

VIVERE MILITARE EST

FROM POPULUS TO EMPERORS - LIVING ON THE FRONTIER
VOLUME II



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CIRCULATION OF PROVINCIAL COINS OF THE VIMINACIUM COLONY*

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ABSTRACT

The provincial mint in Viminacium, despite its short period in operation (239-254/255 AD), is significant for numismatic and historical research in several aspects. From the very start, it is distinctive for its large monetary production and broad circulatory coverage. The founding of the mint in Viminacium was the official way to temporarily solve problems in the functioning of the Empire's monetary system. On the basis of registered finds of Viminacium provincial coinage, it is obvious that its circulation in neighbouring and western provinces was much higher than in eastern ones. A considerable number of these issues has also been registered in the area of the Barbaricum. Because of precise chronological data, this currency is among the most reliable sources for researching the history of the mid-3rd century, when the Danubian and Balkan provinces were the main theatre of battle for the survival of a part of the Roman Empire.

KEY WORDS: PROVINCIAL COINAGE, VIMINACIUM, CIRCULATION OF COINS

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Parallel to obtaining the status of a colony at the start of the reign of Gordianus III, Viminacium gained the right of minting provincial coins in October 239 AD.¹ The mint operated until the period of the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus (254/255), with pauses in the 10th and 11th year of the local era (248/249 and 253/254).² The political and economic rise of Viminacium played a great role in its obtaining minting rights, and that was influenced by several factors: the ore-rich hinterlands, a favourable geographic position within the defence system of the Empire, a junction of important road communications, and a developed trade network. Viminacium, the capital of Moesia Superior, which was not directly under threat from the movements of the barbarians, was close enough to other Danubian provinces, to which it could distribute additional amounts of coins.

The lack of bronze coins of the senate issues in circulation in the Danubian and Balkan provinces at the start of the 3rd century was especially pronounced and was probably the main reason for opening the provincial mint in Viminacium, and subsequently in Dacia.³

Besides Moesia Superior, the shortage of small bronze denominations was particularly evident in both Pannonias. The quantity of *limesfalsa* coinage, with which to cover this shortage, soared from the beginning of the reign of Septimius Severus. The production of that coinage came to a halt at the start of the reign of Gordianus III and can be connected with the start of the operation of the Viminacium mint, which began supplying Pannonia Superior with bronze coins.⁴ For example, issues of the Viminacium mint were the second most frequent in Carnuntum, right after the issues of the Rome mint, by the reign of Gordianus III and, with the start of the reign of Philip I, they became the most frequent.⁵ The situation was similar in Pannonia Inferior where, on the example of Mursa, one can see the rapid rise of Viminacium coins in circulation in the period of the reign of Gordianus III, which is also linked with the opening of the mint in Viminacium.⁶

1 Dušanić 1976, 58.

2 Борић-Брешковић 1976, 8.

3 Борић-Брешковић 1976, 8, ref. 2; Црнобрња 1993, 17-19; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 136, ref. 14.

4 Martin 1992, 9; Găzdac 2005, 499-500; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 136, ref. 10; Nad 2012a, 387-388, Table 2;

5 Găzdac 2005, 501-502.

6 Nad 2012a, 388-389, 391 Table 4.

A general drop in the amount of coins in circulation was registered in Dacia in the period from 161 to 192 AD, and then it gradually grew from 193 to 238 AD. The biggest monetary inflow was registered between 238 and 253, peaking during the reign of Philip I. In terms of provincial coinage, the coins of the Viminacium mint are considerably more frequent than the issues in bronze of the domicile mint, as of the end of the reign of Philip I.⁷ Numerous provincial mints were in operation in Moesia Inferior and Thrace at that time, which obviously covered the needs of their provinces in small bronze coins. In part, their coins, particularly from Thracian mints, were in circulation in the territory of Moesia Superior until the reign of Gordianus III.⁸ On the other hand, the share of imperial bronze coins in circulation in the north-eastern part of Roman Italy – Regio X Venetia et Histria (present-day north-eastern Italy, western and central Slovenia) and Noricum was different, as these areas were supplied in greater measure with imperial coinage. In Aquileia and its vicinity, 39.93% of bronze coin finds were registered in the period from 192 to 238 AD, both imperial and provincial; in Emona, this percentage is 39.18%, while in Celeia, which belonged to the Noricum province, it is 39.66% and in Poetovio in Pannonia Superior – 36.17%. While the Viminacium mint was in operation (239-253), this percentage remained approximately the same in Aquileia (37.14%) and Celeia (40.75%), while it was much higher in Emona (50.35%) and Poetovio (66.21%). Within the mentioned percentages of bronze coins in circulation altogether, the share of provincial coins was 3.8% in Emona (Regio X), 3.7% in Poetovio (Pannonia Superior) and 1.6% in Celeia (Noricum).⁹

Information about the finds of coins from the necropoles of Više Grobalja and Pećine (Viminacium) is valuable for the analysis of monetary circulation in the territory of Moesia Superior in the period from 192 to 238 AD, i.e. the period that preceded the opening of the provincial mint in Viminacium. A large sample of studied coins (6233), which originate from archaeological explorations of the southern necropoles of Viminacium, provides an opportunity for various com-

7 Găzdac 2008, 271-272, Fig. 1 (about the general inflow of money); 277, fig. 9; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 152, Fig. 10 (about the frequency of Viminacium issues and the province of Dacia).

8 36 specimens of mints from Thrace and 8 from Moesia Inferior were registered at the Viminacium necropoles of Više Grobalja and Pećine (Vojvoda 2011, 139-152; Vojvoda 2018, in print).

9 With a small share of provincial coinage and dominant senate issues, cf. Kos 1986, 107-108; Šemrov 2011, 1016-1017; about the finds of provincial coinage in the region of Venetia et Histria, cf. Stella 2018a, 409-424; Stella 2018b, in print.

parisons. Of the overall number of registered specimens of imperial and provincial coins (6228),¹⁰ 5128 (82.33%) belong to imperial and 1100 (17.67%) to provincial coinage.¹¹ If we exclude the coins of the 4th and 5th century (Pećine - 544 coins and Više Grobalja - 42 coins), the ratio between imperial and provincial coins during the first three centuries becomes the following: 80.50% (4542 coins) against 19.50% (1100 coins).

