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A HOARD OF REPUBLICAN
DENARII FROM PRUD,
NEAR BOSANSKI ŠAMAC¹

UDC: 904:737.1(497.6 Prud)''652''

Original scientific paper

A hoard of Roman Republican denarii, found in the Sava River near the village of Prud in the Bosnian part of the Sava valley in 2012, is analysed and published in this paper. This newly-found hoard, terminating with the legionary denarii of Mark Antony, is compared to some other hoards terminating with these same coins, and also with other hoards in the region concealed in roughly the same period. It is concluded that the Prud hoard, classified as a small hoard, and perhaps associated with a military payment, testifies to the process of

¹I would like to thank the Guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa, where the hoard is kept in the "Gates of Bosnia" museum, Fr. M. Živković, O.F.M. for allowing me to study and publish the hoard. I would also like to thank the finder of the hoard, P. Matkić, for notifying me of its existence, as well as for his exceptional assistance in all matters pertaining to the find; he also took the photographs reproduced on the Plates. This work has been supported in part by Croatian science foundation under the project no. 1549.

OSTAVA REPUBLIKANSKIH
DENARA IZ PRUDA
KOD BOSANSKOG ŠAMCA¹

UDK: 904:737.1(497.6 Prud)''652''

Izvorni znanstveni rad

U članku se obrađuje i objavljuje ostava rimskih republikanskih denara, pronađena 2012. godine u rijeci Savi, kod sela Prud u Bosanskoj posavini. Najmlađi novac u novopronađenoj ostavi predstavljaju legionarski denari Marka Antonija. Ostava se uspoređuje s drugim skupnim nalazima novca, slične naravi, kao i s ostavama iz regije koje su skrivene u otprilike istome razdoblju. Nakon provedene analize, zaključuje se da je ostava iz Pruda, koju je moguće klasificirati kao osobno vlasništvo i povezati s vojnom isplatom, materijalno

¹ Ovom prigodom zahvaljujem se fra M. Živkoviću, gvardijanu Franjevačkog samostana u Tolisi, gdje se ostava čuva u muzeju »Vrata Bosne«, što mi je dopustio obradu i objavu ovog nalaza. Također, zahvaljujem i nalazniku ostave P. Matkiću što me je obavijestio o nalazu, kao i na njegovoj iznimnoj pomoći oko svega vezanog uz ostavu; također, on je autor svih fotografija reproduciranih na tablama. Ovaj rad je sufinancirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom br. 1549.

cultural change in south-eastern Pannonia occasioned by the increase of Roman influence during the 1st c. B.C., culminating in the Roman conquest of the region in the Tiberian Bellum Pannonicum.

Key words: Roman Republican coins, coin hoards, southern Pannonia

svjedočanstvo procesa kulturoloških promjena u jugoistočnoj Panoniji, prouzročenih povećanjem rimskog utjecaja tijekom 1. st. pr. Kr., koje je kulminiralo rimskim osvajanjem ovog područja tijekom Tiberijeva Panonskog rata (nakon 12. pr. Kr.).

Ključne riječi: rimski republikanski novac, ostave novca, južna Panonija

Circumstances of the find

On July 26th 2012, P. Matkić, an associate of the "Gates of Bosnia" museum at the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa, discovered, with a metal detector, a hoard of Roman Republican *denarii* in the dry bed of the Sava River near the village of Prud in the Bosnian part of the Sava valley. The site (45°05'05"N, 18°26'38"E) is located several metres to the south of the Bosnian-Croatian border, some 100 m downstream from the ancient confluence of the Bosna River with the Sava (map 1), the ancient boundary between the tribes of Breuci and Osseariates,² and near one of the proposed localizations of the Ad Basante station from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, also mentioned in the *Ravenna Cosmography*.³ The hoard was concealed in a muddy tufa dry bed of the Sava, on a shoal some 20 m from the main canal of the river, in an area that is under water for part of the year. The coins were lying only several centimetres deep, and were removed from the ground on several occasions: on July 26th-27th by P. Matkić himself; on July 29th by P. Matkić with Z. and Đ. Benković; on August 23rd by Z. and Đ. Benković; on August 27th by P. Matkić and Đ. Benković; finally, in July-August by Z. Matkić. A total of 45 coins were found on these occasions, all belonging to the hoard. Additionally, five more Republican coins were

Okolnosti nalaza

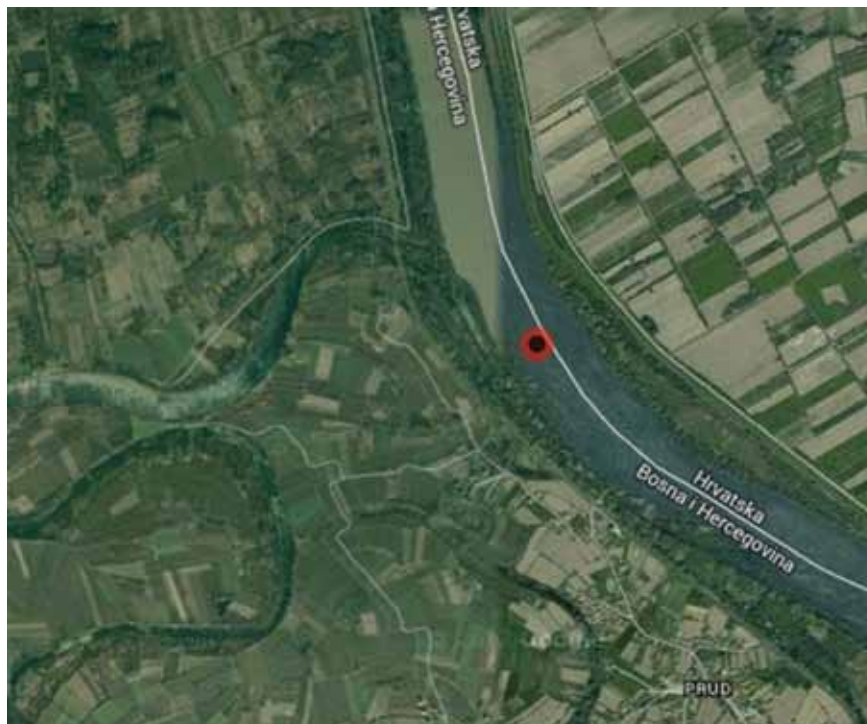
P. Matkić, vanjski suradnik muzeja »Vrata Bosne« pri Franjevačkom samostanu u Tolisi, 26. je srpnja 2012. pomoću detektora metala pronašao ostavu rimskih republikanskih denara na suhom dnu rijeke Save, u blizini sela Prud u Bosanskoj posavini. Mjesto nalaza (45°05'05"S, 18°26'38"I) smješteno je nekoliko metara južno od bosansko-hrvatske granice, 100 m nizvodno od nekadašnjeg ušća Bosne u Savu (karta 1), nekadašnje granice između plemena Breuka i Oserijata,² nedaleko od predložene lokalizacije postaje Ad Basante s *Tabule Peutingeriane*, koja se spominje i u Ravenatskoj kozmografiji.³ Ostava je bila ukopana u suhom koritu rijeke, na podlozi od sedre i naplavljenog blata, na sprudu udaljenom oko 20 m od glavnog korita rijeke, koji je dio godine pod vodom. Novac je bio na dubini od samo nekoliko centimetara, a vađen je u nekoliko navrata tijekom ljeta 2012. godine: 26. i 27. srpnja (P. Matkić), 29. srpnja (P. Matkić, Z. i Đ. Benković), 23. kolovoza (Z. i Đ. Benković), 27. kolovoza (P. Matkić i Đ. Benković) te tijekom srpnja/kolovoza (Z. Matkić). Ukupno je pronađeno 45 primjeraka novca, sve iz iste ostave. Dodatnih pet primjeraka republikanskog novca pronađeno je u nepo-

² Zaninović 2003, 445; Domić Kunić 2006, 78-79.

³ For the supporters of the localization of Ad Basante at the modern confluence of the Bosna with the Sava, see Babić 2009, 213-214.

² Zaninović 2003, 445; Domić Kunić 2006, 78-79.

³ Za lokalizaciju postaje Ad Basante na suvremenom ušću Bosne u Savu, vidi literaturu kod Babić 2009, 213-214.



Map / Karta 1: The position of the find-site / Položaj mjesta nalaza (©Google maps, adapted by the author / prilagodio autor)

found in the immediate vicinity (A-D in tab. 1),⁴ together with an Apollonian drachm (E in tab. 1),⁵ but it is not possible to ascertain whether they actually belonged to the hoard. They will thus not be included in the analysis of the hoard itself. The coins were brought to the “Gates of Bosnia” museum at the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa, where they are kept at present. They were cleaned only provisionally, and remain in a rather unsatisfying state. The majority of coins are heavily corroded, which was effected by the fact that they had lain on the river bottom for part of the year. The latest coins in the hoard are the legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony; since they are not much worn, it seems safe to presume that the hoard was not concealed much later than 31 B.C. A similar conclusion with regard to the three hoards from modern Slovenia terminating with legionary *denarii* was reached by Miškec.⁶

⁴ Found by P. Matkić in 2013: A on July 30th; B in early August; C and D on July 17th.

⁵ Found by P. Matkić with Đ. and I. Benković on September 9th, 2012.

⁶ Miškec 2012, 384.

srednoj blizini (A-D u tab. 1),⁴ kao i jedna drahma grada Apolonije (E u tab. 1),⁵ no nije moguće utvrditi jesu li oni također dio ostave. Zbog toga neće biti uključeni u njezinu analizu. Kovanice su donesene u muzej »Vrata Bosne« pri Franjevačkom samostanu u Tolisi, gdje se i danas čuva. Očišćene su provizorno te su i dalje u nezadovoljavajućem stanju. Većina je kovanica jako korodirana, što je posljedica boravka na riječnom dnu dio godine. Najmlađi novac u ostavi predstavljaju legijski denari Marka Antonija; kako oni nisu jako istrošeni, pretpostavlja se da ostava nije sklonjena dugo nakon godine 31. pr. Kr. Slično je zaključila vezano uz tri ostave pronađene na području današnje Slovenije, koje završavaju legijskim denarima, i A. Miškec.⁶

⁴ Njih je pronašao P. Matkić 2013: A 30. srpnja; B u ranom kolovozu; C i D 17. srpnja.

⁵ Pronašli P. Matkić, Đ. i I. Benković 9. rujna 2012.

⁶ Miškec 2012, 384.

Composition of the hoard

The hoard consisted of 45 *denarii* issued from 147 B.C. to 32-31 B.C., as depicted in tab. 1.

Sastav ostave

Ostava se sastoji od 45 denara kovanih između 147. pr. Kr. i 32. - 31. pr. Kr., kao što je vidljivo iz tab. 1.

