

21

NEW TYPES OF SCORDISCAN SMALL SILVER COINS FROM SITES IN SOUTH-EASTERN PANNONIA



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Abstract. – Four smaller-denomination Late Iron Age coins from south-eastern Pannonia (traditionally, this coinage is referred to as “Scordiscan”) of hitherto undocumented types have recently come to light. Two newly published obols, both affiliated to the so-called Serbian group, represent a completely new denomination within the corpus of Scordiscan coinage. Together with two hitherto unpublished drachms, one of which was found in an apparently cultic context, these coins represent a modest contribution to the current study of the Late Iron Age coinage of the region. Unfortunately, the study of Scordiscan coinage appears to be stagnating in the wake of Popović’s seminal study published almost four decades ago. In the meantime, new archaeological insights, as well as the new material that has appeared over the years, have not only enlarged the corpus of Scordiscan coins, but have also challenged some of Popović’s conclusions. Indeed, the typology and chronology he developed on the basis of the corpus published in 1987 require an update, even though Popović’s chronological arrangement seems securely anchored in reliable hoard evidence, so the necessary modifications to the currently accepted chronology may not be drastic.

Key words. – Late Iron Age, coins, Scordisci, south-eastern Pannonia.

Recently, a couple of small silver coins originating from south-eastern Pannonia appeared in archaeological excavations; in addition, a couple more, part of a private collection, were brought to the attention of the curators of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.¹ The reported find sites

¹ The private collection in question is that of Damir Kovač (Zagreb). On Damir Kovač and his numismatic and archaeological collection see Rendić-Miočević 2009, 214; 2022, 5–6, 9–10. See also Biluš, “Predbožićna numizmatička krađa”, <https://arhiva.nacional.hr/clanak/14054/novac-i-nakit-sam-prebolio-ali-novcice-ne-mogu>. I am grateful to Dr. Kovač for allowing me to study and publish the coins from his collection.

of the latter pair, purchased by the collector on the antiquities market, cannot be taken at their face value due to the notorious unreliability of information obtained in this fashion. However, their region of origin, as will be shown below, is not in question.² All these coins are of hitherto undocumented types and all can be attributed to the Late Iron Age coin production in south-eastern Pannonia.

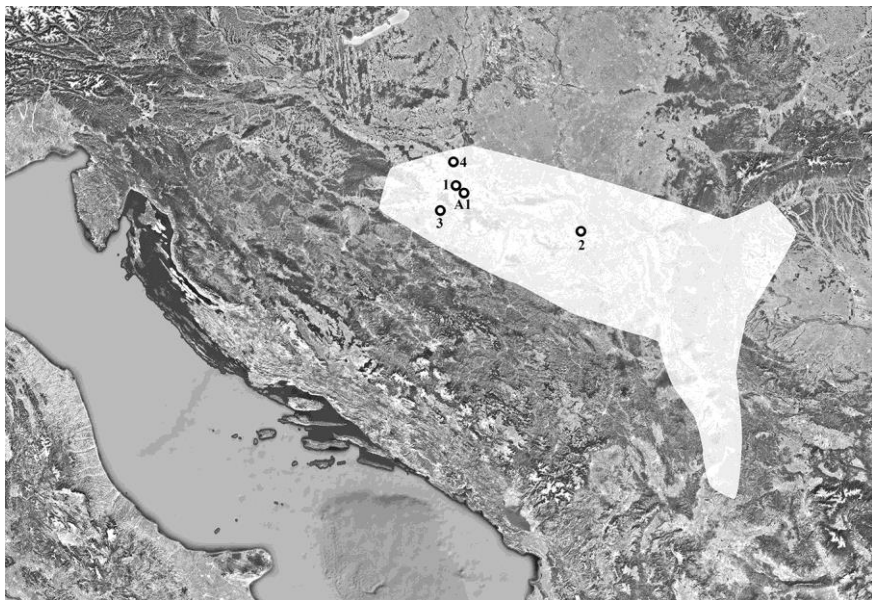


Fig. 1. Area traditionally attributed to the Scordisci, following Drnić 2020, 426 Fig. 1. Base map: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus. The sites mentioned in the text, following the catalogue numbers: 1 Novo selo at Vinkovci, 2 the area of Zemun, 3 Kruševica-Zbjeg 3 site, 4 Osijek-Barracks site, A1 the area of Vinkovci.

In ethno-cultural terms, this coinage has regularly been attributed to the Scordisci, and the major corpus of these coins was published as *Le monnayage des Scordisques (Novac Skordiska)*.³ Recently, however, the ethno-cultural paradigm and its application to the Scordiscan studies has been issued a serious challenge.⁴ It appears that one should more properly speak of the “Scordisci” only after the formation of the Roman province of Macedonia in 146 BC, not as designating a fixed ethno-linguistic political community, but rather as a Roman exonym for different communities in the central Balkans and the middle Danube region they came in contact with in

² The same cannot be said for the coin presented in Appendix 1, however.

³ Popović 1987.

⁴ See Mihajlović 2019. The following paragraph is taken almost verbatim from Bilić 2024, 152–153.

the wake of their acquisition of Macedonia. In the earlier period, i.e., in the period that is traditionally understood as centring on the attack on the Delphian sanctuary, one can only speak in terms of “Latenisation” of the region rather than assuming the existence of a political entity in the form of a Scordiscan tribal alliance that simply continued its existence until the Roman conquest.⁵ Here the term Scordiscan coinage will be used heuristically to designate the Late Iron Age tradition of coin production in the region encompassing the territory traditionally associated with the Scordisci tribal alliance, i.e., south-eastern Pannonia and the northern part of the central Balkan area.⁶ However, one should keep in mind that earlier authors used it in a somewhat less nuanced way.

With that in mind, we can proceed to the analysis of the hitherto undocumented coin-types produced by the south-eastern Pannonian LIA communities.



Fig. 2. The coins Cat.Nos. 1–4, A1 (Nos. 1–2, 5, scale 2:1; Nos. 3–4, scale 3:1). 1–2, 5, photo by I. Krajcar, AMZ; 3, photo by D. Fajdetić; 4, photo by H. Jambrek

⁵ Drnić 2020, 425–427, 441–442, building mainly upon Mihajlović (Mihajlović 2019, 191–219, 241–271). On the identities of the Late Iron Age communities in southern Pannonia and the relations of material culture and ethnicities documented in literary sources, with a nuanced discussion of such terms as “Latenisation”, “Celtisation” and, finally, “Romanisation”, see Potrebica, Dizdar 2014, 135–141.

⁶ Mihajlović 2019, 249 uses the phrase “the so-called coinage of the Scordisci”. I will not consistently insist on the use of quotation marks, as advocated by Mihajlović 2019, 268 specifically for the “Scordisci”, since this would also, I feel, be overly pedantic. But they always need to be understood as being present.

(1) *silver drachm* (2.09 g; 14 mm; Fig. 2.1) *allegedly found in Novo selo at Vinkovci, western Syrmia (modern Republic of Croatia). Private collection of Damir Kovač (Zagreb). Date: Lt C2(?)–D1. Unpublished.*

This coin should undoubtedly be classified as a hitherto undocumented variety of the Srem type.⁷ Its obverse depiction is unattested on Srem-type coins: the beard, in the form of curves, is depicted as issuing from the ball or pellet-shaped cheek (*Kugelwange*), but on this particular piece the curves do not stop as they normally do (i.e., where a beard normally ends on a man's face), but extend round the entire bulge of the cheek, thus creating an unusual star-shaped pattern or a many-armed whorl revolving around the bulge of the cheek. A development towards such an unusual rendering can be observed on several Srem phase B drachms, such as A6421 (Fig. 3a.2),⁸ A4510 (Fig. 3a.3),⁹ A1003 (Fig. 3a.4)¹⁰ and AMZ A4509 (Fig. 3a.5).¹¹ The reverse is that of a regular Srem type, Phase B.

The coin's weight falls securely within the range of weights of the Srem type Phase B drachms. Thus, 39 Phase B drachms from the AMZ have an average weight of 2.02 g,¹² while 72 Phase B drachms documented in Popović have an average weight of 2.14 g.¹³

The rendering of the laurel wreath on the obverse of this coin deserves some further comments. The large leaves, depicted as elongated loops, have no close parallel in the corpus of Srem-type coins. What is more, the parallels that can be adduced as possible analogues, primarily among those coin-types that were circulating in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin and the central Balkan area, are not particularly convincing. The first analogue is the obverse of a coin classified with the so-called Serbian group, a south-eastern Pannonian issue preceding the Srem type, which can be dated to the late 3rd and the early 2nd c. BC (Fig. 3b.2).¹⁴ However, here the wreath is not arranged in a regular two-leaf structure, like the cat. no. 1 coin. A similar observation also applies to my second example, that of the wreath on the Krčedin-type tetradrachms, a typologically inde-

⁷ "Srem" is a Serbian name for the Syrmia region and I will use this particular term as a designation for this type of coins throughout, since the typology was published by Popović in Serbian.

