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## HOARDS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD IN SLOVENIA FROM THE 2<sup>ND</sup> CENTURY BC TO THE 2<sup>ND</sup> CENTURY AD

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**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*In the present article we discuss hoard finds from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, and specifically from the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The number of hoards approaches 80, which does not include four votive hoards and numerous hoards that were found in graves. The finds in the period under consideration are dominated by those that can be connected with military activities; these are certainly the finds from 150–146 BC, from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, from the Augustan period, from the period of the civil wars, and from the period of the Marcomannic Wars.*

*Key words: Slovenia, coin hoards, Roman period, the Celts, numismatics*  
*Ključne riječi: Slovenija, ostave novca, Rimsko doba, Kelti, numizmatika*

In 1981, part of the doctoral dissertation of Ivan Mirnik was published with the title *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia* (MIRNIK 1981), where the author collected and interpreted the coin hoards from the territory of the then Yugoslavia, from the first appearance of coinage in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the present article, this work of Ivan Mirnik will be supplemented by new hoard finds and with a new evaluation of the earlier finds, although this will be limited to hoards from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, and specifically from the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, when Roman coinage first appeared in Slovenia, to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In detailed discussion, because of the scale and complexity of the subject, hoards will be omitted from the period of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, as among the approximately 150 documented hoard finds from the Roman period (Celtic hoards are also excluded) almost half of the hoards are from the period of Late Antiquity.

The number of hoards buried in the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD approaches 80 (cf. Fig. 1 and 2), which does not include four votive<sup>1</sup> hoards and numerous hoards that were found in graves.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that archaeological evidence is merely the remains of activities in the past, while hoards that have remained preserved to the present are those remains from the past whose owners did not succeed in digging up again or otherwise recovering. Usually archaeologists (and also historians) place hoards in a context of broader historical events, such as military campaigns, raids by hostile peoples, and military attacks, although other reasons for deposition are also possible (ABDY 2002: 7; CRAWFORD 1983: 185–233). These include economic reasons, such as monetary reforms when coins of a lesser value were introduced. When, for instance, the treasury was short of cash, then the state devalued the money as a last resort. It started minting coins with increasingly poor-quality metal or less weight. In this manner, the same quantity of precious metal could be used to mint much more coinage (WHITTAKER 1980: 1–22; DUNCAN-JONES 1994: 25–28). As a result of such decisions, coins of better quality were demonetized, which caused people to store such coins, while the coins whose value had been reduced remained in circulation. Despite the existence of banks, many people either kept the coins on their persons or hid them somewhere safe, such as in locked, non-transportable chests. They could also store and hide them underground; in a purse, a vessel, or a pit lined with stone or brick. For any expenditure (payment), they very probably chose, from the saved pile of money, the coins with the worst appearance or least value, and retained the best coins.

The traditional classification of hoards is based on investigation of the presence of various coin series in the hoard and the assessment of how long the coins had been stored. In this way, hoards can be classified into those where the coins were steadily accumulated over a long period (*savings hoards, gesparte Gelder*), and those that were created by chance, when the panicked owner buried or otherwise hid his cash and other valuables (*emergency hoards, verborgene Geldbeträge*). In determining the reason for the burial of the hoard, a large role is also played by the size of the hoard. Hoards that contain fewer than 100 coins are considered small hoards, and it is characteristic that they were stored in purses made of either cloth or leather. Such finds are interpreted as personal property carried by the owner. Hoards that contain over 100 coins and range up to 1000, or even somewhat larger, are considered medium-sized hoards. They were usually stored in containers, most often pottery, and more rarely bronze vessels. Medium-sized hoards are considered to represent family wealth that the owner hid in the face of impending danger. The reasons for the burial of valuables could be varied. Hoards numbering several thousand coins were stored in several vessels or even in wooden chests. It can safely be said that these finds had an official character. Whether they were military or civilian treasuries can be established only in those cases where the specific circumstances of discovery of the hoards are known.

