# NOTAE NUMISMATICAE ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



# Tom XVII

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

Kraków 2022

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#### Szanowni Państwo,

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

Rok 2022 był wyjątkowy dla całego środowiska numizmatyków w Polsce. Pierwszy raz w historii naszego kraju, a ujmujac rzecz szerzej – w krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej - odbył się XVI Międzynarodowy Kongres Numizmatyczny, najważniejsze spotkanie numizmatyków z całego świata, organizowane co sześć lat pod auspicjami International Numismatic Council. Wybór Polski, jako miejsca organizacji Kongresu traktujemy jako wielkie wyróżnienie. Głównym organizatorem tego wydarzenia był Uniwersytet Warszawski, a w przygotowaniach uczestniczyły również Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne, Narodowy Bank Polski oraz Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. W tym ostatnim przypadku szczególnie zaangażowani w prace nad XVI INC byli pracownicy Gabinetu Numizmatycznego. Całościa działań kierował profesor Aleksander Bursche z Wydziału Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pomysłodawca organizacji Kongresu w Polsce, którego wspierał Komitet Organizacyjny reprezentujący wszystkie najważniejsze polskie ośrodki numizmatyczne. Obrady kongresowe — które zgromadziły ponad 600 uczestników, czy to na miejscu w Warszawie, czy też w mniej licznych przypadkach, dzięki transmisji na żywo, w miejscach ich zamieszkania — uzupełniały liczne wydarzenia towarzyszące: wystawy, koncerty i spotkania.

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie przygotowało z tej okazji specjalną wystawę: "Medal prywatnie. Medale w I Rzeczypospolitej (od XVI do XVIII wieku)", której kuratorem była Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska. Jednocześnie we współpracy z Uniwersytetem Jagiellońskim, krakowskim oddziałem Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego, Królewską Biblioteką w Brukseli i Królewskim Towarzystwem Numizmatycznym w Belgii zorganizowano poprzedzającą właściwe obrady Kongresu międzynarodową sesję "Joachim Lelewel and Numismatics in the Nineteenth Century". W ramach kongresu tradycyjnie opracowany został również Survey of Numismatic Research za lata 2014–2020, w prace nad którym aktywnie zaangażowani byli pracownicy Gabinetu Numizmatycznego: Jarosław Bodzek, Dorota Malarczyk i Barbara Zając. Co więcej, Gabinet Numizmatyczny Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie był silnie reprezentowany w obradach Kongresu, w czasie których wymienione powyżej osoby wygłosiły referaty. Kongres zakończył się wielkim sukcesem i stanowił znakomitą wizytówkę polskiej numizmatyki.

#### Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume 17 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 whole of the present volume can be found as PDF's on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1), 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.

2022 was a special year for the entire numismatic community in Poland. It saw the XVI International Numismatic Congress being held in Warsaw, marking the first time that this most important meeting of numismatists from all over the world, organised every six years under the auspices of the International Numismatic Council, had been held in our country, or more generally in a country from Central and Eastern Europe. The choice of Poland as the venue for the Congress was a great honour. The main organiser of the event was the University of Warsaw, and also involved in its organisation were the National Museum in Warsaw, the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Polish Numismatic Society, the National Bank of Poland, and the National Museum in Krakow. In this last case, the staff of the Museum's Numismatic Cabinet were particularly active in the work on the INC 2022. In charge of all activities was Professor Aleksander Bursche of the Faculty of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw, who was the driving force behind the organisation of the Congress in Poland, and who was supported in his role by the Organising Committee, representing all major Polish numismatic centres. The congress proceedings, which attracted more than 600 participants, either on-site in Warsaw or, in lesser numbers, thanks to live streaming, were complemented by a wide range of accompanying events, including exhibitions, concerts, and meetings.

The National Museum in Krakow organised a special exhibition for the occasion: "Private medal. Private medals in the 1st Republic of Poland (from the 16th to the 18th century)", curated by Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska. At the same time, an international session on "Joachim Lelewel and Numismatics in the Nineteenth Century", preceding the Congress proper, was organised in cooperation with the Jagiellonian University, the Krakow Branch of the Polish Numismatic Society, the Royal Library of Brussels, and the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium. As part of the Congress, the Survey of Numismatic Research for the years 2014–2020 was traditionally produced, with Jarosław Bodzek, Dorota Malarczyk and Barbara Zając of the Numismatic Cabinet actively involved in its preparation. The Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow was also strongly represented in the proceedings of the Congress, where the abovementioned staff delivered papers. The congress was a great success and a real showcase for Poland.

