

**FROM *KOINE* TO *ROMANITAS*:  
THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR ROMAN EXPANSION AND  
SETTLEMENT IN BULGARIA IN ANTIQUITY  
(*MOESIA AND THRACE*, ca. 146 BC – AD 98/117)**

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## ***Abstract***

The primary goal of this thesis is to collect, record and interpret the available coin evidence from the territory of modern Bulgaria during the late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial period, from an archaeological, historical and numismatic perspective. In so doing the work documents the transition and integration of the monetary system of ancient Thrace to that of the Roman world. The evidence examined covers over 250 years, from the establishment of the province of Macedonia in 146 BC down to the reign of Trajan (AD 98-117).

Of foremost importance in this process are the introduction, distribution and use of the *denarius* in the local coin market.

The evidence under study was collected from the area of ancient *Moesia* and Thrace, an area recognized as a frontier zone in the early Roman Empire. Previously Thrace was never the subject of a comprehensive numismatic study that integrated the existing archeological and historical record for such a critical period of time. The purposely studied coin finds (both hoards and single coins, over 48,000 pieces) allowed for the application of statistical analysis to the coin data, revealing important military, economic and fiscal tendencies. The results document a culture well accustomed to the use of coins as means of payment long before the arrival of the Roman currency. Given these circumstances, it is no surprise that as *denarii* were introduced during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the market quickly adjusted to new economic relations. Tracing the regional use and distribution of coins, the study bears witness to how local communities benefited from their strategic location and native resources.

The main contribution of this work lies in the systematic comparison between the Late Hellenistic, Thracian, Celtic and Roman coinages that circulated together in a region that was of great strategic importance to the Roman Empire. Mechanisms of introduction and acceptance of Roman coins as financial tools have been documented and interpreted both from a chronological and geographical standpoint.

Based on comprehensive analyses, this thesis concludes that the nature of the Thracian and Moesian society and economy, as well as the supply of coins, followed the Imperial and interregional trends as an integral part of the Roman Empire.



*Dianae*



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# Abbreviations

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## 1. Periodicals and series

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des DAI</i> (Berlin, 1899–)
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , Paris
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i> (New York, 1989–)
AMV	<i>Acta Musei Varnaensis</i> (Varna, 2003–)
ANS MN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> , New York
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> (Paris/Athens, 1877–)
BIAB	<i>Bulletin de l'institut archéologique bulgare</i> (Sofia, I–XXXVII, 1921–1987)
BMNWBg	<i>Bulletin of the Museums in Northwestern Bulgaria</i> (Vratsa, 1977–2003)
BMSEBg	<i>Bulletin of the Museums in Southeastern Bulgaria</i> (Jambol, 1976–1994)
BNAMPlovdiv	<i>Bulletin of the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv</i> (Plovdiv, 1960–2010)
BSAB	<i>Bulletin de la société archéologique bulgare</i> (Sofia, I–VII, 1910–1919)
BSAVarna	<i>Bulletin de la société archéologique à Varna</i> (Varna, 1910–1965)
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i> , Paris
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London, 1880–)
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> , Ann Arbor
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London, 1911–)
NC	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i> (London, 1838–)
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i> (Wien, 1868–)
RBN	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie</i> (Brussels, 1846–)
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i> (Paris, 1836–)
RP	<i>Разкопки и проучвания / Fouilles et recherches</i> (Sofia, 1948–)
SFMA	<i>Studien zur Fundmünzen der Antike / SFMA</i> (Berlin / Mainz, 1979–)
SNG	<i>Sylloge nummorum Graecorum</i> (different countries)
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i> (Berlin, 1874–1935)

## 2. Books & key references

Allen, CECB	D. Allen, <i>Catalogue of the Celtic Coins in the British Museum with Supplementary Material from other British Collections</i> , Vol. I. <i>Silver Coins of the East Celts and Balkan Peoples</i> (eds. J. Kent – M. Mays), (London 1987)
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## Abbreviations

AMNG	<i>Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, bände I - III</i> , (Berlin, 1998–1935)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Tübingen, Berlin-New York 1972–)
Bolin	S. Bolin, <i>State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.</i> (Stockholm 1958)
BMCR	H. A. Grueber, <i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i> (London 1910)
CAH <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edn.
Callataÿ	F. de Callataÿ, <i>L'histoire de guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies, /Numismatica Lovaniensia, 18/</i> , (Louvain-la-Neuve 199)
CH	<i>Coin Hoards</i> , London/New York (I–IX, 1975–2010, various editors)
Ceka	H. Ceka: <i>Questions de Numismatique Ilyrienne</i> (Tirana 1972)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1902–)
CRI	D. R. Sear, <i>The History and Coinage of the Roman Imperators 49-27 BC</i> (London 1998)
CRWLR	<i>The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic. Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the British Museum in September 1985</i> , A. M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford (eds.), /British Archaeological Reports 326/, (Oxford 1987)
DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , 18 volumes, H. Cancik, H. Schneider, M. Landfester (eds.), Stuttgart 1996–2003
Göbl, OTA	R. Göbl: <i>Ostkeltischer Typenatlas</i> , (Braunschweig 1973)
IAThr	L. Loukopoulou, M.G.Parissaki, S. Psoma, A. Zournatzi, <i>Inscriptiones antiquae partis Thraciae quae ad ora maris Aegaei sita est</i> . Athenis 2005.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin
IGBulg.	G. Mihailov: <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , vols. I-V (Sofia 1957–1997)
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (ed, H. Dessau), (Berlin 1892–1916)
IGCH	M. Thompson – O. Mørkholm – C. M. Kraay, <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> (New York 1973)
IRRCHBg	E. I. Paunov – I. S. Prokopov, <i>An Inventory of Roman Republican Coin Hoards and coins from Bulgaria /Glax 15/</i> , (Milano 2002)
Kyustendil I	S. Filipova – I. Prokopov – E. Paunov, <i>The Numismatic Collection 'Pautalia'. (The Regional Historical Museum of Kyustendil)</i> . Vol. I: Greek, Macedonian, Thracian, Roman Republican and Roman Provincial coins (5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC - 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD), /CCCHBulg. III/, (Sofia 2009)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zürich – München – Düsseldorf, 1981-1999)
Mesambria I	I. Karayotov, <i>The Coinage of Mesambria. Vol. I</i> (Sozopol 1993)

## Abbreviations

- Mesambria II* I. Karayotov, *The Coinage of Mesambria. Vol. II: Bronze Coins* (Burgas 2009)
- OGIS* W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-1905)
- PIR<sup>2</sup>* *Prosopographia imperii romani saec. I. II. III. Editio altera* (eds. E. Groag, A. Stein, L. Petersen, K. Wachtel, M. Heil), Pars I–VI (Berlin, 1933–2006)
- Prokopov, *Macedonia* = И. Прокопов, *Тетрадрахмите на Първа Македонска област / The Tetrachms of The First Macedonian region* (Sofia 1994)
- Prokopov, *Smolyan 1* = И. Прокопов, *Нумизматична колекция на Смолянския музей, V в. пр. н.е. - VI в. сл. Хр.* (Sofia 1991)
- Prokopov, *Thasos* = I. Prokopov, *Die Silberprägung der Insel Thasos und die Tetrachmen des „Thasischen Typs“ vom 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr., Griechisches Münzwerk*, (Berlin 2006)
- Prokopov – Gushterakliev, *Lovech* = И. Прокопов – Р. Гуштераклиев: “Coin Hoards and Coins from 2nd-1st centuries B.C. in the Numismatic Collection of the Museum in Lovech”, *Numismatica et Sphragistika* (Sofia) 9, (2000), No. 1, 18-57.
- Prokopov – Koitcheva, *Gabrovo* = И. Прокопов – К. Койчева: “Monnaies de 2<sup>e</sup>-1<sup>ère</sup> c. av. J.-C. de la collection du Musée historique de Gabrovo”, *Numismatica et Sphragistika* (Sofia) 5, (1998), no. 1, 45-55
- Prokopov – Kovacheva, *Pleven* = И. Прокопов – Т. Ковачева: *Coin Hoards and Coins from 2nd-1st centuries BC in the Numismatic Collection of the Museum in Pleven* / =CCCB, 9/, (Sofia 2006)
- Prokopov – Minkova, *Stara Zagora* = I. Prokopov – M. Minkova, “Die Münzen des 2.-1. Jhs v. Chr. in der Sammlung des Historischen Museums von Stara Zagora”, in: U. Peter (ed.), *Stephanos numismatikos, Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, (Berlin 1999), 563-84
- Prokopov – Petrov, *Haskovo* = И. Прокопов – И. Петров, “Coins and Coin Hoards in the Collection of Museum of History in the town of Haskovo, 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.” [in Bulg., English sum.], *Proceedings of the Museum of History Kyustendil, Supplement 1*, (2000), 5-22
- Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladjova, *Shumen* = И. Прокопов – Д. Владимирова-Аладжова, “Numismatic Collection of the Historical Museum, Shumen. Coin Hoards and Coins from 2nd-1st centuries B.C.”, *Numismatica et Sphragistika* 6, 1999, no. 2, 13-66.
- RE* *Pauly's – Wissowa' Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 80 volumes (Stuttgart, 1894–1978)
- RIC II<sup>2</sup>* H. Mattingly – E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. I: From 32 B.C. to A.D. 69* (London 1923) / Second revised edition by C. V. H. Sutherland (London 1984).
- RIC II* H. Mattingly – E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. II: Vespasian to Hadrian* (London 1926)
- RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>* T. Buttrey – I. Carradice, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. II, part 1: From AD 69-96, Vespasian to Domitian*, Second revised edition, (London 2007)

## Abbreviations

RPC I	A. M. Burnett – M. Amandry – P. P. Ripollès, <i>The Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69)</i> , London–Paris 1992 (Supplement I, 1998).
RPC II	A. Burnett – M. Amandry – I. Carradice, <i>The Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. II From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)</i> , (London–Paris 1999)
RRCH	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coin Hoards</i> (London 1969)
RRC	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , vols. I-II. (Cambridge 1974)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923–)
SNG BM Black Sea	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Great Britain IX: British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea</i> (London 1993)
SNG Bulgaria, Russe	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Bulgaria. Ruse, Bobokov Bros. Collection. Thrace &amp; Moesia Inferior 1: Deultum</i> , (Russe 2005)
SNG Cop.	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Vol. 3. Macedonia</i> , Copenhagen 1943
SNG Greece 4	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Greece, volume 4: Numismatic Museum: The Petros S. Saroglos Collection. Macedonia 1</i> , (Athens 2005)
SNG Evelpidis	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Greece, The Evelpidis Collections</i> , Athens 1970
SNG München	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, München Staatliche Münzsammlung</i> , Berlin 1968–
SNG Stancomb	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Great Britain XI: The William Stancomb Collection of coins of Black Sea region</i> (Oxford 2000)
SNG Tübingen	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Münzsammlung Universität Tübingen</i> (Berlin 1981)
SNG von Aulock	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland. Sammlung Hans von Aulock</i> , (Berlin 1957–1968)
Syd.	E. M. A. Sydenham, <i>The Coinage of the Roman Republic</i> (London 1952)
Thompson, Athens	M. Thompson, <i>The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens</i> (New York 1961)
Vratsa I	I. Prokopov – E. Paunov – N. Torbov, <i>The Numismatic Collection of the Regional Museum of History at Vratsa. Part I: Coins and Coin Hoards from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD</i> /= <i>CCCHBulg 5.1/</i> , (Sofia 2013), /forthcoming/.

## Technical Abbreviations

Æ	=	aes, bronze
AR	=	argentum, silver
AV	=	aureus, gold
cmk/s	=	countermark/s
D.	=	denarius/-i
diam.	=	diameter



## Abbreviations

Dp	=	<i>dupondius</i>
Dr.	=	drachm/s
Didr.	=	didrachm/s
g	=	grams
mm	=	millimeters
No/s	=	number/s
Obv.	=	obverse
Qd	=	<i>quadrans</i>
Quin	=	<i>quinarius</i>
Rev.	=	reverse
<i>RID</i>	=	Roman Imperial <i>denarius</i> / <i>denarii</i>
<i>RRD</i>	=	Roman Republican <i>denarius</i> / <i>denarii</i>
S	=	<i>sestertius</i>
sem	=	<i>semis</i>
Tetradr.	=	tetradrachm/s
xx +	=	more than
*	=	hoard/coin which content is presented in the Appendices / database
#	=	hoard/coin seen and examined <i>de visu</i>
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## Coin wear degrees

<i>FDC</i>	=	<i>fleur de coin</i> (= mint state)
<i>NW</i>	=	no wear
<i>LW</i>	=	light wear
<i>MW</i>	=	mid-wear
<i>VW</i>	=	very worn
<i>HW</i>	=	highly worn

## Locations

## *Abbreviations*

Czech National Museum, Prague  
Archaeological Museum, Burgas  
*NAIM* – Dept. of Numismatics, National Archaeological Institute & Museum, Sofia  
*NHM* – Dept. of Coins, National History Museum, Sofia  
Regional Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv  
Regional Archaeological Museum, Varna  
Regional Museum of History, Blagoevgrad  
Regional Museum of History, Dobrich  
Regional Museum of History, Gabrovo  
Regional Museum of History, Haskovo  
'Acad. Yordan Ivanov' Regional Museum of History, Kyustendil  
Regional Museum of History, Lovech  
Regional Museum of History, Montana  
Regional Museum of History, Pazardjik  
Regional Museum of History, Pernik  
Regional Museum of History, Pleven  
Regional Museum of History, Razgrad  
Regional Museum of History, Russe  
Regional Museum of History, Silistra  
Regional Museum of History, Shumen  
Regional Museum of History, Smolyan  
Regional Museum of History, Stara Zagora  
Regional Museum of History, Vidin  
Regional Museum of History, Veliko Tarnovo  
Regional Museum of History, Vratsa  
Regional Museum of History, Yambol  
Municipal Museum of History, Isperih  
Municipal Museum of History, Karlovo  
'Iskra' Municipal Museum of History, Kazanluk  
Municipal Museum of History, Kotel  
Municipal Museum of History, Lom  
Municipal Museum of History, Nova Zagora  
Municipal Museum of History, Petrich  
Municipal Museum of History, Svishtov  
Municipal Museum of History, Velingrad  
Private collections – Sofia, Vratsa, Pleven, Russe, Plovdiv, Pernik, Trun, *etc.*



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# Chapter 1: Introduction

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## 1.1. Aims and objectives of research

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the transition from Late Hellenistic to Roman coin system in ancient Thrace (roughly the territory of modern Bulgaria), from an archaeological and historical but primarily – from a numismatic perspective. It is based on a thorough review, analysis and interpretation of nearly 48,000 coins<sup>1</sup>. It also traces the introduction, distribution and use of the Roman *denarius* in the Eastern Balkans, from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the time of Trajan (AD 98-117).

From the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the Roman and Greek/Hellenistic cultures competed for control of the Lower Danube region. It is important to ask the following questions:

- How did the Roman Empire gradually take full political control of the Balkan Peninsula?
- How was this achieved in economic and monetary terms?
- What role did Roman money play in the regional economy?
- What were the exact stages of the transformation of ‘barbarous’ *Thrace* and *Moesia*, from an unstable area bordering the province of Macedonia with a dozen local tribal rulers, to a peaceful and prosperous region in just a century?

These historical events are reflected in the replacement of existing coinages (indigenous and non-indigenous) with the mainstream currency of Rome (‘the *denarius* system’), brought, it is believed, by traders, soldiers and settlers. In this respect this research seeks to investigate the role of the Roman Republican and early Imperial *denarius* coinage in order to provide a better understanding of how this

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<sup>1</sup> Details in section 4.3 and table 4.1.

unification was achieved, and what its role was in the development of the Thracian provinces of the Empire.

What is currently lacking is an objective and wider picture, a large-scale study, based on the available evidence, illustrating any changes in detail and the great transition from one system of economy/monetarism to another – thus, the very identity of the Balkans in the ancient world (*i.e.* from the Late Hellenistic to the Roman system).

## 1.2. Summary of research aims

- To integrate the study of ancient coinage into its archaeological and historical context;
- To gather a substantial amount of published and unpublished coin evidence (available for study);
- To use coinage to explore some of the most complex historical questions of the period;
- To contribute to the greater understanding of the given problems in several scholarly fields:
  - History and Archaeology of the Roman Empire, particularly of the Balkan provinces;
  - Numismatics (Late Hellenistic, Roman Republican and Early Imperial).

## 1.3. Geographic limits

This thesis is concerned with a region which is situated in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. The geographic scope of the study covers the territory of the modern Republic of Bulgaria, and some of the adjacent areas (that once was known in the Hellenistic period as '*Greater Thrace*'). This includes areas of Northern Greece, European Turkey, Southern Romanian Dobrudja, Eastern Serbia, and parts of the modern Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). More precisely, the aforementioned



territory illustrates common trends which are reflected in the numismatic evidence and economic processes. The area had a long history of coinage from the late 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, when the coins were first introduced.

In fact, the study area largely covers both Roman provinces on the Balkans – *Moesia* (without most western zone (Serbia) and the northeastern (Romanian part of Dobrudja) and *Thracia* with its Aegean part and European Turkey. Therefore, my territorial choice is based on the contribution of Thrace to the empire-wide distribution of Roman coinage, and its impact on the subsequent process of Romanisation.

#### 1.4. Chronological limits

The period under discussion includes some 250 years of intensive historical events and several phases of Roman activities in the Balkans, all of them well reflected in coin evidence and its patterns. To be exact, the historical framework of this work ranges from the establishment of Macedonia as a Roman province in 146 BC, until the Dacian wars of Emperor Trajan in AD 101/2 and 105/6. These historic limits have been selected because they mark the complete incorporation of Thrace as a Hellenised region within the Roman Empire<sup>2</sup>. The former date – because it features the territorial possession of Macedonia by the Republic, and its direct involvement in Balkan affairs. The latter date – because it marks a new phase in Roman 'Balkan' policy with the formation of Dacia, and the shift of the frontier from the Danube. The closing date of this thesis actually matches the starting date of the work of C. Găzdac on coin circulation in the Lower Danubian provinces from Trajan to Constantine the Great<sup>3</sup>, thus filling in a historical and numismatic *lacuna*.

#### 1.5. Summary of previous research

The state of research on the Late Hellenistic, Thracian and Roman coins varies greatly<sup>4</sup>. Significant previous work has been done on various aspects of this type of

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<sup>2</sup> Complete details in the chapter *Historical account of Thrace 1-3*.

<sup>3</sup> See C. Găzdac, *Monetary circulation in Dacia and the provinces from the middle and lower Danube from Trajan to Constantine I (AD 106-337)*, Cluj-Napoca 2002 and a revised edition 2010<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Reviews of previous research are made in more details in the individual chapters for each coinage, or coin type.

research. Later Hellenistic coinages and their typology and dating has been studied extensively by authors like M. Thompson<sup>5</sup>, E. Schönert-Geiss<sup>6</sup>, and more recently by F. de Callataÿ<sup>7</sup> and R. Bauslaugh<sup>8</sup>. The nature of coinage in the Roman Republic is well understood, thanks to the monumental work of M. H. Crawford<sup>9</sup> and other authors (such as E. Sydenham, H. Mattingly, C. A. Hersh, *et alii*). Crawford also masterly retold the story of Rome, Italy, Mediterranean and the provinces, from numismatic point of view.<sup>10</sup>

The mainstream coinage of the early Roman Empire was a subject of long-term and comprehensive research by numerous modern authors like K. Kraft, M. Grant, H. Sutherland, H. Mattingly, H.-M. von Kaenel, T. Buttrey, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, W. Metcalf, B. Woytek, R. Wolters and many others.<sup>11</sup>

The picture of coin circulation in *Dacia* (modern Romania) is now clearer as a result of the work done by Romanian scholars like the late Maria Chițescu<sup>12</sup>, I. Winkler<sup>13</sup>, I. Glodariu<sup>14</sup>, V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba<sup>15</sup>; and recently by C. Găzdac<sup>16</sup> (on the Imperial period), and by D. Moisil<sup>17</sup> (re-collection of the Republican hoards). Professor Michael Crawford<sup>18</sup> and Dr Kris Lockyear<sup>19</sup> substantially contributed to our knowledge of *Dacia* from the British side. The phenomenon of ‘Dacian’ imitations of

<sup>5</sup> M. Thompson, *The New Style Coinage of Athens* (ANS NNM), New York 1961.

<sup>6</sup> E. Schönert-Geiß, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion*, Berlin 1972; Idem, *Die Münzprägung von Maroneia* (Griechisches Münzwerk 26), Berlin 1987.

<sup>7</sup> Principal works – F.de Callataÿ, *L’histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1997 and Idem, *Recueil quantitatif des émissions monétaires hellénistiques*, Wetteren 1997.

<sup>8</sup> R.A. Bauslaugh, *Silver Coinage with the Types of Aesillas the Quaestor* (ANS NNM 22), New York 2000.

<sup>9</sup> M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols.), Cambridge 1974.

<sup>10</sup> M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money Under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean Economy*, London 1985.

<sup>11</sup> See *General Bibliography* for individual details of each scholar.

<sup>12</sup> M. Chițescu, *Numismatic Aspects of the History of the Dacian State* (BAR Intern. Ser. 112), Oxford 1981.

<sup>13</sup> I. Winkler, “Schatzfunde römischer Silbermünzen in Dakien bis zum Beginn der Dakerkriege”, *JNG* 17, Munich 1967, 123-156.

<sup>14</sup> I. Glodariu, *Dacian Trade with the Hellenistic and Roman World* (BAR Supplementary series 8). Oxford 1976.

<sup>15</sup> Principal works: V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Le monnaie romaine chez les Daces orientaux*, Bucharest 1980; and Idem, *Dacia Răsăriteană în secolele VI–I î.e.n. Economie și monedă*, Iași 1990.

<sup>16</sup> C. Găzdac, *Monetary circulation in Dacia and the provinces from the middle and lower Danube from Trajan to Constantine I (AD 106-337)*, Cluj-Napoca 2002 (2010<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>17</sup> D. Moisil – G. Depeyrot, *Les trésors de deniers antérieurs à Trajan en Roumanie (Moneta 33)*, Wetteren 2002.

<sup>18</sup> M.H. Crawford 1977, “Republican denarii in Romania: the suppression of piracy and the slave-trade”, *JRS* 67, 117-124 and in *CMRR* (1985).

<sup>19</sup> K. Lockyear, “The supply of Roman Republican *denarii* to Romania”, *SCN* 11, Bucharest 1997, 85-102; see for more details, *cf.* Lockyear 2007.

*denarii* has been recently studied by K. Lockyear<sup>20</sup> and P. Davis.<sup>21</sup> The coin circulation in Macedonia has been well touched by I. Touratsoglou.<sup>22</sup> The beginning of Roman coinage in Asia Minor and in the Aegean has been treated by M. Crawford<sup>23</sup>, P. Kinns<sup>24</sup>, O. Picard<sup>25</sup>, R. Ashton<sup>26</sup> and recently by F. de Callataÿ.<sup>27</sup> The extant coin hoards from the former Yugoslavia have been published by I. Mirnik<sup>28</sup>, and the new additional material by D. Ujes.<sup>29</sup>

In Bulgaria, the main focus of my research thesis, current numismatic scholarship is not as well developed as it is expected. No major studies or coin collections have been fully published<sup>30</sup>, except for small articles, listings and/or descriptive records of the known coin hoards<sup>31</sup> (initially started by B. Filow and N. Mouchmov, later by T. Gerassimov, Y. Youroukova, *et alii*), or other minor issues, mostly published in Bulgarian, and therefore not accessible to study. Only a few Roman site assemblages have been published according to modern academic standards, such as the coins from *Novae* (partially) and *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. The Mesambria coinage of Hellenistic type has been well accomplished by I. Karayotov<sup>32</sup>. The large-scale tetradrachm coinage of the Island of Thasos and of the so-called 'Thasian type' was for a long time the main occupation of I. Prokopov.<sup>33</sup> He also authored a *corpus* of the tetradrachm coinage for the Macedonian Regions, recently

<sup>20</sup> K. Lockyear, "Aspects of Roman Republican coins found in late Iron Age Dacia.", In: V. Spinei and L. Munteanu (eds.) *Miscellanea numismatica Antiquitatis. In honorem septagenarii magistri Virgilii Mihailescu-Birliba oblata*, Bucharest 2008, 147-76, esp. 154ff.

<sup>21</sup> P. Davis, "Dacian Imitations of Roman Republican Denarii.", *Apulum* 43/1, 2006, 321-56.

<sup>22</sup> I. Touratsoglou 1987 and Idem, *The Coin Circulation in ancient Macedonia, ca.200 BC – AD 286*, Athens 1993.

<sup>23</sup> Crawford 1985, 152-60.

<sup>24</sup> Kinns 1987, 105-19.

<sup>25</sup> O. Picard 2008, 2009, 2010a and 2010b.

<sup>26</sup> R. Ashton 2012.

<sup>27</sup> F. de Callataÿ, "More Than It Would Seem: The Use of Coinage by the Romans in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor (133–63 BC)", *AJN* 23, 2011, 55-86.

<sup>28</sup> I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia* (BAR Intern. Ser. 95), Oxford 1981.

<sup>29</sup> D. Ujes, in *NC*<sup>7</sup> 51 (2001), 341-7.

<sup>30</sup> Until recently, see now 4 volumes published in the new series *CCCHBulg*. A review of the project in E. Paunov, – I. Prokopov – S. Filipova, "Re-discovering coins: publication of the numismatic collections in Bulgarian museums – A new project", in: N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIV<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress volume 2, Glasgow, 31 August – 4 September 2009*, London 2011, 2047–2057.

<sup>31</sup> For more details of the Bulgarian bulletin of coin hoards found (published between 1910 and 1982), see the introductory notes in the *Catalogue of Finds* – Inventory of hoards.

<sup>32</sup> I. Karayotov, *The Coinage of Messembria, Vol. 1*. Sozopol 1995; *volume 2*, Burgas 2009.

<sup>33</sup> I. Prokopov, in: *Proceedings of Numismatic Congress, Brussels 1991* (Leuven-la-Neuve 1993), 173-185. See now the complete *corpus* – I. Prokopov, *Die Münzprägung von Thasos und der 'thasischen Typs' von Il.–I. Jh. V.Chr.*, (Griechisches Münzwerk 29), Berlin 2006.

revised.<sup>34</sup> The Thracian indigenous royal and tribal coinage has been dealt with in various extent by W. Dobrusky, N. A. Mouchmov, Y. Youroukova, D. Draganov, K. Dimitrov, and in recent years by S. Topalov, M. Manov and L. Lazarov.<sup>35</sup> No work has been done up to now in Bulgaria, except for two short papers, in the field of early Roman Imperial bronze ‘small change’ coins from the Danubian limes.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, no serious published work on the hoards of the Imperial period in Moesia and Thrace can be mentioned, besides the classic study of B. Gerov<sup>37</sup> about the barbarian and Gothic invasions, and few other minor and outdated publications.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, one can see that the numismatic material from *Moesia* and *Thracia* is poorly documented<sup>39</sup>. So far, the coin data from Bulgaria has not facilitated a complex reconstruction of these crucial times when the Romans conquered and settled the Balkans. As a result, this important period of political and cultural transition is poorly understood. Therefore, this thesis represents a great opportunity not only to undertake a comprehensive study of coin supply and use in the lower Danube region in antiquity, but also to disseminate this considerable body of material to a wider audience.

## 1.6. Setting the framework

I aim to emphasise mostly the analysis of the numerous Republican and early Principate hoards from the Thracian land (of modern Bulgaria), in *Chapters 7–9*.

The extensive later Hellenistic coin evidence from Thrace (hoards only, containing 17,432 silver coins listed per issuer) is discussed and analysed (in quantitative and distribution terms) in *Chapter 5* (with *Appendix 1*) mostly for comparative purposes, and in order to understand the background of the existing monetary system in Thrace.

<sup>34</sup> I. S. Prokopov, *The Silver Coinage of the Macedonian Regions, 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC*. (Collection Moneta, 131), Wetteren 2012.

<sup>35</sup> See *Bibliography* for individual details for each author.

<sup>36</sup> R. Martini – E. Paunov 2004, 159-74.

<sup>37</sup> B. Gerov, “Die Einfälle der Nordvölker in den Ostbalkanraum im Lichte der Münzschatzfunde. I. Das II u. III Jahrhundert (101 - 284)“, In: *ANRW*, II/6, 1977, 110-181; Idem, „Die gotische Invasion in Mösien und Thrakien unter Decius im Lichte der Hortfunde“, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesien und Thrakien/Gesammelte Schriften*/, Amsterdam 1980, 93-112.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. J. Jouroukova, “La circulation des monnaies en Bulgarie I-II. s. et leur importance historique”, *SFMA* 1, 1979, 281-7.

<sup>39</sup> Here should also be mentioned the serious work done by the late Professor A. Kunisz, *Obieg monetarny na obszarach Mezji i Tracji w I i II w. n.e.*, (Katowice 1992) and his related papers (Kunisz 1991, 1992b and 1993).

Late Thracian royal coinages (ca. 120/100 BC – AD 45/6) are treated in detail in *Chapter 6*. A new re-arrangement of the available evidence is proposed, and a more accurate dating and attribution for a few later Thracian coin series (on the basis of 2,619 specimens).

A review of Celtic coinages in Thrace (imitations of Macedonian types, 3,220 specimens) is also included (end of *Chapter 5*, section 16.1), for the first time since the 1973 book of C. Preda<sup>40</sup> on the evidence from Romania which he called 'Geto-Dacian'. Another Celtic imitative coinage in bronze (with over 1,100 Æ)<sup>41</sup> from the southwest of Thrace is discussed in section 5.16.2.

The *denarius* hoards of the Roman Republic and the Early Principate are treated *in extensu* and analysed in *Chapters 7* and *9*, the gold – in *Chapter 8.8*.

A comprehensive comparative analysis of the available Early Imperial site finds from Moesia and Thrace, is presented in *Chapter 10*, with four individual case studies of selected sites (*Novae*, *Cabyle*, *Serdica* and *Aquae Calidae*, section 10.3.1-4).

Finally, different aspects of the coin types and provincial mints in Thrace are treated, along with the unstudied *phenomena* of the Roman coin dies and the Moesian countermarks on Julio-Claudian *aes* coins, all arranged in *Chapter 11: Varia numismatica*.

A summary of all results of numismatic analyses and interpretation is gathered and presented in the conclusions section (*Chapter 12*).

My research material derived from museum collections all over Bulgaria, from excavation reports and existing publications, hoards already studied in my initial co-authored study on the Republican deposits from Bulgaria<sup>42</sup>, and all other available sources<sup>43</sup>. Since the publication of this work, I have managed to collect reliable information and data for more than 10 new hoards (recorded in the M. H. Crawford hoards archive stored in the BM, in Ilya Prokopov' numismatic archive, in the Czech National Museum in Prague, and other sources). In total this means more than 156

<sup>40</sup> C. Preda, *Monedele geto-dacilor*, Bucureşti 1973; Preda 1998.

<sup>41</sup> Previous work on this coinage in Prokopov 2000a, 369-77; Prokopov 2002, 257; MacDonald 1998, 97-114; MacDonald 2009, 99-114.

<sup>42</sup> E. Paunov – I. Prokopov, *An Inventory of Roman Republican Coin Hoards and Coins from Bulgaria* (= *Glaux 15*), Milan 2002.

<sup>43</sup> More details of the evidence collecting process in *chapter 4: The Nature of Evidence*.

hoards of *denarii* with over 25,250 coins (22,722 from hoards, and 2,521 as 'stray' and site finds) (see 14. Catalogue of finds, parts 1–4) were recorded (full data for 7,256 uploaded in the data-base). Of those, what is now published is available only in summary or listing form (short records), and in this dissertation is undertaken in greater detail. It must be emphasised again that this is a comprehensive work, where all the available data is collected, selected, and studied thoroughly, according to the current trends in the field of numismatic and archaeological studies (by using all modern methods of research on numismatic evidence (catalogues, databases, statistics, tables, charts, digital mapping, etc.).

A vital part of the study was the accumulation and examination of the research material *de visu* at the museum institutions on site, as well as juxtaposing old inventory books, site reports and, when available, publication records.<sup>44</sup> Even now, most of this material from Bulgaria remains unpublished (average 69% for hoards and 81% for single coin finds, details in tables 4.2 and 4.3). Due to 'research stubbornness' and personal contacts established over the years I managed to collect an 'impossible' number of coin finds and make them available for study. Moreover, the analytical studies made possible a revaluation of a number of current views, and setting new research hypotheses. Our knowledge of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD – of the provinces of Moesia and Thrace - remained incomplete due to the lack of available data from major sites such as *Philippopolis*, *Cabyle*, *Serdica*, *Oescus*, *Ratiaria*, *Novae*, etc., which actually produced enough numismatic evidence to form a comprehensive picture of the coin circulation in the region. New, personally collected and still unpublished numismatic evidence, from *Serdica*, *Cabyle*, *Philippopolis* and *Aquae Calidae* greatly augmented this research.

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<sup>44</sup> More about this experience in *chapter 4*.

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## Chapter 2. Geography and Archaeology of Bulgaria

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### 2.1. Summary of geography<sup>1</sup>

The modern Republic of Bulgaria is a medium sized country (110,993 km<sup>2</sup>), located in the southeast of Europe, bordering Serbia and Macedonia (FYROM) to the west, Greece and Turkey to the south, the Danube and Romania to the north, and the Black Sea to the east (a total border of circa 2,264 km).



**Fig. 2.1.** Topographic map of the Balkans showing modern countries and capitals (source Wikipedia).

Its territory is geographically and geo-morphologically divided into several separate zones, with a variety of natural resources and habitation modes, as well as socio-political environments. They are historically named 'Miziya', 'Thrakia' (Rumelia)

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<sup>1</sup> See Дончев / Donchev 2004 and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography\\_of\\_Bulgaria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Bulgaria) .

and 'Makedonia'. It features a remarkable diversity of landscape, ranging from the Alpine peaks in Rila, Pirin and the Balkan range, to the mild and sunny Black Sea coast. The area is sub-divided into smaller sections primarily due to modern territorial divisions, but they also reflect an earlier reality and are relevant for this narrative. As a matter of fact, the territory of Bulgaria is horizontally divided by the Balkan range (*Haemus*) into two main parts which developed not only as geographic and morphological, but also as cultural and archaeological entities. The large Danube river border to the north is a factor for integration, but also for segregation. The two coastal areas – the Black Sea to the east, and the Aegean to the south – display diverse nature in terms of maritime matters and travel conditions due to their specifics. Moreover, the sea required different experience and sealing tactics, which is seen as essential when entering the northern waters – the Black Sea and passing the Bosphorus straits. This geographic advantage happens to be of vital importance for the local communities.



**Fig. 2.2.** Topographic map of Republic of Bulgaria (source Wikipedia).

The area to the north of Balkan Range is relatively uniform, dominated by the hilly Danubian Plain and the low plateaus to the east. It is a horizontal mountain emerging behind the plain of the Danube River and the Carpathian Mountains. The territory to the south of the Balkan range comprised the Upper Thracian Plain to the east, and the Rila-Pirin-Rhodopes massif to the south. To the southwest are medium



altitude mountains such as Vitosha, Belasitsa, and Osogovo with gorges that open towards the west and the Kraishte region (with Kyustendil). The area to the southeast includes the Strymon, Mesta, Maritza and Tundja valleys and the plains which expand eastwards to the Black Sea, and southeastwards to the Aegean coast. This land includes the southern slopes of the Rhodopes, Strandzha Mountain (*Haemimons*) as well as the extended area of the Lower Thracian Plain. The Gallipoli peninsula (the ancient Thracian Chersonese) and the northern Aegean coast are an integral part of the studied geographic area.

### 1. The area to the north of the Balkan range (*Moesia*)



**Fig. 2.3 a-b.** Two views of the Danube: a. Satellite near Russe; B. River at high tide (photos source Wikipedia/ Panoramio).

The area to the north of the Balkan range and to the south of the Lower Danube is historically known as *Moesia* (now Miziya in Bulgarian). It is further limited by the Timok River to the west, the Danube River and the Black Sea coast to the east. Geographically, the area is relatively uniform, dominated by the large Danubian Plain and lowland to the east. Other sub-regions are the Ludogorie (Deliorman), literally *region of wild forests*, Gerlovo and Zlatiya. The Ludogorie was largely dominated by

forests that merged with the Balkan Range. The most distinctive feature on the northern landscape is the Danubian Plain. It is also known as Dobrudja/Dobruja/Dobrogea<sup>2</sup>, and emerged as an extended piece of fertile land located between the Lower Danube and the Black Sea, including the area of the Danube Delta. It is internally subdivided into two parts- northern and southern, separated by the river. Northern Dobrudja is lower than the south, occupied by marshes and lakes running along the riverbank. Southern Dobrudja is a plain, open to the east and more elevated towards the west. The coastal section is hilly. The area has been well known as a grain producing region since ancient times (called *Scythia minor*).

## 2. The Balkan range / *Haemus mons* / Stara planina

The Balkan range (Αἶμος, *Haemus*) divides horizontally the entire area under study into two separated zones as mentioned. It has been seen as the natural climatic and cultural border of the Thracian land since at least the Bronze Age. The two areas are separated, and each is linked to the Carpathian, or to the Aegean worlds. In the early periods, when crossing it was even more difficult and impossible during the cold season, and a small number of passes available, it acted as a natural border from both northern and southern influence.<sup>3</sup>



**Fig. 2.4.** Map of Stara Planina (*Haemus*) range location (source Wikipedia).

<sup>2</sup> Fol (ed), *История на Добруджа / History of Dobruja* (Sofia 1984); A. Ischirkoff, *Les Bulgares en Dobroudja...*; and in the records of Johann Christian von Engel, Felix Kanitz, Marin Drinov, Constantin Jireček, Grigore Tocilescu, Camille Allard, Ami Boué, Heinrich Brunn and other geographers.

<sup>3</sup> Archibald 1998, 9-12.

The mountain stretches from Vrashka Chuka/ Vrška Čuka Peak (in Serbia) and terminates at Cape Emine on the Black Sea coast (60 m above sea level). It is only some 30 km (18.5 miles) wide, and can be divided into three large sections separated by the head waters of the Iskar, Vit and Yantra rivers. The Balkan range runs for about 560 km, with an average altitude of 1100-2000m, and rises to 2,376m at Mount Botev south of Gabrovo. The northern slopes are usually gentle, and the southern steep, with thermal springs (e.g. at Banya and Hissarja).

From a geological point of view the Balkan range is the 'youngest' part of the Alps-Himalayan chain stretching across Eurasia. Geographically, it is divided into two parts: the main Balkan Chain and the Pre-Balkans to the north, which intrude into the Danubian Plain and to the south into the Sub-Balkan valleys. To the southwest it connects with the Srednogorie (the Vitosha and Sredna Gora mountains).

Parallel to the Balkan range in the north comes the Small Balkan, and in the south the Sredna Gora mountain. The western end of the Srednogorska Planina extends to the Morava valley and its southeastern end connects with Strandja Mountain and respectively to Sakar stretching, between the Black Sea and the *Byzantium chora*. To the south of the Balkan range and to the north of the Sredna Gora there is a flat piece of land known as the plains of Podbalkan. It includes a few separated open plains and high grounds positioned between the Maritza and Tundzha rivers and their tributaries. The plains are suitable for habitation and traces of flat settlements, burials and mounds are recorded. The wooded area of the Balkan range are covered by thick (oak) forest and dry plants which appeared to be both as shelter, a natural barrier as well as a source of supply of timber and wild animals. In terms of hydrology the three main rivers (Iskar, Vit and Yantra), as well as the substantial tributaries are water sources and a line of transport especially in their middle courses. During bad weather the main river levels rise drastically and may flood the adjacent area.

A number of passes in *Haemus*<sup>4</sup> seem to have been known since antiquity, which made possible the crossing primarily during the warm season. They are located at the central and eastern section of the Balkan range - Shipka, Beklemeto,

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<sup>4</sup> Jireček 1877, 138-142.

or Dyulino. They seem to be steep and narrow cutting the mountain at significant height overtaking some of the peaks such as St. Nikolas at Shipka. Therefore, during bad weather, especially during the cold part of the year, the available passes are difficult, even nowadays, and remain closed for a period of time. At present, there is a line of Balkan range passes that allow frequent crossing of the mountain from west to east, such as Petrohan (with a highest point at 1,440 m), Iskar (850m), Vitinya (1,000m), Arabakonak (950m), Troyan-Beklemeto (1,550m), Hainboaz (700m), Trevnenski (967m), Zlatishki/Kashana, Tvarditza (1045m), Shipka (1,190m), Varbishki (1,045m), Marashki-Mokrenski-Kotlenski (700m), Vratnik (1000m), Rishki (420m), Aytoski (390m), Dyulinski (437m), and Pomoriyski (420m) - some more problematic than others.<sup>5</sup> Nearly 140 years ago Jireček numbered the main passages in *Haemus* with Roman numerals, from I to IX. He further stated that the Romans must have used only four of them – I, II, III, VI, VII and IX, with only two roads crossing – at Troyan and the Iskar gorge.<sup>6</sup> Since it is not clear which of the above passes would have been used and in which form, it is not possible to evaluate the extent to which regular crossing would have been possible during the early periods (of Hellenistic and Roman date). The mountain crossing would have been a severe challenge for early travelers due to frost or deep snow, fog and limited visibility, narrow paths and unstable roads.



**Fig. 2.5.** Stara Planina range during the winter (Photo source Panoramio).

<sup>5</sup> <http://geopolitica.eu/2010/36-geoikonomichestoto-znachenie-na-balgarskite-planinski-prohodi> .

<sup>6</sup> Jireček 1877, 143.

### 3. The area to the south of the Balkan range (South Thrace)

The area located to the south of the main ridge of the Balkan range is more varied than that to the north. It includes the Sub-Balkan valley and Upper Thracian Plain that stretches to the east, and the Rila-Rhodopes range, including the Vitosha-Osogovo-Belaisitsa and the Kraishte region, to the southwest. Similar to the Danubian Plateau, it is a hilly and elevated plain and its terrain is also well cultivated. The large Thracian plain is internally divided into two parts: upper and lower, extending between the Balkan range, Sakar, Eastern Rhodopes and the lower Maritza. The Upper Thracian plain opens out to the southeast as extensive flat land limited to the northwest by Eledgik, to the north by the Sredna Gora, and stretches to the south to the steep northern Rhodopes, and to the east to the Sakar, St. Iliya and Manastir heights.<sup>7</sup>

The zone located between the Upper Thracian plain and the Black Sea coast – the Middle-Tundja area, consists of hills, low mountains and rolling plains and fields.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the St. Iliya and Manastir heights separate the territory along the middle Tundzha river. In the north it is limited by the southern slopes of the Sarnena Gora, and in the east by the Burgas plain. To the southeast the land expands towards the sea, and ends at the Sakar Mountain. Additionally the Thracian Plain is internally divided into two parts – the Plovdiv and Stara Zagora Plains, by the Dragoyna ridge and the Rhodopes, which formed a natural and cultural boundary. However, regardless of the inner division they remained integrated and watered by the Maritza/*Hebros* and its tributaries. The terrain to the west of the Thracian Plain comprises the Sofia Valley and its surrounding mountains. To the northeast it terminates at the Balkan Range and to the southwest at Viskyar, Lyulin, and Lozen peaks, and Mount Vitosha south of Sofia (Cherni Vruh summit, 2,290m).

### 4. Rilo-Rhodopes massif

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<sup>7</sup> Beshkov, "The Upper Thracian Plain in Bulgarian Agriculture", *Economic Geography* Vol. 15, no. 2 (Apr. 1939), 179-84.

<sup>8</sup> Galabov et al. 1977, 234.

The Rila-Rhodopes massif is a highland area that comprises the Osogovo-Belasitza mountain, together with the Struma valley, the Rila-Pirin branch with the Mesta valley, and the Rhodopes. The western part (belonging to the Osogovo-Belasitsa area and the middle Struma) rises to the north-south as a vertical natural border. The area is divided by the river valley that accommodated the old seasonal migration route/s. The Rila-Pirin section is the the dominant highlands of the region, cut by the river Mesta. The Yundola (1,375 m) and the Abraham Saddle (1,295 m) connect Rila with the Rhodopes to the east and at the same time the Predel Saddle (1,140 m) to Pirin to the southeast, and by the Klisura Saddle (1,025 m) to Verila. Therefore the highlands are seen as integrated and even connected to the Balkan range.

Rila, Pirin and the Rhodopes possess individual specifics which made them very differentiable in terms of morphology, geology and setting. Rila is the highest mountain on the Balkan Peninsula with its peak Musala 2,930 and rises above the Maritza, Mesta and Iskar rivers, followed by Pirin at Vihren – 2,914 m high. To southeast the Rila Mountain descends to the Maritza valley and to southwest to the Mesta and in the north is linked to Verila and Vitosha mountains. To the south Rila bridges Pirin and the Osogovo Mountain via the Struma and to the east is connected to the Rhodopes. To the north-east Rila borders the Balkan range via the Ihtiman heights. The highland has narrow valleys at different altitudes, suited for seasonal farming. Rila is well watered by the Iskar River and its tributaries as well as by numerous high altitude Alpine lakes and a range of creeks that keeps the water balance as well as nurtures the high pastures. It is well suited for highland farming with its extensive natural grassland. The hydrologic potential of Rila is severe and most of the significant rivers in the area under study commence from it - Iskar, Maritza and Mesta as well as some tributaries. The Rila lakes district occupied the area between 2,100 and 2,500 metres height of glacial origin and comprised seven large lakes with distinct shape. The lakes are located one above the other and are joined together by small streams, waterfalls and cascades well appreciated for touristic purposes. Additionally at the foot of the Rila mountain thermal springs such as Sapareva Banja (the hottest known in the area about 101° C), at Kostenetz and Razlog are known and well exploited.

## 5. Pirin



**Figure 2.6.** Panorama of Pirin seen from Gotse Delchev / Nevrokop area (photo D. Vassilev).

Similarly, Pirin emerges as the second high mountain in the area and on the entire Balkan Peninsula and mark the heart of the highlands (Vihren, 2,914m). Pirin is set in the southwest of the country between the Struma and Mesta Rivers, bordering Rila to the north at the Predel Saddle and Slavyanka to the south at the Parilska Saddle (1,170 m). The Predela actually is the joint between the two mountains and the actual pass from north to south. The area between Pirin and Western Rhodopes is marked by the Mesta valley and the two open plains. Pirin too, is made of granite core and metamorphic rocks as periphery<sup>9</sup>, incised by numerous glacial cirques and lakes.

## 6. Rhodopi / *Rhodopes*

The last section in the dominated mountain massif is the Rhodopi / Rhodopes mountain range. Its higher peak is Golyam Perelik (2,191 m). To the north the Rhodopes bordered the Thracian plain and to the southern the North Aegean hinterland and the Mesta valley. To the east it reaches the alluvial terraces of Maritsa/ *Hebros* and to the northwest the Mesta/*Nestos* river valley.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the mountain cover the large highland zone (approximately 250 west to east and 100 km north to south), that dominated over the flat area in the adjacent Thracian Plain and the northern Aegean coast.<sup>11</sup> The Rhodopes are divided into two parts – Western and Eastern through the river valleys of Arda and its tributaries. In the Western area is characterised by karsts formations, and the eastern by high igneous rocks. The climate is mountaineous in its western section and much milder to the east softened by the warm air currents of the Mediterranean arrived through by the river valleys. From a geologic point of view the Rhodopes are the older range in the area which

<sup>9</sup> Stefanova et al. 2003, 95-111; Zagorchev 1995, 1- 70.

<sup>10</sup> Гълъбов, Ж. и кол. / Galabov et alii 1977, 289.

<sup>11</sup> Archibald 1998, 12-13.

arose as waves of rolling ridges incised by deep river valleys and karstic gorges and caves. It is also seen as a picturesque blend of high slopes, ridges, and incised river valleys result of the faults of the metamorphic, sediment and volcanic rocks. The core is built of crystalline schists, limestones and granite of Paleozoic date gradually modified by the end of the Tertiary period. Similarly to Rila and Pirin Mountains, the Rhodopes too experienced period of glaciations, but to minor extent and lacks the high pinnacle and alpine reliefs. The geological dynamics shaped the current relief but also are formed the local mineral deposits and reflected on the habitation and farming pathway.

The importance of the mountain passages within the Rhodopes such as Makaza, Dospat, Rozhen, Prevala and Topolovski is appreciated and exploited from the earliest time. They have been a matter of regular exploitation especially those at lower altitude in the central and east section. The most traditional line runs between Plovdiv area down to the northern Aegean passing Chepelare and then direct south. Another line goes via Rozhen and is much smoother and possibly achievable throughout the year, similarly to this following the Arda river.

### **7. Strandja mountain (*Haemimons*)**

The Strandja massif is located to the southeast of the Thracian plain, to the west the Tundzha valley, the northwest of the Istanbul zone, and to the northeast waters of Black Sea. It emerged as high elevated and extensive piece of NW-SE oriented mount. The Strandja slopes are at considerable height especially at its southeast end.<sup>12</sup> The northerly ranges occurred as difficult to pass, but also the southern, are a matter of difficulty due to its high rocks and bald slopes. In fact, the mountain may offer a challenge when crossing not only during the cold season. Moreover, the Strandja occurred as thick in forest at its elevated section and as longos along the rivers, creeks, and springs towards east and the sea coast.

### **8. Western Black Sea (Euxine) coast**

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<sup>12</sup> Chatalov 1988; Chatalov 1991; Yanev 2000; Gerdzhikov 2005.



Another distinctive section of land with the area under study is the sea shores between the Danube Delta and the Bosphorus. It is internally divided into specific sub-area such as the Ropotamo, the Veleka, the Kamchiya, the coastal part of eastern Dobrudja, the area of Salmydessos, and both large gulfs of Varna and Burgas. The northern segment covered the territory between the Danube Delta until Emona Cape including the area of *Constanța/Tomis*, the extended cape Kaliakra and the Gulf of *Varna/Odessos*. The border occurred to be the very eastern slopes of the Balkan range, which dropped into the sea and formed a high cape area of Emona. From a climatic point of view the area experienced cold, but dry winters and warm and humid summer dominated by powerful northerly winds and eastern breezes. The morphology envisaged a curved line featured by high and cliffy coast and numerous bays, capes and extended rocky passages into the sea. This together with the sudden change of wind speed and water current are often a matter of surprise and causes shipwrecks. Regardless of it, the Neolithic culture in the Varna/Devnya area and especially at Durankulak lake were flourishing and integrated into interregional dynamics and exchange networks since prehistory. Moreover, the Milesian colonies *Odessos* and *Tomis* too, were integrated into the Greek world despite the location and natural setting. The Provadiya area emerged as a locality of Neolithic salt production<sup>13</sup> which may exceed the need of the settlement and its neighbouring area and may well be a source of prosperity for the region of Varna. The coastal Dobrudja as well as Provadiya plain are considered as a fertile granary area and respectively - a matter of supply and exchange.

The southern section of western Euxine coast begin at the Cape Emine and expands till the Bosphorus straits including the Burgas Gulf and Burgas lakes as well as the ancient colonies of *Mesambria*, *Anchialus*, *Apollonia*, *Auleuteichos/Ahtopol* and *Salmydessos*.<sup>14</sup> The area of Burgas occurred as open and flat piece of land separated from the sea by sort of a lake district with their separated open bays sheltered by extended lands.

The area is a result of coastal tectonic and especially Quaternary dynamics. To the southeastwards the coast raises in height and formed a great number of coves and capes, which are seen as navigation points of attention while sailing. Veleka and

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<sup>13</sup> See Nikolov 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Karayotov et al 2009; Gyuzelev 2008.

Rezovska estuaries are natural feature, but also source of water for vegetation. Considering the changeable nature of the above rivers (they could instantly convert from a creek into wild water sources) as well as the others such as Dyavolska and Karaagach, the area might turned into an over flooded area integrated with the sea by a bad weather and sea storms. It has to bear in mind that depending on the climatic conditions the area may experience sudden change and from a pleasant seaside may become a valid spot with powerful wind and vigorous high water. Therefore land and sea crossing maybe disturbed and suspended. The climate is usually mild and even Mediterranean like towards southern section with predominantly eastern winds, rather than northerly as to the north. During the cold part of the year the northerly and western winds dominate, as for the hot – the eastern breezes. The wind speed and direction, together with its sudden change, had been a matter of consideration and even a barrier for sailing towards north and especially when the passing the Bosphorus from south. The Greek colonies in the area seems to have experienced this challenge but regardless the difficulty, they established colonies which had long period of prosperity and active trade and exchange with the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic world.

### 9. The *Thracian Chersonese* (Gallipoli peninsula)

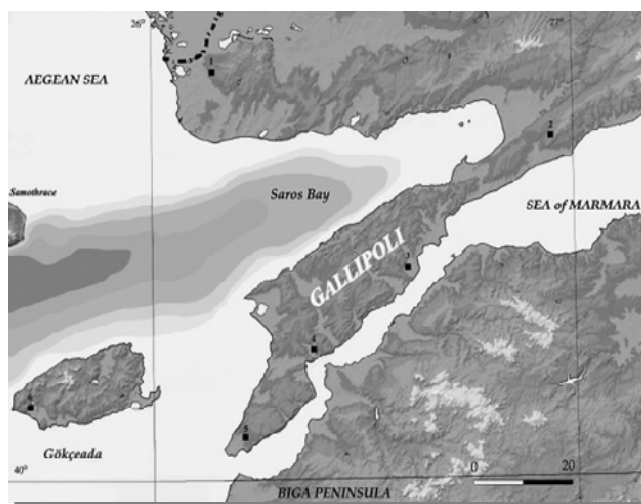


Fig. 2.7. Topographic map of Gallipoli peninsula<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> source: <http://ars.els-cdn.com/content/image/1-s2.0-S1040618212000158-gr6.jpg>

The slender peninsula runs in a south-westerly direction into the Aegean bridging the Hellespont/Dardanelles and the bay of Melas/Saros. It forms the northern shore of the Dardanelles (Sea of Marmara), linking the Aegean with the Sea of Marmara through the length of the narrow straits. More particularly, the peninsula started from the mouth of Kavak River/*Melas* and stretched to the south-west towards the mountain of Tekirdag covering about 900 sq. km. The northwestern side is higher and steep but with convenient bays as for the southern and southeastern is a shallow bank. The water resources are scarce. In terms of climate the area experienced long autumns and springs, hot summers and mild winters. Here too, northerly and northeastern winds are predominant throughout the year.

The straits area experience a severe surface current running eastwards toward the Aegean Sea as well as the depth the current in the opposite direction, toward the Sea of Marmara, but relatively weak. The area is a challenge for navigation and has to be taken in consideration in terms of wind direction, current and matter of supply. The peninsula was renowned for its wheat as well as place of strategic importance on the main route between Europe and Asia with controlling factions as well as monitoring the shipping routes by crossing both the Hellespont/Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. For a long period of time the area holds the key for sea travel and passing the Bosphorus straits and reaching western Anatolia and the Black Sea.<sup>16</sup> The area is closely associated with trading encounters and some areas are known as emporia's such as Kardia, and Madytos.

## 10. Rivers and communication routes

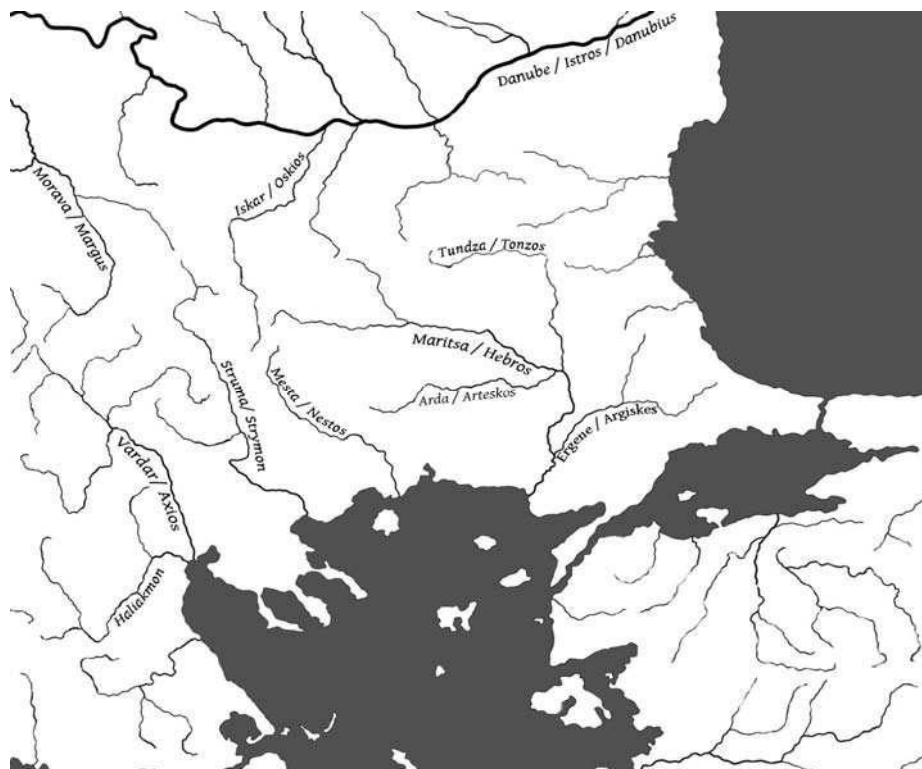
Bulgaria has a dense network of about 540 rivers, but most of them have short-lengths and low-water levels<sup>17</sup>. It is divided into two nearly equal two drainage systems of rivers – tributaries to the Danube / Black sea, flowing north/northeast (*Ogosta/Augusta*, *Iskar/Oescus*, *Vit/ Utus*, *Osum/ Asamus*, *Yantra/ Iatrus*, and *Russenski Lom*, then *Kamchiya/Panyosos*, *Ropotamo*, *Karaagach* and *Veleka*, amounting to 42% of river-waters), and tributaries to the Aegean, flowing

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<sup>16</sup> Xen. *Hell.*3.2; Diod. 14.38; Pliny, *NH* 4.18; Plutarch, *Pericles* 19; Hdt. *Hist.* 6.36; Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> Дончев / Donchev 2004, 68.

south/southeast (Strouma/ *Strymon*, Mesta/ *Nestos*, Maritsa / *Hebros*, Tundzha / *Tonzos*, and Arda/*Arteskos*, amounting to of 58%). As could be seen, the modern river names in the north of Bulgaria linguistically derived from the ancient Thracian/Celtic substrate and from the later Roman names.



**Fig. 2.8.** The river network in the Balkans (map E. Paunov).

The river network is often seen as natural benefit, which foster contacts and communication, even exchange/commerce beyond the immediate setting. In other words, the area under study comprises of a number of separate geographic-geologic, morphologic, climatic, and cultural zones that canvassed a range of modes of live and familiarity with the natural resources.<sup>18</sup>

Due to its geologic formation the rivers such as the Iskar, Struma, Mesta and Arda are often narrow gorges and valleys and at their lower reaches they changed their riverbed. The estuaries of some rivers are marshy and not convenient for habitation (e.g. Strymon, Mesta, Maritsa, Kamchiya, Veleka, and other).

The Thracian rivers form the most direct link from the coast to the interior of the country, with the Danube seen as the only securely navigable waterway. In contrast to Greece, the lower courses of Thracian rivers: Struma, Mesta and Maritza at *Aenos*

<sup>18</sup> Archibald 1998, 11-13.

were navigable in antiquity (sources: Thuc. 4.107; Strabo 7.47–48)<sup>19</sup>. For instance, until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Maritza / *Hebros*<sup>20</sup> river was heavily used (with flat-bottom boats of a larger size) for navigation purposes. Various goods, timber and iron ore were transported from *Philippopolis*/Plovdiv down to the river mouth at *Ainos*/Enez and then re-directed to Constantinople.<sup>21</sup>

No doubt, this river-link of southern Thrace substantially influenced its economic and political orientation and largely enhanced the contacts, interactions, and river trade with the Aegean coast and further south and east with the Mediterranean since the ancient times.

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<sup>19</sup> Discussion in Casson 1926, 23, 34; Isaac 1986, 141-3; de Boer 2010, 176-177.

<sup>20</sup> About Maritza as a natural gate and route into southern Thrace, see also Danov 1979, 122; Isaac 1986, 144-5.

<sup>21</sup> See Casson 1926, 23, 34; Tsonchev 1962, 848-852; de Boer 2010, 177.

## 2.2. The Archaeological evidence, ca. 150 BC – AD 100

It is a matter of great difficulty to trace down the archaeological record from the Thracian land for the period under study, especially for the Late Hellenistic era, due to the insufficient published data. What is known is rather brief and incomplete for a general archaeological sense of the period to be formed. Since the indigenous Thracian culture cannot be clearly distinguished at this state of research, it is not possible to generate a good understanding of the archaeological record during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Currently, it may be expressed only by selected data, which suggests tendencies. They developed in the subsequent period of Roman domination, and become noticeable in the numismatic repertoire.

### 2.2.1. The *La Tène D* finds in Thrace



**Fig. 2.9.** Celtic weapons and a clay jug from Varna region (Photo Varna Archaeological Museum).

The entire western, northern and northwestern corner of Thrace has yielded numerous finds of cremation graves dating to the *La Tène D* (=Belgrade III<sup>22</sup>) period (ca. 150 – end of 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC) – containing status and social markers. Above all these are Celtic-type iron weapons, *fibulae* and jewellery<sup>23</sup>, but sadly, habitation areas are lacking. At present, there are no actual settlements or larger habitation structures known to us, nor have such been either briefly recorded, localized, or archaeologically excavated.<sup>24</sup>

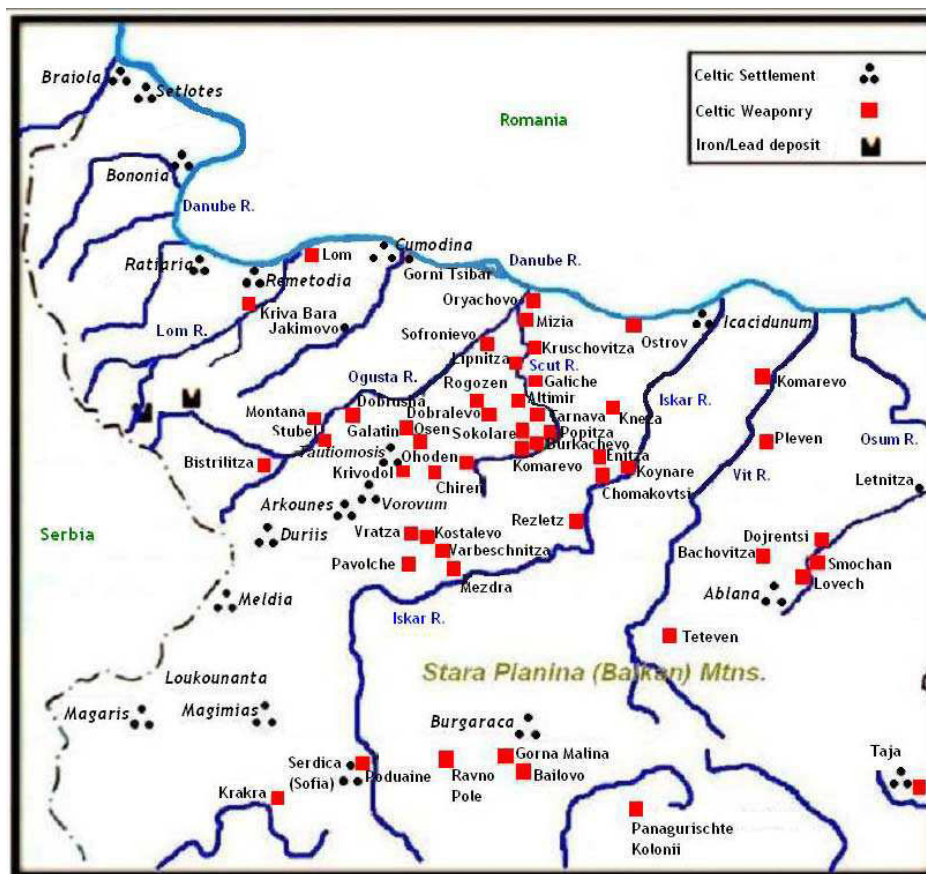


Fig. 2.10. Distribution map of Celtic finds in NW Thrace (after Mac Gonagle 2010)

The weapons usually include a complete warrior's weaponry: the long Celtic sword/scabbard (often ritually bent/broken)<sup>25</sup>, curved dagger (*machaira*)<sup>26</sup>, shield

<sup>22</sup> See on the Balkan chronology of this period, Todorović 1968.

<sup>23</sup> A recent reviews in Theodosiev 2000; Kull 2002, 189-223; Emilov 2007a, 57-72, esp. 65-69; Emilov 2007b, 141-147; and Emilov 2010, 67-87, esp. 74-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Contra* Theodosiev 2005, 85-92, who attempted to prove an imaginary model "necropolis+settlement" for the most of *tumuli* finds in the northwestern Thrace.

<sup>25</sup> Tačeva-Hitova 1978, 325-37; Topбoв / Torbov 2000, 11-43 (over 60 finds quoted); R. Megaw – V. Megaw – Theodosiev – Torbov 2000, 25-43; Topбoв / Torbov 2005, 263-76 and *Die Thraker...* (2004), cat. nos. 262 and 273.

boss (*umbo*)<sup>27</sup>, long spear-heads, elements of iron chainmail, as well as equestrian equipment: horse bits of “Thracian” type<sup>28</sup> and spurs. Despite the fact that many of these finds were discovered in *tumuli*<sup>29</sup> graves (which was a typical Thracian burial custom), the ethnic attribution and identification of the population who inhabited the region and used these weapons remains uncertain in the absence of explicit written sources and epigraphic data. However, the presence of such a high quantity of Celtic weaponry cannot be accidental, and could suggest a direct presence or involvement in the region.

The concentration of finds of Celtic iron swords and curved daggers of *La Tène D* type is most intense along the valleys of the Ogosta, Skat and Vit rivers in northwestern Bulgaria (see fig. 2.10 above), where a high coin hoards intensity is also observed. Similar single finds are also recorded from other regions in the country – Sofia (Poduyane) and Pernik (Krakra hill and in Tran area) in the west, as well as in the central and northeastern Bulgaria (Pleven, Shumen and Varna area). A recent find – a cremation burial was excavated and subsequently published in South-central Bulgaria – from Bratya Daskalovi village in Stara Zagora region, which complimented the spread of this culture.<sup>30</sup> On the base of a *fibula* of Jezerine type<sup>31</sup> (fig. 2.11), the pottery and a few coins, it is dated to ca. 40 – ca. 20/10 BC.<sup>32</sup>



**Fig. 2.11.** Bronze *fibula* of Jezerine-type from Karakochova tumulus in Bratya Daskalovi village (photo and drawing after Tonkova 2011, 40. Fig. 11).

<sup>26</sup> 82 finds from NW Bulgaria are listed in Topбoв / Torbov 2005, 358-67; illustrated in *Die Thraker...* (2004), cat. no. 261.

<sup>27</sup> Rectangular types as illustrated in *Die Thraker...* (2004), cat. nos. 241 and 268.

<sup>28</sup> Illustrated in *Die Thraker...* (2004), cat. no. 264-265 on 296.

<sup>29</sup> See Теодосиев – Тoрбoв / Theodosiev – Torbov 1995, 11-58; Theodosiev 2000, 41-45; Torbov 2005, 263-276.

<sup>30</sup> See Тoнкoвa / Tonkova 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Тoнкoвa – Димитров / Tonkova – Dimitrov, in Tonkova 2011, 36-43, esp. at 38-40, figs. 9-11.

<sup>32</sup> For the coins from this *tumulus*, see Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-53; and find cat. no. 77.



In the archaeological literature the phenomenon of the warrior graves is called “Padea – Panagyurski Koloniy”. It is a common name of a 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC archaeological group in western Thrace and in southwestern Romania. It consists of a specific Celtic type of pottery, weapons and metal finds, named after the find-spot near the town of Panagyurishte, Pazardzhik region in southern Bulgaria<sup>33</sup>. The term was first invented by the Polish archaeologist Z. Woźniak<sup>34</sup>, and later accepted by M. Domaradzky<sup>35</sup> and other scholars.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.2.2. Metalware in Thrace



**Fig. 2.12.** Celtic gold torque (430g) from Dolni Tsibur near Lom, Montana region, 3<sup>rd</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, no. 3242 (photo after Marazov 1998, no. 114).

Distinctive Celtic types of jewellery<sup>37</sup> made their appearance in the region south of the Danube from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. They include gold and silver torques<sup>38</sup> (fig. 2.9), and a number of brooches (with finds of moulds for brooch-casting).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Димитрова – Гиздова / Dimitrova – Gizdova 1975.

<sup>34</sup> Woźniak 1974, 74-138; 1975, Woźniak 177-83; Woźniak 1976, 388-392.

<sup>35</sup> Домарадски / Domaradzky 1984, 136-41.

<sup>36</sup> Sîrbu – Rustoiu 1998, 77-91; Rustoiu 2005, 109-19; see also Emilov 2007b, 144-5.

<sup>37</sup> Тонкова / Tonkova 2002, 98-113; Tonkova 2006, 265-78; Tonkova 2011, 189-198.

<sup>38</sup> Illustrated in *Gold der Thraker* (Mainz 1979), no. 249; Marazov (ed.), *Ancient Gold* (New York 1998), cat. no. 144.

An entire horizon of hoards with decorated silverware<sup>40</sup> from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC has been registered in the northern Thrace, possibly associated with the Danube and the regional lines of communication and commerce. More precisely, these are 14 silver-gilt *phalerae* from Galiche<sup>41</sup>, the silver bowl hoards from Jakimovo<sup>42</sup>, from Bohot near Pleven<sup>43</sup> and from Gara Sindel near Varna.<sup>44</sup> The *phalera* (fig. 2.14) soldered at the bottom of one of the cups from Jakimovo most likely depicts a local chieftain, but it is executed in high Late Hellenistic style.



**Fig. 2.13.** The Galiche hoard, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, inv. nos. 5876-5880 (Photo N. Genov).

<sup>39</sup> Haralambieva 2000/2001; Torbov – Antonov 2000, 21-26.

<sup>40</sup> See a review in Treister 2001, 212-4; Emilov 2007b, 145.

<sup>41</sup> Filow – Welkow, in *BSAB* 7 (Sofia 1919/1920), 147-8, figs. 106-7; Venedikov – Gerassimov 1975, 138-9, figs. 351-354; *Gold der Thraker* (Mainz 1979), nos. 390-401.

<sup>42</sup> Маразов / Marazov 1979; illustrated in *Gold der Thraker* (Mainz 1979), nos. 412-414; *Die Thraker...* (2004), cat. nos. 207a-g.

<sup>43</sup> Вenedиков / Venedikov 1961, 355-365; illustrated in *Gold der Thraker* (Mainz 1979), nos. 402-411.

<sup>44</sup> Шкорпил / Shkorpil brothers, in *Annuaire Varna* 10 (Varna 1912), 24-5, pl. 2, 6.



**Fig. 2.14.** Silver gilt cup from the Jakimovo hoard, Montana museum, no. 39 (Photo N. Genov).

Southern Thrace has also yielded objects of toreutic art which contribute to our knowledge of the period. Silver *phalerae* (round appliqués for shields, breast plates as a sign of military rank, or for the decoration of horse trappings) with animal and/or human images executed in high repoussé, are the best type known to us from the area. Examples include finds from Ivaylovgrad in the eastern Rhodopes, from Ravnogor in the central Rhodopes, and from the area of Stara Zagora. The Ivaylovgrad (fmr. Ortaköy) *phalerae* were first published by B. Filow in 1925 (fig. 2.15).<sup>45</sup> The find consists of four tiny (diam. 7cm), but very elegant, silver pieces representing busts of Greek deities. On a pair of *phalerae* appear bearded giants facing left, Heracles wearing the lion's skin, and a helmeted Athena on the remaining two. All four exhibit the same border decoration – framed in a stylized round wreath, with twisted fillets in four places.

<sup>45</sup> Filow 1925, 33, fig. 22. Recently *Gold der Thraker* (Mainz 1979), nos. 428-430, *Die Thraker...*, 332, nos. 307a-c (dated wrongly to the "2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD"!).



**Fig. 2.15.** Two *phalerae* from Ivalovgrad – with Heracles and Athena?/, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, National Archaeological Museum Sofia, inv. nos. 3748-3749 (photo after *Gold der Thraker* 1979, 212).

In the case of Ravnogor, this is a *tumular* find excavated in 1987, where all seven *phalerae* were attached to a horse harness set ritually buried in an empty mound.<sup>46</sup> The largest piece (diam. 28 cm) features in high relief a syncretic deity with the attributes of both Dionysos and Nike shown together, separated with a border of dots along the rim.



**Fig. 2.16.** Silver harness with *phalerae* from Ravnogor in the Rhodopes, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. Pazardzhik Regional Historical Museum (photo N. Genov).

<sup>46</sup> Китов / Kitov 1988, 40-48, esp. 46; Китов / Kitov 1989, 28-41; illustrated in Marazov (ed), *Ancient Gold*, (New York 1998).



**Fig. 2.17.** The large *phalera* from Ravnogor, Regional Historical Museum of Pazardzhik, inv. no. 4707 (photo N. Genov).

Both Ivaylovgrad and Ravnogor *phalerae* finds share a high artistic style in the spirit of Late Hellenistic toreutics<sup>47</sup> and are tentatively dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

The two gilded *phalerae* from the area of Stara Zagora show a different, rather local style. This is an intriguing find, unfortunately without a clear archaeological context.<sup>48</sup> The better preserved piece, with diameter of 17.8cm, is decorated in the centre with Heracles fighting the Nemean lion, surrounded by two panthers and four griffins, all presented in dotted pattern.<sup>49</sup>

From the stylistic features it falls into a single toreutic group with similar *phalerae* from the northern Pontic region, from Anatolia, now in Leiden<sup>50</sup>, and one in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The Paris example is inscribed on the rim in Greek, providing the name of king Mithridates Eupator:

<sup>47</sup> Китов / Kitov 1988, 45-7.

<sup>48</sup> First published in Буюклиев – Димитров – Николов / Буууклиев – Димитров – Николов 1965, 134, no. 28.

<sup>49</sup> Illustrated in *Gold der Thraker* (Mainz 1979), no. 426; Маразов / Marazov 1979, 64, fig. 39; and *Die Thraker*, 332, no. 312; see also Treister 1996, 569, 580–581.

<sup>50</sup> Drexel 1915, 12-4, abb. 6; Rostovtseff 1922, 136, pl. 27.3.

ναος Ἀρτεμιδ εκ των του βα Μιθρ.<sup>51</sup> Apparently this piece was donated by the mighty Pontic king to the temple of Artemis Tauropolos in Commana. It is attributed by Rostovtseff<sup>52</sup> and other scholars to the Sarmatian or Parthian craftsmen<sup>53</sup>, who were influenced by Seleucid decorative art. However, the Stara Zagora *phalera* shows figures out of proportion and somewhat naïve style. No doubt, it also should be regarded as Mithridatic period influence, a common fashion in Thrace, being part of the late Hellenistic world between ca. 100 – 60s BC.<sup>54</sup>

Bearing in mind the fine and expensive craftsmanship of these objects, it may be suggested that they might have belonged to powerful local chieftain/s, who either resided in southern Thrace (at least in the case of Ravnogor this is certain) or conducted trade, and they arrived as a gift exchange with remote areas.



**Fig. 2.18 a-b.** A *phalera* from Stara Zagora, Regional Historical Museum Stara Zagora, inv. no. 2-132-7. (Photo: A. Institute of Thracology, Sofia; B. Detail from the Lessing Archive).

A preliminary numismatic observation may be made in this discussion. The mapping of the burial finds in northwestern Thrace (Vratsa / Montana and Plevan region) strikingly coincides with the distribution of the hoards of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia in Illyria (relevant map in *Late Hellenistic Coinages in Thrace*), and the

<sup>51</sup> Drexel 1915, 14-5, abb. 7; Pfrommer 1993, 70-1.

<sup>52</sup> Rostovtseff 1922, 136-7; Rostovtseff 1926, 245.

<sup>53</sup> Treister 1999, 566-9, 580-1; Treister 2001, 212-4.

<sup>54</sup> As suggested in Emilov 2007b, 145-6, and in Паунов / Paunov 2012, 449, note 42.

hoards of Republican *denarii* dated to the 90/80s – 50/40s BC in this region (see map fig. 5.24). This would simply mean that the Celtic-type warriors and the users of this Roman-influenced and pure Republican coinages are one and same population. Further complex research on this subject may reveal closer similarities and trends.

### 2.3. Coastal Thrace

At present, the situation and the publication level of archaeological material along the western Pontic coast is much better studied.<sup>55</sup> However, not much could be said about the settlement system and the material culture in the Late Hellenistic / early Roman period, in particular those beyond the Greek coastal cities (more details in Gyuzelev 2008).

The Greek cities along the western Euxine coast were proclaimed *civitates liberae* by the Romans, as the case of Callatis attests (Avram 1998, 115-24; Тачева / Tacheva 2004, 27). With the formation of *Moesia* they were attached to the new province. Cities like Mesambria, Odessos and Tomis minted local provincial coinage since Augustus (details in *RPC I*; Lazarenko 2011). It has been accepted for certain that under Vespasian the Pontic cities have received the status of *civitates stipendiariae*<sup>56</sup> or tribute paying communities, with their local autonomy under the auspices of the provincial governor of *Moesia*.<sup>57</sup>

### 2.4. Early Roman occupation in Moesia

The main centres of the new province of Moesia were the old tribal settlements. They formed the newly established major army camps and consequent Romanisation of *Moesia*.<sup>58</sup> For instance, Claudius Ptolemy (*Geogr.* map 3.9. 2-3) speaks of *Ratiaria* as ‘chief town of the Moesi properly so-called’ (Ρατιαρία Μοσῶν). He also states that “the lands of the Triballi extends some distance to the east to

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<sup>55</sup> Reviews in Hind 1983/4, 72-75; Tzetskhladze 1998, 9-68; Avram – Hind – Tzetskhladze 2004, 924-973.

<sup>56</sup> See *CAH* 10 (1996), 358; Potter 2010, 256.

<sup>57</sup> Including Odessos and Mesambria.

<sup>58</sup> For individual sites in *Moesia* with details and selected references, see Appendix 3, Gazetteer of sites.

