

TOMISLAV BILIĆ

*Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19
HR – 10000 Zagreb
tbilic@amz.hr*

LATE ROMAN REPUBLICAN HOARDS TERMINATING
WITH THE DENARII OF C.L. CAESARES*

**UDK: 904:737.1(4-12) »652«
Izvorni znanstveni rad**

Several coin hoards terminating with the denarii of C.L. Caesares found in SE Europe are analysed in this paper, utilizing the new dating of this type of coinage, differing from that offered in the standard reference for this coinage (RIC). All the hoards were studied anew for the requirements of this paper and are here published with reference to modern numismatic literature. The concealment of the hoards has been regularly associated with either Augustus' Balkan campaigns or the great Illyrian-Pannonian uprising of AD 6-9, but in both cases they were interred during the early Imperial period. Yet their nature reflects the earlier, pre-Augustan and Early Augustan circulation, rather than the new Roman order of the 1st c. AD. It is argued that the hoards only indicate the penetration of Republican coins to Illyricum as a result of Augustus' campaigns, rather than being an indicator of either of these military operations in the area.

Key words: Balkans, Republican coinage, C.L. Caesares

Ključne riječi: Balkan, rimski republikanski novac, Gaj i Lucije Cezar

*I would like to dedicate this paper to my dear teacher and colleague Ivan Mirnik, who, besides being one of the most prominent Croatian numismatists, was and still is truly a remarkably patient educator and exceptionally generous in offering his colossal wealth of knowledge to his students.

Several coin hoards terminating with the denarii of C.L. Caesares¹ have been found in what would later become the provinces of Pannonia Savia and Secunda, Dalmatia (all three originally a part of the Illyricum), Moesia (later Superior), Noricum (later Mediterraneum), and the Regio X of Italia. Kos does not believe that the date of concealment of these hoards can be established, but they do indicate »the penetration of Republican coins from Cisalpina to Pannonia, surely a result of Augustus' campaigns in the Balkans« (Kos 1986: 30), while Crawford similarly states that the hoards of Augustan denarii were »following in the wake of the penetration of Roman armies« (CRAWFORD 1985: 236).² Considering the new chronology of the C.L. Caesares issues, differing from that given in the standard work on the period (RIC I²), it seems opportune to analyze the content of these hoards in light of these new insights; also, considering their reflection on important events that took place in the territories associated with the hoards, namely the great Illyrian-Pannonian uprising of AD 6-9, it further seems appropriate to evaluate the importance and relevance of these hoards in discussing the history of the period.

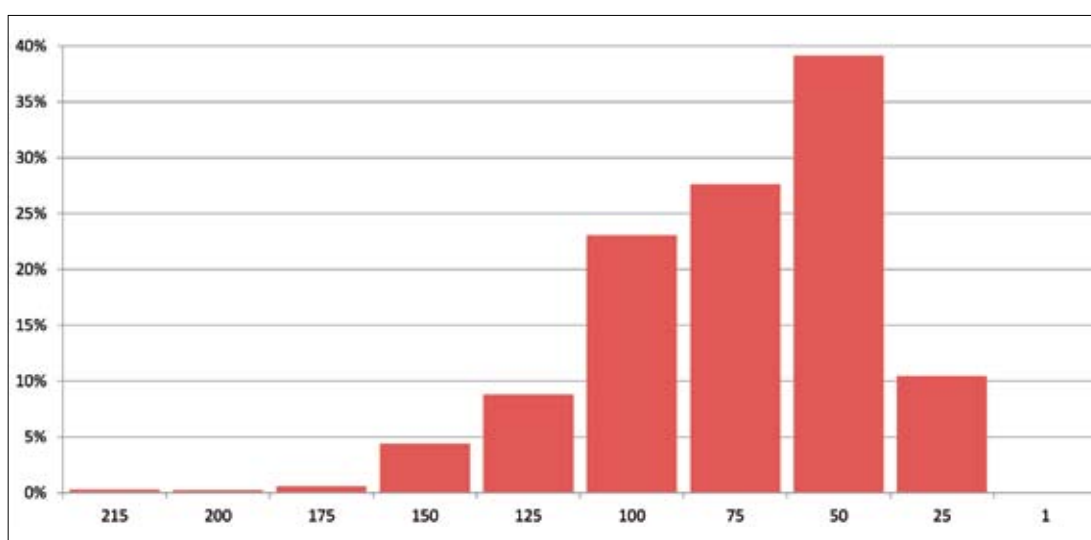


Chart 1: hoards 1-3, 5-9: percentage of coins per 25-year period

The concealment of the hoards can be associated with either Augustus' Balkan campaigns or the great Illyrian-Pannonian uprising of AD 6-9 – or both, naturally – but in both cases they were interred during the early Imperial period. Yet their nature reflects the earlier, pre-Augustan and Early Augustan circulation, rather than the new Roman order of the 1st c. AD. The hoards in question are:³

¹ On Gaius and Lucius Caesar see PULIDO – FLORES 2011: 16-23, 47-53.

² He adds to the discussion the hoards from Celje, *RRCH* 462; MIRNIK 1981: 41 no. 49; Kos 1988 = *FMRSL* II.73-75, 360/4, 32-31 BC, and Poetovio, *RRCH* 492; MIRNIK 1981: 47 no. 83; *FMRSL* II.301-303, 434/22, 16 BC; we can add a hoard from Krndija near Đakovo, published by GARDAS 1990, terminating with *RIC* I².178a, 12-11 BC (cf. BILIĆ 2012: 371 n. 190), but these do not interest us here.

³ For the needs of this paper, all the coins from the previously published hoards (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 8) are cited with references to the modern literature (263 pieces of no. 2 have already been organized as such by BALEN-LETUNIĆ – DUKAT – MIRNIK 1991/1993), except for hoards nos. 3, 6, 7 and 9, which have already been organized in accordance with *RRC* and *RIC*.

1. VALPOVO 1886, partly dispersed⁴

This hoard »marks the beginning of the penetration of Roman coinage deep inland from the Dalmatian coast« (CRAWFORD 1985: 236). Its concealment has already been associated with the great Illyrian-Pannonian uprising by Brunšmid (1886: 105-106, 1895: 108; cf. DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ 2006: 107 n. 163; RADMAN-LIVAJA – DIZDAR 2010: 55).

The content of the hoard:

Table 1. The Valpovo hoard

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
RRC 199.1a	1 d	155 BC
RRC 256.1	1 d	130 BC
RRC 286.1	1 d	116/115 BC
RRC 289.1	1 d	115/114 BC
RRC 297.1b	1 d	112/111 BC
RRC 316.1	1 d	105 BC
RRC 317.3b	1 d	104 BC
RRC 340.1	2 d	90 BC
RRC 341.2	1 d	90 BC
RRC 343.2	1 d	89 BC
RRC 344.3	1 d	89 BC
RRC 345.2	1 q	88 BC
RRC 348.1	1 d	87 BC
RRC 350a.2	2 d	86 BC
RRC 353.1a	1 d	85 BC
RRC 363.1b	1 d	82 BC
RRC 382.1a	2 d	79 BC
RRC 383.1	1 d	79 BC
RRC 387.1	1 d	77 BC
RRC 390.1	1 d	76 BC
RRC 393.1b	1 d	76-75 BC
RRC 407.2	1 d	68 BC
RRC 408.1b	1 d	67 BC
RRC 414.1	2 d	63 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
RRC 415.1	1 d	62 BC
RRC 416.1a	1 d	62 BC
RRC 426.1	1 d	56 BC
RRC 427.2	1 d	56 BC
RRC 433.1	1 d	54 BC
RRC 444.1a	1 d	49 BC*
RRC 450.2	1 d	48 BC
RRC 458.1	1 d	47-46 BC
RRC 463.1a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.2	2 d	46 BC
RRC 464.3a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 467.1a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 494.27	1 d	42 BC
RRC 543.1	1 d	32 BC
RRC 544.14	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.18	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.20	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.28	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.35	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
RIC 52a	1 d	ca. 20-19 BC
RIC 322	1 d	ca. 19 BC
RIC 171a	1 d	15-13 BC
RIC 199	1 d	8 BC
RIC 207	1 d	2/1 BC

* From the Brunšmid collection (AMZ inv. no. B846), not mentioned in either BRUNŠMID 1886 or 1895.

The earliest coin is, thus, from 155 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.

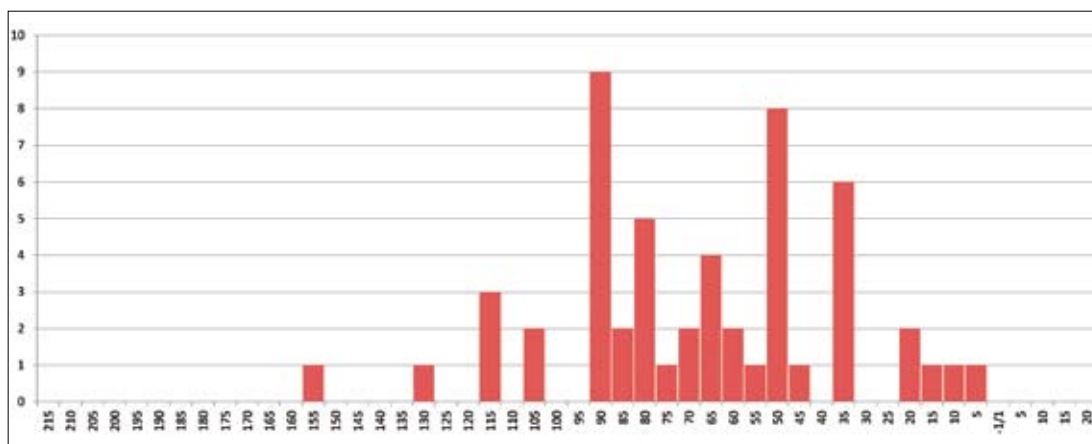


Chart 2. The Valpovo hoard: number of coins per five-year period

⁴ BRUNŠMID 1886, 1895; RCH 547; MIRNIK 1981: 48 no. 91; KOS 1986: 30; BILIĆ 2009; RADMAN-LIVAJA – DIZDAR 2010: 54-55.

2. LIČKI RIBNIK, partly dispersed⁵

Due to an unfortunate oversight, the passage on the Mazin type of hoards was erroneously inserted here; the Lički Ribnik hoard, naturally, has nothing to do with this type of hoards.

This hoard is one of the so-called Mazin-type hoards, consisting of Carthaginian, Numidian and Egyptian and other Greek and Italic/Roman currency (*aes rude*, *aes formatum*, *aes signatum*, *aes grave*) (DUKAT – MIRNIK 1976: 200; MIRNIK 1987: 369; BILIĆ 2012: 367). Crawford calls the context in which this coinage penetrated into the interior »almost wholly obscure« (CRAWFORD 1985: 222); he adds that it is, to him, »wholly baffling why this relatively small area suckled in bronze predominantly from Rome and North Africa from the middle of the third century onwards and then on the whole simply kept it in its original form for up to a century and a half...« (CRAWFORD 1985: 223). It is truly impossible to say whether this money entered the area through Dyrrachium, whether it entered the area in connection with the amber trade, and whether they were concealed because of the insecurity caused by the Roman military threat (MIRNIK 1987: 373-374). Klemenc associated the concealment of the hoard with the great Illyrian-Pannonian uprising of AD 6-9 (cf. BATOVIĆ 2011: 15), and he further associated it with the Valpovo hoard (KLEMENC 1935: 86).