⁸ Popović 1987, Pl. 13.10.

⁹ Popović 1987, Pl. 13.11.

¹⁰ Popović 1987, Pl. 13.16.

¹¹ Popović 1987, Pl. 13.15.

¹² Bilić 2024, 166–168, nos. 1125–1161, 1163–1164.

¹³ Popović 1987, 161.

¹⁴ Popović 1987, 78–79; Ziegeus 2010, 230. The obverse of this coin is clearly related to the Crișeni-Berchiș A = Baumreiter type obverses, which is a coin type characteristic for Transylvania (Preda 1973, 97–104; Popović 1987, 40), and which can be dated to the late 3rd c. BC (Preda 1973, 104).

pendent offshoot of Scordiscan coinage dated to the late 2nd–early 1st c. BC (Fig. 3b.3).¹⁵ Krčedin-type coins have developed from the Transylvanian Crișeni-Berchiș A coins and were classified by Preda as Crișeni-Berchiș B, but Popović renamed them as “Krčedin”.¹⁶ These coins are concentrated in easternmost Syrmia along the right bank of the Danube¹⁷ and are almost contemporary with the Srem Phase B coins, themselves dated to the second half of the 2nd–early 1st c. BC.¹⁸ My final parallel is the similarly disjointed wreath on the *Medieșu Aurit* subtype “b” tetradrachms (= *Schnabelpferd* OTA 326) (Fig. 3b.4).¹⁹ The coins of the *Medieșu Aurit* type originated in and are distributed along the north-eastern periphery of the Pannonian basin, especially in the Upper Tisza region, including northern and north-western Transylvania.²⁰ These three parallels are, as already noted, not particularly revealing, but can offer some guidance – however misleading – for contextualising the particular rendering of the laurel-wreath present on the obverse of the coin cat. no. 1 in both chronological and spatial terms.



Fig. 3a. Obverses of Srem phase B drachms comparable to Cat. 1. 1 – Cat. No. 1; 2 – AMZ A6421; 3 – AMZ A4510; 4 – AMZ A1003; 5 – AMZ A 4509. Not to scale.

Photo by I. Krajcar, AMZ



Fig. 3b. Obverses of Late Iron Age tetradrachms with laurel wreaths comparable to Cat. 1. 1 – Cat. No. 1; 2 – AMZ A8620 (Popović Pl. 3.17); 3 – AMZ A5414; 4 – AMZ A8184.

Not to scale. Photo by I. Krajcar, AMZ

¹⁵ Popović 1987, 54–60, 79–81.

¹⁶ Popović 1987, 54–55.

¹⁷ Popović 1987, Figs. 10, 12–14, 21 on p. 47, 49, 51, 53, 58; Tapavički-Ilić 2005, 41–42.

¹⁸ Popović 1987, 48–50, 80–81.

¹⁹ Preda 1973, 289–290, 293.

²⁰ Preda 1973, 291–293 with Fig. 20 on p. 292; Bilić, Falileyev 2021, 15.

(2) *silver drachm* (2.10 g; 13.5 mm; Fig. 2.2) allegedly found in the area of Zemun, eastern Syrmia (modern Republic of Serbia). Private collection of Damir Kovač (Zagreb). Date: Lt C2(?)–D1 or late D1–D2. Unpublished.

This coin should also be most probably classified as a hitherto undocumented variety of the Srem type. With respect to metrology, the same conclusion applies here as in the case of the former coin. Its obverse depiction is otherwise unattested on Srem-type coins: it appears to portray an extremely stylised head facing right, with possible traces of a pearl diadem (otherwise unattested on Srem-type drachms), wavy hair (in very general terms evoking the messy coiffure on the Krčedin and Kapostal portraits), and a possible eye in the upper right section of the flan. I readily concede that other interpretations of the obverse depiction are possible (see immediately below). What is more certain is that the reverse image should most probably be classified as affiliated to the Srem-type, although it is somewhat unconventional. Thus, here the normally circle-shaped motif above the horse's back is lyre-shaped, but not as – as one would perhaps expect – of the Eastern Slavonian type (another contemporary Scordiscan coin-type, Pink/Göbl's *Leierblume*, OTA 212)²¹; the downward-pointing bristles on the back of the tail are also unattested on Scordiscan coins. These idiosyncrasies aside, the coin is, on stylistic grounds, most likely contemporary with the Srem Phase B coins, or perhaps slightly later.²²



Fig. 4a. 1 – Cat. No. 2, obv., rotated (photo by I. Krajcar, AMZ.); 2 – Nomos Obolos Auction 9, lot 24, October 10, 2014 = Nomos Obolos Web Auction 1, lot 71, February 8, 2015 = Leu Numismatik Web Auction 1, lot 69, June 25, 2017 = Nomos Obolos Web Auction 22, lot 18, March 6, 2022; 3 – Gorny & Mosch Auction 160, lot 1004, October 9, 2007; 4 – Auctiones eAuction 75, lot 3, March 20, 2022 13 mm; 5 – Nomos Obolos Web Auction 1, lot 72, February 8, 2015.

²¹ An “obol” of the Eastern Slavonian type is Lanz Coll. 523, 0.71 g (Kostial 1997, 97), on which the lyre from the tetradrachms is faithfully reproduced.

²² See, for example, the reverses of Popović 1987, Pl. 13.4, 9, 13–14, 19, 25, 14.1–2, 15.17–18 etc. (the reverse horse on Popović 1987, Pl. 15.17, AMZ A1007 shares a torque with Cat. No. 2). On various problems with the chronology of Scordiscan coinage see the section dedicated to the issue below.



Fig. 4b. 1 – Cat. No. 2, rv. (photo by I. Krajcar, AMZ.); 2 – Emporium Hamburg Auction 71, lot 6, May 8, 2014; 3 – Leu Numismatik Web Auction 5, lot 43, September 23, 2018; 4 – Leu Numismatik Web Auction 12, lot 32, May 30, 2020; 5 – Auctiones eAuction 77, lot 5, September 18, 2022; 6 – Leu Numismatik Web Auction 2, lot 7, December 3, 2017.

At the same time, several of the problems raised by this coin can be explained in terms of an unexpected source of inspiration for its design. The unusual representation on the obverse, interpreted above as an extremely stylised head of Zeus to right, if slightly rotated counterclockwise, appears similar, although not quite identical, to the depictions on several classes of Bushel quinarii (Büschelquinare) produced mainly in northern Switzerland (see Fig. 4a). The Bushel quinarii as a whole were produced in several series, the earlier, according to Allen, in Swabia (A–D), the later in southern Bavaria (E) and northern Switzerland (F–H). According to Nick, who had at his disposal a larger corpus of coins, often originating from more secure archaeological contexts, which allowed him to reach more substantiated conclusions, groups A–C and E are characteristic of the Bavarian-Franconian area, while groups D and F–H are characteristic of northern Switzerland.²³ Three classes in particular show a characteristic symmetrical design, consisting of strokes arranged symmetrically on either side of the central axis (thus forming the eponymous “Büschel”, which is more properly called “Bäumchen”, a small tree), topped by a crescent or torque, strongly reminiscent of the Kovač Collection coin; the issues in question belong to Swiss series (according to Nick) Class D, G and H.²⁴ As opposed to these symmetrical “bushel”/“small tree”-depictions, the pattern on the Zemun area coin is not quite symmetrical, since the right-hand side

²³ The first groupings are from Allen 1978, 194, 212–213; the second from Nick 2012, 513 (cf. Abb. 14 on p. 563, which should be compared with Allen 1978, 212–213, 196, Fig. 1). The classic typology is that in Allen; it was further refined by Ziegeus 2000; Brandt 2002; Nick 2012. I have mainly used Allen’s (“still valid”, Nick 2012, 510) classification in combination with Nick’s.