The hoard finds from the territory of present-day Slovenia in the period under consideration are dominated by those that can be connected with military activities; these are certainly the finds from 150–146 BC, from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, from the Augustan

<sup>1</sup> Three of them are classic votive finds discovered in caves: the find in the rock shelter Pod Gričo (Godič) contained over 200 coins from Vespasian to Honorius in addition to silver votive platelets (*FMRSI* III 82); the find from Jama pod Žičico (Moste) contained silver votive platelets and almost 500 bronze coins from Claudius I to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (*FMRSI* IV 69; *FMRSI* V 49); and the find in the cave of Šmarska jama (Sežana) contained, in addition to various objects, 7 bronze coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. The votive find from Ptuj is different: during archaeological excavations in the foundations of a house, they found a small pot with coins, a clay lamp, remains of bird bones, and egg shells (*FMRSI* V 167).

<sup>2</sup> For coin finds in graves (including additional literature) see the article MIŠKEC 2012.

period, from the period of the civil wars, and from the period of the Marcomannic Wars. The study of the geographic distribution of the hoards displays an evident pattern; it shows that, in the regions where more soldiers were stationed, there were more hoards (DUNCAN-JONES 1994: 72–75).

The commencement of burying money and valuable objects in the southeastern Alpine region (specifically in Slovenia) coincides with the use of coinage in this area, which occurred in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. In that period the central part of this territory was settled by the Celtic tribal alliance of the Taurisci, who knew and used money, while in the coastal area and in Notranjska/Inner Carniola the earliest evidence of Roman presence has been documented.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of hoard finds must be understood in this context. Among the first are those with Roman Republican coinage, which can contain either bronze or silver coins. The earliest are the hoards from Dutovlje (*FMRSI* I 45; KOS 1986: 30–31) and from the fort of Knežak (*FMRSI* III 53). Both contained bronze asses and were buried in 148 BC and 146 BC, respectively. The hoard from Baba near Slavina (Baba 1) contained forty Republican denarii and victoriatas; its burial is placed on the basis of the latest coin to 146 BC (*FMRSI* IV 46/2; HORVAT 1995: 189, 201). This period or somewhat later is also the date for the hoard of Roman Republican weapons from Grad near Šmihel, considered by Horvat to be connected with the earliest interventions to establish control over the amber route (HORVAT 2002: 142–143). This group of finds also includes the discovery of 23 Roman Republican coins and 59 Celtic coins from the confluence of the Zrnica and Ljubljanka (*FMRSI* IV 110; KOS – ŠEMROV 2003). In addition to tetradrachms and small Celtic silver coins of the Taurisci tribe, the find also includes 3 Celtic silver coins from southern Germany. The Roman Republican coins included victoriatas, denarii, and asses. The find is significant primarily for the chronological determination of when the Celtic tribe of the Taurisci began to mint their own coinage, as it contains both poorly-dated Celtic coins and Roman Republican coins, which on the other hand enable very precise chronological dating. Prior to the discovery of this find, various authors had placed the beginnings of coin minting among the Celtic tribes in the southeastern Alpine region between 100 and 60 BC (KOS – ŠEMROV 2003: 384). On the basis of the Roman Republican coins from the find, the most recent of which was minted in 147 BC, the Celtic coins from the find can be safely placed as early as the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The loss of the find in fact cannot be placed at a later date because of the absence of later Roman coins, which as a rule should have been in the find. The minting of coins by the Taurisci can hence be placed as early as the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Another recently discovered find of 34 Roman Republican silver and bronze coins (including victoriatas, asses, and one triens) and two small Celtic silver coins of a local source from the site of Skrinjca near Kobarid, together with the coins from the hoard of Sevegljana near Palmanova, Enemonzo near Zuglio, and the above-mentioned find from the Ljubljanka River, all show a cross-section of the coinage that was in use in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (KOS – ŽBONA 2009: 276, 279). The find, which can be interpreted as a purse, is also significant because of the location of its burial, as it was discovered next to the ancient route that connected the prehistoric fortified settlement of Gradič with the site of Tonovcov Grad (KOS – ŽBONA 2009: 272, 278).

<sup>3</sup> The most important among them is the ancient coastal settlement of Sermin, which was important for northern Istria. A small quantity of imported pottery from Italy is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and the later greater quantities of Greco-Italian amphorae correspond chronologically to the establishment of Aquileia and the Roman conquest of Istria (HORVAT 1997). Additional indicators for the Romanization of this area are represented by coin finds from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, which appear primarily along the western Istrian coast. In the interior, the distribution of Republican coins spreads along the Mirna river valley (*FMRHr* XVIII 4, 9, 19). Most of the coins come from Pula and its vicinity (*FMRHr* XVIII).