No. / Br.	Inv. no. / Iny. br. ⁷	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.	Mint / Kovnica	Weight / Težina (g)	Dim. (mm)	Axis / Os	Punch-mark / Oznaka
1	721	217.1	147	Rome / Rim	3,28	19	4	obv. / av., rev.
2	746	238.1	136	Rome / Rim	3,5	19,5	12	
3	714	267.1	126	Rome / Rim	3,65	18	7	obv. / av.
4-5	742; 748	276.1	122	Rome / Rim	3,66; 2,97	18; 18	7; 3	obv. / av., rev. (both / oba)
6	805	277.1	122	Rome / Rim	3,51	18	8	
7	733	290.1	114/113	Rome / Rim	3,44	20,5	3	obv. / av.
8	740	303.1	109/108	Rome / Rim	3,16	20,5	1	
9-10	745; 827	342.5b	90	Rome / Rim	3,14; 3,22	17; 18	3; 6	obv. / av. (both/oba)
11	744	344.3	89	Rome / Rim	3,19	18	5	
12	738	353.1a	85	Rome / Rim	3,2	20,5	2	obv. / av..
13	720	353.1c	85	Rome / Rim	3,36	22	2	
14	708	354.1	84	Rome / Rim	3,3	20	8	obv. / av.
15	734	357.1b	83	Rome / Rim	3,79	19,5	12	obv. / av.
16	737	362.1	82	Rome / Rim	3,65	19,5	6	obv. / av.
17	723	379.2	80	Rome / Rim	3,75	18,5	5	obv. / av.
18	743	382.1b	79	Rome / Rim	3,75	20	11	
19	739	408.1b ⁸	67	Rome / Rim	3,4	17,5	12	
20	799	415.1	62	Rome / Rim	3,76	18	4	obv. / av.
21-22	756; 757	443.1	49/48	trav. / pok.	3,51; 3,50	19,5; 19,5	2; 4	rev. (both / oba)
23	724	450.2	48	Rome / Rim	3,14	19	11	
24	722	458.1	47/46	Africa / Afrika	3,65	21	6	

⁷ The "Gates of Bosnia" museum / Muzej »Vrata Bosne«.

⁸ Control mark: ram's head (O-242 Hersh) / Kontrolna oznaka: ovnujska glava (O-242 Hersh).

No. / Br.	Inv. no. / Inv. br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.	Mint / Kovnica	Weight / Težina (g)	Dim. (mm)	Axis / Os	Punch-mark / Oznaka
25	755	463.1	46	Rome / Rim	3,7	18,5	8	
26	747	464.5	46	Rome / Rim	3,5	20	4	obv. / av.
27	741	465.3	46	Rome / Rim	3,82	20	8	
28	735	467.1a	46	uncertain / nesigurno	3,69	18,5	4	rev.
29-30	750; 751	468.1	46/45	Spain / Hispanija	3,91; 3,79	20; 18,5	12; 6	
31	718	473.1	45	Rome / Rim	3,87	21	10	
32-33	752; 753	494.23	42	Rome / Rim	3,67; 3,91	19,5; 17	9; 12	
34	719	494.29	42	Rome / Rim	3,55	20	1	
35	754	511.3a	42-40	Sicily / Sicilija	3,57	17,5	10	
36	736	528.2a	39	trav. / pok.	3,78	20	8	
37	749	542.2	32	trav. / pok.	3,65	21,5	7	
38	725	544.15	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,29	19	6	rev.
39	731	544.19	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,29	18,5	6	
40	728	544.30	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,05	21	8	
41	730	544.35	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,25	19,5	7	
42	727	544.36	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,41	17	6	
43	732	544.24-39	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,48	18	3	rev.
44-45	726; 729	544	32/31	trav. / pok.	3,31; 3,39	18; 18	9; 4	
<i>Additional – Republican / Dodatni primjerci republikanskog novca</i>								
A	1195	214.1b	148	Rome / Rim	3,61	20	10	obv. / av., rev.
B	1175	274.1	123	Rome / Rim	3,7	18	1	
C	918	422.1b	58	Rome / Rim	3,71	18	8	
D	1174	480.17	44	Rome / Rim	3,71	19	1	obv. / av.
<i>Additional – Apollonian drachm / Dodatni primjerak – Apolonija</i>								
E	G11	Picard, Gjongjecaĳ, 74; Petrányi -2	c. 50-48	Apoll.	2,19	20	-	obv. / av.

Table / Tablica 1: The composition of the Prud hoard (with five additional specimens) / Sastav ostave iz Pruda (s pet dodatnih primjerala)

It is evident that there are three peaks with respect to the number of specimens issued in various periods. The first peak is in the 80s (10 coins issued between 90 and 80 B.C.), the second in the 40s (15 coins issued between 49 and 40 B.C.), and the third represented by eight legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony issued in 32-31 B.C. (Chart 1).

With regard to the mint distribution, two thirds of the coins were struck in Rome, with a significant number of coins, more than a quarter, being struck in travelling mints, mostly those travelling with Mark Antony (Chart 2).

Finally, a significant number of coins bore punch-marks. Thus 19 coins had either certain geometric shapes (more often) or a letter or letter-like sign (rarely) on either obverse or reverse (or on both sides), which amounts to 42.2%.⁹ Five of the eight 2nd-c. coins bore them (62.5%), as well as eight of the twelve coins issued during the 1st half of the 1st c., up to 62 B.C. (66.7%), but only six of the twenty-five minted from 49/48 to 32/31 B.C. (24%). These punch-marks bear a certain resemblance to later countermarks, and their purpose might have been similar.¹⁰ In any case, they reflect the use of a coin for some time after its minting,¹¹ which is further corroborated by the chronological distribution of the punch-marked coins in the hoard.

⁹ Eleven coins bore them on obverse only, five exclusively on reverse (it being in practice hard, in cat. nos. 21, 22, 38 and 43, to distinguish obverse from reverse), while three had them on both sides. Thus 14 of the 19 coins bore punch-marks on the obverse, either exclusively or in combination with one on the reverse, and only a single coin was 'explicitly' marked solely on the reverse. Due to the state of preservation of the majority of the coins, it is entirely possible I have missed a mark here or there.

¹⁰ For possible reasons for countermarking coins, see Kos 1995, 19, 45.

¹¹ Miškec 2014.

Jasno su vidljiva tri vrhunca u broju primjeraka kovanih u raznim razdobljima: prvi u 80-im godinama 1. st. pr. Kr. (10 kovanica izdanih između 90. i 80. pr. Kr.), drugi u 40-ima (15 kovanica izdanih između 49. i 40. pr. Kr.) te treći, predstavljen s osam legijskih denara Marka Antonija, kovanih 32. - 31. pr. Kr. (dijagram 1).

Što se tiče pripadnosti kovnicama, dvije trećine primjeraka kovano je u Rimu, a znatan postotak kovanica, više od četvrtine, kovano je u pokretnim kovnicama, uglavnom onima koje su pratile Marka Antonija (dijagram 2).

Konačno, znatan broj primjeraka na sebi ima određene oznake, nastale udarcem ili urezivanjem. Tako na 19 primjeraka vidimo određene geometrijske oblike (češće), ili slova, ili znakove nalik slovima (rjeđe) na aversu ili reversu (ili na obje strane), što predstavlja 42,2%.⁹ Pet od osam kovanica iz 2. st. pr. Kr. ima oznake (62,5%), kao i osam od dvanaest kovanica nastalih tijekom prve polovice 1. st. do 62. pr. Kr. (66,7%), no samo šest od 25 kovanica izdanih između 49. - 48. i 32. - 31. pr. Kr. (24%). Oznake su donekle nalik kasnijim kontramarkama, a njihova je svrha mogla, sukladno tomu, biti slična.¹⁰ U svakom slučaju, one reflektiraju upotrebu novca nakon što je prošlo neko vrijeme od trenutka njegova nastanka,¹¹ što se dalje može potkrijepiti kronološkom distribucijom kovanica s oznakom unutar ostave.

⁹ Jedanaest primjeraka ima oznake samo na aversu, pet samo na reversu (kod kat. br. 21, 22, 38 i 43 u praksi je teško razlikovati avers od reversa), dok se kod tri primjerka nalaze na obje strane. Tako 14 od 19 kovanica ima oznake na aversu, bilo isključivo ili u kombinaciji s oznakama na reversu, a samo je jedan primjerak »eksplicitno« označen samo na reversu. Zbog slabe sačuvanosti većine kovanica, moguće je da mi je poneka oznaka i promakla.

¹⁰ Za moguće razloge kontramarkiranja, vidi Kos 1995, 19, 45.

¹¹ Miškec 2014.

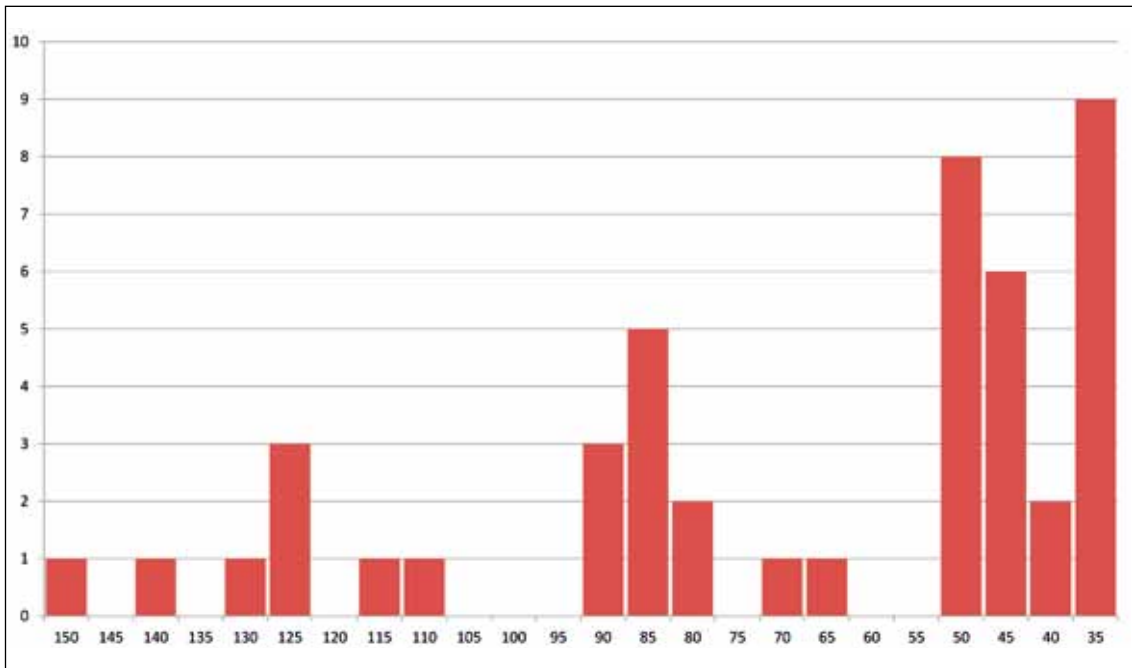


Chart / Dijagram 1: Number of coins per five-year period / Broj primjeraka u petogodišnjim periodima (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

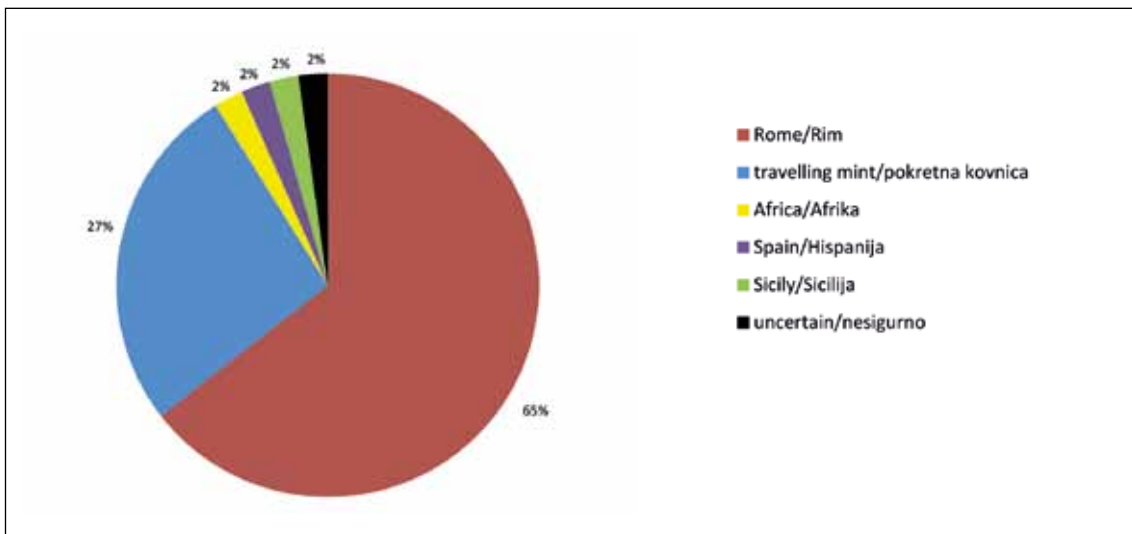


Chart / Dijagram 2: Mint distribution / Kovnice (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

Comparison with other hoards terminating with legionary *denarii*

There are not many known hoards terminating with legionary *denarii* in the region. Two smaller hoards, one from Dalmatia,¹² and another from the 10th region of Italia,¹³ cannot be compared with the Prud hoard with any profit. However, two hoards from modern Slovenia are in some points similar to the Prud hoard.