After KLEMENC 1935: 87-103 and BALEN-LETUNIĆ – DUKAT – MIRNIK 1991/1993:

Table 2. The Lički Ribnik hoard.

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
RRC 44.5	1 d	from 211 BC
RRC 53.2	1 d	after 211 BC
RRC 197.1	1 d	157-156 BC
RRC 200.1	1 d	149 BC
RRC 214.1b	1 d	148 BC
RRC 219.1c	1 d	146 BC
RRC 226.1a	1 d	141 BC
RRC 233.1	1 d	138 BC
RRC 239.1	2 d	136 BC
RRC 245.1	3 d	134 BC
RRC 249.1	1 d	132 BC
RRC 252.1	1 d	131 BC
RRC 254.1	1 d	131 BC
RRC 260.1	1 d	128 BC
RRC 273.1	2 d	124 BC
RRC 278.1	1 d	121 BC
RRC 280.1	1 d	120 BC
RRC 281.1	1 d	119 BC
RRC 282.3	1 d	118 BC
RRC 282.5	1 d	118 BC
RRC 285.2	3 d	116-115 BC
RRC 286.1	3 d	116-115 BC
RRC 289.1	2 d	115-114 BC
RRC 290.1	1 d	114-113 BC
RRC 296.1d	1 d	112-111 BC
RRC 299.1b	4 d	111-110 BC
RRC 302.1	5 d	109-108 BC
RRC 305.1	1 d	109-108 BC
RRC 306.1	1 d	108-107 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 308.1a	1 d	108-107 BC
RRC 311.1a	1 d	106 BC
RRC 316.1	4 d	105 BC
RRC 317.2	1 d	104 BC
RRC 317.3a	1 d	104 BC
RRC 318.1a	1 d	104 BC
RRC 319.1	5 d	103 BC
RRC 324.1	1 d	101 BC
RRC 325.1b	1 d	101 BC
RRC 334.1	1 d	?97 BC
RRC 335.3d	1 d	late 90s BC
RRC 337.3	2 d	91 BC
RRC 340.1	4 d	90 BC
RRC 341.1	4 d	90 BC
RRC 342.5b	7 d	90 BC
RRC 344.1	1 d	89 BC
RRC 344.2	1 d	89 BC
RRC 344.2b	1 d	89 BC
RRC 344.2c	1 d	89 BC
RRC 344.3	4 d	89 BC
RRC 345.1	3 d	88 BC
RRC 348.1	1 d	87 BC
RRC 350A.2	2 d	86 BC
RRC 352.1a	1 d	85 BC
RRC 352.1c	2 d	85 BC
RRC 353.1a	1 d	85 BC
RRC 354.1	3 d	84 BC
RRC 357.1b	1 d	83 BC
RRC 360.1b	1 d	82 BC
RRC 361.1b	1 d	82 BC

⁵ KLEMENC 1935; RICH 546; MIRNIK 1981: 44-45, no. 68; KOS 1986: 30; BALEN-LETUNIĆ – DUKAT – MIRNIK 1991-1993.

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 362.1	1 d	82 BC
RRC 363.1b	1 d	82 BC
RRC 363.1c	1 d	82 BC
RRC 364.1a	2 d	83/82 BC
RRC 364.1c	1 d	83/82 BC
RRC 367.5	1 d	82 BC
RRC 372.2	4 d	81 BC
RRC 379.1	2 d	80 BC
RRC 379.2	1 d	80 BC
RRC 380.1	1 d	80 BC
RRC 382.1b	1 d	79 BC
RRC 383.1	6 d	79 BC
RRC 384.1	5 d	79 BC
RRC 385.2	2 d	78 BC
RRC 385.3	1 d	78 BC
RRC 386.1	1 d	78 BC
RRC 387.1	2 d	77 BC
RRC 388.1b	1 d	77 BC
RRC 389.1	1 d	76 BC
RRC 391.2	2 d	75 BC
RRC 392.1a	1 d	75 BC
RRC 393.1a	1 d	76/75 BC
RRC 406.1	1 d	69 BC
RRC 407.1	1 d	68 BC
RRC 408.1b (99)	1 d	67 BC
RRC 408.1b	1 d	67 BC
RRC 408.1b (71)	1 d	67 BC
RRC 410.7c	1 d	66 BC
RRC 412.1	1 d	64 BC
RRC 413.1	1 d	63 BC
RRC 414.1	1 d	63 BC
RRC 415.1	3 d	62 BC
RRC 416.1a	2 d	62 BC
RRC 419.1a	1 d	61 BC
RRC 420.2a	1 d	60 BC
RRC 422.1b	5 d	58 BC
RRC 423.1	2 d	57 BC
RRC 425.1	2 d	56 BC
RRC 426.4b	1 d	56 BC
RRC 426.3	1 d	56 BC
RRC 427.1	1 d	56 BC
RRC 429.1	1 d	55 BC
RRC 431.1	1 d	55 BC
RRC 433.1	1 d	54 BC
RRC 435.1	1 d	53 BC
RRC 436.1	1 d	52 BC
RRC 441.1b	2 d	49 BC
RRC 442.1a	3 d	49 BC
RRC 443.1	11 d	49/48 BC
RRC 448.1a	1 d	48 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 448.2a	2 d	48 BC
RRC 449.1a	2 d	48 BC
RRC 449.2	1 d	48 BC
RRC 450.2	1 d	48 BC
RRC 452.2	1 d	48/47 BC
RRC 454.1	1 d	47 BC
RRC 455.1b	1 d	47 BC
RRC 458.1	3 d	47/46 BC
RRC 462.1a	1 d	47/46 BC
RRC 463.1b	5 d	46 BC
RRC 463.2	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.1	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.3a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.4	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.5	3 d	46 BC
RRC 465.4	2 d	46 BC
RRC 467.1a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 467.1b	1 d	46 BC
RRC 469.1a	1 d	46/45 BC
RRC 469.1c	1 d	46/45 BC
RRC 474.1b	1 d	45 BC
RRC 480.9	1 d	44 BC
RRC 480.12	1 d	44 BC
RRC 480.18	1 d	44 BC
RRC 483.2	1 d	44/43 BC
RRC 487.2a	1 d	43 BC
RRC 488.1	1 d	43 BC
RRC 494.23	7 d	42 BC
RRC 494.33	1 d	42 BC
RRC 494.37	1 d	42 BC
RRC 494.42	2 d	42 BC
RRC 500.3	1 d	43/42 BC
RRC 511.3a	2 d	42-40 BC
RRC 511.4a	1 d	42-40 BC
RRC 517.2	1 d	41 BC
RRC 540.2	1 d	36 BC
RRC 542.2	1 d	33 BC
RRC 544.14	9 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.15	9 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.16	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.17	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.18	5 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.19	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.20	6 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.21	6 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.24	4 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.25	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.26	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.27	4 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.30	4 d	32-31 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 544.31	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.33	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.35	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.36	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.38	3 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
RIC 250a	1 d	ca. 32-29 BC
RIC 254b	1 d	ca. 32-29 BC
RIC 264	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
RIC 265a	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
RIC 267	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
RIC 271	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
RIC 54b	1 d	ca. 20-19 BC
RIC 77a	1 d	ca. 19 BC
RIC 86a	8 d	ca. 19 BC
RIC 311 diff.	1 d	ca. 19 BC
RIC 317	1 d	ca. 19 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RIC 33a	2 d	ca. 19-18 BC
RIC 36a	1 d	ca. 19-18 BC
RIC 41	1 d	ca. 19-18 BC
RIC 42a	2 d	ca. 19-18 BC
RIC 105b	1 d	ca. 18 BC
RIC 126	2 d	ca. 18-17/16 BC
RIC 130	1 d	ca. 18-17/16 BC
RIC 131 or 134a	1 d	ca. 18-17/16 BC
RIC 167a	1 d	15-13 BC
RIC 171a	4 d	15-13 BC
RIC 174	2 d	12 BC
RIC 187a	2 d	11-10 BC
RIC 199	1 d	9-8 BC
RIC 210	2 d	2/1 BC
<i>Numidia</i>		
Juba I, CNNM 84 (p. 50)	1 d	60-46 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from ca. 211 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.

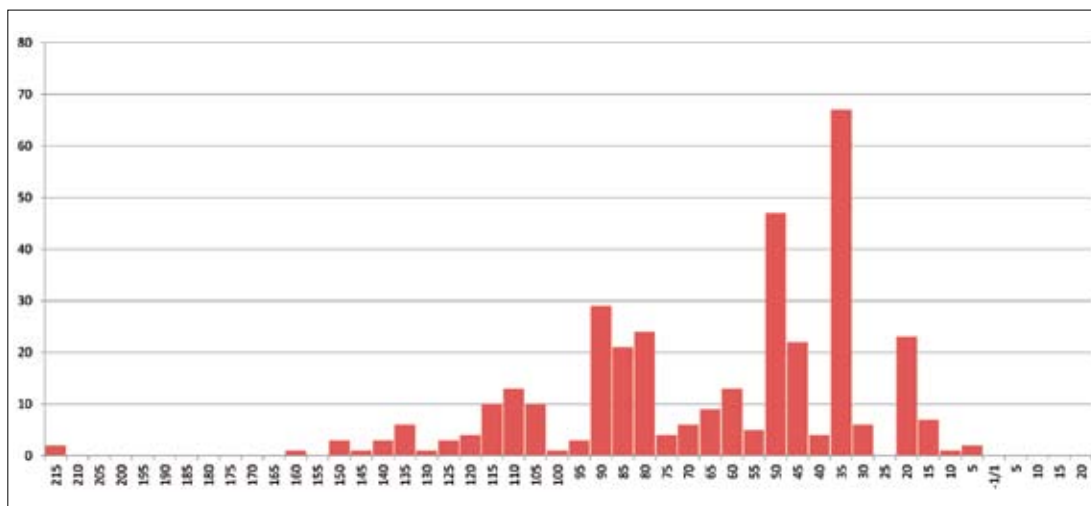


Chart 3. The Lički Ribnik hoard: number of coins per five-year period

3. KRUŠEVO near Obrovac, partly dispersed (*RRC* 535; MIRNIK 1981: 44, no. 66; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2005). The hoard was associated with the great Illyrian-Pannonian uprising of AD 6-9 by ŠEPAROVIĆ 2005: 71, and also with the Lički Ribnik hoard.

After ŠEPAROVIĆ 2005: 67-70:

Table 3. The Kruševo hoard.

