

COIN FINDS FROM TILURIUM – PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

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Preliminary analysis of coin finds from the area of the Roman legionary fortress at Tilurium (today the village of Gardun, near Trilj) is presented in this paper. The scholarly analysis encompasses the finds yielded by systematic archaeological excavations, as well as finds today stored in the Museum of the Cetina Region, in Sinj. Most of the coin finds date to a period from the first half of the 1st century AD, with a noticeable reduction in coin supply starting in the second half of the 1st century and

continuing during the 2nd century. The period of the 3rd century, and the period of late antiquity, in the 4th and 5th centuries, again shows some increase, but the quantity of coin finds in these centuries is smaller than the amount pertaining to the period of the Principate. The dating of numismatic finds therefore largely overlaps with the dating of Tilurium as a Roman legionary fortress and then a fort used by auxiliary contingents.

Key words:

Roman province of Dalmatia, Tilurium, coin finds, Roman army

Introduction

The Archaeology Department of the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, as part of the Croatian Science Foundation's project IP-2018-01-4934, 'Understanding Roman Borders: The Case of the Eastern Adriatic' (AdriaRom), is conducting research into the archaeological remains of Roman military architecture in the hinterland of *Iader* and *Salona* in order to ascertain whether or not these structures were components of a defensive border.¹ For the purpose of conducting this research, test areas were chosen – the surroundings of the Roman legionary fortresses of *Burnum* and *Tilurium*, as well as the surroundings of the presumed forts (*castella*) of *Promona*, *Magnum* and *Andetrium* – and a seven-step methodological approach was adopted. The successful reconstruction of the

defensive border first requires the establishment of the positions which may be assumed to have been military sites and then the formulation of structural indicators (roads, legionary fortresses, forts and sentry towers, moats, palisades etc.). Two legionary fortresses (*Burnum* and *Tilurium*) are known in the hinterland of *Iader* and *Salona*, and the existence of several forts between them has been presumed. Even though these forts are known from Roman literary sources, and their existence is backed by finds of epigraphic monuments, they have never been archaeologically excavated, and their precise locations have yet to be pinpointed. Due to this current state of research, there are plans to study Roman literary sources and epigraphic monuments, and also analyse archaeological finds, which will be extremely vital in order to determine Roman military sites. For the latter task, besides archaeological finds from ongoing excavations, stray finds that have found their way to museums and collections as gifts or purchases, unpublished finds from private collections, and finds from unpublished excavations, are also quite significant. Epigraphic sources that

¹ This paper has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under project IP-2018-01-4934 'Understanding Roman Borders: the Case of the Eastern Adriatic' (AdriaRom).

mention Roman military units and finds of Roman military gear and weapons are naturally most important for ascertaining the location of Roman military sites. Also highly significant for dating and understanding the sites are coin finds. Here we shall provide results of analysis of numismatic findings in the area of the Roman legionary fortress of *Tilurium*, and we are pleased to dedicate them to Željko Demo, our distinguished colleague and teacher.

