

The Augustan conquest of southeastern Alpine and western Pannonian areas: coins and hoards

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Izvleček

Do končne vzpostavitve rimske kontrole območja jugovzhodnih Alp in zahodne Panonije je prišlo v avgustejski dobi. Pri proučevanju teh procesov je med drugim v pomoč tudi analiza denarnega obtoka, še zlasti štirih tipov bronastega denarja: novcev tipa *Divos Iulius*, novcev iz kovnic v Rimu in Lugdunu ter novcev iz provincialne kovnice v Nemausu. Proučili smo nekatere novčne najdbe iz avgustejskega obdobja na območju Slovenije, ki zaradi zelo različnih najdiščnih kontekstov predstavljajo še dodaten izziv za interpretiranje. Pri analizi smo uporabili posamične novčne najdbe iz vojaškega tabora na Obrežju, manjšo zakladno najdbo iz Povirja pri Sežani s 30 kovničarskimi bronastimi novci in posamične bronaste in srebrne najdbe iz Celeje in Emona. Ugotovitve lahko strnemo v naslednje: Zgodnjeavgustejske emisije bronastega denarja, predvsem novcev kovnic iz Nemausa serij I in II in serije novcev Oltar I kovnice v Lugdunu ter srebrnikov taiste kovnice, lahko povežemo z rimskimi vojaškimi aktivnostmi v letih 14–8 pr. Kr. in s pomembnimi strateškimi točkami, kot sta Vrhnika (*Nauportus*) in Ljubljana. Kovničarski novci kovnice v Rimu so bili večinoma v uporabi daljše obdobje. Zlasti tisti, ki nosijo kontramärke ali pa so polovičeni. Uporabo vojaškega tabora Obrežje moramo ob pomanjkanju bronastih novcev kovnice iz Nemausa in novcev serije Oltar I kovnice iz Lugduna datirati v poznejše obdobje, v čas panonsko-dalmatinskega upora v letih 6–9.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, *Emona*, Obrežje, avgustejsko obdobje, novčne najdbe, provincialne kovnice

The Romans first exhibited a desire to conquer the region of the southeastern Alps and western Pannonia shortly after the foundation of Aquileia,¹

¹ On the basis of coin finds it is possible to hypothesize early Roman activities in Notranjska (Inner Carniola) and

Abstract

Final Roman control over the region of the southeastern Alps and western Pannonia was achieved in the Augustan period. Analysis of the monetary circulation in this region shows an increased quantity of coinage in circulation. Four types of bronze coins are important: the coins of the *Divos Iulius* type, coins of the provincial mint in Nemausus, bronze coins from the mints in Rome and Lugdunum.

Coin finds from the Augustan period discovered in Slovenia – because of their highly varied contexts of discovery – represent an additional challenge in interpretation. They consist of the following: individual coin finds from the Augustan military camp at Obrežje, a small hoard from Povir near Sežana, and numerous individual finds of bronze and silver coins from two urban areas: Celeia (Celje) and Emona (Ljubljana). It may be concluded that the early Augustan emissions of bronze coinage, particularly the coins from the mint of Nemausus of series I and II, and the Altar I series of coins from the mint of Lugdunum, along with the silver coins of this mint, can be related to Roman military activities in 14–8 BC and also to important strategic points, such as Nauportus (Vrhnika) and Emona. The moneyers' coins of the mint in Rome were for the most part in use throughout a lengthy period. The military camp at Obrežje must be dated to a later period, 6–9 AD, due to the absence of bronze coins from the mint of Nemausus and coins of the Altar I series from the mint of Lugdunum.

Keywords: Slovenia, *Emona*, Obrežje, Augustan period, coin finds, provincial mints

and final Roman control over the area was achieved in the Augustan period. Two military stages were particularly decisive:

in general in the western part of Slovenia, see Kos, Šemrov 2003; Miškec 2003 and Miškec 2007.

- The Pannonian War from 14 to 8 BC;²
- The Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion in 6–9 AD.³

Analysis of the monetary circulation in the region of the southeastern Alps and western Pannonia clearly shows an increased quantity of coinage, particularly bronze, in circulation in the Augustan period.⁴ As this period was relatively long lasting in comparison to the reigns of other rulers and new corrections for the dating of certain coin emissions constantly appear, it is necessary to be highly cautious in the interpretation of coins and analysis of the monetary circulation.⁵ Particular attention must be paid to the fact that in the period from 4 BC to 10 AD the Emperor Augustus did not mint bronze coins in the mint of Rome. The monetary reform of Augustus, which began in 23 BC and took place gradually, introduced a completely new monetary system of sesterti and dupondii in brass and asses and quadrans in bronze. The production of bronze coinage was centered on the mint in Rome, although in the Augustan age the provincial Gallic mints of Lugdunum and Nemausus had a considerable share in the production of bronze coinage.

For the study and comparison of the monetary circulation in the Augustan period, bronze coins from military contexts are most suitable, especially from sites along the Rhine and the Lippe. These include the earliest military strongholds of Novaesium (Neuss) and Nijmegen, which were established by Drusus in 16 BC. The beginnings of the camp at Dangstetten are placed ca. 15 BC. The existence of the military camp at Oberaden (this complex also including the sites of Beckinghausen, Asberg, and Rödgen) can be related to the military expedition of Drusus between 12 and 9/8 BC, and the military camp at Haltern with the military



Fig. 1: The bronze coins from the mint of Nemausus were also discovered during the archaeological excavations in 2005, in Kočevarjev vrt at Vrhnika (Turk 2009, 251).

Sl. 1: Pri arheoloških raziskavah, ki so potekale l. 2005 na Kočevarjevem vrtu na Vrhniki, so našli tudi bronaste novce kovnice iz Nemausa (Turk 2009, 251).

campaigns of Tiberius, Varus, and others between 7/5 BC – 9 AD. The site of Kalkriese is considered to be the place where in 9 AD the famous battle of the Teutoburg Forest would have taken place between the Germans under the leadership of Arminius and the Roman army, commanded by Publius Quinctilius Varus.⁶

Four types of bronze coins are particularly important:

1. The bronze coins of the *Divos Iulius* type at the transition from the Republican to the Imperial period.

Because of its easily recognizable characteristics – depictions of heads on both sides (on the obverse Octavian, on the reverse Caesar) – this type is also called the “double-headed” type in the numismatic literature. Coins of this type were minted circa 38 BC in an as yet unidentified mint in the northern part of Italy. They were in frequent use in Italy in the thirties and twenties BC.⁷

2. Bronze coins of the provincial mint in Nemausus, types I–III (Nem. I–III) (fig. 1).

² Wilkes 1969, 46–76; Domić-Kunić 2006; in an exhaustive article, which also includes all analyzed ancient sources in the original with a translation, the author notes that there are few scientific texts about Tiberius' war in Pannonia (*Bellum Pannonicum*), although this war in her opinion played a very important role, at least as important as Octavianus' campaign twenty years previously.

³ Šašel Kos 1986, 167–191.

⁴ In numismatics the term *bronze coinage* is a general concept, which is used to denote copper, bronze, and even brass coins.

⁵ Despite the generally widespread opinion that coins in principle represent a good dating tool, this is not entirely valid for the coins of Augustus; cf. van Heesch 1999, 347.

⁶ Neuss (Chaintraine 1982), Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986, 1998), Oberaden (Ilisch 1992), Haltern (*FMRD* VI 4 4057), and Kalkriese (Berger 1996).

⁷ *RRC* 535, *RPC* I, p. 161.

The mint in Nemausus (*Colonia Nemausus*, present-day Nîmes) in Gaul began to mint the famous series of coins with an image of a crocodile during the reign of Augustus. This series consisted of three basic groups of bronze coins.⁸ On the obverse they bear the legend IMP DIVI F (i.e. *imperator* and *divi filius*) with two heads, turned away from each other. The left head depicts Agrippa and the right Augustus. The reverse has an image of a crocodile with a chain around its neck attached to a palm branch, and the legend COL NEM.⁹ The groups differ in minor stylistic and iconographic details, as well as weight, and are usually denoted by Roman numerals from I to III. In this manner the coins of group Nem. I are subdivided into two series: the coins of series 1 (*RPC I 522*)¹⁰ are dated to 27 BC, and the coins of series 2 (*RPC I 523*) to the period from 16–10 BC.¹¹ The group Nem. II (*RPC I 524*) contains coins dated to the period from 9–3 BC, and Nem. III (*RPC I 525*) to the period from 10–14 AD. The coins of groups Nem. I and II were widely distributed geographically. The Nem. I coins were the first Roman coins that reached the northwestern provinces in large quantities. Although the mint in Nemausus was theoretically a provincial mint,¹² it undoubtedly was effectively an imperial mint, particularly as it had an advantageous position in the vicinity of the large concentrations of soldiers taking part in the conquest of Germania.¹³ The coins of the Nem. I group would have entered into monetary circulation shortly after being minted, and they were equally rapidly replaced by coins

of the Altar I series from Lugdunum: these two facts make the coins of the Nem. I series suitable for dating archaeological contexts.¹⁴ Coins of the Nem. II series, on the other hand, are present in large quantities mostly in central Gaul.¹⁵