²⁴ Allen 1978, 194–195, 212–213, Pl. 33.52–56 (Class D, to which Pl. 34.87 should be added, Nick 2012, 511 n. 56, 513, but from which Pl. 33.52 should be excluded, Nick 2012, 511 with n. 57), 35.96–121 (Class G and H; Pl. 34.86 should now be added to Class H, Nick 2012, 513). Cf. Castelin 1978, 97 nos. 948–959; Ziegeus 2010, 147 (Flesche Coll. Nos. 375, 377, cf. 378). Nick 2012, 511–512, 527 speaks of a “torque”, rather than a crescent, which is Allen’s term. Allen refers to the symmetrical pattern as a “bushel”, but Nick more properly calls it a “small tree”, reserving the term “bushel” for the non-tree-like depictions on earlier classes.

of the “bushel”/“small tree” is quite irregular. The reverse horses on Bushel quinarii differ stylistically from the Kovač Collection coin, but the motif above the horse, which was above referred to as “lyre-shaped”, appears in a similar form on some of the Büschelquinare series, such as a “torque with single dot in centre” on Swiss Series Class D²⁵ and F²⁶ (see Fig. 4b Nos. 2–4). Similarly, the bristles on the back of the tail, noticeable on the Zemun area coin, also appear on some pieces of the Swiss Series Class H²⁷ (see Fig. 4b Nos. 5–6). The dating of these coins, which were apparently produced from the last third of the 2nd to the first half of the 1st c. BC (the Bavarian-Franconian groups, where series C and E belong to the latter section of this period, about the middle of the 1st c. BC), or the second and third quarters of the 1st c. BC (the Swiss series)²⁸ – the latter more pertinent to the design of Kovač’s coin – does not quite correspond to the proposed date of production of the idiosyncratic Srem-type drachm allegedly found in the Zemun area, so the chronological position of Kovač’s coin must remain open. Furthermore, the Büschelquinare Classes F–G are almost exclusively distributed in the north Swiss plateau, while Classes A–E are restricted to, according to Allen, Swabia and Bavaria or, according to Nick, Franconia and Bavaria,²⁹ with no specimens found anywhere in southern Pannonia. However, a single piece, representing the earliest Prototype series, appeared in the Ljubljana hoard,³⁰ which, first, suggests that the earliest Bushel quinarii were issued prior to its deposition in the 140s BC,³¹ but also that they circulated – however modestly – in the south-eastern Alpine region, which is also at the south-western periphery of the Pannonian Basin.³² It, thus, seems legitimate to question the possible influence of Bushel quinarii on the design of Kovač’s coin under these chronological and geographical circumstances.

²⁵ Nick, subclass D7 (Nick 2012, 512 Tab. 7, 515 Abb. 3, 527, 666 Pl. 33.489)

²⁶ Allen 1978, 225–226 Nos. 69–78 with Pl. 34 (but the pieces Pl. 34.75–78 have been reassigned to Class C, see Nick 2012, 511 with n. 59, 519); cf. a similar motif with two dots in the centre (Allen 1978, 226 Nos. 79–85 with Pl. 34). Nick 2012, 511–513 offers a subdivision of Class F in which these two motifs are the defining traits of subclasses F1a and F1b, respectively.

²⁷ Allen 1978, Pl. 35.104, 109.

²⁸ Nick 2012, 513, 526. Allen’s somewhat lower dating (1978, 195, 215–216) is now superseded.

²⁹ Allen 1978, 212–213, Fig. 1 on p. 196. As already noted, Nick 2012, 513, 527 (with Abb. 14 on p. 563) grouped Class D together with Classes F–H as belonging to the Swiss series.

³⁰ Kos, Šemrov 2003, 382 No.1; Nick 2012, 524.

³¹ Kos, Šemrov 2003, 386, 390.

³² A Vindelic stater of Kellner (1990) II C type found in Vinkovci outside of any archaeological context (Majnarić-Pandžić 1997, 28), struck in southern Germany in the period from the late 2nd to the mid-1st c. BC, i.e., during the Lt D1 phase (Ziegeus 2010, 128; Militký 2015, 30: 125/115–50/30 BC), on the other hand, exemplifies the almost non-existent influx of coinage from the region to south-eastern Pannonia.

In addition, metrological considerations strongly support the above proposed identification of the coin as a Scordiscan drachm. As their name clearly suggests, Bushel quinarii correspond in weight to quinarii.³³ Thus, the Class D pieces published by Allen are of an average weight of 1.611 g,³⁴ the Class G coins are of an average weight of 1.53 g,³⁵ while the Class H pieces are of an average weight of 1.567 g.³⁶ At 2.10g, the Kovač Coll. coin is far above these values (it is almost 25 % heavier), so it can hardly represent a quinarius. At the same time, it corresponds perfectly to the weight of Scordiscan drachms, as noted above.

My proposed solution of this conundrum is that Kovač's coin was produced on the territory of the Scordisci, conforming to the weight standard of their coinage, and stylistically aligning with their usual way of depicting various figures and motifs on coins. At the same time, it cannot be ignored that the depiction was influenced by the appearance of (probably northern Swiss) Bushel quinarii, with their (almost) symmetrical "bushel" / "small tree" pattern on the obverse, and the lyre or torque-shaped motif above the reverse horse's back, together with the horse's bristled tail. How and when the artisan who produced the dies with which this coin was struck was familiarised with the Bushel quinarii remains an open, perhaps unanswerable, question, but it seems at least possible that the Zemun area coin was produced during the Lt D1 period, which is partially contradicted by the date of the later, and more pertinent, (Swiss series) Bushel quinarii. It, thus, seems legitimate to posit a slightly later date for the Zemun area coin, carrying over the tradition of coin design from a slightly earlier period, in line with the current dating of the later Bushel quinarii.

The unusual, slightly rotated, head of Zeus, as it appears on the Zemun area coin, can be associated with another type of Scordiscan coins that was unknown to Popović:³⁷ Ziehaus' *Typ mit kleinem Kopf und breitem Lorbeerkrantz*, i.e., the "Type with small head and wide laurel wreath", which appears both as a tetradrachm (9.51 g) and as a drachm (2.76 g) in the Flesche Coll.³⁸ Here the head of Zeus, or rather his coiffure and wreath,

³³ Allen 1978, 194, 211. Cf. the weights in Allen 1978, 222–228 and Nick 2012, 519–524.

³⁴ Allen 1978, 224–225 (five pieces). Cf. Nick 2012, 520: 1.62 g.

³⁵ Allen 1978, 227 (six pieces).

³⁶ Allen 1978, 227–228 (19 pieces). Nick's value (1.55 g) is obtained by taking into account only 17 of Allen's pieces (Nick 2012, 519 n. 63). Following a more strict set of criteria for selection of eligible pieces, Nick calculated the average weight of Class H as 1.52 g (Nick 2012, 519, five pieces).

³⁷ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to the possible link between the Zemun area coin and the recently classified coin type discussed immediately below.

³⁸ Ziehaus 2010, 234 nos. 621–622, with the drachm appearing earlier at an auction Gorny & Mosch, Auction 151, lot 26, October 9, 2006 = Fig. 5.3; two other tetradrachms of the type appeared at auctions: Fritz Rudolf Künker, Auction 318, lot 24, March 11, 2019 = Numismatik Naumann, Auction 53, lot 16, May 7, 2017 (9.92 or 9.96 g) = Fig. 5.2; Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 146, lot 14, May 25, 2009 (10.68 g) = Fig. 5.1.

appear (almost) vertical, although slightly curved either to the left (Fig. 5.1–2) or the right (Fig. 5.3). At the same time, the god's face has evolved into a fully developed, if smaller, head. This particular type shares the unsymmetrical design with the Zemun area drachm, in which the latter notably diverges from the Bushel quinari, while, at the same time, it also shares with it the vertical position of Zeus's wreath. Thus, it could be surmised that the Zemun area coin and the coins of the "Type with small head and wide laurel wreath" testify to similar tendencies in the development of the Scordiscan coinage, which could also suggest their temporal proximity. This proximity is further supported by the reverse horses of the "Type with small head and wide laurel wreath", which are undoubtedly affiliated with the Srem Phase B coins.³⁹

(3) silver "obol" (0.70 g; 10 mm; Fig. 2.3), surface find from the Kruševica-Zbjeg 3 site, near Slavonski Šamac in the Sava region, Slavonia (modern Republic of Croatia). Kept in the Museum of Brodsko Posavlje (Inv. MBP-37343). Date: Lt C1–C2; deposited no earlier than the Lt C2 phase. Published in Bilić 2023a, 111–112 with Fig. 5.3b.