Tilurium

A variety of Roman military units have been confirmed in *Tilurium* on the basis of gravestones and other inscriptions: *Legio VII* and *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio XI* and *Legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio IIII Flavia felix*, *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, *Ala Claudia nova*, *Ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*, *Cohors I Belgarum*, *Cohors III Alpinorum* and *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, while *Cohors Aquitanorum*, which has been confirmed in Hrvace, is also associated with *Tilurium*.² Among these units, *Legio VII* and *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* appear in the highest number of inscriptions, which led, rather early on, to the conclusion that the legionary fortress of this legion was in fact located in *Tilurium*.³ Most scholars believe that *Legio VII* came to Dalmatia, and thus to *Tilurium*, during or immediately after the Great Illyrian Revolt (*Bellum Batonianum*).⁴ The oldest reliably dated monument of *Legio VII* in Dalmatia is the *Tabulae Dolabellae*, which has been dated to 16/17 or 18/19 AD on the basis of the imperial titulary. Based on palaeographic similarities with the above inscriptions, three gravestones with epigrams from *Tilurium* may be dated between the first and third decades of the 1st century AD.⁵ Due to the loyalty that *Legio VII* demonstrated at the time of the revolt against Emperor Claudius by the governor of Dalmatia, Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, during its stay in *Tilurium* it was awarded the honorary title *Claudia pia fidelis*. After *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* was transferred to *Viminacium*, in the province of *Moesia*, between the mid 40s and early 60s of the 1st century, on the basis of inscriptions, auxiliary units and vexillationes of other legions were stationed in *Tilurium*. The last auxiliary unit left *Tilurium* after 245 AD.⁶ It would appear that thereafter *Tilurium* did not grow into a larger settlement.⁷ But life after that did not stop. Two altars of *beneficarii* confirm that, even prior to the departure of the auxiliary units, there was a beneficiary station (*statio*) in the vicinity of *Tilurium*.⁸ Since the altars were found in the bed of the River Cetina, it is assumed that the station was next to the Roman bridge leading

to the settlement known from the sources as *Pons Tiluri* (*It. Ant.* 337,5)⁹ or *Ponteluri* (*Rav.*, IV, 16).¹⁰ The finds from *Tilurium* that can be dated to the period after the departure of auxiliary units should certainly be viewed within the context of the road on which the aforementioned beneficiary station and settlement were located.

Here it would be worthwhile to emphasize that the Roman army was stationed in *Tilurium* even prior to the arrival of *Legio VII*. This view is based not only on an analysis of historical sources, but also on individual finds. Thus, in the opinion of some scholars, prior to *Legio VII*, *Legio IX Hispana* may have been stationed in *Tilurium*.¹¹ This hypothesis is based on the reading of the inscription on the stele of Sextus Cornelius, who was, according to certain scholars, a member of this legion.¹² But overlooking the fact that such a reading of that inscription is disputable, it is worth underscoring that no other monuments mentioning *Legio IX* have been documented in *Tilurium*, nor anywhere else in the entire province of Dalmatia.¹³ According to another opinion, which is based on a new reading of the stela of Sextus Cornelius and Gaius Parpirius, who might have been a member of *Legio VII*, both were members of *Legio XX*, which was stationed in *Tilurium*, the future fortress of *Legio VII*, at the time of the Great Illyrian Revolt.¹⁴ An analysis of historical sources and events places the Roman army's stay in *Tilurium* even earlier. An entire series of scholars believe that the legionary fortresses of *Tilurium* and *Burnum*, together with the assumed forts of *Promona*, *Magnum*, *Andetrium* and Gračine in Humac, near Ljubuški, formed some sort of Roman limes against the Delmatae. Individual scholars date the emergence of this limes to the time of the Great Illyrian Revolt in 6–9 AD,¹⁵ others to the period after Octavian's Illyrian war of 35–33 BC, i.e. prior to Tiberius' Pannonian war of 12–10 BC,¹⁶ and yet others to the time of Octavian's Illyrian war.¹⁷ Mirjana Sanader has dated the emergence of the limes to the beginning of the 1st century AD, but at positions already previously used by the Roman army.¹⁸ Given

2 For a detailed overview of Roman military inscriptions in *Tilurium*, see Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 34–37; Sanader, Tončinić 2013, 412–413; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

3 Ritterling 1925, col. 1616–1617; Betz 1939, 8–9; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 38; Tončinić 2011, 172; Sanader, Tončinić 2013, 414; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

4 For an overview of these scholars and their views, see Tončinić 2011, 11–14; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

5 Sanader et al. 2013, 489; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

6 Zaninović 1996, 286; Vrbanc 2012, 219; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

7 Sanader, Tončinić 2013, 419; Sanader et al. 2014, 16; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

8 Schallmayer et al. 1990, nos 489 and 490; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

9 Ancient sources are referenced according to OLD (<https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/ocdabbreviations#s>).