3. Bronze moneyers' coins from the mint in Rome.¹⁶

The mint in Rome minted several series of bronze coins with the names of various magistrates (*triumviri monetales*), for which the shorter and commonly used term is *moneyers' coins* (German *Münzmeisterprägung*). At least several different dates exist, which we can very briefly cite. Only the coins of the collegium (*triumviri monetalis*) of Mescinius Rufus, Vinicius, and Antistius Vetus can be securely dated to the year 16 BC, as the coins bear the terms TRP (*tribunitia potestas*) VII and TRP VIII.¹⁷ Mattingly established the basic dating in 1923, which was based on the chronological classification of the collegia; from the earliest in 23 BC (the collegium of *Calpurnius Piso*, *Naevius Surdinus* and *Plotius Rufus*) to the latest in 4 BC (the collegium of *Betelienus Bassus*, *Naevius Capella*, *Rubellius Blandus* and *Valerius Catullus*).¹⁸ Kraft in 1951–1952 transferred the beginning of Augustus' monetary reform from 23 BC to 19 BC,¹⁹ while the later studies of Burnett and Wallace-Hadrill returned the beginnings of the reform to 23 BC.²⁰ We have utilized Mattingly's classification and dating, which was also adopted by von Kaenel,²¹ who placed the first series in 23 BC, and the last two, the ninth and tenth, composed exclusively of quadrans, to the years 5 and 4 BC.

4. Bronze coins of the mint in Lugdunum, the Altar I series.

The mint in Lugdunum (present-day Lyon) in Gaul minted large quantities of silver coinage in the Augustan period. Of all the coins made from less valuable metals, two series in particular are important. The coins of both series bear an image on the reverse of the famous Lugdunum altar, hence they are called the First Altar or Altar I series and Altar II. The Altar I series is dated to 15–10 BC, and the Altar II series to the period 9–14 AD.²²

⁸ The division into three groups is the most commonly used, but is not the only one. In fact because of the varied divisions of the mint of the mint at Nemausus, it is very difficult to make comparisons between sites, which leads to incomprehension and incorrect conclusions.

⁹ *RPC I*, pp. 152–154.

¹⁰ These were heavy, semiuncial asses, which were minted probably around 27 BC during Augustus' visit to Gaul (*RPC I*, p. 153; Doyen 2009, 48; Kemmers 2005, 29).

¹¹ Discussion still continues about the dating of this other group: in *RIC* it is dated to the period from 20 to 10 BC (*RIC 155–157*), Zehnacker dates it to 18/19–9 BC (1984, p. 74), while van Heesch suggests a date between 16/15 and 8 BC (1996, 96).

¹² Provincial mints, in contrast to imperial mints, minted coins that were usually in use only in a limited area, mostly for local requirements. The expression "Roman provincial", (also "Greek imperial") minting designates minting in numerous mints in the name of a place, colony, and region of an individual Roman province, at first in the Iberian peninsula and later in the east of the Roman Empire (*RPC I*, xiii–xvii).

¹³ Kemmers 2006, 40.

¹⁴ Van Heesch, 1999, 349–351, Wigg 1999, 108–109.

¹⁵ Besombes 2004, 13.

¹⁶ *RIC I*, 31–34.

¹⁷ Kemmers 2006, 41.

¹⁸ Mattingly 1923.

¹⁹ Kraft 1951–1952, 28–35.

²⁰ Burnett 1977, 48 ff.; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 85–86.

²¹ Von Kaenel 1999, 367–369.

²² *RIC I*, pp. 27–29 and 57–58.

Giard dates the Altar II series to the period 10–14 AD,²³ while Heesch suggests dating the Altar II series to 10–12 AD.²⁴

The data acquired from comparisons of all four types of coins from the sites of Neuss (*Novaesium*), Oberaden, Haltern, and Kalkriese,²⁵ together with data from written sources, can be summarized into the following findings:

– Neuss, as the earliest camp, contains a smaller proportion of coins of the Nem. I type than Oberaden, and also contains Republican uncial asses, bronze coins of the “Copia/Vienne” type,²⁶ and even 8 coins of the Divos Iulius type.

– Oberaden has the greatest percentage of coins from the mint at Nemausus. Similarly as at Oberaden, at the sites of Rödgen and Dangstetten²⁷ bronze coins from the mint at Nemausus from series I and II represent around 90% of all coins (see fig. 2).²⁸

– At Haltern and Kalkriese the greatest proportion of coins were from the mint of Lugdunum, the Altar I series, at Haltern representing 80% of the total, and at Kalkriese even 90%. These coins are later than the coins from the mint in Nemausus, and considering that at Haltern another 9.5% of coins were from the mint at Nemausus, while there are almost none at Kalkriese, Berger considers this to be proof that Kalkriese is somewhat later than Haltern²⁹ (see fig. 2).

In the region of the southeastern Alps and western Pannonia, coins from the mint at Nemausus were represented only in small quantities,³⁰ as is evident from diagram (fig. 3), where the percentage share of bronze coins is displayed from various mints in

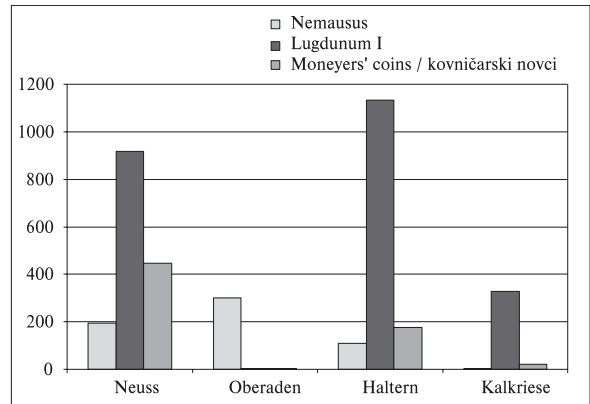


Fig. 2: The proportions of the bronze coins of the mints of Nemausus, Lugdunum, and Rome at the sites of Neuss, Oberaden, Haltern, and Kalkriese.

Sl. 2: Delež bronastih novcev kovnic Nemausus, Lugdunum I in Rim na najdiščih Oberaden, Haltern in Kalkriese.

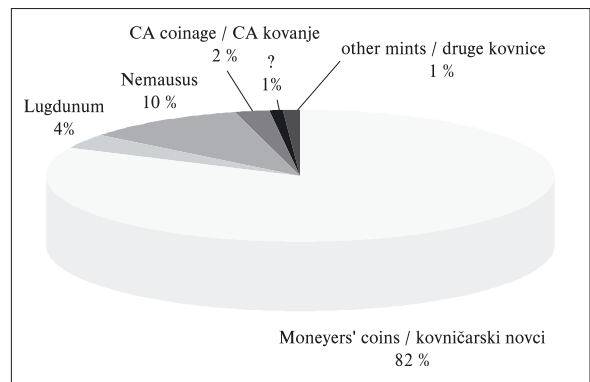


Fig. 3: The share of bronze coins of various mints from the Augustan period in the region of the southeastern Alps and western Pannonia.

Sl. 3: Delež bronastih novcev različnih kovnic v avgustevskem obdobju na območju jugovzhodnih Alp in zahodne Panonije.

the Augustan period. In a detailed analysis of the 4 different series of coins produced by this mint, almost 60% of the coins can be placed in the period of 27–3 BC (series Nem. I–II, *RPC* 522–524), as is shown on diagram (fig. 4).

Finds of bronze coins from the mint at Nemausus are concentrated in the western part of Slovenia, in Ljubljana, Celje and Ptuj (see fig. 5). Bronze coins of the mint at Lugdunum, of the Altar I series, are very rare, in contrast to the silver coinage of the imperial mint at Lugdunum, which represents 68%, which is by far the greatest share of all silver coins on the territory of Slovenia from the Augustan period (see fig. 6). The distribution of coins from the mint in Lugdunum minted in

²³ Giard 1983, 45–47.

²⁴ Heesch 2000, 154–156.

²⁵ Novaesium: Chaintraine 1982; Oberaden: *FMRD* VI, 5, 5080–5081; Ilisch 1992; Haltern: *FMRD* VI, 4, 4054–4057; Kalkriese: Berger 1996, Berger 1999.

²⁶ The so-called “Copia” and “Vienne” series were coins minted approximately at the same time and with similar depictions, and hence they are usually discussed together. The “Copia” series was minted in Lugdunum in Gaul in 38 and 36 BC (*RPC* I 514/515), and the “Vienne” series in 36 BC in the mint of Vienne in Gaul (*RPC* I 517).