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# A Coin in the Name of the Bosporan Ruler Cotys Found in the Suburbs of Augustów<sup>1</sup>

ABSTRACT: A bronze coin struck in the name of Cotys I, the ruler of the Bosporan Kingdom, by his son and successor Rhescuporis II was found by chance on the outskirts of Augustów in 2017. This coin is a dupondius with a value equal to 24 units, as attested by the value mark K-Δ on the reverse. The finder, Mr Marcin Haraburda, handed it over to the Regional Museum in Augustów. Although the coin find does not have any clearly determined context, it is possible – on the basis of a general analysis of the inflow of the Imperial and Roman provincial coinage into the area of the West Balt Culture Environment and the broadly conceived archaeological context – to link the presence of this dupondius with the milieu of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The authors would like to thank the director of the Cultural Institutions in Augustów, Anna Jastrzębska, for providing all of the information about the coin and consenting to a photo of the item being taken. Separate thanks go to Mr Marcin Haraburda, the coin finder, for information about the discovery itself, as well as those about its circumstances and the possibility of using the photo of the coin. Finally, we would like to express our heartfelt thanks to Dr Anna Zapolska from the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw for her valuable comments. All remaining errors and shortcomings are our own.

the Sudovian culture, which started to develop in that territory beginning from the Younger Roman Period.

KEY WORDS: Bosporan Kingdom, dupondius, Cotys I, Rhescuporis II, Sudovian culture

ABSTRAKT: Znalezisko monety z imieniem władcy Królestwa Bosporańskiego Kotysa w Augustowie

W 2017 r. na obrzeżach Augustowa odkryta została przypadkowo brązowa moneta wybita w imieniu władcy Królestwa Bosporańskiego Kotysa I przez jego syna i następcę Reskuporisa II. Jest to dupondius o wartości 24 jednostek, o czym świadczy umieszczony na rewersie znak wartości K-Δ. Za sprawą znalazcy Marcina Haraburdy moneta trafiła do zbiorów Muzeum Ziemi Augustowskiej. Jakkolwiek znalezisko nie ma bliższego kontekstu, na podstawie generalnej analizy napływu imperialnych i prowincjonalnych monet rzymskich na obszar kręgu kultur zachodniobałtyjskich oraz szeroko pojmowanego kontekstu archeologicznego, można powiązać obecność dupondiusa Reskuporisa II w okolicach Augustowa ze środowiskiem kultury sudowskiej, rozwijającej się na tym terenie od młodszego okresu rzymskiego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Królestwo Bosporańskie, dupondius, Kotys I, Reskuporis II, kultura sudowska

In September 2017, a bronze coin of the Bosporan Kingdom, minted in the name of the ruler Cotys I, was found by chance in the suburbs of Augustów. According to the information obtained from the finder, Mr Marcin Haraburda, and confirmed by the Regional Museum in Augustów, the coin is now in the collection of this museum. Anna Jastrzębska, the director of the Cultural Institutions in Augustów, has told us that it has been entered in the records of the Depository Book of the Regional Museum in Augustów under no. MZA/D/61.

The coin is worn to a relatively high degree, with the inscription in a large part being obliterated, but it is possible to determine the type as well as the attribution.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE COIN:

*Obv.*: curule chair upon which wreath; sceptre with king's head at r.; [TEI]MAI BACIΛEWC [KOT]YOC

*Rev.*: shield with spear in centre; human head and sword in scabbard, r.; horse's head and helmet, l., in field to l. and r. K- $\Delta$ ; [TOY] ACHOYPF[OY]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Regional Museum in Augustów is an organizational unit of the Cultural Institutions of Augustów.

AE, dupondius (24 units)

w: 6 g, d: 22.15 mm, a: 12

FROLOVA 1979: 142–143; EADEM 1997: 139–141, Pl. LV, 21–23, LVI, 1–16 (as Cotys II); ANOKHIN 1986: 101, 109, no. 376, Pl. 14; IDEM 2011: 210, no. 1481 (as Rhescuporis II); RPC III: 112, no. 906 (as Cotys II); cf. https://bosporan-kingdom.com/376-4515/

The coin represents an issue for which the attribution and, in consequence, the dating remain controversial, at least to a certain extent. As the views expressed by some scholars of older generations, as recapitulated by N.A. Frolova,<sup>3</sup> are not the primary topic of the present text, two main propositions can be indicated in this respect. Frolova, followed by the authors of the RPC III, included this particular coin as among the issues of Cotys II (AD 123–132), specifically the very early period of this ruler's reign (AD 123-124).<sup>4</sup> This dating was based on the above-mentioned scholar's observation concerning the remarkable iconographic and typological similarities between the coins in question and the dupondii of Sauromates I (AD 93–123),<sup>5</sup> and out of her assumed chronological sequence of the minting of both coin groups. It is supposed that the prototype pieces may have been the coins of Sauromates I, in imitation of which the issue of Cotys II was apparently produced. Frolova also highlighted the coincidence in the fabric, style, and the adopted imagery of the dupondii considered here and the other bronze issues of Cotys II, as well as the adjustment of their medium weight (6.5 g) to that of the sestertii of the same ruler struck in the years AD 123–126. A different hypothesis was assumed by A.N. Zograph and V.N. Anokhin, who argued that the coins under consideration had been struck during the reign of Rhescuporis II (AD 68-93), the son and successor of Cotys I.6 This particular attribution was based on several premises. First of all, on account of the character of the imagery and inscriptions, as well as the metrology, the dupondii could not have been minted during the reign of Cotys I, a ruler whose other issues were marked by the complete subordination to Rome both iconographically and in inscriptions. Secondly, according to Anokhin's view, those coins cannot be attributed to Cotys II as they are not different from his sestertii in terms of their weights and diameters, which would put the identification

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> FROLOVA 1997: 139–141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibidem: 140–141. In RPC III (102), the coins we are interested in are incorrectly assigned to the Frolova's group IV of the Cotys II bronze coins and are dated AD 129–130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. FROLOVA 1979: 117, no. 9, Pl. IX, 7–9; ANOKHIN 1986: no. 438, Pl. 17; FROLOVA 1997: 247–248, no. 8, Pl. XLII, 20–22; RPC III: 106, no. 835.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. ZOGRAPH 1951: 198: ANOKHIN 1986: 101, 109.

