the Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 find, but also of the other two specimens of the "BN 8743/Kryspinów type" must be carried out in relation to the most numerous group of coins of the Lesser Poland coinage group: the staters

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> CASTELIN 1976: 260–267; KACZANOWSKI 1996; IDEM 1997: 89, 90; RUDNICKI 2003: 14, 15; IDEM 2005: 403; BOCHNAK 2006: 166, Fig. 7.

<sup>30</sup> RUDNICKI 2012a: 42; MUSILOVÁ, KOLNÍKOVÁ and HLOŽEK 2015: Tab. 2.

<sup>31</sup> RUDNICKI 2005: 403.

<sup>32</sup> IDEM 2012a.

<sup>33</sup> IDEM 2012b: 178.

<sup>34</sup> IDEM 2012b.

of the Krakow type, as seen by M. Rudnicki.<sup>35</sup> He analyzed their differentiation in detail and distinguished two groups. Within the groups, a division into varieties was made separately for obverses and reverses. The following years brought the discovery of more Krakow type staters.<sup>36</sup> A different perspective was proposed by Ł. Bul, who distinguished three typologically distinct stages of issue. He also attempted to identify the prototypes used at each stage. An essential part of Ł. Bul's inquiry was the identification of a coin which, in his opinion, served as a secondary prototype for the reverse of Krakow type staters. This is the denarius of Quintus Nasidius and Sextus Pompey (RRC 483/2).<sup>37</sup>

#### STATERS OF KALISZANY-FOLWARK, SITE 22 – INTERPRETATION OF THE ICONOGRAPHY

As mentioned while discussing the BN 8743 coin and the one from Kryspinów, researchers disagree on how to interpret the motifs seen on the obverse and reverse. The representations on the reverse are more clear, but it does not mean that they are easy to interpret. According to Ł. Bul, as was pointed out above, the secondary prototype of the reverse of the specimen in question may be found among coins with a biga, but the motif of the two-horse chariot is very common in Roman coinage, and can be also found among Celtic series.<sup>38</sup>

There is even more doubt about the depiction on the obverse. Usually, the concave reverses of mussel staters are relatively less well preserved, but the coin from Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 is in very good condition. The most distinctive element on the obverse appears to be the “ladder”: two parallel lines with delicate crossbars. Similar shapes can be seen on the other BN 8743/Kryspinów specimens. The simplified motif opened up space for interpretation. When it comes to the obverse of the Kryspinów stater, P. Kaczanowski allowed himself to see the depiction of a fantastic animal with its head lowered, while on the coin BN 8743 P.Ch. Robert indicated a possible representation of a fish. Then M. Andrałojć and M. Andrałojć claimed it to be the processed and scaled elements of the hairstyle of the female figure from the reverse of the Gaulish 1/4 stater. However, this is a rather distant analogy, both geographically and culturally, as the 1/4 stater is not common in Central Europe. So why not look for prototypes among Roman coins? Any categorical statements would probably be too bold here. Currently, we are unable to identify the representation that served Celtic craftsmen as a model for the obverse of BN 8743/Kryspinów coins.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>36</sup> BUL 2022.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>38</sup> The biga can be found, for example, on the obverse of the stater attributed to the Aedui, the one so-called “with lyre” (BN 4843). DE LA TOUR 1892: 3; Pl. XV.4843; NIETO-PELLETIER 2012: 242, Fig. 8.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE KALISZANY-FOLWARK, SITE 22 STATER

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the exact chronological position of the Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 find or the BN 8743-Kryspinów type issue in general. Nevertheless, the current state of knowledge allows us to attempt to estimate their dating. The only coin of this type discovered during archaeological excavations was the specimen from Kryspinów. As indicated, it was found in an upper layer of a fill of a residential structure alongside ceramic material with features typical of the Early Roman Period, or even the beginning of phase B2.<sup>39</sup> There is no indication of mintage in the environment of the Przeworsk culture at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD or even at the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. Therefore, the assumption can be made that the coin from Kryspinów was recovered from a secondary deposit, and the timeframe of it remaining in circulation must partially coincide with the earlier phases of settlement. The oldest materials from Kryspinów, although not numerous, can be dated to the A2 stage of the younger pre-Roman period, while artifacts of the subsequent A3 phase had a significant representation in the source material.<sup>40</sup> Such a broadly drawn chronology *de facto* does not allow us to determine the dating of the coin because the indicated timeframe exceeds the period of minting activity of the Tyniec group as determined by M. Rudnicki.<sup>41</sup>

However, we can attempt a comparative analysis and put certain features of the BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins side by side with the characteristics of the much more numerous collection of Krakow type staters. Within the latter set, as already pointed out, some differences can be noted, both iconographical and metrological.

