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ROMAN COIN HOARDS OF THE THIRD CENTURY AD FOUND ON THE TERRITORY OF MOESIA SUPERIOR, AND SERBIAN PART OF DALMATIA AND PANNONIA INFERIOR: THE REASONS FOR THEIR BURIAL

Abstract: The territory of present-day Serbia comprises the area of the former Roman provinces of Moesia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia and Barbaricum (the region between Pannonia Inferior and Dacia). The turbulent events of the 3rd century, which were frequent in the Balkans, left behind numerous coin hoards as significant historical sources. Thus far, 94 coin hoards have been found, ranging from Septimius Severus and Caracalla to Diocletian.

Keywords: *Roman coin hoards, Moesia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia.*

A number of Roman imperial and provincial coin hoards were deposited during the 3rd century in the territory of present-day Serbia (Moesia Superior, parts of Pannonia Inferior and Dalmatia, as well as the area of Barbaricum between Pannonia Inferior and Dacia).¹ Newly published hoards, and also revisions of those previously published, have led to some changes in the dating of certain finds and, consequently, alterations within the established depositing horizons.² Additionally,

¹ The study results from the project: IRS – Viminacium, Roman city and legionary camp – research of the material and non-material culture of inhabitants using the modern technologies of remote detection, geophysics, GIS, digitalisation and 3D visualisation (No. 47018), Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

² VASIĆ 1972, 57-65; MIRNIK 1981; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 33-44; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 225-234.

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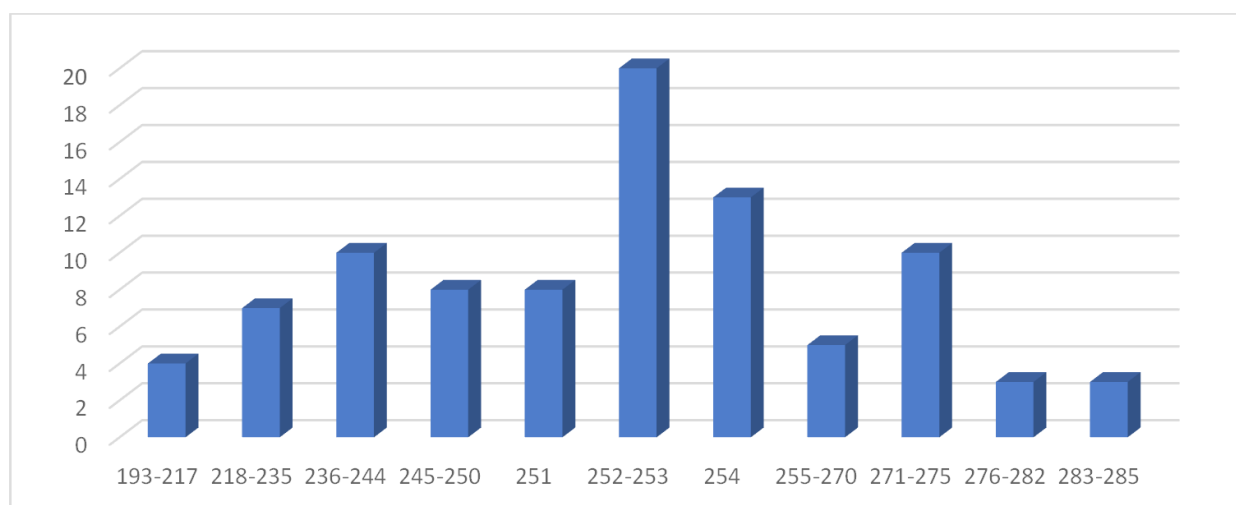
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Graph. 1. Third century coin hoards from the territory of present-day Serbia.

more recent studies by M. Vasić, highlighting the specific features of Moesia Superior as an agricultural and mining province, have largely changed earlier opinions regarding the owners of coin hoards and, therefore, the reasons for their depositing.³

As the territory of present-day Serbia covers the area of the former Roman provinces of Moesia Superior, parts of Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia and Barbaricum, the analysis conducted here focuses on hoards discovered in this region, as most of them are kept in museums in Serbia. Although these Roman coin hoards are certainly, in some aspects of interpretation, associated with analogous hoards from neighbouring provinces (Pannonia Superior, Dacia, Moesia Inferior, Thrace), still, Moesia Superior is distinguished from them due to some specific features. Namely, it mostly remained beyond barbarian incursions in the mid-3rd century and was rarely directly threatened by them, but logistically, it was certainly engaged in these conflicts with its military and economic potentials. More major disturbances in Moesia Superior were often caused by usurpations of power and related internal policy issues.

Currently known hoards (94) are arranged according to the youngest dated specimens into several chronological periods. Their number gradually increases from the time of Severus Alexander and Gordian III,

³ VASIĆ 2005; VASIĆ 2015, 97-130.

while the most numerous are those from 252–253 AD, from the reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Aemilian. A significant number of hoards also originate from 254, from the time of Valerian I and Gallienus, as well as from the reign of Aurelian (Graph 1).

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA (193–217 AD)

1. SURROUNDINGS OF POŽAREVAC, before 1982, AR (458): denarii (457), drachma (Amisus, Hadrian, 1), Trajan to Septimius Severus, *tpq.* end of 198/199 to 200 AD.⁴
2. GRADETS (Градeц) IV, AR denarii (unknown number of coins – 102), Vespasian to Septimius Severus, *tpq.* unknown.⁵
3. ČORTANOVCI, 1932, AR (2,459): denarii (2,457), drachmae (2: Lycia, Trajan, 1; Amisus, Hadrian, 1), Marcus Antoninus/ Nero to Septimius Severus, *tpq.* 210 AD.⁶
4. STARČEVO, 1866, AR denarii (249), Vitellius to Septimius Severus, *tpq.* unknown.⁷

⁴ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2010, 21-106.

⁵ VARBANOV 2017, 3, no. 12.

⁶ PETROVIĆ 1934, 255; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 64, no. 3; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2011, 9-282. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁷ KENNER 1867: 126, 131, 329-333; VASIĆ 2001, 175, ref. 1; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2011, 11, ref.

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF ELAGABALUS (218–222 AD)

To date, in Moesia Superior, no single coin hoard deposited at the time of Elagabalus has been recorded. Although literature does contain a piece of data on five antoniniani of Elagabalus that allegedly form part of a hoard,⁸ it ought to be mentioned here that there are no real indications that would suggest that they actually are part of a hoard.⁹

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF SEVERUS ALEXANDER (222–235 AD)

5. VOLUJA-DUBOKA, Kučevo, before 1884, AR (220) denarii + jewellery, Antoninus Pius to Severus Alexander, *tpq.* unknown, completely dispersed.¹⁰
6. KUČEVO, 1928, AR (207 – 89 denarii), Vespasian to Severus Alexander, *tpq.* 228–231 AD, completely dispersed.¹¹
7. CRNOKALAČKA BARA, Aleksinac, before 1959, AR (74) denarii, Nero to Severus Alexander, *tpq.* 232 AD.¹²
8. PRIŠTINA, 1979, AR (unknown number of coins, reportedly over 10,000 denarii), Nero to Severus Alexander, *tpq.* 225 AD (?), completely dispersed.¹³
9. ARCHAR – RATIARIA (Рацарија)

9. The hoard is classified as belonging to Barbaricum.

⁸ MIRNIK 1981, 70, no. 223 (as “Serbia”); BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 41, ref. 45; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227.

⁹ Miroslav Nađ, from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, confirmed the existence of four antoniniani, which are kept today in the Archaeological Museum. In terms of origin, the only data recorded is that they come from Serbia, with no indication that they are part of a hoard. Kind thanks are due to our colleague Nađ for the information provided.

¹⁰ VALTROVIĆ 1884, 151; MIRNIK 1981, 74, no. 249; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 41, ref. 45; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227.

¹¹ ELMER 1930, 198–201; MIRNIK 1981, 65, no. 184; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227. After the discovery, the hoard was purchased by a trader from Belgrade, who soon after sold most of the find. Elmer published the remaining part of 89 denarii, noting that the chronological range of the hoard (Vespasian to Severus Alexander) was not disturbed by the earlier sale (ELMER 1930, 198).

¹² RAŠKOVIĆ 1996, 53–70; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227.

¹³ http://coins2.calkinsc.com/old_site/doc/pristina.html (accessed 29 March 2019).

I, before 1953, AR/AE (382 – 331) imperial and provincial, Galba to Severus Alexander, *tpq.* unknown.¹⁴

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF MAXIMINUS I (235–238 AD)

10. MEHOVINE, Šabac, 1912, AR (around 2,000 – 484) denarii/antoniniani, Nero to Maximinus I, *tpq.* c. autumn 236 to March/April 238 AD.¹⁵
11. RAVNA, Knjaževac, 1969, AR (187) denarii, Vespasian to Maximinus I, *tpq.* c. autumn 236 to March/April 238 AD.¹⁶
12. SUPSKA II, Čuprija, 1995, AR (935) denarii, Marcus Antoninus/Nero to Maximinus I, *tpq.* c. autumn 236 to March/April 238 AD.¹⁷

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF GORDIAN III (238–244 AD)

13. TEKIJJA, Kladovo, before 1881, AR (250) denarii/antoniniani, Hadrian to Gordian III, *tpq.* unknown.¹⁸
14. GRLJAN, Zaječar, before 1984, AR (unknown number of coins – 66 denarii/antoniniani), Septimius Severus to Gordian III, *tpq.* 243–244 AD.¹⁹
15. PARAĆIN, before 1956, AR (unknown number of coins – 10 denarii/antoniniani), Caracalla to Gordian III, *tpq.* unknown.²⁰

¹⁴ VARBANOV 2017, 2, no. 1.

¹⁵ KARAPANDŽIĆ 1914, 160–164; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2012, 21–113. The hoard from Mehovine, according to the division into the Roman provinces, belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

¹⁶ KONDIĆ 1983, 51–73; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2013, 10, 18, Table 4.

¹⁷ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2013, 9–153.