The ratio between imperial and provincial silver and bronze coins in the periods from 192 to 238 and 239 to 255 AD is presented in Table 1

Više Grobalja Pećine	Imperial Ag pcs. / %	Imperial Ae pcs. / %	Imperial total pcs. / %	Provincial pcs. / %	Total pcs. / %
192-238	221 / 28	56 / 7	277 / 35	511 / 65	788 / 100
239-255	36 / 10.40	2 / 0.60	38 / 11	308 / 89	346 / 100

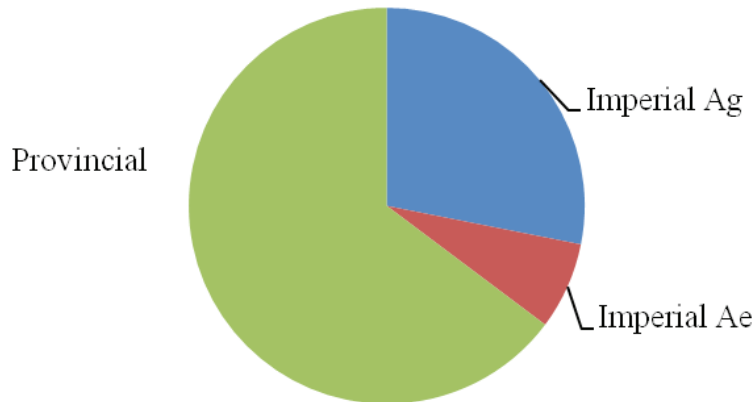
Table 1 – Ratio between imperial and provincial coins in the sample from the Više Grobalja and Pećine necropolises.

Issues of provincial coins are dominant in the period from 192 to 238; however, a much higher frequency of silver than bronze coins is observed within the imperial coinage of the same period (Table 1, Graph 1). Two phases can be observed in the analysis of the representation of provincial mints in this period: Septimius Severus - Elagabalus and Severus Alexander - Gordianus III. The Stobi mint is dominant in the first phase, with 47.05%, followed by the mints of Thrace and Moesia Inferior combined, with 15.70%, while the mints of Bithynia are represented with 13.73%. Represented in lower percentages are other mints of Asia Minor (4/57%) and of Achaëa (0.65%), while a certain number of mints remained unidentified (18.30%). In the second phase, the coins that were present was almost exclusively from the Bithynian mints (91.90%), wherein issues of Nicaëa alone accounted for 87%. Thracian and Macedonian mints are represented with

¹⁰ The total number of coins originating from the necropolises of Više Grobalja and Pećine is 6233. The group of 6228 coins consists of specimens of imperial (1st to 5th century AD) and provincial coinage (1st to 3rd century AD). The five coins that are not included in our analysis are specimens of Republic coinage (2), Greek coinage of the 2nd century BC (1) and imitations (2); cf. Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 10, Table 1, ref. 6; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 10, Table 1, ref. 5.

¹¹ This count includes the coins of the 4th and 5th century discovered at the latest of the three necropolises of the Pećine archaeological site (Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 14-16, ref. 16, Table 4).

0.28% each, while 7.54% are from unidentified mints.



Graph 1 – Frequency of imperial and provincial coinage in the period from 192 to 238 AD, in the sample from the Više Grobalja and Pećine necropolises.

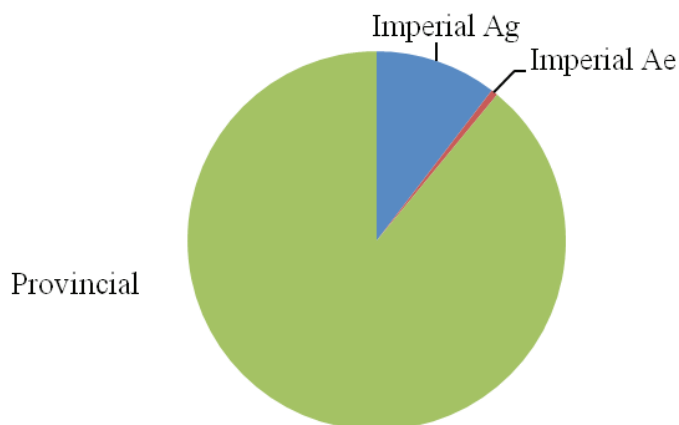
192 - 238 AD

The shortage of bronze coins from the mint in Rome, which is represented in this period with only 7%, is obvious from the above mentioned, and that shortage was covered by issues of provincial mints, which are represented with 65%. In that, the mint in Stobi and then in Nicaea had the greatest share in circulation in the period from 192 to 238 AD, based on the example of monetary finds at the Viminacium necropolises of Više Grobalja and Pećine.

In the period of operation of the Viminacium mint, from the reign of Gordianus III to the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, the shortage of bronze coins of the Rome mint was even more prominent, with a frequency of only 0.60%. Silver coins of the imperial mint are also present in lesser scope (10.40%), while as much as 89% of all registered monetary finds in this period belong to provincial coinage (Table 1, Graph 2). Within these provincial issues, the Viminacium mint is dominant with 49.68%, followed by issues of the Nicaea mint with 41.89%, while mints from Dacia and Thrace are represented with 2.27% each, there is one specimen (0.32%) of Macedonian autonomous coinage and 3.57% of coins are undetermined. It is clear from the above mentioned that the Viminacium mint had a large monetary production from the very start of its operation.

Besides, issues of the Viminacium mint circulated within a much broader region, covering areas outside of the borders of Moesia Superior, which made this mint one of the most significant production centres in the Balkans of that period. The

Graph 2 – Frequency of imperial and provincial coins in the period from 239 to 255 AD, in the sample from the Više Grobalja and Pećine necropolises.v



239 - 255 AD

biggest number of specimens, naturally, was registered in the territory of the domicile province, with the most intensive circulation having been registered in the two Pannonias, in Dalmatia and Dacia, but also in the distant areas of the Barbaricum.

As already mentioned, the biggest number of finds of Viminacium provincial coinage was discovered in Moesia Superior. They encompassed finds in hoards, individual finds and parts of earlier private collections which are nowadays kept in several museums in Serbia - a total of 8,072 specimens, with the place of discovery known for only 1,368.¹² Provincial coins of the Viminacium mint has so far been registered in 14 coin hoards in the territory of Moesia Superior:¹³ Bošnjane (61 pcs), Brežane (25), Bujkovac (149 → 120), Dragovo (10 → 1), Gornje Štiplje (2), Gradnja (around 270 → 1), Izvore (26), Vicinity of Ćuprija (73), Vicinity of Jagodina (20), Vicinity of Vranje (19), Popovac (15), Samoljica II (around 250 → 1), Spančevac (around 4 kg [around 260 pieces] → 0), Vlajića Brdo I (101).¹⁴

¹² The majority of 8,072 specimens are finds from earlier private collections, which are nowadays kept in museum collections, followed by individual finds and hoard finds. The total sum also includes the lost parts of hoards, where the number of lost specimens is known, which were included with the aim of obtaining a more precise picture about the number of Viminacium provincial coins in circulation.

