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RELATIONS OF CELTIC MINTINGS TO ROMAN MONETARY SYSTEM (SHOWN ON THE EXAMPLE OF SCORDISCI AND TREVERI)

Abstract. – This paper deals with the problem of changes within monetary systems, by comparing the Celtic tribes of the Treveri and the Scordisci. Changes and processes are specified which are common for mints of both tribes – changes of metals used for minting, loss of weight within the same coin type, reduction of the territory in which coins have been distributed etc. Types which copy Roman republican coins have also been presented, as well as the coin types minted with the Roman permission.

Key words. – coinage, Treveri, Scordisci, coins, Celts.

The idea of »Celtic coinage« is specific for its complexity and volume and it can be applied for all the imitations of Greek and Roman coins minted in the area north from the later Roman Empire, from Britain to the Black Sea. The barbarization of Greek and Roman models shows a specific sense for shape and an ability to fit personal religious images into an already existing artistic scheme. Such barbarizations are characteristic and common to the whole Celtic world.

Although the Celts accepted Hellenistic monetary system, it seems that they themselves did not possess it in the true sense of the word. The key problem represents stability of such a system. At their earliest mints, the Scordisci observed the relation of drachma to tetradrachma, but these relations were eventually lost. At the beginning of the Treverian minting, one can also observe a certain proportional relation of the nominal weights (stater to quarter-stater). Such aspects of local mintings have not thoroughly been studied and therefore, one can not speak of real monetary systems.

After the arrival of the Romans, first the merchants and later the soldiers, the Celts accepted the Roman monetary system, but they adapted it anew to their own aesthetics (especially the Scordisci and their neighbours, the Dacians). In this way, barbarian imitations came to being, which can be considered as forgeries, but also as an acceptance of a Roman model instead of the former Hellenistic model.

While studying mints of the Celtic tribes of the Treveri and the Scordisci, who belonged to the same ethnos, but who lived at two different ends of the Celtic world, a hypothesis arose that all the Celtic mintings were in their very essence related to each other and that, at the moment of coming in contact with the Roman monetary system, they underwent certain changes – similar or different, caused by the degree of development at which these tribes found themselves at the time of the Roman occupation. Here, the Treveri and the Scordisci represent *pars pro toto* for all the other Celtic tribes which had their own mintings and whose territories were later occupied by the Romans.

At the moment of genesis of Gaulish coins, several aspects played certain important roles. Maybe the most direct way of penetration of coins into the Celtic world was trade, while the silver tetra-drachmas of Philipp II spread because Celtic mercenaries took part in the Hellenistic army. In both cases, economic contact was established at the initiative of the Greeks and later of the Romans.¹ For western Europe, trade with Greek cities along the eastern Spanish coast had great importance. Money, Greek or Roman, or some of the earliest Celtic mints, was concentrated in the hands of the nobles.

The earliest Celtic mints were made of precious metals exclusively. To the West of the Marne – Danube

¹ Timpe 1985, 281.

– Inn line, coins were made of gold, to the East of silver. Only after monetary economy developed, bronze and potin coins appeared. In time, metals were of lesser quality and coins became smaller and thinner. Later also forgeries appeared.²

Most of the written sources about the Treveri, a Gaulish tribe settled between Mosel, Hünsrück and Eifel,³ are given by Caesar. Besides determining their tribal and geographical belonging, in his »Gaulish War« he especially stresses their famous cavalry.⁴ Yet it seems that in 54 B.C. the Treveri maintained their neutral attitude toward the Romans. Only in the years to come, while describing his meetings with some of the Treverian nobles, Caesar writes of a tribe whose leading families found themselves in permanent rivalries. One of those families, led by Indutiomarus, even managed to organize a rebellion against the Romans, in which not only Celtic, Belgic rioters took part, but even the German ones.⁵ Although after the end of the Gaulish wars the number of written sources about the Treveri became smaller, it is known that in the thirties and the twenties of 1st cent. B.C. they took part in several rebellions against the Romans, some of the rebellions even being led by them.

At the time of Augustus, Gaul obtained the status of a province. In 27 B. C., *Gallia Commata* was divided into three parts, with the territory of the Treveri as a part of *Gallia Belgica*. Epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological material of that time depicts a slow beginning of Romanization of all the aspects of material and spiritual culture.

Like most of the Celtic tribes, the Treveri minted and casted coins of four metals – gold, silver, bronze and potin. The here analyzed numismatic material consists mostly of finds from various settlements, votive gifts or single finds.

According to Metzler's study, one can distinguish four basic horizons within Treverian mintings:⁶

1. In the first horizon, which is dated to 2nd cent. B.C., a unique gold standard existed (mostly the so called staters with lyre).

2. In the second horizon, which begins in the first half of 1st cent. B.C. and ends at the time of Caesar, the Treveri most likely possessed a trimetal system of values (gold, silver and potin).

3. During the third horizon, which lasts from the time of Caesar to about 30 B.C., gold and silver coins were still minted. Potin types were pushed into the background by bronze coins from *ARDA* and *HIRTIVS* series.

4. The fourth horizon, to which the last Treverian bronze *CARINAS* and *GERMAVS INDVTILLI L* min-

tings belong, can be dated in the last three decades of 1st cent. B.C.

The group of the earliest Treverian mints consists of four closely interrelated types of gold coins.⁷

All of them bear an Apollo-type head facing right on the obverse and a horseman on a human headed horse on the reverse. The so called »winged manikin« first series bears a picture of a winged manikin on the reverse under the human headed horse, i.e. a centaur.⁸ It was minted as a stater and as a quarter-stater (Fig. 1 and 2).

The second series of coins is slightly changed, because the place of the winged manikin on the reverse is taken by a lyre with strings to the right.⁹ The finding places of the lyre type are indistinguishable from those of the winged manikin type and it was also minted as staters and quarter-staters (Fig. 3 and 4).

The third series, which is characterized by a horned-head on the obverse, has only been found in quarter-stater size¹⁰ (Fig. 5).

The same can be observed in the fourth series, which distinguishes itself from the former ones by a star- or sun-shaped symbol pictured on the reverse above the horse, while a lyre and a wavy line have been pictured under the horse (Fig. 6).

The earliest Treverian coins can be dated back to the 2nd cent. B.C.¹¹ They have been previously considered Armorican.¹² Just like any other barbarian mints, the sequence of the earliest types can only be determined according to their weight. The earliest coins weighed from 8 to 7,75 gr, while later they weighed only 7,50 gr.¹³

In the second horizon, more precisely during the first half of 1st cent. B.C. to the time of Caesar, for the first time the Treveri possessed the trimetal system of values.

To the gold mintings of this horizon belong staters with an eye, without an inscription¹⁴ (Fig. 7), as well as *POTTINA* staters¹⁵ (Fig. 8). The first ones should be considered mints of the Treverian chief Indutiomarus,

² Birkhan 1997, 374.

³ Dehn 1935, 296.

⁴ Caesar, *De bello gallico*, 3, 11; 4, 10; 5, 3; 2, 24.

⁵ Caesar, *De bello gallico*, 5, 3–4; 5, 55–58.

⁶ Metzler 1995, 162.

⁷ Allen 1971, 94.

⁸ Tour 1892, stater T. 23, 6818 and T. 38, 9269, quarter-stater T. 23, 6821; Tour, Fischer 1999, T. XXIII, 6818.

⁹ Tour 1892, stater T. 38, 9297, quarter-stater T. 38, 9298.

¹⁰ Tour 1892, T. 24, 6909; Tour, Fischer 1999, T. XXIV, 6909.

¹¹ Allen 1971, 105.

¹² Castelin 1985, 113.

¹³ Castelin 1985, 114.

¹⁴ Type 1, Reding 1972, 19–20.

¹⁵ Type 3, Reding 1972, 22–25; Tour 1892, T. XXXVI, 8825.

who in 54/53 B.C. led the Treverian rebellion against Roman troops.¹⁶ It seems that the eye-staters went through the development of a single independent detail which dominated the whole obverse. The coins of Philipp II, which are considered to be the model for eye-staters, bear the whole head of Apollo on the avers, while the eye on the eye-staters became an independent schematized detail. The eye is surrounded by remains of a laurel wreath, which can still be recognized as such on some examples, while most of them turned into simple lines. A similar process can be traced on the coins of the Nervii, Remes or the Atrebatas, on which singular curls or parts of laurel wreath turned into such independent details.¹⁷

Between the non inscribed coins and the *POTTINA* coins, one can clearly notice reduction in coin weight. The gold of the *POTTINA* staters is of lesser quality than of the earlier non inscribed coins. They were made of gold with a large amount of silver, actually of 14 carat electrum, and their weight varies from 6,13 to 5,51 gr.¹⁸ The process of losing on quality can be seen as the consequence of the Treverian defeat in 53 B.C.¹⁹ This, as well as the loss of Treverian power after the defeat, caused these coins to get concentrated strictly to the Treverian territory. The *POTTINA* coins are also considered to be Indutiomarus' mintings. They are the most numerous ones among the inscribed coins and they are evenly spread on the entire Treverian territory.

