

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL NUMISMATIC SYMPOSIUM
**CIRCULATION OF
ANTIQUÉ COINS IN
SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE**

Viminacium, Serbia
September 15th - 17th, 2017



Stella argentarii, Viminacium
National Museum in Belgrade



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*Gordian III, provincial mint of Viminacium
National Museum in Belgrade*

Preface

This publication collected part of papers from presentations of participants of the International Numismatic Symposium Circulation of the Antique Coins in Southeastern Europe (Viminacium 2017). Included papers are related to the circulation of Roman imperial and provincial coinage (1st - 3rd century AD), as well as late Roman coinage (4th - 6th century) On the territory of Southeastern Europe. Through analyze of this circulation in Balkan provinces and Barbaricum papers enormously contribute to better understanding of complex monetary system of the Roman Empire, role of the mints and economy to point to multi layered relations between provinces.

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CIRCULATION OF COINAGE FROM THE BITHYNIAN MINT OF NICAEA AT THE TERRITORY OF PRESENT-DAY SERBIA*

During the first half of the 3rd century, at the Danubian and Balkan provinces and within monetary circulation, many different circumstances led to mass appearance of bronze coins minted in Nicaea. This especially refers to the third and the fourth decade, actually the reign of the emperors Alexander Severus and Gordian III. This massive introduction of Nicaea coinage in the monetary circulation of the Danubian and Balkan provinces was initiated due to the lack of small bronze nominal of senate issues. This was possibly the main reason for opening a mint of provincial coinage in Viminacium and later on also in Sarmizegetusa (Dacia). It can be noticed that after 239 and the beginning of minting in Viminacium, the Nicaea issues almost disappear from monetary circulation at the territories of Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia. These provinces obviously had the greatest problem with the lack of small bronze coins from the senate issues. The greatest concentration of numismatic finds from Nicaea is connected to the Danube valley (Veliko Gradište, Viminacium, Belgrade, Zemun, Batajnica, Novi Banovci, Surduk, Beška, Vukovar, Osijek), pointing out to the importance of this fluvial road not only for trade, but also for military needs. On the other hand, the lower part of the Sava fluvial road also had great economic importance, most of all because of the position of Sirmium. Numerous coin finds, the Nicaea ones being among them, were discovered along this route (Ušće, Hrtkovci, Sremska Mitrovica and Banovo Polje).

