

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIV

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

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Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) podczas wykopalisk archeologicznych w Egipcie (1960/1961)
Ze zbiorów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Filmowej Nauki Polskiej Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie
Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) during archaeological excavation in Egypt (1960/1961)
From the Center of Visual Documentation of Polish Science (Pedagogical University of Cracow)

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIV *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Polskojęzyczne wersje tekstów odnoszących się w większym stopniu do zainteresowań czytelnika polskiego są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). W podobny sposób udostępniamy cały obecny tom oraz tomy archiwalne. Na stronie internetowej dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

11 czerwca 2019 r. w wieku 91 lat odszedł prof. dr hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), nestor polskiej numizmatyki, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, wybitny znawca numizmatyki antycznej, wykładowca i pracownik Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, wykładowca Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, członek wielu towarzystw i organizacji naukowych, w tym członek honorowy Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie.

Jego pamięci poświęcamy XIV tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*, czasopisma, które mocno wspierał jako autor i członek Komitetu Naukowego.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The Polish-language versions of the texts that are more relevant to the interests of the Polish reader can be found as PDFs on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Similarly, the whole of the present volume is available online, as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

Prof. Dr. Hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), the doyen of Polish numismatics, died on June 11, 2019, at the age of 91. For many years, he worked as an employee – and then as head – of the Numismatic Cabinet at the National Museum of Krakow. He was also a lecturer and employee of the Pedagogical University of Krakow, a lecturer at the Jagiellonian University, and a member of numerous scientific societies and organizations, having honorary membership status at the Krakow branch of the Numismatic Section of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Commission on Archaeology.

It is to his enduring memory that we dedicate volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, a journal that he helped to support as both an author and as a member of the Scientific Committee.

The Editors

ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI

University of Warsaw

The Problem of the Presence of Barbarian Imitations of Roman Imperial Denarii in the Lands of Present-Day Poland. An Attempt at a Balance

ABSTRACT: The largest category of barbarian imitations of Roman denarii that appear in Polish finds consist of coins that are probably or certainly modeled after imperial issues from the 1st and 2nd (and 3rd?) centuries – in particular, the coins of emperors from the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (the years 96–192). Forty six imitative denarii of this kind have been noted, most of them made from silver. To this number we can add seven coins – also found in Poland – from certain irregular issues. No fewer than 19 of these imitative denarii were part of hoards of denarii from between the 1st and 2nd centuries. Of the 46 imitative denarii recorded in Polish finds, it is possible to show that as many as 20 have dies that are linked to other coins found in Poland or in other regions of the former Barbaricum: primarily present day-Ukraine, and Scandinavia, northwestern Germany and Hungary. Taking into account the available sources, even if some of the imitative denarii from the period of the Nerva-Antonine (and Flavian) dynasty came about within the lands of present-day Poland, no doubt the majority of the coins of this type that have been found in Poland were produced by the Chernyakhiv culture in areas occupied in later phases of the Roman Period, that is, above all, in Ukraine. Some of them were in use in the Barbaricum until the Migration Period.

KEY WORDS: coin finds, coin hoards, Roman coins, Roman denarii, barbarian imitations, Roman Period, Migration Period, Barbaricum

ABSTRAKT: *Problem występowania barbarzyńskich naśladownictw denarów rzymskich na terenie obecnej Polski. Próba bilansu*

Najliczniejszą kategorią barbarzyńskich naśladownictw denarów rzymskich rejestrowaną w polskich znaleziskach są monety, które prawdopodobnie lub z pewnością były wzorowane na emisjach cesarskich z I i II (ew. III?) w. – w szczególności na monetach cesarzy z dynastii Antoninów (lata 96–192). Dotychczas odnotowano 46 naśladownictw tego rodzaju i większość z nich była wykonana ze srebra. Do tej liczby możemy dodać 7 monet – również znalezionych w Polsce – z całą pewnością pochodzących z nieoficjalnych emisji. Nie mniej niż 19 wspomnianych naśladownictw denarów wchodziło w skład skarbów denarów z I i II w. Na 46 naśladownictw aż 20 wykazuje połączenie stempli z innymi monetami naśladowczymi odkrytymi w Polsce lub w innych regionach dawnego Barbaricum: przede wszystkim na obszarze współczesnej Ukrainy, a ponadto Skandynawii, północno-zachodnich Niemiec i Węgier. Biorąc pod uwagę dostępne źródła, nawet jeśli niektóre naśladownictwa denarów z okresu dynastii Antoninów (i Flawiuszy) zostały wykonane na ziemiach dzisiejszej Polski, bez wątpienia większość monet tego typu znalezionych w Polsce została wyprodukowana na obszarach zajmowanych w późniejszych fazach okresu rzymskiego przez kulturę czerniachowską, czyli przede wszystkim na Ukrainie. Niektóre z tych naśladownictw były używane na terenie Barbaricum aż po okres Wędrówek Ludów.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: znaleziska monet, skarby monet, monety rzymskie, denary rzymskie, naśladownictwa barbarzyńskie, okres rzymski, okres Wędrówek Ludów, Barbaricum

As the title indicates, the present article is an attempt to summarize the state of research on issues concerning the presence of barbarian imitations of Roman denarii in finds from the lands of present-day Poland.¹ The Polish-German research project *Imagines Maiestatis: Barbarian Coins, Elite Identities and the Birth of Europe (IMAGMA)* is an excellent opportunity to frame the subject in this manner. According to the definition developed for the purposes of this project, barbarian imitations of Roman imperial coins (IMAGMA) – coins or coin-like objects modeled on Roman imperial or provincial coins or inspired by them, made by barbarians (in Continental Europe), excluding post-Roman minting activity. As we can see, this definition does not include imitations of Roman coins from the age of the Republic, nor does it include copies of Roman coins – even if they were produced by barbarians.

¹ This article presents the results of research completed within the *Imagines Maiestatis: Barbarian Coins, Elite Identities and the Birth of Europe (IMAGMA)* Project No. 2014/15/G/HS3/04583, led by Professor Aleksander Bursche, conducted at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, financed from the resources of the National Science Centre, Poland.

A copy is a coin produced by mechanically copying the images and legends from the original coin; a copy does not leave any trace of its having been enhanced at any point during technological process. As a rule, if there are any differences between the images and the legends on the original coin and the copy, they are not intentional; rather, they are the result of the imperfection of the technology used. A (barbarian) imitation, however, is a coin made by using mint dies or molds that were produced in imitation of the original coin; they were either created “by hand” or as a result of mechanically transferring the images and legends from the original coin, which were then intentionally modified.² When analyzing a coin, the product of a barbarian workshop, the difference between an imitation and a copy amounts to the fact that the images and legends on an imitation are more or less barbarized, whereas no barbarian features can be seen on a copy.

Before I come to the imitations of imperial denarii that are included within the scope of the IMAGMA project – a large number of which have been noted in Polish finds – I will briefly describe the issues related to the presence of imitations of Republican denarii. With regard to imitations of Republican denarii, coins of uncertain provenance – though most likely the result of minting activity on the part of the Dacians – have been noted within the lands of present-day Poland, as have coins struck by the Celtic Eravisci. It was Aleksander Bursche who, analyzing the contents of the hoard from Połaniec, first called attention to the presence of imitations of Republican denarii in Polish finds.³ Taking into account the data published in 2016, five imitations of Roman Republican denarii were noted in the lands of Poland (one in the hoard from Połaniec mentioned above and four coins discovered apart from hoards), as well as one coin – possibly an imitation – in the hoard from the village of Świąte.⁴ These coins probably come from Dacian

² We use this perspective to refer to the products of the workshops in lands of Dacia that were creating imitations and copies of Roman Republican denarii on a massive scale before the Romans conquered this country. See for example LOCKYEAR 2007: 165–168. From a different perspective – one based on the intentions of the producer – an imitation is a coin imitating coins from official issues, a coin close enough to the original that it was knowingly regarded by its users as on par with them. It was the intent of producers of imitations to make it easier to introduce into circulation – for example, to deal with coin shortages – coins that were similar to issues that were universally known and readily accepted. This being the case, imitations stand in contrast to forgeries, which are put into circulation in order to deceive users. Cf. GĄCARZEWICZ 1998: *passim*. At the present moment we are unable to show whether, for the Barbaricum during the Roman Period and in the early phase of the Migration Period, it is possible to use this perspective in reference to spheres of money-use that could have differed from phenomenon that we can call the circulation of money. Taking into account the current state of research, the use of the word “forgery” with regard to the coins produced in the lands of the Barbaricum would seem to be particularly debatable. Cf. BURSCHE 2008: 395–408.

³ IDEM 1995: 86–89; IDEM 2000: 197–198. Before this, writing about a coin allegedly found in Zabrzeż, in Lesser Poland Voivodeship, Janusz Kuczyński (1964: 140) showed that an imitation of a Roman Republican coin was present in Polish finds. In reality, the coin from Zabrzeż is a modern object, one imitating a Roman coin from the age of the Republic (see DEGLER and DYMOWSKI 2018: 270–271).