The usage of these coins in every day life did not take place. Considering the value of the metal of which they were made, it can rather be expected that they were used as very valuable means of exchange. Their usage as jewelry or grave goods has not yet been confirmed.

The finds of *POTTINA* coins, as well as those with an eye, have been confirmed in the Treverian settlement Martberg.²⁰ Such mints belong to the oldest sacrificial coins from the Bastendorf sanctuary.²¹

Silver mints of the second horizon include the type with a »sitting manikin«²² and the type with an »angle-like depicted nose«.²³

The first type (Fig. 9) bears a sitting person on the obverse and a horse on the reverse. An extremely large amount of examples found in the Treverian oppida Titelberg (154) and Martberg (84), as well as the wide territory covered by other single finds, show without a doubt that the type with a »sitting manikin« belongs to the Treveri.²⁴ Because of the finds of casting moulds, but also because of the different average weight of the examples from Titelberg and Martberg, one should presume that these coins were minted in two different mints in these two oppida.

According to two examples found at the Roman bridge in Trier, the type with the »sitting manikin« was still in use during the second half of 1st cent. B.C.²⁵ Those silver coins were contemporary with the eye staters.

An interesting fact connected to the »sitting manikin« coin type are the finds of such coins from the Martberg sanctuary. Even 32 out of 84 pieces were marked with sharp carvings. In some cases, the carving was so deep that the coins were split into two pieces. Such marks were made on the reverse exclusively, on which a horse was depicted, and they always run across the picture of the animal. Accordingly, one can presume that it was a ritual, meaning that a coin as a votive gift replaced the animal itself.²⁶ Since the spreading of the coins was regular, it can even be presumed that they represented a votive gift of the whole community.²⁷ Apart from some Treverian coin types (with a »sitting manikin«, with an »angle like nose«, *POTTINA* type, *ARDA* type etc.), three Roman mints were also marked by carving (two republican denars and a quinarius from 1st cent. B.C.).

The mints from the Martberg sanctuary surely present Romanization of the Treverian offering rites. Apart from that, the fact that there were foreign currencies sacrificed together with the native ones reflects the contemporary usage of coins of different origin – Treverian and Roman.

The type with an »angle like nose« (Fig. 10) bears the picture of a man's head facing left, on the obverse. His nose is depicted in a form of an angle and his eye is ball like. Above the head there is an »S« turned upside-down, whereas under the head there is an identical letter, placed almost horizontally. This type was almost contemporary with the previous one, with which it is closely connected by the illustration on the reverse.

Potin types of the second horizon include three types: the type with »two animals facing each other«²⁸

¹⁶ Caesar, *De bello gallico*, V, 55–58.

¹⁷ Forrer 1968, 265.

¹⁸ Forrer 1968, 265.

¹⁹ Metzler 1995, 131.

²⁰ Zedelius 1984, 113.

²¹ Reinert 2000, 375, Fig. 6.

²² Type 14, Reding 1972, 79–89.

²³ Type 15, Reding 1972, 89–91.

²⁴ Metzler 1995, 152.

²⁵ Gilles 1984, 24.

²⁶ Zedelius 1984, 113, 116.

²⁷ Wigg 2000, 488.

²⁸ Type 72, Reding 1972, 179–184; Tour, Fischer 1999, T. XXX, 7465.

(Fig. 11), the type with »mussed up hair«²⁹ (Fig. 12), and the type with a »walking manikin«³⁰ (Fig. 13). Although, based on the high concentration of potin coins on Titelberg, one can presume that they were minted there,³¹ every one of the previously mentioned types also has close parallels with the coins of some of the Treverian neighbouring Celtic tribes. Similarly, the type with »two animals facing each other« relies on the series of potin coins of the Belovaci.³² Based on the boar depicted on the reverse, the type with the »mussed up hair« is connected to the potin coins of the Leuci, while the type with the »walking manikin« is related to the potin coins of the Remi.

During the relatively short third horizon, gold and silver coins were still minted, while potin mints were replaced with bronze *ARDA* and *HIRTIVS* types. Despite numerosity of the *ARDA* types, there are no reliable proofs of their chronological sequence.

Golden staters with an eye belong to *ARDA* types.³³ (Fig. 14) They bear the picture of a huge eye facing right on the obverse and a horse facing left on the reverse. Its mane is depicted in the form of pearls, chest and hips are sphere shaped. Above the horse, there is a cross with pearls in the middle and at the ends. Between the horse's legs is a star with eight beams within a pearled circle. All the finding spots of these coins lie east from the river Maas and show great concentration at the territory of the Treveri.

After minting these coins, Treverian nobles started minting in silver and at the end in bronze.

Silver mintings include *ARDA* types with a »female bust«³⁴ (Fig. 15) and with a »portrait with a helmet«³⁵ (Fig. 16).

The obverse of the first silver type bears a female bust, while there is a horseman to the right depicted on the reverse.

The second silver type of the third horizon bears a portrait with a helmet to the right on the obverse, and a picture of a horseman to the right on the reverse.

The bronze *ARDA* types include four types: the type »with a small ball«³⁶ (Fig. 17), the type »with a longish profile«³⁷ (Fig. 18) i.e. the type »with a round profile«³⁸ (Fig. 19), the type »with a horseman«³⁹ (Fig. 20) and finally the type »with a bull«⁴⁰ (Fig. 21).

The type »with a small ball« (Fig. 17) is considered to have been in use from 45 to 15 B.C.⁴¹ It bears the right male profile on the obverse, whose hair is being separated from the face by cutting. Behind the head, there is a pearl within a circle, and to the left from the shoulder, there is a bow or a rotated »S« placed on the pearl. The *ARDA* inscription lies in front of the face.

On the reverse, there is a picture of a galloping horseman facing right. Between the horse's legs there is a pearl, and another pearl in the pearled circle behind it. Here, the *ARDA* inscription lies below the animal.

The type »with a longish profile« (Fig. 18) was in use at the same time with the previous type, while the type »with a round profile« (Fig. 19), which was related to it, was minted later. The first one bears the right male profile on the obverse, in front of which there is an *ARDA* inscription. On the reverse, there is a galloping horseman to the right. There is an »S« in front of the horse, below it there is a cross with pearls at its ends, and there is a small »Z« and an *ARDA* inscription above it. The second type should be considered a subtype of the first one. Although they are almost identical, the latter one is more barbarized, because all the pictures on it are simplified.

The model for the type »with a horseman« (Fig. 20) is most probably the republican denar of M. Terentius Varus, minted in Spain in 49 B.C.⁴² While the picture on the obverse (Jupiter bust) is almost identical to the original, reverse pictures of the Celtic coins differ from the Roman ones. On the reverse of the Treverian mintings there is a horse, which makes them closely related to other Celtic mintings. The second possibility would be that these coins correspond to the denars of Qv. Titus, minted in 88 B.C., because then both obverse and reverse would by images depicted on them correspond to the original.⁴³ It is also possible that this Treverian copy represents a combination of these two models.

The type »with a bull« (Fig. 21) bears the picture of a male profile with a diadem to the right.⁴⁴ On the reverse there is a picture of a bull to the right, with its head turned en face. Under the bull, there is a small

²⁹ Type 16, Reding 1972, 91–97.

³⁰ Type 14, Reding 1972, 79–89.

³¹ Metzler 1995, 155.

³² Metzler 1995, 159.

³³ Type 2, Reding 1972, 20–22.

³⁴ Type 4, Reding 1972, 35–36.

³⁵ Type 5, Reding 1972, 36–43.

³⁶ Type 6, Reding 1972, 43–45.

³⁷ Type 8, Reding 1972, 49–52.

³⁸ Type 9, Reding 1972, 53–54.

³⁹ Type 7, Reding 1972, 45–49.

