

DE VETERE PECUNIA

Scripta in honorem Bojana Borić-Brešković





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Belgrade 2025

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NUMISMATICS 7

Published by
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SERBIA
Trg Republike 1a, Belgrade, Serbia
www.narodnimuzej.rs

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Translation by authors
Proofreading Dave Calcutt

Graphic Design Digital Art, Belgrade

Printed
BIROGRAFI, Belgrade
Printed in
100

On the cover: coin of the Gordian III, Viminacium mint,
National Museum of Serbia (inv. no. 41_31/17).

ISBN 978-86-7269-249-5 (printed)
ISBN 978-86-7269-248-8 (online)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

It has been an exceptional honour and privilege for us to compile these Proceedings dedicated to the First Lady of Serbian numismatics, Mrs Bojana Borić-Brešković, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of her active and devoted work in ancient numismatics. This volume brings together contributions from 28 authors across nine countries, paying tribute to her past achievements and unwavering commitment to the study of ancient coinage, with sincere hopes that she will continue to be our inspiration and guide.

Bojana Borić-Brešković was born in 1947 in Belgrade, where she received her education. She graduated in Classical Philology from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, where she simultaneously studied archaeology. In 1981, she earned her Master's degree by defending a thesis entitled *Reverse Images on the Coins of the Viminacium Colony* at the Department of History of the same faculty. Her first professional experience came as a curator in the Numismatics and Epigraphy Cabinet at the Belgrade City Museum. After joining the National Museum of Serbia in 1977 as curator of the Ancient Numismatics Collection, her career remained closely tied to Serbia's oldest and central museum institution. This collection has been the backbone of materials safeguarded and studied since the museum's foundation in 1884 and remains the largest among its collections today – one of the most significant in south-eastern Europe.

She refined her expertise in numerous prestigious institutions and research centres across Europe: in London (1981), Moscow (1983), St. Petersburg (1985), Munich (1986), Frankfurt (1987), Paris (1988), Vienna (1988/89), Rome (1994), Saarbrücken (1991 and 1992), and Geneva (2002). Through her work, she challenged long-standing norms in a field traditionally dominated by men. She became the first woman to lead the National Museum of Serbia (1997–2001) and is currently serving her second term in this position (since 2012). She has participated in numerous conferences in Serbia and abroad, personally organizing and contributing to the realisation of many exhibitions. As an author and editor of more than 150 professional and scientific papers—including articles, studies, monographs, and reviews—she has made a lasting impact on Serbian and European numismatics.

Her scholarly work is extensive, distinguished by meticulously analysed and well-supported studies on Roman coinage. The cultural and economic history of the ancient Balkans and Serbia remains the main focus of her academic interest. Most of her research revolves around analysing coin hoards discovered in present-day Serbia, provincial coinage of the mints of Viminacium and Stobi, and the systematic publication of the National Museum of Serbia's ancient coin collection. Her contribution to the systematization, documentation, digitization, and publication of monetary finds from this collection is immeasurable. She conceptualised and developed a professional database for the numismatic cabinet of the National Museum of Serbia, which today comprises over 65,000 recorded monetary finds from Antiquity, more than 15,000 of which have been published. Her dedication to accessibility is evident in the establishment of the journal *Numizmatičar*, which has been published continuously since 1978, and where she has long been an editorial board member. She remains actively engaged in several scientific projects, the most significant of which focuses on the study of ancient Balkan mints and Roman monetary finds from the Principate era.

It would be impossible to enumerate all her activities and memberships in numerous cultural institutions, art faculties, and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia. Her decades-long engagement in this field have left an extraordinary mark on the persistent effort to preserve and promote Serbian cultural heritage. She has displayed a particular vision and dedication toward the institution she leads – the National Museum of Serbia, which has consistently reaffirmed its status as a nationally significant institution and a central figure in Serbian cultural history. Under her leadership, the museum has become a museological hub in the Balkans, whilst also being recognised in throughout Europe and beyond. In recognition of her contributions to cultural development, Bojana Borić-Brešković has received numerous awards, including the Medal of Merit for the People (1982), the Charter for Creativity and the Nurturing of Exceptional Cultural Values from the Ministry of Culture of Serbia (1995), the *Zlatni beočug* award for contributions to Belgrade's cultural development (1995), the *Kapetan Miša Anastasijević* Charter for the promotion of Serbian culture and art in Belgrade (2014), the Extraordinary *Zlatni beočug* for lifetime achievement (2015), the *Kapetan Miša Anastasijević* Statuette for the promotion of Serbian culture and its presentation worldwide (2019), the Exceptional *Vuk Karadžić* Award for outstanding contributions to the development of culture in the Republic of Serbia and the wider Serbian cultural space for 2019 (awarded in 2020), the Cross of *Vožd Đorđe Stratimirović* in recognition of demonstrated loyalty and significant contributions to the preservation of the values and traditions of Serbian Vojvodina (2021), and the Order of Karadžić's Star, Third Class, for outstanding merits and achievements in the field of culture and museum activities (2025). It is with great pleasure that we present the collection of scientific papers *De vetere pecunia*, dedicated to Mrs. Bojana Borić-Brešković, a distinguished scholar and Director of the National Museum of Serbia. Her outstanding research and significant achievements in ancient numismatics represent an invaluable contribution to the understanding of the cultural and economic history of the Balkans in Antiquity. Her works, ranging from archaeological finds to economic analyses, have become indispensable references in numismatic studies, both at home and beyond Serbia's borders.

Prominent scholars from various regions of Europe have gathered to contribute to this volume, all inspired by her work. Its purpose is not only to honour her achievements but also to provide a platform for further research and discussion in the field of ancient numismatics. Through diverse approaches and methodologies, the authors explore various aspects of coin minting and ancient economies, enriching our understanding of historical processes and cultural interactions. We hope that this collection will inspire future generations of researchers and help to deepen our knowledge of the past. We extend our sincere gratitude to Mrs Bojana Borić-Brešković for her invaluable contributions to numismatic science and for continuously fostering critical and thorough thinking.

Editors
Mirjana Vojvoda
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Gordana Grabež

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Compiled and listed by
Aleksandra Kručićan
National Museum of Serbia

COIN HOARD FROM ROUSSE (BULGARIA) WITH IMITATIONS OF MACEDONIAN KINGS

Abstract: In the Regional Museum of History in Ruse a coin hoard is stored that comprises 64 silver coins. Six of them are imitations of tetradrachms and three of the drachms of Philip III Arrhidaeus. They are frequently found in the regions of present-day north-eastern and central Bulgaria. The rest of the coins in the hoard are imitations of the silver coins of Philip II. They are of the Adâncata- Mănăstirea or Sattelpopferd type and are found mainly in the territory of present-day Romania. Imitative coinage in the regions between the Carpathians and the Balkans in the late Hellenistic period raises many questions that have not yet found their answer. One of the reasons is the small number of published hoards and single coins from this period. The aim of this article is to introduce into scientific circulation an interesting find, discovered 60 years ago.

Keywords: Imitative coinage, mixed coin hoard, Getae, Late Hellenistic period

Location of discovery

In 1965, a hoard of 64 silver coins, imitations of Philip II and Philip III Arrhidaeus, was discovered in the Sredna Kula neighbourhood, Ruse.¹ According to Dimitar Ivanov, an archaeologist from the Ruse Museum at the time, the entire hoard was deposited in the Ruse Museum.² It was registered on January 14th, 1965, under inventory number 1612. The inventory book states that the coins were found in the yard of Varban Stoyanov, at a depth of 0.40 m. Around them, fragments of a coarse, handmade vessel were discovered. No archaeological excavations were conducted at the discovery site. An ancient settlement has been registered in the nearby Dolapite district.³ Approximately 5-6 km from the Sredna Kula neighbourhood in Ruse, is the studied hill where the late Roman fortress of Sexaginta Prista is located. Beneath its remains lies a significant centre from the Late Hellenistic period. During the research, 36 Hellenistic coins were discovered, 12 of which are local imitations.⁴

The coins from the hoard

The coins stored in the Ruse Museum are made of silver and belong to three denominations:

1. The largest denomination is represented by six imitations of tetradrachms of Philip III Arrhidaeus. Their dimensions range from 27.1 to 29.4 mm, with an average weight of

1 Герасимов 1966, 213; Preda 1973, 209; Paunov 2021, 755.

2 Иванов 1986, 47.

3 Дремсизова-Нелчинова, Иванов 1983, 60.

4 Върбанов 2013, 29-56, Върбанов (in print).

15.12 g (14.89–15.68 g). Five of them have a well-preserved obverse and a worn reverse, while the last one has the opposite— a well-preserved reverse and a worn obverse (Cat. nos. 1-6). These tetradrachms belong to a type well-known in specialised literature.⁵

2. Three coins from the hoard are imitations of drachms of Philip III Arrhidaeus (Cat. nos. 7-9). Their dimensions range from 16.4 to 17 mm, with an average weight of 2.68 g (2.60–2.76 g). These drachms also belong to a well-documented type.⁶
3. 3. The most numerous coins in the hoard, 55 in total, are imitations of Philip II, of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea or Sattelkopfpferd type (Cat. nos. 10-64). Their dimensions range from 21.1 to 25.2 mm, with an average weight of 8.68 g (8.08–9.09 g). In scientific literature, these imitations are also referred to as didrachms, but their primary researcher, Constantin Preda, does not consider them as such.⁷ He distinguishes six series within this type. All the coins from this hoard belong to his fifth series.⁸ The final, sixth series was later classified as part of the Vârteju-Bucureşti type or as an independent type.⁹

Coin hoards with Adâncata-Mănăstirea type (*Sattelkopfpferd*)

Karl Pink defines the coins discussed here (from the third group), along with those of the Vârteju-Bucureşti and Inoteşti-Răcoasa types, as phases of a single type, *Sattelkopfpferd*, originating from the Mit Lisimachoskopf type.¹⁰ The last statement is also accepted by Romanian scientists.¹¹ By 2006, 782 coins of this type were known from the territory of present-day Romania, of which 721 originated from hoards.¹² They are distributed in the area between the Jiu and Dâmboviţa rivers in Romania.¹³ Around thirty coins are also known from the territory of Northern Dobruja, with individual finds also recorded from Central Europe.¹⁴ From the territory of Bulgaria (according to Tiberius Părpăuţă), 127 coins are known, all from hoards.¹⁵

Hoard containing coins of the type under discussion have been found in the territories of Romania and Bulgaria (Map 1). In about 2/3 of them, other coin types are also present: Vârteju-Bucureşti – in seven; imitations of tetradrachms and drachms of Philip III Arrhidaeus – in four; coins of the First Macedonian District and Thasos type – in one; imitations of the Aninoasa-Dobreşti type – in two; imitations of the Răduleşti-Hunedoara and Medieşu-Aurit types – in

5 Göbl 1973, Tafel 44, 12; Allen 1987, Plate XI, 193, Plate XXVII, S194 etc.

6 Göbl 1973, Tafel 45, № 595, 1-3; Allen 1987, Plate XII, 213, Plate XXVIII, S207-208 etc.

7 Preda, Drob 1984, 47.

8 Preda 1973, 198-214, 525, Pl. XLI, 6-15.

9 Munteanu, Istina 2021, 277, and cited literature.

10 Pink 1974, 53-54. Also known as Prundu-Jiblea (Preda 1973, 149-158).

11 Preda 1973, 158, 198; Părpăuţă 2006, 88-90; Isvoranu, Babeş, Constantinescu 2010, 24-26; Talmaţchi 2023, 183.

12 Părpăuţă 2006, 89.

13 Preda 1973, 211, fig. 16; Părpăuţă 2006, Pl. 12.

14 Talmaţchi 2023, 183; Preda 1973, 209-210.

15 Părpăuţă 2006, 89. In fact, 110 coins of the type have been found in hoards, and an additional 8 coins are stored in the collections of the museums in Ruse, Razgrad, Sofia and Varna, cf. Върбанов (in print).



Map 1 – Coin hoards containing specimens of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea (Sattelkopfpferd) type.

one each.¹⁶ In three hoards (Adâncata and Jiblea from Romania and Slana Bara, Vidin region, Bulgaria), the type is found alongside coins from an earlier period – 3rd-2nd century BC. In all three cases, the information is uncertain.¹⁷ The dating of the type is in the period 150-120 BC.¹⁸

¹⁶ Preda 1973, 206-210; Părpăuță 2006, 88-90; Talmațchi 2023, 182-183; Върбанов in print.

¹⁷ According to Constantin Preda, the information about the three earlier coins in the hoard from Adâncata is uncertain (Preda 1973, 206). The coins from Jiblea are from a private collection, and Preda does not present the two Adâncata-Mănăstirea type coins as part of a hoard (Preda 1973, 206-208, Părpăuță 2006, 273, № 174). The hoard from the village of Slana Bara most likely did not contain any coins of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type. At the National Archaeological Institute with Museum (NAIM-Sofia), 8 coins are preserved from the initially acquired 10 (inv. No. 8864-8873). The 13 imitations described by Gerasimov as “13 imitations with a small core – horseman to the left (Pink, Table XVI, 301)” are not of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type, but rather from the Yabukovac type or Eselohr (Герасимов 1943, 284-285, Поповић 1987, 41-44, Plate 4, A-C/I-V; Göbl 1973, 156, 1-2). I would like to thank Miroslava Dotkova (NAIM-BAN) for the access to the coins.

¹⁸ Preda, Drob 1984, 37-52.

Coin hoards with imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus

The hoards with imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus are primarily encountered south of the Danube river, in the territories of the basins of the Osam, Yantra, and Ruse Lom rivers. Of the 58 known hoards, 15 contain other coin types as well.¹⁹ The most recent proposed dating for their minting and circulation is between 170 BC - 130/120 BC.²⁰

Conclusion

The closest parallel to the hoard from the Sredna Kula district in Ruse is the hoard published over 40 years ago from the village of Urseiu, Dâmbovița County, Romania. In this hoard, about 82% of the coins are of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type, from the fifth series according to Preda. Preda divides them into 13 variants (a – 54 coins; b – 19; c – 31; d – 1; e – 6; f – 2; g – 25; h – 21; i – 52; j – 24; k – 51; l – 48; m – 19 coins), of which the following are found in the hoard under consideration: variant a – 11 coins; c – 27; g – 2; h – 2; i – 4; j – 1; l – 5; m – 2 coins. The remaining 18% of the coins in the hoard are imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus (of which about 45% are drachms) and one is Celtic. Their dating is within the range of 150-120 BC.²¹

Another hoard similar by composition is the one discovered in the area of Ruse in 1969. It includes one tetradrachm and two drachms, imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus, as well as three coins of the Vârteju-București type and six of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type.²² One of the last is from series V, and five are from series VI according to Preda.²³

Romanian numismatists suggest that the distribution of coins from the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type marks the territory of a strong tribal union.²⁴ In the last twenty years, intensive research has been conducted on sites from the 2nd -1st century BC in Bulgaria.²⁵ Based on the accumulated information, it is clear that the population from the lands of present-day northern Bulgaria and those from the territory of present-day southern Romania share very close (identical) material and spiritual cultures, which means that these tribes were closely related. Depending on the political situation, they formed tribal unions in different parts of the mentioned territories. Such a tribal union or state of the local tribes, the Getae, existed in the area between the basins of the Osam and Rusenski Lom rivers. Its territory is marked by the distribution of imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus.²⁶ The discovery of coins from the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type

19 Върбанов, Маринов 2024, 295-305.

20 Жекова, Върбанов 2024, 101.

21 Preda, Drob 1984, 37-52.

22 The coins are kept in the collection of the National Institute of Archaeology with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (NAIM-BAS), Sofia, under inventory numbers 12038-12049. Special thanks to Miroslava Dotkova (NAIM-BAS) for granting access to them.

23 Preda 1973, 201-203.

24 Preda 1973, 212-213, Talmačhi 2023, 183.

25 Живков 2021, 370-452.

26 Върбанов, Маринов 2024, 284-286.

in the territory of this political entity is mainly in the area of present-day Ruse, where there was an important commercial, religious, and political centre.²⁷ In all cases, they are from hoards and are mixed with coins of the Vârteju-Bucureşti type and imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus.²⁸

It is too early to make more serious generalisations about the role of these coins in the monetary circulation between the Danube and the Balkans until all known coins of this type, preserved in museums in Bulgaria, have been published. The goal of this article is precisely this – to introduce an interesting and important coin hoard discovered 60 years ago into scholarly circulation.

CATALOGUE²⁹

Imitations of tetradrahms of Philip III Arrhidaeus

1. Ob. Head of beardless Heracles right wearing lion skin headdress. The chin and the mouth are not visible. Dotted circle; very worn.

Rv. Zeus Aetophoros seated on stool-throne left; heavily worn, the image is barely recognizable, only in general outline; no distinguishable details, symbols, monograms, or inscriptions. Inv. No. 1612₅₆, 15.62 g, 28.6-27.1 mm, 12 h. -

2. Ob. same as No. 1.

Rv. same as No. 1.

Inv. No. 1612₅₇, 15.02 g, 29.4-29.2 mm, 12 h.

3. Ob. same as No. 1, but more worn.

Rv. same as No. 1, but more worn.

Inv. No. 1612₅₈, 15.13 g, 28.4-27.3 mm, 12 h.

Parallels for the obverse die of the first three coins (Cat. 1-3) can be found in the hoards from Smochan, the Lovech District, Kapitan Dimitrovo, the Dobrich District, Urseiu, and Optaşani, Romania.³⁰

4. Ob. same as No. 3, but more worn – details of the face are unclear (notably the eye area), and the lion skin at the top is flattened.

Rv. same as No. 1.

Inv. No. 1612₅₉, 15.02 g, 27.7-27.8 mm, 12 h.

27 Върбанов 2013, 29-56.

28 An exception is the hoard from Kavarna, Dobrich District, containing 40 coins, all of the Adâncata-Mănăstirea type.

29 All the coins are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

30 Prokopov, Gusterakliev, Dzanev 2007, 23, No. 62-63; 25, No. 74, 82; Varbanov 2025, 605, Fig. 1.7-8; Preda, Drob 1984, Pl. IV, 1-10; Petolescu 1980, Pl. I, 6-10, Pl. II, 11-16.

5. Ob. same as No. 4.

Rv. same as No. 1.

Inv. No. 1612₆₀, 14.89 g, 29-27.8 mm, 12 h.

Parallels for the obverse die of coins Cat. 4 and 5 can be found in the hoards from Smochan, the Lovech District, Kapitan Dimitrovo, the Dobrich District, and Optaşani, Romania.³¹

6. Ob. Instead of the head of Heracles, there is an oval bump, making it impossible to determine the direction in which the head is facing and to distinguish the lion skin.

Rv. Zeus Aetophoros seated on stool-throne left; only the head, part of the body and the left hand with sceptre are visible (the die is worn).

Inv. No. 1612₆₁, 14.97 g, 28.8-27.1 mm, 12 h.

The last coin (Cat. 6) has a parallel in the unpublished hoard from the village of Belyanovo, in the Ruse District.³²

Imitations of drahms of Philip III Arhidaeus

7. Ob. Head of beardless Heracles right. The lion skin presents like curly hair. Dotted circle.

Rv. Zeus Aetophoros seated on stool-throne left. Under the eagle – a monogram resembling a labrys, with six dots. Under the throne – three dots. Behind the throne – an imitation of an inscription (letters), made of short lines with dots at the ends. Dotted circle.

Inv. No. 1612₆₄, 2.60 g, 17-16.9 mm, 6 h.

8. Ob. same as No. 7 (same avers die).

Rv. same as No. 7. Under the throne – letter Λ. Dotted circle.

Inv. No. 1612₆₃, 2.70 g, 16.8-16.5 mm, 10 h.

9. Ob. same as No. 7 (same avers die).

Rv. same as No. 7. There is no image under the throne. Behind it – imitations of letters, composed of dots, forming three connected I's at the top and one Λ. Dotted circle.

Inv. No. 1612₆₂, 2.76 g, 16.9-16.4 mm, 10 h.

Imitations of tetradrahms of Philip II (Adâncata-Mănăstirea type, series V³³)

variant c³⁴

31 Prokopov, Gusterakliev, Dzanev 2007, 23, No. 57, 68-69, 71; 27, No. 90, 95; Varbanov 2025, 606, Fig. 2.11-13.; Petolescu 1980, Pl. III, 25-27.

32 Върбанов, Маринов 2024, 280, note 5.

33 Preda 1973, 198-203

34 Preda, Drob 1984, 39, Pl. I, 9-12

10. Ob. A stylized head of Zeus facing right. The eye is represented by a single dot, the nose is a straight line ending with a dot, with another dot next to it. The beard is depicted with three faint protrusions, and the mouth is shown as two short lines beneath the nose. The hair is represented by straight lines forming angles. In the centre of the head is an oval, which on both sides ends in a sharp angle. The ear is depicted as a crescent, with a curved line behind it, ending at one end with three short lines. Below it are three small parallel lines. Above the forehead, there are three short straight lines, joined at the top by a hemisphere.

Rv. A horse facing left, highly stylized. The body is divided into two parts by the rider's bent legs. The hindquarters are represented as a ball, the front connected with a short neck and an angular head, without any details. The head is divided from the neck by a line. The tail is raised and detached from the body. The legs are represented by straight lines, and the joints and hooves are depicted by dots – three on each leg (except for the front left, where there are two). The upper part of the rider is replaced by two dots, with the one on the right positioned slightly lower. There is a perpendicular straight line on the horse's neck – remnants of the bridle.

Inv. No. 1612₃, 8,70 g, 22.6-23 mm, 9 h.

11. Ob. same as No. 10. The mouth and beard are erased.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₄, 8.81 g, 22,4-24 mm, 9 h.

12. Ob. same as No. 10.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₈, 8.66 g, 22.9-23.3 mm, 9 h.

13. Ob. same as No. 10.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₉, 8.76 g, 23.4-23 mm, 9 h.

14. Ob. same as No. 11.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂, 8.89 g, 23.2-23.4 mm, 9 h.

15. Ob. same as No. 11.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁₆, 8.76 g, 22.5-22.4 mm, 9 h.

16. Ob. same as No. 10. Erased imprint in the centre.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁, 8.41 g, 23.1-24 mm, 10 h.

17. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₃₀, 9.09 g, 24.5-22.8 mm, 9 h.

18. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁₉, 9.02 g, 23.9-24.3 mm, 9 h.

19. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁₁, 8.87 g, 22.8 mm, 9 h.

20. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₄₈, 8.63 g, 23-21.3 mm, 11 h.

21. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁₀, 8.70 g, 22.9-23.5 mm, 9 h.

22. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁₅, 8.81 g, 24.1-23.6 mm, 9 h.

23. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₆, 8.43 g, 22.2-23.2 mm, 9 h.

24. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₅, 8.59 g, 22.4-23.4 mm, 9 h.

25. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₄₃, 8.80 g, 23 mm, 8 h.

26. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂₀, 8.08 g, 22-22.7 mm, 9 h.

27. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₄₉, 8.90 g, 22.4-23 mm, 9 h.

28. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₃₃, 8.24 g, 22.8-22.5 mm, 10 h.

29. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₄₄, 8.59 g, 22.5-23.5 mm, 10 h.

30. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂₃, 8.75 g, 22.7-24.2 mm, 9 h.

31. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂₇, 8.47 g, 22.7-23.3 mm, 9 h.

32. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₁₄, 8.60 g, 21.7-22.1 mm, 10 h.

33. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂₂, 8.93 g, 22.3-23 mm, 10 h.

34. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂₅, 8.96 g, 23.9-22.5 mm, 9 h.

35. Ob. same as No. 16.

Rv. same as No. 10.

Inv. No. 1612₂₁, 8.87 g, 23-22.8 mm, 9 h.

close to variant c

36. Ob. Stylized head of Zeus facing right. Same as No. 1, but without details for the beard and mouth, presented together.

Rv. A horse walking left, highly stylized. Same as No. 1, but the head is less angular and is one piece with the neck. The lines of the legs are thicker, as are the points above the horse and those representing the joints and hooves.

Inv. No. 1612₂₉, 8.64 g, 22.4-24.9 mm, 9 h.

variant a³⁵

37. Ob. same as No. 36

Rv. same as No. 36. For the rear left leg, there are two points stacked on top of each other above the hoof.

Inv. No. 1612₂₄, 8.90 g, 24-22.6 mm, 9 h.

38. Ob. same as No. 36, the face is wider. The imprint is more worn, and the details of the hair, beard, and ear are not visible. The points for the eye and nose are larger.

Rv. same as No. 37. Unclear remnants of an image above the horse's rear, between the two points and the tail.

Inv. No. 1612₄₀, 9.01 g, 23.7-23.1 mm, 8 h.

39. Ob. same as No. 38.

Rv. same as No. 38.

Inv. No. 1612₃₉, 8.87 g, 23.2-23.1 mm, 8 h.

40. Ob. same as No. 39. The eye is not visible, and the beard is formed by three spots with unclear outlines.

Rv. same as No. 38. A small dot under the hoof of the front right leg.

Inv. No. 1612₃₇, 8.80 g, 23.1-24.3 mm, 7 h.

41. Ob. same as No. 40. The dots for the eye and nose are erased.

Rv. same as No. 40.

Inv. No. 1612₅₁, 8.83 g, 23-23.2 mm, 8 h.

42. Ob. same as No. 38.

Rv. same as No. 39.

Inv. No. 1612₃₅, 8.76 g, 22.6-23.1 mm, 9 h.

43. Ob. same as No. 38. The dots for the nose are erased.

Rv. same as No. 39.

Inv. No. 1612₃₄, 8.63 g, 24-23.8 mm, 9 h.

44. Ob. same as No. 43.

Rv. same as No. 39.

Inv. No. 1612₄₂, 8.74 g, 22.2-22.8 mm, 9 h.

35 Preda, Drob 1984, 39, Pl. I, 1-4.

45. Ob. same as No. 43.

Rv. same as No. 39.

Inv. No. 1612₃₆, 8.71 g, 22.8-21.8 mm, 9 h.

close to variant a

46. Ob. same as No. 40.

Rv. same as No. 45, but there are two dots above the horse and an unclear protrusion, resembling the shape of the letter V, above the rear part of the horse. One large and one small dot behind its tail. The front right leg, bent at a right angle, ends with two dots for the hoof and joint (smaller) on the side. The front left leg ends with two dots for the hoof and knee joint. The hind legs have four dots each, with two stacked on top of each other to represent the joint at the hoof.

Inv. No. 1612₄₇, 8.48 g, 23.2-24 mm, 9 h.

47. Ob. same as No. 46.

Rv. same as No. 46, but the front leg is bent at a sharp angle, with three dots for the hoof and joints. The hind legs have three dots each, with dots for the joints at the hooves positioned beneath the line of the leg.

Inv. No. 1612₁₈, 8.60 g, 22.3-21.6 mm, 8 h.

variant h³⁶

48. Ob. same as No. 40.

Rv. same as No. 45, but the neck is thicker, and the head has a wider muzzle. The front right leg has four dots (two at the hoof), the front left leg has only two, and the hind legs each have three dots.

Inv. No. 1612₄₆, 8.64 g, 24.4-24.1 mm, 6 h.

49. Ob. same as No. 48. The eye is visible, positioned further from the line of the nose.

Rv. same as No. 48. In front of the tail – a point, a remnant of an image above the horse's rear.

Inv. No. 1612₁₃, 8.44 g, 23.4-23.5 mm, 7 h.

variant g³⁷

50. Ob. same as No. 48.

Rv. same as No. 49, but above the horse – three points in a line. The front left leg has two points and, at the bottom of the right two legs, there is a second line. The rider's leg is erased.

36 Preda, Drob 1984, 40, Pl. II, 10-11.

37 Preda, Drob 1984, 40, Pl. II, 7-9.

Inv. No. 1612₅₄, 8.59 g, 22.9 mm, 8 h.

51. Ob. same as No. 50.

Rv. same as No. 50.

Inv. No. 1612₅₀, 8.48 g, 21.5-22.7 mm, 9 h.

variant i³⁸

52. Ob. same as No. 49.

Rv. same as No. 51. The horse's legs are depicted with thinner lines, with three points on each leg.

Inv. No. 1612₂₈, 8.91 g, 23.2-24.9 mm, 6 h.

53. Ob. same as No. 52.

Rv. same as No. 52.

Inv. No. 1612₄₅, 8.60 g, 23.2-24 mm, 9 h.

54. Ob. same as No. 52. The eye is not visible.

Rv. same as No. 52. The horse's neck is thicker.

Inv. No. 1612₅₂, 8.46 g, 24.3-24.5 mm, 9 h.

55. Ob. same as No. 52.

Rv. same as No. 52. There are unclear points above the horse, remnants of an image above its hindquarters.

Inv. No. 1612₅₃, 8.94 g, 24.3-24.7 mm, 8 h.

variant j³⁹

56. Ob. same as No. 52.

Rv. same as No. 55, but there are two points above the horse, and the front left leg is shorter, with two points.

Inv. No. 1612₃₂, 8.54 g, 22.4-23 mm, 7 h.

variant l⁴⁰

57. Ob. same as No. 52.

Rv. same as No. 45. The horse's hindquarters are flattened, with three points above it, two of which are stacked on top of each other.

38 Preda, Drob 1984, 40, Pl. III, 1-3.

39 Preda, Drob 1984, 41, Pl. III, 4-7.

40 Preda, Drob 1984, 41, Pl. III, 9-10.

Inv. No. 1612₃₁, 8.47 g, 22.9-23.5 mm, 6 h.

58. Ob. same as No. 57.

Rv. same as No. 57.

Inv. No. 1612₇, 8.59 g, 23.3-22.3 mm, 6 h.

59. Ob. same as No. 57.

Rv. same as No. 57.

Inv. No. 1612₄₁, 8.56 g, 23.9-22 mm, 6 h.

60. Ob. same as No. 57.

Rv. same as No. 57.

Inv. No. 1612₂₆, 8.76 g, 22.9-22.4 mm, 6 h.

61. Ob. same as No. 57.

Rv. same as No. 57.

Inv. No. 1612₃₈, 8.66 g, 23-23.5 mm, 6 h.

variant m⁴¹ (Preda, Drob 1984, 41, Pl. III, 11-12)

62. Ob. same as No. 61.

Rv. same as No. 56, but the upper part of the right hind leg is disproportionately elongated.

Inv. No. 1612₁₂, 8.72 g, 23-23.2 mm, 8 h.

63. Ob. same as No. 61.

Rv. same as No. 62.

Inv. No. 1612₁₇, 8.74 g, 22-21.1 mm, 9 h.

- worn. Close to Series II according to Preda.⁴²

64. Ob. The imprint is worn, which is why the head of Zeus is represented as an oval protrusion, without details.

Rv. a horse in motion to the left, heavily stylized. Due to the worn imprint, only parts of the horse's body and head are visible.

Inv. No. 1612₅₅, 8.55 g, 25.2-24.7 mm.

photos: Miroslav Denchev (Museum of History - Rousse).

41 Preda, Drob 1984, 41, Pl. III, 11-12.

42 Preda 1973, 534, Pl. XI, 6. The very similar coins are defined as type Zwaigarm by Maria Kostial (Kostial 1997, 110, nos. 607-608).

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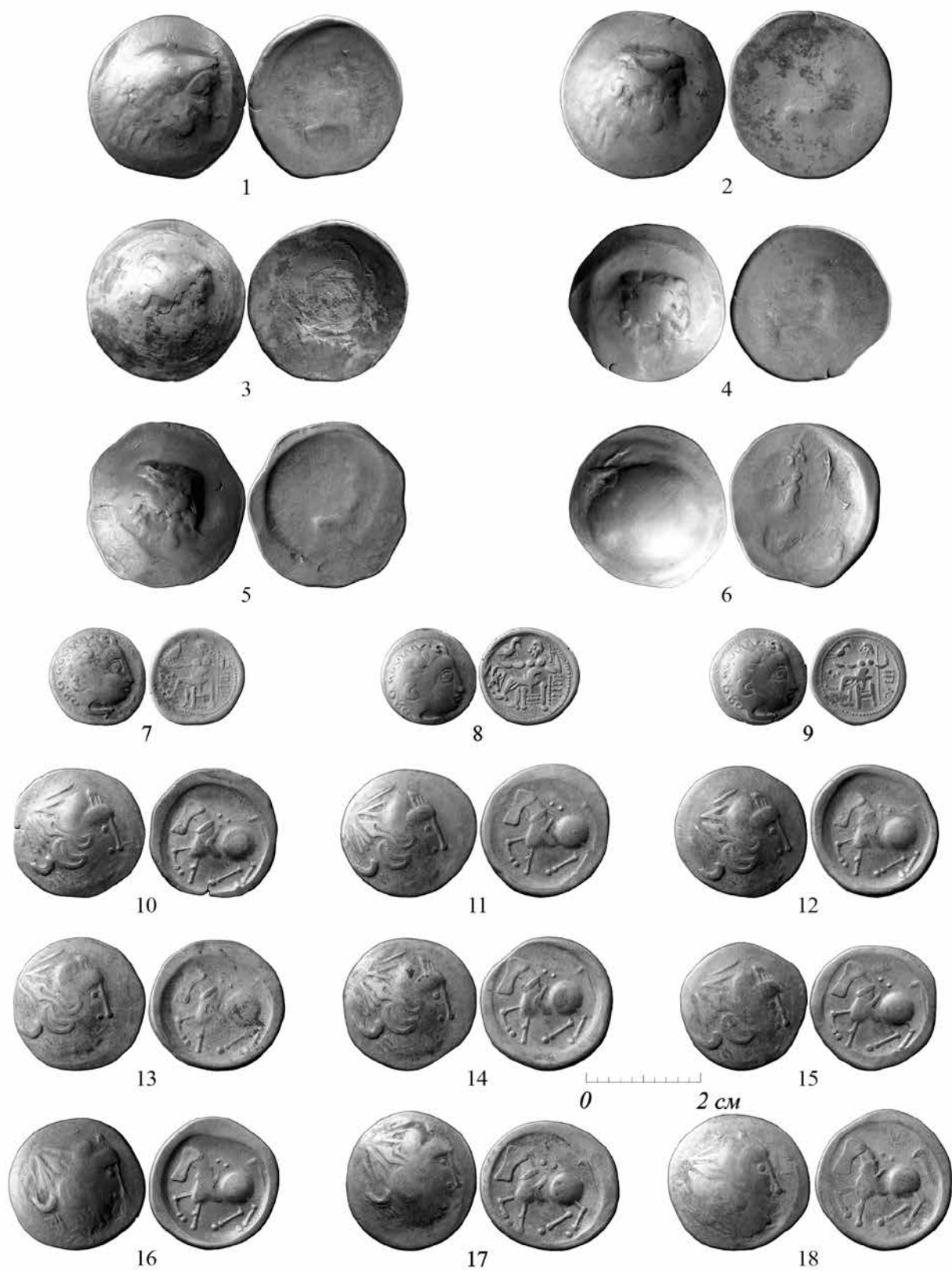
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A NEW HOARD OF SAMOBOR-TYPE COINS?

Abstract: A new hoard of Samobor-type coins seems to have been recently discovered in illicit excavations somewhere in the area of Zagreb, likely near the very find site of the eponymous hoard (found in 1922) of the Samobor-type Tauriscan coins. The find site of the 1922 hoard is situated below the Gradec hillfort (near Okić), a local Late Iron Age seat of power. The Samobor coins were issued in the 140s BC, while the dies used for their production were cut by the “school of the Norican Master”, which was also responsible for the production of VES-, Varaždin, Samobor C and Đurđevac coins. They exhibit a limited local and regional pattern of circulation and were most probably deposited soon after their production and distribution. It seems likely that the coins from the newfound hoard were struck on the same occasion as the coins from the eponymous hoard and that they were commissioned by the same minting authority, but were perhaps bestowed upon a different recipient. In general, Tauriscan coins were commissioned by local or regional minting authorities in order for them to function as “special-purpose” money.

Keywords: coins, hoards, Samobor, Taurisci, Late Iron Age, south-western Pannonia

Several years ago – most likely in early 2021 (but certainly prior to late 2021, see Appendix) – a large number of silver tetradrachms of the Samobor type appeared on the Croatian numismatic black market. The word was that they came from a newly discovered hoard, apparently one found in north-western Croatia. More precisely, the area of Samobor, or even the immediate vicinity of the find spot of the 1922 Samobor-Okić hoard, circulated as the possible find site of the hoard. It was allegedly discovered in a ceramic (?) pot and consisted of between 1,000 and 1,500 tetradrachms.¹

If true, the hoard would be a carbon copy of the Samobor-Okić hoard found in 1922 below the Gradec hillfort near the Okić castle, which was recently published in full, together with die analysis.² Indeed, all the dies used to produce the coins from the “new” hoard were also used

1 The source for this information is a well-connected professional numismatist and a trained archaeologist from Zagreb, who wishes to remain anonymous. He was not in any way involved in the recovery of the hoard or its dispersion on the market, either as a buyer or seller, or even a middleman. He is also the person who provided me with the scans of the coins and obtained the data on their weight. For all this I am extremely grateful, since otherwise the material and accompanying information published here would have been forever lost to archaeology. Several other well-informed local collectors/traders, who also wish to remain anonymous, have confirmed that the hoard was indeed found in the wider area of Zagreb, but, as opposed to the find site noted in the main text, other locations are indicated as possible find sites (such as “Medvednica”, with no additional information). The scans were processed by the author and an archaeology student, Melina Maria Georgoula (University of Peloponnese, Department of History, Archaeology and Management of Cultural Resources, Kalamata), to whom I am indebted for her help. The quality of the images, although considerable, is not perfect, but, realistically, no higher quality photographs seem to be forthcoming.

2 Bilić 2024, 59-112 (the die designations used here are taken from this work). The 1922 hoard was also concealed in an earthen pot and consisted of c. 1,600 pieces (Hrčić 1943, 25) or c. 1,300 pieces (Klemenc

in the production of those from the original Samobor-Okić hoard.³ Significantly, one die combination (SAobv8-Sarv 5), hitherto a singleton in the 1922 hoard, now also appears as a single coin in the “new” hoard. What this means is that these two dies, one obverse and one reverse die, were used to produce only two coins – naturally, this only refers to the those available for analysis – of which one is documented in the Samobor-Okić hoard and the other is found in the “new” hoard. This shows a strong connection between the two bodies of material. However, even without this connection, it is beyond doubt that the new Samobor-type material was produced on the same occasion as the hoard discovered in 1922. This is clear from the fact that all the dies used for production of the newly-appeared coins were also used to produce the coins from the Samobor-Okić hoard. Thus, not a single new die was recorded among the 129 coins allegedly belonging to the new hoard available for analysis.⁴

Type Samobor A				
Cat. no.	obv. die	rv. die	comment	weight
1	29	91		11.85
2	29	91		11.54
3	29	91		11.33
4	29	91		11.32
5	29	91		11.29
6	29	91		11.29
7	29	91		11.26
8	29	91		11.26
9	29	91		11.25
10	29	91		11.24
11	29	91	delle rv.	11.23
12	29	91		11.23
13	29	91		11.23
14	29	91		11.22
15	29	91		11.21
16	29	91		11.2
17	29	91		11.2
18	29	91		11.2
19	29	91	delle obv.	11.19
20	29	91		11.18
21	29	91		11.18
22	29	91		11.18

1934–1936, 126 no. 9; Liščić 1974, 1; 1977–1978, 236). Mirnik 1991, 207 no. 306; 1993a, 207 no. 306; 1993 b, 207 no. 306 has both variants.

3 I will explain, in due course, the use of quotation marks when speaking of the body of Samobor coins that recently appeared on the market.

4 This observation perhaps needs to be qualified (see the Appendix).

23	29	91		11.17
24	29	91		11.17
25	29	91		11.17
26	29	91		11.17
27	29	91		11.15
28	29	91		11.15
29	29	91		11.14
30	29	91		11.14
31	29	91		11.14
32	29	91		11.14
33	29	91		11.14
34	29	91		11.13
35	29	91		11.13
36	29	91		11.13
37	29	91		11.12
38	29	91		11.12
39	29	91		11.12
40	29	91		11.11
41	29	91		11.11
42	29	91		11.11
43	29	91		11.11
44	29	91		11.09
45	29	91		11.09
46	29	91		11.09
47	29	91		11.08
48	29	91		11.08
49	29	91		11.07
50	29	91		11.07
51	29	91		11.07
52	29	91		11.06
53	29	91		11.06
54	29	91		11.05
55	29	91		11.05
56	29	91		11.04
57	29	91		11.04
58	29	91		11.04
59	29	91		11.04
60	29	91		11.03
61	29	91		11.01
62	29	91		11.01

63	29	91		11.01
64	29	91		11.00
65	29	91		11.00
66	29	91		11.00
67	29	91		10.99
68	29	91		10.98
69	29	91		10.98
70	29	91		10.96
71	29	91		10.96
72	29	91	delle rv.	10.95
73	29	91	delle rv.	10.95
74	29	91		10.94
75	29	91		10.93
76	29	91		10.93
77	29	91		10.93
78	29	91		10.92
79	29	91		10.91
80	29	91		10.9
81	29	91		10.88
82	29	91		10.88
83	29	91		10.85
84	29	91		10.85
85	29	91		10.84
86	29	91		10.82
87	29	91	delle rv.	10.82
88	29	91		10.81
89	29	91		10.81
90	29	91		10.78
91	29	91		10.75
92	29	91		10.7
93	29	91		9.58
94	29	SArv6		11.3
95	29	SArv6		11.27
96	29	SArv6		11.26
97	29	SArv6		11.08
98	29	SArv6		11.01
99	29	SArv6		10.84
100	29	SArv6		10.34
101	29A	SArv6	delle obv.	11.07
102	29A	SArv6		10.94

103	30	92		11.1
104	32	94		11.38
105	33	94		11.12
106	33	94		11.1
107	32	94		10.9
108	32	94		10.85
109	32	94		10.66
110	34	95		11.66
111	34	95		11.42
112	34	SArv7		11.16
113	34	SArv10		11.35
114	34	SArv10		11.13
115	34	SArv10		11.12
116	34	SArv10		11.1
117	34	SArv10		11.04
118	34	SArv10		10.87
119	34	SArv10		6.46
120	35 ³	93A	delle rv.	10.96
121	35 ³	SArv12		10.46
122	35 ³	SArv17		10.89
123	35 ³	SArv17		10.86
124	SAobv10 ¹	94		11.09
125	SAobv10 ¹	94		10.91
126	SAobv8	SArv5		11.11
Type Samobor B				
127	40	105		11.13
128	40	105		10.97
129	40	105		11.33

Table 1 – List of coins from the “new” hoard of Samobor-type coins.

Furthermore, the patina on both bodies of material is identical. The same applies to the often irregular-shaped flans, as well as to the very similar weights of respective die-combinations (however, this argument will be shown to be less straightforward than presented here). Finally, an unusual characteristic of a number of coins from the Samobor-Okić hoard is the presence of a rather deep and wide indentation, called *Delle* (Ger.) by Vladimir Liščić,⁵ on either surface of the coin, and this unique feature is shared by some of the coins from the “new” hoard. With respect to the 1922 hoard, 5.03 % of all coins had the indentation, with a somewhat larger share among the Samobor A coins (6.8 %).⁶ With the newly-appeared material, the respective shares are 5.43 % and

5 Liščić 1977–1978, 252. Göbl (TKN 13) named these features “depressions, hollows” (Ger. *Vertiefung*) or “casting dents” (Ger. *Gußdelle*), while Luschin von Ebengreuth 1904, cols. 78, 80, also used the term *Vertiefung*.

6 Bilić 2024, 110-112.

5.56 %. This means that not only were both batches of coins produced on the same occasion, but some of the coins from respective groups were simultaneously intentionally indented after striking by the same tool,⁷ which further suggest a single occasion for the production of both bodies of material,⁸ as well as an identical motivation for marking some of the coins.⁹

die	Delle (1922 hoard) no. of instances / total no. of coins	Delle (“new” hoard) no. of instances / total no. of coins
obverse		
29	-/13	1/100
29A	-/68	1/2
30	-/17	-/1
32	-/34	-/6
34	7/79	-/10
35	10/135	-/4
SAobv10	1/33	-/2
SAobv8	-/1	-/1
40	-/23	-/3
reverse		
91	4/76	4/93
SArv6	-/6	-/9
92	-/49	-/1
94	2/92	-/8
95	-/6	-/2
SArv7	-/12	-/1
SArv10	3/55	-/7
93A	-/5	1/1
SArv12	1/6	-/1
SArv17	6/64	-/2
SArv5	-/1	-/1
105	-/23	-/3

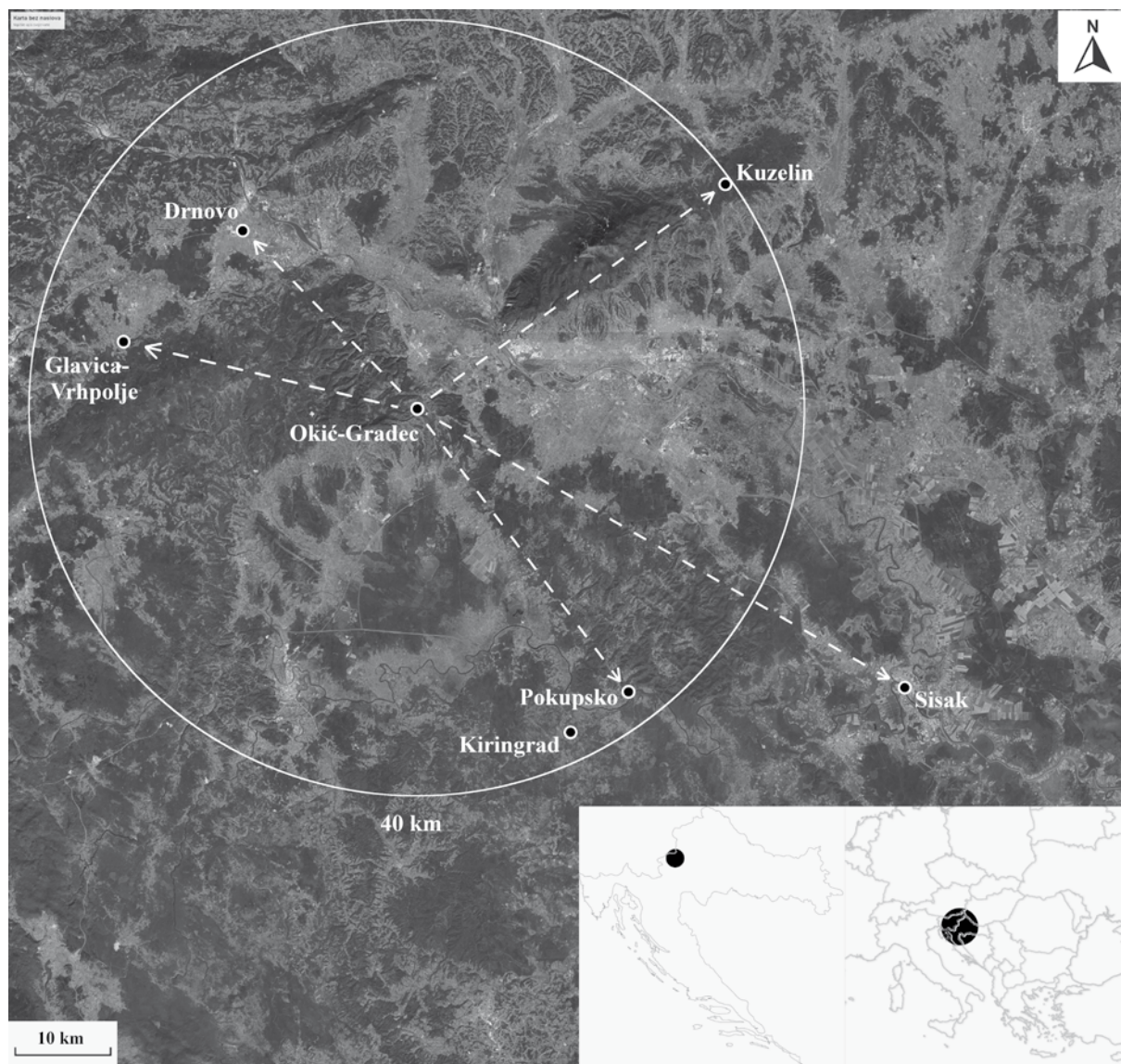
Table 2 – Analysis of indented coins from the Samobor-Okić hoard and the “new” hoard.

7 Thus, Luschin von Ebengreuth 1904, cols. 78, 80 and Bilić, 2024, 110, 112. On the other hand, Göbl (TKN 13) and Liščić 1977–1978, 252 argued for the appearance of indentations during the casting of the flans (Göbl) or the striking of the coins (Liščić).

8 Göbl (TKN 13) indeed used these indentations as a criterion for the temporal proximity of the coins displaying them, as well as for the identity of the artisans (here, he actually used the term “mint”, Ger. *Münzstätte*) who produced them.

9 Luschin von Ebengreuth 1904, cols. 78, 80, 99 (not col. 100, as in TKN 13), while discussing their appearance on “West Norican” coin-types, understood them as utilitarian control marks (Ger. *Beistempel*, *Gegenstempel*, *Kontermarke*) comparable with the cuts on the Huși-Vovriești coins. Göbl (TKN 13) and Liščić 1977–1978, 252, as we have seen, interpreted them as unintentional consequences of the coin-production process; Bilić 2024, 112 is non-committal.

It is very likely that the coins from both batches were produced on a single occasion, marked by the indentation, and distributed into (at least) two large groups, perhaps intended for a corresponding number of recipients. Indeed, a number of Samobor-type coins struck on the same occasion were modestly distributed over a radius c. 40 or 50 km from Gradec at Okić as the centre.



Map 1 – Distribution of Samobor coins. Base map: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus.

site	type of find	type	die combination	inventoried as	weight (g)	archaeological context	metal content
Sisak	archaeological excavations	Samobor A	TKN 34-Sarv8	find no. 23	9.68	LIA town (Historical Archives position); a layer of debris	N/A
Sisak	chance find	Samobor A	TKN 34-Sarv10	GMS 626/A-N	10.39	LIA town; the Kupa (near the "Keltsko" position)	N/A
Sisak	chance find (?)	Samobor A	TKN 35 ³ -?	A M Z A8866	9.27	LIA town; the Kupa	84.5 % Cu, 6 % Sn or 62 % Cu, 35 % Sn
Sisak	chance find	Samobor A	TKN 27-89	G M S 626a/A-N	9.01	LIA town; the Kupa (near the "Keltsko" position)	N/A
Sisak	chance find (?)	Samobor A	TKN 27-(?)89	A M Z A6419	7.68	LIA town	72 % Cu, 19 % Sn
Sisak (?)	chance find (?)	Samobor B	TKN 45-109	N/A	N/A	LIA town	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor A	TKN 27-89	A M Z A10922	5.66	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor A	TKN 30-92	A M Z A10925	6.88	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor A	TKN 33-94	A M Z A10921	7.44	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor B	TKN 43-107 ¹	A M Z A10928	7.0	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor B	TKN 43-107 ¹	A M Z A10924	5.8	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor B	TKN 44-108	A M Z A10926	8.06	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor Transitional	TKN 46-Stransrv26	A M Z A10923	7.44	hoard	N/A
Pokupsko	chance find	Samobor Transitional	TKN 46-112	A M Z A10927	6.23	hoard	N/A

Kuzelin	archaeological excavations	Samobor B	TKN 45-109	MPS 4185	10.55	LIA settlement; along a rampart wall	N/A
Kuzelin	archaeological excavations	Samobor A	TKN 28a-(?)90	MPS 7376	7.96	LIA settlement	N/A
Kiringrad (?)	chance find	Samobor A	TKN 32-94	N/A	N/A	LIA hillfort	N/A
Drnovo	chance find (?)	Samobor B	TKN 45(?) - 109(?)	NMS 19	5.61	LIA settlement (?)	N/A
Glavica at Gorenje Vrhpolje	chance find (?)	Samobor Transitional	TKN 36-(STransrv?)	NMS 4	5.92	LIA hillfort (?)	N/A
Dragišić	archaeological survey	Samobor Transitional	TKN 36dif-STransrv16	MGŠ-856	10.34	LIA hillfort	N/A
Novi Banovci (?)	chance find (?)	Samobor A	N/A	N/A	N/A	LIA settlement	N/A

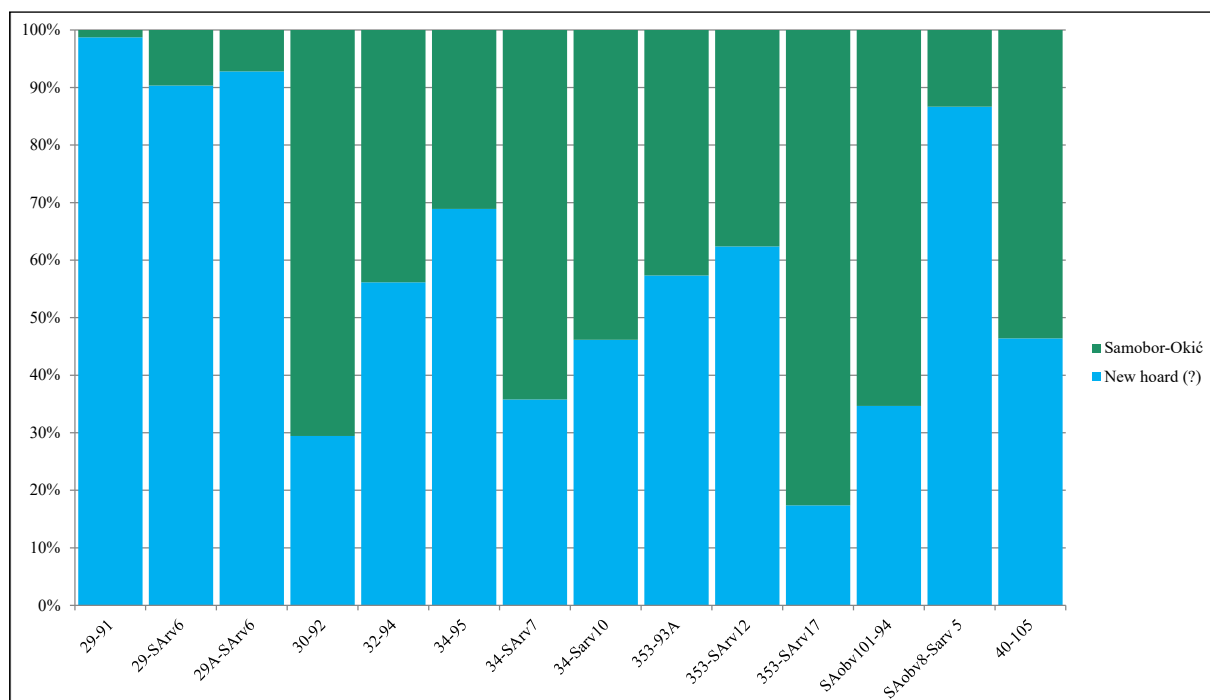
Table 3 – Find sites of Samobor coins.

Thus, several batches of coins, varying in size, as well as some single coins, were distributed immediately after they were struck. Two of these batches – according to the data available at the moment – were significantly larger than the others and were, perhaps, of a very similar size. One, the 1922 hoard, was certainly buried in the immediate vicinity of the production site, the other – the “new” hoard – perhaps also not far from Gradec at Okić. However, there remains an alternative scenario, invoked primarily, but not exclusively, because of the unreliable sources of information regarding the “new” hoard.

	“new” hoard			Samobor-Okić hoard		
die combination	no. of pieces	percentage	weight (g)	no. of pieces	percentage	weight (g)
29-91	93	72.09%	11.06	8	0.94%	10.92
29-SArv6	7	5.42%	11.01	5	0.58%	10.92
29A-SArv6	2	1.55%	11.01	1	0.12%	11.17
30-92	1	0.78%	11.10	16	1.87%	10.69
32-94	6	4.65%	11.00	31	3.63%	10.84
34-95	2	1.55%	11.54	6	0.70%	10.83
34-SArv7	1	0.78%	11.16	12	1.40%	11.07
34-SArv10	7	5.42%	10.44	54	6.32%	10.81
35 ³ -93A	1	0.78%	10.96	5	0.58%	10.85
35 ³ -SArv12	1	0.78%	10.46	4	0.47%	11.13
35 ³ -SArv17	2	1.55%	10.88	63	7.37%	10.74
SAobv10 ¹ -94	2	1.55%	11.00	25	2.92%	10.85

SAobv8-SArv 5	1	0.78%	11.11	1	0.12%	10.86
40-105	3	2.33%	11.14	23	2.69%	10.89
total	129	100.01%		855	29.71%	

Table 4 – Die combinations from the “new” hoard and the corresponding combinations from the Samobor-Okić hoard.



Graph 1 – Diagram of die combinations from the “new” hoard and the corresponding combinations from the Samobor-Okić hoard.

Indeed, the “new” hoard has a rather unusual composition. As many as 93 coins (72.09 %) were thus struck by a single die combination (29-91). In comparison, this particular die combination accounts for a mere 0.94 % of all the coins in the Samobor-Okić hoard (eight pieces). What is more, the highest proportion of any die combination in the Samobor-Okić hoard is 7.84 %, with 67 pieces (29a-91). While these two die combinations are admittedly closely related (they share the same reverse die, while the obverse die 29a is clearly derived from 29), the share of the die combination 29-91 in the “new” hoard multiple times surpasses that of 29a-91 in the Samobor-Okić hoard. The part of the “new” hoard available for study was either handpicked by a modern connoisseur with a strong bias towards this particular die combination or it reflects the actual composition of the hoard and, thus, reveals the intentions of the original composer of the assemblage. The former appears intrinsically more plausible, but the latter cannot be excluded from consideration. If the part of the “new” hoard available for study indeed reflects the original composer’s intentions, then it would differ essentially from the intentions of the composer of the Samobor-Okić hoard. Since the two groups of coins were both produced and marked (indented) on a single occasion, and commissioned by the same minting authority, this seems unlikely.

A hoard of Samobor coins from Pokupsko could be invoked in order to test this conclusion.¹⁰ This small set of coins, deposited together at a position with no Late Iron Age sites in the vicinity, consisted of eight coins, each of which also appears in the Samobor-Okić hoard. The coins were produced by the die combinations 27-89, 30-92 and 33-94 (Samobor A), 43-107¹ (2 pieces) and 44-108 (Samobor B), and 46-STransrv26 and 46-112 (Samobor Transitional). Notwithstanding the small total number of coins, these eight tetradrachms are almost perfectly distributed among the three main types of Samobor coins (3:3:2).¹¹ It seems rather unlikely that this is fortuitous, and the general composition of this hoard, in terms of respective shares of three main types, conforms in general to that of the Samobor-Okić hoard, where the ratio is c. 10:4:2. On the other hand, the “new” hoard, as it is, would be completely different in the aspect of composition from either the Samobor-Okić or the Pokupsko hoard (in the “new” hoard the ratio between Samobor A and B coins is 42:1, with no Samobor Transitional coins whatsoever).

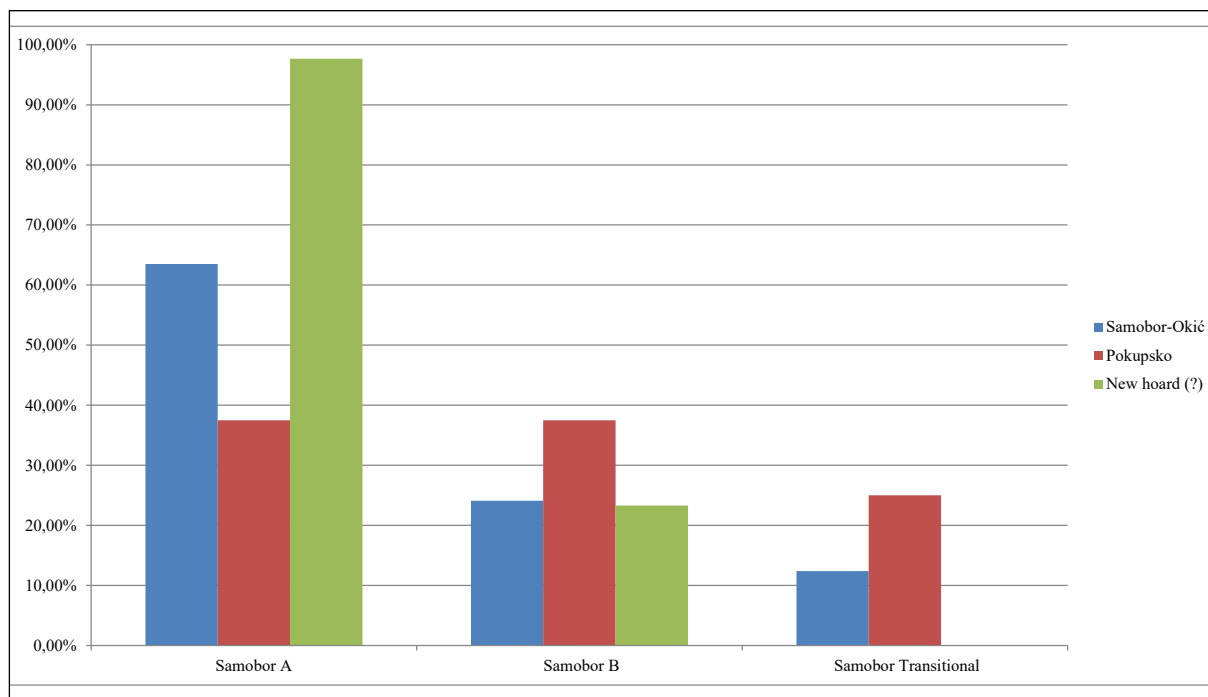
	Samobor-Okić	Pokupsko	“new” hoard
Samobor A (%)	63.55	37.5	97.67
Samobor B (%)	24.07	37.5	2.33
Samobor Transitional (%)	12.38	25.0	0.0

Table 5 – Analysis of the composition of the Samobor-Okić, Pokupsko and the “new” hoard.

However, the Pokupsko hoard is highly idiosyncratic in terms of the weight of flans used to produce these coins. Thus, the recorded flan weights for the coins from Pokupsko are extremely low in comparison with the average weights of the corresponding die-combinations from the Samobor-Okić hoard. At the same time, the coins from Pokupsko do not appear any more worn than the coins from Samobor-Okić and were either produced on the same occasion or a different one – presumably shortly after the Samobor-Okić hoard – by the same artisan(s) with the same dies, but using lighter flans. If the former is true, the lighter flans were perhaps used intentionally, intended either for a different recipient of this batch of coins or for another contracting authority who commissioned their production. With the present state of our knowledge, it seems impossible to choose among these possibilities.

10 Mirnik 1998.

11 Naturally, the classification of the coins composing the Samobor-Okić hoard is a modern construct and there is no way of knowing in what way the ancient communities approached this body of material. With that in mind, our classificatory categories represent a convenient heuristic tool for assessing, in the first place, the production process, but also, to a lesser degree, the patterns of hoard-formation and, as a consequence, the distribution patterns. The production of three main Samobor coin-types seems to have been rigorously compartmentalised: the Samobor Transitional type dies were not shared by either of the two remaining types, while only two Samobor A reverse dies were shared with a single Samobor B obverse die for producing a mere five coins, and only a single Samobor B reverse die was paired with a single Samobor A obverse die in order to strike a single coin.



Graph 2 – Diagram showing the composition of the Samobor-Okić, Pokupsko and the “new” hoard.

die combination	Samobor-Okić hoard, avg. weight (g)	Samobor-Okić hoard, no. of pieces	Pokupsko hoard, weight (g)	Pokupsko hoard, no. of pieces	difference in weight (%)
27-89	10.68	18	5.66	1	47.00
30-92	10.69	16	6.88	1	35.64
33-94	10.88	18	7.44	1	31.62
43-107 ¹	10.93	22	6.40 (average weight)	2	41.45
44-108	10.95	3	8.06	1	26.39
46-STransrv26	10.92	10	7.44	1	31.87
46-112	11.02	2	6.23	1	43.47
average					36.77

Table 6 – Difference in weight between identical die-combinations in the Samobor-Okić and Pokupsko hoards.

Thus, the Pokupsko hoard does not offer a full answer to the question regarding the nature of the “new” hoard. On the one hand, its composition is aligned with that of the 1922 hoard and they both differ significantly from the “new” hoard; on the other, the flan weights of the Pokupsko coins are highly idiosyncratic, more than a third lower on average than the average weights of the coins produced by the respective die combinations from the Samobor-Okić hoard. At the same time, the average weights of the respective die combinations from the 1922 hoard and the

“new” hoard are very similar. Thus, since it does not seem clear how valid the Pokupsko hoard is as an analogy in this particular issue, it is perhaps better to leave it out of consideration altogether.

However, while the average weights of respective die combinations from the Samobor-Okić hoard and the “new” hoard are indeed very similar, they are, nevertheless, not identical. What is more, they are different in a rather consistent way, as Table 7 shows.

die combination	no. of pieces in the “new” hoard	no. of pieces in the Samobor-Okić hoard	% of die combinations in the “new” hoard	% of die combinations in the Samobor-Okić hoard	av. weight of die combinations in the “new” hoard (g)	av. weight of die combinations in the Samobor-Okić hoard (g)	difference “new” hoard / Samobor-Okić hoard (%)
29-91	93	8	72.09	0.94	11.06	10.92	+1.28
29-SArv6	7	5	5.42	0.58	11.01	10.92	+0.82
29A-SArv6	2	1	1.55	0.12	11.01	11.17	–1.45
30-92	1	16	0.78	1.87	11.10	10.69	+3.84
32-94	6	31	4.65	3.63	11.00	10.84	+1.48
34-95	2	6	1.55	0.70	11.54	10.83	+6.56
34-SArv7	1	12	0.78	1.40	11.16	11.07	+0.81
34-SArv10	7	54	5.42	6.32	10.44	10.81	–3.54
35 ³ -93A	1	5	0.78	0.58	10.96	10.85	+1.01
35 ³ -SArv12	1	4	0.78	0.47	10.46	11.13	–6.41
35 ³ -SArv17	2	63	1.55	7.37	10.88	10.74	+1.30
SAobv10 ¹ -94	2	25	1.55	2.92	11.00	10.85	+1.38
SAobv8-SArv 5	1	1	0.78	0.12	11.11	10.86	+2.30
40-105	3	23	2.33	2.69	11.14	10.89	+2.30
total	129	855	100.01	29.71			

Table 7 – Comparative analysis of identical die-combinations in the Samobor-Okić and the “new” hoard.

On the whole, the average weights of die combinations from the “new” hoard seem consistently higher than the respective combinations from the 1922 hoard (in 11 out of 14 instances). The differences are not particularly large, 2 % on average, but they are noticeable. Perhaps they are more clearly seen if only the instances where at least three coins from the “new” hoard per a die combination are available are taken into account; also, a clear outlier in the 34-SArv10 combination (at 6.46 g, almost 70 % lighter than the second lightest piece), can safely be removed from consideration.

die combination	no. of pieces in the “new” hoard	no. of pieces in the Samobor-Okčić hoard	av. weight of die combinations in the “new” hoard (g)	av. weight of die combinations in the Samobor-Okčić hoard (g)	difference “new” hoard / Samobor-Okčić hoard (%)
29-91	93	8	11.06	10.92	+1.28
29-SArv6	7	5	11.01	10.92	+0.82
32-94	6	31	11.00	10.84	+1.48
34-SArv10	6	54	11.10	10.81	+1.76
40-105	3	23	11.14	10.89	+2.30

Table 8 – Comparative analysis of identical die-combinations in the Samobor-Okčić and the “new” hoard – selection of more numerous combinations from the latter.

Now a consistent weight difference can be clearly observed, ranging from 0.82 to 2.30 %, i.e., 1.53 % on average. The difference is present both in the Samobor A die combinations, as well as in the Samobor B (a single pairing in the “new” hoard, 40-105). Even though the average weight differences seem small (and they indeed are small in absolute terms), they are consistently present and do not deviate much, for instance, from the difference between the average weights of coins from two distinctive groups of coins from the Đurđevac hoard, where the average weight of the first (earlier) group is 9.84 g, and that of the second (later) group is 9.67 g, i.e., the difference is 1.76 %.¹² Similarly, the differences between the average weights of the three main types of Samobor coins from the Samobor-Okčić hoard are the following: 1.49 % between the average weights of Samobor A and Samobor B coins, 0.46 % between the average weights of Samobor B and Samobor Transitional coins and 1.95 % between the average weights of Samobor A and Samobor Transitional coins.¹³ Thus, the differences between the coins from the “new” hoard and those from the 1922 hoard seem significant and might point to a chronological sequence in the production.¹⁴ More precisely, the weight differences suggest that the coins from the “new” hoard, although produced by the same die pairings and on the same general occasion as those from the 1922 hoard, were, nevertheless, struck as a distinct group in relation to those from the Samobor-Okčić hoard. In turn, this suggests that the flans were also produced in distinctive batches. At the same time, the interval between the striking of these two groups would not necessarily be very long (i.e., we can probably think in terms of days, if not hours), and, judging by the small absolute difference in average weights, it does not appear that the flan weights were intentionally calibrated for different recipients (one could compare this situation with that of the large deviations in the weight of coins from the Pokupsko hoard). When the material from the Pokupsko hoard is included in this discussion, as much as three different sets of flans used to produce the Samobor-type coins are now available for study: two of a generally similar weight and a third of a significantly reduced weight.

12 Kos 2009, 308-310.

13 Bilić 2024, 109, Table 5.

14 As the anonymous reader rightly points out, alternatively, the difference might have been caused by a different alloy structure, i.e., the weight of the flans made from an alloy richer in silver might have been intentionally reduced. Regrettably, since the “new” hoard has been dispersed, we are unlikely to obtain the results of metal analysis of the coins from this hoard. In any case, it is unclear whether the 1–2 % difference in weight would be required by the (correspondingly slight) difference in the fineness of the alloy and, even if it would require a such calibration, I would still argue that this entails a, however slight, chronological break in production.

die combination	weight in the “new” hoard (g) (no. of coins)	av. weight in the Samobor-Okčić hoard (g) (no. of coins)	weight in the Pokupsko hoard (g) (no. of coins)
30-92	11.10 (1)	10.69 (16)	6.88 (1)

Table 9 – Weight of the coins produced by the same die combination in three (?) hoards. The small number of coins in the “new” and Pokupsko hoards prevents any far-reaching conclusions with respect to the easily observable differences.

The use of different batches of flans of a (slightly) different weight is, therefore, an attested characteristic of the production process of Samobor coins. Another characteristic, one pointing to an almost simultaneous production of all coins of this group, which must have occurred in a very short time span in a single production centre,¹⁵ is the very noticeable intertwining of dies (Fig. 1). This property was established in the recent comprehensive die study of the Samobor hoard, and it appears especially prominent with the Samobor A coins, but is also present, even though to a somewhat lesser extent, with the Samobor B coins.¹⁶ This intertwining can be explained by the introduction of the “die-box model”, which is manifested in the diagram crossings,¹⁷ but while it is probably a necessary cause, it does not seem to be a sufficient cause in this particular case for the phenomenon observable from the diagram. This model postulates the reuse, or discontinuous use, of reverse dies, perhaps also of obverse dies, which are returned to a “die-box” during a break in production. The diagram resulting from the analysis of dies used in the production of Samobor A coins indicates the impossibility of maintaining the continuous-obverse-usage die-box model. Moreover, chronological information is extremely difficult to gauge from the apparently exceptionally discontinuous die usage in the production of Samobor A coins.¹⁸ Another phenomenon that might be postulated for the appearance of crossings in the charted Samobor A/B die-sequences is the parallel use of multiple workstations, usually referred to as anvils,¹⁹ which is the most likely explanation, at the very least, of the sharing of reverse dies between Samobor A and Samobor B obverses.²⁰ Once again, the sharing can be accounted for by the die-box model,²¹ although this does not seem to represent a sufficient cause.²²

Thus, the postulation of the simultaneous use of several anvils represents a complementary explanation, which does not exclude the die-box model, but rather further elaborates upon it.²³ The diagram presented here allows the creation of a model that significantly simplifies the die-links by introducing several workstations that occasionally might have been used simultaneously for striking coins; other similar models could have been proposed that could equally well account for the observed die-links. The parallel use of several (two or more) workstations sug-

15 A paraphrase of Kos, Mirnik 2011, 100, who were discussing the Varaždin-type coins. For the same phenomenon and its interpretation with regard to the *Kugelreiter* coins in the Haimburg hoard cf. Kos 2010, 78.

16 Bilić 2024, 69-71. What follows is largely derived (often verbatim) from the discussion published in this work.

17 Esty 1990, 207-210, 218; Watson 2022, 3-5, 14. Cf. diagrams Fig. 3b and c in Esty 1990, 208.

18 Esty 1990, 209, 211.

19 Watson 2022, 3.

20 Cf. TKN 32.

21 Esty 1990, 210-211.

22 In general, when they appear in a die-chart, crossed lines can be explained either by the die-box model or the parallel operation of multiple workstations and it is impossible to distinguish between the two based on the pattern of linkage alone, cf. Watson 2022, 1-2, 13.

23 Carroccio 2011, 87-99.

gests a more intensive production in comparison to the use of a die-box alone, since the use of more than a single anvil would significantly accelerate the minting process.²⁴ This is in line with the already noted brief time interval in which the entire hoard must have been produced. Unfortunately, there seems to be no ready-made formal-scientific explanation for the complexity of the Samobor-Okić hoard die charts, and the only way to reconstruct the operation of the workshop that produced these coins is by recourse to our contextual knowledge on the workshop in question, which is almost totally non-existent.²⁵

The use of batches of flans of (slightly) different weights can be easily accommodated to the process of production of Samobor coins outlined here. Similarly, the Pokupsko flans must be explained in terms of motivation for their low weight – i.e., in terms of the commissioner's intentions with respect to different recipients *vel sim.* – and do not present a problem in terms of production technology.²⁶

Concluding discussion on the nature of the new found material and its relationship to the 1922 Samobor-Okić hoard

The foregoing discussion makes clear that it does not seem possible to reach an unambiguous verdict on the nature of the “new” hoard of Samobor coins, even though there is some strong evidence for distinguishing between the 1922 hoard and the “new” hoard. However, it cannot be decidedly dismissed that the batch of coins published here was part of the original 1922 Samobor-Okić hoard. Indeed, besides the 871 pieces kept at the AMZ, which includes the 14 pieces from the Benko Horvat collection reportedly from the Samobor-Okić hoard, four coins are kept at the MSO, arriving there *via* Karl Nuber's collection, seven more are at the Diocesan Museum of Archdiocese of Zagreb, arriving *via* Kamilo Dočkal's collection, while seven were kept at the Samobor Museum (now five), with two additional coins in the private collection of the former Samobor Museum director Ivica Sudnik. In addition, some pieces are kept in public collections outside Croatia: two are kept in the National Museum of Slovenia (by way of, once again, Karl Nuber's collection), four in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, originally from the Koblitz collection, and a dozen in the Landesmuseums Württemberg in Stuttgart, originally from the E. Unger collection. This makes a total of 909 coins.²⁷ The remainder is unaccounted for, although the 19 Samobor coins in the Lanz collection (several pieces formerly in the Weinmeister collection) must have originated from the Samobor-Okić hoard. Apart from the pieces purchased by the AMZ from S. Hrčić, who had, in turn, bought them from the finder himself (the abovementioned 857 coins – i.e., the total of the AMZ coins minus the B. Horvat collection pieces), it appears that 150 pieces were confiscated by the gendarmes, while the finder apparently retained a part of the hoard, since he offered the coins to hikers and even sold one to J. Klemenc in as late as 1939, i.e., 17 years after the discovery of the hoard (this coin is included in the bulk of the hoard kept in the AMZ, i.e., among the abovementioned 857 coins).²⁸ The

24 Watson 2022, 1.

25 Watson 2022, 13-14.

26 Alternatively, if commissioned by a different contracting authority, the Pokupsko coins might have been produced on a different occasion, using identical dies but significantly different flans.

27 For the sources of information for these data cf. TKN, 127-128; Mirnik unpublished; Bilić 2024, 59, n. 224.

28 J. Klemenc's report, AAMZ s.v. Samobor 222/1939; Hrčić 1943, 25 (the “more than 900 pieces bought for the

finder appears to have kept c. 100 pieces, which were also bought by Hrčić, c. 30 of which were subsequently acquired by B. Horvat,²⁹ some of the latter eventually ending up in the AMZ. In addition, c. 50 pieces seem to have found their way to Karl Nuber's collection (the already mentioned two pieces from the National Museum of Slovenia and four pieces in the MSO perhaps included).³⁰ Indeed, a handwritten note by V. Hoffiller kept in the AMZ archives seems to record an exchange of as many as 120 Samobor-Okić coins between the AMZ and K. Nuber and S. Hrčić, which suggests that at that time the two collectors had at least 107 and 13 Samobor coins in their possession, respectively.³¹ Liščić apparently believed that all 54 pieces enumerated by Göbl originated in the Samobor-Okić hoard (including the twelve from the Landesmuseums Württemberg and four from the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien), but this cannot be proved, and is manifestly untrue for TKN Samobor B 26 and perhaps also incorrect for TKN Samobor A 26.³² If all coins enumerated in this paragraph actually originated from the Samobor-Okić hoard, they would amount to c. 1,300, which corresponds exactly to the estimates of Klemenc and Liščić, but not quite to that of Hrčić's 1,600. In addition, it is almost certain that some of the groups adduced above overlap, most significantly between the AMZ pieces purchased from Hrčić and those attested, however ambiguously, for the Nuber and Hrčić collections (the swap deals between the AMZ and private collectors do not help, either). Also, how many pieces were retained by the finder after his initial sale to Hrčić,³³ how many did he sell to other patrons, did he eventually sell all his coins to Hrčić (minus those sold to others), and what happened to the 150 confiscated pieces, all remain open questions, which make the reconstruction of the actual number of pieces contained in the hoard an unenviable undertaking. Therefore, the 129 pieces from the "new" hoard could well have been among the numerous unaccounted-for coins from the 1922 hoard.

With all this in mind, it can be reiterated that at the current state of knowledge it is impossible to reach an unambiguous conclusion. What is certain is that the material from the 1922 hoard and the newly appeared batch of (at least) 129 coins were produced on the same occasion. The coins were struck by a travelling group of die-cutters, the "Norican Master" and his apprentices.³⁴ They were commissioned by some member, or perhaps members, of the elite that controlled the local or regional centre of power at Gradec near Okić (one such individual might lurk behind the legend "C-D", documented on a single coin from the Samobor-Okić hoard).

AMZ" by Hrčić is either an exaggeration – the maximum number could have been 856 – or Hrčić did not sell all his pieces to the Museum, which seems extremely likely – indeed, Liščić 1974–1975, 236, mentions that Hrčić kept an undisclosed number of coins in his collection); Liščić 1974–1975, 236; Mirnik unpublished.

29 Klemenc 1934–1936, 126 no. 9. For the pieces in Hrčić's collection *cf.* Liščić 1974–1975, 236.

30 Mirnik unpublished. Nuber mentioned 48 or 49 pieces in his possession in a letter of 9 September 1924, sent to V. Hoffiller (AAMZ s.v. Samobor), but it remains unclear whether the pieces that eventually ended up in public collections were still among them. In his German translation of the entry Klemenc 1934–1936, 126 no. 9 (originally published in Croatian), sent to Karl Pink on his request for information on "Norican" coinage, J. Klemenc claimed that the remaining c. 70 Hrčić's pieces (minus c. 30 pieces that were acquired by B. Horvat) were actually purchased from Hrčić by Nuber (AAMZ s.v. Samobor 111/1937). Apparently, the published text was somewhat abbreviated.

31 AAMZ s.v. Samobor; Mirnik unpublished.

32 TKN, 127–128; Liščić 1974–1975, 236–237.

33 On this *cf.* J. Klemenc's report, AAMZ s.v. Samobor 222/1939; Mirnik unpublished.

34 On the "Norican Master" *cf.* TKN 13; Kos 2010, 100; 2012, 354–355; Kos, Mirnik 2011, 102.

The find contexts of Tauriscan coins in general, and Samobor-type coins in particular, strongly suggest that the local or regional minting authorities commissioned the coins in order for them to function as “special-purpose” money, that is, to be used for gift exchange, including diplomatic exchange between the polities or their elites, for paying tribute, dowries, compensations of various kinds, distribution to dependents or mercenaries, as well as ritual deposition. None of these usages excludes any other, and many or all, at least partially, fall under the category of ritual or symbolic usage.³⁵ In terms of Samobor-type coins specifically, a TKN 45-109 Samobor B tetradrachm was found at the Kuzelin hillfort within a Lt D1 settlement.³⁶ Its deposition context – by a rampart wall – suggests a votive, perhaps apotropaic function. In addition, a Samobor A, apparently debased and reduced coin, was reportedly found in the bed of the Kupa at Sisak (ancient Segestica/Siscia).³⁷ Two more Samobor A tetradrachms produced by the die-combinations attested in the eponymous hoard (TKN 27-89³⁸; TKN 34-SArv10³⁹) were also apparently found in the Kupa, near the so-called Keltsko position.⁴⁰ The fact that these coins were found in the bed of the Kupa might suggest their deposition as votive offerings, but the current state of study of archaeological material recovered from the dredging of the Kupa does not permit such an unequivocal conclusion.⁴¹ The known deposition contexts of Samobor-type coins, thus, at least partially, suggest their symbolic function. Whether this inference can be extrapolated to the deposition of Samobor-Okčić and other hoards of Samobor coins remains an open question. This extrapolation would, however, be strengthened if the deposition of the Samobor-Okčić hoard should indeed be associated with the Gracov zdenac spring situated directly below the Gradec hillfort.⁴² The spring is located between 300 and 350 m down the Okčićnica stream, along the forest road towards the east-south-east and the Domovići hamlet in Podgrađe, from the find spot of the hoard, as reconstructed in the already mentioned recent comprehensive study of the Samobor-Okčić hoard.⁴³ This reconstruction, in turn, was effected on the strength of the 1939 report of the curator of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Josip Klemenc, who was shown the exact find spot of the hoard by Juraj Gorički, who personally discovered the hoard in 1922. It should, thus, be preferred as more aligned to the actual find site of the 1922 hoard, but Kos’s proposition cannot be completely discarded.

Furthermore, although it is at present impossible to date the Samobor coin-types on their own in absolute terms, it is, nevertheless, possible to infer their chronological position from the more securely dated finds of other Tauriscan coins. The finds in question are three mixed

35 Bilić 2024, 16, 184. For the use of coins as “special-purpose” money in the Late Iron Age continental Europe *cf.* Wigg-Wolf 2008, 36; 2011, 303; Howgego 2013, 31.

36 Sokol 2001 no. 3 = MPS 168/94 (in publications) = MPS 4185 (actual inv. no.) (10.55 g); Bilić 2023, 69.

37 AMZ inv. A8866 (9.27 g); Bilić 2017, 467 no. 15; Bilić 2024, 112. The obverse of this coin was struck with a TKN 35³ die, while the corrosion makes the precise identification of the reverse die impossible, although what is left of the depiction clearly indicates one of the Samobor-Okčić dies.

38 Burkowsky 2009, 27 no. 7 (GMS inv. no. 626a/A-N); weight 9.01 g.

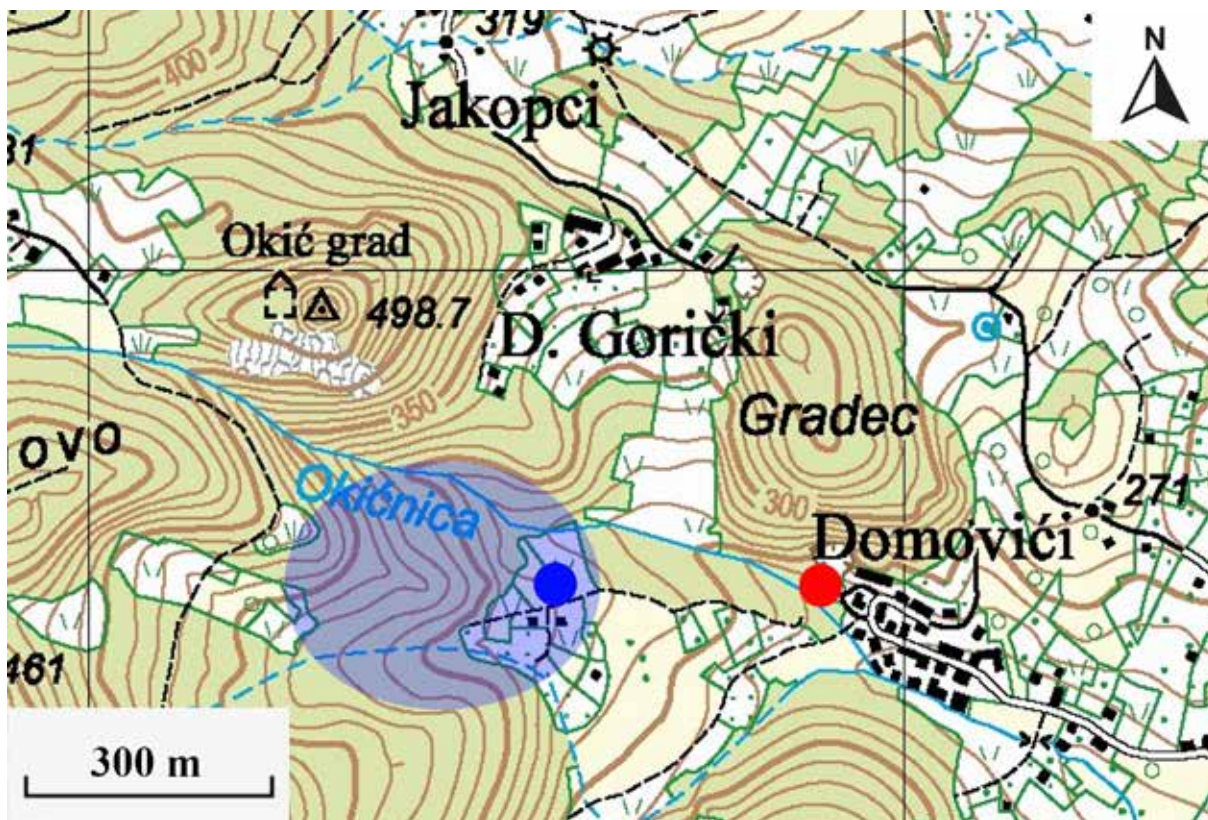
39 Burkowsky 2009, 27 no. 6 (GMS inv. no. 626/A-N); weight 10.39 g.

40 Bilić 2017, 467-468 nos. 14, 16; Bilić 2018, 276.

41 For hoards and votive deposits in aquatic contexts see an extensive overview in Bland 2020; for the dredging of the Kupa *cf.* Vukelić 2012; for the LIA finds from the Kupa at Sisak and their interpretation as (possible) votive offerings *cf.* Drnić 2014, 207-208.

42 P. Kos, pers. comm., 2022; Bilić 2024, 115, n. 332.

43 Bilić 2024, 59-61.



Map 2 – Find spot of the Samobor-Okić hoard. The approximate extension of Jama Wood (transparent selection) and the approximate find spot (opaque circle) of the hoard (ARKOD preglednik, <http://preglednik.arkod.hr/ARKOD-Web/>, adapted by the author). The find spot is gauged from local family traditions in combination with cadastral information, J. Klemenc's report and personal survey and should not be understood as an exact location where the hoard was concealed. The Gracov zdenac spring is marked by a red opaque circle.

hoards, two containing Tauriscan coins and one that does not.⁴⁴ In the Haimburg, Carinthia, hoard the VES· type tetradrachms were found together with Norican coinage, more specifically, the earliest subtypes of Kugelreiter tetradrachms – which are earlier than the Kugelreiter tetradrachms found in the Enemonzo, Friuli, hoard together with Roman republican victoriati. While in the Ljubljana River, Carniola hoard, Samobor C 13, 14, 16 and 23 tetradrachms and 1/4 drachms were found alongside various Roman republican coins.⁴⁵ On the strength of the evidence provided by these hoards it was convincingly argued that the Taurisci started minting their coinage from at least the mid-2nd century BC, or at the very end of the 1st half of the 2nd

⁴⁴ The following is largely derived (often verbatim) from the discussion published in Bilić 2024, 42-43. Karl Strobel (e.g., Strobel 2012, 12-18; 2014, 69-70, 72, 79, 89) dispenses with the traditional Norican/Tauriscan categorization altogether and speaks of a “karnisch-(nord)tauriskischen Prägezone” (cf. Schachinger 2020, 60-64) in the earlier period of minting of what is traditionally called “Norican” and “Tauriscan” coinage. This is perhaps more appropriate in light of the late appearance of the Norici in historical records, but the traditional labels are used here as a convenient shorthand, without implying the precise ethnic, tribal or political attributions.

⁴⁵ The Haimburg hoard was published in Göbl 1989; the Enemonzo in Gorini 2005; the Ljubljana hoard in Kos, Šemrov 2003.

century,⁴⁶ this being at the end of Lt C2 period or during the Lt C2/D1 transition. The earliest types of Tauriscan coinage following and derived from the VES· tetradrachms, the Varaždin A and, immediately afterwards, Varaždin B, were apparently minted somewhere in the Varaždin area c. 150 BC.⁴⁷ Moreover, the Ljubljana hoard proves that the Taurisci simultaneously minted both tetradrachms and 1/4 drachms in the earliest period of their minting activity, that is to say that the SC 13 and 14 types, which developed from the Varaždin B type,⁴⁸ and, following those, the SC 16 (and, presumably, 23) coins, were all minted c. 150 BC.⁴⁹

The coin types adduced in the previous paragraph – i.e., the VES·, Varaždin and earlier (unfortunately named) Samobor C tetradrachms – were all produced intermittently by the already mentioned so-called Norican Master and his “school”, under a strong and direct influence from the Carnic region. Both the Samobor and Đurđevac coins (the latter should be understood here as designating only the coins from the homonymous hoard) were produced by the same “school”. Indeed, Göbl argued for an “almost simultaneous” production of the Samobor A-derived Samobor B and Đurđevac coins.⁵⁰ Since the Samobor B coins are present together with Samobor A tetradrachms in the Samobor-Okić hoard, it stands to reason that the Đurđevac and Samobor-Okić hoards were deposited almost contemporaneously (with the latter having a chronological priority). This is further confirmed by the presence of Göbl’s “Đurđevac” dies, both obverse (2) and reverse (3), in the Samobor-Okić hoard.⁵¹

All these coin groups were hardly at all circulated (here the Đurđevac type, as opposed to the coins from the Đurđevac hoard, is a partial exception), and were deposited in hoards composed of die-related coins shortly after they were struck. As inferred from the three mixed hoards noted above, this horizon of coinage was certainly produced prior to or not long after

46 Kos, Šemrov 2003, 386-387; Gorini 2005, 59, 83; Kos 2007, 60-63; 2009, 311; 2012, 355-356; Kos, Mirnik 2011, 102; Miškec 2012, 381, 383; Strobel 2014, 75-77. Strobel (2012, 15-16; 2014, 77-78, *cf.* 89) actually dates the beginning of “karnisch-(nord)tauriskischen” coinage (the VES· tdrs) at or slightly after the turn of the 2nd century BC, claiming at the same time that the coins were minted at Celeia (modern Celje).

47 Kos, Mirnik 2011, 102; Kos 2012, 355-356; 2016, 378-379; Miškec 2012, 381, 383. Gorini (2004, 59) dates the production of Varaždin A and B coins between 180 and 160 BC, *cf.* Gorini 2008, 99; 2009, 120, but without clear argumentation or use of archaeological evidence.

48 *Cf.* TKN 32, 99, 111 for SC13.

49 Kos, Šemrov 2003, 382, 385-387, *cf.* Kos 2007, 61-62, who dates SC 13, 14 and 16 to the 140s BC or slightly earlier and Miškec 2012, 383, who actually dates SC 13 to c. 150 BC, and SC 14 and 16 to the 140s BC; see also Kos 2010, 101 and Strobel 2014, 77.

50 TKN 31.

51 At the same time, these particular Đurđevac dies were not part of the homonymous hoard (*cf.* Kos 2009), so there is no direct overlap between the Samobor and Đurđevac hoards; the same applies, with regard to the latter, to the Pokupsko hoard. TKN, 127 notes that the find site of Göbl’s Samobor A coin no. 26 is “angebl. Fd. von Gjurgjevac”, referring to Karl Krefß’s Munich-based auction house and its sale of (the third part of) Franz Streber’s collection in 1959. Franz Streber lived from 1806 to 1864 (Ziegeus 2012, 262), so the coin in question, whether from the Đurđevac or Samobor-Okić hoard, could not have arrived in Franz Streber’s collection during his lifetime. Furthermore, it is certain that Göbl already had serious doubts about the coin’s provenance (hence his “allegedly”), and it is also not completely clear whether his “angebl. Fd. von Gjurgjevac” refers to the Đurđevac hoard, even though this is very likely. In any case, Kos 2009 does not even mention this coin in his publication of the Đurđevac hoard and it seems prudent to follow him in this approach. Therefore, I will not discuss the possible chronological consequences of the unlikely presence of a Samobor A coin in the Đurđevac hoard, besides observing that it would strongly support the postulated almost contemporaneous deposition of the Đurđevac and Samobor-Okić hoards.

150 BC, corresponding to the period of activity of the “school” of the Norican Master. We can, therefore, confidently date the production and deposition of the Samobor-Okić hoard, as well as the Đurđevac hoard, to the 140s BC.

Keeping in mind the repeatedly emphasized indecisiveness of the available evidence, a particular argument that could tip the scales towards the solution of this conundrum could nevertheless be underscored. Thus, the difference in average weights between the coins from the 1922 hoard and the “new” hoard, i.e., those produced by the same die combinations, seems to favour the testimonies of those who claim that the 129 coins studied here originate from a newly discovered hoard, one brought to light c. 100 years after the Samobor-Okić hoard, somewhere in the (immediate?) geographical vicinity of the latter. Otherwise, apart from the unreliable testimonies, all remaining circumstances (the unusual composition of the “new” hoard, principally the total dominance of a single die combination, and, especially, the characteristics it shares with the 1922 hoard: identical patina, state of preservation, the presence of identical indentations, identical flan-shapes, the use of entirely identical die combinations, the presence of an identical singleton in both batches, very similar size of the hoards and the similarity of their containers), seem to point to the “new” hoard representing simply a part of the 1922 one. Some of the arguments for the common origin, in terms of deposition, for both groups of coins are stronger than others (for instance, the use of a ceramic vessel as a container is not particularly suggestive, and could reflect the familiarity of the informants, all well-versed in the numismatic history of the territory of Croatia, with the circumstances of the 1922 find), but the strongest indications could be explained in terms of the fact that both batches were produced on the same occasion with the same group of dies. The unusual composition of the “new” hoard is most likely the consequence of modern curating, i.e., it was exacted through the division of the “spoils” or the formation of commercialised lots. It would, thus, not reflect the original composition of the hoard. The quotation-marks from the “new” hoard can, therefore, be removed, although not with complete confidence.

Appendix

For what it is worth, it seems that during the early 2020s a significant number of Samobor A coins struck by specific die combinations appeared at various auctions (auction houses based in Hamburg, Munich, Kehl, Vienna, Winterthur, Lugano, London, Lancaster, PA/London/The Hague, and Costa Mesa, CA). A search on the acsearch.info search engine revealed 58 29-91 combinations (49.57 % of all coins), with an additional six 29-SArv6 combination pieces and five 34-Sarv10 pieces, which appeared in this period. These are the three best represented combinations in the “new” hoard, with the first, as we have seen, accounting for more than 70 % of all coins in the assemblage. Other die combinations that appeared on the market in the same period were not represented in large numbers – 48 coins in total – which makes their interpretative potential negligible (see list below).⁵² The proportion of 29-91 pieces in the entire “assemblage”, c. 50 %, is significantly below their proportion in the “new” hoard (c. 72 %), but incommensurable to their proportion in the 1922 Samobor-Okić hoard (somewhat less than 1 %).

List of Samobor coins that appeared in auctions from late 2021 to early 2024. The data is provided in the following order: auction / die combination / no. of pieces / weight (g):

52 One of these 48 pieces was struck with a hitherto unrecorded reverse die (H. D. Rauch, Auction 115, 8 December 2022, lot 2), a variant of the 93=97 die from the Samobor-Okić hoard.

- Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 7, 02/01/2022, lot 4 = Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 98, 02/05/2022, lot 5 / 29-91 / 1 / 10.84.
- Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 8, 27/03/2022, lot 2 / 29-91 / 1 / 10.96.
- Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 98, 02/05/2022, lot 6 / 29-91 / 1 / c. 11.0.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 111, 05/12/2021, lot 8 / 29-91 / 1 / 10.26.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 113, 17/01/2022, lot 7 / 29-91 / 1 / 10.95.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 20, 16/07/2022, lots 136, 138, 141, 143-147 / 29-91 / 8 / 11.27; 11.21; 11.19; 11.11; 11.1; 11.08; 11.01; 10.53.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 23, 22/08/2022, lots 3018-3021, 3023-3024, 3027-3030 / 29-91 / 10 / 11.41; 11.24; 11.2; 11.16; 11.13; 11.06; 11.02; 10.97; 10.84; 10.79.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 24, 03/12/2022, lots 810-812, 814-823 / 29-91 / 13 / 11.33; 11.2; 11.19; 11.18; 11.15; 11.14; 11.11; 11.08; 11.01; 10.97; 10.91; 10.86; 10.65.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 116, 21/03/2023, lots 5-7 / 29-91 / 3 / 11.29; 11.12; 11.08.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 117, 11/04/2023, lots 1007-1009 / 29-91 / 3 / 11.14; 11.13; 11.04.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 118, 02/05/2023, lots 10-11 / 29-91 / 2 / 10.97; 10.92.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 119, 23/05/2023, lot 1009 = Auction 127, 12/12/2023, lot 6 / 29-91 / 1 / 11.18.
- Via GMBH, Auction 3, 25/05/2023, lot 1 / 29-91 / 1 / 11.49.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 120, 13/06/2023, lots 2, 4 (lot 2 = Auction 127, 12/12/2023, lot 5) / 29-91 / 2 / 11.34; 11.12.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 130, 02/07/2023, lots 9-10 (lot 10 = Auction 132, 03/09/2023, lot 4) / 29-91 / 2 / 9.23; 9.14.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 122, 04/07/2023, lot 1006-1008 / 29-91 / 3 / 11.83; 11.13; 11.04.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 131, 06/08/2023, lot 2 / 29-91 / 1 / 8.78.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 124, 19/09/2023, lot 1002 / 29-91 / 1 / 10.98.
- Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 548, 18/10/2023, lot 2 / 29-91 / 1 / 11.26.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 128, 23/01/2024, lots 1004-1005 / 29-91 / 2 / 11.06; 10.99.
- Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 7, 02/01/2022, lot 3 = Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 98, 02/05/2022, lot 4 / 29-SArv6 / 1 / 10.88.
- Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 98, 02/05/2022, lot 7 = Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 100, 15/11/2022, lot 11; Emporium Hamburg, Alpha Auction 102, 08/05/2022, lot 16; Emporium Hamburg, Auction 104, 20/11/2023, lot 32 / 29-SArv6 / 1 / 10.94, 10.95 or 10.97.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 20, 16/07/2022, lots 139-140, 142 / 29-SArv6 / 3 / 11.17; 11.16; 10.91.

- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 23, 22/08/2022, lot 3022 / 29-SArv6 / 1 / 11.06.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 113, 17/01/2022, lot 6 / 28a-90² / 1 / 10.82.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 114, 16/06/2022, lot 2 / 28a-90² / 1 / 10.63.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 27, 09/09/2023, lot 14 / 28a-90² / 1 / 8.51.
- Via GMBH, Auction 2, 30/09/2022, lot 5 = Numismatik Naumann, Auction 134, 05/11/2023, lot 5 / 33-94 / 1 / 10.88.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 119, 23/05/2023, lot 1010 = Auction 125, 17/10/2023, lot 10 / 34-SArv7 / 1 / 11.08.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 116, 15/06/2023, lot 1 / 34-SArv10 / 1 / 11.1.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 130, 02/07/2023, lot 11 = Auction 132, 03/09/2023, lot 5 / 34-SArv10 / 1 / 8.81.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 26, 08/07/2023, lot 161 / 34-SArv10 / 1 / 9.01.
- Astarte, Web Auction 1, 31/07/2023, lot 5 / 34-SArv10 / 1 / 8.93.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 133, 01/10/2023, lot 3 / 34-SArv10 / 1 / 11.35.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 130, 02/07/2023, lot 8 / 35¹-94 / 1 / 8.57.
- Paul-Francis Jacquier, Auction 52, 15/09/2023, lot 506 / 35¹-94 / 1 / 12.22.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 117, 07/12/2023, lot 258 / 35¹-96 / 1 / 11.06.
- Stack's Bowers Galleries, August 2021 ANA Auction, 23/08/2021, lot 46397 / 35²-96 / 1 / 10.75.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 130, 02/07/2023, lot 12 = Auction 132, 03/09/2023, lot 6 / 35²-96 / 1 / 6.9.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 120, 13/06/2023, lot 3 / 35³-SArv12 / 1 / 11.38.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 24, 03/12/2022, lot 824 / 35³-SArv14 / 1 / 10.06.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 131, 06/08/2023, lot 3 = Auction 134, 05/11/2023, lot 6 / 35²-SArv17 / 1 / 8.59.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 114, 16/06/2022, lot 4 / 35³-SArv17 / 1 / 10.76.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 26, 08/07/2023, lot 162 / 35³-SArv17 / 1 / 9.19.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 115, 08/12/2022, lot 2 / 35²-unrecorded reverse derived from 93=97 / 1 / 11.19.
- Via GMBH, E-Live Auction 7, 25/02/2022, lot 12 = Via GMBH, E-Live Auction 10, 16/12/2022, lot 7 / SAobv2-90¹ / 1 / 8.53.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 23, 22/08/2022, lot 3026 / SAobv6-SArv4 / 1 / 10.15.
- Solidus Numismatik, Auction 118, 02/05/2023, lot 9 / SAobv10¹-94 / 1 / 11.28.
- Stack's Bowers Galleries, January 2023 NYINC Auction, 13/01/2023, lot 26006 / SAobv10¹-94 / 1 / 10.52.

