

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL NUMISMATIC SYMPOSIUM  
**CIRCULATION OF  
ANTIQUE COINS IN  
SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE**

Viminacium, Serbia  
September 15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017



Stella argentarii, Viminacium  
National Museum in Belgrade



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*Gordian III, provincial mint of Viminacium  
National Museum in Belgrade*

## *Preface*

*This publication collected part of papers from presentations of participants of the International Numismatic Symposium Circulation of the Antique Coins in Southeastern Europe (Viminacium 2017). Included papers are related to the circulation of Roman imperial and provincial coinage (1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), as well as late Roman coinage (4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> century) On the territory of Southeastern Europe. Through analyze of this circulation in Balkan provinces and Barbaricum papers enormously contribute to better understanding of complex monetary system of the Roman Empire, role of the mints and economy to point to multi layered relations between provinces.*





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## MONETARY CIRCULATION IN THE MUNICIPIUM OF BRIGETIO

The excavations of Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér (1992-2015)

*Systematic excavations in the municipium of Brigetio have been carried out since 1992. More than twenty years of research have yielded sufficient numismatic material to analyze monetary circulation of one of the most important cities on the Pannonian limes. The coin finds cover a time span from end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which is not surprising in itself. It is interesting to observe the end of circulation, with a complete lack of coins of Valerian and Gallienus, otherwise so numerous elsewhere.. Another interesting fact is the absence of any destruction layer whatsoever. Monetary circulation within the municipium is in strong contrast to a coin hoard found nearby and also ending in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. However, this unexplained abrupt break in the monetary circulation seems not to be just of local character, but a rather widespread sensation that led to a considerable reshaping of civil settlements in the north of the province.*

**KEY WORDS: IMPERIAL COINAGE, MONETARY CIRCULATION, 2<sup>ND</sup> - 3<sup>RD</sup> CENTURY, BRIGETIO**

Numismatic data from recent well-documented excavations in the municipium of Brigetio is a missing piece in the history of the town. In her important monograph, K. Bíró-Sey gathered all material at hand, only distinguishing between coins from graves, hoards and scattered pieces, but not between military and civil towns or legionary fort.<sup>1</sup> This paper tries to fill in this gap with the help of the coin finds from the systematic excavations in the municipium carried out between 1992 and 2016.<sup>2</sup> No field survey was undertaken in 1997, and the coins from 2005 and 2016 are still undergoing restoration. Nonetheless, the 277 coins analysed here are more than suitable for observing general tendencies and drawing first conclusions from this site. The excavations were located at today's Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér meaning marketplace, the central part of the ancient town, some 2.5 km west of the legionary fortress, with the *canabae* between (Fig. 1). Fortunately, the centre of the modern day Szőny village is a great unpopulated area, where archaeological field works can be carried out freely. During house constructions, two neighbouring lots were also uncovered, where a glass workshop and a house of the local elite decorated with high quality frescoes were found. On the Vásártér itself we uncovered residential buildings, roads, and artisanal areas (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

A total of 277 coins were uncovered, 15 of them modern, which will not be discussed in detail. The antique coins are of the following denominations: almost a third of them are denarii (31 %), followed by subaerati (15 %), sestertii and asses (13-13 %), dupondii (8 %), antoniniani (6%), late Roman AE and indeterminable bronzes (5-5 %), sestertii limes falsa and antoniniani subaerati (2-2 %), and a single quinarius and a quadrans.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, roughly one third of the coins are silver (37 %) while two thirds are copper alloys<sup>5</sup> (63%). 18% were ancient forgeries: 38 denarii subaerati, 4 antoniniani subaerati and

---

<sup>1</sup> Bíró-Sey 1977.

<sup>2</sup> For an extensive bibliography on the excavations up until 2014, see Borhy 2014. For the most recent excavations, see Bartus et al. 2016, 113-191. Year 2015 is in print and will appear in the Kuny Domokos Múzeumok Közleményei 2017.

<sup>3</sup> For the residential buildings, see Dobosi 2014.

<sup>4</sup> I have to thank my dear friend and colleague István Vida, who did most of the coin identification in the early years.

<sup>5</sup> The subaerati were reckoned as copper coins.

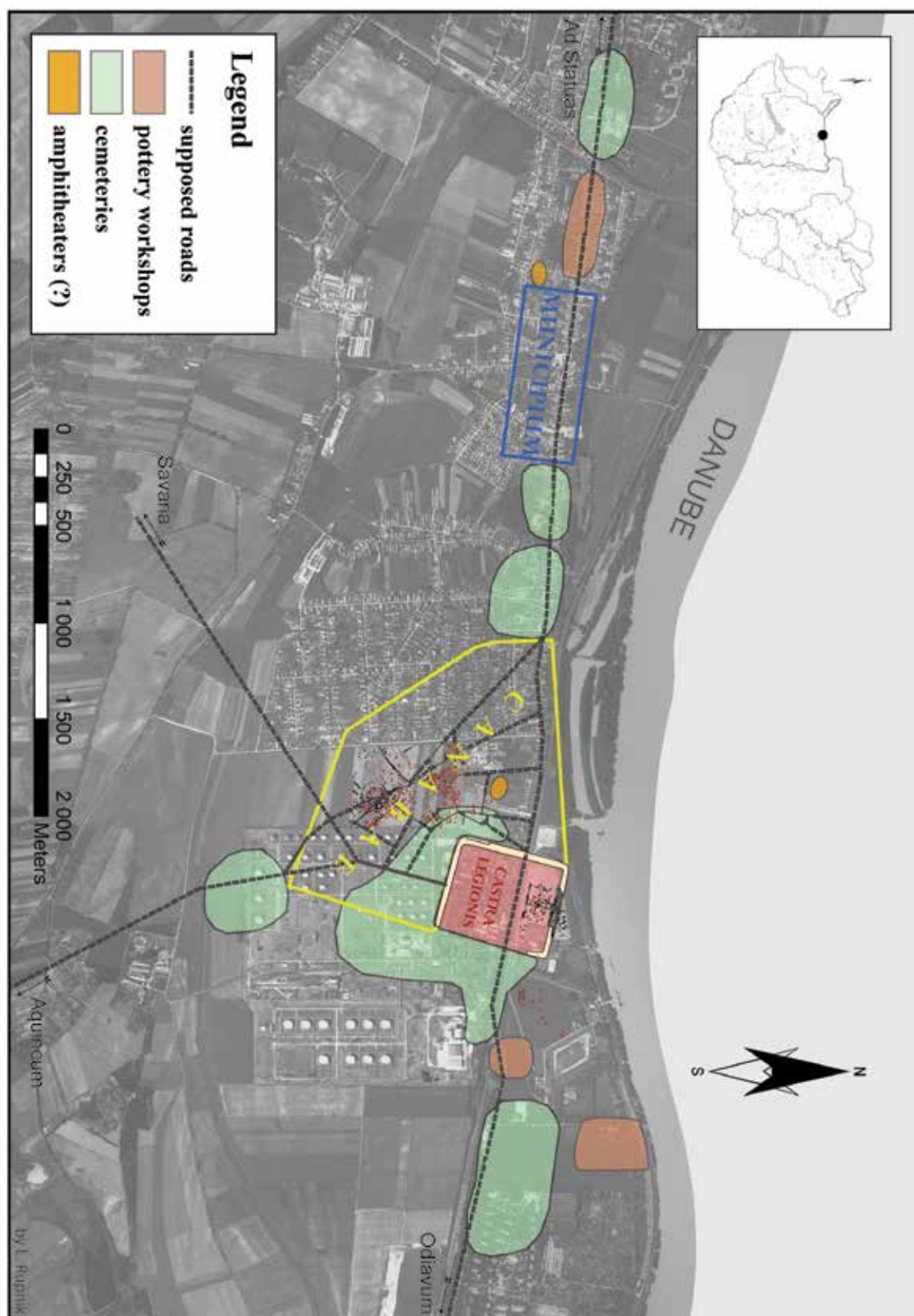
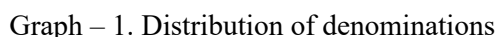


Fig. 1. Overview of Brigetio (by L. Rupnik)





Fig. 2. Overview of the excavations on the Vásártér (by L. Dobosi)



The minting location of 202 coins could be identified with any certainty. Not surprisingly, the vast majority (178) were produced in Rome.<sup>6</sup> This is followed by only seven pieces from Viminacium. Siscia is represented by four coins, all late Roman. Of Antioch, Emesa and the moving mint of Marc Antony, 2 pieces each were uncovered. A single specimen each of the following mints is represented: Lugdunum, Gaul, Laodicea ad Mare, Alexandria, Thessalonica and Arelate. Three Greek colonial coins were also found: an agnostic specimen from Perinthos together with Philadelphia, one most likely from Caesarea in Cappadocia and one undeterminable.<sup>7</sup> This shows the absolute dominance of the Roman mint with some scarce influx of coins mostly from the south and east from Septimius Severus onwards, which is usual for this region.<sup>8</sup>

Half of all the coins were denarii, antoniniani and their forgeries. The distribution of the 81 denarii is very uneven, showing moderate numbers from Hadrian and the Antonines, and a greater increase from the Severan dynasty.<sup>9</sup> The coins of Septimius Severus, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander add up to more than half the total, while only one was uncovered of Caracalla.<sup>10</sup> The coins/regnal year graph shows a somewhat different picture. The peak in the pre-Severan era is under Nerva, while the highest result in total is for Elagabalus, followed by Severus Alexander. In this respect, the data for Maximinus Thrax is also quite substantial, being the 4<sup>th</sup> highest overall (Graph 2).

Of the 15 antoniniani, the first one appears in Brigetio under Caracalla, most were found from the time of Gordian III (5) and Philip (3), and only one from Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>11</sup> Following a 20 year gap,

6 The minting place of an additional 10 coins is not completely certain: five from Rome, two from Siscia, one from Rome or Laodicea ad Mare and one each from Antioch and Caesarea in Cappadocia.

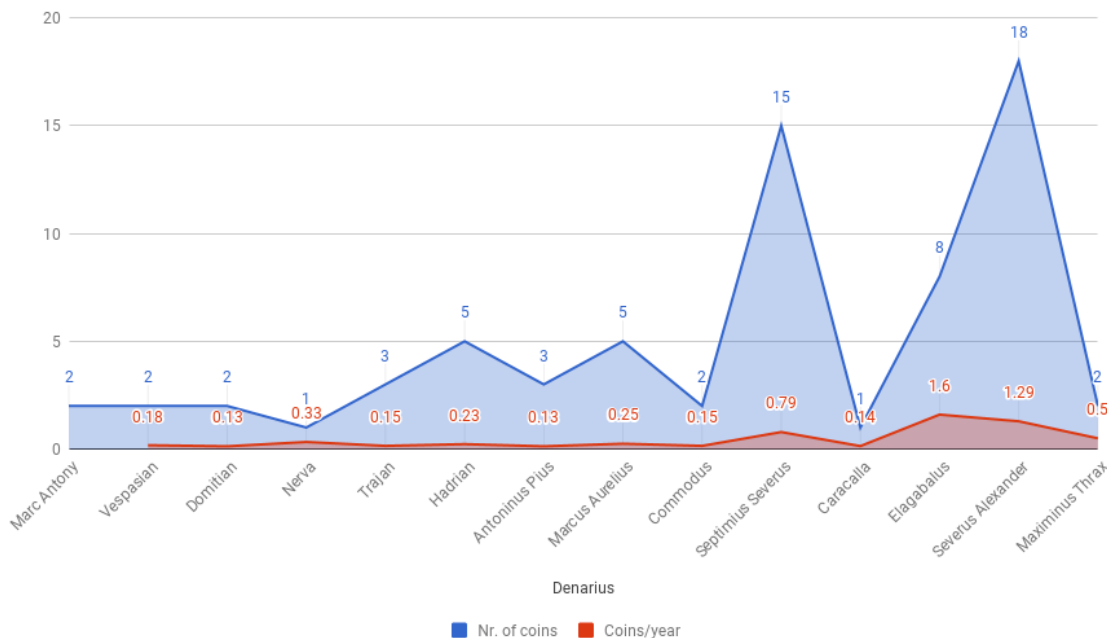
7 Five Perinthian coins were previously known from Brigetio, all dating to the time of Caracalla. Bíró-Sey 1977, 53/497-498, 126/2-4. Also, five were previously recorded from Caesarea in Cappadocia. Fehér 2009-2010, 68.

8 Găzdac 2010, 110-112.

9 12 denarii could not be identified.

10 One coin could not be determined to be that of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, therefore is not represented in the chart.

11 Three antoniniani could not be identified.



Graph – 2. Denarius

an antoninian of Tetricus and most likely Probus also appear. These tendencies do not differ from those previously observed for Pannonia.<sup>12</sup>

Regarding the plated coins, the 38 denarii subaerati make their appearance in the Flavian era and disappear after Gordian III. The tendencies are similar to those of the genuine silver coins. There is a low number of pre-Severan coins (5), with a sudden increase in the Severan age (27) (Graph 3). This means that the time of the greatest economic growth also corresponded with the most intense forging activities. This is most likely explained by the Severan prosperity that is also apparent in other forms in the municipium. Debasement of silver, but also a pay rise for the legionaries, followed by the increase of minting activity must also have had an effect on the civilian population.<sup>13</sup> Of interest is the high number of coins for Caracalla, especially if compared to the genuine ones.<sup>14</sup> Another interesting thing is the low value for Elagabalus. However, if we examine the coins/year index, this is the second largest data after Caracalla, followed by that of Severus Alexander and Septimius Severus.

The four antoniniani subaerati are not numerous, although the 21% compared to the original ones is still a relatively high percentage. The somewhat lower number may be explained by the generally low silver content of the antoniniani, which therefore were not worth copying.<sup>15</sup> These coins are forgeries of Philip I (3) and of Trajan Decius (1).

The plated silver coins make up 30% of the genuine silver specimens, which is higher as in the previously published material from Brigetio (22%).<sup>16</sup> In general, plated coins show the same tendencies as the genuine coins, low values during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries (Graph 4). The real time of the subaerati is the Severan era, but lasts until the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. This corresponds well with the general

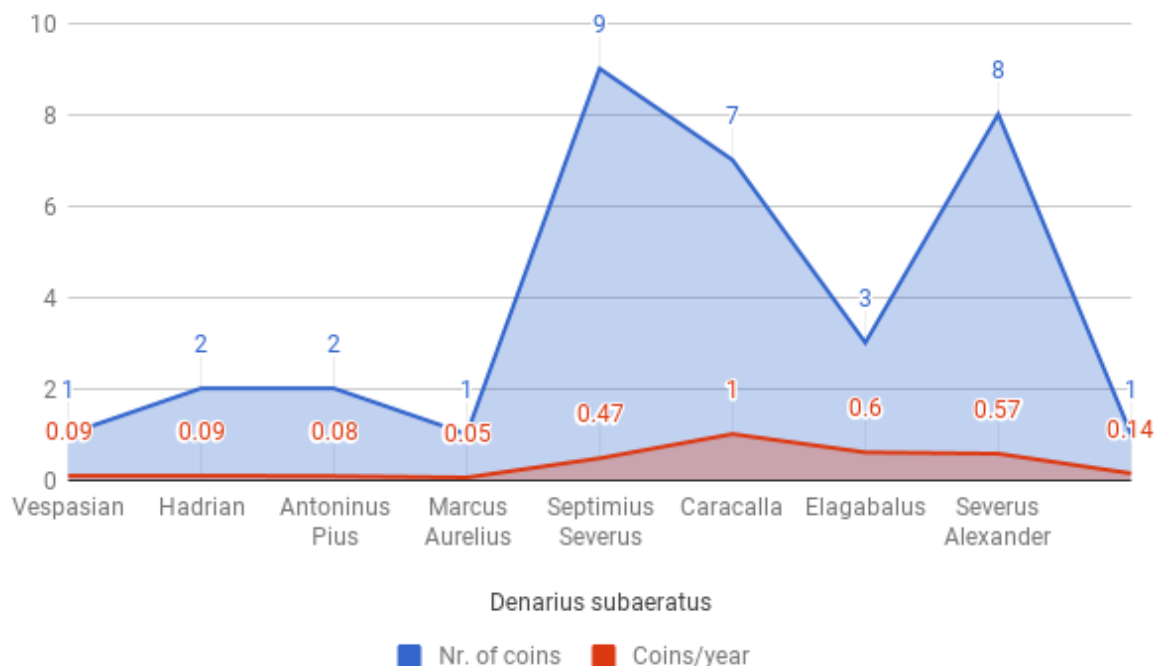
<sup>12</sup> Găzdac 2010, 96-97.

<sup>13</sup> Găzdac 2010, 96-97, 101; Gaspar 2015, 71.

<sup>14</sup> R. B. Gaspar also came to the similar conclusions examining the rest of the coins from Brigetio, although he also notices high numbers for the reign of Gordian III and Philip I. Gaspar 2015, 48-52.

<sup>15</sup> Gaspar 2015, 68; Găzdac 2010, 99.

<sup>16</sup> This is quite the opposite as at Potaissa, where the civil town had far fewer counterfeit coins than the military town. Gaspar 2015, 48-52, 70-71.



Graph – 3. Denarius subaeratus

tendencies observed in Dacia and other parts of Pannonia.<sup>17</sup> Conspicuous is the much greater number of fakes under Caracalla, which was also observed in Carnuntum and Apulum.<sup>18</sup> The ratio at the Vásártér is also higher for the rest of the Severan rulers, with 39% of all their silver coins being plated. Interestingly, high numbers are recorded for Philip, and there is even one coin of Trajan Decius.

The highest value for silver plated coins in Pannonia is 30%, and shows more similarities with Dacian sites, notably Arcobadara (28%) and Samum (33%).<sup>19</sup> There are even some unusually high numbers, e.g. at Apulum (43%), Buciumi (44%) and Porolissum (40%), where nearly half of the silver coins were forgeries, all having close ties to the military.<sup>20</sup> These are the highest proportions also for Dacia, but in general the numbers of plated coins are greater there than in Pannonia. However, as R. B. Gaspar points out, the significant difference is most likely due to the lack of identification and not the lack of subaerati.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the plated coins would not be considered as valuable as the genuine ones, therefore more easily lost or forgotten, maybe even discarded on purpose.

The 35 sesterces show a concentration in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, with a peak under Hadrian, and appear in greater numbers again from Severus Alexander onward. Their almost complete absence during Severan times, a general phenomenon for the whole Empire, is also visible here.<sup>22</sup> The later specimens are, of course, predominantly from Viminacium (7). Interestingly enough, the coins/year graph shows the opposite to the number of coins. The highest number in this respect is for Didius Julianus, followed by Philip I, Trajan Decius and Gordian III. The 2<sup>nd</sup> century emperors show smaller values (Graph 5).

<sup>17</sup> One, of course, always has to bear in mind the troublesome dating of forged coins, which can only give a *terminus post quem* date. Gaspar 2015, 62-64, 71-72; Găzdac 2010, 98-99.

<sup>18</sup> Gaspar 2015, 33-35, 60-62.

<sup>19</sup> The highest in Pannonia was Ad Mures with 24%, although this data comes from only six coins. Gaspar 2015, 37, 52-54; Găzdac 2010, 99-100; Găzdac et al. 2011, 13-14.

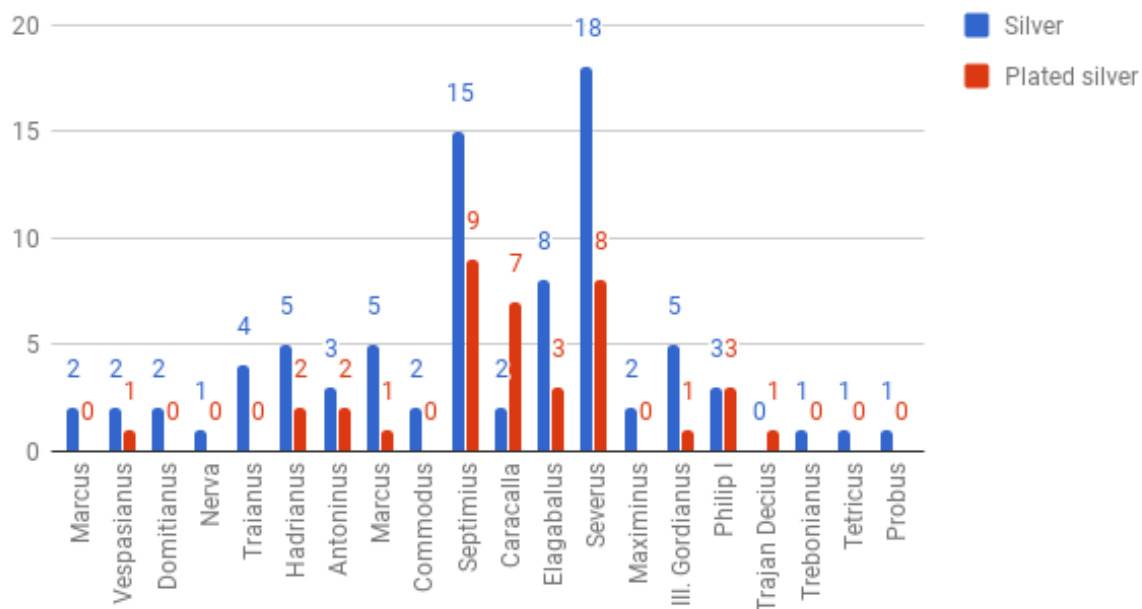
<sup>20</sup> Gaspar 2015, 33-35, 42-44.

<sup>21</sup> Gaspar 2015, 68-71.

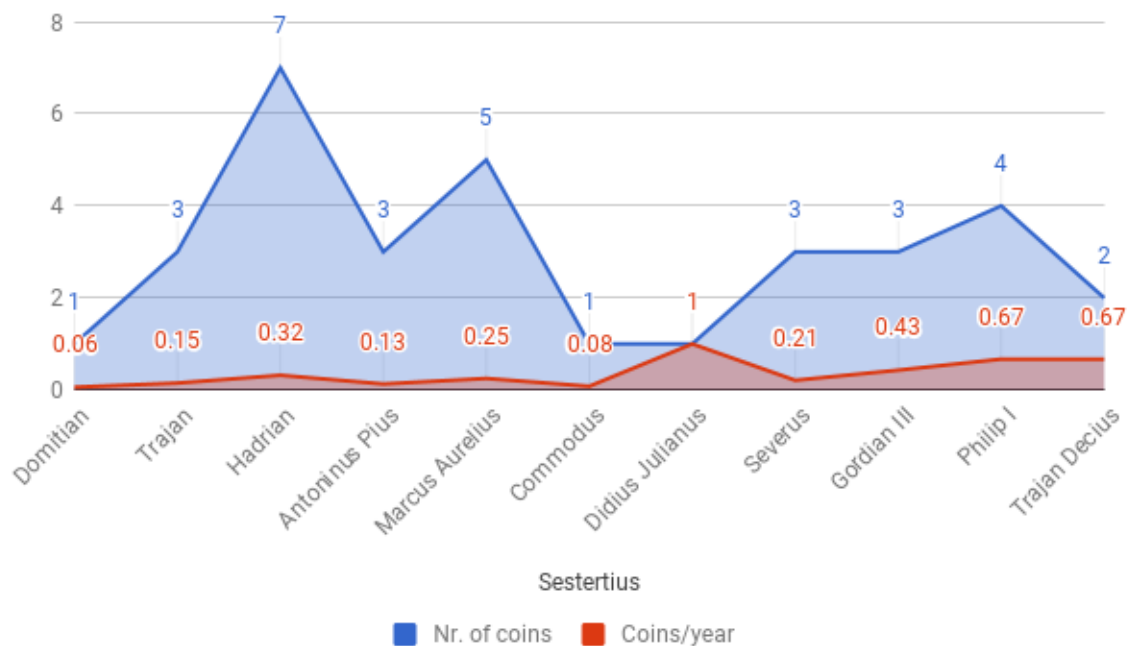
<sup>22</sup> Găzdac 2010, 101.



## Silver and Plated silver



Graph – 4. Silver and plated silver coins



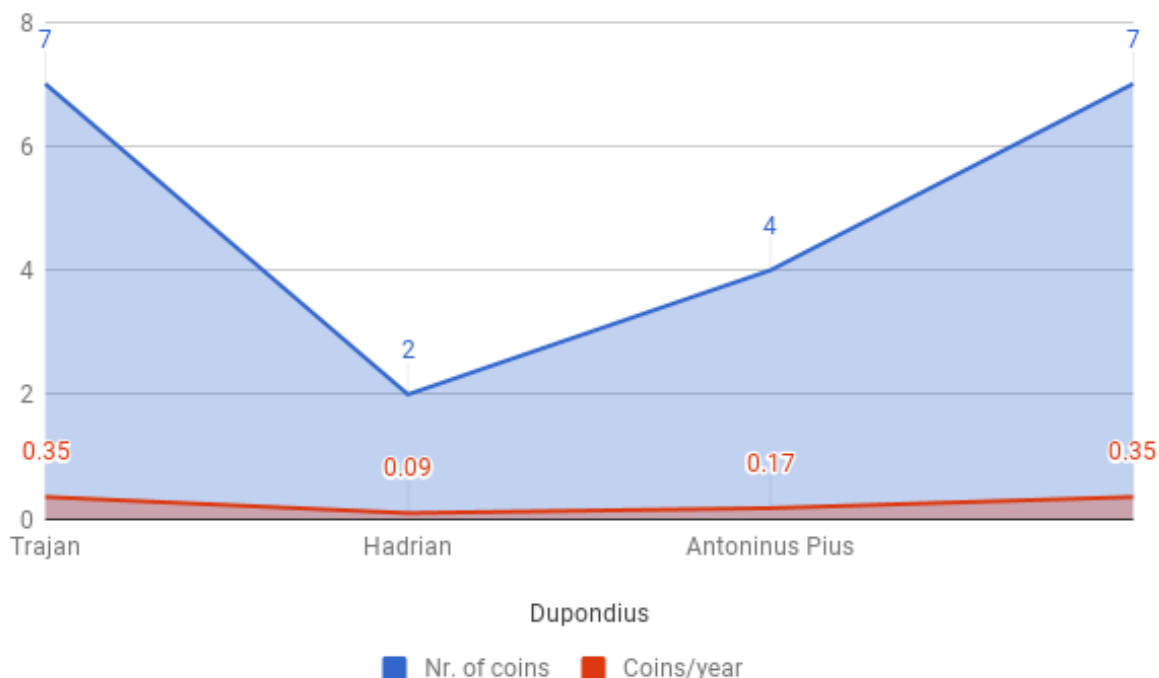
Graph – 5. Sestertius

There were only six sestertii *limes falsa*: a coin of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, two of Severus Alexander, while the last two were indeterminable.<sup>23</sup>

The 22 dupondii commence in Trajanic times, when they also have a peak, which is not surprising for Pannonia.<sup>24</sup> After a decrease under Hadrian, their numbers rise again slightly under Antoninus Pius and

<sup>23</sup> For the *limes falsa* in Pannonia, see Vida 2007, 147-150.

<sup>24</sup> Găzduc 2010, 100.



Graph 6 – Dupondius.

Marcus Aurelius, where they again reach a peak, but disappear afterwards (Graph 6).<sup>25</sup> The coins/year graph corresponds to these results (Graph 8).

The 35 asses are distributed rather evenly from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius, being more common than the sestertii in this period, which is usual for the province.<sup>26</sup> Among the asses we see the 2<sup>nd</sup> earliest coin of the excavation (Lugdunum altar series), but are very rare until Hadrianic times, and are absent following Septimius Severus' reign (Graph 7). The coins/year graph also supports this (Graph 8).

The single quinarius of Trajan and the quadrans of Domitian are both very rare in Pannonia and are possibly connected to the military.<sup>27</sup>

If we compare the aes and silver denominations throughout the periods we can see a reverse tendency between them. For most of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the copper alloy coins are dominant in the municipium, while in the Severan era the silver coins are more numerous. This can partly be explained by the Severan prosperity, but also by the shortage of bronze supply.<sup>28</sup>

The general picture of monetary circulation in the municipium of Brigetio follows the general patterns that could previously be observed in the whole of Pannonia.<sup>29</sup> The earliest coins easily precede the town's foundation, although are only found in small numbers. The two legionary denarii of Marc Antony were, of course, in use for a long time afterwards, due to their low silver content.<sup>30</sup> The Lugdunum as of Tiberius Caesar and the Flavian and the Nerva coins, nine in total, were still circulating in Trajanic times, when monetary circulation really took off. This was followed by two peaks under Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, but interrupted by the three coins from the Commodian era.<sup>31</sup> Then came a great restructuring

25 A dupondius was too worn to be identified, while it could not be determined if a Faustina Junior was minted under Pius or Marcus.

26 Găzdac 2010, 100-101.

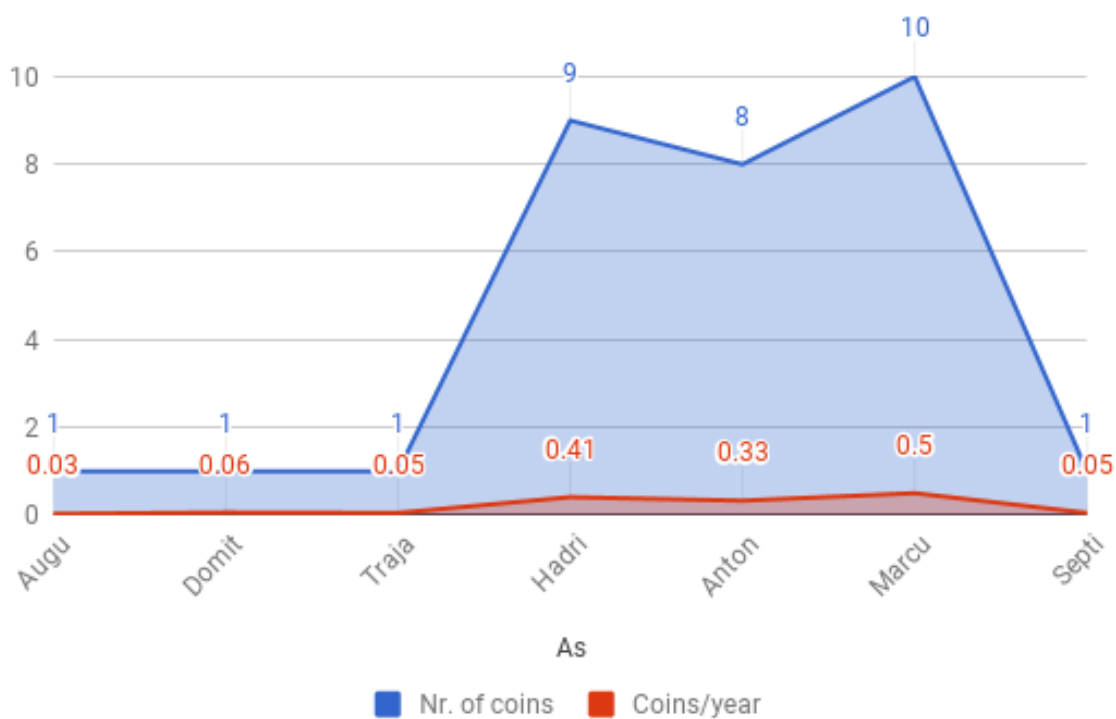
27 Găzdac 2010, 98, 100.

28 Găzdac 2010, 96-97, 101.

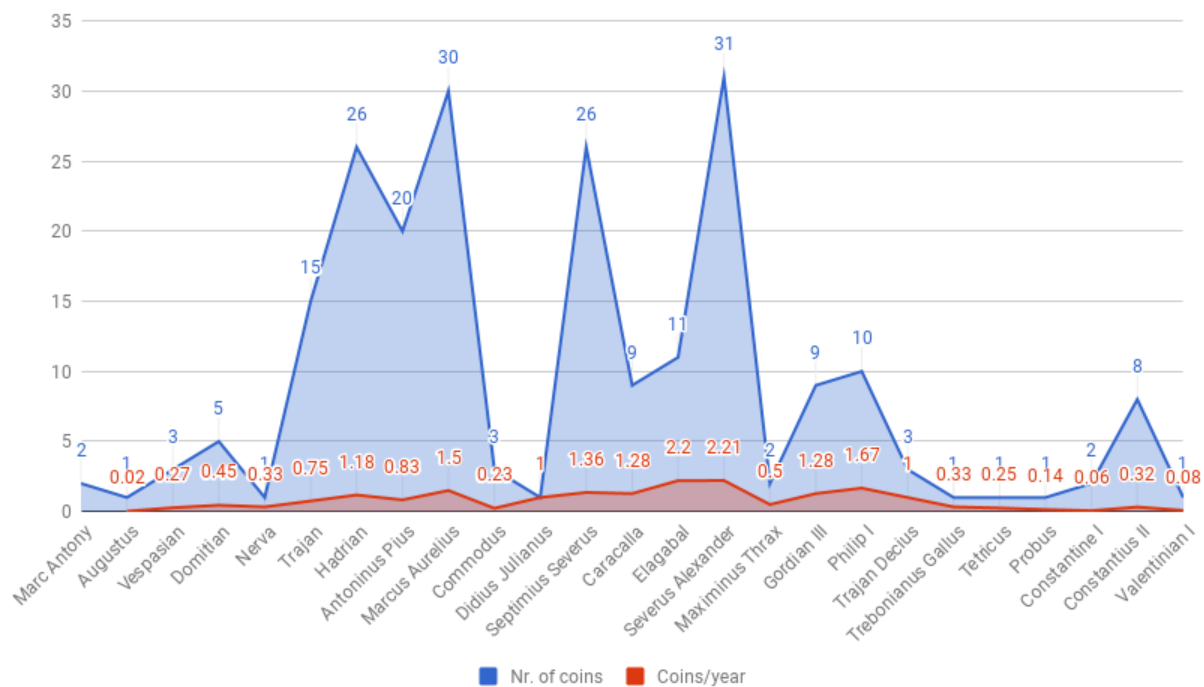
29 Bíró-Sey 1977, 9-10, 26; Găzdac 2010, 114-117.

30 Crawford 1978, 151-152.

31 This corresponds with the general monetary circulation of the entire Brigetio. Bíró-Sey 1977, 9.



Graph 7 – As.



Graph 8 – General coins distribution.

of the town. Differently oriented buildings were erected, previous openings walled up, old cellars and pits were filled up with debris, which can be linked to the most prosperous time of the settlement, the Severan era.<sup>32</sup> Overall, 78 coins can be attributed to this period, with the highest number of coins under Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander. This latter, with 31 specimens, is the most well represented emperor by numismatic data at the Väsártér. The Severan era is followed by a general decline, first at a moderate rate under Gordian III and Philip, then with a sudden decrease under Trajan Decius. This generally correlates with the conclusions drawn from the number of coins/regnal years graph. A significant difference begins with the high value for the Didius Julianus coin, given his short reign. Compared to this the contrast with the coins of Septimius Severus does not seem as significant as before. Furthermore, the value for Caracalla is only slightly lower than that of his father. The biggest difference compared to the previous graph is the joint peak under Elagabal and Severus Alexander. The values are also high for Gordian III, Trajan Decius and especially for Philip the Arab.

This also marks the end of monetary circulation in the municipium of Brigetio, which is not contradicted by the small number of later coins. The Probus and three unidentified radiates came from a well, which was probably still open after the abandonment of the city. The Tetricus coin came from a small burnt layer beside a wall, most likely lost when somebody made a fire amongst the abandoned ruins of the town. Furthermore, these coins were still circulating at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, so they could have arrived at the site later. The 12 late Roman coins from Constantine I to Valentinian I are the most recent ancient coins from the excavations. They all came from disturbed layers, thus they cannot be used for the dating of the municipium.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, their appearance more than 50 years after the last coins on the site can be explained by the limes road still in use to and from the military fort.<sup>34</sup> This is also supported by the recent excavations carried out in the canabae and the legionary camp, where the numismatic material is primarily from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup>

The presented data points to a sudden halt in the coin influx to the town at around 250. This is not only a numismatic phenomenon but is also accompanied by other archaeological material ceasing around this time. Important to point out is the complete absence of coins of Valerianus and Gallienus, otherwise so numerous elsewhere. For example, monetary circulation in the civil town of Carnuntum did not cease in the 250s, quite the contrary, coins of Valerian I and Gallienus have been discovered in abundant numbers.<sup>36</sup>

This date for the abandonment of the civil town is confirmed by the hoard from the western part of Brigetio's municipium, near the Roman walls. It contained 508 silver coins dating from the reign of Septimius Severus to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus.<sup>37</sup> Most of them were from the 240-250s: Gordian III (135), Philip I (114), Trajan Decius (121) and Trebonianus Gallus (108), while only 18 were from the Severan era and one of Pupienus. The composition, together with only 19 denarii compared to the 489 antoniniani, suggests that this hoard was comprised of coins circulating at the time of its burial. This sheds light on the reason for the high number of denarii (81) compared to the only 15 antoniniani, which can only be explained by the fact that this was not the money in use at the time, but were, instead, coins lost by the inhabitants. The coins recovered from the excavations reflect an abandoned and not a thriving city. The money actually in use was taken away by the departing population.

It seems that everything points to an abandonment of the civil town of Brigetio in the beginning of the 250s. This was undoubtedly connected to the barbarian invasions and the economic crisis of the 3<sup>rd</sup>

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32 Dobosi 2014, 28.

33 In fact, five coins were found one morning in 1998 without excavating the site. These were just thrown into the trenches, this probably being a unique way of donating the cultural heritage to the archaeologists and the museum.

34 We also have knowledge of late Roman burials. Bíró-Sey 1977, 112-113, 115-116.

35 The numismatic material from these excavations will soon be published, following their restoration.

36 The following period of 268-275 shows even greater numbers in the monetary index. Găzduc 2010, 97-98; Găzduc, Humer 201, 37, 40.

37 FMRU III 213; Radnóti 1946, 6-8; Bíró-Sey 1977, 133; Fitz 1978, 139-140. This is typical for the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Găzduc 2010, 81-82, 93.



century. However, written sources do not mention any particular invasion or threat on this part of the border. We hear a lot about the continuous Carpic and Gothic campaigns on the Lower Danube, which were the greatest danger to the Empire.<sup>38</sup> Based on the coin hoards, a barbarian invasion was previously assumed in the northern part of Pannonia after 252, but not the desertion of whole settlements.<sup>39</sup> However, the archaeological data does not support the invasion theory, since there are no destruction layers in the municipium of Brigetio. The finds uncovered (ceramics, fibulae...) by the excavations point to an emptied and abandoned city, not one that was left in a hurry. Does this mean a peaceful abandonment ahead of forceful influences?

Aquincum shows a similar pattern, with a halt in monetary circulation in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The difference is the high value under Gordian III and Philip I.<sup>40</sup> This is followed by a sudden drop in coins until Diocletian, with a slight increase between 268 and 275. These latter coins could have still been in use in tetrarchic times. Here again, any signs of an invasion are missing, with evidence rather suggesting an abandoned city.<sup>41</sup> Also in Visegrád, between Brigetio and Aquincum in the Danube Bend, the Lepence cemetery ceases to be used in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> In addition, there are five hoards from around this territory terminating with Trajan Decius or Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>43</sup> These could point to a greater movement of the population, but it is difficult to interpret the true reason for their hiding and require further research.

The numismatic data from the Vásártér shows that monetary circulation in the civil town of Brigetio was thriving from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century until the beginning of the 250s, when the coin influx came to a sudden halt. All other archaeological material seems to suggest a peaceful but sudden abandonment of the city. The number of other examples presented may indicate that this phenomenon is not restricted to Brigetio, but could be a general pattern for the whole Danube Bend. This would mean a great number of people on the move in search of a new home. At the same time this also raises a couple of interesting questions. Where did the population go? Did they resettle in their own town closer to the military or did they move inland? If so, where are the new towns that were built in the 250s? Hopefully, future research in Brigetio and on the Danube Bend will be able to provide answers to these questions.<sup>44</sup>

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38 Barkóczi 1980, 104; Găzdac 2010, 52-53.

39 Although one has to bear in mind that hoarding is not always directly connected with barbarian invasions. Bíró-Sey 1966, 9; Mócsy 1974, 33; Kaba 1983-1984, 17; See also Găzdac 2010, 84. with updated numismatic material also providing the Sarmatian and Quadi raids as a possible explanation.

40 Găzdac 2010, 119; Marchiş 2009-2010, 14.

41 This was brought to my attention by Orsolya Láng, the director of the Aquincum Museum, while discussing this topic at a conference. I am currently doing research on these coins, and will hopefully be able to publish the complete material in the near future.

42 I am indebted to Katalin Boruzs for sharing her unpublished findings with me. The coins were identified by István Vida. On the *limes falsa* from this cemetery, see Vida 2007, 148.

43 Péli-földszentkeresztes II: Jónás 1923-1926, 137-156; FMRU III 57-61; Budaörs: Kaba 1983-1984, 7-17; Aquincum I: Kerekes 1914, 71; Fitz 1978, 98-99; Solymár: Rómer 1869, 24-27; Pilisszántó: Bíró-Sey 1965-1966, 9-11; Fitz 1978, 99-100. Two additional hoards, somewhat further inland, were also hidden at this time. Pusztavám: Fitz 1978, 100; Bakonyszombathely-Páskum: FMRU III 62-79.

44 The complete publication of the municipium of Brigetio is already in preparation.

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## A HOARD OF BRONZE COINS FROM SERDICA (PRELIMINARY REPORT)

*In 2012, during archeological researches of the ancient city of Serdica, in one of the premises of the building A 2a, a hoard of 52 bronze coins were discovered. These are imperial coins from the 2nd century, minted in Rome, as well as those from Serdica, Philippopolis and Pautalia. The earliest among them are sestertii of the emperors Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Major. From the same nominal are the coins of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Younger minted in Philippopolis and of Antoninus Pius minted in Pautalia. The coins of Serdica belong to the time of emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180). During his reign, coin minting in the city began. Further on, some coins also belong to the time of emperor Lucius Verus (161-169). The coins of Marcus Aurelius are the latest in the find. Among the coins from Serdica there are rare monetary types, as well as unknown variants of the well-known ones. The situation of the terrain and archeological results indicate that the monetary find might have been hidden because of the Costobaci raids at the end of 2nd century, as the structure in which they were hidden was burned down.*

**KEY WORDS: COIN HOARD, IMPERIAL COINAGE, PROVINCIAL COINAGE, SERDICA**

In 2012, during archaeological research of the ancient city of Serdica, a hoard of 52 bronze coins were discovered in one of the premises in building A2.<sup>1</sup> The coins were in the building during a fire, when it was burnt and destroyed and they remained under the ruins. Later, the area was levelled and other constructions were built over that layer. The hoard represents a quantity of personal “daily money” at a particular moment in time. The coins were not selected; they were not specifically hidden, which is obvious from the situation of the terrain. The composition of the treasure gives an instant “photograph” of the coins’ circulation at the end of 2<sup>nd</sup> century in Serdica. The coins themselves were damaged in the fire, which has been pernicious for their condition. The chemical reaction between the metal on the one hand and the soil, moisture and other elements on the other additionally intensified the corrosion of the nuclei. As a consequence, their weight, diameter and other characteristics have altered. Some of the coins are severely damaged, as almost all the nuclei were eroded. Nevertheless the treasure of Serdica is extremely important for the studying of the monetary circulation in the town during 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Especially valuable is the information regarding the emperors on the coins minted by them.

Serdica began minting its own coins at the time of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, small bronze specimens 17 to 18 mm in diameter and 2.5- 3.5 gr.<sup>2</sup> The coins are considered to have been minted in honour of the town. The earliest coin of the treasure is an Emperor Trajan’s sestertius (98-117), minted in Rome, followed by 2 sestertii from the time of Emperor Antoninus Pius (117-160) and 1 sestertius of Faustina the Elder. These are followed by 8 coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (minted in the towns of Philippopolis, Pautalia and Hadrianopolis) and Faustina Junior (minted in Serdica). These “big”<sup>3</sup> coins

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<sup>1</sup> Иванов 2013, 293 = Ivanov 2013, 293.

<sup>2</sup> Мушмов 1926, 4-5 = Mushmov 1926, 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the characteristics of metrological data and coin fractions see Лазаренко 2004, 171-182 = Lazarenko 2004, 171-182; Драганов 2006 175-181 = Draganov 2006, 175-181.



|                              | Roma | Hadrianopolis | Pautalia | Philippopolis | Serdica |
|------------------------------|------|---------------|----------|---------------|---------|
| Traianus                     | 1*   |               |          |               |         |
| Antoninus Pius               | 2*   | 1*            |          | 3*            |         |
| Antoninus Pius (Faustina I.) | 1*   |               |          |               |         |
| M. Aurelius                  |      |               | 1* 1     | 1* 1          | 20      |
| M. Aurelius (Faustina II)    |      |               |          | 1             | 1*      |
| M. Aurelius (L. Verus)       |      |               | 1*       |               | 17      |
| Total                        | 4    | 1             | 3        | 6             | 38      |

Table 1 – The contents of the hoard

represent 23.07% of the constitution of the treasure (Table 1).<sup>4</sup>

Most numerous of the find, 50% of its constitution, are 26 of the smallest coins (1 asarius?). 25 of them were minted in Serdica and one in Pautalia. They are followed by 2 asaria – 3 items and 3 asaria – 11 items – coins, also minted in Serdica and 2 specimens in Philippopolis. Evidently, the coins of Serdica prevail among which there are rare monetary types, with some unfamiliar up to now. The coins belong to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius (161-180), Lucius Verus (161-169) and Faustina the Junior (wife of M. Aurelius, an undescribed type so far).

During the work, some difficulties occurred when attempting to identify the emperors with the lowest nominal. Any differentiation of the image of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus on the obverse of the coins is hindered because of the bad physical condition of the coins and the identification relies on the inscriptions as far as they are preserved. The images on the reverse of the coins of both emperors are often identical, and yet chronologically they belong to the period in which they ruled together.

In recent years, many studies have been conducted on the topic of provincial coin minting and numerous specialists have expressed their view regarding the images on the coins of the town administrations. The conclusion arrived at is that as a whole in Thrace and Moesia Inferior uniformity and repetition of the monetary types is observed, the various towns used a huge variety of reverse designs, mainly representing the traditional Greek and Roman deities in a standard way. Apart from those types, there are others where the conventional gods are represented in a non standard way or differently in their details (the standard deities in unusual postures and/or with unusual attributes). These are rare variants of Greek and Roman deities and heroes, the result of the etcher's invention and whim, found on the coins from only one, or rarely, a few towns.

So far only one coin of Marcus Aurelius minted in Serdica has been found.<sup>5</sup> It is of the type with three nymphs with spindles and was found at the excavation of Serdica.<sup>6</sup> In the mentioned find, two more have been identified with this description. The preserved letters on the obverse belong to the inscription AV KAI M AVPH ANTΩNEINOC, inscribed on coins of Marcus Aurelius. Reverse: The Three Nymphs in long chitons, with hair tied up in buns, standing. The heads of the two on the sides are turned to face the one in the middle and each one of them has its hand on one of the shoulders of the central figure (the left hand of the one on the left, and the right hand of the one on the right); in their other hands, they each

4 These coins are marked in the table with \*.

5 More on the issue Imhoof-Blumer 1908; Staal 2004; Hoover 2004, 129-131.

6 Ruzicka 2015, 9-10; Мушмов 1926, 51-53 = Mushmov 1926, 51-53; Владимирова – Аладжова 2013, 97-101 = Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2013, 97-101.

hold a spindle. The central figure is facing forward, holding a spindle in her right hand, while her left hand hangs at ease by her side. In the field beneath the figures, there is an inscription  $\text{CEPA}\Omega\text{N}$ . There is a beaded circle around the image. The spindle is related to three other deities –the Parcae, worshiped as goddesses of destiny. Thus, faith in the three health bearing nymphs is combined with the worship of another three female deities that span the line of life and predefine its end according to mythology.

Probably, earlier or local beliefs influenced the emergence of the syncretized image<sup>7</sup> of the nymphs on the coins of Serdica, from the 170s. The monetary images of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), minted in Serdica, and of Lucius Verus (160-169), minted in Augusta Traiana, depicting nymphs holding spindles, suggest a cult that was widespread in Thrace, with added new elements, illustrated in the iconography of the three goddesses. However, the coins with the depictions of nymphs are of the smallest bronze denomination and are only a few in number, which could indicate that these functions of the Three Graces were of limited popularity. These coins of Marcus Aurelius from Serdica enrich our knowledge regarding the beginning of this city's coinage and expands the repertoire of the known depictions of the Three Nymphs in 2<sup>nd</sup> century Thrace.