¹³ The numbers in parentheses after the names of hoards represent the number of pieces of the Viminacium mint - not the other monetary finds from a hoard. The number in front of the arrow provides information about the original composition, and the one after the arrow - the number of specimens of the Viminacium mint that remained.

¹⁴ Bošnjane, Varvarin, (Борић-Брешковић 1988, 89-101; Рашковић 1995, 198; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 27); Brežane, Požarevac (Вулић 1905, 92-93; Mirnik 1981, 60-61, No. 156; Borić-Brešković 1983, 73, ref. 21; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 27); Bujkovac, Vranjska Banja (Борић-Брешковић

The total number of preserved specimens of Viminacium provincial coinage from these hoards is 465 and, if the published data about the contents of dispersed finds is included, that number altogether amounts to around 1,150 pieces.

The collection of the Department of Numismatics of the National Museum in Belgrade possesses a total of 4,770 specimens of Viminacium issues. Of that number, the place of discovery is known for only 18: Kostolac (4), Kličevac (1), Drmno (6), Janjevo (1), Stojnik near Gradište (1), Ušće (2), Sremska Mitrovica (1), Brestovik (1) and Ritopek (1). There are 527 specimens that were individual finds without a known place of discovery, while the remaining specimens are from earlier private collections: Kecskés (3,969), Weifert (230) and Kovačević (26).

The next most numerous is the Dušanić collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade, with 1,700 specimens of Viminacium provincial coinage.¹⁵ Among them, the place of discovery is known for 424 pieces, which belong to different Roman provinces according to their place of discovery (Moesia Superior, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Dalmatia). In this collection, 307 monetary finds originate from Moesia Superior: Kostolac (31), vicinity of Kostolac (22), vicinity of Požarevac (4), Salakovac (31), Brestovik (2), vicinity of Brestovik (12), Belgrade (78), Belgrade, Danube bank (98). "Soko" manor near Surčin (1), Surčin (1), vicinity of Obrenovac (1), Ušće (8), Negotin (3), Niš (2), Vrnjačka Banja (1), village of Babe (1), and Prizren (1).¹⁶ Two other specimens originate from Belgrade, from

1988, 91, ref. 13; Арсенијевић 2004, 229; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 161, ref. 21; Борић-Брешковић, Митровић 2014, 87-134); Dragovo, Rekovac (Vetnić 1967, 116-118); Gornje Štiplje, Jagodina (Арсенијевић, Додић 2004, 235-250; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 160, ref. 16); Gradnja, Vranje (Митровић 2008, 214; Борић-Брешковић, Митровић 2014, 89, ref. 10); Izvore, Kosovska Mitrovica (Стаменковић, Самарџић 2013, 163-182); Vicinity of Ćuprija (Borić-Brešković 1983, 69-84; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 28); Vicinity of Jagodina (Pegan 1970, 74; Mirnik 1981, 72, No. 233a; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 27); Vicinity of Vranje (Борић-Брешковић 1988, 89-101; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 27); Porovac, Paraćin (Borić-Brešković 1979, 39-54; Borić-Brešković 1983, 72, ref. 21; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 28); Samoljica II, Vučanjovac (Митровић 2008, 214; Борић-Брешковић, Митровић 2014, 161, ref. 11); Srančevac, Vranje (Митровић 2008, 214; Борић-Брешковић, Митровић 2014, 161, ref. 12); Vlajića Brdo I, Smederevska Palanka (Арсенијевић 1997, 43-108; Арсенијевић 2004, 228; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 160, ref. 15).

15 Борић-Брешковић 1976.

16 The finds from this collection that were discovered in the territories of the two Pannonias and Dalmatia will be listed later, within these provinces.

archaeological explorations in Knez Mihajlova Street.¹⁷

Next are the finds in the National Museum in Požarevac and those discovered during the archaeological explorations of Viminacium. There are 1,335 Viminacium provincial coins in the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Požarevac.¹⁸ The vast majority are from earlier private collections with unknown places of discovery,¹⁹ while 36 were discovered on several sites in the central and broader Viminacium area. Originating from archaeological explorations of the southern necropolises of Viminacium are 155 specimens: the Više Grobalja necropolis (59),²⁰ and the Pećine necropolis (96).²¹ One can expect at least as many Viminacium coins among the unprocessed monetary finds from the more recent explorations at Viminacium. We should add to this one specimen from the archaeological explorations at Margum,²² and four from the archaeological site of Svetinje.²³

The National Museum in Smederevo keeps 166 specimens from the Dimitrijević collection which, according to published information, originate mostly from the areas around the Danube and Morava rivers (Kostolac, Dubravica, Kulič, Gradište, Golubac). Besides, a certain number of specimens belong to the Spasojević collection, but only the 'most valuable' specimens, 20 of them, have been mentioned in literature.²⁴

Apart from the mentioned finds of money, the Museum in Vranje keeps eight other specimens, seven of which have known places of discovery: Starac, Prohor Pčinjski (1), Lianik, Stare Kolibe (3), Klenike (2), Vranje (1).²⁵ The *Zavičajni muzej* (Homeland Museum) in Jagodina, besides published finds from the hoards

17 Иванишевић, Николић-Ђорђевић 1997, 143, cat. No. 18.

18 We express our deepest gratitude to our colleague Teodora Branković for providing us with data about these unpublished monetary finds.

19 The collections Radojčić, Dušanić, Lederer and Orlov. The biggest number of coins belonged to the Radojčić collection (more than 900 specimens). Since he was a local collector, we can assume that most of the pieces had been found in the vicinity of Viminacium.

20 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 334-341, cat. nos. 2546-2604.

21 Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 442-453, cat. nos. 3185-3282; Vojvoda 2017, 51-74.

22 Црнобрња 2007, 199, cat. 2.

23 Иванишевић 1987, 60, cat. nos. 7, 9-11.

24 Павловић 1972, 65.

25 We express our deepest gratitude to our colleague Goran Mitrović for providing us with data about these unpublished monetary finds.

of Gornje Štiplje (2) and Dragovo (1),²⁶ and from the vicinity of Jagodina (1),²⁷ also keeps six other specimens: from the vicinity of Jagodina (4), the vicinity of Paraćin (1) and from Mali Popović (1).²⁸

The next province according to the number of registered specimens of Viminacium provincial coinage is Pannonia Inferior with a total of 1,253 pieces. This type of monetary finds has also been registered in five hoards originating from the territories of the present-day Serbia, Croatia and Hungary: Sremska Mitrovica (128), Vrkašica (105), Morović (1), Slavonia (a relatively large quantity) and Aquincum I (3).²⁹ The total number of specimens from the mentioned hoards is 237, with no information about the quantity of hoarded coins that has Slavonia as the broader determinant.