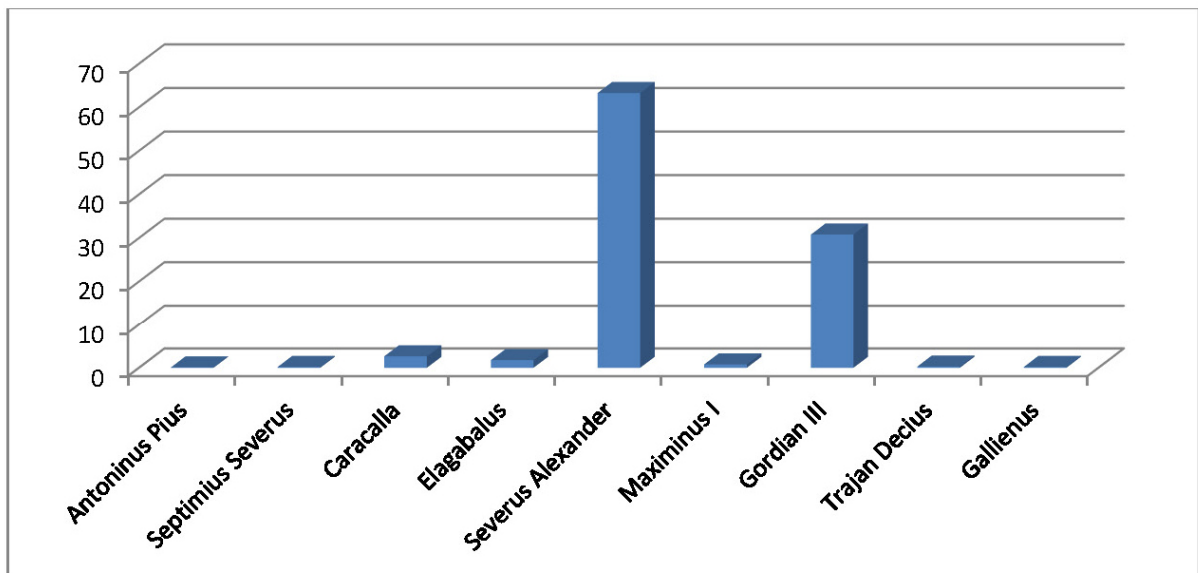
KEY WORDS: PROVINCIAL COINAGE, NICAEA MINT, MOESIA SUPERIOR

During the early decades of the 3rd century in the Danubian provinces, circumstances were convenient for a well-spread circulation of Nicaea bronze coinage in the monetary circulation of Upper Moesia. Presence of those coins was especially significant during the third and the fourth decade of the 3rd century, actually the reign of Severus Alexander and the beginning of reign of Gordian III. Until Caracalla's reign, the Nicaea coinage was only sporadically used in this region, but it was more frequently in usage after that period, like the coins of Elagabalus and female members of the family. Most of the Nicaea coin finds from the territory of modern Serbia include issues of Alexander Severus and Gordian III (Graph 1).

Most of the finds of Nicaea coinage from the territory of Serbia have already been published. The volume of published finds includes several collections: Belgrade city museum (246),¹ Viminacium –

* The study results from the project IRS – Viminacium, roman city and military legion camp – research of material and non-material of inhabitants by using the modern technologies of remote detection, geophysics, GIS, digitalization and 3D visualization (No. 47018) - Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia (M. Vojvoda) and The Kosmaj mining area in antiquity, National museum in Belgrade (financed by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia) (Adam Crnobrnja).

¹ Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1981, 5-23 (159 pcs.); Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1987a, cat. 102-104, 116 (4 pcs.); Црнобрња



Graph 1 – Incidence of Nicaea coinage according to emperors at the territory of present-day Serbia.

necropoles Više grobalja and Pećine (290 + 170),² National museum in Požarevac (294),³ Museum in Šabac (44),⁴ Museum Srem (21),⁵ Veliko Gradište (15),⁶ Vrnjačka Banja (40);⁷ which makes the total of 1120 pieces from Serbian museum collections. Apart from that, pieces were published that accompany archaeological finds from different excavations, field surveys or represent parts of private collections, which makes the total of 75 pieces.⁸ We know that a certain number of Nicaea minting is still unpub-

= Crnobrnja 2013, cat. 23-26, 31 (5 pcs.); Црнобрња, **Васић Деримановић** = Crnobrnja, Vasić **Derimanović** 2017, 33-61 (78 pcs.).

2 Војвода = Vojvoda 2013, 155-196; Vojvoda 2017, 131-150; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 12-17; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 15-17.

3 Војвода, Бранковић = Vojvoda, Branković 2016, 103-142.

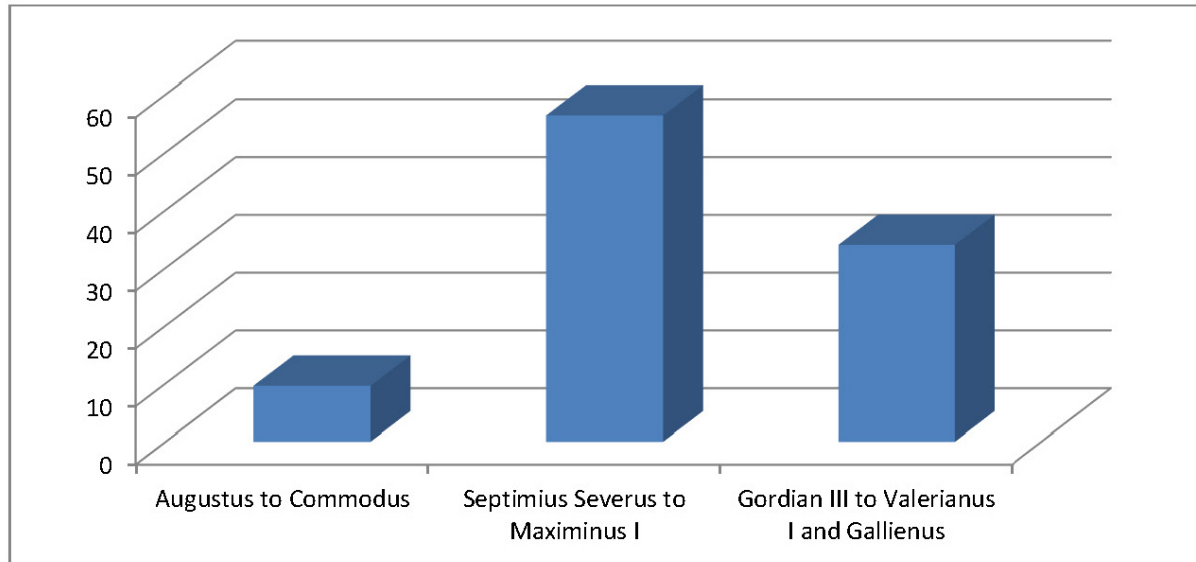
4 Војвода, Петровић = Vojvoda, Petrović 2011, 283-307.