The third small silver Scordiscan coin, of a hitherto poorly documented type, which can provisionally be called an obol,⁴⁰ was found during archaeological research of an apparently fortified La Tène settlement at the site of Kruševica-Zbjeg 3 in the Slavonski Brod-Županja part of the Sava valley.⁴¹ Several pits or dugouts were excavated at the site and they are dated from the early 2nd to the mid-1st c. BC.⁴² The site has not been properly published, so any tangible contextual information is currently unavailable.

Nevertheless, the coin in question from Kruševica-Zbjeg 3 (MBP-37343) belongs to a type of small silver coins hitherto documented by a single unprovenanced piece from the Flesche collection (0.877 g, 8.4 mm). The type was christened by Ziegeus as the "Head with stringy hair" type (*Kopf mit strähnigen Haaren*). He noted that it was impossible to locate the place of origin of this type more precisely, but at the same time rather ingeniously assigned it on typological and stylistic grounds to the Scor-

³⁹ Cf. Ziegeus 2010, 234.

⁴⁰ "Obol" is often used in LIA numismatics as a convenient provisional name for a small silver coin, not a denomination equalling 1/6 of a drachm (cf. Dembski 2001, 46; Lippert, Dembski 2000, 260; Jandrasits 2005, 134; Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 112 n. 58).

⁴¹ This and the following paragraph are taken almost verbatim from Bilić 2023a, 111–112.

⁴² Miklik-Lozok 2018; 2020. The site seems to have been occupied already in the Lt C period (certainly in Lt D), but the data are insufficient (Miklik-Lozok 2020). I would like to thank Lidija Miklik-Lozok of the Museum of Brodsko Posavlje, the head of the excavations, for allowing me the opportunity to study and republish this find.

discan zone of influence.⁴³ His inference is now supported by the Kruševica find. The Flesche Coll. coin is somewhat different from the Kruševica piece, most notably in the lack of the wide hat on the latter's reverse horseman, but they both undoubtedly belong to the same type. The "Head with stringy hair" type can be classified as a south-eastern Pannonian issue preceding the Srem type, affiliated with the so-called Serbian group, which, in its turn, can be dated to the late 3rd and the early 2nd c. BC.⁴⁴ It, thus, apparently belongs to a somewhat earlier chronological horizon in comparison with the two previous coins studied here.

In terms of metrology, the only two known specimens of this coin type are of a relatively inconsistent weight (differing ca. 20 %), while the average weight of a coin-type based on mere two pieces is far from reliable. For what it is worth, the average weight in question is 0.789 g, which does not quite conform to a 1:16 relation to the average weight of the tetradrachms of the Serbian group (see immediately below), but if the fact that the Kruševica piece is worn is taken into account, perhaps the "Head with stringy hair" coins could be considered as quarter-drachms.

(4) silver "obol" (0.83 g; 9 mm; Fig. 2.4) excavated during the controlled archaeological excavations at the Osijek-Barracks site, eastern Slavonia (modern Republic of Croatia). Kept in the Archaeological Museum Osijek (Inv. AMO 231082). Date: Lt C1–C2; most likely deposited during the Lt D1 phase. Published in Bilić 2024, 156–159.

Finally,⁴⁵ the fourth Scordiscan coin presented here was found in Osijek. In the area encompassed by modern Osijek (ancient Mursa), there certainly existed a LIA settlement – perhaps more than one – but its stratigraphy is not particularly clear.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Scordiscan coins were found in large numbers within the confines of both the ancient and the modern city.⁴⁷

The coin in question was recovered in controlled archaeological excavations of the Late La Tène settlement at the Osijek-Barracks position. These excavations have revealed what is apparently a cultic space, perhaps the remains of a sanctuary, with, apparently structured, deposits of human and animal bones, weapons (occasionally bent), horse gear, wa-

⁴³ Ziegeus 2010, 228 no. 601.

⁴⁴ Popović 1987, 78–79; Ziegeus 2010, 230.

⁴⁵ The following paragraphs are taken almost verbatim from Bilić 2024, 156–159.

⁴⁶ Šimić 1997, 23–29; Drnić, Skelac 2008, 386, 399; Göricke-Lukić 2018, 47–48; Dizdar, Filipović 2020, 89; Leleković 2020, 89–90, 102, 130–131. The settlement(s) in question was apparently destroyed in the AD 6–9 uprising (Leleković 2020, 90, 143–144).

⁴⁷ Göricke-Lukić 2004, 226 Nos. 647, 649, 228–232 Nos. 655–660, 662–664, 667–669, 234 No. 676, 236 No. 679–680; 2018, 54–58 Nos. 8–26.

gon-parts, pieces of bronze vessels, and other objects, including coins, mostly of the Srem type.⁴⁸ The “sanctuary” is dated to the Lt D1 period (150–80 BC), but perhaps it was already functioning during the Lt C2 phase.⁴⁹



Fig. 5. Typ mit kleinem Kopf und breitem Lorbeerkranz. 1 – Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 146, lot 14, May 25, 2009; 2 – Fritz Rudolf Künker, Auction 318, lot 24, March 11, 2019 = Numismatik Naumann, Auction 53, lot 16, May 7, 2017; 3 – Gorny & Mosch, Auction 151, lot 26, October 9, 2006.

Among the finds deposited at the apparent sanctuary, a small silver coin (which can, like the preceding coin, provisionally be called an obol), of a hitherto undocumented denomination (0.83 g; 10 mm)⁵⁰ and type (the unbearded head of a young male – possibly female – on the obverse facing right, with the coiffure made of a row of almost horizontal parallel concave locks framed by a line of beads on each side; a stylised horseman to the left with a crested helmet (hat?) on the reverse), most likely pertains to the Scordiscan production prior to the introduction of the Srem type, i.e., it could be affiliated with the so-called Serbian group, which can be dated to the late 3rd and the early 2nd c. BC.⁵¹

As in the previous case, it is possible to speculate on the coin's metrological relations to the known groups of coins belonging to the Serbian group, but the results of these speculations seem rather limited, being made as they are upon the evidence of a single coin: since the average weight of the 18 tetradrachms of the Serbian group published by Popović is 13.45 g,⁵² while the average weight of the Jabukovac-type coins from the homonymous hoard, also belonging to the Serbian group, is 13.09 g,⁵³ the Osijek-Barracks obol stands in the relation of 1:16 to these coins, which

⁴⁸ Cf. Dizdar, Filipović 2020, 92 for a brief overview; also, Dizdar 2015, 302.

⁴⁹ Filipović 2009, 38–40; Dizdar, Filipović 2020, 90, 92, 94, 96–97.

⁵⁰ In terms of weight (and size, ca. 1 cm), the closest parallel one could find is the Srem Phase D silver obols (Popović 1987, Pl. 21.14–24; Popović 1987, 52 does not address the problem of denomination of this coin-group). The 15 such pieces kept at the AMZ are of an average weight of 0.506 g (with the heaviest piece at 0.79 g), while the 11 pieces reproduced by Popović are of an average weight of 0.4918 g (with the heaviest piece at 0.83 g). But, in typological terms, the Osijek “obol” should be earlier than these particular coins (see immediately below).

⁵¹ Popović 1987, 78–79; Ziegeaus 2010, 230.

⁵² Popović 1987, 83, 159.

⁵³ Popović 1982, 18; 1987, 83.

would make it a quarter-drachm (i.e., trihemiobol), or the 16th part of a tetradrachm.⁵⁴

Just like the preceding coin, this hitherto undocumented coin-type thus apparently belongs to a chronological horizon somewhat earlier than the first two coins studied here.

Chronology of Scordiscan coinage⁵⁵

The main body of Scordiscan coins belongs to the Srem type (in Pink's and Göbl's terminology, *Kugelwange*), with an offshoot of typologically independent Krčedin/Kapostal coins (in Popović's and Pink-Göbl's terminology, respectively; the latter's term refers to Pink / OTA 503). The Srem-type coins represent the later phase of minting attributed to the Scordisci, following the Serbian group.⁵⁶ The earliest phase of minting of the Srem type, Phase A, is traditionally dated to the mid-2nd c. BC, when the issues consist of silver tetradrachms and drachms.⁵⁷ The same applies to Phase B, which is dated to the second half of the 2nd—early 1st c. BC.⁵⁸ Phase C is characterized by bronze issues ("tetradrachms" and, to a lesser extent, "drachms") and is dated to the first half of the 1st c. BC.⁵⁹ Finally, Phase D, characterized by silver obols and minimi, is similarly dated to the first half of the 1st c. BC, shortly after Phase C.⁶⁰ In addition, Krčedin (Preda's Crișeni-Berchiș B) tetradrachms and drachms (which do not have a 4:1 weight ratio) are dated to the late 2nd—early 1st c. BC.⁶¹

However, this chronology has been challenged by the interpretation of numismatic finds from Némčice (western Slovakia). Here a drachm of the so-called Transitional type (Serbian to Srem), AR and AE drachms of phase B or C (difficult to determine from the drawings) and AR obols of phase D⁶² were found in a settlement context that strongly suggests a date no later than the mid-2nd c. BC, in other words, the end of the Lt C2 period.⁶³ Only the Transitional type coin fits in the traditional chronology.⁶⁴ What is more, the finds at Némčice suggest that silver and bronze Scordiscan coins were minted simultaneously, thus apparently challenging the

⁵⁴ Cf. Bilić, Dizdar 2016, 119.