¹⁸ KODRIĆ 1881, 123–124; MIRNIK 1981, 72, no. 237; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 41; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227; Unpublished. Mirnik states that the hoard is kept at the Museum of Slavonia, Osijek. In a conversation with the colleague Branislav Miličić from the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, information was obtained that the hoard is not contained within their holdings. Kind thanks are due to our colleague Miličić for the information provided.

¹⁹ LALOVIĆ 1986, 113–123; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227.

²⁰ MARIĆ 1956, 179–180, no. 7; MIRNIK 1981, 67, no. 204; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227. The hoard was discovered on the grounds of a glass factory in Paraćin. A part of it was scattered immediately after the discovery, and a part was

16. CHUPRENE (Чупрене), before 1954, AR (unknown number of coins – 1 denarius), Gordian III, dispersed.²¹

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF PHILIP I (244–249 AD)

17. PODRIMCE, Leskovac, 1960s, AR (137) denarii/antoniniani, Antoninus Pius to Philip I, *tpq.* 244–245 AD.²²
18. KAMENICA, Niš, 1936, AR denarii/antoniniani (unknown number of coins, more than 100,000).²³ Today, parts of this hoard are kept in several museum collections: National Museum Niš (4,442 – 3,941), Nero to Severus Alexander;²⁴ Archaeological Museum Zagreb (4,096), Marcus Antonius/Vespasian to Maximinus I, *tpq.* 236–238 AD;²⁵ National Museum of Slovenia (830), Trajan to Gordian III, *tpq.* 242–244 AD;²⁶ National Museum Belgrade (3,122), Marcus Antonius/Vespasian to Philip I, *tpq.* 245–247 AD.²⁷
19. MEZUL II (Dobri Do II), Smederevo, 1966, AR (1,302) denarii/antoniniani,

kept in Paraćin for the Museum that was to be founded, while only 9 denarii 1 antoninianus (Caracalla to Gordian III) arrived at the National Museum in Belgrade. The hoard has already been cited in earlier literature, but in light of the above facts regarding its discovery and scattered state, the part that is kept at the National Museum in Belgrade is considered highly unreliable in terms of both its composition as well as the dating of the find to the time of Gordian III.

²¹ VARBANOV 2017, 5, no. 28.

²² STAMENKOVIĆ 2005, 143-191; CRNOBRNJA 2008, 20, 23; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2016, 23.

²³ It is known that the Kamenica hoard contained more specimens than the Reka Devnia hoard (over 100,000 coins). However, contradictory reports from the time of the discovery, which are often exaggerated, do not provide reliable data on the total number of specimens the hoard contained at the time it was found. For a detailed report on written and oral statements from the time of the discovery of the hoard relating to the number of specimens, *cf.* BERTOL-STIPETIĆ/NAĐ 2016, 14-21.

²⁴ JANKOVIĆ-MIHALDŽIĆ 2005, 50-51.

²⁵ BERTOL, NAĐ 2016, 24.

²⁶ Kind thanks are due to our colleague Alenka Miškec from the National Museum of Slovenia for the information provided.

²⁷ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2016, 23-24.

Trajan to Philip I, *tpq.* first half of 247 AD.²⁸

20. SIKIRICA I, Paraćin, 1952, AR (292) denarii/antoniniani, Vespasian to Philip I, *tpq.* end of 248 or 249 AD.²⁹
21. KREMENICA, Pirot, 1957, AR (39) antoniniani, Gordian III to Philip I, *tpq.* end of 248 or 249 AD.³⁰
22. SKOPJE, before 1908, AR (1,022): denarii/antoniniani (1,021), drachma (Amisus, Hadrian, 1), Republic/Vespasian to Philip I, *tpq.* 248 AD.³¹
23. KALEMEGDAN, Belgrade, before 1957, AR denarii/antoniniani (660 (?) – 586), Trajan to Philip I, *tpq.* summer 248 to the end of 249 AD.³²

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF TRAJAN DECIUS (249–251 AD)

24. MEZUL I (Dobri Do I), Smederevo, 1966, AR (272) denarii/antoniniani, Caracalla to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* 249 to 250 (?) AD.³³
25. KLISURICA, Prokuplje, 1986, AR (1,655) denarii/antoniniani, Vespasian to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* 249–251 AD.³⁴
26. RATIARIA (Рацария) II, Archar, before 1973, AR (unknown number of coins – 8), Maximinus I to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* unknown, dispersed.³⁵
27. GENERAL MARINOVO (Генерал Мариново), Vidin, before 1963, AR (17,533) denarii/antoniniani, Vespasian to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* unknown.³⁶

²⁸ VASIĆ 1972, 58-62; PAVLOVIĆ 1972, 72-73; MIRNIK 1981, 61, no. 163; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2016, 24. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade.

²⁹ VASIĆ 1972, 57-62; MARIĆ 1956, 180, no. 9; MIRNIK 1981, 69, no. 214; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2016, 7-101.

³⁰ JANKOVIĆ-MIHALDŽIĆ 1987, 89-105; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2016, 22.

³¹ KUBITSCHEK 1908, 37-47; VASIĆ 2015, 105.

³² CRNOBRNJA 2008, 20, 23; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2016, 22.

³³ PEGAN 1967, 112; PAVLOVIĆ 1972, 72; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Smederevo.

³⁴ Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade.

³⁵ VARBANOV 2017, 2, no. 2.

³⁶ VARBANOV 2017, 3, no. 8.

28. GRADETS (Градец) I, Vidin, before 1928, AR (unknown number of coins – 260 denarii/antoniniani), Septimius Severus to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* unknown, dispersed.³⁷
29. GRANICHAK (Граничак), Vidin, before 1963, AR (42) denarii/antoniniani, Caracalla to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* unknown.³⁸
30. KOSOVO (Косово) II, Vidin, before 1978, AR (1,100) denarii/antoniniani, Septimius Severus to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* unknown.³⁹
31. RAKOVITSA (Раковица), Vidin, before 1998, AR (unknown number of coins – 9 denarii/antoniniani), Septimius Severus to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* unknown, dispersed.⁴⁰
32. SREMSKA MITROVICA, near hospital, 1963, AE (145): imperial (9), provincial Viminacium (128), provincial Dacia (8),⁴¹ Antoninus Pius to Trajan Decius, *tpq.* 251 AD.⁴²

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF TREBONIANUS GALLUS AND VOLUSIAN (251–253 AD)

33. ČIČEVAC, Kruševac, 1989, AR (over 1,000 – 48 antoniniani), Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* end of 251 AD, dispersed.⁴³
34. UNKNOWN SITE 2, Serbia, before 1951, AR (unknown number of coins – 17 antoniniani), Philip I to Volusian, *tpq.* end of 251 AD, dispersed.⁴⁴
35. BOŠNJANE, Kruševac, before 1959, AE (64): imperial (1), provincial Viminacium (61), provincial Dacia (2), Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* 251–252 AD.⁴⁵
36. SURROUNDINGS OF VRANJE, before 1958, AE (22): provincial Viminacium (19), provincial Dacia (3), Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, *tpq.* 251–252 AD.⁴⁶
37. BREŽANE, Požarevac, 1904, AE (32 – 28): imperial (1), provincial Viminacium (25), provincial Dacia (2), Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, *tpq.* 252–253 AD.⁴⁷
38. IZVORE, Kosovska Mitrovica, 2004, AE (28): provincial Viminacium 26, provincial Dacia 2, Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, *tpq.* 252–253 AD.⁴⁸
39. VRKAŠICE, Sremska Mitrovica, 1966, AE (117): imperial (1), provincial Viminacium (106), provincial Dacia (10), Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* 252–253 AD.⁴⁹
40. GLIBOVAC, Smederevska Palanka, before 1919, AR (375) denarii/antoniniani, Septimius Severus to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, *tpq.* 251–253 AD.⁵⁰

Belgrade.

⁴⁵ BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ 1988, 89-101; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2018, 78-79, ref. 14.

⁴⁶ BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ 1988, 89-96; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27.

⁴⁷ VULIĆ 1905, 92-93; MIRNIK 1981, 60-61, no. 156; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2018, 87.

⁴⁸ STAMENKOVIĆ/SAMARDŽIĆ 2013, 163-182; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2018, 78-79, ref. 14.

⁴⁹ ORLOV 1972, 153-161; MIRNIK 1981, 74, no. 252; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2018, 81, ref. 29. The scattering of finds took place up until 1997, after the robbery at the Museum of Srem. The same year, Popović states that the hoard numbers 113 instead of 117 coins (*cf.* POPOVIĆ 1997, 19, no. 113). According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁵⁰ PETROVIĆ 1930, 88-119; MIRNIK 1981, 63, no.

³⁷ VARBANOV 2017, 3, no. 9.

³⁸ VARBANOV 2017, 3, no. 13.

³⁹ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 17.

⁴⁰ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 22.

⁴¹ The scattering of finds took place up until 1997, after the robbery at the Museum of Srem. The same year, Popović states that the hoard numbers 121 coins, *cf.* POPOVIĆ 1997, 19, no. 4.

⁴² ORLOV 1970, 239-250; MIRNIK 1981, 71, no. 229a; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 64, no. 7; According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁴³ RAŠKOVIĆ, 1997, 114-117; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27.

⁴⁴ BORIC-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum

41. UNKNOWN SITE 1, Serbia, before 1924, AR (1,324 – 1,287) denarii/antoniniani, Caracalla to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, *tpq.* 251–253 AD.⁵¹
42. SURROUNDINGS OF JAGODINA, before 1970, AE (20) provincial Viminacium, Trajan Decius to Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, *tpq.* unknown, completely dispersed.⁵²
43. BELO POLE (Бело поле) I, Vidin, before 1962, AR (101) denarii/antoniniani, Caracalla to Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* 251–253 AD.⁵³
44. KLADORUB (Кладоруб), Vidin, before 1980, AR (unknown number of coins – antoniniani 6), Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* unknown, dispersed.⁵⁴
45. KOSOVO (Косово) I, Vidin, before 1964, AR (1,406 – 744) denarii/antoniniani, Vespasian to Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* unknown.⁵⁵
46. MAJOR UZUNOVO (Майор Узуново), Vidin, before 1961, AR (unknown number of coins – denarius 1, antoniniani 10), Caracalla to Trebonianus Gallus, *tpq.* unknown, dispersed.⁵⁶

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF AEMILIAN (253 AD)

47. KRUŠEVAC – JAGODINA, 1900, AR (349 – 69) antoniniani + jewellery, Elagabalus to Aemilian, *tpq.* summer 253 AD.⁵⁷

81; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27.