The first of the hoards was found in Celje (Noricum). It consists of 25 silver coins, the earliest being an early didrachm issued between 225 and 212 B.C. For heuristic reasons this coin, together with another early issue (211-190 B.C.), although listed in tab. 2, are not represented in the accompanying diagram (Chart 3). Regarding mint distribution, 21 coins were struck in Rome, 2 in travelling mints, 1 each in Hispania and Africa (see Chart 6).

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	28.3	225-212
2	44-133.2	211-190
3	215.1	148
4	296.1a-l	112-111
5	299.1a-b	111-110
6	305.1	109-108
7	311.1c-e	106
8	316.1	105
9	322.1a	102
10	342.5b	90
11	344.2b	89

Usporedba s drugim ostavama koje završavaju legijskim denarima

Samo mali broj poznatih ostava u regiji završava legijskim denarima. Usporedba s dvije manje ostave, jednom iz Dalmacije,¹² drugom iz desete regije Italije,¹³ ne bi pružila relevantne rezultate. S druge strane, dvije ostave s područja današnje Slovenije donekle su usporedive s ostavom iz Pruda.

Prva od tih ostava nađena je u Celju (Norik). Sastoji se od 25 primjeraka srebrnog novca. Najraniji je primjerak u toj ostavi didrahma kovana između 225. i 212. pr. Kr. Zbog nerelevantnosti za interpretaciju, ovaj primjerak, zajedno s još jednim ranim novcem (211. - 190. pr. Kr.), iako su navedeni u tab. 2, nisu prikazani na dijagramu 3.

12-13	350A.1-2	86
14	252.1c	85
15	354.1	84
16-17	364.1d	83-82
18	382.1b	79
19	383.1	79
20	393.1b	76-75
21	412.1	64
22	430.1	55
23	443.1	49-48
24	458.1	47-46
25	544.33	32-31

Table / Tablica 2: The composition of the Celje hoard (FMRSI II 340/4) / Sastav ostave iz Celja (FMRSI II

¹² Selca, on the island of Brač, 8 pieces: RRC 238/1 (136. pr. Kr.), 337/3 (91. pr. Kr.), 380/1 (80. pr. Kr.), 462/2 (47. - 46. pr. Kr.), 529/4b (39. pr. Kr.), 544/14, 544/26, 544 (32. - 31. pr. Kr.); kovnice: pokretne kovnice 4, Rim 3, Afrika 1 (Nađ 2012, 399 br. 14).

¹³ Knežak-Gradišće kod Postojne, 4 primjerka: RRC 422.1a (58. pr. Kr.), 511.3a (42. - 40. pr. Kr.), 534.3 (38. pr. Kr.), 544.24 (32. - 31. pr. Kr.); kovnice: pokretne kovnice 2, Rim 1, Sicilija 1 (FMRSI IV 39/2).

¹² Selca na otoku Braču, 8 primjeraka: RRC 238/1 (136 B.C.), 337/3 (91 B.C.), 380/1 (80 B.C.), 462/2 (47-46 B.C.), 529/4b (39 B.C.), 544/14, 544/26, 544 (32-31 B.C.); mint distribution: travelling mints 4, Roma 3, Africa 1 (Nađ 2012, 399 no. 14).

¹³ Knežak-Gradišće at Postojna, 4 pieces: RRC 422.1a (58 B.C.), 511.3a (42-40 B.C.), 534.3 (38 B.C.), 544.24 (32-31 B.C.); mint distribution: travelling mints 2, Roma 1, Sicilia 1 (FMRSI IV 39/2).

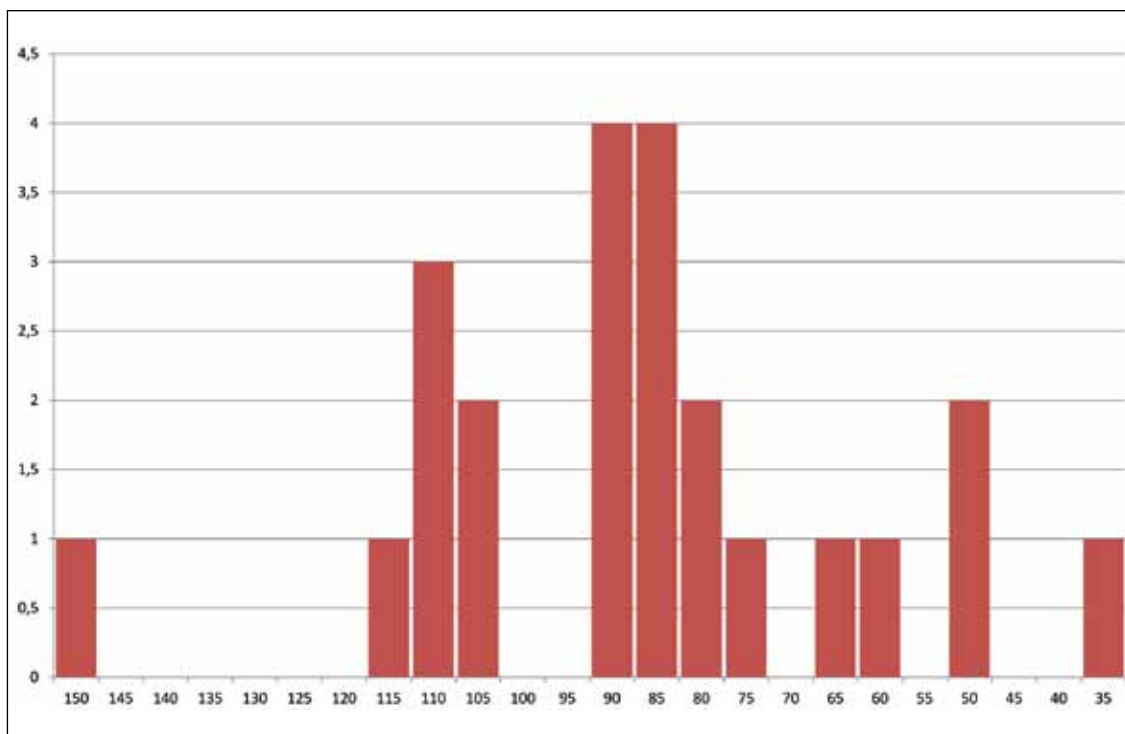


Chart / Dijagram 3: Number of coins per five-year period / Broj primjeraka u petogodišnjim periodima (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	137/1	194-190
2-3	204/1	152
4	214/1b	148
5	235/1c	137
6	238/1	136
7	248/1	133
8	299/1b	111-110
9	302/1	109-108
10	316/1	105
11	323/1	101
12	337/3	91
13	341/2	90
14	342/5b	90

15	345/1	88
16	346/1b	88
17	348/1	87
18	388/1b	77
19	408/1b	67
20	440/1	49
21-22	448/1a	48
23	449/1b	48
24	464/5	46
25	500/3	43-42
26	544/15	32-31
27	544/19	32-31
28	544/21	32-31

Table / Tablica 3: The composition of the Rakova Jelša hoard (Miškec, unpublished) / Sastav ostave iz Rakove Jelše (Miškec, neobjavljeno)¹⁴

¹⁴ I would like to thank A. Miškec for providing me with these data and allowing me to use them in this study.

¹⁴ Ovom prigodom želim zahvaliti A. Miškec što mi je ustupila podatke i dopustila mi da ih koristim u analizama.

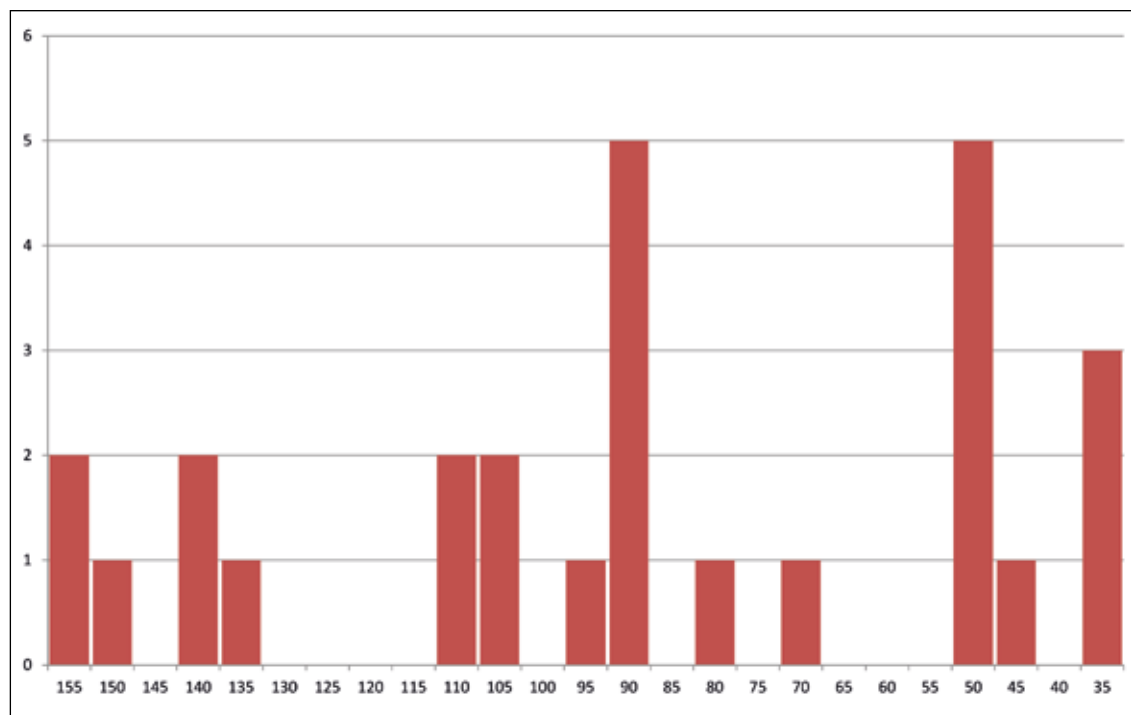


Chart / Dijagram 4: Number of coins per five-year period / Broj primjeraka u petogodišnjim periodima (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

The second of these hoards was found at Rakova Jelša in Ljubljana (Regio X Italia). It consists of 28 silver coins, the earliest issued in 194–190 B.C. For heuristic reasons this coin, although listed in tab. 3, is not represented in the accompanying diagram (Chart 4).