The hoards listed above, which were all buried in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, must be discussed in light of the activities of the Romans in the Western Balkans as a whole; only a few military campaigns in this period are recorded in the ancient sources. The first, which crossed the territory of present-day Slovenia, was that of C. Cassius Longinus, who, in 171 BC, mistakenly wished to reach Macedonia through it (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 329–332); the second clearly attested event was the famous march of Sempronius Tuditanus against the Histri, Taurisci, and Iapodes in 129 BC (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 321–329). Appian (*Illyr.*) noted another two campaigns, which at present have not been sufficiently investigated; for the campaigns of Cotta and Metellus, two dates are possible: 144 BC and 119 BC. Most authors tend to favour the later date (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 332–334), although in view of the number of coin hoards buried in the years between 159 and 146 BC, specifically in the region where the Romans definitely crossed the territory of the southeastern Alps, the first possibility should also be considered. Connecting these finds with the second campaign is in fact not possible, as the march of the mysterious Cornelius against the Pannonians occurred in 156 BC (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 384–387), which is a decade too early for the burial of the hoards in question. Another two Roman interventions are mentioned in the sources at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC: M. Aemilius Scaurus defeated the Taurisci and Carni in 115 BC (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 328), and Cn. Papirius Carbo suffered a defeat inflicted by the Cimbri in 113 BC (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 532–533).

Among the mixed Celtic-Roman coin finds, two smaller hoards should also be mentioned, which are also considerably later. The hoard from Ambroževo Gradišče near Slavina in Notranjska/Inner Carniola consists of five Republican silver coins and one small Celtic silver coin (*FMRSI* IV 45/2; HORVAT 1995: 187), and given the latest coin in the find, its burial can be placed after 82 BC. The deposition of the hoard from Baba near Slavina (Baba 2), which contained 17 Republican silver coins and three large Celtic silver coins, can be placed, on the basis of the latest coin, in the year 74 BC (*FMRSI* IV 46).

The burial of the hoards from Cerkno (47–46 BC; *FMRSI* I 2/2; KOS 1986: 29), from Dolenja Vas near Senožeče (46 BC), and from the farm of Kamin near Bevke (42 BC; *FMRSI* IV 109/2) can all be placed in approximately the same period. At least the hoard from the site of Cerkno can be connected, together with numerous remains of Roman metal weapons from the sites of Grad above Reka, Gradišče in Cerkno, and Vrh Gradu near Pečine, with the strong resistance of the indigenous inhabitants to the Roman penetration in the Idrijsko-Cerkljansko area (ISTENIČ 2005; MIŠKEC 2007: 276; HORVAT 2009: 364–366).

A particular problem, which we will mention at least briefly, given its scale, is represented by hoards that contain only Celtic coins; so far 18 have been documented in present-day Slovenia.<sup>4</sup> The incomplete and often unclear absolute chronology of minting of the various types of Celtic coins means that the time of burial of these finds can be determined only approximately: in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and in the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Most of the territory of present-day Slovenia was inhabited by the Taurisci tribe, the far western section by the Carni, and the northeast by the Norici, whose main area was present-day central Carinthia in Austria. On the basis of analysis of more recent material, particularly from the hoards of Enemonzo in Friuli and Skrinjca near Kobarid, finds from the Ljubljana River, and the Varaždin hoard, Peter Kos has developed a new theory about the beginnings of minting among the Celts in the southeastern Alpine region (KOS 2007: 60–63; 2010: 80–82; KOS – MIRNIK 2011: 101–102).

<sup>4</sup> As follows: Vrhnika-Dolge njive (KOS 1977: 151–152), Kamin-Bevke (KOS 1983), Lemberg (KOS 1977: 124–132), Most na Soči (KOS 1978), Dobrna-Retje (KOS 1977: 114–118), Spodnji Lanovž (KOS 1977: 140–142), Višnja Gora (DRČAR 2008), and still unpublished: Dolsko (Ljubljana), two from Martinj hrib, the Ljubljana River (Me-sarica), the Ljubljana River (Vrhnika), four from Ljubična, Ambroževo gradišče, and Čatež ob Savi.