*Oescus*, *Dimum* and *Novae*” (Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.10. 4-5; Polaschek 1937, in *RE*, col. 2392 ff.). The region called ‘*Moesia et Triballia*’ corresponded closely with the province of *Dacia Ripensis* created by Aurelian in AD 272 (Syme 1999, 201). After the Triballian land (from *Dimum*) come the long stretch of the Danubian plain as far as Dobrudja to the east, also called *Ripa Thraciae*, a possession of the last Thracian kings annexed after AD 45/6.<sup>59</sup>

However, it must be emphasized that early Roman occupation evidence was detected and published only from *Novae*<sup>60</sup> (see details in *Gazetteer of sites*, no. 39) and partially in *Oescus*<sup>61</sup> (*Gazetteer*, no. 31), mostly in compromised and later archaeological context. It comprises sherds of imported *terra sigillata*<sup>62</sup> and early Roman glass.<sup>63</sup>

## 2.5. Roman cities in Thrace

It is well known that the Romans established only a few towns in Thrace after the annexation of the kingdom in AD 45/6 (Kalopothakes 1893; Betz, in *RE* II, 6.A, col. 461; Gerov 1961, 107 ff.; Eck 1975, 295; recently Haynes 2011, 6-14). Principally, these were two *coloniae* in southern/southeastern Thrace settled with deduced army veterans, and the Hellenized old Thracian city of Philippopolis.

Firstly, under Claudius the colony of *Aprus/ Apri* was established (Pliny, *NH* 4.11.40-50; Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 3.11.5)<sup>64</sup>, located about 20 km southwest of Corlu, not far from the provincial capital Perinthus, on the site of a Thracian settlement.<sup>65</sup> *Colonia Claudiae Aprensis* had an internal organisation based on Italic colony models and settled with veterans and other Roman citizens.<sup>66</sup> It is very likely that some soldiers who took part in the annexation of the kingdom and in crushing the

<sup>59</sup> On the role and meaning of *Ripa Thraciae* area, see Nesselhauf 1939, 334-6; Gerov 1979, 215-6 and recently Tomas 2007, 35.

<sup>60</sup> Dimitrova-Milceva, in *Limes XV* (1991), 271-6; Dyczek 2009 and Ciolek – Dyczek 2011, 5-14 (the context of coins).

<sup>61</sup> Mostly in Kabakchieva 1996, 95-105, Abb. 1-5; and Kabakchieva 2000.

<sup>62</sup> See details in Dimitrova-Milcheva 1987, 515-26 and Dimitrova-Milcheva 2000.

<sup>63</sup> Belivanova 1999, 35-49; Cholakova 2006, 209-44.

<sup>64</sup> Discussion in Ritterling 1924, in *RE*, col. 1253; Mann 1983, 36; Eck 1975, 295-9; recently Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 227-8.

<sup>65</sup> Hellenistic (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?) civic bronze coins with legend ΑΠΡΗΝΩΝ are known, cf. Draganov 2005, 338-40.

<sup>66</sup> Eck 1975, 299; Boyanov 2008, 228.



Thracian revolt of AD 50-53 made *Apri* their home after discharge. After Vespasian, veterans of *legio II Adiutrix* were also settled there.<sup>67</sup> From epigraphic evidence we are aware of veterans, city councilors (*decuriones*), *duumvirs* and *patronus coloniae* in the Flavian time.<sup>68</sup>

Secondly, *Deultum* near Burgas was established in the early Vespasian reign (Pliny, *NH* 4.11.45) before AD 79, most probably in 70.<sup>69</sup> Discharged veterans of *legio VIII Augusta* were settled here after the Civil War. The initial territory of the colony encompassed about 18 hectares of land (increasing to 40 with the adjacent lands<sup>70</sup>), with a few hundred veterans settled.<sup>71</sup> Because of a lack of published early epigraphic evidence from *Deultum*, we are aware only of an inscription from Esquiline in Rome, the so called *tabula patrocinii* dated to AD 82 (CIL VI, 31962 = 3828). It mentions two *duumviri* of the colony, with purely Latin, perhaps Italic, names.<sup>72</sup> In the later Principate period *colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium* had an *Augusteum* temple and emperors statues within (see *Gazetteer*, no. 143). Unfortunately, the ongoing excavations in *Deultum* (since 1980) have so far yielded no evidence of the earliest period of Roman occupation (buried beneath 5-6 metres of later layers).



**Fig. 2.19.** Provincial bronze coin of *Deultum* (CFPD), anniversary civic issue struck in Rome under Trajan in AD 100 (type Draganov 2006, 1).

Most recently, another early Roman town has emerged from obscurity, also located in inland Thrace. This was *Serdica* (Σερδική, Σαρδική = *Gazetteer*, nos. 84 and 93), previously thought to have been established as a city only after the Trajanic urbanisation of the Thracian provinces (after AD 106/110)<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Attested as witnesses in a number military diplomata, see *CIL* XVI, 10 and Sharaknov 2006, 36-45.

<sup>68</sup> See *CIL* III 386; *CIL* VI 3177; summary in Eck 1975, 295-9, nos. 1-2; Slawisch 2007, 190, no. Ap5.

<sup>69</sup> See reviews in Геров / Gerov 1980, 41-7; Draganov 2006, 24-8; Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 216-23.

<sup>70</sup> Балабанов – Петрова / Balabanov – Petrova, in *Ivanov* 1 (2002), 239.

<sup>71</sup> Геров / Gerov 1980, 46-7; Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 219-20.

<sup>72</sup> Review in Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 223-4.

<sup>73</sup> For early *Serdica*, see: Jireček 1877, 25-7; Oberhummer, in *RE* II.4 (Stuttgart 1923), cols. 1669–1671; Gerov, *Westthracien* II (Sofia 1967), 90ff.; Gerov / Геров 1977, 52; Danov 1979, 267-81; Boardman, in *CAH* 3/2 (Cambridge 1992), 600.



**Fig. 2.20.** *Serdica* (campaign 2010): early timber structures under later walls (Photo M. Ivanov).

The 2010-2012 rescue excavations in the central part of Sofia provided conclusive evidence about early Principate habitation in a military context, probably from the time of late Augustus – early Tiberius. The deep trenches at the northern end have revealed numerous timber and baked brick structures (fig. 2.17), as well as other Roman finds, such as imported *terra sigillata* (from Gaul and Northern Italy), elements of military equipment (*lorica segmentata*, belt buckles), *fibulae* (fig. 2.21), of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, etc.<sup>74</sup> Given the historical record and its strategic location on the main *via militaris* in Thrace, it may be presumed that *Serdica* was established as a military post soon after the march of Marcus Licinius Crassus in 29-28 BC, or at latest under Augustus and Tiberius Caesar – after the crushing of the Pannonian revolt in AD 6 – 9.



**Fig. 2.21.** *Serdica* (campaign 2010): 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD Roman *fibulae*: a. “military types”; b. Italic imports. (Photo M. Ivanov).

<sup>74</sup> So far unpublished, see preliminary reports in Иванов / Ivanov 2011, 316-9; Иванов / Ivanov 2012, 315-317; Ivanov 2013 /in print/).

The third city of Thrace to be quickly discussed here is *Philippopolis* (modern-day Plovdiv in southern Bulgaria = Gazetteer, no. 110).<sup>75</sup> Strategically located at the natural centre of the Thracian plain along the navigable<sup>76</sup> reach of *Hebros / Maritsa* river, it quickly became an important transport, communication and commercial hub. *Philippopolis* (most possibly founded by the Macedonian king Philip V after 184/3 BC, see Pliny 4.11.41)<sup>77</sup> was a residence of the late Thracian kings (namely of Rhoemetaces II and Rhoemetaces III, see Tac. *Ann.* 3.38–39)<sup>78</sup>, and became one of the main centres of Roman Thrace after its annexation. After the crushing of both rebellions (in AD 21 and 26), it was renamed for a short time *Τιβερίας* in honor of Tiberius (Malalas, *Chron.* 236.1). At the time of Nero the diagonal road (*via militaris*) ran from *Singidunum*/Belgrade to *Byzantium*/Istanbul, and through the city. Under the Flavians it received his Latin name – *Trimontium* as attested in Plinius.<sup>79</sup> In the AD 120-130's Hadrian visited it twice and was honoured with a marble triumphal arch (*porta triumphalis*) erected at the Eastern Gate.<sup>80</sup> During the Severans the city received twice Imperial *neokoria* – first gifted by Elagabalus in AD 221, and the second time under Alexander Severus (Borell 2004, 243-4).

From the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, *Philippopolis* became the seat of the provincial assembly – το κοινόν τῶν Θρακῶν – the union of the Thracians.<sup>81</sup> In AD 88/9 four denominations of bronze provincial issues were minted for *Philippopolis* under Domitian (types *RPC* II, 351-354; more in chapter *Varia numismatica: Philippopolis*), bearing the civic name: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Most probably, this single coinage was related to the elevation of the city's status (μητρόπολις) under Domitian<sup>82</sup>, but this remains uncertain.

<sup>75</sup> For the early history and archaeology of *Philippopolis*, see Danov 1979, 245-67; recently in Топалилов / Topalilov 2008, 162-75; Topalilov 2012, in *TIR* K35/2 (2012), 293-4, and Топалилов / Topalilov 2012.

<sup>76</sup> Casson 1926, 125, 174; Tsonchev 1962, 848-52; de Boer 2010, 176-89.

<sup>77</sup> However, it definitely existed as a Thracian settlement at least since the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Some Celtic elements are attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (a rich grave with Celtic-type weapons under a *tumulus*).

<sup>78</sup> Discussion in Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 10.

<sup>79</sup> Plin. *NH* 4.11.44: "Oppidum sub Rhodope Poneropolis antea, mox a conditore Philippopolis, nunc a situ Trimontium dicta."; discussion in Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 12.

<sup>80</sup> Review on the site in Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 91-2 and 132-43.

<sup>81</sup> Details in Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 12, notes 42-44; 132-3.

<sup>82</sup> See recently Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 133 and 173, and Topalilov 2013 /in print/.

Sadly, the archaeological evidence from the earliest phase of Roman *Philippopolis* is not abundant. The data are limited within the site of the city *agora*, with only the eastern side excavated so far (fig. 2.19). The complex measured 190x134 m, with the central area of 120x106.6 m. The results from the excavation of the *agora* are not published<sup>83</sup>, but a recent analysis provides a sequence of its building phases.<sup>84</sup> Based on the evidence of coins and other finds, its first phase construction was carried out most likely under king Rhoemetalces I before AD 12.<sup>85</sup> According to Topalilov the early *agora* was burnt during the Thracian uprising against Rhoemetalces II in AD 21.<sup>86</sup> During the second phase and the reconstruction of *agora* the level was raised and marble decoration was widely used. It is commonly dated to the time of Claudius/Nero, and fully completed under the Flavians.<sup>87</sup>

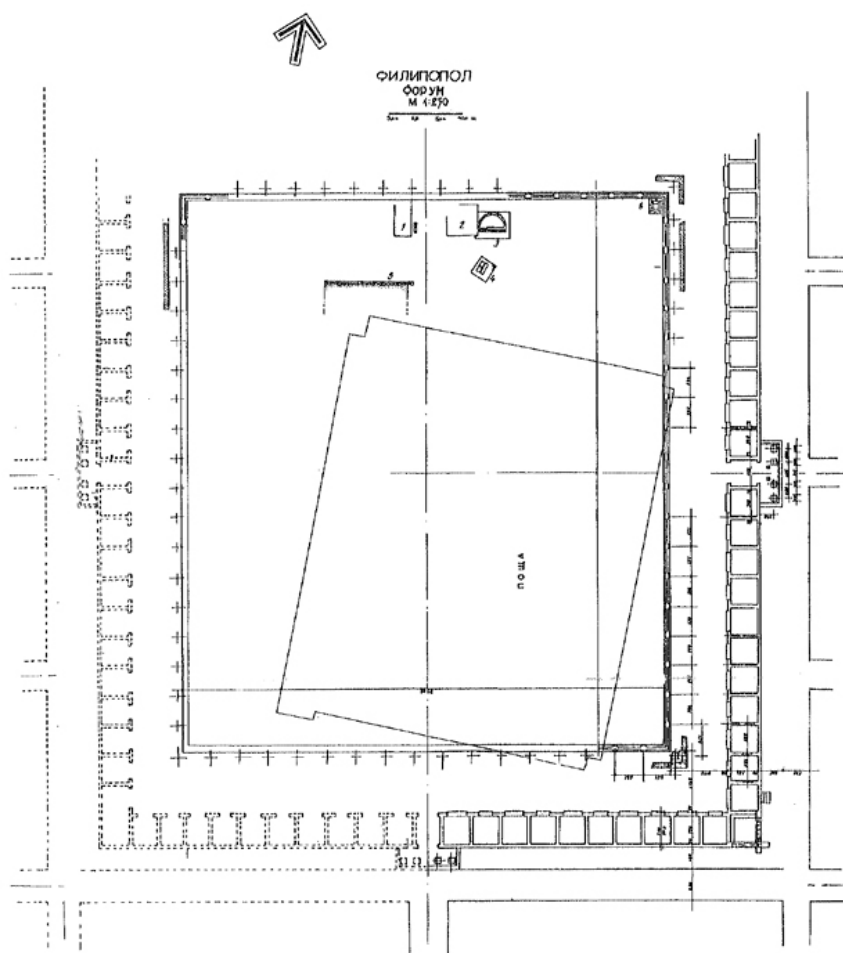


Fig. 2.22. Plan of the *agora* complex of Philippopolis (after Topalilov 2012).

<sup>83</sup> Кесякова / Kesjakova 1999.

<sup>84</sup> A thorough review in Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 106-19.

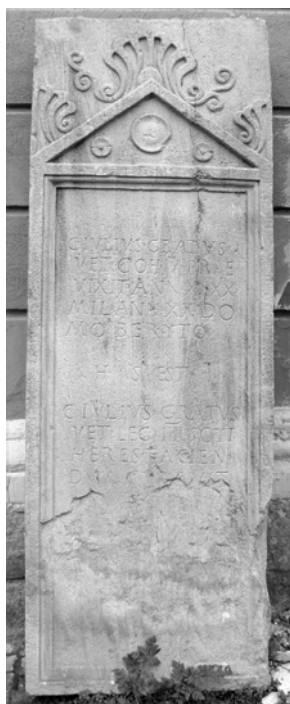
<sup>85</sup> Details in Топалилов / Topalilov 2008, and Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 107-11, esp. 109-10.

<sup>86</sup> Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 110, n. 470.

<sup>87</sup> Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 111-8, esp. 117-8.

The other major public buildings in *Philippopolis*, such as the Stadium<sup>88</sup> (capacity of ca. 30,000 spectators, dated to late Trajan – early Hadrianic time) and the Theatre (for over 4,000 spectators, possibly late Trajanic)<sup>89</sup>, are of later date, beyond the chronological limits of this study.

*Philippopolis* and its territory were also centres of active Romanisation and veteran settlement.<sup>90</sup> The process began as early as under Claudius, perhaps shortly after the annexation of Thrace in AD 45/6. The process intensified under the Flavians as attested in the following inscriptions.<sup>91</sup> The earliest known monument is the gravestone of C. Iulius Gratus, veteran of the Praetorian guard (*cohors V praetoria*)<sup>92</sup>. It was erected by one of his relatives, a veteran with the same name, who served in *legio IIII Scythica*. C. Iulius Gratus is explicitly stated as having been born in Berytus in Syria (*domo Beryto*) and must have settled at *Philippopolis* under Nero, but before AD 56-57, when the emperor relocated this legion from Moesia to Syria.<sup>93</sup>



**Fig. 2.23.** *Philippopolis*: stela of the veteran C. Iulius Gratus, ca. AD 57/60–75 (photo M. Ivanov).

<sup>88</sup> See Tsontchev 1947; now fully treated in Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 120-5, esp. 124.

<sup>89</sup> Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 131-7, esp. 135.

<sup>90</sup> Review in Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 194-203.

<sup>91</sup> Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 195-7; Топалилов / Topalilov 2012, 11-12, 173.

<sup>92</sup> See Герасимова – Маринова / Gerassimova – Martinova 1994, 27-30; Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 194-5, no. 252; Slawisch 2007, 132, 194, no. Ph18.

<sup>93</sup> See Ritterling 1924/5, cols. 1556-1564.

Another early gravestone belongs to C. Caelius Annius Maximus, acting soldier (*miles*) of *legio I Italica*, who was born in Adrianople (*domo Hadrianopolis*).<sup>94</sup> However, his status and cause of death and buried in *Philippopolis* sometime in the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (certainly after AD 70, when this legion came to Moesia after the Civil wars, stationed at *Novae*), remains uncertain.

From the vicinity of *Philippopolis* (6 km south) we have one more interesting 1<sup>st</sup> century piece of evidence concerning a veteran settlement. It is a *mensa sacra* erected in a Thracian sanctuary near Branipole village by a certain C. Minucius Laetus, veteran of *legio VII Claudia p(ia) f(idelis)*. The votive is dated with the Vespasian's titulature COS VI, i.e. AD 76.<sup>95</sup> Three more Roman veteran names appear on a marble column from the same village, having Vespasianic *filiatio* (Titus Flavius...) and bearing his family tribus-name Quirina.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, Boris Gerov believed that some veterans were specially settled in this area in the Flavian period, just a few miles south of the city (Gerov 1980, 50-51).

Finally, two Roman military *diplomas* for auxiliary soldiers have been registered from the region of *Philippopolis*. The first (RMD I, 14) is from Suhozem near Plovdiv issued in Rome on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 91 for the veteran Quelsis Dolae f., Thrax, who served in *ala III Thracum Augusta* in Syria, and returned home after his discharge. The second diploma (CIL XVI, 45) is from Pastusha near Perushtitsa (12 miles southwest from Plovdiv). It dates to 14<sup>th</sup> August 99, issued also for a Thracian veteran (of Bessic origin) – Meticus, Solae f(iilius)<sup>97</sup>. He has served in *ala I Asturum* in Moesia, and apparently returned home too, after 25 years of service. The latter two cases therefore cannot be accepted as examples of Romanisation.

However, due to the limited number of the aforementioned monuments, most scholars agreed that the overall Romanisation and urbanisation of Thrace before Trajan was slow and insignificant (Gerov 1961, 107 ff.; Jones 1971; Gerov 1980; Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 202-3, 230-2).

<sup>94</sup> Kalinka 1906, no. 409; Slawisch 2007, 133, 195, no. Ph21.

<sup>95</sup> See Ritterling 1924/5, col. 1274; Mihailov, *IGBulg.* III/1, 1410; Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 195, no. 253.

<sup>96</sup> Mihailov, *IGBulg.* III/1, 1411; Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 195, no. 254.

<sup>97</sup> Боянов / Boyanov 2008, 398-9, no. 256.

## 2.6. Roads, road network, transport and communications

Sometimes between ca. 120 – ca. 106 BC<sup>98</sup>, under Macedonian proconsul Cn. Egnatius C.f., the Romans built a strategically important road, linking the Adriatic coast via Thessalonica and leading to Eastern Thrace. Constructed on a route that was previously used for centuries<sup>99</sup>, it is commonly known as *via Egnatia* (sources: Polyb. 34.12.2a-8; Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.7.4).<sup>100</sup> Initially it stopped at the Hebros river bank near Cypsela (535 Roman miles from Apollonia), but later it was extended to Byzantium (Kallet-Marx 1995, Appendix I, 348). This road allowed the Roman troops stationed in Macedonia to respond quickly to Thracian raids from the Axios and Strymon – to the Hebros valleys.



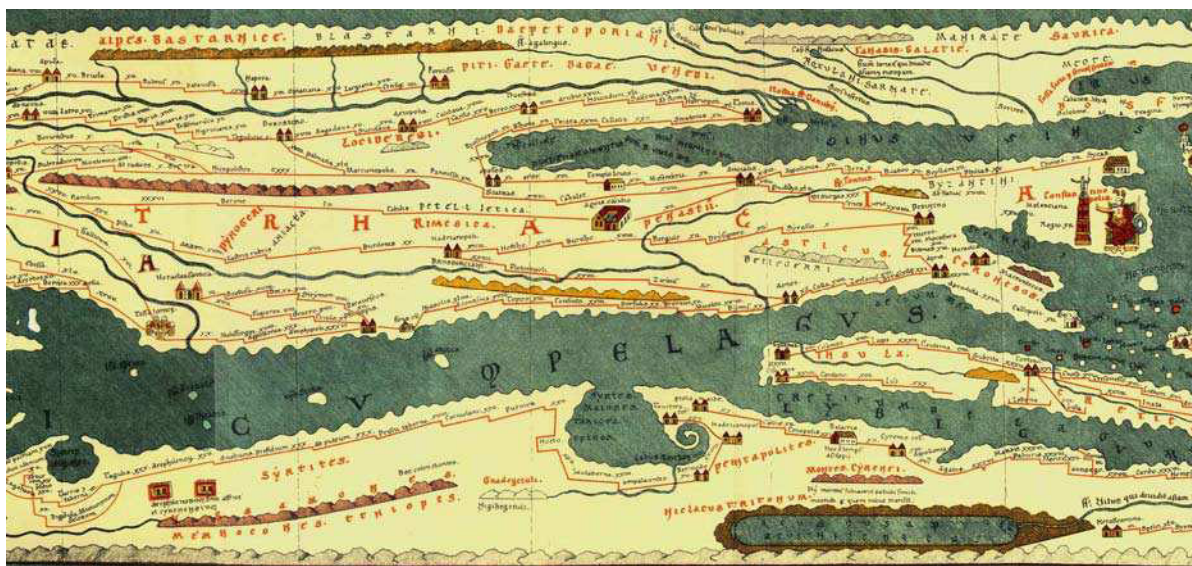
Fig. 2.24. Map of *Via Egnatia* (source Wikipedia).

<sup>98</sup> An earlier dating of his term and construction of *via Egnatia* is suggested in Walbank 1983, and Walbank 1985, 458-64.

<sup>99</sup> Herodotus says (7.115) that the Thracians revered this road where the “Great Kings” of Persia once walked; they neither destroyed it nor planted it with crops.

<sup>100</sup> Discussion in Hammond 1979, 19-59; Walbank 1981, 17-18; Walbank 1985, 458-64; Kallet-Marx 1995, 347-9 and Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 67-69.

Luckily, from the Imperial period we have numerous written sources and epigraphic data about the sophisticated Roman network system in the Thracian provinces. Though most of sources are of later date, from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, some of them originate from the early Principate sources. The main evidence comes from the well-known maps and itineraria – *Tabula Peutingeriana*,<sup>101</sup> *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* (original made for Caracalla, edited under Diocletian)<sup>102</sup>, *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (compiled ca. AD 333/4)<sup>103</sup> and *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (compiled around AD 700<sup>104</sup>). An additional source is the late Imperial book of chancelleries *Notitia Dignitatum* which also contributes to our knowledge of the roads and the road system in the eastern provinces.<sup>105</sup>



**Fig. 2.25.** *Tabula Peutingeriana*, showing Moesia, Dacia and Thrace, section VI, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hofburg, Vienna, codex 324 (source Wikipedia).

Moreover, the epigraphic data from Thrace comprises numerous milestones on columns (*milliaria*, over 180 known) and purposeful building, or reconstruction inscriptions from different road sites and respectively envisage the road

<sup>101</sup> Miller 1916; Talbert 2010, 189.

<sup>102</sup> See recently B. Löhberg, *Das „Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti“. Ein kaiserzeitliches Straßenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches. Überlieferung, Strecken, Kommentare, Karten*, (2 vols), Berlin 2006.

<sup>103</sup> See J. Elsner, "The Itinerarium Burdigalense: Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire", *JRS* 90 (2000), 181-95.

<sup>104</sup> J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, vol. II: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, Stuttgart 1942 (reprinted 1990).

<sup>105</sup> O. Seeck (ed.), *Notitia dignitatum: accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi provinciarum*, Berolini 1876.



infrastructure. Soon after the establishment of Thrace as a new procuratorial province (AD 45/6), one of the first measures that Roman administration undertook was to construct a fast and convenient road though the diagonal of the country.<sup>106</sup> It is better known as *via militaris* / *via diagonalis*.<sup>107</sup> It crossed west-east Thrace from *Naissus* and *Serdica* to *Adrianople* and further to Byzantium.<sup>108</sup> Along the course of this main Imperial road were built a line of stations, named *tabernae et praetoria* in the inscriptions<sup>109</sup>. The first stage was completed during the reign of Nero in AD 61, supervised by provincial governor T. Iulius Ustus<sup>110</sup>, as attested in a series of stone records. In AD 69 here marched the Syrian army of general Mucianus on its way to Italy to support Vespasian during the Civil War.

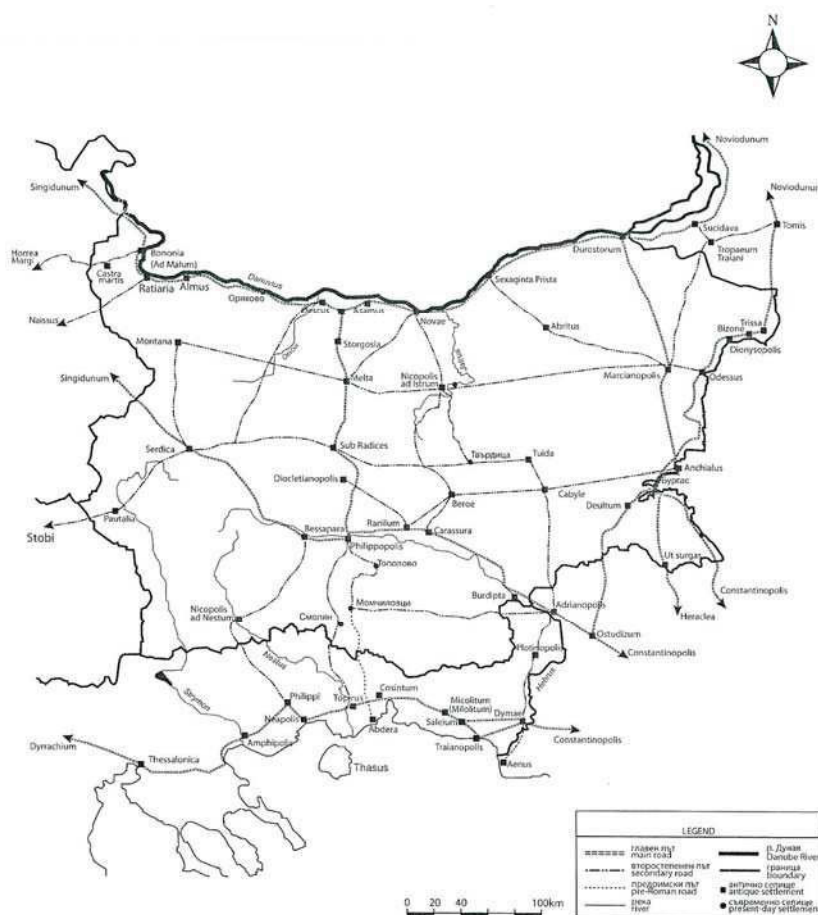


Fig. 2.26. Roman road network in Thrace and Moesia (map after Madzharov 2009).

<sup>106</sup> Stated yet in Jireček 1877, 4-5.

<sup>107</sup> On *viae militares*, see recently Speidel 2009, 501-13, esp. 503 and 512.

<sup>108</sup> On the course and history of *via militaris* in Thrace, see Jireček 1877, 46-7; Todorov 1937, 20ff, fig. 9; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 70-129 and *Gazetteer of sites*, nos. 93, 99-123.

<sup>109</sup> see *CIL* III, 6123 = 14207<sup>34</sup>; *AE* 1912, 193, Геров / Gerov 1961, 239, no. 218 and Ivanov 1973, 209-213.

<sup>110</sup> Thomasson 2009, no. 22:001; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 632; *RE* X, col. 891, n.539.

In *Moesia* the first Roman measures to build a road date back to ca. 10–6 BC, when Cn. Cornelius Lentulus left the first Roman troops at garrison (Flor. 2.28.19-20).<sup>111</sup> Slowly the so-called *Danubian road (via Danubia)*<sup>112</sup> was formed there – running along the south bank of the river from *Singidunum* and *Viminacium* via *Ratiaria* and *Oescus* down to *Novae*. Later (under Nero and Flavians) it was extended eastwards to *Durostorum*, *Noviodunum* and *Troesmis*. The first epigraphic document for its construction is of Tiberian date - 1 July 33 – 30 June 34. An identical Latin text attests to the fact that both legions of *Moesia* – IIII *Scythica* and V *Macedonica* undertook the major work to connect *Viminacium* and *Ratiaria*. Several copies are known – one from ‘Lepenska Stena’ near Boljetin (*ILJug.* 57), and another from Gornja Klisura (*ILJug.* 60) in the Djerdap / Iron Gates gorge.<sup>113</sup> This important road built by legionaries was in a very hard terrain. It was repaired and maintained in good condition under Claudius in AD 46 (*ILJug.* 56) and on several other occasions (under Domitian in AD 92-93, *ILJug.* 55).<sup>114</sup>

Later in the first century, but certainly before Trajan<sup>115</sup>, an internal but very strategic road was constructed across *Haemus mons*. It connected the Danube with the heart of Thrace, running from *Oescus* to *Philippopolis* being the shortest cut for the legions of *Moesia* to reach the southern parts of the Balkans.<sup>116</sup> It had at least 11 interim roadside stations. The road *Durostorum – Marcianopolis – Anchialus* also seems to be traced under Trajan (or Hadrian), with a junction to Odessos in *Marcianopolis*.<sup>117</sup> Under the Antonines (Pius and Marcus, resp. dated at AD 152/5<sup>118</sup> and 175/6<sup>119</sup>) the Romans built secondary roads and lines of transport/communication in inner Thrace.<sup>120</sup> *Haemus* was made passable at two

<sup>111</sup> Syme 1999, 212-3.

<sup>112</sup> Details in Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 131-183.

<sup>113</sup> See CIL III 1698 = 13813b = *ILS* 2281 = *ILJug.* 57 and 60; discussed in Filow 1906, 6, n.2-3; Swoboda 1939, 69 and 74; Stein 1940, 20, Anm. 3.

<sup>114</sup> See a summary in Strobel 1989, 3; Wilkes, in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10, 1996, 568, note 59.

<sup>115</sup> Again under Nero, as the evidence of coins suggests, see Gazetteer of sites, no. 128, with a list of coins.

<sup>116</sup> Аврамов / Avramov 1914, 226-40; Маджаров / Madjarov 1985, 36-44; Христов / Hristov 2002; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 202-14; and here - Gazetteer of sites, nos. 124-135.

<sup>117</sup> Torbatov 2000, 59-72; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 215-22.

<sup>118</sup> Tacheva 2000, 1886-1888; Madzharov 2009, 251.

<sup>119</sup> At *Viamata* near Hissar – repairs on ruined stations (*stabulae*), see Tsonchev 1959, 160-2; Николов / Nikolov 1958, 85 ff.

<sup>120</sup> Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 223-324.

more points – via Iskar gorge to secure the connection *Oescus – Serdica*,<sup>121</sup> and the road *Nicopolis ad Istrum – Augusta Traiana via Discoduraterae* and Shipka pass.<sup>122</sup>

Overall, the Romans maintained well the road system in the Balkan provinces until the late Antiquity (last repaired under Justinian in the 530s-540s AD).

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<sup>121</sup> Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 249-50.

<sup>122</sup> Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 250-4, figs. 99-102.

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## Chapter 3. A History of Thrace, ca. 200 BC – AD 98

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*“A king of Thrace whose uncle ruled Armenia,  
whose brother ruled Pontus,  
whose other brother ruled Armenia Minor,  
and whose sisters were respectively  
queen of Thrace and queen of Bosphorus.”*  
(Sullivan 1979, 198 – on Rhoemetalces I)

### 3.1. Ancient Thrace - background <sup>\*</sup>

Before *Thrace* became a Roman client state in 12/11 BC and subsequently a procuratorial province in AD 45/6, this country had had a long and challenging history. It became the focus of interest with the first Odrysian kings Teres I and Sitalces, who ruled as early as the 460-440 BC over the Thracian land.<sup>1</sup> The Thracians inhabited the eastern Balkans, and more precisely the area from Macedonia on the Aegean coast to the Black sea and the Carpathians and south Russia steppes, for nearly two thousand years.<sup>2</sup> Despite their wide geographical expansion and tribal variety<sup>3</sup>, they shared a common language<sup>4</sup>, culture and behaviour from the Early Iron Age until Late Antiquity (arrival of Slavs in the 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), as illustrated both by the ancient written sources and abundant archaeological evidence.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, from the time of Claudius, as an internal unarmed province (*provincia inermis*)<sup>6</sup> of the Roman Empire, *Thracia* linked the western Balkans with Asia Minor and further East. In fact, Thrace, as a vibrant bridge between West and East, constantly integrated people, cultures, and due to its strategic geographic location the land became a territory prone to frequent turbulence, invasions and

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<sup>\*</sup> Compare also *Appendix 3: Chronology: Principal Dates*.

<sup>1</sup> Фол / Fol 1972; Archibald 1998, 93-120; Webber 2001, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Fol 1971, 3-18; Фол / Fol 1972; Archibald 1998, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> On the Thracian tribes, see Фол – Спиридонов / Fol – Spiridonov 1983 and Archibald 1998, 107-12, and map on 108.

<sup>4</sup> Detschew 1957 (1977<sup>2</sup>); Дуриданов / Duridanov 1976; Георгиев / Georgiev 1977.

<sup>5</sup> See Fol – Marazov 1977, 131-3; *Ancient Gold* (1998), 18; most recently reviews in Webber 2011, pp. xii-xix and Theodossiev 2011, 9-10 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Gerov 1979, 237; Boteva 1996, 173-6. The same status had Macedonia, Dalmatia, Galatia, etc.

exchange of populations. Moreover, the state/ political formations proved to be often unstable and were frequently threatened by foreign attacks and regional instability. As the historical discourse advances further into the Late Hellenistic and Roman eras, the Thracian territory experienced more and more foreign intrusions, political and financial influence, and direct military occupation by the great powers of the time.

The present comprehensive review<sup>7</sup> on Thracian history in Late Hellenistic and early Roman period shows some very important features:

- how deep the political reality in Thrace was influenced by Macedonia under the last kings, and also after it was transformed into a Roman province in 146 BC.
- how difficult it was for the Romans to maintain peace and stability on the northern frontiers of Macedonia for the entire period ca. 135 - ca. 80/70 BC.
- how quickly Odryian Thrace and its princes become more and more dependant on the Roman Republic and its protagonists from the 60's – 30's BC.
- how limited was the control and extent of the Odryian/Sapaeian kingdom in the internal southeast and coastal regions of Thrace.

### **3.2. Early encounters between Rome and Thrace, ca. 210–171 BC**

A number of events greatly influenced and played a role in transformation of the Thracian area from an independent socio-political unit into a Roman province with all its benefits and duties.

As early as 229 BC the Romans established their first naval bases in the western Balkans and entered the region. With the First Illyrian war they seized the Greek city of Epidamnos on Illyrian coast (modern-day Durrës) and re-founded it as Dyrrhachium (Paus. 6.10.8)<sup>8</sup>. The nearby city of Apollonia also fell in Roman hands in 228 BC. As a result, both Adriatic cities concluded an alliance with the Republic and become bases for all subsequent Roman operations in the Balkan interior.

<sup>7</sup> Compared for instance with a very short accounts of this period in Šopova, in *Der Thraker...*(2004), 309-13; Rankov, in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* 1 (2010), 355-7.

<sup>8</sup> Discussion in Head 1911, 314; Wilkes 1992, 161-3; Giovannini 1978, 113.

In the last decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC king Philip V (221-179)<sup>9</sup>, the powerful ruler of Macedonia, extended his territories and entered in Illyria, Thrace and Thessaly. South and coastal Thrace from Nestos as far as Aenos and the Thracian Chersonese was integrated into ancient Macedonia.<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 3.1. Map of Macedonia and southern Balkans, ca. 200 BC (source Wikipedia).

From the time of Philip V and Perseus there had been constant friction and uncertainty in southwestern Thrace. In 211 BC Philip attacked *Maedica*, a tribal area in southwestern Thrace (probably located between the Kresna-Simitli river gorge and down to Sandanski) and seized their capital of *Iamphorynna*<sup>11</sup> /or Φορουννα in Polybios<sup>12</sup>/ (unlocalised, perhaps around modern Gradeshnitsa near Sandanski).<sup>13</sup> But four years later, in 207 BC, the Maedi again threatened Macedonia (Polyb.

<sup>9</sup> See Walbank 1940; Hammond – Walbank 1988, 205-216ff; Eckstein 2010, 229-31.

<sup>10</sup> Walbank 1940, 108-37; Hatzopoulos 1983, 83.

<sup>11</sup> Livy 26.25.7-8, 25.15; discussion in Walbank 1940, 86; Detschew 1977, 213; Walbank 1980, 15 ff.; Hatzopoulos 1983, 82.

<sup>12</sup> Polybios, 9.45.3.

<sup>13</sup> See recently Манов / Manov 2004, 107-12; Mitrev 2012, 188-90.

10.41.4; Livy 28.5.7). In fact, *Maedica* was not subjugated by the Macedonian king before 204 BC (Polyb. 9.45.3; 10.41; Livy 26.25.6-16)<sup>14</sup>.



**Fig. 3.2.** Portrait tetradrachm of king Philip V, ca. 212 BC, 16.96g. Photo after Baldwin's Auctions, the New York sale 27, (4 Jan. 2012), no. 316.

Meanwhile, Philip V of Macedon had lost the Second Macedonian War after his forces were decisively defeated by the Romans at the battle at Cynoskephalae in Thessaly in June 197 BC. In 196 BC at the Isthmian games in Corinth the victorious Roman general T. Quinctius Flamininus proclaimed freedom to the Greek states and cities (Plut. *Flamininus* 12-16).<sup>15</sup> The Greeks hailed him as *liberator* and struck a rare series of gold coins for him (fig. 3.3). As a result, Philip was forbidden to interfere with any affairs outside the Macedonian borders, a condition he adhered to for the rest of his life. In 194 BC Rome declared Greece free, and withdrew completely to the east of Adriatic.



**Fig. 3.3.** Gold stater (8.44g) of T. Quinctius Flamininus, Chalkis?, ca. 196 BC. British Museum, London, acq.no. 1954,1009.1. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

In the vacuum which followed Rome's withdrawal, in 196-5 BC king Antiochus III of Syria crossed Propontis and captured the Thracian Chersonese and territories of southern Thrace – an area previously controlled by Philip V (App. *Syr.* 6; Polyen. 18.51.7)<sup>16</sup>. Partly through battles, partly through negotiations, Antiochus concluded state treaties with Byzantium (App. *Syr.* 6), with Perinthus (Sayar 1998, 74 and 187-8, no. 3) and with Apollonia (*IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup>, 388). The nearby cities of Bisanthe and

<sup>14</sup> Discussion in Walbank 1940, 86-7; Papazoglou 1978, 152-3; Hatzopoulos 1983, 82.

<sup>15</sup> Eckstein 2010, 236-7.

<sup>16</sup> Discussion in Mommsen 1903, 721; Hatzopoulos 1983, 83; Eckstein 2010, 238.

Selymbria also remained under the influence of Antiochus III.<sup>17</sup> As a result, southern and southeastern Thrace fell for a short time under Seleucid control.

The earliest evidence of direct Roman interaction with Thrace, however, dates to 188 BC (Flor. *Epit. Bell. Omn.* 1.39.20). Then the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso on his return after a successful campaign in Asia Minor, was attacked and defeated by a large army of Thracians when crossing the area. The unexpected events happened in southern Thrace, between Aenos and Maroneia on the route of the future *via Egnatia* (Livy 38.40-41; App. *Syr.* 43). The army of Manlius Vulso was carrying “*carts loaded with public money and other valuable booty*” and was attacked in difficult terrain in the southern Rhodopes. The Romans were surprised when passing a narrow defile by a combined ten thousand army of four tribes – the Astae, the Caenoi, the Maduatenoι(?) and the Koreloi, who blocked the road at the narrowest point (Livy 38.40. 5-7). The Romans suffered heavy losses, including the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus (*cos* 193 BC) and the cost of the large sums in cash and booty from Asia (App. *Syr.* 43 – “ἀπώλεσε τῆς τε λείας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ στρατοῦ”), which the Thracians took away. This event was the beginning of a long list of conflicts and hostilities between the southern Thracian tribes and the Republic. As we shall see, the area was not completely stabilised over the next one hundred and fifty years, until the time of Augustus.

On the other hand, the very same year saw the signing of the Peace of Apamea (Polyb. 21.42; App. *Syr.* 39) between the Roman Republic and king Antiochus III the Great, ending a four years conflict and marking the end of the Seleucid interests in Europe and Asia Minor. As a result, the Macedonian king was compensated with a significant expansion of his share, most importantly the city and port of Demetrias (Δημητριάς) on the Aegean (Eckstein 2010, 238-9). According to the treaty of Apamea, the Thracian Chersonese<sup>18</sup> was awarded to the Rome’s loyal ally Eumenes II of Pergamum (197–159 BC). Pergamene influence and perhaps a direct presence is apparent in the coastal areas of southern Thrace – in Panidon (near Rhodosto, present-day Tekirdağ)<sup>19</sup> and in Perinthus, and is documented with a number of

<sup>17</sup> Grainger 1996, 338; Sayar 1998, 188; Grainger 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Loukopoulou 1987, 63 and 67-8, note 28.

<sup>19</sup> At least five honorific inscriptions from Panion/Panidon (mod. Barbaros): two for Attalus I Soter and three referring to Eumenes II (197–159 BC), who was honoured as ‘city-founder’, see G. Seure, “Inscriptions de Thrace”, *BCH* 24 (1900), 165-6 and Loukopoulou 1987, 67-8, notes 28-29.



inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> Later, in 146/5 BC, Attalus II sent a Pergamene army to overthrow Diegylis, the king of Caeni, who, acting in alliance with king Prusias II of Bithynia, was constantly harassing the Greek cities in Thracian Chersonese, including Lysimachia (App. *Mithr.* 6; Diod. 33.14-15; Strabo 13. 4.2)<sup>21</sup>. The campaign was led by the Pergamene general Strato, who is mentioned as “στρατηγός της Χερσονήσου και τῶν κατά την Θράκην τόπων” in the Sestos inscription.<sup>22</sup> He defeated Diegylis and subjugated his Caenian kingdom, an important part of which would appear to have been annexed to Pergamum’s possessions, forming the famous “European bridgehead” and *agri Attalici* in Chersonese (Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.50).<sup>23</sup>

In fact, the last Macedonian kings refused to acknowledge this new arrangement of the Apamea peace. Philip V was angry about the Roman decision, and when he withdrew his forces from the important cities of Aenos and Maronea on the Thracian coast in 184 BC (in fact he had seized them in violation of Apamea peace (they had been declared free), he initiated a massacre in Maronea. Philip V and Perseus employed every means – as far as the situation in the last years of their kingdom permitted – to restore their influence in southeastern Thrace.<sup>24</sup> For instance, in 174 BC Perseus rushed to provide support to Byzantium, which was threatened by Thracian invaders.<sup>25</sup>

A few years after Apamea, Philip V led another march into Thrace, with the Romans being fully indifferent to his actions. In the summer of 184 BC he moved through central Thrace (διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης) and invaded the lands of the Odrysians, Bessi and Dantheletae (Walbank 1940, 235-7; Hatzopoulos 1983, 85; Hammond – Walbank 1988, 468). Philip defeated the Thracians and captured their leader Amadokos (Polyb. 22.14.12; Livy 39.35.4). In 183 he left a Macedonian garrison in Philippopolis, which was soon repelled by the Odrysian king (Polyb. 23.8.6-7). Then he ravaged the western part of the Thracian plain, and shrink the Bessi and Dantheletae (Hammond – Walbank 1988, 468-9). The main tribes went under his control and one of Philip’s daughters was given in marriage to king Teres by the Odrysians (Diod. 32.15.5; Polyb. 23.8.4-7; Livy 39.53.12-14)

<sup>20</sup> Sayer 1998, 74.

<sup>21</sup> Discussion in Danov 1979, 102-3; Walbank 1980, 15; Loukopoulou 1987, 68-9; Kallet-Marx 1995, 38.

<sup>22</sup> Dittenberger 1903, *OGIS*, 330; Walbank 1980, 15; Loukopoulou 1987, 69-70, n.40.

<sup>23</sup> Loukopoulou 1987, 70.

<sup>24</sup> Loukopoulou 1987, 63.

<sup>25</sup> Hatzopoulos 1983, 84 and note 32 with sources and further references.

In 181 BC the Macedonian king Philip V assembled his army at *Stobi* in Paeonia and invaded the lands of the Maedi (Livy 40.21-22). Then he undertook his famous ascent of “*Haemus*”<sup>26</sup> (probably in this case Pirin or Rila mountain) – “*in verticem Haemi montis ascendendi*” (Livy 40.21.2)<sup>27</sup>. After five days he returned and Philip and his men marched into the lands of Dentheletae (Dansaletae). Because of a lack of provisions, the Macedonian army plundered a few Thracian villages, though they were nominally Philip’s allies (Livy 40. 22. 9-10). Next, carrying a supply of corn and returning to Maedica, he made an attempt on a city called *Petra* (“...*urbem, quam Petram appellant*”).<sup>28</sup> There he had encamped and sent his son Perseus with a small detachment to approach the place from higher ground – the Thracian city soon surrendered (Livy 40. 22.13-14).

In this period Philip had opened new gold and silver mines in the mount Pangaeum (Livy 39.24.2<sup>29</sup>) near Philippi. Philip V died suddenly at Amphipolis in the summer of 179 BC, after 42 years on the throne (Livy 40.56.8-10). He was succeeded by his eldest son Perseus, who was the last ruler of Macedonia. The Senate of Rome immediately renewed its friendship (*amicitia*) with the new ruler (Livy 40.58.9)<sup>30</sup>.

In 179 BC Perseus deposed certain Abrupolis (Αβρουπόλις), a Thracian prince of the Sapeians (Livy 42.13.5; 42.41.10-12; Diodor. 19.33; Appian. 9.11.2)<sup>31</sup>, who was friendly with the Romans, but dared to seize the important Pangaeum mining area during the change of power in Macedonia. This episode was later used by the Romans as a pretext for conflict. Meanwhile, Perseus became popular among the Greeks for the moderate character of his rule (Polyb. 25.3.1–8), and he impressed them with his military victories. With a series of successful marriages, he repaired relations with the Seleucids (married Laodike, daughter of King Seleucus IV Ceraunos) and improved Macedonian relations with Rhodes and Aetolia, as well as with the Thessalians (former subjects of his father), and struck a military alliance with the Boeotians. Even the Greek states in the Aegean and western Asia Minor become well disposed towards Perseus (Livy 42.12.1 and 14.5)<sup>32</sup>. In summary, between 179

<sup>26</sup> Thus, he initiated the history of the ancient mountaineering.

<sup>27</sup> Details in Hammond – Walbank 1988, 469.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps identical with *Iamphorynna*(?), discussion in Митрев / Mitrev 2012, 184-6, the localization of *Petra* in Gradeshnitsa – ibidem, at 189-90.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also Hammond – Walbank 1988, 460-4; Eckstein 2010, 239.

<sup>30</sup> For the episode cf. Eckstein 2010, 240, n.72.

<sup>31</sup> Discussion in Sherk 1969, 15-17; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 55; Eckstein 2010, 240.

<sup>32</sup> Hammond – Walbank 1988, 494-5.

and 173 Perseus engineered a great expansion of the Macedonian wealth, power and influence. Macedonia re-emerged as the main competitor to Rome in Greece and the Aegean (Appian 9.11.1–3)<sup>33</sup>. But since 188 BC Rome has shown little interest in the Greek affairs.



**Fig. 3.4.** Portrait tetradrachm of king Perseus V, ca. 174-173 BC, 16.85g. Photo after Triton VIII (11 January 2005), no. 199.

Another ancient people emerged from obscurity right in this time. The *Bastarnae* (Βαστάρναι)<sup>34</sup> were a tribe of Celtic (Livy 39.35.4; 40.57.2–9; 40.58.1–9; Plut. *Aem.* 12-13; Pseudo-Scymn. *Perieg.* 796-7) or Germanic origin (Strab. 7.3.2; Plin. *NH* 4.25.81; Tac. *Germ.* 46), living north of the lower Danube (in Moldova/Bessarabia?). King Perseus employed the *Bastarnae* on Macedonia's northwest frontier (Hammond – Walbank 1988, 469-70; 495-6). They were first invited in 182 BC by his father Philip to help him against the old Macedonian bitter enemies – the Dardanians (inhabited the region of South Serbia/Kosovo/ Skopje). He planned to settle the Bastarnae families in Dardania and permanently secure the region (Livy 40.57). In fact, Philip V promised to secure their passing in Thrace, bribing the local chieftains and supplying them with provisions (Livy 40.57.4). In 179 BC the Bastarnae columns (probably ca. 60,000 men) made their way through inner Thrace (via Mesambria and Apollonia area) in bad weather conditions and without sufficient supplies. At this point they learned about the death of Philip V (Livy 40.58, 1-4). Being attacked by the local Thracians and pillaged their villages for provisions and food, they decided to split their forces. About 30,000 men, led by Clondicus, succeeded in reaching Dardania (Polyb. 26.9. Liv. 41.19.23; Oros. 4.20, 34; Wilkes 1992, 151-2); the rest of the host retraced their steps and made their way home (Livy 40.58.8). Perseus deployed his Bastarnae guests in winter quarters in a valley (along

<sup>33</sup> Discussion in Eckstein 2010, 241.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Bastarnae* in *RE* III.1 (Stuttgart 1897), cols. 110-113; Patsch 1932, 11-12; Mócsy 1974, 10-11; Papazoglou 1978; von Bredow – Tokhtasj'ev, in *DNP* II (1997), 487, s.v. *Bastarnae*; Šašel Kos 2005, 498; recently Petkov 2012, 235-45.

Axios/Vardar?) in Dardania, presumably as a prelude to a campaign against the Dardanians the following summer (Livy 41.19, 4-6), though Perseus denied this to the Roman ambassadors. But in the depths of winter their camp was attacked by the Dardanians. The Bastarnae, who helped by their Thracian neighbours and the Scordisci (Livy 41.19, 7-8), easily repulsed the attackers, chased them back to their main town, and besieged them. But they were surprised in the rear by a second detachment of the Dardanians which had approached their camp quickly by mountain paths and proceeded to storm and seize the camp (Livy 41.19.10-11).

In 168 BC the same Clondicus was once again ready to assist to Perseus with 20,000 men against the Romans, but the Bastarnae were lost to him through his stinginess (Livy 44.26.2-6; Diod. 30.24. Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 9.12.13; Appian. *Maked.* 18).<sup>35</sup>

### 3.3. The Third Macedonian War, 171–168 BC: the end of Macedonia

The reasons for the Third Macedonian war are far more complicated to assess (Walbank 1977, 81-94; Gruen 1984, 408-9, 505ff; Eckstein 2010, 243). In fact, Perseus has been blamed by Romans for attacking *socii* of Rome, for deposing Abrupolis, for a march through Thessaly, for armed appearance at Delphi, for involvement in Aetolia, for military assistance to Byzantium, etc. – a long list of old charges, most extracted from a speech of his sworn enemy Eumenes of Pergamum at the Senate in the spring of 172. According to the Roman sources, his speech, held behind closed doors, had a profound impact on Rome's attitude towards Macedonia in future (Livy, 42.6.3; 14.1; Polyb. 27.7.5-6, Diod. 29.34, Appian 9.11.1-3). Most of these accusations simply show the weakness of Rome's case for war against Macedonia. By the end of 172 the Senate wanted Perseus to be humbled and punished. A ruthless, expansionist war followed (Harris 1979, 227-33; Eckstein 2010, 241). Therefore, in early 171 BC the third and final war was declared between the Republic and Macedonian king (Livy 42.30 8-11)<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Discussion in Mommsen 1903, 759ff.; Hammond – Walbank 1988, 534-6.

<sup>36</sup> Gruen 1984, 414-5.

Initially Perseus had a military superiority in this war – a large standing army of some 43,000 men and tribal mercenaries (see Livy 42.51.11)<sup>37</sup>. The Romans hurried to transfer forces into Illyria to create a bridgehead they needed (at Dyrrhachium and Apollonia). At first Perseus defeated a Roman army at Larissa in Thessaly in 171 BC; then both campaigns of 170 and 169 were a stalemate. The final clash took place on 22 June 168 BC in the foothills of mount Olocros in southern Macedonia – near the town of Pydna. It was a short but bloody engagement, with the Roman legions of Aemilius Paullus winning over the Macedonian heavy phalanx's inflexibility (Livy 44.40–42). Inexplicably, king Perseus left the battle at its climax with his 'sacred' cavalry guard fleeing to Pella (Livy 44.42.2).

Thrace itself and its Odrysian rulers were among the most loyal allies to Perseus. Their king Cotys, son of Seuthes, fought along with the Macedonians against Rome (Livy 42.51–61)<sup>38</sup>. In 171 BC he headed a Thracian army of some 2,000 selected cavalry and infantry who fought for Perseus in the victorious battle at Larissa (Livy 42.51.10: "*eodem Cotys, Seuthis filius, rex gentis Odrysaru, cum mille delectis equitibus, pari ferme peditum numero*"). Some three thousand 'free' Thracians were also present there with their own anonymous leader (Livy 42.51.7). At Callinikos, Cotys commanded the left wing of Macedonian army with the whole of his native troops, the light infantry being disposed between the ranks of the cavalry (Livy 42.58.6)<sup>39</sup>. On the course of the Larissa battle Livy writes:

*"...the Thracians, like wild beasts kept in cages and suddenly released, set up a deafening roar and charged the Italian cavalry on the right wing with such fury that, in spite of their experience of war and their native fearlessness, they threw them into disorder" (42.59.2), and "...on their return to camp the victors were all in high spirits, but the Thracians surpassed all in the insolence of their joy. They returned to camp singing and carrying the heads of their enemies fixed on their spears."* (Livy 42.60.2).

King Perseus generously distributed the trophies and spoils to the participating soldiers and Thracians after the battle, giving a speech to his army (Livy 42.61.2–9).

<sup>37</sup> Discussion in Hammond – Walbank 1988, 484, 515 and 541.

<sup>38</sup> Comments in Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 55.

<sup>39</sup> See more in Hammond – Walbank 1988, 541.

Three years later at Pydna, Cotys appeared with an élite Odrysian cavalry unit, but was first to flee after Perseus left the battlefield (Livy 44.42.2). In addition, there were another 800 Thracians who guarded the Perseus' treasury (Livy 44.40.8). In fact, the Thracian involvement in the Perseus' army was crucial, and respectively depicted on reliefs of the so-called monument of Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (Hammond – Walbank 1988, 613-4, fig. 20).

After the battle at Pydna Perseus headed from Pella to Amphipolis, where he disbanded the Thracian garrison of 2,000 men and sent them home (Livy 44.44.4-8)<sup>40</sup>. From Amphipolis he boarded a ship and escaped to the island of Samothrace (Livy 44.45.14). Soon after he surrendered to Paullus, was transferred to Rome as captive.

The defeat of the Macedonian army at Pydna had serious political and socio-economic consequences. In fact, not only had the monarchy of Macedonia collapsed (it was some 300 years old) and the dynasty of last Antigonid kings was annihilated, but also Greece, as well as the entire Hellenistic East, experienced a new socio-political and economic reality. Roman domination in Greece and Asia minor' affairs was further enhanced.

In the spring of 167 BC the victorious proconsul L. Aemilius Paullus called a conference at Amphipolis to settle the Macedonian affairs (Loukopoulou 1987, 64; Hammond – Walbank 1988, 563-4). There, heading a special commission of 10 Roman officials, he gathered representatives of all the cities and communities in Macedonia, in order to announce the decision of the Roman Senate. It had been decreed that the whole Macedonian territory was to be divided into four separate federative 'republics' (*regiones* / μερίδες), with internal autonomy (Livy 45.18.3-7; 29.5-11; Polyb. 36.17; Strabo 7.47).<sup>41</sup> As stated (Livy 45. 29, 30)<sup>42</sup>, the first region (πρώτη μερίς) comprised the area to the east of the Strymon river (including the territory of Bisalti and Heraclea Sintica, once part of Thrace occupied by Philip II), with its capital at Amphipolis. The second district (δευτέρα μερίς) lay between the Strymon and Axios rivers, with Thessalonica on the Thermaic gulf as its capital. The third republic (τρίτη μερίς) covered the area between the Axios and the Thessalian

<sup>40</sup> More details in Hammond – Walbank 1988, 547-57.

<sup>41</sup> Discussion in Danov 1979, 99; Papazoglou 1979, 304-7; Gruen 1984, 434; Crawford 1985, 128; Hammond – Walbank 1988, 564-5; Draganov 2001, 121; Eckstein 2010, 245.

<sup>42</sup> Gaebler 1902, 141-2.

border governed from its capital at Pella, while the fourth (τετάρτη μερίς) – consisted of Upper Macedonia, Lyncestis, Orestis and Elimiotis, with its capital at Pelagonia. A number of stern economic and social regulations were imposed by Rome in order to establish control and governance over the newly established districts. Some of the restrictions included on *conubium* (inter-marriage), *commercium* and importation of salt between the regions. Also the exploitation of the gold and silver mines (once owned by the kings), as well as cutting of timber for ships were banned (Livy 45.18.3; 45.29.11).<sup>43</sup> However, copper and iron mines were further exploited. The local resources were fully controlled and half of the taxes that Macedonians had previously paid to their kings now would be paid to Rome (Livy 45.18.7; Diod. 31.8.3). As a matter of fact, the production of gold and silver was resumed in 158 BC with the approval of the Senate. The important mines had been re-opened (Cassiodor. *Chronica*, 1223c: anno 158 BC (596 a.u.c.): *hic cons. metalla in Macedonia instituta*)<sup>44</sup> and provided valuable income for the regional and interregional market, as well as, bullion to be coined.

After the battle at Pydna the Thracian possessions of the last Antigonids followed the fate of Macedonia – they went strongly into Roman hands. Livy speaks of Macedonia under Perseus extending as far as Hebros river: “...*vici, castella, oppida, praeter Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera.*” (Livy 45.29. 5-7), supported by similar references in Diodorus (Diod. 31.8.8) and Strabo (Strab. 7, frg. 48). Actually, in the winter of 168/7 BC, the cities of Abdera, Maroneia and Aenos were announced free by the Romans according to the Senate’s decision – *civitates liberae* (Danov 1979, 99; Loukopoulou 1987, 64; Hammond – Walbank 1988, 606-7).

In 151 BC a certain Andriscus (Ἀνδρίσκοϋ), of unknown origins, at that time ruler of Adramyttium in Asia Minor, claimed to be a son of Perseus (Flor. 1.30; Velleius 1.11.1-2)<sup>45</sup>, *i.e.* direct pretender for the Macedonian throne. As his first attempt, Andriscus travelled to Syria to request military assistance against Rome from Demetrius Soter, Seleucid king of Syria. Demetrius instead shipped him to Rome (Livy *Epit.* 48-49). Either Andriscus escaped or was released by the Romans, because they did not see him as a danger. He started to gather converts to his cause

<sup>43</sup> Discussion in Gaebler 1902, 143 and Gaebler, *AMNG* II, (Berlin 1906), 3; Gruen 1984, 424-7; Crawford 1985, 128-9; Mørkholm 1991, 166.

<sup>44</sup> Also in Mommsen 1860, 691-2, Crawford, *RRC* 1974, 74, notes 3-4; Gruen 1984, 430.

<sup>45</sup> See Gundel in *DKP* (1964), 346, s.v. *Andriskos*; Danov 1979, 100-1; Gruen 1984, 231, 294, 431-4; and Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 57.

in Miletus and Byzantium (Diod. 32.15; Zon. 9.28; Livy *Epit.* 49). Suddenly in 149 BC Andriscus descended on Macedonia, this time with a strong army, supported by a few Thracian rulers: Teres and Barsabas, one of them related by marriage to the last Antigonid kings (Diod. 32.15. 6-7). After he defeated Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Zon. 9.28), he tapped the deep sentiments of the Macedonian people and its commitment to the monarchy<sup>46</sup> – Andriscus was pronounced king Philip VI in Pella (Polyb. 36.10 and 36.9.1; Flor. 1.30.3). With another victory over a complete Roman legion led by the praetor Publius Iuventius Thalna (Livy, *Per.* 50; Flor. 1.30.4; Eutrop. 4.13) he consolidated his rule over Thessaly and even made contact with Carthage, which was already in the Third Punic War with Rome. The Macedonians had shown an impressive will to fight for their newly revived crown and independence (Polyb. 36.17. 14).

After Thalna's disaster, the Senate dispatched a major force in Macedonia, this time under the praetor Q. Caecilius Metellus, armed with proconsular *imperium* and two legions, assisted by a fleet of Pergamum.<sup>47</sup> In a single campaigning season, the Macedonians were crushed in late 148 BC by Metellus and his army. Philip VI Andriscus escaped to Thrace, where we found temporary refuge (Walbank 1980, 15). He soon was betrayed and taken as prisoner to Rome (Paus. 7.14)<sup>48</sup>. Metellus, who defeated him, was awarded the title *Andriscus Macedonicus*. Andriscus himself was led in triumph through Rome and executed in 146 BC. A new provincial era was established in Macedonia (Livy 45.32. 7; Justin. 33.2.7), which was used for dating of all documents and gravestones in the province starting with 148 BC – the victory of Metellus over Andriscus. The 'Macedonian era' was used throughout to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD at least.<sup>49</sup>

Interestingly, Philip VI Andriscus struck limited silver coinage, that was only recently (1999-2002) identified.<sup>50</sup> There are four drachms known so far (struck with 2 obverse and three reverse dies), all minted over Roman Republican denarii or other neighbouring silver coins (one over Thessalian league). In two cases they are over *denarii* of C. Terentius Lucanus (Crawford 1974, *RRC* 217/1), thus being strictly dated to 149/8 BC.

<sup>46</sup> As pointed out in Gruen 1984, 432, note 190.

<sup>47</sup> Sources and comments in Broughton 1951, 461 and 466; Gruen 1984, 433-4.

<sup>48</sup> Comments in Gruen 1984, 433.

<sup>49</sup> Todd 1952, 382-397; Danov 1979, 101; Gruen 1984, 435.

<sup>50</sup> A review in Callataj 2011, 58-59, n.9 and pl. 8.1.





**Fig. 3.5.** Drachm of Philip VI Andriscus, 149-148 BC (4.23g), uncertain overstrike. Photo after A. Tkalec Auction (29 February 2012), no. 78.

With the defeat of Philip VI Andriscus the territory of Macedonia was swiftly turned (most probably in 146 BC after the destruction of Corinth<sup>51</sup>) into a province of Rome (though no ancient source directly states this).<sup>52</sup> The internal division of Macedonia into four republics continued to exist down to the Early Principate<sup>53</sup> which may have been due to both Rome's strategic decision, as well as political and economic considerations.

### 3.4. The province of Macedonia and its defence, 146–60/55 BC

From 146 BC Thrace was the responsibility of the Roman governors of Macedonia, especially after the death of Attalus III and the bequest of his client-kingdom to Rome.<sup>54</sup> For long the northern borders of Macedonia was regarded by the Roman administration as 'floating' (Cic. *In Pis.* 37) or "*unsichbare Grenzen*".<sup>55</sup> This situation only changed after the decisive march of Marcus Licinius Crassus against the Serdi, Moesi and Bastarnae in 29-28 BC.

From 141 BC there was constant fighting between the Roman troops in Macedonia and the Thracians from the north, who inherited this perennial struggle from the last Antigonids. It was a struggle fought with great savagery. Florus writes:

*...“the only way to subdue these exceptionally cruel foes was to employ their own methods. Prisoners were therefore tortured with fire and steel; and, what appeared most frightful to these barbarians was to have their hands cut off and*

<sup>51</sup> Morgan 1969, 422-46; Walbank 1980, 17; Kallet-Marx 1995, 11-4; Danov 1979, 101, opted for 148 BC.

<sup>52</sup> Gruen 1984, 434-5; Eckstein 2010, 248.

<sup>53</sup> Gruen 1984, 434-5; Hatzopoulos 1996, 231-60.

<sup>54</sup> Walbank 1981, 15.

<sup>55</sup> Kornemann 1934, 96; Lica 2000, 38-9.

then to be turned loose, obliged thus to survive their punishment ” (Flor. 1.39.7).<sup>56</sup>

The praetorian and consular list of Roman governors (or quaestors) of Macedonia who fought against the Thracians (or their allies) is endless<sup>57</sup>. Much of the evidence available is laconic and does not indicate where precisely the fighting took place.<sup>58</sup> Clearly a number of roads in southwestern Thrace and Paeonia were used in both directions, no doubt along the *Axios* / Vardar and Bregalnitsa river valleys reaching Middle *Strymon* / Strouma near *Pautalia* (Kyustendil).

The ancient sources and known inscriptions on the Thracian incursions on Macedonia in 2<sup>nd</sup> – mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC are compiled and listed (Appendix 3, chronological table).<sup>59</sup>

One of the first Roman praetors of Macedonia – D. Iunius Silanus Manlianus<sup>60</sup> fought in 141 BC against the Scordisci<sup>61</sup>, a strong and warlike Celtic tribe living on both sides of Danube (Livy, *Per.* 54.4-5; Cic., *De fin.* 1.24; Val. Maxim. 5.8.3), roughly in modern-day Serbia and Northwestern Bulgaria.

Between 135 and 133 BC Romans lead by M. Cosconius<sup>62</sup>, governor of Macedonia, collided also with the Scordisci (Livy, *Per.* 56.7)<sup>63</sup>. Cosconius probably also dealt with the Thracian attacks in the far eastern zone of Macedonia – in Chersonese, as mentioned in a long inscription from Sestos (Dittenberger, *OGIS* 339) – after the death of Attalus III.

In the spring/summer of 119 certain Tipas, king of Maedi, together with the Scordisci invaded Macedonia with a considerable army along Axios river. Somewhere near Stobi the joint forces killed in battle the praetor of Macedonia – Sextus Pompeius<sup>64</sup> (a grandfather of Pompey Magnus) and plundered the region.

<sup>56</sup> Florus, *Epitomae* 1.39.7: “*Quippe in captivos igni ferroque saevitum est; sed nihil barbaris atrocius visum est quam quod abscisis manibus relictis vivere superstites poenae suae iubebantur.*”

<sup>57</sup> A complete listing in Papazoglou 1979, 308-311, shortly referred in Harris 1979, 272, and Gruen 1984, 434. Also see Kallet-Marx 1995, 16-18, 37 ff.

<sup>58</sup> As pointed out in Walbank 1980, 16.

<sup>59</sup> This table is adapted after Prof. O. Picard’ listing, Picard 2010a, 489-93.

<sup>60</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.477 and 3.113.

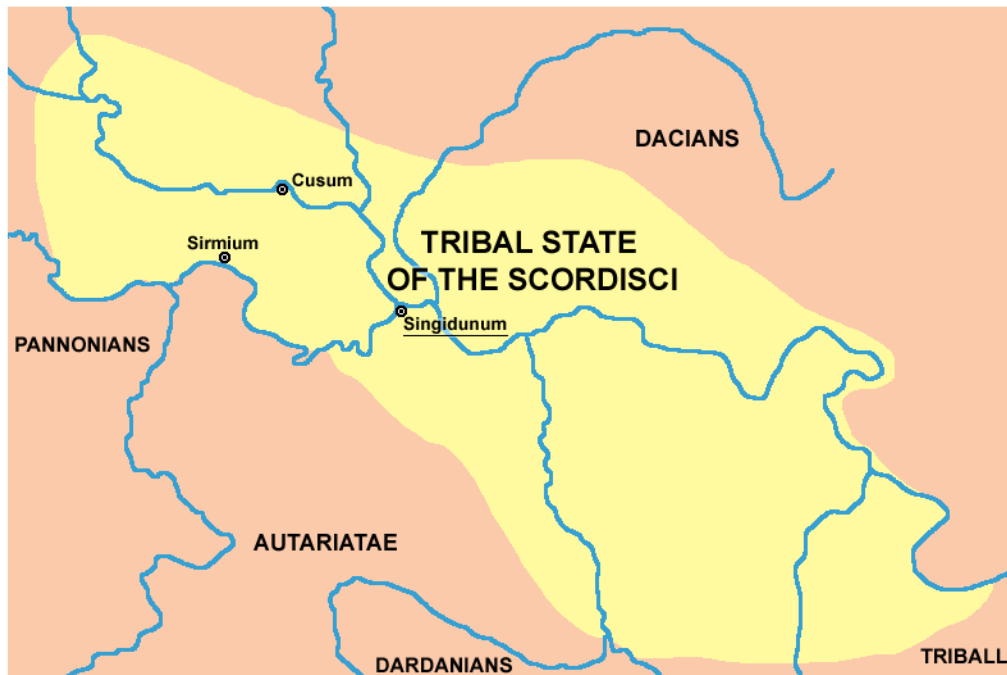
<sup>61</sup> The main sources about them is Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.5.12. See Fluss, in *RE* II, 3 (1921), cols. 831-836; Mócsy 1974, 12-3, 15-19; Papazoglou 1978, 288-91, Wilkes 1992, 201; most recently Buechli, *DNP* XI (2001), 299; Popović 1999; Šašel Kos 2005, 490-1 and Ujes-Morgan 2012, 374-5.

<sup>62</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.489 and 3. 77.

<sup>63</sup> Discussion in Sarikakis 1971, 44-5; Papazoglou 1978, 286; Walbank 1981, 15-6, n.27; Lintott 1994, in *CAH* 9, 32; Kallet-Marx 1995, 39.

<sup>64</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.526.

This trouble called for a strong Roman presence and military struggle. The invaders came back again, but this time they were repulsed by quaestor M. Annius, as a honorific inscription from Lete near Thessalonica reveals (Dittenberger, *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 700)<sup>65</sup>.



**Fig. 3.6.** Tribal state of the Scordisci along Middle Danube, 3<sup>rd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (source Wikipedia).

Five years later, in 114 BC Macedonia became a consular province (for 7 years only). During this year the consul C. Porcius Cato<sup>66</sup> took the offensive and led a Roman army against the Scordisci, though he was defeated (Livy, *Per.* 63.1; Eutrop. 4.24; Fest. 9.3; Flor. 1.39.2–4). His two consular successors in Macedonia - C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius and M. Livius Drusus<sup>67</sup> – were victorious and triumphed in 113 and 112/1 BC (Livy, *Per.* 63).<sup>68</sup>

Then, in the winter of 109-8 BC M. Minucius Rufus (*cos* 110 BC)<sup>69</sup>, the next proconsul of Macedonia, led a defensive action in northern Macedonia and western Thrace, perhaps along the Axios and Bregalnitsa river (as commemorated in an inscription from Europos).<sup>70</sup> There he again defeated the Scordisci and Triballi and was also given a triumph (Livy *Per.* 64.3). Minucius further campaigned along the Hebros river, but lost many of his men in the waters of a frozen river (Flor. 1.39.3;

<sup>65</sup> Discussion in Hammond 1972, 184; Papazoglou 1978, 292-3; Walbank 1981, 16, n.30; Kallet-Marx 1995, 38; Šašel Kos 2005, 151, 491.

<sup>66</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.533 and 3.169; Papazoglou 1978, 294-6; Šašel Kos 2005, 491.

<sup>67</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.538, 1.541

<sup>68</sup> *Fasti triumph.* XIII, 1, pp. 55 and 561.

<sup>69</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.543, 554 and 3.144; Šašel Kos 2005, 491-2.

<sup>70</sup> *AE* 1955, 136a = *SEG* 41, 570.

see discussion in Sarikakis 1971, 60-2; Walbank 1981, 15, n.20-21 and 34). In upper Thrace he also crushed the Bessi, for which a statue was dedicated in Delphi (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 710A = *FD* III/1, 526b), and demonstrated lasting Roman interest in the region. The plunder which Minucius gained in Thrace was used to fund the building of the famous Porticus Minucia in Rome (Vell. Pater. 2.8.3: "...ex Scordibus triumphus fuit"). For a short a period of time stability was reached in southern Thrace and Roman interests were secured. We are not heard of the Scordisci in the sources for the next twenty or so, years.<sup>71</sup>

According to Jordanes (Iord. *Rom.* 219), under Titus Didius<sup>72</sup>, praetor of Macedonia in 100 BC, "the Thracians were subdued and their territory reduced to a province". However, this vague reference of the late Roman historian had for long merited little credence. However, the discovery of the so-called "Piracy law" at Delphi<sup>73</sup> and its copy from Cnidos (in Turkish Cyprus) dated towards the end of 101 BC.<sup>74</sup> actually recorded an extension of the province of Macedonia into Thrace under T. Didius. This was an area of the southeastern Thrace called Caeneic Chersonese /Χερσόνησος Καϊνική/, the tribal lands of the *Caeni* (see Pliny, *NH* 4.40 and 47-49; Ptol. 3.2.6)<sup>75</sup>. On Didius, Florus adds: "Didius, finding them wandering about and dispersed in undisciplined plundering, drove them back into their own land of Thrace" (1.39.5).

For six years, between 93 and 87 BC, C. Sentius Saturninus<sup>76</sup> remained governor (*proconsul*) of Macedonia (Sarikakis 1971, 69-72; Walbank 1981, 16 = Walbank 1983, 134). Sometime about 93-91 (or in 88 according to a second view<sup>77</sup>) a certain Thracian called Sothimus invaded Macedonia and north Greece ahead of a large army (Livy, *Per.* 70.9).<sup>78</sup> Hugo Gaebler believed he should be a king of the Maedi (Gaebler 1902, 170, n.9). In this time, all the peoples of Thrace were in arms, being persuaded by Mithridates' VI, the mighty king of Pontus (Cicero, *In Pis.* 84).

<sup>71</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 492.

<sup>72</sup> Broughton 1951, 1.571 and 3.81; Papazoglou 1979, 314-6.

<sup>73</sup> Colin 1930, *Fouilles de Delphi* 3, 34-52.

<sup>74</sup> *SEG* 3, 378 B, line 28, restored text in Hassall – Crawford – Reynolds 1974, 195-220 and Crawford 1996, 12.

<sup>75</sup> Discussion in Papazoglou 1979, 316, n.52, Walbank 1981, 19-20; Loukopoulou 1987, 74-8; Lintott 1994, in *CAH* 9, 32, 36.

<sup>76</sup> Broughton 1951, 2.15, 35 and 43, 3.191.

<sup>77</sup> Walbank 1981, 16, n.36 = Walbank 1983, 134.

<sup>78</sup> Oros. 5.18.30: "...rex Sothimus cum magnis Thracum auxiliis Graeciam ingressus cunctos Macedoniae fines depopulatus est tandemque a C. Sentio praetore superatus redire in regnum coactus est."

By 87 C. Sentius had been expelled from his province by the army of Ariarathes, son of Mithridates heading to Athens. In fact, Macedonia was put under a Pontic satrap (Diod. 37.5a). The tables were turned again for the Romans only after the battles of Chaeronea and Orchomenos – with the retributive and profitable expeditions of Cornelius Sulla and his legate Hortensius. In the spring of 85 BC Sulla<sup>79</sup> attacked (Livy, *Per.* 83.3; Plut. *Sulla* 23.5) and ravaged the lands of Enetians, Dardanians and Sinti, who constantly attacked Macedonia.<sup>80</sup> He further devastated the Maedi, giving good training to his soldiers, and enriching them in the same time, as Appian put it (App. *Mithr.* 55). In his turn, Lucius Hortensius<sup>81</sup> repulsed raids of Dardanians and Maedi from Thrace (Gran. Lic. 35B).

Nevertheless, in 84-3 BC the Maedi invaded Macedonia again allied with the Scordisci and Dardanians. The allied barbarians looted many cities and sanctuaries in Greece and reached Delphi where they incinerated the sanctuary (Appian, *Illyr.* 5; Hieron. *Chron.* ad 84 BC (Helm, p. 151d). Earlier the same barbarians penetrated as south as Dodona in Epirus (Dio, fg. 101.2<sup>82</sup>). This time the Roman protagonist was L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus<sup>83</sup>, the new Macedonian *proconsul* (Livy *Per.* 74). According to Appian, he had chased and “*destroyed the Scordisci the remainder fleeing to the Danube and settling in the islands of that river*”; but spared Maedi and Dardanians because of bribery.<sup>84</sup>

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, proconsul of Macedonia 80-77 BC, was granted a triumph for his victories over the Thracians.<sup>85</sup> But in the same time he was accused by the young Julius Caesar of corruption and extortion while governor (Plut. *Caesar* 4.1). A letter of Dolabella to the Thasians, most probably relating to Thracian attacks on the mainland possessions of Thasos, had survived.<sup>86</sup>

In 77-76 BC the next proconsul Appius Claudius Pulcher (*cos* 79 BC)<sup>87</sup>, died of illness after having fought in the Rhodopes (Livy, *Per.* 91.3); the Maedi and Scordisci

<sup>79</sup> Broughton 1951, 2.58 and 3.73-78.

<sup>80</sup> Discussion in Walbank 1981, 16 = Walbank 1983, 134-5; Papazoglou 1979, 317.

<sup>81</sup> Broughton 1951, 2. 59, n.2 and 3.103.

<sup>82</sup> Dio refers to an earlier allied attack, perhaps that of 88/7 BC, see Papazoglou 1979, 316-7.

<sup>83</sup> Broughton 1951, 2.58-59 and 3. 71; Papazoglou 1979, 317-8; Kallet-Marx 1995, Appendix I, 361-4, dates the campaign in 83 BC, after the departure of Sulla to Italy.

<sup>84</sup> Discussion in Daux 1936, 392-7; Sarikakis 1971, 74, n. 1 and 2; Walbank 1981, 16, n.40; Kallet-Marx 1995, 40, n.121.

<sup>85</sup> Broughton 1951, 2.84 and 88, 3.65; *Fasti triumph.* in 78 BC? (p. 564).

<sup>86</sup> Sherk 1969, no. 21, G.21.