10 Zaninović 2007, 183; Glavaš 2016, 23–24; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

11 Zaninović 1996, 284; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

12 CIL III 13977; Ritterling 1925, col. 1665, attributes the inscription to *Legio IX* and dates it to the reign of Augustus, while Betz 1939, 52 and 72, cat. no. 233, cites the inscription in the list of possible monuments of *Legio IX*; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

13 Thus Bulić 1894, 5, no. 4 (1983), does not read the inscription as military; Wilkes 1969, 461, cites it in a list of monuments of *Legio VII* or *XI*; Alföldy et al. 1968, col. 1265 states that the apparent designation of the Ninth Legion may also be read as an unknown *domus*; Zaninović 1996, 284, highlights both opinions; Fadić 1997, 80 includes the inscription on the list of potential monuments of *Legio VII*. Cf. Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 45; Sanader, Tončinić 2013, 416; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

14 Cesarik 2020, 149–154; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

15 Wilkes 1969, 91–92; Wilkes 1977, 245–246; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

16 Patsch 1914, 157–159; Veith 1914, 111–112; Patsch 1915, 33–34; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

17 Cf. Šašel 1974; Šašel 1992; Šašel Kos 1997; Šašel Kos 2005; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

18 Sanader 2002b; Sanader 2002c; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

the differing suggestions for its dating, it would be worthwhile to point out that the oldest Roman military finds discovered during archaeological excavations in *Tilurium* confirm the presence of the Roman army already at the time of the late Republic.¹⁹ They are a clear indicator that the Roman army exploited this position considerably earlier than the Great Illyrian Revolt and the time in which most scholars contend that *Legio VII* arrived in Dalmatia, specifically in *Tilurium*.²⁰

In view of the various hypotheses mentioned above regarding the time when the Roman army can be first attested in *Tilurium*, the archaeologists and other scholars with more or less experience in numismatics very often attempt to use coin finds as possible evidence for the Roman military presence in the areas where these coins have been found, creating a sort of circular argument for verification of these kinds of narrative.²¹ The mere presence of coins issued during the reign of some emperor, or presence of certain types of coin in certain findspots, is used as evidence that these coin finds confirm historical sources and accounts that mention or sometimes just assume the Roman presence. However, coins cannot be used as a sole criterion because they very often have an unknown circulation life. The aim of this paper is then to study the coin finds from *Tilurium* in a new light, analysing coin finds from stratified deposits,²² and also analysing and comparing these coin finds to stray coin finds whose provenance cannot be precisely established and which have not been documented in controlled archaeological excavations. These stray coins originate mainly from the Museum of the Cetina Region. We aim to compare these two types of find (excavation coins and collection coins) and, if they prove to be quite similar, to include the stray finds in our analysis. It should also be noted that the analysis of coin finds presented here is just a preliminary overview and that more detailed and complex analysis is planned for the future.

Coin finds from *Tilurium*

For the analysis of coin finds originating from the area of the Roman legionary fortress of *Tilurium*, we have a variety of material at our disposal. Primarily, there are finds yielded by systematic archaeological excavations that the Archaeology Department of the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, has conducted at this site since 1997 under the leadership of Prof. Mirjana Sanader.²³ Another part includes coin finds that are now stored in various museums and collections known for numerous stray finds from *Tilurium*. These are mostly coins that arrived at the museums as gifts or purchases. Among them the Museum of the Cetina Region stands out, and the coins from *Tilurium* make up a significant part of the numismatic material kept inside its collection.²⁴ Therefore, in our analysis, we will examine coin finds from excavation at *Tilurium* during the period 1997–2018 and collection coins from only the Museum of the Cetina Region.