The beginning of minting of the '»Norican« and »Tauriscan« groups<sup>5</sup> must be placed in Austrian Carinthia, where in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, under strong influence from the nearby Venetian region, minting began of tetradrachms with the legend VES in Venetic script (Kos 2011: 101). The minting of tetradrachms with the image of a rider, i.e. the 'Norican' tetradrachm of *Kugelreiter* types A1, AA1, B1a, and B1b, began at approximately the same time (Kos 2010: 102). From Austrian Carinthia the minting spread, in the following decades, on one side to the west, to the area settled by the Carni, and on the other side to the east, along the Drava river to present-day Varaždin. The Carni, dwelling in Friuli in NE Italy, are considered to have minted the coins of *Kugelreiter* types B1c, C2a, and C2b, whose beginning of minting Kos places in the period of the earliest decades of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Kos 2010: 102). In the east, in the vicinity of Varaždin, coins of the Varaždin A type began to be minted, and judging by the study of the die links, this occurred directly after the minting of the VES group coins. After their evidently very short period of production, the minting continued, without interruption, of coins of the Varaždin B type, which was also similarly brief. Hence, it can be concluded with certainty that the coins of type Varaždin A, and very probably also type Varaždin B, were minted from the end of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC for a very short time (Kos 2011: 102). The »Tauriscan« tetradrachms of the Samobor SC 13 type must be placed before or at the same time as the minting of coins of the *Kugelreiter* C2 type, thus around 150 BC (Kos 2007: 62), and coins of types Samobor SC 14 and 16 to the fourth decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the minting of early types of coins among the Norici and Taurisci was highly concentrated and short-lived, according to new research (Kos 2007: 63), and between the earliest minting and the following series a long period could have passed.

Outstanding among the hoards is that from Most na Soči with three tetradrachms of the *Kugelreiter* C2a type (Kos 1978); coins of this type, in addition to the *Kugelreiter* B1c type, in general do not appear outside the region of Friuli in the northeastern part of Italy (Kos 2010: 99). In terms of the dating of coins of the *Kugelreiter* C2a and C2b types to between 150 and 140 BC, the burial of the Most na Soči hoard can be placed in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, although it must be noted that the find is probably not complete (Kos 1978: 122). In other hoards, tetradrachms of the »Tauriscan« group predominate, although of the later type, for which it can only be said that they were minted in the closing decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or even later. The burial of at least some of these finds can be related to the activities of the Romans that were directed against the Taurisci, at least in the closing decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC; these were the campaigns of Tuditanus in 129 BC and M. Aemilius Scaurus in 115 BC, when he defeated the Taurisci and Carni, although certainly it cannot be excluded that the hoards were buried at some later date.

It is similarly difficult, because of incomplete data, to determine the deposition of the hoard from Muta in Carinthia/Koroška, which contained 12 bronze Egyptian coins and one bronze coin of the Greek town of Bruttium in southern Italy (*FMRSl* I 331/2). The presence of Egyptian coinage, as well as other African coinage, is not as surprising as it seems at first glance, as numerous individual and hoard finds of such coinage are known from neighbouring regions, such as Istria, Lika,<sup>6</sup> and Dalmatia in Croatia, while individual finds of African coinage are also known from sites in Austria, Switzerland, Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and elsewhere (MIRNIK 1987: 372). Various authors have explained the presence

<sup>5</sup> The traditional division of the coinage into Norican and Tauriscan groups is retained for easier comprehension, although recent research has indicated that this division is no longer adequate (Kos 2007: 59).

<sup>6</sup> The Lika region, which was inhabited by the Iapodes, has the greatest number of hoards of the 'Mazin' type, whose burial has been placed by various authors between 110 and 80 BC (for more details: MIRNIK 1987: 373).