The reverse images on the coins of Serdica in the presented hoard are as follow:

Altar (Fig. 1),<sup>8</sup> Bust of Isis (Fig. 2),<sup>9</sup> Fountain (Fig. 3),<sup>10</sup> Three nymphs (Fig. 4),<sup>11</sup> Isis holding sistrum and situla (Fig. 5, 6),<sup>12</sup> Tyche holding rudder and cornucopia (Fig. 7).<sup>13</sup>

The coins from Philippopolis of a large nominal of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius with images on the reverse:

- Two warriors, naked, standing facing each other, clasping hands, the one on the left wearing a chlamys on his shoulder and holding a parazonium, the other holding a shield.
- Emperor in military attire standing right, holding reversed spear in right hand, parazonium in left, foot on captive right (fig. 8).<sup>14</sup>

The period 166-180, or that of the Marcomanic Wars is considered to have been the most dynamic in Europe at that time. At the present stage of research, the exact reason for the synchronic raids against the northern border of the Empire is unclear.

The terrain situation and the archaeological results show that the coin hoard remained underground until now because of the attacks of the Costobocae at the end of 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when the building where they were preserved was burnt down.

7 Владимирова-Аладжова 2016, 326-333 = Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2016, 326-333.

8 Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.7.47.1-2 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.7.47.1-2; Varbanov 2007, 1865.

9 Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.7.30.2-3 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.7.30.2-3; Varbanov 2007, 1869.

10 Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.7.46.1-2 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.7.46.1-2; Varbanov 2007, 1872.

11 Владимирова-Аладжова 2013, 97-101 = Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2013, 97-101.

12 Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.7.30.1 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.7.30.1; Varbanov 2007, 1869; Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.7.30.1 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.7.30.1; Varbanov 2007, 1869.

13 Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.7.30.1 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.7.30.1; Varbanov 2007, 1869; Христова, Жеков 2007, 12.8.38.1-2 = Hristova, Zhekov 2007, 12.8.38.1-2; Varbanov 2007, 1911.

14 Varbanov 2007, 797.

## Conclusions:

It should be noted that in Bulgaria only 35 hoards (4.14 % of the known I-III) have been found during archaeological research and the context of their finding is strictly known<sup>15</sup>. However those bronze coins, the last ones from the time of Marcus Aurelius, number just 4.<sup>16</sup>

The new information given by this find is as follows:

This is the only hoard so far with such a great number of coins of the Serdica mint with different reverses from the beginning of coin minting by Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

This is one of four bronze coin hoards from the time of Marcus Aurelius.

This is the only hoard with small coins and those with a large nominal. The first were minted in Serdica, the large ones in Philippopolis and Pautalia, Hadrianopolis, and one in Serdica. This shows that at the market of Serdica small monetary payments were made using small coins of Serdica, and the bigger using coins with a large nominal from Philippopolis, Pautalia and Hadrianopolis.

This is a hoard which is connected with the destruction of Serdica by the Costobocae.

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Fig. 1 – Serdica. Bronze. Coin of Marcus Aurelius (reverse - Altar)

Fig. 2 – Serdica. Bronze. Coin of Marcus Aurelius (reverse - Bust of Isis Isis)

Fig. 3 – Serdica. Bronze. Coin of Marcus Aurelius (reverse - Fountain)

Fig. 4 – Serdica. Bronze. Coin of Marcus Aurelius (reverse - Three nymphs)

Fig. 5 – Serdica. Bronze. Coins of Marcus Aurelius/ Lucius Verus (reverse - Isis holding sistrum and situla)

Fig. 6 – Serdica. Bronze. Coin of Marcus Aurelius/ Lucius Verus (reverse - Isis holding sistrum and situla)

Fig. 7 – Serdica. Bronze. Coin of Lucius Verus (reverse - Tyche holding rudder and cornucopia)

Fig. 8 – Philippolis. Bronze. Coin of Marcus Aurelius (reverse - Emperor/captive)



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## COIN HOARDS FROM CROATIA. XVI (ADDENDUM). A HOARD OF 3RD C. ROMAN SILVER COINS FROM GORNJE TABORIŠTE

*A hoard of 3rd-c. antoniniani from Gornje Taborište published in 2008 appears to be only a part of the hoard of Roman silver coins originally found in 1988 and dispersed shortly afterwards. Parts of the hoard were offered to and purchased by several cultural institutions. Today, only 45 pieces in the City museum Karlovac remain in a public institution. These specimens are published in the present paper. Further on, they are analyzed together with the 34 pieces acquired by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 2007 and, as much as the limited data allowed, with 48 specimens documented in the AMZ Archives. According to the data available at present, the new tpq of the hoard is established as 262-263. The extremely complicated circumstances of hoard discovery from Gornje Taborište are additionally marred by the complex pre-war ethnic relations in the Banija/Banovina region, by the even more devastating war period (1991-1995) and the post-war tensions which remain problematic even to this day. All of these circumstances offer little hope that in the future, full reconstruction of the hoard will be completed or at least approach completeness.*

**KEY WORDS:** COIN HOARD, ANTONINIANI, 3<sup>RD</sup> CENTURY, GORNJE TABORIŠTE

Following the publication of one part of the hoard of Roman silver coins from Gornje Taborište, allegedly found not much prior to 2007,<sup>1</sup> new information that significantly supplements our knowledge on the composition of the hoard has appeared. At the same time, this information does not considerably impact the conclusions presented on the occasion of the initial publication of the hoard, except in one, admittedly important, part of the argument. It was claimed at the time that, most probably, only a small part of the hoard arrived at the Museum, that it was selectively assembled by someone who did not initially create the hoard in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., and that its possible date of concealment remains open, although it must either have been during or after the reign of Claudius II.<sup>2</sup> At the time, the coin no. 34 in the catalogue was wrongly attributed to Claudius II. It is actually an *antoninianus* of Gallienus (RIC 227 = MIR 470), struck in Rome in 262 (according to MIR, 7<sup>th</sup> emission of the Roman mint).<sup>3</sup> Thus, it is not even the latest coin from this hoard, since cat. no. 23 from Bilić 2008 (RIC 468 = MIR 1171), together with cat. nos. 42-45 published here, were all struck at the Mediolanum mint (4<sup>th</sup> emission) in 263-265

1 Bilić 2008; cf. Nađ 2012, 403 no. 34. This work has been supported in part by the Croatian Science Foundation under project no. 1549. It was read at the *International Numismatic Symposium – Circulation of the Antique Coins in South-Eastern Europe* held at Viminacium, Serbia, September 15 – 16, 2017.

2 Bilić 2008, 291, 293.

3 Cf. Pfisterer 2004, 104. According to Göbl 1953, 13, in early 262 to mid-263 (13<sup>th</sup> emission of the Roman mint).

(according to MIR).<sup>4</sup> The *tpq* for this hoard should, therefore, be set at 263-265 (i.e. in 263 AD), and it should be analysed alongside a contemporaneous horizon of hoards dating to Gallienus' sole reign.<sup>5</sup> Due to the fact that the coins from the hoard available for study do not represent a random selection, but were either selectively picked out in order to include as many different rulers as possible (the Karlovac City Museum part, for which see below) or represent the 'leftovers' found some two decades after the original find (the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb part, for which also see below), and due to the fact that these two sets of coins (the same applies to the third set, mentioned in the AMZ Archives, for which also see below) undoubtedly represent only a rather small part of the hoard (at least several hundred more coins were originally found, see below), it seems inappropriate to treat this part of the hoard as representative of the whole – or as a complete hoard, for that matter – and to perform a comparative analysis with other, presumably contemporaneous, hoards from the region.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, we will analyse the hoard here as if it were complete, but will refrain from comparative analyses, since, because of the reasons stated above, the results of these analyses would almost certainly be misleading. Also, any hypothetical connection with attested historical events would, at this point, be similarly misleading, to say the least.<sup>7</sup>

All information on the hoard in 2007 came from Mr Zvonko Botić, from Zagreb, who claimed to have discovered the hoard on his estate near the village of Gornje Taborište, some five km as the crow flies to the south of the Kupa River at Pokupsko.<sup>8</sup> At the time, there were serious reasons to doubt his testimony, in that the coins were evidently inexpertly cleaned with some chemical substance, that the composition of the hoard showed an unusual chronological gap between 211/217<sup>9</sup> and 238/239,<sup>10</sup> that its composition further showed clear traces of selectivity in its assembling, and that the latest specimen(s) were paradoxically the most worn ones.<sup>11</sup> This all led to cautious conclusions with respect to the composition and date of concealment of the hoard outlined above.

After the publication of the hoard in 2008, two new solid pieces of information appeared, as well as a number of less substantiated testimonies. First, a thorough examination of the papers of the late Mrs Zdenka Dukat, who worked as a curator in the numismatic department of the AMZ during the 1980s, revealed a truly interesting note from early 1989. It appears that one Vaso Tepšić, a resident of Rijeka, found a hoard of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. silver Roman coins on his estate in Gornje Taborište, in November of 1988. He claimed to have discovered it himself while ploughing (or, less likely, hoeing), and that it was contained in a clay vessel impossible to preserve due to its almost totally decomposed state. He offered the hoard of 48 uncleaned coins to the AMZ, but it was not purchased because Mr Tepšić pulled out of the transaction.<sup>12</sup> The composition of 'Tepšić's' hoard, when compared to 'Botić's', shows a marked similarity, and it seems highly unlikely that these two 'complete hoards' are not actually one and the same hoard found

4 Cf. Pfisterer 2004, 104, 106. According to Göbl 1953, 20-21, in mid-262 to mid-263 (1<sup>st</sup> phase) and mid-263 to early 264 (2<sup>nd</sup> phase of the 4<sup>th</sup> emission of the mint in Mediolanum).

5 A single *antoninianus* of Claudius II mentioned in Mrs Dukat's notes should be understood either as a similar mistake or as a yet unexplained anomaly. If some future research establishes the undeniable presence of coins of Claudius II in the hoard, this part of the argument will, necessarily, have to be accommodated to that fact.

6 For a comprehensive analysis of coin hoards concealed during Gallienus' reign in the region, with special emphasis on coin supply and circulation, cf. Demo 1982; for a more recent and equally comprehensive treatment, cf. Miškec 2011. The hoard most similar to that from Gornje Taborište seems to be the one from Imbriovac (Demo 1979, 274 thoroughly documented pieces, Caracalla to Gallienus, Roman mint, 9<sup>th</sup> emission, 264-267, according to MIR; cf. Pfisterer 2004, 104).

7 The hoard's postulated *tpq* cannot be connected to any of the three attested horizons of hoard concealments in this period in this region (AD 253-254, 259-260, 270) (Miškec 2011, 4, 6, 419).

8 Bilić 2008, 289.

9 According to Hill 2001, this type of coin is more precisely dated either to 216 (no. 1528) or 217 (no. 1582).

10 This gap is still evident, irrespective of two intermediate coins (cat. nos. 5-6), although it is now less pronounced.

11 Bilić 2008, 291. This particular argument still stands, irrespective of the new attribution of cat. no. 34 of Bilić 2008.

12 AMZ archives s.v. *Gornje Taborište*.



Map 1. Approximate find spot of 'Botić's' hoard (c. 2007). ©Google, adapted by T. Bilić.

in Gornje Taborište in late 1988. Both 'hoards' were, ironically, offered to the AMZ, but while Mr Tepšić withdrew his offer in 1989, Mr Botić persisted in his commitment to the sale in 2007.

Following this discovery, we contacted Mr Botić once again and confronted him with this new information. He maintained that he had indeed found the 'Botić's' hoard, although not on his estate but rather, with the help of a metal detector, in a field he had heard about from the locals to have been the place where previously a coin hoard was found, near the hamlet of Išeci, part of the dispersed village of Golinja, c. 4 km down the road leading from Golinja (Goljinjski križ) to Gornje Taborište.<sup>13</sup> This hoard could only have been 'Tepšić's' hoard of 1988 (we will show below that this is actually a misnomer). Mr Botić claims to have found it not as a concentrated group, but rather in a line stretching for a couple of meters,<sup>14</sup> which is consistent with the hoard being dispersed through the action of a plough. It seems reasonable to suppose that Mr Botić actually managed to find Mr Tepšić's find site (once again a misnomer) of late 1988 and collected the remaining part of the hoard.

Additionally, in part motivated by the publication of one part of the hoard in 2008, a note on the Gornje Taborište hoard was published in 2009.<sup>15</sup> In a short notice, the hoard of Roman silver coins from Gornje Taborište was mentioned, consisting of several hundred coins and found in a bronze vessel.<sup>16</sup> Subsequently, additional information on the hoard was offered: it apparently consisted of several hundred

13 Botić 2016, *personal communication*. The exact find spot is to the south of the road leading from the hamlet of Išeci towards Gornje Taborište. Even though Mr Botić promised to show us the precise spot where he had found the hoard, the survey appeared impossible to arrange. The find site depicted on our maps is our best reconstruction of the precise location where the hoard was found both in the late 1980s and c. 2007 (lat. 45°24'47"N, long. 15°59'40"E).

14 Botić 2016, *personal communication*.

15 Čučković 2009.

16 Čučković 2009, 20.





Map 2. Precise find spot of 'Botić's' hoard (c. 2007). ©ARKOD, adapted by T. Bilić.

coins, perhaps up to 2,000, which is an estimate based on the size of the vessel. The Karlovac City Museum actually purchased on two separate occasions (one in late 1988) 45 coins from the hoard, as well as the bronze vessel itself. These coins are still kept at the City Museum. Additional coins, somewhat more than 100 (perhaps as many as 170), were purchased by the Memorial Centre in Glinja, but the fate of these coins after the war of 1991-1995 remains completely unknown.<sup>17</sup> By a lucky coincidence we are in the possession of additional information with respect to the fate of this hoard after its discovery in 1988, since one of us (L. Č.) was employed as a curator at the Karlovac City Museum at the time the hoard was discovered. First of all, it was actually discovered by one Simo, a local farmer, rather than Vaso Tepšić, as recorded in the AMZ archives. We are not completely certain of his last name, but it could be Stanović,

<sup>17</sup> Čučković 2013, 56.

as still remembered in the village of Gornje Taborište. This Simo (Stanović?) left the bronze vessel in the Karlovac City Museum, never claiming it afterwards, at the same time offering to sell the hoard – or one part of it – as well. However, the transaction did not go through, and Simo (Stanović?) sold a part of the hoard consisting of some 100-170 pieces to the Memorial Centre in Glina instead. The post-war fate of these coins is, unfortunately, unknown. Another part of the hoard, ca. 100 specimens, came into the possession of a woman in Velika Kladuša (modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, near to its border with the part of Croatia where Gornje Taborište is situated), related to the discoverer of the hoard, who sold some of it, more precisely, 45 pieces, to the Karlovac City Museum. The specimens that eventually entered the City Museum's collection were intentionally selected from the part of the hoard kept at Velika Kladuša to contain as many different rulers as possible. Another part of the hoard, either ca. 50 or ca. 100 pieces, was offered to the Karlovac City Museum by one Mr Zatezalo from Rijeka, either another relative of the original discoverer Simo (Stanović?) or the person who purchased the coins from Mr Tepšić (on this, see below), but this transaction also did not go through.

It is, thus, more or less possible to reconstruct the circumstances of the discovery of the hoard and its subsequent fortunes: it was indeed discovered during tillage near Gornje Taborište, in 1988, by one Simo (Stanović?). It was then divided among his relatives, perhaps in equal portions (Vaso Tepšić of Rijeka, the woman from Velika Kladuša and, perhaps, Mr Zatezalo of Rijeka, who more likely obtained his part of the hoard from Mr Tepšić, for the reasons stated below), with Simo (Stanović?), himself presumably keeping the largest part or, more justly, taking a share equal to his relatives. Part or all of Simo (Stanović?)'s share was sold to the Memorial Centre in Glina, after a failed attempt to sell it to the Karlovac City Museum; ca. half of the share of the woman from Velika Kladuša was sold to the Karlovac City Museum; Mr Tepšić's share – or part of it – was unsuccessfully offered to the AMZ, and subsequently sold to Mr Zatezalo of Rijeka – or Mr Tepšić sold at least one part of his share of the hoard to Mr Zatezalo prior to offering another part to the AMZ; Mr Zatezalo of Rijeka's 'share', likely purchased from Mr Tepšić, was unsuccessfully offered to the Karlovac City Museum. Finally, in the 2000s, Mr Botić rediscovered Simo (Stanović?)'s actual find site of the hoard near Gornje Taborište.

Some additional, largely unsubstantiated, information was provided during the summer of 2014 by a visitor to the AMZ, who was prompted to reveal his information by reading the paper in the *VAMZ*, where a part of the hoard was published. He – Mr Vlado Šoštarić from Glina – claimed that Mr Tepšić offered the coins in 1988 to the Memorial Centre in Glina, but that the coins were not actually purchased by this institution, supporting this information by citing the testimony of a pre-war employee of the Memorial Centre, the late Mr Mirko Klobučar, who stayed in Glina during the entire war period (1991-1995). After the war, more precisely, in 1995, Mr Tepšić, still a resident of Rijeka, was interviewed by the officials of the Rijeka Police Administration, and allegedly claimed that he sold the hoard (no precise quantity of coins is offered) to Mr Đuro Zatezalo, the then director of Historical Archives in Karlovac.<sup>18</sup> The reason why an Archives director or the institution itself would purchase the coins remains obscure. Mr Zatezalo, who passed away in 2017 at the age of 87, denied any knowledge of the hoard and claimed never to have heard of Mr Tepšić.<sup>19</sup> The information that we have – that one Mr Zatezalo from Rijeka was actually in possession of some 50 or 100 coins from the Taborište hoard – suggests that the person named by Vaso Tepšić was not actually Đuro Zatezalo of Karlovac, but rather another person from Rijeka with the same last name, even though Mr Šoštarić insists that it was specifically Mr Đuro Zatezalo who was named by Mr Tepšić. Furthermore, Mr Šoštarić claims to have seen a notebook of Mrs Dukat in which 99 coins offered to the AMZ by Mr Tepšić were documented, of which there is now no trace in the records kept at the AMZ archives.<sup>20</sup> This information could hypothetically be associated with Mr Zatezalo of Rijeka's part of the hoard, (initially?) offered to the Karlovac City Museum.

<sup>18</sup> Šoštarić 2014; 2016, *personal communication*. Mr Šoštarić does not have the police record documenting the interview, and we were not able to obtain it from the police station in Glina.

<sup>19</sup> Zatezalo 2016, *personal communication*.

<sup>20</sup> Šoštarić 2014; 2016, *personal communication*.

Several important points are raised with respect to these, sometimes, contradictory testimonies:

1) How many coins were offered to the AMZ in 1989 and on how many occasions? (the current archive records at the AMZ document 48 coins, while Mr Šoštarić claims, with some certainty, that he saw a document with as many as 99 individually listed coins); where are these coins now, whether 48 or 99 in number?

2) Were any coins purchased by the Memorial Centre in Glina from Simo (Stanović?)? (to our knowledge, more than 100 coins (perhaps as many as 170) were indeed purchased, while Mr Šoštarić claims there were none); where are these coins now, if they indeed were kept at Glina?

3) Did Mr Tepšić sell any coins to either Mr Đuro Zatezalo or the Historical Archives in Karlovac during the late 1980s? (as claimed by Mr Šoštarić, but resolutely denied by Mr Đuro Zatezalo); if he did, where are these coins now? It seems more likely that the introduction of Đuro Zatezalo into the story is unwarranted; Mr Tepšić's testimony of 1995 most likely refers to the Mr Zatezalo of Rijeka, who offered a portion of the hoard to the Karlovac City Museum; but where are *these* coins now?

4) What happened to the part of the hoard kept in Velika Kladuša?

5) Finally, do the 34 coins purchased by the AMZ from Mr Botić belong to any of the four preceding groups of coins? According to his testimony, they should be treated as a separate find, although most probably part of the original Gornje Taborište hoard of 1988.

This complicated survey of the circumstances of the discovery of the hoard from Gornje Taborište, additionally marred by the complex pre-war ethnic relations in the Banija/Banovina region, by the even more devastating war period (1991-1995) and the post-war tensions which remain problematic even to this day,<sup>21</sup> offers little hope of a future complete – or, at least, near-complete – reconstruction of the hoard. The conclusions regarding the structure and the date of concealment of the hoard remain tentative, even more than usual when dealing with dispersed ancient coin hoards, which is itself a rather problematic subject. However, the information and actual coins salvaged from, respectively, oblivion and the black market, presented here do provide at least some, however limited, material for future studies.

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<sup>21</sup> Cf., e.g. Ružić 2015.



Table 1 – The part of the hoard from Gornje Taborište kept at the Karlovac City Museum.

| no.                                   | ruler                | den. | RIC IV/1-3, V/1 | AD <sup>22</sup>                  | rv.                          | mint <sup>23</sup> | weight (g)<br>diameter (mm)<br>axis | Karlovac City<br>Museum inv. no. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Iulia Domna (under Septimius Severus) |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 1                                     | Iulia Domna          | d    | 577 = Hill 504  | 202<br>(Hill)<br>196-211<br>(RIC) | SAECVLI<br>FELICITAS         | Roma               | 3.15<br>19<br>6                     | 658                              |
| Septimius Severus                     |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 2                                     | Septimius<br>Severus | d    | 197 = Hill 728  | 205                               | P M TR P XIII<br>COS III P P | Roma               | 3.32<br>20<br>6                     | 661                              |
| Geta (under Septimius Severus)        |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 3                                     | Geta                 | d    | 51 = Hill 770   | 206<br>(Hill)<br>203-208<br>(RIC) | PROVID<br>DEORVM             | Roma               | 3.61<br>20<br>12                    | 663                              |
| Caracalla                             |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 4                                     | Caracalla            | d    | 224 = Hill 1356 | 213<br>(Hill)<br>210-213<br>(RIC) | MONETA AVG                   | Roma               | 2.98<br>20<br>12                    | 660                              |
| Elagabalus                            |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 5                                     | Elagabalus           | d    | 139             | 218-222                           | SALVS<br>ANTONINI<br>AVG     | Roma               | 3.68<br>18<br>6                     | 659                              |
| Alexander Severus                     |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 6                                     | Alexander<br>Severus | d    | 202             | 228-231                           | IOVI STATORI                 | Roma               | 2.80<br>20<br>12                    | 662                              |
| Gordianus III                         |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 7                                     | Gordianus III        | a    | 86              | 241-243                           | LAETITIA AVG<br>N            | Roma               | 2.91<br>20<br>12                    | 652                              |
| 8                                     | Gordianus III        | d    | 113             | 241-243                           | LAETITIA AVG<br>N            | Roma               | 3.96<br>23<br>11                    | 653                              |
| 9                                     | Gordianus III        | d    | 129             | 241                               | PIETAS<br>AVGVSTI            | Roma               | 2.58<br>20<br>1                     | 689                              |
| Philippus I                           |                      |      |                 |                                   |                              |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 10                                    | Philippus I          | a    | 3               | 246                               | P M TR P III<br>COS PP       | Roma               | 4.21<br>23<br>12                    | 655                              |

22 When both RIC and MIR are available, the latter's dates are given (after Pfisterer 2004).

23 When both RIC and MIR are available, the latter's mints are given.

| no.   | ruler                  | den. | RIC IV/1-3, V/1 | AD <sup>22</sup> | rv.                            | mint <sup>23</sup> | weight (g)<br>diameter (mm)<br>axis | Karlovac City<br>Museum inv. no. |
|---|------------------------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 11  | Philippus I            | a    | 44b             | 244-247          | ROMAE<br>AETERNAE              | Roma               | 3.84<br>22<br>6                     | 657                              |
| Traianus Decius 249-251                     |                        |      |                 |                  |                                |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 12  | Traianus<br>Decius     | a    | 16c             | 249-251          | GENIVS<br>EXERC<br>ILLVRICIANI | Roma               | 3.99<br>20<br>5                     | 692                              |
| 13  | Traianus<br>Decius     | a    | 21b             | 249-251          | PANNONIAE                      | Roma               | 3.73<br>23<br>6                     | 654                              |
| Herennius Etruscus (under Traianus Decius)  |                        |      |                 |                  |                                |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 14  | Herennius<br>Etruscus  | a    | 149             | 250-251          | SPES PVBLICA                   | Roma               | 4.09<br>22<br>12                    | 666                              |
| Herennia Etruscilla (under Traianus Decius) |                        |      |                 |                  |                                |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 15  | Herennia<br>Etruscilla | a    | 55b             | 249-251          | FECVNDITAS<br>AVG              | Roma               | 4.16<br>23<br>6                     | 665                              |
| 16  | Herennia<br>Etruscilla | a    | 58b             | 249-251          | PVDICITIA<br>AVG               | Roma               | 4.26<br>22<br>1                     | 664                              |
| Volusianus                                  |                        |      |                 |                  |                                |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 17  | Volusianus             | a    | 167             | 251-253          | CONCORDIA<br>AVGG              | Roma               | 3.05<br>21<br>12                    | 677                              |
| 18  | Volusianus             | a    | 169             | 251-253          | CONCORDIA<br>AVGG              | Roma               | 3.43<br>22<br>5                     | 651                              |
| 19  | Volusianus             | a    | 180             | 251-253          | PAX AVGG                       | Roma               | 4.00<br>22<br>12                    | 670                              |
| 20  | Volusianus             | a    | 187             | 251-253          | VIRTVS AVGG                    | Roma               | 3.30<br>21<br>12                    | 690                              |
| 21  | Volusianus             | a    | 216             | 251-253          | FELICITAS<br>PVBL              | Antiochia          | 3.43<br>23<br>6                     | 669                              |
| Valerianus I                                |                        |      |                 |                  |                                |                    |                                     |                                  |
| 22  | Valerianus I           | a    | 72 = MIR 125b   | 256              | APOLINI<br>CONSERVA            | Roma               | 2.40<br>23<br>6                     | 679                              |
| 23  | Valerianus I           | a    | 256 = MIR 919   | 258-259          | SECVRIT<br>PERPET              | Mediolanum         | 3.14<br>23<br>6                     | 656                              |
| Valerianus II (under Valerianus I)          |                        |      |                 |                  |                                |                    |                                     |                                  |

| no.                            | ruler         | den. | RIC IV/1-3, V/1   | AD <sup>22</sup> | rv.                   | mint <sup>23</sup>          | weight (g)<br>diameter (mm)<br>axis | Karlovac City<br>Museum inv. no. |
|--------------------------------|---------------|------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 24                             | Valerianus II | a    | 3 = MIR 907       | 257-258          | IOVI<br>CRESCENTI     | Colonia Agr-<br>ippinensium | 4.13<br>21<br>12                    | 691                              |
| Saloninus (under Valerianus I) |               |      |                   |                  |                       |                             |                                     |                                  |
| 25                             | Saloninus     | a    | 10 = MIR 939      | 258-259          | PRINC<br>IVVENT       | Mediolanum                  | 3.52<br>22<br>6                     | 680                              |
| Gallienus (under Valerianus I) |               |      |                   |                  |                       |                             |                                     |                                  |
| 26                             | Gallienus     | a    | 403 = MIR 827     | 253-255          | SPES PVBLICA          | Viminacium                  | 3.46<br>21<br>12                    | 667                              |
| 27                             | Gallienus     | a    | 181 = MIR 1575    | 253-256          | VIRTVS AVGG           | Antiochia                   | 4.19<br>23<br>7                     | 627                              |
| 28                             | Gallienus     | a    | 180 = MIR 116     | 256              | VICTORIA<br>GERMANICA | Roma                        | 3.96<br>24<br>6                     | 673                              |
| 29                             | Gallienus     | a    | 58 = MIR 882      | 257-258          | VIRTVS AVGG           | Colonia Agr-<br>ippinensium | 2.81<br>22<br>6                     | 668                              |
| Gallienus                      |               |      |                   |                  |                       |                             |                                     |                                  |
| 30                             | Gallienus     | a    | 221 = MIR 348     | 260-261          | IOVI VLTORI           | Roma                        | 2.89<br>20<br>6                     | 694                              |
| 31                             | Gallienus     | a    | 256 = MIR 353     | 260-261          | PAX AVG               | Roma                        | 3.87<br>21<br>6                     | 678(d)                           |
| 32                             | Gallienus     | a    | 317 = MIR 344     | 260-261          | VIRTVS AVG            | Roma                        | 2.67<br>23<br>6                     | 681                              |
| 33                             | Gallienus     | a    | 159 var = MIR 500 | 262              | AEQVITAS<br>AVG       | Roma                        | 3.59<br>23<br>1                     | 684                              |
| 34                             | Gallienus     | a    | 159 var = MIR 500 | 262              | AEQVITAS<br>AVG       | Roma                        | 3.04<br>21<br>12                    | 694                              |
| 35                             | Gallienus     | a    | 226 = MIR 497     | 262              | LAETITIA AVG          | Roma                        | 3.22<br>22<br>12                    | 693                              |
| 36                             | Gallienus     | a    | 226 = MIR 497     | 262              | LAETITIA AVG          | Roma                        | 2.55<br>21<br>6                     | 687                              |
| 37                             | Gallienus     | a    | 226 = MIR 498     | 262              | LAETITIA AVG          | Roma                        | 4.18<br>23<br>12                    | 683                              |

| no. | ruler     | den. | RIC IV/1-3, V/1 | AD <sup>22</sup> | rv.              | mint <sup>23</sup> | weight (g)<br>diameter (mm)<br>axis | Karlovac City<br>Museum inv. no. |
|-----|-----------|------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 38  | Gallienus | a    | 227 = MIR 470   | 262              | LIBERAL AVG      | Roma               | 3.19<br>23<br>6                     | 695                              |
| 39  | Gallienus | a    | 227 = MIR 470   | 262              | LIBERAL AVG      | Roma               | 2.51<br>22<br>12                    | 686                              |
| 40  | Gallienus | a    | 227 = MIR 470   | 262              | LIBERAL AVG      | Roma               | 3.65<br>21<br>8                     | 688                              |
| 41  | Gallienus | a    | 227 = MIR 481   | 262              | LIBERAL AVG      | Roma               | 4.08<br>23<br>6                     | 682                              |
| 42  | Gallienus | a    | 495 = MIR 1126  | 263-265          | ORIENS AVG       | Mediolanum         | 3.48<br>21<br>12                    | 676                              |
| 43  | Gallienus | a    | 495 = MIR 1126  | 263-265          | ORIENS AVG       | Mediolanum         | 4.35<br>22<br>6                     | 675                              |
| 44  | Gallienus | a    | 468 = MIR 1171  | 263-265          | APPOLO<br>CONSER | Mediolanum         | 3.90<br>22<br>6                     | 674                              |
| 45  | Gallienus | a    | 468 = MIR 1171  | 263-265          | APPOLO<br>CONSER | Mediolanum         | 4.13<br>22<br>6                     | 685                              |

Table 2 – The composition of the Gornje Taborište hoard, according to the data available in 2017

| ruler   | Bilić 2008 | Dukat 1989 | Karlovac City<br>Museum | total |
|---|------------|------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Septimius Severus<br>(193–211)                        | 0          | 1 d        | 1 d                     | 2 d   |
| Iulia Domna (193–217)<br>(under Septimius<br>Severus) | 1 a        | 0          | 0                       | 1 a   |
| Geta (198-211) (under<br>Septimius Severus)           | 0          | 0          | 1 d                     | 1 d   |
| Caracalla 198-217                                     | 0          | 0          | 1 d                     | 1 d   |
| Iulia Domna (193–217)<br>(under Caracalla)            | 0          | 0          | 1 d                     | 1 d   |
| Elagabalus 218-222                                    | 0          | 0          | 1 d                     | 1 d   |
| Alexander Severus 222-<br>235                         | 0          | 0          | 1 d                     | 1 d   |

| ruler                                  | Bilić 2008 | Dukat 1989                        | Karlovac City Museum | total   |
|--|------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Gordianus III (238–244)                | 6 a        | 10 d + a <sup>24</sup>            | 2 d, 1 a             | 7 a, 2 d, 10 d + a <sup>25</sup>                            |
| Philippus I (244–249)                  | 3 a        | 6 a                               | 2 a                  | 11 a  |
| Philippus II (caesar 244–246)          | 2 a        | 0                                 | 0                    | 2 a   |
| Philippus II (246–249)                 | 1 a        | 0                                 | 0                    | 1 a   |
| Traianus Decius (249–251)              | 5 a        | 0                                 | 2 a                  | 7 a   |
| Herennius Etruscus (250–251)           | 0          | 0                                 | 1 a                  | 1 a   |
| Herennia Etruscilla (249–251)          | 0          | 0                                 | 2 a                  | 2 a   |
| Trebonianus Gallus (251–253)           | 0          | 4 a                               | 0                    | 4 a   |
| Volusianus (251–253)                   | 3 a        | 1 a                               | 5 a                  | 9 a   |
| Aemilianus (253)                       | 1 a        | 1 a                               | 0                    | 2 a   |
| Valerianus (253–260)                   | 5 a        | 7 a                               | 2 a                  | 14 a  |
| Valerianus II (257–258)                | 0          | 0                                 | 1 a                  | 1 a   |
| Saloninus (256–260) (under Valerianus) | 1 a        | 1 a                               | 1 a                  | 3 a   |
| Salonina (253–268) (under Valerianus)  | 1 a        | 6 a                               | 0                    | 7 a   |
| Gallienus joint reign (253–260)        | 3 a        | 10 a                              | 4 a                  | 35 a  |
| Gallienus sole reign (260–268)         | 2 a        |                                   | 16 a                 |   |
| Claudius II (268–270) (?)              | 0          | 1 a                               | 0                    | 1 a   |
| total                                  | 34 a       | 37 a, 1 d, 10 d + a <sup>26</sup> | 37 a, 8 d            | 108 a (85.04%), 9 d (7.09%), 10 d + a <sup>27</sup> (7.87%) |
| Total (excl. Dukat 1989)               | 34a        |                                   | 37 a, 8 d            | 71 a (89.87%), 8 d (10.13%)                                 |

24 It is impossible to distinguish *antoniniani* from *denarii* from Mrs Dukat's notes.

25 It is impossible to distinguish *antoniniani* from *denarii* from Mrs Dukat's notes.

26 It is impossible to distinguish *antoniniani* from *denarii* from Mrs Dukat's notes.

27 It is impossible to distinguish *antoniniani* from *denarii* from Mrs Dukat's notes.

Table 3 – Corrected frequency (including all known specimens in 2017)

| year        | frequency | duration | corrected frequency | cummulative |
|-------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|-------------|
| 193-211     | 4         | 19       | 0.21                | 4           |
| 213-222     | 3         | 10       | 0.3                 | 7           |
| 228-231     | 1         | 4        | 0.25                | 8           |
| 238-244     | 19        | 7        | 2.71                | 27          |
| 244-249     | 14        | 6        | 2.33                | 41          |
| 249-251     | 10        | 3        | 3.33                | 51          |
| 251-253     | 15        | 3        | 5                   | 66          |
| 253-268     | 60        | 8        | 7.5                 | 126         |
| 268-270 (?) | 1         | 3        | 0.33                | 127         |

Table 4 – Corrected frequency (only the specimens documented in detail)

| year    | frequency | duration | corrected frequency | cummulative |
|---------|-----------|----------|---------------------|-------------|
| 202-206 | 3         | 5        | 0.6                 | 3           |
| 213-222 | 3         | 10       | 0.3                 | 6           |
| 228-231 | 1         | 4        | 0.25                | 7           |
| 238-239 | 1         | 2        | 0.5                 | 8           |
| 241-244 | 8         | 4        | 2                   | 16          |
| 244-247 | 6         | 4        | 1.5                 | 22          |
| 247-249 | 2         | 3        | 0.67                | 24          |
| 249-251 | 10        | 3        | 3.33                | 34          |
| 251-253 | 9         | 3        | 3                   | 43          |
| 253-260 | 18        | 8        | 2.25                | 61          |
| 260-265 | 18        | 6        | 3                   | 79          |



Table 5 – Mint distribution by ruler

| ruler                                 | year    | mint |      |      |      |      | tot. |
|---------------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                                       |         | Med. | Rom. | Ant. | Vim. | Col. |      |
| Septimius Severus (Iulia Domna)       | 202     |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Septimius Severus                     | 205     |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Septimius Severus (Geta)              | 206     |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Caracalla                             | 213     |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Caracalla (Iulia Domna)               | 216-217 |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Elagabalus                            | 218-222 |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Alexander Severus                     | 228-231 |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Gordianus III                         | 238-239 |      | 1    |      |      |      | 9    |
|                                       | 241-244 |      | 6    | 2    |      |      |      |
| Philippus I                           | 244-247 |      | 3    |      |      |      | 4    |
|                                       | 247-249 |      | 1    |      |      |      |      |
| Philippus II                          | 244-246 |      | 2    |      |      |      | 3    |
|                                       | 247-249 |      | 1    |      |      |      |      |
| Trajanus Decius                       | 249-251 |      | 7    |      |      |      | 7    |
| Trajanus Decius (Herennius Etruscus)  | 250-251 |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Trajanus Decius (Herennia Etruscilla) | 249-251 |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Volusianus                            | 251-253 |      | 7    | 1    |      |      | 8    |
| Aemilianus                            | 253     |      | 1    |      |      |      | 1    |
| Valerianus I                          | 255-258 | 1    | 6    |      |      |      | 7    |
| Valerianus I (Valerianus II)          | 255     |      |      |      |      | 1    | 1    |
| Valerianus I (Salonina)               | 257-258 |      |      |      |      | 1    | 1    |
| Valerianus I (Saloninus)              | 256     | 2    |      |      |      |      | 2    |
| Gallienus                             | 254-259 | 1    | 2    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 25   |
|                                       | 260-265 | 5    | 13   |      |      |      |      |

Table 6 – Mint distribution by period

| mint       | frequency by minting period |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | tot.         |
|------------|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|
|            | 202-206                     | 213-222 | 228-231 | 238-239 | 241-244 | 244-247 | 247-249 | 249-251 | 251-253 | 253-260 | 260-265 |              |
| Mediolanum |                             |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 4       | 5       | 9<br>11.39%  |
| Roma       | 3                           | 3       | 1       | 1       | 6       | 6       | 2       | 10      | 8       | 8       | 13      | 61<br>77.22% |
| Antiochia  |                             |         |         |         | 2       |         |         |         | 1       | 1       |         | 4<br>5.06%   |
| Colonia A. |                             |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 3       |         | 3<br>3.8%    |
| Viminacium |                             |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         | 2       |         | 2<br>2.53%   |
| total      | 3                           | 3       | 1       | 1       | 8       | 6       | 2       | 10      | 9       | 18      | 18      | 79           |

Table 7 – Analysis of reverse types by period and mint

| reverse type              | year    | mint |      |      |      |      | tot. |
|---------------------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                           |         | Col. | Med. | Rom. | Vim. | Ant. |      |
| SAECVLI FELICITAS         | 202-206 |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| P M TR P XIII COS III P P |         |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| PROVID DEORVM             |         |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| MONETA AVG                | 213-222 |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| VENVS GENETRIX            |         |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| SALVS ANTONINI AVG        |         |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| IOVI STATORI              | 228-231 |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| VIRTVS AVG                | 238-239 |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| IOVI STATORI              | 241-244 |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| LAETITIA AVG N            |         |      |      | 3    |      |      | 3    |
| MARTI PACIFERO            |         |      |      |      |      | 1    | 1    |
| PIETAS AVGVSTI            |         |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| P M TR P IIII COS II P P  |         |      |      | 1    |      |      | 1    |
| SAECVLI FELICITAS         |         |      |      |      |      | 1    | 1    |

|                                  |         |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ANNONA AVG                       | 244-249 |   |   | 2 |   |   | 2 |
| LIBERALITAS AVGG II              |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| PRINCIPI IVVENT                  |         |   |   | 2 |   |   | 2 |
| P M TR P III COS PP              |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| ROMAE AETERNAE                   |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| LIBERALITAS AVGG III             |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| GENIVS EXCERCITVS<br>ILLVRICIANI | 249-251 |   |   | 2 |   |   | 2 |
| FECVNDITAS AVG                   |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| PVDICITIA AVG                    |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| PANNONIAE                        |         |   |   | 3 |   |   | 3 |
| SPES PVBLICA                     |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| VBERITAS AVG                     |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| VICTORIA AVG                     |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| IVNONI MARTIALI                  | 251-253 |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| PAX AVGG                         |         |   |   | 3 |   |   | 3 |
| CONCORDIA AVGG                   |         |   |   | 2 |   |   | 2 |
| VIRTVS AVGG                      |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| FELICITAS PVBL                   |         |   |   |   |   | 1 | 1 |
| APOL CONSERVAT                   |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| ORIENS AVGG                      | 253-260 |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| IOVI CONSERVAT                   |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| LIBERALITAS AVGG                 |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| APOLINI CONSERVA                 |         |   |   | 2 |   |   | 2 |
| VICTORIA AVGG                    |         |   | 1 | 1 |   |   | 2 |
| SALVS AVGG                       |         |   |   |   | 1 |   | 1 |
| IOVI CONSERVA                    |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| IOVI CRESCENTI                   |         | 1 |   |   |   |   | 1 |
| SECVRIT PERPET                   |         |   | 1 |   |   |   | 1 |
| VESTA                            |         | 1 |   |   |   |   | 1 |
| PRINC IVVENT                     |         |   | 2 |   |   |   | 2 |
| VICTORIA GERMANICA               |         |   |   | 1 |   |   | 1 |
| VIRTVS AVGG                      |         | 1 |   |   |   | 1 | 2 |
| SPES PVBLICA                     |         |   |   |   | 1 |   | 1 |

|               |         |   |   |    |   |   |    |
|---------------|---------|---|---|----|---|---|----|
| APOLLO CONSER | 260-265 |   | 3 |    |   |   | 3  |
| AEQVITAS AVG  |         |   |   | 2  |   |   | 2  |
| IOVI VLTORI   |         |   |   | 1  |   |   | 1  |
| LAETITIA AVG  |         |   |   | 3  |   |   | 3  |
| LIBERAL AVG   |         |   |   | 5  |   |   | 5  |
| PAX AVG       |         |   |   | 1  |   |   | 1  |
| VIRTUS AVG    |         |   |   | 1  |   |   | 1  |
| ORIENS AVG    |         |   | 2 |    |   |   | 2  |
| total         |         | 3 | 9 | 61 | 2 | 4 | 79 |

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## A PART OF THE KAMENICA HOARD FROM THE ŠIPUŠ COLLECTION<sup>1</sup>

*During the examination and the processing of the dr. Nikola Šipuš private collection, it was concluded that collection contains 64 denarii from the large Kamenica hoard found in 1936. The coins from the hoard were acquired by the ancestor of Ms. Jušić who was a school teacher in Niš during the second half of the 1930es. They have been kept in the family ever since. The coins were donated as a gift to dr. Nikola Šipuš by Jušić family in the late 1980 or early 1981. This paper will present the coins, determine the statistical composition and compare them with the remaining finds from the find.*

**KEY WORDS: COIN HOARD, DENARI, KAMENICA, ŠIPUŠ COLLECTION**

The Kamenica hoard(s) was found in 1936 on Vinik hill, near the village of Kamenica. This hoard is often referred as the Niš hoard since Kamenica village is near modern Niš (Roman Naissus, Moesia Superior; modern Republic of Serbia).<sup>2</sup> The number of coins found is, at present, unknown, but it is estimated that it was between 100,000 coins (larger than the Reka Devnia hoard)<sup>3</sup> and the probable maximum number of coins, ca. 380,000.<sup>4</sup> Another problem is that two hoards were found in a short period of time, 40 metres from one another; the first one (larger) was found in January 1936,<sup>5</sup> ending with Maximinus I Thrax<sup>6</sup> and the second (smaller), ending with Gordianus III,<sup>7</sup> was found in March 1936.<sup>8</sup> An additional problem is that both hoards were similar in composition,<sup>9</sup> so, soon after the dispersal of the hoards (es-

1 I would like to thank Dr Nikola Šipuš for the information he provided and the opportunity to present the coins from his collection at the international numismatic symposium - Circulation of the Antique Coins in South-eastern Europe - which was held on 15–17 September, 2017 in Viminacium. This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under project no. 1549.

2 Герасимов 1938, 427 = Gerasimov 1938, 427, Oršić-Slavetić 1936a, 17; Mirnik 1980, 64 (no. 178), Борић-Брешковић 1994, 42, 103 = Borić-Bresković 1994, 42, 103; Арсенијевић 2004, 227, no 1.4 = Arsenijević 2004, 227, no 1.4; Mihailović 2008, 125-143, etc. For detailed information regarding the circumstances and an analysis of the find, cf. Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016.

3 Герасимов 1938, 427 = Gerasimov 1938, 427; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 10; for detailed information regarding the circumstances of the find with documentation, cf. Лазаренко 2014, 265–332 = Lazarenko 2014, 265-332; Мушмовъ 1930-1931, 263-265 = Mušmov 1930-1931, 263-265; Mouchmov 1934; Fitz 1978, 119-121; Metcalf 2000, 145-150 (author analyses and presents an interesting opinion about the burial horizon of the hoard); Paunov, Prokopov 2002, 48-50, no. 75; Gazdac 2010 (CD-Catalogue/Hoards/Hoards from Moesia Inferior, 13 (Marcianopolis I = Réka Devnia = Devnya)).

4 For the discussion about the possible maximum number of coins found, cf. Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 41; due to an unfortunate mistake, the maximum number of coins presented there (c. 1,200,000) was incorrect.

5 Oršić-Slavetić 1936a, 17.

6 Mihailović 2008, 132-133; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 19, 41.

7 Mihailović 2008, 132-133; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 19, 41.

8 Oršić-Slavetić 1936b, 37.

9 Mihailović 2008, 132-133; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 9, 20.

pecially beyond the country's borders), the coins were considered as a single find.

The portion that is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ), the only segment of the hoard properly published to the level of a single coin, consisted of 4,094 *denarii*, one *antoninianus* and one drachma.<sup>10</sup> The way the coins were acquired for the AMZ is unknown. During the 1930s, the AMZ provided a venue for the Numismatic Society and the former director, Viktor Hoffiller, had an insight into what was happening on the numismatic market, so we can speculate that the AMZ part of the hoard was acquired from the 20,000 coins that came to Zagreb intended for private collectors.<sup>11</sup> Other known parts are kept in the National Museum in Niš (3,941),<sup>12</sup> the National Museum of Slovenia (c. 830),<sup>13</sup> Villach Town Museum (20)<sup>14</sup> and probably in the National Museum in Prague (c. 15,000),<sup>15</sup> and, according to R. Marić, in the National Museum in Belgrade (3,123).<sup>16</sup> Only the part which is kept in the National Museum in Niš is published to any significant extent. Unfortunately, it is not published in detail but summarily by emperors, with no analysis by reigns. A comparison at this level has shown significant similarities in the composition with the AMZ part,<sup>17</sup> so it is to be assumed that the Niš part was an integral part of the first (larger) hoard that ended with Maximinus I Thrax.

During the examination of the private collection of Dr Nikola Šipuš, it was discovered that part of his collection is composed of coins from the Kamenica hoard. After a thorough examination of coins, Dr Šipuš also provided information regarding the method of his acquiring the coins. The coins were acquired in Niš by Mr Jušić,<sup>18</sup> who was sent from Zagreb to Niš as a school teacher during the second half of the 1930s and they had been in his family since. After his death, the coins remained in his family. The coins were given as a gift to Dr Nikola Šipuš by Mr Jušić's wife in late 1980 or early 1981. The Šipuš part of the Kamenica hoard consists of coins featuring 16 rulers and members of ruling families, that is, coins belonging to 12 reigns spanning a period of 167 years. This part of the hoard consists of 64 *denarii* spanning from Vitellius to Alexander Severus. I will present here these coins to the level of a single coin, thus allowing a comparison with the already published AMZ part of the hoard.

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10 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, (Cat. no. 25).

11 Horvat 1934-1936, 134-135; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 26.

12 Janković Mihaldžić 2005, 50.

13 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 17, 18.

14 FMRÖ II/3, 5/29.

15 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 19; the Belgrade part of the Kamenica hoard is very questionable, for the discussion, *cf.* Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 36, 37.

16 Марић 1956, 180 = Marić 1956, 180; the Belgrade part of the Kamenica hoard is very questionable, for the discussion *cf.* Mihailović 2008, 136; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 36, 37. Few other authors referred on the Belgrade part of Kamenica as a hoard of the burial horizon ending with Philippus I (Borić-Brešković 1983, 72 (ending in 247?); Стаменковић 2005, 150 (Карта 2 – Каменица?) = Stamenković 2005, 150 (Karta 2 – Kamenica?); Црнобрња 2008, 20, 21 (Карта) = Crnobrnja 2008, 20, 21 (Karta).

17 *Cf.* Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 33-36.