- Via GMBH, E-Live Auction 7, 25/02/2022, lot 13 = Via GMBH, E-Live Auction 10, 16/12/2022, lot 8 / SAobv10¹-94 / 1 / 9.12.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 24, 03/12/2022, lot 813 / SAobv10-SArv16 / 1 / 10.8.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 114, 16/06/2022, lot 5 / 38-101 / 1 / 11.12.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 113, 17/01/2022, lot 8 / 38-102 / 1 / 11.01.
- Roma Numismatics Limited, E-Sale 107, 16/03/2023, lot 1 / 39-96 / 1 / 11.34.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 115, 08/12/2022, lot 3 / 39-96 / 1 / 10.62.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 113, 17/01/2022, lot 9 / 39-104 / 1 / 11.57.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 114, 16/06/2022, lot 6 / 39-SBrv1 / 1 / 11.15.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 116, 15/06/2023, lot 2 / 39-SBrv1 / 1 / 11.24.
- Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 366, 05/04/2022, lot 6512 / 39-SBrv2 / 1 / 10.66.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 117, 07/12/2023, lot 260 / 39-SBrv2 / 1 / 11.24.
- Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 23, 22/08/2022, lot 3025 / 40-105 / 1 / 11.71.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 114, 06/03/2022, lot 34 / 40-105 / 1 / 10.3.
- H. D. Rauch, E-Auction 42, 19/09/2023, lot 2 / 41¹-106 / 1 / 11.24.
- H. D. Rauch, E-Auction 41, 25/02/2023, lot 3001 / 41²-106 / 1 / 11.02.
- H. D. Rauch, E-Auction 40, 23/09/2022, lot 4 / 41²-SBrv6 / 1 / 10.8.
- H. D. Rauch, E-Auction 38, 15/10/2021, lot 3 / 41²-SBrv7 / 11.13.
- H. D. Rauch, E-Auction 39, 04/03/2022, lot 2 / 41²-SBrv7 / 1 / 11.05.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 115, 08/12/2022, lot 4 / 43-107¹ / 1 / 11.2.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 113, 17/01/2022, lot 10 / 43-107¹ / 1 / 11.15.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 114, 16/06/2022, lot 7 / 43-107¹ / 1 / 10.95.
- Astarte, Web Auction 2, 09/12/2023, lot 1 / 43-107¹ / 1 / 10.1.
- Numismatik Naumann, Auction 114, 06/03/2022, lot 32 / 43-107² / 1 / 11.19.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 115, 08/12/2022, lot 5 / 45¹-109 / 1 / 11.24.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 116, 15/06/2023, lot 3 / 45¹-109 / 1 / 11.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 117, 07/12/2023, lot 259 / 45¹-109 / 1 / 10.98.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 114, 16/06/2022, lot 8 / 45²-109 / 1 / 10.99.
- H. D. Rauch, Auction 113, 17/01/2022, lot 11 / 45²-109 / 1 / 10.76.

The sudden increase in the appearance of Samobor coins on offer can be recognised at the very end of 2021, so the search interval was targeted to a period from 5th December, 2021 to 23rd

January 2024 (the search was conducted on 20th February 2024). It is instructive to compare the average weights of the three dominant die combinations in the “new” hoard with the respective data for both the 1922 Samobor-Okčić hoard and the auction pieces that appeared in the targeted interval.

die combination	av. weight in the “new” hoard (g) (no. of coins)	av. weight of the auction pieces (g) (no. of coins)	av. weight in the Samobor-Okčić hoard (g) (no. of coins)
indicative die combinations			
29-91	11.06 (93)	10.97 (58)	10.92 (8)
29-SArv6	11.01 (7)	11.02 (6)	10.92 (5)
34-SArv10	10.44 (7)	9.84 (5)	10.81 (54)
scarcely represented die combinations			
34-SArv7	11.16 (1)	11.08 (1)	11.07 (12)
35 ³ -SArv12	10.46 (1)	11.38 (1)	11.13 (4)
35 ^{2,3} -SArv17	10.88 (2)	9.51 (3)	10.74 (63)
SAobv10 ¹ -94	11.00 (2)	10.31 (3)	10.85 (25)
40-105	11.14 (3)	11.00 (2)	10.89 (23)

Table 10 – Average weights of die combinations shared between the “new” hoard, the Samobor-Okčić hoard and the auction pieces.

Focusing on the absolutely dominant die combination (29-91), it can be noticed that the average weight of the auction pieces lies between that recorded for the “new” hoard and that for the Samobor-Okčić hoard, whereas with the second indicative die combination (29-SArv6), it is somewhat higher than the one documented for the Samobor-Okčić hoard, while nearly identical to that for the “new” hoard. The average weight of the auction pieces struck by the third indicative die combination (34-SArv10) is significantly lower than the average weight of comparable pieces in both the “new” hoard and the Samobor-Okčić hoard; in addition, the latter pair also differs significantly between them. Furthermore, as opposed to the Samobor-Okčić and Pokupsko hoards, neither the “new” hoard nor the material from the auctions included any Samobor Transitional coins. Therefore, it is possible to hypothesize that the sudden increase in the number of Samobor coins at auctions from late 2021 onwards reflects the discovery of the “new” hoard somewhere in north-western Croatia.

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**FINDS OF TETRADRACHMS OF ATHENS
(OF THE SO-CALLED “NEW STYLE”)
IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA**

Abstract: In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the city of Athens minted silver coins-tetradrachms from the new series, that is, the so-called “New Style”, referred to by some authors as “stephanophoroi” (“wreathed”). These tetradrachms of Athens of the so-called “New Style” first appeared in 164/3 BC (based on the so-called low chronology), and over the course of a little more than a century they would become one of the most sought after and widespread coins in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. In one period (between 126 and 120 BC), according to the records of the finds, these coins are represented in Macedonia in somewhat larger numbers. Regarding the area of today’s Republic of North Macedonia, in our research we recorded 25 specimens of Athenian tetradrachms, with 11 being suberate coins. The number of 11 specimens of silvered coins/suberates in relation to the 14 coins of regular issues shows their significant presence in the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia, which could mean that this area was considered suitable for releasing this kind of “irregular” coinage. Territorially, according to the distribution of the observed finds, the “New Style” tetradrachms are most abundant in the middle and lower reaches of the Bregalnica river and in the area of Pelagonia.

Keywords: tetradrachms, New Style, finds, circulation, Republic of North Macedonia

In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the city of Athens minted silver tetradrachm coins from the new series, referred to by some authors as “stephanophoroi” (“wreathed”, because of the wreath depicted on the reverse). The iconography of these coins is typically Athenian. The obverse depicts the head of Athena Parthenos with a helmet, and the reverse depicts an owl on an amphora in an olive wreath, with the names of the magistrates, together with associated symbols and control marks.

After the beginning of minting of “New Style” tetradrachms by Athens began in 164/3 BC, the coins became one of the most sought-after and most widespread coins in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. The reasons for such extensive minting were basically economic.¹ There are a variety of different opinions regarding the date of the start of this minting of “New Style” tetradrachms. As a result, the so-called high and low chronologies were formed. According to M. Thompson’s major work on the coinage of Athens, the beginning of minting was in 196/5 BC.² However, several authors did not accept this proposed date, so new proposals and corrections to the dating followed, which was later also accepted by M. Thompson.³ According

1 Picard 2000, 79-85.

2 Thompson divides coinage into three general periods: Early, Middle, and Late (Thompson 1961). For this dating cf. also Thompson 1952, 25-33; Thompson 1962, 301-333.

3 Lewis 1962, 275-300 (proposes, for the beginning of coinage, 164/163, for the end ca. 50s BC); Mørkholm 1984, 29-42 (beginning around 185-180, ending around 45-40 BC.); Mattingly 1990, 67-78 (supported the



Fig. 1 – Athens, Tetradrachm-suberate (Collective find with 3 coins).

to the revised dating or “low” chronology, the dating of the magistrates and the sequence of M. Thompson’s issues should be moved forward 32 years. The beginning of minting of the coinage would, therefore, be in 164/3 BC, with the coins being minted on an annual basis until ca. 40 BC.

The minting of coins of the so-called “New Style”, controlled by the Roman authorities, represented a larger-scale production. These coins circulated not only in Greece, but also in many other areas, such as Macedonia, Thrace, and in the eastern Mediterranean.⁴ After their appearance, the New Style Athenian coins became part of the overall circulation of money in the Roman province of Macedonia. It is interesting to note that, at a certain point in time, according to records of hoards found in Macedonia, in the period between 126 and 120 BC, these coins suddenly appeared in large quantities and were, subsequently, “overrepresented” in these hoards.⁵ Regardless of the reasons for such a sudden and large influx of these Athenian silver coins, dictated most often by the needs of trade, military operations, political or other circumstances, this could only have happened under the control of the central authorities.⁶

low chronology); on this dating issue also *cf.* Crawford 1985, 125; Touratsoglou 1993, 26, note 12; Dreyer 2000, 77-83; Van Alfen 2012, 98-99.

4 For the finds of these coins in numerous hoards *cf.* Thompson 1961, 473-545; For the circulation of new-style Athenian tetradrachms in Thrace *cf.* Прокопов 2011, 81-99.

5 About the Athenian tetradrachms in the Macedonian hoards *cf.* De Callataÿ 1991-1992, 11 ff.

6 De Callataÿ 1992, 19-20.

This massive influx did not apply to the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia. It seems that the conditions and situation in this area were different from those in other parts of the province of Macedonia. Dictated by local needs, there was no "massive" influx of Athenian tetradrachms here.⁷ On the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia, we recorded 25 specimens of New Style Athenian issues (Table 1). According to the low chronology, the oldest specimen is from 140/139 BC, while the youngest is from 91/90 BC (ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ, ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ). The coins in the catalogue under nos. 3-11 from the regular issues dating between 126/125 and 121/120 BC, and with a conditionally accepted dating, the coins under no. 16-22 (suberates) correspond to the period of the large influx and "over-representation" of Athenian tetradrachms (as many as 16 specimens out of 25 catalogued specimens). Of the total number of Athenian coins, 11 are silvered suberate coins, all from different issues (cat. nos. 15-25).⁸ The number of suberate coins is not to be underestimated, they are only slightly less in number than the coins from the regular issues. In order to put so many coins into circulation, those who were behind the production of these "irregular" coins, aside from their financial interest, must also have been fairly certain that they would pass into circulation alongside the regular coinage.

According to what is recorded about the locations of the finds of Athenian "New Style" tetradrachms on the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia, three specimens originate from hoards: one tetradrachm from the Nakolec hoard/2002, found together with drachmas of Apollonia and Dyrachion (Cat. 2), one was found together with two bronze coins from an unknown site (cat. 21 and fig. 1), and a third is a specimen from the known hoard of republican denarii from Stobi/1971.⁹ So far, no mixed hoard with predominantly Athenian coinage or a homogeneous hoard has been recorded on the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia.

Of the processed and catalogued material, the findspots of eight specimens is unknown, and the remaining single finds originate from:

- 2 specimens from Prilep, unknown locality (Cat. 1, 5);
- 1 specimen from "Dabnički zavoј", Prilep (Cat. 9);
- 1 specimen from the village of Vitolište, Prilep, unknown locality (Cat. 12);
- 3 specimens from "Gradište", the village of Debrešte, Dolneni/Prilep (Cat. 16, 23, 24);
- 1 specimen from the village of Bučin, Kruševo, unknown locality (Prilepsko Pole) (Cat. 10);
- 1 specimen from "Carevi Kuli", Strumica (Cat. 7);
- 1 specimen from the village of Piperevo, Štip (Cat. 17);
- 2 specimens from the village of Krupište, Karbinci/Štip, Bregalnica region (Cat. 20, 22);
- 2 specimens from Stobi, Gradsko/Veles (Cat. 11, 15);
- 1 specimen from "Vardarski Rid", Gevgelija (Cat. 25).

7 For a general overview of Macedonian coinage in Roman times cf. Јосифовски 2013, 931-962; For the monetary circumstances on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia in the 2nd-1st century BC cf. Јосифовски 2017, 15-155.

8 For imitations and silvered coins cf. Thompson 1961, nos. 1346-1428 (imitations).

9 Crawford 1973, 21, no. 506; Thompson 1961, no. 540/f.

Coin finds mentioned by some researchers:

- 1 specimen from the village of Krupište, Karbinci/Štip, Bregalnica region (Керамидчиев 1961, 119);¹⁰
- 1 specimen from Čepigovo (ancient Styberra), 1 from the village of Bučin, 1 from the village of Debrešte and several specimens in the private collection of G. Mirčevski (Микулчиќ, 1973, 167).

According to the distribution of the recorded finds, with the exception of two specimens (1 specimen from the hoard from Nakolec/Resen and 1 specimen from Strumica), all other single finds originate from two areas of the Republic of North Macedonia. One is the area of the middle and lower reaches of the Bregalnica river (*Astibos*) up to its confluence with the Vardar river (near Stobi). The other is the area of Pelagonia (*Pelagonia*), i.e., its upper part concentrated in the closer territory around the city of Prilep. It can be considered that Upper Pelagonia was the area in which these coins were certainly in circulation.

Cat. no.	Rev. names	Symbol	Dating (BC)	Thompson no.
1		aplustre	140/139	251/a
2	ΑΧΑΙΟΥΣ, ΗΛΙ, ΚΛΕΑΡΧ	cornucopia	128/127	421/d
3	ΕΠΓΕΝΗ, ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑ	eagle on fulmen	126/125	442/a, b, c, g 441/a-b, g 443/b, c
4	ΕΠΓΕΝΗ, ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΜΟΣΧΙ	eagle on fulmen	126/125	445/a 443/f, g, h
5	ΕΠΓΕΝΗ, ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΕΥΜΗ	eagle on fulmen	126/125	446/a-c
6	ΠΟΛΕΜΟΩΝ, ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ, ΛΥΚΙ	tripod	125/124	470/c
7	ΠΟΛΕΜΟΩΝ, ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ, ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ	tripod	125/124	464/e, 465/d, 466
8	ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, ΑΣΚΛΗ	Dioscuri	124/123	479/b, c
9	ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, ΕΥΑΝ	Dioscuri	124/123	484 /j
10	ΚΑΡΑΙΧ, ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ, ΔΙΟΥΦ	prow	121/120	538/b-d
11	ΚΑΡΑΙΧ, ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ, ΔΙΟΜΕ	prow	121/120	540/f
12	ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ, ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ, ΚΡΙΤ	Dionysus and Demeter (?)	104/103	795/a, b 802/a, b
13	ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ, ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ	Hermes	94/93	1033

10 The coin is probably an issue of ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ – ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ, from 125/124 BC.

14	ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ, ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ	Roma	91/90	1110-1120
15	 	aplustre	140/139 (regular issue)	suberate
16	ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ, ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΑΡ	eagle on fulmen	126/125 (regular issue)	suberate
17	ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ, ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ, ΕΥΔΙ	tripod	125/124	suberate
18	ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, ΠΑΡΑ	Dioscuri	124/123 (regular issue)	suberate
19	ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, ΑΡΕΣΤΟΣ	Dioscuri	124/123 (regular issue)	suberate
20	ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, ΔΗΜΟ	Dioscuri	124/123 (regular issue)	suberate
21	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ, ΑΠΟΛΛΕΙ, [?]	Nike	123/122 (regular issue)	suberate
22	ΚΑΡΑΙΧ, ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ, ΧΑΙ	prow	121/120 (regular issue)	suberate
23	ΘΑΜΙΣΤΟ, ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ, ΦΙΛΩΝΙ	trophy on prow	117/6 (regular issue)	suberate
24	ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ, ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ, ΘΕΟ	wreath	103/102 (regular issue)	suberate
25	(?) the coin is illegible	(?)	(?)	suberate

Table 1 – Magistrates and dating of the issues.

The recorded 25 specimens of Athenian tetradrachms from the Republic of North Macedonia are not numerous. Comparing the long period of emission of this type of tetradrachms with the number of recorded specimens, it can be said that the presence of these coins was limited and had a secondary role in the monetary circulation of the area of today's Republic of North Macedonia (mostly, the area of the former Paionia and part of Upper Macedonia). This penetration and limited inclusion of Athenian tetradrachms in the monetary circulation in a certain time and territory, according to the current documentation of the finds, can mostly be connected with the area of Pelagonia.

CATALOGUE¹¹

 , (aplustre), **Dating: 140/139 BC**

1. Obv. Helmeted head of Athena Parthenos r.

Rev. A-ΘE, monograms  (l.) and  (r.).

Owl standing right on amphora, head facing; symbol in the field r. aplustre; below A[N], unclear letter on amphora; All within a wreath of olive.

AR; / g; Ø 33 mm; die axis /; NI Institute and Museum - Prilep, Inv. no. 2898.

Find: Prilep, unknown locality.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 251/a; Темелкоски, Крстески 2023, 66, Т. no. 3.

ΑΧΑΙΟΣ – ΗΛΙ, **Dating: 128/127 BC**

2. Obv. As the previous.

Rev. A-ΘE, ΑΧΑ/ΙΟΣ ΗΛΙ ΚΛΕ/ΑΡΧ (to l. and r. names of magistrates)

As the previous; l. cornucopia with grain; below ME, a letter on the amphora E.

AR; 16.47 g; Ø 31.5 mm; die axis 11; archaeological research in Prespa (2002), Resen.

Find: village Nakolec, Resen, (specimen from the hoard, with coins of Apollonia and Dyrachion)

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 421/d; Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 195, no. 1.

ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ – ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ, **Dating: 126/125 BC**

3. Obv. As the previous.

Rev. A-ΘE, ΕΠΙ/ΓΕΝΗ ΣΩΣΑΝ/ΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΛ/ΛΙΚΡΑ (l. and r.)

As the previous; l. eagle on fulmen; below ME, unclear letter on amphora.

AR; 16.17 g; Ø 30.32 mm; die axis 11; AMM - Skopje, Entry no. 36838.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 442/a,b,e,v and 441/a, b, g, 443/b,c ; Соколовска 1966, no. 103.

4. Obv. As the previous.

Rev. A-Θ[E], ΕΠ[I]/ΓΕΝ[] ΣΩΣΑ[]/ΔΡΟΣ ΜΟ/ΣΧΙ (l. and r.)

As the previous; l. eagle on fulmen; below ΣΦ, ME, a letter on the amphora B.

11 The coins are dated according to the so-called low chronology. All the coins are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

AR; 16.43 g; Ø 28.9 mm; die axis 11; AMM - Skopje, Inv. no. 36872.
Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 445/a and 443/f, g, h; Соколовска 1966, no. 104.

5. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A-Q[E], ΕΠΙ/ΤΕΝΗ ΣΩΣΑΝ/ΔΡΟΣ ΕΥ/ΜΗ (l. and r.)

As the previus; l. eagle on fulmen; below, [ME], unclear letter on amphora.

AR; / g; Ø 29 mm; die axis /; NI Institute and Museum - Prilep, Inv. no. 2899.

Find: Prilep, unknown locality.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 446/a-c; Темелкоски, Крстески 2023, 60.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ – ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ, **Dating: 125/124 BC**

6. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A-ΘΕ, ΠΟΛΕ/ΜΩΝ [Α]ΛΚΕ/ΤΗΣ ΛΥΚΙ (l. and r.)

As the previus; l. tripod; below [S]Φ, unclear letter on amphora.

AR; 16.49 g; Ø 28.1 mm; die axis 11; OB - Ohrid, Inv. no. 04/23/9.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 470/c; Ohridska banka Coll., 244.

7. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A-ΘΕ, ΠΟΛΕ-ΜΩΝ ΑΛΚΕ-ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΔΟ/ΤΟΣ (l. and r.)

As the previus; ; l. tripod; below [ME (?)], unclear letter on amphora.

AR; - g; Ø - mm; die axis -; NI Institute and Museum - Strumica.

Find: archaeological site “Carevi Kuli”, Strumica.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 464/e, 465/d, 466; Rujak 2020, 257, no. 8.

ΜΙΚΙΩΝ – ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, **Dating: 124/123 BC**

8. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A-ΘΕ, ΜΙΚ-ΙΩΝ ΕΥΡ-ΥΚΛΕ[I] ΑΣ/ΚΛΗ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. Dioscuri; below ΣΦ, a letter on the amphora B.

AR; 16.74 g; Ø 30 mm; die axis 12; NBRM, Skopje, Inv. no. 99/19/3.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 479/b-c; НБРМ, МПИ, 9, no. 24.

9. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, ΜΙΚ–ΙΩΝ ΕΥΡ–ΥΚΛΕ[] ΕΥ/ΑΝ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. Dioscuri; below S[W], a letter on the amphora H.

AR; 14.70 g; Ø 30 mm; die axis -; NI Institute and Museum - Prilep, Inv. no. 2950.

Find: “Dabnički zavoj”, Prilep.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 484/j; Темелкоски, Крстески 2023, 66, Т. бр.4.

ΚΑΡΑΙΧ – ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ, Dating: 121/120 BC

10. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, ΚΑ–ΡΑΙΧ ΕΡΓ[ο]–ΚΛΕ ΔΙΟ[Φ] (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. prow; below ΣΦ, unclear letter on amphora.

AR; 14.70 g; Ø 29 mm; die axis -; NI Institute and Museum - Prilep, Inv. no. 2897.

Find: in the area of the village of Bučin, Kruševo, unknown locality (Prilepsko Pole).

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 538/b-d; Темелкоски, Крстески 2023, 60.

11. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, ΚΑ–ΡΑΙΧ ΕΡΓΟ–ΚΛΕ ΔΙ[] (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. prow; below [ME], unclear letter on amphora.

AR; 15.13 g; Ø - mm; die axis -; NI Stobi, Entry no. 1208.

Find: archaeological site Stobi (Municipium Stobensium), Gradsko/Veles. The specimen was found in a hoard with 505 other Roma Republican coins.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 540/f; Crawford 1973, 1-22

ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ – ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ, Dating: 104/103 BC

12. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, ΑΝΔ–ΡΕΑΣ ΧΑΡΙ/ΝΑΥ[]ΗΣ [Κ]ΡΙΤ (l. and r.)

As the previus; on the r. figures of Dionysos and Demeter (?); the letters below and on the amphora are unclear.

AR; 16.45 g; Ø 30.1; die axis 12; AMM – Skopje, Entry no. 36826.

Find: village Vitolište, Prilep.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 795/a,b, 802/a-b; Керамитчиев, Алексова 1965, no. 3; Соколовска 1966, no. 101.

ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ – ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ, Dating: 94/93 BC

13. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–Θ[E], ΝΙΚΟ/[ΓΕ]ΝΗΣ ΚΑΛ/ΛΙΜΑ/ΧΟΣ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. figure of Hermes; below ΔΗ, a letter on the amphora Α.

AR; 15.23 g; Ø 29.46; die axis 1; ΑΜΜ – Skopje, Entry no. 36827.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 1033; *Соколовска* 1966, no. 102; Битракова Грозданова 1987, T. IX/4.

ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ – ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ, Dating: 91/90 BC

14. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΞΕ–ΝΟ/ΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΜΟ/ΞΕ/ΝΟΣ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. figure of Roma; the letters below and on the amphora are unclear.

AR; 16.44 g; Ø 31.2 mm; die axis 12; ΟΒ - Ohrid, Inv. no. 04/27/1.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 1110-1120; Ohridska banka Coll., no. 243.

SUBERATE COIN

 , (aplustre), Dating: the regular issue is from 140/139 BC

15. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, monograms  (l.) and  (r.).

As the previus; r. aplustre; below S[F], a letter on the amphora [K].

AR; 13.66 g; Ø 32 mm; die axis -; ΝΙ Stobi, Inv. no. A.M. 2306.

Find: archaeological site Stobi (Municipium Stobensium), Gradsko/Veles.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 257/d;

ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ – ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ, the regular issue is from 126/125 BC

16. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΕΠΙ/ΓΕΝΗ ΣΩΣΑΝ/ΔΡΟΣ ΒΟΥ/ΛΑΡ (l. and r.)

As the previus; l. eagle on fulmen; below ΡΡΩ, unclear letter on amphora.

AE/AR (suberate); - g; Ø 28 mm; die axis -; NI Institute and Museum - Prilep, Inv. no. 3008.

Find: “Gradište”, village Debrešte, municipaliti of Dolneni (Prilep).

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 457/a for the regular issue, nos. 1375, 1378-9, 1382-4, 1388 for the imitations (in various combinations of names); Атанасоски 2013, 137, фиг. 8-9 ц.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ – ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ, the regular issue is from 125/124 BC

17. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΠΟΛ[]/ΜΩΝ ΑΛΚ[]/ΤΗΣ ΕΥΔ[Ι] (l. and r.)

As the previus; l. tripod; the letters below and on the amphora are unclear.

AE/AR (suberate); 15.3 g; Ø 29.0 mm; die axis 7; NI Institute and Museum - Štip, Inv. no. I-183.

Find: in the area of the village of Piperevo, Štip.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 469-472 (those with ΕΥΔΙ) for the regular issue, no. 1380/b for the imitations.

ΜΙΚΙΩΝ – ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ, the regular issue is from 124/123 BC

18. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΜΙΚ–ΙΩΝ ΕΥΡ–ΥΚΛΕ[Ι] ΠΑ/ΠΑ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. Dioscuri; below [ΣΦ], unclear letter on amphora.

AE/AR (suberate); 13.28 g; Ø 27.4 mm; die axis 11; AMM – Skopje, Entry no. 39470.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 484/d-g for the regular issue, nos. 1380-4, 1387-8, 1392-7 for the imitations (in other combinations of names, but not ΠΑΡΑ); Соколовска 1966, no. 106.

19. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΜΙΚ–ΙΩΝ ΕΥΡ–ΥΚΛΕ[Ι] ΑΡΕ/ΣΤ/ΟΣ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. Dioscuri; below ΣΦ, unclear letter on amphora.

AE/AR (suberate); 16.32 g; Ø 29.3 mm; die axis 11 AMM – Skopje, Entry no. 8596.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 488/d, e, f for the regular issue, nos. 1380/c, d, 1381, 1398 for the imitations; Соколовска 1966, no. 105.

20. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, ΜΙΚ–ΙΩΝ ΕΥΡ–ΥΚΛΕ[Ι] ΔΗ/ΜΟ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. Dioscuri; below ΣΩ, unclear letter on amphora.

AE/AR (suberate); 15.3 g; Ø 29.0 mm; die axis 7; NI Institute and Museum - Štip, Inv. no. I-450.

Find: Bregalnica region, in the area of the village of Krupište, municipaliti of Karbinci.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 485/e, 486/a-b, 487/d for the regular issue, nos. 1380, 1382, 1384, 1387, 1395, 1398 for the imitations (in other combinations of names, but not ΔΗΜΟ; Janeva 2013, T. I, no. 14.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ – ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙ, the regular issue is from 123/122 BC

21. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, [Α]ΦΡΟ–ΔΙΣΙ [Α]ΠΟ–ΛΗΞΙ[Ι] [?] (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. Nike; the letters below and on the amphora are unclear.

AE/AR (suberate); / g; Ø - mm; die axis /; Private collection, Skopje.

Find: specimen from an unknown find, in a combined find of 3 coins: 1 tetradrachm of Athens with 2 bronze coins).

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 494-503 for the regular issues, no. 1380/e-f for the imitations.

ΚΑΡΑΙΧ – ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ, the regular issue is from 121/120 BC

22. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘE, ΚΑ–ΡΑΙΧ ΕΡΓΟ–ΚΛΕ ΧΑΙ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. prow; below ΣΩ, unclear letter on amphora.

AE/AR (suberate); 15.3 g; Ø 30.0 mm; die axis 7; NI Institute and Museum - Štip, Inv. no. I-451.

Find: Bregalnica region, in the area of the village of Krupište, municipaliti of Karbinci.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 534/b, 535/b-c for the regular issues, no. 1403 for the imitations; Janeva 2013, T. I, no. 13.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ – ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ, **the regular issue is from 117/116 BC**

23. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΘΕΜ–ΙΣΤΟ ΘΕΟ/ΠΟΜ ΦΙΛΩ/ΝΙ (l. and r.)

As the previus; trophy on prow; below Σ[], a letter on the amphora [Α].

AE/AR (suberate); 14.04 g; Ø 28 mm; die axis -; NI Institute and Museum – Prilep, Inv. no. 3010.

Find: “Gradište”, village Debrešte, municipaliti of Dolneni (Prilep).

Ref.: Thompson 1961, no. 599/a for the regular issues; Атанососки 2013, 137, фиг. 8-9 б.

ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ – ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ, **the regular issue is from 103/102 BC**

24. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, ΙΚΕ–ΣΙΟ[Σ] ΑΣΚ/[]ΕΠΙ/ΑΔΗΣ ΘΕΟ (l. and r.)

As the previus; r. wreath; below ΑΠ, a letter on the amphora Κ.

AE/AR (suberate); - g; Ø 33 mm; die axis -; NI Institute and Museum – Prilep, Inv. no. 3009.

Find: “Gradište”, village Debrešte, municipaliti of Dolneni (Prilep).

Ref.: Thompson 1961, nos. 818/d, 819/b for the regular issues; Атанососки 2013, 137, fig. 8-9 а.

(?), **(unknown, the coin is illegible)**

25. Obv. As the previus.

Rev. A–ΘΕ, [] (?)

As the previus; (illegible details!).

AE/AR (suberate); 11.6 g; Ø 28-40 mm; die axis 12; NI Museum Gevgelija, Inv. no. 4785.

Find: archaeological site “Vardarski Rid” (Gortynia), Gevgelija.

Ref.: Thompson 1961, /; Husenovski 2018, 76. no. 11; Husenovski 2022, 17, no. 3.

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NUMISMATICS AND FORENSICS.
OPERATION DACIAN GOLD - THE GRĂDIȘTEA DE MUNTE HOARD
- ‘TIMIȘOARA AIRPORT’

Abstract: The present paper combines forensic and numismatic evidence to prove the findspot of one of the many hoards that were in the process of being smuggled from Romania and sold on the antiquities black market.

Keywords: hoard, numismatic and forensic evidence, Sarmizegetusa Regia, trafficking.

Operation Dacian Gold was the largest investigation by the Romanian authorities involved in protecting cultural heritage. Following the analysis of 210 court files, one can note that over 14,200 artifacts have found their way back into Romania’s cultural heritage. Numismatic evidence produced the largest number, totalling 7,679. Following illegal metal detecting within archaeological sites, authorities confiscated 29 more Dacian, Greek, and Roman hoards, in addition to the famous Koson and Koson-Droyeis gold coins.¹

A study of court files reveals that from the archaeological site of Sarmizegetusa Regia alone – the main Dacian archaeological complex of Romania—97.5 kg of gold and 40 kg of silver artefacts were stolen. Regrettably, the current recovery rate stands at just 23.5%.²

Combining forensic information with the hoard structure, we have started questioning the location of the findspot.

This study examines one of these hoards, which Romanian customs seized at Timișoara airport in 2005 as the smuggler attempted to leave the country.

Forensic aspects

According to the Criminal Investigations Directorate, on 21st of June 2005, at the “Traian Vuia” international airport of Timișoara, 289 coins—hidden in four socks—were confiscated from an American citizen born in Romania.

The person under investigation initially claimed that he had inherited the hoard from his father, who kept it in the attic of his parents’ house. According to his initial story, his father had collected the hoard while working as a seasonal labourer at an archaeological site near one of the villages bearing the name Almaș.

1 Purdea 2024, 483.

2 Lazăr 2024, 129.

Despite the claim of a fake inheritance of the hoard under study, the forensic investigations proved that the hoard was purchased from thieves—who were known to be active in the area of the archaeological sites in the Orăștie Mountains—hidden in the car trunk to be smuggled and sold in the USA.³ The undercover operation demonstrated that the person was connected with illegal metal detecting through his nephew (known for the smuggling and selling abroad of a bronze statuette from the Dacian site of Ardeu–Cetățuia (Hunedoara County, Romania)).⁴

Numismatic aspects

As previously mentioned, the hoard consists of 289 silver coins, structured as follows:⁵

115 republican denarii, 4 Julius Caesar, and 42 denarii of Mark Antony from the ‘legionary’ series;

128 imperial denarii: Augustus 7, Tiberius 3, Nero 6, Otho 1, Galba 2, Vitellius 5, Vespasian 42, Titus 9, Domitian 39, Nerva 7, Traian 7.



Map 1 – The hoards mentioned in this article  were found in the Sarmizegetusa Regia (based on Google maps).

3 According to the indictment of criminal case no. 151/P/2005, p. 49, also available on the SCRIBD platform, <https://ro.scribd.com/document/374732930/Rechizitoriu-151-P-2005>, accessed on 12th of December 2024.

4 The indictment also cites the minutes drawn up on 12th of April 2006, in case file no. 151/P/2005, vol. XV, p. 336.

5 The expertise was part of case file no. 2098/97/2009 at the Hunedoara Court, and it was carried out by Ernest Oberländer-Târnoaveanu and Cristian Anton Găzdac on 12th of June, 2010.

A comparison with other denarii hoards discovered in the region revealed a comparable structural pattern attributable to the generally analogous hiding dates (Map 1).

In 1847, Johann Michael Ackner mentioned a hoard being found at Grădiştea de Munte-*Sub Cununi*. The hoard contained 513 denarii: 163 republican coins and 350 imperial coins, ending with coins of Nerva/Trajan.⁶

Iudita Winkler mentioned another hoard of 783 denarii discovered at Grădiştea de Munte in 1879. This hoard consisted of 353 republican denarii, 248 denarii of Mark Antony, the 'legionary' series, 1 denarius of Juba II and 171 imperial denarii.⁷

A suggestive comparison of the structure of the three hoards is presented in the table below:

Hoard 1847		Hoard 1879		Hoard 2005	
Roman republic	148	Roman republic	360	Roman republic	65
J. Caesar	15	J. Caesar	7	J. Caesar	5
Mark Antony	-	Mark Antony	258	Mark Antony	45
Augustus	10	Augustus	10	Augustus	7
Tiberius	3	Tiberius	7	Tiberius	3
Germanicus	4	Germanicus	-	Germanicus	-
Caligula	16	Caligula	-	Caligula	-
Claudius	4	Claudius	-	Claudius	1
Agrippina	2	Agrippina	1	Agrippina	-
Nero	-	Nero	5	Nero	4
Otho	-	Otho	-	Otho	1
Galba	-	Galba	-	Galba	2
Vitellius	-	Vitellius	1	Vitellius	5
Vespasian	?	Vespasian	96	Vespasian	42
Titus	69	Titus	16	Titus	9
Domitian	109	Domitian	20	Domitian	39
Nerva	15	Nerva	-	Nerva	7
Trajan	2	Trajan	-	Trajan	7

Table 1 – A comparative table of the hoards found in 1847 and 1879 at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Grădiştea de Munte) and 2005 (Timișoara Airport).

Another hoard comes from the area of the Dacian citadel in Luncani - *Piatra Roşie* and was discovered in 1981. Unlike the other hoards, this one comprises only republican denarii, 277: 268 genuine, 9 imitations (Map 1).⁸

Furthermore, the thieves extracted two more hoards from the archaeological area of Sarmizegetusa Regia. One of the hoards was found on Prihodişte Hill [Dealul Prihodiştii],⁹

6 Ackner 1856, 99; Wollmann 2024, 87; <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/9340>.

7 Winkler 1971, 283-303; <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/5467>.

8 Pavel, Andriţoiu 1994, 79-121

9 Petac, Popa 2018, 193-212; <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/16476>.

while the second was found at the temporary Roman fort on Prisaca Hill [Dealul Prisaca]¹⁰ (Map 1). Both hoards comprise republican and imperial denarii, ending with coins of Emperor Trajan, minted between AD 102-103.¹¹

Conclusion

According to forensic and numismatic analyses, the hoard seized at Timișoara International Airport in 2005 may be categorised, based on its structure and estimated findspot, within the group of coin deposits discovered in the Orăștie Mountains (Map 1).

Consequently, based on this conclusion and to follow conventional rule, we would like to name this hoard – as peculiar as it may sound – the Grădiștea de Munte hoard – ‘Timișoara Airport’.

All the hoards mentioned in this paper together with the more famous Koson gold/silver coins and the gold bracelets/spirals collectively illustrate the formidable, affluent, and enigmatic Dacian site of Sarmizegetusa Regia - Grădiștea de Munte.

10 Găzdac, Ciută 2021, 34-46; <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/17849>.

11 Petac, Popa 2018, 193-212; <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/16476>; Găzdac, Ciută 2021, 34-46; <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/17849>.

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Mirjana Vojvoda
Saša Redžić
Ilija Danković

A SMALL COIN HOARD DISCOVERED IN THE AREA OF THE CIVILIAN SETTLEMENT AT VIMINACIUM (I)

Abstract: A hoard of bronze coins was found in 2024 during archaeological excavations in the area of the civilian settlement at Viminacium. It was discovered in a layer of rubble, in a narrow space (0.50 cm) between the outer walls of two buildings. It consists of 15 pieces of bronze coins ranging from Vespasian to Faustina II struck during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Among these, 13 pieces belong to imperial minting, with all denominations represented: as, dupondius, and sestertius. Two specimens belong to provincial minting: Trajan from an unknown mint and Antoninus Pius from the mint of Philippopolis.

Keywords: Roman Empire, coin hoards, Moesia Superior, Viminacium, civilian settlement

Archaeological research of the civilian settlement of Viminacium was initiated in 2023 and it is still ongoing. In this phase, the research is focused on a segment of a street (*decumanus*), as well as buildings positioned along it, in the north-eastern part of the civilian settlement (Map 1).¹ The street, with its partially preserved pavement, is over 10 m wide, while beneath and next to it, a system of sewer canals was unearthed that carried sewage outside of the city. In the examined part of the street, four foundation bases made of massive lime blocks were discovered, representing foundation zones of a triumphal arch of the tetrapylon type. In the vicinity, a fragmented marble plaque was also discovered, with a preserved part of an inscription: CAES//ANTO. If this inscription possibly has some connection with Caracalla, who by adoption into the Antonia gens was named Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the erection of the tetrapylon could be brought in connection with his proclamation as emperor which took place in Viminacium in 196 AD (Fig. 1)².

Several buildings were unearthed on both sides of the *decumanus* and at this stage of research they can broadly be dated between the 2nd and the 4th century. The bronze coin hoard was discovered in July 2024, in a debris layer within a narrow space (0.50 cm) between two buildings

- 1 With geophysical prospection it was confirmed that this street runs in an east-west direction, from the western gate of the legionary fort and along the entire civilian settlement. It is most likely that it was the main street with this orientation (*decumanus maximus*), which should be confirmed with further archaeological research. Within the legionary fort, this street can be traced as the *Via Principalis*, all the way to the eastern legionary fort gate. After it, it becomes an important communication route leading towards the east, mostly along the right Danube bank.
- 2 Dimensions of the bases of the Viminacium tetrapylon are 10.40 x 6.25 m. Monuments of the tetrapylon type from the time of Septimius Severus can be found in Leptis Magna (Libya) and in Latakia (Syria). The proclamation of Caracalla as a Caesar (*HA Vita Sev.* 10.3; CAH XII, 11-12; Mócsy 1974, 201; Birley 2002, 122; Kienast 2010, 162). Besides 196 AD, Septimius Severus also visited Viminacium in the year 202 AD, while he was returning from the Orient and on that occasion, the canabae were renovated (CAH XII, 18-19; Mirković 1968, 64-65; Mócsy 1974, 201, ref. 104, 218, ref. 25).

that open towards the *decumanus*, on its southern side (Fig. 1-2).³ The discovered coins were glued together, which indicates that they had originally been placed in some kind of a sachet (Fig. 2).



Map 1 – Plan of Viminacium – the area of the legionary camp and the civilian settlement.

The hoard consists of fifteen pieces of bronze coins (two of which are provincial coinage) from the period between Vespasianus (between the years 69 and 79) and the minting for Faustina II during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-176) and they show the following:

3 While this paper was being written, archaeological excavations of the building to the south of the *decumanus* were still ongoing and this is why here we only present the preliminary notes by the researchers. The narrow space between two buildings, being the area in which the hoard was discovered at a depth of 2.5 m, contained large quantities of pottery shards and animal bones. Single coins dated into the 2nd century also belong to this horizon. It was established that one of the two buildings had been destroyed in a devastating fire, during the second half of the 2nd century that also killed one person, the remains thereof being discovered on the floor and covered with walls that had collapsed. Within the same building but beneath this residential horizon that had been destroyed in the fire, an older horizon was discovered with six ovens for baking bread, which were not used simultaneously. The research will continue next year, but we will gain a clear picture of all of the chronological phases and relationships between different buildings only after the research is fully completed and all of the data has been processed.

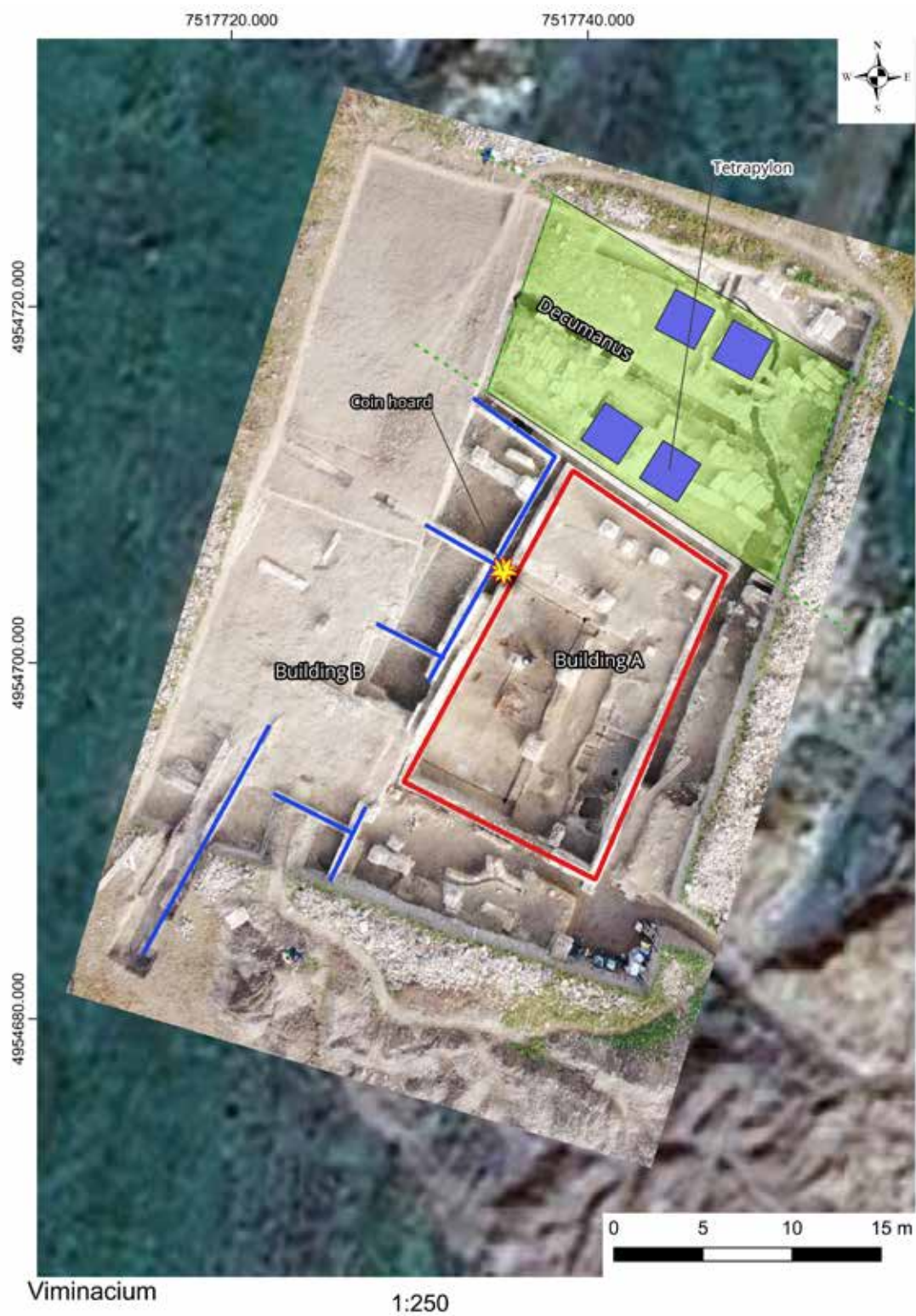


Fig. 1 – Findspot of the hoard in relation to surrounding residential buildings.

Emperor and members of imperial family	Imperial coinage – catalogue number	Provincial coinage – catalogue number	Number of coins	% of hoard
VESPASIAN	Cat. 1–2		2	13.33
TRAJAN	Cat. 3	Cat. 4	2	13.33
HADRIAN	Cat. 5–7		3	20
ANTONINUS PIUS	Cat. 8–12	Cat. 13	6	40
Faustina II, Struck under MARCUS AURELIUS	Cat. 14		1	6.67
Unknown, 1/2 half of the 2 nd century	Cat. 15		1	6.67
TOTAL			15	100

Table 1 – Content of the coin hoard from the civilian settlement in Viminacium.



Fig. 2 – Coin hoard in situ.

An as and a sestertius of Vespasianus represent the oldest pieces, whereby the as (Cat. 1) is dated into the year 71, while, due to the poor state of preservation, it was not possible to determine the dating of the sestertius precisely (Cat. 2). The next one is an as of

Trajan (Cat. 3), dated into the period between the years 103 and 111 and belonging to the types that glorify the victory over the Dacians. A sestertius of Trajan (Cat. 4) belongs to provincial coinage, but due to its poor state of preservation, it could not be ascribed with certainty to any of the mints. According to the image on its reverse, there is a possibility that it originates from the Alexandria mint in Egypt, but this remains only speculation. Within the hoard, imperial issues of Hadrian are represented with three pieces (Cat. 5-7). Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation, they could not be determined precisely. The best represented within the hoard are the series of Antoninus Pius (Cat. 8-13). Among them, two asses, two dupondii and a sestertius belong to the imperial coinage. All of them are well-preserved and it was possible to classify them. It is interesting to notice that these five pieces chronologically cover almost the entire period of rule by Antoninus Pius, since they date between the years 140 and 161. The sestertius of the provincial mint of Philippopolis from Thrace (Cat. 13) is exceptionally well preserved. It is dated into the year 161 according to RPC IV.1, while according to *Corpus Nummorum*, it is dated into the period 160-161.⁴ The youngest piece in the hoard is the as of Faustina II minted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 14). In relevant catalogues, dating of the issues of female family members is not very precisely determined, and this is why the series for Faustina II issued during the reign of Marcus Aurelius are dated from the year 161 until the year of her death in 176. Due to the very poor state of preservation, a dupondius or an as (Cat. 15) could not be ascribed to any of the mints with any certainty, but it is certain that it originates from the first half of the 2nd century. With much speculation, it could possibly be ascribed to Hadrian.

The pieces from our hoard belonging to Vespasianus, Trajan and Hadrian (Cat. 1-7) are poorly preserved and only two of them could be determined according to relevant catalogues. On the other hand, all of the coins of Antoninus Pius are well-preserved, indicating that they were used over a shorter period of time or that they had been set aside. The situation is similar with the piece of Faustina II, which is dated into a wide period between the years 161 and 176 and which represents a *treminus post quem* for the entire hoard. Regarding the results of the studies conducted so far related to depositing hoards during the reign of M. Aurelius,⁵ we tend to agree with these opinions and allocate our hoard to the horizon dated to the year 168 (169?) or slightly later, in 170/171 AD.

During the decades-long archaeological research of Viminacium, which started in the 1970s and continues today, almost 18,000 coins have been excavated and approximately one half of them published.⁶ The greatest number of these numismatic finds was discovered within the Viminacium cemeteries, this being conditioned by archaeological rescue excavations. Over the last several years, intensive research has been conducted in the area of the legionary fort and, since 2023, also in the area of the civilian settlement. The forthcoming analysis of monetary

4 <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/7412>; <https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/coins/48354> (accessed October 3rd, 2024).

5 Borić-Brešković 2003, 11-58; Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 7-94; Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 9-82; Borić-Brešković, 2011, 538-539.

6 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015 (2.736 coins); Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017 (3.498 coins); Vojvoda, Redžić 2019, 79-98 (160 coins); Vojvoda, Redžić 2020, 217-231 (30 coins); Vojvoda, Golubović, Redžić 2021, 53-83 (90 coins); Vojvoda, Redžić 2024 (276 coins). Besides these, up to this point, an additional 3,200 coins have been examined, but not published.

finds originating from these areas will show whether they reflect the same image of monetary circulation as that suggested in the analysis of the same type of finds from the cemeteries or whether they differ to a certain extent.⁷

Apart from the hoard that is the subject of this paper, only one other hoard has so far been found at Viminacium whose deposition was dated to the same time, the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁸ The hoard was found in 1963 and is kept at the National Museum in Požarevac. In its documentation there is only information that it was discovered at a location named “Čair”, with no further indication as to whether the exact location was Veliki Čair (the area of the civilian settlement) or Mali Čair (the area of the legionary fort).⁹ The hoard consists of 50 denarii from the period between the triumvir Marcus Antonius (the year 32/31 BC) / Vitellius (69 AD) until the time of the common reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (the year 166). The *Terminus post quem* for this hoard is represented by a denarius of Marcus Aurelius dated between the summer and December of 166 (RIC III, no. 163a).¹⁰ Pieces for Faustina II and Lucilla minted during the reign of M. Aurelius do not make up parts of this hoard.

Geographically, the closest analogous hoard, also originating from the Danube Limes, is the one discovered in Grocka,¹¹ containing 149 denarii dated into the period from Marcus Antonius (the year 32/31 BC) / Nero (66/67 AD) to Marcus Aurelius (168 AD). The youngest denarius of M. Aurelius (RIC III, no. 192) is dated into the period between February and December 168 AD.¹² Due to the presence of a denarius of Lucilla with a somewhat longer legend, B. Borić-Brešković left the possibility open of a slightly later time of depositing the hoard of 169(?) or even 170/171 AD.¹³ Actually, there are two different obverse legends that appear on Lucilla's mints: LVCILLA AVGVSTA and LVCILLAE AVG

7 The analysis of monetary finds from the area of the legionary fort and the city could affect the image gained so far (by analysing coins excavated at the cemeteries) related to the frequency of silver and bronze coins, since it is known that coins of small value were deposited in graves. Until now, in the area of the legionary fort, three aurei have been found (Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, Cat. nos. 16, 21, 26). Generally speaking, monetary finds from the legionary fort and the civilian settlement discovered so far have mostly been silver nominals.

8 On May 20th, 1963, the hoard was discovered by Cvetko J. Aćimović from the village of Kostolac on his property (the Čair area). The two antoniniani by Caracalla that were added additionally, most likely do not belong to the hoard, cf. Арсенијевић 2001, 186-187, ref. 7.

9 According to the information shared by our colleague Dragan Jacanović and by taking a look at his field diary from the excavation conducted in April 1982, we found that the possible place of discovery of the 1963 hoard was not Čair, but the area to the south from Čair (outside the area of the civilian settlement or the legionary fort), some 80 m to the east from “church A” (the site Pećine). Namely, during the excavation in 1982, our colleague Jacanović opened a trench on the spot suspected to be the one in which the hoard had been discovered (according to the information gained from the former owner of the property) and discovered another eight denarii: Vitellius (1), Vespasianus (1), Trajan (2) and Antoninus Pius (4). Under the condition that they belong to the hoard discovered in 1963, the subsequently discovered denarii chronologically fit into its frames. Of course, this remains within the sphere of speculations, since we cannot be certain that the denarii discovered twenty years later belong to the same hoard. This note primarily aims to determine precisely the position of the hoard from 1963. We kindly thank our colleague Teodora Branković from the National Museum in Požarevac for the information she put at our disposal.

10 Арсенијевић 2001, 198, кат. 42.

11 Borić-Brešković 2003, 11-58.

12 Borić-Brešković 2003, 41, Cat. 141.

13 Borić-Brešković 2003, 25.

ANTONINI AVG F. According to the authors of BMC IV, the first legend was used from the beginning of the minting of Lucilla coins until the time of her marriage to Lucius Verus in 163 (?) or 164 AD.¹⁴ The second legend would be used after Lucius Verus' death and Lucilla's second marriage to general Pompeianus, who was also a close collaborator of M. Aurelius and whose wedding took place in either September or October 169 AD.¹⁵ This obverse legend underlining that Lucilla was the daughter of M. Aurelius (ANTONINI AVG F) was used until the cessation of minting for the princess, actually until the death of M. Aurelius in the year 180 or her own death in 182/183(?),¹⁶ but only under the condition that the minting was continued during the reign of Commodus, which does not seem very likely. The denarii minted for Faustina II under M. Aurelius were also not dated precisely, but into the broad time-span between 161 and 176 AD.¹⁷ Their appearance in the Česta hoard could also indicate a slightly later time of depositing from the *terminus post quem* determined by the denarius of M. Aurelius from 168 AD.¹⁸

Among the analogous hoards there are also two discovered in the territory of ancient Singidunum, actually in the centre of the modern city of Belgrade. The first one was discovered in 1839, in the area of the present-day Studentski trg (formerly Velika pijaca), and it contained 270 silver coins, of which the finder immediately gave away thirty pieces as presents. He kept the remaining 240, with the intention to give them as a gift to the future Museum of Serbia after it was established.¹⁹ The content of this hoard is known from the report by Jovan Gavrilović from 1840, representing the first ever numismatic paper in the history of Serbia.²⁰ According to this report, the remaining 240 pieces included: a republican denar by the monetalis Lucius Hostilius Saserna (1), Nero (5), Galba (2), Otho (1), Vitellius (4), Vespasian (32), Titus (4), Domitian (12), Nerva (11), Trajan (37), Hadrian (38), Sabina (3), Lucius Aelius (2), Antoninus Pius (41), Faustina I (21), Marcus Aurelius (13), and Faustina II (13). The oldest piece from the hoard is the coin by L. Hostilius Saserna minted in 48 BC (RRC I, no. 448),²¹ while the youngest one belongs to the series by M. Aurelius and Faustina II. In one of their studies, B. Borić-Brešković and N. Crnobrnja concluded, with a high degree of certainty, that the hoard belongs to the depositing horizon of the year 168 (169?).²² In the same manner and with a certain level of probability, they dated the second hoard, which was discovered in 1921, very close to

14 BMC IV, cxxxiii names the year 164 AD as the dating for the wedding of Lucilla and Lucius Verus; while Kienast 2010, 145 names the year 163(?) AD.

15 BMC IV, cxxxiii-cxxxiv.

16 BMC IV, cxxxiv. In BMC IV, the time of Lucilla's death is dated into the year 183(?) AD and it leaves the possibility open that until that period, it was possible that her denarii with the longer legend were minted (p. 426). Kienast 2010, 145 gives the year 181/182 AD as the time of her death.

17 From the beginning of rule by M. Aurelius to the death of Faustina II in 176 AD.

18 Borić-Brešković 2003, 41, cat. 143-146.

19 The hoard was discovered by Major Nikola Germani during construction works for his house in Belgrade. Even if this hoard had been donated to the National Museum that was established slightly later (in 1844), it disappeared during the First World War, just like many other finds from this museum (about the proportion of these losses cf. Saria 1925, 61).

20 Гавриловић 1840, 116.

21 Since we are not acquainted with the description of coins from the hoard, the Republican denar might have belonged to one of the three types minted by this triumvir monetalis (RRC I, no. 448/1-3).

22 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 10.

the previous one, actually in Knez Mihailova Street, during construction works for the Hrvatska štedionica. It contained 160 denarii.²³

Two further coin hoards were discovered in the broader Belgrade area and their depositing time was also dated into the year 168 (169?).²⁴ These hoards were found in Ušće near Obrenovac (Tiberius to M. Aurelius)²⁵ and in Nemenikuće near Sopot (M. Antonius / Nero to M. Aurelius).²⁶ Besides these hoards that were connected to the Danube Limes or its hinterland, this depositing horizon also includes two further hoards discovered in the valleys of the Velika Morava and Turija rivers (a tributary of Južna Morava): Mrčevac near Čuprija (L. Calpurnius Piso / M. Antonius / Nero to M. Aurelius)²⁷ and Česta near Niš (Roman republic 2nd century BC / M. Antonius / Nero to Lucius Verus).²⁸

The hoard from Česta was dated, by virtue of the youngest denarii of Lucius Verus (RIC III, nos. 586, 595), into the period between February and December 168 AD.²⁹ This hoard does not contain the denarii of Lucilla, but it does contain those of Faustina II, minted between the years 161 and 176 AD³⁰ and this is why, as with the hoard from Česta, there is a possibility that its *terminus post quem* is slightly later than 168 AD. The youngest denar of M. Aurelius in the Ušće hoard is dated from December 167 to December 168 AD (RIC III, no. 176), which would also represent the *terminus post quem* for depositing the hoard.³¹ On the other hand, the time of depositing of the hoard from Nemenikuće is determined with the denarii of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, dated from February to December 168 AD (RIC III, nos. 185, 191; RIC III, no. 595).³² However, the presence of denarii of Faustina II and Lucilla in both of these hoards again offers the possibility of their dating into a somewhat later period.³³ The hoard from Mrčevac is dated, based on the youngest denarius of M. Aurelius (RIC III, no. 163), into the period between the summer and December 166 AD, the denarius being identical to the type in our hoard from Viminacium.³⁴ Related to the Mrčevac hoard and three decades after it had been published, B. Borić-Brešković drew attention to its possible later dating into the year 166 or 169 (?), based on the find of a Lucilla denarius within the hoard (RIC III, no. 758).³⁵ In the same way and by applying the same criterium, she also dated the hoard from Grocka³⁶ and, with N. Crnobrnja, also the hoards from Ušće³⁷ and Nemenikuće,³⁸ into the year 168 (169?) or even later, in 170 or 171 AD.

Therefore, among the listed hoards, only the one from Viminacium discovered in 1963

23 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 9, ref. 16.

24 Borić-Brešković, 2011, 538-539.

25 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 9-82.

26 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 7-94.

27 Васић 1970, 155-167.

28 Јанковић-Михалцић 2012, 9-84.

29 Јанковић-Михалцић 2012, 64, кат. 336-337.

30 Јанковић-Михалцић 2012, 61-63, кат. 318-328.

31 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 16, 50, Cat. 321.

32 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 12, 59, Cat. 427-430, 61, Cat. 454.

33 Ušće cf. Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 54-56, Cat. 367-399 (Faustina II), 56, Cat. 400-403 (Lucilla); Nemenikuće cf. Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 61-62, Cat. 455-472 (Faustina II), 63, Cat. 473-474 (Lucilla).

34 Васић 1970, 165, кат. 91.

35 Borić-Brešković 2003, 12, ref. 6 and refering to BMC IV, cxxxiv.

36 "The youngest specimens in the Grocka hoard, the Marcus' denarius from 168 AD or possibly the Lucilla denarii from 169 (?) AD, define the two *termini a quo* for its depositing, ... It is possible as well that the hoard was hidden later, in 170 or maybe 171 AD..." cf. Borić-Brešković 2003, 25 and for the Lucilla denarii cf. 41, cat. 147-149.

37 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 16, and for Lucilla's denarii cf. 56, cat. 400-403.

38 Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 9 and for Lucilla's denarii cf. 63, cat. 473-474.

does not contain either coins of Faustina II or Lucilla. The hoard from Česta, as well as the lost hoard from Studentski trg (Belgrade) from 1839, do not contain denarii of Lucilla, but they do contain denarii of Faustina II. Furthermore, four hoards (Mrčevci, Grocka, Ušće and Nemenikuće) contain both coins of Faustina II and Lucilla. With the example of the Viminacium hoard from 2024, the youngest definitively dated pieces include: an as of Antoninus Pius from the year 160/161 AD, as well as its provincial minting of the Philippopolis mint dated into the same period. However, the minting for Faustina II during the time of M. Aurelius changes the dating to a somewhat later period. In order to gain a better insight, we present the data regarding the hoards mentioned before in this table (Table 2):

Hoard	The youngest definitively dated coin	Faustina II striking under M. Aurelius	Lucilla striking under M. Aurelius
Viminacium 1963	Marcus Aurelius: RIC III, no. 163 / Summer to Dec. 166 AD	/	/
Viminacium 2024 (civilian settlement I)	Antoninus Pius: 1) RIC III, no. 1052 / 160/161 AD ; 2) RPC IV.1, temp. No. 7412; CN coin 48354 / 160/161 AD	RIC III, no. 1636 / 161-176 AD	/
Česta	Lucius Verus: RIC III, nos. 586, 595 / Feb. to Dec. 168	RIC III, nos. 674, 676, 694, 695, 696, 701, 711, 712, 714, 729 / 161-176 AD	/
Mrčevci	Marcus Aurelius: RIC III, no. 163 / Summer to Dec. 166 AD	RIC III, nos. 677, 694 / 161-176 AD	RIC III, no. 758 / 169-180 (?) AD
Grocka	Marcus Aurelius: RIC III, no. 192 / Feb. to Dec. 168 AD	RIC III, nos. 677, 686, 694, 711 / 161-176 AD	RIC III, nos. 306, 322, 329 / 169-180 (?) AD
Ušće	Marcus Aurelius: RIC III, no. 176 / Dec. 167 to Dec. 168 AD	RIC III, nos. 669, 674, 676, 677, 686, 690, 695, 696, 712, 714, 734 / 161-176 AD	RIC III, nos. 757, 758, 775 / 169-180 (?) AD
Nemenikuće	Marcus Aurelius: RIC III, nos 185, 195 / Feb. to Dec. 168 Lucius Verus: RIC III, no. 595 / Feb. to Dec. 168	RIC III, nos. 674, 676, 677, 688, 695, 711, 712 / 161-176 AD	RIC III, nos. 758, 784 / 169-180 (?) AD
Studentski trg 18-39	Marcus Aurelius: RIC III,?	RIC III,?	/
Knez Mihailova St. 19-21	Marcus Aurelius?	?	?

Table 2 – Analogous hoards from the territory of present-day Serbia that contain coins of Faustina I and Lucilla.

To date, from the territory of present-day Serbia there have been 24 hoards discovered that were deposited during the 2nd century³⁹ and the largest number of them was discovered to the south of the Danube, actually along the Danube Limes or in its hinterland.⁴⁰ Of this number, four hoards were discovered in the territory of the Roman province of Lower Pannonia (Deč, Ušće, Bela Reka and Radalj), two in the territory of Barbaricum (Sapaja and Ludoš), while all of the remaining ones come from the territory of Upper Moesia. The chronological grouping of these hoards shows that a smaller number of them were deposited in the first half of the 2nd century, while the majority was deposited during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and even fewer during the time of Commodus (two hoards each from the time of Trajan and Hadrian, four from the time of Antoninus Pius, 10 from the time of Marcus Aurelius and five from the time of Commodus).⁴¹

39 Here, two further coin hoards need to be mentioned, originating from the territory of the former Barbaricum and known from literature: 1) Majdan (Novi Kneževac), before 1899, the hoard contained a large number of silver coins and ended with M. Antonius, *cf.* Milleker 1898, 45-46; Даутова-Рушевланин 1981, 64, no. 4; 2) Stara Palanka, before 1898, the hoard was discovered by L. Böhm and consisted of five aurei and 30 pieces of silver coins, *cf.* Milleker 1898, 56; Даутова-Рушевланин 1981, 64, n. 7.

40 Borić-Brešković 2011, 540, Fig. 1.

41 **Hoards deposited during the time of Trajan:** Zemun (1875, aurei 250 → 85, Nero to Trajan, *tpq.* Between the years 99 and 101 AD, partly dispersed, *cf.* Ljubić 1876, 177-200; Mirnik 2008, 77-128); Sapaja, Stara Palanka (1896, aurei 58 and more than a hundred denarii, Tiberius to Trajan, *tpq.* unknown – dispersed completely, *cf.* Даутова-Рушевланин 1981, 63-64, no. 2; Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 1). **Hoards deposited during the time of Hadrian:** Belgrade, Batal Mosque (1889, aurei 26, Nero to Hadrian, *tpq.* 119-120 AD, partly dispersed, *cf.* Васић 1968, 237-246; Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 3); Deč, Pećinci (1900, unknown number of dupondii of Hadrian, two remained preserved at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the rest dispersed, *tpq.* unknown, *cf.* Mirnik 1981, 54, no. 121; Даутова-Рушевланин 1981, 65, no. 12; Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 3). **Hoards deposited during the time of Antoninus Pius:** Bratinac, Požarevac (without data regarding the year of discovery, 21 denarii, Vespasian to A. Pius, *tpq.* 148/149 AD, partly dispersed, *cf.* Арсенијевић 2001, 185-191; Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 4); Misača, Arandelovac (1911, denarii 52, dupondii 6 + jewellery, Galba to A. Pius, *tpq.* 156/157 AD, partly dispersed, *cf.* Kraljević 1982, 41-53; Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 5); Koželj, Knjaževac (before 1979, denarii 16, Vespasian to A. Pius, *tpq.* 145-161 AD, partly dispersed, *cf.* Јовановић 1985, 5-11; Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 6); Kušiljevo, Svilajnac (1960, imperial bronzes 14, Augustus to A. Pius, *tpq.* unknown, very badly preserved, partly dispersed, *cf.* Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 7); Viminacium, civilian settlement II (2025, denarii 13, Vespasian to A. Pius, *tpq.* 141-161, *cf.* Vojvoda, Redžić, Danković 2025 forthcoming Numizmatičar no. 43); **Hoards deposited during the time of M. Aurelius:** Viminacium, Velika kapija (1980, 3 denarii, 4 drachmas, Vespasian to divus Antoninus, *tpq.* 161, *cf.* Vojvoda, Redžić, Milojević 2025 forthcoming Numizmatičar no. 43); Viminacium civilian settlement I (2025 = subject of this article); Grocka (1946, 147 denarii, 1 drachma, M. Antonius / Nero to M. Aurelius, *tpq.* 168-169 (?), *cf.* Borić-Brešković 2011, 538, no. 8); Ušće, Obrenovac (1967, 403 denarii, jewellery, Tiberius to M. Aurelius, *tpq.* 167-168 or 169 (?), *cf.* Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 9-82; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 9); Nemenikuće, Sopot (before 1955, 474 denarii, M. Antonius / Nero to M. Aurelius, *tpq.* 168 or 169 (?), *cf.* Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2005, 7-94; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 10); Viminacium, site Čair (1963, denarii 59, M. Antonius / Vitellius to M. Aurelius, *tpq.* 166, *cf.* Арсенијевић 2001, 185-201; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 13); Mrčevac, Čuprija (1962, 104 denarii, Roman Republic / Nero to M. Aurelius, *tpq.* 166 or 169 (?), *cf.* Васић 1970, 155-167; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 14); Česta, Aleksinac (1953, 337 denarii, 1 drachma, Roman Republic / Nero to Lucius Verus, *tpq.* 168, *cf.* Јанковић-Михалчић 2012, 9-84; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 15); Beograd, Student' s Park (1839, 270 denarii, Roman Republic / Nero to M. Aurelius, *tpq.* unknown (not preserved), *cf.* Гавриловић 1840, 116; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 11); Beograd, Knez Milailo street (1921, 160 denarii, *tpq.* unknown (not preserved), *cf.* Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 12); **Hoards deposited during the time of Commodus:** Radalj, Mali Zvornik (1982, denarii 249, 1 drachma, M. Antonius / Nero to Commodus, *tpq.* 180 AD, *cf.* Borić-Brešković, Arsenijević 2008, 93-156;

This overview clearly shows that the largest number of hoards reflects the serious threat along the northern borders of the empire posed by the long-lasting *Bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum*. This exhausting war marked the entire period of rule of Marcus Aurelius, since from the year 161 AD barbarian pressure and smaller incidents occurred along the Rhine and the Danube Limes. The first big invasion in the territory of the empire took place at the end of the year 166 or at the beginning of 167 AD, as the Langobardi and Obii pushed into Pannonia. The conflicts lasted until the year 180, with short interruptions in 176 and 177 AD.⁴² During this period, military operations were carried out along the entire Limes, but with changing pressure on its specific parts over the years. At the Danube Limes, more specifically in the territories of the provinces of Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dacia, Upper and Lower Moesia and Thrace, the biggest pressure occurred at the beginning of the war, in the period between the years 167 and 170 AD.⁴³ It occurred again in 174 AD, as M. Aurelius again moved his base from Carnuntum to Sirmium, the latter being more convenient for the campaign against the Iazyges.⁴⁴ In 175 AD, at the very beginning of the operations against the Iazyges, the news about the usurpation by Avidius Cassius in the eastern provinces reached the emperor. Although the usurper was killed in July of the same year, M. Aurelius was determined to bring the war on the Limes to an end and travel to the eastern provinces in the summer of 175 AD.⁴⁵ The emperor returned to Rome in late

Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 17); Bela Reka, Šabac (1936, denarii 322 + jewellery + silver casket, Marcus Antonius / Nero to Commodus, *tpq.* Dec. 181 to Dec. 182 AD or later (183?), *cf.* Borić-Brešković 1994, 77-148; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 16); Mali Suvodol, Pirot (1957, denarii 20, Titus to Crispina striking under Commodus, *tpq.* 180-183 AD, partly dispersed, *cf.* Борић-Брешковић 1996, 43-52; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 18); Ludoš, Vršac (1888, denarii 29, Vespasian to Commodus, *tpq.* 191/192 AD, *cf.* Bakić 2002, 13-31; Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 19); Mirosaljci, Lazarevac (1995, 724 denarii, 2 drachmas, Nero to Commodus, *tpq.* 192 AD, c. 400 pcs. dispersed, *cf.* Borić-Brešković 2011, 539, no. 20; Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2015).

42 CAH XI, 165-184; Mócsy *RE, Suppl.* IX, *Pannonia*, col. 555-556. The situation is made more difficult due to the great plague pandemic, frequent problems with latrones in the Balkan provinces, as well as the difficult economic situation, especially at the beginning of the conflict. In the year 169 AD, as a symbolic act, M. Aurelius held an auction of imperial property, selling dishes made of gold, sculptures and paintings painted by well-known artists. Establishing new legions required great finance, but also measures to fill the legions with personnel, which was obviously lacking. This is why special units were formed that included gladiators and it is also mentioned that robbers from Dalmatia were recruited (*HA Vita Marc.* 13.1-6; 15.3-4; 17.4-5; 20.1-5; 21.6-9; CAH XI, 167, 169).

43 A diploma from May 167 AD from Pannonia Inferior granted emperors the title IMP V, which could indicate dates, but also places of intrusions (CAH XI, 167). At the same time, gold mines in Dacia were attacked (CAH XI, 167). Doubtlessly, during 169 AD some conflicts took place, since the governor of Upper Moesia, Claudius Fronto, added the entire Tres Daciae to his territory. In the winter of 169/170 AD, the winter camp of the emperor was in Sirmium, although the events from the year 170 and the years to follow were not clearly noted. Still, it is quite certain that in 170 AD, the Costoboci attacked through Thrace and Macedonia and reached Achaea, where they destroyed the shrine of the Mysteries at Eleusis (CAH XI, 171-172; Borić-Brešković 2003, 24, ref. 59).

44 Almost nothing had been recorded about these events, except for a fragment by Dio, who describes a battle fought on the frozen Danube (*Dio Cass.* LXXI.13.1-14.2).

45 The beginning of the campaign in 175 AD was marked with a repeated attack on the Iazyges. According to the *Historia Augusta*, M. Aurelius was determined in his intention to add significant territories from the opposite Danube bank: The province of "Marcomania" was to be established to the north of Noricum and Upper Pannonia, while the great plain to the east of the Danube and to the west of Dacia was to be turned into the province of "Sarmatia" (*HA Vita Marc.* 24.5). No matter how the plans were, they were interrupted by the usurpation by Avidius Casius. M. Aurelius decided to make peace, he took the title Sarmaticus and

Autumn 176 AD and on December 23rd, he celebrated his triumph. During the following year on the Danube Limes, the situation worsened again and the emperor decided to personally return to the front, so he departed in August 178 AD and took Commodus with him.⁴⁶ It is not known where emperor's camp was situated during the winter of 178/179, since the events of this period are also known only fragmentarily. However, it is obvious that the Balkans was in a disturbed state, regarding the fact that Valerius Maximianus persecuted the Brisean bandits on the borders of Macedonia and Thrace, while Didius Iulianus also confronted banditry in Dalmatia. During the year 179 AD, some victories were achieved for which M. Aurelius gained his tenth and Commodus his third imperial acclamation, although no data regarding the location or the enemies were noted.⁴⁷ In March 180 AD, M. Aurelius died during the campaign, most likely in Bononia (near Sirmium).⁴⁸ It seems most plausible that all of the hoards from the territory of present-day Serbia from the period of M. Aurelius (regardless of whether they contained denarii of Faustina II and Lucilla or not) were deposited at the beginning of *Bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum*, between the years 167 and 170 AD. Basically, this is exactly what Bojana Borić-Brešković concluded more than two decades ago, about which she gave a detailed explanation and with which we fully agree.⁴⁹

the eighth imperial acclamation. The Iazyges were defeated and they received the same conditions as the Quadi and the Marcomanni, they surrendered their captives and secured 8,000 horsemen. After that, at the end of July 175 AD, M. Aurelius departed to the East.

46 CAH XI, 182-183.

47 CAH XI, 183.

48 The statement by Tertullian, according to which the emperor passed in Bononia (the Danube port of Sirmium), which was noted less than twenty years after the event, is more plausible than the statement by Aurelius Victor, who claimed that M. Aurelius passed in Vindobona, cf. CAH XI, 184-185, ref. 106.

49 Borić-Brešković 2003, 23-26, with listed literature.

CATALOGUE¹

VESPASIAN

Mint of Rome

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
1	8.35 28.90 As	IMP CAES VESPA[SIAN AV]G COS III Head laureate right.	VICTORIA – NAVALIS S/C// Victory standing right on prow, holding wreath and palm.	RIC II.1, p. 81, no. 336	March / April to July / August 71 (RIC II.1, p. 22)	04_526 C-888
2	17.85 32.60 S	Illegible Head laureate right.	Illegible Worn	no reference	69–79	04_527 C-892

TRAJAN

Mint of Rome

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
3	10.13 26.51 As	[IMP CAES NE]RVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR [P COS V P P] Bust draped, head laureate right.	S P Q R OPTIMO [PRINC]IPI S/C// Dacia, seated left, in attitude of mourning on shield and pile of arms; before her on left a trophy.	RIC II, p. 283, no. 562	103–111	04_528 C-880

Mint of Alexandria (Egypt) (?), provincial

Cat. no.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
4	22.68 33.36 S	[...]OC KAICAP CEBAC[...] Head laureate right.	Illegible Trajan, in military dress, galloping on horse, right, thrusting spear at fallen foe.	no reference	98–117	04_529 C-884

1 Abbreviations to the Catalogue: Cat. no. = Catalogue number; Denom. = Denomination; Diam. = Diameter (mm); Dp = Dupondius; MV Coll. = The Viminacium Museum collection inventory and filed number (C-no); S = Sestertius; Wt. = Weight (g). All the coins are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

HADRIAN

Mint of Rome

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
5	10.14 27.46 Dp	Illegible Head radiate right.	Illegible Worn.	no reference	117–138	04_530 C-893
6	13.86 27.00 Dp	[...]HADR[...] Head radiate right.	Illegible Figure (Virtus ?) standing right.	no reference	117–138	04_531 C-891
7	8.60 26.85 Dp/As (?)	Illegible Head right.	Illegible S/C// Figure (?) standing left.	no reference	117–138	04_532 C-889

ANTONINUS PIUS

Mint of Rome

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
8	11.99 26.63 Dp	[ANTONINVS AVG] PI-VS P P TR P COS [III] Head radiate right.	No legend S/C// Minerva, standing right, brandishing javelin and holding shield.	RIC III, p. 114, no. 953	140–144	04_537 C-894
9	7.85 25.85 As	[ANTO]NINV[S AVG] – PIVS P P TR XII Head laureate right.	[FELICI]TAS AVG S/C//COS IIII Felicitas, draped, stand- ing front, head right, holding long caduceus, vertical, in right hand and corn-ears in fold of robe in left.	RIC III, p. 120, no. 860A	148–149	04_534 C-881
10	25.81 33.70 S	ANTONINVS AVG – PIVS P P TR P XV Head laureate right.	COS – IIII S/C// Fortuna, draped, standing, right, hold- ing rudder, vertical, on globe, in right hand and cornucopiae, with tip turned outwards, in left.	RIC III, p. 137, no. 885	151–152	04_533 C-882
11	15.32 26.45 Dp	ANTONINVS AVG – PIVS P P IMP II Bust draped, head radi- ate, right.	TR POT XIX – COS IIII S/C// Providentia, standing left, pointing with right hand at large globe and holding sceptre.	RIC III, p. 144, no. 953	155–156	04_536 C-886

12	11.10 24.60 As	ANTONINVS – AVG PIVS P P Head laureate right.	TR POT XXIII – COS III S/C// Genius, naked to waist, draped, standing left, sacrificing out of patera over altar, left and hold- ing sceptre, transverse, in left.	RIC III, p. 154, no. 1052	160–161	04_535 C-887

Mint of Philippopolis (Thrace), provincial

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
13	21.74 31.53 S	AV T AI AΔPIA – ANTΩNEINOC Head laureate right.	ΗΓΕ ΓΑΡΓΙΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟ //ΑΙΤΩΝ Turreted female figure Tyche seated left, holding patera and long sceptre.	* RPC IV.1, temporary no. 7412; Corpus Num- morum (CN) coin 48354	161 AD (RPC); 160–161 (CN)	04_525 C-885

* RPC IV.1, temporary no. 7412 <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/7412> (accessed 3 October, 2024); Corpus Nummorum (CN) coin 48354 <https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/coins/48354> (accessed 3 October, 2024)

Faustina II, Striking under MARCUS AURELIUS

Mint of Rome

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
14	10.93 26.20 As	FAVSTINA – AVGVSTA Bust draped, right, head with stephane, hair waved and coiled on back of head.	FECVND – AVGVSTAE S/C// Salus seated left, feeding from patera snake twined round altar.	RIC III, p. 345, no. 1636	161–176	04_538 C-883

Unknown ruler from the first half of the 2nd c.

Mint of Rome

Cat. No.	Wt. Diam. Denom.	Obverse	Reverse	Reference	Date	VM Coll.
15	6.63 25.90 D p / A s (?)	Illegible Head right.	Illegible Worn	no reference	first half of the 2 nd c.	04_539 C-890

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A PART OF THE KAMENICA HOARD OF DENARII FROM STOECKLIN/LESIĆ COLLECTION

Abstract: This article examines the Roman silver denarii from Niška Kamenica that were part of the Stoecklin collection and sold at auctions in 2017 and 2018. It will explore the numismatic composition of this segment of the hoard, as well as the origins and circumstances under which these coins became part of the Stoecklin collection. In light of the article's context, it will also present information on the provenance of the denarii from the Kamenica hoard housed in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, along with new findings concerning the hoard that were unavailable at the time of publication in 2016 and 2018.

Keywords: Kamenica, coll. Stoecklin/Lesić, Nomos, Obolos, auction, new information.

Introduction – Kamenica Hoard(s)

The large hoard of silver denarii and antoniniani from Kamenica was discovered in early 1936¹ on Vinik Hill, near the village of Kamenica, in two separate instances.² Since its discovery, various contradictory pieces of information have circulated regarding the context of the find, the number of coins uncovered, the precise location, and whether one or two hoards were actually discovered.

The first report of the find to reach the public was provided by Adam Oršić Slavetić.³ However, the information he conveyed should be taken with caution, as later authors presented differing, and at times contradictory, accounts.⁴ This is one of the largest hoards of Roman Empire coins ever discovered. The exact number of coins found will likely never be known, as the hoard has been dispersed across Europe and the world. However, it can be cautiously estimated that the hoard contained between approximately 100,000 coins (surpassing the Reka Devnia hoard)⁵ and around 380,000 coins.⁶

Since the coins from the hoard (or hoards) were quickly scattered into private collections and, less frequently, museums, the exact number of specimens will likely remain a mystery. Rare examples, such as parts of the Stoecklin Collection, provide invaluable information about the Kamenica hoard, one of the largest hoards of the Roman Empire.

1 Mirnik 1981, 64, no. 178; Борић-Брешковић 1994, 42, 103.

2 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 7-14.

3 Оршић-Славетић 1936а, 17; Оршић-Славетић 1936б.

4 For an analysis of certain information that appeared in the literature, cf. Mihailović 2008; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016; Nađ 2018.

5 Mouchmov 1934 (author analyses and presents an interesting opinion about the burial horizon of the hoard); Герасимов 1939, Раунов, Prokopov 2002, 48-50, no. 75; Găzdac 2010 (CD-Catalogue/Hoards/Hoards from Moesia Inferior, 13 (Marcianopolis I = Réka Devnia = Devnya)).

6 Nađ 2018, 49; for the discussion about the possible maximum number of coins found, see; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 41 (again, the maximum number of coin found (c. 1,200,000) is no correct).

The composition of the portion held by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ) has been thoroughly analyzed, along with its contextualization by comparing this find to other hoards from the same burial horizon.⁷ It has also been compared to hoards from closed archaeological contexts of the same period.⁸ The manner in which these coins came to be part of the AMZ collection will be discussed later.

Several questions arise concerning this significant find, particularly whether the two hoards are connected and whether they belong to the same burial horizon, i.e., whether they were buried for the same reason and is it the same Hoard.

The known portions of the hoard identified as originating from Niška Kamenica (sometimes referred to simply as Kamenica, Vinik or just Niš hoard) are currently kept in several institutions: the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the National Museum in Niš, the National Museum in Prague (Zinke Collection), the National Museum of Slovenia, and the National Museum in Belgrade. Information about coins from this hoard in private collections is scarce, with rare exceptions, such as coins from the collection of the late Dr. Nikola Šipuš, who kept detailed records for each individual coin.⁹

In 2017 and 2018, parts of the hoard were sold at auction by Nomos AG, under their Nomos¹⁰ and Obolos¹¹ platforms. These auctions included approximately 120 Roman silver denarii from Niška Kamenica as part of the Stoecklin Collection.

The Stoecklin Collection

The origins of the Stoecklin Collection date back to the 19th century, initiated by Sebastian Ros. Born in Slovenia in 1839, Ros studied in Vienna and Graz before beginning work on railway infrastructure in the Slavic regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1881, he moved to Belgrade. After marrying Antonija Strukelj, a Slovenian, in 1887, both became citizens of the Principality of Serbia. During World War I, Ros remained in Belgrade, where he passed away on December 31, 1917.

His son-in-law, Walter Friedrich Stoecklin, served as a Red Cross physician in Serbian military hospitals during the First Balkan War (8th October, 1912 - 30th May, 1913) and the Second Balkan War (16th June, - 10th August, 1913). During this period, he met Jerica Ros, Sebastian's daughter, who was working as a nurse. The two married in 1914. Inspired by his father-in-law's interest in ancient coins, Stoecklin developed a passion for numismatics. In 1915, he and Jerica moved to Switzerland, where their son was born. Stoecklin remained a physician in Switzerland for the rest of his life and was an active member of the numismatic community, collaborating with prominent numismatists and auction houses of the time.

7 Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016.

8 Nađ 2018.

9 Nađ 2018.

10 Auction 14, 17.05.2017.

11 Obolos 9, 25 March 2018 (web auction).

Among his acquaintances was a “certain Dr. Lesić of Belgrade,” who sold him many pieces from the Niš hoard”. This “Dr. Lesić” was Emanuel Lesić, a Doctor of Law who worked in Belgrade before World War II. The collection was inherited by Walter Mirko Stoecklin, who was also an avid coin collector. He passed away unexpectedly in 1981, putting an end to this collection.¹²

Emanuel Lesić and the Niš Hoard

Emanuel Lesić was born in 1885 on the island of Korčula (modern-day Croatia). He attended high school in Travnik and Dubrovnik before studying at Charles University in Prague. Lesić graduated from the so-called Czech University (as opposed to the German University) with a law degree, earning his Doctor of Law title on 20th July, 1911.¹³

Interestingly, Lesić was the nephew of the renowned Croatian painter Vlaho Bukovac, who served as a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague (Akademie výtvarných umění v Praze) from 1903 until his death in 1922.¹⁴ During his law studies in Prague, Bukovac painted a portrait of Lesić in 1908 as a personal gift, inscribing the dedication: “*To my nephew Emanuel Lesić, Vlaho Bukovac, Prague, 1908.*”



Fig. 1 – Portrait of Emanuel Lesić by Vlaho Bukovac (Inscription in the lower left corner: “*Svom neputu Emanuelu Lesiću Vlaho Bukovac, Praha, 1908. / To my nephew Emanuel Lesić, Vlaho Bukovac, Prague, 1908.*”).¹⁵

12 Walker 2018.

13 Agičić 1995, 141 no. 21.

14 Puhara, Vuković 2015.

15 Kružić Uchytíl 2005, 402, no. 790; <http://www.artsalonzagreb.com/en/in-house-auctions/catalog-new/por->

Emanuel Lesić was a well-known collector who acquired a significant number of coins from the Kamenica hoard.¹⁶ A portion of this hoard was evidently sold to Walter Stoecklin while Lesić was stationed in Belgrade before World War II.¹⁷ Shortly before or at the very beginning of the war, Lesić relocated to Cavtat, where he hid his collection. In 1941, he left for Italy.

Through discussions with Efreml Marcel Pegan (Munich, Germany) and Andrej Šemrov (National Museum of Slovenia) regarding the Kamenica hoard, I learned details about how Lesić concealed his collection in Cavtat. The method he used was highly inventive and proved successful despite the numerous dangers of World War II. Specifically, Lesić encased his collection in a concrete block, which he then submerged in the sea, where it served as a mooring for a small boat (a *korpomorto* or *kolpomorto* in Dalmatian dialects).¹⁸

After World War II, Lesić retrieved his collection from the sea. The collection, preserved intact, was subsequently acquired by Sergije Dimitrijević. Several thousand coins from the Kamenica hoard were included as part of the bulk of the Lesić collection. Due to the large number of duplicate specimens in the collection, Dimitrijević gradually sold these duplicates to various traders and individuals over the years.¹⁹

Little is known about the overall composition of Lesić's collection, but the information that he sold some coins to Stoecklin before World War II indicates that he was one of many collectors who acquired parts of the hoard(s) shortly after their discovery. The composition of the portion of the Kamenica hoard(s) that Lesić sold to Dimitrijević remains largely unknown, which makes it an intriguing subject for further research. The limited information available comes from fragmented sources.

According to Mihailović,²⁰ *"E. Lesić, a very wealthy man (he was a bank director), had the largest collection of Roman coins in Yugoslavia. Among others, he possessed eleven different denarii of Pertinax and all types of denarii from Didius Julianus, Manlia Scantilla, and Didia Clara. He also owned a significant number of coins from Pescennius Niger and nearly all antoniniani from the Severan dynasty (in excellent condition), as well as almost all coins from the Niš hoard."* Additionally, the National Museum of Slovenia acquired 421 specimens from this hoard in the 1950s from Efreml M. Pegan. These coins are believed to have originally formed part of E. Lesić's collection.²¹ In that case, Efreml M. Pegan likely acquired them from Sergije Dimitrijević after World War II, as it is known (according to Mihailović) that Dimitrijević purchased entire Lesić's collection.

For now, this is all the available information regarding Lesić's portion of the Kamenica hoard(s) (Table 1).

trait-of-emanuel-lesic-307/ (accessed 3rd March, 2025).

16 Mihailović 2008, 132-133; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2017, 20.

17 Lesić was employed by Anglo Czechoslovakian Bank in Belgrade (probably later Anglo-Prago Bank; E. M. Pegan, personal communication).

18 Again, this information was provided by both E. Pegan and A. Šemrov in personal communication and I take this opportunity to thank them for this interesting information.

19 Mihailović 2008, 133.

20 Mihailović 2008, 140, n. 58.

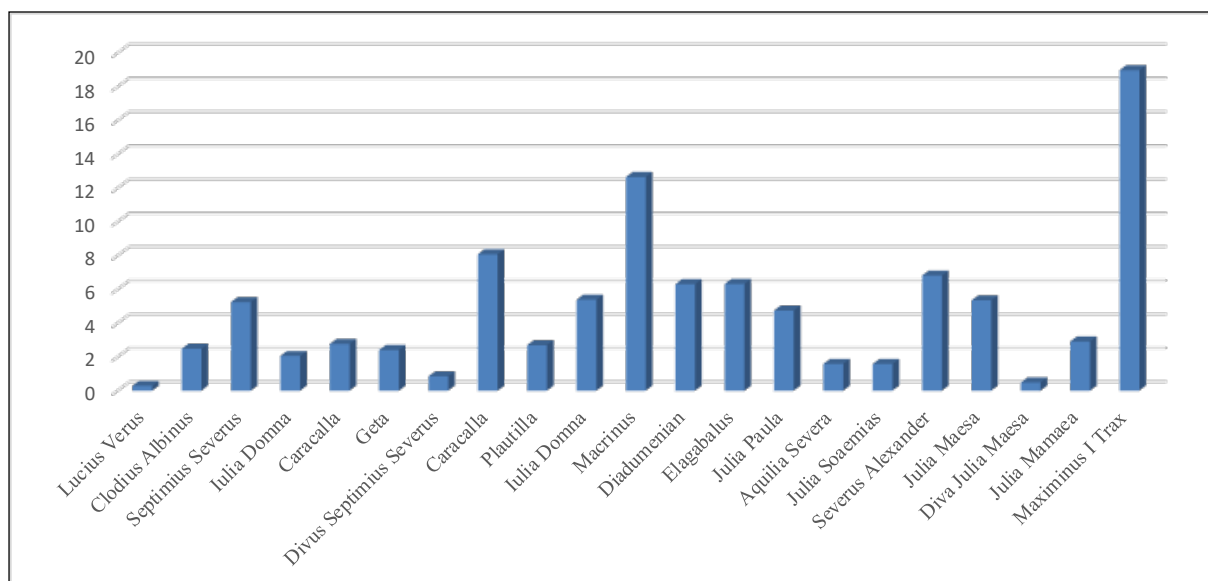
21 I extend my gratitude to Andrej Šemrov from the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia for providing this information.

The Stoecklin/Lesić Collection: Denarii from Kamenica

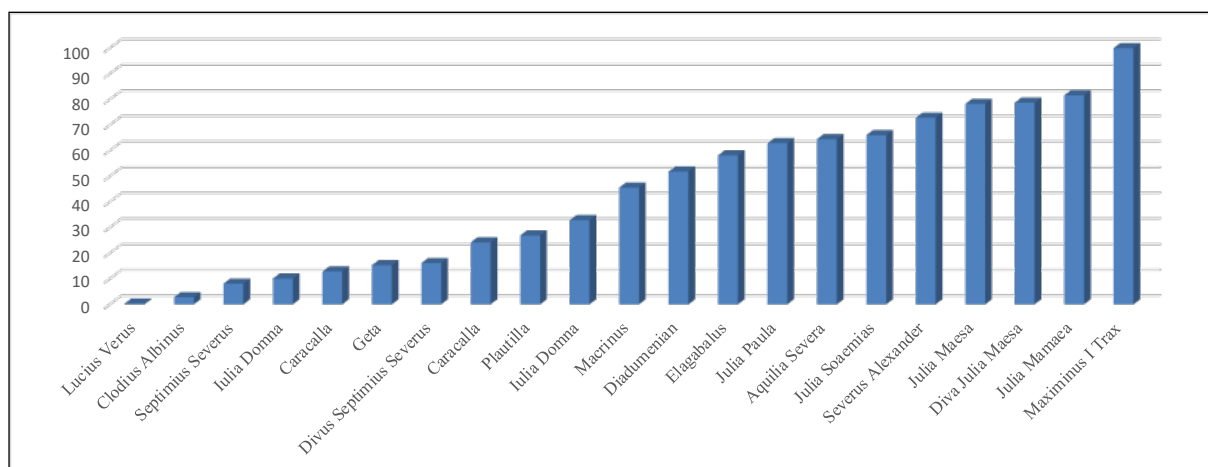
Reign/Ruler		No.	Total
Reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180)			1
Lucius Verus		1	
Reign of Clodius Albinus (193-197)			2
Clodius Albinus		2	
Reign of Septimius Severus (193–211)			36
Septimius Severus		15	
Iulia Domna		6	
Caracalla		8	
Geta		7	
Reign of Caracalla (211-217)			19
Divus Septimius Severus		1	
Caracalla		9	
Plautilla		3	
Iulia Domna		6	
Reign of Macrinus (218)			3
Macrinus		2	
Diadumenian		1	
Reign of Elagabalus (218–222)			10
Elagabalus		5	
Iulia Paula		3	
Aquilia Severa		1	
Iulia Soaemias		1	
Reign of Severus Alexander (222–235)			32
Severus Alexander		14	
Iulia Maesa		11	
Diva Iulia Maesa		1	
Iulia Mamaea		6	
Reign of Maximinus I, Thrax (235–238)			9
Maximinus I. Thrax		9	
Total:			112
Varia			15

Table 1 – Coins from Nomos Auction 14, Stoecklin Collection; ex. Lesić coll., 17th May 2017; Obolos Webauction 9 - The Stoecklin Collection Part III, ex. Lesić coll. 25th March, 2018.²²

22 For specimens under category Varia (Cat. 113-127), it is not possible to precisely determine which coins belonged to this hoard. However, it is noted: „*many Denarii from the collection of Dr. Lesic in Belgrad, and from the Niš Hoard of the early 1930s (‘Niška Kamenc’)*“ These specimens have not been analyzed as part of the comparative study.

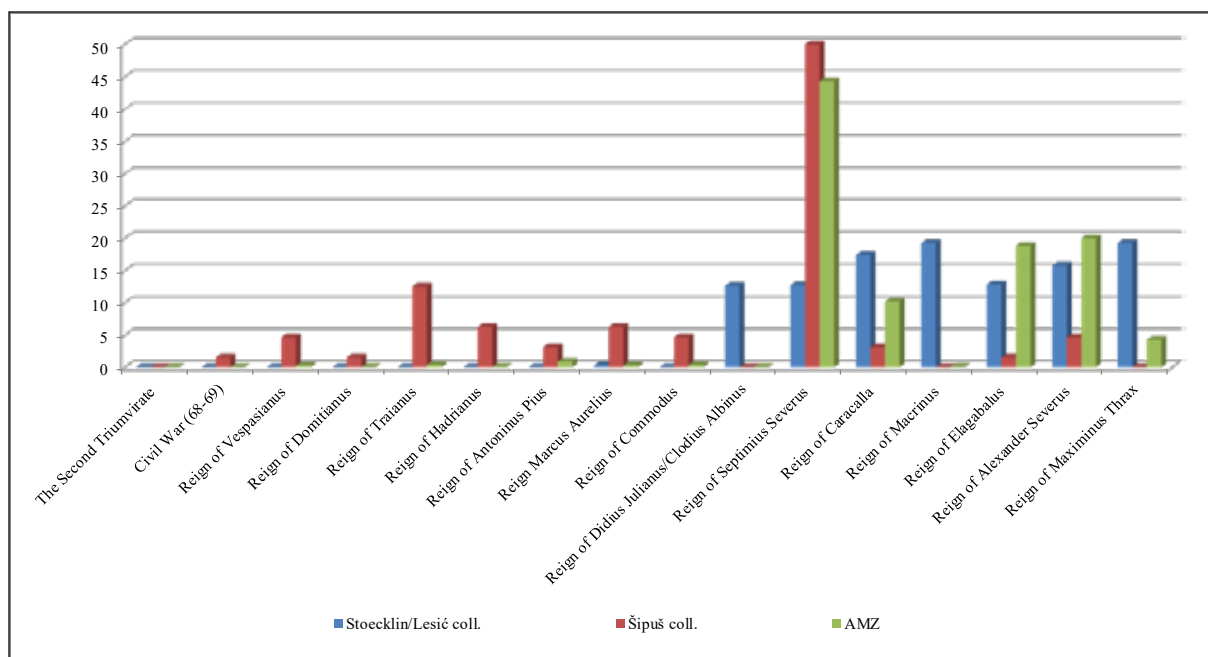


Graph 1 – Corrected & cumulative frequency by rulers from Stoecklin/Lesić coll.



Graph 2 – Corrected & cumulative frequency by rulers from Stoecklin/Lesić coll.

Comparing the three separate parts of the Kamenica hoard (the Stoecklin collection, the Šipuš collection, and the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb [AMZ]), it becomes evident that, with the exception of one denarius of Lucius Verus (reign of Marcus Aurelius) in the Stoecklin/Lesić collection, coins from the pre-Severan period are entirely absent (Graph 1-2). Although represented in smaller proportions, coins from the pre-Severan period are found in relatively proportional numbers in other parts of the Kamenica hoard, which is not the case in the Stoecklin/Lesić collection.



Graph 3 – Comparison of the parts of the hoard from Stoecklin/Lesić coll., Šipuš coll. and AMZ part.

Furthermore, coins from the reign of Septimius Severus are disproportionately less represented in the Stoecklin/Lesić collection compared to the other two comparable parts. Conversely, coins from the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus are significantly more prevalent in the Stoecklin/Lesić collection. Coins from the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander correlate proportionally with the other two compared sections, while coins from the reign of Maximinus I Thrax are noticeably more represented than in any other known part of the hoard (Graph 3).

This comparison clearly indicates that the Kamenica coins from Stoecklin/Lesić collection is not a representative sample of the Kamenica hoard. It should also be noted that this segment of the hoard concludes with coins from the reign of Maximinus I Thrax.

AMZ Part of the Kamenica Hoard(s): New Data on the Acquisition

Following the earthquake in Zagreb on 22nd March, 2020, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ) required extensive restoration and renovation. During the relocation of artifacts and archival materials, several previously unknown documents and a note were discovered, providing new information about the Kamenica silver coins and their acquisition into AMZ in three separate phases.

The first document is a record from the Archaeological Museum detailing the receipt of “old coins” from the Ministry of Finance of the People’s Republic of Croatia. It states that the official, Milan Možina, handed over a box containing various old coins, “most of which are silver Roman Severan denarii, which are likely part of the large Niš hoard, as well as Oriental/newer coins, a few copper Roman coins, and modern medals.” The official further declared that the Ministry

received these coins from the former State Administration of National Property of PRC (Zemaljska uprava narodnih dobara Narodne Republike Hrvatske), which, in turn, had acquired them from the Ustaše institution for nationalized property. Earlier provenance could not be traced.²³ While no detailed composition or exact number of coins is listed, the context strongly suggests a substantial quantity. According to the Ministry's commissioner, Milan Možina, who delivered the coin box to AMZ, these coins originally belonged to a known individual whose property had been confiscated during the war. However, both the identity and fate of this owner remain unknown. Such cases of confiscation were not uncommon in the region during World War II.²⁴

The second document is an inventory list of AMZ vaults²⁵ compiled after World War II. This inventory was previously only available as a typewritten transcription, which lists items up to entry 209 and makes no mention of coins from Kamenica. However, the original handwritten inventory list, later found in the AMZ archives, extends to entry 217. Entry 211²⁶ in the original list states: "*Collection of Severan denarii (Lederer), totaling 2,503 coins.*"²⁷

Hinko Lederer was a renowned antiquities collector and numismatist who lived and worked in Zagreb before World War II. Shortly before the Axis invasion and the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), he left Zagreb and did not return to Yugoslavia until 1953.

This information is corroborated in a third document, which complements the details in the aforementioned inventory.²⁸ This document is a report by Hoffiller to the Ministry of Education in 1946, describing two collections of coins belonging to Hinko Lederer kept in the AMZ (then the Croatian National Archaeological Museum in Zagreb). The first part of the report refers to Lederer's collection kept in a bank vault in Sarajevo, which included Roman imperial aurei, medieval Bosnian coins, etc. This collection was returned to Lederer's daughter after World War II.²⁹

The second part of Hoffiller's report states: "*This museum holds another collection belonging to Lederer. It is a collection of silver coins from the massive hoard near Niška Banja (sic!),³⁰ totaling 2... coins.*" According to Hoffiller, this collection was offered to the Archaeological Museum by Lederer's foreman over the phone on Lederer's behalf. Hoffiller expressed interest in purchasing the coins, and the foreman sent them to AMZ but ceased contact afterward, likely fleeing Zagreb or being sent to a concentration camp, as Hoffiller speculated. Hoffiller also noted that the collection was of particular interest because it was part of a hoard consisting of "*approximately 160,000 coins, which were dispersed worldwide, with very few remaining in Serbia. The coins were found in two copper cauldrons, one of which is kept in this museum.*"

23 AAMZ, ur.br. 452/1949, 5. 9. 1949; Solter 2024, 167-168.

24 For an example of such practices in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) related to numismatics (and beyond) see Bilić 2020.

25 AAMZ, ur.br. 50/49, 24th January, 1949.

26 In the main inventory book of the numismatic department, under inventory number G 1641, the specimens from Kamenica are recorded as a group, with a reference to this list noted in the comments. (Zap. 50/49 br. 211).

27 For this information about the original (handwritten) inventory of the safes and access to it, I extend my gratitude to Ana Solter.

28 AAMZ ur.br. 186/1946.

29 Solter 2024, 168; AAMZ 37/8, Dosje Hinko Lederer, Spisi Hinko Lederer 11/1954.

30 Mentioning Niška Banja as the place of discovery is probably *lapsus calami*.

It remains unclear from this report when, in 1941, the coins arrived at AMZ. Upon examining AMZ's inventory records, no mention of the copper cauldron referenced by Hoffiller exists. AMZ does have copper vessels with no documented findspot. It is possible that Hoffiller was referring to one of these vessels, which may have been acquired as the container for the Kamenica coins but lost its associated information or was dismissed as unfounded (the latter being more likely).³¹

This marks the first mention of Kamenica specimens from the Lederer collection being held in AMZ and the first recorded reference to the Kamenica hoard in AMZ archives.

It is important to highlight the chronologically earlier document from 30th July, 1941,³² in which Hoffiller issues an order to Ljerka Krček, the librarian of the Croatian National Archaeological Museum (now AMZ), to immediately go with A. Bauer to Mr. Lederer's office and retrieve "about 10 kg of ancient Roman coins" that were found during the relocation of Hinko Lederer's belongings at Mošinskog 7 (now Vladimir Nazor Street). After the retrieval, they were to issue a written confirmation to Mr. Lederer's office on behalf of "*this institution*" (i.e. the Museum).

This document has caused significant confusion, as the quantity of coins mentioned in the document (approximately 10 kg) does not correlate with any other information or the number of coins that arrived at the AMZ during 1941. The exact nature of the group of 10 kg of Roman coins, which were supposedly found during the "relocation" of Lederer's belongings, remains unknown. Furthermore, there is no documentation for this quantity, nor any mention of a third part of his numismatic collection, which was ordered to be sent to AMZ by Hoffiller. In the 1946 report, Hoffiller correctly presents information about the numismatic collection belonging to Lederer (the "Sarajevo" collection and part of the Kamenica Hoard), which is housed at AMZ. However, this "third part" is not mentioned.

It is also possible that Hoffiller did indeed send Ljerka Krček to retrieve the 10 kg of Roman coins, and that they never arrived at AMZ. As a result, no documentation would have existed other than this order. Furthermore, up until Hoffiller's statement, there is no explicit mention of the Kamenica Hoard from Lederer's collection (in AMZ's documentation, the Ministry of Education of the NDH, the Gipsoteka,³³ or the Museum of Arts and Crafts), all of which were insti-

31 I consider that the information regarding the "bronze cauldron" in which a portion of the Kamenički find was discovered is simply a fabrication by the individual who either acquired or offered this vessel for purchase (or donation) to the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb. The vessel(s) in which the coins were found were ceramic, not metallic; in fact, the Museum in Belgrade even possessed parts of a ceramic vessel that arrived together with the coins as part of the find prior to World War II (Mihailović 2008, 131, note 21). A review of metal vessels without provenance at the AMZ shows that none correspond in size, even if the number of coins discovered is minimized. I would like to express my gratitude to Ozren Domiter, the curator of the Greek and Roman Department at the AMZ, for the information provided and the time dedicated to reviewing the bronze vessels, databases, and inventory books.

32 AAMZ 409/1941.

33 Hinko Lederer entrusted his collection to A. Bauer in the then Gipsoteka just before the start of WWII, where it remained sealed until the enactment of the law on May 12, 1941: (Legal Decree on the Prohibition of Alienation and Export of Ancient Artistic, Cultural-Historical, and Natural Monuments in the Territory of the Independent State of Croatia/*Zakonska odredba o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*), when it was distributed to other museums according to this law. Following the enactment of that law, Lederer "donated" the collection

tutions that “protected” Hinko Lederer’s collections.³⁴ Unfortunately, we cannot be sure that this document refers to Lederer’s part of the Kamenica Hoard, which is currently housed at AMZ.