Regarding mint distribution, 24 coins were struck in Rome, 4 in travelling mints (see Chart 6).

The similarities between the hoards from Celje and Rakova Jelša noted by Miškec – containing an almost identical number of silver coins, and the earliest coin in both hoards belonging to the period of the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.¹⁵ – cannot be applied to the Prud hoard, since it is almost twice as large, and the earliest coin in it belongs to the early 2nd half of the 2nd c. However, with regard to their structure,¹⁶ it is noticeable that the hoards from Rakova Jelša and Prud, although starting from differ-

Što se tiče rasporeda kovnica, 21 primjerak kovan je u Rimu, 2 u pokretnim kovnicama, te po jedan u Hispaniji i Africi (vidi dijagram 6).

Druga je ostava ona iz Rakove Jelše u Ljubljani (Regio X Italia). Sastoji se od 28 primjeraka srebrnog novca, a najraniji je otkovan 194. - 190. pr. Kr. Zbog nerelevantnosti za interpretaciju, ovaj primjerak, iako naveden u tab. 3, nije prikazan na dijagramu 4.

Što se tiče rasporeda kovnica, 24 primjerka kovana su u Rimu, a 4 u pokretnim kovnicama (vidi dijagram 6).

Sličnosti između ostava iz Celja i Rakove Jelše, koje je uočila A. Miškec – obje se sastoje od gotovo identičnog broja primjeraka srebrnog novca, a najraniji novac u objema pripada razdoblju između kraja 3. i početka 2. st. pr. Kr.¹⁵ – ne mogu se primijeniti na ostavu iz Pruda, koja je gotovo dvostru-

¹⁵ Miškec 2012, 384.

¹⁶ For this term, see Lockyear 1997, 87 n. 24.

¹⁵ Miškec 2012, 384.

ent positions, show a similar ratio of growth, while the Celje hoard diverges significantly from both. On the other hand, the Prud hoard contains a significantly larger proportion of later coinage than the other two hoards: coins issued after 49 B.C. comprise an absolute majority in the Prud hoard, while they represent about 1/3 of the total coins in the Rakova Jelša hoard, and only 12% of the coins in the Celje hoard (see Chart 5). In this sense the Prud hoard could be called 'modern' and the Celje hoard 'archaic',¹⁷ at least with respect to each other. Furthermore, with respect to mint distribution (Chart 6), it is evident that the Prud hoard contains a significantly smaller percentage of coins struck at Rome (less than 2/3, compared to more than 4/5 in both Celje and Rakova Jelša), while, on the other hand, it contains many more coins struck in travelling mints (more than 1/4), especially in comparison to the Rakova Jelša hoard. These data can be compared to the results obtained for a horizon of hoards terminating with the *denarii* of C.L. CAESARES found in the wider region. In these, the coins struck in Rome are more frequent in smaller hoards, where they comprise as much as 3/4 of the entire hoard, while in larger hoards they are somewhat less dominant, comprising about 3/5 of the total number of coinage in the hoard; on the other hand, the number of coins struck in travelling mints is higher in larger hoards, between 1/5 and 1/4, than in smaller hoards, where their ratio varies significantly, but is always below 15%.¹⁸ On both these counts the Prud hoard would belong to the group of larger hoards, while the Celje and Rakova Jelša hoards would belong to the smaller.¹⁹

¹⁷ For these terms, see Lockyear 1997, 87 n. 25.

¹⁸ Bilić 2012a, 134.

¹⁹ It should, however, be noted that the hoards from both Valpovo (53 pieces) and Viminacium (81 pieces), classified among the smaller hoards in Bilić 2012a, are somewhat larger than the Prud hoard.

ko veća, a najraniji novac u njoj potječe s početka druge polovice 2. stoljeća. No, što se tiče strukture,¹⁶ primjetno je da ostave iz Rakove Jelše i Pruda, iako počinju s različitim pozicijama, pokazuju sličan rast, dok se ostava iz Celja u tom pogledu znatno razlikuje od njih. S druge strane, u ostavi iz Pruda prisutan je znatno veći udio kasnijeg novca u usporedbi s tim dvjema ostavama; novac iskovan nakon 49. pr. Kr. čini apsolutnu većinu u ostavi iz Pruda, dok isti novac predstavlja oko 1/3 ukupnog broja kovanica u ostavi iz Rakove Jelše te samo 12% ukupnog broja kovanica u ostavi iz Celja (vidi dijagram 5). Prema tomu, ostava iz Pruda može se nazivati »modernom«, a ostava iz Celja »arhaičnom«,¹⁷ barem u usporedbi jedne s drugom. Nadalje, što se tiče rasporeda kovnica (dijagram 6), vidljivo je da ostava iz Pruda sadrži znatno manji udio kovanica izdanih u Rimu (manje od 2/3, u usporedbi s više od 4/5 u Celju i Rakovoj Jelši) dok, s druge strane, sadrži znatno veći udio kovanica izdanih u pokretnim kovnicama (više od 1/4), osobito u usporedbi s ostavom iz Rakove Jelše. Podaci se mogu usporediti s onima dobivenim kroz analizu horizonta ostava koje završavaju denarima Gaja i Lucija Cezara, pronađenima u široj regiji. U njima su kovanice izdane u Rimu češće u manjim ostavama, gdje čine do 3/4 ukupnog broja primjeraka u ostavi, dok su u većim ostavama nešto manje dominantne, čineći oko 3/5 ukupnog broja primjeraka u ostavi; s druge strane, udio novca kovanog u pokretnim kovnicama viši je u većim ostavama, između 1/5 i 1/4, u usporedbi s manjim ostavama, u kojima njihov udio znatno varira, ali je uvijek niži od 15%.¹⁸ Prema oba kriterija, ostava iz Pruda pripadala bi grupi većih ostava, dok bi one iz Celja i Rakove Jelše pripadale grupi manjih ostava.¹⁹

¹⁶ Za ovaj termin, vidi Lockyear 1997, 87 bilj. 24.

¹⁷ Za ove termine, vidi Lockyear 1997, 87 bilj. 25.

¹⁸ Bilić 2012a, 134.

¹⁹ Treba napomenuti da su i ostava iz Valpova (53 primjerka) i Viminacija (81 primjerak), svrstane među manje ostave u Bilić 2012a, nešto veće od ostave iz Pruda.

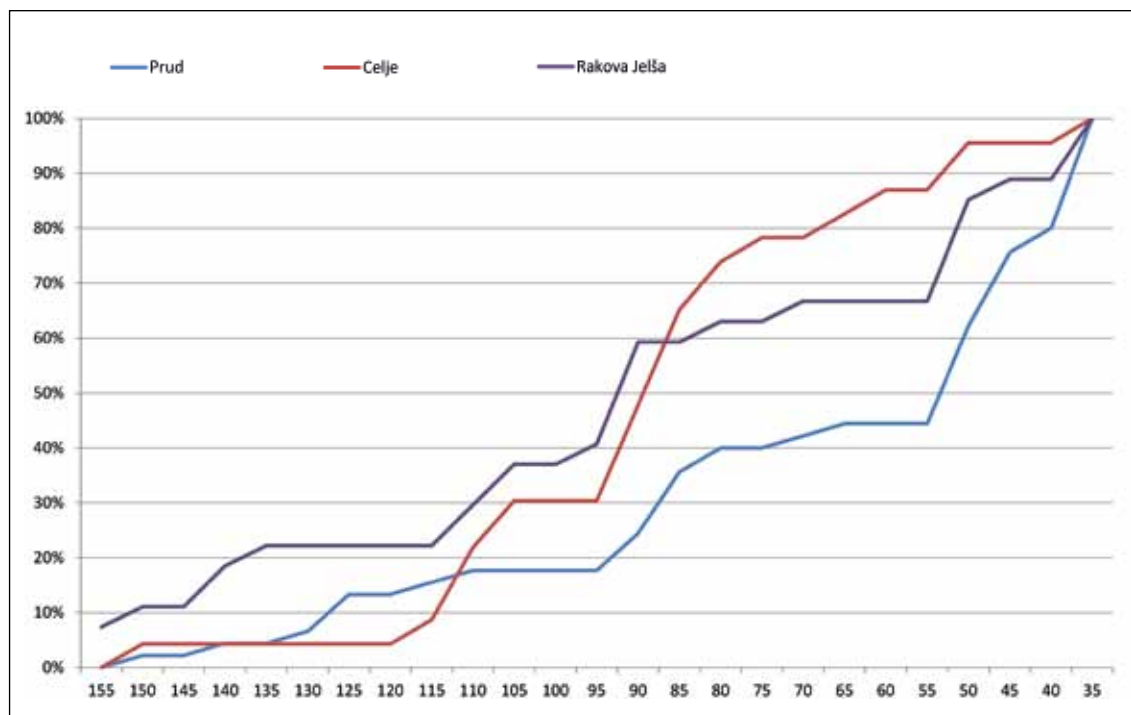


Chart / Dijagram 5: Cumulative percentages of coin per five-year period in the three hoards terminating with legionary *denarii* / Kumulativni postotak po petogodišnjim periodima u tri ostave koje završavaju legijskim *denarima* (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

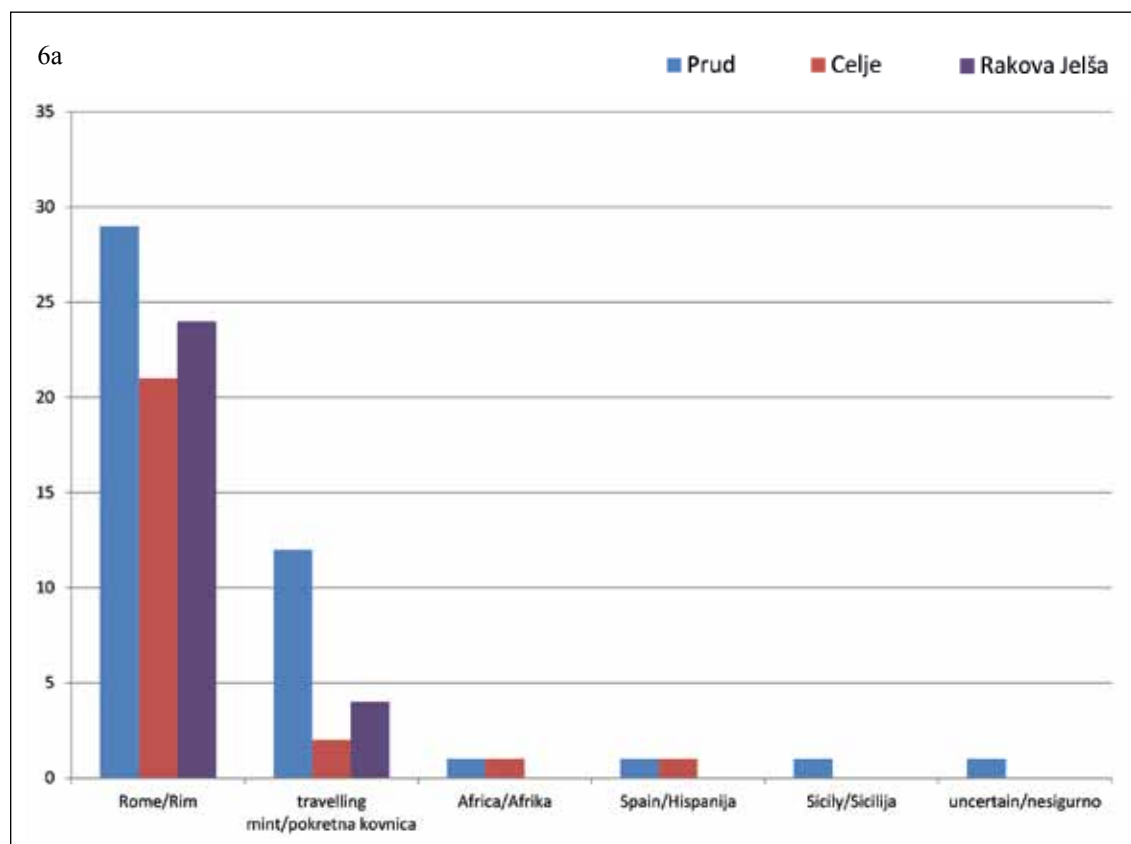


Chart / Dijagram 6a: Mint distribution (number of coins) / Kovnice (broj primjeraka) (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