⁴ DYMOWSKI 2016: 156, 167, 235–236, 272, 276, 290; the earlier literature concerning these finds is indicated here.

workshops.⁵ Until quite recently, no finds of imitative denarii have been recorded from Eraviscan workshops. This situation, however, underwent quite a radical change following the publication of an article from 2017 concerning a hoard of 14 coins of this type discovered in the village of Czechy in Lesser Poland.⁶ To date, in the area of interest to us we have not noted any copies of Republican denarii that it would be possible to attribute to workshops located outside of the Roman state, especially in the lands of Dacia. It may be that copies of this type exist among the coins from Polish finds, but they have not yet been recognized.⁷

The coins of Augustus from the Lugdunum issue C.L.CAESARES, dated to between 4 BC and AD 2, are the oldest Roman denarii from the age of the Roman Empire whose imitations have been noted in the lands of Poland. Two imitations of this type – thus far the only ones that have been found in the area of interest to us here – were found in Sarbinowo (Cat. nos. 37–38), a few kilometers to the east of the Oder in its lower reaches, which marks the present border between Poland and Germany (Map 1). Both coins are characterized by the large degree to which their images and legends have been barbarized. The coins were struck with different pairs of dies, and these dies have different styles of workmanship. The finds from Sarbinowo can be treated as a variation of a situation that has been observed within the area of present-day Germany and the lands immediately bordering Germany. This is because imitations of Augustinian denarii of the type C.L.CAESARES appear in great numbers in the lands immediately to the east of the old Rhine limes and in the Elbe river basin.⁸ Using the hypotheses raised in the first decades of the last century,⁹ it is the area on the Middle Danube that is most often pointed to as probably having been the center of production of these coins. These hypotheses, however, only slightly correspond to our present knowledge concerning the territorial distribution of these finds. There is no doubt that denarii of the type C.L.CAESARES were imitated in great numbers in the Caucasus region – above all, in the lands of present-day Georgia.¹⁰ However, it is rather unlikely that we can tie these imitations to the coins discovered in Germany, if for no other reason than the fact that practically no denarii of the type C.L.CAESARES have been noted in the area between the Caucasus and the eastern frontiers, where these coins have been found.¹¹ No doubt an explanation

⁵ RUDNICKI and DYMOWSKI 2015: 265.

⁶ DULĘBA and WYSOCKI 2017: 51–63.

⁷ DYMOWSKI 2016: 131.

⁸ See FMRD, NUMIS, MILITKY 2013: 261, no. 709.

⁹ See, e.g. JÓNÁS 1935: 262.

¹⁰ KROPOTKIN 1961: 16; BERGHAUS 1984: 310.

¹¹ Only one such coin has been found – in an unknown area in Sumy Oblast – in all the lands of present-day Ukraine. ANOKHIN 2015: 146, no. 601.

is needed regarding the use, within the lands of present-day Germany, of imitative denarii of the type under discussion here; there is also the question as to the location of the center or centers of their production. For the denarii discovered in Sarbinowo, at the present moment we have not been able to tie the dies with any other coins of a known provenance.¹²

No doubt the largest category of barbarian imitations of denarii that appear in Poland consist of coins that are probably or certainly modeled after imperial issues from the 1st and 2nd (and 3rd?) centuries – in particular, the coins of emperors from the Nerva-Antonine dynasty (the years 96–192). In the finds from the area of interest to us here, 46 (or 47)¹³ imitative denarii of this kind (including at least 2 coins modeled after coins of emperors of the Flavian dynasty) have been noted (Cat. nos. 1–36 and 39–48), including one coin that cannot for certain be said to have a Polish provenance. To this number we can add seven coins – also found in Poland – from certain irregular issues. With regard to these coins, we do not have sufficiently strong evidence to say with a great deal of probability that they are barbarian imitations; on the other hand, it cannot be excluded that this may be the case (Cat. nos. 49–55). In comparing the number of these coins to other regions of the Barbaricum, I will make use of the visual data – now somewhat less up-to-date – that I have already exploited in a different publication.¹⁴ Denarii imitations of the emperors from the Nerva-Antonine dynasty have been noted in finds from Denmark (especially from Bornholm),¹⁵ eastern Germany,¹⁶ Belarus,¹⁷ and Bohemia.¹⁸ However, if we do not count the lands of present-day Poland, it is only in four regions of the Barbaricum that no fewer than 40 imitative denarii have been found: in northwestern Germany (in the hoards from Lashorst¹⁹ and Laatzen²⁰ – which together had 34 imitations²¹ – and no fewer than 13 coins from other finds from the lands of Lower Saxony and

¹² A coin with an unknown provenance – one very similar to one of the denarii found in Sarbinowo (though it was almost certainly struck with different dies for the obverse and the reverse) – was sold in 2013, in auction no. 213 at the German auction house Gorny & Mosch, item 2083 (<https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=548&lot=2083> (accessed on November 26, 2018); DYMOWSKI 2016: 77.

¹³ In her monograph Aleksandra Krzyżanowska attributed 5 imitative denarii to the Nowy Drzewicz hoard. It is not completely certain if one of these coins (KRZYŻANOWSKA 1976: 84; no. 9) belonged to this hoard.

¹⁴ DYMOWSKI 2019: 186–187.

¹⁵ HORSNÆS 2010: 135–138; EADEM 2013: 55–56. According to information provided by Dr. Helle Hørsnæs, the number of imitative denarii found in the lands of present-day Denmark is currently estimated to be about 30 coins, which about half were found in Bornholm.

¹⁶ For example, two denarii found in Raguth in Mecklenburg, kept in the collections of the Archäologisches Landesmuseum Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Inv. No. 2015/205.33 and 2017/518.4).

¹⁷ SIDAROVICH 2017: 129–135.

¹⁸ MILITKÝ 2013: 64.

¹⁹ FMRD VI 6089, 6089a.

²⁰ FMRD VII 4033.

²¹ STRIBRNY 2003: 37–45.

North Rhine-Westphalia),²² in the Hungarian Plain (46 imitations in the Kecel II hoard alone),²³ in Gotland and Öland (66 coins),²⁴ and in the lands of present-day Ukraine and Moldova. With regard to the finds in Ukraine and Moldova, the Ukrainian numismatist Oleg Anokhin has collected reliable material which he has published in the form of an Internet catalogue of the barbarian imitations of Roman coins found in these two countries.²⁵ Initially, Anokhin not only recorded the finds, but he placed photographs on the Internet²⁶ of each of the coins that he had catalogued from the Ukrainian and Moldovan finds that had been struck using the same pairs of dies. Over time, he limited the material available on the Internet to the types of imitations themselves, no longer displaying the coins that he recorded which had been struck using the same pairs of dies.²⁷ In 2015, he published the material that he had collected in the form of a monograph that was only available in digital format.²⁸ Among other things, this book contains photographs of 1,080 types of silver imitations of Roman coins found in Ukraine and Moldova – the vast majority of which are denarii from the age of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty – but also photographs of the semimanufactures that were discovered there, that is, the semimanufactures of cast copies of Roman denarii and the forms into which they were cast; their presence here undoubtedly shows that at least cast copies such as these were produced in this region. Following the publication of this work in 2015, Anokhin continued to add the types of imitations that were newly being noted in Ukraine and Moldova to his internet site. As of 2019, the site listed 1,568 types of Roman coin imitations in silver, the vast majority of which were denarii of emperors from the Nerva-Antonine dynasty.²⁹ Thus, taking into account about 1,500 types of imitative denarii recorded by Anokhin, we can estimate that at least a few thousand coins come from these finds.³⁰

No evidence suggests that any of the 46 coins found in Poland and mentioned above were produced by a technique other than being struck by die. Most of these coins are made from silver; however, we do not have access to any metallographic research that would allow us to make this assessment with absolute certainty. Using as a basis the appearance of the coins (either the coins themselves or on the basis of a photograph), there are no subaerati in the described set of coins. The coin

²² Data based on FMRD VI and FMRD VII.

²³ STRIBRNY 2003: 20–30.

²⁴ LIND 2018: 1.

²⁵ ANOKHIN 2018.

²⁶ At present (accessed on January 22, 2019), the site is available at the following address: <http://barbarous-imitations.narod.ru/>.

²⁷ Some types are counted twice in Anokhin's catalogue; however, this is only the case in a few instances.

²⁸ ANOKHIN 2015, *passim*.

²⁹ IDEM 2018.