⁵¹ SARIA 1924, 90-95; MIRNIK 1981, 70-71, no. 224; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade.

⁵² PEGAN 1970, 74; MIRNIK 1981, 72, no. 233a; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162-163, ref. 27. Completely dispersed, but the content is known: Trajan Decius (3), Trebonianus Gallus (14), Volusian (3).

⁵³ VARBANOV 2017, 2-3, no. 5.

⁵⁴ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 15.

⁵⁵ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 16.

⁵⁶ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 19.

⁵⁷ KUBITSCHKEK 1900, 185-194; MIRNIK 1981, 65, no. 183; RAŠKOVIĆ 1995, 198; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 163, ref. 28.

48. VLAJIĆA BRDO II, Smederevska Palanka, 1970, AR (89) antoniniani, Gordian III to Aemilian, *tpq.* summer 253 AD, private collection.⁵⁸
49. POPOVAC, Paraćin, 1975, AR/AE (32): antoniniani (15), provincial Viminacium (15), provincial Dacia (2), Gordian III to Aemilian, *tpq.* summer 253 AD.⁵⁹
50. SURROUNDINGS OF ĆUPRIJA, before 1978, AE (81): imperial (2), provincial Viminacium (73), provincial Dacia (6), Gordian III to Aemilian, *tpq.* summer 253 AD.⁶⁰

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF VALERIAN I AND GALLIENUS (254 AD)

51. BELGRADE, Cara Uroša Street, 1963, AR (2,810 – 2,445)⁶¹ denarii/antoniniani, Septimius Severus to Valerian I, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶²
52. SMEDEREVO, 1930, AR (8,884) denarii/antoniniani, Caracalla to Valerian I and Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶³
53. SUPSKA I, Ćuprija, 1955, AR (115) antoniniani, Gordian III to Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶⁴
54. SIKIRICA III, Paraćin, before 1996, (254) denarii/antoniniani, Clodius Albinus to Valerian I and Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ ARSENIJEVIĆ 1997, 44, ref. 7; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 163, ref. 28.

⁵⁹ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1979, 39-54; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1983, 72, ref. 21; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 163, ref. 28.

⁶⁰ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1983, 69-84; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 163, ref. 28.

⁶¹ 365 coins were heavily damaged by fire and adhered to the underside of the lead container.

⁶² KONDIĆ 1969; MIRNIK 1981, 60, no. 152; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 227; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 163-164, ref. 29-32.

⁶³ PETROVIĆ 1931, 32-77; VASIĆ 1972, 58-60, 63-65; MIRNIK 1981, 70, no. 221; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 160, ref. 14.

⁶⁴ MIRNIK 1981, 71, no. 232; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 157-207.

⁶⁵ VOJVODA/SRNDAKOVIĆ 2015, 31-88.

55. JABLANICA, Kruševac, 1960, AR (2,437 – 2,313) denarii/antoniniani: National Museum Belgrade (2,287), National Museum Kruševac (150 – 26), Antoninus Pius (Faustina I) to Valerian I and Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶⁶
56. PARCANE, Kruševac, 1960, AR (over 100 – 30) antoniniani, Gordian III to Valerian I, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶⁷
57. UNKNOWN SITE 1, Serbia, before 1951, AR (32) antoniniani, Caracalla to Valerian I, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶⁸
58. DVORSKA, Loznica, before 1956, AR (472) denarii/antoniniani + jewellery, Septimius Severus to Valerian I and Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁶⁹
59. VLAJIĆA BRDO I, Smederevska Palanka, 1969, AR/AE (1,292 – 1,062): denarii/antoniniani (1,156 – 932), AE (136 – 130) provincial Viminacium (101), provincial Dacia (14), illegible (15), Trajan to Valerian I and Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁷⁰
60. GORNJE ŠTIPLJE, Jagodina, before 1997, AR/AE (c. 600 – 41), denarii/antoniniani (39), provincial Viminacium (2), Septimius Severus to Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁷¹
61. BUJKOVAC, Vranje, before 1977, AE (149 – 132), provincial Viminacium (120), provincial Dacia (14), Gordian III

- to Gallienus, *tpq.* 254 AD.⁷²
62. PRIBOJ VRANJSKI, Vranje, 1995, AR (c. 35,000, over 100 kg – around 12,000) denarii/antoniniani, Marcus Antonius/Nero to Valerian I, *tpq.* 253 or 254 (?) AD.⁷³

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF VALERIAN I AND GALLIENUS (AFTER 254 AD)

63. GRADAŠNICA, Pirot, 1914, AR (209) denarii/antoniniani, Commodus to Gallienus, *tpq.* 256 AD.⁷⁴
64. DONJE CRNILJEVO, Koceljeva, 1978, AR (2,495) denarii/antoniniani, Commodus to Gallienus, *tpq.* 259–260 AD.⁷⁵

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF VALERIAN I AND GALLIENUS (TPQ. UNKNOWN)

65. TARGOVISHTE (Търговище), before 1956, AR (c. 4/5 kg – 280): denarii (75), antoniniani (205) + jewellery, *tpq.* unknown.⁷⁶

⁶⁶ VASIĆ 1967, 63-82; MIRNIK 1981, 63, no. 176; RAŠKOVIĆ 1995, 202; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 160, ref. 19.

⁶⁷ RAŠKOVIĆ 1995, 202-203; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 161, ref. 20.

⁶⁸ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 161, ref. 23. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade.

⁶⁹ VASIĆ 1972, 58, 60, 62-65; MIRNIK 1981, 62, no. 168; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 161, ref. 22. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Dalmatia. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade.

⁷⁰ ARSENIJEVIĆ 1997, 43-108; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 160, ref. 15.

⁷¹ ARSENIJEVIĆ/DODIĆ 2004, 235-250; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 160, ref. 16.

⁷² BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/MITROVIĆ 2014, 87-134; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 161, ref. 21.

⁷³ Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Vranje. The here presented data on the number of coins and the dating of the hoard comes from a preliminary review. After a detailed processing of the hoard, it will be certain whether it is dated to 253 or 254 AD (*cf.* MITROVIĆ 1999, 19-37; MITROVIĆ 2008, 209-217; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/MITROVIĆ 2014, 89, ref. 9).

⁷⁴ JANKOVIĆ-MIHALDŽIĆ 2005, 51-52. The author states that the hoard begins with a republican denarius, followed by the specimens from Commodus to Gallienus. The hoard has not been published (held at the National Museum Niš), but it seems unlikely that, if this is really a republican denarius, it belongs to a hoard deposited at the time of Gallienus. Since the hoard was discovered in 1914, and only in 1954 purchased for the National Museum in Niš, it is quite possible that the scattering of the find took place, as well as the insertion of other specimens, which were not its integral part. From all this it can be concluded that the hoard from Gradašnica cannot be treated as a reliable historical source.

⁷⁵ VASIĆ 2005. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Dalmatia. The youngest specimens belong to the 10th issue of the mint of Rome, which is, according to Fitz, dated to 260, while Vasić dates it to the first half of 259 AD (FITZ 1978, 432; VASIĆ 2005, 61).

⁷⁶ VARBANOV 2017, 5, no. 27.

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF GALLIENUS, SOLE REIGN (260–268 AD)

66. MARADIK, Srem, before 1968, AR (266) antoniniani: Museum of Vojvodina (248), private collection (18), Gordian III to Valerian I and Gallienus, *tpq.* 262–264 AD.⁷⁷
67. NIŠ, 1949, AR (c. 20,000 – 2,788) antoniniani: National Museum Belgrade (2,639), National Museum Niš (149), Philip I to Gallienus/Quietus, *tpq.* 266/267 AD.⁷⁸
68. VARVARIN, Kruševac, before 1905, AR (12) antoniniani, Gordian III to Gallienus, *tpq.* 266–268 AD.⁷⁹

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF CLAUDIUS II (268–270)

69. SURROUNDINGS OF VRANJE, before 1958, AR (46): denarii (1), antoniniani (45), Macrinus to Claudius II, *tpq.* 268–270 AD.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior. It was originally dated to 258 AD (DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1980, 25–26), but this was later corrected to the middle of 262 – the beginning of 264 AD (DEMO 1982, 376–377).

⁷⁸ BENDŽAREVIĆ 2013; MIRNIK 1981, 180, no. 14; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 229; JANKOVIĆ-MIHALDŽIĆ 2005, 52.

⁷⁹ The hoard was first mentioned by Mirnik (MIRNIK 1981, 73, no. 241), stating that 12 antoniniani from Gordian III to Trebonianus Gallus are kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. An oversight on that occasion meant that later citations of Mirnik incorrectly ascribed the hoard from Varvarin to the horizon of Trebonianus Gallus (RAŠKOVIĆ 1995, 198; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 228; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 162–163, ref. 27). According to the information provided by the colleague Miroslav Nađ from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (from 9 April 2019), the hoard from Varvarin was donated to the Museum by a certain Đuro Horvatić, and it has the following content: Gordian III (4), Philip I (4), Otacilia Severa (1), Herennia Etruscilla (1), Trebonianus Gallus (1) and Gallienus (1) RIC V.1, 146, no. 178, sole reign. Based on its content, this is most likely a part of a scattered find, which cannot be treated as a reliable historical source. Whatever the case may be, it can no longer be attributed to the horizon of Trebonianus Gallus. Kind thanks are due to our colleague Nađ for the information provided.

⁸⁰ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 257–280. Partly dispersed. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Vranje.

