The construction and abandonment of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system in light of the numismatic material

Peter KOS

Izvleček

V članku so analizirane vse dokumentirane novčne najdbe iz trdnjav v obrambnem sistemu *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Avtor interpretira gibanja intenzivnosti denarnega obtoka, ki so odraz življenja oziroma aktivnosti v posameznih trdnjavah. Obenem kritično izpostavlja novčne najdbe iz arheoloških kontekstov, ki jih lahko nedvoumno povežemo z gradbenimi aktivnostmi na zidanih obrambnih strukturah. Podaja tudi podatke o najmlajših novcih s posameznih trdnjav, ki kažejo na prekinitev rednega dotoka denarja v obtok, s tem pa tudi na prekinitev intenzivnega življenja v trdnjavah. Na ta način ugotavlja, da je mogoče prve gradbene aktivnosti na obzidju trdnjave *Castra* časovno umestiti že v osemdeseta leta 3. stoletja, medtem ko sicer redke najdbe novcev v stolpih na obrambnem sistemu kažejo na gradnjo šele sredi 4. stoletja. Novčne najdbe kažejo prekinitev denarnega obtoka v trdnjavi Lanišče in Martinj hrib že konec osemdesetih let 4. stoletja, v tarsatijskem principiju konec 4. stoletja, medtem ko so v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* zastopani še novci iz začetka 5. stoletja.

Ključne besede: *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, *Ad Pirum*, *Castra*, *Tarsatica*, Lanišče, Martinj hrib, novčne najdbe, datacija gradnje, 4. stoletje

Abstract

The article analyses all documented coin finds from the fortifications in the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system. The author interprets fluctuations in the intensity of monetary circulation that would reflect life or activity at individual forts. Coin finds are also presented from archaeological contexts that can definitely be connected to building activities on walled defensive structures. Data are presented about the latest coins from individual fortifications, which indicate an interruption in the regular influx of money into circulation and thus also a break in the intensity of life at the fortifications. In this manner, it is established that the first construction activities in building the fort of Castra can be placed as early as the 280s, while otherwise rare coin finds in the towers of the defence system indicate building activities no earlier than the mid 4th century. Coin finds show an interruption in monetary circulation at the Lanišče and Martinj hrib forts at the end of the 380s, at Tarsatica at the end of the 4th century, while coins also from the beginning of the 5th century were found at the forts of Castra and Ad Pirum.

Keywords: *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, Ad Pirum, Castra, Tarsatica, Lanišče, Martinj hrib, coin finds, date of building, 4th century

INTRODUCTION

While on the basis of the coin finds in the mortar cores of the towers, N. Osmuk justifiably assigned the building of Castra's towers and wall to the second half of the 3rd century, T. Ulbert utilized a bronze coin of Licinius I from 312–313, which was discovered on the mortar layer at the outer side of the fortress wall, as the *terminus ante quem* for construction of the walls of the Ad Pirum fortress.[1] Despite such decisive arguments, scientific writings reveal a number of different hypotheses about the time in which the defence system *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* was built.

Numerous authors follow Ulbert's findings and place the beginning of construction activities at the Ad Pirum fortress and the entire *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* system to the period of Constantine

[1] Osmuk 1990, 189–190; Ulbert 1981, 43.

(306–337).[2] Johnson also conjectures that fortresses of Nauportus, Tarsatica, and Castra could have already been founded during the reign of Diocletian (284–305).[3] Vannesse considers that the first forts could already have been built in the time of internal conflicts between 307 and 314.[4] Some other authors argue that the defence system was not built before the second half of the 4th century.[5] They rely on the writings of Ambrose, *De obitu Valentiniani* 4, which supposedly refers to an unidentifiable event in 392. Ambrose mentions the term *vallum*, which is interpreted as proof that no wall had existed prior to that.[6] When setting the *terminus post quem* for the defence wall construction, they additionally refer to the same author (Ambrose, *De excessu fratris* I 31 [Migne XVI col. 1356 sg.]), who mentions that Italy was protected in 374 from the invasion of the Quadi and the Sarmatians by wooden barricades, which would supposedly prove that no walled defence structures existed at that time.[7]

During such discussions, certain authors either disregard coin finds or their analyses and interpretations, expressing doubts that coin finds could be a plausible indicator of the period of construction or the existence of individual fortresses.[8]

Thus it seems appropriate to present in one place all the available numismatic evidence that is significant for dating the construction of defensive walls, towers, and fortresses in the complex of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence line, simultaneously offering a critical evaluation.

All the available data are noted about the building structures on the defensive line itself, along with data about the Castra fort and its immediate outskirts.

ABOUT THE METHODOLOGY

It is usually assumed that coin finds from an individual site (which only represent a portion of the money once lost at the site) reflect the intensity of its settlement and its economic prosperity.[9] A larger number of coins would thus reflect a more intensive settlement or greater economic stability, while a decrease in the number of discovered coins from a certain minting period would be the result of political instability and a decline in economic prosperity. Less frequently it can be noted that an increased representation of coins in circulation can also be the consequence of an unusual event where a greater quantity of coins remained hidden in the soil (e.g. a fire, which would not necessarily be a consequence of any hostile activity).

In the analysis and interpretation of coin finds it should be kept in mind that tables showing the share of coins from individual minting periods primarily offer data about the representation of coins from individual minting periods but cannot explain exactly when those coins came into circulation at an individual site or how long they were in use before they were lost.[10] The production of coinage cannot and must not be equated with its period of use.

Many monetary reforms introducing the minting of new types of coinage occurred mostly in the late Roman period. The more significant monetary reforms were implemented in 294, 348, 364, and 408 AD.[11] With the implementation of new types of coinage, most frequently the old coins began to disappear from circulation (since its purchase value became lower from the actual value), and often a decree was issued that explicitly prohibited the further use of certain types of coinage (e.g. in 354).[12] A fairly clear picture about the coinage in circulation during a certain period is revealed by coin hoards, especially those that are completely preserved and can be connected to the urgent burial of current assets or a chance loss (burial because of impending danger, the accidental loss of a purse, etc.). Hoards buried for economic reasons (the intentional saving of money of higher value) or related to financing of the army (e.g. military treasuries) are not appropriate for establishing the length of circulation of certain types of coinage.

Nevertheless, certain archaeological deposits or stratigraphic units, which indicate that coins in circulation could have circulated for a very long period of time (also due to reuse), can be

[2] Ad Pirum: Johnson 1983, 217. For the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* defence system: Christie 2008, 566.

[3] Johnson 1983, 218.

[4] Vannesse 2007, 315, 320. Vannesse 2010, 307, 312. Marcone 2004, 353, has doubts about the system already functioning during the time of Diocletian.

[5] Marcone 2002, 175.

[6] Napoli, Rebuffat 1993, 41.

[7] Degrassi 1954, 139; Marcone 2002, 176; Napoli 1997, 283.

[8] Napoli 1997, 282, e.g. disregards the coin finds analysis from Hrušica prepared by Mackensen 1981; Witschel 2002, 350 n. 155.

[9] Reece 2003, 169.

[10] Vondrovec 2003, 29.

[11] On the reforms of the 4th cent.: Depeyrot 1992.

[12] Cod. Theod. IX 23. 1 (8th March 354).

illustrative.[13] Indeed, coin finds from several stratigraphic closed units indicate that coins could have remained in circulation for 30 to 50 years,[14] although such findings cannot be generalized.

An objective significance to coin finds would be possible in cases where they originate from archaeological excavations where extremely precise documentation was kept about closed and uncontaminated stratigraphic units. And even in such cases extreme caution is needed while evaluating coin finds from such closed units. For it is very unlikely that a bronze coin of Juba II dating to AD 22–24 could have played any part in monetary circulation during the period of 393–408, as could be otherwise inferred on the basis of stratigraphic unit 6346 in the town of Zilil in Morocco.[15] Also coins from a specific stratigraphic unit (where all possibility of contamination must be eliminated) generally only reveal that older coins were still in circulation or were reused in circulation, while not explaining when exactly these coins entered into circulation (again?) at an individual site.

An objective comparative analysis for individual broader areas is needed to explicitly show the characteristics of monetary circulation.

Archaeological excavations of the defence system *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* were mostly carried out during the 1970s and 1980s. At that time, excavations were carried out by removing arbitrarily defined layers, which frequently cut through stratigraphic units. The unique rocky and forested Karst terrain, over which the barrier system mostly extends, has an abundance of vegetation (hence spreading root systems) causing numerous taphonomic processes that generate changes at the sites and make stratigraphic units difficult to follow.[16] An additional problem at many sites is archaeological research carried out before the Second World War that was poorly (or not at all) documented, a frequent consequence of which is already destroyed stratigraphy.

At the archaeologically best excavated site, the fort of Ad Pirum, it is difficult to reliably assign small finds to individual stratigraphic units, which can be best distinguished from one another by layers of burnt remains.[17]

This article merely presents the evidence and interpretation of coin finds, but intentionally does not try to connect the results with historical events as reported in written sources.

INDIVIDUAL COIN FINDS

Since the first publication of coins from individual sites, the number of coins discovered has almost tripled at the fortress of Castra (358[18]: 945) and increased more than five times at Ad Pirum (219[19]: 1177), thus the current picture of coinage presence in individual periods is extremely reliable and cannot be dismissed as unrepresentative.

A basic image of Roman period coinage in circulation at the fortresses of Castra (Ajdovščina) and Ad Pirum (Hrušica), at the principium in Tarsatica (Rijeka), and at the small forts of Martinj hrib and Lanišče near Logatec is shown by the representation of coins according to centuries (*tab. 1; fig. 1*). The interior of the Nauportus fort (today Gradišče at Vrhnika) provided data only about 7 coins, which disallows any kind of conclusion.[20]

The comparisons of coinage representation are very illustrative, yet we have to bear in mind that only a small number of identifiable coins (66) can be documented from the principium at Tarsatica, and that only 10 coins were discovered in the fortress at Lanišče. A similarity can be noticed in the money circulation intensity at the forts of Castra and Ad Pirum. The share of coins from the first and second centuries and the first half of the 3rd century is extremely low, on the basis of which we could assume negligible everyday activity or the presence of inhabitants. Only in the middle of the 3rd century during the sole reign of Gallienus (260–268) did the number of coins in circulation increase. A rough comparison reveals that the intensity of monetary circulation at the forts of Castra and Ad Pirum increased again in the middle of the first half of the 4th century and reached its peak in the second half of the 4th century. Contrary to this, the intensity of monetary circulation at the fort of Martinj hrib differs considerably, with an almost 90% representation of coins from the second half of the 4th century, which must reflect a significantly later beginning of activities at the fort, indicating markedly later construction. A similar conclusion can be reached

[13] Depeyrot 1999.
[14] Depeyrot 1999; Guest 2007.
[15] Depeyrot 1999, 159.
[16] Barton 1987.
[17] Giesler 1981, 115–120; contra: Pröttel 1996, 136.
[18] Kos 1986, 196.
[19] Mackensen 1981.
[20] Horvat 1990, 92.

Tab. 1: The numerical and percentage representation of coins at individual sites (all Roman coins are included).
Tab. 1: Številčna in procentualna zastopanost novcev na posameznih najdiščih (upoštevani so vsi rimski novci).

	Castra		**Ad Pirum**		**Tarsatica** (principia)		**Martinj hrib**		**Lanišče**	
	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%
1st-2nd c. / 1.–2. st.	18	1.9	20	1.69	2	3.03	7	5.34		
First half of 3rd c. / 1. pol. 3. st.	3	0.31	5	0.85	1	1.5	0	0		
Sec. half of 3rd c. / 2. pol. 3. st.	77	8.14	184	16.05	20	30.3	2	1.52		
First half of 4th c. / 1. pol. 4. st.	321	33.96	364	30.92	7	10.6	5	3.81	2	20
Sec. half of 4th c. / 2. pol. 4. st.	523	55.34	594	50.46	36	54.54	117	89.31	8	80
First half of 5th c. / 1. pol. 5. st.	4	0.42								
Σ	945		1177		66		131		10	

Castra: *FMRSl* I 13; *FMRSl* III 12; *FMRSl* IV 9; *FMRSl* V 6; *FMRSl* VI 8.
Ad Pirum: *FMRSl* I 17/1; *FMRSl* III 15; *FMRSl* IV 13; *FMRSl* V 9; *FMRSl* VI 15.
Tarsatica – principia: Bekić 2009.
Martinj hrib: *FMRSl* I 168/1; *FMRSl* III 96; *FMRSl* IV 100; *FMRSl* V 69. While the coins *FMRSI* I 168/1 1–46 were discovered in archaeological excavations, the other coins were discovered with metal detectors within and around the fortress. / Medtem ko so bili med arheološkimi raziskovanji odkriti le novci *FMRSl* I 168/1 1–46, so bili ostali novci odkriti z detektorjem v in okoli trdnjave.
Lanišče: *FMRSl* I 169; *FMRSl* III 94. Only the coins *FMRSl* I 169 1–6 reliably come from the fortress. / Iz trdnjave zanesljivo izhajajo le novci *FMRSl* I 169 1–6.

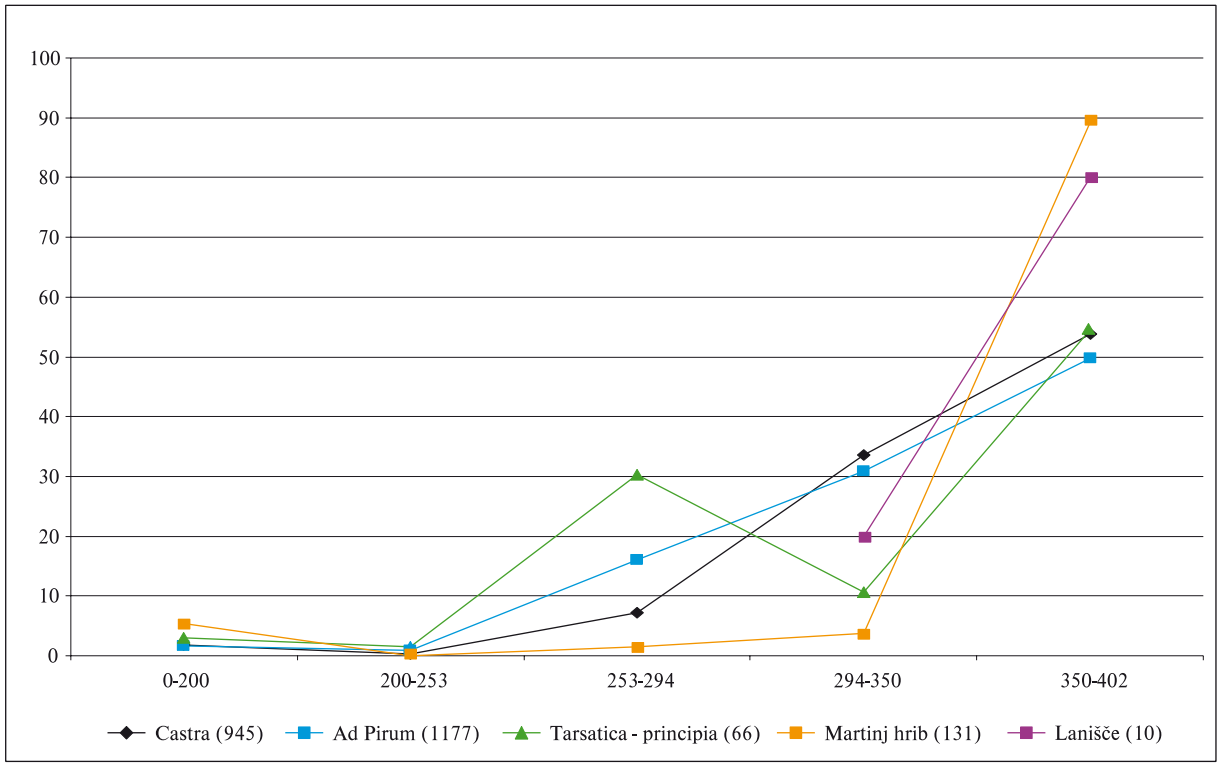

Fig. 1: The percentage share of coins from individual periods.
Sl. 1: Procentualni delež novcev posameznih obdobij.

for the fort of Lanišče, even though only six coins were discovered in archaeological excavations. It seems that the coinage discovered at the principium of Tarsatica reflects two peaks of intensity: in the second half of the 3rd century and the second half of the 4th century, thus differing from the values for the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum.

A detailed overview of the numerical and percentage representation of all identifiable Roman coins according to narrowly delimited minting periods at the forts of Castra, Ad Pirum, Lanišče, Martinj hrib, and the principium in Tarsatica is noted in *table 2* and graph (*fig. 2*).

The comparison of the percentage representation of coins from individual periods (*tab. 3; fig. 3*) practically does not change even with the almost five time increase in the number of documented coins from the interior of the Ad Pirum fort. This indicates that even the relatively small number of coins from a somewhat limited site reflects

Tab. 2: The numerical and percentage representation of coins at individual sites according to minting periods (only identifiable coins are included).
Tab. 2: Številčna in procentualna zastopanost novcev na posameznih najdiščih po kovnih obdobjih (upoštevani so le določljivi novci).