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
<i>RRC</i> 153.1	1 d	189-180 BC
<i>RRC</i> 203.1a	2 d	153 BC
<i>RRC</i> 228.2	1 d	140 BC
<i>RRC</i> 232.1	1 d	138 BC
<i>RRC</i> 245.1	1 d	134 BC
<i>RRC</i> 259.1	2 d	129 BC
<i>RRC</i> 270.1	1 d	125 BC
<i>RRC</i> 275.1	2 d	123 BC
<i>RRC</i> 282.1	2 d	118 BC
<i>RRC</i> 282.4	1 d	118 BC
<i>RRC</i> 289.1	1 d	115-114 BC
<i>RRC</i> 299.1b	1 d	111-110 BC
<i>RRC</i> 300.1	1 d	110-109 BC
<i>RRC</i> 308.1b	1 d	108-107 BC
<i>RRC</i> 322.1a	1 d	102 BC
<i>RRC</i> 334.1	1 d	97 BC
<i>RRC</i> 341.2	1 d	90 BC
<i>RRC</i> 342.5b	1 d	90 BC
<i>RRC</i> 343.2a	1 q	89 BC
<i>RRC</i> 345.1	2 d	88 BC
<i>RRC</i> 345.2	1 q	88 BC
<i>RRC</i> 348.4	1 q	87 BC
<i>RRC</i> 356.1a	1 d	84 BC
<i>RRC</i> 364.1d	1 d	83-82 BC
<i>RRC</i> 362	1 d	82 BC
<i>RRC</i> 380.1	1 d	80 BC
<i>RRC</i> 383.1	1 d	79 BC
<i>RRC</i> 403.1	1 d	70 BC
<i>RRC</i> 407.1	1 d	68 BC
<i>RRC</i> 407.2	1 d	68 BC
<i>RRC</i> 410.9a	1 d	66 BC
<i>RRC</i> 413.1	1 d	63 BC
<i>RRC</i> 416.1a	1 d	62 BC
<i>RRC</i> 421	1 d	59 BC
<i>RRC</i> 422.1b	1 d	58 BC
<i>RRC</i> 424.1	1 d	57 BC
<i>RRC</i> 425.1	1 d	56 BC
<i>RRC</i> 428.2	1 d	55 BC
<i>RRC</i> 442.1a	1 d	49 BC
<i>RRC</i> 443.1	2 d	49-48 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
<i>RIC</i> 251	1 d	32-29 BC
<i>RIC</i> 252	1 d	32-29 BC
<i>RIC</i> 265a	1 d	29-27 BC
<i>RIC</i> 276	2 q	29-27 BC
<i>RIC</i> 322	1 d	19 BC
<i>RIC</i> 37a	1 d	19-18 BC
<i>RIC</i> 41	1 d	19-18 BC
<i>RIC</i> 525	1 d	19-18 BC
<i>RIC</i> 110	1 d	18 BC
<i>RIC</i> 126	1 d	18-16 BC
<i>RIC</i> 126?	1 d	18-16 BC
<i>RIC</i> 167a	1 d	15-13 BC
<i>RIC</i> 207	2 d	2/1 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from 189-180 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.⁶

⁶ An additional 53 indeterminate denarii or quinarii of the 2nd and 1st c. BC are known to have been in this hoard.

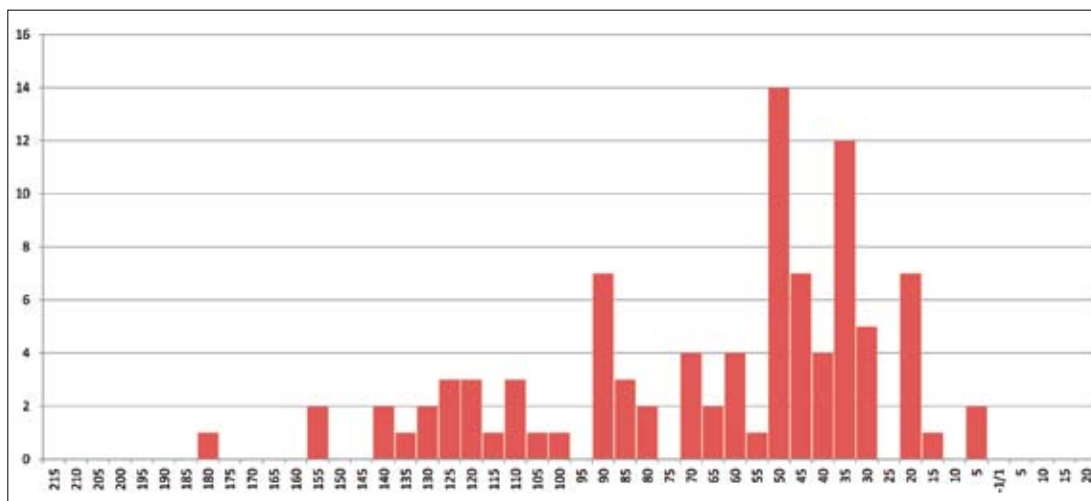


Chart 4. The Kruševo hoard: number of coins per five-year period

4. MEDVEDNICA HILL near Ljubljana (Vrhnika, Bevke hoard)⁷

After FMRSL i.374-375:

Table 4. The Bevke hoard.

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
RRC 494.23	1 d	42 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
RIC 105	1 d	ca. 18 BC
RIC 389	1 as	15 BC
RIC 207, 208 or 210	2 d	2/1 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from 42 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.

⁷ MÜLLNER 1879: cxxxviii, c-d; RRCH 536; MIRNIK 1981: 45, no. 73; FMRSL i.374-375.

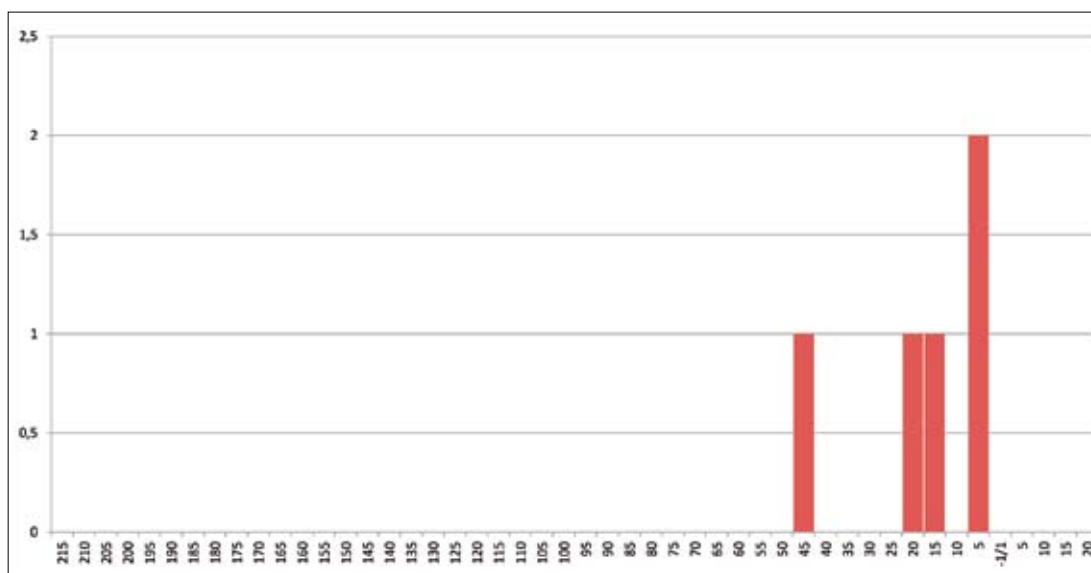


Chart 5. The Bevke hoard: number of coins per five-year period

5. MAGDALENSBERG, immured in a wall⁸

After BRUCK 1961: 168-170, BANNERT – PICCOTTINI 1972: 54-55:

Table 5. The Magdalensberg hoard.

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date	Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
Republican					
RRC 200.1	1 d	155 BC	RRC 449.1a	1 d	48 BC
RRC 238.1	1 d	136 BC	RRC 462.2	2 q	47-46 BC
RRC 302.1	1 d	109-108 BC	RRC 480.13	1 d	44 BC
RRC 337.3	1 d	91 BC	RRC 494.23	1 d	42 BC
RRC 341.2	1 d	90 BC	RRC 494.42a	1 d	42 BC
RRC 341.2 (barbaric)	1 d	90 BC	RRC 511.4a	1 d	42-40 BC
RRC 342.5b	1 d	90 BC	RRC 544.14	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 344.1a	1 d	89 BC	Imperial		
RRC 364.1d	1 d	83-82 BC	RIC 251	1 d	ca. 32-29 BC
RRC 378.1c	1 d	81 BC	RIC 75a	1 d	ca. 19 BC
RRC 401.1	1 d	71 BC	RIC 207	1 d	2/1 BC
RRC 442.1b	1 d	49 BC	Celtic		
			Magdalensberg	7 scs*	bef. 16/15 BC
			Karlsteiner	1 scs	bef. 16/15 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from 155 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.⁹

* Small Celtic silver coins.

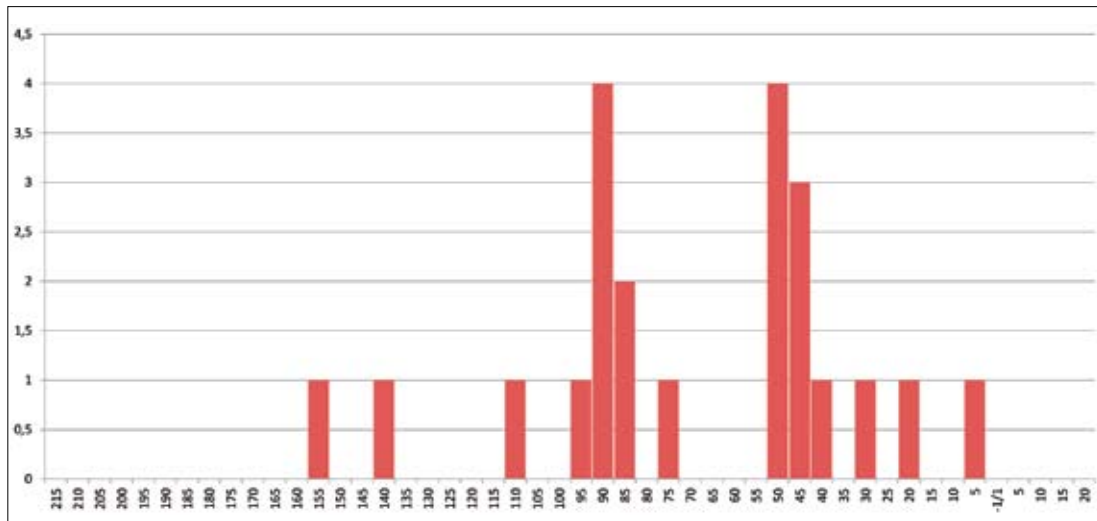


Chart 6. The Magdalensberg hoard: number of coins per five-year period

⁸ BRUCK 1961: 168-170, Schatzfund I; RRC 538; BANNERT – PICCOTTINI 1972: 54-55, Schatzfund II; Kos 1986: 30; RUSKE 2011: 66 (V13).

⁹ One aureus and three denarii of these C. L. CAESARES issues were also found in Magdalensberg as stray finds (BANNERT – PICCOTTINI 1972: 42 no. 461-464).