<sup>87</sup> Broughton 1951, 2. 94; Sarikakis 1971, 60ff.; Papazoglou 1979, 318.

were among his enemies (Obsequens 59; Eutrop. 6.2.1).<sup>88</sup> He was succeeded by C. Scribonius Curio (*cos* 76 BC)<sup>89</sup>, proconsul from 75 to 72 BC (Livy, *Per.* 92.3). In fact, he was the first general of Rome who reached the Danube (Fest. *Brev.* 7.4).<sup>90</sup> He “advanced as far as Dacia, but feared its dense forests” (Flor. 1.39.6). Scribonius Curio attacked the *Moesi* with an army of five legions (Frontin. *Strat.* 4.1.43) from both sides of the river *Timacus* (mod. Timok) and marched up to its confluence with the Danube.<sup>91</sup> As a result, Curio’s severity was long remembered in the area – he literally cut off the hands of the captives (Amm. Marc. 21.5.22). It was under Curio when Spartacus fell into Roman hands as captive, as Ziegler suggested.<sup>92</sup>

In summary, the above brief account on the Macedonian provincial governors and officials who fought in Thrace after 146 BC reveals the Roman policy towards the region. According to Walbank, it had pursued a dual purpose: on one hand - the constant punitive expeditions into the interior of Thrace were designed to plunder and immobilize the native tribes, and to protect the northern frontiers of Macedonia.<sup>93</sup> On the other – during the same period (and surely after 101/1 BC) – the Thracian Chersonese (since 133 BC) and the entire coastal Thrace (from Aenus to Bisanthe/Perinthus) fell under Roman control, becoming the responsibility of the Macedonian governor. In seizing the coastal plain of southeastern Thrace and the shore of Propontis, the Romans blocked also the major river outlets. In a series of examples of continuity the above events reveal the Roman genius for imperial expansion<sup>94</sup>. From this very moment the Thracian tribes were confined in the interior of the country, and become more and more dependant to the Rome’s mercy and control.

### 3.5. Thrace during the Mithridatic wars

It is well known that after ca. 110-100 BC vast areas of eastern/southeastern Thrace and the Black Sea coastal area, along with the Greek colonies, became dependent

<sup>88</sup> Sarikakis 1971, 79-81; Walbank 1981, 16, n. 42; Syme 1999, 135 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Broughton 1951, 2.99 and 112; 3.186; Papazoglou 1979, 318.

<sup>90</sup> On this episode: Patsch 1932, 35; Syme 1999, 135-6; Lica 2000, 44-8.

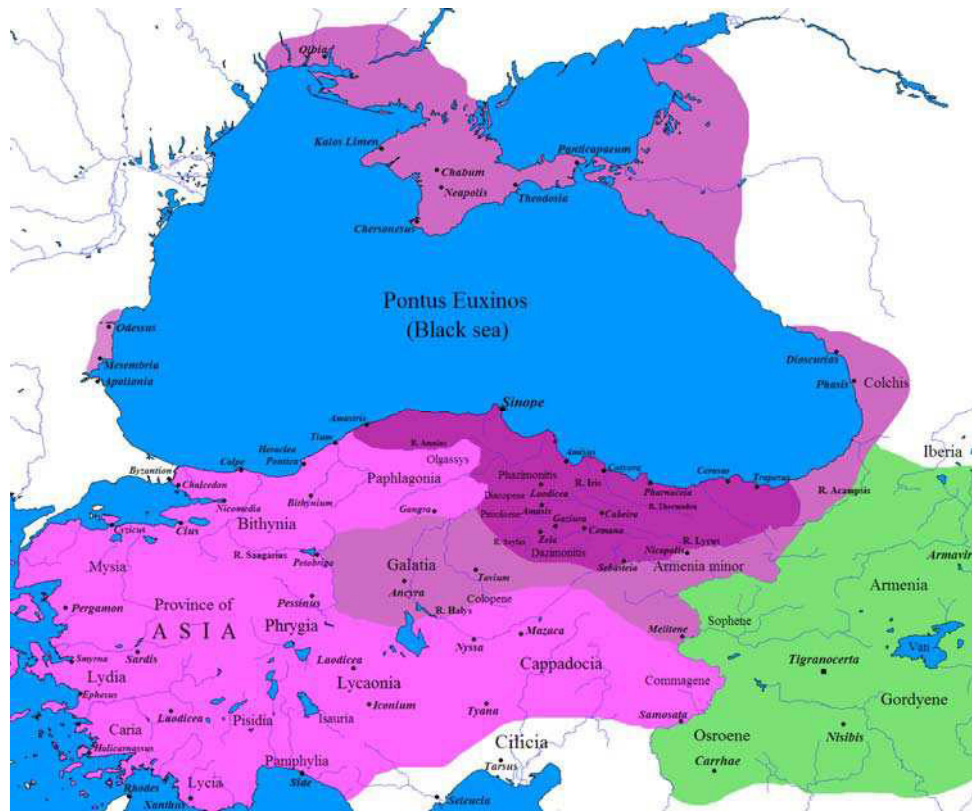
<sup>91</sup> Sources: Liv. *Per.* 92; Sal. *Hist.* 4, frg. 18-19; Fest. *Brev.* 7; Eutrop. 6.2.2; Flor. 1.39.7; Oros. 6, 3,4; Frontin. *Strat.* 4.1.43; Jord. 216.

<sup>92</sup> Ziegler 1955, 248-50; Walbank 1981, 14, n.1 and 16.

<sup>93</sup> Walbank 1981, 22.

<sup>94</sup> As stated in Walbank 1981.

on the Pontic king Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 BC).<sup>95</sup> For example at *Apollonia Pontica*, a Pontic garrison was based under the command of certain Epitynchanon of Tarsos, most likely around 83-1 BC.<sup>96</sup> It is also known that in late 88 BC a huge Pontic army<sup>97</sup> led by Mithridates' son Ariarathes IX was 'somewhere in Thrace and Macedonia'. It also took control of Amphipolis, proceeding south to Achaea and Athens (Appian, *Mithr.* 35.41; Plut. *Sulla* 11.4 and 15.1)<sup>98</sup>. At the same time, or shortly afterwards, Maroneia and Aenos 'hurried' to sign contracts (*foedus*) of friendship and protection with the Romans, sometime around 85 BC.<sup>99</sup> Overall, the Thracians are explicitly mentioned by the majority of ancient authors as allies, brothers in arms, and friends of Mithridates (App. 12, 2.13; 3.15; 6.41; 8.57; Dio 36. 9 3-4; frg. 101.2).<sup>100</sup>



**Fig. 3.7.** Kingdom of Pontus at its height: before Mithridates VI (dark purple), after his early conquests (purple), and after the First Mithridatic War (pink). Source Wikipedia.

<sup>95</sup> General sources: Appian, *Mithr.* 15.41; Iust., *Epit.* 38.3.6; Dio 36.9.3-4; comments in: McGing 1986, 57-58; Hind 1994, in *CAH* 9, 139-140; and Poenaru-Bordea 1999, 155-61. Compare the inspiring article of Professor Ivan Karayotov about Mesambria and the Mithridatic Wars period, Карайотов / Karayotov 2000a, 60-9, esp. at 61.

<sup>96</sup> Rostovtseff, *SEHWW* vol.3, 1559, n.13.

<sup>97</sup> Over 100,000 foot and 10,000 horsemen – see Plut. *Sulla* 15.1.

<sup>98</sup> On the episode see de Callatay 1997a, 315.

<sup>99</sup> The inscription from Maroneia: *SEG* 35, 823 = *AE* 1999, 474-477, no. 1365.

<sup>100</sup> Данов / Danow 1938, 238-9.

Besides the limited written evidence and a few inscriptions<sup>101</sup>, the most convincing and direct proof for eastern Thrace and the Euxine coast belonging to the state of Mithridates VI, is purely *numismatic*. This is the undoubted affiliation of the mints of the West Pontic cities of Odessos<sup>102</sup>, Mesambria<sup>103</sup>, Byzantium<sup>104</sup>, and also Istros, Callatis and Tomis<sup>105</sup> to the Mithridatic state in the period of ca. 110/100 – 72/1 BC to the Mithridatic state. From around 100 BC these Greek cities struck a large series of gold staters (of the Lysimachos type) and silver tetradrachms of the Alexander type, the latter with a striking resemblance to the portrait features of Mithridates Eupator on the head of Heracles.<sup>106</sup> The explanation of this phenomenon has long been clear<sup>107</sup>: by means of the extensive coin production along the West Pontic cities, Mithridates financed his economy and the lengthy conflict with the Roman Republic.



**Fig. 3.8.** Bronze coin of Apollonia Pontica, 2nd c. BC, showing the colossal statue of Apollo by Calamis (Photo after Karayotov 2007).

Eupator controlled southeastern and coastal Thrace by the end of 72 – early 71 BC, when they were captured by Marcus Lucullus's Republican army. Lucullus<sup>108</sup> was a close friend of Sulla, a Roman consul in 73 BC, and a proconsul of Macedonia. Leading the two legions of Macedonia, at first he attacked southern Thrace and Rhodopes. After long-lasting and bloody battles<sup>109</sup> he crushed the Bessi, allies of

<sup>101</sup> About the famous inscription from Apollonia Pontica, see Danoff, in *JÖAI* 30 (Wien 1936), *Beiblatt*, 89-94; Данов / Danow 1938, 237-9 = *IGBulg.* I<sup>2</sup>, 392 and lemma.

<sup>102</sup> de Callataÿ 1997, 84-91, pls 24-27.

<sup>103</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 92-108, pls. 27-31; Karayotov 1994, 65, series M98–M117; Compare also the thorough overview of these mints in Karayotov 2007, 127-74.

<sup>104</sup> Seyrig 1968, 185-92; de Callataÿ 1997a, 120-38, pl 32-37; Marinescu 2004, 127-39; Marinescu 2013 (in print).

<sup>105</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 139-50, pls 37-39.

<sup>106</sup> Pick – Regling 1906, *AMNG* I/2, 591; Price 1968, 6-10; Rodewald 1976, 21; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 164.

<sup>107</sup> See T. Reinach 1911, 351–69, esp. 356-60.

<sup>108</sup> Broughton 1951, 2.118; 3.204; Papazoglou 1979, 318-9; A. Keaveney, *Lucullus. A Life* (London – New York 1992), 8-9; Šašel Kos 2005, 495-7.

<sup>109</sup> Rostowtzeff 1932, in *CAH* vol. 9, 232; Gaggero 1978, 299-301; Walbank 1981, 22; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 67, 76-8; Velkov 1989, 249; Šašel-Kos 2005, 495-8.



Mithridates.<sup>110</sup> Then Lucullus captured *Uscudama* (the future Adrianople) and *Cabyle*, reaching the range of Haemus. The most complete ancient source on the episode appears in the early Christian author Eutropius.<sup>111</sup> At this moment Lucullus turned east and attacked the Greek cities on the west Euxine coast (Sallust. *Hist.* 4.18). *Apollonia Pontica*, as Mithridatic base, did resist. The city was besieged and ransacked by the Romans (Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.6.1).<sup>112</sup> There he seized the famous bronze statue of Apollo (ca. 15m high) made by Calamis (yet in mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC) and dispatched it to the Capitolium in Rome (Plin. *NH* 4.92, 34.39).<sup>113</sup>

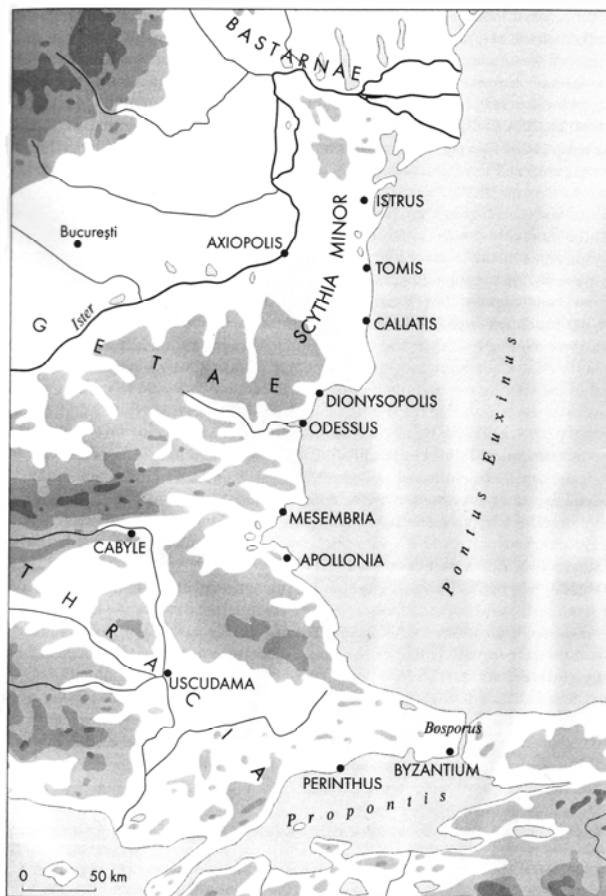


Fig. 3.9. The Western Pontic cities (map after Šašel Kos 2005, 493).

<sup>110</sup> Sources in Sallust. *Hist.*, frg. 3.51; 4. 18; Livy, *Per.* 97, Florus 1. 39; Appian, *Illyr.* 5.30; Festus, *Brev.* 9.2-4, Orosius 6.3.4; and Jordanes, *Rom.* 221.

<sup>111</sup> Eutrop. 6.10: "*Alter autem Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus Romanorum intulit bellum atque eos ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudamam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die, quo adgressus est, vicit, Cabylem cepit, usque ad Danubium penetravit. Inde multas supra Pontum positas civitates adgressus est. Illic Apolloniam evertit, Callatim, Parthenopolim, Tomos, Istrum, Burziaonem cepit belloque confecto Romam rediit. Ambo triumphaverunt, tamen Lucullus, qui contra Mithridatem pugnaverat, maiore gloria, cum tantorum regnorum victor redisset.*"

<sup>112</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 496-7.

<sup>113</sup> Plin. *NH* 34.39: "*...audaciae innumera sunt exempla. moles quippe excogitatas videmus statuarum, quas colossaeas vocant, turribus pares. talis est in Capitolio Apollo, translatus a M. Lucullo ex Apollonia Ponti urbe, XXX cubitorum, D talentis factus.*"

Further, Marcus Lucullus proceeded to Callatis<sup>114</sup>, Tomis and Istros, reaching the Danube. During his march the cities of Mesambria<sup>115</sup>, Odessos and Dionysopolis were also damaged. The loss of all these western Pontic cities represented a great setback for the Pontic king Mithridates.<sup>116</sup>

The traditionally accepted date for Lucullus march is the winter of 72 to the spring of 71 BC, when he had been called and returned to Italy to assist the defeat of Spartacus' slave revolt.<sup>117</sup> He was awarded a triumph in 71 BC for his military achievements in Thrace (Cic. *In Pis.* 44; Eutropius 6.10.1). Theodor Mommsen believed that right from this moment the Odrysian kings of Thrace began to act as vassal princes to Rome.<sup>118</sup>

### 3.6. Burebista and his 'state', ca. 60 – 45/4 BC

The next decisive stage in the history of the north Thracian land and the western Pontic cities was the expansion of the state<sup>119</sup> formation of Burebista (Βυρεβίστας, Βοιρεβίστας)<sup>120</sup>, the powerful ruler of Getae.<sup>121</sup> Our scanty evidence for Burebista and his activities remain the writings of Strabo (*Geogr.* 7.3.11-12) and one fragmentary inscription in Greek from the western Pontic coast.

Between ca. 60 – 45/4 BC Burebista, by imposing severe discipline upon his subjects, successfully conquered neighbouring regions – expanding his territory into Transylvania and Pannonia to the west. At the climax of its power, the “empire” of Burebista stretched from modern Slovakian Carpathians to the Northeast Balkans and from the Middle Danube to the Black Sea.

<sup>114</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2676 = *AE* 1933, 106 (*foedus* between Callatis and the Republic dated to ca. 100 BC); Gaggero 1978, 300; Avram 1999; Avram 2000, *IDSMA*, no. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Mihailov, *IGBulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 314a.

<sup>116</sup> Данов / Danow 1938, 238-9; Šašel Kos 2005, 497.

<sup>117</sup> Gaggero 1978, 299, 303; McGing 1986, 57; Syme 1999, 135-6; Šašel Kos 2005, 495-6.

<sup>118</sup> Mommsen 1856, 46, 91.

<sup>119</sup> See Lockyear 2004, 33-70, who denies the existence of the “*putative state of the 'great king' Burebista*”. He concludes that “*the evidence from Romania, whilst displaying some broad overall trends, can be seen as a period of distinct regional diversity*” (ibidem, 69). A similar assumption is to be found in Oltean 2007, 48, with no further arguments.

<sup>120</sup> Patsch 1932, 42ff.; Mócsy 1974, 17-21; Mócsy 2001, 45-55; Lica 2000, 62-92; Šašel Kos 2005, 498-502; most recently Oltean 2007, 44-5, 47-50; Dimitrova 2007, 159-72 and Jordanov 2009, 277-85.

<sup>121</sup> *Getae* were a Thracian tribe inhabiting the northeast between the Danube and the Black Sea, compare the main sources in Strabo, *Geogr.* 7.3.2, 4, 8 and 13-14, and Pliny, *NH* 4.25. See most recently Avram 2011, 61-76.



Therefore, this document shows that in ca. 50-48 BC Burebista sided with Pompey during his struggle against Julius Caesar in the Civil War. He has sent Akornion as his ambassador to Pompey in Heracleia Lyncestis in Macedonia.<sup>129</sup> After Caesar emerged as winner in Rome, he formulated a plan to attack and crush Burebista (Strabo 7.3.5-8, 11), but he was assassinated in the Senate before he could do so.<sup>130</sup>

With the death of Burebista, his former 'Getan state' quickly disintegrated. When Octavian did send an army against him, it was discovered that Burebista's domain was divided into five, then to four parts by his successors (Strabo, 7.3.11; Suet. *Jul.* 44.3; *Aug.* 8.2; Appian. *Ill.* 13; *Bel.civ.* 2.110).<sup>131</sup> Soon after the death of mighty Burebista in about 45/44 BC<sup>132</sup> or 42/1 BC<sup>133</sup> the entire western Pontic region came under the control and suzerainty of the Thracian king Sadalas II.<sup>134</sup> Between 44 and 42 BC he was honoured with a decree in Odessos, by decision of the city-council (*boule*) and people of the city.<sup>135</sup> According to the same inscription, certain Menogenos, born in Heraion Teichos and a minister of Sadalas, was a governor (*strategos* / στρατηγός) of the Odessitan civic territory.

### 3.7. Thrace in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC: closer interactions with Rome

In 62-61 BC another Roman military march was launched into Thrace. This time it was lead by Caius Antonius Hybrida<sup>136</sup>, legate and cavalry commander of Sulla during the Mithridatic wars. Acting as proconsul of Macedonia, he attacked the Moesi and Dardanians but was defeated (Livy, *Per.* 103; *Obsequens* 61a). Somewhere in modern Dobrudja, near Istros (Danube) he fought against the Dardanians and Scythians-Bastarnae. Hybrida fled the battle with his cavalry, leaving the infantry to

<sup>129</sup> Papazoglou 1979, 322; Šašel Kos 2005, 501; Lica 2000, 75ff.

<sup>130</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 500.

<sup>131</sup> Discussion in Oltean 2007, 48-9.

<sup>132</sup> Mócsy 2001, 49-50.

<sup>133</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 500, in concordance with Dobesch 1994. See also Jordanov 2009, 281-2.

<sup>134</sup> Данов / Danow 1938, 242; Sullivan 1979, 191-2; Tacheva 1985, 413-4; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 91, and recently in Тачева / Tacheva 2004, 139 and 144.

<sup>135</sup> *IGBulg.* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 43 = *IGBulg.* V, no. 5018.

<sup>136</sup> Pliny, *NH* 8.213; Wissowa, *Antonius* 19: *Hybrida*, in *RE* 1.2 (Stuttgart 1894), cols. 2577-2582; Broughton 1951, 2.175, 180, 184; Велков / Velkov 1979, 286-8; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 67-8, 79.

make a retreat unaided, and several Roman military standards were captured by the barbarians (Dio 38.10.1–3). Soon the western Pontic cities claimed their independence from Rome.<sup>137</sup> In 60 BC Hybrida left Macedonia, to be succeeded by C. Octavius, the father of Augustus. His actions in Thrace and the mass extortion of the province of Macedonia were harshly criticised in Rome (Cic. *Fam.* 5.5-6; *Att.* 1.12.1-2, and 16.16). Despite the Cicero's defence, Hybrida was condemned and went in exile in Cephalonia.

Caius Octavius also marched in southern Thrace (Suet. *Div Aug.* 3.2–3; 94.7; Cic. *Ad Quint.* fr. 1.1.21; Vell. Paterc. 2.59.1-2). In 60-59 BC he fought a major battle with the Bessi and other Thracians in the Rhodopes, but treated well the Roman allies, earning imperial salutation (“...*imperator appellatus ex provincia Macedonia*”).<sup>138</sup> Then he visited the main Thracian sanctuary of Dionysos, controlled by the Bessi in the Rhodopes.

The last known Roman protagonist in the 50's was L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus<sup>139</sup> (cos 58 BC), father-in-law of Julius Caesar. As a governor of Macedonia in 57-55 he was active in southern Thrace and was proclaimed *imperator* by his troops (Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 4; *in Pis.* 54 and 91-97). No further details of his activities are known.<sup>140</sup>

In fact, during the Second Civil War, Macedonia was the military domain for encounters between Pompey Magnus and Caesar (sources in Caesar, *De Bello civ.* 3; Appian *BC* 2.38-82; Cassius Dio 41.10-12; 44-52; comments in Papazoglou 1979, 321-323). Naturally, the events from the spring 49 to August 48 BC echoed in neighbouring Thrace.

### 3.7.1. Between Philippi and Actium

It was the Balkans that witnessed the final agony of the Late Republic in the aftermath of Caesar's murder.<sup>141</sup> The turbulent events after 15<sup>th</sup> March 44 BC are

<sup>137</sup> Данов / Danow 1938, 239-40; Šašel Kos 2005, 498.

<sup>138</sup> As attested in the inscription *CIL* VI, 41023 = Dessau, *ILS* 47, lines 5-10, erected on the Forum; see also Papazoglou 1979, 319.

<sup>139</sup> Broughton 1955, 2.202, 210 and 218; Papazoglou 1979, 320-1.

<sup>140</sup> His activities could be localised in Central Rhodopes around Smolyan based on coin evidence, see *Find cat. no. 58* – a small hoard from Smolyan, closing denarius of 56 BC (RRC 425/1).

<sup>141</sup> For the events *cf.* Wilkes 1996, 549; Wilkes 2005, 137-40, notes 38-42; Boteva 2007, 81 ff.

transmitted to us thanks mainly to Appian, Plutarch and Cassius Dio.<sup>142</sup> They resulted in the establishment of the Second Triumvirate in November 43 BC. It was legally enacted with no delay by *lex Titia*, passed on 27<sup>th</sup> November, marking de facto the end of the Republic<sup>143</sup>. Mark Antony, Caesar Octavian and M. Lepidus were appointed for “*triumviri rei publicae constituendae consulari potestate*” giving them *imperium maius* for the next five years. Early in 42 BC Antony and Octavian moved to Macedonia to crush Brutus and Cassius, leaving Lepidus to hold Italy.



**Fig. 3.11.** Aureus (7.95g) of Mark Antony and Caesar Octavian as *triumviri rei publicae*, 41 BC. M. Barbatius Pollio, moneyer, type Crawford 517/1a. Photo after Triton V (16 Jan. 2002), no. 1840.

Between the middle of 44 and late 42 BC Macedonia, Illyria and southern areas of Thrace were in the hands of Marcus Brutus<sup>144</sup>, after he ousted the Republican governor C. Antonius. Sometime in the summer of 43 BC Brutus led a successful campaign against the Bessi in the Rhodopes. He got the support of King Rhaescuporis [I] of Bizye (App. *BC* 4.87; Dio 47.25.1–2), and in addition a few other Thracian chieftains submitted to him. While in Thrace, Brutus continued to gather more soldiers and money. It was queen Polemocratia, the widow of the Thracian ruler Sadalas II, who consigned the entire Thracian treasury to Brutus, in return for protecting her infant son (the future Sadalas III). Appian states that Brutus among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver, which he coined and converted into currency (App. *BC* 4.75).<sup>145</sup>



**Fig. 3.12.** Aureus (8.01g) of Marcus Brutus, late summer – autumn 42 BC, type Crawford 507/1b. Photo after Triton XII (Jan. 2009), no. 526.

<sup>142</sup> Details in Lica 2000, 93-120. See also Pelling 1996, in *CAH* 10, 1-9.

<sup>143</sup> Bengtson 1967, 239.

<sup>144</sup> Collart 1931, 423-9; Papazoglou 1979, 323-4; Pelling 1996, in *CAH* 10, 6-8; Woytek 2003, 380-1, 512.

<sup>145</sup> Numismatic discussion in Crawford 1985, 251; Woytek 2003, 380-1.

The double battles at Philippi took place in October 42 BC (Appian, *BC* 4.82; Dio 47.48.2).<sup>146</sup> They determined the fate of the Republican leaders and future of Rome. It was a time when Thracians had hedged their bets on the battle: Cotys, king of the Odrysae, sent Rhaiskos, one of his sons – to Antony and the Caesarian camp, and the other, Rhaescuporis – to the Republican side (Appian, *BC* 4.87-88, 4.136), each one with a 3,000 Thracian cavalry force. Days before the decisive battle of Philippi, Brutus ordered extra payments (*donativa*) of 1,000 denarii to be made to each soldier (*'viritim'*), double or respectively more to the officers (Appian 4.118)<sup>147</sup>.

The actual winner at Philippi was Mark Antony, who was successful in both battles, while Octavian was twice defeated. Writing about the situation after the battle, Appian states explicitly: “*the fame of Antony was then at its height, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavian’s illness.*” (App. *BC* 5.6.53; 5.6.58–59). Shortly after the battles in Macedonia, a new Civil War threatened, but the diplomacy of both sides patched together the so-called “Treaty of Brundisium” in October 40 BC (Bengtson 1967, 241), dividing the provinces of the Republic into spheres of influence. Appian (*BC* 5.7.65) notes that with this treaty Octavian and Antony “*made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria.... All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavian.*”<sup>148</sup> Thus, from November 42 to September 31 BC the whole of Greece, Macedonia and southern Thrace came into Mark Antony’s hands.<sup>149</sup>

While he cemented his hold in the East and reformed the provincial administration, Octavian tightened his grip in the West and nominally oversaw a campaign against the pirate commander Sextus Pompeius, based in Sicily. The campaign was actually commanded by Octavian’s lieutenant Marcus Agrippa, and it culminated in a victory in 36 BC. Agrippa had been consul in 37 BC and his diplomacy had secured the Triumvirate’s renewal. In September/October 37 at Tarentum Antony and Octavian renewed their “*leadership for another five years*”, with Lepidus expelled

<sup>146</sup> Discussion and details in Collart 1937, 190-219, esp. at 214-5; Bengtson 1977, 139-51; Pelling 1996, in *CAH* 10, 6-8; Woytek 2003, 388-91.

<sup>147</sup> Discussion in Woytek 2003, 390, 552.

<sup>148</sup> See details in Šašel Kos 2005, 369-73 and Lica 2000, 106-8.

<sup>149</sup> Papazoglou 1979, 324.

from the Triumvirate (Dio 48.54.6; Plut. *Ant.* 35.3).<sup>150</sup> The Balkans, Macedonia, Achaia and the East remained in the hands of Mark Antony up to the battle of Actium.

The Parthian war waged by Antony in 36-35 BC turned out to be disastrous for his army. Despite the initial successes of his general Publius Ventidius Bassus in Syria (Plut. *Ant.* 34), the Roman forces were dragged into another heavy campaign with the Parthians in Armenia, from where they withdrew with heavy casualties (Dio 49.27–33). In 35 BC Octavian started his military campaigns in Illyricum.<sup>151</sup> Having been successful, they were used by Octavian as an essential part of his political propaganda.<sup>152</sup> Among different other themes, this propaganda was emphasizing both Octavian's military achievements and Antony's military misfortune in those years.<sup>153</sup>

### 3.7.2. Actium and its consequences

The naval battle off the Actium promontory on the Southern Epirote coast on 2 September of 31 BC (Dio 50.32-35)<sup>154</sup> was a turning point for the history of the Mediterranean. Though a civil conflict of the Roman Republic, it soon took on an international character, with Octavian fighting to maintain Rome's independence and interests, threatened by Cleopatra VII, queen of Egypt, and her partner Mark Antony. The opposing armies were enormous: Octavian and his admiral Marcus Agrippa – with 75,000 legionaries, 25,000 light-armed infantrymen, 12,000 cavalry, 3,000 archers and over 400 warships; and Antony – with 23 legions (strength ca 115,000 men), numerous auxiliary troops, 12,000 cavalry, 2,000 archers as well as a combined Roman-Egyptian fleet of over 230 warships.<sup>155</sup> Ground military operations between the rival forces took place in the Gulf of Ambracia and around Actium. The campaign lasted more than a year, up to the eve of the final naval engagement. Meanwhile, a number of allied kings and troops participated on Antony's side, for example Bactrians, Galatians, Egyptians, people of Cyrenaica and other nations

<sup>150</sup> Comments in Bengtson 1967, 242; Badian 1991, 7-14.

<sup>151</sup> Discussion in Šašel Kos 2005, 393-472.

<sup>152</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 134.

<sup>153</sup> As pointed by Boteva 2007, 82.

<sup>154</sup> Discussion in Syme 1960<sup>2</sup>, 294-8; Carter 1970, 227ff.; Tarn 1979, 100-5; for the Actium site, see Chrysostomou – Kefallonitou 2005, 6-10.

<sup>155</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 61.1.



("variis Antonius armis").<sup>156</sup> Moreover, Thracian allies and mercenaries were also involved in the land operations in large numbers, all without being involved in the real fight. Days before the battle, Rhoemetaces I, the future Sapaeian king of Thrace, along with his own cavalry force, deserted Antony and went over to Octavian.<sup>157</sup> Dicomēs, chieftain of the Getae<sup>158</sup>, promised a large force to Antony, but his men never appeared at the battlefield. Antony himself, facing desertion *en masse*, was advised by his commanding general, Publius Canidius Crassus, to retreat north to Thrace and Macedonia, and to seek the help of barbarian allies.<sup>159</sup>

As expected, the consequences of all these events (political and diplomatic) had a severe impact on the economic and monetary patterns in the whole of Greece, Macedonia and the areas further north. In the Thracian lands abundant archaeological artefacts (coins, jewelry, valuables, etc.) largely supplement the extant historical evidence. Bearing this in mind I would like to add here new evidence concerning this dynamic period and throw some light on the monetary circulation in the area.

During the entire campaign, in order to pay salaries for his huge army for an extended period (almost 2 calendar years), Mark Antony organized a large-scale coinage. It is now widely known as "legionary"<sup>160</sup> – millions of silver *denarii*,<sup>161</sup> and a limited quantity of gold *aurei*.<sup>162</sup> Their production is localized by the numismatists at different places: in Ephesus,<sup>163</sup> then within movable/traveling mints in Greece, or as recently assumed – at Antony's winter headquarters at *Patrae* in Achaëa. "Legionary" coinage is strictly dated between the late autumn of 32 and the spring/summer of 31 BC.<sup>164</sup> Coins feature a uniform design: praetorian galley with rowers on the obverse (ANT AVG – III VIR R P C [*Antonius augur triumvir rei publicae constituendae*]) and on the reverse a legionary eagle (*aquila*) between two army standards, naming below twenty three legions (LEG PRI [*legio prima*] to LEG XXIII [*legio vicensima tertia*]),<sup>165</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 61.1-2; Dio 50.6.5.

<sup>157</sup> These politics guaranteed him a long and prosperous rule over Thrace after 12/11 BC; cf. Dio 50.13.8 ff., more details on Rhoemetaces I below. See also Pelling 1996, in *CAH* 10, 56-7.

<sup>158</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 63.4; Dio 51.22; Flor. 4.12.18.

<sup>159</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 63.3; Syme 1960<sup>2</sup>, p. 296.

<sup>160</sup> Sear 1999, *CRI*, 229-36.

<sup>161</sup> Crawford, *RRC* nos. 544/8-39.

<sup>162</sup> Crawford, *RRC* nos. 544/1-7.

<sup>163</sup> *BMCR* (*East*), 526, n. 1.

<sup>164</sup> Crawford, *RRC*, 102.

<sup>165</sup> For the types: Crawford, *RRC* 544/13-39 and 743; Sear, *CRI* 348-83.

servicing under Mark Antony.<sup>166</sup> Three of these types portray additional legends, the number and name of a legion, as well as special units like Antony's personal *Praetorian guard cohort* (C[O]HORTIVM PRAETORIVM)<sup>167</sup> and the reconnaissance squadron (C[O]HORTIS SPECVLATORVM).<sup>168</sup> It was an extremely large issue estimated in numismatic research at an immense number of 864 coin dies.<sup>169</sup> The estimates of the amount of legionary *denarii* struck vary between 25 million (Crawford)<sup>170</sup> and 35 million coins (Harl).<sup>171</sup>



**Fig. 3.13.** 'Legionary' denarius of Mark Antony, Patrae?, 32-31 BC. On the reverse: *aquila* between two army standards, LEGIO XVI (Crawford 544/31).

The very first measure Octavian took after the battle at Actium was to capture the Antonian camp and his wartime treasury (both on land and at sea aboard ships).<sup>172</sup> There he received the capitulation of Antony's fleeing legions and disbanded the soldiers. They soon received a share in the colonial assignments<sup>173</sup> and payment of their accumulated wages in cash.

### **3.8. The late Kingdom of Thrace, ca. 120 BC - AD 45/6**

The main purpose of this section is to collect and present in one place data on the late kings of Thrace presently scattered in many smaller publications and often difficult to access. It includes numerous pieces of information derived from the ancient history, archaeology, epigraphy and sometimes – from numismatics. In addition, a separate chapter with a thorough review and reconstruction of the late Thracian royal coinage is presented in chapter 6.

<sup>166</sup> Grant 1954, 200; Hill 1976, pp. 123-4; Brunt 1987, pp. 504-5 (for the numbers of Antonian legions).

<sup>167</sup> Crawford, *RRC* 544/8; Sear, *CRI* 385.

<sup>168</sup> Crawford, *RRC* 544/12; Sear, *CRI* 386.

<sup>169</sup> Crawford, *RRC*, table 50, 699-71.

<sup>170</sup> Crawford, *RRC*, 102 and 743.

<sup>171</sup> Harl 1996, 60.

<sup>172</sup> Dio 51.3 ff.; Plut. *Ant.* 67.8; see comments in Dillon 2007, 41-3.

<sup>173</sup> Hygin. *De limit. const.* 177: quoted after Syme 1960<sup>2</sup>, 297, n. 2.

The main problem lies within the arrangement of the dynastic lines of late Thrace. The succession is often uncertain and problematic.<sup>174</sup> The following discussion considers only the late representatives of the two main Thracian royal lines – the Astaeon-Odryasian and Sapaeon.<sup>175</sup> The basic arrangement of both dynastic lines is given as follows:

**Table 3.1. Astaeon-Odryasian line (united since 55 BC)**

<i>Years of reign</i>	<i>Name of ruler</i>	<i>Filiation</i>	<i>PIR I/III</i>
100 BC – 87?	<b>Cotys III [V]</b>	son(?) of Bithys	–
...87–58?	<b>Sad alas I</b>	son of Cotys III [V]	–
...57–48	<b>Cotys IV [VI]</b>	son of Sad alas I	–
48–42	<b>Sad alas II</b>	son of Cotys IV [VI]	–
42?–31	<b>Sad alas III</b>	son of Sad alas II	<i>cf. Plut. Ant. 61</i>
31?–18	<b>Cotys V [VII]</b>	son of Sad alas II	<i>C 1553</i>
18–11	<b>Rhaescuporis II</b>	son of Cotys V [VII]	<i>R 41</i>

(To Rhoemetalces I and the *Sapaeon* kings of Thrace in 11 BC).

**Table 3.2. Sapaeon line<sup>176</sup>**

<i>Years of reign</i>	<i>Name of ruler</i>	<i>Filiation</i>	<i>PIR</i>
?	<b>Cotys I [VI]</b>	son of (?) Rhoemetalces	–
...48–42	<b>Rhaescuporis I</b>	son of Cotys VI	–
42	<b>Rhascus</b>	son of Cotys VI, brother of Rhaescuporis I	–
42–31	<b>Cotys II [VII]</b>	son of Rhaescuporis I	<i>C 1552</i>
31 BC – AD 12	<b>Rhoemetalces I</b>	son of Cotys II; ruled all Thrace since 12/1 BC	<i>R 50</i>
AD 12–19	<b>Rhaescuporis III</b>	son of Cotys II	<i>R 42</i>
& 12–17/8	<b>Cotys III [VIII]</b>	son of Rhoemetalces I	<i>C 1554</i>

<sup>174</sup> See Jones 1971, 377, n.11; summarized in Sullivan 1979, 186-9, esp. n. 2.

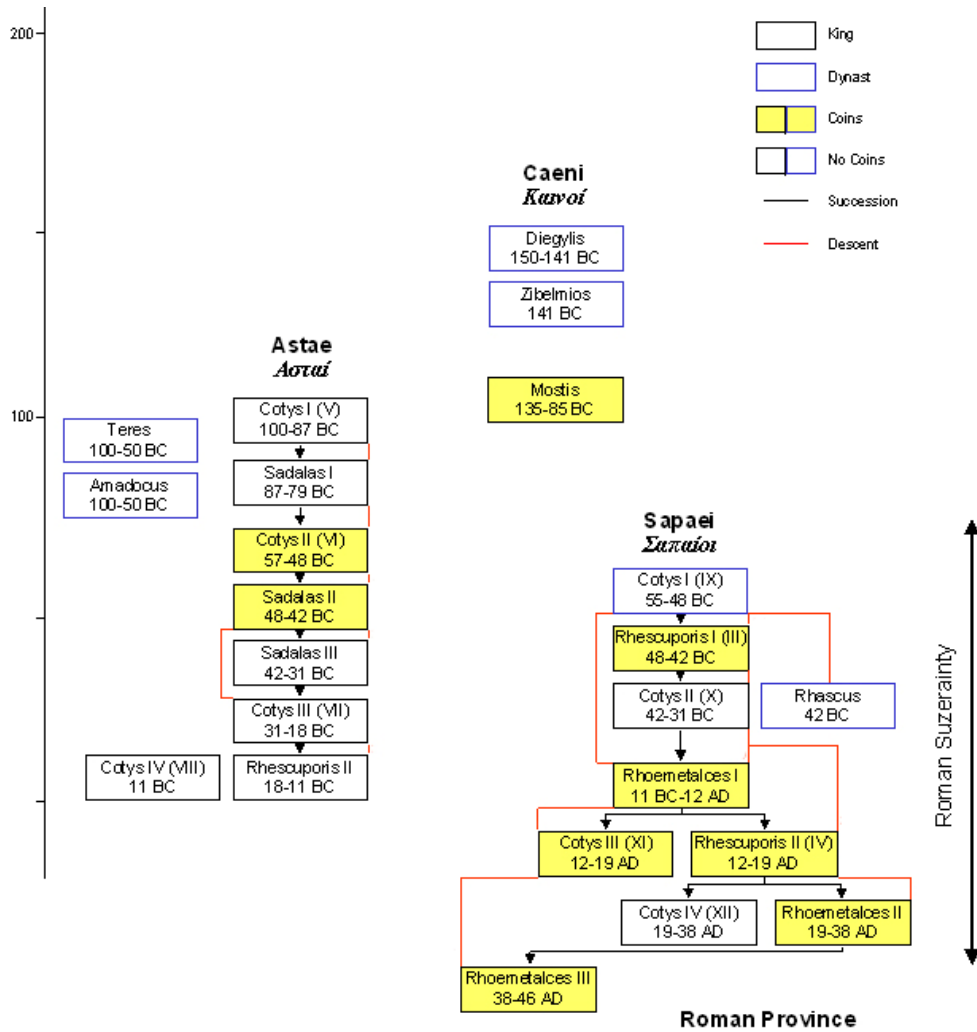
<sup>175</sup> Discussion on late Thracian dynasts in Mommsen 1875, 262-3; Crowfoot 1897, 321-6; Dawkins – Hasluck 1906, 176-7; Kahrstedt 1914, *RE* 1 A.1, cols. 255ff., Kahrstedt 1922, in *RE* 11.2, cols. 1551ff.; Sullivan 1979, 187-88, n. 1 and 190, n.9, 9; Tacheva 1985, 412; Mihailov 1955, in *BIAB* 19, 161 ff.; Mihailov, *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup> (1970), 99, 369; and Mihailov *et alii*, *IGBulg* V (Sofia 1997), no. 5140.

<sup>176</sup> On the Sapaeon dynasts see Sullivan 1979, 194-211.

19–38	<b>Rhoemetalces II</b>	son of Rhaescuporis III	<i>J 517</i>
38–45	<b>Rhoemetalces III</b>	son of Cotys III and Antonia Tryphaena	<i>R 52</i>

(Annexed in 45/6, established as Roman province of *Thracia*)

**Stemma of the late kings of Thrace**



**Fig. 3.14.** *Stemma* of the late Thracian kings with those rulers who struck their own coinage marked in **yellow** (adapted after Houmouziadis 2009).

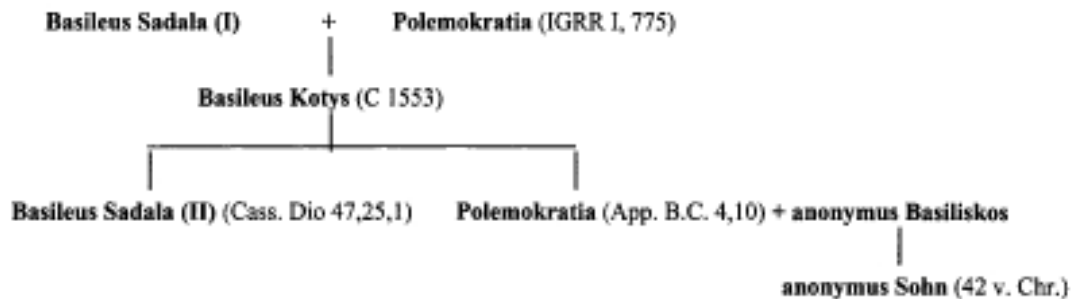
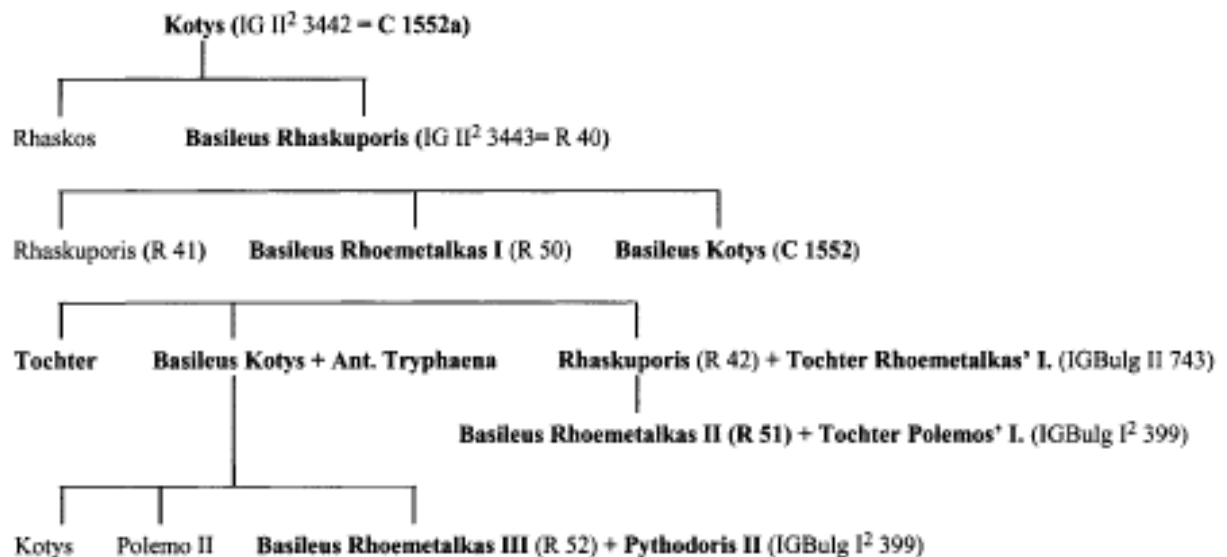
**Alternate stemma of the late kings of Thrace****2. Die Sapäer (regierende Dynastie ab 42 v. Chr. in Bizye)**

Fig. 3.15. *Stemma* of the late Thracian kings (after Tacheva 2004).

**3.8.1. Sadalas I, ca. 87? – 79 (or 58/7?) BC**

It is most likely that he must be identified with the man mentioned by Cicero (Cic. *In Verr.* 2.1. 24) who supported Sulla against Mithridates VI. A decree from Chaeronea attests to the fact that in the winter of 86/5 BC Sulla received

reinforcements from king Sadalas – a cavalry squadron of 1,000 Thracian horsemen commanded by Amatokos.<sup>177</sup>

### 3.8.2. **Cotys IV [VI], ca. 57 – 48 BC**

Not much is known about this Odrysian king, except a famous episode in Cicero. In 57 BC king Cotys, probably son of Sadalas I, bribed L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, Roman governor of Macedonia, to murder Rabocentus, prince of the Bessoï (Cic. *Pis.* 34, 89).<sup>178</sup> He obviously had the will and the wealth (300 talents!) to cultivate Roman cooperation: “*cum te trecentes talenti regi Cotyi vendidisses*”.<sup>179</sup> Cotys remained active in Roman affairs for a decade, and appears to have been involved in the battle of Pharsalos in 48 BC (see *infra*).

### 3.8.3. **Sadalas [II], ca. 48 – 42 BC**

Next in the sources appears **Sadalas** (Σαδάλας), son of Cotys II. He is known to have participated in the battle of Pharsalos between Caesar and Pompey on 9 August 48 BC. He was in charge of a Thracian squadron of 500 horsemen fighting on the side of Pompey Magnus. Sadalas is referred to in Caesar as ‘*Cotys ex Thracia dederat et Sadalam filium miserat*’ = “Sadalas, son of Cotys (II / VI), [king] of the Odrysians” (*Bell. Civ.* 3. 4; Dio 41. 51 and 63). After Caesar’s victory at Pharsalos, Sadalas was pardoned upon following his brother Rhaiskos’ intercession with Caesar (Dio 41.63.1)<sup>180</sup>.

Shortly after 48 BC, and perhaps after the death of the Geto-Dacian ruler Burebista, king Sadalas occupied the western coastal zone of the Black sea around Odessos. He is hailed in a decree by the people of this town (*IGBulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 43). There a certain Menogenos (of *Heraion Teichos*) is specifically mentioned, a minister of Sadalas, and governor (*strategos*) of the entire region. Apparently, Sadalas was reported dead by the spring/summer of 42 BC.

<sup>177</sup> Holleaux 1919, 320-337; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW*, 941 and 1551; McGing 1986, 62; de Callatay 1991, 43, note 21.

<sup>178</sup> Comments in Syme 1999, 141-2.

<sup>179</sup> Discussion in Sullivan 1979, 189-90.

<sup>180</sup> More in Crowfoot 1897, 324; Sullivan 1979, 191.

As stated above, between the autumn of 42 and September 31 BC Macedonia, Achaëa, Illyria and southern Thrace were governed by Mark Antony. This partition of the provinces was confirmed with the pact of Brundisium (Appian, *BC* 5.65).

Once again, in the late 30's BC, official Roman attention was triggered when Mark Antony intervened and solved conflict between the Odrussians and the Sapeians, the ruling dynasties of Thrace. Another Thracian ruler named *Sadala*, supported Mark Antony before the decisive naval battle at Actium in September 31 BC (Plut. *Ant.* 61, Sullivan 1979, 192).<sup>181</sup> Roman and Thracian interests intermingled before the incorporation of Thrace into the Roman provincial system.

#### 3.8.4. *Rhaescuporis I, ca. 42 – 32/1 BC*

Next in the line appears *Rhaescuporis I, the Sapeian, son of Cotys [II]* (Sullivan 1979, 194-196). His reign is usually dated to *ca.* 42–32/1 BC, and viewed as a period of gradually achieved stability enhanced by Brutus' and Mark Antony's policy on the Balkans. According to historical accounts, between the middle of 44 and late 42 BC Macedonia and the southern areas of Thrace were administrated by Marcus Brutus<sup>182</sup>, after he had ousted Lucius Antonius (brother of the *triumvir* and governor of Macedonia). During the summer of 43 BC Brutus led a successful campaign against the *Bessi* in the Rhodope mountains. The Roman general was supported by the same *Rhaescuporis [I]*, referred to as dynast (Appian, *BC* 4.87; Dio 47. 25, 1-2), and in addition several other Thracian chieftains offered assistance and even submitted to him.

While in Thrace, Brutus continued to gather more resources, especially soldiers and money for his upcoming decisive engagement with Mark Antony and Octavian. It was Polemocratia, the widow of the Thracian dynast *Sadala* II, who consigned the entire Thracian treasury to Brutus, in return for protecting her infant son (the future *Sadala* III?) and his claim to the Thracian throne. Appian states that Brutus found that among the treasures put at his disposal there was also an unexpected quantity of gold and silver, which soon was coined and converted into currency.<sup>183</sup> In other

<sup>181</sup> For the events before and after Actium in Thrace, see Paunov – Prokopov 2013 /in print/ and above in this chapter.

<sup>182</sup> Collart 1931, 423-29; Papazoglou 1979, 323-4; Woytek 2003, 380-1, 512.

<sup>183</sup> Appian, *BC* 4.75; Crawford 1985, 251; Woytek 2003, 380-1.

words, Thracian support to the Republicans and the Triumviri for the two battles at Philippi in October 42 BC was well measured and strategically targeted. Moreover, after Philippi<sup>184</sup> were related to the influx of money into the Thracian area.<sup>185</sup>

**Rhaescuporis'** father, **Cotys (II)**, portrayed on the obverse of his coins, was apparently much respected by his son. **Cotys** was indeed also honoured in Athens, with two identical inscriptions (*IG* III, 552, 555 = *IG*<sup>2</sup> III/ III, 3442, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1552a), as well as with an expressive head of a monumental marble statue found in 1838, which was later identified by J. W. Crowfoot as king *Cotys of Thrace*.<sup>186</sup> In fact, it represents a magnificent Pantelic marble portrait of a barbarian with an expressive physiognomy and square face, crowned with a laurel wreath and animated hair locks.<sup>187</sup>



A PORTRAIT HEAD AT ATHENS.

**Fig. 3.16.** Marble head of a Thracian king(?) from Athens (after Crowfoot 1897, pl. 11).

In addition to the portrayal of the Thracian ruler, another inscription found near Didymotheichon in southeastern Thrace is attributed to **Cotys**, son of **Rhaescuporis**.<sup>188</sup> It is a votive offering by king **Cotys** to *Heracles Soter*, the protector of the Thasians. It was argued that this votive offering by Cotys was made in 28 BC, during the march of M. Licinius Crassus in Thrace, though this remains uncertain. What it probably shows is the connection of this king to the affairs of Thasos, proclaimed as a free city by Rome.

<sup>184</sup> Appian 4. 82; Dio, 47, 48, 2; Collart 1937, 190-219.

<sup>185</sup> See also the comments in Prokopov – Paunov 2012, 147-63, and above, p. xx.

<sup>186</sup> Crowfoot 1897, 325-326, pl. 11; Cavvadias, *Catalogue des musées d'Athènes* (1895), 531.

<sup>187</sup> Crowfoot 1897, 322.

<sup>188</sup> First published by Chr. Drakonthis in 1938; a revised reading by Манов / Manov 1997, 73-6.



These documents indicate that the Thracian élite was acknowledged at a certain socio-political level by their Greek neighbours, something also reflected stylistically in the numismatic issues.

### 3.8.5. **Cotys V (VII), ca. 28/7 – 23 (or 18/6) BC**

Cotys V (VII) was the son of Sadalas II and Polemocratia. After the murder of his father, his mother Polemocratia surrendered the royal treasury to M. Iunius Brutus to secure his life (see above). In fact, **Cotys** was raised in Cyzicus and was installed as the Astaeon-Odryasian king of Thrace in *circa* 28/7 BC. The Sapaean **Rhoemetalces I** was his brother and was later appointed guardian of Cotys' son **Rhaescuporis II**. **Cotys V (VII)** was probably killed during M. Primus' unauthorized war in Thrace, when governor of Macedonia – about 23/2 BC (Dio 54.3.1-2; Syme 1999, 197), or perhaps slightly later, but certainly not after 18/16 BC. He is also referred to in the famous '*chorothesia*' inscription from Dionysopolis / Balchik (*IGBulg V 5011*)<sup>189</sup>, regulating the borders between Odessos, Callatis and the Thracian royal possessions along the western Pontic coast.

### 3.8.6. **Rhaescuporis II, 23/18 – 13/2 BC**

The line of succession of the Sapaean dynasty went to Rhaescuporis II (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 41), who was a son of Cotys V (VII). Rhaescuporis II died in 13 or 12 BC, during the defeat in the Thracian Chersonese, slain in battle by Vologaesos, chief of the Bessi tribe, the leader in the revolt against the Romans. The campaigns of 13-11 BC are better known as '*bellum Thracicum*' (Dio 54.34.5–7 and Velleius 2.98.2). The provincial governor of Lycia–Pamphilia L. Calpurnius Piso (*cos* 15 BC) was summoned and given personal instructions by Augustus to deal with the problem in southern Thrace.<sup>190</sup> Rhaescuporis II also issued no coins in his name.

According to Dio, Rhaescuporis II was murdered by the Bessi and his brother Rhoemetalces was pushed with his army as far as the Thracian Chersonese. In this very moment Piso appeared from Asia. Now Vologaesos and the Bessi had returned

<sup>189</sup> Discussion in Тачева/ Tacheva 2004, 135–46.

<sup>190</sup> For the episode see Stout 1911, 1, n. 6; Syme 1939, 398; Syme 1999, 203–5.

in their land in the Rhodopes. Despite the initial misfortunes of the Roman army, in a war that lasted three years Piso defeated the Bessi and their neighbours, having captured some of them and sold in slavery.<sup>191</sup>

### 3.8.7. *Rhoemetalces I, ca. 12/1 BC – AD 12.*

Rhoemetalces (Ῥοιμητάλκης) (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 50) is the best known king of the late Odrysian kingdom of Thrace, ruling from 12/11 BC to AD 12 in succession to his younger brother Rhaescuporis II. Rhoemetalces was also a direct descendant of the Thracian King Cotys, and the middle son of the earlier Thracian king Cotys VI. His older brother was Cotys III (VII), and his younger brother was Rhaescuporis II. When Cotys VI died in circa 48 BC, succeeded by Sadalas II, Rhoemetalces became the guardian of his nephew Rhaescuporis I, his brother's young son and heir. He was installed on the throne of Thrace by L. Calpurnius Piso in ca. 12/1 BC after the murder of Rhaescuporis II (of Astaeon-Odrysian line), who had no direct heir.

As a loyal ally and friend of Augustus<sup>192</sup>, Rhoemetalces I and his client state<sup>193</sup> benefited greatly but he also proved himself an effective ruler.<sup>194</sup> In AD 6 he and his forces had assisted Tiberius Caesar at Sirmium in crushing the revolt of the Pannonian *Breuci*.<sup>195</sup> Queen Pythodoris [I], his wife and mother of his heir, is known only from coin evidence where she is depicted.

Until the time of Caligula, the city of *Byzantium* was given to the Thracian kings for their support and loyalty, most of all – to Rhoemetalces I. Coins of the last three kings were struck there and at Bizye.

### 3.8.8. *Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV [VIII], ca. AD 12 –18/19*

<sup>191</sup> Dio 54.34.5–7: Ὡς οὖν οὗτός τε ταῦτ' ἐποίει καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργουν, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἧς ἦρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσι· καὶ προαναχωρησάντων οἴκαδε τῶν Βησσῶν ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτὸν προσιόντα, ἕς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἠττηθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκείνην τε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάντων σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. Καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἐθέλοντάς προσθέμενος τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθεὶς, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο νεοχμῶσαντάς τινας αὐτῶν αὔθις κατεδουλώσατο. Καὶ αὐτῶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἱερομηνίαι καὶ τιμαὶ ἐπινίκιοι ἐδόθησαν.

<sup>192</sup> Plut. *Rom.* 17 (28a).

<sup>193</sup> Braund 1984; Millar 2004, 202-3.

<sup>194</sup> Wilkes 1996, in *CAH* 10, 550-1.

<sup>195</sup> Velleius 2.112.4ff; Dio 55.30; Ovid. *ex Ponto* 2. 9.45, 59.

Upon the death of Rhoemetaces I in circa AD 12, his large and prosperous kingdom was divided by Augustus between his heirs (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.64): his brother Rhaescuporis (PIR<sup>2</sup> R 42) and his son Cotys IV [VIII], (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1554). Tacitus also states that according to this division Cotys IV received the cultivated parts and most of the Greek cities of coastal Thrace (*'in ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis'*), while Rhaescuporis received Thrace's wild savage land and its hostile subjects (...*'quod incoltrum ferox adnexum hostibus'*, *ibidem*). This in fact means that the large territory previously ruled by Rhoemetaces I was not equally developed, and additionally that the heirs were granted land according to the local strategic Roman interests. Moreover, Augustus' interference in this matter had a significant impact on inheritance claims and ambition. After Rhoemetaces death, Thrace never again achieved stability and it was finally made a province of Rome.<sup>196</sup>

King **Cotys IV [VIII]**, the son of Rhoemetaces I, was considered a poet by Ovid (*Ex Ponto* 2.9) instead of a ruler. Nonetheless, he seems to be recognised as such not only by the ancient sources where he was treated extraordinarily favourably<sup>197</sup>, but also by his contemporaries. We know that he was even honored as *archon* in Athens, an honour that was not often given to Thracian rulers. All this seems to be a consequence of the fact that Cotys married a direct descendant of the triumvir Mark Antony – Antonia Tryphaena (Lenk, in *RE* 6A.1, 448-449; PIR<sup>2</sup> A 900), the daughter of king Polemon of Pontus which gave him prominence.

On the other hand, Tacitus describes the character of **Rhaescuporis** as 'treacherous' (Tac. *Ann.* 2.65: "...*alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent acciperentque*"). In fact, Rhaescuporis wanted to annex Cotys' kingdom, but he was prevented from doing so by fear of Augustus. However, soon after the death of Augustus' in AD 14 the recent arrangement of the Thracian kingdom collapsed and was further revised. Rhaescuporis now claimed the remainder of Thrace, at first by negotiation. However, when Cotys resisted the approach changed, and Rhaescuporis used treachery. Inviting his nephew to a banquet to falsely ratify a treaty between them, he arrested and imprisoned Cotys, seizing his kingdom. Cotys died while imprisoned in AD 18 (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 66). His wife Tryphaena and children fled Thrace to Cyzicus, as stated in a number of inscriptions (*cf.* IGRR 145-

<sup>196</sup> Emphasized in Crawford 1985, 239; Тачева / Tacheva 1987.

<sup>197</sup> Sullivan 1979, 201-2.

147). Therefore **Rhaescuporis III** briefly ruled the entire realm – *Thraciaque omni politus* (Tacitus, *op.cit.*).

This dramatic episode did not escape the attention of Rome. When Tiberius learnt of this, he ordered an investigation to be opened in the Senate to deal with the Thracian inheritance issue. The imperial decision (*rescript*) was brought to Rhaescuporis by Latinus Pandusa, *legatus pro praetore* of *Moesia* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.65), who came to Thrace with soldiers to free the imprisoned Cotys. Tiberius invited Cotys' widow Antonia Tryphaena to testify at the trial, during which she accused the defendant of murdering her husband. As a result, Rhaescuporis was found guilty, deposed and sent into exile by Rome. *En route* to Alexandria, however, he was killed by Roman soldiers when supposedly trying to escape (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.67; Suet. *Tib.* 37). This brought to an end his ambitions to rule over the entire Thracian territory, as his brother and predecessor had done.

In a small number of inscriptions **Rhaescuporis III** is referred to only as a prince /dynast/ of Thrace (Θράκων δυνάστης) not a king, which very much reflects his status regardless of his desire and ambitions.<sup>198</sup>

### 3.8.9. **Rhoemetalces II, 19 – ca. 37/8 AD**

As a result of the above events, in AD 19 Tiberius restored authority in Thrace and appointed Antonia Tryphaena and **Rhoemetalces II** (PIR<sup>2</sup>, I 517; Sullivan 1979, 204-207), son of Rhaescuporis III, as co-rulers of the entire kingdom of Thrace, but under the supervision of the Roman caretaker (*tutor*) Titus Trebellenus Rufus, ex-praetor (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.67 and 3.38; PIR<sup>1</sup> 230; CIL V, 1871 = Dessau, *ILS* 931 and 931a).<sup>199</sup>

It soon became obvious that such an arrangement could not work out in the long term, and was a misjudgement of local affairs by the governing body (Sullivan 1979, 204). In AD 21 a serious uprising against Rome broke out led by the Bessi, Odrysians and Coelaetae tribes, discontented with the joint reign in Thrace (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.38: “*Coelaetae, Odrysaeeque et Dii, validate nationes, arma coepere, ducibus*

<sup>198</sup> Review in Sullivan 1979, 201-2, notes 69, 73.

<sup>199</sup> Discussion in Danov 1979, 141, n.490; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 88.

*diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem*)<sup>200</sup> Rhoemetalces II was himself besieged in Philippopolis in central Thrace by the rebels, but there is no record of Antonia Tryphaena.

A Roman army was summoned by the provincial governor of Macedonia, Achaëa and Moesia – *C. Poppaeus Sabinus*, and his lieutenant *Publius Vellaeus* (on him see above), commander of the nearest Moesian army (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 39 and 4. 46)<sup>201</sup> to assist in Thracian matters. The conflict was ferocious; it is called '*bellum atrox*' by Tacitus, and '*the Coelaetae war* 'Κοιλαητικός πόλεμος', in an inscription from Bizye mentioning its scope and impact. Upon the arrival of *Publius Vellaeus* at Philippopolis with his legion from Moesia, the insurgents were soon crushed and repelled (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.39)<sup>202</sup>. Since indirect influence and control did not achieve its goals, Rome took over the rule of the territory (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5.2). Rhoemetalces II was retained as puppet king, but he was essentially implementing Roman authority until a further decision was reached.

Five years later, in AD 26 (summer-autumn) a second major uprising broke out in southern Thrace (on this episode: Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.46–51)<sup>203</sup>. This time, according to Tacitus, the reason was the unwillingness of some Thracians to endure levies and to be recruited into the Roman *auxilia* (*Ann.* 4.46, 2-3). It was a long, difficult, and bloody conflict (*bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur*), Tacitus tells us that the Thracian rebels took refuge, along with their parents and wives, high in the [Rhodopes] mountain and fled to inaccessible rocky areas and forts. *C. Poppaeus Sabinus*, the governor of the Balkan command (*i.e.* Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia) personally crushed the revolt. Assisted by the Moesian legate Pomponius Labeo (*Ann.* 4.47.1) with his legion [from Moesia], and by Rhoemetalces II, they campaigned in the mountainous areas of Thrace. After a severe and bloody night-battle, the rebels were defeated and the surviving locals submitted to the Romans. The leaders of the revolt Tarsas, Turesis and Dinis, committed suicide with their own swords (Tac. *Ann.* 4.50.3-4). The early winter at *Haemus* saved the rest of the Thracian population from being reduced by assault or blockade (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 51.6). For this success Sabinus was awarded with triumphal *insignia* in Rome

<sup>200</sup> Danov 1979, 141-2.

<sup>201</sup> For the episode see Stein 1940, 19; Danov 1979, 142.

<sup>202</sup> Further comments in Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 88.

<sup>203</sup> Comments in Danov 1979, 142-4; Sullivan 1979, 205-6; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 88-9.

(Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.46.1; 6.29; 13.45). But this second uprising had shown the Romans the next step in dealing with Thracian affairs – full annexation.

A series of four almost identical inscriptions are connected with the name of Rhoemetalces II as ruler of Thrace. They were all erected by a person called *Apollonios, son of Heptaikenthos* (a pure Thracian name) of Bizye. He was a royal governor (*strategos*) of the districts of *Anchialos*, of *Seletike* and *Rysike* (both in northeastern Thrace). The name of Rhoemetalces II appears in the following inscriptions presented to locally worshipped deities: –

1. At *Apollonia Pontica* - to *Apollo Iatros* (Kalinka 1906, no. 157 = Dessau, *ILS* 695 = *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup> 399 = *IGBulg* V 5140);
2. At *Bizye* – to *Apollo Paktenos* (Dowkins – Hasluck 1906, 175-176 = Dessau, *ILS* 696);
3. At the “Shiloto” hilltop sanctuary near Burgas – to *Apollo Karsenos* (*IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup> 378); and
4. At *Abritus* (Hissarluk-hill near modern-day Razgrad (Иванов / Ivanov 1955, 167-175 = *AE* 1957, 98 = *IGBulg*. II 743), as centre of the strategy *Seletike*).
5. In *Perinthus* (*IGRR* 793; Sayar 1998, 191, no. 5; Sullivan 1979, 202 and n.71), honouring him as ‘a saviour and benefactor’ of the city.

Another inscription found not long ago at Pomorie (ancient *Anchialus*) reveals further details on the reign of Rhoemetalces II. It was erected on a marble base for a statue of Dionysos by the same Apollonios, son of Heptaikenthos, this time named Caius Iulius, showing his adopted Roman citizenship. This time Rhoemetalces II is titled king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ), not simply asdynast (δυνάστης) as before.<sup>204</sup> The Anchialus inscription is dated in the regnal year 13<sup>th</sup>, *i.e.* 32/3, or more likely in 34/5 AD (if we accept that he was titled βασιλευς after the uprising in 21 AD) and provides the full royal *filiatio*.

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<sup>204</sup> Karayotov 2000, 219–25.



**Fig. 3.17.** Inscription from *Anchialus* / Pomorie – marble base for Dionysos statue erected under Rhoemetalces II by Caius Iulius Apollonios, son of Heptaikenthos, dated ca. AD 32/3 or 34/5 (Archaeological Museum of Burgas).

### 3.8.10. The End: *Rhoemetalces III*, ca. AD 38 – 45/6

As mentioned above, the eldest of King Cotys' sons – *Rhoemetalces*, was brought up by his mother Antonia Tryphaena in Rome. Being a Roman citizen, he was named C. Iulius Rhoemetalces.<sup>205</sup> He became a playmate of Caligula, a fact which played a major role in his later life (Suet. *Cal.* 16. 9). Shortly after Caligula's accession, he was enthroned as *Rhoemetalces III*, son of Cotys, and ruled the Thracian kingdom between 38 and 45 AD. Additionally, his brother (the second son) – Polemon, went to his mother Antonia Tryphaena and became king of Pontus (reigned 37-63 AD), while the youngest – Cotys [IX] was given Armenia Minor, and reigned between 38 and AD 47 at least (Dio 59.12.2; Sullivan 1979, 208; Wiedemann 1996, in *CAH* 10, 223). Rhoemetalces III ruled over the Thracian lands and the last re-unification of Thrace occurred.

As far as the epigraphic records are concerned, in AD 36/7 Rhoemetalces III was elected *archon* of city of Athens, as a decree attests (*IG*<sup>1</sup>, 265 = *IG* III<sup>2</sup>, 1284, cf. also 1077). Moreover, he is also listed as *eponymos* of Chios (*IG* 12/8, 206 = *SEG* 14, no. 371). At Maroneia in southern Thrace *Rhoemetalces* is honoured as a benefactor of the city (*IGRR* I, 829). His authority was recognised in areas which had been previously closely linked to Thrace.

Unfortunately for him, Rhoemetalces III was assassinated in AD 45/6 by insurgents, or following a conspiracy organised by his wife Pythodoris II<sup>206</sup>, not an uncommon phenomenon for the late Thracian kings. The Roman presence in the territory thus weakened, the state administration under Claudius decided to finally

<sup>205</sup> On him see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 52; Sullivan 1979, 209-11.

<sup>206</sup> Syncell. *Chronika*, p. 631 (ed. G. Dindorf, Bonn). Discussion in Mommsen 1875, 258-9; Sullivan 1979, 211; Тачева / Tacheva 1987, 88.

turn the country into *provincia inermis*.<sup>207</sup> The transformation was relatively smooth in comparison to the long periods of turbulence from the time of Rhoemetalces I, and stabilised the Thracian land. *Perinthus*<sup>208</sup> (modern Marmaraereğlisi) in southeastern Thrace become the administrative capital of the new province of *Thracia*, and therefore – the seat of the provincial governor (*procurator* of equestrian rank).<sup>209</sup>

The last document related to the Thracian kingdom may be the appeal in AD 53 by the citizens of Byzantium to emperor Claudius, complaining of their losses in the recent wars in Thrace and Bosphorus. In response, their tribute was remitted for the next five years (Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.63.3).<sup>210</sup>

As a matter of fact, this is how the royal history of Thrace ended after some five hundred years of independent governance, and some 150 years of mutual relations with Rome.<sup>211</sup>

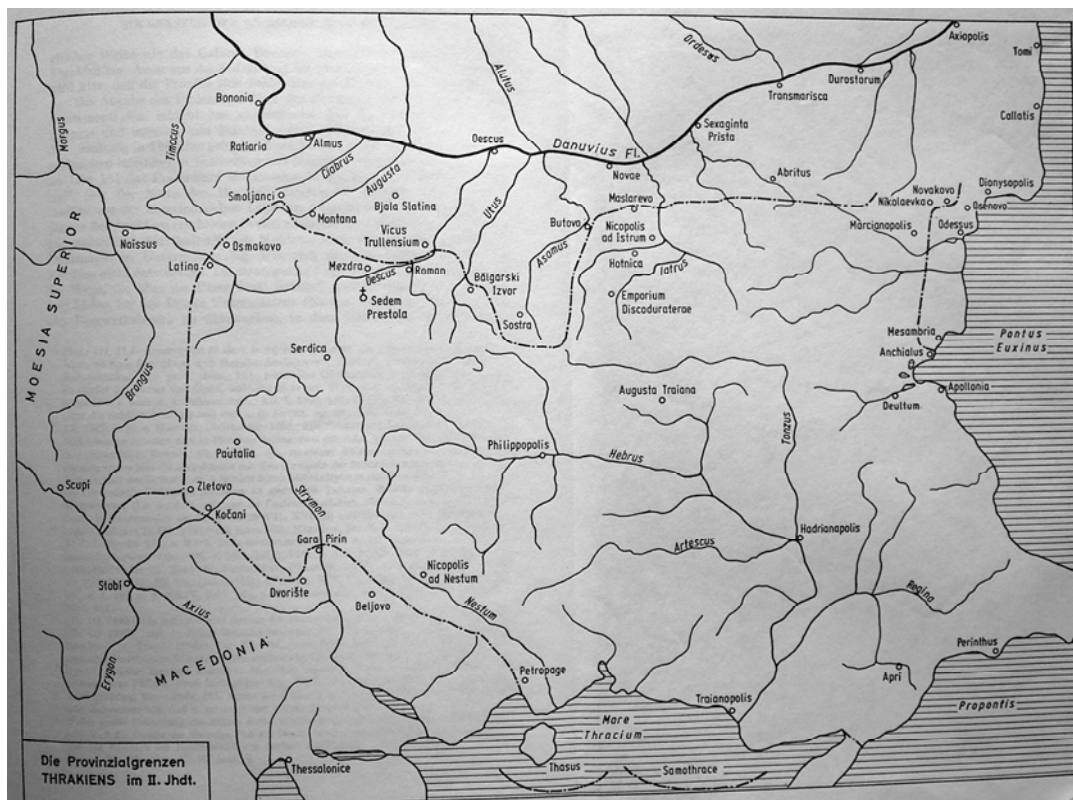


Fig. 3.18. Provincial borders of *Thracia* under Hadrian (after Gerov 1979, 217).

<sup>207</sup> See Lenk, *RE* 6A.1, col. 452; Filow 1906, 12; Patsch 1933, 145-6; Danov 1979, 145; Gerov 1979, 237; Wilkes 1996, in *CAH* 10, 556, 678-9.

<sup>208</sup> On the history of *Perinthus*, see Oberhummer, *RE* 19/1, (1937), cols. 802-813; Sayar 1998, 71-5 and Loukopoulou – Lejtar 2004, 919-22, no. 678.

<sup>209</sup> Betz 1937, *RE* 6A.1, 454. After Trajan he is titled: *legatus Augusti pro praetore* – Oberhummer, *RE* 19/1, 1937; col. 809; Stein 1920, 110; Gerov 1979, 147.

<sup>210</sup> Discussion of events in Filow 1906, 10; Ivanov 1997, 505-6; Kolendo 1998, 321-6; Генчева / Gencheva 2002, 7ff. with further reference.

<sup>211</sup> Eusebius ad Hieron. *Chronika* 262.12ff.; Cassiodor. *Chronica min.* 2.137 /ed. Mommsen/.



**3.8.11. Basic conclusions on late Thracian kingdom**

1. The role of Macedonia in Thracian history and political affairs was always of key importance.
2. The Odrysian princes stood loyally by the Republic during the Civil Wars. Hence, they were supported by all Roman generals active in the Balkans – Pompey, Brutus and Antony.
3. Being vassals of Rome, the late Thracian kings were expected to provide military assistance to Rome when needed, as in the case with Rhoemetalces I during the Pannonian revolt at Sirmium in AD 6.
4. Except under Rhoemetalces I, the control and the extent of the Odrysian/Sapeian kingdom was limited, focused in the interior, southeast and coastal regions of Thrace (but not the Aegean coast and Propontis which were conquered by Rome from 100/1 BC).
5. The reign of Rhoemetalces I (12/1 BC – AD 12) was the climax in late Thracian history – he united all of Thrace, including Byzantium and Bithynia which were put under his control. However, this did not bring internal stability.
6. After the death of Rhoemetalces I in AD 12, the country soon fell into dynastic conflict and unrest, and was split up into 2 areas by the Romans. This also did not work well and was abandoned, but a Roman tutor was appointed to the dynast of Thrace under Tiberius. Two major rebellions occurred in this period – in AD 21 and 26.
7. After Caligula installed in AD37/8 his playmate Rhoemetalces III as his vassal on the Thracian throne, it looked like another peaceful unification of Thrace. It was a natural part of the Roman vassal (client kingdom) system of the Julio-Claudian period. With Rhoemetalces' murder in AD 44/5, the Romans decided to halt the experiments, and turned Thrace into an internal un-armed province.

### 3.9. Roman Moesia

...protulique fines Illyrici ad r[ip]am fluminis Dan[uvij]  
(Res Gestae Divi Augusti 30.46)

#### 3.9.1. Background – location and people

*Moesia* was a frontier Roman province on the Balkans of strategic importance. It stretches (mainly in modern day northern Bulgaria and eastern Serbia) through mountainous terrain in the west and fertile plains along the Danube, to Dobrudja in the east. *Moesia* bordered *Macedonia* and *Thrace* to the south (north slopes of *Haemus mons*)<sup>212</sup>, to the east – rivers *Asamus* (Osum) and *Utus* (later extended to the Black Sea / *Pontus Euxinus*), and shared the Danube as a border to the north.<sup>213</sup> Its western border was river *Margus* (Morava)<sup>214</sup> or *Timacus* (Timok).<sup>215</sup> The area to the west was rich in natural resources – the mines (silver, copper and lead) in *Dardania*<sup>216</sup> and the western *Haemus* (Stara planina).<sup>217</sup> The eastern zone along the Danube, and especially *Scythia minor*, produced a lot of grain, hence the Romans called it ‘*Cereri horraeum*’ (Solin. 34.4.5.). Moreover, it served as an important buffer zone between the Hellenized provinces and potential invaders’ attacks from *Dacia* and the steppes of southern Russia.

Initially the region was inhabited by indigenous Thracian tribes<sup>218</sup>, predominantly the *Triballi*.<sup>219</sup> In the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC they had been supplanted by the *Moesi* and the migrating Celtic people of the *Scordisci* (Strabo 7.3.2, 5.12; Amm. Marc. 27.4.4).<sup>220</sup> By the time of Augustus the *Triballi* had vanished from written records; most likely they ceased to exist as a tribal unit.<sup>221</sup> Plinius listed the peoples of *Moesia* as follows: “*Dardani, Celegri, Triballi, Timachi, Thraces Pontoque*

<sup>212</sup> But the actual border between both Thracian provinces was not lined up until the time of Hadrian in AD 136, see Gerov 1979, 212-30, esp. at 219 and 223; Boteva 1996, 173-6.

<sup>213</sup> On the borders of *Moesia* see Геров / Gerov 1950, 11-33; Gerov 1979, 222ff. and Boteva 1997. The actual border with *Thrace* was not settled before AD 136 under Hadrian – see Gerov 1979, 218-9, taf. 1, 1.

<sup>214</sup> Ivanov 1999, 478 with references.

<sup>215</sup> Mirković 2008, 258.

<sup>216</sup> See Dusanić 1977, 52-94; Dusanić 2000, 343-63.

<sup>217</sup> The mining zones of western *Haemus* used by the Romans are discussed in Radoslavoff 1919; Davies 1935; and Gaul 1942, 401-2.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Papazoglou 1978, *passim*.

<sup>219</sup> On the *Triballi*, see Polaschek, *RE* 6A (1937), cols. 2392-2401; Fluss 1932, col. 2366; Papazoglou 1978, 55; recently Теодосиев / Theodossiev 1992, 70-84 and Theodossiev 2000.

<sup>220</sup> Papazoglou 1978, 358ff.; Papazoglou 1979, 288-291.

<sup>221</sup> Syme 1999, p. 217, note 108.

*contermini Scythae*” (NH 4.3.41). Both historical sources and archaeological evidence suggests that the entire region of northwestern Thrace became a Celto – Illyro – Thracian interaction zone.<sup>222</sup> Neither were the *Moesi* a single great tribe<sup>223</sup>. Most probably the name covers a miscellany of people or small tribes. But it was the name which the Romans used to identify them and they called the entire future province, which survives to the present day.