³⁰ DYMOWSKI 2019: 186–187.

from Studzianki Pancerne (Cat. no. 42) is almost certainly made of copper or some copper alloy. It may have been silver-plated or covered with a thin layer of a metal reminiscent of silver, e.g. tin. However, no traces of any silver, or silver-like covering – which would indicate that we are dealing with a subaeratus – are visible from underneath the patina. It is also possible that the alloy making up the coin was supposed to imitate silver. For example, bronze with a high tin and lead content has a color that is similar to silver. Another coin that was struck using a metal other than silver is the one from Kacice (Cat. no. 18); this coin is described in somewhat more detail later on in the text. If we do not include the coin from Kacice, the weight of which exceeds 4 g, and a partially preserved coin from Skrzetuszewo (Cat. no. 41), we have at our disposal information about weight of 26 denarii, all of which are probably made of silver. The lightest is the denarius from Olechowiec (Cat. no. 33; 1.89 g), and the heaviest is a denarius from the hoard from Gierłoż (Cat. no. 6; 3.61 g). The arithmetic average of these 26 coins is 2.84 g, while the median is 2.81 g. These values do not differ from the weights of the original Roman denarii found in the lands of Poland. Both categories of denarii (in silver), i.e. coins from official issues and barbarian imitations, were no doubt treated equally in these lands that now make up present-day Poland. Were this not to have been the case, they would not be found together in the same contexts and in the same coin assemblages. From the lands of Poland, much like from those of Ukraine,³¹ we know of imitative denarii that have hardly any traces of having been used (e.g. Cat. no. 1), but we also know of coins that are heavily worn (e.g. Cat. no. 20). This stands in contrast with the situation observed in Gotland³² and in Bornholm.³³ Almost all of the imitative denarii found there are heavily worn.

No less than 19 of the imitative denarii of emperors from the Nerva-Antonine dynasty found in Poland were part of hoards of denarii from between the 1st and 2nd centuries. This is almost half of all the imitations of this type discovered in the area of interest to us here, and one needs to keep in mind that some of the coins described as stray finds could also have been part of hoards. We can assume that with regard to the lands of present-day Poland, about half of the imitative denarii of emperors from the Nerva-Antonine (and Flavian) dynasty are coins from hoards. In comparison to other areas that were once part of the Barbaricum – in northwestern Germany, in the Hungarian Plain, and in Gotland and Öland – the vast majority of the recorded imitations come from hoards. No doubt this is due to the fact that fewer finds by detectorists have been recorded than in Poland. We can surmise that in Germany,

³¹ See ANOKHIN 2015: 70–204.

³² LIND 2018: 33–36.

³³ HORSNÆS 2013: 56.

Hungary, and Sweden imitations apart from hoards occur more frequently than the data in the available publications would suggest. This hypothesis would seem to be confirmed by the Danish situation. Ever since the finds of detectorists have been recorded on a large scale, the proportion of imitations discovered in hoards and those apart from them has begun to change in favor of the latter group. In Denmark – and, also, in Bornholm – imitations are being recorded in greater and greater numbers in areas in which settlements existed during the Roman era.³⁴ Much the same is true with regard to Poland, where three imitations were discovered here as a result of archaeological investigations conducted with use of metal detectors in areas where there were three different settlements of the Przeworsk culture (Cat. nos. 19, 34, 40). Unfortunately, we do not have more precise information at our disposal with regard to the context in which these three coins were found. All of them were found outside of dated archaeological layers. The situation in Ukraine and Moldova (but also in western Russia) is fundamentally different. Taking into account the available data, barely 1% of the imitative denarii discovered in these lands were part of hoards. It needs to be emphasized that we do not have information about the context in which the vast majority of the recorded imitations have been found; as a result, it may be that imitations are present in hoards more frequently. Only one imitative denarius from Ukraine definitely comes from a settlement – in this instance, of the Chernyakhiv culture.³⁵ The result is that with regard to Ukraine we need to count about 98% of the imitations of Roman denarii from the era of the Flavian, Nerva-Antonine and Severan dynasties as belonging to what are called stray finds without any context. The fact that imitative denarii are found in much greater numbers in Ukraine – and, to a lesser degree, in Moldova – than anywhere else as well as the fact that the vast majority of these coins were probably not part of hoards indicates, first of all, that the center of their production was located in Ukraine;³⁶ second of all, this indicates that the sphere and scale of their use in Ukraine (and, perhaps, in Moldova) was different than in the lands of the Barbaricum located farther west and to the north. I will return to this question later on in the article.

Of the 46 imitative denarii recorded in Polish finds and probably or certainly imitating issues from the age of the Flavian and Nerva-Antonine dynasties (including one denarius with an uncertain Polish provenance), it is possible to show that as many as 20 have dies that are linked to other coins found in Poland or in other regions of the former Barbaricum. Taking into account the fact that it was not possible to gain

³⁴ EADEM 2010: 135–138.

³⁵ NEKRASOVA 2006: 94. The coin was found on land where there once had been a settlement of the Chernyakhov culture, in the village of Boromlya, in Sumy Oblast.

³⁶ Cf. FORRER 1908: 131–134; BRAICHEVSKIJ 1959: 19; KUCZYŃSKI 1964: 140; DYMOWSKI 2019: 189.

access to the original coins that nine of these coins were based on – it was not even possible to gain access to photographs of these coins – for the remaining 37 one can show the combination of dies in more than 54% of the cases. Eight denarii – that is, not quite half of the 20 coins for which combinations of dies have been identified – are coins found in hoards.

Four imitative denarii found on Polish lands are part of large die-chains within which no fewer than ten coins from finds can be indicated, or coins with an unknown provenance held in museum collections. First of all, the imitative denarius from the hoard from Gierłoż (Cat. no. 5³⁷) was attributed by K. Striśbny to the SALVS AVGVSTI Group (SAG),³⁸ which he himself had distinguished and which includes over 23 coins from 2 northern German hoards (Laatzen and Lashorst) and two coins from the Kecel II hoard from Hungary. The materials published by O. Anokhin have made it possible to add two more denarii found in Ukraine to the SAG die-chain.³⁹ Secondly, a denarius from a hoard from Tokary (Cat. no. 43) and a denarius found by itself near Inowrocław (Cat. no. 16), together with at least 44 other denarii, make up part of the CERES Group.⁴⁰ The coins that have been assigned to this die-chain – besides those from Poland – have been found in Ukraine (no less than 38 coins) and in Gotland (2 coins). Thirdly, another denarius found near Inowrocław, this time in a small hoard (Cat. no. 11), is part of a die-chain that, while it has been described,⁴¹ has not yet been given a name in the subject literature – at the present moment, this die-chain includes 13 coins. Besides the coin from Poland, this die-chain includes one coin from the Kecel II hoard mentioned above, another denarius with an unknown provenance from the collections of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, and ten coins from Ukrainian finds⁴² (see “Schemes of die-links”, added to the present article). As part of this die-chain, as many as eight coins were struck with a reverse die modeled after the reverse of a Roman coin, most likely a denarius from an issue of Severus Alexander (222–235),⁴³ one showing a standing Venus and the legend VENVS VICTRIX. For this reason, continuing the naming tradition introduced by K. Striśbny, we will call this newly differentiated die-chain the VENVS VICTRIX Group.

³⁷ The numbers provided in the text correspond to the numbers under which the imitations are indicated in the “Catalogue of imitative Roman Imperial denarii from Polish finds” that is appended to this article.

³⁸ STRIŚBNY 2003: 51–55 (the scheme of die-links is shown on p. 52).

³⁹ DYMOWSKI 2019: 187, 189.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*: 190–200 and pl. 29 (here one can also find the scheme of die-links). The number of coins from Ukrainian finds has been estimated based on the number of coin types recorded by Anokhin.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*: 187.

⁴² The die combinations of coins from Ukrainian finds were described by O. Anokhin on his Internet website (ANOKHIN 2018).

⁴³ I am deeply grateful to Prof. Lennart Lind from the University of Stockholm for calling my attention to the supposed prototype of the described reverse.

The next two die-chains require somewhat more commentary in nature. The first of these die-chains expands on a die-link indicated by K. Stribrny,⁴⁴ that is, one that links the obverse of a coin from the hoard from Malkowice (Cat. no. 27) with another denarius of an unknown provenance from the collections of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. We can now add to this die-chain a denarius found in an unknown area in Poland (Cat. no. 47) as well as five denarii from Ukrainian finds⁴⁵ (see “Schemes of die-links”). The second die-chain includes a denarius from the hoard from the environs of Inowrocław (Cat. no. 10) as well as five denarii discovered in Ukraine (see “Schemes of die-links”). The style in which the imitative coins ascribed to these two die-chains were executed – especially with regard to the first of these die-chains – is very close to the large group of imitations described by Lennart Lind⁴⁶ and K. Stribrny.⁴⁷ This group includes coins found in Gotland, Öland, Hungary (also in the Kecel II hoard), Ukraine and perhaps in northwestern Germany and Britain. L. Lind calls it the Hulterstad-Uggårda Group.⁴⁸ Thus, taking into account the style in which the dies were executed, perhaps the two small die-chains indicated here – which include coins from Polish finds – should be included within the Hulterstad-Uggårda Group? Until we are able to point to coins that would definitively allow us to add these two die-chains to the “main” die-chain of the Hulterstad-Uggårda Group, this possibility remains in the sphere of speculation.