Marcin Rudnicki dated the start of the issue of Krakow type staters to the beginning of minting period C according to K. Castelin and synchronized it with the younger stage of LT D1a. The end of the phenomena would fall, according to the researcher, in the phase LT D2 or rather the B1 stage of the Roman period.<sup>42</sup> Then for the last period of the development of Celtic minting, with reference to K. Castelin's division, M. Rudnicki proposed to introduce the term "the minting period E".<sup>43</sup> In his recent work Ł. Bul,<sup>44</sup> who set *terminus post quem* for Krakow type staters at 42 BC, significantly narrowed the chronological frame of this most widespread type of coins of the Lesser Poland coinage group. The author of the hypothesis indicates that the evolutionary cycle of the Krakow type staters, as well as their depreciation period, should be shortened by about half – from more than 120 to about 60 years. It also

<sup>39</sup> KACZANOWSKI 1996: 121, 122, 124, Figs. 4–7.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*: 121; BOCHNAK, KACZANOWSKI and MARGOS 2004: 101, 102.

<sup>41</sup> RUDNICKI 2012a: 42–49.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*: 41.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*: 39.

<sup>44</sup> BUL 2022.

means that M. Rudnicki's chronological synchronization of Krakow coinage with the minting periods as seen by K. Castelin would be disrupted.

The current state of research does not allow the determination, by using an analogous method, of *terminus post quem* for the BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins. As noted, the representations of the biga, which probably served as a model for the reverse of the coins in question, do not have the value of a chronological determinant. It is also impossible to identify the motif that was the inspiration for the depiction on the obverse of the Lesser Poland coins, which might have allowed us to narrow down the chronology. In turn, the irregular shape of the rays visible on the reverse suggests that this is a form typologically parallel to elements from the Late Krakow type staters according to Ł. Bul's division.

The metrology of the BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins seems *grosso modo* to correspond with the Late Krakow type staters, but the very small sample does not allow further conclusions. The Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 coin weighs 6.29 g, so it is heavier than almost all known specimens of the Late Krakow type (except the specimen published as "Findspot, Lviv district, Ukraine"), but at the same time is lighter than the Early and Classic Krakow type.<sup>45</sup> The specimen from Kryspinów with a weight of 5.8 g resembles the Late Krakow type coins, while the specimen BN 8743, weight 4.91 g, is lighter than the lightest of the Krakow type staters. However, the latter weighs only a little more than the stater from Modlniczka (4.41 g), which, according to M. Rudnicki, was probably minted in phase B1a of the Roman period. The late origin of the Modlniczka specimen is supported not only by its low weight, but also by the composition of the alloy with a high level of silver (Ag 68%, Au 28%, Cu 4%).<sup>46</sup> Unlike the Krakow type staters, all of the BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins, regardless of their weight, are light gold in colour. There are also no visible precipitates of copper compounds on their surface, which allows us to assume that those coins were made from an alloy with a relatively high gold content.

A comparison of the metrological and iconographic data of the three BN 8743/Kryspinów type staters seems to indicate that they correspond to the Late Krakow type coins. Unlike the Krakow type staters, they are slightly smaller and there is more gold within the alloy. Perhaps an adjustment needs to be made, i.e. one needs to take into account the proportion of gold to other components of the alloy and compare the results with the slightly earlier coinage of the Classic Krakow type? In the absence of adequate metallographic studies, it is impossible to make calculations, but it is likely that the amount of gold in the Classic Krakow type and the BN 8743/Kryspinów type series is similar. Thus, the difference in the weight of the

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*: 58; no. 3.1.

<sup>46</sup> BYRSKA-FUDALI, PRZYBYŁA and RUDNICKI 2009: 281.

coins and their colour is due to the higher silver content in the alloy of the Classic Krakow type issue. Perhaps those series should be treated as contemporary to each other? That would mean that at some point during the last decades before the turn of the era, when the Classic Krakow type staters were in circulation, the BN 8743/Kryspinów type staters appeared. Those were slightly smaller but visually more attractive, because they were gold in colour.<sup>47</sup> The BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins would not be the only case of an appearance of coinage modeled on the Krakow type staters, but with more gold in the alloy. I am referring here to the Masłów type stater. According to M. Rudnicki, the iconography of those coins relates to motifs present on the Krakow type staters, variant II: A/1, and they can be dated to the minting period D according to K. Castelin.<sup>48</sup>

We do not know to what extent Copernicus-Gresham's law retains validity under specific conditions, i.e. how the gold coin market functioned in the small environment of the Tyniec group, where non-economic factors may have played some role. The absence of a divisional currency seems to suggest that the population of western Lesser Poland at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC functioned in a pre-market economic system. It should be emphasized that the above considerations are hypothetical and need to be supported by the results of metallographic studies. The value of the conclusions presented is also reduced by being based on a very small sample.