(of both) within one and the same group in question (as Frolova argued).<sup>7</sup> In addition, this author pointed out that it was not very likely the dupondii would have been produced under Cotys II, recalling that the denomination had been in use on a fairly sporadic basis in the reign of Sauromates I, and was completely absent in the coinage of Cotys II's successors. In turn, A.N. Zograph highlighted the coincidence in the fabric, style, and the metrological details of the dupondii in question and the coins of Rhescuporis II with the legend TEIMAI BACIΛEWC PECKOYΠΟΡΙΔΟC.<sup>8</sup> In Anokhin's most recent study, this issue has been allocated to the bronze series produced by Rhescuporis II in the years AD 86–92.<sup>9</sup>

The coin found in Augustów does not offer too much in this regard, but it appears that there are a couple of arguments in favour of attributing the above-mentioned coins to Rhescuporis II rather than to Cotys II.

Firstly, the legend TEIMAI BACIAEWC KOTYOC TOY ACHOYPFOY points to Cotys I as the son of Aspurg. The explanation proposed by N.A. Frolova to the effect of Cotys II descending from the founder of the dynasty is definitely less convincing.

Secondly, the argument for the similarity of the coins to the dupondii struck by Sauromates I (AD 93/4-123/4) may be paradoxically more indicative of their issue under Rhescuporis II. Frolova classifies this particular issue of Sauromates I to Series 2 of the second group of the bronze coinage in the name of the ruler and argues that it dates back to the earlier period of his reign, specifically to the years AD 98–102. As already noted, the same scholar holds the view that the dupondii with the legend TEIMAI BACIΛEWC KOTYOC TOY ACΠΟΥΡΓΟΥ are datable to the years AD 123/4. The two series would be then around 20 years apart. With such a long interval, it is difficult to see why the resemblance between the two dupondii series should indicate that those with the name Cotys would have been produced under Cotys II. The sestertii of Rhescuporis II (TEIMAI type) are datable back to the years AD 86–92.10 The chronological proximity between the issues of Rhescuporis II and Sauromates I is therefore greater than in the case of the TEIMAI dupondii of the latter ruler and Cotys II. It is more plausible, considering the situation, to put the coins with the name of Cotys within a period close to the issues of the TEIMAI coins of Rhescuporis II and Sauromates I than after the aforementioned 20-year interval, in the reign of Cotys II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> ANOKHIN 1986: 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> ZOGRAPH 1951: 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ANOKHIN 2011: 210, no. 1481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> FROLOVA 1997: 105–107 – here 2 series of Rhescuporis II bronze coins dated to AD 80–93.

In the context of the attribution of the issue in question, we should take particular note of the above-mentioned argumentation by Anokhin as regards the frequency of the dupondii (the coins with the value designation mark  $K-\Delta$ ) in the coinage of Sauromates I, Cotys II, and their successors, as well as the metrological characteristics of the bronze coins of Cotys II. Furthermore, let us also recall the coincidence in the style and fabric details of the coins under consideration and the issues of Rhescuporis II, as pointed out by Zograph (which, incidentally, would be in contradiction to the argument stated by Frolova, who suggested a similar concurrence with the coins of Cotys II).

With all the above arguments taken into account, we are in agreement here with the theory offered by Zograph and Anokhin, according to which the above-mentioned coins had been minted in the name of Cotys I by his son and successor Rhescuporis II. Obviously, those arguments would not resolve the questions of the attribution and the dates of the issue under consideration with any certainty. A plausible resolution of this problem requires more research and is beyond the scope of the present article. Likewise, we shall not be concerned here with attempting to speculate on the reasons why Rhescuporis II may have issued the coins in his father's name.

According to the details obtained from the finder and some other sources, no other archaeological artefacts have been recorded in the proximity of the site of the coin find. The site was located within an agricultural lot (at the time when the coin was found),<sup>11</sup> but it has since been built over, with a newly developed supermarket (shopping mall) exactly at the same location (construction commenced in 2019 and was completed in 2020).<sup>12</sup> In the light of all the information available, no surface ground examination (with a view to obtaining a proper verification) on the property has been carried out. As a result, this coin of Rhescuporis II must be regarded as a single and chance find, with no verification performed.

