

## A Tauriscan Lt D obol from Lobar hillfort (Hrvatsko Zagorje, Croatia)

### Tavriskijski mali srebrnik z gradišča pri Lobarju iz obdobja Lt D (Hrvaško Zagorje, Hrvaška)

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#### Izveček

Med strokovnimi arheološkimi izkopavanji na gradišču pri Lobarju so našli srebrni novc, podoben tavriskijskim malim srebrnikom tipa *Augentyp-Stamm*. Naselje je bilo utrjeno v poznem latenu (Lt D), kar je najverjetneje tudi časovni okvir, v katerem je bil novc odložen. Ta trditev je podkrepljena z dejstvom, da na najdišču ni sledov poselitve v zgodnjem cesarskem obdobju. Predpostavimo lahko, da je bil novc skovan v obdobju Lt D1, kar ustreza uveljavljeni kronologiji kovanja tavriskijskih novcev. Podobni novci so bili najdeni na primerljivih višinskih naseljih na ozemlju Tavriskov, vendar njihove prisotnosti predvsem zaradi maloštevilnosti in pomanjkljivih stratigrafskih podatkov, za zdaj ni mogoče poenostavljeno razložiti z uporabo v trgovini.

**Ključne besede:** Hrvaška; Lobar; Tavriski; gradišča; mlajša železna doba; novci; mali srebrniki

#### Abstract

A small silver coin complementary to the *Augentyp-Stamm* Tauriscan obols was found in controlled archaeological excavations at the Lobar hillfort. The hillfort was fortified in the late La Tène period (Lt D), which is also the most likely depositional context of the coin, since the site was clearly not occupied during the early imperial age. It can be assumed that the coin was produced in the earlier part of late La Tène (Lt D1), in accordance with the presently accepted chronology of Tauriscan coins. Similar obols were found at comparable hillfort sites in the Tauriscan area, but, due to their small number and lack of secure stratigraphic contextualization, this phenomenon is not easily explained in terms of commercial exchange.

**Key words:** Croatia; Lobar; Taurisci; hillforts; La Tène period, coins; obols

The hillfort at Lobar upon which the Our Lady of the Mountain sanctuary (Croatian: Majka Božja Gorska) now stands (henceforth 'the Lobar hillfort') is a multi-layered and multi-period site excavated in controlled archaeological excavations starting in the late 1990s.<sup>1</sup> It appears that the occupational

activity on the site follows the general pattern established for the hillfort sites in the region, *i.e.*, an increased activity during the Lt D (starting with Lt D1) period followed by a late antiquity renewal of defensive structures established in prehistoric

<sup>1</sup> The fullest overview remains Filipec 2007. I would like to thank Krešimir Filipec for allowing me the opportunity

to study and publish this coin.

periods.<sup>2</sup> A single Late Iron Age (hereafter 'LIA') coin was found at the Lobar hillfort, unfortunately, in an unclear stratigraphic context. Nevertheless, it is possible to offer some plausible interpretations with respect to both the issuing and deposition date – in general terms – for this coin via an analysis of the published data concerning the Lobar hillfort in combination with a comparison with other similar sites in the region.

The coin in question is a Tauriscan obol complementary with the *Augentyp-Stamm* Tauriscan obols.<sup>3</sup> Its poorly preserved obverse is lentil-shaped (*Buckelavers*), with a depiction of a horse to the left on the reverse (*Fig. 1*). Its weight is 0.59 g, with a diameter of 9.5 mm. It was most likely made of silver bullion, possibly with an admixture of copper or a copper alloy. Since no metallurgical analysis of the coin was conducted, this particular conclusion is based on the analyses of analogous coins from certain comparable sites in modern Slovenia (see below). Its recorded stratigraphic position does not reveal much: the coin was found outside the 'cinktor', an arcaded porch surrounding the later church building, surely in a secondary context (recorded as PN = 'Find No.' 434).

### TYOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The obol – a small LIA silver coin<sup>4</sup> – found at the Lobar hillfort cannot be precisely classified with respect to the hitherto published Tauriscan obols.<sup>5</sup> It can, however, be generally associated with certain typologically differentiated groups of these small LIA coins. In terms of typology, metrology and style, it is most akin to an *Augentyp-Stamm* after KNS 749–755 group of obols from Celje, more precisely, from the bed of the Savinja River, of a median weight of 0.2 g (0.596–0.429 g) (*Fig.*



*Fig. 1:* Tauriscan obol from the Lobar hillfort. Scale = 3:1. *Sl. 1:* Tavriški mali srebrnik z loborskega gradišča. M. = 3:1.

2: *Augentyp-Stamm* after KNS No. 3-749–755).<sup>6</sup> These obols are part of a larger class of Tauriscan obols with a lentil-shaped bulge on the obverse (*Buckelavers*) and a horse to the left on the reverse.<sup>7</sup> Their median weight is 0.4745 g, and most of the coins weigh between 0.55 and 0.40 g (*Fig. 2: Buckel-horse*).<sup>8</sup> These obols differ from the typologically similar *Karlsteiner Art* obols of a median weight of 0.4229 g (*Fig. 2: Karlsteiner Art*), which were also found in large numbers in Celje (the Savinja), which is perhaps also the place where both of these coin types were issued.<sup>9</sup>

Another notable class of Tauriscan obols has a depiction of a head on the obverse.<sup>10</sup> These small silver coins correspond to the Tauriscan tetradrachms of the *Đurđevac* (Gjurgjevac) and *Frontalgesicht*

<sup>2</sup> For bibliography, see the discussion in the continuation of the paper. The important later activity on the hillfort (in the first place, in the medieval period) will not be discussed here.