²⁷ Berger 1999, 274.

²⁸ Berger uses another, earlier dating: the coins of the series I of the Nemausus mint are dated to 16–15 BC, and series II to 7–3 BC, Berger 1996.

²⁹ Berger 1996, 41–44.

³⁰ Although it is known that the mint at Nemausus emitted coins in large quantities and that they were very widespread (*RPC* I, p. 153).

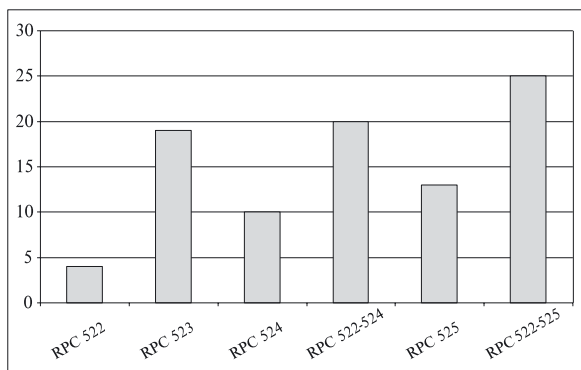


Fig. 4: The coins of the mint of Nemausus found in Slovenia.

Sl. 4: Novci kovnice Nemavs na območju Slovenije.

the period from 15 BC – 4 AD almost entirely corresponds to the distribution of bronze coins from the mint at Nemausus.

The greatest proportion of bronze coins from the Augustan period in Slovenia in general and at individual sites was represented by moneyers' coins from the mint in Rome. The actual minting and role of these coins in circulation after all research to the present still causes debate. As has already been seen in the dating of these coins,

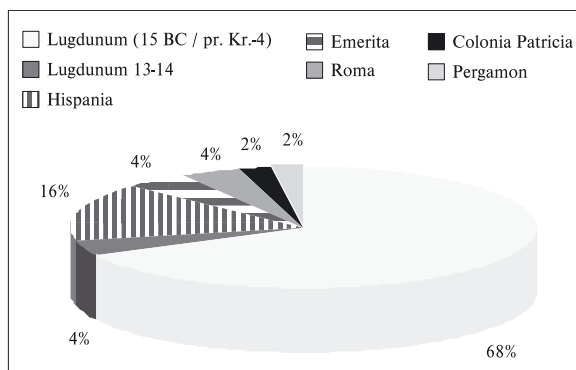


Fig. 6: The share of silver coins from different mints in the Augustan period in Slovenia.

Sl. 6: Delež srebrnikov iz različnih kovnic iz avgustejskega obdobja v Sloveniji.

various explanations exist, with different opinions about their use and primarily about how long they were in circulation. Bronze moneyers' coins from the mint in Rome reached the Rhine as late as 15 to 25 years after their minting. This was shown by van Heesch, Wolters, and Wigg,³¹ primarily on the basis of coins from the sites of Haltern, Oberaden, Kalkriese, Mainz, Waldgirmes, and

³¹ Van Heesch 1999, 349; Wolters 2000, 86–91, Wigg 1999, 333–335.

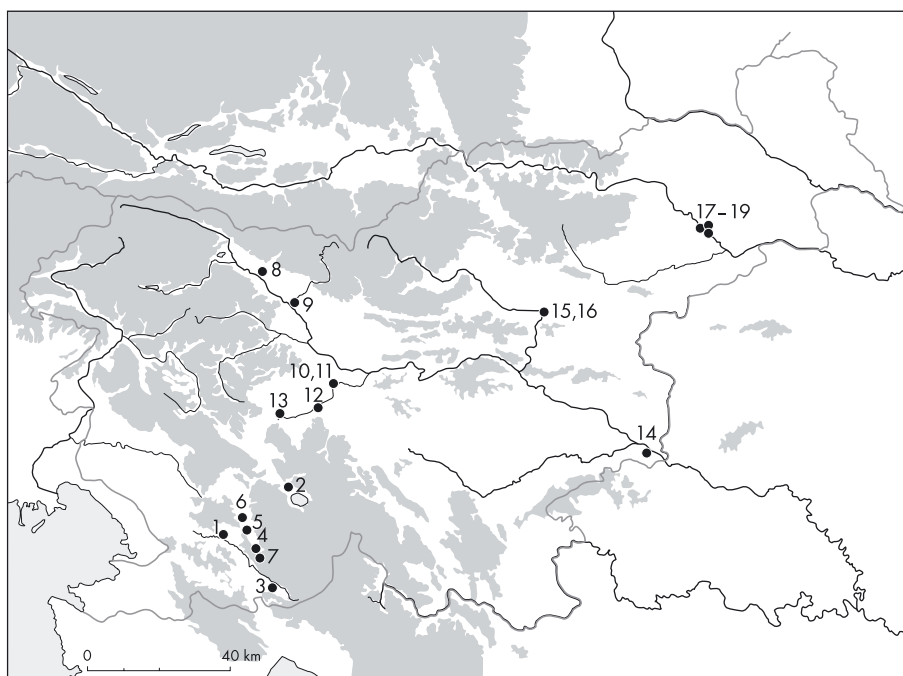


Fig. 5: The distribution of bronze coins of the mint at Nemausus.

Sl. 5: Razprostranjenost bronastih novcev kovnice v Nemavsu.

1 Vremski Britof; 2 Tržišče (Dolenja vas); 3 Javor (Dolnji Zemon); 4 Šilentabor; 5 Kerin (Pivka); 6 Ambroževno gradišče (Slavina); 7 Gradišče (Knežak); 8 Mošnje; 9 Kranj; 10 Ljubljana; 11 Livada (Ljubljana); 12 Ljubljanica (Bevke); 13 Vrh-nika; 14 Spodnja Ribnica; 15 Celje; 16 Savinja (Celje); 17 Ptuj; 18 Rabelčja vas; 19 Panorama (Vičava).

Trebur-Geinsheim, where they are very rare or don't exist, in contrast to the early Tiberian site of Vindonissa³², where they are numerous. Von Kaenel, who published the moneyers' coins of the Roman mint from the Tiber River, which could indicate the monetary mechanism in Rome itself, established the following:

- Among all the coins, the 1st and 2nd series of moneyers' coins of the Roman mint predominate, which were minted in 23 and 22 BC;
- Not a single coin was halved;
- Only one coin has a countermark.

What then occurred in the immediate vicinity of Italy, in areas where the Romans carried out military actions from as early as the middle of the 2nd century BC, in the southeastern Alpine region (present-day Slovenia)? Can we compare the supply and use of Roman coinage in this region with the monetary circulation in Rome? Were there any similarities to the Rhine military camps and strongholds? Help in answering these questions can be supplied by several coin finds from the Augustan period recently discovered in Slovenia, as well as previously known finds, which because of their highly varied contexts of discovery represent an additional challenge in interpretation. They consist of the following:

1. Individual coin finds from the Augustan military camp at Obrežje in the far eastern part of Slovenia at the present Slovenian-Croatian border crossing.

2. A small hoard from Povir near Sežana, which contained 30 bronze moneyers' coins.

3. Numerous individual finds of bronze and silver coins from two urban areas: Celeia (Celje) and Emona (Ljubljana).

In the Augustan period camp at Obrežje, which was discovered during archaeological excavations between 2001 and 2003,³³ altogether 38 coins were discovered.³⁴ Of these, 5 coins (3 Augustan asses minted in 11–12 AD, a small Celtic silver coin, and a denarius of M. Antonius from 32–31 BC) were discovered together with a Norican-Pannonian fibula in an isolated grave that must undoubtedly be dated after the abandonment of the military

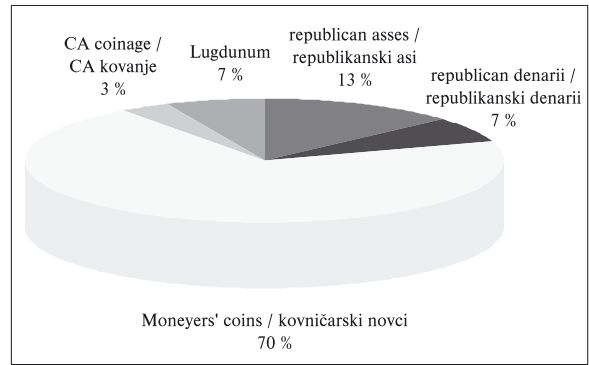


Fig. 7: The discovered coins at the site of Obrežje.
Sl. 7: Novci z najdišča Obrežje.

camp. The representation of other, otherwise very few, coins is shown on diagram (fig. 7).