The coins issued by the rulers of the Bosporan Kingdom in the period beginning from the 1st century BC up to the 4th century AD form a relatively small, but very interesting, group among all the ancient pieces found in the territory of Poland. To date, seven coin finds of this sort have been recorded in modern-day Poland: with five recorded within the boundaries of the historical Lesser Poland, one in central Poland, and one in Kuyavia. Yet it should be pointed out that the records of four coin finds representing this specific group come from before the mid-20th century, including two in the second half of the 19th century. As a result, the

<sup>11</sup> Lot no. 1826/8.

https://augustow.naszemiasto.pl/w-augustowie-powstaje-pierwsza-tak-duza-galeria-handlowa/ar/c1-7935487 (accessed on 8 January 2022)

 $<sup>^{13}\;</sup>$  BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018; IDEM 2013; BODZEK, JELLONEK and ZAJĄC 2019: 60–62; BODZEK, BULAS and OKOŃSKA-BULAS 2021.

information about the circumstances of the discovery of such older coin finds are incomplete and their reliability not always verified or well-documented.<sup>14</sup> However, with the advent of the common use of metal detectors, we have seen many new relevant coin finds, also further adding to the plausibility of some earlier discoveries. In this context, we should take particular notice of a large bronze coin found at Trębaczów (Opatowiec commune, Kazimierza Wielka District): a triple sestertius, according to one hypothesis, or a drachm, from the reign of Sauromates II (AD 174/175–210/211).<sup>15</sup> It was found during a regular archaeological on-site prospection conducted by J. Bulas and M. Okońska-Bulas from Foundation Arch, which makes this particular coin find a credible one and also lends veracity to at least some of the chance finds.

Among the Polish finds of Bosporan coinage, only the coin recovered from Gorlice-Glinik Mariampolski would reportedly have been part of a hoard, while the pieces found at Nowy Sącz-Zabełcze, Staniątki (Kraków District), Zarzecze (Przeworsk District), Trębaczów (Kazimierza Wielka District), Skłóty (Kutno District), and Gąski (Inowrocław District) should be considered as stray finds. <sup>16</sup> It is also noteworthy that only the coin find from Trębaczów could be clearly and indisputably linked with a specific culture-bound context as an artefact found on a settlement site of the Przeworsk culture at that particular locality. In the other cases, we are unaware of any determinable context of those finds.

Generally speaking, all the coin finds to date have been located within the bounds of the ancient settlement area of the Przeworsk culture. It is only uncertain how the find from Nowy Sącz-Zabełcze should be classified (in terms of culture) as, perhaps, it may have been associated with the environment of the Puchov culture. 17

The chronological structure of the finds recorded thus far consists essentially of the following two groups: coins issued in the early centuries AD and those dating from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. <sup>18</sup> Among the coin finds of the first group, those from Nowy Sącz-Zabełcze (AE of Polemon), <sup>19</sup> Zarzecze (dupondius of Cotys I) and Gorlice-Glinik Mariampolski (a sestertius of Rhescuporis II), while the second one consists of the coins found at Staniątki (a denarius of Rhescuporis III), Trębaczów (triple sestertius of Sauromates II), and Skłóty (a denarius of Ininthimeus) should be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cf. analysis in BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018.

<sup>15</sup> BODZEK, BULAS and OKOŃSKA-BULAS 2021.

Gorlice-Glinik Mariampolski – BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018: 79, cat. 2; Nowy Sącz-Zabełcze – *Ibidem*: 80, cat. 3; Staniątki – *Ibidem*: 80, cat. 5; Zarzecze – *Ibidem*: 80f, cat. 6; Trębaczów – BODZEK, BULAS and OKOŃSKA-BULAS 2021; Skłóty – *Ibidem*: 80, cat. 3; Gąski – BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018: 79, cat. 1. The nature of the find from Gąski is not quite clear in this context.

<sup>17</sup> BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018: 65-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Cf. BODZEK, BULAS and OKOŃSKA-BULAS 2021: 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> However, de facto it is a coin struck at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

mentioned. A large, but very poorly preserved, bronze piece from Gaski cannot be classified in either group as there has been no precise identification made in this instance.<sup>20</sup> The chronological structure of the coin finds from the territory of Poland corresponds with the group of coins from before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century Gothic wars as distinguished by G. Beidin and K. Myzgin among the significantly greater number of finds from the settlement area of the Chernyakhiv culture.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that there are no pieces among the Polish finds which were struck after the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The denomination structure of the recorded finds derives is related to the particular chronological composition of the Bosporan coins found to date. Nearly all the pieces found so far are medium and large bronze coins (sestertii, triple sestertii, dupondii, bronze denarii), except for a coin of comparatively small denomination found at Nowy Sacz-Zabełcze. There is also a noticeable lack of any gold, electron, or silver staters among the coins found in Poland. It should be observed that the absence of the billon and copper staters (the denominations typical of the Bosporan coinage of the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the first half of the 4th centuries) appears to correspond to the chronology of the coin finds as described above.22

The find-related culture background of our coin (Rhescuporis II) is significantly different than those presented above. In the early phase of the Roman Period, the environs of the present-day town of Augustów had been situated within the settlement area of the Bogaczewo culture. Despite the fact that this is the eastern segment of this settlement area,<sup>23</sup> it does not exhibit any features distinct from the "heartland" of this culture localized in the Great Mazurian Lakes Region and in the Mrągowo Lake District.<sup>24</sup> From the beginning of the Younger Roman Period, however, the influence of the Sudovian culture had been growing in a more and more evident form in the area of the Augustów Plain.<sup>25</sup> A number of sites of the Augustów group of this culture are concentrated west and north of Augustów: in the eastern part of the Ełk Lake District, the south-western area of the Augustów Plain, and the south-eastern section of the Western Suwałki Lake District.