Among the individual finds of Viminacium provincial coinage and parts of earlier or current private collections, the places of discovery are known for 1,016 pieces. The Dušanić collection from the Museum of the City of Belgrade contains 35 specimens: Novi Sad (18), Jarak (1), Surduk (3), Sremska Mitrovica (4), Mačvanska Mitrovica (3), Vukovar (2), vicinity of Vukovar (1) and Osijek (3). 59 specimens originate from the Fajfrić private collection, all of which are individual finds discovered in the area of the village of Banovo Polje, near Sremska Mitrovica.³⁰ The Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica keeps 15 other specimens from two localities: Mačvanska Mitrovica (14) and Salaš Noćajski (1),³¹ while the National Museum in Šabac has two specimens, one from Mačvanska Mitrovica and the other has Mačva as the broader determinant.³² One specimen originates from Banoštor on

26 Cf. *supra* ref. 14.

27 Додић, Грбовић 2009, 36, cat. 44.

28 We express our deepest gratitude to our colleague Smiljana Dodić for providing us with data about these unpublished monetary finds.

29 Sremska Mitrovica (Орлов 1970, 239-250; Dukat, Mirnik 1978, 26, No. 108; Даутова-Рушељанин 1981, 64, No. 7; Mirnik 1981, 71, No. 229; Găzdac 2010, Catalogue PI: 5); Vrkašica, Sremska Mitrovica (Орлов 1972, 153-161; Coin Hoards I 1975, 34, No. 125; Dukat, Mirnik 1978, 29, No. 136; Mirnik 1981, 74, No. 252; Даутова-Рушељанин 1981, 64-65, No. 8; Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 162, ref. 27); Morović, Sremska Mitrovica (Даутова-Рушељанин 1981, 65, No. 10; Borić-Brešković 1994, 104, ref. 50; Popović 1997, 19); Slavonia (Margetić – Margetić 2005, 27; Nađ 2012b, 405, No. 45); Aquincum I, Budapest (Kerekes 1914, 71; Fitz 1978, 98-99; Găzdac 2010, Catalogue PI:5).

30 Борић-Брешковић, Петровић 2012, 135, ref. 1.

31 Борић-Брешковић, Петровић 2012, 135.

32 Борић-Брешковић, Петровић 2012, 135-136.

the Danube River, and three others from Gomoglava on the Sava River.³³

A large number of specimens of the Viminacium provincial mint have been discovered in the area of ancient Mursa (Osijek) – 533 pieces.³⁴ Celestin also mentioned the additional 48 pieces that were discovered in Osijek and belonged to the collection of the dentist, Müller, kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.³⁵

A significant number of individual finds of the Viminacium mint originate from present-day Hungary, which was part of the Roman province of Pannonia Inferior: Budapest (107), TÁC (26), Pécs (3), Százhalombatta (2), Adony (1), Dunaújváros (163).³⁶

A total of 831 specimens of Viminacium provincial coinage have been registered within the Roman province of Dalmatia. The majority of them are part of the hoard from Sikirići on the Drina River (813).³⁷ Data about individual finds is much more scarce: Mostar (1), railway near Mostar (1), Klobuk (2), Stolae (1), Čelebić (1), Srebrenica (1), convent of Tolisi (1), convent of Fojnički (1), county of Fojnica (1), Bosna (1).³⁸ The finds Bosna (1) and Sarajevo (6) from the Dušanić collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade can be added to these.³⁹

So far, 727 specimens⁴⁰ have been registered in the territory of the Roman province of Pannonia Superior (present-day Croatia, Hungary, Austria and Slove-

33 Dautova-Ruševljanin 1989, 89, cat. 11 (Banoštor); Dautova-Ruševljanin 1983, 59.

34 Celestin 1904: 17-21, cat. nos. 1-54. Specimens that were originally published by Celestin were included in the subsequent paper by Spajić and account for 308 Viminacium pieces that were published there; Spajić 1975, 173-220 (308 pieces); Nađ 2012a, 390-392 (245 pieces).

35 Celestin 1904, 26-28, cat. nos. 6-54 (48 pieces).

36 Budapest/Aquincum (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds PI); TÁC/Gorsium (Găzdac 2008, 156, Table 1); Pécs/Sopianae (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds PI); Százhalombatta/Matrica (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds PI); Adony/Vetvs Salina (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds PI); Dunaújváros/Intercisa (Găzdac 2008, 156, Table 1).

37 The hoard consisted exclusively of provincial coins of Viminacium and Dacia. Truhelka also listed the contents according to rulers, with the note than 51 specimens are illegible. On the basis of the published contents, one can expect that the majority of the illegible ones are Viminacium issues, cf. Truhelka 1893, 310-311; Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 1891, 86; Patsch 1902, 13; Brunšmid 1907, 13; Orlov 1970, 239-240.

38 Patsch 1902, 12-13; Brunšmid 1907, 14.

39 Cf. *supra* ref. 16.

40 A portion of the 36 specimens from the territory of present-day Slovenia, which have not been classified according to ancient provinces and areas, should probably be added to this number; cf. *infra* ref. 41.

nia) and all were individual finds: Orešac (2) and Sisak (28), Szöny (131), Sopron (8), Szombathely (30), Árpás (5), Győr (5), Ács (12), Esztergom (48), Hegykö-Téglástó (1), Koroncó (1), Bajót (2), Dorog (1), Epöl-Kökút (2), Héreg (5), Környe (1), Tarján (1), Tokod (6), Petronell (259); Wien (9), Schützen am Gebirge (2), Marz (1), Neusiedl am See (1), Apetlon (1), Halbturn (2), Illmitz (1), Winden am See (4), Zurndorf (1), Deutschkreutz (1), Strebersdorf (8), Neckenmarkt (14), Ptuj (108), Drnovo (6).⁴¹

The next province according to the number of known specimens of Viminacium provincial money is Dacia with 387 registered pieces. They were registered within one hoard: Săpata de Jos (2),⁴² while the remaining pieces were individual finds: Sarmizegetusa (28), Alba Iulia (27), Bacău (1), Buciumi (3), București (4), Bumbști (7), Burila Mare (1), Buzău (1), Carei (2), Călimănești (1), Câmpulung-Muscel (1), Celei (16), Cetate (1), Cioroiu Nou (1), Cluj-Napoka (1), Coroieni (1), Dulceanca (1), Feldioara (1), Gârla Mare (2), Gilău (1), Gornea (2), Greoni (1), Gruia (1), Gruiu (1), Hârlău (1), Hinova (2), Hoghiz (2), Husnicioara (1), Inlăceni (2), Jidava (2), Jupa (19), Mătășari/Mătășaru (1), Mehadia (6), Mihai Viteazu (1), Moigrad (3), Obârșia de Câmp (1), Orlea (7), Orșova (9), Pecica (1), Poieniști (1), Pojejena (7), Răcari (4), Râmnicu Vâlcea (1), Reșca (3), Săcueni (3), Samum (1), Slăveni (8), Snagov (1), Tîrgu-Jiu (3), Turda (42), Turnu-Severin (39),