During 22 years of systematic archaeological excavations of the Roman legionary fortress of *Tilurium*, a total of 223 coins were found, of which 172 could be precisely identified and dated. For 51 coins, only an approximate attribution could be determined, dating the coin only roughly to some part of some century, based on the flan size, reverse type, and some other characteristic. Like all other findings discovered in certain archaeological seasons at this site, the numismatic findings were systematically documented, preserved and published, and thus became available to the scientific and general public (Table 1).²⁵

TABLE 1. Number of coins per year of research on the Roman legionary fortress of *Tilurium* in the period from 1997 to 2018 (made by A. Pavlović).

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
PIECES	0	15	12	11	5	7	8	12	34	11	4
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
PIECES	7	18	14	16	14	17	6	0	1	5	6

19 Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

20 Cf. Ritterling 1925, col. 1619; Betz 1939, 38; Nesselhauf 1941, 42; Wilkes 1969, 96; Zaninović 1996, 287; Strobel 2000, 515–528; Tončinić 2011, 14; Tončinić, Vukov 2021, forthcoming.

21 See Vondrovec 2005; Kemmers 2019.

22 On methodology, see Kemmers 2006; Krmnicek, Kortüm, 2016.

23 Sanader 1998, 243–255; Sanader 1999, 75–85; Sanader 2000, 51–62; Sanader 2001, 183–194; Sanader 2002a, 87–97; Sanader 2003; Sanader, Tončinić 2003, 87–94; Sanader et al. 2005, 221–245; Sanader et al. 2014; Sanader et al. 2017; Sanader et al. 2019; Sanader et al. 2021.

24 Šeparović 2011, 49–67. In general, about the Numismatic Collection of the Museum of the Cetina Region, in Sinj see Domazet 2015. It is to be expected that a large number of coins from *Tilurium* are kept in the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split. But, due to the impossibility of insight into the old numismatic inventory books, which were lost in the desolation of the political and historical events of World War II, for the findings from this collection we generally do not have data on their origin. Therefore, the numismatic material from the Archaeological Museum in Split cannot be used to analyse the numismatic findings from *Tilurium*. We would like to thank the curator, Maja Bonačić Mandinić, for her cooperation and affability during our enquiries and search for the material in the AMS Coin Collection.

25 Šeparović 2003, 189–207 (40 coins); Šeparović 2014, 283–320 (75 coins); Šeparović 2017, 359–380 (43 coins); Pavlović 2021, 307–328 (65 coins); see also Šeparović, Pavlović, 2013, 455–462 for a summary of all published numismatic finds from archaeological research in the period from 1997 to 2006.

The new data obtained after further research and publications in the past ten years justify revisiting the same issue, i.e. a summary analysis of numismatic findings from research in the period from 1997 to 2018 and numismatic finds from *Tilurium* which are stored in the Museum of the Cetina Region. Of the 172 pieces found at *Tilurium* in the above-mentioned period of archaeological research, eight coins will be excluded from this survey, because they fall outside the purpose and aim of this article and the time period which is scrutinized here: primarily the period of the Roman occupation of the *Tilurium* area. Therefore two Graeco-Illyrian coins²⁶ and six medieval and modern coins are not included in the analysis. In the end we are assessing 164 coins which could be precisely dated.

Of these 164 specimens, which could be precisely attributed to a certain minting and chronological period (Table 2), it is clear that most Roman coins date to the 1st century and the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, to the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. By chronological period, Republican and Julio-Claudian coins account for 71.33 % of the total material. Flavian material, coins of the 2nd century and Severan pieces are also clearly underrepresented, with a slight increase in the 3rd century visible in the antoniniani pieces. Late-antique coins of the 4th century are also present in small numbers, but it must be emphasized that the percentage of the coins from the 4th and 5th centuries is actually somewhat larger. Unfortunately, they are very often badly preserved and worn out, and only a general attribution could be made for a large number of them (e.g. the first half of the 4th century or minimi of the 5th century, etc.). If we take these coins into account, it could be supposed that, of the total of 51 coins that are unspecified, a large majority of

them also belong to the Julio-Claudian era, but we also have quite a large percentage of coins from the second half of the 4th century and the 5th century AD.