The coincidence is remarkable, given that the only known collection of coins of about 10 kg in weight is Lederer’s part of the Kamenica Hoard, which, along with a wooden glazed box, weighs approximately 10.75 kg (box with paper bags: 2.85 kg + 2503 coins: approximately 7.909 kg),³⁵ but this is not proof. The reason for this uncertainty is that Lederer, in correspondence with A. Bauer many years later (1955), was inquiring about his collections, which he had entrusted to Bauer for safekeeping at the Gipsoteka (Bauer had sealed these collections) before the establishment of the NDH (10th April, 1941). Documentation for this storage/safekeeping exists,³⁶ and it mentions numismatics, though it does not specify which numismatic items were involved. Bauer met with Lederer in May 1941 („...u Maju 1941. godine“) in Split (then part of the Kingdom of Italy³⁷) and confirmed to him that he had taken Lederer’s collections to the Gipsoteka, where they would remain safe until the end of the war.³⁸

On that occasion, Lederer handed over the keys to a bank vault in Sarajevo, which contained his numismatic collection (the “Sarajevo” collection), later transported to AMZ (and returned to Lederer’s daughter after the war).³⁹ According to correspondence between Lederer and Bauer, it appears that Bauer retrieved Lederer’s collections from various locations during the war, including from Lederer’s house (Mošinskog 7), his office (during its liquidation), and the basement of Dr. Ivan Meixner,⁴⁰ where Lederer had stored part of his collections. This removal was done by commission, and there were lists for all the items taken, which, according to Bauer, were later collected by Lederer’s son-in-law Leon Kaiser (Vlado Carin) after the war.⁴¹

to the City of Zagreb. Among other things, numismatics is mentioned in this collection, but documentation suggests that it primarily relates to the “Sarajevo collection” cf. Pasini Tržec 2021, 98; Solter 2024, 166.

34 Validžija 2024, 282-283.

35 The approximate weight of the coins was calculated based on the average weight of specimens from all published parts of the hoard kept in the AMZ (3.16 g).

36 Unfortunately, not the official records, but this storage is confirmed by Murgić himself in his letter to the AMZ, explaining why Lederer’s collections were not retrieved from the Gipsoteka (Dosje Hinko Lederer, Spisi Hinko Lederer 11/1954). It is also confirmed by Lederer and Bauer in their correspondence after WWII (Letter from Lederer to Bauer: <https://katalog.mdc.hr/hr/Predmet/20037/6> (inv. no. MDC A-4321); Bauer’s response to Lederer: <https://katalog.mdc.hr/hr/Predmet/20043/6> (inv. no. MDC A-4327); Validžija 2024, 281. I would like to thank my colleague, Iva Validžija (Museum Documentation Center), for this information.

37 Territory ceded to Italy by the Independent State of Croatia (NDH).

38 Lederer’s letter to Bauer: (inv. no. MDC A-4321) and Bauer’s response to Lederer: (inv. no. MDC A-4327); The collections, according to A. Bauer, were cataloged by Lederer’s son-in-law, Leon Kaiser (Vlado Carin), who delivered the collections alongside Dr. Ivan Meixner as a witness.

39 Letter from Lederer to Bauer: (inv. no. MDC A-4321) and Bauer’s response to Lederer: (inv. no. MDC A-4327). On the other hand, there is a letter/telegram to Bauer where Lederer states on 20th May, 1941, that he is “sending” him the keys, a document in which Bauer confirms that he received the keys (without specifying whether he took them personally from Lederer or received them indirectly) and document confirming that State treasury, Office for Nationalized Property (Državna riznica, Ured za podržavljeni imetak) taken over the keys from Bauer. (Dosje Hinko Lederer, Spisi Hinko Lederer 11/1954).

40 Dr. Ivan Meixner was a physician (ophthalmologist) and a renowned numismatist, as well as one of the co-founders of the Croatian Numismatic Society. Active on the numismatic scene before World War II, he was second president of the Croatian Numismatic Society for many years, from 1954 until his death in 1985 (Fabry 2018; Vučak 2021).

41 Letter from Lederer to Bauer: (inv. no. MDC A-4321) and Bauer’s response to Lederer: (inv. no. MDC

What is relevant here is Bauer's acknowledgment in his correspondence with Lederer on 29th October, 1955.⁴² Bauer states that the only items not retrieved by commission and listed were "two cabinets of numismatics" which he had sealed in the presence of Lederer's son-in-law when Lederer's office was liquidated. According to Bauer, these cabinets were later retrieved, and kept until the end of the war, after which they were returned to Lederer's son-in-law Leon (Vlado) in the presence of Bauer and Dr. Meixner as witnesses.

According to Bauer, Leon (Vlado) reportedly sold part of the collection, including coins from Dalmatian cities, Slavonian banovci, Serbian medieval, Roman imperial coins, and others, while the Bulgarian medieval coins were taken to Belgrade as they could not be sold in Zagreb.⁴³ The official commission lists made by the NDH no longer exist, so we cannot know for certain what was taken from Lederer's collection. The only information regarding the numismatics that were entrusted to Bauer for safekeeping is about the two cabinets that were never officially listed by Bauer. The general composition of these collections is known from Bauer's letter. In any case, neither Lederer nor Bauer ever mentioned this large quantity of coins from Kamenica, or any significant amount of silver Roman coins. Lederer would certainly not have forgotten to mention such a large quantity (even as a significant amount of silver), so the information in Hoffiller's report seems plausible.

The last "document" found during the review of the Numismatic Department is a note containing information that 71 coins from Niška Kamenica were either donated or sold to the museum by a certain Professor Čolić.

These documents finally provide insights into how the Kamenica coins arrived at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Initially, part of Lederer's collection arrived, likely indirectly through his business manager, after Lederer left Zagreb (before the establishment of the NDH), probably during the early days of the NDH. Hoffiller states that Lederer's collection contained "2..." (i.e. 2000+ pieces). After Hoffiller resumed his position as the director of AMZ in July 1945, the entire content of the safes was transferred by commission from the building at Zrinski Square 11 to safes at the new location at Zrinski Square 19, where the safes are still located today. Clearly, Lederer's collection was not carefully counted during this process, but a detailed commission list of the safe contents was made in 1949, where there were certainly many more than 2,000 coins (note: 2503 pieces). After the war, Lederer never requested the return of his collection. We know with certainty from the first part of this document and AMZ documentation⁴⁴ that his daughter requested the return of another coin collection, stored in the museum's safes (the "Sarajevo" collection), but she did not ask for the return of the Kamenica coins.

Lederer, after returning to Yugoslavia in 1953 (to Belgrade, where he lived until his death), remained active in the cultural (particularly numismatic) scene,⁴⁵ but he never requested the return of the Kamenica collection from AMZ. One reason could be that his business manager never informed him that the coins had been sent to the museum during those turbulent months. Another reason could be an official one: the lack of any official documentation regarding the

A-4327).

42 Bauer's response to Lederer: <https://katalog.mdc.hr/hr/Predmet/20043/6> (inv. no. MDC A-4327).

43 Bauer's response to Lederer: <https://katalog.mdc.hr/hr/Predmet/20043/6> (inv. no. MDC A-4327).

44 Solter 2024, 168.

45 Pogačnik 1979, 231; Dušanić 1980, 229; Armanda, Mirnik 2013; For the Lederers activities before WWII cf. Validžija 2024, 280-281.

receipt of this coins. As Lederer's business manager, according to Hoffiller, "sent the Kamenica coins to the museum," and Hoffiller never issued (or did not have the chance to issue) any receipt for the items, and since the manager later disappeared from Zagreb, it was not possible to issue one.

It is also likely that this happened before the Initiative of the directors of leading Croatian museums (including Hoffiller) and the Zagreb Conservation Institute for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage through the centralization of important artistic and historical objects in state museums (10th May, 1941).⁴⁶ Two days after, a law was passed (12th May, 1941: The Legal Provision on the Prohibition of the Alienation and Export of Antiquities and Cultural Monuments in the Independent State of Croatia),⁴⁷ which required the issuance of a certificate that certain items were in the possession of a given institution and had been taken in the name of the NDH.⁴⁸

In this case, Lederer's Kamenica coin collection was likely never officially transferred to AMZ, but was instead considered to fall under the aforementioned law (Article 3). However, even under that law, the criteria for including it in the AMZ's collection were not officially met. This assertion can be supported by the fact that two months after the law came into force (26th July, 1941), Božidar Murgić (Head of the Department for Higher Education and Scientific Institutes of the Ministry of National Education of the NDH) compiled a Report on the implementation of the legal provision concerning the prohibition of the alienation and export of antiquities and cultural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia (*Izvještaj o provedbi zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*).⁴⁹ In this report, various private collections from private collectors (Serbs and Jews) are listed and redistributed to various institutions in the name of the NDH. Lederer's coin collection,⁵⁰ medals, gems, and ancient jewelry are being placed in the Gipsoteka (now the Gliptoteka HAZU), and Lederer requests that they be included in the collection.⁵¹ He asks Antun Bauer to exclude certain paintings that are not his property.⁵² In the report, apparently, there is no mention of Lederer's collection of silver Kamenica coins, nor of its presence at AMZ, even though it should have been listed if it had been transferred to AMZ and duly noted by AMZ, under the law.

Lederer, in this case, could not have known where Kamenica collection was, nor could he have requested its return because, evidently, there was no information about this collection until Hoffiller's report to the Ministry of Education in 1946. It is hard to believe that in his correspondence with Hoffiller regarding the collection that was in the Sarajevo bank vault, which was handed over to AMZ in accordance with the law, Lederer would not have at least mentioned the

46 Solter 2024, 162-164, 166-167.

47 Pasini Tržec 2021, 98; Solter 2024, 162.

48 Solter 2024, 162-163.

49 Pasini Tržec 2021, Solter 2024, 163.

50 The coins were never kept in the Gipsoteka; this information relates to the collection of gold and silver coins that Lederer deposited in a bank vault in Sarajevo. If this information were related to the Kamenica specimens, it would have been included in Murgić's Report, which is not the case. This detail originates from correspondence between Lederer and Bauer regarding the exclusion of certain items, as they were not Lederer's property (Pasini Tržec 2021, 103, n. 77; Letter from Lederer to Bauer, 19th May, 1941).

51 Pasini Tržec 2021, 103.

52 Pasini Tržec 2021, 103.

Kamenica coins if he had known they were in AMZ. Based on this information, his daughter later requested the return of the “Sarajevo” collection, which was indeed returned to her. The result of these circumstances is that no request for the return of Lederer’s part of the Kamenica collection was ever made, either by his daughter or by Lederer himself after his return to Yugoslavia in 1953, as confirmed by the correspondence between Lederer and Bauer mentioned earlier.

The third group comprises 71 coins attributed to a certain Professor Čolić. Unfortunately, no records indicate when these coins arrived at AMZ, whether they were donated or sold to the museum, or any details regarding the identity of Professor Čolić.

Origin of coins	No. of coins
Coll. Lederer	2503
Prof. Čolić	71
Ministry of Finance of <i>People’s Republic of Croatia</i> (PRC)	1525
AMZ Total	4099

Table 2 – Composition of the AMZ Portion of the Kamenica Hoard by Acquisition.⁵³

When the initial publication of the portion held in AMZ was made,⁵⁴ all three groups of coins were noted under a single inventory number (G 1641), and the coins were treated as a single group. All of the coins were found in a wooden box, with part of the coins placed in paper bags, categorized by emperors and types, while the remaining coins were in a cloth bag, unsorted.

Considering the new information from recently discovered documentation, a subsequent examination of the box and a more detailed analysis of the information on the paper bags (post-factum), the situation was as follows:

Emperor or members of imperial family	No. of coins
Caracalla	632
Geta	300
Iulia Domna	325
Plautilla	32
Elagabalus	375
Iulia Maesa	162
Iulia Soaemias	36
Iulia Pavla	22
A. Severus	445
Mamaea	161
Maximinus I Thrax	87
Total	2577

Table 3 – Composition of the Kamenica Hoard from the Lederer Collection (AMZ).

⁵³ The number of coins acquired from the Ministry of PRC is not mentioned in the report, but calculated from the total number of coins kept as Niška Kamenica in AMZ.

⁵⁴ Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016.

This situation somewhat correlates with the aforementioned documentation, as it appears that at some point the Lederer collection (2503 coins) and part of Professor Čolić's collection (71 coins), along with a few additional specimens (3 coins),⁵⁵ were mixed. The remaining unsorted coins stored in a cloth bag (1522 coins) likely constitute the portion received from the Ministry of Finance in 1949. The coins from Kamenica that were part of the Lederer collection were initially kept separate when they arrived at the Museum and remained so at least until 1949, when they were removed from the vault, along with other archaeological items, by a commission. Subsequently, a portion of newly acquired specimens was evidently mixed with Lederer's collection, and during later processing, they were entirely intermingled. This situation has led to the current state, where it is no longer possible to determine the original collection to which each individual specimen belonged.

Revisiting the Issue of Dating and the Number of Hoards

It is necessary to re-examine the issue of dating and whether we are dealing with one or two hoards.

The Kamenica specimens from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ) have been thoroughly studied, and based on the previously mentioned documentation, we know their provenance and how they arrived at the AMZ.

Apart from the portion belonging to Professor Čolić, it can be concluded with certainty that all parts were acquired for private collections before World War II. Moreover, none of the parts contained coins minted after the year 238.

The National Museum in Niš acquired its portion of the Kamenica hoard shortly after its discovery. This is the only part that reached an institution indirectly from the original finder (prior to WWII). The earliest coin in this collection dates to the reign of Severus Alexander.

The part of the hoard held at the National Museum in Belgrade (NM Belgrade) before WWII (approximately 7 kg)⁵⁶ disappeared from the museum, and its composition remains unknown. Mihailović provides a summary of this event, which was even subject to an official investigation, in his review of the Kamenica find from Niš.⁵⁷ The part purchased for NM Belgrade after WWII (in 1954), which Marić⁵⁸ identified as part of the Kamenica hoard, does not match the original composition. Moreover, the information provided by the seller who sold this hoard to the museum is, at best, implausible. With great certainty, it can be ruled out that the coins purchased in 1954 are part of the Kamenica hoard. Instead, it is more likely that this represents a hoard discovered in the area of Šljivovik (Republic of Serbia).⁵⁹

55 It should be noted that during the processing of the Kamenica hoard, it was observed that three coin specimens were added later and do not belong to the hoard (Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 32-33).

56 Mihailović saw the inventory books of the NM Belgrade where he saw entry under inv. no. 3616: "Niš hoard Rom. Denarii 7 kg uncleaned with dirt and pie[ces] of pottery," under column how it is Acquired is stated: "Hoard from Kamenica 21 kg 1/3 belonging to the state" (Mihailović 2008, 131, n. 21).

57 Mihailović 2008, 131 n. 21.

58 Марич 1956, 180, br. 8; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 11.

59 For the arguments suggesting that this relates to a different hoard rather than the Kamenica cf. Mihailović 2008, 136; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 36-37.

Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia (NCNMS) holds 830 coins from Kamenica (ranging from Trajan to Gordian III), acquired in several stages and from multiple sources. The last coin in the NCNMS collection dates to 243/244.⁶⁰ The previously mentioned case of Dr. Szemsö, who exchanged his collection for modern gold coins, certainly included specimens from Kamenica, as evidenced by records from the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia: “L. Szemsö, Kikinda: 211 coins, accession 1954.” Another portion, acquired by the NMS in the 1950s, was purchased from E. M. Pegan (Munich) and was, apparently, part of the former collection of Emanuel Lesić (421 coins). Finally, a third portion (198 coins) was acquired in the largest quantity during the 1950s.⁶¹

Until a detailed publication is issued on the portion held in the NMS (detailing each part, its provenance/context of acquisition, and composition), the currently available information and personal correspondence serve as the basis for comment and analysis.

Several years ago, in personal correspondence, Efrem M. Pegan mentioned that he had been in extensive contact with Dr. L. Szemző, who likely possessed the most comprehensive insight into the composition of the hoard. Pegan stated that he had examined Szemző’s Kamenica coins, which included specimens of Gordian III referenced by Szemző.⁶² However, these coins were denarii of Gordian as Caesar (*sic!*), rather than coins of Gordian III as Augustus. Notably, Pegan emphasized the significance of these coins due to the rare depiction of Gordian III with a bare-headed portrait, specifically highlighting the absence of both a laurel wreath and a radiate crown. Only one known coin of Gordian III corresponds to this description: RIC IV/2, 1.

Another possibility is that the coin(s) Pegan saw were from the already rare coinage of Gordian I and II,⁶³ specifically an extremely rare example of RIC IV/2, 15. Although similar in description, it differs in titulature. The denarius of Gordian III bears the inscription M ANT GORDIANVS CAES / PIETAS AVGG and features a young, bare-headed bust of Gordian III on the obverse, with priestly sacrificial implements on the reverse. In contrast, the denarius of Gordian II is inscribed CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AFR AVG and depicts a mature, bare-headed bust of Gordian II on the obverse, with priestly sacrificial implements arranged differently on the reverse.

The denarius of Gordian II (RIC IV/2, 15) is so rare that it is categorized in RIC as a “curious coin,” with reference made to the only illustrated example known to the authors.⁶⁴ Considering Pegan’s extensive experience as a numismatist and connoisseur of regional (former Yugoslavia) and supraregional (Central Europe) developments in numismatics, it is unlikely that he would have made such a significant error in identifying the coin. Similarly, it is near impossible that Dr. Szemző, who likely studied his collection in great detail,⁶⁵ would have overlooked such a rarity without recognizing, documenting, and informing Pegan about it.⁶⁶ All in all, whatever

60 I must thank Peter Kos who provided this information to me while he was still employee of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia.

61 I have no information on who the seller or donor was. I would like to thank Andrej Šemrov from the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia for this information.

62 E. M. Pegan did not specify how many coins of Gordian he saw.

63 Ruled for 22 days in April/May, 238 (RIC IV/2, 158); c. 20 days in January, (?) 238 (Kienast 1990, 188–189).

64 Walters, Webb 1932, 35, no. 1310, Taf. 17; RIC IV/2, 162.

65 He bought a lot of coins from the founders (Mihailović 2008, 132–133; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016, 40–41).

66 More than acquiring rare and valuable items, collectors like to brag about them to each other.

coin(s) Pegan saw in Szemző's collection,⁶⁷ none of them were coins of Gordian III bearing the Imperial title. Therefore, it can be cautiously concluded that Szemző's portion of the Kamenica contained no coins minted after 238.

Since the discovery of this hoard, information has been inconsistent, often deliberately concealed and distorted over time. These details should be treated with caution and regarded as one of many pieces of information that have emerged in the large volume of data associated with this find. According to the available information (if accurate and if there was no mixing with other coins, as occurred, for example, in the AMZ), the portion of the Kamenica hoard acquired for the NMS from Dr. Szemző should not contain coins of Gordian III as Emperor.

This still correlates with the information provided by Mihailović, who notes that the smaller vessel/hoard ended with coins of Gordian III. Additionally, Mihailović, quoting Dr. Szemző, mentions that the youngest coins were those of Gordian III but does not specify whether they belonged to Gordian III as Caesar or Augustus. Instead, he states that the hoard ended with coins from the early reign of Gordian III—a detail open to interpretation regarding whether this refers to his reign as Caesar or Augustus.

The second portion acquired for the Numismatic Cabinet of the NMS from E. Pegan/E. Lesić's collection should likewise not include specimens of Gordian III. Pegan could have acquired this portion from Lesić either before WWII or, if Mihailović's information is accurate (as mentioned above), after WWII, when Lesić sold his entire collection to Sergije Dimitrijević, from whom Pegan later apparently repurchased it, knowing it was Lesić's former collection. Considering that Efrem M. Pegan (b. 1932) was only 9 years old when WWII began in Yugoslavia in 1941, it is likely that Pegan purchased part of Lesić's coins from Dimitrijević many years later. This leaves room for potential contamination of information and composition.

Based on the currently known information about Lesić's portion of the Kamenica hoard, the latest (securely dated) chronological specimens are coins of Maximinus I Thrax (Stoecklin/Lesić collection; see above). The only hints regarding the composition of Lesić's collection are provided by Mihailović,⁶⁸ who lists rarities from Lesić's pre-war collection. He states that the final chronological specimens were "almost all antoniniani from the Severan dynasty" (i.e., Severus Alexander as the last Severan Emperor)⁶⁹ or Elagabalus, if Severus Alexander's "antoniniani" are excluded.⁷⁰ The remaining composition of Lesić's pre-war portion of Kamenica hoard remains entirely unknown.

I hope that a more detailed publication of the portion of the Kamenica hoard kept in the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia will clarify the circumstances surrounding its acquisition, particularly regarding the third portion (198 coins) acquired "during the 1950s." The period during which these specimens were obtained is potentially significant and could provide valuable insights.

67 Very probably Gordian III as a Caesar.

68 Mihailović 2008, 140, n. 58.

69 Antoniniani of Severus Alexander are also extreme rarity (if they are taken as official issues; for this problem and doubt's cf. Carson 1955); one is in British Museum (Carson 1955, 230), second known is sold in auction in 1928, subaeratus cf. RIC IV/2, 83 (Cahn, Auction 60, 1928, Nr. 2042) and third one was offered on Gorny & Mosch, Auction 228, 9th March 2015, Lot 656.

70 The first antoniniani minted after Severii are those of Balbinus and Puppiens from 238.

Prague Part- Zinke collection

During the earlier analysis of the Zagreb portion of the hoard, my colleague Jirí Militký provided me with information regarding a substantial collection of approximately 15,000 silver coins, which arrived in 1945 as part of the Zinke Collection. This collection bore the label “Niš” (another designation under which the Kamenica hoard was recorded); however, no further information was available.⁷¹

In the summer of 2024, during my visit to the Prague Museum, Militký showed these coins to me. Naturally, my primary interest lay in identifying the latest chronological specimens and obtaining an overview of the hoard's composition. In general, the assemblage exhibited a composition similar to that of the AMZ collection and the portion housed in the Niš Museum, with the notable distinction that coins of emperors up to and including Gallienus, and beyond, were present.

While the vast majority of these coins undoubtedly belonged to the Kamenica hoard, at some point, they were evidently mixed with other coins, which poses a considerable challenge. I hope that the forthcoming publication of this largest segment of the Kamenica hoard will provide further clarity and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the assemblage.

According to reports, Stanislav Simonović sold his coin collection to the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade.⁷² As Mihailović mentioned, Simonović purchased specimens from this hoard and sold them in Berlin, which led to the assumption that he had examples of this find in his collection. By contacting my colleague Mila Gajić from the Museum of Applied Arts (to whom I extend my gratitude), I learned that the museum holds no Roman coins from Simonović's collection. Simonović sold his collection of Serbian medieval coins and his collection of Greek coins to the Museum of Applied Arts, both of which have been published.⁷³ If his collection included specimens from the Kamenica hoard, details regarding their composition remain unknown.

Conclusion

The Stoecklin/Lesić collection, compiled and analyzed in this paper, represents yet another valuable segment that contributes to our understanding of the broader context of this significant archaeological and numismatic find.

As previously mentioned on multiple occasions, navigating the vast amount of data that has emerged over the nearly 90 years since the discovery of the hoard remains exceptionally challenging. The information is often contradictory and highly unreliable, further complicating efforts to reconstruct a complete picture of this already dispersed find.

Regarding the question of whether one or two hoards were discovered, it is unlikely that this issue will ever be definitively resolved. The initial reports received by official authorities were vague, and the original finders evidently withheld crucial information. According to early ac-

71 Personal communication with my colleague Jirí Militký.

72 Mihailović 2008, 133, n. 29.

73 Поповић-Гај 1969; Васић 1970. I would like to thank Mila Galić for this information.

counts, two hoards were found approximately 40 meters apart.⁷⁴ However, as time passed, these reports became increasingly unclear, and the hoard(s) began to be treated as a single find—assuming they were ever considered separate in the first place.

The discovery of multiple containers filled with coins is a documented fact, but whether they were found at a single location or separately at a distance of about 40 meters remains unknown. The finders themselves, as evidenced by various sources, deliberately concealed information to maximize their financial gain. This is particularly evident in their actions, as they actively sold large quantities of coins from the hoard.

The closest known source with direct contact with the individuals who discovered and sold the coins was Dr. Szemző, who visited them multiple times to acquire specimens. Even he expressed doubts about the reliability of the finders' accounts and the exact number of discovered containers. Nevertheless, he ultimately concluded that two vessels containing coins were recovered: one ending with issues of Maximinus I Thrax and another with coins from the early reign of Gordian III.⁷⁵

However, as the story of this hoard took on an almost mythical character, the associated information continued to spread, with new details being added over time, further complicating efforts to establish an accurate historical record.

It is important to note that the Kamenica find experienced a form of “revival” during the 1950s, at least in terms of museum acquisitions. In 1954, the National Museum in Belgrade purchased coins allegedly belonging to the Kamenica Hoard.⁷⁶ Around the same time, the National Museum of Slovenia acquired coins from the hoard on three separate occasions (in 1954 and throughout the 1950s). Additionally, in 1956, the Museum in Villach obtained 20 specimens from Techendorf, which were reportedly “actually from Niš.”⁷⁷ While a chronological coincidence is evident, no precise conclusions can be drawn without a more detailed analysis of these segments.

If the information provided by Dr. Szemző through Mihailović is accurate, one particularly puzzling aspect is the presence of coins of Gordian III as emperor, long after the beginning of his reign. Pre-war literature does mention coins of Gordian III in the hoard; for instance, Hinko Lederer states that the chronological range extended from Galba to Gordian III.⁷⁸ However, his own collection, kept in AMZ, does not contain a single specimen of Gordian III (Caesar or Augustus). Furthermore, all authors who refer to imperial issues of Gordian III, even Philip I, only began writing about the hoard after World War II, relying on information (or composition) that appears to have been altered over time in terms of factual accuracy.

The reasons behind these discrepancies remain to be determined through a thorough examination of unpublished segments of the hoard and a detailed analysis of its composition and acquisition history. However, one fact remains clear: in the pre-war portions of the hoard for which we have reliable data, no coins minted after 238 AD were present.

74 Mihailović 2008; Nađ, Bertol Stipetić 2016.

75 Mihailović 2008. The author does not specify which particular coins from the beginning of Gordian's III reign are being discussed.

76 Марин 1956, 180; Vasić 1972, 60; Nađ Bertol Stipetić 2016, 36; Arguments have already been presented indicating that this portion of the hoard does not belong to the Kamenica Hoard.

77 FMRO II/3, 5/29; Nađ Bertol Stipetić 2016, 19.

78 Lederer 1939, 5-6; Nađ Bertol Stipetić 2016, 10.

The Kamenica Hoard remains a complex and fragmented numismatic find, shaped by decades of incomplete, contradictory, and evolving information. While ongoing research and future analyses may provide further clarity, the currently available evidence suggests that the hoard's original composition and context will likely never be fully reconstructed. However, I encourage my colleagues to continue their research, as their contributions will be essential in further clarifying the picture of this significant find.

CATALOGUE

No.	Ruler	Den.	Type	Mint	Date.	Wt.	Size	Lot no.	Link:
1.	Lucius Verus	Den.	RIC 515; MIR 87	Roma	164	3.27 g	17 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 312.	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/312
2.	Clodius Albi- nus	Den.	RIC 2	Roma	194-195	2.86 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 330.	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/330
3.	Clodius Albi- nus	Den.	RIC 7	Roma	194/195	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-7</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
4.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 101	Roma	197	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-6</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
5.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 135b	Roma	197-200	3.91 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 338	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/338
6.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 171a	Roma	200-201	3.48 g	19 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 382	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/382
7.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 196	Roma	205	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-15</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
8.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 211	Roma	207	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-12</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
9.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 216	Roma	208	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-17</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
10.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 228	Roma	209	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-8</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
11.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 288	Roma	202-210	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>334-9</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
12.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 332	Roma	210-211	3.21 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 339	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/339
13.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 335	Roma	210-211	3.45 g	18 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 340	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/340
14.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 493	Laodiceia	197	3.56 g	18 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 337	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/337

15.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 495	Laodiceia	198	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-5</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
16.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 503	Laodiceia	194-198	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-11</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
17.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 500	Laodiceia	201	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-14</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
18.	Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 526	Laodiceia	202	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-13</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
19.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 536	Roma	194	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-19</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
20.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 551	Roma	193 - 211	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-2</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
21.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 559	Roma	209	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-10</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
22.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 572	Roma	196-211	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-21</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
23.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 577	Roma	200-207	3.41 g	18 mm	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 343</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/343
24.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 636	Laodiceia	196-202	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-4</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
25.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 22a	Roma	198-199?	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-24</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
26.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 30a	Roma	200	-	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-22</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360

27.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 43	Roma	199-200	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-18	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
28.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 65	Roma	202	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-14	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
29.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 69	Roma	203	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-20	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
30.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 111	Roma	209	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-13	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
31.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 112	Roma	209	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-23	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
32.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 144B	Roma	201-206	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-10	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
33.	Plautilla	Den.	RIC 367	Roma	202-205	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-8	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
34.	Plautilla	Den.	RIC 369	Roma	202-205	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-9	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
35.	Plautilla	Den.	RIC 370	Laodiceia	202-205	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-7	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
36.	Geta	Den.	RIC 3	Roma	198-200	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-2	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
37.	Geta	Den.	RIC 9A	Roma	200-202	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-4	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
38.	Geta	Den.	RIC 15b	Roma	201	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-5	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360

39.	Geta	Den.	RIC 16b	Roma	200-205	3.37 g	18 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 356	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/356
40.	Geta	Den.	RIC 18	Roma	200	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-1</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
41.	Geta	Den.	RIC 20A	Roma	200-202	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-3</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
42.	Geta	Den.	RIC 94	Laodiceia	198-200	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-6</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
43.	Divus Septimius Severus	Den.	RIC 191b	Roma	after 211	2.83 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 341	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/341
44.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 209a	Roma	214	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-12</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
45.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 222	Roma	210-213	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-15</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
46.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 238a	Roma	214	3.37 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 351	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/351
47.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 254	Roma	215	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-11</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
48.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 255	Roma	215	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-21</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
49.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 302	Roma	213-217	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-17</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
50.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 330	Laodiceia	196-197	3.36 g	18.5 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 347	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/347
51.	Caracalla	Den.	RIC 336B	Laodiceia	198	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-16</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360

52.	Caracalla	Den.	Not in RIC/RIC 69 (rv.)	Roma?	199-200	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 360-19</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/360
53.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 375a	Roma	211-217	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-3</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
54.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 380	Roma	211-215	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-16</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
55.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 385	Roma	211-217	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-20</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
56.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 388c	Roma	216	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-1</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
57.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 388c	Roma	216	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 334-18</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/334
58.	Julia Domna	Den.	RIC 636	Laodiceia	198-202	3.27 g	19 mm	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 342</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/342
59.	Macrinus	Den.	RIC 15	Roma	March-June 218	3.69 g	20 mm	<u>Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 390</u>	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/390
60.	Macrinus	Den.	RIC 66	Roma	217	3.50 g	19 mm	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 362</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/362
61.	Diadumenian	Den.	RIC 107	Roma	217-February 218	4.48 g	19 mm	<u>Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 391</u>	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/390
62.	Elagabalus	Den.	RIC 28	Roma	220	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-15</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
63.	Elagabalus	Den.	RIC 87	Roma	220-222	3.43 g	19 mm	<u>Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 392</u>	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/392
64.	Elagabalus	Den.	RIC 88	Roma	218-222	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-16</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387

65.	Elagabalus	Den.	RIC 121	Roma	218-222	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-11	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
66.	Elagabalus	Den.	RIC 161	Roma	218-222	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-14	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
67.	Julia Paula	Den.	RIC 211	Roma	219-220	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-17	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
68.	Julia Paula	Den.	RIC 211	Roma	219-220	3.52 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 369	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/369
69.	Julia Paula	Den.	RIC 211 var	Roma	219-220	2.91 g	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 395	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/395
70.	Aquila Severa	Den.	RIC 225	Roma	220-222	3.94 g	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 396	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/396
71.	Julia Soemias	Den.	RIC 237	Roma	218-222	2.80 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 370	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/370
72.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 19	Roma	223	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-9	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
73.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 23 (c)	Roma	222	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-7	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
74.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 53	Roma	226	4.30 g	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 401	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/401
75.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 65	Roma	227	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-8	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
76.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 101	Roma	230	3.08 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 378	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/378
77.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 127d	Roma	222-228	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-10	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
78.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 144	Roma	222-228	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-18	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387

79.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 250	Roma	232	3.16 g	21 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 379	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/379
80.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 254c	Roma	231-235	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-1</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
81.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 274	Antiochia	222	3.07 g.	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 400	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/400
82.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 275	Antiochia	222-223	3.33 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 376	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/376
83.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 298	Antiochia	228-231	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-3</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
84.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 302d	Antiochia	222-235	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-12</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
85.	Severus Alexander	Den.	RIC 263	Antiochia	222	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-19</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
86.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 249	Roma	218-220	3.5 g	19 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 398	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/398
87.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 254	Roma	218-222	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-25</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
88.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 254	Roma	218-220	3.03 g	20 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 371	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/371
89.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 254	Roma	218-220	2.91 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 372	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/372
90.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 263	Roma	218-222	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-20</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
91.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 263	Roma	218-220	3.59 g	20 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 373	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/373
92.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 268	Roma	218-222	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-21</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387

93.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 271	Roma	218-222	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-22	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
94.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 271	Roma	218-222	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-23	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
95.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 271	Roma	218-222	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-24	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
96.	Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 271	Roma	220-222	2.98 g	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 399	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/399
97.	Diva Julia Maesa	Den.	RIC 378	Roma	225	3.06 g	20 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 407	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/407
98.	Julia Mamaea	Den.	RIC 331	Roma	232	3.47 g	19 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 385	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/385
99.	Julia Mamaea	Den.	RIC 332	Roma	225-235	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-13	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
100.	Julia Mamaea	Den.	RIC 335	Roma	228	3.32 g	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 406	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/406
101.	Julia Mamaea	Den.	RIC 343	Roma	222	3.73 g	18 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 405	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/405
102.	Julia Mamaea	Den.	RIC 358	Roma	225-235	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-6	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
103.	Julia Mamaea	Den.	RIC 360	Roma	226	3.02 g	20 mm	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 384	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/384
104.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 3; MIR 16- 3/B	Roma	236-summer 236	2.92 g	19 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 409	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/409
105.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 4; MIR 28-3	Roma	Fall-Winter 236	-	-	Obolos, Webauction 9, 25 March 2018, Lot 387-5	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
106.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 12; MIR 10- 3/B	Roma	235-236; 236- summer 236	3.21 g	20 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 408	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/408

107.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 13; MIR 11- 3/A	Roma	235-236; 236 (late sum- mer)	2.99 g	19 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 410	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/410
108.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 14; MIR 12- 3/C	Roma	235-236; 236 (late sum- mer)	2.98 g	19 mm	Nomos, Auction 14, 17 May 2017, Lot 411	https://www.nomosag.com/nomos-14/411
109.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 14; MIR 12- 3/C	Roma	235-236; 236 (late sum- mer)	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>387-4</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
110.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 16; MIR 13- 3/C	Roma	235-236; 236 (late sum- mer)	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>387-2</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/387
111.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 20; MIR 23-3	Roma	236-237; 237- end of 237	2.73 g	18 mm	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>389</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/389
112.	Maximinus I Trax	Den.	RIC 23; MIR 27-3	Roma	236-237; 237- end of 237	3.32 g	20 mm	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>390</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/390
113.	Faustina I	Den.	RIC 338	Roma	139-141	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>317-5</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
114.	Diva Faustina I	Den.	RIC 346a	Roma	after 141	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>317-6</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
115.	Faustina II	Den.	RIC 501	Roma	145-161	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>317-1</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
116.	Commodus	Den.	RIC 19; MIR 504	Roma	181	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>325-1</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/325
117.	Commodus	Den.	RIC 112(c); MIR 663	Roma	184-185; 185	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>325-2</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/325
118.	Commodus	Den.	RIC 54; MIR 573	Roma	183	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>325-3</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/325
119.	Commodus	Den.	RIC 222A; MIR 815	Roma	190; 191	-	-	<u>Obolos, Webauction</u> <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot</u> <u>325-4</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/325

120.	Faustina II	Den.	RIC 688; MIR 17-4	Roma	161-176	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-2</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
121.	Faustina II	Den.	RIC 688; MIR 17-4	Roma	161-176	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-3</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
122.	Diva Faustina II	Den.	RIC 744; MIR 58-4	Roma	176-180: after 176	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-4</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
123.	Crispina	Den.	RIC 279b; MIR 6-4(a)	Roma	178-182	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-7</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
124.	Lucilla	Den.	RIC 757; MIR 1-4	Roma	161-163	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-8</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
125.	Crispina	Den.	RIC 279a; MIR 5-4(a)	Roma	178-182	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-9</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
126.	Lucilla	Den.	RIC 769; MIR 31-4	Roma	164 - 180; 161-164-167	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-10</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317
127.	Lucilla	Den.	RIC 763; MIR 6-4	Roma	164-180: 161- 164-167	-	-	Obolos, Webauction <u>9, 25 March 2018, Lot 317-11</u>	https://nomosag.com/obolos-9/317

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**BETWEEN THE STYR AND DNIPRO RIVERS:
TWO NEW HOARDS OF ROMAN IMPERIAL
DENarii FROM UKRAINE**

Abstract: This article presents two small hoards of Roman imperial *denarii* discovered in 2020–2021 in two geographically distant regions of Ukraine: the Styr river basin in Volhynia and the middle Dnipro region. Although direct access to the coins is unavailable and only obverse images have been preserved, the information provided by the finders is sufficient for their full scholarly publication. The first hoard, consisting of 82 *denarii* (ranging from Domitian to Septimius Severus, with a predominance of coins issued under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius), was found near the village of Merva, in the Volyn region, within the contact zone of the Wielbark and Chernyakhiv cultures. The second hoard was discovered in the central region of the Chernyakhiv culture, near the village of Kapitanivka, in the Kirovohrad region, and comprises 28 coins (ranging from Trajan to Septimius Severus, again with a predominance of coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) along with a silver lunula pendant. Both hoards correspond to the Dymowski-Myzgin D-3 type, which is most characteristic of the Chernyakhiv culture. The exact time and reasons for their deposition remain unclear; however, they serve as important sources for understanding the circulation of Roman imperial *denarii* in Eastern Europe during the late Roman period and the Migration period.

Keywords: Roman Imperial *Denarii*, hoards, Eastern Barbaricum, Goths, Chernyakhiv Culture, late Roman period, Migration period

Over the past two decades, our understanding of the circulation of Roman coins in Barbaricum has undergone profound transformations. This shift has been driven by an unprecedented surge in new discovery data, largely resulting from the widespread use of metal detectors – both by professional archaeologists and treasure hunters. These developments have significantly affected hoard finds, a key category of numismatic discoveries.

Before the metal detector era, hoards were almost exclusively found by chance – for example, during construction, ploughing, or other agricultural activities. Today, however, an entire army of amateurs systematically scans fields and forests with metal detectors, often in areas that professional archaeologists would never have surveyed. In many cases, their sole objective is to find a hoard. In Ukraine, as of 2017, the estimated ratio of archaeologists to treasure hunters was approximately 1:87.¹ Under these circumstances, the number of Roman coin hoards discovered has increased exponentially compared to the early 2000s.

Unfortunately, information about these finds rarely reaches professional numismatists. The coins are often sold individually, making it nearly impossible to reconstruct the original deposits. This is why every opportunity to document newly discovered hoards is of immense importance – just as crucial as their subsequent scholarly publication.

1 Based on data from Hardy 2018, with my own calculations.

Both hoards discussed in this publication were discovered by Ukrainian metal detectorists during the difficult period of the COVID-19 pandemic. For many amateurs at that time, a “*walk in the fresh air with a detector*”² became a form of escape from reality and the constant stream of bad news – much as it is now during the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war.

The process of searching for information about hoard discoveries (if such information is ever made public) often involves hours of monitoring metal-detecting forums and social media groups, followed by efforts to obtain additional data. This activity, in itself, can be described as “information hunting.” More often than not, when receiving data from amateurs, we have little choice but to take their word for it, as we rarely have the opportunity to verify their claims.

From a methodological standpoint, this should not necessarily be seen as problematic. If we are willing to trust oral accounts of hoards recorded by non-specialists in the 19th or early 20th century, why should we reject similar information obtained today – especially when it is supported by photographs or even GPS coordinates? In my view, the negative emotions evoked by the very practice of treasure hunting should not overshadow our commitment to preserving and expanding the data on the past. The key issue lies in applying a critical approach to such information rather than dismissing it outright.

Both hoards published in this article are associated with the Gothic cultural environment, primarily with the Chernyakhiv archaeological culture (mid-3rd – early/mid-5th centuries). Roman coins constitute one of the most numerous categories of Roman imports within this area, and early imperial *denarii* account for the vast majority of them.³

The reasons and chronology of their influx have been thoroughly discussed in the scholarly literature,⁴ so there is no need to revisit the topic in detail. Briefly, however, vast amounts of Roman silver coinage arrived in Eastern Barbaricum alongside the Goths from Central Europe in the first half or the middle of the 3rd century and remained in circulation until the Migration period.

At present, no fewer than 228 hoards of Roman imperial *denarii* are known from Eastern Europe.⁵ The two hoards discussed in this paper have been included in this statistical record, but they have never been fully published. This study aims to fill that gap.

The Merva Hoard, Volyn region⁶

The hoard was discovered in mid-summer 2020. Information about it was first published by the finder on March 22nd, 2021, in one of the treasure-hunting groups on Facebook. In his post, he provided a very brief description of the discovery’s circumstances along with several general photographs of the coins. To obtain further details, I contacted the finder directly, and, through personal correspondence, I was able to gather additional information as well as obtain photographs of other coins found separately from the hoard (Fig. 1).

2 A phrase from one of the treasure-hunting forums.

3 МЫЗГИН 2013, 218.

4 Most recently: МЫЗГИН 2013, 218–223; Dymowski, Myzgin 2014.

5 Myzgin, in press.

6 In the Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire database: <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/20700> (accessed 15th April, 2025).



Fig. 1 – The hoard from Merva, Volyn region: 1 – general view of the obverse sides of the coins; 2 – the hoard shortly after discovery, including fragments of a container (a handmade ceramic vessel); 3 – the hoard shortly after discovery (Photo credit: Anonymous).

According to the finder, the hoard was discovered on a floodplain meadow used as pasture, on the left bank of the Styr river, at a depth of between 20 and 30 cm. The coins were found quite compactly (“*extracted from a single pit*”), although, according to the finder, the hoard had been ploughed. In other words, it is unclear what portion of the originally buried coins was recovered by the finder. It is also unknown whether the finder conducted further searches in the area.

Along with the coins, fragments of handmade pottery were found (two fragments, likely from the bottom of a vessel, with a dark brown colour) (Fig. 1/2). Some of the coins showed signs of bronze corrosion, which might have been caused by the presence of bronze objects in the hoard that were not discovered by the finder (Fig. 1/3). The coins themselves exhibit considerable wear.⁷

According to the finder, a total of 82 coins were discovered. Shortly after the find, the amateur took several general photographs of the obverses of 80 coins (Fig. 1/1). Unfortunately, by the time the hoard was made public, the coins had already been sold, making it impossible to obtain photographs of the reverses of these coins, or of the two missing *denarii*. Additionally, the available photographs of the coins were taken shortly after the discovery, when they were still covered in dirt. This fact significantly complicated their identification.

Based on the preserved images and fragments of legends, the composition of issuers for the hoard's coins was as follows: Domitian – 1 coin, Trajan – 3 coins, Hadrian – 12 coins (including Hadrian – 10 coins, for Sabina – 2 coins), Antoninus Pius – 26 coins (including Antoninus Pius – 9 coins, for Marcus Aurelius Caesar – 2 coins, for Faustina I – 1 coin, for Diva Faustina I – 11 coins, for Faustina II – 3 coins), Marcus Aurelius – 27 coins (including Marcus Aurelius – 16 coins, Lucius Verus – 5 coins, Faustina II – 5 coins, for Lucilla – 1 coin), Commodus – 5 coins (including Commodus – 3 coins, Divus Marcus Aurelius – 1 coin, Crispina – 1 coin), Septimius Severus – 1 coin, and 7 coins of uncertain attribution.

As can be seen, the vast majority of the coins in the hoard were minted during the Antonine dynasty (89%). According to the classification by A. Dymowski and K. Myzgin, the hoard belongs to one of the most common types of hoards found in the Barbaricum territory, including the Chernyakhiv culture, and is classified as type D-3. These hoards contain a small percentage of 1st-century coins, with the majority being from the Antonine period, while the later coins are from the emissions of Septimius Severus. The coins themselves in such deposits show significant signs of wear.⁸

According to the finder, further up from the discovery site, i.e., farther from the river, there are individual coin finds, including *denarii*, as well as a Roman provincial bronze coin of Elagabalus, issued in Marcianopolis (Fig. 2).⁹ These isolated coin finds are most likely connected to an archaeologically uninvestigated settlement, where the former owner of the hoard may have lived. The nearest excavated settlements of the Roman period are located 6-8 km to the east and northeast of the discovery site (Map 1). These include the Gumnyshche 1 settlement of the Wiel-

7 Degrees U-3 and U-4 by Frey-Kupper et al. 1995.

8 Dymowski, Myzgin 2014, 55-56; Map 2; Tab. 1.

9 Elagabalus, AE27, AD 218-222 Marcianopolis. Obv.: AYTKMAYP ANTΩNEINOC, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus, right, seen from rear; Rev.: YII[CEPI[TITI]ANOY MAPKIANOΠOΛITΩN, Nemesis-Dikaioyne standing facing forward, head left, holding scales and cornucopia; at her feet, wheel; RPC VI 1518 (temporary) <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/1518> (accessed 15th April, 2025).

bark culture, situated in the village of Gumnyshche, Volyn region,¹⁰ as well as the Chernyakhiv culture settlement of Verbyn 1 and two Wielbark culture settlements, Verbyn 2a and 2b, located near the village of Verbyn in the Rivne region.¹¹ This region is a contact zone between the Wielbark and Chernyakhiv cultures.¹²



Fig. 2 – Coin of Elagabalus (AE27, AD 218–222, Marcianopolis), discovered at a Chernyakhiv culture settlement near the findspot of the hoard (Photo credit: Anonymous).

Finds of Roman coins are not rare for the Stryi river basin or for the southern part of Volyn in general. They are mainly represented by Roman imperial *denarii*, and less frequently by Roman provincial coins, gold emissions (*aurei* and *solidi*), and antoniniani.¹³ At a distance of ca. 20 km west of the hoard under discussion, a well-known hoard was discovered near the village of Borochyche, which included at least 2,000 *denarii* (from Vespasian to Pertinax), a gold medallion of Jovian (AD 363–364), clay jug and two silver vessels.¹⁴ In 2014, six km south of Borochyche and about 20 km west of Merva, near the village of Buzhany, Volyn region, a hoard was found consisting of 265 Roman imperial *denarii* (from Domitian to Septimius Severus), as well as two silver double-plated brooches, a silver ring, a silver buckle, and an iron axe.¹⁵ Both the hoards from Borochyche and Buzhany are associated with the final stage of the Roman period in Volyn and were buried during stage D1 of the Central European chronology, i.e., in the late 4th – early 5th century.

10 Магомедов, Петраускас 2024, 53.

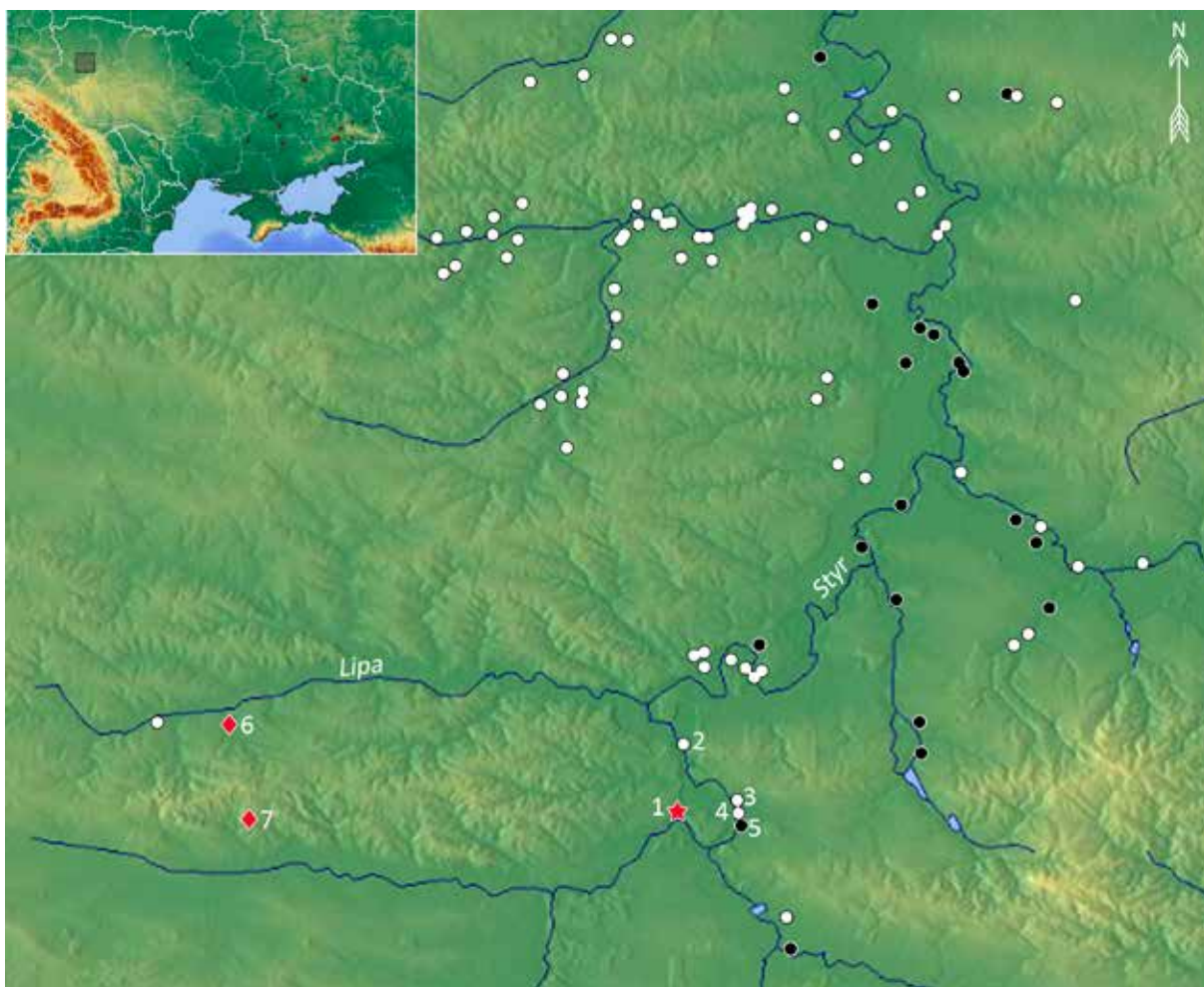
11 Магомедов, Петраускас 2024, 103.

12 Магомедов, Петраускас 2024, 35, 36.

13 Мызгин 2019; Магомедов, Петраускас 2024, 139–141 and following literature.

14 The most complete description and bibliography: Bursche 1998, 69–72; Mitkova-Szubert 1999, 137–150; the latest: Онищук 2018, 379–382; Degler 2023, 27.

15 Ройко, Кальков 2018, 70–74.



Map 1 – Roman-period archaeological sites in the basins of the Styr and Lypa rivers. White symbols – sites of the Wielbark culture; Black symbols – sites of the Chernyakhiv culture; Red symbols – Roman *denarius* hoards mentioned in the article. 1 – Merva hoard; 2 – Gumnyshche 1 site; 3 – Verbyn 2b settlement; 4 – Verbyn 1 settlement; 5 – Borochyche hoard; 6 – Buzhany hoard (Drawing: K. Myzgin).

The Kapitanivka hoard, Kirovohrad region¹⁶

The hoard was discovered on April 30th, 2020, and the detectorist published photographs of the hoard on Instagram in early May of the same year. To clarify the circumstances of the find, I contacted the finder, who shared the necessary information with me.

The deposit was found on the southwestern outskirts of the village of Kapitanivka in the Kirovohrad region (*“on the border of Cherkasy and Kirovohrad regions, near Kapitanivka in the*

¹⁶ In the Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire database: <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/20715> (accessed 15th April, 2025)

direction of the village of Zhuravka”), in a forest, on the slope of a ravine (20-30 metres from its bottom). The 28 coins were discovered at a depth of 50-60 cm, along with a silver lunula and several fragments of pottery (Fig. 3). As in the previous case, the finder provided images only of the obverses of the coins and the lunula – by the time the coins were made public, they had already been sold. The pottery fragments were neither photographed nor collected from the site. The coins show signs of wear,¹⁷ with some exhibiting traces of bronze corrosion on the surface. A small part of the lunula is broken.



Fig. 3 – General view of the obverse sides of the coins and a pendant from the Kapitanivka hoard, Kirovohrad region (Photo credit: Anonymous).

As with the Merva hoard, I carried out the identification of the coins based on the remaining images and parts of the legends on the obverses. The distribution of emperors among the issuers is as follows: Trajan – 3 coins, Hadrian – 1 coin, Antoninus Pius – 5 coins (including Antoninus Pius – 4 coins, for Diva Faustina I – 1 coin), Marcus Aurelius – 10 coins (including Marcus Aurelius – 7 coins, Divus Antoninus Pius – 3 coins), Commodus – 5 coins (including Commodus – 4 coins, Divus Marcus Aurelius – 1 coin), Septimius Severus – 1 coin, uncertain – 3 coins.

¹⁷ Mostly U-3 degree, but also U-4 by Frey-Kupper et al. 1995.

Almost all of the coins in the deposit, except for the *denarius* of Septimius Severus and excluding the three unidentified coins, belong to the period of the Antonine dynasty. As with the Merva hoard, the chronological structure of the Kapitanivka deposit corresponds to type D-3 in the Dymowski-Myzgin typology.¹⁸ However, with such a small number of coins, the margin of error in the chronological pattern may be significant.

The silver lunula from the hoard belongs to a characteristic and very common type of flat metal pendants in the Chernyakhiv culture (type I/1, according to O. Гопкало / O. Hopkalo).¹⁹ As a rule, these are dated within phase C3 – C3/D1 of the Central European chronological system, that is, within the 4th century.

According to the finder, there are no known Chernyakhiv culture settlements directly near the find site, and the closest settlement is “three kilometres from that forest.” He was likely referring to a concentration of Chernyakhiv culture settlements that, in scholarly literature, are geographically associated with the village of Turiya, in the Kirovohrad region: the settlements of Turiya 1, Turiya 1a, Turiya 2, Turiya 2a, Turiya 3.²⁰ A concentration of Chernyakhiv culture sites is also located slightly to the south, in the basin of the Velyka Vys river (Map 2).²¹

This region is also well known for numerous finds of Roman coins, primarily *denarii*.²² In fact, near the village of Turiya, two Roman imperial *denarius* hoards were discovered at different times. The first hoard²³ was found in 1929 and contained 49 coins ranging from Vespasian to Commodus, as well as several other items: seven silver rings, a silver pendant (or belt fitting?), a bronze ring and buckle, pyramid-shaped horn pendants, and beads made of amber, coral, glass, and paste.²⁴ The items from this hoard are dated to the final stage of the Chernyakhiv culture, i.e., the late 4th to early 5th century. The second hoard²⁵ was discovered in 1954 in a pot covered by the lower part of a pottery dish and contained about 200 *denarii*, dated from Nero to Septimius Severus.²⁶ It can be assumed that the hoard being published here was also hidden by a resident of one of the settlements near Turiya²⁷. However, the absence of a settlement near the find site might also be linked to the level of research conducted, so I maintain the geographical association of the hoard with the village of Kapitanivka.

The Significance of the Hoards from Merva and Kapitanivka

Both of the hoards presented here are absolutely typical coin hoards for the Chernyakhiv culture. This typicality lies not only in their chronological structure (D-3 type hoards; Graph 1) but also

18 Dymowski, Myzgin 2014, Tab. 1.

19 Гопкало 2008, 62.

20 Петраускас, Магомедов 2023, 123-124.

21 Петраускас, Магомедов 2023, 43, 121.

22 The most recent list of finds in Cherkasy and Kirovohrad regions: Петраускас, Магомедов 2023, 131-151.

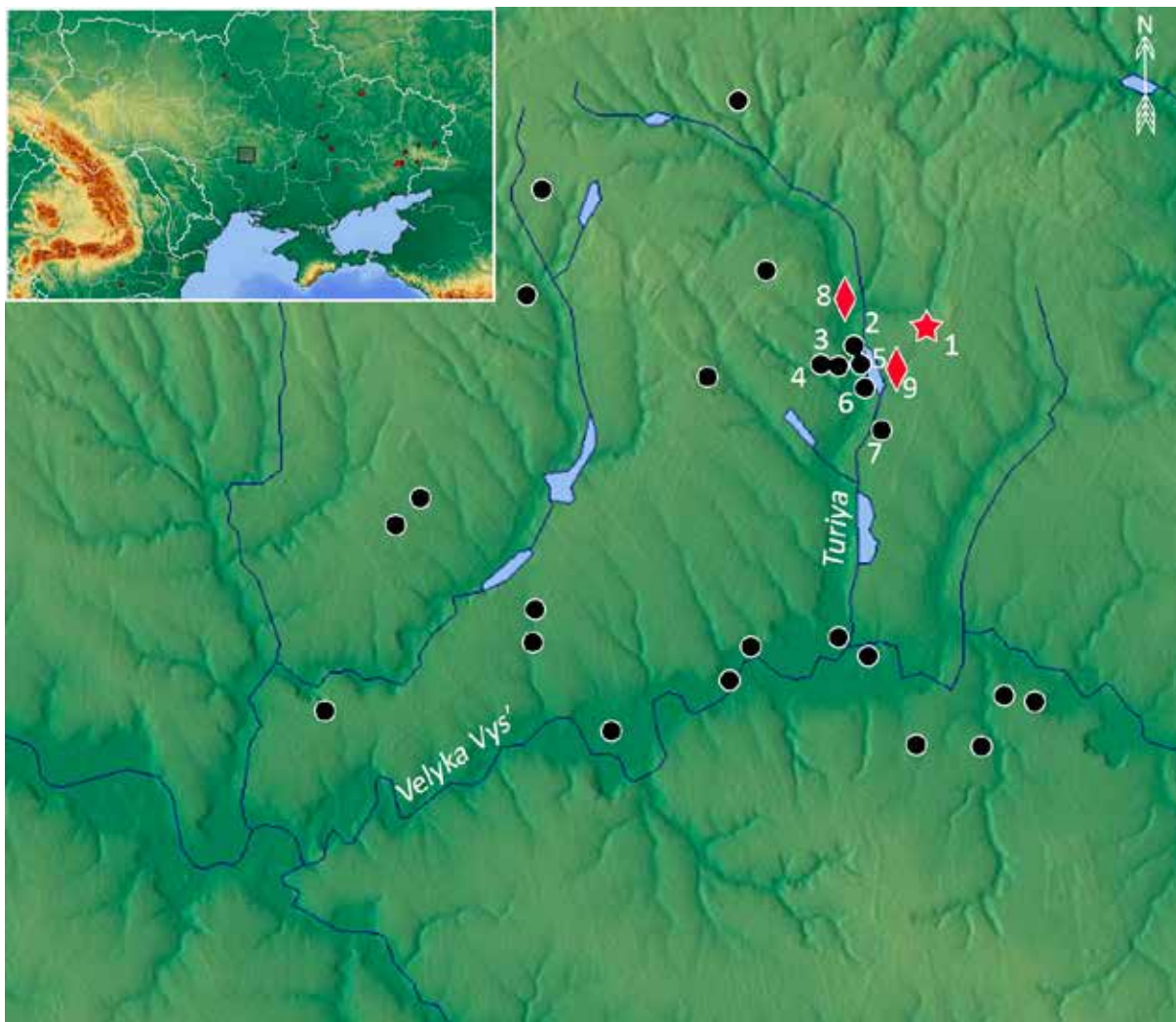
23 Turiya-1929: <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/18300> (accessed 15th April, 2025).

24 Кухаренко 1953.

25 Turiya-1954: <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/3030> (accessed 15th April, 2025).

26 Крopotкин 1961, 89, No. 1271.

27 As is often the case, the find location of a hoard is associated by treasure hunters not only with the nearest site but also with the place from where they began their search. Had the finder started the search from the village of Turiya, it is likely that they would have linked the hoard to that village instead.



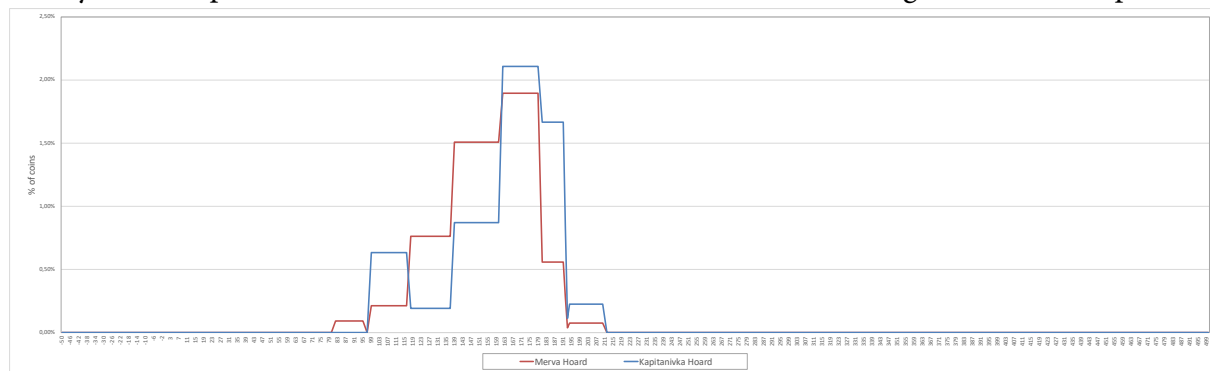
Map 2 – Roman-period archaeological sites in the basin of the Velyka Vys river. Black symbols – sites of the Chernyakhiv culture; Red symbols – Roman *denarius* hoards mentioned in the article. 1 – Kapitanivka hoard; 2 – Turiya 2a settlement; 3 – Turiya 1a settlement; 4 – Turiya 2 settlement; 5 – Turiya 1 settlement; 6 – Turiya 3 settlement; 7 – Lystopadove settlement; 8 – Turiya/1929 hoard; 9 – Turiya/1954 hoard (Drawing: K. Myzgin).

in the number of coins: hoards containing between 25 and 90 coins make up at least 20% of hoards in the Chernyakhiv area (Map 3).²⁸ These small coin deposits, in my opinion, reflect an important phenomenon: the accumulation of Roman silver was not an exclusive prerogative of the elites in the East Germanic society. It seems evident that small hoards were owned by representatives of the “middle” class. Furthermore, as I pointed out in 2020, *denarii*, whether as single pieces or small deposits, became a standard characteristic and widespread feature of everyday culture for the local barbarian population in the 4th and early/first half of the 5th century. Coins were circulating and being deposited by inhabitants of even the smallest settlements.²⁹ At the same time, we can see that large hoards were

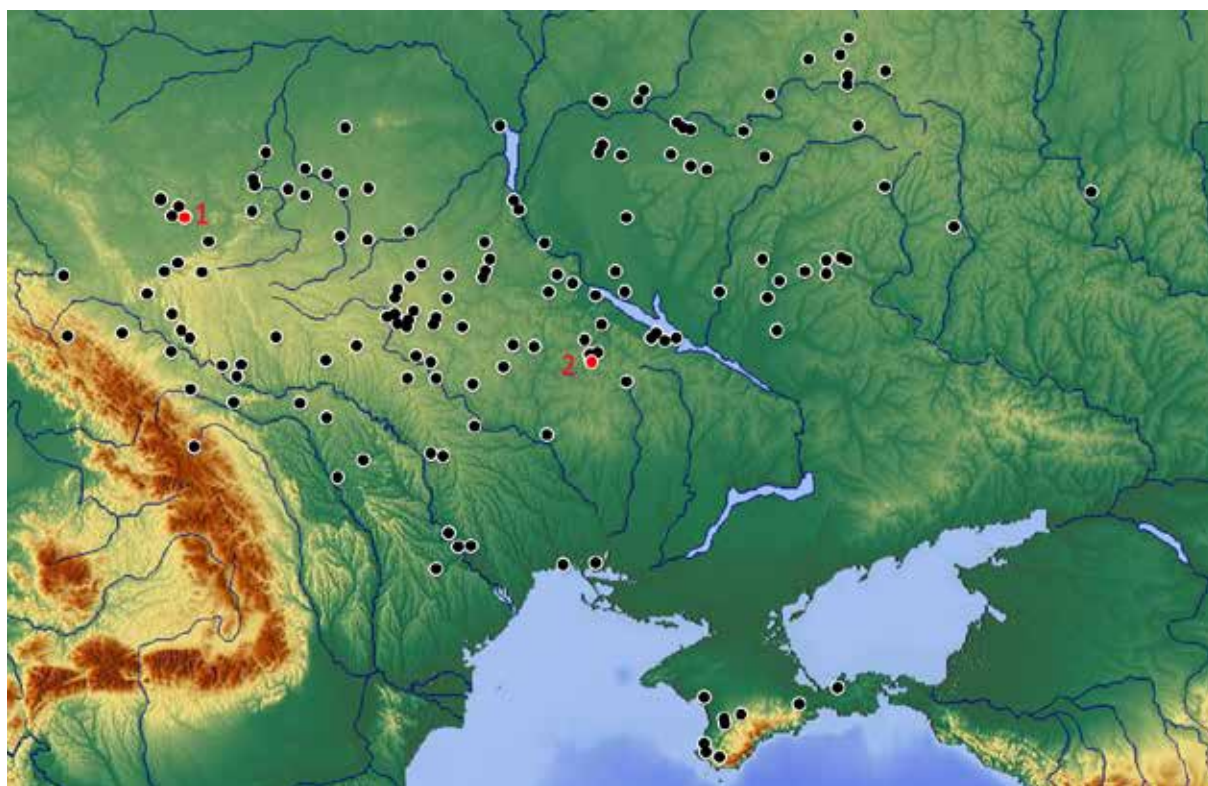
28 Cf. Dymowski et al. 2020, 234-243.

29 Коцацкий, Мызгин 2020, 468.

formed nearby, in neighbouring settlements (Borochyche, Buzhany in the case of the Merva hoard), or perhaps even in the same settlements (Turiya in the case of the Kapitanivka hoard). These large hoards were likely owned by local elites, and consisted of several hundred to several thousand *denarii*, as well as silver tableware or jewellery. This pattern is characteristic not only of the region between the Styrr and Dnipro rivers but also of the entire eastern Barbaricum during the late Roman period.



Graph 1 – Chronological pattern of the Merva and Kapitanivka hoards (based on Dymowski 2022) (Drawing: K. Myzgin).



Map 3 – Hoards of Roman imperial denarii in south-eastern Europe. 1 – Merva hoard; 2 – Kapitanivka hoard (Drawing by K. Myzgin).

The issue of the chronology and reasons behind the deposition of the hoards is exceptionally complex. The hoard from Merva lacks any chronological indicators, and the silver pendant from the Kapitanivka hoard has too broad a date range. It is believed that hoards of Dymowski-Myzgin type D were primarily deposited during the Migration period, i.e., in the late 4th to early 5th century. This is evidenced not only by the late chronology of the accompanying objects but also by the significant wear on the *denarii*, indicating their long circulation.³⁰ Furthermore, those nearest to the Merva and Kapitanivka hoards – deposits from Borochoyche, Buzhany and Turiya-1929 – have specific chronological indicators associated with the final stage of the Chernyakhiv culture (see above), which indirectly suggests a late deposition date for the Merva and Kapitanivka hoards as well. However, the reasons behind the decision to hide these hoards and why they were not retrieved are even more complicated. This issue is closely tied to the problem of the end-date of the Chernyakhiv culture. It is currently believed that the Huns did not significantly penetrate the forest-steppe zones of Eastern Europe – the majority of items associated with them have been found in the steppe zone.³¹ The Hun invasion clearly led to the evacuation of some of the Chernyakhiv population, but life after it continued in all regions of the culture for at least another half-century.³²

It is likely that, in the case of many hoards, the reasons for their deposition and the reasons why their owners did not return for them should be considered separately. As for the depositing, the reasons could not only have been upheavals but also the simple act of hiding treasure for its preservation, or even some ritualistic actions. Similarly, the reasons for the owner's failure to return could vary: it may have been forced (migration), intentional (the votive nature of the hoard), natural (death, or simply the inability to find the hiding place), or a range of other reasons. In the case of forced resettlement, these could include not only global upheavals like the Hun invasions but also local conflicts, which are not archaeologically recorded and have not become part of written sources. The issue of the time and reasons for hoard deposition should be examined on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the character and chronology of not only the deposit itself but also the character and chronology of the Roman-period sites in the microregion in general. Unfortunately, in the case of the hoards from Merva and Kapitanivka, there is little prospect of such a study.

In any case, the described hoards of *denarii* are important, if only because they expand the source base for studying the circulation of Roman coins in the eastern Barbaricum. As is often the case with findings of this provenance: once published, they are saved for science.

30 Dymowski, Myzgin 2014, 51, 55.

31 Петpayckac 2021.

32 Петpayckac 2021, 25-26.

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WASHED AWAY FORTUNE. THE COIN HOARD OF MESTERSZÁLLÁS / THE KÖRÖS RIVER¹

Abstract: A coin hoard consisting of 23 AE4 pieces from 336 to 348 was found at Mesterszállás-Telek-halomtól D-re in 2023 by metal detecting. The issues are very worn from being in constant contact with the Körös river, now only an isolated branch for agricultural cultivation. The deposition in a riverine environment raises the possibility of a religious, votive offering. This was previously not a consideration for Sarmatian hoards, but parallels can be found within the Roman Empire and in Germanic territories as well. The composition of the lowest denominations and the dating of the Mesterszállás deposition is also very rare and cannot be explained by any military event, further strengthening the possible votive interpretation.

Keywords: coin hoard, Körös river, Middle Tisza region, Late Roman, Valentinian, Sarmatians, votive hoard

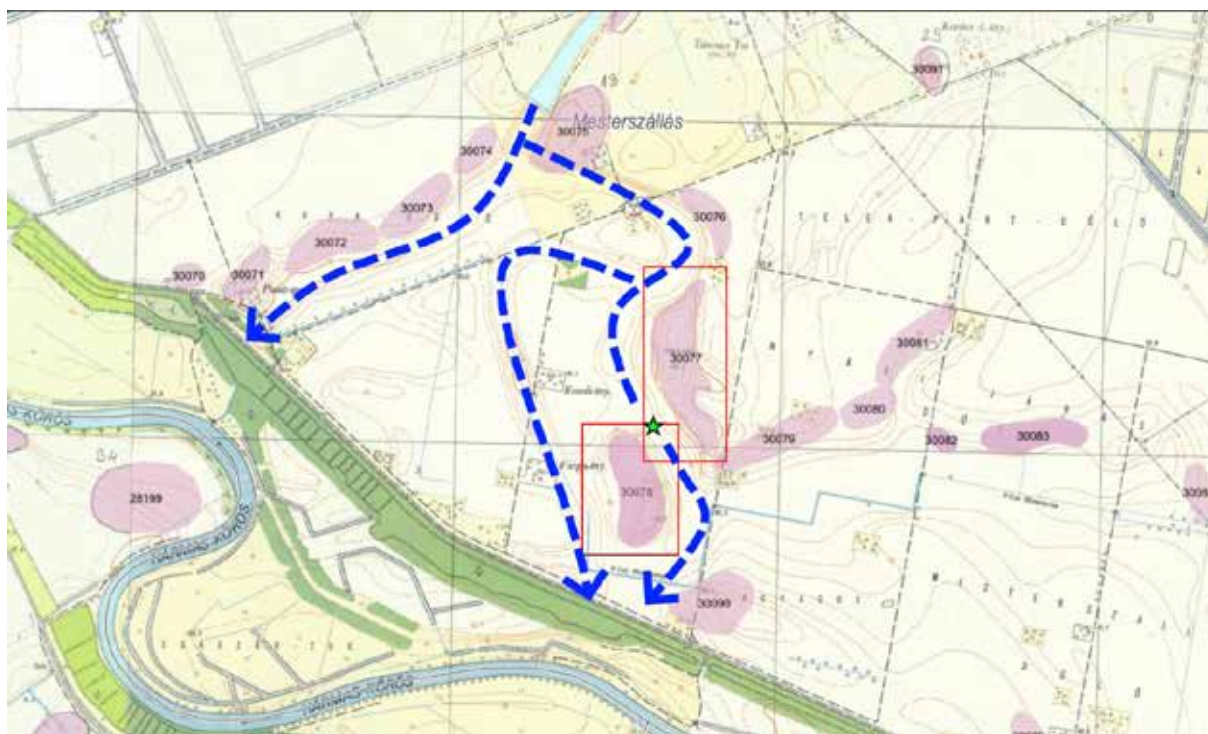
On a sunny October day in 2023 archaeologists from the Eötvös Loránd University Budapest and the Damjanich János Museum Szolnok, with the help of volunteers, conducted a non-destructive site survey with metal detectors, some 15 km southwest of Mesterszállás, south-east Hungary. During the investigation, the multiperiod site yielded a great number of metal finds including, among others, the chance recovery of 10 Roman coins next to each other. This caught the attention of the team, and so the hunt for the remainder of the hoard began, with the final number totalling 28.

The findspot of the coin hoard lies exactly between two geographical landmarks, two hummocks that are separately registered archaeological sites. The Mesterszállás–Telek-halom site is a very characteristic high bank formed by the Körös river (Fig. 1). The site has a unique appearance when viewed from the south with its striking steep wall, sometimes towering 3 m high. It also has the highest altitude point in the area, at 87.5 m. The second site is called Mesterszállás–Telek-halomtól D-re, which literally means ‘South of Mesterszállás–Telek-halom’. Despite the fact that the two hills are separately registered, with different registration numbers, the archaeological finds show no actual gap between the two. The second site also has a very characteristic appearance, an island-like hill standing out from its surroundings. It is delimited by the Körös to the south, by Mesterszállás–Telek-halom to the north-northeast and a floodplain to the west, hence its island-like characteristics. Slightly further to the north, the Száraz-ér (today IV. 53. nr. channel) arrives at the aforementioned floodplain and forks into two. The main course runs on the west side of the island-like site. The secondary course runs between the two sites where the Roman coin hoard was found in its riverbed (Map 1). The question naturally arises as to whether this was a natural crossing-point between the two sites. However, this question cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. On both sites there have been

¹ This research was made possible thanks to the support of the National Research, Development and Innovation Office – NKFIH, grant no. 143188.



Fig. 1 – The sites southwest of Mesterszállás with the coin hoard and single finds.



Map 1 – The cut off branches of the Körös river with the findspot of the hoard marked with a star.

finds from the Roman–Sarmatian period. Mesterszállás–Telek-halom was undoubtedly inhabited by the Sarmatians, as attested by the many pottery sherds found on the surface. On the island-like Mesterszállás–Telek-halomtól D-re site the Sarmatian pottery sherds are rare. A small number of Sarmatian bronze objects were found with a metal detector and this fact leads us to assume that the island-like site was not permanently inhabited and was only temporarily occupied for certain activities e.g., ritual or military purposes.

Among the other finds from the site, the earliest objects of the field survey were from the late Copper Age. Bronze tools from the early Bronze Age as well as a partly disturbed Late Bronze Age hoard were also recovered.² The Iron Age is represented by a few Early Iron Age arrowheads and a bronze socketed axe from the later phase of the Gáva culture. There were a few trilobate arrowheads of the Vekerzug culture and a bronze bow brooch. The La Tène also seems to be a rich period on the site because, among many pottery sherds, a fragment of a glass bracelet and a silver coin were found.³ Finds from the Middle Age are mostly found at Mesterszállás–Telek-halom. These results were further supplemented by colleagues of the Hungarian National Museum, who carried out a systematic field survey.⁴ At Mesterszállás–Telek-halom they collected Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and medieval pottery sherds. At the island-like Mesterszállás–Telek-halomtól D-re Neolithic, Copper Age and Late Bronze Age pottery fragments were found.

Of the total of 28 coins found, one was modern, the rest Roman: one denarius and 26 AE4. Of these, 23 came from within a 12 m radius and can be considered the hoard itself. Although denarii were in use in Barbaricum up until the 4th and even the 5th century, the Marcus Aurelius coin⁵ was found 115 m from the centre of the hoard. Not just the great distance but also the relatively good condition point to it being a stray find, not connected to the deposition. Somewhat more difficult is the question of an AE4 from 347–348 AD that fits the profile of the hoard but was found almost 80 m south of the core.⁶ Here the sheer distance makes the connection between the two doubtful. This is especially true if one considers the direction of the ploughing, which is east to west, conditioned by the geographical boundaries (the high bank, the roads and irrigation system), so it is not likely that it changed over time. Also, no other coins were found in this direction, except for the excluded denarius. In addition, the surface of this piece is not as worn, only the edges are missing. A further five 4th century coins from the Constantinian and Valentinian era were also recovered on the high bank and can be connected to the Sarmatian habitation. A very worn AE4 could, based on its appearance and material, theoretically be part of the hoard, but it was found some 600 m from it to the north.

What was striking from the beginning was their very worn state of the coins, which initially somewhat curbed the enthusiasm to work with them. Nonetheless, only in one case was it not possible to identify at all, whereas the rest could be dated to a very narrow time frame of 12 years, from 335 to 348 (Graph 1). The three earliest examples are the GLORIA EXERCITVS type with one standard minted in the last two years of Constantine I's reign: two were with the

2 The Late Bronze Age hoard is going to be analysed in a MA thesis at the ELTE Archaeological Institute. Supervisor: Gábor Váczy.

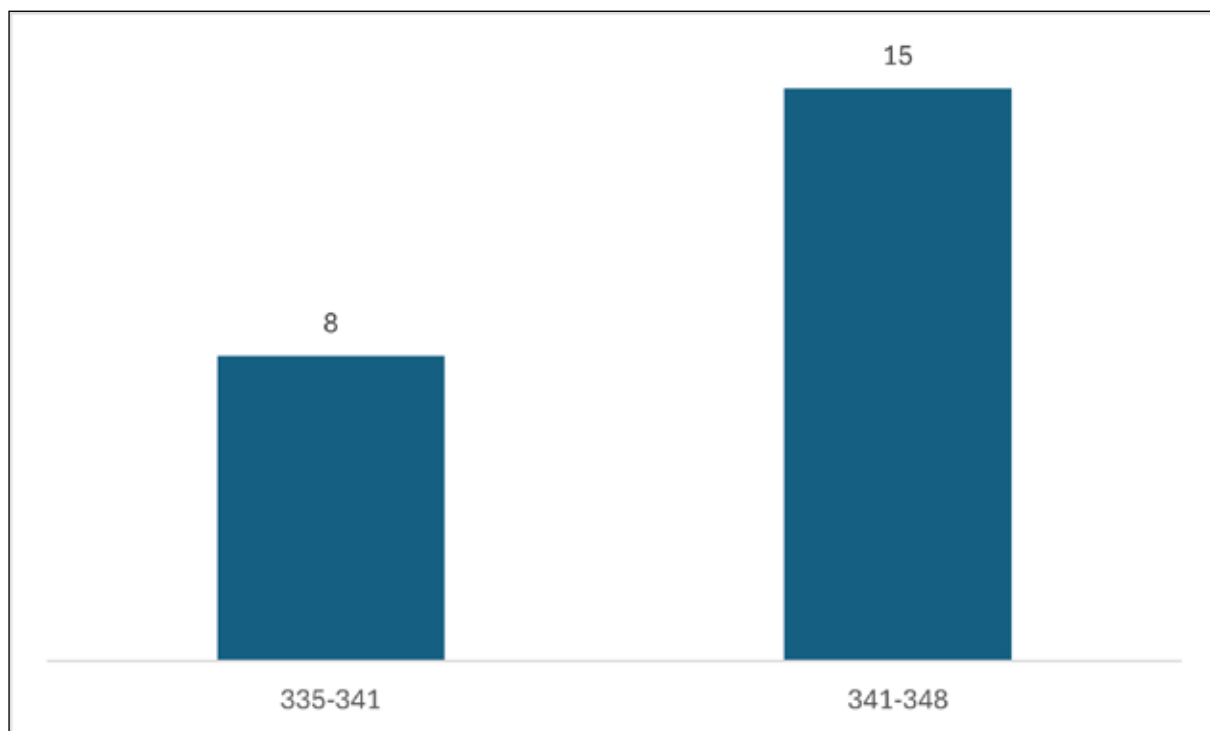
3 The Iron Age objects had been analysed in the PhD thesis of one of the authors: Péter F. Kovács.

4 The field walk was carried out by Gábor Mesterházy and his colleagues (HNM). The research was part of the Tiszazug Topographical Project.

5 http://barbaricoin.elte.hu/AFE_HU/show_coin?coin_id=5238

6 http://barbaricoin.elte.hu/AFE_HU/show_coin?coin_id=5239

obverses of his sons, while a further one could not be assigned to a ruler. In addition, three quadriga types minted for Divus Constantinus between 337 and 340 are also from the same period. The bulk of the hoard, a total of 14 pieces, were minted between 341 and 348: nine VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN types that are complemented by two VN MR and VOT XX MVLT XXX coins each.⁷ Another was also of the AE4 denomination with a wreath reverse probably also belongs to the latter reverse but without any letters preserved, although this is purely based on the other pieces in the hoard.



Graph 1 – The chronological distribution of the Mesterszállás hoard.

The very worn state of the coins makes the identification of their minting location difficult. This was only possible in 4 cases: 2 from Constantinopolis and one each from Siscia and Thessalonica. This is, of course, also true of the officina marks, only in the second two could they be identified as coming from the third officina (Γ).

Before the museum-friendly metal detectorist activities commenced, no ancient coins were known from the territory of Mesterszállás. As a result of this and the large surface excavations, the region's ancient numismatic history has changed considerably in recent years. Previously the Late Roman hoard of Öcsöd was known, discovered in 1927, during the building of the road leading to Mesterszállás. The hoard contained 2,001 coins, the greatest of its kind in the Hungarian Barbaricum.⁸ Otherwise, only a handful of stray finds were recovered from the

⁷ According to Caza the Gloria exercitus type with one standard has more mint marks without Constantine II before 340 but not many more after 341, *cf.* Caza 2022, 130.

⁸ Jónás 1930.

area: Kétpó 7 pcs, Mezőtúr 6 pcs, Öcsöd 4 pcs, Mezőhék 3 pcs. The two settlements southeast of Mesterszállás, Békésszentandrás and Szarvas, have yielded the most Roman coins with 52 and over 350 pcs respectively.⁹

The Mesterszállás hoard ceases before the monetary reform of Constantine II and Constans in 348, where larger and heavier coins were introduced. This period that produced a vast amount of FEL TEMP REPARATIO bronzes is absent from both Telek-halom sites, but well-known from the Hungarian Barbaricum. We do find a few coins from the Valentinianic dynasty though. Constans, who ruled the neighbouring territories, received the Sarmaticus title on a building inscription in Troesmis, dated to 337-340, but no conflict with this tribe is known from his later rule.¹⁰ Therefore, there are no grounds to directly connect this hoard with any military events.

The coin hoards from the Hungarian Barbaricum tend to have two closing periods, depending on their composition. The denarii assemblages end with Antonine or early Severan pieces, as is often the case outside of the Roman Empire.¹¹ The Late Roman, on the other hand, close in the Valentinianic period.¹² There is an unpublished hoard found by metal detecting at Szarvas containing Constantinian coins, although the closing date is unknown.¹³ This could potentially be the only other assemblage ending with Constantinian pieces besides the one from Mesterszállás. This closing date for aes is rare in the Barbaricum area. A small hoard containing only 6 AE4 pieces between 337 and 348 from Satu Mare is the only relevant one in our case.¹⁴ The Vršec hoard comprises over 3,000 pieces minted by Constantine I and his sons Constantine II and Constantius II.¹⁵

Constantinian coins are the most proliferant in the whole of the Pannonian coin circulation, and can be also be found in numerous hoards, at least where the territory of Hungary is concerned. These show a primary concentration around the Ripa: *Ad Statuas* (95 AE – 351-354),¹⁶ *Aquincum* (33 AE Constantine I and Constantius II),¹⁷ *Brigetio* (163 AE – 348-350),¹⁸ *Campona* (10,585 AE – 333),¹⁹ and *Perbál* (736 AE – 351-354).²⁰ In addition to the previously known hoard from *Brigetio*, four new ones have been discovered in recent years, all from legionary baths.²¹ Other hoards are located more inland than the previously listed assemblages:

9 This data is based on my own research collected in the Barbaricoin database. http://barbaricoin.elte.hu/AFE_HU/ Around 200 pcs from Szarvas are from two recently discovered 4th century hoards.

10 The conflict with the Quadi and the Sarmatians in 357-359 is too late to connect it with this hoard, cf. Kovács 2022, 326-331, 365-385.

11 Dymowski et al. 2020, 208-211.

12 For the ones closing with the Valentinianic dynasty cf. Juhász 2024. The unpublished hoard from Újfehértó is mentioned by Istvánovits 2002, 281. Another unpublished hoard from Szarvas containing c. 150 aes also closes with Valentinianic pieces and was discovered by metal detectorists.

13 The large unpublished hoard from Mezőberény is similar, with over 1,500 Late Roman aes. It was also found by metal detecting, again without a closing date.

14 Grumeza 2019, 76, I-40-2/1.1.

15 Berkeszi 1907, 45.

16 FMRU III, 43.

17 Wellner 1959, 255.

18 FMRU III, 215-218.

19 Alföldi 1921.

20 Vida 2020, 61.

21 Bartus et al. 2024, 462-464. The newest ones are unpublished, but all are of modest numbers.

Aba (90 AE – 337-340),²² Alsóhetény (larger amount of Constantius II and Gallus AE alongside a few gold and silver coins),²³ Becsehely (10 AE – 350-358),²⁴ Kethely (90 pcs – 268-319)²⁵ and possibly Őcsény (29 AE – 351-361).²⁶ Interestingly, none of the closing dates correspond to the Mesterszállás deposition.

The intense wear of the hoard is surprising even for Barbaricum. The explanation lies in the geography of the findspot but not in the soil, since the use of fertilisers today are ubiquitous. The high bank next to the site was formed by the meanders of the Körös river. This was regulated, especially in the last three centuries²⁷ and this branch in question was cut off from the main river, as can still be seen on satellite images (Fig. 1). The coins came from the vicinity of the old riverbed, now under agricultural cultivation and could have been moved somewhat by the changing water levels or ploughing. The intense wear could, thus, be explained by the constant contact with water. A similar situation can be observed with other hoards and stray finds from wet areas, rivers, springs and baths, these places having been frequented for offerings since the Bronze Age.²⁸ This again would open a new dimension of interpretation, namely the votive deposition, a possibility not considered earlier in connection with Sarmatian coin hoards. This would be supported by the fact that the hoard is comprised of the lowest denomination pieces. However, when crossing wetlands, one also has to bear in mind the possibility of the accidental loss of objects.²⁹

Coins as votive offerings from Barbaricum are rare.³⁰ The possibility of ritual placement usually arises with coins found in riverine, marshy, or moorland areas, or under larger stones or columns.³¹ Several depositions from Poland have been interpreted as having a cultic background. Two hoards from Wolany may have been found at a nearby spring but nothing certain is known about the context. Only very limited information is available, one assemblage had a Greek coin and 2nd to early 3rd century denarii, two of them plated.³² The other consisted of 35 late Roman coins, of which only five minted by the Constantine dynasty were identified.³³ At Buczek, Roman money was found at a depth of 40 cm at the bottom of a dried-up lake, along with bones or weapons, 1,800 amber beads, glass beads, 5 fibulae, 2 pendants, a ring and ceramic fragments.³⁴ These were most

22 FMRU I, 22-23.

23 Harsányi 1921, 55.

24 Huszár 1958, 63.

25 It is possibly the same hoard of which 16 pcs (Maxentius, Licinius I, Constantine I) entered the collection of the main gymnasium at Győr. Börzsönyi 1915, 98. *cf.* Duncan 1993, 27. It is unclear where Duncan acquired the information on this hoard. He also does not mention the county of Kéthely; thus, it is not the Kéthely in Somogy County as listed in the CHRE but rather Kethely or Répceketely, once Sopron County, today's Mannersdorf an der Rabnitz in Austria, <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/2909> (accessed 10th March, 2025).

26 Prohászka-Torbágyi 2017, 197-198.

27 For before the regulations and the time prior to that *cf.* Dóka 1997, 13-39.

28 Geisslinger 1967, 32; Šašel Kos 2001, 43-45; Bland 2018, 14. An unpublished Late Roman hoard found in the Danube at the fort of Contra Florentiam (Dunafalva) also shows similarly intense wear.

29 Ciołek 2008, 164.

30 The Scandinavian moor offerings, like the famous e.g., Illerup Ådal and Nydam, were primarily weapon sacrifices also containing coins as part of soldiers' equipment, *cf.* Horsnæs 2010, 71-75.

31 Geisslinger generally included topographically unusual locations as sacrificial sites and did not focus only on coins in his work. The Germanic tribes venerated some stones as cultic objects, *cf.* Geisslinger 1967, 31-34.

32 <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/13567> (accessed 10th March, 2025).

33 <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/13568> (accessed 10th March, 2025).

34 Ciołek 2008, 165.

likely deposited in the marsh, since the findspot is a known place for offering various materials from the 2nd to the 4th century AD. Near Karlino in Poland, 7 solidi (Valentinian I-Leo I), 6 bracteates, a gold ring with runic inscriptions, 2 additional rings, gold fragments and a gold-coloured glass bead were found buried deep in the peat.³⁵ The assemblage is also considered to be a cultic deposition. At Koszalin, two solidi (Theodosius II and Marcianus) were found in the bog, and a gold coin of Theodosius II and Anastasius I was discovered under a large stone.³⁶ At Kędzierzyn, an unknown number of gold coins were also found in the bog, which may also have been the result of a cultic deposition.³⁷

Several cultic hoards are also known from Denmark in connection with water. The most considerable, with approximately 428 silver coins, was found at Råmose moor.³⁸ H. Horsnæs also considers assemblages from marginal wetland areas “a group should be interpreted as deliberate and most probably religious depositions”. The hoards in question always comprise denarii of varying numbers: Bagsværd (45 pcs), Ledøje (7 pcs), Fangel Mose (?), Hvornum Kvær (23 pcs), Orup (109 pcs), Præstemosen (160 pcs) and Testrup Teglværk (8 pcs).

Smaller amounts of Roman coins were deposited in the Germanic territories over a wide geographical area, although little is known about their religious or cultic background.

Coin hoards from within the Roman Empire in connection with wet areas are primarily known from its western regions. These are generally very worn due to the contact with water, especially where copper alloys are concerned, which comprise the overwhelming majority of these finds. This is in line with today’s practices of still feeling the need to offer a coin but only of a low value that is easy to part with.

The closest parallel to the Mesterszállás hoard was found by metal detectorists in the Netherlands, at Berlicum, in the Aa river.³⁹ This had also been canalized, but recently some parts have been restored to their original flow. Here, 105 bronze coins, mainly asses and sestertii (Vespasian-Marcus Aurelius) as well as four denarii (Republican-Trajan), were recovered.⁴⁰ The former ones were very corroded, and the considerable wear made the identification of many pieces impossible. These were found at a natural ford in the river, where they were small offerings for the crossing, accumulated over an extended period. Such a votive hoard is very rare in the Netherlands.⁴¹ A stream was also the findspot for the hoard of Saint-Just in France. The 152 aes from the 2nd century were recovered while extracting gravel from the Ardèche river, and these could also have been deposited as a votive offering.⁴²

Springs and baths were more frequently places for offerings, the largest ones being held sacred and, thus, venerated for centuries.⁴³ Modest amounts were deposited by the visitors, who

35 FMRP Pommern 101-102/144; Ciołek 2008, 165-166.

36 FMRP Pommern 110-111/162-163; Ciołek 2008a, 166.

37 FMRP Pommern 106-107/150.

38 She also lists single finds from wetland areas, cf. Horsnæs 2010, 76-86.

39 De Groot et al. 2019, 50-55.

40 <https://portable-antiquities.nl/pan/#/ensemble/public/53> (accessed 10th March, 2025).

41 The article also mentions two other votive offerings but does not specify the nature of them. However, they were both found in rivers. <https://www.brabantserfgoed.nl/page/8533/een-romeinse-muntvondst-bij-de-aa> (accessed 10th March, 2025).

42 TAF V.1, 92. no. 4.

43 This could also be because springheads are more easily discovered and researched than rivers. For a summa-

wished to honour the gods and regain their health as a result. Nonetheless, these could accumulate an considerable number of coins during their long usage. A total of 13,490 pieces (Marc Anthony-Gratian) were recovered from Coventinas Well, located near Hadrian's Wall next to the fort of Carrawburgh.⁴⁴ A slightly smaller amount, 12,595 pieces, were found at the sacred spring of Sulis Minerva at Bath (Celtic-Late Roman).⁴⁵ Over 4,500 were uncovered in the Roman catchment installation (Puisard Romain) at the hot springs of Bourbonne-les-Bains.⁴⁶

Smaller offerings are known from a larger geographical area. From a well at Colchester (22 Crouch Street) in Britain came 173 coins (Trajan-Honorius), all copper alloys except for a miliarensis.⁴⁷ In Gaul, at Corlier, 213 coins (Claudius-Valens) were recovered from the source of a stream that are interpreted as having been offered to its divinity, which is supported by the small denominations deposited.⁴⁸ In Auvergne, two votive depositions were discovered at mineral water springs. Some 149 copper coins were found at Coren, of which 79 could be identified (Augustus-Marcus Aurelius).⁴⁹ In the neighbouring Saint-Flour, at a mineral water spring (Fontaine des Romains), an unknown number of coins, primarily middle and great bronzes from the 1st and 2nd century AD, were discovered in 1891.⁵⁰

In Raetia, at Horgauergreut, 30 aes were found at a Roman spring tapping. The 8 coins that could be identified range from Hadrian to Commodus.⁵¹ Not far from the previous deposition, many Roman bronze coins were discovered at the spring of Hegenbach, at Friedberg.⁵² At Wartenstein, Lower Austria, 6 coins (a dupondius and asses from Augustus to Claudius) were recovered near a spring.⁵³

Also of interest is the rock shelter Pod Gričo, at Godič in Slovenia,⁵⁴ where the Ribnik brook has its source, with a marsh glen before its entrance.⁵⁵ Here the two natural phenomena are combined and were supplemented by an 8-metre-long corridor built of stones leading into the cave, where animal bones, pottery, lamps, silver votive tablets, and coins from the 1st to the 5th century were uncovered. Also closely linked, although not coming from the water itself, is a Roman sanctuary under St. John's church at an outlet of Lake Bohinj. It is surrounded with water on 3 sides, and 144 Roman coins of low denomination were found from the 1st to the 4th century, along with some animal bones, ceramics and 7 fibulae.⁵⁶

As shown by the examples above, water also played an important role for depositing coins in smaller and sometimes even in greater amounts in the Roman Empire. This is primarily true

ry of hoards from Roman baths *cf.* Juhász fourth.

44 The original number was more likely around 16,000 pcs., *cf.* Allen-Jones, McKay 1985, 2-12, 50-52.

45 Walker 1988, 281-285.

46 Sauer 2005, 1-19.

47 Hull 1958, 245-248.

48 TAF V.1, 36. no. 49.

49 TAF VII, 68. no. 9.

50 TAF VII, 68. no. 10.

51 FMRD I.7, 104. no. 7026.

52 FMRD I.7, 161. no. 7097.

53 <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/13287> (accessed 10th March, 2025).

54 I am indebted to my dear friend and colleague Mirjana Vojvoda for bringing the Slovenian assemblages to my attention.

55 Šašel Kos 2000, 32-33; Šašel Kos 2001, 46.

56 Josipović et al. 2012, 389-395.

for its western part and could be as a result of researchers paying more attention to this type of interpretation or the lack of research, and not so much because of differences between the Latin and Greek parts of the realm, since offerings in wells and fountains are also ubiquitous today.

When comparing these depositions with the ones from Barbaricum, there are some important differences. The Romans tended to architecturally frame their water related cultic, healing activities, while in the barbarian territories this was done in a more natural environment. This also means that the Roman ones are also more easily discovered archaeologically, and the interpretation of the latter can be more problematic. The other important difference is the denominations. While the Romans primarily used low value coins, in Barbaricum it was mainly silver or sometimes gold. This can be explained by the fact that outside of the empire, copper coins were far less numerous than precious metal ones. Nonetheless, the many examples from two different cultural backgrounds and the vast area could imply that the same practice could also have emerged independently among the Sarmatians, even if we have no prior parallel or literary sources for this practice. “The tradition of wanting to appease a river deity by throwing more or less precious objects into the water (...), persisted throughout the Iron Age and Roman period, and it proved extremely difficult to uproot.”⁵⁷ The coin hoard from Mesterszállás is not just peculiar in the sense that it could be the first river deposition, but it is also one of the very rare examples of an AE 4 assemblage closing in 348 AD found either in Barbaricum or the neighbouring Roman territories.

57 Šašel Kos 2000, 34.

CATALOGUE

Cat. no.	Issuer / family member	Date	Denom.	Wt. (g) Axis (mm)	Type	Mint	RIC
1	Constans caesar	335-337	AE4	1.36 12	<i>Gloria exercitus</i> with one standard	/	/
2	Sons of Constantine I	335-337	AE4	0.89 12	<i>Gloria exercitus</i> with one standard	/	/
3	Sons of Constantine I	335-337	AE4	1.36 12	<i>Gloria exercitus</i> with one standard	/	/
4	Sons of Constantine I	335-341	AE4	0.98 6	<i>Gloria exercitus</i> with one standard	/	/
5	Sons of Constantine I	335-341	AE4	1.05 12	<i>Gloria exercitus</i> with one standard	/	/
6	Constantine II/ Constantius II	337-340	AE4	1.4 6	Divus Constantinus quadriga	Constantinopolis No legend -/-//CONSS?d	37
7	Constantine II/ Constantius II	337-340	AE4	1.07 12	Divus Constantinus quadriga	/	/
8	Constantine II/ Constantius II	337-340	AE4	1.33 12	Divus Constantinus quadriga	/	/
9	Constans	341-348	AE4	1.5 11	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	Thessalonica -/-//SMTSΓ	101
10	Constans	341-348	AE4	1.37 7	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	Siscia -/-//•ΓSIS•	185
11	Constans	341-348	AE4	1.08 12	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
12	Constans	341-348	AE4	0.98 6	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
13	Constans	341-348	AE4	1.31 12	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
14	Constans	341-348	AE4	1.38 12	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
15	Constans/ Constantius II	341-348	AE4	0.95 12	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
16	Constans/ Constantius II	341-348	AE4	0.81 6	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
17	Constans/ Constantius II	341-348	AE4	0.61 6	VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	/	/
18	Constantius II	341-348	AE4	1.2 12	VN MR	Constantinopolis -/*//CONSS?d	75
19	Constantius II	341-348	AE4	1.23 12	VN MR	/	/
20	Constans/ Constantius II	341-348	AE4	1.07 12	VOT XX MVLT XXX	/	/
21	Constans/ Constantius II	341-348	AE4	0.52 6	VOT XX MVLT XXX	/	/
22	Constans/ Constantius II	341-348	AE4	0.66 6	VOT wreath	/	/
23	House of Constantine	/	AE4	0.72 /	/	/	/

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LATE ROMAN COIN HOARD FROM DABER, TOLMIN REGION, SLOVENIA

Abstract: A hoard of Roman coins was discovered using a metal detector in the forest northwest of the village of Daber on the Šentviška Planota Plateau, located in the Municipality of Tolmin, Slovenia. The find was subsequently handed over to the Tolmin Museum. This remarkable find consists of 77 bronze coins, one of which is pierced. The coins were buried under a rock, approximately 20 cm deep. The site is situated approximately 250 metres northeast of the Iron Age burial ground at Na Dobcu, near the village of Daber. The settlement associated with the burial site has not been archaeologically investigated, but based on the archaeologically indicative toponym and the Iron Age and Roman finds discovered there, it was likely located at Arbišče, south of the burial site.

The Daber hoard closely parallels those from the Moste, Godič, and Samatorza caves, both in composition and context, suggesting a votive purpose. Common features include deposition in hidden locations with ritual objects and a concentrated coin distribution. All hoards contain a *Gloria Romanorum* 11 issue of Honorius from the early 5th century, linking them to a period of crisis in the western Roman Empire.

Keywords: North-western Slovenia, Šentviška Planota Plateau, coin hoards, archaeological find, Roman coins, 4th century

Introduction

The Šentviška Planota Plateau, a rugged karst region located above the valleys of the lower Idrijca and Bača rivers in northwest Slovenia, lacks significant permanent flowing water. Only a few modest springs and torrents emerge during heavy rainfall. From its northern edge, high above the Bača Gorge, where the dominant hill of Črvov vrh (974 m) stands, the plateau gradually slopes downward toward its southern and western borders, with an average elevation of 600 metres.¹

In addition to its naturally protected position, the plateau's fertile lands suitable for farming, its forests, and former iron ore deposits highlight its historical potential for settlement. This is supported by numerous archaeological toponyms, such as Gradišče, Vrh Gradu, Grad, Merišček, Vahtarišče, Gomila, and Ajdovski Britof,² as well as ancient legends about Attila's grave, a buried golden calf, wild people, ore seekers, and bear hunters. While the Šentviška Planota Plateau has not been extensively explored archaeologically, accidental

1 Laharnar, Mlinar 2008, 476; Laharnar, Mlinar 2013, 18-19.

2 The toponyms Gradišče, Grad, and Merišček suggest possible settlements from archaeological periods, while Gomila and Ajdovski Britof indicate the potential presence of prehistoric or Roman cemeteries.

discoveries serve as reminders of its archaeological significance, suggesting that it was likely inhabited during the Late Bronze Age and throughout the Iron Age, the Roman period, and the Middle Ages.³

During the Iron Age, the plateau acted as an economic hinterland for the important settlement at Most na Soči.⁴ The road connecting the Soča Valley to inner Slovenia, which crossed the Šentviška Planota Plateau until the 19th century, played a crucial role in the region's historical development, in contrast to the modern route, which now runs through the Idrijca Valley.⁵

Archaeological sites near the village of Daber (Map 1)

The archaeological significance of the Šentviška Planota Plateau is also highlighted by the archaeological sites near the village of Daber, which lies approximately 1 km east of Šentviška Gora, the central settlement on the plateau. Among other discoveries, a coin hoard was found near this village, which is the subject of the present article.