18 First name unknown.

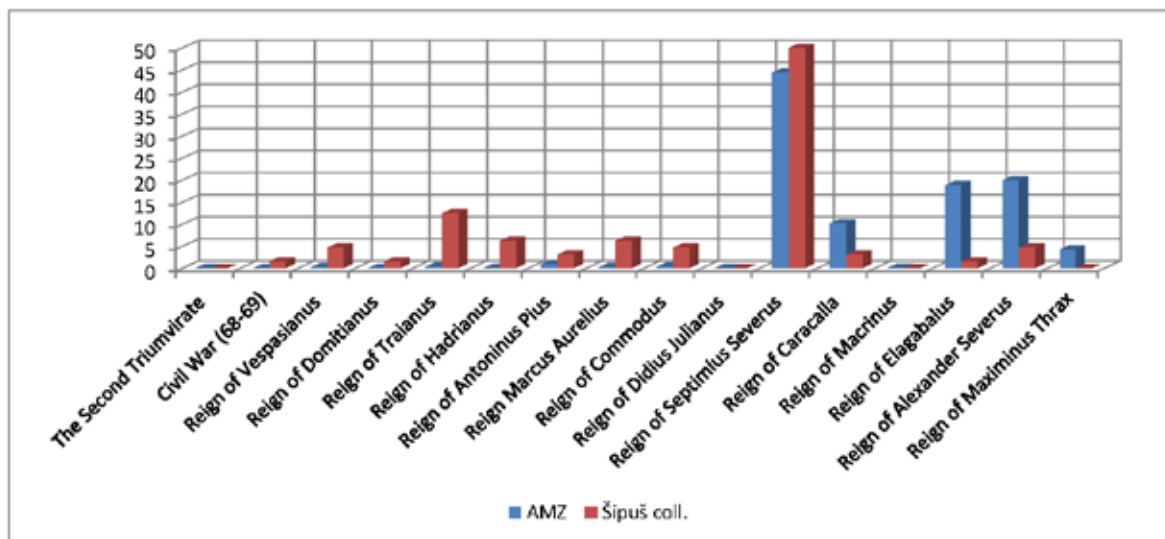


| Reign/Ruler:                           | No.: | Total: |
|--|------|--------|
| <b><i>Civil War (68 - 69)</i></b>      |      | 1      |
| Vitellius                              | 1    |        |
| Reign of Vespasian (69 – 79)           |      | 3      |
| Vespasianus                            | 2    |        |
| Domitianus                             | 1    |        |
| Reign of Domitian (81 – 96)            |      | 1      |
| Domitianus                             | 1    |        |
| Reign of Trajan (98 – 117)             |      | 8      |
| Traianus                               | 8    |        |
| Reign of Hadrian (117 – 138)           |      | 4      |
| Hadrianus                              | 4    |        |
| Reign of Anoninus Pius (138 – 161)     |      | 2      |
| A. Pius                                | 1    |        |
| Diva Faustina I                        | 1    |        |
| Reign of Marcus Aurelius (161 – 180)   |      | 4      |
| Divvs Antoninvs                        | 1    |        |
| M. Aurelius                            | 2    |        |
| Faustina jr.                           | 1    |        |
| Reign of Commodus (180 – 193)          |      | 3      |
| Commodus                               | 3    |        |
| Reign of Septimius Severus (193 – 211) |      | 32     |
| S. Severus                             | 15   |        |
| Caracalla                              | 4    |        |
| Iulia Domna                            | 6    |        |
| Geta                                   | 6    |        |
| Plautilla                              | 1    |        |
| Reign of Caracalla (211 – 217)         |      | 2      |
| Caracalla                              | 2    |        |

|  |  |   |    |
|--|--|---|----|
| Reign of Elagabalus (218 – 222)        |  |   | 1  |
| Iulia Maesa                            |  | 1 |    |
| Reign of Alexander Severus (222 – 235) |  |   | 3  |
| S. Alexander                           |  | 3 |    |
| Total:                                 |  |   | 64 |

Table 1 – Composition of Kamenica coins from the Šipuš collection.

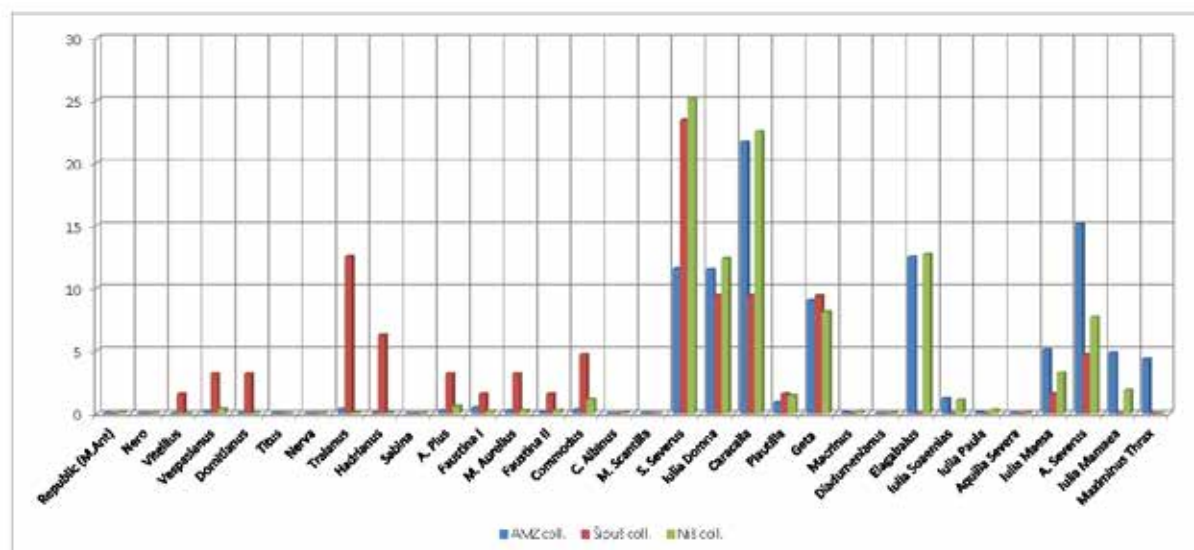
The composition of the hoard with respect to individual reigns, classified into coins issued by specific emperors and members of imperial families is as follows: Civil War 1.56% (Vitellius 1.56 % – Cat. no.1), reign of Vespasianus 4.69% (Vespasianus 3.13 % – Cat. nos. 2-3; Domitianus 1.56% – Cat. no. 4), reign of Domitianus 1.56% (Domitianus 1.56 % – Cat. no. 5), reign of Traianus 12.50% (Traianus 12.50% – Cat. nos. 6-13), reign of Hadrianus 6.25% (Hadrianus 6.25% – Cat. nos. 14-17), reign of Antoninus Pius 3.13% (Antoninus Pius 1.56 % – Cat. no. 18; Diva Faustina I 1.56 % – Cat. no.19), reign of Marcus Aurelius 6.25% (Divvs Antoninus 1.56 % – Cat. no. 20; Marcus Aurelius 3.13% – Cat. nos. 21-22; Faustina II 1.56 % – Cat. no. 23), reign of Commodus 4.69% (Commodus 4.69% – Cat. nos. 24-26), reign of Septimius Severus 50 % (Septimius Severus 23.44% – Cat. nos. 27, 30, 31, 33-37, 40, 42-44, 46, 54, 56; Julia Domna 9.38% – Cat. nos. 29, 32, 58; Caracalla 4.69% – Cat. nos. 28, 47, 53, 57; Plautilla 1.56% – Cat. no. 45; Geta 9.38% – Cat. nos. 38, 39, 41, 51, 52, 55), reign of Caracalla 3.13% (Caracalla 3.13 % – Cat. nos. 59, 60), reign of Elagabalus 1.56% (Julia Maesa 1.56% – Cat. no. 61), reign of Severus Alexander 4.69% (Severus Alexander 4.69 % – Cat. nos. 62-64).



Graph 1 - The composition of Kamenica coins from the Šipuš collection, compared with the AMZ part.

All of the coins are denarii, which is consistent with the rest of the known parts of the Kamenica hoard. The Roman mint is dominant with 62 *denarii* (96.88%), Laodicea ad Mare is represented with only one coin (1.56%), a *denarius* of Caracalla minted during the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (Cat. no. 53; RIC IV.1, p. 266, no. 344b), and one *denarius* of Alexander Severus of uncertain mint; Rome or Antiochia (1.56%).

It is interesting that the comparisons of composition percentages of the AMZ, Niš and Šipuš collections show a marked difference in the part of the hoard consisting of pre-Severan coinage. The Šipuš collection has a disproportionately higher percentage of coins of the pre-Severan period than other published parts (AMZ 2, 25%, Niš 3, 42%, Šipuš 40, 64%). The reason for the high amount of pre-Severan coinage in the Šipuš part is probably because the coins were selectively chosen from the mass of coins from the Kamenica hoard and that the pre-Severan coinage is generally rarer within the circulation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century from which hoards of the period were formed and, as such, more attractive for collectors. Although pre-Severan coinage was low in the circulation, hoards from the period still have a slightly higher percentage of pre-Severan coinage<sup>19</sup> than the AMZ part. Following this reasoning, we can presume that the integral hoard (the first larger find, before dispersing) had a higher percentage of pre-Severan coinage in comparison to the documented information. Also, the Šipuš collection part is a very small sample and it is unlikely to be a representative cross-section sample of the hoard.



Graph 2 – Comparison of the published parts of the hoard (AMZ coll., Šipuš coll., Niš coll.).<sup>20</sup>

The AMZ part of the Kamenica hoard is likewise a small part of a much larger ensemble, so the question of the validity of the sample is raised. Additionally, the history of the hoard from its discovery/ies raises more questions than answers: did the AMZ part belong to the first (larger) or the second (smaller) find?; have the parts been mixed?; how can we trust the chronologically last coin to be the *tpq.*? We cannot answer any of these questions with absolute certainty, but a comparison of the AMZ part with the part kept in the Niš Museum shows a marked similarity. Both parts have a low influx of pre-Severan coins and a large influx of coins of the Severan dynasty, especially the coins minted during the reign of Septimius Severus and the coins of Septimius Severus himself.<sup>21</sup> In the case that the AMZ part came from one hoard and the Niš part from another (belonging to a different horizon of burial), the results of the comparison should have been significantly different, but the comparison and analysis of particular segments of both parts showed that both parts are very similar.<sup>22</sup> So we can at least be relatively sure that both parts came

<sup>19</sup> Cf. comparison in: Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 37-39.

<sup>20</sup> The comparisons were made at the level at which the level of publication of all parts allowed it (not by periods of reign).

<sup>21</sup> Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 33-36, Fig. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 33-36, with the exception of the larger amount of coins of S. Severus in the Niš part (14.69%). The discrepancy is the product of the state of research, because when the analysis is done to the level of a single

from the same source, either from the same hoard or from a single mixture of two different hoards.

By comparing the AMZ part with known hoards ending with coins of Maximinus I Thrax from the region,<sup>23</sup> it can be determined that the AMZ part is similar in composition to those of the same horizon of burial.<sup>24</sup> However, not one of the analysed hoards was found in a closed archaeological context, which leaves the question of interpretation open.

Fortunately, during the archaeological excavation on Deleu Street in Cluj-Napoca (Republic of Romania), a hoard was found in a closed, well-established archaeological context in a stone building which was in use from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century until, at least, the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>25</sup>

The hoard was deposited beneath the deliberately broken floor of the second stone phase of the building C2.<sup>26</sup> As there were no signs of re-covering the place where the hoard was hidden, the authors conclude that the hoard was hidden in haste because of an emergency situation, which resulted in the non-recovery of the hoard. Also, the place of the hiding was not noticed by those who came after because the building was destroyed by fire and covered the site. Later stratigraphy shows that the site was repaired and levelled with another floor where two coins of Phillip I<sup>27</sup> were found.<sup>28</sup> The composition of the hoard starts with the coins of Marcus Antonius/Nero and ends with the coins of Alexander Severus.<sup>29</sup> The latest coins in the hoard are those of Alexander Severus, minted in 232 and coins which have a broader dating 231-235 and coins of Julia Mamaea from 222-235. The authors also point out the period of circulation for those coins must be taken into account when dating the burial of the hoard.<sup>30</sup> As the hoard was found in such a precise chronological context, the authors connect the reason for the burial with the disturbances produced by the tribes of the so-called Free Dacians in 235-236,<sup>31</sup> and strengthen the argument with the recent suggestion that Roman *Napoca* was under attack in this period, which resulted in a request for a Roman military presence in the town or nearby.<sup>32</sup> A review of the surroundings of the archaeological site in search of the layer of fire destruction from that period, to determine if it was a local or general occurrence in *Napoca*, was impossible because modern excavating machines destroyed archaeological layers at these levels.<sup>33</sup> Guided by this indication, other excavation sites in Roman *Napoca* were reviewed for such layers of fire from the same period (of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century), but none had any such layers documented.<sup>34</sup> The authors have affirmed that the events of 235-236 could have been the reason for the burial of the Deleu hoard but, without evidence of a wider area of destruction within *Napoca* in this period, the possibility of a more personal reason for hiding this hoard is still possible.<sup>35</sup>

The archaeological interpretation of stratigraphical layers of building C2 strongly suggest that the hoard was deposited after the reign of Alexander Severus, especially if the layer of destruction can be

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coin, the comparison can be done by reign and the percentage analysis will be more precise. For the argument, cf. Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 34.

23 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 37-39, Fig. 14, 15.

24 With the exception of Supska II (Borić Brešković, Vojvoda 2013), in which the pre-Severan coinage is more represented than in other hoards.

25 Găzdac et al. 2010, 7-8.

26 Găzdac et al. 2010, 14, figs. 1-2, pl. II-III.

27 Cociș et al. 1995, 638; Găzdac et al. 2010, 14.

28 Găzdac et al. 2010, 14, fig. 2.

29 Găzdac et al. 2010, 23, 24, 39-128.

30 Găzdac et al. 2010, 15.

31 Găzdac et al. 2010, 15.

32 Opreanu 2009, 131-135; Găzdac et al. 2010, 15.

33 Găzdac et al. 2010, 15.

34 Găzdac et al. 2010, 15, ref. 27.

35 Găzdac et al. 2010, 15.

connected with the possible military activities and disturbances in *Napoca* in the period of 235-236, the period when the Maximinus I Thrax was fighting the Dacian and Sarmatian<sup>36</sup> tribes and received the titles *Dacicus Maximus* and *Sarmaticus Maximus*.<sup>37</sup> If the hoard is not connected with this layer of destruction, but the reason for hiding is personal, again the archaeological layers above the Deleu hoard suggest deposition after the reign of A. Severus.

The two coins of Philip I were found in the layer above the newly levelled floor (above the layer of burning above the Deleu hoard) that indicates that the floor was made before the two coins of Philip I were minted. If the floor was made during the reign of Phillip I that leaves possibility that the burning layer is connected with events during Gordian III's reign or Philip I's reign. If this is the case, the question is, again, raised as to why there are no coins of Maximinus I Thrax in the Deleu hoard or, if the layer of burning was connected with the events during the reign of Philip I, there are no coins of Gordian III. If we presume that the levelling of the floor was completed in the latest period, during the reign of Phillip I, which is made immediately after the events which led to the layer of burning, there should be at least coins of Maximinus I Thrax, not to mention coins of Gordian III, but there are none in the Deleu hoard. If the burning layer is connected with the events during the reign of Gordian III and it was levelled and rebuilt during his reign, again, the Deleu hoard is missing at least coins of Maximinus I Thrax. To be certain, one could hypothesise that the burning was done during the reign of Alexander Severus in 232 (the last precisely dated coin in the Deleu hoard) or during the period 231-235 and 222-235 (the broadly dated coins of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea respectively) and that the building of the new floor was done during the reign of Alexander Severus. If this is the case, then archaeological excavation should show at least some indications of some archaeological material, not to mention coins, before the reign of Philip I in the layer directly on the new floor. The possibility of non-existing material in the urban area of the Roman town during, for example, the shortest possible period of nine years (that of 235-244),<sup>38</sup> is highly unlikely. Also, if indeed the Deleu hoard was hidden during the reign of Alexander Severus and the levelling and the new floor was completed in the period of Philip I's reign, this mean that this area was not in any use for at least nine years. For a highly urbanised Roman town such as *Napoca*, to suggest that there are no traces of any human activity for such a long period of time is hardly plausible. With the many possible combinations for this particular archaeological situation, most of them affirm the initial assumption; whatever the reasons for hiding the Deleu hoard and for its non-recovery, it was buried after the reign of Alexander Severus, probably during the reign of Maximinus I Thrax.

If this is the case, the AMZ part (combined with the Šipuš part) of the Kamenica hoard (as they are the ones analysed to the level of a single coin) can be compared with the Deleu hoard and other hoards of this horizon; that is, with the hoards of Mehovine,<sup>39</sup> Supska II,<sup>40</sup> Ravna<sup>41</sup> and a hoard from a wider region of Postojna.<sup>42</sup>

The analysis of the Deleu hoard seems to show a larger influx of pre-Severan coinage (21.13%) in comparison to other hoards (Kamenica hoard not included) from the same horizon (Ravna 8.01 %, Mehovine 14.92%, Postojna 14.39 %), except for Supska II (31.13%), which has by far the largest percentage of pre-Severan coins. In the period of reign of Septimius Severus all hoards show a large increase in the influx of coinage (Ravna 33.7 %, Mehovine 38.45%, Postojna 37.65 %, Deleu 37.47%), and again Supska II with the largest percentage (45.02%). During the reign of Caracalla, the influx of coinage is low in all hoards (Ravna 3.2%, Mehovine 4.7%, Postojna 8.55%, Supska II 7.81%, Deleu 6.25%). The

36 CAH XII 2008,30; For the problem of Sarmatian tribes cf. Dan 2017.

37 Kienast 1990, 184; Găzdac et al. 2010, 15; for the titles *Sarmaticus Maximus* and *Dacicus Maximus* and the context of the titles cf. Szabó 2013.

38 The period of possible burial of the Deleu hoard to the beginning of the reign of Philip I.

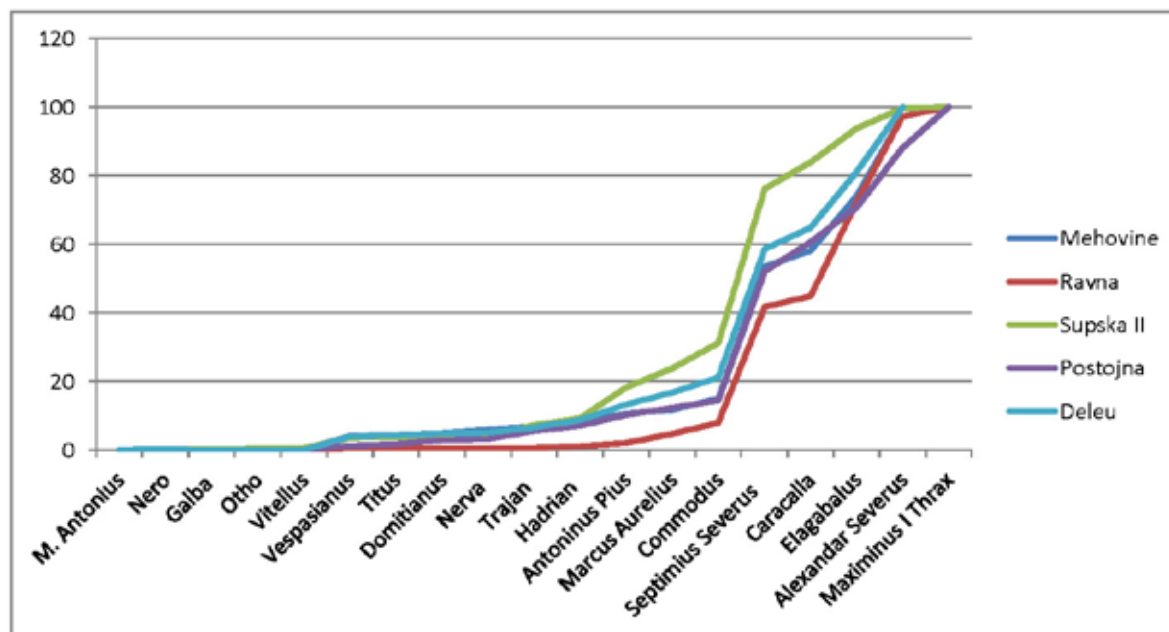
39 Mirnik 1981, 66 (No. 190); Borić Brešković, Vojvoda 2012, 23-115.

40 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2013, 9-153.

41 Кондић 1983, 51-73 = Kondić 1983, 51-73; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2012, 32.

42 Gorini 1972, 45-56.

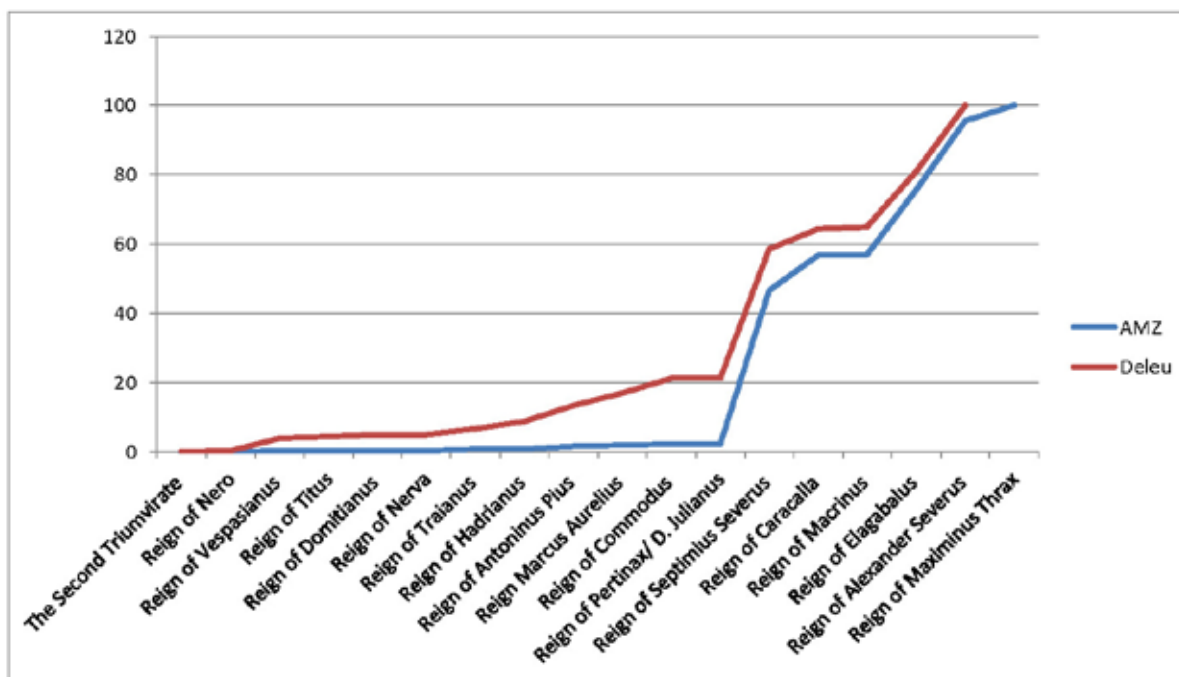




Graph 3 – The comparison of the Maximinus I Thrax horizon of hoards with the Deleu hoard.

reign of Elagabalus shows an equal increase in Ravna (16.23%), Mehovine (15.96 %) and Deleu (16.23 %), but Postojna and Supska II show a small decrease (10.01% and 9.74 %). Finally, the last period, that of the reign of Alexander Severus, shows an unequal increase in the hoards used in comparison: Ravna 25.14%, Mehovine 23.31%, Postojna 17.4 %, Supska II 6 % and Deleu 18.92%.

The comparison of the Deleu hoard with other hoards of the Maximinus I Thrax horizon shows more similarities than differences. This analysis only strengthens the argument in support of the archaeological assumption that the Deleu hoard was buried after the reign of Alexander Severus.



Graph 4 – The comparison of the AMZ and Šipuš parts of the Kamenica hoard with the Deleu hoard.

The comparison of the AMZ part, combined with the Šipuš part, with the Deleu hoard also shows more similarities than differences. In the Deleu hoard the pre-Severan coinage is more frequent than in the combined AMZ - Šipuš part.<sup>43</sup> This is to be expected, because although the Šipuš part has a larger percentage of pre-Severan coinage, when merged with the AMZ part, the percentage is still very low. Both parts of Kamenica (AMZ and Šipuš) came from a dispersed hoard and the reason for this disproportion of pre-Severan coinage between them was commented upon above. The compositions from the Severan period to the last issues present in the hoards are almost identical with the exception of an additional coin of Maximinus I Thrax in the AMZ part.

Also, the Deleu hoard is very similar with respect to the denominational composition of the AMZ part. The Deleu hoard is composed of one piece of gold, 1,251 *denarii*, nine *antoniniani*, one *drachma*, seven plated *denarii* and one bronze Greek provincial coin,<sup>44</sup> while the AMZ part does not have any gold, plated *denarii* and bronze coins of small denominations,<sup>45</sup> but the rest of the composition is consistent. As the hoards of this period, and hoards in general, are largely monometallic, the question of the heterogeneity of this hoard is raised. The authors notice that the provincial coin of Septimius Severus,<sup>46</sup> although bronze, is of similar dimensions and weight to the denarius of the Severan period.<sup>47</sup> Traces of a textile bag were also found in the hoard,<sup>48</sup> which led the authors to suggest the hypothesis that the hoard was weighed in the transactions, and not necessarily counted piece by piece. This would also account for the presence of a small piece of gold (0.96 g) in the hoard.<sup>49</sup> It is interesting that a piece of gold is found in the Deleu hoard (no. 1270),<sup>50</sup> because there was some information that the finder of the Kamenica hoard showed some gold ingots (melted in a primitive way) to one of the renowned collectors who came to buy the coins, which led him to the conclusion that there were gold Roman coins in the hoard.<sup>51</sup> There is a small possibility that those pieces of gold were an integral part of the hoard.<sup>52</sup> Also, it must be mentioned that Janković Mihaldžić states that, based on the data collected in the 1981 field survey, the hoard also contained some bronze coins from the Viminacium mint.<sup>53</sup> This information should be taken with great caution, as this coin is attributed to the Kamenica hoard without any further explanation related to the context of the find and, seeing that the survey was conducted 45 years after the hoard was originally discovered, these coins of Viminacium are almost impossible to attribute to the Kamenica hoard. Another similarity is the small amount of *antoniniani*, as well as one *drachma* in each hoard, which were accepted as *denarii*, although they were of lower silver quality.<sup>54</sup> The low percentage of *antoniniani* in the hoards of this period is a common occurrence. The reason why there is a low percentage of *antoniniani* in the hoards of this period is a discrepancy between the face and intrinsic value of the *antoninianus* compared to the *denarius*, which made *denarii* much more desirable for hoarding (compared to the overvalued

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43 Both collections were merged for the analysis.

44 Găzdac et al. 2010, 11.

45 Except the false bronze *denarius* of Iulia Domna (Cat. 2258) (Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 83, 173) that can be considered as probably plated; this matter was not emphasised enough in Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016.

46 Găzdac et al. 2010, 11, minted at Nikopolis ad Istrum (Cat. no. 489).

47 Găzdac et al. 2010, 11.

48 Găzdac et al. 2010, 11, 36 (pl. IV).

49 Găzdac et al. 2010, 11; I presume that a small piece of gold would compensate the value of plated and bronze coins in the hoard.

50 Găzdac et al. 2010, 9, 11.

51 Mihailović 2008, 132; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 20.

52 There is no way to know if it was melted roman coins, ingots originally placed in that state in the hoard or some pieces of gold individually in the possession of the finder without any relationship to the hoard.

53 Janković Mihaldžić 2005, 50, ref. 7; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 13.

54 Howgego 1994, 14.

*antoninianus*)<sup>55</sup> and which is reflected in the composition of the hoards.

If we accept the interpretation that the Deleu hoard was indeed concealed during the reign of Maximinus I Thrax, the comparison of the Deleu and Kamenica hoards tends to demonstrate that the AMZ part is at least a plausible cross-section of the general composition of the first (larger) hoard. Indirectly, this also demonstrates that the Niš part is also a relatively plausible cross-section of this same hoard.<sup>56</sup> In the case that the two finds (the larger and smaller Kamenica hoards) were mixed together after their discovery, then the Niš and AMZ parts are a representation of the cross-section of two hoards mixed into one artificial hoard divided in two parts and not two parts of two separate hoards. If those two parts were from two different hoards, the comparison with each other should be very different and this is not a case.<sup>57</sup> Also, if the larger and smaller Kamenica hoards were mixed after their discovery we could certainly expect at least some discrepancies in the Niš part and the AMZ part<sup>58</sup> in comparison to the Deleu hoard (as a hoard of the Maximinus I Thrax horizon), especially in the formation intensity towards the end of the formation of the Deleu and the artificial “mixed” Kamenica hoard. For now, they are negligible.

So the conclusion is that the Deleu hoard, even if it does not contain any coins of Maximinus I Thrax, was probably hidden during his reign. The opinion that hoards of the Maximinus I Thrax horizon does not necessarily have coins of Maximinus I Thrax in their composition (such as Dănești, *Micia* and *Ad Mediam I*)<sup>59</sup> is presented on a few occasions.<sup>60</sup>

The comparison with the Deleu hoard indicates that the similarities in composition make the AMZ and Niš part a plausible cross-section of the first find (ending with the coins of Maximinus I Thrax). This is still only a hypothesis and the coins from the Šipuš collection presented here are only a small part that slowly completes the picture. A future detailed publication and comparison of all the known (much larger) parts of this find(s), as other authors also agree,<sup>61</sup> will certainly yield more precise results and will probably provide more answers, especially regarding the second smaller find (ending with the coins of Gordianus III).<sup>62</sup> The subject is, consequently, still very much open for debate.

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55 Găzdac et al. 2010, 11, 12; Găzdac 2010, 140.

56 A detailed comparison with the Deleu hoard at this level is not possible due to the level of publication of the Niš part.

57 Again, for the analysis, cf. Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 33-36.

58 In this case it can be hypothesised that both parts (after the mixing of the larger and smaller hoard) had coins from circulation after the reign of Maximinus I Thrax.

59 Găzdac 2010, tab. A1.

60 Cf. Găzdac et al. 2010, 14 and ref. 23, 24; for other burial horizons: Buttrey 1999, 530; Callataŷ 2017, 334, ref. 67.

61 Арсенијевић 2004, 227, ref. 4 = Arsenijević 2004, 227, ref. 4.

62 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 40, 41.

## CATALOGUE

### Notes to the catalogue

The coins were determined based on the Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC) referent catalogue. Along with RIC, the catalogue “The coinage of Septimius Severus and his family of the mint of Rome“ (Hill) was used to determine coins of the Severan dynasty, as well as “Moneta Imperii Romani” (MIR) for coins of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

The catalog is chronologically arranged according to the reigns of emperors with internal divisions by joint reigns with individual corulers (if any). Each coin within the catalogue is accompanied by the following data: catalogue number, ruler (or person from the ruling family), type based on a referent catalogue, mint, datation, weight, dimensions (maximum) and coin axis. Coins of the same type have been arranged based on weight, from the lowest to the highest. All the coins are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

The following abbreviations are utilized in the catalogue:

### References:

**Hill** = P. V. Hill, *The coinage of Septimius Severus and his family of the mint of Rome : A.D. 193–217*, London 1964.

**MIR** = B. Woytek, *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98-117), Moneta Imperii Romani 14*, Vienna, 2010.

**W. Szaivert** = W. Szaivert, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus und Commodus (161-192), Moneta Imperii Romani 18*, Vienna 1989.

**RIC** = H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage II , Vespasian to Hadrian*, London 1968; I. A. Carradice, T. V. Buttrey, *Roman Imperial Coinage II/1 - From AD 69–96, Vespasian to Domitian*, London 2007; H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage III, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London 1968; H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage IV/1, Pertinax to Geta*, London 1968; H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage IV/2, Macrinus to Pupiens*, London 1968.

| Cat. no.:                           | Ruler:      | Type:               | Mint: | Date:   | Weight (g): | Dimen. (mm): | Axis (h): |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------|---|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| <b>Civil War (68 - 69)</b>          |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| 1.                                  | Vitellius   | RIC 107             | Rome  | Late April - 20.12.69                           | 2.90        | 19           | 10        |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Vespasian (69 – 79)</b> |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| 2.                                  | Vespasianus | RIC 41              | Rome  | 71 (January-June)                               | 3           | 18           | 6         |
| 3.                                  | Vespasianus | RIC 772             | Rome  | 75  | 2.69        | 18           | 6         |
| 4.                                  | Domitianus  | RIC 961             | Rome  | 77-78   | 2.91        | 17           | 6         |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Domitian (81 – 96)</b>  |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| 5.                                  | Domitianus  | RIC 722             | Rome  | 14. September 90 -<br>13. September 91<br>(RIC) | 3.30        | 18           | 6         |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Trajan (98 – 117)</b>   |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |
| 6.                                  | Traianus    | RIC 58; MIR 128b    | Rome  | 101-102 (RIC); 102 (MIR)                        | 2.75        | 18           | 12        |
| 7.                                  | Traianus    | RIC 58; MIR 128b    | Rome  | 101-102 (RIC); 102 (MIR)                        | 3.05        | 18           | 6         |
| 8.                                  | Traianus    | RIC 292; MIR 425v   | Rome  | 112-117 (RIC); 113-114 (MIR)                    | 3.10        | 19           | 7         |
| 9.                                  | Traianus    | RIC 318; MIR 526v   | Rome  | 114-117 (RIC); 114-116 (MIR)                    | 3.60        | 18           | 6         |
| 10.                                 | Traianus    | RIC 190a; MIR 194bB | Rome  | 103-111 (RIC); 103-107 (MIR)                    | 2.83        | 18           | 7         |
| 11.                                 | Traianus    | RIC 202; MIR 197a   | Rome  | 103-111 (RIC); 103-107 (MIR)                    | 3.40        | 18           | 7         |
| 12.                                 | Traianus    | RIC 127; MIR 266b   | Rome  | 103-111 (RIC);<br>second half of 107-108 (MIR)  | 3.35        | 17           | 6         |
| 13.                                 | Traianus    | RIC 128; MIR 270c   | Rome  | 103-111 (RIC);<br>second half of 107-108 (MIR)  | 3.70        | 18           | 7         |
|                                     |             |                     |       |   |             |              |           |

| Cat. no.:                                     | Ruler:          | Type:                 | Mint: | Date:                                | Weight (g): | Dimen. (mm): | Axis (h): |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| <b>Reign of Hadrian (117 – 138)</b>           |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| 14.   | Hadrianus       | RIC 11                | Rome  | 117                                  | 3           | 19           | 6         |
| 15.   | Hadrianus       | RIC 98                | Rome  | 119-122                              | 3.12        | 19           | 6         |
| 16.   | Hadrianus       | RIC 127               | Rome  | 119-122                              | 3.20        | 18           | 6         |
| 17.   | Hadrianus       | RIC 242               | Rome  | 134-138                              | 3.30        | 18           | 12        |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Anoninus Pius (138 – 161)</b>     |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| 18.   | A. Pius         | RIC 232               | Rome  | 153-154                              | 3.63        | 17           | 12        |
| 19.   | Diva Faustina I | RIC 391               | Rome  | after 141                            | 3.20        | 18           | 6         |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Marcus Aurelius (161 – 180)</b>   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| 20.   | Divvs Antoninvs | RIC 438; MIR 27-4/12  | Rome  | 161 (MIR)                            | 3.31        | 17           | 12        |
| 21.   | M. Aurelius     | RIC 212; MIR 199-4/30 | Rome  | Dec. 169 - Dec. 170 (RIC); 170 (MIR) | 3.40        | 18           | 6         |
| 22.   | M. Aurelius     | RIC 418; MIR 437-4/30 | Rome  | 176-180 (RIC); 178 (MIR)             | 2.95        | 18           | 5         |
| 23.   | Faustina jr.    | RIC 688; MIR 17-4     | Rome  | after 145 (RIC); 161-176 (MIR)       | 3.30        | 18           | 12        |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Commodus (180 – 193)</b>          |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| 24.   | Commodus        | RIC 54                | Rome  | 183 (RIC)                            | 2.65        | 17           | 6         |
| 25.   | Commodus        | RIC 131               | Rome  | 185 (RIC)                            | 3.25        | 17           | 12        |
| 26.   | Commodus        | RIC 173               | Rome  | 188-189 (RIC)                        | 3.26        | 18           | 10        |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Septimius Severus (193 – 211)</b> |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |                 |                       |       |                                      |             |              |           |



| Cat. no.:   | Ruler:      | Type:               | Mint: | Date:                              | Weight (g): | Dimen. (mm): | Axis (h): |
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| <b>Sole Reign of Septimius Severus (193 – 198)</b>                |             |                     |       |                                    |             |              |           |
|   |             |                     |       |                                    |             |              |           |
| 27.   | S. Severus  | RIC 63; Hill 158    | Rome  | 195 (RIC); 195 issue 8 (Hill)      | 2.85        | 17           | 12        |
| 28.   | Caracalla   | RIC 2; Hill 253     | Rome  | 196? (RIC); 197 issue 13 (Hill)    | 3.05        | 18           | 6         |
| 29.   | Iulia Domna | RIC 587; Hill 254   | Rome  | 196-211 (RIC); 197 issue 13 (Hill) | 2.60        | 16           | 12        |
| 30.   | S. Severus  | RIC 105; Hill 276   | Rome  | 197 (RIC); 197 issue 15 (Hill)     | 3.34        | 17           | 6         |
|   |             |                     |       |                                    |             |              |           |
| <b>Joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198 – 209)</b> |             |                     |       |                                    |             |              |           |
|   |             |                     |       |                                    |             |              |           |
| 31.   | S. Severus  | RIC 119a; Hill 335  | Rome  | 197-198 (RIC); 198 issue 1 (Hill)  | 2.75        | 16           | 11        |
| 32.   | Iulia Domna | RIC 564; Hill 340   | Rome  | 196-211 (RIC); 198 issue 1 (Hill)  | 2.65        | 19           | 12        |
| 33.   | S. Severus  | RIC 120 c; Hill 343 | Rome  | 197-198 (RIC); 198 issue 2 (Hill)  | 2.55        | 17           | 12        |
| 34.   | S. Severus  | RIC 120 c; Hill 343 | Rome  | 197-198 (RIC); 198 issue 2 (Hill)  | 2.65        | 18           | 6         |
| 35.   | S. Severus  | RIC 120 c; Hill 343 | Rome  | 197-198 (RIC); 198 issue 2 (Hill)  | 2.90        | 16           | 5         |
| 36.   | S. Severus  | RIC 120 c; Hill 343 | Rome  | 197-198 (RIC); 198 issue 2 (Hill)  | 2.95        | 16           | 10        |
| 37.   | S. Severus  | RIC 107; Hill 349   | Rome  | 197-198 (RIC); 198 issue 2 (Hill)  | 2.10        | 16           | 6         |
| 38.   | Geta        | RIC 3; Hill 377     | Rome  | 198-200 (RIC); 199 issue 4 (Hill)  | 3.45        | 17           | 6         |
| 39.   | Geta        | RIC 4; Hill 378     | Rome  | 198-200 (RIC); 199 issue 4 (Hill)  | 3.20        | 18           | 11        |
| 40.   | S. Severus  | RIC 150; Hill 444   | Rome  | 200 (RIC); 200 issue 9 (Hill)      | 2.95        | 19           | 12        |
| 41.   | Geta        | RIC 23; Hill 458    | Rome  | 200-202(RIC); 200 issue 10 (Hill)  | 3.45        | 17           | 4         |
| 42.   | S. Severus  | RIC 265; Hill 505   | Rome  | 202-210 (RIC); 201 issue 11 (Hill) | 3.25        | 19           | 11        |
| 43.   | S. Severus  | RIC 185; Hill 560   | Rome  | 202 (RIC); 202 issue 14 (Hill)     | 3.37        | 18           | 12        |
| 44.   | S. Severus  | RIC 266; Hill 655   | Rome  | 202-210 (RIC); 204 issue 17 (Hill) | 3.29        | 20           | 6         |
| 45.   | Plautilla   | RIC 369; Hill 661   | Rome  | 202-205 (RIC); 204 issue 17 (Hill) | 3.88        | 21           | 12        |
| 46.   | S. Severus  | RIC 295; Hill 687   | Rome  | 202-210 (RIC); 204 issue 18 (Hill) | 3.10        | 19           | 2         |
| 47.   | Caracalla   | RIC 83; Hill 769    | Rome  | 206 (RIC); 206 issue 23 (Hill)     | 3.40        | 19           | 11        |

| Cat. no.:   | Ruler:       | Type:                | Mint:    | Date:                                | Weight (g): | Dimen. (mm): | Axis (h): |
|---|--------------|----------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| 48.   | Iulia Domna  | RIC 551; Hill 771    | Rome     | 196-211 (RIC); 206 issue 23 (Hill)   | 3.30        | 18           | 11        |
| 49.   | Iulia Domna  | RIC 554; Hill 920    | Rome     | 196-211 (RIC); 207 issue 26 (Hill)   | 3.05        | 19           | 6         |
| 50.   | Iulia Domna  | RIC 552; Hill 920    | Rome     | 196-211 (RIC); 207 issue 26 (Hill)   | 3.10        | 18           | 12        |
| 51.   | Geta         | RIC 59 (a); Hill 984 | Rome     | early 209 (RIC); 208 issue 28 (Hill) | 3.25        | 19           | 12        |
| 52.   | Geta         | RIC 61 (a); Hill 990 | Rome     | 209-210 (RIC); 208 issue 28 (Hill)   | 3.50        | 18           | 11        |
| 53.   | Caracalla    | RIC 344b             | Laodicea | 201 (RIC)                            | 3           | 18           | 11        |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Joint reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta (209 – 211)</b> |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| 54.   | S. Severus   | RIC 278a; Hill 1024  | Rome     | 202-210 (RIC); 209 issue 29          | 2.96        | 19           | 11        |
| 55.   | Geta         | RIC 44; Hill 1028    | Rome     | 203-208 (RIC); 209 issue 29 (Hill)   | 2.95        | 18           | 12        |
| 56.   | S. Severus   | RIC 230; Hill 1041   | Rome     | 209 (RIC); 209 issue 30 (Hill)       | 3.36        | 19           | 6         |
| 57.   | Caracalla    | RIC 111; Hill 1061   | Rome     | 209 (RIC); 209 issue 1 (Hill)        | 3.30        | 19           | 5         |
| 58.   | Iulia Domna  | RIC 575; Hill 1165   | Rome     | 196-211 (RIC); 211 issue 4           | 3.10        | 18           | 12        |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Caracalla (211 – 217)</b>                                   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| 59.   | Caracalla    | RIC 302; Hill 1427   | Rome     | 213-217 (RIC); 214 issue 6 (Hill)    | 3.10        | 19           | 11        |
| 60.   | Caracalla    | RIC 280c; Hill 1532  | Rome     | 215 (RIC); 216 issue 9 (Hill)        | 3           | 19           | 6         |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Elagabalus (218 – 222)</b>                                  |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| 61.   | Iulia Maesa  | RIC 268              | Rome     | 218-222                              | 3.10        | 18           | 2         |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| <b>Reign of Severus Alexander (222 – 235)</b>                           |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
|   |              |                      |          |                                      |             |              |           |
| 62.   | S. Alexander | RIC 120              | Rome     | 233                                  | 3.35        | 19           | 5         |

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|-----------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| 63.       | S. Alexander | RIC 180         | Rome              | 222-228            | 2.80        | 18           | 10        |
| 64.       | S. Alexander | RIC 148 ili 281 | Rome or Antiochia | 222-228 or 222-235 | 3.30        | 19           | 12        |

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## TWO COIN DEPOSITS FROM THE ROMAN FORT OF TRIMAMMIUM

*From 2006 to 2009, on the territory of the Roman fortress Trimammium, rescue archaeological excavations were conducted. The discovered structures refer to the period between 2nd and 14th century and they include five different structures, pits etc. According the finds discovered in them, seven pits belong to the period of the 2nd and the 3rd century. In pit № 4, a statuette of Venus, parts of military equipment, fragmented cup, a fully preserved brick; pottery, glass, iron and bronze fragments, animal bones and 39 antoniniani were discovered. In pit № 5, two fragmented bowls, iron tools, a small mirror, bronze lid of a jug, a lot of loom-weights, a tile with CORTISIBRA stamp; pottery, glass, iron and bronze fragments, animal bones and 11 antoniniani were discovered. At this stage of investigation, the author considers the pits to represent remains of some ritual practices. The subjects of the present article are 50 antoniniani, found in the pits. In pit № 4, 39 coins are divided as follows: Gallienus - 6; Salonina - 2; Claudius Gothicus - 23; Aurelian - 5; Tacitus - 1, Diocletian - 1 and one very worn out and unidentified example. Terminus post quem is 285-286 AD. In pit № 5, eleven coins are divided as follows: Gallienus - 2; Claudius Gothicus - 2; Aurelian - 4; Tacitus - 1 and Probus - 2. Terminus post quem is 276-282 AD. According to other finds from the pits mentioned above, but also to parallels with pits unearthed in Sexaginta Prista, these coins may be interpreted as votive deposits.*

**KEY WORDS: COIN HOARDS, ANTONINIANI, 3RD CENTURY, TRIMAMMIUM.**

The Roman fort of Trimammium was part of the fortification system of the Province of Lower Moesia and, after that, of the Province of Moesia Secunda. It was localised as early as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but excavations were conducted in 2006-2009 and in 2017. Three trenches were made in the southern section of the fort: A, B and C, with a total area of around 320 m.<sup>2</sup> There have been structures and traces of habitation from the Roman, the Late Roman and the Late Antiquity periods (2<sup>nd</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> century) revealed, as well as from the period of the First and Second Bulgarian Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Individual structures and finds have been published, among which there are several pits from the Roman period. Inside two of the pits (№ 1-2) one bronze coin of Septimius Sever was discovered in each. Inside pit № 3 five coins were discovered, which date it in the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The three pits probably had domestic purposes<sup>2</sup>. Different in composition and in shape are another two pits (№ 4-5), which have already been thoroughly discussed. In their infill 50 coins were discovered, presented in detail here. From Pit № 4 originated 39 antoniniani from the time of Gallienus to Diocletian. Pit № 5 was demolished by a subsequent pit from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but inside its preserved section were found 11 antoniniani – from Gallienus to Probus.<sup>3</sup>

A similar deposit of 19 antoniniani, with chronological borders of Gallienus – Carus, originated from the infill of a building with a hypocaust.<sup>4</sup> At this stage of research all three coin finds have been interpreted as votive deposits. The pits in which they are discovered most probably represent the remains of

1 Torbatov 2012, 429-460.

2 Върбанов =Varbanov 2008, 102-118.

3 Rusev, Varbanov 2015, 233-266.

4 Върбанов = Varbanov 2011, 269-282.



ritual acts.<sup>5</sup> Similar complexes with deposited coins are also known from other archaeological sites in the territory of Lower Moesia and Thrace.<sup>6</sup>

The deposited nominals in the discussed pits from Trimammium are antoniniani. A certain degree interest is often raised by their imitations, known in literature as “*barbarous radiate*”. This term is used for a group of coins that imitate the coins of the emperors from Gallienus to Probus, which are distinguished by their style and lesser weight and dimensions from the regular emissions, however, there is no unified determination and description for them. There is also no standard determined for distinguishing them from the regular antoniniani.<sup>7</sup> They are divided into groups, with those of dimensions less than 13 mm and with a later chronology called *minimi*.<sup>8</sup>

The largest spread of imitations of antoniniani is in the territories of the present-day Northern France, Belgium and Luxembourg, as well as in Britain. They are also found within the coin hoards from that period.<sup>9</sup> They are found much more rarely in South-eastern and Central Southern Europe, but are also discovered in North Africa and in Asia Minor.<sup>10</sup>

According to A. Kropff, these were “emergency coins”, acknowledged by the authorities, and not forgeries from Antiquity. They satisfied the need for coins, due to the inability of the regular emissions to do so following the coin reform of Aurelian in 274 AD. They were produced in the border areas of Gaul by and for the army, and in Britain – for paying labourers during the repair works of the fortification facilities at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> They were made mainly in 274-282, and remained in circulation until a later period.<sup>12</sup> In parallel with the “official workshops” for “*barbarous radiate*” there were also such for forgeries, which explains the difference in their quality: one part of them were “emergency coins”, and another part counterfeit.