6. VERGNACCO, Reana del Rojale, Udine, pot burial¹⁰

After BACKENDORF 1998: 453-454:

Table 6. The Vergnacco hoard

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
Republican		
RRC 134.1	2 d	194-190 BC
RRC 199.1a	1 d	155 BC
RRC 204.1	1 d	152 BC
RRC 207.1	1 d	150 BC
RRC 208.1	1 d	149 BC
RRC 215.1	1 d	148 BC
RRC 216.1	1 d	148 BC
RRC 217.1	2 d	147 BC
RRC 220.1	8 d	145 BC
RRC 223.1	1 d	142 BC
RRC 231.1	1 d	138 BC
RRC 243.1	2 d	134 BC
RRC 244.1	1 d	134 BC
RRC 248.1	3 d	133 BC
RRC 253.1	1 d	131 BC
RRC 254.1	1 d	131 BC
RRC 266.1	2 d	126 BC
RRC 273.1	1 d	124 BC
RRC 274.1	1 d	123 BC
RRC 281.1	2 d	119 BC
RRC 283.1ab	1 d	118/117 BC
RRC 284.1ab	1 d	117/116 BC
RRC 285.1	2 d	116/115 BC
RRC 285.2	1 d	116/115 BC
RRC 286.1	5 d	116/115 BC
RRC 289.1	2 d	115/114 BC
RRC 290.1	1 d	114/113 BC
RRC 294.1	1 d	113/112 BC
RRC 299.1ab	1 d	111/110 BC
RRC 300.1	5 d	110/109 BC
RRC 302.1	1 d	109/108 BC
RRC 308.1ab	1 d	108/107 BC
RRC 316.1	3 d	105 BC
RRC 317.1-3b	5 d	104 BC
RRC 328.1	1 d	100 BC
RRC 330.1ab	2 d	100 BC
RRC 336.1a-c	1 d	92 BC
RRC 337.1a-3	2 d	91 BC
RRC 340.1	10 d	90 BC
RRC 341.1-2	2 d	90 BC
RRC 344.1a-3	2 d	89 BC
RRC 348.1-3	1 d	87 BC
RRC 351.1	1 d	86 BC
RRC 357.1ab	1 d	83 BC
RRC 360.1ab; 362.1	1 d	82 BC
RRC 360.1ab; 363.1a-d	2 d	82 BC
RRC 360.1a; 361.1a-c	1 d	82 BC
RRC 364.1a-e	1 d	83-82 BC
RRC 365.1a-c	5 d	82 BC
RRC 366.2ab	1 d	82-81 BC
RRC 367.1, 3, 5	2 d	82 BC
Republican		
RRC 372.1-2	3 d	81 BC
RRC 379.1-2	1 d	80 BC
RRC 382.1ab	1 d	79 BC
RRC 383.1	3 d	79 BC
RRC 385.1-5	1 d	78 BC
RRC 390.1-2	1 d	76 BC
RRC 392.1ab	1 d	75 BC
RRC 397.1	2 d	74 BC
RRC 400.1ab	2 d	71 BC
RRC 403.1	1 d	70 BC
RRC 407.1-2	2 d	68 BC
RRC 408.1ab	10 d	67 BC
RRC 411.1ab	5 d	65 BC
RRC 416.1a-c; 417.1ab	3 d	62 BC
RRC 420.a1-422.1b	2 d	60 or 58 BC
RRC 422.1ab	1 d	58 BC
RRC 429.1-2b	1 d	55 BC
RRC 432.1	1 d	55 BC
RRC 434.1-2	1 d	54 BC
RRC 437.1a-4b	1 d	51 BC
RRC 439.1	2 d	50 BC
RRC 440.1; 444.1a-c	1 d	49 BC
RRC 449.1a-3	2 d	48 BC
RRC 449.1a-4; 451.1	6 d	48 BC
RRC 454.1-2	2 d	47 BC
RRC 459.1-461.1	1 d	47-46 BC
RRC 463.1a-3	2 d	46 BC
RRC 464.2-5	4 d	46 BC
RRC 468.1-2	9 d	46-45 BC
RRC 469.1	2 d	46-45 BC
RRC 472.1-2	2 d	45 BC
RRC 480.1-8	1 d	44 BC
RRC 483.1-2	1 d	44-43 BC
RRC 486.1	2 d	43 BC
RRC 487.1-2c	2 d	43 BC
RRC 433.1-508.3	2 d	54/43-42 BC
RRC 489.1-2; 495.1	1 d	43-42/42 BC
RRC 494.24-31	5 d	42 BC
RRC 494.39a-43a	1 d	42 BC
RRC 513.1-3	1 d	41 BC
RRC 516.1-517.8	1 d	41 BC
RRC 544.8-39	64 d	32-31 BC
Imperial		
RIC 2a-10	2 d	ca. 25-23 BC
RIC 351-358	1 d	16 BC
RIC 359-362	1 d	16 BC
RIC 439-440	1 as	6 BC
“Augustus”	105	43-2/1 BC
- Ric 207...212	?	2/1 BC-AD 5
Provincial		
RPC 625	1 sem	38-36 BC

¹⁰ GNECCHI 1902: 548-551; RCH 548; BROZZI 1985: 197-199 no. 3; KOS 1986: 30; BACKENDORF 1998: 126-127, 453-454.

The earliest coin is, thus, from 194-190 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.¹¹

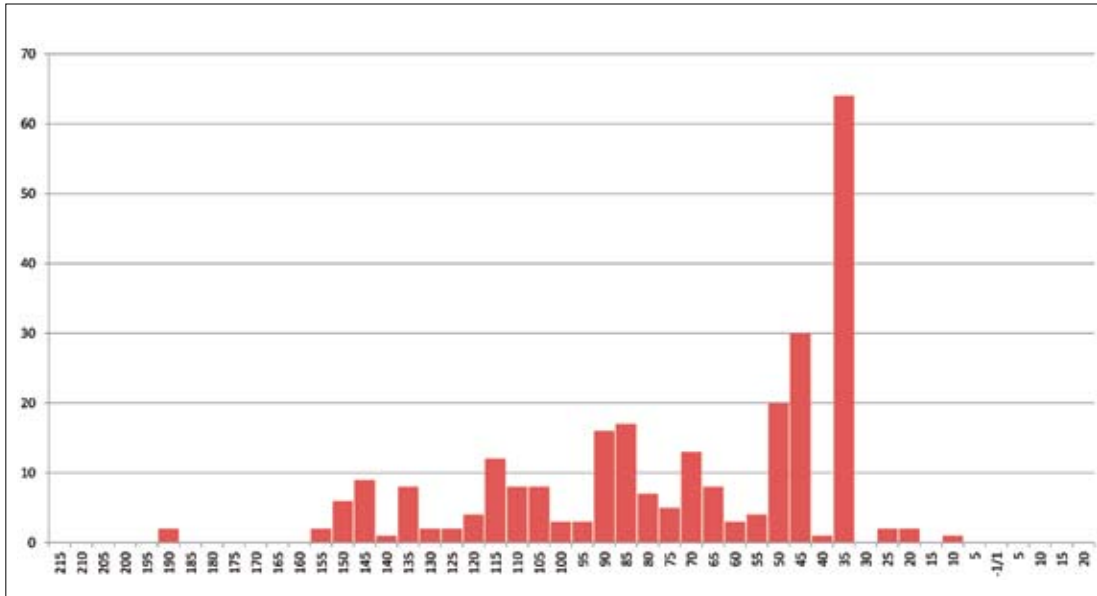


Chart 7. The Vergnacco hoard (without Augustus): number of coins per five-year period

7. AQUILEIA 1921, pot burial¹²

After BACKENDORF 1998: 242-246:

Table 7. The Aquileia hoard

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
RRC 89.1a	1 v	208 BC
RRC 220.1	1 d	145 BC
RRC 230.1	1 d	139 BC
RRC 233.1	1 d	138 BC
RRC 234.1	1 d	137 BC
RRC 236.1a	2 d	137 BC
RRC 236.1c	1 d	137 BC
RRC 237.1a	1 d	136 BC
RRC 242.1	1 d	135 BC
RRC 250.1	1 d	132 BC
RRC 263.1a	1 d	127 BC
RRC 281.1	1 d	119 BC
RRC 285.2	1 d	116/115 BC
RRC 286.1	2 d	116/115 BC
RRC 287.1	1 d	115/114 BC
RRC 289.1	3 d	115/114 BC
RRC 291.1	1 d	114/113 BC
RRC 296.1k	1 d	112/111 BC
RRC 299.1b	4 d	111/110 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 308.1a	1 d	108/107 BC
RRC 313.1c	1 d	106 BC
RRC 316.1	3 d	105 BC
RRC 317.3b	1 d	104 BC
RRC 319.1	2 d	103 BC
RRC 320.1	1 d	103 BC
RRC 324.1	2 d	101 BC
RRC 328.1	2 d	100 BC
RRC 329.1a	1 d	100 BC
RRC 329.1b	1 d	100 BC
RRC 335.1a	1 d	ca. 93 BC
RRC 336.1b	1 d	92 BC
RRC 337.3	6 d	91 BC
RRC 340.1	9 d	90 BC
RRC 341.1	1 d	90 BC
RRC 341.2	5 d	90 BC
RRC 342.3b	1 d	90 BC
RRC 342.4b	1 d	90 BC
RRC 342.5b	8 d	90 BC
RRC 343.1b	3 d	89 BC

¹¹ BACKENDORF 1998: 126 and n. 548 dates the closing of the hoard with "RIC Aug. 207...212"; RIC 211-212 were minted in AD 5, according to WOLTERS 2002: 310-311, 322.

¹² BRUSIN 1928; RRCH 522; KOS 1986: 30; BACKENDORF 1998: 39, 242-246.