The archaeological site near the current field next to a homestead, Na Dobcu (Ajdovski Britof) to the west of the village of Daber, has been known since 1890. Here, the Trieste scholar Carlo Marchesetti excavated 19 Iron Age cremation graves, with the finds now housed in the City Museum of Antiquities J. J. Winckelmann in Trieste (Italy).⁶

The economic strength of the Soča Valley region during the Iron Age, particularly the development of the central settlement at Most na Soči, was supported by the inhabitants' control over the most important iron ore deposits in the Bohinj hinterland, as well as the nearby deposits on the Šentviška Planota Plateau. These ore deposits were largely exhausted in the past, which is why modern geological maps no longer record them.⁷ Significant evidence of past mining and metallurgical activities on the plateau includes iron ore,⁸ semi-finished iron products, slag, and oral tradition, which tells of the "Kroparji" (ironworkers) who mined iron ore near the village of Daber.⁹ After World War II, modest iron ore deposits near to the homestead of Na Dobcu were also explored.¹⁰

Mining and ironworking were likely the activities connected to the development of the settlement at Arbišče, an extensive and sprawling ridge between the villages of Zakraj and Daber. Although the site has not yet been archaeologically investigated, it has been confirmed by archaeological finds discovered with a metal detector. Excavated Iron Age and Roman artifacts suggest that the settlement area was inhabited intermittently, from the Late Hallstatt period (5th–4th century BC) to the Late Roman period or the end of the 4th century AD.

3 Mlinar et al. 2018.

4 About site see: Marchesetti 1893; Gabrovec 1987; Teržan, Trampuž 1973; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1984; Teržan, Lo Schiavo, Trampuž Orel 1985; Svoljšak, Dular 2016; Dular, Tecco Hvala (eds.) 2018.

5 Kofol 1998, 75–88; Laharnar, Mlinar 2008, 476.

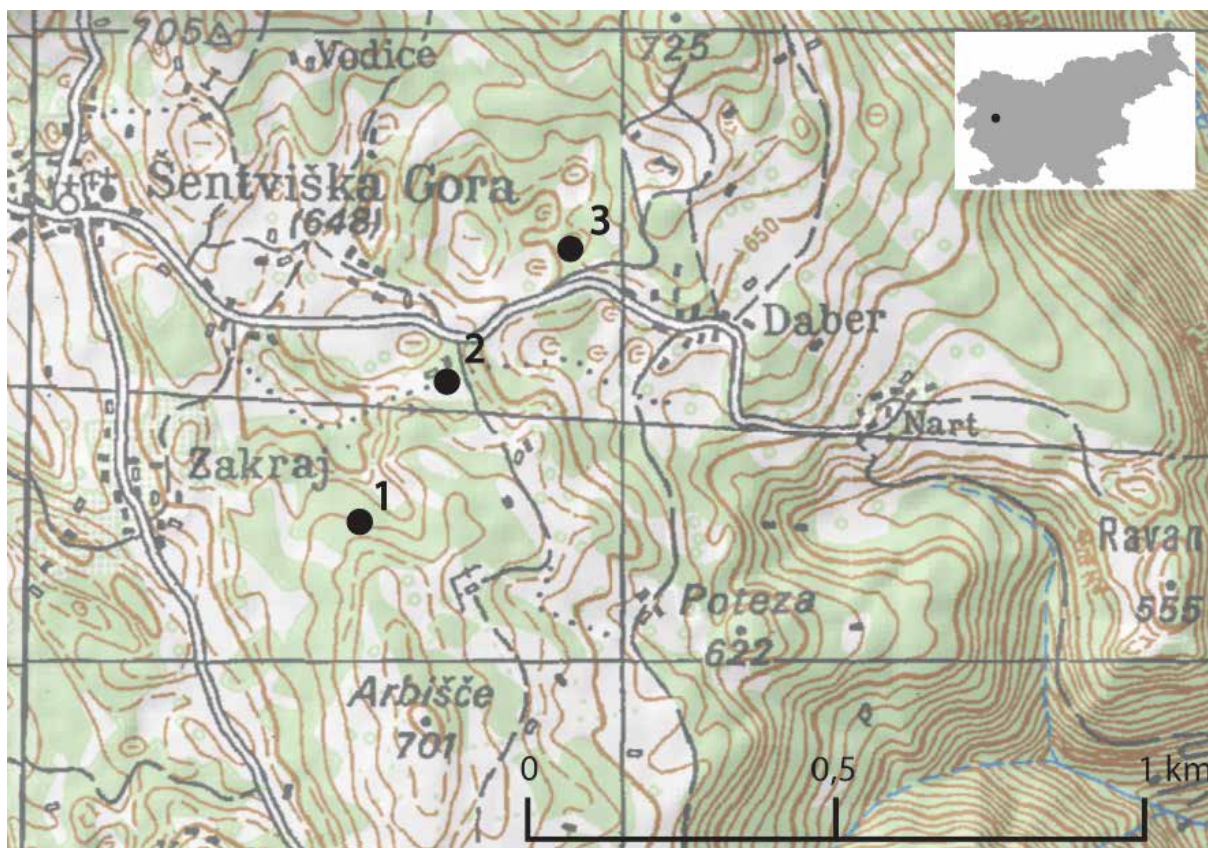
6 Marchesetti 1891, LII; Mlinar et al. 2018.

7 Gabrovec 1987, 142.

8 Laharnar 2018, 376.

9 Trošt 1968a, 400.

10 Trošt 1968b, 431; Laharnar 2018, 376.



Map 1 – Archaeological sites near the settlement of Daber on the Šentvid Planota Plateau: 1 – Arbišče (area of an Iron Age and Roman settlement), 2 – Na Dobcu / Ajdovski Britof (Iron Age cemetery), 3 – Late Roman coin hoard. Map created by Jerica Brečić.

The group of sites near the village of Daber also includes a Late Roman coin hoard, which was discovered and excavated by a finder in a forest to the northwest of the village and handed over to the Tolmin Museum for permanent storage. The coins were buried beneath a rock, approximately 20 cm deep (Fig. 1). The site is situated approximately 250 metres northeast of the aforementioned Iron Age cemetery at Na Dobcu, with the settlement area at Arbišče located to the southwest.



Fig. 1 – Location of the coin hoard beneath a limestone rock near Daber (Photo by Miha Mlinar).

Description of the coin hoard

The coin hoard comprises 77 bronze coins, dating from 253 to 423 AD (see Coin Catalog). The oldest coin is an antoninianus minted by Emperor Gallienus for his wife, Salonina, between 253 and 257 AD. Additionally, there are eleven more antoniniani: six from Gallienus' sole reign (263–268 AD), one minted again for Salonina, three issued under Emperor Claudius II, and the most recent, an antoninianus of Emperor Maximian.

These are followed chronologically by three radiates of Emperor Maximian, minted between 296 and 298, and two nummi issued by Emperors Constantine I and Licinius, dating from 316 to 318. The hoard also includes ten centenionales of the Constantinian dynasty, minted between 320 and 348 AD, in various types, with the most common being the *Gloria Exercitus* type, which features one or two military standards.

The hoard is dominated by coins from the minting periods 348–364 and 364–378, as shown in Graph 1, which illustrates the distribution of coins by minting periods¹¹. The period 348–364 is characterized by the prevalence of *Fel Temp Reparatio* coins from various series. These coins replaced the centenionalis, introduced in 348 by Constantius II and Constans. The inscription

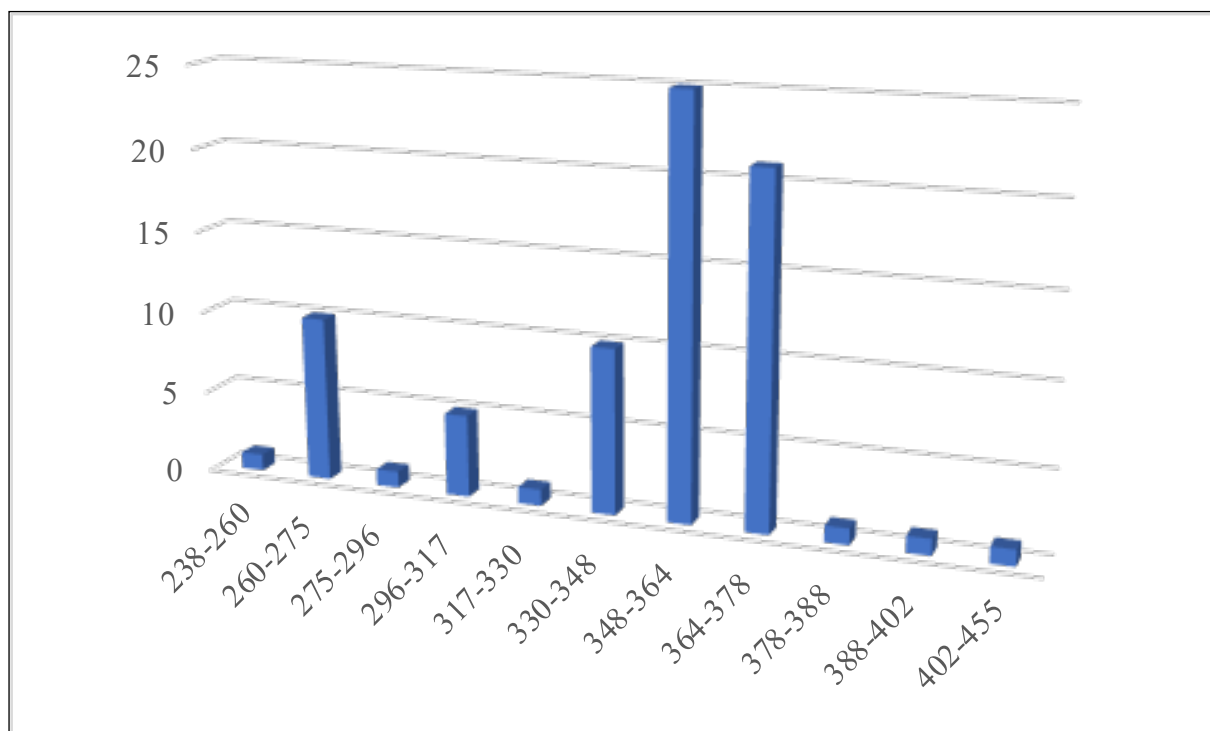
¹¹ The minting periods are based on Reece's study (Reece 1972, 271).

Fel Temp Reparatio, meaning “Restoration of Happy Times,” reflects efforts to stabilize the empire following the civil wars that erupted after the death of Constantine the Great. They were minted in large quantities for Constantius II and his two Caesars, Constantius Gallus and Julian, while smaller issues were produced for Constans and the usurper Magnentius.¹²

The period 364–378 is defined by the *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas Reipublicae* types, which circulated throughout the empire. Although monetary systems in the western and eastern parts of the empire differed, particularly in precious metals, Emperor Valentinian I recognized the importance of a unified currency for maintaining imperial cohesion. Together with his brother Valens, he issued *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas Reipublicae* coins with identical motifs and inscriptions across all imperial mints.¹³

An analysis of monetary circulation in present-day Slovenia confirms that the majority of coins from the second half of the 4th century belong to the minting period 364–378 and primarily consist of the *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas Reipublicae* types.¹⁴

The most recent coin in the hoard is a bronze AE3 of the *Gloria Romanorum* 11 type, issued by Emperor Honorius and minted in Siscia between 408 and 423. Coins of this type mark the end of the regular influx of coins into circulation in the territory of present-day Slovenia.¹⁵



Graph 1 – Distribution of coins from the Daber hoard by minting periods.

12 For more details on the *Fel Temp Reparatio* type, including the research history and dating of various series, see Caza 2019.

13 Pearce 1997, xvii-xix.

14 Miškec forth.

15 Kos 2000, 110.

At first glance, the hoard is not homogeneous: it includes coins spanning 170 years, some of which are heavily worn. One shows signs of burning (Cat. 17), while one of the oldest is even pierced (Cat. 1). The hole in the coin is irregular in shape – almost triangular or semi-circular – and is located near the edge of the right side, in front of the emperor’s portrait. It was made with a sharp object using significant force from the obverse, as indicated by the raised impact marks on the reverse (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 – Antoninianus of Emperor Gallienus with a visible hole near the edge (Photo by Jasmina Slapnik).

Intentionally perforated Roman coins, typically with a hole near the edge, are a common example of their secondary use. These perforations may have served decorative, practical, magical, or religious purposes. The practice dates back to pre-Roman times when Greeks, Celts, and peoples of the Near East and North Africa occasionally perforated coins, albeit on a limited scale. However, it became more widespread with the expansion of Roman currency across the empire and the general adoption of a monetary economy. Perforations remained most common in the western provinces, particularly in Gaul, Germania, and northern Italy.¹⁶

Perforated coins were made from all metals—gold, silver, and bronze. However, their overall share did not exceed 1%. Within the Roman Empire, coins from the 1st and 3rd centuries were commonly perforated, whereas in Barbaricum, this practice was primarily associated with gold coins from the 3rd century onward.¹⁷

Discussion

When interpreting a group of coins that were likely, though not necessarily, deposited all at once in a remote yet accessible location near a trade route, we can confidently classify it as a coin hoard. A coin hoard is a collection of coins intentionally buried together at a specific time, typically to be retrieved later. While some hoards may have had coins added to them over time, they are generally considered “closed groups” of related items.¹⁸

16 Juhász 2019, 91, 97-100.

17 Doyen 2013.

18 Aitchison 1988, 271.

The interpretation of buried coin hoards has evolved. In the early 20th century, scholars believed hoards were buried out of fear of external threats, and this view dominated for many years. Starting in the 1970s, researchers expanded the understanding, suggesting various motives for hoarding, such as wealth preservation or accidental loss. They introduced categories like “emergency hoards” and “savings hoards”, shifting from a singular cause to multiple reasons for hoarding. This view continued to develop through the 1980s and 1990s, sparking debate among archaeologists and historians about the true motives. The persistence of the “emergency” model in Roman hoard studies is linked to legal, cultural, and disciplinary factors. Despite alternative theories, the traditional model remains dominant. However, evidence like the Frome Hoard and deposits at sacred sites suggests many hoards may have been votive offerings, intentionally left unrecovered.¹⁹

For votive finds, the term “deposit” is more accurate than “hoard”. It refers to coins (or a coin) that do not necessarily form a closed group and may have entered the archaeological record over time.²⁰

Given the circumstances of the discovery and all the specificities related to the Daber coin find, it could be classified as a votive find.

Some parallels from the area of Slovenia and the surrounding region

The most well-known Late Roman votive coin finds from present-day Slovenia, concluding with a coin of the *Gloria Romanorum* 11 type issued by Emperor Honorius, come from two sites: Godič near Kamnik²¹ and Moste²² in the Gorenjska region (NW Slovenia). Both sites are Late Roman sanctuaries situated in rock shelters in remote areas.

The discoveries from these sanctuaries include a wealth of coins: the first find consists of 202 bronze and silver coins, with the oldest being a denarius of Vespasian and the latest two coins of the *Gloria Romanorum* 11 type. The second comprises 467 bronze coins, ranging from the oldest, dating to the reign of Claudius, to the latest two coins of the *Gloria Romanorum* 11 type. Additionally, the sites yielded fragments of tableware and oil lamps, numerous animal bones, and fragments of silver votive plaques – all suggesting that rituals were performed in honour of an as-yet unidentified deity.

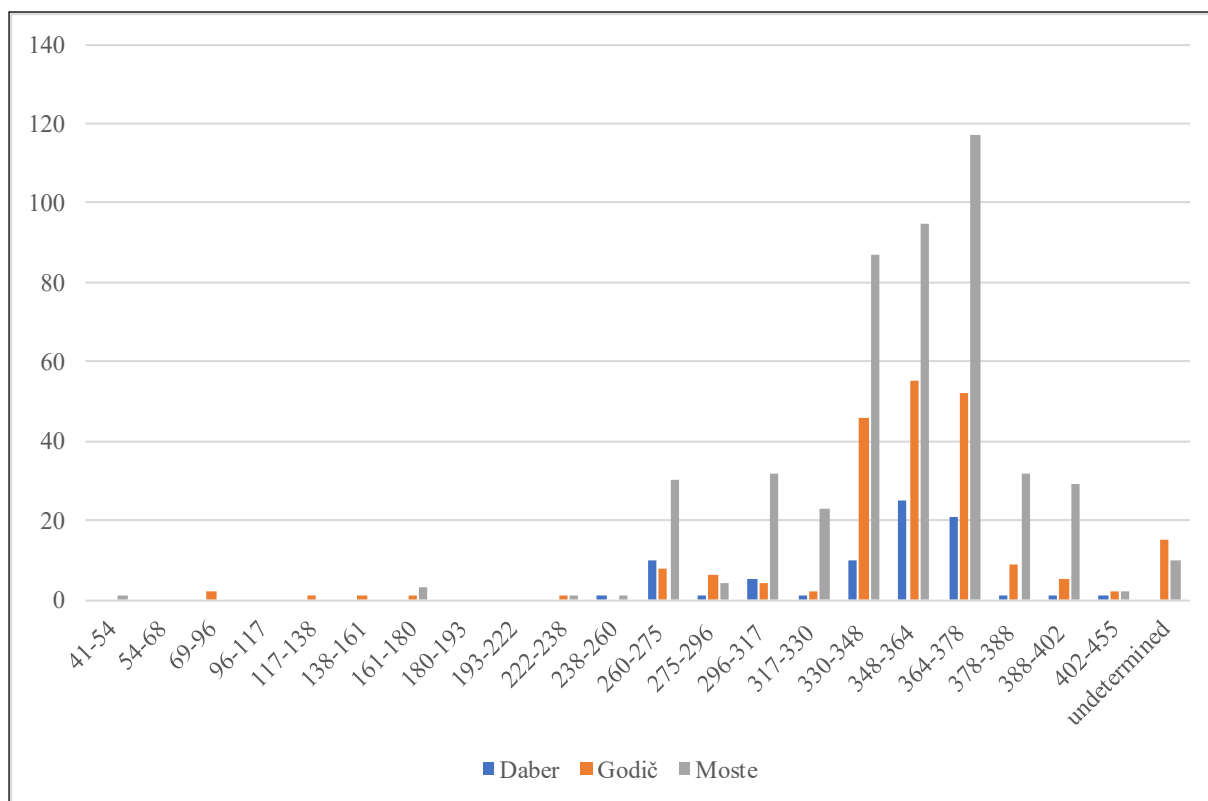
Graph 2 shows the distribution of coins from different periods in the Daber hoard compared to the hoards from Moste and Godič. All three hoards have the highest representation of coins from the period 348–388, or a similar pattern of growth with a peak in the middle of the 4th century. All three hoards end with coins of the *Gloria Romanorum* 11 type, and in all three, the coins follow a similar pattern of distribution across minting periods.

19 Summarized from Guest 2015, 101-110.

20 Aitchison 1988, 271; Thüry 2016, 8-10.

21 FMRSI IV, 162-167, No. 83.

22 FMRSI IV, 147-150, No. 69; FMRSI V, 88-115, No. 49.



Graph 2 – Coin distribution by minting periods in the Daber, Godič, and Moste hoards.

Let us also mention a discovery from neighbouring Italy: a hoard of 79 coins found in the Samatorza Cave – Grotta Gialla, near Trieste, in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region. The hoard consisted exclusively of poorly preserved bronze coins. The oldest among them is an antoninianus of Emperor Probus (276–282), while the most recent are *Gloria Romanorum* 11 type coins of Emperor Honorius.²³ Fragments of late antique and early medieval coarse pottery were also found, along with some amphora shards, two intact oil lamps, and various pieces of oil lamps. This coin find is comparable both in size and in its almost identical composition to the Daber hoard.

Conclusion

The Daber hoard is compositionally similar to the hoards from the Moste and Godič caves in Gorenjska and, in terms of the number of coins, also resembles the hoard from the Samatorza cave on the Trieste Karst. All three of these discoveries can be confidently interpreted as votive offerings. They share several distinctive characteristics: they were deposited in hidden locations along with other objects, such as oil lamps, ceramic fragments, votive plaques, and animal remains – items frequently associated with votive practices.

²³ Callegher 2010, 259-265.

Like the hoard from the Samatorza cave, the Daber hoard was deposited all at once, as indicated by the concentrated distribution of the coins within a very small area. A key shared feature of these hoards is the presence of the latest coin – a bronze *Gloria Romanorum* 11 issue of Emperor Honorius from the first half of the 5th century, a period of significant instability in the western Roman Empire.

The Late Roman period was undoubtedly a time of renewed activity on the Šentviška Planota Plateau, as evidenced by individual finds from the nearby settlement at Arbišče. The plateau was not only an economic hinterland for the valley centres of Posočje but also played a significant role as a site of pre-Christian cultic activities, as demonstrated by the Iron Age and Roman sanctuaries at Berlotov rob and the Vrh gradu site.

When interpreting the Daber hoard, it is also crucial to consider the well-established fact that an important route passed through the Šentviška Planota Plateau in Antiquity, connecting Posočje with the Cerkljansko region and central Slovenia.

CATALOGUE

Cat.	Denomination	Date	Mint	Reference	Mint mark
Gallienus					
1	Antoninianus	263–265	Med	RIC 499K MIR 1220c	
2	Antoninianus	263–265	Med	RIC 532K MIR 1158o	
3	Antoninianus	264	Rom	RIC 160K MIR 577a	Γ
4	Antoninianus	267–268	Rom	RIC 177K MIR 728b	€
5	Antoninianus	267–268	Rom	RIC 181K MIR - (ad 747b)	X
6	Antoninianus	267–268	Sis	RIC 572K MIR 1460b	
(Salonina)					
7	Antoninianus	253–257	Rom	RIC 29 MIR 227b	
8	Antoninianus	264–267	Sis	RIC 11 MIR 623x	II
Claudius II					
9	Antoninianus	268–270	Rom	RIC 81F	A
10	Antoninianus	268–270	Sis	RIC 181F	I
11	Antoninianus	268–270	?	RIC ?	?
Maximian					
12	Antoninianus	286–294	?	RIC ?	?
Minting period 294-305					

Maximian					
13	Radiatus	297–298	Rom	RIC 76b	<u>S</u>
14	Radiatus	296–297	Ale	RIC 46b	ALE <u>Δ</u>
15	Radiatus	295–297	?	RIC ?	?
Minting period 313-321					
Constantine I					
16	Nummus	316	Rom	RIC 45	RP * <u>∩</u>
Licinius I					
17	Nummus	316–317	Her	RIC 15	HTA
Minting period 320-325					
Constantine I					
18	Centenionalis	320–324	?	RIC ?	?
Minting period 330-341					
Constantine I					
19	Centenionalis	335	?	RIC ?	?
(Constans)					
20	Centenionalis	330–335	?	RIC ?	?
Constantine II					
21	Centenionalis	337–340	?	RIC ?	?
Constantius II					
22	Centenionalis	337–341	?	RIC ?	?
Minting period 341-348					
Constantius II					
23	Centenionalis	341–348	Sis	RIC ?	?
24	Centenionalis	341–348	?	RIC ?	?
Constans					
25	Centenionalis	341–348	Aq	RIC 91	AQP • <u>𐌆</u>
26–27	Centenionalis	341–348	?	RIC ?	?
Constantius II and Constans (<i>divus</i> Constantine I)					
28	Centenionalis	341–348	Con	RIC 68	CONST
Minting period 348-361					
Constantius II					
29	AE 3	351–361	Sis	RIC ?	?SIS?
30–31	AE 3	355–361	Sis	RIC 361	ASISΣ
32	AE 2	351–355	Her	RIC 82	SMHB
33	AE 2	350–351	?	RIC ?	?
34–40	AE 3	351–361	?	RIC ?	?
41–44	AE 3	355–361	?	RIC ?	? <u>M</u>
45	AE 3	355–361	?	RIC ?	? <u>Γ</u>
46–48	AE 4	355–361	?	RIC ?	?

(Constantius Gallus)					
49	AE 3	351–354	?	RIC ?	?
(Julian)					
50	AE 3	355–361	Sis	RIC 363	?SISΣ
Constantius II or Constans					
51	AE 3	348–361	?	RIC ?	?
Constantius II or Julian					
52	AE 3	355–361	Sis	RIC 368-374; 377-382	?SIS? <u>M</u>
Minting period 360-364					
Julian					
53	AE 3	361–363	?	RIC ?	?
Minting period 364-378					
Valentinian I					
54	AE 3	367–375	Aq	RIC 11a xviii(a)	SMAQP _*
55	AE 3	367–375	Sis	RIC 14a x	?SISC <u>R</u>
56	AE 3	367–375	Sis	RIC 14a xiii	? <u>S D</u>
57	AE 3	367–375	Sis	RIC 14a xix	BSISC <u>M</u> */P/z
58	AE 3	367–375	Sis	RIC 14a xxxv	BSISCΣ <u>F R</u> /ř
59–61	AE 3	364–375	?	RIC ?	?
Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian or Valentinian II					
62	AE 3	364–378	?	RIC ?	?
Valens					
63	AE 3	364–367	Sis	RIC 5b iv	DBSISC
64	AE 3	364–367	Sis	RIC 7b vii	DASISC */ <u>A</u>
65–72	AE 3	364–378	?	RIC ?	?
Gratian					
73	AE 3	367–375	Sis	RIC 14c xvii	?SISC <u>M</u> */P
74	AE 3	367–375	Sis	RIC 15c x	•ΔSISC <u>R</u>
Minting period 378-383					
Gratian					
75	AE 3	378–383	Con	RIC 57a	CONSA
Minting period 388-408					
Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius or Honorius					
76	AE 4	388–403	?	RIC ?	?
Minting period 408-423					
Honorius					
77	AE 3	408–423	Sis	RIC 1359	SM

Notes to the Catalogue:

1. Perforated, secondary use. Wt.: 1,61 g. Dim.: 18 × 17,5 × 1,53 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
2. Wt.: 3,65 g. Dim.: 18,5 × 16 × 2,86 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
3. Wt.: 2,2 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 16 × 2,08 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
4. Wt.: 1,87 g. Dim.: 16 × 17,5 × 1,65 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
5. Wt.: 2,75 g. Dim.: 18 × 18 × 1,82 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
6. Wt.: 1,82 g. Dim.: 17 × 18,5 × 1,54 mm. Axis: 12. Very well preserved.
7. Wt.: 1,8 g. Dim.: 18,5 × 19 × 1,2 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
8. Wt.: 2,35 g. Dim.: 17,5 × 19 × 1,78 mm. Axis: 1. Well preserved.
9. Wt.: 2 g. Dim.: 17 × 16 × 1,59 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
10. Wt.: 2,47 g. Dim.: 19 × 20 × 1,46 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
11. Legend obv.: ...CL...VG; Bust: Radiate head r.; Rev.: Standing figure. Wt.: 2,06 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 17 × 1,96 mm. Axis: 12. Worn.
12. Legend obv.: ...MAXIMIAN...; Bust: Radiate, draped and cuirassed, r.; Type: Concordia Militum. Wt.: 2,44 g. Dim.: 19,5 × 20 × 1,41 mm. Axis: 12. Worn.
13. Wt.: 3,61 g. Dim.: 20 × 20 × 2,21 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
14. Wt.: 2,38 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 17 × 1,7 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
15. Type: Concordia Militum. Wt.: 1,2 g. Dim.: 18,5 × 20 × 1,03 mm. Axis: 12. Worn.
16. Wt.: 4,16 g. Dim.: 22,5 × 22 × 1,69 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
17. Burned. Wt.: 3,01 g. Dim.: 18 × 20 × 2,44 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
18. Type: DN Constantini Max Aug, Vot XX. Wt.: 2,69 g. Dim.: 18,5 × 18,5 × 1,69 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
19. Type: Gloria Exercitus, 1 standard. Wt.: 1,21 g. Dim.: 15 × 16 × 1,21 mm. Axis: 11. Well preserved.
20. Type: Gloria Exercitus, 2 standards. Wt.: 1,73 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16,5 × 1,39 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
21. Type: Gloria Exercitus, 1 standard. Wt.: 1,35 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 14,5 × 1,33 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
22. Type: Gloria Exercitus, 1 standard. Wt.: 1,1 g. Dim.: 16 × 16 × 1,12 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
23. Type: Victoriae DD Auggq NN. Wt.: 1,39 g. Dim.: 15 × 15,5 × 1,44 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
24. Type: Victoriae DD Auggq NN. Wt.: 1,21 g. Dim.: 15 × 15 × 1,25 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
25. Wt.: 1,59 g. Dim.: 16 × 15 × 1,34 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
26. Type: Victoriae DD Auggq NN. Wt.: 1,45 g. Dim.: 14 × 15 × 1,62 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
27. Type: Victoriae DD Auggq NN. Wt.: 1,26 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 14,5 × 1,33 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
28. Wt.: 1,25 g. Dim.: 15 × 15,5 × 1,33 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
29. Fragmentary. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,52 g. Dim.: 16 × 14 × 1,43 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
30. Wt.: 2,03 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16,5 × 1,53 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
31. Wt.: 1,83 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 16,5 × 1,43 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.

32. Wt.: 3,9 g. Dim.: 22 × 22 × 1,76 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
33. Type: Hoc Signo Victor Eris. Wt.: 2,94 g. Dim.: 19,5 × 21 × 1,56 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
34. Wt.: 2,22 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16 × 1,7 mm. Axis: 8. Well preserved.
35. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,98 g. Dim.: 15 × 16,5 × 1,73 mm. Axis: 12. Very well preserved.
36. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,91 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 16 × 1,35 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
37. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,85 g. Dim.: 17,5 × 16,5 × 1,42 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
38. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,81 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16,5 × 1,54 mm. Axis: 8. Well preserved.
39. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,65 g. Dim.: 18 × 17,5 × 1,14 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
40. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,49 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 15,5 × 1,38 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
41. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 2,94 g. Dim.: 15 × 15 × 2,34 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
42. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 2,04 g. Dim.: 13,5 × 13 × 2,03 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
43. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,79 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 15 × 1,57 mm. Axis: 12. Worn.
44. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 1,45 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16 × 1,25 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
45. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 3,17 g. Dim.: 19 × 19,5 × 1,85 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
46. Type: Spes Reipublice. Wt.: 1,99 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 16 × 1,71 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
47. Type: Spes Reipublice. Wt.: 1,64 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 13,5 × 1,66 mm. Axis: 12. Worn.
48. Type: Spes Reipublice. Wt.: 1,6 g. Dim.: 12 × 15,5 × 1,57 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
49. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman 3. Wt.: 2,04 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 16 × 1,6 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
50. Wt.: 1,79 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 17,5 × 1,32 mm. Axis: 6. Excellently preserved.
51. Fragmentary. Type: Fel Temp Reparatio, falling horseman (?). Wt.: 2 g. Dim.: 16 × 16 × 1,63 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
52. Wt.: 1,86 g. Dim.: 18 × 17 × 1,28 mm. Axis: 3. Well preserved.
53. Type: Vot X Mult XX. Wt.: 1,71 g. Dim.: 17,5 × 19 × 1,17 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
54. Wt.: 1,65 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16,5 × 1,34 mm. Axis: 12. Very well preserved.
55. Wt.: 2,97 g. Dim.: 18 × 16 × 1,91 mm. Axis: 12. Very well preserved.
56. Fragmentary. Wt.: 18 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 17,5 × 1,44 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
57. Wt.: 1,33 g. Dim.: 17 × 17,5 × 1,15 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
58. Wt.: 1,91 g. Dim.: 17 × 17,5 × 1,55 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
59. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 2,17 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 17 × 1,69 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
60. Type: Gloria Romanorum. Wt.: 1,91 g. Dim.: 18 × 18 × 1,34 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
61. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 1,67 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 16 × 1,46 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
62. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 1,26 g. Dim.: 14 × 12 × 1,5 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
63. Wt.: 2,54 g. Dim.: 17,5 × 18 × 1,68 mm. Axis: 8. Very well preserved.

64. Wt.: 2,12 g. Dim.: 17 × 18,5 × 1,45 mm. Axis: 12. Very well preserved.
65. Type: Gloria Romanorum. Wt.: 2,87 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 17 × 1,96 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
66. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 2,66 g. Dim.: 18 × 18,5 × 1,7 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
67. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 2,14 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 18 × 1,54 mm. Axis: 6. Worn.
68. Type: Gloria Romanorum. Wt.: 2,05 g. Dim.: 17,5 × 18 × 1,51 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
69. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 1,89 g. Dim.: 13,5 × 15 × 2,26 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
70. Type: Gloria Romanorum. Wt.: 1,86 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 15,5 × 1,77 mm. Axis: 12. Worn.
71. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 1,81 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 18 × 1,6 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
72. Type: Securitas Reipublicae. Wt.: 1,38 g. Dim.: 15,5 × 16 × 1,34 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
73. Wt.: 1,88 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 16,5 × 1,54 mm. Axis: 12. Very well preserved.
74. Wt.: 1,81 g. Dim.: 18 × 17 × 1,44 mm. Axis: 12. Well preserved.
75. Wt.: 1,93 g. Dim.: 16,5 × 17,5 × 1,43 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.
76. Type: Salus Reipublicae. Wt.: 0,96 g. Dim.: 11 × 12,5 × 1,44 mm. Axis: 6. Well preserved.
77. Wt.: 1,32 g. Dim.: 14,5 × 14 × 1,53 mm. Axis: 6. Very well preserved.

Standard reference literature used for the identification of coins: Göbl 2000; RIC V/1; RIC V/2; RIC VI; RIC VII; RIC VIII; RIC IX; RIC X.

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A MACEDONIAN COIN FROM THE PIOTR ADAMKIEWICZ ARCHIVE

Abstract: In Piotr Adamkiewicz's archive, which contains information about finds of mainly Celtic coins in today's Poland, there is a photograph of a Macedonian pseudo-autonomous coin struck in the 3rd century AD.¹ Although there is no accurate information in the archive about where this particular coin was found, because the photograph of the described coin was placed in a folder entitled "Kujawy", it is very probable that we should look for its findspot in this region of Poland. The Kuyavia region is known for numerous finds of Celtic and Greek, as well as, above all, Roman coins. However, due to the coincidence of the issuer (Koinon of Macedonia), the rarity of Roman period Macedonian coins in Poland, and the uncertainty of the findspot location, the possibility should be considered that the coin in question is, in fact, a previously known find, discovered in Opatkowice, Proszowice County in Lesser Poland. The find has so far only been mentioned by A. Bursche and M. Rudnicki and has never been published in detail. So far, there have only been three Roman period coins from Macedonian mints discovered in Poland. Other finds of this type are a bronze coin of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD) struck in Philippi and found in Gródek, Hrubieszów County, and a bronze coin of Caracalla (197-217) from Dion, discovered in Łęcze, Elbląg County. After taking into account all the arguments for and against, we tend to believe that these are two different finds of Koinon of Macedonia coins. Therefore, the coin under study should be treated as a fourth example of a coin minted in Roman times in Macedonia known from the territory of present-day Poland.

Keywords: Koinon of Macedonia, Piotr Adamkiewicz, Lesser Poland, coin finds

Recording Roman coin finds in Barbaricum requires the use of different categories of sources. Archival research plays a rather significant role in this. In doing so, not only are ancient archives analysed, but also those created today, including those collected by non-professionals fascinated by history and archaeology. They often contain information that is inaccessible for various reasons to professional archaeologists and conservation officers. One such archive group is the Piotr Adamkiewicz Archive.

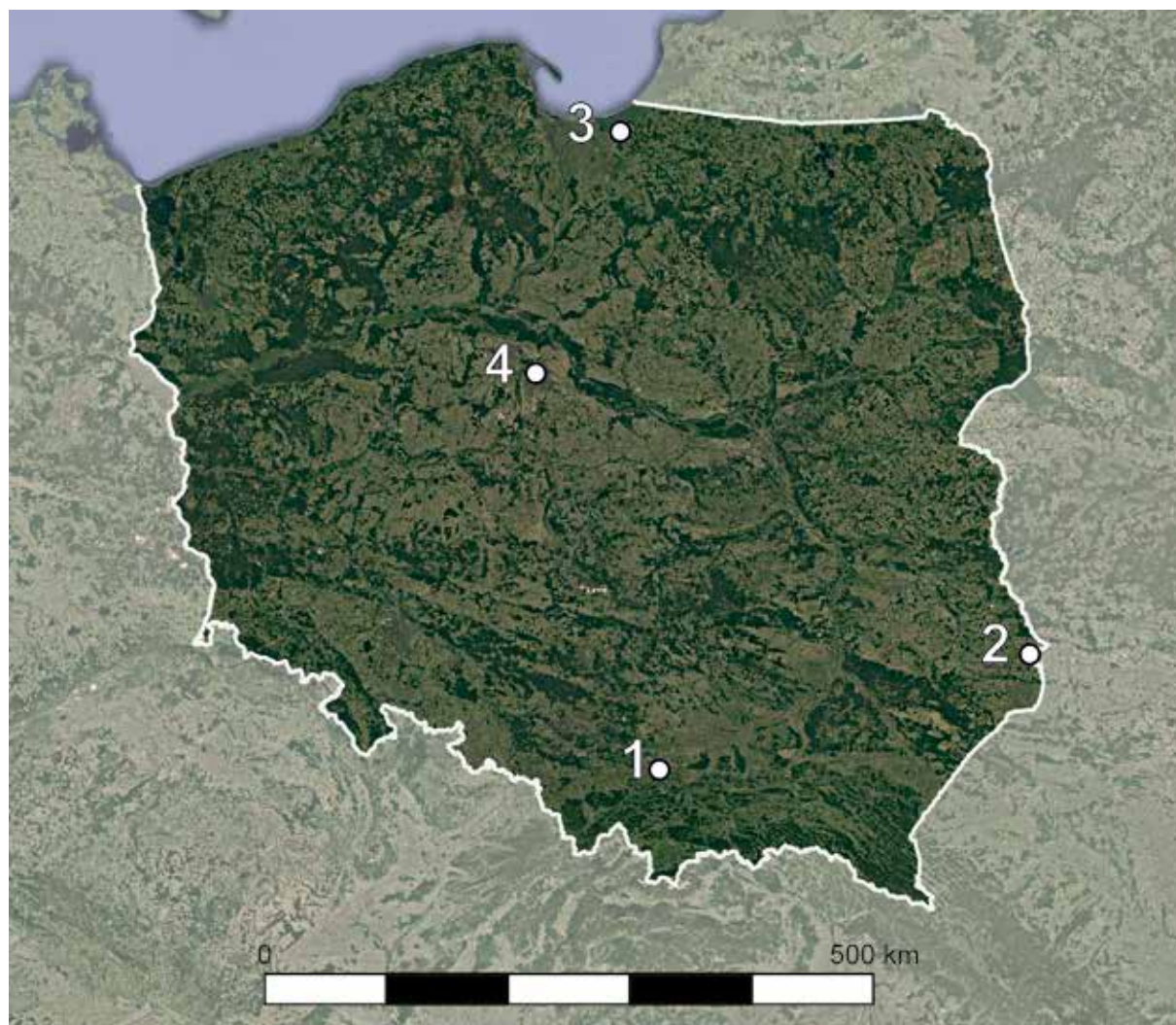
The creator of the archive, Piotr Adamkiewicz (1961-2019), was a lover of history and archaeology, particularly, but not exclusively, of the La Tène period. To realise his interests, he collaborated with archaeologists as a detectorist and volunteer during research conducted in Poland and other countries. He focused his attention primarily on Celtic coinage.² He even published a find of an interesting Celtic coin from the vicinity of Sieradz.³ Above all, however, his idea was to collect all available information on the finds of Celtic coins from the territory of

1 The authors would like to thank Prof. Kyrylo Myzgin of the Faculty of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, for discussing some of the issues raised in this text.

2 Pazowska 2024, 8-9.

3 Adamkiewicz 2000.

present-day Poland. In addition to the issues known from the literature and found in museum collections, thanks to his acquaintances in the detectorist community, he also obtained information about unknown or unrecorded finds. The archive was compiled up to 2019, the year of Adamkiewicz's death. The widow of the creator of the archive handed it over to Łukasz Kieferling, an employee of the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts and a well-known reenactor of Celtic crafts and coinage, who, in turn, handed it over to the Institute of Archaeology at Jagiellonian University.⁴ The archive is currently being compiled by Wioletta Pazowska, who wrote her Master's thesis based on it,⁵ and is currently continuing to work on the material it contains as part of her doctoral dissertation, being prepared at the University of Brno.



Map 1 – Coin finds from Macedonia in the territory of present-day Poland: 1) Opatkowiec, Proszowice County; 2) Gródek, Hrubieszów County; 3) Łęcze, Elbląg County; 4) Kuyavia region. Map by K. Niziołek.

4 Pazowska 2024, 7-8.

5 Pazowska 2024.

The archive is made up of photographs whose captions contain basic information, such as where the coin was found or stored, metrological data and any comments. A total of 445 objects are included in the archive, made up of 436 coins and 9 bars and metal intermediate products.⁶ The vast majority of these are Celtic coins; however, the archive also includes two quite different issues. One is a bronze, post reform Ptolemaic coin, while the other is the Roman provincial coin that is the subject of this study.

Based on photographs in the archive, the mentioned coin can be identified as a Koinon of Macedonia pseudo-autonomous bronze struck in the time of Severus Alexander (222-235) (Fig. 1):

Obv. ΑΛΕ[ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ]

Diademed head of Alexander the Great right, with hanging hair, below star.

Rev. ΚΟΙΝΟ[Ν] ΜΑΚ[ΕΔΟ]ΝΩΝ ΝΕΩ

Alexander the Great riding Bucephalus galloping right, his mantle floating behind him, holding couched spear.

AE, 27 mm

Ref. RPC VI 433 (temp.)



Fig. 1 – Macedonia, Koinon of Macedonia, Severus Alexander (222-235), AE (figure from the Piotr Adamkiewicz Archive).

Koinon of Macedonia provincial coins were minted from the 1st century AD until the time of Philip the Arab (244-249).⁷ In addition to issues struck in the name of emperors, pseudo-autonomous coins were also minted, i.e., without the name or portrait of the ruler and referring only to Koinon in the inscription. Coins of the Koinon of Macedonia were initially struck at the union's headquarters in Beroea and then, under Gordian III (238-244), also in Thessalonica.⁸

The coin from the Adamkiewicz Archive belongs to an abundant and varied issue with a portrait of Alexander the Great (336-323 BC) on the obverse and his image at a gallop on Bucephalus on the reverse. The particular series differ in the details and style of the portrait and the effigy of the obverse, as well as in the content of the legends. They were minted during the reigns of Elagabalus (218-222), Severus Alexander, Gordian III and Philip the Arab.⁹ Their

6 Pazowska 2024, 7.

7 Cf. AMNG III.1, 14-22; Liampi 2005.

8 Burrell 2004, 191-194; Touratsoglou 2006a; RPC VII.2, 84, 89.

9 Dahmen 2007, 136.

production was relatively abundant, as evidenced by finds of this type of coin.¹⁰ The effigy of Alexander was placed on Koinon coins from 218 to 246. The typologies for the reigns of the various emperors were determined on the basis of the individual portraits. In the case of the coin in question, the image of Alexander is a type A portrait - diademed head right with long hair falling, introduced during the reign of Elagabalus.¹¹ The portrait is accompanied by a star placed below and the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The motif of the portrait of Alexander indicates, on the one hand, the former great leader and ruler hailing from this province and, thus, the pride and heritage of the Macedonians.¹² On the other hand, especially in the 3rd century, it evokes the identification of Roman emperors with the great Macedonian.¹³ The reverse shows an image of Alexander the Great riding Bucephalus galloping right, holding a couched spear, with the legend ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΝΕΩ. The legend refers to the first neokoros title received, associated with the imperial cult. This was an extremely important honour for the city and was highlighted on the coins. As mentioned earlier, the seat of the Koinon of Macedonia at the beginning was only Beroea. The first title of the neokoros there goes back to the time of Nerva (96-98), with the second obtained during Elagabalus' reign. The latter was lost with the Persian War in 231. For this reason, there is a reference to a single neokoros on a coin from the time of Severus Alexander. The status of second neokoria was again acquired by Beroea under Gordian III. At that time, the title of first neokoros was also given to Thessalonica.¹⁴

The coin described here belongs to a series struck during the reign of Severus Alexander, as evidenced by the content of the reverse legend.¹⁵ Among the images placed on the obverses at the time, aside from the emperor's head, is a bust of Alexander, while on the reverses are, among others, a seated Athena,¹⁶ a cista,¹⁷ Heracles,¹⁸ an agonistic table,¹⁹ a lion,²⁰ or, finally, Alexander the Great riding on Bucephalus.²¹ It is worth noting that, as mentioned above, the latter depiction is generally one of the most popular on Macedonian autonomous coins of the 3rd century, with a reference to the second title of the neokorate (ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Β ΝΕΩ) on coins of Gordian III.

Although the photograph described as "Z.6" (find no. 6?) is not accompanied by precise information about where this particular coin was found, we can assume with a high degree of probability that it is a find from Poland. This is supported by the overall content of the archive. As mentioned, it contains photographs of Celtic coins, both those struck on the territory of present-day Poland and those found on Polish lands. Why, then, was an autonomous coin from Macedonia included in the archive? It could be assumed that it was found on the territory of Poland, perhaps at the site from which the Celtic coins were registered, and erroneously considered

10 Dahmen 2005, 179-180; Liampi 2005, 896, 899-900.

11 AMNG III.1, 15; Gaebler 1906, 8-17; Dahmen 2005.

12 Cf. Burrell 2004, 193; Dahmen 2007, 136.

13 Touratsoglou 2006a, 294; Dahmen 2007, 33, 35.

14 Burrell 2004, 1-6, 191-198; RPC VII.2, 84, 89.

15 AMNG III.1, 91-92, nos. 308-314; Burrell 2004, 194; Liampi 2005, 896.

16 RPC VI 110-112.

17 RPC VI 113-114.

18 RPC VI 115.

19 RPC VI 121-122.

20 RPC VI 117.

21 RPC VI 148-156.

to be Greek from the Classical/Hellenistic period, or even Celtic. The former possibility seems more likely at this point. Similarly, the aforementioned Ptolemaic coin was included in the archive. Finds of Ptolemaic coins are recorded in La Tène contexts, also in Poland.²² Adamkiewicz specialised in Celtic coinage and his knowledge of Greek coins was, it can be assumed, somewhat limited. Distinguishing between Classical/Hellenistic Greek coins and those minted during the period of Roman domination was likely no easy feat. It must have been particularly difficult in the case of pseudo-autonomous coins, lacking an imperial portrait and bearing Greek legends. If a coin bore a portrait of Alexander the Great and his name, it was easy to confuse things.

It is much more difficult, in the absence of information about the circumstances of the discovery, to indicate a more specific place where the coin might have been found. The photograph of the described issue was held in a folder entitled “Kujawy”, so perhaps its findspot should be sought in this region of Poland. The Kuyavia region is known for numerous finds of both Celtic and Greek and, above all, Roman coins.²³ The find of the autonomous Koinon of Macedonia coin would fit perfectly into such a context.

Provincial coins, compared to Roman imperial coins, are among the much rarer finds in present-day Poland. At least 35 Roman provincial coins have been recorded from a total of 25 stray finds and hoards. Among them, only three coins from Macedonian mints have been recorded thus far.²⁴ In the context of the described find, the discovery of a Macedonian autonomous coin dated to 242 and discovered by chance while ploughing in Opatkowice, Proszowice County, Lesser Poland, mentioned briefly by several authors, is of particular interest.²⁵ To date, unfortunately, the coin has not been subjected to more detailed study and publication. It is not known what images and legends were on it, but the dating mentioned in the articles is quite precise, especially with regard to pseudo-autonomous coins, the chronology of which is sometimes very difficult to determine. For this reason, it should be assumed that we are dealing with an issue from the time of Gordian III, probably struck on the occasion of the introduction of the festival of Olympia and the emperor's arrival in the province in 242.²⁶ Other finds, from present-day Poland, of Macedonian coins struck in the Roman period include a bronze coin of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD) from Philippi, found in Gródek, Hrubieszów County, and a bronze coin of Caracalla (197-217) from Dion, discovered in Łęcze, Elbląg County.²⁷ The first of these coins was discovered in the field of P. Kania in 1998. It has not been fully published either.²⁸ The second coin was found under unknown circumstances on the so-called “Silver Hill” in 2000.²⁹

Stray finds of coins from Macedonian mints have also been recorded in Belarus and the Czech Republic. A bronze of Philip the Arab of Thessalonica may have been discovered in the raion of Krupka, Minsk Voblast; however, the author of the study considers this find uncertain³⁰, while a bronze coin of Caracalla from Stobi was found in Horineves.³¹ As many as 50 coins of

22 Mielczarek 1989, 102, 103, 106.

23 Dymowski, Rudnicki 2012; Rudnicki, Dymowski 2015; Dymowski, Więcek 2018.

24 Cf. Bodzek et al. 2019; Bodzek et al. 2023, 39.

25 Bursche 1999, 131; cf. Bursche et al. 2000, 119; Rudnicki 2014, 278; Bodzek 2015, 118.

26 AMNG III.1, 14, 114, nos. 574, 578, 779; Gaebler 1906, 28; 1907, 24; Touratsoglou 2006a, 294.

27 Bodzek et al. 2019, 56, 60; Bodzek et al. 2023, 39, 47.

28 Bursche 1999, 129.

29 Bogucki et al. 2006.

30 Sidarovich 2014, 86, cat. 16, pl. 2.10.

31 Militký 2013, c. 431/1.

this type have been recorded in the area covered by the Chernyakhiv culture settlement. Among them are 10 coins from Thessalonica (mainly from the time of Severus Alexander), 5 from Pella, 5 from Edessa, 3 from Stobi, 3 from Amphipolis, 1 from Dium, and, interestingly, 23 pseudo-autonomous coins, probably from the time of Gordian III.³² Finds of Koinon of Macedonia coins are, of course, known primarily from mainly central and eastern Macedonia, including Chalkidiki.³³ A total of 19 hoards containing such coins have been recorded.³⁴ These coins are sometimes found in quite large numbers, for example, in a hoard from Kamenik, Kyustendil County, from the area of present-day Bulgaria. It is not known exactly how many coins the hoard contained, but among the 136 available items, 2 coins were struck in the name of the Koinon of Macedonia for Elagabalus, 51 for Severus Alexander, 41 for Gordian III, 1 for Philip the Arab, and in the case of 27 Koinon coins it is uncertain whether they should be attributed to the coins of Severus Alexander or Gordian III.³⁵ In the hoard from Sidirokastro, Sérres County, of the 59 coins discovered in 1967, 54 are Koinon of Macedonia coins, mainly from the time of Severus Alexander.³⁶ An important and interesting deposit is the hoard from Sérres, discovered in 1966, which included 9 coins of Severus Alexander, 5 of Gordian III, and 1 of Philip the Arab.³⁷ In this case, only one coin was struck in the name of the emperor, Gordian III, all the others belonging to the pseudo-autonomous Koinon issues. In the Macedonian hoard discovered in 1973, out of 149 coins, 41 are Koinon specimens,³⁸ while the large 1999 hoard from Dion, consisting of 1,590 coins, contained 39 Koinon issues.³⁹

Most of the hoards from Macedonia containing Koinon of Macedonia coins were hidden in the 3rd century AD, which was related to the invasions of Barbarian peoples, mainly the Goths.⁴⁰ The influx of coins from the Balkans into Central and Eastern European Barbaricum could also be linked to these events. Coins may have entered the Barbarian area as a result of invasions into Macedonia (booty), population movements caused by the Gothic Wars (256-270), but also as a result of barbarians serving in the Roman army (payment).⁴¹ The dominant area in this regard is the settlement area of the Chernyakhiv culture, where, based on the recorded finds, most of the coins of interest to us ended up (cf. above). From there, Macedonian coins, both those struck in the name of emperors and pseudo-autonomous ones, may have reached the territory of present-day Poland as a result of redistribution resulting from contacts between the Chernyakhiv and the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures.⁴² Such a source and direction of coinage influx into Central European Barbaricum is confirmed by finds of other provincial and Bosphoran coins.⁴³ The fact that Koinon of Macedonia coins probably served as one of the prototypes for engravers working for “Gothic” principals and preparing dies for a group of gold imitations of the “Ulów Type” can also be pointed out as an argument for the eastern direction, i.e., from

32 Бейдин 2012, 157, cat. 41; Myzgin 2017, 26; Myzgin 2018, 90.

33 Liampi 2005, 899-900; Antoniadou 2023, 55-56.

34 Antoniadou 2023, 55-56, tab. 2.

35 Filipova et al. 2009, 112-131.

36 Touratsoglou 1988, 120-121, no. 14.

37 Touratsoglou 1988, 121, no. 15; Antoniadou 2023.

38 Touratsoglou 1988, 121, no. 17.

39 Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004, 97.

40 Touratsoglou 2006b, 142-143; Antoniadou 2023, 56.

41 Bursche 2006, 222; Myzgin 2018, 96-97; RPC VII.2, 39.

42 Bursche 1984, 241-242; 1996, 118; Bodzek et al. 2019, 60; Bodzek et al. 2023, 48.

43 Cf. Bodzek et al. 2019; Бодзек, Мадиди-Легутко 2013; Bodzek, Madyda-Legutko 2018; Bodzek et al. 2022.

the Chernyakhiv culture area, of the influx of the pseudo-autonomous Macedonian coins.⁴⁴ A less likely, although not excluded, direction of the influx of the coins of interest would have led directly from the south-east from the area of Roman Macedonia, via the Danubian provinces and pre-Carpathian Barbaricum.

It is likely that the coin documented in the Piotr Adamkiewicz Archive would, thus, be the fourth specimen of a coin struck in Roman times in Macedonia known from Central European Barbaricum that found its way to the territory of present-day Poland. On the one hand, such a find is as likely as possible given the aforementioned significant number of as yet unpublished finds of provincial coins from the Kuyavia region in recent years.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, on the other hand, it is worth considering whether there is by any chance a duplication of finds here and whether this discovery is not the same as the above-mentioned find from Opatkowice. This may be indicated by the coinage of the issuer (Koinon of Macedonia), the rarity of found coins from this province in Poland, as well as the uncertainty of the findspot. Considering the realisation of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* project in recent years, and the consequent registrations of new coin types and reattributions of originally misattributed issues known in the literature, one has to consider the possibility that the coin from Opatkowice was misidentified. The main catalogue of coins from Macedonia was published by H. Gaebler in 1906, with additions appearing in a 1935 monograph.⁴⁶ Coins of Koinon of Macedonia from both the time of Severus Alexander and Gordian III placed Alexander on the obverse and Alexander on horseback on the reverse, but with different legends. Due to the rather unusual coin and the then undeveloped state of research on provincial minting, it cannot be ruled out that in the 1990s the coin, in fact of Severus Alexander, may have been classified as an issue of Gordian III. Unfortunately, due to the lack of detailed information in the literature provided, we are unable to verify this hypothesis. However, it is worth noting in this context that the identification of the coin was made by the Roman coinage specialist A. Bursche, which is a very strong argument for its acceptance. Hence, taking into account all the pros and cons, we are, nevertheless, inclined to favour the thesis that the coin from the Piotr Adamkiewicz Archive is a new, as yet unpublished, find of a pseudo-autonomous Macedonian coin from Polish lands, in the area of Kuyavia. Perhaps further research will make it possible to clarify where it was found.

44 Stannard 2023, 96-97; Bursche, Myzgin 2024, 466 contra Więcek 2019, 438.

45 Cf. Dymowski, Więcek 2018, 161-162, 169.

46 AMNG III.1; AMNG III.2.

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VIMINACIUM PROVINCIAL COINS IN THE URBAN TERRITORY OF PAUTALIA

Abstract: The study aims to ascertain the place Viminacium coins took in the circulation of provincial coins found within the urban territory of Pautalia. At this stage of research there are 111 pieces. They cover the period from the foundation of the mint under Gordian III in 239 to 251/252 (the joint reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus). A large number of them were discovered during archaeological excavations and have a clear context. The Viminacium coins are distributed as follows: Gordian III (238-244) – 38 pieces; Philip I (244-249) – 31; Otacilia Severa (244-249) – 1; Philip II (244-249) – 2; Trajan Decius (249-251) – 9; Herennia Etruscilla – 2; Herennius Etruscus (249-251) – 3; Hostilian (251) – 6; Trebonianus Gallus (251-252) – 11; Volusianus (251-252) – 3; unknown authority – 5. In the general picture of provincial bronze coin circulation minted after 222 and found in the urban territory of Pautalia, the coins of Viminacium account for 31%. In the urban territory of Pautalia, located in the most south-western part of Thrace, the presence of Viminacium coins is considerable, addressing the serious lack of bronze coins that resulted from the cessation of the activities of most Thracian workshops and the new military functions of the rest.

Keywords: Viminacium provincial coins, Pautalia, urban territory of Pautalia

Pautalia (modern Kyustendil) and the Pautalia region are located in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula and they include the Upper Struma river valley (ancient Strymon), as well as the passes and courses of some smaller rivers connecting with the valleys of the rivers German, Upper Mesta (ant. Nestus), Vardar (ant. Axios) and Morava (ant. Brongus). From a geo-political point of view, until the second half of the 3rd century, this region was the westernmost part of the province of Thrace. A natural crossroads emerged through the territory of Pautalia, with roads of interprovincial importance passing through the territory of Pautalia region being the Via Diagonalis – in the section between Tures (Piroth) and Serdica (Sofia) – and the route of the Serdica-Pautalia-Stobi road, which was the most important artery connecting with the province of Macedonia.¹ Part of the route passes through the central part of Pautalia City, as one of its main arteries – *decumanus maximus*.² The other major thoroughfare that passes through the region is the one along the Struma river, which connects the Danube river with the Aegean at Amphipolis.³

A primary road connects Pautalia with Philippopolis, as its route passes through Germania (Sapareva Banya),⁴ crosses the watershed between the rivers Struma and Iskar near the village of Saparevo and, via the Lakatnitsa river valley, goes to the village of Govedarts. From

1 Кацарова 2005, 212, 216.

2 Слокоска 1989, 17-18.

3 Геров 1961, 244; Мешеков 1989, 183; Кацарова 2005, 218.

4 Иванов 1906, 25; Мешеков 1989, 182; Кацарова 2005, 218.

there it continues along the northern slopes of Rila and then it descends along the Maritsa river valley, around the village of Raduil. Then, in an eastern direction along Maritsa, the route of the road continues to Philippopolis.⁵

After the final conquest of Thrace by the Romans in 45 AD, the administrative structure of the Hellenistic model strategies, which were inherited by the last Thracian Kingdom, was preserved.⁶ The land along the upper course of the Struma river (today's Kyustendil and Dupnitsa regions)⁷ and the western mountains to the valleys of the Vardar and Morava⁸ are included in two strategies established by the Romans and named after the Thracian tribe *Denteleti* – Field and Mountain Denteletik Strategies (commonly called *Denteletike*). Denteletike covers the plains of the upper reaches of the Struma river, including today's Kyustendil region and the German river valley. Regarding the affiliation of the German river valley and the area around Dupnitsa to Denteletike, it is considered that they rather belong to the territory of the Besica Strategy.⁹ The mountain territory of Denteletike covers the Osogovo Mountains, Kyustendil Kraishte¹⁰ and the Znepole mountain area around the present-day town of Trun.¹¹

With the administrative reforms of Emperor Trajan, the status of the Thrace province changed from procurator to senate (around 107-109). The towns in the province that were established at this time originally possessed relatively small territories. After 136 (the regulation of the border between Thrace and Lower Moesia), the strategies were officially abolished and larger urban territories were formed. To the north, the urban territory of Pautalia covers the Trun area, the regions of Breznik and Pernik, reaching the watershed of the Struma – Iskar (ant. Escus), where it borders the territory of the Serdica region.¹² To the east, it includes the Dupnitsa field with Germania (now Sapareva Banya) and the town of Rila (formerly Sportela). An inscription from Skaptopara explicitly testifies to the belonging of the lands of today's Blagoevgrad region to Pautalia under Gordian III (238-244).¹³ Where exactly the border ran to the south and the territory of Nicopolis ad Nestum, is not attested in the sources, as it is known that the province of Macedonia begins south of the Kresna gorge. To the west, the territory of Pautalia entirely borders Moesia Superior,¹⁴ with only the south westernmost corner reaching the province of Macedonia. The borders of the urban territory of Pautalia, thus delineated, are also the territorial scope of this study.

In the period between the end of the 1st and 3rd centuries, in this region, the so-called provincial emissions were also circulating, in addition to the coins minted by the central Roman authority. Created to primarily meet the needs of the local market, the coins of the cities in the provinces of Thrace, the two Moesias, and Macedonia also circulated beyond the limits of their urban territories.

5 Геров 1961, 241-242.

6 История на България 1979, 290.

7 According to P. Delev, the Dupnishko field is part of the territory of the Besi tribe, cf. Делев 2012, 36-39.

8 Tomashek 1882, 15ff; Tomashek 1893, 63; Иванов 1906, 1 и сл.; Геров 1961, 226.

9 Delev 2009, 245-250.

10 Kyustendil Kraishte is a separate ethnogeographical region. Research on it was done by Y. Ivanov, Y. Zahariev and other scientists, cf. Захариев 1918, 1-653; Иречек 1974, 641-662; Иванов 1906, 216-220, 249-251, 279, 317-320; Геннадиева, Чохаджиев 2002, 1-85.

11 Геров 1961, 245.

12 Тачева 2004, 85-115.

13 Mihailov 1966, no. 2236.

14 Геров 1961, 177 и сл., 246.

The beginning of minting in Viminacium is set during the rule of Gordian III (238-244) in October 239 and ceased in 255 during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus,¹⁵ with two breaks – in 248/249 and 253/254.¹⁶ The foundation of the mint was brought about by the shortage of bronze coins in large sections of the Danube Limes. The production of the workshop was considerable and was intended mainly for supplying the provinces of Moesia Superior and Pannonia with money.¹⁷ In accordance with the principles of Roman central coinage, three denominations were issued in Viminacium – the sestertius (AE1), the dupondius (AE2) and the as (AE3).

The coins of Viminacium discovered in the urban territory of Pautalia at this stage of research amount to 111 pieces. They cover the period from the foundation of the mint under Gordian III in 239 to 251/252 (the joint reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus). A large number of them were discovered during archaeological excavations and have a clear context. Viminacium coins are present in the hoard from the archaeological excavation at the Chitalishte (reading house) site in Kyustendil.

They have also been found at the excavations in Kyustendil, on Krakra Hill and in the Tzarkva (Church) district (town of Pernik), Kralevo dol (Pernik region), Arbanas district (town of Radomir), the town of Breznik, the village of Golemo selo (Bobovo dol region), the Cheresarnika area (town of Dupnitsa), and in the villages of Moshtanetz and Pokrovnik (Blagoevgrad region). Single specimens not linked to a precise archaeological context are known in the district of Bela voda in Pernik (Trebonianus Gallus – 1 piece), the Pernik region (Philip I – 1), the Breznik region (Gordian III – 1), the villages of Turokovo (Philip I – 1, Hostilian – 1), Staro selo (Hostilian – 1), Garbino (Philip I – 1),¹⁸ Konyavo (Philip II – 1),¹⁹ Poletintzi (Gordian III – 1),²⁰ and Zgurovo (Gordian III – 1),²¹ and the Tarzhishte (Marketplace) area near Kocherinovo (Gordian III – 4, Philip I – 3, Trajan Decius – 2, Herennius Etruscus – 3, unidentified emperor – 1).

The Viminacium coins found in **Kyustendil (ancient Pautalia)** number 36 pieces. Some of them were found during archaeological excavations at the sites of the Poliklinika (polyclinic), the Hudozhstvena galeria (art gallery), the Dom na savetite (council's house), the Dervish banja (Dervish baths), the Mladezhki dom (youth house), the Vzaimno uchilishte (mutual school), the Dom na knigata (book house), the Arakchiev han (Arakchiev Inn), the Chitalishte (reading house), and the Staro Lyatno Kino (old open-air cinema). Others were accidental finds. They were minted under: Gordian III – 11 pieces,²² Philip I – 12,²³ Philip II – 1,²⁴ Otacilia Severa – 1,²⁵ Trajan Decius – 3,²⁶ Hostilian – 3,²⁷ Trebonianus Gallus – 3,²⁸ and Volusianus – 2.²⁹ The Vimi-

15 Pich 1898, 24-26.

16 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2018, 74; Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 38.

17 Stella 2018, 116.

18 Filipova et al., 50, no. 234.

19 Filipova et al., 50, no. 245.

20 Filipova et al., 48, no. 221.

21 Filipova et al., 48, no. 230.

22 Божкова 1977, 39; Филипова 2004, 46; Filipova et al., 48-50.

23 Божкова 1977, 39; Филипова 2004, 46-47; Филипова 2018a, 419; Filipova et al., 48.

24 Filipova et al., 50, no. 244.

25 Филипова 2004, 48.

26 Filipova et al., 50, no. 247, 248, 250.

27 Filipova et al., 50-52, nos. 251, 252, 253.

28 Filipova et al., 52, nos. 245, 255, 256.

29 Filipova et al., 52, nos. 257, 258.

nacium coins represent 15% of the total number of provincial coins found in Kyustendil and 62% of those entering after most of the Thracian mints ceased work in 217/222.

Krakra Hill is situated in the south-western part of today's town of Pernik on the right bank of Struma river. The first archaeological excavations took place in 1960 and in the period 1968-1979. As a result of them it became clear that settlement life in this place went on with few interruptions from the 5th millennium BC to the 12th century AD.³⁰ Ancient written sources relevant to the history of the Upper Struma in the Roman and early Byzantine period lack information about the settlement. The fact is, however, that the place was also inhabited in the 2nd-6th centuries. The small number of finds from the 2nd century is an indication that life in the settlement, which was a topographic successor of the Thracian one, began to revive without having an organised settlement structure.³¹ It developed in the 3rd century and flourished in the 4th-6th centuries. During the archaeological excavations, 30 provincial coins were found. The coins of Viminacium number 5 pieces, minted under Gordian III – 3, Philip I – 1 and Etruscilla – 1.³²

During excavations of a Thracian shrine dedicated to the healer god Asclepius, situated near the village of Daskalovo (now the **Tzarkva** district, the town of Pernik)³³ and dated to the period 2nd-4th centuries, a coin of Trebonianus Gallus (251-253) was found, minted in Viminacium in 251-252.³⁴

The site in the abandoned district of **Arbanas** is situated north of the town of Radomir, on the west slope of the Golo Bardo mountain, which descends to the left bank of the Struma river. The preliminary publications advanced the thesis about the existence of a trading settlement (emporion) in the 2nd-3rd centuries.³⁵ Later publications developed another thesis: in connection with the needs of the metallurgical site, established at the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD and its adjacent sanctuary, a production centre for votive gifts and household items was set up. After the destruction of this centre in the middle of the 3rd century, an early Christian fortified architectural complex was built at the beginning of the 4th century in its place.³⁶ The coin material follows without interruption from the 2nd century BC to the second half of the 5th century, with the exception of one coin of Philip II (359-336 BC) and one coin of the town of Philippi from the 4th century BC.

During excavations in 1983-1990 in the **Arbanas** district, a total of 178 bronze provincial coins were found, struck in the mints of the provinces of Thrace, both Moesias, Macedonia and Bithynia in Asia Minor.³⁷ The Viminacium coins comprise 16 pieces minted under Gordian III – 6 pieces, Philip – 2, Otacilia Severa – 1, Trajan Decius – 2, Herennia Etruscilla – 1, Trebonianus Gallus – 3 and Volusianus – 1.³⁸ They represent 11% of the total number of provincial coins found in the Arbanas district and 70% of those entering circulation after 222 AD.

30 Чангова 1981, 5.

31 Любенова 1981, 107.

32 According to Yurukova, the coins of Viminacium comprise 6 pieces: Gordian III – 2 pieces, Philip I – 2, Trajan Decius – 1 and Etruscilla – 1, cf. Юркува 1981, 238-239. Actually, the coin identified as a specimen of Trajan Decius minted in Viminacium (Юркува 1981, 239, № 21) is of Emperor Valerian, minted in 253-254 on behalf of the province of Dacia.

33 Любенова 2003, 197.

34 Филипова 2010, 105.

35 Любенова 1985, 36.

36 Любенова 2003, 198-199.

37 Филипова 2012, 514; Филипова 2023, 68.

38 Филипова 2012, 516.

During the excavation of the archaeological site in the village of **Kralevo dol**, in the Pernik region, in 1966-1972, a substantial part of a Roman *villa rustica* was uncovered, built immediately at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Golo Burdo mountain, the building occupying a small river terrace.³⁹ The origins of the villa are attributed by the researchers to the end of the 2nd – the beginning of the 3rd century. The diverse archaeological material discovered belongs mainly to the last period of its habitation until the end of the 4th century.⁴⁰

During the investigation, 106 coins were found. At least 5 of them were struck in the provincial mints of the empire, one of which being struck in Viminacium under Philip I (244-249) in 244.

The archaeological excavation near the town of **Breznik** in the Dabovitza and Krusha areas was conducted in 2016-2017. The site falls on the northern periphery of a settlement from the Roman and late antique period. Three buildings, partially preserved kilns for firing structural and household ceramics and an enclosing wall were investigated. According to the researchers of the site, the uncovered buildings and facilities were located on the north-western periphery of a larger production centre that existed in the period 2nd-4th century near an unexplored but localised in the 1970s Roman villa.⁴¹ Two main chronological periods of existence of the complex have been established: from the second half of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century, and from the second half of the 3rd to the second half of the 4th century, including two subperiods with a conditional dividing line in the second half of the 330s.⁴² During the archaeological excavation, 13 provincial coins were found, 4 of them from the Viminacium mint.⁴³ Three coins are of Gordian III (238-244), one of them being struck in 242-243. The fourth coin is of Trajan Decius (249-251), struck in 249-250.

The site near the village of **Golemo selo** is situated on a low plateau between the rivers Bobovo dol and Dolistovo. The excavation was carried out in the period 1983-1991. In the eastern part of the investigated area, a part of a fortress wall facing north and its gate with two rectangular towers were uncovered.⁴⁴ To the south and southwest of the fortress walls, parts of houses and buildings were investigated. During probing in 1984, it was found that the fortress wall of the settlement had been built toward the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century. In Late Antiquity, premises with a chain layout were built next to the already destroyed wall.⁴⁵ Four periods of existence of the settlement were established.⁴⁶ During the excavation, only one provincial coin was found, minted in Viminacium under Philip I (244-249) in 244 and belonging to the first construction period.⁴⁷

The archaeological excavation of the **Cheresharnika** area near the town of Dupnitsa was carried out in 2014. On about two thirds of the excavated area, a dug-out house and farm buildings, over-the-ground facilities with traces of light wooden construction, over-the-ground res-

39 Найденова 1985, 9.

40 Найденова 1985, 27-48.

41 Паунова, Трендафилова 2017, 512.

42 Паунова, Трендафилова 2017, 512; Паунова 2018, 438.

43 Филипова 2024, 345.

44 Кацарова 2005, 170.

45 Борисов, Стайкова 1985, 149.

46 Борисов 1992, 253-261.

47 Филипова 2018b, 77.

idential-farm buildings and complexes with solid stone foundations were uncovered.⁴⁸ Field observations and initial processing of the material allow two periods of occupation to be distinguished: the first one from the middle/second half of the 3rd century to the end of the 4th century, and the second one within the 5th-6th centuries.⁴⁹ The numismatic material covers the period from the second half of the 2nd century to the 550s, the most numerous coins being from the 4th century.

During the excavation, 13 bronze provincial coins were found. One of them is of Philip I (244-249), minted in Viminacium.

The site **Moshtanetz I** is located about 700 m north of the village of Moshtanetz, in the Blagoevgrad municipality, above the Bistritzite area. It is situated at the foot of the Vlahina mountain, on the right bank of the Struma river.⁵⁰ During the archaeological excavation, structures from the Early Iron Age, Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages were recorded. The bulk of them belong to a Late Roman settlement (3rd-5th centuries) and a necropolis. Nine buildings with residential and farming functions were investigated. The uncovered walls and premises with well-preserved floor levels show multiple readjustments and partitionings.⁵¹ The main part of the settlement and the necropolis belong to the period 3rd-4th century.

During the archaeological excavation, 48 provincial coins were discovered, covering the period from 161/180 to 253/260 AD. The Viminacium coins comprised 8 pieces, minted under Gordian III – 3, Philip I – 2, Trebonianus Gallus – 3.

The archaeological excavation near the village of **Pokrovnik** was carried out in 2018 on an area of 38,400 m², divided in three sections. In the north part of the site, remains of a settlement and production facilities were discovered – kilns for ceramics, dated to the period 2nd-4th centuries. Fifteen buildings with a river stone construction and mud joints were found and three construction periods were identified, dated to the second half of the 2nd (the age of the Antonines), 3rd and 4th centuries, after which the complexes were abandoned.

In the central section, 11 buildings, kilns for ceramic production, a family tomb of the mausoleum type dated to the second half of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th century, storehouses of Late Antiquity and an Ottoman necropolis were investigated.

In the southern section, on an area of 5,000 m², three stratigraphic horizons were recorded: the first one – with remains of an early villa from the age of the Late Principate and buildings around it (3rd century); the second one – with remains of a villa rustica with more than 40 premises, a bathroom and four courtyards, dated to the Late Roman age (end of the 3rd – middle of the 5th century); and the third one – a post-villa settlement (vicus) with an Early Christian church, built in the ruins of a Late Roman villa (second half of the 5th – 6th centuries).⁵²

During the archaeological excavation, 106 provincial bronze coins were found, 13 of which are from the mint in Viminacium – Gordian III (5 pieces), Philip I (5), Trajan Decius (1), Hostilian (1) and one coin with an unidentified emperor.

48 Грозданов, Даскалов 2015, 495.

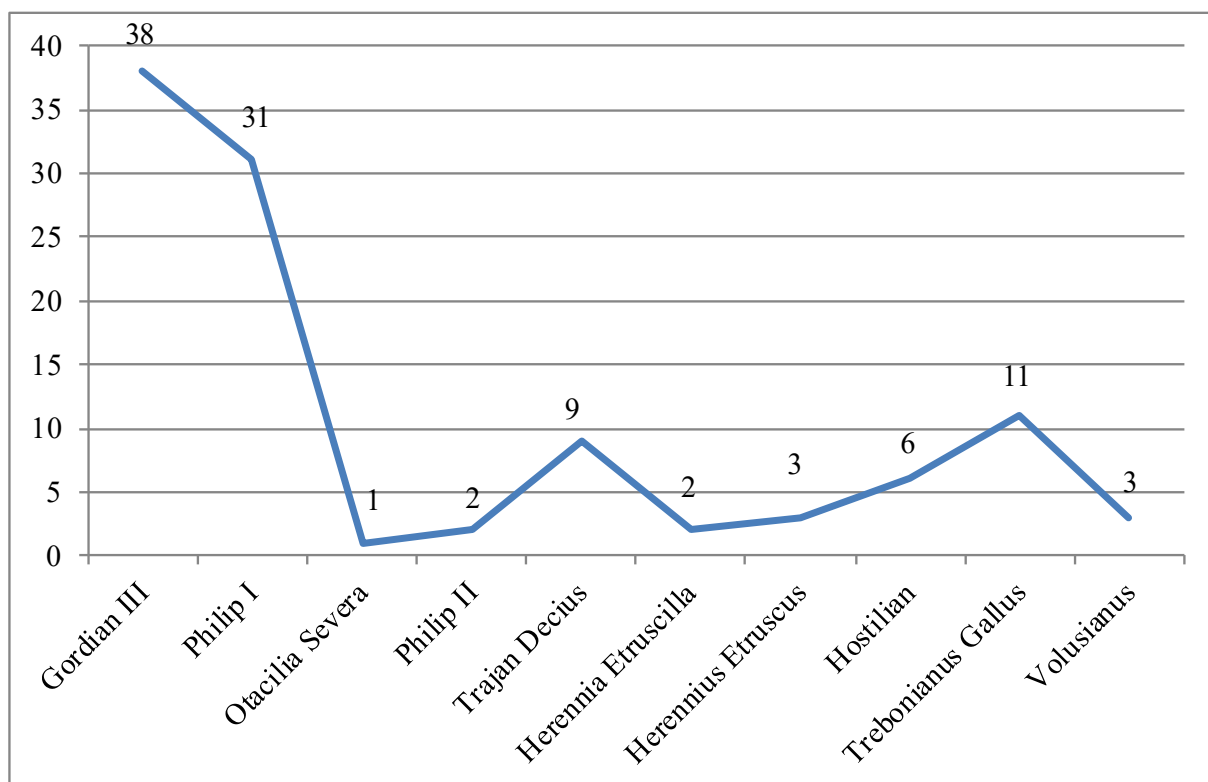
49 Грозданов, Даскалов 2015, 497.

50 Грозданова et al. 2018, 377.

51 Грозданова et al. 2018, 378-339.

52 Димитров et al. 2019, 380-382.

In summary, the Viminacium coins discovered in the urban territory of Pautalia are distributed as follows: Gordian III (238-244) – 38 pieces; Philip I (244-249) – 31; Otacilia Severa (244-249) – 1; Philip II (244-249) – 2; Trajan Decius (249-251) – 9; Herennia Etruscilla – 2; Herennius Etruscus (249-251) – 3; Hostilian (251) – 6; Trebonianus Gallus (251-252) – 11; Volusianus (251-252) – 3; unidentified – 5 (Graph 1).



Graph 1 – Distribution of Viminacium coins by emperors.

Most of the coins were minted during the rule of Gordian III (38 pieces, or 36%) and Philip I, including the specimens minted for Otacilia Severa and Philip II (34 pieces, or 32%) (Graph 2), which makes sense, given the duration of their rule.

With respect to denominations, the coins of Viminacium, following the specifications of the ones minted by the central Roman authorities, are distributed as follows: AE1 – 100 pieces, AE2 – 6 pieces, and AE3 – 5 pieces. Coins of large denominations clearly predominate.

Regarding the coin hoards found in Bulgaria, Viminacium coins are present in those in the district of Boyana (Sofia);⁵³ the village of Kravoder (Vratza region);⁵⁴ the village of Eliseyna (Vratza region);⁵⁵ the town of Knezha (Pleven region);⁵⁶ the village of Gigen (Pleven region);⁵⁷

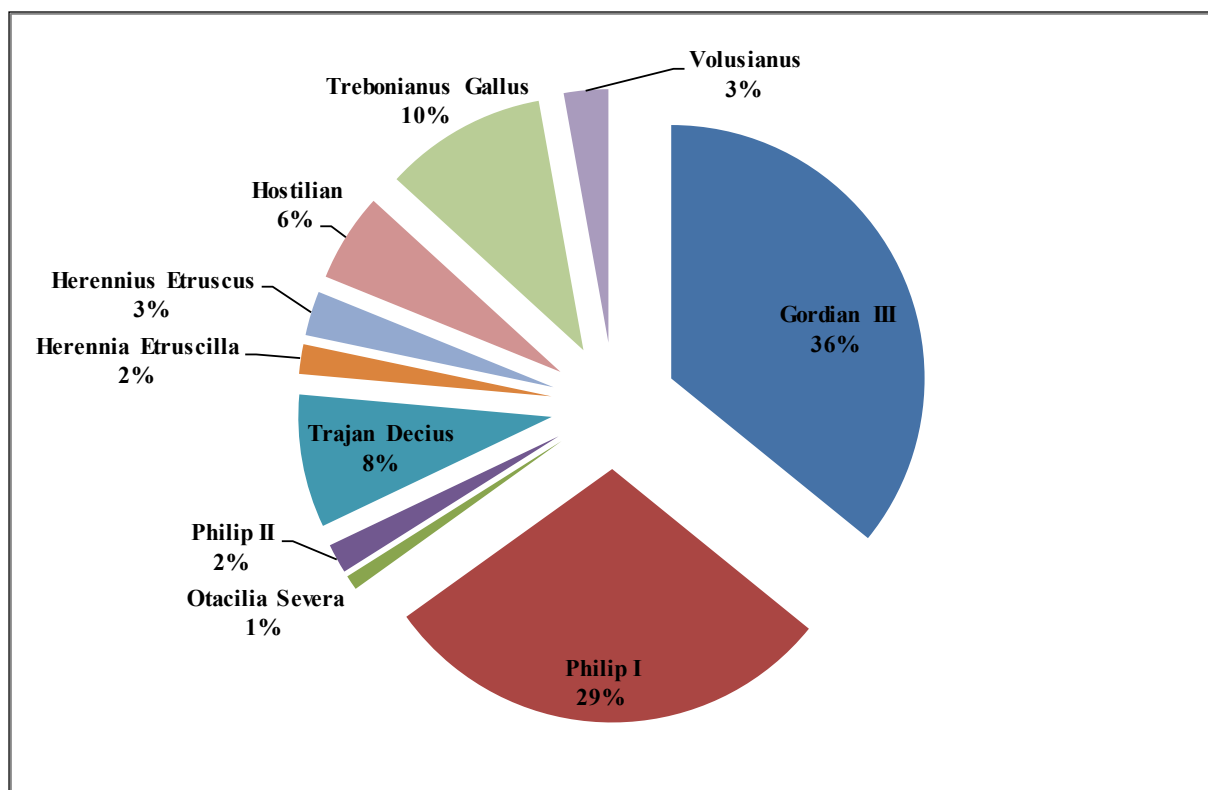
53 Божкова 2018, 96.

54 Божкова 2018, 96-97.

55 Филов 1910, 223.

56 Машов 1974, 261-271; Гущераклиев 2000, 30, 66.

57 Герасимов 1957, 323; Гущераклиев 2000, 30-31, 67.



Graph 2 – Distribution of the Viminacium coins in percentages.

the village of Ovcharovo (Turgovishte region);⁵⁸ the Ruse region;⁵⁹ the Shumen region;⁶⁰ the village of Sestrimo (Pazardzhik region);⁶¹ and the village of Borimechkovo (Pazardzhik region).⁶² The last two finds are also the only ones from southern Bulgaria with recorded coins of Viminacium (one specimen of Gordian III each). The finds were discovered mainly in central, western and northern Bulgaria.

In the general picture of provincial bronze coin circulation minted after 222 and found in the urban territory of Pautalia, the coins of Viminacium amount to 31%. After 238, the production of the still functioning mints in the province of Thrace was mainly with military functions and the money flow was directed toward the north, to the Lower Danube Limes and the legions quartered there. These coins hardly ever reached the territory of Pautalia, located at the most south-western point of the province. This gap until the rule of Gordian III and the beginning of the work of the Viminacium workshop is filled mostly by coins from the Nicaea and Macedonian workshops. Under Gordian III and after him the situation changed. Nicaean coins continued their successful circulation, but the predominance belonged to Viminacium. From this last period of the functioning of the provincial workshops (until the mints in Serdica and Augusta Trajana were restored by Gallienus), the coins of Viminacium represent 66% of the total amount of coins discovered in the urban territory

58 Герасимов 1955, 324; Гуцераклиев 2000, 45, 93.

59 Божкова 2018, 97.

60 Гуцераклиев 2000, 47, 49, 96-97, 101.

61 Ignatova et al. 2015, 136-137; Филипова 2020, 127-130.

62 Върбанов 2017a, 80.

of Pautalia. After Philip I, the main provincial mintings found in the researched territory are those of the mints in Moesia Superior and Dacia. The only exception is the workshop in Serdica, restored by Gallienus.

As is evident from the research on the circulation of Viminacium coins, they spread mainly in the provinces of Moesia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Pannonia Superior and Dacia.⁶³ The lack of regularly published coin complexes from archaeological investigations do not allow overall research of the Viminacium coin circulation in the territory of the Republic of Bulgaria. Coins were discovered at the archaeological excavations in Novae (Gordian III – 4 pieces ? – 3),⁶⁴ Storgosia, Pleven (Gordian III – 1),⁶⁵ Sostra,⁶⁶ Trimammium (Gordian III – 1, Philip I – 1),⁶⁷ Transmarisca (Philip I – 1),⁶⁸ Serdica,⁶⁹ Augusta Trajana (Gordian III – 2, Philip I – 1),⁷⁰ the nymphs shrine in the village of Ognyanovo, Pazardzhik region (Gordian III – 1),⁷¹ and Nicopolis ad Nestum (Gordian III – 1).⁷² It is evident though, that the coin flow decreases in an easterly direction, toward the provinces of Lower Moesia and Thrace, while their penetration is mainly along the Danube river and the Via Diagonalis. In the central and eastern parts of the Thrace province they appear only sporadically. On the other hand, in the urban territory of Pautalia, located in the most south-western part of Thrace, the presence of Viminacium coins is considerable, filling the serious lack of bronze coins that resulted from the cessation of activities of most Thracian workshops and the new military functions of the rest.

63 On the circulation of the Viminacium coins *cf.* Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2018, 73-100, especially Graph 3; Miškec 2018, 105-114; Vojvoda 2016, 51-74; Găzdac 2008, 269-294; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 135-172.

64 Божкова 2018, 98.

65 Ковачева 2005, 60.

66 Христов 2015, 66-67.

67 Върбанов 2017b, 94-95.

68 Върбанов 2024, 58.

69 Владимирова-Аладжова 2022, 22.

70 Минкова 2005, 92.

71 Ignatova et al. 2015, 17; Филипова 2020, 126. Pazardzhik museum collection keeps 3 more coins of Viminacium, which lack precise find locations - one specimen of Gordian III, Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus each. (Ignatova et al. 2015, 17-18).

72 Андонова 2013, 62.

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CIRCULATION OF PROVINCIAL COINS FROM THE VIMINACIUM MINT AND “PROVINCIA DACIA” COINAGE IN PRESENT-DAY NORTH MACEDONIA

Abstract: The subjects of this article are Roman provincial coins from the Viminacium mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type, found in the territory of present-day North Macedonia. Following the data available, 236 provincial bronze coins, including 227 specimens from the Viminacium mint, and 9 coin finds of the “Provincia Dacia” type, have been documented. Coins from the Viminacium mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type have been discovered at 27 sites, with the highest concentration recorded at the site of Skupi, followed by the sites in the vicinity of Kumanovo. Regarding the number of coin finds, the Bregalnica and Ovče Pole regions comes next, with less intensity of finds in the central part of Macedonia, particularly around Veles. Although less frequent, specimens have also been recorded in Prilep, the area around Kavadarci, the site of Stobi, Isar - Marvinci and the Ohrid region. In the southern part of present-day North Macedonia, as part of the Province of Macedonia, it can be concluded from the available data that these coins were less commonly in circulation.

Keywords: Roman provincial coinage, Viminacium mint, “Provincia Dacia” coinage, North Macedonia

The majority of present-day North Macedonia became part of the Roman province of Macedonia after 148 BC, as is well known.¹ However, some northern regions of present-day North Macedonia may not have belonged to this province. Following his victorious campaign in 29/28 BC, Marcus Licinius Crassus subdued the Moesi, Getae, and Thracians, which led to the expansion of the Roman governor’s administrative and military jurisdiction in Macedonia northward to the Danube.² Later, with the establishment of the province of Moesia after 15 AD, the Skopje-Kumanovo region was incorporated into it,³ while the north-eastern part of present-day North Macedonia, specifically the Kratovo-Kriva Palanka region, may have been included in the newly formed province of Thrace.⁴ These borders remained unchanged until the military-administrative reforms of Late Antiquity, specifically Diocletian’s reform in 297 AD, when the territory of present-day North Macedonia became part of the Central Balkan prefecture of Illyricum, within the dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia.⁵

Coins from local mints were frequently used in everyday transactions, playing a significant role in trade and exchange to meet the needs of the local population. The individual coin finds

1 Папазоглу 1957, 55-56.

2 Папазоглу 1957, 77.

3 Papazoglu 1969, 327; Papazoglou 1988, 84; Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 21-24; Mirković 1996, 28-30.

4 There are opposing views on this matter; however, the prevailing opinion favours the affiliation of this region with the province of Thrace, cf. Папазоглу 1957, 76-79, 83-87, 93-95.

5 Папазоглу 1957, 87-90; Papazoglou 1988, 90-98; Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 20-24; Јованова 2013, 793-795.

discovered so far on the territory of present-day North Macedonia, according to statistical data, indicate that, in addition to issues from the provincial capital of Macedonia - Thessalonica, coins from the Macedonian Koinon, Amphipolis, Philippi, Pella, Edessa, Diun, Stobi, and Cassandrea were also in circulation.⁶ However, coins from the Viminacium mint have also been found in circulation. Viminacium, known as the capital of the province of Moesia Superior and the headquarters of the Legion VII Claudia (*Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*), was one of the most significant military centres along the Danube.⁷ It has been confirmed that coins were first minted there in 239 AD, during the reign of Gordian III when the city was granted the status of a colony.⁸ The scarcity of bronze coinage of senatorial emission in trade around cities along the Danube and in the Balkan provinces, particularly during the 3rd century, is believed to have been a major factor in the establishment of a new provincial mint. Thus, coin production began in Viminacium in 239 AD, followed by “Provincia Dacia” in 246 AD, according to researchers studying the operations of these mints.⁹

The circulation of coins from these mints has been confirmed throughout the 3rd century, especially in the region of Moesia Superior. However, evidence suggests that these coins were also in use within the monetary system of the province of Macedonia. Therefore, this study focuses on 236 coin specimens, of which 227 were minted at the Viminacium mint and 9 are of the “Provincia Dacia” type, documented within the territory of present-day North Macedonia, at this stage of research. The relative proportion of these two mints is 96% Viminacium and 4% the “Provincia Dacia” type.

A total of 212 single finds have been discovered so far. Additionally, four hoards contain 24 specimens from the Viminacium mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type. From the site of Skupi, two hoards have been recorded (Skupi/2001 and Skupi/2014). The first (Skupi/2001), discovered on an “ancient city street”, contains 97 specimens, including two coins from Viminacium, one from Gordian III, and the other from Trajan Decius. The second hoard (Skupi/2014), discovered in the theatre, consists of 60 specimens, including five coins from the reign of Gordian III from the Viminacium mint. The third hoard (Crvulevo/2000) was discovered at the site of Crvulevo near Štip and includes 87 specimens. Among them are two coins from the reign of Philip I, one from the Viminacium mint and the other of the “Provincia Dacia” type. The fourth hoard, (Ohridska banka/2004), originating from the collection of Ohridska Banka (now Sparkasse Bank), consists of 15 specimens, all from the same mint.

In contrast to the mint of Viminacium, only a small number of discovered coins belong to the “Provincia Dacia” type, totalling 9 specimens. Among the 227 coins from Viminacium, the following emperors are represented: Gordian III with 64 specimens (28%), Philip I with the largest number at 82 specimens (36%), Otacilia Severa with 1 specimen, Philip II with 1, Trajan Decius with 18, Herennia Etruscilla with 9, Herennius Etruscus with 5, Hostilian with 17, Trebonianus Gallus with 12, Volusian with 7, Aemilian with 2, and Gallienus, the last emperor represented, with 1 specimen. An additional eight coins could not be attributed to a specific em-

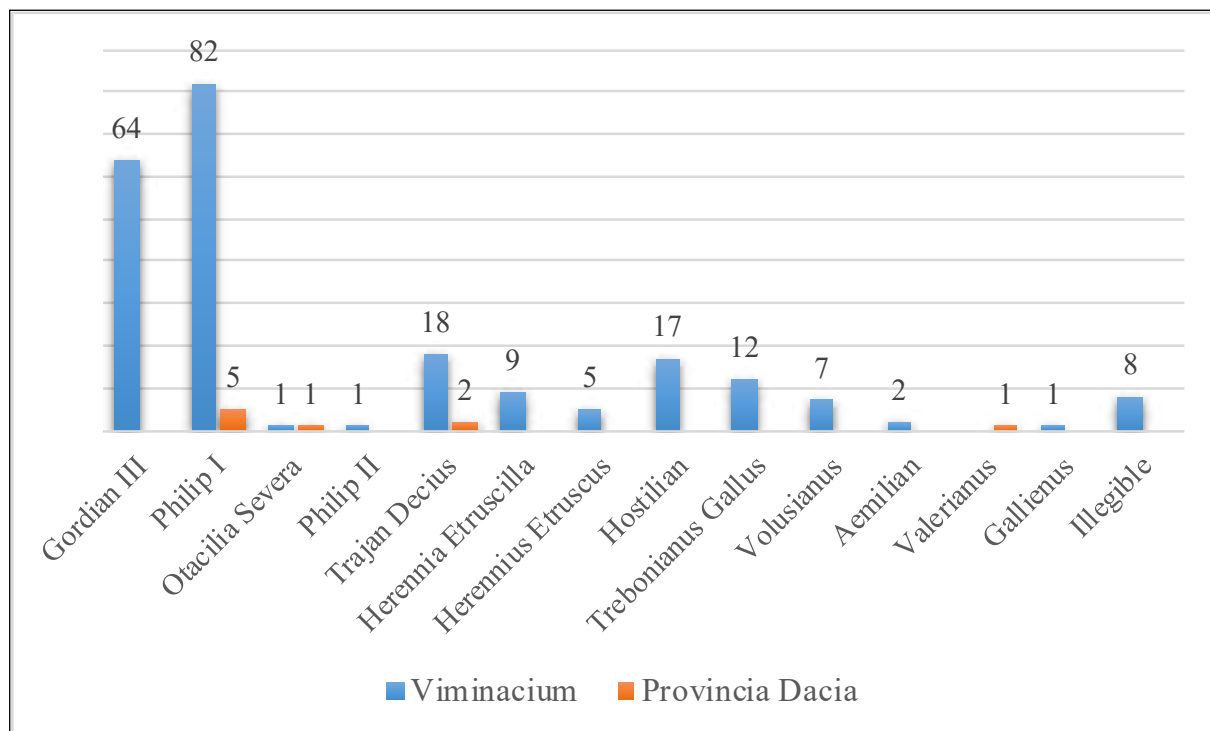
6 For an overview of coin finds and circulation in Macedonia ca. 200 BC–286 AD, cf. Touratsoglou 1993.

7 Dušanić 1976, 53-57; Mirković 1968, 63-69.

8 Dušanić 1976, 58; RPC IX, 57-58.

9 Борић-Брешковић 1976, 8-23; Martin 1992, 21; Црнобрња 1993, 16-19; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 136; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2018, 74-75; Vojvoda, Crnobrnja 2023, 557-558.

peror or a local minting year.¹⁰ Based on the analysed material, the coins of the emperors Gordian III and Philip I, totalling 146 specimens, are the most represented in the territory of North Macedonia, accounting for 65% of the overall numismatic material from the Viminacium mint. This higher circulation intensity aligns with the already confirmed presence of these emperors across the broader region of Moesia Superior.



Graph 1 – Presence of coinage from Viminacium and “Provincia Dacia” coinage on the territory of present-day North Macedonia by rulers.

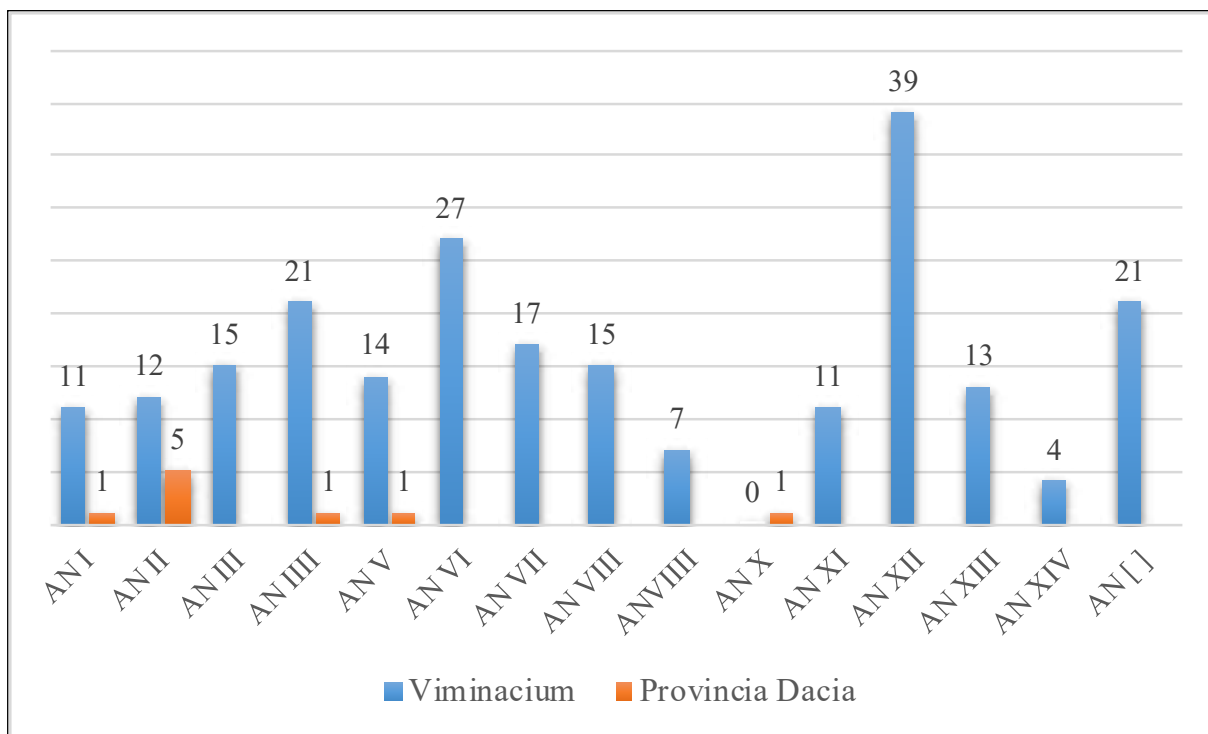
The discovered coins include all local years from AN I to AN XIV. Coins from local years XV and XVI are missing. Additionally, the local year X, corresponding to the year 249, is also absent, as it has already been established that the mint was not operational during that period.¹¹ However, the majority of the coins belong to the local years IIII, VI, and VIIII, with a particularly notable concentration from the local year XII.

As is well known, the mint issued three denominations: AE1 (sestertius), AE2 (dupondius), and AE3 (as). It is generally accepted that the coins from Viminacium and the “Provincia Dacia” coinage imitate the imperial monetary system for bronze coinage.¹² The crisis of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century is also evident through the coins from this mint, discovered on the territory of present-day North Macedonia. This is particularly noticeable in the sestertii,

10 The identification of the coins was done according to Pick 1898; RPC VII.2; RPC IX; SNG Cop.; Ohridska banka coll.

11 RIC IV/3, 65-66; Carson 1972, 27; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 145; Vasić 2012, 14-15.

12 Martin 1992, 15-16; Alföldy-Găzdac, Găzdac 2004, 247-249; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 135-171; RPC IX, 57-58; Hostein, Mairat 2016, 42.



Graph 2 – Presence of Viminacium and “Provincia Dacia” coins in present-day North Macedonia, according to minting year.

whose weight is not uniform. According to available specimens of the AE1 denomination, the weight ranges from the heaviest at 21.35 g, from the time of Gordian III, to the lightest at 7.66 g, from the time of Aemilian. An analysis of the nominal values indicates that sestertii predominate with 94%, followed by dupondii with 5%, and asses with 1% (Table 1).

Emperor	Denomination			Total
	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	
Gordian III	54	8	2	64
Philip I	85	2	/	87
Otacila Severa	2	/	/	2
Philip II	1	/	/	1
Trajan Decius	20	/	/	20
Herennia Etruscilla	9	/	/	9
Herennius Etruscus	5	/	/	5
Hostilian	16	1	/	17
Trebonianus Gallus	12	/	/	12
Volusian	7	/	/	7
Aemilian	2	/	/	2
Valerianus	1	/	/	1

Gallienus	1	/	/	1
Illegible	8	/	/	8
Total	223	11	2	236

Table 1 – Viminacium and “Provincia Dacia” coin by denomination.

Based on the data available so far, coins from the provincial mint in Viminacium and “Provincial Dacia” coinage have been documented at 27 archaeological sites (Table 2). In the **Skopje region**, 46 specimens have been recorded, representing 17% of the total, with the highest concentration found in Scupi, where 36 coins have been documented.¹³ Colonia Scupi was the southernmost city of the province of Moesia Superior and served as an important military, administrative, and religious centre. The city was inhabited by veterans and functioned as a supply hub for the Roman legions, as confirmed by epigraphic monuments discovered in Scupi.¹⁴ This conclusion is further supported by the significant presence of coins from Viminacium.¹⁵ Of these, 29 specimens originate from the urban settlement, the theatre, and burials. Two hoards containing coins from the Viminacium mint have been discovered in Scupi. The first hoard (Skupi/2001) was found on an “ancient city street” and contained 97 coins, two of which were from the Viminacium mint. The latest coin in this hoard was minted in 582/583, which provides a date for the deposit.¹⁶ The second hoard (Skupi/2014) comprises 60 coins from different periods, ranging from the 1st century (from the Philippi mint) to the reign of Valens (364-378). This hoard includes five specimens from the Viminacium mint, all issued under Emperor Gordian III.¹⁷ Since the latest coin in the hoard dates to the reign of Valens, it can be inferred that the deposit was buried during this period. Additionally, several isolated coin finds from the Skopje region can be noted, including 4 specimens from the Skopsko Kale fortress,¹⁸ as well as single specimens from Goléma Pešt - Matka,¹⁹ Davina Kula - Čičer,²⁰ the site of Taor,²¹ and the villages of Dračevo and Orešani, along with one specimen from the vicinity of Skopje.²²

In the **Kumanovo region**, a concentration of coins from this mint has also been recorded, totalling 25 specimens. The majority of these were discovered at the sites of Crkvište - Ramnište, near the village of Klečovce (6 pcs), and Gradište - Pelince (5 pcs). Additionally, single specimens have been found at Kostoperska Karpa,²³ Dobrosenjane (the village of Čelo-

13 Ončevska-Todorovska 2004, 29-42; Miloševski, Lilčić 2017, 430-431, 446-447; Jovanova, Ončevska-Todotovska 2018, 397, Cat. 173; Милошевски 2018, 318-321; Šeldarova 2022, 305-312, 314-317.

14 Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 23-26.

15 Šeldarova-Vasileva 2022, 305-312, Cat. 1-36.

16 Ončevska-Todorovska 2004, 29-30, Cat. 4-5.

17 Милошевски 2018, 318-322.

18 I am grateful to my colleague, Mr. Trajan Zafirovski from the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia, for permitting me to study the coins from the Skopsko Kale fortress.

19 Lilčić, Miloševski 1997, 84.

20 Stančevski 2000, 87.

21 Ristov 2019, 257-258, 265, Cat. 6.

22 The three coins belong to the numismatic collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and remain unpublished.

23 The coin is kept in an NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and remains unpublished.

pek) and Karabičane, all in the vicinity of Kumanovo. From this region, 11 specimens come from an unknown site.²⁴

In the **Ovče Pole region**, 8 specimens have been documented.²⁵ In the **Kratovo region**, 3 coins have been recorded, 2 of which are from the site of Golemo Gradište - Konjuh,²⁶ and one specimen from the surroundings of Kratovo.²⁷ From the **Tetovo region**, a single coin has been found at Dva Bresta near the village of Lešok.