<sup>3</sup> For a preliminary publication of the coin, see Bilić 2021b and Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

<sup>4</sup> For a thorough discussion of metrological issues related to Tauriscan obols, see Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 119–120. 'Obol' is throughout used as a convenient provisional name for the LIA small silver coins (*cf.* Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 112 No. 58).

<sup>5</sup> On some current problems with the classification of Tauriscan obols, see Militký 2015, 143.

<sup>6</sup> KNS Celje No. 3-749–755, T. 22: 23–29 = Kos 1976, 217 Tab. II: 7–12. Similar pieces were found at Frauenberg (Schachinger 2001, 21–23 Nos. 13–17, *cf.* 18–19, weight range 0.68–0.56 g, median weight 0.58 g; *Fig. 2: Frauenberg*). They were perhaps struck at the site, since, along with the die-related coins, ceramic coin pellet mould tray fragments, of a size consistent with the size of flans used for small silver coins, were also recovered from the site (Schachinger 2001, 27–28). The site of Frauenberg is a sanctuary dated to the late La Tène period (presumably in use throughout the Lt D phase), and all the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols were found in the earliest occupational layer, thus clearly pertaining to an LIA horizon (presumably Lt D1); they might have been deposited as votive offerings (Schachinger 2001, 18).

<sup>7</sup> Kos 1976, 220–221, Pl. II: 2–14; KNS pp. 29–33, 63–67, Pl. 22: 14–36; 23; 24: 1–17; 40: 18–19, 21–25; 42: 22–26. Previously, these coins were in general called 'East Norican', but today they are appropriately referred to as 'Tauriscan' (Schachinger 2020, 60).

<sup>8</sup> KNS pp. 28, 62.

<sup>9</sup> KNS pp. 28, 62; Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 120.

<sup>10</sup> Kos 1979.

Groups of obols mentioned in the text / Mali srebrniki, omenjeni v članku	Median weight / Mediana teže	Weight span / Razpon teže
horse-horse / konj-konj	0.90 g	1.00–0.66/0.67 g
Đurđevac	0.830 g	0.96–0.63 g
[head-horse / glava-konj]	[0.62 g]	[0.97 (Kos 1979)/0.92 (Kos 2015)–0.404 g]
Frauenberg	0.58 g	0.68–0.56 g
Lobor	0.59 g	
Augentyp-Stamm / očesni tip (after / po KNS 3-749–755)	0.52 g	0.596–0.429 g
<i>Buckel</i> -horse / <i>lečasto izbočenje</i> -konj	0.4745 g	0.55–0.40 g (most pieces / većina); 0.770–0.190 g (all / vsi)
<i>Karlsteiner Art</i> / <i>Karlsteinska zvrst</i>	0.4229 g	

Fig. 2: Median weights and weight spans of different groups of obols mentioned in the text.

Sl. 2: Srednje vrednosti in razponi tež različnih skupin malih srebrnikov omenjenih v članku.

type.<sup>11</sup> The median weight of these (at the time, the only three known coins of this type) obols is 0.62 g (Fig. 2: [head-horse]),<sup>12</sup> but this value should no longer be taken as confirmed, since the documented weight of the coin Kos 1979, No. 3 = Kos 2015, No. 10 was subsequently dismissed as unreliable.<sup>13</sup> Without this piece, the median weight can be calculated on the basis of mere two coins. Certainly, the weight of the Đurđevac obols calculated from a much larger corpus of coins that have appeared in the meantime (mostly on the numismatic market) is more relevant. Thus, the median weight of the Đurđevac obols of Kos' group 1 (of a head-horse type) is 0.830 g, with the weights ranging between 0.96 and 0.63 g (Fig. 2: Đurđevac).<sup>14</sup>

The chronology of Tauriscan obols, including the coin found at the Lobor hillfort, is derived from the chronology of corresponding tetradrachms. The time span in question encompasses the period from the late first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC onwards, *i.e.*, from the late Lt C2 or the Lt C2/D1 transition onwards.<sup>15</sup> Instead of tediously repeating the

arguments for this particular time-frame as the starting-date for the issuing of Tauriscan coins in general, I will here merely refer the reader to a study offering the latest extensive overview of all the available evidence.<sup>16</sup> This thorough analysis points out certain problems in the proofs upon which this dating is based (the Ljubljana and Enemonzo hoards) but concludes that there is no solid evidence contradicting it, thus allowing it to stand, at least until new finds would make this dating no longer tenable.

Considering the larger weight of the horse-horse obols, it seems possible (solely on metrological grounds) to somewhat narrow down the proposed time frame for the Lobor piece. The *Buckel*-horse obols (their issue and use) can thus be dated to the Lt D period (150–15 BC), most likely Lt D1 (150–80 BC), which, as will be shown below, corresponds to the available archaeological data, while their deposition, as will also be shown below, could not have been later than the end of the Lt D2 period. Naturally, this (perhaps overly precise) chronological frame will have to be either corroborated or falsified by stratigraphically positioned finds from controlled archaeological excavations.

<sup>11</sup> In Kos 2015, 458 Cat. No. 10, the coin Kos 1979, No. 3 (here classified as *Augentyp-Stamm*) is now reclassified as a Đurđevac-type coin.

<sup>12</sup> Kos 1979, 32–33.

<sup>13</sup> Kos 2015, 458, 465.