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>RRC 344.1a</i>	5 d	89 BC
<i>RRC 344.2b</i>	5 d	89 BC
<i>RRC 344.3</i>	1 d	89 BC
<i>RRC 346.1d</i>	1 d	88 BC
<i>RRC 348.1</i>	3 d	87 BC
<i>RRC 349.1</i>	1 d	87 BC
<i>RRC 350a.2</i>	9 d	86 BC
<i>RRC 352.1a</i>	2 d	85 BC
<i>RRC 352.1b</i>	1 d	85 BC
<i>RRC 352.1c</i>	5 d	85 BC
<i>RRC 353.1a</i>	1 d	85 BC
<i>RRC 353.1c</i>	6 d	85 BC
<i>RRC 354.1</i>	6 d	84 BC
<i>RRC 356.1a</i>	1 d	84 BC
<i>RRC 357.1b</i>	2 d	83 BC
<i>RRC 361.1c</i>	5 d	82 BC
<i>RRC 363.1d</i>	3 d	82 BC
<i>RRC 364.1c</i>	4 d	83-82 BC
<i>RRC 364.1d</i>	5 d	83-82 BC
<i>RRC 367.5</i>	1 d	82 BC
<i>RRC 372.2</i>	5 d	81 BC
<i>RRC 374.1</i>	1 d	81 BC
<i>RRC 374.2</i>	2 d	81 BC
<i>RRC 379.1</i>	2 d	80 BC
<i>RRC 379.2</i>	2 d	80 BC
<i>RRC 380.1</i>	2 d	80 BC
<i>RRC 382.1bd</i>	4 d	79 BC
<i>RRC 383.1</i>	2 d	79 BC
<i>RRC 384.1</i>	3 d	79 BC
<i>RRC 385.1</i>	1 d	78 BC
<i>RRC 385.3</i>	2 d	78 BC
<i>RRC 387.1</i>	1 d	77 BC
<i>RRC 388.1b</i>	1 d	77 BC
<i>RRC 390.2</i>	1 d	76 BC
<i>RRC 391.3</i>	1 d	75 BC
<i>RRC 392.1b</i>	1 d	75 BC
<i>RRC 393.1a</i>	2 d	76-75 BC
<i>RRC 393.1b</i>	1 d	76-75 BC
<i>RRC 394.1a</i>	5 d	74 BC
<i>RRC 395.1</i>	1 d	74 BC
<i>RRC 401.1</i>	1 d	71 BC
<i>RRC 403.1</i>	1 d	70 BC
<i>RRC 405.5</i>	2 d	69 BC
<i>RRC 406.1</i>	1 d	69 BC
<i>RRC 407.2</i>	4 d	68 BC
<i>RRC 408.1b</i>	2 d	67 BC
<i>RRC 409.1</i>	1 d	67 BC
<i>RRC 409.2</i>	1 d	67 BC
<i>RRC 410.3</i>	1 d	66 BC
<i>RRC 410.5</i>	1 d	66 BC
<i>RRC 412.1</i>	9 d	64 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>RRC 413.1</i>	2 d	63 BC
<i>RRC 414.1</i>	5 d	63 BC
<i>RRC 415.1</i>	10 d	62 BC
<i>RRC 416.1a</i>	3 d	62 BC
<i>RRC 416.1b</i>	1 d	62 BC
<i>RRC 420.2a</i>	1 d	60 BC
<i>RRC 421.1</i>	2 d	59 BC
<i>RRC 422.1b</i>	3 d	58 BC
<i>RRC 425.1</i>	7 d	56 BC
<i>RRC 426.1</i>	1 d	56 BC
<i>RRC 426.4b</i>	1 d	56 BC
<i>RRC 428.3</i>	4 d	55 BC
<i>RRC 429.1</i>	1 d	55 BC
<i>RRC 429.2b</i>	1 d	55 BC
<i>RRC 431.1</i>	1 d	55 BC
<i>RRC 432.1</i>	2 d	55 BC
<i>RRC 433.1</i>	4 d	54 BC
<i>RRC 433.2</i>	2 d	54 BC
<i>RRC 434.2</i>	3 d	54 BC
<i>RRC 440.1</i>	3 d	54 BC
<i>RRC 442.1a</i>	6 d	49 BC
<i>RRC 443.1</i>	12 d	49-48 BC
<i>RRC 444.1a</i>	1 d	49 BC
<i>RRC 445.2</i>	1 d	49 BC
<i>RRC 446.1</i>	1 d	49 BC
<i>RRC 448.2a</i>	1 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 448.3</i>	1 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 449.1a</i>	3 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 449.2</i>	1 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 450.1a</i>	1 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 450.2</i>	2 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 451.1</i>	2 d	48 BC
<i>RRC 452.2</i>	1 d	48-47 BC
<i>RRC 455.2a</i>	1 d	47 BC
<i>RRC 458.1</i>	5 d	47-46 BC
<i>RRC 459.1</i>	2 d	47-46 BC
<i>RRC 461.1</i>	1 d	47-46 BC
<i>RRC 463.1a</i>	3 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 463.1b</i>	3 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 463.2</i>	1 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 463.3</i>	4 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 464.1</i>	2 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 464.2</i>	2 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 464.5</i>	6 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 465.1ab</i>	2 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 465.2a</i>	2 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 465.3</i>	1 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 465.4</i>	1 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 465.5</i>	1 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 467.1b</i>	1 d	46 BC
<i>RRC 468.1</i>	2 d	46-45 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>RRC 469.1a</i>	1 d	46-45 BC
<i>RRC 472.2</i>	1 d	45 BC
<i>RRC 473.1</i>	1 d	45 BC
<i>RRC 474.5</i>	1 d	45 BC
<i>RRC 480.5b</i>	1 d	44 BC
<i>RRC 480.10</i>	1 d	44 BC
<i>RRC 480.11</i>	1 d	44 BC
<i>RRC 480.13</i>	2 d	44 BC
<i>RRC 480.17</i>	1 d	44 BC
<i>RRC 485.1</i>	1 d	43 BC
<i>RRC 486.1</i>	2 d	43 BC
<i>RRC 487.2a</i>	1 d	43 BC
<i>RRC 494.21</i>	1 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 494.23</i>	8 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 494.29</i>	1 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 494.37</i>	1 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 494.38</i>	2 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 494.42a</i>	3 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 494.43a</i>	1 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 497.2a</i>	1 d	42 BC
<i>RRC 500.5</i>	2 d	43-42 BC
<i>RRC 506.2</i>	2 d	43-42 BC
<i>RRC 511.2b</i>	2 d	42-40 BC
<i>RRC 511.3a</i>	2 d	42-40 BC
<i>RRC 512.2</i>	1 d	41 BC
<i>RRC 517.2</i>	4 d	41 BC
<i>RRC 520.1</i>	1 d	40 BC
<i>RRC 526.4</i>	1 d	40 BC or later
<i>RRC 528.2a</i>	1 d	39 BC
<i>RRC 533.2</i>	2 d	38 BC
<i>RRC 540.2</i>	1 d	36 BC
<i>RRC 542.1</i>	1 d	33 BC
<i>RRC 542.2</i>	2 d	33 BC
<i>RRC 544.9</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.10</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.14</i>	5 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.15</i>	7 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.17</i>	2 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.18</i>	4 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.19</i>	6 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.20</i>	6 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.21</i>	3 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.22</i>	2 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.24</i>	2 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.25</i>	5 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.26</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.27</i>	4 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.29</i>	2 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.30</i>	4 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.31</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.33</i>	2 d	32-31 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>RRC 544.35</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.36</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.37</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.38</i>	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>RRC 544.8-39</i>	4 d	32-31 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
<i>RIC 250a</i>	1 d	ca. 32-29 BC
<i>RIC 252</i>	1 d	ca. 32-29 BC
<i>RIC 265a</i>	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
<i>RIC 266</i>	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
<i>RIC 267</i>	3 d	ca. 29-27 BC
<i>RIC 271</i>	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
<i>RIC 547a</i>	1 d	after 27 BC
<i>RIC 4a</i>	1 d	ca. 25-23 BC
<i>RIC 37b</i>	2 d	19-18 BC
<i>RIC 42b</i>	1 d	19-18 BC
<i>RIC 51</i>	3 d	20-19 BC
<i>RIC 57</i>	1 d	20-19 BC
<i>RIC 75a</i>	2 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 77a</i>	2 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 86a</i>	5 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 288</i>	2 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 301</i>	1 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 303</i>	2 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 317</i>	1 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 322</i>	1 d	ca. 19 BC
<i>RIC 99</i>	1 d	ca. 18 BC
<i>RIC 102</i>	3 d	ca. 18 BC
<i>RIC 105a</i>	1 d	ca. 18 BC
<i>RIC 126</i>	2 d	ca. 18-17/16 BC
<i>RIC 134a</i>	1 d	18-17 BC
<i>RIC 540</i>	1 d	ca. 17 BC
<i>RIC 144</i>	1 d	ca. 18-17/16 BC
<i>RIC 150a</i>	1 d	ca. 18-17/16 BC
<i>RIC 358</i>	1 d	16 BC
<i>RIC 362</i>	1 d	16 BC
<i>RIC 162a</i>	1 d	15-13 BC
<i>RIC 167a</i>	6 d	15-13 BC
<i>RIC 171a</i>	9 d	15-13 BC
<i>RIC 173a</i>	1 d	15-13 BC
<i>RIC 399</i>	1 d	13 BC
<i>RIC 174</i>	2 d	12 BC
<i>RIC 416</i>	1 d	12 BC
<i>RIC 193a</i>	1 d	11-10 BC
<i>RIC 199</i>	4 d	8 BC
<i>RIC 201a</i>	2 d	8 BC
<i>RIC 207</i>	14 d	2-1 BC
<i>RIC 210</i>	14 d	2-1 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from 208 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.

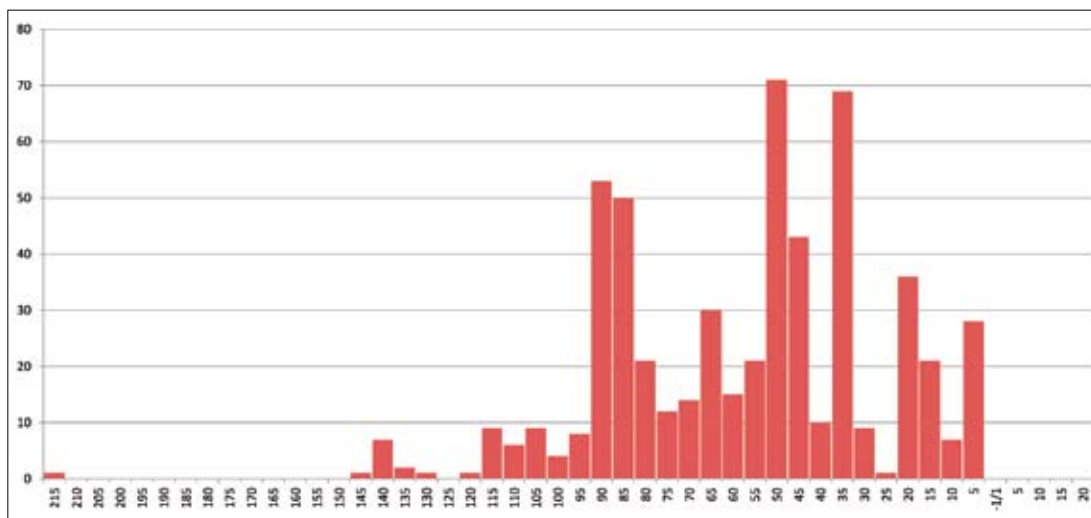


Chart 8. The Aquileia hoard: number of coins per five-year period

8. VIMINACIUM, pot burial (JACANOVIĆ 1988).

This hoard has been associated with events culminating in the subjugation of the Scordisci and the occupation of the areas around the Sava and Danube rivers by Tiberius ca. 10 BC (BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ – POPOVIĆ 2006: 40), which is impossible, since the *terminus post quem* for this hoard is 2/1 BC.