In the **Vardar region**, south of Veles, 30 specimens have been recorded. The collection of the National Institution - Museum of Veles contains 15 specimens.²⁸ Of these, 8 come from an unknown site in the vicinity of Veles, 3 from Gorni Disan - Negotino, 2 from Viničani - Gradsko, and 1 specimen each from the site of Ogragje, the village of Vojnica and the site of Crkva near the village of Klukovec, in the Veles area.²⁹ At Svekjani - Gradsko, 5 coins have been discovered,³⁰ along with 2 from the site of Stobi.³¹ Additionally, 5 coins have been found in the vicinity of Kavadarci³² and 1 at Gradište - Drenovo.³³ At the site of Isar - Marvinci, only 2 specimens have been recorded: one of Philip I and one of Trajan Decius, representing the southernmost finds from the Vardar Valley.³⁴

In the **Bregalnica region**, 16 specimens have been recorded, of which 5 have been documented in at the site of Batulica, in the village of Crvulevo and 3 from the site of Bandera, the village of Dolen Kozjak, near Štip. The remaining 8 specimens from this region lack precise location data.³⁵ The find from the village of Crvulevo (Crvulevo/2000) is the third documented hoard in the territory of present-day North Macedonia, containing coins from the Viminacium

24 I would like to thank my colleague Ms. Aleksandra Apostolova from the Museum-Kumanovo, for sharing information about the coins from Viminacium in the coin collection of the Museum in Kumanovo. Some of these coins have been published in: Јанева, 2019 and Апостолова 2023, 5-15.

25 Јанева 2019, 173-177.

26 Zafirovski 2022, 82, Cat. 6-7.

27 Coin belongs to the numismatic collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and remains unpublished.

28 I am grateful to my colleague, Dr Anita Vasilkova, from the National Museum Veles, for sharing information about the coin collection of the Museum, originating from the Viminacium mint.

29 The coins were presented by Lidija Georgieva in the lecture: "Монетите од ковниците Стоби и Виминациум застапени во збирката на Народен Музеј Велес (The coins from the mints of Stobi and Viminacium represented in the collection of the National Museum Veles)" within the framework of the XXVII Symposium of the Macedonian Archaeological Society, held in Bitola, from November 20th-22nd, 2024.

30 The coins belong to the coin collection of NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and remain unpublished.

31 According to the processed material so far, only two coins from the site of Stobi have been documented. One is referenced in Bitrak 2012, 80, Cat. 30, while the other remains unpublished. I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague Milena Reškova, numismatist at NI Stobi, for sharing this information.

32 From the vicinity of Kavadarci, two specimens are kept in the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia, while the remaining ones have been published in: Ѓеоргиева, Анатасов 2020, 21, Cat. 69-71.

33 Петрова 1978, 369-371.

34 Despite the extensive numismatic material from the imperial period discovered at the site of Isar - Marvinci, only two coins from the Viminacium mint have been documented from excavations carried out between 1979 and 1984. These coins belong to the numismatic collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and remain unpublished.

35 For the circulation of provincial coins from the Viminacium mint in the Bregalnica Region cf. Janeva 2013, 13-18, T. II; Јанева 2019, 39-49, 89-92, 173-180, T. I-III.

mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type. The hoard consists of 87 specimens, including 2 coins minted during the reign of Philip I - one bearing the legend *P M S COL VIM* and the other *PRO-VINCIA DACIA*. The hoard was discovered near a late antique necropolis at the site of Batulica, in the village of Crvulevo, near Štip. It contains late antique coins, spanning from the time of Diocletian to Valens.³⁶ The latest coin in the deposit belongs to Valens (364-378), suggesting that the hoard was likely buried during or shortly after his reign.

In the **Prilep region**, 10 specimens have been recorded. Of these, 9 belong to the collection of the National Institute and Museum - Prilep, with 8 originating from an unknown location and one from Varoš.³⁷ Additionally, one specimen from the collection of the Archaeological Museum comes from the site of Styberra, Čepigovo.³⁸

The collection of Ohridska banka (today's Sparkasse Bank) holds 34 specimens from the Viminacium mint, of which 19 are individual finds, and 15 originate from the aforementioned hoard, (Ohridska banka/2004) all of which were acquired through **purchase**. The Ohridska banka/2004 hoard is the first recorded deposit consisting exclusively of coins from the Viminacium mint on the territory of North Macedonia.³⁹ The exact location of its discovery cannot be determined with certainty, but based on available information, it is possible that it **did not originate from the Ohrid region**. The numismatic collection of the Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Museum - Ohrid holds a single coin of Emperor Philip I, discovered in the village of Velestovo near Ohrid.⁴⁰

Archaeological sites	Total number of coins	
	Viminacium	“Provincia Dacia” type
Skopje region		
Site Skupi	36	1
Fortress Skopsko Kale	4	
Site Golema Pešt - Matka	1	
Site Davina Kula, Čučer	1	
Site Taor	1	
Village Dračevo	1	
Village Orešani	1	
Vicinity of Skopje (unknown site)	1	
Kumanovo region		
Site Crkvište, Ramnište, village Klečovce	6	
Site Gradište, village Pelince	5	1

36 Janeva 2000, 49-54.

37 I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague Duško Temelkovski from the NI Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Museum - Prilep for granting permission to study the coins from the museum's collection.

38 Unpublished.

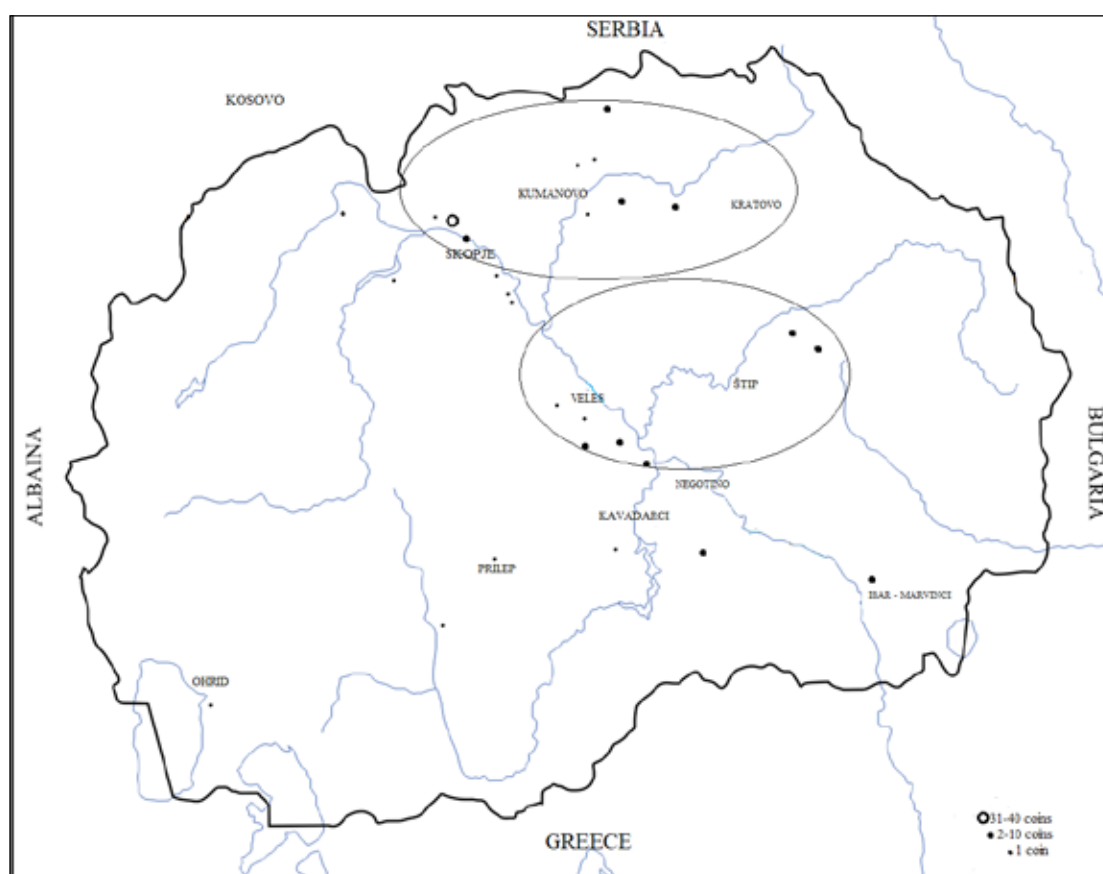
39 Ohridska banka coll., 123-126, 149-150, Cat. Nos. 372-390, 253-254.

40 I would like to thank Fanče Kanevceva Iloska for sharing information regarding the coin collection of the Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Museum - Ohrid.

Kostoperska karpa	1	
Dobroseljane, village Čelopeg	1	
Karabičane	1	
Vicinity of Kumanovo (unknown sites)	11	
Ovče pole region		
Ovče pole (unknown sites)	8	
Kratovo region		
Site Golemo Gradište, Konjuh	2	
Vicinity of Kratovo (unknown site)	1	
Tetovo region		
Dva bresti, village Lešok	1	
Vardar region		
Vicinity of Veles (unknown sites)	8	
Site Gorni Disan, Negotino	3	
Viničani, Gradsko	2	
Site Orgagje, village Vojnica	1	
Site Crkva, village Klukovec	1	
Site Svekjani, Gradsko	5	
Site Stobi	2	
Vicinity of Kavadarci (unknown sites)	5	
Gradište, Drenovo	1	
Site Isar-Marvinci	2	
Bregalnica region		
Site Batulica, village Crvulevo, Štip	5	2
Site Bandera, Dolen Kozjak, Štip	3	
Bregalnica region (unknown sites)	8	
Prilep region		
Vicinity of Prilep (unknown sites)	8	
Site Varoš, Prilep	1	
Site Styberra, Čepigovo	1	
Ohrid region		
Village Velestovo, Ohrid,	1	
Coins found in North Macedonia from an unknown site		
Unknown sites	87	5
Total	227	9
Total	236	

Table 2 – Finds of provincial coins from the Viminacium mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type in the territory of present-day North Macedonia.

Regarding the coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type (Table 2),⁴¹ a relatively small number have been registered within the territory of present-day North Macedonia, with only nine specimens recorded. This is because these issues were minted exclusively for local use.⁴² Five specimens are attributed to Philip I, one to Otacilia Severa, two to Trajan Decius, and one to Valerian I. Of these, four come from an unknown location.⁴³ Two specimens were discovered at the site of Batulica, in the village of Crvulevo - one as an individual find and the other as part of the previously mentioned hoard (Crvulevo/2000).⁴⁴ Additionally, one specimen each has been recorded from the site of Scupi (from the theatre),⁴⁵ from Gradište (the village of Pelince, Kumanovo), and from an unknown location.⁴⁶ The discovered coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type, which were produced in significantly smaller quantities compared to the coins from Viminacium, did not play a significant role in the monetary circulation of North Macedonia.



Map 1 – The main circulation zones of coins from the Viminacium mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type in the territory of present-day North Macedonia.

- 41 On this coinage cf. Pick 1898; Martin 1992; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2004, 247-258; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2005, 651-661.
- 42 Vojvoda, Crnobrnja 2023, 562.
- 43 The coins belong to the ancient numismatic collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and have not been published.
- 44 Janeva 2000, 49-50, Cat. 2; Janeva 2019, 179, Cat. 1a.
- 45 Miloševski, Lilčić 2017, 446, Cat. 61.
- 46 Janeva 2019, 179-180, Cat. 2, 3a.

Of a large number of specimens (92), or 39% of the total documented numismatic material, the context of their discovery is unknown. However, based on the numismatic record and known sites, it can still be concluded that the coins from Viminacium and the “Provincia Dacia” type circulated and were used for monetary supply in the territory of the Province of Macedonia and the southern part of Moesia Superior. A significant number of coins, 94%, are sestertii (AE1), which is typical for imperial bronze coins. Less common are the dupondii (5%) and asses (1%). The majority of the coins are from the emperors Gordian III and Philip I, spanning the period from 238 to 249 AD, with a total of 152 specimens (65%). They are followed by coins from Trajan Decius, Hostilian, and Trebonianus Gallus, with 48 specimens, or 20% of the total documented material.

Based on the distribution of finds from the Viminacium mint and the “Provincia Dacia” type, it can be concluded that the coins from Viminacium played a significant role in the economy of the mid-3rd century in the considered territory. With regard to imperial and provincial bronze coins in the period when the mint in Viminacium operated, from 239 to 255, in present-day North Macedonia with the current numismatic material processed from more significant archaeological sites such as the sites of Skupi, Stobi, Styberra - Prilep, Plaošnik - Ohrid, Carevi Kuli - Strumica, Isar - Marvinci, Gradište - Negotino, etc., only a small number of imperial bronze coins have been documented, so far 10 specimens.⁴⁷ Based on the currently discovered and documented imperial and provincial bronze coins from the period between 239 and 255 AD, it can be concluded that imperial bronze coins did not play a significant role in the monetary supply and circulation within this territory. As is well known, in the mid-3rd century, antoniniani dominated coin circulation,⁴⁸ along with provincial bronzes, with a larger share of coins from the Macedonian Koinon and coins minted in the province of Macedonia, which played a significant role in daily exchanges within the province. However, this does not provide a complete picture of the circulation of imperial bronze coins from the area of present-day North Macedonia, due to the lack of information from numismatic collections in museums, many of which remain unprocessed and unpublished.

From the available data, it can be established that most coin finds were found at sites where the military was stationed, specifically in the southern parts of the Province of Moesia Superior, as well as along the course of the Vardar river, following the main road known as the Vardarski Pat (*Via Axia*). Coins from the provincial mints in Viminacium and the “Provincia Dacia” type have been documented at 27 sites, with the highest concentration recorded at the site of Skupi, which was the most important city in the province of Moesia Superior and a major military urban centre,⁴⁹ followed by the sites of Crkvište (the village of Ramnište - Klečonce), Gradište (the village of Pelince, Kumanovo), Batulica (the village of Crvulevo, Štip), and Svekjani - Gradsko. In terms of the number of coin finds, the Bregalnica region comes next, with a lesser intensity in the central part of Macedonia, particularly around Veles. Although less frequent, specimens have also been recorded in Prilep, the area around Kavadarci, the site of Stobi, Isar - Marvinci,

47 Bitrak 2016, 40-42, 50-51, Cat. 152-153, 158-159; Ohridska banka coll., 117, Cat. 340, 341, 119, Cat. 351, 352, 121, Cat. 360; Miloševski, Lilčić 2017, 445, Cat. 56; One coin belongs to the ancient numismatic collection of the NI Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia and has not been published. It comes from the site of Isar - Marvinci, dating to the time of Gordian III in 243 AD, minted in Rome.

48 This image is also confirmed by the discovered hoards from this period, which have been found on the territory of present-day North Macedonia: Bitrak, Josifovski 2020, 71-73; Bitrak 2024, 22-26.

49 Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 23-28; Jovanova, Ončevska-Todorovska 2018, 19-20.

and the Ohrid region. However, these coins circulated alongside those from Macedonian mints. In the southern part of present-day North Macedonia, as part of the Province of Macedonia, it can be concluded from the available data that these coins were less commonly in circulation.⁵⁰ Based on the discovered finds, it can be inferred that there was a higher concentration of these coins in the Skopje-Kumanovo region, which lies in the southernmost part of the Moesia Superior province. In trade exchanges, the presence of the military in this region during the 3rd century should not be overlooked, as well as the need for its payment, as has already been noted.⁵¹

However, there is still unprocessed material in numismatic collections that originates from archaeological excavations across the country. This study represents an initial attempt to illustrate the need for the circulation of money and exchange of goods, as evidenced by the Viminacium mint and coins of the “Provincia Dacia” type in the southern parts of the province of Moesia Superior and the province of Macedonia. This picture will undoubtedly be supplemented and expanded by future research.

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50 For a parallel on the monetary circulation of Roman provincial coins from the Viminacium mint in the territory of present-day Slovenia cf. Miškec 2018, 105-114.

51 Kos 1986, 109-111; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 144-145; Găzdac 2016, 57-58.

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TRANSFER OF ICONOGRAPHIC CONCEPTS: SPECIFIC COIN TYPE WITH ASCLEPIUS IN PAUTALIA AND NICAIA COINAGE

Abstract: The city-type Roman provincial coinage of Pautalia, the province of Thrace, has been a subject of enduring scholarly interest. Among the questions that have engaged the researchers are those related to the impressive iconographic diversity of this coinage. The reverse type, featuring Asclepius on a flying serpent/dragon, has consistently been identified as unique to the city's issues and even considered a kind of city emblem of Pautalia. The innovative perspective of Digital Numismatics has enabled the identification of this specific coin type in the coinage of Nicaea, the province of Bithynia and Pontus. This discovery not only provides a new perspective on the dynamics of economic processes in the 3rd century AD in the Balkan and Asia Minor provincial territories of the Roman Empire but also opens a new avenue for studying and interpreting the transfer of iconographic concepts, both in technological and cultural aspects, with the potential to pose new scientific questions.

Keywords: Roman provincial coinage, transfer of concepts, Digital Numismatics, Pautalia, Nicaea

This publication presents the first stage of research, revealing a change in the state of knowledge about a traditionally researched numismatic question achieved through the application of Digital Numismatics methodology.

Despite the rapid development of the digital research environment (including concepts as the Graph of Ancient World Data (GAWD), Linked Open Data (LOD), Semantic Web, etc.¹ the scientific potential of the Digital Humanities (DH) field still seems to be questioned. As part of this concept, Digital Numismatics (DN) is subjected to similar doubts. The current text addresses this situation by commenting on an example of the added knowledge value of the DN methodology. Beyond the clear and immense potential for data gathering in the digital environment, the aforementioned scientific dispute could be influenced only by examples of research conducted within this digital environment.

Concerning the chosen example

The Roman provincial coinage is an exciting and rich research area.² Questions concerning coin typology, die sharing, and locally unique types are of fundamental importance. Exactly their processing is both qualitatively and quantitatively affected by the intensive development of digital resources and projects.³

1 Isaksen et al. 2014; Gruber, Meadows 2021; Gruber et al. 2014.

2 RPC I, 1-54; <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/introduction>; Howgego et al. 2005.

3 Peter 2019; Грозданова 2021.

Pautalia (present-day Kyustendil, SW Bulgaria)⁴ and *territorium Pautaliense* province of Thrace were directly neighboring the provinces of Macedonia and Moesia Superior. Logistically well-located, the city was connected to the main roads in the region through several itineraries. It was connected to the *Via Diagonalis* and *Via Egnatia*, as well as to important city centers within Thrace and the provinces of Lower Moesia, Upper Moesia, and Macedonia.⁵

The provincial mint is active from the time of Emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) to that of Emperor Caracalla (AD 198-217).⁶ Its coinage, the characteristics of its circulation, and the dispersal of finds containing such specimens present intriguing and diverse key topics concerning the study of different aspects of the movement, travel, connectivity, and the road system of the Empire.

The “unique” type of Pautalia – observations

A notable example of a significant reverse coin type from Pautalia is the specific type representing an unusual design of the main deity of the city, Asclepius⁷ on a winged serpent/ dragon.⁸ For a long time, the type has been considered not only representative but also specifically created and exclusive to the city, hence not found in the issues of another town.⁹ Except very rarely attested for Lucius Verus, it is issued for Septimius Severus, his wife and sons.

In the course of my work on the Pautalia coinage based on the implementation of digital tools,¹⁰ I encountered the “unique” Pautalian type issued for one of the later Severans, Severus Alexander (AD 222-235), by the city of Nicaea, in the province of Bithynia-Pontus.¹¹ The discovery was made while conducting an intentionally broadly defined search based on iconographic criteria on the numismatic platform specialised in Roman provincial coinage <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>. This not only changed the state of knowledge concerning the specific coin type, but also opened up more complex considerations regarding the context in which this phenomenon could be explained.

4 The Roman city of Puatalia has provoked a long and productive scientific interest. Diverse questions regarding its topography and architecture, religious and economic life, as well as its coin production have been researched by authors as Божкова 2006; Ботева 1997, 143-152; Croon 1967; Гочева 2000; Goceva 1992; Grigorova 2000; Grigorova 1995; Grigorova-Gencheva, Grozdanova 2022; Grigorova-Gencheva, Grozdanova 2021; Димитров 2022; Димитров 2021; Кацарова 2005; Danoff 1962, 800-824; Мушмов 1912, 231-245; Parissaki 2016, 189-191; Паунов 2016; Prokopov et al. 2009; Peter, Grozdanova 2021; Русева, Слокоска 1989; Русева, Слокоска 1982; Тачев 2020; Tonini 2012; Varbanov 2005, 374-458.

5 Grigorova 1995, 42-44; Тачева 2004, 89-106; Кацарова 2005, 212-219; Katsarova 2012, 263-254.

6 This dating is widely supported by the researchers *cf.* Ruzicka 1933, 14-15; Grigorova 1995, 39; Grozdanova 2017; Тачев 2020, 56. On different theories concerning the period of issuing of Pautalia *cf.* Мушмов 1912 (recognises issues also for Elagabal (nos. 4359-4367) and Gordianus III (no. 4368); Varbanov 2005, 457-458 (identifies specimens of Elagabal).

7 Грозданова 2016; Димитров 2021, 71; Ruzicka 1932-1933, 29-30; Тачев 2020, 20-22.

8 Димитров 2021, 72; Ruzicka 1932-1933, 38; nos. 159, 260, 342-348, 434, 612-618, 883; Тачев 2020, 22.

9 The list of authors expressing this observation is long and includes me at the beginning of my work on the coinage of Pautalia in 2013. Hence, I am especially grateful to the editorial board of the current volume for the opportunity to correct and enhance my own observations on the subject.

10 On the user perspective concerning the implementation of digital tools, *cf.* Grozdanova, Ivanova-Anaplioti forth.

11 Preliminary observations on the discovery were presented within the poster session during the “Roads, Communication & Mobility” 3rd International Conference “Roman and Late Antique Thrace” (RaLATH), 19-21 October 2018 Komotini, Greece.

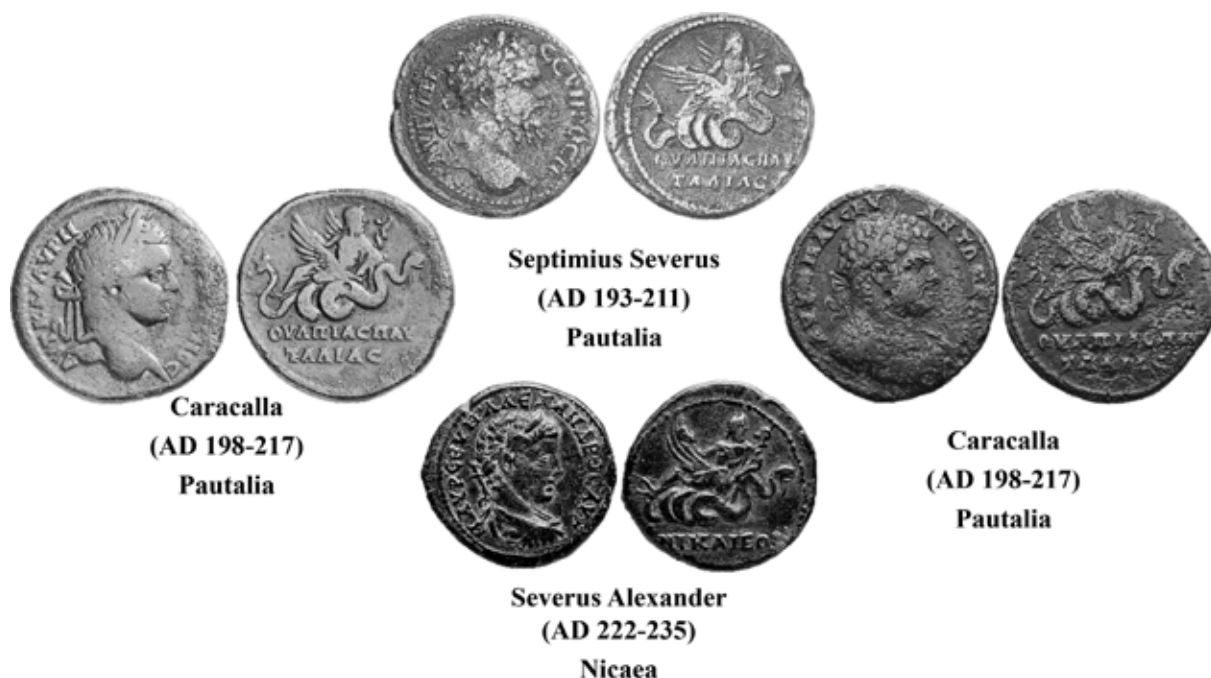


Fig. 1 – Examples of the Asclepius on a winged serpent/ dragon from Pautalia and Nicaea.¹²

The context

The intensive communication and interaction between the Eastern and Balkan territories of the Empire is a reality that has already been identified and studied by researchers.¹³ When developing his theory on the traveling workshops and their supply area (“Lieferbezirk”), Konrad Kraft¹⁴ highlights the similarities and connections between the Asia Minor and the Thracian territories of the Roman Empire. He even goes further by applying his die-sharing theory, developed for Asia Minor, to Thrace. This concept is further developed by researchers such as Edith Schönert-Geiß¹⁵ and Hans-Dietrich Schultz.¹⁶

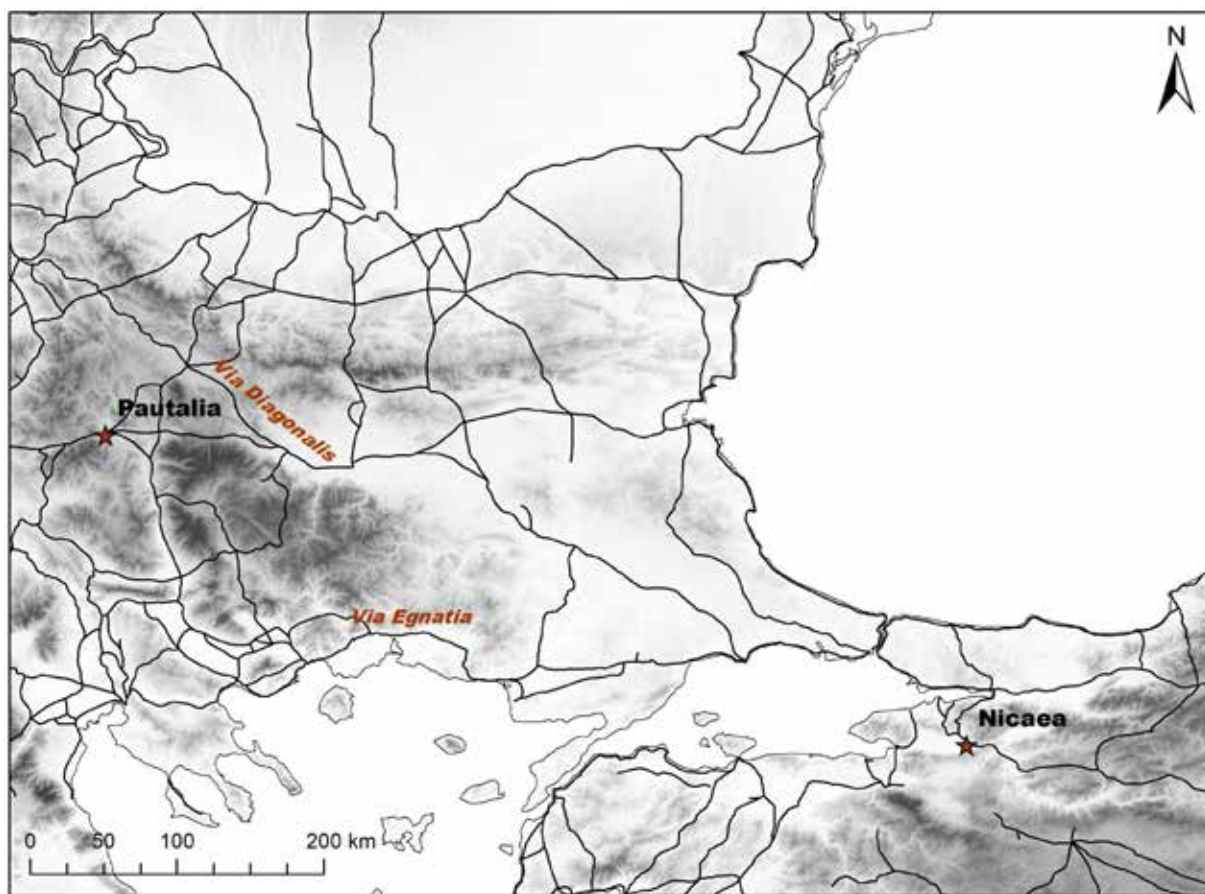
12 Photo sources: Septimius Severus: <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18243684/> (accessed 2nd April, 2025); Severus Alexander: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/3156/> (accessed 2nd April, 2025); Caracalla: <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18243774/> (accessed 2nd April, 2025); Caracalla: http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/CNT_9726 (accessed 2nd April, 2025).

13 On the recent development of the topic cf. Димитров 2021; Димитров 2022, Vojvoda 2017; Vojvoda, Crno-brnja 2018; Vojvoda, Tapavički-Ilić 2017. A recent highlight of the research direction was the panel organised by Hale Güney and Mirjana Vojvoda “The Roman Provincial Coins of Bithynian Mints found in Europe”, within the frames of the international conference “10th Joint Meeting of ECFN and Nomisma.org & the 2nd Bulgarian Numismatic Readings TOGETHER, 19-23 June 2023, Sofia”. The proceedings of which are due to be published in 2025.

14 Kraft 1972, 101.

15 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16.

16 Schultz 1999.



Map 1 – Map of the localisation of Pautalia and Nicaea (by L. Grozdanova).

The current state

The current state of research on the numismatic materials from Pautalia and Nicaea, in both traditional and digital environments, allows for some limited observations.

Under the rule of Severus Alexander, just a few years after its peak under the first Severans, the decrease in the minting in Thrace is already feasible; Pautalia itself does not issue anymore. Nevertheless, the eastern provincial city mints are still very much active.¹⁷

An additional aspect, although based on the limited specimen basis for this type from Nicaea, is revealed by the comparison of the iconography and the form of the letters in the legend on the coins from the two cities (more explicitly for example between specimens of the later Caracalla issues from Pautalia and the one of Severus Alexander of Nicaea; Fig. 2). There are clear similarities in the craftsmanship.

¹⁷ Heuchert 2005.



Fig. 2 – Comparison between specimens of the later Caracalla issues from Pautalia and the specimen of Severus Alexander from Nicaea.¹⁸

The two observations could indicate a transfer of know-how, most likely through the ateliers or die cutters moving from Thrace into the territories with remaining active provincial mints of Asia Minor. For the moment, this concept could remain just a suggestion. Still, the time from the end of the Pautalian issues under Caracalla to the Nicaean issues of Severus Alexander allows such a transition even within the active years of a craftsman.

Furthermore, the known up-to-the-moment specimens register a specific pattern. The reverse type of Asclepius on a winged serpent/dragon in the Pautalian coinage appears to be attested only for rulers connected to military activity in the eastern territories of the Empire, such as the Parthian campaigns of Lucius Verus and those of Septimius Severus and his *Domus Augusta*. The type for Severus Alexander issued in Nicaea, also shares this aspect – the Persian war of the last Severus.

Questions currently being researched

It must once again be emphasized that the materials are relatively few; therefore, a high level of caution must be exercised when drawing conclusions based on them. Still, the new digital research perspectives do shed new light.

¹⁸ Photo sources: Caracalla: http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/CNT_9726 (accessed 2nd April, 2025); Severus Alexander: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/3156/> (accessed 2nd April, 2025).

What actually changed regarding the type specific to Pautalia?

In my opinion, it still seems that its creation and functioning in Pautalia is connected to the city, its polis identity and political reality. Based on the feasible similarities in iconography and even production quality, it could be assumed that the type, at some point after the interruption of minting in Pautalia, traveled away.

This raises further important questions:

Could there be a direct connection between the issues of the two cities minting the specific type, which would explain its adoption by the Nicaea polis identity?

Additionally, returning to the origin of the unusual and still unexplained iconography, the earliest known Pautalian specimen from the time of Lucius Verus presents a further aspect to consider. If we accept a connection between the creation of the Asclepius on a winged serpent/dragon type and the Parthian war of Lucius Verus as possible, could we expect and search for an eastern influence on its reasoning, notion, and iconography, especially in the early specimens of the type?



Fig. 3 – Comparison of the iconography for Lucius Verus (AD 161-169) from Pautalia and Nicaea.¹⁹

To what degree is there a migration of types from Thrace toward the Asia Minor territories? Is it a natural continuation of the intensive iconographic communication between Asia Minor and Thrace, as attested by the researchers?²⁰

19 Photo sources: Lucius Verus: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/5938/> (accessed 2nd April, 2025); Lucius Verus: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/8838/> (accessed 2nd April, 2025).

20 Cf. Димитров 2022; Kraft 1972, 101; Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16; Schultz 1999.

Based on the new data and digital methodology, could further city mints be identified as issuing this particular type?

To conclude

The digital environment made it possible to change a concept considered a fact for more than a century of research on Pautalia. The Asclepius on a winged serpent/dragon type is no longer unique for the polis issues of Pautalia, as it exists also in Nicaea. This observation proved possible only within the context of massive digitization in Digital Numismatics; hence, it is a testament to the research potential of the digital environment, which is capable of actively transforming our knowledge. Still, this is just the first phase of research on the specific issue.

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EVIDENCE OF THE CIRCULATION OF THE “LIMES SUBSIDIARY COINAGES” IN THE AREA OF *VENETIA ET HISTRIA*

Abstract: The contribution addresses the finds of copies of Roman imperial coins produced in the area of the northern *Limes* (plated and cast *denarii*, *limesfalsa*, *nummi subferrati*) coming from north-eastern Italy, former *Venetia et Histria*. The prototypes of silver copies are dated between the Augustan age and the reign of Gordian III, while the bulk of cast bronze denominations imitate coins of the Antonines and the Severans. Finds are mainly concentrated in the area between Aquileia and *Emona*, as a result of the strong military and commercial connections with the Danubian basin. A further concentration of finds is known in the lower Po Valley, where copies produced in the north-western provinces are attested as well. In particular, the circulation of cast bronze coins was fostered by the trade carried out along the Po river. Nevertheless, this waterway also became a military stronghold in the 3rd century and finds of silver forgeries should be related to the contemporary military presence. The archaeological contexts of provenance have been considered as well, to understand the relationship between these foreign denominations and the local currency. Silver forgeries were usually discarded while cast bronzes could have played an auxiliary role during the 3rd century AD.

Keywords: coin finds, Roman monetary copies, Danubian *limes*, north-western provinces, Aquileia, Po river.

Introduction

The term “Limes subsidiary coinages” is employed herein to denote a series of unofficial monetary issues that were produced during the Roman Imperial Age at different sites of the northern periphery of the empire.¹ Even if the status of such products is still a matter of debate among scholars,² the evidence of coin finds demonstrates that, in well-defined geographical and chronological frames, unofficial copies played a major role in supporting the monetary circulation in times of insufficient coin supply.³ In the present contribution specific categories have been addressed, namely the struck and cast copies of Roman imperial *denarii*⁴, the s.c. *limesfalsa*

1 The terms “*monnaie de nécessité*” and “*notgeld*” have been employed in the old literature on the subject. Useful summaries on the Roman copies of the Imperial Age are represented by the contributions published in King 1996; Peter 2004; Peter 2011.

2 Cf. King 1996, 244-246; Peter 2004, 26-27; Peter 2011, 115-117.

3 Cf. Peter 2004, 24.

4 For an overview on the different categories of imitative *denarii* cf. Awianowicz, Dymowski, Myzgin 2022, 129-136. On the counterfeiting of Roman imperial *denarii* cf. Dymowski, Myzgin eds. 2024.

and other cast bronze denominations,⁵ and the *nummi subferrati*.⁶ A specific focus has been devoted to the finds of specimens of the abovementioned categories in north-eastern Italy, known in Roman times as *Venetia et Histria*. Even if they constitute a small number when compared to the finds of the northern Roman *Limes*, they represent a remarkable documentation that expand the knowledge about the circulation of these forgeries. Furthermore, they comprise an invaluable source to trace the connections between *Venetia et Histria* and the regions to the north of the Alps, for both commercial and military purposes.

This contribution must be regarded as a preliminary overview on the subject, for different reasons. First, a large amount of data on coin finds remains unpublished. That is the case of Aquileia, where the finds of the categories addressed are concentrated.⁷ However, most importantly, these unofficial monetary products are barely recognised and mentioned in the literature.⁸ An example is shown by the volumes of the editorial project *Ritrovamenti monetali di età romana nel Veneto (RMRVe)*, where only 8 specimens are attested among more than 80,000 published coins.⁹ Consequently, the research relies on the direct analysis carried out by the author on finds coming from different sites of the area under consideration and only partially published. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that the state of preservation has prevented, in some cases, a clear identification. The effects of corrosion and wear, or of aggressive cleaning operations cannot be discerned from the traces left by the casting process. At the same time, copper corrosion spots evidenced on silver *denarii* are not always related to plating but are the result of the poor alloy employed in the production starting from the Severan age.¹⁰ All the above mentioned factors must be considered, as they could lead to the underestimation, or even overestimation, of the presence of monetary copies in the area under investigation.¹¹

It must be stressed that no archaeological evidence is known in Italy attesting a local production of copies. The only exception is represented by the mould for casting *denarii* found in the 19th century excavations of the Roman amphitheatre in *Patavium*/Padua.¹² As no further details on the findspot are available, it is not possible to ascertain if the specimen should be regarded as an erratic find or evidence of production on site.¹³ The mould reproducing the reverse of a

5 The term was first introduced by Kubitschek in the 1920s; Kubitschek 1921. Cf. FMRÖ III/2, 643-913 for an updated summary on this category.

6 The most comprehensive overviews on this category to date are published in FMRÖ III/2, 643-913 and Doyen, Martin, Peter 2017.

7 To date, four volumes have been published in the framework of the editorial project *Ritrovamenti monetali di età romana nel Friuli Venezia Giulia* collecting data of 16,000 coins kept in the National Archaeological Museum of Aquileia; RMRFVG, I/2/1.1; RMRFVG, I/2/1.2; RMRFVG, I/2/1.3; RMRFVG, I/2/2.

8 Cf. Gaspar 2015, 68; Juhász 2018, 14 for the case of the Danubian *limes*.

9 Most of them have been recognised by the author among coins housed in the National Archaeological Museum of Este, published in the volume RMRVe, V/2. See the catalogue for a detailed list.

10 According to Gitler, Ponting 2007, the silver content of Severan *denarii* is around 46.8%.

11 For the case of *Augusta Raurica*, where, in some cases, cast *denarii* were detected only through metal analyses cf. Peter 2001, 239.

12 Gorini 1972, 56-57 and Plate 18, nos. 1-2; Gorini 1976, 301-302; Gorini 1987, 260; RMRVe V/1, 16/39/1. It combines an obverse design of Macrinus (RIC, IV.2, 1) with a reverse motif of Septimius Severus (RIC, IV.1, 226) and should be regarded as part of a broader sequence of moulds, which apparently left no traces. On the production process of clay moulds for casting *denarii* cf. Chameroy 2007, 533-536; Guihard 2015, 267-270. For the occurrence of hybrid moulds cf. Aubin 2003, 131.

13 It must be mentioned that no finds of cast *denarii* are known from the area of the amphitheatre or from the

sestertius of Severus Alexander from Aosta cannot be regarded as a local find as no information is available on the location or the circumstances of the discovery.¹⁴ The summary of the archaeological evidence suggests that the finds of Roman copies in *Venetia et Histria* should be regarded as the result of the circulation of coins coming from the outside, and not locally produced. The interpretation of the data discussed below leans on this assumption.

Lastly, in the present research part of the finds coming from western Slovenia have also been considered. According to a recent epigraphical acquisition, the territory of *Emona*/Ljubljana was part of Italy from the Augustan age,¹⁵ well before the 3rd century, as mentioned by the Greek historian Herodian.¹⁶

Copies of Roman Imperial silver denominations

95 copies of imperial silver denominations from Augustus to Gordian III have been collected among published and unpublished finds (Map 1).¹⁷ They represent 60% of the entire documented finds of the “subsidiary” issues considered. The largest group comprises plated *denarii* (75 coins), followed by cast copies (15 coins).¹⁸ *Antoniniani* represent a very limited amount: 4 plated coins and one cast specimen. This confirms the limited interest in the counterfeiting of this denomination, which has resulted in a small number of finds across the entire Roman Empire.¹⁹

When considering the impact of forgeries on monetary circulation, it must be borne in mind that plated coins, when recognised, were usually discarded.²⁰ This process could result in a high concentration of finds, which can alter the picture of the circulation of silver denominations.²¹ Nevertheless, in the two areas of *Venetia et Histria* where finds of silver copies are concentrated, Aquileia, Emona and the lower Po Valley, plated coins represent 17%,²² 6%²³ and 11%²⁴ respectively of the overall finds of imperial *denarii* from Augustus to Gordian III. Higher numbers are characteristic of the sites beyond the Alps from *Raetia* to *Dacia*, where plated coins

site of *Patavium* in general.

14 Orlandoni 1985, 64-65.

15 Šašel Kos 2014; Šašel Kos 2016.

16 *Hrd.* 8.1.4.

17 A hybrid *antoninianus* found in the surroundings of Feltre/*Feltria* should be regarded as a genuine product; *RMRFV*, I/2, 12/146. On official silver hybrids *cf.* Gaspar 2015, 68-69. An “imitative” denarius of Severus Alexander from Ljubljana has not been considered, *FMRSlo*, III, 83/19/1, as to a “silvered” *as* of Domitian; *FMRSlo*, V, 62/9/129.

18 Apparently, no finds of cast *denarii* are reported for the western part of Slovenia considered in the present study.

19 On cast *antoniniani* *cf.* Peter 2001, 241; on plated *antoniniani*, Găzdac 2010, 179; for both categories *FMRO* VI, 142-143.

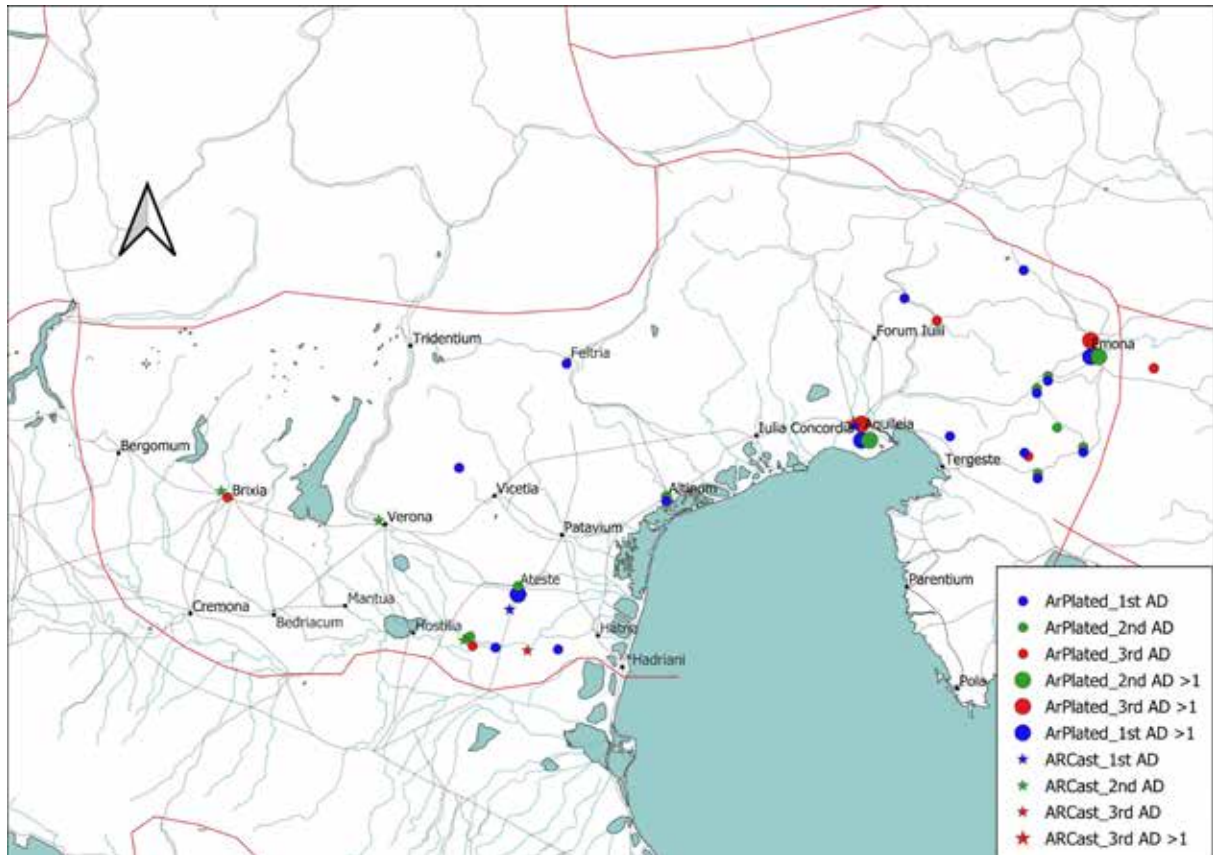
20 King 1996, 245-246.

21 *Cf.* Peter 2004, 21; *FMRO* III/2, 639; Juhász 2018, 14; Chameroy, Guihard 2019, 256. It is not always possible to discern a deliberate rejection from a casual loss. The recognition of plated copies is due to the effects of corrosion, which were not visible to the ancient users; *cf.* Găzdac 2010, 99.

22 69 coins from excavations (Asolati, Stella 2018; *RMRFVG*, I/2/1.1; *RMRFVG*, I/2/1.2).

23 129 from excavations (*FMRSlo*, I, 155; *FMRSlo*, III, 83; *FMRSlo*, IV, 85; *FMRSlo*, V, 62; *FMRSlo*, VI, 79).

24 57 coins from archaeological surveys; *cf.* Stella 2022.



Map 1 – Distribution of the copies of Imperial *denarii* found in *Venetia et Histria*. Pattern: Pleiades shapefiles (© Andrea Stella).

were also produced, according to the archaeological evidence.²⁵ However, numbers can vary from site to site. High percentages are recorded for *Augusta Raurica* (29%),²⁶ *Brigetio* (30%)²⁷ and the sites of *Dacia* (25%),²⁸ while lower percentages are recorded in *Flavia Solva* (16%)²⁹ and *Carnuntum* (10%).³⁰ In general, a high number of plated coins are concentrated around military sites and this phenomenon, in the case of Roman *Dacia*, has been linked to army payments.³¹ The circulation of plated *denarii* in southern and eastern *Venetia* shows an intensity that can, apparently, be compared to that of some sites of the Roman *Limes*. At the same time, large settlements of central and western *Venetia*, like *Altinum* and *Verona*, have yielded a very limited number of examples (see catalogue). As already mentioned, many factors could affect the inter-

25 On the production of plated *denarii* in *Augusta Raurica* cf. Peter 1990.

26 FMRÖ III/2, 638.

27 Based on finds from the excavations of Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér (1992-2015); Juhász 2018, 13.

28 Găzdac 2009, 1487. In the period 193-218, plated copies represent 44% of the total silver coins; Găzdac 2010, 150. In *Porolissum*, where the total reaches 43%, the presence of an unofficial mint for the payment of troops has been hypothesized; Găzdac 2010, 150, 165.

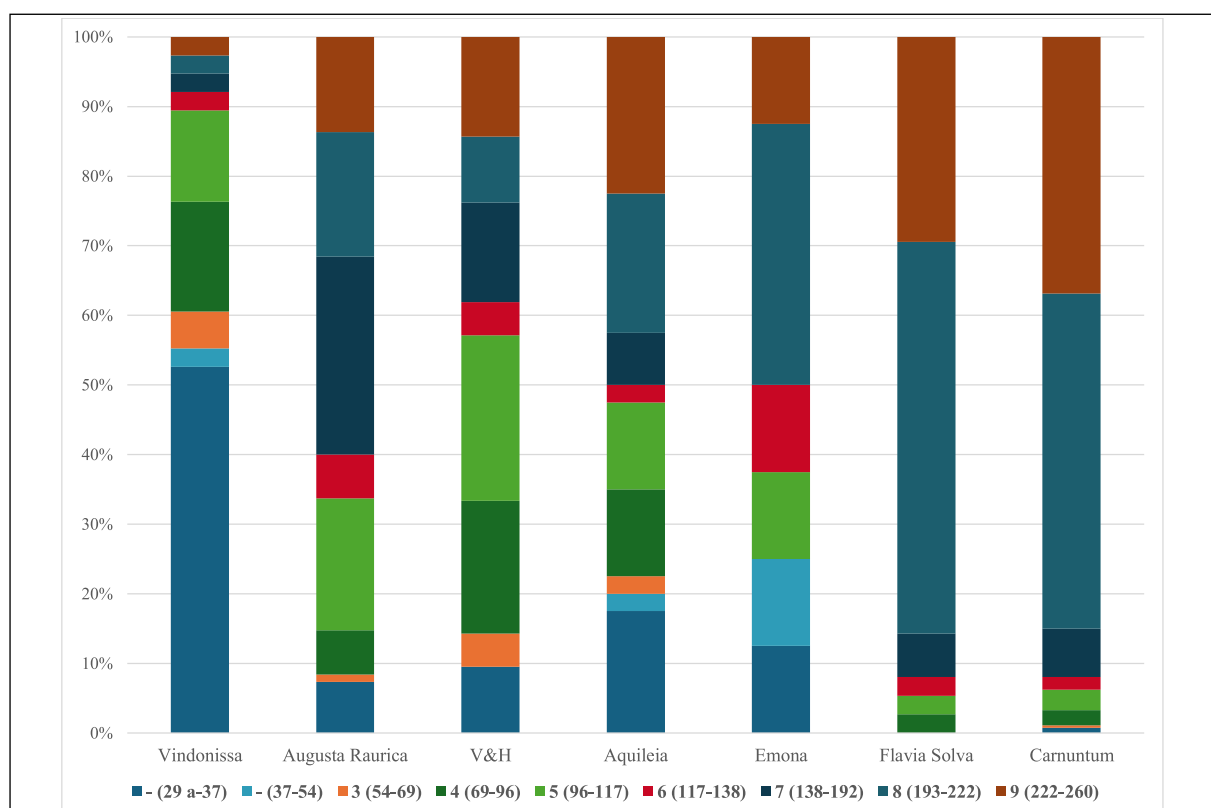
29 FMRÖ VI, 127; 77% of the Severan copies are plated. In *Ovilavis/Wels*, plated *denarii* represent 11.4% of overall silver finds; FMRÖ IV/1, 34, tab. 3.

30 FMRÖ III/2, 638, 13% in the period 193-240. According to Găzdac 2010, 99, plated *denarii* account for 23% of the aggregate of silver coins of the period 193-218, and 26% in the years 218-238 AD.

31 Găzdac 2010, 150, 200; Gaspar 2014, 71; Gaspar 2015, 70-72; Găzdac 2018, 119. *Contra* Peter 2001, 245.

pretation of the small assemblage of plated coins from *Venetia et Histria*. However, some concentrations of finds could reflect a major inflow of forgeries in given parts of the area, resulting from military presences or commercial links.

Regarding cast *denarii*, they represent 6% of the aggregate of silver coins in Aquileia and 7% in the lower Po Valley, showing a lower impact in comparison to plated copies.³² According to the numismatic and archaeological evidence, the production and circulation of cast *denarii* is characteristic of the north-western provinces,³³ including *Raetia*, where cast *denarii* represent an average 19.6% of the overall finds of *denarii* from *Augusta Raurica*.³⁴ Consequently, among sites of *Noricum*, *Pannonia Superior* and *Dacia*, cast copies constitute a very limited amount, if compared to the massive presence of *denarii subaerati*.³⁵ Finds from *Venetia et Histria* conform to the trend of the Danubian *Limes*, even if a slightly higher incidence can be noted. This last aspect could depend on either a statistical distortion due to the limited assemblage considered or a major influx of coins coming from the neighbouring areas of Gaul and *Raetia*.



Graph 1 – Chronological distribution according to the Reece periods of the plated Imperial *denarii* found in *Venetia et Histria*, in comparison to samples of finds from the sites of: *Vindonissa* (Kray 1962), *Augusta Raurica* (IFS 3), *Flavia Solva* (FMRÖ, VI) and *Carnuntum* (FMRÖ III/2, Legionslager/Canabae/Zivilstadt) (© Andrea Stella).

32 No cast *denarii* are recorded for the site of *Emona*. Cf. *supra* n. 18.

33 For an updated overview on this monetary practice cf. *supra* n. 12: Chameroy 2007 and Guihard 2015.

34 Peter 2001, 241, fig. 62. Cast coins account for 9.2% of the aggregate of silver denominations up to Gordian III cf. Peter 2001, 239.

35 *Carnuntum*, 3%, FMRÖ III/2, 642; *Flavia Solva*, 1.5%, FMRÖ VI, 127. Very few finds of cast *denarii* are known from the modern territory of *Dacia*; Găzdac 2010, 151, 154; Găzdac, Oargă, Alföldi-Găzdac 2015, 14.

As far as the chronological pattern of distribution is concerned, it must be stressed that the chronology of the prototypes in most cases represents only a *terminus post quem* and does not reflect the actual time of production, as well exemplified by the production of the workshop of *Augusta Raurica*.³⁶ Graph 1 shows the distribution of plated copies of *Venetia et Histria* compared to samples of finds from four selected sites of *Raetia*, *Noricum* and *Pannonia Superior*. Finds from Aquileia and *Emona* are analysed separately from the rest of *Venetia et Histria*, to detect possible discrepancies in the pattern of distribution. At first glance, plated copies of coins of the 1st century AD, mainly Augustan and Flavian *denarii*, are represented by a considerable number of finds. As can be seen, this pattern differs significantly from that of the sites of the Danubian area, which show an overwhelming predominance of the Severan copies.³⁷ Not surprisingly, in the eastern part of *Venetia et Histria*, between Aquileia and *Emona*, prototypes of the period 193-240 are attested with a larger number of finds, as the result of a stronger influx of the monetary stock of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. The high number of plated *denarii* of the 1st and 2nd century, Trajan in particular, could depend on the inflow of coins coming from the neighbouring area of *Raetia* where, with regard to the site of *Vindonissa*, copies of the period played a significant role.³⁸ According to the small number of 1st century plated coins found in Rome,³⁹ a role of the central mint in the production of forgeries can be excluded. Furthermore, the high incidence of the Augustan counterfeit *denarii* could be connected to the concentration of troops around *Emona* during the Pannonian revolt of 6-9 AD.⁴⁰

Cast denominations represent an assemblage too small to be analysed from a statistical point of view. Nevertheless, the prototypes attested are dated between the 2nd and the 3rd century, with only one exception from the Flavian period. In this respect, the finds of *Venetia et Histria* show well-defined parallels to the sites of the north-western provinces, where the production of cast copies of silver denominations became rife during the 3rd century AD.⁴¹ The evidence of the *Apulum* VI hoard demonstrates that, to a smaller extent, production also took place along the Danubian *Limes* and at least two coins from *Venetia et Histria* bear a resemblance to these products (see catalogue).⁴²

According to the numismatic evidence, the production of plated imperial *denarii* peaked in the period 193-240, as a result of an insufficient supply of silver denominations in times of rising demand for military expenditures.⁴³ A good example is represented by the case of Roman *Dacia*, one of the most peripheral military garrisons, where *subaerati* are found with the highest frequency.⁴⁴ The circulation of plated coins in *Venetia et Histria* can be ascribed to two different periods. The first one regards copies of the Augustan and Flavian prototypes. Some chronological indicators are

36 Peter 1990, 72.

37 *Noricum*: FMRÖ VI, 127; *Pannonia Superior* and *Inferior*: Găzdac 2010, 99; *Dacia*: Găzdac 2010, 150.

38 Augustan and Tiberian plated coins from *Venetia et Histria* are copies of *denarii* struck in the Spanish mints and in *Lugdunum*, in particular. These materials bare close resemblances to the finds from *Vindonissa*; cf. Kraay 1962. For similar finds from *Augusta Treverorum* cf. FMRD, IV/3.4, 3024/1, 3070,1/1.

39 Molinari 2015 ed., *passim*.

40 Šašel Kos 2012, 87-89.

41 Aubin 2003, 132-135; Peter 2004, 24; Chameroy 2007, 541-546; Peter 2011, 114-115; Chameroy, Guihard 2019, 237-241.

42 Găzdac, Oargă, Alföldi-Găzdac 2015.

43 Cf. *supra* n. 31.

44 Cf. *supra* n. 28.

represented by the finds of Augustan and Tiberian *subaerati* in two hoards concealed during the Flavian age (Cat. nos. 1/2, 1/5, 1/12),⁴⁵ and in a tomb in Aquileia dating to the end of the 1st/first half of the 2nd century (Cat. n. 1/6).⁴⁶ As Flavian *denarii* are still found in hoards of the first half of the 3rd century,⁴⁷ a longer circulation of the contemporary copies must be considered. A second and most intense phase of circulation regarded the 3rd century. According to the evidence provided by the finds of *Augusta Raurica*, copies of prototypes of the 2nd century could be ascribed to the circulating stock of the period. The infills dating to the second half of the 3rd century of the eastern well excavated in the Roman *forum* of Aquileia have yielded a hybrid plated *antoninianus* of Gordian III.⁴⁸ A plated *denarius* of Elagabalus coming from the excavations of the Capitolium in *Brixia/Brescia* (Cat. no. 1/69) should belong to the same chronological frame.⁴⁹ This could represent the latest evidence regarding the circulation of *subaerati* in *Venetia et Histria*. Since most of the plated coins considered here are unstratified finds, any further considerations cannot rely on solid evidence.

Two chronological hypotheses have been proposed for the manufacturing of cast *denarii* in the north-western provinces.⁵⁰ The first one dates the production after 238 AD, as a result of a shortage of *denarii* following the revival of the *antoninianus* under the joint reign of Pupienus and Balbinus. Conversely, in light of hybrid moulds bearing designs of Aurelian, the phenomenon should be placed in the second half of the 3rd century, when Severan *denarii* should still have played an active role in the monetary circulation. Addressing the occurrence of cast *denarii* in *Venetia et Histria*, the wells in the Roman *forum* of Aquileia mentioned above provide useful stratigraphical evidence.⁵¹ Both structures have yielded struck copies of *denarii* from Septimius Severus to Maximinus Thrax. As the infills from which coin finds originated can be dated to the second half of the 3rd century, a later circulation can also be assumed for *Venetia et Histria*. Further evidence is represented by a cast *denarius* of Antoninus Pius retrieved during the excavations of the Capitolium of *Brixia/Brescia* (Cat. no. 1/51).⁵²

Limesfalsa and other cast bronze denominations

A total of 53 cast bronze denominations dating between the reigns of Augustus and Severus Alexander have been recognised among coin finds of *Venetia et Histria* to date (Map 2). They represent a new acquisition since, with very few exceptions, no specimens of this category are mentioned in the old literature. For this reason, they represent a provisional number, as new data are expected to be unveiled by revising old collections and by acquiring new finds. As in the case of silver copies, finds are currently concentrated in the site of Aquileia and in the lower Po Valley.

45 RMRVe, V/2, 11/19(2-4). On these hoards cf. Stella 2024, 268-271.

46 Giovannini et al. 1997, 91-93. The coin is holed and this manipulation could be further evidence of a later deposition.

47 For the case of the Stellata hoard cf. *infra* n. 100.

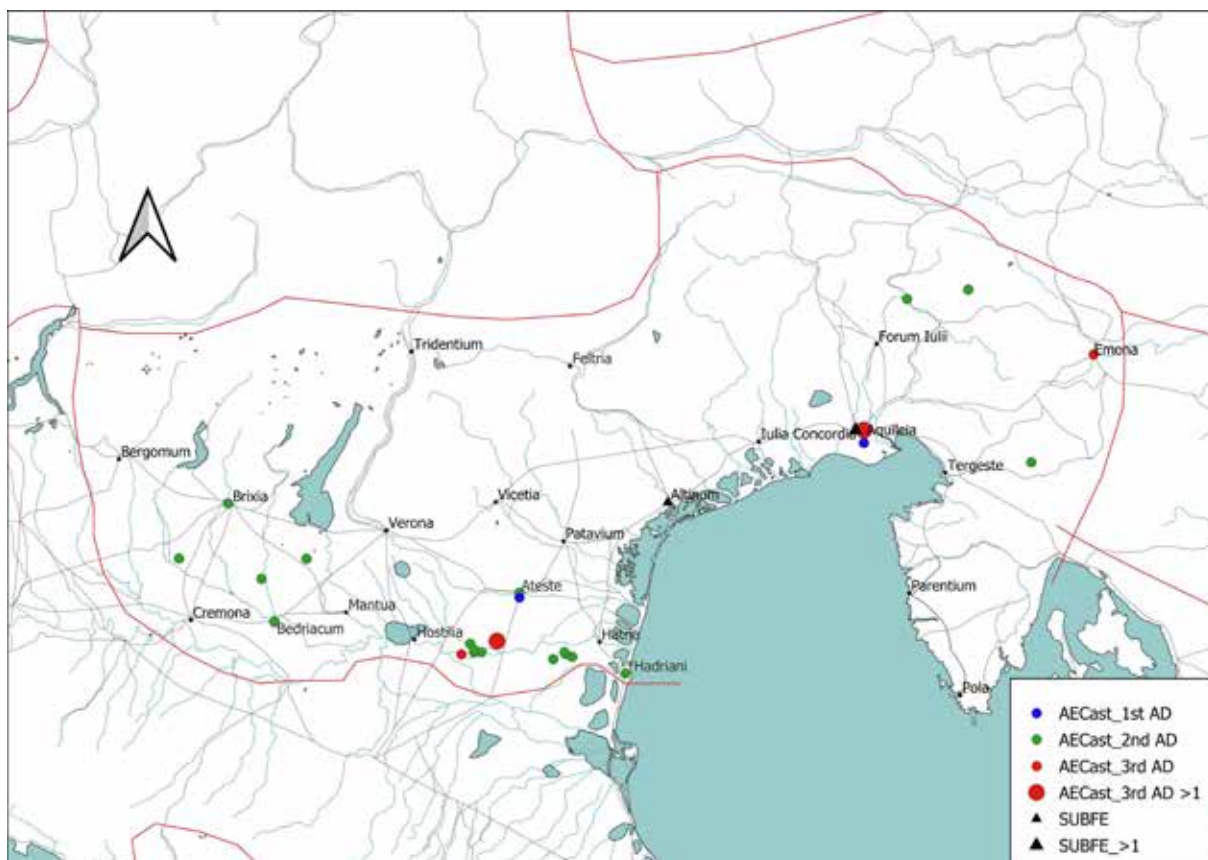
48 The 102 coins from the eastern well are published in RMRFVG, I/2/1.2, 1(16). The western well was excavated in 1990; Deggrassi, Maggi 2013, 261. Coin finds are unpublished (130 coins).

49 Arslan 2002, 486.

50 For an overview of the different hypotheses and the survey of the literature cf. Chameroy, Guihard 2019, 237-241.

51 Cf. *supra* n. 47.

52 Cf. *supra* n. 48.



Map 2 – Distribution of cast bronze coins and *nummi subferrati* found in *Venetia et Histria*.
Pattern: Pleiades shapefiles (© Andrea Stella).

Archaeological evidence attesting the production of cast bronze copies is known for the entire northern frontier from *Britannia* to *Dacia*.⁵³ Nevertheless, the area that yielded the largest number of specimens is the site of *Carnuntum* and its surroundings.⁵⁴ Here, 10% of bronze denominations dating to the 1st-2nd century AD are cast, while the index reaches 52% during the reign of Caracalla.⁵⁵ Outside *Carnuntum* and its hinterland, the presence of *limesfalsa* is a more limited phenomenon. In the neighbouring province of *Noricum*, *Flavia Solva* records the highest index for the total of finds of bronze denominations, 10.8%.⁵⁶ Considering the north-western provinces, at the site of *Augusta Treverorum* cast bronze coins represent 1.6% of the total finds between Trajan and Postumus,⁵⁷ while in *Augusta Raurica* only 0.7% of the aggregate of bronze denominations is cast.⁵⁸ In the east, along the Danubian *Limes*, the impact of *limesfalsa* is even

53 King 1996, 241-242; Peter 2004, 23; Chameroy 2007, 542-543, Tab. 1; FMRÖ III/2, 648-654.

54 FMRÖ III/2, 676-736.

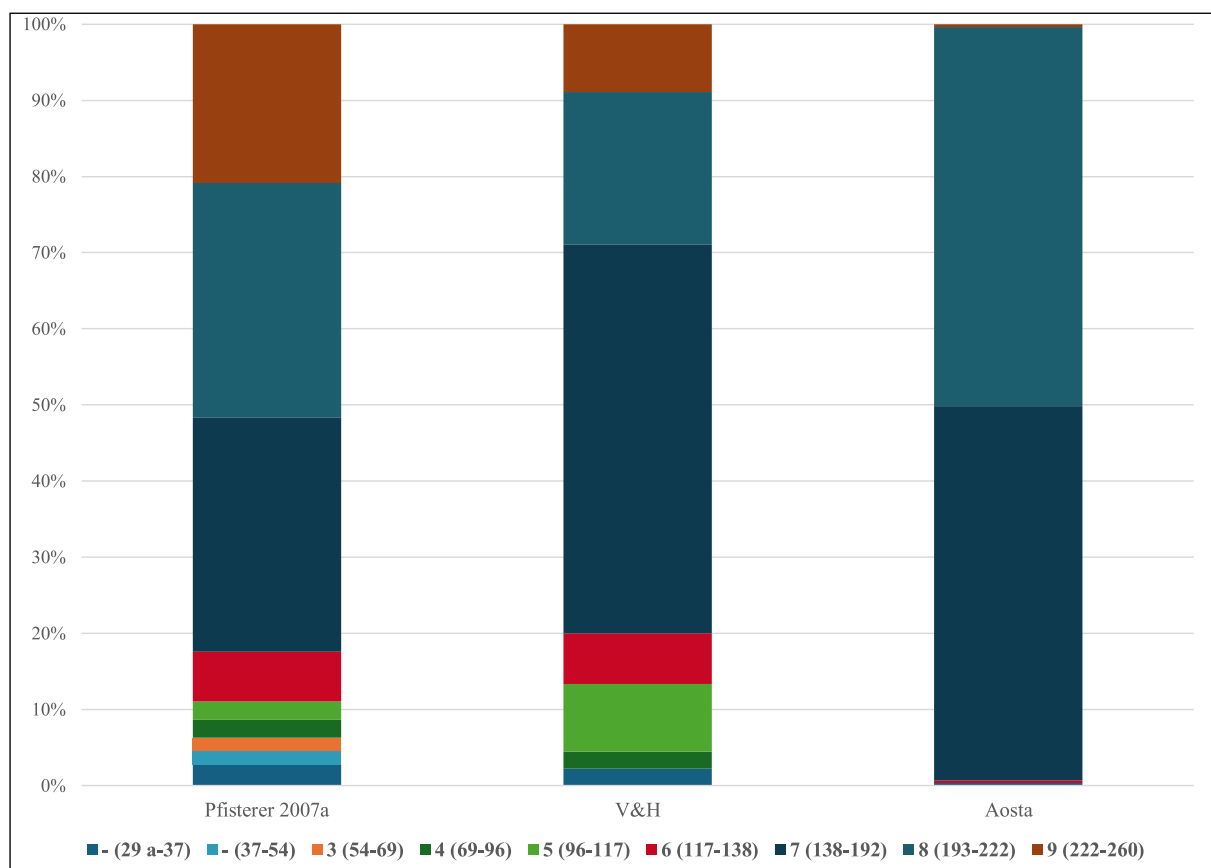
55 FMRÖ III/2, 680.

56 FMRÖ VI, 244. In *Ovilavis*/Wels, only 2.3% of the overall bronze denominations are cast; FMRÖ IV/1, 34, Tab. 3.

57 Cf. Chameroy, Guihard 2019, 252, Tab. 9.

58 Peter 2001, 246. In the period 193-260, the index reaches 7.5%.

more limited.⁵⁹ Regarding the area of *Venetia et Histria*, cast bronzes represent 1.9% of the finds of bronze coins of the 1st-3rd century AD,⁶⁰ while among sites of the lower Po Valley 1.4% of the bronze coins are cast.⁶¹ According to the available evidence, the circulation of cast bronze coins did not play a significant role.



Graph 2 – Chronological distribution according to the Reece periods of the cast bronze coins found in *Venetia et Histria*, in comparison to the overall finds of limesfalsa listed in Pfisterer 2007a and to the assemblage from Aosta (Orlandoni 1985) (© Andrea Stella).

The chronological distribution is shown in Graph 2, where the overall sample from *Venetia et Histria* is compared to the finds from the Danubian *Limes* and from the site of Aosta, the largest assemblage of cast bronze denominations known for Italy to date.⁶² Two main features are common to all the samples considered. The first is the scarcity of cast copies of prototypes dating between Augustus and Trajan, which are seldom attested outside *Carnuntum*.⁶³ The second and most significant is the predominance of the copies dating between the Antonines and the period

59 In *Brigetio*, 6 specimens are mentioned, cf. Juhász 2018, 15. 21 cast coins have been recorded for *Dacia*, cf. Găzdac 2010, 154.

60 Based on a sample of 854 coins (S: 233; Dp: 93; As: 528), cf. *supra* n. 22.

61 Based on a sample of 1,347 coins (S: 234; Dp: 126; As: 987), cf. *supra* n. 24.

62 Orlandoni 1985.

63 FMRÖ III/2, 699-701.

193-231 in particular.⁶⁴ From a chronological point of view, finds from *Venetia et Histria* can be compared to both the finds from the north-western provinces and the Danubian *Limes*. A completely different picture emerges from the analysis of the coin denominations (Graph 3). *Venetia et Histria* shows a clear predominance of lower denominations, as above all. This feature is shared with the assemblage from Aosta and, in general, with finds from the north-western provinces.⁶⁵ In contrast, the limesfalsa from the Danubian *Limes* show a clear predominance of *sestertii* dating between the age of the Antonines and the end of production under Severus Alexander.⁶⁶ The small number of cast *sestertii* attested in *Venetia et Histria* should not be the consequence of an underestimation due to recognition failures. The 49 specimens attested in the Biassono hoard, featuring 2,239 coins, represent only a small amount (2%),⁶⁷ and their concentration is the result of the thorough selection targeting the *sestertius*. Therefore, the overwhelming circulation of *dupondii* and *asses* could be the result of a specific monetary phenomenon. From this point of view, the circulating stock of the districts of *Raetia* and Gaul closer to Italy seems to represent a major influx. Nevertheless, with regard to the Severan age, given prototypes are attested among finds of both the Danubian *Limes* and the north-western provinces, suggesting the existence of different patterns of distribution and circulation.⁶⁸ According to a first perspective, regarding the lower Po Valley, the Po river functioned as a distribution route of bronze cast denominations that flowed from the north-western provinces into Italy through the Alps. The finds from the settlement of Aosta, in direct connection with Gaul and *Raetia*, testifies this assumption. A second pattern of diffusion regards Aquileia, and *Emona*, placed in the eastern part of *Venetia et Histria* and, for this reason, both were subjected to a more intense influx of coins coming from the Danubian *Limes*.

The production and circulation of limesfalsa in *Carnuntum* and its surroundings peaked in the period 193-235 in connection with a drop in the bronze output of the mint of Rome under the Severans and a consequent shortage of small denominations.⁶⁹ The end of production was directly connected to the opening of the mint of *Viminacium*, which became the major supplier of bronze coins among sites between *Pannonia Superior* and *Moesia Superior*.⁷⁰ Also, the production of cast bronze denominations in the north-western provinces has been interpreted as a response to a shortage of small denominations during the first half of the 3rd century⁷¹. Nevertheless, evidence coming from Gaul would place at least part of the production in the 230s AD, in connection with the monetary reform of Postumus, who revived the circulation of bronze coinage within the *Imperium Galliarum* by introducing the double *sestertius*.⁷² To define the chronological frame of the circulation of cast bronzes in *Venetia et Histria* it is important to remember that prototypes dating to the 2nd century, which represent a large part of the finds, were usually employed in the production process during the 3rd century, alongside contempo-

64 Orlandoni 1985, 66-67; FMRÖ III/2, 680.

65 Boon 1965, 167; Orlandoni 1985, 64; Chameroy 2007, 542-543, tab. 1.

66 FMRÖ III/2, 645.

67 Arslan 1995, 8 cast *sestertii* (1.6%) have been detected among the 502 coins of the Camisano hoard; Arslan 2004, 203. Further finds of cast bronze coins from the *regio XI Transpadana* are mentioned in Arslan 2004, 201-202.

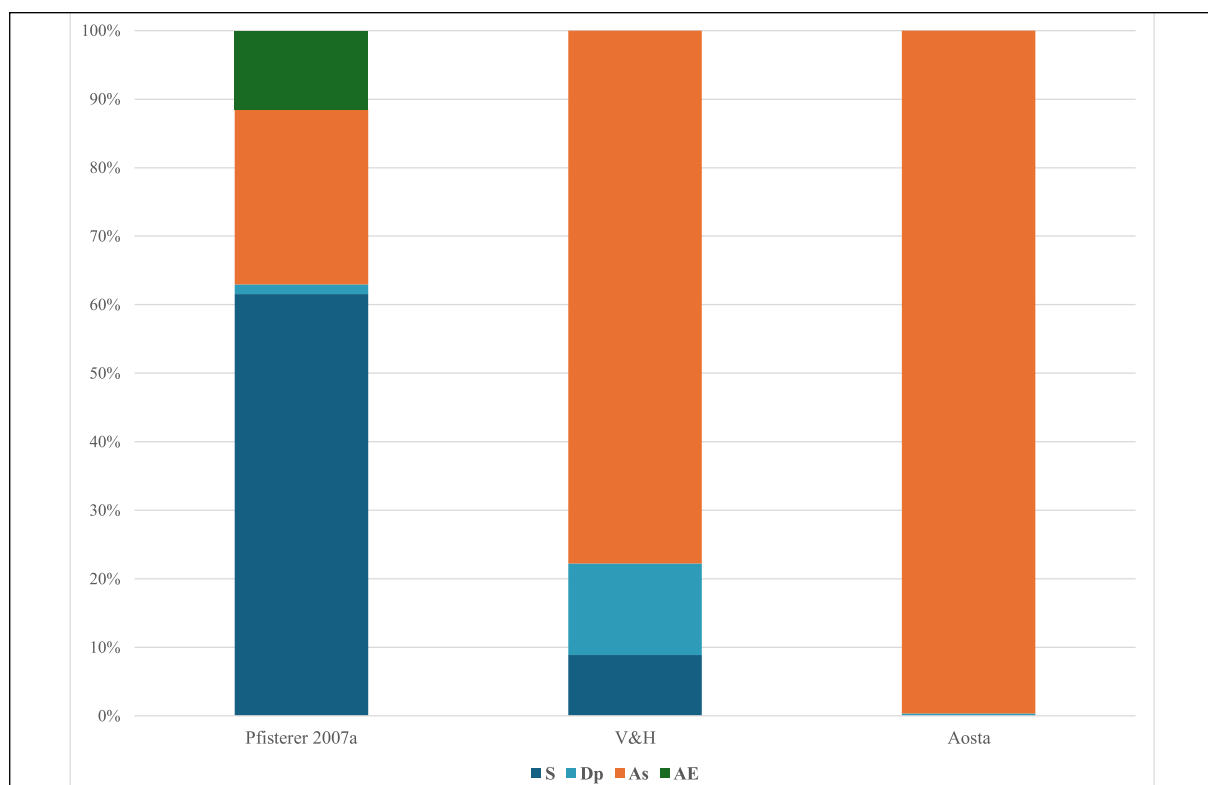
68 See catalogue. On the supraregional distribution of limesfalsa cf. FMRÖ III/2, 701-709.

69 FMRÖ III/2, 768-772.

70 Găzdac 2004, 72; FMRÖ III/2, 680; Găzdac 2010, 102.

71 Cf. Boon 1965, 169; Guihard, Fichet de Clairfontaine 2015, 279-281.

72 Guihard, Fichet de Clairfontaine 2015, 284-285.



Graph 3 – Distribution according to denominations of the cast bronze coins found in *Venetia et Histria*, in comparison to the overall finds of limesfalsa listed in Pfisterer 2007a and to the assemblage from Aosta (Orlandoni 1985) (© Andrea Stella).

rary issues.⁷³ Unfortunately, no proper archaeological contexts are available to more precisely frame the circulation of cast bronze copies.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, their major occurrence can be placed during the first decades of the 3rd century, when *Venetia et Histria* also suffered of a shortage of fresh bronze coinage, even if the 2nd century coins seemingly coped with most of the demand.⁷⁵ As for the rest of the bronze coins of the Augustan system, the circulation lasted up to at least the third quarter of the 3rd century.⁷⁶ A further chronological consideration arose from the pattern of distribution of denominations. As seen before, *asses* are the most attested within the entire *Venetia et Histria*. According to this evidence, cast copies could have played an auxiliary role in supporting the lowest level of the local monetary circulation. Starting with the reign of Trajan, the sestertius took over the circulation of the small denominations in the entire empire, as a consequence of inflation.⁷⁷ From the Severan age, finds of bronze coins in the area of *Venetia et Histria* are almost exclusively represented by *sestertii*.⁷⁸ From this point of view, the circulation of cast *asses* and *dupondii* could be seen as the consequence of a lack of smaller denomina-

73 FMRÖ VI, 131; FMRÖ III/2, 669, 680.

74 The coin from the Roma theatre of Aquileia (Cat. no. 2/39) was found in association with an *as* of Antoninus Pius (148-149) in a layer of debris featuring late Roman pottery sherds. As a consequence, it cannot be considered as reliable chronological context.

75 Asolati, Stella 2018, 26-28.

76 Asolati, Stella 2018, 28-29.

77 Burnett 1987, 58; Hobley 1998, 12-13.

78 Asolati, Stella 2018, 28.

tions that were still needed. This demand was not supported by either an adequate official supply or the circulation of older coins, enabling cast copies to also circulate outside their primary production sites.⁷⁹ The scarcity of cast *sestertii* is further evidence in support to this assumption, as they were adequately represented by official issues, at least in *Venetia et Histria*.

Nummi subferrati

Contrary to what was previously stated,⁸⁰ finds of *nummi subferrati* are known for *Venetia et Histria* (cf. Fig. 3). In two cases, this presence was already mentioned in the literature, but the main bulk of evidence originated from the analysis of coins coming from past excavations at the site of Aquileia. Due to the very low degree of preservation typical of this production, the date and the denomination of the prototypes can be defined in most of the cases only approximatively. The only exceptions are represented by a Tiberian *as* (Cat. no. 2/2), a bronze denomination of the time of the Antonines (Cat. no. 2/24), and a *dupondius* of Septimius Severus from *Altinum* (Cat. no. 2/42). At the present time, no evidence is known related to the circulation of the cast copies of *subferrati* analysed by Pfisterer in his contribution.⁸¹

According to the evidence of the finds, the production of *nummi subferrati* followed specific patterns from both a chronological and geographical point of view. For this reason, the provenance of the specimens found in *Venetia et Histria* can be ascertained with some degree of accuracy. The Tiberian coin can be ascribed to the first phase of production of *subferrati*, which took place in the north-western provinces.⁸² The largest number of documented finds available, dated between the late 2nd and the early 3rd century AD, can be connected to the production of iron-core copies during the Severan age in *Carnuntum* and in other sites of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*.⁸³ The *municipium* of *Virunum* is among them,⁸⁴ and the provenance of the *subferrati* found in *Altinum* and Aquileia should be ascribed to this production site, as both cities were connected by strong commercial links to the province of *Noricum*.⁸⁵ The proximity, in terms of geographical distance, between the presumed production site and the findspots must also be considered.

With the exception of the Tiberian specimen, of which no details on the archaeological context are available, the circulation of the *nummi subferrati* in the area of *Venetia et Histria* appears to be restricted to the 3rd century AD, when the shortage of small denominations of the Severan age led to the beginning of the largest production of *subferrati*, along the Danube copying prototypes of the 2nd and 3rd century.⁸⁶ The finds of iron-core copies inside the great Orselina and Borgo Valsugana hoards of *sestertii* would suggest a circulation of *subferrati* alongside official issues,⁸⁷ but their impact on the

79 In Aquileia, official *sestertii*, *dupondii* and *asses* represent 80%, 3% and 15% of the total number of bronze coins of the period 193-260.

80 Doyen, Martin, Peter 2017, 207, n. 12.

81 FMRÖ III/2, 745-753.

82 FMRÖ III/2, 738; Doyen, Martin, Peter 2017, 215-219, 225.

83 FMRÖ III/2, 738, 754; Doyen, Martin, Peter 2017, 218-220, 226.

84 FMRÖ III/2, 761-762.

85 On commercial links between Italy and *Noricum* cf. Piccottini 1987.

86 FMRÖ III/2, 768-772.

87 Three specimens in the Orselina treasure trove (Ackermann, Peter 2015, 29; Doyen, Martin, Peter 2017, 207, n. 12). Five *subferrati* were reportedly found in the Borgo Valsugana hoard of *sestertii* (FMRÖ III/2, 758).

monetary stock of *Venetia et Histria* seems to have been limited if compared to the documented finds of cast bronze denominations analysed above. More details on the function of this peculiar category of finds can be drawn from the analysis of the archaeological contexts of provenance, as discussed below.

Roman copies from *Venetia et Histria* in context

Some of the monetary copies found in *Venetia et Histria* originated from older and more recent excavations, an aspect that enable further considerations.

Hoardings do not represent proper archaeological contexts but they provide useful hints on how copies were perceived by ancient users. Even if specimens of all the categories addressed are found in the hoards of *Venetia et Histria*, or of its surroundings, a distinction must be made between silver and bronze copies. Imitations of imperial *denarii* are seldom found inside hoards, as they were usually discarded once recognised by the *nummularii*.⁸⁸ Finds of plated and cast *denarii* in the treasures of *Venetia et Histria* (*Ateste*, Verona) should not represent an exception, as their status was not manifest to the ancient owners. On the contrary, their recognition was made possible by corrosion only after their discovery. Considering bronze copies, in the light of their possible role of auxiliary coinages also within *Venetia et Histria*, their presence in hoards found in the surroundings, like Biassono (cast *sestertii*) and Orselina (iron-core *sestertii*) could reflect a different approach, where copies were intentionally included. Nevertheless, a failed recognition by ancient owners, in the case of *subferrati* in particular, cannot be excluded.

Finds from waterlogged contexts form the most significant assemblage with regard to counterfeit *denarii* and iron-core coins. The largest majority belongs to water supply structures excavated in the Roman *forum* of Aquileia (Cat. nos. 1/10, 1/54-55, 1/76, 1/83, 1/87). In the same settlement, some finds originated from the excavations of the remains of a bridge crossing the river *Natiso cum Turro* in the eastern part of the city (Cat. nos. 1/31, 1/62, 1/75, 1/80). The presence of copies in these contexts can be interpreted as intentional and a consequence of their recognition as forgeries and their subsequent exclusion from the circulating stock. The finds of counterfeits in the area of the Roman *forum* could be evidence of the activity of *nummularii*. Nevertheless, it is not clear if copies were regarded as rubbish or they were selected as objects for ritual offerings,⁸⁹ since lower denominations are the most attested in ritual places.⁹⁰ A significant piece of evidence resulting from the analysis of these contexts is that copies of silver denominations in particular, when detected, were deliberately discarded. Consequently, once they entered the local circulation they were presumably perceived as forgeries. If they were regarded as rubbish or employed as useful denominations for ritual offerings must be ascertained case by case, based on the archaeological context of provenance.

88 Peter 2004, 21; FMRÖ III/2, 639; Awianowicz, Dymowski, Myzgin 2022, 130. On the presence of *nummularii* in Aquileia cf. Zaccaria, Pesavento Mattioli 2009, 277.

89 Silver copies were found in association with official issues, cf. *supra* n. 45.

90 On the presence of monetary copies in ritual contexts cf. Kemmers 2018. On the coin offerings connected to watery places in settlements cf. Krmnicek 2018, 522. For a “denomination-based” selection of coins deposited in ritual contexts of *Venetia et Histria* cf. Stella 2019, 127.

From this point of view, useful hints are provided by grave finds. Two specimens of plated imperial *denarii* were found inside Roman graves in Aquileia and other sites of *Venetia et Histria* (Cat. nos. 1/6, 1/88). One of them is holed, and this feature represents further evidence of the deliberate selection of copies for ritual purposes, as precious metal coins are seldom attested inside graves in *Venetia et Histria*.⁹¹ Unsurprisingly, cast bronze coins are also attested in funerary contexts (Cat. nos. 2/13, 2/26, 2/28, 2/46).⁹² All of them are *asses*, the most attested denomination found in Roman graves, while the *sestertius* records the highest occurrence rate among settlement finds.⁹³ As seen before, cast denominations could have circulated alongside official issues in *Venetia et Histria* to cover the demand for lower denominations. According to this interpretation, their selection as monetary offerings in funerary contexts appears to be far from unusual and further cases are expected to be unveiled in the future.

Historical aspects

Alongside their relevance from the numismatic point of view, finds of Roman monetary copies represent useful evidence to trace the economic links and the movements of individuals between the settlements of *Venetia et Histria* and the regions beyond the Alps. During the imperial period, Aquileia, the site that yielded the largest number of all the categories considered, was the main staples supplier of the Roman army stationed along the Danubian *Limes* in *Pannonia Superior*.⁹⁴ The epigraphic evidence related to *frumentarii* is particularly significant to the presence of soldiers involved in the supply of the Danubian troops.⁹⁵

Starting from the 3rd century AD, a growing number of soldiers are attested in Aquileia as part of mobile detachments, *vexillationes*, deployed on the eastern frontier of Roman Italy to guard against the threat of Barbarian raids. Members of *Legio I Cohors Ulpia Galatarum* were stationed in Aquileia in the aftermath of the *Bellum Aquileiense* of 238 AD,⁹⁶ while a large detachment of the *Legio XI Claudia* was deployed in Aquileia in the Tetrarchic period.⁹⁷

The movements of both goods and individuals fostered the circulation of coins belonging to the Danubian monetary stock towards Aquileia.⁹⁸ Among them, copies of silver and bronze denominations can be mentioned. Since their production and circulation was mostly related to military sites, their occurrence represents a specific marker of the role played by the site of Aquileia in the logistics of the Danubian army. However, they represent strong evidence of broader commercial links connecting Italy and the regions beyond the north-eastern Alpine chain.

Part of the documented finds analysed here originated from southern *Venetia et Histria*. In this case, the Po river played a key role in attracting and spreading Roman monetary copies, and coins, in general, in this area. On the one hand, it represented a natural barrier protecting large

91 Gorini 1999, 75-76.

92 For further finds of cast bronze coins in northern Italy in funerary contexts cf. Orlandoni 1985, 71; Arslan 2004, 204.

93 Stella 2019, 126, 135, Tab. 7.

94 For a summary of the historical and archaeological evidence cf. Zaccaria, Pesavento Mattioli 2009, 275-277.

95 Cigaina 2016, 11 and n. 10. On *frumentarii* cf. Cupcea 2009.

96 Ricci 2014, 240-243. On the military presence of the second half of the 3rd century cf. Ricci 2014, 243.

97 Ricci 2014, 246-250.

98 On this point cf. Stella 2020.

settlements of central Italy, like Ravenna and Rome itself, from invasions by Barbarian tribes.⁹⁹ For this reason, the river network of the lower Po Valley was patrolled by members of the imperial fleet stationed in Classe, near Ravenna.¹⁰⁰ However, a major military presence can be hypothesised, starting from the middle of the 3rd century when, under the threat of invasion by the Alamanni and Iutungi, a defensive system was deployed between *Mediolanum* and Aquileia.¹⁰¹ No epigraphical evidence is available to support this assumption but recent analyses on the local coin finds have unveiled unprecedented pieces of evidence. One of the most striking features is the high rate of silver coins of the 2nd and 3rd century which, in the territory to the west of the modern town of Rovigo, reaches 40% of the aggregate of coin finds of the period 193-260, a rate only comparable to that of Aquileia (Table 1). Unsurprisingly, the same area has yielded a high number of silver copies, for the most part dating between the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century. Furthermore, large hoards of silver coins (*denarii* and *antoniniani*) were discovered in the surroundings, like the Stellata and the Dosso di Gavello treasures.¹⁰² As silver coins were chiefly supplied to military sites, starting from the Severan age,¹⁰³ the monetary evidence discussed here points to a deployment of troops in the area, at least in the 3rd century AD. A further piece of evidence is represented by cast bronze coins, found in significant numbers in the lower Po Valley. As seen before, the predominance of lower denominations would imply a provenance of these copies from the north-western provinces, where military detachments were also deployed. Nevertheless, even if their circulation appears to overlap that of silver denominations, copies included, their presence could be related to broader commercial links. The Po river was a fundamental waterway fostering trades between the Adriatic Sea and the regions located beyond the north-western Alpine chain.¹⁰⁴ It could have played a fundamental role in spreading cast coins coming from the neighbouring areas of Gaul and *Raetia*, as evidenced by the finds of Aosta, from the western to the eastern part of the Po Valley. From this point of view, finds of cast bronze denominations in the southern part of *Venetia et Histria* are more likely the result of river trades, even if a connection with the military presences of the 3rd century cannot be excluded.

Type of coinage	Period	Verona	Verona southern ager	Ateste southern ager	Atria western ager	Aquileia
AE	97-192	96%	98%	91%	97%	92%
AR	97-192	4%	2%	9%	3%	8%
AE	193-260	72%	84%	63%	74%	60%
AR	193-260	28%	16%	38%	26%	40%

Table 1 – The ratio of aes coinage and silver coins of the period 97-260 AD in five sectors of *Venetia et Histria*.¹⁰⁵

99 Bollini 2007, 185.

100 Bollini 2007, 184, 188. The deployment of *classarii* could have also functioned as a means to ensure the protection of trades carried out along the Po River.

101 Ricci 2014, 243-244.

102 Stellata: found in 1904, 2,500 (1,800 recorded) *denarii* and *antoniniani* from Vespasian to Gordian III; Rizzoli 1912. Dosso di Gavello: found in 1874, 874 *denarii* and *antoniniani* from Septimius Severus to Gallienus (joint reign or sole); Calzolari 1984.

103 Kemmers 2009a, 141-149; Kemmers 2009b, 147-150.

104 On this aspect cf. Page 2024.

105 Verona (RMRVe III/1), Verona, southern ager (RMRVe III/2), Ateste/Este, southern ager (cf. Stella 2022), Atria/Adria, western ager (RMRVe VII/2; cf. Stella 2021), Aquileia (Asolati, Stella 2018; RMRFGV I/2/1.1;

Conclusions

The historical region of *Venetia et Histria* yielded a significant number of copies of silver and bronze Roman imperial coins. The most intense circulation of both categories should be placed in the 3rd century AD, when the highest number of copies were produced in the most peripheral regions of the northern Roman frontier to supplement an insufficient coin supply. Through the evidence of archaeological contexts, it is possible to assess the role played by copies in the monetary circulation of *Venetia et Histria*. Regarding silver, counterfeits were apparently discarded when detected or, in some cases, were employed as ritual offerings. This evidence should demonstrate that silver copies were perceived as forgeries and were excluded from the local circulation as soon as they were recognized. However, cast bronze coins seemingly played a subsidiary role during the 3rd century, due to the limited circulation of lower official denominations in the same period. Forgeries flowed into *Venetia et Histria*, following different channels of distribution. The finds from the eastern part of the region are likely the result of the commercial and military links that connected Aquileia to the Danubian *Limes* during the entire Imperial Age. Conversely, the circulation of bronze copies in southern *Venetia et Histria* appears to have been fostered by the Po River. It represented a major waterway for trade between the north-western provinces and the Adriatic Sea and a military stronghold against Barbarian raids threatening the major settlements of central Italy. As a consequence, the finds of Roman imperial monetary copies are not only a source of evidence from a numismatic point of view, but also a useful contribution to the reconstruction of the historical and economic background of this part of the Roman Empire.

CATALOGUE

List of abbreviations

Authority		M. T.		Maximinus Thrax		D; p.	Plated denarius
A.	Augustus						
Ant. A.	Time of the Antonines; uncertain augusta	Nr.		Nero		Dp; c.	Cast dupondius
Ant. emp.	Uncertain Antonine emperor	Nrv.		Nerva		HS; c.	Cast sestertius
An.	Antoninus Pius	O.		Otho		HS; sbf.	Sestertius subferratus
An. (H.)	Antoninus Pius; striking under Hadrianus	S. A.		Severus Alexander		Further abbreviations	
Cl.	Claudius	Sb. (H.)		Sabina; striking under Hadrianus		Auth.	Authority
Com.	Commodus	S. S.		Septimius Severus		Cont.	Context
Cr.	Caracalla	S. S.+Cr.		Septimius Severus and Caracalla		Date	Date of the prototype
Cr. (S. S.)	Caracalla; striking under Septimius Severus	S. S./Cr./G.		Septimius Severus or Caracalla or Geta		Den.	Denomination
D.	Domitianus	S. S./Cr.		Septimius Severus or Caracalla		FF	Further finds
D. A. (Tb.)	Divus Augustus; striking under Tiberius	Tb.		Tiberius		FS	Findspot
D. (Tt.)	Domitian; striking under Titus	Tr.		Trajan		Grv.	Grave
El.	Elagabalus	Tt.		Titus		Hrd.	Hoard
F. II (M. A.)	Faustina II; striking under Marcus Aurelius	Tt. (V)		Titus; striking under Vespasianus		N.	Catalogue number
G. III	Gordianus III	Und.		Uncertain emperor		Ref.	References
G. (S. S.)	Geta; striking under Septimius Severus	V.		Vespasianus		Uncr.	Uncertain
H.	Hadrianus	Denomination				Und.	Undetermined
J. D. (Cr.)	Julia Domna; striking under Caracalla	AE; sbf.		Uncertain subferratus		Unpubl.	Unpublished

J. D. (S. S.)	Julia Domna; striking under Septimius Severus	Ant; c.	Cast antoninianus	W.	Weight
J. M. (S. A.)	Julia Mamaea; striking under Severus Alexander	Ant; p.	Plated antoninianus	Wtrlg.	Waterlogged
L. (M. A./L. V.)	Lucilla; striking under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus	As; c.	Cast as	Ø	Diameter
L. V.	Lucius Verus	As; sbf.	As subferratus		
M. A.	Marcus Aurelius	(Cu)	Copper alloy		
M. S. O. (A.)	M. Salvius Otho; striking under Augustus	D; c.	Cast denarius		

1. Silver coins

N.	FS	Auth.	Den.	Date	W.	Ø	Type	Ref.	Cont.
1	(ITA)/Ateste	A.	D; p.	19-18 BC	3,68	19	RIC I, 37b/33a (<i>Colonia Patricia</i>)	RMRVe V/2, 11/19(4)/149	Hrd.
FF: FMRD IV/3.3, 3021,1/188 (<i>Augusta Treverorum</i>).									
Note: hybrid.									
2	(ITA)/Ateste	A.	D; p.	15-13 BC	2,67	20	RIC I, 165a (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	RMRVe V/2, 11/19(4)/155	Hrd.
3	(SLO)/Loška dolina	A.	D; p.	15-13 BC	2,81	18	RIC I, 167a (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	FMRSI V, 39/13	Und.
Note: holed.									
4	(ITA)/Aquileia	A.	D; p.	11-10 BC	-	-	RIC I, 180 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	Giovannini et al. 1997, 93, fig. 7	Grv.
Note: holed.									
5	(SLO)/Kobarid	A.	D; p.	2 BC-4	3,12	20	RIC I, 207 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	FMRSI V, 3/8	Und.
FF: IFS 3, 207, n. 28/20 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
6	(SLO)/Vrhnika	A.	D; p.	2 BC-4	2,56	-	RIC I, 207 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	FMRSI III, 107/1	Wtrlg?
FF: IFS 3, 207, n. 28/20 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
7	(ITA)/Aquileia	A.	D; p.	2 BC-4	2,73	19	RIC I, 207 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	RMRFVG 1/2/1.2, 17(1)/1	Wtrlg.

	FF: FMRD IV/3.3, 3021,1/198 (<i>Augusta Treverorum</i>); IFS 3, 207, n. 28/19 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
8	(SLO)/Emona	A.	D; p.	2 BC-4	2,57	19	RIC I, 207-208, 210-212 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	FMRSI VI, 79/5/1	Und.	
	FF: IFS 3, 207, n. 28/19 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
	Note: holed.									
9	(SLO)/Emona	A.	D; p.	13-14	1,65	18	RIC I, 222 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	FMRSI VI, 79/2/4	Und.	
10	(SLO)/Pivka	A.	D; p.	19 BC	3,08	-	RIC I, 288 (Rome)	FMRSI IV,45/1/24	Und.	
11	(ITA)/Malo (VI)	A.	D; p.	19-13 BC	-	-	RIC?	RMRVe IV/1, 22/1	Und.	
	Note: D/ CAESAR AVGVSTVS, bare head of Augustus r.; R/ Illegible. The prototype can be attributed to a Spanish mint or Rome on stylistic grounds.									
12	(ITA)/Ateste	Tb.	D; p.	14-37	2,72	20	RIC I, 26 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	RMRVe V/2, 11/19(2)/189	Hrd.	
	FF: FMRD IV/3.3, 3021,1/305-306 (<i>Augusta Treverorum</i>); cf. FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 34741-34742 (<i>Carnuntum</i>); IFS 3, 236, n. 162 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
13	(ITA)/Rovigo (VR05)	Tb.	D; p.	14-37	2,24	19	RIC I, 30 (<i>Lugdunum</i>)	Unpubl.	Und.	
	FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 34741-34742 (<i>Carnuntum</i>); IFS 3, 276, n. 121; 306, n. 8; 437, n. 20 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
14	(SLO)/Emona	Cl.	D; p.	43-44	2,78	-	RIC I, 22, 28 (Rome)	FMRSI V, 62/9/82	Und.	
15	(SLO)/Emona	Cl.	D; p.	41-52	-	-	RIC I, 41-48 (Rome)	FMRSI I, 155/29/12	Und.	
16	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	Nr.	D; p.	64-68	3,06	18	RIC I, 47 (Rome)	RMRVe V/2, 32(Ab)/379	Und.	
	Note: imitation; cf. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1939-0109-11 .									
17	(SLO)/Knežak	O.	D; p.	69	2,06	-	RIC I, 10 (Rome)	FMRSI IV, 39/1/23	Und.	
	FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 34774.									
18	(ITA)/Aquileia, FS und.	V.	D; p.	70	2,95	18	RIC II, 6-7; RIC II/1, 23 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.	
19	(ITA)/Sant'Urbano (PD)	V.	D; c. (Cu)	76	2,29	18	RIC II, 99(b); RIC II/1, 848 (Rome)	RMRVe V/2, 27/2/1	Und.	
	FF: Gaždac, Oargă, Alföldi-Gaždac 2015, cat. n. 1 (hoard <i>Apulum</i> VI, RIC II/1, 849).									

20	(SLO)/Logatec	V.	D; p.	77-78	3,02	17	RIC II, 107; RIC II/1, 943-944 (Rome)	FMRSI VI, 84/4	Und.
21	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	V.	D; p.	69-79	1,27	16	RIC?	RMReVe V/2, 32(Ab)/439	Und.
22	(SLO)/Dutovlje	Tt. (V.)	D; p.	74	2,55	-	RIC II, 173A-174; RIC II/1, 705-706 (Rome)	FMRSI VI, 29/1	Und.
23	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	Tt.	D; p.	79-80	2,76	19	RIC II, 5-27 (Titus, Rome); RIC II, 90; RIC II/1, 772-773 (Vespasian, Rome)	RMReVe V/2, 32(Ab)/455	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 35882 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
Note: hybrid.									
24	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	D. (Tt.)	D; p.	80-81	-	-	RIC II, 48/7; RIC II/1, 266/19 (Rome)	RMReFVG I/2/2, 55(1n)/1	Und.
Note: hybrid.									
25	(ITA)/Aquilaia	D.	D; p.	82	2,83	18	RIC II, 28; RIC II/1, 96 (Rome)	RMReFVG I/2/1.1, 30(1)/4	Und.
26	(ITA)/Aquilaia, <i>extra moenia</i>	D.	D; p.	86	-	-	RIC II, 88; RIC II/1, 458 (Rome)	RMReFVG I/2/2, 53(3)/1	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 34784 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
27	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	D.	D; p.	88	-	-	RIC II, -; RIC II/1, 569 var. (Rome)	RMReFVG I/2/2, 54(1p)/3	Und.
28	(SLO)/Rado-vljica	D.	D; p.	88-89	-	-	RIC II, 137; RIC II/1, 667-668 (Rome)	FMRSI I, 105/1	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 34785 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
29	(ITA)/Feltria, FS und.	D.	D; p.	90-91	-	-	RIC II, 153; RIC II/1, 720 (Rome)	RMReVe I/2, 12/63	Und.
FF: IFS 3, 347, n. 43/62 (<i>Augusta Raurica</i>).									
30	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	D.	D; p.	91-92	1,92	18	RIC II, 158, 168; RIC II/1, 726, 732 (Rome)	RMReVe V/2, 32(Ab)/517	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 34786.									
31	(ITA)/Aquilaia	D.	D; c.	95-96	3,59	26	RIC II, 193; RIC II/1, 790 (Rome)	RMReFVG I/2/1.1, 26/4	Wtrlg

32	(ITA)/Castelglielmo (TC01)	Nrv.	D; p.	97	1,93	19	RIC II, 17 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
33	(ITA)/Altinum, FS und.	Nrv.	D; p.	97	-	-	RIC II, 34 (Rome)	RMRVe VI/1, 53(Ad)/510	Und.
34	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	Tr.	D; p.	98-99	2,53	19	RIC II, 12 (Rome)	RMRVe V/2, 32(Ad)/548	Und.
35	(SLO)/Loška dolina	Tr.	D; p.	101-102	2,58	-	RIC II, 55 (Rome)	FMRSI IV,42/19	Und.
36	(SLO)/Cerknica	Tr.	D; p.	101-102	3,22	19	RIC II, 57 (Rome)	FMRSI V, 27/1/22	Und.
37	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	Tr.	D; p.	103-111	2,60	19,5	RIC II, 121 (Rome)	RMRVe V/2, 32(Ad)/550	Und.
38	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	Tr.	D; p.	103-111	2,09	20	RIC II, 127 var. (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. 34803 (<i>Carnuntum</i>); Găzdac, Cociș 2004, cat. 276 (<i>Sarmizegetusa</i>).									
39	(ITA)/Aquilaia	Tr.	D; p.	103-111	1,51	17	Typ. RIC II, 172 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
FF: Găzdac, Suciu, Alföldy-Găzdac 2009, 143, n. 16; 172, n. 112 (<i>Apulum</i>).									
40	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	Tr.	D; p.	103-117	-	-	RIC II, 345/122 (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/2, 54(1t)/2	Und.
Note: hybrid.									
41	(SLO)/Emona	Tr.	D; p.	98-117	2,49	-	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 85/2/6	Und.
42	(SLO)/Vrhnika	Tr.	D; p.	98-117	1,94	-	RIC?	FMRSI III, 109/47	Und.
43	(ITA)/Altinum, FS und.	Tr.	D; p.	98-117	-	-	RIC?	RMRVe VI/1, 53(Ad)/520	Und.
44	(SLO)/Emona	S. (H.)	D; p.	119-137	2,21	-	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 84/1	Wtrlg?
45	(SLO)/Emona	H.	D; p.	117-138	3,25	-	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 85/10/3	Und.
46	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	H.	D; c.	117-138	2,11	19	RIC?	Unpubl./I.N. 596774	Und.
Note: uncertain attribution.									
47	(ITA)/Giacciano con Baruchella (CG01)	An. (H.)	D; p.	138	2,30	19	RIC II, 447 (b); RIC II/3, 2729 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
Note: uncertain attribution.									