5 Војвода, Јесретић = Vojvoda, Jesretić 2012, 115-132.

6 Ivanović 2009, 361-369.

7 Сариа = Saria 1925, 163; *idem* 1926, 199-200; Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1987, 71-72, cat. 12-13; Borić-Brešković 2011: 419, ref. 46.

8 Оташничка **река** (1 spec.: Gordian III), **Sezemča** (1 spec.: Gordian III), *cf.* Рашковић = Rašković 1998a, 78, cat. 3, 100, cat. 1; **Bovan** (2 spec.: Severus Alexander), *cf.* Рашковић = Rašković 1998b, 192, cat. 20-21; **Klisina** and **Pustara** (Batajnica) (4 spec.: Caracalla 1, Severus Alexander 3), *cf.* Црнобрња, Челекетић = Crnobrnja, Čeleketić 1995, 131, cat. 7, 9-10; *idem* 1998, 234, cat. 4; **Svetinje** (Kostolac) (2 spec. unspecified), *cf.* Иванишевић = Ivanišević 1988, 61, cat. 13-14; Tekija (1 spec.: Gordian III), *cf.* Jovanović 2004, 61, cat. 27; Mediana (1 spec.: Julia Mamaea), *cf.* Janković-Mihalđžić 2008, 52, cat. 113; **Caričin grad** (1 spec.: Severus Alexander ?), *cf.* Поповић = Popović 1980, 123, cat. 2; **Ravna** (2 spec.: Elagabalus ?, Severus Alexander ?), *cf.* Petković, Ružić 2005, 115, cat. 1-2; **Gomolava** (1 spec.: Gordian III), *cf.* Даутова-Рушевљан = Dautova-Ruševljan 1984, 62, cat. 31; **Brest-Beška** (2 spec.: Severus Alexander), *cf.* Даутова-Рушевљан = Dautova-Ruševljan 1989, 89; **Idimum** (Medveđa) (1 spec.: Severus Alexander ?), *cf.* Vasić, Milošević 2000, 179, cat. 97; **Ušće** (12 pcs.: Severus Alexander 9, Gordian III 3), *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1985, cat. 81-89, 97-99; **Ušće** (36 pcs.: Severus Alexander 11, Gordian III 9, Tranquillina 1 + 15 pcs. unspecified), *cf.* Шипуш = Šipuš 1986, 8, 22; **Višnjica** (1 spec.: Severus Alexander), *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1987a, cat. 102; **Brestovik** (2 spec.: Severus Alexander and Gordian III), *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1987a, cat. 103-104; **Belo Polje** (1 spec.: Severus Alexander), *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1979, 204; Stojnik (2 spec.: Severus Alexander), *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1979, 198, 207; Ћурђија (2 spec.: J. Domna, Severus Alexander), *cf.* Пековић = Peković 2015, 377-378, cat. 509, 510.



Graph 2 – Presence of the entire provincial coinage at the Viminacium necropolises (Više grobalja, Pećine) according to chronological groups.