After JACANOVIĆ 1988: 25-31:

Table 8. The Viminacium hoard

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
RRC 90.1	1 d	211-208 BC
RRC 202.1a	1 d	154 BC
RRC 234.1	1 d	137 BC
RRC 238.1	1 d	136 BC
RRC 239.1	1 d	136 BC
RRC 257.1	1 d	130 BC
RRC 261.1	1 d	128 BC
RRC 282.4	1 d	118 BC
RRC 284.1b	1 d	117-116 BC
RRC 285.2	1 d	116-115 BC
RRC 290.1	1 d	114-113 BC
RRC 296.1	1 d	112-111 BC
RRC 299.1b	1 d	111-110 BC
RRC 300.1	1 d	110-109 BC
RRC 317.3b	1 d	104 BC
RRC 319.1	1 d	103 BC
RRC 324.1	1 d	101 BC
RRC 325.1a	1 d	101 BC
RRC 335.3c-e	1 d	late 90s BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 340.1	1 d	90 BC
RRC 341.2	2 d	90 BC
RRC 342.5b	6 d	90 BC
RRC 344.1a	1 d	89 BC
RRC 344.1b	2 d	89 BC
RRC 345.1	4 d	88 BC
RRC 348.1	1 d	87 BC
RRC 350a.2	1 d	86 BC
RRC 352.1a/c	1 d	85 BC
RRC 356.1c	2 d	84 BC
RRC 357.1a	1 d	83 BC
RRC 372.1	1 d	81 BC
RRC 372.2	1 d	81 BC
RRC 374.1	1 d	81 BC
RRC 382.1b	1 d	79 BC
RRC 393.1a	1 d	76-75 BC
RRC 416.1	1 d	62 BC
RRC 421.1	1 d	59 BC
RRC 426.4b	1 d	56 BC
RRC 432.1	1 d	55 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 433.1	1 d	54 BC
RRC 433.2	1 d	54 BC
RRC 442.1	2 d	49 BC
RRC 445.2a	1 d	49 BC
RRC 448.2a	1 d	48 BC
RRC 453.1c	1 d	47 BC
RRC 458.1	1 d	47-46 BC
RRC 464.2	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.3a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 465.2a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 472.2	1 d	45 BC
RRC 474.1a	1 d	45 BC
RRC 486.1	1 d	43 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 494.23	4 d	42 BC
RRC 511.2abc	1 d	42-40 BC
RRC 544.14	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.18	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.19	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.25	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.29	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.30	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.33	2 d	32-31 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
RIC 267	1 d	ca. 29-27 BC
RIC 207	1 d	2/1 BC
RIC 210	1 d	2/1 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from 211-208 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.

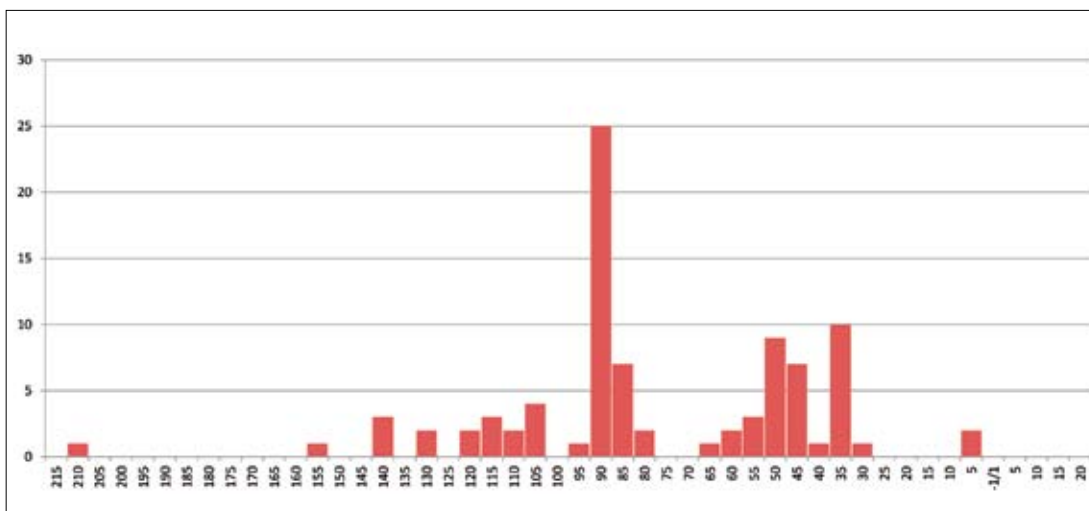


Chart 9. The Viminacium hoard: number of coins per five-year period

9. TRŽIŠČE – DOLENJA VAS, pot burial at a circular rampart

After FMRSL v.57-61:

Table 9. The Tržišče hoard

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
<i>Republican</i>		
RRC 236.1a	1 d	137 BC
RRC 257.1	1 d	130 BC
RRC 274.1	1 d	123 BC
RRC 277.1	1 d	122 BC
RRC 285.2	1 d	116-115 BC
RRC 289.1	2 d	115-114 BC
RRC 299.1b	2 d	111-110 BC
RRC 311.1c	1 d	106 BC
RRC 317.3b	1 d	104 BC
RRC 318.1a	1 d	104 BC
RRC 335.9	1 d	96 BC
RRC 341.1	1 d	90 BC
RRC 342.5b	2 d	90 BC
RRC 342.6a	1 d	90 BC
RRC 354.1	1 d	84 BC
RRC 361.1a	1 d	82 BC
RRC 379.2	1 d	80 BC
RRC 380.1	1 d	80 BC
RRC 384.1	1 d	79 BC
RRC 385.2	1 d	78 BC
RRC 390.2	1 d	76 BC
RRC 407.1	1 d	68 BC
RRC 408.1b	1 d	67 BC
RRC ad 408.1a	1 d	67 BC
RRC 416.1a	1 d	62 BC
RRC 421.1	1 d	59 BC
RRC 443.1	1 d	49-48 BC
RRC 449.1b	1 d	48 BC
RRC 449.2	1 d	48 BC
RRC 451.1	1 d	48 BC

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
RRC 462.1a	1 d	47-46 BC
RRC 463.1a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 464.3a	1 d	46 BC
RRC 465.4	1 d	46 BC
RRC 467.1a	1 d	46 BC
RRC ad 464.5	1 d	46 BC
RRC 468.2	1 d	46-45 BC
RRC 469.1a	1 d	46-45 BC
RRC 502.2	1 d	43-43 BC
RRC 507.2	1 d	43-42 BC
RRC 494.23	1 d	42 BC
RRC 494.41	1 d	42 BC
RRC 494.42a	1 d	42 BC
RRC 494.43a	1 d	42 BC
RRC 496.1	1 d	42 BC
RRC 517.2	1 d	41 BC
RRC 526.4	1 d	40 BC
RRC 539.1	1 d	36 BC
RRC 544.12	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.14	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.15	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.21	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.30	1 d	32-31 BC
<i>Imperial</i>		
RIC 288	1 d	19 BC
RIC 37b	1 d	19-18 BC
RIC 41	1 d	19-18 BC
RIC 343	1 d	17 BC
RIC 199	1 d	8-7 BC
RIC 207	1 d	2/1 BC

The earliest coin is, thus, from 137 BC, and the latest from 2/1 BC.

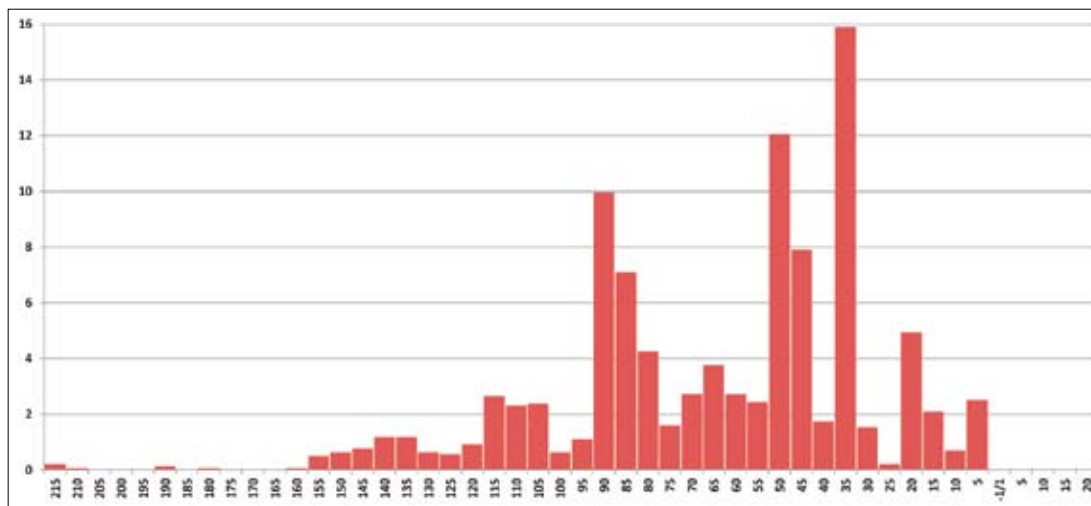


Chart 10. The Tržišče hoard: number of coins per five-year periods

10. SISAK 1912, dredging of the Kupa (MIRNIK 1981: 47 no. 85; CRAWFORD 1985: 236).

Kos includes in this group the hoard from Sisak, perhaps adding to it an aureus from Sisak of the C.L. Caesares type (AMZ inv. no. C17, RIC 206) (Kos 1986: 30). It is possible that the concealment of the hoard can be associated with the Pannonian turmoil of the first decade of the 1st c. AD, but there are no compelling reasons to include it in the complex of hoards terminating with the C.L. CAESARES issues. Another question is whether this was a hoard at all, since it was found during the dredging of the Kupa river at Sisak in 1912.¹³ For the sake of completeness, we will nevertheless analyse the »hoard« and include it in our discussion.

Table 10. The Sisak hoard (?)

Type	Quantity/denomination	Date
Republican		
RRC 132.1	1 d	194-190 BC
RRC 228.2	1 d	140 BC
RRC 233.1	1 d	138 BC
RRC 238.1	1 d	136 BC
RRC 262.1*	1 d	128 BC
RRC 296.1h	1 d	112-111 BC
RRC 360.1b	1 d	82 BC
RRC 384.1	1 d	79 BC
RRC 414.1	1 d	63 BC
RRC 422.1b	1 d	58 BC
RRC 428.3	1 d	55 BC
RRC 441.1	1 d	49 BC
RRC 442	1 d	49 BC
RRC 443.1	1 d	49-48 BC
RRC 448.3*	1 d	48 BC
RRC 496.1	1 d	42 BC
RRC 544.20	2 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544.29	1 d	32-31 BC
RRC 544	1 d	32-31 BC
Barbaric imitation of Republican coinage		
obv. RRC 465.5/ 494.38; rv. RRC 494.18/19/25	1 d	46-42 BC
Imperial		
RIC 276	1 q	29-26 BC
RIC 6	1 d	25-23 BC
RIC 206**	1 aur	2/1 BC
Barbaro-Celtic		
Augentyp-Stamm	1 tdr	before 16/15 BC
Syrnian phase C	1 billion dr	I/2 1 st c. BC
Syrnian phase D	1 AR min	I/2 1 st c. BC
Magdalensberg IAg	1 scs	before 16/15 BC
Magdalensberg IIh	1 scs	before 16/15 BC
Karlsteiner Art IB2b	1 scs (AE)	before 16/15 BC
Epirus		
SNG De, München 12, 584	1 AE	233/232- 168 BC
Thrace		
SNG Ita, Milano 6, 337-341; SNG BA XII, Hunt. 1, 794-795	1 AE	11 BC – AD 12

* It is uncertain whether this coin was found in the dredging.
** As already stated, the association of this coin with the »hoard« is only hypothetical.