When we add other specimens from *Tilurium*, which are kept at the Museum of the Cetina Region, to the coins from the systematic archaeological excavations of the Roman legionary fortress at *Tilurium*, a similar picture emerges. As already pointed out, the most important finds are housed in this museum, and we shall use them as the reference material. Among the numismatic material kept in the Museum of the Cetina Region, 162 specimens from *Tilurium* can be determined precisely, or at least in some detail. As above, we will also exclude those coins that are outside the scope of our analysis (two Numidian, two medieval and five Byzantine) because they are not relevant to the time period that is studied here. Of the remaining 153 Roman coins, 13 are Roman republican, three are Roman provincial and 137 are Roman imperial. Of these 153 pieces, 122 could be precisely determined and dated (Table 3).

If we compare Table 3 with data from Table 2 it is clearly shown that there is no significant difference between excavation coins and coins from the collection. There are some differences in the ratio of percentages between minting periods, and the Julio-Claudian period accounts for approx. 26 % of the collection coins in Sinj; but, if we included unspecified coins, that percentage would again be much higher. Therefore, we come to the conclusion that the collection coins at the Museum of the Cetina Region can undoubtedly be analysed within the context of the legionary fortress. Unfortunately, as already mentioned, only the material from this museum can be included in the anal-

PERIOD ²⁷	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Republican	16	9.75
23 BC–AD 68	101	61.58
69–96	4	2.43
96–192	2	1.22
193–238	3	1.82
238–294	10	6.09
294–348	8	4.87
348–378	11	6.7
378–400	6	3.65
400–423	0	0
423–455	3	1.82
TOTAL	164	100

TABLE 2. Coins from systematic archeological excavations of the Roman legionary fortress of *Tilurium* from 1997 to 2018 by chronological period; n = 164, excluding unspecified coins and 2 pre-Roman, 4 medieval and 2 modern (made by A. Pavlović).

26 One AE Dyrrachium coin (Zeus / tripod ?), very badly preserved (see Šeparović 2017, cat. no. 1); one AE Greek-Illyrian (?) coin, severely worn-out (see Šeparović 2014, cat. no. 1).

27 Chronological periods taken (and modified) from Schachinger 2020, 125.

PERIOD	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Republican	13	10.65
23 BC-AD 68	33	27.04
69-96	3	2.45
96-192	7	5.73
193-238	4	3.27
238-294	15	12.29
294-348	22	18.03
348-378	20	16.39
378-400	3	2.45
400-423	2	1.63
423-455	0	0
TOTAL	122	100

TABLE 3. Stray finds from *Tilurium* in the Museum of the Cetina Region, in Sinj, by chronological period; n = 122, excluding unspecified coins and two Numidian, two medieval and five Byzantine (made by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 1. Excavation coins and collection coins combined: values; n = 286 (made by A. Pavlović).

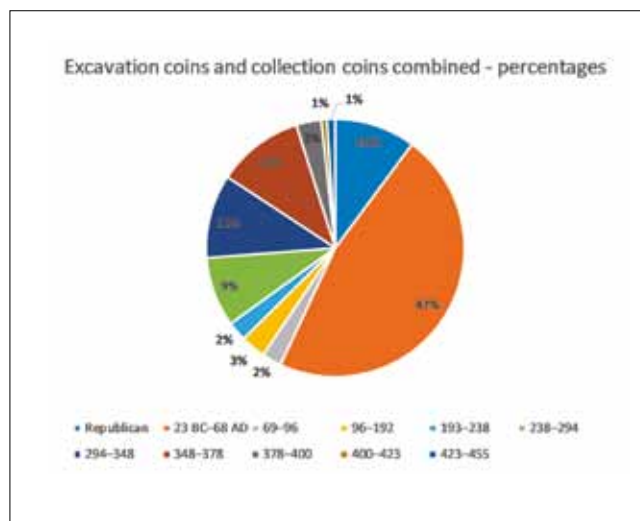


FIGURE 2. Excavation coins and collection coins combined: percentages; n = 286 (made by A. Pavlović).