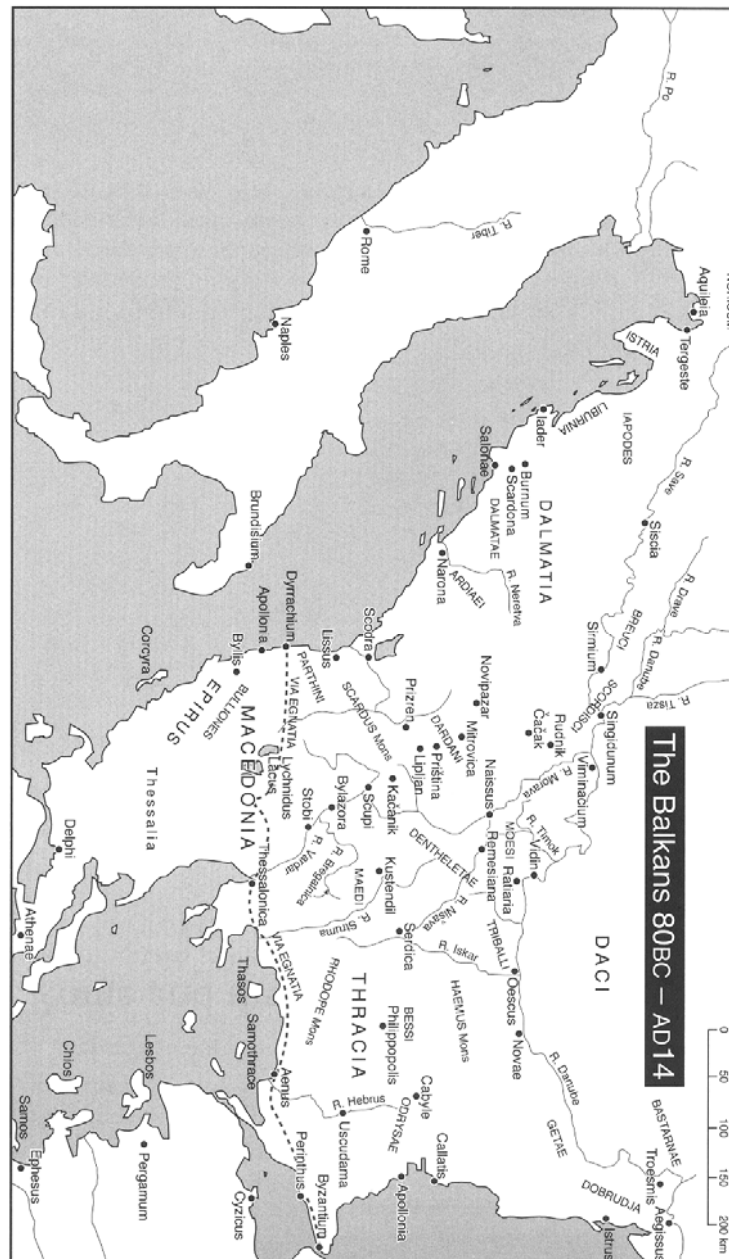


Fig. 3.19. The Balkan peninsula in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (map after Syme 1999).

<sup>222</sup> See Theodossiev 2000, 85-92 and 98-100.

<sup>223</sup> Recently a review in Boteva 2012, 17.

Our knowledge of this Lower Danubian area before the establishment of Roman province of *Moesia* is fragmentary and incomplete. During the ‘*Dardanian*’ War, sometime between 75 and 73 BC C. Scribonius Curio (COS. 76 BC), proconsul of Macedonia, in protecting Roman interests, was the first general of Rome who reached the Danube.<sup>224</sup> He “*advanced as far as Dacia, but feared its dense forests*” (Flor. 1. 39. 6). Scribonius Curio attacked the *Moesi* with an army of five legions (Frontin. *Strat.* 4.1.43) from both sides of the river *Timacus* (mod. Timok) and marched up to its confluence with the Danube.<sup>225</sup> As a result, Curio’ severity was long remembered in the region – he literally cut off the hands of the captives (Amm. Marc. 21.5.22). However, the Romans stayed on the Danube only for a short time, leaving it beyond direct control but under observation.

In 62-1 C. *Antonius Hybrida* (COS. 63 BC), another proconsul of Macedonia, led a march against the Moesians (Liv., *Perioch.* 103; Dio XXXVIII, 10, 1-3; Obsequens 61a). Somewhere near the Istrus in modern Dobrudja the Roman forces under his command were defeated by the *Dardanians* and *Scythians* / *Bastarnae*. He fled the battle with the cavalry, leaving the infantry to make a retreat unaided, and several army standards were captured.<sup>226</sup> As a result, the Greek cities of the western Euxine soon withdrew their allegiance to Rome.<sup>227</sup>

Subsequently, in 36 and 35 BC, Octavian himself led two defensive campaigns (Velleius 2. 78. 2: Dio 49.34.1-2) in *Illyricum* (western Balkans)<sup>228</sup>, taking control of the area between the rivers Sava and Drava, and he captured the stronghold of *Siscia* (mod. Sisak in Croatia) to the north and the Dalmatian coast to the south before returning to Rome (Dio 49. 38.2-3; Livy, *Per.* 132; Appian, *Illyr.* 16).

Unfortunately, very little is really known about these early expeditions or the formal declaration of *Moesia* as a province, but after the ascension of Augustus as single ruler of Rome the conquest was at last completed (*Res Gestae*, 31).

<sup>224</sup> On this episode: Patsch 1932, 35; Syme 1999, 135-6; Lica 2000, 44-8.

<sup>225</sup> Principal sources: Liv. *Perioch.* 92; Salust. *Hist.* 4, fgs. 18-19; Fest. *Brev.* 7; Eutr. 6, 2.2; Flor. 1.39.7; Oros. 6.3,4; Frontin. *Strat.* 4.1.43.

<sup>226</sup> Syme 1999, 137-8.

<sup>227</sup> See more details in the previous section Historical account of Thrace, 3.7.

<sup>228</sup> Zippel 1877, 236; Swoboda 1932, 88ff; Syme 1933, 66ff; Syme 1999, 145.

### 3.9.2. Augustus and Tiberius: the establishment

“Wie die Rheingrenze Caesars,  
so ist die Donaugrenze das Werk des Augustus.“

(Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* V, 178)

### 3.9.3. The early history of Moesia

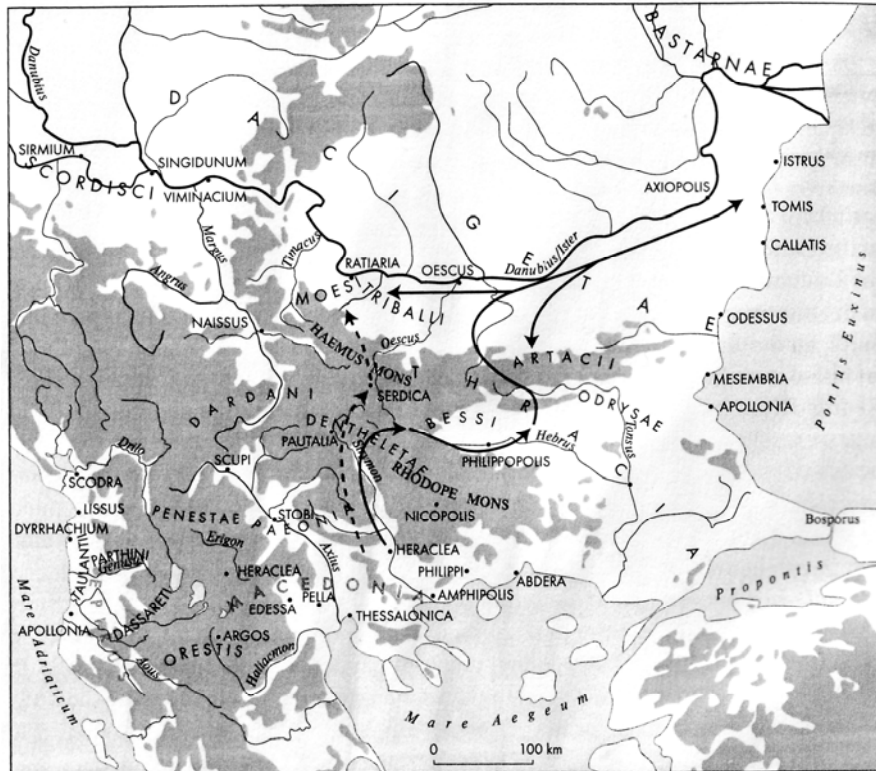


Fig. 3.20. The march of M. Licinius Crassus in Thrace, 29-28 BC (map after Šašel Kos 2005, 504).

The beginning of *Moesia* actually coincided with the foundation of Augustus' principate.<sup>229</sup> Shortly after the battle at Actium, the winner of the Civil war and new emperor Caesar Octavian commissioned the proconsul of *Macedonia* to subdue the local Balkan tribes. The person in charge was **Marcus Licinius Crassus** (cos. 30 BC), the grandson of the Caesarian triumvir and earlier supporter of Mark Antony. By 29 BC he had begun a campaign with an army of four legions (principal sources: Dio 51. 23, 2-3; 53. 27; Livius, *Per.* 134; Flor. 2.26.13-16).<sup>230</sup> The *Serdi*, *Moesi* and other local inhabitants were defeated, seemingly by 27 AD. Setting off most probably from *Heraclea Syntica* (modern-day Rupite near Petrich) in northeast Macedonia, Crassus shifted his attention to *Segetica* (= *Serdica*), the region of *Serdi* tribe (modern-day

<sup>229</sup> See recently an overview in Mirković 2008, 249-65.

<sup>230</sup> For the episode, Stein 1940, 10-2; Геров / Gerov 1949, 4-5; A. Mócsy, “Der vertuchte Dakerkrieg von M. Licinius Crassus”, *Historia* 15 (1966), 509-13; Mócsy 1974, 23-4; Wilkes, in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10 (1996), 174; Syme 1999, 147, 195 and 200-202; Lica 2000, 124-6; Šašel Kos 2005, 502-5.

Sofia)<sup>231</sup> and subdued them. Next he marched against the *Bastarnae*, a tribe of non-Thracian ethnicity (Celtic or Germanic) who had crossed the Danube, subdued the *Triballi* and threatened *Dantheletae*, loyal allies of Rome in the southwest of Thrace. Further, the proconsul drove them back towards the Danube, conquered the *Triballian* and *Moesian* fortresses, and finally defeated the invading *Bastarnae* in a battle near the confluence of the Kedros / Ciabrus river (mod. Tsibritsa) and the Danube, killing their king Deldo in single combat (Dio 51.24.4: Δέλδων βασιλεύς). The following year Crassus defeated the *Maedi*, the *Serdi*, and *Bessi*, sparing the *Odrysaes* as loyal allies (51.25.4). Then he moved eastwards into Northeastern Thrace – reaching the lands of the *Getae*. Dapyx, king of *Getae*, was defeated and his fortress Genucla located on the Danube, taken (Dio 51.26.1-4), the military standards lost by C. Antonius Hybrida in 61 BC – found and recaptured. There he received military aid from Roles, king of a Getic tribe, to whom Octavian bestowed in the same year the title *socius et amicus populi Romani*.<sup>232</sup>

With these gains, the Moesian territory was annexed and most probably attached to the existing province of *Macedonia* (under its governor). Others believe that Augustus did not desire to augment Macedonia or its garrison and left these lands along the Danube under their tribal chieftains.<sup>233</sup> Whatever the case, the strategic result of Crassus' campaigns was the direct involvement of Rome and subsequent annexation of *Moesia*. Being denied the well-deserved *spolia opima* from Octavian, and when a convenient interval had elapsed, eventually on 4 July 27 BC Crassus was given a triumph in Rome 'ex *Thraecia et Geteis*'.<sup>234</sup>

Ten years later, the territory under study again came into focus. In 18-16 BC the *Sarmatians* (from beyond the Danube), *Scordisci* (from Serbia) and *Dantheletae* (upper Strymon valley) again attacked and devastated Macedonia. The intruders were soon repelled by the proconsul **L. Tarius Rufus** (cos. 16 BC), (Dio 54 20.3; Plinius, *NH* 18.37)<sup>235</sup>.

### 3.9.4. The 'Thracian War', 13–11 BC

<sup>231</sup> See more on early Serdica in chapter *Imperial Site Finds: Case Study 2: Serdica*.

<sup>232</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 503.

<sup>233</sup> Syme 1999, 202 and 210.

<sup>234</sup> *Act. Triumph. Capitol.* CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 50 and 77, no. 180.

<sup>235</sup> On Tarius Rufus see Stein 1940, p. 13; Syme 1999, 203.

In 13 BC **L. Calpurnius Piso** (COS. 15 BC) was summoned from his command in the province of Galatia–Pamphylia and engaged along with his entire army in the conflict with the Bessoï in southern Thrace.<sup>236</sup> Piso terminated the revolt in a war lasting for three years (Livy, *Perioch.* 140; Dio 54.34. 5-7; *Anth. Graec.* 10.25) and pacified the area as a special emperor’s envoy – *legatus Augusti* (Velleius 2. 98, 2; Seneca, *Epp.* 83.14).<sup>237</sup>

As a result, Southern Thrace was subdued and due to direct Roman involvement within his affairs, King Rhoemetalces I was imposed as single ruler of the Sapeian kingdom of Thrace (~12/11 BC). Additionally, the land route to the East via the Balkans was now secured and put into Roman hands<sup>238</sup>. With Piso’s involvement in Thrace, the provincial army of *Macedonia* (2 legions) was transferred to the direct control of Augustus through his personal envoy – *legatus Augusti in Thracia Macedoniaque* (and taken from the Senate’ *proconsul*), subordinate to the governor of *Illyricum*.

Two other generals of Augustus acted in *Moesia* in the last decade of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but their exact positions or dates remains obscure. These were **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus** and **M. Vinicius**.

**Cn. Cornelius Lentulus**<sup>239</sup> (COS. 14 BC) succeeded Piso as the new Balkan military command, most probably in ca. 10–6 BC. The former legate of *Pannonia*, Lentulus is referred to in his obituary as ‘*triumphalia de Getis*’ (Tac., *Ann.* 4 44.1) – for his successful march against the Dacians and Sarmatians. Florus provides valuable information on him – Lentulus was the first Roman general who left troops as a garrison here (Florus, II 28, 19-20<sup>240</sup>; *Res Gestae divi Augusti* 30). In addition, Lentulus ordered some forts and roads to be built on the right bank of the Danube and constituted the area west of *Oescus* as ‘*regio Triballorum*’. Most likely the

<sup>236</sup> On Piso’s march in Thrace: Stout 1911, 1, no. 6; Syme 1933, 24; Syme 1934, 116-7; Syme 1999, 142 and 203-204.

<sup>237</sup> See more details in previous section 3.8.6. Historical account of Thrace.

<sup>238</sup> Velleius 2.98: “...eiusque patratione Asiae securitatem, Macedoniae pacem redidit.”

<sup>239</sup> On Lentulus see *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, C 1379; Syme 1934, 113-117, 128-130; Stein 1940, 17; Syme 1991, Syme, *Roman Papers* vol. VI, 435-440; Syme 1999, 212-3 and p. 215, notes 76 and 99; more recently: L. Mrozewicz, ‘Prosopographia Moesiaca VIII: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (10-6 przed Chr.)’, in: P. Berdowski, B. Blahaczek (eds), *Haec Mihi In Animis Vestris Templa. Studia Classica in memory of Prof. Lesław Morawiecki* (Rzeszów 2008), 213-9 and Thomasson 2009, 44, no. 20:007.

<sup>240</sup> Florus 2.28, 19-20: “Daci montibus inhaerent. inde Cotisonis regis imperio, quotiens concretus gelu Danuvius iunxerat ripas, decurrere solebant et vicina populari. visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam summovere. misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem reppulit ripam; citra praesidia constituta. sic tum Dacia non victa sed summotata atque dilata est.”

earliest camps in the region included: *Singidunum* (Belgrade), *Viminacium* (Kostolatz, both in Serbia), *Ratiaria* (Archar near Vidin), and *Oescus* (Gigen), plus smaller auxiliary forts in between. In this manner the Romans began to organize the defensive line of the Danubian *limes*.<sup>241</sup> The entire area acted as an appendage of the province (Syme 1999, 216), including the long strip from the Djerdap/ Iron Gate down to *Oescus*. It must have been administered by an equestrian prefect titled “*praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae*”.<sup>242</sup> A certain **C. Baebius P.f. Atticus**,<sup>243</sup> former *primus pilus* (senior centurion) of a Moesian legion (*V Macedonica*) is attested to in this position in the early Tiberian period, ca. AD 15–20.<sup>244</sup> Lentulus however did not proceed to invade Dacia itself.

The march of **M. Vinicius** (*COS. SUFF.* 19 BC),<sup>245</sup> a praetorian legate and a close friend of Augustus, proceeded to *Moesia* and beyond the Danube “...[*primus? t*]rans *flumen Danubium*...”.<sup>246</sup> Some authors<sup>247</sup> favour 10 BC for the date of these events but it is generally accepted by Syme that they refer to the period 6 BC – AD 4. M. Vinicius was the last proconsul of *Illyricum* (ca. 14–12 BC). Later, in AD 1, he succeeded Ahenobarbus in the German command (Velleius 2.104.2) and received *ornamenta triumphalia* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6. 15).

Another campaign was begun north of the Danube around AD 5 by [**Sextus**] **Aelius Catus** (*COS.* AD 4), a praetorian legate under Lentulus.<sup>248</sup> Strabo blamed him for the transfer of 50,000 *Getae* in *Moesia* (Strabo 7.3. 10), conveniently calling them ‘*Moesi*’ and making them pay tribute.<sup>249</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Patsch 1932, 91 ff; Геров / Gerov 1949, 6.

<sup>242</sup> Syme 1991, 435; Syme 1999, 216; Mirkovic 2008, 259.

<sup>243</sup> C. Baebius C.f. is attested as a civic *duumvir quinquennalis* on the bronze coins of *Dium* (or *Pella*?) under Tiberius, ca. 14–22/3 AD, see C. H. V. Sutherland, ‘C. Baebius and the coinage of (?)Dium under Tiberius’, *JRS* 31, (1941), 73–81 (after ca. AD 20) and now *RPC* I, nos. 1537-1539.

<sup>244</sup> CIL V, 1838 = ILS 1349 = AE 1994, 680, from *Iulium Carnicum* (mod. Zuglio), Venetia/Histria (*regio X*): “...*praef(ecto) | civitat(ium) Moesiae et | Treballia[e]*...”.

<sup>245</sup> For M. Vinicius see: Syme 1933, 142-8; Syme 1939, 400, n.3; Syme 1999, pp. 213-216; *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10 (1996), p. 175.

<sup>246</sup> ILS 8965, the famous fragmentary *elogium* from Tusculum.

<sup>247</sup> Patsch 1932, 104ff.; J. Dobiaš, ‘The expedition of M. Vinicius (cos. 19 BC) beyond the Danube’, *Eunomia* 1939, 47-81 [non vidi] and Dobiaš, ‘Noch Einmal zum Elogium von Tusculum (Dessau, ILS 8965)’, *Listy Filologické* 80, 1 (=vol. 5,1), 1957, 8-10 [non vidi].

<sup>248</sup> A Greek inscription from Athens (SEG 21, 769) shows that **Aelius Catus** was proconsul of *Achaea* (or *Macedonia*?) but not of *Moesia*, cf. Oliver 1967, pp. 41-42. See recently Mrozewicz 1999, 103-105.

<sup>249</sup> On **Aelius Catus** – see Patsch 1932, 114; Syme 1934, 126-128; *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10 (1999), 175-6. These ‘*Getae of the Thracians*’ resettled in *Moesia* were possibly used as a labor force for the construction of *limes*, as Syme suggested.



According to Dio<sup>250</sup> in the following year, AD 6, we see another consular legate of Moesia - **Aulus Caecina Severus** (COS. SUFF. 1 BC), in charge of *exercitus qui in Thracia Macedoniaque*. Accompanied by another consular legate – *M. Plautius Silvanus*, his army defeated the Breuci (tribal insurgents in *Pannonia*) in a bitter battle at the Volcaean marshes near Sirmium.<sup>251</sup> Dio explicitly called Severus ‘Μουσίας ἄρχων’ (55. 29, 3). By the winter of AD 7 Severus had to return to his own position in *Moesia* to protect the area against the incursions of ‘Dacians’ (Dio 55.29, 4), and the Pannonian revolt, which was soon crushed by Tiberius Caesar. This *Plautius Silvanus* brought troops from the East, as *Piso* had twenty years earlier.

As far as we know, **Caecina Severus**<sup>252</sup> was most likely the first consular legate (= governor of *Moesia*) with a rather long tenure (ca. AD 5/6 –11) until he was sent to Lower Germania (Tac. *Ann.* 1.31). After the *Caecina Severus*’ mandate in *Moesia* followed **C. Poppaeus Sabinus** [see below].

Before the complete conquest of *Illyricum* (9 BC), the Roman command on the Balkans appears to have had very close relations with the provincial armies of Asia (e.g. the dispatch of troops in 20 BC, and the summoning of *Piso* from Galatia in 12 BC). An eastern-based (Iudaea-Syria) legion – X *Fretensis* is mentioned as having built a bridge on the Strymon river near Amphipolis under *Tarius Rufus*, ca. 18-16 BC (*AE* 1936, 18 = *ILGR* 230). This interchange of legions occurred repeatedly.

### 3.9.5. The written evidence on early *Moesia*<sup>253</sup>

Appian (who was always well informed, being an imperial finance-officer) clearly states that the *Moesi* were not made to pay tribute until the reign of Tiberius (App. *Illyr.* 30). The key evidence comes from Velleius Paterculus in his *Historia Romana*. Velleius himself served as military tribune in the Roman army of the Balkans (under P. Vinicius and P. Silius, proconsuls of Macedonia, after AD 3) before named *praetor* by Tiberius in AD 15. He speaks of ‘*Thracia Macedoniaque*’ (2.10.3). Velleius does not mention *Moesia* in the list of the provinces added by Tiberius

<sup>250</sup> Dio 55.28, 2; 55.29, 3; and 30,4.

<sup>251</sup> Dio 55.32 3 ff; Velleius, 2.112.4 ff.

<sup>252</sup> On *Caecina Severus* see Stout 1911, 2, no. 7; Syme 1934, 131; Stein 1940, 15-6; Wilkes, in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10 (1996), 176-7; recently Mrozewicz 1999, 319-23 and Mirkovic 2008, 257.

<sup>253</sup> A detailed account in Boteva 2012, 9-22.

Caesar's conquests under Augustus, but states: "...*Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias*" (Velleius 2.39. 3). Tacitus himself speaks of *provincia Moesia* no earlier than AD 15 (*Ann.* 1. 80).

Under the reign of Tiberius<sup>254</sup>, in the period AD 15–44, Moesia was united with *Macedonia* and *Achaea* in a single large administrative district under a legate of consular rank. As already stated, in AD 11/12 a close friend of Augustus – **C. Poppaeus Sabinus** (COS. AD 9),<sup>255</sup> the father of Poppaea Sabina Senior, was appointed *legatus exercitu Moesiae*. In 15 AD Tiberius also gave him command of *Macedonia* and *Achaea*<sup>256</sup>. He served in this position for the next twenty-four years<sup>257</sup> until his death in 35 AD (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.39.3; Dio 58.25.4). On two occasions – in AD 21 and 26, Sabinus and Pomponius Labeo campaigned in Thrace and crushed Thracian revolts in the Rhodopes<sup>258</sup>, for which Sabinus was awarded triumphal *insignia* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.46, 6.29; 13. 45). He is hailed as 'saviour of the Greeks' in an inscription from Delphi, presumably for the pacification of Thrace.<sup>259</sup>

During his term Sabinus seems to have formally resided somewhere in Macedonia, where from he conducted his campaigns and negotiations (Tac. *Ann.* 4.46-49), and not in *Moesia*. This may be seen by the emergency activities of his lieutenant **Publius Vellaeus** in 21 AD, a fact emphasized long ago.<sup>260</sup> Here one can see again how Macedonia played a key role in the Balkan policy of Rome for a long time.

Legates (*legati pro praetore*) subordinate to Sabinus were mentioned in this arrangement too, described as governors of Moesia, with two legions under their command.<sup>261</sup> One of these legates was **L. Pomponius L.f. Flaccus** (COS. 17 AD), a close friend of King Rhaiskouporis II of Thrace (Velleius 2.129.1; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.66: "...*veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia*"). He had besieged the *Getae* near

<sup>254</sup> Syme 1999, 208.

<sup>255</sup> On Poppaeus Sabinus see Stout 1911, 2-3, no. 8; Stein 1940, 18-20; Thomasson 1984, 181, no. 12, and p. 190, no. 10; Syme 1999, 75.

<sup>256</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.80: "*Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ad Macedonia*". *Macedonia* and *Achaea* were restored to *proconsular* legates in AD 44 (annexation of Thrace), while *Moesia* acquired a *praetorian* governor and a third legion (*VIII Augusta*, encamped at Novae).

<sup>257</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 80: "... *maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos impositus*".

<sup>258</sup> For the events: Тачева / Tacheva 1987 and previous section *Historical account of Thrace*.

<sup>259</sup> C. Eilers, "C. Poppaeus Sabinus and the Salvation of the Greeks", *ZPE* 134 (2001), 284-6.

<sup>260</sup> See Stout 1911, 5; also Stein 1940, 19.

<sup>261</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 52: "...*legionum duae in Moesia attinebant*" (for AD 23).

Troesmis<sup>262</sup>, and pacified the Moesians in Dobrudja (...‘*Hic teniut Mysas gentes in pace fideli*’). He is definitely attested to as *legatus provinciae Moesiae* in AD 18-20.<sup>263</sup>

Another legate was the aforementioned **Pomponius Labeo** (*Ann.* 4.47.1),<sup>264</sup> who formally acted under Sabinus’ command. In AD 26 he appeared with a Moesian legion near *Philippopolis* to assist Sabinus against the Thracian rebellion. It was defeated with much difficulty. Later Labeo was denounced by Tiberius for maladministration (‘...*male administrate provinciae urgebatur*’) in the 8th year of his post (*Dio* 58. 24.3). In AD 34 he ultimately committed suicide fearing persecution after the Sejanus’ fall (*Tac. Ann.* 6. 29.1; *Dio* 58. 24.4).

### 3.9.6. Historical summary of the earliest phase

The conquest of *Moesia* (as well as of Illyricum and Germany) under Augustus achieved the following:

- Winning of the Danube as the northern frontier of Empire<sup>265</sup>;
- Formation of a reliable infrastructure, e.g. a direct land route connecting Northern Italy and the Balkans;
- Consolidation of the Empire by firmly binding its integral parts together (Western and Eastern provinces).

**What** makes a territory a Roman province? *Provincia* is defined by definition:

- regular assessment for taxation;
- provincial institutions;
- precise territorial delimitation.

Sir Ronald Syme postulated the main issues: where there is a Roman magistrate *cum imperio*, there is a *provincia*.<sup>266</sup> So, when precisely was the Balkan army (based in the province of Macedonia) given to an imperial legate titled ‘*legatus*

<sup>262</sup> Ovid. *Ex Ponto*, 4. 9, 76-80: “*praefuit his ...locis et illo ripa ferox Histri sub duce tuta fuit*”.

<sup>263</sup> Stout 1911, 5, no.12; Stein 1940, 19, no. 2; Lica 2000, 150.

<sup>264</sup> Stout 1911, 6, no. 14; Stein 1940, 19, no. 4.

<sup>265</sup> See on this subject more details in Syme 1999, 192-3 and Eck 2010, 19-33.

<sup>266</sup> Syme 1934, 123; Syme 1999, *passim*.

*Augusti pro praetore exercitus qui est in Thracia Macedoniaque*? This happened most likely in ca. AD 4.<sup>267</sup>

In juridical terms, there is no doubt to assume that the newly conquered area was transformed in *ager publicus* or *dominium populi Romani*, resp. *dominium Caesaris*. This way Moesia was *de facto* subordinated and controlled by Augustus.<sup>268</sup>



Fig. 3.21. The Roman Empire under Augustus, 30 BC – 6 AD (map source Wikipedia).

### 3.9.7. Main views about *redactio in provinciam*

Whether or not the province of *Moesia* was set up under Augustus has been a matter of frequent discussion and argument.<sup>269</sup> The main argument *pro* and *contra* is one and the same – unfortunately no contemporary source ever mentions the name

<sup>267</sup> Syme 1933, 23-4; Sherk 1957, 52-9; Syme 1999, 207-8.

<sup>268</sup> Gerov 1980, 23 with ref.; Тачева / Tacheva 2004, 25-6.

<sup>269</sup> Recent discussion in Lica 2000, 147 with references.

*Moesia*.<sup>270</sup> Hence, there is a great diversity of opinions about when Roman administration was organized in *Moesia*:

A. under Augustus:

- as early as 27 BC (Ritterling 1925, cols. 1280ff.; Thomasson 1984 and 2009, with *Marcus Licinius Crassus* as its first governor;
- 15 BC (Zippel 1877, 247; Patsch 1933, 86, 96);
- 13–11 BC (Mommsen 1885, 21-24; Stout 1911, 1; Dessau 1913, 394);
- 1 BC – 6 AD (von Premerstein 1898, 162ff.; Fluss 1932, in *RE*, col. 2372);
- 4 AD /or before/ (Oliver 1967, 41-42), under *Aelius Catus*;
- 6 AD (Stout 1911, 2, no. 7);
- 9–12 AD (Filow 1906, 2; Rau 1924, 320);
- 12 AD (Avram 1998, 115 ff.).

B. under Tiberius:

- AD 15 (Stein 1940, 17; Геров / Gerov 1949, 7; Велков / Velkov 1979, 287), with C. Popeius Sabinus as first legate.
- before late AD 16 (Boteva 2012, 17-8).

In addition, another opinion is expressed by Tilmann Bechert.<sup>271</sup> He doubted whether *Moesia* was not left under an imperial legate with proconsular power until the formal annexation of Thrace in 44/5 AD. This view is also supported by J. J. Wilkes and the editors of volume 10 of the *Cambridge Ancient History* second edition.<sup>272</sup> This brings us to the next topic of this study – the admission of Thrace into the Roman world.<sup>273</sup>

Whatever the case, the current evidence for any sort of theory available is clearly inadequate. Around the end of Augustus reign, Rome firmly established its political and military border on the Danube.<sup>274</sup> *Illyricum*, founded not long before (9 BC), was replaced by five large administrative districts: *Raetia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia* and *Moesia*.

The organisation of the province of *Moesia* was undoubtedly one of the most important stages of the transformation of Lower Danube region into the actual

<sup>270</sup> Syme 1934, 122-3; Syme 1999, 196.

<sup>271</sup> Bechert 1999, 171-2.

<sup>272</sup> Wilkes, in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10, 1996, 556.

<sup>273</sup> More details in chapter *Late Thracian kings & Coins*.

<sup>274</sup> Mommsen, *RG* band V, 178; Whittaker 1994, 43.

frontier of Rome. As we will see, it had a rigorous impact in the market trends and financial dynamics as testified by numismatic evidence.

### 3.10. Moesia under Caligula

Under Caligula, the same policy of inactivity along the Moesian limes was followed. We hear of **P. Memmius Regulus** (COS. SUFF. AD 31; the first husband of Lollia Paulina)<sup>275</sup> as a person in charge of the Moesian army. He seems to have succeeded Poppaeus Sabinus in AD 35 as imperial legate of the combined provinces of *Moesia*, *Macedonia* and *Achaea*, serving both under Tiberius and Caligula (as *IG III 613*, clearly testifies, he was honoured in few other inscriptions in Greece – Delphi, Corinth, Olympia, Epidauros, Megara, Argos, *etc/*). It is unclear how long he was actively involved in the Balkan command, but in AD 40 he was still engaged with Greek affairs.

### 3.11. Moesia under Claudius and Nero

Under Claudius, in AD 43, another legate of *Moesia* – **L. Martius Macer**<sup>276</sup> is recorded. This fact is mentioned in his *cursus honorum* (CIL XI 1835 = ILS 969) from his home town of Arretium (Arezzo). Macer also served as commander (*legatus legionis*) of both Moesian legions – IV *Scythic[a]* and V *Maced[onica]*, and proconsul of *Achaea citra sortem*, perhaps between AD 41 and 44. Indirectly, the record suggests that the entire Balkan military command (established 30 years before in AD 14/15) have been altered.

**Martius Celer** appears also in a fragmentary monumental inscription from *Oescus*.<sup>277</sup> It is dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> consulship of Claudius in AD 42-43 and relates to a military building erected in the *legio V Macedonica*' camp under Celer.

<sup>275</sup> Suet. *Cal.* 25.2; Stout 1911, 6-8, no. 15; Groag 1931, *RE*, cols. 626-636; Stein 1940, 21-3.

<sup>276</sup> On him, see Filow 1906, 7; Stout 1911, 8, no. 16; Stein 1940, 23-24, Mirkovic 2008, 258.

<sup>277</sup> Mentioned in Ritterling, "Legio", *RE* 12, (1925), col. 1574; later published in Beševliev 1952, 47-8, no. 75, pl. 30, 1, after a photograph preserved in the NAIM archive.

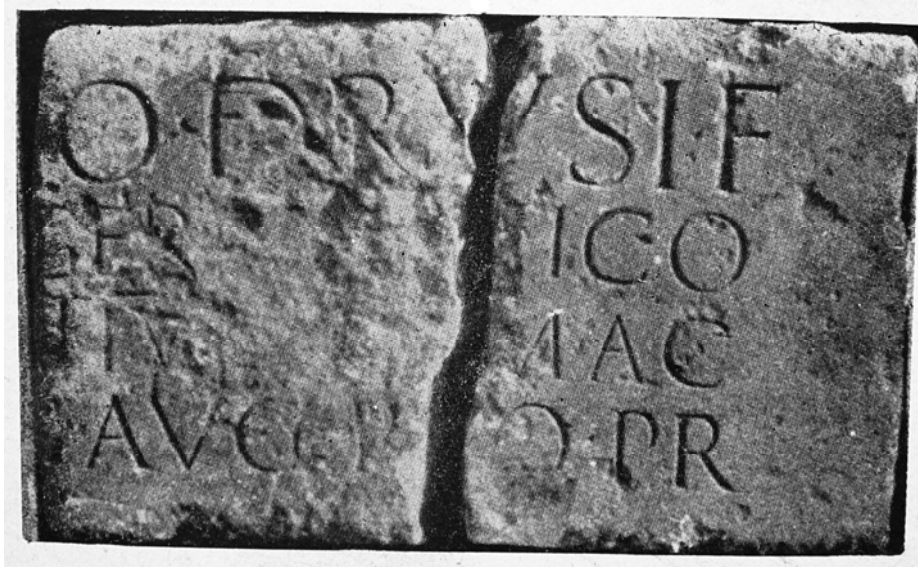


Fig. 3.22. Claudian inscription from Oescus, AD 42-43 (after Beševliev 1952, pl. 30.1).

In AD 44/5 the unified Balkan command of *Moesia*, *Macedonia* and *Achaëa* was broken up. *Moesia* had been left under a governor of consular rank (Suet. *Claud.* 25; Dio 60. 24). The new arrangement was connected with the annexation of *Thrace* (*redactio im provinciam*) the same year, after the assassination of its last king Rhoemetalces III.<sup>278</sup> *Moesia* itself was expanded eastwards from the *Asamus* to the mouth of the river *Jatrus* (present Jantra).<sup>279</sup> Around AD 44/5 a new military camp was established at *Novae* (near Svishtov) and garrisoned by *legio VIII Augusta*.<sup>280</sup>

In AD 45 a large Roman army from *Moesia* invaded in Bosphorus and interfered the local affairs (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 15–21). The force was commanded by **Aulus Didius Gallus** (COS. AD 36), then a legate of *Moesia* (45-49 ?) and a future governor of *Britannia*. The campaign in *Crimea* lasted until 49 for which Gallus received triumphal honours as an inscription from *Olympia* attests (*ILS* 970, *CIL* V 7247).

Under *Claudius* and *Nero* another governor of *Moesia* is attested. This was **Titus Flavius Sabinus**<sup>281</sup> (COS. SUFF. 44 and in May 69 AD), the brother of the future emperor *Vespasian*.<sup>282</sup> He hold a double tenure in *Moesia* usually dated to ca.46–54

<sup>278</sup> Lenk 1937, *RE* 6A.1, col. 452; Patsch 1933, 145-7; Wilkes, in *CAH* 10, 1996, 678-9.

<sup>279</sup> Zahariade – Gudea 1997, 25; after T. Sarnowski's conclusions by the *Novae* excavation - Sarnowski 1988, 26.

<sup>280</sup> Filow 1906, 8, 20; Ritterling 1924/5, col. 1574.

<sup>281</sup> On *Flavius Sabinus*, see Stout 1911, 10-12; Stein 1940, 28-9; *PIR* III<sup>2</sup>, F 352, 356; Thomasson 1984, 18, col. 124; Thomasson 2009, 44, no. 20.018.

<sup>282</sup> Later T. *Flavius Sabinus* served for 12 years as *praefectus Urbi Romae* (AD 56-60 and 62-69), he was put to death by order of *Vitellius* in December 69 AD, just few days before his brother *Vespasian*' forces took the capital (Wellesley 2000, 194-5).

(or less likely, in 53–60 AD). Sabinus is well documented with a passage in Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 75) and with his letter to the citizens of Histria (*ISM* I, 67-68). His name also appears in a long Greek inscription. This is the so-called ‘*catalogue of the strategoi of Thrace*’ from Topirus.<sup>283</sup> Here in south Thrace sometime between 50 and 54 AD, Flavius Sabinus as *legatus Augusti Moesiae* has summoned all the 33 regional governors (head of ‘*strategies*’) of the new province of *Thrace* for an administrative conference.<sup>284</sup> This is often explained with the inferior position of the *procurator* of Thrace to the governor of *Moesia* in this period.<sup>285</sup>

During the period between AD 60 and 67 the governor of *Moesia* was **Ti. Plautius M.f. Silvanus Aelianus**.<sup>286</sup> He was a patrician related to Claudius (in fact he was the adopted nephew of the latter’s first wife Plautia Urgulanilla). In AD 61-2 Silvanus organized a transfer of ‘*more than 100,000 Transdanubians*’ accompanied by their entire families, but also by their chiefs /or kings/ across the Danube river (and resettlement within the province of *Moesia*) to pay tribute.<sup>287</sup> This fact, along with many other details of his career, is derived from a single source – the *elogium* on the tomb of the *Plautii* in Tivoli (*CIL* XIV 3608).<sup>288</sup>

<sup>283</sup> D. Lazaridis, “Kathalogos Strategon Thrakes”, *Archaologike ephimeris* 1953-1954, 1955, 242-3; now see *IAThr.* (Athens 2005) nos. E84 – E85.

<sup>284</sup> Тачева / Tacheva 2004, 34 and 125.

<sup>285</sup> Gerov 1988, pp. 33-34; M. Tacheva, in *Thracia* 17 (*In honorem annorum LX Cirili Yordanov*), Sofia 2007, pp. 33-47, n.9 (= <http://www.clio.uni-sofia.bg/tacheva/MTpub1.pdf>).

<sup>286</sup> On *Ti. Plautius Aelianus* in *Moesia*, see Stout 1911, pp. 12–13, no. 20; Patsch 1932, 164–6; Halkin 1934, 121-61; Stein 1940, 29-31; Wilkes 1996, 557; Mrozewicz 1984a, 267-76; Levick 1999, 114; Millar 2004, 170-1; Sarnowski 2006, 85-92; Mrozewicz 2007, 985 and Thomasson 2009, 7, no. 03:016.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibidem*, lines 8-13.

<sup>288</sup> *CIL* XIV 3608 = Dessau, *ILS* 986 = AE 1994, 549 = AE 1998, 405 = AE 2006, 1223–1224. It is fully quoted in Filow 1906, p. 13; Patsch 1932, pp. 164–165 and Lică 2000, 151: „*Ti(berio) Plautio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) / Silvano Aeliano / pontif(ici) sodali Aug(ustali) / Illvir(o) a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) q(uaestori) Ti(beri) Caesaris / leg(ato) leg(ionis) V in Germania / pr(aetori) urb(ano) legat(o) et comiti Claud(i) / Caesaris in Brittannia consuli / proco(n)s(uli) Asiae legat(o) pro praet(ore) Moesiae / in qua plura quam centum mill(ia) / ex numero Transdanuvianor(um) / ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib(us) / ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis / transduxit motum orientem Sarmatar(um) / compressit quamvis parte(m) magna(m) exercitus / ad expeditionem in Armeniam misisset / ignotos ante aut infensos p(opulo) R(omano) reges signa / Romana adoraturos in ripam quam tuebatur / perduxit regibus Bastarnarum et / Rhoxolanorum filios Dacorum fratrum (sic) / captos aut hostibus ereptos remisit ab / aliquis eorum opsides accepit per quem pacem / provinciae et confirmavit et protulit / Scytharum quoque rege(m) a Cher<s>onensi / quae est ultra Borustenen opsidione summoto / primus ex ea provincia magno tritici modo / annonam p(opuli) R(omani) adlevavit hunc legatum in / {in} Hispaniam ad praefectur(am) urbis remissum / senatus in praefectura triumphalibus / ornamentis honoravit auctore Imp(eratore) / Caesare Augusto Vespasiano verbis ex / oratione eius q(uae) i(nfra) s(cripta) s(unt) / Moesiae ita praefuit ut non debuerit in / me differri honor triumphalium eius / ornamentorum nisi quod latior ei / contigit mora titulus praefecto urbis / hunc in eadem praefectura urbis Imp(erator) Caesar / Aug(ustus) Vespasianus iterum co(n)s(ulem) fecit”.*



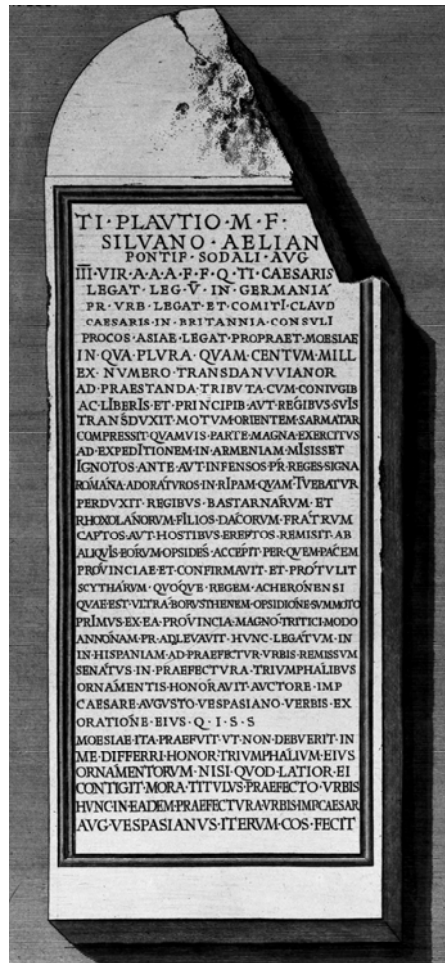


Fig. 3.23. Elogium of *Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus* in Tivoli (CIL XIV 3608), erected ca. 74-79 AD. After Piranesi 1784, vol. III, tav. 11.

The inscription relates how *Ti. Plautius Silvanus* also suppressed a rebellion of the *Sarmatae*, somewhere in Walachia, bringing unknown kings to the Danube bank and making them kneel in front of the Roman flags.<sup>289</sup> Moreover, through treaties and hostage taking, *Plautius Silvanus* won the gratitude of the kings of the *Bastarnae* and *Rhoxolani*; the Dacians were called ‘*fratres*’ of the Roman people, and the Bosphoran Chersonese, nominally Roman, was relieved from siege. Additionally, in AD 62 he dispatched one of the Moesian legions (either *V Macedonica* or *III Scythica*)<sup>290</sup> to Armenia as a support unit in *Domitius Corbulo*’s army in the Parthian war. In reality, he was the first governor of Moesia who managed to send a great shipment of wheat to the people of Rome.<sup>291</sup> In his own words, *Plautius Silvanus*

<sup>289</sup> Lines 13-18. Localised in Dobrudja, east of *Appiaria*, according to *Strobel* 1989, 16.

<sup>290</sup> CIL XIV 3608, lines 14-15: “...*quamvis parte(m) magna(m) exercitus ad expeditionem in Armeniam misisset*” (=before AD 62); also in *Tac. Ann.* 13.35. See *Filow* 1906, 8 ff.; *Stout* 1911, 14–6; *Patsch* 1932, 164; *Stein* 1940, 30; *Lică* 2000, 152–153 – with discussions on which legion is concerned.

<sup>291</sup> CIL XIV 3608: “...*primus ex ea provincia magno triciti modo annonam p. R. adlevavit*”. In Late Antiquity Moesia and Scythia minor were commonly called ‘*Cereri horreum*’, see *Solin.* 34.4.5.

managed ‘to secure and extend the peace in his province’ [Moesia].<sup>292</sup> Most importantly, Plautius Silvanus as provincial governor did incorporate the area of Dobrudja (*Scythia minor*) into Roman territory (*intra fines provinciae*).<sup>293</sup> However, most of these gains did not last long<sup>294</sup>, but they mark a distinct episode in the region’s history.

### 3.12. Moesia in the *Year of the Four Emperors*

“*Legiones Moesicae.... principes auctoresque belli...*”

(Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.24.3)

In the *Year of the Four Emperors*<sup>295</sup> Moesia played a particular role.<sup>296</sup> On one hand, the direct involvement of Moesia’s army in *arma civilia* decided the issue of the war, and it virtually singlehandedly secured Vespasian’s principate. In this manner, the traumatic period was ended and quick measures for consolidation and recovery took place. Furthermore, Civil War had exposed the weakness of the Roman defences on the Danube to sudden attack.

The area soon became the scene of a struggle which ended in a significant victory which was celebrated in Rome itself. In the winter AD 67/8 an army of 9,000 *Rhoxolani cataphractarii* (cavalry with long heavy lances, protected by chain-mail) massacred a Roman auxiliary cohort somewhere along the Moesian limes (Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.1, 3.24).<sup>297</sup> The next winter they crossed the frozen Danube on another raid.<sup>298</sup> Unexpectedly, this particular February a sudden thawing of the ice on the Danube put the *Rhoxolani* horseman at a disadvantage. They were trapped and struggled greatly in the mud and melting snow, while the Roman forces advanced. The *Rhoxolani* were surprised by the 3rd legion – *III Gallica* - under its legate T. Aurelius

<sup>292</sup> Lines 21-22, with comments in Patsch 1932, 163 ff. This is often understood as an expansion of *Moesia* into Dobrudja, see Strobel 1989, 16; Ličá 2000, 163-4, and Sarnowski 2006, 85.

<sup>293</sup> Or at least preparations for such an inclusion of Dobrudja were made during the Plautius Aelianus’ governorship of *Moesia*.

<sup>294</sup> Lica 2000, 153.

<sup>295</sup> Henderson 1908; Wellesley 1975; Greenhalgh 1975; Danov 1979, 167; Morgan 2006.

<sup>296</sup> Filow 1906, 23, 25–27; Wellesley 1975; Flaig 1992, 368; Ivanov 1997, 507–8; Levick 1999, 59 and 115; most recently see Mrozewicz 2010b, 35-42.

<sup>297</sup> Patsch 1932, 168, 172–3; Syme 1936, 168; Syme 1977, 85; Sarnowski 1988, 30-1; Levick 1999, 115, Lica 2000, 154.

<sup>298</sup> Wellesley 2000, 44-5.

Fulvus,<sup>299</sup> as well as some auxiliary units.<sup>300</sup> As a result, the invaders were utterly defeated.<sup>301</sup>

The victory in *Moesia* was reported directly to Rome. Emperor Otho took great pride in it, and distributed generous awards to all involved. The Moesian governor **M. Aponius Saturninus**<sup>302</sup> was given a triumphal statue, and the commanders of the three legions were presented with consular decorations (Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.3: *consularibus ornamentis donantur*).<sup>303</sup> Moreover, on March 1, 69 AD the victory in Moesia was celebrated with a sacrifice at the Capitol by the *Fratri Arvalis* and a laurel wreath was posted over the entrance of the palace (*'ob laurum positam'*).

Meanwhile, after the fall of Galba and Otho's accession (15 Jan. 69), the Moesia's legions<sup>304</sup> (*Moesicae legiones – III Gallica, VII Claudia p.f. and VIII Augusta*), sworn allegiance to the new emperor.<sup>305</sup> In early March 2,000 men from each of the above three legions, and some auxiliaries, were ordered to prepare quickly to march (Suet. *Vesp.* 6.2). They had to make their way to Northern Italy within 48 hours of receiving the order (Tac. *Hist.* 3.10.1).<sup>306</sup> However, when the Moesian legionaries reached Aquileia (Tac. *Hist.* 2.46), they were informed about the *First Battle of Bedriacum* near Cremona (14 April) and the Othonian army's complete defeat by Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* 2.85.1-2).<sup>307</sup> The Moesian legionaries were expected to swear allegiance to the winner – Vitellius, to whom the Senate bestowed imperial power on 19 April, but instead of doing so they went over to Vespasian.<sup>308</sup>

<sup>299</sup> On T. Aurelius Fulvus – *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1510; von Rhoden 1896, *RE* 2, col. 2492, no. 136; Filow 1906, 24; Eck 1974, *RE Suppl.* 14, 68–69, no. 136.

<sup>300</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.1–2; comments in Patsch 1932, 172.

<sup>301</sup> R. Syme has correctly suggested that legio *III Gallica* was encamped at *Novae* and operated from there, see Syme 1977, 85. R. Ivanov has suggested that its base was *Durostorum* – Ivanov 1997, 508.

<sup>302</sup> On him – see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 938; Stout 1911, 16-7, no. 21; Ritterling 1925, "Legio", col. 1625; Stein 1940, 32; Milns 1973, 284-94. Aponius Saturninus continued to hold his post under Vitellius (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.96), but he was sacked near Verona before the second battle of Bedriacum by his own soldiers, accusing him of collaborating with Vitellius, and he escaped (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 11.1; Nicols 1978, 134; Levick 1999, 61). However, he enjoyed a distinguished career under Vespasian as a proconsul of Asia.

<sup>303</sup> Comments in Filow 1906, 24; Patsch 1932, 173; Sarnowski 1988, 31; Wilkes, 1996, 558; Wellesley 2000, 45.

<sup>304</sup> A full review on the Moesian legions and their legates in Nicols 1978, pp. 132–136; for earlier work see Filow 1906, 25-32.

<sup>305</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.76.1; Henderson 1908, 30; Nicols 1978, 132.

<sup>306</sup> Comments in Wellesley 2000, 59.

<sup>307</sup> Discussion in Mommsen 1871, 161–3; Wiedemann 1996, 271–2.

<sup>308</sup> Nicols 1978, 145; Wiedemann 1996, 274.

As early as late April/May<sup>309</sup> the Moesian legions were voicing support for Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 6.3; Tac. *Hist.* 2.74). Thus, when they learned about the salutation of Vespasian as emperor on July 1 by the legions in Alexandria (Suet. *Vesp.* 6.3; Tac. *Hist.* 2. 79), they swore allegiance to him, at a point no later than mid-July.<sup>310</sup> The third legion (*III Gallica*)<sup>311</sup> set the example for the other Moesian legions<sup>312</sup> - they were the first to display Vespasian's name on their banners,<sup>313</sup> and were shortly followed by *VII Claudia* and *VIII Augusta*. Before the eastern expedition lead by Mucianus could reach Italy, the Danubian armies of *Moesia* and *Pannonia* acclaimed Vespasian as Emperor.<sup>314</sup> They had headed to Northern Italy and left the Danube frontier unprotected (see below). Actually the Danubian legions were instructed by Vespasian to wait at Aquileia for the Eastern army of Mucianus, but Antonius Primus – the legate of *legio VII Galbiana*, and commanding general of the Vespasianic forces, either neglected his orders or received them too late; the reasons remain unclear.<sup>315</sup>

Shortly afterwards, on 24–25 October 69, the forces of Vitellius and Vespasian clashed at the *Second Battle of Bedriacum*, which ended in total defeat for the armies of Vitellius (Tac. 3.33-34).<sup>316</sup> The Flavian forces were largely the armies of *Moesia* (3 legions), *Pannonia* (2 legions), and *Dalmatia* (1), but without the Eastern army.<sup>317</sup> In fact, before the battle M. Antonius Primus addressed the Moesian legions 'as the authors and promoters of this war'.<sup>318</sup> Accidentally or not, the soldiers of the *legio III Gallica* were the first armed forces which entered the town of Cremona, the seat of the Vitellian army, which was subsequently sacked (Tac. *Hist.* 3.29). The final episode happened on 20<sup>th</sup> December 69 when the Flavian forces, lead by Antonius

<sup>309</sup> Nicols 1978, 74–5.

<sup>310</sup> Nicols 1978, 75, 133; Levick 1999, 59, no. 60.

<sup>311</sup> *Legio III Gallica* was a legion which had been based in the Roman East since Augustus. It had been recently transferred by Nero to Moesia /from Syria/ in AD 67/8, and hence was keen to prove its dedication to Vespasian's cause, see Tac. *Hist.* 2. 74; Ritterling 1925, cols. 1521–1523; Parker 1928, 139; Nicols 1978, 100; Syme 1977, 85.

<sup>312</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 2.85.1: "...*tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit*".

<sup>313</sup> Suet. *Vesp.* 6.3: "...*quidam e legione tertia, quae sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Moesiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent, assensere cuncti nomenque eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt*".

<sup>314</sup> Suet. *Vesp.* 7.15: *Octavo imperii mense desciverunt ab eo exercitus Moesiarum atque Pannoniae, item ex transmarinis Iudaicus et Syriaticus, ac pars in absentis pars in praesentis Vespasiani verba iurarunt.*

<sup>315</sup> Nicols 1978, 142-3; Levick 1999, 48; Wiedemann 1996, 276.

<sup>316</sup> Discussion in Mommsen 1871, 169-73; Wellesley 1975, 148–50; Nicols 1978, 79–80; Wiedemann 1996, 277–8.

<sup>317</sup> Parker 1928, 142; Wellesley 1975, 128.

<sup>318</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 3.24.3: "...*principes auctoresque belli*".

Primus with his Danubian armies, captured Rome after considerable resistance,<sup>319</sup> and on the same afternoon Vitellius died (Tac. *Hist.* 3.85; Joseph. *BJ* 4.65).<sup>320</sup> On the following day, the Senate sanctioned Vespasian's full rights over *Imperium Romanum* with a famous resolution known as the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, or *lex regia* (Tac. *Hist.* 4.3.3)<sup>321</sup>, marking the end of the Civil war.

In the meantime troubles arise in Moesia. In the autumn of AD 69, not long after the withdrawal of Aponius Saturninus and his provincial army to Italy, as well as the legionary camps at *Oescus* and *Novae* being abandoned ("*abducto e Moesia exercitu*"), triggered a new barbarian invasion. In October/November the *Dacians* (possibly accompanied by Sarmatians and Rhoxolani) attacked the Roman forts on the Danube once more (Tac. *Hist.* 3.46.2-4). The attacking Dacians did not meet serious resistance and devastated the Moesian lands, which were defended only by a limited number of auxiliaries.

In the same time the Vespasian's main supporter and his right hand man – C. Licinius Mucianus,<sup>322</sup> governor of Syria, quickly advanced from Berytus to Northern Italy. His troops consisted of *legio VI Ferrata*, and some 13.000 *vexillarii* from Syria, as well as Judaeen armies (Tac. *Hist.* 2.83).<sup>323</sup> Upon reaching Byzantium and Thrace, he received the news of the severe troubles on the Moesian frontier. Wasting no time (around 1–15 November), Mucianus sent *legio VI Ferrata* to deal with this issue. The legionaries turned north by the *via militaris Thraciae* from *Serdica* /or from *Naissus*/ to confront the Dacians in the area between *Oescus* and *Novae* (Tac. *Hist.* 3.46.4-5).<sup>324</sup> The attackers were repulsed, for which Mucianus was awarded triumphal honors by the Senate.<sup>325</sup>

### 3.13. *Moesia* under Vespasian

<sup>319</sup> Wiedemann 1996, 278-9.

<sup>320</sup> See also Nicols 1978, 83.

<sup>321</sup> Full text in *ILS* 244; McCrum – Woodhead 1961, no. 1. Comments in Brunt 1977; Levick 1999, 86; Wellesley 2000, 207–9; Mrozewicz 2010a, 7.

<sup>322</sup> On Mucianus – see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 216; Thomasson 2009, 114, no. 30:004.

<sup>323</sup> On these events see Parker 1928, 142; Patsch 1932, 177; Levick 1999, 48; Syme 1977, 78–92; Wiedemann 1996, p. 274; Mrozewicz 2002, pp. 321–323.

<sup>324</sup> Comments in Filow 1906, pp. 26–27; Patsch 1932, 177; Nicols 1978, 73–4, 101; Levick 1999, 115; Wellesley 2000, 157 and 205; more details in Syme 1977, 82–3.

<sup>325</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 1.79.5: "*triumphalia de bello civili data, sed in Sarmatas expeditio fingebantur*". Comments in Syme 1977, p. 86.

In order to secure the Danubian limes, Rome needed a new representative. Subsequent military matters were entrusted to C. Fonteius Agrippa,<sup>326</sup> previously proconsul of *Asia* (Tac. *Hist.* 3.46.2-3) and an eminent Flavian supporter. He was recalled by Vespasian to control Moesia's defences and also given additional troops from Vitellius' army based in *Germania* (Tac. *Hist.* 3.46.5).<sup>327</sup>

Despite the improved military situation, probably in January–February 70, the Sarmatians launched a new surprise attack on the Romans. This time an entire legion was defeated (Tac. *Hist.* 3.35; 4.54.1; Joseph. *BJ* 7.89: though Josephus does not mention the loss of a legion),<sup>328</sup> this most probably being *legio V Alaudae* (recently relocated from Vitellius' German army). The Moesian governor, Fonteius Agrippa, died in action against the Sarmatians (Joseph. *BJ* 7.4.89; Jord. *Getica*, 13.76), a disaster unparalleled since the annihilation of Quinctilius Varus' legions during the reign of Augustus.

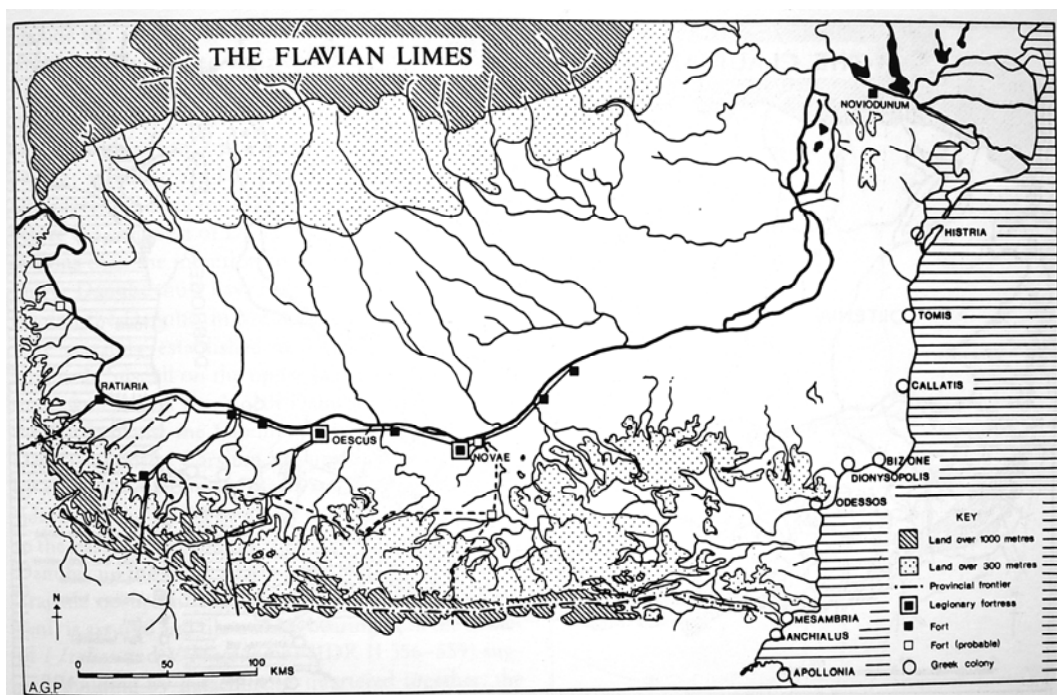


Fig. 3.24. *Moesia* and the Danubian limes in the Flavian period (after Poulter 1986, fig. 2).

<sup>326</sup> On Fonteius Agrippa – see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 466; Stout 1911, 17–8, no. 22; Stein 1940, 32–3; Eck 1982, 284–5, Anm. 9; Sarnowski 1988, 30-1; Morgan 2006, 223-4; Mrozewicz 2010a, p. 9; Thomasson 2009, p. 80, no. 20:083.

<sup>327</sup> On the re-deployment of auxiliary units from *Germania* to the Balkans and *Moesia* see Parker 1928, 147; Strobel 1989, 22; Ivanov 1997, 508; Levick 1999, 162-3.

<sup>328</sup> Filow 1906, 15 and 27, notes 9, 32; Gerov 1949, 10; Syme 1977, 86-7.

Agrippa was succeeded in Moesia by Rubrius Gallus, former adviser to Otho and ex-commander of *legio I Italica*.<sup>329</sup> During his term, in ca. AD 70–73, Gallus defeated the Sarmatians and killed a large number of them. In order to secure the *limes*-line, he ordered defensive constructions to be undertaken and built along the Danube (Joseph. *BJ* 7.4.94; Jord. *Get.* 13.76).<sup>330</sup> Gallus' defensive measures in Moesia were supported simultaneously by L. Tampius Flavianus, Pannonia's governor<sup>331</sup> and also by the Danubian fleet.<sup>332</sup> During the Flavian period, the Roman Danubian fleet, probably established under Claudius in AD 44/5<sup>333</sup>, was reorganized and renamed *classis Flavia Moesiaca*.<sup>334</sup> As a result, new forts were systematically built along the *limes*-network of Moesia (Fig. x.24). Special attention was paid to the most unstable area – eastwards of *Novae* (the new base of *I Italica*) where *Sexaginta Prista*, *Tegra/Tigra*, *Appiaria*, *Transmarisca*, and *Noviodunum* were established or re-built.<sup>335</sup>

The disastrous events in AD 67/8–70 brought about alterations and reinforcement of the Danube *limes* and its garrison, which consisted of an army of four legions concentrated on the right bank.<sup>336</sup> Moreover, another unit – *legio V Alaudae*<sup>337</sup> was stationed in Moesia on a permanent basis (though its base remains unknown) between AD 70 and 86, thus increasing the *exercitus Moesi[cus]* to four legions (as in *Pannonia*).

As a result, peace and security were finally restored to the Lower Danube area (Jos. *BJ* 7.95: ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν Μυσιᾶν πόλεμος ταχεῖαν οὕτως ἔλαβε τὴν κρίσιν).<sup>338</sup> The military precautions taken by Vespasian brought stability for the next

<sup>329</sup> On Rubrius Gallus see: PIR<sup>2</sup> R 127; Stout 1911, 17–8, no. 23; Patsch 1932, 179–80; Stein 1940, 33; Nicols 1978, 170–1; Levick 1999, 56 and 115.

<sup>330</sup> Patsch 1932, 179–81; Mócsy 1974, 80; Poulter 1986, 520, Strobel 1989, 17 and 35; Wilkes 1996, 558; Levick 1999, 115.

<sup>331</sup> As described in the text of *ILS* 985 (from Fundi) = AE 1966, 68. On him see Syme 1971, 183; Eck 1982, 284–7, n.10; Strobel 1989, 160, n.3; and recently Lică 2000, 155, 166–7.

<sup>332</sup> Starr 1960, 132; Syme 1977, 87, note 43 and inscription *ILS* 985.

<sup>333</sup> After the annexation of the Thracian kingdom, see most recently Sarnowski 2006, 85–92, esp. 89 and 92.

<sup>334</sup> See Patsch 1932, 169 and 181, Sarnowski 1988, 43–4, Sarnowski 2006, 89. About the seat and bases of the Roman military and commercial fleets on the Lower Danube, see Mitova-Dzonova 1986, 504–9.

<sup>335</sup> See in general Sarnowski 1988, 39–52, Ivanov 1997, 479, 509–10; Иванов / Ivanov 2008.

<sup>336</sup> Details about their relocation in Filow 1906, 35; Parker 1928, 148; Patsch 1932, 181.

<sup>337</sup> On this legion see Filow 1906, 33, Anm.3–4; Ritterling 1925, cols. 1564–1571; Syme 1936, 169; Brunt 1971, 220; Mócsy 1974, 81–2, but compare the doubts of Strobel 1988, 505–6.

<sup>338</sup> Comments in Filow 1906, p. 36; Patsch 1932, p. 183; Lica 2000, 168–9.

decade and a half<sup>339</sup> but did not stop further invasions from the north. The main threat along the Lower Danube remained the Dacians and the tribes from the steppes (like the Iazyges<sup>340</sup>, Roxolani<sup>341</sup> and Sarmatians<sup>342</sup>) who mounted raids across the river for a long period afterwards.

### 3.14. Epigraphic Evidence from the Flavian period

After *arma civilia* and the stabilisation of the *limes* under Vespasian, Moesia lapses from the historical record for several years. However, archaeological evidence, as well as several inscriptions, confirms that Vespasian continued an intensive defensive policy.

Sadly, only a single building inscription from the same period originates from *Moesia*. It was found long ago (in 1883, now lost) in the ruins of *Appiaria*<sup>343</sup> (the modern village of Ryahovo) near Ruse on the Danube, one of the newly established auxiliary camps in the eastern part of Moesia. According to Beševliev, it read:<sup>344</sup>

[Imp.] Cesar (sic) Vespasian[us Aug. pont. max., trib. pot VII, im]p XV, cos VII, p p,  
P. Cel?--- [le]g. Aug. pr. pr. coh(ortes) [-----? et Gall?]orum quibus pra[esunt ----  
-] e[f] Q. Varius Secundus.

Based on Vespasian's titlature (IMP XV, COS VII), the *Appiaria* inscription should be dated to AD 76, between Jan./February and the end of June, probably earlier in this year.<sup>345</sup> Two cohorts are mentioned in the text (the second is probably [Gall?]orum) which were engaged with the construction of the fort or other activity under their prefects.<sup>346</sup>

An equestrian tombstone from Moesia also dates from the Flavian period. It is the gravestone of Sulpicius Massa, 'natione Tunger'<sup>347</sup> from *ala I Hispanorum*,

<sup>339</sup> Mócsy 1974, p. 82; Mrozewicz 2010a, 21-2.

<sup>340</sup> von Bredow, *DNP* V, 1988, 877, s.v. *Iazyges*.

<sup>341</sup> von Bredow, *DNP* X, 2001, 1006-7, s.v. *Roxolanoi*.

<sup>342</sup> von Bredow, *DNP* XI, 2001, 83-5, s.v. *Sarmatai*.

<sup>343</sup> See *CIL* III Suppl., 2099 and lemma; Ivanov 2003, 63-9.

<sup>344</sup> Бешевлиев / Beševliev 1952, pp. 71-72, no. 122 = AE 1957, 307. See also Strobel 1989, 15; Ivanov 1997, 487; Иванов / Ivanov 2003, 64.

<sup>345</sup> See Kienast 1996, p. 109 – for the exact titlature and its dating.

<sup>346</sup> The prefect of the second cohort – Q. Varius Secundus is hitherto unattested to; see Devijver 1993, *PME*, V54, 2274.

<sup>347</sup> *Tungri* inhabited the northern part of Gaul (in modern Belgium), see Plin. *NH* 4.31 and 31.8; Tac. *Germania* 2.



discharged after 35 years of service, found long ago in *Utus*, the modern-day Gulyanci in central Moesia.<sup>348</sup>

Finally, a third Latin inscription is related to the events in AD 69–70. This is the gravestone of L. Vecilius C.f. Modestus from *Timacum Minus* (Ravna) in Eastern Serbia (*CIL* III 8261 = *ILS* 2733 = *IMS* III/2, 23). Modestus was a former military tribune of *legio VI Ferrata* in Syria, and prefect of *cohors I Thracum Syriaca (equitata)*, a unit that was formed in Mucianus's expeditionary force in AD 69.<sup>349</sup>

Additional data can be gained from the military *diplomas*<sup>350</sup> issued for the *Moesian* auxiliary troops,<sup>351</sup> none of which predate AD 73. Also from the diplomata we learn of the next provincial governor under the Flavians – **Sex. Vettulenus (Civica) Cerialis**,<sup>352</sup> former legate of *legio V Macedonica*, and a compatriot of Vespasian. He allowed the discharge of a number of retiring auxiliary veterans and the Danube fleet sailors on a number of occasions: -

- A. April–June 73 (*AE* 2006, 1861) – fragmentary diploma for the sailors from the Moesian fleet on the Danube (“...*trierarchis et rem[igibus] in classe quae est in Moesia*”);
- B. in AD 75, 28 April: several copies of two separate Vespasian constitutions:
  1. *AE* 1968, 446 = *RMD* I, 2 – from *Taliata* (Donji Milanovac, Serbia);
  2. *RGZM* 1: for 7 cohorts – from the ‘Eastern Balkans region’;
  3. *Chiron* 38 (2008), 270–273 – for 7 cohorts, from the ‘Lower Danube area’.
- C. in AD 78, 7 February – the same constitution for 8 cohorts, extant in four copies:
  1. *CIL* XVI, 22 – from Ferdinand/Montana (*civitas Montanensium*) in Bulgaria;
  2. *RMD* IV 208 – from the area of Berkovitsa near Montana, NW Bulgaria;

<sup>348</sup> *CIL* III 12361 = Kalinka 1906, no. 404 = Gerov, *ILBulg.* 122, for the dating see Kraft 1951, 151-2, no. 351; Spaul 1994, 145.

<sup>349</sup> Strobel 1989, 11-12; Petrović 1995, 76-7; Zahariade 2009, 173-4.

<sup>350</sup> See the extensive collections of new *diplomata* for Moesia's *auxilia* recently published in Weiss 2008, 267-316 and Eck – Pangerl 2008, 317-87, as well the relevant entries in *Roman Military Diplomas* volumes IV and V.

<sup>351</sup> Mirković 1968, 177-83; Gerassimova 1970, 22-33; Beneš 1978.

<sup>352</sup> On him see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 351; Stein 1940, 33; Nicols 1978, 103; Thomasson 2009, 44-5, no. 20.025.

3. ZPE 173 (2010), 237–243 – from the ‘Lower Danube area’!/?/
4. AE 2008, 1728 = *Chiron* 38 (2008), 319–321.

D. again on 7 February 78 – RMD V 325 – a single constitution for 6 cohorts.

Table 3.3. Military *diplomas* issued to infantry soldiers in *Moesia*, AD 75-78.

<b>Unit</b> / <b>Date</b>	<b>75, 28 April</b> (RMD I, 2)	<b>75, 28 April!/?/</b> (RGZM 1; <i>Chiron</i> 38, 270-273)	<b>78, 7 February</b> (CIL XVI, 22, RMD IV, 208, and <i>Chiron</i> 38, 318ff.)	<b>78, [7 February]</b> (RMD V, 325)
1.	<i>I Antiochensium</i>	<i>I Bracaraugustanorum</i>	<i>I Cantabrorum</i>	<i>I Cretum</i>
2.	<i>I Sugambrorum veterana</i>	<i>I Sugambrorum tironum</i>	<i>I Thracum Syriaca</i>	<i>II C[halcidenorum?]</i>
3.	<i>I Raetorum</i>	<i>II Chalcidenorum</i>	<i>I Sugambrorum tironum</i>	[...?]Gallorum
4.	<i>I Lusitanorum</i>	<i>III Hispanorum</i>	<i>II Lucensium</i>	<i>Ubiorum</i>
5.	<i>III Gallorum</i>	[I] <i>Ubiorum</i>	<i>III Gallorum</i>	-----?
6.	<i>IV Gallorum</i>	<i>Tyrriorum</i>	<i>VIII Gallorum</i>	-----?
7.	<i>V Gallorum</i>	[I] <i>Cilicum</i>	[I] <i>Cilicum</i>	
8.	<i>VII Gallorum</i>		[I] <i>Mattiacorum</i>	
9.	<i>VIII Gallorum</i>			
10.	<i>I Cisipadensium</i>			
	<b>Total:</b> 10 cohorts	<b>Total:</b> 7? cohorts	<b>Total:</b> 8 cohorts	<b>Total:</b> 6 cohorts

The numerous finds of diplomas confirms that there was intense movement and replacement of auxiliary troops in *Moesia* under Vespasian.

To sum up, *Moesia* played an important role in the turbulent events of 67/8 – 70. It was not only the scene of military presence and frequent battles with invaders, but also a place of building, reconstruction and reinforcement of the Lower Danubian *limes*. These events imposed extreme conditions in the area that deeply influenced the economic and financial situation. Army units were often transferred and replaced throughout the entire period until the area was secured. The presence of the legions,

auxiliaries and their officers in Moesia resulted in an intensive process of Romanization throughout the entire region.<sup>353</sup>

### 3.15. Domitian's Dacian wars, AD 85–89

*“Magnum est stare in Danubii ripa.”*

(Pliny, *Paneg.* 18.1)

After the stabilisation of the *limes* under Vespasian, *Moesia* vanishes from the sources for a few years. Most probably in the winter of AD 84/85 the army of king Duras of Dacia, led by Diurpaneus<sup>354</sup> (their general or king?<sup>355</sup>) surprisingly attacked the *limes* across the Danube.<sup>356</sup> The Dacians plundered Moesia in 85 and were still there in 86.<sup>357</sup> Moreover, in late 84 the provincial governor **C. Oppius Sabinus**<sup>358</sup>, consul with Domitian in the same year, was killed in battle (Suet. *Dom.* 6.1; Jord. *Getica* 76), and *legio V Alaudae* suffered heavily.

As a result, later in the same summer and autumn Domitian launched his *prima expeditio Dacica* (Dio 67.1; Jord. *Getica* 77) to deal with the trouble. The emperor himself had arrived in *Moesia* (Dio 67 6. 3), possibly based at *Naissus*<sup>359</sup> or more likely at *colonia Scupi* (mod. Skopje)<sup>360</sup>, accompanied by his prefect of the Praetorian guard /*praefectus praetorio*/ **Cornelius Fuscus**. Domitian sent Fuscus and **M. Cornelius Nigrinus Maternus**, the newly appointed governor of Moesia (former legate of *legio VIII Augusta*), against the Dacians (Dio 67. 6.3-5). Both had initial success, and they managed to gain victory over the intruders. This allowed Domitian to return Rome and to claim two imperial salutations (IMP X and IMP XI in September and October 85), and also take the title *ensor perpetuus*.<sup>361</sup>

<sup>353</sup> On the Romanisation process in Moesia see: Геров / Gerov 1949, 1–91, esp. at 50-2; Mocsy 1974; Mrozewicz 1984b, 375-92; Mrozewicz 2010b, 41-2.

<sup>354</sup> Diurpaneus: Oros. 7.10.4, presumably following Tacitus's *Histories*; Dorpaneus: Jord. *Getica* 76.

<sup>355</sup> Strobel 1989, 40, made Diurpaneus a major monarch, ruling Oltenia, Wallachia, and parts of southern Moldavia.

<sup>356</sup> Jones 1992, 138; see also Stefan 2005.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Wheeler 2010, 1208.

<sup>358</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, O 122; Stein 1940, 34; Strobel 1989, 39-43.

<sup>359</sup> Stein 1940, 35.

<sup>360</sup> See S. Dušanic 1983, 13-21; E. Birley, “The Flavian Colonia at Scupi”, *ZPE* 64 (1986), 209-16.

<sup>361</sup> Jones 1992, 92 and 139 with further literature.

In June of the next year Fuscus refused a peace offer from Diurpaneus and embarked with his army over a bridge of boats into Dacia (Jord. *Getica* 77). It soon proven to be an ill-fated expedition, resulting in the complete destruction of a legion. Fuscus himself, with his well-attested to impetuosity, marched into Dacia where he was killed (Tac. *Hist.* 2.86; Juvenal, 4.112; Eutropius 7.23.4) and the pretorian military standard (*σημειον*) was also lost (Dio 68.9.3). One of his legions – *V Alaudae*<sup>362</sup> perished near Tapae in Transylvania (Suet. *Dom.* 6.1; Jord. *Get.* 12.76-78; *Hist.* 2, 86; Oros. VII, 10.4; Plin, *Pan.* 14.3). An alternative suggestion argues that the unit was not *V Alaudae*, but rather *legio XXI Rapax*.<sup>363</sup>

It seems that the Romans were ambushed in the Pass of the Red Tower (modern Turnu Roșu pass) in the Central Carpathians. Another view argued by the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars<sup>364</sup> assumes that the disastrous battle (estimating the Roman casualties at 15,000) took place further east – near Adamklissi in Dobrudja, for which the monument *Tropaeum Traiani* (the altar with the names of 3,800 Roman soldiers) was erected under Trajan. After this victory, Diurpaneus received the name *Decebalus*, meaning as ‘*brave as ten men*’, and was chosen as the new king of the Dacians (*rex Dacorum*).

This major Roman defeat once again led to the intervention of Domitian who took personal command of the army. In August 86 the emperor made his ‘*secunda expeditio Dacica*’ to the Danube (Suet. *Dom.* 6.1: “*expeditio...in Dacos ... secunda Cornelio Fusco [opresso]*”). The first immediate measure was to split up *Moesia* into two provinces (military districts) – Upper (*superior*) and Lower (*inferior*), on strategic and military grounds.<sup>365</sup> Henceforth, both *Moesiae* were governed by imperial legates of consular rank. This time the Roman armies were led by **Cornelius Nigrinus Maternus**<sup>366</sup> successor of Sabinus and first governor of *Moesia inferior*) and **L. Finisulanus Vettonianus**<sup>367</sup> an experienced commander coming from his post in *Pannonia*, appointed to *Moesia superior*. Both of them achieved some

<sup>362</sup> On this legion, see recently: T. Franke 2000, 39-48; Strobel 1988, 504-8 and Jones 1992, 138.

<sup>363</sup> Strobel 1989, 2.

<sup>364</sup> Cichorius 1904, 29; Syme 1928, 46-7.

<sup>365</sup> Filow 1906, 2-3; Stout 1911, p. X; Fluss 1932, *RE*, col. 2389; Strobel 1989, 65ff; Mrozewicz 2010a, 23, note 130.

<sup>366</sup> On him see: CIL III, 1613; Stout 1911, 20 and 27; Stein 1940, 111; G. Alföldy – H. Hartmann, “M. Cornelius Cornelius Nigrinus Maternus. General Domitians und Rivale Trajans”, *Chiron* 3 (1973), 331-73.

<sup>367</sup> Stein 1940, 35; PIR<sup>2</sup>, F 571.

success against the Dacians, for which they received substantial military awards.<sup>368</sup> By the end of the year Domitian had returned in Rome, where he was proclaimed with imperial salutations (*IMP XIII and IMP XIV*).

Two years later, in May – October 88, the Roman offensive continued. The Roman army, this time under the command of **L. Tettius Iulianus**, better known as a stern disciplinarian (*Dio* 67.10.1), attacked the Dacian heartland, reaching the capital Sarmisegetusa. He finally defeated (*Epitome* to *Dio* 77.1.10) the Dacians at Tapae, the same site where Fuscus had perished earlier.<sup>369</sup> Later the Romans withdrew to their winter camps in *Moesia*.