HOARDS ENDING WITH COMMEMORATIVE COINS OF CLAUDIUS II (AFTER AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 270 TO EARLY 271 AD)

70. BELGRADE, tomb in King Alexander Street, 1948, AR/AE (10): antoniniani (9), provincial Viminacium (1), Philip I to Divus Claudius II, *tpq.* end of 270 to early 271 AD).⁸¹

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF AURELIAN (270–275 AD)

71. STARO MOMČILOVO, Prokuplje, 1953, AR (around 11,433 – 11,061) antoniniani: National Museum Belgrade (around 10,030), National Museum Niš (1,403 – 1,031), Gallienus to Aurelian (The part of the hoard in Niš), *tpq.* unknown.⁸²
72. KOSTOLAC, Požarevac, 1925, AR (180) antoniniani, Gallienus to Aurelian, *tpq.* unknown.⁸³
73. KLADUŠNICA, Kladovo, before 1956, AR (unknown number of coins – 15 antoniniani), Gallienus to Aurelian, *tpq.* unknown.⁸⁴
74. VIDIN (Видин), before 1965, AR (unknown number of coins – 3,562

⁸¹ The find of 10 coins was discovered in the pelvic region of a female individual (a pouch around the waist), within a masonry tomb dated to the end of the 3rd or, at the latest, to the beginning of the 4th century (GARAŠANIN 1948, 126–129). In addition to this collective coin find, a quinarius aureus of Gallienus was also discovered in the grave, next to the head of the deceased (CRNOBRNJA 1987, 44, no. 138; CRNOBRNJA/CRNOBRNJA 2004, 33, no. 13). Mirnik mistakenly includes this aureus among the content of the collective find from the grave (MIRNIK 1981, 60, no. 153).

⁸² MARIĆ 1956, 180, no. 16; MIRNIK 1981, 66, no. 195; ARSENIJEVIĆ 2004, 229; JANKOVIĆ-MIHALDŽIĆ 2005, 52–53. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade and National Museum Niš.

⁸³ SARIA 1927, 13; MIRNIK 1981, 65, no. 181; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 50. Mirnik states that the hoard belongs to the “former Elmer collection, Pančevo”. From correspondence with the colleague Đorđević from the National Museum in Pančevo, it was learned that the hoard does not exist in their inventory, nor was it noted during the last revision in 1978. Kind thanks are due to our colleague Đorđević for the information provided. Unpublished. Location unknown, probably lost.

⁸⁴ MARIĆ 1956, 180, no. 17; MIRNIK 1981, 62, no. 164; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 50. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade.

antoniniani), Gordian III to Aurelian, *tpq.* unknown.⁸⁵

75. SINAGOVTSI (Синаговци) III, before 1966, AR (6.7 kg – 1,990 antoniniani), Gallienus to Aurelian, *tpq.* unknown.⁸⁶
76. SREMSKA MITROVICA, September 1966, AR (40) antoniniani, Aurelian, *tpq.* 273–275 AD.⁸⁷
77. SREMSKA MITROVICA, Matije Huđi, October 1966, AR (19) antoniniani, Aurelian, *tpq.* unknown.⁸⁸
78. MOROVIĆ, Sremska Mitrovica, 1965, AR/AE (64): denarii/antoniniani (63), provincial Viminacium (1), Septimius Severus to Aurelian, *tpq.* unknown.⁸⁹
79. VLADIMIRCI, Šabac, before 1914, AR antoniniani (1,739), Philip I to Aurelian, *tpq.* 273–275 AD.⁹⁰
80. TULARI, Obrenovac, 1965, AR (c. 10,000 – 3,568) antoniniani: National Museum Valjevo (1,092), private collection

⁸⁵ VARBANOV 2017, 3, no. 7.

⁸⁶ VARBANOV 2017, 5, no. 25. In addition to the part of the hoard (1,990) that is at the Museum in Vidin, the author conveys the testimony of the colleague Penčev from the Museum in Sofia, according to whom their museum holds 153 antoniniani “probably from the same hoard” (VARBANOV 2017, 5, ref. 6). This part, however, has a different chronological framework, Aurelian to Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius. Nevertheless, Varbanov classified the hoard into the group of those deposited at the time of Aurelian.

⁸⁷ PEGAN 1967, 112; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 64, no. 6; MIRNIK 1981, 71, no. 229a; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 50. Unpublished. Held at the Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁸⁸ DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 65, no. 10; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 50. POPOVIĆ 1997, 20, no. 7. Unpublished. Held at the Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁸⁹ DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 65, no. 9; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 50; POPOVIĆ 1997, 19, no. 6. Unpublished. Held at the Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁹⁰ SARIA 1925, 61-62; MIRNIK 1981, 73-74, no. 247; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 50; CRNOBRNJA 2004, 42-43; PETROVIĆ 2010, 113-114, no. 9. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

(2,476), Valerian I to Aurelian, *tpq.* closer to 275 AD.⁹¹

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF PROBUS (276–282)

81. DONJI PETROVCI, Ruma, 1904, AR (unknown number of coins – 38 antoniniani), Gallienus to Probus, *tpq.* 277 AD.⁹²
82. SINAGOVTSI (Синаговци) II, before 1955, AR (290) antoniniani, Gallienus to Probus, *tpq.* unknown.⁹³

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF CARINUS (283–285 AD)

83. SVILEUVA, Koceljeva, 1916, AR (c. 14,000/11,000 – 10,567) antoniniani: National Museum Belgrade (10,115), National Museum Šabac (452), Gordian III to Carinus/Carinus Caesar, *tpq.* 282 AD, dispersed.⁹⁴
84. SREMSKA MITROVICA, 1972, AR (2,633) antoniniani: Vienna (2,322), Šipuš coll. Zagreb (311), Valerian I to Carus/Carinus Caesar, *tpq.* 282 AD.⁹⁵
85. ŠIMANOVCI, Stara Pazova, 1908, AR (c. 4,000 – 2,264 antoniniani), Gallienus to Carinus, *tpq.* unknown, dispersed.⁹⁶

⁹¹ LEDERER 1966, 16-18 presents the content of the privately-held part of the hoard; PEGAN 1967, 112; MIRNIK 1981, 72-73, no. 239; CRNOBRNJA 2004, 40-42 presents the content of the part of the hoard that is located at the National Museum in Valjevo. Unpublished. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁹² BRUNŠMID 1914, 295-296; MIRNIK 1981, 62, no. 164. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁹³ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 24.

⁹⁴ PETROVIĆ 1930, 88; MIRNIK 1981, 62, no. 164; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 51; CRNOBRNJA 2004, 38-40; CRNOBRNJA 2005, 175-180; PETROVIĆ 2010, 127. Unpublished. Held at the National Museum Belgrade and National Museum Šabac. According to the division into the Roman provinces, the hoard belongs to Pannonia Inferior.

⁹⁵ KELLNER 1987; TOURATSOGLU 2006, 211, no. 509 (classifies it into the time of Probus); ŠIPUŠ 1993, 20-30; GAŽDAC 2010, Map 11 (Sirmium II).

⁹⁶ BRUNŠMID 1914, 269-294 publishes the part of the find that was purchased for the Museum in Zagreb (2,264). He believed that the other part of the find was

HOARDS ENDING WITH COINS OF DIOCLETIAN (284–305)

86. Svetozarevo = Jagodina, Crvene livade, 1971, AR (1,973) antoniniani, Valerian I to Diocletian, *tpq.* 285 AD.⁹⁷

DISPERSED HOARDS WITH NO DATA REGARDING CONTENT, DEPOSITED IN THE 3RD CENTURY

87. BELGRADE, 1910, AR (1,317) denarii, *tpq.* first half of the 3rd century, completely dispersed.⁹⁸
88. CHUPRENE (Чупрене), before 1954, AR (unknown number of coins – 1 denarius), Gordian III, completely dispersed.⁹⁹
89. GRADNJA, Vranje, second half of the 1990s, AE (270 – 1 provincial Viminacium), *tpq.* mid-3rd century, completely dispersed.¹⁰⁰
90. SMOLJNICA I, Vranje, second half of the 1990s, AR (around 150 denarii/antoniniani), *tpq.* mid-3rd century,

sold by the finder and came to be a part of a private collection in Hungary. He finds confirmation for this in a publication of the Budapest journal (*Numizmatikai Közlöny* 8, 1909, 194). This publication led to another misconception among scholars as it states Prhovo (a village located 2 km west of Šimanovci) as the place of finding of the hoard made up of c. 4,000 coins from Gallienus to Carinus, in 1908. Brunšmid concludes (1914, 269–270) that “there is no doubt that the find from Šimanovci and the supposed Prhovo find are identical as it is not likely for two equally large hoards from the same time to be concurrently found in two neighbouring villages”. However, this inaccurate publication of the place of finding (*Numizmatikai Közlöny* 8, 1909, 194) caused the appearance of two hoards in literature: Šimanovci (MIRNIK, 72, no. 235; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 65–66, no. 15; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 51) and Prhovo, or even Prahovo (MIRNIK, 69, no. 210; DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 65, no. 14; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 43, ref. 51). This is undoubtedly a single find, from Šimanovci, as previously concluded by Brunšmid.

⁹⁷ CRNOBRNJA 1987a.

⁹⁸ VASIĆ 1911, 278; KONDIĆ 1967, 12; MIRNIK 1981, 60, no. 151; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1994, 41, ref. 45.

⁹⁹ VARBANOV 2017, 5, no. 28.

¹⁰⁰ MITROVIĆ 2008, 214; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/MITROVIĆ 2014, 89, ref. 10. The hoard was sold, and only one specimen of Philip I is kept at the National Museum in Vranje.

completely dispersed.¹⁰¹

91. SMOLJNICA II, Vranje, second half of the 1990s, AE (around 150 provincial Viminacium), *tpq.* middle of the 3rd century, completely dispersed.¹⁰²
92. SPANČEVAC, Vranje, second half of the 1990s, AE (around 4 kg provincial Viminacium and Dacia), *tpq.* mid-3rd century, completely dispersed.¹⁰³
93. PEĆKA BANJA, Peć, before 1956, unknown number of coins – 1 antoninianus of Gallienus, dispersed.¹⁰⁴
94. SINAGOVTSI (Синаговци) I, before 1952, AR (around 8 kg) antoniniani, completely dispersed.¹⁰⁵

HOARDS THAT ARE, IN LITERATURE, MISTAKENLY IDENTIFIED AS SEPARATE FINDS, WHICH IN FACT REPRESENT PREVIOUSLY KNOWN AND CITED HOARDS

1. PRHOVO/PRAHOVO = ŠIMANOVCI (no. 85).¹⁰⁶
2. NIŠ, denarii/antoniniani (c. 2,000), Marcus Antonius to around 250 AD = KAMENICA, Niš (no. 19).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ MITROVIĆ 2008, 214; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/MITROVIĆ 2014, 89, ref. 11. The hoard was sold.