of this coinage as a result of trade routes between the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and Noricum and Pannonia, on the other, with the trade taking place through Istria and Dalmatia (CRAWFORD 1985: 223; MIRNIK 1987: 373). The find from Muta can be related to the hoards of the »Mazin« type, and its burial is placed at the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The hoards from Knežak (Knežak II; *FMRSI* IV 39/2), Celje (1895; *FMRSI* II 340/4; Kos 1986: 26), and Rakova Jelša in Ljubljana all conclude with legionary coinage of Marcus Antonius: these are among the most common coins of the late Republican period. Indeed, 18.5% of all the individual finds of Republican coinage from Slovenia were coins of Marc Antony.<sup>7</sup> Their presence in hoards, which concludes with coinage of Augustus (and no later), ranges between 4 and 19% (MIŠKEC 2012). Although individual finds, from well-dated archaeological contexts and several hoards, indicate that the legionary coins of Marc Antony were in use even up to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (MIŠKEC 2012), nevertheless the burial (or loss) of all three above finds should be placed around or slightly after 31 BC. The similarities are interesting between the hoards from Celje and Ljubljana, which not only contain an almost identical number of silver coins (25 in the Celje find and 28 in the Ljubljana find), but in both finds the earliest coin also belongs to the period from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The burial of a hoard of 3 quinarii from Ljubljana can be placed on the basis of the latest coin to the period after the year 27 BC, and can be related to the already clear presence of Romans in the Ljubljana basin.

To date, 9 hoards are known from the Augustan period, most of them small, while the largest are from Gradišče above Lokve (1941; *FMRSI* I 41/2; Kos 1986: 29–30) and Tržišče near Dolenja Vas (*FMRSI* V 27/2); the first contains 80 coins that were stored in an amphora, and the second 63 coins that were stored in a small pot, which clearly demonstrates that they were deliberately buried. The burial of two hoards from Ljubljana, in fact from the area of Roman Emona, can be placed in the middle Augustan period: the finds from 1931, discovered on the forum, contained 4 moneyer's sestertii and 1 bronze coin of the CA minting (*FMRSI* I 155/38; MIŠKEC 2009: 296), while a second find from 1987, discovered in insula XLIII, contained 3 Republican silver coins and 7 moneyer's sestertii and asses (*FMRSI* III 83/16; MIŠKEC 2009: 296). The burial of a hoard from Povirje near Sežana can be placed at approximately the same time, and given the 29 moneyer's coins and one bronze CA coin, it can be interpreted as the accidentally lost purse of a Roman soldier (MIŠKEC 2009: 289–290; 296). The easternmost hoard from that period is a purse with 30 coins found at Vičava near Ptuj; it was buried around 16 BC (*FMRSI* II 434/22; Kos 1986: 26–27).

The hoards from Tržišče near Dolenja Vas (*FMRSI* V 27/2), from Plešivica (*FMRSI* I 204; Kos 1986: 30), and from Ljubljana (Emona – insula XXXIX) conclude with coins of the mint in Lugdunum, dated to the period from the the year 2 BC to the year 4 AD; hence it is reasonable to place their burial after 4 AD. The hoards from Ljubljana and Tržišče near Dolenja vas are in many respects very similar; both contain exclusively denarii, although there were 18 in the Emona find, and 63 from Tržišče. The earliest coins in both are dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and both contain a large percentage of legionary coins of Marc Antony, which in the Emona find amounted to 16.7%, and in the Tržišče find, with six examples, 9.5%. Both finds, in terms of size and content, can be said to have a military character.

It is generally considered, for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, that the monetary circulation was a reflection of urban and rural economic development. The relatively peaceful state (the Pax Romana) meant that, in the first two centuries AD, coin finds only rarely reflected historical events that would fatefully affect development. Augustus' conquest of the Danube basin at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century was followed by a period of relative peace, which was briefly

<sup>7</sup> For the frequency of legionary denarii of Marc Antony in Dalmatia, see ŠEPAROVIC 2008.

interrupted by the civil war of 68–70, with which only two small hoards can be connected: the find of 4 coins at Juški Vrh near Nazarje and the find of 15 asses of Nero at Spodnja Hajdina near Ptuj (*FMRSI* II 434/12; Kos 1986: 74). Only at the beginning of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century did the movement of new tribes in the hinterland of the Germanic and Sarmatian tribes along the borders of the Empire first seriously begin to endanger its safety (Kos 1985: 278). Several hoards were buried in the period between 165 and 180,<sup>8</sup> when the Romans under the command of Marcus Aurelius defended the Danubian limes from the Germanic threat; these are the hoards from Ulaka (*FMRSI* I 84/2; Kos 1986: 85), Šmarjeta near Škofja vas (*FMRSI* II 371/2; Kos 1986: 85), Logatec, Spodnji Grad in Celje (*FMRSI* IV 169/2), Col (*FMRSI* I 20; Kos 1986: 84), Planina near Sevnica (*FMRSI* II 352; Kos 1986: 83), and Šentjur near Celje (*FMRSI* II 369/2; Kos 1986: 84). Effects must certainly also have been felt of the plague that was brought by soldiers from the east into northern Italy and the Balkans at the end of the sixties (Kos 1985: 279).