	Ad Pirum		**Tarsatica** (principia)		**Castra**		**Martinj hrib**		**Lanišče**	
	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%
1st c. BC / 1. st. pr. Kr.					2	0.25				
First half of 1st c. AD / 1. pol. 1. st.	1	0.1			1	0.12	4	4.49		
Sec. half of 1st c. AD / 2. pol. 1. st.	6	0.6	1	1.61	1	0.12				
First half of 2nd c. AD / 1. pol. 2. st.	4	0.4	1	1.61	5	0.64	1	1.12		
Sec. half of 2nd c. AD / 2. pol. 2. st.	5	0.5			8	1.03	2	2.24		
First half of 3rd c. AD / 1. pol. 3. st.	10	1.02	1	1.61	3	0.38				
253-260	9	0.9			0	0				
260-268	65	6.63	5	8.06	27	3.48	2	2.24		
268-270	34	3.47	2	3.22	10	1.28				
270-276	44	4.5	8	12.9	18	2.32				
276-282	10	1.02			8	1.03				
282-285	1	0.1	1	1.61	2	0.25				
285-294	4	0.4	1	1.61	3	0.38				
294-305	4	0.4	1	1.61	8	1.03				
305-315	10	1.02	1	1.61	23	2.96	2	2.24		
315-324	63	6.43			15	1.93	1	1.12	1	10
324-330	17	1.73			12	1.54				
330-337	101	10.32	1	1.61	81	10.43	1	1.12		
337-341	63	6.4	1	1.61	52	6.7	1	1.12		
341-348	80	8.2	3	4.83	89	11.46			1	10
348-350	16	1.63			15	1.93				
350-355	59	6.02			25	3.22				
351-361	106	10.82	10	16.12	69	8.89	6	6.74	3	30
361-364	2	0.2	1	1.61	0	0				
364-378	152	15.5	21	33.87	143	18.42	39	43.8	3	30
378-383	23	2.33	1	1.61	28	3.6	23	25.84		
383-388	22	2.25			31	3.99	6	6.74	2	20
388-402(8)	68	6.94	2	3.22	93	11.98	1	1.12		
408-423					4	0.51				
Σ	979		62		776		89		10	

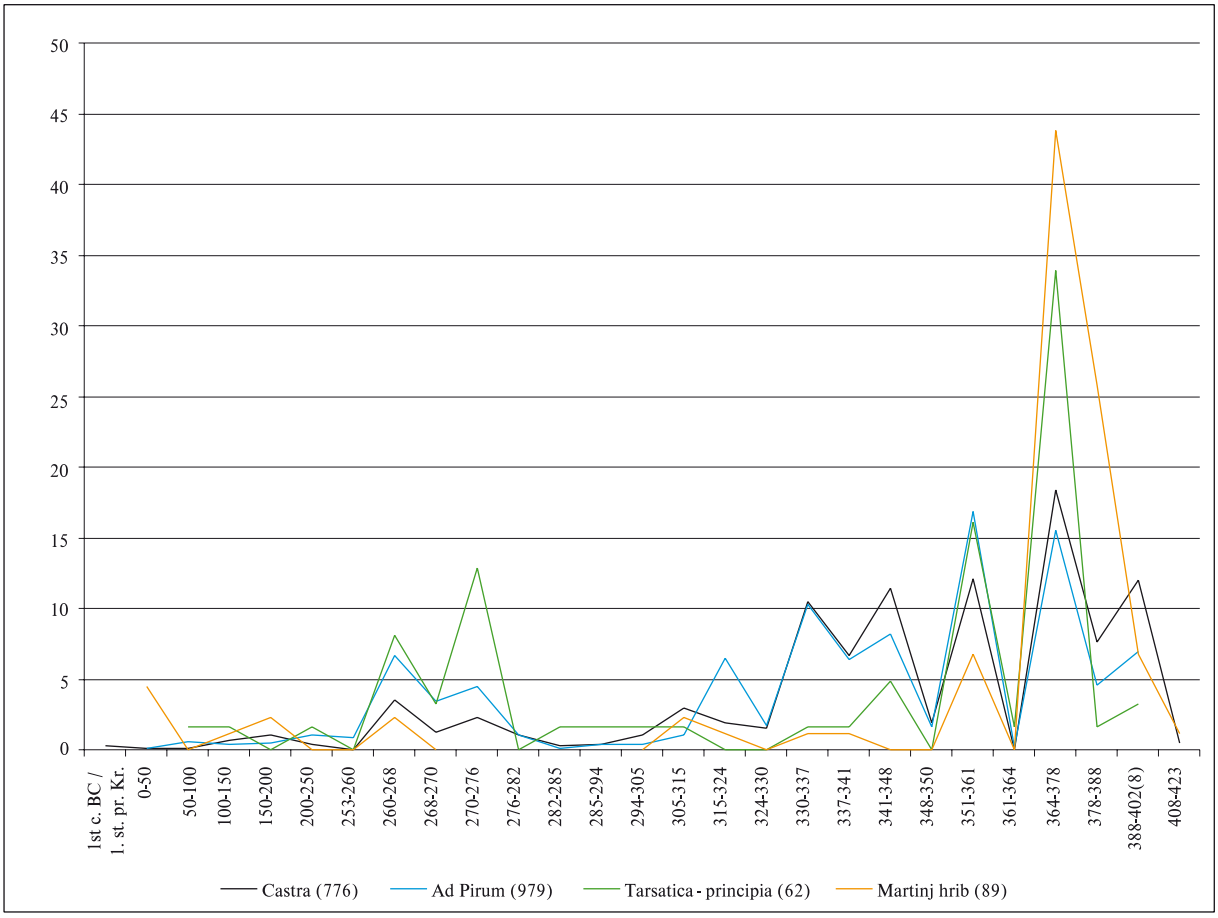

Fig. 2: The percentage share of coins from individual minting periods.
Sl. 2: Procentualni delež novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij.

Tab. 3: The numerical and percentage representation of coins from the interior of the fortress of Ad Pirum.
Tab. 3: Številčna in procentualna zastopanost novcev iz notranjosti trdnjave *Ad Pirum*.

	Ad Pirum excav. / izkop. 1971-73 (214)		**Ad Pirum** excav. / izkop. 1975-79 (396)		**Ad Pirum** metal detector / detektor (376)	
	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%
First half of 1st c. / 1. pol. 1. st.			1	0.25		
Sec. half of 1st c. / 2. pol. 1. st.	2	0.93	2	0.5	2	0.53
First half of 2nd c. / 1. pol. 2. st.	2	0.93	1	0.25	3	0.79
Sec. half of 2nd c. / 2. pol. 2. st.			4	1.01	1	0.26
First half of 3rd c. /1. pol. 3. st.	5	2.33	5	1.26	0	0
253-260	1	0.46	5	1.26	3	0.79
260-268	14	6.54	20	5.05	31	8.24
268-270	6	2.8	15	3.78	13	3.45
270-276	15	7	12	3.03	17	4.52
276-282			6	1.51	4	1.06
282-285			1	0.25	0	0
285-294	1	0.46	1	0.25	2	0.53

294-305			2	0.5	2	0.53
305-315	6	2.8	4	1.01	5	1.33
315-324	17	7.94	21	5.3	25	6.65
324-330	5	2.33	8	2.02	4	1.06
330-337	21	9.81	37	9.34	43	11.43
337-341	14	6.54	34	8.58	15	3.99
341-348	18	8.41	26	6.56	36	9.57
348-350	6	2.8	3	0.75	7	1.86
350-355	5	2.33	36	9.09	18	4.78
351-361	23	10.74	37	9.34	46	12.23
361-364			2	0.5	0	0
364-378	22	10.28	63	15.9	67	17.81
378-383	3	1.4	12	3.03	8	2.12
383-388	18	8.41	0	0	4	1.06
388-403	10	4.67	38	9.59	20	5.32
Σ	214		396		376	

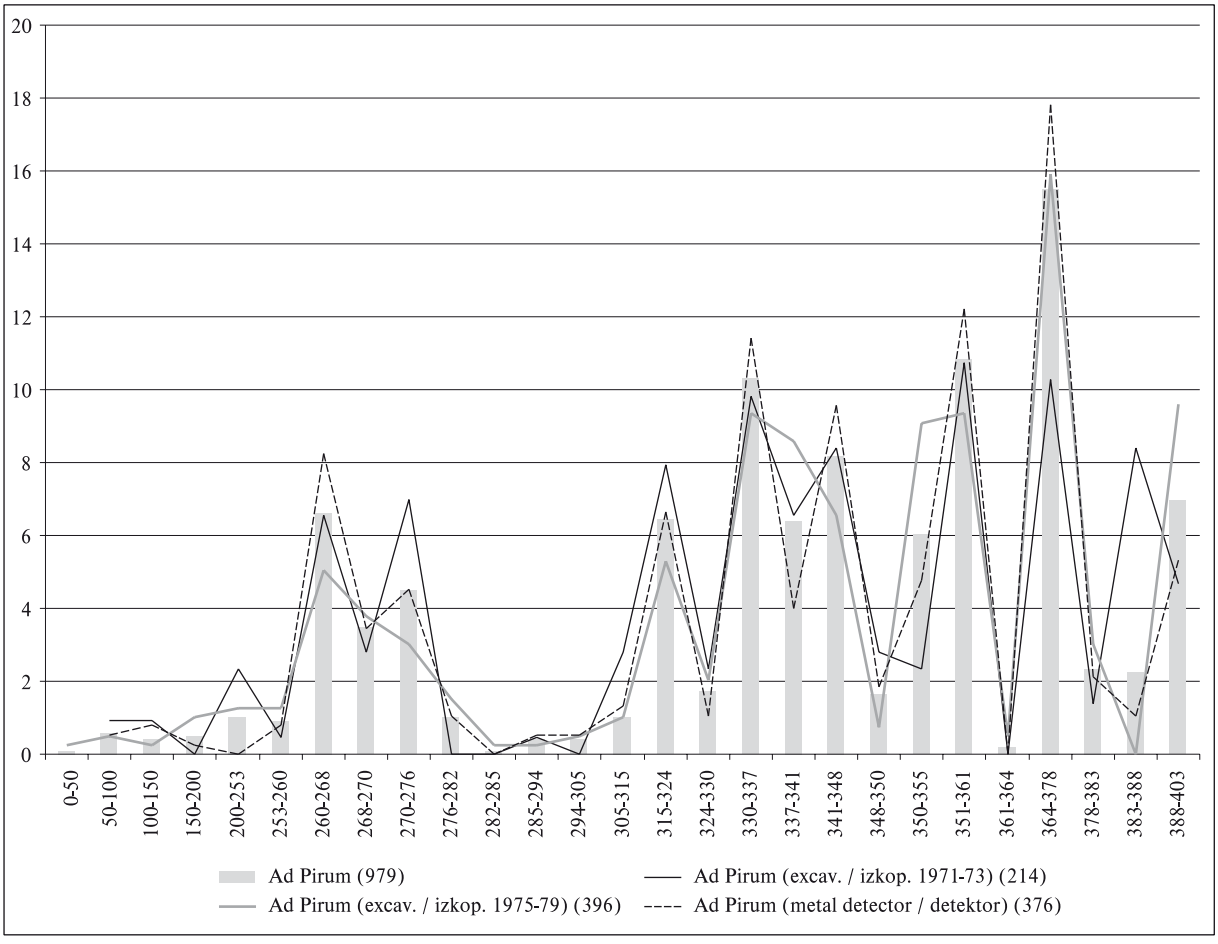

Fig. 3: Ad Pirum – the percentage representation of coins of individual periods within the three groups of coins.
Sl. 3: Ad Pirum – procentualna zastopanost novcev posameznih obdobij v okviru treh skupin novcev.

Tab. 4: The numerical and percentage representation of coins from the second half of the 3rd century. The third column shows the share of coins taking into account the duration of each individual minting period.
Tab. 4: Številčna in procentualna zastopanost novcev druge polovice 3. stoletja. V tretjem stolpcu je navedena procentualna zastopanost novcev, ki upošteva dolžino trajanja obdobja kovanja.

	Castra			**Ad Pirum**			**Ad Pirum** hoard / zaklad			**Tarsatica**		
	No. / št.	%	% year % leto	No. / št.	%	% year % leto	No. / št.	%	% year % leto	No. / št.	%	% year % leto
253-260	0			9	5.38	0.76	1	10	1.42			
260-268	27	39.7	4.96	65	38.9	4.86	6	60	7.5	5	29.41	3.67
268-270	10	14.7	7.35	34	20.35	10.17	3	30	15	2	11.76	5.88
270-276	18	26.47	4.41	44	26.34	4.39				8	47.05	7.84
276-282	8	11.76	1.96	10	5.98	0.99				0	0	0
282-285	2	2.94	0.98	1	0.6	0.2				1	5.88	1.96
285-294	3	4.41	0.49	4	2.4	0.26				1	5.88	0.65
Σ	68			167			10			17		

the pattern of the previous monetary circulation relatively accurately,[21] while deviations in the coin share from certain periods would result from the microlocations where the coins were dug up or discovered.[22]

For the fort of Ad Pirum, the full data about all coins found at the fort are compared to the three groups of coins discovered at the fortress. Under consideration are the coins discovered during archaeological excavations in 1971 and 1973 south of the road through the fort,[23] coins from archaeological excavations between 1975 and 1979 that covered the area of the lower part of the fort north of the road, and coins that were discovered in the 1980s with the aid of metal detectors mostly in the area of the northern lower part of the fort, which had previously been excavated.

The comparison of the percentage representation of coins from individual minting periods on graph (*fig. 3*), which includes all documented coins from the fort and coins of the above mentioned three groups, mainly reveals similar representation of the coinage in circulation with some minor deviations, especially in the minting periods of 270–276, 350–355, 364–378, and 383–388.

If we compare only the data about the coins discovered during archaeological excavations of the southern part of the fort (between 1971 and 1973) and coins dug up between 1975 and 1979 in the northern lower part of the fort, we see that the deviations are the consequence of microlocations within the fort from which the coins originate.[24] In the southern part of the fort more coins from the period 270–276 were discovered, less coins from the periods 350–355 and 364–378, more coins from the period 383–388, and again less coins from the period 388–403.

COINS FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 3rd CENTURY

Since *figure 2* shows the first significant presence of coins no earlier than after the middle of the 3rd century, a detailed analysis of coins from this period is given here.

The representation of coins from the second half of the 3rd century according to individual minting periods is shown in *table 4* and graph (*fig. 4*) derived from it.

As *figure 4* presents the percentage share of coins of an individual ruler, a more objective picture of the intensity of coin influx into circulation in individual minting periods is given by graph (*fig. 5*), which also includes the length of

[21] A similar conclusion is made for coins from the Norican town of Ovilavis: Vondrovec 2003, 27. For the methodology of coin finds interpretation with all the newest relevant bibliography: Krmnicek 2010, 25–34.

[22] 50% of all documented coin finds (490 coins) from the fortress Ad Pirum were discovered in the field within the fort after the archaeological excavations were completed.

[23] Mackensen 1981.

[24] See similar comparisons in Vondrovec 2005.

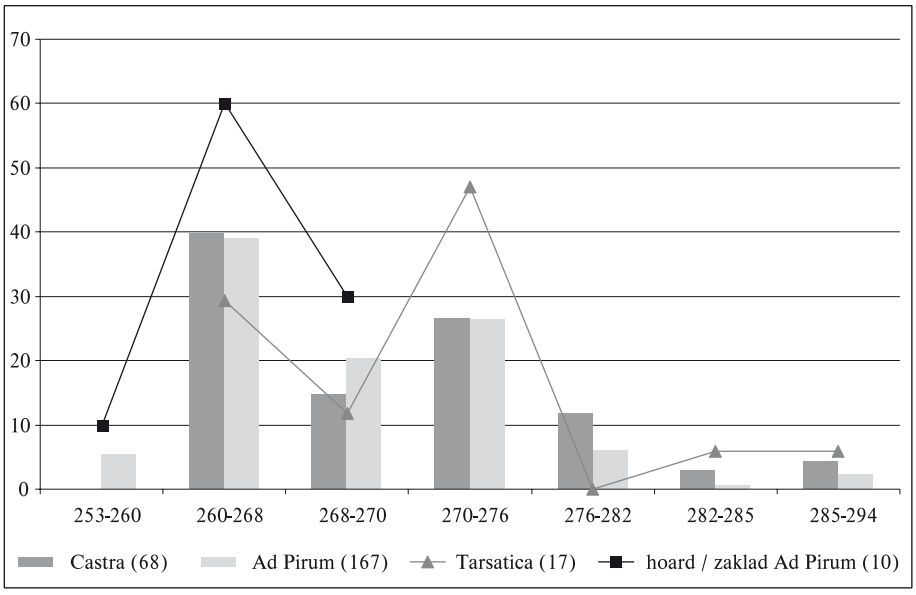

Fig. 4: The percentage share of coins of individual minting periods in the second half of the 3rd century.
Sl. 4: Procentualni delež novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij druge polovice 3. stoletja.

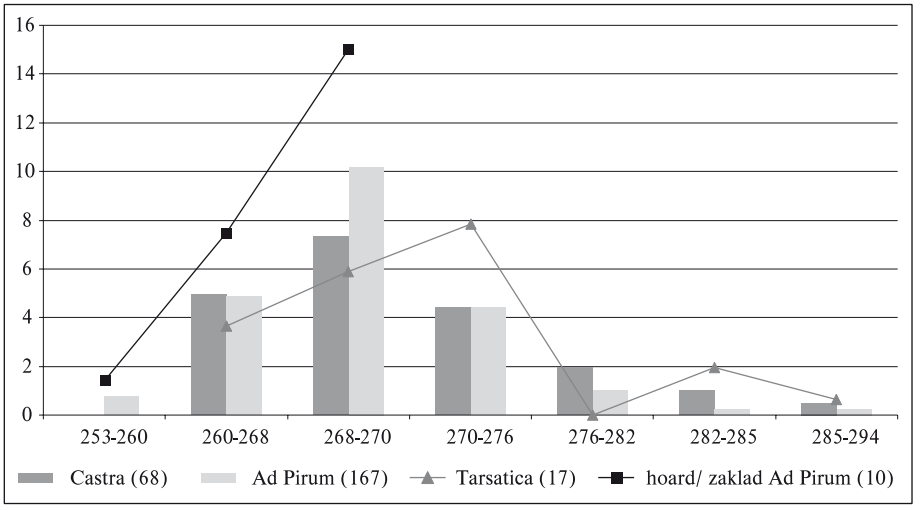

Fig. 5: The annual percentage representation of coins from the second half of the 3rd century.
Sl. 5: Letna procentualna zastopanost novcev druge polovice 3. stoletja.

time during which the coinage of an individual ruler was minted.[25]

Based solely on the comparison of the percentage share of coins at individual sites, it can be established that a regular influx of coinage into circulation began with coins from the time of the sole reign of Gallienus (260–268). These also represent the largest share of all coins from the second half of the 3rd century (*fig. 4*). If we consider the length of individual minting periods the biggest share goes to coins of Claudius II (*fig. 5*), which is in itself not unusual,[26] but their share is nevertheless lower than in the near-by towns of Emona and Poetovio.[27] After this time, the monetary circulation intensity

[25] To explain in more detail: 34 coins from a two-year minting period represent a much greater intensity of coin finds than 69 coins from an eight-year period; Kos 1997, 100 ff.

[26] Cf. data for a few towns in Pannonia: Kos 1986, 100, tab. 17; Vondrovec 2007, 149–150.

[27] Kos 1986, 94, tab. 13. For Flavia Solva, see Schachinger 2006, 117, 118.

