

Rousse Regional Museum of History

COIN HOARDS

IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

(1st - 6th century AD)



Rousse 2021



РЕГИОНАЛЕН ИСТОРИЧЕСКИ МУЗЕЙ · РУСЕ
ROUSSE REGIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY

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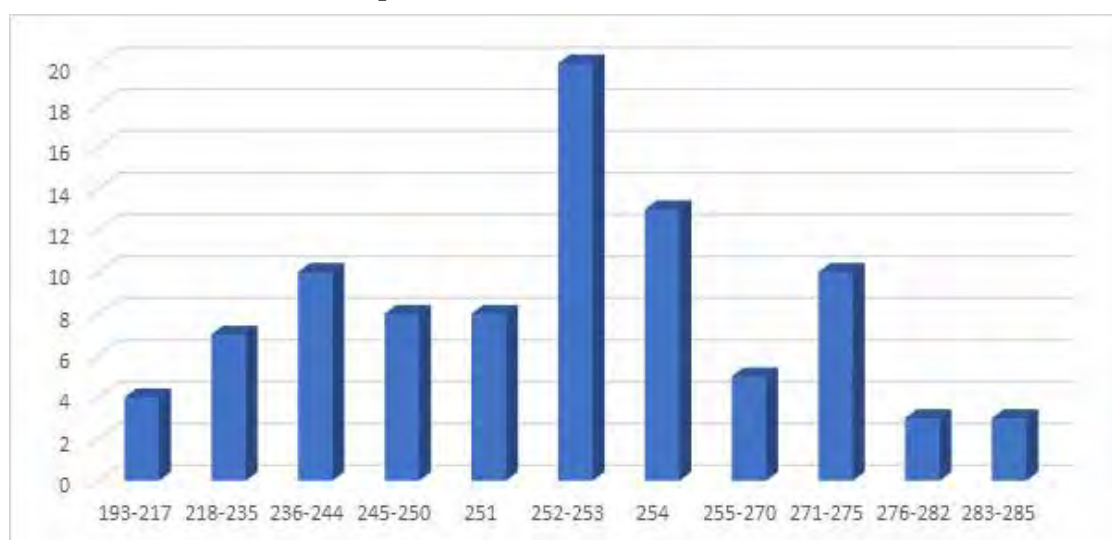
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ROMAN COIN HOARDS DEPOSITED DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP I FROM THE TERRITORY OF PRESENT-DAY SERBIA¹

Bojana Borić-Brešković, Mirjana Vojvoda

Monetary finds, especially coin hoards, are unavoidable sources for studying the political, economic and social history of a certain period and territory. Coin hoards are particularly valuable in the interpretation of complex historical processes in the Roman Empire, especially in the 3rd century, from which written sources fail to provide the anticipated clues. Given these circumstances, the analysis of finds requires caution in their interpretation primarily because the conditions of discovery are often insufficiently reliable, and the mandatory comparison with similar finds from the immediate and broader vicinity.

A large number of coin hoards from the territory of present-day Serbia² originate from the 3rd century, wherein they gradually grew in numbers from the time of Alexander Severus and peaked in the period between 252 and 254 AD (Graph 1).



Graph 1. Thrid century coin hoards from the territory of present-day Serbia.

Six hoards (Table 1) have been registered in present-day Serbia from that chronological span, during the reign of Philip I (244-249), which end with coins of Philip I or members of his family: Mezul II (Dobri Do II), Sikirica I, Kremenica, Kalemegdan, Podrimce and, conditionally, Kamenica (Vinik).³ In

1 The study results from the projects: Roman Coin Hoards from Serbia. Numismatic Collection of the National Museum in Belgrade (B. Borić-Brešković) – Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia; Life in Antiquity: The Expansion of Cities and Urban Civilization in the Balkans and the City Neighbouring Areas from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman Period (B. Borić-Brešković) (no. 177005) and IRS – Viminacium, roman city and military legion camp – research of material and non-material of inhabitants by using the modern technologies of remote detection, geophysics, GIS, digitalization and 3D visualization (M. Vojvoda) (no. 47018) - Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

2 The present-day Serbia covers parts of territories of three former Roman provinces – the largest part of the province of Moesia Superior, the south-eastern part of Pannonia Inferior, the north-eastern part of Dalmatia and a part of the Barbaricum between Pannonia Inferior and Dacia.