¹⁰² MITROVIĆ 2008, 214; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/MITROVIĆ 2014, 89, ref. 11. The hoard was sold, and only one specimen of Philip I is kept at the National Museum in Vranje.

¹⁰³ MITROVIĆ 2008, 214; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/MITROVIĆ 2014, 89, ref. 12. The hoard was sold to a collector in Skopje.

¹⁰⁴ MARIĆ 1956, 180, no. 15; MIRNIK 1981, 60, no. 149.

¹⁰⁵ VARBANOV 2017, 4, no. 23. Only a few coins of Probus were seen.

¹⁰⁶ *Cf. supra* ref. 92.

¹⁰⁷ The so-called “hoard” from Niš is first cited by Mirnik (MIRNIK 1981, 66, no. 194), wrongly interpreting a note by Pegan (PEGAN 1965, 114, ref. 3). Pegan, talking about hoards that within their content include legionary denarii of Marcus Antonius, states that this situation is encountered in the hoard from Niš (buried in around 250), in which, according to incomplete data, in every 2,000 (not that the hoard comprises a total of 2,000) imperial denarii, a legionary one of Marcus Antonius is found. Further in the note, he continues with the same comparison of ratios in the Reka Devnia hoard, where in every 4,500 imperial, one legionary denarius occurs. There is no doubt that Pegan was thinking of the hoard from Kamenica, and not some new hoard.

After the somewhat more numerous hoards deposited at the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus,¹⁰⁸ the transition from the 2nd into the 3rd century, after the civil war, was marked by the reign of **Septimius Severus**, characterised by a smaller number of coin finds. This situation corresponds to historical circumstances of that time and the mostly quiet period in both Pannonias and Moesia Superior. Namely, the Pannonian legions, or their vexillations, took part in almost all military interventions at the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. They were engaged both in Dacia as well as against the barbarians, which would not have been possible if Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior or Moesia Superior had been endangered.¹⁰⁹

In Moesia Superior only two hoards have been recorded (nos. 1-2), with a similar situation noted in both Pannonias, and a slightly larger number in Dacia, while the number of hoards increases significantly in Moesia Inferior, Thrace and Barbaricum.¹¹⁰ Certain pressures were felt in the last years of the 2nd century, primarily related to the migration of the Goths, which affected the movement of people in the regions of the

¹⁰⁸ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 2011, 538-539.

¹⁰⁹ MÓCSY 1974, 198; On the engagement of vexillations in war with the Parthians from their native regions, where they were not required at that moment, cf. KENNEDY 1980, 885-886; On the involvement of vexillations of Legion VII Claudia in wars in the East, cf. MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 59-60, ref. 25; On an increase in the amount of coins in circulation as a result of the Pannonias' economic prosperity during the reign of Septimius Severus, cf. KOS 1986, 98, ref. 18.

¹¹⁰ Pannonia Superior 4 hoards (GÄZDAC 2010, Map 5; KOS 1986, 111-112); Pannonia Inferior 3 hoards (BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2011, 9-281; GÄZDAC 2010, Map 5); Dacia 7 hoards (DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008, 371, nos. 131, 132, 136, 138, 146, 148; GÄZDAC 2010, Map 5); Moesia Inferior 22 hoards, Thrace 22 hoards (VARBANOV 2017, 115-116, nos. 2-23, 24-45); Barbaricum between Pannonia Inferior and Dacia 8 hoards, Barbaricum east of Dacia 19 hoards (KENNER 1867, 126, 131, 329-333; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2011, 11, ref. 9; for Starčevo hoard); DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008, 371-372, nos. 133-135, 137, 139-145, 147, 149-156, 158-160; <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/> (accessed 18 March 2019).

Lower Danube and the Carpathian Basin. This is confirmed by numerous coin hoards in Moesia Inferior and Barbaricum from the time of Septimius Severus.¹¹¹

Reasons for depositing the only dated coin find from Moesia Superior (near Požarevac – wider surroundings of Viminacium) in 198/199–200 AD should be sought in circumstances of internal policy, rather than in external causes.¹¹² The situation is similar with the hoard from Čortanovci, dated to 210 AD.¹¹³ At that time, the main causes of instability were the Vandals and Carpi in the Dacian limes, who threatened the Danube border of Pannonia only indirectly. The only documented barbarian incursion into Pannonia was recorded to have happened at the end of 212 or early 213 AD, which spread across its north-eastern part.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the reasons for depositing analogous hoards in the border provinces, unlike in Moesia Superior, were often different.¹¹⁵ The fact that Moesia Superior, up until the abandonment of Dacia in 272 AD, was not a border province and was, consequently, not directly affected by barbarian incursions (unlike both Pannonias, Dacia and Moesia Inferior), often points to other reasons for depositing from those in the aforementioned neighbouring provinces.

From the time of **Severus Alexander**, five coin hoards from the territory of Moesia Superior are known (nos. 5–9), three of which are concentrated in the east (Voluja-Duboka, Kučevo and Archar), one (Crnokalačka Bara) found by the *Via Militaris*, while the last one (Priština) was discovered in the south of the province.¹¹⁶ *Terminus post quem* is known

¹¹¹ BARKÓCZI 1980, 101-102.

¹¹² BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2010, 30-31.

¹¹³ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2011, 32.

¹¹⁴ MÓCSY 1974, 198.

¹¹⁵ On the reasons for depositing coin hoards from this period: in Moesia Inferior and Thrace (VARBANOV 2017, 184-186, with cited older literature); in Dacia and both Pannonias (GÄZDAC 2012, 173).

¹¹⁶ Two hoards that are linked to Kučevo and the Pek river valley belong to the territory of the Roman *Metalla Pincensia*, one of the most important mining districts in the Balkans, in the hinterland of Viminacium. The ancient Ulpiana (hoard from Priština), according to one opinion, was formed owing to the proximity of the mines. The

only for two hoards, Kučevo (231 AD) and Crnokalačka Bara (232 AD). In these cases, what should be excluded as the reason for depositing is the assembling of troops of Severus Alexander in provinces for the campaign against Ardashir, because he set off east in the spring of 231 AD.¹¹⁷ Reasons for the depositing of these hoards should, therefore, be sought in some internal, rather than external causes.

Hoards from this time that were discovered in Pannonia Superior (3) and Pannonia Inferior (2) mainly relate to the northern part of the Pannonian limes and may indicate a Sarmatian returning attack.¹¹⁸ It is assumed that this attack was the cause of the campaign led by Maximinus I from 236–237 AD.¹¹⁹ Far more hoards originate from the province of Dacia, compared to the previous period, while their number decreases in the area of Barbaricum. In Moesia Inferior, this number remains approximately the same, while it is considerably lower in Thrace.¹²⁰

From the territory of Moesia Superior, there are only two known finds deposited at

name of the city shows that it developed on an imperial estate, which would explain the fact that even after it was established as a municipium in the 2nd century, it could have remained the centre of the nearby mines (*Metalii Ulpiani*). On the division of administrative and fiscal domains (that also include the *metalla*) in Moesia Superior (DUŠANIĆ 1980, 25-26, 29-30).

¹¹⁷ ENSSLIN 1971, 69.

¹¹⁸ GĂZDAC 2010, Map 6; KOS 1986, 112, 127. Also chronologically close is the Vindobona IV hoard, deposited at the time of Elagabalus (GĂZDAC 2010, Map 6).

¹¹⁹ MÓCSY 1974, 202; SZABÓ 2013, 56 is of the opinion that this was a punitive expedition of Maximinus I because of the participation of the Sarmatians in the invasion of Pannonia in 235, which forced Severus Alexander to abandon his war efforts in the East; GĂZDAC et al. 2010, 15; GĂZDAC 2012, 174.

¹²⁰ Dacia 14 hoards (DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008, 372, nos. 173-175, 177-182, 184-186, 189, 191). Chronologically close are hoards (9) that end with coins of Elagabalus (DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008, 372, nos. 161, 162, 164-170; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 6); Barbaricum 5 hoards (DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008, 372, nos. 187, 191, 176, 183, 188). Also chronologically close is the hoard from Barbaricum that ends with a coin of Elagabalus (DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008, 372, no. 163); For Moesia Inferior and Thrace cf. VARBANOV 2017, 117, nos. 2-19 (Moesia Inferior), 117, nos. 20-25 (Thrace).

the time of **Maximinus I** (nos. 11, 12), both dated from autumn 236 AD to March/April 238 AD. The hoard from Mehovine (no. 10), from the neighbouring Pannonia Inferior, is dated to the same period.¹²¹ Looking at the territories of neighbouring provinces, the situation is similar with regard to the number of hoards from this period.¹²² After the successful Germanic campaign, Maximinus I chose Sirmium as his seat, which remained his main base until the end of his reign.¹²³ Historical sources contain only limited data on the war Maximinus I waged against the Sarmatians and Dacians in 236 and 237.¹²⁴

It has already been concluded that the finds from Mehovine and Supska II, and probably also Sirmium, represented the savings of several generations of owners of a villa rustica.¹²⁵ The reasons for depositing these hoards are, therefore, within the scope of possibilities such as tax collection, the campaign against the Sarmatians and Dacians

¹²¹ In literature, the hoard from Sirmium is also attributed to this horizon of hoards (DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJANIN 1981, 65, no. 11). It transpired that the published data is incorrect and that the hoard from site 56 was deposited in the 4th century. Kind thanks are due to our colleague Miroslav Jesretić from the Museum of Srem for the information provided.