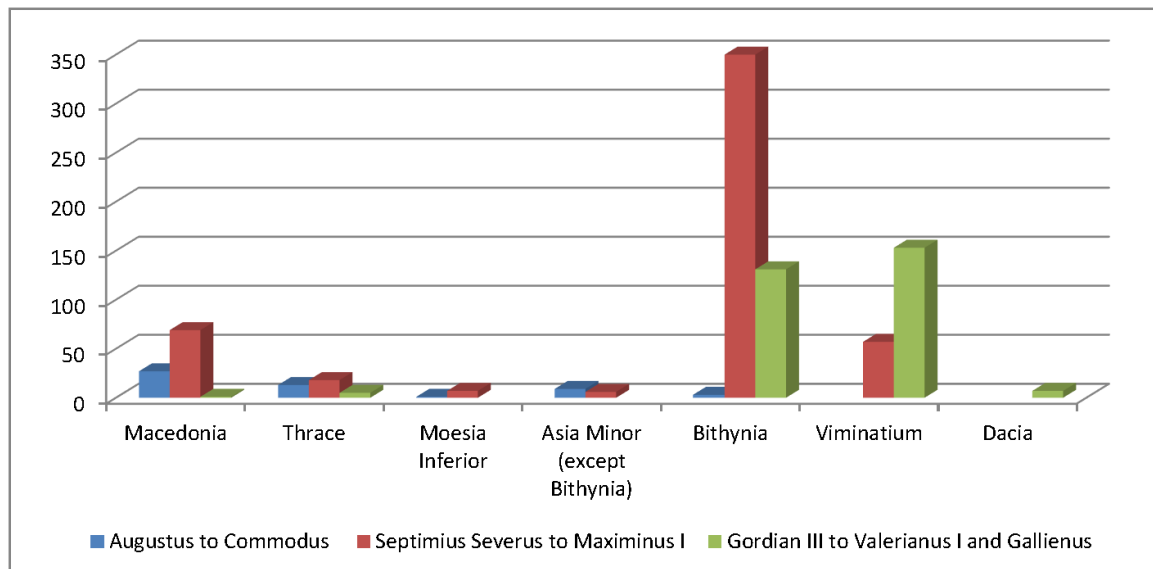
lished and comes from several museums in Serbia (around 570 pieces), but also from the neighboring countries which originating from the territory of Serbia (around 200 pieces).⁹ In total, all of this would make almost 2000 known examples of Nicaea minting from this region, half of which has been discovered in Viminacium.

The mass usage of Nicaea minting in the monetary circulation of the Roman provinces along the Danube and in the Balkans was caused mainly due to the lack of bronze coins from the senate issues.¹⁰ Apart from Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia, this case was also noticed in the neighboring, north-western provinces. However, it was not so extreme. In the period between 192 and 239, in the south-eastern Alpine region, in ancient times including part of Italy, Noricum, Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia, bronze coins from the eastern mints were represented only in a small amount. The situation was much changed after two Balkan mints were opened, actually in the period from 239 to 253. During that time, especially coinage from the Viminacium mint made a significant percentage in the monetary circulation of the western Balkan provinces.¹¹

9 National Museum in Belgrade (357 spec.), National Museum in Vranje (1), Heritage collection Svrljig (7), Heritage Museum in Jagodina (2), National Museum in Kragujevac (2), City Museum of Vršac (2), Bulgaria (different museums) (143), Romania (different museums) (201), Hungary (Hungarian National Museum) (98), Croatia (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) (237), National Museum of Slovenia (12), National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (69). We would like to extend our sincerest thanks to colleagues Bojana Borić-Brešković, Goran Mitrović, Slaviša Milivojević, Dalibor Nevidek, Smiljana Dodić, Marija Šarić, Ljiljana Bakić, Alenka Miškec, Tomislav Bilić, Miroslav Nađ, Evgenij Paunov, Ana Marić, Istvan Vida and Lajos Juchas for the kindly shared information.