3 The Sikirica II hoard is not included in this group, considering that it is dispersed and that only one antoninianus of Philip II has been preserved. For the Sikirica II hoard, cf. Марић 1956, 180, no. 10; Mirnik 1981, 69, no. 215; Arsenijević 2002 (unpublished MA thesis); Borić-Brešković, Stamenković 2008, 160, note 18; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 8, note 4. There

earlier literature, the hoards Mezul II, Sikirica I and Kremenica were attributed to the same horizon of depositing – 247 AD.⁴ After a revision of earlier stances and the publication of recent finds (Kalemegdan, Podrimce, part of the Kamenica hoard), new conclusions were made about their dating.⁵

Authority	Podrimce 244-245 (?)	Mezul II the first half of 247	Kamenica Belgrade part 247 (?)	Sikirica I end of 248 or 249	Kremen- ica end of 248 or 249	Kalemeg- dan from the summer of 248 to the end of 249
MARCUS ANTONIUS			8			
VESPASIAN			19	1		
TITUS			5			
DOMITIAN			4			
NERVA			1			
TRAJAN		1	17			17
HADRIAN		1	23	1		11
ANTONINUS PIUS	1	8	66	1		25
MARCUS AURELIUS	1	1	39	1		8
COMMODUS	1	16	49	3		16
PERTINAX			1			
DIDIUS JULIANUS			2			
CLODIUS ALBINUS	1	3	10	2		4
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS	27	217	924	71		262
CARACALLA	6	45	252	11		32
MACRINUS	1	7	11	2		
ELAGABALUS	19	191	499	48		76
SEVERUS ALEXANDER	19	213	583	71		66
MAXIMINUS I	5	35	134	13		
GORDIAN I		2	1			
GORDIAN II			1			
BALBINUS		3	1			
PUPIENUS		1	1			
GORDIAN III	46	387	437	64	25	60
PHILIP I	10	135	38	3	14	9
TOTAL	137	1266	3122	292	39	586

Table 1 – Content of the coin hoards from the time of Philip I from the territory of present-day Serbia.

The dispersed collective find from the village of **Podrimce** near Leskovac ends with the coins of Philip I, but the issues for Otacilia Severa and Philip II are missing.⁶ The dating of this incomplete hoard

was also no separate consideration of the large hoard from Skopje (Moesia Superior), although coins of Philip I from 248 AD are listed as its *terminus post quem* - P M TR P V COS III (Kubitschek 1908, 43-44), because this territory is nowadays part of the Republic of North Macedonia.

4 Vasić 1972, 58-62, Janković-Mihaldžić 1987, 89-105, Арсенијевић 2004, 227.

5 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 7-101.

6 The find has been published in its entirety by Стаменковић 2005, 143-191; Vasić 2019, 69-70, Table 69, 84, Table 95;

is based on the Rome mint issues of Philip I with the long obverse legend: IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG,⁷ which, according to RIC, could belong to the 1st issue from 244 AD,⁸ that is, they are broadly dated in the period from 244 to 247.⁹ Antioch issues of Philip I, i.e. two *antoniniani* of the 1st issue which are not precisely dated in RIC,¹⁰ are also present, besides the issues of Rome. The signs P M in their obverse legend (IMP C M IVL PHILIPPVS P F AVG P M) mark Philip I as the conqueror of Persia (*Persicus Maximus*), while obverse motifs are dedicated to the celebration of the signing of a peace accord with Persia in 244.¹¹ It can be concluded from this that the 1st issue of the Antioch mint is undoubtedly closer to the first half of Philip's reign. Already in 1967, S. K. Eddy dated the 1st issue of the Antioch mint, albeit with some reservation, in 244-245 (?), guided by similar arguments.¹² In the publication of the hoard from Podrimce, S. Stamenković proposed the assumption that it *could belong to the horizon of 244-245*, which has been confirmed in the neighbouring Dacia. Due to the scarcity of information about the exact dating of Antioch issues, the author accepts the possibility that the hoard from Podrimce could also belong to the horizon of depositing from 247.¹³

The collective find **Mezul II** (Dobri Do II)¹⁴ was discovered on the locality of Mezul (area of Bobovik) between Dobri Do and Vlaški Do villages, during the first days of November 1966, and was soon purchased for the National Museum in Belgrade.¹⁵ The find contains 1266 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, spanning the period from Trajan to Philip I and one P M S COL VIM coin (AN VII) dated to 245/246. The Mezul II hoard ends with issues of the Rome mint that were made for Philip I: LIBERALITAS AVGG II (RIC IV.3, 72, No. 38b), 2nd issue, 3rd officina, 245 AD;¹⁶ AEQVITAS AVGG (RIC IV.3, 71, No. 27b), 3rd issue, 1st officina, 245-247 AD;¹⁷ ANNONA AVGG (RIC IV.3, 71, No. 28c), 3rd issue, 3rd officina, 245-247 AD¹⁸ and P M TR P III COS II P P (RIC IV.3, 69, No. 4), 3rd issue, 3rd officina, 245-247 AD.¹⁹ Specimens of Philip I and Otacilia Severa have long obverse legends and on those of Philip II the title of Augustus is missing, which indicates *the dating of the find in the first half of 247 AD*, providing that it has been preserved in its entirety.²⁰