Thus the coins in this hoard were produced between 233/232 BC and AD 12, and they were removed from circulation probably during the fighting in Pannonia in AD 6-9 (cf. Kos 1986: 30).¹⁴

¹³ For the dredging of the Kupa in 1912 see MIRNIK 2009: 292-306.

¹⁴ Six forgeries of 4th-century Constantinian coins found together with the coins we have listed above certainly do not belong to the same »hoard«, unless they are forgeries of, for example, Augustan coins from the third decade BC (MIRNIK 2009: 307-308; another specimen of this type is in the private collection of R. Kavazović, Zagreb). Kos 1986: 30, following RICH 529, adds to the list of this type of hoards the hoard from Concordia, but it closes with RIC 220 (13-14 AD), according to BACKENDORF 1998: 63 with n. 246. A fraction of a hoard found in Treviso in 1913 is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb as part of the Benko Horvat collection, containing as many as eight pieces of RIC 207 (unpublished; I was unable to find a reference to any hoard discovered in Treviso in 1913 in the RMR Ve II/1). It is unclear whether some Domitian coins in the Benko Horvat collection also came from the same hoard. If they did, which is more than probable, then the hoard, naturally, does not belong to this discussion. In any case, it is impossible to reconstruct the hoard. Another hoard terminating with RIC 207 (?) was found in Ljubljana (Insula XXXIX); it contained 18 denarii, 3 of which were legionary coins of Marc Anthony (Miškec, present volume). It remains unpublished and thus unfortunately could not have been included in the analysis (it is labeled as 4a on the map). The AMZ keeps a further 12 specimens of stray finds of the C.L. CAESARES issues (RIC 207: 9 specimens; RIC 210: 2 specimens; one specimen is indeterminate), with one barbaric imitation of RIC 207. One specimen (inv. no. C22, indeterminate) is from Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*), another from Novi Banovci (*Burgenae*, inv. no. C10484, RIC 207, pierced three times), one from Suhopolje (inv. no. C25512, RIC 207), and one from Sotin (*Cornacum*, inv. no. C26249, RIC 207). Seven more specimens belong to the Cesarica hoard (five 207, AMZ inv. no. C37473-7, DUKAT – MIRNIK 1985: 37 no. 134-138, two 209, inv. no. C37471-2, DUKAT – MIRNIK 1985: 37 no. 132-133), concealed during Tiberius' reign (MIRNIK 1981: 41 no. 50; DUKAT – MIRNIK 1984: 8).

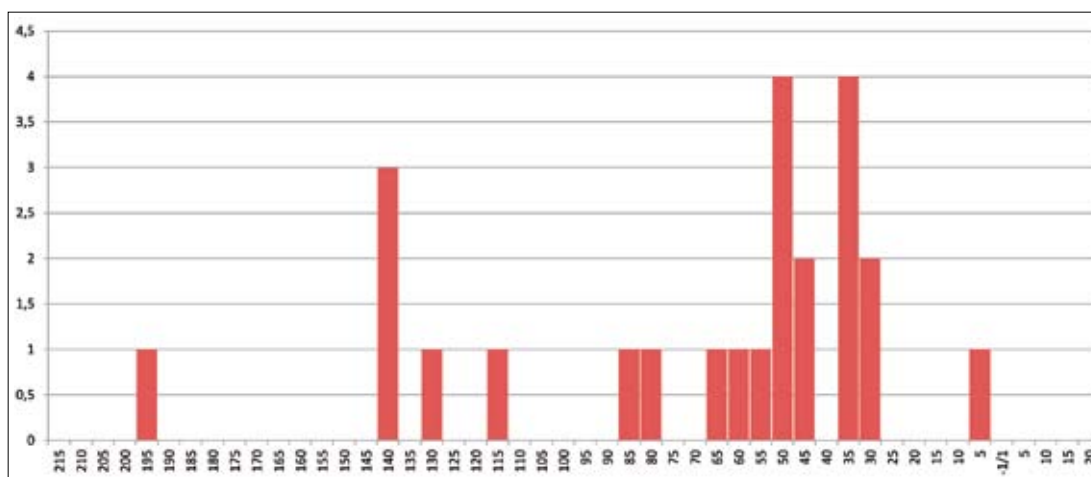


Chart 11. The Sisak hoard (?): number of coins per five-year period

DISCUSSION

It is unfortunate that only hoards nos. 2 and 7 could be described as something like complete; no. 6, although fairly complete, is not published in its entirety (Augustan coinage is only mentioned as a total number). Nos. 5, 8 and 9 are smaller, although probably complete hoards, while no. 4 is a very small hoard, consisting, if complete, of only five pieces. Nos. 1 and 3 are certainly incomplete; finally, it does not seem that no. 10 is a hoard at all. Hoards nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 contained exclusively Roman coins, Republican (90.6, 84.2, 20, 81.9, 96.3, 90.5%, respectively) and early Imperial.¹⁵ No. 2 contained an additional single specimen of Numidian coinage, and no. 6 a single specimen of provincial (Sardinian) coinage, while generally retaining the relation of Republican to Imperial coins (88.2 and 70.6%, respectively). The two remaining hoards, nos. 5 and 10 (with a question mark on the latter), consisted of Roman and Celtic coins (25.8 and 18.75%, respectively for the latter). They, too, retain the relation of Republican to Imperial coins (64.5 and 65.6%, respectively), with additional Epirote and Thracian specimens in no. 10, a doubtful hoard, to say the least. Silver is vastly predominant, with a single Augustan as in nos. 4 and 6, another provincial semis in no. 6,¹⁶ and a significant 12.5% of bronze coinage in no. 10 (which, however, amounts to only 4 pieces, one of them billon). A single aureus was perhaps found in no. 9 (again, the association of this coin with the »hoard« is only hypothetical). Roman silver consists almost exclusively of denarii, with an occasional quinarius (no. 1: 1, no. 3: 5, no. 5: 2, no. 9: 1) and a single victoriatus (in no. 7). Celtic coinage in no. 5 consists exclusively of small denominations for everyday use, and the situation in no. 9 is almost identical, with the exception of a single Tauriscan tetradrachm.

¹⁵ The very small hoard no. 4 cannot provide data relevant for comparison.

¹⁶ Since Augustan coinage is not elaborated in the published account of no. 6, we cannot say whether there were any bronze coins in this part of the hoard.

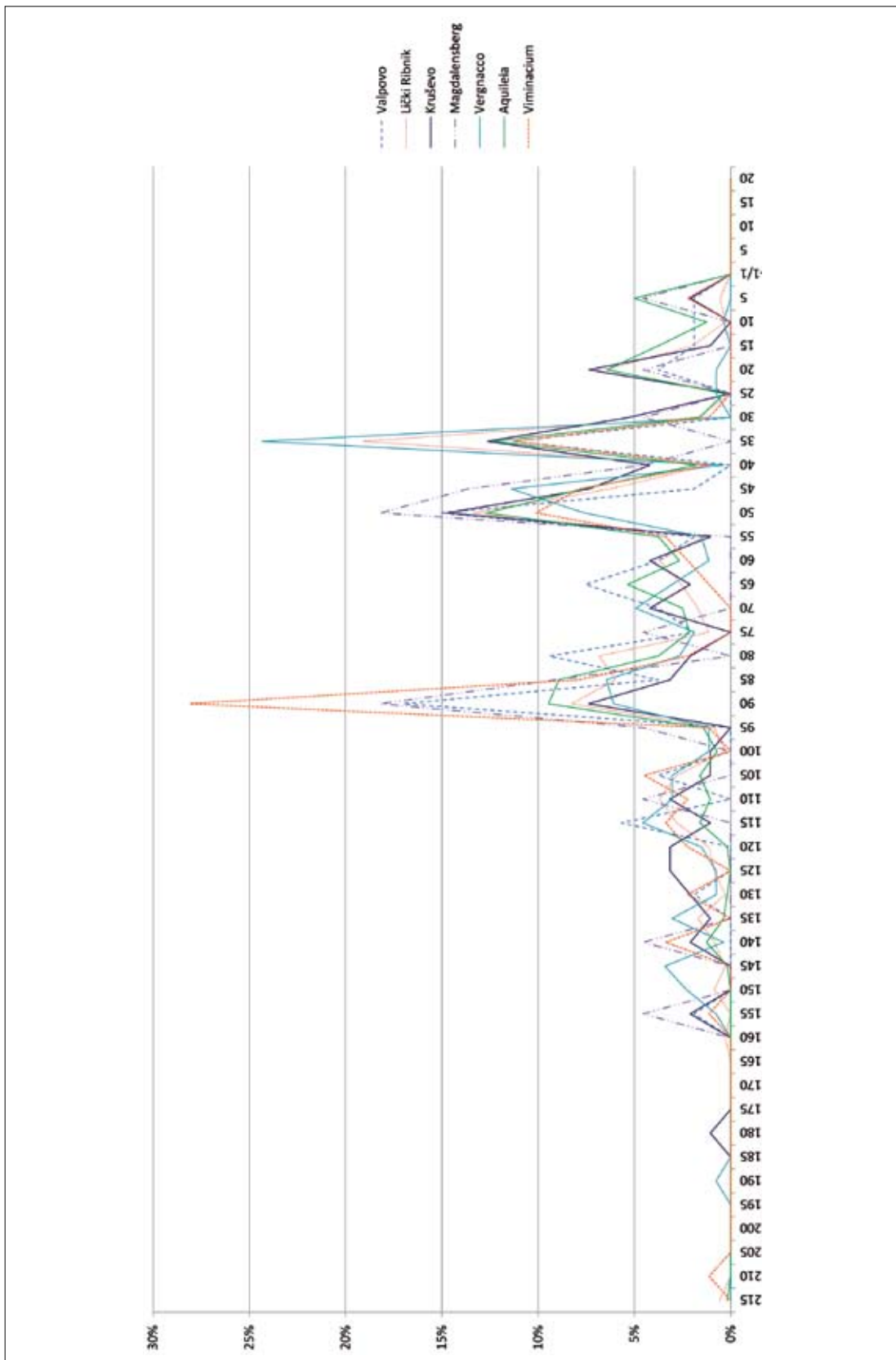


Chart 12. Hoards 1-3, 5-8 (no. 6 without Augustus): percentages of coins per five-year period¹⁷

¹⁷ Unfortunately, I have only lately obtained the complete data for the hoard no. 9 and had no time to incorporate it into Charts 12 and 13.