Because of the troubles which had developed in the meantime on the German frontier (revolt of Antonius Saturninus in *Mogontiacum*/Meinz<sup>370</sup>, Domitian reluctantly accepted the Dacian offer of peace (*Dio* 67.6.5 and 7.2). The treaty (*foedus*) was concluded in the summer of 89 AD, and Decebalus became a client or an ally king (“*rex amicus / rex socius*”) of Rome (*Dio* 77.7. 2-4).<sup>371</sup> The borders and status of both Moesian provinces were secured.

In the late summer Domitian returned to Rome where he had a double triumph (*Suet. Dom.* 6.2 and 13.3 – *duplicem triumphum*) over the Chatti and Dacians that included lavish games (September–October 89, when those two months were renamed *duos triumphos*). The Senate voted him the massive equestrian statue that was erected in the Forum – *equus Domitiani*.<sup>372</sup> Most probably on the same occasion a colossal bronze statue (h. ~3.00 m) of Domitian was erected also in Lower *Moesia*, close to the battlefields of 85/6 AD. It was found by chance in 1984 near Malak Preslavets (ancient *Nigrinianis*) not far from Silistra (*Durostorum*).<sup>373</sup> The emperor’s statue is headless (resulting from a *damnatio memoriae*), only some parts of the

<sup>368</sup> CIL III 4013 = ILS 1005: “...donatus [ab Imp. Domitiano Aug. Germanico] bello Dacico coronis IIII murali vallari classica aurea, hastis puris IIII, vex(il)lis IIII”, and AE 1973, 282: ‘...[donato bello Da]cico co[ro]nis mura[l]jibus duabus et [coronis vallaribus du]jabus, e[st] coro]nis classic[is] duabus et coronis aureis duabus, hastis puris octo, vexillis octo...”. Discussion in Jones 1992, 141.

<sup>369</sup> On the events, see Strobel 1989, 35-81 and Strobel 2006.

<sup>370</sup> Sources in *Suet. Dom.* 6.2, 7.3; *Dio* 67.11.

<sup>371</sup> Good review of the literature in Lica 2000, 176-9 with further references.

<sup>372</sup> See *Suet. Dom.* 6.1; Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.1–107. Comments in Strobel 1989, 92ff.; Jones 1992, 85.

<sup>373</sup> On the site see Appendix 3: Gazetteer of Sites, no. 49.

body survived.<sup>374</sup> The elaborate cuirass is decorated with two Victories, clearly suggesting a double triumph.<sup>375</sup>

According to the peace treaty of 89<sup>376</sup>, Decebalus was recognised as client king; and the Dacians annually received large subsidies in tribute and 'technical assistance' - craftsmen for maintaining the peace (Dio 77.7.4-5). This inglorious situation lasted until Trajan became emperor in AD 98.

In the same period the Danube fleet, established probably under Claudius in 44-45 AD, was re-organised and named after Domitian – *classis Flavia Moesiaca*.<sup>377</sup> Probably at this time it was based at *Noviodunum* / Isaccea on the right Danubian bank.<sup>378</sup> A prefect – *praefectus classis Moesiacae et ripae Danuvii* – was responsible for the Lower Danube traffic and security control. M. Arruntius Claudianus is attested to in this post in the Domitian time.<sup>379</sup>

The last years of Domitian's reign saw a notable concentration of Roman troops along the Middle and Lower Danube. Five legions in Pannonia, numerous auxiliary units and legionary detachments were stationed in Moesia Superior to deal with the possibility of intervention from Dacia.<sup>380</sup>

The winter of AD 98 and the whole of 99 the new emperor Trajan spent with the army of *Moesia*. He paid special attention to military discipline and together with his officers developed a thorough plan for a preventive attack in *Dacia*. This included major military and engineering activities such as the mobilization of army and the river fleet, construction of a bridge over the Danube (at Kostol – Drobeta) and of navigable canals at the rapids, modernization of the tow-path along the Djerdap / Iron Gate gorge<sup>381</sup>, and many other activities (Plinius, *Paneg.* 18; Dio 68. 13; Procop. *De aedif.* 4.6.13).<sup>382</sup>

<sup>374</sup> This emperor's statue is published in Ив. Венедиков / Venedikov 1985, 93-106; now exhibited at the National History Museum in Sofia. See also Dyczek 2008, 89.

<sup>375</sup> *I.e.*, it is also possible the statue to be Trajanic.

<sup>376</sup> Lica 2000, 185, 192-3; Stefan 2005, 425-36; Strobel 2006, 106-7.

<sup>377</sup> Kienast 1966, 72 and 74; Poulter 1986, 520, n.9; Strobel 1989, 16, recently see Sarnowski 2006, 85-92.

<sup>378</sup> Suceveanu 1977, 22-3.

<sup>379</sup> Maxfield 1981, 162-3; Strobel 1989, 17; Strobel, in *ZPE* 71 (1988), 271-3.

<sup>380</sup> Jones 1992, 155.

<sup>381</sup> For more details about Roman constructions in Djerdap, see Swoboda 1939; J. Šašel, 'Trajan's Canal at the Iron Gate', *JRS* 63 (1973), 80-5 and recently Mirkovic 2008, 261-2.

<sup>382</sup> For the period see also Syme 1959, 122-34; Poulter 1986, 521-3.

### 3.16. General conclusions on Roman Moesia in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD

To sum up, *Moesia* played a significant role in the Imperial politics and its defensive systems during the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. For a remote province on the Lower Danube far from Rome, it emerged as a strategically important area capable of influencing the course of events in the capital. Due to the constant threat of barbarian attacks across the Danube, Rome paid much attention to the systematic formation of the Lower Danubian *limes*<sup>383</sup> and the Roman army defending it.

Formed in the late years of Augustus as a military 'district' (named initially '*regio Triballorum*') and closely connected with Illyricum, *Moesia* gradually extended to the east. In the early Flavian period<sup>384</sup> it incorporated the so-called '*Ripa Thraciae*',<sup>385</sup> the zone along the Danube east from Jatrus to the Black Sea coast, previously ruled by the vassal Thracian kingdom. This was *Moesia* stretched its territory reaching the Danube's delta and the Bosporan kingdom. Facing the Dacian threat, in AD 85/6 Domitian split up, for security and military-strategic reasons, the whole area into two separate provinces – *Upper* and *Lower Moesiae*.

The movement and deployment of the Roman troops in *Moesia* emerged as a main factor in the socio-economic development and for the Romanisation of the area. That become apparent in the systems of infrastructure, road-network and also - in the evidence of coins. As far as military matters are concerned, experienced in battle, the *exercitus Moesicus* proved victorious at Cremona in October 69. As a matter of fact, this secured Vespasian's principate and strethen the Roman presence in the region.

The garrison of *Moesia*, from AD 6/9 up to its division in AD 86, varied between 2 and 4 legions, or from some 11,000 to 18,000 soldiers. In addition, a large number of legionary detachments and *auxilia* were deployed nearly over the entire Danube and on the northwestern shore of the Black Sea. The total number of auxiliary soldiers in the first century AD in Moesia was close to 6,000 men (at calculation base: *ala* – 1,000, *cohors* – 480, *cohors equitata* – 600). That huge number of troops has brought their standard of life: a flow of Italian and Gaulish imported goods and

<sup>383</sup> See R. Ivanov 1997; Иванов / Ivanov 1999; Иванов / Ivanov 2008 and Dyczek 2008, 37-98.

<sup>384</sup> For the dating of this inclusion see Gerov 1988, 22; Suceveanu – Barnea 1991, 26-9; Иванов / Ivanov 1999, 98.

<sup>385</sup> On *Ripa Thraciae* see a review in Gerov 1979, 215-6.

own currency. In other words, the Roman presence in *Moesia* activated the economic mechanisms, urbanisation and performed a large market exchange.

In the course of the 1st century AD a significant Roman military and civil presence had been established in *Moesia*. Auxiliary forts were built at the confluence of the important tributaries of the Danube, near the river mouths (Lom, Tsibritsa, Ogosta, Iskur, Osam, Vit, Iantra, Russenski Lom), with their dominant position, overlooking the plain across the river. A sophisticated road system was built and well maintained – with numerous station buildings (*mansio*, *mutatio*) and small posts (*turris*, *burgus*) along the main limes road known as “*via Danubia*”. Towns began to arise, based on the Italian model (*municipia*e or *coloniae*), mainly between the main legionary camps along the Danube, with colonists coming from Italy, Gaul and the East. Examples include *Naissus*, *Ratiaria*<sup>386</sup> and *Oescus*<sup>387</sup>, with elaborate buildings for religious and public use, as well as many other smaller settlements – camps of the auxiliary units, forts (*castra*), etc.

The organisation of the province of *Moesia* is, undoubtedly one of the most important stages of the transformation of the Lower Danube region into a real frontier of Rome. As we shall see, it had a great impact on the market trends and financial dynamics as is to be observed in the numismatic evidence.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the history of *Moesia* is still very fragmentary and many pieces from the puzzle are missing. It is confined to the basic written sources of the period (being incomplete and often anachronistic) and some limited epigraphic and prosopographic data. As illustrated, it basically represents a simple list of the main Roman figures and representatives (governors, legates, high officers) in *Moesia* and partial information about the movement and replacement of the military units. With their help is possible to extract the important trends and mechanisms about the formation and early history of *Moesia*. In order to build a more coherent narrative a new kind of evidence is required.

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<sup>386</sup> For the early history and archaeology of *Ratiaria* see Ivanov 1997, 482 and 540-3; Atanassova-Georgieva, *Limes XIII* (Aalen 1983), 437-40; and Динчев / Dinchev, in Ivanov 1 (Sofia 2002), 13-31.

<sup>387</sup> See in general Ivanov 1983, 257-73; T. Ivanov – R. Ivanov 1998 and 2005; and Иванов – Ковачева / Ivanov – Kovacheva 2002, 31-58.



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## Chapter 4. The Nature of Evidence

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*“Any attempt made from England to study the circulation of Roman coins in the Danube provinces and the Black Sea of the Roman Empire must be doomed to failure”*

(Richard Reece 1977, 167)

### 4.1. Introduction

This section outlines the nature, sources and the issues that presented themselves during the course of collecting the primary data of this thesis – the numismatic evidence. It emerged that the gathering and accessing of the research data was a long and often difficult process. The phase of sorting, organizing and cataloging the data to make it suitable for ‘reading’ took an extended period during which I also experienced life changes, thus enabling me to see and comprehend the evidence thoroughly. My very consistent approach to the data itself often was complicated and delayed, both by objective and subjective factors outside the author’s intention and motivation. Traditionally, on the Balkans time often has a different dimension and flow. Among the main issues I faced were access to the material and acquiring permission for personal study, and obtaining suitable photos. When these obstacles were eventually overcome, a significant step toward the completion of this project was accomplished. In fact, the very last data I received become available for inclusion in the late autumn of 2011 (but minor entries added by August 2012). It should be noted that very often the material in older publications was out of date, and not clarified / identified according to the main *corpora* or lacked suitable illustrations. Older publications (late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century) were often better suited for study purposes than some of the recent ones.

Therefore the process of making publications useful/ suitable for analytical study delayed early completion, but made me aware of the spectrum of possible misinterpretations and inaccuracies. The main problem remained the quality and condition of the available data. The unsuitability of the available published data was sadly accompanied by a severe lack of published site finds<sup>1</sup>. Bearing this in mind, I did my very best (mainly due to personal determination) to extract as much as possible, applying different strategies (typological, etc) which enabled me to gather sufficient data and to juxtapose it with other areas within the historical and numismatic context.

Fortunately, the lengthy process proved to be a benefit, which led to the largest number of coins ever collected from the area under study – a comprehensive corpus of Roman coinage which circulated in the area under consideration. This in fact is one of the major achievements of the current thesis.

#### 4.2. Sources and status of data

The sources of hoard data fall into several categories:

##### 1. Published hoards:

- (a) With detailed lists of coins (usually compiled by Prokopov or by Crawford);
- (b) General, with no detailed information.

##### 2. Unpublished hoards: personal examination.

##### 3. Other sources of information:

- (a) Domestic – I. Prokopov, NAIM Sofia, other museums in Bulgaria;
- (b) Foreign – K. Lockyear, B. Woytek, Czech National Museum in Prague, *et alii*.

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<sup>1</sup> A recent field report of a leading Roman archaeologist in Bulgaria cites: “...Намерени бяха пет монети от ранноримския период”, literally meaning “five coins of the early Roman period were found” [my translation], see more in Кабакчиева / Kabakchieva, “Dimum” in *AOR Reports for 2011* (Sofia 2012), 258. No further comments.

### 4.3. Categories of data

Firstly, the main category of data is **hoards** from the Roman Republic and Early Principate found in the ancient regions of Moesia and Thrace (roughly the modern Republic of Bulgaria) – it encompasses some 156 hoards (short listed in comparative table 1).

Secondly, a couple of coin assemblages of Republican *denarii* are catalogued as '**groups**', because their origin or circumstances of discovery are unclear /or it is doubtful whether they can be regarded as hoards/ – 4 groups.

Thirdly, the single / 'stray' coins (site finds and isolated). These are numerous site finds from archaeological excavations (from a few different categories of sites, see below 4.6, table 4.3), stray finds, donations, confiscations or donated coins, now kept in various museum collections around the country – altogether 2,521 coins are included, from more than 215 sites.

In order to build an updated and comprehensive view, this study made a full review of all Late Hellenistic, Celtic, Thracian and Roman coins known from Thrace. In statistical terms, the totals for each coinage are as follows:

Table 4.1. Statistical distribution of recorded / included coins (per issuer).

No.	<i>Group / per issuer</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	<i>Late Hellenistic silver (hoards only)</i>	<b>17,432</b>	<b>36.5 %</b>
2.	<i>Local (Thracian?) silver Imitations (hoards)</i>	<b>949</b>	<b>1.98 %</b>
3a.	<i>Celtic silver coins (hoards only)</i>	<b>3,230</b>	<b>6.9 %</b>
3b.	<i>Celtic bronze coins ('Strymon / trident' type)</i>	<b>965</b>	<b>2.02 %</b>
4.	<i>Thracian royal coins (silver and Æ)</i>	<b>2,619</b>	<b>5.49 %</b>
5.	<i>Roman Republican silver (hoards)</i>	<b>13,642</b>	<b>28.6 %</b>
6.	<i>Roman Imperial (hoards, AR and Æ)</i>	<b>6,341</b>	<b>13.3 %</b>
7.	<i>Site finds &amp; 'stray' coins (Republic, Early Imperial, Provincial)</i>	<b>2,521+</b>	<b>5.28 %</b>

<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b><u>47,699</u></b>	<b>100%</b>
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#### 4.4. Database

At first, a set of spreadsheets was designed in Microsoft Excel™, and adapted for the specific needs of this study and its scholarly material.

During the second phase the accumulated data was transferred to a unique database in Microsoft Access™. It was repeatedly trial-tested and checked for errors and typos for better results.

Besides the list of coins for each hoard, subsidiary data has also been collected where available. These other types of data include:

1. The original size of the hoard (where this is different from the detailed list)
2. Where the hoard was found - name
3. When the hoard was found
4. Region / district & country of discovery
5. Under what circumstances the hoard was found (chance, digging, ploughing, *etc.*)
6. Associated artifacts (*e.g.* jewelry, *etc.*), including the type of container (pot, jar, jug, *etc.*), if known
7. Completeness of the hoard – how many coins are in the list
8. Archaeological context (if known), *e.g.*, in a military or civil context, *villae*, sanctuary/temples, funerary, or uncertain.
9. Any other relevant data
10. Original publication and references
11. Illustration of coins listed, if available.

#### 4.5. Coin Hoards

Prior to my MA-thesis at the Sofia University (Паунов/ Paunov 1997) and the co-authored book in 2002 (Paunov – Prokopov, *IRRCHBulg*), no single collection or *corpus* on the Republican coin hoards from the territory of modern Bulgaria had been available. Besides the short listings and scattered records in the ‘*Coins Found in Bulgaria*’ bulletins (published regularly between ca. 1900–1982), very few hoards of this kind were published in detail with individual coins listed by type. Many hoards discovered during that time, however, were listed only under the rubric “Republicans” or, in other cases, giving E. Babelon’s arrangement by family names of Roman Republican moneyers. By the early 1990’s only 12 hoards (including the Gulyantsi hoard, *RRCH* 377) had been published to this standard using E. Sydenham’s arrangement and dating system. In total, out of the Republican hoards published in Bulgaria by the year 2000, only 6 deposits were arranged using Crawford’s *RRC*-references. Thus, any analytical research or case studies regarding the hoard evidence could not be performed.

A major difficulty one faces is the classification of the hoard data from earlier publications. They are usually listed according to various out-dated catalogues (mentioned above), or with a vague description, and rarely with suitable, clear illustrations. In order to be used for my purposes they all had to be ‘converted’ in order to adhere to current numismatic standards. Additionally, a number of coin types were difficult to distinguish only on the basis of either descriptions or early catalogue references. This indeed was valid for the types from the earlier Republican period. The various anonymous *denarii* with the Dioscuri (or Victory) in *biga/quadrige*, were almost impossible to separate and distinguish using the old records. It became possible to do so only after personal examination, or after study by experienced numismatists. In cases of the anonymous *denarii* with additional symbols, uncertainty and confusion often occurred. Another serious problem encountered in older records was the merging / grouping of the *denarii* of later Imperial issuers – such as Caesar, Pompey, Mark Antony, Octavian Augustus, *et alii*. These are often very

difficult to assign to correct references and coinage period, lacking good descriptions or clear photographs.

To meet the requirements of this thesis, each piece of published work had to be carefully reviewed. The identification of each coin was verified by its description and photos (if available) and always crosschecked with the *RRC* (1974) and *RIC* volume I<sup>2</sup> (1984) and *RIC* II<sup>2</sup> (2007). This procedure proved to be time-consuming, but also a rewarding experience. During this stage a great number of typographic errors and identification mistakes were noted and subsequently corrected.

In 1985 M. H. Crawford visited Bulgaria and examined a number of Republican hoards for the purposes of his personal *RRCH* card-index (now stored at the BM, London) and his book *Coinage and Money Under the Roman Republic* (Crawford 1985, *Appendix* 54, I-II). Within the framework of a research project between the British and Bulgarian Academies (which was never completed), he was given access to the museums in Lom, Vidin and Stara Zagora, as well as Sofia, including the available material at the National Archaeological Museum and the National History Museum numismatic collections. Twenty years later, in all four locations mentioned above, neither I nor my colleagues were able to get access to the museum collections, but I was fortunate to be able to make use of Professor Crawford's handwritten notes and lists, kindly provided by himself (in 1999) and further copies emailed by Dr Kris Lockyear (in 2009-2010). This provided me with a great source of information, which is included in this text.

During the late 1980's – 2000 a vast number of Republican and other hoards of this period were examined and identified by Dr Ilya Prokopov, during his work on the coinage of Thasos<sup>2</sup> and the Macedonian Regions.<sup>3</sup> He had been given access to many regional museum collections, including those in Vidin, Montana, Vratsa, Pleven, Lovech, Veliko Tarnovo and Russe, later also Stara Zagora, Razgrad, Haskovo, Smolyan, Plovdiv, Pernik and Blagoevgrad. From the very beginning he

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<sup>2</sup> I. Prokopov, *Die Silberprägung der Insel Thasos und die Tetradrachmen des „Thasischen Typs“ vom 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. (Griechisches Münzwerk)*, (Berlin 2006).

<sup>3</sup> See now I. S. Prokopov, *The Silver Coinage of the Macedonian Autonomous Regions, 2nd – 1st c. BC* (Wetteren 2012).

kindly put at my disposal his personal extensive archive and photographic documentation on Republican hoards, which greatly facilitated my research. Having this advantage, I managed not only to gather a vast amount of numismatic material which was sorted and dealt with in a number of categories and analytical studies and databases, but also to develop a comprehensive overview on the historical and numismatic issues developing between the Late Hellenistic and Early Principate periods.

In fact, since 1998 the author was involved in several projects led by Professor Prokopov relating to the recording and publication of the numismatic evidence from the territory of modern-day Bulgaria. Numerous study visits were carried out to the museum collections in Vratsa, Nova Zagora, Jambol, Smolyan, Pazardzhik, Samokov, Pernik and Kyustendil. The local coin collections were thoroughly examined and recorded in detail. Based on a geographic principle, some of this data has now been included in a newly launched numismatic series – *Coin Collections and Coin Hoards from Bulgaria*, co-edited with Dr Prokopov and other colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

Subsequently, in the course of the preparation of this thesis, updated pictures of the hoards and single coins was requested and provided by the museums in Pazardzhik, Plovdiv, Kazanluk, Stara Zagora, Haskovo, Burgas, Kotel, Nesebar, Varna, Razgrad, Russe, Silistra, Shumen, Veliko Tarnovo, Pleven, Lovech, Vratsa, Oryahovo, Vidin and Montana. In most cases, the collection keepers kindly offered me the requested data (sometimes with great delay), information about new, unknown or incomplete hoards, as well as data on a number of single/stray coins. However, the data submitted greatly varied – from reliable IDs lists per types, to simple listings and unclear, blurred photographs.

Table 4.2. Coin hoards and their status of publication.

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<sup>4</sup> Begun in 2007, 4 volumes already published (Razgrad, Lovech, Kyustendil and Smolyan); two more – in print. See a summary of the project in: E. Paunov – I. Prokopov – S. Filipova, 'Re-discovering coins: publication of the numismatic collections in Bulgarian museums – A new project', in: N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIV<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow, 31 August – 4 September 2009* (London 2011), 2047–57.

<b>Roman Republican</b>	<b>Republican mixed with Late Hellenistic</b>	<b>Imperial Early Principate</b>	<b>TOTAL HOARDS</b>
<b>73 hoards</b>	<b>33 hoards</b>	<b>48 hoards</b>	<b>156</b>
Published: 14	Published: 17	Published: 15	<b>Published: 46</b>
Reported: 53	Reported: 29	Reported: 36	<b>Reported: 118</b>
Unpublished: 59	Unpublished: 16	Unpublished: 33	<b>Unpublished: 108</b>

In a few cases the coin collections in museums had been misplaced or stolen (such as the cases of Vratsa (circa 2003) and Veliko Tarnovo (on New Year's Eve 2006)<sup>5</sup>. Sadly, these representative regional numismatic collections have been lost for study in full or in part, and only a limited photo archive (as mentioned above) now exists. Data preserved from our study visits in these cases is the sole information preserved on stolen collections from Bulgarian museums.

Despite my numerous attempts and various approaches to the museum staff and keepers, no information or any kind of response on the Republican or Early Principate coins was provided by the museums of Lom<sup>6</sup>, Troyan<sup>7</sup>, Turgovishte<sup>8</sup>, Dobrich<sup>9</sup>, Balchik<sup>10</sup>, Karlovo<sup>11</sup>, Assenovgrad<sup>12</sup>, Kurdzhali<sup>13</sup>, Velingrad, Radnevo, Sliven<sup>14</sup>, and above all – from the one and only keeper of the National History Museum in Sofia<sup>15</sup>, which is supposed to be the second largest collection in the

<sup>5</sup> On the thefts from Bulgarian museums after 2000, see the report: *The Antiquities Trade – Dealers, Traffickers, Connoisseurs*, in: T. Bezlov – E. Tzenkov, *Organized Crime in Bulgaria: Markets and Trends* (Center for the Study of Democracy), Sofia 2007, 182-3 (available online: [http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003706/01/organized\\_crime\\_markets\\_and\\_trends.pdf](http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003706/01/organized_crime_markets_and_trends.pdf)).

On the Tarnovo case - see also my paper on the now missing Rodina hoard, Паунов / Paunov 2010, 127-47.

<sup>6</sup> Information not available, no keeper of coins, the coin collection has been sealed since 1998.

<sup>7</sup> After numerous requests, in May 2011 I received an official decline for information from the heads of excavation (Dr I. Christov and Dr S. Torbatov) at *Sostra*, conveyed by the Troyan Museum director.

<sup>8</sup> Information declined in writing by the museum director in April 2010.

<sup>9</sup> In March 2010 the keeper of coins replied that he is "not interested in sharing information".

<sup>10</sup> No response to a number of written requests for information.

<sup>11</sup> No response.

<sup>12</sup> No response.

<sup>13</sup> No response after few consecutive requests, confirmation for access granted arrived too late for this work in October 2012.

<sup>14</sup> No response.

<sup>15</sup> No response in any form to a number of written requests (since April 2006). As I am aware, no western scholar ever received any numismatic information from the NHM keeper Mr Penchev.



country.<sup>16</sup> Gaining access to the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia numismatic collection (the oldest and the richest in the country) took longer than three years. It cost much personal sacrifice, struggle and effort, and made it an unforgettable experience. To be more precise, in June 2008 five (out of nine requested) hoards (listed to be there in older records) were given to me on file and only with photographs, but no actual access to the coins. This should be considered a great achievement, since it remains one of the very few successful approaches to the NAIM coin collection in recent decades.

As mentioned, access to numismatic material in Bulgaria was, and remains, a very difficult process, which in most cases delayed the study. Intentional or not, these were echoes of the old shameful practice of hiding universal scientific information.<sup>17</sup>

In order to get a complete picture on the Republican and early Imperial hoards and coins, I have also included a number of private collections from Bulgaria, as well as a few bank collections.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4.6. Site finds and ‘stray’ coins

Table 4.3. Status of publication / research of single coins.

<b>Sites / coins</b>	<b>Late Thracian</b>	<b>Roman Republican</b>	<b>Early Principate</b>	<b>Roman Provincial</b>	<b>Imitations</b>	<b>TOTAL COINS</b>
	<b>267 coins</b>	<b>422 coins</b>	<b>1.751 coins</b>	<b>69 coins</b>	<b>12 coins</b>	<b>2,521</b>
<b>215+</b> (252 entries)	Publ.: 11	Publ.: 87	Publ.: 365	Publ.: 12	Publ.: 7	Publ.: 482
	Listed: 188	Listed: 32	Listed: 845	Listed: 5	Listed: 1	Listed: 1,071
	Unpubl.: 68	Unpubl.: 303	Unpubl.: 541	Unpubl.: 52	Unpubl.: 4	Unpubl.: 968

<sup>16</sup> On this notorious case see my notes in Paunov, in *Ancient West and East* 13 (2013), 281-94.

<sup>17</sup> Compare Paunov – Prokopov – Filipova 2011, 2047.

<sup>18</sup> Mostly thanks to the efforts of Professor Ilya Prokopov who assembled a comprehensive coin archive.

The difficulties in studying the hoards also applied to single specimens. Often stray coins are unavailable to both archaeologists and numismatists, and remain unpublished. Single coins from sites rarely appear in the publications, even in the sites main publications. Normally what appears is a brief note in the annual archaeological bulletin (called *AOR* reports<sup>19</sup>), a few publications of Thracian rock sanctuaries (e.g. Tonkova – Gotzev 2008), a few Roman *villae* (Nikolov 1984 and Dremsizova 1984), the pottery-kilns near Butovo and Pavlikeni (Tsochev 1998) and a lime-kiln near Iatrus (Vagalinski 2011), plain settlements as Koprivlen (Prokopov 2002, in Delev – Bozhkova), the rich *tumuli* graves near Chatalka dam (Buyukliev 1986) or other types of sites, in general archaeological or local historical editions.

The level of published museum coin collections in Bulgaria still remains very low (cf. Reece 1977, 167-169, table 1), despite the recent effort of the editors of the *CCCHBulg* series.<sup>20</sup>

Since the majority of excavated Roman towns lack publication of coin collections along the Lower Danube (Butcher 1995, 304), single coins are even more rarely available. Two major exceptions are to be noted – the coins from recent digs at *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (Butcher 1995, 269-314; Guest 1999, 314-29), and to a certain extent – those from *Novae*.<sup>21</sup> They represent the largest body available, but cannot complete the restricted mosaic of Roman numismatic presence along the Lower Danube. If the state of publication were different, it could well provide comparable data to other major Roman sites in Central or Western Europe, which have been properly published (for instance, *Carnuntum* in Austria).<sup>22</sup> In fact, a large number of stray ancient coins in Bulgaria remain unpublished on site or in local museum holdings, in regional or national collections. It appears that they are not only

<sup>19</sup> Published annually since 1973 by the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia.

<sup>20</sup> Review and aims of the project in Paunov – Prokopov – Filipova 2011, 2047-57.

<sup>21</sup> See Kunisz 1992b, 107-14; most recently – the coins from sector IV are published by R. Ciołek and P. Dyczek, *Novae. Legionary Fortress and Late Antique Town, vol. II: The Coins from Sector IV* (Warsaw 2011).

<sup>22</sup> See M. Alam – F. Schmidt-Dick (eds.), *Numismata Carnuntina. Forschungen und Material (Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich, III. Niederösterreich 2)*, (Vienna 2007).

neglected, but often unidentified or wrongly attributed, and remain outside the catalogues and museum inventories.

For example, the coins found in the major legionary camp at *Oescus* on the Danube are at best grouped by emperors (*i.e.* restored issues are not identified), with no internal division either by denominations, or by period of issue, or type.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, the full publication of site finds from the Polish excavations at the camp of *Novae* is long overdue<sup>24</sup>, but a small portion of them was available in short lists at the time of this research.<sup>25</sup> Occasionally, publications of coin material from smaller/ less significant sites in Thrace and Moesia, such as *Jatrus*<sup>26</sup> or *Carassura*<sup>27</sup> are much more comprehensive than those from the major sites (*Oescus*, *Durostorum*, *Deultum* etc). Another objective disadvantage in this respect is the physical condition of earlier Roman coins (especially *aes*) found in multi-strata archaeological sites. They are often very poorly preserved (heavily worn and corroded) and sometimes – very hard to identify.

Therefore, the problems are considerable, but once surmounted they support the study hypothesis based on the hoards. With determination and strong motivation, the author set a research target to study the coin evidence from three specific Roman sites in Thrace – *Aquae Calidae*, *Cabyle* and *Serdica* (results presented as case-studies)<sup>28</sup>, in order to investigate whether they could provide further information. It transpired that it is possible to narrow down tendencies and understand different aspects of the Roman way of life (civilian, military and votives) at the above sites.

Thus, while one can see the fragmentary status and condition of the evidence from Moesia and Thrace available for study, this may be overcome by the use of data which was not previously a matter of interest, study or observation. During the collection of the data and forming the database, in this thesis I was aware that the

<sup>23</sup> Compare the short table listing in R. Ivanov – T. Kovacheva, in R. Ivanov 1, (Sofia 2002), 42-54.

<sup>24</sup> Information courtesy of Professor P. Dyczek and Professor T. Samowski, both Warsaw University.

<sup>25</sup> Namely those coins listed by the late Professor A. Kunisz 1992, 134-5 and 161-2.

<sup>26</sup> See E. Schönert-Geiss, in *Jatrus–Krivina* band I (Berlin 1979), 174-5; Schönert-Geiss, in *Jatrus–Krivina* VI (Halle 2007), 329-82.

<sup>27</sup> M. Minkova, 'Antike und mittelalterliche Münzen aus Karasura', in M. Wendel (ed.) *Karasura II: Die prähistorischen Funde und die Münzen der Ausgrabungen von 1981 bis 1997* (Langenweissbach 2002), 143-231.

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 12. *Early Imperial Site Finds, case studies 1-4.*

single coin evidence could count in the statistical analysis. Recently I structured the single coins according to their find-spots and distribution.

The following typological categories could be distinguished from the available evidence. They are designed and ascribed by the entry of stray coins according to the archaeological context as:

1. Military site (legionary camp, auxiliary fort, etc) – abbreviation **M**
2. Civil site (settlements, *villae*, farms) – **C**
3. Production centres (for pottery, bricks, lime, etc) – **P**
4. Roadside (along ancient roads, stations, passes) – **R**
5. Votives/ritual (sanctuaries, temples, baths, spa) – **V**
6. Funerary (burials, tombs as 'Charron's obol') – **F**
7. Extraneous (in earlier / later settlement, fills) – **E**
8. Uncertain/ unspecified (not identified or not clear) – abbreviation **U**.

Detailed consideration and analysis of the above categories is presented in *chapter 11.9: Imperial Site Finds*.

#### 4.7. Digital mapping

As a matter of fact, distribution maps for the Late Hellenistic, Celtic, and Thracian coinages and issuers represented were made. Ultimately, a set of 29 distribution maps and a few close-up were created and therefore included in this study. They were specially designed using ArcGIS v10 service pack.<sup>29</sup> At an early phase the GPS-coordinates of all catalogued hoards (160) and the site/'stray' finds (252 entries of over 215 sites) were collected and recorded in Excel spread sheets as

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<sup>29</sup> I am deeply grateful to Dr Adela Sobotkova (University of New South Wales, Australia) for her great assistance with the maps. Her expert guidance, patience and numerous map corrections were priceless.

a preparation phase. In most cases, online programs like Google Earth™ or resources like Wikimapia and Wikipedia were used for the purpose, but in some occasions a GPS *Garmin* device was applied in the field to mark the exact location of a hoard or stray find. Sometimes it had occurred that tracing the correct geographic locality happen to be uneasy task mainly due to changes in the location names and alteration in territorial framework. In fact often two or more locations bear a same name but placed in different regions. Other trouble was the old names and locations, which happened to be displaced, depopulated or integrated in other territorial structure over the last century.<sup>30</sup> So, the collected correct GPS coordinates were ready for batch-converting and integrating in ArcGIS format. When a single digit in the coordinate record appears to be erroneous – the site on the map is placed inaccurate and it has to be redesigned from the start. The suitable base map occurred to be a vital element of this mapping experience. Another problem imposed finding a good shape-file of the river Danube. At the end, I am especially proud of the maps performed in this study and their lucid appearance.

#### 4.8. Lost record or “the ruined knowledge”

The major problem has been the systematic and *en-masse* looting of ancient sites throughout Bulgaria since the early 1990s.<sup>31</sup> The illegal use of metal detectors and high-tech techniques for locating caches and other minor metal objects, have lead to the constant robbery of a huge number of Thracian, Greek and Roman sites all around the country. Failure by the local institutions and the governmental bodies to solve the problem, together with the failure of archeological teams to perform excavations on the frequently targeted sites, has greatly facilitated ‘treasure hunting campaigns’. Financial and other issues are relevant, but a good number of known ancient sites have been literally destroyed by looters, due to lack of archeological

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<sup>30</sup> For details Мичев – Коледаров / Michev – Koledarov 1989, now outdated.

<sup>31</sup> See this case in the general report: *The Antiquities Trade – Dealers, Traffickers, Connoisseurs*, in: T. Bezlov – E. Tzenkov, *Organized Crime in Bulgaria: Markets and Trends* /Center for the Study of Democracy/, (Sofia 2007), 177-183 (online: [http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003706/01/organized\\_crime\\_markets\\_and\\_trends.pdf](http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003706/01/organized_crime_markets_and_trends.pdf), last visited 12 October 2012.

attention, municipal support and protection. Often in these years the Bulgarian archaeological body has remained indifferent, unable to respond or to perform protection in order to secure the archaeological heritage of endangered sites.



**Fig. 4.1.** Satellite view of *Dorticum* near Vruv, region Vidin, on the Danube: one of the earliest Roman forts in *Moesia* (Augustan /Tiberius period). The site is in the centre – an elevated enclosure surrounded by trees. Around it heavy traces of total destruction caused by tractors and digging machinery (parallel lines) and endless smaller treasure hunters holes, 2008 (Google Earth™).

The Roman city of *Ratiaria*<sup>32</sup> on the Danube (modern-day Archar near Vidin) is the most notorious example, but a number of other Roman military forts along the Danube and its southern tributaries have shared the same fate since the 1990's. In this respect the sites of *Dorticum* / Vruv (fig. 4.1), *Augustae* / Hurlets (fig. 16.5),

<sup>32</sup> See for instance these features: <http://nowuncovered.com/2012/07/12/colonia-ulpia-ratiaria/>, and <http://www.savingantiquities.org/about/a-global-concern/bulgaria/the-devastating-effects-of-illegal-excavations-in-bulgaria/>, or the 'Plundering the Past' film (2 parts) made by the SBS Australian television (September 2009): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gkoh1QYrHoY>.

*Variana / Leskovets* (fig. 16.8), *Utus/ Gulyancy* and many others should be mentioned.<sup>33</sup>

Coins are among the first victims of the constant work of 'amateur archaeologists' and criminal groups. At many of these sites each metal artifact found to a depth of 0.50–1 m has been unearthed and extracted<sup>34</sup>, so future field surveys or planned archaeological excavations will discover a pre-monetary ancient society! As mentioned, coins suffer hugely from deep ploughing, and these two factors adversely influence research.

According to various reports, in the aforementioned period hundreds of new hoards and probably millions of stray Hellenistic, Thracian, Celtic and Roman coins have been found, with the vast majority of them dispersed in trade and illicit export, thus being lost to unknown private or corporate<sup>35</sup> collections. Stray coins as well as many hoards have disappeared in this fashion and vanished from the record. Because of a lack of established tradition of recording the small and single finds, almost none of the finds are recorded, and therefore a vast number of coins disappear without a trace.

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<sup>33</sup> See Appendix 2. Gazetteer of Sites for more details on relevant sites.

<sup>34</sup> In August 2010 I have witnessed with my own eyes how during regular archaeological excavation of an early Roman site in Vidin region at a depth of 0.90–1.00 m a modern plastic bag was found!

<sup>35</sup> Compare the case with the collection of 'Slavyani' Bank, which went bankrupt in 2000 and the entire antiquities and coin collection was nationalised (not catalogued properly, unpublished).

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## Chapter 5. Late Hellenistic Coinages in Thrace

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*“It is clear from the literary and epigraphic evidence that Thrace and the lower Danube basin were in the Hellenistic period as earlier an area hungry for precious metal.”*

(M. H. Crawford 1985, ‘*The Balkan Question*’, 227)

### Part 1.

#### 5.1. An Overview on recorded coin types in Thrace<sup>1</sup>

This chapter provides consisted record on the most common coin types distributed in the Eastern Balkans in the second and first century BC. In fact the Late Hellenistic and Celtic coinages provided a considerable record and form the genuine coin pool of Thrace. They are well attested in the hoards and the resultant chronology is useful in fine tuning.

The main issuers of these coins, their attribution to certain authority have been matter of previous scholarly interest and research which allowed us to envisage the account as well as to formulate some important conclusions. Therefore it seemed advisable to examine the late Hellenistic numismatic record of the territory of Thrace to a great extent and to produce an updated review.

For clarity, the quantities of each Late Hellenistic coin type are provided as well as a complete list of the extant hoards from Thrace (in separate *Appendices*), each illustrated on a separate map. In many cases (33 counted), the Late Hellenistic hoards are associated with Republican *denarii* and respectively represent an integral part of the hoard pattern dating from *ca.* 90/80 to 30/20s BC.

The arrangement is chronological and follows the amount of each coinage in the circulation pool of Thrace.

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<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to Professor François de Callataÿ, Professor Constantin Marinescu and Professor Ilya Prokopov who kindly read and substantially improved earlier drafts of this chapter.



Main research questions asked:

1. What was the role of the Late Hellenistic coinages in Thrace?
2. Why the Romans continued to produce Greek type heavy silver coins in Macedonia intended only for export? – for the next 80-90 years;
3. What was the real volume of these coinages?
4. What was the eventual purpose of these coinages in Thrace?
5. What impact did Macedonia have in Thracian affairs?
6. When and how the Late Hellenistic tetradrachms lost their role in Thrace?
7. What was the amount, distribution and role of the East Celtic coinages in Thrace?
8. And finally, why the Roman denarius was effectively introduced (in Greece, Macedonia and resp. in Thrace) so late (ca. 80/70's and 60's BC)?

The review of coinages will begin with tetradrachms of Thasos and Thasian type and will end with the finds of Celtic imitations hoards in inner Thrace. Each section is mapped and briefly discussed in terms of distribution area.

The second part of this chapter includes a comprehensive discussion on general trends in the coin circulation in Thrace during the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC with full statistics, analysis on hoards, geographic spread, illustrated with comparative graphs and distribution maps.

## **5.2. Thasos and Thasian type tetradrachms**

The most popular and wide-spread coin type in Thrace during the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century is the late tetradrachm of the island of Thasos, the 'Thasian type', and its local imitations some (25,000 specimens recorded). They stretched between the Rhodopes and the Carpathians and were the principal component in the coin circulation in Thrace, appearing in over 250 hoards.<sup>2</sup> The tetradrachms of Thasos were indeed the main monetary instrument of trade and main domestic denomination in inner Thrace and Dacia for over a century, until ca. 40/30 BC.

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<sup>2</sup> Including the hoards from Romania, Macedonia, Serbia and Eastern Hungary.

The bulk of Thasos coins is now well-documented in a major *corpus* authored by I. Prokopov.<sup>3</sup> All coins have the same type:

*Obv.* Head of young Dionysos wearing ivy wreath with leaves and berries right;

*Rev.* Heracles standing left, holding club, nude but lion skin on arm; sometimes monograms to inner left field, around legend: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ and ΘΑΣΙΩΝ (in exergue).



**Fig. 5.1.** Tetradrachm of Thasos (16.92g), Photo after Heritage World Coin Auctions, Signature sale 3019 (26 April 2012), no. 23099.

Except for a few early light issues (drachms, 4.10–4.16 g) dated to around 180 BC, with only 8 specimens known<sup>4</sup>), the vast majority of the Thasian series are tetradrachms struck to the Attic weight standard.<sup>5</sup> They are divided by Prokopov into two main groups:

1. 'Genuine/ original' issues of Thasos (in Groups I – XI, catalogue numbers 1-558, pl. I, 1-2) which he considers to be dated 168/7 and 148 BC; and
2. 'Thasian types' issues (Groups XII – XX, catalogue numbers 559-1861, pl. I, 3-4), struck between ca. 148/7 and 90/80 BC.

### Dating

In terms of chronology the Thasian tetradrachms were dated in different times by various scholars. M. Thompson suggested they should be dated immediately after Thasos fell under Roman protection and control, ca. 180 BC (Thompson 1966, 61; Le Rider 1968, 185 ff.), but she admitted that “the crude and degenerate specimens which comprise the bulk of the coinage are the characteristic output of a mint operating in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries” (Thompson 1964, 79). Similarly, in the same time G. Kazarova proposed that many were produced in their majority the early

<sup>3</sup> Prokopov 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Prokopov 2006, 59 and pl. 1.

<sup>5</sup> On the Attic standard, see Price 1991, 43-4, with 1 Alexander-type tetradrachm weighing ca. 17.20g.

years of the first century, many struck for Sulla in the 80's BC (Kazarova 1964, 131-152). Most recently the tetradrachms of Thasos have been divided into three main groups according to Prokopov. Subsequently they are revised and down-dated by F. de Callataÿ as follows<sup>6</sup>.

Table 5.1.

<i>Thasos groups</i>	<b>Prokopov 2006</b>	<b>de Callataÿ 2008</b>	<b>de Callataÿ 2012</b>
Groups I – VIII	ca. 168/7-148 BC?	ca. 150–140? BC	ca. 150–140? BC
Groups IX – XI	ca. 168/7-148 BC?	ca. 120? BC	ca. 115–86? BC
Groups XII – XX	ca. 148-90/80 BC	ca. 100–80? BC	ca. 90–75? BC

An important conclusion drawn by Prokopov with a number of arguments is that the Thasos tetradrachms were not a 'civic' coinage but are in essence Roman provincial coins ("*römisches Geld im griechischen Gewand*"<sup>7</sup>) struck in Macedonia / southern Thrace to be used in a military setting. This statement, actually suggested in a different form long ago first by T. Mommsen<sup>8</sup> and T. Reinach<sup>9</sup> and later supported by M. I. Rostovtzeff<sup>10</sup> and others<sup>11</sup>, is now generally accepted.<sup>12</sup> Most recently F. de Callataÿ has made a comparative analysis of the coin weights of the Thasian series.<sup>13</sup> He concluded that the metrology of the Thasian type coinage suggest that it was not produced under direct Roman control, but it is not difficult to guess who most likely were its instigators.<sup>14</sup>

The complete record of hoards containing tetradrachms of Thasos and Thasian type is to be found below, based and updated after the *corpus* of Prokopov.<sup>15</sup> The hoard evidence from Thrace consists of 162<sup>16</sup> hoards with Thasian tetradrachms and their imitations, all listed in Appendix 1.1, nos. 1–162.

<sup>6</sup> See F. de Callataÿ 2008, 31-54, esp. 33-4, and most recently de Callataÿ 2012a, 307-21, esp. 310.

<sup>7</sup> Prokopov 2006, 17 and 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> Mommsen 1860, 690-1.

<sup>9</sup> Reinach 1911, 351-64, esp. at 360.

<sup>10</sup> Rostovtzeff 1941, 1510.

<sup>11</sup> Rodewald 1976, 24, note 161.

<sup>12</sup> See Ashton 2012, 203-4.

<sup>13</sup> de Callataÿ 2008, 44-8.

<sup>14</sup> de Callataÿ 2008, 48.

<sup>15</sup> Prokopov 2006, 215-66.

<sup>16</sup> This figure excludes the Thasos hoards from modern Romania.

Total coins registered: 6,436+ Thasos and Thasian type (3,228 catalogued in Prokopov 2006); 935+ imitations of Thasian tetradrachms.

Number of dies identified: obverse 399 / reverse 1448.

### Notes on distribution and role

The vast amount of the Thasos tetradrachms in Thrace follows certain patterns. At least two apparent zones of distribution are to be observed:

1. Central Northern Bulgaria (modern regions of Vratsa (10) and Montana (2), Pleven (15), Lovech (11) and Veliko Tarnovo (6) – a bulk of deposits between the valleys of rivers *Ogosta/ Augusta* and *Jantra/ Jatrus* – 44+ hoards, most containing the so called “Thasian type”, with a limited number of the ‘original series’. Here they tend to associate with tetradrachms of Macedonian regions and drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, much rarely with Maroneia and Republican denarii (late in the 50s BC). The zone extends to Russe region and Danube to the east, where Thasos tetradrachms are often associated with Celtic imitations of Macedonian silver types.
2. Central Southern Bulgaria (the Thracian valley) – a massive concentration between the rivers Maritsa – Sazliyka – Tundzha (called ‘the silver triangle’ by Prokopov) – in the modern regions of Stara Zagora (28 – mostly near Bratya Daskalovi, Chirpan and Radnevo), Sliven (6 – grouped around Nova Zagora), Jambol (3) and Burgas (4 – most around Aytos and Karnobat, and 1 from Nesebar) – in total 41+ hoards. Here also is the most numerous finds of barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms. To the west this zone also includes Pazardzhik, Plovdiv and Smolyan regions – represented respectively with 5, 10 and 2 hoards. Two waves of hoarding can be noticed here: earlier, ca. 120-100/90 BC (for example: Svoboda/Kepeli IGCH 912; Kuklen / IGCH 911, etc.), and a late phase, ca. 40-20’s BC (e.g. Bolayrino / (IGCH 975), Topolovo / 1961, reg. Plovdiv (RRCH 457), and Kolyu-Marinovo).
3. In southern Thrace the original Thasos tetradrachms make more than 90% of this type in hoards, while in the North Thrace the tetradrachms of the “Thasian type” prevail in nearly the same percentage.

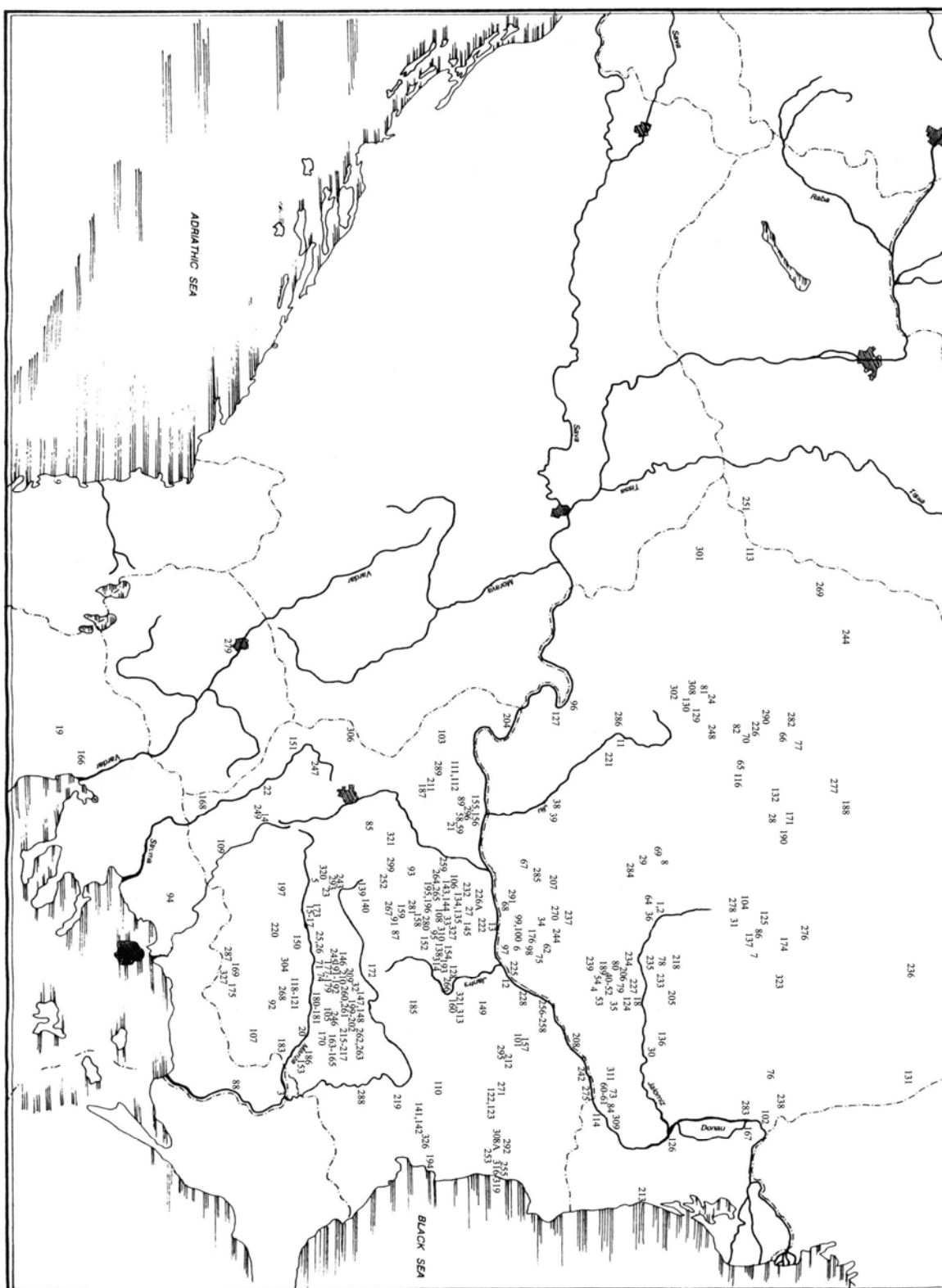


Fig. 5.2. Distribution of hoards with Thasos and Thasian type tetradrachms (map after Prokopov 2006).

### 5.3. First and Second Macedonian Regions

The defeat of the Macedonian army at Pydna on 22 June 168 BC had serious political and socio-economic consequences. In fact, not only had the monarchy of Macedonia collapsed, but Greece, as well as the entire Hellenistic East, also experienced a new reality.

As regards the silver coinage of Macedonian regions, it continued to be minted to the Attic standard - only for the First (Gaebler 1935, *ANMG*, nos. 39-40, taf. III, 2) and Second Regions (*ANMG* 1935, nos. 41, taf. III, 3), while the Fourth produced only bronze coins (*ANMG* 1935, nos. 42-43, taf. III, 7-8) and the Third Region is not represented in coinage issues. This may well reflect a strategic decision in minting silver only from the two areas which dominated the regional and northern Thracian market. In fact, the mint of Amphipolis produced a large amount of coinage in the name of the First Region of Macedonia. This type portrays purely Macedonian<sup>17</sup> imagery:

*Obv.* Bust of Artemis on a Macedonian shield to right;

*Rev.* Club in oak wreath and individual legend in Greek: ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ or ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ, monograms and symbols in fields.



**Fig. 5.3.** Tetradrachm of ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ (17.20g), Prokopov, First A Group. Photo after Lanz 144 auction, (24 November 200), no. 136.

While the earliest issues were most probably struck in the last years of Perseus' reign – especially the most rare issues, the artistic type of tetradrachms with Zeus / Artemis Tauropolos riding to left<sup>18</sup> and the didrachm with the inscription ΠΡΩΤΗΣ

<sup>17</sup> Liampi 1998, 122-4, M55-M57; Prokopov 2012, 30-1.

<sup>18</sup> Gaebler 1902, 143 and Gaebler 1935, *ANMG* III, no. 39, taf. III, 1; Price 1974, pl. 15, 81; Draganov 2001, no. 816.

ΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ<sup>19</sup>, the general mass series for the First Region, is rather late. The “over-presentation” of First Macedonian Region is naturally due to the fact that the area possessed rich silver mines.

In the most recent corpus on Macedonian autonomous silver coinage Prokopov has designed the following internal chronology of the series:<sup>20</sup>

1. ‘First A’ Group (shortly after 168–149 BC), struck with 26 monogram combinations and additional symbols: dolphin, plough, trident, 8-pointed star, winged thunderbolt, and regular thunderbolt: 26 issues (143 combinations), catalogue numbers 1 – 143;
2. ‘First B’ Group – struck with only 1 monogram: 68 issues, catalogue numbers 144 – 212;
3. ‘Second A’ Group, after 149/8 BC – struck with 3 monogram combinations and additional symbol – regular thunderbolt: 343 sporadic issues, catalogue numbers 213 – 556;
4. ‘Second B’ Group – undated, struck with 1 monogram (Α) and additional symbol – regular thunderbolt, 52 issues, catalogue numbers 557 – 609;
5. ‘Third’ Group – ‘conserved’ issues, much later, not stated by Prokopov<sup>21</sup>, but it should be regarded actually ca. 120 – 90/80 BC: 134 issues struck with 1 monogram (Α in different versions), 30 obverse and 100 reverse dies, Prokopov catalogue numbers 610 – 744.



**Fig. 5.4.** Tetradrachm of ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ (15.16g), late type – Prokopov Third Group. Photo after Freeman and Sear sale (25 August 2006), no. 126.

<sup>19</sup> See Kremydi-Sicilianou 2007, 91-100, Prokopov 2012, 23-4.

<sup>20</sup> Prokopov 2012, 25-30; 179-83.

<sup>21</sup> See Prokopov 2012, 183.

As their distribution shows, these coins are very common in the territories of modern-day Bulgaria and Romania, and far less common in Northern Greece, Turkey and Hungary.<sup>22</sup>

The hoard evidence from Thrace consists of 87 hoards (listed in Appendix 1.2).

Total coins registered: 3,926 First Macedonian Region / Second Macedonian Region: 6 (1,600 included in the *corpus* of Prokopov 2012).

Number of dies identified: First Region: 165 obverse / 600 reverse dies;  
Second Region: 6 obverse / 18 reverse dies.

It has been calculated that with the given number of dies known about 30 tonnes of silver might have been needed and were used for the tetradrachms of the First Macedonian region alone (Prokopov 2012, 188).

### Notes on distribution

As far as the distribution is concerned the following observations emerge:

1. Except for the two hoards in Northern Greece (the unlocalised IGCH 481 and a single issue from an unpublished hoard near Serres<sup>23</sup>), no coins of the Macedonian regions are actually encountered in the territory of ancient Macedonia.
2. The circulation zone of issues of the Macedonian regions is almost entirely in inner Thrace and partially in Dacia. A close look on the distribution map shows certain specifics.
3. The vast majority of known hoards of the Macedonian region issues are concentrated in North and Northwestern Bulgaria, between the rivers *Augusta/ Ogosta* and *Iatrus/ Jantra* – in total 38 deposits. They are distributed mainly in the modern regions of Vratsa (13 – with over 1,310 specimens), Montana (7 hoards), Pleven (15 - with over 1,700 specimens), Lovech (6 – 740 coins) and Gabrovo (4 – 45 coins). Therefore, this

<sup>22</sup> See a geographic distribution of hoards in Prokopov 2012, 33-8.

<sup>23</sup> See Prokopov 2012, 220, no. 59.



geographic zone should be assumed to have been the main consumer of Macedonian Regions coinage.

4. Another zone of lesser diffusion falls to the east of the Jantra river – in the Russe area (4), Veliko Tarnovo (5, including the massive Gorna Oryahovitsa hoard /IGCH 521/ – 355 tetradrachms), Targovishte (1) and Shumen regions (3).
5. A third large group of Macedonian Regions hoards is focused in Western Thrace along the Upper *Strymon/ Strouma* river – 9 hoards: in the modern-day regions of Kyustendil (2), Pernik (5) and Sofia (2). The majority of the studied hoards within this area belong to the later Third Group, struck ca. 120 – 90/80 BC, all concealed very shortly after their arrival in the area.<sup>24</sup>
6. A distant distribution zone of the Macedonian Regions coinage is marked by a few specimens in other hoards from the Western Black Sea coast – in Varna (2) and Burgas region (1). A characteristic example is the Nessebar / 1982 hoard (282 tetradrachms)<sup>25</sup> which has absolutely atypical contents for the region and needs further consideration.
7. Hoards containing tetradrachms of the Macedonian Regions in southern Thrace are very few, represented by only single specimens in the following hoards, all located along the *Tonzos/Tundzha* and *Hebros/ Maritsa* rivers<sup>26</sup>: Stroyno (IGCH 924), Merichleri (IGCH 908), Mezek (CH 7.126), Levka (CH 6.49) and Adrianople (IGCH 893). They may occur in this zone by coincidence in the course of post-Mithridatic wars circulation during the late 80's BC.

<sup>24</sup> For instance, the Turokovtsi 2000 hoard – 199 tetradrachms of the First Region (no. 46 in Appendix 1.2), examined by the author – most coins were uncirculated.

<sup>25</sup> Unpublished in details, see preliminary information in Karayotov 1985, 151-5; Karayotov 1994, 71.

<sup>26</sup> For the navigability of *Hebros* in ancient times, see Concev 1962, 848-52 and Cahn 1988, "Hebros", in *LIMC* 4.1, 467 ff.



Fig. 5.5. Distribution of hoards with tetradrachms of First and Second Macedonian regions (map after Prokopov 2012).

#### 5.4. LEG MAKEΔONΩN and MAKEΔONΩN Tetradrachms

A small series of tetradrachms in the name of the Macedonians inscribed **LEG / MAKEΔONΩN** and **MAKEΔONΩN** was produced probably immediately after the suppression of Philip VI Andriskos' revolt in 148/7 BC. On the reverse it shows a hand holding the olive branch as an offer of peace and the Latin legend **LEG** which most likely refers to '*legatio*' or *legatus* (Gaebler 1906, 5).



**Fig. 5.6.** Tetradrachm with LEG MAKEΔONΩN (16.75g), MacKay, dies O3-R12, ex Triton IX (10. January 2006), lot 839.

This coinage was extensively discussed by H. Gaebler (*AMNG* III.1, pp. 62-64, nos. 189-196, taf. 2, 10-13), MacKay<sup>27</sup> and K. Liampi (1998, 125-6, M58-M59). P. R. Franke interprets the letters LEG as *leg(iones)*, and imagines their purpose to have been to pay the Roman legions during the Andriskos' war in 148 BC (Franke, *Nom.Chron.* 1 (1972) 33, ill. 23-24, see also Mørkholm 1991, 167).

On the other hand, in *Coin Hoards 7* Andrew Burnett argued that the **LEG / MAKEΔONΩN** series preceded Aesillas-coinage by a short time, and should be down-dated by some 50-60 years (as previously thought), due to the same degree of wear on these tetradrachms in the Southwest Macedonia'/1981 hoard (Burnett 1986, 55-58). His convincing arguments are supported by M. Crawford (Crawford 1985, 197) and other scholars (Draganov 2001, 127-128, nos. 826-828), who all dated these issues to the 90's BC.

The **LEG MAKEΔONΩN** issues are known from some 25 coins, struck with 6 obverse and 18 reverse dies (Prokopov 2012, 176-8, nos. 826-843). They appear only in three hoards from Macedonia (See Appendix 1.6).

<sup>27</sup> P.A. MacKay, "Macedonian tetradrachms of 148-147 B.C.", *ANSMN* 14 (1968), 15-39.

The very similar series inscribed only **ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ** is known from only 1 issue and 5 specimens in total (Prokopov 2012, p. 178, nos. 844-847).



**Fig. 5.7.** Tetradrachm with legend **ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ** (16.83g), Photo ex Triton IX (10. January 2006), no. 840.

### 5.5. Late Alexander tetradrachms of Odessos and Mesambria

The Greek colonies of Odessos and Mesambria on the West Black sea coast produced tetradrachms of Alexander type, all posthumous emissions, of very similar appearance and style.



**Fig. 5.8.** Tetradrachm of Mesambria, ca. 150-125 BC, type Price 1059; Karayotov 233 (O69-R227). Photo ex Triton XIV (Jan. 2011), no. 48.

The only difference appears to be the city name or emblem shown on the reverse: Mesambria used either a Corinthian helmet or more exceptionally **ΜΕΣΑΜ**, **ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑ** or **ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ**), while Odessos employed the ethnic **ΟΔΗ** (or monogram  $\text{Ⲕ}$ ).



**Fig. 5.9.** Tetradrachm of Odessos, ca. 90-72/1 BC – Mithridatic features (16.43 g), type Callataÿ 1997, Group 3, dies D5/R7, Price 1193. Photo ex CNG 91 (16 Sept. 2012), no. 94.

In fact, Odessos issued the Alexander series during two consecutive periods, ca. 280 – 200/180 BC (Price 1991, nos. 1132-1176), and then from ca. 115/110 to 72-1 BC (Price 1991, 1177-1186).<sup>28</sup> The style of the Odessos tetradrachms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> period, which will be discussed here, closely parallels the issues of neighbouring Mesambria. It has been suggested that the same (or some of them) die-engravers worked on the dies of both cities coinages.<sup>29</sup> Without doubt in the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC issues of Odessos were more abundant, and they dominate over the Mesambrian tetradrachms in extant hoards by a ratio of 2:1 (e.g. CH II, 98 and IGCH 959).

Based on the die-links analyses, F. de Callataÿ divided the late issues of Odessos into three chronological groups (de Callataÿ 1997a, 84-89) and those of Mesambria – into four groups (de Callataÿ 1997a, 92-107). A number of scholars argue that the late silver issues of Mesambria and Odessos were struck in relation to the Mithridatic wars<sup>30</sup>, mainly due to the similarity of the obverse head of Heracles with the portrait of Mithridates VI. In fact only the latest issues of both cities are contemporary with Mithridates (Groups 3 and 4 of Mesambria and Groups 2 and 3 – for Odessos).<sup>31</sup>

Mesambria Pontica was the most active mint in the Western Black Sea region, from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century to the fall of Mithridates VI. The final Mesambrian issues are actually the last of the Alexander type coinage.<sup>32</sup> M. J. Price assigned 33 issues of Mesambria to the middle period ca. 175 – ca. 125 BC (Price 1991, no. 1039-1082), and 51 issues to the final period ca. 125 – ca. 70 BC (Price 1991, nos. 1083-1131).

<sup>28</sup> Price 1991, 181 and 192 (insisting on 65 BC); de Callataÿ 1997a, 117-8; Karayotov 1994; Karayotov 2007, 127-74.

<sup>29</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 113, 261; MacDonald 2010, 130; Karayotov 2012, 267.

<sup>30</sup> Price 1968, 1-12; Price 1991, 181, 191, nos. 1191-1193.

<sup>31</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 118.

<sup>32</sup> Price 1991, 181.

On the other hand, Ivan Karayotov has arranged another periodization for the late Mesambrian coinage, divided into three styles (Early, Intermediate and Late) and into 6 internal periods, of which, due to the timeframe considerations of this thesis, I shall consider only the final three<sup>33</sup>:

- Period IV, ca. 150 – 125 BC<sup>34</sup> – 75 issues, struck with monograms M50 to M70, dies O52-R164 to O71-R238, catalogue numbers 361 to 615;
- Period V, ca. 125 – 100 BC: 31 issues, struck with monograms M74 to M96, dies O72-R239 to O82-R270, catalogue numbers 619 to 742;
- Period VI, ca. 100 – 72 BC: 51 issues, struck with monograms M98 to M125, dies O83-R271 to O99-R321, catalogue numbers 744 to 852.

The very last series of tetradrachms of Mesambria (obverse dies O91-O99 according to Karayotov) is marked with the ethnic written in the reverse exergue - ΜΕΣΑΜ, ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΗ or ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ (only once – with O95).<sup>35</sup>



**Fig. 5.10.** Late tetradrachm of Mesambria, ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΗ in exergue, ca. 90-72/1 BC (16.14 g). Price 1125; Karayotov 321. Photo ex CNG e-sale 274 (22 February 2012), no. 35.

The issues of Mesambria and Odessos were the last real Hellenistic coinages in the Western Pontic area. They were discontinued with the coming of the Romans – after the Marcus Lucullus' march in 72/1 BC, and faded out shortly afterwards.

### Overstrikes<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Karayotov 1994, 36-40 and table I.

<sup>34</sup> According to MacDonald 2009, 119 – this group is actually later, down to ca. 75 BC.

<sup>35</sup> Karayotov 1994, 39-40.

In addition, a number of overstrikes provide further clues to the more precise dating of the internal issue periods. One coin of Mesambria from the Rudnik hoard (Karayotov 1994, 65, no. 718) is overstruck on a New Style tetradrachm of Athens, moneyers ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ – ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙ, dated 122/1 BC.<sup>37</sup> Another late issue of Mesambria (Karayotov 1994, no. 764, marked with M103) is overstruck on a tetradrachm of the Thracian king Mostis.<sup>38</sup>

Several issues of Mesambria are overstruck on tetradrachms of Thasian mass type, and of the First Macedonian region (*Macedonia Prima*).<sup>39</sup> More overstrikes of Mesambrian tetradrachms have been identified, and recently published by D. MacDonald (MacDonald 2009, pp. 119-130). The following data emerged:

- Mesambria over mass issues of Thasos: 3 specimens (de Callataÿ 1997a, 103, D31-R5a and R6b; MacDonald 2009, pp. 128-130, nos. 97-99), all with the same dies of O47-R128 and monogram 43 after Karayotov.

The mint of Odessos also overstruck foreign coins in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early BC century. The following five specimens are extant:

- 1-3. Odessos tetradrachms, late in Group 1 (all with the magistrate name ΘΗ and monogram  $\text{Ϡ}$ , ca. 95 BC)<sup>40</sup> over Thasos late type: 4 specimens (de Callataÿ 1997, 87, dies D14-R42; and MacDonald 2009, pp. 130-131, no.100);
4. Odessos of Group 2 (with magistrate name EKA and ethnikon ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ) over Lysimachos-type of Byzantium: 1 specimen (*SNG Stancomb* 2000, no. 271 and Callataÿ 1997, 87 pl. XXXVI, D13/R?); and
5. Odessos of Group 2 (with magistrate name EKA and ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ) over Nikomedes III or Nikomedes IV of Bithynia – 1 specimen (MacDonald 2009, pp. 132-133, no.101). The possible issue dates of the Bithynian host coin are 96/5, 94/3, 88/7 and 87/6 BC. This provides a firm basis to date the overstrike in ca. 86 – 72/1 BC.

<sup>36</sup> A complete list of known overstrikes in de Callataÿ 2008 and in de Callataÿ 2011.

<sup>37</sup> Type Thompson 1961, no. 494-6; published by de Callataÿ – Prokopov 1994, 204.

<sup>38</sup> Published by de Callataÿ 1991, 37-8, pl. 2,1.

<sup>39</sup> Gerassimov 1956, p. 56ff; Karayotov 1994, p. 37, note 17; all listed in MacDonald 2009, 212-3.

<sup>40</sup> Type Price 1991, no. 1181; de Callataÿ 1997a, 87 pl. XXV, D12-R2, D13/R? and D14-R42.

The hoard evidence from Thrace consists of 22 deposits (listed in Appendix 1.4).

Total coins registered: Odessos – 414 / in Thracian hoards: 355+ coins;

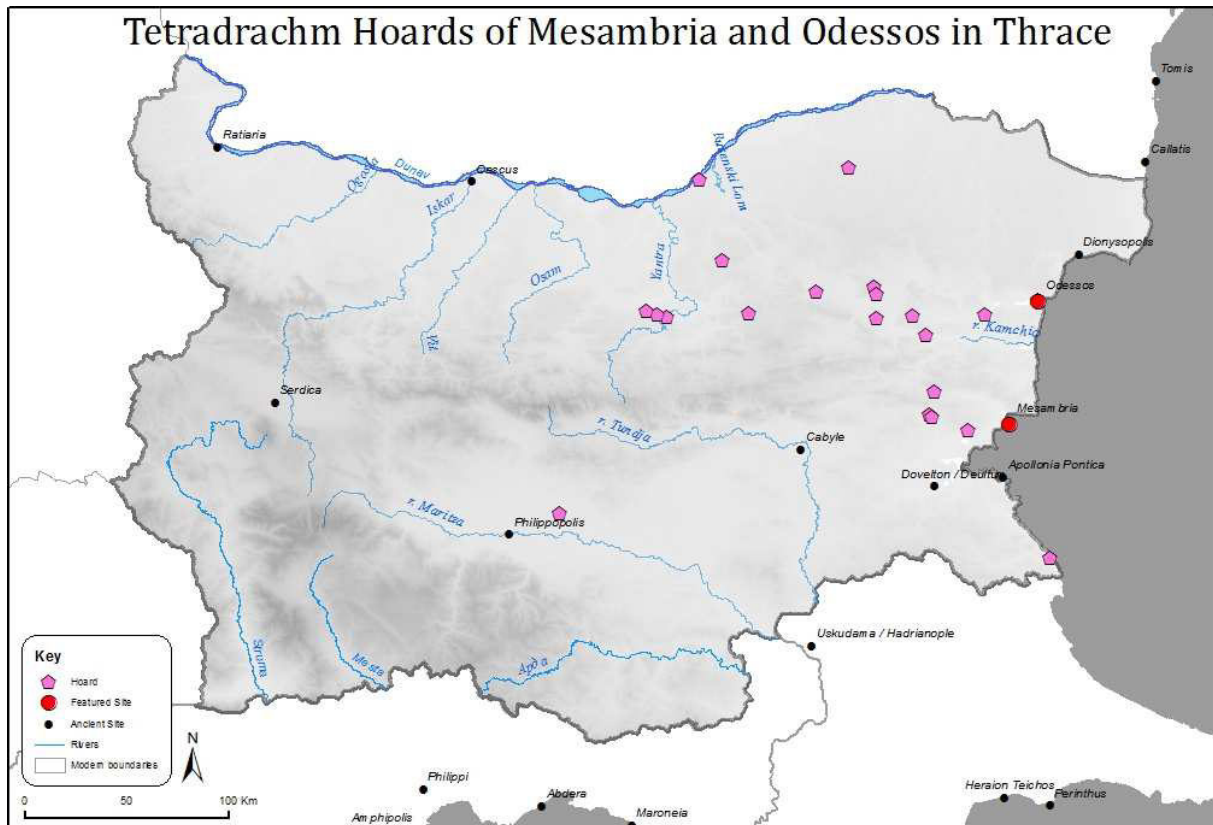
Mesambria – 490 / in Thracian hoards: 288+ coins.

Number of dies identified: Odessos – 36 obverse and 111 reverse;

Mesambria – 52 obverse and 193 reverse.

### Notes on distribution

Karayotov observed that only a few of Mesambria's tetradrachms seem to have remained in the city and its nearby territory, but they were primarily intended for export (Karayotov 1994, 35-36, 71-76). At the same time tetradrachms of Odessos freely penetrated and circulated in the Mesambrian *chora*. They both were likely prepared to pay tribute to the Thracians in the interior regions or to pay mercenaries (de Callatay 1997, 118-119, 271), as their circulation zone attests.



**Fig. 5.11.** Distribution map of Mesambria and Odessos tetradrachm hoards (map by A. Sobotkova).



The majority of the Mesambria and Odessos hoards are scattered in the internal regions of Eastern Bulgaria: Shumen (5 hoards), Targovishte (4), Veliko Tarnovo (3) and Russe (1), with only 4 close to Burgas (around Aytos, and in the high areas of the Haemus southern slopes), and two west of Varna.

### 5.6. Athenian Tetradrachms of the ‘New Style’

The Athenian ‘*stephanophoroi*’ (wreath-bearing) tetradrachms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> – mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC have been well studied and published in a thorough corpus by M. Thompson.<sup>41</sup> However, her dating of the New Style series has been revised. According to the alternative ‘low chronology’ of Lewis and Boehringer<sup>42</sup> (and later supported by Mørkholm)<sup>43</sup>, each moneyer combination must be lowered by 32 years from Thompson’s dating. Epigraphic affirmation of this dating is offered by C. Habicht.<sup>44</sup>



**Fig. 5.12.** Tetradrachm of Athens ‘New Style’, struck 134/3 BC. Photo after Heritage World auctions, Long Beach Sale 3020, (6. Sept 2012), no. 24957.

For a long time the ‘New Style’ tetradrachms was the main silver currency in Central and Southern Greece.<sup>45</sup> During his campaign in Greece, Sulla struck imitations of the Athens ‘New style’ tetradrachms (signed with the name of his legate – Marcus Lucullus). Later the Athenians continued to strike until 46/2 BC.

<sup>41</sup> Thompson 1961.

<sup>42</sup> Lewis 1962, 281–300; Boehringer 1972, 201.

<sup>43</sup> Mørkholm, 1984, 29–42.

<sup>44</sup> Habicht 1991, 1–23 and van Alfen 2011, 98–101.

<sup>45</sup> Crawford 1985, 125–6.



**Fig. 5.13.** Tetradrachm of Athens with monograms of M. Lucullus (Μάρκου ταμίου), 86–84 BC. Type Thompson, 1304–1313.

According to F. de Callataÿ, some of the Athenian magistrates' issues of ca. 126/5–121/0 BC (e. g. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ – ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ – ΑΛΚΕΤΑΣ, ΚΑΡΑΙΧ – ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ and ΜΙΚΩΝ – ΕΥΡΙΚΛΕ) are found to be 'overrepresented' in the hoards from Macedonia and Southern Thrace.<sup>46</sup> He further presumed that they were not imported to Macedonia on a regular basis, but rather '*reached there in a seemingly abrupt manner*'.<sup>47</sup> There is no real alternative to see that the Romans were behind such a mass currency movement.<sup>48</sup>



**Fig. 5.14.** Distribution map of Athens New style tetradrachm hoards (map by A. Sobotkova).

<sup>46</sup> Callataÿ 1992, 11–20.

<sup>47</sup> Callataÿ 1992, 19.

<sup>48</sup> As advised by Prof. F. de Callataÿ, to whom I am most grateful (*per litteras*).

Their distribution in Thrace has recently been traced by F. de Callataÿ<sup>49</sup>, and by I. Prokopov.<sup>50</sup> Athenian ‘*stephanophoroi*’ appear in 28 hoards from Thrace (listed in [Appendix 1.5](#)).

Total coins registered: 619+ in Thracian hoards (465 listed in Prokopov 2011, 84-99).

Number of dies identified: 1136 obverse / xx reverse.

### 5.7. Tetradrachms of Maroneia

The city of Maroneia on the Northern Aegean coast produced silver coinage in Attic standard quite similar to the tetradrachms of Thasos, but showing a standing Dionysos with *thyrsos* and *charakes*, inscribed around ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ – ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΩΝ. They are traditionally dated to *ca.* 189/8 – 49/5 BC.<sup>51</sup>



**Fig. 5.15.** Tetradrachm of Maroneia, Period 10 (14.86g). Photo after Gorny & Mosch Auktion 200, (2011), no. 1319.

Although it bears apparent Late Hellenistic iconography and standard Greek legends standard, it was *de facto* organized and executed under the control of the Roman Republic (Reinach 1911, 356-360; Crawford 1985). Maroneia was firmly in Roman hands from 185/4 BC.<sup>52</sup> Shortly after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom in 167 BC, Maroneia along with Aenos were promised by Rome to the future king of Pergamon, Atallos II Philadelphos (160-138 BC) as a personal gift, but soon afterwards the decision was annulled by the Senate. Those cities (along with Abdera) were pronounced free – *civitates liberae* (Polib. 30.3; Diod. Sic. 31.8.8; Liv. 45.29.5-

<sup>49</sup> de Callataÿ 2008, 36-9.

<sup>50</sup> Прокопов / Prokopov 2011, 81-99.

<sup>51</sup> Head 1911, 251, fig. 158; Шьонерт–Гайс/ Schönert–Geiss 1982, 7-8; Schönert–Geiss 1987, 64-75.

<sup>52</sup> Шьонерт–Гайс / Schönert–Geiss 1982, 8; Schönert–Geiss 1987.

6).<sup>53</sup> A peace treaty between Maroneia and Rome was concluded soon afterwards (see now *IThrAeg* E168). The city was destroyed because of her *fides* to Rome, probably by Mithridates VI in the First Mithridatic War, as a few inscriptions from Samothrace attest.<sup>54</sup>

According to F. de Callataÿ and Prokopov, the silver coinage of Maroneia was seized around 85-75 BC, probably by the Roman authorities of Macedonia.<sup>55</sup> The main researcher of Maronitan coinage, E. Schönert–Geiss, believed it stopped about 88–79 BC.<sup>56</sup> The actual start date should be no earlier than 100 BC, as shown by evidence from overstrikes.<sup>57</sup>

Based on the sequence of die-links, the tetradrachms of Maroneia were found to be struck with 109 obverse and 346 reverse dies (Schönert–Geiss 1987; de Callataÿ 2008, 32, table 1). The small number of obverse dies used for Maroneia tetradrachms (nearly 4 times less than the Thasos /399 dies/) make F. de Callataÿ believe that the whole series must have been produced only a few years after the First Mithridatic War (de Callataÿ 2008, 34-6).

In stylistic terms, the silver coinage of Maroneia is closely connected with Prokopov's Group XIII of the Thasian type – dies BB9 in particular (see de Callataÿ 2008, 35). This group is now firmly re-dated to *ca.* 90-75 BC (de Callataÿ 2012, 311).

The main direction of Maroneia silver coins' export was again concentrated to the north – into inner Thrace. Their circulation zone nearly overlaps the Thasian tetradrachms (see Prokopov 2006, map on p. 335).