41 Croatia: Orešac, Virovitica (Dukat, Mirnik 2005, 132; Bertol 2011, 240, No. 8); Sisak/Siscia (Nad 2012a, 392-393, Chart 7); Hungary: Szöny/Brigetio (Găzdac 2008, 160, Table 1; Juhász 2018, in print); Sopron/ Scarabantia (Găzdac 2008, 158, Table 1); Szombathely/Savaria, Árpás/Mursella, Győr/Arrabona, Ács/Ad Mures (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds PS); Esztergom/Solva, (Găzdac 2008, 159, Table 1); Hegykö-Téglástó, Koroncó, Bajót, Dorog, Epöl-Kökút, Héreg, Környe/Vincetia, Tarján, Tokod, Austria: Petronell/Carnuntum, Wien/Vindobona, Schützen am Gebirge, Marz, Neusiedl am See, Apetlon, Halbturn, Illmitz, Winden am See, Zurndorf, Deutschkreutz, Strebersdorf, Neckenmarkt (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds PS); Slovenia: Ptuj/Poetovio, Drnovo/Nevidunum (Miškec 2018, in print). So far, 171 specimens of Viminacium provincial coinage have been registered in the territory of present-day Slovenia (which covered parts of the Roman provinces of Pannonia Superior and Noricum, and Regio X Venetia et Histria). The authors who have so far published these finds (Kos 1986, 105-111; Šemrov 2011, 1013-1018; Miškec 2018, in print) have not classified the finds from present-day Slovenia according to Roman provinces and areas, but considered them jointly, as »south-eastern Alpine area and western Pannonia« or » present-day Slovenia«. Ptuj and Drnovo certainly belonged to Pannonia Superior, so these finds can be added to the mentioned province. Celje (9 pieces) was located in Noricum, and Ljubljana (12 pieces) belonged to Regio X Venetia et Histria. There are 36 other specimens with known places of discovery for which the ancient area they belonged to has not been defined.

42 Munteanu 2007, 282, no. 52.

Urluieni (1), Valea Mânastirii-Rîmet (1), Vărădia (1), Vețel (2).⁴³

A certain number of specimens of Viminacium coinage from the territory of the province of Dacia have no precise territorial determinant - only the area within the province is known: Banat (2),⁴⁴ Mureș (1),⁴⁵ Alba (7),⁴⁶ Sibiu (71).⁴⁷

A total of 77 specimens of Viminacium coinage has so far been registered in Regio X Venetia et Histria: Ljubljana (12),⁴⁸ Aquileia (44), Venetia et Histria (except Aquileia) (21).⁴⁹

As for the territory of the former Roman province of Noricum, the best documented are finds from the present-day Slovenia: Celje (9),⁵⁰ and Austria: Salzburg (1), Wagna (17) and Wels (2).⁵¹ One should reckon here with a certain smaller number of specimens that belong to Noricum according to the place of discovery, but originate from unspecified locations in the territory of the present-day Slovenia.⁵²

A total of 66 specimens have been registered in the territory of ancient Thrace, some of which belong to the hoards: Sestrimo II (1), Bojana II (16), Kyustendil (Pautalia III) (5), Borimečkovovo I (1).⁵³ Other specimens are individual finds:

43 Sarmizegetusa/Ulpia Traiana (Munteanu 2007, 280-282, no. 50; Găzduc 2010, Catalogue site finds Dacia; Ardevan 2012, 73, cat. nos. 130-131); Jupa/Tibiscum (Matei 2015, 66-68, cat. nos. 76-78, 81; 72, cat. no. 93; 148, cat. no. 167; 155, cat. no. 184; 158-159, cat. nos. 191, 194; 234, cat. no. 31; Demian 2017, poster); Alba Iulia/Apulium; Bacău, Buciumi, București, Bumbesti, Burila Mare, Buzău, Carei, Călimănești, Câmpulung-Muscel, Celei/Sucidava, Cetate, Cioroiu Nou, Cluj-Napoca/Napoca, Coroieni, Dulceanca, Feldioara, Gârla Mare, Gilău, Gornea, Greoni, Gruia, Gruuiu, Hârlău, Hinova, Hoghiz, Husnicioara, Inlăceni, Jidava, Mătăsari/Mătăsaru, Mehadia/Praetorium, Mihai Viteazu, Moigrad/Porolissum, Obârșia de Câmp, Orlea, Orșova/Dierna, Pecica, Poieniști, Pojeje-na, Răcari, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Reșca/Romula, Săcueni, Samum, Slăveni, Snagov, Țirgu-Jiu, Turda/Potaissa, Turnu-Severin/Drobeta, Urluieni, Valea Mânastirii-Rîmet, Vărădia/Arcidava, Vețel/Micia, (Munteanu 2007, 272-285, nos. 1-63; Găzduc 2010, Catalogue site finds Dacia).

44 Munteanu 2007, 272, no. 3 a, 3b.

45 Munteanu 2007, 272, no. 38.

46 Munteanu 2007, 282, no. 53.

47 Munteanu 2007, 282-283, no. 54.

48 Ljubljana/Emona, (Miškec 2018, in print).

49 Aquileia and Venetio et Histria (Stella 2018, in print).

50 Celje/Celeia (Miškec 2018, in print).

51 Salzburg/Claudium Iuvavum (Schachinger 2017, 335, cat. no.501); Wagna/Flavia Solva; Wels/Aelium Ovilavis (Stella 2018, in print, ref. 13).

52 Cf. *supra* ref. 40.

53 Sestrimo II (CCCHBulg. V, 136-137, no. 695; Върбанов 2017, 82, no. 636); Bojana II, Kyustendil, Borimečkovovo I (Върбанов 2017, 74, no. 568; 75, no. 597; 80, no. 614).

Pazardzhik (4), Blagoevgrad (1), Kyustendil (38).⁵⁴

Viminacium provincial money appeared in as many as eight hoards from the province of **Moesia Inferior**: Eliseyna (2), Kravoder (a large number of pieces ? → 6), Kneža III (5), Malinovo (2), Rusensko I (1), Šumensko II (1), Šumensko XI (2) and Šumensko XII (1).⁵⁵ The following were individual finds: Dobrogea (1), Pecineaga (2), Nikyup (2) and Istria (6).⁵⁶ A total of 31 specimens have been registered, while it should be noted that the number would probably be higher if the number of specimens in the Kravoder hoard were known.