<sup>14</sup> Kos 2015, 464–465.

<sup>15</sup> For the dating of early Tauriscan obols, see Bilić, Dizdar 2016 (Lt C2); these obols, depicting a horse on

both sides, are of a median weight of 0.90 g (Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 119).

<sup>16</sup> Bilić 2022. The key work is Kos, Šemrov 2003; see also Kos 2007; 2012; Kos, Mirnik 2011.

## STRATIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

Unfortunately, the Lobar hillfort obol is not such a securely contextualized find, since it was found, as already noted, in a secondary context, and not in a stratigraphically indicative setting. Nevertheless, there are indeed traces of LIA layers on the Lobar hillfort that provide an adequate context for the obol. The largest-scale construction works on the Lobar hillfort were conducted during the 'late La Tène period', *i.e.*, during 'the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BC'.<sup>17</sup> A ditch and an earthen rampart with a timber palisade were part of this construction works, together with traces of large-scale levelling and the remains of a large spacious building dating from the late La Tène period, more precisely, from the turn of the old and new era.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, only a modest number of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. – the early post- La Tène period – small finds was recovered from the Lobar hillfort.<sup>19</sup> At the earliest during the Marcomannic Wars, but more realistically in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c., the prehistoric hillfort was converted into a late antique fortified stronghold, with the erection of a stone wall on top of the La Tène-period earthen rampart.<sup>20</sup> Roman provincial pottery of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c. and coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> c. are the dominant small finds on the Lobar hillfort datable to antiquity.<sup>21</sup> The analysis of numismatic record documented

<sup>17</sup> Filipec 2002, 16; 2007, 415; 2008, 58; Filipec 2021a, 31. It remains unclear whether the periods encompassed by the time-frame 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (*i.e.*, 200–1 BC), that is, Lt C2–D2 (Drnić 2015, 13) are meant here, or specifically the late La Tène period proper, *i.e.*, Lt D1–D2, 150–1 BC (Drnić 2015, 13). Taking into account the date proposed for the structure mentioned immediately below in the main text, it can be presumed that the latter is correct.

<sup>18</sup> *Cf.* Filipec 2007, 415; 2008, 82–83; 2021a, 31 (where the building is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC); Ciglencečki 2016, 12; Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáška, Šimek 2020, 213.

<sup>19</sup> Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáška, Šimek 2020, 213; Filipec 2021b, 33; Filipec 2007, 415 (*cf.* Filipec 2021b, 39) interprets these finds as settlement remains, but without further elaboration. At the same time, he emphasized a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. increase in the number of finds. Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáška, Šimek 2020, 218 seem to accept Ciglencečki's alternative interpretation of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. material.

<sup>20</sup> Filipec 2002, 17; 2007, 415–416 (late antiquity, 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c.); 2008, 58, 60 (Marcomannic Wars); 2021b, 35 (late antiquity, 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c.), 33, 39 (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c., after Marcomannic Wars); Ciglencečki 2016, 17–18 (late antiquity, 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>21</sup> Filipec 2007, 417; 2008, 65. Filipec 2021b, 37 distinguishes two phases of use of ceramic vessels: from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> (less) and thenceforth to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. (more pronounced).

in the archaeological excavations shows that the earliest – and significantly worn – Roman coin is a Trajan's sestertius of 108–109/110.<sup>22</sup> As such, it cannot support any speculations on the activities conducted at the site during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A more intensive, although still modest in volume and intermittent, presence of coins on the hillfort is documented from the second third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. onwards.<sup>23</sup>

The stratigraphic situation at the Lobar hillfort is comparable with two other hillfort sites in the region, Kuzelin and Graci-Donje Orešje, both on Medvednica Mountain.<sup>24</sup> At Kuzelin, LIA finds are exclusively dated to the LT D1 period, *i.e.*, 150–80 BC.<sup>25</sup> After the late La Tène occupation of the site, which most likely ended in the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, there are no traces of Roman presence until the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c., an observation which includes the numismatic finds.<sup>26</sup> In terms of numismatic record, a similar situation obtains at the Graci-Donje Orešje site, where five heavily worn copper and bronze asses issued during the reign of Antoninus Pius represent the earliest imperial coins recorded on the site, where a significant number of LIA coins was also recovered.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, there is no study of the circulation of Antonine bronzes in the region, but it is known that they were used as small change in the north-western provinces of the Empire during the Severan Period.<sup>28</sup> The state of wear of Antonine copper and bronze asses from the Graci-Donje Orešje site suggests that these coins might have also been in circulation here for a longer period, perhaps precisely in the same period as their counterparts in the north-western provinces of the Empire.

It seems evident that the situation determined at these two hillfort sites from Medvednica is at least partially comparable with the Lobar hillfort. The numismatic records from all three sites are analogous in that they all contain LIA coins but no early imperial ones, as well as in that there is a renewal of some numismatic activity in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Furthermore, the numismatic record from these sites corresponds to the other

<sup>22</sup> See Nađ 2021 and Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

<sup>23</sup> Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127–128.

<sup>24</sup> See Bilić 2017, 236; 2019; 2022 (an in-depth analysis).

<sup>25</sup> Dizdar 2011, 87–88. The dates for Lt D1 in Drnić 2015, 13.

<sup>26</sup> Sokol 1994, 200–201; 1997, 221; 1998, 10; 2003, 201; 2009, 154; Bilić 2017, 236; Migotti 2019, 93.

<sup>27</sup> Bilić 2019, 75, Figs. 89, 94, 97–98, 100 (imperial coins).