The nearest archaeological sites to the coin find location are two attested ones which may be chronologically coincident with the appearance there of this particular bronze coin of Rhescuporis II. The surface explorations carried out in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> BODZEK, BULAS and OKOŃSKA-BULAS 2021: 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> MYZGIN and BEIDIN 2012: 60f; see also below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> BODZEK, BULAS and OKOŃSKA-BULAS 2021: 88.

<sup>23</sup> The term "eastern zone of Bogaczewo culture" was used by Piotr Iwanicki, but it was not accepted in the literature. Cf. IWANICKI 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*: 159–160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> KACZYŃSKI 1976a: 273.

1980s at a place known as "Łysa Góra" (around 600 m south-west of the coin find location) led to the discovery of a site interpreted as a presumed burial ground of the Sudovian culture. The surface verification research performed in 2003 did not yield any artefact material. At the present time, the location of the archaeological site is already occupied by a roundabout, part of the larger ring road structure of Augustów. According to the results of the pre-construction archaeological exploration, "Łysa Góra" was a multi-phase site, with the recovered material datable from the Stone Age up to modern times. As there are only very few artefacts connected with the Sudovian culture, the authors of the report suggest that what has been found are more likely the remnants of a settlement than those of a burial site, as assumed before. 27

Another site which may have functioned at the time when this specific coin reached the present-day Augustów region – situated about 2 km south-west of the coin find location – is a settlement associated with the Sudovian culture.<sup>28</sup>

In spite of the fact that the range, chronology, and function of the abovementioned sites are substantiated only on the basis of a very limited body of the artefact material, they provide some evidence for the existence of settled (?) human habitation in the nearest environs of the coin find location.

The earliest known burial grounds in the region, i.e., Judziki (Augustów District) and Podliszewo (Grajewo District), linked with the coalescing of the Bogaczewo culture in this whole area, are datable to the phases  $A_3$ – $B_1$  (mid-1st century BC – mid-1st century AD).<sup>29</sup> More burial sites come from the early Roman Period, e.g., at Borzymy,<sup>30</sup> Romoty, Sypitki, Netta,<sup>31</sup> Woźna Wieś,<sup>32</sup> Dręstwo,<sup>33</sup> and several more are related to the phase  $B_2/C_1$  (mid-2nd century AD): Bargłów Dworny (sites  $I^{34}$  and  $II^{35}$ ), Raczki,<sup>36</sup> Płociczno.<sup>37</sup> Among the random artefacts found in the area of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Augustów, site 27, AZP 22-84/13. According to the documentation available on the website of the National Heritage Institute, the function and the chronology of the site were determined on the basis of an iron knife find. Cf. https://zabytek.pl/pl/obiekty/zabytek?inspire\_id=PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID\_E\_20\_AR.2703204&rejestr=ewidencja-zabytkow (accessed on 30 January 2022). The item was covered with a fire patina. It was found in 1959 while digging gravel. According to M. Kaczyński, the cemetery was destroyed as a result of earthworks; KACZYŃSKI 1971: 389–390.

 $<sup>\,^{27}\,</sup>$  BRZOZOWSKI et AL 2010: 30. We would like to thank Ms Renata Maskowicz from the District Museum in Suwałki for providing the unpublished report on the excavation research carried out at the site no. 27 in Augustów.

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  Żarnowo I, site 6, AZP 23-84/31. The chronology and function of the site were determined on the basis of several pottery fragments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA and IWANICKI 2002: 139.

<sup>30</sup> NOWAKOWSKI 2017.

<sup>31</sup> BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2007.

<sup>32</sup> IWANICKI 2001.

<sup>33</sup> BRZOZOWSKI and SZYMAŃSKI 1999.

<sup>34</sup> MARCINIAK 1950.

<sup>35</sup> KACZYŃSKI 1976b: 479-480.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> LA BAUME and GRONAU 1941.

<sup>37</sup> NOWAKOWSKI 2009–2010.

northern shore of the Rajgród Lake, we should mention a bronze wrist-band bracelet (Manschettenarmring) and a bronze crossbow tendril brooch with elbow bow.<sup>38</sup> These artefacts are characteristic of the Younger Roman Period. In addition, the shape of the bow should allow us to narrow down this chronological identification to the developed part of this particular period.<sup>39</sup>

Unfortunately, the coin in question cannot be ascribed conclusively to any one of the two cultural entities living in the area in the early centuries AD on the basis of any archaeological context, because there is simply none here. However, some clues can be found in the overall contexts of the finds of Roman coinage in the territory of the West Balt Culture Environment, as well as the comprehensive view of the finds of Bosporan coinage all over the Central/East *Barbaricum*.