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The next four die-chains⁴⁹ (see “Schemes of die-links”) – which are small in number – that include imitations found in Poland are as follows: the first die-chain consists of a denarius from settlement of the Przeworsk culture in Osiny (Cat. no. 34) and six denarii from Ukraine; the second consists of five coins struck with the same pair of dies, these being two denarii from stray finds in Poland (Cat. nos. 2, 35), two denarii from Ukraine, and a denarius of unknown provenance kept in the collections of the monastery in Lavanttal in Austria; the third consists of a denarius from a hoard from Wrocław (Cat. no. 46), and two denarii from Ukraine; the fourth consists of a denarius found by itself in the environs of Inowrocław (Cat. no. 13) and two more denarii from Ukraine. The next four die-chains (see “Schemes of die-links”) only consist of two coins each, with one coin from Poland in each of these die-chains (Cat. nos. 17, 20, 28, 45). With regard to the first die-link,

⁴⁴ STRIBRNY 2003: 56, 59.

⁴⁵ The die-links of coins from Ukrainian finds have been described by O. Anokhin on his Internet page (ANOKHIN 2018).

⁴⁶ LIND 2007: 53–58; IDEM 2018: 5–8.

⁴⁷ STRIBRNY 2003: 56, 142.

⁴⁸ LIND 2018: 5–8.

⁴⁹ The die-links of coins from Ukrainian finds have, to a large extent, been described by O. Anokhin on his Internet page (ANOKHIN 2018).

the second coin was found in Bornholm;⁵⁰ in the second die-link, the second coin was discovered in Ukraine; with regard to the third, the second coin was part of the Kecel II hoard;⁵¹ and with regard to the fourth (yet another coin from the Wrocław hoard), the second coin was also discovered in Ukraine. Summarizing the subject of die combinations of imitative denarii from Poland and denarii found in other areas of the Barbaricum, at present we can demonstrate that they have direct links with the four previously mentioned regions characterized by their particularly large concentrations of imitations, these being northwestern Germany, the Hungarian Plain, Gotland, and, above all, the lands of present-day Ukraine (Map 2). Since die-links between coins found in these four regions – that is, apart from Poland – are also known, it is possible to draw up a complete “network of die-links” between all five areas in which imitative denarii appear intensively (Map 3).⁵² In other words, it is possible to show that die combinations exist for imitative denarii discovered in any two (or more) of the five regions indicated. Interestingly, taking into account the links between the dies (both direct and indirect in the groups indicated) of coins found in Poland and in other regions, there is only one situation in which we are unable – at the present moment – to indicate any links to coins found in Ukraine (a coin from the hoard from Nowy Drzewicz, Cat. no. 28, and a coin from the Kecel II hoard). This is yet another reason pointing to the region of Ukraine as having been the main center of production of imitative denarii. To date, the only die-link with regard to a coin discovered apart from these five regions concerns a denarius found in Bornholm and a coin from Kuyavia (Cat. no. 17). The lack of die-links of imitations found in Denmark (including those found in Bornholm) with coins from other regions of the Barbaricum – especially with imitations discovered in Ukraine – is puzzling. It may be that this is due to the state of research and that such links will be demonstrated in the future, which is something that should be expected in particular with regard to Bornholm. As a result, there is no reason at the present stage to draw overly far-reaching conclusions.

With regard to the imitations from Polish finds, the last two die-links that have been identified (see “Schemes of die-links”) are pairs of denarii struck with the same pairs of dies. All four coins were found in Poland, but in one case the Polish provenance of the imitation is not entirely certain. One of these pairs consists of a denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (Cat. no. 12) and a denarius most likely

⁵⁰ HORSNÆS 2007: 48. L. Lind (2018: 8) has suggested that the same denarius from Bornholm could have been struck with the same reverse die as the coin found in Ukraine (ANOKHIN 2015: 124, no. 438), which is counted among the CERES group (DYMOWSKI 2019: 195 and pl. 31,23; cf. LIND 2018: 8). Large differences in positioning of the letters of the surrounding legend on the reverses of both coins exclude the possibility that the denarii could have been struck using the same die.

⁵¹ STRIBRNY 2003: 59.

⁵² DYMOWSKI 2019: 187–189.

discovered somewhere in Poland (Cat. no. 48). The second pair is a coin from just outside of Płońsk (Cat. no. 36) and a coin from Kacice (Cat. no. 18). The denarius from Kacice is one of two imitations from Poland – besides the coin from Studzianki Pancerne (Cat. no. 42) – about which we have information indicating that it was produced using a metal other than silver – in this case, probably with lead or lead alloy. This, however, is second-hand information, most likely only based on a visual evaluation of the coin, an evaluation that is not confirmed by any research directed toward checking the content of the alloy. When it comes, however, to the coin from just outside of Płońsk, making use only of the available photographs, one can state that the patina and corrosion on the coin are rather more typical of non-precious metals than for silver. It may be then that what we are dealing with here are two coins made out of a non-precious metal and struck with the same pair of dies. These two die-links which consist of four coins found exclusively on lands belonging to present-day Poland may – although, of course, they do not have to – indicate that some imitative denarii were produced locally.⁵³

With regard to their territorial dispersion (Map 1), Polish finds of denarii imitating the issues of the emperors of the Flavian and Nerva-Antonine dynasties have mostly been noted in lands that were occupied in the later phases of the Roman Period by peoples of the Przeworsk culture, i.e. to the south-west of the lines of the Noteć, Vistula, and San rivers, with clear concentration in Kuyavia. Moreover, three coins come from settlements of the Przeworsk culture. Only 12 of the 46 coins can be hypothetically linked to the Wielbark culture, which, at the same period in time, occupied Vistula Pomerania, the right bank of the river in Mazovia, including Podlachia, as well as the Lublin region. This phenomenon is puzzling, bearing in mind the fact that both the Wielbark culture and the related Chernyakhiv culture from the lands of present-day Ukraine, Moldova, and western Russia are tied, at least in part, to the Gothic element.⁵⁴ The Przeworsk culture, in turn, is tied to that of the Vandals.⁵⁵ If we assume that the lands of present-day Ukraine were the main source of imitative denarii currently found in Poland, then it would seem that the contacts maintained by the peoples of the Chernyakhiv culture – the reflection of which can be seen in these finds – had a greater intensity with regard to the Przeworsk culture than they did with the Wielbark culture. If one takes into account the previously mentioned similarity between the Chernyakhiv and Wielbark

⁵³ Cf. BURSCHE 2011: 21–22. With regard to Gotland, we have also noted die-links that consist of imitative denarii that have only been found on this island. Taking into account the degree to which these coins are worn, L. Lind doubts they were produced in Gotland; LIND 2018: 5.

⁵⁴ KACZANOWSKI and KOZŁOWSKI 1998: 257–258; MAGOMEDOV 2001: 140; KOLENDO 2005: 113; SHCHUKIN, KAZANSKI and SHAROV 2006: 38; LYUBICHEV and MYZGIN 2019 – forthcoming.

⁵⁵ KACZANOWSKI and KOZŁOWSKI 1998: 254–256; KOLENDO 2005: 109–118.

cultures, one would expect precisely the opposite to be the case. However, taking the finds from the lands of present-day Poland and Ukraine as a whole, they fit – together with the finds of imitations noted in Gotland, Öland, and in Bornholm – into the Przeworsk-Wielbark-Chernyakhiv-Baltic zone of influx and redistribution of Roman coinage within the Barbaricum, as described by Kirill Myzgin and myself in 2014.⁵⁶ A great deal of evidence indicates that imitations constituted part of the pool of coinage used in this area all the way to the Migration Period,⁵⁷ an idea to which I will return later on in the article. Going on, finds of imitations from the Hungarian Plain – in particular the Kecel II hoard – can also hypothetically be tied to the Eastern Germans.⁵⁸ It is worth remembering that, among others, the Vandals, Goths, and Gepids were located in the Middle Danube in the later phases of the Roman Period and during the Migration Period. Thus, it may be that what we are dealing with here is the distribution or redistribution of imitations within one area in which Roman coinage was used, an area that expanded via the addition of new territories resulting from the migration of groups of peoples. Of course another possibility – one that is at least equally probable – is that the finds of imitative denarii from the Hungarian Plain are tied to the Sarmatians who were there.⁵⁹ If this were the case, what we would be dealing with here is a situation not in which there was just one area in which coinage was used, but a more or less incidental redistribution of assemblages of Roman coins, with a small number of imitations, between the representatives of different barbarian tribes. In this context, it may be that assemblages of Roman coins were handed over as ceremonial gifts between members of the barbarian elite or as part of large transactions.⁶⁰ At the present moment, this hypothesis best explains the presence of imitations in northwestern Germany struck with the same dies as in the Przeworsk-Wielbark-Chernyakhiv-Baltic area and in the Hungarian Plain. While one can attempt to explain the ties between the Przeworsk-Wielbark-Chernyakhov-Baltic area and the Hungarian Plain by way of the migration of groups of peoples, it is difficult to include the territory of northwestern Germany within this theory, where the Eastern Germans never reached – at least, we do not have any information that such was the case.