PERIOD	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Republican	29	10.14
23 BC-AD 68	134	46.85
69-96	7	2.44
96-192	9	3.14
193-238	7	2.44
238-294	25	8.74
294-348	30	10.49
348-378	31	10.83
378-400	9	3.14
400-423	2	0.69
423-455	3	1.04
TOTAL	286	100

TABLE 4. Excavation coins (Table 2) and collection coins (Table 3) combined; n = 286 (made by A. Pavlović).

ysis, because the holdings of other major museums of the area, e.g. at the Archaeological Museum in Split, cannot be included (but this is a fate shared by many museum collections; see n. 24). In Table 3 we see that, besides the prevalence of Julio-Claudian coins, there is also a decline in the Flavian material and Severan period. We see a slight increase again in the 3rd century and the first half and the middle of the 4th century; but, as mentioned above, the inclusion of unspecified coins shows that the representation of late-antique coins might be much higher.

Table 4 combines the coins from Table 2 and Table 3 (excavation and collection coins), and we shall base our preliminary coin analyses of *Tilurium* precisely on this data. If we combine the findings, the most numerous specimens are still those of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (46.04 %), with antoniniani pieces from the 3rd century (8.59 %) and finds from the 4th century, especially from the time of Constantine's dynasty (20.95 % combined) also

being in larger percentages. Graphic representations of Table 4 can be seen in Figure 1 (total numbers in a bar chart) and Figure 2 (percentages in a pie chart).

We thus have a total of 163 coins from the republican and Julio-Claudian periods (Table 5), which represents 77.25 % of the entire material of the Principate period. The prevalence of these early coins clearly shows an early Imperial military presence. In this preliminary analysis we shall only take a closer look at coins of the Republican and Augustan period, since they seem to prevail and signify an early military presence (Table 6).

The data collected and presented in Table 6 is just a simplified overview based on the previous publications of *Tilurium* coinage, and more precise dating and analysis will be published after a more thorough study of the material. For a majority of coins in Table 6 we could not determine subdivisions of specific

PERIOD	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Republican	29	13.74
23 BC–AD 68	134	63.50
69–96	7	3.31
96–192	9	4.26
193–238	7	3.31
238–294	25	11.84
TOTAL	211	100

TABLE 5. The Principate period at *Tilurium*; n = 211 (made by A. Pavlović).

TYPE	DATE	TOTAL NUMBER	HALVED
VICT Republican	211 BC	1	
D Republican	127–31/30 BC	14	
Qui Republican	98–89 BC	4	
As Republican	179–38 BC	10	5 (1 quartered)
Qui Asia Recepta	29/26 BC	3	
Dp	16 BC–AD 16	1	
Dp unspecified		1	
Lug	15 BC–AD 10	1	
Nem	20 BC–AD 14	6	
Ephesus	after 25 BC	3	
Moneyers' Asses		18	1
Moneyers' Qd		12	
TOTAL		74	6

TABLE 6. Republican and Augustan coins from *Tilurium*; n = 74 (made by A. Pavlović).