The coins of the type “*barbarous radiate*” are not very familiar and discussed in Bulgarian scientific literature. Such coins are not known from the publications of coin complexes from Novae, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Oescus, etc. In fact, I am familiar with only three finds, two of which were discovered during the excavations on Sexaginta Prista. One of them (Cat. no. 56) was discovered in a layer from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The second (Cat. no. 57) has a more interesting context of discovery – it belongs to a small coin hoard, together with 18 coins from Licinius to Theodosius II. The third one was found during the archaeological excavations at Koprivlen.<sup>14</sup>

Of the 20 coins of the type, discovered in Trimammium, 14 are from Pit 4, and one is from Pit 5. The rest, excluding one piece, were found within Late Roman layers. They represent the earliest imitations, class 1, according to Doyen, with dimensions of 15-20 mm and a weight of up to 1.2-2.8 g, dated to 274-280 AD.<sup>15</sup> Their weights vary from 0.85 g to 2.70 g (only one piece is 3.50 g), and their diameters from 13.8 to 18.2 mm (average weight 1.9 g; average diameter 15.6 mm). From the discovered coins, three belong to Gallienus (Cat. nos. 6, 51-52), one is of Salonina (Cat. no. 8), 15 of Claudius Gothicus (Cat. nos. 20-31, 43, 53-54) and one is unclear (Cat. no. 55 - Tetricus?). From the coins of Claudius Gothicus, 10 are posthumous issues, widely spread across the Empire and less spread in Gaul.<sup>16</sup> The same is also

5 Върбанов = Varbanov 2011, 274-276; Rusev, Varbanov 2015, 233-266.

6 Rusev, Varbanov 2015, 235.

7 Kropff 2005, 75-79.

8 Doyen 1980, 78; Davis 1992, 212.

9 Kropff 2005, 75-96; Davis 1992, 211-224; Bland 2015, 59-100.

10 Perassi 2016, 267-285; Kropff 2005, 77-89.

11 Kropff 2005, 92-94; Davis 1992, 220-221.

12 Doyen 1980, 78; Kropff 2005, 94-96.

13 Върбанов 2012, 214-215 = Varbanov 2012, 214-215.

14 Aladjova 2002, 266, VI.3.2.6.

15 Doyen 1980, 78.

16 Kropff 2005, 87-88.

true of the known site finds from the territory of Lower Moesia and Thrace to date.

At the current level of research, conclusions for the role of the “*barbarous radiate*” in the coin circulation of Lower Moesia and Thrace in the last decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century are impossible. Most probably, the coins discovered inside the pits at Trimammium were brought to the fort by a soldier, who originated or served in the western Roman provinces.

## CATALOGUE

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### Notes to the Catalogue:

Weight (gr); Size (mm); Axis (clock)

### Abbreviations:

Wt. – Weight  
Ant. – antoninianus  
ex – exergue  
l. – left  
r. – right  
stg. – standing  
std. – seating  
adv. – advancing  
hld. – holding  
rad. – radiate  
cuir. – cuirassed  
dr. – draped  
diad. – diademed



## Coin deposit from pit № 4

## GALLIENUS (sole reign)

| Cat. | Obverse   | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint   | Date                                   | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---|--|---------------------|--------------------------|---|--|------------------|
| 1    | GALLIENVS<br>AVG<br>Head rad. r.                    | APOLLINI CONS<br>AVG<br>ex – Z<br>Centaur adv. r., draw-<br>ing bow.   | 3.47<br>21.00<br>2  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>163;<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>735<br>Rome       | 260-268<br>(RIC);<br>267-268<br>(Göbl) | 138              |
| 2    | GALLIENVS<br>[AV]G<br>Head rad. r.                  | [CONSE]RVAT PI-<br>ETAT<br>XII – in field r.<br>Emperor stg.. l., hld.<br>patera and sceptre; at<br>foot, kneeling figure.               | 2.95<br>19.00<br>1  | Ant                      | RIC V/1, no.<br>171a;<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>647<br>Rome      | 260-268<br>(RIC);<br>265-267<br>(Göbl) | 137              |
| 3    | [GA]LLIENVS<br>AVG<br>Head rad. r.                  | DIANAE CONS AVG<br>ex – XI<br>Antelope adv. r.   | 2.65<br>20.70<br>12 | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>181;<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>747<br>Rome       | 260-268<br>(RIC);<br>267-268<br>(Göbl) | 97               |
| 4    | [GA]LLIENV[S<br>AVG]<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad. | FORTV[NA RED]VX<br>ς – in field r.<br>Fortuna stg.. l., hld.<br>rudder and cornico-<br>piae.   | 3.27<br>22.70<br>7  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>193 (var);<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>586<br>Rome | 260-268<br>(RIC);<br>262-263<br>(Göbl) | 161              |
| 5    | GALLIENVS<br>AVG<br>Head rad. r.                    | PROVI AVG<br>II – in field r., Provi-<br>dentia stg. l., hld. baton<br>and cornucopiae; at<br>foot, globe.                               | 4.01<br>20.40<br>1  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>580;<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>1476<br>Siscia    | 260-268                                | 157              |
| 6    | GALL[IENVS<br>AV]G<br>Head rad. r.                  | [S]ECVRIT PE[RPET]<br>H – in field r. Securitas<br>stg. facing, head l.,<br>vertical sceptre in r.<br>hand, l. arm resting on<br>column. | 1.67<br>16.70<br>7  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>280                            | after 270<br>(?)                       | 68               |

**Salonina**

Striking under Gallienus (sole reign)

| Cat. | Obverse  | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint                                | Date             | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|--|--|---------------------|--------------------------|--|------------------|------------------|
| 7    | SALONINA<br>AVG<br>Bust, dr. r., on<br>crescent,<br>head diad. | VENVS VIC[T]RIX<br>Venus stg. l., hld. hel-<br>met and sceptre; at feet<br>a shield. | 2.70<br>19.40<br>7  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no. 31<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>618<br>Rome | 260-268          | 95               |
| 8    | SALONINA<br>AVG<br>Bust, dr. r., on<br>crescent,<br>head diad. | VENVS G[ENET]RIX<br>Venus stg. l., Cupid at<br>feet.                                 | 2.21<br>18.20<br>11 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no. 30                     | after 270<br>(?) | 156              |

**CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS**

| Cat. | Obverse   | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint  | Date                         | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---|--|---------------------|-------------|--|------------------------------|------------------|
| 9    | IMP C<br>CLAV[DIVS]<br>AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad. | P [M TR P] II COS P P<br>Emperor, togate, stg. l.,<br>hld. olive branch and<br>short sceptre.                  | 2.27<br>20.40<br>1  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no.<br>10;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 301<br>Rome | 269                          | 93               |
| 10   | IMP C CLA-<br>VDIVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.    | ANNONA AVG,<br>Annona stg. l., foot on<br>prow, hld. corn-ears<br>and cornucopiae.                             | 3.55<br>20.00<br>1  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no.<br>18;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no.195<br>Rome  | september<br>268- end<br>269 | 153              |
| 11   | IMP C CLA-<br>VD[VS AVG]<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.   | FI[DES E]XERCI, Fi-<br>des stg. l., head l., hld.<br>vertical standard and<br>transverse standard.             | 2.13<br>19.00<br>12 | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no.<br>36;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 280<br>Rome | september<br>268- end<br>269 | 140              |
| 12   | [IMP C C]LA-<br>VDIVS AVG<br>Head rad. (?) r.             | FORTVN[...], Fortuna<br>stg. l., hld. cornucopiae<br>in l. hand.   | 3.06<br>19.60<br>1  | Ant.        | /  | 268-270                      | 159              |
| 13   | IMP C CLA-<br>VDIVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.    | [PR]OVIDENT AV[G]<br>Providentia stg. l.,<br>leaning on column,<br>legs crossed, hld. wand<br>and cornucopiae. | 2.52<br>20.10<br>1  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no. 91<br>Rome                                  | 268-270                      | 163              |

| Cat. | Obverse   | Reverse   | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint  | Date                           | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---|---|---------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------------|------------------|
| 14   | [IMP] CLA-<br>VDIVS AVG<br>Head rad. r.   | PROVIDE[NT] AVG<br>XII – in field r.<br>Providentia stg. l.,<br>leaning on column,<br>legs crossed, hld. wand<br>over globe and cornu-<br>copiae. | 2.25<br>19.70<br>6  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>92;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 417<br>Rome       | early 270-<br>mid 270          | 142              |
| 15   | IMP CLAUDIVS<br>P F AVG<br>Bust cuir. dr. r.,<br>seen from back,<br>head rad.       | FIDES MILIT<br>ex – S<br>Fides stg. l., hld. stan-<br>dard in each hand.  | 4.65<br>20.00<br>5  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>149;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 57<br>Mediolanum | mid 269 -<br>spring 270        | 139              |
| 16   | IMP CLAUDIVS<br>P F AVG<br>Bust cuir. dr. r.,<br>seen from back,<br>head rad.       | PAX [AVG]<br>ex – P<br>Pax stg. l., hld. olive<br>branch in r. hand and<br>long vertical scepter<br>in l.   | 2.48<br>17.60<br>1  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>156;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 80<br>Mediolanum | spring-end<br>of August<br>270 | 154              |
| 17   | IMP CLAUDIVS<br>P F AVG<br>Bust cuir. dr. r.,<br>seen from back,<br>head rad.       | PAX AVG<br>ex – T<br>Pax adv. l., hld. olive<br>branch in r. hand and<br>long transverse scepter<br>in l.   | 3.72<br>17.90<br>5  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>157;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 60<br>Mediolanum | mid 269 -<br>spring 270        | 136              |
| 18   | [IMP C M AVR]<br>CLAUDIVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. dr. r.,<br>seen from back,<br>head rad. | [VICTOR]IAE GOTH-<br>IC<br>ex – SPQR<br>Trophy between two<br>std. captives.  | 3.29<br>22.00<br>7  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>251;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 917<br>Cyzicus   | mid - end<br>269               | 162              |
| 19   | IMP C[LAVDI]<br>VS P F AVG<br>Head rad. r. Two<br>dots under the<br>head.           | VICTORIAE G[OTH-<br>IC]<br>ex – [SPQR]<br>Similar.  | 4.05<br>22.00<br>7  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no.<br>252; Cyzicus                                   | 268-270                        | 158              |
| 20   | [IMP C]LA-<br>VD[IVS AVG]<br>Head rad. r.   | Illegible.<br>Sol stg. facing, head<br>l., r. hand raised, hld.<br>globe in l.  | 2.64<br>16.50<br>11 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | /  | after 270<br>(?)               | 86               |
| 21   | [IMP]<br>CL[AVDIVS]<br>AVG<br>Bust r., head rad.                                    | AEQ[VITAS AVG]<br>Aequitas stg. l.,<br>hld. scales and<br>cornucopiae.  | 2.08<br>19.10<br>1  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no. 15<br>Rome or<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>178<br>Siscia    | early – mid<br>270             | 155              |

| Cat. | Obverse  | Reverse   | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint                          | Date             | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|--|---|---------------------|--------------------------|--|------------------|------------------|
| 22   | [IMP CLA-<br>VDIVS] AVG<br>Head rad. r.            | [VBERIT]AS AVG<br>Uberitas stg. l., hld.<br>purse and cornucopiae.                                      | 1.68<br>16.30<br>7  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>193<br>Siscia | after 270<br>(?) | 71               |
| 23   | [IMP CLA-<br>VDIVS AVG]<br>Head rad. r.            | IOVI V[ICTORI]<br>Jupiter stg. l., hld.<br>thunderbolt and scep-<br>tre.                                | 1.88<br>15.50<br>12 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no. 54               | after 270<br>(?) | 70               |
| 24   | [D]IV[O CLAV-<br>DIO]<br>Bust (?) r., head<br>rad. | CONSE[CRATIO]<br>Altar with flame<br>above, divided in<br>four squares, with dot<br>inside of each one. | 0.85<br>14.80<br>5  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>261           | after 270<br>(?) | 87               |
| 25   | DIVO C[LAV-<br>DIO]<br>Bust r., head rad.          | [CONSEC]RATIO<br>Altar with flame<br>above, with a garland.   | 2.10<br>15.70<br>11 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>261           | after 270<br>(?) | 69               |
| 26   | [DIVO] CL[AV-<br>DIO]<br>Bust (?) r., head<br>rad. | [CONSECR]ATIO<br>Similar.   | 1.81<br>15.70<br>7  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>261           | after 270<br>(?) | 72               |
| 27   | DIVO [CLAV-<br>DIO]<br>Bust (?) r., head<br>rad.   | CON[SECRA]TIO<br>Altar with flame<br>above, divided in<br>four squares, with dot<br>inside of each one. | 2.18<br>16.10<br>12 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>261           | after 270<br>(?) | 79               |
| 28   | [DIVO] CLAV-<br>DIO<br>Head rad. r.                | CO[NSECRATIO]<br>Eagle stg. l., head<br>turned r.   | 1.42<br>15.90<br>11 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>266           | after 270<br>(?) | 85               |
| 29   | DIVO [CLAV-<br>DIO]<br>Head rad. r.                | [CONSECRA]TIO<br>Similar.   | 1.80<br>16.10<br>1  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>266           | after 270<br>(?) | 169              |
| 30   | [DI]V[O CLAV-<br>DIO]<br>Head rad. r.              | [CONSECR]ATIO<br>Similar.   | 1.06<br>14.80<br>12 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>266           | after 270<br>(?) | 80               |
| 31   | DIV[O CLAV-<br>DIO]<br>Head rad. r.                | CON[SECRATIO]<br>Similar.   | 2.70<br>14.30<br>6  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>266           | after 270<br>(?) | 84               |

**AURELIANUS**

| <b>Cat.</b> | <b>Obverse</b>  | <b>Reverse</b>  | <b>Wt.<br/>Size<br/>Axis</b> | <b>Den-<br/>om.</b> | <b>Reference<br/>Mint</b>  | <b>Date</b>            | <b>Field<br/>inv.no.</b> |
|-------------|---|---|------------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 32          | IMP C L DOM<br>AV[RELIANVS]<br>AVG<br>Bust dr. cuir. r.,<br>head rad. | CONCO[RDIA AV]G<br>Concordia stg. l., hld.<br>patera over altar and<br>cornucopiae.   | 2.40<br>18.60<br>7           | Ant.                | RIC V/1, no.<br>24;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 1579<br>-1581<br>Rome | Oct. – Dec.<br>270     | 135                      |
| 33          | IMP AVRELI-<br>ANVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.                | FORTVNA REDVX<br>ex – *S<br>Fortuna std. l. on<br>wheel, hld. rudder and<br>cornucopiae.  | 2.92<br>21.00<br>1           | Ant.                | RIC V/1, no.<br>220;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 2047<br>Siscia       | spring-sum-<br>mer 271 | 88                       |
| 34          | IMP C AVRELI-<br>ANVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.              | CONCORDIA MIL-<br>ITVM<br>ex – T *<br>Emperor, togate, stg.<br>r., clasping hands with<br>Concordia, stg. l.  | 2.98<br>22.00<br>12          | Ant.                | RIC V/1, no.<br>244;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 2259<br>Siscia       | spring 274             | 99                       |
| 35          | IMP AVRELI-<br>ANVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.                | IOVI CONSER<br>ex – S<br>Emperor in military<br>dress, stg. r., hld. short<br>sceptre, receiving a<br>globe from Jupiter stg.<br>l., hld. long sceptre. | 2.98<br>21.00<br>12          | Ant.                | RIC V/1, no.<br>260;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 2587<br>Serdica      | early-au-<br>tumn 272  | 164                      |
| 36          | IMP A[VR]<br>ELIANVS AVG<br>Bust dr. cuir. r.,<br>head rad.           | PAX [...]<br>ex – Illegible.<br>Pax stg. l.   | 2.57<br>22.90<br>2           | Ant.                | /  | 270-275                | 94                       |

**TACITUS**

| <b>Cat.</b> | <b>Obverse</b>   | <b>Reverse</b>   | <b>Wt.<br/>Size<br/>Axis</b> | <b>Den-<br/>om.</b> | <b>Reference<br/>Mint</b>                                    | <b>Date</b>        | <b>Field<br/>inv.no.</b> |
|-------------|--|--|------------------------------|---------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 37          | IMP C M CL<br>TACITVS AVG<br>Bust dr. cuir. r.,<br>head rad. | [SP]ES PV[BLI]CA<br>B – between figures<br>ex – KA<br>Victory stg. r., hld.<br>wreath and palm,<br>facing Emperor stg. l.,<br>hld. long sceptre. | 3.13<br>23.10<br>6           | Ant.                | RICV/1, no.<br>208;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 3992<br>Cyzicus | Nov. – Dec.<br>275 | 160                      |

**DIOCLETIANUS**

| Cat. | Obverse  | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint           | Date    | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|--|--|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|---------|------------------|
| 38   | IMP DIOCLE-<br>TIANVS AVG<br>Bust dr. cuir. r.,<br>head rad. | IOVI CONSERVAT<br>AVGG<br>ex – XXI[.]<br>Jupiter stg. l., hld. thun-<br>derbolt and sceptre. | 3.45<br>22.10<br>1  | Ant.        | RIC V/2, no.<br>162<br>Rome | 285-286 | 98               |

**UNKNOWN**

| Cat. | Obverse             | Reverse             | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint | Date                                    | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|---|------------------|
| 39   | Illegible.<br>Worn. | Illegible.<br>Worn. | 2.16<br>21.50<br>/  | Ant.        | /                 | last third of<br>the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. | 168              |

**Coin deposit from pit № 5****GALLIENUS (sole reign)**

| Cat. | Obverse   | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint   | Date                                   | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---|--|---------------------|-------------|---|--|------------------|
| 40   | [IMP GAL]LIEN-<br>VS AVG<br>Head rad. r.              | DIANAE CONS AVG<br>ex – Γ<br>Antelope adv. l.                                    | 3.32<br>20.00<br>6  | Ant.        | RICV/1, no.<br>180;<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>716<br>Rome        | 260-268<br>(RIC);<br>267-268<br>(Göbl) | 229              |
| 41   | IMP GALLIEN-<br>VS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad. | P[AX] AVG<br>V – in field l.<br>Pax stg. l., hld. ol-<br>ive-branch and sceptre. | 3.06<br>20.00<br>7  | Ant.        | RICV/1, no. 256<br>(var.);<br>Göbl 2000, no.<br>366<br>Rome | 260-268                                | 218              |

**CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS**

| Cat. | Obverse  | Reverse   | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint   | Date          | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|--|---|---------------------|--------------------------|---|---------------|------------------|
| 42   | [IMP CL]<br>AVDIVS AV[G]<br>Bust r., head rad. | A[EQ]VITAS AV[G]<br>ex – Illegible.<br>Aequitas stg. l., hld.<br>scales and cornucopiae | 2.86<br>21.50<br>1  | Ant.                     | RIC V/1, no. 15<br>Rome or<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>178<br>Siscia | 268-270       | 230              |
| 43   | [DIV]O CL[AV-<br>DIO]<br>Head rad. r.          | [CONSE]C[RATIO]<br>Altar with flame above,<br>with a garland.                           | 1.56<br>15.00<br>12 | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>261                            | after 270 (?) | 233              |



**AURELIANUS**

| Cat. | Obverse  | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint  | Date                          | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|--|--|---------------------|-------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------|
| 44   | IMP AVRELIAN-<br>VS AVG<br>Bust dr. cuir. r.,<br>head rad.   | CONCORDIA MIL-<br>ITVM<br>ex – S<br>Emperor, togate, stg.<br>r., clasping hands with<br>Concordia, stg. l.   | 3.56<br>21.50<br>1  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no.<br>120;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 1464<br>Mediolanum   | Autumn 271<br>– Autumn<br>272 | 211              |
| 45   | [I]MP AVRELI-<br>ANVS AVG<br>Bust dr. cuir. r.,<br>head rad. | VICT[O]RI[A AVG] *<br>– in the field l.<br>T – in the field r. Vic-<br>tory flying l., between<br>two shields, hld. a dia-<br>dem with both hands. | 3.65<br>21.50<br>7  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no.<br>238 (var);<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 2155<br>Siscia | end 271- au-<br>tumn 272      | 217              |
| 46   | IMP C AVRELI-<br>ANVS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.     | CONCORDIA MIL-<br>ITVM<br>ex – XXIT<br>Emperor, togate, stg.<br>r., clasping hands with<br>Concordia, stg. l.; be-<br>tween them, S (?).           | 3.35<br>22.00<br>7  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no.<br>244;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 2334<br>Siscia       | summer 274                    | 226              |
| 47   | IMP AVRELIAN-<br>VS AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.       | RESTI[T]V[TOR]<br>ORBIS<br>ex – XXI<br>Victory stg. r., hld.<br>palm, presenting wreath<br>to emperor stg. l., hld.<br>spear; beetwen them A.      | 3.39<br>22.00<br>12 | Ant.        | RICV/1, no.<br>369;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 3086<br>Cyzicus       | early-sum-<br>mer 275         | 220              |

**TACITUS**

| Cat. | Obverse                                   | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint                                      | Date                    | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---|--|---------------------|-------------|--|-------------------------|------------------|
| 48   | IMP C M CL<br>TACITVS AVG<br>Head rad. r. | AEQVITAS AVG<br>Γ – in field r.<br>ex – XXI<br>Aequitas stg. l., hld.<br>scales and cornucopiae. | 3.69<br>21.50<br>6  | Ant.        | RIC V/1, no. 82;<br>MER-RIC,<br>temp. no. 3542<br>Rome | early 276 –<br>June 276 | 212              |

**PROBUS**

| Cat. | Obverse  | Reverse   | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om. | Reference<br>Mint              | Date    | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|--|---|---------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------|------------------|
| 49   | IMP PROBVS PF<br>AVG<br>Bust cuir. r., head<br>rad.                              | VICTORIA GERM<br>ex – R=*A<br>Trophy between two<br>captives.   | 3.34<br>23.00<br>7  | Ant.        | RIC V/2, no.<br>220<br>Rome    | 276-282 | 221              |
| 50   | IMP C M AVR<br>PROBVS AVG,<br>Bust cuir. dr. r.,<br>seen from back,<br>head rad. | PROVIDENDEOR<br>ex – KA•Γ• Provi-<br>dentia stg. r., hld. two<br>ensigns, facing Sol stg.<br>l., r. hand raised, l. hld.<br>globe; between them * | 3.38<br>21.50<br>12 | Ant.        | RIC V/2, no.<br>845<br>Serdica | 276-282 | 208              |

**Single coin finds from the excavations in Trimammium****GALLIENUS (sole reign)**

| Cat. | Obverse                    | Reverse   | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint                | Date          | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|----------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 51   | Illegible,<br>Head rad. r. | [A]ETERNI[TAS AVG]<br>Γ – in field l.<br>Sol (?) stg. facing, head<br>l., with r. hand raised<br>and hld. globe in l. | 3.5<br>15.90<br>5   | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | prototype<br>RIC V/1, no.<br>160 | after 270 (?) | 158              |
| 52   | Illegible,<br>Head rad. r. | Illegible.<br>Worn.   | 2.36<br>17.60       | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | /                                | after 270 (?) | 122              |

**UNKNOWN**

| Cat. | Obverse                          | Reverse                                   | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint | Date                                 | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| 53   | Illegible.<br>Worn.              | Illegible.<br>Altar (?).                  | 1.08<br>15.70       | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | /                 | Claudius<br>Gothicus (?)             | 65               |
| 54   | Illegible.<br>Bust r., head rad. | [...]TIA AVG<br>Female figure (?) stg. l. | 2.29<br>17.70<br>10 | Ant.                     | /                 | Gallienus<br>or Claudius<br>Gothicus | 125a             |
| 55   | CER[...]VG<br>Bust r., head rad. | Illegible.<br>Worn.                       | 2.40<br>15.30       | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | /                 | Tetricus (?)                         | 201              |

## Coins from the excavations in Sexaginta Prista

### CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS

| Cat. | Obverse                                   | Reverse  | Wt.<br>Size<br>Axis | Den-<br>om.              | Reference<br>Mint | Date                       | Field<br>inv.no. |
|------|---|--|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| 56   | [IMP CLA]<br>VD[IVS AVG]<br>Head rad., r. | Illegible<br>Worn  | 1.23<br>15.50<br>/  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | /                 | 268-270 (?)                | 24               |
| 57   | DIVO CL[AV-<br>DIO] Head rad., r.         | CONS[ECRATIO],<br>Altar with flame above,<br>with a garland. | 2.22<br>16.20<br>6  | Ant.<br>(imita-<br>tion) | /                 | end 270 –<br>early 271 (?) | 6.1              |

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**Plate I.**

Coins from pit № 4 from Trimammium: 1-6. Gallienus; 7-8. Salonina; 9-21. Claudius Gothicus.





**Plate II.**

Coins from pit № 4 from Trimammium: 22-31. Claudius Gothicus; 32-36. Aurelianus; 37. Tacitus;  
38. Diocletianus; 39. antoninian from the last third of 3rd century





### Plate III.

Coins from pit № 5 from Trimammium: 40-41. Gallienus; 42-43. Claudius Gothicus; 44-47. Aurelianus; 48. Tacitus; 49-50. Probus; 51-55. "Barbarous radiate" from the excavations in Trimammium; 56-57. "Barbarous radiate" from the excavations in Sexaginta Prista.

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## FINDS OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL COINS FROM THE TERRITORY OF EASTERN EUROPE: BALKAN CITIES MINTAGE<sup>1</sup>

*Until recently, finds of Roman provincial coins on the territory of Ukraine were rare (no more than thirty coins). But in recent years, situation has radically changed, due to the active use of metal detectors. Today, we can talk about several hundreds, or even thousands, finds of Roman provincial coins, most dated into the 3rd century AD and minted in the cities of the Balkan provinces. All of them are found in the area of the Chernyakhiv Culture (mainly between the middle reaches of Dnieper and the middle reaches of Dniester), which is associated with Gothic tribes. Inflow of these coins is associated with the events of the mid 3rd century AD exclusively, namely – with participation of the local barbarian population in the Gothic wars. Although the majority of coins originate from Viminacium and Provincia Dacia, among finds there is also a large number of coins from other cities of the Balkan provinces. The largest number includes coins of Marcianopolis, Filippopolis, Deultum, Anchial and Nicopolis ad Istrum. On one side, statistics of these finds draw a picture of their circulation in the Balkans. However, on the other hand, finds of such coins make it possible to clarify certain events of the Gothic wars, which are known in written sources and from archaeological research. In addition, today we can already say that the finds of Roman provincial coins, together with other categories of Roman coins and finds from the 3rd century AD, represent the early horizon of Chernyakhiv Culture.*

**KEY WORDS: PROVINCIAL COINAGE, BALKAN MINTS, EASTERN EUROPE**

Finds of Roman coins from the territory of Eastern Europe<sup>2</sup> are numerous and represent most main categories of imperial and provincial coinage.<sup>3</sup> The majority of them are denarii of the 1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (68%), an unusually high percentage of other coin finds such as antoniniani (7%), provincial coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (12%) and bronze issues of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (5%)<sup>4</sup>. In general, there are no reasons to claim that the study of Roman coin finds from the territory of Eastern Europe is at a sufficient level.<sup>5</sup> The

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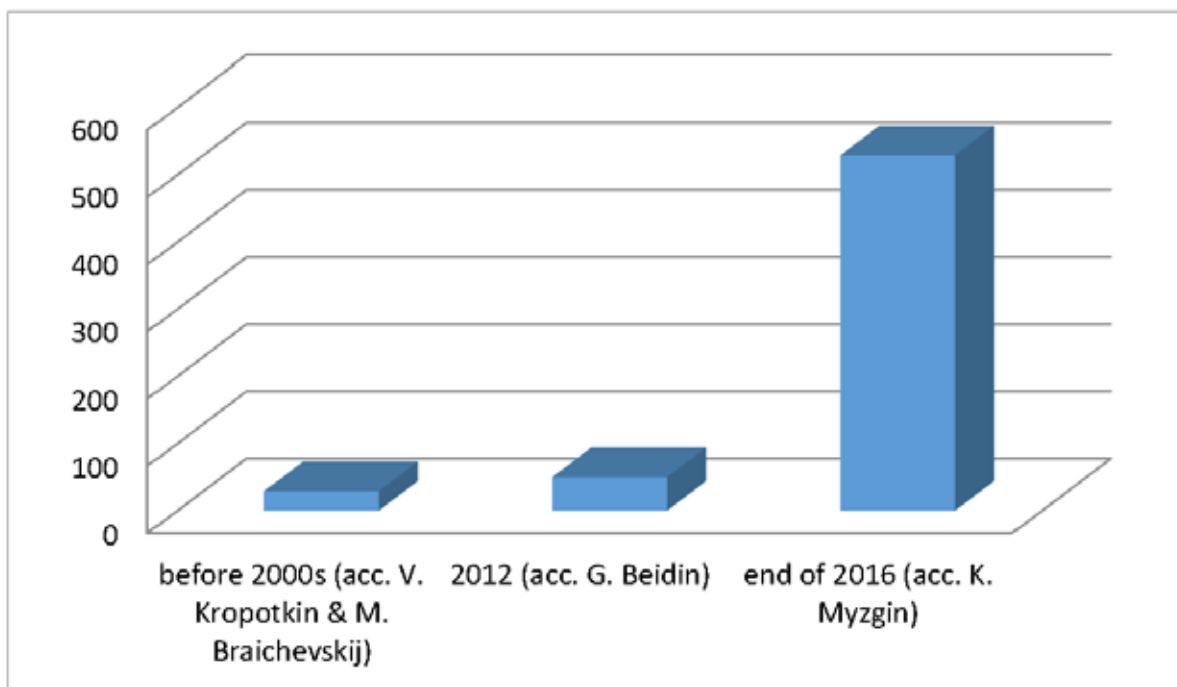
1 The present research is financed by the National Science Centre of Poland, project 2015/16/S/HS3/00180 “Between the Seas: the Cultural Changes between the Baltic and the Black Sea in the Light of Finds of Roman Coins”. I express my heartfelt and sincere gratitude to all my colleagues who assisted me in the writing of this study by sharing information about finds and offering me their advice, criticism and support: prof. A. Bursche (Warsaw, Poland), prof. C. Howgego (Oxford, UK), dr J. Mairate (Oxford, UK), dr A. Dymowski (Gdynia, Poland), T. Więcek (Warsaw, Poland), dr A. Degler (Wrocław, Poland), dr I. Bonchev (Oxford, UK), dr V. Varbanov (Russe, Bulgaria), O. Radiush (Moscow, Russia), dr V. Beliaŭets (Minsk, Belorussia), V. Sīdarovīch (Minsk, Belorussia), prof. M. Liubīchev (Kharkiv, Ukraine), G. Beīdīn (Kharkiv, Ukraine), M. Levada (Kiev, Ukraine), and others colleagues.

2 Using this term I consider the territory of modern Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus and southern-western part of Russia

3 The information about 26 thousands of coins was published till 2013: 3 thousand coins among single and collective finds and 23 thousand coins in 183 hoards (Мызгин 2013, 218 = Myzgīn 2013, 218). About actual state of source base see below.

4 Refined (specified) data; see previous information: Мызгин 2013, 226, диарг. 1 = Myzgīn 2013, 226, Graph 1.

5 Cf. Мызгин 2013, 218 = Myzgīn 2013, 218.



Graph 1 – Dynamics of gathering information about finds of Roman provincial coins on the territory of Eastern Europe.

chronology, reasons and sources of inflow of Roman republican coins,<sup>6</sup> denarii of the 1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD<sup>7</sup> and aurei of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>8</sup> are studied in more detail nowadays, but at the same time there are only some publications devoted to the study of the remaining categories of numismatic finds of the Roman period. Provincial bronze coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD are one of these categories. This category was not analysed until 2012 because of the lack of information regarding its finds. The fact of its existence<sup>9</sup> was only stated in the most solid catalogues of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and, later, some finds from archaeological contexts were published.<sup>10</sup> Georgiï Beïdīn, a numismatist from Kharkiv (Ukraine), was the first who paid attention to the significant role of provincial coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD from the territory of Eastern Europe and published the first and most recent catalogue of their finds.<sup>11</sup> Besides that, the researcher also paid attention to some interesting spread patterns of the finds (see below); the first observations regarding the chronology and conditions of their inflow were produced by him,<sup>12</sup> later supported by myself.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, some of my own observations on the finds of provincial coins of Asia Minor cities were published.<sup>14</sup> Active information gathering about new finds of provincial coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD that were found in the territory of Ukraine has allowed us to extend considerably the information about their quantity, time and conditions of inflows, which were described in the results

6 Myzgin 2017a, and the literature is also here.

7 Dymowski, Myzgin 2014, the literature is also here.

8 Bursche 2013; Мызгин 2015a; 2016a; 2016b = Myzgin 2015a; 2016a; 2016b.

9 Браїчевський 1959, 48, 54 = Браїчевс'куї 1959, 48, 54; Крпоткін = Kropotkin 1961, 24-25, 29; 1967, 79-81.

10 Магомедов 2001, 139 = Magomedov 2001, 139.

11 Бейдин 2012 = Beïdīn 2012.

12 Бейдин 2012, 149 = Beïdīn 2012, 149.

13 Мызгин 2013, 223-227 = Myzgin 2013, 223-227; Мызгин 2015b; 2015c = Myzgin 2015b; 2015c.

14 Myzgin 2012.

of their analysis (Graph 1).<sup>15</sup> A number of articles were devoted to the finds of bronze provincial medallions.<sup>16</sup> The additional information in this article completes and enlarges my previous research.

Before analysing the finds, I should pay attention to some methodological aspects. The largest amount of published finds are in the catalogues of Vladislav Kropotkin<sup>17</sup> and Mīchaīl Braichevskīi:<sup>18</sup> 26 find spots (single and collective finds), giving a total of 29 coins. This information was used, for example, by Andrzej Kunisz in his analysis of the finds of coins of Roman autonomous coinage in the territory of Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>19</sup> Aleksander Bursche clarified some of the data and added information about several finds.<sup>20</sup> In the majority of these cases there is only a superficial description of the coins: the indication of issuer and the place of mintage.<sup>21</sup> The detailed descriptions of provincial coin finds and/or their images were published from the middle of the 1990s.<sup>22</sup> The flow of information about new Roman coins finds, including provincial mintage, dramatically increased in recent years due to the active usage of metal detectors not only for scientific aims but also, in most cases, for illegal purposes. Speaking about the first case, the information about finds includes exhaustive facts about conditions of discovery and the archaeological context.<sup>23</sup> In the second case, this information is published on Internet forums and Internet auction sites,<sup>24</sup> with minimum data (sometimes only a photo) or no information at all. The process of gathering information from treasure hunters' resources is often complicated by their unwillingness to collaborate with scientists. It is necessary for the scientists to correspond with the treasure hunters for a long time (up to one week) to get some information about finds so that this information can be fully analysed.<sup>25</sup> The used handbook is the monograph of Arkadiusz Dymowski, where one can find the basic principles of information gathering and analysis of amateur coin finds.<sup>26</sup> However, exact information relating to finds can only be obtained in a few cases. Mostly, the only information available is some administrative region given as the find spot. Unfortunately, in most cases one can only say that coins were discovered in the territory of Ukraine/ Belarus/ Moldova/ Russia, for example, without any specifics. I believe, however, that the lack of proper information about each coin is balanced by the considerable amount of information about finds thanks to the statistical analysis, which allows us to put the idea of their chronological structure and geographical spread together.<sup>27</sup>

15 Мызгин 2016c = Myzgin 2016c.

16 Мызгин 2015d; 2015e; 2016d = Myzgin 2015d; 2015e; 2016d.

17 Крото́ткин 1961 = Kropotkin 1961, nos. 263, 267, 284, 291, 364, 387, 470, 489, 494, 536, 777, 905, 1020, 1116, 1155, 1318; Крото́ткин 1966 = Kropotkin 1966, no. 82 (1804); Крото́ткин 2000 = Kropotkin 2000, nos. 1145 (4 pieces), 1756, 1874, 1892, 1899, 1935, 1993, 1994, 2334.

18 Бра́йчевський 1959 = Braichevskiy 1959, nos. 1, 3, 8, 14, 118, 128, 199, 237, 339, 331, 582, 747, 857, 863, 1063.

19 Kunisz 1973.

20 Bursche 1996, 158, no. 80; 160, no. 95; 151, nos. 34, 37a; 152, no. 40; 155, no. 65; 156, no. 70.

21 This information does not contain the original source Kropotkin and Braichevskiy used.

22 Cf. Магомедов, Левада 1997, 80-81 = Magomedov, Levada 1997, 80-81; Готун та ін. 2002, 104, no. 89, Рис. 18:6 = Hotun et al. 2002, 104, no. 89, Fig. 18:6; Бейдин 2012, 153-157 = Beidin 2012, 153-157; etc.

23 It is true to say that the smaller amount of such information is connected with the smaller amount of research on the Roman period sites, held in Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus and Russia until recently.

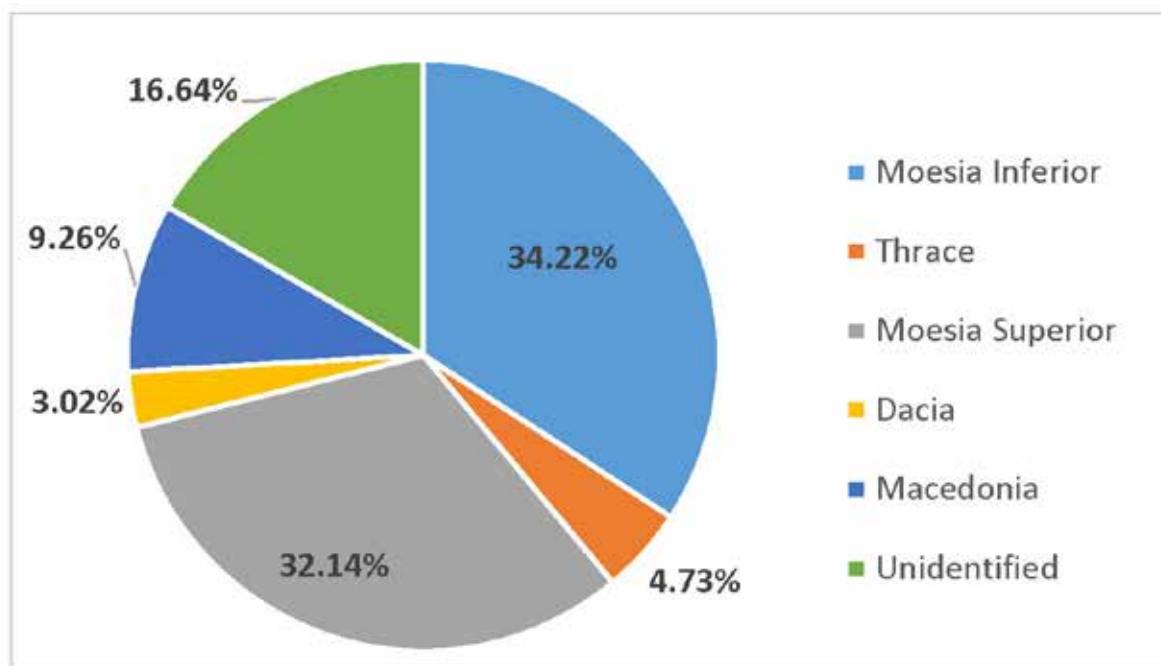
24 The Ukrainian Violyty forum and auction are the biggest Internet resources for treasure hunters in Eastern Europe (<http://forum.violity.com>; <https://auction.violity.com>). There are also some in the territory of Belarus - <http://belklad.by>; and Russia - <http://domongol.org>. Nowadays there are also a lot of subject groups in social networks such as Facebook and VKontakte.

25 Sometimes my colleagues asked about the possibility to bring some coin from Bulgaria or Turkey. Certainly I can't accept it in some cases. But it is necessary to point out that the price on the Roman provincial coins, e.g. on Violyty auction is rather low then in European Union. That why its bringing and selling in Eastern Europe is senseless and risky.

26 Dymowski 2011, 29-44.

27 I understand quite well that the quality of this information is not perfect and it can be criticized. But I think that it is better to have something than nothing.





Graph 2 – Ratio of coin finds according to the provinces.

At present I have information about 663 finds of bronze Roman provincial coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, including emissions from Septimius Severus to Gallienus.<sup>28</sup> Certainly, this amount does not reflect the real number of coin finds but only those I had access to. Nonetheless, I feel it reflects the general picture and the main tendencies quite well.

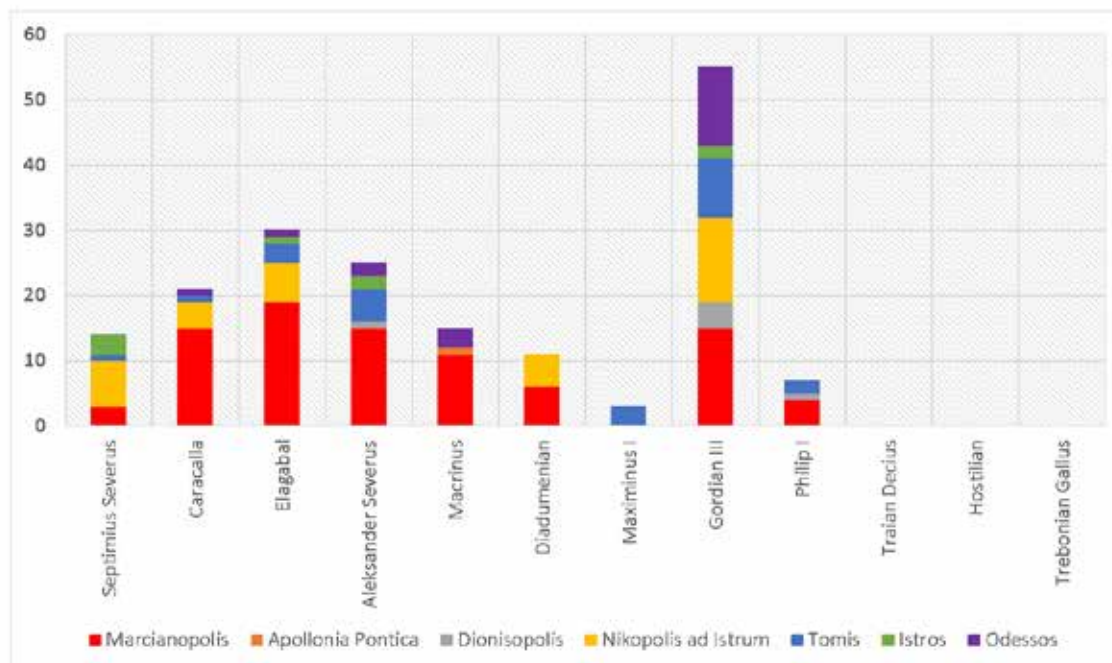
All this material can be divided into two large groups: coins from cities of Balkan provinces (529 coins; 79.8 %) and from the Asia Minor provincial cities (137 coins; 20.2 %). Coins of Balkan provinces are represented by five regions: Thrace (4.73 %), Moesia Inferior (34.22 %), Moesia Superior (32.14 %), Dacia (3.02 %) and Macedonia (9.26 %) (Graph 2). What follows is an analysis of the coin finds of each province.

**Moesia Inferior** (Graph 3). The largest group here includes *Marcianopolis* coins – 48.63 % (88 coins), mostly emissions of Caracalla, Elagabal, Severus Alexander, Macrinus and Gordian III, and up to the time of Philip I. There are also a great number of *Nikopolis ad Istrum* coins – 19.34 % (35 pieces), which are represented by coins of the Severian dynasty and Gordian III issues. *Tomis* (13.26 %, 24 pieces) and *Istros* coins (4.42 %, 8 pieces) both have a similar chronological structure as the previous one, whereas *Odessos* (10.5 %, 19 coins) and *Dionisopolis* (3.31 %, 6 coins) coins are represented mostly by issues from Gordian III.

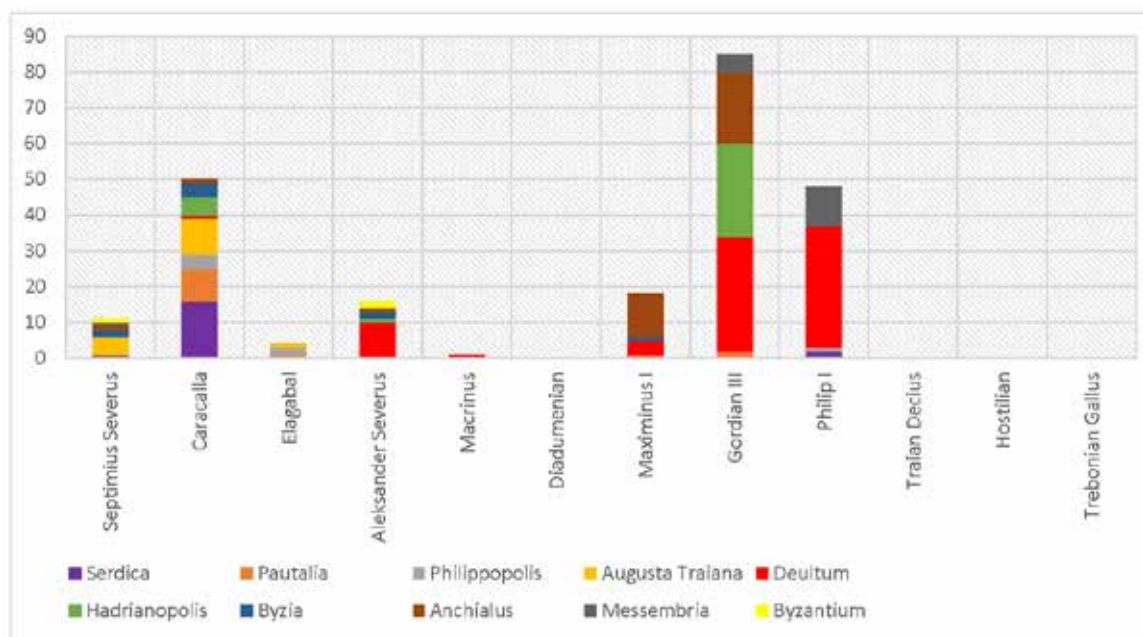
The greatest number of **Thrace** coin finds (Graph 4) was produced in *Deultum* (37.10 %; 82 coins) – generally these are issues of Severus Alexander, Gordian III and Philip I. Coins of *Anchialus* (15.84 %; 35 coins, Maximinus I and Gordian III coins prevailed) and *Hadrianopolis* (14.48 %; 32 coins, issues of Caracalla and Gordian III prevailed) are most frequent finds. Coin finds from other cities are represented in a rather small amount: *Serdica* (8.6 %; 19 coins, Caracalla prevailed), *Messembria* (7.69 %; 17 coins, Gordian III and Philip I prevailed), *Augusta Traiana* (7.24 %; 16 coins, Caracalla prevailed), *Pautalia* (5.88 %; 13 coins, Caracalla prevailed), *Byzia* (4.07 %; 9 coins), *Philippopolis* (3.17 %; 7 coins), *Bizantium* (1.32 %; 3 coins).

Nearly half of the **Macedonia** coin finds (Graph 5) are represented by pseudo-autonomic issues (*Makedonia koinon*) – 46.94 % (23 coins), which were must probably produced during the reign of Gordian III. A considerable percentage – 20.41 % – is *Thessalonica* coins (10 coins, Severus Alexander prevailed, up to Trebonian Gallus). Coin finds of other Macedonian cities are less-known: *Pella* (10.2 %; 5 coins), *Edessa* (8.16 %; 4 coins), *Stobi*, *Amphipolis* (6.12 % each; 3 coins each) and *Dium* (2.04 %, 1 coin) and dated back, as a rule, to the reign of Maximinus I and Philip I.

28 The information from open sources collected during 2011-2016s. The catalogue of finds is preparing to be published.



Graph 3 – Distribution of coin finds of the Moesia Inferior cities mintage according to cities and issuers.

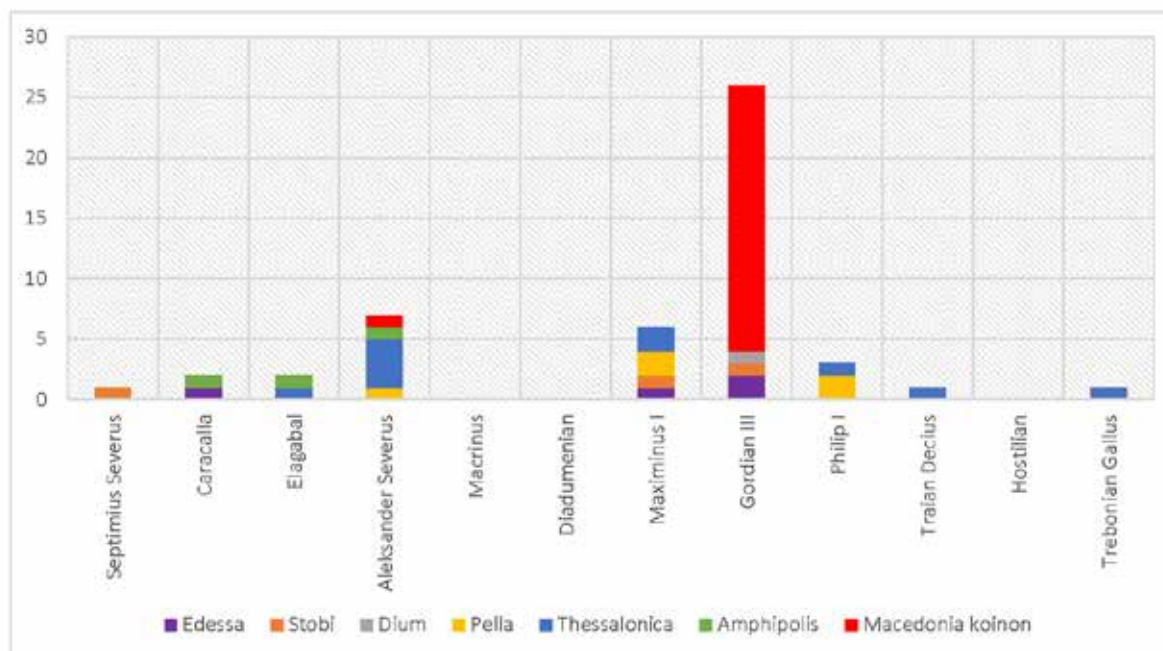


Graph 4 – Distribution of coin finds of the Thrace cities mintage according to cities and issuers.