The find from **Niška Kamenica** is among the biggest hoards of Roman coins discovered so far. Unfortunately, most of it is dispersed and its dating will most probably remain unknown because, judging by available information, the preserved part represents approximately one-tenth of the original hoard.²¹ Despite all the uncertainties surrounding this exceptional hoard, there is a possibility that the coins could have belonged to the time of Philip I, because they are currently the latest finds contained within the whole of 3122 coins in the National Museum in Belgrade.

Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 196-197, ref. 40; Vojvoda, Redžić 2020, 534, No. 17.

7 RIC IV.3, nos. 32b, 35b, 36b, 49b, 50 and 53.

8 RIC IV.3, Introduction, 56; Стаменковић 2005, 149.

9 RIC IV.3, p. 71: Undated, 244-247 AD; Стаменковић 2005, 178-179, cat. 128-135.

10 RIC IV.3, nos. 69, 70.

11 RIC IV.3, 64.

12 Eddy 1967, 97.

13 Стаменковић 2005, 149-150; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 23.

14 Pegan 1967, 112; Павловић 1972, 72-73; Vasić 1972, 58-62; Fitz 1978, 102; Dukat, Mirnik 1978, 18, no. 25; Mirnik 1981, 61, no. 163; Borić-Brešković 1994, 103, note 46; Арсенијевић 2004, 227; Стаменковић 2005, 150, Map 2; Crnobrnja 2008, 20; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 22; The hoard has been published in its entirety by Vasić 2019, 7-185.

15 General Inventory of the National Museum in Belgrade 835/1-1188 and 836/1-79. The hoard of coins and fragments of the ceramic vessel which held it were purchased for the National Museum from Milan Ristić, on December 29th, 1966. Another coin hoard (Mezul I – Dobri Do I) was discovered on the same locality a little earlier and was purchased by the National Museum in Smederevo. This find contains 272 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, from Caracalla to Trajan Decius (Pegan 1967, 112; Павловић 1972, 72-73; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 187-241).

16 Dated according to Vasić 2019, 82, Table 88, Cat. nos. 1188-1191.

17 Dated according to Vasić 2019, 82, Table 89, Cat. nos. 1201-1216.

18 Dated according to Vasić 2019, 82, Table 89, Cat. nos. 1240-1258.

19 Dated according to Vasić 2019, 82, Table 89, Cat. nos. 1238-1239.

20 The obverse legends were shortened in mid-247 AD, while Philip II was given the title of Augustus in July or August of that year, cf. RIC IV.3, 61; Vasić 1972, 61; Kienast 2010, 200; Vasić 2019, 94, ref. 156.

21 It is known that the Kamenica hoard contained more specimens than the hoard from Reka Devnija (more than 100,000 coins). Contradicting reports from the time of discovery, often exaggerated, do not provide reliable data about the total number of coins at the moment of unearthing. For a detailed report about written and verbal statements from the time of discovery of the hoard, cf. Bertol-Stipetić, Nađ 2016, 14-21.

The hoard was discovered in 1936, on the slope of Vinik in the village of Kamenica near Niš. The majority of the coins ended up in private collections and a smaller part in museums. The following information is known:

1. The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb keeps 4096 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, spanning the period from Marcus Antonius/ Vespasian to Maximinus Thrax and is dated in 237, that is 236-238 AD.²²

2. The part of the find the National Museum in Niš obtained initially consisted of 4442 *denarii* and *antoniniani*; however, after some dispersion over time, it nowadays consists of 3941 specimens, spanning the period from Nero to Alexander Severus.²³

3. The National Museum in Belgrade has a total of 3122 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, spanning the period from Marcus Antonius/ Vespasian to Philip I.²⁴

4. The National Museum of Slovenia purchased 830 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, from Trajan to Gordian III, dated in the period from 242 to 244 AD.²⁵

The coins, currently known as the latest from the Kamenica hoard, are kept in the National Museum in Belgrade. They are seven *antoniniani* of Philip I, all of which belong to the 3rd issue of the Rome mint from 245 to 247 AD.²⁶ Thus, the earlier proposed dating in 247 AD,²⁷ although conditionally, starting with the fact that most of the hoard has been dispersed, could be accepted.