10 Borić-Brešković 2011, 417-418, ref. 34-49; Војвода, Петровић = Vojvoda, Petrović 2011: 288-289; Војвода, Јесретић = Vojvoda, Jesretić 2012: 121-122; Војвода = Vojvoda 2013: 159-160; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015: 14-17, ref. 10-13; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2017, 15-16.

11 This percentage amounts to: 7% in Noricum, 38% in Upper Pannonia and 58% in Lower Pannonia of all the coin finds. In Emona, the presence of Viminacium coinage was noted with 29%, in Celeia 16% and in Poetovio 43% of the total coin finds from this period, cf. Kos 1986: 107-110, ref. 47; In National Museum of Aquileia kept 2 pcs. (Elagabal and Severus Alexander), 2 more pcs. originating from Northeast of Italy (Severus Alexander and Gordian III), we would like to extend our sincerest thanks to colleague Andrea Stella for the kindly shared information; Găzdac 2005, 500; Găzdac 2008, 277; Găzdac 2010, 103-106, Pl. L1-2. Găzdac supported Martin's thesis that since from the beginning of Gordian III's reign there are no further issues of *limesfalsa*, the end of *limesfalsa* could be linked with the opening of the mint of



Graph 3 – Presence of coins of individual provinces according to chronological groups in the Viminacium necropolises (Više grobalja, Pećine).

The already mentioned lack of coinage from senate issues was the main reason for establishing a mint of provincial coinage in Viminacium in 239 and later also in Dacia in 246.¹² After the Viminacium mint started operating, a significant quantity decrease of Nicaea issues in the monetary circulation of Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia was noticed. Obviously, in these territories, the lack of senate issues showed most (Graph 3).

A huge sample of provincial coinage issues from the Viminacium cemeteries offers great insight into the monetary circulation of the first half of the 3rd century in this part of the Danube valley and Upper Moesia. Of special importance is the fact that these numismatic finds come from closed funerary contexts from archaeological excavations, therefore representing historical sources of the first degree.

Analyses of numismatic finds from the Viminacium cemeteries Više grobalja and Pećine, ending with the reign of Commodus, indicate that provincial bronze coinage from Asia Minor, Thrace and Lower Pannonia was much less represented when compared to the quantity of coins from Macedonian mints.¹³ During the reign of Septimius Severus, his sons and later on Elagabalus, the situation has changed. During that period, the presence of provincial bronze coinage has doubled. Most of the issues come from Macedonian mints, especially from Stobi.¹⁴ Also, the presence of coinage from Bithynian mint Nicaea gradually increased as well, showing its peak during the reign of Alexander Severus. A similar situation remained also during the first year of reign of Gordian III. Establishing a mint in Viminacium and the beginning of monetary circulation of its coinage immediately reflected on reducing the quantity of Gordian III coins from the Nicaea mint. The analysis of Viminacium numismatic finds showed that in the period from Philip I to Valerianus I and Gallienus, almost all of the provincial series belong to the Viminacium mint, while there were only three pieces from the Nicaea mint.¹⁵ During the reign of Alexander Severus and the highest influx of Nicaea coinage into Upper Moesia, the remaining Bithynian mints were represented with only a small number of examples: Nicomedia with 17, Juliopolis with 2 coins and Kalchedon with 1 coin.

Viminacium in 239 AD, which supplied bronze coins for the Pannonia Superior; *cf.* Martin 1992, 9; Găzdac 2005, 499.

¹² Борић-Брешкович = Borić-Brešković 1976, 8; Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1981, 5-6.

¹³ Borić-Brešković 2011, 420-426.

¹⁴ Borić-Brešković, Vojvoda 2017, 16.

¹⁵ A similar situation was observed in Dacia and Lower Pannonia also, *cf.* Găzdac 2005; Nađ 2012, 390.

The second interesting fact is related to Macedonian mints, partially also supplying Upper Moesia with coinage during the first two centuries.¹⁶ During Caracalla's reign, exactly during the time when Nicaea coinage took larger part in monetary circulation of Moesia, the Stobi mint was closed. Almost at the same time, during Elagabalus and especially Alexander Severus and Gordian III, in Macedonia again, significant issues of autonomous coinage (Koinon Macedoniae) were minted. Obviously, contrary to the coinage from Nicaea, they did not show much influence on the monetary circulation at the territory of Moesia.¹⁷ It was evident that monetary circulation of the Stobi, Nicaea and Viminacium mints depended on one another, at least when the territory of Upper Moesia is concerned.