Therefore, taking into account the available sources, even if some of the imitative denarii from the period of the Nerva-Antonine (and Flavian) dynasty came about

⁵⁶ DYMOWSKI and MYZGIN 2014: 42–56.

⁵⁷ There is no doubt that Roman denarii from the 1st to the 2nd centuries were in continual use among the Barbarians at least until the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries, which is confirmed by numerous finds dated to the Migration Period; BURSCHE 2005: 203–205.

⁵⁸ Cf. DYMOWSKI and MYZGIN 2014: 55–56.

⁵⁹ E.g. JÓNÁS 1935: 255; cf. STRIBRNY 2003: 99–100.

⁶⁰ IDEM 2003: 98–100; BURSCHE 2004: 201; PETER 2008: 391–392.

within the lands of present-day Poland, no doubt the majority of the coins of this type that have been found in Poland were produced by the Chernyakhiv culture in areas occupied in later phases of the Roman Period, that is, above all, in Ukraine. Taking into account the numismatic and archaeological data noted in the literature, a large center of production of imitative denarii must have been in operation there at the earliest as of the 3rd century but most probably from the middle of the century.⁶¹ There are significantly more imitations here than anywhere else; however, they never made up a large part of the denarii in use here, most likely never exceeding a few percentage points of the pool of denarii in this area. This at least is the result that we get from an initial analysis of the structure of the coins from finds.⁶² In lands located farther to the west and to the north, including the area of present-day Poland, there are decidedly fewer imitations, both in absolute numbers and in terms of percentages. With regard to the pool of Roman denarii from the period of the Flavian, Nerva-Antonine and Severan dynasties, the share of imitations in Poland does not exceed 1%. Thus, if imitations were produced in Poland, it must have been on a much smaller scale than in Ukraine. The distribution of imitations from Ukraine to other regions of the Barbaricum, which includes the distribution of imitations to present-day Poland, also never reached great numbers, though the scale of the phenomenon must have been impressive since it is so obvious in the finds.

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While it is true that we cannot fully believe the relatively unreliable data that is at our disposal, a great deal of evidence indicates that – proportionally speaking – imitations occur more frequently in hoards in Central Europe and Northern Europe than is the case in Ukraine. This may indicate that they came to the north and to the west in assemblages, which in turn would confirm the theory that ceremonial gifts or larger payments were made via large assemblages of denarii transmitted over long distances between representatives of the elite of various barbarian tribes.⁶³ Some finds of imitative denarii, however, escape such interpretation. The thousands of imitations that have been found in Ukraine apart from hoards point to them having been used on a much wider, more universal scale – at least in the east. To a certain extent – though to a much smaller degree – we can observe the same phenomenon in territories located farther to the west. I would like to remind the reader that imitative denarii from pre-historical settlement sites have been noted in central and southern Poland, and one of these denarii was struck with the same dies as

⁶¹ Concerning the dating of imitations on the basis of the numismatic sources, see LIND 1988: 113; STRIBNY 2003: 60. Concerning the dating of the period in which the imitations came into being on the basis of archaeological data, cf. MYZGIN 2013: 223; LYUBICHEV and MYZGIN 2019 – forthcoming.

⁶² K. Myzgin's opinion as it was communicated to me by mouth, though it is not based on detailed quantitative research.

⁶³ Cf. STRIBNY 2003: 54; PETER 2008: 391–392.

coins from Ukrainian finds. That numerous Roman coins – especially denarii from the 1st to the 2nd centuries, including subaerati – have been found on sites where there were settlements of the Przeworsk culture is typical of the lands of central and southern Poland; what this indicates is that they were used widely and not only as part of assemblages that were exchanged between representatives of the elite.⁶⁴ At the present moment, it is hard to say whether the imitations reached the lands of present-day Poland from Ukraine as part of large assemblages and then, once they were here, became part of a different, “everyday” sphere of use, or whether the introduction of imitations in the west took place as part of some phenomenon tied to the “migration” over long distances of small assemblages or even single coins, at least with regard to lands occupied by the Przeworsk and Chernyakhiv cultures.

Returning to the topic of hoards, an initial analysis of the presence of imitations in deposits shows that imitative denarii often appear in late-dated assemblages in the lands of the Barbaricum. Based on the objects accompanying these coins or their late chronological profile (hoards of type C-3 or D in accordance with the classification by K. Myzgin and myself)⁶⁵ and the fact that the coins are significantly worn, they can even be dated to the Migration Period.⁶⁶ Together with the numerous die-links recently demonstrated for imitative denarii recorded in various assemblages found in different regions of the Barbaricum, the fact that the coins are extremely worn, not to mention the fact that they are largely homogeneous in terms of their chronological structure (within subtypes C-3, D-1, D-2 and D-3⁶⁷), shows that this pool (or pools?) of coins went through a great deal of intermixing and that the coins themselves were intensively used. In this sense, the addition of imitations to the late pool(s) of denarii used within the lands of the Barbaricum lends credence to the hypothesis that this mass of coinage came into being on the basis of denarii that had been initially imported from the lands of the Empire and then used by barbarians for many decades.⁶⁸ Moreover, there must have been something like a monetary circulation within lands of the Barbaricum.⁶⁹ The circulation of these coins may only have been of limited geographical scope; taking into account the chronological structure of the hoards found in the different regions of the Barbaricum,⁷⁰ I would hypothetically

⁶⁴ Cf. BURSCHÉ 2004: 200–202.

⁶⁵ DYMOWSKI and MYZGIN 2014: 49–52.

⁶⁶ The materials and conclusions referring to the presence of barbarian imitations in hoards of denarii from between the 1st and 2nd centuries that were found in the lands of the Barbaricum were described in a paper by A. Dymowski and K. Myzgin entitled “The common currency of the Barbarians? Barbarian imitations in hoards of Roman Imperial denarii found in Central, Eastern and Northern Europe”, this paper was given at the 14th Protohistorická Konferencie. Archeologie Barbarů, which took place in Brno from October 3, 2018 to October 5, 2018.

⁶⁷ See DYMOWSKI and MYZGIN 2014: 49–52.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*: 50–55.

⁶⁹ DYMOWSKI 2017: 112.

⁷⁰ See HORSNÆS 2013: 73–81; DYMOWSKI and MYZGIN 2014: 46–56.

point to the areas occupied by the Przeworsk, Wielbark, and Chernyakhiv cultures. However, we cannot rule out that this monetary circulation occurred independently in various regions of the Barbaricum. In some areas – e.g. on the Baltic islands, especially in Gotland and Bornholm – this pool (including imitative denarii) may have already arrived in its final form as part of large-scale redistribution within the Barbaricum, one that has a late date – in fact, this redistribution is probably dated to the Migration Period.⁷¹

The use of a mix of Roman denarii in the Barbaricum from between the 1st and 2nd centuries and imitations is thus turning out to be increasingly interesting. It is also becoming clearer that what is needed is a comprehensive approach – one that takes a number of different aspects into account – towards the sheer amount of material found thus far in the great expanses of Central Europe, Northern Europe, and Eastern Europe. Before this research is conducted, there is already one thing that we can be sure of. Imitative coins that were made using the same dies, mixed with denarii from official issues, can be found in Central Europe, Northern Europe, and Eastern Europe; this is strong evidence favoring the thesis that Roman denarii from between the 1st and 2nd centuries were redistributed on a large scale between different regions of the Barbaricum. This phenomenon probably took place over an extended period of time, occurring in different regions at different periods. Meanwhile, I impatiently await the discovery of further finds which will certainly appear shortly and which will make it possible to answer more precisely questions related to the use of these coins and whether or not imitative denarii were produced in the lands of present-day Poland and neighboring areas.

⁷¹ It has long been recognized that Roman denarii may have subsequently been brought to the Baltic islands; see LIND 1993: 139–140; BURSCHE 2004: 198. It has recently been considered that this may have occurred during the Migration Period; see HORSNÆS 2013: 94–95; BURSCHE, LATAŁOWA and MAĆCZYŃSKA 2019 – forthcoming.