The **Sikirica I** hoard was discovered in the village bearing the same name near Paraćin.²⁸ It ends with *antoniniani* of Philip I of the Rome mint.²⁹ M. Vasić dated the specimen IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG / PAX AETERN (RIC IV.3, 73, No. 41) in 244 AD and attributed it to the 1st issue,³⁰ while the authors of RIC, unlike in the introductory study where they equally determined it,³¹ dated it more broadly in the catalogue – in the period between 244 and 247 AD; according to both sources, the *antoninianus* IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG / P M TR P IIII COS II P P (RIC IV.3, 69, No. 4) was minted in 247 AD, wherein

22 The Zagreb part of the Kamenica hoard is dated according to specimens of Maximinus Thrax, in the period from 236 to 238 AD; cf. Bertol-Stipetić, Nađ 2016, 24.

23 Janković-Mihaldžić 2005, 50-51, notes 4-15.

24 According to Marić's statement, a part of the large hoard from Niška Kamenica, discovered in 1936, was purchased for the National Museum in Belgrade in 1954, coins of Marcus Antonius and emperors from Vespasian to Philip I (2123 *denarii* and *antoniniani*), and subsequently another five *denarii*, cf. Марић 1956, 180, no. 8; the subsequently purchased five *denarii* of Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Manlia Scantilla, Didia Clara and Caracalla were published within the Systematic Collection of the National Museum, but without information about the place of discovery, cf. Borić-Brešković 1990, cat. 1596 (Pertinax, RIC IV.1, 8, no. 8A), cat. 1597 (Didius Julianus, RIC IV.1, 15, no. 1), cat. 1598 (Manlia Scantilla under Didius Julianus, RIC IV/1, 16, no. 7A), cat. 1599 (Didia Clara under Didius Julianus, RIC IV/1, 16, no. 10.); Borić-Brešković 1991, cat. 1850 (Caracalla under Septimius Severus, RIC IV.3, 235, no. 164). This group should also include four more *denarii*, purchased from several sources in 1956 and 1957, for which Niška Kamenica is registered in the inventory of the National Museum as the place of discovery. The following were published within the Systematic Collection of the National Museum without information about the place of discovery: one posthumous *denarius* minted for Caracalla, cf. Borić-Brešković, Bendžarević 2005, cat. 2003 (RIC IV.2 Severus Alexander, 128, no. 717); one consecrative *denarius* minted for Julia Mesa, cf. Borić-Brešković, Bendžarević 2008, cat. 2411 (RIC IV/2 Severus Alexander, 101, no. 378), and two *denarii* of Gordian I and Gordian II, cf. Borić-Brešković 2008, cat. 2453 (Gordian I, RIC IV/2, 160, no. 5) and cat. 2454 (Gordian II, RIC IV/2, 163, no. 3); Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 23-24, notes 69-70; Vasić 2019, 69-70, Table 69, 74-75, Table 75, 84, Table 95; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 197, ref. 45; Vojvoda, Redžić 2020, 534, No. 18. After a recent insight into the Belgrade part of the Kamenica find, it was established that it contains a total of 3122 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, from the initial and subsequent purchases.

25 The composition of the part of the hoard that is kept in the National Museum of Slovenia is unknown to us, but the most recent specimens are *antoniniani* of Gordian III (RIC IV.3, 37, nos. 210, 213, 214). We would like to extend our gratitude to our colleague Alenka Miškec of the National Museum of Slovenia for kindly sharing this information with us.

26 RIC IV.3, 57, 68, no. 2B (P M TR P II COS II, Philip - 3 pieces); 57 and 71, no. 27B (Aequitas Aug - 1 piece); 57 and 71, no. 28C (Annona Avgg - 2 pieces); 57 and 73, no. 44B (Romae Aeternae - 1 pieces); cf. Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 24, note 71.

27 B. Borić-Brešković, as well as I. Mirnik and M. R. Vasić, date the hoard from Niška Kamenica in 247 AD, cf. Borić-Brešković 1983, 72; Mirnik 1981, 64, no. 178; Vasić 1972, 60 and 62.

28 Kept in the National Museum in Belgrade and published in its entirety by Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 7-101; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 197; Vojvoda, Redžić 2020, 534, No. 20.

29 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 75, cat. 290-292.