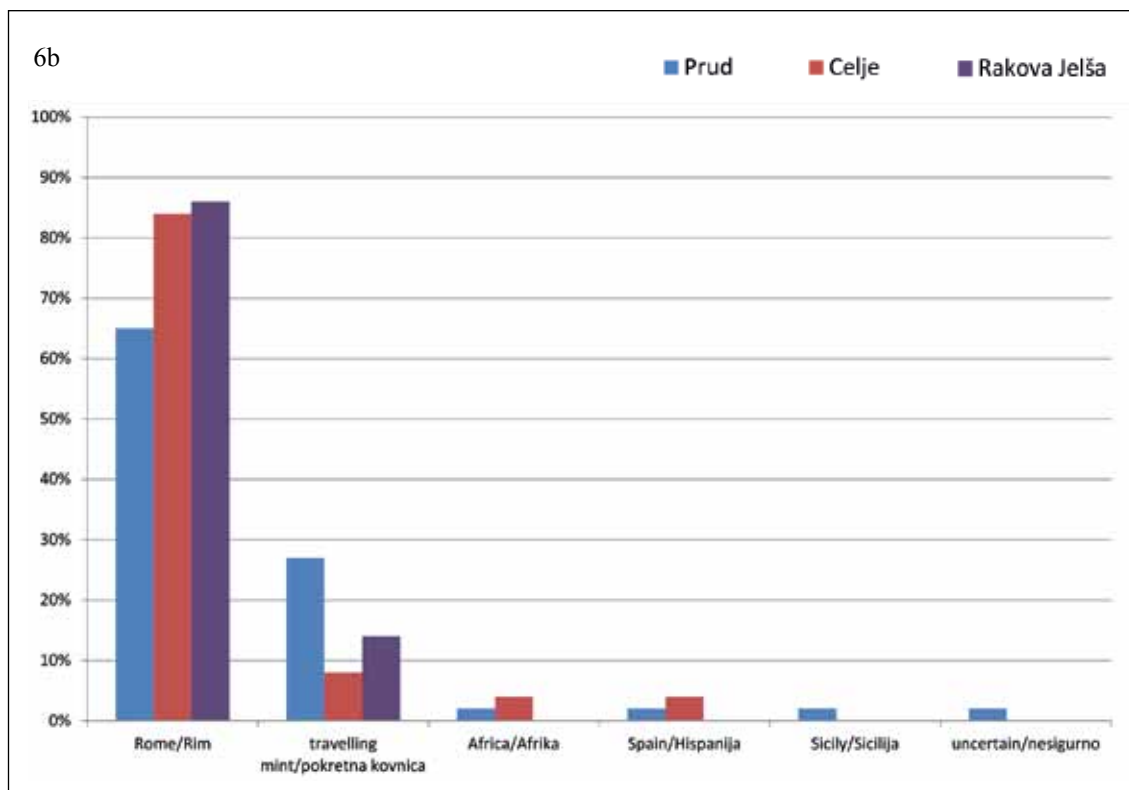


Chart / Dijagram 6b: Mint distribution (percentage of coins in the hoard) / Kovnice (postotak novca u ostavi) (author / autor T. Bilić, 2013.)

Comparison with similar hoards in the region

Several other hoards were found in the region – the future province of Pannonia Secunda – that can be connected to the Prud hoard. Some of them consisted exclusively of Roman Republican coins, while others were mixed with the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrachium. I will analyse here three hoards containing only Republican coinage (Krndija, Valpovo and Gomolava), and four others containing both Republican and Apollonia-Dyrrachium coinage (Vukovar 1912, Indija, Stara Pazova I, and Stara Pazova II – the Čmelnik farm) (see map 2).

A new element in the study of these hoards is provided by a number of works that have appeared recently, discussing the chronology of the coinage of Apollonia and Dyrrachium.²⁰ The most important works are Petrányi 1996

²⁰ See the review in Ujes Morgan 2012, 369-372.

Usporedba sa sličnim ostavama iz regije

Nekoliko ostava pronađenih u regiji – budućoj provinciji Pannonia Secunda – mogu se povezati s ostavom iz Pruda. Neke od tih ostava sastoje se isključivo od rimskoga republikanskog novca, dok je u drugima taj novac nađen zajedno s drahmama Apolonije i Dirahija. U ovome radu analizirat će se tri ostave koje se sastoje isključivo od republikanskog novca (Krndija, Valpovo i Gomolava) te četiri ostave u kojima je taj novac nađen zajedno s novcem Apolonije i Dirahija (Vukovar 1912., Indija, Stara Pazova I i Stara Pazova II – farma Čmelnik, vidi kartu 2).

Novi element u analizi ovih ostava pruža nedavno objavljen niz rasprava o kronologiji novca Apolonije i Dirahija.²⁰ Najvažniji su radovi Petrányi 1996 te Picard,

²⁰ Vidi pregled u Ujes Morgan 2012, 369-372.

and Picard, Gjongecaj 2000. Three periods of issuing are recognized: (1) c. 280 B.C. (Dyrrachium) or 250 B.C. (Apollonia) - 168 B.C.; (2) 168 B.C. - 80s or 70s B.C.; (3) 80s or 70s B.C. - 40s B.C. or, more precisely, 49-48 B.C.²¹ It is important to stress that, in general, the overwhelming majority of coins of Apollonia and Dyrrachium found in the Pannonian basin belong to the last phase of issuing.²² In light of this new chronology, it is worth re-examining some of the hoards that were found in this region that contain this coinage together with Roman Republican coins.

Various theories accounting for the presence of the coinage of Apollonia and Dyrrachium in this region have been proposed. It is possible that the intensive commercial relations in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. were the reason for the introduction of this large quantity of coins into the barbarian territories.²³ On the other hand, the sheer quantity of Apollonia-Dyrrachium coinage circulating in the interior suggested to Popović their dependence on Rome, reflecting Roman economic and political interests in the region.²⁴ He dates the arrival of this coinage in the Danubian basin to the 2nd quarter of the 1st c. B.C.²⁵ According to Ujes Morgan, its great quantity in the territory of the Scordisci is to be dated to the mid-1st c.

²¹ This is a convenient systematization in Ujes Morgan 2012, 369-370. Actually, Picard and Gjongecaj (2000, 157-159) divide her second phase into two distinct phases (Phase II: 167-120/100 B.C. and Phase III: 120/100-80/70 B.C.) and end their final phase precisely with 48 B.C. (Picard, Gjongecaj 2000, 156). More recently Petrányi argues for the following dates: Dyrrachium 208-48, Apollonia 167-48 B.C. (<http://asklapiadas.ancients.info/05bDrChron.html>; accessed on September 25th, 2013) (this is Petrányi's frequently updated webpage, approved by him in a personal e-mail sent to the author on March 12th, 2013).

²² Ujes Morgan 2012, 370.

²³ See the overview of literature in Ujes Morgan 2012, 369, 374.

²⁴ Popović 1987, 98-99.

²⁵ Popović 1987, 104, cf. Howgego 1995, 103: c. 75-60 BC.

Gjongecaj 2000. Razlučena su tri razdoblja kovanja: (1) oko 280. pr. Kr. (Dirahij) ili 250. pr. Kr. (Apolonija) - 168. pr. Kr.; (2) 168. pr. Kr. - 80-e ili 70-e pr. Kr.; (3) 80-e ili 70-e pr. Kr. - 40-e pr. Kr. ili, preciznije, 49. - 48. pr. Kr.²¹ Važno je naglasiti da u načelu velik dio kovanica Apolonije i Dirahija, pronađen u Panoniji, pripada posljednjem razdoblju njihova izdavanja.²² U svjetlu ove nove kronologije vrijedi ponovno analizirati neke ostave pronađene u regiji koje sadrže taj novac, zajedno s rimskim republikanskim novcem.

Različite teorije ponuđene su kako bi objasnile prisustvo novca Apolonije i Dirahija u ovome području. Postoji mogućnost da su intenzivni trgovački odnosi u 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr. prouzročili pojavu ove velike količine novca na teritoriju koji su naseljavale barbarske zajednice.²³ S druge strane, velika količina novca Apolonije i Dirahija, koja se nalazila u optičaju u unutrašnjosti, sugerirala je Popoviću njegovu ovisnost o Rimu, odražavajući rimske ekonomske i političke interese u regiji.²⁴ On datira pojavu ovog novca u Podunavlju u drugu četvrtinu 1. st. pr. Kr.²⁵ Prema Ujes Morgan, velika količina toga

²¹ Ovo je korisna sistematizacija, ponuđena u Ujes Morgan 2012, 369-370. Zapravo, Picard i Gjongecaj (2000, 157-159) dijele njezinu drugu fazu u dva perioda (faza II: 167-120/100. pr. Kr. i faza III: 120/100. - 80/70. pr. Kr.), a njihova posljednja faza završava točno godinom 48. pr. Kr. (Picard, Gjongecaj 2000, 156). Nedavno je Petrányi predložio sljedeće datume: Dirahij 208. - 48. pr. Kr., Apolonija 167. - 48. pr. Kr. (<http://asklapiadas.ancients.info/05bDrChron.html>; 25. 9. 2013.) (riječ je o Petrányijevoj često obnovljanoj web-stranici, a točnost podataka Petrányi je potvrdio u osobnoj e-pošti upućenoj autoru 12. 3. 2013.).

²² Ujes Morgan 2012, 370.

²³ Vidi pregled literature u Ujes Morgan 2012, 369, 374.

²⁴ Popović 1987, 98-99.

²⁵ Popović 1987, 104, usp. Howgego 1995, 103: c. 75-60 BC.

B.C., more precisely, to the late 50s and the 40s, and is explained in terms of Roman military operations in the Balkan area in this period, in which the Scordisci perhaps served as mercenaries.²⁶ This is supported by the fact that only a limited number of abundant issues dated to the third period of activity of these mints, more precisely, to those issues minted from the 60s to the 40s, actually reached the barbarian territories in greater quantities.²⁷

Regarding the introduction of Roman Republican coinage into the region, I will offer here only the briefest overview of the situation as it is understood today. Thus Bíró-Sey believes that it entered Pannonia in the 80s or 70s B.C., with an increase during the latter half of the 1st century B.C.²⁸ This more or less conforms to the conclusion of Popović, who believes that the Republican coinage arrived in larger quantities in Pannonia only at the beginning of the second half of the 1st century B.C.²⁹ In light of the evidence from the much better studied lower Danube basin, or, more precisely, Dacia, this still seems an appropriate general interpretation of the available numismatic evidence. Republican coinage started to appear in large quantities in that region only in the mid-70s³⁰ or mid- or late 60s B.C., or perhaps even somewhat later.³¹ Thus the data from southern Pannonia seem to support – and in their turn are supported by – the interpretation of the situation in the lower Danube region.