CATALOGUE OF IMITATIVE ROMAN IMPERIAL DENARII FROM POLISH FINDS

Imitative denarii:

1. Babica, Czudec Commune, Strzyżów District, Subcarpathian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Trajan), collection unknown,⁷² KUNISZ 1985: 24, no. 3 (no photographs or metrological data available).
2. Feliksów, Wiskitki Commune, Żyrardów District, Masovian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI and JELLONEK 2017: 247, weight unknown (Fig. 1).
3. Gdańsk-Oliwa, Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty, collection unknown, CIOŁEK 2007: 54, no. 80/7 (no photographs or metrological data available).
4. Gierłoż, Ostróda Commune, Ostróda District, Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), in the collections of the Coin Cabinet (Münzkabinett) of the Prussian Heritage Foundation Berlin State Museums, STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Gz 1 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
5. Gierłoż, Ostróda Commune, Ostróda District, Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), in the collections of the Coin Cabinet (Münzkabinett) of the Prussian Heritage Foundation Berlin State Museums, STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Gz 2 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
6. Gierłoż, Ostróda Commune, Ostróda District, Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius), in the collections of the Coin Cabinet (Münzkabinett) of the Prussian Heritage Foundation Berlin State Museums, STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Gz 3 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
7. Gierłoż, Ostróda Commune, Ostróda District, Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Commodus), in the collections of the Coin Cabinet (Münzkabinett) of the Prussian Heritage Foundation Berlin State Museums, STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Gz 4 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
8. Golub-Dobrzyń, Golub-Dobrzyń Commune, Golub-Dobrzyń District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine

⁷² According to Andrzej Kunisz (KUNISZ 1985: 24) the coin was kept in the collections of the Museum in Rzeszów in the 1980s, but there is no such a coin in the museum now.

dynasty (Antoninus Pius?), in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. NPO 46556), CIOŁEK 2007: 82, no. 103/556, 3.30 g (Fig. 2).

9. Inowrocław, Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Faustina II), collection unknown, GUMOWSKI 1956: 108, no. 46 (no photographs or metrological data available).
10. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (posthumous Antoninus Pius), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2017: 120, weight 2.77 g (Fig. 3).
11. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2017: 120, weight 3.03 g (Fig. 4).
12. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Hadrian?), collection unknown, RUDNICKI and DYMOWSKI 2015: 245–246, weight 2.47 g (Fig. 5).
13. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), collection unknown, RUDNICKI and DYMOWSKI 2015: 246, weight unknown: 246 (Fig. 6).
14. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2018: 31–34, weight 2.64 g (Fig. 7).
15. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2018: 31–34, weight 2.68 g (Fig. 8).
16. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2019: 190 and plate 30,3, weight 2.64 g (Fig. 9).
17. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Faustina I), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2013: 158 and 172, weight 3.08 g (Fig. 10).

18. Kacice, Pułtusk Commune, Pułtusk District, Masovian Voivodeship, stray find, undetermined emperor (1st c. AD?), collection unknown, unpublished, weight 4.04 g (lead or lead alloy?) (Fig. 11).
19. Konopnica, Konopnica Commune, Wieluń District, Łódź Voivodeship, coin from the Przeworsk culture settlement, undetermined emperor (2nd c. AD?), in the collections of the Museum in Wieluń, IGNASIAK 1999: pl. 3, no. 12 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
20. Kraśnik, Kraśnik Commune, Kraśnik District, Lublin Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), in the collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Łódź, MIKOŁAJCZYK 1981: 37, no. 147, weight 3.20 g (Fig. 12).
21. Kroczyce Okupne (Kostkowice), Kroczyce Commune, Zawiercie District, Silesian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), in the care of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, DYMOWSKI 2007: 57 and 59 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
22. Latkowo, Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Trajan), collection unknown, GUMOWSKI 1956: 108, no. 48a (no photographs or metrological data available).
23. Latkowo, Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), collection unknown, GUMOWSKI 1956: 108, no. 48a (no photographs or metrological data available).
24. Latkowo, Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Faustina I or II), collection unknown, GUMOWSKI 1956: 108, no. 48a (no photographs or metrological data available).
25. Lipno (environs), Lipno Commune, Lipno District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2011: 159, no. 404, weight unknown (Fig. 13).
26. Łęgowo, Wągrowiec Commune, Wągrowiec District, Greater Poland Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Trajan), collection unknown, KUNISZ 1973: 61–62, no. 78 (no photographs or metrological data available).
27. Malkowice, Koszyce Commune, Proszowice District, Lesser Poland Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), collection unknown, STRIBRNY 2003: 139, pl. 7, no. Ma 1 (incl. photographs and metrological data).

28. Nowy Drzewicz, Wiskitki Commune, Żyrardów District, Masovian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Hadrian), in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, KRZYŻANOWSKA 1976: 76, no. 1081; STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Dz 1 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
29. Nowy Drzewicz, Wiskitki Commune, Żyrardów District, Masovian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Faustina I), in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, KRZYŻANOWSKA 1976: 76, no. 1082; STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Dz 2 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
30. Nowy Drzewicz, Wiskitki Commune, Żyrardów District, Masovian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius), in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, KRZYŻANOWSKA 1976: 76, no. 1084; STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Dz 3 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
31. Nowy Drzewicz, Wiskitki Commune, Żyrardów District, Masovian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Faustina II), in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, KRZYŻANOWSKA 1976: 76, no. 1083; STRIBRNY 2003: 136, pl. 4, no. Dz 4 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
32. Olchowa, Iwierzycze Commune, Ropczyce District, Subcarpathian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Trajan?), in the collections of the Regional Museum in Rzeszów (inv. no. 2939 MRP), MORAWIECKI 2004: 427–428, weight 2.29 g (Fig. 14).
33. Olechowiec, Żółkiewka Commune, Krasnystaw District, Lublin Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius), in the collections of the Museum in Krasnystaw (?), KUNISZ 1985: 155, no. 172, weight 1.89 g (no photographs available).
34. Osiny, Baranów Commune, Grodzisk Mazowiecki District, Masovian Voivodeship, coin from the Przeworsk culture settlement, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Faustina II?), in the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, ROMANOWSKI 2015: 116–118 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
35. Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski Commune, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski District, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius), in the collections of the National Museum in Kielce, KUCZYŃSKI 1964: 137–138 (incl. photographs and metrological data).

36. Płońsk (environs), Pułtusk Commune, Pułtusk District, Masovian Voivodeship, stray find, undetermined emperor (1st c. AD?), collection unknown, unpublished, weight unknown (Fig. 15).
37. Sarbinowo, Dębno Commune, Myślibórz District, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Augustus (C.L.CAESARES type), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2016: 77, weight unknown, photographs in the archive of the author of this article (the author of the photographs of the coin did not give his permission to have them published here).
38. Sarbinowo, Dębno Commune, Myślibórz District, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Augustus (C.L.CAESARES type), collection unknown, unpublished, weight unknown, photographs in the archive of the author of this article (the author of the photographs of the coin did not give his permission to have them published here).
39. Siedlików, Ostrzeszów Commune, Ostrzeszów District, Greater Poland Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), collection unknown, KUNISZ 1973: 101–102, no. 139, weight unknown (no photographs available).
40. Skowronno Dolne, Pińczów Commune, Pińczów District, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, coin from the Przeworsk culture settlement, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (?), in the care of the Heritage Protection Office in Kielce, CZERNEK 2013: 144 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
41. Skrzetuszewo, Kiszewo Commune, Gniezno District, Greater Poland Voivodeship, fragment of a coin, stray find (in the area of the burial ground?), Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), in the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, GAŁĘŻOWSKA 2016: 214 (incl. photographs and metrological data).
42. Studzianki Pancerne, Głowaczów Commune, Kozienice District, Masovian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (?), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI 2011: 179, no. 576, weight unknown (copper or copper alloy?) (Fig. 16).
43. Tokary, Turobin Commune, Biłgoraj District, Lublin Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Commodus), in the collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Łódź, DYMOWSKI 2019: 190 and plate 30,4, weight 2.76 g (Fig. 17).
44. Wrocław, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Marcus Aurelius?), in the collections of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, SUKIENNIK 2003: 71, no. 496, weight 2.9 g (Fig. 18).

45. Wrocław, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Commodus?), in the collections of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, SUKIENNIK 2003: 71, no. 497, weight 3.1 g (Fig. 19).
46. Wrocław, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Commodus?), in the collections of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, SUKIENNIK 2003: 71, no. 498, weight 3.1 g (Fig. 20).
47. Poland, findspot unknown, stray find (?), Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Antoninus Pius), collection unknown, unpublished, weight unknown (Fig. 21).
48. Poland (?), findspot unknown, stray find (?), Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Hadrian?), collection unknown, unpublished, weight unknown, photographs of the coin are available here: http://odkrywca.pl/pokaz_watek.php?id=745926#1810278 (accessed on December 30, 2018).