Bronze moneyers' coins from the mint in Rome predominate with 70% (fig. 7), half of which are halved. Republican asses, minted to the middle of the 2nd century BC, are similarly all halved. The phenomenon of halving was primarily present in the Augustan period.³⁵ Recent research, based on the analysis of coins from the to date largest known find of Augustan coinage,³⁶ indicates that the appearance of halved Augustan coinage must be placed earlier and not as late as in the thirties of the 1st century, as had been suggested by Buttrey.³⁷ The military camp

³⁵ The phenomenon of halving Republican and early Imperial asses was first broadly analyzed by T.V. Buttrey. He saw halving as a result of a sudden revaluation of coins. He cited a theory that the bronze coins of the "double-headed" type (also called the *Divos Iulius* type in the literature; *RRC* 535) upon the introduction of the new reformed coinage (i.e. moneyers' coins), were revalued as dupondii. The result of these reforms was a lack of asses, which led to a general spread of halving of the *Divos Iulius* type coins, in order to ensure a sufficient number of asses. Buttrey dated this phenomenon to the late 1st century BC. He also hypothesized another phase of halving in the late thirties of the 1st century AD (Buttrey 1972).

³⁶ This is the largest hoard of Augustan coinage, otherwise from a votive source, which was discovered at the Roman baths of Bourbonne-les-Bains (Département Haute-Marne) in France. The find was discovered long ago in 1875 and was even partially published then, although it remained almost completely unknown to the broader professional public (both numismatic and archaeological), until it was reanalyzed and republished by Sauer (2005).

³⁷ Sauer (2005, 58–68) considers that comparisons between the site of Bourbonne-les-Bains and the camps from the period of Haltern (abandoned in 9 AD) indicate that the percentage of halved coins of the *Altar I* series increased tenfold. This increase contradicts the hypothesis that the halving of the Augustan asses began as late as the thirties AD.

³² Kraay 1962.

³³ Mason 2008.

³⁴ Viewed in comparison with other sites of military character, too small a number of coins were found at Obrežje, which might indicate that the site had already been destroyed previously.

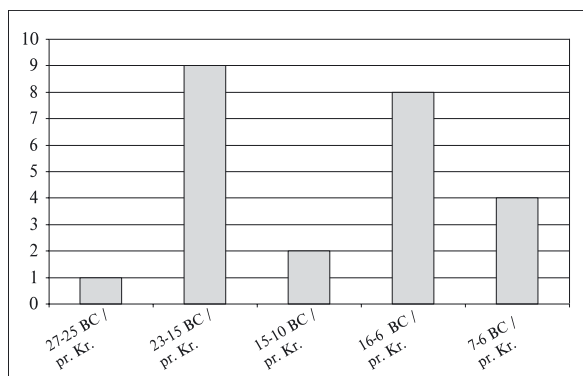


Fig. 8: The bronze moneyers' coins from the mint of Rome according to period of minting at the site of Obrežje.

Sl. 8: Kovničarski bronasti novci iz kovnice v Rimu po obdobjih kovanja z najdišča Obrežje.

of Obrežje was established at a strategically very important position, where the important Roman road from Italy ran through Emona to Siscia. Written sources discuss two events that could be related to the foundation of this camp: military actions at the end of the occupation of Pannonia in 14–8 BC or during the Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion in 6–9 AD. A later dating is not possible, as the complete absence of late Augustan and early Tiberian coins indicates that the camp could not have been established after 9 AD. The coins from the site of Obrežje can be classified to two large, almost equally sized groups (fig. 8). The first consists of coins minted to 15 BC, and the other of coins from 16–6 BC. The first group of coins can be connected to Roman activities between 14 and 9 BC, and the second to events that occurred more than 15 years later. It is almost impossible that the camp would have been in use for so many years, at the most it could possibly have been utilized twice. Since in form it is most similar to the military camp of Haltern, which is known to have been abandoned after 9 AD, it can be hypothesized that Obrežje was in use primarily during the Pannonian uprising in 6–9 AD. As many of the coins are halved and poorly preserved, it can further be suggested that they arrived in the camp gradually, through everyday monetary circulation, trade, and the personal mobility of people carrying coins.³⁸ Such a distribution can lead to delays of several years. We also cannot ignore the fact that the Roman mint did not mint bronze coins from 4 BC to 10 AD, and hence once again it is not surprising that such coins could be in use for so long.

³⁸ Wolters 2000, 86; this is one of two models, the other model is the "Steinwurf" type.

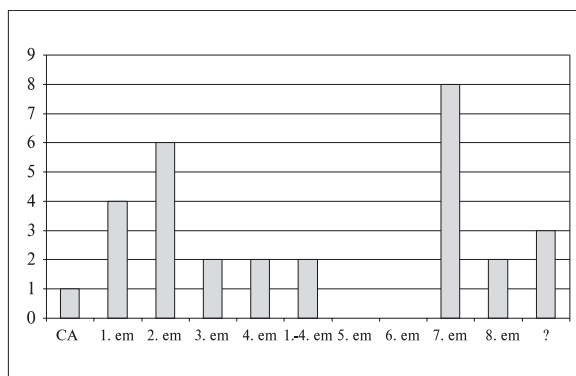


Fig. 9: Coins according to emission in the hoard of Povir.

Sl. 9: Novci po emisijah v zakladni najdbi Povir.

Also in favor of the later dating is the absence of bronze coins of the Divos Iulius type and the mint of Nemausus, which could prove an earlier date. Although two coins of the mint in Lugdunum, of the Altar 1 type, were found, which are otherwise earlier in terms of dating, both were halved, which once again indicates their later use.

Hoard finds of bronze moneyers' coins are rare, and hence the find discovered years ago at Povir near Sežana,³⁹ in the western part of Slovenia, is even more important. It enables an insight into what coins the owner actually was carrying at the moment they were lost, and hence what coinage he used. In a certain manner it represents a frozen moment of history, just like at Kalkriese, but for the present it is still not possible to determine exactly how many soldiers were involved in the battle there and how much money was possessed by each soldier. What does the find from Slovenia offer in terms of information? The purse contained 29 moneyers' coins from the mint in Rome and 1 coin of type CA (abbreviation unclear), minted in Asia Minor.⁴⁰ Diagram (fig. 9) shows the contents of the purse according to minting emissions. It can be securely claimed that the owner of the purse

³⁹ All that has been preserved is a list of the coins, which contained sufficiently detailed descriptions so that it was possible to classify most of the coins. A further two similar, although not as large, finds also exist. Both were discovered in Ljubljana, specifically in the area of Roman Emona: the find from 1931 was discovered on the forum and contained 4 moneyers' sestertii and one 1 bronze coin of the CA minting (FMRSI I 155/38), and the second find from 1987, which was discovered in insula XLIII, contained 3 Republican silver coins and 6 moneyers' coins (FMRSI III 83/16).

⁴⁰ CA minting is named for the legend on the reverse of the coin. The meaning of the abbreviation CA is unclear.

lost only this, and it follows that this was not a hoard, where coins that the owner had gathered throughout a lengthy period were deliberately stored, rather a random collection of coins that someone lost by chance. It can be established that the coins, which extend over a period of almost 20 years, were contemporaneously in use. More coins come primarily from the first two emissions, which exactly matches the monetary circulation in Rome that was established on the basis of the coin finds from the Tiber River. The most numerous emission was undoubtedly the 7th emission from 7 BC. Considering the composition of the coins and the fact that three coins had a countermark, it could be conjectured that the purse belonged to a soldier. Perhaps this eventually could be considered as representing part of the proof that soldiers received at least some of their pay in bronze coins.⁴¹

The hoard from Povir together with hoards from Ljubljana (see n. 39) additionally aids in comprehending the monetary circulation of moneyers' coins from the Roman mint in the southeastern Alpine region, and represent proof that at least in the western part of this region in the analysis of the monetary circulation of these coins there is no need to utilize the models that apply to sites along the German limes. The moneyers' coins, according to the current interpretation based primarily on the excavation of military camps, arrived on the German limes very late, as they are very rare at sites from the middle Augustan period, and achieved their apex in monetary circulation in the twenties of the 1st century AD.⁴² If this were also to apply to the region of Slovenia, then the find from Povir would also have to contain late Augustan coins and especially early Tiberian coins. The find, however, is homogeneous, and thus its deposition must be placed in the middle Augustan period. Similarly, from the eastern Alpine region, not a single hoard find is known that contains moneyers' coins together with Augustan, Tiberian, or even later coins.

In conclusion, the monetary circulation in Ljubljana is considered, where the material acquired in recent excavations confirms data noted in the sources, i.e. that an important logistical center

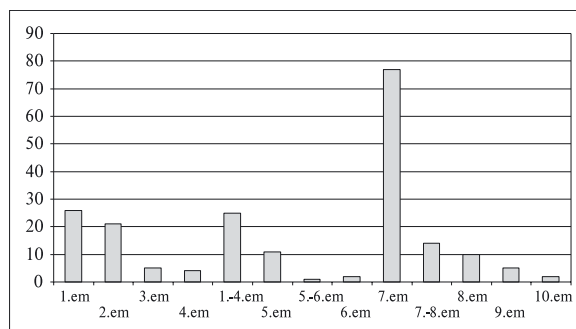


Fig. 10: Moneyers' coins according to emission in Emona. Sl. 10: Kovničarski novci po emisijah v Emoni.

had been located in Vrhnika near Ljubljana in the period of the Pannonian Wars (therefore in the period 14–8 BC). A survey of the moneyers' coins of the Roman mint indicates, primarily on the basis of the predominant coins of the first two emissions, that these coins certainly must be related to the events in 14 BC (*fig. 10*).