48	(SLO)/Knežak	An.	D; p.	139	2,20	-	RIC III, 49b (Rome)	FMRSI IV, 39/1/34	Und.
49	(ITA)/Brixia	An.	D; c. (Cu)	145-161	1,28	16	Typ. RIC III, 127c (Rome)	Arslan 2002, cat. n. 5	UnCr.
FF: Gaždac, Oargă, Alföldi-Gaždac 2015, cat. 23 (hoard <i>Apulum</i> VI, RIC 129).									
50	(ITA)/Verona	An.	D; c.	138-161	1,14	15	Typ. RIC III, 177d (Rome)	RMRe III/1, 139/33(a)/229	Hrd.
51	(SLO)/Logatec	An.	D; p.	138-161	1,81	-	RIC?	FMRSI VI, 82/1	Und.
52	(ITA)/Trecenta (Marzanata)	M. A.	D; c.	165-166	1,96	18	RIC III, 145, 164 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
53	(SLO)/Emona	M. A.	D; p.	161-180	1,65	-	RIC?	FMRSI VI, 79/2/16	Und.
54	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. S.	D; c. (Cu)	197-198	2,66	17	RIC IV.1, 118 (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(16)/20	Wtrlg.
55	(SLO)/Loška dolina	S. S.	D; p.	199-200	2,02	17	RIC IV.1, 142a (Rome)	FMRSI VI, 57/9	Und.
56	(SLO)/Emona	S. S.	D; p.	193-211	1,48	18	RIC?	FMRSI VI, 79/9/6	Hrd.
57	(ITA)/Aquilaia	Cr. (S. S.)	D; c.	196-197	2,87	18	RIC IV.1, 330 (Laodicea)	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(16)/22	Wtrlg.
FF: FMRSI VI, cat. 9a/1345-1346 (<i>Flavia Solva</i>); FMRSI, III/2, cat. 34939 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
Note: a coin mould of this type in Pachten; Alföldi 1974, 437.									
58	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	S. S.+Cr.	D; c.	199-201	1,74	18	RIC IV.1, 45, 350 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
59	(SLO)/Emona	S. S.+Cr.	D; p.	209	3,67	-	RIC IV.1, 111 (Rome)	FMRSI III, 83/3/28	Und.
FF: FMRSI III/2, cat. n. 35026.									
60	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. S.+Cr.	D; c. (Cu)	201-206	2,30	18	RIC IV.1, 144b (Rome)	Asolati, Stella 2018, cat. n. 66	Und.
FF: FMRSI VI, cat. n. 9a/1393 (<i>Flavia Solva</i>); FMRSI III/2, cat. n. 35035-35036 (<i>Carnuntum</i>); Gaždac, Gudex 2006, 68, n. 41; 110, n. 14; 144, ns. 1217-1218 (<i>Porolissum</i>); Gaždac, Oargă, Alföldi-Gaždac 2015, cat. 144 (hoard <i>Apulum</i> VI).									
61	(SLO)/Stična	G. (S. S.)	D; p.	200-202	1,87	18	RIC IV.1, 24 (Rome)	FMRSI V, 79/5	Und.
62	(ITA)/Giacciano con Baruchella (CG02)	J. D. (S. S.)	D; p.	196-211	2,82	19	RIC IV.1, 559 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.

	FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. 35143 (<i>Carnuntum</i>); Găzdac, Gudea 2006, 105, n. 93; 146, n. 1269 (<i>Porolissum</i>); Găzdac, Gaiu, Marchiş 2011, 105, n. 93; 140, n. 305 (<i>Arcobadara</i>).									
63	(ITA)/Aquileia	J. D. (S. S.)	D; p.	196-211	1,67	18	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 26/12	Wtrlg.	
64	(SLO)/ <i>Ad Pium</i>	Cr.	Ant; p.	215	4,82	-	RIC IV.1, 263e (Rome)	FMRSI IV, 13/6	Und.	
65	(SLO)/ <i>Emona</i>	Cr.	D; p.	211-213	1,29	-	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 89/1	Und.	
66	(ITA)/Aquileia	J. D. (Cr.)	D; p.	211-217	1,99	18	RIC IV.1, 383 (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(3)/18	Und.	
67	(SLO)/Pivka	El.	D; p.	218-222	3,14	18	RIC IV.2, 73b (Rome)	FMRSI V, 41/12	Und.	
68	(ITA)/ <i>Brixia</i>	El.	D; p.	220-222	2,56	18,5	RIC IV.2, 88b (Rome)	Arslan 2002, cat. n. 13	UnCr.	
69	(SLO)/ <i>Emona</i>	El.	D; p.	218-222	-	-	RIC IV.2, 201a, d (Rome)	FMRSI I, 155/21/20	Und.	
	FF: FMRÖ VI, cat. n. 9a/1650 (<i>Flavia Solva</i>); FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 35180 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
70	(SLO)/Most na Soči	S. A.	D; p.	222-228	-	-	RIC IV.2, 139a (Rome)	FMRSI I, 9/1/50	Und.	
71	(ITA)/Aquileia, FS und.	S. A.	D; c. (Cu)	222-228	1,93	18	RIC IV.2, 163 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.	
72	(ITA)/Aquileia, FS und.	S. A.	D; p.	222-228	2,94	18	RIC IV.2, 172 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.	
73	(ITA)/Aquileia	S. A.	D; p.	228-231	1,85	20	RIC IV.2, 215c-d (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 26/13	Wtrlg	
	FF: Găzdac, Suciu, Alföldy-Găzdac 2009, 36, n. 33; 50, n. 81 (<i>Apulum</i>).									
74	(ITA)/Aquileia	S. A.	D; c. (Cu)	228-231	1,48	18	RIC IV.2, 215c-d (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(16)/25	Wtrlg.	
75	(SLO)/Stična	S. A.	D; p.	222-228	1,66	-	RIC IV.2, 307 (Rome)	FMRSI IV, 106/12	Und.	
76	(ITA)/Polesella (PL03)	S. A.	D; c.	225-228	1,84	20	Typ. RIC IV.2, 45 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.	
	FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. 35404.									
77	(ITA)/Trecenta (CT01)	S. A.	D; p.	222-235	2,29	19	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.	

78	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. A.	D; p.	228-235	2,31	18	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 26/15	Wtrlg.
79	(ITA)/Sant'Urbano (PD)	S. A.	D; c. (Cu)	231-235	1,89	19	RIC?	RMReVe V/2, 27/2/2	Und.
80	(ITA)/Aquilaia	J. M. (S. A.)	D; p.	222-235	2,53	18	RIC IV.2, 351 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. 35403 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
81	(SLO)/Emona	J. M. (S. A.)	D; p.	222-235	2,03	17	RIC IV.2, 358 (Rome)	FMRSI V, 62/6/89	Und.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 35404 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
82	(ITA)/Aquilaia	M. T.	D; c. (Cu)	236	-	-	RIC IV.2, 3 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Wtrlg.
FF: FMRÖ, III/2, cat. nn. 35431-35432 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
83	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	M. T.	D; c. (Cu)	235-238	3,41	19	RIC IV.2, 106 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
FF: Gohl 1908, cat. 324 (Budapest).									
Note: "Barbarisiert".									
84	(SLO)/Emona	G. III	Ant; p.	240	2,10	22	RIC IV.3, 36 (Rome)	FMRSI VI, 79/2/18	Und.
85	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	G. III	Ant; c.	241-243	1,9	22	RIC IV.3, 83 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
FF: FMRD IV/3.3, 3021, 1/3516 (<i>Augusta Treverorum</i>).									
Note: uncertain attribution; fragmented.									
86	(ITA)/Aquilaia	G. III	Ant; p. (Anima)	243-244	3,06	22	RIC IV.3, 4/148 (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(16)/31	Wtrlg.
FF: FMRÖ III/2, cat. n. 36145 (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
Note: hybrid.									
87	(SLO)/Knežak	G. III	Ant; p.	238-240	3,57	21	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 39/1/49	Und.
88	(ITA)/Altinum	Und.	D; p.	0/100	-	-	RIC?	RMReVe VI/1, 46(1a)/218	Grv.
89	(SLO)/Planina	Und.	D; p.	0/240	1,33	19	RIC?	FMRSI VI, 62/6	Und.
90	(SLO)/Emona	Und.	D; p.	0/240	2,46	-	RIC?	FMRSI V, 62/15/306	Und.

91	(SLO)/Emona	Und.	D; p.	0/240	2,35	-	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 85/13/143	Und.
92	(ITA)/Aquileia, FS und.	Und.	D; p.	0/240	1,28	17	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
93	(SLO)/Stična	Und.	D; p.	100/240	1,07	-	RIC?	FMRSI IV, 106/130	Und.
Note: holed.									
94	(SLO)/Emona	Und.	D; p.	100/240	-	-	RIC?	FMRSI III, 83/2/176	Und.
95	(ITA)/Guarda Veneta (PG04)	Und.	D; p.	193/240	2,08	17	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
96	(ITA)/Trecenta (CT02)	Und.	D; p.	98/240	2,04	20	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.

2. Bronze coins and *subferrati*

N.	FS	Auth.	Den.	Date	W.	Ø	Type	Ref.	Cont.
1	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	M. S. O. (A.)	As; c.	7 BC	4,21	25	RIC I, 431 (Rome)	RMReVe V/2, 32(Ab)/148	Und.
FF: Pfisterer 2007a, cat. ns. 5a-b (<i>Carnuntum</i>).									
Note: uncertain attribution.									
2	(ITA)/Aquileia	D. A. (Tb.)	As; sbf.	22-30	-	-	RIC I, 81 (Rome)	Carre, Zaccaria 2004, 594	Und.
FF: Doyen, Martin, Peter 2017, 287, n. FR0022 (<i>Castrum Raurarencis</i>).									
3	(ITA)/Aquileia	D.	Dp; Cr.	85-91	3,74	24	Typ. RIC II, 264; RIC II/1, 370 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
Note: uncertain attribution.									
4	(ITA)/Remedello (BS)	Tr.	HS; c.	103-111	-	-	Typ. RIC II, 527 (Rome)	Arsian 2004, 202, note 43	Und.
5	(SLO)/Bohinjska Bistrica	Tr.	As; c.	98-117	6,4	-	RIC?	FMRSI VI, 64/17	Und.
6	(ITA)/Trecenta (CT01)	Tr.	As; c.	98-117	6,32	24	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
7	(ITA)/Crespino (VC17)	Tr.	As; c.	98-102	5,00	26	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
8	(ITA)/Aquileia, FS und.	H.	HS; c.	117	16,57	33	RIC II, 535 (a); RIC II/3, 36 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.

9	(ITA)/Aquilaia	H.	As; c.		117-120	9,99	27	RIC?		Unpubl.	Und.
10	(ITA)/Trecenta (TT01)	H.	As; c.		117-138	3,75	25	RIC?		Unpubl.	Und.
11	(ITA)/Brixia	An.	As; c.		145-161	6,62	28	RIC III, 825 (R/, Rome)		Arslan 2004, 201, note 29	Grv.
Note: hybrid coin featuring the same motif on both obverse and reverse: no legend, Mars advancing r. with spear in the r. hand and trophy in the l. flanked by S-C.											
12	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	An.	HS; c.		140-161	23,38	32	Typ. RIC III, 636 (Rome)		Unpubl.	Und.
Note: uncertain attribution.											
13	(ITA)/Aquilaia	An.	As; c.		138-161	5,85	27	RIC?		RMRFVG I/2/I.1, 19(2b)/24	Wtrlg?
Note: uncertain attribution.											
14	(SLO)/Kobarid	L. V.	Dp.; c.		162-163	3,97	22	RIC III, 1356 (Rome)		FMRSI V, 3/11	Und.
15	(ITA)/Trecenta (CT04)	L. V.	As; c.		162-163	4,88	22	RIC III, 1358 (Rome)		Unpubl.	Und.
FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 85 (Aosta); Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 143/a (Veliko Gradiste); ns. 143/b-c (<i>Carnuntum</i>).											
16	(SLO)/Emona	L. V.	As; c.		162-163	3,68	23	RIC III, 1358 (Rome)		FMRSI VI, 79/17/1	Und.
FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 85 (Aosta); Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 143/a (Veliko Gradiste); ns. 143/b-c (<i>Carnuntum</i>).											
17	(SLO)/Pivka	L. V.	As; c.		163-169	3,70	23	RIC III, 1404 (Rome)		FMRSI VI, 58/8	Und.
18	(ITA)/Castelguglielmo (TC01-03)	L. V.	As; c.		164-168	8,25	23	Typ. RIC III, 1423 (Rome)		Unpubl.	Und.
FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 90-96 (Aosta, but type RIC III, 1394): cf. Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 145/a (<i>Carnuntum</i> , but dupondius).											
Note: uncertain attribution.											
19	(ITA)/Bedriacum	L. (M. A./L. V.)	As; c.		164-169	6,05		RIC III, 1733 (Rome)		Arslan 2004, 201-202, note 31	Und.
20	(ITA)/Crespino (VC18)	M. A.	Dp.; c.		170-172	5,70	26	RIC III, 1002, 1031 (Rome)		Unpubl.	Und.
21	(ITA)/Crespino (VC14)	M. A.	As; c.		174-175	4,93	23	RIC III, 1122 (Rome)		Unpubl.	Und.
FF: Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 164/a (<i>Carnuntum</i>).											

22	(ITA)/Aquilaia	M. A.	Dp; c.	166-171	5,68	22	Typ. RIC III, 944 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
23	(ITA)/Aquilaia	M. A.	Dp; c.	168-171	6,18	24	Typ. RIC III, 965 (Rome)	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 18(2c)/17	Und.
	Note: uncertain attribution.								
24	(SLO)/Emona	M. A.	Dp; c.	161-180	7,97	24	RIC?	FMRSI VI, 79/16/30	Und.
25	(ITA)/Aquilaia	M. A.	As; c.	161-180	4,22	23	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
26	(ITA)/Ateste, FS und.	M. A. for F. II	As; c.	161-176	4,21	22	RIC III, 1632 (Rome)	RMReVe V/2, 32(Ab)/739	Und.
27	(ITA)/Borgo San Giacomo (BS)	M. A. for F. II	As; c.	161-176	5,19	-	RIC III, 1636 (Rome)	Arslan 2004, 201, note 28	Grv.
28	(ITA)/Cavriana (MN)	M. A. for F. II	As; c.	161-176	11,37	-	RIC III, 1647-1648 (Rome)	Arslan 2004, 202, note 35	Grv.
29	(ITA)/Trecenta (CT04)	M. A. for F. II	As; c.	161-176	7,62	28	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
	Uncertain attribution.								
30	(ITA)/Aquilaia	M. A. for F. II	AE; sbf.	145-176	7,20	26	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 26/10	Wtrig.
	FF: Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 58/a (<i>Virunum</i>); 83/a (<i>Carnuntum</i>).								
31	(ITA)/Guarda Veneta (PG03)	Com.	As; c.	181	7,10	23	RIC III, 321a (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
32	(ITA)/Giacciano con Baruchella (CG02-03)	Ant. emp.	As; c.	138-192	5,98	26	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
33	(ITA)/Castelguglielmo (TC02)	Ant. emp.	As; c.	138-192	4,24	22	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
34	(ITA)/Castelguglielmo (TC01-03)	Ant. emp.	As; c.	138-192	3,53	27	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
35	(ITA)/San Basilio (RO)	Ant. A.	As; c.	138-192	9,43	28	RIC?	Unpubl.	UnCr.
36	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. S.	As; c.	208	5,17	23	RIC IV.1, 829 (Rome)	Stella 2020, 132, tab. 2, fig. 6	UnCr.
	FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 152-158 (Aosta, RIC 829d); Pfisterer 2007a, n. 249/a (findspot unknown); ns. 249/b-c (<i>Virunum</i>).								

37	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. S.	As; c.	193-211	2,55	21	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 19(2b)/27	Und.
38	(ITA)/Altinum, FS und.	S. S.	AE; sbf.	196-211	-	-	RIC?	RMRFVe VI/1, 53(Ad)/751	Und.
	FF: Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 23 (<i>Virunum</i>).								
39	(ITA)/Bedriacum	Cr. (S. S.)	As; c.	196-198	8,37	-	RIC?	Arslan 2004, 201-202, note 32	Und.
40	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. S./Cr.	As; c.	203	5,84	24	RIC IV.1, 415c (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
	FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 204-223 (Aosta); Pfisterer 2007a, cat. ns. 261/a-b, d, g (findspot unknown); ns. 261/c, e (<i>Carnuntum</i>); n. 261/f (<i>Flavia Solva</i>); n. 261/h (<i>Virunum</i>).								
41	(ITA)/Bedriacum	S. S./Cr.	As; c.	208	4,08		RIC IV.1, 437a (Rome)	Arslan 2004, 201, note 30	Und.
	FF: Pfisterer 2007a, cat. n. 264/g (<i>Carnuntum</i>).								
42	(ITA)/Aquilaia	S. S./Cr./G.	As; c.	203-213	2,09	22	Typ. RIC IV.1, 523 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
	FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat nn. 246-248 (Aosta, RIC IV.1, 523).								
43	(ITA)/Aquilaia	J. D. (S. S.)	As; c.	196-211	3,50	22	RIC IV.1, 877 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
	FF: FMRD IV.3/2, 3012,9/33 (<i>Augusta Treverorum</i>); Orlandoni 1985, cat. 166-171 (Aosta); Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 877/a-b (findspot unknown); n. 258/c (<i>Teurnia</i>).								
44	(SLO)/Bohinjska Bistrica	J. D. (Cr.)	As; c.	211-217	3,3	-	RIC IV.1, 600 (Rome)	FMRSI VI, 64/67	Und.
	FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 180-185 (Aosta); Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 304/a (findspot unknown); ns. 304/b-c (<i>Carnuntum</i>).								
	Note: coin mould of this type in Pachten; Alföldi 1974, 438.								
45	(ITA)/Aquilaia	J. D. (Cr.)	As; c.	211-217	2,87	22	RIC IV.1, 600 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
	FF: Orlandoni 1985, cat. 180-185 (Aosta); Pfisterer 2007a, cat. 304/a (findspot unknown); ns. 304/b-c (<i>Carnuntum</i>).								
	Note: a coin mould of this type in Pachten; Alföldi 1974, 438.								
46	(ITA)/Cavriana (MN)	S. A.	HS; c.	228	10,76	-	RIC IV.2, 476 (Rome)	Arslan 2004, 202, note 36	Grv.
47	(SLO)/Emona	S. A.	As; c.	222-231	6,74	-	RIC IV.2, 624 (Rome)	FMRSI V, 62/9/160	Und.

48	(ITA)/Castelguglielmo (TC01-03)	S. A.	As; c.		232-235	6,02	22	Typ. RIC IV/2, 532 (Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
	Note: uncertain attribution.									
49	(ITA)/Ceneselli (CC01)	S. A.	As (?); c.		222-235	2,76	19	Cf. Typ. RIC IV/2, 637 (R/, Rome)	Unpubl.	Und.
	FF: Cf. Arslan 2004, 201 (<i>Brixia/Brescia</i>).									
	Note: uncertain attribution. D/ apparently blank; R/ No legend, Mars advancing r. with spear in r. hand and shield in r. Attribution based on reverse design.									
50	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	Und.	As; c.		100-200	5,44	26	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
51	(ITA)/Aquilaia	Und.	AE; sbf.		100-235	14,24	28	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.1, 26/91	Wtrig.
52	(ITA)/Aquilaia	Und.	HS; sbf. (?)		100-235	9,21	34	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 5(1)/193	Und.
	Note: uncertain attribution.									
53	(ITA)/Aquilaia	Und.	AE; sbf.		100-235	5,75	25	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(16)/135	Wtrig.
54	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	Und.	As; c.		103-192	4,05	24	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
55	(ITA)/Castelguglielmo (TC01-03)	Und.	As; c.		161-211	4,30	24	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
56	(ITA)/Aquilaia	Und.	HS; sbf.		193-217	15,98	33	RIC?	RMRFVG I/2/1.2, 1(17)/2	Wtrig.
57	(ITA)/Guarda Veneta (PG04)	Und.	As; c.		69-192	4,60	25	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
58	(ITA)/Trecenta (CT01)	Und.	As; c.		81-138	4,06	26	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
59	(ITA)/Rovigo (AI59)	Und.	As; c.		96/192	3,39	25	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.
60	(ITA)/Aquilaia, FS und.	Und.	As; c.		97/192	6,60	24	RIC?	Unpubl.	Und.

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LIFE IN COLONIA FLAVIA SCUPINORUM DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT THROUGH NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Abstract: *Colonia Flavia Scupinorum* was established as a military colony during the Flavian period (69-96 AD). Located at the intersection of important roads, the colony rapidly expanded into a complex urban centre in the southernmost part of the province of Moesia Superior. Although the archaeological and epigraphical evidence about Scupi during the Imperial period culminates towards the 2nd and the 3rd century, the period immediately following the colony's foundation remains unclear. This article aims to reconstruct life in Scupi during its earliest years using available numismatic evidence, which includes coinage from Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, extending through the Flavian dynasty and concluding with Trajan's coinage. It is important to note that the conclusions drawn in this article are based on preliminary data, as the numismatic evidence originates from a modest portion of the site. Ongoing archaeological excavations and conservation efforts have meant that a significant amount of excavated numismatic material is still being processed.

Keywords: coinage, *Colonia Flavia Scupinorum*, Julio-Claudian dynasty, Flavians, Trajan.

Colonia Flavia Scupinorum is widely recognized as having been established with the *deductio*¹ of Roman veterans, primarily from the *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*,² during the Flavian period. However, there has been ongoing debate in modern historiography as to whether the colony was founded during the reign of Emperor Vespasian or Emperor Domitian. The epithet Flavia³ and the name of the *triba Quirina*,⁴ found on funeral inscriptions at Scupi, clearly indicate a connection with the Flavian dynasty. Vulić interpreted one abbreviation on a funeral inscription, *F.F.D.*,⁵ as standing for F(lavia) F(elix) D(omitiana), suggesting that Domitian founded the colony.⁶ This interpretation contrasts with the conclusions of Ritterling⁷ who argued that the colony was established during Vespasian's reign. Furthermore, the discovery of another funeral inscription with the abbreviation COL FL DAR,⁸ which Dragojević-Josifovska⁹ interpreted as Col(onia) Fl(avia) Dar(danorum), strengthens the hypothesis that Scupi was established as a colony during Vespasian's time. This interpretation of *Dardanorum* is also supported by testimonia from Ptolemy, who listed Scupi as one of the four cities in Dardania: καὶ τῆς Δαρδανίας δ

1 IMS VI, 53, 54, 56.

2 IMS, VI, 45-49, 51-57.

3 IMS VI, 31, 42, 46, 66.

4 IMS, VI, 63, 65, 66, 104.

5 IMS, VI, 42, 46.

6 Vulić 1909.

7 RE XII, 1621.

8 IMS, VI, 15.

9 IMS VI, 25.

πόλεις Ναϊσός, Ἀρριβάντιον, Οὐλπιανόν, Σκοῦποι.¹⁰ Birley¹¹ examined the nature of the Vespasianic foundation of the colony by analysing military inscriptions from Scupi, where the inscriptions of the veterans of VII *Claudia* legion prevail. He particularly focused on the inscriptions of those of veterans who did not belong to this cohesive group, among which was the inscription of one veteran of the IIII Macedonian Legion.¹² This legion was disbanded by Vespasian in 69 AD.¹³ Dragojević-Josifovska¹⁴ and Mocsy¹⁵ argue that this veteran likely settled in the area before 69-70 AD. Conversely, Birley referenced Tacitus,¹⁶ who noted that there was a vexillation of the IIII Macedonian Legion serving with the Vitellian forces in Italy during 69 AD. He suggested that it is likely this veteran was discharged by Vespasian, possibly in Illyricum, and then, along with other veterans from several legions, was sent as *deductus* to the new colony of Scupi.¹⁷

Birley's conclusion is based solely on one discovered funeral inscription of a veteran from the IIII Macedonian Legion at the time. However, today we can support this conclusion more firmly. Recent systematic excavations of the south-eastern necropolis of Scupi over the last two years have uncovered two new inscriptions of veterans from the IIII Macedonian Legion, as well as additional funeral inscriptions from veterans of the *Legio IIII Flavia* and the *Legio VII Claudia*.¹⁸ The epigraphic material suggests that it is more credible to state that the foundation of *Colonia Flavia Scupinorum* occurred during the reign of Vespasian. Nonetheless, the available numismatic evidence from Scupi indicates that military movements and settlements in the area took place much earlier.

Since 1966, when the first systematic archaeological excavations in Scupi were organized,¹⁹ the numismatic collection of the Museum of the City of Skopje has grown each year. Today, it contains around 12,000 coins, of which less than half are conserved and momentarily available for research. These coins have been obtained from three different excavation areas: the theatre, necropolises (both south-eastern and western), and the urban territory, each representing a distinct stage of excavation.

Bearing in mind the fact that the south-eastern necropolis has almost been completely excavated, it is quite understandable that the majority of the coins originate from the necropolises; however, unfortunately, only 15% of the around 6,500 coins have been conserved. In contrast, all the coins from the theatre, which has been fully excavated, around 3,200, have been conserved. From the urban territory, only around 550 coins have been preserved. It is also important to note that nearly 5% of the urban territory has been excavated, primarily from the upper layers, which correspond to discoveries from Late Antiquity, with the exception of a few probe trenches that reach bedrock. To date, only a limited number of these coins have been published. From the 95 coins presented in this article, 77 were discovered at the necropolis, from around 950

10 *Ptol. Geogr.* III, 9.4.

11 Birley 1986, 209-216.

12 IMS VI, 39.

13 Birley 1986, 209-216.

14 IMS VI, 72-73.

15 Mocsy 1974, 116.

16 *Tacitus, Historiae*, II. 100.

17 Birley 1986, 209-216.

18 Museum of the City of Skopje, inventory numbers 54, 73, 129, with ongoing documentation regarding the new inscriptions.

19 Jovanova, Ončevska Todorovska 2018, 32-35.

conserved, 13 at the theatre, from around 3200 conserved, and only 5 from the urban zone, from around 550 coins conserved. To conclude, the discovery of the majority of coins from the 1st century in the graves is quite expected, since, apart from the theatre, the excavations of the urban zone of Scupi are still relatively small and in the upper archaeological layers. On other hand, the discovery of coins in the graves can only determine the date *terminus ante quem non* or the date before which the coin could not have been deposited in the grave, and offers us no information regarding the duration of time the coin was in circulation or when it was withdrawn from circulation, something that individual coin finds can provide.²⁰

The available numismatic material from Scupi indicates a significantly developed monetary economy in the colony during the 1st century AD. Among the earliest coins discovered at Scupi is a republican denarius found at the theatre (Cat. 1) and a legionary denarius of Mark Antony from the urban territory, which was probably in circulation until the first half of the 3rd century in Scupi and, therefore, is unreliable as a chronological indicator (Cat. 2),²¹ but is, nonetheless, presented here as a monetary type. A substantial portion of the coins that illustrate the monetary circulation in the colony during this period was found in the south-eastern necropolis.

From the pre-Flavian period, seven coins from the period of the reign of Augustus (Cat. 3-9) were discovered, although they are all in very poor condition, as well as one coin in the name of Livia *Iustitia*, minted during Tiberius with the countermark [N]CAP[R] (Cat. 10).²² This countermark was one of the commonest of all early imperial countermarks, principally applied on coins in Italy, but also distributed to the Danubian provinces, during the first eight to ten years of Nero's reign and it was intended either to validate the continued circulation of coins of, in our case, Tiberius during the reign of Nero or to serve as *congriarium* – a monetary donation given by the emperors to the populace of Rome.²³ Since our example is in quite a worn condition, we can presume that it was countermarked in order to have its circulation continued. Additionally, two coins of Tiberius (Cat. 11-12), two coins of Gaius Caligula (Cat. 13-14) and three coins minted in the name of Agrippa during Caligula's reign (Cat. 15-17) were found. Furthermore, there are 20 coins of Claudius (Cat. 18-37) including one coin in the name of Germanicus, minted during Claudius (Cat. 19), and 12 coins of Nero (Cat. 38-49). These are all bronze issues, of which nine coins of Claudius and ten coins of Nero are part of the provincial issues of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ and Thessalonica.²⁴

Additionally, there is one provincial issue of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ minted in the name of Vitellius (Cat. 50) and 16 coins of Emperor Vespasian (Cat. 51-66), of which 9 are provincial issues. All of these were found in the south-eastern necropolis, except for three coins from the theatre. There are also three coins as joint issues of Titus and Domitian minted under Vespasian from the *municipium Stobensium* (Cat. 55-57), followed by two imperial issues of Titus (Cat. 67-68) and two coins of Domitian as Caesar minted under Titus (Cat. 69-70). The reign of Emperor Domitian is represented in Scupi by nine coins (Cat. 71-79) of which eight are provincial issues. This is followed by four coins of Nerva (Cat. 80-83) and, finally, 12 coins of Emperor Trajan (Cat. 84-95), including four provincial issues.

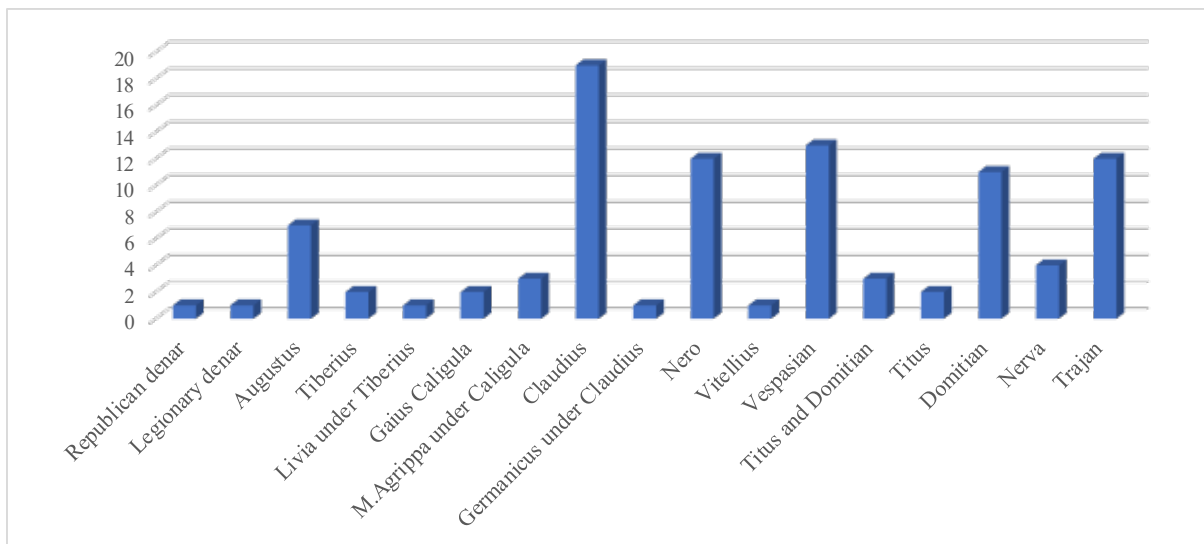
20 Kos 1997, 97-115.

21 Miškec 2015, 235-242.

22 NERO CLAUDIVS AVGVSTVS PROBAVIT / N[ERONIS] C[AESARIS] A[VGVSTI] P[OPVLIQVE] R[OMANI].

23 Baker 1984, 52-58; Mac Dowall 1971, 83-106.

24 Šeldarova Vasileva forth.



Graph 1 – Numismatic material from the 1st century discovered in *Colonia Flavia Scupinorum*.

The information from ancient sources about the beginnings of *Colonia Flavia Scupinorum* is limited, so we primarily rely on epigraphic and numismatic material. The bustling environment of legions and veterans during the second half of the 1st century, as reflected in the epigraphic data, is further confirmed by the numismatic findings at Scupi. Most coins from the 1st century found at Scupi, with a few exceptions,²⁵ were discovered in the south-eastern necropolis. The small number of these coins that have been preserved allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions.

Even before the colony was established, there was already a diverse monetary circulation in Scupi. Alongside the Roman republican denar, which was probably brought with the earliest legions to arrive in Scupi, is the legionary silver denarius featuring an aquila, which was minted in extremely large quantities to pay the substantial army of Mark Antony. Not only was this coin not withdrawn under Augustus,²⁶ but it continued to circulate until the first half of the 3rd century.²⁷

After the Battle of Actium, Antony's veterans were compensated with land and money. Unlike Octavian's troops, who settled in veteran communities in Italy, Antony's men received land in the provinces.²⁸ These veterans were paid with coins from Antony's captured treasury, which had been taken at sea aboard ships. This is how legionary denarii entered the monetary circulation in the Balkans.²⁹ In conclusion, the legionary denarius discovered in Scupi likely arrived as payment for the army and continued to circulate until about the first half of the 3rd century. Since it was excavated from the *thermae* in the upper archaeological layers, our example was probably left behind from an earlier period³⁰, something that is also suggested by its worn condition.

25 Cat. 1, 2, 43, 48, 51, 52, 53, 69, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91.

26 RPC, 247.

27 Miškec 2015, 235-242.

28 Cass. Dio RH, 51.4.6.

29 Paunov, Prokopov 2013, 107-130.

30 Miškec 2015, 235-242.

Beginning with the coins of Octavian Augustus and continuing through the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the number of coins in circulation in Scupi gradually increased, likely due to the growing presence of legions in the area. Unfortunately, most of these coins are poorly preserved, with almost illegible inscriptions on both the obverse and reverse sides, particularly those identified as coins of Augustus.³¹

Among these coins, two types can be identified: the Altar of Lugdunum, minted for Tiberius around 10 AD, and coins issued by the monetary *collegia* of the successive *IIIviri* active under Augustus, struck in the name of P. Lurii Agrippa around 7 BC. This was a time of intense military activity in the Dalmatian and Pannonian regions of Illyricum,³² where Tiberius was awarded a triumph under the auspices of Augustus.

In addition to the relatively good quality asses of Gaius discovered in Scupi, the asses minted in the name of Agrippa during Gaius's reign exhibit lower stylistic standards and are in a worn condition. These asses were minted in large quantities toward the end of Gaius's reign and, given that Gaius was very active militarily on the Rhine frontier³³ around the years 39–40 AD, he required a considerable amount of money for paying the legions and for donatives.³⁴

Until this period, the monetary circulation in Scupi predominantly featured coins brought by veterans and soldiers from the western part of the Roman world. However, starting with the reign of Claudius, there was a significant influx of provincial issues into Scupi, particularly from the economically developed south. The coins from the Macedonian Koinon were the most prevalent, followed by issues from the mints of Thessalonica and Philippi. Later, during the Flavian reign, coins from the *municipium Stobensium* also became common. Although the quantity of issues discovered varies by minting authority and they often arrived in worn condition, these coins demonstrated continuity in circulation until the reign of Trajan. Clearly, these were mints with the largest production in the region during the 1st and early 2nd century, and Scupi maintained strong commercial and migratory connections with their colonies.

From the pre-Flavian period, the coins discovered are predominantly bronze, mostly consisting of asses. However, the discovery of a small denomination, such as the quadrans of Nero (Cat. 39), indicates a developed monetary economy. These coins were issued to facilitate small transactions and cover minor expenses. The significant find of quadrans at Nijmegen, as noted by Kemmers,³⁵ was not an anomaly but rather a response to the need for small coinage on the frontiers, circulated through the legions. During the Julio-Claudian period,³⁶ quadrans were commonly used in Italy and were sometimes distributed to Gaul and the Danubian provinces to meet local demand. The isolated find of a quadrans from Scupi, discovered in the south-eastern necropolis, further confirms that Scupi, despite being a borderline colony, actively participated in the monetary policies of the central imperial government. The development of the monetary economy in Scupi shows notable progress from the Flavian period to that of Trajan. The silver denarius minted in the name of Vespasian (Cat. 52), the one minted in the name of his son Domitian under Titus (Cat. 69) followed by one in the name of Nerva (Cat. 80) and four silver

31 Coins with Cat. 5, 6, 7, 8 were first identified by Sanja Bitrak.

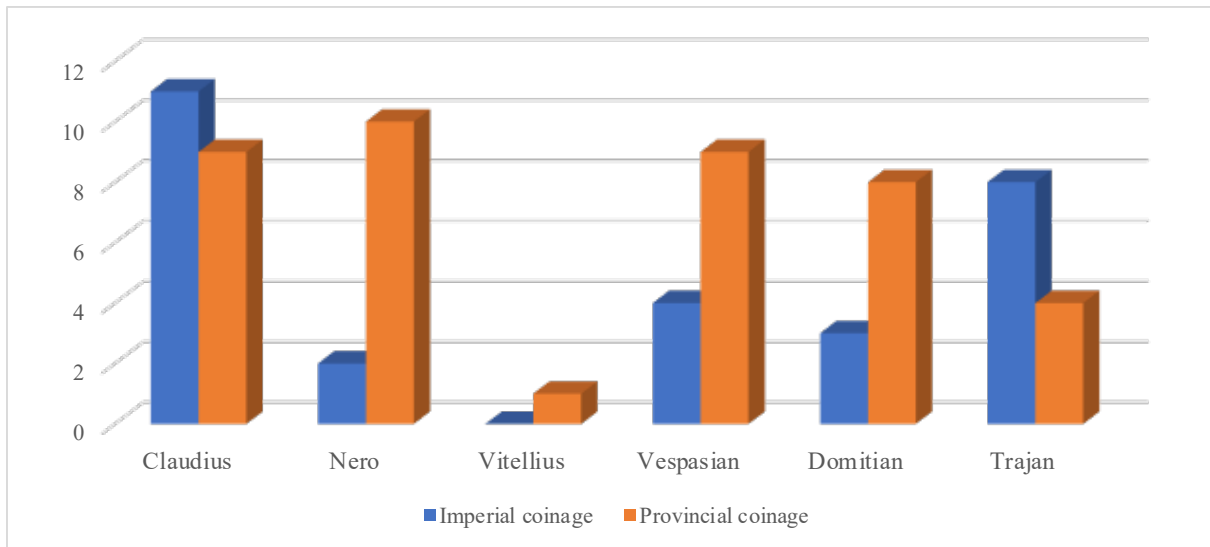
32 *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, I.30.

33 *Suet. Divus Gaius*, 24.3; 39; 43-49.

34 Nicols 1974, 65-86.

35 Kemmers 2003, 17-35.

36 Van Heesch 2009, 125-142.



Graph 2 – Imperial and Provincial Coins.

denarii of Trajan (Cat. 84-87), indicate a diverse monetary circulation in Scupi, with various types and denominations of coins. Unfortunately, no gold coins from the 1st century have yet been discovered in Scupi. This period was marked by intense military campaigns by Roman emperors toward the eastern provinces of the *imperium*, which explains the increased flow of money and the diversity of coin types reaching Scupi together with the legions.

Colonia Flavia Scupinorum, which experienced life before achieving colony status, promptly evolved into an administrative, religious, cultural, and economic centre in the region by the end of the 1st century. Initially developed due to a military presence and benefiting from its favourable geostrategic location in the Central Balkans and being close to important ancient crossroads, the colony soon experienced economic growth. This growth will be more clearly understood following the completion of the ongoing conservation of the numismatic material.

CATALOGUE

The catalogue is arranged chronologically and contains standard basic data in following order: catalogue number; minting authority; denomination; place of discovery at the archaeological site of Scupi; inventory number (Collection of the Museum of the city of Skopje); weight (g); diameter (mm); Mint; the citation according the standard literature; and the minting year. Selected coins are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

1. Roman Republic; denarius; Theatre; inv. no. 2304/14.

Weight 3.38 g; size 17 mm

Obv. Illegible; Helmeted head of Roma right.

Rev. Illegible; Jupiter in quadriga right.

Mint of Rome; no reference; 144–101 BC (according obv. and rev. motive).

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 1.

2. Marcus Antonius; denarius; Thermae (central urban zone); inv. no. 23293.

Weight 3.15 g; size 18 mm

Obv. ANT AVG (above), III VIR•R• P•C (below); Ship right.

Rev. Illegible; Aquila between two standards.

Mint moving with M. Antonius; RRC, no. 544; 32–31 BC.

3. Augustus; As; SE necropolis, west of grave no. 660; inv. no. 1431.

Weight 8.06 g; size 27 mm

Obv. [CAESAR AVGVST P]ON[T MAX TRIBVNIC POT]; Head bare right.

Rev. [P L]VRIVS AG[RIPPA III VIR AAA FF] around large SC.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 427; 7 BC.

4. Augustus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 111; inv. no. 68.

Weight 10.22 g; size 27 mm

Obv. [CAESAR AV]GVST PONT MAX [TRIBVNIC POT]; Head bare right.

Rev. [M M]AECILIVS TVLLVS III VIR [AAA F F] around large SC.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 435; 7 BC.

5. Augustus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2343; inv. no. 8508.

Weight 8.94 g; size 27 mm

Obv. [...]AVGVSTVS [...]; Head bare left.

Rev. Illegible; Worn.

Mint unknown; no reference; 25 BC –14 AD.

6. Augustus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2737; inv. no. 7207.

Weight 8.83 g; size 27 mm

Obv. [...] AVGVST P P TR P [...]; Head bare left.

Rev. [...] CAESAR [...]; Worn.

Mint unknown; no reference; 25 BC –14 AD.

7. Augustus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2729; inv. no. 7210

Weight 8.70 g; size 28 mm

Obv. and Rev. Illegible; Worn

Mint unknown; no reference; 25 BC –14 AD.

8. Augustus; As; SE necropolis, sq. IV; inv. no. 1475

Weight 9.44 g; size 29 mm

Obv. and Rev. Illegible; Worn

Mint unknown; no reference; 25 BC –14 AD.

9. Tiberius striking under Augustus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2720; inv. no. 7194.

Weight 10.32 g; size 27 mm

Obv. [TI CAESAR] AVGV[ST F IM]PERAT [V]; Head bare left.

Rev. [R]OM ET AVG; Altar highly decorated with *corona civica*, laurels, and nude male figures; Victories flanking.

Mint of Lugdunum; RIC I, no. 237; 8–10 AD.

10. Tiberius; dupondius; SE necropolis, grave no. 2892; inv. no. 9598
Weight 12.48 g; size 29 mm
Obv. [IV]STIT[IA]; Bust of woman as Iustitia, draped, right, wearing stephane decorated with floral ornaments; her hair is fastened in a knot at the back.
Rev. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVG TR P POT XXIII around S C; Countermark [N]CAP[R].
Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 46; 22–23 AD.
11. Divus Augustus, striking under Tiberius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 1098; inv. no. 2846
Weight 7.95 g; size 28 mm
Obv. [DIVVS AVG]VSTVS PATER; Radiate head left.
Rev. S – C either side of large altar // P[ROVID]ENT
Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 81; 22–30 AD.
12. Divus Augustus, striking under Tiberius; As; SE necropolis, trench; inv. no. 1
Weight 9.56 g; size 28 mm
Obv. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER; Radiate head left.
Rev. S – C; Eagle standing, front, on globe, with open wings, head turned right.
Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 82; 34–37 AD.
13. Gaius/Caligula; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2790; inv. no. 7305
Weight 9.54 g; size 28 mm
Obv. C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT; Bare head left.
Rev. VESTA/S – C; Vesta seated left, holding patera and sceptre.
Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 38; 37–38 AD.
14. Gaius/Caligula; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2770; inv. no. 7287
Weight 10.99 g; size 30 mm
Same type as Cat. no. 13.
15. M. Agrippa, striking under Gaius/Caligula; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2231; inv. no. 8772
Weight 7.89 g; size 28 mm
Obv. M AGRIPPA L F COS III, head of Agrippa to left, wearing crown.

Rev. S – C, Neptune standing left, holding small dolphin and trident.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 58; 37 – 41 AD.

16. M. Agrippa, striking under Gaius/Caligula; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 182; inv. no. 92

Weight 8.02 g; size 28 mm

Same type as Cat. no 15.

17. M. Agrippa, striking under Gaius/Caligula; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 208; inv. no. 104

Weight 7.95 g; size 28 mm

Same type as Cat. no 15.

18. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2785; inv. no. 7312

Weight 8.00 g; size 29 mm;

Obv. [TI CLAVD]IVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP; Bare head left.

Rev. LIBER[TAS AVGVSTA]/S – C Libertas standing front, holding pileus and extending left hand.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 97; 41–50 AD.

19. Germanicus, striking under Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2720; inv. no. 7193

Weight 10.82 g; size 30 mm;

Obv. GERMANICVS CAESAR TI [AVG F DIVI AVG N]; Bare head right.

Rev. [TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P P] around S C.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, 106; 50–54 AD.

20. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2668; inv. no. 7359

Weight 8.58 g; size 29 mm;

Obv. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP P P; Bare head left.

Rev. S – C; Minerva walking right, holding shield and hurling a javelin.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 116; 50–54 AD.

21. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2898; inv. no. 9609

Weight 9.41 g; size 30 mm

Same type as Cat. 20.

22. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2854; inv. no. 9508

Weight 10.64 g; size 29 mm

Same type as Cat. 20.

23. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2800; inv. no. 7385

Weight 8.39 g; size 27 mm

Same type as Cat. 20.

24. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 119; inv. no. 70

Weight 10.36 g; size 28 mm

Same type as Cat. 20.

25. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 130; inv. no. 73

Weight 8.55 g; size 27 mm

Same type as Cat. 20.

26. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 146; inv. no. 77

Weight 8.29 g; size 29 mm

Same type as Cat. 20.

27. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2312; inv. no. 8622

Weight 9.65 g; size 28 mm

Obv. [TI CLAVDIVS] CAESAR AVG P M [TR P IMP PP]; bare head to left.

Rev. Illegible; Worn.

Mint unknown; no reference; 41–54 AD.

28. Claudius; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 1232; inv. no. 4019

Weight 9.37 g; size 27 mm

Same as Cat. 27.

29. Claudius; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 3274; inv. no. 12246

Weight 8.11 g; size 24 mm

Obv. ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ; Bare head left.

Rev. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ; Macedonian shield.

Mint of Koinon of Macedonia; RPC I, no. 1612; 41–54 AD.

Published: Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 727.

30. Claudius; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 2414; inv. no. 8761

Weight 10.40 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

31. Claudius; AE27; SE necropolis, grave no. 2828; inv. no. 7462

Weight 11.22 g; size 27 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

32. Claudius; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 3070; inv. no. 10070

Weight 9.32 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

33. Claudius; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 3541; inv. no. 10656

Weight 9.71 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

34. Claudius; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 3031; inv. no. 10211

Weight 9.73 g; size 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

35. Claudius; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 1165; inv. no. 3039

Weight 9.69 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

36. Claudius; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 1330; inv. no. 4351

Weight 10.22 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

37. Claudius; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 1325; inv. no. 4331

Weight 7.00 g; size 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 29.

38. Nero; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 1247; inv. no. 4058

Weight 8.26 g; size 27 mm

Obv. NERO CAESAR AVG GERM IMP; Head laureate right.

Rev. S – C; Victory flying left, holding shield inscribed S P Q R.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 312; 62–68 AD.

39. Nero; Quadrans; SE necropolis, isolate find; inv. no. 1447

Weight 2.03 g; size 18 mm

Obv. NERO CLAVD CAES AVG GER; Owl standing front, with wings spread, on a rectangular garlanded altar.

Rev. P M TR P – IMP P P / S – C; Olive branch, upright.

Mint of Rome; RIC I, no. 320; 62–68 AD.

40. Nero; AE22; SE necropolis, grave no. 2883; inv. no. 9698

Weight 7.92 g; size 22 mm

Obv. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ; Head bare left.

Rev. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ; Macedonian shield.

Mint of Koinon of Macedonia; RPC I, no. 1614; 54–68 AD.

Published: Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 728.

41. Nero; AE25; SE necropolis, grave no. 2841; inv. no. 7447

Weight 6.12 g; size 25 mm

Same type as Cat. 40.

42. Nero; AE25; SE necropolis, grave no. 2231; inv. no. 8703

Weight 9.50 g; size 25 mm

Same type as Cat. 40.

43. Nero; AE24; SE defensive wall; inv. no. 28895

Weight 8.30 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 40.

44. Nero; AE25; SE necropolis, grave no. 121; inv. no. 31

Weight 6.81 g; size 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 40.

45. Nero; AE28; SE necropolis, grave no. 2844; inv. no. 7483

Weight 16.51 g; size 28 mm

Obv. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ – ΝΕΡΩΝ; Head bare left.

Rev. ΘΕΩΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ; Nike on globe, left.

Mint of Thessalonica; RPC I, no. 1593; 54–68 AD.

46. Nero; AE22; SE necropolis, grave no. 3269; inv. no. 12150

Weight 9.63 g; size 22 mm

Obv. ΝΕΡΩΝ – ΚΑΙΣΑΡ; Head bare left.

Rev. ΘΕΩΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ – ΩΝ in three lines, within wreath.

Mint of Thessalonica; RPC I, no. 1594; 54–68 AD.

47. Nero; AE22; SE necropolis, grave no. 87; inv. no. 61

Weight 9.00 g; size 22 mm

Obv. ΝΕΡΩΝ – ΚΑΙΣΑΡ; Head laureate right.

Rev. ΘΕΩΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ – ΩΝ in three lines, within wreath.

Mint of Thessalonica; RPC I, no. 1600; 54–68 AD.

48. Nero; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 2968; inv. no. 9949

Weight 9.74 g; size 23 mm

Obv. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ; Head bare left.

Rev. ΘΕΣΣΑ-ΛΟΝΙΚΕ-ΩΝ in three lines within wreath.

Mint of Thessalonica; RPC I, no. 1603; 54–68 AD.

49. Nero; AE21; Theatre; inv. no. 4626/14

Weight 8.00 g; size 21 mm

Same type as Cat. 47.

50. Vitellius; AE27; SE necropolis, grave no. 1103; inv. no. 2858

Weight 8.32 g; size 27 mm

Obv. [ΟΥΙΤ]ΕΛΛΙΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚ[ΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚ]; Head laureate left.

Rev. ΣΕ[ΒΑΣΤΟΣ Μ]ΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ; Macedonian shield.

Mint of Koinon of Macedonia; RPC I, no. 1616; 69 AD.

51. Vespasian; As; Theatre; inv. no. 3063/14

Weight 7.47 g; size 25 mm

Obv. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS III; Head laureate right.

Rev. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI / S – C; Aequitas standing left, holding scales and rod.

Mint of Rome; RIC II.1, no. 287; 71 AD.

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 8.

52. Vespasian; Denarius; Theatre; inv. no. 5945/14

Weight 3.25 g; size 18 mm

Obv. IMP CAES VESP AVG P M COS IIII; Head laureate right.

Rev. AVGVTR TRI POT; Sacrificial implements: *simpulum*, *aspergillum*, jug and *lituus*.

Mint of Rome; RIC II.1, no. 356; 72–73 AD.

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 7.

53. Vespasian; As; Theatre; inv. no. 885/15

Weight 8.36 g; size 27 mm

Obv. IMP CAESAR VESP AVG COS V CENS; Head laureate left.

Rev. S – C; Spes, advancing left, holding up flower in right hand and raising up skirt with left.

Mint of Rome; RIC II.1, no. 731; 74 AD.

54. Vespasian; As; SE necropolis, grave no.2373; inv. no. 8653

Weight 9.19 g; size 28 mm

Obv. [...]VESPASIAN AVG COS [...]; Head bare right.

Rev. Illegible; Worn.

Mint unknown; no reference; 69–79 AD.

55. Titus and Domitian, striking under Vespasian; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 2781; inv. no. 7349

Weight 7.93 g; size 24 mm

Obv. T CAESAR IMP DOMITIANVS CAESAR; Laureate and draped bust of Titus right facing bare head of Domitian to left.

Rev. MVNICIPI STOBENSIVM; tetrastyle temple with figure standing within.

Mint of Stobi; RPC II, no. 311; Josifovski 2001, Cat. 14–30.

Published: Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 178.

56. Titus and Domitian, striking under Vespasian; AE23; SE necropolis, isolate find; inv. no. 897/21

Weight 8.92 g; size 23 mm

Obv. T IMP DOM CAES; Laureate head of Titus right, facing bare head of Domitian to left.

Rev. MVN STOB; Tetrastyle temple with dot or globe within.

Mint of Stobi; RPC II, no. 312; 69–79 AD; Josifovski 2001, Cat. 31–39.

Published: Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 179.

57. Titus and Domitian, striking under Vespasian; AE22; SE necropolis, isolate find; inv. no. 1555

Weight 8.18 g; size 22 mm

Same type as Cat. 64.

58. Vespasian; AE28; SE necropolis, grave no. 1052; inv. no. 2685

Weight 9.19 g; size 28 mm

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΙΑΝΟΣ; Head laureate left.

Rev. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ; Macedonian shield.

Mint of Koinon of Macedonia; RPC II, no. 333; 69–79 AD.

Published: Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 730.

59. Vespasian; AE24; SE necropolis, isolate find; inv. no. 1493

Weight 9.58 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 55.

60. Vespasian; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 3204; inv. no. 10488

Weight 6.91 g; size 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 55.

61. Vespasian; AE22; SE necropolis, grave no. 3580; inv. no. 10887

Weight 5.62 g; size 22 mm

Same type as Cat. 55.

62. Vespasian; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 2825; inv. no. 7459

Weight 10.43 g; size 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 55.

63. Vespasian; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 2871; inv. no. 9621

Weight 9.51 g; size 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 55

64. Vespasian; AE25; SE necropolis, grave no. 2784; inv. no. 7304

Weight 7.43 g; size 25 mm

Same type as Cat. 55.

65. Vespasian; AE25; SE necropolis, grave no. 2875; inv. no. 9551

Weight 3.63 g; size 25 mm

Same type as Cat. 55

66. Vespasian; AE25; SE necropolis, grave no. 845; inv. no. 1698

Weight 9.82 g; size 25 mm

Obv. IMP CAE VESPASIANVS AVG COS III; Head bare left.

Rev. COL AVG IVL [PHILIPP]; Three bases; on middle one, statue of Augustus in military dress, crowned by statue of divus Julius wearing toga.

Mint of Philippi; RPC II, no. 343A/1; 69–79 AD.

Published: Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 345.

67. Drusus, striking under Titus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 1156; inv. no. 3014

Weight 8.11 g; size 26 mm

Obv. DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVG F DIVI AVG N; Head bare left.

Rev. IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG P M TR P P P COS VIII RESTITV in two concentric circles, with S – C in the center.

Mint of Rome; RIC II. 1, no. 415; 80–81 AD.

68. Divus Augustus, striking under Titus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 1290; inv. no. 4228

Weight 9.40 g; size 27 mm

Obv. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER; Head radiate left.

Rev. IMP T CAES AVG RESTITVIT; Eagle standing front on globe, head right, wings spread.

Mint of Rome; RIC II. 1, no. 459; 80–81 AD.

69. Domitian, striking under Titus; Denarius; Theatre; inv. no. 387/14

Weight 3.02 g; size 18 mm

Obv. CAESAR DIVI F DOMITIANVS COS VII; Head laureate right.

Rev. PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS; Altar garlanded and lighted, horns left and right.

Mint of Rome; RIC II. 1, no. 266; 80–81 AD.

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. no. 9.

70. Domitian, striking under Titus; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 2262; inv. no. 8549

Weight 8.42 g; size 27 mm

Obv. CAES DIVI AVG VESP F DOMITIAN COS VII; Head laureate right.

Rev. S – C; Minerva advancing right, brandishing spear in right hand and holding round shield in left.

Mint of Rome; RIC II. 1, no. 311; 80–81 AD.

71. Domitian; As; SE necropolis, grave no. 1074; inv. no. 2765
Weight 12.11 g; size 27 mm
Obv. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XII CENS PER P P; Head laureate right.
Rev. FORTVNAE AVGVSTI / S – C, Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.
Mint of Rome; RIC II. 1, no. 487; 86 AD.

72. Domitian; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 3341; inv. no. 12371
Weight 8.00 g; size 23 mm
Obv. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΑΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ; Head laureate right.
Rev. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ; Macedonian shield.
Mint of Koinon of Macedonia; RPC II, no. 336; 81–96.
Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 10, Šeldarov 2003, Cat. 731.

73. Domitian; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 3273; inv. no. 12145
Weight 9.61 g; size 23 mm
Same type as Cat. 72.

74. Domitian; AE23; central urban zone; inv. no. 2
Weight 6.35 g; 23 mm
Same type as Cat. 72.

75. Domitian; AE23; central urban zone; inv. no. 3
Weight 6.83 g; size 23 mm
Same type as Cat. 72.

76. Domitian; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 143; inv. no. 29
Weight 10.24 g; size 24 mm
Same type as Cat. 72.

77. Domitian; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 661; inv. no. 1598
Weight 5.59 g; size 23 mm
Same type as Cat. 72.

78. Domitian; AE21; SE necropolis, grave no. 1080; inv. no. 2782

Weight 8.30 g; size 21 mm

Same type as Cat. 72.

79. Domitian; AE24; Theatre; inv. no. 1756/15

Weight 5.25 g; size 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 72.

80. Nerva; Denarius; Theatre, inv. no. 2591/14

Weight 2.73 g; size 17 mm

Obv. IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS II P P; Head laureate right.

Rev. FORTVNA [P R]; Fortuna seated left, holding corn-ears and scepter.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 5; 96 AD.

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 14.

81. Nerva; As; SE necropolis grave no. 2910; inv. no. 9861

Weight 9.84 g; size 27 mm

Obv. IMP [NERV]A CAES AVG [P M TR P] COS III P P; Head laureate right.

Rev. LIBERTAS [P]VBLICA / S – C; Libertas standing left, holding pileus and sceptre.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 86; 97 AD.

82. Nerva; As; Theatre; inv. no. 3951/14

Weight 9.87 g; size 27 mm

Obv. IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P II COS III P P; Head laureate right.

Rev. AEQVTAS[AVGVST] / S – C; Aequitas standing left, holding scale and cornucopiae.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 94; 97 AD.

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 15.

83. Nerva; As; SE necropolis grave no. 1365; inv. no. 4459

Weight 9.59 g; size 27 mm

Same type as Cat. 82.

84. Trajan; Denarius; SE necropolis, isolate find ; inv. no. 1481

Weight 3.04 g; size 18 mm

Obv. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M [TR P]; Head laureate right.

Rev. COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 118; 103–111 AD.

85. Trajan; Denarius; central urban zone, part of coll.find; inv. no. 541.

Weight 3.04 g; size 18 mm

Same type as Cat. 84.

86. Trajan; Denarius; SE necropolis, sq. 59; inv. no. 9078

Weight 2.45 g; size 19 mm

Obv. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DA[C P M TR P]; Bust right, draped left shoulder, head laureate.

Rev. COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Pax standing left, holding olive-branch and leaning on column.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 126; 103–111 AD.

87. Trajan; Denarius; Theatre; inv. no. 2520/14

Weight 3.25 g; size 18 mm

Obv. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR [P P COS V P P]; Head laureate right.

Rev. S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; Dacian seated right next to trophy.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 222; 103–111 AD

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 16.

88. Trajan; Sestertius; Theatre; inv. no. 587/15

Weight 28.79 g; size 33 mm

Obv. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR COS V P P; Head laureate right.

Rev. S P QR OPTIMO PRINCIPI S-C; Spes, advancing left, holding up flower in right hand and raising skirt with left.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 519; 103–111 AD

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 19.

89. Trajan; Sestertius; Theatre; inv. no. 3950/14

Weight 25.90 g; size 34 mm

Obv. [IMP CAES NER TRAI]ANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI P P]; Bust draped right, head laureate.

Rev. IMPERATOR VIII S-C, Trajan seated right on platform placed on left, accompanied by two officers, in front of him stand an officer and four soldiers whom he is haranguing; behind in background, three standards.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 655; 114–117 AD

Bibliography: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 17.

90. Trajan; As; SE necropolis grave no. 2868; inv. no. 9619

Weight 9.62 g; size 26 mm

Obv. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO O[PTIMO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI P P]; Bust draped right, head laureate.

Rev. SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS / S – C; Victory walking right, holding wreath in extended right hand and palm over left shoulder.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 675; 114–117 AD.

91. Trajan; Dupondius; Theatre; inv. no. 3566

Weight 11.38 g; size 27 mm

Obv. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P; Bust draped right, head radiate.

Rev. SENATVS POPVLVS QVE ROMANVS // S C; Trajan, in military dress, standing front, head left, striding between two trophies, left and right.

Mint of Rome; RIC II, no. 676; 114–117 AD.

Published: Scupi theatre 2017, Cat. 18.

92. Trajan; AE22; SE necropolis, grave no. 2461; inv. no. 8868

Weight 6.62 g; 22 mm

Obv. [IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M TR P COS]; Head laureate right.

Rev. MVNICIPI STOBIEIVSVM (from below); Tetrastyle temple with figure standing within.

Mint of Stobi; RPC III, no. 600; 98–117 AD; Josifovski 2001, Cat. 47-68.

93. Trajan; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 3167; inv. no. 10340

Weight 6.71 g; 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 92.

94. Trajan; AE23; SE necropolis, grave no. 2450; inv. no. 8914

Weight 6.02 g; 23 mm

Same type as Cat. 92.

95. Trajan; AE24; SE necropolis, grave no. 2870; inv. no. 9548

Weight 6.06 g; 24 mm

Same type as Cat. 92.

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MONETARY DISCOVERIES AT THE SITES OF
BÂRLAD – “VALEA SEACĂ”
COIN FINDS AND COIN USE IN THE AREA OF THE “SÂNTANA DE MUREŞ-
CHERNYAKHIV” CULTURE IN WESTERN MOLDAVIA (ROMANIA)¹

Abstract: The settlement and necropolis of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” (Vaslui county) are among the most important archaeological sites belonging to the “Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv” culture in the Romanian territory. These sites were systematically and thoroughly excavated for almost 20 years, between 1967 and 1986. In the settlement, 45 dwellings and 32 workshops for processing deer antler were partially investigated, while the entire burial necropolis was fully uncovered, revealing 547 graves. Both sites were dated between the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 4th century to the beginning of the second half of the 5th century.

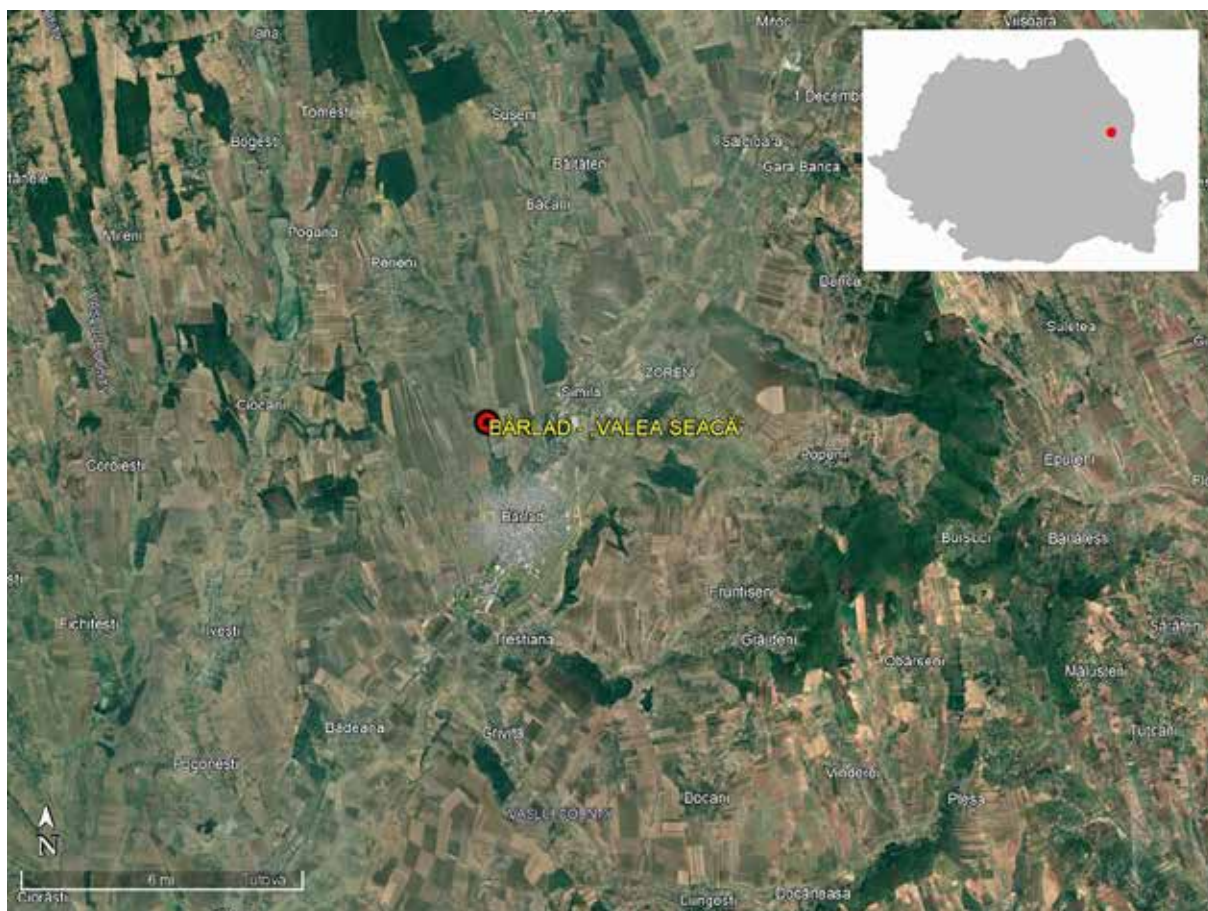
The numismatic material consists of eight coins, found in clear archaeological contexts, both in the settlement (1 AR, cast copy, Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I; 1 AR Marcus Aurelius: Lucilla; 1 AE, cast copy, Istros, Gordianus III and Tranquillina; 1 AR Constantius II) and in the necropolis (1 AR Marcus Aurelius; 1 AV Constans, looped; 1 AV Constantius II, looped; 1 AE Constantius II, pierced). Our survey seeks to identify the origin, the methods of penetration beyond the *Limes*, and the functions of the various Roman issues (and their imitations) discovered in the Barbarian power centre of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă”, located in the vicinity of the empire.

Keywords: *Barbaricum*, Western Moldavia, Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” sites, “Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv” archaeological culture, Roman coins, cast copies, looped coins.

The site

The settlement and necropolis of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” (Vaslui county) are among the most important archaeological sites belonging to the “Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv” culture in Romania. These sites are located in eastern part of Romania, on the Moldavian Plateau, at the junction between the “Fălciului” and “Tutovei” hills, in a meadow on the banks of the “Periana/Valea Seacă” river, about 1.5 km northwest of the town of Bârlad (Map 1). In administrative terms, the areas are part of the Zorleni commune. The two sites were systematically and thoroughly excavated by V. Palade, for almost 20 years (between 1967 and 1986, with short interruptions).

1 This study was funded through a grant offered by the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding (UEFISCDI, Romanian Ministry of Education and Scientific Research), within the project number PN-IV-P1-PCE-2023-1124 – ‘Travelling things’: Corpus of Roman finds in Romanian Barbaricum. The case of Iaşi and Neamţ counties.



Map 1 – Location of the Bârlad - “Valea Seacă” sites (source: Google Earth Pro).

A surface area of about 17,300 m² was excavated from the settlement, revealing 45 dwellings (24 surface-houses and 21 pit-houses) along with several other structures of various uses (8 open-air workplaces, 10 annexes, 12 outdoor fireplaces, 2 pottery kilns, 18 domestic pits and 23 cult pits). It is presumed that a centre for bone comb production once existed here, since 32 deer antler workshops were discovered. The necropolis is located about 80 m west of the settlement (Map 2). It has been fully investigated (c. 10,000 m²) and is comprised of 547 tombs (295 cremation graves and 252 burial tombs).² The inventory of the two sites is extremely rich and diverse, containing a large number of Roman imports (pottery, glassware, jewellery, coins).³ Both the settlement and the necropolis have been dated by V. Palade, between the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 4th century and the beginning of the second half of the 5th century.⁴ Broadly speaking, this chronology has been confirmed by a recent systematic re-examination of Roman finds, conducted by a research team from the Institute of Archaeology from Iași.⁵ Nevertheless, we should also mention the opinions that date the two sites to the 4th century.⁶

2 Detailed results of the archaeological research were published in a monographic study: Palade 2004.

3 Palade 2004; Grumeza et al. 2022, 73-92.

4 Palade 2004, 223-226.

5 Grumeza et al. 2022, 73-92, 213 (“ende 3. - frühes 5. Jh. n. Chr.”).

6 Florescu et al. 1994, 185; Bierbrauer et al. (eds.) 1994, 94.



Map 2 – The sites of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă”: A – Settlement; B – Necropolis
(source: <https://map.cimec.ro/Mapserver>).

The numismatic material

During the field excavations, a total of eight coins were discovered, all in precise archaeological contexts. While four came from the settlement (Cat. 1-4), another four (Cat. 5-8) were part of grave inventories, within the necropolis. In the literature, the coins have been repeatedly linked to the archaeological finds from the two sites. On virtually every occasion, they have only been briefly identified, sometimes with errors. Thus, for the first time, we provide an accurate identification, highlighting their peculiar features and compare with similar pieces found throughout western Moldavia.

Coins from the 2nd – 3rd centuries

Three imperial *denarii* were discovered at the two sites. Two of them, bearing the busts of *diva* Faustina I (Cat. 1) and Lucilla (Cat. 2), were found in the settlement, on the floor of a dwelling (house no. 8).⁷ The dwelling was dated to the 3rd century and first third of the 4th century, on the basis of the archaeological material recovered from the inside (base of a *Šelov D* amphora,

⁷ Palade 2004, 58-59.

a bronze fibula of the *Almgren VII/1* type).⁸ The third *denarius*, of Marcus Aurelius (Cat. 5), was found in a burial tomb, under the jaw of the deceased (grave no. 381).⁹ All grave goods have been dated to the 4th century (two bronze fibulae of the *Almgren VI/162* type, a shattered glass beaker and numerous beads of various materials).¹⁰

As the latter coin is halved, we encountered some difficulties in reading its legend (Cat. 5). Based on the surviving elements, we can only propose a partial identification. The obverse legend depicts the title *Germanicus*, given to the emperor in the year AD 172 or 175.¹¹ The reverse features a female deity, of whom only the lower part remains. In the bottom right, we suspect an inverted spear and a shield, possibly belonging to *Minerva Pacifera*. This, however, remains within the realm of assumptions.

All three *denarii* were examined using the X-ray fluorescence technique. Two coins (Cat. 2, 5) are, undoubtedly, official imperial issues. The very high percentages of silver (91.81–95.86%) detected in their composition do not reflect reality,¹² as the employed examination method is restricted to the coin's surface layer. Most often, this last layer was artificially enriched with precious metal.¹³

The third *denarius* (Cat. 1) bears the distinctive traits of a cast copy: yellowish tinge, with red hues, friability, flattened surface, pronounced porosity and traces of air bubbles (Fig. 3). It is a *denarius flatus*,¹⁴ cast from an alloy in which copper predominates (68.93–72.81%), mixed with tin (22.19–25.80%) and lead (2.91–2.98%). Most likely, silver (2.09–2.29%) was added, but only on the surface layer. In recent years, in the territory of western Moldavia, counterfeits with a similar chemical elemental composition have been recovered from sites belonging to the classical phase of the “Poieniști-Vârteșcoiu” / “Carpic” archaeological culture (c. AD 150–240): Roșiori (Neamț county; 2 pcs.),¹⁵ Văleni (Neamț county; 3 pcs.)¹⁶ and Dumitrești Gălății (Iași county; 1 pc.).¹⁷ The majority of them were reworked by perforation and probably worn as pendants. Another three such coins were found in the Iezer hoard (Vaslui county), which ended with coins from the time of Severus Alexander. This is the only monetary accumulation from this area, definitely linked to the Gothic migration and the “Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhiv” culture.¹⁸

We believe that the origin of the Cu–Sn–Pb *denarii flati* discovered, thus far, in western Moldavia could have been in the neighbouring province of Dacia, where such production workshops are likely to have existed in Apulum¹⁹ and Potaissa.²⁰ It is probable that they reached beyond the eastern *Limes*, in hoards together with genuine issues, from the latter part of the Severan dynasty.²¹ In the

8 Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, nos. II-01-3/1.4-5.

9 Palade 2004, 131-132.

10 Grumeza et al. 2022, 86, nos. II-01-3/1.131-133.

11 For the earlier dating, from 172 AD, cf. RIC III, nos. 284 to 392 and Kienast 2010, 139. For a later dating from 175 AD, cf. MIR 18, 92-93.

12 Butcher, Ponting 2012, 72-75.

13 Gitler, Ponting 2003, 11-16; Butcher, Ponting 2005, 173-174, 195.

14 For recent use of this terminology cf. Myzgin 2024.

15 Munteanu et al. 2023, 233-234, nos. 1-2.

16 Munteanu et al. 2022, 72-74, nos. 1-3.

17 Munteanu, Vornicu 2022, 261.

18 Munteanu, Cristea-Stan 2023, 212, 213, nos. 1-3.

19 Găzdac et al. 2015.

20 Pislaru 2009, 66, 71-74, 360-362, 364.

21 Munteanu et al. 2022, 71; Munteanu, Vornicu 2022, 262-264; Munteanu, Cristea-Stan 2023, 205-206.

eastern Carpathian area, these particular counterfeits were used in different ways at distinctive periods. Towards the middle of the 3rd century, “Free Dacians”, accustomed to good-quality Roman silver, deliberately selected and pierced these coins for decorative purposes. Apparently, some of them were still in use at the time when the Goths started to arrive in this region and the “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv” culture developed.²² This population, perhaps familiar with these kinds of forgeries from their native regions,²³ treated them in a similar manner as official issues.

So far, in the territory of western Moldavia, we are aware of 21 “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv” sites (17 settlements and 4 necropolises), where 40 *denarii* have been uncovered. Generally, only one or two silver coins were discovered in the majority of these sites. A very small number of settlements have contained a larger number of pieces.²⁴ To an overwhelming extent, the issuers of the *denarii* from the sites belong to the Nerva–Antonine dynasty. The largest number of them (over 55%) bear effigies of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (and their families).

While we suspect that the *denarius flatus* from the necropolis of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” had been kept from an earlier time, it is unknown whether the two original *denarii* belonged to “Free Dacians” or were brought by the Goths from present-day Ukraine.

The cut on the necropolis *denarius* (Cat. 5) has been argued to have had a ceremonial function,²⁵ although this is somewhat difficult to prove. Similar to other fragmented silver pieces discovered in western Moldavia, in “Poienеști–Vârteșcoiu”²⁶ and “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv”²⁷ contexts, we believe that this was a matter of saving precious metal²⁸ or even accidental chipping. The scenario is quite different from other lands that were under Gothic rule, where a large number of intentionally fragmented *aurei* have been found in funerary contexts.²⁹

A provincial coin (Cat. 3) was identified at the bottom of a pit (no. 1) from the settlement (4.30 m east of house no. 5), next to a dog skeleton, local wheel-thrown and hand-worked pottery and fragments of partially carved deer antler.³⁰ The pit pottery has been estimated to be from the end of the 3rd and during the 4th century.³¹ We assume that the coin is a cast bronze copy of a *pentassarion*, struck at Istros during the time of Gordianus III. Notably, its reverse has an irregular appearance with lots of air bubbles on the surface. Unfortunately, the coin has been mistakenly identified in scholarly literature. Since its first mention in 1969, it has been regarded as a genuine issue of Philippus Arabs for Mesambria.³² The same identification also appears in the monograph of the

22 On the chronology of this archaeological culture cf. Магомедов 2001, 139-147, 287-290, Figs. 88-91 (it is assumed that the western territorial limit of this culture only exceeded the Prut river in phase C2 and at the beginning of phase C3 - c. AD 270-330).

23 Nadvirnyak, Pohorilets 2024; Buhay et al. 2024; Myzgin 2024, 190-211; Sidarovich 2024.

24 I.e., Dobrovăț - “Mănăstire” point (Butnariu (ed.) 2001, 117, nos. 117-121; Honcu, Petcu 2018, 385-386) and “Râpile lui Filip” point, Iași county (Aparaschivei et al. 2022, 117-118) or Podeni, Suceava county (Andronic 1985, 401, notes 16-19; Andronic 1993, 48).

25 Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 68, no. 333.

26 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Mitrea 1977, 26-27.

27 Aparaschivei et al. 2022, 118, 127, Fig. II/2.

28 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Mitrea 1977, 27.

29 Bursche, Myzgin 2020, 195-196, 201, Fig. 2; 206, Fig. 4/1-20; 219-220, Fig. 12; 224-225.

30 Palade 2004, 77.

31 Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.6.

32 Popescu 1969, 525, no. 109 (the find location is incorrectly marked as the Tătărani commune, Vaslui county); Mitrea 1970, 481, no. 84; Bichir 1976, 120, no. 25; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 1980, 256, no. 33; Palade 1980b, 252.

site, together with a first drawing of the specimen.³³ We suspect that the figure is purely fictional, taken from an older numismatic catalogue. Only a more recent work contains the sole published picture of the coin, specifically of its reverse.³⁴ Indeed, the illustrated issue matches a coin from the collection of the “Vasile Pârvan” Museum from Bârlad, also displayed here now (Cat. 3).

During the reign of Gordianus III, the monetary activity at Istros was unusually intensive, with large denominations being minted, believed to have been used to pay soldiers.³⁵ Among these, the series that served as the prototype for our coinage, with *Theos Megas* on horseback on the reverse, are the most widely reported.³⁶ They are generally dated between AD 241 and 244, but one should also consider the hypothetical date of their minting around AD 242, when the imperial couple came to the Balkan provinces.³⁷ Usually confused with regular issues, large Istrian bronze cast counterfeits have recently been recognized by specialists. The surviving pieces of this type carry the effigies of the emperors from Septimius Severus to Gordianus III. Of these, the most frequent are those with the busts of the last ruler and Tranquillina. It is believed that they were probably made in a workshop at Istros or in the local surroundings, after the official coinage ceased to be minted in this centre until the middle of the 3rd century (c. AD 243/244–250), in an attempt to fill the regional demand for bronze cash.³⁸

In recent years, cast copies after Istrian issues have been encountered in the empire, in the sites of Istros³⁹ and Durostorum,⁴⁰ as well as in a hoard from Dobrudja⁴¹ and one from northern Bulgaria.⁴² Beyond the *Limes*, such coins occur in the Orhei area (RM)⁴³ and, probably, at different points in southwestern Ukraine. In the latter case, 22 cast copies were identified, in a lot of Istrian coins, picked by collectors from several sites. Half of these used the prototype with the imperial couple on the obverse and *Theos Megas* on the reverse.⁴⁴ These counterfeits were allegedly used by the Milesian fortress for specific payments, such as hostage ransoms.⁴⁵

Overall, Roman provincial bronze coins are quite rare in western Moldavia. The most numerous are genuine large denominations from Istros, found at: Sihlea (Vrancea county),⁴⁶ Trestiana (Vaslui county)⁴⁷ and Vameş (Galaţi county).⁴⁸ In only a small number of cases, the provincial issues have been discovered in archaeological sites of this area, either belonging to

33 Palade 2004: 77, 222, no. 4; 370, Fig. 48/3.

34 Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 56, no. 262.

35 Beldianu 2014, 36–38.

36 RPC online VII/2, no. 1821 (30 pcs.), 1821A (5 pcs.) and 1822 (16 pcs.) (accessed 8th May, 2025).

37 Dima 2005, 36, 49–50, note 7.

38 Dima 2011, 34–36; Dima 2018, 56–58; Dima 2023, 231–234.

39 Poenaru Bordea, Dima 2007, 159–160, no. 42; Isvoranu, Dabica 2014, 159, no. 12.

40 Dima 2023, 232.

41 Dima 2011, 32–33, nos. 33–51.

42 Draganov, Varbanov 2021, 425, 439, Fig. XI/248–249.

43 Isvoranu 2011, 10.

44 Dima 2018, 68–70, nos. 90–100.

45 Dima 2018, 57–58.

46 Chițescu, Bobi 1973.

47 Popușoi 1980, 43, Fig. 7/1; 49, 51 (the coin was mistakenly identified as being struck by Caracalla at Nicomedia); Grumeza et al. 2022, 114, no. II-32-2/1.1.

48 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Butnariu 1988, 317, no. 47.

the “Poieniști–Vârteșcoiu”⁴⁹ or “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv”⁵⁰ cultures or are of uncertain attribution.⁵¹ Most likely, all these bronze coins were brought beyond the eastern Carpathians by the Carpic and/or Gothic tribes, during their plundering expeditions in the southern Roman provinces.⁵² In fact, we think that the peculiar issue from Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” may come from a batch of Istrian cast copies that reached the Barbarian environment *via* the north-western Black Sea, as with the above example. From there, they could have been carried across the Prut river by the Gothic tribes, on their westward migration.

In the composition of the coin, we have identified, in an overwhelming proportion, copper (more than 99%), next to which only nickel appears (0.52–0.61%). Unfortunately, in order to compare these results, we can only refer to some general considerations, without presenting detailed data. Thus, it is estimated that the genuine Istrian issues contain more copper (97–98%), while their copies were cast from an alloy in which copper, in a smaller amount (74.9–94.7%), is mixed with tin (2.7–10%), lead (0.9–22%) and zinc (5.2%).⁵³

Provincial coins must have played a quite limited role in the Barbarian societies of western Moldavia, at certain times.⁵⁴ So far, they have been recorded only in graves. In the present case, it has been assumed that the burial pit with a dog skeleton had a magical and religious use.⁵⁵ Should this assumption be correct, in the eastern Carpathian area we have the first documented evidence of a coin used as an offering in a ritual animal pit during ancient times.

Coins from the 4th century

The most spectacular coins from the Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” sites are the two *solidi* found in the necropolis. The first (Cat. 6) was discovered in a grave (no. 501), located on the right scapula of the buried.⁵⁶ The sepulchre inventory contained plenty of other artifacts: 12 ceramic vessels, most of them intact (both wheel- and hand-made), two glass vessels (a jug and a conical cup of the *Isings 106d* type), an amber bead, a bone comb, two needles and a bronze knife (Fig. 1).⁵⁷ They have been dated to between the middle of the 3rd and the beginning of the 5th century.⁵⁸

The coin was struck by Constans at Trier (Cat. 6)⁵⁹ and has been dated by the RIC editors to between AD 347–348, belonging to the group of issues associated with the 15th imperial anniver-

49 *I.e.*, Poieniști (Vaslui county) (Babeș et al. 1980, 39; Grumeza et al. 2022, 121, no. II-42-1/2.3).

50 *I.e.*, Brădicești (Iași county) (Mihailescu-Bîrlița, Butnariu 1988, 315, no. 16b) and Trestiana.

51 *I.e.*, Poieniști (Vulpe 1953, 308-310, nos. 2-4, Fig. 94/2-4; Grumeza et al. 2022, 136, no. II-42-1/4.28).

52 Myzgin 2018, 96-97.

53 Dima 2011, 36.

54 On the different roles of provincial coins in eastern *Barbaricum* cf. Myzgin 2018, 96-97; Bursche, Myzgin 2020, 223.

55 Palade 2004, 77, 81-83.

56 Palade 1981, 205.

57 Palade 1981, 205-206; Palade 2004, 139-140.

58 Grumeza et al. 2022, 88-89, nos. II-01-3/1.153-156.

59 In almost all previous publications, the coin was said to have been minted in Thessalonica (Palade 1981, 212; Palade 2004, 222, no. 5; Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2013, 560, no. 151.11.1). Only on rare occasions (Butnariu 1988, 151, no. 19; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Carretero Pérez (eds.) 2021, 688) does the correct workshop identification appear, but it is often followed by other errors.

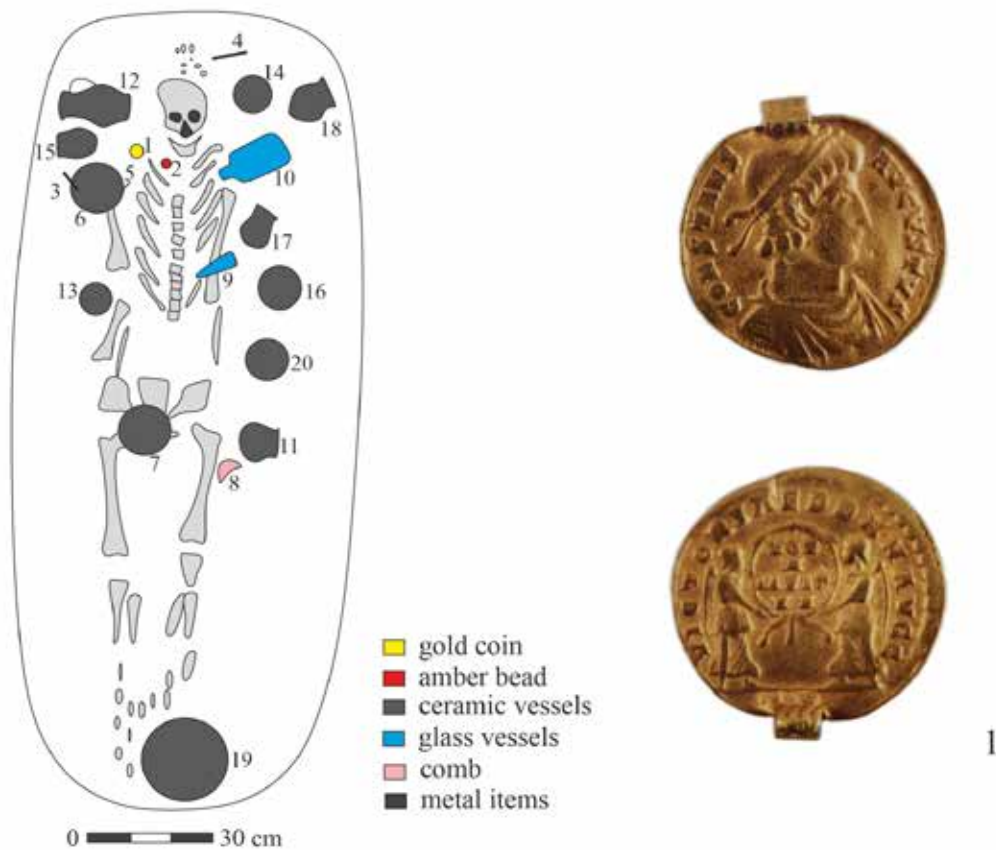


Fig. 1 – Inventory of graves in the necropolis, Grave no. 501 (© Lavinia Grumeza, Iași).

sary.⁶⁰ G. Depeyrot, however, assigns it to the year AD 345, considering that the Trier workshop was closed after the emperor's departure from Gallia, in early AD 346.⁶¹ We note that this is the most numerous gold issue of Constans, with 292 pieces in the "Portugal hoard".⁶²

The coin was reworked, by attaching a gold band, decorated with four longitudinal ridges, just over the imperial portrait (Fig. 3/6). The attachment of the band was carefully done by welding. Hence, there is no visible welding material, and the coin has little damage to the upper part. The issue is in a fairly good state of conservation. On both the obverse and the reverse the reliefs of the images and legends are slightly flattened. It is difficult to ascertain whether this resulted from the coin being struck with worn dies or of its use, before or after the reworking. The band is also longitudinally cracked at the top. We do not know whether this damage occurred prior to or after the coin's deposition in the tomb or perhaps during restoration. The band type is a rather simple one – with a triple fluted sleeve (Bursche III.1c type) – and is relatively common among reworked Roman gold coins.⁶³ XRF analysis shows a quite similar chemical composition for the coin and the loop (Au 96.22–97.34%, Ag 2.66–3.54%).

The second *solidus* (Cat. 7) was also unearthed in a tomb (no. 507), located on the left shoulder of the buried.⁶⁴ Furthermore, nine wheel- and hand-worked ceramic vessels, a glass beaker (of *Nuppengläser* group), a silver gold-plated buckle (of *Strzegocice–Tiszaládány–Kerč mit Stempelornament* type), a bronze buckle, three iron bars (with rings on the ends), two iron knives, one needle and a bone comb were recovered from the same complex (Fig. 2).⁶⁵ The datable artifacts have been assigned to the 4th century.⁶⁶

The coin is an issue of Constantius II, from Aquileia. It caught our attention that the head of the emperor on the obverse is laureate and rosette-diademed (flower rosette style) (D4/D5).⁶⁷ We have not found such a version either in RIC or in Depeyrot's catalogue. The emperor's rosette-diademed head appears on only two other *solidi* from Aquileia⁶⁸ and seems to be used quite frequently on similar coins from eastern workshops. Like the previous piece, this coin has also been reworked, by mounting a simple ring above the emperor's head. The soldering was sloppily performed, so that the coin was damaged in the fixing area, both on the obverse and the reverse. Except for this careless intervention, the piece is extremely well preserved, almost in mint condition.⁶⁹

In recent years, a rich literature has gradually developed, covering the discoveries of *solidi* and their *multipla* (also their imitations) in *Barbaricum*. The majority of these pieces belong to the Constantine and Valentinian dynasties and were found, particularly, in hoards, being spread over a wide area between the Lower Danube and south-western Scandinavia. They were

60 RIC VIII, 127, 130-131.

61 Depeyrot 1996, 49, 108-109.

62 RIC VIII, 148, note 135.

63 Burche 1998, 131-132, 151-152.

64 Palade 1981, 207.

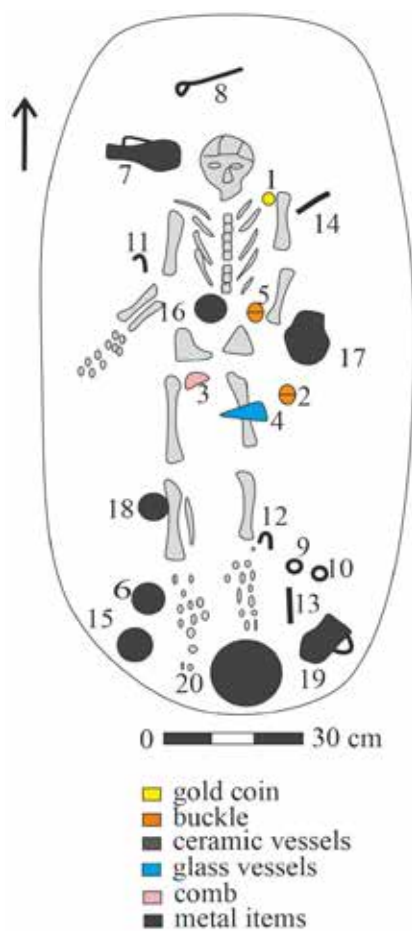
65 Palade 1981, 207; Palade 2004, 140-141.

66 Grumeza et al. 2022, 89, nos. II-01-3/1.161-162.

67 See RIC VIII, pull-out; Depeyrot 1996, 104.

68 RIC VIII, 315, no. 5; 319, no. 44.

69 Mistakenly, V. Palade, the coin's finder, thought that the damage was caused by long-term wear (Palade 1981, 212).



1



2 (no. 5 in the grave)



3 (no. 4 in the grave)



4

Fig. 2 – Inventory of graves in the necropolis, Grave no. 507 (© Lavinia Grumeza, Iași).

usually assembled with loops (and frames), which are mainly placed above the portrait of the emperor, thought to be of high importance. These medallions stood as symbols of prestige and power among the Barbarian elite.⁷⁰ A significant variation has been observed in the number of Late Roman gold coins found in the territories occupied by the Goths. Such pieces are plentiful in the area of the “Wielbark” culture, while their number is extremely low in the region of the “Chernyakhiv” culture.⁷¹

In order to better understand the role of the Late Roman gold coinage in western Moldavia, it is worth briefly outlining these finds, from the whole territory between the eastern Carpathians and the Dnister river (today part of Romania, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine). Only three gold *multipla* are known, of small value, all of them bearing effigies of emperors from the Constantinian dynasty. The first is a two-*solidi*, from Crispus (AD 317, Trier), found at Horia (Botoșani county), in a modern waste pit.⁷² The second is a Barbarian imitation of a medallion (1.5 *solidi*, Constantinople) of Constantinus I, from Nicolaevca (Sîngerei district, MD). On the upper part there are visible traces of soldering, probably from a loop, which has detached.⁷³ Unfortunately, detailed information is missing, including illustrations, on both pieces. The latest well-documented find is a gold *multiplum* (1.5 *solidi*), from Crispus (AD 321, Sirmium), recently found in a settlement of the “Chernyakhiv” culture, near Ivanovtsi (Chernivtsi oblast, UA).⁷⁴ In the same vicinity, between the eastern Carpathians and the Dnister river, lots of *solidi* have been detected, dated to the latter part of the Valentinian and the early Theodosian dynasty. Some of them have come from hoards.⁷⁵ However, quite probably, most of these pieces are linked to the presence of the Huns and their allies in the Lower Danube region.⁷⁶

It is unclear how and when the two *solidi* from Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” found their way into the Barbarians’ hands. In related instances, small gold medallions have been seen as tools of imperial diplomacy, used in negotiations with the Gothic elite.⁷⁷ However, we rather suspect that, in our case, the two gold coins, both struck in western mints, may have been brought by Gothic warriors who served in the Roman army, under the treaty of AD 332.⁷⁸ Additionally, one of the tombs (no. 507) had a gold-plated silver military belt and, possibly, a wooden shield, from which the iron handles are said to have been preserved.⁷⁹ The two *solidi*, in a reasonable state of preservation, could have reached the site in the vicinity of the *Limes* at a relatively close date to that of their issuance. The absence of visible signs of wear on the reverse could indicate a short period of use in the Barbarian environment. Without any certainty, we are tempted to believe they were placed straight into tombs. Also, we cannot tell whether their reworking occurred in a centre in or outside the empire.⁸⁰ Just

70 See selectively: Bursche 1998; Bursche 2000; Bursche, Myzgin 2013; Bursche, Więcek 2010; Horsnæs 2010, 169-171; Horsnæs 2013; Мызгин 2010; Мызгин 2015; Myzgin et al. 2018; RGCB online.

71 Bursche, Myzgin 2013, 187.

72 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Șovan 1989, 219-220, no. 5; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Butnariu 1993, 290, no. 24.

73 Popa, Ciobanu 2003, 47 and personal information from Gh. Postică (Chișinău).

74 Bursche, Myzgin 2013.

75 Мызгин 2010, 104-105; Bursche, Myzgin 2013, 187, 194, map 3; Isvoranu 2015, 65-67.

76 Isvoranu 2015, 66.

77 Bursche, Myzgin 2013, 187.

78 Moisil 2009, 260; Мызгин 2010, 96-97; Мызгин 2015, 137-139.

79 Palade 1981, 207-208.

80 Bursche 2000, 765-767; Мызгин 2015, 135.

like the medallions, we believe that our gold coins assembled with loops, were thought to be prestige items, testifying to the holder's higher status within society and, perhaps, their ties to the Roman elite.⁸¹

A *siliqua* (Cat. 4) was detected on the floor of a dwelling (house no. 16), presumed to be a deer antler workshop. Its inventory also contained antlers in various stages of processing, two combs, a fragmentary clay lamp, two iron knives and one iron coulter.⁸² The workshop is thought to have been in use during the 4th century.⁸³ In the older literature, the piece was wrongly labelled as a Siscia issue.⁸⁴ In fact, it was minted in Constantinople, part of the *siliqua* series with a dot. The proper identification of the *officinae* mark (letter H) has not raised any difficulties.⁸⁵ (Fig. 3/4)

From the area of western Moldavia, only around 20 Late Roman silver coins and imitations are currently known.⁸⁶ Most of them are stray finds and seldom have the coins been encountered in precise archaeological contexts, from the "Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv"⁸⁷ and "Carpathian Tumuli Culture"⁸⁸ necropolises. In some instances, the coins may only be partially linked to the "Sântana de Mureş–Chernyakhiv" sites.⁸⁹

The issuers of silver coins from this area are Constantinus I (2 pcs. – one properly identified, which was struck for Constantius II, *caesar*), Constans I (2 pcs.), Constantius II (15 pcs.) and Valens (1 pc.). Two other pieces are barbarised imitations, using specimens of Constantius II as a prototype.⁹⁰ The majority of silver denominations from this emperor, that are properly recognizable, are *siliquae* pre-dating the weight reduction of around AD 358.⁹¹ Most of them are of the *Vota* type, on the 30th anniversary. They were struck in the mints of Sirmium (6 pcs.), Constantinople (2 pcs.), Antioch (2 pcs.) and Nicomedia (1 pc.). However, only a few reworked silver coins are actually known. A *siliqua* of Constantius II⁹² and a barbarised imitation⁹³ were looped and another genuine issue from the same ruler was pierced.⁹⁴ The geographical distribution of the silver coin

81 МЫЗГИН 2015, 137-139; Bursche, Myzgin 2025, 214-216.

82 Palade 2004, 62.

83 Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.9.

84 Butnariu 1988, 151, no. 19.

85 On the confusion between the letters A and H for the Constantinople mint, see: Dergaciova 2021, 148-149, 184, Fig. XXII.

86 Preda 1975, 459, 463, 470-471, 473, 476, 481; Butnariu 1988, 151, no. 11; 152, nos. 19, 21; 153, no. 44; 157, no. 103; 158, nos. 108, 117, 124; 159, nos. 138, 142; 161, no. 179; 163, nos. 209-210; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Butnariu 1988, 313, no. 12; 315, nos. 19, 29, 32f, 34; 316, nos. 51c-d; Lăzărescu 2014, 219, 223-224; Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.9; 93, no. II-03-1/3.1; 95, no. II-05-*/*.5; 113, no. II-29-1/1.43; 115, no. II-33-1/1.1; 116, no. II-36-1/1.1; 136, no. II-42-1/4.28.

87 I.e. Bogdăneşti, Vaslui county (Grumeza et al. 2022, 113, no. II-29-1/1.43); Leţcani, Iaşi county (Bloşiu 1975, 214-215, 235-236, 255, Fig. 18/6).

88 I.e. Nemţişor, Neamţ county (Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Butnariu 1988, 315, no. 34).

89 I.e. Izvoare, Neamţ county (Vulpe 1953, 316-317, Fig. 332); Poeneşti (Grumeza et al. 2022, 136, no. II-42-1/4.28).

90 Tudor 1951, 589-591; Grumeza et al. 2022, 113, no. II-29-1/1.43.

91 RIC VIII, 57-59; Abdy 2012, 594.

92 Bloşiu 1975, 214-215, 235-236, 255, Fig. 18/6.

93 Grumeza et al. 2022, 113, no. II-29-1/1.43.

94 Grumeza et al. 2022, 95, no. II-05-*/*.5.

finds from this period reveals a large concentration in the eastern part of our area, in the Middle Prut basin.

In order to follow the chronology and to understand how these coins arrived in western Moldavia, we need to take a look at similar finds from the neighbouring space, between the Dniester and Prut rivers. Here, over 1,000 *siliquae* are known, both in hoards (10 hoards, having over 850 pcs., with only 354 pcs. available for study) and single finds (152 pcs.).⁹⁵ The *terminus post quem* of the hoards do not exceed AD 364–367. Also, they contain mainly issues of Constantius II (96%) and a few specimens of Valentinianus I, Valens and Procopius. The bulk of Constantius' coins belong to the *Vota tricennalia* type and are preserved in very fine condition, with no visible signs of wear. Predominantly, they are of eastern origin, from Constantinople (66.8%) and Sirmium (28.5%).⁹⁶ Overall, single finds of *siliquae* share the same chronological and compositional pattern as the hoards. Although the number of issuers is higher, the coins of Constantius II (c. 75%) still predominate, while the mints are more diverse, with Constantinople (c. 46%) and Sirmium (c. 18%) retaining the largest coverage.⁹⁷

Considering these similarities, it has been suggested that coins from hoards and single finds may have a common source.⁹⁸ This hypothesis has recently been confirmed by the identification of die-linking relationships between silver issues found in some hoards and those attested as single finds.⁹⁹ Quite probably, most of the *siliquae* discovered in the Dniester–Prut area belonged, initially, to a single and larger lot (or several lots), which were subsequently scattered. They may represent special payments (political or military) from the empire to the Barbarian populations of the region. According to the testimonies of Ammianus Marcellinus, the usurper Procopius was alleged to have bought the military services of Gothic mercenaries in the Lower Danube area with the imperial treasury seized at Cyzicus.¹⁰⁰

Back to the coin from Bârlad – “Valea Seacă”, despite being quite worn, we noticed that it was struck with an obverse die used for one of the coins from the hoard of Chişinău (RM).¹⁰¹ From this point of view, we are confident that similar die-linking relationships will be emphasized in the future. We argue that a good portion of the *siliqua* finds from western Moldavia, including our coin, could have had their origins in this huge lot/lots of monetized silver, which reached Bessarabia in the early years of the reign of Valentinianus I. The coin flow across the Prut river could easily have resulted from intercommunal relationships or the displacement of people.

The last coin is a small pierced Constantinian bronze, minted in Nicomedia (Cat. 8). Due to heavy wear (Fig. 3/8), past identification has been either misleading¹⁰² or sketchy, and simply stated the issuer.¹⁰³ The coin was discovered in an inhumation tomb (grave no. 520), which also contained a silver fibula with a half-crescent and trapezoidal foot, a wheel-worked vessel,

95 For an excellent comprehensive analysis of these coin finds, see: Dergaciovă 2021; Dergaciovă 2022.

96 Dergaciovă 2021, 119–131, 144–146, 148.

97 Dergaciovă 2021, 131–144, 147–148; Dergaciovă 2022, 148–158.

98 Isvoranu 2015, 67–68.

99 Dergaciovă 2021, 145–147, 154–155, 183, Fig. XXI; 186, Fig. XXIV.

100 Dergaciovă 2021, 154–156; Dergaciovă 2022, 151; Isvoranu 2023, 86, 95–96.

101 Isvoranu 2014, 32, no. 19 and Fig. 19.

102 Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 76, no. 377.

103 Butnariu 1988, 152, no. 19.

a bronze tube, a glass bead necklace and a *murex* shell pendant. It is assumed that the coin and, probably, the shell pendant were placed on the necklace.¹⁰⁴ Based on the artifacts, the grave was dated rather precisely, between AD 370/380–400/410.¹⁰⁵

Sadly, Late Roman bronze coins from western Moldavia have barely received any scholarly attention.¹⁰⁶ At the moment, we are aware of 83 bronze single finds, of various denominations, dated into the 4th century. Most of them cluster in the eastern part of this territory, with more than half coming from Vaslui county. These coins were struck by the tetrarchy emperors (9 pcs.) and by those belonging to the Constantinian (61 pcs.), Valentinian (9 pcs.) and Theodosian (4 pcs.) dynasties. Most numerous are the bronze issues from the Constantinian era, primarily bearing the effigy of Constantius II (*caesar* and *augustus*) (34 pcs.). Of these, the *FTR* coinage (20 pcs.) stands out, with an iconography of particular significance for the empire, leading the coin production between AD 348–358.¹⁰⁷ Almost all bronze coins come from the eastern workshops of the empire, best represented by Cyzicus (9 pcs.), Constantinople (7 pcs.), Nicomedia (7 pcs.) and Thessalonica (6 pcs.).