⁵⁵ For the following see Bilić 2024, 153–155. In this section I draw heavily on this text, often incorporating lengthy sections verbatim.

⁵⁶ Popović 1987, 39–45, 78–79: late 3rd to early 2nd c. BC.

⁵⁷ Popović 1987, 45–47, 80.

⁵⁸ Popović 1987, 48–50, 80–81.

⁵⁹ Popović 1987, 50–52, 81.

⁶⁰ Popović 1987, 52–53, 81.

⁶¹ Popović 1987, 54–60, 79–81.

⁶² Kolníková 2012, 55–56 Nos. 931–939.

⁶³ Kolníková 2012, 57; John et al. 2015, 144; Militký 2015, 147. For the date of the Némčice settlement cf. Čizmar et al. 2008, 664, 666, 673, 677, end of Lt B2 – end of Lt C2; Kolníková 2012, 10, second half of the 3rd to the second half of the 2nd c. BC.

⁶⁴ Early 2nd c. BC (Popović 1987, 79).

traditional evolutionary account of the development of Scordiscan coins.⁶⁵ Thus, the chronology, both relative and absolute, of Scordiscan coins does not seem as firm as it appeared when Popović presented his typology of this coinage in 1987. At the same time, Popović's chronological arrangement was not arbitrary. He based it on three hoards, in which the coins of the Srem-type were found together with the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium.⁶⁶ Although the more precise chronology of the latter coins was not available to Popović at the time, more recent studies, though still not as precise as would be desirable, seem to confirm his conclusions. Thus, in the hoard from Šimian, the Srem-type coins of Phase A and B were found together with two Dyrrhachian drachms that can be dated to the third phase of activity of this mint, i.e., to 168–120 BC.⁶⁷ Furthermore, an Apollonian drachm from the earliest phase of this mint's activity, i.e., ca. 250–168, was found together with Srem-type coins of Phase A and B in the hoard from Drobeta-Turnu Severin.⁶⁸ Finally, an Apollonian drachm from the third phase of the mint's activity (120/100–80/70 BC) and 13 Dyrrhachian drachms from the fourth (120–80/70 BC) and fifth (the latest, 80/70–60/55 BC) phases of this mint's activity were found together with Srem-type coins of Phase B in the hoard from Titel.⁶⁹ Two more hoards with a similar composition have appeared since Popović's study, but they are only partially documented and the available information does not contradict the evidence obtained from Popović's analysis of the hoards from Šimian, Drobeta-Turnu Severin and Titel. Thus, the hoard from Stara Pazova-Janko Čmelik Farm⁷⁰ contained a large number of drachms from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, of which the documented 38 Apollonian coins can all be dated to the latest, fourth phase of the mint's activity (i.e., 80/70–48 BC), while 143 documented Dyrrhachian coins can be dated to the fourth (120–80/70 BC, 13 pieces in total) and fifth (the latest, 80/70–60/55 BC, 129 pieces, with one imitation) phases of this mint's

⁶⁵ Militký 2015, 147. A straightforward development was, in any case, not obvious from Popović's account of the development of Scordiscan coinage (i.e., silver was apparently reintroduced during Phase D, which was considered later than the bronze-dominated Phase C).

⁶⁶ Popović 1987, 79–81, 102.

⁶⁷ Phase III, emission 20 (Meta 2015, 74–79). The hoard also contained several pieces that can be classified as a variant of Krčedin coins (i.e., Krčedin-Šimian), as well as an overstruck coin that was classified by Popović as belonging to a transitional phase preceding the appearance of the Krčedin coins proper. The coin might have been overstruck on a Srem Phase A tetradrachm (Popović 1987, 54, 80).

⁶⁸ Picard, *Gjongjecaj* 153, No. 18.

⁶⁹ Gohl 1910, 113. Apollonia: Picard, *Gjongjecaj* 2000, 159 (no. 62) (according to Petrányi 1995–1996, 6, year – 16, i.e., 64/63 BC, cf. Petrányi <https://asklapiadas.ancients.info/05eApollIssues.html>); Dyrrhachion: Phase IV, emissions 48, 52 and 56 and Phase V, emission 86, the very latest (Meta 2015, 97–99, 103–104, 125–130).

⁷⁰ “Janko Čmelnik” is the form used by Ujes 2001, 343, but it is almost certain that the true form is “Janko Čmelik”, after a local Yugoslav Partisan.

activity.⁷¹ The hoard also contained a significant number of, unfortunately undocumented, Republican denarii, as well as ca. 30 tetradrachms of the Krčedin-Šimian variant of the Krčedin coin-type.⁷² Also, a hoard from the late La Tène hillfort at Oroliška Gradina ("Hillfort") contained both (further undocumented) 23 drachms from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium together with 19 Scordiscan coins, either of the Srem Phase B or the Krčedin-Šimian variant of the Krčedin coins.⁷³ It seems that only a thorough study of a not insignificant number of stratified finds can solve this conundrum, but at present all that can be concluded is that the Srem-type coins represent a rather unsatisfactory chronological indicator. If they had been, indeed, already produced before ca. 150 BC (i.e., before the end of Lt C2), as suggested by the finds from Nēmčice, but were still present in circulation as late as the mid-1st c. BC (i.e., in Lt D2 period) as the hoards from Titel and Stara Pazova suggest, these coins had been produced and/or used for an unusually long period, i.e., for at least a full century.

Appendix

(A1) silver tetradrachm (10.94 g; 22 mm; Fig. 2.5) allegedly found in the area of Vinkovci, western Syrmia (modern Republic of Croatia). Private collection of Damir Kovač (Zagreb). Date: Lt C1–C2 or C2/D1 transition. Unpublished.

The third hitherto undocumented coin from Damir Kovač's collection is a silver tetradrachm generally affiliated with the so-called East Celtic coinage, but certainly not with Scordiscan coins in particular. Neither the obverse nor the reverse depictions were previously recorded as such, at least not in the major works of reference.⁷⁴

The obverse of the Kovač Coll. coin is affiliated with the obverse portraits displayed on the large and varied group of coins that imitated the reverse of Audoleon's Paeonian tetradrachms, but which kept the depiction of Zeus' bearded and laurate head on the obverse. In general terms, the obverse portrait is similar to those on OTA 402, the main Audoleon-

⁷¹ Ujes 2001, 343–344 No. 64; Bilić 2014, 270 No. 6 (where the attribution of Dyrrhachian coins was made after Petrányi 1995–1996, but was updated for the purposes of this study with the help of Meta 2015: types IV 53 (12 pieces) and 74 (one piece), V 85 (42 + 1 pieces) and 86 (87 pieces)).

⁷² Ujes 2001, 344 No. 64. I do not understand why Ujes refers to these coins as belonging to the Srem type; Popović 1987, 54 is quite explicit on the typological difference between the Srem and Krčedin types.

⁷³ Ujes 2001, 344 No. 69. For the late La Tène date of the settlement see Majnarić-Pandžić 1984, 26; 1996, 260; Dalić 1998, 163–164, 179–180. As remarked in the preceding note, the Srem and Krčedin coins should be easily distinguishable from each other.

⁷⁴ Forrer 1908, Dessewffy 1910, Pink 1939, OTA, Preda 1973, Castelin 1978, Kostial 1997, Dembski 1998, Ziegauß 2010.

type imitation (Göbl's Audoleonontyps), but is not identical to these portraits. In addition, unlike most Audoleonontyps-derived coin-types, the obverse Zeus does not display the characteristic inverted laurel wreath (*verkehrten Lorbeerkranz*), so it cannot outright be classified among these types. Nevertheless, it does generally belong to this group of coin-types.