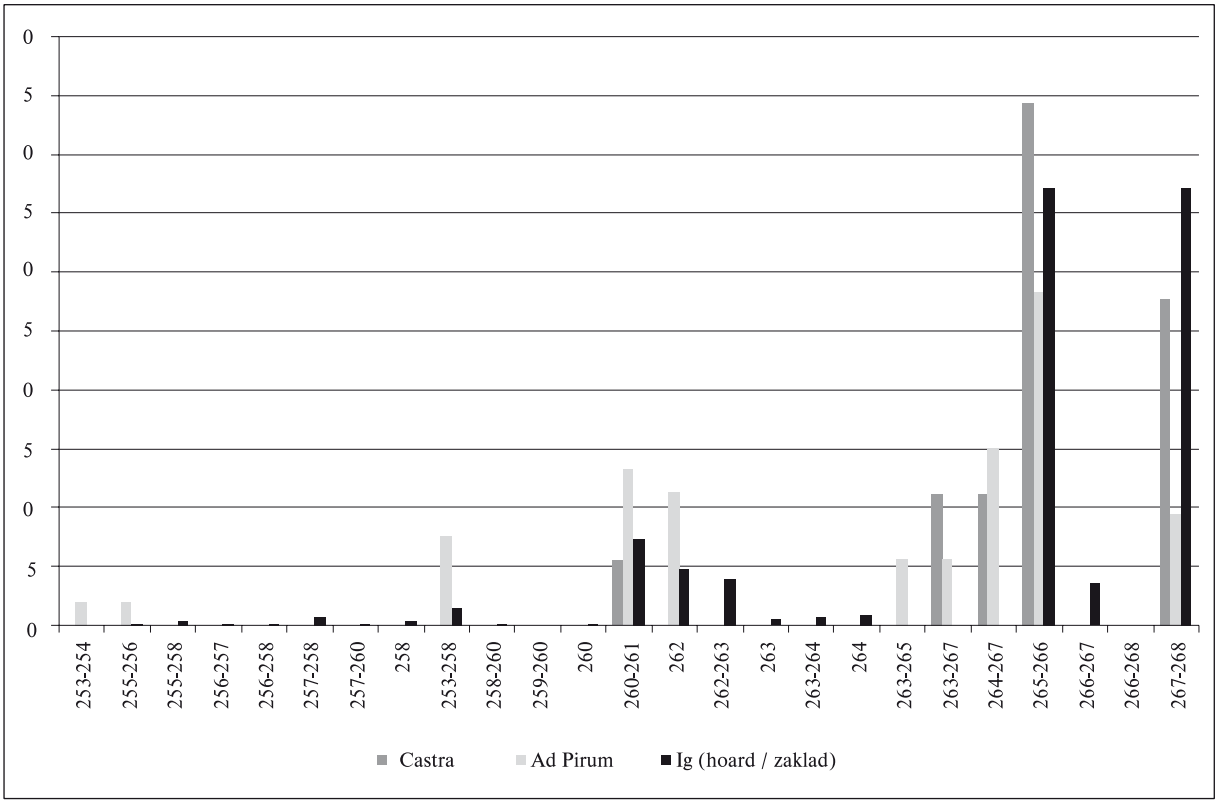

Fig. 6: The percentage share of coins from the joint and sole rule of Gallienus according to emissions.
Sl. 6: Procentualni delež novcev skupne in samostojne Galijenove vlade po emisijah.

does not differ significantly from other sites until Diocletian's monetary reform in 294. Tarsatica stands out with its prevalence of coins from the period 270–276, yet the low total number of coins from the second half of the 3rd century discovered at the principium needs to be considered. With all necessary caution it can be concluded that activities at the principium Tarsatica began somewhat later than at the forts of Castra and Ad Pirum.

We still need to ask when the coins from the period of the sole reign of Gallienus actually arrived at the forts of Castra and Ad Pirum. Many coins among them are very well preserved and their presence cannot be interpreted as if they had been brought to both forts only at the end of the 3rd or in the early 4th century.[28]

In regards to this question, the representation of Gallienus' coins from the period of his joint (253–260) and sole rule (260–268) according to individual emissions also exhibits an interesting picture (*fig. 6*).[29] For comparison, data about the representation of Gallienus' coins of individual emissions in the hoard from Ig is also given here (*tab. 5*), which offers a numerically strong (and thus objective) comparison.[30]

Even though 28% (Castra) or 24% (Ad Pirum) of Gallienus' coins cannot be classified in detail due to poor preservation, the overall picture is still illustrative. Considering the relatively small number of coins of Gallienus found at the Castra fort, at both sites early emissions of the sole rule of Gallienus (260–268) are represented, while at the fort of Ad Pirum the coins from the period of the joint rule of the emperors Valerianus and Gallienus (253–260) are also poorly represented. The apparent greater representation of the coins from later emissions (264–268) is simply a reflection of the monetary policy of the state,[31] which can also be discerned from the analysis of Gallienus' coins from the Ig hoard, which shows a similar share of coins from early and late emissions of the sole reign of Gallienus (*fig. 7*).[32]

[28] Regarding this issue, see Kos 2011, 229–231.
[29] Göbl 2000.
[30] Kos 1991.
[31] Cf. also Schachinger 2006, 117.
[32] See also the representation of individual emissions of coins from the sole rule of Gallienus in the Normanby and Cunetio hoards; Bland, Burnett 1988, 120, tab. 4.

Tab. 5: The numerical and percentage representation of individual emissions of Gallienus' coinage at the forts of Castra and Ad Pirum and in the hoard from Ig (only precisely identifiable coins of Gallienus are considered).
Tab. 5: Številčna in procentualna zastopanost Galijenovih novcev posameznih emisij v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* ter v zakladni najdbi Ig (upoštevani so le podrobno določljivi novci Galijena).

	Castra		**Ad Pirum**		**Ig** hoard / zaklad	
Issue / emisija	No. / št.	%	No. / št	%	No. / št.	%
253-254			1	1.9	1	0.06
255-256			1	1.9	2	0.1
255-258					8	0.42
256-257					3	0.15
256-258					3	0.15
257-258					13	0.68
257-260					2	0.1
258					6	0.31
253-258			4	7.54	28	1.48
258-260					3	0.15
259-260					1	0.06
260					3	0.15
260-261	1	5.5	7	13.2	139	7.35
262			6	11.3	90	4.76
262-263					74	3.9
263					10	0.53
263-264					15	0.79
264					16	0.84
263-265			3	5.6		
263-267	2	11.1	3	5.6		
264-267	2	11.2	8	15.1		
265-266	8	44.4	15	28.3	702	37.14
266-267					68	3.59
266-268					1	0.06
267-268	5	27.7	5	9.4	702	37.14
Σ	18		53		1890	

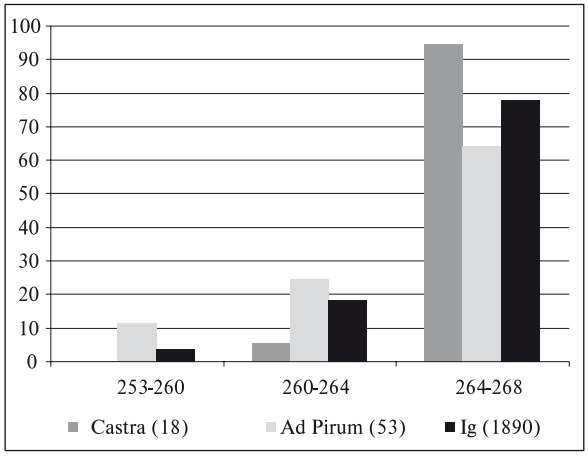

Fig. 7: The percentage share of Gallienus' coinage from the period of joint rule and the early and later emissions of his sole rule.
Sl. 7: Procentualni delež Galijenovih novcev iz časa skupne vlade ter zgodnjih in poznejših emisij samostojne vlade.

Tab. 6: The representation of coins of individual minting periods from the first half of the 4th century.
Tab. 6: Zastopanost novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij prve polovice 4. stoletja.

	Castra			**Ad Pirum**			**Emona** – intra muros			**Poetovio**		
	No. / št.	%	% year % leto	No. / št.	%	% year % leto	No. / št.	%	% year % leto	No. / št.	%	% year % leto
294-305	8	2.5	0.22	4	0.96	0.09	45	4.17	0.46	91	5.93	0.66
305-315	23	7.18	0.7	10	2.42	0.24	59	5.47	0.54	148	9.64	0.96
315-324	15	4.68	0.52	63	15.25	1.69	86	7.97	0.88	219	14.27	1.58
324-330	12	3.75	0.62	17	4.11	0.68	41	3.8	0.54	109	7.1	1.18
330-337	81	25.31	3.61	101	24.45	3.49	180	16.7	2.38	269	17.53	2.5
337-341	52	16.25	4.06	63	15.25	3.81	115	10.66	2.66	167	10.88	2.72
341-348	89	27.81	3.97	80	19.37	2.76	240	22.26	3.18	215	14.01	2
348-350	15	4.68	2.34	16	3.87	1.93	100	9.27	4.6	89	5.8	2.9
350-355	25	7.81	1.56	59	14.28	2.85	212	19.66	3.93	227	14.79	2.96
Σ	320			413			1078			1534		

Emona – intra muros: the data are taken from / podatki so povzeti po *FMRSl* I 155/1–40; *FMRSl* III 83/1–21; *FMRSl* IV 85/1–13; *FMRSl* V 62/1–17; *FMRSl* VI 79/1–19.
Poetovio: for more detailed data, see / za podrobne podatke glej *FMRSl* II 434/1–25; *FMRSl* III 187–205; *FMRSl* IV 190–199; *FMRSl* V 159–168; *FMRSl* VI 171–173.

Since the *terminus post quem* for the burial of the Ig hoard is the year 273,[33] it can be established on the basis of the above graphs that Gallienus' coins from both forts were also to a great extent already in circulation there during the mid 270s. At least for the fort of Ad Pirum, a small hoard (purse contents?) of antoniniani, which was found in trench 24 in a pile on the floor surface of a structure destroyed by fire, would be indicative in establishing the period of circulation for the coinage of Gallienus.[34] This small find is very compact as it contains only well preserved antoniniani of Gallienus and Claudius II, minted during the period 257–270, which remained in the burnt structure, before coins of Aurelian, otherwise well represented at the fortress, appeared in later layers.

Based on the analysis of sporadic coin finds, activities in the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum can be placed at least in the middle of the second half of the 3rd century. The small amount of coins from the period 276–294 cannot be interpreted as an interruption in the influx of coinage into circulation after 276,[35] since this – as shown by comparable data from the towns of Emona and Poetovio – is a general phenomenon merely reflecting the activities of the state mints in given periods.[36]

COINS FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE 4th CENTURY

The following *table 6* shows the representation of coins minted after Diocletian's monetary reform in 294. Sufficient amounts of coins for an objective analysis have been documented only for the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum. For comparison, data about coins from the towns of Emona and Poetovio are also given.

From the period of the first Tetrarchy (294–305), 4 nummi are documented at the fort Ad Pirum, while 1 nummus and 7 bronze coins of lesser value (radiati) were found at Castra. The share of coins minted in this period is considerable lower than in the near-by towns of Emona or Poetovio (*fig. 8*). However, in the following minting period (305–315), the share of coins from both fortresses was equal to that documented in Emona. After this minting period the representation of coins from the fortress of Ad Pirum increased and exceeded even the share of coins from the same period in the town of Emona. At both fortresses the intensity of coin presence from the period 330–341 was even greater and strongly exceeds comparable values from Emona and Poetovio. This fact especially stands out on graph (*fig. 9*), which considers the length of a given minting period. This means that an above-average amount of coinage minted during the mentioned periods entered circulation at both fortresses. Due to the

[33] Kos 1991.
[34] *FMRSl* I 17/2.
[35] Thus Mackensen 1981, 146.
[36] See also Vondrovec 2005, 189 n. 30.

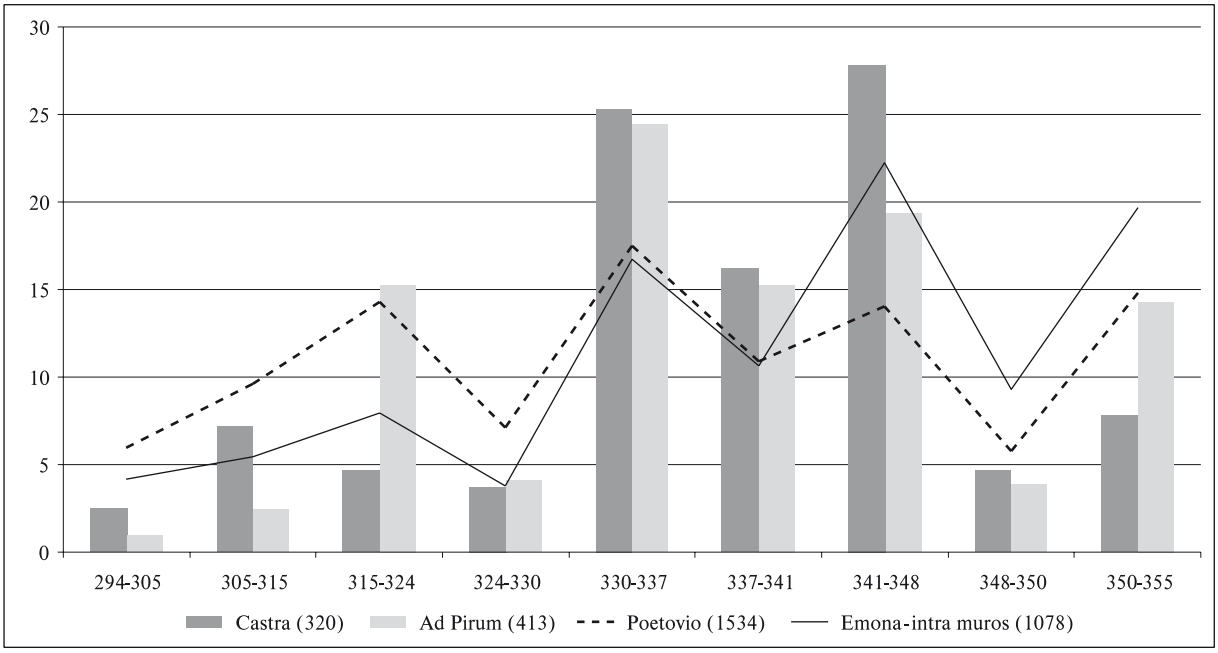

Fig. 8: The percentage representation of coins from the first half of the 4th century according to individual minting periods.
Sl. 8: Procentualna zastopanost novcev prve polovice 4. stoletja po posameznih obdobjih kovanja.

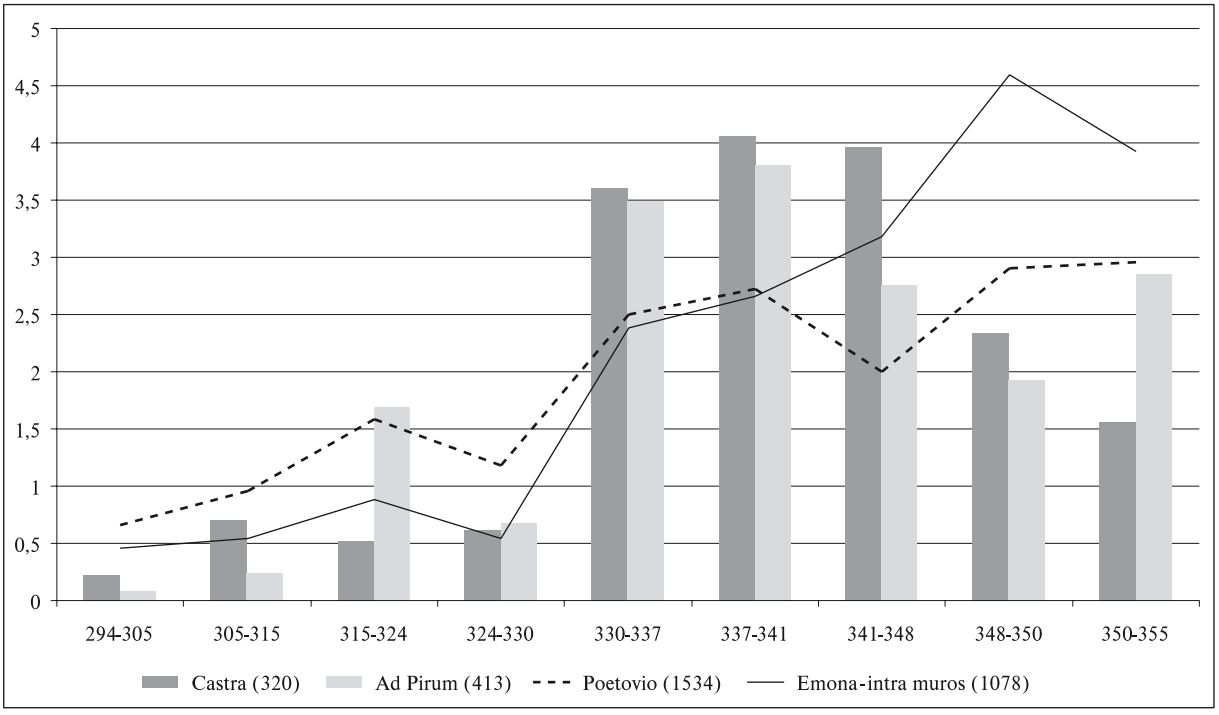

Fig. 9: The percentage representation of coins from the period 294–355 in regards to the length of their minting.
Sl. 9: Procentualna zastopanost novcev obdobja 294–355, upoštevaje dolžino trajanja njihovega kovanja.

small share of coins from the period 294–330 at the fort of Castra (nonetheless similar to the share of coins from this period in Emona), a intensive influx of coinage into circulation could be concluded no earlier than during the 340s, while at the fort of Ad Pirum coins are also present from the period after 315 (315–320 = 24 coins; 320–324 = 39 coins).

Tab. 7: The coin share of individual minting periods in the period between 341 and 361.
Tab. 7: Delež novcev posameznih obdobij kovanja v času med 341 in 361.

	Castra		**Ad Pirum**		**Emona** – intra muros		**Poetovio**	
	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%
341-348	89	54.9	80	43	240	31.37	215	28.9
348-350	15	9.25	16	8.6	100	13.07	89	11.9
350-354	25	15.43	59	31.7	212	27.7	227	30.55
355-361	33	20.37	31	16.66	213	27.8	212	28.53
Σ	162		186		765		743	

Tab. 8: The numerical and percentage share of coins of Magnentius and Decentius among coin finds from the period 350–355.
Tab. 8: Številčni in procentualni delež novcev Magnencija in Decencija med novčnimi najdbami obdobja 350–355.

	Castra	**Ad Pirum**	**Emona** – intra muros	**Poetovio**
350-355	25	59	232	227
Magnentius + Decentius	12 (48 %)	25 (42 %)	37 (15,94 %)	5 (2,2 %)

COINS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 4th CENTURY

A detailed inspection of the coin representation from the two decades between 341 and 361 is particularly interesting (*tab. 7*).[37] The share or intensity of coinage presence at both forts in this period is similar, while the increased presence of coins from the period 350–354 at the fort of Ad Pirum significantly differs in comparison to the fort of Castra. Yet this does not differ from the share of coins from this minting period in the towns of Emona and Poetovio (*fig. 10*).