Possible (uncertain) imitative denarii:

49. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, DYMOWSKI and WIĘCEK 2018: 173, weight 2.92 g, (base metal alloy?) (Fig. 22).
50. Inowrocław (environs), Inowrocław Commune, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (?), collection unknown, DYMOWSKI and WIĘCEK 2018: 173, weight unknown, (subaeratus?).
51. Jędrzejów (environs), Jędrzejów Commune, Jędrzejów District, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, stray find (?), Flavian dynasty (Domitian), KUNISZ 1958: 202–203, no. 3, weight 3.15 g, (no photographs available).
52. Łomża, Łomża District, Masovian Voivodeship, stray find, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (hybrid: obv. Faustina II and rv. Trajan), DYMOWSKI 2011: 160, no. 412, weight unknown.
53. Polanów, Polanów Commune, Koszalin District, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Hadrian), DYMOWSKI 2011: 125, no. 134, weight 1.51 g (Fig. 23).
54. Rożdżałów, Chełm Commune, Chełm District, Lublin Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Flavian dynasty (Domitian), in the collections of the Museum in Chełm, KUNISZ 1972: 111 and 113, no. 15, (incl. photographs and metrological data), cf. MORAWIECKI 2004: 630.
55. Rożdżałów, Chełm Commune, Chełm District, Lublin Voivodeship, coin from a hoard, Nerva-Antonine dynasty (Nerva), in the collections of the Museum in Chełm, KUNISZ 1972: 111 and 113, no. 16, (incl. photographs and metrological data), cf. MORAWIECKI 2004: 630.

ABBREVIATIONS

FMRD = M.R.-ALFÖLDI and H.-M. von KAENEL (eds.), *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland*, vols. I–XIV, Berlin 1960–2010.

NUMIS = Dutch coin-find database NUMIS (<https://nnc.dnb.nl/dnb-nnc-ontsluiting-frontend/#/numis/>).

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TABLE 1	Schemes of die-links
MAP 1	Imitative Roman Imperial denarii from Polish finds
MAP 2	Direct die-links of imitative Roman Imperial denarii found in present-day Poland and other regions of the former Barbaricum
MAP 3	Direct die-links confirmed between imitative denarii found in different regions of Barbaricum (after DYMOWSKI 2019: 188)
PLATE 1	<p>Fig. 1. Imitative denarius from Feliksów (PL-2), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 2. Imitative denarius from Golub-Dobrzyń (PL-8), photo: © National Museum in Warsaw.</p> <p>Fig. 3. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-10), photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 4. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-11), photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 5. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-12), photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 6. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-13), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 7. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-14), photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 8. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-15), photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 9. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-16), photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 10. Imitative denarius from the environs of Inowrocław (PL-17), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 11. Imitative denarius from Kacice (PL-18), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 12. Imitative denarius from Kraśnik (PL-20), photo: A. Dymowski.</p>
PLATE 2	<p>Fig. 13. Imitative denarius from the environs of Lipno (PL-25), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 14. Imitative denarius from Olchowa (PL-32), photo: ©Regional Museum in Rzeszów.</p> <p>Fig. 15. Imitative denarius from the environs of Płońsk (PL-36), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 16. Imitative denarius from Studzianki Pancerne (PL-42), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 17. Imitative denarius from Tokary (PL-43), photo: © Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź</p> <p>Fig. 18. Imitative denarius from Wrocław (PL-44), photo: Andrzej Niedźwiecki (The National Ossoliński Institute)</p> <p>Fig. 19. Imitative denarius from Wrocław (PL-45), photo: Andrzej Niedźwiecki (The National Ossoliński Institute)</p> <p>Fig. 20. Imitative denarius from Wrocław (PL-46), photo: Andrzej Niedźwiecki (The National Ossoliński Institute)</p> <p>Fig. 21. Imitative denarius from an unknown findspot in Poland (PL-47), photo: A.A.</p> <p>Fig. 22. Imitative (?) denarius from the environs of Inowrocław, photo: A. Dymowski.</p> <p>Fig. 23. Imitative (?) denarius from the environs of Polanów, photo: A.A.</p>

TABLE 1

ABBREVIATIONS

An – imitative denarii listed in: ANOKHIN 2018 (silver coins); available on-line: <http://barbarous-imitations.narod.ru/> (accessed on January 22, 2019).

BOR – imitative denarius from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, HORSNÆS 2007: 48.

MB-1 – coin from the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, STRIBRNY 2003: 139, pl. 7, no. MNMB 1.

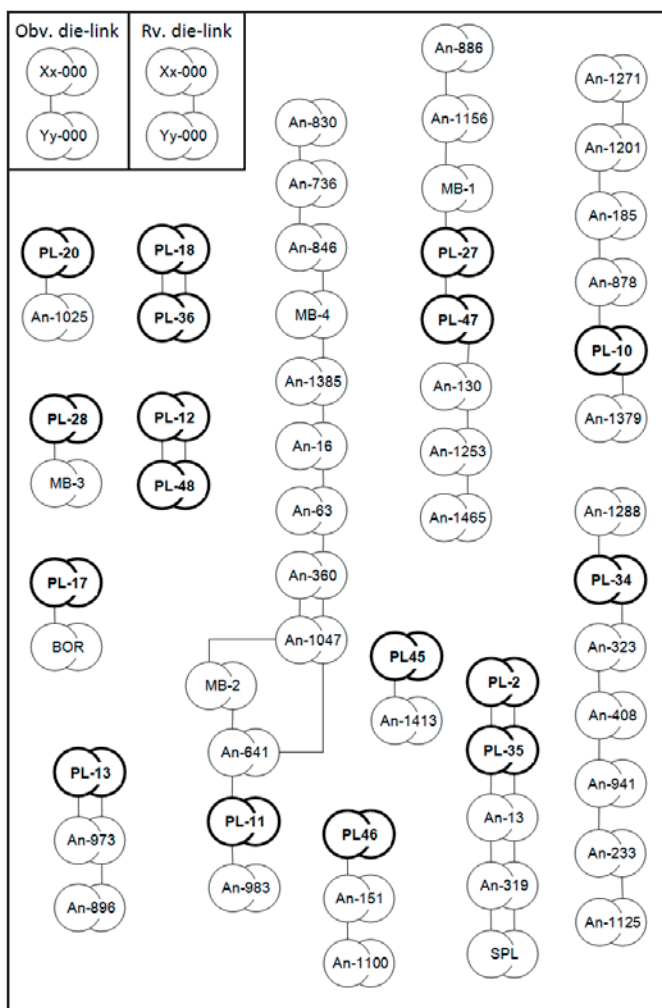
MB-2 – coin from the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, STRIBRNY 2003: 141, pl. 9, no. 12.

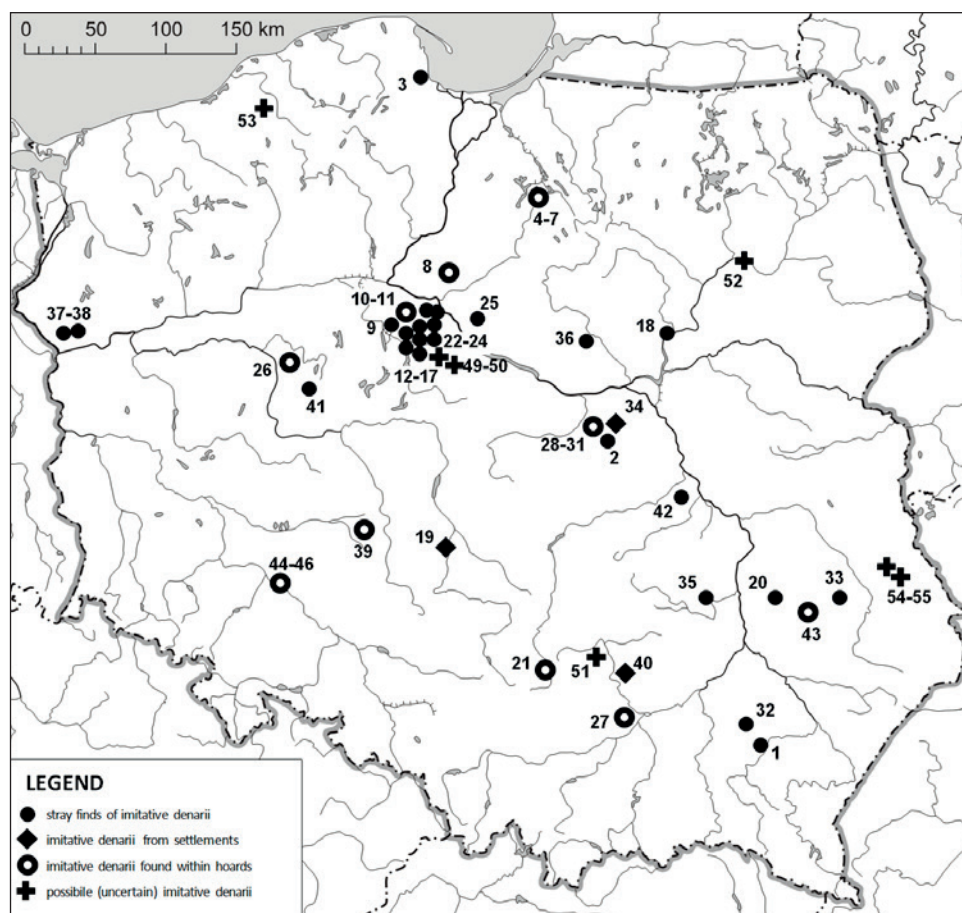
MB-3 – coin from the Kecel II hoard, kept in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, STRIBRNY 2003: 133, pl. 1, no. Ke 4.