Its reverse depiction raises similar issues since it cannot be unequivocally classified among the known types of East Celtic, in general, or as Audoleon-imitations coin-types in particular. The reverse horseman is, in general, similar (size, position of trunk, posture, position of hands), but not identical (position and length of legs, outline of figure) to the Dreieckshals OTA 320 coin-type (not among the Audoleon-type imitations).⁷⁵ In addition, OTA 320 has two downward-pointing horseshoe-shaped objects between the horse's front and hind legs, which are somewhat reminiscent of the Kovač Coll. coin. Furthermore, the Kovač Coll. piece displays the entire body of the horseman, i.e., the legs are shown in full, as is the case in the OTA 320 coins, which is, in general, not characteristic of Audoleonontyps-derived coin-types, where only the horseman's feet are depicted below the horses' barrel. However, there are some exceptions, and an entire horseman is depicted on the Audoleonontyps-derived Π-type coins (OTA 408–409).

The motif between the horse's front and hind legs could perhaps bring us closer to the area of Scordiscan coinage production. Thus, it is somewhat reminiscent of the ∞ sign, as on the Krčedin-type coins,⁷⁶ in terms of placement of the motif and its general form, but the circles of the ∞ on the Krčedin coins are in general not connected, as they are here, with a pearl. They are, however, connected on the Kapostal pieces OTA 484,⁷⁷ which also have a similarly placed rider, although his body is not completely depicted and he is smaller than on the Kovač Coll. piece. The horse of OTA 484 is also different, with no bridle, which is clearly seen on Kovač's piece.

Krčedin coins are a typologically independent offshoot of Scordiscan coinage dated to the late 2nd–early 1st c. BC.⁷⁸ As noted immediately above, they developed from the Transylvanian type Crișeni-Berchiș A (Baumreiter) and were classified by Preda as Crișeni-Berchiș B, but Popović

⁷⁵ On this coin type see Bilić, Falileyev 2021, 14–16. The rendering of the body of the rider (lean figure, trunk in the form of an elongated inverted triangle, albeit with emphasized breasts – Torbágy 2014, 177 – legs shown in full, albeit shorter and more muscular, position of the left arm) on some of the dies of the Audoleonontyps-derived OTA 436 Maszlonypusztá/Zopfreiter coins is generally reminiscent of the Kovač Coll. horseman, but the horse is entirely different (on these coins see Bilić 2023c, 122–123 and immediately below).

⁷⁶ Preda's Crișeni-Berchiș B (see Popović 1987, 54–55). A similar motif is also present on the Crișeni-Berchiș A = Baumreiter type, which is characteristic for Transylvania, and thus not immediately relevant in this context.

⁷⁷ See for example AMZ A1168.

⁷⁸ Popović 1987, 54–60, 79–81.

christened them Krčedin coins.⁷⁹ Together with the Srem-type Phase D coins, the Krčedin (in terms of drachms = Kapostal OTA 503) coins are concentrated in easternmost Syrmia along the right bank of the Danube.⁸⁰ This pattern was interpreted as a reduction of the territory controlled by the Scordisci in the first half of the 1st c. BC.⁸¹ Alternatively, the pattern of distribution of different Scordiscan coin-types can be explained in terms of contemporary striking by different local minting authorities, which is also reflected in the non-uniform characteristics of the coinage. The Krčedin type can, thus, be understood as an issue of a local socio-political authority in a well-defined circumscribed area, although there are various obstacles for the straightforward and unchallenged application of this model to the material at hand.⁸²

Kapostal coins, characteristic of south-eastern Transdanubia, i.e., the territory between Lake Balaton and the Danube⁸³ – which makes the manufacturers of this coinage immediate neighbours of the Scordisci to the north-west – are another development from the Crișeni-Berchiș A (Baumreiter) coin-type.⁸⁴ On the traditional chronology, Kapostal coins were minted from the mid-2nd c. to the late 1st c. BC.⁸⁵ Recently, some circumstantial evidence for a somewhat earlier start of Kapostal coinage has appeared. Thus, Kapostal silver tetradrachms were circulating contemporaneously with the Transdanubian Mászlonypuszta (*Zopfreiter*) type of coins at the site of Medina.⁸⁶ Under the influence of the new chronology of Tauriscan coinage, the traditional lower dates of Mászlonypuszta coins have now been discarded in favour of the mid-2nd c. BC.⁸⁷ Consequently, Kapostal coins had most likely been already produced during the Lt C2/D1 transition period.

The Kovač Coll. piece is thus clearly an unusual coin. It combines an obverse design similar to, but not identical with, the portrait of Zeus on early Audoleon imitations, with a truly idiosyncratic reverse. The latter is based either on OTA 320 (a Turnierreiter-derived reverse design, but one

⁷⁹ Popović 1987, 54–55.

⁸⁰ Popović 1987, Figs. 10, 12–14, 21 on p. 47, 49, 51, 53, 58; Tapavički-Ilić 2005, 41–42.

⁸¹ Popović 1987, 81; Tapavički-Ilić 2005, 42, 46.

⁸² Mihajlović 2019, 249–250.

⁸³ See distribution maps in Torbágy 1998, 639–642; 2008, 212 Map 3.

⁸⁴ Torbágy 1998, 633–634.

⁸⁵ Torbágy 1997, 13 (start in the last third of the 2nd c. onwards); 1998, 634–635 (start in the second half or the last third of the 2nd c. BC); 2000, 38 (second third of the 1st c., small coins); 2001–2002, 244, 246 (end of 2nd c.–1st c. BC); Kos 2002, 152; Militký 2015, 145 (Lt D1).

⁸⁶ Torbágy 2001–2002, 244.

⁸⁷ Torbágy 2014, 177; 2016, 131. The Varaždin coins were overstruck by the Mászlonypuszta (*Zopfreiter*) type of coins (eight such pieces in the Nagyhörcsökpuszta hoard) (Pink 1939, 98; Torbágy 1997, 11–12 with Taf. 1.12; 2000; 2001–2002, 243 with Fig. 1; 2014, 177 n. 20; 2016, 129–130 with Figs. 7 and 13 on p. 133).

far removed from the original rendering of the horseman), with possible similarities with the reverse designs on some Audoleon-typs-derived imitations (such as OTA 436), or can be generally grouped together with the Krčedin and Kapostal tetradrachms, both produced in the region between the Balaton and the confluence of the Sava with the Danube, and both derived from the Crișeni-Berchiș A (Baumreiter) coin-type. The Dreieckhals and the Audoleon-typs-derived imitations, with their region of origin in the north-eastern and northern periphery of the Carpathian Basin, respectively, would certainly be a better typological fit with the Audoleon-imitations-derived obverse rendering, but the influence from what would become Lower Pannonia should not be excluded and, indeed, offers a better fit with the alleged find site of the Kovač Coll. coin. The latter alternative would most likely mean a later production date of the coin in question, since the Kapostal and the Krčedin coin-types seem to be somewhat later than the Audoleon-imitations (i.e., not much earlier than the Lt C2/D1 transition). But, on balance, the Audoleon-connection seems stronger and, together with the contemporary Dreieckhals OTA 320 coins, suggests an earlier date of issue for the Kovač Coll. coin (Lt C1–C2 period) and, consequently, its production outside of the Scordiscan territory.

Audoleon-type imitations in southern Pannonia⁸⁸

The still standard relative chronology of the group of coin-types (partly) derived from Audoleon's original tetradrachms was offered by Karl Pink.⁸⁹ In Pink's view, the reverse of Audoleon main type OTA 402 is modelled upon Audoleon's tetradrachms, with the addition of a rider. It must postdate the original tetradrachms, which were issued after ca. 315 BC, but perhaps not after ca. 306 or 305 BC, when Audoleon assumed the royal title, certainly not after his death in 286 BC.⁹⁰ The region of origin of this significant innovation in LIA coinage, which thus cannot be earlier than the first half of the 3rd c. BC, should be looked for in the Nógrád and surrounding counties (North Hungarian Mountains). The wider area where the derivatives of Audoleon-typs OTA 402 were struck encompasses the northern or north-eastern periphery of the Carpathian Basin, from the Danube Bend in the west to the Upper Tisza valley in the east, including the eastern Transdanubia.

OTA 402 is followed by the degraded pieces of the same type OTA 403–407. Audoleon main type OTA 402ff is further followed by the Π-type OTA 408–409, which is characterized by a new reverse, but keeps the

⁸⁸ For the following see Bilić 2023c, 118–119, 134–135. In this section I draw heavily on this paper, often incorporating lengthy sections verbatim.

⁸⁹ Pink 1939, 93–99.