30 Vasić 2005, 17 and 131, cat. 354-357. The same conclusion is also advocated by S.K. Eddy 1967, 97.

31 RIC IV.3, 56.

it belongs to the 4th issue according to RIC,³² and to the 3rd according to M. Vasić;³³ the specimen IMP PHILIPPVS AVG / FIDES EXERCITVS (RIC IV.3, 75, No. 61) is attributed to issues from 247 to 249 AD in the catalogue part of RIC, and determined as the 7th (8th) issue from 248 (later 249 AD) in the introduction,³⁴ whereas M. Vasić believes that it belongs to the 8th issue from 248-249 AD.³⁵ This last antoninianus with the short obverse legend also determines the *terminus post quem* of the Sikirica I find as the end of 248 or 249 AD.³⁶

The find from **Kremenica** near Bela Palanka has been published in its entirety and was initially attributed to the deposit horizon of 247 AD.³⁷ Subsequent insight into the catalogue of the hoard showed that the antoninianus of Philip II with the reverse legend AETERNIT IMPER (RIC IV.3, 97, No. 226)³⁸ does not belong to the Rome mint, but to the 2nd issue of the mint in Viminacium, which is dated in 248-249 AD.³⁹ In this way, the *tpq.* of the hoard from Kremenica has been moved to the end of 248-249 AD, like that of the Sikirica I hoard.⁴⁰

The find from **Kalemegdan** (Belgrade)⁴¹ belongs to hoards from the time of Philip I in the territory of present-day Serbia. The *terminus post quem* of this find was determined on the basis of the antoninianus of Philip II with the reverse legend VIRTVS AVGG (RIC IV.3, 96, No. 223), which belongs to the 6th issue of the Rome mint, dated in the summer of 248. Starting from the mentioned circumstance and based on the series of tumultuous events in this region until the end of 249 AD, A. N. Crnobrnja believes that the time of depositing it should be sought in the period from the summer of 248 to the end of 249 AD.⁴²

Apparently, from all that has been mentioned in connection with the horizon of hoards from 247 AD which have been discovered in the present-day Serbia it would emerge that, so far, the find Mezul II (Dobri Do II) belongs to this horizon, while the *tpq* of depositing the hoards Kremenica, Kalemegdan and Sikirica I is connected to 248/249 AD. The Podrimce hoard could have been deposited already during the first half of reign of Philip I (244-245), although the possibility of its later dating cannot be excluded. The find from Niška Kamenica, it has been said, does not provide an answer for reliable dating, although the year 247 could be provisionally accepted as the *tpq* based on the part of the hoard from the National Museum in Belgrade.

With the three currently known hoards whose *tpq* was determined in 248/249 AD, we may assume that this deposit horizon also existed in this region. Although all three are incomplete to some degree and it is not possible to assume whether and in what measure had the dispersing corrupted their initial content, the fact that their *tpq* coincides with 248/249 AD obliges us to discuss the events of the middle of the 3rd century in the Balkan provinces, marked both by barbarian raids and the usurpation of power.

The barbarian raids which primarily affected Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thracia⁴³ and, indirectly, Moesia Superior, have as testimony a large number of coin hoards.⁴⁴ Written sources for this time are mod-

32 RIC IV.3, 58 (4. Issue, 247).

33 Vasić 2005, 17 and 136-137, cat. 399-405; S.K. Eddy dated this issue more broadly: Rome, 245-247, Issue 3, cf. Eddy 1967, 98.

34 RIC IV.3, 59 and 63; same dating also proposed by Fitz 1978, 702.

35 Vasić 2005, 18 and 157, cat. 564. Unlike the authors of RIC, Fitz-a and M. Vasić, S.K. Eddy attributes the specimen RIC no. 61 to the 2nd issue of the Mediolanum (Milan) mint and dates it in 248 AD, cf. Eddy 1967, 99 – Mediolanum 248, Issue 2.

36 Crnobrnja 2008, 23; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 21.

37 Janković-Mihaldžić 1987, 89-97; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 22; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 197; Vojvoda, Redžić 2020, 534, No. 21.

38 According to Janković-Mihaldžić 1987, 96, cat. 38 the antoninianus of Philip II is attributed to the Rome mint and dated in 246-247 AD.

39 Fitz, 1978, 642; Vasić 2005, 159-160, cat. 581-584.

40 Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 22.

41 Crnobrnja 2008; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2016, 22; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 197; Vojvoda, Redžić 2020, 534, No. 23.