⁴⁰ Type 10, Reding 1972, 55–60.

⁴¹ Metzler 1995, 145, Fig. 99.

⁴² RRC, n. 447/1a, Pl. LII.6, n. 447/b.

⁴³ Reding 1972, 49; It is possible that it is a combination of the following two coins: RRC n. 345. 2 with a Jupiter head on the obverse and RRC n. 346. 2a, with a galloping horse on the reverse.

⁴⁴ Reding describes this profile as female. Reding 1972, 55.

animal with a stretched body to the right. Above the bull, there is an *ARDA* inscription.

According to Metzler, the type »with a bull« was at the peak of its circulation only between 40 and 30 B.C., which would mean that it still circulated after the peak of minting *HIRTIVS* coins.⁴⁵ A question arises if this type should be dated even later, because of its great similarity to the Augustus mintings from the time between 14 and 11 B.C. On one type of denars, minted from 14 to 12 and from 12 to 11 B.C. in Lugdunum, there is also the picture of a bull.⁴⁶ The same happened to a type of aurei.⁴⁷

All the coins named, as well as the *HIRTIVS* type, were minted on Titelberg.⁴⁸

The bronze type was minted between 49 and 45 B.C.⁴⁹ (Fig. 22). The person after whom this coin type was named probably had a proconsular title in Gallia Transalpina, and later, in 45/44 B.C. of Gallia Commata, as well.⁵⁰ On the obverse, there are insignia of a priest: a simpulum, an axe, a pontifical whip and a priest's cap. On the reverse, there is an elephant to the right, with its mouth wide open. Under the line there is a horizontal inscription »A. *HIRTIVS*«. ⁵¹ In 49/48, in a mint which followed Caesar and his troops, coins with the same pictures were produced.⁵² On them, under the basic line there is a *CAESAR* inscription.

One example of this type is known from the Bastendorf sanctuary⁵³, which could point to a certain degree of Romanization of the Treverian customs already at the beginning of the second half of 1st cent. B.C.

It is an interesting fact that the images of elephants correspond exactly to the images on the Augustus' denars from 32 to 29 B.C.⁵⁴, which were minted in Rome. On these Augustus' coins, there is an image of a biga pulled by elephants, in which Augustus himself takes the ride.⁵⁵ Therefore, the question arises again if these coins should also be dated to a later period.

Pictures of elephants started appearing on Roman republican coins in the second decade of 1st cent. B.C.⁵⁶ On the other hand, pictures of the priests' insignia are a little younger and they appear on some denar types from the republican period and even from the early imperial time.⁵⁷

Although such coins do not belong to the Treverian mintings, since they were brought to this territory from abroad, this type, together with the *ARDA* type »with a bull«, belongs to the most represented bronze coin types of the third horizon in the most important closed finds from Titelberg.⁵⁸

Two Treverian mintings belong to the fourth horizon: bronze *CARINAS*⁵⁹ (Fig. 23) and *GERMAVS*

*INDVTILLI L*⁶⁰ (Fig. 24) coins. They date from 30 B.C. to the beginning of the New era.

The aristocrat *CARINAS* is believed to have had a proconsular function of Gallia Transalpina or Gallia Commata during 30/29 B.C. He fought the German Morines and Suebes and triumphed against Gauls.⁶¹ Because of that, these mints, like bronze *HIRTIVS* and *ARDA* coins, belong to the few that can be dated precisely.

Pictures on this type are closely related to the bronze *HIRTIVS* coins. Under the elephant, there is a *CARINAS* inscription, turned in the form of a mirror reflection.

GERMANVS INDVTILLI L(ibertus) coins were not minted by the Treveri, although they were, just like the *CARINAS* coins, at least partly produced in the Titelberg mint.⁶² It seems that they were minted in this area as local small currency with the permission of Rome.⁶³ Along with that, it is interesting to mention that the Romans always gave their permission for minting to a single aristocrat and not to the tribe as a whole. In 11/10 B.C. coins with identical pictures were minted in Lugdunum as quadranses.⁶⁴ On the obverse, they bear a Romanized right male profile, with a laurel wreath depicted as a ribbon. His hair is tied up at the back of his head. On the reverse, there is a bull to the left, with its head depicted frontally. The bull bears a belt, which stresses its sacral character. Similar images of bulls are known in the shape of gallo-roman statuettes.⁶⁵ Above the animal there is a horizontal *GERMANVS* inscription, while under the animal there is a bordering line with an *INDVTILLI L* inscription under it.

⁴⁵ Metzler 1995, Fig. 99.

⁴⁶ RIC I, n. 327b, Pl. III.40; n. 334b; n. 338b.

⁴⁷ RIC I, n. 326a; n. 334a; n. 338a.

⁴⁸ Metzler 1995, 159.

⁴⁹ Metzler 1995, 130.

⁵⁰ Metzler 1995, 130.

⁵¹ Type 11, Reding 1972, 60–69.

⁵² RRC, n. 443/1, Pl. LII. 22.

⁵³ Reinert 2000, 373, Fig. 4.

⁵⁴ RIC I, Pl. V, 283.

⁵⁵ RIC I, n. 104–107.

⁵⁶ RRC, n. 374/1, Pl. XLVIII.

⁵⁷ RRC, n. 484/1, Pl. LVII.25; n. 489/2, Pl. LVIII.9; n. 538/1, Pl. LXIV.4; RIC I, n. 150, Pl. I.18.

⁵⁸ Metzler 1995, 145, Fig. 99.

⁵⁹ Type 12, Reding 1972, 69–71.

⁶⁰ Type 13, Reding 1972, 71–79.

⁶¹ Metzler 1995, 129.

⁶² Metzler 1995, 162.

⁶³ Berger 1992, 41.

⁶⁴ RIC I, n. 358.

⁶⁵ Wightman 1970, 34.

It is interesting that the *GERMANVS* coins found in north Germany, which are considered Treverian, always come from contexts which are also connected to Roman material. They represented a part of coinage which was in use in military camps like Haltern, Oberaden, Beckinghausen or Anrepen. Because of lack of small nominals in military camps, in which not only numerous pieces were found which were split in two, but also ases split in four, it is certain that Treverian coins were widely spread as quadranses, regardless of whether in a particular military camp Roman troops or auxiliary troops consisting of natives were stationed. If required, all the inhabitants of such camps used these coins as quadranses, although in the first place these were minted as native small coinage. It even seems that this particular demand of quadranses caused minting of small coinage by the natives. These coins were in use only from the last decade of 1st cent. B.C.⁶⁶ Some new aspects of this problem would surely be understood better after preparing a study of percentual statistics of such coins in the monetary circulation as a whole.

During the study of all the coin types which were in use at the territory of the Treveri and their percentual relationship to the money circulation as a whole, one faces a big problem of imprecise data given by the authors who published this material. Most of them do not name precise numbers of certain type pieces, but they describe them with expressions like »over« or »more than«.⁶⁷ While presenting singular closed finds, it is always the case that Celtic mints are presented separately from the Roman ones, and frequently for a closed find, which consisted both of Celtic and Roman coins, data are given only for one of these two groups.

For example, Weiler presents a graphical of coins found at the oppidum of Titelberg, but does not separate Treverian mints from the mints of other Celtic tribes.⁶⁸ Reding takes into consideration only Celtic mints from Titelberg and separates them by tribes, completely neglecting Roman coins and their imitations.⁶⁹

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At the beginning, Treverian coins were made of precious metals exclusively. During 2nd cent. B. C. there were coins of other metals, like bronze and potin, which were not struck, but casted in series. This does not only show need for small currency, but also a need for monetary economy in the true sense of the word. A reflection of an intensive monetary economy, i.e. usage of coins in every day life, in buying and selling of even smallest

amounts of cheap products, is small coinage, more precisely small mints made of non-precious metals.

It is interesting that shortly before Caesar's Gallic conquests names of Celtic noblemen appear on golden and silver coins, written in a clear manner. Shortly before the middle of 1st cent. B.C., some Gallic coins started bearing the names of the Gallic aristocrats partly known from written sources as well. This reflects self-consciousness of these noblemen on one hand, and gradual introduction of literacy to the leading classes of the Gaulish society on the other. At this time, this social layer obviously stopped keeping their treasures in the form of raw metals or jewels, and started using them in the form of small pieces of minted metal.⁷⁰

Despite the imports of wine and bronze vessels into the Celtic territories, which already started at the end of 2nd cent. B. C., and despite the presence of Italic tradesmen in Gaul, until the early Augustus time Roman coinage was rare at the Treverian territory.