<sup>28</sup> Kemmers 2009, 147, 158.

archaeological finds. In the case of Kuzelin, this claim is supported by previously published material, while, in the case of Graci-Donje Orešje, somewhat less so but still sufficient for the claim to stand.<sup>29</sup>

These three sites, situated roughly between Medvednica and Ivanščica mountains, are part of a much wider phenomenon of (re)using elevated positions in late antiquity and can be compared with a large number of similar sites in the broader region. Furthermore, some of these sites can be directly compared with the Lobor hillfort by the presence of *Augentyp-Stamm* obols in similar contexts. In general terms, this re(activation) of elevated positions can be dated at the earliest to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.<sup>30</sup> Even though it was occasionally claimed that both Kuzelin and the Lobor hillfort, perhaps also the Graci-Donje Orešje site, offer some proof for an earlier date, it does not seem prudent to draw general conclusions on the functioning of archaeological sites in certain periods based on a small number of sporadic finds, coins or otherwise.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the occupation of the site of Veliki vrh nad Osredkom pri Posredi is dated to the middle or the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.,<sup>32</sup> despite the presence of an (worn) as of Hadrian and a dupondius of Commodus in the numismatic record.<sup>33</sup> A comparable situation obtaining at the Tonovcov grad site is interpreted in very similar terms.<sup>34</sup> It is thus possible to recognize certain patterns in numismatic and archaeological records, but only a comprehensive analysis of the entire record is necessary in order to reach generalized conclusions based on the remains of material culture.

What can be inferred, with some certainty, from this discussion of occupational activity on the Lobor hillfort, which, moreover, conforms to the settlement pattern in the immediate vicinity and

in the wider region, is that the LIA coin found at the hillfort almost certainly pertains to the site's LIA context, even though it cannot be claimed with any certainty whether this context is limited to the early Lt D1 period, despite the fact that LIA coins, including obols, were circulating deep into the early imperial period in the region.<sup>35</sup>

These assertions are further corroborated by the appearance of a similar phenomenon on several sites in modern Slovenia, which share the same cultural background with the sites in modern Croatia analysed thus far. In archaeological terms, this is the area encompassed by the LIA Mokronog group or, in terms of tribal affiliations, the area occupied by the Taurisci tribal alliance. Thus, one *Augentyp-Stamm* obol was found in comparable circumstances at the Korinjski hrib site.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, the comparison also extends to the non-revealing stratigraphic context of the find. The obol was found 'na strmini pod nasipom / at the steep slope beneath the rampart'<sup>37</sup> It can be presumed that the rampart in question is a late antiquity rampart, since a La Tène one is not mentioned in the description of LIA layers and finds at Korinjski hrib.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, it appears that the coin is kept in a private collection, suggesting a find obtained by a metal detector, rather than in controlled archaeological excavations.<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, considering that there is a well-documented La Tène horizon at the site, it is presumed that the obol should be understood as coming from a LIA context of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>40</sup> The LIA horizon on Korinjski hrib is dated to the Lt D1 and D2 periods,<sup>41</sup> which corresponds with the situation at the Lobor hillfort. Moreover, Korinjski hrib is also a late antique fortified elevated stronghold, which is another suggestive parallel with Lobor. It appears that in both cases (*i.e.*, the Lobor hillfort and Korinjski hrib) a comparable situation obtains, where a LIA (more precisely,

<sup>29</sup> See Mačković 2019, 35, 40, 43 (metal La Tène objects, (late) antique finds); Drnić 2019 (metal and ceramic La Tène objects); Migotti 2019, 93–94 (possible late antique stronghold). For the Lobor hillfort, see above and Nikšić 2021.

<sup>30</sup> Ciglencečki 1990, 147, 155–156, 164, 166–168; 1994, 239, 241–243; 1999, 292, 306, where he explicitly dismisses the possibility that the hillforts were settled and/or fortified in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. (*cf.* 1990, 155, 166; 2016, 14); 2008, 485–487; 2016, 14–16; Migotti 2019, 93.

<sup>31</sup> For a sceptical view on the possibility that Kuzelin was settled and fortified during the Marcomannic Wars, see Ciglencečki 2016, 14–15.

<sup>32</sup> Ciglencečki 1990, 152–153, 166.

<sup>33</sup> Ciglencečki 1990, 150.

<sup>34</sup> Kos 2011, 229–231; Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 166.

<sup>35</sup> For the use of the LIA coins during the Julio-Claudian period at Sisak, Ljubljana and Magdalensberg see Bilić 2018; 2021a; Kos 2006, 72; Krmnicek 2010, 96–98, 127–139, respectively. See also KNS pp. 34, 68.

<sup>36</sup> Kos 2020, 123 Cat. No. 4, Fig. 5.1:4; 130, 136 Cat. No. 4 (weight 0.65 g).

<sup>37</sup> Kos 2020, 123.

<sup>38</sup> Grahek 2020, 296–298.

<sup>39</sup> Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 132 No. 6; Kos 2020, 136 Cat. No. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Kos 2020, 123.

<sup>41</sup> Ciglencečki, Milavec, Modrijan 2020, 335–336; Grahek 2020, 296–298, 304.