A sizeable number of Late Roman bronze coins (15 pcs.) can be related to the “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv” sites. Some of them were found during archaeological investigations, especially in settlements¹⁰⁸ and, rarely, in necropolises.¹⁰⁹ Other bronzes were detected, by chance, on the surface of some presumed settlements, belonging to this period.¹¹⁰ In general, one coin was found in each site, with two exceptions, Dodești and Mălușteni, each containing three coins. A peculiar occurrence was at Focșani (Vrancea county), where an issue of Constantius II was found in the inventory of a Sarmatian grave.¹¹¹

A couple bronzes from the sites¹¹² or as stray finds¹¹³ had been reworked by a single perforation. Only the specimen from the Lețcani necropolis was found with a loop passed through its drilled hole. The perforations’ position seems to be random, placed sideways, in front or behind the obverse effigy. Similar to *denarii* of the earlier period, the reworked coins were picked from among the low denominations. Plausibly, their role was simply decorative. Moreover, they might have been used as clothing accessories, worn as single pendants or as necklace parts, which contained other hanging pieces. That was also assumed for our coin, discovered in the necropolis

104 Palade 2004, 143.

105 Grumeza et al. 2022, 90-91, no. II-01-3/1.172.

106 Most finds are scattered in various publications, and, frequently, the coins have been incompletely and even wrongly identified: Preda 1975; Butnariu 1988; Mihailescu-Birliba 1980, 251-290; Moisil 2009, 283-284, tab. 2; Lăzărescu 2014, 219, 223-224.

107 Depeyrot 2006, 170-171.

108 *I.e.* Cristești, Botoșani county (Păunescu 1978, 508), Dobrovăț (Butnariu 1988, 154, no. 69 - the information could not be confirmed), Dodești, Vaslui county (Grumeza et al. 2022, 104, no. II-23-1/1.12; 105, nos. II-23-1/1.24-25) and Poieniști (Grumeza et al. 2022, 133, no. II-42-1/3.4).

109 *I.e.*, Lețcani (an unpublished bronze coin of Constantinus I - VRBS ROMA type, was discovered in grave no. 40).

110 *I.e.*, Ripiceni (Botoșani county) (Păunescu 1978, 508, note 13), Dănești, Mălușteni, Lupești, Mănăstirea, Poieniști and Vetrișoia (all from Vaslui county) (Grumeza et al. 2022, 101, no. II-20-1/2.1; 116, nos. II-35-1/1.2, II-35-2/1.1, II-35-3/1.1; 133, no. II-42-1/3.5; 148, no. II-51-1/1.2).

111 Untaru, Morintz 1962, 159-160, 162.

112 *I.e.*, Cristești, Ripiceni, Lețcani and Poieniști.

113 *I.e.*, Șuletea, Vaslui county (Grumeza et al. 2022, 133, no. II-46-1/1.6) and Cătămărești-Deal, Botoșani county (Sanie, Șadurschi 1979, 194, no. 35).

of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă”.¹¹⁴

Apart from these isolated finds, only one small hoard of late bronzes (35 pcs.) has been found in Traian (Neamț county). The hoard contains issues from the years AD 351/355–367/375, most of them struck in oriental mints (26 pcs.) It is thought to have arrived from the empire, in an already assembled form.¹¹⁵

The Late Roman bronze coins from western Moldavia, probably, have their origins in the Roman provinces, on the right bank of the Danube (Scythia Minor, Moesia Secunda). From there, they crossed the eastern Carpathians, mainly via non-commercial routes. Even though they seem to be fairly numerous, and all found in sites, we do not think that they had an economic role in this Barbarian area. Instead, such pieces were used as jewellery or as a source of metal.¹¹⁶

Closing remarks

Of the whole of western Moldavia, at Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” there are the sites belonging to the “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv” culture that contain the largest number of monetary finds, clearly found in archaeological contexts during archaeological excavations. To our knowledge, similar numbers of coins have been recovered from only a few other sites within the same cultural sequence. A total of eight coins (six *denarii*, from the period of Traianus – Severus Alexander, an *antoninianus* from Traianus Decius and a *sestertius* from Philippus Arabs) were found accidentally on the surface of the settlement of Dobrovăț – “Râpile lui Filip” point.¹¹⁷ In the vicinity, there is another site (Dobrovăț – “Mănăstire” point) from which five *denarii* (Vespasianus – Marcus Aurelius) come. They were discovered during archaeological excavations, without any references to the complexes they belong.¹¹⁸ Only specimens from the same denomination are documented at the site of Podeni. During archaeological excavations, four *denarii* (Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus) were discovered in a pit in the centre of the settlement¹¹⁹ and another three similar pieces (only one from Traianus was identified) were accidentally found on the area of the site.¹²⁰ Finally, at least ten coins were recovered from the sites of Poieniști. The majority of them (an *antoninianus* and a *sestertius* of Philippus Arabs, three provincial bronzes from Metropolis, Lampsacus and Alexandria Troas and two *siliquae* of Constantius II) were found in the topsoil and cannot be exactly traced to the settlements or necropolis of different, overlapping periods.¹²¹ Two other Late Roman bronzes belong to the “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv” settlement.¹²²

The variety of monetary finds from the sites of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” is remarkable. There are assorted denominations, genuine and counterfeit, and struck and cast in different metals,

114 Munteanu 2021, 280-281.

115 Mihailescu-Bîrliba 1989.

116 Mihailescu-Bîrliba 1989, 192; Isvoranu 2015, 69-71.

117 Aparaschivei et al. 2022, 117-118.

118 Butnariu (ed.) 2001, 117, nos. 117-121; Honcu, Petcu 2018, 385-386.

119 Andronic 1985, 401, notes 16-19.

120 Andronic 1993, 48.

121 Grumeza et al. 2022, 136, no. II-42-1/4.28.

122 Grumeza et al. 2022, 133, nos. II-42-1/3.4-5.

ranging over three centuries. Some of the coins were probably preserved from an earlier period, from the “Free Dacians”, while others were brought and/or received by the Goths who settled in this centre. Of particular interest are the reworked coins that have different functions. The small Constantinian bronze was purposely selected and was perforated, having a decorative role. In contrast, the two looped *solidi* were prestige items, showing the high status of the possessors within the community. To a great extent, we can consider that the numismatic finds from the sites of Bârlad – “Valea Seacă” give us a comprehensive picture of the eclectic monetary pool of the 4th century from the “Sântana de Mureș–Chernyakhiv” environment of western Moldavia.

Additionally, the numismatic data, correlated with the archaeological background, could shed light on the evolution of the society in this Barbarian power centre of regional importance. The several Roman military artifacts, found mainly in tombs¹²³, and the two reworked gold coins would attest to the existence of a local elite, initially made up of warriors who served in the Roman army. Having returned home, they would display their prized possessions brought and/or received from the empire, usually destined for the military elite. Subsequently, these leaders became partners for the neighbouring Roman power, setting up political relationships,¹²⁴ which probably involved various diplomatic gifts.¹²⁵

CATALOGUE¹²⁶

A. Settlement

1. AE; 2.51 g; 19 mm; 6h; very poorly preserved.

Obv. DIVA - FAVSTINA, Bust of Faustina I, draped, right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top.

Rv. AVGV-STA, Vesta, veiled, draped, seated, left on low seat, holding *patera* in extended right hand and short sceptre, nearly vertical, in left.

Cast imitation (*denarius flatus*). Prototype: Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I; Rome; *denarius*; RIC III, 72, no. 371, after 141 AD; BMC IV, 63, nos. 445-446 (reverse legend divided in the same way).

Context: house no. 8; on the floor.

123 Grumeza et al. 2022, 89, no. II-01-3/1.162; 78, nos. II-01-3/1.53, II-01-3/1.56; 92, no. II-01-3/1.183.

124 See in this regard: Мызгин 2015, 137-139; Bursche, Myzgin 2025, 214-216.

125 Grumeza et al. 2022, 92, no. II-01-3/1.181.

126 Abbreviations: AV - gold; AR - silver; AE - bronze; g - grams; mm - millimeters; h - hour (axes); obv. - obverse; rv. - reverse; VPMB - “Vasile Pârvan” Museum in Bârlad. The elemental composition of the coins was analyzed by Mrs. Nicoleta Vornicu, at the TABOR Metropolitan Research Center (Iași), using an X-ray fluorescence spectrometer (XRF), Innov X Systems Alpha Series (USA). This device was equipped with a W anode X-ray tube operating at maximum parameters of 35 kV and 100A, the fluorescence radiation being detected and analyzed with a thermoelectrically cooled Si detector (PIN) controlled by a minicomputer. For spectra acquisition and semi-quantitative analysis of a heavy matrix, an analytical mode software was used for a selected excitation duration of 10 seconds. The analytical spot size is 8 mm. All the coins are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

Bibl.: Palade 1980b, 252; Palade 2004, 59, 222, no. 1; 318, fig. 32/1; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 55, no. 254; Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.5; 183, fig. 21/1.

Keeping place / inventory number: VPMB / B 6375.

XRF data: coin obv.: Cu 72.81%; Sn 22.19%; Pb 2.91%; Ag 2.09%;
coin rv.: Cu 68.93%; Sn 25.80%; Pb 2.98%; Ag 2.29%.

2. AR; 2.13 g; 18 mm; 12h; very poorly preserved.

Obv. LVCILLA - AVGVSTA, Bust of Lucilla, bare-headed, hair waved and fastened in a bun on back of head, draped, right.

Rv. PVDIC-ITIA, Pudicitia, veiled, draped, seated left on low seat, with right hand on breast;

Marcus Aurelius: Lucilla; Rome; *denarius*; RIC III, 276, no. 781, undated; MIR 18, 172, no. 39-4e, 161-164-167 AD; BMC IV, 432, nos. 349-350, 164-169 AD (or later, 183?).¹²⁷

Context: house no. 8; on the floor.

Bibl.: Palade 1980b, 252; Palade 2004, 59, 222, no. 2; 319, fig. 32/2; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 55, no. 255; Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.5; 183, fig. 21/2.

Keeping place / inventory number: VPMB / B 6376.

XRF data: coin obv.: Ag 94.67%; Cu 3.95%; Pb 1.01%; Au 0.37%;
coin rv.: Ag 95.86%; Cu 3.08%; Pb 1.06%.

3. AE; 10.18 g; 26 mm; 12h; very poorly preserved; image off-center on the reverse.

Obv. AYT K M ANT IOPIANOC CAB TP-ANKYAINA, Confronted busts of Gordian III, laureate, draped and cuirassed, right, seen from rear, and Tranquillina, diademed and draped, left.

Rv. IC-TPI[H] // NQN, E in the right field, Theos Megas on horseback, riding right, holding cornucopia; in front, altar; behind, eagle standing right, on candelabrum.

Cast imitation. Prototype: Moesia Inferior, Istros; Gordianus III and Tranquillina; *pentassarion*; RPC VII/2 online, no. 1822: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/7.2/1822> (accessed 8th May, 2025); Corpus Nummorum (CN) coin 25614: <https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/coins/25614> (accessed 8th May, 2025), c. 238-244 AD.

Context: pit no. 1; at the bottom.

Bibl.: Popescu 1969, 525, no. 109; Mitrea 1970, 481, no. 84; Bichir 1976, 120, no. 25; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 1980, 256, no. 33; Palade 1980b, 252; Palade 2004, 77, 222, no. 4; 370, fig. 48/3; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 56, no. 262; Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.6; 183, fig. 21/3.

Keeping place / inventory number: VPMB / B 6379.

XRF data: coin obv.: Cu 99.48%; Ni 0.52%;
coin rv.: Cu 99.29%; Ni 0.61%; Fe 0.10%.

127 BMC IV, cxxxiii-cxxxiv.

4. AR; 2.94 g; 20 mm; 12h; poorly preserved.

Obv. D N CONSTAN-TIVS P F AVG, Bust of Constantius II, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, right.

Rv. VOTIS / XXX / MVLTIS / XXXX within a wreath // C•H.

Constantius II; Constantinople; *siliqua*; RIC VIII, 456, no. 102, 15th March 351 – 6th November 355 AD.

Context: house no. 16 (workshop); on the floor.

Bibl.: Păunescu 1978, 510, note 15; Palade 1980b, 252; Palade 2004, 62, 222, no. 7; Butnariu 1988, 151, no. 19; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 56, no. 258; Grumeza et al. 2022, 74, no. II-01-3/1.9; 183, fig. 21/4.

Keeping place / inventory number: VPMB / B 6378.

B. Necropolis

5. AR; 1.16 g; 18 mm; 5h; very poorly preserved; broken (1/2 of the coin).

Obv. [...]NINVS AVG - GER[...], Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right.

Rv. TR P XX[...], Female figure standing left.

Marcus Aurelius; Rome; *denarius*; no reference; 172-178 AD (based on the preserved part of the obverse legend, cf. RIC III) or May 175 – December 177 (cf. MIR 18, 92-93).

Context: grave no. 381 (inhumation); below the jaw.

Bibl.: Palade 2004, 132, 222, no. 3; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 68, no. 333; Grumeza et al. 2022, 86, no. II-01-3/1.132; 183, fig. 21/5.

Keeping place / inventory number: MVPB / B 7320.

XRF data: coin obv.: Ag 92.82%; Cu 5.58%; Au 0.90%; Pb 0.70%;

coin rv.: Ag 91.81%; Cu 6.39%; Au 1.01%; Pb 0.79%.

6. AV; 4.28 g; 22 mm; well preserved; loop (12h - 6h).

Obv. CONSTANS - AVGVSTVS, Bust of Constans, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, right.

Rv. VICTORIAE DD NN AVGG // TR, Two Victories, winged, draped, facing each other, holding between them a wreath inscribed VOT / X / MVLT / XX.

Constans; Trier; *solidus*; RIC VIII, 148, no. 135, 347-348 AD; Depeyrot 1996, 108, no. 6.3, 345 AD.

Context: grave no. 501; on the right shoulder.

Bibl.: Palade 1979, 269; Palade 1980b, 248, fig. 19b; 253; Palade 1981, 212, fig. 1/2a-b; Palade 1986, R88b, no. 10; Palade 2004, 139, 222, no. 5; 633, fig. 265/1; Butnariu 1988, 151, no. 19; Mamalaucă (ed.) 2005, 68, 73, no. 25; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 69, no. 337; Croitoru 2011, 218, no. 3445; 573, fig. 165/3445; Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2013, 560, no. 151.11.1; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Carretero Pérez (eds.) 2021: 688; Grumeza et al. 2022, 88, no. II-01-3/1.154; 183, fig. 21/6.

Keeping place / inventory number: MVPB / B7039.

XRF data: coin obv.: Au 97.26%; Ag 2.74%;

coin rv.: Au 97.34%; Ag 2.66%;

loop: Au 96.22%; Ag 3.54%; Fe 0.24%.

7. AV; 4.71 g; 23 mm; well preserved; loop (12h - 7h).

Obv. FL IVL CONST[AN]-TIVS PERP AVG, Bust of Constantius II, laureate, rosette-diademed, draped, cuirassed, right.

Rv. GLORIA - REI - PVBLICAE // [S]MAQ, Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath inscribed VOT/XXX/MVLT/XXXX; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, her right foot on prow.

Constantius II; Aquileia; *solidus*, RIC VIII, 332, no. 179 var., Depeyrot 1996, 182, no. 9.1 var. probably September 352 – 6th November 355 AD (as RIC VIII, no. 179).

Context: grave no. 507; on the left shoulder.

Bibl.: Palade 1979, 269; Palade 1980b, 248, fig. 19a; 253; Palade 1981, 207, 212-213, fig. 1/4a-b; Palade 1986, R89a, no. 1; Palade 2004, 141, 222, no. 6; 640, fig. 269/1; Butnariu 1988, 151, no. 19; Bierbrauer et al. (eds.) 1994, 97, no. I.146; Mamalauca (ed.) 2005, 68, 73, no. 26; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 60, no. 280; Croitoru 2011, 218, no. 3453, 574, fig. 166/3453; Oanță-Marghitu (ed.) 2013, 562, no. 151.12.2; Grumeza et al. 2022, 89-90, no. II-01-3/1.163; 183, fig. 21/7.

Keeping place / inventory number: MVPB / B 7040.

8. AE; 2.07 g; 18 mm; 6h; very poorly preserved; pierced (3h - 3h).

Obv. D N [CON]STAN-TIVS P F AV[G], Bust of Constantius II, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, right.

Rv. FEL TEMP - REPARATIO // SM[H]A, Soldier, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, advancing left, spearing fallen horseman with right hand and wearing shield on left arm; shield on ground to right; horseman wearing pointed cap, facing soldier, extending left arm.

Constantius II; Heraclea; AE3; RIC VIII, 436, no. 90, 15th March 351 – 6th November 355 AD; LRBC II, 83, no. 1900, 351-354 AD.

Context: grave no. 520 (inhumation).

Bibl.: Palade 1980a, 415; Palade 1980b, 253; Palade 2004, 143, 222, no. 8; 650, fig. 277/1; Butnariu 1988, 152, no. 19; Ioniță et al. (eds.) 2009, 76, no. 377; Croitoru 2011, 219, no. 3463, 574, fig. 166/3453; Grumeza et al. 2022, 90-91, no. II-01-3/1.172; 183, fig. 21/8.

Keeping place / inventory number: MVPB / B 7328.

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ANCIENT COINS IN THE NUMISMATIC COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF SERBIA

Abstract: Coins from the ancient period, smaller groups of Greek and Roman republican coins, as well as a much larger group of Roman imperial coins are kept within the Numismatic Collection of the National Bank of Serbia. The places where those specimens were discovered are unknown, but the content of the bank's collection of ancient coins reflects the image of the presence and circulation of money during the ancient period in the territory of present-day Serbia.

Keywords: Numismatic collection, National Bank of Serbia, ancient coins, Greece, Roman Republic, Roman Empire

The National Bank of Serbia, as sole issuer of banknotes and coins, like most central banks, owns a numismatic collection. The material enshrined in the Numismatic Collection of the National Bank of Serbia, covers a large span of time, providing an overview of the development and use of money in the territory of Serbia from ancient times to present day. Accordingly, the money in the collection is divided into several chronological and thematic units. The oldest specimens date back to the ancient period. Those are smaller groups of Greek and Roman republican coins, as well as a much larger group of Roman imperial coins.

The archives of the National Bank of Serbia contain little data, mostly of a general nature, about the formation of the Numismatic Collection. The earliest mentions of purchases of items to enrich the collection relate to the period during the Second World War. The next several years saw a few documents concerning the further acquisition of items for the collection, described as Roman, Venetian, or simply old money, without precise dating or mention of the discovery location of the specimens. Although there is no data from the post-war period relating to the enlargement of the collection, in 1956, a far greater quantity of banknotes, coins and medals than was purchased, judging by the preserved documents, was packed and sealed in four small crates. The sealed crates were not opened until 2001, when the Numismatic Collection of the National Bank of Serbia was first processed for documentation purposes and then presented through exhibitions. Also, in recent years, the Numismatic Collection was enlarged by a selection of gold coins from the bank's stores, created at the time when the gold was purchased from citizens.

Greek Coins

The Numismatic Collection of the National Bank of Serbia contains a small group of ancient Greek coins, mostly silver. Based on a comparison with items of Greek money in collections in Serbian museums,¹ we may assume, with a high degree of certainty, that the samples of Greek coins in our collection came from the territory of present-day Serbia, i.e., that they were

1 Борић-Брешковић 1994, 161-179; Ујес, Бакић 1996, 19-30.

once in circulation in this area. At the same time, these are the oldest specimens in the Numismatic Collection of the National Bank of Serbia and, chronologically, they can be dated from approximately the middle of the 4th to the end of the 1st century BC.

The presence of Greek coins, which also represents the beginnings of the monetization of the territory of present-day Serbia, testifies to the trade contact that the developed Greek world established with the barbarian hinterland of the Central Balkans.² The Balkan Peninsula, which is surrounded by the Greek world from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, was flooded with luxury items that originated from craft workshops throughout the Greek world in the period from 525 to 350 BC. The Hellenization of local tribes and contact with Greek monetary centres introduced money into circulation. First came sporadic coins of Greek cities, then coins of the Macedonian and Paeonian kings and, finally, coins of the Greek colonies on the Adriatic, Dyrrachium and Apollonia.

The oldest coins from our collection date back to the 4th century BC. Besides a few tetradrachms from Athens, the political and cultural centre of ancient Greece, there are specimens attributed to other city-states, Istros, Aegina or Acanthus. A common feature of the samples is the fact that the relief is somewhat poorly preserved, which indicates prolonged usage, possibly due to a shortage of money in the territory of today's Serbia in this period. Chronologically, they are followed by specimens of the Macedonian kings Philip II and Alexander the Great. Namely, as of the mid-4th century BC, with the growing political power of the Hellenistic Macedonia and Phillip's and, later, Alexander's reorganization and stabilization of minting, their money became the most widely used currency in our territory. The tetradrachms of Alexander, as well as of one of his successors - Lysimachus, the king of Thrace, a sample of which is also part of our collection – were the last panhellenic currencies. After Rome took over the rule of Macedonia in 168 BC, the widest used coins were the silver tetradrachms of the Macedonia Prima Merida (First Region) and the money of the Roman ally Thasos, samples of which are also included in our collection.

From the mid-2nd and during the 1st century BC, the drachma of the Adriatic towns of Apollonia and Dyrrachium was in broad circulation in the Danube river basin and the Central Balkans.³ Hence, it is not unexpected that our collection includes a much greater number of this drachma than of coins from the previous period. The path of their spread to the territory of today's Serbia was mainly from the west, though the Sava valley, but finds of the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrachium were also confirmed around the centuries-old artery that connects the Aegean with the Danube – along the Morava-Vardar Valley.

Roman Coins

Apart from a smaller group of Roman republican denarii, the segment comprises the Roman imperial coins that were struck between the early 1st and the early 5th century. The territory of Serbia is rich in material remains of the Roman civilization, in the form of architectural works and archaeological finds, including numerous coin finds. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the dominant part of ancient coins in our collection is from the period of the Roman Empire.

2 Срејовић 1994, 61-64.

3 Поповић 1987, 96-115.

Roman Republican Coins

Given that during the 1st century BC the Roman republican denarius was the dominant currency in the Central Balkans, we believe that the specimens in our collection most likely originate from this region, quite possibly from the area around the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, where their finds are concentrated.⁴ Most specimens in our collection were struck at the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st century BC. Popular because of the quality of the metal, the Roman republican denarii were in circulation in the territory of Serbia until the 2nd century AD – an entire century after the fall of the Roman Republic, which leads us to believe that the poorer state of some samples in our collection reflects their extended usage.

Roman Imperial Coins

The largest part of the territory of present-day Serbia, being situated in the direction of Roman interests, at the beginning of the 1st century AD became a part of the Roman state, by final subjugation of the local tribes that inhabited the areas between Macedonia and the Danube river. During the Roman rule, a monetary system was established, along with the intensive circulation of Roman money throughout the Central Balkans.⁵ At the same time, thanks to the rapid development of crafts and trade in urban areas, money became a part of the daily life of the population of this area for the first time.

The largest portion of Roman imperial coins in the National Bank of Serbia Numismatic Collection is made of silver, followed by a smaller selection made of bronze. Gold coins make up by far the smallest part of the collection. That is a fact that reflects the general picture of Roman money finds in the territories within the borders of the Roman Empire. In comparison with silver and bronze money, the findings of gold coins are extremely rare.

Observing the representation of rulers by gold coins, it is mostly about individual samples of rulers, of which the oldest were minted during the reign of Tiberius (14-37), and the youngest during Honorius' rule (352-423). An exception is a group of gold coins from Late Antiquity, belonging to the rulers of the Valentinian and the Theodosian dynasties. These gold coins are the *solidi*, of which five samples belong to Valentinian I, three to Valens, two to Gratian, three to Theodosius I and seven to Honorius. The new gold currency – the *solidus*, was introduced in Rome by the monetary reform instituted by Constantine I (306-337), replacing the previous *aureus* and, as of the year 324, it was used on a wide scale across the empire.⁶ With a theoretical weight of 4.55 grams and consistent purity, the gold solidus remained a stable currency of the monetary system until the end of Antiquity. Among the Valentinian *solidi* in our collection, the dominant samples are those struck in the Trier mint, reverse type VICTORIA AVGG, while the dominant type from Honorius' reign are those struck in the Constantinople mint, reverse type VICTORIA AVGGG. When observed by the reverse type and by the dominance of western mints among the Valentinian specimens, as well as by the dominance of eastern mints among

4 Borić-Brešković, Popović 2006, 64.

5 Мирковић 1994, 66 sqq.

6 Васић 2008, 31.

Theodosian specimens, the composition of gold coins from Late Antiquity in our collection reflects general overview of gold coin finds from this period, typical for the Roman diocese of Dacia,⁷ to which the territory of present-day Serbia belonged at that time. Therefore, we may assume that our gold coins were discovered somewhere into the diocese of Dacia. The central part of the diocese of Dacia, from which the specimens in our collection can be expected to have originated, was, during this period, spared from major barbarian invasions until the Gothic War between 378 and 381, and then until the Hun invasion in 441, which marked the end of Roman control over this territory. Generally, gold coin finds in the diocese of Dacia mainly originate from areas related to the Danube Limes, urban centres, as well as areas along main roads. It is, thus, considered that those gold coin finds were mostly parts of payments to the army, or that they originated from tax collection.

By observing the silver coins in our collection, we can determine a noticeable imbalance in the presence of some rulers. That is why we may assume that silver coins from our collection could be treated as a part of many hoards of Roman silver coins that were discovered in the territory of Serbia. The find spots of those hoards are mostly concentrated around the Sava and Danube rivers, in the border area towards the barbarians, as well as in the Limes hinterland, around the Morava Valley.⁸ In the mid-3rd century, the Danube Limes became a military line of the utmost importance for the preservation of Roman rule, which was threatened in this part of the empire by the increasingly frequent attacks of barbarians, whose penetrations, apart from the border zone, were also recorded deep in the interior of the Roman provinces, which also included the territory of present-day Serbia. It is precisely because of this, as well as other interior problems and unrest plaguing the empire, that the largest number of hoards of silver coins from these areas were deposited in this period.

Besides the smaller quantity from the first half of the 1st century, a somewhat larger quantity of silver coins in our collection dates to the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century, and the rulers of the Flavian dynasty; Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, followed by the rulers from the dynasty of Antoninus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marco Aurelius. However, the largest concentration of silver money in our collection dates to the first half of the 3rd century and belongs to the Severan dynasty. Particularly numerous are the samples belonging to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus and Julia Domna, the latter being dominant with 228 coin samples. Most of the silver denarii bear visible signs of use, while the Severan money stands out by being extremely, sometimes even exceptionally, well preserved. The quantity and the preservation state of the Severan denarii in our collection suggest that the specimens may come from one hoard or from a few different hoards, where the largest number of coins or beginning of saving date back to the rule of Septimius Severus. We are inclined towards this assumption, bearing in mind the composition of some 3rd century hoards discovered in the present-day Serbia territory, such as Supska II,⁹ then the hoards from Mehovine,¹⁰ Ravna¹¹ and Čortanovci.¹²

7 Васић 2008, 91-116.

8 Борић-Брешкович 1994, 41

9 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2013, 14-15.

10 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2012, 31-33.

11 Кондић 1983, 52.

12 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2011, 15-18.

From the middle of the 3rd century, particularly from the eight decade, and until the monetary reform of Diocletian in 294, the cost of maintaining the army increased considerably due to frequent barbarian attacks along the imperial border. The inability to cover the level of expenditure with revenues had a pronounced inflationary effect, reflected in the depreciation of the value of silver coins, minted in large quantities, but with poor quality, with a decreasing percentage of silver. The intensified monetary production during that period in the areas that were once part of the Roman Empire, including the territory of present-day Serbia, resulted in very frequent and very large coin finds. Let us mention here the large find of the antoniniani from Svileuva¹³ and Niš.¹⁴ However, compared to the previous period, the bank's collection is characterized by the presence of an extremely small number of silver coins from the second half of the 3rd century. This would also be the reason that leads us to assume that the Roman imperial silver coins in our collection are not the result of the systematic growth of the collection, but rather, as we have mentioned already, originate from some of the hoards of Roman denarii found on the territory of Serbia.

Chronologically, most of the copper and copper alloy coins in our collection date from the 4th century, while only a few specimens are from the 1st century. The exceptionally small number of early imperial copper coins found in Serbia can be attributed to the uneven inflow and low presence of such money in the Roman provinces outside of Italy.¹⁵ A somewhat larger quantity of coins in our collection belongs to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, while the dominant part originates from the 4th century. Given that during the 4th century the main legal tender was bronze money, while gold coins were used much less frequently and silver coins were almost non-existent in certain periods,¹⁶ such a predominant presence of late antique bronze coins in our collection is somewhat expected and corresponds to the proportion in other museum collections in Serbia.¹⁷ Besides the numerous samples of rulers from the Constantinian and Valentinian epochs (mostly AE 3 nominals), a hoard of bronze coins from the age of Constantine and his heirs has also been kept in our collection. It is comprised of 686 samples, the oldest of them belonging to Constantine I and the youngest to Constantius II. Despite the absence of any data regarding the provenience or location of discovery, there are grounds to assume that this hoard originates from the territory of Serbia, i.e., that it can be associated with the horizon of bronze coin hoards deposited in the time of Constantius II over a broad area within the borders of the Roman provinces of Moesia Prima, Dacia Mediterranea and Lower Pannonia.¹⁸

Due to the shortage of smaller denominations, which was felt in the circulation, particularly in the economically developed parts of the empire, besides mints that produced imperial issues, a need arose to open local mints intended to strike coins of non-precious metals, with the purpose of satisfying the needs of the military, local administration and the inhabitants of those territories. All mints producing local coins operated under imperial approval, and the money they issued was entirely integrated into the overall monetary system of the empire. Our collection includes a small group of coins struck in the local mint of Nicaea and a larger one from the local mint of Viminacium. The lack of small bronze coins in the Balkan and Danubian provinces

13 Црнобрња 2005.

14 Бенцаревић 2013.

15 Борић-Брешковић 2005, 347.

16 Vasić 1990, 62-63.

17 Бенцаревић 2005, 553-580.

18 Бенцаревић 2005, 571.

particularly increased during the third and fourth decades of the 3rd century, due to which the provinces of Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia saw a mass inflow of money from the Bithynian mint in Nicaea. This was mostly the money of Alexander Severus and Gordian III,¹⁹ whose issues produced in the mint of Nicaea are also part of our collection. The largest concentration of coin finds from the Nicaea mint was along the Danube Limes, due to the movements of the military when leaving or returning from the eastern battlefields. Another reason for the appearance of this coinage in these areas is certainly the lack of a mint whose production would satisfy the growing local needs. That was evident after the opening of the mint in Viminacium, when Nicaean coins were pushed out of this area.²⁰ The Viminacium mint issued money for 16 years, until 254/255.²¹ The group of coins in our collection that was struck in the Viminacium mint is dominated by specimens of Gordian III and Philip I, i.e., coins produced between the first and the ninth year of the local minting era.

The Numismatic Collection of the National Bank of Serbia provides a valuable insight into the monetary history of the present-day territory of Serbia, from the earliest Greek coins to late Roman issues. Although data on the origin and acquisition of these coins remains fragmented, their presence in the collection reflects a broader picture of monetary circulation and economic flows throughout history. The analysis of the collection's composition, particularly the dominant representation of certain periods and rulers, suggests potential connections with known numismatic finds in Serbia, including hoards. Thus, the collection not only documents the historical trajectory of monetary use but also serves as a starting point for further research into the economic and political circumstances of the Balkans in Antiquity.

19 Војвода, Јесретић 2012, 119-121.

20 Borić-Brešković 2011, 440.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF MINTING THE SILVER COINAGE
OF THE “SYRMIAN” GROUP:
HALF-SILIQUEAE AND COMMEMORATIVE ISSUES
OF THE *VICTORIA* TYPE (II)¹

Abstract: More than a hundred years have passed since the first knowledge and claims about the existence and operation of a silver mint in Sirmium during the first two thirds of the 6th century. Despite this sufficiently long period of time for investigative numismatics, this topic has managed to capture the attention of only a small number of numismatists, particularly those working in Croatia, Austria, and Germany, and it is only recently that numismatists from Italy and Switzerland have become interested in this issue and have written about it as a research and scientific matter. Over time, the number of identified examples of Sirmium coins has also increased significantly. Numerous new elements and stylistic and typological differences have been observed, the established opinion about the existence and work of a single mint became questionable, the name “Syrmian” group was coined, and in addition to the numismatic material of the Ostrogothic and Gepid periods of rule over Syrmian Pannonia, it also included a short-lived Byzantine minting attributed to the time immediately after the Gepid defeat in the conflict with Bayan’s Avars in 567. A particular place among new numismatic elements was occupied by the half-silique coins, recognizable by the inscription SRM/SRW and the legend *Victoria avcc/avccc* on the reverse. The first interpretations, based on the obverse legend with the name of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius, linked them to the time of the Ostrogothic conquest of Syrmian Pannonia in 504, but the analysis of the existing numismatic material presented here has shown that these half-siliqueae, as well as the few commemorative issues and rare quarter-siliqueae, were minted before 504 and, in fact, belong to the time when Syrmian Pannonia was ruled by Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids (489-504). Two partially contemporaneous groups of half-siliqueae of unequal duration have been identified, similar in content but not in detail and production. The more numerous coinage of group I (bust in a cuirass) was attributed to Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids (489-504), while the less numerous coinage of group II (bust in a paludamentum), largely contemporaneous with Thrasaric’s coinage, was attributed to supporters in the initial period of the still minor Mundus, son of Giesmus, king of the Transylvanian Gepids († 80s of the 5th century).

Keywords: Serbia, Syrmia, Pannonia Sirmiensis / Secunda, Sirmium; silver coinage, half-siliqueae, commemorative issues, quarter-silique; Gepids, Ostrogoths, Byzantium; Thrasaric, Mundus, Theodoric, Anastasius I.

1 It is my pleasure to dedicate this work to my colleague, the numismatist, archaeologist, and museologist Bojana Borić-Brešković, the long-term director of the National Museum in Belgrade, whom I had the opportunity to meet long ago in 1983, when I had just begun to systematically research the issues of the Sirmium mint from the Migration Period.

When, in 2004, the name the “Syrmian” group made its numismatic debut,² the existence of a half-siliqua with a reverse legend of the *Victoria* type was still considered an “unrecognized” novelty, despite the fact that the first specimen had been observed, interpreted, and determined five years earlier.³ Before that, the truth be told, a similar fate had been experienced by a quarter-siliqua with a similar reverse legend, first presented to the expert public in 1994, although even then it was hinted that questioning its appearance and meaning⁴ could one day become the subject of questioning the fundamental assumptions regarding the origin and beginnings of the minting of silver coins of the “Syrmian” group. The most evidence and support for such a thing was provided by the unstoppable flow of time, in which, as is often the case in numismatics, the number of newly recorded examples of the *Victoria* type has unexpectedly and suddenly increased – more and more often half-siliqua coins, less and less often quarter-siliqua coins. In recent times, rare commemorative issues have also been recognized.

Although less numerous, the quarter-siliqua coins unexpectedly proved to be more useful for research, mainly due to the reverse legend around the monogram, in which the name of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric could easily be recognized and read. This detail was the main reason why, out of only five recorded versions of the *Victoria* type quarter-siliqua, the first published quarter-siliqua had already been attributed in 1994 to the beginnings of Ostrogothic coinage in Sirmium, then dated to 504/5. Modelled after this, a version was created just a few years later of an “unofficial” character,⁵ while the remaining three versions of the *Victoria* type quarter-siliqua coins, in terms of their components, execution, and comparisons, showed that they belong to issues created before the first two mentioned. This was of invaluable importance for the beginnings of the minting of the “Syrmian” group of quarter-siliquae, as it opened the way for the claim that the minting of the three mentioned variants was connected to Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids,⁶ who ruled Syrmian Pannonia from the year 489, when his father (Thraustila) was killed in a conflict with Theodoric’s Ostrogoths, until the Ostrogothic military intervention and conquest of Sirmium in 504, when he fled from the Goths to Byzantium. All this suggested that the minting of quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type was closely related to the minting of the half-siliquae of the *Victoria* type, and that both experienced their beginnings and duration in the same historical circumstances and in the same time period.⁷

2 The expression was most likely created and promoted in the desire to use a shorter and more terminologically appropriate name to cover the increasingly frequent examples of quarter-siliquae allegedly exclusively of Gepid origin (!) minted in Sirmium, offered at numismatic auctions since the last decade of the last century, as was established on the same occasion by Metlich 2004, 43-44.

3 Vecchi 14/1999, 1 no. 63.

4 Demo 1994, 113 (Pl. 6:69), 136-137.

5 Demo 2023, 19 no. 4, 20-25, 28-29, 34 Sl. 1:4 (Cro) // 39 no. 4, 41-46, 56 Fig. 1:4 (Eng).

6 Demo 2023, 19 no. 1-3, 20-25, 28, 34 Sl. 1:1-3 (Cro) // 39 no. 1-3, 41-46, 49, 56 Fig. 1:1-3 (Eng).

7 Demo 2023, 24, 28 (Cro) // 45, 49 (Eng).

I

The first observed specimens of half-siliquae (Attribution, classification, and determination)

For the “Syrmian” group and its seemingly less intriguing but significantly more numerous half-siliquae of the *Victoria* type, moments to remember that were of special significance took place at the auction of the now defunct London auction house *Italo Vecchi Ltd.*, where in February 1999, part III was presented of the “Collection of Coins of the Germanic Migrations” by the American collector and numismatic writer William L. Subjack (b. 1944).⁸ This extremely interesting and valuable collection also included a silver coin previously unknown to the wider numismatic public, defined in the auction catalogue as a “half-siliqua” (1.59 g) attributed to the Gepids, the mint in Sirmium, and the period “ca. 491-504” [2].⁹ The coin was promptly acquired for the *Münzkabinett* (Coin Cabinet) of the State Museum in Berlin / *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB)*, where it was cautiously attributed to “The Gepids? / Gepiden?”, and is kept in the section of Pseudo-Imperial Coins minted in the name of Emperor Anastasius (491-518).¹⁰ It seems that, even today, it is still assigned there, even though more than a quarter of a century has passed since its appearance, as the only previously published specimen of the “Syrmian” group of half-siliquae of the *Victoria* type in the possession of a public European museum collection! New versions of half-siliquae of the *Victoria* type appeared at auctions again in 2006, first in Zurich (*NAC* 33/2006, 693) [20],¹¹ a year later in Vienna (*Rauch* 81/2007, 816) [10], and then from 2012 onwards, apart from in Vienna and Zurich, at several other auctions held in southeastern Europe close to Munich (*Helios, Pecunem, Solidus*), then further on social networks (eBay, etc.), and finally in small amounts in the numismatic literature.

One of these recently auctioned half-siliquae (*NAC* 100/2017, no. 780) [8] was claimed, in 2020, to have been found in the modern Srijem or Srem region/Syrmia province, but it is not clear from the accompanying notes whether the find occurred in the area of Novi Banovci (*Burgenae*), a Roman-era fortification on the Danube River about twenty kilometres northeast of Belgrade, or rather in the area of Roman-era *Bassianae*¹² (Gradina near Donji Petrovci),

8 In numismatic circles, especially North American, W. L. Subjack is better known for his contributions to knowledge of the early silver coinage (dimes) of the United States of America (Davis et al. 1984). The existence of his collection of obviously carefully selected coins from the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages is testified to only by the sales catalogues of the London company *Italo Vecchi Ltd.*: 11/1998, no. 1-121 (Anglo-Saxon England, Francia, Frisia, and Danmark); 13/1998, 5-22 no. 1-50 (Merovingians); 14/1999, 5-19, no. 1-73 (Visigoths, Burgundians, Swabians, Vandals, Gepids, Avars); 16/1999, 70-80, no. 568-628 (Odoakar, Ostrogoths, Lombards). For a brief biography of W. L. Subjack as of 2010, when he was inducted into the JRCS Hall of Fame, see Smith 2004, 410. After retirement in 2000 (more than 34 years working for a large pharmaceutical firm, Merck, primarily in Chemical Process Development, Jun 1966 - Aug 2000) with his wife Joyce he opened up an antique business called Neverbird Antiques (Surry, VA) specializing in a curated selection of vintage and collectible items.

9 *Vecchi* 14/1999, 17 no. 63. For a digital form of this catalogue see: <https://archive.org/details/vecchi-1999-02-05-sale-14-w-subjack-germanic-ancient-mediaeval-modern-medals>.

10 Kluge 2007, 290-291 no. 36.

11 After that, the same coin appeared again in Zürich in 2016 and 2021 at auctions of the same Swiss auction house (*NAC*).

12 Asolati 2020, 250 (“si riferiscono a scoperte avvenute nell’area di Novi Banovci, ossia dell’antica *Bassianae*”), 253 Fig. 10:7 (“*rinvenuto nell’area di Bassianae*”), 257 Fig. 11 (“*Bassianae*”). For the same claims in a different order, in another place, and a year later, see Asolati 2021, 21, 22 Map 1, 39/45 Fig. 9. For basic information

an important urban settlement located twenty or so kilometres to the east of Novi Banovci. Although the information about the possible original location of one of these half-siliquae is certainly welcome for this topic, two works published just a year earlier by A. Gennari and D. Faltin are more important, as they based their observations and conclusions on a significant number of newly recorded half-siliquae of the “Syrmian” group, thus improving the knowledge of the material as a whole and its analysis with new observations and insights. The first of the two, in a work printed in 2019 in Hungary – preceded by two electronic editions with the same title – presented six half-siliquae (and two contemporary imitations)¹³ auctioned in the period from 1999 to 2016, also drawing attention to the similarity of the content and specific details of these coins (SRM, reverse legend, exergue). He assumed that due to the small number of half siliqua coins, they had been minted sporadically and only in the earliest period of the “Syrmian” group, the beginnings of which he connected with the Ostrogoths and dated to 505/510.¹⁴ The second, in a paper published in the same year (2019) in the second issue of an English numismatic journal with an international focus founded just a year earlier, raised the number of recognized half-siliqua coins of the “Syrmian” group to fifteen (+ five contemporary imitations), with a note that he owns and keeps most of the specimens in his own numismatic collection. He described and classified the material into typological groups distinguished by the legibility of the obverse legend, calling them correct (=H1.1-5), fragmented (=H2.1-10), and illegible (=H3.1-3), with two sub-groups of the first group with varied appearances of the exergue CONOR (=H1a./1-3) or CONO (=H1b./4-5), and four sub-groups of the second group based on similarities in the stylistic characteristics and the “fragmentation” of the obverse legends (=H2a-d).¹⁵ He placed the beginning of the minting of the half-siliquae at around 504 AD, while the duration of the minting was contemporary with the minting of the Sirmium quarter-siliquae marked with the name of Emperor Anastasius.¹⁶ Unnoticed or unrecognized by both,¹⁷ even though it was published in the journal of the Bavarian Numismatic Society in Munich back in 2013 – and presented on the occasion of the announcement as a regular and early Ostrogothic coinage of King Theodoric, attributed to the mint in Rome and dated to the year 493¹⁸ – this coin in fact represented a typologically unique issue of the “Syrmian” group of the *Victoria* type with the reverse legend VICRIA AVCC, the inscription TSCR in the field interpreted as *Theodoricus senatus consulto rex*, and with CONOR in the exergue [12]. In addition, one of the accom-

about the two sites mentioned here, their location, significance, archaeological research, and older literature, see Milin 2004, 253-268 (*Bassianae*); Đorđević 2014, 45-47 (Donji Petrovci/*Bassianae*), 75-76 (Novi Banovci/*Burgenae*); Црнобрња 2020, 207-209, no. 172 (Donji Petrovci/*Bassianae*), 219-221, no. 213 (Novi Banovci-Gradina/*Burgenae*); Ferjančić, Pelcer, Vujačić 2024, 503-508 (Donji Petrovci-Gradina/*Bassianae*). For a brief overview and information about the period of Ostrogothic rule in Bassianae, especially their relations with the Gepids and Byzantium in 504-512, see Dušanić 1967, 74-75.

13 Gennari 2019, 224-226, no. 129-132, 134, 134c (type 4), 225-226, no. 133, 134b (imitation).

14 Gennari 2019, 101-103 (type 4, with SRM noted as “a direct reference to the mint of Sirmium”), 140 (connections to quarter-siliquae of type 1), 148-149 (sporadic minting; dating and attributions to the Ostrogoths).

15 Faltin 2019, 149, 168-174 (basic characteristics, groups and subgroups).

16 Faltin 2019, 174-175 (beginning and duration of minting).

17 The only reason for this could have been the module of the silver coin, but also the fact that it was called a quarter-siliqua coin when it was published, although it is evident that the coin has been significantly clipped and, hence, its measurements have certainly been significantly reduced.

18 Olbrich 2013, 187-197.

panying notes presented the interesting concept that would recognize a commemorative issue and small medallion in this silver coin (*“ein Kleinmedaillon”*) supposedly minted in 497 on the occasion of Anastasius’ recognition of Theodoric’s status in Italy (*rex Italiae*).¹⁹

II

The current state of research: material, groups, series, and issues

From 2019 onwards, the number of newly auctioned examples has increased considerably [1, 4, 7, 13, 19], and for this study it was possible to collect and analyze 21 coins, i.e. 18 half-siliquae [1-3, 5-11, 14-21] and 3 commemorative issues [4, 12-13].²⁰ Each of these newly registered examples brought with them at least some new element or point of interest: one previously known combination of obverse and reverse was confirmed by more legible obverse and reverse legends [19], the combination of a previously unregistered obverse and a previously known reverse indicated the possible sequence of their minting [4], the combination of an unregistered obverse and an unregistered reverse with the abbreviated AVCC ending presented itself as probably the earliest issue of a half-siliqua with a bust in cuirass [1], while a combination of a previously unregistered obverse and an unregistered reverse with the central inscription SAM instead of SRM [7] and two copies from the same die of a commemorative issue with the four-letter legend TSCR in the central field [12-13],²¹ pointed to problems for which it was necessary to establish the reasons and find a satisfactory, or at least somewhat satisfactory, explanation for them.

Comparisons of newly documented examples with earlier known specimens of half-siliquae and commemorative issues of the *Victoria* type have shown that the same obverse and reverse dies were used to mint four pairs of half-siliquae and commemorative issues (8 examples) or 38.10% of the known examples [2-3, 12-13, 14-15, 19-20], and that another three coins [4-5/5-6] were die-linked to different reverses or obverses, which is an additional 14.29%. This shows, but also warns, that even today’s improved knowledge of these numismatic issues is still quite lacking, but nonetheless sufficient to suggest a longer time span and more extensive minting of the half-siliqua coins (and commemorative issues), despite the larger number of unrelated obverse and reverse dies (11 out of 16) than the minting range of the only partly contemporaneous but significantly fewer quarter-siliqua coins of the “Syrmian” group of the *Victoria* type.²²

19 Olbrich 2013, 195, n. 30. The note lists Kay Ehling as the author of this idea, who at the time was probably still an employee of the City Coin Cabinet in Munich / *Staatliche Münzsammlung in München (Konservator für griechische, römische und keltische Münzen sowie antike geschnittene Steine)*.

20 The analysis does not include examples of several evidently contemporary imitations: Gennari 2019, 225, no. 133, 226 no. 134b; Faltin 2019, 173, no. 3.1-3, 174, no. 3.4-5.

21 A second example with the same die appeared at the auction of the firm *Numismatik Naumann* in Vienna in June 2023 (*N•N* 129/2023, no. 696). The coin was described in the sales catalogue as a Gepid quarter-siliqua minted in Sirmium during the reign of Emperor Anastasius. Quite unexpectedly, the author of the description recognized in the exergue the inscription *Roma*, allegedly engraved in retrograde form (!). The coin obviously aroused great interest in collectors’ circles, because after it was initially offered at a price of €80, there were as many as 34 bids, and in the end, it reached more than ten times the original amount (€860).

22 For the so-far known examples of *Victoria* type quarter-siliquae, their characteristics, differences, period of minting, and attribution to Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids, see Demo 2023, 17-36 (Cro) // 37-58 (Eng).

More extensive minting and a longer time span of minting half-siliqua and commemorative issues of the *Victoria* type resulted in a larger number and greater typological variety of the collected series and issues. Their typological-stylistic analysis has indicated the existence of two groups: the more numerous group I, with the bust of the emperor in cuirass (74.43%) [1-15] and the less numerous group II, with the bust of the emperor in a *paludamentum* (28.56%) [16-21].²³ The possible chronological order of the minting of individual series and issues within each of these two groups is indicated by continuous but frequent changes in the obverse and reverse content and various stylistic details (Table 1).

Table 1

	Obverse: break/legend/cuirass	Reverse: legend/inscription/exergue	Faltin 2019	Gennari 2019
	Group I – bust in cuirass (Ia: no. 1 // Ib: no. 2-15)			
1.	A ₁ A / Cuirass (1) D N ANA-ΓASIV	a ₁ a) ΔVCC / SRM / CONO (1) VICTORIA ΔVCC SRM CONO	-	-
2.	B ₁ B / Cuirass (1) D II AN2-TA2V P VC	b ₁ b) CCC / SRM / CONOB (1) VCTORIA ΔVCCC SRM CO[.]OB	2.9/H2c	129
3.	B ₁ as above	b ₁ as above	2.8/H2c	-
4.	B ₂ B / Cuirass (2) D II AN2O *AT2 [.] ΔVC	b ₂ b) CCC / SRM / ONOB (2) VICTORIA ΔVCCC SRM ONOB	-	-
5.	B ₃ B / Cuirass (3) D N ANA2-TA2V PP V	b ₁ b) CCC / SRM / ONOB (2) as above	2.2/H2a	134c
6.	B ₃ Cuirass (3) as above	b ₁ b) CCC / SRM / CONO-B (3) VICTORIA ΔVCCC SRM CONO-B	2.1/H2a	-
7.	B ₄ Cuirass (4) [.....]2-TA2V PP V	b ₂ b) CCC / SAM / CONO-B (4) VICTORIA ΔVCCC SAM CONO-B	-	-
8.	C ₁ C / Cuirass (1) [d n] ANAST-ASIVS PP C	c ₁ c) CCC / SRM / CONO[.] (1) VICTORIA ΔVCCC SRM CONO[.]	1b.4/H1b	-
9.	C ₂ Cuirass (2) [d n] ANST-[.]SI[....] C	c ₁ c) CCC / SRM / [..]NO[.] (2) VICTORIA [ΔVCCC] SRM [..]NO[.]	1b.5/H1b	-
10.	C ₃ Cuirass (3-4) D [n] ANAST-[a]SIVS PP V	c ₁ c) CCC / SRM / CONO[.], CONOR (3-4) VICTORIA ΔVCCC SRM CONO[.]	2.4/H2b	-
11.	C ₄ D N ANAST-ASIVS PP ^v	c ₁ VICTORIA ΔVCCC SRM CONOR	1a.3/H1a	131
12.	C ₅ D / Cuirass (1) D II ANAST-ASIVS PP	c ₂ c) CC / TSCR / CONOR (5) VICRIA ΔVCC TSCR CONOR	-	-
13.	C ₅ as above	c ₂ as above	-	-
14.	D ₁ D / Cuirass (1) D N ANASTA-SIVS P PP ^Δ	d ₁ d) CCC / SRM / CONOR (1) VICTORIA ΔVCCC SRM CONOR	1a.1/H1a	-
15.	D ₁ as above	d ₁ as above	1a.2/H1a	-
	Group II – bust in paludamentum (IIa: no. 16 // IIb: no. 17-21)			
16.	A ₁ A / Paludamentum (1) D II IIA2TA-2IV2 PP ΔVC	a ₁ a) CCCΘ / SRM / CONO CICTOPA VACCCΘ SRM CONO	2.6/H2b	-

23 If the examples of commemorative issues (3 pieces) were to be excluded from the first group, the existing ratio would still be somewhat less pronounced (66.67%: 33.33%).

17.	B ₁	B / <i>Paludamentum</i> (1-2) D N VIIA2TA-ISVS P[.]VC	b ₁	b) CCCI / SRW / [...]O, COIIIO-B (1-2) ICTO[.]IA AVCCCCI SRW [...]O	2.10/H2d	134
18.	B ₂	D N ANA2TAI-2V2 PPAVIN C	b ₂	CTORIA AVCCCC SRW COIIIO-B	2.5/H2b	-
19.	C ₁	C / <i>Paludmentum</i> (1) D II AN2TA-22V P VC	c ₁	c) CCC / ***SRW / C-OIIIO-B (13) VCTOPIAAVCCCC ***SRW C-OIIIO-B	-	-
20.	C ₁	as above	c ₁	as above	2.7d/H2b	130
21.	D ₁	D / <i>Paludamentum</i> (1) O N A2T-CP2V P VC	d ₁	d) CCC / SRW / COIIIO-B (4) CTOPA AVCCCC SRW COIIIO-B	2.3/H2b	132

Notes (4,12,13 = commemorative issue):

1. N•N 118/2022, no. 1047 (1.29g; 20mm; -).
2. SMB no. 18201545 (1.59g; 17mm; -) = *Vecchi* 14/1999, no. 63 (ex W. L. Subjack coll.) = Kluge 2007, 75, 290-291 no. 36 (Pl. 2); also: Gennari 2019, 102 Fig. 29/left.
3. Faltin coll. (1.77g; 18mm; -) = *Solidus* 6e/2015, no. 448 (1.77g; 18mm; -)
4. N•N 129/2023, no. 690 (1.39g; 18mm; -).
5. Faltin coll. (1.83g; 18mm; -) = NAC 92-1/2016, no. 902 (1.83g; - ; -).
6. Faltin coll. (1.36g; 17mm; -) = *Rauch* 105/2017, no. 689 (1.36g; - ; -).
7. *Coin Talk* (Topcat7, 27/02/2019): <https://www.cointalk.com/threads/is-it-ostrogoth-rare-anything.334042/>. - A “modernized” copy of this coin (here: x2) and a useful discussion of this theme, see: <https://www.numisforums.com/topic/4746-the-gepids-uncertain-ruler-in-the-name-of-anastasius/> (January 4, 2024, February 14, 2025).
8. Faltin coll. (1.29g; 16mm; -) = NAC 100/2017, no. 780 (1.29g; - ; -) = Asolati 2020, 252-253 Fig. 9a-b, 10:7.
9. Faltin coll. (0.81g; - ; -) = *Forum Ancient Coins* (0.81g; 16mm; -) = https://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pid=67045&srsid=AfmBOorWqEIcN1GJQw8JTb5IJIU_J0mVqRpQM7tGyuwkj-DLIEcpVuFM0 (February 14, 2025).
10. Faltin coll. (1.01g; 17mm; -) = *Rauch* 81/2007, 816 (1.01g; 17mm; 12h).
11. NAC 75/2013, no. 424 (1.83g; - ; -). = *Myntauktioner* 46/2025, no. 544 (1.83g; - ; -).
12. Privat coll. = Olbrich 2013, 189 (0.77g; 12mm; 5h).
13. N•N 129/2023, no. 696 (0.76g; 12mm; -).
14. Faltin coll. (1.76g; 17mm; -) = *Rauch* 107-1/2018, no. 556 (1.76g; 17mm; 12h).
15. Faltin coll. (1.90g; 18mm; -) = *Helios* 5/2010, no. 532 (1.90g; 18mm; 12h).
16. Faltin coll. (1.20g; 17mm; -) = *Helios* 8/2012, no. 602 (1.20g; - ; -).
17. *Pecunem* 25/2014, no. 341 (1.18g; 18mm; -); also, in: Gennari 2019, 103 Fig. 30/right, 140 Fig. 72/right.
18. Faltin coll. (1.49g; 18mm; -) = NAC 100-II/2017, no. 2037 (1.46g; - ; -).
19. *CollecOnline* (1.50g; 18mm; -) = <https://www.colleconline.com/en/items/100474/munzen-half-siliqua> (February 14, 2025); <https://www.metagellan.com/en/items/100474/munzen-half-siliqua> (February 14, 2025); before January 4, 2025: https://noblerromancoins.com/product_info.php?products_id=3870.
20. NAC 33/2006, no. 693 (1.91g; 18mm; -) = NAC 93/2016, no. 1233 (1.90g; - ; -) = NAC - *Spring sale* 2021, no. 1488 (1.90g; - ; -).
21. Faltin coll. (1.31g; 17mm; -) = NAC 88/2015, no. 527 (1.31g; - ; -).

The *O b v e r s e* with the bust of the emperor turned to the right, often in a cuirass [1-15] and more rarely in a *paludamentum* [16-21], is the basic distinguishing element and represents testimony and confirmation of the existence of two groups of half-siliquae. In both groups, the bust is framed by a legend engraved from left to right and with breaks at various places in the name of Emperor Anastasius. The beginning D N or D II (*dominus noster*) predominates, so that the beginning O N [21] is an isolated occurrence. The end of the legend most often contains

PP (*perpetuus*) typical of later Eastern Roman and Early Byzantine gold and silver, which was taken over and used by certain northern Italian mints after Theodoric's arrival in Italy (*Ticinum*, *Mediolanum*, *Ravenna*). One P at the end of the obverse legend appears rarely [2-3, 19-21], and only exceptionally was a triple P used, P PP (*pius perpetuus*) [14-15], while in only one case was the letter P omitted [1]. At the end of the obverse legend, sometimes the reduced letters Λ [14-15] and v appear [11], but nonetheless the letters V [5-7, 10] and VC are more frequent [2-3, 19-21] in the usual size – in all the cited examples with the meaning *augustus*. The classic ending Λ VC is scarce [4, 16-18], as well as the unusual appearance of the letter C after the letter P at the end of the obverse legend [8-9]. Among the peculiarities, it is worth highlighting the form of the letter Λ without a middle hasta, which is the rule in the bust in the *paludamentum* group and the rule in the bust in the cuirass group, with rare exceptions [7, 12-15]. The use of the inverted II and especially the frequently inverted Z and V (= Λ) is present in both groups of half-siliquae, just like the phenomenon of the “fragmentation” of the legend, i.e., the omission of individual letters [1-7, 19-21]. The grapheme T instead of the letter T – characteristic of the first Ostrogothic issue of the *Victoria* type quarter-siliqua coin minted after the capture of Sirmium in 504/5²⁴ – appears only on the earliest example of a half-siliqua with a bust in cuirass [1]. On one half-siliqua coin of the same group, a six-pointed/★ star [4] is placed above the emperor's head, which is paralleled on a short-lived and early Ostrogothic quarter-siliqua coin minted in Milan.²⁵ On most specimens of both groups of half-siliquae, a beaded border is visible, but the size of the beads often varies, and they are sometimes either very small or even resemble ridges.

The *Reverse* was composed of the legend of the *Victoria* type with Λ VCC (rare) or the Λ VCCC ending (common), the three-letter legend SRM, SRW, or SAM, and the four-letter legend TSCR in the field between two horizontal beams, and the exergue with the less numerous but chronologically later CONOR (younger) and the more numerous but chronologically earlier CONOB and its variants (older). As a rule, it otherwise appears on examples with the bust in a *paludamentum* (CONO-B, C-OIIIO-B, COIIIO-B), and rarely on specimens with the bust in a cuirass (ONOB, CONO-B), while for the earliest, i.e., the first series of both groups, it appears as CONO [1, 16-17]. For the legend of the *Victoria* type, the ending Λ VCCC is usual [2-8, 10-11, 14-15, 16-21], while the abbreviated Λ VCC is rare and, to date, has been represented only on examples with the bust in a cuirass [1, 12-13]. In only one example, the ending of the reverse legend could not be detected as the coin was not completely preserved [9]. On two half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum*, after the ending Λ VCCC in one case was added an unskillfully engraved letter Θ [16]²⁶ and in the other case the letter I [17].²⁷ The four-letter TSCR in combination with the exergue CONOR appeared only on silver coins with the bust in a cuirass [12-13]. With this, the three-letter SRM was predominant [1-6, 8-11, 14-15,] and was

24 Demo 2023, 19, no. 4, 20-25, 28-29, 34, Fig. 1:4 (Cro) // 39, no. 4, 41-46, 50, 56, Fig. 1:4 (Eng).

25 Other than on the mentioned Ostrogothic silver coin, the star is particularly frequent on Theodoric's tremisses minted in Milan (Metlich 2004, no. 26²-29/Pl. III) before and around the year 500, while it also appears on the very rare Byzantine folles and half-folles of Emperor Anastasius minted in Nicomedia, *MIBE*, no. 35a.4, 42a.3.

26 For observations related to the appearance of the cross on the coins of the Emperor Anastasius and King Theodoric, and the earlier dates of this phenomenon on the gold and silver coinage minted in Italy at the beginning of the reign of the Ostrogothic king, Demo 2024, 21-22 (Cro) // 41-42 (Eng).

27 Despite the damage to and poor preservation of this coin, particularly in the exergue area, it seems more likely to me that the letter I belongs to the end of the reverse legend, and not the exergue (...)OI, as was suggested by Gennari 2019, 225, no. 134.

“responsible” for the attribution of these half-siliqueae to the mint in Sirmium and the “Syrman” group, so that the variant SAM gives the impression of an unexpected and unusual exception [7]. On half-siliqueae with the bust in a *paludamentum*, SRW is common [17-21], while SRM appeared on only one example [16]. The flipping of the letter M, from which the final W came, and the reversal of the letters VΛ (= ΛV) in the reverse legend [16] are the only examples of inverting the letters on the reverses of half-siliqueae of the *Victoria* type. “Fragmentation” of the legend (the omission of one or more letters), which on the examples with the bust in a cuirass is sporadic and represented either in the reverse legend [2-3, 12-13] or in the exergue [4-5], is more common on the half-siliqueae with the bust in a *paludamentum*, where the reverse legends of almost all known examples to date are affected by this phenomenon [16, 18-21]. Rare, and so far only typologically interesting, but still unexplained, is the appearance of three dots (•••) in the area above the upper bar of the three-lettered SRW on two half-siliqueae with the bust in a *paludamentum*, minted with the same reverse dies [19-20].

III

Group I (Ia, Ib) – the bust of the emperor in a *paludamentum*: half-siliqueae and commemorative issues (Fig. 1:1-15, 2:16-21)

The group with the bust in a cuirass is composed of 12 half-siliqueae and 3 commemorative issues [1-15] – an amount greater than two thirds (71.42%) – minted with eleven obverse and eleven reverse dies (73.33%). With the exception of two obverse dies on which the appearance of the bust in a cuirass can be assumed but not established with certainty [4, 12-13], each of the remaining nine dies shows differently shaped cuirasses: local interpretations of a cuirass [9-11, 14-15] as depicted on the Eastern Roman and Early Byzantine solidi of the second half of the 5th and early 6th centuries, cuirasses more or less similar to the cuirasses [2-3, 8] on the sealing rings of the Frankish King Childeric (ca. 457-481)²⁸ and the Visigothic King Alaric II (458/466-507),²⁹ as well as on a gold medallion of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric (ca. 454-526).³⁰ Local creations of busts [1, 5-7] are less frequent and are missing comparisons in the archaeological or numismatic material from that time.

It is not coincidental that the frequent changes in the formation of the bust are accompanied by equally frequent transformations of the obverse legend. They are equally affected, not merely by the placement of a break in the legend, but also the endings of the legends are most frequently changed by adding, removing, or replacing individual letters, with subsequent consequences for their reading, interpretation, and meaning. Despite the confusion that seems to exist because of this, four breaks of the obverse legends were used on the half-siliqueae of Group I: sub-group Ia has the break Λ-Γ (Γ= ST) [1], sub-group Ib the break 2-TΛ/2-TA [2-3, 5-7] and its variant 2O★ΛT [4] with an uninterpreted additional O★Λ at the site of the break, then the break T-AS [8-13], and finally the break Λ-SI [14-15]. It is not unimportant to note that the breaks T-AS, 2-TΛ/2-TA, and the variant 2O★ΛT were represented on twelve half-si-

28 Schmauder 1998, 63, Fig. 6:3; Périn, Salaün, MacGrégor 2015, 117, Fig. 4-7.

29 Schmauder 1998, 65, Fig. 13; Kornbluth 2008, 300, Fig. 1-2.

30 Gnecci 1895, 141-152, Pl. III; *BMC Ostrog*, Frontispiece, 54; Kraus 1928, 78-79, 82 no. 1/ Titelblatt; *MIB I*, 83, 128, no. 1/Pl. 36; Metlich 2004, 15-16, 83, no. 3/Pl. I; Arslan 1984, 417, no. 284, 423.

liquae and commemorative issues (80%) minted with as many as nine obverse dies (81.82%). The remaining two obverse dies (18.18%) with the breaks Λ - Γ (Γ = ST) and Λ -SI belong first to one half-siliqua [4] and the other to two other half-siliquae [14-15], so there is an obvious disproportion in the representation of these two breaks compared to the previous breaks in terms of their significantly smaller minting volume, shorter minting time, or both of these reasons at the same time. Therefore, taking into account the above, as well as the typological differences and stylistic characteristics of their obverses and reverses, it is permissible to assume that the half-siliquae with the breaks Λ - Γ (Γ = ST) and Λ -SI belong to: the first period of minting of the group with the bust in a cuirass [1], and the second to the final period of minting the group with the bust in a cuirass [14-15]. In the period between these two series, minting would have taken place of the half-siliquae with the breaks Σ -TA/ Σ -TA and T-AS. The series T-AS [8-13], because of the use of the exergue CONOR, which would connect it to the last in the Λ -SI series [14-15], would be chronologically later than the series with the break Σ -TA/ Σ -TA [2-3,5-7] and the variant Σ O*AT. This, because of the special features of the addition to its obverse legend (O* Λ), should be classified among the commemorative issues [4]. In Byzantium, on the gold and silver coinage of Emperor Anastasius,³¹ rare breaks different than the usual A-SI, and the breaks S-TA, T-AS, S-IV and I-VS, also appear and were mostly used on the bronze coinage, particularly that minted for Anastasius in Antioch,³² and more rarely in Nikomedia.³³ On the early tremisses and quarter-siliquae minted in Theodoric's Italy, the breaks T-AS and S-TA appear before the year 500, and the break Λ -ST around 500, so it is more likely that it was, in fact, these Ostrogothic examples that served as the models for various Syrmian half-siliquae and commemorative issues of the *Victoria* type.

Unlike the obverse, where each new die introduced greater or lesser changes in the appearance of the bust, diadem, and armour, or the break, length, and ending of the legend, the appearance of the reverse and its three components, i.e., the legend, the inscription in the field, and the exergue, were changed less frequently and certainly according to different concepts. One of them required the use of the common late Roman period reverse legend VICTORIA AVCCC, engraved in Sirmium in an unbroken form. It was used in this form by all issues of half-siliquae with a cuirass, as well as one incompletely preserved example where the ending of the reverse legend is not recognizable [9]. The only deviation from the standard AVCCC is shown by the shortened reverse ending AVCC registered on the only so far known die of the earliest half-siliqua series Λ - Γ (=ST) [1], as well as on the die of the commemorative issues T-AS [12-13].

The second component of the reverse, the three-letter inscription SRM between two horizontally placed beams surrounded by the legend and with the exergue at the base, was already interpreted in the first publications as an abbreviation of the word *Sirmium*, which was not disputed or questioned in the rare later works on this topic. On the half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass, SRM is the predominant, but not the only form of inscription in the field, as the four-lettered TSCR also appeared and was used [12-13], as well as the three-lettered SAM in which the letter R was exchanged for the letter A [7]. Unlike these two, SRM has long been known as a rarity in the exergue of a few

31 On the earliest gold and silver coins minted for Anastasius in Constantinople, different interruptions of the obverse legend appear and are used on solidi, semisses, and tremisses: for the break S-IV, see *MIBE*, no. 2¹⁻², 3a¹⁻⁴, 8, 11/Pl. I), while for the break S-IO, see *MIBE*, no. 3a³/Pl. I. In *Thessalonica* on solidi and *miliarensis* only the break S-IV was registered, see *MIBE*, no. 15/Pl. I; Lantz 114/2003, no. 868.

32 *MIB* I, no. 56/Pl. 5 (follis), 59-60/Pl. 5 (decanummium).

33 *DOC* (Byz.) I, no. 31.1/Pl. V, 36.5/Pl. V (half-follis); Morrisson 1970, no. 03 (half-follis).

gold coins of Emperor Constantius II (1 1/2 scrupulus = 9 siliquae), but it was “demoted” some forty years ago to a “*strange mint-mark*”, supposedly minted in the Roman mint in 357 AD on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Constantius’ accession to the throne.³⁴ Thus, left without support or comparisons in the local late Roman monetary tradition, the appearance of the SRM mark on silver coins minted in Syrmian Pannonia in the late 5th and early 6th centuries was defined as an innovative curiosity of the fiscal jurisdiction of the local administration in Sirmium. In contrast, the SAM variant, due to the replacement of the letter R with the letter A, could be interpreted as either an engraver’s error or an oversight in mint control – comparisons for this type of letter substitution in the numismatic holdings of Anastasius’ reign exist both in Byzantium and in Theodoric’s Italy³⁵ – which incites caution and suspicion because by its very existence in such a conspicuous and important place it problematizes both the meaning and significance of the inscription SRM.³⁶

Completely different problems and thoughts were inspired by the four-letter TSCR, which first appeared and was interpreted more than a decade ago.³⁷ If it was unique and new then, it is no longer so, as another silver coin with the same die was offered and successfully sold at an auction in Vienna in June 2023.³⁸ The interpretation of the four-letter inscription *T(heodericus) S(enatus) C(onsulto) R(ex)*, suggested in 2013, when the first specimen was published, in the meantime has had its authenticity denied on at least two occasions, supported by the claim that the coin on which this inscription appears is “*a barbarian imitation if not a modern fake*”, with a defective reverse legend VICRIA (in place of VICTORIA), an inappropriate exergue CONOR (in place of CONOB), and the inscription TSCR, whose interpretation “*defies all titular conventions*”.³⁹ Both interpretations failed to recognize the coin as an issue of the Syrmian mint under the control of

34 RIC VIII, 277, no. 300/Pl. 11. As the mint-marks of the mint in Sirmium most common in the exergue were SIR, SIRM, and SIROB. Reflections about S-M in the field left and right of the depiction on the reverse of the solidi of Emperors Theodosius I, Honorius, and Arcadius utilized in 394-395 were actualized and reinterpreted by Eremić 2012, 204-205 (in addition to arguments supporting her claim, the author also presented a detailed analytical overview of the history of the mark S-M). The same claim was repeated in her recently published monography about the minting and circulation of Roman period coinage in Sirmium, Eremić 2023, 21-22.

35 In this sense, two interesting examples are the replacement of the letter R with the letter A on gold coins with the reverse legend *Victoria augustorum*. One is found on a semissis of Anastasius (CNG 450/2019, no. 409) – interpreted as MIB I, no. 10, which is not correct – minted in *Thessalonica*, as is shown by the uninterrupted obverse legend and a series of details on the reverse (e.g., the interrupted reverse legend VICTOA-IA AVCCC), and in no way can it be linked to the semisses of the mint in Constantinople. The second example appeared on a tremissis with an S-T break of the obverse legend minted in the name of Emperor Anastasius (ANS 1968.131.515). Apart from the style, it differs from the regular Theodoric issues in the ending of the obverse legend (AV) and also in the basic components of the reverse, starting with the depiction of Victoria, which is closer in style to the Byzantine model, and through the distorted reverse legend VICT-OAIA A-VC-CC I, to the fragmented exergue CONO in which, it seems, the final B was removed subsequently.

36 One justification for any possible clumsiness, carelessness, or irresponsibility would be to speculatively attribute them to unexpected circumstances or even danger at the time the die was being created. Regardless of any possibly objective reasons that may have arisen, be they accidental or intentional, the authenticity of such an issue and even of this so far only known copy has been called into question. It should also be noted here that the central hasta in the lettering of the letter A is present on the obverse and reverse of this coin, which is unusual for half-silica coins of the “Syrmian” group.

37 Olbrich 2013, 187-197.

38 N•N 129/2023, no. 696.

39 Wiemer 2021, 59, n. 92; Wiemer 2023, 496-497 no. 76.

either the Syrmian Gepids and their King Thrasaric, if the coin was minted before 504, or as an issue of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric, if it was minted in 504 or shortly thereafter. Failure to recognize such a numismatic context is the main reason for doubting the meaning and concept of the inscription TSCR,⁴⁰ which is nevertheless very likely to refer to the Ostrogothic King Theodoric, to whom Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids, owed his life and throne after the defeat he and his father (Traustilus) suffered in a clash with the Ostrogothic king in February 489.⁴¹ Therefore, it is not impossible that the inscription and its four letters represent a deconstituted monogram of Theodoric, indeed a deconstituted monogram of the C1 type – hence the choice and order of letters – as used in the rare *Victoria* type quarter-siliqua coins recently attributed to the mint of Thrasaric in Sirmium, which was active in the early years of the reigns of Anastasius in Byzantium and Theodoric in Italy.⁴² The unusual TSCR inscription makes these coins exceptional, which is why there is reason to consider them a commemorative issue dedicated to an event or a jubilee associated with the Ostrogothic king.

For this typological-chronological analysis, it is also important to emphasize that below the inscription TSCR in the exergue was CONOR – an exergue that is enigmatic but frequent on the Eastern Roman solidi of Basiliscus and Zeno but very rare on the Byzantine solidi of Emperor Anastasius⁴³ – which the reverse die as well as the lettering

40 The inscription TSCR in the field of the reverse, in which the first two letters might eventually note the mint, cannot be connected to the monetary practice of the Eastern Roman Empire, as even before the reign of Emperor Theodosius II (408-450) the mint mark was placed in the exergue. The fact that in *Thessalonica* before and after his marriage to Eudoxia, the daughter of Emperor Theodosius II, in 537 solidi of the western Roman Emperor Valentinian II were briefly minted marked with the sigle T-S in the field of the reverse points to rules characteristic for the imperial mints active at that time in the West (Demo 2021, 33-36 [Cro] // 51, 53-56 [Eng]). In Italy, throughout this time and also later under Odovacar, solidi were minted in Milan with the mintmark in the field of the reverse, while on some of Odovacar's issues minted in Ravenna and Rome, the mintmarks of these two mints (RV and R) appear briefly at the end of the reverse legend. At the beginning of Theodoric's reign in Italy, the mint mark with letters in ligature reappears in the field of the reverse on the solidi, only to soon be removed from there as well. On earlier issues of Theodoric's silver coins, the mint marks, if used, are on the obverse below the bust of Emperor Anastasius, and only on the earliest ones in the field of the reverse is there the mark S - C (*senatus consulto*). This began in 492/493 and already before 495 it had been completely replaced on the Ostrogothic quarter-siliquae by Theodoric's monogram, and on the half-siliquae by a six-pointed star. Later S - C (*senatus consulto*) reappeared and continued in use only on the reverses of Athalaric's decunumia and Theodahad's folles minted in Rome, *MIB* I, no. 77 and 81. Metlich (2004, 51 no. 85a-b, no. 89a-b), called this reappearance of S - C on the Ostrogothic coinage of Athalaric "meaningless". That this can be thought of differently was shown by M. Vitiello (2014, 138), who interpreted the appearance of S - C on Theodahad's folles as the king's desire to show (and perhaps even emphasize) his independence from Justinian.

41 February 489 and not the winter of 488, as is most often cited in the professional literature, was supported by Löwe 1961, 14 and Moorhead 1997, 21. Their reasoning, other than by the author of this text, was also supported or adopted by Burns 1984, 185; Gračanin 2006, 107; Bratož 2014, 373; Gračanin, Škrljuga 2014, 180; Hughes 2015, 213-214.

42 Demo 2023, 19, no. 1-3, 20-25, 28, 34, Fig. 1:1-3 (Cro) // 39, no. 1-3, 41-46, 49, 56, Fig. 1:1-3 (Eng).

43 P. Lederer first noted on a solidus of Odovacar, minted in the name of Zeno, and then drew attention to the connection between the exergue CONOR and the TI ending of the reverse legend, in which he recognized the mark of the mint in Pavia/*Ticinum*, (Lederer 1934, 146, no. 2, 147 Fig. 1: n. 2, 149-150, Pl. IX:1; Lederer 1935, 358, no. 2, 360, Pl. 149:2). This thesis of his was taken over, modified, and expanded by G. Lacam, so the minting of solidi with the exergue CONOR, other than in Pavia/*Ticinum*, he also "found" in Bologna/

of its letters [12-13] connects with the similarly engraved letters of the exergue CONOR on the scarce half-siliquae of the Λ-SI series of the obverse legends [14-15]. The connections of the exergues of the half-siliquae of the T-AS and Λ-SI series is important for their relative chronological position. That, in the chronological sense, the half-siliquae with Λ-SI//SRM/CONOR were minted later [14-15], and that the commemorative issue T-AS//TSCR/CONOR [12-13] had been minted before them is shown by the long downward hanging ends of the diadem on the emperor's head, such as were used by the other certainly even earlier examples of half-siliquae of the T-AS series of the obverse legends [8-11]. Among them is a specimen with a clearly legible exergue CONOR [11], while on the remaining half-siliquae of this series, the inscription in the exergue is either damaged or illegible due to wear. Hence, at present, it is not possible to determine whether at the beginning of minting the half-siliquae of the T-AS series [8-10] the use began of the exergue CONOR, as the half-siliquae of the 2-TΛ series that preceded them, as far as is known, utilized the exergue CONOB [2-3], as well as the "fragmentary" ONOB [4-5], and finally CONO-B, characteristic because of the engraving of the letter B outside the line of the exergue [6-7]. The "fragmentary" exergue CONO (without the final B) was used on the, thus far, only example of sub-group Ia of half-siliquae with the obverse legend Λ-Γ (Γ= ST) issue [1], together with the shortened AVCC ending of the reverse legend as the first issue of silver coinage minted in Sirmium during the reign of Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids.

Measurements of several of the earliest observed specimens of group I [2, 5, 11, 15] showed high weight values (1.59g, 1.83g, 1.90g), and because of this, they, like one other even heavier example [20] from group II (1.91g) drew much attention and have since been called half-siliquae, although it would be possible to consider them as siliquae – since both names are modern conventions: in the first example because their weight is within or even slightly above the values attributed to the "heavier" silver weight system proposed by Metlich in 2004, and in the second example because they are slightly below the value (ca. 15%) of the silver weight system advocated by Kent in 1994.⁴⁴ In this sense, the mean values of the three series of subgroup Ib seem less convincing (1.49g, 1.41g, 1.83g) although their common average weight is an elevated 1.57g, and the minted die plates are rarely smaller in diameter than the apparently common 17 or 18 mm. From these features deviate the only well preserved and unclipped example of sub-group Ia (=series A-ST) with, thus far, the largest diameter of the mint etalon (20 mm) but with a weight of only 1.29 g. Because of this, the average weight of the entire group I would be only 1.43 g, so it is permissible to assume that a different, certainly lighter, weight system was chosen

Bononia, and he attributed the minting in these two mints to Odovacar's successor, Theodoric, and dated it to the winter of 488/489 (1983, 863-880, 880-898). Later, J.P.C. Kent in *RIC X* separated these two details and considering them separately completely eliminated the possibility that Zeno's T-series, as he called them, could have been minted either in Italy or in *Thessalonica* – as they had been attributed by Lallemand 1965, 49-51 and Grierson, Mays 1992, 56 – while the replacement of the letter B with the letter R in the exergue he defined as a feature usual for the period from Leo I onwards (*RIC X*, 117). Connecting the CONOR exergue with Germanic ones, as can be found in some auction catalogues and on the internet, is certainly not the solution to the CONOR problem, the origin of and reasons for which are still not possible to explain. As a copy of the Eastern Roman "practice", CONOR also appears on some later coins created in Byzantium (Anastasius, Justinian), but also in the "Germanized" parts of the former Empire in the West (Italy/Lombards).

44 Metlich 2004, 63; *RIC X*, 16-17.

Table 2

No.	Obverse // reverse	g mm h	average - g//mm//h
Group I – bust in cuirass (Ia: no. 1; Ib: no. 2-15)			
1.	<i>A / Cuirass (1) // CC, SRM, CONO (1)</i> A ₁ 1 / a ₁ 1	1.29 20 (12)	1.29//20//12
2.	<i>B / Cuirass (1) // CCC, SRM, CONOB (2)</i> B ₁ 1 / b ₁ 1	1.59 17 (12)	(1.68 ² //17.5 ² //4 ¹ ,12 ¹)
3.	B ₁ 1 / b ₁ 1	1.77 18 (4)	
4.	<i>Cuirass (2) // CCC, SRM, ONOB (3)</i> B ₂ 2 / b ₁ 2	1.39 18 (3)	(1.39//18//3)
5.	<i>Cuirass (3) / CCC, SRM, ONOB, CONO-B (3-4)</i> B ₃ 3/ b ₁ 2	1.83 18 (6)	(1.41 ³ //17.5 ² //6 ³ 1.49 ⁶ //17.6 ⁵ //3 ¹ ,4 ¹ ,6 ³ ,12 ¹)
6.	B ₃ 3 / b ₁ 3	1.36 17 (6)	
7.	<i>Cuirass (4) // CCC, SAM, CONO-B (5)</i> B ₄ 4 / b ₂ 4	1.05 - (6)	
8.	<i>C / Cuirass (1) // CCC, SRM / CONO[.] (6)</i> C ¹ 1/ c ¹ 1	1.29 16 (6)	1.41 ³ //16.5 ² //5 ¹ ,6 ² ,12 ¹
9.	<i>Cuirass (2) // CCC, SRM / CONO[.]</i> C ₂ 2/ c ₁ 2	0.81* - (6)	
10.	<i>Cuirass (3-4) // CCC, SRM, CONO[.], CONOR</i> C ₃ 3 / c ₁ 3	1.01 17 (12)	
11.	C ₄ 4 / c ₁ 4	1.83 - (5)	
12.	<i>Cuirass (5) // CC, TSCR, CONOR (1)</i> C ₄ 5 / c ₂ 5	0.76 12 (5)	(0.765 ² //12 ² //5 ²)
13.	C ₄ 5 / c ₂ 5	0.77 12 (5)	
14.	<i>D / Cuirass (1) // CCC, SRM, CONOR (2)</i> D ₁ 1 / d ₁ .1	1.76 17 (12)	1.83 ² //17.5 ² //12 ²
15.	D ₁ 1 / d ₁ .1	1.90 18 (12)	
Group II – bust in paludamentum (IIa: no. 16; IIb: no. 17-21)			
16.	<i>A/ Paludamentum (1) / SRM, CONO (7)</i> A ₁ 1 / a ₁ 1	1.20 17 (12)	1.20*/17//12
17.	<i>B / Paludamentum (1) / SRW, [....]O (1-2)</i> B ₁ 1 / b ₁ 1	1.18 18 (1)	(1.34 ² //18 ² // 11,6 ¹)
18.	<i>Paludamentum (2) / SRW, COIIIO-B (1-2)</i> B ₂ 2 / b ₂ 2	1.49 18 (6)	
19.	<i>C / Paludamentum (1) / ***SRW, C-ONO-B (3)</i> C ₁ 1 / c ₁ 1	1.50 18 (6)	(1.71 ² //18 ² //6 ¹ ,12 ¹) 1.52 ⁴ //18 ² //1 ¹ ,6 ² ,12 ¹
20.	C ₁ 1 / c ₁ 1	1.91 18 (12)	
21.	<i>D / Paludamentum (1) / SRW, CONO-B (4)</i> D ₁ 1 / d ₁ 1	1.31 17 (10)	1.31//17//10

Notes (4,12,13 = commemorative emission):

4. Commemorative emission.

9. Coin fragmentary; not included in calculations of average weight (g) and diameter (mm).

12-13. Commemorative emission; examples clipped; not included in calculations of average weight (g) and diameter (mm).

16. Coin clipped and fragmentary.

and used for the minting of that single specimen of the Ia subgroup. The measured values of one of the commemorative issues are noticeably lower than the average values of the series to which it belongs [12-13] – perhaps precisely because of the inscription TSCR in the field of the reverse and its probable meaning – because they could have remained in circulation and lasted longer and were accordingly trimmed to fit the size and weight of silver coins minted in Theodoric's Italy in the last years of the 5th century and later.



Fig. 1 – Half-siliquae [1-3, 5-7] and commemorative editions [4] of Group I with the bust in a cuirass: sub-group Ia with the break Λ - Γ (Γ = ST) [1] and sub-group Ib with the breaks $\mathcal{Z}$ -TA/ $\mathcal{Z}$ -TA [2-3,5-7] and the variant $\mathcal{Z}O \star \Lambda T$ [4], ca. 1:1.



Fig. 2 – Half-siliquae [8-11,14-15] and commemorative editions [12-13] of Group I with the bust in a cuirass: sub-group Ib with the breaks T-AS [8-13] and Λ-SI [14-15], ca. 1:1.

Group II (IIa, IIb) – the bust of the emperor in a *paludamentum*: half-siliquae (Fig. 3:16-21)

The group with a bust in a *paludamentum* consists of six half-siliquae (28.57%), which because of the difference in the form of the inscription in the central field of the reverse can be classified into two sub-groups: IIa, the sub-group with the inscription SRM consists of one half-siliqua (16.67%) [16], while the IIb sub-group with the inscription SRW consists of five half-siliquae (83.33%), minted with four obverse and four reverse dies [17, 18, 19-20, 21]. Due to the significantly greater number of copies and issues, these latter were certainly minted longer and are even later than the IIa subgroup. This chronological order is also indicated by the breaks in their obverse legends, among which, despite many differences, the break Λ-2I is clearly

distinguishable [16] and its variants Λ -I Σ , Λ I- Σ and Λ $\cdot$ - Σ 2V, represented on the remaining five half-siliquae [17, 18, 19-20], and the break T-CP Σ represented on only one half-siliqua [21]. That the first ones were not only significantly more numerous but also minted earlier is confirmed by three half-siliquae with a long obverse legend – the only example of sub-group IIa [16] and two examples of sub-group IIb [17, 18] – on which the initial and final letters of the legend occupy the space below the bust, which is not recorded in a single example of a half-siliqua with the bust in a cuirass (group I). The same relative chronological order is indicated by their lengthy obverse endings, because of which the endings PP Λ VI NC [18] and PP Λ VC [16, 17] were certainly earlier than the ending P VC, characteristic of half-siliquae with a short obverse legend [19-20, 21]. (Fig. 3:16-21).



Fig. 3 – Half-siliquae [1-3, 5-7] and commemorative editions [4] of Group II with the bust in a cloak/*paludamentum*: sub-group IIa with a long reverse legend, the inscription SRM, and the exergue CONO [16], and sub-group IIb with a long reverse legend and the inscription SRW [17-18], and a short reverse legend and the inscription SRW [19-21], ca. 1:1.

Except for the position of the letter I in the final part of the name of Emperor Anastasius (I- Σ V Σ , ISVS = SIVS) [17, 18], or even the unusual exchange of the ending SIVS with the four-lettered CP Σ V [21] or three-lettered Σ 2V [19-20], in the obverse legends of the half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum*, the use of one or more reversed or inverted letters is

Table 3

Letter in the legend (field // exergue)	Group Ia*, Ib – bust in a cuirass		Grupa IIa*, IIb – bust in a paludamentum	
	obverse	reverse	obverse	reverse
reversed				
II = N	2-3,4,12-13	-	16* // 19-20	-
Σ = S	2-3,4,5-6,7	-	16* // 17-20	-
V = Λ	2-3,5-7, 10,11	-	19-21	-
VΛ = ΛV	-	-	-	16*
(legend in field)				
W = M	-	-	-	17-21
omitted				
Λ	2-3,4,5-6,9	-	19-20,21	-
I	2-3,4,7	2-3	-	16* // 19-20
NΛ	-	-	21	-
S	1* // 2-3,4,5-6,7	-	-	-
TO	-	12-13	-	-
V	4	-	-	17
VI	-	-	-	18
VI...I	-	-	-	21
C	-	4	-	-
B	-	1	-	16*,17
exchanged				
C = V	-	-	-	16*
III = N ΛN	-	-	16*	-
P = R	-	-	-	16* // 19-20
ΛI-Σ = Λ-ΣI	-	-	18	-
IS = SI	-	-	17	-
Γ = T	12-13	-	-	-
Γ = ST	1*	-	-	-
(inscr. in field)				
A = R	-	7	-	-
(inscr. in exergue)				
II = N	-	-	-	1-20
III = N	-	-	-	18
varia				
O * Λ	4	-	-	-
CPΣV	-	-	21	-
ΣΣV	-	-	19-20	-
ΛVI	-	-	18	-
Θ	-	-	-	16*
I	-	-	-	17

Note: 4,12,13 = commemorative emissions

common: the often reversed Σ (= S) and the less often reversed II (= N) or inverted V (= Λ). The occurrence of the omission of the letters NΛ [21] and the appearance of the ligature III of the initial letters of the name of Emperor Anastasius are less frequent [16].

Depictions of busts in *paludamentum* are a local creation, changed with each new die and are only comparable in a few details with depictions on certain approximately contemporane-

ous numismatic issues minted either in Byzantium or in Ostrogothic Italy (the bust on Zeno's *miliarensis* minted in Thessalonica⁴⁵ or the bust on the early folles and half folles of Theodoric allegedly minted in Rome).⁴⁶

Unlike the obverses where letter reversal is common, examples of letter reversal on the reverses of the half-siliquae coins with a bust in a *paludamentum* are most striking in subgroup IIb, where SRM in the central field was transformed into SRW by inverting the letter M [17, 18, 19-20, 21], in this manner becoming its most striking differential detail. A reverse VΛ (= ΛV) was represented in the reverse legend of one half-siliqua of sub-group IIa [16], although the omission of one, two, or even three letters in the reverse legend as a rule was visible on all known half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum*: I [19-20, 21], V [17], VI [18], and VI....I [21]. The replacement of the letter V with the letter C [16] is a rare occurrence, but the replacement of the letter R with the letter P appears on at least four quarter-siliquae [16, 19-20, 21] – and possibly on yet another [17] – and is reminiscent of a similar example of letter replacement on an “unofficial” issue of a quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type minted in Syrmian Pannonia before 1st of September 507, modelled on the earliest Ostrogothic issues there from 504/505.⁴⁷

Among the unexpected appearances on the half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum* are additions to the endings of the reverse legends of the two earliest examples: on the first the legend ends in an unskillfully engraved Greek letter Θ [16], and on the other in a quite clear and recognizable, probably also, Greek letter I [17]. As these were the earliest coins of this group, known interpretations already existed for the appearance of the letters at the end of the reverse legend (the officina mark on solidi; a marking for the year of minting),⁴⁸ and not merely are they not plausible, they are not even applicable, but an eventual interpretation of the letter Θ would make sense as meaning “a Greek monogram of Theodoric”⁴⁹ and in connection with the same phenomenon represented on the early solidi of Theodoric minted in Rome from the last quarter of 492 onwards. The same connection does not exist in the case of the appearance of the Greek letter I, but it still seems possible that it, like the letter Θ, belongs to the alphabetic system of writing the numbers 9 (= Θ) and 10 (= I) with a meaning that was conceived and kept in mind by the group responsible for minting the half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum* marked in this way.

45 MIRB 1989, Pl. 13 (Zeno, no. 22.1).

46 E.g.: SMB 18297367 (ex coll. F. Stefan; follis); Grierson-Blackburn 1986, 428, no. 95/Pl. 6 (follis); Kraus 1928, 220, no. 28/Pl. XV (half-follis). For their attribution to the reign of Athalaric, see Metlich 2004, 51 (104, no. 83b/Pl. IX), whose opinion E. Arslan rightfully disagreed with (Arslan 2022, 258, no. AE 03, 261, no. AE 06b).

47 Demo 2023, 19, no. 5, 27, 34, Fig. 1:5 (Cro) // 39, no. 5, 47-48, 56, Fig. 1:5 (Eng).

48 The letters A to I at the end of the reverse legend are officina marks on solidi minted in Constantinople, so a comparison with these is certainly not possible. All the more unexpected is the appearance of the letter Θ at the end of the reverse legend of one of Theodoric's Milan tremisses, as well as the claim of A. Metlich, who explained it as the indication mark for the year of minting, i.e., Θ = 500/501 (Metlich 2004, 32, 90, no. 25¹/Pl. III). In the case of the Sirmium half-siliquae, such an interpretation and dating are not applicable, because the specimen in question was minted at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Anastasius, and the same is also not applicable in the case of the aforementioned tremissis, because there is a cross above the head of Emperor Anastasius on the obverse and, given this detail, this coin is certainly earlier (!) than the proposed date of 500/501.

49 Metlich 2004, 17-18, Fig. 11, no. 6¹⁻²/Pl. I.

The peculiar features of the reverse of the half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum* are also contributed to by the exergue CONO [16, 17], CONO-B [21], and variants COIIIIO-B [18] and C-OIIIO-B [19-20], with unusual lettering of the letters N and B or the letters C and B placed beyond and above the line of the exergue. This typological curiosity also appears on the half-siliquae with a bust in a cuirass (Group I), but only on later issues of its 2-TΛ/2-TA series [13, 14]. It is also impossible not to notice that the substitution of letters is almost completely absent on the half-siliquae with a bust in a cuirass (group I), a predominant feature of the half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum* (group II), where it appears in all its components, whether this be the obverse or reverse legend, the inscription in the field, or the exergue. Similar features include the already mentioned but uninterpreted three- or four-letter combinations of letters in the second part of the obverse legends, recorded on as many as three out of six known examples of the half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum* [19-20, 21].

The measurement values of group II of half-siliquae seem to show that, unlike group I, in addition to the usual diameter (17-18 mm), they also show a tendency for a constant increase in the average weight values. It was probably lower in the last series of group II only because the sole specimen belonging to it was clipped [21].

IV

The typo-chronology of the silver coinage of the Syrmian Gepids during the reign of King Thrasaric, 489-504

Regardless of the numerous versions, the interrupted obverse legend with the name of Emperor Anastasius is a recognizable link to all issues of the “Syrmian” half-siliquae coin group. This is not merely a confirmation of acceptance of the monetary authority of the actual Byzantine emperor, but also confirmation that these half-siliquae had been minted at some time during Anastasius’ twenty-seven-year reign (491-518). The existence of two groups of half-siliquae is also recognizable: one with the bust of the emperor in a cuirass (group I) and the other with a bust of the emperor in a *paludamentum* (group II), both represented by two subgroups (a and b). The differences in the designs of the busts can be interpreted in two ways: as specific features of issues minted at the same mint in different but chronologically related periods, or as specific features of issues minted simultaneously or at least partially simultaneously, perhaps at first at the same mint and later at two mints in the same place or in different places.

If the difference in the appearance of the busts were truly the exclusive indicator of the continuous minting of both groups of half-siliquae at the same mint, it would seem that the half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass (group I) are relatively chronologically older (earlier) than the half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum* (group II). However, this assumption is contradicted by the three-letter inscription SRM in the central field of the reverse used on half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass (group I) but not on half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum*, which, with the exception of their first series (sub-group IIa), use exclusively the three-letter SRW (sub-group IIb), in which the final M was probably intentionally turned into a fused digraph W by inversion at the end of the 5th century, epigraphically as yet unconfirmed.⁵⁰

50 A separated digraph VV was used to begin the name of the Ostrogothic king Witigis (536-540) on the reverse of his half-siliquae and decanumnia, MIB I, no. 57¹⁻³, 84¹⁻³; Metlich 2004, 107, no. 63/Pl. VII, 118, no. 92/Pl. XI (Ravenna).

The exergues CONO are also contradicted as initial and common to both groups, while the exergue CONOR was characteristic only for half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass (group I). The occurrence of replacing one, two, or even three letters in the reverse legend is also contradicted, as this is predominant on half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum* (group IIb). The breaks in the obverse legends are also contradicted – a phenomenon that has surprisingly been completely neglected and undervalued in the numismatic analysis of Sirmium half-siliquae so far – because the regular and proper sequence of changing the place of the break of the legend is characteristic only of half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass (group I). For them, this sequence begins with the break Λ - Γ (Γ = ST), continues with the breaks Σ -T Λ / Σ -TA and T- Λ S, and ends with the break Λ -SI, which represents the half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass as a more meaningfully conceived and better controlled monetary group, evidently more dominant in circulation and certainly of greater significance in the local community.

All of this quite clearly warns that the assumption of a partially simultaneous minting of two groups of half-siliquae should still be considered more acceptable. The minting of half-siliquae with a bust in a cuirass (group I) would have begun earlier and been more numerous, while the minting of half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum* (group II) would have begun only slightly later, would have lasted for a shorter period, and would have been less numerous. However, the differences in the SRM and SRW inscriptions in the reverse field, coupled with the differences in the appearance of the bust on the obverse, suggest but do not prove that the minting of both groups took place in the same city throughout the same time. SRM is clearer in this matter (= Sirmium) and need not be questioned or further interpreted. The inscription SRW, on the contrary, seems enigmatic, although it is probably not, because it can also be interpreted as SRM reduced to an unusual and shorter two-letter SR with an unchanged sense and meaning (*Sirmium* or *Sirmiensis*). The W that follows this is an inverted letter M and the reverse inscription has added content in the function of someone's sign or even the initials of a person's name (Mundus?) associated with the minting of the half-siliquae with a bust in a *paludamentum* (group II).

The activities of two mints, one certainly in Sirmium and the other in the same city, in its immediate vicinity, or somewhere else in Syrmian Pannonia, indicate the existence and activity of two local minting authorities, individuals or groups, influential and numerous enough but not strong and powerful enough to overcome each other and impose their own will or the policies they advocated. There is no direct confirmation of such a thing in Gepid Sirmium in the last decade of the 5th century in the sources, but the few events and names mentioned in the sources suggest that there may indeed have been two rival sides in Sirmium. In the sources, these are reduced to the names of two of their most prominent protagonists: Thrasaric, son and successor of Trapstila (or Thraustila), king of the Syrmian Gepids, killed in a conflict with Theodoric and his Ostrogoths in February 489, and Mundus/Mundo, son of Giesmus (†480s),⁵¹ king of the Transylvanian Gepids in 489, a boy or younger adolescent who was cared for by his already mentioned uncle, Thraustila, after his father's death and then probably for some time by his cousin Thrasaric. Since the issue of dynastic succession could have been at the heart of any

51 *Theophanes*, 218.31-32, 219.1-2. (A.M. 6032); *Malalas*, 450.19-22. For the scarce data about Mundus' origins and his youth, Pohl 1980, 290-291, 295; Croke 1982, 128-129, 134; Martindale 1980, 767-768 (s.v. "Mundo"); Martindale 1992, 993 (s.v. "Mundus"); Amory 1997, 397; Haubrichs 2019, 62-63. Sarantis (2019, 14-15) perceived Mundus as an active, strong, and militarily very capable warrior.

potential rivalry or even conflict between Thrasaric and Mundus, it would not be unexpected that each of the opposing parties might seek to strengthen its right to power by minting money and to draw attention to itself and its capabilities in an effort to thereby secure recognition and support, not only within but also beyond the Gepid borders, with Anastasius in Byzantium or with Theodoric in Italy.

The politically profiled orientations of the rival parties are indicated only in a few historical sources that speak of their actions and behaviours, very little in the years before and only somewhat more and also more extensively in the years after the Ostrogothic intervention in Syrmian Pannonia in 504/5 AD.⁵² The described numismatic material of the “Syrmian” group is now able to supplement the previously known historical picture of that period of Gepid rule in Sirmium with data and knowledge not recorded in other written sources.

Group I – the bust in a cuirass: half-siliquae, commemorative issues, quarter-siliquae

Half-siliquae coins and commemorative issues with the bust in a cuirass (group I) were minted in Sirmium on behalf of Emperor Anastasius by Thrasaric, king of the Syrmian Gepids (489-504). On the reverse of his coinage, first the exergue reads CONO, then the usual Eastern Roman and Early Byzantine CONOB, its local variants ONOB and CONO-B, and after these, the uninterpreted primarily Eastern Roman and rarely Early Byzantine CONOR. The inscription SRM in the field of the reverse is responsible for the attribution of this entire group to the mint in Sirmium, where examples with the inscriptions TSCR and SAM were also minted, their chronological determinability and attribution to the same mint being indicated by their stylistic and typological characteristics. The breaks in the obverse legend are responsible for the order of minting of the four series documented so far, coinciding with the number of lustral periods. This shows that Thrasaric’s minting in Sirmium began in the period after Anastasius’ accession to the imperial throne (11 April 491) until mid-492 at the latest, and ended in 504, which is usually the year in which Thrasaric’s flight from Sirmium, the Ostrogothic entry into the city, and the occupation of Syrmian Pannonia are placed. Unlike the regular issues, the commemorative issues, as well as rare quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type, were minted in Sirmium on two occasions (Fig. 4:1-3).

The first occurrence was at the beginning of the lustral period 492-497 – the edition is marked with Ostrogothic symbols (a six-pointed star above the emperor’s head on the obverse, modelled on Theodoric’s tremisses minted in Milan at that time) – and, given the presumed suzerainty relationship of the Syrmian Gepids after their defeat in the battle with the Goths

52 Thrasaric’s political positions before and his career after leaving Sirmium and fleeing, not to the Gepids along the Tisza River or in Transylvania, but to Anastasius in Byzantium are only told by a tombstone discovered in Istanbul during archaeological research in and around the *Vefa kilise camii* mosque, where he was mentioned with the title *comes domesticorum*, cf. Çetinkaya 2009, 226-228; Çetinkaya 2019, 459-461, 464-465. Only slightly more extensive than these data are the qualifications of Mundus for abandoning Sirmium, opposing Byzantium, and his connection with Theodoric’s Ostrogoths, who arrived in Sirmium Pannonia in 504, in which the Ostrogothic side presents and portrays him as their reliable ally (*Ennod. Pan. Theod.* XII, 210-211.63-64), and the Byzantine side as an unrestrained bandit and king of robbers (*Jord. Get.* 135, LVIII/301).



Fig. 4 – Quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type with the bust in a cuirass and monograms of type 1c (1-2) and type 2c (3) ca. 2:1, cf. Demo 2023, 20-25, 28, 34-36 (Cro) // 41-46, 49-50, 56, 58 (Eng).

on the Vuka River in February 489, it could have been related to news of the end of the war in Italy, Theodoric's victory, and the liquidation of Odovacar in Ravenna on March 15, 493. For Thrasaric, this certainly would have been a traumatic but also ambivalent experience, because the throne he ascended to after the defeat of the Gepids and the death of his father, who led them in battle, was owed to the mercy of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric. The fact that the latter did not execute him or at least remove him from power after the battle enabled Thrasaric to succeed his father on the Gepid throne as the new king of the Syrmian Gepids, certainly not without concessions promised or given to the winner.⁵³ Typo-chronological analysis places the minting of the second commemorative issue in the middle of the lustral period, 497-502, while the deconstructed monogram of King Theodoric (TSCR) in place of the inscription SRM connects it with the Ostrogothic king and some significant event for him. The only such event after the long-awaited and repeatedly postponed recognition of Theodoric's status in Italy, which was finally granted to him in 497 by Emperor Anastasius – the “*ornamenta palatii*” sent to Constantinople by Odovacar some twenty years earlier were then returned to Ravenna – was Theodoric's *tricennalia*, celebrated in the year 500 in Rome, where the Ostrogothic king stayed for six months on that occasion.⁵⁴ This glamorously celebrated event is credited with being the

53 It would not be unexpected if such a thing would have included the conclusion of some multi-year “peace” treaty in which Theodoric could already have utilized the experience of his father Thiudimer, enhanced by his own experiences gained in the years spent in the service of the Emperor Zeno, with whom he concluded a treaty in 488 before the trip to Italy, cf. Wiemer 2023, 96-97.