The tetradrachms of Maroneia appear in 29 hoards from Thrace (listed in Appendix 1.6).

Total coins registered: 573. In Thracian hoards: 225.

Number of dies identified: 109 obverse / 346 reverse dies<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Comments in Danow 1979, 99.

<sup>54</sup> See inscription *IThrAeg* E180, frg. A, lines 9-11; also Psoma *et al.* 2008, 179 and 182.

<sup>55</sup> de Callataÿ 1991, 213-26; Прокопов / Prokopov 2002, 20.

<sup>56</sup> Шьонерт–Гайс / Schönert–Geiss 1982, 7; Schönert–Geiss 1987, 66-9.

<sup>57</sup> de Callataÿ 1991, 213-226; de Callataÿ 1997, 99-114, esp. at 113, pls. 24-28; de Callataÿ 2008; Psoma *et alii* 2008, 177-8.

<sup>58</sup> According to the die study of Schönert–Geiss 1987.

### Notes on distribution

1. No tetradrachms of Maroneia (like Thasos) are known from its civic territory, or the Aegean coast of Thrace.<sup>59</sup>
2. The export of Maroneia silver coins was directed to the north – into inner Thrace. Their distribution nearly overlaps the tetradrachms of Thasian type (see Prokopov 2006, map on p. 335). This incontrovertibly proves that both coinages of Maroneia and Thasos were issued only for payments abroad.

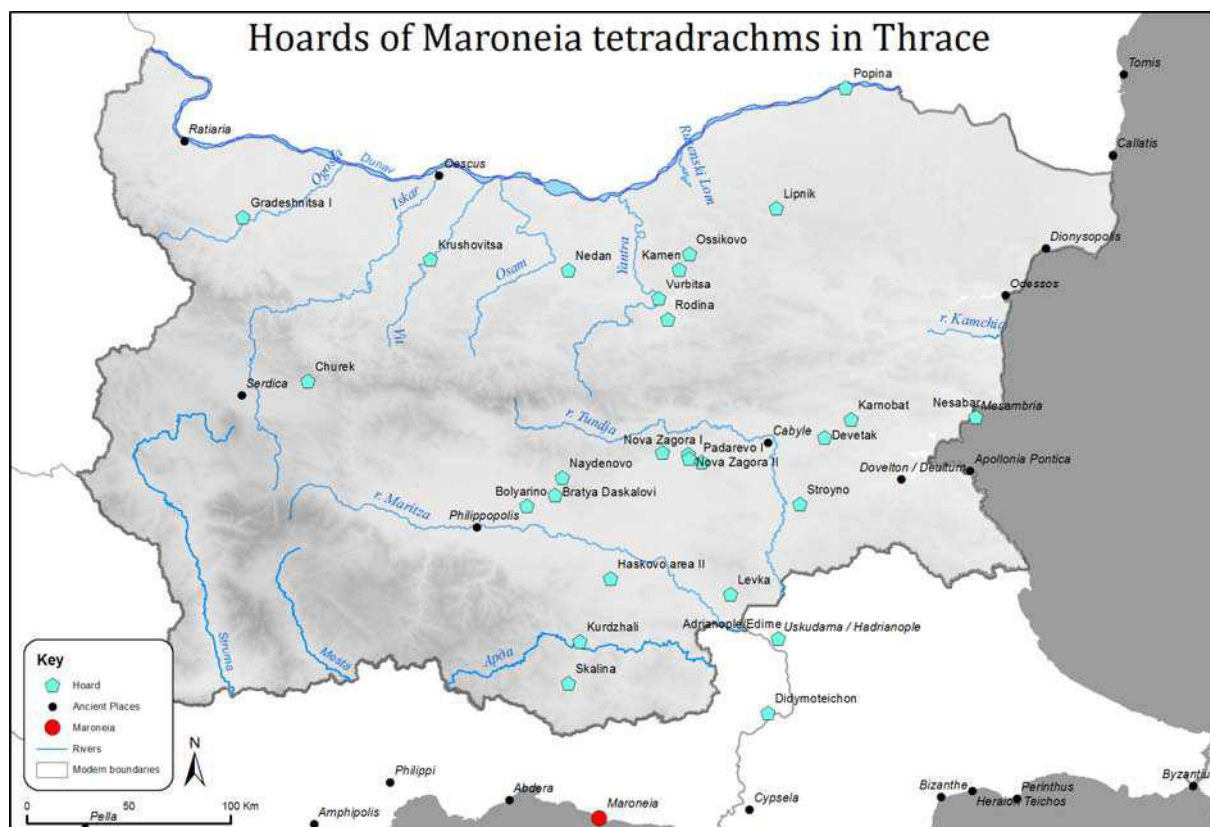


Fig. 5.16. Distribution map of hoards with Maroneia tetradrachm in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

3. The evidence of hoards clearly demonstrates that the Maroneia issues are almost always associated with Thasos or/and their imitations (in 24 cases out of 28).
4. Most often they appear in small quantities (1 to 5 specimens) compared to the Thasian.

<sup>59</sup> For this fact – see Psoma *et alii* 2008, 180 and note 126.

5. The tetradrachms of Maroneia continued to circulate in Thrace till the late 60's BC (in some cases, even later, e.g. the Bolyarino hoard (see find cat. No. 76, closing in 48 BC).
6. In only 2 cases were they associated with Republican *denarii* (see Mindya and Rodina – find cat. Nos. 93 and 100).
7. Besides the southeastern area of Thrace, a good number of the Maroneia tetradrachms appear north of the Haemus range – in the regions of Veliko Tarnovo (5 hoards), Pleven (1), Razgrad (1) and Silistra (1).

### 5.8. Tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas, Sura and CAE•PR

In the early 1<sup>st</sup> century the Roman provincial administration issued a few series of silver tetradrachms in the name of the Macedonians, to the Attic weight standard. The legends are an unusual Greek-Latin combination: on the obverse around the portrait of Alexander the Great **MAKEΔONΩN** (or **CAE•PR MAKEΔONΩN**), and the club and the symbols of quaestorial office (*sella* and *cista*) with the name **AESILLAS Q** on the reverse, all surrounded by a wreath. On just two reverse dies is this replaced by **SVVRA •LEG / PRO Q** [= *Sura leg(atus) pro q(uaestore)*], all surrounded by a laurel wreath.



**Fig. 5.17.** Tetradrachm in the name of the quaestor Aesillas (16.26). Photo ex Heritage World Auctions, Signature sale 3019 (26 April 2012), no. 23087.

This coinage has been well studied and catalogued by F. de Callatay<sup>60</sup> and R. Bauslaugh (2000). Both issues were most probably produced in the mint of Thessalonica. Burnett argued that the entire coinage of **AESILLAS** was produced 'during only two or three years at most' (Burnett 1986, 55), although Crawford calls it

<sup>60</sup> de Callatay 1996, 113-51; de Callatay 1997a, 300.

'very large' (Crawford 1985, 197). Based on the analysis of two hoards from Greek Macedonia (nos. 4 and 15 below), Burnett dated its production 'after the 80's and before the 60's BC' (Burnett 1986, 57). F. de Callatay divided it into two distinct periods: – before 87 BC and ca. 75-65 BC (de Callatay 1997a, 300).

Since the time of Bartolomeo Borghesi<sup>61</sup> **SVVRA** on the coins is identified with Q. Bruttius (Braetius) Sura.<sup>62</sup> He was a legate (*legatus pro quaestore*) in Macedonia under governor C. Sentius Saturninus.<sup>63</sup> He is mentioned in Appian (Mithr. 29) and Plutarch (*Sulla* 11.4-8), and was particularly active in Greece during the events of 87 BC.<sup>64</sup> He is attested to also in two inscriptions from Thessaly – from Thespies and Larissa, where he is honoured as 'benefactor' (*IG IX, 2, 613*). Issues in the name of Sura (**SVVRA•LEG / PRO •Q**) are quite rare (13 coins in total).<sup>65</sup> At a certain point they replaced the traditional legend **AESILLAS Q** on the reverse, adding the letters **S I** on the obverse.



**Fig. 5.18.** Tetradrachm in the name of SVVRA•LEG / PRO •Q (16.11g), CNG 76 (12 September 2007), no. 324.

F. de Callatay dates the Sura issues in the middle of the Aesillas series (de Callatay 1998, 115). A few years later R. Bauslaugh inserted them into his Group IV (dies O16–O17), early in the Aesillas-coinage, not at the end.<sup>66</sup>

Sura also supervised one rare series of the Thasian type tetradrachms. His monogram **SVR** or **Q/SVR** shown on the reverse confirms that these coins were minted under his authority (see above section 5.2, *Tetradrachms of Thasos*, and de Callatay 1998, 115-6, Prokopov 2006, 159, nos. 1195-1200, pl. 84 – his Group XVI).

<sup>61</sup> See B. Borghesi, *Oevres completes de Bartolomeo Borghesi, vol. II* (Paris 1864), 239-43.

<sup>62</sup> Broughton, *MRR* II, 15-50.

<sup>63</sup> Broughton, *MRR* II, 15; III, 191.

<sup>64</sup> Gaebler 1902, 170-1; de Callatay 1997a, 298-9.

<sup>65</sup> See de Callatay 1998a, 113-5. One reverse die is identified on a tetradrachm of Sura seen in trade: see CNG MBS 76, (12. September 2007), no. 324.

<sup>66</sup> Bauslaugh 2000, p. 49.



**Fig. 5.19.** Thasian tetradrachm (16.34g) with monogram Q/SVR, ca. 87 BC. Photo ex Helios Numismatik Auktion 7 (12 December 2011), no. 17.

Tetradrachms with the inscription **CÆ• PR** [=Cae(sar) pr(aetor)] are placed by Bauslaugh in his Group VII (dies O84-O87) based on stylistic considerations, with no die-links to other Aesillas issues.



**Fig. 5.20.** Tetradrachm of Aesillas with CÆ• PR (16.58g). Photo ex Triton IX (10 Jan. 2006), no. 842.

They number 40 pieces, struck with only 4 obverse and 13 reverse dies (Bauslaugh 2000, 62-4, see also de Callatay 1998, 114). Both Burnett and Bauslaugh assigned the series **CÆ• PR** to an unrecorded governor of Macedonia, possibly in 78/7 BC.<sup>67</sup>

The tetradrachms of the Aesillas series appear in 25 hoards in Thrace and Northern Macedonia ([Appendix 1.7](#)).

Total coins registered: 1,001 (by Bauslaugh). In Thracian hoards: 381+.

Number of dies identified: 102 obverse / 372 reverse dies.

<sup>67</sup> Burnett 1986, 57; Bauslaugh 2000, 114-5.



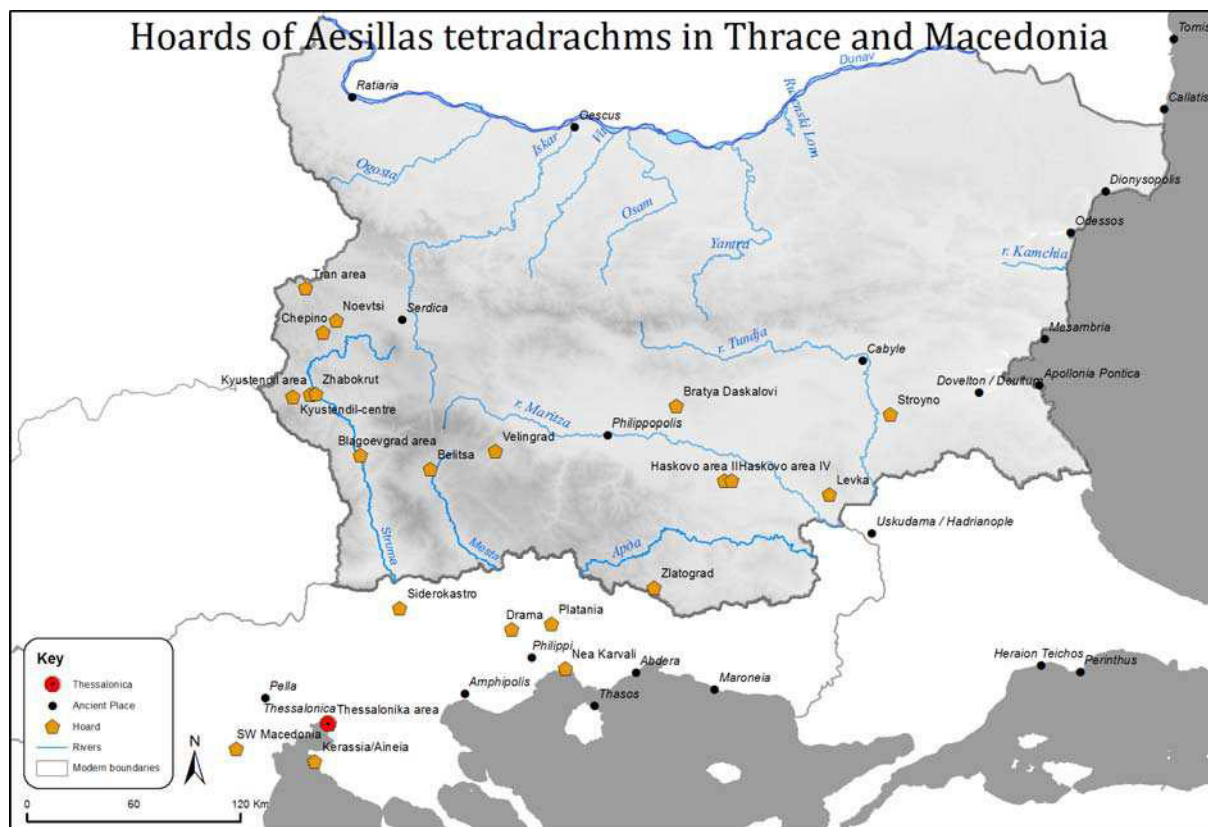


Fig. 5.21. Distribution map of Aesillas, Sura and CÆ• PR tetradrachm hoards (map A. Sobotkova).

### Notes on distribution

As stated, the Aesillas types did not circulate widely, and did not remain in circulation for long.<sup>68</sup> Most of the series seem to have been minted during a period of rapid and intensive production. The hoards demonstrate that the Aesillas tetradrachms were absent from circulation after 75 BC.

The circulation zone of Aesillas coinage was directed to the north – in Northern Macedonia and in Southwestern Thrace. However, Prokopov has stated that their main distribution area follows the course of the Upper and Middle Strymon river.<sup>69</sup> He has suggested that the entire Aesillas coinage was produced for payment of the Denteletae tribe, important allies of Rome. This interpretation is also shared by R. Bauslaugh (Bauslaugh 2000, 113, 115) and F. de Callataÿ (1997a, 299).

<sup>68</sup> Bauslaugh 2000, 109.

<sup>69</sup> Прокопов / Prokopov 1985, 3-11.

### 5.9. Drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in Illyria

*Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium* (*Epidamnus*) – twin Greek cities on the Illyrian coast of the Adriatic, produced between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC very similar types of coinage.<sup>70</sup> These small silver coins are conveniently called ‘*drachms*’ (ca 3.4 grams), equal to three *scrupules*, which later became the weight of the Roman *victoriatus*. They bear the representation of a cow suckling her calf and the name of one magistrate on the obverse (in nominative), and a double stellate or floral pattern in a double square and the name of another magistrate (in genitive) on the reverse.



**Fig. 5.22.** Drachm of Dyrrhachium, moneyer ΑΠΙΣΤΩΝ (3.25g). Photo after Stacks (July 2007), no. 13.

As early as 228 BC these two Adriatic cities concluded an alliance with the Roman Republic.<sup>71</sup> They served as Adriatic naval bases for the Republic and soon became centres of Roman operations in the interior of the Balkans. Essentially, the late drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium were Roman controlled issues.

The chronology of the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium remained unclear for a long time, but recent research by Gyula Petrányi<sup>72</sup>, and by O. Picard and S. Gjongecaj<sup>73</sup> has provided clarification of the chronology of the final phase of their production. It has been determined that the massive output started only ca. 80/70 BC, reached its peak ca. 60/50 BC, finally ceased ca. 50/40 BC (Ujes-Morgan 2012, 369-370). This is the third and final period of their ‘autonomous’ coinage, before actual Roman *denarii* began to be struck there in ca. 44 BC (or earlier in 49/8 BC by Pompey the Great who used the city as his main base).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Ceka 1972; Crawford 1985, 224-6, fig. 94.

<sup>71</sup> Head 1911, 314; Giovannini 1978, 113; Mørkholm 1991, 152-3.

<sup>72</sup> Petrányi 1995, 1996 and 1997.

<sup>73</sup> Picard – Gjongecaj 1996, 1999, 2000 and 2000a.

<sup>74</sup> For Apollonia, see Crawford 1974, *RRC*, no. 445/1-2 and p. 89.



**Fig. 5.23.** Drachm of Apollonia, moneyer ΦΙΛΩΔΑΜΟΣ (3.37g). Photo ex Hirsch Auktion 279-280 (2008), no. 4248.

The sequence of the magistrates of the last issue period in Apollonia is established based on the evidence of a few hoards from Albania – mainly IGCH 665, 666 and 667.<sup>75</sup> An alternative arrangement is proposed by G. Petrányi, based on the analysis of 37 hoards of Apollonia drachms and 36 hoards for Dyrrhachium.<sup>76</sup>

**Table 5.2.** The last ten issues of Apollonia (after Petrányi)<sup>77</sup>

<i>Obverse name</i>	<i>Reverse name</i>	<i>No. in Ceka 1972</i>	<i>No. in the sequence</i>
ΜΑΑΡΚΟΣ	ΛΥΣΑΝΙΑ	75	-10
ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ	ΑΝΔΡΙΣΚΟΥ	83	-9
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ	ΛΥΣΗΝΟΣ	27	-8
ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ	ΧΑΙΡΗΝΟΣ	91	-7
ΑΓΙΑΣ	ΕΠΙΚΑΔΟΥ	3	-6
ΝΙΚΗΝ	ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ	88	-5
ΤΙΜΗΝ	ΔΑΜΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ	115	-4
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ	ΑΙΝΕΑ	24	-3
ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ	104	-2
ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝ	ΜΝΑΣΙΑ	21	-1

**Table 5.3.** The last ten issues of Dyrrhachium (after Petrányi 1997)

<i>Obverse name, Moneyer</i>	<i>Reverse name, Eponymos</i>	<i>No. in Ceka</i>	<i>No. in the sequence</i>
ΞΕΝΩΝ	ΦΙΛΛΙΑ	361	-10
ΞΕΝΩΝ, ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝΟΣ	353, 316	-9
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ	318	-8
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΦΙΛΩΤΑ	331	-7
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΚΑΛΛΩΝΟΣ	322	-6
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ	320	-5
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ	325	-4
ΦΙΛΩΝ	ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ	438	-3
ΦΙΛΩΝ, ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ	ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ	433, 376	-2
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ	330	-1

Large quantities of those Roman-controlled issues of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia travelled hundreds of miles inland and are frequently found in the basin of the middle Danube, the Pannonian plain, Transylvania, along the Lower Danube and

<sup>75</sup> Picard and Gjongecaj 2000, 156-7.

<sup>76</sup> Petrányi 1997.

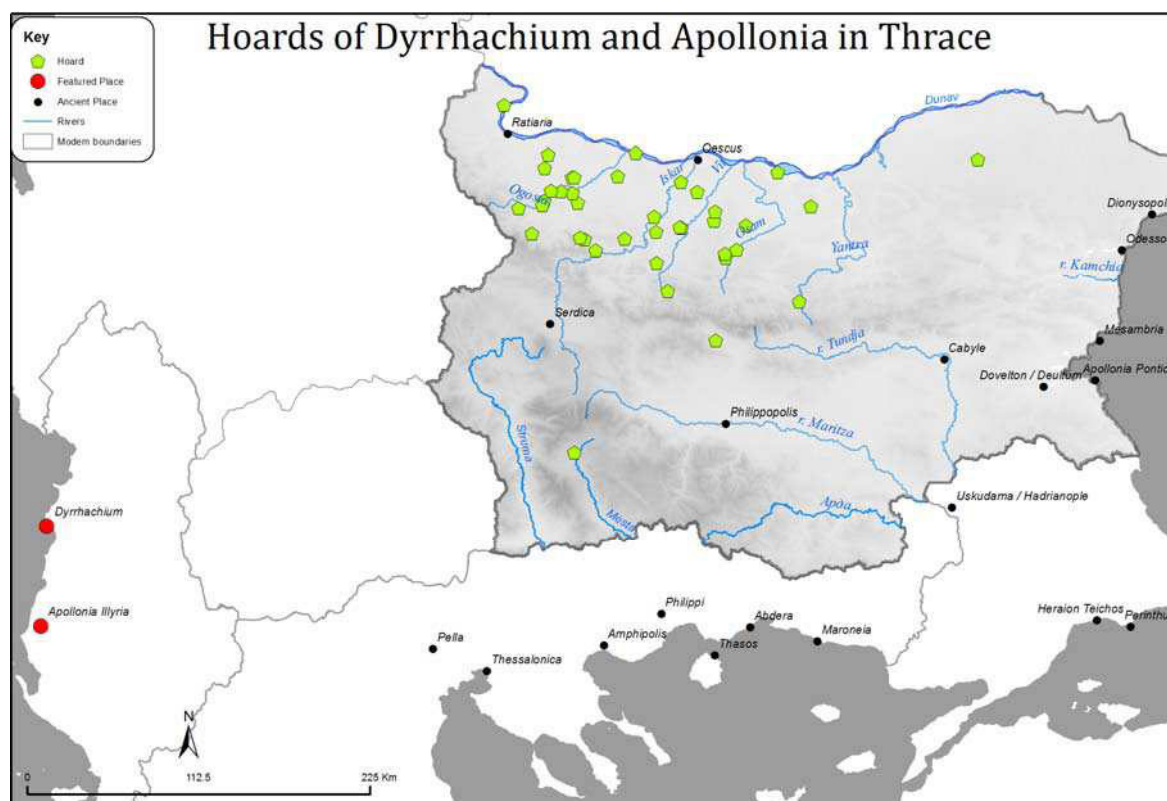
<sup>77</sup> Petrányi 1997, 6-7 and 9-11.

as far as the Black sea.<sup>78</sup> Around 100 BC they appear in mass quantities around the Danube.

The hoards of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia drachms from Thrace were well discussed by N. Conovici<sup>79</sup> and the available groups are fully published by V. Grigorova and I. Prokopov.<sup>80</sup>

The drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium appear in 40 hoards in Thrace (listed in [Appendix 1.8](#)).

Total coins registered: 5,018 in total, unseparated; 811 Dyrrhachium (incl. imitations); 176 Apollonia (incl. imitations).



**Fig. 5.24.** Distribution map – hoards of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia drachms in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

## Notes on distribution and circulation

<sup>78</sup> Evidence in the *IGCH*, *CH*, Conovici 1989 and other works.

<sup>79</sup> Коновичи /Conovici 1989, 17-30.

<sup>80</sup> Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, 651-79.

The ratio between both Adriatic cities issues in hoards from Thrace (only those which were identified per mint) is 4.5:1, or very close to the registered number in Dacia – 4:1.19 (Conovici 1989, 20).

A heavy concentration of drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia is to be observed in the territories of the *Scordisci* (in modern Serbia). Some 30 hoards have been published from Serbia<sup>81</sup> and they match the above 38 deposits from Northwest and Central North Bulgaria. The bulk of them is condensed in the regions of Vratsa (9 hoards), Montana (8), Vidin (1), Pleven (9), Lovech (6), and Gabrovo (1). This condensed geographic distribution clearly shows an area of specific coin type. It is directly related to the situation in neighbouring Serbia and the activities of *Scordisci* in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (see Ujes-Morgan 2012, 373-5).

Consequently, it appears that the late drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia were used by the Roman authorities of Macedonia as substitutes of *denarii* (Crawford 1985, 224-5; Ashton 2012, 203). This is now largely confirmed by the overlapping of distribution and hoarding of aforementioned coin types (see map above).

A number of 'barbarous' imitations of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia and hybrid coins also appear in the hoards, a numismatic problem that requires further and thorough research. Archaeological evidence for local imitation of Dyrrhachium drachms is recorded at the Zboryanovo cult and civic centre – near Sveshtari in Razgrad region (Northeast Bulgaria)<sup>82</sup>, where cast copies and a casting mould was discovered.

## 5.10. Lysimachos-type tetradrachms of Byzantium (and Chalcedon)

The city of Byzantium issued posthumous tetradrachms of the Lysimachos-type from about 260 BC to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Seyrig 1968, 183-200; de Callataÿ 1997a, 120-137, pls. 32-37; Callataÿ 1997b, 68-69, no. 74; Marinescu 1996; Marinescu 2012 /in print/).

Other cities, including Chalcedon, also issued similar Lysimachi coinages, but their emissions were generally smaller. The Byzantium series is remarkable for its

<sup>81</sup> Popovic 1987, 96-104; Ujes 2012, 372-82 and map 1 at 377.

<sup>82</sup> See G. Dzanev, in *CCCHBg I* (2007), 76, note 50, and Dimitrov 2009.

size, time span of emission, and its style, which towards the end (Callataÿ's group 4) has a peculiar, almost barbarous appearance.



**Fig. 5.25.** Plated tetradrachm of Byzantium from the Debelt hoard, IGCH 972. Burgas Archaeological Museum, (Photo E. Paunov, 2001).

Based on the analyses of a few well-dated hoards (Çesme (anc. *Erythrae*) in Ionia, IGCH 1359), de Callataÿ dated the last series (groups 3 and 4) of Byzantium from ca. 90 to 75/4 BC.<sup>83</sup> Their volume was immense – realized with 115 obverse and 180 reverse dies in just 15 years!

**Table 5.4.** Chronology of the late Byzantium tetradrachms.

Period	Marinescu 1996, 325-7:	De Callataÿ 1997, 136:
ca. 150-120 BC	Group V, Issues 132 – 159	Group 1
ca. 120-110 BC	Group VI, Issues 160 – 166	
ca. 110-100 BC	—	Group 2A
ca. 100-96 BC	—	Group 2B
ca. 94-80 BC	—	Group 3
ca. 80-75/4 BC	—	Group 4

At a certain point a number of Lysimachi issues of Byzantium were countermarked with the Latin letters: **CL CAES** on the obverse (see Mowat 1909, 10-18; Mowat 1911, 237-242; Seyrig 1968, 198-199; Price 1968, 9-10; *RPC I*, p. 321-2).

<sup>83</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 135-6.



Fig. 5.26. Late Byzantium tetradrachm countermarked CL.CÆS (after Seyrig 1968, pl. VI).

There are 7 such coins known, all of the last groups 3 and 4 of the de Callataÿ classification (de Callataÿ 1997, 137), unfortunately all of them – without provenance. This countermark should refer not to emperor Claudius as previously believed, but to an unknown Roman official of the province of Macedonia, most possibly the same person marked as **CÆ•PR•** on the issues of Aesillas, as de Callataÿ pointed out (de Callataÿ 1997a, 137-8, see also Burnett 1986, 57; Bauslaugh 2000, 114-5). Therefore the countermarked coins should be dated no later than *ca.* 78-75 BC.

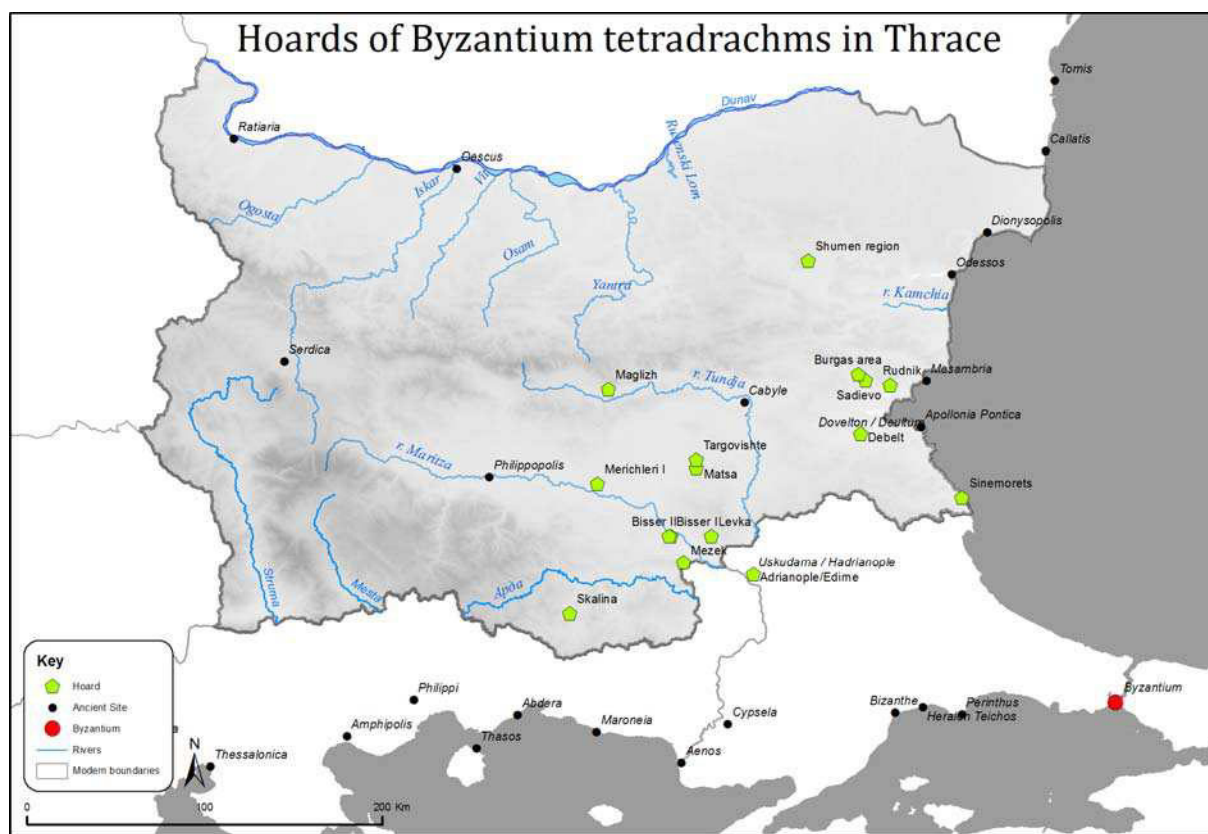


Fig. 5.27. Distribution map – hoards with Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

The Byzantium issues of the Lysimachos type occur in 16 hoards from southern Thrace (listed in [Appendix 1.9](#)).

Total coins registered: 350+ Byzantium / 1 Calchedon.

Total number of dies for the late period:

177 obverse, 273 reverse dies (de Callatay 1997a, Groups 3 and 4).

### Notes on distribution

The evidence from extant hoards clearly shows an obvious concentration of Lysimachi tetradrachms in the southeast of Thrace, not far from Byzantium itself. The zone comprises the area from the valley of the Maritsa/ *Hebros* river (down to *Uskudama/ Adrianople*)<sup>84</sup> to the Western Euxine coast around Burgas. The most recent hoard from the Burgas region – Sinemorets, discovered in late September 2012, contains exactly 143 Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium (out of 199 in total). It threw new light on the distribution of Byzantium tetradrachms in south Thrace and nearly doubled their number. Its forthcoming full publication will settle the chronology of other contemporary issues, such as the rare tetradrachms of Mostis<sup>85</sup>.



**Fig. 5.28a-b.** A recent hoard with Byzantium tetradrachms from Sinemorets (reg. Burgas) as found *in situ* during excavation, September 28<sup>th</sup> 2012 (photos '24 Hours' newspaper and BulPhoto).

This final influx of Lysimachi tetradrachms in Thrace should be related to the time of king Mithridates VI (120–61 BC) who controlled these regions of Thrace after ca. 110 until 72/1 BC. It is not impossible that their presence around the Burgas area (the territory of ancient Mesambria) is closely associated with the reign of king Mostis (ca. 125/0 – 87/6BC), a vassal-ruler of Southern Thrace under Mithridates VI (Карайотов / Karayotov 2000, 60-69; more details in chapter *Numismatics of late Thracian kings*).

<sup>84</sup> For the early history of Adrianople before Hadrian, see Nollé 2009, 101-61, esp. at 106-10.

<sup>85</sup> Unpublished, see a preliminary report in Karayotov 2012:

[http://morskivestnik.com/mor\\_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html](http://morskivestnik.com/mor_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html) /October 1, 2012/



### 5.11. Mithridatic staters of Tomis, Callatis and Byzantium

The gold staters of the late Lysimachos-type struck for Mithridates VI Eupator in the cities of Istros, Tomis, Callatis and Byzantium have been well studied.<sup>86</sup>



**Fig. 5.29.** Lysimachos-type stater of Byzantium, ca. 150-120 BC. Type Marinescu issue 139 var. Photo ex Heritage World Coin auctions, New York Signature sale 2016 (2 January 2012), no. 23053.

Each series is marked with ethnic name of its city issuer on the reverse under the throne of Athena: ΙΣ – for Istros, ΤΟ – for Tomis and ΚΑΛ – for Callatis, and ΒΥ – for Byzantium. Of them, Istros used only 1 obverse and 1 reverse die for its small series (de Callataÿ 1997a, 146), but Byzantium, Callatis and Tomis coinages were quite extensive – struck with 7/15, 6/18 and 8 /12 die combinations respectively.



**Fig. 5.30.** Lysimachos-type stater of Tomis, ca. 90-72/1 BC, type Callataÿ 1997a, p. 141-2 (D4/R-). Photo ex Freeman and Sear Manhattan sale II (3 January 2012), no. 121.

Only two hoards with late Lysimachos-type staters are known from Thrace (listed in [Appendix 1.10](#)).

Total coins registered: 9 in Thracian hoards.

<sup>86</sup> Pick, *AMNG* I, 1898 and Pick – Regling, *AMNG* II, 1910; now Price 1991, 173-4; de Callataÿ 1995, 39-50; de Callataÿ 1997a, 139-150; de Callataÿ 1997b, 67-8, no. 73; Marinescu 1996, and Marinescu 2013 /in print/.

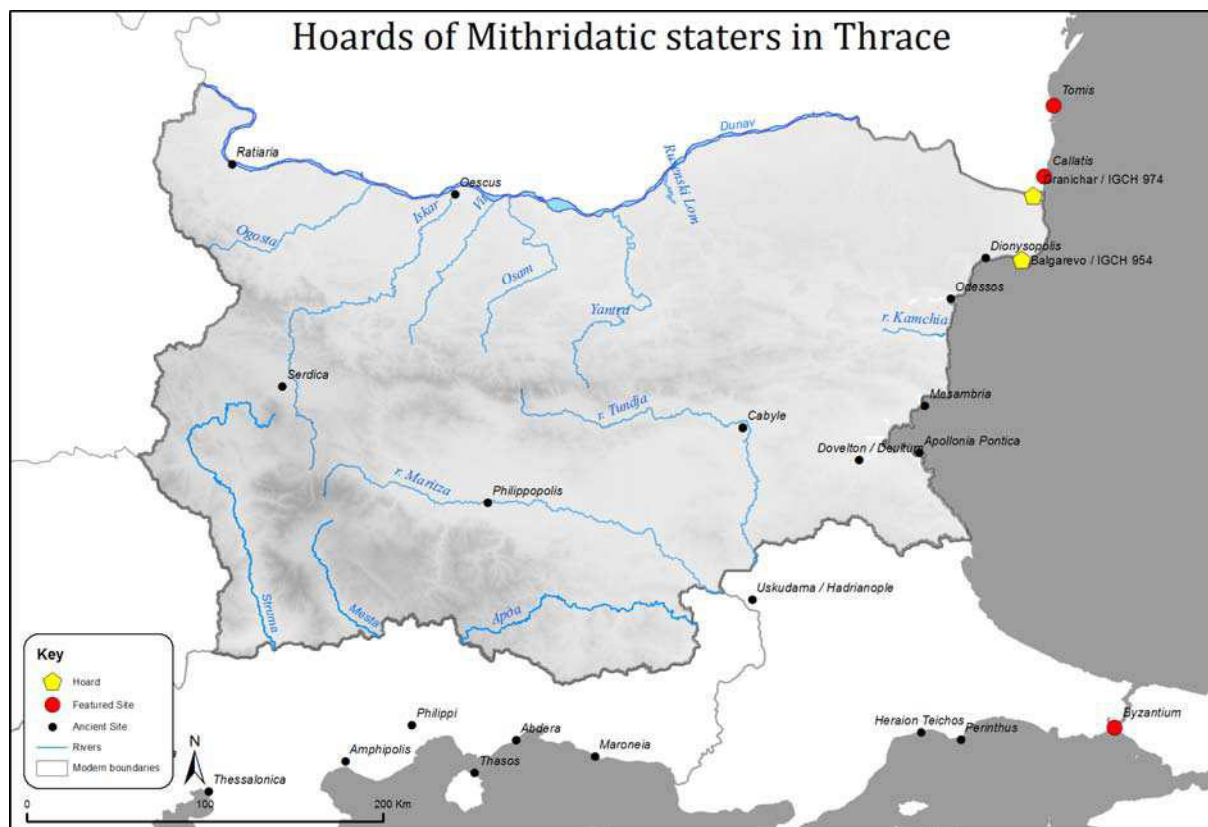


Fig. 5.31. Distribution map of hoards with Mithridatic staters (map by A. Sobotkova).

### Notes on distribution

Both hoards described above were found very close to each other – in Dobrudja (anc. *Scythia minor*) on the Western Euxine coast, in the civic territory of Callatis. Unfortunately, the Granichar hoard was dispersed long ago, so no further considerations can be made.

### 5.12. *Cistophori* of Asia (plate 1)

This section traces the appearance, distribution and circulation of the Asian '*cistophori*'<sup>87</sup> in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Thrace.<sup>88</sup> After meticulous research

<sup>87</sup> On them see M. Pinder, *Über die Cistophoren und über die Kaiserlichen Silbermedaillons der römischen Provinz Asia* /Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin/, (Berlin 1856), 534-53. The modern literature is listed in D. Kienast, *Literaturüberblicke der griechischer Numismatik: Cistophoren*, *JNG* 11 (1961), 159-88; Göbl 1978, 164, nos. 972-974; Kleiner – Noe 1977, esp. at 14-6; most recently see Ashton 2012, 196 and 204.

<sup>88</sup> See a preliminary review in Паунов / Paunov 2011, 68-80.

in Bulgarian museum collections it was possible to assemble evidence of only eleven stray coins of this denomination (see Plate 1, 1-11).

### 5.12.1. Stray coins

The extant coins from Bulgaria are listed below:

1. Pergamum, ca. 160–150 BC, Group 11a, symbol race-torch (Kleiner – Noe 1977, 26, pl. III/9), from ex-collection Mr M. Lachev, now donated to the Vidin Historical Museum, 2011. Worn out, scratches. Unpublished.
2. Tralles, Lydia, ca. 145–140 BC (Kleiner – Noe 1977, 66-67, nos. 48-49), no provenance noted, kept in the Historical museum of Pazardzhik, acquired before 1950, inv. no. 176. Silver plated copper core, 9.17 g.; 27x28 mm; axis 12 h. Unpublished.
3. Ephesus, Ionia, dated provincial year **A** = 134/3 BC (Kleiner 1972, 18, no. 2; Kleiner – Noe 1977, pl. XVI, 9), formerly in the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv (missing since 1981). Unpublished, not illustrated.
4. Apameia, Phrygia, ca. 88–76 BC, magistrate: **ΚΕΛΑΙ** (Kleiner – Noe 1977, plate 36, 7), once part of the late Dr Haralanov collection, now kept in the Shumen museum, inv. No. 39.1.2. AR, 11.08g, 24x25 mm. Published by Zhekova / Жекова 2003, no. 39.
5. Ephesus, province of Asia, dated civic year **Λ** / 30 = 105/4 BC (Kleiner 1972, *DCE*, no. 34; De Callataÿ 1997, 160, D1–D4), part of the late Dr. Haralanov collection, now Shumen museum. No. 39.2.2. AR, 12.50g, 26x27 mm. Unpublished<sup>89</sup>.
6. Pergamum, ca. 85–76 BC, Group 3, series 32, monogram **ΠΡΥ** (= *πριτανεις*) (Kleiner 1978, 79-80, pl. 35.32), from the region of Plovdiv. Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2062. AR, 8.44g, 25 mm. Unpublished.
7. Ephesus, province of Asia, dated civic year **NE** / 55 = 80/79 BC (Kleiner 1972, *DCE*, no. 56; De Callataÿ 1997, 163-164, D90-D91, pl. 41). Unknown provenance, private collection examined at the Sofia National History Museum, 2008 (from a hoard/?, associated with Republican *denarii* closing down to 36 BC (Cr. 511/3a), AR, weight not recorded, 23x24 mm. Unpublished.
8. Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC, Ephesus (*RPC* 2201) – from Plovdiv (*Philippopolis*), now in the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, acquired 1915, inv. no. 610. AR, 11.81g, 24 mm. Unpublished.
9. Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC, Ephesus (*RPC* 2201) – from excavation in *Kabyle*, sector 5, sq. 37, 1989. Now in the Jambol museum, inv. No. 5304. AR, 11.60g, 27.5 mm. Unpublished.
10. Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC, Ephesus (*RPC* 2201) – from Shumen area?, unknown location, kept in Shumen museum, acquired 1920, inv. no. 119. AR, 10.15g, 25x26 mm. Unpublished.
11. Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC, Ephesus (*RPC* 2201) – from Debelt (*Deultum*) – stray find, acquired in 1963. Burgas Archaeological Museum, inv. No. 827. AR, 11.37g, 26 mm, 6h, patinated, *graffito* on obverse. Unpublished.

<sup>89</sup> But compare Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 244, quoting 3 *cistophori* of Ephesus in possession of Dr V. Haralanov (from a scattered hoard) as of 1944.

### 5.12.2. Hoards (see Appendix 1.11)

There are only three extant hoards from Thrace containing cistophoric tetradrachms. First, this is the notorious Belitsa / 1956 hoard (*IGCH* 976; *IRRCHBulg* 2002, no. 101; see Find cat. no. 75). Reportedly it included 2 (or 4?) *cistophori* of unknown type and mint, among the remaining 112 coins.<sup>90</sup> It still remains unpublished.<sup>91</sup>

Secondly, there was a scattered deposit from Malko Tarnovo<sup>92</sup> / 1968 (in *Mons Asticus / Haemimons / Strandja* mountain), in Southeastern Bulgaria. Only three silver coins from this hoard were examined by the late Dr. Vassil Haralanov, later all dispersed:

- tetradrachm of *Ilium* (unspecified);
- unspecified *cistophoric* tetradrachm of Asia; and –
- tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas (see below)

The Malko Tarnovo hoard should be dated after 94/3 BC, based on the late issue of Alexandria Troas (mint period 102/1–66/5 BC).<sup>93</sup>

Thirdly, another small hoard from Kotel near Burgas, dispersed in trade. It contained 1 *cistophor* of Ephesus for Mark Antony and Octavia (*RPC* I, 2201), associated with denarii of Cesar and Mark Antony down to Cr. 544/30.<sup>94</sup>

The total number – circa 16 *cistophoric* tetradrachms (eleven listed above plus 2 (possibly 4), in the Belitsa hoard, 1 in Malko Tarnovo and 1 in Kotel) clearly demonstrates that the *cistophoros* remained a very scarce denomination on the Thracian markets. They represent only 0.5% of the entire coin pool for the period.<sup>95</sup>

Almost all of the *cistophori* are quite worn due to prolonged circulation. Apparently, they penetrated the eastern Balkans much later – after the Mithridatic wars of Rome, and most probably during the Civil wars of Mark Antony and Octavian.

<sup>90</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1957, 357; Thompson 1961, *Athens*, 522.

<sup>91</sup> See the critical notes of M.H. Crawford, Preface to *IRRCHBulg* (2002), p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> Gerassimov 1979, 138. A note is preserved in the archive of the late Prof. Todor Gerassimov, now donated to the Regional Historical Museum in Shumen. A letter from Dr Vassil Haralanov (1907–2000) dated 16/02/1969 to Gerassimov illustrates the Alexandria Troas tetradrachm from this hoard (information courtesy of Dr Zhenya Zhekova, Shumen museum). See now Paunov 2013 /in print/.

<sup>93</sup> Bellinger 1961, 98-9; de Callatay 1997a, 157-8.

<sup>94</sup> Unpublished, information from Dr M. Nikolov, Burgas Museum.

<sup>95</sup> See *RRCHBulg* 2002, 92-4; Prokopov 2009, 247-52; Paunov – Prokopov 2013 /in print/ and fig. 5.49 below.

For the moment, the territorial distribution of *cistophori* in Thrace does not show a clear pattern. This is mainly due to their limited quantity.

### 5.12.3. Site finds

So far only four *cistophori* are provenanced finds. All three belong to one of the latest types – struck for Mark Antony and Octavia (**IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT** at Ephesus in 39 BC (type *RPC I 2201*). They originate from the following sites:

1. *Philippopolis* – no exact find-spot known, acquired in 1915 (no. 8);
2. *Dovelton / Deultum* – stray find from the site, acquired for Burgas museum in 1963 (no. 9);
3. *Kabyle* – regular excavations in sector 5 *l'horraeum*'l, 1989 (no. 10);
4. *Shumen area* – no exact find-spot known, acquired for the Shumen museum before 1920 (no. 10 above).

Total coins registered: 16 in Thracian finds (8+ Ephesus, 2 Pergamum, 1 Tralles, 1 Apameia).

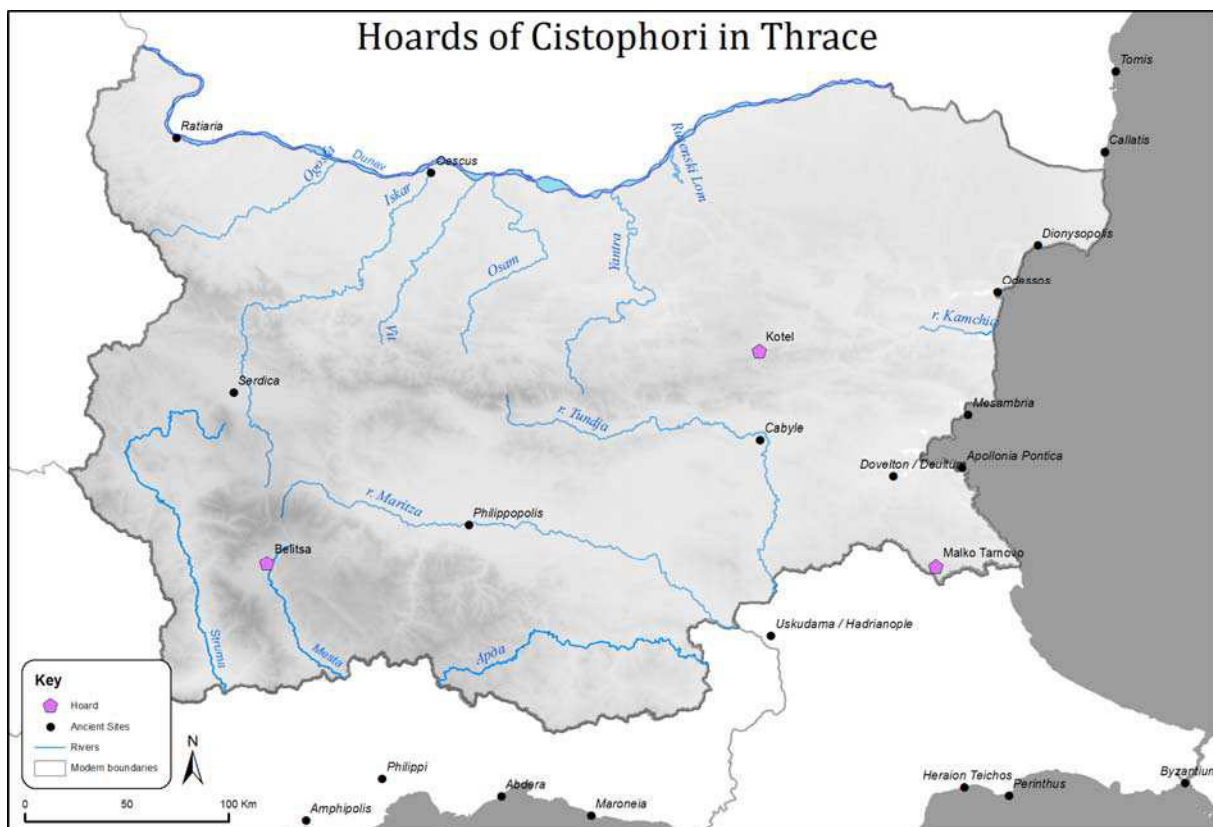


Fig. 5.32. Distribution map of hoards of cistophoric tetradrachms in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

#### 5.12.4. Notes on distribution

With such scanty evidence available any conclusions about the geographic distribution should be very cautionary.<sup>96</sup> However, a few patterns observed must be mentioned:

1. The majority of *cistophori* have been discovered in/ around the main late Thracian settlement centres – *Cabyle* (1), *Deultum* (1), *Philippopolis* (3), *Pazardzhik/Vetren* (1), conveniently located along the course of the *Maritsa/Hebros* and *Tundja/Tonzos* rivers.
2. All site finds of *cistophori* are concentrated in the rich, south-southeastern areas of Thrace, which are naturally directed towards the Straits and Asia Minor.
3. It is plausible to assume that the Asian and Roman *cistophoric* were regarded as impractical and remained ‘foreign’ coins to the market conditions in Thrace.<sup>97</sup>
4. On the other hand, the prevailing number of late *cistophoric* issues for Mark Antony (39 BC) is an indisputable feature indicating the inclusion of Thrace in the unified monetary and economic system in the 20’s – 10’s BC, probably brought by Roman armies from the East.<sup>98</sup>

It is clear that the scanty evidence available so far prevents any firm conclusions being reached. Most probably the actual number of *cistophoric* tetradrachms in Thrace is much higher, but unavailable for study.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Excluding the three *cistophoric* coins in the former collection of late Dr Vassil Haralanov, now in Regional Historical Museum of Shumen. The original records for their exact provenance were destroyed on purpose by the communist militia-authorities in the 1970’s.

<sup>97</sup> About the market specifics and coin circulation in Thrace in the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, see in general: Прокопов/ Prokopov 1997, 5-19; and Prokopov 2009, 247-52.

<sup>98</sup> See recently in Paunov – Prokopov 2012 (in print).

<sup>99</sup> Reportedly in the 1980s a hoard of some 20 perfectly preserved *cistophoric* coins of Augustus was located near the Roman fort *Sostra*, modern-day Lomets near Troyan in Central North Bulgaria.

### 5.13. Tetradrachms of Abydos and Tenedos

The coins of Abydos and Tenedos, the two coastal cities across the Straits, are rarely presented in the Thracian hoards from the period under study. However, their late silver coinage follows a very close pattern.<sup>100</sup>

*Abydos* (Ἀβυδοῦς) in Mysia (modern-day Nara Burnu on the Asiatic shore, 5 km north from Çanakkale) was an old Mylesian colony, and the most important Greek city in the Hellespont. It had the best harbour in the area, and until late Byzantine period was the single toll and customs station in the Dardanelles. From 281 BC it belonged to the Seleucid kingdom. In 200 BC Abydos vigorously resisted and was destroyed by Philip V, the king of Macedonia (Polyb. 16. 29-34). After 188 BC it was under Pergamene control and annexed by Rome in 133 BC.

From ca. 175 (or later) to 70 BC Abydos struck civic tetradrachms to the Attic standard of the following type<sup>101</sup>:

*Obv.* Draped bust of Artemis to right, bow and quiver at her shoulder.

*Rev.* ABY-ΔH-NΩN, Eagle standing right with spread wings, various symbols in the right field (turreted figure of Cybele on throne, head of Helios, thyrsus, bunch of grapes, star, etc.); all within laurel wreath, different moneyer names below.



**Fig. 5.33.** Tetradrachm (16.63g) of Abydos, moneyer ΦΕΡΕΝΙΚΟΥ, ca. 80-70 BC. Type SNG von Aulock 7540; de Callataÿ 1996, dies D14-R3 (this coin).

<sup>100</sup> As pointed out in F. de Callataÿ 1998b, 111-2.

<sup>101</sup> See Seyrig 1963, 20-6 and a die corpus in F. de Callataÿ 1996b, 81-91.

A tetradrachm of Abydos of the same moneyer ΦΕΡΕΝΙΚΟΥΥ is found to be overstruck on an issue of Aesillas, the Macedonian *quaestor*, now kept in KHM collection in Vienna.<sup>102</sup>

*Tenedos* (Τένεδος, now called Bozcaada) is a large island in the Thracian Sea near the Dardanelles, 4 miles west offshore. This location naturally turns it into a main port to the Hellespont. It was previously known also as Calydna, Phoenice and Lynnessos (Plin. *HN* 5.140). In ancient times Tenedos was a major place to worship the Sminthean Apollo (as in Alexandria Troas). According to Strabo, Tenedos “contains an Aeolian city and has two ports, and a temple of Apollo Smitheus” (*Georg.* 13). In the late Roman and Byzantine period Tenedos emerged as a crucial trading post being in the close vicinity of the capital Constantinople.

During the First Mithridatic War Tenedos fell under direct Mithridatic control and become a Pontic naval base.<sup>103</sup> On two occasions, in 85 and 72/1 BC, the island was the site of two naval battles between the Roman fleet and the Pontic fleet of Mithridates, known as the *Battles of Tenedos*. The second encounter was a decisive Roman victory by L. Lucullus, capturing or sinking 32 Pontic ships.<sup>104</sup>

The city of Tenedos itself was located on the eastern side of the island, overlooking Troas.<sup>105</sup> In the first couple of decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Tenedos struck a series of Late Hellenistic tetradrachms of the type:



**Fig. 5.34.** Tetradrachm (16.65g) of Tenedos, ca 100–70 BC. Photo ex Triton sale 10 (9. Jan. 2007), no. 298.

*Obv.* Janiform head composed of a laureate and bearded head of Zeus to left and a diademed head of Hera to right;

<sup>102</sup> de Callatay 1996b, 81-2, fig. 1.1; de Callatay 2011, 69, pl. 10, 20.

<sup>103</sup> de Callatay 1998b, 114, note 51.

<sup>104</sup> Plut. *Lucullus* 12.1-2 and Appian. 12.11.77; comments in de Callatay 1997a, 323 and 352.

<sup>105</sup> de Callatay 1998b, 99.



*Rev.* ΤΕΝΕΔΙΩΝ, Double axe (*labrys*); to left, monogram and a bunch of grapes; different symbols in the right field: Artemis standing to left, Eros holding wreath, Athena Promachos, caps of Dioscuri, *etc.*; all within laurel wreath.

This coinage is quite rare, with only about 120 pieces (86 tetradrachms and 31 drachms) known.<sup>106</sup> The tetradrachms of Tenedos were often overstruck on the mass issues of Thasos as F. de Callataÿ has convincingly demonstrated.<sup>107</sup>

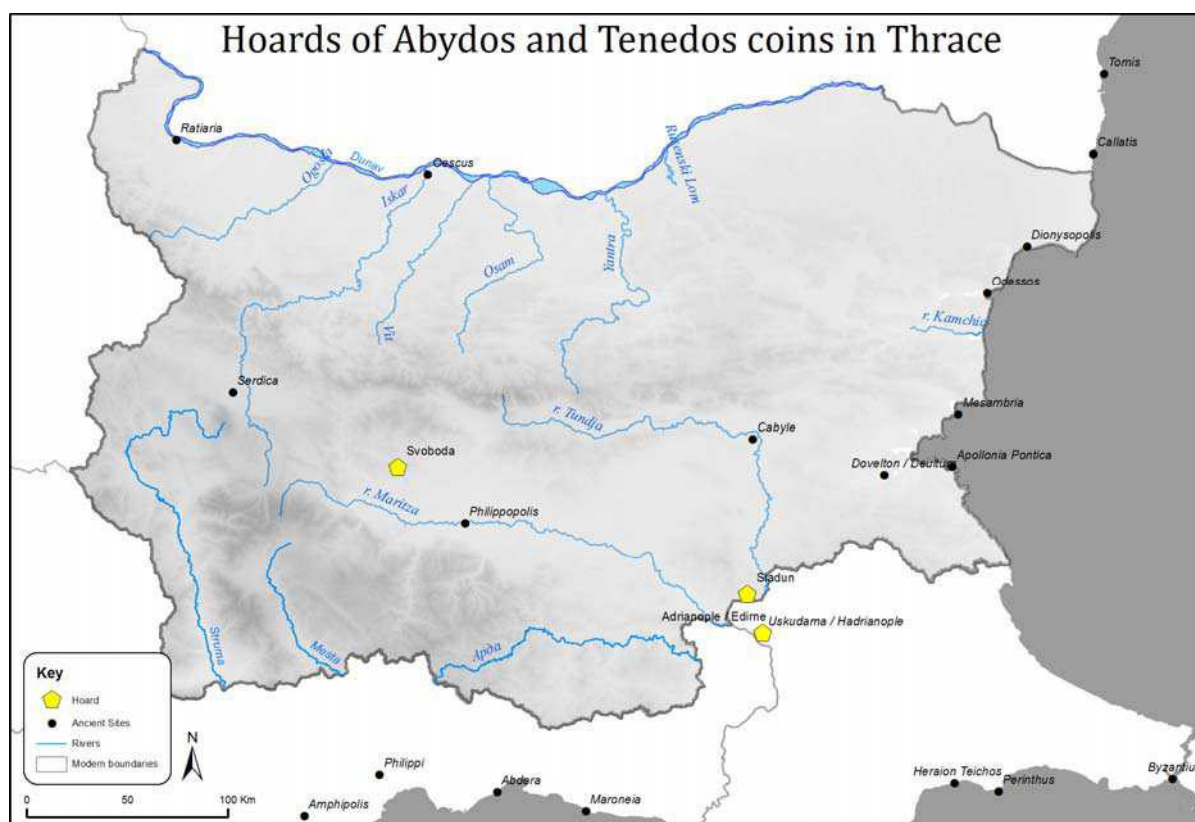
Three hoards containing issues of Abydos and Tenedos are known from Thrace so far (listed in Appendix 1.12).

Total coins registered in Thrace:     9+ 6+ Abydos / 3 Tenedos

Number of dies identified:

Abydos – 35 obverse and 96 reverse dies (126 coins)<sup>108</sup>

Tenedos – 21 obverse and 65 reverse dies (86 coins)<sup>109</sup>



**Fig. 5.35.** Distribution map of hoards with Abydos and Tenedos tetradrachms in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

<sup>106</sup> de Callataÿ 1998b, 100.

<sup>107</sup> de Callataÿ 1993, 2-4; de Callataÿ 1998, 100-2 and 113-4; de Callataÿ 2011, 69-70, pl. 10, 19.

<sup>108</sup> See a list of dies and specimens of Abydos in de Callataÿ 1996b, pp. 84-89.

<sup>109</sup> See de Callataÿ 1998b, 100-110, esp. at 110.

### Notes on distribution

Similar to the case of Thasos and Maroneia, the Late Hellenistic coinages of Abydos and Tenedos were minted also for other, “foreign markets”, as Seyrig pointed out.<sup>110</sup> He suggested these were mostly Syria and Phoenicia; as mentioned above they are also spread to the north.

The distribution area of Abydos and Tenedos issues in Thrace is clearly concentrated along the valley of the *Hebros/ Maritsa*, especially in its middle and lower reaches. Both hoards around Hadrianople – Sladun near Svilengrad and Adrianople itself, at the confluence of the *Tonzos* and *Hebros* rivers, point to the significance of the river trade with the Aegean.

### 5.14. Tetradrachms of Ilium and Alexandria Troas

Tetradrachms of these Troad cities, Ilium and Alexandria, are also represented in Thrace. The legendary city of Ilium produced a series of beautiful late Hellenistic tetradrachms struck to the Attic weight standard after 188 BC in the name of the goddess *Athena Ilias*:<sup>111</sup>



**Fig. 5.36.** Tetradrachm of Ilium (broken) from Georgi Dobrevo hoard, type Bellinger 1961, no. T54. Sofia NHM, inv. no. N/A. Photo after Penchev 2001.

<sup>110</sup> H. Seyrig, “Monnaies hellenistiques IV”, in *RN* 5<sup>6</sup> (1963), 26, n.3.

<sup>111</sup> Bellinger 1961, 23-7; Robert 1966, 39.

*Obv.* Head of Athena right, wearing laureate and triple-crested helmet;

*Rev.* Α-ΘΗΝΑΣ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ, Athena Ilias standing right, holding distaff and filleted spear; at her feet to right – owl standing right; to inner left – different monograms, in exergue: magistrate names.

The Ilium series all predate 85/4 BC when the city was sacked and burnt by the troops of the Roman general C. Flavius Fimbria.<sup>112</sup>

The neighbouring city of Alexandria Troas (Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Τρωάς), which is also featured in the Thracian numismatic repertoire, is located southwest of the site of ancient Troy. It was founded by Antigonos I Monophthalmos around 310 BC, under the name of *Antigoneia*. It was inhabited by newcomers from the neighbouring towns of Kebren, Kolone, Hamaxitos, Neandria, and Skepsis. About a decade after its foundation (301/0 BC) the city was substantially enlarged by Lysimachos, king of Thrace, who renamed the town *Alexandria* in honour of the memory of Alexander the Great. For a period of time the city flourished and its prosperity continued into Roman times. In 12 BC Augustus re-named it *colonia Alexandria Augusta Troas*.

As for its monetary policy, the city struck Late Hellenistic tetradrachms to the Attic weight standard of the following type:

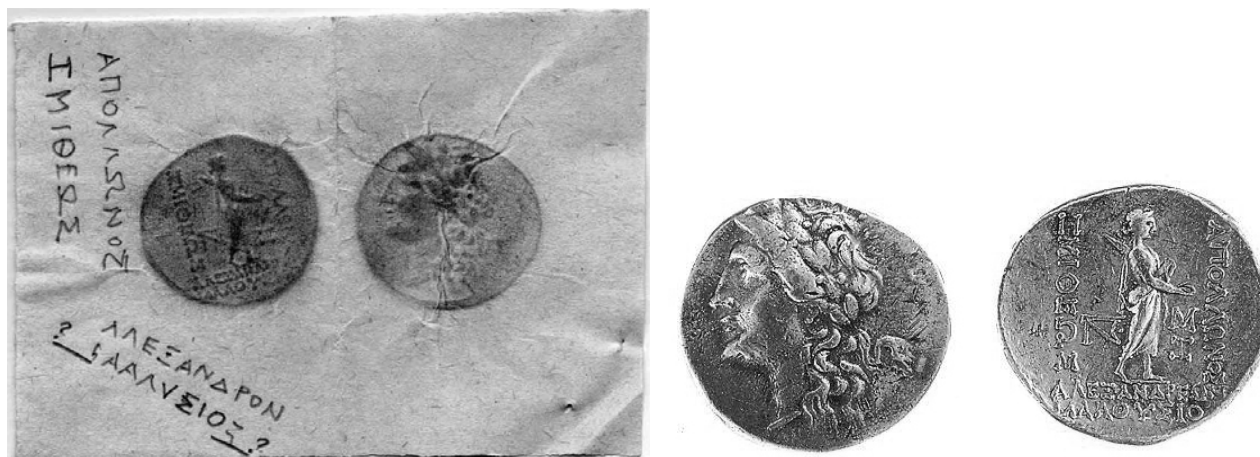
*Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo left;

*Rev.* ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΩΣ – ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ Apollo Smintheus standing right, quiver over shoulder, holding bow, arrow, and patera; monogram to inner left, date to inner right, various magistrates names (21 different are recorded) in the exergue.

In fact, the first known issue of Alexandria Troas dates to 164 BC (137 year after the city foundation). Throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the city occasionally continued to issue its own silver coins as late as 66-65 BC.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Appian, 12. 8.53; Livy, *Per.* 83; comments in de Callatay 1997a, 323.

<sup>113</sup> Bellinger 1961, 98-9; de Callatay 1997a, 151-9, esp. at 156.



**Fig. 5.37.** Tetradrachm (16.70g) of Alexandria Troas, magistrate ΜΑΛΟΥΣΙΟ[Υ], dated 94/3 BC – from the Malko Tarnovo hoard. Left: Hand-drawing by Dr V. Haralanov, 1969 (Archive of the Shumen Historical Museum); Right: the same coin in Lanz Auktion 26 (1983), no. 228 = de Callataÿ 1997a, 151, dies D2-R1.

In addition, Alexandria Troas overstruck late Thasian issues – a single tetradrachm dated in city year ΣΙC = 86/5 BC is known (Bellinger 1961, 21-23; de Callataÿ 1997b, 152, dies D4-R2).

With regard to Thrace, only four hoards containing tetradrachms of Ilium and Alexandria Troas are known and recorded. The hoard evidence is listed in Appendix 1.13.<sup>114</sup>

Total coins registered: 6 in Thracian finds: 1 Ilium / 5 Alexandria Troas.

Alexandria Troas: 37 coins gathered in total.<sup>115</sup>

### Notes on distribution

Both the issues of the Troad cities of Ilium and Alexandria and the Lysimachos tetradrachms of Byzantium have a similar geographic distribution in the southeastern areas of Thrace.

<sup>114</sup> Further discussion on the distribution of this coinage, see in Paunov 2013b, 281-94.

<sup>115</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 151-5.

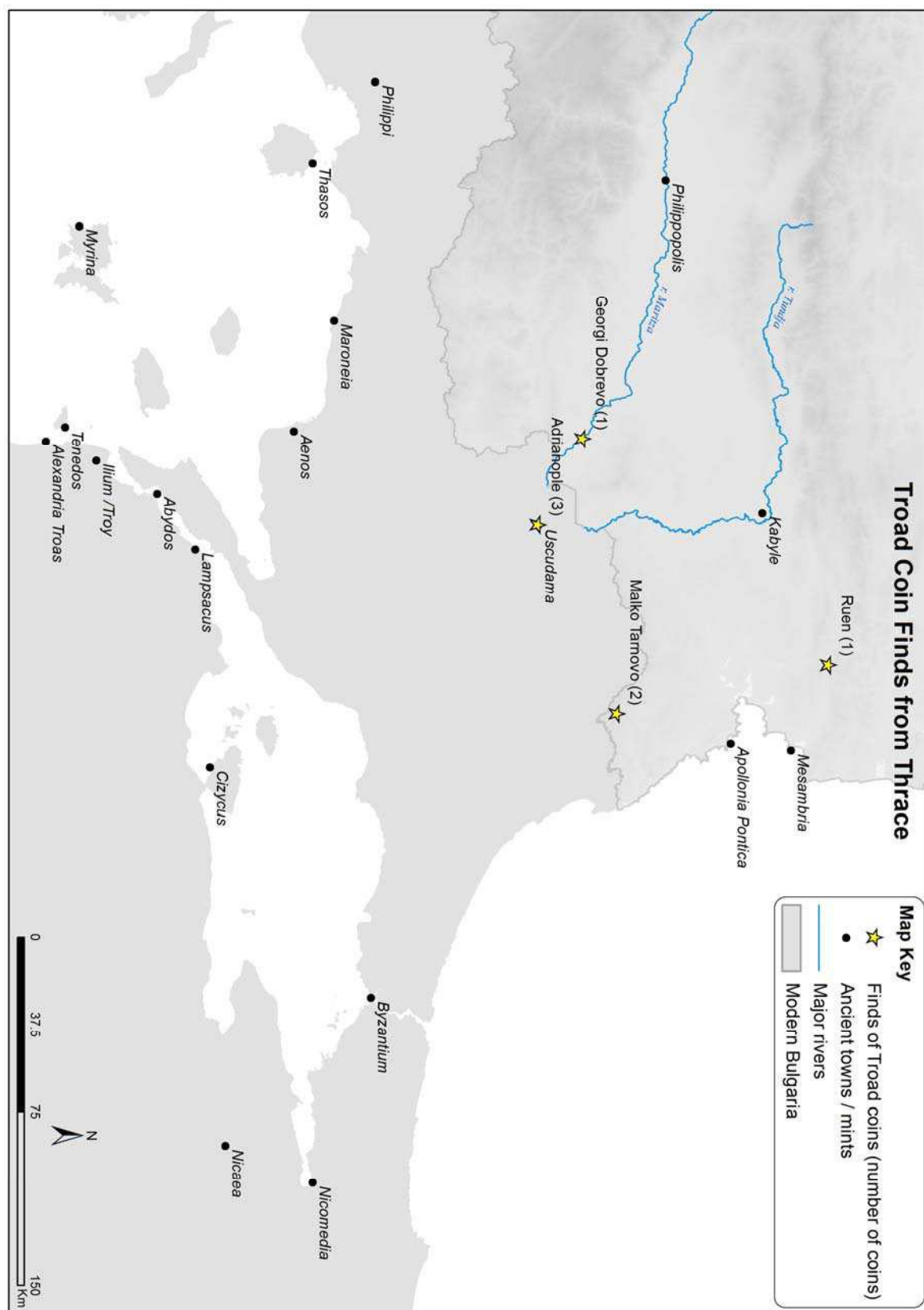


Fig. 5.38. Distribution map of Troad tetradrachms in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

### 5.15. Tetradrachms of Ptolemaic Egypt

Unexpectedly, Ptolemaic silver issues of Egypt made their way to the northern Aegean and southern Thrace.<sup>116</sup> A few unusual, foreign by nature, hoards originate from the area of Burgas and Sliven along the Western Euxine coast. Two of them contain Ptolemaic silver. These are:

1. Tvarditsa / 1969, reg. Sliven, concealed ca. 150 BC: 50+ AR in pot – 1 tetradrachm of Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 300-282 BC), worn, with numerous banker's marks ('punzen'), associated with 47 Celtic imitations (see Бацова-Костова / Batzova-Kostova 1973, 14-15, fig. 2-д);
2. Izgrevev / 1979, Tzarevo area, reg. Burgas (CH 8. 535), concealed 50's? BC: 5+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Ptolemy XII Auletes (85–80 or 55–51 BC), dispersed, 2 in NHM museum in Sofia (Unpublished, see Юркова / Youroukova 1981, 126).

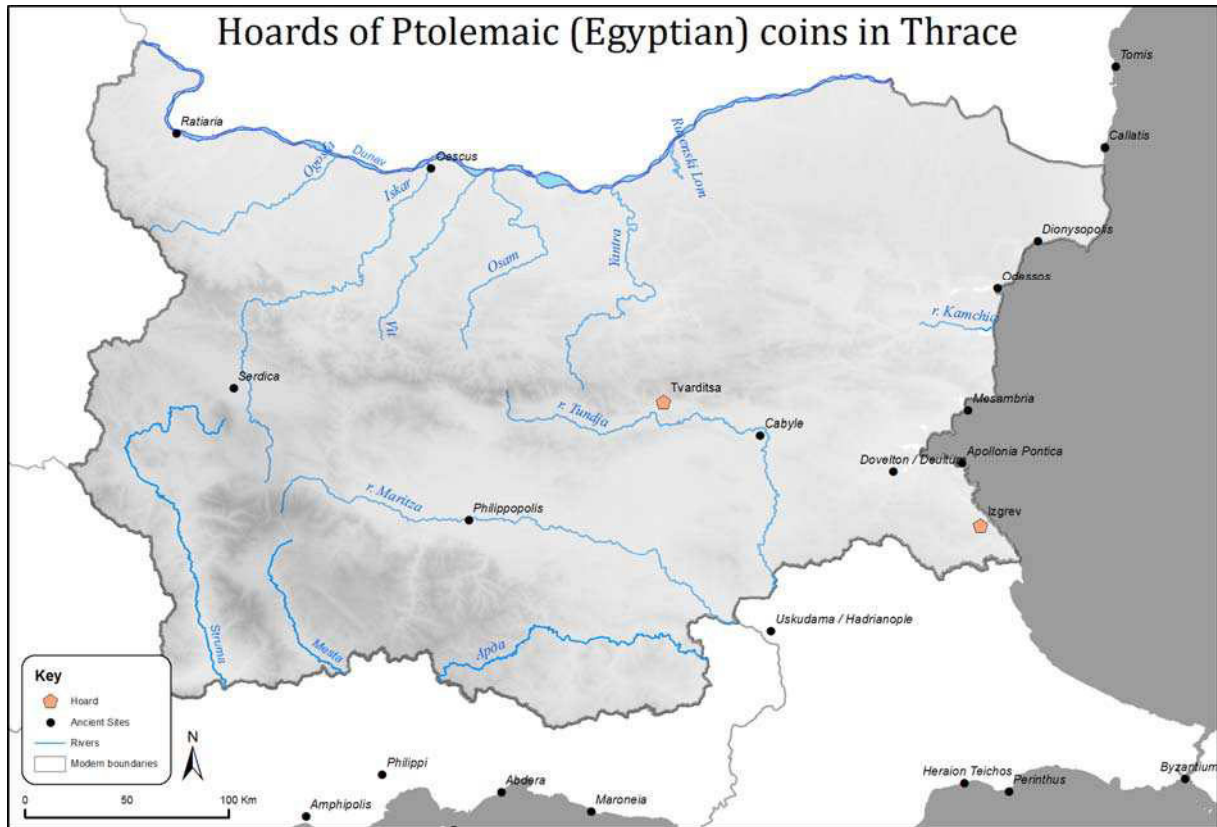


**Fig. 6.39.** Tetradrachm of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes), 78-77 BC (Photo after CNG sale 88, (14 Sept. 2011), no. 567.

One cannot be certain if the Izgrevev hoard (no. 2 above) has a genuine context and really originates from the Burgas area along the Western Black Sea coast, or was simply imported to the area in modern times. It is difficult to explain the presence of tetradrachms of Ptolemy XII so far from Egypt. One can just wonder how they happened to travel so far from home<sup>117</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> See recently Chrysanthaki 2005, 159-73.

<sup>117</sup> I am much grateful to Dr Catharine C. Lorber for the expert comments on those two hoards from Thrace.



**Fig. 5.40.** Distribution map of Ptolemaic tetradrachm hoards in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

## 5.16. Pre-Roman indigenous coinages

### 5.16.1. Hoards of Celtic imitative coins of Macedonian types

During the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC imitative silver coinage of the types of “Philip II”, “Alexander III” and “Philip III Arrhidaeus” were produced *en masse* along the Lower Danube, most probably by Eastern Celtic enclaves, or influenced by the Celts. They are easily distinguished by the strong barbarization/stylisation of the original Macedonian coin design, the lack (or corruption) of the original Greek legend, reduction in the size of the flans, and the debasement of the metal (about 55-62% silver, 31-40% copper).

Unfortunately, this distinctive coinage has not been sufficiently studied in the numismatics of Bulgaria, especially when compared with the level of research in Western or Central Europe<sup>118</sup>, or even in Romania.<sup>119</sup> The only exception is the short review on existing hoards containing imitations of the Philip III type authored by Dimiter Draganov in his book on the Macedonian royal coinage.<sup>120</sup> Recently two complete hoards from Northern Bulgaria have been published – the Smochan and Kamenovo deposits (nos. 17 and 29 below) from the collections of the Razgrad and Lovech museums. In 2008 again D. Draganov published a rare obverse bronze die (*patrix* in positive) for the minting of “Sattelkopfpferd” type imitations of Philip III Arrhidaeus, now kept in the collection of the Numismatic Museum at Russe.<sup>121</sup>

In this connection he briefly reviewed the extant coin hoards from the Russe region. Unfortunately, the available and published evidence on the Celtic coin types in Bulgaria remains at a very low degree of research and publication. The online blog of Brendan Mac Gonagle has recently tried to fill this vacuum.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Pink 1939; Pink 1974; Göbl 1973; Kostial 1997; Dembski 1998, comments in Crawford 1985, 228.

<sup>119</sup> see Preda 1971, 51-79; Preda 1973, 215-247; Preda 1998.

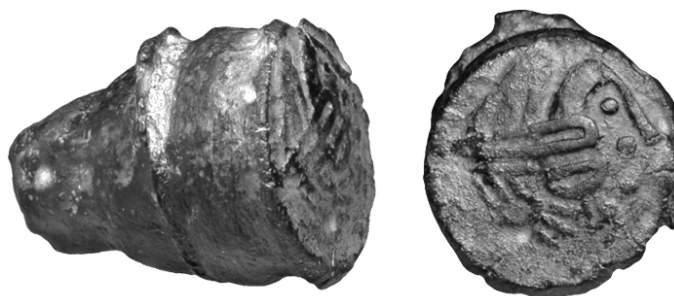
<sup>120</sup> Draganov / Драганов 2001, 38-41.

<sup>121</sup> See Draganov / Драганов 2008, 36-41.

<sup>122</sup> Mac Gonagle, *The Balkan Celts*:

<http://balkancelts.wordpress.com/category/numismatics/distribution-of-celtic-coinage-in-bulgaria> (last visited 30 August 2012) and his book (Mac Gonagle 2008).





**Fig.5.41.** A cast bronze die (*matrix*) for Celtic imitations of type Sattelkopferd = Virteju-Bucuresti, Russe Numismatic Museum (photo after Draganov 2008).



**Fig. 5.42.** Imitation tetradrachms from Pirogovo / 1977 hoard, type Sattelkopferd = Virteju-Bucuresti, Regional Historical Museum Russe (photo after Draganov 2008).