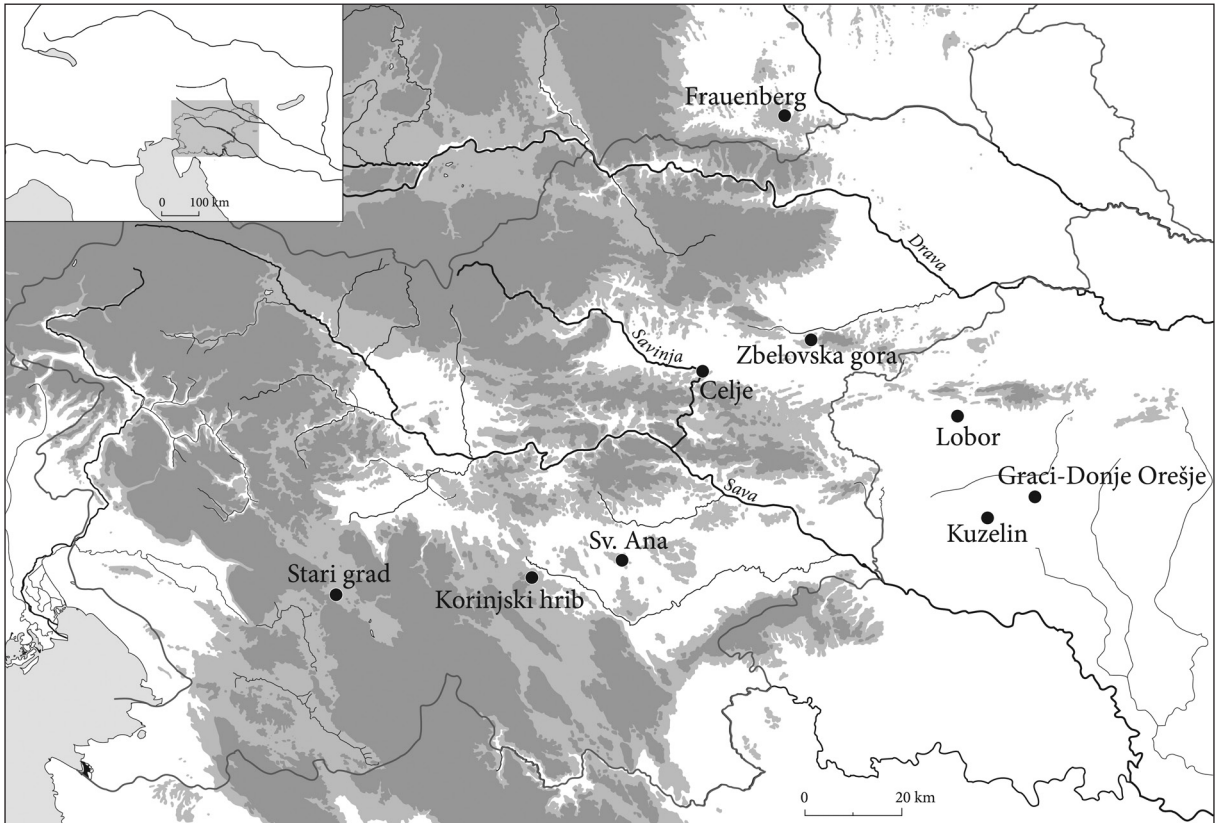


Fig. 3: Map displaying sites mentioned in the text.  
Sl. 3: Karta najdišč, omenjenih v besedilu.

late La Tène) horizon at a site represents the depositional context of a Tauriscan obol, while later late antique settlement and fortification at the site cannot in any plausible way be associated with the deposition. It can thus be inferred that the depositional context of the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols (both those found at the Lobor hillfort and Korinjski hrib and elsewhere) in terms of relative chronology, is the Lt D period, which is also, it can be presumed, the date of their production.

In addition, these two coins are not unique finds of their type: three more *Augentyp-Stamm* obols were found at elevated fortified sites in modern Slovenia (Fig. 3). However, all three coins (from Stari grad-Hošperk above Unec, Sveta Ana above Vrhpeč and Zbelovska gora) are apparently kept in private collections, which once again suggest that they were found with the aid of metal detectors.<sup>42</sup> Thus we can only presume that their depositional context is similar to the Lobor hillfort obol. A metallurgical analysis of these three coins, toge-

ther with the analysis of the Korinjski hrib piece, has shown that the obols of the *Augentyp-Stamm* type were produced mainly of silver, with certain additions of copper, tin, and lead. Moreover, these coins have a silver-enriched surface, with a much larger share of copper in their core.<sup>43</sup>

## CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The Tauriscan obol found at the Lobor hillfort was undoubtedly deposited during the late La Tène period (Lt D). It was also very likely produced in the same period, probably during its earlier part (Lt D1). It is very similar to the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols defined by Peter Kos, with a characteristic lentil-shaped bulge on the obverse and a Tau-

<sup>42</sup> Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 131 No. 1 (0.68 g), 131–132 No. 8 (0.51 g), 132 No. 5 (0.71 g).