²⁶ Ujes Morgan 2012, 367, 373-375.

²⁷ Ujes Morgan 2012, 369-370, 373.

²⁸ Bíró-Sey 1980, 339.

²⁹ Popović 1987, 104-106, cf. 1976, 17.

³⁰ Lockyear 1995, 87, 94-95, cf. Lockyear 2008.

³¹ Crawford 1985, 232 (cf. 226, 231); Howgego 1995, 103.

novca na području Skordiska može se datirati u sredinu 1. st. pr. Kr., preciznije, u kasne 50-e i 40-e, a objašnjava se vezano uz rimske vojne operacije na području Balkana u ovome razdoblju, u kojima su Skordisci možda sudjelovali kao plaćenici.²⁶ To se potkrijepljuje činjenicom da se samo ograničeni broj tipova vrlo brojnih kovova, koji datiraju iz trećeg razdoblja aktivnosti tih kovnica, preciznije, kovova izdanih između 60-ih i 40-ih godina 1. st., pojavljuje na barbarskim područjima u većem broju.²⁷

Što se tiče pojave rimskoga republikanskog novca u regiji, ovdje će se ponuditi samo sumarni pregled situacije kako se ona danas shvaća u suvremenoj literaturi. Tako Bíró-Sey vjeruje da se novac pojavio u Panoniji tijekom 80-ih ili 70-ih godina 1. stoljeća, s pojačanim prilivom tijekom druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr.²⁸ To se uglavnom slaže s Popovićevom procjenom da je republikanski novac stigao u većim količinama u Panoniju tek početkom druge polovice 1. stoljeća.²⁹ U svjetlu dokaza iz puno bolje proučenog područja donjeg Podunavlja, tj. preciznije Dacije, ovo se i dalje čini kao prikladna generalna interpretacija raspoloživih numizmatičkih dokaza. Republikanski se novac počeo pojavljivati u većim količinama na tome području tek sredinom 70-ih³⁰ ili sredinom ili u kasnim 60-im godinama 1. stoljeća, ili čak nešto kasnije.³¹ Tako se čini da nalazi iz južne Panonije podupiru, a s druge strane su i sami poduprti interpretacijom situacije u području donjeg Podunavlja.

²⁶ Ujes Morgan 2012, 367, 373-375.

²⁷ Ujes Morgan 2012, 369-370, 373.

²⁸ Bíró-Sey 1980, 339.

²⁹ Popović 1987, 104-106, usp. 1976, 17.

³⁰ Lockyear 1995, 87, 94-95, usp. Lockyear 2008.

³¹ Crawford 1985, 232 (usp. 226, 231); Howgego 1995, 103.

First, the hoards containing exclusively Republican coinage found in the territory of the later Pannonia Secunda:

1 GOMOLAVA, *tpq* 43 B.C.³²

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	306	108/107
2	337.3	91
3	436.16	52
4-5	463.16	46
6	485.1	43

Table / Tablica 4: The composition of the Gomolava hoard / Sastav ostave iz Gomolave

2 KRNDIJA, *tpq* 12-11 B.C.³³

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	231.1	138
2	292.1	113/112
3	319.1	103
4	382.1b	79
5	408.1b	67

Table / Tablica 5: The composition of the Krndija hoard / Sastav ostave iz Krndije

3 VALPOVO, *tpq* 2-1 B.C.³⁴

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	199.1a	155
2	256.1	130
3	286.1	116/115
4	289.1	115/114
5	297.1b	112/111
6	316.1	105
7	317.3b	104

³² For references, see Bilić 2012, 367, 369 and Bilić, forthcoming.

³³ For references, see Bilić 2012, 371 n. 190 and Nađ 2012, 398 no. 9.

³⁴ For references, see Bilić 2012, 370, 2012a, 117 and Nađ 2012, 444 no. 91.

Prvo će biti obrađene ostave koje se sastoje isključivo od republikanskog novca, pronađene na području buduće Panonije Sekunde:

1 GOMOLAVA, *tpq* 43. pr. Kr.³²

<i>Barbarian imitations / barbarske imitacije</i>		
7	hybrid of L. M. Censorinus' and M. Volteius' coins / hibrid kovanica L. M. Cenzorina i M. Volteja	82/81-76
8	<i>bigatus</i>	-

2 KRNDIJA, *tpq* 12-11. pr. Kr.³³

6	425.1	56
7	443.1	49/48
8	494.23	42
9	497.2a	42
<i>Imperial / carski novac</i>		
10	RIC 178a	12/11

3 VALPOVO, *tpq* 2-1. pr. Kr.³⁴

8-9	340.1	90
10	341.2	90
11	343.2	89
12	344.3	89
13	345.2	88
14	348.1	87
15-16	350a.2	86
17	353.1a	85

³² Za literaturu, vidi Bilić 2012, 367, 369 i Bilić, u tisku.

³³ Za literaturu, vidi Bilić 2012, 371 bilj. 190 i Nađ 2012, 398 br. 9.

³⁴ Za literaturu, vidi Bilić 2012, 370, 2012a, 117 i Nađ 2012, 444 br. 91.

18	363.1b	82
19	382.1a	79
20	383.1	79
21	387.1	77
22	390.1	76
23	393.1b	76/75
24	407.2	68
25	408.1b	67
26-27	414.1	63
28	415.1	62
29	416.1a	62
30	426.1	56
31	427.2	56
32	433.1	54
33	444.1a	49
34	450.2	48
35	458.1	47/46

36	463.1a	46
37-38	464.2	46
39	464.3a	46
40	467.1a	46
41	494.27	42
42	543.1	32
43	544.14	32/31
44	544.18	32/31
45	544.20	32/31
46	544.28	32/31
47	544.35	32/31
<i>Imperial / carski novac</i>		
48	RIC 52a	c. 20/19
49	RIC 322	c. 19
50	RIC 171a	15-13
51	RIC 199	8
52	RIC 207	2/1

Table / Tablica 6: The composition of the Valpovo hoard / Sastav ostave iz Valpova

Second, the hoards containing both Republican and Apollonia-Dyrrachium coinage found in the territory of the future Pannonia Secunda:

4 INĐIJA, *tpq* 49 B.C.³⁵

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	284.1	117-116
Apollonia		
2	P&G 69/P -6	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
Dyrrachium		
3	P -11	58-57

³⁵ Ujes 2001, 343 no. 60, 2012, 376, 378 no. 11. P&G = Picard, Gjongjecaj; P = Petrányi. The coins of Apollonia are dated according to Picard and Gjongjecaj, those of Dyrrachium after Petrányi. In a personal e-mail to the author (March 12th, 2013) Petrányi rejected the authenticity of Dyrrachium's final issue, so all his types are to be moved one place forward in the sequence.

Potom će biti obrađene ostave koje se sastoje od republikanskog novca i novca Apolonije i Dirahija, pronađene na području buduće Panonije Sekunde:

4 INĐIJA, *tpq* 49. pr. Kr.³⁵

4	P -7	54-53
5	P -6	53-52
6-8	P -5	52-51
9	P -4	51-50
10-11	P -3	50-49

Table / Tablica 7: The composition of the Inđija hoard / Sastav ostave iz Inđije

³⁵ Ujes 2001, 343 br. 60, 2012, 376, 378 br. 11. P&G = Picard, Gjongjecaj; P = Petrányi. Novac Apolonije datiran je prema Picardu i Gjongjecaju, Dirahija prema Petrányiju. U e-pošti upućenoj autoru (12. 3. 2013.) Petrányi negira autentičnost zadnjega dirahijskog kova tako da se svi njegovi tipovi trebaju pomaknuti jedno mjesto unaprijed u nizu.

5 STARA PAZOVA I, *tpq* c. 50 B.C.³⁶

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	349.1	87
Apollonia		
2	P&G 54/P -19	Phase / faza III (120/100-80/70)

5 STARA PAZOVA I, *tpq* c. 50. pr. Kr.³⁶

3	P&G 65/P -10	Phase / faza III (120/100-80/70)
4-5	P&G 73/P -5	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)

Table / Tablica 8: The composition of the Stara Pazova I hoard / Sastav ostave Stara Pazova I

6 STARA PAZOVA II – Janko Čmelnik Farm, *tpq* c. 50 B.C.³⁷

No. / Br.		B.C. / Pr. Kr.
Apollonia		
1-12	P&G 66/ P -8	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
13-22	P&G 67/ P -4	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
23-27	P&G 69/ P -6	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
28-32	P&G 70/ P -9	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
33-37	P&G 71/ P -7	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)

6 STARA PAZOVA II – farma Janko Čmelnik, *tpq* c. 50. pr. Kr.³⁷

38	P&G 73/ P -5	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
Dyrrachium		
39	P -16	63-62
40-53	P -14	61-60
54-57	P -13	60-59
58	P -12	59-58
59-79	P -10	57-56
80-81	P -9 (?)	56-55
82-168	P -7/-6/-4	54-50
169-172	Xenon (1 barbarous imitation / barbarska imitacija)	
173-181	Philotas	
182-187	Illegible / nečitko	
Apollonia or Dyrrachium / Apolonija ili Dirahij		
188-210	Illegible / nečitko	

Table / Tablica 9: The composition of the Stara Pazova II hoard / Sastav ostave Stara Pazova II

Unfortunately, no data on the Republican coinage found in this hoard exist.

³⁶ Dukat, Mirnik 1992.

³⁷ Ujes 2001, 343-344 no. 64, 2012, 376, 379 no. 14. 330+ coins of Apollonia and Dyrrachium were found, together with 78 Republican *denarii* (unspecified) and about 30 tetradrachms of the Krčedin or Syrmian B type.

Nažalost, ne postoje detaljniji podaci o republikanskom novcu iz ove ostave.

³⁶ Dukat, Mirnik 1992.

³⁷ Ujes 2001, 343-344 br. 64, 2012, 376, 379 br. 14. 330+ kovanica Apolonije i Dirahija pronađeno je zajedno sa 78 republikanskih denara (dalje nespecificirani) i oko 30 tetradrahmi tipa Krčedin ili srijemskog tipa B.