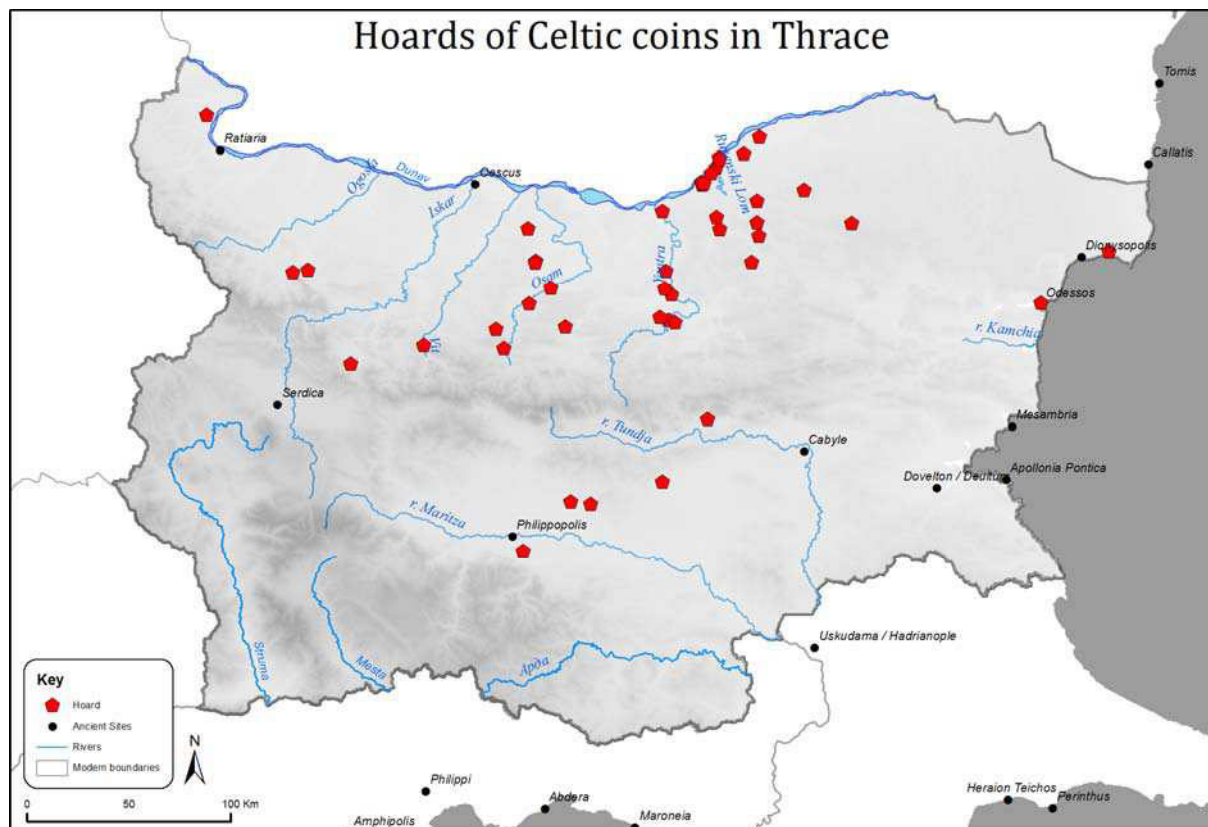
Very recently all major Celtic types from Bulgaria have been included and discussed in the comprehensive catalogue of Bernward Ziegeus on Celtic coinage from Spain to the Caucasus (Ziegeus 2010, 240-265, nos. 633-699, pp. 268-276, nos. 723-747).

The current list with Celtic imitations hoards from Thrace includes some 44 deposits ([Appendix 1.15](#)).

Total coins registered: 3,220 (3,042 Northern Thrace (1901 – 4dr; 1141 – dr) /  
178 Southern Thrace (132 – 4dr; 46 – dr).

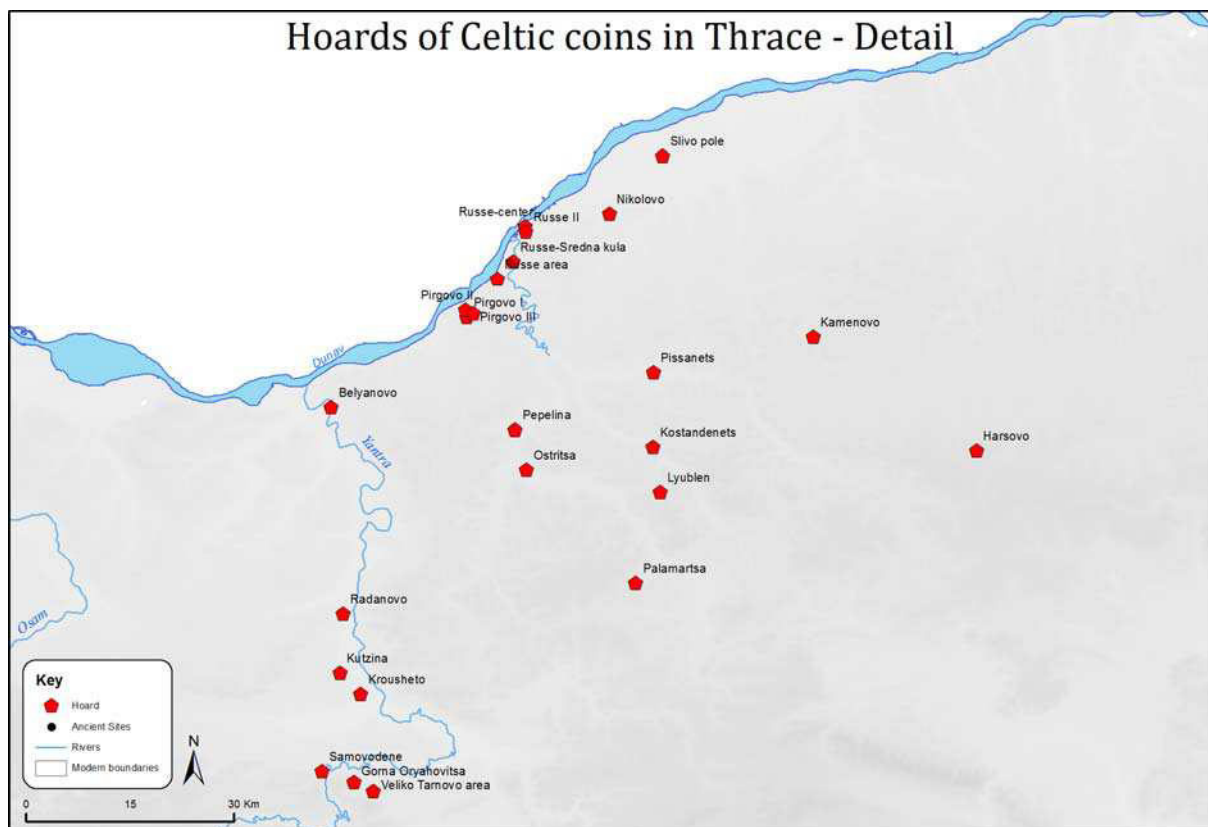
The distribution of Celtic hoards from Bulgaria follows certain patterns:

1. The real volume of this imitative coinage in silver alloy was far larger than previously envisaged.



**Fig. 5.43.** Distribution map of Celtic hoards (map by A. Sobotkova).

2. Nearly all the hoards of Celtic coins (except for four) have been discovered between the *Haemus* range and the Danube. Therefore they are closely linked with the Lower Danube area, and with the hoards from modern-day Serbia (Popović 1987, 39-86) and Southern Romania (see above, introductory notes).
3. A heavy concentration of the so-called 'Sattelpferdkopf'-type tetradrachms is documented in the region around Russe (fig. 6.43 and 44). It includes 12 hoards amounting to over 1,300 coins. This can be explained only if the area was inhabited by the population who produced and used this coinage, and also served as a kind of transport corridor between both sides of the Danube (incl. the Giurgiu – Bucharest area).

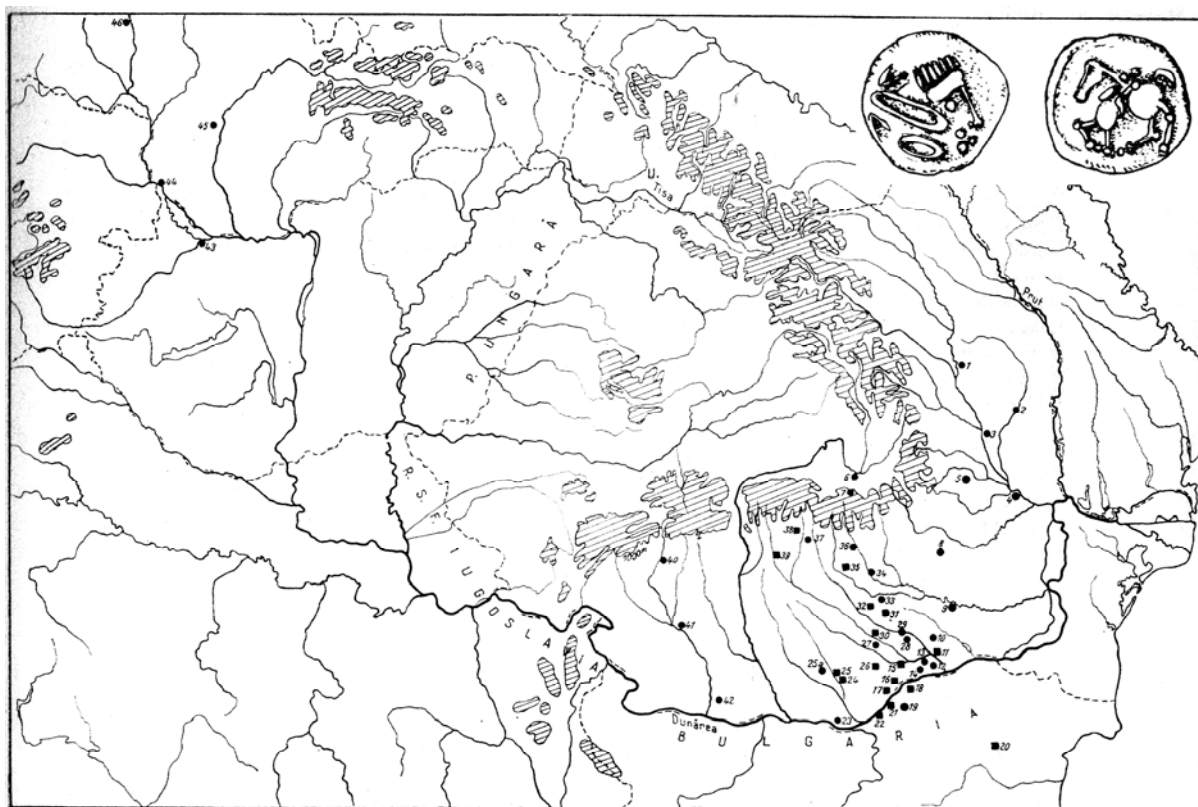


**Fig. 5.44.** Detail of the distribution of Celtic coins in NE Bulgaria (map by A. Sobotkova).

4. Other areas of distribution for this type of Celtic coinage are focused in Northwestern and North-Central Bulgaria – the modern regions of Vratsa (2 hoards), Lovech (5), Pleven (3), Veliko Tarnovo (7), Targovishte (2) and Razgrad (3), stretching east to the Western Euxine coast (1 from Kavarna).
5. The line from Russe to Veliko Tarnovo area, mostly along the Yantra and Russenski Lom rivers (see fig. 6.44) should be the central axis of this imitative coinage, respectively – the core of the tribal/state organisation which produced it.
6. A lighter concentration of Celtic imitation types is also to be observed in South-Central Bulgaria – focused on the Eastern Thracian plain around Plovdiv (2 hoards), Stara Zagora-Chirpan area (2), and Tvurditsa, near Sliven (1).
7. This imitation coinage is struck of debased alloy (as the XRF-analyses of some coins of the Virteju-Bucuresti-type shows), containing silver to about 55-62%, with 31-40% copper. That means it should precede the mass wave of Dyrhachium and Apollonia drachms and the Republican *denarii* (all full-silver issues) which came into the area in ca. 90–70 BC. If so, the dating of this

coinage should be from ca. 150 to 100/90 BC (as Crawford suggested, Preda argued it goes later in the 1st c. BC).<sup>123</sup>

8. With the massive arrival of Roman Republican *denarii* in ca. 90-80 BC this debased imitative coinage apparently died out. This is the most plausible reason for the heavy hoarding, and the subsequent non-recovery of those hoards in the Russe region.
9. The presence of a bronze die for 'Sattelpferdkopf' type tetradrachms (from Northern Bulgaria, unspecified provenance) indicates that these coins were made locally.



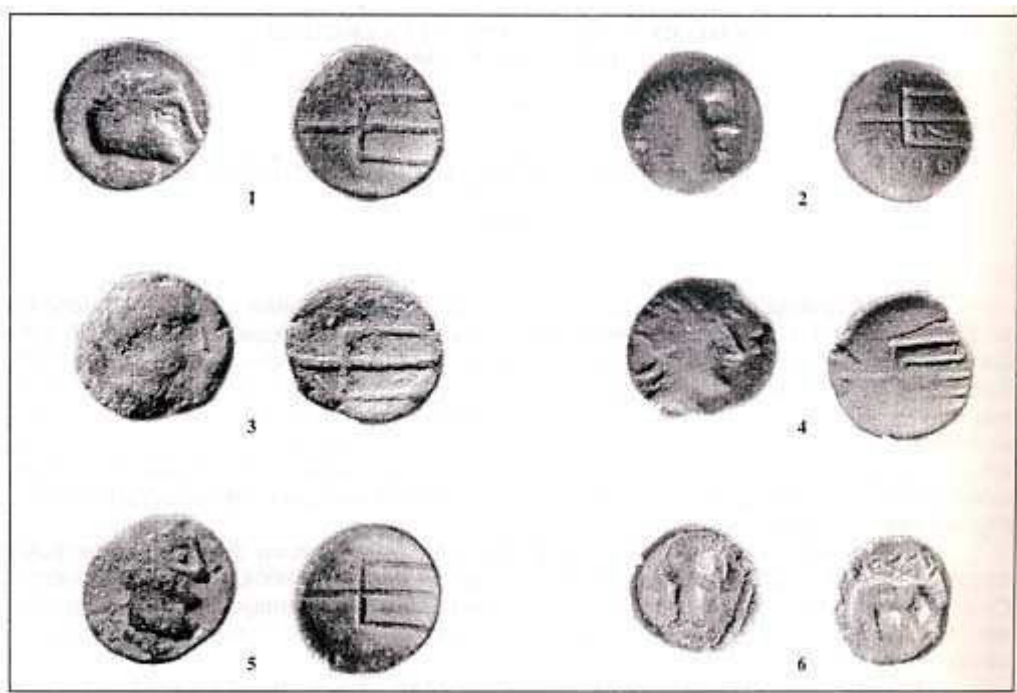
**Fig. 5.45.** Map of distribution of Celtic coins of the type 'Virteju-Bucuresti' = 'Sattelkopfpferd' type in Central Europe (adapted after Preda 1973, 426).

<sup>123</sup> See Crawford 1985, 228 n.24.

### 5.16.2. Celtic imitations of Macedonian bronze coins (type Strymon / trident)

In the course of the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century BC a distinct imitative coinage in bronze was organized and produced in the southwestern areas of Thrace bordering Macedonia. It was not identified and published until the late 1980's.<sup>124</sup> In most cases, this coinage was not produced from blanks, but largely overstruck on genuine Macedonian bronze issues (late royal or autonomous) of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. The overstrikes are clearly visible and it is not hard to identify the host coin. Apparently, no attention was paid to the size, weight, denomination of the original host, or an attempt to adjust the dies of overstrikes. Host civic coins of Thessalonica (in 27 cases), Amphipolis (17+) and Pella (21+) or Macedonian autonomous issues (6+), most dated to the period ca. 187 – ca. 50 BC, were used for the majority of these imitations<sup>125</sup>.

Only a single type was minted, imitating the Macedonian original of the time of Philip V and Perseus (Gaebler, *AMNG* III/2, no.14, taf 2, 25; *SNG Cop.* 1298):



**Fig. 5.46.** Bronze imitations of Strymon / trident type from Bogolin hoard. Blagoevgrad Historical Museum (after Prokopov 1998, fig. 1).

<sup>124</sup> See Димитров / Dimitrov 1986, 15-7; Топалов / Topalov 1996 [1998], 120-36; Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 357-60; Prokopov 2000a, 369-77; Prokopov 2002, 257; MacDonald 1998, 97-114; MacDonald 2009, 99-114; Филипова – Прокопов / Filipova – Prokopov 2009, 169-70.

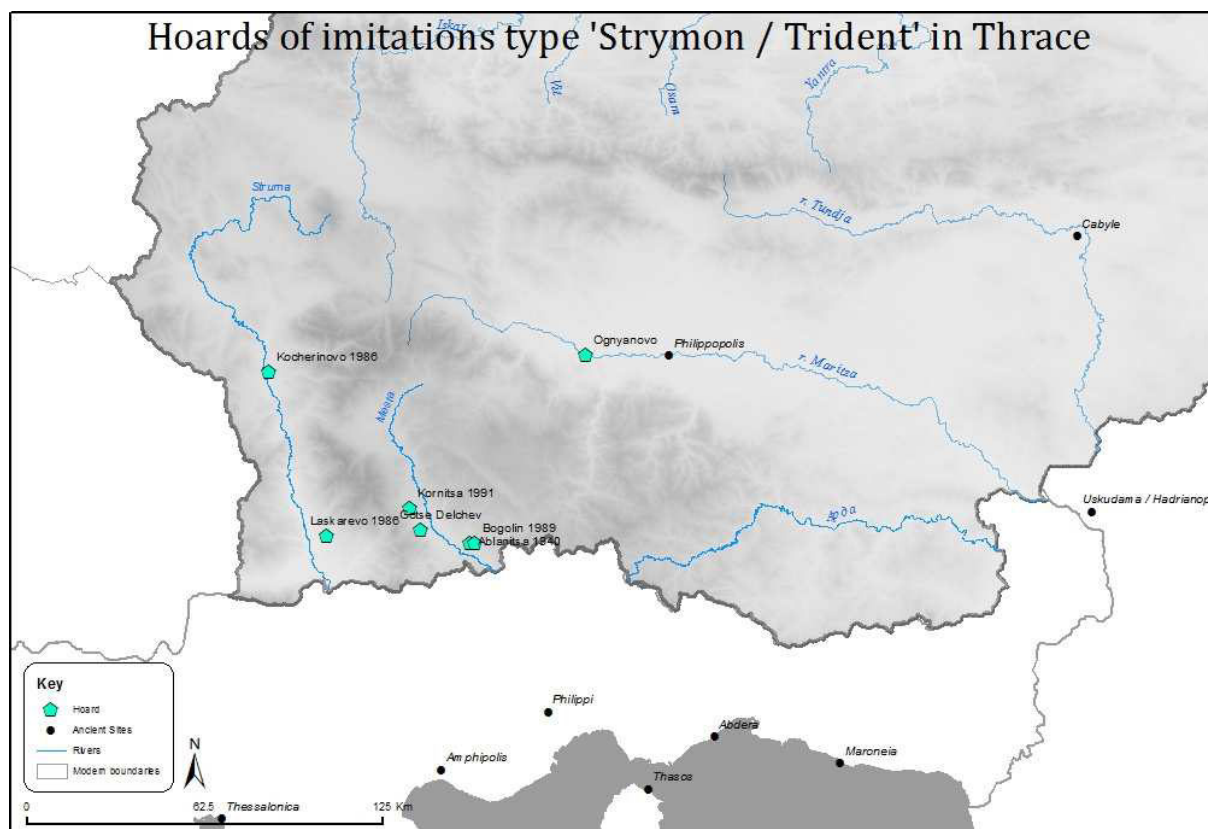
<sup>125</sup> Although unstruck flans were also found at Koprivlen, see Prokopov 2002, 257, no. VI.2.4.12.

*Obv.* Stylized head of river god Strymon r. with weed wreath.

*Rev.* Stylized trident, sometimes with illegible legend imitating MAKE - ΔΟΝΩΝ.

The style widely varies<sup>126</sup>, but usually is very crude and barbarous. The flans diminish in size and with time.

A single area of distribution of this imitative bronze coinage is stated both by Topalov<sup>127</sup> and Prokopov.<sup>128</sup> This is the middle region of Mesta / Nestos river and the Western Rhodopes and Pirin mountains (around the modern border of Bulgaria with Greece), rarely occurring in the valley of middle Strouma / Strymon river across Pirin.



**Fig. 6.47.** Distribution maps of hoards with 'Strymon / trident' type (digital map by A. Sobotkova).

In 1997-8 Prokopov attributed this coinage to the Celtic tribe of *Bastarnae*,<sup>129</sup> which served as mercenaries to the last Macedonian kings Philip V and Perseus and most probably settled after 179 BC in this border zone between Thrace and

<sup>126</sup> MacDonald 2009, 100, nos. 75-88.

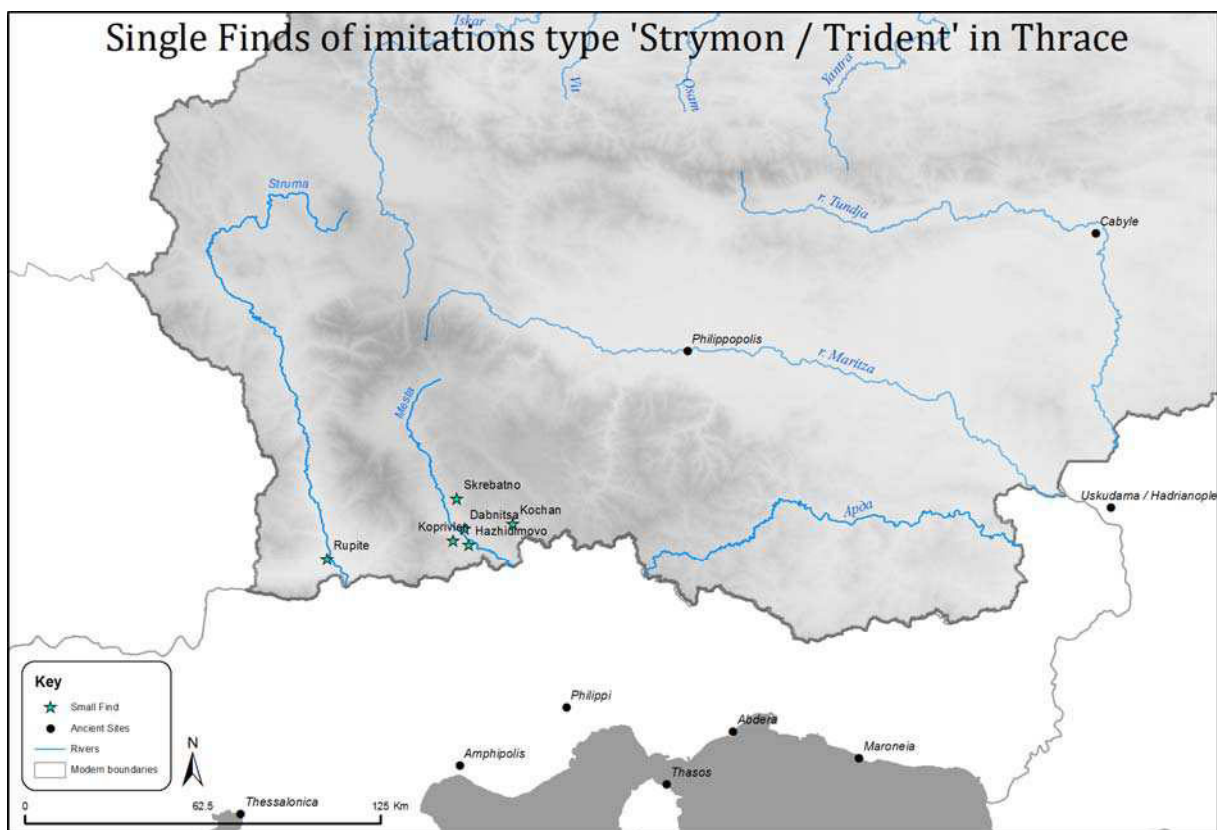
<sup>127</sup> Топалов / Topalov 1996 [1998], 142-4.

<sup>128</sup> Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 357-8; Prokopov 2000a, 369-77.

<sup>129</sup> Appian. *Mithr.* 10.69; Livy, 40.5, 58-59; cf. section 3.2. *History of Thrace*, p. 53.

Macedonia.<sup>130</sup> Independently, in the same time Topalov suggested that they were coined by the *Sapeites*, a Thracian tribe in the Rhodopes.<sup>131</sup>

Whoever their issuer was, the production of uniform bronze coinage indicates a well developed market economy and a state organisation. Despite the unsettled conditions of the time (tribal conflicts and active Roman campaigns), this Celtic state, in what is now southwestern Bulgaria, was able to produce and maintain a controlled monetary system.<sup>132</sup>



**Fig. 6.48.** Single finds of imitations of type 'Strymon / Trident' in SW Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

The imitations of 'Strymon river god / trident' type occur in at least 7 hoards all from the aforementioned region ([Appendix 1.16](#)).

Total coins registered: ca. 1,100 Æ (965 listed in Prokopov, Topalov and MacDonald).

Number of dies identified: 41 obverse dies / 78 reverse dies (according to Prokopov).

<sup>130</sup> Prokopov 2000a, 376.

<sup>131</sup> Topalov / Topalov 1996 [1998], 142-3.

<sup>132</sup> As pointed out in MacDonald 2009, 100.

## Part 2.

**5.17. General trends of the coin circulation in Thrace**

In order to build a wider picture of the monetary circulation in the area under study (namely Thrace and the northern / northeastern parts of Macedonia<sup>133</sup>) the commonest coin types from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>134</sup>, are targeted and discussed in a more analytical form. The majority of coins in circulation on the Eastern Balkans were tetradrachms of pure Late Hellenistic type. They all are struck according to the Attic weight standard (based on a drachm of 4.2-4.3 g)<sup>135</sup>. It appears that this monetary fashion was utilised due to clear economic and fiscal (at least for Achaëa and Macedonia, i.e. in Aegean Thrace too) considerations.

According to the statistical database for both parts of Thrace, the main types can be listed as follows:

**Table 5.5. Southern Thrace**<sup>136</sup>

No.	Denomination/ issuer	Number of coins attested	Silver units <sup>137</sup>	Percentage
1.	Tetradrachms of Thasos, "Thasian type" and barbarous imitations <sup>138</sup>	ca 2.900	11,600	41 %
2.	Roman Republican <i>denarii</i>	ca 7,500 <sup>139</sup>	7,500	26 %
3.	Athenian "New Style" tetradrachms <sup>140</sup>	ca 600	2,400	8 %
4.	Tetradrachms in the name of <i>quaestor</i>	ca 390	1,560	5 %

<sup>133</sup> On the coin circulation in Ancient Macedonia, see Touratsoglou 1987, 53-67, esp. at 54; and Touratsoglou 1993, esp. at 41-3.

<sup>134</sup> Earlier discussion and estimates on this topic see in Prokopov 2000b, 375-86; Prokopov 2006, 42-3 and Prokopov 2009, 247-53.

<sup>135</sup> On the Attic standard, see Price 1991, 43-4, with 1 tetradrachm weighing ca. 17.20 g.

<sup>136</sup> Between *Haemus* and the Aegean Sea. Data and quantities are based on the Bulgarian reports of coin hoards (ca 1900–1982), *IGCH*, *CH* and my own sources, and they include about 100 coin hoards.

<sup>137</sup> All calculations are based on the following ratio: 1 unit = 1 *denarius* = 1 drachm; 1 Attic tetradrachm = 4 *denarii* (as prescribed in the Amphictyonic decree of Delphi, *Syll<sup>3</sup>*, 729). Further, 1 cistophor = 3 *denarii*; 1 *obol* = 8 *chalkoi*; 1 drachm/*denarius* = 48 *chalkoi*; 1 *stater* = 25 *denarii* (approximate).

<sup>138</sup> Prokopov 2006, 215-65; for the imitations of Thasian type, see Prokopov 2011, 337-49.

<sup>139</sup> Paunov – Prokopov 2002, *IRRCHBg*, 96, table 3, as well as new hoards surfaced after 2001.

<sup>140</sup> Thompson 1961, 31-391.



	Aesillas <sup>141</sup>			
5.	Posthumous Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium and Calchedon <sup>142</sup>	ca 360 <sup>143</sup>	1,440	5 %
6.	Tetradrachms of the First Macedonian Region <sup>144</sup> (and local imitations)	ca 300	1,200	4 %
7.	Tetradrachms of Mesembria and Odessos of Alexander type <sup>145</sup>	ca 250	1,000	4 %
8.	Tetradrachms and bronzes of Maroneia <sup>146</sup>	ca 150 AR ca 1,000 Æs	600+ ca 23 ?	2.2 %
9.	Celtic tetradrachms and drachms	ca 180	590	2 %
10.	Drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia	ca 30 coins	30	---
11.	<i>Cistophoric</i> tetradrachms (Ephesus, Pergamum, Tralles)	12	36	---
12.	Tetradrachms of Abydos and Tenedos <sup>147</sup>	ca 10	40	---
13.	Tetradrachms of Ilium and Alexandria Troas	6	24	---
14.	Tetradrachms of Ptolemaic Egypt	6	24	---
15.	Imitations of Roman Republican <i>denarii</i>	ca 10	10	---
16.	Macedonian autonomous coins (and its barbarous imitations in SW Thrace) <sup>148</sup>	ca 1,100 Æs	ca 23 ?	---
17.	Late Thracian royal coins (from Mostis onwards, including KOTYOC XAPAΚΤΗΡ)	63 tetradr., 1 drachm ca 2,450 Æs	253+ 51 ?	1.07%
<b>TOTALS:</b>		<b>ca 12,765 AR</b> <b>ca 4,550 Æ</b>	<b>28,392 silver</b> <b>units</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>141</sup> Bauslaugh 2000, 31-71.

<sup>142</sup> Marinescu 1996; Marinescu 2013 (in print).

<sup>143</sup> This figure includes the 143 Lysimachi tetradrachms in the new Sinemorets hoard (27<sup>th</sup> September 2012), see [Appendix 1.10, no. 16](#).

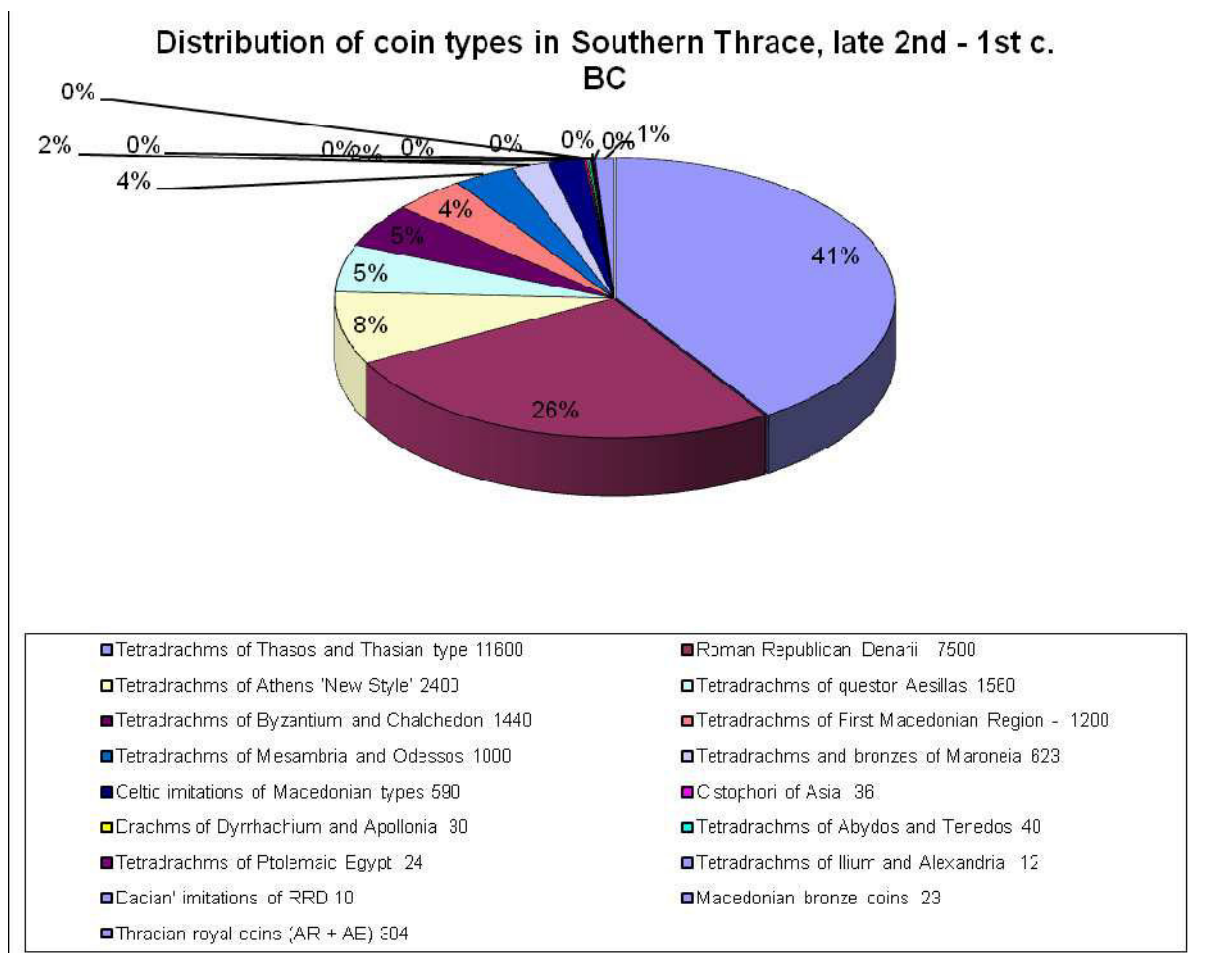
<sup>144</sup> Прокопов / Prokopov 1994, as well as the recent updated 2nd edition, Prokopov 2012.

<sup>145</sup> Karayotov 1994, 13-133, pls. 1-44; Callataÿ 1997a, 84-108, 111-119, pl. 21-31.

<sup>146</sup> Schönert-Geiss 1987, 64-75.

<sup>147</sup> See above for the coinage of Abydos and Tenedos in the Late Hellenistic period.

<sup>148</sup> Димитров / Dimitrov 1986, 15-7; Топалов / Topalov 1996 [1998], 131-4; Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 357-60; Prokopov 2000a, 369-77; MacDonald 2009, 99-114.



**Fig. 5.49.** Distribution chart of coin types in Southern Thrace (percentage).

**Table 5.6. Northern Thrace (later Moesia)<sup>149</sup>**

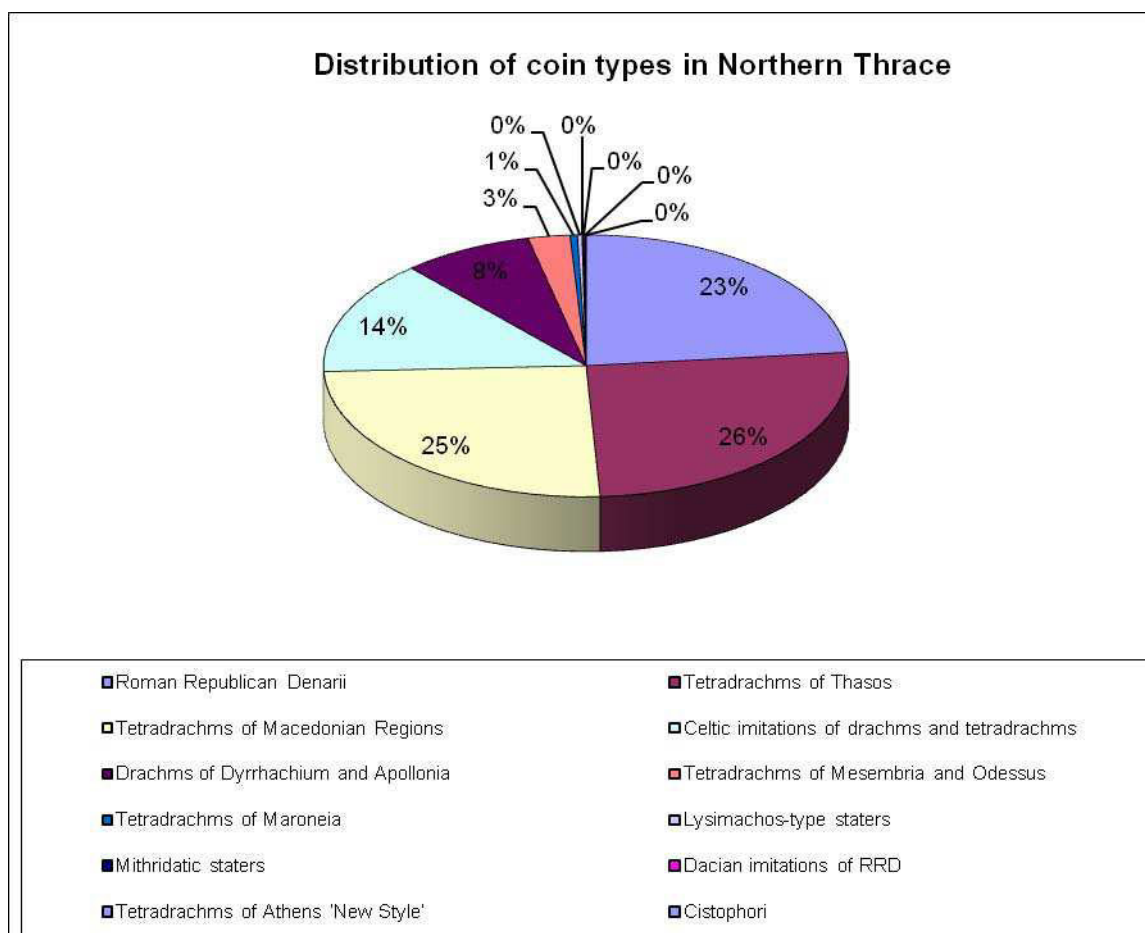
No.	Denomination/ issuer	Number of coins attested	Silver units	Percentage
1.	Tetradrachms of Thasos and the "Thasian type"	ca 4,000	16,000	26 %
2.	Roman Republican <i>denarii</i>	ca 14,500 <sup>150</sup>	12,000	23 %
3.	Tetradrachms of First and Second Macedonian Regions and imitations	ca 3,900	15,600	25 %
4.	Celtic tetradrachms and drachms (types of Philip II, Alexander III and Philip III)	ca 3,050	8,750	14 %
5.	Drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia <sup>151</sup>	ca 5,000	5,000	8 %

<sup>149</sup> Data are based on the Bulgarian reports of coin hoards, the *IGCH* and *CH* and covers more than 160 hoards.

<sup>150</sup> Paunov – Prokopov 2002, *IRRCHBg*, 95, table 2 and new hoards discovered since 2001.

<sup>151</sup> See now, Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, 651-79.

6.	Tetradrachms of Mesambria and Odessos of Alexander type	ca 400	1,600	3 %
7.	Tetradrachms of Maroneia	ca 60	280	1 %
8.	Athenian "New Style" tetradrachms	ca 10	40	---
9.	Lysimachos-type staters (Tomis, Callatis, Byzantium)	7+ <sup>152</sup>	175	---
10.	Mithridates VI staters	2+ <sup>153</sup>	50	---
11.	"Dacian" imitations of Republican <i>denarii</i>	ca 60 <sup>154</sup>	60	---
12.	<i>Cistophoric</i> tetradrachms (1 Apameia; 2 Ephesus; 1 Pergamum)	4	12	---
<b>TOTALS:</b>		<b>31,209 coins</b>	<b>62.059 units</b>	<b>100%</b>



**Fig. 5.50.** Distribution chart of coin types in Northern Thrace (percentage).

<sup>152</sup> See hoards IGCH 954 and 974 from South Dobrudja.

<sup>153</sup> From the Granichar hoard (IGCH 974), dispersed.

<sup>154</sup> Davis 2006, 321-56 and website: <http://rrimitations.ancients.info/index.html> . Most recently with a full account, see Davis – Paunov 2012, 389-413.

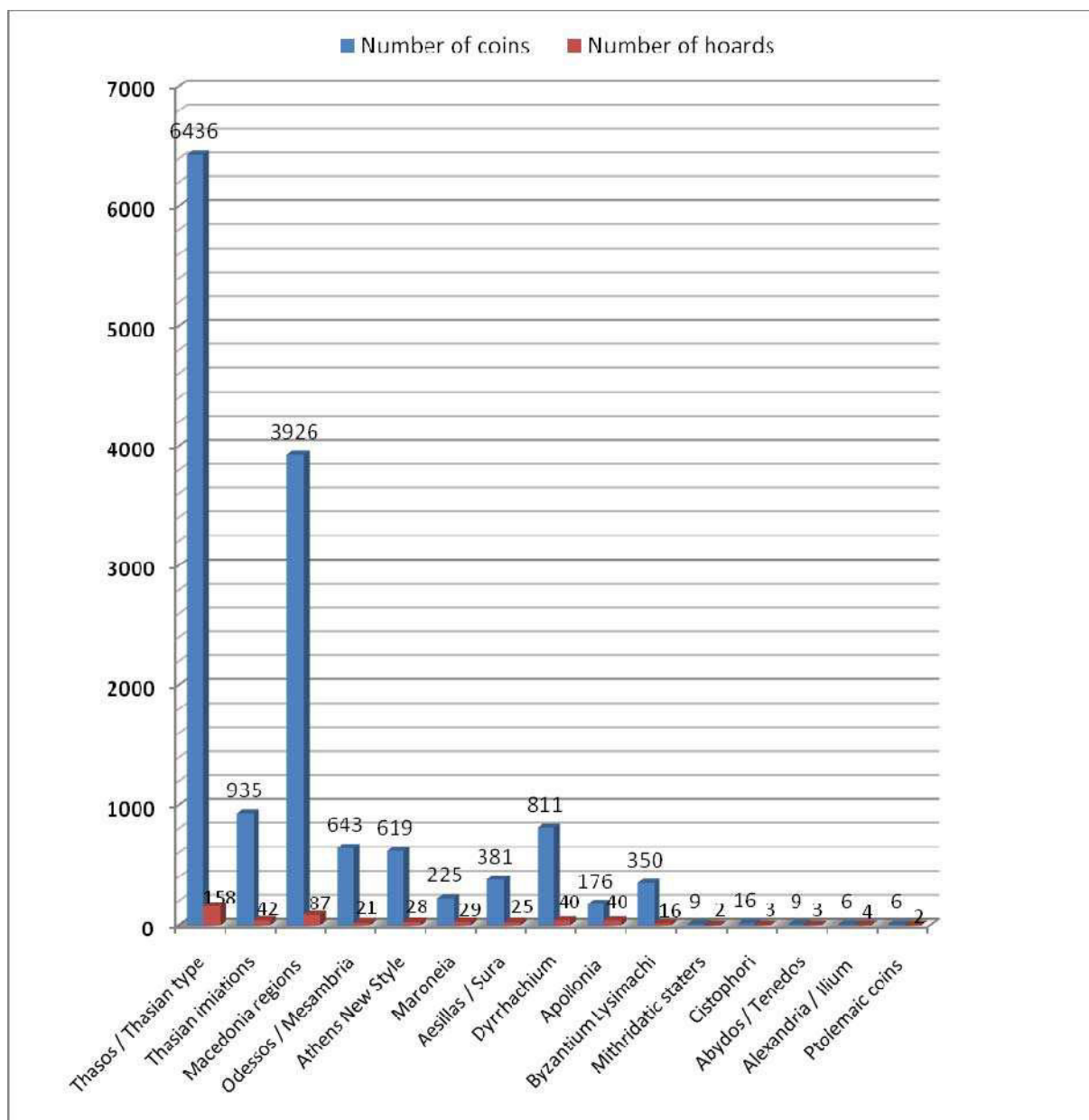


Fig. 5.51. Statistical chart of the Late Hellenistic coinages in Thrace (per quantity / hoards).

## 5.18. Discussion

The arrival and further invasion of the “Roman” money in Thrace took place shortly after the collapse of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 BC. Regardless of what may be expected, the infiltration did not start with genuine Republican coins. From the beginning, the tetradrachms of Thasos and the Macedonian Regions were coins commissioned by and produced for the provincial administration of Macedonia after

146 BC.<sup>155</sup> They were well recognized by the population of the inland Balkans accustomed with tetradrachms since the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great. The tetradrachms of Thasos and the Macedonian district were the very first and the most popular coin types in Thrace from 146 to ca. 70/60 BC. They served as a main monetary instrument of trade for the peoples of Thrace and Dacia for nearly a century.<sup>156</sup> Most of the hoards from this period are homogenous, containing Thasian or Macedonian districts tetradrachms only.<sup>157</sup>

For deliberate fiscal and commercial reasons the Roman provincial authorities in Macedonia and Achaia actively promoted all currencies based on the Attic weight standard: they insisted that all public transactions and tax payments be done in *attikas* [*drachmas*].<sup>158</sup> This is well attested to in the evidence of hoards, in numerous inscriptions<sup>159</sup> and in written sources. Polybios himself speaks of this ‘promotion’ (21.43. 19-21) for southern Greece. Thus, the Romans profited from the weight difference between the Roman *denarius* (3.9 g) and the Attic *drachm* (4.2-4.3 g). In a tetradrachm payment a profit of 1.2–1.6g (9-10%) was always guaranteed. In Achaia, for instance, the conversion from *denarius* to *drachms* was not regulated before the time of Augustus, when in ca. 27 BC he took a special measure (*diorthôma*), as an Thessalian inscription attest (*IG IX<sup>2</sup> 414c*, lines 55 and 84; comments in de Callatay 2011, 57). That is why after 146 BC the Romans in Macedonia sponsored the revival of major local coinages that had already lapsed.

Apart from the purely Republican issues (*denarii*, *victoriati*, *quinarii*, *asses*), the tetradrachms struck in Macedonia in the name of Aesillas, Cae[sar] and Sura, *quaestors/ praetors*, are Roman in essence. Nevertheless, a large portion of the remaining coins in circulation discussed above was actually *Roman* (supported by the Roman authorities) although they display the characteristic iconography and legends of the late Hellenistic coins. Moreover, they were minted with Roman permission and were a means of accomplishing the strategic goals of the Roman invasion in the Balkans. Only a small proportion of the coins in Thracian circulation

<sup>155</sup> Mommsen 1860, 690-1; Reinach 1911, 360; Rostovtzeff 1941, 1510.

<sup>156</sup> Rodewald 1976, 24.

<sup>157</sup> For complete lists of known hoards of these tetradrachms in Thrace, see in [Appendix 1, 1–2](#).

<sup>158</sup> As mentioned in the famous Amphictyonic decree of Delphi, *Syl<sup>l</sup>*, 729 = *FDelphes*, III, 2, no. 139; Picard 2009, 33-43. This tendency well continued into the imperial times, see a list of inscriptions in Psoma *et alii* 2008, 182.

<sup>159</sup> See *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1013* and F. Lefèvre, *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes, Vol. IV, Actes amphictioniques* (Paris 2002), no. 127, also discussed in Psoma *et alii* 2008, 181, and in Picard 2009, 33-43.

were either ordered or produced by Rome's enemies (*e.g.* the series of Mithridates Eupator and his allied cities), or foreign issues which turned up in the circulation pool there by commerce or by chance.

The distribution of hoards in Thrace shows that almost no Athenian "New Style" tetradrachms or Aesillas tetradrachms appear in the region north of *Haemus mons* (later province of *Moesia*). In contrast, there is an abundance of Celtic imitations of Macedonian types struck in silver alloy - *ca* 3,000 coins or 14% (see comments above). A large number of *drachms* of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia (*ca* 5,000 coins = 8%) also occur in this zone.

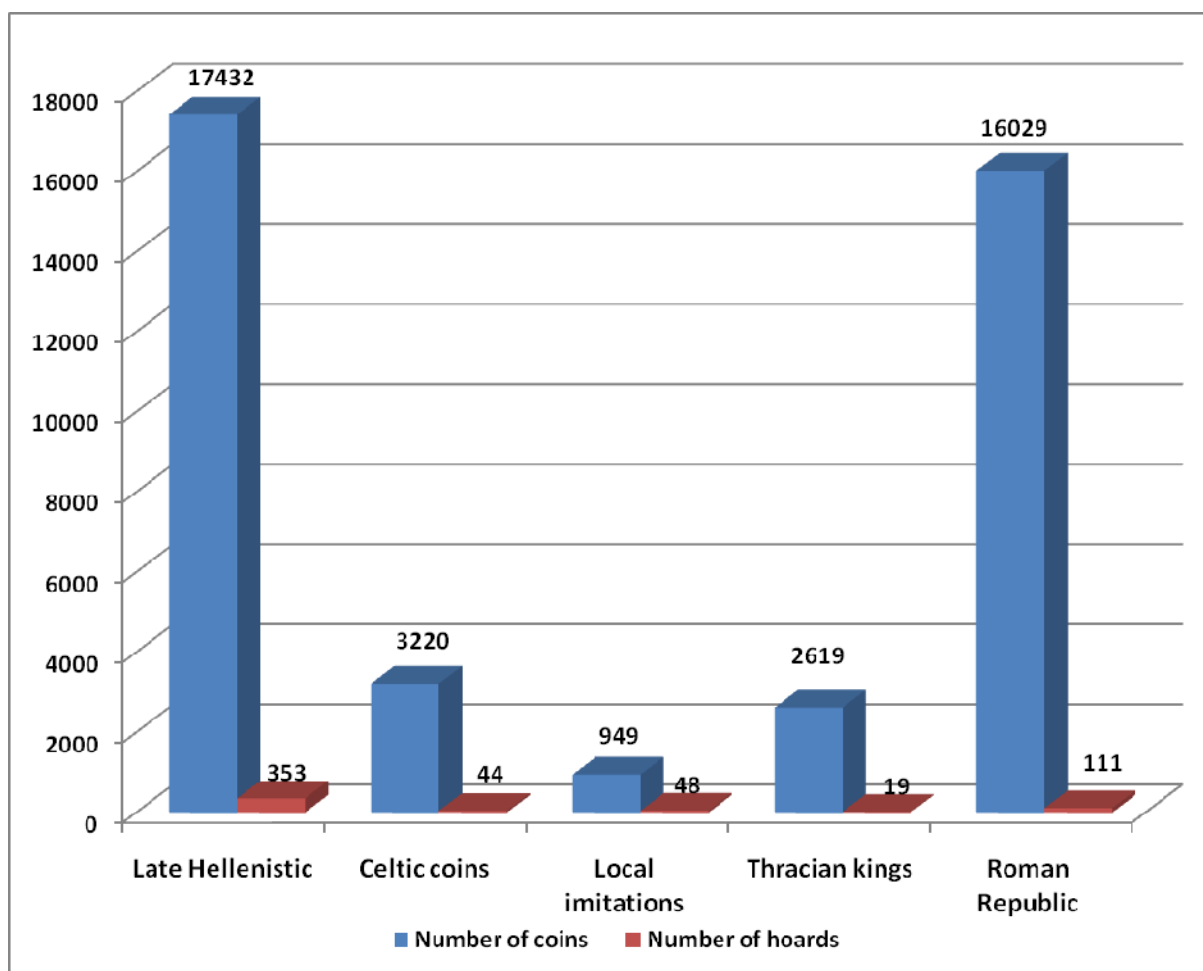
The picture shows the almost complete dominance of the two types of tetradrachms.<sup>160</sup> We must bear in mind the segment occupied by the Athenian "New Style" tetradrachms in Southern Bulgaria and the tetradrachms of the First Macedonian Region in the North. These two types of coins rank third in volume (in both zones) and availability after the Thasos tetradrachms and are separated on both sides of *Haemus* without being mixed together. A limited number of the First Macedonian Region coins circulated in Southern Thrace for a very long time. They belong to some late hoards from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. That is why I believe they are not in contradiction to the conclusion that these two types are almost entirely separated on both sides of the *Haemus mons*. A very interesting feature is the analysis of the availability and the movement of the Thasian tetradrachms. Although in their outer appearance the original tetradrachms of Thasos and the tetradrachms of the so-called "Thasian type" are difficult to tell apart, and to those who are not that experienced they look the same, it can be stated with certainty that they are different in origin.

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<sup>160</sup> Pace Prokopov 2009, 250-1.

### 5.19. Conclusions on the monetary system in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

The above review of the Late Hellenistic and Celtic coinages that circulated in Thrace is based on the data for 21,587 coins (including 949 local imitations /934 of Thasian tetradrachms and 15 drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia/) from some 397 hoards (353 Late Hellenistic / 44 Celtic). When the data on the Thracian coins available for this study is added (2,619), the total figure increases to 24,206 specimens. This is by far the largest body of coin evidence from the period under study ever assembled (either from Bulgaria or adjacent territories).



**Fig. 5.52.** “The two pillars”: overall statistics of coin types in Thrace, ca. 150–30/20 BC, per issuer.

This chart is highly *indicative*: it clearly shows that the transition of the monetary system in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Thrace – was smooth and gradual, with local Celtic and Thracian royal coinages playing only a supportive role. The complete transition from

the Late Hellenistic to the Roman coin system took some 40-50 years, from ca. 60/50 to ca. 10 BC.

The volume of both main components is nearly equal in quantity and in hoards of both groups (but not in silver units, *supra* 6.17 and note 129). I therefore call the above chart '***the two pillars***' – the idea of equality in coin types and currency, on which the whole monetary system in Thrace was based. It again proves the strategic and financial genius of the Romans.

#### Main observations:

The Hellenistic silver coinages had a long and characteristic role in Thrace since the time of Alexander the Great and his successors. They served as the main and 'true' currency in the region for the next 250 years to follow. In fact, the tetradrachm coinages were familiar, well accepted and appreciated in the interior of the Balkans by Illyrians, Dardanians, Thracians, Dacians and Celts for significant period of time during which the local attitude towards coins as symbol of power and means of payment were formed.

After 168 BC the Romans in Macedonia continued by strategic and political reasons to produce Late Hellenistic types of the heavy (ca. 16g) silver coins intended mainly for export. For the next 80-90 years the coinages of Maroneia, Thasos and the Macedonian Regions (supplemented by Aesillas and other minor series) completely satisfied the "*hunger for precious metal*"<sup>161</sup> of the inner Balkans. In fact, the real volume of these silver coinages was immense, judging on the base on the existing hoard evidence as featured above. In this light, the strategic role of Macedonia for Thrace and its political and economic matters remained unchanged from ca. 168 BC down to early Imperial time.

The market 'share' of Thasos and Macedonian Regions tetradrachm coinages in the Thracian coin pool amount to 30-41% and 10 to 26% respectively. Until the 60's-50's BC the latter fully dominated the circulation in local market.

The most plausible explanation of the Roman inspired/promoted coinages of tetradrachms imported in Thrace would be to fulfil the need of silver in the interior of

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<sup>161</sup> As termed in Crawford 1985, 227.



the Balkans. Whether these were payments were intended for mercenary wages, sums for bribery, protection money, or loyalty pay to the local chieftains/rulers, it remains unclear at this point. From an economic point of view, the influx of the aforementioned late Hellenistic coinages in Thrace should have stimulated the local market relations. In marked contrast, they did not make much contribution to the territories under direct Rome's control as Macedonia and Achaia.

Competitive coinages, (e.g. the series of Mithridates VI and his allied cities Mesambria and Odessos, etc.) either ordered or produced by the enemies of Rome, happened to have only a limited proportion and monetary weight in Thrace. And therefore, after the withdrawal of Mithridates Eupator from the Balkans in 72/1 BC, those coinages (including the large series of Byzantium) quickly lose their role and presence.

Silver issues from neighbour or more remote cities (e.g. Tenedos, Abydos, Cyzicus, Alexandria Troas and Ilium) and states (*cistophori* of Pergamum, tetradrachms of Bithynia and Ptolemaic Egypt) quite rarely turned up in the circulation pool of Thrace, either by commerce or by chance.

In the 70's – 60's BC the Roman authorities in Macedonia went some way towards providing substitutes of the long appreciated but already lapsed late Hellenistic coinages. For that matter they continuously 'flooded' the internal Balkan region with genuine Roman coins: at first with the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, and then - with Republican *denarii*. As it seems, additional effort in this regard has been made during the Civil Wars period and the major military confrontation in Macedonia and Achaia in the 40's (Pharsala and Philippi) and in the 30's BC (Actium) when supplemented amount of *denarii* entered the region.

The real volume of the Celtic imitative coinages in Thrace occurred to be far larger than previously thought and had a substantial monetary weight. They rate 4<sup>th</sup> in the coinage of the period and took up to 14% of the circulation in Northern Thrace and around the Danube. However, the hoards of Celtic coins are territorially restricted mostly to the line north of Haemus range, though exceptions occurred. Therefore, this coinage has rather impressive volume, which implies further research.

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## Chapter 6. Numismatics of the late Thracian Kings

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### 6.1. Background and previous research<sup>1</sup>

Coinage of the Thracian tribes and kings has been treated in numerous studies, from the time of Félix Cary (1752), Joseph H. Eckhel (1794, 55-60), Barclay V. Head (1887 and 1911)<sup>2</sup>, Waclaw Dobrusky (1897), Nikola Mouchmov (1912 and 1927<sup>3</sup>), recently by Michael H. Crawford (1985), Ulrike Peter (1997)<sup>4</sup>, Stavri Topalov (1994, 1996, and 2009), and others<sup>5</sup>. The most comprehensive works are two *corpora* by the late Y. Youroukova – the English version ‘*Coins of the Ancient Thracians*’ (1976) and in the slightly updated Bulgarian edition (1992).

From the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the Thracian kings commissioned their coins to be struck in the mints of Greek cities along the northern Aegean coast (May 1966, 8; Schönert-Geiss 1972, 6; Schönert-Geiss 1987, 7; Peter 1997, *passim*). This was mostly undertaken at Maroneia, Aenos and Abdera, and more rarely in Thasos and Cypsela.

The numismatic evidence suggests that the late Thracian kings (from Rhoemetalces I) extended their rule across the Bosphorus Straits to Calchedon and Bithynia. After Caligula Byzantium was attached to the province of Bithynia, although it was naturally linked and always opened to southeastern Thrace (*chapter 3.8.7*).

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<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to Professor Constantin Marinescu, New York, Professor Dimiter Draganov, Russe, and Dr Bernhard Woytek, Vienna, who kindly read and improved earlier drafts of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Head 1887, 243; and Head 1911, 282-6.

<sup>3</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 195-256.

<sup>4</sup> Though Peter's book closes with issues of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.

<sup>5</sup> See a brief review in Theodossiev 2011, 39-40.

On the other hand, the *Thracian Chersonese* never formed part of the Thracian kingdom. It was put under a special Roman regime since 133 BC<sup>6</sup>, but after Actium it became a personal possession (domain) of Marcus Agrippa. Upon his death in 12 BC the *Chersonese* was inherited by Augustus who governed it through a *procurator*.<sup>7</sup> Later it received the status of a *regio*, and in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century became a small province of *Chersonesus* (with only Sestos issuing provincial coins<sup>8</sup> and *Coela / Flaviopolis* as a capital city).<sup>9</sup>

In general, the coinage of the last Thracian kings is arranged in a relative chronology. The evidence we are dealing with is still poor with the sequence of rulers and their coin issues uncertain in some cases. The reason is the complicated aforementioned *stemma* of the late Thracian royal house. Besides the coins, our evidence derives only from casual references in the Greek and Latin historians of the period and few inscriptions, mostly from coastal Thrace.

## 6.2. Coins of *Mostis*

King *Mostis* (Μόστις)<sup>10</sup> ruled Southeastern Thrace sometime between ca. 125/0 – 87/86 BC.<sup>11</sup> He is mentioned in two votive inscriptions from European Turkey – one from *Bisanthe* (Rhodosto, present-day Tekirdağ)<sup>12</sup> and a second of uncertain provenance, now in Marmaraereğlisi (anc. *Perinthus*).<sup>13</sup> Aside from these monuments, there is absolutely no historical record of him. Nevertheless, numerous coins in silver and bronze were struck in his name.

<sup>6</sup> Walbank 1981, 15 and 19-20; Loukopoulou 1987, 74-6.

<sup>7</sup> Patsch 1933, 147; Jones 1971, 15-6; Danov 1979, 147-8; Gerov 1979, in *ANRW* II, 7/1, 231-2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Grant 1946, 353 and *RPC* I, nos. 1739-1744.

<sup>9</sup> See Thomasson 1984 and 2009, for a list of the provincial governors of Thrace.

<sup>10</sup> On the name see Detschew 1957, 312.

<sup>11</sup> See Sayar 1992, 187–195; U. Peter, “*Mostis*”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly* (H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds), Brill Online, 2012: <http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/mostis-e810510>; for the dating see: Роголски / Rogalski 1971, 46 and Youroukova 1976, 38-9.

<sup>12</sup> Taşliklioğlu II, (Istanbul 1971), 227-8, 2 = *SEG* 37. 602; Mihaylov, “*Epigraphica thracica*”, *Philologia* 16, 1984, 5-8; Sayar 1992, 187-9, fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Sayar 1992, 190-3, fig. 2 = *SEG* 42. 633, a statue-base erected by the citizens of *Heraion Teichos* on its market-place.

### 6.2.1. Bronze coinage

The bronze coinage of Mostis was extensive and it covers seven types and three denominations.<sup>14</sup> An identical monogram containing the letters Π, A and P [ΠΑΡ] <sup>15</sup> is found on almost all bronze issues, indicating either a magistrate's name or the name of the actual mint (Parium?).

The main types are:



**Fig. 6.1 a-b.** Mostis, Æ 21-22 mm. Heads of Zeus and Hera / eagle standing left on thunderbolt (SNG BM 311-312). B. variant – thunderbolt lacking eagle but with monogram (Hourmouziadis collection, 3482 and 2124 /overstruck on uncertain host/).



**Fig. 6.2.a-b.** Mostis, Æ 20-21 mm. Laur. head of Apollo r. / horse prancing left (SNG BM 310; SNG Cop. 1174). A. No monogram; B. with monogram, overstruck, now Hourmouziadis collection, 3417 /overstruck/.



**Fig. 6.3.** Mostis, Æ 17-19 mm. Helmeted head of Mostis? / thorax and monogram (type Youroukova 1976, 141 = SNG Cop. 1173), Berlin Münzkabinnett, no. 18214370.

<sup>14</sup> See Youroukova 1976, 35-6, pl. 17, figs. 134-43; Юрукова/ Youroukova 1992, 171-2, fig. 134-139; SNG BM Black sea 310-313; also Манов / Manov 2000, 13-7; Koychev – Mutafov 2002, 156-7 and Койчев / Koychev 2003, 44-7 and 62-4, nos. 60-84, Topalov / Topalov 2009, 289-98, nos. 13-22.

<sup>15</sup> For a list of different issuing authorities that bear the same monogram, see Franke 1961, 254.



**Fig. 6.4.** Mostis, Æ14-16 mm. Head of Zeus / pointed gorythos (Berlin, no. 18214369 = Youroukova 1992, 138).



**Fig. 6.5.** Mostis, Æ10-12 mm. Head of Apollo (or Mostis) / pointed caduceus (Youroukova 143 = SNG BM Black Sea 313. BM AN00640071, ©Trustees of the British Museum).

### 6.2.2. Distribution of bronze coinage

Most of the evidence on the Mostis bronze issues comes from southeastern Thrace (the modern regions of Burgas<sup>16</sup> and Varna<sup>17</sup> in Bulgaria), as well as from European Turkey.<sup>18</sup> The following ten bronze coins of Mostis with recorded provenance are known from the Burgas region:

Table 6.1.

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Reference / type</i>	<i>Diam. / weight</i>	<i>Find-spot</i>	<i>Disposition</i>
<b>Mostis</b>	SNG BM 311 = Юрукова / Youroukova1992, nos. 134-136	21x21 mm, 6.20g	Nessebar, 1950's	Burgas, no. 486
	SNG BM, 311 = Юрукова / Youroukova1992, nos. 134-136	22x23 mm, 6.89g, counter-marked	Burgas area, 1990's	Varna, no. 5418
	SNG BM, 311 = Юрукова / Youroukova 1992, nos. 134-136	22 mm, 4.52g,	Tsarevo / Vasiliko – town centre, excavation 2012	Burgas, inv. no. N/A

<sup>16</sup> Brief account in Карайотов / Karayotov 2000b, 78; Karayotov 2009, 130, note 10.

<sup>17</sup> Three bronze coins in Archaeological Museum of Varna, unpublished, inv. nos. 970, 5124 and 5418. Information from Mr I. Lazarenko.

<sup>18</sup> Three Mostis bronzes in the Lischine collection (1902), nos. 1493-1495, all acquired in the Edirne and Istanbul areas.

SNG BM, 311 = Юрукова 1992, № 134-136	20x21 mm, 5.80g, rev. counter- marked	Aytos area, Burgas, <1982	Topalov collection, published 1983 <sup>19</sup>
Койчев / Koychev 2003, 63, type III, denomination 1	10 mm, 1.18g	Acquired from Nessebar, 1960s	Burgas, no. 872
SNG BM, 311 = Юрукова / Youroukova 1992, nos. 134-136	21x20 mm, 6.55g	Cherni Vruh near Kameno, on the Mandra Lake, excavation 1976	Burgas, no. A-42
Юрукова / Youroukova 1992, no. 139	13x12 mm, 2.25g	Cherna Mogila near Aytos, settlement, 2001	Burgas, no. A-2401
Юрукова / Youroukova 1992, no. 138 = Койчев / Koychev 2003, no. 77, type IV	15x15 mm, 2.10g	Ahtopol – town centre, excavation 2000	Tsarevo museum, no.---?
Манов 2000, 13-15, no. 2, fig. 3	11x12 mm, 1.35g	Area of Pomorie, anc. Anchialus, ~1999	Priv. collection, Sofia
Манов 2000, 13-6 = Койчев / Koychev 2003, no. 61	7x8 mm, 0.28g	Area of Mesambria, <2000	Coll. G. Galabov, Sofia

However, the most numerous find of Mostis bronzes come from the recent Turkish excavation of Karaevlialtı village, a coastal site between Tekirdağ and Marmaraereğlisi, where the ancient town of *Heraion Teichos* is located.<sup>20</sup> So far eight coins have been officially reported from this site, representing three denominations of Mostis.<sup>21</sup> Thirteen more Mostis coins were found in a single context during the 2011 campaign.<sup>22</sup> This fact strongly suggests that the mint of king Mostis operated somewhere very close to *Heraion Teichos* (most probably at Bisanthe, the centre of his realm).

<sup>19</sup> See Драганов – Топалов / Draganov – Topalov 1983, 8-11, fig. 3.

<sup>20</sup> See Sayar 1992, 191-195, map on p. 195 and Sayar 1998, 68 and map V; see Loukopoulou – Lejtár 2004, 918-9, no. 676; and recently – N. Atik, “Eine Trakische Stadt an der Propontis. Heraion Teichos”, in: *Thrace in the Greek and Roman World, 10th International Congress of Thracology. Komotini – Alexandroupoli, Sept. 2005* (Athens 2007), 13-23.

<sup>21</sup> Preliminary report in Yağiz, ‘Les monnaies d’Heraion Teichos’, *Anatolia antiqua* 16 (2008), 107-17, esp. at 110, 112-113, nos. 19-26. See also the overview in Yağiz, “Les monnaies du roi thrace Mostis (fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.)”, *Abgadiyat* 5 (2010), 22-7.

<sup>22</sup> Out of 550 coins found in the 2000-2010 campaign. See the preliminary press announcement of 30 July 2011: <http://arkeolojihaber.net/2011/07/31/heranin-sehri-traklari-aydinlatiyor/#more-8615>.

Another well-provenanced group of Mostis bronze coins comes from an old coin collection. This is Anastasios P. Stamoulis (1843-1934) collection, donated in 1924 to the Numismatic Museum in Athens.<sup>23</sup> It holds exactly seven bronzes of the most popular types of Mostis.<sup>24</sup> According to the owner records, all coins were collected between 1875 and 1922 in the nearby area of *Selymbria* and *Perinthus*.<sup>25</sup> Both groups discussed above clearly indicate where the centre of Mostis' realm was.

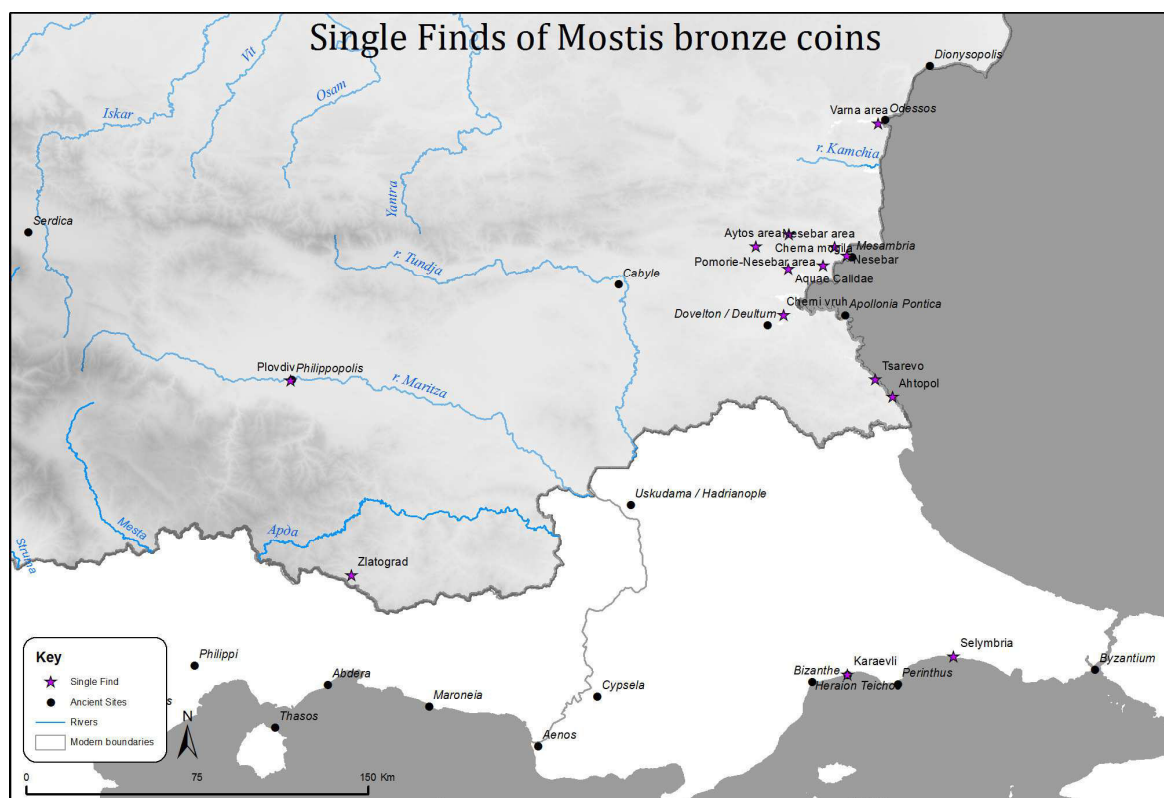


Fig. 6.6. Distribution map of Mostis single finds (digital map by A. Sobotkova).

In the coastal areas of southeast Thrace, around Apollonia and Mesambria, Mostis bronze issues circulated with Mithridates Eupator' bronze coins of *Amisos*.<sup>26</sup> Among other purposes, these bronzes served to pay the Pontic garrisons around the

<sup>23</sup> see *BCH* 48, 1924, *Chronique*..., 452.

<sup>24</sup> Oikonomos – Varouka-Christodouloupoulou, *The Numismatic Collection of Anastasios P. Stamoulis* (Athens 1955), 72 and 140, nos. 477-482, 912, pl. III, 14.

<sup>25</sup> Oikonomos – Varouka-Christodouloupoulou 1955, v-vi.

<sup>26</sup> Published specimens in Караѣотов / Karayotov 1988, 12-4, обр.1; Караѣотов / Karayotov 2000, 61-2, notes 16-17; Karayotov 2009, 470. For the types, see Waddington 1904, 57, no. 44; de Callataÿ 1997a, pl. XLIX.E; *SNG BM Black Sea* 1177-1179 and Waddington 1904, 53, no. 24; *SNG BM Black Sea* 1208.

Black Sea.<sup>27</sup> This again corroborates the historical dating of Mostis' rule state and its connections with the Straits and Mithridatic campaigns.<sup>28</sup>

### 6.2.3. Silver coinage

King Mostis also struck tetradrachms of fine style and of good silver.<sup>29</sup> They are marked with Greek letters as regnal dates ranging from year 13 [ΙΓ] to 38 [ΑΗ].



**Fig. 6.7.** Tetradrachm of Mostis, 16.84g. Dies O2–R3, regnal year 22 (ex Busso Peus 380 (3. Nov. 2004), no. 319; now Hourmouziadis collection 1042).

Until 1991 there were 11 extant Mostis tetradrachms, listed by F. de Callataÿ.<sup>30</sup> An updated die-study contains 15 specimens and appears below:

Table 6.2.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Date	Weight / diam. / axis	Location	Reference
1.	O1	R1	ΙΓ (13) ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ	16.56 g, 31/32 mm, 11h	Berlin, Münzkabinett no. 18200227	Dobrusky 1897, pl. III, 13; Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 1; Youroukova 131
2.	O1	R1	ΙΓ (13) ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ	16.33 g, -- mm, -- h.	Unknown	Numismatik Lanz 102 (28 May 2001), no. 137 = Lanz 114 (26 May 2003), no. 86
3.	O1	R2	ΙΔ (14) ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ	16.43 g, 29 mm, 11h, pierced twice, overstruck on Thasos/?/	Paris, BN 279	Babelon 1950, pl. 40, 11; Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 2; de Callataÿ 1991, pl. II, 2.
4.	O2	R3	ΚΒ (22)	16.43 g, -- mm, 14 h, scratches, bent at 2 h	New York, ANS, 1950.61.1	Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 3; de Callataÿ 1991, pl. II, 3.

<sup>27</sup> de Callataÿ 2012a, 188; Ashton 2012, 202.

<sup>28</sup> Recently Mostis has been assumed as the ruler of southeastern Thrace between Byzantium and Bisanthe, but also controlling the territories of Apollonia Pontica and Mesambria to the north, see Karayotov 2009, 130-1.

<sup>29</sup> Head 1911, 285; Ρογαλски / Rogalski 1971, 41-55; Ρογαλски / Rogalski 1983, 81-2; Плакидов / Plakidov 1988, 37-41; Youroukova 1976, 34-7, 129, pl. 17, figs. 131-132; Callataÿ 1991, 40-5, pl. II.1-8; Callataÿ 1997b, 86, no. 93; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 166-71, fig. 42-43, 133; Койчев / Kouchev 2003, 47, nos. 85-87; Топалов / Topalov 2009, 131-49.

<sup>30</sup> de Callataÿ 1991, 40-41.



5.	O2	R3	<b>ΚΒ</b> (22)	16.84 g, 33-34 mm, 12 h, two monograms	Hourmouziadis 1042	Busso Peus Nachfolger 380 (3. 11. 2004), no. 319
6.	O2	R4	<b>ΚΒ</b> (22)	16.58 g, 36 mm, 12 h	Paris, BN, coll. De Luynes, 1822	Babelon 1925, no. 1822, pl. 69; Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 4.
7.	O2	R5	<b>ΚΒ</b> (22)	13.49 g, --mm, 11 h, two monograms, edge broken on both sides	Ex coll. C. N. Lischine; now St. Petersburg, Hermitage	Lischine 1902, no. 1492, pl. 23; Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 5.
8.	O2	R6	<b>ΚΒ</b> (22)	16.85 g, --- mm, two monograms, <i>FDC</i>	Unknown, unsold	Busso Peus 332 (23-28 October 1991), no. 108
9.	O3	R7	<b>ΛΒ</b> (32)	15.87 g, 28-30 mm, 11 h	Copenhagen, KP 1185; Lambros, Athens 1909 <sup>31</sup>	<i>SNG Cop.</i> 1172; Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 6
10.	O4	R8	<b>ΕΛ</b> (35) <b>ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ</b>	16.10 g, 33 mm, 12 h	Sofia, 6471	Mouchmov 1912, pl. 7,162; Gerassimov 1968, 237-238; Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 7; Youroukova 132
11.	O4	R9	<b>ΖΛ</b> (36) <b>ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ</b>	15.64 g, -- mm, 12 h, edge broken	Unknown	Lanz 42, (23.11.1987), no. 156 = Kricheldorf 43, (11-12 Marz 1992), no. 221
12.	O4	R10	<b>ΛΗ</b> (38) <b>ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ</b>	15.92 g, 32 mm, 12 h	Paris, BN 277	Rogalski 1971, pl. I, 8; de Callataÿ 1991, pl. II, 6
13.	O4	R11	<b>ΛΗ</b> (38) <b>ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ</b>	15.88 g, --mm, -- h, no wear but obv. flan flow	Unknown	CNG 16 (16.08.1991), no. 136
14.	O4	R12	<b>ΛΗ</b> (38) <b>ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ</b>	16.23 g, 33/38 mm, 12 h, overstruck on Thasos	London, BM AN00640067	Gardner 1876, 299; BMC 206; Dobrusky 1897, pl. III, 16; Rogalski 1971, pl. I,8; de Callataÿ 1991, 7; SNG BM 309;
15.	O4	R12?	<b>Λ[Η]</b> (38 ?) <b>ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ</b>	26x28mm, no weight available, corroded, burnt?	Unknown	Hesperia Art Bulletin 37, (Philadelphia 1969), no. 25; Rogalski 1983, 81-2, pl. 1.4.

Nine of the tetradrachms have an additional legend **ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ** under Athena's throne, **ΕΤΟΥΣ** and a respective date in Greek numerals. This signature occurred in years 13-14 and 38, and again in years 35 and 36 in the erroneous form: **ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΔΑΛΟΥ**.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Additional information and photos from Dr Helle Horsnaes, Danish National Museum, Copenhagen.

<sup>32</sup> Rogalski / Rogalski 1971, 42-3; Плакидов/ Plakidov 1988, 39; de Callataÿ 1991, 42, n.15; Koychev 2003, 47.



**Fig. 6.8.** Tetradrachm of Mostis, 16.33g, 32mm. Dies O1–R1, regnal year 13. Photo after Numismatik Lanz 114 (2003), no. 86.

Of course, one cannot be certain if this is the same person with a long reign of 22-23 years, or authority claimed by another subject. Yet another (or the same?) *Sadalas* appears as a Thracian king mentioned in written sources in the mid-80s BC (see below). *Sadalas* is a common Thracian name<sup>33</sup> which is widespread over a large territory, so it likely that Mostis' *Sadalas* is an official responsible for the Mostis' coinage.<sup>34</sup>



**Fig. 6.9.** Tetradrachm of Mostis, regnal year 32 [□B], 15.87g. Danish Royal Collection, Copenhagen, no. 1185, acquired 1909 (Photo courtesy Dr H. Horsnaes).

As far as the iconographic features are concerned, the realistic and stylish treatment of the early portrait of Mostis is clearly inspired by the coinage of the kings of Bithynia (Nicomedes II and IV), Cappadocia (Orophernes and Ariarathes V) and Syria (Antiochus VII). The sole reverse type of Mostis (*Athena Nikephoros seated left on throne*) is copied from the late Lysimachi tetradrachms<sup>35</sup> so popular in the European Southeast and the Straits during the 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, *Athena Nikephoros* is one of the state cults of the neighbouring Attalid

<sup>33</sup> Detschew 1957, 408-9.

<sup>34</sup> Роголски / Rogalski 1971, 43; Роголски / Rogalski 1983, 82; de Callataÿ 1991, 42-3; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 166.

<sup>35</sup> First pointed out by Visconti 1811, 116, see also Gardner 1876, 300; Роголски / Rogalski 1971, 45.