In the first years after Caesar's conquest, Roman coinage played no role on the Rhine. In the Titelberg burial complexes from late 1st cent. B.C., Roman coins appear only in layers which can be dated after 30 B.C. Obviously, Roman coins reached the Rhine only with Augustus legions, which were stationed here from 15 B.C. to prepare for the conquest of Germania. Monetary circulation in post-Caesarian Gaul still consisted of local mintings exclusively, and there was hardly a direct contact with Roman money and Roman monetary system.⁷¹ Romanization happened indirectly, by copying neighbouring models.

In the military camps of the Drusus army on the Rhine and Lippe, coins of Gaulish tribes, including the Treveri, were in use simultaneously with the Roman coins. Coins split in two and even in four pieces, which played a relatively significant role in money circulation within these camps, confirm this.

Very interesting is the fact that the spreading territory of certain Treverian bronze coins, which chronologically belong to the monetary circulation of the last La Tène phase, increasingly reduced. With few exceptions, such coins are limited to the area around Mosel and to Luxemburg.⁷² Late Celtic, in this case Treverian

⁶⁶ Berger 1992, 45.

⁶⁷ Metzler 1995, 124; Wightman 1970, 33.

⁶⁸ Weiller 1972, 19.

⁶⁹ Reding 1972, 259.

⁷⁰ Fischer 1985, 290.

⁷¹ Loscheider 1998, 115.

⁷² Compare maps by Loscheider 1998, 161, 164, 166, 168 or 170.

mintings, were mostly not so widespread like the silver ones or the coins made of potin. Similar phenomena are known from the other parts of Gaul.⁷³ Bronze coins were minted in several smaller centres or in mintings which moved along together with the army. They were more adapted to local usage. Despite this fact, bronze coins show greater level of Romanization than those made of gold or silver.

Another aspect of Romanization are sacrificial coins. All finds of such kind come from the late La Tène layers of different sanctuaries, and they are considered substitutes for the earlier forms of sacrifices like animals, weapons, etc.

In the Martberg sanctuary for example, the first phase of large amounts of Celtic coins with marks deposited in such a way dates from around 40 B.C.⁷⁴ The second phase with larger amounts of deposited coins dates from 20 to 60 A.D.⁷⁵ In both horizons, coins were spread on a large surface and they were hard to connect to any architectural remain. According to Reinert, they represent an imported rite, which can be traced only after the Roman occupation.⁷⁶

Although placing coins into Celtic graves appears very sporadically, in five tombs of La Madleine necropolis five different examples were found, which all belong to Gaulish mintings. Among them, there are nine copies of Caesarian denars with *HIRTIVS* and *CARRINAS* inscriptions.⁷⁷ This is considered to be one of the first indications of Romanization of burial customs.

* * *

In the late La Tène phase, in Srem and Serbian part of the Danube valley, tetradrachmas of Philipp II and golden staters of Alexander the Great were in use. During 2nd cent. B.C., the Scordisci copied minting techniques and basic principles of monetary system from Greeks, i.e. Macedonians. In that period, they began to mint on their own, especially the coins of Srem type. According to the finds, some foreign currencies were in use simultaneously with them – the drachmas of Appolonia and Dyrrachium and Roman republican coins.

The presence of coins from Appolonia and Dyrrachium at the territory of the Scordisci, as well as in other parts of the Balkan peninsula, can be explained by the fact that ever since the middle and the end of 2nd cent. B.C. these Greek cities had extremely good relationship with Rome, having its support, and Rome helped them spread their coinage at these territories.

Network of roads, along which these coins were spread at the Balkans, corresponded with the directions of Roman interests and ended in territories which sooner or later became parts of Roman provinces.⁷⁸

Before the Roman occupation, Roman republican coins were rarely used in Pannonia. For that period, there are no certain data about intensive trade connections between the Romans and the Scordisci or any other native communities. Later, after 1st cent. B.C., Roman coins reached Pannonia along the already well-known and in prehistory frequently used roads, the most frequent of which connected Aquileia, Nauportus and Siscia. After Octavian's time, its use increased.

In distribution of foreign, at first Greek and later Roman coinage, La Tène settlements played an important role, especially those which in Roman times turned into important castra on the Danube.

The Scordisci, orientated to the model of the Macedonian silver drachma, at first minted silver coins and later the bronze ones. In Hellenistic world, silver coins were mostly in use and the Scordisci, just like other tribes of that period, mostly had contacts with them. Apart from coins, silver was used for the production of jewelry or vessels, therefore being simpler to distribute than gold for example. In time, the need for money arose, which led to lack of raw materials, reflecting in loss of quality of the mint and loss of weight of the coins. When the Scordisci began to mint bronze coins, a new field was opened for stable currencies – drachmas of Appolonia and Dyrrachium, as well as for Roman republican coinage.

The coin type most closely connected to the centre of the Scordiscian territory is the Srem type. Tetradrachmas and drachmas of this type can be divided into four phases. In the first three phases (A to C, Fig. 25–27), one can trace the growth of barbarization within the same obverse (bearded male head) and reverse (horse) images. This type illustrates very well the process of loss of weight and loss of silver quality mentioned above. These coins were minted between the second half of 2nd and the first half of 1st cent. B.C.⁷⁹

The finds of the Srem types A and B (Fig. 25 and 26) are spread in eastern Slavonia, in Srem and along

⁷³ Wigg 1996, 386.

⁷⁴ Wigg 2000, 487.

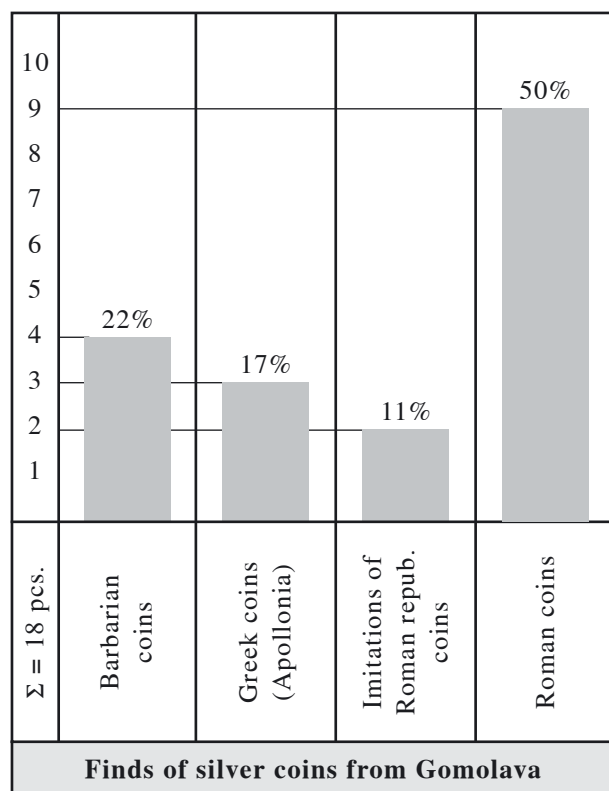
⁷⁵ Wigg 2000, 487.

⁷⁶ Reinert 2000, 379.

⁷⁷ Metzler et al. 1999, 309.

⁷⁸ Поповић 1987, 99.

⁷⁹ Поповић 1987, 80, 81.



Graphicon: Finds of silver coins from Gomolava

Grafikon: Nalazi srebrnog novca sa Gomolave

the Danube, all the way to the Iron Gate. Two of the most abundant hoards of such coins were found on the Danube itself. One of them was discovered on the Šimian island,⁸⁰ and the second one in Titel.⁸¹ On the other hand, examples of C phase (Fig. 27) come from eastern Slavonia and Srem. In C phase, in addition to the examples of coins made of low quality silver, first bronze mints were made. Krčedin type coins preserved the continuity in minting out of high quality silver (see below).

Coins from D phase are completely different from the ones in previous three phases – they were all extremely small (called *minimi*), and they were made of silver⁸² (Fig. 28). The laurel wreath takes over the dominant place on the obverse and it seems that it becomes an independent detail which transforms increasingly. The genesis of this coin type is the consequence of adapting to new conditions and of aspiration after small value coinage. The finding places of D type Srem coins concentrate in eastern Srem, along the Danube bank. Although other archaeological data are missing, it could mean that already in the first half of 1st cent. B.C. the Scordisci were limited to the Danubian part of Srem.⁸³

The coins of Krčedin type (Fig. 29) include coins of Philipp II with an image of Zeus as the model, although the image of lion's fur was taken from the tetradrachmes of Alexander the Great. There is a horse-man with a helm holding a palm branch on the reverse. The eponime hoard of these coins can be dated at the end of 2nd and the beginning of 1st cent. B.C.⁸⁴ All the other finding places of these coins are also concentrated in eastern Srem.