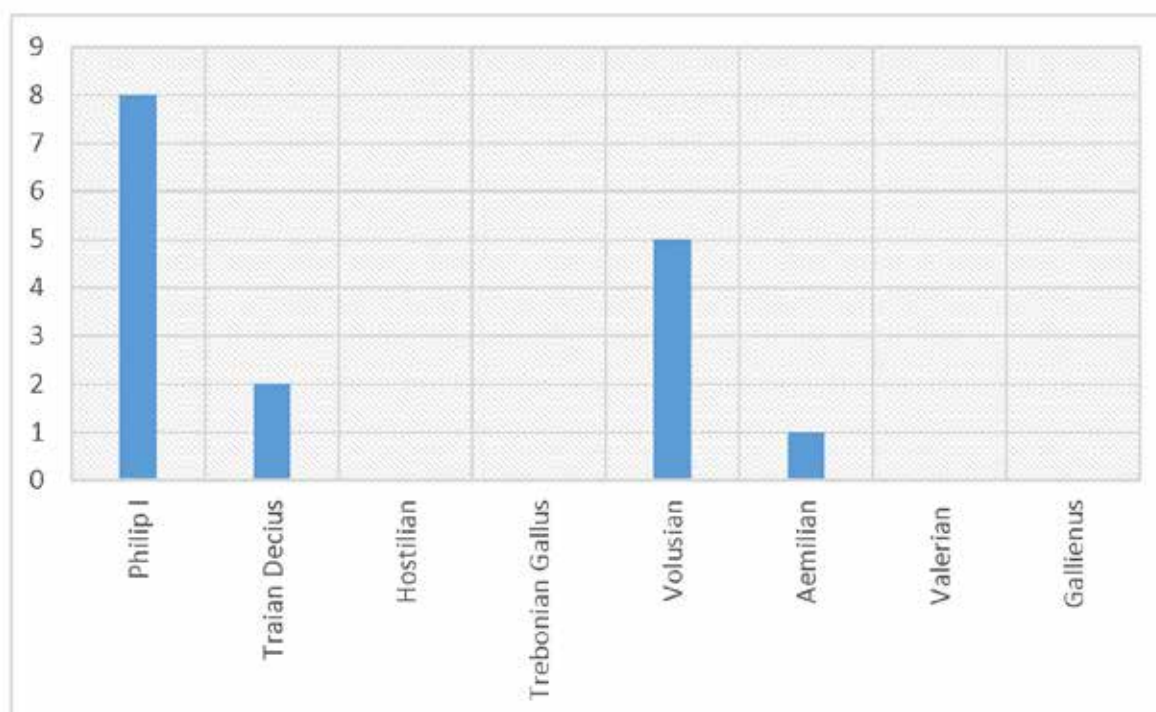
**Dacia** (Graph 6). Coin finds with the PROVINCIA DACIA reverse type, most probably produced in *Apulum*,<sup>29</sup> and mostly minted during the reign of Philip I (50 %; 8 coins). A lesser number of such findings were minted with the name of Volusian (31.25 %; 5 coins). I also came across coins produced during the reign of Traian Decius (12.5 %; 2 coins) and Aemilian's (6.25 %; 1 coin) reign.

29 Cf. Kunisz 1971, 114-117; Alföldi-Găzdac, Găzdac 2008, 146; Găzdac 2010.



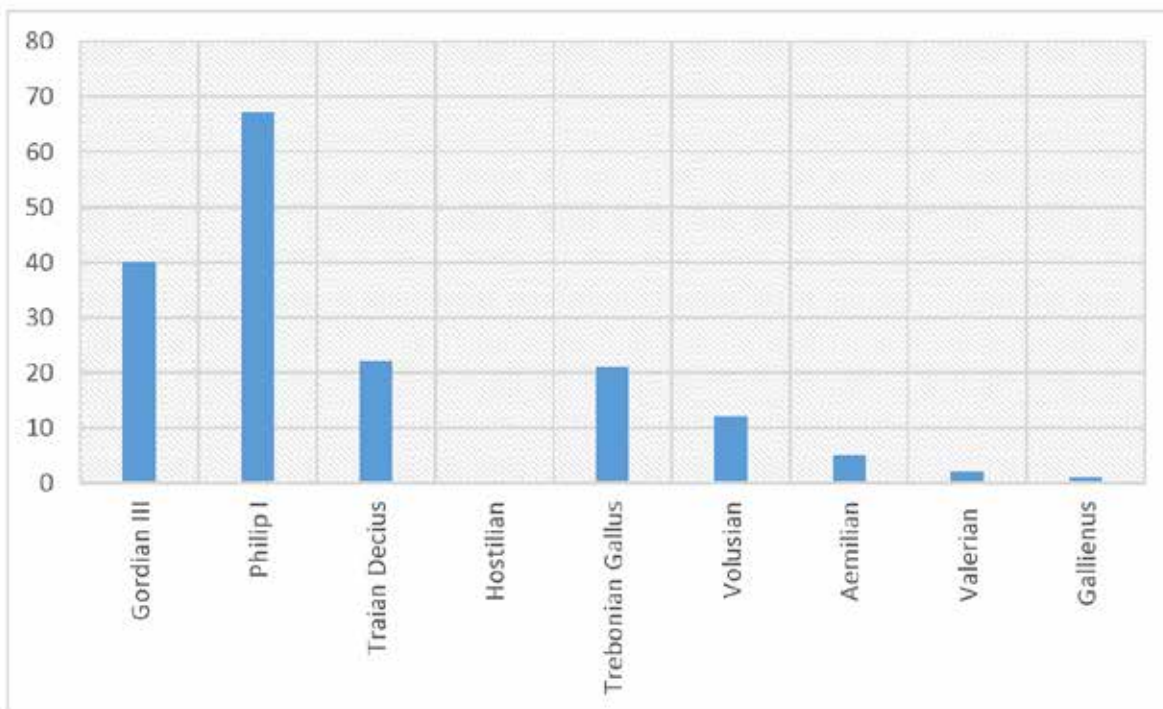


Graph 5 – Distribution of coin finds of the Macedonia cities mintage according to cities and issuers.



Graph 6 – Distribution of coin finds with PROVINCIA DACIA reverse type according to issuers.

**Moesia Superior** (Graph 7). Coin finds produced in *Viminacium* (PMS COL VIM reverse type), represented the largest find group. Gordian III (23.53 %; 40 coins) and Philip I (39.41 %; 67 coins) coin finds are the most numerous. A reasonable quantity of *Viminacium* coins were produced during the reign of Traian Decius (12.94 %; 22 coins) and Trebonian Gallus (12.35 %; 21 coins). Their amount gradually reduces, starting with Volusian coins (7.06 %; 12 coins): Aemilian – 2.94 % (5 pieces), Valerian – 1.18



Graph 7 – The distribution of roman provincial coin finds with PMS COL VIM reverse type according to issuers.

% (2 coins) and Gallienus – 0.59 % (1 coin).

Mapping of provincial coin finds on the territory of *Barbaricum* published in scientific literature shows that these coins are typical for the Cherniakhiv Culture area. Their main concentration is located in the Eastern Europe forest-steppe region,<sup>30</sup> and they are less frequent in the territory of Moldova and Romania.<sup>31</sup> These coin finds are quite rare on the Central *Barbaricum* (Wielbark and Przeworsk Cultures areas), as mentioned by Aleksander Bursche<sup>32</sup> and Arkadiusz Dymowski.<sup>33</sup> Such coins are not widely-spread in the territory of Scandinavia,<sup>34</sup> or on the West Balt Culture Environment,<sup>35</sup> but a higher percentage can be found in the Baltics area, especially in the territory of Lithuania.<sup>36</sup> According to Vītalī Sīdarovīch, Roman provincial coins are also rare among numismatic finds of the Roman period in the territory of Belarus.<sup>37</sup>

Having mapped finds of provincial coins, Georgī Beīdīn noted that the vast majority of the Minor Asia issues were discovered to the east of the Dnieper, exactly in the Poltava and Kharkiv Districts, while

30 Cf. Мызгин 2013, 220, Рис. 2; 226 = Myzgīn 2013, 220, Fig. 2; 226.

31 Cf. Popa, Ciobanu 2003.

32 Bursche 1984, 240.

33 Dymowski 2011, 100.

34 Bursche 2002, 72, the literature is also here; cf. Lind 1988; Horsnæs 2010; 2013.

35 Zapolska 2013.

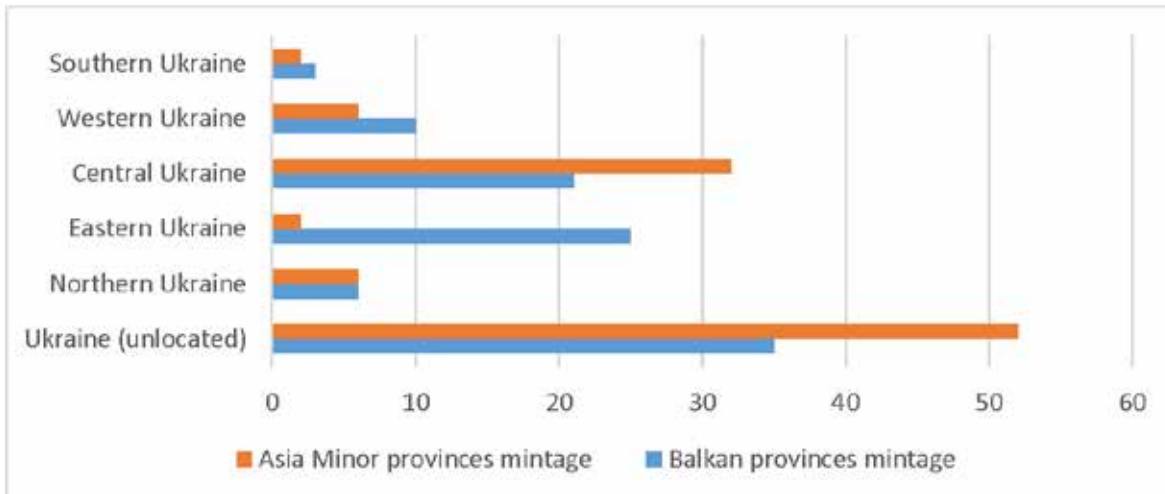
36 Михельбертас 1968, 71 = Mikhel'bertas 1968, 71. It is rather interesting for us the finds of two coins of the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD mintage Nicaea from Ianapole and Dargelishke (Михельбертас 1968, 68-70; 2010 = Mikhel'bertas 1968, 68-70; 2010). Aleksander Bursche connected the finding of those coins on the northern part of Europe with the amber trade (Bursche 2002, 72).

37 Сидорович 2008, 8 = Sīdorovīch 2008, 8.





Map 1 – Roman provincial cities, coins of which are known from the finds on the area of Chernyakhiv Culture (Myzgīn 2016, 159, fig. 3, with the latest additions): 1 – Apulum (Dacia); 2 – Viminacium; 3 – Istros; 4 – Tomis; 5 – Callatis; 6 – Dionisopolis; 7 – Odessos; 8 – Marcianopolis; 9 – Messembria; 10 – Anchialus; 11 – Deultum; 12 – Apollonia Pontica; 13 – Hadrianopolis; 14 – Nikopolis ad Istrum; 15 – Augusta Trajana; 16 – Philippopolis; 17 – Biziya; 18 – Serdica; 19 – Pautalia; 20 – Stobi; 21 – Amphipolis; 22 – Pella; 23 – Thessalonica; 24 – Edessos; 25 – Dium; 26 – Tion; 27 – Nicomedia; 28 – Nicaea; 29 – Parion; 30 – Alexandria Troas; 31 – Ankyra; 32 – Pergamum; 33 – Smirna; 34 – Ephesos; 35 – Hierapolis; 36 – Perge; 37 – Tarsos; 38 – Kaisaeria Kappadokia; 39 – Tiana; 40 – Sinope; 41 – Amisos; 42 – Neokaisaeria; 43 – Trapezos; 44 – Byzantium. Legend: I – the cities of the Balkan provinces; II – provincial cities of the Asia Minor; III – conditional regions of finds; IV – Chernyakhiv culture area; V – Bosporan Kingdom's boundaries.



Graph 8 – Distribution of Roman provincial coins' finds of the Balkan cities mintage and the Asia Minor cities mintage according to conditional regions of finds.

the Balkan provincial coins are concentrated to the west of the Dnieper.<sup>38</sup> There is no doubt that this observation may reflect both the level of authors' awareness and the state of research regarding this matter («wiederentdeckte Kultur» by H.J. Eggers).<sup>39</sup> However, new material collected after Beïdīn's article's publication can verify his conclusions. The main problem concerning new findings is a lack of information, particularly regarding the location of discovery. As previously mentioned, the information I have used only includes names of Ukrainian administrative regions (districts / in Russian: область = oblast). I sorted this information according to five regions, with relative borders which do not meet any of its geographical division but were determined to enable the special-chronological analysis of the material: Eastern, Central, Northern, Western and Southern (Map 1). The majority of coins of Balkan provincial mintage were discovered in the Central region (32%), while there were fewer discoveries in the Western and Northern regions (6% each). There were single findings of such coins in the Southern and Eastern regions (2% each) (Graph 8). There is a completely different situation, which is confirmed by the conclusions of Georgiï Beïdīn, connected with the Minor Asia coin mintage: the majority of them (25%) were found in the Eastern region and slightly fewer (21%) were in the Central region. 10% were discovered in the Western region and the Northern and Southern regions had only 6% and 3% respectively (Graph 8). It is necessary to point out one more important detail: if the finds of Minor Asia coins in the Eastern region are connected with the cities of Pontos and Paphlagonia, then there were coins produced in the north-western or western cities of the Minor Asia provinces of the Roman Empire<sup>40</sup> in the rest of the regions to the west of the Dnieper. It should be pointed that there were other differences in the categories of numismatic finds of the Roman period besides provincial coin finds. There were typical finds of aurei of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>41</sup> and antoniniani<sup>42</sup> in the interfluvium of the Middle Sub Dnieper and Middle Sub Dniester. However, these finds are rather rare to the east of the Dnieper compared with Bosporan Kingdom coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>43</sup>

It is necessary to evaluate the archaeological situation in the Western *Barbaricum* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD to understand the reasons for these differences in numismatic material to the west and east of the

38 Бейдин 2012, 149, Рис. 1; 151-153 = Beïdīn 2012, 149, Fig. 1; 151-153.

39 What I paid attention to: Мызгин 2013, 226 = Myzgīn 2013, 226.

40 Мызгин 2016c, 165, Рис. 13 = Myzgīn 2016c, 165, Fig. 13.

41 Мызгин 2016b = Myzgīn 2016b.

42 Myzgīn 2017b.

43 Myzgin, Beidin 2012, Map 1.



Dnieper. This period is known for the movement of the German population from the northern and central territory of modern Poland to the eastern and south-eastern direction to the Black Sea.<sup>44</sup> The process of Cherniakhiv Culture crystallisation began from the first half / middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD in the area of the Sub Dniester and Southern Sub Bug.<sup>45</sup> It is traditionally believed that the participation of the German population in the Gothic wars in AD 230-270s played a crucial role in this process.<sup>46</sup> We can see a rather different archaeological situation to the west and east of the Dnieper exactly in the middle / second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The formation of the Cherniakhiv Culture occurred to the west of the Dnieper: the earliest complexes were discovered in the Middle Sub Dnieper basins (burial ground of Zhuravka), the Southern Bug (burial grounds of Kosaniv and Krynychki) and the Middle Sub Dniester (burial grounds Ruzhychanka, Cherneliv-Ruskiy).<sup>47</sup> Burial grounds from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD containing Roman bronze vessels, including different types of buckets (Eggers 63-65)<sup>48</sup> were discovered in the area between the Middle Dniester and Upper Southern Bug areas. Many finds are connected with Roman military diplomas,<sup>49</sup> and details of Roman military equipment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>50</sup> were also discovered here. There were also coins of Balkan provincial mintage in this area, as will be described below.

The situation on the left bank of the Dnieper is slightly different. Here was a group of sites («horizon Boromlia») whose morphology is similar to early Slavonic sites located in the Upper Dniester region (sites of the Dem'ianiv-Cherepin type).<sup>51</sup> According to the latest studies, the appearance of the Cherniakhiv Culture to the west of the Dnieper refers to the AD 330s.<sup>52</sup> This distinction in the archaeological situation seems to explain the differences in categories of numismatic finds. Before starting to consider this thesis, let's point out one more important problem connected with the inflow circumstances of provincial coins to the Eastern *Barbaricum*.

The assumption of the trade character of the inflow of these coins seems to be unpromising. Currently, there is no evidence in archaeological data or written sources to prove the existence of trade relations between the Eastern *Barbaricum* population and the Roman provinces in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The political activity of barbarians and, especially, their participation in the Gothic wars seems to be the most probable and logical reason for the inflow of coins into *Barbaricum*. It is known that during these events the coalition of east German tribes made predatory campaigns into the territory of the Bosporean Kingdom, the Roman Balkan provinces and the Asia Minor provinces as well. There is no need to focus on these events because they are properly described either in the written sources or in the scientific literature,<sup>53</sup> but it can be pointed that the geography of cities where all finds of provincial coins discovered in the territory of the eastern *Barbaricum* coincides with the barbarian campaign areas. The question that arises is: in what way did the barbarians get the coins? Was it from these besieged or plundered cities or from farming or by way of a contribution? This is a hard question to answer. Despite the fact that provincial coin production was used to serve the local circulation, issues from different coin mints were put into circulation.<sup>54</sup>

44 One of the most striking examples of this process is the analysis of denarii discovered in the territory of Central and Eastern Europe: Dymowski, Myzgin 2014.

45 Магомедов 2001, 139 = Magomedov 2001, 139.

46 Магомедов 2001, 134 = Magomedov 2001, 134.

47 Магомедов 2001, 139 = Magomedov 2001, 139.

48 Levada, Potupchuk 2017.

49 Надвирняк, Погорілець, Надвирняк 2016, 174, Карта 1 = Nadvirniak, Pogorilets', Nadvirniak 2016, 174, Map 1.

50 Бажан 2012 = Bazhan 2012.

51 Liubichev, Myzgin 2014, 48-49.

52 Cf. Любичев 2008 = Liubichev 2008; thus it is a source of lively discussion nowadays (cf. Обломский 2014 = Oblomskii 2014)

53 Cf. Wolfram 1990, 43-55 here is also the literature.

54 However, I thought a little differently earlier, supposing that the coins were taken exactly from those cities where they were minted (cf. Мызгин 2016с, 162-165 = Myzgin 2016с, 162-165). I am grateful for the opportunity to take part in

This is why it can be stated as fact that the coins could have been brought by the barbarians when they were in the territory of the Roman provinces.

However, there has been some progress in the analysis of this issue, and is concerned with the geographical distribution of the Asia Minor provincial coin finds. It was stated before that, as a rule, there were finds of coins minted in cities of Pontos and Paphlagonia discovered in the area to the east of the Dnieper. Barbarian predatory campaigns in these territories dated to 256-257 and their starting point was the Bosphoran Kingdom. The Bosphoran coin finds are also concentrated to the east of the Dnieper.<sup>55</sup> It could be considered that the matching area of Bosphoran coin finds and the Asia Minor provincial coin finds on the territory to the east of the Dnieper is not coincidental. This is obviously demonstrated by the population settlement territory of a definite group of barbarian tribes who captured the Bosphoran Kingdom and plundered the north of Asia Minor. There is a completely different situation with the finds of the Asia Minor provincial coins to the west of the Dnieper. The finds of coins minted in the north-western or western parts of Asia Minor were the objects of barbarian campaigns in AD 258, 260, 262-263, 266 and 268-269, and marked the population settlement territory of another group of barbarian tribes, the same which attempted to campaign in the territory of the Balkan provinces. This fact is confirmed by finds of aurei of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, particularly Gordian III, Philip I and Traian Decius (the result of the barbarians' victory under Atritus, in AD 251), and also the bronze vessels and roman military diploma, which were mentioned before.

The issue of the role of the provincial coins in the local barbarian society is rather complicated. The number of provincial coins is not considerable when compared with the denarii and they could not be regularly used in the local barbarian circulation. Some single finds in the settlements and the absence of provincial coins hoards does not prove their importance as a tool for producing elements of clothes (brooches, buckles). Holes only in a few finds of provincial coins also confirms that these coins were not used either as an object of status or as a memorable symbol (unlike the aurei). It can be supposed that the barbarians used them as money intended to be used in the territory of the provinces (this explanation seems rather logical to me in the case of the Bosphoran coins east of the Dnieper). However, the important role of these coins in the inner life of the barbarian society in the territory of *Barbaricum* cannot be overlooked.

Moreover, this publication is only the first step towards the analysis of this matter. The next important step could be the publication of a catalogue of provincial coin finds from the area of Eastern Europe and also a detailed analysis of coin finds of particular issues (e.g., Viminacium, Marcianopolis, Deultum and others). The most important priority of my future work is, however, a qualitative registration of new coin finds which will, hopefully, help me to improve my conclusions and ideas.

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the symposium "Circulation of antique coins in South-eastern Europe", which prompted me to rethink this supposition.

<sup>55</sup> Myzgin, Beidin 2012.



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Table I – Selected roman provincial coins found on the territory of Central and West Ukraine (unscaled): 1 – Dionisopolis; 2 – Istros; 3 – Marcianopolis; 4 – Nikopolis ad Istrum; 5 – Odessos; 6 – Hadrianopolis; 7 – Anchialos; 8 – Deultum; 9 – Messembria; 10 – Philippopolis; 11 – Makedonia koinon; 12 – Thessalonica; 13 – Edessa; 14 – Viminacium; 15 – Dacia (Elagabal – 10; Aleksander Severus – 1, 4, 5; Macrinus – 3; Maximinus I – 8; Gordian III – 2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14; Filipp I – 9, 15).





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## THE MONETARY CIRCULATION OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL COINS FROM THE VIMINACIUM MINT IN THE TERRITORY OF PRESENT-DAY SLOVENIA

*The subjects of our research were Roman provincial coins from the Viminacium mint, found in the area of present-day Slovenia. To date 443 Roman provincial coins have been found and most of them are from the Viminacium mint, as their share reaches up to almost 40%. Coins from the provincial mint in Viminacium have been documented at 33 sites, particularly situated along the two major traffic arteries. The first led from Savaria to Poetovio, Celeia, Emona, and further towards Aquileia. The second led from Siscia to Emona via Neviodunum. As part of the research, we examined the distribution of coins from the Viminacium mint in the area of present-day Slovenia, their relationships to contemporary coins from the imperial mints, and made comparisons with distribution at other sites, especially in the Roman provinces of Dacia and Moesia.*

**KEY WORDS: PROVINCIAL COINAGE, VIMINACIUM MINT, SLOVENIA**

One of the characteristics of Roman provincial coins is that they were used locally and thus in a smaller area than imperial coins.<sup>1</sup> Based on documented coin finds, this article tries to establish how far the influence of the provincial coins from Viminacium extended towards the west, more precisely in the territory of present-day Slovenia.<sup>2</sup> For this region the distribution of Roman provincial coins, including those from Viminacium, has been studied by P. Kos<sup>3</sup> and A. Šemrov.<sup>4</sup> Considering new finds, we now explore the exact distribution of coins – especially in the towns – and compare it with that of coins from the Pannonian towns and military fortifications on the Danube. The article further aims to verify the adopted theory that the coins from the Viminacium mint were largely meant for supplying the army with money.<sup>5</sup>

The distribution of coins from the Viminacium mint east of the mint, and of coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type, has been addressed in numerous articles by C. Găzdac.<sup>6</sup> And he also researched the distribution of coins of both types in the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia, but due to insufficient publications of the material he omitted the province of Moesia Superior from his research. He established among others that the amount of coins from the provincial Viminacium mint and coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type varies in the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia. Coins from the Viminacium mint are more frequent in Pannonia, while those of the “Provincia Dacia” are rarer and vice versa. What can be said of both provinces is that there are very few documented hoard finds with provincial coins from the Viminacium mint

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1 Burnett et al. 1992, 1-5.

2 In the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the present-day Slovene territory was divided between the provinces of Pannonia Superior, Noricum, and Italy's Tenth Region. The western part of Slovenia belonged to Italy (Tenth Region: Venetia and Histria) with its seat in Aquileia, while the larger part of central Slovenia and its eastern part belonged to Pannonia Superior, whose capital was Poetovio for some time, and the northern part of Slovenia belonged to the province of Noricum.

3 Kos 1986, 109-111.

4 Šemrov 2011.

5 Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 144-145; Kos 1986, 109-111.

6 Găzdac 2008; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008; Găzdac 2010; Găzdac 2016.

or the “Provincia Dacia” type.<sup>7</sup>

Individual coin finds from Viminacium have been documented as far as sites in Thracia, Greece, Antiochia, Syria to the east.<sup>8</sup> Finds of bronze coins from the Viminacium mint have been documented (to date around 90 coins) in the area of present-day Ukraine, more exactly between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. The density of coins from the Viminacium mint in this area and their simultaneously low share east of the Dnieper (where, on the other hand, coins from the autonomous towns of Asia Minor prevail) suggests that the settlers in this region probably participated in the military campaigns in the Balkans in the 238-269 period.<sup>9</sup>

The distribution of Roman provincial coins, and in particular coins from Viminacium, has been documented by A. Stella for the area of North Italy. In view of the relatively high number of coins from Viminacium in Aquileia (comparable to the number of coins in Emona), he estimated that Aquileia was the westernmost town where these coins continued to appear in greater numbers, not just as individual finds.<sup>10</sup>

A few provincial coins travelled as far as south Scandinavia, but according to the available data there are no coins from the Viminacium mint among them.<sup>11</sup> But that is not surprising since even Roman imperial coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries are very rare in the area, while they appear frequently in the area between the Rhineland and the southern reaches of the Baltic coasts.<sup>12</sup> Individual finds of coins from the Viminacium mints are thus known even from sites in present-day Germany and France, but within the Roman Empire.<sup>13</sup>

## **Analysis of coins from the Viminacium mint by emperors**

To date 443 Roman provincial coins have been documented from the area of present-day Slovenia, and the majority of them are from the Viminacium mint; with 171 coins their share is almost 40%. The local Viminacium mint started to mint coins in 239 under Gordian III and stopped operating in 255 under Gallienus.<sup>14</sup> In spite of the dates, marked AN I-XVI in exergue on the reverse of the coins, they have not been dated exactly yet. However, the coins can be roughly classified by the local counting system and by the emperors depicted on their obverse.

A comparison of the shares of coins by emperor would not be adequate because Gordian III and Philip I each ruled for five years, and the total number of coins from the period of their rule is then 108 or 63% of all coins from the Viminacium mint. It is therefore much more adequate to compare the shares of coins classified by local years.

The coins are not evenly distributed over the years, most of them are from years V and XII, but there are no coins from years XV and XVI nor, of course, from year X, when the mint did not operate at all.<sup>15</sup> A completely identical picture is revealed by analysis of the coins from the Viminacium mint in the province of Dacia.<sup>16</sup>

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7 Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 138.

8 Callu 1969, 51-57.

9 Мызгин 2016, 163-167 = Myzgin 2016, 163-167.

10 Stella 2015.

11 Horsnæs 2010, 164-166.

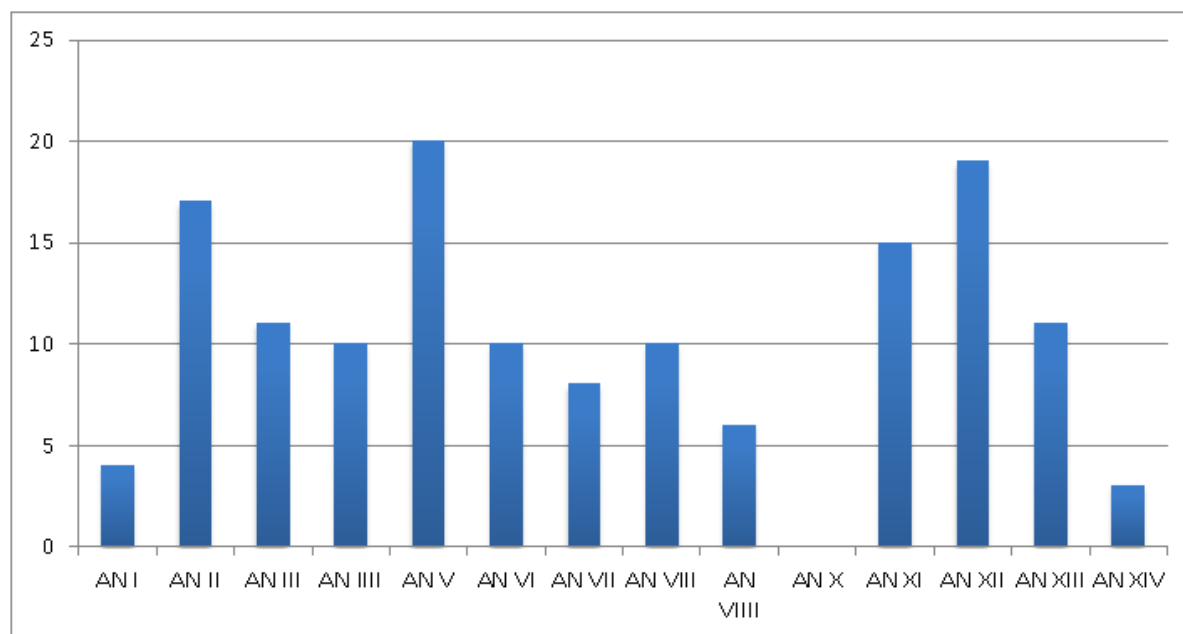
12 Bursche 2002, 72.

13 Callu 1969, 112-113.

14 Pick 1898, 24-26; Martin 1992, 13-21; Juhász 2013, 183.

15 The problematic year of AD 249 with the usurpation of Pacatianus followed by the proclamation of Decius as emperor, had a strong impact on the ‘P M S COL VIM’ coinage. Firstly, the mint of Viminacium did not produce any coin in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the local era because it was issuing silver coins of Pacatianus; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 145.

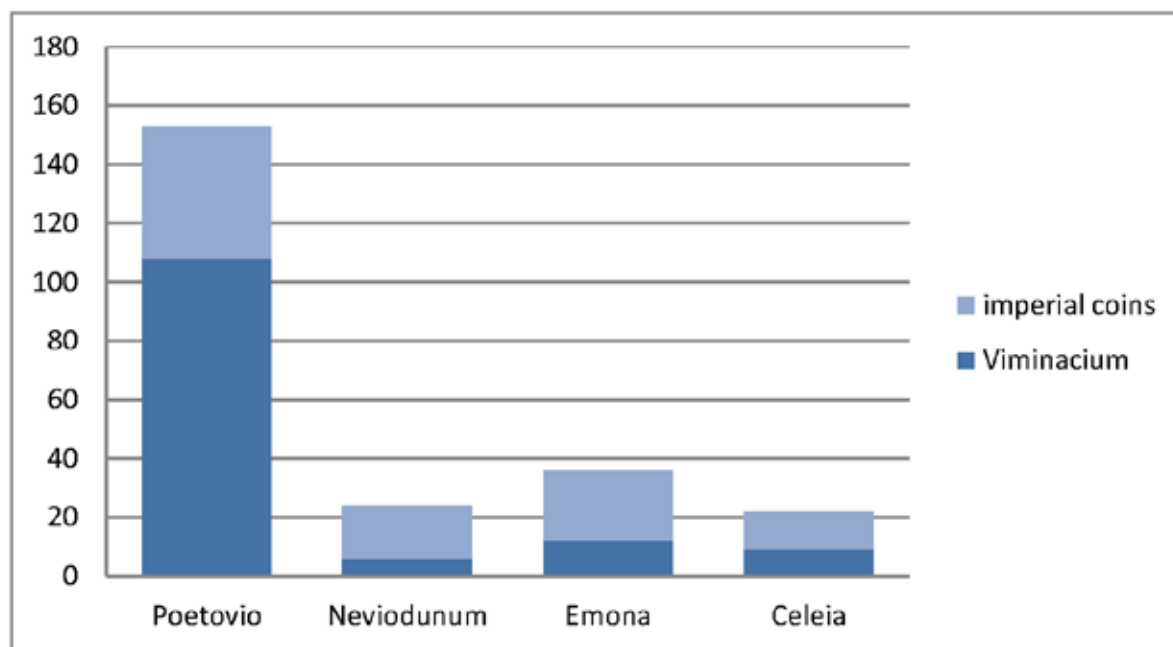
16 Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 150.



Graph 1 – Viminacium coins from the territory of present-day Slovenia, arranged by local years.

### The relationship between imperial and provincial bronze coins

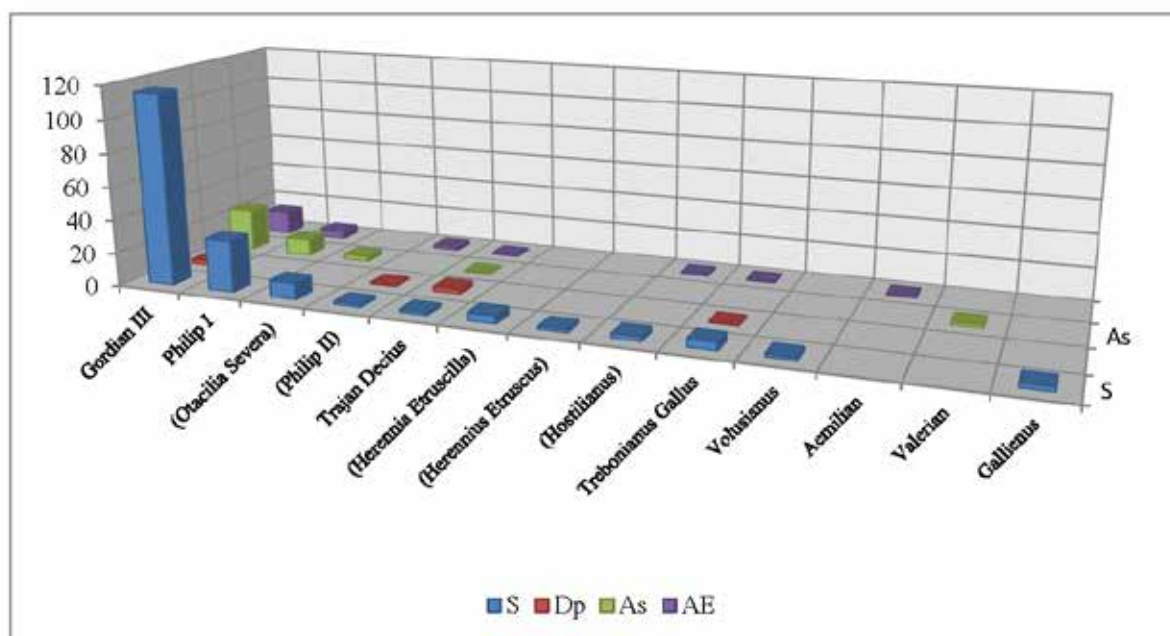
From the period the Viminacium mint operated, i.e. from 239 to 255, 434 bronze coins have been documented from the area of Slovenia. Of these, 254 can be attributed to the Roman mint, and 180 to the provincial mints. The share of imperial coins is therefore 58.5%, and that of provincial coins is 41.5%. Among the provincial coins, those from the Viminacium mint prevail, while 9 specimens are coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type.



Graph 2 – The relationship between imperial and provincial bronze coins in four Roman towns in the area of Slovenia.

The relationship between imperial and provincial bronze coins in three Roman towns in the area of Slovenia – Emona (nowadays Ljubljana), Neviodunum (nowadays Drnovo by Krško), and Celeia (nowadays Celje) – is in favour of the imperial coins. It is different in Poetovio (nowadays Ptuj), where the share of coins from Viminacium reaches 70%.

Most imperial bronze coins are from the rule of Gordian III, followed by coins from the period of Philip I, and from Trajanus Decius onwards the share of imperial bronze coins rapidly declines, becoming almost insignificant. In addition to keeping in mind that the minting periods of Gordian III and Philip I were longer, we should also consider that it was precisely in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century that antoniani prevailed in the money circulation. In the territory of present-day Slovenia 3131 coins from this period have been documented.<sup>17</sup>



Graph 3 – The share of imperial bronze coins from the territory of present-day Slovenia, arranged by emperors from the period the Viminacium mint operated.

A comparison of the relationship between imperial and provincial bronze coins from two important Pannonian towns, Siscia (nowadays Sisak) and Mursa (nowadays Osijek),<sup>18</sup> confirms the previously established pattern: the number of coins from Viminacium decreases with increasing distance from the mint. In Mursa the share of coins from Viminacium is over 90%, while 200 kilometres further west, in Siscia, the percentage is around 30%.

In the military camps Brigetio (nowadays Komárom) and Intercisa (nowadays Dunaújváros),<sup>19</sup> both situated on the Pannonian limes, the relationship between the coins is similar: with 85%, coins from Viminacium prevail, the share of coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type increases in the 249-253 period compared to the 244-249 period, and Roman imperial coins stand for 4 to 7%. In four hoards from Moesia Superior (Bošnjane, Brezane, Horreum Margi and Vranje) the share of coins from Viminacium is over 90%, and around 10% are coins from Provincia Dacia.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Kos 1988; Kos, Šemrov 1995; Šemrov 1998; Šemrov 2004; Šemrov 2010 (FMRSI I-VI).

<sup>18</sup> After Nađ 2012, 391-393.

<sup>19</sup> Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2005, 658.

<sup>20</sup> Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2005, 659.



## Analysis of the nominal values

Considering the nominal values of the coins, sesterces prevail among the imperial coins, followed by asses, and the share of dupondii is negligible.

With the coins from the Viminacium mint, such of higher nominal values also prevail; these are AE 1 or sesterces, as some authors call them. It is generally accepted that the mints in Viminacium and “Provincia Dacia” imitated the imperial money system for bronze coins.<sup>21</sup> It is not hard to differ between AE 1 (sesterces) and AE 2 (dupondii) since the coins differ at first glance; the Caesar depicted on the obverse has a crown of rays in the dupondii. The criterion of differing by the mass of the coins is not equally reliable, as in view of the available sample of coins with a nominal value AE 1, which includes 98 coins, the mass varies from 6 to 27 g.

## Distribution of the coins from the Viminacium mint

Coins from the provincial mint in Viminacium have been documented at 33 sites, distributed mainly along the main traffic arteries. On or near the Savaria – Poetovio – Celeia – Emona road and further towards Aquileia, finds have been documented from the sites Zatak by Lendava,<sup>22</sup> Rogoznica<sup>23</sup> and the towns of Poetovio,<sup>24</sup> Celeia,<sup>25</sup> Emona<sup>26</sup> and their environs (Ljubično,<sup>27</sup> Šempeter,<sup>28</sup> Mengeš,<sup>29</sup> Gorenji Logatec<sup>30</sup>).

In the eastern direction and on or near the Siscia – Neviodunum – Emona road, coins have been documented from the sites Romula (today's Spodnja Ribnica),<sup>31</sup> Neviodunum,<sup>32</sup> Gradec nad Veliko Strmico,<sup>33</sup> and Trebnje.<sup>34</sup>

There are obvious cross links between the main roads in the north-south direction. A first link can be traced by the sites starting in Ajdna nad Potoki<sup>35</sup> in the Upper Sava Valley, continuing near Poljane above Škofja Loka<sup>36</sup> and ending at the Gorenji Logatec site on the Emona – Aquileia road.

The second cross link ran across the eastern part of present-day Slovenia: from the south towards Celeia, where it split and via Šempeter in the Savinja Valley continued towards Virunum, respectively in

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21 Hostein, Mairat 2016, 42; Martin 1992, 15-16.

22 Unpublished.

23 FMRSI V 168.

24 The Roman town of Poetovio included the historical core of present-day Ptuj (FMRSI II 434/5, 25; FMRSI III 196, 199) as well as the suburbs: Hajdina (FMRSI II 434/7, 10; FMRSI III 187, 190), Rabelčja vas (FMRSI II 434/17), Vičava (FMRSI II 434/14, 20) and Zgornji Breg (FMRSI II 434/1, 4; FMRSI III 205).

25 FMRSI II 340/1; FMRSI III 164/1; FMRSI IV 169/1.

26 FMRSI I 155/15, 30, 32, 47, 56; 156; FMRSI IV 85/15.

27 FMRSI V 140.

28 FMRSI II 363/1.

29 FMRSI IV 102.

30 FMRSI I 167.

31 Unpublished.

32 FMRSI I 300/1.

33 FMRSI V 102.

34 Unpublished.

35 FMRSI IV 64.

36 FMRSI III 70.

the north-eastern direction towards Flavia Solva. These are the sites: Mehovski hrib nad Podgradom,<sup>37</sup> Svinjski rt nad Radečami<sup>38</sup> and Brinjeva Gora.<sup>39</sup>

The biggest concentration of coins from Viminacium was established in all four Roman towns: Emona, Celeia, Neviodunum and Poetovio. Poetovia yielded 108 coins or 63% of all coins from Viminacium found in the territory of present-day Slovenia.

The distribution of coin finds from Viminacium was researched by Callu and he documented, though incompletely, numerous coins found in Dalmatia and Pannonia, and even further west, in Germania and Gallia.<sup>40</sup> Below we will examine the distribution of coins from Viminacium in the province of Pannonia. The territory of the Roman province of Pannonia is today divided over five countries; Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia. Since the material has been researched and published to quite different degrees we will examine only four Roman towns, whose coin material has been published, and where the high numbers of documented coins allow comparisons. These towns are Poetovio in present-day Slovenia, Carnuntum in Austria,<sup>41</sup> and Intercisa and Gorsium in Hungary.<sup>42</sup>

At all four locations coins of Gordian III and Philip I prevail, followed with similar numbers of coins of Trajan Decius and Trebonianus Gallus. A comparison with the distribution of coins from the Viminacium mint in the towns of Potaissa (nowadays Moigrad), Apulum (nowadays Alba Iulia), Ulpia Traiana (nowadays Sarmizegetusa) and Drobeta (nowadays Drobeta-Turnu) in the Roman province of Dacia reveals a similar picture; most coins are of Gordian III and Philip I.<sup>43</sup> We can thus establish that most coins were found in military fortifications along the Danube: Carnuntum (the capital of Pannonia Superior), Gorsium (the capital of Pannonia Inferior) and Intercisa. This corresponds with a possible explanation: that the provincial mint in Viminacium minted money to pay the military garrisons in the provinces of Moesia Superior and in the two Pannonian provinces.

## Conclusions

1. The share of coins from the provincial mint in Viminacium decreases in the circulation with increasing distance from the mint.<sup>44</sup> In the monetary circulation of the towns of Emona, Celeia, and Neviodunum its share varies from 6 to 12%.

2. The share of coins from the provincial mint in Viminacium is larger in the towns with a military garrison.<sup>45</sup> In Poetovia, an important military basis and centre for supplying the army, that share is 70%.

3. During the time the mint in Viminacium operated, AE 1 coins or sesterces prevailed among the bronze coins, and this is typical of the circulation of imperial bronze coins as well.

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37 FMRSI VI 111.

38 FMRSI VI 143

39 FMRSI II 380; FMRSI V 151.

40 Callu 1969, 35-36, 111-113.

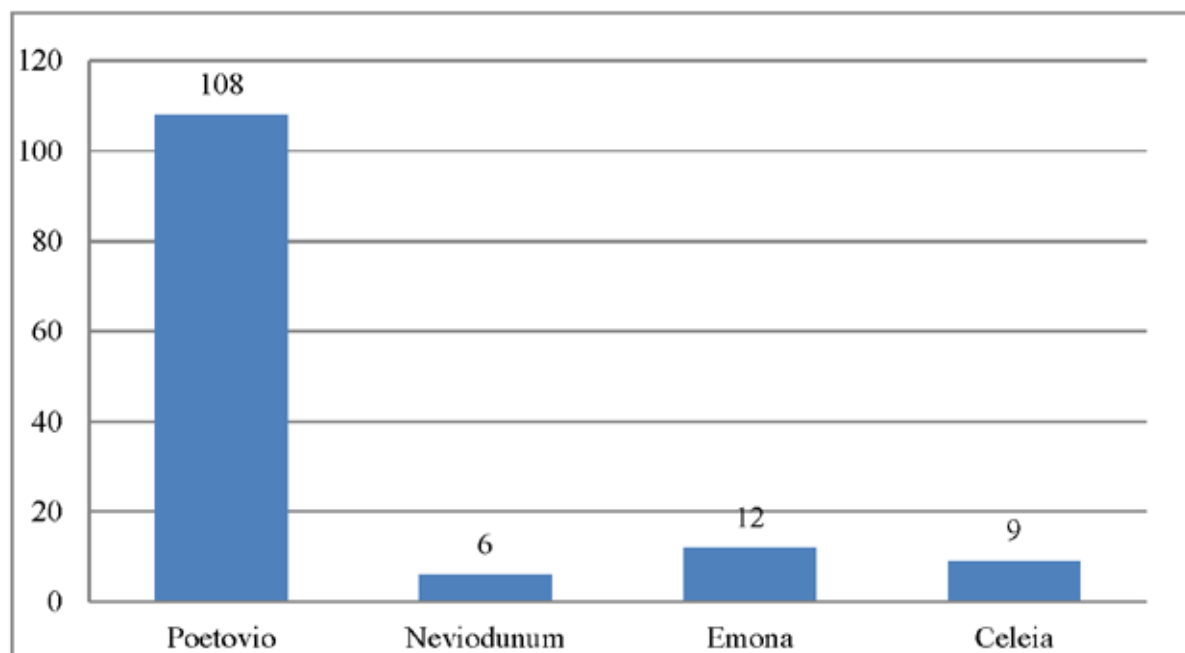
41 Vondrovec 2007, 144-145.

42 FMRU 1 (Intercisa = 57, 101-102, 138-164, 202-204; Gorsium = 295-296, 329, 360).

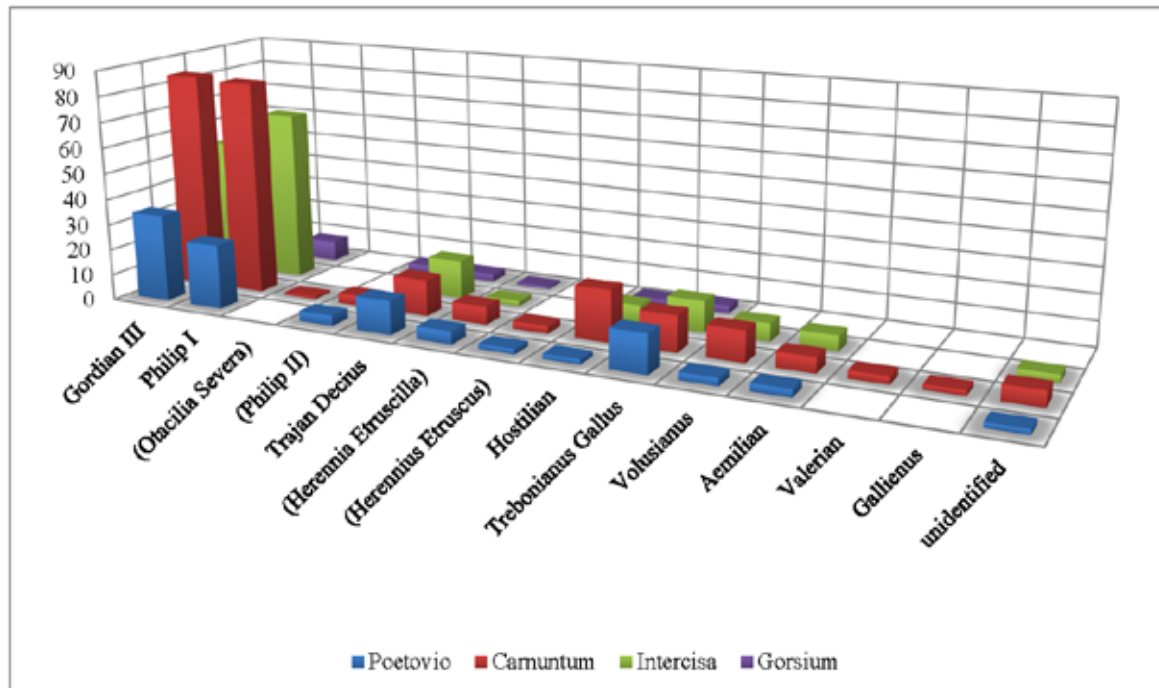
43 Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2015, 27-28.