Find analysis of provincial coinage at the territory of Upper Moesia and their comparison with parallel finds from the neighboring provinces contributes much to knowledge about ways of circulation between the provinces of Asia Minor, Danube, as well as central and western Balkans. By comparing frequencies of well-known finds of Nicaea mints at the territory of Upper Moesia with the neighboring provinces, one can notice big differences. This is another parameter that indicates circulation limit of the Nicaea minting, much represented in Upper Moesia, less in Lower Pannonia and even less in Upper Pannonia and further on to the west.

Between the second and the fourth decade of the 3rd century, Nicaea issues represent the most frequent provincial mints throughout Upper Moesia, especially along the Danubian limes and in Viminacium.¹⁸ Huge presence of Nicaea issues in this region was probably connected to military movements. While going to or returning from battlefields in the east, many emperors stopped and spent their time in Viminacium: Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, possibly also Gordian III. On such occasions, the Viminacium legionary fort also hosted soldiers who accompanied emperors, also confirmed with epigraphic inscriptions. Besides, vexillation of the legion VII Claudia stationed in Viminacium also took part in these wars.¹⁹ Increased military movements during the first half of the 3rd century along the Danube limes and the road that led from Viminacium to Naissus and further over Thrace to Bosphorus, it could influenced to the large frequency of Bithynian coins. Reverse motifs with military insignia also could reflect the connection between Nicaea coinage in Upper Moesia with military presence or movements. They were minted in Bithynia probably to cover the needs connected to the increased presence of Roman troops in that region. At the same time, the Nicaea mint issued numerous different issues with images of deities. However, in Upper Moesia motifs of military character were represented almost exclusively. On the other hand, it is very interesting that motifs with military insignia were rare in the area of the parent

16 Borić-Brešković 2011, 420-426.

17 Kos 1998, 225.

18 Veliko Gradište, Viminacium, Belgrade, Zemun, Batajnica, Novi Banovci, Surduk and Vukovar, *cf.* Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1981, 6, Table 1; only for Veliko Gradište, *cf.* Ivanović 2009, 361-369; besides the 4 specimens from the collection of the Belgrade City Museum, 119 Nicaean specimens (from Caracalla to Gordian III) originate from the territory of Novi Banovci and are located in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, *cf.* Brunšmid 1907, 16. In the same paper, Brunšmid notes that there are 239 more specimens of Nicaea (mostly Severus Alexander and Gordian III), out of which 179 are known to have originated from 12 sites in Slavonia 179, *cf. idem* 1907, 16, ref. 4. According to the information obtained from our colleague Tomislav Bilić from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 2015, there are 133 specimens of Nicaean coinage from Novi Banovci in their collection. Apart from that, there are numerous finds from the territory of: Surduk (34), Dobanovci (1), Banoštor (2), Sremska Mitrovica (7), Stari Slankamen (2), Novi Slankamen (1), Hrtkovci (1), Kostolac (3), Sotin (24), Vinkovci (8), Osijek (18) and Otapovci (1). We would like to extend our kindest gratitude to colleague Tomislav Bilić for sharing the informations. 18 pcs. of Nicaean coinage originate from Osijek (Caracalla 1, Elagabalus 2, Severus Alexander 11, Julia Mamaea 1, Gordian III 3), *cf.* Celestin 1904, 24, cat. 1-18; Brunšmid 1907, 15-16, ref. 5; In addition, the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, has additional 10 pcs. with unknown place of discovery; and 1 pc. (Severus Alexander) from grave 138 (North Mursa necropolis), *cf.* Góricke-Lukić 2011, 133. We would like to extend our kindest gratitude to colleague Branislav Miličić for sharing the informations. For the territory of Belgrade and its surroundings, *cf.* Црнобрња, Васић Деримановић = Crnobrnja, Vasić Derimanović 2017, 33-61; For Viminacium, *cf.* Vojвода = Vojvoda 2011: 247; *idem* 2013, 155-196; *idem* 2017 131-150.