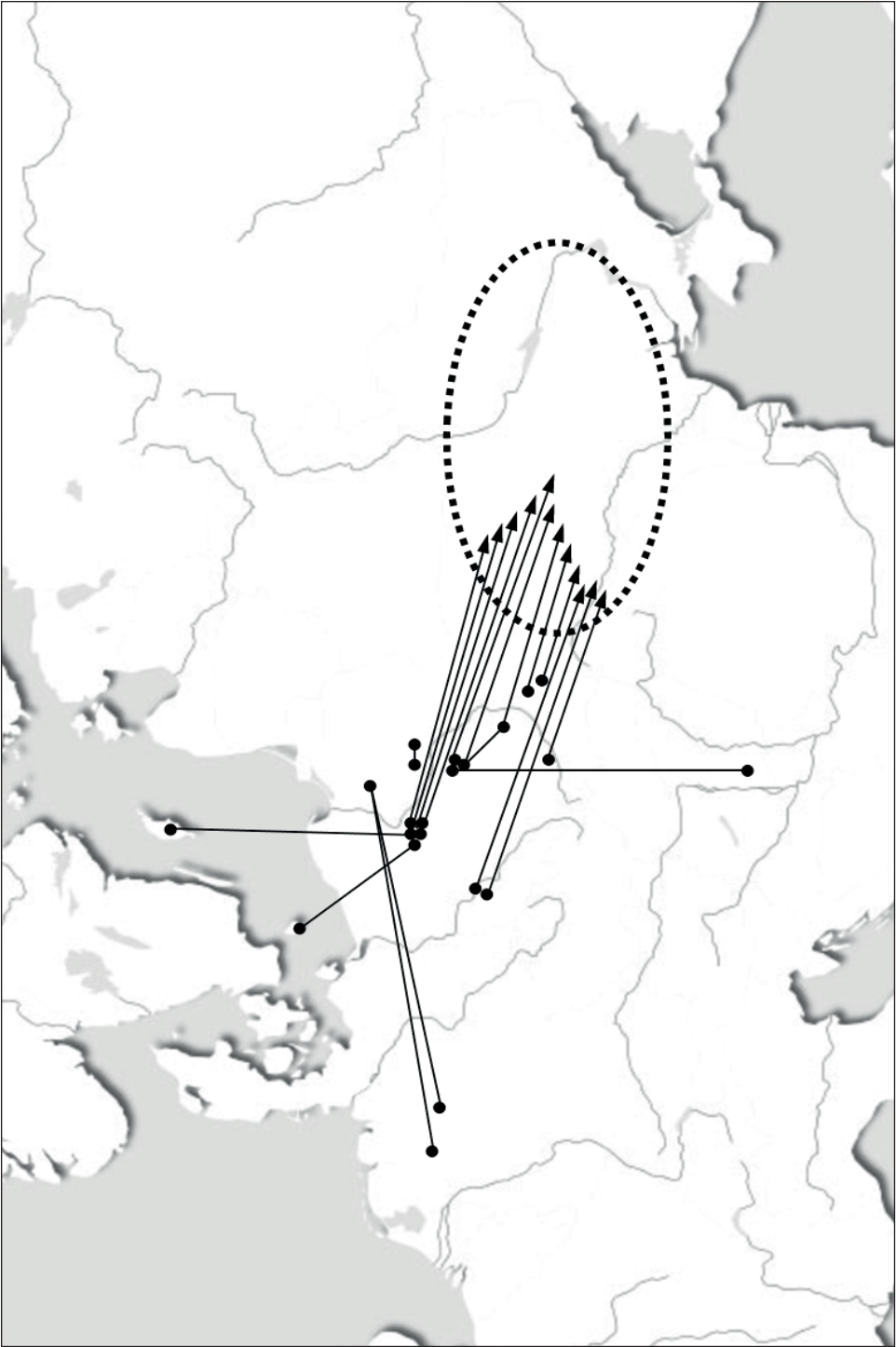
MB-4 – coin from the Kecel II hoard, kept in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, STRIBRNY 2003: 133, pl. 1, no. Ke 7.

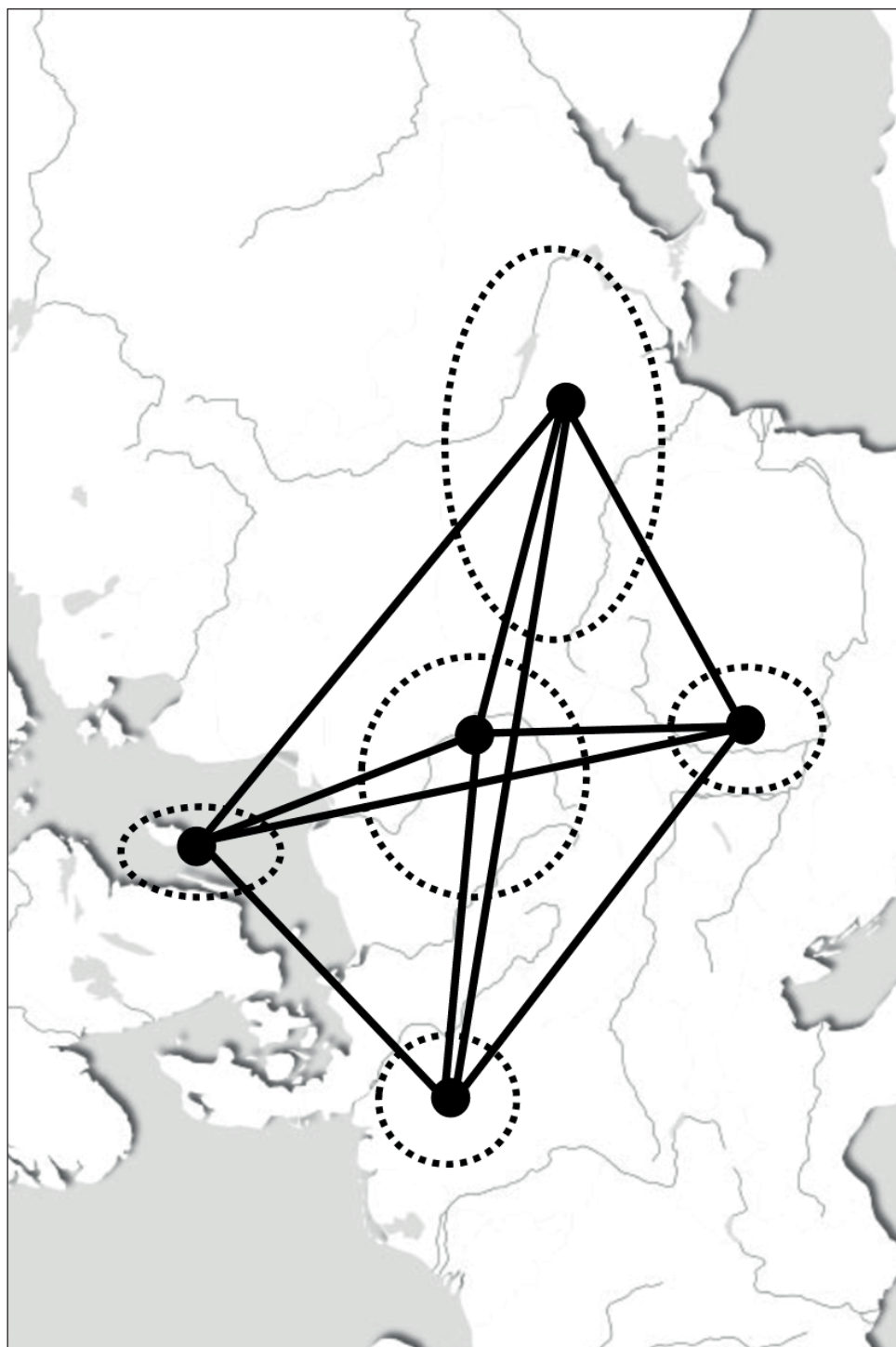
PL – imitative denarii listed in Catalogue of imitative denarii from Polish finds (attached to this article).

SPL – coin from the collection of Saint Paul's Abbey, Lavanttal (Benediktinerstift St. Paul im Lavanttal), ALRAM et AL 1983, pl. 19, no. 1760.











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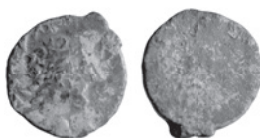
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