At Gomolava, the best explored Scordiscian settlement so far, all coin types present are typical for Srem in the period from the end of 2nd to the last decades of 1st cent. B.C. (*see graphicon*). They include barbarian mintings of the Scordisci and the Norici, the Appollonia drachmes, as well as Roman republican denars. Although Gomolava has an extremely favourable geographical position, the number of numismatic finds excavated here can mostly be explained by huge excavated surfaces. In this sense, Gomolava offers a unique opportunity of gaining a picture regarding money circulation by the Scordisci during 1st cent. B.C.

At this finding place, 18 silver mints were found. Among them, four belong to barbarian mintings of Srem, Krčedin and Đurđevac types.⁸⁵

It is interesting that of Greek coins, three tetradrachmas of Appollonia were found, although the Dyrachium coins were more spread in Srem than the previous ones. All the examples discovered here belong to the same type, which is common in the Mid Balkans and in the Danube valley.

There were eleven pieces of Roman coins, seven of them belonging to a hoard. They were bound with corrosion and one can presume that they had previously been in a purse. This hoard bears great importance, because in it, apart from the regular Roman republican mintings, two imitations were also found. The first

⁸⁰ Preda, Davidescu 1974.

⁸¹ Gohl 1910, 112–113.

⁸² Поповић 1987, 53.

⁸³ Поповић 1987, 81.

⁸⁴ Two hoards of Celtic imitations are known from Krčedin: one of them comes from the finding place named »Kamenolom«, in which 74 coins were found, dated from the end of 3rd to the beginning of 2nd cent. B.C. Among them, there are coins of Lisimachus, Athens, Seleucos, Philipp and Alexander the Great, originals as well as copies. The inscriptions on the coins can hardly be read and can be understood as ornaments. The second hoard comes from the site »Več«. There, 883 coins were found, out of which 655 tetradrachmes and 228 drachmes. Поповић and Даутова-Рушевљан 1981, 43.

⁸⁵ Popović 1988, 101.

imitation (Fig. 30) is a hybrid coin, a combination of the coins minted in 82 and 78 B.C. The image on the obverse shows high quality and can hardly be differentiated from the original, while the image on the reverse shows greater level of barbarization and lesser quality. The Satyr Marsias, bearing a wineskin over his shoulder, is depicted unclearly, while on the pillar behind him there arises another pillar instead of the image of Victoria. The cause for such errors surely is not the lack of skill of the smith, but the bad example which served as the model. Maybe the inscription shows this best of all, because there is one straight and six zigzag lines in the place where *L. CENSOR* should have been written, imitating the number and arrangement of the letters. Obviously, these details were too complicated for the smith, or even unimportant.⁸⁶

The second copy (Fig. 31) shows the imitation of a *bigatae*, which were mostly minted during 2nd cent. B.C.⁸⁷ There is Roma depicted on the obverse, and a coach drawn by two horses on the reverse (*biga*). Just like the first imitation, the images here show great quality, although there is an *V* instead of an *X*, and an »S«-shaped sign added to the *ROMA* inscription.⁸⁸

The greatest number of imitations of the Roman republican coins was found in the middle Danube valley and in eastern Romania, and it is therefore presumed that they were minted in this area. Roman coins, which served as models for these copies, came to this territory from the South, from the Roman province of Macedonia, or from the East, from Greek cities at the Black Sea coast. The models for most of the imitations are coins from great series of Roman mints from the end of 2nd cent. B.C. and from the time between 91 and 70 B.C.⁸⁹

The hoard named above was found in the late La Tène layer of Gomolava, belonging to the VI-b⁹⁰ phase by B. Jovanović and dates from 10 B.C.⁹¹ The burning layer at Gomolava indicates that the hoard was buried during the time of Tiberius wars against the Scordisci, as the settlement was burned down. From the layer in which the hoard was found, denars of Julius Caesar were discovered as well, minted during the last quarter of 1st cent. B.C. According to other archaeological finds from this layer, the appearance of these denars can be connected with the arrival of the Roman army in the lower Sava valley.

After the Roman occupation, the fluctuation of money in Pannonia increased, mostly because of the presence of the merchants, who traded Pannonian raw materials and products. However, finds of Roman coinage, most of all denars, were rather uncommon in here. The number of mintings did not increase, although

the need for money grew as the Empire territory enlarged, which could also be understood as the reason for the limited money fluctuation during the period of the early Empire.

* * *

Coins minted by the Scordisci developed under the influence of Hellenistic silver coinage. This confirms the fact that the first Scordisci mints were made of silver and only later of bronze. During their genesis, coins lose their quality and their spreading territory decreases. As a consequence, all the native mintings disappeared and the Roman monetary system prevailed, which most probably happened already in 1st cent. A.D. It can still be presumed that all the native mintings played a certain role in meeting the local needs. In such a manner, one should also consider imitations of Roman republican coins, like those from Gomolava.

Frequent usage of coins from Appolonia and Dyrrachium can also be brought in connection with the Roman interests. It was made possible for these cities, which were allies of Rome, to spread their mintings over the Balkans, the territory of Scordisci also being part of it.

Roman coinage, i.e. Roman republican denars, reached the Balkans along the roads well known from prehistory. Despite that, their quantity from the period before the Roman occupation remained limited. Their influx rose only after the establishment of the province, mostly because of intensive trade, but also to cover the needs of the military. As a consequence of that, organization of regular trade and introduction of the Roman monetary system took place. It is yet to be examined to what extent this system was really spread among the natives and to what extent they still practiced exchange of goods.

* * *

While comparing the coinages of the Treveri and the Scordisci, it becomes clear that there are certain similarities, which appear especially in key moments of development of these two mintings. Naturally, the

⁸⁶ Поповић 1971, 148.

⁸⁷ Поповић 1988, 102.

⁸⁸ Поповић 1971, 149.

⁸⁹ Поповић 1988, 104.

⁹⁰ Jovanović and Jovanović 1988, 88.

⁹¹ Поповић 1988, 104.

mintings of these two tribes do not absolutely follow the same path of development, but in both of them, similar or even identical processes can be traced.

The first mintings of both tribes date from 2nd cent. B.C. In both tribes, those are the coins made of precious metals – gold by the Treveri and silver by the Scordisci. Treverian first minting phase includes the type »with a winged manikin«, which bears the right profile of Apollo on the obverse, and an image of a horseman on the reverse. Srem coins, phase A, which are, according to the depicted images, very similar to the earliest Treverian mintings, belong to the first phase of continuous mintings of the Scordisci.

It is clear that the models for these first mintings came from the same territory, i.e. that they belong to Hellenistic mintings, which came to the territory of the Treveri most probably through Massalia and to the territory of the Scordisci directly from Macedonia. Therefore, both coin types bear a deity head on the obverse (Apollo or Zeus), and an image of a horseman on the reverse. The fact that the Celts in general were fond of horses is certainly in connection with images on the reverse, and that was most probably another reason why such images appeared so often on different Celtic coins. The images of horsemen or horses had a multiple meaning and could be brought in connection with the cult of Epona, but also with the cult of death or the sun (a circle with a pearl in the middle).⁹²

Symbolism in the barbarian mintings of the Mid Balkans and the middle Danube valley is simpler than in related mintings in Gaul. The images on the obverse probably bore no religious meaning, but represented the monetary concept. The bearded head on the obverse and the horseman on the reverse were for the Scordisci symbols of an important characteristic which, according to them, money should have possessed.

One of the most important differences between the Treverian and the Scordiscian coinages is the variety of metals used for minting. The Treveri made coins out of four different metals, i.e. gold, silver, potin and bronze, whereas the Scordisci used only silver and bronze. During the first half of 1st cent. B.C. a trimetal system of values appeared for the first time when the Treveri are concerned, while the system of values of the Scordisci included only two metals.

Nevertheless, coins made of precious metals were used equally long by both tribes, to be precise from 2nd cent. B.C. to the last decades of 1st cent. B.C. Mintings made of non-precious metals can be placed in the same chronological period, more precisely until the last decades of 1st cent. B.C.