<sup>43</sup> For the results of the surface metallurgical (PIXE) analysis of the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols from the sites in Slovenia see Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 133 Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8; Šmit *et al.* 2020. For the PGAA analysis of the bulk composition of the coins (but only in terms of Ag and Cu), see Šmit *et al.* 2020. It can be presumed that the Lobor hillfort obol had a similar metal composition.

riscan-type horse on the reverse. It seems that these obols regularly appear at elevated fortified sites throughout the region, which were occupied during the Lt D period (starting with Lt D1), but then abandoned, or almost abandoned, until the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. at the earliest. They do not appear in large numbers (in fact, only a single coin appears per site), so their function cannot be unambiguously determined. Recently, a careful study of coin production and use in temperate Europe has reintroduced the established and astute argument that the appearance of fractions in a system of coinage suggests the existence of regular commercial exchange. However, the context that the authors of this study observe is composed of a series of large open settlements emerging in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (perhaps in the mid-century), where large quantities of coins were found.<sup>44</sup> This is hardly a parallel for the Lobor hillfort and the comparable sites studied here, where a low number of sporadic coin finds, including obols, is scattered over a number of fortified, often difficult to approach, hillforts. Another model associates the use of coins in market exchange with the emergence of oppida in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC in northern Gaul, which functioned (occasionally) until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. The model is sustained by the existence of a trimetallic system, the significant rise in the amount of coins in circulation, and, especially, the appearance of smaller denomination coinage in the form of silver fractions and bronze/potin coins.<sup>45</sup> The situation in the Tauriscan area fits much better into this

model,<sup>46</sup> but there are still major differences in that there is little or no evidence for the use of bronze coinage (although there is evidence for a debasement of silver coins),<sup>47</sup> there are only a handful of settlements with a significantly increased number of coin finds, including smaller denomination coins (the hillforts with a modest volume of coin finds, as already noted, were also current in this period), and, of course, there is no trimetallic system. At the same time, the extremely large number of small LIA coins from the Savinja at Celje, including a number of the *Augentyp-Stamm* obols, cannot be compared with the hillfort sites, due to the different character of the settlements and the fact that the Savinja find most probably represents a temple treasury (*i.e.*, a series of votive deposits).<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the Savinja finds do show that the small Tauriscan coins were produced in large numbers, which indeed offers a partial parallel with the situation envisaged by Hiriart *et al.* and, especially, Wigg-Wolf. However, the overall distribution and actual usage of these small coins (*i.e.*, their function in Tauriscan society) must remain an open question until more information becomes available.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Hiriart *et al.* 2020, 205, *cf.* 183, 195–196.

<sup>45</sup> Wigg-Wolf 2011, 307–312. Potin coins are small cast bronze pieces.

<sup>46</sup> *Cf.* Schachinger 2020, 63–64, 68, who summarily applies a similar model to a later phase of Carnic-Noric-Tauriscan coinage (increased quantity and wider distribution of coins, introduction of smaller denominations).

<sup>47</sup> See Bilić 2022, where this debasement is interpreted in non-market terms.

<sup>48</sup> Šemrov 2011, 11; Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 127; *cf.* Tiefengraber 2011, 95. On temple depositions of coins in the LIA period see Wigg-Wolf 2005.

<sup>49</sup> Tellingly, the Savinja finds account for as much as 84 % of all small LIA silver coins in the entire territory of modern Slovenia (Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 127 No. 5).

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## Tavriskijski mali srebrnik z gradišča pri Lobjorju iz obdobja Lt D (Hrvaško Zagorje, Hrvaška)

Povzetek

### TIPOLOŠKA RAZMIŠLJANJA

Raziskave višinskega naselja nad Lobjorjem, kjer je danes cerkev Matere Božje Gorske, so se odvijale v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Rezultati arheoloških izkopavanj kažejo, da gre za večplastno najdišče, ki je bilo obljudeno v različnih – prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih – obdobjih.<sup>1</sup> Poselitvena dinamika ustreza vzorcu, značilnemu za višinska naselja v regiji. Opazni povečani aktivnosti v obdobju Lt D (z začetkom v Lt D1) sledi poznoantična obnova prazgodovinskih obrambnih struktur. Na loborskem gradišču je bil najden le en keltski novc, žal brez jasnega stratigrafskega konteksta. Kljub temu je mogoče z analizo objavljenih raziskav na gradišču in primerjavo z drugimi podobnimi najdišči v regiji ponuditi razmeroma verodostojno interpretacijo časa njegovega nastanka in odlaganja.

Novc iz pozne železne dobe je mali srebrnik plemenske zveze Tavriskov, primerljiv s tavriskijskimi malimi srebrniki očesnega tipa (*Augentyp-Stamm*).<sup>2</sup> Na averju je *lečasto izbočenje* (*Buckelavers*), na reverju pa konj, usmerjen v levo (*sl. 1*). Teža novca je 0,59 g, premer pa 9,5 mm. Dokumentirana stratigrafska lega ne razkriva veliko: novc je bil najden zunaj cerkvene ograde, obokanega portika, ki obdaja poznejšo cerkev, nedvomno v sekundarnem kontekstu (dokumentiran kot PN 434).

Loborskega malega srebrnika ni mogoče natančno opredeliti na podlagi objavljenega tavriskijskega drobiža. Kljub temu ga je mogoče tipološko, metroslovno in stilno povezati s skupino tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov iz Savinje v Celju s povprečno težo 0,52 g (*sl. 2: Augentyp-Stamm* po KNS, št. 3-749–755).<sup>3</sup> Ti sodijo v večjo skupino tavriskijskih

malih srebrnikov z lečasto grbo na averju (*Buckelavers*) in konjem, usmerjenim v levo, na reverju.<sup>4</sup>

Kronologija tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov, vključno z loborskim primerkom, izhaja iz kronologije ustreznih tetradrahem. Kronološki razpon obsega obdobje od pozne prve polovice 2. stoletja pr. n. št., tj. od poznega Lt C2 ali od prehoda Lt C2/D1 naprej.<sup>5</sup> Da bi se izognili ponavljanju argumentov, ki so bili podlaga za postavitev tega časovnega okvira za splošno datiranje kovanja tavriskijskih novcev, se sklicujem na končni temeljni pregled vseh razpoložljivih dokazov in razpravo o njih.<sup>6</sup> V omenjeni analizi so izpostavljeni nekateri problemi pri interpretaciji dokazov, na katerih temelji datacija (zakladni najdbi iz Ljubljane in Enemonza), vendar po ugotovitvah ni trdnih dokazov, ki bi jo ovrgli, vsaj dokler se ne pojavijo nova spoznanja, zaradi katerih je lahko ta datacija nevzdržna.