44 Kos 1986, 110; Nađ 2012, 390-392.

45 Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 144-146.



Graph 4 – Concentration of coins from Viminacium in all four Roman towns in the area of Slovenia.



Graph 5 – Viminacium coins, arranged by emperors, from four Pannonian towns: Poetovio, Carnuntum, Intercisa and Gorsium.

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### Abbreviations

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## VIMINACIUM COINS FROM AQUILEIA AND VENETIA ET HISTRIA

*The former Latin colony of Aquileia was founded in 181 A.D. Owing to its location, it played a key role as commercial and military outpost from Italy towards the Danubian limes. On this last aspect, new evidences are now provided by archaeological finds such as coins. The lecture will especially focus on finds of Viminacium issues recovered over decades of archaeological investigations in Aquileia, now kept in the coin cabinet of the local National Museum. Even if these finds make only a small group compared to those struck in the same period at the mint of Rome, they show little or no resemblances to finds coming from other sites of ancient Italy and beyond. Due to the small amount of bronze denominations from the Roman mint that reached the area along the river Danube, issues struck in Viminacium since 239/240 A.D. played a prominent role in supplying bronze coins to the military sites of this territory. Until now, more than 44 specimens of Viminacium coinage are attested in Aquileia. This is only a provisional survey on this presence, since the local numismatic collection is still largely unrecorded. Nevertheless, this assemblage has no comparison in Western Europe, thus making Aquileia the westernmost site in which Viminacium coins are found in a significant number. Owing to commercial ties between Italy and the Danubian limes through Pannonia and along the Amber Road, issues from the Viminacium mint could have easily been brought to Aquileia. Here, they subsequently circulated beside the most represented ones struck in Rome. At the same time, coins could have travelled with the detachments of military units stationed on the limes, garrisoned in Aquileia during the 3rd century A.D., as indicated with epigraphic evidence.*

**KEY WORDS: PROVINCIAL COINAGE, VIMINACIUM MINT, AQUILEIA, VENETIA ET HISTRIA**

Aquileia<sup>1</sup>, the greatest among the Roman sites in Northern Italy,<sup>2</sup> is well renowned for its past connection with the Danubian *limes*. The capital of *Venetia et Histria* played a key role as a commercial and military outpost towards Pannonia since its foundation in 181 BC. Both literary and epigraphical sources underline this historical connection but new insights are now possible thanks to original data such as coin finds.<sup>3</sup>

The National Archaeological Museum in Aquileia features one of the greatest collections of Roman coins in Italy and beyond.<sup>4</sup> Every single piece has been recovered over decades of archaeological investigations carried out in the area of the ancient city since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Even though the work of recording was started at the end of the '70s, the collection still remains largely unknown. Nonetheless, a recent

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1 I'm indebted to Marta Novello, Director of the Archaeological National Museum in Aquileia, for allowing me to study the materials presented here. I'm also thankful to Mirjana Vojvoda and all the organisation committee for kindly inviting me to this conference.

2 For a recent summary on many archaeological and historical aspects regarding Aquileia cf. *Moenibus et portu*.

3 Cf. Zaccaria 1985 for a survey of epigraphical texts concerning the connection between Aquileia and *Illiricum* in Roman times, with particular regard to the presence of *aquileienses gentes* in Pannonia involved in commercial activities.

4 For a first summary on the collection cf. Gorini 1979; Gorini 1980; Gorini 1984; Gorini 1987. The precise number of coins kept in the coin cabinet is still unknown, but an inventory list dated to 1919/1920 already shows more than 40,000 pieces. Since the entire assemblage of finds from the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries is largely unrecorded, a total number of 80,000/100,000 coins is to be expected.

5 For the history of archaeological investigations in Aquileia cf. Giovannini, Maselli Scotti 2009, with further bibliography.

survey<sup>6</sup> offered the chance to examine a very special aspect of the monetary circulation in Aquileia: the presence of Roman Provincial coins. The best represented ones are those dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD which show clear resemblances with finds coming from the area of the Danubian *limes*, strong evidence as to their original provenance in Roman times.<sup>7</sup>

The present work deals with the greatest assemblage within this category, i.e. those coins minted in *Viminacium*. From time to time the supply with bronze of such a peripheral area like the Roman frontier on the river Danube was a most problematic one. A particular crisis occurred during the Severan period due to the scarcity of output from the central mint in Rome.<sup>8</sup> To cope with the shortage of small denominations, a large number of provincial issues, mainly from the mints of *Nicea Bythiniae* and those of *Moesia Inferior*, entered the local monetary pool with a subsidiary role.<sup>9</sup> From the reign of Gordianus III, a new mint was established in the Roman colony of *Viminacium*, today Kostolac, in Serbia.<sup>10</sup> This is not the place for an exhaustive dissertation on the activity of this *atelier*, its production and the reasons for its opening. Instead the most important thing to bear in mind is that the output of this mint made up for the paucity of bronze denominations over large sectors of the Danubian *limes*. Particularly between the eastern part of Pannonia and the province of *Moesia Superior*, *Viminacium* issues clearly outnumber those of Rome among the finds of bronze coins for the period 238-260 AD.<sup>11</sup> However, the impact of this coinage decreases both eastward in the provinces of *Moesia Inferior* and *Thracia* with the presence of the civic mints<sup>12</sup> and westward due to an increasing influx of coins from the central mint in Rome. Regarding Western Europe, a limited assemblage of finds is known for the former territories of Western Pannonia, *Raetia* and *Noricum*.<sup>13</sup> The only known specimens in Italy come from the area of ancient *Venetia et Histria*<sup>14</sup>, including *Emona*<sup>15</sup>, except for one coin from the site of *Clastidium* in *Transpadana*.<sup>16</sup>

Now, new data is available for the site of Aquileia, drawn from both literature and materials kept in the local National Museum. For those coins for which a direct examination was possible, the find spot was mainly generically related to the area of the ancient city, apart from a few finds coming from past excavations.<sup>17</sup> Since the collection in Aquileia is still largely unrecorded, it is of the greatest importance to stress that the data presented here constitutes only an initial report, with more finds from *Viminacium* expected to be unveiled in the future. Nevertheless, the 44 available coins, in addition to those coming from the neighbouring area of *Venetia et Histria*, constitute a unique assemblage, which bears no resemblances to other sites in Western Europe. Roman towns on the Amber Road, of which Aquileia was at the

6 Thanks to a research grant funded by both the Aquileia Foundation and the University of Udine, I managed to record a further 2,000 coins from excavations and acquisitions of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and to undertake a new survey on materials belonging to the 19<sup>th</sup> century collection. Some of the data are partially presented here.

7 On this topic cf. Stella 2018a; Stella 2018b.

8 Walker 1988, 299; Clay 1989, 219-220; Carson 1990, 233; Duncan Jones 1998, 108.

9 Kos 1986, 107-109; Găzdac 2004; Pfisterer 2007, 611-613; Găzdac, Alföldi Găzdac 2008, 136; Găzdac 2010, 103-105, 110-111; Šemrov 2011, 1016-1017. For the case of *Nicea Bythiniae*, refer to the contributions of Dario Calomino and Mirjana Vojvoda, Adam Crnobrnja in this book.

10 Pick 1898; Elmer 1935; Martin 1992. For a recent work on *Viminacium* cf. Žekov, Hristova 2004.

11 Kos 1986, 109-111; Pfisterer 2007, 615-616; Găzdac, Alföldi Găzdac 2008, 137; Găzdac, Alföldi Găzdac 2015.

12 Cf. Găzdac, Alföldi Găzdac 2008 above and Găzdac 2004.

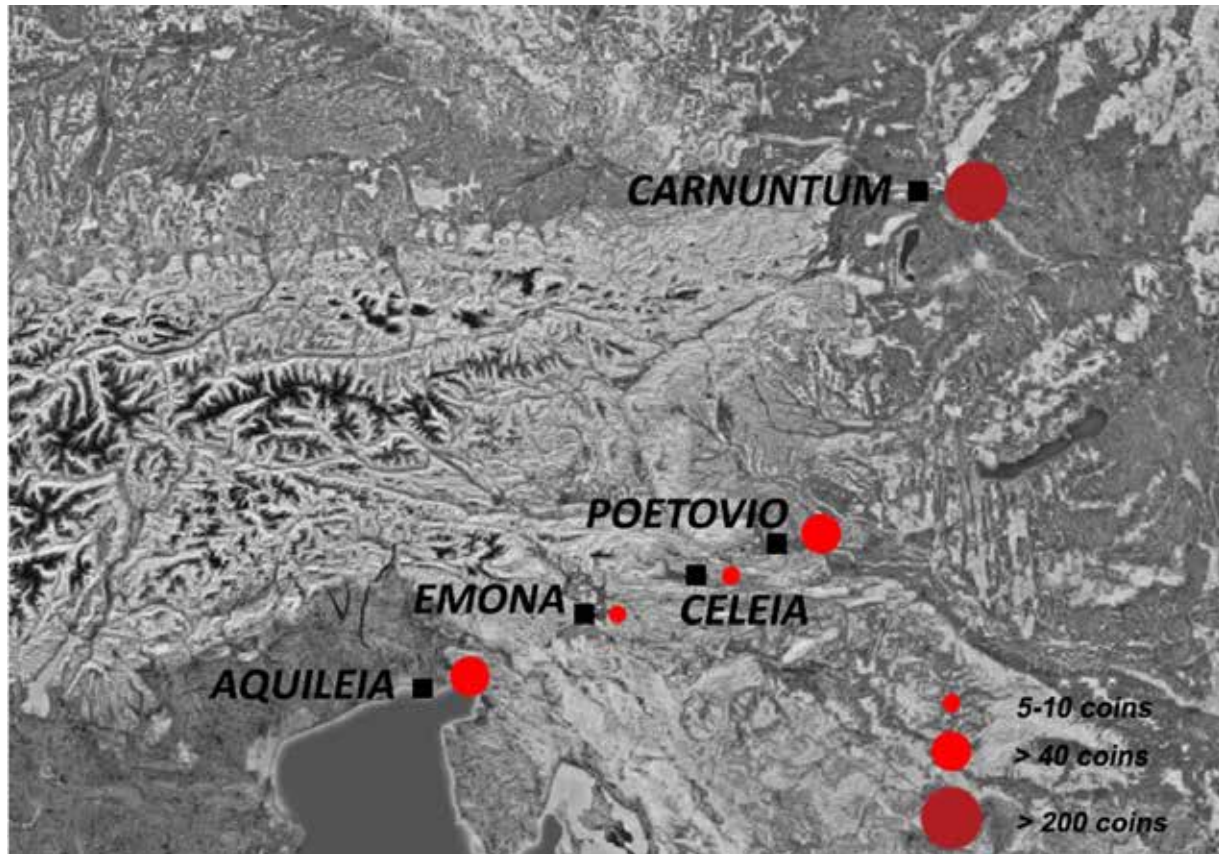
13 Summary of finds in Kos 1986, 111 notes 48-49. New data is now available for *Flavia Solva*, 17 specimens, FMRÖ VI, 142; *Ovilavis*, two specimens, FMRÖ IV/1, cat. nn. 885, 894.

14 Gorini 1979, 426-427; Gorini 1980, 705; Gorini 2002, 186; Gorini 2017, 165-166.

15 Cf. catalogue. According to Herodian (Hrd. 8.1.4), *Emona* was surely part of Italy since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD; for finds of *Viminacium* coins here cf. Kos 1986, 110.

16 Arslan 1998, 107.

17 Cf. Catalogue for further details.



Map 1 – Number of finds of *Viminacium* coins in Aquileia and *Venetia et Histria* and from sites on the Amber Road.

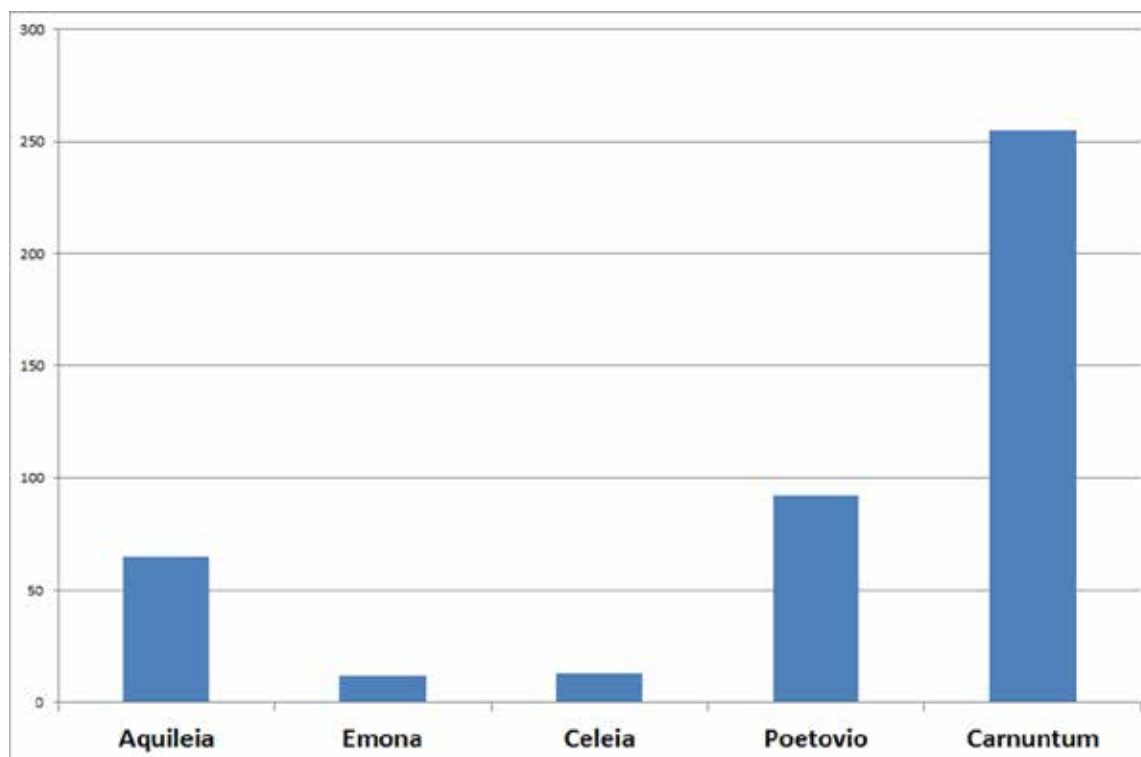
southern end, have been chosen for comparison<sup>18</sup>. Pannonia, especially its eastern part, was possibly the basin from which the greatest amount of *Viminacium* coins found in Aquileia originated. One of the main reasons for this is the presence of such an important trade route between Italy and the Danubian *limes*. Map 1 and Graph 1 represent the number of finds from sites on the Amber Road. With the exception of *Carnuntum* and *Poetovio*, the assemblage from Aquileia clearly exceeds those belonging to *Emona* and *Celeia*. So, there's no doubt in considering Aquileia the westernmost site in which the spread of *Viminacium* coins had a visible impact. The explanation lies not only in the importance of the city during the Roman times but also in its special connection to Pannonia, as discussed further below.

Besides *Viminacium* coins, Aquileia features what is known so far as the only Italian find belonging to the issue of PROVINCIA DACIA.<sup>19</sup> Again, it represents the westernmost evidence for the spread of this coinage as these coins rarely found their way out of Dacia.

Graphs 2-3 show the distribution pattern according to reigns and year of minting. In this case only *Carnuntum* and *Poetovio* have been considered for comparison due to a larger data set available. For the same reason finds from other sites of *Venetia et Histria* are included in the assemblage from Aquileia. This one shares several similarities with other sites on the Amber Road, such as the large time span covering almost the entire minting activity and the issues struck under Gordianus III and Philip I as the best

<sup>18</sup> *Emona*: FMRSI I, 155, 167; FMRSI IV, 85, 102/2; *Celeia*: FMRSI II, 340/1; FMRSI III, 164; FMRSI IV, 169, 171; FMRSI V, 140, 144, 150; *Poetovio*, FMRSI II, 434; FMRSI III, 187, 190, 196, 199-201, 205; FMRSI V, 167; *Carnuntum*: FMRÖ III/2.

<sup>19</sup> On this coinage cf. Găzduc, Alföldi Găzduc 2004; Găzduc, Alföldi Găzduc 2005; Cavagna 2012 with a detailed list of finds. Further bibliography on note 9 above.



Graph 1 – Number of finds of *Viminacium* coins in Aquileia and *Venetia et Histria* and from sites on the Amber Road.

represented.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, these resemblances are strong evidence to hypothesise the provenance of the *Viminacium* coins in Aquileia mainly from Pannonia. However, with a closer look finds coming from *Venetia et Histria* show, to some extent, a different distribution of minting authorities. In fact, the output of the mint under Philip I, especially coins of years V and VII,<sup>21</sup> seems to be more attested in comparison to those sites on the Amber Road which have been considered. This last feature has to be taken into account with extreme caution since the available data set is far from an exhaustive one. Nonetheless, this aspect is of great interest as it is conceivably linked to one of the main reasons for such a high number of *Viminacium* coins in Aquileia. According to epigraphical sources, a military detachment was stationed here during the reign of Philip I. A dedication to Mercury bearing a consular date of AD 244 mentions a *signifer* from the *legio XIII Gemina* named *Valerius Valens*.<sup>22</sup> The same person occurs on a sacred inscription to *Mithra* in which one soldier from *III Pia Fidelis Philippiana* is also mentioned.<sup>23</sup> On this basis, scholars propose the presence of some *vexillationes* when Aquileia was serving as a rear logistic centre for Philip's campaign against the Danubian tribes.<sup>24</sup>

The establishment of a mint in *Viminacium* was primarily conceived for the supply of the army along the Middle and Lower Danube, where the mentioned military detachments were stationed.<sup>25</sup> So, a connec-

20 For a discussion on distribution pattern according to minting year in the area between Pannonia and the Lower Danube cf. Găzdac, Alföldi Găzdac 2008, 139 -144.

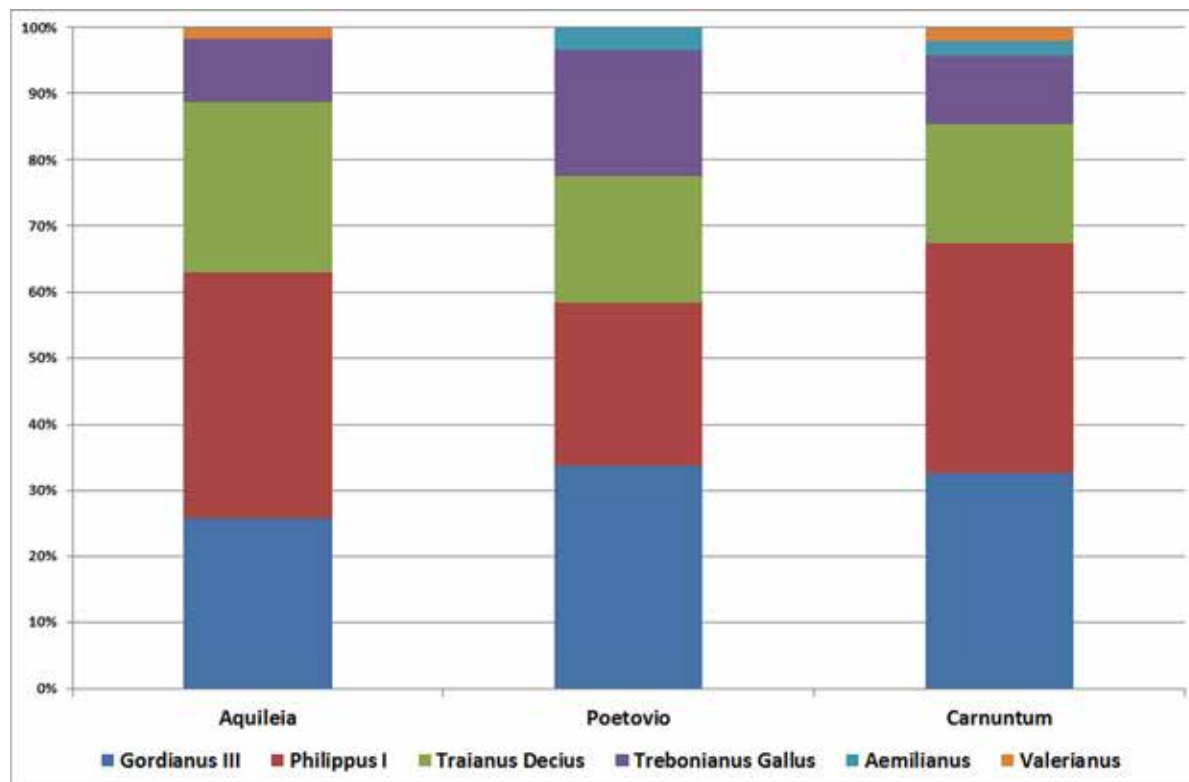
21 Coins of year V struck under Philip I seem to be well attested also in the territory of modern Slovenia. Cf. the contribution of Alenka Miškec in this book for further details.

22 CIL, V 8237=*InscrAq* 297.

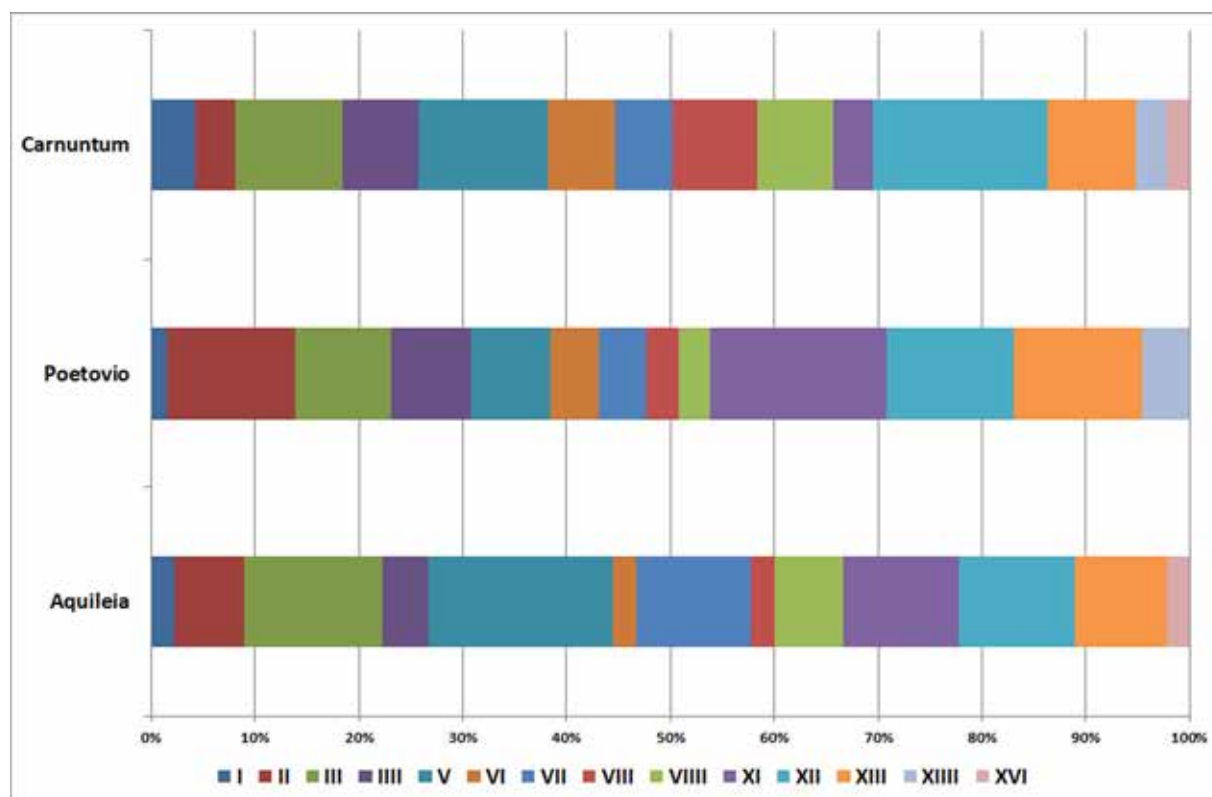
23 CIL, V 808=*InscrAq* 309.

24 Ritterlign 1924, 1337-1338; Pavan 1979, 499-500; Piso 2000, 217; Ricci 2014, 243.

25 Găzdac, Alföldi Găzdac 2008, 136 and further bibliography on note 15. In Kos 1992 the author conjectures a production related to the activity of *concilium provinciae* in *Moesia Superior*.



Graph 2 – Distribution of the finds considered according to minting authorities.



Graph 3 – Distribution of the finds considered according to year of minting.



tion between the high percentage of coins struck under the reign of Philip I (and probably Gordianus III as well) and the presence of soldiers in Aquileia in the same period has to be considered. The same relationship with the army could possibly be extended to the more recent issues of *Viminacium* ranging from Decius to Valerianus.<sup>26</sup> Apart from the numismatic relevance, such evidence is of the greatest importance for the history of the city during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. As a matter of fact, no other material source, inscriptions excepted, could shed light on this very specific aspect regarding a military presence as coins do.

The role of Aquileia as a marketplace for the Roman *limes* on the Danube in the same period is well depicted by Herodian.<sup>27</sup> While describing the city on the occasion of the siege laid by Emperor Maximinus Thrax, the historian underlines its function as a spin off between the Mediterranean shipping lanes and the land trade routes towards Pannonia. Alongside a military presence, commercial ties are supposed to have been equally responsible for the influx of *Viminacium* coinage in Aquileia. As mentioned above, a large area between Eastern Pannonia and *Moesia Superior* leant on the output of this mint for the supply of bronze coins. The same territory was fully involved in trade with Italy through the Amber Route for the needs of the army. As a consequence, a stream of *Viminacium* coins possibly flowed in the direction of Aquileia. Once there, since this provincial coinage was designed according to the official bronze standard,<sup>28</sup> it fitted perfectly into the local circulation. The proof is in the predominance of the larger denomination among both coins minted in *Viminacium* and Rome found in Aquileia and *Venetia et Histria* for the period 238-260 AD.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, despite the large number of finds, *Viminacium* coins did not play a prominent role in the everyday circulation of Aquileia. Even if the ratio with the output of Rome is far from being established in detail,<sup>30</sup> the city was chiefly supplied by the central mint from its foundation up to the reign of Claudius Gothicus.<sup>31</sup> Thus, a subsidiary function of this coinage and the other provincial ones is to be excluded, although this model has been proposed for the site of *Brixia*.<sup>32</sup> A last aspect to point out is that *Viminacium* coins found in other sites of *Venetia et Histria* surely originated from Aquileia in Antiquity. This evidence underlines the role of the city in attracting and redistributing certain coinage to the neighbouring territories once they converged to the site through trade and military movements.<sup>33</sup>

Coin finds discussed here are of the greatest interest for many reasons. First of all, the assemblage coming from Aquileia and *Venetia et Histria* represents the largest record in Western Europe of coins minted in *Viminacium*. As a consequence, such evidence enlarges considerably our knowledge about the spread of this coinage outside its natural circulation pool. However, the most important outcomes are those related to the history of the city. As shown before, a large share of coins minted during the reign of Philippus is possibly connected with the presence of a military detachment in the same period. This new evidence is of extreme importance since this hypothesis has been supported up to now only by a few inscriptions. Furthermore, the strong connection between Aquileia and the Danubian *limes* underlined by written sources has no specific material evidence other than coin finds for the period of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In fact, commercial ties are surely responsible together with a military presence for the stream of coins from the mint in *Viminacium*, and from other provincial mints, which affected Aquileia in the same period. So, coin finds represent again an undisputable support to the reconstruction of the history and economy of Aquileia in Roman times.

26 On the role of the Roman army regarding the circulation of *Viminacium* coins in Western Pannonia cf. Šemrov 2011, 1017.

27 Hdn. 8.2.3-4.

28 On this aspect cf. Gâzdac, Alföldi Gâzdac 2004, 247-249 even if related to the *provincia dacica* issue.

29 Gorini 2002, 184-185.

30 According to Kos 1986, 110 and Šemrov 2011, 1,017 coins in *Emona Viminacium* account for 30 % of the total amount for the period 238-253 AD. Based on a casual assemblage of finds (cf. above note 6), *Viminacium* coins in Aquileia would account for 10 %. This is just a preliminary appraisal, to be reconsidered in the light of a larger data basis.

31 Gorini 1987.

32 Cf. above Gorini 2002 at note 13. For Brescia/*Brixia* Arslan 1999, 354.

33 This phenomenon is now well investigated for the Late Roman period, cf. Stella 2017.



## CATALOGUE

In the present catalogue, coins are listed following the abbreviations in use in the editorial series *Ritrovamenti monetali di età Romana in Veneto*. Those catalogue numbers marked with + refer to specimens temporarily unavailable in the National Museum of Aquileia or belonging to dispersed collections.

**Viminacium coins in the National Museum of Aquileia****Gordianus III**

|   |    |    |                                   |         |         |                                |             |
|---|----|----|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|--------------------------------|-------------|
|   | 1  | S  | 17.51 (g)<br>30.00 (mm)<br>12 (h) | 239/240 | AN I    | Pick 71;<br>Martin 1.01.7      | I.G. 95422  |
|   | 2  | S  | 19.08<br>32.00<br>2               | 240/241 | AN II   | Pick 76;<br>Martin 1.12.7      | I.G. 51635  |
| + | 3  | S  | /                                 | 240/241 | AN II   | Pick /<br>Martin /             | /           |
|   | 4  | As | 5.30<br>30.00<br>6                | 240/241 | AN II   | Pick 78;<br>Martin 1.18.3      | I.G. 7919   |
|   | 5  | S  | 24.32<br>30.00<br>12              | 241/242 | AN III  | Pick 81;<br>Martin 1.25.6      | I.G. 7913   |
|   | 6  | S  | 18.44<br>30.00<br>12              | 241/242 | AN III  | Pick 81;<br>Martin 1.25.1/3    | I.G. 7914   |
|   | 7  | S  | 14.92<br>29.00<br>12              | 241/242 | AN III  | Pick 81;<br>Martin 1.25.1/3    | I.G. 7915   |
|   | 8  | S  | 15.85<br>29.00<br>12              | 241/242 | AN III  | Pick 81;<br>Martin 1.25.6      | I.G. 7920   |
|   | 9  | S  | /                                 | 241/242 | AN III  | Pick 81;<br>Martin 1.25.1      | I.G. 273 a  |
|   | 10 | S  | 19.20<br>30.00<br>12              | 242/243 | AN IIII | Pick 83;<br>Martin 1.31.1      | I.G. 7917   |
| + | 11 | Dp | /                                 | 242/243 | AN IIII | Pick 84;<br>Martin 1.32 (type) | I.G. 162860 |
|   | 12 | S  | 17.50<br>30.00<br>12              | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 92;<br>Martin 1.47.1      | I.G. 7918   |
|   | 13 | S  | 16.75<br>30.00<br>12              | 238-244 | AN ?    | Pick /<br>Martin /             | I.G. 7916   |

Cat. no. 3 – From the excavations of the Roman harbour on river Natiso; see Brusin 1934, 144.

Cat. no. 9 – Found in the area of the Marano lagoon, south west of Aquileia, and now kept in the archaeological Museum of Udine. I would like to thank Paola Maggi and Paola Visentini for allowing me to publish this specimen.

Cat. no. 11 – From the excavations of the Roman forum; year 1972.

|   |    |   |                      |         |      |                    |           |
|---|----|---|----------------------|---------|------|--------------------|-----------|
|   | 14 | S | 14.82<br>28.00<br>12 | 238-244 | AN ? | Pick /<br>Martin / | I.G. 7990 |
| + | 15 | S | /                    | 238-244 | AN ? | Pick /<br>Martin / | /         |

Cat. no. 15 – From the excavations of the Roman harbour on the river Natiso; see Brusin 1934, 144.

### Philippus I

|   |    |   |                      |         |         |                                   |           |
|---|----|---|----------------------|---------|---------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| + | 16 | S | /                    | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 96/100;<br>Martin 2.04/09-10 | I.G. 2198 |
|   | 17 | S | 17.28<br>28.00<br>6  | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 96;<br>Martin 2.04.2         | I.G. 7976 |
|   | 18 | S | 14.86<br>30.00<br>2  | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 100;<br>Martin 2.09.1        | I.G. 7977 |
|   | 19 | S | 16.96<br>29.00<br>12 | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 100; Martin<br>2.09.1        | I.G. 7978 |
|   | 20 | S | 16.38<br>28.00<br>12 | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 100; Martin<br>2.09.1        | I.G. 7979 |
|   | 21 | S | 17.12<br>31.00<br>6  | 243/244 | AN V    | Pick 100; Martin<br>2.09.1        | I.G. 7982 |
|   | 22 | S | 17.17<br>30.00<br>12 | 244/245 | AN VI   | Pick 102; Martin<br>2.12.1/3-4    | I.G. 7980 |
|   | 23 | S | 15.68<br>28.00<br>6  | 245/246 | AN VII  | Pick 103; Martin<br>2.14.1/3-4    | I.G. 7981 |
|   | 24 | S | 16.56<br>29.00<br>7  | 245/246 | AN VII  | Pick 103; Martin<br>2.14.1/4      | I.G. 7983 |
|   | 25 | S | 16.27<br>28.00<br>6  | 245/246 | AN VII  | Pick 103; Martin<br>2.14.1/3-4    | I.G. 7984 |
|   | 26 | S | 13.27<br>29.00<br>6  | 245/246 | AN VII  | Pick 103; Martin<br>2.14.1        | I.G. 7985 |
|   | 27 | S | 15.87<br>31.00<br>12 | 246/247 | AN VIII | Pick 104; Martin<br>2.16.1        | I.G. 7986 |
|   | 28 | S | 14.85<br>28.00<br>12 | 247/248 | AN VIII | Pick 105; Martin<br>2.17.1/3      | I.G. 7987 |
|   | 29 | S | 14.65<br>30.00<br>12 | 247/248 | AN VIII | Pick 105; Martin<br>2.17.1/3      | I.G. 7988 |

|   |    |   |                      |         |         |                              |            |
|---|----|---|----------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|------------|
|   | 30 | S | 14.08<br>28.00<br>12 | 247/248 | AN VIII | Pick 105; Martin<br>2.17.1/3 | I.G. 51022 |
|   | 31 | S | 17.72<br>28.00<br>12 | 244-248 | AN ?    | /                            | I.G. 7992  |
| + | 32 | S | /                    | 244-248 | AN ?    | /                            | I.G. 52437 |
| + | 33 | S | /                    | 244-248 | AN ?    | /                            | I.G. 52761 |

**Trajan Decius**

|  |    |   |                      |         |           |              |           |
|--|----|---|----------------------|---------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
|  | 34 | S | 9.53<br>26.00<br>12  | 249/251 | AN XI/XII | RPC 1 (type) | I.G. 8026 |
|  | 35 | S | 12.04<br>26.00<br>12 | 249/251 | AN XI/XII | RPC 1 (type) | I.G. 8027 |

**Herennia Etruscilla**

|   |    |   |   |         |            |   |           |
|---|----|---|---|---------|------------|---|-----------|
| + | 36 | Æ | / | 249/252 | AN XI/XIII | / | I.G. 8026 |
|---|----|---|---|---------|------------|---|-----------|

Cat. no. 36 – From the 17<sup>th</sup> century collection of Gian Domenico Bertoli; see Devilla 1994, 237-238.

**Hostilian**

|   |    |   |   |         |             |        |             |
|---|----|---|---|---------|-------------|--------|-------------|
|   | 37 | S | / | 250/251 | AN XII      | RPC 38 | I.G. 168032 |
| + | 38 | Æ | / | 250/252 | AN XII/XIII | /      | /           |

Cat. no. 37 – From the excavations of the baptistry in the area of the Early Christian basilica; see Sellan 1997-1998, 106, n. 7.

Cat. no. 38 – From the 17<sup>th</sup> century collection of Gian Domenico Bertoli; see Devilla 1994, 237-238.

**Trebonianus Gallus**

|  |    |   |                      |         |         |            |            |
|--|----|---|----------------------|---------|---------|------------|------------|
|  | 39 | S | 10.73<br>28.00<br>6  | 251/252 | AN XIII | RPC 57     | I.G. 60715 |
|  | 40 | S | 13.16<br>27.00<br>12 | 251/252 | AN XIII | RPC 58     | I.G. 49264 |
|  | 41 | S | 12.92<br>28.00<br>12 | 251/252 | AN XIII | RPC 58, 62 | I.G. 7989  |

Cat. no. 39 – Found by chance in the western part of the ancient city, called today Marignane.

**Diva Mariniana (Striking under Valerianus I)**

|  |    |   |                     |         |        |               |             |
|--|----|---|---------------------|---------|--------|---------------|-------------|
|  | 42 | S | 9.78<br>26.00<br>12 | 254/255 | AN XVI | Martin 7.09.2 | I.G. 163282 |
|--|----|---|---------------------|---------|--------|---------------|-------------|

Cat. no. 42 – From the excavations of the Roman forum; year 1972.

**Unknown authority**

|  |    |   |                      |         |      |   |             |
|--|----|---|----------------------|---------|------|---|-------------|
|  | 43 | S | 8.92<br>24.00<br>4   | 239/255 | AN ? | / | I.G. 7991   |
|  | 44 | S | 12.45<br>28.00<br>12 | 239/255 | AN ? | / | I.G. 596121 |

**Provincia Dacia  
Hostilian**

|  |    |   |                      |         |      |         |               |
|--|----|---|----------------------|---------|------|---------|---------------|
|  | 45 | S | 14.21<br>27.00<br>12 | 250/251 | AN V | RPC 104 | private coll. |
|--|----|---|----------------------|---------|------|---------|---------------|

Cat. no. 45 – For this coin *cf.* Cavagna 2012, 114, ref. 62.

***Viminacium* coins from other sites of *Venetia et Histria*****Gordianus III**

|  |    |   |         |        |                               |                             |
|--|----|---|---------|--------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|  | 46 | S | 241-242 | AN III | Pick 79; Martin 1.21,<br>1.24 | Visonà 2000, Cat. no.<br>10 |
|  | 47 | Æ | 238-244 | AN ?   | /                             | Gorini 2000, 263            |

**Philippus I**

|  |    |   |         |      |                      |                   |
|--|----|---|---------|------|----------------------|-------------------|
|  | 48 | S | 243/244 | AN V | Pick 96; Martin 2.04 | FMRHr XVIII, 41/9 |
|  | 49 | Æ | 244-249 | AN ? | /                    | Gorini 2000, 263  |
|  | 50 | Æ | 244-249 | AN ? | /                    | Arslan 2007, 329  |

**Philippus II**

|  |    |   |         |        |                       |                       |
|--|----|---|---------|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
|  | 51 | S | 245/246 | AN VII | Pick 116; Martin 2.26 | RMRVe II/1, 50/10/222 |
|--|----|---|---------|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

**Trajan Decius**

|  |    |    |         |        |           |                                   |
|--|----|----|---------|--------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
|  | 52 | S  | 249-250 | AN XI  | RPC 2     | Visonà 2000, Cat. no.<br>11       |
|  | 53 | S  | 249-250 | AN XI  | RPC 2     | Visonà 2000, Cat. no.<br>12       |
|  | 54 | S  | 249-250 | AN XI  | RPC 2     | FMRHr XVIII, 123/2                |
|  | 55 | S  | 249-250 | AN XI  | RPC 2     | Visonà 2000, Cat. no.<br>13       |
|  | 56 | S  | 249-250 | AN XI  | RPC 2     | Gorini 1972, 81; Pl. 17,<br>no. 1 |
|  | 57 | S  | 250/251 | AN XII | RPC 21-22 | RMRVe IV/1,<br>18/1(1)/17         |
|  | 58 | Dp | 250/251 | AN XII | RPC 40    | RMRVe VII/2,<br>13/48/278         |

|  |    |   |         |      |   |                     |
|--|----|---|---------|------|---|---------------------|
|  | 59 | Æ | 249-251 | AN ? | / | Bertolini 1889, 174 |
|--|----|---|---------|------|---|---------------------|

**Hostilian**

|  |    |   |         |        |            |                          |
|--|----|---|---------|--------|------------|--------------------------|
|  | 60 | S | 250-251 | AN XII | RPC 35, 38 | Visonà 2000, Cat. no. 14 |
|  | 61 | Æ | 250-252 | AN ?   | /          | Gorini 2000, 263         |
|  | 62 | Æ | 250-252 | AN ?   | /          | Gorini 2000, 263         |

**Volusianus**

|  |    |   |     |        |           |                          |
|--|----|---|-----|--------|-----------|--------------------------|
|  | 63 | S | 251 | AN XII | RPC 48-49 | Visonà 2000, Cat. no. 14 |
|--|----|---|-----|--------|-----------|--------------------------|

**Trebonianus Gallus**

|  |    |   |         |         |           |                        |
|--|----|---|---------|---------|-----------|------------------------|
|  | 64 | S | 250/251 | AN XIII | RPC 59-60 | RMRVe VI/2, 9/7(1)/257 |
|  | 65 | Æ | 250-253 | AN ?    | /         | Gorini 2000, 263       |
|  | 66 | Æ | 250-253 | AN ?    | /         | Gorini 2000, 263       |

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## CIRCULATION OF COINAGE FROM THE BITHYNIAN MINT OF NICAEEA AT THE TERRITORY OF PRESENT-DAY SERBIA\*

*During the first half of the 3rd century, at the Danubian and Balkan provinces and within monetary circulation, many different circumstances led to mass appearance of bronze coins minted in Nicaea. This especially refers to the third and the fourth decade, actually the reign of the emperors Alexander Severus and Gordian III. This massive introduction of Nicaea coinage in the monetary circulation of the Danubian and Balkan provinces was initiated due to the lack of small bronze nominal of senate issues. This was possibly the main reason for opening a mint of provincial coinage in Viminacium and later on also in Sarmizegetusa (Dacia). It can be noticed that after 239 and the beginning of minting in Viminacium, the Nicaea issues almost disappear from monetary circulation at the territories of Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia. These provinces obviously had the greatest problem with the lack of small bronze coins from the senate issues. The greatest concentration of numismatic finds from Nicaea is connected to the Danube valley (Veliko Gradište, Viminacium, Belgrade, Zemun, Batajnica, Novi Banovci, Surduk, Beška, Vukovar, Osijek), pointing out to the importance of this fluvial road not only for trade, but also for military needs. On the other hand, the lower part of the Sava fluvial road also had great economic importance, most of all because of the position of Sirmium. Numerous coin finds, the Nicaea ones being among them, were discovered along this route (Ušće, Hrtkovci, Sremska Mitrovica and Banovo Polje).*

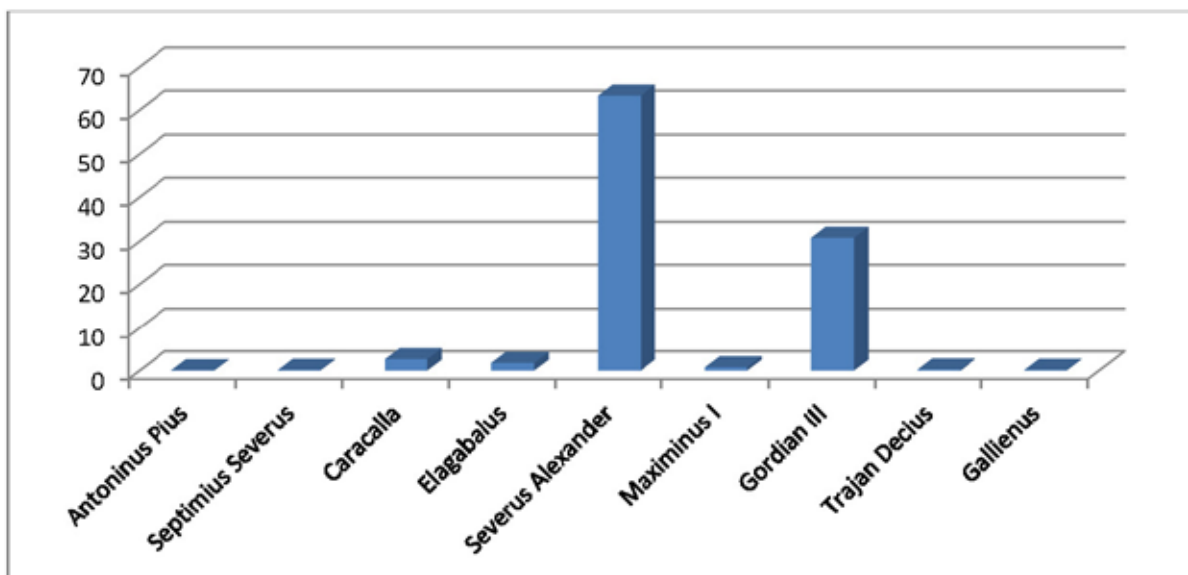
**KEY WORDS: PROVINCIAL COINAGE, NICAEEA MINT, MOESIA SUPERIOR**

During the early decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in the Danubian provinces, circumstances were convenient for a well-spread circulation of Nicaea bronze coinage in the monetary circulation of Upper Moesia. Presence of those coins was especially significant during the third and the fourth decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, actually the reign of Severus Alexander and the beginning of reign of Gordian III. Until Caracalla's reign, the Nicaea coinage was only sporadically used in this region, but it was more frequently in usage after that period, like the coins of Elagabalus and female members of the family. Most of the Nicaea coin finds from the territory of modern Serbia include issues of Alexander Severus and Gordian III (Graph 1).

Most of the finds of Nicaea coinage from the territory of Serbia have already been published. The volume of published finds includes several collections: Belgrade city museum (246),<sup>1</sup> Viminacium –

\* The study results from the project IRS – Viminacium, roman city and military legion camp – research of material and non-material of inhabitants by using the modern technologies of remote detection, geophysics, GIS, digitalization and 3D visualization (No. 47018) – Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia (M. Vojvoda) and The Kosmaj mining area in antiquity, National museum in Belgrade (financed by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia) (Adam Crnobrnja).

1 Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1981, 5-23 (159 pcs.); Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1987a, cat. 102-104, 116 (4 pcs.); Црнобрња



Graph 1 – Incidence of Nicaea coinage according to emperors at the territory of presentday Serbia.

necropoles Više grobalja and Pećine (290 + 170),<sup>2</sup> National museum in Požarevac (294),<sup>3</sup> Museum in Šabac (44),<sup>4</sup> Museum Srem (21),<sup>5</sup> Veliko Gradište (15),<sup>6</sup> Vrnjačka Banja (40);<sup>7</sup> which makes the total of 1120 pieces from Serbian museum collections. Apart from that, pieces were published that accompany archaeological finds from different excavations, field surveys or represent parts of private collections, which makes the total of 75 pieces.<sup>8</sup> We know that a certain number of Nicaea minting is still unpub-

= Crnobrajka 2013, cat. 23-26, 31 (5 pcs.); Црнобрајка, **Васић Деримановић** = Crnobrajka, Vasić **Derimanović** 2017, 33-61 (78 pcs.).

2 Војвода = Vojvoda 2013, 155-196; Vojvoda 2017, 131-150; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 12-17; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 15-17.

3 Војвода, Бранковић = Vojvoda, Branković 2016, 103-142.

4 Војвода, Петровић = Vojvoda, Petrović 2011, 283-307.

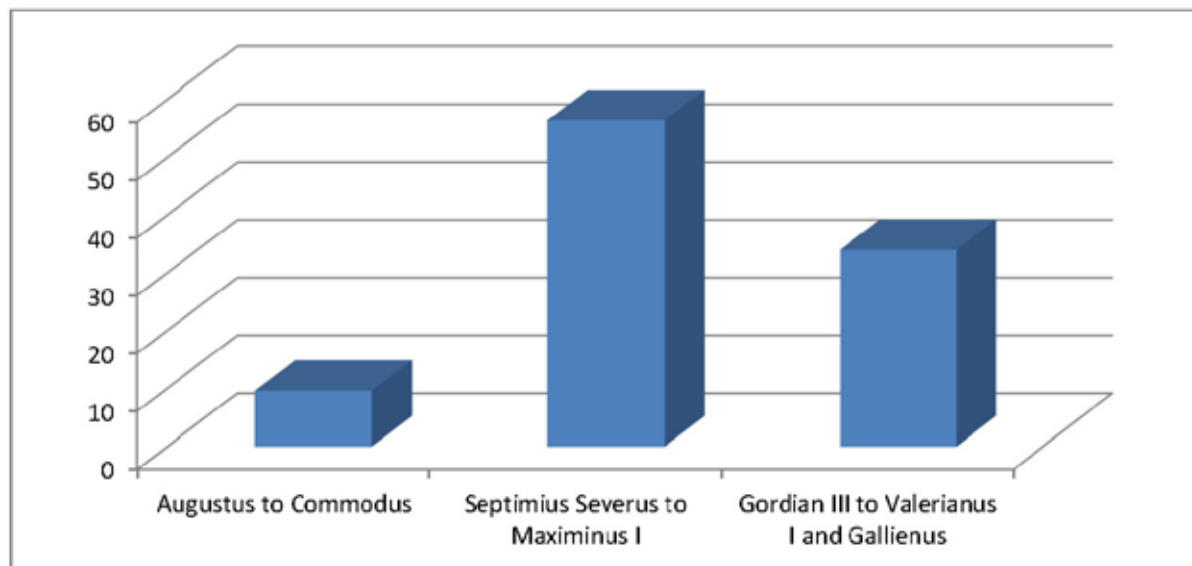
5 Војвода, Јесретић = Vojvoda, Jesretić 2012, 115-132.