In the western provinces, Viminacium coins were present in even smaller numbers: Raetia: Ilmmünster (1), Marktschellenberg (1); Germania Inferior: Köln (1); Germania Superior: Mainz (1), Saalburg (1), Esslingen am Nachar (1), Rottenburg am Nachar (1); Galia: Bourges (1).⁵⁷ Its presence in the east was even less significant: Mesopotamia: Commagene (1); Syria: Antioch (1), Dura-Europos (1).⁵⁸

As for the finds from the **Barbaricum**, a total of 295 specimens have been registered, with the place of discovery known for 199. The closest to the mint were those from the Serbian and Romanian part of Banat: Sapaja (1), Banatska Palanka (2), Vatin (2), Bela Palanka (2). The City Museum of Vršac keeps another 21 specimens from the former Weifert collection, but without data about the place of discovery.⁵⁹ Apart from one specimen in the National Museum of Banat in Timișoara (1), this museum houses the additional 75 pieces of Viminacium coinage which belonged to earlier private collections, without the place of discovery.⁶⁰

A large concentration of this type of monetary find has been observed in the territory of present-day Ukraine, discovered between the Dnieper and Dniester

54 Pazardzhik (CCCHBulg V, 50-52, cat. no. 101-104), Blagoevgrad/Skaptopara (CCCHBulg IV, 82, cat. no. 303), Kyustendil/Pautalia (CCCHBulg II, 48-50, cat. nos. 221-258).

55 Eliseyna, Kravoder, Kneža III, Malinovo, Rusensko I, Šumensko II, Šumensko XI and Šumensko XII (Върбанов 2017, 11, nos. 68, 71; 17, no. 116; 23, no. 175; 35, no. 269; 57, no. 453; 58, nos. 462, 463).

56 Dobrogea, Pecineaga (Munteanu 2007, 274, no. 17; 279, no. 43), Nikyup/Nicopolis ad Istrum, Istria (Găzdac 2010, Catalogue site finds MI).

57 Ilmmünster, Marktschellenberg, Köln, Mainz, Saalburg, Esslingen am Nachar, Rottenburg am Nachar, Bourges (Callu 1969, 112-113).

58 Commagene (Callu 1969, 55), Antioch (Callu 1969, 51; Katsari 2011, 228, ref. 112), Dura-Europos (Depeyrot online, p. 391, cat. no. 7222).

59 Bakić 2016, 170-171, ref. 6; 178-181, cat. nos. 7, 13, 15, 21.

60 Demian 2017, poster.

rivers - 170 pieces according to the latest data.⁶¹ In the territory of present-day Belarus, finds of Viminacium coinage were registered in the Dnieper basin: Stary Kryŭsk (1), unknown location, Brest raion (1).⁶² One specimen has been registered in north-western Poland, in the so-called Westbalt circle, two more in the area between the Elbe and Oder rivers in present-day Germany,⁶³ in southern Poland (1), Bohemia and Moravia (6), Slovakia (9).⁶⁴

Issues of the Viminacium provincial mint had a much broader area of circulation than the borders of the domicile province. The frequency and circulation reaches of these coins in particular parts of the Empire become clearer from the above mentioned. It is obvious that Viminacium issues had the purpose of covering the shortage of bronze coins from Rome, primarily in Moesia Superior, both Pannonias and, to an extent, in Dacia in a certain period (Graph 3; Map 1, 2).⁶⁵ The founding of the mint in Viminacium and, a little later, in Dacia, represented the official way for temporarily solving the problem in the functioning of the Empire's monetary system. However, it seems that the two newly founded mints had different roles. As shown by comparative analyses of monetary finds of these two mints in the territory of the province of Dacia, issues of Viminacium were intended for broader circulation, while issues of the province of Dacia seem to have been minted solely for the needs of the domicile province. Namely, the Dacia mint had large production only from 246 to 249 AD and exceeded the number of Viminacium issues in Dacia, only for Viminacium issues to become more numerous in the period from the reign of Philip I to that of Valerian I.⁶⁶ This is also confirmed by the finds in hoards from Moesia Superior and the Serbian part of Pannonia Inferior, which contain coins from both mints: Vlajića Brdo I (14:101),

61 Мызгин 2016, 160, Fig. 4 (listing more than 90 pieces); Myzgin 2018, in print, Graph 7 (listing 170 specimens).

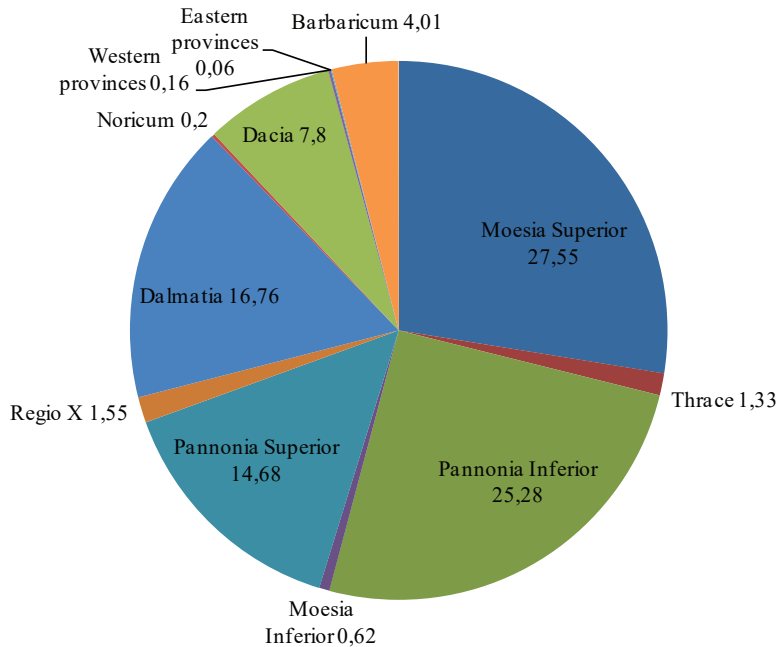
62 Sidarovich 2014, 76, 86, cat. nos. 14, 15.

63 Callu 1969, 112; Bursche 1992, 5; Zapolska 2013, 107-108.

64 Kunisz 1973, 38-39 Table 1.

65 According to current information about the number of specimens in Dalmatia, the presented percentage (Graph 3) of 16.76% is mostly (98%) related to the monetary finds from one hoard. Only 18 pieces were individual finds, so the obtained result cannot be brought into connection with a greater circulation of Viminacium provincial coins in Dalmatia.

66 Găzdac 2008, 275, 277, Fig. 9; Găzdac, Alföldy-Găzdac 2008, 152, Fig. 10.



Graph 3 – Percentages of Viminacium provincial coins with known places of discovery, according to province.