The review of all silver and bronze coins additionally confirms this claim, particularly the large number of bronze coins from the mint at Nemausus (above all series I and II) and coins of the Altar I type from the mint in Lugdunum. The seventh emission of the moneyers' coins of the Roman mint, dated to 7 BC, was the largest, as is evident from diagram (*fig. 11*), which displays the presence of moneyers' coins of various emissions at the sites of Emona, Carnuntum, Vindonissa, and Rim. The coins of those emissions are not chronologically reliable, as from 4 BC to 10 AD neither the Lugdunum mint nor the Roman mint minted bronze coins, and consequently these coins and earlier coins had to have been in use. This last of all explains why there were so few coins minted between 10–14 AD.

On the basis of all the analyses mentioned in the article, the following can be established for the territory of present-day Slovenia in the Augustan period:

1. The early Augustan emissions of bronze coinage, particularly the coins from the mint of Nemausus of series I and II, and the Altar I series of coins from the mint of Lugdunum, along with the silver coins of this mint, can be related to Roman military activities in 14–8 BC and also to important strategic points, such as Nauportus (Vrhnika) and Emona (Ljubljana).

2. The moneyers' coins of the mint in Rome were for the most part in use throughout a lengthy

⁴¹ Proven by Wigg (1999, 335–337); on the basis of the coins from the site of Kalkriese, where the ration between the discovered bronze and silver coins was almost 1:1, Berger proved the opposite (Berger 1999, 275).

⁴² Van Heesch 1999, 349; Berger 1989, 39.

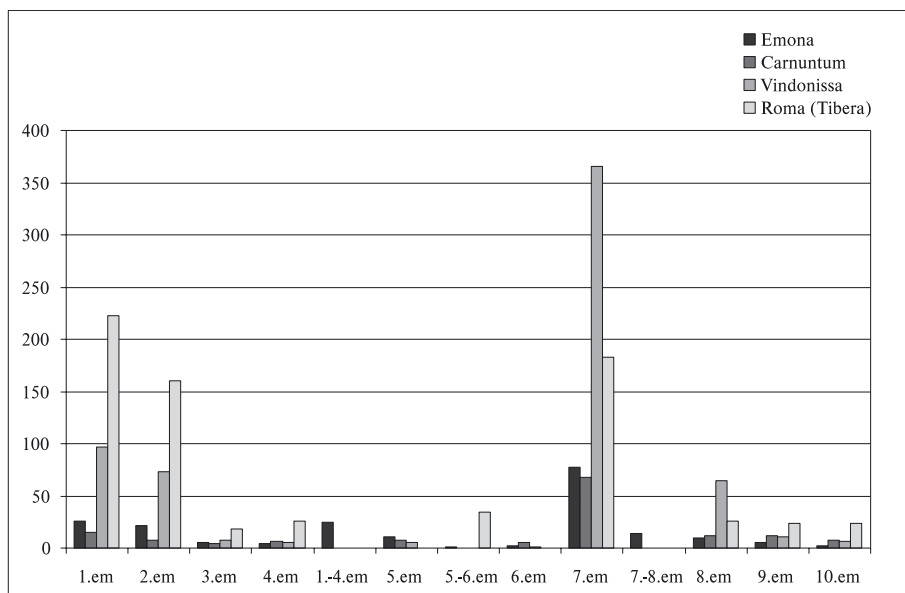


Fig. 11: Moneyers' coins according to emission at the sites of Emona, Carnuntum, Vindonissa, and Rim.
Sl. 11: Kovničarski novci po emisijah z najdišč Emona, Carnuntum, Vindonissa in Rim.

period. This particularly refers to coins bearing a countermark⁴³ or that were halved. The military camp at Obrežje must be dated to a later period due to the absence of bronze coins from the

mint of Nemausus and coins of the Altar I series from the mint of Lugdunum, to the period of the Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion in 6–9 AD.

⁴³ For more about the use of countermarks on Augustan coins in the Pannonian region, see Mišek 2005, 1005–1011.

Research conducted in the scope of the Trouvailles monétaires GDRE.

Translation Barbara Smith Demo

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Avgustejska zasedba jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora in zahodne Panonije: posamične in zakladne novčne najdbe

Rimljani so željo po zasedbi območja jugovzhodnih Alp in zahodne Panonije nakazali že kmalu po ustanovitvi Akvileje,¹ do končne vzpostavitve rimske kontrole tega prostora pa je prišlo v avgustejski dobi. Odločilni sta bili zlasti dve vojaški etapi:

- panonska vojna v letih 14 do 8 pr. Kr.,²
- veliki panonsko-dalmatinski upor v letih 6–9.³

Analiza denarnega obtoka z območja jugovzhodnih Alp in zahodne Panonije jasno kaže v avgustejskem obdobju povečan porast količine denarja v obtoku, predvsem bronastega.⁴ Ker je bilo to obdobje relativno dolgo v primerjavi z obdobji drugih vladarjev in se pojavljajo vedno novi popravki datacij določenih emisij novcev, je potrebno biti pri interpretaciji novcev in analizi denarnega obtoka zelo previden.⁵ Še posebej pazljivo je treba obravnavati dejstvo, da v obdobju od leta 4 pr. Kr. do 10 cesar Avgust v kovnici v Rimu ni koval bronastega denarja. Avgustova denarna reforma, ki se je začela leta 23 pr. Kr. in je potekala postopoma, je prinesla popolnoma nov denarni sistem, sestercije in dupondije v medenini ter ase in kvadrans v bronu. Produkcija bronastega denarja je bila osredotočena v kovnici v Rimu, čeprav sta imeli v avgustejski dobi provincialni galski kovnici Lugdun in Nemavs precejšnji delež v proizvodnji bronastega denarja.

Za proučevanje in primerjavo denarnega obtoka v avgustejskem obdobju so primerni bronasti novci iz vojaških kontekstov, predvsem z najdišč ob Renu in reki Lippe. Med njimi sta najstarejša vojaški oporišči *Novaesium* (Neuss) in Nijmegen, ki ju je dal postaviti Druz I. 16. pr. Kr. Začetek tabora v Dangstettnu je postavljen okoli l. 15 pr. Kr. Obstoj vojaškega tabora v Oberadnu (v ta sklop sodijo tudi najdišča Beckinghausen, Asberg in Rödgen) lahko povežemo z vojaškim pohodom Druza med letoma 12 in 9/8 pr. Kr. Vojaški tabor Haltern pa z vojaškimi kampanjami Tiberija, Vara in drugih med 7/5 pr. Kr. – 9 po Kr. Najdišče Kalkriese je prostor, kjer se je l. 9 po Kr. domnevno zgodila znamenita bitka v Tevtoburškem gozdu

med Germani pod vodstvom Arminija in rimsko vojsko, ki jo je vodil Publij Kvintilij Var.⁶

Pomembni so predvsem štirje tipi bronastih novcev:

1. *Bronasti novci tipa Divos Iulius s prehoda iz republi-kanskega v imperialno obdobje*

Zaradi svoje lahko prepoznavne značilnosti – na obeh straneh ima namreč upodobitev glave (na sprednji je Oktavijan, na zadnji pa Cezar) – je ta tip v numizmatični literaturi pogosto imenovan tudi tip “dvojna glava”. Novce tega tipa so kovali okoli 38 pr. Kr. v do zdaj še ne identificirani kovnici na severu Italije. Množično so bili v uporabi v Italiji v tridesetih in dvajsetih letih pr. Kr.⁷

2. *Bronasti novci provincialne kovnice v Nemavsu, tip I–III (Nem. I–III) (sl. 1)*

Kovnica v Nemavsu (*Colonia Nemausus*, današnji Nimes) v Galiji je v času Avgusta začela kovati znamenito serijo novcev z upodobitvijo krokodila. To serijo tvorijo tri osnovne skupine bronastih novcev.⁸ Ti imajo na sprednji strani napis IMP DIVI F (t. j. *imperator in divi filius*) z dvema glavama, ki sta obrnjeni stran druga od druge. leva glava predstavlja Agripo in desna Avgusta. Na zadnji strani je upodobljen krokodil z verigo okoli vratu, pripeto na palmino vejo, ter napisom COL NEM.⁹ Skupine se razlikujejo v manjših stilnih in ikonografskih podrobnostih in po teži ter se po navadi označujejo z rimskimi številkami od I do III; tako so novci skupine Nem. I razdeljeni v dve seriji: novci serije 1 (*RPC I 522*)¹⁰ so datirani v leto 27 pr. Kr., novci serije 2 (*RPC I 523*) pa v čas od 16–10 pr. Kr.¹¹ Skupina Nem. II (*RPC I 524*) vsebuje novce, datirane v obdobje od 9–3 pr. Kr., Nem. III (*RPC I 525*) pa v čas od 10–14. Novci skupin Nem. I in II so bili geografsko zelo razširjeni. Novci Nem. I so bili prvi rimski novci, ki so v velikih količinah dosegli severozahodne province. Čeprav je bila kovnica v Nemavsu teoretično provincialna,¹² je

¹ Na podlagi novčnih najdb lahko predvidevamo zgodnje rimske aktivnosti na Notranjskem in na splošno v zahodnem delu Slovenije, gl. Kos, Šemrov 2003, Miškec 2003 in Miškec 2007.