groups, and they are thus classified together (*Nemausus* bronze series, moneyers' coins). For bronze coins of the provincial mint in *Nemausus*, of the six pieces documented in the table, only one could be classified as *Nemausus* group I series 2, dated to 16–10 BC.²⁸ For other coins, it is not clear, from the state of their preservation and description or published photograph, whether they should be classified as Nem II or III group. Besides *Nemausus*, there are also three pieces from the provincial mint of *Ephesus*, and one piece from *Lugdunum*. The situation is similar if we analyze the bronze moneyers' coins (asses and quadrans). For pieces that could be dated according to von Kaenel's classification, we have five pieces pertaining to von Kaenel's series 1 of 23 BC, eight pieces from series 7 of 7 BC (asses), four pieces from series 5 of 9 BC, one piece from series 6 of 8 BC, and seven pieces from series 9 of 5/4 BC (quadrantes). Only one as is halved, but we must point out that, among the unspecified coins, the numbers of halved coins from the 1st century is larger, and among them we count as many as 14 additional pieces, which mostly date from the 1st century BC–1st century AD. In the end, both tables (5 and 6) show a regular influx of money in the 1st century, which can most likely be related to the stationing of the legion in Tilurium in the first half of the 1st century.

The analysis of coin frequency, where the number of coins issued during the emperor's reign is divided by the duration of the emperor's reign (Fig. 3), shows that Claudius is the emperor with the highest frequency of coins during the length of his reign, followed by Augustus and Tiberius. A slight increase is visible in the reign of Gallienus and later on again in the 4th century and during the period of Constantine's reign and in the time of Constantius II.

At this point, it is worth mentioning one other important find: a hoard of Roman imperial coins mentioned several times in the literature. This is a chance find of 1930 from Gardun bought for the Archaeological Museum in Split. According to a 1932 publication it consisted of 29 bronze coins stored in a jug, and among them Claudius's coins dominate: two coins belong to Augustus, ten to Tiberius, one to Caligula and 16 to Claudius.²⁹ Unfortunately, we are not able to revise the original publication of the hoard, since it is no longer possible to correlate the numismatic material in the Archaeological Museum in Split with the accompanying documentation in the numismatic inventory books. Also, the first publication is very brief, without clear photographs (only drawings of some selected coins), and with very short descriptions which do not give us an opportunity to revise this material. We can only speculate on the reason, and even the time, that this hoard was buried. The standard view³⁰ is that the hoard was probably concealed at the time of the political crisis after Caligula's murder, i.e. at the time of the conspiracy of the governor of the Roman province of Dalmatia, Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, against the emperor Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 13.35; Tac. *Ann.* 12.52; *Hist.* 1.89, 2.75; Plin. *Ep.* 3.16; Cass. Dio. 60.15). Probably, this hidden money once belonged to a soldier of *Legio VII*, who buried his property for safety during the rebellion. But these are just assumptions that are difficult to prove.

It can be seen that a systematic and stable picture is created that speaks of an inflow of coinage in the 1st century, especially in the first half of the 1st century, while the number of coins towards the end of the 1st century decreases more and more, although there is never a complete interruption in the supply. Coins of the