The question is how the coin of Rhescuporis II, found in the suburbs of Augustów, could be classified in the context of the other finds of Bosporan coins. As regards the chronology of this coin find, it fits the context of the other pieces found in Poland, specifically with group I, i.e. encompassing the coins produced in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. At the same time, it belongs to the group of the coins minted before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century Gothic Wars, in accordance with the classification proposed by Georgiy Beidin and Kyrylo Myzgin. In terms of the metal and denomination, it is closer in its denomination structure to the finds from the area of the Przeworsk culture than, for example, to territorially closer modern-day Belarus, with one uncertain find of an electron stater of Sauromates II (AD 174/5–210/1) and two other bronze staters of the Bosporan Kingdom.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, the actual and plausible reference point in the instance of the bronze coin of Rhescuporis II found in the suburbs of Augustów is the structure of the numismatic finds in the area of the West Balt Culture Environment.

The main category of the finds of ancient coinage in the West Balt Culture Environment is formed by Roman bronze coinage (sestertii, dupondii, and asses) produced by the central mint of Rome, which would have continued to reach the area under consideration for at least 100 years: from the 160s to the 260s.<sup>41</sup> The coinage inflow must have very likely streamed from the territory of Italy and accompanied the commercial activity along the amber trading routes.<sup>42</sup> In terms of the chronological details, the inflow was definitely dominated by the coinage of the Antonine dynasty, followed by coins of the period from the Severan dynasty and

<sup>38</sup> JASKANIS 1970.

<sup>39</sup> SZYMAŃSKI 2009: 468.

<sup>40</sup> SIDAROVICH 2014: 73ff, 83f, cat. 2-4.

<sup>41</sup> It is formed by Bogaczewo Culture, Sudovian Culture, Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture, Lower Neman Group, Central Lithuanian Group, West Lithuanian Group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> ZAPOLSKA 2013: 108-112.

the emperor Valerian's reign. Coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> century represent the lowest percentage share. <sup>43</sup> Such a chronological structure is also characteristic of the Bogaczewo culture in general, where a vast majority of the numismatic finds from the Roman Period is made up of sestertii issued from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, with a predominance of coins from the period of the Antonine dynasty. <sup>44</sup> Crucially important from the perspective of the present article, however, is the coinage produced by the Roman provincial mints. <sup>45</sup>

At least five Roman provincial bronze coins come from the area of the Bogaczewo culture: 1) coin of Caracalla, minted: Odessos, found: settlement site Tałty (Mikołajki commune);46 2) coin of Caracalla, minted: Serdica, found: Nawiady (Piecki commune):<sup>47</sup> 3) coin of Severus Alexander, minted: Prusa, found: grave 25. burial ground Stare Kiejkuty (Szczytno commune);<sup>48</sup> 4) coin of Philip I, minted: Viminacium, found: grave 209, burial ground Machary (Piecki commune);<sup>49</sup> 5) coin of Gallienus, minted: Antioch of Pisidia, found: burial ground (?) near the village Kuty (Pozezdrze commune). 50 As can be seen, coins dating to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century are represented here in the majority. In the neighbouring West Balt region, i.e., in the area of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, <sup>51</sup> as well as in the territory of Lithuania,<sup>52</sup> the chronological structure of the Roman provincial coin finds is very similar. With all the data from the archaeological contexts taken into account (in particular, from the territory of the Sambian Peninsula), it is fair to assume that the process of the inflow of such coins took place in at least two stages: at the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century – first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and in mid-3<sup>rd</sup> and the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*: 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*: Tab. 1. One of the closest finds of Roman coins in the vicinity of Augustów is a sestertius of Marcus Aurelius found in the town of Netta (KACZYŃSKI 1976b: 482). A sestertius of Faustina the Elder was found in the tomb 22 and a denarius of Marcus Aurelius in tomb 109 in the cemetery in the same town (BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2007: 16, 32, 100, Pl. XIII:22:9, LVII:109:1). Two sestertii with portraits of Gordian II and Antoninus Pius come from Płociczno (NOWAKOWSKI 2009–2010: 104).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> This topic was the subject of a presentation by K. Myzgin and K. Skvorcov at the 27<sup>th</sup> EAA Annual Meeting in Kiel in 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> DYMOWSKI, ORZECHOWSKA and RUDNICKI 2012: 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> KUBIAK 1978: 209, no. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> BURSCHE 1996: 182, no. 74.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem: 176, no. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*: 175, no. 28.

<sup>51</sup> Chronologically, finds from the Sambia Peninsula are arranged as follows: Hadrian? – 1 exemplar; Marcus Aurelius – 2 pieces; Septimius Severus – 1 exemplar; Caracalla – 4 pieces; Philip I – 1 exemplar; Gordian III – 2 pieces; Volusian – 1 piece; Gallienus – 1 exemplar. They were minted at Viminacium, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Mestum, Andros, Prusa ad Olimpum, Nicaea, Smyrna, Laodicea, Attuda, Alexandria.

 $<sup>^{52}</sup>$  Caracalla (Tomis) -1 exemplar; Geta (Tarsus) -1 piece; Macrinus and Diadumenianus -1 exemplar; Severus Alexander (Nicaea) -1 piece; Gordian III (Tomis) -1 exemplar; hoard with Nicaean coins -18 pieces from Caracalla to Gordian III.