¹²² Pannonia Superior 1 hoard (GOHL 1914, 70; COHEN IV, 92, no. 37; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 6). One hoard originates from Noricum, near Ptuj (KOS 1986, 112-113); Dacia 1 hoard, Mojgrád, Szilágy vármegye, today Moigrad (Roman Porolissum). Unpublished (Ét. 496/1880). Kind thanks are due to our colleague Vida István from the Hungarian National Museum for the information provided; VARBANOV 2017, 118, nos. 1-6 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 7-9 (Thrace). Bulgarian researchers do not find reasons for depositing these hoards in the external causes from the time of Maximinus I. They even put forward a hypothesis that they might have been deposited later, at the time of Balbinus and Pupienus, in 238 AD, as a result of the new Gothic invasion (GEROV 1977, 126, VARBANOV 2017, 204).

¹²³ HERODIAN VII.2.1-9; ENSSLIN 1971, 73-74; LORIOT 1975, 675; SZABÓ 2013, 55.

¹²⁴ The war took place in the area of the Sarmatian Barbaricum, between the provinces of Pannonia Inferior and Dacia (SZABÓ 2013, 57, Pl. 1).

¹²⁵ For argumentation with regard to these conclusions for the majority of hoards from the considered area, cf. BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/VOJVODA 2013, 13, ref. 21; VASIĆ 2015.

and the assembling of the military, or a reaction to a rebellion.¹²⁶ In terms of the hoard from Ravna (no. 11), opinions with regard to the owner of the savings are divided. This hoard belongs to rare, completely preserved finds, discovered during archaeological investigations. It was found under the floor of a building within the military fortification, which led most researchers to conclude that it represented the property of a soldier.¹²⁷

Of four hoards deposited at the time of **Gordian III** in Moesia Superior (nos. 13–16), only one has a determined *tpq.*, between 243 and early 244 AD (no. 14). An even smaller number of hoards was discovered in the west, where only one was recorded in Pannonia Superior.¹²⁸ With the exception of the hoard from Paraćin, the other three hoards from Moesia Superior are concentrated in the east of the province and probably relate to the circumstances of depositing numerous hoards from Dacia (26),¹²⁹ and especially from Moesia Inferior (71) and Thrace (24).¹³⁰ A new Gothic invasion began in 238 AD, with the greatest

¹²⁶ Similar conclusions were drawn by Touratsoglou when interpreting the reasons for depositing the only find from the territory of Greece, from Larissa (TOURATSOGLU 2006, 134-136).

¹²⁷ KONDIĆ 1983, 51; CRNOBRNJA 2008, 19-20; GÄZDAC 2012, 174. In his more recent study on land property and 3rd century coin hoards in Moesia Superior, M. Vasić presents substantiated evidence regarding the identification of most owners of coin hoards as private individuals, owners of *villae rusticae* (VASIĆ 2015, 97-130). He interprets the find from Ravna in the same way. Considering the peculiarity of Moesia Superior as a mining and agricultural province, we agree with Vasić's view that a large number of hoards can really be connected with the remains of *villae rusticae*, which would point to the identity of the owner. However, we are also of the opinion that there are certainly exceptions to this rule. Here, we are primarily thinking of the hoard from Ravna, as well as a somewhat later one from Kalemegdan, and consider them both to be the property of soldiers. In addition, what should also be mentioned are a number of hoards discovered within military fortifications in the area of Dacia (DUDĀU 2006, 62-74).

¹²⁸ GÄZDAC 2010, Map 7.

¹²⁹ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 7-9, 270, nos. 1-15, 17-27. Of 26 hoards, five are largely scattered; GÄZDAC 2010, Map 7; VARBANOV 2017, 209.

¹³⁰ VARBANOV 2017, 11-1219, nos. 2-72 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 73-96 (Thrace).

pressure on Dacia and Moesia Inferior. With the payment of an annual tribute to the barbarians, the Romans tried to ensure some semblance of a truce between 238 and 241 AD. This solution, however, did not last long, and in the spring/summer of 242 AD, Gordian's general Timesitheus defeated the Goths and Sarmatians in Dacia and temporarily halted their plundering of Moesia Inferior, Dacia and Thrace. The shifting of the military from Rome and the Balkans into the East to campaign against the Persians can be dated to the same year.¹³¹ In Dacia, two horizons of depositing hoards from this period are observed, 238–241 and 243–244 AD, with both horizons being recorded in Dacia Malvensis, and only the latter in Dacia Porolissensis.¹³² Two thirds of hoards from Moesia Inferior and Thrace do not have a *tpq.* determined, but among those that do, hoards dated to 241–243 AD (30) prevail compared to those from 243–244 AD (5).¹³³ Bulgarian researchers assume that a large number of silver coin hoards, which conclude with the specimens of Gordian III, were actually hidden in 245 AD, in the face of the invasion of the Carpi.¹³⁴

From the fourth decade of the 3rd century, due to barbarian threats, the focus of military operations shifted to the north-eastern Balkans. Pannonian and Moesian troops often took part in wars in Dacia and Moesia Superior, but also in the East. Consequently, the time of the domination of Illyrian troops had begun, who were determined to find an appropriate representative capable of mobilising forces against the growing threat from the Goths.¹³⁵ From November 245 to spring 247 AD, **Philip I** himself waged a successful campaign on the Lower Danube against the Carpi. This, however, did not avert a repeated incursion of the Goths into Moesia Inferior and Thrace in 248 AD.¹³⁶

¹³¹ TOURATSOGLU 2006, 138, ref. 26-30, 139.

¹³² SUCIU 2000, 134-137.

¹³³ VARBANOV 2017, 212-227.

¹³⁴ DIMITROV 2005, 79-98; VARBANOV 2013, 335-351; VARBANOV 2017, 229.

¹³⁵ MÓCSY 1974, 203-205; TOURATSOGLU 2006, 139.

¹³⁶ TOURATSOGLU 2006, 139-140. It was confirmed that Philip I was in the town of Aquae in Dacia on 12 November 245. In the summer of 246 AD, for the needs

A large number of coin hoards testifies to barbarian invasions that primarily threatened Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thrace,¹³⁷ and, only indirectly, Moesia Superior. Written sources for this period are modest and insufficiently reliable, and the extent to which the terrain has been archaeologically investigated is poor. Consequently, when dating barbarian incursions and interpreting the directions of their movement, many researchers rely entirely on data based on coin hoards, although most are not complete, or are not fully published, and, therefore, cannot represent completely reliable historical sources.¹³⁸

From this period, seven coin hoards originate from the territory of Moesia Superior (nos. 17–23), of which only the Podrimce hoard is dated to the first period of the reign of Philip I (244–245), while the Mezul II hoard is dated to 247 AD and four hoards (Sikirica I, Kremenica, Skopje, Kalemegdan) to 248–249 AD. The youngest specimens (245–247) from the hoard from Kamenica are kept at the National Museum in Belgrade, although it will probably never be possible to reliably reconstruct the composition of this imposing and largely scattered find. New barbarian invasions and the unstable internal political and military situation, primarily Pacatian's usurpation and Decius' proclamation as emperor, marked the years of 248 and 249 in the Balkan provinces, which precisely represent the suspected period

of the military, Philip I opened a provincial mint in Dacia (LORIOT 1977, 793, ref. 19).

¹³⁷ Discussions dealing with barbarian invasions of the mid-3rd century, which primarily threatened Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thrace, have been ongoing among scholars for decades. For a review of the most important discussions on the subject, cf. VARBANOV 2012, 289–309.

¹³⁸ In the area of their greatest concentration (present-day Bulgaria and Northern Dobrudja), a large percentage (73%) is of those of an unknown original composition or with less than 2/3 of their original contents preserved, i.e., only 27% of finds are hoards that are complete or lack a smaller number of specimens, up to 1/3 (VARBANOV 2012, 296). In addition, most of the hoards from both of the aforementioned groups have not been published in their entirety, which further complicates the inference. For a critical approach to the use of coin hoards as a historical source, cf. KOS 1986, VARBANOV 2017.

of the depositing of four hoards from Moesia Superior. Although Moesia Superior was not directly threatened by devastating barbarian campaigns, it was, on the other hand, in a state of internal turmoil, which is considered to be a direct cause for depositing the hoards from Moesia Superior.¹³⁹

In the neighbouring western provinces, as well as in southern Macedonia, a smaller number of hoards from the time of Philip I was recorded,¹⁴⁰ while the largest number of hoards was discovered in Dacia (35),¹⁴¹ Moesia Inferior (86) and Thrace (89).¹⁴² Looking at the small number of dated hoards (48) from Moesia Inferior and Thrace, the existence of clearly distinguished horizons of depositing cannot be observed. The only thing that can be noted is that the vast majority of these hoards were deposited up to 248, whereas only three are attributed to the very end of the reign of Philip I, 248–249.¹⁴³

In Moesia Superior, eight hoards hidden at the time of **Trajan Decius** have thus far been recorded (nos. 24–31), which, in terms of the reasons for their depositing, also relate to the internal turbulent events from the end of the reign of Philip I and Pacatian's usurpation.¹⁴⁴ Of these eight hoards, one was discovered in the south of the province (Klisurica), one in the north (Mezul I), while the others relate to its eastern part. The hoard from Sirmium (no. 32) is one of three known from the area of

¹³⁹ Moesia Superior was not directly exposed to barbarian incursions, but was threatened by serious internal turmoil, the important centre of which was Viminacium and its mint. For a detailed description of events related to the invasions and usurpations in 248/249 and 250/251, cf. VASIĆ 2012, 9–19 with cited literature.

¹⁴⁰ GĂZDAC 2010, Map 7 (Pannonia Inferior 2 hoards); TOURATSOGLU 2006, 188–189 (Macedonia 2 hoards).

¹⁴¹ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 56–59, 270–271, nos. 29–30, 32–35, 37–39, 41–67; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 7.

¹⁴² VARBANOV 2017, 122–123, nos. 1–86 (Moesia Inferior), 124–126, nos. 87–175 (Thrace).

¹⁴³ VARBANOV 2017, 235–265.