Important information is offered by the coin finds from the period 350–355, when the authority and power over the western part of the Empire was gained by the usurper Magnentius.[38] At both forts, coins minted in the name of Magnentius and his brother Decentius are represented among all coins of this period with a significant 48% (Castra) and 42% (Ad Pirum) (*tab. 8*). The comparison with the share of Magnentius' coins in Emona, where the presence of Magnentius' army is documented,[39] reveals a significantly smaller representation that reaches just 16%, while in Poetovio this share decreases even more drastically. The exceptionally high share of coins minted in the name of Magnentius and his brother Decentius specifically at these two forts is an expressive indicator of the increased presence of his army.[40]

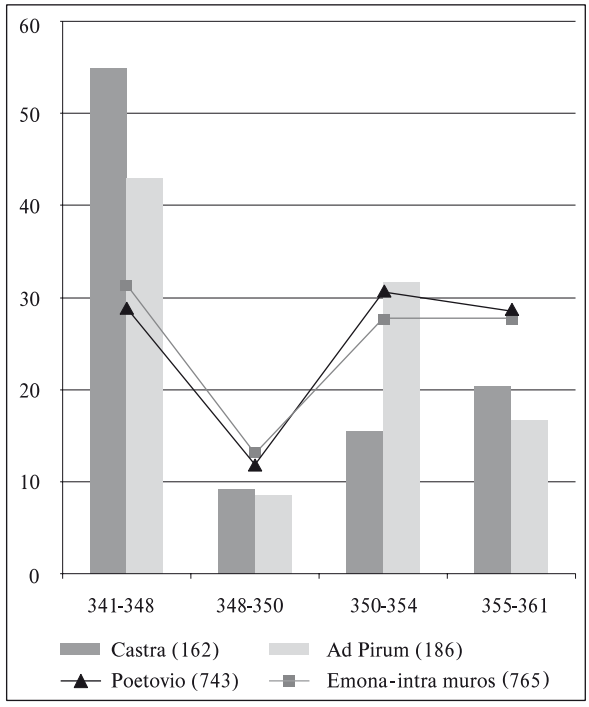

Fig. 10: The percentage share of coins of individual minting periods between 341 and 361.
Sl. 10: Procentualni delež novcev posameznih obdobij kovanja v času med 341 in 361.

[37] The table does not include undeterminable, poorly preserved coins of the type *Fel Temp Reparatio*, which were minted between 351 and 361. Their share among all coins of this period at the fort of Castra amounts to almost 9% and at the fort of Ad Pirum 14%.

[38] Šašel 1971.

[39] Jeločnik 1967. See also Miškec 2011.

[40] See also Mackensen 1981, 150.

Tab. 9: The representation of coins from individual minting periods of the second half of the 4th century.
Tab. 9: Zastopanost novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij druge polovice 4. stoletja.

	Castra		**Ad Pirum**		**Martinj hrib**		**Emona** – intra muros	
	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%	No. / št.	%
364-367	15	8.33	18	10.84	8	16.66	89	4.7
367-375	22	12.22	34	20.48	6	12.5	248	13.12
375-378	2	1.11	1	0.60	4	8.3	14	0.74
378-383	16	8.88	27	16.26	23	47.91	231	12.22
383-388	28	15.55	19	11.44	6	12.5	205	10.8
388-408	93	51.66	67	40.36	1	2.08	860	45.5
408-423	4	2.22					243	12.85
Σ	180		166		48		1890	

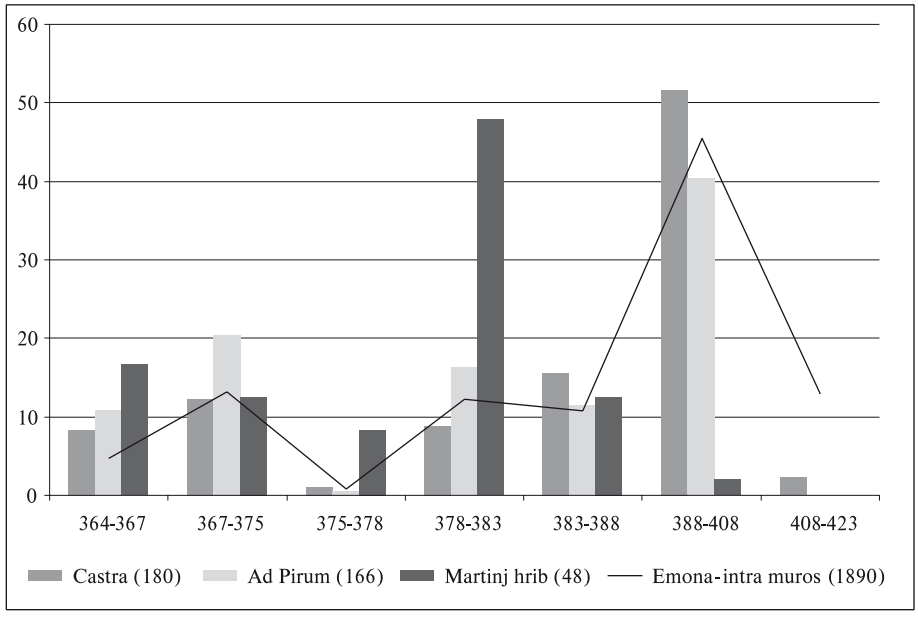

Fig. 11: The percentage share of coins from individual minting periods in the period between 364 and 423.
Sl. 11: Procentualni delež novcev posameznih obdobij kovanja v času med 364 in 423.

The representation of coins from individual minting periods in the period between 364 and 423 is shown by *table 9* and graphs (*figs. 11, 12*).

Similar trends in the intensity of monetary circulation can be noted both at the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum and in Emona, with the exception of a more intensive presence of coinage minted during the period 364–367 at both fortresses. The representation of money in circulation at the fort of Martinj hrib differs from the others in a distinctly increased presence of coins from the period 375–383, but with a later equalization to the monetary circulation at both forts. The question again arises of when coins from individual minting periods came into circulation at the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum, and the fort Martinj hrib. The analysis of the coin hoard finds of the 4th century in the southeastern Alps clearly indicates that the coins came into use relatively soon at individual sites after their minting, while at the same time the composition of the hoards also shows that they played an important role in everyday use for a relatively short period of time (*tabs. 10, 11; fig. 13*).

The analysis of the hoard finds quite clearly shows that coins from the second half of the 3rd century did not circulate in this area during the Constantine period in everyday monetary circulation. The antoniniani of the second half of the

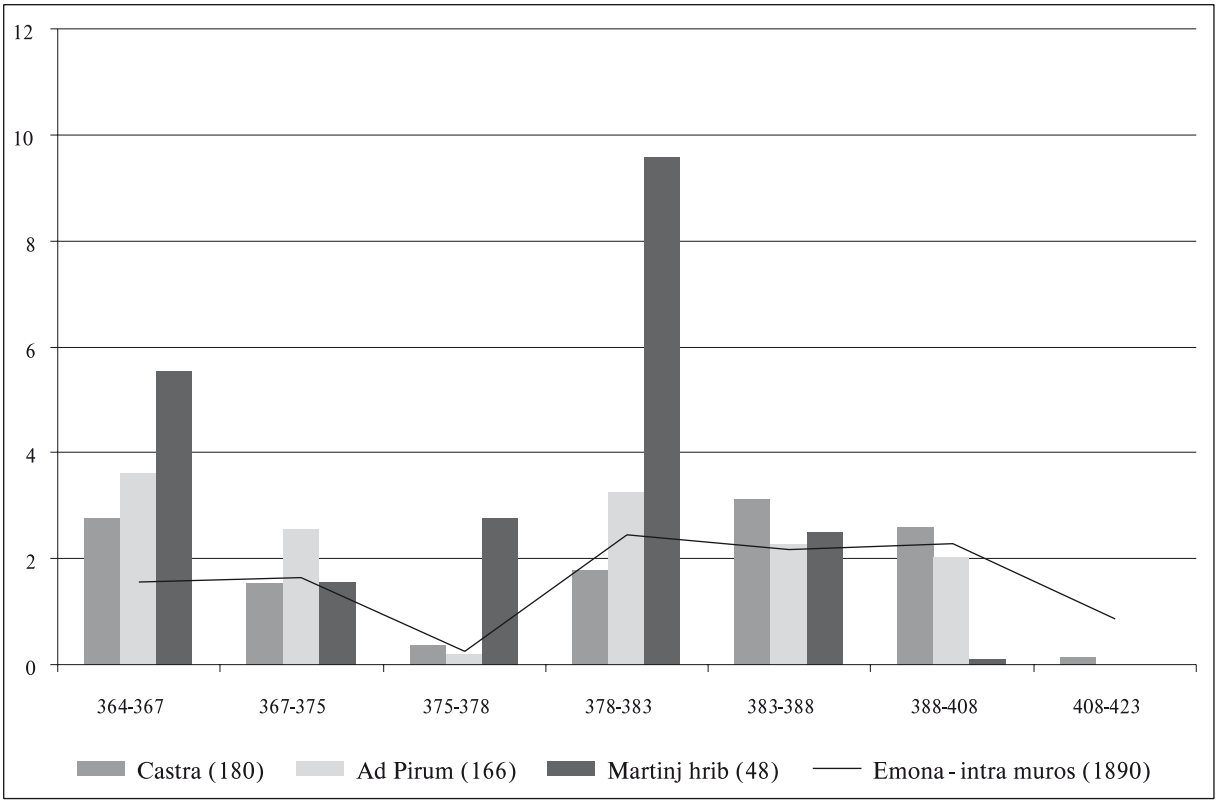

Fig. 12: The annual percentage share of coins from individual minting periods in the period between 364 and 428.
Sl. 12: Procentualni letni delež novcev posameznih obdobij kovanja v času med 364 in 428.

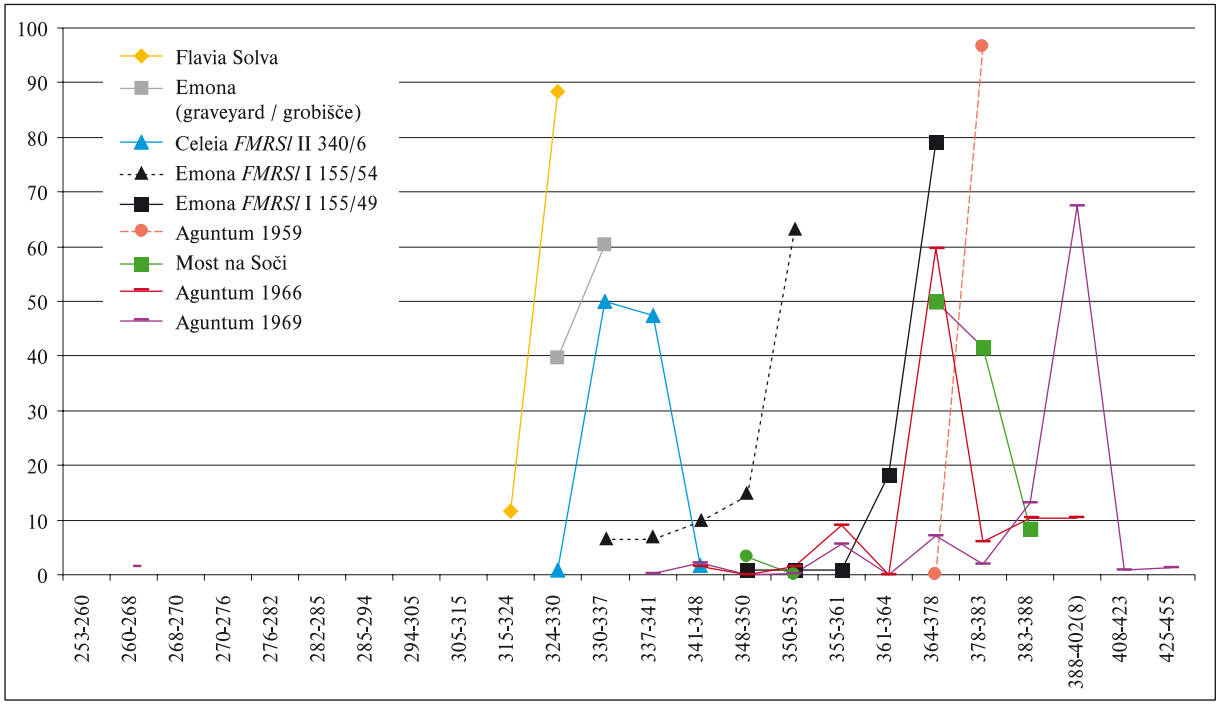

Fig. 13: The percentage representation of coins from individual minting periods in hoard finds of the 4th century.
Sl. 13: Procentualna zastopanost novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij v zakladnih najdbah 4. stoletja.

Tab. 10: The numerical representation of coins from individual minting periods in hoard finds of the 4th century. Only completely documented hoard finds from reliable archaeological contexts are included.
Tab. 10: Številčna zastopanost novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij v zakladnih najdbah 4. stoletja. Upoštevane so samo v celoti dokumentirane zakladne najdbe iz zanesljivih arheoloških kontekstov.

burial / zakop	324/5	after / po 335	347/8	352	after / po 375	after / po 383	after / po 388	406	406 or/ oz. 452*
context / kontekst		purse in grave / denarnica v grobu	room / soba	purse / denarnica	?	room in artisan's quarter / prostor v obrtniški četrti	room / soba	bath / terme	
								cash box / blagajna	saving hoard / varčevalni depo
site / najdišče	**Flavia Solva**	**Emona**[a]	**Celeia**	**Emona**[b]	**Emona**[c]	**Aguntum** 1959	**Most na Soči**	**Aguntum** 1966	**Aguntum** 1969
253-260									
260-268								1	
315-324	74								
324-330	562	19	1						
330-337		29	58	4					
337-341			55	4					1
341-348			2	6				1	9
348-350				9	1	1			
350-355				39	1			1	1
355-361					1			6	24
361-364					22				
364-378					95		6	40	30
378-383						29	5	4	8
383-388							1	7	55
388-408								7	283
408-423									4
425-455									5
Σ	636	48	116	62	120	30	12	67	420

* Karwiese 1974, 68 connects the burial to the destruction of the baths and hence to the deposition of hoard 1966. The hoard would later have supposedly changed owners and a few coins were added to it.
Karwiese 1974, 68 sicer zakop povezuje z uničenjem term in zato z zakopom depoja 1966. Zaklad naj bi pozneje prišel v roke drugega lastnika, ki mu je kasneje dodal še nekaj novcev.

Flavia Solva: Dembski 1975.
Emona[a]: *FMRSl* I 155/57.
Celeia: *FMRSl* II 340/6.
Emona[b]: *FMRSl* I 155/54.
Emona[c]: *FMRSl* I 155/49.
Aguntum 1959: Karwiese 1974, 54–56.
Most na Soči: *FMRSl* I 9/5.
Aguntum 1966: Karwiese 1974, 13–18.
Aguntum 1969: Karwiese 1974, 19–47.

3rd century thus actually reflect the monetary circulation in the second half of the 3rd century. The early reform nummi (after 294) disappeared from monetary circulation as early as in the second decade of the 4th century and are thus a good chronological indicator.[41] The composition of all the hoard finds shows that coins came into everyday circulation at an individual area relatively quickly and – what is most important – relatively quickly also ceased to play a significant role in

[41] The rapid disappearance of coinage from circulation is best illustrated by comparison of the composition of the hoards Čentur C (Jeločnik, Kos 1983) and Čentur A (Jeločnik 1973). In hoard Čentur A, which was buried in the middle of 310, in comparison to find Čentur C, which was buried a year earlier (in the middle of 309), the share of earlier unreduced folles decreased by 55.5%.

Tab. 11: The percentage share of coin representation from individual minting periods in hoard finds of the 4th century.
Tab. 11: Procentualni delež zastopanosti novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij v zakladnih najdbah 4. stoletja.

	Flavia Solva	**Emona**	**Celeia**	**Emona**	**Emona**	**Aguntum** 1959	**Most na Soči**	**Aguntum** 1966	**Aguntum** 1969
253-260									
260-268								1.5	
315-324	11.6								
324-330	88.36	39.58	0.86						
330-337		60.4	50	6.45					
337-341			47.4	6.45					0.23
341-348			1.72	9.67				1.5	2.14
348-350				14.5	0.83	3.33			
350-355				62.9	0.83			1.5	0.23
355-361					0.83			8.95	5.7
361-364					18.33				
364-378					79.16		50	59.7	7.14
378-383						96.6	41.6	5.97	1.9
383-388							8.33	10.4	13.09
388-408								10.4	67.38
408-423									0.95
425-455									1.19

the everyday life of the inhabitants.[42] It is thus possible to conclude completely objectively that individual coin finds are also a relatively good and objective chronological indicator of activity during individual periods at individual sites (town, fortress) and cannot be simply rejected by saying that they were in circulation very long and that their function cannot be connected to the period in which they were minted.

THE LATEST COINS IN CIRCULATION

The latest coins from within the fortress of Ad Pirum, which reflect a regular influx of money into circulation, are bronze coins of the type *Salus Reipublicae*, which represent 7% of all coins from the fortress. Bronze coins of this type at the fortress of Castra represent 12% of all coins found at the site. The detailed structure of coins of this type is presented in *tables 12* and *13*.

Both tables reveal that for 77.6% (Ad Pirum) and 70.6% (Castra) of coins of this type it is not possible to identify in which mint they were minted. At the fortress of Ad Pirum 21% of coins were minted in both Italian mints, Roma and Aquileia, while at the fortress of Castra 28% were minted in the mint closest to the site, Aquileia.[43] 59% (Ad Pirum) and 45% (Castra) of coins of this type cannot be assigned to an individual ruler, 77.6% (Ad Pirum) and 71% (Castra) of all coins of this type cannot be assigned a precise location of minting. Thus we are dealing with a typical structure of coinage in circulation in this region. Coins of this type were first minted in 389 in both Italian mints.[44] They ceased to be minted in the mint of Aquileia in 402, and in the mint of Roma a year later (403).[45]

In the fortress of Ad Pirum, 9% of coins from this period were minted in the name of Honorius, meaning that they were minted from January 393, after he became Augustus. While analyzing coins of

[42] For the composition of hoards in the Balkans, see Duncan 1993.

[43] A similar structure to coins of the type *Salus Reipublicae* can also be established at Tonovcov grad, where for 72% of the coins the location of minting cannot be determined and 27% of the coins originate from the mint in Aquileia (Kos 2011, 233).

[44] Kent 1994, 128.

[45] Kent 1994, 322–323.

Tab. 12: The structure of the latest coins at the fortress of Ad Pirum (the type *Salus Reipublicae*).
Tab. 12: Struktura najmlajših novcev v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* (tip *Salus Reipublicae*).

	Valentinianus II	Theodosius I	Arcadius	Honorius	Arcadius or / ali Honorius	Valent. II, Theod. I, Arcadius or / ali Honorius	Σ
Roma	2			1			3 (4.5%)
Aquileia	3		6	2			11 (16.4%)
Cyzicus		1					1 (1.5%)
undetermin-able mint / nedoločljiva kovnica		3	5	3	1	40	52 (77.6%)
Σ	5 (7.5%)	4 (6%)	11 (16.4%)	6 (9%)	1 (1.5%)	40 (59%)	67

Tab. 13: The structure of coins of the type Salus Reipublicae in the fortress of Castra.
Tab. 13: Struktura novcev tipa *Salus Reipublicae* v trdnjavi *Castra*.