⁹⁰ Gaebler 1906, 203–205; Waggoner 1983, 5, 7, 19; Mørkholm 1991, 83; Fröhlich 2017, 73, 93, 111. Kos 1998, 281 refers to these coins as staters struck on a local standard.

Audoleon type OTA 402 obverse. Another group, very similar to the Π -type OTA 408–409, is represented by a type with Dreiecksornament OTA 413. The type with Dreizack OTA 415 (“Dreizack und Triskeles” in Göbl’s terms) has an obverse closely related to the Audoleon type OTA 402ff, while its reverse is related to the type with Dreiecksornament OTA 413.

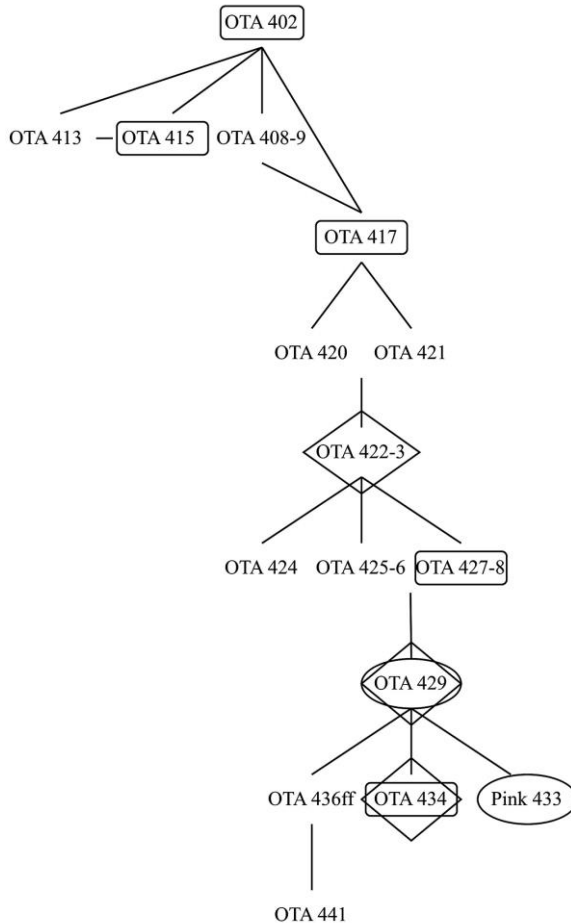


Fig. 6. Diagram of relations between various types of Audoleon-type imitations (Pink’s groups XII and XIII). Products of proposed workshops according to Göbl (rectangle), Fröhlich (rhombus) and Torbágyi (ellipse). Produced by diagrams.net.

There is another line of development from the Audoleon OTA 402 main type. Thus, Puppenreiter OTA 417 is understood as a transitional type between Audoleon types OTA 402 and a relatively large group of coin types with an inverted laurel wreath on the obverse portrait (OTA 420–441). More precisely, Puppenreiter OTA 417 was derived from the

Audoleonontyp OTA 402 obverse and the Π -type OTA 408–409 reverse.⁹¹ In its turn, Arabeskenlocke OTA 420 represents a transitional type between the Puppenreiter OTA 417 towards the main Arabeskenlocke type OTA 422–423. A separate Arabeskenlocke subtype is represented by OTA 424. Further, the Arabeskenlocke-related coin OTA 425 represents a transition towards the Audoleonmonogramm type OTA 429, the reverse of which is derived from the Arabeskenlocke-related coins OTA 425–427. In this group Pink also included the Andreaskreuz subtype OTA 433. The Triskeles type OTA 434 differs from the Audoleonmonogramm type OTA 429 only in minor details. Lastly, the Vogelreiter type OTA 441 is the final type of the group with an inverted laurel wreath. It might be added that Göbl recognised in the obverses OTA 402 (Audoleonontyps), 415 (Dreizack und Triskeles), 417 (Puppenreiter), 427 (Arabeskenlocke-related) and 434 (Triskeles) the products of a single coin workshop, perhaps even of a single die-engraver.⁹² This would strongly suggest a short production period for these various types of coins. This is as far as typological considerations can take us. But in the meantime, archaeology had something to add in the wake of Pink's thorough and still in its scale unsurpassed typological discussion of "East Celtic" coinage.⁹³

The evidence from hoards, as well as from rare site-finds, converges on the mid-3rd c. BC, or its second half, as the most likely date for the production and deposition of Audoleon-imitations. In archaeological terms this corresponds to the Lt C1 period (ca. 275–200 BC). However, a somewhat later date, i.e., the Lt C1/C2 transition at the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd c. BC, or even the Lt C2 period itself (the first half of the 2nd c. BC) cannot be excluded, although it does not seem probable that the Audoleon-imitations were produced – or used/deposited, for that matter – for such an extended period, at least not as a rule.

The Audoleon-imitations had found their way to southern Pannonia, to the south of the Drava, already during the LIA. Thus, eight Puppenreiter (OTA 417) coins were found in the Ribnjačka hoard (south-western Pannonia),⁹⁴ together with two more coin-types. As already noted, all three probably originated in the same region outside the immediate area

⁹¹ Pink 1939, 93–95.

⁹² OTA p. 26. Cf. Torbágyi 2012, 542, who argues that OTA 429 (Audoleonmonogramm) and 433 (Andreaskreuz) might have been produced in a single workshop, with their reverses specifically being made by a single engraver. Similarly, Fröhlich 2017 believes that a single engraver produced OTA 429 (Audoleonmonogramm), 422 (the main Arabeskenlocke type) and 434 ("mit Triskeles"/Zichyújfalu) (74, 78, 88, 110). For travelling die-cutters and workshops see Ziegau 2008, 125; Kos 2009, 309; 2012, 355; Kos, Mirnik 2011, 102; Strobel 2012, 18; 2014, 67, 76, 79; Fröhlich 2017, 73.

⁹³ For a survey of archaeological evidence pertaining to the chronology of Audoleon's imitations, the results of which are summarised in the following paragraph, see Bilić 2023c, 119–124.

⁹⁴ Kos, Mirnik 1999, 300 Nos. 65–71; Bilić, Falileyev 2021, 12, 17 Fig. 3.

in which the hoard was deposited, namely, in the northern or north-eastern periphery of the Pannonian basin,⁹⁵ thus precisely the region associated with the Audoleon-imitations. In terms of chronology, it seems that the most likely date for the production of all three coin-types contained in the Ribnjačka hoard, as well as the deposition of the hoard, is the late 3rd and the first half of the 2nd c. BC (in archaeological terms corresponding to the Lt C2 period).⁹⁶ The hoard from Ribnjačka clearly testifies to the connections between the northern or north-eastern perimeter of the Pannonian Basin and its southern periphery precisely in the period when the Audoleon-imitations were produced in the former territory. It is conceivable, but naturally unprovable, that the Ribnjačka cache travelled ca. 500 km south-west as the crow flies from its region of origin through a gift-exchange that was used to establish, or maintain some already-established, relations between the elites of two distant but in socio-political terms complementary social groups.

Furthermore, a coin of the Audoleon-imitations main type OTA 402 and two Vogelreiter OTA 441 coins were recovered as a chance find in Sisak, an important LIA (proto-)urban settlement at the confluence of the Kupa and the Sava in south-western Pannonia.⁹⁷ The coin record of this centre is both rich and varied, and it testifies to the nature of this settlement as a focal point for various short, mid-range and long-distance interactions in which coins were also involved.⁹⁸ In addition, another chance find, a variant of the Π-type OTA 408–409 was found in Privlaka near Vinkovci, ca. 60 km to the east-north-east from Slavonski Brod as the crow flies.⁹⁹ It would most likely be associated with the Late La Tène (i.e., Lt D, after 150 BC) hillfort fortified settlement at Privlaka.¹⁰⁰ Finally, a Zick-zackgruppe OTA 459–461 (Sztálinváros/Dunaújváros) coin was found in proper archaeological excavations at the Kuzelin LIA hillfort in south-western Pannonia, which seems to have been settled primarily during the Lt D1 period, i.e., after ca. 150 BC.¹⁰¹ It represents an import to the region from Transdanubia (or, from the perspective of south-western Pannonia, from the region to the north of the Drava), while its Lt C2-date suggests a different temporal horizon in comparison with the rest of the Kuzelin as-

⁹⁵ Bilić, Falileyev 2021, 26.

⁹⁶ Bilić, Falileyev 2021, 27–28.