Bronze coins predominated in the monetary circulation of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries; silver coins were rarer, while gold coins were very rarely in use (Kos 1985: 278). Yet it was in the 1<sup>st</sup> century that hoards first appeared containing gold coins (*aureus*).<sup>9</sup> Of the nine hoards that conclude with coins between 57 and 111 AD, five of them contain gold coins. The earliest among them, buried in 57, is a hoard from Ljubljana (Emona – insula XXX) discovered in 1961; it contained 48 coins placed in a small pottery vessel, including one aureus of Nero, with which the find concludes (*FMRSI* I 155/22; Kos 1986: 74). The largest of them, the hoard from Cirkovce, unfortunately lost, contained, according to reports, some 100 gold coins from Tiberius to Domitian, which were stored in a pottery vessel (*FMRSI* II 417; Kos 1986: 74–75). Only limited data, that it contained silver and gold coins, is available for the hoard from Gorenji Logatec, as is also the case for the hoard from Otočec, which was said to have been discovered in 1941 and contained gold coins from the reign of Vespasian in a pot (*FMRSI* I 259a). The hoard from Ljubljana (Emona – insula XXIX), discovered in 1963, contained 16 aurei from the period from Titus to Trajan (*FMRSI* I 155/18; Kos 1986: 75). Most of the hoards listed here certainly indicate the storage of savings, particularly since the coins were gold and were deliberately stored in pottery vessels; these represented valuable property or objects that people widely saved (DEPEYROT 2010).

The hoard from the Tiberian period found at Grajski Grič (Castle Hill) in Ljubljana (*FMRSI* V 63-1) contained 8 sestertii of a uniform type stored in a pottery vessel. A similar find of 8 asses, although from the period of Claudius I, was found at Spodnja Hajdina near Ptuj (*FMRSI* II 434/11; Kos 1986: 74). The reasons for the burials of the finds are difficult to establish, but both were most probably savings.

Six hoards are known from the period of Hadrian. These consist of three small hoards of bronze coins and one of bronze and silver coins from Celje, which can be interpreted as lost purses, while two still unpublished hoards from Maribor Street contain only three and five bronze coins. Of the other two hoards from Gubec Street in Celje, one contained 19 bronze coins (*FMRSI* II 340/5; Kos 1986: 75), and the other 5 denarii and 4 sestertii (*FMRSI* III 164/3). The hoard from Žužemberk (*FMRSI* I 268/2; Kos 1986: 75) contained 17 asses of emperors from Vespasian to Hadrian that were stored in a pottery vessel. The largest of the hoards was found at Vičava near Ptuj (*FMRSI* II 434/23; Kos 1986: 76), which, among the predominating sestertii of Trajan and Hadrian, also contained some dupondii and asses, as well as one denarius of Hadrian.

<sup>8</sup> The invasion of the Quadi and Marcomanni in 167–168 through Pannonia into northeastern Italy also affected Slovenian territory, as it went through the area of Poetovio, Celeia, Emona, the Julian Alps, and the Vipava valley into the region of Venetia (BRATOŽ 2007: 282).

<sup>9</sup> The exception is the Celtic hoard of Lemberg, which contained 8 gold staters (or 1/3 staters) and 60 tetradrachms of various types (Kos 1977).

This overview must also touch on another two hoards that contained jewellery in addition to coins. These are the hoards from Stari Trg near Slovenj Gradec (*FMRSI* I 336/3) and from Panorama at Ptuj (*FMRSI* II 434/15). Both were buried after 161 AD, the first containing 63 denarii and a silver bracelet, the second 11 bronze coins and 10 rings. Finds with jewellery are rarely discovered in Slovenia and are otherwise more characteristic of the period of late antiquity. The hoard of Drnovo II (MIŠKEC – PFLAUM 2007) with its contents – 973 denarii and antoniniani wrapped in fabric, along with three silver fibulae, eleven silver bracelets, and a large number of variously shaped glass, jet and bone beads – is a typical representative of hoards characteristic of the Balkan-Danubian region, where they were buried in the period covering the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (cf. POPOVIĆ 1996; 2011: 179–180). Another hoard from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is the find from Rabelčja Vas near Ptuj, which contained 1 glass and 22 silver rings, gems, cameos, and two coins (HORVAT – MILIĆ – TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV: 2001, 317–328).