54 For a detailed analysis of the scarce historical data relating to the jubilee itself, the celebration, and the events held in Rome in connection with it, cf. Vitiello 2005, 56-71; Arnold 2014, 204-207; Bierbrauer 2023, 7-15. It is believed that the victory over the Sarmatians in Pannonia and the liquidation of their king Babai after a surely bloody battle in 471 had presented Theodoric as a worthy successor to his father, King Thiudimer, and

occasion for the forging of the famous Theodoric medallion, a triple solidi depicting the Ostrogothic king.⁵⁵ Echoes of the events in Rome, quite far away, soon reached Thrasaric's Gepids in Sirmium, who must have listened and watched very carefully and assessed Theodoric's plans and interests, which were probably already well known to them at the time, directed towards the situation and relations in southern Pannonia. In this regard, it would have seemed opportune to express loyalty to Theodoric by issuing a commemorative silver coin at a time when the powerful king of the Ostrogoths was reliving the memories of his own beginnings as a ruler in Pannonia. The simultaneous use of the distinctly Eastern Roman exergue CONOR was not coincidental at that time, which had also already been present for a short time on the Sirmian half-siliquae, indicating the undisguised ambivalence of Thrasaric's feelings, attitudes, and actions. However, his efforts and expectations did not help him prevent the Ostrogothic military intervention in Syrmian Pannonia and, in 504, another Gepid defeat followed, this time with long-term consequences for the defeated.

Group II – the bust in a *paludamentum*: half-siliquae

With Thrasaric's permission, in the same mint in Sirmium, in its vicinity, or elsewhere in Syrmian Pannonia, supporters of the right to the throne of Giesmus' son Mundus began minting half-siliqua coins with a bust in a *paludamentum* (group II), modelled on Thrasaric's half-siliqua coins depicting the emperor in a cuirass (group I). Despite the differences in the design of the bust on the obverse of the earliest coins, both groups are connected by the use of the exergue CONO and the inscription SRM in the field of the reverse. This also shows that the minting of the half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum* began at about the same time or shortly after the minting of the half-siliquae with the bust in a cuirass began, during or in the middle of 492. The first issue of the half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum*, as well as the issue of the following lustral period (492/3-497), are also recognizable by the TΛ-S break in the long obverse legend that begins and ends below the bust. In the same lustral period, the reverse inscription SRM was replaced by the inscription SRW, which is also used by both later series of group II, recognizable by the abbreviated obverse legend with the break TΛ•—OZV (497/8-502), and subsequently with the break T-CPZV (502/503), which concludes the minting of half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum*.

that he particularly valued this due to its significance, and many years later decided to display and celebrate it as the 30th anniversary of his reign (*tricennalia*), cf. Berndt 2011, 124-125; Wiemer 2023, 86.

55 Considerable literature exists about Theodoric's medallion, as well as differences in the interpretations of the reasons and period of its creation and minting. In this sense, Theodoric's *tricennalia*, celebrated in 500, is most often mentioned, and much less frequently Theodoric's victories: the victory over Odovacar achieved in 493 (Arslan 1989, 22, 66-67 Pl. I:1; Arslan 2004, 436, 454 Fig. 12; Metlich 2004, 15-16 no. 3, Pl. I), or the victory over the Burgundians and Franks achieved in 509 (Grierson 1985, 24). Of the politically important events for the creation and minting of the medallion, the recognition of Theodoric's status in Italy, granted in 497 or 498, was not taken into account, although it should not be forgotten that considerations exist noting that the period of poor political relations between Byzantium and the Ostrogothic kingdom could have contributed to the creation of the medallion, which was accordingly even dated to 526, the last year of Theodoric's life, Bernareggi 1969, 106. Such an interpretation was resolutely opposed by Alföldi 1978, 134.

Table 4

	THRASARIC, <i>Sirmium</i>			MUNDUS, <i>Sirmium</i> ?
SILVER	(bust in cuirass)			(bust in <i>paludamentum</i>)
	<i>half-siliqua</i>	<i>commemorative issue</i>	<i>quarter-siliqua</i>	<i>half-siliqua</i>
<i>Zeno</i> 489				
<i>Anastasius I</i> 491	Λ-Γ // CC / SRM CONO ①		Λ-ST // AVC  , C*V ①	TA-2 // CCCΘ / SRM CONO ⑯
491/2			ΛO † >VST // AVC  , C*V ②	TA-I2 // CCCI / SRW CONO ⑰
492/3	2-TA // CCC / SRM CONOB ②③ ONOB ⑤ CONO-B ⑥ 2-TA // CCC / SAM CONO-B ⑦	2O *AT2 // CCC / SRM ONOB ④		AI-2V // CCC / SRW CONO-B ⑱
497/8	T-AS // CCC / SRM CONO[.] ⑧ [..]NO[.] ⑨ CONO[.] ⑩ CONOR ⑪	T-AS // CC / TSCR CONOR ⑫⑬	T-AS // CCC  , ... ③	TA-~22 // CCC / SRW CONO-B ⑲⑳
502/3	Λ-SI // CCC / SRM CONOR ⑭⑮			2T-CP // CCC / SRW CONO-B ㉑
504				

The existence of two groups with the right to mint money in the same mint or in two mints is the result of the division of the political body of the Syrmian Gepids into two rival camps, unequal in influence, power, and capabilities. This is indicated by the evident difference in the duration of minting and the number of registered coins, dies, and their combinations in each of their thus far known series. Bearing in mind the situation at that point and the noted differences, it is possible to assume that after a common beginning and the monetary coexistence of the rival parties, in 502/503 this eventually led to differences, disagreements, and political (perhaps even armed) conflict. On the numismatic level, this resulted in the cessation of minting of half-siliquae with the bust in a *paludamentum* (group II), and on the political level, in Mundus' abandonment of Syrmian Pannonia and his escape (?) into outlawry, which was considered anti-Byzantine by his contemporaries in Byzantium. For this reason, the Byzantine source declared Mundus' new environment and the people he gathered in the fortress "*quae Herta dicitur*" to be robbers, fraudsters, and even bandits.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Jord. Get. 135, LVIII/301.

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ROMAN, ROMAN-GOTHIC AND EARLY BYZANTINE MONETARY NECKLACES

Abstract: Monetary necklaces were in use throughout the whole Roman period. The most common are their parts, monetary pendants, which can be simple, composed of a coin with a loop for hanging, or designed so that the coin is placed in a differently decorated frame. The coins could be used immediately after their issue or long after they had gone out of circulation. If parts of the necklace have been preserved, there are different ones in the form of chains of different manufacture, including those composed of beads of different materials, as well as, in accordance with the taste of barbarians, tubuli through which the chains are threaded. The tradition of making Roman monetary necklaces continued in the Early Byzantine period. In the following pages, find of monetary necklaces and their parts from archaeological sites and museums in present-day Serbia will be presented.

Keywords: monetary necklaces, monetary pendants, Roman and Roman-Gothic period, Early Byzantine period, Serbia, archaeological sites, museums

Monetary necklaces were in use throughout the whole Roman period. The most common are their parts, monetary pendants, which can be simple, composed of a coin with a loop for hanging, or designed so that the coin is placed in a differently decorated frame. The coins could be used immediately after their issue or long after they went out of circulation. If parts of the necklace have been preserved, there are different ones in the form of chains of different manufacture, including those composed of beads of different materials, as well as, in accordance with the taste of barbarians, tubuli through which the chains are threaded. The tradition of making Roman monetary necklaces continued in the Early Byzantine period.

Exemplars of monetary necklaces in museums and private collections in Serbia are relatively few in number and, unfortunately, are mostly accompanied by scarce information about the place and conditions of their discovery. From the collected data, only the finds from *Viminacium* (Cat. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10) and *Singidunum* (Cat. 12) are singled out, while the other specimens are accidental finds, so the archaeological context remains unknown. This is especially evident for specimens from the private Weifert collection, collected from finds of different origins. This fact makes it much more difficult to date individual parts of monetary necklaces, given that the coins used for making a necklace could have been in circulation for a long time beforehand. Likewise, every piece of jewellery, including monetary necklaces, was kept in the family as a treasure, so it can be considered that it was used by at least two generations, that is, it was in use for 50-70 years or more.¹ Although these elements must be taken into account when dating each individual specimen, in their catalogue presentation we will be guided by chronological criteria. When applying this method, one must keep in mind not only the time of coinage, but also the archaeological context, the appearance and the method of decorating a certain part of the

1 Поповић 1993, 49.

monetary necklace. In the discussion we will present the historical-demographic and political conditions that greatly influenced the formation of certain forms of this jewellery. A typological analysis of monetary pendants and their comparison with analogous jewellery will also be useful for understanding the time and role of monetary necklaces.

Simple pendants, made from coins to which a hanging loop was applied, were in demand throughout the Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Among the examples that we will present here are the monetary pendants with coins from Vespasien under Domitien (Cat.1) to Constantius II (Cat. 10) and indeterminate examples of coins from the 4th century (cat. 9). The coin can be hung directly from a chain or necklace (Cat. 9) or placed in a frame formed by a thin twisted wire to which a loop is applied (Cat. 3). The loop is most often band-like and grooved (Cat. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7). The twisted wire on the frame can be imitated by a grooved frame around the coin (Cat. 6).

Roman coins reused by Germanic tribes (Cat. 12) were hung in the same way, as well as a barbaric imitation of a tremissis (Cat. 13). On an example from the Early Byzantine period, the loop is decorated with twisted wire and small granules (Cat. 14). However, the system of hanging coins from tubuli, parts of the Roman-Gothic monetary necklace, is different (Cat. 11). Two solidi each, framed by twisted wire, were suspended on the tubulus by the ring-like coils, cut in the lower section in order to insert the upper parts of solidi.

In addition to twisted wire, monetary pendants also include a coin placed in a ring frame made of gold sheet, decorated with the technique of hammering or cutting the sheet, i.e., the *opus interrasile* technique. However, the monetary pendant from the child grave 5353 from the Pećine site in *Viminacium* was, unfortunately, stolen, so we do not know how its (gold?) frame was decorated. This pendant, with a coin probably of Caracalla, was discovered around the neck of the deceased as a part of a necklace consisting of 24 blue and yellow glass beads (polyhedral, round, one heart-shaped and one decorated with an inlaid ornament in the shape of an eye) and a silver pendant in the shape of an ivy leaf (Cat. 4; Fig. 1).² On the other hand, the monetary pendant from grave 134 at the site of Pirivoj in *Viminacium*, consists of a denarius of Faustina II and a silver frame decorated with a slightly angled grooved ornament (Cat. 6).³ An important feature of monetary pendants is the possibility that both the obverse and the reverse of the coin are visible, while on pendants with gems or cameos, only the front side is visible, and the back is placed in a cassette. As shown by the monetary pendant with the denarius of Iulia Domna from *Viminacium* (Cat. 2), the frame of the coin consists of a shallow pseudo-cassette open on the back and an ornamented ring frame. The edge of the coin is encircled by a strip of gold sheet, bent towards the back. On the front of the pendant, a circular band is decorated with an astragalus motif. The ring frame is decorated with stylized palmettes, performed using hammering, incising and cutting techniques. On the axis of the reverse representation of the coin, on the frame, is applied one band-like loop, decorated with two grooves. Gold frames with inlaid cameos decorated in the same way are known from some localities in the Balkans and Lower Pannonia (*Durostorum*, Pleven, *Intercisa*). Embellishing the decorative frame with hammered palmettes is widespread on various forms of Roman jewellery, primarily pendants or ear-rings with inlaid gems or cameos, and well known from localities in the Balkans (*Viminacium*, *Nais-*

2 Vojvoda, Golubović, Mikić, 2021, 69, 71, Fig. 20.

3 Danković, Milovanović, Marjanović 2018, 323, Cat. 41; Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 378, Cat. 302.

sus, Remesiana),⁴ but also from sites throughout the Roman Empire.⁵ However, while these pendants are cassettes with a frame decorated with hammered palettes, monetary pendants with a frame designed in this way show a different construction.⁶ A monetary pendant with an aureus of Severus Alexander from the Weifert collection (Cat. 5) is of a similar construction. Its ring frame is decorated with an interlacing motif, executed using the *opus interrasile* technique. The band-like loop for hanging is located on the axis of the obverse, and there is a ridged protrusion in its middle. On sites in Serbia, finds of jewellery, pendants and earrings, the frames of which are decorated with the *opus interrasile* technique, are rare,⁷ in contrast to the western provinces of the Roman Empire and its eastern parts, where this method of decorating jewellery was preserved, even during the early Byzantine period.⁸

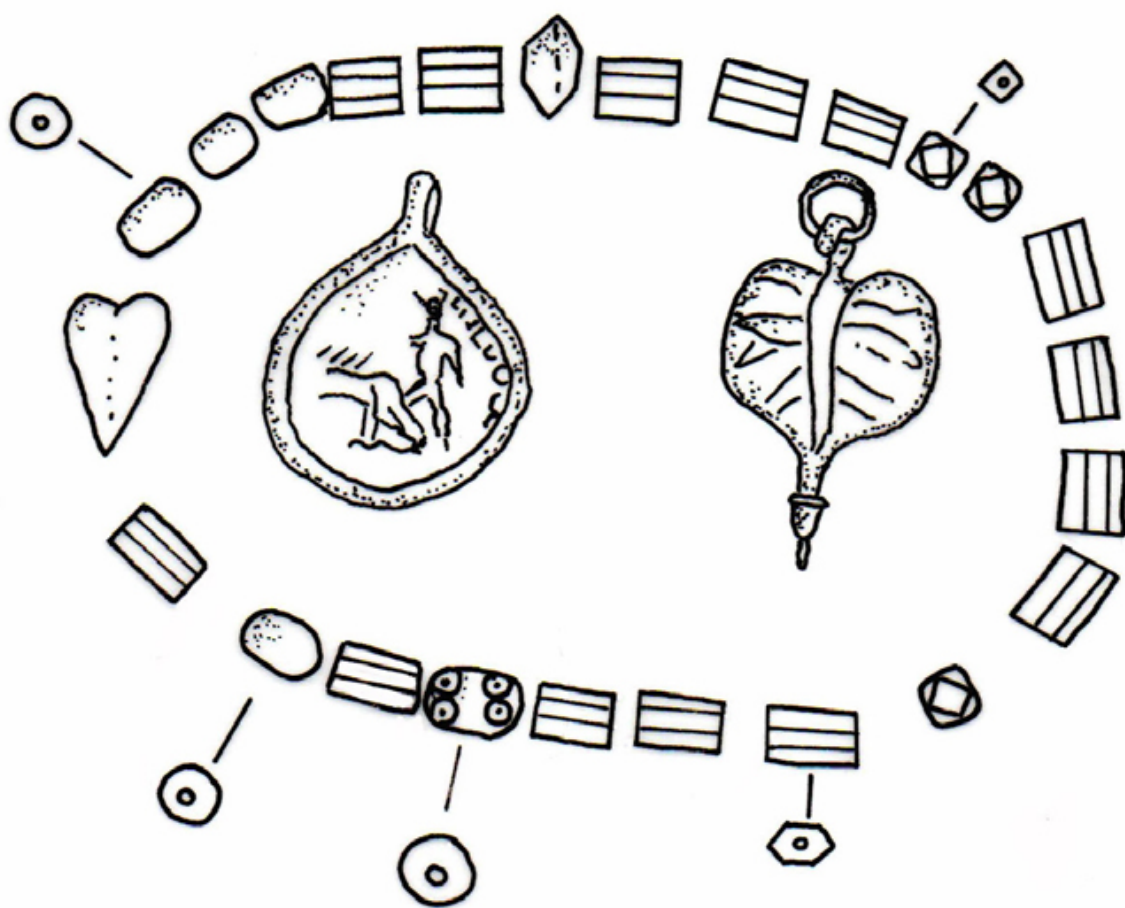


Fig. 1 – Necklace and pendants, *Viminacium*, site of Pećine, G - 5353 (after: Vojvoda, Golubović, Mikić 2021, Fig. 20).

- 4 Поповић 1996, кат. 141-142; Поповић 2001, кат. 71, 80; Popović 2010, no. 25, Jovanović 1978, 39, Cat. 4, Fig. 61.
- 5 BMCJ, no. 2727.
- 6 Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, Cat. 130; Popović 2010, nos. 19, 20, 22.
- 7 Поповић 2021, 268-274.
- 8 Yerolouanu 1999.

Finds of a chain or necklace from which monetary pendants were hung are also rare. They include preserved parts of a chain from an unknown site in Serbia, on which a Caracalla denarius was hung (Cat. 3; Fig. 2); the chain consists of larger and smaller spool-shaped beads, made of gold sheet. The larger beads are embossed with circular ornaments. There are two smooth gold sheet tubuli at the ends of the necklace, but the clasp is missing. Unfortunately, no parts of a chain formed using the loop-in-loop system were found, which, incidentally, was very often used in their production. However, in Lower Moesia, from the site of Nikolaevo, on the right bank of the Danube, there was also a monetary necklace with one aureus of Caracalla, hung on a triple chain of this construction, threaded through a long hanging loop divided into three segments for threading each chain.⁹



Fig. 2 – Gold chain with pendant – Caracalla's denarius in the frame, unknown site (documentation of the National Museum of Serbia).

Monetary necklaces from the period of the middle of 3rd century to the middle of 4th century, composed of different beads (bone, amber, glass) and bronze illegible coins are unreliable constructions. A necklace from grave 5699 at the site of Pećine in *Viminacium* has four perforated coins (Cat. 9; Fig. 3), probably hung with a bronze wire that has not been preserved.¹⁰ A necklace from grave G-2832/B from the Više Grobalja site, in addition to one silver indeterminate denarius inserted in a thinner silver frame imitating, by way of the grooved ornament, a twisted wire frame, contained one bronze and one amber pendant and a bronze hook and loop for fixing. At the top of the monetary pendant's frame there is a broken hanging loop. (Cat. 7; Fig. 4).¹¹

A specific type of monetary necklace is provided by the one whose parts are two tubuli with two solidi suspended from each, found in the village of Udovice. The tubuli are of a circular section, with a length of 48 mm, and have moulded openings framed with thick twisted wire.

9 Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 138-139, Cat. 98.

10 Vojvoda, Redžić 2018, 281, Cat. 95.

11 Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 378, Cat. 303.



Fig. 3 – Necklace with pendants – perforated coins from the 4th century, *Viminacium*, site of Pećine, G-5699 (after: Vojvoda, Redžić 2018, Cat. 95).

The entire surface is decorated with both thick and thin twisted wire, depicting the alternating motifs of braids and horizontal coils. In the centre of each tubulus there is a biconical extension consisting of two rings joined by two ribs and decorated with a row of reduced peltae, made using the filigree technique. Each tubulus is divided in two symmetrical parts by a biconical extension. In the middle of both halves there is one thin biconical coil, comprising two parts on which there is a junction is of twisted wire. To these ring-like coils the solidi are attached. Each coil is cut in the lower section in order to insert the upper parts of the solidi and this junction is emphasized with filigree wire. The solidi are framed within thin twisted wire. One tubulus has solidi of Valentinianus III and Severus III and the other with a solidus of Valentinianus III and a solidus minted in the time of the joint rule of Honorius and Constantius III. The monetary analysis pointed to certain important facts. Of the four solidi, attached on two tubuli, the youngest one, that of Severus III (461-465), was never in circulation, so it can be presumed that this jewellery was made during the seventh decade of the 5th century. Additionally, it was concluded that the solidi were minted in Ravenna and, maybe, in Rome, that means in the western mints, whose emissions do not represent usual finds in the Serbian part of the Danube region.



Fig. 4 – Necklace with pendant – indeterminate denarius in the frame, *Viminacium*, site of Više Grobalja, G-2832/B (after: Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, Cat. 303).

Some specimens of gold jewellery from the Baltic-Scandinavian region are important to observing the find from Udovice somewhat more clearly. Namely, at the site Lübchow, in the district of Kolberg-Körlin in the region Pommerania (today the Baltic region of Poland), a gold tubulus was discovered with three fixed solidi of Theodosius II (408-450), minted in Constantinople and Thessalonike.¹² Some specimens of gold jewellery and coins also probably belonged to the same find. The youngest of these coins is a solidus of Leo I (457-474). On the basis of this,

12 La Baume 1963, 21, Abb. 1,2.

despite some issues, the find was dated into the second half of the 5th century.¹³ The tubulus on which these solidi are hanging is grooved and between the five thickenings it is wrapped in a thin filigree wire. The solidi are fixed to the first, third and fifth thickening on the tubulus. So, the system in which the solidi are hung is somewhat different from that used on the jewellery from Udovice, where the coins are fixed to the ring-like threads on the tubulus. Such a system of hanging was used on the tubuli from two sites, Kongsvad and Stehenholts Vang, on the Danish island of Zealand, on which gold bracteates of Scandinavian type B and C were hung. On the specimen from the site of Kongsvad, three bracteates were hanging, and on three tubuli from the site of Stehenholts Vang two bracteates were hung on each of them, connected by ring-like threads, while in the centre of the tubulus there was a thicker ring-like thread decorated with reduced peltae, made of filigree wire.¹⁴ The look of these tubuli and the way the bracteates are hung on them, are analogous to the look and constructive solutions of the tubuli with solidi from Udovice. Besides these specimens, tubuli of analogous construction have been found at more sites in today's Sweden and Denmark¹⁵ and, in 2001, the Bornholms Museum acquired parts of a monetary necklace consisting of Valentinianus III solidi and bracteates, divided by smaller tubuli of the same type.¹⁶ On some gold tubuli from Scandinavian finds, like those from the sites of Gerete and Eskatorp in Sweden,¹⁷ gold bracteates were hung.

It is important to mention that the impressive gold necklaces in the form of a collar, discovered in the Swedish sites of Alleberg, Färjestaden and Möne, as also the bracelets and parts of necklaces, found in Denmark, are made of rows of tubuli with related constructive and decorative solutions. Although there are different opinions about the time when this jewellery was produced, from around the year 300 to the early 7th century,¹⁸ it is evident that these extraordinary examples and tubuli we have mentioned above belong to the same cultural circle. Tubuli with solidi from Udovice and from the site of Lübchow, together with the find that was acquired by the Bornholms Museum, provide some evidence for the chronological and cultural-historical determination of this type of jewellery. Namely, after the invasion of the Huns, the Roman Danube Limes was destroyed in 441, and this gap on the military border led to the intrusion of the Germanic tribes, the Ostrogoths above all, to the right bank of the Danube and to the Balkan hinterland. The find of gold tubuli with solidi in the village of Udovice, between *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*, can be connected with these events. However, unusually for finds from the Serbian Danube region, all four solidi on these tubuli were minted in Ravenna and, maybe, in Rome, that is to say in the western mints. This can be explained by the historical events during the second part of the 5th century. The Gothic leader Anthemius, together with the commander of the fleet Marcellinus, started a military campaign in 468 against Italy, which was, at that time, mostly occupied by Vandals. However, when the leaders of the Goths and Vandals, Aspar and Genseric, made a separate truce, the Gothic troops quickly left Italy.¹⁹ Solidi minted in the mints on Italian soil could represent war booty for some of the participants in this campaign.²⁰

13 La Baume 1963, 22-24.

14 Hauck 1985, 180-181, Nr. 101, 308-309, Nr. 179, Taf. 128, 233.

15 Lamm 1991/3, 156, Abb. 3; Lamm 1998, 338, Abb. 56.

16 <http://bornholmuseum.dk/arkeologi/splvtar.htm> (accessed 29 June 2024).

17 Arrhenius 1988, 466, kat. 15, 16, Taf. 78/XI, 15; 79/XI, 16.

18 Lamm 1998, 339-400.

19 Stein 1968, 389-391.

20 Popović 2008, 76. Stein 1968, 389-391.

On the other hand, the material culture during the second half of the 5th and in the 6th century in Scandinavian countries developed under the strong influences of the Gothic cultural circle, which, itself, formed through the transformation of the cultural heritage of the Roman civilization. The tubuli on which the solidi were hung represent a good example of these complex connections and relations. They are a barbarian interpretation of Roman monetary necklaces, which were, from the 3rd century, in use mainly in the eastern parts of the empire. Most of the finds of these necklaces originate from present-day Egypt.²¹ However, where these specimens, today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the Metropolitan Museum in New York and The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City,²² are concerned, the tubuli divided the monetary pendants, hanging on multiple gold chains. The monetary necklace from Udovice belongs to this group of jewellery (Fig. 5).²³

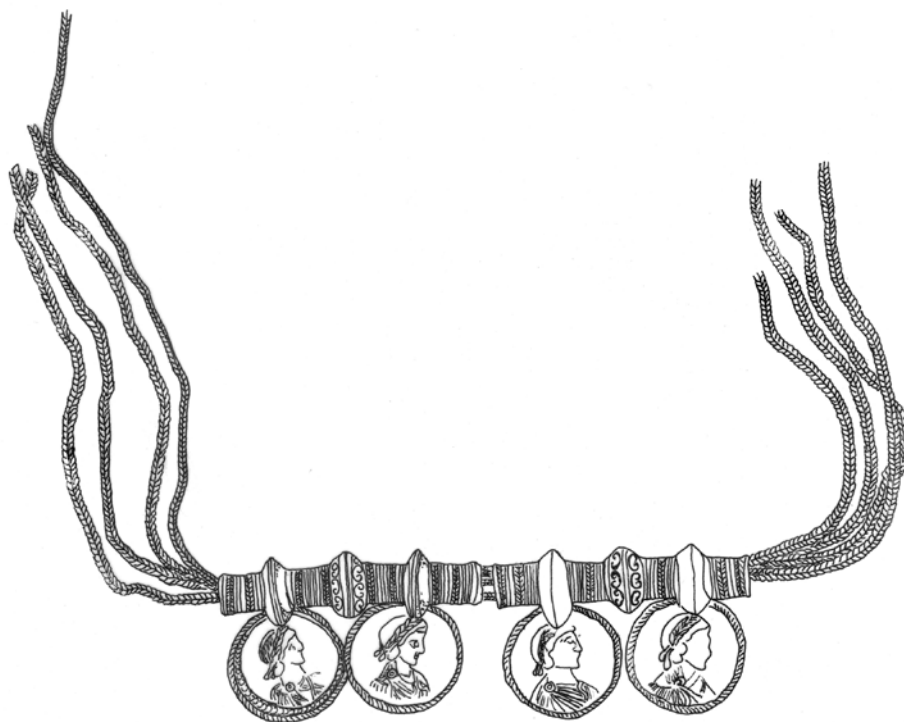


Fig. 5 – Possible appearance of the necklace made of tubuli with hung solidi (drawing A. Premk).

Although parts of monetary necklaces were found during archaeological excavations only in *Viminacium* and *Singidunum*, data from museum and field inventories provide us with some information about all finds and also about those specimens that were stolen from museum collections in the meantime. This is extremely important for considering the conditions of the

21 Popović 2001, 203.

22 Yerolouanu 1999, Cat. 2,3,7.

23 Popović 2011, 246-247.

finds, cultural and historical circumstances and the dating of certain pieces of this jewellery. Significant data is provided by the field diary relating to a monetary pendant with a denar of Julia Domna in a gold frame (Cat. 2), stolen in 1984 from the National Museum in Požarevac.²⁴ A monetary pendant was found in grave 3, in sarcophagus no. 1, made of limestone and decorated with acroteria. In it were the skeletons of a woman and a child. A piece of cloth and gold thread were found with the female skeleton, and rings made of bronze, blue glass and gold were found on her hand. A monetary pendant (C-15) was located near the chest of the child's skeleton, and next to it were blue glass beads of different shapes. A small gold ring with a faceted ruby was discovered under the pelvis,²⁵ and two gold earrings were found above the child's skeleton.

The necklace whose parts were found in Udovice is of a somewhat different construction, although its components and the concept of execution are based on monetary necklaces from the 3rd century. Deviations from the standard concept during its execution were not only the result of the period in which it was made, but, above all, of the cultural milieu to which its owner belonged. He was a member of the Gothic aristocracy, who came to the Serbian Danube region after the Hunnic destruction of the Roman Limes in 441. Two segments of his jewellery are preserved. These are two gold tubuli, each with two solidi attached (Cat. 11), and were found on two separate occasions, in 1906 and 1925, in the village of Udovice, near Grocka - Roman *mutatio Ad sextum miliare*, about 20 km downstream on the Danube from today's Belgrade, on the road between two legionary camps, *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*. Given that in Udovice an archaeological excavation has never been executed, the nature of this site is unknown. Both tubuli were acquired by the National Museum of Serbia. Unfortunately, one tubulus was stolen in 1978 from the museum's permanent exhibition, but, based on the inventory book, existing photographs and a plaster casting (Fig. 6), it could be precisely determined.²⁶

Figure-of-eight links from a chain, on which a reused Roman denarius (?) was probably hung (Cat. 12; Fig. 7), have also been preserved. These ornaments were found in a Gothic grave at *Singidunum*, together with multi-coloured glass and cornelian beads and a gold pelta-like pendant (Fig. 7).²⁷ The method of composing these breast ornaments is not known. The monetary pendant from *Singidunum*, was found in the present-day Belgrade, in Tadeuša Koščuška Street, during archaeological excavations in 1991, in grave no. 79, dated to the period D2/D3, which, in terms of absolute chronology, corresponds to the second third of the 5th century. It is comprised of one Roman illegible denarius, from the 2nd century (?), with a band-like loop on the top, registered under the skull (Fig. 7). The reuse of Roman coins for monetary pendants in later periods is well known. For example, we can mention an aureus of Gallienus in a frame of the barbaric style,²⁸ aurei of Severus Alexander, Caracalla and Gordian in frames characteristic of the Early Byzantine period²⁹ and a coin of Constantine the Great in a frame decorated with S ornaments and pseudo granulation, all found in one Frankish grave from the 7th century in Nordeifel, in present-day Germany.³⁰

24 We thank Dragana Spasić-Đurić, curator of the National Museum in Požarevac, for this information.

25 Спасић-Ђурић 2015, 205, кат. 195.

26 Popović 2008, 74-76; Popović 2011, 241-242.

27 Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 124, 136, Pl. VII; Ivanišević 2009, 58-61.

28 Kenner 1895, 102, Taf. IV, 1.

29 Brenot, Metzger 1992, 347.

30 Janssen 1981, 363-365, Abb. 6-8.



Fig. 6 – Stolen tubulus with hung solidi, Udovice, plaster casting (documentation of the National Museum of Serbia).

There is some information about accidental finds of monetary pendants from Serbia, and some information can be obtained through analysis of historical events and changes in the decorative system. Thus, we know about the barbaric imitation of a tremissis from Surduk (*Ritium*), minted during the second quarter of the 5th century, (Cat. 13) that it was found on the banks of the Danube.³¹ The appearance of this pendant must be viewed through the historical circumstances of that time. Joining the Goths in their attacks on the Roman territories on the lower Danube and the Balkans, the Huns, in around 400, set off in large groups to the west. In the 430s, they were already on the left bank of the Danube opposite *Margum*, and a huge number of Huns invaded Illyricum in 441. After the destruction of the Limes, and then the collapse of the Hunnic state in 454, power in the territory of southern Pannonia passed from the hands of the Ostrogoths, who then became allies of the Eastern Empire in the battles against other barbarian tribes, to the hands of the Gepids.³² In these unstable times, the camps on the Danube gained importance. This was also the case with the *Ritium* fortress.

31 Поповић 1993, 51, бр. 6.

32 Mirković 1971, 48-50.



Fig. 7 – Parts of breast ornament, *Singidunum*, Tadeuša Košćuška Street, G-79 (documentation of the City Museum of Belgrade).

Summarizing the conclusions we reached during the analysis of monetary necklaces from Serbia, regarding their parts, although with an aggravating lack of data, we can conclude that the largest number of monetary pendants appear with the coinage of rulers from the Severus dynasty, framed in ring-shaped gold frames. Then, two pendants of this type, found in *Viminacium* at the Kod Grobalja and Pećine sites (Cat. 2, 4), were discovered in children's graves, together with glass beads of different shapes. This proves that the necklaces with these pendants were of an apotropaic character. However, bearing in mind that these monetary pendants were found in relatively rich graves, and that the one from the Kod Grobalja site in *Viminacium* (Cat. 2) has a faceted denarius of Iulia Domna under Septimius Severus, we must also look at the political aspect of making these pendants. At the same time, we will also refer to the monetary pendant with the denarius of Faustina II from the site of Pirivoj in *Viminacium* (Cat. 6). Coins of Nicaea were also found in this richly furnished grave, which represents the *terminus post quem* for dating this grave during or after the reign of Gordian III.³³ However, it should be noted that these are monetary pendants with inscribed coins of the empress, which did not happen before. In our opinion, this phenomenon should be observed together with the finds of a large number of cameos in the Danube region, on which female busts are presented with the hairstyle characteristic of the empresses from the late Antonine period and the reign of the Severan dynasty. This problem is in close connection with the historical circumstances in certain periods and with the imperial political-propagandistic programmes. The answer to the question why this happened at this time could be found in the fact that at first Marcus Aurelius and, after

33 Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 62-63.

him, Septimius Severus transgressed the earlier established rule that the emperors through the principle of adoption could not appoint their successor from the group of their descendants. These two emperors, by proclaiming their sons as their successors, tried to establish their dynasties based on consanguinity. As a result of that, the wives, the mothers of the future emperors, had a special role. The appearance of monetary pendants with coinage of the empress can be explained in this way and viewed through the mass appearance of cameos with female figures in the Danube region, as opposed to a larger number of monetary pendants in the western provinces of the empire, bearing in mind that Septimius Severus had, as had his son Caracalla, visited cities on the Danube, appropriating large sums of money for their reconstruction, and, as is shown in written sources and on epigraphic monuments, the rich citizens from these centres gave to the public treasury large amounts of money on the occasion of their elections for civil, military or sacerdotal functions.³⁴

From the historical and cultural point of view, two tubuli with suspended solidi minted around the middle of the 5th century, accidentally found in the village of Udovice, are particularly significant. In terms of their constructive solutions, they find the best analogies in jewellery from Scandinavian sites, but the necklace of which they are a part relies on the traditions of Roman monetary necklaces from the 3rd century.³⁵ To understand this phenomenon, it is important to note that the material culture during the second half of the 5th and in the 6th century in Scandinavian countries developed under strong influences from the Gothic cultural circle, which, on the other hand, formed itself through the transformation of the cultural heritage of the Roman civilization. The tubuli, on which the solidi were hung, represent a fine example of these complex connections and relationships. These are apparent in the barbarian interpretation of the Roman monetary necklaces, which were, from the 3rd century, in use mainly in the eastern parts of the empire.

A monetary pendant consisting of a Justinian tremissis in a frame of twisted gold wire has on the top of frame one band-like loop consisting of three strips of twisted wire and decorated with three small granules (Cat. 14). The ends of the loop are jointed and affixed to the frame with rivets, whose heads on the front and back of the loop look like large granules.³⁶ Decorating jewellery with granules and pseudo-granules, and with filigree wire or twisted wire that imitates it, are typical jewellery techniques in the Early Byzantine period.³⁷

Although relatively few in number, parts of monetary necklaces from archaeological sites and museum collections in Serbia provide us with valuable information about the styles of decorating jewellery in certain periods, about the apotropaic, as well as the propaganda and political role of these decorations, but also about the changes that occurred over time, on a historical level, which also reflected the multiple adaptations of this type of jewellery to the taste of the barbarians.

34 Popović 2020, 213-218.

35 Cf. the necklace from the site Naix-aux-forges: Brenot, Metzger, 1992, 328, Cat. 35, Pl. 2.

36 Popović 2001, Cat. 73.

37 Popović 2001, Cat. 53-55, 61, 72.

CATALOGUE³⁸

1. Pendant, aureus of Domitian striking under Vespasian with hanging loop

Unknown site, National Museum of Serbia, Weifert collection, inv. RCW 452

Size 18 mm, weight 4.45 g

Obv. CAES AVG F – DOMIT COS III

Head of Domitian, laureate, facing right

Rv. PRINCEPS – IVVENTVT

Spes standing left, holding flower in right hand and raising skirt with left.

Mint of Rome, 75 AD

Reference: RIC II/1, 115, no. 787

Published: Поповић 1993, 49-50, кат. 4.

2. Pendant, denarius of Julia Domna, struck under joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, in a gold frame, decorated with palmettes obtained by hammering

Viminacium, site Kod grobalja, grave G-3 sarcophagus no. 1, field inv. C-15

National Museum in Požarevac, stolen

Size 24 mm, weight 5.38 g

Obv. IVLIA – AVGVSTA

Bust of Julia Domna, draped, facing right, wavy hair coiled at back.

Rv. AETERNIT IMPERI

Busts of Severus and Caracalla, both laureate, draped, cuirassed, facing one another.

Mint of Rome, 201 AD, Dynastic Issue II

Reference: RIC IV/1, 166, no. 539(b); Hill 2001, 20, no. 523

Comment: On the jewellery in the Balkan-Pannonian provinces, the decoration of the frame of the ornament by hammering palmettes was most widely used during the first half of the 3rd century (Поповић 1996, кат. 141-142; Поповић 2001, кат. 71, 80; Popović 2010, no. 25, Jovanović 1978, 39, Cat. 4, Fig. 61).

Published: Поповић 1993, 52, кат. 8.

3. Pendant hung on a chain, denarius of Caracalla, struck under joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, in a frame of gold twisted wire (Fig. 2)

38 All the catalogue numbers are presented in photographic form, and their numeration on the plates is coordinated with the catalogue numbers.

Unknown site, National Museum of Serbia, inv. 641/II

Size 21 mm, weight 7.14 g

Obv. ANTONINVS – AVGVSTVS

Bust of Caracalla, laureate, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rv. SEVERI – PI – AVG FIL

Caracalla, in military attire, standing facing left, holding Victory on globe in extended right hand and reversed spear in left hand; at feet there is a seated captive.

Mint of Rome, 199 AD, Issue 5

Reference: RIC IV/1, 219, no. 45; Hill 1964, 24, no. 451

Published: Поповић 1993, 51-52, кат. 7.

4. Pendant, antoninianus of Caracalla (?) in a gold frame (Fig. 1)

Viminacium, site Pećine, G-5353, field. inv. 12,681

National Museum in Požarevac, The medallion went missing in the robbery of the National Museum in Požarevac in 1989.

Size 29 mm

Rev: Sol mounting quadriga to the left.

Mint of Rome, 215 AD, Special Issue – Parthian Campaign

Reference (highly speculative, based on the drawing of the reverse motive): RIC IV/1, 251, no. 265; Hill 1964, 48, no. 1563.

Comment: Based on data from documentation (silver coin with a diameter of 2.9 cm)

we can speculate that it is rather about Antoninian but about the denar, but in that case it probably belongs to the early Antoninians, which were made of good quality silver.

Published: Vojvoda, Golubović, Mikić 2021, 69, 71, 77, Fig. 20.

5. Pendant, aureus of Severus Alexander in a gold frame decorated using the *opus interrasile* technique

Unknown site, National Museum of Serbia, Weifert collection, inv. RCW 2696

Size 32.80 mm, weight 10.85 g

Obv. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND AVG

Bust of Severus Alexander, laureate, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rev. P M TR P COS P P

Severus Alexander, laureate, togate, in quadriga to the left, holding branch in right hand and

eagle-tipped sceptre in left hand.

Mint of Rome, 222 AD

Reference: RIC IV/2, 72, no. 16.

Comment: On jewellery of the Balkan-Pannonian provinces, the decoration of the frame of the ornament using the *opus interrasile* technique was most widely used during the period between the middle of 3rd and the middle of 4th century (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, Cat. 130; Popović 2010, nos. 19, 20, 22)

Published: *Cjaj kovaња* 1979, 23, kat. 56; *Antički portret* 1987, 219, Cat. 191; *Antike Porträts* 1988, 168, kat. 191; *Retrats Antics* 1989, 104, Cat. 100; Поповић 1993, 52-53, kat. 9.

6. Pendant, denarius of Faustina II in a silver frame made around the middle of the 3rd century

Viminacium, site Pirivoj, grave G-134, field inv. C-354

Size 23.70 mm, weight 4.45 g

Obv. [D]IVA FAV-STINA [PIA]

Bust draped facing right, wavy hair, coiled on back of head.

Rv. Illegible, worn.

Mint of Rome, 176-180 AD

No reference

Published: Danković, Milovanović, Marjanović 2018, 323, Cat. 41; Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 378, Cat. 302.

7. Pendant, denarius (indeterminate) in a silver frame (made around the middle of the 3rd century) and hung on a necklace composed of bone and amber beads (Fig. 4)

Viminacium, site Više grobalja, grave G-2832/B, field inv. C-14387

Size 20.30 mm, weight 4.02 g

Obv. Illegible, worn

Rv. Illegible, worn

Mint of Rome

No reference

Published: Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 378, Cat. 303.

8. Pendant, aureus of Maximianus Herculus with hanging loop

Unknown site, National Museum of Serbia, Weifert collection, inv. RCW 5260

Size 21 mm, weight 5.79 g

Obv. MAXIMA–NVS P F AVG

Head of Maximian, laureate, facing right.

Rv. IOVI CO–N–SERVAT // SIS

Jupiter, chlamys hanging from left shoulder, standing left, holding thunderbolt in right hand and leaning on sceptre with left hand; by the feet, to the left, there is an eagle.

Mint of Siscia, c. 308-309 AD

Reference: RIC VI, 478, no. 189

Published: Поповић 1993, 51, кат. 5.

9. Pendants (4), bronze indeterminate perforated coins of the 4th century hung on a necklace composed of glass and bone beads (Fig. 3)

Viminacium, site Pećine, grave G-5699, field inv. C-13667

Size 17.12-18.12 mm, weight 0.82-1.37 g

Obv. Illegible, worn (for all four coins)

Rv. Illegible, worn (for all four coins)

No reference, mints unknown

Published: Vojvoda, Redžić 2018, 281, Cat. 95; Vojvoda, Redžić 2024, 374, Cat. 301.

10. Pendant, Constantinus II, bronze coin with hanging loop

Viminacium, site Više grobalja, grave G-2682, field inv. C-14,041

Size 21.13 mm, weight 3.24 g

Obv. [D N CONS]TAN-TIVS [P F AVG]

Bust, draped, cuirassed, facing left, holding globe in right hand, head pearl-diademed.

Rv. [FEL TEMP – REPARATIO] // Illegible

Emperor draped, cuirassed, standing left, in right hand holding standard with Chi-Rho on the banner and resting left hand on shield; before him, two captives kneeling, their heads turned towards each other.

No reference, mint unknown, 348-351 AD

Comment: The hanging loop was broken during conservation.

Unpublished.

11/A-B. Tubuli with solidi of Valentinian III, Severus III (A), Valentinian III and solidus minted

in the time of the joint rule of Honorius and Constantius III (B), parts of the necklace (Fig. 7)

11/A.1-2. Tubulus with solidi of Valentinianus III and Libius Severus III

National Museum of Serbia, inv. 556/IV (found in 1925)

Length 48 mm, diameter of solidi 22 mm, weight 25.18 g.

11/A.1.

Obv. D N PLA VALENTI-NIANVS P F AVC

Bust of Valentinian III, rosette-diademed, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rv. VICTORI-A AVCCC / R / M or V (?) // COMOB

Valentinian III, draped, cuirassed, facing front, holding long cross in right hand and Victory on globe in left hand; right foot placed on head of later human-headed open-coiled serpent; Victory's skirt "in parentheses". https://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.10.valt_iii_w.2014

Reference: Mint of Rome (RIC X, 366, no. 2014, c. 440-455 AD) or mint of Ravenna (RIC X, 366, no. 2018, c. 430-445 AD).

11/A.2.

Obv. D N LIBIVS SEV-ERVS P F AVC

Bust of Libius Severus, rosette-diademed, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rv. VICTORI-A AVCCC / R / V // COMOB

Libius Severus, draped, cuirassed, standing facing front, holding long cross and Victory on globe; right foot placed on head of human-headed serpent.

Reference: RIC X, 408, no. 2718, mint of Ravenna, November 461- September 465 AD, solidus was not in circulation.

11/B. Tubulus with a solidus of Valentinianus III and solidus minted in the time of the joint rule of Honorius and Constantius III

National Museum of Serbia, stolen in 1978 (originally found in 1906)

Length 48 mm, diameter of solidi 22 and 23 mm, weight 24.40 g

11/B.1.

Obv. D N PLA VALENTI-NIANVS P F AVC

Bust of Valentinian III, rosette-diademed, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rv. VICTORI-A AVCCC / R / V // COMOB

Valentinian III, draped, cuirassed, standing facing front, holding long cross in right hand and Victory on globe in left hand; right foot placed on head of later human-headed open-coiled serpent; Victory's skirt "in parentheses".

Reference: Mint of Ravenna, RIC X, 366, no. 2018, c. 430-445 AD, solidus rather worn.

11/B.2.

Obv. D N HONORI-VS P F AVC

Bust of Honorius, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rv. VICTORI-A AVCCC / R / V // CoMoB

Honorius, draped, cuirassed, standing right, leaning slightly backwards, holding standard in right hand and Victory on globe in left hand; stepping on seated bound captive with left foot.

Reference: Mint of Ravenna, RIC X, 333, no. 1319, Third period: after death of Arcadius, Later groups, 408-423 AD (possibly in the time of joint rule of Honorius and Constantius III), solidus is worn.

Published: Vasić (1906) 1907, 208; Гарашанин 1951, 182, T. XXIV b; Garašanin, Kovačević 1961, T. LXII; Vasić 1992, 294; Popović 1993, 53-54, T. IV, 11, 11a; Popović 2001, 53-58, 202-204, Fig. 9, Cat. 67; Popović 2007, 242-244, Figs. 2-4; Popović (2009) 2011, 74-75, Fig. 2-3.

12. Pendant, denarius (?) (indeterminate) with hanging loop, part of breast ornament (silver links of chain, gold pelta-like pendant, carnelian and glass beads) (Fig. 7)

Singidunum, Tadeša Košćuška street, G-79, City Museum of Belgrade, inv. AS 2596

Size 20 mm

Obv. Illegible, worn

Rv. Illegible, worn

No reference, mint unknown

Published: Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 136, Pl. VII.

13. Pendant, barbaric imitation of a tremissis in a frame of twisted gold wire, with hanging loop

Surduk (*Ritium*), private collection

Size 12 mm, weight 1.20 g

Obv. Bust on left with diadem and pendants. It is impossible to determine whether it is the emperor or the empress.

Rv. Straight-armed cross in a wreath. On the left side are the letters ONO, possibly a remnant of the CONOB mint

Comment: The straight-armed cross appears on the Constantinople tremisses of Theodosius II, minted for Pulcheria (414-453), Aelia Eudocia (423-444?) and Licinia Eudoxia II (439-455), and perhaps later for Mauricius (582-602) (Hahn 1989, 30, nos. 49-51). On the tremisses of the western provinces, from the same time, it appears on the coins of Valentinian III (RIC X, no. 2030). The imitation of the tremissis from Surduk, most likely, found its way into the Germanic environment after the Hunnic invasion of Pannonia and the destruction of the Limes in 433-434 AD.

No reference, mint unknown

Published: Поповић 1993, 51, кат. 6.

14. Pendant, tremissis of Justinian I in a frame of twisted gold wire, with hanging loop (three strips of twisted wire), decorated with granules

Unknown site, National Museum of Serbia, inv. 1064/IV

Size 19 mm, weight 2.76 g

Obv. D N IVSTINI-ANVS P P AVC

Bust of emperor, facing right, in armour and paludamentum, with diadem on the head.

Rv. VICTORIA AVCVSTORVM / - / star // TONH (instead CONOB, sic!)

Victory walking to the right, looking left, holding in right hand wreath, in left globe with cross.

Mint of Constantinople, 527-565 AD

Reference: Morisson 1970, 73, no. 31; DOC (Byz.) I, 75, no. 19.2.

Published: Popović 2001, 268, Cat. 73.

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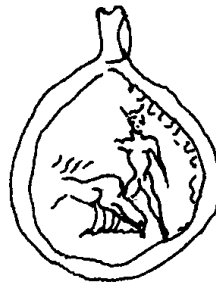
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ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE LEAD SEALS AND TOKENS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SERBIA

Abstract: The collection of the National Museum of Serbia houses 185 Roman and early Byzantine lead seals and tokens, dating from the 2nd to the 6th century. Most of the items were either donated or purchased. The find location is only known for a small number of seals and tokens. They come from Sremska Mitrovica, Dubravica, Stari Kostolac, Veliko Gradište, Guberevac and Zvečan. The seals, as well as the tokens, are classified into several groups according to their issuers and representations, i.e., themes: representations of busts of emperors and imperial families, busts of private persons, representations of deities, personifications, animals, objects and inscriptions. The most common seals are circular or oval with depictions on both sides, followed by conical and cap-shaped examples with only one side struck. Rectangular seals are less common. The poor preservation of seals and tokens makes any detailed attribution difficult, which is generally an obstacle to their detailed publication.

Keywords: Rome, early Byzantium, seals, tokens, Moesia, Pannonia

Introduction

The finds of Roman and early Byzantine seals and tokens in cities and different settlements are testimony of administrative, custom and trade relations and personal communications. Official seals occupy a particularly important place, with imperial, followed by fiscal, military, provincial and municipal ones. Private seals and those of various corporations form a separate group. Their main role was to ensure the safety of a shipment. They guaranteed the physical integrity of the goods to ensure free passage across the border. Sealed shipments were exempt from customs duties.

Despite the small number of seals and tokens with known provenance from the collection of the National Museum of Serbia, we can trace their concentration in the important cities and fortifications on the Limes, such as Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*), Dubravica (*Margum*), Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*), Veliko Gradište (*Pincum*), Guberevac, linked to the important Roman mining, and Zvečan.

It is worth noting that published Roman and early Byzantine lead seals and tokens from Serbia are rare. Seals are known from some main sites: Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmi-*

um),¹ Hrtkovci,² Donji Petrovac (*Bassianae*),³ Zemun (*Taurunum*),⁴ Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*),⁵ Ćićina near Aleksinac (*Praesidium Pompei*)⁶ and Caričin grad (*Justiniana Prima*).⁷

The collection of seals and tokens

The National Museum of Serbia collection includes 185 Roman and early Byzantine lead seals and tokens, dating from the 2nd to the 6th century. Most of these objects were either donated to or purchased by the museum. They bear depictions of busts of emperors and imperial families, busts of private individuals and representations of deities, personifications, animals, objects or inscriptions. The most common seals are circular or oval with depictions on both sides, followed by conical and cap-shaped seals with a single impressed side. Rectangular seals are less common.

Of the total number of seals and tokens, 151 specimens were included in the catalogue, comprising 41 seals, 107 tokens and three lead appliques. The remaining illegible specimens have not been included. The seals have been classified into different groups: imperial (Cat. 1-15), private with effigies (Cat. 16-21), seals with divine and allegorical themes (Cat. 22-28), animal figures (Cat. 29-33), representations of symbols and objects (Cat. 34-37) and seals with inscriptions (Cat. 38-41).

The same categorisation has been applied to the tokens. Several distinct groups are presented: private effigies (Cat. 42-60), those with divine and allegorical themes (Cat. 61-79), animals (Cat. 80-100), symbols and objects (Cat. 101-144) and inscriptions (Cat. 145-148). In addition, there are three lead appliques (Cat. 149-151).

Seals

Imperial lead seals from the collection of the National Museum of Serbia have already been published.⁸ The majority of the seals, ten, bear effigies of Roman emperors and their families, and three date from the early Byzantine period. On the basis of the representation on the obverse, they can be classified into four groups of seals with: the bust of an emperor or empress (Cat. 1, 4-6, 11), busts of two rulers (Cat. 2, 10, 12-13), busts of three (Cat. 7-9), and busts of four rulers (Cat. 3). To this list are added two other unpublished examples, bearing an inscription on the obverse: AVG|N (Cat. 14) and AVGG/.IIII (Cat. 15). They can be dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Three seals from this important group were found at sites on the right bank of the Danube: Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*) (Cat. 9), Dubravica (*Margum*) (Cat. 8) and Veliko Gradište (*Pincum*) (Cat. 4), testifying to the importance of these sites not only as military sites, but also as important commercial ports. The same applies to the discovery of an imperial seal with an inscription from the Roman imperial city of Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) (Cat. 15).

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- 1 Popović 2019, 273-285.
 - 2 Dautova Ruševljan 2006, 344-345, 349-350, Fig. 4.4-12.
 - 3 Milovanović 2017, 280-293.
 - 4 Najhold 2009.
 - 5 Ivanišević 1992, 47-52.
 - 6 Rašković 2015, 211-220.
 - 7 Documentation of the project Caričin Grad.
 - 8 Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 239-252.

As the seals are poorly struck and preserved, it is difficult to identify emperors and empresses. Consequently, the Pincum seal was identified by the bust as that of Constantine I (Cat. 4) on the basis of comparisons with published seals from other sites.⁹ The Viminacium seal (Cat. 9) is considered to have been issued by Theodosius I, Honorius and Arcadius.

The three early Byzantine seals from the National Museum of Serbia complete the list of imperial seals. The first, of Justinian I (Cat. 11), was found at Zvečan, an important stronghold located at the confluence of two rivers, the Sitnica and the Ibar, which controlled the roads leading to the centre of the province of Dardania and to Justiniana Secunda. The two remaining seals, with a representation of two busts, the emperor on the left and the empress (?) on the right, facing front, without legend (Cat. 12-13), can be dated broadly between the 5th and 6th centuries.

Most of the other seals come from Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*). Two of them belong to the group of private seals with effigies. One features a bust of a coiffed, robed woman on the obverse (Cat. 19), and the other a bust of a saint with a nimbus on the obverse and a monogram on the reverse, interpreted as ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ (Cat. 21), dated to the 6th century. The third, also from the vicinity of Stari Kostolac, bears a depiction of Victory standing frontally, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and a palm branch in her left (Cat. 22). The last (Cat. 40), bearing a monogram on the obverse interpreted as ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΟΥ, is dated to the 6th century.

In addition to the imperial seal from Dubravica (*Margum*), mentioned above, two other specimens also come from this site. The first bears a representation of a quadriga with a rider, behind which Victory crowns the rider with a laurel wreath (Cat. 28) and the second a representation of a standing eagle with outstretched wings (Cat. 29).

The Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) seal features two standing figures facing each other, with a snake between them. The figure on the right holds an undistinguishable object in his raised right hand (Cat. 27).

Tokens

Of the total of 107 tokens, the find location is known for only three of them. The first was found in Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) (Cat. 68). The obverse shows Rome seated on a throne, holding a globe in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. The reverse shows a female figure. The second was found near Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*) (Cat. 102). Its significance lies in the fact that the obverse depicts the seven-branched menorah, flanked by a shofar and a lulav. The representation on the reverse is undistinguishable. The second token, found at Guberevac, on the Lalov Do site, features a six-pointed rosette on the obverse and a dot ornament on the reverse (Cat. 144).

Conclusion

The lead seals and tokens in the collection of the National Museum of Serbia provide a basic overview of sphragistic material from Moesia and, in part, Pannonia. The same is true of published material, which generally comes from chance finds. An exception is the discovery of 39 lead seals from Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) during the excavation of an official building, among which a group of nine seals depicting the Tetrarchs with a representation of two emper-

9 Leukel 1995, 50-51, nos. 120, 123, Tafel 11.120, 123; Ilkić 2006, 73, br. 12.

ors in the upper area and two Caesars in the lower area stand out.¹⁰ In this case, we can assume that the finds belonged to an archive.

Sphragistic material, despite the lack of a precise find location and its often poor preservation, warrants study and publication in order to obtain a general view of the circulation of seals and tokens, as well as their very diverse typology.

CATALOGUE

SEALS

Imperial

1. Irregularly oval lead seal in calotte form.

Obverse: Bust of empress (Iulia Domna?), draped, facing right, hair coiled on back of head.

Dim. 12x11x4 mm; Wt. 2.16 g.

O. inv. 911/1; Purchased from Vojislav Mihajlović, Belgrade.

Date: First half of the 3rd c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240, 244, br. 1.

2. Oval lead seal in calotte form.

Obverse: Two male imperial busts, draped and cuirassed, facing each other.

Dim. 22x20x6 mm; Wt. 8.12 g.

O. inv. 1462/2.

Date: 3rd c. (?)

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240-241, 245, br. 4.

Reference: Leukel 1995, 34-37; Leukel 2002, 18-29.

3. Oval lead seal in cone form.

Obverse: Heads of Tetrarchs, facing each other in two rows. In the upper row are two larger heads of Augusti, below two smaller heads of Caesars. Between the heads in both rows is a standing representation of Victory, facing front, holding in each hand a laurel wreath with which she is crowning the tetrarchs.

10 Popović 2019, 373-285.

Dim. 21x19x10 mm; Wt. 11.71 g.

O. inv. 1462/5.

Date: Tetrarchy

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 241, 245, br. 5.

Reference: Иванишевић 1992, 50, бр. 12–14, Т. I.12–14; Dembski 1994, 85, no. 8; Leukel 2002, 20–21, no. 10, Tafel 1.10; Ilkić 2006, 71, br. 3–4; Popović 2019, 275–282, nos. 1–9). All the listed specimens have a representation of the four tetrarchs without Victory.

4. Circular lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Bust of emperor (Constantine I?), laureate, draped and cuirassed, facing right.

Dim. 18 mm/11 mm; Wt. 13.89 g.

O. inv. 985/1; Gift from Vojislav Mihajlović; Veliko Gradište (*Pincum*).

Date: First half of the 4th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240, 246, br. 6.

5. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Bust of emperor, draped, facing right. Uncertain inscription around.

Dim. 24x19x11 mm; Wt. 14.45 g.

O. inv. 1462/4.

Date: First half of the 4th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240, 246, br. 7.

Reference: Leukel 2002, 30–31, no. 30; Ilkić 2006, 72, br. 5, 7.

6. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Bust of emperor (Constantine I?), diademed and draped, facing right.

Dim. 15x11x4 mm; Wt. 2.63 g.

O. inv. 1020/10; Purchased from Milutin Dušanić, Belgrade.

Date: First half of the 4th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240, 246, br. 8.

7. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Bust of emperor in the middle, draped, facing front and two busts of co-regents on the sides, draped, turned towards the emperor.

Dim. 17x15x7 mm; Wt. 7.55 g.

O. inv. 1462/6.

Date: 4th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 241, 244, br. 2.

Reference: Leukel 2002, 52–53, nos. 82–84.

8. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Bust of emperor in the middle, cuirassed, facing front, and two busts of co-regents, shown reduced and turned towards the emperor.

Dim. 21x19x10 mm; Wt. 11.97 g.

O. inv. 975/2; Purchased from Radiša Vujčić; Dubravica (*Margum*).

Date: 4th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 241, 244–245, br. 3.

Reference: Leukel 1995, 39, no. 62.

9. Oval lead seal in the form of a semi-cone.

Obverse: Bust of emperor in the middle, draped, facing front and two busts of co-regents on the sides, draped, shown reduced and turned towards the emperor (Theodosius I, Honorius and Arcadius?).

Dim. 15x14x5 mm; Wt. 3.23 g.

O. inv. 1072/6; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*).

Date: The last third of the 4th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 241, 247, br. 9.

Reference: Leukel 1995, 50–51, nos. 120, 123, Tafel 11.120, 123; Ilkić 2006, 73, br. 12.

10. Irregularly rectangular lead seal.

Obverse: Two busts, emperor on the left and empress on the right, facing each other.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14x12x4 mm; Wt. 4.17 g.

O. inv. 1462/3.

Date: 4th–5th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240–241, 247, br. 10.

11. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: DNIVS[TINI-ANVS]PPAVI Bust of the emperor, diademed, draped, facing front, wearing fibula on left shoulder. Around the head, a nimbus.

Reverse: Victory standing front, head turned to the left, holding a laurel wreath in each hand. On the left and right representation of a cross.

Dim. 16x15x4 mm; Wt. 6.37 g.

O. inv. 954; Zvečan.

Date: 527-565.

Published: Gaj-Popović 1980, 165-168; Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 240, 247-248, br. 11.

Reference: Zacos, Veglery 1972, nos. 3a, 3b; Seibt 1978, no. 6; Cheynet 1999, 318, no. 1; DOSeals, 9-13, nos. 4.1-15.

12. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Two busts, emperor on the left and empress (?) on the right, crowned, draped, with fibula on left shoulder, facing front. Cross between busts.

Reverse: Victory standing front, head turned to the left, holding a laurel wreath in each hand.

Dim. 20x17x5 mm; Wt. 8.70 g.

O. inv. 1020/15; Purchased from Milutin Dušanić, Belgrade.

Date: 5th- 6th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 241, 248, br. 12.

Reference: Laurent 1962, 3, no. 1, T. I.1.

13. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Two busts, emperor on the left and empress (?) on the right, crowned, draped, wearing fibula on left shoulder, facing front. Cross between busts.

Reverse: Victory standing front, head turned to the left, holding a laurel wreath in each hand.

Dim. 22x20x5 mm; Wt. 9.67 g.

O. inv. 1014/1.

Date: 5th - 6th c.

Published: Stamenković, Ivanišević 2013, 241, 248, br. 13.

Reference: Laurent 1962, 3, no. 1, T. I.1.

14. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: AVG|N

Dim. 21x17x6 mm; Wt. 11.08 g.

O. inv. 1462/15.

Date: 3th-4th c.

15. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: AVGGG/.IIII

Dim. 22x20x8 mm; Wt. 8.10 g.

O. inv. 1463/2; Gift from Vojislav Mihajlović, Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*).

Date: 4th c.

Private seals: effigies

16. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Head of a man facing right.

Dim. 14x12x4 mm; Wt. 2.19 g.

O. inv. 911/2; Purchased from Vojislav Mihajlović, Belgrade.

17. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Head (?) of a man, bearded, facing right.

Dim. 19x18x4 mm; Wt. 4.89 g.

O. inv. 1458/2.

18. Square lead seal.

Obverse: Bust of a man facing left.

Dim. 15x12x5 mm; Wt. 5.17 g.

O. inv. 1462/17.

19. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Bust of a woman, draped, facing right.

Dim. 20x17x10 mm; Wt. 13.20 g.

O. inv. 1072/1; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*).

20. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Head of a man, bearded, facing right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕ|..Ν|..ΗC|HC

Dim. 14x12 mm; Wt. - g.

O. inv. 1020/14.

21. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Bust of a saint with nimbus, draped, facing front.

Reverse: Monogram  ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ

Dim. 23x20x4 mm; Wt. 8.61 g.

Date: 6th c.

O. inv. 1072/3; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari Kostolac.

Divine and allegorical themes

22. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Victory standing front, holding a laurel wreath in right and a palm branch in left hand.

Dim. 21x16x17 mm; Wt. 10.06 g.

O. inv. 1075/5; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*).

23. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Head of Hercules (?).

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 21x17x4 mm; Wt. 6.75 g.

O. inv. 1458/21.

24. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Representation of a personification standing front, head turned to the right, arms raised.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x10x4 mm; Wt. 1.69 g.

O. inv. 72; Gift from Dobrivoje Plešinac, Belgrade.

25. Irregularly oval lead seal.

Obverse: Standing figure facing left, uncertain object to the left.

Reverse: Laurel wreath, uncertain object inside.

Dim. 17x14x3 mm; Wt. 3.57 g.

O. inv. 1458/80.

26. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Two standing figures facing each other. Figure on left holding a spear in left hand, figure on right holding a shield in right hand.

Dim. 19x15x6 mm; Wt. 5.69 g.

O. inv. 1462/1.

Date: 3rd c.

27. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Two standing figures facing each other, a snake between them. Figure on right holds an uncertain object in the raised right hand.

Dim. 16x15 mm; Wt. 5,36 g.

O. inv. 1463/1; Gift from Vojislav Mihajlović; Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*).

28. Oval lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Quadriga with a rider, behind Victory crowning the rider with a wreath.

Dim. 21x19x10 mm; Wt. 13.60 g.

O. inv. 975/1; Purchased from Radiša Vujčić; Dubravica (*Margum*).

Animals

29. Circular lead seal in the form of a semi-cone.

Obverse: Standing eagle, wings outstretched, head turned to the left.

Dim. 14 mm/7 mm; Wt. 7.68 g.

O. inv. 975/4; Purchased from Radiša Vujčić; Dubravica (*Margum*).

30. Irregularly oval lead seal.

Obverse: Owl (?) standing, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x10x3 mm; Wt. 2.40 g.

O. inv. 1458/126.

31. Rectangular lead seal.

Obverse: Bird standing, facing right.

Dim. 20x12x4 mm; Wt. 6.71 g.

O. inv. 1462/16.

32. Circular lead seal with rivet.

Obverse: ..OQDIA In the centre, a rooster on a branch, below a hen.

Dim. 37 mm/2 mm; Wt. 13.43 g.

O. inv. 1462/8.

33. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Lion on the move, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 27x21x6 mm; Wt. 13.72 g.

O. inv. 1462/14.

Symbols and objects

34. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Trophy: shield on left and right, spear on top, bottom unclear presentation.

Dim. 13x12x8 mm; Wt. 4.86 g.

O. inv. 975/5; Purchased from Radiša Vujčić; Dubravica (*Margum*).

35. Oval lead seal.

Obverse: Shield.

Dim. 20x13x3 mm; Wt. 2.79 g.

O. inv. 1458/59.

36. Irregularly oval lead seal.

Obverse: Column (?)

Dim. 23x19x4 mm; Wt. 7.98 g.

O. inv. 1458/20.

37. Oval lead seal partly preserved.

Obverse: Branch (?)

Dim. 10x9x3 mm; Wt. 0.93 g.

O. inv. 1458/84.

Inscriptions

38. Rectangular lead seal.

Obverse: LSDM

Dim. 13x7x3 mm; Wt. 2.25 g.

O. inv. 1462/7.

39. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: PF[F]

Dim. 16x14x4 mm; Wt. 3.20 g.

O. inv. 1463/3; Gift from Vojislav Mihajlović; Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*).

40. Irregularly rectangular lead seal in the form of a cone.

Obverse: Monogram  ANACTACIOV

Dim. 24x19x10 mm; Wt. 9.60 g.

O. inv. 1072/2; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*).

Date: 6th c.

41. Oval lead seal in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Monogram  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟV

Dim. 14x13x5 mm; Wt. 3.05 g.

O. inv. 1461/3.

Date: 6th c.

TOKENS

Private tokens: effigies

42. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, helmeted, facing right.

Reverse: Two owls facing each other, heads facing front.

Dim. 12x11x3 mm; Wt. 2.35 g.

O. inv. 1458/12.

43. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, bearded, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.71 g.

O. inv. 1458/119.

44. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Standing sheep facing right, ram on sheep.

Dim. 11x10x3 mm; Wt. 1.94 g.

O. inv. 1458/53.

45. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Lituus.

Dim. 10x9x3 mm; Wt. 1.18 g.

O. inv. 1458/86.

46. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14x11x3 mm; Wt. 1.76 g.

O. inv. 1458/35.

47. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 20x18x4 mm; Wt. 7.91 g.

O. inv. 1458/62.

48. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13x12x4 mm; Wt. 2.92 g.

O. inv. 1458/65.

49. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Dim. 16x14x3 mm; Wt. 4.34 g.

O. inv. 1458/116.

50. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 17 mm/3 mm; Wt. 2.11 g.

O. inv. 1458/130.

51. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 17 mm/6 mm; Wt. 10.13 g.

O. inv. 1458/69.

52. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 15x11x4 mm; Wt. 2.78 g.

O. inv. 1458/55.

53. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.39 g.

O. inv. 1458/108.

54. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.46 g.

O. inv. 1458/42.

55. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.59 g.

O. inv. 1458/70.

56. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a man, facing right (?).

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 10 mm/2 mm; Wt. 0.87 g.

O. inv. 1458/76.

57. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Bust of a man, facing right. On the right unclear presentation.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 19 mm/3 mm; Wt. 7.22 g.

O. inv. 1458/71.

58. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a woman, facing right.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.33 g.

O. inv. 1458/137.

59. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a woman (?), facing right.

Dim. 10 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.19 g.

O. inv. 1458/114.

60. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Two frontal busts.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 16 mm/3 mm; Wt. 3.94 g.

O. inv. 1458/8.

Divine and allegorical themes

61. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Diana standing front, holding bow and arrow in right hand.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.78 g; Fragmented.

O. inv. 1458/122.

62. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Fides (?) standing front, holding vexillum in right and signum (?) in left hand.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 19x16x2 mm; Wt. 2.95 g.

O. inv. 1458/103.

63. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Fortuna (?) standing front, head to the right, holding a rudder in right hand. On the right unclear presentation.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 16 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.87 g.

O. inv. 1458/92.

64. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of Jupiter (?), bearded, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14 mm/3 mm; Wt. 1.49 g.

O. inv. 1458/51.

65. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Mars (?) standing right, holding a spear in right and shield in left hand.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x10x3 mm; Wt. 1.90 g.

O. inv. 1458/120.

66. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Minerva/Roma (?) standing left, holding Victory in right and spear in left hand. On the left unclear presentation.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 16 mm/2 mm; Wt. 2.80 g.

O. inv. 1458/125.

67. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of Minerva/Roma, helmeted, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 15 mm/3 mm; Wt. 2.87 g.

O. inv. 1458/68.

68. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Roma sitting on throne, facing left, holding a globe in right and sceptre in left hand.

Reverse: Female figure facing right.

Dim. 14 mm/4 mm; Wt. 3.64 g.

O. inv. 1463/4; Gift from Vojislav Mihajlović; Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*).

69. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Sol (?) standing right, holding a globe in right and spear in left hand.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 16x15x2 mm; Wt. 3.11 g.

O. inv. 1458/72.

70. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Personification standing front, holding a globe in the right and uncertain object in left hand.

Dim. 17x14x2 mm; Wt. 3.15 g.

O. inv. 1458/77.

71. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Personification standing right, holding a cornucopia in the left hand.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/3 mm; Wt. 2.28 g.

O. inv. 1458/39.

72. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Personification standing front, holding an uncertain object in right hand, left arm is raised.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.30 g.

O. inv. 1458/128.

73. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Personification standing front, holding an uncertain object in each hand.

Reverse: DD

Dim. 13 mm/1 mm; Wt. 1.28 g.

O. inv. 1458/17.

74. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Female figure standing right, holding an uncertain object.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 17x16x2 mm; Wt. 2.24 g.

O. inv. 1458/83.

75. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Female figure standing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12x11x2 mm; Wt. 2.05 g.

O. inv. 1458/100.

76. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Figure standing facing right, holding an uncertain object.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 16x15x3 mm; Wt. 2.31 g.

O. inv. 1458/32.

77. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Two standing figures facing each other, wearing dresses.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.69 g.

O. inv. 1458/101.

78. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of Medusa facing front.

Reverse: Lunula (?)

Dim. 13x12x2 mm; Wt. 1.88 g.

O. inv. 1458/16.

79. Oval lead token, pierced.

Obverse: Head of Medusa facing front.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12x10x3 mm; Wt. 1.66 g.

O. inv. 1458/10.

Animals

80. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Eagle with outstretched wings, facing front, head turned to the left.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14 mm/4 mm; Wt. 3.14 g.

O. inv. 1458/4.

81. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Bird standing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14x12x2 mm; Wt. 1.80 g.

O. inv. 1458/14.

82. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Bird with folded wings, head raised to the right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x10x3 mm; Wt. 1.87 g.

O. inv. 1458/27.

83. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Bird with outstretched wings, standing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 7x6x2 mm; Wt. 0.64 g.

O. inv. 1458/43.

84. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Bird (?) standing right.

Dim. 11x9x2 mm; Wt. 1.17 g.

O. inv. 1458/26.

85. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Bird standing right.

Dim. 16 mm/2 mm; Wt. 3.53 g.

O. inv. 1458/104.

86. Circular lead token.

Obverse: On the left owl standing on uncertain object, facing right. On the right unclear presentation.

Dim. 13 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.42 g.

O. inv. 1458/29.

87. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Two animals standing opposite each other, bird to the left, and dog on the right.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.74 g.

O. inv. 1458/3.

88. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Ox head facing front. Unclear representation on left and right.

Dim. 11x10x1 mm; Wt. 0.91 g.

O. inv. 1458/102.

89. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a ram shown frontally.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12x10x3 mm; Wt. 2.35 g.

O. inv. 1458/13.

90. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Head of a ram, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13 mm/3 mm; Wt. 2.43 g.

O. inv. 1458/58.

91. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Head of a ram, facing right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 18x9x2 mm; Wt. 1.33 g.

O. inv. 1458/63.

92. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Four-legged animal standing right, above unclear representation.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.69 g.

O. inv. 1458/117.

93. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Four-legged animal standing right.

Reverse: Theatre mask.

Dim. 13x12x3 mm; Wt. 2.83 g.

O. inv. 1458/15.

94. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Four-legged animal standing right.

Dim. 11x10x2 mm; Wt. 0.85 g.

O. inv. 1458/49.

95. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Four-legged animal in race, right.

Reverse: Four-legged animal standing right.

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.28 g.

O. inv. 1458/107.

96. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Part of the representation of the legs and torso of an animal standing on the right.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.31 g.

O. inv. 1458/64.

97. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Animal standing right, head turned to the left.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11 mm/1 mm; Wt. 1.07 g.

O. inv. 1458/132.

98. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Bee.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 0.73 g.

O. inv. 1458/123.

99. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Insect (?) A-Γ

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11 mm/3 mm; Wt. 1.79 g.

O. inv. 1458/118.

100. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Lobster.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/3 mm; Wt. 2.61 g.

O. inv. 1458/41.

Symbols and objects

101. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Uncertain.

Reverse: Cross in circle.

Dim. 14 mm/2 mm; Wt. 2.65 g.

O. inv. 1458/133.

102. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Seven-branched menorah, flanked by shofar and lulav.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14 mm/4 mm; Wt. 4.16 g.

O. inv. 1072/8; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari Kostolac (*Viminacium*).

103. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Lightning.

Reverse: Lightning.

Dim. 14x12x3 mm; Wt. 2.90 g.

O. inv. 1458/33.

104. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Laurel wreath, modius (?) inside.

Reverse: Rabbit, facing right.

Dim. 14x13x3 mm; Wt. 2.50 g.

O. inv. 1458/38.

105. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Laurel wreath, rectangular object (modius?) inside.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.72 g.

O. inv. 1458/1.

106. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Laurel wreath, altar (?) inside.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.49 g.

O. inv. 1458/121.

107. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Laurel wreath, cornucopia (?) inside.

Dim. 15x13x2 mm; Wt. 2.48 g.

O. inv. 1458/81.

108. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Laurel wreath.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 10 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.38 g.

O. inv. 1458/136.

109. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Laurel wreath.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x9x2 mm; Wt. 1.10 g.

O. inv. 1458/67.

110. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Helmet.

Dim. 19x17x4 mm; Wt. 6.30 g.

O. inv. 1458/5.

111. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Helmet.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x10x2 mm; Wt. 1.58 g.

O. inv. 1458/97.

112. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Armour.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 12 mm/4 mm; Wt. 2.95 g.

O. inv. 1458/134.

113. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Shield in the middle (?).

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 16 mm/3 mm; Wt. 4.86 g.

O. inv. 1458/138.

114. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Shield.

Dim. 12x11x3 mm; Wt. 2.34 g.

O. inv. 1458/95.

115. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Sword with scabbard and belt. The sword hilt is represented in the form of a horse's head.

Dim. 18x14x2 mm; Wt. 2.18 g.

O. inv. 1458/19.

116. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Sword with scabbard (?).

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 18x16x2 mm; Wt. 3.73 g.

O. inv. 1458/37.

117. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Bow.

Dim. 17x15x3 mm; Wt. 4.38 g.

O. inv. 1458/94.

118. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Altar.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13x12x2 mm; Wt. 1.43 g.

O. inv. 1458/40.

119. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Modius (?)

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 23x20x4 mm; Wt. 8.53 g.

O. inv. 1458/36.

120. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Double cornucopia.

Dim. 11x9x2 mm; Wt. 1.61 g.

O. inv. 1458/89.

121. Oval lead token.

Obverse: [A]NA.. Cornucopia

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13x12x3 mm; Wt. 2.55 g.

O. inv. 1458/91.

122. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Petasos with wings (?).

Reverse: Head (?).

Dim. 9 mm/2 mm; Wt. 0.95 g.

O. inv. 1458/6.

123. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Bow of the ship.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 15 mm/3 mm; Wt. 2.69 g.

O. inv. 1458/60.

124. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Bow of the ship on the left, above Δ , the trophy (?) on the right.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14x13x2 mm; Wt. 2.26 g.

O. inv. 1458/93.

125. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Anchor.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13x12x2 mm; Wt. 2.28 g.

O. inv. 1458/44.

126. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Trident.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14 mm/2 mm; Wt. 2.09 g.

O. inv. 1458/7.

127. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Lunula.

Reverse: ..E?

Dim. 14 mm/2 mm; Wt. 2.10 g.

O. inv. 1458/56.

128. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Theatre mask.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.57 g.

O. inv. 1458/127.

129. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Lire.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11x9x2 mm; Wt. 1.23 g.

O. inv. 1458/90.

130. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Plant.

Dim. 16x15x2 mm; Wt. 3.34 g.

O. inv. 1458/52.

131. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Branch on the left, uncertain representation on the right.

Dim. 11x10x2 mm; Wt. 1.17 g.

O. inv. 1458/24.

132. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Rosetta.

Dim. 15x14x2 mm; Wt. 3.47 g.

O. inv. 1458/98.

133. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Wreath.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13x11x3 mm; Wt. 1.89 g.

O. inv. 1458/61.

134. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Grape on the left, A on the right.

Dim. 11x10x2 mm; Wt. 1.27 g.

O. inv. 1458/88.

135. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Kantharos.

Dim. 13x12x3 mm; Wt. 1.93 g.

O. inv. 1458/45.

136. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Jug.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 11 mm/3 mm; Wt. 1.65 g.

O. inv. 1458/50.

137. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Jug.

Dim. 11 mm/2 mm; Wt. 2.23 g.

O. inv. 1458/96.

138. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Vessel (?)

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 14x13x3 mm; Wt. 2.29 g.

O. inv. 1458/54.

139. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Vessel.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.71 g.

O. inv. 1458/109.

140. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Pitcher on the right, uncertain representation on the left.

Reverse: Uncertain.

Dim. 13 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.63 g.

O. inv. 1458/66.

141. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Jug with lid (urn), branch on the right.

Dim. 13x12x2 mm; Wt. 2.27 g.

O. inv. 1458/131.

142. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Spindle.

Dim. 12x11x2 mm; Wt. 1.54 g.

O. inv. 1458/25.

143. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Rattle (?)

Reverse: B, uncertain representation.

Dim. 16x15x2 mm; Wt. 1.84 g.

O. inv. 1458/124.

144. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Six-pointed rosette.

Reverse: Ornament of dots arranged in a circle with one dot in the middle.

Dim. 17x14x3 mm; Wt. 2.84 g.

O. inv. 1134; Purchased from Ljubomir Đorđević; Guberevac, Lalov Do.

Inscriptions

145. Circular lead token.

Obverse: [M]IXAHA.V|OV|...

Reverse: ..A..

Dim. 18 mm/2 mm; Wt. 3.38 g.

O. inv. 1462/10.

146. Circular lead token.

Obverse: 

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.72 g.

O. inv. 1458/115.

147. Circular lead token.

Obverse: Uncertain.

Reverse: II (?)

Dim. 12 mm/2 mm; Wt. 1.97 g.

O. inv. 1458/129.

148. Oval lead token.

Obverse: Uncertain.

Reverse: 

Dim. 13x12x2 mm; Wt. 2.14 g.

O. inv. 1458/113.

LEAD APPLIQUES

149. Oval lead applique in the form of a calotte.

Obverse: Head of a man facing front.

Dim. 19x18x7 mm; Wt. 13.33 g.

O. inv. 1072/4; Purchased from Todor Dimitrijević; Vicinity of Stari (*Viminacium*).

150. Irregularly oval object. The object was used to seal a hole, in this case on a ceramic vessel, judging by the imprint on the rim.

Obverse: Head of medusa slightly turned to the left.

Dim. 26x24x12 mm; Wt. 29.98 g.

O. inv. 908/1; Purchased from Vojislav Mihajlović, Belgrade.

151. Oval imprint of the gem.

Obverse: Standing figure, facing front. Arms bent at the elbows and pressed against the body. Border of dots.

Dim. 19x12x3 mm; Wt. 2.96 g.

O. inv. 1462/18.

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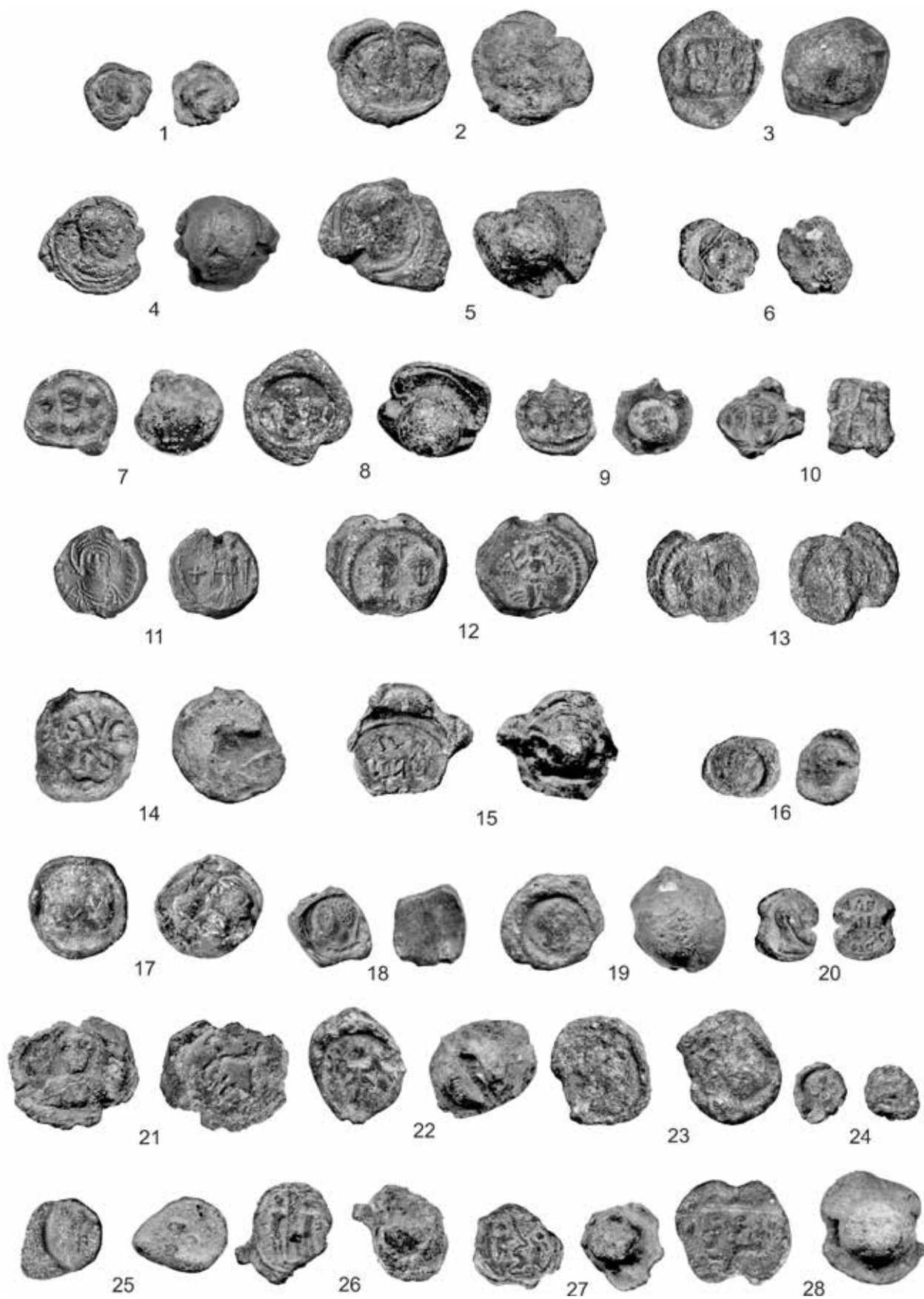
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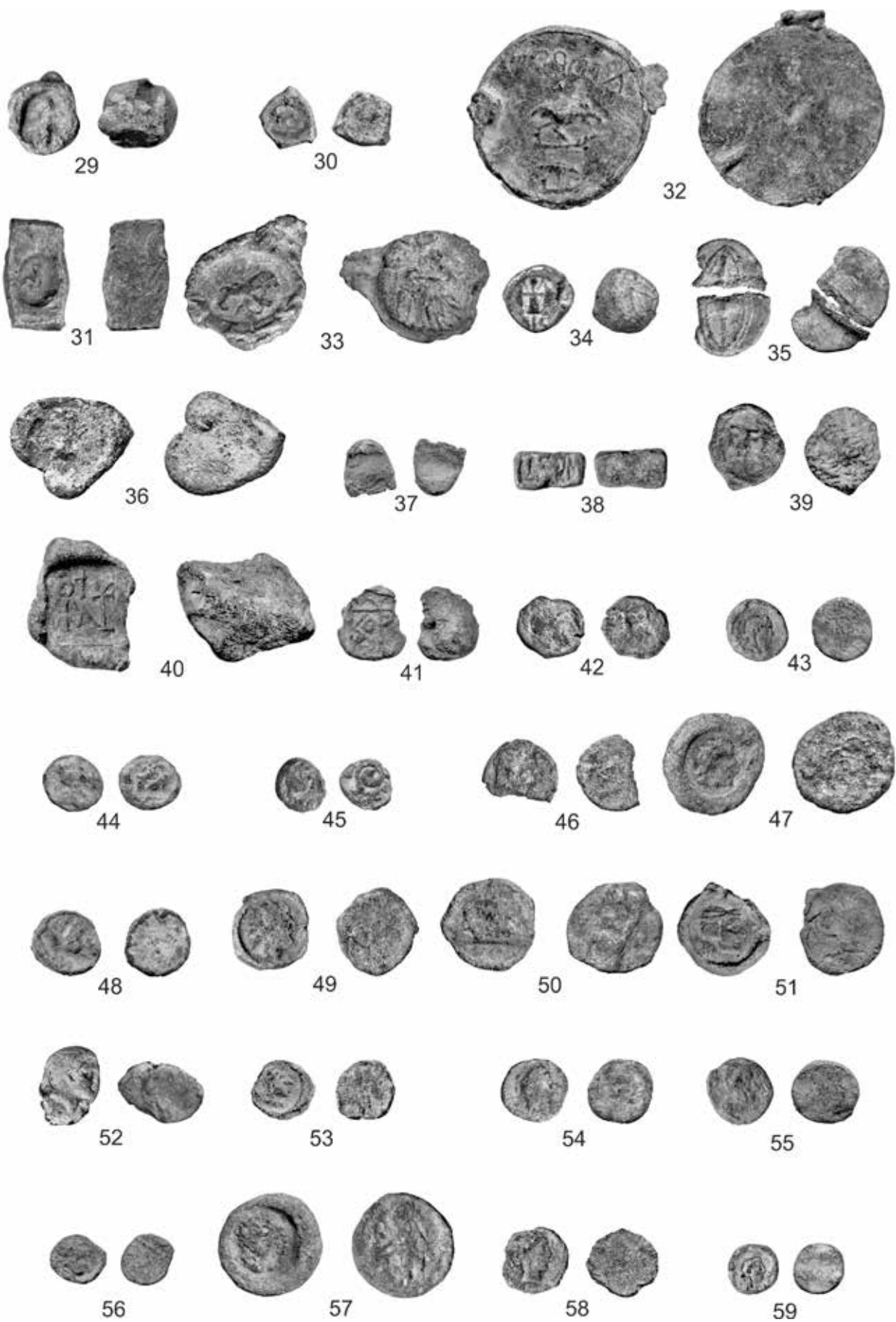
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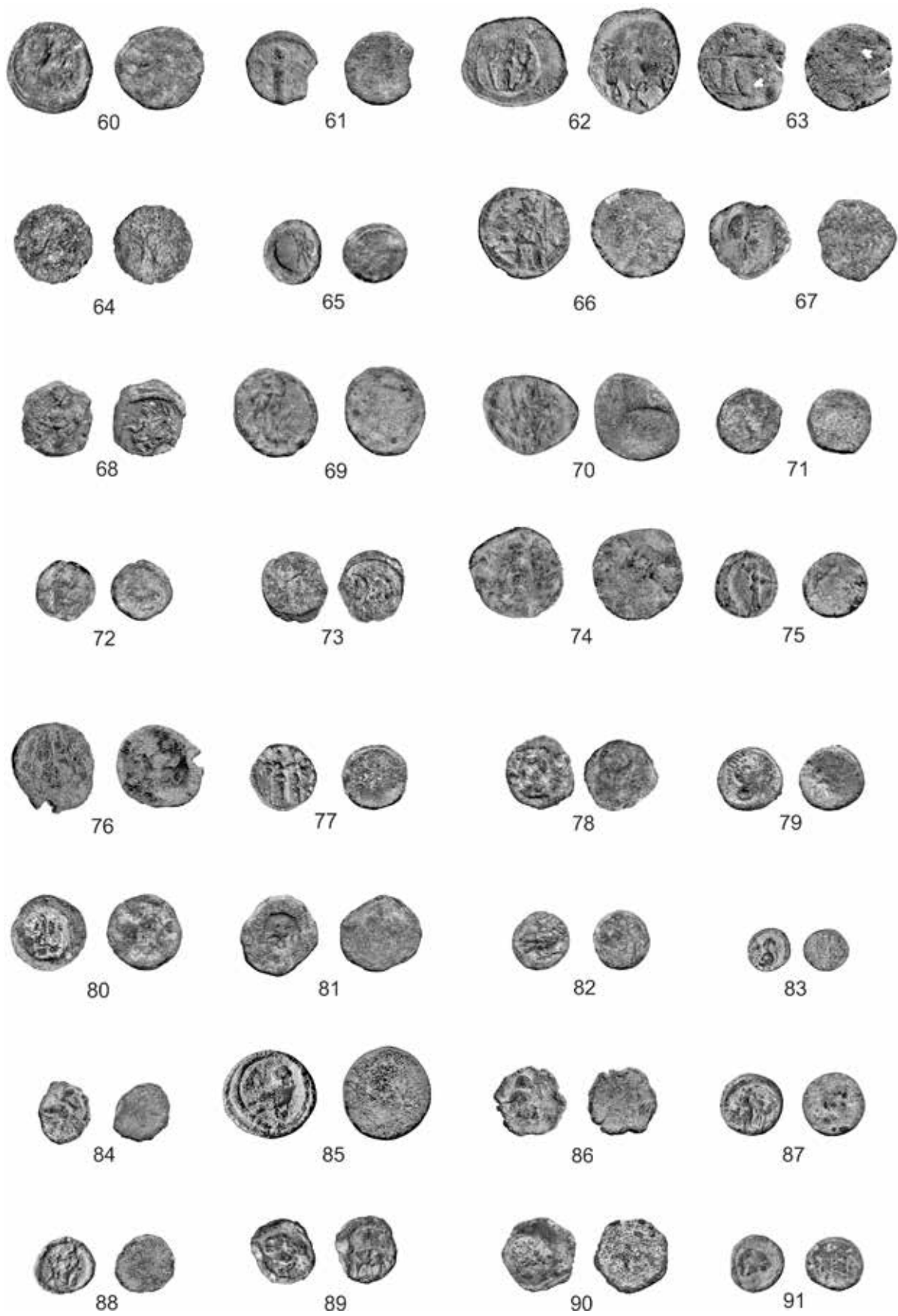
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100



101



102



103



104



105



106



107



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109



110



111



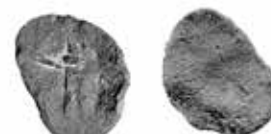
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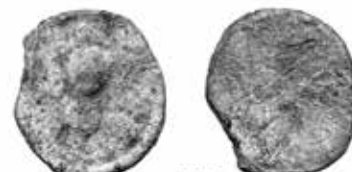
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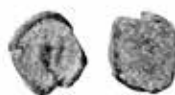
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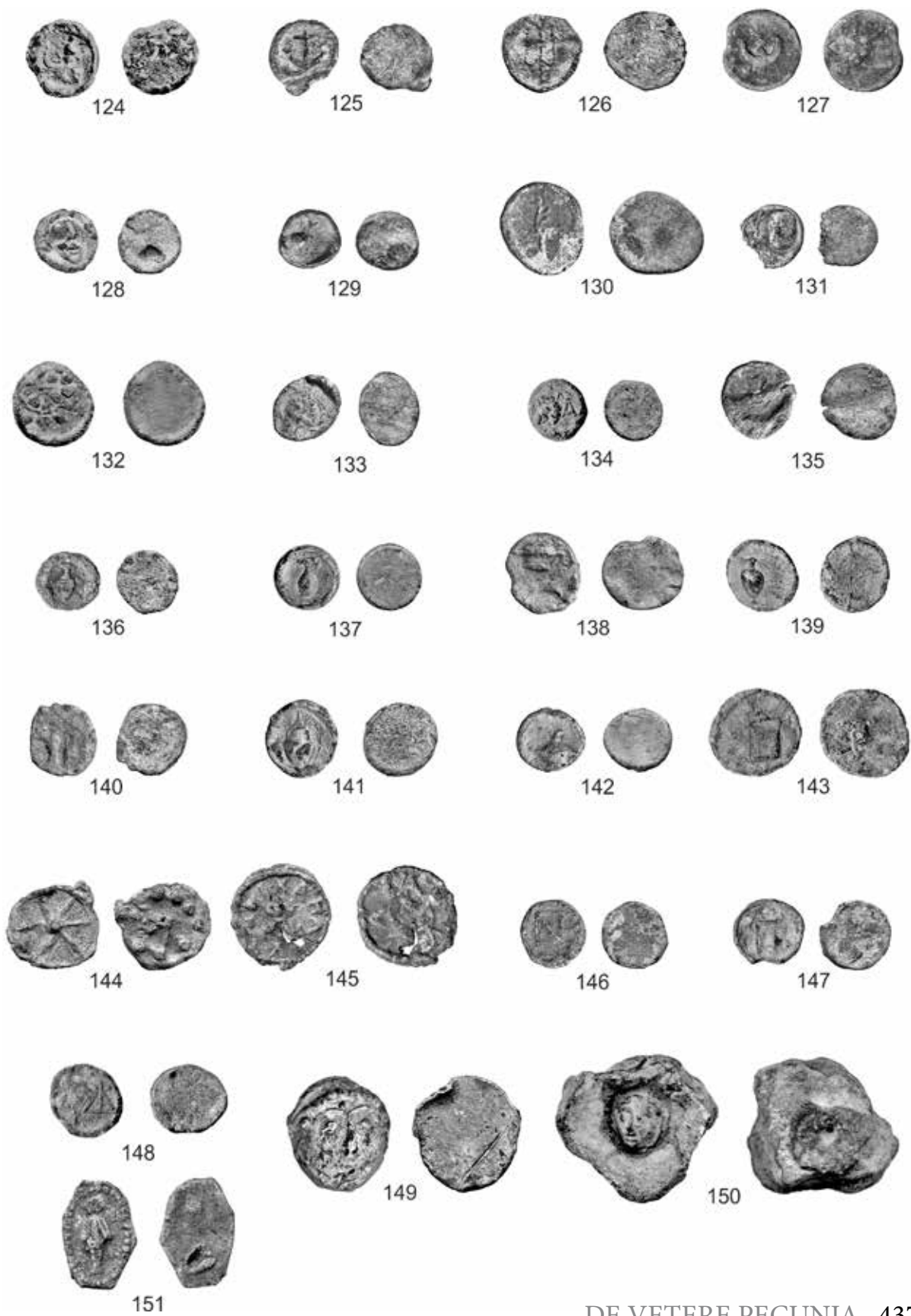
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Abbreviations used in this Volume

AMM – Skopje = Archaeological Museum of Macedonia

AMNG = *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*

AMRNM = Archeological Museum of Republic of North Macedonia

AMZ = Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum Zagreb.

AAMZ = Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

BMC = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*

BMCJ = *Catalogue of the Jewellery Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*

BMC Ostrog = *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empire of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum*

CAH = *The Cambridge Ancient History*

Cro = Croatian

CN = *Corpus Nummorum* (online data base)

DOC (Byz.) = *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*

DOC (Rom.) = *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*

DOSeals = *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*

Eng = English

FFS = Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje

FMRD = *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland*

FMRSI = *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Slowenien*

FMRÖ = *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich*

FMRP Pommern = *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Polen – Pommern*

FMRU = *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Ungarn*

GMS = Gradski muzej Sisak / City Museum Sisak

IFS = *Inventar der Fundmünzen der Schweiz*

IMS = *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*

JRCS Hall of Fame = John Reich Collectors Society Hall of Fame

LRBC = *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*

MDC = Muzejski Dokumentacijski Centar/ Museum Documentation Center

MIB = *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*
MIBE = *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire*
Ministry of PRC = Ministry of People's Republic of Croatia
MIR = *Moneta Imperii Romani*
MIRB = *Moneta Imperii Romani – Byzantini*
MPS = Muzej Prigorja – Sesvete / The Prigorje Museum, Sesvete
MSO = Muzej Slavonije – Osijek / Museum of Slavonia, Osijek
NBRM = National Bank of North Macedonia
НБРМ, МПИИ = **Македонија**: парите и историјата, каталог на постојаната музејска поставка на Народна банка на Република Македонија
NCNMS = Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Slovenia
NI = National Institution
OB = Ohridska banka (today Sparkasse Bank)
Ohridska banka coll = *Coins from the Collection of Ohridska Banka*
RE = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RIC = *The Roman Imperial Coinage*
RMRFVG = *Ritrovamenti Monetali di età Romana nel Friuli Venezia Giulia*
RMRVe = *Ritrovamenti Monetali di età Romana nel Veneto*
RPC = *Roman Provincial Coinage*
RPC online = *Roman Provincial Coinage* (online data base)
RRC = *Roman Republican Coinage*
SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*
TAF = *Corpus des trésors monétaires antiques de la France*
TKN = *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum*

Contributing authors (in order of content):

Varbin Varbanov

National Archaeological Institute with Museum Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia,
Regional Museum of History, Ruse
Sofia – Ruse, Bulgaria
ramonearhaeology@abv.bg

Tomislav Bilić

Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
Zagreb, Croatia
tbilic@amz.hr

Pero Josifovski

Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia
Skopje, North Macedonia
pjosifovski@yahoo.com

Cristian Găzdac

University Babes-Bolyai
Institute of Archaeology
Cluj-Napoca, Romania
cgazdac2000@yahoo.co.uk

Claudiu Purdea

University '1 Decembrie 1918' of Alba Iulia
Institute of Systematic Archaeology 'Iuliu Paul'
Alba Iulia, Romania
claudiu.purdea@uab.ro

Mirjana Vojvoda, Saša Redžić, Ilija Danković

Institute of Archaeology

National Institute of the Republic of Serbia

Belgrade, Serbia

mirjana.vojvoda@gmail.com

sasa.redzic@gmail.com

ilija.dankovic@yahoo.de

Miroslav Nađ

Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

Zagreb, Croatia

mnad@amz.hr

Kyrylo Myzgin

University of Warsaw, Faculty of Archaeology,

Department of Numismatics and Museology

Warsaw, Poland

kvmyszgin@gmail.com

Lajos Juhász

Institute of Archaeological Sciences, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University

Budapest, Hungary

juhasz.lajos@btk.elte.hu

Péter F. Kovács

Damjanich János Museum

Szolnok, Hungary

kovacs@djm.hu

Alenka Miškec

National museum of Slovenia

Ljubljana, Slovenia

alenka.miskec@nms.si

Miha Mlinar

Tolmin museum

Tolmin, Slovenia

miha.mlinar@tol-muzej.si

Jarosław Bodzek

Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Kraków

Kraków, Poland

jaroslaw.bodzek@uj.edu.pl

Barbara Zając

National Museum in Kraków

Kraków, Poland

basia.zajac21@gmail.com

Svetoslava Filipova

Regional Historical Museum of Kyustendil

Kyustendil, Bulgaria

filipovas@gmail.com

Sanja Bitrak

Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia

Skopje, North Macedonia

sanjabitrak@yahoo.com

Lily Grozdanova

“St.Kliment Ohridski” University of Sofia Faculty of History,

Department of Ancient History, Thracian Studies and Medieval History

Sofia, Bulgaria

lgrozdanov@uni-sofia.bg

Andrea Stella

Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali: archeologia, storia dell'arte, del cinema e della musica

Padova, Italy

a.stella@unipd.it

Milica Šeldarova Vasileva

Museum of the City of Skopje

Archaeological Site of SCUPI

Skopje, North Macedonia

seldarova@yahoo.com

Lucian Munteanu

Romanian Academy, Institute of Archaeology Iași

Iași, Romania

lucanas2000@yahoo.com

Mircea Mamalaucă

Museum "Vasile Pârvan"

Bârlad, Romania

mircea_mamalauca@yahoo.com

Svetlana Miljanić

National Bank of Serbia

Belgrade, Serbia

svetlana.miljanic@nbs.rs

Željko Demo

Zagreb, Croatia

zeljkodemo@gmail.com

Ivana Popović

Belgrade, Serbia

ivpop055@gmail.com

Sonja Jovanović

Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

sonjas612@yahoo.com

Vujadin Ivanišević

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

vujadin.ivanisevic@gmail.com

Additional data:

Scientific monograph DE VETERE PECUNIA. Scripta in honorem Bojana Borić-Brešković

Mirjana Vojvoda, PhD, Institute of Archaeology Belgrade (editor/reviewer/author)

orcid.org/0000-0001-7520-0988

Alenka Miškec, Doc. PhD, National Museum of Slovenija, Ljubljana (editor/reviewer/author)

orcid.org/0000-0002-7395-9154

Gordana Grabež, The Palace of Science, Belgrade (editor)

Bojan Đurić, Prof. emeritus PhD, Ljubljana (reviewer)

Dilyana Boteva, Prof. PhD, University of Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski, Sofia (reviewer)

Ilya S. Prokopov, Prof. PhD, Southwestern University "Neofit Rilski", Blagoevgrad (reviewer)

Cristian Găzdac, Prof. PhD, Academia Română, Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Artei, Cluj-Napoca (reviewer/author)

Željko Demo, PhD, Zagreb (reviewer/author)

Ulrike Peter, PhD, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Berlin (reviewer)

Andrej Šemrov, PhD, National Museum of Slovenija, Ljubljana (reviewer)

Milica Tapavički-Ilić, PhD, Institute of Archaeology Belgrade (reviewer)

Ivana Popović, PhD, Belgrade (reviewer/author)

CIP - Каталогизacija y publikaciji
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

737.1"02"(082)

DE vetere pecunia : scripta in honorem Bojana Borić-Brešković / [editors
Mirjana Vojvoda, Alenka Miškec, Gordana Grabež] ; [translation by authors].
- Belgrade : National Museum of Serbia, 2025 (Belgrade : Birograf). - 446 str. :
ilustr. ; 28 cm. - (Numismatics ; 7)

Slika B. Borić Brešković. - Tiraž 100. - Editor's note: str. 9-10. - Napomene i
bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Bibliografija uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-7269-249-5

a) Новац, римски -- Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 181076233