A more complex and pressing problem is the question of the sources of the inflow of this coinage into the territories of the West Balt Culture Environment. On the one hand, nothing stands in the way of assuming that such coins might have arrived directly from the Roman provinces as a consequence of trade relations (as in the case of Imperial coins). Still, if in the case of the coins from the Balkan mints such a hypothesis may be logical in a certain way, it is difficult to imagine the existence of the nearly century-long trade relations between the Baltic region and the Roman provinces in Asia Minor. For this reason, it seems that more promising in this respect is the assumption that such coins may have come from some other territories of the *Barbaricum*. The nearest territory with records of the widespread presence of Roman provincial coin finds is the broader area of the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the most significant concentration of the finds of Roman provincial coinage in the Barbaricum is evident within the area of the Chernyakhiv culture. 54 The appearance of the Roman provincial coins of Balkan, Thracian, and primarily Asia Minor origin in the area of those cultures is most probably connected with the participation of some local inhabitants in incursions into the Roman provinces during the time of the Gothic Wars in the 230s-270s.55 In our opinion, the coin of Rhescuporis II found in Augustów may be a missing link in the question of the inflow of Roman provincial coinage into the West Balt Culture Environment.

As we have already observed, the territories of the Chernyakhiv, Wielbark, and Przeworsk cultures share the presence of Bosporan coin finds, including those issued in the 1<sup>st</sup> century (although the latter are represented only in a very small number). In the territory of Poland, apart from the coin found in the suburbs of Augustów, this category is represented by the above-mentioned finds from Zarzecze (dupondius of Cotys I) and Gorlice-Glinik (sestertius of Rhescuporis II). In Ukraine, the earliest pieces from the Roman Period are the coins of Mithridates III found at Gradizhsk (Poltava oblast, Ukraine)<sup>56</sup> and Znamenka (Kharkiv oblast, Ukraine).<sup>57</sup> At least two coins of Cotys I have been found in this country as well: a gold stater in the Vinnytsia oblast, Ukraine (undetermined location)<sup>58</sup> and a bronze stater in the Cherkassy, Ukraine (undetermined location).<sup>59</sup> The territory of Belarus is represented by an

<sup>53</sup> BODZEK, JELLONEK and ZAJAC 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> MYZGIN 2016; IDEM 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> BODZEK, JELLONEK and ZAJĄC 2019: 68; MYZGIN 2016: 164–165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> BEIDIN 2017: 34, no. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*: 40, no. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*: 30, no. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*: 47, no. 78.

assarion of Mithridates III found in the environs of Rusilaŭka and Navasiolki.<sup>60</sup> Another significant discovery is a hoard from Naujininkiai (Lithuania), reportedly with 35 bronze coins (Bosporan and Parthian) from Mithridates III to Artabanosa V.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, it seems that the composition of this hoard and the circumstances of the discovery itself are very disputable and we have no reliable evidence in favour of this particular assemblage.<sup>62</sup>

G. Beidin has suggested that the finds of Bosporan coins (1st century AD) in Ukraine may be related to the artefacts of the Zarubyntsi rather than the Chernyakhiv culture, which means they would have left the Bosporan Kingdom soon after the production of the issues. 63 In his opinion, it is difficult to believe that the 1st-century coins would have remained in circulation in Bosporan territory for as long as the two centuries afterwards. 64 However, the material found in the hoards of Bosporan coins offers evidence for something very different. There is in fact a whole group of hoards where issues from the first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century can be found next to coins from the 1st – early 2nd centuries. As a result, the coins dating from the 1st century may have left the Bosporan Kingdom much later than the time of their particular issues, even in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Let us recall that this is exactly the period, i.e., the late  $2^{nd}$  – first quarter of the  $3^{rd}$  centuries, which is most likely relevant to the inflow of some part of the Roman provincial coins into the area of the West Balt Culture Environment. Nothing stands in the way, therefore, of formulating the opinion that the appearance of the coin of Rhescuporis II in the vicinity of Augustów should probably also be datable to this particular, or perhaps a little later, period (considering the dynamics of the distribution of various import coins over the Barbaricum). As we have pointed out, the archaeological details indicate that it may have very likely reached the area inhabited by the population of the Sudovian rather than the Bogaczewo culture. This occurrence may have been the result of some closer relations between the local population and the people of some cultures existing as part of the Gothic milieu.

Taking into consideration the hoard from Naujininkiai in Lithuania, we could theoretically consider whether the coin of Rhescuporis II may have arrived in the environs of Augustów from the north-east. Still, as the credibility and the context of this coin find remain a very disputable question, we should treat this possibility as a currently unfounded hypothesis, especially in view of the absence of any other reliable pieces of evidence.

<sup>60</sup> SIDAROVICH 2014: 84, no. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. MICHELBERTAS 2001: 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Cf. BODZEK and MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018: 77, note 152.

<sup>63</sup> BEIDIN 2017: 29; IDEM 2018.

<sup>64</sup> ABRAMZON and FEDOSEEV 2015: 452–455, Tab. 1.