42 Crnobrnja 2008, 20, 23.

43 The debate about the barbarian invasions from the middle of the 3rd century, which primarily affected Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thracia, has been going on in scientific circles for years now. A review of the most important discussions of this subject, cf. Varbanov 2012, 289-309.

44 There is a great number of coin hoards that were deposited in the middle of the 3rd century (from Maximinus I to Trajan Decius) in the territory of the Balkan provinces. The discovery has been made of 355 hoards in the territory of Moesia Inferior, Thracia and Moesia Superior, 14 in the territory of the present-day Greece, 19 in the provinces of Macedonia and Dal-

est and insufficiently reliable, while the degree of archaeological exploration is low. This is why many researchers rely on information based on coin hoards in the dating of the barbarians' raids and interpreting the directions of their movement, although most of the hoards are incomplete or have not been published in their entirety. Consequently, they cannot represent a completely reliable historical source.⁴⁵

The accepted view is that the barbarian invasions of the Balkan provinces began in 238 AD, during the reign of the emperors Pupienus and Balbinus.⁴⁶ The next raid by the Goths and the Carpi is connected to 242 AD and the time of Gordian III, when the great offensive against Persia had to be postponed due to the conflict with the former.⁴⁷ The next invasion was the one from the beginning of the reign of Philip I,⁴⁸ when the Pannonian belt was affected by a raid by the Germanic Quadi and the areas along the lower course of the Danube were seriously jeopardised by the Carpi.⁴⁹ Numerous coin hoards are evidence of how serious the danger was from the Carpi, who seriously jeopardised Dacia and, to a lesser extent, Moesia Inferior, with the conflict extending into 247 AD. Besides, Philip I opened a provincial mint of bronze coins⁵⁰ in Dacia in the summer of 246, for the needs of the military, and then, in honour of his victory against them, celebrated a triumph late in the summer of 247 AD, abolished taxes for that year and took the title *Carpicus Maximus*.⁵¹

New barbarian invasions and an unstable internal political and military situation, primarily the usurpation of Pacatianus and Decius being proclaimed emperor, marked the years 248 and 249 AD in the Balkan provinces, which are the assumed period for depositing the three hoards from Moesia Superior. Although the barbarians' devastating raids did not directly jeopardise Moesia Superior, it became the centre of serious internal turmoil.⁵² Because of a raid by the Goths, who crossed the Danube at the start of 248 AD and pillaged Moesia Inferior and Thracia,⁵³ Decius arrived in the Danubian region on orders from Philip I, and attempted to bring order and primarily improve the troops' discipline, but he did not have any major success in the battles with the Goths. Then, around April 21st, 248, the armies of both Moesias and both Pannonias proclaimed Pacatianus emperor, who had been the commander of the armies on the Danube until then. Pacatianus then used the colonial and imperial mint in Viminacium to mint his *antoniniani*. In order to crush Pacatianus' rebellion and punish the mutineers, Philip once again dispatched Decius to the Balkans, this time in the capacity of *dux Moesiae et Pannoniane*. It is presumed that he arrived after Pacatianus' assassination, which is dated to around April-May 249,⁵⁴ and that the Pannonian troops proclaimed him the new emperor in early summer, in June.⁵⁵ The legions of Moesia Superior also joined them, while those from Moesia Inferior remained faithful to Philip, although they had participated in Pacatianus' re-

matia and 54 in Dacia, cf. Varbanov 2012, 290-291; Върбанов 2017.

45 In the area of their greatest concentration (present-day Bulgaria and North Dobrudja) a high percentage of them (73%) are with an unknown initial composition, or less than 2/3 of their original contents were preserved, i.e. only 27% of finds are complete hoards or lack only a few coins – not more than 1/3, cf. Varbanov 2012, 296. Besides, the majority of hoards from the two mentioned groups have not been published in their entirety, which additionally complicates reaching conclusions.

46 Gerov 1977, 126; Touratsoglou 2006, 138.

47 Gerov 1977, 127-128; Lorient 1977, 756-757.

48 It has been proven that Philip I was in the town of Aquae in Dacia on November 12th, 245, cf. Lorient 1977, 793 and note 19; Kienast 2010, 198.

49 Ensslin 1971, 90; Lorient 1977, 792-793; Gerov 1977, 128-129. Dacia was jeopardised the most, while Moesia Inferior was less affected.

50 The opening of the provincial mint of bronze coins in Dacia in the summer of 246 was undoubtedly connected with the reorganisation of Roman troops in this sector, which Philip I carried out for military needs and the war with the Carpi, cf. Lorient 1977, 793.