6 Ivanović 2009, 361-369.

7 Сариа = Saria 1925, 163; *idem* 1926, 199-200; Црнобрајка = Crnobrajka 1987, 71-72, cat. 12-13; Borić-Brešković 2011: 419, ref. 46.

8 Оташничка **reka** (1 spec.: Gordian III), **Sezemča** (1 spec.: Gordian III), cf. Рашковић = Rašković 1998a, 78, cat. 3, 100, cat. 1; **Bovan** (2 spec.: Severus Alexander), cf. Рашковић = Rašković 1998b, 192, cat. 20-21; **Klisina** and **Pustara** (Batajnica) (4 spec.: Caracalla 1, Severus Alexander 3), cf. Црнобрајка, Челекетић = Crnobrajka, Čeleketić 1995, 131, cat. 7, 9-10; *idem* 1998, 234, cat. 4; **Svetinje** (Kostolac) (2 spec. unspecified), cf. Иванишевић = Ivanišević 1988, 61, cat. 13-14; Tekija (1 spec.: Gordian III), cf. Jovanović 2004, 61, cat. 27; Mediana (1 spec.: Julia Mamaea), cf. Janković-Mihalđić 2008, 52, cat. 113; **Caričin grad** (1 spec.: Severus Alexander ?), cf. Поповић = Popović 1980, 123, cat. 2; **Ravna** (2 spec.: Elagabalus ?, Severus Alexander ?), cf. Petković, Ružić 2005, 115, cat. 1-2; **Gomolava** (1 spec.: Gordian III), cf. Даутова-Рушевљан = Dautova-Ruševljan 1984, 62, cat. 31; **Brest-Beška** (2 spec.: Severus Alexander), cf. Даутова-Рушевљан = Dautova-Ruševljan 1989, 89; **Idimum** (Medveđa) (1 spec.: Severus Alexander ?), cf. Vasić, Milošević 2000, 179, cat. 97; **Ušće** (12 pcs.: Severus Alexander 9, Gordian III 3), cf. Црнобрајка = Crnobrajka 1985, cat. 81-89, 97-99; **Ušće** (36 pcs.: Severus Alexander 11, Gordian III 9, Tranquillina 1 + 15 pcs. unspecified), cf. Шипуш = Šipuš 1986, 8, 22; **Višnjica** (1 spec.: Severus Alexander), cf. Црнобрајка = Crnobrajka 1987a, cat. 102; **Brestovik** (2 spec.: Severus Alexander and Gordian III), cf. Црнобрајка = Crnobrajka 1987a, cat. 103-104; **Belo Polje** (1 spec.: Severus Alexander), cf. Црнобрајка = Crnobrajka 1979, 204; Stojnik (2 spec.: Severus Alexander), cf. Црнобрајка = Crnobrajka 1979, 198, 207; Ћурђија (2 spec.: J. Domna, Severus Alexander), cf. Пековић = Peković 2015, 377-378, cat. 509, 510.





Graph 2 – Presence of the entire provincial coinage at the Viminacium necropolises (Više grobalja, Pećine) according to chronological groups.

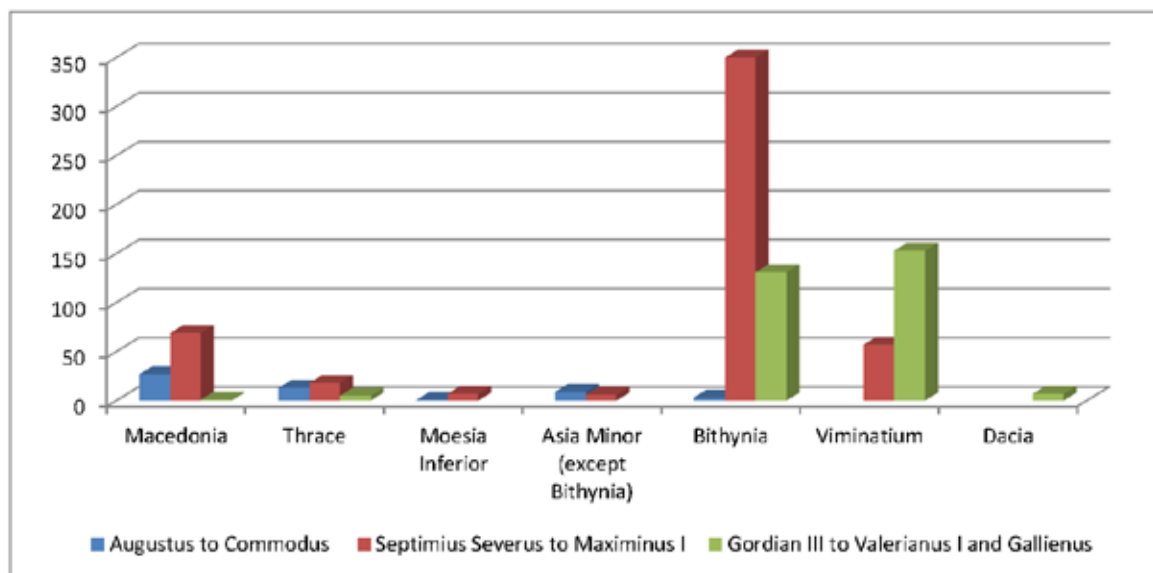
lished and comes from several museums in Serbia (around 570 pieces), but also from the neighboring countries which originating from the territory of Serbia (around 200 pieces).<sup>9</sup> In total, all of this would make almost 2000 known examples of Nicaea minting from this region, half of which has been discovered in Viminacium.

The mass usage of Nicaea minting in the monetary circulation of the Roman provinces along the Danube and in the Balkans was caused mainly due to the lack of bronze coins from the senate issues.<sup>10</sup> Apart from Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia, this case was also noticed in the neighboring, north-western provinces. However, it was not so extreme. In the period between 192 and 239, in the south-eastern Alpine region, in ancient times including part of Italy, Noricum, Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia, bronze coins from the eastern mints were represented only in a small amount. The situation was much changed after two Balkan mints were opened, actually in the period from 239 to 253. During that time, especially coinage from the Viminacium mint made a significant percentage in the monetary circulation of the western Balkan provinces.<sup>11</sup>

9 National Museum in Belgrade (357 spec.), National Museum in Vranje (1), Heritage collection Svrlijig (7), Heritage Museum in Jagodina (2), National Museum in Kragujevac (2), City Museum of Vršac (2), Bulgaria (different museums) (143), Romania (different museums) (201), Hungary (Hungarian National Museum) (98), Croatia (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) (237), National Museum of Slovenia (12), National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (69). We would like to extend our sincerest thanks to colleagues Bojana Borić-Brešković, Goran Mitrović, Slaviša Milivojević, Dalibor Nevidek, Smiljana Dodić, Marija Šarić, Ljiljana Bakić, Alenka Miškec, Tomislav Bilić, Miroslav Nađ, Evgenij Paunov, Ana Marić, Istvan Vida and Lajos Juchas for the kindly shared information.

10 Borić-Brešković 2011, 417-418, ref. 34-49; Војвода, Петровић = Vojvoda, Petrović 2011: 288-289; Војвода, Јесретић = Vojvoda, Jesretić 2012: 121-122; Војвода = Vojvoda 2013: 159-160; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015: 14-17, ref. 10-13; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 15-16.

11 This percentage amounts to: 7% in Noricum, 38% in Upper Pannonia and 58% in Lower Pannonia of all the coin finds. In Emona, the presence of Viminacium coinage was noted with 29%, in Celeia 16% and in Poetovio 43% of the total coin finds from this period, cf. Kos 1986: 107-110, ref. 47; In National Museum of Aquileia kept 2 pcs. (Elagabal and Severus Alexander), 2 more pcs. originating from Northeast of Italy (Severus Alexander and Gordian III), we would like to extend our sincerest thanks to colleague Andrea Stella for the kindly shared information; Găzdac 2005, 500; Găzdac 2008, 277; Găzdac 2010, 103-106, Pl. L1-2. Găzdac supported Martin's thesis that since from the beginning of Gordian III's reign there are no further issues of *limesfalsa*, the end of *limesfalsa* could be linked with the opening of the mint of



Graph 3 – Presence of coins of individual provinces according to chronological groups in the Viminacium necropolises (Više grobalja, Pećine).

The already mentioned lack of coinage from senate issues was the main reason for establishing a mint of provincial coinage in Viminacium in 239 and later also in Dacia in 246.<sup>12</sup> After the Viminacium mint started operating, a significant quantity decrease of Nicaea issues in the monetary circulation of Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia was noticed. Obviously, in these territories, the lack of senate issues showed most (Graph 3).

A huge sample of provincial coinage issues from the Viminacium cemeteries offers great insight into the monetary circulation of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in this part of the Danube valley and Upper Moesia. Of special importance is the fact that these numismatic finds come from closed funerary contexts from archaeological excavations, therefore representing historical sources of the first degree.

Analyses of numismatic finds from the Viminacium cemeteries Više grobalja and Pećine, ending with the reign of Commodus, indicate that provincial bronze coinage from Asia Minor, Thrace and Lower Pannonia was much less represented when compared to the quantity of coins from Macedonian mints.<sup>13</sup> During the reign of Septimius Severus, his sons and later on Elagabalus, the situation has changed. During that period, the presence of provincial bronze coinage has doubled. Most of the issues come from Macedonian mints, especially from Stobi.<sup>14</sup> Also, the presence of coinage from Bithynian mint Nicaea gradually increased as well, showing its peak during the reign of Alexander Severus. A similar situation remained also during the first year of reign of Gordian III. Establishing a mint in Viminacium and the beginning of monetary circulation of its coinage immediately reflected on reducing the quantity of Gordian III coins from the Nicaea mint. The analysis of Viminacium numismatic finds showed that in the period from Philip I to Valerianus I and Galienus, almost all of the provincial series belong to the Viminacium mint, while there were only three pieces from the Nicaea mint.<sup>15</sup> During the reign of Alexander Severus and the highest influx of Nicaea coinage into Upper Moesia, the remaining Bithynian mints were represented with only a small number of examples: Nicomedia with 17, Juliopolis with 2 coins and Kalchedon with 1 coin.

Viminacium in 239 AD, which supplied bronze coins for the Pannonia Superior; cf. Martin 1992, 9; Găzdac 2005, 499.

<sup>12</sup> Борић-Брешкович = Borić-Brešković 1976, 8; Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1981, 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> Borić-Brešković 2011, 420-426.

<sup>14</sup> Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2017, 16.

<sup>15</sup> A similar situation was observed in Dacia and Lower Pannonia also, cf. Găzdac 2005; Nađ 2012, 390.

The second interesting fact is related to Macedonian mints, partially also supplying Upper Moesia with coinage during the first two centuries.<sup>16</sup> During Caracalla's reign, exactly during the time when Nicaea coinage took larger part in monetary circulation of Moesia, the Stobi mint was closed. Almost at the same time, during Elagabalus and especially Alexander Severus and Gordian III, in Macedonia again, significant issues of autonomous coinage (Koinon Macedoniae) were minted. Obviously, contrary to the coinage from Nicaea, they did not show much influence on the monetary circulation at the territory of Moesia.<sup>17</sup> It was evident that monetary circulation of the Stobi, Nicaea and Viminacium mints depended on one another, at least when the territory of Upper Moesia is concerned.

Find analysis of provincial coinage at the territory of Upper Moesia and their comparison with parallel finds from the neighboring provinces contributes much to knowledge about ways of circulation between the provinces of Asia Minor, Danube, as well as central and western Balkans. By comparing frequencies of well-known finds of Nicaea mints at the territory of Upper Moesia with the neighboring provinces, one can notice big differences. This is another parameter that indicates circulation limit of the Nicaea minting, much represented in Upper Moesia, less in Lower Pannonia and even less in Upper Pannonia and further on to the west.

Between the second and the fourth decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Nicaea issues represent the most frequent provincial mints throughout Upper Moesia, especially along the Danubian limes and in Viminacium.<sup>18</sup> Huge presence of Nicaea issues in this region was probably connected to military movements. While going to or returning from battlefields in the east, many emperors stopped and spent their time in Viminacium: Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, possibly also Gordian III. On such occasions, the Viminacium legionary fort also hosted soldiers who accompanied emperors, also confirmed with epigraphic inscriptions. Besides, vexillation of the legion VII Claudia stationed in Viminacium also took part in these wars.<sup>19</sup> Increased military movements during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century along the Danube limes and the road that led from Viminacium to Naissus and further over Thrace to Bosphorus, it could influenced to the large frequency of Bithynian coins. Reverse motifs with military insignia also could reflect the connection between Nicaea coinage in Upper Moesia with military presence or movements. They were minted in Bithynia probably to cover the needs connected to the increased presence of Roman troops in that region. At the same time, the Nicaea mint issued numerous different issues with images of deities. However, in Upper Moesia motifs of military character were represented almost exclusively. On the other hand, it is very interesting that motifs with military insignia were rare in the area of the parent

16 Borić-Brešković 2011, 420-426.

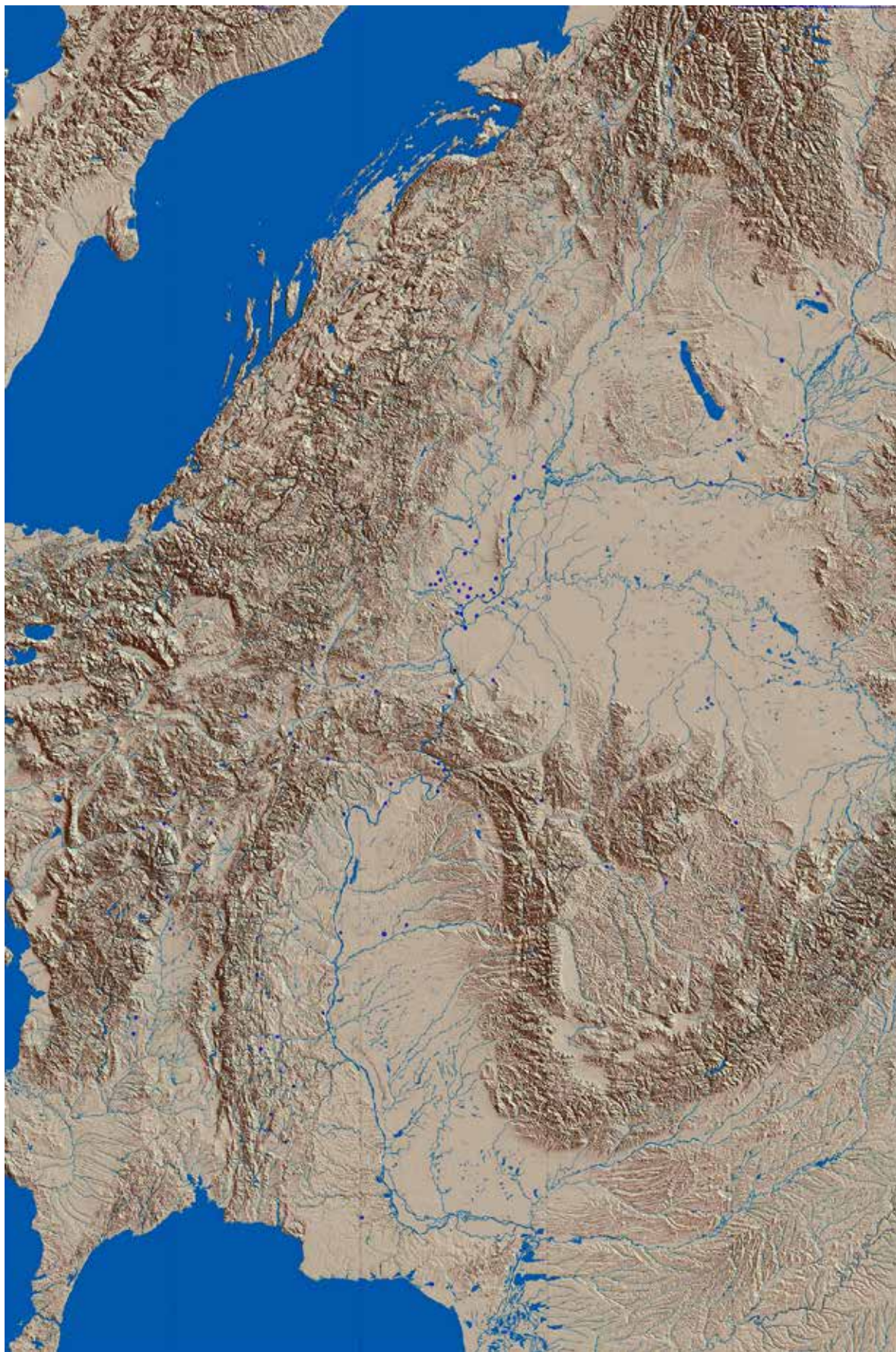
17 Kos 1998, 225.

18 Veliko Gradište, Viminacium, Belgrade, Zemun, Batajnica, Novi Banovci, Surduk and Vukovar, *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1981, 6, Table 1; only for Veliko Gradište, *cf.* Ivanović 2009, 361-369; besides the 4 specimens from the collection of the Belgrade City Museum, 119 Nicaean specimens (from Caracalla to Gordian III) originate from the territory of Novi Banovci and are located in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, *cf.* Brunšmid 1907, 16. In the same paper, Brunšmid notes that there are 239 more specimens of Nicaea (mostly Severus Alexander and Gordian III), out of which 179 are known to have originated from 12 sites in Slavonia 179, *cf. idem* 1907, 16, ref. 4. According to the information obtained from our colleague Tomislav Bilić from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 2015, there are 133 specimens of Nicaean coinage from Novi Banovci in their collection. Apart from that, there are numerous finds from the territory of: Surduk (34), Dobanovci (1), Banoštor (2), Sremska Mitrovica (7), Stari Slankamen (2), Novi Slankamen (1), Hrtkovci (1), Kostolac (3), Sotin (24), Vinkovci (8), Osijek (18) and Otapovci (1). We would like to extend our kindest gratitude to colleague Tomislav Bilić for sharing the informations. 18 pcs. of Nicaean coinage originate from Osijek (Caracalla 1, Elagabalus 2, Severus Alexander 11, Julia Mamaea 1, Gordian III 3), *cf.* Celestin 1904, 24, cat. 1-18; Brunšmid 1907, 15-16, ref. 5; In addition, the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, has additional 10 pcs. with unknown place of discovery; and 1 pc. (Severus Alexander) from grave 138 (North Mursa necropolis), *cf.* Göricke-Lukić 2011, 133. We would like to extend our kindest gratitude to colleague Branislav Miličić for sharing the informations. For the territory of Belgrade and its surroundings, *cf.* Црнобрња, Васић Деримановић = Crnobrnja, Vasić Derimanović 2017, 33-61; For Viminacium, *cf.* Bojvoda = Vojvoda 2011: 247; *idem* 2013, 155-196; *idem* 2017 131-150.

19 Mirković 1968, 70, ref. 115-117.



Map 1 – Finds of the Nicaea coins from the Upper Moesia and from the neighboring provinces.





mint.<sup>20</sup>

There are also opinions that their circulation is due to trade, other unclear reasons, or they have it »supra-provincial character«.<sup>21</sup> Besides land roads, the Danubian fluvial road showed highest concentration of Nicaea coinage. During that time, it obviously played an important role for military needs. It was also of great importance for trade that went along the river, between the East and the West. Presence of *nauclerus* was noted on epigraphic monuments from Viminacium.<sup>22</sup>

The second area of concentration of Nicaea coinage was noticed along the Sava valley, especially in its lower part. This fluvial road had an extremely large economic importance, most of all due to the position of Sirmium. Large number of numismatic finds, including the Nicaea coinage, gives testimony to this.<sup>23</sup> Apart from natural conditions, the intensive development of agriculture and trade in this area was influenced by vicinity of Sirmium, being the most important center in this part of Lower Pannonia. Sirmium represented a natural crossroad, one of the roads leading towards Singidunum along the right Sava bank. After Viminacium, the biggest concentration of Nicaea coinage was notified at the site Ušće, the Roman municipium Spodent[...], situated at the right Sava bank, between Sirmium and Singidunum.<sup>24</sup> Besides agriculture and trade, the economic development of this area was largely influenced with mining in the area of the Drina valley and the second important communication road, leading from Sirmium to Salona. Apart from these two main roads, in the Sava valley there was a well-developed net of communications, local roads, connecting rural estates and smaller settlements. While in Upper Moesia the coinage from the Nicaea mint was connected to military movements, in the Sava valley it was connected to trade and agriculture.

Studies of Nicaea coinage at the territory of Serbia showed that its greatest concentration is connected to Viminacium and its wider surrounding. In a broader sense, this circulation was connected mostly to the Danube Limes, from Vindobona to the Danube Delta and the Black Sea, with its peak along the valley part from Mursa to Viminacium. The second important spreading direction is noticed along the Morava land road, over Naissus and Thrace to Bosphorus.

So far we know that compared to the neighboring provinces, the largest number of Nicaea coins originates from Upper Moesia, that their presence is certainly connected to the circulation of Stobi and later Viminacium coinage, but also that almost one half of these coins was discovered in Viminacium. Topography of finds indicates that the largest concentration is located along the Danube fluvial road and along *Via militaris*, further indicating the well-known military movements of the time. Besides, large quantities of Nicaea coinage were noticed in the lower Sava valley, from Sirmium over Spodent[...] to Singidunum, most likely connected to trade and agricultural business, actually including coinage that reached this area with soldiers from the East into the monetary circulation of the province and due to the need for small nominals. Numerous questions still remain opened, but the monetary finds from Viminacium, with their large number of pieces and certain finding place, largely contribute to solving questions related to the limits in circulation of provincial coinage in this part of the Empire.

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20 Tekin 1994, 178-259

21 D. Calomino presentation: Bithynian coins in the Balkans in the late Severan Age: new thoughts on an old problem; held on 16<sup>th</sup> September 2017 at International Numismatic Symposium: *Circulation of the Antique Coins in Southeastern Europe*, Viminacium, Serbia. Calomino gives an opinion that the exceptional volume of finds of Nicaean coins in the Balkans suggests that they were transported to one or more destination. Upper Moesia was the destination to which the bulk of coins were directed and from which they might have later spread to the surrounding areas.

22 Mirković 1968, 142, ref. 67.

23 Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1992, 152-158; Поповић = Popović 1997, 17-35; Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 13-14, ref. 23; Петровић = Petrović 2010, 107-143; Војвода, Петровић = Vojvoda, Petrović 2011, 290, ref. 36; Војвода, Јесретић = Vojvoda, Jesrečić 2012, 122, ref. 18.

24 Crnobrnja 2011, 373-388; Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 2013, 197-238.

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## COIN CIRCULATION IN THE LATE ROMAN VICUS NEAR THE VILLAGE OF PANAYOT VOLOV (NORTH-EASTERN BULGARIA)

*The modern village of Panayot Volov is situated 8 km to the north of city of Shumen, Northeastern Bulgaria. In 2012, in the vicinity of the village the building of new section of Hemus highway started. The construction works led to archaeological rescue excavations on an area of 11 200 m<sup>2</sup>. During the research, two stratigraphic levels were recognized, the earlier one being dated into the late Roman period (4<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century). The studied structures – six edifices, three pottery kilns and lots of pits belong to unfortified part of the settlement system of province Moesia Secunda. The highway route crosses the periphery of this vicus and that is why only the southern outskirts were investigated. The next chronological level dates into the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Materials of the Late Roman period include big quantity of pottery and small finds. Part of the discovered artifacts also includes 308 coins. Nine of them are struck in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, while seven coins belong to a little hoard. Two examples are Ottoman from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and one coin represents the modern Bulgarian mint from the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The rest of 296 items are struck in the Late Roman period. The coins include mints from almost all of the Roman emperors of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The latest example belongs to the issue of Arcadius during his independent reign.*

**KEY WORDS: COIN CIRCULATION, IMPERIAL COINAGE, LATE ROMAN PERIOD, PANYOT VOLOV**

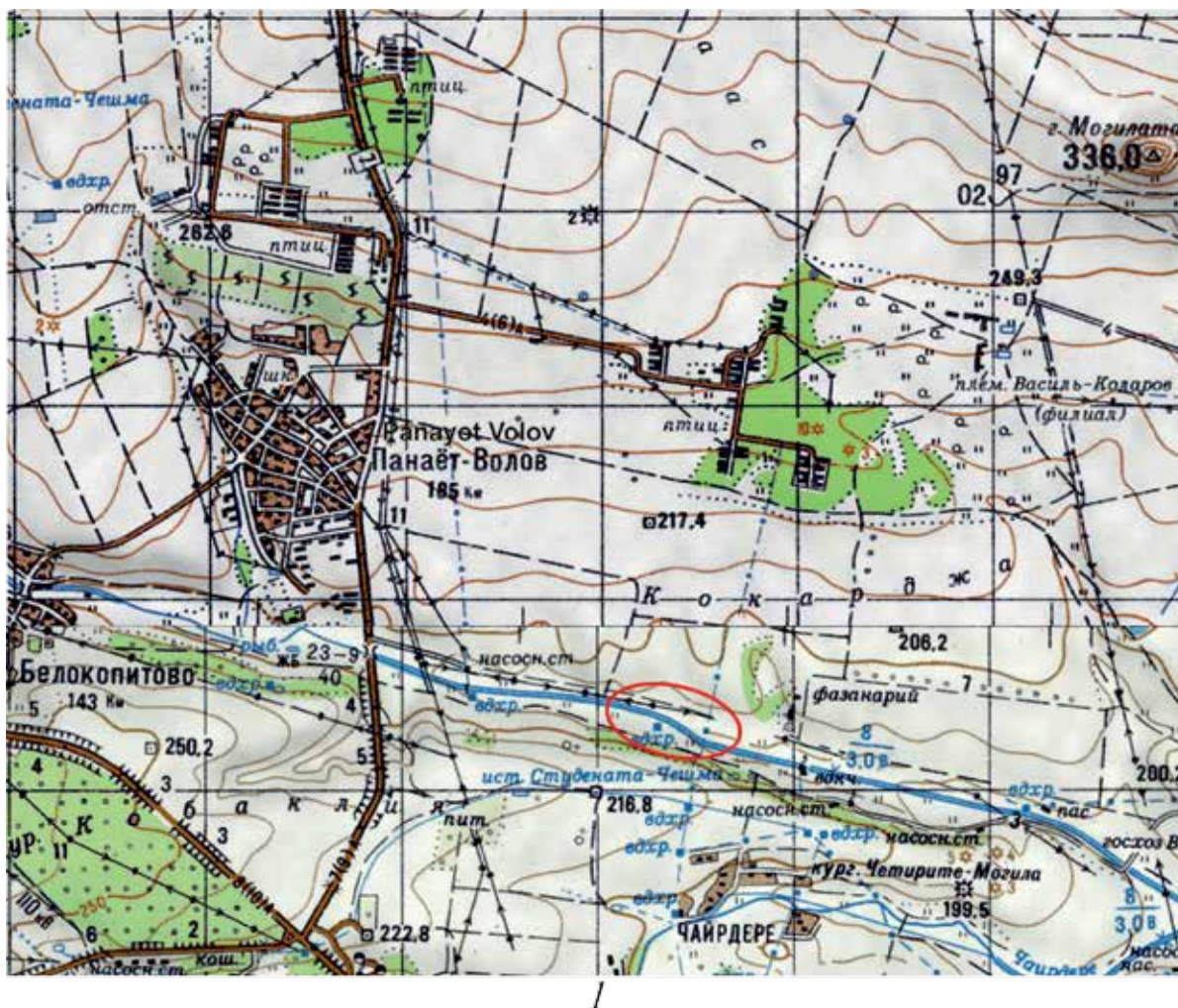
In 2012, because of the building of the new Hemus Highway section between Belokopitovo and Kaspichan, the Shumen municipality (NE Bulgaria) rescue excavations were conducted<sup>1</sup>. The research needed to be done in three phases and entirely completed within half a year. The first stage of survey was an archaeological observation during the digging of the humus layer in the borders of the building lot. The second phase required a preliminary investigation and in the third the whole area was covered via excavations. As a result of the activities according to aforementioned methodological sequence, an archaeological site (marked with № 2) is registered, located about 2 km to the southeast of the village of Panayot Volov, in the Shumen municipality (Fig. 1/1-2).

During the period of research, an area of about 1 hectare, divided into 28 sectors, was unearthed. As a result of the study, two different stratigraphic layers were determined. The earlier one is dated to the late Roman period (the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century), while the second phase refers to the early Medieval age (8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century). The materials from the first stage of inhabitation belong to an unfortified settlement (*vicus*) located on flat terrain along the left bank of a small river. Pursuant to the preliminary conclusions, the section of highway covers the periphery of a large archaeological site where lots of structures have been studied. In the investigated area the identified remains belong to several edifices, three pottery kilns and a large amount of pits. The various groups of finds, such as building ceramics, pottery fragments, coins, lead seals, fibulae, lead mirrors and other objects, are typical for the late Roman period<sup>2</sup>. The main part of the settlement occupies territory to the north of a line of a route and has been never excavated. On the basis of the distances between the documented buildings and the

1 Стойчев и др. 2013, 279 = Stoichev et al. 2013, 279.

2 Стойчев и др. 2013, 281 = Stoichev et al. 2013, 281.





1



2

Fig. 1/1-2 – Location of the archaeological site at village of Panayot Volov.



classification of Roman and late Roman *vici* in today's Bulgarian territory, the households here can be attributed to those with expected yard areas<sup>3</sup>.

A significant number of the small finds recovered at Panayot Volov, in the complexes and their surroundings, are represented by coins. Their subsequent examination related both to the chronology and the stratigraphy of the settlement, but also to the interpretation of coin circulation as well. The whole excavation cycle, which includes the three phases of research, produced a total of 305 coins. The coins were struck in two different and remote periods – Roman and Late Roman (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c.) and modern times (19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> c.). The items discovered in the layers of the *vicus* amount to 301 objects, representing bronze coins of various denominations, together with a small number of silver samples. Besides them, one perforated follis is part of the total. It isn't linked to the circulation of the settlement, but indirectly testifies to the moment when that coin was already out of use.

During work with the numismatic material, a model of the periodisation of coin circulation published by G. L. Duncan<sup>4</sup> was adopted. Of course, it was adapted to our specific needs so, according to the date of coin striking, 11 periods have been distinguished (see Appendix and Table 1).

During the archaeological observation a small coin hoard was found which consists of 7 antoniniani and represents period 1 (196–286). The coins belong to the mint of Philip I (3 pcs), his son Philip II (2 pcs.), Hostilian (1 pc.) and Volusian (1 pc.) (Plate 1, 1-7). The hoard is interpreted as a lost personal resource which happened not earlier than 251/253 AD<sup>5</sup>. During the implementation of the actual excavations another four coins dated to the end of 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century were collected (Plate 1, 8-11). The earliest one is a suberate denarius of Julia Domna issued in Laodicea in 196/202 AD. The next two items are antoniniani of Claudius II Gothicus and the latest one represents the coinage of Maximian Herculus, struck in Rome in 285/286 AD.

The remainder of the 290 coins were put into circulation during the 4<sup>th</sup> century and only one of them was minted at its end or at the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century. This large group consists of 279 single coins and 2 small hoards.

Period 2 (294–307) is not represented by the coins. Generally, the first series unites 10 folles struck in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period (307–317) during the reign of Licinius I and Constantine I (Augusti) and Licinius II (Caesar), representing 3.6 % (Plate 1, 12-13) of the collection. The next group, in period 4 (317–324), is represented by 19 bronze coins emitted in 317–324 (6.8 %) (Plate 1, 14-19) with one of them an imitation of the Constantine type VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP (Plate 1, 17). In contrast, the quantity of samples dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> period (324-330) is much reduced, numbering only four (1.4 %) (Plate 1, 20-23). All the finds issued in the first 30 years from the beginning of the century (11.8 %) are not in good condition and their surfaces point to usage over a long period of time.

A significant change of coin circulation occurred between 330 and 341 (periods 6a and 6b). The numismatic material dated in this approximately short phase amounts to 54 bronze items (19.4 %) and represents the coinage of Constantine the Great's household (Plate 1, 24-27; Plate 2, 1-4). The group also includes the commemorative issues of Rome and Constantinople. The fourth decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (period 7) is a time when the *vicus* at Panayot Volov registered a decrease of monetary stock (34 pieces – 12.2 %) (Plate 2, 5-9). That tendency changes completely in the next 13 years. The periods 8a (348–353) and 8b (353–361) represent the peak of coin circulation, when the bronze pieces amount to 90 (32.3 %) (Plate 2, 10-16). All of the currency is typical for the coinage of Constans, Constantius II, Constantius Gallus and Julian (Caesar). During this chronological sequence there was definitely the most significant coin distribution in settlement after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The finds that bear the name of Constantius II on the obverse number 53 and completely dominate over the others. Some badly preserved examples are identified on the base of their reverse legends and effigies and, thus, a number of the coins are described as having been possibly minted for more than one emperor.

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3 Динчев 2006, 252 = Dinchev 2006, 252.

4 Duncan 1993, XI.

5 Върбанов 2017, 26-27 = Varbanov 2017, 26-27.

| Mint/Period    | 1         | 2        | 3        | 4         | 5        | 6a        | 6b       | 7        | 8a       | 8b        | 9        | 10        | 11       | Total      | %          |
|----------------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|
| Laodicea       | 1         |          |          |           |          |           |          |          |          |           |          |           |          | 1          | 0,8        |
| Rome           | 5         |          |          |           |          |           |          |          |          |           |          |           |          | 5          | 4          |
| Trier          |           |          |          | 1         |          |           |          |          |          |           |          |           |          | 1          | 0,8        |
| Lugdunum       |           |          |          |           |          | 1         |          |          |          |           |          |           |          | 1          | 0,8        |
| Siscia         |           |          |          | 4         |          | 3         | 1        |          | 1        | 1         |          | 1         |          | 11         | 8,9        |
| Sirmium        |           |          |          |           |          |           |          |          |          | 3         |          |           |          | 3          | 2,4        |
| Thessalonica   |           |          | 1        | 1         |          | 1         |          | 4        |          | 9         |          | 3         |          | 19         | 15,3       |
| Heraclaea      |           |          | 5        | 5         | 2        | 5         | 1        | 1        |          | 2         | 1        | 4         |          | 26         | 21         |
| Constantinople |           |          |          |           |          | 3         | 6        |          | 1        | 3         |          | 5         | 1        | 19         | 15,3       |
| Nicomedia      |           |          | 2        |           | 2        | 3         |          | 2        |          | 3         |          | 4         |          | 16         | 13         |
| Cyzicus        |           |          |          | 2         |          | 3         | 1        |          | 1        | 4         | 1        |           |          | 12         | 9,7        |
| Antioch        | 5         |          | 1        |           |          |           |          | 1        |          | 2         |          |           |          | 9          | 7,3        |
| Alexandria     |           |          |          |           |          |           |          |          |          |           |          | 1         |          | 1          | 0,8        |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>11</b> | <b>/</b> | <b>9</b> | <b>13</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>9</b> | <b>8</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>27</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>124</b> | <b>100</b> |

Table 1 – Panayot Volov: Site finds\*

\* Period 1 = 196-286 AD; Period 2 = 294-307 AD; Period 3 = 307-317 AD; Period 4 = 317-324 AD; Period 5 = 324-330 AD; Period 6a = 330-336 AD; Period 6b = 336-341 AD; Period 7 = 341-348 AD; Period 8a = 348-353 AD; Period 8b = 353-361 AD; Period 9 = 361-364 AD; Period 10 = 364-378 AD; Period 11 = 378-408 AD.

| Mint/Period    | 3        | Total    | %          |
|----------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Thessalonica   | 2        | 2        | 33.33      |
| Heraclea       | 1        | 1        | 16.66      |
| Uncertain mint | 3        | 3        | 50.00      |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>6</b> | <b>6</b> | <b>100</b> |

Table 2 – Panayot Volov: Coin Hoard 1

| Mint/Period    | 6a       | 6b       | 7        | 10       | Total    | %          |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| Heraclea       |          | 1        |          |          | 1        | 20.00      |
| Nicomedia      | 1        |          |          |          | 1        | 20.00      |
| Uncertain mint |          |          | 2        | 1        | 3        | 60.00      |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>1</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>5</b> | <b>100</b> |

Table 3 – Panayot Volov: Coin Hoard 2

The next group, from period 9 (361–364), is represented by two samples of Julian (Augustus) and Jovian. However, this reduction is typical for this moment of Late Roman coinage (Plate 2, 17-18). The following, 10<sup>th</sup>, period (364–378) includes 43 coins (15.4 %) and represents the mintage until the death of Valens. The series is a reflection of coinage of Valentinian's dynasty and Procopius (the usurper) (Plate 2, 19-23). Among the finds is the only Late Roman silver coin – a siliqua of Valentinian I (Plate 2, 19). From a chronological point of view, this is the latest compact group of the numismatic materials recovered during the archaeological research. The end of the coin circulation is marked in period 11 (378–408) by a single bronze find struck in 395/401 AD at the beginning of Arcadius' independent reign (Plate 2, 24). It is important that there is a minimum of 20 years hiatus between the series of the third quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> century and the coin that indicates the mint of Theodosius' son.

Among the total number of coins, there are 19 items in very bad condition (6.8 %). These examples can't be dated precisely and, according to their metric data, refer to the Late Roman period (4<sup>th</sup> century). It is possible that some coins are younger and were struck at the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Besides the single coins, the numismatic material includes two small hoards which consist of six and five finds respectively. The first one is composed of two folles of Constantine I, three folles of Licinius I and one badly preserved coin from the same denomination, dated to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Table 2; Plate 2, 25-30). Owing to the well dated coins struck in 312/314 AD, this hoard is similar to the first compact group from the second decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (period 3). Their damaged surfaces allow us to suppose a longer period of usage. The second small hoard combines bronze currency of Constans, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constantius II, Constans, Constantius II and Valens (Table 3; Plate 3, 1-5). Its loss was not earlier than 364/378 AD, dated by the latest coin and it is very close chronologically to the last series of the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (period 10).

The last four coins mentioned here and produced by the excavations are not relevant to dating the site. One of them is a follis of Licinius I. It is perforated and, together with a glass bead and a reused fibula needle, represents an interesting adornment (Plate 3, 6). The coin is worn away after a long period of use, then changing its function and being removed from circulation. This happened perhaps after the middle

of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Probably the same destiny was experienced by another perforated follis of Licinius I found out of context in the settlement's area. Such praxis is not unusual and is well known from the Roman period, when coins were incorporated in medallions<sup>6</sup>.

The next two ottoman coins belong to the mint of Mahmud II and Abdulmejid I in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Plate 3, 7-8). Together with the latest item of a Bulgarian five stotinki, struck in Kremnitz in 1917 (Plate 3, 9), they present money lost during work in the fields near Panayot Volov in modern times.

Working with the numismatic material, it is possible to recognise the names of 18 different emperors. Their reign started at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century with Julia Domna and continued until the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century with Arcadius. Four more names registered on the 7 antoniniani from the hoard mentioned above can be added as well<sup>7</sup>. According to the statistics, 118 examples are better preserved and the mint is readable on their reverses. This represents about 40 % of the total. The most numerous is the production of eastern mints such as Heraclea (26 pcs), Thessalonica (19 pcs.), Constantinople (19 pcs.) and Nicomedia (16 pcs.). Also documented are Cyzicus, Antioch, Sirmium and Alexandria. The western mints are represented predominantly by Siscia (11 pcs.), with the issue of Trier and Lugdunum marked by only one coin. Another two examples of Rome and five of Antioch are recorded in the antoniniani hoard. The reverse types number 38 and can be identified on 273 examples.

The exact location of the coins in the structures provides us with some interesting information. They are registered in five pits, one pottery kiln and the ruins of at least six buildings. In the infill of pits № 6, 17, 30, 43 and 44, together with other archaeological materials were found bronze coins of Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantius II, a commemorative of Constantinople and a badly preserved sample of Valentinian's dynasty. The finds indicate that the use of pits and their infilling continued generally in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Only in one of the three pottery kilns (№ 1), in the stoke pit, was anything recovered, a follis of Licinius I and two commemorative coins of Rome, struck in 331/335 AD. That period corresponds to the first increase of coin circulation in the settlement (period 6a).

The main part of the numismatic material was located in the borders of several structures and the layers around. In sector 13, where one of the edifices has been researched, 10 coins were found. They belong to the issue of different emperors from Claudius II to Valens. The second building is located in sector 15 and, together with other finds, four coins from Constantine I to Valentinian I were discovered. The third house is in sector 16, squares Z and M. In this zone were found 11 bronze coins issued in the period between the reigns of Licinius I and Valens. Very close to the structure another 27 finds have been documented and the latest types are GLORIA ROMANORVM and SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE typical for the Valentinian dynasty. The same monetary picture repeats in the rest of the edifices in sectors 22/24 (63 coins), 23 (24 coins) and 26 (21 coins), with the peak of circulation in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The limited size of the archaeologically investigated territory of the unfortified settlement near Panayot Volov has not allowed any general conclusions. Nevertheless, the numismatic material is varied enough to give us some guidelines regarding life in that *vicus*. The earliest 11 coins from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century support the suggestion that the roman village had an earlier phase, even if there is no registered layer from this period. Such remains can be expected to the north of the excavated area outside the highway route. Several fibulae and a strap end support this theory. A similar continuity in the late Roman times is well known from many other sites in Bulgaria<sup>8</sup>. The coins show that in the studied zone of the settlement the beginning of more substantial money circulation is dated to around the fourth decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Its peak was in the third quarter and finishes during the reign of Valens, as a result of the military action in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Gothic War (376-382). The one later coin of Arcadius, struck in 395-401, suggests that the *vicus* was probably rebuilt, but such an assumption needs to be supported by more evidence.

Unfortunately, the research of the coins produced in Panayot Volov cannot be put in a wider context,

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6 Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 48, 138-139; Думанов 2008, 106 = Dumanov 2008, 106.

7 Върбанов 2017, 26-27 = Varbanov 2017, 28-29.

8 Динчев 2006, 243-244 = Dinchev 2006, 243-244.

because there are no similar publications. To date, I know of no study of coin circulation that concerns Late Roman unfortified settlements from the territory of the province of Moesia Secunda. Until 2006, data about the four *vices* registered on the mentioned area has only been partially reported, but the numismatic information is not mentioned at all<sup>9</sup>. During the archaeological excavations and field observations in 2007-2009 of the settlement at Gorsko Aplanovo, in the Targovishte region, 36 coins were found, six of which are Late Roman bronzes (the 4<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>10</sup>. The pieces are out of context and their small number testifies only to a limited rebuild of this large Roman vicus. The most recent article dedicated to the coins produced by the excavations of the unfortified settlement near Malko Tranovo, in the Stara Zagora region illustrates a similar circulation during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> Regarding the Late Roman period, there are many publications of the numismatic material discovered in the fortresses of Lower Moesia such as Iatrus<sup>12</sup>, Sadovetz<sup>13</sup>, Odartzi<sup>14</sup> and Sexaginta Prista<sup>15</sup>, but these fortified sites had a different stratigraphy and intensity of life and their coin circulation is not comparable to coin circulation in the settlements.

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9 Динчев 2006, Обр. 1 = Dinchev 2006, Fig. 1.

10 Върбанов 2012, 225-226 = Varbanov 2012, 225-226.

11 Божкова 2017, 145-166 = Bojkova 2017, 145-166.

12 Schönert-Geiss 1979, 167-209; Schönert-Geiss 1991, 213-240; Schönert-Geiss 1995, 131-132.

13 Jurukova 1992, 279-328.

14 Торбатов 2002 = Torbatov 2002.

15 Русев и др. 2015, 177-214 = Rusev et al 2015, 177-214.

## Appendix

### A series of site finds from the excavations of *vicus* at Panayot Volov

#### Period 1: 196–286, 11 coins:

*Denarii:*

PVDICITIA: 1

Julia Domna, Laodicea

*Antoniniani:*

AEQVITAS AVG: 1

Philip I, Rome

FIDES EXERCITVS: 1

Philip I, Rome

PM TR P VI COS PP: 1

Philip I, Antioch

ROMAE AETERNAE: 1

Philip I, Antioch

PM TR P VI COS PP: 1

Philip II, Antioch

SAECVLVM NOVVM: 1

Hostilian, Antioch

VBERITAS AVG: 1

Volusian, Antioch

IOVI STATORI: 1

Claudius II Gothicus, Rome

P M TR P II COS P P: 1

Claudius II Gothicus, Rome

IOVI CONSERVAT AVGG: 1

Maximian Herculius, Rome

#### Period 2: 294–307, None

#### Period 3: 307–317, 10 coins:

GENIO AVGVSTI: 1

Licinius I, Antioch

IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG NN: 1

Licinius I, Thessalonica

IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG: 4

Licinius I 2, Constantine I 2.

Heraclea 3, uncertain mint 1.

IOVI CONSERVATORI: 2

Licinius I 2, Nicomedia.

PROVIDENTIAE AVGG: 1

Licinius I 1, Heraclea.

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS: 1

Licinius II 1, Heraclea.

#### Period 4: 317–324, 19 coins:

IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG: 5

Licinius I 3, Constantine I 2.

Cyzicus 2, uncertain mint 3.

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS: 3

Licinius II 2, Crispus 1.

Heraclea 3.

VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP: 6 (1 imitation)

All Constantine I; Siscia 3, Trier 1, uncertain mint 2.

VICT• LAETAE PRINC PERP: 1

Licinius II, Siscia.

VIRTVS EXERCIT: 1

Constantine II, Thessalonica.

IOVI CONSERVATORI: 2

All Licinius II; Heraclea.

DOMINOR□NOSTROR□CAESS: 1

Crispus, Heraclea.

#### Period 5: 324–330, 4 coins:

D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG: 1

Constantine I, Heraclea.

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE: 1

Helena, Nicomedia.

PROVIDENTIAE AVGG: 1

Constantine I, Nicomedia.

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS: 1

Constantius II, Heraclea.

#### Period 6a: 330–336, 27 coins:

GLORIA EXERCITVS

(Two standards): 12

Constantine I 6, Constantine II 4, Constantius II 2.

Siscia 1, Heraclea 3, Constantinople 3, Nicomedia 1, Cyzicus 1, uncertain mint 3.

VRBS ROMA (Wolf and twins): 11

Lugdunum 1, Siscia 1, Thessalonica 1, Heraclea 1,

Nicomedia 1, Cyzicus 2,

uncertain mint 4.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS

(Victory on prow): 4

Siscia 1, Heraclea 1, Nicomedia 1, uncertain mint 1.



**Period 6b: 336–341, 27 coins:**

GLORIA EXERCITVS (One standard): 30

Constantine I 2, Constantine II 3, Constans 6, Constantius II 6, VRBS ROMA 1, uncertain obverse 7.

Siscia 1, Heraclea 1, Constantinople 4, Cyzicus 1, uncertain mint 18.

No legend (Quadrige): 5

All Divus Constantinus. Constantinople 2, uncertain mint 3.

**Period 7: 341–348, 34 coins:**

VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN: 5

Constans 2, Constantius II 1, uncertain obverse 2. Thessalonica 4, uncertain mint 1.

VOT XX MVLT XXX: 24

Constans 4, Constantius II 6, VRBS ROMA 1, uncertain obverse 13.

Nicomedia 2, Antioch 1, uncertain mint 21.

VN MR: 5

Divus Constantinus.

Heraclea 1, uncertain mint 4.

**Period 8a: 348–353, 6 coins:**

CONCORDIA MILITVM: 1

Constantius II, Siscia.

FEL TEMP REPARATIO (Hut): 2

Constans 2: Cyzicus 1, uncertain mint 1.

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

(Emperor and captives): 1

Constantius II, Constantinople.

FEL TEMP REPARATIO (Phoenix): 1

Uncertain obverse, uncertain mint.

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

(Falling horseman Æ2): 1

Constantius II, uncertain mint.

**Period 8b: 353–361, 84 coins:**

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

(Falling horseman Æ3/4): 61

Constantius II 45, Constantius Gallus 9, Julian 4, uncertain obverse 3.