	Valentinianus II	Theodosius I	Arcadius	Honorius	Arcadius or / ali Honorius	Valent. II, Theod. I, Arcadius or/ ali Honorius	Σ
Aquileia	5	3	16			2	26 (28.3)
Alexandria			1				1 (1.1%)
undetermin-able mint / nedoločljiva kovnica	1	6	12	1	5	40	65 (70.6)
Σ	6 (6.5%)	9 (9.8%)	29 (31.5%)	1 (1.1%)	5 (5.4%)	42 (45.6%)	92

the type *Salus Reipublicae* it should be noted that in 393 the eastern mints stopped minting coins of this type, and the same goes for both Italian mints of Roma and Aquileia after Eugenius occupied Italy in the spring of the same year. Both mints again started minting coins in the name of Honorius after the fall of Eugenius in September 394.[46] The coins of this type conclude the regular influx of money to the fortress of Ad Pirum, where for Honorius' coins from the mints of Roma and Aquileia it cannot be determined whether they were minted before Eugenius' occupation of Italy (briefly in spring 393) or only after his death (from September 394 to 402 for Aquileia or 403 for Roma), the latter seeming more probable.

A solidus of Valentinian III, minted in Ravenna between 430 and 455, and discovered in the area of the fortress, is a completely isolated find that does not prove any continuity of life at Ad Pirum.[47]

In contrast, at the fortress of Castra later bronze coins were also discovered that document the influx of fresh coinage into circulation during the first decades of the 5th century. These consist of a bronze coin of the type *Concordia Auggg* (cross), minted between 404 and 406 in the eastern part of the Empire for Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II,[48] and four coins of Honorius of the type *Gloria Romanorum 11*, minted between 408 and 423.[49] Bronze coins of this type are characteristic for the monetary circulation in the first decades of the 5th century in Friuli, the western part of Slovenia, and in Istria.[50]

At the forts of Martinj hrib and Lanišče, the regular influx of coinage into circulation concludes with coins of Magnus Maximus from 387–388. At both forts these coins were discovered in layers of

[46] Kent 1994, 128.
[47] *FMRSl* I 17/1-353.
[48] *FMRSl* I 13-347.
[49] *FMRSl* I 13-279, 335; *FMRSl* III 12-399, 400.
[50] Kos, 2011, 234; Kent 1994, 136. See also Kos 2000, 110.

Tab. 14: The latest documented coins at the fortresses.
Tab. 14: Najmlajši dokumentirani novci v trdnjavah.

	Lanišče	**Martinj hrib**	**Ad Pirum**	**Castra**	**Tarsatica** (principia)
387-388	Magnus Maximus AE 4, Spes Romanorum, fortress / trdnjava 387-388 (1x)[a]	Magnus Maximus AE 2, Reparatio Reipub, 387-388 (2x),[b] AE 4, Spes Romanorum, fortress / trdnjava 387-388 (2x)[c]			
388-403		Valent. II, Theod., Arcadius or / ali Honorius, AE 4, Salus Reipublicae (1x)[d]	Honorius, AE 4, Salus Reipublicae, 393-403 (6x)[e]		Valent. II, Theod., Arcadius or / ali Honorius, AE 4, Salus Reipublicae (1x)[g]
408-423				Honorius, AE 3, Gloria Romanorum, 408-423 (4x)[f]	

[a] *FMRSl* I 169-5.
[b] *FMRSl* I 168/1-29, 30.
[c] *FMRSl* I 168/1-31; *FMRSl* V 69-4.
[d] *FMRSl* III 96-27. The coin was discovered by a metal detector (the data as to whether it was discovered within or outside the fort is also missing) and is thus not completely credible evidence for establishing the end of coinage influx at the fortress. Only the coins *FMRSl* I 168/1 1–46 were discovered reliably during archaeological excavations within the fort. / Novec je bil odkrit z detektorjem (manjka tudi podatek, ali je bil odkrit znotraj ali zunaj trdnjave), zato ni povsem verodostojen dokument za ugotavljanje prenehanja dotoka denarja v trdnjavo. Med arheološkimi raziskovanji so bili v trdnjavi zanesljivo odkriti le novci *FMRSl* I 168/1 1–46.
[e] *FMRSl* I 17/1-339–341; *FMRSl* IV 13-282; *FMRSl* IV 13-283; *FMRSl* III 15-269.
[f] *FMRSl* III 12-399, 400; *FMRSl* I 13-279; *FMRSl* I 13-335.
[g] Bekić 2009, 65.

destruction. At the fort of Martinj hrib a burnt clump of 100 to 150 bronze AE 3 coins minted after 364 was discovered in a layer of burnt remains along with a coin of Magnus Maximus. On a few coins the reverse type *Gloria Romanorum* or *Securitas Reipublicae* can be discerned.[51]

The following *table 14* shows the latest coins that determine the *terminus post quem* for the interruption in the influx of fresh coinage into circulation at individual forts.

COIN FINDS FROM THE UNDISPUTABLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

If an overview of individual coin finds from individual fortresses enables an insight into the coinage in circulation at an individual fortress and especially its greater or lesser representation in individual minting periods, finds of coins discovered in archaeological contexts are even more important and can be unambiguously connected to the construction or destruction of defence structures (ramparts, defence walls, towers) within the defence system *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Even though small in number, such finds are thus all the more important and their evidence is worth assembling in one place (*tab. 15*). It must be emphasized again that coins with their minting date establish merely a chronological support for the dating of construction or destruction or burning, i.e. the *terminus ante quem* or the *terminus post quem*. The coins of individual rulers could have been in circulation for a longer period of time and they did not necessarily come from the mint into circulation in a certain area immediately after minting.

[51] *FMRSl* I 168/2.

Other data about coins, cited by authors in scientific writings, cannot be verified, or the precise contexts from which the coins originate are not given. The data are simply listed (*tab. 16*) as no conclusions can be made from them.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of individual coin finds has unambiguously indicated the first more noticeable activities at the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum in the middle of the second half of the 3rd century. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to connect these activities to the beginning of the construction of both fortresses solely on this basis. For a more detailed chronological determination of when the walls of the Castra fortress were built, the coin from the last emission of Gallienus, which was discovered in the central wall mass of tower 12 (*tab. 15:* no. 11), is essential. An antoninianus of Claudius II, minted after his death in 270 (*tab. 15:* no. 12), was found at the edge of the mortar layer within the wall and was interpreted by Osmuk as the remains of building activities on the wall. Based on these finds Osmuk placed the construction of the wall in the period around 270 or to the beginning of the 270s.[52] Since Gallienus' coin was minted in the mint in Rome in 267/8 and Claudius' coin was minted only after his death in 270, it seems more objective to place the beginning of the wall construction at the Castra fortress to the middle of the 270s. This also corresponds to the results of the analysis of the individual coin finds from the fortress of Castra.[53] N. Osmuk also cited data about 9 well preserved coins discovered in the levelling layer used to fortify the terrain before building the fortress wall.[54] They range from Septimius Severus[55] to Probus[56] and according to Osmuk would confirm the thesis about the construction of the fortress in the 270s.[57] If her interpretation of the levelling layer is correct, the finds of the above coins would instead indicate later construction of the wall (not before the 280s), since the coin of Probus was minted only in the third emission of the mint of Siscia (in 277). This would also correspond to the hypothesis of the excavators that simultaneously with the southern wall of the Castra fortress or immediately after its completion, buildings I and II were constructed within the wall. The terminus post quem for the buildings' construction are two coins of Aurelianus from the pavement base of the apodyterium within building II or the coin of the emperor Probus from beneath the foundation of building II.[58] The cited data are much more reliable due to precise circumstances of discovery than the report of P. Petru about the excavation of tower 13 at the Castra fortress. In the report he speaks about three coins discovered "by the wall and in the tower" (*tab. 16:* no. 3), which in his opinion would clarify the time in which the fortress walls were built. The latest among the coins he mentions is a nummus of Galerius (305–311), which would thus determine the *terminus post quem* for the wall construction. Unfortunately, Petru does not cite any more detailed circumstances of discovery for these coins.[59]

In the fortress of Ad Pirum there are no coin finds from the second half of the 3rd century from archaeological contexts that could be connected to the construction of the walls. The analysis of individual coin finds indicates an intensive representation of coins in the same period as at the fortress of Castra, although the coin finds show merely increased activities in the settlement at the pass and not that the walls had already been built at that time. The clump of coins found in a room of the building to the north along the road through the fortress simply documents a fire in the building in the 270s.[60] There is no evidence to suggest that the fire was the consequence of some hostile activity. It is necessary to mention two small coin hoards from near Verd near Vrhnika and from Ilirska Bistrica,[61] therefore from the immediate vicinity of the barrier system, which have a similar composition and no longer contain coins of Aurelianus.[62]

A group of coins from the same period was also discovered at the fortification of Gradina above Pasjak (Croatia) and can be connected to the defence system *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* (*tab. 15:* no. 1).

[52] Osmuk 1990, 190.
[53] See above, p. 276.
[54] Osmuk 1997, 122.
[55] *FMRSl* III 12-11.
[56] *FMRSl* III 12-63.
[57] Osmuk 1990, 190.
[58] Osmuk 1997, 127.
[59] Witschel 2002, 350 n. 155, claims that dating the construction of the walls of Castra fortress on the basis of "örtlichen Münzreihen" is "ein reichlich unsicheres Argument".
[60] *FMRSl* I 17/2.
[61] Verd: *FMRSl* I 206/3. Ilirska Bistrica: *FMRSl* I 77/1.
[62] See Kos 1986, 131.

No.	Site	Context	Coin	Significance for chronology	References
1	**Gradina above Pasjak** - fortress	Upper destruction layer in the fortress, "by the foundations of one of the towers".	12 bronze coins discovered in a heap; determinable: Gallienus - sole reign (1x), Claudius II (2x), Quintillus (1x)	*Terminus post quem (tpq)* for the destruction of the fort (according to Starac the fort was demolished in 270, since there is no coinage of Aurelianus).	Starac 2004, 29; Starac 2009, 286.
2	**Zaplana - Strmica**	Along the southern inner wall of tower 52.	Constantius II (351-361) (type Fel Temp Reparatio) – determined by A. Šemrov	*Terminus ante quem* (*taq*) for the construction of the tower.	Urleb 1962-1964, 186 mentions only an illegible bronze coin; Petru 1972, 345, mentions the find of a coin of Valentinianus I or Valens from 373; *FMRSl* I 207-1.
3	**Ad Pirum** – eastern wall along the gate into the fort	On the outer side along the wall in a dark debris layer on mortar, connected to the wall mortar.	Licinius I (312/313)	*Taq* for the wall construction.	Ulbert 1981, 43; *FMRSl* I 17/1-85.
4	**Ad Pirum** – eastern wall	Trench 14 – from building material on the outer side of the wall foundation.	Constantius II, Aq, RIC 208 (352-355)	*Tpq* for the wall reconstruction.	Mackensen 1981, 136 Nr. 140; *FMRSl* I 17/1-207.
5	**Ad Pirum** – SW tower	On the walking surface with traces of fire along the square tower, covered by tower ruins.	Latest coin Magnentius (351-352)	*Tpq* for the demolition of the tower from the first phase.	Svoljšak (manuscript); *FMRSl* V 9-18.
6	**Ad Pirum** – SW tower	Excavation on the slope below the SW tower, traces of fire.	All coins from the period 367-375	*Tpq* for the reconstruction of SW tower.	Svoljšak (manuscript).
7	**Ad Pirum** – eastern gate tower on the road to the southeast below the fort.	In burnt remains within the tower.	Honorius (Salus Reipublicae)	Dates the burning of the tower.	Ulbert 1981, 35; Mackensen 1981, 139 no. 215.
8	**Ad Pirum** – western gate tower on the road to the southwest below the fort.	In burnt remains in the northern corner of the gate tower.	Constantius II, Sis, RIC 101 (337-340)	*Tpq* for the reconstruction of the tower.	*FMRSl* I 17/1-209.[a]
9	**Ad Pirum** – western gate tower on the road to the southwest below the fort.	In the burnt layers along the eastern foundation of the gate tower.	Valentinianus I, Valens, or Gratianus (364-378)	*Taq* for the construction of the tower.	*FMRSl* I 17/1-300.[b]
10	**Castra** – tower 2		Gallienus, Roma, RIC 181 K (267-268)	*Tpq* for the tower construction.	*FMRSl* III 12-17.
11	**Castra** – tower 12	In the wall mass of the tower centre.	Gallienus, Roma, RIC 283 K (267-268)	*Tpq* for the tower construction.	Osmuk 1990, 189; *FMRSl* III 12-24.
12	**Castra** – southern wall at tower 12	At the edge of the mortar layer within the walls.	Divus Claudius II, RIC 261 K (270)	*Tpq* for the wall construction	Osmuk 1990, 189-190; *FMRSl* III 12-45.

←

Tab. 15: The numismatic finds from clearly documented archaeological contexts, which can be unambiguously connected to the fortified system.
Tab. 15: Evidenca numizmatičnih najdb iz jasno dokumentiranih arheoloških kontekstov, ki jih je nedvoumno mogoče povezati z utrdbenimi sistemi. Glej tabelo v slovenskem besedilu.

[a] Petru 1980–1981, 133, writes that 2 coins of Constantius II were found in the tower on the lower floor surface. P. Petru states in his excavation diary that the coins were found "in the lower layer of ruins and soot which continues under the existing wall" (Archives of AONMS, no. 409). The inventory of finds from 1976 states that the coin (find no. 73) was discovered "in the northern corner of the tower, 65 cm from the eastern wall" (Archives of AONMS, no. 410).
[b] See preceeding footnote. The inventory of finds from 1976 states that the coin (find no. 78) was found "in a burnt layer along the eastern foundation, 130 cm from the northern wall, 12 cm from the eastern tower wall, at a depth of 88 cm" (Archives of AONMS, no. 410).

Tab. 16: Unreliable data about numismatic finds from archaeological contexts.
Tab. 16: Nezanesljivi podatki o numizmatičnih najdbah iz arheoloških kontekstov. Glej tabelo v slovenskem besedilu.

No.	Site	Context	Coin	Significance for chronology	References
1	**Tarsatica** – eastern wall	In the wall mortar.	Valentinianus II, Gratianus, Theodosius I – mints Sis and Sir	Dates the reconstruction of the town wall.	Blečić 2001, 82; Starac 2009, 286.
2	**Klana**	Coin found in an early Medieval layer at the foot of the *"središnjeg palasa utvrde". "U jezgri ovog palasa"* traces of the foundation of a watchtower from Late Antiquity.	Maxentius I, nummus from 307		Starac 2009, 286.
3	**Castra** – tower 13	"*am Mauerwerk und im Turme*"	Probus (Ant), Diocletianus (Rad), Galerius (Fol)	"*…wahrscheinlich die Aufbauzeit der Stadtmauer erhellen…*"	Petru 1974, 181.

The latest from the group of 12 coins was minted in 270, thus R. Starac conjectures that the fort was destroyed in 270.

L. Bekić, on the basis of coin finds from the Tarsatica principium, believes that it was built in the time of Claudius II (268–270).[63] Despite the relatively small number of coin finds from the second half of the 3rd century, *table 4* and graphs (*figs. 4* and *5*) reveal a slightly later increase in the intensity of finds in comparison to the coins from the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum. Based on this, it seems more probable that the principium in Tarsatica was built at the end of the 270s or during the 280s. The forts of Martinj hrib and Lanišče were not yet built at that time.

A normal extent of life can be noted at the fortresses of Castra and Ad Pirum until 294, despite the modest representation of coins. An increased influx of coinage into circulation at the fortress of Ad Pirum is noticeable in the period 315–324, which agrees with the find of a coin of Licinius from 312/313 in an archaeological context that can be connected to the construction of the eastern walls of the fortress (*tab. 15:* no. 3). The documented increased presence of coinage from this period certainly indicates intensive inhabitation of the settlement at the pass, which could, especially in connection to the mentioned coin of Licinius, be interpreted as an increased presence of the army who built the walls of the fortress as early as in the 320s.[64] The same intensity of coinage presence as, for example, in Emona has been documented for this period at the fortress of Castra. During the 330s the representation of coinage at both fortresses

[63] Bekić 2009, 220.

[64] Mackensen 1981, 149 n. 34, conjectures that in the period of hostilities between Constantine and Licinius I, the "*militärisch – fortifikatorische Sicherung Italiens durch die Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*" was a prevention against the expected aggression of Licinius.

increases greatly, even in comparison to the towns of Emona and Poetovio (*figs. 8* and *9*), which can be interpreted solely as a reflection of a significantly increased intensity of inhabitation at both fortresses.

Two bronze coins were discovered in the tower on the road to the southwest below the fortress of Ad Pirum in a layer of ruins and burnt remains, which continues under the existing wall: a well preserved centenionalis of Constantius II, minted in Siscia between 337 and 340 (*tab. 15:* no. 8), and a poorly preserved bronze coin of the type *Securitas Reipublicae*, minted in the period 364–378 (*tab. 15:* no. 9). P. Petru erroneously mentioned that two coins of Constantius were found at the tower and these coins served him as proof that the tower was burnt down during the battles for this pass in 352 and was subsequently rebuilt in 388.[65] As the later coin in the lower layer of ruins was minted at an undeterminable time between 364 and 378, the burning of the original tower cannot be related on this basis to the events of 352. The coin of Constantius II can only be used as *terminus ante quem* for the tower construction.

A chronologically corresponding find is a worn bronze coin of Constantius II from the mint in Aquileia, minted between 352 and 355, found in mortar layers along the southeastern wall on the outer side of the fort (*tab. 15:* no. 4), which would supposedly determine the period of the wall reconstruction.[66]

The construction activities at the wall cannot be connected to military activities during the civil war between Magnentius and Constantius II solely on the basis of a coin find in a previous tower on the road beneath the fortress, yet the fact remains that the analysis of individual coin finds from within the fort Ad Pirum indicates the exceptional influx of coins of Magnentius and Decentius and indirectly the increased presence of their soldiers at the fort.

The latest coins on the original walking surface along the SW tower of the fortress of Ad Pirum, covered by the ruins of the (square) tower from the first phase, would place the destruction of the original tower to the period after 351–352.[67] In contrast, all coins (except one from the minting period of 351–354)[68] discovered in the layers of destruction on the outer southern side of the SW tower were minted in the period 367–375.[69] It is significant that coins minted after 375 were not discovered in this layer. According to the tower excavator, D. Svoljšak, these coins were lost during the reconstruction of the tower, which was then rebuilt in pentagonal form.[70]

The numerically stronger representation of coins at the principium of Tarsatica in the 4th century only begins with coins minted after 351 and further increased during the Valentinian period. Solely on the basis of the relatively low total number of coins discovered at the principium, the presence of the army at the principium can be conjectured only for the Valentinian period, i.e. in the second half of the 4th century.

A more noticeable presence of coins at the fort of Martinj hrib is documented only for the minting period 351–361 and becomes truly intensive only in the Valentinian period. A similar finding holds true for the fort of Lanišče, where an exceptionally small total number of discovered coins is documented.