¹⁴⁴ Pacatian's usurpation can be dated between April 248 and April/May 249 AD. He held both Moesias and both Pannonias, while Dacia remained loyal to Philip I. After the murder of Pacatian, the Pannonian troops proclaimed Trajan Decius emperor. Meanwhile, barbarians crossed the Danube and devastated Moesia Inferior and Thrace on two occasions, in 248 and 249 AD (VASIĆ 2012, 9–10).

Pannonia Inferior, while in Pannonia Superior no finds from this time have been recorded.¹⁴⁵

It is known that Trajan Decius, during the two years of his rule, stayed in the Balkans and fought with barbarians in Moesia Inferior, Thrace and Dacia.¹⁴⁶ This certainly left a trace in the finds of coin hoards from neighbouring Dacia (8),¹⁴⁷ and the particularly numerous ones from Moesia Inferior (73) and Thrace (27).¹⁴⁸ Generally observed, the period between 248 and 254 AD was one of continual turbulent internal and external events, especially in the provinces of the Lower Danube.¹⁴⁹ An extremely large number of hoards from this period is certainly associated with them. However, it is often impossible to safely connect them with a specific barbarian incursion, or even a particular reign, based on the *terminus post quem*, for several reasons. First of all, a large number of known hoards from this period cannot be regarded as a reliable historical source due to the conditions of finding and great uncertainty as to whether they have been preserved in their entirety. In addition, the constant barbarian pressure, during the frequent short-lived reigns of emperors, opens up the possibility for the assumption that hoards, for example, concluding with specimens of Philip I from 247–249 AD were deposited at the time of Trajan Decius, and the like.¹⁵⁰

Unlike the period of the reign of Philip I and Trajan Decius, the percentage ratio of hoards in Moesia Superior, on the one hand,

¹⁴⁵ GĂZDAC 2010, Map 8.

¹⁴⁶ TOURATSOGLU 2006, 140-141.

¹⁴⁷ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 134, 271, nos. 68-71, 73-76; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 8.

¹⁴⁸ VARBANOV 2017, 127-129, nos. 7-79 (Moesia Inferior), 80-107 (Thrace).

¹⁴⁹ Conspicuously small is the number of coin hoards discovered in the neighbouring western provinces: three hoards in Pannonia Inferior, while in Pannonia Superior, Noricum and Dalmatia no hoards are known. Also, from the province of Macedonia, there are no hoards from this time.

¹⁵⁰ GĂZDAC 2012, 176 with cited literature. For a detailed review of all the opinions expressed so far with regard to barbarian invasions, directions of their movement and coin hoards from this period, cf. VARBANOV 2017, 268-274.

and Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thrace, on the other, significantly changes in the period from 251 to 253 AD. During the reign of **Trebonianus Gallus** and **Aemilian**, a total of 17 hoards were deposited in Moesia Superior (nos. 33–38, 40–46, 47-50),¹⁵¹ five hoards in Pannonia Inferior,¹⁵² while in Moesia Inferior this number amounts to 18 (of which two hoards *tpq.* Aemilian), six in Thrace (of which one *tpq.* Aemilian),¹⁵³ and six in Dacia¹⁵⁴ from the time of Trebonianus Gallus. A far greater incidence of hoards is evident in Moesia Superior compared to the previous period in relation to the neighbouring provinces. The largest number of these hoards is concentrated along the Great and South Morava river valleys, with the exception of the hoard from the village of Izvore near Kosovska Mitrovica and four hoards from the east of the province, in the territory of present-day Bulgaria.

After the defeat and death of Decius, the Balkan provinces were, for a long time, exposed to constant attacks by the Goths and their allies. Neither Trebonianus Gallus nor Aemilian were able to push them across the Danube.¹⁵⁵ In addition, the situation was further aggravated by a severe outbreak of plague that spread throughout the entire Empire in 252–253 AD.¹⁵⁶ Sources also mention intense persecutions of Christians from the

¹⁵¹ Hoards with the youngest specimens of Trebonianus Gallus (13). The Vrkašice hoard (no. 39) belongs to the territory of Pannonia Inferior, cf. *supra* ref. 49. Hoards that end with coins of Aemilian (4).

¹⁵² Beside the Vrkašice hoard (no. 39), the other four relate to the northern part of this province (GĂZDAC 2010, Map 8).

¹⁵³ VARBANOV 2017, 130, nos. 5-22 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 23-28 (Thrace).

¹⁵⁴ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 271, nos. 78, 81, 83-86; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 8. Two hoards were also recorded in the area of Barbaricum (DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 271, nos. 80, 82).

¹⁵⁵ For more details on historical circumstances in Moesia Inferior and Thrace, and with them the associated coin hoards, with cited older literature, cf. VARBANOV 2017, 308-318.

¹⁵⁶ The plague epidemic lasted from the time of Trebonianus Gallus all the way to Claudius II (ALFÖLDI 1971, 167-168, 171, 198, 227-228; MÓCSY 1974, 205; TOURATSOGLU 2006, 142).

time of Decius until the death of Valerian I.¹⁵⁷ Reasons for depositing such a large number of coin hoards in Moesia Superior remain open to speculation because it is not possible to conclusively link their concealment to some of the events of a general or local character.¹⁵⁸

Upon his ascendance to the throne in the autumn of 253 AD, **Valerian I** immediately appointed **Gallienus** as Augustus and his co-ruler,¹⁵⁹ which for a while prevented attempts at usurpation,¹⁶⁰ but the barbarian attacks intensified. As early as 253 AD, Valerian I was forced to organise a campaign to defend the eastern borders.¹⁶¹ On his way to the east, he passed through the Bassianae part of the limes, probably through Singidunum and Viminacium.¹⁶² It is assumed that at the same time (253 AD) the Marcomanni, Quadi and Iazyges invaded Pannonia.¹⁶³ The same region was also attacked by the Marcomanni in 254 AD, when they reached Italy and Ravenna, forcing Gallienus to retreat from a part of Pannonia Superior.¹⁶⁴ That year is also associated with the incursion of the Goths, who again crossed the Danube, plundered Thrace and Macedonia and reached Thessalonica.¹⁶⁵ In addition to

¹⁵⁷ ALFÖLDI 1971, 166-168, 202-207; LIETZMAN 1971, 520-522; BAYNES 1971 656-658.

¹⁵⁸ In addition to the many years of constant barbarian pressure, usurpations, heavy wartime losses and the difficult economic situation, latrones also represented a great danger in Moesia Superior (BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ 1983, 74, ref. 29).

¹⁵⁹ The beginning of the reign of Valerian I falls in September or the first days of October 253 AD (ALFÖLDI 1967, 347; ALFÖLDI 1971, 169; LALLEMAND 1972: 17-18; VASIĆ 2005: 38; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 175; KIENAST 2010, 214).

¹⁶⁰ Upon the ascendance to the throne by Valerian I and Gallienus, the period of the domination of Illyrian troops ended. Their anti-Illyrian policy resulted in the fact that after 253 AD not a single important command position was occupied by officers from Illyricum (MÓCSY 1974, 205).

¹⁶¹ ALFÖLDI 1971, 170, 181.

¹⁶² DUŠANIĆ 1965, 95-98; KONDIĆ 1969, 21-22, MIRKOVIĆ 1977, 253-254, DOYEN 1988, 44-45.

¹⁶³ ALFÖLDI 1967, 312, 360; ALFÖLDI 1971, 139, 181.

¹⁶⁴ ALFÖLDI 1967, 312-313, 322, 330, ref. 73, 360; VASIĆ 1967, 72, ref. 49-50; ALFÖLDI 1971, 139, 147. This incursion also spread to Illyricum (ALFÖLDI 1967, 322, VASIĆ 1967, 72, ref. 52; ALFÖLDI 1971, 147).

¹⁶⁵ ALFÖLDI 1967, 322, 360; VASIĆ 1967, 72, ref. 51; ALFÖLDI 1971, 147, 181; TOURATSOGLU 2006,

these external threats, one should consider the other concurrent misfortunes, such as the plague epidemic, the activities of latrones, the intense deterioration in coinage quality and the difficult economic situation.

The largest number of coin hoards from Moesia Superior, during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus, is dated to 254 AD (nos. 51-57, 59-62).¹⁶⁶ They are distributed south of the Danube, along the Great and South Morava river valleys, indicating the extent of the region that was exposed to danger. The barbarian incursion into Pannonia undoubtedly contributed to instability in north-eastern Dalmatia and Moesia Superior. M. Mirković believes that the incursion of the Sarmatian tribe of Iazyges in 254 AD had a plundering character and that it was directed at the mining areas along the Drina (Krupanj and probably Srebrenica in Dalmatia), as well as the Dardanian mines in central Moesia Superior.¹⁶⁷ The hoard from Dvorska (no. 58), from the territory of Dalmatia, as well as the concurrent hoards from Pannonia Inferior (5),¹⁶⁸ can also be linked to the aforementioned events. At the same time, there is a significant drop in the number of coin hoards in Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thrace, compared to the previous period.¹⁶⁹

In addition to this horizon, during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus, in Moesia Superior only one hoard from 256 was recorded (no. 63), and another with an unknown *tpq.* (no. 65). The hoard from Donje Crniljevo (no. 64), from the territory of the 142-143; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 175; GĂZDAC 2012, 176.

¹⁶⁶ The Dvorska hoard (no. 58) belongs to the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia, in the mining area.

¹⁶⁷ MIRKOVIĆ 1977, 249-257; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2008, 176, ref. 89, 90.

¹⁶⁸ Five hoards are dated to 254: Janja (MILJANIĆ 1997, 31-41), Intercisa III (GĂZDAC 2010, Map 9), Oštra Luka I, II and III (DEMO 1982, 355-358).

¹⁶⁹ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 272, nos. 88-92; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 9; VARBANOV 2017, 131, nos. 2-22 (Moesia Inferior), seven hoards of which are attributed to the joint reign and two to the sole reign, while the others do not have a determined *tpq.*; nos. 23-34 (Thrace), one of which is dated to the joint reign and two to the sole reign, while the others are without a *tpq.*

former Dalmatia, is dated to 259–260. In both Pannonias, a larger number of hoards is noted (16), dated to 258 or 259–260 AD, while a certain number of hoards are considered to belong to the joint reign although they do not have a determined *tpq.* (9).¹⁷⁰ Numerous hoards from this time result from the very difficult internal and external military-political situation, with many usurpations, simultaneous barbarian incursions on several fronts, as well as the capture of Valerian I.