7 VUKOVAR, *tpq* 48 B.C.³⁸

No. / Br.	RRC	B.C. / Pr. Kr.
1	299.1a	112/111
2	301	110/109
3	317.3	104
4	383	79
Apollonia		
5	P&G 63 / P-14	Phase / faza III (120/100-80/70)
6-26	P&G 66 / P-8, -3, -	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
27-44	P&G 67 / P-4	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
45-62	P&G 69 / P-6	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
63-72	P&G 70 / P-9	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
73-76	P&G 71 / P-7	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)

7 VUKOVAR, *tpq* 48. pr. Kr.³⁸

77-91	P&G 73 / P-5	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
92	P&G 74 / P-2	Phase / faza IV (80/70-48)
Dyrrachium		
93-94	P-11	58-57
95-96	P-9	56-55
97-104	P-8	55-54
105-106	P-7	54-53
107-110	P-6	53-52
111-120	P-5	52-51
121-124	P-4	51-50
125-137	P-3	50-49
138-141	P-2	49-48

Table / Tablica 10: The composition of the Vukovar hoard / Sastav ostave iz Vukovara

In all, 136 drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrachium were found in this hoard. All 88 drachms of Apollonia (with the exception of one, which belongs to the 3rd phase) belong to the last nine issues according to Picard and Gjongjecaj, or to the last 14 issues according to Petrányi. All Dyrrachian drachms belong to the last eleven issues according to Petrányi. Thus the *tpq* for the hoard can be plausibly set at 48 B.C.³⁹

It is immediately noticeable that two of the hoards that contain Republican coinage from the region were actually concealed well into the Imperial period – after 12-11 B.C. (Krndija) and 2-1 B.C. (Valpovo) – and thus reflect the monetary circulation of a later epoch. In this way, the small hoard from Gomolava represents the only proper Republican hoard in the region, that is, the only hoard consisting

Sveukupno je u ovoj ostavi pronađeno 136 drahmi Apolonije i Dirahija. Svih 88 drahmi Apolonije (s iznimkom jedne, koja pripada trećoj fazi) pripadaju među zadnjih devet izdanja, prema Picardu i Gjongjecaju, ili zadnjih 14 izdanja prema Petrányiju. Sve dirahijske drahme pripadaju među zadnjih 11 izdanja prema Petrányiju. Tako se kao *tpq* ove ostave uvjerljivo može pretpostaviti godina 48. pr. Kr.³⁹

Odmah primjećujemo da su dvije ostave, koje sadrže republikanski novac, zapravo skrivene duboko u carskom razdoblju – nakon 12. - 11. pr. Kr. (Krndija) i 2. - 1. pr. Kr. (Valpovo) – te tako odražavaju opticaj novca kasnijeg razdoblja. Na ovaj način mala ostava iz Gomolave predstavlja jedinu integralnu ostavu repu-

³⁸ For references, see Nađ 2012, 444 no. 95, to which add Popović 1976, 14-16 and Popović 1990, 11-13.

³⁹ This was foreshadowed by Popović 1978, 21, who argued for c. 50 B.C. or somewhat later.

³⁸ Za literaturu, vidi Nađ 2012, 444 br. 95, gdje treba dodati Popović 1976, 14-16 i Popović 1990, 11-13.

³⁹ To je ranije pretpostavio Popović 1978, 21, koji je pretpostavio da je ostava nastala oko 50. godine pr. Kr. ili nešto kasnije.



Map / Karta 2: Ostave o kojima se raspravlja u tekstu / The hoards discussed in the main text (©Google maps, adapted by the author / prilagodio autor)

exclusively of Republican coins (although here also Republican *imitations* appear). On the other hand, all the mixed hoards of which anything could be said contained somewhat earlier Republican coins (Indija 117-116 B.C., Stara Pazova I 87 B.C., Vukovar up to 79 B.C.) together with the very latest issues of Apollonia and/or Dyrrachium. This is not easy to explain with respect to the newly proposed chronology of the production of these mints, especially since the coins of the 70s to 50s B.C. are well represented in the Valpovo hoard (11 pieces), and are not absent either from the Krndija (2 pieces) or even the small Gomolava hoard (1 piece). Two Republican coins issued in this period are also found in the Prud hoard. Thus all the hoards that consist of exclusively Republican coins contain these issues, while none of the mixed hoards do. The safest explanation would be that the data on Republican coinage from these

blikanskog novca u regiji, odnosno jedina je ostava što se sastoji isključivo od republikanskog novca (iako se u njoj nalaze i *imitacije* republikanskog novca). S druge strane, sve miješane ostave o kojima postoje detaljniji podaci sadrže nešto raniji republikanski novac (Indija 117. - 116. pr. Kr., Stara Pazova I 87. pr. Kr., Vukovar do 79. pr. Kr.) zajedno s najkasnijim kovovima Apolonije i/ili Dirahija. Ovo nije lako objasniti u svjetlu novopredložene kronologije produkcije tih dviju kovnica, osobito stoga što je novac kovan od 70-ih do 50-ih godina 1. st. pr. Kr. dobro zastupljen u ostavi iz Valpova (11 primjeraka), a ne nedostaje ni u ostavi iz Krndije (2 primjerka), pa čak niti u maloj ostavi iz Gomolave (1 primjerak). Dva republikanska novca kovana u ovom razdoblju također su pronađena u ostavi iz Pruda. Na taj način sve ostave koje se sastoje is-

hoards is sadly incomplete, and that they actually did contain Republican coins issued at least up to 48 B.C. If it is true that the Republican coinage was introduced into the Danubian region only in the early 2nd half of the 1st c., at the same time replacing the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrachium,⁴⁰ these mixed hoards could reflect the monetary situation in precisely this transitional period. The parallel evidence from the Dacian hoards actually suggests a massive influx of Roman Republican *denarii* c. 75–65 B.C., followed by a sharp decline c. 65–45 B.C.,⁴¹ so these issues were not unavailable in the area in question. The hoard from Stara Pazova II (Janko Čmelnik Farm) could provide some answers with regard to this problem, since a respectable 78 *denarii* were reported to have been included in its composition.

If we accept Popović's date for the concealment of the Gomolava hoard (see below), then all the hoards from the region that contained Republican coins issued from the 70s to the 50s, as well as later coins, were actually concealed as late as the *Bellum Pannonicum* (Krndija, Gomolava) or even later (Valpovo), while the mixed hoards were arguably concealed earlier, i.e. probably not much later than the early 40s B.C. This has some bearing on the Prud hoard, since its structure suggests a somewhat later date for its concealment, i.e. nearer to the date of the *Bellum Pannonicum*, which does not follow from either the state of wear of the legionary *denarii* from the hoard or the complete lack of any later, i.e. at least early Augustan, coins in the hoard. Additionally, this suggests that the drachm of Apollonia found in the immediate vicinity of the hoard probably did not actually belong to it.

⁴⁰ Popović, 1987, 104–106; cf. Bíró-Sey 1980, 339.

⁴¹ Lockyear 1995, 95.

ključivo od republikanskog novca sadrže ove kovove, dok ih ne sadrži ni jedna od miješanih ostava. Najsigurnije objašnjenje bilo bi da su podaci o republikanskom novcu iz tih ostava kronično nepotpuni te da su one zapravo sadržavale republikanska izdanja kovana barem do 48. pr. Kr. Ako se republikanski novac uistinu pojavio u Podunavlju tek početkom druge polovice 1. st., u isto vrijeme zamijenivši drahme Apolonije i Dirahija,⁴⁰ ove miješane ostave možda odražavaju monetarnu situaciju upravo toga prijelaznog razdoblja. Paralelni podaci iz dačkih ostava zapravo sugeriraju masivni upliv rimskih republikanskih denara oko 75. – 65. pr. Kr., što je slijedio veliki pad između oko 65. – 45. pr. Kr.,⁴¹ tako da ovi kovovi nisu bili nedostupni na tome području. Ostava Stara Pazova II – farma Janko Čmelnik mogla bi dati neke odgovore na ova pitanja, s obzirom na to da je sadržavala čak 78 denara.

Ako prihvatimo Popovićev datum za skrivanje ostave iz Gomolave (vidi dolje), tada su sve ostave iz regije, što su sadržavale republikanski novac kovan između 70-ih i 50-ih godina 1. st. pr. Kr., kao i kasniji novac, zapravo skrivene u kasnijem razdoblju, u vrijeme Panonskog rata (Krndija, Gomolava), ili čak kasnije (Valpovo). Miješane su pak ostave vjerojatno skrivene ranije, tj. ne mnogo kasnije od ranih 40-ih godina 1. st. pr. Kr. Taj zaključak odražava se i na ostavu iz Pruda jer njezina struktura sugerira nešto kasniji datum skrivanja, tj. bliže datumu Panonskog rata, što se ne bi moglo zaključiti, bilo iz stupnja istrošenosti legijskih denara iz ostave ili potpunog nedostatka kasnijih, tj. barem ranoaugustovskih, kovova u ostavi. Također, ovo sugerira da drahma Apolonije, nađena u neposrednoj blizini ostave, vjerojatno nije pripadala samoj ostavi.

⁴⁰ Popović 1987, 104–106; usp. Bíró-Sey 1980, 339.

⁴¹ Lockyear 1995, 95.

Historical circumstances

I have already commented on the date of the concealment of the Prud hoard, arguing that it could not have been interred long after the production of the latest issue contained in it, viz. the legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony. This conclusion conforms to Miškec's similar inference regarding the two analogous hoards from Celje and Rakova Jelša. However, the composition of the hoard, in comparison to other hoards from the region, perhaps suggests a somewhat later date for its concealment. In any case, it is both undesirable⁴² and, at the same time, impossible to associate the concealment of the Prud hoard with a specific historical event. With regard to this region, following the completion of Octavian's campaigns in 35-33 B.C., we only hear of an incursion into Macedonia by the Scordisci in 16 B.C.,⁴³ followed by the unrest⁴⁴ culminating in the beginning of the Tiberian *Bellum Pannonicum* in 12 B.C.⁴⁵ The 20s and first half of the 10s B.C. were exceptionally uneventful, at least judging by the literary sources. Crassus' campaigns (29-28 B.C.) in neighbouring Moesia, which do not seem to have touched the area in question, were the only large-scale military conflict during

⁴² For a critique of forcefully linking material finds in general, and numismatic evidence in particular, with historically attested events, see Reece 1994, 236-238; Lockyear 1997, 96; Kos 1997, 107, 114.

⁴³ Dio Cass. LIV.20.3; Mócsy 1974, 24, 34; Šašel Kos 1986, 152-153; Domić-Kunić 2006, 102; Dzino 2010, 128.

⁴⁴ The revolt of the Pannonians in 14 B.C. (Dio Cass. LIV.24.3, cf. Flor. *Epit.* II.24; Mócsy 1974, 34, 36; Šašel Kos 1986, 154-155, 158-159; Domić-Kunić 2006, 102; Dzino 2010, 131), Agrippa's intervention of late 13 and early 12 (Dio Cass. LIV.28.1-2; Vell. Pat. II.96.2; Mócsy 1974, 34; Šašel Kos 1986, 154-159; Domić-Kunić 2006, 102-103; Dzino 2010, 131).

⁴⁵ For which see Šašel Kos 1986, 158-162; Domić Kunić 2006; Dzino 2010, 129-136.

Povijesne okolnosti

Već je bilo riječi o datumu skrivanja ostave iz Pruda, uz tvrdnju da ona nije mogla biti ukopana dugo nakon kovanja najmlađeg novca u ostavi, tj. legijskih denara Marka Antonija. Taj se zaključak podudara sa sličnim zaključkom koji je donijela A. Miškec vezano uz analogne ostave iz Celja i Rakove Jelše. No sastav ostave, u usporedbi s ostalim ostavama iz regije, možda sugerira nešto kasniji datum njezina skrivanja. U svakom slučaju, nepoželjno je⁴² i istovremeno nemoguće povezivati skrivanje ostave iz Pruda s nekim specifičnim povijesnim događajem. Što se tiče ove regije, nakon završetka Oktavijanovih pohoda 35. - 33. pr. Kr., u povijesnim izvorima spominju se samo upad Skordiska u Makedoniju 16. pr. Kr.,⁴³ nakon kojeg su slijedili nemiri⁴⁴ koji su kulminirali početkom Tiberijeva Panonskog rata 12. pr. Kr.⁴⁵ Dvadesete godine i prvu polovicu sljedećeg desetljeća 1. st. pr. Kr. obilježilo je neobično malo događaja, barem sudeći prema literarnim izvorima. Krasov pohod (29. - 28. pr. Kr.) u susjednoj Meziji, koji, čini se, nije dotakao regiju o kojoj raspravljamo,

⁴² Za kritiku nasilnog povezivanja materijalnih nalaza (generalno) i numizmatičkih nalaza (specifično) s događajima posvjedočenim u povijesnim izvorima, vidi Reece 1994, 236-238; Lockyear 1997, 96; Kos 1997, 107, 114.