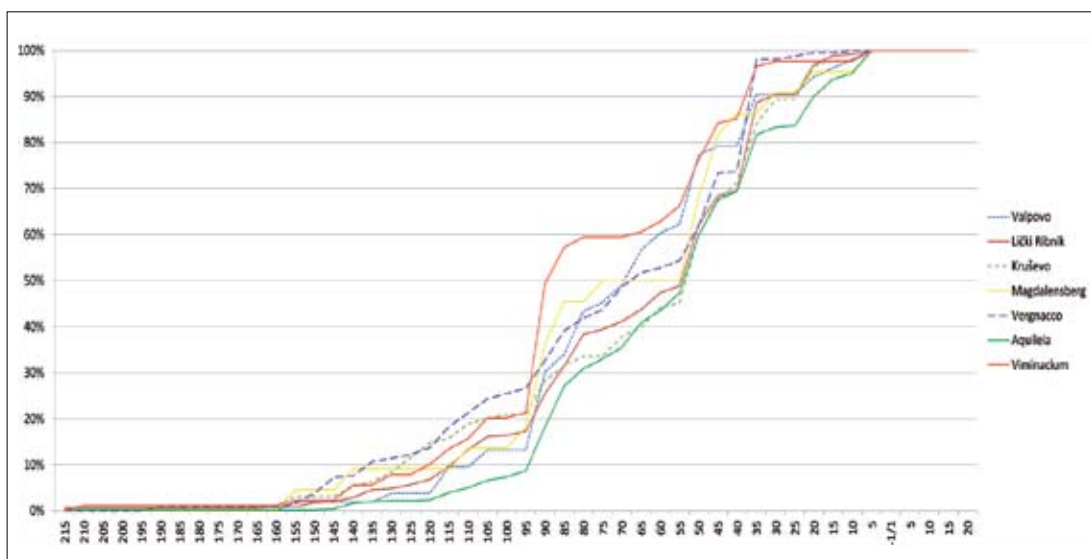


Chart 13. Hoards 1-3, 5-8 (no. 6 without Augustus): cumulated percentages of coins per five-year period

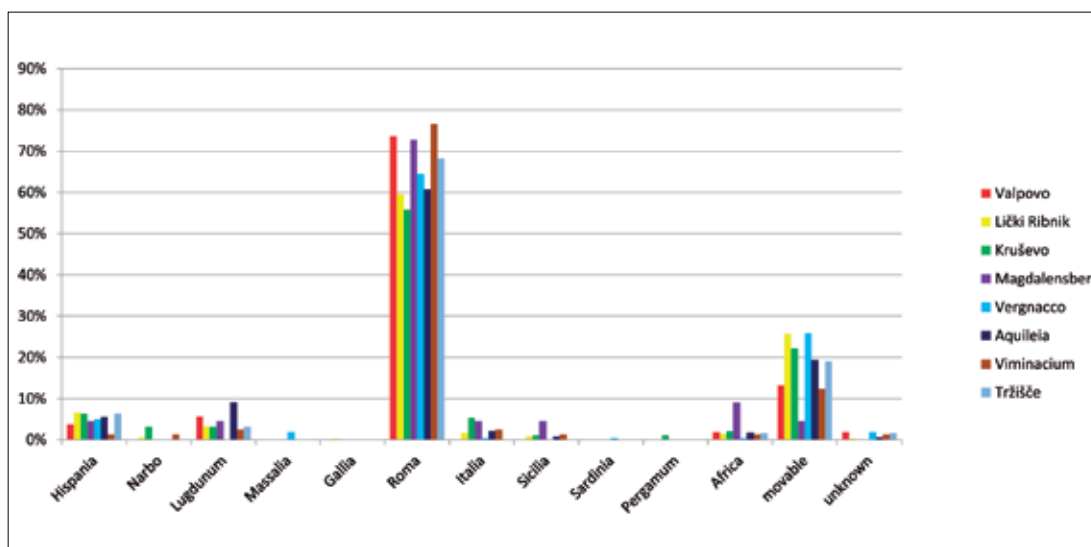


Chart 14. Hoards 1-3, 5-9 (no. 6 without Augustus): mint distribution

Considering the mint distribution (naturally, only Roman coinage is taken into account here), it is interesting to note that coins from Roman mint predominate in every hoard, yet they are more frequent in smaller ones, where they compose as much as 3/4 of the entire hoard (1 – 73,59%, 4 – 72,73%, 8 – 76,54%), while in larger hoards they are somewhat less dominant, comprising approx. 3/5 of the total number of coins in a hoard (2 – 59,45%, 3 – 55,79%, 6 – 64,36%,¹⁸ 7 – 60,75%). Hoard no. 9 is somewhere in between these two figures (68,25%). Similarly, it is noticeable that the situation with movable mints is completely opposite: in the larger hoards, there are more coins produced in movable mints – between 1/5 and 1/4 (2 – 25,75%, 3 – 22,11%, 6 – 25,86%, 7 – 19,35%; no. 9, with its 19,05%, could be added here) – than in the smaller hoards, where their ratio varies significantly (1 – 13,21%, 4 – 4,55%, 8 – 12,35%).

¹⁸ In the case of Aquileia, the percentage of coins from Roman mints would certainly be lower if complete Augustan coinage was available for comparison.



Figure 1: the hoards terminating with the C.L. CAESARES issues discussed in the text: (1) Valpovo, (2) Lički Ribnik, (3) Kruševo near Obrovac, (4) Medvednica Hill near Ljubljana, (4a) Emona, *Insula XXXIX*, (5) Magdalensberg, (6) Vergnacco (Reana del Rojale, Udine), (7) Aquileia, (8) Viminacium, (9) Tržišče-Dolenja vas, (10) Sisak (?); hoards containing the C.L. CAESARES issues kept in the AMZ: (11) Cesarica, (12) Treviso; stray finds of the C.L. CAESARES issues kept in the AMZ: (10) Sisak, (13) S. Mitrovica, (14) N. Banovci, (15) Suhopolje, (16) Sotin (©Google, adapted by the author)

We have already mentioned that the C.L. CAESARES issues of the Lugdunum mint were dated in the *Ric I*² (p. 28, 55-56) to 2 BC - AD 4. But, according to reasonably convincing arguments expounded in FISCHER 1990: 352, KEHNE 2000: 47-48 with n. 4, and, especially, WOLTERS 2002: 298 (with earlier literature in n. 4), 321, the C.L. CAESARES issues (*Ric* 205-210) should be dated more precisely to 2/1 BC.¹⁹ By accepting this chronology we can precisely determine the *terminus post quem* for all these hoards as 2/1 BC. As we have already noted, the concealment of hoards nos. 1, 2 and 3 was associated, by the authors that had published them, with the great Illyrian uprising of AD 6-9. On the other hand, it has been argued that they only indicate the penetration of Republican coins from Cisalpine Gaul to Illyricum as a result of Augustus' campaigns (KOS 1986: 30). This is certainly a more balanced explanation, which takes into account all the available data. Indeed, prior to the campaigns of 35-33 BC (ŠAŠEL KOS 1986: 134-147; DZINO 2010: 99-116), 14-8 BC (ŠAŠEL KOS 1986: 158-162; DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ 2006; DZINO 2010: 129-136), and 6-9 AD (ŠAŠEL KOS 1986: 178-191; DZINO 2010: 137-155), only a small number of Republican *denarii* had circulated in Illyricum (POPOVIĆ 1987: 104), although the same cannot be said for Cisalpine Gaul.²⁰ The precisely determined *tpq* for the hoards (2/1 BC), however, in the light of the unavailability of any later *denarii* until AD 13 (*Ric I*² p. 56, except for the *Ric* 211-212 C.L. CAESARES issues minted in AD 5), does not allow us to be any more specific as to the date of concealment of the hoards. One could speculate that the lack of the latest Augustan or early Tiberian issues suggests that the *terminus*

¹⁹ BERGER 1996: 13 opted for 2 BC-AD 1. *Ric* 211-212 were minted in AD 5, as we have already mentioned. Apart from the C.L. CAESARES issues, no other aurei or *denarii* were minted between 8 BC and AD 13 (WOLTERS 2002: 312).

²⁰ See, for example, hoards 1-36 and 39-72 in BACKENDORF 1998, of which nos. 32-36 and 39-45 are situated to the northeast of the Venetian lagoon.

ante quem should be the mid-2nd decade of the 1st c. AD, while the lack of the *RIC* 211-212 issues suggests that we can lower the *taq* by another decade or so, which firmly places us in the time of the great Illyrian uprising. If we would accept the somewhat later date for all C.L. CAESARES issues (AD 5-6), which is rather convincingly contextualized with respect to Augustus' monetary and social politics of the time (GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2004: 58-59, 104-106), the situation somewhat changes. The *tpq* for the hoards would now be AD 5-6, while the *taq* would be the mid-2nd decade of the 1st c. AD, as argued above. Yet again the great Illyrian uprising would be the focal point in any discussion regarding these hoards. However, these suggestions must remain speculative, and the more general conclusions stated above seem much more appropriate.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CNNM – MAZARD, J. 1955 – *Corpus Nummorum Nymidae Mavretaniaeque*. Paris, 1955.
- FMRSL – KOS, P. 1988 – *Die Fundmünzen der Römische Zeit in Slowenien I-II*. Berlin, 1988.
– ŠEMROV, A. 2004 – *Die Fundmünzen der Römische Zeit in Slowenien V*. Mainz, 2004.
- RIC – SUTHERLAND, C.H.V. – R.A.G. CARSON 1984 – *Roman Imperial Coinage*, I (revised edition).
From 31 BC to AD 69. London, 1984.
- RMR Ve II/1 – *Ritrovamente monetali di età romana nel Veneto*. Vol II/1: *Provincia di Treviso: Treviso*. Padova, 1995.
- RPC – BURNETT, A. – M. AMANDRY – P.P. RIPOLLÉS 1992 – *Roman provincial coinage*, Vol. I: *From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*. 2 vols. London-Paris, 1992.
- RRC – CRAWFORD, M. 1974 – *Roman Republican Coinage*. 2 vols. London, 1974.
- RRCH – CRAWFORD, M. 1969 – *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*. London, 1969.
- SNG De, München 12 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Staatliche Münzsammlung München*. Vol. 12. Munich, 2007.
- SNG Ita, Milano 6 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Italia, Milano: Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche*. Vol. VI, Fol. 3. Milan, 2000.
- SNG BA XII, Hunt. 1 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The British Academy*. Vol. XII. The Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow. Part I. Oxford, 2004.

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KASNOREPUBLIKANSKE OSTAVE KOJE ZAVRŠAVAJU S DENARIMA GAJA I LUCIJA CEZARA

U članku se analizira nekoliko jugoistočnoeuropskih ostava kojima najmlađi primjerak novca predstavljaju denari Gaja i Lucija Cezara, koristeći novo datiranje tog tipa novca, različito od onog ponuđenog u RIC-u. Sve ostave su iznova obrađene za potrebe članka te se na ovom mjestu objavljuju referirajući se na suvremenu numizmatičku literaturu. Zakopavanje ostava u pravilu se dovodi u vezu ili s Augustovim pohodima na Balkan ili velikim Ilirsko-Panonskim ustankom 6-9. godine, ali svakako s ranim carskim razdobljem. No njihov sastav zrcali raniji optjecaj novca u pred-Augustovskom i ranom Augustovskom razdoblju, a ne cirkulaciju uvedenu s novim rimskim poretkom tijekom prvog stoljeća n.e. U članku se iznosi tvrdnja da se analizirane ostave trebaju općenito promatrati kao indikator prodora republikanskog novca u Ilirik kao rezultat Augustovih pohoda, a ne kao indikator nekog konkretnog vojnog pohoda na ovo područje.