51 Ensslin 1971, 90; Lorient 1977, 793; Kienast 2010, 199 (he took the title *Carpicus Maximus* at the end of 247 AD (?), while the title *Germanicus Maximus* was not official in character). Due to the victory against the Quadi, he took the title *Germanicus Maximus* in 246 and the title *Carpicus Maximus* in 247 AD. The victory against the Carpi was also celebrated with a rare series of *antoniniani* VICTORIA CARPICA from the 4th issue, dated probably to the end of 247, cf. RIC IV/3, 61-62 and 75, no. 66.

52 Moesia Superior was not directly exposed to the barbarians' raids, but was jeopardised by serious internal turmoil, an important centre of which was Viminacium and its mint. For events in connection with invasions and usurpations in 248/249 and 250/251 AD, cf. Васић 2012, 9-19 with mentioned literature.

53 About different interpretations of directions of the barbarians' raids and pillaging in Moesia Inferior and Thracia, cf. Varbanov 2012, 303-306.

54 Gerov 1977, 130.

55 Gerov 1977, 131; Kienast 2010, 204.

bellion before that. Meanwhile, the barbarian tribes, among which the Carpi and the Goths, raided Moesia Inferior again and laid siege on Marcianopolis. The following several months were filled with internal conflicts which were mostly resolved in the Danubian region, about which there is no complete agreement in scholarly literature. After Philip's death, most probably in September 249 AD, Philip's underage son, Philip II, could have been the legitimate ruler for a brief period, since Decius was not yet officially recognised in Rome. Decius' official *dies imperii* is dated in the autumn of 249, i.e. the interval between the death of Philip and October 16th, 249 and the Senate's recognition, when he was referred to as the legitimate ruler for the first time and given the name Trajan.⁵⁶

It is clear from this summary of events in the Danubian region in 248-249 AD that the activity of the legions was very prominent in both Pannonias and in Moesia Superior, because of the barbarian raids on the one side, and due to constant internal turmoil on the other. The overall insecurity undoubtedly caused anxiety, not just among the troops, but also among the civilian population, which turned out to be linked with the reasons for depositing the hoards from the time of Philip I in the territory of present-day Serbia.

The hoard from the village of **Podrimce** is in connection with the structure of a *villa rustica*, which indicates that it belonged to a farmer or owner of the property.⁵⁷ The situation is similar with the **Mezul II** hoard, for which we found confirmation in many movable finds and remains of structures in that locality.⁵⁸ Hoarding began in the Mezul II hoard in the time of Septimius Severus and lasted for almost 54 years. This leads us to the conclusion that it could represent a savings of two or three generations, which once again indicates that the hoard belonged to the owner of the property. Besides, the proximity of the road was surely very important for farming produce to be transported more easily.⁵⁹

Bearing in mind the mentioned circumstances surrounding the discovery of the large hoard at Vinik – **Kamenica** and the numerous current uncertainties, little attention has been paid to the reasons for depositing it and the possible owners.⁶⁰ Since Vinik, by all accounts, was the location of a *villa rustica*, according to more recent interpretations, the find could have been the savings of several generations of one or more families who held a large property in land there.⁶¹

The period of hoarding in the **Sikirica I** find is identical to that of the Mezul II hoard. Considering Sikirica's position in what was an agriculturally developed region in ancient times, in the immediate vicinity of the *Via publica* and Horreum Margi as a trading and crafts' centre, one can assume that the savings belonged to the owner of some of the agricultural properties. As for the reason for depositing it, the predominant belief is that the barbarian raids of the neighbouring provinces were not a directly contributing factor. The increased frequency of troops along the main Balkan road communications (the *Via publica* and *Via militaris*) might have caused disturbance and panic among the population, but it is more probable that the simultaneous internal turmoil contributed to the growing insecurity and was the reason for depositing the hoard from the village of Sikirica (Sikirica I).

The hoard from the village of **Kremenica** was discovered in the immediate vicinity of the ancient settlement of Remesiana (Bela Palanka), which was mentioned in the 3rd century for the first time, as a station on the significant military traffic route (*Via militaris*) and which connected Naissus with Serdica.⁶² Remesiana, founded in an ore-rich area, must have been extremely important for the central Roman authorities because of its ore-yielding surroundings,⁶³ and it obtained municipal status perhaps in the time of

56 For the debate about the mentioned events, with literature, cf. Васић 2012, 9-14. About the work of the Viminacium and Dacia mints in that period, cf. *ibid.* 14-16.