Another similarity between the Treverian and the Scordiscian mintings, but also among all the other mintings of various Celtic tribes, is the decrease in coin weight within the same coin type. This can clearly be observed in the Treverian mintings with »the winged manikin«, but also in the Srem coins of the Scordisci. Here, change of the metal used for minting can also be noticed.

In both tribes there are coin types which underwent several developing phases. When the Treveri are concerned, these are the coins with »the winged manikin« and the ones »with a long«, i.e. »with a round profile«. On the coins with »the winged manikin«, lyre gradually takes over the place of the winged manikin on the reverse. Later, a star- or a sun-shaped sign was added to this image, as well as the wavy line.

The type »with a round profile« should be considered as an undertype of the one »with a long profile«. The images on the obverse and on the reverse are almost identical in both types, and they are only more barbarized and schematized by the type »with a round profile«.

The Srem type of the Scordisci shows a similar development. During phase A, all the details on the man's head on the obverse were clearly depicted, as well as on the horse on the reverse. During phase B, some details became more schematized, and some more stressed (for example hair and the laurel wreath on the obverse). In phase C, these changes became even more visible, while during phase D, the laurel wreath took over the dominant place on the obverse, usually splitting the whole image in two. It seems that the laurel wreath became an independent detail, which underwent further transformations.

At this point, one comes to another common characteristic of the mintings of both tribes – to the development of independent details. As already stated, when the Scordiscian coins are concerned, this happened with the laurel wreath. A similar development can be observed in the staters »with an eye« of the Treveri, where an eye takes over the dominant place.

It should be mentioned that at the territories of both tribes coins of other neighbouring Celtic tribes were also used. When the Treveri are concerned, it is the case with money of the Aduatuci, Remes, Senones, Leuces, Sequanes and the Mediomatrici, found at Titelberg,⁹³ Martberg⁹⁴ or in Trier.⁹⁵ At the territory of

⁹² Поповић 1987, 75.

⁹³ Reding 1972, 259.

⁹⁴ Wigg 2000, 490.

⁹⁵ Gilles 1984, 22, 25.

the Scordisci, there was money of the Boii and the Norici used in limited quantities.⁹⁶

Of Greek coins, the Treveri mostly used Massalian mintings, but also mintings from other Greek colonies from the Western Mediterranean area, like Tarentus, Rhoda or Ampurias. Several of such mintings were found at Titelberg.⁹⁷ The Scordisci used coins from Appolonia and Dyrrachium.⁹⁸ In both tribes, Greek coinage was used simultaneously with the local one.

So far, there are several mintings known from the Treverian territory, for example at Titelberg⁹⁹ or at Martberg.¹⁰⁰ Numerous casting moulds prove this. It is presumed that at Titelberg, silver, bronze and potin coins were made. Among the silver coins, the ones with »a sitting manikin« were made here, as well as the bronze *ARDA* series and the *HIRTIVS* type. Great number of potin coins, most of all of the type with »mussed up hair« points out that they might have been minted at Titelberg.¹⁰¹ This would mean that this mint was operating during entire 1st cent. B.C.

At Martberg there is evidence of making gold, silver and bronze coins, maybe even potin ones.¹⁰² This mint was active during the last decades of 1st cent. B.C.¹⁰³ Among of the gold coins, the ones with an eye and with no inscription were minted here, but the most numerous ones belong to the casted type with »a sitting manikin«. Several *ARDA* types made of bronze are also quite numerous: with »mussed up hair«, with »a walking manikin« and »with a bull«.

On the other hand, existence of any mint at the territory of the Scordisci has not been confirmed. Based on several casting moulds found at Gomolava, one can presume that there was a mint within this settlement. The spreading area of the Srem and Krčedin coin types indicates that they were minted somewhere in eastern Srem.

Since the second half of 1st cent. B.C. the concentration of the Roman republican coins in the Sava and Danube valley increased rapidly. Money penetrated gradually into all spheres of life and pushed out exchange of goods. During this process, Scordiscian settlements played an important role, especially those which in Roman times became important castra at the Danube.

The same happened at the Treverian territory, although here until the third decade of 1st cent. B.C. Roman coinage made less than 10% in total money circulation.¹⁰⁴ Apart from the merchants, one should also count with the presence of the Roman troops, especially after the Caesar's Gallic wars.

Soon after the Treveri and the Scordisci came in contact with Roman money, they began to imitate it. When the Scordisci are concerned, copies appear of the

Roman coins minted at the end of 2nd cent. B.C. and between 91 and 70 B. C.¹⁰⁵ Two examples found at Gomolava show this: a *bigata* copy and a hybrid coin, on which Roman coins minted in 82 and 78 B.C. were combined.

A similar development probably took place when the Treverian type »with a horseman« is concerned. A coin which served as the model for it is probably the republican denar of M. Terentius Varus, minted in 49 B.C. in Spain¹⁰⁶, or the denar of Qu. Titus, minted in 88 B.C.¹⁰⁷ Here, one can also presume that this Treverian type actually represents a combination of the two Roman types named above.

Other imitations known from the Treverian territory show a somewhat different way of development. Such coins were often struck with the permission of Rome and differentiate themselves from the original only by their inscription. Similarly, the bronze *HIRTIVS* type, minted between 49 and 45 B. C., represents a copy of the Roman coins made in 49/48 B.C. in a mint which accompanied Caesar and his troops. The only difference is that on the original Roman coins there is an inscription *CAESAR* under the basic line. The *CARINAS* type is closely related to this type.

GERMANVS INDVTILLI L(ibertus) coins were also struck with the permission of Rome.¹⁰⁸

With the first bronze coins in both tribes, one can count with the introduction of monetary economy. When the Treveri are concerned, this happened at the time of Caesar, and when the Scordisci are concerned, probably some time later. Using money in every day life, in buying and selling, became increasingly frequent, and led to substitution of the native coinage system by the Roman monetary system.

Another phenomenon happened simultaneously with that – reduction of the spreading area of certain coin types. When the Treverian *ARDA* types are concerned, one can find the reduction of its spreading territory at the eastern border. In the later period, they

⁹⁶ Даутова-Рушевљан 1987, 47.

⁹⁷ Metzler 1995, 121.

⁹⁸ Поповић 1987, 96–101.

⁹⁹ Metzler 1995, 151, Fig. 101.

¹⁰⁰ Wigg 2000, 490.

¹⁰¹ Metzler 1995, 151, Fig. 159.

¹⁰² Wigg 2000, 491.

¹⁰³ Wigg 2000, 491.

¹⁰⁴ Metzler 1995, 151, Fig. 162.

¹⁰⁵ Popović 1988, 104.

¹⁰⁶ Metzler 1995, 130.

¹⁰⁷ Reding 1972, 49.

¹⁰⁸ Berger 1992, 41.

were mostly spread in the Mosel valley and in the territory of modern Luxemburg.¹⁰⁹ Later bronze mintings were mostly not so widely spread as the earlier silver or potin coins.

When the Scordisci are concerned, this phenomenon can be observed in the Srem coins, which in their phases A and B were spread in eastern Slavonia, Srem and in the Danube valley down the river to the Iron Gate. The coins of phase C were spread in Slavonia and Srem, while the coins of phase D were only limited to the eastern Srem, along the Danube.¹¹⁰ This can be explained by the fact that bronze coins possessed only a local value. Because of the territorially limited circulation of the native money, after the Roman occupation it became simpler to push out local currencies and to introduce a common monetary system. This process most probably took place at the turn of the Old into the New era.

* * *

The influence of the Roman monetary system is a process common to all the natives who minted their own currencies before the Roman occupation. In Europe, this fact primarily concerns numerous Celtic tribes.

Because of their special features, with the numismatic finds one can not trace these influences so clearly and precisely like, for instance, with the ceramic material. It should be emphasised right away that neither the Treverian nor Scordiscian coinages continued to exist in any Romanized form after the Roman occupation. After that, they simply ceased to exist and got substituted by the Roman system of values.

For a short period of time, more precisely during the middle and the second half of 1st cent. B.C., the mintings of both tribes underwent certain changes due to Roman influences. This is confirmed by the existence of imita-

tions of Roman republican coins, on which images with well known and recognizable motives copy Roman models. Often, combinations of two Roman coin types appear, when an obverse image is taken from one, and a reverse image from the other coin type.