Popovac (2:15), Bošnjane (2:61), vicinity of Vranje (3:19),⁶⁷ Brežane (2:25),⁶⁸ Bujkovac (14:120),⁶⁹ Izvore (2:26),⁷⁰ vicinity of Čuprija (6:73);⁷¹ for the hoards of Gradnja and Spančevac, there is no data about these ratios, except that they contained coins from both mints;⁷² Sremska Mitrovica (8:137), Vrkašice (8:116).⁷³ At the same time, these are all the known hoards which contained coins from both mints. In the neighbouring provinces, they were either not present in the hoards, or the hoards contained only Viminacium coinage. If we compare the processed finds from the southern necropoles of Viminacium, the obtained results are similar (7:155).⁷⁴

A small number of Viminacium provincial issues is known in the territory of

⁶⁷ Арсенијевић 1997, 46, ref. 19, 22-23.

⁶⁸ Вулић 1905, 92-93.

⁶⁹ Борић-Брешковић, Митровић 2014, 87.

⁷⁰ Стаменковић, Самарџић 2013, 165.

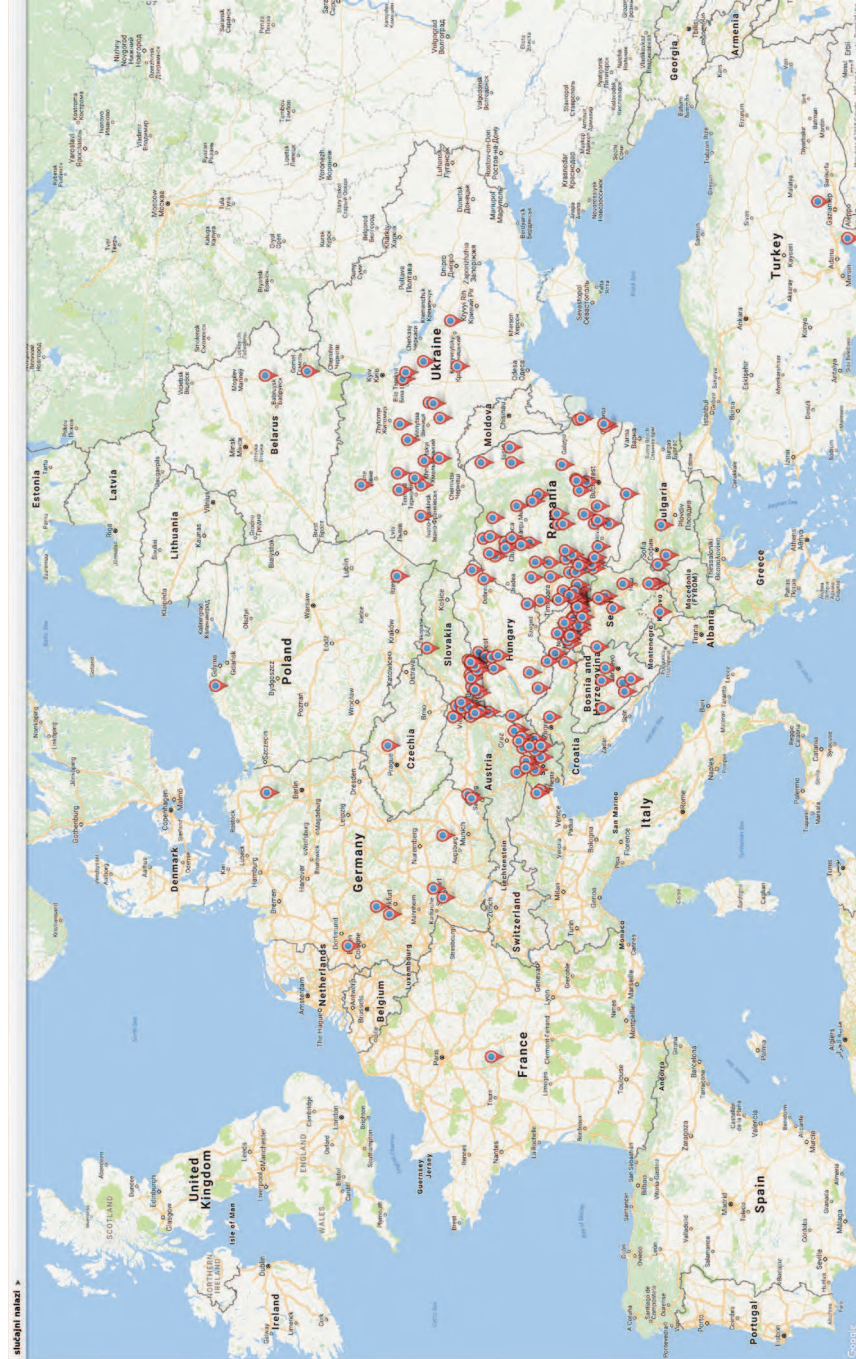
⁷¹ Ворић-Брешковић 1983, 70.