57 Стаменковић 2005, 151; Васић 2015, 118-119; Vasić 2019, 94; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 189.

58 Павловић 1972, 72-73; Васић 2015, 118-119; Vasić 2019, 9; Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2019, 189.

59 About possible routes of local Roman roads and the route that passed near Mezul, cf. Васић 2015, 118.

60 About the reasons mentioned in literature and potential owners, cf. Bertol-Stipetić, Nađ 2016, 41-42.

61 Mihailović 2008, 139, note 56; Васић 2015, 119.

62 The beginnings of Remesiana are insufficiently known. The oldest inscriptions from this archaeological site are from the 3rd century, and it was first referred to as a station in *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Tabula Peutingeriana*, also in the 3rd century. In *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, it is referred to as a settlement next to the road (mansio), cf. Petrović 1979, 52. It is not known for certain whether it was a mansio or a vicus on the fiscal territory, or if it had a different status within the municipal organisation of Naissus, cf. Dušanić 1977, 73-74.

63 About Roman mining in the area of Remesiana, cf. Душанић 1980, 30-32.

Marcus Aurelius or earlier.⁶⁴ Recent archaeological explorations along the E80 motorway (Corridor 10) resulted in the discovery of several *villae rusticae*, economic structures and necropoles, in which even tombs were built as structures (archaeological sites: Slatina, Gladno Polje, Latinska Grobišta, etc.). All the newly discovered localities date from the second quarter of the 4th to the end of the 5th century.⁶⁵ Bearing in mind the location of the town in the ore-yielding area which, as a fiscal domain, must have been protected by a military unit, and it being positioned next to an important road, one should expect that agricultural holdings were also located in the vicinity at the end of the 2nd and in the 3rd century. The reasons for depositing the hoard were probably contingent on the frequent movement of troops along the *Via militaris* in these times of unrest. The question of the hoard's owner remains unanswered due to the short period of hoarding (10-11 years). It has been shown that hoards with longer periods of hoarding lead to the conclusion that the savings belonged to one family, and are usually connected with agricultural properties. As this is not the case with the find from Kremenica, various assumptions arise – that the money belonged to one of the city officials of Remesiana, a soldier from the defence unit, or that this was the beginning of hoarding by one family. As we do not have information about the conditions of discovery of the hoard, the question of its owner remains in the sphere of assumption.

The hoard from **Kalemegdan** is connected with the military encampment in Singidunum and, according to A. N. Crnobrnja, it was most probably the property of a soldier. Since there has been no confirmation that the military encampment was directly endangered during 248-249 AD, the author concludes that the reasons for depositing the hoard could be the redeployment of troops. Wars with the Goths in Thracia and Moesia Inferior and the frequent usurpations resulted in increased military activities and the troops often being relocated.⁶⁶

On the basis of the aforementioned, we recognised several horizons of deposits of coin hoards in the territory of the present-day Serbia, all of which were discovered within the borders of the former Roman province of Moesia Superior. The earliest horizon would belong to the initial years of the reign of Philip I – the Podrimce hoard (244-245), although its later dating (247 AD) is not excluded. The next horizon is from 247 AD, of which the hoards Mezul II (Dobri Do II) are characteristic and, provisionally, the hoard from Niška Kamenica, on the basis of the part of the find kept in the National Museum in Belgrade. The third horizon is from 248-249 AD, which gives the *tpq.* (*terminus post quem*) for the remaining three hoards: from Kremenica, Kalemegdan and Sikirica (Sikirica I).

Although the neighbouring provinces were exposed to attacks by barbarians in the mid-3rd century, there is no information that would indicate that the province of Moesia Superior, which encompassed the area of present-day central Serbia, was under direct threat in the same way and measure. Thus, the real reasons for depositing of all the collective finds of coins in the territory of Serbia should primarily be viewed as a consequence of some internal circumstances and turmoil, in connection with usurpations and the series of contenders for power, the centre of which was the Danubian region.

64 Although it seems that it never became a city, a certain number of researchers consider this assumption to be reliable, on the basis of the possible mention of Remesiana in the well-known laterculum of Viminacium from the 2nd century, cf. Petrović 1979, 52 and 55 with literature. About the history of Remesiana, cf. Petrović 1979, 51-57 and 101-106, nos. 69-77 (epigraphic monuments from the territory of Remesiana); Петровић 2007, 75-80.

65 Preliminary results available at: http://www.heritage.gov.rs/cirilica/zastitna_arheoloska_iskopavanja_koridor_10_Uvodni_deo.php

66 Crnobrnja 2008, 22.

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