Ob upoštevanju večje povprečne teže najzgodnejših tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov tipa konj-konj (*sl. 2: konj-konj*), bi lahko le na podlagi analize tež predlagani okvir za datacijo loborskega novca nekoliko zožili. Kovanje in uporabo malih keltskih srebrnikov tipa *lečasto izbočenje-konj* bi lahko datirali v obdobje Lt D (150–15 pr. n. št.), najverjetneje v Lt D1 (150–80 pr. n. št.), kar ustreza razpoložljivim arheološkim podatkom. Njihovo odlaganje, o čemer bo več govora v nadaljevanju, ne more biti poznejše od konca Lt D2. Seveda bodo morale ta morda preveč natančen časovni okvir potrditi ali ovreči stratigrafsko umeščene najdbe, pridobljene s strokovnimi arheološkimi raziskavami.

### STRATIGRAFSKA RAZMIŠLJANJA

Čeprav za loborsko najdbo ni znana natančna stratigrafska lega, so sledovi mlajšeželeznodobnih plasti na najdišču primeren kontekst za datacijo

<sup>1</sup> Filipec 2007. Zahvaljujem se Krešimirju Filipcu za možnost študije in objave novca.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminarna objava v Bilić 2021b in Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

<sup>3</sup> KNS št. 3-749–755, t. 22: 23–29 = Kos 1976, 217 tab. 2: 7–12. Podobni mali srebrniki so bili najdeni in verjetno kovani na Frauenbergu, poznolatenskem svetišču, kamor so bili morda položeni kot votivni darovi (Schachinger 2001, 18–19, 21–23 št. 13–17, 27–28).

<sup>4</sup> Kos 1976, 220–221, tab. 2: 2–14; KNS, 29–33, 63–67, t. 22: 14–36; 23; 24: 1–17; 40: 18–19, 21–25; 42: 22–26

<sup>5</sup> Za datiranje zgodnjih tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov glej Bilić, Dizdar 2016 (Lt C2).

<sup>6</sup> Bilić 2022. Temeljno delo je Kos, Šemrov 2003; glej še: Kos 2007; 2012; Kos, Mirnik 2011.

tavriskijskega malega srebrnika. Najobsežnejša gradbena dela na najdišču so bila opravljena v poznem latenu, v obdobju od 2. do 1. st. pr. n. št.<sup>7</sup> Poleg tega je število najdb, ki jih lahko datiramo v zgodnje rimsko obdobje (1. in 2. st.), zelo skromno.<sup>8</sup> Najverjetneje v obdobju 3.–4. st. so prazgodovinsko gradišče preuredili v veliko pozno-antično trdnjavo s postavitvijo kamnitega obzidja na ostankih latenskega zemljenega nasipa.<sup>9</sup> Med antičnim gradivom prevladuje rimska provincialna keramika 3.–4. st. in novci iz 3.–5. st.<sup>10</sup> Analiza numizmatičnega gradiva je pokazala, da je najzgodnejši rimski novc Trajanov močno obrabljen sester, kovan med letoma 108 in 109/110.<sup>11</sup> Kot tak ne more podpreti domnev o aktivnostih na najdišču v 2. st. Od druge tretjine 3. st. je prisotnost denarja na gradišču opazno intenzivnejša, čeprav še vedno skromna in občasno prekinjena.<sup>12</sup>

Stratigrafska situacija na najdišču Lobjor-Majka Božja Gorska je primerljiva z višinskima naseljema Kuzelin in Graci-Donje Orešje na Medvednici.<sup>13</sup> Ta tri najdišča so del širšega pojava ponovne uporabe višinskih naselij v pozni antiki in jih je mogoče primerjati z velikim številom podobnih nahajališč v širši regiji. Še več, nekatera od teh najdišč lahko po prisotnosti tavriskijskih malih srebrnikov očesnega tipa v podobnih kontekstih neposredno primerjamo z Lobjorjem. To ponovno aktiviranje višinskih naselij lahko datiramo najprej v drugo polovico 3. stoletja.<sup>14</sup> Čeprav se včasih trdi, da najdbe s Kuzelina in Lobjorja, morda tudi z najdišča Graci-Donje Orešje, ponujajo dokaze za zgodnejšo datacijo, se sklepanje o življenju arheoloških najdišč na podlagi redkih posameznih najdb, naj gre za novce ali drugo gradivo, ne zdi pravilno.<sup>15</sup> Tako datiramo poselitev Velikega vrha nad Osredkom pri Podsredi v sredino ali drugo polovico 3. stoletja,<sup>16</sup> ne glede na prisotnost ob-

rabljenega Hadrijanovega asa in Commodovega sesterca v numizmatičnem zapisu najdišča.<sup>17</sup> Primerljiva situacija na Tonovcovem gradu je interpretirana zelo podobno.<sup>18</sup> Torej je mogoče prepoznati določene vzorce v numizmatičnih in arheoloških zapisih, toda samo z izčrpno analizo vseh podatkov lahko pridemo do splošnih zaključkov na podlagi ostankov materialne kulture.