From the time of Gallienus' sole reign, only two hoards originate from the territory of Moesia Superior (nos. 67, 68), dated to 266/267 and 266/268 AD. The considered reason for depositing the hoard from Niš (no. 67) is the invasion of Germanic tribes that arrived in the Moesian territory in 268 from the south, via the route: Thessalonica – Scupi – Ulpiana – Naissus.¹⁷¹ The hoard from Maradik (no. 66; Pannonia Inferior) is dated to 262–264, with the closest analogy in the Garčin I hoard from the same province. Other hoards from Pannonia Inferior are mostly dated to the second half of Gallienus' sole reign (c. 268), while the majority of those from Pannonia Superior were deposited in the first half of this reign (260–263).¹⁷² In terms of Dacia, the number of hoards is somewhat larger compared to the joint reign.¹⁷³ This was influenced by a turbulent situation among barbarian tribes, particularly in the Carpathian Basin, culminating in 258–260 in a frontal attack on both Pannonias, which suffered heavy losses. Dacia was also exposed to the threat from the Goths and Carpi from the east and the Gepids, Vandals and Roxolani

¹⁷⁰ DEMO 1982, 322, 359-386; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 9; NAĐ 2012, 397-403, Fig. 1; NAĐ 2012a, 403-407.

¹⁷¹ MÓCSY 1974, 210; BENDŽAREVIĆ 2013, 47.

¹⁷² DEMO 1982, 374-386; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 9; NAĐ 2012, 398-399, nos. 10, 11, 14, 402, no. 38, 403, no. 45; NAĐ 2012a, 403, no. 37, 405, no. 46; VULIĆ/FARAC 2014; RANT/MIŠKEC/JAČIMOVIĆ 2015, 142; The hoard from Gornje Taborište was initially attributed to the reign of Claudius II (BILIĆ 2008, 291, 293), but it was later observed that the youngest specimen in the hoard is actually an antoninianus of Gallienus from 263–265 (BILIĆ/ČUČKOVIĆ 2018, 29-30).

¹⁷³ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 272, nos. 93-98; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 9.

from the north and west. In addition to these external pressures, the situation was further exacerbated by usurpations in Pannonia, first that of Ingenuus, and then of Regalianus.¹⁷⁴

After the Gothic invasion of Moesia Superior in 267/268, another followed in 269, at the time of **Claudius II**. The hoard from the vicinity of Vranje (no. 69) is noted as the only monetary testimony of the battle at Naissus.¹⁷⁵ Hoards from Moesia Inferior (9) and Thrace (6), as well as two hoards from Macedonia and Achaëa, are undoubtedly associated with these events.¹⁷⁶ The collective grave find from Belgrade (no.70) ends with consecration issues struck for Claudius II after his death in August/September 270. From the neighbouring western provinces, there are five hoards from Pannonia Superior, while from Dacia, to date, no hoards are known from this period.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the battle at Naissus did not completely destroy the Goths, who launched another offensive against Thrace and Moesia, which forced **Aurelian** to set out for the Balkans on a new campaign in 271. He drove the Goths across the Danube and heavily defeated them in the Dacian territory. Only with this Aurelian victory was the Gothic threat eliminated for a longer period of time.¹⁷⁸ It was obvious that the problem of the Danube border had to be resolved more permanently, and thus Aurelian made a decision to evacuate the legions and the Romanised population from Dacia to the right bank of the Danube. Two displaced Dacian legions were stationed in Ratiaria and Oescus, which shows that the danger from the Goths was still considered.¹⁷⁹

From the territory of Moesia Superior,

¹⁷⁴ MÓCSY 1974, 205-209; VASIĆ 2005, 60-61; GĂZDAC 2012, 177-178.

¹⁷⁵ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2009, 262-263.

¹⁷⁶ VARBANOV 2017, 132, nos. 1-9 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 10-14 (Thrace); TOURATSOGLOU 2006, 209, nos. 477, 478.

¹⁷⁷ GĂZDAC 2010, Map 10; NAĐ 2012, 397, no. 5, 403, nos. 45, 48; BILIĆ 2008, 289-309.

¹⁷⁸ BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ/STAMENKOVIĆ 2009, 263.

¹⁷⁹ MÓCSY 1974, 212; TOURATSOGLOU 2006, 149, REF. 90.

there are five known hoards from this time, three of which are concentrated in the eastern part of the province (nos. 73–75), one in the northern (no. 72) and one in the southern region (no. 71). They are associated with Aurelian's expedition, just like the hoards from Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Thrace.¹⁸⁰ From Pannonia Inferior, to date there are six known hoards from the time of Aurelian, five of which are from the territory of present-day Serbia (nos. 76–80), while two finds originate from Pannonia Superior.¹⁸¹ Apart from the hoard from Morović (no. 78), all others are dated to 273–275 AD, at the time of the second campaign against Palmyra (273), the return to Rome and monetary reform (end of 273 to spring 274). It, however, seems more plausible to link these hoards to Aurelian's stay in Illyricum in the summer of 275, from where, after the reorganisation of troops, he again set off towards Asia Minor. On this journey, near Perinthus, he fell victim to a conspiracy in late September of that same year.¹⁸² Hoards discovered in Dacia (2), Moesia Inferior (7) and Thrace (6) are also certainly associated with the military activities of Aurelian in the Balkans.¹⁸³

Probus managed to complete what Aurelian started, he established order in the provinces and discipline in the military. As a result of their activity, late in the eighth decade of the 3rd century, a degree of stability was achieved on the northern border.¹⁸⁴ From

¹⁸⁰ DEPEYROT/MOISIL 2008a, 272, nos. 102, 104; GĂZDAC 2010, Map 10; VARBANOV 2017, 133, nos. 3-9 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 10-15 (Thrace).

¹⁸¹ GĂZDAC 2010, Map 10; NAĐ 2012, 403, no. 47 (Pannonia Inferior), 401, no. 33, 402, no. 42 (Pannonia Superior).

¹⁸² MATTINGLY 1971, 301-307; <http://www.ric.mom.fr/en/info/hist5> (accessed 21 May 2019).

¹⁸³ A small number of hoards in Dacia from Gallienus to Aurelian was concentrated in Apulum and its surroundings. Găzdac believes that this was influenced by local events in this area, and also that it cannot be concluded with any certainty whether the reason for their depositing was the abandonment of the province or something else (GĂZDAC 2010, 144, Map 10); VARBANOV 2017, 133 nos. 3-9 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 10-15 (Thrace).

¹⁸⁴ MATTINGLY 1971, 314; MÓCSY 1974, 266; TOURATSOGLU 2006, 150.

Moesia Superior, there is only one coin hoard from this period (no. 82), without a determined *tpq.*, and is probably related to the hoards from the time of Probus from Moesia Inferior (7) and Thrace (7).¹⁸⁵ From the territory of Pannonia Inferior, the known hoards are Donji Petrovci (no. 81) and two finds from Slavonski Šamac,¹⁸⁶ while three more hoards have been recorded from Pannonia Superior.¹⁸⁷

The murder of Probus in the autumn of 282 and the short-lived reign of **Carus** and his sons left monetary testimonies in the territory of Illyricum. The hoard from Slavonski Šamac (Probus) is dated to 282,¹⁸⁸ as well as the Svileuva and Sremska Mitrovica hoards (nos. 83, 84), both dated by the Caesar issues of Carinus from 282.¹⁸⁹ Hoards with the *tpq.* of December 282 AD are associated with the incursion of the Sarmatians at the beginning of 283, in the course of which Pannonia was destroyed the most. In a quick and successful intervention, the new emperor Carus defeated the Sarmatians and with the troops continued his journey to the East.¹⁹⁰

The final conflict between Carinus and Diocletian took place at Margum in the spring or early summer of 285. It marked the end of one political establishment of the Roman state and the beginning of another. The hoard from Svetozarevo (Jagodina; no. 86) ends with an antoninianus of **Diocletian** from the mint of Rome, dated to 285, after the battle at Margum and the Senate's recognition. This circumstance does not allow the possibility to

¹⁸⁵ VARBANOV 2017, 134, nos. 3-9 (Moesia Inferior), nos. 10-16 (Thrace). The hoards from the territory of Bulgaria do not have a determined *tpq.*

¹⁸⁶ NAĐ 2012a, 406, nos. 47, 48. Nađ assumes that this might be a single find (*cf.* ref. 35).

¹⁸⁷ GĂZDAC 2010, Map 11; NAĐ 2012, 397, no. 2, 403, no. 49.

¹⁸⁸ The dating of the hoard from Donji Petrovci to 277 cannot be taken as completely reliable because the hoard was largely scattered.

¹⁸⁹ Caesar issues of Carinus were also used to date the hoard from Razhevo (РЪЖЕВО) from Thrace, in addition to which there are two more hoards recorded from the time of Carus/Carinus from this province (VARBANOV 2017, 134, nos. 1-3). In Moesia Inferior, no hoards from this time have been noted.

¹⁹⁰ CRNOBRNJA 1985, 141.

link the cause of depositing with the battle at Margum. It was obviously concealed later, at the end of 285 or the beginning of 286 AD, at the time of the stabilisation of Diocletian's authority, which had the character of a civil war.¹⁹¹

The 3rd century was a time when the Roman Empire was going through a serious crisis that accelerated the transition from the Principate into the Dominate. Severe internal and external conflicts led the Empire into a state of chaos, in which all the characteristics of the traditional Roman society and order were fundamentally shaken. The dramatic situation of the last third of the 3rd century was ended by the appearance of Diocletian, who reunited the Empire. Coin hoards from the territory of present-day Serbia reflect different turbulent events during the 3rd century. However, when interpreting the causes for their depositing, what should be taken into account are specific geopolitical and economic features of this area at that time, which were often different from those in the neighbouring provinces.

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¹⁹¹ CRNOBRNJA 1987, 8-9.

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