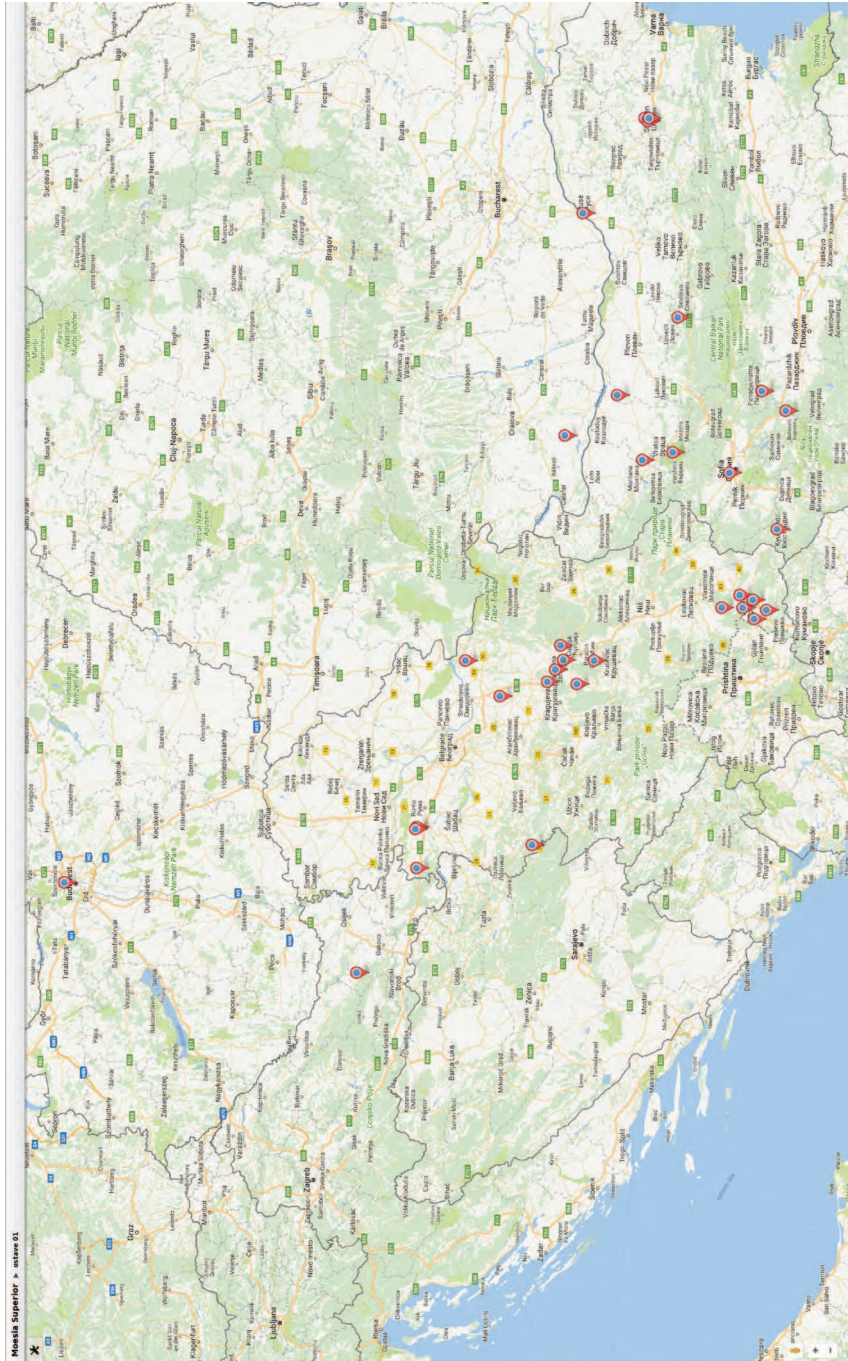
⁷² Cf. *supra* ref. 14.

⁷³ Арсенијевић 1997, 46, ref. 20-21.

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra* ref. 20, 21.

Map 1 - Individual finds of Viminacium provincial coinage





Map 2 - Hoards
that contain
Viminacium
provincial coinage

ancient Thrace and Moesia Inferior (Map 1, 2) because it is obvious that the numerous provincial mints which operated in the territory of these two provinces succeeded in meeting the needs for small bronze coins in circulation. When the two mentioned provinces are taken as a whole, and when chance finds and hoards are included, 97 specimens of Viminacium coins have been discovered (Thrace - 66, Moesia Inferior - 31). It is interesting that, to the north-east, in the Barbaricum, as many as 170 specimens have been registered between the lower courses of the Dnieper and Dniester rivers.⁷⁵ In attempts to explain the large presence of issues of Balkan mints and, especially, those of Viminacium, contemporary authors dismiss theories about the existence of trade connections between the population in the eastern Barbaricum and in Roman provinces in the 3rd century. Instead, they link the appearance of this coinage in the eastern Barbaricum with the military activities of Gothic tribes and their raids of the Bosphorus Kingdom, Pontes, Paphlagonia and the Roman Balkan provinces, for which they find confirmation in historical sources and in contemporary professional literature.⁷⁶ On the basis of an analysis of finds of provincial coinage in the eastern Barbaricum, they conclude that the tribes which limited their campaigns to the Bosphorus Kingdom and provinces of Asia Minor lived to the east of the Dnieper and, to the west of the Dnieper - tribes which directed their raids towards the Roman Balkan provinces.⁷⁷ More monetary finds of Asia Minor mints have been registered in the territory of present-day Belarus (24 pieces) than those from the Balkans (11), two specimens of which belong to Viminacium issues. These finds in present-day Belarus are also brought into connection with the Gothic raids of Roman provinces.⁷⁸ The reasons for their appearance are still the subject of debate - whether they were Roman contributions, a result of pillaging raids, or if the monetary finds arrived with the Germans who served in the Roman auxilia units.⁷⁹ Moreover, there are ongoing debates about the paths whereby Roman provincial coins reached the Western Baltic circle (Po-

75 Cf. *supra* ref. 61. Finds of Viminacium provincial coins and those of other Balkan mints are concentrated to the west of the Dnieper River, i.e. between the Dnieper and the Dniester. On the other hand, provincial issues of mints from Asia Minor are dominant to the east of the Dnieper.

76 Myzgin 2018, in print, ref. 50.

77 Myzgin 2018, in print, with mentioned literature.

78 Sidarovich 2014, 75-82.

79 Sidarovich 2014, 82, ref. 47, 48; Myzgin 2018, in print.

land, Lithuania), where one specimen of Viminacium provincial coinage has also been registered.⁸⁰ The question remains open as to whether that path led from the eastern Barbaricum (present-day Ukraine), down the Dnieper basin (present-day Belarus) to the Baltic, or from the western provinces, i.e. across the Rheine limes.⁸¹

On the basis of registered finds of Viminacium provincial coinage, it is obvious that its westward circulation was much greater than eastwards. As was already mentioned, a significantly lower presence has been registered in the neighbouring eastern provinces than in the neighbouring western ones. Only three specimens of Viminacium issues have been registered in the distant eastern provinces.

Except in Pannonia Superior and Inferior, where most of these monetary finds were discovered, other than in the domicile province, they were also present in significant numbers in the territory of the ancient Regio X (present-day north-eastern Italy and central and western Slovenia). Finds of Viminacium provincial coinage have also been registered in the territories of present-day Austria, Germany, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It is hard to provide a general answer about the reasons for the appearance of Roman provincial coins, including those from Viminacium, outside of the main circulation area (Moesia Superior, both Pannonias, Dacia). For each of these areas, one would have to perform a special analysis not just of the numismatic, but of all the other archaeological evidence, as well as historical sources. The reasons were certainly not uniform and were probably different for certain distant parts of the empire and, especially, for the Barbaricum.

Despite its brief period in operation, there are many reasons why the provincial mint in Viminacium is significant for numismatic and historical research. From the very start, it is quite distinctive owing to its large monetary production and the reach of its broad circulation, which places it among the most significant production centres in the Balkans. Due to precise chronological data, this currency is among the most reliable sources for studying the history of the middle of the 3rd century AD, when the Danubian and Balkan provinces were the main theatre where the battle took place for the survival of part of the Roman Empire.

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Lectured by Tamara Rodwell-Jovanović

80 Bursche 1992, 5; Zapolska 2013, 107-108.

81 Bursche 1992, 9; Zapolska 2013, 112-115; Sidarovich 2014, 82.

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