Fifteen hoards from various parts of Slovenia are known from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Among them are five medium-large hoards that each contain over 100 coins. In addition to the lost hoard from Dobrnič near Trebnje (1852; *FMRSI* I 212/2), which contained around 100 bronze and silver coins, these consist of the hoard from the Ljubljana river (*FMRSI* 155/46), with 300 gold coins, and three hoards from the eighties of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century: the hoard from Planina near Sevnica with 150 bronze coins, the hoard from Šentjurje near Celje with 110 denarii, and the hoard from Prelasko (*FMRSI* 353), which contained over 600 denarii. In terms of classification, these hoards can be interpreted as family property that the owner hid because of various circumstances; given the lack of data, these can be very difficult to establish. The following three hoards, despite the fact that they do not contain many coins, can be included in the group of hoards representing the burial of assets: the hoards from Panorama at Ptuj (*FMRSI* 434/15), Stari Trg near Slovenj Gradec (*FMRSI* 336/3), and Drnovo (*FMRSI* III 148/2); they were all buried in pottery vessels and contained jewellery in addition to coins. The remaining hoards are small: the hoards from Ig (*FMRSI* I 137/2) and Laže near Divači (*FMRSI* IV 19) contain bronze coins of various denominations, and their burial can be placed in the period between 151 and 161. The hoards from Šmarjeta near Škofja Vas (*FMRSI* II 371/2) and Col (*FMRSI* I 20) contained denarii, while the hoards from Logatec and Spodnji Grad in Celje (*FMRSI* IV 169/2) contained bronze coins. The burial of these finds can be placed in the period between 175 and 177. In terms of their size, they can be interpreted as purses lost by chance by their owners.

Some of the hoards from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century can even contain Republican denarii,<sup>10</sup> although this does not apply to those found in Slovenia. Of the ten hoards buried in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but after the death of Augustus, four begin with Republican denarii, three with coins of Tiberius, one with coins of Nero, and two with coins of Vespasian. Of the seven hoards buried in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, for four hoards the earliest coins are from the period of the reign of Vespasian (69–79), and three from later periods (Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan). Only the hoard from Col (*FMRSI* I 20), buried after 180, contains one Republican denarius, although it is a legionary denarius of Marc Antony, which is not surprising, as the denarii of Marc Antony were deliberately devalued and were thus less attractive for minting, allowing them to remain in circulation for such a long time (ABDY – MINNITT 2002: 172–173).

Translation: Barbara Smith Demo

<sup>10</sup> A review of hoards from Britannia has shown that hoards that conclude with the coins of Antoninus Pius do not contain denarii prior to the year 64. In 64, Nero reduced the weight of the denarius from 3.99 g to 3.41 g, which meant that the earlier denarii became more valuable as raw material (ABDY 2002: 26).



ABBREVIATIONS

**FMRHr XVIII**

**FMRSI I-II:** KOS, P. 1988 – *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien, Teil I-II*. Berlin, 1988.

**FMRSI III:** KOS, P. – A. ŠEMROV 1995 – *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien, Teil III*. Mainz, 1995.

**FMRSI IV:** ŠEMROV, A. 1998 – *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien, Teil IV*. Mainz - Ljubljana, 1998.

**FMRSI V:** ŠEMROV, A. 2004 – *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien, Teil V*. Mainz, 2004.

**FMRSI VI:** ŠEMROV, A. 2010 – *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien, Teil VI*. Wetteren, 2010.

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## RIMSKODOBNE OSTAVE NA PODRUČJU SLOVENIJE OD 2. ST. PR. KR. DO 2. ST.

Ovim prilogom, novim nalazima ostava i novo vrednovanim starim nalazima, namjeravam dopuniti znameniti rad Ivana Mirnika *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia* pri čemu ćemo se ograničiti na nalaze ostava s područja Republike Slovenije i to na one iz 2. stoljeća pr. Kr., kada se na području današnje Republike Slovenije prvi put pojavio rimski novac, pa sve do 2. stoljeća. Brojnost nalaza ostava iz tog vremena približava se broji osamdeset (Pr. Sl. 1. i 2.).