Siscia 1, Sirmium 2, Thessalonica 7, Heraclea 2, Constantinople 3, Nicomedia 2, Cyzicus 3, Antioch 1, uncertain mint 40.

SPES REIPVBLICE: 22

Constantius II 15, Julian 1, uncertain obverse 6.

Sirmium 1, Thessalonica 2, Nicomedia 1, Cyzicus 1, Antioch 1, uncertain mint 16.

**Period 9: 361–364, 2 coins:**

SPES REIPVBLICE: 1

Julian, Cyzicus.

VOT V MVLT X: 1

Jovian, Heraclea.

**Period 10: 364–378, 43 coins:**

VOT V: 1

Valentinian I, Constantinople.

RESTITVTOR REIP: 2

Valentinian I, Constantinople.

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE: 25

Valentinian I 4, Valens 13, uncertain obverse 8.

Siscia 1, Thessalonica 3, Heraclea 3, Constantinople 2, Nicomedia 2, Alexandria 1, uncertain mint 13.

GLORIA ROMANORVM: 14

Valens 5, uncertain obverse 9.

Heraclea 1, Nicomedia 2,

uncertain mint 11.

REPARATIO FEL TEMP: 1

Jovian, uncertain mint.

**Period 11: 378–408, 1 coins:**

VIRTVS EXERCITI: 1

Arcadius, Constantinople.

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## PLATE 1



Plate 1 – Site finds: period 1 (1-11), period 3 (12-13), period 4 (14-19), period 5 (20-23), period 6 (24-27).



## PLATE 2



Plate 2 – Site finds: period 6 (1-4), period 7 (5-9), period 8 (10-16), period 9 (17-18), period 10 (19-23), period 11 (24); Coin hoard 1 (25-30).



## PLATE 3



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Plate 3 – Coin hoard 2 (1-5), adornment with coin (6), Ottoman coins (7-8), Bulgarian coin (9).

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## **NEW INFORMATION ABOUT AN OLD PROBLEM (A contribution to knowledge about the distribution and circulation of coins of the so-called “Sirmium” group)**

*More than ninety years have passed since the Croatian numismatist Josip Brunšmid, followed by his Austrian colleague Friedrich Stefan, presented several examples of unusual silver coins found in the southern part of what was once Late Roman Pannonia to the professional public. According to them, during the first and second thirds of the 6th century, up to 567 or 568 in Sirmium, the administrative and economic center of the province eastern Pannonia Sirmiensis, this coinage had initially been minted by the Ostrogoths (Stefan), and subsequently by the Gepids (Brunšmid). From 1924 and 1925, when the above opinions were first introduced into numismatic circles, new thoughts and theories on this subject have only rarely and indeed only occasionally appeared, along with mere supplementation or refurbishment of the original ideas. Parallel with this, for decades, the number of published examples of coins minted in Sirmium only gradually increased. During the past twenty years though, it has increased greatly, with several hundred examples known today, primarily documented on the internet. The greatest profit from such a large number of coins was seen by the auction houses, followed by various theory-led numismatic typologies, while even today very little is known about the circulation of the Ostrogothic-Gepidic coinage from Sirmium. Today, they are known as the “Sirmium group”, but very little has actually been written about this. Hence on this occasion it would be useful in the light of several new/old finds to consider in more detail various problems and information about distribution and circulation of the “Sirmium group” coins.*

**KEY WORDS: OSTROGOTHIC-GEPIDIC COINAGE, “SIRMIMUM GROUP”, HOARDS, SINGLE FINDS**

### **1. The first interpretations and finds with provenience (individual and hoards), 1924-1943**

The existence and operation of the Sirmium mint during the Migration Period was detected and presented to the professional public for the first time by the Croatian numismatist Josip Brunšmid, in 1924. He based his theories on examples of silver coinage (5 examples) with similar characteristics gathered in the substantial numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, these coins having been acquired either as donations or purchases in the period between 1893 and 1910. The arguments for such a claim were multifaceted: all examples of the analysed coins came from sites in the Slavonian-Syrmian area, either as individual finds or hoards; the obverse of these coins, other than a human figure, bears the name of one of two Byzantine emperors, Justinian (527-565) or Justin II (565-578); the reverse of the coins, modelled on the silver coins of the Ostrogothic kings in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, has the monogram of the Gepid King Cunimund in place of the monogram of Theodoric (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brunšmid 1924, 671-673; Brunšmid 1924a, 1-5. Of the five silver coins that J. Brunšmid then had available, he supported and documented his claims with photographs of four coins from three sites, also noting that one coin was found in Dalj in eastern Slavonia (Croatia), i.e. a better preserved example from the only so far noted hoard find of Gepidic coinage from the Sirmium mint, while the other three coins were finds from Serbian eastern Syrmia, one found at Novi Banovci

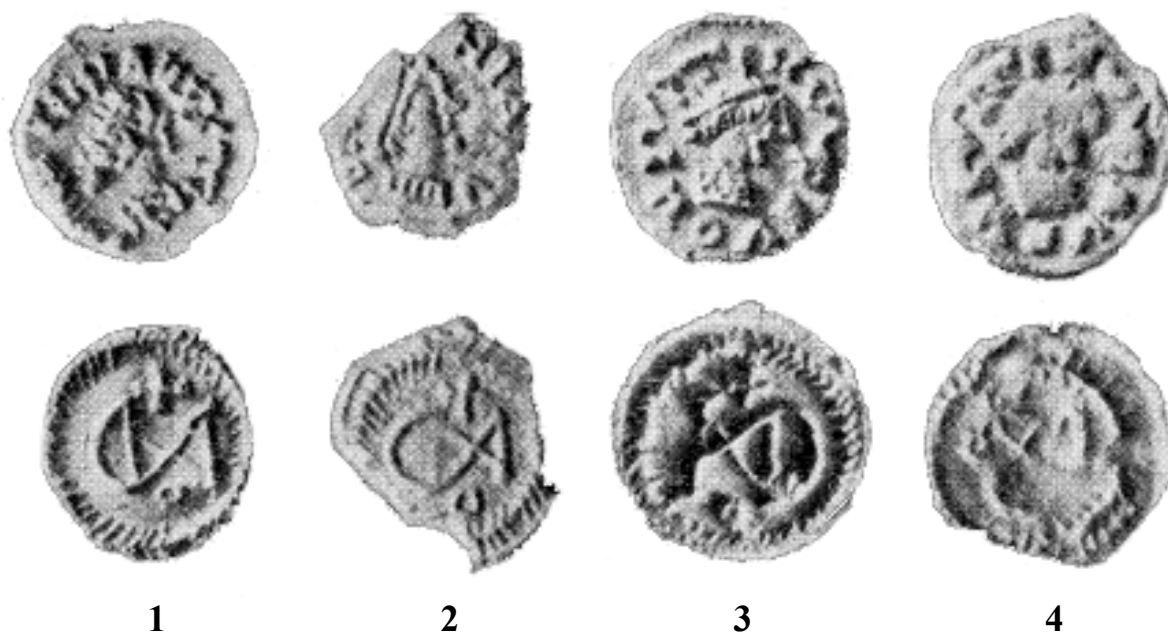


Fig. 1 – Coinage of Cunimund, the king of the Gepids (from Brunšmid 1924). 1 - Sremska Mitrovica; 2 - Novi Banovci; 3 - Sremska Mitrovica; 4 - Dalj, from a hoard of four coins. (AMZ; from: Brunšmid 1924/1924a).

Just a year later, in 1925, Brunšmid's hypothesis was supplemented and advanced by the observations of the Austrian numismatist Friedrich Stefan, who used individual coin finds from the Sava River basin and the Slavonia-Syrmia region (Sisak, Dalj, Novi Banovci and Štrbinci) as the basis for his claim that the Sirmium mint had already been active during the reign of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric and that coinage was certainly minted from the period of the Ostrogothic occupation of Sirmium in 504/5 to Theodoric's death in 526. Stefan considered that the mint in Sirmium would have been active under Gepidic administration even before the reign of Cunimund, commencing minting as early as the reign of Cunimund's father, King Thurisund (548 - ca. 560).<sup>2</sup> The Brunšmid-Stefan interpretation of the minting activity of the Sirmium mint during the Migration Period confirmed the existence of two minting periods and two minting authorities: the first during the reign of the Ostrogoths, when the mint struck coins in the names of the Byzantine emperors Anastasius and Justin I, in 504-526, and the second during the reign of the Gepids, when the same mint struck coins in the name of the Byzantine emperors Justinian and Justin II, in 546-567. Three types of literacy could immediately be noted for the obverse and reverse on the coins during the Ostrogothic period of minting, which have remained unexplained to the present: a literate obverse and reverse, a literate obverse – illiterate reverse, and an illiterate obverse – illiterate reverse (Fig. 2).

The only two published hoards of coins of the Sirmium mint from the Ostrogothic and Gepidic periods also come from this same early period:

a) The first such find arrived in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb as a group of four coins corroded together found in Dalj (*Teutoburgium*) in eastern Croatia. The two preserved coins were minted

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and the other two at Sremska Mitrovica.

<sup>2</sup> Stefan 1925, 1-28, Pl. 298. He supported his claim in addition to the examples published by Brunšmid (4) and two, until then, unpublished examples from the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, to which he added another, on that occasion, insufficiently emphasised but today indispensable and very important example of a Gepidic quarter-siliqua of the Sirmium mint from the collection of the Viennese numismatist Karl Hollschek. The numismatic collection of Karl Hollschek (1859-1941), considered to have been one of the largest owned by a European private collector, contained more than 200,000 various coins and was scattered between auctions of the old Viennese auction house *Dorotheum* in the period from February 1956 to October 1964.



Fig. 2 – Literacy types of the Syrmian group with INVICTA ROMA reverses. 1 – literate obverse and reverse, Sisak / *Siscia*. 2 – literate obverse - illiterate reverse, Novi Banovci / *Burgenae*. 3 – illiterate obverse - illiterate reverse, Budrovci-Štrbinci / *Certissa*. (AMZ; from Stefan 1925).

in the name of the emperor Justinian (1) and the emperor Justin II (1), the first before 565, and the other before 567;

b) The other find was discovered in an early Merovingian female grave at Mengen-”Hohlen-Merzen-graben” (gr. 12), where perforated coins of the Sirmium mint (7) were used as pendants hanging from a belt together with other objects. The coins were minted in the name of the emperors Anastasius (6) and Justin I (1), the latter minted no later than 520.<sup>3</sup>

The early period of research into the production of the Sirmium mint during the Migration Period concluded with one more exceptional grave find of a silver coin, also perforated. In the professional sense, this find was almost unnoticed, later it was only rarely mentioned, and sometimes even glossed over and when, at the beginning of the 1980s, it was finally “noticed”, in the absence of adequate comparisons, it was interpreted in a manner methodologically acceptable to the field of numismatics. The coin was discovered in 1903 in Slovenia in the large Migration Period cemetery at Kranj-Lajh and published as “*ein durchbohrter Silberdenar*”,<sup>4</sup> later interpreted in 1939 as a “*silver coin of the Lombard King Cleph (573-575)*”,<sup>5</sup> while several years later it was considered as “*einer der letzten Silbersiliquen der Gepiden...*”

3 Werner 1933, 89-96. For the finds and the location of gr. 12, and its chronological factors and significance, cf. Walter 2008, 15, 31, 115, 121, 139, 246-248, Taf. 5-7. The archaeological interpretation of the appearance of a Sirmium quarter-silqua at Mengen was connected to the historically recorded transferral of a considerable contingent of Gepids (*multitudo Gepidarum*) from Pannonia to Gallia in 523/526 (*Cassiod. Var.*, V, 10 & 11), cf. Demo 1981, 459-460, 472. For a dating that is more focused on 523 or 523/524, and related commentary, cf. Gračanin 2016, 217, 220-221, 264.

4 Žmavc 1904, 250 Fig. 206 (gr. 50/1904). Identical to gr. 266 in the publication Stare 1980, 70, 116 Pl. 8:10.

5 Šmid 1939, 4, Fig. 14.

|   | Early stages,<br>1924-1943 | Ostrogoths<br>(10) | Gepids and after<br>(8+1)      | Site                                  |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Brunšmid 1924/1924a        | —                  | 1 (J)                          | Sremska Mitrovica ( <i>Sirmium</i> )  |
|   |                            | —                  | 1 (J)                          | Novi Banovci ( <i>Burgenae</i> )      |
|   |                            | —                  | 1 (Ju II)                      | Dalj ( <i>Teuroburgium</i> )          |
|   |                            | —                  | 1 (Ju II)                      | Sremska Mitrovica ( <i>Sirmium</i> )  |
| 2 | Stefan 1925                | 1 (A)              | —                              | Sisak ( <i>Siscia</i> )               |
|   |                            | 1 (A)              | —                              | Dalj (or Novi Banovci ?)              |
|   |                            | 1 (A/-,i)          | —                              | Budrovci-Štrbinci ( <i>Certissa</i> ) |
|   |                            | —                  | 1 (J)                          | Dalj ( <i>Teutoburgium</i> )          |
|   |                            | —                  | 1 (J)                          | Unknown                               |
|   |                            | —                  | 1 (J)                          | Novi Banovci ( <i>Burgenae</i> )      |
| 3 | Werner 1933                | 2 (A)              | —                              | Mengen-Hohlen/Merzengraben, gr. 12    |
|   |                            | 3 (A/-,i)          | —                              | <i>As above</i>                       |
|   |                            | 1 (A/i,i)          | —                              | <i>As above</i>                       |
|   |                            | 1 (Ju I)           | —                              | <i>As above</i>                       |
| 4 | Stefan 1943                | —                  | 1 (Ju II, n/n)<br>("nach 567") | Kranj-Lajh, gr. 50/1903 (=266)        |

Table 1 - Finds, publications, and attributions of Ostrogothic and Gepidic coinage to the Sirmium mint in the period from 1924 to 1943.

*aus der Zeit nach ihrer Katastrophe von 567*".<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 3) This also represented the first example of the then unknown Sirmium *non-epigraphic series*, while the validity of Stefan's descriptions and attribution of this silver Gepidic coin was only confirmed some seventy years later by the archaeological find of a related coin (identical reverse) discovered during excavations at Kamenica in Vinkovci in 2014 (gr. 14).<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Novitates numismaticae Pannoniae Sirmiensis, 1956-1993

The theories of J. Brunšmid and F. Stefan were utilised in the following decades more by archaeologists than numismatists. New finds with limited data about the site of discovery (Bosnia, Syrmia and northern Serbia) were noted in Croatian numismatic literature only ten or so years after World War II,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Stefan 1943, 87. This interpretation was first supported by the Belgrade numismatist B. Saria (1958, 86), but without a citation from which it would be possible to note whether he knew the work and previous claims by F. Stefan. On the other hand, Stefan's opinion was represented, supported, and in certain works repeatedly cited by the Zagreb archaeologist Z. Vinski (1962, 229), who sometimes confused the professional public as he was prone to create two variously attributed silver coins from the same single find (1971, 257; 1980, 19-20, 92).

<sup>7</sup> For the find and the circumstances under which the coin was discovered, cf. Vulić 2016a, 91-92; Vulić 2016b, 136 Abb. 4, 139 Abb. 7, 141.

<sup>8</sup> The most significant contribution to the recognition of new and previously unknown examples of silver coins from the Sirmium mint in the Migration Period is tied to the name of Dr. Ivo Meixner of Zagreb, an ophthalmologist, collector, and long-time president of the Croatian Numismatic Society. In several articles published in the journal *Numizmatički vijesti* during the 1950s and 1960s, he published as many as five examples of them from his numismatic collection, particularly



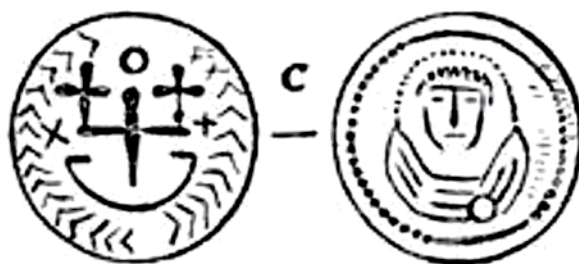


Fig. 206 Aus Grab 50:  
Silbermünze, n. Gr.;  
Gewicht 1.0 g

Fig. 3 – The first publication of a silver coin of the non-epigraphic series with a reverse depiction of Golgotha/Calvary (Golgotha type) found at Kranj-Lajh in Slovenia in one of the graves excavated in 1903. (NMSlo; from: Žmavc 1904).

|   | Novitates, 1956-1993<br>Researcher | Ostrogoths<br>(9) | Gepids & after<br>(5) | Site                          |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Meixner 1956                       | —                 | 1 (Ju II)             | Bosnia (Northern Bosnia ?)    |
| 2 | <i>Zemun</i> 1962                  | 1 (Ju I)          | —                     | Sremska Mitrovica-site 21     |
| 3 | Meixner 1963                       | 1 (A, i/i)        | —                     | <i>Unknown</i>                |
| 4 | Meixner 1968                       | 1 (A)             | —                     | Syrmia or Northern Serbia     |
|   |                                    | 1 (A, -/i)        | —                     | <i>As above</i>               |
|   |                                    | 1 (ju I, i/i)     | —                     | <i>As above</i>               |
| 5 | Hahn 1975 (MIB II)                 | 2 (A)             | —                     | —                             |
| 6 | Kos 1981/1981a                     | —                 | 1 (Ju II, n/n)*       | Rifnik-Gora, gr. 39           |
| 7 | Demo 1981                          | 1 (A)             | —                     | Sisak ( <i>Siscia</i> )       |
|   |                                    | 1 (A-Ju I-J, i/i) | —                     | Vinkovci ( <i>Cibalae</i> )** |
|   |                                    | —                 | 1 (J/Ju II, i/-)      | <i>Unknown</i>                |
| 8 | Alram-Hahn 1993                    | —                 | 1 (Ju II, -/n)        | Petronell***                  |
|   |                                    | —                 | <i>As above</i>       | Vršac****                     |
|   |                                    | —                 | <i>As above</i>       | Zrenjanin (?)****             |

\* Kos 1981a, 97-103 (langobardischen Silbermünzen, zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts)

\*\* Site established after publication (= Demo 1994, no. 127)

\*\*\* Alram-Hahn 1993, 80 (nachgepidischer Zeit)

\*\*\*\* Both coins mentioned but w/o photo (specimens in the Münzkabinett - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, ex coll. F. Stefan)

Table 2 – Finds and publications of Ostrogothic and Gepidic coinage of the Sirmium mint in the period from 1956 to 1993.



Fig. 4 – 1 – The first publication of a chance found photograph of the un-cleaned obverse of a quarter siliqua found at Sremska Mitrovica - Site 21 in 1960. 2 – A coin with the same die auctioned in München at Gorny & Mosch 216/1993, no. 3567.

and one coin of the Sirmium mint, discovered during archaeological excavations at Sremska Mitrovica in 1960, was even displayed at an archaeological exhibition in Zemun two years later (Fig. 4).<sup>9</sup>

The existence of coins of the Sirmium mint in museum collections in Glasgow and Dresden was uncovered in 1975,<sup>10</sup> and in following years so were unpublished examples from Sisak (1981) and Vinkovci (1981, 1994), the first in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb,<sup>11</sup> and the other in a private collection in Zagreb (Coll. Meixner).<sup>12</sup> In 1981, two quarter-silivae of the future *non-epigraphic* series of the Sirmium mint, both grave finds from the Migration Period in Slovenia (Kranj-Lajh, gr. 266 = 50/1904; Rifnik-Gora, gr. 39), experienced their first true numismatic analysis,<sup>13</sup> which was accepted by numismatists as a possible interpretation for problems of this type,<sup>14</sup> but which was quite strongly opposed by archaeological circles immediately after publication and later.<sup>15</sup> Around the middle of the 1980s, at a time when examples of the Sirmium mint were still considered as “*barbarisierte Nachahmungen*” and “*Imi-*

rich in Roman and medieval coins; Meixner 1956, 4-5; Meixner, 1963, 9-10; Meixner, 1968, 53-55, Pl. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Zemun 1960, 93, Pl. III: 1 (reverse); Popović 1978, 182 no. 6, described the coin but noted that “*la pièce n’est pas disponible au musée*”. Some thirty years later, the “puzzle” was partly illuminated in a text by Popović-Ferjančić (2013, 106 n. 40), noting that after the exhibition “*Archaeological Finds from the Yugoslav Danube Basin*”, displayed in Zemun in 1962, the coin was never returned to the museum in Sremska Mitrovica.

<sup>10</sup> Hahn 1975 (*MIB* II), 146 no. 46<sup>2-3</sup> (Glasgow, Dresden); Hahn 1984, 240 no. 51, Pl. I:51 (Dresden).

<sup>11</sup> Demo 1981, 458-459, 467 n. 58, 471, 477 no. 22 (Sisak/*Siscia*).

<sup>12</sup> Demo 1981, 459, 471, Pl. III: A, where, as a possible site of discovery, Syrmia or Slavonia was cited. Immediately after the publication, the owner of the coin informed me that in the meantime he had succeeded in establishing that Vinkovci was the actual find-site for the coin. For details and further information, cf. Demo 1994, 36 n. 177, 71, 90 no. 127 (Vinkovci/*Cibalae*).

<sup>13</sup> Kos 1981a, 584-586; Kos 1981b, 101.

<sup>14</sup> Hahn 1988, 318, 321, Fig. 3.

<sup>15</sup> For archaeological reactions and thoughts, cf. Demo 1994, 260-261; Demo 2016, 91 n. 35, 106 n. 35.



Fig. 5 – Examples of the Sirmium non-epigraphic series with a reverse depiction of a cross between a crescent moon (left) and star/sun (right). 1 – Petronell/Carnuntum (from: Alram-Hahn 1993). 2 – Vršac. 3 - Zrenjanin? (from: Alram-Hahn 1993; Metlich 2004, Fig 24; SMB).

*tativeprägungen*” of the official Ostrogothic silver coinage,<sup>16</sup> another type of a then unknown Sirmium series with an *non-epigraphic reverse* (a cross between a crescent and star/sun) was said to have been found at Petronell (*Carnuntum*) in Austria.<sup>17</sup> Two supposedly identical examples to which the example from Petronell was compared were noted as finds from Vršac and Zrenjanin (?) in Serbia in 1993,<sup>18</sup> but for numismatic comparison and research they were photographically documented only much later, first only the find from Vršac,<sup>19</sup> and then both coins as “counterfeits” only in the most recent period (Fig. 5).<sup>20</sup>

### 3. Novitates of a new age of numismatics, 1994-2017

In the mid 1990s, a completely new period dawned for the Sirmium mint. New and unknown examples began to appear “out of nowhere” in the catalogues of numismatic auction firms in Europe and America, at first somewhat timidly but, from 2008, more frequently and in ever greater numbers.<sup>21</sup> Several hundred specimens of these coins have been offered at these auctions, including a certain number of contemporary counterfeits, but also a considerable amount of modern forgeries.

<sup>16</sup> Hahn 1984, 237-238.

<sup>17</sup> Alram, Hahn 1993, 78-80. Their interpretation of the reverse image corresponds to the symbolism of Veneration of the Cross and cannot be interpreted in a much different way, and particularly not as a crescent (C) = Cunimund, as was suggested by Metlich 2004, 44.

<sup>18</sup> Alram, Hahn 1993, 79 and n. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Metlich 2004, 43 Fig. 24 (Berlin); Ivanišević 2016, 99.

<sup>20</sup> Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, no. 18252140, Vršac: <http://ww2.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?id=18252140> (21.7.2017.); Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, no. 18254929: <http://ww2.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?id=18254929> (21.07.2017.). The symbol for “forgery” was added to both coins.

<sup>21</sup> Demo 2016, 87, 103.

|    | Novitates, 1994-2017      | Ostrogoths    | Gepids & after  | Site                                 |
|----|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
|    |                           | (16)          | (5+1)           |                                      |
| 1  | Demo 1994                 | 1 (A)         | —               | Salakovac                            |
|    |                           | 3 (A)         | —               | Sremska Mitrovica ( <i>Sirmium</i> ) |
|    |                           | 2 (A)         | —               | ?                                    |
|    |                           | 1 (Ju I)      | —               | Sremska Mitrovica ( <i>Sirmium</i> ) |
|    |                           | 1 (Ju I/ i,i) | —               | Golubinci-Selište                    |
|    |                           | —             | 1 (J)*          | Zemun, vicinity-r. bank              |
| 2  | Milošević 2001            | 1 (A)         | —               | Sremska Mitrovica-Glac               |
| 3  | Metlich 2004              | 1 (A/ -i,i)   | —               | —                                    |
|    |                           | —             | 1 (J II, -/n)** | —                                    |
| 4  | Radić-Ivanišević 2006     | 2 (A/ i,i)    | —               | <i>Unknown</i>                       |
| 5  | Smith 2007                | 1 (A)         | —               | —                                    |
| 6  | Šemrov 2004/2007          | —             | 2 (J II,n/n)*** | Pristava nad Stično-sv. Lambert      |
| 7  | Lukić-Göricke 2009        | 1 (A)         | —               | Slavonia                             |
|    |                           | 1 (A, i/i)    | —               | <i>As above</i>                      |
| 8  | Vulić 2016a / Vulić 2016b | —             | 1 (Ju II, i/n)  | Vinkovci-Kamenica, gr. 14            |
| 9  | Vulić 2016b               | —             | 1 (Ju?, ?/n)    | Vinkovci –Kamenica, trench 2014/3    |
| 10 | Demo 2017                 | 1 (A)         | —               | —                                    |

\* Demo 1994, 147-148, no. 193 (Ostrogoths, Athalaric)

\*\* “Nachgepidischer Zeit”, in: Alram, Hahn 1993, 79 (w/o photo)

\*\*\* Šemrov 2004, 306-307, nos. 79/61-62 (Taf. I/79-61; Taf. II/79-62); Šemrov 2007, 45 („Lombards... transitional period between the 6th and 7th centuries”)

\*\*\*\* followed by Gennari 2017, 48 Fig. 42, 187 no. 178

Table 3 – Finds and publications of Ostrogothic and Gepidic coinage of the Sirmium mint in the period from 1994 to 2017.

Luckily, before the “flood” of new items, which seems to have no end, twenty previously unpublished examples of coinage from the Sirmium mint had been presented from museum collections in Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia (and also elsewhere), whose provenience and authenticity were not in question.<sup>22</sup>

The term “the Sirmium group” originated and was spread in this period by the Austrian numismatist Metlich,<sup>23</sup> which in a simple yet entirely suitable manner encompassed the diverse elements that exist or appear on the coins traditionally considered products of the Sirmium mint from the Migration Period. In addition to the new term and the publication of two examples previously undocumented by image in

22 Demo 1994, 84-86 (no. 69-70, 72-73, 75, 78), 89-90 (no. 122, 125), 97 (no. 193). For the first time the existence was registered of a group with the reverse legend VICTAI+RIAAV (op. cit., 84 no. 69, 113 no. 69, 137), while the existence of various obverse endings was noted, and at least three reverse groups were defined, including one with an illiterate reverse legend (op. cit., 138). Interesting connections were noted between individual dies (op. cit., 164 no. 73-75, 165 no. 122-125, 166 no. 193-1949), and the Ostrogothic minting was extended into the period immediately after the death of King Theodoric (op. cit. 147-148).

23 Metlich 2004, 43-44.





Fig. 6 – Examples of the Sirmium non-epigraphic series with a reverse depiction of Golgotha/Calvary (Golgotha type). 1 – Ritopek-Vodice (NMSlo). 2 – Vinkovci-Kamenica (GMV); 3 – NAC 75/2013, no. 431. 4 – Ampullae with a depiction of the scene from Golgotha: a) Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza, no. 14/10, reverse (from: Flamine 2013); b) Istanbul-Yenikapi, excavations in 2008, Istanbul Archaeological Museums (from: Sever 2016).

numismatic literature from museum collections in Copenhagen and Berlin,<sup>24</sup> the change was significant of the monetary authority of the “Sirmium” group, which Metlich related exclusively to the Gepids, excluding the Ostrogoths. He placed the beginning of their minting in Sirmium in the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527-565), continuing throughout the reign of Justin II (565-578), and all the way to the death of the Gepid King Cunimund in battle with the Lombards of King Alboin in 567. Ten years later, all the imperfections of the numismatic knowledge of the “Sirmium group” were again highlighted by a find

24 Op. cit., 43 Fig. 22 (Copenhagen), Fig. 24 (Berlin). Both coins were mentioned or partially described earlier in the numismatic literature. For more details, cf. Demo 2016, 82 no. 3, 98 no. 3 (Copenhagen), 85 no. 17, 101 no. 17 (Berlin).



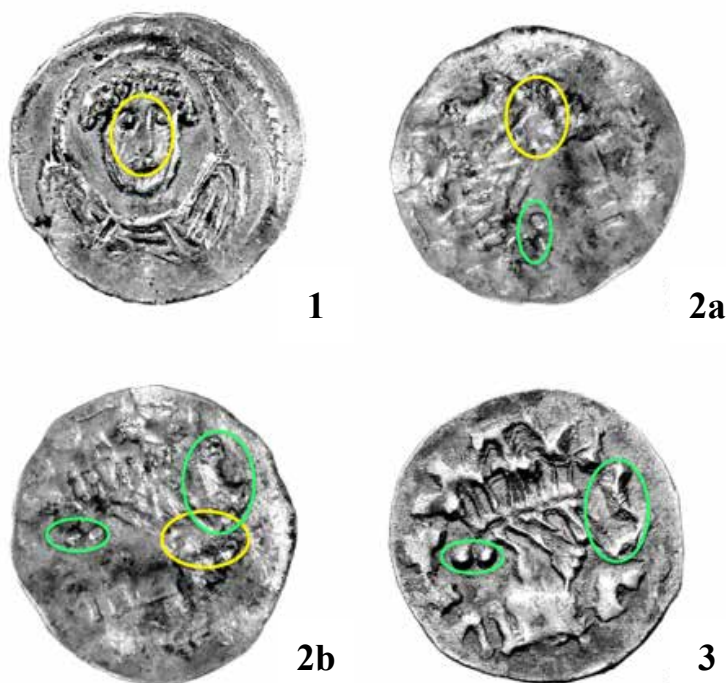


Fig. 6a – The overstruck obverse of the coin from the site of Vinkovci-Kamenica (2) and the chronological connections of the earlier non-epigraphic series of the Angel/Golgotha type (1; yellow) and the later illiterate group of the Justin II/Golgotha type (3; green). Both groups should be dated to the post-Gepidic period.

from Vinkovci (*Cibalae*) in eastern Croatia, where, in the summer of 2014 during archaeological excavations of a cemetery complex at Kamenica in one of the excavated graves (gr. 14), a coin was discovered with a *non-epigraphic* reverse image (a large cross between two smaller crosses), which in archaeological circles is interpreted as a simplified “depiction of Golgotha/Calvary” (Fig. 6/2).<sup>25</sup> The obverse of this coin is an overstrike with traces of two different obverse dies (Fig. 6/2a-b), while the reverse is identical to the previously mentioned finds from Kranj and Rifnik, and one of two coins from Pristava nad Stično in Slovenia, but also to an as yet unpublished equally well preserved coin of the same die from Ritopek in Serbia (Fig. 6/1).<sup>26</sup> In recent times, the Italian numismatist A. Gennari added to the finds and sites of coins of the “Sirmium” group another two examples of so far unknown variants of the *non-epigraphic* series: one example was discovered, like the above cited example, during archaeological excavations at Kamenica in 2014,<sup>27</sup> while the other, in contrast to the first, was perforated and used secondarily and was discovered at the archaeologically excavated Gepidic cemetery of Berettyóújfalu in the Upper Tisza River Basin in Hungary in 2015.<sup>28</sup> In addition to these and a series of other interesting features, it should be noted that Gennari tied the minting of the “Sirmium group” exclusively to the Ostrogoths and the

25 Less than a year before the find at Kamenica, the November edition of the sales catalogue of the prestigious Zurich auction house *Numismatica Ars Classica A.G.* presented a coin with a corrupted obverse legend (Justin II) identical to the example from the site of Vinkovci-Kamenica, cf. *NAC* 75/2013, 431 (Fig. 6/3). For comparisons but also numerous details and interesting features related to this find, cf. Demo 2016, 88-91, 104-107.

26 For two “Golgotha/Calvary” coins from Pristava nad Stično – St. Lambert, Šemrov 2004, 306-307, nos. 79/61-62 (Taf. I/79-61; Taf. II/79-62), and with corrected dates (but not attribution) for these examples, cf. Šemrov 2007, 42, 45. The coin from Ritopek in Serbia was purchased for the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia in 1987 (wt. 0.70 g; 15 x 14.5 mm; 6h).

27 Gennari 2017, 48 Fig. 42, 187 no. 178 (Pseudo-Cunimund coinage). For the existence of this coin and the site of its discovery at Kamenica, cf. Vulić 2016b, 136 Fig. 4, 141 (trench 2014/3).

28 Gennari 2017, 50 Fig. 45 (left), 185 no. 175c (Pseudo-Cunimund coinage).

period of their rule in Syrmia, dating this first to the period from 508/510 to ca. 528, and subsequently to the period from 504/510 and 528/536.<sup>29</sup>

|   | Researcher                         | Minting period    |            | Minting authority                   |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Brunšmid 1924/1924a                | 546 - 567         | x          | Gepids                              |
| 2 | Stefan 1925                        | 504 - 526         | Ostrogoths |                                     |
|   |                                    | 546 - 567         |            | Gepids                              |
| 3 | Hahn 1973/1975 ( <i>MIB I/II</i> ) | 504 - 526         | Ostrogoths | x                                   |
| 4 | Demo 1981                          | ca. 507 - 523     | Ostrogoths |                                     |
|   |                                    | ca. 546 - 567     |            | Gepids                              |
| 5 | Alram-Hahn 1993                    | 535 - 567+        | x          | Gepids & “ <i>nachgepid. Zeit</i> ” |
| 6 | Demo 1994                          | 504/505 - ca. 527 | Ostrogoths | x                                   |
| 7 | Metlich 2004                       | after 536 - 567   | —          | Gepids                              |
| 8 | Gennari 2016/2017                  | 504/505 - 528/529 | Ostrogoths | —                                   |
|   |                                    | 508/510 - 527/528 | Ostrogoths | —                                   |

x - Subject not discussed

Table 4 – The periods and authorities of minting in Sirmium during the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition to the published finds of the “Sirmium group” and one earlier presented example of the *non-epigraphic* group from Ritopek, near Belgrade (no. 10), another nine unpublished examples can be added from Sremska Mitrovica (no. 1-8) and from Novi Banovci (no. 9), predominantly specimens of as yet unknown types and variants (no. 5-9). Five coins were minted during the period of the Ostrogothic rule over Syrmia, in the name of the Emperor Anastasius, all five with the reverse type INVICTA ROMA with Theodoric’s monogram in the centre. Four of them belong to known variants of this type (no. 1-4), and only one to an unknown variant of the INVICTA ROMA type, with an illiterate obverse and an illiterate reverse (no. 5). A partially preserved coin (overstrike) from the reign of the Emperor Justin I (?) bore a previously known obverse,<sup>30</sup> but with a reverse where three crosses can be distinguished, whose arrangement (a large cross between two smaller ones) most likely evokes the scene from Golgotha/Calvary (no. 6), and represents the prototype of the more elaborate depiction on the reverse of the silver coins from Kranj-Lajh and Rifnik in Slovenia and Ritopek in Serbia (no. 10). The remaining three coins belong to the Gepidic period of minting of the “Sirmium” group and the period of the reign of the Emperor Justin II: the first specimen, also the best preserved, is characterised by an illiterate obverse and reverse with a monogram in a wreath of stylised branches typical for the Gepidic period of minting (no. 7), while the other two coins, both certainly overstrikes, have unrecognisable obverses but with reverses that in one case shows the characteristics of a monogram typical for the late Gepidic period of minting (no. 8), and in the other an unknown decorative combination composed of a crescent (right) and a cross with equal arms (left) in a wreath of stylised branches (9). All the above coins, like the one from Ritopek,

<sup>29</sup> A respectable quantity of coins of the Sirmium mint, mostly published in auction house catalogues or noted on the internet, was gathered together by Gennari from about the middle of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present, and presented in digital form with commentary in two digital editions in 2016 and 2017. In addition to a well-presented catalogue, Gennari classified the collected material into several typological groups, and proposed his ideas about the minting activity of the Sirmium mint during the Migration period. It is interesting that the author connected the minting activity exclusively to the period of rule of the Ostrogoths, dating it first to the chronological span 505/510 – 527/8 (2016, 75), then 508/10 to 527/8 (2016, 82), only to correct this a year later, placing the dates to the period between 504/510 and 528/536 (2017, 87). It is necessary to additionally note, on the side of caution, that some coins of individual typological groups defined by Gennari (such as types 3b and 4) should not be attributed to the Sirmium mint nor should they be considered part of the “Sirmium” group.

<sup>30</sup> Gennari 2017, 37 Fig. 26 - left, 159 no. 126b (Anastasius).

near Belgrade (Fig. 6/1), were acquired for the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana in the period from 1987 to 1998 (Fig. 7/1-9).<sup>31</sup>

1. Anastasius - Wt. 0.92 g, 14 mm, 5h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo 5677
2. Anastasius - Wt. 0.75 g, 16 mm, 4h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo 26515
3. Anastasius - Wt. 0.68 g, 14.5 mm, 6h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo 26514
4. Anastasius - Wt. 0.90 g, 15.5/15mm, 1h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo 27221
5. Anastasius - Wt. 0.66 g, 15/14mm, 7h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo, acq. 1998.
6. Justin I - Wt. 0.36 g, 15/13mm, 4h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo, acq. 1998.
7. Justin II - Wt. 0.73 g, 15.5mm, 9h; Sremska Mitrovica, NMSlo.
8. Justin II (?) - Wt. 0.23 g, 15/13 mm?; Sremska Mitrovica-Orašje, NMSlo, acq. 1987.
9. Justin II (?) - Wt. 0.50 g, 16/15 mm?; Novi Banovci-Purger, NMSlo, acq. 1987.
10. Justin II - Wt. 0.70 g; 15 x 14.5 mm; 6h; Ritopek-Vodice, NMSlo, acq. 1987. (Fig. 6/1).

#### 4. Observations about the sites of discovery of coins from the “Sirmium” group

| SERBIA (28=50.91%)  |   | Ostrogoths |          | Gepids & after |           |                  |
|---------------------|---|------------|----------|----------------|-----------|------------------|
|                     |   | Anastasius | Justin I | Justinian      | Justin II |                  |
| 1                   | Golubinci                                   | —          | 1        | —              | —         |                  |
| 2                   | Novi Banovci ( <i>Burgenae</i> )            | 1          | —        | 2              | 1         |                  |
| 3                   | Ritopek ( <i>Castra Tricornia</i> )         | —          | —        | —              | 1         |                  |
| 4                   | Salakovac                                   | 1          | —        | —              | —         |                  |
| 5                   | Sremska Mitrovica ( <i>Sirmium</i> )        | 9          | 3        | 1              | 3         |                  |
| 6                   | Syrmia or Northern Serbia                   | 2          | 1        | —              | —         |                  |
| 7                   | Vršac                                       | —          | —        | —              | 1         |                  |
| 8                   | Zemun, vicinity-r. bank ( <i>Taurunum</i> ) | —          | —        | 1              | —         |                  |
| [9                  | Zrenjanin (?)                               | —          | —        | —              | 1]        |                  |
|                     |   | 13         | 5        | 4              | 6 [+1]    |                  |
|                     |   | (46.43%)   | (17.86%) | (14.28%)       | (21.43%)  |                  |
| CROATIA (13=23.63%) |   | Ostrogoths |          | Gepids & after |           |                  |
|                     |   | Anastasius | Justin I | Justinian      | Justin II | <i>uncertain</i> |
| 1                   | Budrovci-Štrbinci ( <i>Certissa</i> )       | —          | 1        | —              | —         | —                |
| 2                   | Dalj ( <i>Teutoburgium</i> )                | 1          | —        | 1              | 1         | 2                |
| 3                   | Sisak ( <i>Siscia</i> )                     | 2          | —        | —              | —         | —                |
| 4                   | Vinkovci ( <i>Cibalae</i> )                 | —          | —        | —              | 3         | —                |
| 5                   | Slavonia                                    | 2          | —        | —              | —         | —                |
|                     |   | 5          | 1        | 1              | 4         | 2                |
|                     |   | (38.46%)   | (7.69%)  | (7.69%)        | (30.77%)  | (15.39%)         |
| GERMANY (7=12.73%)  |   | Ostrogoths |          | Gepids & after |           |                  |

31 For the information and documentation presented here, I am grateful to two excellent Slovenian numismatists, Prof. Dr Peter Kos, then head of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia, and his colleague, today head of the Numismatic Cabinet, Dr Andrej Šemrov.

|   |                                 | Anastasius | Justin I | Justinian | Justin II |
|---|---------------------------------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | Mengen-Hohlen/Merzengra-<br>ben | 6          | 1        | —         | —         |
|   |                                 | 6          | 1        | —         | —         |
|   |                                 | (85.71%)   | (15.29%) | —         | —         |

[9 Zrenjanin ?] – Data not included in the statistics

Table 5 – Sites of discovery and finds of coins of the “Sirmium group” in Pannonia and beyond



Fig. 7/1-9 – Unpublished examples of the “Sirmium group” from the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia acquired in the period 1987-1998. 10 – A Gepidic coin of the “Sirmium group” minted in the name of Justin II found in Bosnia. (ex coll. Ivo Meixner, Zagreb).



The museum and private collections in the central Danubian region and south-eastern Europe contain 55 examples of coins from the “Sirmium” group, where the sites of discovery are known and reliably established and have been published in the professional literature as such.<sup>32</sup> The most numerous are sites (8) and finds (28) from Serbia (50.91%) where Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) and its surroundings (16) and Syrmia in general dominate. The sites (at least 5) and finds (13) in Croatia account for less than half that amount (23.63%) and are most frequent in western Syrmia and eastern Slavonia, while the westernmost finds (2) were discovered in Sisak (*Siscia*). The finds of the “Sirmium” group in Serbia and Croatia (*Pannonia Sirmiensis*, *Pannonia Savia*) are represented by coins minted in all minting periods (Ostrogothic, Gepidic, and post-Gepidic), bearing the names of four Byzantine rulers (Anastasius, Justin I, Justinian, and Justin II), in series characterised by the legibility or illegibility of the legend and the rare presence of non-epigraphic series. However, the predominance of the coins of the “Sirmium” group is particularly evident in the region of *Pannonia Sirmiensis*, which includes individual finds from eastern Croatia (e.g. Vinkovci, Dalj). The documented finds and sites display a dispersed distribution with a concentration in the provincial centre (*Sirmium*), where the use of such coinage for administrative purposes would be expected. The grave find from Mengen (gr. 12/f) in south-western Germany is undoubtedly related to the deployment of Gepidic soldiers along the north-western border of Theodoric’s Ostrogothic state, dated to ca. 523. The composition of the find and its dating confirm this: the Ostrogothic period, the reigns of Anastasius (6) and Justin I (1).

| <b>AUSTRIA</b><br>(1=1.82%)                  |                                 | <b>Ostrogoths</b> |          | <b>Gepids &amp; after</b> |           |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------------------------|-----------|
|  |                                 | Anastasius        | Justin I | Justinian                 | Justin II |
| 1  | Petronell                       | —                 | —        | —                         | 1         |
|  | ( <i>Carnuntum</i> )            | —                 | —        | —                         | 1         |
| <b>BOSNIA &amp; HERZEGOVINA</b><br>(1=1.82%) |                                 | <b>Ostrogoths</b> |          | <b>Gepids &amp; after</b> |           |
|  |                                 | Anastasius        | Justin I | Justinian                 | Justin II |
| 2  | Bosnia (northern ?)             | —                 | —        | —                         | 1         |
|  |                                 | —                 | —        | —                         | 1         |
| <b>HUNGARY</b><br>(1=1.82%)                  |                                 | <b>Ostrogoths</b> |          | <b>Gepids &amp; after</b> |           |
|  |                                 | Anastasius        | Justin I | Justinian                 | Justin II |
| 3  | Beretyóújfalu, grave find       | —                 | —        | —                         | 1*        |
|  |                                 | —                 | —        | —                         | 1         |
| <b>SLOVENIA</b><br>(4=7.27%)                 |                                 | <b>Ostrogoths</b> |          | <b>Gepids &amp; after</b> |           |
|  |                                 | Anastasius        | Justin I | Justinian                 | Justin II |
| 4  | Kranj-Lajh, gr. 50/1904 (= 266) | —                 | —        | —                         | 1         |
| 5  | Rifnik-Gora, gr. 39             | —                 | —        | —                         | 1*        |

<sup>32</sup> In addition to the already cited literature, the following was also utilised for documentation of the finds and sites of discovery of coinage of the “Sirmium” group: Hahn 1973 (*MIB I*), no. 50, 60; Kos 1986, 229, Pl. 10:15-16; Kos 1988 (*FMRSI* I-II), nos. 113 29, 367/2 29; Milošević 2001, 101-102; Mirnik, Šemrov 1998, nos. 815/D1076, 816/1086, 817/D2127, 818/D2106, 832/1088, 844/D2107, 864/D2109, 865/D2110, 866/1089, 867/1092, 868/D2111; Радић, Иванишевић = Radić, Ivanišević 2006, 104 no. 214 (no provenience); Ivanišević, Popović 2017, 247 no. 4.



|     |                    |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 6-7 | Pristava nad       | — | — | — | 2 |
|     | Stično-sv. Lambert | — | — | — | 4 |

\* Perforated coin

Table 6 – Sites of discovery and finds non-epigraphic coins of the “Sirmium group”.

Finds beyond the boundaries of Pannonia Sirmiensis and Pannonia Savia offer an entirely different image. Examples of the “Sirmium” group are exceptionally rare and are represented predominately by a few late Gepidic (Justin II) and “post-Gepidic” examples of non-epigraphic series. The only late Gepidic coin of the “Sirmium group” minted in the name of Justin II was noted to have come from Bosnia, most likely from northern or north-eastern Bosnia (Fig. 7/10),<sup>33</sup> and it is quite probable that it was originally a part of the collection of the most famous Bosnian-Herzegovinian collector and numismatist Aleksander Poljanić.<sup>34</sup> With the exception of the example from Ritopek (*Castra Tricornia*), near Belgrade, in Moesia Prima, next to Pannonia Sirmiensis, all the rest of these non-epigraphic examples were discovered at sites quite distant from Sirmium, in Austria (Petronell/*Carnuntum*; chance find), Slovenia (grave finds from Kranj/*Carnium*, Rifnik-Gora, Pristava nad Stično – St. Lambert, chance find?), and Hungary (Beretjőújfalu; grave find), while in two grave finds, examples of post-Gepidic non-epigraphic series were perforated and used secondarily as pendants (Kranj, Beretjőújfalu).

33 The coin was published more than sixty years ago by Meixner (1956, 4-5). The photograph of the coin used here was taken with the permission of Dr. Ivo Meixner on Friday the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1978, when I was permitted to view and photograph the Ostrogothic and Gepidic coins in his extensive collection of ancient coins and archaeological material in his home in Gundulićeva Street in Zagreb. On that occasion, he noted that, in addition to the example he allowed me to view, he also had “another two *siliquae* (*Gothic and Cunimund*) stored in the bank”. The permitted photograph has, over time, served as a useful substitute for the mentioned coin of Cunimund, which I never succeeded in seeing or photographing on that day or even on later occasions. It occurred that along with one already well-known example of the same die (*G&M* 142/2005, 3357), in January 2018 yet another quarter-silique from the same die appeared at an auction of the Munich firm *Solidus* (24/2018, no. 2372c).

34 Aleksandar Poljanić (Gradačac, 1884 – Trnava near Đakovo, 1948), educated in Zagreb and Vienna, a banker by profession and a long-time employee and later director of the Zemaljska banka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu/National Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1922-1945), was one of the most important Bosnian/Herzegovinian collectors of numismatic material (ca. 2,000 coins), philatelic material (ca. 4,500 stamps), medieval documents and charters, books, journals, rare books, and codexes (ca. 3,000), posters and proclamations (ca. 300), as well as manuscripts, various documents, and correspondence. It is interesting that Poljanić corresponded on numismatic subjects on several occasions with Friedrich Stefan in Graz in the period from the end of 1939 to the beginning of 1940.

## Abbreviations

AMZ - Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb  
 GMV - Gradski muzej Vinkovci / City Museum Vinkovci  
 NMSlo - Narodni muzej Slovenija / Archaeological Museum of Slovenia  
 SMB - Staatliche Museum zu Berlin

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A - Anastasius  
 Ju I - Justin I  
 Ju II - Justin II  
 J - Justinianus

\*\*\*

i - illiterate  
 n - non-epigraphic

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