19 Mirković 1968, 70, ref. 115-117.

Map 1 – Finds of the Nicaea coins from the Upper Moesia and from the neighboring provinces.



mint.²⁰

There are also opinions that their circulation is due to trade, other unclear reasons, or they have it »supra-provincial character«. ²¹ Besides land roads, the Danubian fluvial road showed highest concentration of Nicaea coinage. During that time, it obviously played an important role for military needs. It was also of great importance for trade that went along the river, between the East and the West. Presence of *nauclerus* was noted on epigraphic monuments from Viminacium.²²

The second area of concentration of Nicaea coinage was noticed along the Sava valley, especially in its lower part. This fluvial road had an extremely large economic importance, most of all due to the position of Sirmium. Large number of numismatic finds, including the Nicaea coinage, gives testimony to this.²³ Apart from natural conditions, the intensive development of agriculture and trade in this area was influenced by vicinity of Sirmium, being the most important center in this part of Lower Pannonia. Sirmium represented a natural crossroad, one of the roads leading towards Singidunum along the right Sava bank. After Viminacium, the biggest concentration of Nicaea coinage was notified at the site Ušće, the Roman municipium Spodent[...], situated at the right Sava bank, between Sirmium and Singidunum.²⁴ Besides agriculture and trade, the economic development of this area was largely influenced with mining in the area of the Drina valley and the second important communication road, leading from Sirmium to Salona. Apart from these two main roads, in the Sava valley there was a well-developed net of communications, local roads, connecting rural estates and smaller settlements. While in Upper Moesia the coinage from the Nicaea mint was connected to military movements, in the Sava valley it was connected to trade and agriculture.

Studies of Nicaea coinage at the territory of Serbia showed that its greatest concentration is connected to Viminacium and its wider surrounding. In a broader sense, this circulation was connected mostly to the Danube Limes, from Vindobona to the Danube Delta and the Black Sea, with its peak along the valley part from Mursa to Viminacium. The second important spreading direction is noticed along the Morava land road, over Naissus and Thrace to Bosphorus.

So far we know that compared to the neighboring provinces, the largest number of Nicaea coins originates from Upper Moesia, that their presence is certainly connected to the circulation of Stobi and later Viminacium coinage, but also that almost one half of these coins was discovered in Viminacium. Topography of finds indicates that the largest concentration is located along the Danube fluvial road and along *Via militaris*, further indicating the well-known military movements of the time. Besides, large quantities of Nicaea coinage were noticed in the lower Sava valley, from Sirmium over Spodent[...] to Singidunum, most likely connected to trade and agricultural business, actually including coinage that reached this area with soldiers from the East into the monetary circulation of the province and due to the need for small nominals. Numerous questions still remain opened, but the monetary finds from Viminacium, with their large number of pieces and certain finding place, largely contribute to solving questions related to the limits in circulation of provincial coinage in this part of the Empire.

20 Tekin 1994, 178-259

21 D. Calomino presentation: Bithynian coins in the Balkans in the late Severan Age: new thoughts on an old problem; held on 16th September 2017 at International Numismatic Symposium: *Circulation of the Antique Coins in Southeastern Europe*, Viminacium, Serbia. Calomino gives an opinion that the exceptional volume of finds of Nicaean coins in the Balkans suggests that they were transported to one or more destination. Upper Moesia was the destination to which the bulk of coins were directed and from which they might have later spread to the surrounding areas.

22 Mirković 1968, 142, ref. 67.

23 Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 1992, 152-158; Поповић = Popović 1997, 17-35; Borić-Brešković, Crnobrnja 2008, 13-14, ref. 23; Петровић = Petrović 2010, 107-143; Војвода, Петровић = Vojvoda, Petrović 2011, 290, ref. 36; Војвода, Јесретић = Vojvoda, Jesretić 2012, 122, ref. 18.

24 Crnobrnja 2011, 373-388; Црнобрња = Crnobrnja 2013, 197-238.

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