Obično ukop nalaza ostava stavljamo u kontekst širih povijesnih događaja, kao što su vojni pohodi ili sukobi te upadi neprijateljskih naroda, ali su za takav ukop blaga mogući i drugi čimbenici, npr. ekonomski razlozi odnosno novčane reforme. Prema tradicionalnoj kvalifikaciji nalaza ostava, razlikujemo one u kojima se nalazio novac kojeg je vlasnik godinama jednakomjerno skupljao i one koje su nastale slučajno, kada je vlasnik takvu ostavu zakopao u panici ili je na neki drugi način odlučio sakriti svoje dragocjenosti.

Prilikom utvrđivanja razloga ukopa ostave, veliku ulogu ima i veličina ostave. Među ostavama s područja današnje Slovenije prevladavaju one koje možemo povezati s vojnim aktivnostima; sigurno su to nalazi iz razdoblja između 150.-146. g. pr. Kr., iz sredine 1. st. pr. Kr., iz Augustovog vremena, iz vremena građanskih ratova te oni iz vremena Markomanskih ratova.

Pojava zakopavanja novca u jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru podudara se s uporabom novca na tom prostoru, odnosno datira se u 2. st. pr. Kr. U tom su razdoblju središnji dio tog područja naseljavali keltski Taurisci, a u priobalnom pojasu i u Notranjskoj tada je već zabilježeno prisustvo Rimljana. Najstarije od tih ostava su ostava iz Dutovlja, s gradine Knežak te iz Babe pri Slavini (Baba 1) koje su bile zakopane u vremenu od 148.-146. g. pr. Kr.

U tu grupu nalaza pripada i skupni nalaz 23 rimska republikanska novca i 59 komada keltskog novca s utoka Zrnice u Ljubljanicu. S njom smo početke kovanja novca kod Tauriska pomaknuli unatrag, u sredinu 2. st. pr. Kr. Spomenuti nalaz i nedavno otkriven nalaz s lokaliteta Skrinjca pri Kobaridu ukazuju na profil novca koji je bio u uporabi tijekom druge polovine 2. st. pr. Kr.

U miješane keltsko-rimske nalaze novca pripadaju još i nalazi ostava iz Ambroževog gradišča pri Slavini i s Babe pri Slavini (Baba 2) u Notranjskoj. Ukop prve ostave datiramo u vrijeme nakon 82. g. pr. Kr., a druge u godinu 74. pr. Kr.

Ukop nalaza ostava iz Cerčna, Dolenje vasi kod Senožeča i sa seoskog imanja Kamin kod Bevka datiramo u vrijeme od 47.-42. g. pr. Kr., s tim da ostavu s lokaliteta Cerčno možemo povezati s jakim otporom starosjedilaca prilikom rimskog prodora na idrijsko-cerkljansko područje.

Do sada je na području današnje Slovenije dokumentirano 18 nalaza ostava keltskog novca. Zbog nepotpunih i često nejasnih apsolutnih kronologija kovanja različitih tipova keltskog novca, vrijeme ukopa možemo odrediti samo okvirno i to u drugu polovinu 2. i u 1. st. pr. Kr. Peter Kos je na temelju studija najnovije građe, osobito nalaza ostava *Enemonzo* u Furlaniji, Skrinjca pri Kobaridu, nalaze iz rijeke Ljubljance i nalaze ostave Varaždin, postavio novu teoriju o počecima kovanja Kelta u jugoistočnom prostoru Alpa.

Također, teško je odrediti vrijeme i razlog za ukopavanje ostave s Mute u Koruškoj koja je sadržavala 12 komada egipatskog brončanog novca i jedan primjerak brončanog novca grčkog mjestaša u južnoj Italiji. Brojni pojedinačni i nalazi ostava egipatskog, a i drugog afričkog novca zabilježeni su na prostoru Istre, Like i Dalmacije, a pojedinačni nalazi afričkog novca poznati su čak i s nalazišta u srednjoj Evropi. Prisutnost tog novca tumačimo kao posljedicu trgovačkih veza između Sredozemlja, Norika i Panonije, a pretpostavlja se da su trgovački putovi prelazili preko Istre i Dalmacije.