Even among the small group of BN 8743/Kryspinów type staters with only three pieces, some anomalies can be noted. It is recognized that the process of simplification of iconographic representations on coins may go hand in hand with the occurrence of damage to the die and the depreciation of the coin. A reduction of the amount of valuable metal in alloy composition, which in the case of gold coins means a decrease in weight, was clearly visible on the example of the Krakow type stater. The decreasing proportion of gold in the alloy used for production also affects the colour of the coin. How, if at all, did these factors affect the BN 8743/Kryspinów type staters? The most detailed depiction can be seen on the reverse of the specimen from the Bibliothèque nationale de France collection. The Kryspinów specimen was described by M. Rudnicki as a "barbarized version"<sup>49</sup> and indeed the depiction is simplified; in fact, the central motif on the reverse is missing (as mentioned, this may be the result of poor minting). The find from Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 would be somewhere in between. At the same time, the most iconographically refined

<sup>47</sup> Metallographic studies of a Celtic coin from Kalisz-Piwnice, Kalisz district, have shown that there may be an unexpectedly high proportion of gold in the alloy, but visually it still resembles silver (RUDNICKI and ZIĄBKA 2010: 15, 16).

<sup>48</sup> RUDNICKI 2012b: 178–179.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*: 177.

coin BN 8743 is the lightest, as it weighs only 4.92 g. The Kryspinów stater is slightly heavier (5.8 g), and the heaviest is the specimen from Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22 (6.29 g). This situation is analogue to the observations made by Ł. Bul with regard to Krakow type staters. He noted that within coins made with the same die, significant differences in weight and alloy colour are evident.<sup>50</sup> This may indicate the high dynamics of coin depreciation, which in turn could have impacted the relatively short time of circulation of the Krakow type staters and corresponds with the proposal of late dating of their secondary prototype (*terminus post quem* 42 BC). When it comes to the BN 8743/Kryspinów type coins, there is no such source base for comparison, but a similar mechanism must have taken place, and the period of the coins remaining in circulation was probably even shorter.

#### STATERS FROM KALISZANY-FOLWARK, SITE 22 IN A SETTLEMENT AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

In the Kaliszany-Folwark area, site 22 (AZP 86-72/431), materials of Bronze Age cultures, the Przeworsk culture from the Younger Pre-Roman and Early Roman Periods, as well as relicts of Early Middle Ages have been recorded within the exploratory activity of AZP. During the field survey conducted by the Common Heritage Association, a denarius of Octavian Augustus RIC 86b (19 BC) was also encountered there.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the find of the stater approximately corresponds to the settlement horizon of the Przeworsk culture documented at the Kaliszany-Folwark site 22 at the Orłowiny village. The Orłowiny area, like the entire Sandomierz Upland, was out of the range of the Tyniec group settlement, thus the BN 8743/Kryspinów type stater was an import in the environment of the Przeworsk culture. This is not the only find of this type, as in 2019 a Krakow type stater (variant II: C/4 according to Rudnicki), considered by Ł. Bul as a Late Krakow type, was discovered by chance in the Opatów area.<sup>52</sup>

Those finds, originating from the area between the Vistula and the metallurgical center of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, fit the model proposed by M. Rudnicki. The researcher pointed out the role of the Vistula in the distribution of the Late Krakow type staters from Kunów, Ostrowiec district, and from the vicinity of Sochaczew, *loco* district.<sup>53</sup> Even more broadly, he noted the phenomenon of a spread of specimens of the Lesser Poland coinage group to the north of the areas occupied by the Tyniec group.

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<sup>50</sup> BUL 2022: 54–56.

<sup>51</sup> Information provided by Dr Hab. M. Florek.

<sup>52</sup> BOCHNAK 2020; BUL 2022: 60.

<sup>53</sup> RUDNICKI 2012a: 51; IDEM 2012b: 185.

The finding of the Kaliszany-Folwark stater adds to our knowledge of the functioning of the Tyniec group and its contacts with the north at the turn of the era. It also does not contradict Ł. Bul's proposals of the differentiation of Krakow type staters. On the contrary, it seems to confirm the hypothesis of the relatively short duration of the “Lesser Poland coinage group”.

## ABBREVIATIONS

RRC = M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, vols. 1–2, Cambridge 1974.