² Wilkes 1969, 46–76; Domić-Kunić 2006; v obširnem članku, ki na koncu vključuje tudi vse obravnavane antične vire v izvorniku s prevodom, avto*RICa* opozori, da je malo znanstvenih prispevkov o Tiberijevi vojni v Panoniji (*Bellum Pannonicum*), čeprav je imela ta vojna po njenem mnenju zelo pomembno vlogo, vsaj tolikšno kot Oktavijanov pohod dvajset let prej.

³ Šašel Kos 1986, 167–191.

⁴ V numizmatiki je izraz *bronasti denar* splošni pojem, ki se uporablja za označevanja bakrenih, bronastih in tudi medeninastih novcev.

⁵ Kljub splošno razširjenemu mnenju, da so novci načeloma dobro datacijsko orodje, to za Avgustove novce ne drži v celoti; prim. van Heesch 1999, 347.

⁶ Neuss (Chaintraine 1982), Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986, 1998), Oberaden (Ilisch 1992), Haltern (*FMRD VI 4 4057*) in Kalkriese (Berger 1996).

⁷ *RRC 535, RPC I*, str. 161.

⁸ Delitev na tri skupine je najbolj uveljavljena, ni pa edina. Prav zaradi različnih delitev kovanja kovnice v Nemavsu je zelo težko delati primerjave med najdišči, kar pa seveda vodi v nerazumevanje in napačne sklepe.

⁹ *RPC I*, str. 152–154.

¹⁰ To so težji, semiuncialni asi, ki so bili kovani verjetno okoli 27 pr. Kr. med Avgustovim obiskom Galije (*RPC I*, str. 153; Doyen 2009, 48; Kemmers 2005, 29).

¹¹ Glede datacije te druge skupine še vedno teče diskusija; v *RIC* je datirana v čas od 20 do 10 pr. Kr. (*RIC 155–157*), Zehnacker jo datira v 18/19–9 pr. Kr. (1984, str. 74), van Heesch predlaga datum med 16/15 in 8 pr. Kr. (1996, 96).

¹² Provincialne kovnice so za razliko od imperialnih kovale novce, ki so bili navadno v uporabi le na omejenem območju, večinoma za lokalne potrebe. Pod izrazom rimsko

nedvomno delovala kot imperialna, zlasti, ker je imela ugodno lego v bližini velike koncentracije vojske, ki je bila udeležena v osvajanju Germanije.¹³ Novci Nem. I naj bi bili prišli v denarni obtok kmalu potem, ko so bili skovani, prav tako so jih zelo hitro zamenjali novci serije Oltar I iz Lugduna: zaradi teh dveh dejstev so novci skupine Nem. I primerni za datiranje arheoloških kontekstov.¹⁴ Novci skupine Nem. II pa so prisotni v velikih količinah večinoma v osrednji Galiji.¹⁵

3. Bronasti kovničarski novci kovnice v Rimu¹⁶

Kovnica v Rimu je kovala več serij bronastih novcev z imeni različnih magistratov (*triumviri monetales*), za katere uporabljamo krajši in uveljavljen izraz *kovničarski novci* (angleško *moneys' coins*, nemško *Münzmeister-prägung*). Obstaja kar nekaj različnih datacij, ki jih na tem mestu zelo na kratko povzemamo. Le novce kolegija (*triumviri monetalis*) Mescinija Rufa (*Mescinius Rufus*), Vinicija (*Vinicius*) in Antistija Veta (*Antistius Vetus*) lahko z gotovostjo datiramo v leto 16 pr. Kr., ker so na njih nazivi TRP (*tribunitia potestas*) VII in TRP VIII.¹⁷ Mattingly je l. 1923 postavil osnovo datacije, ki temelji na kronološki razvrstitvi kolegijev; od najstarejšega iz leta 23 pr. Kr. (kolegij *Calpurnius Piso, Naevius Surdinus* in *Plotius Rufus*) do zadnjega iz leta 4 pr. Kr. (kolegij *Betilius Bassus, Naevius Capella, Rubellius Blandus* in *Valerius Catullus*).¹⁸ Kraft je leta 1951/52 prestavil začetek Avgustove denarne reforme iz leta 23 pr. Kr. v leto 19 pr. Kr.,¹⁹ poznejše študije Burnetta in Wallace-Hadrilla pa vračajo začetek reforme nazaj na leto 23 pr. Kr.²⁰ Tu smo uporabili Mattinglyjevo razdelitev in datacijo, ki jo je povzel tudi von Kaenel,²¹ ki prvo serijo postavlja v l. 23 pr. Kr., zadnji dve, 9. in 10., sestavljeni izključno iz kvadransov, pa v leti 5 in 4 pr. Kr.

4. Bronasti novci kovnice v Lugdunu, serija Oltar I

Kovnica v Lugdunu (*Lugdunum*, današnji Lyon) v Galiji je v času Avgusta kovala velike količine srebrnega denarja. Od vsega denarja, narejenega iz manj dragocenih kovin, pa sta pomembni zlasti dve seriji. Novci obeh serij nosijo na zadnji strani upodobitev znamenitega lugdunskega oltarja, zato ju imenujemo seriji Oltar I (v angleščini *First Altar* ali *Altar I*) in Oltar II. Serija Oltar I je datirana med letoma 15–10 pr. Kr., serija Oltar II pa v čas med 9–14.²² Giard datira serijo Oltar II v čas 10–14,²³ Heesch pa predlaga datacijo serije Oltar II v leto 10–12.²⁴

provincialno (tudi grško imperialno) kovanje razumemo kovanje v številnih kovnicah v imenu mest, kolonij in okrožij posameznih rimskih provinc, sprva na Iberskem polotoku in kasneje na vzhodu rimskega imperija (*RPC* I, xiii–xvii).

¹³ Kemmers 2006, 40.

¹⁴ Van Heesch, 1999, 349–351, Wigg 1999, 108–109.

¹⁵ Besombes 2004, 13.

¹⁶ *RIC* I, 31–34.

¹⁷ Kemmers 2006, 41.

¹⁸ Mattingly 1923.

¹⁹ Kraft 1951/52, 28–35.

²⁰ Burnett 1977, 48ss; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 85–86.

²¹ Von Kaenel 1999, 367–369.

²² *RIC* I, str. 27–29 in 57–58.

²³ Giard 1983, 45–47.

²⁴ Heesch 2000, 154–156.

Podatke, ki so bili dobljeni s primerjavo vseh štirih tipov novcev z najdišč Neuss (*Noavesium*), Oberaden, Haltern in Kalkriese,²⁵ skupaj s podatki iz pisnih virov lahko strnemo v naslednje ugotovitve:

– Neuss kot najstarejši tabor vsebuje manjši delež novcev Nem. I kot Oberaden, vsebuje pa republikanske uncialne ase, bronaste novce tipa “Copia/Vienna”²⁶ ter celo 8 novcev tipa *Divos Iulius*.

– Oberaden ima največji odstotek novcev iz kovnice v Nemavsu. Podobno kot v Oberadnu predstavljajo tudi na najdiščih Rödgen in Dangstetten²⁷ prav bronasti novci kovnice v Nemavsu, serije I in II, okoli 90 % vseh novcev²⁸ (gl. sl. 2).

– V Halternu in Kalkrieseju pa predstavljajo največji delež novci kovnice v Lugdunu, serije Oltar I, v Halternu znaša ta delež 80 %, v Kalkrieseju celo 90 %. Ti novci so mlajši od novcev iz kovnice v Nemavsu in glede na to, da je v Halternu zastopanih še 9,5 % novcev iz kovnice v Nemavsu, v Kalkrieseju pa skoraj nič, Berger domneva,²⁹ da je to dokaz, da je Kalkriese malo mlajši od Halterna (gl. sl. 2).