The coin of Rhescuporis II found in the suburbs of Augustów joins a relatively small pool of Bosporan coins discovered in the territory of Poland. However, the significance of this coin find also results from the fact that it was recovered in a culture-bound environment, unlike all the relevant finds recorded to date. To date, we have seen no such finds in the areas settled by the cultural entities other than the Przeworsk culture. The find from the vicinity of Augustów, along with the hypothetical discovery of a coin of Chersonesus from the environs of Hrubieszów as published by K. Myzgin, <sup>65</sup> suggest the existence of an inflow of coinage struck in the northern littoral area of the Black Sea also into the territories of other cultural entities of the Central *Barbaricum*. It seems that the further recording of such coin finds is only a matter of time as well as a question of their identification amid all the other coins unearthed within the territories of the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures, Masłomęcz group, and the West Balt Culture Environment.

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

RPC III = M. AMANDRY, A. BURNETT et AL, Roman Provincial Coinage III. Nerva to Hadrian (AD 98–137), parts I–II, London–Paris 2015.

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<sup>65</sup> MYZGIN 2021: 473, no. 23.

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Kyrylo Myzgin Faculty of Archaeology, University of Warsaw 26/28 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, 00-927 Warsaw, Poland kvmyzgin@gmail.com PLATE 1 Map 1. Finds of Bosporan Coins in Poland. Compiled by K. Myzgin

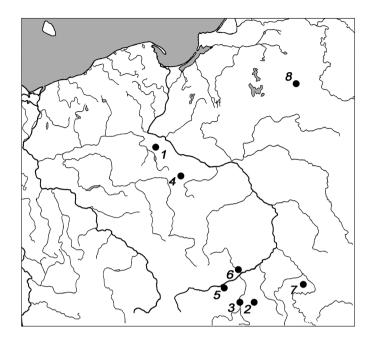
 $Fig.\ 1.\ August\'ow, district\ loco, Rhescuporis\ II\ (68-93), AE, dupondius, AD\ 86-92\ (or\ 80-93)$ 

Photo: I. Lewoc

MAP 2 The archaeological sites from the Roman Period in the broader environs of Augustów,

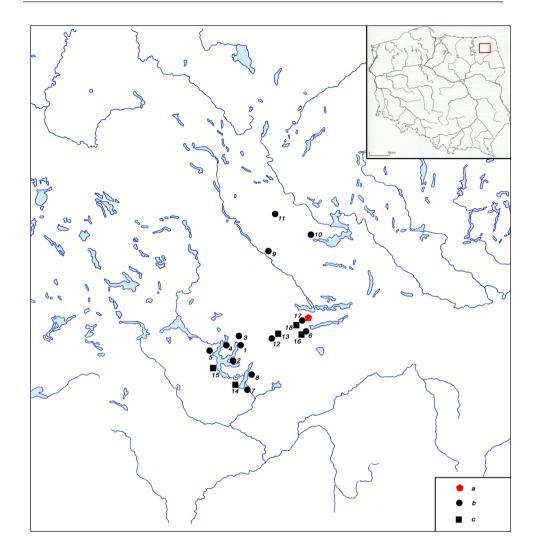
with the attested records referring to: a - Rhescuporis II coin, b - burial grounds,

c – settlement sites. Compiled by I. Lewoc



Map. 1. Finds of Bosporan Coins in Poland. Compiled by K. Myzgin 1 – Gąski, Inowrocław District, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship; 2 – Gorlice-Glinik Mariampolski, Lesser Poland Voivodeship; 3 – Nowy Sącz-Zabełcze, Lesser Poland Voivodeship; 4 – Skłóty, Kutno District, Łódź Voivodeship; 5 – Staniątki, Wieliczka District, Lesser Poland Voivodeship; 6 – Trębaczów, Kazimierza Wielka District, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship; 7 – Zarzecze, Przeworsk District, Subcarpathian Voivodeship; 8 – Augustów, Podlaskie Voivodeship





Map. 2. The archaeological sites from the Roman Period in the broader environs of Augustów, with the attested records referring to: a – Rhescuporis II coin, b – burial grounds, c – settlement sites. Compiled by I. Lewoc 1 – Judziki, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 2 – Podliszewo, Grajewo District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 3 – Borzymy, Ełk District, Warmia-Mazurian Voivodeship; 4 – Romoty, Ełk District, Warmia-Mazurian Voivodeship; 5 – Sypitki, Ełk District, Warmia-Mazurian Voivodeship; 6 – Netta, site 1, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 7 – Woźna Wieś, site 1, Grajewo District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 8 – Dręstwo, site 1, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 9 – Raczki, Suwałki District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 10 – Płociczno, Suwałki District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 11 – Przebród, Suwałki District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 12 – Bargłów Dworny, site 1, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 13 – Bargłów Dworny, site 2, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 14 – Rybczyzna, Grajewo District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 15 – Tworki Skrodzkie, site 1, Grajewo District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 16 – Netta, site 5, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 17 – Augustów, site 27, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship; 18 – Żarnowo I, site 6, Augustów District, Podlaskie Voivodeship