A more expressive way of influence can be seen on some Treverian mintings with inscriptions written in Latin alphabet (*HIRTIVS*, *CARINAS*, *GERMANVS INDVTILLI L*). In Celtic communities, in which the usage of writing was unknown, such an expression undoubtedly points out Roman influences. Not only the Roman alphabet, but also the need for writing names of the nobles on coins, can only be understood as the signs of Romanization. The coin with the image of Satyr Marsias, one of the few copies known from the Scordiscian territory, awkwardly followed the same path, on which the arrangement of decorative lines undoubtedly imitates the number and the arrangement of the letters on the Roman original.

A special form of the Roman influence, experienced only by the Treveri, is coin minting with the permission of Rome. At this moment already, the Roman state put under its control the type and quantity of Treverian series, thus securing the way of introducing its own currency in this area.

Comparing the ways in which the Treverian and the Scordiscian coinages changed due to the expansion of the Roman power, one can ascertain that they were similar and even identical in some respects. A better research of the former Treverian territory, a greater quantity of numismatic material and a voluminous literature about this topic are of great help in providing the means and possibilities for the future studies of the related processes in the Scordiscian numismatics.

*Translated by
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¹⁰⁹ Wigg 1996, 386.

¹¹⁰ Поповић 1987, Fig. 10, 12, 13 and 14.

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Резиме:

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ОДНОС НОВЦА КЕЛТСКИХ ПЛЕМЕНА ПРЕМА РИМСКОМ НОВЧАНОМ СИСТЕМУ (НА ПРИМЕРУ СКОРДИСКА И ТРЕВЕРА)

Током последња два века Старе ере се у келтском свету, па тако и код Тревера и Скордиска, јављају новац и почечи новчане привреде.

Након почетног периода ковања у племенитим металима (злато код Тревера, сребро код Скордиска), ковање у бронзи означило је увођење новчане привреде у свакодневни живот. Свако племе је развило своје специфичне типове новца, који су имали дужи или краћи период постојања и прошли кроз једну или више измена. Док је код неких типова долазило до измена у представама, које су постајале једноставније и шематизованије, код других је чак долазило до промене метала од којег су ковани, док су представе остајале неизмењене. Све ове промене су проузроковане истим околностима – потребом за новцем, која је бивала све већа, као и чињеницом да је на тржишту све наметљивији био новац тадашњих веле-сила: појединих хеленистичких градова и пре свега римске републике.

Измене су убрзо постале неминовне за сва племена и заједнице који су пре римске окупације ковали свој новац. Ковања Тревера и Скордиска су пала под римски утицај у једном кратком периоду, пред крај свог постојања, односно

у периоду који обухвата средину и крај 1. века пре н. е. О томе сведочи постојање имитација римског републиканског новца, на којима представе препознатљивим цртежом копирају римске предлошке. Неретко се јављају и комбинације два типа римског новца, када се са једног типа преузима аверсна, а са другог реверсна представа.

Још израженији вид римског утицаја уочљив је на појединим треверским ковањима са натписом исписаним латинским писмом. Ово, као и потреба исписивања имена вођа на новцу, могу се тумачити као видови романизације. У том правцу неспретно је кренула и једна од ретких до сада познатих скордистичких имитација, на којој распоред декоративних линија неодољиво подсећа на распоред слова на римском оригиналу.

Токови измена треверског и скордистичког новца проузроковани ширењем римске моћи у великој мери су слични, а у неким аспектима чак и истоветни. Процеси који су у скордистичкој нумизматици тешко препознатљиви или су необјашњени, могу се разјаснити сагледавањем сличне проблематике у треверској нумизматици, што доприноси бољем разумевању овог сложеног питања.

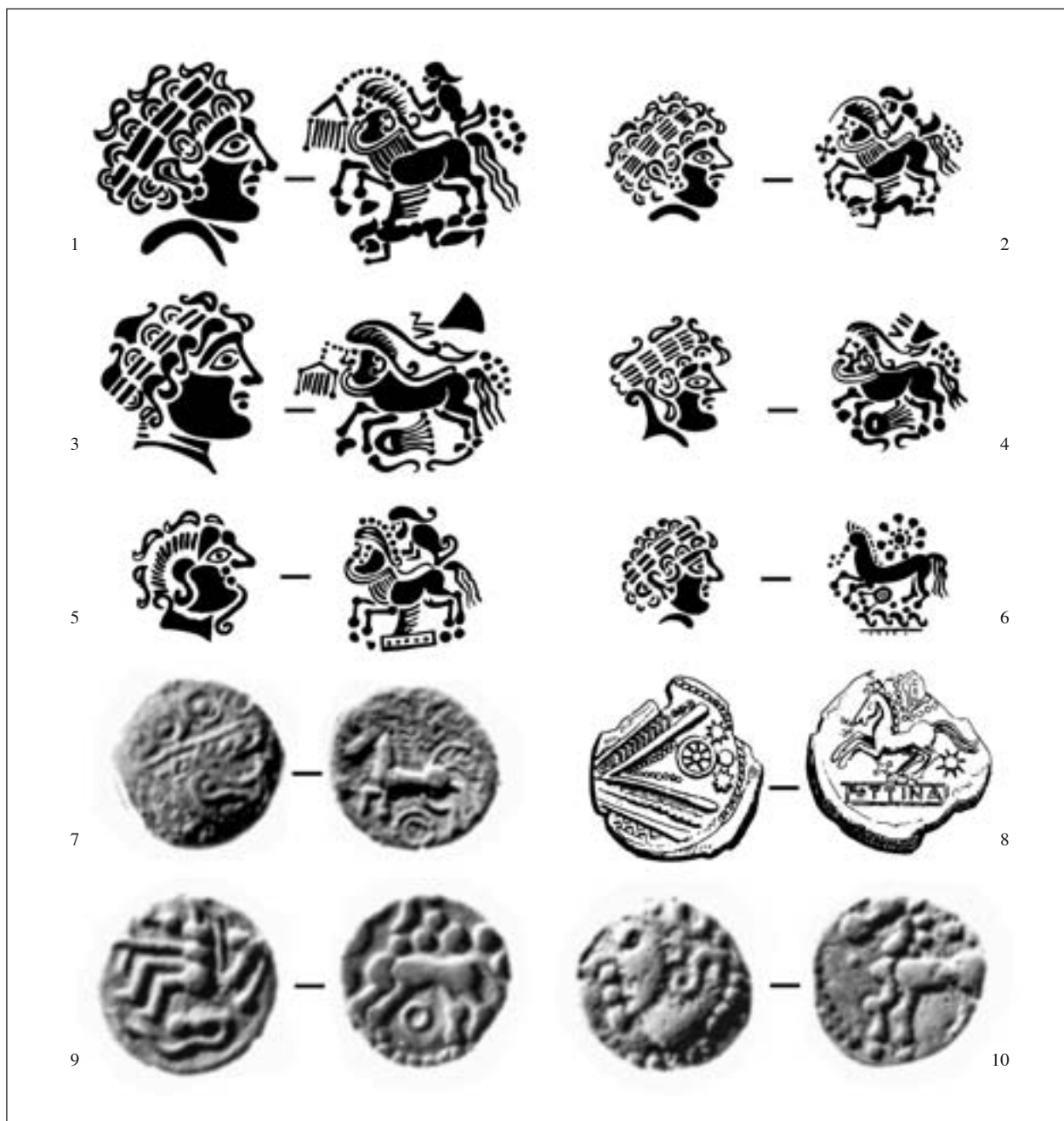


Fig. 1. Type with a «winged manikin» (after Allen 1971, Fig. 1, 1); Fig. 2. Type with a «winged manikin» (after Allen 1971, Fig. 1, 2); Fig. 3. Type with a lyre (after Allen 1971, Fig. 1, 4); Fig. 4. Type with a lyre (after Allen 1971, Fig. 1, 5); Fig. 5. Type with a horned head (after Allen 1971, Fig. 1, 3); Fig. 6. Type with a star- or sun-shaped symbol (after Allen 1971, Fig. 1, 6); Fig. 7. Stater with an eye (after Reding 1972, Type 1, 19); Fig. 8. POTTINA stater (after Tour 1892, Pl. XXXVI, 8825); Fig. 9. Type with a «sitting manikin» (after Reding 1972, Type 14, 141, 136); Fig. 10. Type with an «angle like nose» (after Reding 1972, Type 15, 154)