On the basis of the coin finds (mainly discovered in destruction layers), it can be established for the fort of Lanišče that coins of the type *Salus Reipublicae*, minted in great numbers after 389, no longer appeared at the site. Thus we can conclude that the fort was demolished in 388 or soon after and was never rebuilt.

A similar conclusion can be reached for the fort of Martinj hrib, where the latest coins were minted between 387 and 388 and were discovered in a layer of burnt remains. In this layer a clump of bronze coins of size AE 3 was also discovered, which points to the violent destruction of the fort in 388 or soon after. A coin of the type *Salus Reipublicae* was found with a metal detector outside the fort and can hardly be used as evidence that coins of this type minted in the period 388–403 had been introduced at the fort.[71]

Bekić concludes that the principium Tarsatica was burnt down during the reign of Theodosius or Arcadius or Honorius.[72]

At the fortress of Ad Pirum an influx of coins of Honorius minted after 394 is also documented, while there are no coins of the type *Gloria*

[65] Petru 1980–1981, 133.

[66] Mackensen 1981, 136 no. 140, 150. See also Giesler 1981, 117.

[67] *FMRSl* V 9-4; *FMRSl* V 9-7; *FMRSl* V 9-17; *FMRSl* V 9-18.

[68] *FMRSl* V 9-20.

[69] *FMRSl* V 9-26–30,32,33,35.

[70] I would like to thank Drago Svoljšak for kindly making this data available to me.

[71] *FMRSl* III 96-27.

[72] Bekić 2009, 220.

Romanorum 11, indicating that during the second decade of the 5th century there was no fresh influx of coinage at the fort. At the same time, however, it must be emphasized that there is a great likelihood that Honorius' coins from the mints of Roma and Aquileia at the site were minted only after Eugenius' defeat in September 394 and the end of minting the coins of this type in 402 or 403, rather than being minted in the short period between Honorius becoming Augustus in January 393 and Eugenius' occupation of Italy in the spring of 393. Thus the interpretation that the burnt coins from destruction layers at the fortress of Ad Pirum are connected to the events of the autumn of 394,[73] needs to be considered with due caution and scepticism.[74]

On the basis of unpublished coins discovered in a layer of burnt remains in a structure inside the fort Castra along its eastern wall ("from Constantine to Theodosius"), P. Petru connects the destruction of the structure and the fortress with the events of September 394.[75] This hypothesis must also be viewed with extreme caution since the excavations were never published. In contrast, coins from the first three decades of the 5th century are represented at the fortress of Castra, thus indicating a significantly longer life at the fortress.

Translation: Maja Sužnik

[73] Mackensen 1981, 151, connects this to the end of the fort Ad Pirum "*frühestens während des Jahres 394 oder wenig spatter*".

[74] Ulbert 1981, 48, states that there are no demolished layers in the fort that could be connected to the final destruction of the fort.

[75] Petru 1972, 351; 1974, 181.

Abbreviations / Kratice

AONMS = Arheološki oddelek Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, Ljubljana.

FMRSl I = P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* I, Berlin 1988.

FMRSl III = P. Kos, A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* III, Mainz 1995.

FMRSl IV = A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* IV, Mainz, Ljubljana 1998.

FMRSl V = A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* V, Mainz 2004.

FMRSl VI = A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien* VI, Wetteren 2010.

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Gradnja in opustitev obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* v luči numizmatičnega gradiva

UVOD

Medtem ko je N. Osmuk na podlagi novčnih najdb v maltni sredici stolpov argumentirano umestila gradnjo stolpov in obzidja trdnjave *Castra* v drugo polovico 3. stoletja, je T. Ulbertu kot *terminus ante quem* izgradnje obzidja trdnjave *Ad Pirum* služil bronasti novec Licinija I. iz leta 312/313, ki je bil odkrit na plasti malte na zunanji strani obzidja kastela.[1] Kljub tako odločilnim argumentom se v strokovni literaturi pojavlja vrsta različnih hipotez o času izgradnje obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.

Številni avtorji sledijo Ulbertovim ugotovitvam in postavljajo začetek gradnje obzidja trdnjave *Ad Pirum* oziroma celotnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* v obdobje Konstantina (306–337).[2] Johnson tudi domneva, da bi bile trdnjave *Nauportus*, *Tarsatica* in *Castra* lahko osnovane že v obdobju Dioklecijana (284–305).[3] Vannesse ugotavlja, da bi bile lahko prve utrdbe zgrajene že v času notranjih konfliktov med letoma 307 in 314.[4] Nekateri avtorji pa zastopajo stališče, da je bil obrambni sistem zgrajen šele v drugi polovici 4. stoletja.[5] Pri tem se opirajo na zapis Ambrozija *De obitu Valentiniani* 4, ki naj bi se nanašal na podrobneje neugotovljiv dogodek leta 392. Ambrozij omenja namreč izraz *vallum*, kar interpretirajo kot dokaz, da pred tem grajenega zidu ni bilo.[6] Pri postavljanju *terminus post quem* izgradnje obrambnega zidu se dodatno sklicujejo na istega avtorja (Ambros., *De excessu fratris* I 31 (Migne XVI col. 1356 sg.)), ki omenja, da so Italijo leta 374 pred vdorom Kvadov in Sarmatov zavarovali z lesenimi barikadami, kar naj bi dokazovalo, da tedaj še niso bile zgrajene zidane obrambne strukture.[7]

Pri tem nekateri avtorji bodisi ne upoštevajo novčnih najdb oziroma njihovih analiz in interpretacij ter izražajo dvom, da so te lahko verodostojen kazalnik časa izgradnje oziroma življenja posameznih trdnjav.[8]

Zato se zdi primerno, da na enem mestu predstavimo vso numizmatično evidenco, ki je na voljo in je pomembna za datiranje izgradnje obrambnih zidov, stolpov in trdnjav v sklopu linearne obrambe *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, in jo poizkušamo kritično ovrednotiti.

Pri tem navajam razpoložljive podatke za gradbene strukture na sami liniji obrambe ter podatke o trdnjavi *Castra* v njenem neposrednem zaledju.

K METODOLOGIJI

Običajno se predpostavlja, da novčne najdbe s posameznega najdišča (ki so le del nekoč na najdišču izgubljenega denarja) dokazujejo intenzivnost njegove poselitve ter njegov gospodarski razcvet.[9] Večje število novcev nekega obdobja bi tako odražalo intenzivnejšo poselitev oziroma gospodarsko stabilnost, upad števila najdenih novcev po posameznih kovnih obdobjih pa naj bi bil posledica politične nestabilnosti in padca gospodarske blaginje. Manjkrat se izpostavlja, da je povečana zastopanost novcev v obtoku lahko tudi posledica izrednega dogodka, zaradi katerega je ostalo v zemlji več novcev (npr. požara, ki ni nujno posledica sovražnega delovanja).

[1] Osmuk 1990, 189–190; Ulbert 1981, 43.

[2] *Ad Pirum*: Johnson 1983, 217. Obrambni sistem *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*: Christie 2008, 566.

[3] Johnson 1983, 218.

[4] Vannesse 2007, 315, 320; Vannesse 2010, 307, 312; Marcone (2004, 353) dvomi, da bi lahko sistem deloval že v času Dioklecijana.

[5] Marcone 2002, 175.

[6] Napoli, Rebuffat 1993, 41.

[7] Degrassi 1954, 139; Marcone 2002, 176; Napoli 1997, 283.

[8] Napoli (1997, 282) npr. ne upošteva analize novčnih najdb s Hrušice, ki jo je izdelal Mackensen 1981; Witschel 2002, 350 op. 155.

[9] Reece 2003, 169.

Pri analizi novčnih najdb in njihovi interpretaciji se moramo zavedati, da lahko preglednice, ki prikazujejo delež novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij, podajo predvsem podatke o njihovi zastopanosti v teh obdobjih, ne morejo pa nam pojasniti, kdaj točno so ti novci prišli v obtok na posamezno najdišče oziroma kako dolgo so bili v uporabi, preden so bili izgubljeni.[10] Kovanja denarja namreč ne moremo in ne smemo enačiti s časom njegove uporabe.

Predvsem v pozni antiki so si sledile denarne reforme, ki so uvajale kovanje novih vrst denarja. Pomembnejše denarne reforme so bile izpeljane v letih 294, 348, 364, 408.[11] Z uvedbo novih vrst denarja je stari denar največkrat začel izginjati iz obtoka (saj je njegova kupna vrednost postala nižja od dejanske), neredko pa so z dekretom izrecno prepovedali nadaljnjo uporabo nekaterih vrst denarja (npr. leta 354).[12] Precej jasno sliko o denarju v obtoku v nekem obdobju podajajo novčne zakladne najdbe, predvsem tiste, ki so ohranjene v celoti in ki jih lahko povežemo s hitrim zakopom trenutnega premoženja oziroma z naključno izgubo (zakop zaradi bližajoče se nevarnosti, naključna izguba mošnjička itd.). Zakladne najdbe, ki so bile zakopane zaradi ekonomskih razlogov (namenskega hranjenja denarja višje vrednosti) oziroma povezane s financiranjem vojske (npr. vojaška blagajna), niso primerne za namen ugotavljanja dolžine kroženja posameznih vrst denarja v obtoku.

Ilustrativni pa so lahko nekateri arheološki depoziti oziroma stratigrafske enote, ki kažejo, da so lahko novci v obtoku (tudi zaradi ponovne uporabe) krožili zelo dolgo obdobje.[13] Novčne najdbe iz nekaterih stratigrafsko zaključenih celot namreč pričajo, da so novci lahko krožili v obtoku tudi 30 do 50 let,[14] vendar teh ugotovitev ni mogoče posploševati.

Objektivna povednost novčnih najdb bi bila mogoča v primeru, da izhajajo iz kvalitetnih arheoloških raziskovanj, kjer je vodena nadvse skrbna dokumentacija o zaključenih in nekontaminiranih stratigrafskih enotah. Pa tudi v takem primeru je potrebna izjemna previdnost pri vrednotenju novčnih najdb. Malo je namreč verjetno, da bi bronasti novec Jube II. iz let 22–24 lahko igral kakršno koli vlogo v denarnem obtoku v času 393–408, kot bi sicer lahko sklepali na podlagi stratigrafske enote 6346 v mestu Zilil v Maroku.[15] Tudi sicer nam novci iz določene stratigrafske enote (pri čemer je treba eliminirati vse možnosti njene kontaminacije) povedo le, da so starejši novci še vedno krožili oziroma bili ponovno uporabljeni v obtoku, tako dejstvo pa ne razloži, kdaj so novci dejansko (ponovno?) prišli v obtok na posamezno najdišče.

Potrebna je objektivna primerjalna analiza za posamezna širša območja, ki nazorno pokaže značilnosti denarnega obtoka.

Na obrambnem sistemu *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* so arheološka raziskovanja potekala predvsem v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Tedaj so raziskovali z luščenjem arbitrarno določenih planumov, ki so pogosto presekali stratigrafsko enovite sloje. Na specifičnem kraškem kamnitem in gozdnatem terenu, kjer predvsem poteka zaporni sistem, je obilje vegetacije (razraščeni koreninski sistemi) tudi vzrok za številne tafonomske procese, ki so vplivali na spremembe na najdiščih, zaradi česar je težko slediti stratigrafskim enotam.[16] Dodatno težavo predstavljajo na številnih najdiščih izvedena predhodna slabo (ali pa sploh ne) dokumentirana arheološka raziskovanja izpred druge svetovne vojne, posledica česar je nemalokrat že uničena stratigrafija.

Tudi na arheološko najbolje raziskanem najdišču, v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum*, je težko povsem zanesljivo uvrstiti drobne najdbe v posamezne stratigrafske enote, ki se druga od druge še najbolje ločijo po žganinskih plasteh.[17]

V pričujočem prispevku podajam le evidenco in interpretacijo novčnih najdb, izsledkov pa namenoma ne skušam povezovati z zgodovinskimi dogodki, o katerih poročajo pisni viri.

POSAMIČNE NOVČNE NAJDBE

Od prvotnih objav novcev s posameznih najdišč se je število odkritih v trdnjavi *Castra* (358[18] : 945) potrojilo oziroma povečalo za približno petkrat (*Ad Pirum*, 219[19] : 1177), tako da je današnja slika prisotnosti novcev posameznih obdobij izjemno verodostojna in je ni mogoče zavrniti kot nereprezentativne.

[10] Vondrovec 2003, 29.
[11] O reformah 4. st. Depeyrot 1992.
[12] Cod. Theod. IX 23. 1 (8. marec 354).
[13] Depeyrot 1999.
[14] Depeyrot 1999; Guest 2007.
[15] Depeyrot 1999, 159.
[16] Barton 1987.
[17] Giesler 1981, 115–120; nasprotno Pröttel 1996, 136.
[18] Kos 1986, 196.
[19] Mackensen 1981.

Grobo sliko o rimskodobnem denarju v obtoku v trdnjavah *Castra* (Ajdovščina) in *Ad Pirum* (Hrušica), v principiju v Tarsatici (Rijeka) ter v malih trdnjavah Martinj hrib in Lanišče prikazujejo že deleži novcev po stoletjih (*tab. 1; sl. 1*). Iz notranjosti kastela *Nauportus* (danes Gradišče na Vrhniki) imamo podatke le o 7 novcih, ki onemogočajo kakršne koli sklepe.[20]

Primerjave deležev zastopanosti novcev so zelo izpovedne, čeprav moramo upoštevati, da je iz principija v Tarsatici dokumentirano majhno število določljivih novcev (66), v trdnjavi na Lanišču pa je bilo odkritih zgolj 10. Opazna je sorodnost v gibanju intenzivnosti denarnega obtoka v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum*. Izjemno majhen je delež novcev prvega in drugega stoletja ter prve polovice 3. stoletja, na osnovi česar bi lahko sklepali na zanemarljivo vsakodnevno aktivnost oziroma prisotnost prebivalstva. Šele v sredini 3. stoletja se s samostojno Galijenovo vlado (260–268) poveča število novcev v obtoku. Groba primerjava nadalje pokaže, da se intenzivnost denarnega obtoka v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* poveča spet v sredini prve polovice 4. stoletja in doseže vrh v drugi polovici 4. stoletja. Nasprotno opazno odstopa slika intenzivnosti denarnega obtoka v trdnjavi Martinj hrib s skoraj 90-odstotno zastopanostjo novcev iz druge polovice 4. stoletja, kar dokazuje bistveno poznejši začetek aktivnosti v trdnjavi in kaže na njeno bistveno poznejšo izgradnjo. Podobno lahko ugotovimo za trdnjavo Lanišče, čeprav je bilo tu med arheološkimi raziskovanji odkritih le 6 novcev. Zdi se, da zastopanost novcev, odkritih na tarsatijskem principiju, odraža dva vrhunca intenzivnosti: v drugi polovici 3. stoletja in v drugi polovici 4. stoletja, in prav zato odstopa od vrednosti v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum*.

Podrobnejši pregled številčne in procentualne zastopanosti vseh določljivih rimskih novcev po ožje omejenih obdobjih kovanja v trdnjavah *Castra*, *Ad Pirum*, Lanišče in Martinj hrib ter tarsatijskem principiju podajata naslednja tabela (*tab. 2*) in na njeni osnovi izdelan grafikon (*sl. 2*).

Primerjava procentualne zastopanosti novcev posameznih obdobij (*tab. 3; sl. 3*) se s skoraj petkratnim povečanjem števila dokumentiranih novcev iz notranjosti trdnjave *Ad Pirum* skorajda ne spremeni. To kaže na to, da že razmeroma nizko število novcev z nekega omejenega najdišča razmeroma točno odraža vzorec nekdanjega denarnega obtoka,[21] odstopanja deleža novcev nekaterih obdobij kovanja pa so posledica mikrolokacij, kjer so bili novci izkopani oziroma najdeni.[22]

Za trdnjavo *Ad Pirum* upoštevamo skupne podatke o vseh novcih, najdenih v trdnjavi, ter jih primerjamo s tremi skupinami novcev, odkritih v trdnjavi. Upoštevamo novce, odkrite pri arheoloških raziskavah med letoma 1971 in 1973 južno od ceste skozi trdnjavo,[23] novce z arheoloških raziskovanj med letoma 1975 in 1979, ki so zajela območje spodnjega dela trdnjave severno od ceste, ter novce, ki so bili v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja odkriti z detektorjem kovin predvsem na območju severnega spodnjega dela trdnjave, ki je bil pred tem arheološko raziskan.

Primerjava procentualne zastopanosti novcev posameznih obdobij kovanja na grafikonu (*sl. 3*), ki upošteva vse dokumentirane novce iz trdnjave ter novce prej omenjenih treh skupin, pokaže v glavnem podobna gibanja zastopanosti denarja v obtoku z nekaterimi manjšimi odstopanji, predvsem v obdobjih kovanja 270–276, 350–355, 364–378 ter 383–388.

Če primerjamo zgolj podatke o novcih, odkritih pri arheoloških raziskavah južnega dela trdnjave (med letoma 1971–73), in novcih, izkopanih med letoma 1975–79 v severnem spodnjem delu trdnjave, ugotovimo, da so odstopanja posledica mikrolokacij v okviru trdnjave, iz katerih novci izhajajo.[24] V južnem delu trdnjave je bilo odkritih več novcev iz obdobja 270–276, manj novcev iz obdobij 350–355 in 364–378, več novcev obdobja 383–388 ter ponovno manj novcev iz obdobja 388–403.

NOVCI DRUGE POLOVICE 3. STOLETJA

Ker kaže grafikon (*sl. 2*) prvo znatnejšo prisotnost novcev šele po sredini 3. stoletja, podajamo podrobnejšo analizo novcev tega obdobja.

Zastopanost novcev druge polovice 3. stoletja po posameznih kovnih obdobjih prikazujeta tabela in na njeni podlagi izdelan grafikon (*tab. 4; sl. 4*).

Če predstavlja grafikon (*sl. 4*) procentualni delež novcev posameznega vladarja, pa objektivnejšo

[20] Horvat 1990, 92.

[21] Podobno ugotavlja za novce iz noriškega mesta *Ovilavis* Vondrovec 2003, 27. O metodologiji interpretacije novčnih najdb z vso najnovejšo relevantno literaturo Krmnicek 2010, 25–34.

[22] Polovica vseh dokumentiranih novčnih najdb (490 novcev) iz trdnjave je bila odkrita na njivi v trdnjavi po končanih arheoloških izkopavanjih.

[23] Mackensen 1981.