⁹⁷ Bilić 2017a, 461, 467 Nos. 1–3. In addition, Ujes 2001, 343 No. 61 mentions a hoard from Grmovac near Ogar in Syrmia containing two “Audoleon” tetradrachms, together with 19 more, further unspecified, LIA tetradrachms. No further information on this find is available.

⁹⁸ Bilić 2017a.

⁹⁹ AMZ inv. A1165; Pink 1939, No. 411.

¹⁰⁰ Majnarić-Pandžić 1984, 24–26. In his reports from Privlaka, Jurić (1902) does not mention the coin, nor is there any mention of it in the AMZ Archives.

¹⁰¹ MPS Inv. 166/94; Dizdar 2011, 87–88; Bilić 2017b, 228, 236, 240 No. 17; 2023b, 67–68.

semblage, both archaeological in general and numismatic in particular. The Transdanubian coin certainly testifies to the relations – either direct or by way of intermediaries – of the inhabitants of the hillfort with a region distant more than 200 km to the north-east.

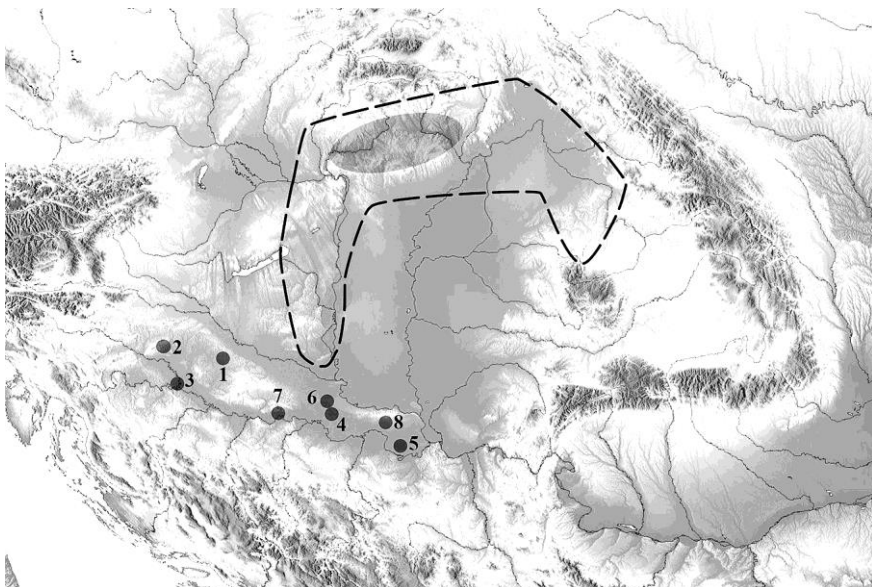


Fig. 7. The presumed area of origin of the Audoleon OTA 402 type (grey selection), the area of distribution of the Audoleon-imitations (black dashed line) and the find sites of Audoleon-imitations in southern Pannonia (1 Ribnjačka, 2 Kuzelin, 3 Sisak, 4 Privlaka, 5 Ogar, 6 the area of Vinkovci (?), 7 the area of Slavonski Brod (?), 8 Syrmia (?)) (Base map: <https://maps-for-free.com/>). Based on Bilić 2023c, 117 Fig. 7.

Perhaps another coin can be added to the corpus of southern Pannonian Audoleon imitations (in terms of find sites), although this is not particularly likely. The coin in question has an Arabeskenlocke OTA 424 (subtype A) obverse, with an inscription ICAPHOOC on the reverse.¹⁰² This type of coin is derived from earlier Audoleon-imitations produced in the northern and north-eastern periphery of the Pannonian Basin. Its reverse displays a horizontally flipped horse modelled upon Audoleon's original Paeonian tetradrachms, which is a unique typological combination. The legend can be read as a personal name Isarnos, which has a transparent Celtic etymology: "Iron(-man)", from *isarnon or *īsarnon ("iron"). The possibility that the coin had arrived in southern Pannonia already during the LIA, perhaps even in the immediate vicinity of Slavonski Brod, and was acquired by the collector and later Slavonski Brod Museum director Julije

¹⁰² For an extensive study of this coin see Bilić 2023c.

Hoffmann from a local finder, cannot be completely discarded. On balance, however, it seems more likely that it was acquired from a coin-dealer operating in an area nearer to the core region of distribution of the Audo-leon-imitations in general or OTA 424 in particular.¹⁰³

Conclusion

Attributing the coins found in the area believed to have been inhabited or controlled by the ethno-cultural entity labelled the Scordisci to this particular group and, on the other hand, defining the area under Scordiscan control by the “Scordiscan” coinage, is a notoriously circular practice.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, if one is aware of the unacceptability of such a method, and if the meaning and application of a term such as “Scordiscan coinage” is clearly defined at the outset, it does not seem imprudent to use it in discussing a well-defined numismatic phenomenon without recourse to either the persistent use of quotation-marks or the insistence on archaeological terminology, which is often incomprehensible to numismatists.

The study of Scordiscan coinage seems to be stagnating in the wake of Popović’s seminal study published almost four decades ago. *Le monnayage des Scordisques* is certainly the basis for all further research, but an update is highly desirable. New archaeological insights – some of which are presented here – as well as the new material that has appeared over the years – several such pieces are documented in the present paper – will not only enlarge the corpus he published but also surely modify some of Popović’s conclusions and, perhaps, also the typology and chronology he developed on the basis of the corpus published in 1987.

Four new types of Scordiscan coins presented here (two previously published obols and two hitherto unpublished drachms), together with Ziegaus’ *Typ mit kleinem Kopf und breitem Lorbeerkrantz*, represent a modest contribution to the current study of the Late Iron Age coinage of the region.¹⁰⁵ The two drachms display certain not insignificant divergences from the previously known Scordiscan coin-types, especially No. 2, which perhaps also shows traces of an outside influence. The so-called obols represent a completely new denomination within the corpus of Scordiscan coinage, both of which should be affiliated to the so-called Serbian group, the earlier horizon of coinage characteristic of south-eastern Pannonia and the northern part of the central Balkan area. Interestingly, one of the latter

¹⁰³ Finally, according to the records kept in the AMZ Archives, an OTA 434 tetradrachm, found somewhere in Syrmia, is kept in the Vinkovci City Museum, part of the Benko Horvat coll. no. 2122. The collection in question was studied by Ivan Mirnik, a curator at the AMZ, in 1979 (AMZ s.v. Vinkovci).

¹⁰⁴ For a similar line of reasoning with respect to the “Boian” coinage and the “Boii” see Salač 2015, 140–143.

¹⁰⁵ One can further adduce in this context the variants of Scordiscan *minimi* presented by Crnobjnja 1980–1981 and 1982, some of which were omitted by Popović 1987.

two (no. 4) was found in an apparently cultic context, deposited in a possible sanctuary together with other, mostly Scordiscan, coins, which is a unique example of such practice in terms of Scordiscan coinage.

A review of the chronology of Scordiscan coinage presented here introduces some new insights from north-central Europe, more precisely, from the important Nĕmčice settlement, which might represent a challenge to the hitherto established chronological position of Scordiscan coins, as well as to the postulated internal chronological development of this coinage. However, Popović's chronological arrangement seems securely anchored in reliable hoard evidence, so perhaps the necessary modifications of the presently accepted chronology will not be on a tectonic scale.

The additional coin presented here is also of a hitherto undocumented type. As opposed to the coins studied in the main part of the paper, this particular tetradrachm was most likely produced outside of the Scordiscan territory. It is published here because it was allegedly found on the Scordiscan territory, as traditionally conceived, but also because it displays some similarities in the rendering of its reverse depiction to certain types of coins produced in the region or its immediate vicinity. However, the perceived similarities might be misleading, and the more plausible region of origin of this coin is the northern and north-eastern periphery of the Pannonian Basin. Indeed, generally similar coins, in terms of typology, occasionally appear in southern Pannonia, and the coin presented here most likely arrived at the region as part of the influx of Audoleon-imitations from the north or north-east. The chronology of these imitations is relatively securely established – as much as secure absolute chronology is possible in the current state of research of Late Iron Age coins in central Europe – and it is, thus, possible to offer a plausible suggestion for the date of issue of this coin.

Some of the conclusions offered in this study seem rather aporetic. Hopefully, this reflects the current state of knowledge related to the subjects treated here, rather than any inadequacy on the side of the author.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAMZ – Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

AMO – Archaeological Museum Osijek

AMZ – Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

MBP – Museum of Brodsko Posavlje

OTA – Göbl, Robert. *Ostkeltischer Typen-Atlas*. Klinkhardt & Biermann, Braunschweig, 1973.

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