⁴³ Dio Cass. LIV.20.3; Mócsy 1974, 24, 34; Šašel Kos 1986, 152-153; Domić Kunić 2006, 102; Dzino 2010, 128.

⁴⁴ Pobuna Panonaca 14. pr. Kr. (Dio Cass. LIV.24.3, usp. Flor. *Epit.* II.24; Mócsy 1974, 34, 36; Šašel Kos, 1986, 154-155, 158-159; Domić Kunić 2006, 102; Dzino 2010, 131), Agripina intervencija kasne 13. i rane 12. pr. Kr. (Dio Cass. LIV.28.1-2; Vell. Pat. II.96.2; Mócsy 1974, 34; Šašel Kos 1986, 154-159; Domić Kunić 2006, 102-103; Dzino 2010, 131).

⁴⁵ Za taj rat, vidi Šašel Kos 1986, 158-162; Domić Kunić 2006; Dzino 2010, 129-136.

this period in the wider region.⁴⁶ In any case, Octavian's campaigns in 35-33 B.C. left the region of the future Pannonia Secunda free from Roman control,⁴⁷ and only in 12 B.C. and later did it come into the focus of Roman military operations. Two decades later, the Romans finally defeated the Breuci on the Bathinus river.⁴⁸

As already noted, Ujes Morgan claims that the presence of the coinage of Apollonia and Dyrrachium in the territory of the Scordisci should be dated to the mid-1st c. B.C.,⁴⁹ thus in general agreeing with Popović's estimate given above, which conforms to the *tpqs* of the mixed hoards from Indija, Stara Pazova I and II and Vukovar. Popović associated the Gomolava hoard with the destruction of the Celtic settlement in c. 10 BC,⁵⁰ even though its composition reflects a date of concealment of some three decades prior to the *Bellum Pannonicum*. The Krndija hoard could tentatively be associated with the Tiberian conquest of the region,⁵¹ while the Valpovo hoard could be associated with the great Pannonian-Illyrian uprising in the same way.⁵² Thus all these hoards testify to several processes, rather than indicate specific historically attested events: the penetration of Roman Republican and Apollonia-Dyrrachium coins into the region during the entire span of the 1st c. B.C., their apparent interchangeability in the earlier

bio je jedini vojni pothvat većeg opsega u ovom razdoblju u široj regiji.⁴⁶ U svakom slučaju, Oktavijanovi pohodi 35. - 33. pr. Kr. ostavili su područje buduće Panonije Sekunde izvan rimske kontrole,⁴⁷ a tek 12. pr. Kr., i kasnije, ovo je područje došlo u žarište rimskih vojnih operacija. Dva desetljeća potom Rimljani su konačno porazili Breuke na rijeci Bathinus.⁴⁸

Kao što je već primijećeno, Ujes Morgan tvrdi da se prisustvo novca Apolonije i Dirahija na području Skordiska treba datirati u sredinu 1. st. pr. Kr.,⁴⁹ na taj način općenito se složivši s Popovićevim prijedlogom prethodno predstavljanim, što se podudara s najranijim datumima nakon kojih su ostave iz Indije, Stare Pazove (I i II) i Vukovara morale biti skrivene. Popović je ostavu iz Gomolave povezo s uništenjem keltskog naselja oko 10. pr. Kr.,⁵⁰ iako sastav ostave odražava datum skrivanja nekih tri desetljeća prije Panonskog rata. Ostava iz Krndije mogla bi se provizorno povezati s Tiberijevim osvajanjem regije,⁵¹ dok se ostava iz Valpova može na neki način povezati s velikim Panonsko-ilirskim ustankom.⁵² Tako sve navedene ostave više svjedoče o nekoliko procesa, a manje naznačuju specifične povijesno zabilježene događaje: svjedoče o prodoru rimskoga republikanskog novca te novca

⁴⁶ Dio Cass. L.23.2-27; Mócsy 1974, 23-24, 32-33; Dzino 2010, 126, 128.

⁴⁷ Šašel Kos 1986, 144-146; Šašel Kos 2011, 107-108, 110; Domić Kunić 2006, 96-100; Dzino 2010, 112-113.

⁴⁸ Vell. Pat. II.114.4; Domić Kunić 2006, 107, n. 163, 109, n. 173; Babić 2009, 212-213.

⁴⁹ Ujes Morgan 2012, 367, 373-375.

⁵⁰ Popović 1971, 149, 158; cf. Dautova-Ruševljan 1984, 51; Borić-Brešković, Popović 2006, 39.

⁵¹ For numismatic traces of this campaigning in the south-eastern Alpine and western Pannonian region, see Miškec 2009, 290.

⁵² Bilić 2012a, 117, 135-136.

⁴⁶ Dio Cass. L.23.2-27; Mócsy 1974, 23-24, 32-33; Dzino 2010, 126, 128.

⁴⁷ Šašel Kos 1986, 144-146; Šašel Kos 2011, 107-108, 110; Domić Kunić 2006, 96-100; Dzino 2010, 112-113.

⁴⁸ Vell. Pat. II.114.4; Domić Kunić 2006, 107, bilj. 163, 109, bilj. 173; Babić 2009, 212-213.

⁴⁹ Ujes Morgan 2012, 367, 373-375.

⁵⁰ Popović 1971, 149, 158; usp. Dautova-Ruševljan 1984, 51; Borić-Brešković, Popović 2006, 39.

⁵¹ Za numizmatičke tragove koje su ovi pohodi ostavili u jugoistočnoalpskoj regiji i zapadnoj Panoniji, vidi Miškec 2009, 290.

⁵² Bilić 2012a, 117, 135-136.

part of the century and the disappearance of the latter in the later part⁵³ and also, derived from this, the cultural changes that accompanied, and are indicated by, the introduction of this foreign currency into south-eastern Pannonia. More specifically, even though the face value of the Prud hoard is relatively low (180 sesterces), its monometallic nature perhaps suggests an army payment to an auxiliary or a member of a tribal detachment.⁵⁴ Since the hoard contained fewer than 100 coins, it can indeed be classified as a small hoard and interpreted as “personal property carried by the owner”.⁵⁵ In any case, the Sava valley, where the village of Prud is located, was already an important communication route for trade in pre-Roman times,⁵⁶ one which Tiberius fol-

Apolonije i Dirahija u ovu regiju tijekom čitavog 1. st. pr. Kr., o njihovoj očitoj izmjenjivosti u ranijem dijelu stoljeća i nestanku novca Apolonije i Dirahija u drugoj polovici istoga stoljeća⁵³ te, također, izvedeno iz toga, svjedoče o kulturnološkim promjenama koje su pratile – i koje naznačavaju – uvođenje ovih stranih valuta u jugoistočnu Panoniju. Konkretnije, iako je nominalna vrijednost ostave iz Pruda relativno niska (180 sestercija), njezina monometalna narav možda sugerira vojnu isplatu nekom augzilijaru ili pripadniku nekoga plemenskoga vojnog odreda.⁵⁴ Kako se ostava sastoji od manje od 100 primjeraka novca, moguće ju je klasificirati kao manju ostavu i interpre-

⁵³ My conclusion is similar to Popović’s interpretation of numismatic evidence offered in Popović 1976, 17, and his hypothesis remains valid when tested with respect to the new evidence adduced in this paper: “We therefore believe that the period of great economic power in Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, as well as that of their significant penetration to distant markets should be dated from the first decades of the first century B. C.... At that time the drachma was still in worthy competition with the Republican denarius. The Roman denarius was gradually taking over until it became a universal currency in the middle of the first century B. C. when the drachma had retreated from the scene and soon afterwards completely disappeared”.

⁵⁴ Duncan-Jones 1994, 94. His conclusion regarding the nature of the “hoards beyond the frontier” parallels his interpretation of the nature of coin hoards within the Empire’s frontier, focusing on army donatives as the main impulse for their creation (Duncan-Jones 1994, 77-85).

⁵⁵ Miškec 2012, 380.

⁵⁶ Here it could be remembered that it was Roman merchants (*negotiatores*), together with army veterans (*vexillarii*), who were massacred right at the outbreak of the rebellion of A.D. 6 in this region (Vell. Pat. II.110.5-6; Mócsy 1974, 71; Šašel Kos 1986, 182; Radman Livaja, Dizdar 2010, 55; Bilić 2012, 371). The merchants in occupied areas “were seen as symbols of Roman interference with the traditional values of the exchange system” and their killing was “a clear message to the Roman authorities” (Aarts 2005, 20).

⁵³ Ovaj je zaključak sličan Popovićevoj interpretaciji numizmatičkih nalaza, ponuđenoj u Popović 1976, 17, a njegovu hipotezu potvrđuju novi dokazi o kojima se raspravlja u ovom radu: »We therefore believe that the period of great economic power in Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, as well as that of their significant penetration to distant markets should be dated from the first decades of the first century B. C.... At that time the drachma was still in worthy competition with the Republican denarius. The Roman denarius was gradually taking over until it became a universal currency in the middle of the first century B. C. when the drachma had retreated from the scene and soon afterwards completely disappeared«.

⁵⁴ Duncan Jones 1994, 94. Njegovi zaključci o prirodi »ostava izvan granica Carstva« sukladni su njegovoj interpretaciji prirode ostava pronađenih unutar granica Carstva; svoju interpretaciju temelji na donacijama vojnim jedinicama, kao glavnom impulsu nastanka ostava novca (Duncan Jones 1994, 77-85).

lowed in his conquest of south-eastern Pannonia, and it also remained important during the early 1st c. A.D.⁵⁷ The Prud hoard is another strong testament to this fact, regardless of the precise reason for its concealment.

⁵⁷ Dizdar, Radman Livaja 2004, 43, 45-46, 50-51.

tirati kao »personal property carried by the owner«.⁵⁵ U svakom slučaju, dolina Save, gdje se nalazi mjesto Prud, bila je važna komunikacijska trasa već u predrimsko doba,⁵⁶ koju je Tiberije slijedio u osvajanju jugoistočne Panonije, a svoju je važnost zadržala i u ranom 1. stoljeću.⁵⁷ Ostava iz Pruda još je jedno snažno svjedočanstvo o toj činjenici, neovisno o konkretnim razlozima njezina skrivanja.

⁵⁵ Miškec 2012, 380.

⁵⁶ Ovdje se možemo prisjetiti da su upravo rimski trgovci (*negotiatores*), zajedno s veteranima (*vexillarii*), odmah početkom ustanka 6. godine, bili masakrirani na ovome području (Vell. Pat. II.110.5-6; Mócsy 1974, 71; Šašel Kos 1986, 182; Radman Livaja, Dizdar 2010, 55; Bilić 2012, 371). Trgovci na zauzetim područjima »were seen as symbols of Roman interference with the traditional values of the exchange system«, a njihovo likvidiranje bila je »a clear message to the Roman authorities« (Aarts 2005, 20).

⁵⁷ Dizdar, Radman Livaja 2004, 43, 45-46, 50-51.

Abbreviations / Kratice

FMRSI = P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien*, Teil I-II, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1988.; A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien*, Teil IV, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1998.

RIC = C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Volume I, Revised Edition, *From 31 BC to AD 69*, London, Spink, 1984.

RRC = M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Volume I-II, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

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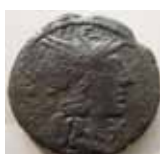
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