Na območju jugovzhodnih Alp in zahodne Panonije so novci iz kovnice v Nemavsu zastopani le v majhnih količinah,³⁰ kot je to razvidno z diagrama (sl. 3), kjer je prikazan procentualni delež bronastih novcev različnih kovnic v avgustejskem obdobju. Pri natančnem upoštevanju 4 različnih serij izdelave novcev te kovnice lahko skoraj 60 % novcev postavimo v obdobje od 27–3 pr. Kr. (serije Nem. I–II, *RPC* 522–524), kar je prikazano na diagramu (sl. 4).

Najdbe bronastih novcev kovnice v Nemavsu se koncentrirajo na zahodnem delu Slovenije, v Ljubljani, Celju in na Ptuj (gl. sl. 5). Bronasti novci kovnice v Lugdunu, serije Oltar I, so zelo redki, za razliko od srebrnega denarja imperialne kovnice v Lugdunu, ki predstavlja 68 %, kar je daleč največji delež vseh srebrnikov na ozemlju Slovenije iz avgustejskega obdobja (sl. 6). Razprostranjenost denarijev kovnice v Lugdunu, kovanih v obdobju 15 pr. Kr.–4, se skoraj v celoti pokriva z razprostranjenostjo bronastih novcev kovnice v Nemavsu.

Največji delež bronastih novcev iz avgustejskega obdobja v Sloveniji na splošno in na posamičnih najdiščih

²⁵ *Noavesium*: Chaintraine 1982; Oberaden: *FMRD* VI, 5, 5080–5081; Ilisch 1992; Haltern: *FMRD* VI, 4, 4054–4057; Kalkriese: Berger 1996, Berger 1999.

²⁶ Pri t. i. “Copia” in “Vienna” serijah gre za novce, kovane približno istočasno in s podobno upodobitvijo, zato se obravnavajo po navadi skupaj. Serijo “Copia” so kovali v Lugdunu v Galiji v letih 38 in 36 pr. Kr. (*RPC* I 514/515). Serijo “Vienna” pa l. 36 pr. Kr. v kovnici Vienne v Galiji (*RPC* I 517).

²⁷ Berger 1999, 274.

²⁸ Berger uporablja druge, starejše datacije: novci kovnice Nemausus I. serije so datirani 16–15 pr. Kr. II. serije pa od 7–3 pr. Kr., Berger 1996.

²⁹ Berger 1996, 41–44.

³⁰ Čeprav vemo, da je kovnica v Nemavsu izdelovala novce v velikih količinah in so bili ti zelo razširjeni (*RPC* I, str. 153).

predstavljajo kovničarski bronasti novci iz kovnice v Rimu. Prav kovanje in vloga teh novcev v obtoku v nemata po dosedanjih raziskavah še vedno polemike. Kot smo videli že pri datacijah teh novcev, naletimo na različne razlage, različni pa so tudi pogledi na njihovo uporabo in predvsem kako dolgo so bili v uporabi. Kovničarski bronasti novci iz kovnice v Rimu so dosegli Ren šele 15 do 25 let po njihovem kovanju. To dokazujejo van Heesch, Wolters in Wigg,³¹ predvsem na podlagi novcev z najdišč Haltern, Oberaden, Kalkriese, Mainz, Waldgirmes in Trebur-Geinsheim, kjer so zelo redki ali pa jih sploh ni, za razliko od zgodnje tiberijskega najdišča Vindonissa,³² kjer so številni. Von Kaenel, ki je obdeloval kovničarske novce rimske kovnice iz Tibere, ki bi lahko kazali novčne mehanizme v samem Rimu, je ugotovil naslednje:

- med vsemi novci prevladujeta 1. in 2. serija kovničarskih novcev rimske kovnice, ki so bili kovani od leta 23 in 22 pr. Kr.;
- noben novc ni polovičen;
- le 1 novc nosi kontramarko.

Kaj pa se je dogajalo v neposredni bližini Italije, na območju, kjer so Rimljani že od sredine 2. stoletja pr. Kr. izvajali vojaške akcije, na ozemlju jugovzhodnih Alp (današnje Slovenije)? Ali lahko primerjamo preskrbo in uporabo rimskega denarja na tem območju z denarnim obtokom v Rimu in ali so kakšne podobnosti z renskimi vojaškimi tabori in oporišči? V pomoč so nam nekatere v zadnjem času odkrite novčne najdbe iz avgustejskega obdobja na območju Slovenije kot tudi že poznane najdbe, ki zaradi zelo različnih najdiščnih kontekstov predstavljajo še dodaten izziv za interpretiranje. Te so naslednje:

1. posamične novčne najdbe iz avgustejskega vojaškega tabora na Obrežju na skrajnem vzhodnem delu Slovenije, na današnji meji Slovenije s Hrvaško;

2. manjša zakladna najdba iz Povirja pri Sežani, ki vsebuje 30 kovničarskih bronastih novcev;

3. številne posamične bronaste in srebrne najdbe v dveh urbanih območjih: Celje in Ljubljana.

V avgustejskem taboru Obrežje, ki je bilo odkrito pri arheoloških raziskavah med letoma 2001 in 2003,³³ je bilo najdenih skupaj 38 novcev.³⁴ Od tega je bilo 5 novcev (3 avgustejski asi, kovani med letoma 11–12, mali keltski srebrnik in denarij M. Antonija iz let 32–31 pr. Kr.) skupaj z noriško-panonsko fibulo najdenih v izoliranem grobu, ki ga moramo brez dvoma datirati po opustitvi vojaškega tabora. Zastopanost drugih, sicer zelo maloštevilnih novcev, je prikazana na *sliki 7*.

S 70 % prevladujejo kovničarski bronasti novci iz kovnice v Rimu (*sl. 7*), od katerih je polovica polovičenih. Republikanski asi, kovani do sredine 2. stoletja pr. Kr., so prav tako vsi polovičeni. Fenomen polovičenja sodi

predvsem v avgustejsko obdobje.³⁵ Novejše raziskave, ki temeljijo na raziskavah novcev iz do sedaj največje poznane najdbe avgustejskega denarja,³⁶ kažejo, da moramo pojav polovičenja avgustejskih novcev postaviti prej in ne šele v trideseta leta 1. stoletja, kot navaja Buttrey.³⁷ Vojaški tabor Obrežje je bil postavljen na strateško zelo pomembni legi, na liniji, kjer je pozneje potekala važna rimska cesta iz Italije preko Emone v Siscio. V pisnih virih sta izpričana dva dogodka, ki bi ju lahko povezali s postavitvijo tega tabora: vojaške akcije ob končni zasedbi Panonije v letih 14–8 pr. Kr. ali panonsko-dalmatinski upor v letih 6–9. Poznejša datacija ni mogoča, saj prav popolna odsotnost poznoavgustejskih in zgodnetiberijskih novcev govori v prid temu, da tabor ni mogel biti postavljen po letu 9. Novce z najdišča Obrežje lahko razporedimo v dve večji, skoraj enako veliki skupini (*sl. 8*). Prvo tvorijo novci, kovani do l. 15 pr. Kr., drugo novci iz let 16–6 pr. Kr. Prvo skupino novcev bi lahko povezali z rimskimi aktivnostmi med l. 14 in 9 pr. Kr., drugo pa z dogodki, ki so se dogajali več kot 15 let kasneje. Skoraj nemogoče je, da bi bil tabor toliko časa v uporabi, kvečjemu bi bilo možno, da je bil v uporabi dvakrat. Glede na to, da po svoji obliki najbolj spominja na vojaški tabor Haltern, za katerega vemo, da je bil opuščen po l. 9, lahko domnevamo, da je bil v uporabi predvsem ob Panonskem uporu 6–9. Ker je veliko novcev polovičenih in slabo ohranjenih, lahko nadalje domnevamo, da so dospeli v tabor postopoma, preko vsakodnevnega denarnega prometa, s trgovino in osebno mobilnostjo nosilcev denarja.³⁸ Pri takšni distribuciji lahko pride do nekajletnih zamud. Ne smemo pa zanemariti tudi dejstva, da rimska kovnica ni kovala bronastih novcev od 4 pr. Kr. do 10, zato zopet ni presenetljivo, da so bili lahko isti novci v uporabi tako

³⁵ Fenomen polovičenja republikanskih in zg. imperialnih asov je prvi obširneje analiziral T.V. Buttrey. Po njem je polovičenje rezultat nenadnega prevrednotenja novcev. Navaja teorijo, da so bronaste novce tipa "z dvojno glavo" (v literaturi tudi poimenovane tip *Divos Iulius*; oz. *RRC 535*) ob uvedbi novih reformnih novcev (tj. kovničarskih novcev) prevrednotili v dupondije. Rezultat te reforme je bilo pomanjkanje asov, kar je pripeljalo k splošno razširjenemu polovičenju novcev tipa *Divos Iulius*, da bi zagotovili zadostno število asov. Buttrey je datiral ta pojav v pozno 1. stoletje pr. Kr. Predpostavljal je še drugo fazo polovičenja v poznih tridesetih 1. stoletja po Kr. (Buttrey 1972).