Сл. 1. Тип са «крилатим човечуљком» (по Allen 1971, сл. 1, 1); Сл. 2. Тип са «крилатим човечуљком» (по Allen 1971, сл. 1, 2); Сл. 3. Тип са лиром (по Allen 1971, сл. 1, 4); Сл. 4. Тип са лиром (по Allen 1971, сл. 1, 5); Сл. 5. Тип са рогаћом главом (по Allen 1971, сл. 1, 3); Сл. 6. Тип са симболом у облику сунца или звезде (по Allen 1971, сл. 1, 6); Сл. 7. Сџаџер са оком (по Reding 1972, тип 1, 19); Сл. 8. POTTINA сџаџер (по Tour 1892, Т. XXXVI, 8825); Сл. 9. Тип са «човечуљком коју седе» (по Reding 1972, тип 14, 141, 136); Сл. 10. Тип са «угластим носем» (по Reding 1972, тип 15, 154)



Fig. 11. Type with »two animals facing each other« (after Tour, Fischer 1999, Pl. XXX, 7465); Fig. 12. Type with »mussed up hair« (after Reding 1972, Type 16, 171, 176); Fig. 13. Type with a »walking manikin« (after Reding 1972, Type 14, 527); Fig. 14. ARDA type (after Reding 1972, Type 2, 5); Fig. 15. Type with a »female bust« (after Reding 1972, Type 4, 14); Fig. 16. Type with a »portrait with a helmet« (after Reding 1972, Type 5, 16); Fig. 17. Type with a »small ball« (after Reding 1972, Type 6, 23); Fig. 18. Type with a »longish profile« (after Reding 1972, Type 8, 39, 45); Fig. 19. Type with a »round profile« (after Reding 1972, Type 9, 51, 57); Fig. 20. Type with a horseman (after Reding 1972, Type 7, 33, 35)

Сл. 11. Тип са »сучељеним животињама« (по Tour, Fischer 1999, Т. XXX, 7465); Сл. 12. Тип са »разбарушеном косом« (по Reding 1972, тип 16, 171, 176); Сл. 13. Тип са »човечуљком коју хода« (по Reding 1972, тип 14, 527);

Сл. 14. ARDA тип (по Reding 1972, тип 2, 5); Сл. 15. Тип са »женским појрсејем« (по Reding 1972, тип 4, 14); Сл. 16. Тип са »појрсејом са шлемом« (по Reding 1972, тип 5, 16); Сл. 17. Тип са кулицом (по Reding 1972, тип 6, 23); Сл. 18. Тип са »дугуљастим профилом« (по Reding 1972, тип 8, 39, 45); Сл. 19. Тип са »окрулим профилом« (по Reding 1972, тип 9, 51, 57); Сл. 20. Тип са коњаником (по Reding 1972, тип 7, 33, 35)

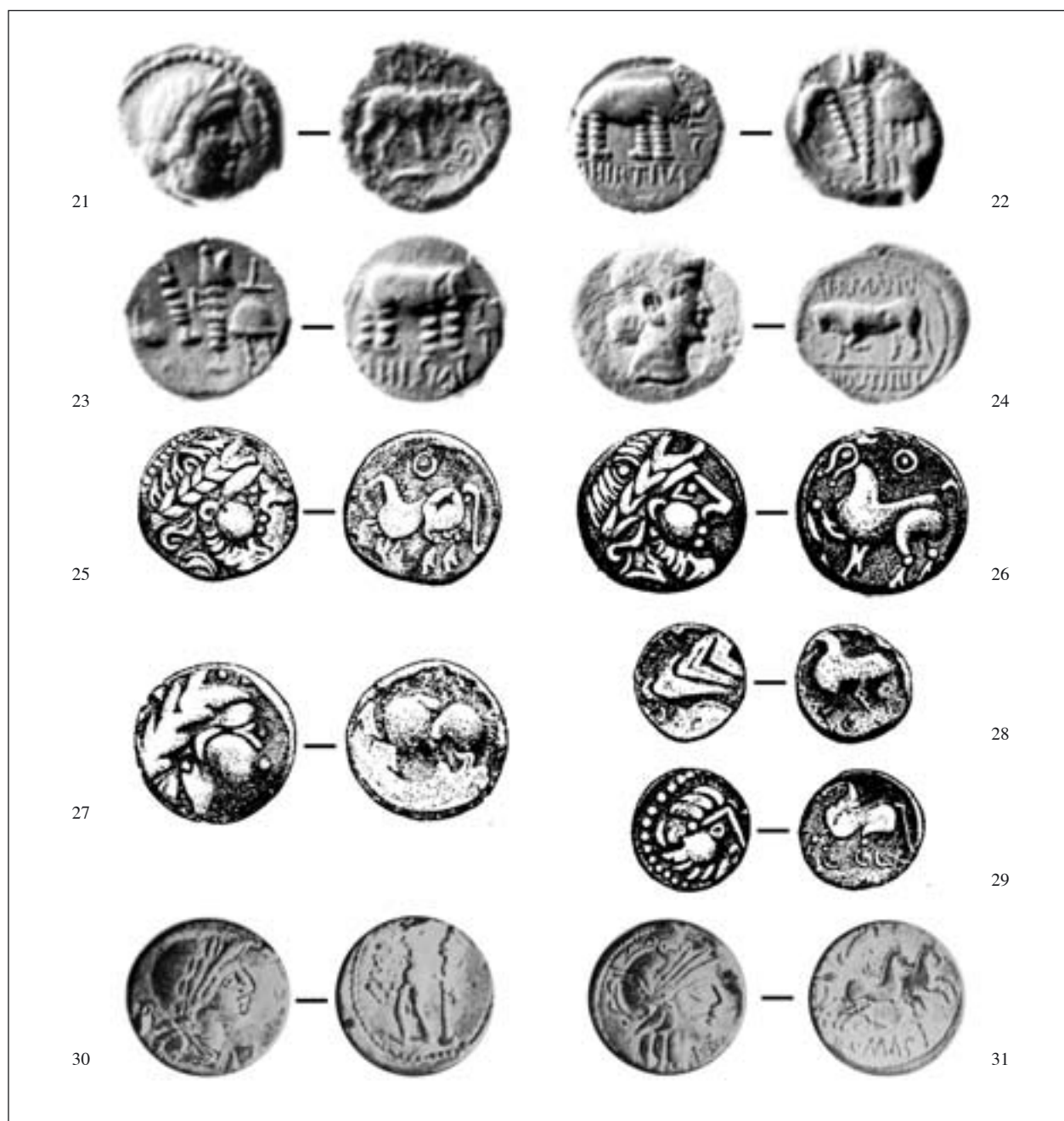


Fig. 21. Type with a bull (after Reding 1972, Type 10, 61, 72); Fig. 22. HIRTIVS type (after Reding 1972, Type 11, 78); Fig. 23. CARINAS type (after Reding 1972, Type 12, 113); Fig. 24. GERMAVS INDVTILLI L type (after Reding 1972, Type 13, 118, 125); Fig. 25. Type »Srem«, phase A (after Popović 1987, 46); Fig. 26. Type »Srem«, phase B (after Popović 1987, 48); Fig. 27. Type »Srem«, phase C (after Popović 1987, 51); Fig. 28. Type »Srem«, phase D (after Popović 1987, 52); Fig. 29. Type »Krcedin« (after Popović 1987, 59); Fig. 30. Hybrid coin with Marsias (after Popović 1988, 103, 1, 13); Fig. 31. Bigatae copy (after Popović 1988, 103, 1, 14)

Сл. 21. Тип са биком (по Reding 1972, тип 10, 61, 72); Сл. 22. HIRTIVS тип (по Reding 1972, тип 11, 78); Сл. 23. CARINAS тип (по Reding 1972, тип 12, 113); Сл. 24. GERMAVS INDVTILLI L тип (по Reding 1972, тип 13, 118, 125); Сл. 25. Тип »Срем«, фаза А (по Поповић 1987, 46); Сл. 26. Тип »Срем«, фаза Б (по Поповић 1987, 48); Сл. 27. Тип »Срем«, фаза Ц (по Поповић 1987, 51); Сл. 28. Тип »Срем«, фаза Д (по Поповић 1987, 52); Сл. 29. Тип »Крчедин« (по Поповић 1987, 59); Сл. 30. Хибридни новчић са Марсијом (по Поповић 1988, 103, 1, 13); Сл. 31. Копија Bigatae (по Поповић 1988, 103, 1, 14)