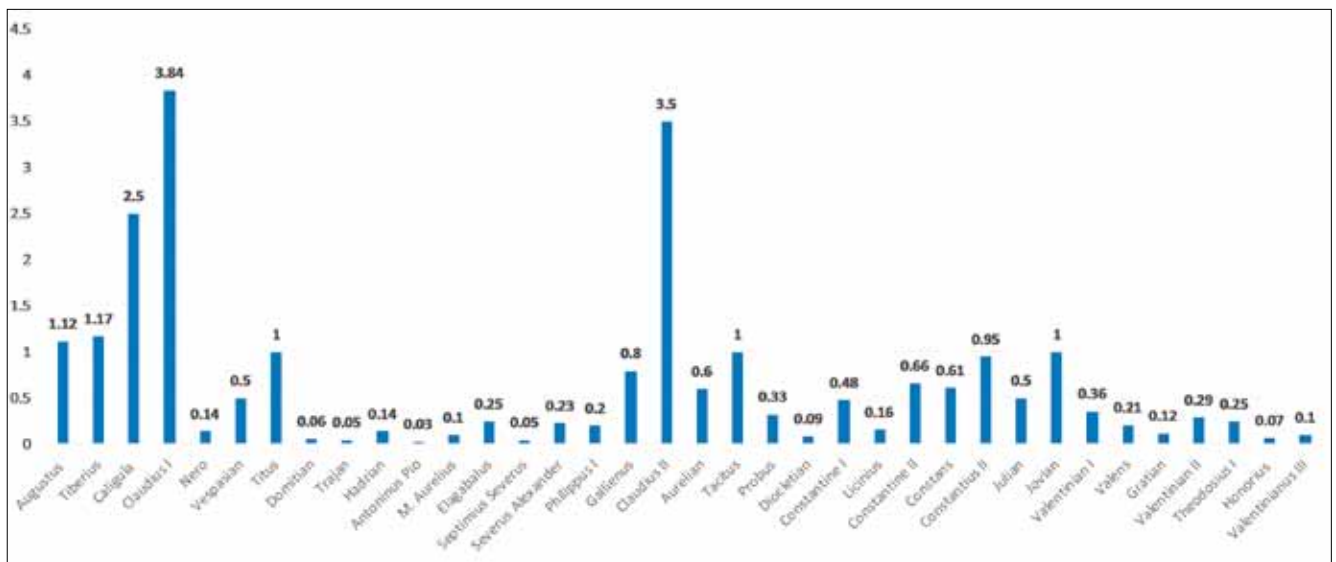


FIGURE 3. Roman imperial coins from *Tilurium*: frequency of coins per emperor's reign; excavation and collection coins combined; n = 257 (made by A. Pavlović).

28 For a discussion on the dating of the bronze coins of the provincial mints in *Nemausus*, see Miškec 2009, 284–285.

29 Grgin 1932, 26–29.

30 Grgin 1932, 29; Šeparović 2003, 191.

2nd and 3rd centuries are still found in *Tilurium* in smaller quantities, with an increase in the time of Gallienus and Claudius II, which coincides with the abandonment of the camp. In the 4th century we can again notice a greater influx of coins to this site; but, as with the increase in the 3rd century, larger quantities of coins can be explained as a standard change in the minting practices of these centuries, whereby, with decreasing weight of the coins, larger quantities of coins were produced with lesser purchasing power. Numismatic finds support the time of the active occupation of *Tilurium* as a Roman legionary fortress and, later, as an auxiliary fort. Coin finds from a later period testify to the continuation of life in *Tilurium* after it ceased to be a Roman military stronghold after the middle of the 3rd century. The latest late-antiquity coin was issued during the reign of Honorius, and the five Byzantine folles of Justinian perhaps testify to the time of the conflict with the Eastern Goths, when these areas again came under the rule of the heirs of the Roman Empire.

Conclusion

Numismatic finds as a particular group of objects of material culture are generally an important source for understanding Roman sites, and more specifically for understanding *Tilurium* as a Roman military stronghold. Most of the finds from *Tilurium* belong to the period of the first half and middle of the 1st century AD and are thus dated to the time of the stay of *Legio VII*, or *VII Claudia pia fidelis*. Coins from the Republican period cannot be used as proof of a military presence before the first half of the 1st century AD. We must presume that their presence on the site of *Tilurium* is a direct result of their arrival with the Roman military. A much more detailed analysis is needed for a possible conclusion that the Roman army was stationed in *Tilurium* even prior to the arrival of *Legio VII*. A reduced number of finds towards the end of the 1st and through the 2nd and 3rd centuries testifies that *Tilurium* functioned as a Roman military stronghold after the departure of *Legio VII* until the middle of the 3rd century. Some continuation of human activities in *Tilurium* even after the departure of the last military unit is confirmed by the findings of the 4th century, when we again observe a greater influx of coins to this site, which can be viewed within the context of the beneficiary station and settlement which were located near *Tilurium*. Again, an alternative conclusion for the larger quantities of late-antiquity coinage can be explained as standard changes in the minting practices during those times.

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