³⁶ Gre za največjo skupno najdbo avgustejskega denarja, sicer votivnega izvora, ki je bila odkrita v rimskih termah Bourbonne-les-Bains (département Haute-Marne) v Franciji. Najdba je bila odkrita danega 1875 in že takrat delno objavljena, vendar je ostala širši strokovni javnosti (tako numizmatični kot arheološki) praktično popolnoma nepoznana, dokler je ni ponovno obdelal in objavil Sauer (2005).

³⁷ Sauer (2005, 58–68) namreč meni, da primerjava med najdiščem Bourbonne-les-Bains in tabori iz obdobja Halterna (opuščen l. 9) kaže, da je odstotek polovičenih novcev serije *Oltar I* narastel za desetkrat. To povečanje je v nasprotju s predpostavkami, da se je polovičenje avgustejskih asov začelo šele v tridesetih letih po Kr.

³⁸ Wolters 2000, 86; gre za enega od dveh modelov, drugi je model tipa "Steinwurf".

³¹ Van Heesch 1999, 349; Wolters 2000, 86–91, Wigg 1999, 333–335.

³² Kraay 1962.

³³ Mason 2008.

³⁴ Glede na primerjave z drugimi najdišči vojaškega karakterja je bilo na Obrežju odkritih premajhno število novcev, kar bi lahko kazalo na to, da je bilo najdišče že prej uničeno.

dolgo. V prid poznejši dataciji je tudi odsotnost bronastih novcev tipa Divos Iulius in kovnice Nemavs, ki bi lahko dokazovali zgodnejše datiranje. Četudi sta bila najdena dva novca kovnice v Lugdunu, tipa Oltar 1, ki sta sicer zgodnejša, sta oba polovičena, kar zopet nakazuje njuno poznejšo uporabo.

Zakladne najdbe kovničarskih bronastih novcev so redke, zato je najdba, ki je bila odkrita že pred leti v Povirju pri Sežani,³⁹ v zahodnem delu Slovenije, še toliko bolj pomembna. Omogoča nam vpogled v to, kakšen denar je imel lastnik pri sebi ob času izgube in posledično seveda, kakšen denar je uporabljal. Na nek način gre za zamrznjen trenutek zgodovine kot v primeru Kalkrieseja, le da tam za zdaj še ni mogoče natančno ugotoviti, koliko vojakov je sodelovalo v bitki in koliko novcev je posedoval vsak vojak. Kaj nam torej pove naša najdba? Mošnjiček je vseboval 29 kovničarskih novcev iz kovnice v Rimu in 1 novec tipa CA (kratica nejasna) kovanja⁴⁰ iz Male Azije. Na diagramu (sl. 9) je prikazana vsebina mošnjička po emisijah kovanja. Z gotovostjo lahko trdimo, da je lastnik mošnjiček izgubil, torej v tem primeru ne gre za zakladno najdbo, v kateri bi bili shranjeni novci, ki bi jih bil lastnik zbiral daljše obdobje, temveč kup novcev, ki ga je nekdo slučajno izgubil. Ugotovimo lahko, da so bili istočasno v uporabi novci, ki obsegajo skoraj 20-letno obdobje. Več novcev izvira predvsem iz prvih dveh emisij, kar se natančno pokriva z denarnim obtokom v Rimu, ki je bil ugotovljen na podlagi novčnih najdb iz Tibere. Najštevilčnejša je brez dvoma 7. emisija iz leta 7 pr. Kr. Glede na sestavo novcev in na dejstvo, da trije novci nosijo kontramärke, bi lahko domnevali, da je mošnjiček pripadal vojaku. Mogoče bi bil to navsezadnje lahko eden od dokazov, da so vojaki vsaj del svoje plače dobivali tudi v bronu.⁴¹

Zakladna najdba iz Povirja skupaj z zakladnima najdbama iz Ljubljane (gl. op. 39) nam še dodatno pomaga razumeti novčni obtok kovničarskega denarja rimske kovnice na ozemlju jugovzhodnih Alp in so dokaz, da vsaj za zahodni del tega območja ne moremo pri obravnavi denarnega obtoka kovničarskega denarja uporabljati vzorcev, ki veljajo za najdišča ob germanskem limesu. Kovničarski novci so po dosedanjem vedenju, ki temelji predvsem na raziskavah vojaških taborov, dospeli na germanski limes zelo pozno, saj so na najdiščih iz srednje avgustejske dobe zelo redki in dosežejo višek v denarnem obtoku v dvajsetih letih 1.

³⁹ Ohranil se je le popis novcev, ki pa je vseboval dovolj natančne opise, da je bilo mogoče večino novcev opredeliti. Obstajata še dve podobni, toda ne tako veliki najdbi. Obe sta bili odkriti v Ljubljani, natančneje na območju rimske Emone: najdba iz l. 1931 je bila odkrita na forumu in šteje 4 kovničarske sestercije in 1 bronasti novec CA kovanja (*FMRSI* I 155/38), druga najdba iz l. 1987, ki je bila odkrita v insuli XLIII, je vsebovala 3 republikanske srebrnike in 6 kovničarskih novcev (*FMRSI* III 83/16).

⁴⁰ CA kovanje se imenuje po istoimenskem napisu na zadnji strani novcev. Pomen izraza CA je nejasen.

⁴¹ Dokazoval Wigg (Wigg); Berger je na podlagi novcev z najdišča Kalkriese, kjer je razmerje med najdenimi bronastimi in srebrnimi novci skoraj 1 : 1, dokazoval nasprotno (Berger 1999, 275).

stoletja.⁴² Če bi to veljalo tudi za naš prostor, bi morala najdba iz Povirja vsebovati tudi poznejše avgustejske novce in zlasti zgodnje tiberijske. Najdba pa je homogena in zato moramo njen zakop postaviti v srednje avgustejsko obdobje. Prav tako z območja jugovzhodnih Alp ni poznana nobena zakladna najdba, ki bi vsebovala kovničarske novce skupaj z avgustejskimi, tiberijskimi ali celo poznejšimi novci.

Na koncu si oglejmo denarni obtok v Ljubljani, kjer se z gradivom, pridobljenim pri novejših izkopavanjih, potrjuje tudi v virih izpričan podatek, da sta bila tako Vrhnika kot Ljubljana v času panonsko-dalmatinske vojne (torej v obdobju 14–8 pr. Kr.) pomembna logistična centra. Že pregled kovničarskih novcev rimske kovnice (sl. 10) kaže, predvsem na podlagi prevladujočih novcev prvih dveh emisij, da moramo te novce vsekakor povezati z dogodki v letu 14 pr. Kr.

Pregled vseh srebrnih in bronastih novcev to trditev še dodatno potrjuje, zlasti veliko število bronastih novcev iz kovnice v Nemavsu (predvsem serij I in II) in novcev tipa Oltar I iz kovnice v Lugdunu. Sedma emisija kovničarskih novcev rimske kovnice, ki datira v leto 4 pr. Kr., je bila največja, kot je razvidno z diagrama (sl. 11), ki prikazuje prisotnost kovničarskih novcev različnih emisij z najdišč Emona, Carnuntum, Vindonissa in Rim. Novci te emisije niso kronološko zanesljivi, ker od 4 pr. Kr. do 10 ne lugdunska ne rimska kovnica nista kovali bronastih novcev, zato so morali biti v uporabi ti in starejši novci. To pa navsezadnje razloži, zakaj je novcev, ki so bili kovani med letoma 10–14, tako malo.

Na podlagi vseh v prispevku omenjenih analiz lahko za ozemlje današnje Slovenije v avgustejski dobi ugotovimo:

1. Zgodnjeavgustejske emisije bronastega denarja, predvsem novcev kovnic iz Nemavs serij I in II in serije novcev Oltar I kovnice v Lugdunu ter srebrnikov taiste kovnice, lahko povežemo z rimskimi vojaškimi aktivnostmi v letih 14–8 pr. Kr. in s pomembnimi strateškimi točkami, kot sta Vrhnika (*Nauportus*) in Ljubljana.

2. Kovničarski novci kovnice v Rimu so bili večinoma v uporabi daljše obdobje. Zlasti tisti, ki nosijo kontramärke⁴³ ali pa so polovičeni. Uporabo vojaškega tabora Obrežje moramo ob pomanjkanju bronastih novcev kovnice iz Nemavs in novcev serije Oltar I kovnice iz Lugduna datirati v poznejše obdobje, v čas panonsko-dalmatinskega upora v letih 6–9.

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⁴² Van Heesch 1999, 349; Berger 1989, 39.

⁴³ Več o uporabi kontramark na avgustejskih novcih na območju Panonije v Mišček 2005, 1005–1011.