[24] Glej tovrstne primerjave pri Vondrovec 2005.

sliko intenzivnosti dotoka novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij v obtok prikazuje grafikon (*sl. 5*), pri katerem je upoštevana tudi dolžina trajanja kovanja denarja posameznega vladarja.[25]

Na podlagi primerjave zgolj procentualnega deleža novcev na posameznem najdišču lahko ugotovimo, da se redni dotok denarja v obtok začne z novci iz časa samostojne Galijenove vlade (260–268). Nanje odpade tudi največji delež med vsemi novci druge polovice 3. stoletja (*sl. 4*). Upoštevaje tudi dolžino posameznih kovnih obdobij pa imajo največji delež novci Klavdija II., kar je sicer običajen pojav,[26] vendar pa je njihov delež kljub vsemu nižji kot v bližnjih mestih Emona in Petoviona.[27] Nato se do Dioklecijanove denarne reforme leta 294 gibanje intenzivnosti denarnega obtoka ne razlikuje od drugih najdišč. Izstopa *Tarsatica*, kjer prevladujejo novci obdobja 270–276, vendar moramo upoštevati nizko skupno število novcev druge polovice 3. stoletja, ki so bili odkriti v principiju. Z vso previdnostjo bi zato lahko rekli, da se aktivnosti v tarsatijskem principiju pričnejo nekoliko pozneje kot v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum*.

Zastavlja pa se vprašanje, kdaj so novci iz časa samostojne Galijenove vlade dejansko prišli v trdnjavi *Castra* in *Ad Pirum*. Med njimi je veliko novcev, ki so zelo dobro ohranjeni in njihove prisotnosti ni mogoče interpretirati, kot da so v obe trdnjavi zašli šele konec 3. ali v zgodnjem 4. stoletju.[28]

V zvezi s tem vprašanjem prikazuje zanimivo sliko tudi zastopanost novcev Galijena iz časa skupne (253–260) in samostojne vlade (260–268) po posameznih emisijah[29] (*sl. 6*). Za primerjavo navajam še podatke o zastopanosti Galijenovih novcev posameznih emisij v zakladni najdbi Ig, ki ponuja številčno močno (in zato objektivno) primerjavo[30] (*tab. 5*).

Čeprav 28 % (*Castra*) oziroma 24 % (*Ad Pirum*) Galijenovih novcev zaradi slabe ohranjenosti ni mogoče podrobneje opredeliti, je slika vendarle povedna. Upoštevaje razmeroma nizko število Galijenovih novcev, odkritih v trdnjavi *Castra*, so na obeh najdiščih zastopane tudi zgodnje emisije samostojne Galijenove vlade (260–268), medtem ko so v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* skromno zastopani že tudi novci skupne vlade cesarjev Valerijana in Galijena (253–260). Na prvi pogled večja zastopanost novcev poznejših emisij (264–268) je zgolj odraz državne monetarne politike,[31] kar je mogoče razbrati tudi iz analize Galijenovih novcev v najdbi Ig, ki kaže podoben delež novcev zgodnjih in poznejših emisij samostojne Galijenove vlade (*sl. 7*).[32]

Ker je *terminus post quem* zakopa zaklada Ig leto 273,[33] lahko na podlagi obeh grafikonov ugotavljamo, da so bili tudi Galijenovi novci iz obeh trdnjav v veliki meri v tamkajšnjem obtoku že sredi sedemdesetih let 3. stoletja. Vsaj za trdnjavo *Ad Pirum* je za ugotavljanje časa obtoka Galijenovih novcev indikativen tudi mali zaklad (vsebina mošnjička?) antoninijanov, ki so bili najdeni na kupu v sondi 24 na tlaku v objektu, uničenem v požaru.[34] Številčno sicer skromna najdba je zelo kompaktna, saj vsebuje le dobro ohranjene antoninijane Galijena in Klavdija II., kovane v obdobju 257–270, in je ostala v zgorelem poslopju, preden bi lahko vanjo zašli novci Avrelijana, ki so sicer v trdnjavi dobro zastopani.

Aktivnosti v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* je na podlagi analize sporadičnih novčnih najdb tako mogoče postaviti že vsaj v sredino druge polovice 3. stoletja. Nizkega števila novcev iz obdobja 276–294 ni mogoče interpretirati kot prekinitev dotoka denarja v obtok po letu 276,[35] saj je to dejstvo – kot kažejo primerjalni podatki za Emono in Petoviono – splošen pojav, ki je zgolj odraz aktivnosti državnih kovnic v določenih obdobjih.[36]

NOVCI PRVE POLOVICE 4. STOLETJA

Zastopanost novcev, kovanih po Dioklecijanovi denarni reformi leta 294, prikazuje *tabela 6*. Le v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* je dokumentirano dovolj veliko število novcev za objektivno analizo. Za primerjavo podajamo tudi podatke o novcih iz Emone in Petovione. Iz obdobja prve tetrarhije (294–305) so v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* dokumentirani 4 numi, v trdnjavi *Castra* pa 1 *nummus* ter

[25] Če podrobneje pojasnimo: 34 novcev dvoletnega obdobja kovanja predstavlja veliko večjo intenzivnost novčnih najdb kakor 69 novcev osemletnega obdobja; Kos 1997, 100 ss.

[26] Prim. npr. podatke za nekatera mesta v Panoniji: Kos 1986, 100 tab. 17; Vondrovec 2007, 149–150.

[27] Kos 1986, 94 tab. 13. Za Flavia Solva glej Schachinger 2006, 117, 118.

[28] Za problematiko glej Kos 2011, 229–231.

[29] Göbl 2000.

[30] Kos 1991.

[31] Prim. tudi Schachinger 2006, 117.

[32] Glej tudi zastopanost posameznih emisij novcev samostojne Galijenove vlade v zakladih Normanby in Cunetio; Bland, Burnett 1988, 120 tab. 4.

[33] Kos 1991.

[34] *FMRSl* I 17/2.

[35] Tako Mackensen 1981, 146.

[36] Glej tudi Vondrovec 2005, 189 op. 30.

7 bronastih novcev nižje vrednosti (radiatov). Delež v tem obdobju kovanih novcev je sicer precej nižji kot v bližnjih mestih Emoni oziroma Petovioni (*sl. 8*). Že v naslednjem kovnem obdobju 305–315 pa se delež novcev iz obeh trdnjav izenači z deležem, kot je dokumentiran v Emoni. Po tem kovnem obdobju se zastopanost novcev v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* poveča in preseže celo delež novcev istega obdobja v Emoni. V obeh trdnjavah je še intenzivnejša prisotnost novcev iz obdobja 330–341 in močno presega primerjalne vrednosti iz Emone in Petovione. To dejstvo še zlasti izstopa na grafikonu (*sl. 9*), ki upošteva dolžino trajanja kovnega obdobja. To pomeni, da je v obtok v obe trdnjavi prišlo nadpovprečno veliko denarja, kovanega v omenjenih obdobjih. Zaradi nizkega deleža novcev obdobja 294–330 v trdnjavi *Castra* (ki pa je podoben deležu novcev tega obdobja v Emoni) bi lahko sklepali na intenzivnejši dotok denarja v obtok šele v štiridesetih letih 4. stoletja, medtem ko so v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* prisotni tudi novci obdobja po 315 (315–320 = 24 novcev; 320–324 = 39 novcev).

NOVCI DRUGE POLOVICE 4. STOLETJA

Zanimiv je podrobnejši pregled zastopanosti novcev dveh desetletij med 341 in 361 (*tab. 7*).[37] Delež oziroma intenzivnost prisotnosti novcev v obeh trdnjavah v tem času sta podobna, bistveno pa v primerjavi s trdnjavo *Castra* odstopa v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* povečana prisotnost novcev obdobja 350–354. Ta sicer ne odstopa od deleža novcev tega obdobja kovanja v Emoni in Petovioni (*sl. 10*).

Pomembno informacijo nam dajo novčne najdbe obdobja 350–355, obdobja torej, v katerem si je oblast na zahodu imperija prilastil uzurpator Magnencij.[38] V obeh trdnjavah so namreč novci, kovani v imenu Magnencija in njegovega brata Decencija, med vsemi novci tega obdobja zastopani z znatnimi 48 % (*Castra*) oziroma 42 % (*Ad Pirum*) (*tab. 8*). Primerjava z deležem Magnencijevih novcev v Emoni, kjer je sicer dokumentirana prisotnost Magnencijeve vojske,[39] kaže precej manjšo zastopanost, le 16-odstotno, medtem ko je v Petovioni ta delež še bistveno nižji. Izjemno visok delež novcev, kovanih v imenu Magnencija in njegovega brata Decencija, prav v teh dveh trdnjavah je indikativen kazalnik povečane prisotnosti Magnencijeve vojske.[40]

Zastopanost novcev posameznih kovnih obdobij v času med 364 in 423 prikazujejo *tabela 9* ter grafikona (*sl. 11, 12*).

V trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* lahko opazimo podobna gibanja intenzivnosti denarnega obtoka kot v Emoni z izjemo intenzivnejše prisotnosti denarja, kovanega v obdobju 364–367 v obeh trdnjavah. Izstopa slika zastopanosti denarja v obtoku v trdnjavi na Martinj hribu, ki kaže izrazito povečano prisotnost novcev iz obdobja 375–383, nato pa se izenači s sliko denarnega obtoka v obeh trdnjavah.

Ponovno se postavlja vprašanje, kdaj so novci posameznih kovnih obdobij prišli v obtok v trdnjave *Castra*, *Ad Pirum* in Martinj hrib. Analiza zakladnih novčnih najdb 4. stoletja na prostoru jugovzhodnih Alp jasno kaže, da so bili novci, potem ko so bili kovani, razmeroma hitro v uporabi na posameznih najdiščih, obenem pa sestav zakladnih najdb priča tudi, da so pomembno vlogo v vsakdanji uporabi igrali razmeroma kratek čas (*tab. 10, 11; sl. 13*).

Analiza zakladnih najdb povsem jasno pokaže, da novci druge polovice 3. stoletja že v vsakdanjem denarnem obtoku konstantinskega obdobja na tem prostoru niso krožili. Antoninijani druge polovice tretjega stoletja tako dejansko odražajo denarni obtok druge polovice 3. stoletja. Tudi zgodnji reformni numi (po 294) so izginili iz denarnega obtoka že v drugem desetletju 4. stoletja in so zato dober kronološki indikator.[41] Sestav vseh zakladnih najdb kaže, da so novci na posamezno območje v vsakdanji denarni obtok zašli razmeroma hitro in – kar je pomembneje – razmeroma hitro tudi prenehali igrati bistveno vlogo v vsakdanjem življenju prebivalstva.[42] Povsem objektivno je zato mogoče sklepati, da so tudi posamične novčne najdbe razmeroma dober in objektiven kronološki kazalnik aktivnosti v posameznih obdobjih na posameznem najdišču (v mestu, trdnjavi) in jih

[37] Na tabeli ne upoštevam pobliže nedoločljivih slabo ohranjenih novcev tipa *Fel Temp Reparatio*, ki so bili kovani med leti 351 in 361. Njihov delež med vsemi novci tega obdobja znaša v trdnjavi *Castra* skoraj 9 %, v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* pa 14 %.

[38] Šašel 1971.

[39] Jeločnik 1967. Glej tudi Miškec 2011.

[40] Glej tudi Mackensen 1981, 150.

[41] Hitro izginjanje denarja iz obtoka najbolje ilustrira primerjava sestava zakladnih najdb Čentur C (Jeločnik, Kos 1983) in Čentur A (Jeločnik 1973). V najdbi Čentur A, ki je bila zakopana sredi leta 310, je v primerjavi z najdbo Čentur C, ki je bila zakopana eno leto pred tem (sredi leta 309), delež starih nereduciranih folisov manjši za 55,5 %.

[42] Za sestav zakladnih najdb na Balkanu glej Duncan 1993.

ni mogoče preprosto zavrniti s trditvijo, da so zelo dolgo krožili v obtoku, in njihove funkcije ne povezati s časom, v katerem so bili kovani.

NAJMLAJŠI NOVCI V OBTOKU

Najmlajši novci iz notranjosti trdnjave *Ad Pirum*, ki odražajo reden dotok denarja v obtok, so bronasti novci tipa *Salus Reipublicae*, katerih delež predstavlja 7 % vseh novcev iz trdnjave. Bronasti novci tega tipa predstavljajo v trdnjavi *Castra* 12 % vseh novcev z najdišča. Podrobno strukturo novcev tega tipa prikazujeta tabeli (*tab. 12, 13*).

Obe tabeli kažeta, da za 77,6 % (*Ad Pirum*) oziroma 70,6 % (*Castra*) novcev tega tipa ni mogoče ugotoviti, v kateri kovnici so bili kovani. V trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* je bilo 21 % novcev kovanih v obeh italskih kovnicah v Rimu in Akvileji, v trdnjavi *Castra* pa 28 % v najdišču najbližji kovnici Akvileja.[43] 59 % (*Ad Pirum*) oziroma 45 % (*Castra*) novcev tega tipa ne moremo pripisati posameznemu vladarju, za 77,6 % (*Ad Pirum*) oziroma 71 % (*Castra*) vseh novcev tega tipa pa ne moremo določiti kraja kovanja (kovnice). Gre torej za tipično strukturo denarja v obtoku na tem prostoru. V obeh italskih kovnicah so novce tega tipa pričeli kovati leta 389.[44] V kovnici Akvileja so jih prenehali kovati leta 402, v kovnici Roma leto pozneje (403).[45]

V trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* je bilo 9 % novcev tega obdobja kovanih v imenu Honorija, torej so bili kovani šele od januarja leta 393, ko je bil povzdignjen v Avgusta. Pri analizi novcev tipa *Salus Reipublicae* moramo upoštevati dejstvo, da so leta 393 v vzhodnih kovnicah prenehali kovati novce tega tipa, prav tako v obeh italskih kovnicah v Rimu in Akvileji, potem ko je spomladi istega leta Evgenij zasedel Italijo. V obeh kovnicah so v imenu Honorija ponovno pričeli kovati novce po padcu Evgenija septembra 394.[46] Z novci tega tipa se končuje redni dotok denarja na trdnjavo *Ad Pirum*, pri čemer pa pri Honorijevih novcih kovnic v Rimu in Akvileji ni mogoče ugotoviti, ali so bili kovani pred Evgenijevo zasedbo Italije (kratkotrajno spomladi 393) ali šele po njegovi smrti (od septembra 394 do 402 (Akvileja) oziroma 403 (Rim)), kar se zdi verjetneje.

Solidus Valentinijana III., kovan v Raveni med letoma 430 in 455, odkrit na območju trdnjave, je povsem osamljena najdba, ki ne dokazuje nikakršne kontinuitete življenja v trdnjavi.[47]

Nasprotno so bili v trdnjavi *Castra* odkriti tudi mlajši bronasti novci, ki dokumentirajo dotok svežega denarja v obtok tudi v prvih desetletjih 5. stoletja. To so bronasti novec tipa *Concordia Auggg* (križ), kovan med letoma 404 in 406 v vzhodnem delu imperija za Arkadija, Honorija ali Teodozija II.,[48] ter štirje Honorijevi novci tipa *Gloria Romanorum* 11, ki so bili kovani med 408 in 423.[49] Prav bronasti novci tega tipa so značilni za denarni obtok prvih desetletij 5. stoletja v Furlaniji, v zahodnem delu Slovenije in v Istri.[50]

V trdnjavah Martinj hrib in Lanišče se redni dotok denarja v obtok konča z novci Magna Maksima iz let 387–388. V obeh trdnjavah so bili ti novci odkriti v ruševinskih plasteh. V trdnjavi Martinj hrib je bil v žganinski plasti z novcem Magna Maksima odkrit tudi ožgan sprimek 100 do 150 bronastih novcev AE 3, ki so bili kovani po letu 364. Na nekaj novcih je namreč razviden tip zadnje strani novca *Gloria Romanorum* ali Securitas Reipublicae.[51]

Tabela 14 prikazuje najmlajše novce, ki določajo terminus post quem prekinitve dotoka svežega denarja v obtok na posameznih trdnjavah.

[43] Podobna struktura novcev tipa *Salus Reipublicae* je ugotovljiva tudi na Tonovcovem gradu, kjer je za 72 % novcev nemogoče ugotoviti kraj kovanja, 27 % novcev pa izvira iz kovnice Akvileja (Kos 2011, 233).

[44] Kent 1994, 128.

[45] Kent 1994, 322–323.

[46] Kent 1994, 128.

[47] *FMRSl* I 17/1-353.

[48] *FMRSl* I 13-347.

[49] *FMRSl* I 13-279, 335; *FMRSl* III 12-399, 400.

[50] Kos, 2011, 234; Kent 1994, 136. Glej tudi Kos 2000, 110.

[51] *FMRSl* I 168/2.

[a] Petru 1980–1981, 133 piše, da sta bila 2 novca Konstancija II. najdena v stolpu na spodnjem estrihu. P. Petru v svojem dnevniku izkopavanj navaja, da sta bila novca najdena "v spodnji plasti ruševin in oglja, ki gre pod obstoječe obzidje" (Arhiv AONMS, št. 409). V popisu najdb iz l. 1976 je navedeno, da je bil novec (najdba št. 73) odkrit "v severnem vogalu stolpa, 65 cm od vzhodnega zidu" (Arhiv AONMS, št. 410).

[b] Glej op. zg. V popisu najdb iz l. 1976 je navedeno, da je bil novec (najdba št. 78) najden "v plasti žganine ob vzhodnem temelju, 130 cm od severnega zidu, 12 cm od vzhodnega zidu stolpa, globina 88 cm" (Arhiv AONMS, št. 410).

Tab. 15: Evidenca numizmatičnih najdb iz jasno dokumentiranih arheoloških kontekstov, ki jih je nedvoumno mogoče povezati z utrdbenimi sistemi.