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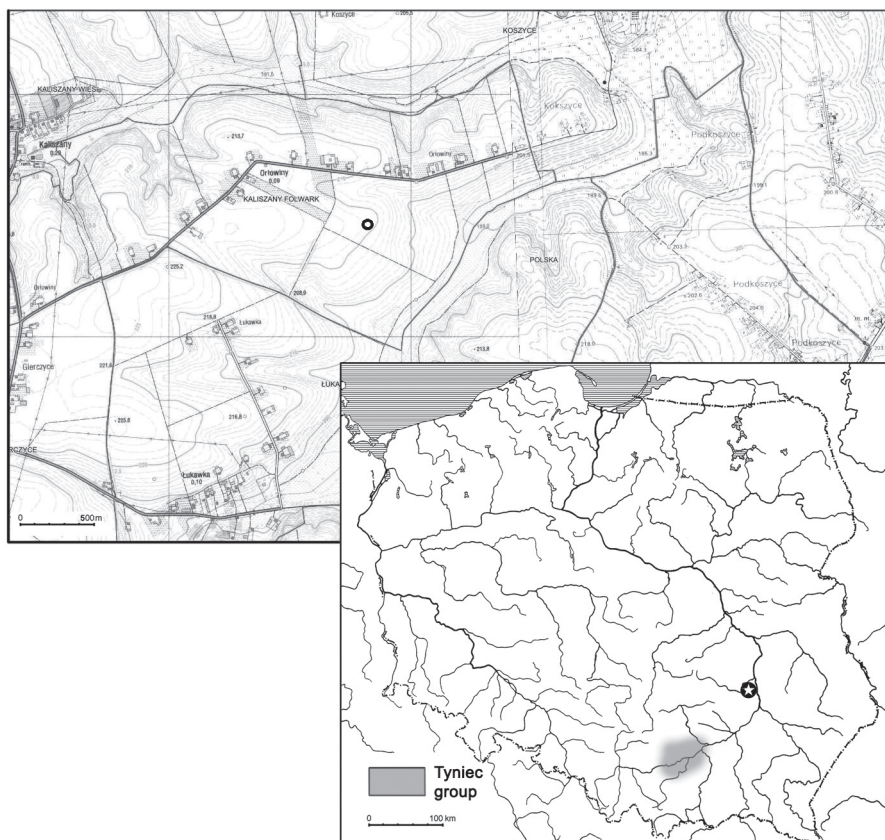
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MAP 1	Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22. The place of coin find (marked on a map of Poland at an approximation) Courtesy of M. Florek
PLATE 1	Fig. 1. Stater of Kaliszany-Folwark. Specific features. 1 – crack on edge; 2 – protuberance – a trace of the damage to the die?; 3 – scratch (recent?) Figure by T. Bochnak
PLATE 2	Fig. 2. Staters BN 8743/Kryspinów type. 1 – Kaliszany-Folwark; 2 – BN 8743; 3 – Kryspinów, site no. 3 Figure by T. Bochnak



Map 1. Kaliszany-Folwark, site 22. The place of coin find (marked on a map of Poland at an approximation)  
 Courtesy of M. Florek

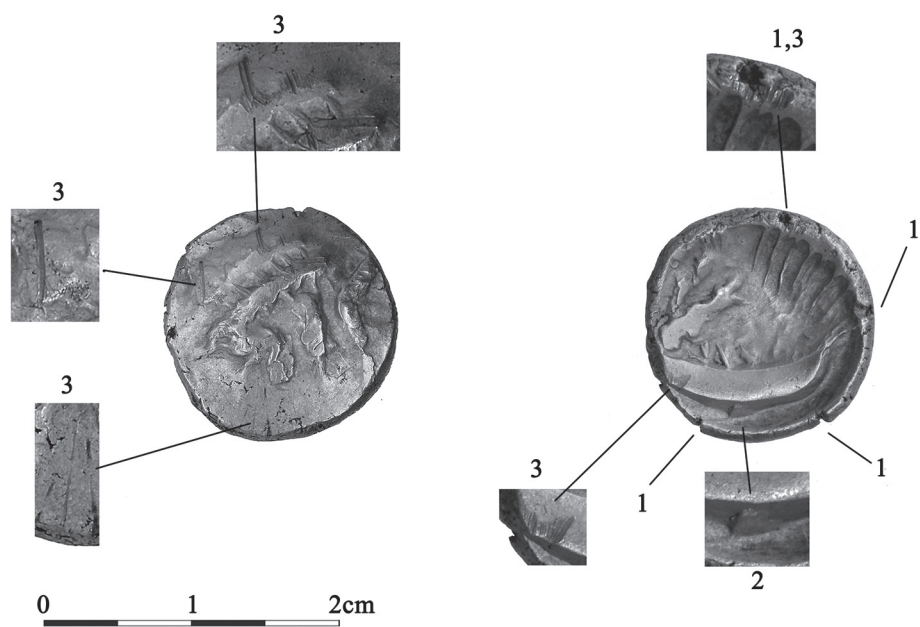


Fig. 1



Fig. 2