Ta razmišljanja podkrepi tudi pojav fenomena, ki je primerljiv z lobjorsko najdbo tavriskijskega malega srebrnika, ponavlja pa se na več najdiščih v Sloveniji (Korinjski hrib, Stari grad-Hošperk nad Uncem, Sveta Ana nad Vrhpečjo, Zbelovska gora; *sl.* 3).<sup>19</sup> Ta imajo skupno kulturno ozadje s tukaj analiziranimi najdišči na Hrvaškem. Gre za območje, poseljeno z nosilci mlajšeželeznodobne mokronoške skupine, v etničnem smislu Tavriski.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZPRAVA

Tavriskijski mali srebrnik, najden na Lobjorju, je nedvomno prišel v zemljo v poznolatskem obdobju (Lt D). Zelo verjetno je tudi skovan v istem obdobju, verjetno v starejšem delu (Lt D1). Zelo je podoben tavriskijskim malim srebrnikom očesnega tipa iz KNS, št. 3-749–755, z značilno grbo na averju in konjem na reverju. Zdi se, da se takšni novci praviloma pojavljajo na višinskih naseljih iz obdobja Lt D (z začetkom v Lt D1) v širši regiji. Ta so bila po koncu mlajše železne dobe opuščena ali skoraj opuščena, najmanj do druge polovice 3. stoletja. Majhno število novcev (zabeležen je le en tovrstni mali srebrnik na najdišču) onemogoča nedvoumno določitev njihove funkcije v tavriskijski družbi.

Mali srebrniki manjše vrednosti, ki izhajajo iz osnovne tavriskijske tetradrahme, bi lahko nakazovali nastanek ali obstoj redne tržne menjave. Vendar so konteksti, s katerimi bi bilo mogoče priti do takšnega zaključka (večje število velikih neutrjenih naselbin, nastalih v 3. stoletju pr. n. št., znotraj katerih je bilo najdenih veliko novcev),<sup>20</sup> slabe vzporednice situaciji na Lobjorju in primerljivih najdiščih v regiji. V težko dostopnih višinskih naseljih je namreč število naključno najdenih novcev majhno, vključno s srebrnim drobižem. Drug pri-

<sup>7</sup> Filipec 2002, 16; 2007, 415; 2008, 58; Filipec 2021a, 31. Verjetno je govor o obdobju Lt D1–D2, 150–1 pr. n. št. (Drnić 2015, 13).

<sup>8</sup> Filipec 2007, 415; 2021b, 33, 39; Filipec, Heinrich-Tamáška, Šimek 2020, 213, 218.

<sup>9</sup> Filipec 2002, 17; 2007, 415–416; 2008, 58, 60; 2021b, 33, 35, 39; Ciglencečki 2016, 17–18.

<sup>10</sup> Filipec 2007, 417; 2008, 65; 2021b, 37.

<sup>11</sup> Nađ 2021; Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127.

<sup>12</sup> Nađ, Bilić 2021, 127–128.

<sup>13</sup> Glej Bilić 2017, 236; 2019; 2022 (obširna analiza).

<sup>14</sup> Ciglencečki 1990, 147, 155–156, 164, 166–168; 1994, 239, 241–243; 1999, 292, 306; 2008, 485–487; 2016, 14–16; Migotti 2019, 93.

<sup>15</sup> *Cfr.* za Kuzelin Ciglencečki 2016, 14–15.

<sup>16</sup> Ciglencečki 1990, 152–153, 166.

<sup>17</sup> Ciglencečki 1990, 150.

<sup>18</sup> Kos 2011, 229–231; Modrijan, Milavec 2011, 166.

<sup>19</sup> Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 131–132; Kos 2020, 123, 136.

<sup>20</sup> Hiriart *et al.* 2020, 205, *cfr.* 183, 195–196.

merljiv model povezuje uporabo kovancev v tržni menjavi s pojavom oppida in temelji na obstoju trimetalnega sistema, povečanem številu novcev v obtoku ter pojavu manjših apoenov v srebru in ulitih v bronu.<sup>21</sup> Razmere na območju Tavriskov se bolje ujemajo s tem modelom,<sup>22</sup> vendar so tudi pomembne razlike: malo je dokazov o uporabi bronastih kovancev, malo je naselij z večjim številom numizmatičnih najdb, vključno z drobižem, in trimetalni denarni sistem ni prisoten. Veliko število malih srebrnikov iz struge Savinje v Celju se ne more primerjati z višinskimi naselbinami zaradi njihovih različnih značajev in dejstva, da najdbe iz Savinje verjetno predstavljajo tempeljsko

zakladnico.<sup>23</sup> Vendar kaže, da so bili tavriskijski mali srebrniki kovani v večjih količinah, kar predstavlja določeno vzporednico s prej opisanimi modeli. Po drugi strani ostaja model distribucije in dejanske uporabe teh malih kovancev, tj. njihova vloga v tavriskijskih skupnostih, nerešeno vprašanje, dokler ne bo na voljo več podatkov.

*Prevod: Primož Pavlin*

<sup>21</sup> Wigg-Wolf 2011, 307–312.

<sup>22</sup> *Cfr.* Schachinger 2020, 63–64, 68 za podoben model.

<sup>23</sup> Šemrov 2011, 11; Laharnar, Šmit, Šemrov 2017, 127; *cfr.* Tiefengraber 2011, 95.

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*Illustrations: Fig. 1* (photo: I. Krajcar).  
*Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1* (foto: I. Krajcar).