Tek. št.	Lokaliteta	Kontekst	Novec	Pomen za datacijo	Objava
1	**Gradina iznad Pasjaka** – kastel	zgornji ruševinski sloj v kastelu, *"uz temelj jedne od kula"*	na kupu odkritih 12 bronastih novcev; določljivi le Gallienus - samost. (1x), Claudius II. (2x), Quintillus (1x)	*terminus post quem* (*tpq*) rušitve kastela (po Starac utrdba porušena 270, saj v sklopu novcev ni Avrelijana)	Starac 2004, 29; Starac 2009, 286.
2	**Zaplana - Strmica**	ob južni notranji steni stolpa 52	Constantius II. (351-361) (type *Fel Temp Reparatio*) – določitev A. Šemrov	*terminus ante quem* (*taq*) izgradnje stolpa	Urleb 1962–1964, 186 omenja le nečitljiv bronast novec; Petru 1972, 345, omenja najdbo novca Valentinijana I. ali Valensa iz 373; *FMRSl* I 207-1.
3	***Ad Pirum*** – vzhodno obzidje ob vratih v trdnjavo	na zunanji strani ob obzidju v temni odpadni plasti na malti, ki je povezana z malto obzidja	Licinius I. (312/313)	*taq* izgradnje obzidja	Ulbert 1981, 43; *FMRSl* I 17/1-85.
4	***Ad Pirum*** – vzhodno obzidje	sonda 14 – iz gradbenega materiala na zunanji strani temelja obzidja	Constantius II., Aq, RIC 208 (352–355)	*tpq* obnove obzidja	Mackensen 1981, 136 št. 140; *FMRSl* I 17/1-207.
5	***Ad Pirum*** – JZ stolp	na hodni površini s sledovi ognja ob kvadratnem stolpu, prekriti z ruševinami stolpa	najmlajši novec Magnentius (351–352)	*tpq* porušitve stolpa prve faze	Svoljšak (rokopis); *FMRSl* V 9-18.
6	***Ad Pirum*** – JZ stolp	izkop na pobočju pod JZ stolpom, sledovi požara	vsi novci iz obdobja 367–375	*tpq* izgradnje novega JZ stolpa	Svoljšak (rokopis).
7	***Ad Pirum*** – vzhodni vratni stolp na cesti jugovzhodno pod trdnjavo	v žganini v notranjosti stolpa	Honorius (*Salus Reipublicae*)	datira požig stolpa	Ulbert 1981, 35; Mackensen 1981, 139 No. 215.
8	***Ad Pirum*** – zahodni vratni stolp na cesti jugozahodno pod trdnjavo	v žganini v severnem vogalu vratnega stolpa	Constantius II., Sis, RIC 101 (337–340)	*taq* izgradnje stolpa	*FMRSl* I 17/1-209.[a]
9	***Ad Pirum*** – zahodni vratni stolp na cesti jugozahodno pod trdnjavo	v plasti žganine ob vzhodnem temelju vratnega stolpa	Valentinianus I., Valens or Gratianus (364–378)	*tpq* obnove stolpa	*FMRSl* I 17/1-300.[b]
10	***Castra*** – stolp 2		Gallienus, Rim, RIC 181 K (267–268)	*tpq* zidave stolpa	*FMRSl* III 12-17.
11	***Castra*** – stolp 12	v zidni masi sredice stolpa	Gallienus, Rim, RIC 283 K (267–268)	*tpq* zidave stolpa	Osmuk 1990, 189; *FMRSl* III 12-24.
12	***Castra*** – južno obzidje pri stolpu 12	na robu maltne plasti znotraj obzidja	Divus Claudius II., RIC 261 K (270)	*tpq* zidave obzidja	Osmuk 1990, 189–190; *FMRSl* III 12-45.

Tab. 16: Nezanesljivi podatki o numizmatičnih najdbah iz arheoloških kontekstov.

Tek. št.	Lokaliteta	Kontekst	Novec	Pomen za datacijo	Objava
1	***Tarsatica*** – vzhodno obzidje	v zidu v vezivni malti	Valentinianus II., Gratianus, Theodosius I. – kovnice Sis in Sir	datirajo obnovo obzidja mesta	Blečić 2001, 82; Starac 2009, 286.
2	**Klana**	novec najden v zgodnjesrednjeveškem sloju ob vznožju "*središnjeg palasa utvrde*". "*U jezgri ovog palasa*" sledovi temelja pozno-antičnega nadzornega stolpa.	Maxentius I., *nummus* iz 307		Starac 2009, 286.
3	***Castra*** – stolp 13	"am Mauerwerk und im Turme"	Probus (Ant), Diocletianus (Rad), Galerius (Fol)	"… wahrscheinlich die Aufbauzeit der Stadtmauer erhellen …"	Petru 1974, 181.

NOVČNE NAJDBE IZ NESPORNIH ARHEOLOŠKIH KONTEKSTOV

Če pregled posamičnih novčnih najdb iz posameznih trdnjav omogoča vpogled v denar v obtoku v posamezni trdnjavi ter predvsem njegovo večjo ali manjšo zastopanost v posameznih kovnih obdobjih, pa so še pomembnejše najdbe novcev, odkritih v arheoloških kontekstih, ki jih je nedvoumno mogoče povezati z gradnjo oziroma uničenjem obrambnih struktur (obzidja, obrambnih zidov, stolpov) v sklopu obrambnega sistema *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Prav zato so takšne številčno sicer skromne najdbe toliko pomembnejše in je evidenco vredno zbrati na enem mestu (*tab. 15*). Ob tem moram ponovno poudariti, da novci s svojim datumom kovanja postavljajo zgolj kronološko oporo za datiranje gradnje ali razrušenja oziroma požiga, torej *terminus ante quem* ali *terminus post quem*. Novci posameznih vladarjev so bili lahko v obtoku dalj časa, prav tako ni nujno, da so iz kovnice prišli v obtok na neko območje neposredno po kovanju.

Drugih podatkov o novcih, ki jih navajajo avtorji v strokovni literaturi, ni mogoče preveriti oziroma niso navedeni točni konteksti, iz katerih novci izhajajo. Podatke zgolj navajam ter poudarjam, da na njihovi podlagi niso mogoči nikakršni sklepi (*tab. 16*).

SKLEP

Analiza posamičnih novčnih najdb je nedvoumno pokazala na prve opaznejše aktivnosti v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* v sredini druge polovice 3. stoletja. Zgolj na tej podlagi pa bi bilo te aktivnosti težko povezati s pričetkom gradnje obeh trdnjav. Za podrobnejšo časovno opredelitev gradnje obzidja trdnjave *Castra* je bistven novec zadnje emisije Galijena, odkrit v zidni masi sredice stolpa 12 (*tab. 15:* št. 11). Na robu maltne plasti znotraj obzidja, ki jo Osmukova interpretira kot preostanek gradbene dejavnosti na obzidju, je ležal antoninijan Klavdija II., kovan po njegovi smrti leta 270 (*tab. 15:* št. 12). Postavitev obzidja je Osmukova na podlagi teh najdb postavila v čas okrog leta 270 ali v začetek sedemdesetih let 3. stoletja.[52] Ker je bil Galijenov novec kovan v kovnici v Rimu leta 267/8, Klavdijev novec pa šele po njegovi smrti leta 270, se zdi objektivneje na podlagi teh novčnih najdb umestiti gradnjo obzidja trdnjave *Castra* v sredino sedemdesetih let 3. stoletja. To se ujema tudi z rezultati analize posamičnih novčnih najdb v trdnjavi *Castra*.[53] N. Osmuk navaja tudi podatke o 9 dobro ohranjenih novcih, ki so bili odkriti v nasipnem sloju, s katerim so utrjevali teren pred gradnjo obzidja kastela.[54] Segajo od Septimija Severa[55] do Proba[56] in naj bi po njenem potrjevali tezo o času gradnje kastela v sedemdesetih letih 3. stoletja.[57] V kolikor je njena interpretacija ruševinskega nasutja pravilna, bi najdbe omenjenih novcev prej kazale na poznejšo gradnjo obzidja (šele v osemdesetih letih 3. stoletja), saj je bil novec Proba kovan šele v tretji emisiji kovnice v Sisku (leta 277). To bi se ujemalo tudi s podatkom, da sta bili po mnenju raziskovalcev istočasno z

[52] Osmuk 1990, 190.
[53] Glej zgoraj, str. 294.
[54] Osmuk 1997, 122.
[55] *FMRSl* III 12-11.
[56] *FMRSl* III 12-63.
[57] Osmuk 1990, 190.

južnim obzidjem trdnjave *Castra* oziroma neposredno po njegovem dokončanju zgrajeni stavbi I in II znotraj obzidja. *Terminus post quem* izgradnje stavb določata dva Avrelijanova novca iz podlage tlaka apoditerija v stavbi II oziroma novec cesarja Proba izpod temelja stavbe II.[58] Navedeni podatki so zaradi točnih najdiščnih okoliščin sicer precej bolj zanesljivi kot poročilo P. Petruja o raziskovanju stolpa 13 trdnjave *Castra*. V njem govori o treh novcih, odkritih "pri zidu in v stolpu" (*tab. 16:* št. 3), ki naj bi po njegovem lahko osvetljevali čas gradnje trdnjavskega obzidja. Najmlajši od novcev, ki jih omenja, je Galerijev *nummus* (305–311), ki bi s tem postavil *terminus post quem* gradnje obzidja. Žal Petru o podrobnejših najdiščnih okoliščinah najdb teh novcev nikjer ne poroča.[59]

V trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* ni novčnih najdb druge polovice 3. stoletja iz arheoloških kontekstov, ki bi jih lahko povezovali z gradnjo obzidja. Analiza posamičnih novčnih najdb kaže na intenzivno zastopanost novcev v istem času kot v trdnjavi *Castra*, vendar pa novčne najdbe dokazujejo zgolj povečane aktivnosti v naselbini na prelazu, nikakor pa ne, da je bilo v tem obdobju že zgrajeno obzidje. Skupek novcev v prostoru stavbe severno ob cesti skozi trdnjavo dokumentira le požar stavbe v sedemdesetih letih 3. stoletja.[60] Nobenega dokaza ni, da bi bil požar posledica sovražnih dejavnosti, vendar je treba opozoriti na dva majhna novčna zaklada iz okolice Verda pri Vrhniki in iz Ilirske Bistrice,[61] torej iz neposredne bližine zapornega sistema, ki imata podobno sestavo in v njiju niso več zastopani novci Avrelijana.[62]

Skupina novcev iz istega obdobja je bila odkrita tudi v kastelu na Gradini nad Pasjakom, ki ga je mogoče povezati z obrambnim sistemom *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* (*tab. 15:* št. 1). Najmlajši iz skupine 12 novcev je bil kovan leta 270, zato R. Starac domneva uničenje kastela v letu 270.

L. Bekić na podlagi analize novčnih najdb iz tarsatijskega principija sklepa, da je bil principij zgrajen v času Klavdija II. (268–270).[63] Kljub številčno razmeroma skromnim novčnim najdbam druge polovice 3. stoletja kažejo *tabela 4* ter grafikona (*sl. 4* in *5*) v primerjavi z novci iz trdnjav *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* na nekoliko poznejše povečanje intenzivnosti najdb. Na tej podlagi se zdi verjetnejše, da je bil tarsatijski principij grajen konec sedemdesetih oziroma v osemdesetih letih 3. stoletja.

Trdnjavi Martinj hrib in Lanišče v tem času še nista bili zgrajeni.

Do 294 je v trdnjavah *Castra* in *Ad Pirum* kljub skromni zastopanosti novcev mogoče ugotavljati normalno življenje, povečan dotok denarja v obtok v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* pa je opazen v obdobju 315–324, kar se ujema z najdbo Licinijevega novca iz leta 312/313 v arheološkem kontekstu, ki ga je mogoče povezati z gradnjo vzhodnega trdnjavskega obzidja (*tab. 15:* št. 3). Na vsak način govori dokumentirana povečana prisotnost denarja tega obdobja za intenzivno poselitev v naselbini na prelazu, kar bi prav v povezavi z omenjenim Licinijevim novcem lahko interpretirali s povečano prisotnostjo vojske, ki je gradila trdnjavsko obzidje, že v dvajsetih letih 4. stoletja.[64] V tem času je v trdnjavi *Castra* dokumentirana prisotnost denarja iste intenzivnosti kot npr. v Emoni. V tridesetih letih 4. stoletja se zastopanost denarja v obeh trdnjavah izjemno poveča tudi v primerjavi z mestoma Emono in Petoviono (*sl. 8* in *9*), kar lahko interpretiramo zgolj kot odraz bistveno povečane intenzivnosti življenja v obeh trdnjavah.

V notranjosti prehodnega stolpa, na cesti jugozahodno pod trdnjavo *Ad Pirum* sta bila v plasti ruševin in oglja, ki se razteza pod obstoječe obzidje, odkrita dva bronasta novca: dobro ohranjen centenional Konstancija II., kovan v kovnici *Siscia* med letoma 337 in 340 (*tab. 15:* št. 8), ter slabo ohranjen bronasti novec tipa *Securitas Reipublicae*, kovan v času 364–378 (*tab. 15:* št. 9). P. Petru napačno omenja, da sta bila v stolpu najdena dva Konstancijeva novca, oba pa mu služita kot dokaz, da je bil stolp požgan med boji za ta cestni prehod leta 352 in nato obnovljen leta 388.[65] Ker je bil mlajši novec v spodnji plasti ruševin kovan v pobliže nedoločljivem času med 364 in 378, požiga prvotnega stolpa na tej podlagi ni mogoče povezovati z dogodki leta 352. Konstancijev novec bi lahko služil zgolj kot *terminus ante quem* graditve stolpa.

V isti čas spada najdba izrabljenega bronastega novca Konstancija II. akvilejske kovnice, kovanega 352–355, v plasti malte ob jugovzhodnem obzidju

[58] Osmuk 1997, 127.

[59] Witschel 2002, 350, op. 155, trdi, da je postavljanje datacije gradnje obzidja trdnjave *Castra* na podlagi "örtlichen Münzreihen" "ein reichlich unsicheres Argument".

[60] *FMRSl* I 17/2.

[61] Verd: *FMRSl* I 206/3. Ilirska Bistrica: *FMRSl* I 77/1.

[62] Glej Kos 1986, 131.

[63] Bekić 2009, 220.

[64] Mackensen 1981, 149, op. 34, domneva v času sovražnosti med Konstantinom in Licinijem I. "militärisch – fortifikatorische Sicherung Italiens durch die *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*" kot preventivo proti pričakovani agresiji Licinija.

[65] Petru 1980–1981, 133.

na zunanji strani trdnjave (*tab. 15:* št. 4), ki naj bi časovno opredeljeval obnovo obzidja.[66]

Zgolj na podlagi novčne najdbe v prehodnem stolpu na cesti pod trdnjavo gradbenih aktivnosti na obzidju ne moremo povezovati z vojaškimi aktivnostmi v času državljanske vojne med Magnencijem in Konstancijem II., dejstvo pa je, da kaže analiza posamičnih novčnih najdb iz notranjosti trdnjave *Ad Pirum* na izjemen dotok novcev Magnencija in Decencija in posredno na povečano prisotnost Magnencijevih vojakov v trdnjavi.

Najmlajši novci na prvotni hodni površini ob jugozahodnem stolpu trdnjave *Ad Pirum*, prekriti z ruševinami stolpa prve faze (kvadratnega tlorisa), bi lahko časovno opredelili porušitev prvotnega stolpa v čas po 351–352.[67] Nasprotno so bili vsi novci (razen enega iz obdobja kovanja 351–354),[68] odkriti v ruševinski plasti na zunanji južni strani jugozahodnega stolpa, kovani v obdobju 367–375.[69] Pomenljivo je, da novcev, ki bi bili kovani po letu 375, v tej plasti ni bilo odkritih. Po mnenju raziskovalca stolpa D. Svoljška so bili novci izgubljeni v času ponovne gradnje porušenega stolpa, tokrat stolpa pentagonalne oblike.[70]

Številčno močnejša zastopanost novcev v tarsatijskem principiju se v 4. stoletju pričenja šele z novci, kovanimi po letu 351, ter nadaljnje poveča v valentinijanskem obdobju. Zgolj na podlagi sicer razmeroma nizkega skupnega števila v principiju odkritih novcev bi lahko sklepali na prisotnost vojske v principiju šele v valentinijanskem obdobju, torej šele v drugi polovici 4. stoletja.

Opaznejša prisotnost novcev v trdnjavi Martinj hrib je dokumentirana šele v obdobju kovanja 351–361, res intenzivna pa je šele v valentinijanskem obdobju. Podobna ugotovitev velja za trdnjavo Lanišče, kjer pa je dokumentirano izjemno nizko skupno število vseh najdenih novcev.

V trdnjavi Lanišče lahko na podlagi novčnih najdb (v glavnem odkritih v ruševinski plasti) ugotavljamo le, da v trdnjavo niso več zašli novci tipa *Salus Reipublicae*, kovani v velikih količinah po letu 389. Zato je mogoče sklepati, da je bila trdnjava porušena 388 oziroma kmalu zatem in pozneje ni bila več obnovljena.

Podoben sklep je mogoč za trdnjavo Martinj hrib, kjer so najmlajši novci v trdnjavi kovani v letih 387–388, odkriti pa so bili v žganinski plasti. V njej je bil odkrit tudi sprimek bronastih novcev velikosti AE 3, kar kaže na nasilno porušitev kastela leta 388 ali kmalu zatem. Novec tipa *Salus Reipublicae* je detektorska najdba zunaj kastela in težko služi kot dokaz, da so v trdnjavo zahajali tudi novci tega tipa, kovanega v obdobju 388–403.[71]

Bekić sklepa, da je bil tarsatijski principij požgan v času Teodozija ali pa Arkadija oziroma Honorija.[72]

V trdnjavo *Ad Pirum* je dokumentiran še dotok Honorijevih novcev, kovanih po letu 394, medtem ko niso zastopani novci tipa *Gloria Romanorum* 11, kar kaže, da v drugem desetletju 5. stoletja v trdnjavo ni več dotekal svež denar. Ob tem pa moramo kljub temu poudariti, da je precej velika verjetnost, da so bili Honorijevi novci kovnic v Rimu in Akvileji na najdišču kovani šele v času po Evgenijevem porazu septembra 394 in med koncem kovanja njegovih novcev tega tipa leta 402 oziroma 403, kot pa da bi bili kovani v kratkem obdobju med proglasitvijo Honorija za Avgusta januarja 393 ter Evgenijevo zasedbo Italije spomladi 393. Zato je treba interpretacijo, da so ožgani novci iz ruševinskih plasti v trdnjavi *Ad Pirum* povezani z dogodki jeseni 394,[73] obravnavati z ustrezno previdnostjo in skepso.[74]

P. Petru na podlagi neobjavljenih novcev ("od Konstantina do Teodozija"), odkritih v žganinski plasti v stavbi v notranjosti trdnjave ob njenem vzhodnem obzidju, sicer povezuje uničenje stavbe in trdnjave z dogodki septembra 394.[75] Tudi to domnevo moramo obravnavati skrajno previdno, saj izkopavanja niso bila objavljena. Nasprotno so v trdnjavi *Castra* zastopani še novci prvih treh desetletij 5. stoletja, kar kaže na precej daljše življenje v trdnjavi.

Peter Kos
Narodni muzej Slovenije
Prešernova 20
1000 Ljubljana
peter.kos@nms.si

[66] Mackensen 1981, 136 št. 140, 150. Glej tudi Giesler 1981, 117.

[67] *FMRSl* V 9-4; *FMRSl* V 9-7; *FMRSl* V 9-17; *FMRSl* V 9-18.

[68] *FMRSl* V 9-20.

[69] *FMRSl* V 9-26–30, 32, 33, 35.

[70] Za ljubeznivo posredovanje podatkov se zahvaljujem gospodu Dragu Svoljšku.

[71] *FMRSl* III 96-27.

[72] Bekić 2009, 220.

[73] Mackensen 1981, 151 to povezuje s koncem trdnjave *Ad Pirum* "frühestens während des Jahres 394 oder wenig später".

[74] Ulbert 1981, 48 sicer piše, da v trdnjavi ni ruševinskih plasti, ki bi jih lahko povezali z njenim dokončnim uničenjem.

[75] Petru 1972, 351; 1974, 181.