<sup>36</sup> For this large-scale coinage see Seyrig 1968; Marinescu 1996; Marinescu 2013 /in print/.

kingdom of Pergamon. So the coinage may reflect the close links between southeastern Thrace and the Pergamene state in 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (a connection also well attested to by honorary inscriptions).<sup>37</sup>

An indication of a more precise dating is provided by an overstrike of Mostis, dated regnal year 38 [ΛΗ], over a late Thasian tetradrachm published long ago by Percy Gardner.<sup>38</sup>



**Fig. 6.10.** Tetradrachm of Mostis, year 38 [ΛΗ], dies D4–R12 (16.23g), overstruck on a late Thasos. BM, acquired 1824, no. BM-AN00640067 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

At present this series of Thasos is dated more precisely to ca. 120–100 BC.<sup>39</sup> An additional overstrike gives us even more precise information.<sup>40</sup> It is an Alexander-type Mesambria issue (Karayotov 1994, no. 764, marked with M103) struck over a tetradrachm of Mostis.<sup>41</sup> This pair of dies belongs to *Group 3* of Mesambria late silver coinage, dated to ca. 110–100 BC (de Callataÿ 1991, 44). However, as stated, this may provide us only with a *terminus ante quem* for the silver issues of Mostis.

#### 6.2.4. Hoards with Mostis tetradrachms: some notes

In the absence of better chronological data, we must turn to the evidence from hoards with Mostis tetradrachms. These are:

<sup>37</sup> From *Panion / Panidos* near *Bisanthe/Rodosto*: five inscriptions, two for Attalus I Soter, three for Eumenes II (197–159 BC), who was honoured as ‘city-founder’, see G. Seure, “Inscriptions de Thrace”, *BCH* 24 (1900), 165-6 = OGIS 301, 302-304; Walbank 1981, 20, n.95; and Hatzopoulos – Loukopoulou 1987, 67-8, notes 28-29.

<sup>38</sup> Gardner 1876, 299-306 = *SNG BM Black Sea*, 309 = de Callataÿ 1997a, 259.

<sup>39</sup> Prokopov 2006, *Gruppe IX-XI* = de Callataÿ 2008, 53.

<sup>40</sup> See Numismatik Lanz Auktion 44 (16 May 1988), no. 109.

<sup>41</sup> Published by de Callataÿ 1991, 37-8, pl. II.1; = de Callataÿ 1997a, 104, dies D3–R1.

1. **Mezek / 1977** (CH 7.126) – reportedly it originally contained one issue of Mostis (year 13) with 4 posthumous Alexanders<sup>42</sup> and 1 Lysimachi Byzantium tetradrachm, 217 Thasos and 205 Thasian imitations, all 431 AR, in Haskovo museum (inv. no. 430). Prokopov listed other numbers: only 280 coins, 4 Byzantium, 1 Odessos, 4 Macedonia Prima and 272 Thasos and its imitations (Прокопов – Петров 2000, 5-22; Prokopov 2006, no. 184);
2. A large hoard from the area of **Svilengrad (near Hadrianople)** in the late 1980's. It included some 100 Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium, 2 issues of Mostis (regnal years 13 and 22)<sup>43</sup>, associated with Bithynian tetradrachms of Nicomedes III and Nicomedes IV [unpublished, lost in trade, see the note of Юркова 1992, 170, n. 220; Karayotov 2009, 489];
3. A dispersed hoard from **Ruen near Burgas** / early 1990's – around 100 tetradrachms of Mesambria and Odessos (period II, after 113 BC), 8-10 Nicomedes II of Bithynia, 2 tetradrachms of Mostis and 1 Alexandria Troas (reported by Karayotov 2009, 483<sup>44</sup>);
4. Another unpublished hoard from the **Burgas region** / 1990's (in private hands, partly seen in trade<sup>45</sup> [same as the one above?])
5. The most recent pot hoard (discovered in excavation on September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2012) from **Sinemorets** near *Agathopolis/Ahtopol*<sup>46</sup> – 199 tetradrachms: 143 Lysimachi type of Byzantium, 1 of Prusias II, 5 Mesambria and Odessos, 13 of Nicomedes II (or III?), 1 Cyzicus, and 36 tetradrachms of king Mostis (regnal years not recorded yet – 22 and 32?). Unpublished, see note 43 above.

Of the five listed above, with the new find of Sinemorets unpublished, only the Svilengrad hoard could be of relative use and chronological value. It associates coins of Mostis and Nicomedes IV Philopator (ruled ca. 94 – 75/4 BC)<sup>47</sup>, but unfortunately it

<sup>42</sup> F. de Callataÿ suggested that the Mesambria tetradrachm overstruck on Mostis may well derive from the Mezek hoard, see de Callataÿ 1991, 43-4, pl. II.1.

<sup>43</sup> According to Professor Ivan Karayotov, see Karayotov 2009, 489.

<sup>44</sup> Callataÿ 1991, 43-4, pl. II, 1.

<sup>44</sup> I. Karayotov was informed about this hoard by the late Dr G. Raev, collector of Burgas, *per litteras*.

<sup>45</sup> Information from Mr MS, Vienna.

<sup>46</sup> See a preliminary announcement in I. Karayotov, 'Morski vestnik' newspaper (October 1, 2012), online: [http://morskivestnik.com/mor\\_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html](http://morskivestnik.com/mor_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html)

<sup>47</sup> But compare the caution about the final date of Nicomedes IV in F. de Callataÿ, "Les derniers rois de Bithynie: problèmes de chronologie", *RBN* 132 (1986), 24-30.

was not documented and was dispersed in trade. It is quite possible that both tetradrachms of Mostis (years 22 and 38, nos. 8 and 13 above), sold at two different auctions at much the same time (summer-autumn of 1991), originated from a single hoard, either Svilengrad or Ruen.<sup>48</sup>

In conclusion, the silver coinage of king Mostis was small, exceptional and sporadic (Рогалски/ Rogalski 1971, 45; de Callataÿ 1991, 44), executed in three separate periods during his reign. They are grouped around regnal years 13-14; 22-23 and 35-38 (de Callataÿ 1991, 44-5). Twenty years ago François de Callataÿ conclusively proved that all the Mostis tetradrachms were produced with only 4 obverse and 12 reverse dies; and those struck for years 35, 36 and 38 share the same obverse die (Callataÿ 1991, 41-2).

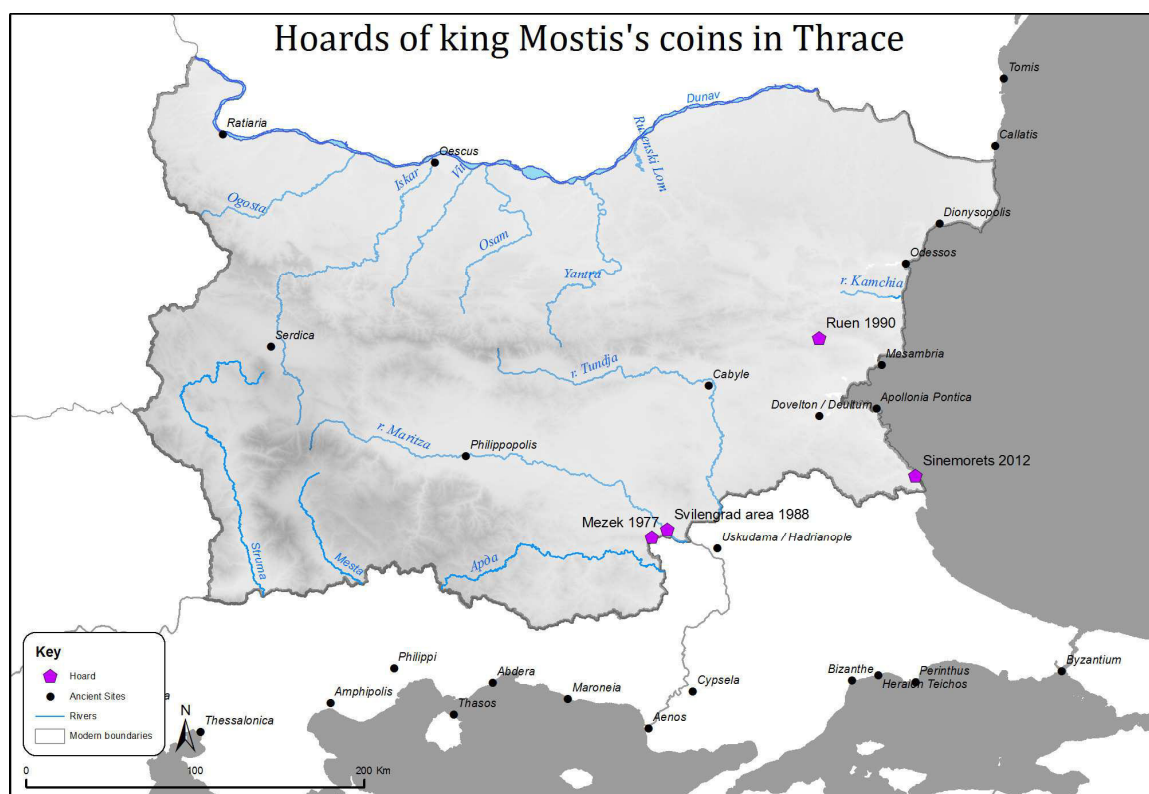


Fig. 6.11. Distribution map of hoards with Mostis tetradrachms (map by A. Sobotkova).

<sup>48</sup> See Busso Peus 332 (23-28 Oct. 1991), lot 108 and CNG 16 (16. August 1991), no. 136.

### 6.2.5. Assessment and localisation of Mostis

Nevertheless, until soon the tribal identity of Mostis and his kingdom remained obscure, the sources being silent about him. Both inscriptions and the pattern of bronze coins of Mostis however pinpoint the centre of his kingdom in the area between Bizanthe – Perinthus – Selymbria. Thus it is likely that Mostis was a successor of Diegylis (see Diod. 33.14–15; Strabo 13.4.2; App. *Mithr.* 6 and Pomp. Trogus, *Proleg.* 36) and of Zibelmios, kings of the *Kainoi*.

Most scholars agree that Mostis must have been installed and supported by Mithridates VI Eupator (Youroukova 1976, 37-39; Sayar 1992; Койчев / Koychev 2003, 31; Топалов / Topalov 2009, 128-49), and this was the reason why he entirely disappears from the written sources. Being an ally or vassal-ruler of the Pontic king, Mostis was perhaps deliberately erased from the Roman historical records. It seems that the coinage of Mostis was produced in two different mints – for the bronze this was most probably - at Bizanthe (the centre of his realm) or at Parium (because of the monogram  $\overline{\text{TP}}$ ), across the Propontis. The mint for Mostis' tetradrachms cannot be identified with certainty for the moment.

### 6.3. Coins of Dizaselmios

As a ruler of the Caenian realm in southeastern Thrace, king Mostis was succeeded most probably by **Dizaselmios** (ca. 87/6 – mid-50s BC).<sup>49</sup> He struck only bronze coins of small denomination – 15mm, inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – ΔΙΖΑΣΕΛΜΕΩΣ (Head 1911, 286; Добруски/ Dobrusky 1897, 627-8, pl. 2.10; Mouchmov 1912, no. 5771; Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 239, no. 178; *SNG BM*, nos. 320-321; Койчев / Koychev 2003, 48, nos. 88-89<sup>50</sup>), which are very rare (four specimens known).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This dating of Dizaselmios issues is quite uncertain, so it also possible that he preceded the reign of Mostis. In this case he could be identical with king Zibelmios, son of Diegylis of Caeni (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), who is well referred in the literary sources (see Tzvetkova / Цветкова 2008, 235ff and 304).

<sup>50</sup> Koychev 2003, 48 is citing a third specimen in a private collection Mr S. Petrov in Sofia.

<sup>51</sup> A fourth known coin was examined by the author in a private collection in Vienna (October 2012).



**Fig. 6.12.** Coin of Dizaselmios, Æ 15 mm, head of Dionysos / pointed amphora, type SNG BM Black Sea, 321. BM London, Acq. No. 00/00/1865, (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Some remarks in Cicero (*De prov. Cons.* 3-4; *In Pis.* 86) and a passage in the famous Cnidus inscription (the end of 101/0 BC, columns II, 12 and IV, 5-30)<sup>52</sup> show this area of Thrace called the ‘Caenian’ Chersonese /Χερσόνησος Καινική/ (later στρατηγία Καινική, as in Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 3.2.6) = *regio Caenica*, in Pliny, *NH* 4.47-49) is referred to be under the administrative jurisdiction of the Roman proconsul of Macedonia. This clearly reveals what happened with Mostis’ kingdom after the mid-80s BC.

#### **6.4. Thasian coinage of type ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ, associated with Thrace**

The next phase of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC regional coinage of Thrace is represented by two enigmatic series of Thasian type tetradrachms inscribed in Greek: **ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ** and **ΚΟΤΥΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ**.

The first type, quite rare, is inscribed with the legend **ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ**.<sup>53</sup> Previously, Ilya Prokopov dated this series to the Mithridatic period<sup>54</sup>, assigning them to his *Gruppe XIII* of the Thasian coinage.<sup>55</sup> In 2008 his list of specimens was augmented, and the dating was corrected to ca.100-80 BC by François de Callataÿ.<sup>56</sup> The chronological key to the dating of both series became available only in the last year.

<sup>52</sup> Hassall – Crawford – Raynolds 1974, 195-220.

<sup>53</sup> See Strack 1912, *AMNG* 2.1, no. 1; Герасимов/ Gerassimov 1956, 82-6; Youroukova 1976, pl. XIX, fig. 146-147; Юркова 1992, pls. 302-303; Prokopov 2003, 83-90; de Callataÿ 2008, 52; and the most recent die-studies of MacDonald 2012, 323-40; and de Callataÿ 2012, 307-21.

<sup>54</sup> Prokopov 2006, 57.

<sup>55</sup> Prokopov 2003, 83-90; Prokopov 2006, 57, 143, pl. 70, nos. 977-979.

<sup>56</sup> de Callataÿ 2008, 52-3.



**Fig. 6.13.** Tetradrachm ΘΡΑΚΩΝ with field mark  $\bar{\Lambda}$ , 16.63 g. (photo after *Münzen und Medallien* 269, Oct. 1966, no. 5 = Freeman & Sear, *Manhattan Sale II*, 4 Jan. 2011, no. 35).

It surprisingly appeared from a coin recently sold on the market (see below). It is a **ΘΡΑΚΩΝ** tetradrachm (16.23g), overstruck on an Athens New Style host coin of **ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ / ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ** (Thompson 1961, 364-368, nos. 1131-1142), an issue convincingly dated to 88/87 BC (see below).



**Fig. 6.14.** Tetradrachm ΘΡΑΚΩΝ over Athenian New Style, 88/7 BC, 16.23 g. (photo after Gorny & Mosch 195, 7 March 2011, no. 8).

Another similar ΘΡΑΚΩΝ overstrike with the field mark  $\bar{M}$  (17.08g) is in an American private collection (D. MacDonald). The host coin is even later than the previous one – this time over the Athenian issue of **ΑΜΦΙΑΣ / ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ** (Thompson 1961, nos. 1187-1195), dated to 81/80 BC. This clearly means that both coins discussed above are decisive in lowering the dating of that series by some 20-25 years later than previously thought. Therefore, the early ΘΡΑΚΩΝ coinage must be post-Mithridatic.<sup>57</sup> It should be dated to the late 80's – throughout the 70s, perhaps ceasing with M. Terentius Varro Lucullus' campaign in the winter of 72/1 BC.

<sup>57</sup> As a matter of fact, this was well argued in 1964 by Gina Katsarova (Κατσαροβα/ Katsarova 1964, 142, 151).



Since only 18 ΘΠΑΚΩΝ specimens are known so far, struck from only 3 obverse and 9 reverse dies of group I (a list in MacDonald 2012, 325-328), it was apparently a short-lived coin series, produced under unknown, but urgent circumstances. Some authors attribute this series to Roman officials (in province of Macedonia?), intended to pay the wages of mercenaries (Prokopov 2002) or to appeal to the Thracians because of the changed ethnicon-name (MacDonald 2012, 328-330). On the other hand, Katsarova assigned the early ΘΠΑΚΩΝ tetradrachms to the mint of the island of Thasos, assuming they were struck for a Thracian tribe loyal to Rome in the First Mithridatic War (Κατσαροβα/ Katsarova 1964, 142-143, 152).

The second group (*series 2*) of ΘΠΑΚΩΝ tetradrachms is executed in rough style and material. It is generally agreed to be an issue of later date. Three coins of this group have an erroneous legend on the reverse: **ΗΠΑΚΛΕΟΥ** instead of **ΗΠΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ**.

In his 2002 paper Prokopov argued that this late group was issued after 28 BC when the Odrysian dynasty gained control of the great Thracian sanctuary of Dionysos (belonging to the Bessi) in the Rhodopes.<sup>58</sup> However, there is no direct evidence for such a date or political context. Therefore, this is hardly likely to have been the case. Since it was a very limited and rare issue – only 8 specimens (from three obverse and five reverse dies) are known so far (MacDonald 2012, 330-332; de Callataÿ 2012b, 307-321, esp. at 314-315), an attribution to a later date is reasonable.



**Fig. 6.15.** Tetradrachm ΘΠΑΚΩΝ of the late style, group II, traces of undetermined overstrike, 15.94 g. (photo after Gorny & Mosch 115 (5 March 2002), no. 1017 = CNG 64, 24 Sept. 2003, no. 162).

<sup>58</sup> Prokopov 2002, 84-85.

## 6.5. Coins of type KOTYOC XAPAKTHP



**Fig. 6.16.** Tetradrachm with the legend XAPAKTHP of Cotys III?, ca. 30-28 BC, 16.36 g. (photo after Triton VII, (January 2004), no. 182).

The second series with the legend **KOTYOC XAPAKTHP** and the name of a certain Cotys on the reverse is known from the time of Félix Cary<sup>59</sup> and of Joseph Eckhel.<sup>60</sup> It is a very rare Thracian series as pointed out in all later studies.<sup>61</sup>

### 6.5.1. The evidence

Until the early 1990s there were only 12 known specimens<sup>62</sup> struck from only a single obverse die and no more than 2 reverse dies. All published coins come from a couple of hoards, concentrated along the western Black sea coast:

1. **Obzor, south of Varna / 1935**<sup>63</sup> – around 30 tetradrachms, Thasian imitations and 4+ XAPAKTHP tetradrachms;
2. **Slivarovo / 1950s** near Malko Tarnovo, Burgas region, on the bank of Rezovska river (45 km north of *Bizye*) – a large dispersed hoard: 2

<sup>59</sup> Cary 1752, 65-76, tabl. II/10.

<sup>60</sup> Eckhel 1894<sup>2</sup>, 59.

<sup>61</sup> von Sallet 1876, 22-4; Добруски / Dobrusky 1897, 628; Head 1911, 285; Svoronos 1912, 61-4; Герасимов / Gerassimov 1956, 79-82; Youroukova 1976, 41-4, pl. XIX, fig. 145; Юркова 1992, 177-8, fig. 140-141; Карайотов / Karayotov 1990, 25-28; Топалов 1996, 102-118; Lukanc 1996, nos. 1924-1926; Койчев 2003, 43, nos. 57-59; Прокопов 2006, no. 1860/1-9, 'Klasse HA'.

<sup>62</sup> Only 3 are coins listed by Lukanc 1996, nos. 1924-1926; and 9 – in Prokopov 2006, cat. no. 1860/1-9.

<sup>63</sup> Карайотов / Karayotov 1990, 25-6; Топалов / Topalov 1996, 110-2.

tetradrachms with XAPAKTHP and a number of late Thasian imitation tetradrachms<sup>64</sup>;



**Fig. 6.17.** Tetradrachm KOTYOC XAPAKTHP of Cotys III?, ca. 30–28 BC, from the Slivarovo hoard, 16.51 g. (Burgas Archaeological Museum, no. A-270, photo E. Paunov, 2011).

3. **Varna–Asparuhovo quarter**<sup>65</sup> – 2 XAPAKTHP issues (one tetradrachm once in Dr Vassil Haralanov's collection, now in Shumen museum);



**Fig. 6.18.** Tetradrachm KOTYOC XAPAKTHP of Cotys III?, ca.30–28 BC, 16.76g, 29x31 mm (ex Dr Haralanov collection, Shumen Museum, no. 73.1.1 = Gerassimov 1956, 79, no. 2).

4. **Area of Kazanluk/?/ near Stara Zagora** (Топалов 1998 [1996], 110-111) – unknown contents, a few in private collections, 1 tetradrachm XAPAKTHP in possession of Mr S. Topalov (32x33 mm, 17.28g)<sup>66</sup>;
5. **Coadă Malului (IGCH 674) near Ploești / 1936, Romania** – 1 XAPAKTHP issue along with many Thasian tetradrachms, unpublished.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Карайотов/ Karayotov 1990, 25-6.

<sup>65</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1956, 79.

<sup>66</sup> Топалов / Topalov 1996, 102; Catalogue *Die Thraker* (2004), 174-5, no. 32.

Since 1999 only four tetradrachms of the type KOTYOC XAPAKTHP have appeared on the coin market. These are:

1. 16.81 g, edge bent – *Bank Leu* 79, (31 October 2000), no. 106 = *Freeman and Sear / Manhattan sale* III, (3 January 2012), no. 125;
2. 16.31 g. – *CNG Triton VII* (Jan. 2004), 182 = *Triton III* (30 November – 1 December 1999), no. 422;
3. 16.36 g. – *Gorny & Mosch* 107 (2 April 2001), 103 = *CNG MBS 61* (24 Sept. 2002), no. 549 = *Gorny & Mosch* 122 (10 Mar. 2003), no. 1191;
4. 16.35 g. – *H. D. Rauch* 71, (28 April 2003), no. 113.

### 6.5.2. The legend

The legend XAPAKTHP on this series is usually explained<sup>68</sup> with the Greek word for a ‘die, stamp’.<sup>69</sup> That would enhance the meaning as ‘coin type/ image of Cotys’, to distinguish it from the common Thasian tetradrachms produced and copied in Thrace on a large-scale during the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

### 6.5.3. Attribution and dating

But which **Cotys** we are dealing with? Various researchers have assigned different dates and attributions for this coinage. Not long ago Y. Youroukova, following François Lenormant’s suggestion<sup>70</sup>, attributed this short-lived series to King Cotys (VI), son of Sadala I, to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, thus ca. 57–48 BC.<sup>71</sup> Antiquarian numismatic studies like M. Cary<sup>72</sup> preferred to attribute this rare series to King Cotys IV [VIII], the son of Rhoemetalces I, who ruled ca.12–19 AD. Alfred von

<sup>67</sup> See Chirilă – Pop 1968, 162, no. 24; Prokopov 2006, 227, no. 79.

<sup>68</sup> Head 1911, 285; Svoronos 1912, 62-63; Babelon 1930, *Traité* IV, 837; Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 177.

<sup>69</sup> However, χαρακτηρ also means the ‘one who engraves coins’ / ‘engraver’, ‘coin type’ / ‘standard’ and also ‘stamp on coins/seals’, cf. Liddell – Scott Dictionary 1996, 1977.

<sup>70</sup> Lenormant 1897, 195, n.5.

<sup>71</sup> Youroukova 1976, 43-45; Юркуова 1992, 177-178 and Карайотов / Karayotov 1990, 25-27.

<sup>72</sup> Cary 1752, 73.

Sallet<sup>73</sup> and Barclay V. Head<sup>74</sup> assigned them to Cotys [III], who ruled shortly under Augustus and died ca. 16/5 BC (on him see Ovid. *Trist.* 3.197ff.). Waclaw Dobrusky<sup>75</sup> and Nikola Mouchmov<sup>76</sup> offered the same attribution.

More recently, however, Topalov argued that these are frequently associated only with rough, barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms and suggested a date later than Youroukova's – ca. 27 BC.<sup>77</sup> This dating, or roughly around ca. 30 BC is accepted by Ilya Prokopov in his corpus of Thasian coinage<sup>78</sup> and most recently by François de Callataÿ.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, it may be proposed here (following the traditional identification of von Sallet, Head, *et alii*) that the KOTYOC XAPAKTHP issues must be identified with **Cotys III (VII)** and his accession to the Thracian throne around 30–28/7 BC (on him see further below).

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### 6.6. Sadalas I, ca. 87/6 – 79 (or 58/7?) BC

The remaining part of the Thracian royal coinage of the 1<sup>st</sup> century is rather obscure and chaotic. Only bronze coins are known from a number of rulers named Sadalas and Cotys, again pointing towards a well established political legacy. Who was the Sadalas mentioned on the late Mostis tetradrachms, remains difficult to say (*chapter* History of Thrace, 3.8.1). However, no coins from Sadalas [I] are known.<sup>80</sup>

### 6.7. Coins of Cotys II [VI], ca. 57 – 48 BC

<sup>73</sup> von Sallet 1876, 242-244.

<sup>74</sup> Head 1911, 285.

<sup>75</sup> Добруски / Dobrusky 1897, 629.

<sup>76</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1912, 241.

<sup>77</sup> Топалов / Topalov 1996 [published 2001], 112-3.

<sup>78</sup> Прокопов 2006, 57 and no. 1860.

<sup>79</sup> de Callataÿ 2012, 307–322, esp. 317-8.

<sup>80</sup> *contra* Койчев/ Койчев 2003, 31 and 40, nos. 47-49, who assigned the well-known Sadalas II series to Sadalas I, see below.

Cotys issued a small series of bronze coins (AE 11/12-14 mm, 0.50-1.85g). Only a single type is extant: Diademed head of Cotys right / Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΚΟΤΥΟΣ in exergue.<sup>81</sup> One of the known pieces derives from *Aquae Calidae* find of 1910,<sup>82</sup> about ten from Ahtopol (*Agathopolis*)<sup>83</sup>, two<sup>84</sup> come from a hillfort named 'Kaletō' at Gollitza village near Ozbor, Burgas region (anc. *Naulochos*), 2 more from the immediate area of *Mesambria*<sup>85</sup>, and one piece from the A.P. Stamoulis collection (provenance *Selymbria – Perinthus*).<sup>86</sup>



**Fig. 6.19a-b.** Coins of Cotys II, ca.57-48 BC. AE 11-13mm; a. Hourmouziadis, SHH 4698; b. Type SNG Stancomb 299.

### 6.8. Coins of Sadalas [II], ca. 48 – 42 BC

**Sadalas** struck a single issue of bronze coins<sup>87</sup> of the same type: Draped and diademed bust r. / Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, AE 13-15 mm, 2.60-3.70 g). They are usually dated between ca. 48–42 BC. He is titled 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ' on the coins. His issues are nearly as rare as the ones of his predecessor, being found in the same zone along the West Black Sea (three from *Aquae Calidae*<sup>88</sup>, one from Gollitza near Obzor<sup>89</sup>, and one from the coastal town of Ahtopol), and in the Strandzha mountain (a recent excavation find from Slivarovo near Malko Tarnovo).<sup>90</sup> The finds from European Turkey include:

<sup>81</sup> Добруски / Dobrusky 1897, 633, no. 14; Head 1911, 286; Мушмов / Mouchmov 1912, 192, no. 5773; Youroukova 1976, no. 148; Юркова/ Youroukova 1992, 281, no. 142; SNG Stancomb no. 299.

<sup>82</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 239, kept in Sofia Museum, inv. no. 6978.

<sup>83</sup> Mentioned in A. Koychev – Z. Zhekova 1999, 22.

<sup>84</sup> See Koychev – Zhekova 1999, 21-4, nos. 1-2, figs. 1-2 on 24. Kept in the Regional Museum of Shumen, inv. nos. 14633-14634.

<sup>85</sup> Койчев/ Koychev 2003, 40, nos. 50-53.

<sup>86</sup> Oikonomos – Varouka-Christodouloupoulou 1955, 140, no. 916, pl. V, 6.

<sup>87</sup> Добруски / Dobrusky 1897, 633, nos. 12, 15; Head 1911, 286; Mouchmov 1912, 339, pl. 38.2-3; Youroukova 1976, 40-41, nos. 149-152; Юркова/ Youroukova 1992, 178-180, nos. 144-146.

<sup>88</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 240, 3 kept in Sofia Museum, inv. nos. 6920, 6559 and 7366.

<sup>89</sup> Koychev – Zhekova 1999, 23-4, no. 3, fig. 3 on 24, now in Shumen Museum, inv. no. 14632.

<sup>90</sup> Penchev 2011, 61-2.

1. Two specimens from the *Heraion Teichos* excavation near *Perinthus*<sup>91</sup>;
2. Two specimens in the C. N. Lischine collection, acquired in the Edirne/Constantinople region<sup>92</sup>;
3. Two more from the A.P. Stamoulis collection, formed in *Selymbria*.<sup>93</sup>



Fig. 6.20. Sadalas II, ca. 48-42 BC. Æ15-16mm (SNG BM *Black Sea* 314 = Юркува 1992, nos. 144-146).

Recently a new, smaller denomination of Sadala has been reported.<sup>94</sup> It has a diameter of only 9-12 mm and an average weight of 0.77-1.62 g. The types greatly resemble those of his father Cotys II's issues.<sup>95</sup> The first known specimen comes again from the Western Black sea coast – from the town of *Ahtopol/Agathopolis*; the second, better preserved, is from a recent auction sale.



Fig. 6.21. Sadalas, ca. 48-42 BC. Æ 12mm (after CNG E-sale 240, 8 Sept. 2010, no. 104).

## 6.9. Coins of Rhaescuporis I

As a matter of fact, *Rhaescuporis* struck bronzes inscribed in a peculiar way related to his claims on power: **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ – ΚΟΤΥΣ / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – ΡΑΙΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΔΟΣ (ΡΑΙΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΕΩΣ)**. Previously these issues were traditionally

<sup>91</sup> Only one is published, see Yağiz 2008, 110, no. 27, data about the 2<sup>nd</sup> from Dr O. Yağiz.

<sup>92</sup> *Collection C. N. Lischine. Monnaies grecques. Thrace* (Macon 1902), nos. 1496-1497.

<sup>93</sup> Oikonomos – Varouka-Christodouloupoulou, *The Numismatic Collection of Anastasios P. Stamoulis* (Athens 1955), 73, nos. 483-484, pl. III, 15.

<sup>94</sup> Койчев / Kouchev 2003, 40, no. 47.

<sup>95</sup> If actually they are not identical.

assigned to Rhaescuporis III and Cotys III [VIII]<sup>96</sup>, but Youroukova<sup>97</sup> twice demonstrated their convincing attribution to **Rhaescuporis I**. Following Youroukova, the editors of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC I, p. 321) listed only two known types of **Rhaescuporis**: –

1. Larger denomination, Æ 19-21 mm, 4.20–8.50 g (= RPC 1702),
2. Smaller, Æ 16-17 mm, 3.28–4.54 g (= RPC 1703).

The larger denomination has the following reverse: Victory advancing left, holding palm branch over l. shoulder and triumphal wreath with her right hand.<sup>98</sup> In fact this type resembles a *denarius* of Brutus struck in the spring/summer 42 BC (Crawford 507/2), which was in active circulation in the area.



**Fig. 6.22a-b.** A. Bronze coin of Rhaescuporis (I), ca. 43-42/1 BC, Æ 20mm (Youroukova 1976, no. 153). B. Drawing of obverse of the same type (after Crawford 1897).

The smaller denomination's reverse is a trophy consisting of a cuirass on tree, a helmet, crossed shields, and figure-of-eight shield. Again, it is apparently derived from the *denarius* of Brutus struck in the summer of 42 BC (Crawford 505/5 and 506/2). Consequently this coinage must be dated after 42/1 BC.



**Fig. 6.23.** Bronze coin of Rhaescuporis I. ca. 42/1 BC, Æ 16mm (type Youroukova 1976, no. 157).

<sup>96</sup> Crawford 1897, 321-336; Роголски/ Rogalski 1972, 39-42; Sullivan 1979, 197.

<sup>97</sup> Youroukova 1976, 40-53 and Юрукова 1992, 180-184, nos. 147-150.

<sup>98</sup> Youroukova 1976, nos. 153-156.



Based on the statistics provided by Youroukova<sup>99</sup> (who examined over 25 coins of *Rhaescuporis I*), the larger 'Victory' type was more prevalent than the 'trophy' type. The distribution and circulation zone of the *Rhaescuporis* coins cannot be defined at present, but it is possible to narrow down areas of concentration in central Thrace around *Philippopolis*.<sup>100</sup> Their circulation zone extended to the western areas of Thrace, such as those from the site of Arbanas near Radomir.<sup>101</sup> This indicates that *Rhaescuporis* was a powerful ruler who had extended his control over western Thrace. Recently it was suggested that the *Rhaescuporis* bronzes were minted in the Greek coastal towns – at Maroneia or Abdera.<sup>102</sup>

As far as numismatic specifics are concerned, the issues struck by *Rhaescuporis* depict a powerful legacy as well as dynastic claims.

With *Rhaescuporis I* and the gradually increasing flow of Roman money and influence in Thrace, the dynastic coinage gradually started to resemble the Roman coins in value and iconography.

### 6.10. Coins of Cotys III (VII)

This Cotys is not known to have issued coins in his own name (but compare above – for the preferred attribution of rare tetradrachms inscribed KOTYOC XAPAΚTHP).

### 6.11. Coins of Rhoemetalces I, ca. 12/1 BC – AD 12

Rhoemetalces struck coinage on a large-scale, mass in bronze and rare in silver. It features the portrait of Augustus and/or with his name rendered in Greek.

<sup>99</sup> Youroukova / Юркуова 1992, 183.

<sup>100</sup> With a number of coins kept in the Plovdiv museum, see Юркуова/ Youroukova 1992, 183, n.29.

<sup>101</sup> Type *RPC I*, 1702 – Æ, 21.5/18.5 mm; 7.05 g; axis 12 h, Regional Historical Museum of Pernik, field no. 1/ 1984. First reported in Любенова / Lyubenova, in *Arheologija* (Sofia 1985), no. 4, 26-7, fig. 1, see *Find cat. no. 324* for a full list of site finds.

<sup>102</sup> Койчев / Koychev 2003, 48.

### 6.11.1. Bronze coinage

The bronze falls into two main groups. The first group is only of small denomination, and has no portraits (*RPC* I 1704-1707)<sup>103</sup>. It features types of purely Roman nature and authority:

The first type (*RPC* 1704) shows *fascēs* / royal shaped *throne*<sup>104</sup> with spear:



Fig. 6.24. Æ 17-18mm, *RPC* 1704. Photo after CNG E-sale 68 (9 July 2003), no. 135.

while the second type (*RPC* 1705) – *fascēs* and capricorn / throne with a male head above, royal monogram on the throne:



Fig. 6.25. Æ 16mm, *RPC* 1705. Photo after CNG E-sale 244 (10 Nov. 2010), no. 299.

The third type is *RPC* 1706: Victory advancing right holding wreath / *capricorn* right with globe<sup>105</sup> (Augustus' zodiacal sign and personal emblem):



Fig. 6.26. Æ 14-15 mm, *RPC* 1706.

As far as chronology is concerned, Youroukova suggested<sup>106</sup> that these types were struck *ca.* 11 BC, when ***Rhoemetalces*** was installed on the throne by the Romans (after the 'Thracian war') and received the symbols of power from Augustus.

<sup>103</sup> Same as Youroukova 1976, 57, nos. 161-168; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 188-189.

<sup>104</sup> The iconography of the throne on Rhoemetalces' coin is very similar to the late Sassanid kings of Persia, see M. Alam – R. Gyselen (eds.), *Sylloge nummorum sassanidarum. Vol. I. Ardashir I – Shapur I. Persepolis*, (Wien 2003).

<sup>105</sup> It seems that the reverse type is taken directly from the Augustan *denarii* minted at colonia Patricia / Tarraco in 18-16 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 126, 130) or most probably – the Lugdunum series of 12 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 174; BNC 1403).

The second group has portraits on it, clearly showing the client status of the Thracian kingdom:

A. Two portraits (Rhoemetalces / Augustus – RPC 1713-1720):



**Fig. 6.27.** A. Plain type - RPC 1718. Photo after CNG E-sale 178 (14 May 2008), no. 1180; B. RPC 1720 - with long-neck vase before Augustus.

B. Three portraits (Rhoemetalces and his queen Pythodoris / Augustus sole – RPC 1711-1713) –

**Fig. 6.28:** Æ 24mm (8.73 g), RPC 1711. Photo after CNG E-sale 178 (28 May 2008), no. 183.



**Fig. 6.29a-b.** Æ 23mm, RPC 1712 – long-neck vase before head of Augustus. Photo after CNG E-sale 235 (23 June 2010), no. 330.

and even –

C. Four portraits (Rhoemetalces and Pythodoris / Augustus and Livia – RPC 1708-1710):



**Fig. 6.30:** Æ 27-29mm, RPC 1708. Photo after Numismatik Lanz, Munchen, Auktion 147 (2 Nov. 2009), no. 50.

<sup>106</sup> Youroukova 1976, 57; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 189.

Undoubtedly, the use of jugate portraits of Rhoemetalces and his wife is influenced and copied from the provincial mints of Smyrna (*cf.* RPC 2466) and Ephesus (RPC 2610; *SNG Copenhagen* 366), where Augustus and Livia heads are featured in the same way. They are dated after ca. 10 BC.

### 6.11.2. Denominational system and metrology

At least four denominations of bronzes were struck. They may represent a local equivalent of mainstream Roman denominations of Augustus. Their metrology is as follows:

Table 6.3.

	<b>Æ 1</b> (= <i>sestertius</i> )	<b>Æ 2</b> (= <i>dupondius</i> )	<b>Æ 3</b> (= <i>as</i> )	<b>Æ 3</b> (= <i>quadrans?</i> )
<b>Rhoemetalces I</b>	27-29 mm, 16.67 g (6) (RPC 1708-9)	22-24 mm, 9.37 g (29) (RPC 1711-3)	18 mm, 4.65 g (31) (RPC 1718-20)	14-15 mm, 2.04 g (5) (RPC 1706-7)
<b>Rhoemetalces II</b>	---	24 mm, 10.36 g (1) (RPC 1721)	---	---
<b>Rhoemetalces III</b>	28-29 mm, 20.66 g (4) (RPC 1722)	24-25 mm, 13.29 g (2) (RPC 1723-4)	19-20 mm, 6.70 g (3) (RPC 1725)	17 mm, 4.54 g (1) (RPC 1726)

As far as the iconography is concerned, portraying both the local Thracian ruler and the emperor Augustus clearly shows the Roman nature of Rhoemetalces' coinage.

### 6.11.3. Evidence of Hoards

In the absence of clear chronological boundaries to date the bronze coinage, the hoard evidence is crucial. The following hoards<sup>107</sup> from Thrace contained larger quantities of Rhoemetalces I issues:

1. **Gruevo / 1954, Momchilgrad, Kardzhali region** – pot hoard of around 600 coins – examined 448 Æ (now in Sofia).<sup>108</sup> One bronze comes from Mytilene on Lesbos, in the name of Theophanes, dated to the time of Augustus (ca. AD 5–14)<sup>109</sup>; and all the other 447 belong to Rhoemetalces I with Augustus (types *RPC* 1711-2 and 1717-20). Youroukova reported also coins of Rhoemetalces II and Tiberius in this hoard, but this is doubtful until a full publication appears. 448 pieces – in the Sofia museum. *T.p.q.*: ca. AD 5–12.
2. **Erma Reka / 1951, Zlatograd area, Smolyan district**<sup>110</sup> – a clay pot with 2-3 kilos of bronze coins (~400–500) of two different denominations, all of Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris and Augustus. Only 2 specimens (*RPC* I, 1711-2?) of this large hoard are now preserved in the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, no. 4340. Unpublished. *T.p.q.*: ?
3. **Plovdiv – ‘Lauta’ / 1956** (3 km SE of the town center)<sup>111</sup> – pot hoard of 85 Æ of Rhoemetalces I, 75 of large denomination (23 mm); 8 of the smaller). Plovdiv museum, inv. no. 2127 (84 pieces), unpublished. *T.p.q.*: AD 19-21?
4. **Plovdiv area / 1981**<sup>112</sup> [see Find cat. No. 146] – contained over 100 Æ: more than 18 bronzes (4 Rhoemetalces I; Rhoemetalces II? and 14? Tiberius) plus 7 *denarii* of Tiberius (1 examined, PONTIF MAXIM) in mint condition, dispersed. *T.p.q.*: AD 19–21/6.

<sup>107</sup> Some hoards with bronzes of Rhoemetalces from Bulgaria are listed by Youroukova 1990, 195-9; and one can find more of them in Kunisz 1997, 57, note 7.

<sup>108</sup> See Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, p. 610. Unpublished in detail, but discussed in Youroukova 1976, 61-3; Youroukova 1989, pp. 195-196, pl. 22.5; Юрукова / Youroukova 1992, 198-9, figs. 53-56.

<sup>109</sup> Type *RPC* I, 396-7, no. 2342; *SNG Cop.* no. 405.

<sup>110</sup> Цончев / Tzonchev, Монетните съкровища намерени в Пловдивски окръг през 1955-1959 г. – *Годишник на Народния Археологически музей в Пловдив* 4 (Plovdiv 1960), 207–8.

<sup>111</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1959, 359; Цончев / Tzonchev 1960, 209; Кисъев / Kissiov 2004, 35, table 2.

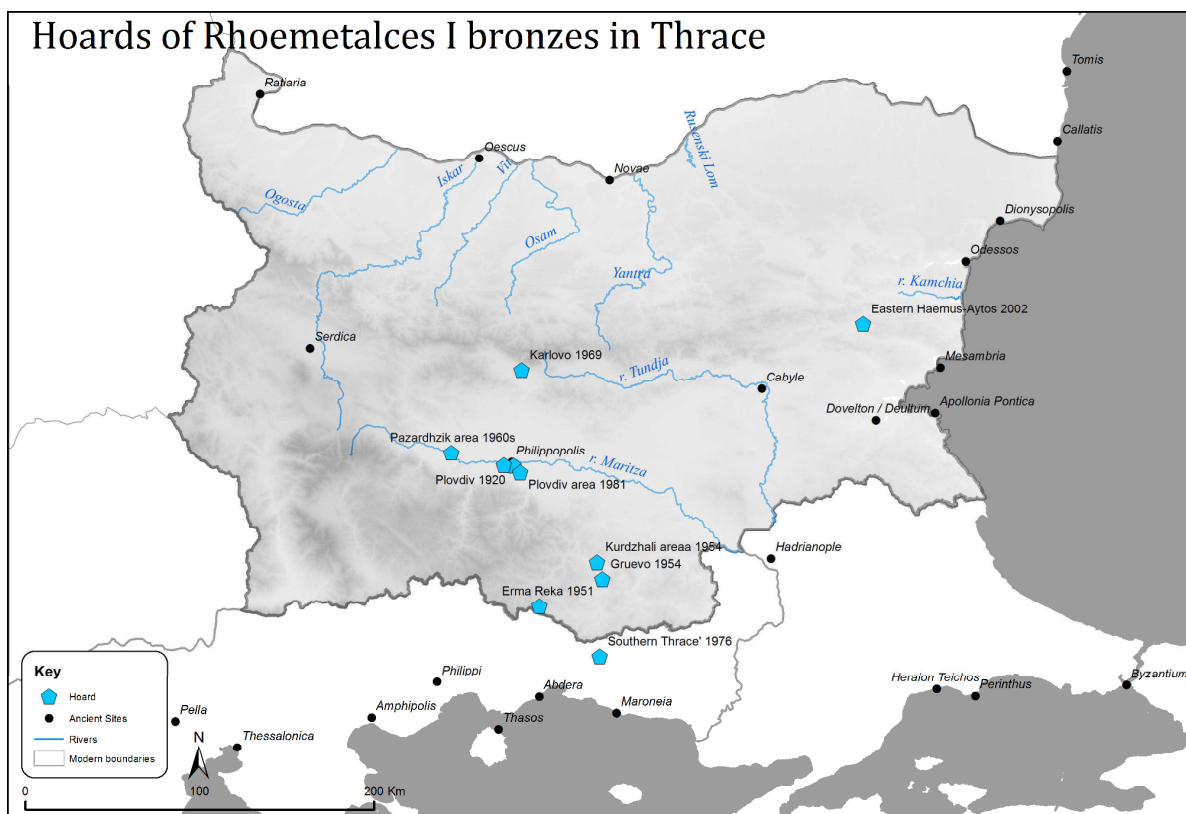
<sup>112</sup> Юрукова / Youroukova 1983, 114.

5. **Kurdzhali / 1954**<sup>113</sup> – large pot hoard (100+ Æ), only 4 coins examined, both types of Rhoemetalces I: *RPC* 1711-2 and 1713-6, very well preserved. Dispersed. *T.p.q.*: AD 10-12?
6. **Karlovo / 1969**<sup>114</sup> – a large hoard of many Æ, 10 examined of the large denomination – all Rhoemetalces I and Pythodoris with Augustus, very well preserved. Karlovo Museum, unpublished. *T.p.q.*: ?
7. **'Southern Thrace' / 1976** [NE Greece], (*CH* 3. 85) – over 1000 Æs of Rhoemetalces I, both denominations 18mm and 22mm, some *RPC* I, 1708. Many countermarked with **PK** or **PKA** monogram (Howgego 1985, no. 632 and 636). Dispersed in trade. *T.p.q.*: ca. AD 12 – 21?
8. **Plovdiv / 1920** [unpublished] – a hoard of unknown contents: 9+ coins of Rhoemetalces and Augustus of denominations, 17/18mm and 22 mm. Plovdiv Museum, no. 1099-1107. *T.p.q.*: after 12-14 AD?
9. **Pazardzhik area / 1960s?** [hitherto unknown, unpublished] – a (part of?) hoard, contents unknown: 19+ Æ of Rhoemetalces and Augustus - of three denominations, 16.5/16 mm (1), 22/24 mm (8) and 28/30mm (10 pieces), Regional Historical Museum of Pazardzhik, inv. nos. 2184-2202. *T.p.q.*: after 12 AD?
10. **'Eastern Haemus' (Aytos pass) / 2002** – part of hoard with 32+ Æ coins: 1 of Rhoemetalces I and Augustus and 31 of Rhoemetalces II with Tiberius. Now in Varna Archaeological Museum, published.<sup>115</sup> *T.p.q.*: AD 21/6–37?

<sup>113</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 610, unpublished.

<sup>114</sup> Gerassimov 1979, 137.

<sup>115</sup> Published by Лазаренко / Lazarenko 2005, 249-62.



**Fig. 6.31.** Distribution map of hoards with bronze coins of Rhoemetals I (map by A. Sobotkova).

The distribution of the Rhoemetals' hoards of bronze coins is very characteristic – largely concentrated in Central and Eastern Thrace, mainly in the Rhodopes and along the valley of the *Hebros* / Maritsa [map above].

Except for the Karlovo hoard (No. 6), Pazardzhik area (No. 9) and two from the area around *Philippopolis*/Plovdiv (nos. 4 & 8), all the other hoards were found in the Rhodopes mountain (including no. 7). It appears that this area is the key to the Rhoemetals' hoards. In this respect I would not agree with Youroukova and assume that these hoards could have been related to the large Thracian revolts, suppressed by the Romans in 21 and 26 AD and the political crisis in southern Thrace.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Youroukova 1990, 198; Юрyкoвa / Youroukova 1992, 200-1; see also below.

#### 6.11.4. Notes on circulation

A close look at the circulation pattern and distribution of stray finds of Rhoemetalces' issues supports the above and suggests an association with temporary activities and military dynamics in Thrace. Sixteen stray coins of Rhoemetalces I are kept in the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, all from the region of Philippopolis/Plovdiv.<sup>117</sup> The neighbouring museum of Pazardzhik holds 12 more of Rhoemetalces and Augustus (besides hoard no. 9, *supra*).<sup>118</sup> The West Euxine area and the coastal regions of Varna and Burgas provided a further 45 pieces (14 in Varna museum<sup>119</sup>; 31 – in Burgas<sup>120</sup>).

As discussed earlier, the bronze coins of King Rhoemetalces I are very common and widespread all across south/southeastern Thrace in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. A notable concentration can be observed near *Philippopolis* and the Thracian valley, as well as around *Aquae Calidae – Deultum* area along the western Euxine coast (see map above). More than 2,020 specimens of Rhoemetalces I from hoards and about 350 as stray coins are registered. All other major finds of coinage of the Late Thracian kings are included in a table of distribution [see [comparative table 2, 1-2](#)].

The former should be perhaps explained by the military events and urgent Roman manoeuvres in the region on both occasions – in 21 and 26 AD (see below for detailed account). To the south they extend as far as the island of Thasos<sup>121</sup>, and to the north as far as Tyras at the mouth of Dniester river in northern Black sea.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>117</sup> My own examination in the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, October 2010.

<sup>118</sup> Information from Mrs Stoilka Ignatova and own examination, 2009.

<sup>119</sup> Information from Mr Igor Lazarenko, Varna Archaeological Museum.

<sup>120</sup> Author's own examination and informations from Professor Ivan Karayotov and Dr Martin Gyzelev, Burgas.

<sup>121</sup> Picard 1994, 269-70 and 274.

<sup>122</sup> Сапрыкин/ Saprykin 1997, 52.



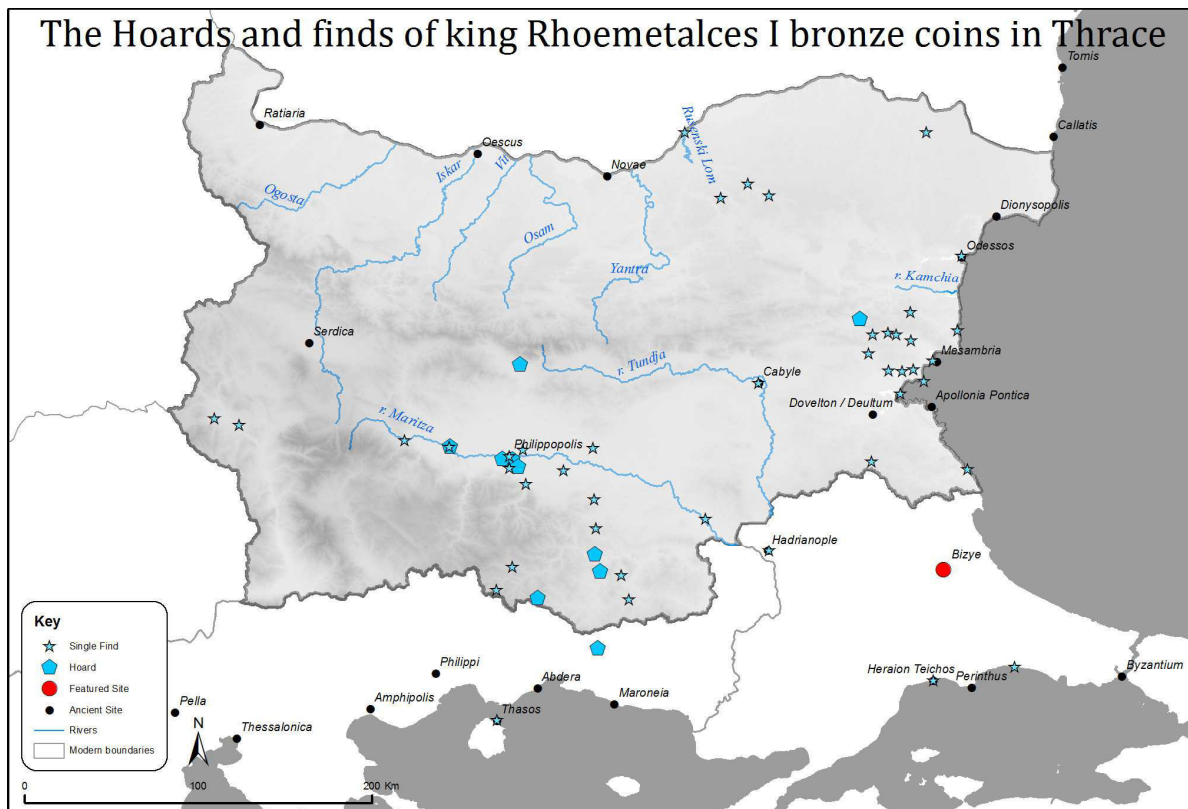


Fig. 6.32. Distribution of Rhoemetals bronze coins in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

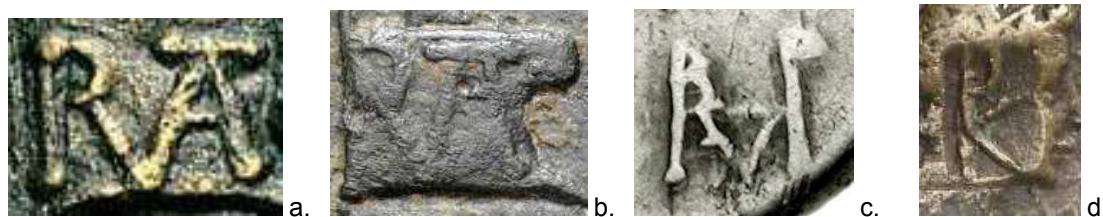
### 6.11.5. Countermarks on Rhoemetals issues

In addition the *countermarking* of these coins supports the military association discussed above. A number of the Rhoemetals' bronzes were countermarked at some point<sup>123</sup>, usually with a monogram composed of the letters in Rhoemetals' name in a few different forms – **PMTA**, **BA POIMA**<sup>124</sup> or **PKA**.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>123</sup> See Howgego 1985, pp. 231-2; *RPC I*, 1992, 313-5.

<sup>124</sup> Some of them are listed in Howgego 1985, nos. 632 and 636; Youroukova 1976, 58–59, nos. 186-187 and *RPC I* under nos. 1711 (14-15, 26-27); 1715 (7- 9) and 1717 (1).

<sup>125</sup> It seems most likely the monogram **PKA** / **KAP** to be regarded as abbreviation of  $\text{Καίσαρ}$  = *Caesar* (for Augustus and Tiberius).



**Fig. 6.33.** Monograms of Rhoemetaces I. a. On a bronze coin, RPC 1708; b. On a bronze coin, RPC 1705; c. On a drachm of Byzantium, RPC 1775; d. On bronze issue, RPC 1718, Berlin, no. 18211603.

It clearly shows the countermarking (*fig. 6.33d*) of earlier issues of Rhoemetaces I allowed them to circulate along with his later coins, which are marked with the same royal monogram engraved directly on the dies (*fig. 6.33a-c*). Therefore, the chronological order of the issues is different, the opposite to that which Youroukova has proposed<sup>126</sup>, as Howgego first suggested.<sup>127</sup>

Interestingly, the Rhoemetaces I countermark appears also on foreign coins of a few different cities located in remote Bithynia and Phrygia, such as Heraclea Pontica and Hierapolis. Most of them are applied to bronzes of Augustus and Rhoemetaces I himself, but some appear as well on posthumous coins of Augustus and Livia<sup>128</sup> and even on Tiberian emissions.<sup>129</sup> One countermark also appears on large bronzes of Thessalonica struck by Tiberius (of AD 22/23) and of Claudius.<sup>130</sup> This mark was explained by Touratsoglou as belonging to Crassus – M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, governor of Macedonia, Achaia and Moesia in *ca.* AD 39-44.<sup>131</sup> In this case, the above discussed Thracian countermarks should be attributed to Rhoemetaces III, not to Rhoemetaces I.

However, the above discussion suggests and further supports the opinion that all these countermarks were executed at the time of Tiberius: the first for Rhoemetaces II; and the latter of Thessalonica – for Rhoemetaces III (see below) under Claudius (before AD 44/5).

<sup>126</sup> Youroukova 1976, pp. 56-59; Юрyкoвa / Youroukova 1992.

<sup>127</sup> Howgego 1985, *ibidem*.

<sup>128</sup> *cf.* Howgego 1985, no. 636.

<sup>129</sup> Howgego 1985, no. 634.

<sup>130</sup> Howgego 1985, no. 634; Touratsoglou 1988, nos. 108, 118.

<sup>131</sup> Touratsoglou 1988, p. 105, no. 5-6.



**Fig. 6.34a-b.** a. Bronze coin (9.71 g) of king Rhoemetalses I, countermarked twice under Rhoemetalses II, ANS, New York, no. 1944.100.36290; b. Detail of the same countermark.

Another countermark applied on the late type of Rhoemetalses bronzes deserves a special mention. It is of the type with a bust of the young Cotys IV [VIII] in the right obverse field (*RPC* I, 1710) and represents an abbreviated name in Latin letters.<sup>132</sup> On the ANS bronze coin (9.71 g, accession no. 1944.100.36290) it is associated with another one – a ‘male head r., wearing diadem’, very similar indeed to the small bust of Cotys IV (VIII) shown on the obverse of this coin.

Howgego read that countermark as “**PVBL**[ius]”, followed by the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* volume I.<sup>133</sup> I would like to propose here that the countermark is an abbreviation of the name of **Publius Vellaeus**, commander of the Moesian army in AD 21 (mentioned in Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.46).<sup>134</sup> He assisted the besieged king Rhoemetalses II at Philippopolis, acting under the orders of the C. Poppaeus Sabinus, provincial governor of the Balkan command. Thus, **Publius Vellaeus**’ role was quite significant in regard to Thracian matters. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that a number of Rhoemetalses I late bronzes were revalidated in the period AD 12-18 by his young son king Cotys IV (VIII), and then by the Roman legate **Publius Vellaeus** in AD 21, perhaps in the town of Philippopolis.<sup>135</sup> In other words, being revalidated the coins of Rhoemetalses I were brought back into the circulation pool as a means of legal payment simultaneously with other contemporary issues (e.g. the denarii of Tiberius, see hoard no. 4 above, from the Plovdiv area).

<sup>132</sup> Howgego 1985, 235, no. 656; *RPC* I, 314.

<sup>133</sup> Howgego 1985, no. 54; *RPC* I, 1710 on n.9.

<sup>134</sup> Comments in: Stout 1911, 5, no. 13; Stein 1940, 19.

<sup>135</sup> It was Demetrio E. Tachella in 1902 who first suggested that the mint of *Philippopolis* was opened at the time of Tiberius (and Rhoemetalses II), see Tacchella 1902, 174-5. See also Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 201.

In addition to 'PVBL', a second countermark with Latin letters also appears on another late series of Rhoemetalces I (*RPC* I, 1717). It reads 'TR' and it is quite possible that this is the name of *Titus Trebellenus Rufus* (see below), who acted as the Roman caretaker (*tutor*) of Rhoemetalces II after AD 19.

Other countermarks on the Rhoemetalces' bronzes were applied in the Western Pontic coastal cities – at *Apollonia Pontica* ('anchor' on obv)<sup>136</sup>, at *Mesambria* ('male head left, in oval/circular punch' and 'ear of barley' on rev.)<sup>137</sup> and at *Anchialus* (monogram ΑΓΧ).<sup>138</sup> This phenomenon was noticed long ago, first by T. Gerassimov<sup>139</sup> on coins from the sacred spring at *Aquae Calidae*, later confirmed by Youroukova<sup>140</sup>, and now broadly discussed by Ivan Karayotov in his corpus of *Mesambria* bronzes.<sup>141</sup> In fact, countermarks on older coins would occur in periods of a shortage of regular issues when new ones are not available. Countermarking to address these needs was quite a common activity in the Roman provinces during the reigns of Tiberius to Nero.<sup>142</sup>

#### 6.11.6. Silver coinage

Besides his extensive bronzes, silver coins were struck for Rhoemetalces I, apparently at *Byzantium*. They are generally very rare and consist of only three types of uncertain denomination, most probably based on the cistophoric standard of Asia.<sup>143</sup>

Table 6.4.

	<i>Tetradrachm</i> ?	<i>Didrachm</i>	<i>Drachm</i>
<b>Rhoemetalces II Augustus</b>		24 mm, 5.83 g	18 mm, 3.39 – 3.93 g

<sup>136</sup> On *RPC* 1710; Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 68-9; Youroukova 1976, no. 192; Топалов / Topalov 2007, 632-3, no. 112.

<sup>137</sup> On *RPC* 1713; Youroukova 1976, no. 193-194.

<sup>138</sup> Топалов / Topalov 2009, 362, no. 87.

<sup>139</sup> Gerassimov 1946, 68-9.

<sup>140</sup> Юрукова / Youroukova 1992, 195-6.

<sup>141</sup> Karayotov 2009, 75-6, pl. 131, 1-3.

<sup>142</sup> See Kraay 1956, 113-56; Berger 1996, 47-8; Martini 2003.

<sup>143</sup> cf. Schönert-Geiss 1972, 4-5; *RPC* I, pp. 311 and 321.

		(1) (RPC 1774)	(8) (RPC 1775)
<b>Tiberius (with Livia)</b>	31 mm, 11.79 – 15.07 g (2 – RPC 1778)	23 mm, 6.29 g (1 – RPC 1779)	-----

The drachms of Rhoemetaces I are known from only ten specimens so far. They were struck with at least three obverse and three reverse dies.<sup>144</sup> Seven are kept in major museum collections (1 London, 3 Berlin, 1 Vienna, 1 Sofia, and 1 Nova Zagora) and three appeared on the market since 2000.<sup>145</sup>



**Fig. 6.35.** Drachm of Rhoemetaces I with Augustus, ca. 11-10 BC (3.93 g). Byzantium mint, RPC 1775. Photo after Triton XIII (5. January 2010), no. 308.

One of them comes from a well dated hoard of *denarii*. This is Sadievo / 1968 Hoard from the Nova Zagora area near Burgas [find cat. no. 154], published by Youroukova.<sup>146</sup> It originally contained 167 *denarii* and 1 tetradrachm (imitation of Macedonia Prima), besides the *drachm*. Augustus is represented with 43 coins, and the latest is an issue dated IMP XII, struck at Lugdunum in 11/10 BC (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 180). This precise dating was used by Youroukova to propose that the silver coinage of Rhoemetaces I was struck shortly after his accession to the throne, again in ca. 11-10 BC. Both drachms and didrachms bear the legend BYZANTIA on the reverse, disclosing where the whole series was made.<sup>147</sup> This legend on the drachms was expanded by H. Seyrig<sup>148</sup> as BYZANTIA (δραχμη).

<sup>144</sup> This scarcity should be explained by the usual Roman mint procedure – they were later re-melted and re-struck into *denarii*.

<sup>145</sup> See CNG 60 (22 May 2002), no. 1199; Numismatik Lanz 117 (24. November 2003), no. 513; and Triton XIII (5. Jan. 2010), no. 308.

<sup>146</sup> Юркова / Youroukova 1972, 32-8; Youroukova 1976, 56, no. 169; Юркова 1992, 188, no. 153.

<sup>147</sup> Schönert-Geiss 1972, 5-6, no. 1302; Youroukova 1976, 55; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 187-188.

<sup>148</sup> Seyrig 1968, 199, note 1.

In addition, the BM London drachm of Rhoemetaces was analyzed by D. R. Walker and found to contain 95% silver (Walker 1976, 56). He therefore concluded that they were Attic drachms “of identical value and silver content to the Lycian drachms, and probably passing as *denarii*” (quoted after *RPC I*, p. 321). This is also confirmed by the aforementioned Sadievo hoard.



**Fig. 6.36.** Drachm of Rhoemetaces I, with Augustus, ca. 11-10 BC. British Museum London, acquired 1910, no. AN691866001 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Secondly, the unique *didrachm* (23 mm, 5.83 g) of Rhoemetaces I, kept in the Bibliothèque nationale collection in Paris,<sup>149</sup> is a coin in poor condition (*RPC I*, 1774) but features the same type with heads of both rulers and a name of a civic moneyer.

#### 6.11.7. Coinage for Rhoemetaces in the allied coastal cities

Besides Byzantium, the nearby city of *Calchedon* struck bronzes for Rhoemetaces I. They are contemporary and closely associated with the issues of Byzantium. There are three types of bronze (*RPC I*, 1783-1785), featuring the head of Rhoemetaces, either with the full name, or abbreviated in monogram (**PMTA**, **PKA**). This numismatic evidence clearly shows that Augustus put all of Bithynia under the administration of his vassal king Rhoemetaces (see *RPC I*, p. xv and 323).

The mint of Mesambria (modern-day Nesebar) on western Euxine coast struck bronzes for Rhoemetaces I and Augustus.<sup>150</sup> They are both of large denomination – AE 27/28 mm. The first type features the heads of both rulers and the legend

<sup>149</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *AMNG I* (1898), 16-8; Мушмов/ Mouchmov 1912, 341, no. 5800.

<sup>150</sup> Карайотов / Karayotov 1997, 46-57, nos. 12-13; Karayotov 2009, pl. 132.

ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ<sup>151</sup>; the second – a single issue for Augustus with Apollo Cytharedos with plektron on the reverse.<sup>152</sup>

The above review demonstrates that the numismatic evidence is of crucial importance in reconstructing the history of the Thracian kingdom under Rhoemetalces I, in light of the scant evidence, and lack of clarity in the written sources.

### 6.12. Coins of Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV, ca. AD 12 – 18/9

It has been argued<sup>153</sup> that during the period of dynastic unrest in Thrace no autonomous coins are known from either *Rhaescuporis III* or *Cotys IV*. Actually *Cotys IV [VIII]* countermarked the bronzes of his father Rhoemetalces with his miniature juvenile bust set in a round frame, but with no name (see above). However, there is a single bronze coin (19x21 mm, 8.88g) with both rulers' names inscribed, from the famous Lischine collection<sup>154</sup>, published in 1902, now in the Hermitage (no. 6881). It features the conjugate diademed heads of Cotys and his co-ruler, while on the reverse Rhaescuporis appears as a rider throwing spear to the right.<sup>155</sup> A similar specimen (22x23 mm, 7.80g) was found in the seaside park in Burgas during the 1970's (now in Burgas Museum no. 2586)<sup>156</sup>. A third specimen (20x21 mm, 6.87g) from Debelt */Deultum* has been recently published and well interpreted by G. Dzanev.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Karayotov 2009, pl. 131. 1-2.

<sup>152</sup> Karayotov 2009, pl. 131. 3-4.

<sup>153</sup> As in Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 153-4; the same in Койчев / Koychev 2003, 41. See also Gerassimov 1965, 252-4.

<sup>154</sup> *Collection C. N. Lischine. Monnaies grecques. Thrace* (Macon 1902), no. 1498, 162, pl. 34. Constantine Nikolaevich Lischine (1851–1905) was a Russian diplomat in the Ottoman Empire for 25 years, and general consul in Hadrianople in 1877-1881, where the majority of his collection was formed.

<sup>155</sup> Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 153-5, no. 120; Koychev 2003, 41-2, no. 55.

<sup>156</sup> see Karayotov *et alii* 2000, 20; Karayotov 2002, 433.

<sup>157</sup> Дзанев / Dzanev 2008, 305-13, esp. at 306, pl. 25.1.



**Fig. 6.37.** Bronze coin (20x21mm) of Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV from Debelt, region Burgas.  
Photo G. Dzanev.

The three coins described above must therefore be assigned to ***Rhaescuporis III*** and ***Cotys IV***, probably struck under Cotys' authority since his depiction and name appears on the obverse. The series should be strictly dated to ca. AD 12-17, before the break in their relations.

### 6.13. Coins of Rhoemetalces II, AD 19 – ca. 37/8

The recurring names of the last three Thracian kings impose problems with the identification of their coin series, as Youroukova correctly noted.<sup>158</sup> Mislead by stylistic features, she proposed two new series of Rhoemetalces I coins<sup>159</sup>, assigning them to Rhoemetalces II.<sup>160</sup> In fact, they fit into the later series of Rhoemetalces I and Augustus, most probably struck at Bizye.<sup>161</sup>

Only one series of the three assigned by Youroukova<sup>162</sup> to Rhoemetalces II, may be attributed to this ruler.<sup>163</sup> This series is specifically inscribed **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ**, the proper imperial title for emperor Tiberius in Greek.

<sup>158</sup> Youroukova 1989, 194.

<sup>159</sup> Same as *RPC* I, 313, nos. 1711 and 1718.

<sup>160</sup> Youroukova 1976, 59-63.

<sup>161</sup> For a discussion on *Bizye* mint, see below in chapter *Varia Numismatica*.

<sup>162</sup> Youroukova 1976, 61-3; Youroukova / Юрyкoвa 1992, 198-200, nos. 169-171.

<sup>163</sup> See *RPC* I, 1721 = Youroukova / Юрyкoвa 1992, nos. 172-173.

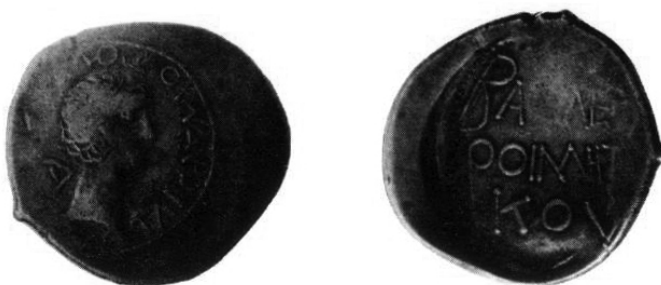




**Fig. 6.38.** Bronze of Rhoemetalces II with Pythodoris and Tiberius, Æ 23-25 mm, Type RPC 1721. Photo after CNG MBS 75 (23 May 2007), no. 795.

#### 6.14. Uncertain silver coins of Rhoemetalces II or III?

In 1996 a new type of silver coin for a certain Rhoemetalces was published by Stavri Topalov, which is worth discussing in regard to the latest Thracian coins. It is obviously a tetradrachm in (late) Attic weight standard (16.12g, 31x34 mm), executed in a strange style and with an almost illegible obverse legend.<sup>164</sup>



**Fig. 6.39.** Silver tetradrachm (16.12g) of Rhoemetalces II(?), Topalov collection, Sofia (Photo courtesy of Mr Topalov).

It may be argued that it features Rhoemetalces II, and not Rhoemetalces I, as Topalov first proposed.<sup>165</sup> From a stylistic perspective, the head is characteristic for Tiberius (or for Caligula), but rather uncommon for Augustus. Its reverse, however, is rather distinct: it shows a legend in 3 lines with large letters: **BACIAE[WC] / POIMHTA[Λ] / KOY**. Upon closer investigation, the rough lettering and the head on the obverse rather resembles some of the bronze series assigned to *Rhoemetalces II*.

<sup>164</sup> Topalov / Topalov 1996, 161-4, figs. 2-3; Topalov 2009, 251-3, 359, no. 83; *Die Thraker* (2004), 175, no. 35.

<sup>165</sup> Topalov / Topalov 1996, 163-5.

Since the late 1990s, two more similar coins have surfaced and been recorded from Bulgaria.<sup>166</sup> The second coin was found somewhere in the Haskovo region (SE Bulgaria), burnt and badly preserved. The third specimen originates from the Rhodopes; weight 15.20 g, diam. 32 mm. It was well-centered strike, so the legends could be clearly read:

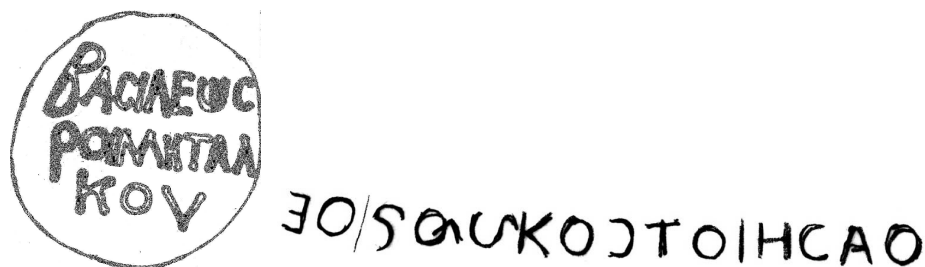


Fig. 6.40. Tetradrachm (15.20g) of Rhoemetalces(?) from Haskovo region, ca. 2005 (Drawing courtesy of Mr S. Topalov, Sofia).

A third specimen of this interesting type has appeared on the coin market, sold at the 'Gorny & Mosch' sale 152 in 2006:



Fig. 6.41. Tetradrachm of Rhoemetalces II (?), (15.18g). Photo after Gorny & Mosch Auktion 152 (10. October 2006), no. 1288.

Whether this was an official issue of *Rhoemetalces II*(?) of Thrace, or a rare series of *Rhoemetalces of Bosphorus*<sup>167</sup> with emperor Hadrian (AD 131–153/4) remains unclear so far.

<sup>166</sup> Information from Mr Stavri Topalov, *per litteras*, July 2011.

<sup>167</sup> This 'Bosporan' attribution is accepted and supported by Prof. D. Draganov (Russe) and Mr A. Koychev (Sofia), *per litteras*.

Since it cannot be determined on the basis of the present evidence how long Rhoemetalces II ruled, the above issues and chronological questions remain unanswered and open for further study.<sup>168</sup> What is clear is that his coinage is related to Tiberius, and not to Caligula.

### 6.15. Coins of Rhoemetalces III, ca. AD 38 – 45/6

The last re-unification of Thrace under Rhoemetalces III is presented as symbolic act on a large royal coin:



**Fig. 6.42.** Large bronze (Æ 29-30mm, 22.69g) of Rhoemetalces III and Caligula, ca. AD 38 (type RPC 1722), Photo after Triton XI (8 Jan. 2008), no. 445, now Hourmouziadis Collection 2869.

On the reverse: Caligula in a toga seated on *sella curulis* to the left, is giving a diadem to the Thracian prince standing to the right in front of him, inscribed **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΑΣ / ΚΟΤΥΟΣ** (RPC 1722).<sup>169</sup>

The middle denomination (Æ 24-25 mm, 10-11g) is the only one with the portraits of both rulers – Caligula and Rhoemetalces III:

<sup>168</sup> *pace* Sullivan 1979, 207.

<sup>169</sup> Same as Мушмов / Mouchmov 1912, no. 5804; Youroukova 1976, nos. 212-213, pl. 35-36; Юркова / Youroukova 1992, 202, fig. 57.



**Fig. 6.43.** Bronze coin (Æ 24 mm, 11.09g) of Rhoemetalces and Caligula. Type RPC 1724. Photo after CNG E-sale 182 (20. Febr. 2008), no. 133.

Smaller bronzes (Æ21 mm) of to Rhoemetalces III also exists. They were for many years attributed to Agrippa I in Judaea (Meshorer 278, no. 2) but was re-attributed to Rhoemetalces of Thrace by Andrew Burnett (RPC 1725 and 1726) on the basis of style and axis orientation. They show Victory with a palm wreath and an eagle with a wreath on the reverse:



**Fig. 6.44.** Bronze coin (Æ 21mm) of Rhoemetalces III. Type RPC 1725. Photo after Spink sale 3014 (8 October 2003), no. 168.



**Fig. 6.45.** Small bronze (Æ 16-17mm, 4.20g) of Rhoemetalces III. Type RPC 1726. Photo after H.D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 76 (17 October 2005), no. 394.

All four types of Rhometalces III feature the Roman emperor on the obverse, showing clearly the hierarchy of the issuing authorities.

In addition, the name of *Rhoemetalces III* in monogram (**POIKA**) appears as countermark on civic coins of Calchedon minted under Claudius (types RPC I, 1787-1788, listed in Howgego 1985, no. 611). It is obvious that this Thracian countermark

should pre-date AD 45, so early in the reign of Claudius not late.<sup>170</sup> This raises once again the question whether Byzantium and Calchedon were indeed attached to the Thracian kingdom until its annexation in AD 45/6.



**Fig. 6.46.** Countermark of Rhoemetalces III on bronze coin of Calchedon for Claudius, Æ 24 mm, type RPC 1787. Photo after CNG E-sale 135 (15 March 2006), no. 45.

## 6.16. Statistical observations

Speaking in real numbers the following picture emerges from the statistical data of late Thracian royal coins<sup>171</sup>:

Table 6.5 (and comparative table 3).

Issuer / ruler	References	Totals
<b>Mostis, ca. 125/0–87/6 BC</b>	Head 1911, 285; <i>SNG Cop.</i> 1172; Роголки / Rogalski 1971, 41-55; Youroukova 1976, 34-7, figs. 131-132; de Callataÿ 1991, 40-45	<b>51+ AR</b>
	<i>SNG BM Black Sea</i> 310-312; <i>SNG Cop.</i> 1173-4; Юрукова 1992, 134-138; Койчев / Койчев 2003, 61-63	<b>63+ Æ</b>
<b>Dizaselmios, ca. 87/6–80? BC</b>	Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 239, no. 178; <i>SNG BM</i> , 320-321; Койчев / Койчев 2003, 48, nos. 88-89	<b>3+ Æ</b>

<sup>170</sup> *Contra* RPC I, 1787, p. 323.

<sup>171</sup> This table and further calculations includes only provenanced coins and those from major museum numismatic collections (London, New York, Berlin, Copenhagen, Paris, Vienna, Moscow, Athens, etc.). Both exceptions are rare tetradrachms of Mostis and the type **KOTYOC XAPAKTHP**, where the data from coin market are also used. Data on Thracian coins from European Turkey and Istanbul are not taken into consideration.

<b>Cotys II [VI], ca. 57–48 BC</b>	Head 1911, 286; Мушмов / Mouchmov 1912, 192, no. 5773; Youroukova 1976, 148; Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 142; <i>SNG Stancomb</i> 299	<b>6 Æ</b>
<b>Sadala II, ca. 48–42 BC</b>	Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 144-145 = <i>SNG BM Black Sea</i> 314	<b>10+ Æ</b>
<b>Rhaescuporis I and Cotys III, ca. 48 – 42/1 BC</b>	Youroukova 1976, 40-53 and Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 147-150 ; <i>RPC</i> 1702-3	<b>21 Æ</b>
<b>Cotys III [VII], ca. 28/7–23/2 BC, type ΚΟΤΥΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ</b>	Youroukova 1976, 41-44, fig. 145; Карайотов 1990, 25-28; Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 177-8; Lukanc 1996, 1924-1926; Прокопов 2006, 1860/ 1-9	<b>16 AR</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 12/11 BC – AD 12</b>	Schönert-Geiss 1972, 1302; Youroukova 1976, 169; Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 187-188; <i>RPC</i> 1774-1775	<b>11 AR drachms 1 AR didrachm</b>
	Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 188-197; <i>RPC</i> 1704-1720	<b>2024+ Æ (hoards) 365 Æ (single)</b>
<b>Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV [VIII], ca. AD 12 – 17/18</b>	Lischine (1902), 1498 = Дзанев / Dzanev 2008	<b>5 Æ</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces II with Tiberius, ca. 19–37/8 AD</b>	<i>RPC</i> 1721	<b>33 Æ</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces III with Caius, ca. 38–45/6 AD</b>	<i>RPC</i> 1722-1724	<b>11 Æ</b>
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>		<b>2,619 [78 AR 2,541 Æ]</b>

When the known data about the late Thracian coins are processed, they look in the following way:

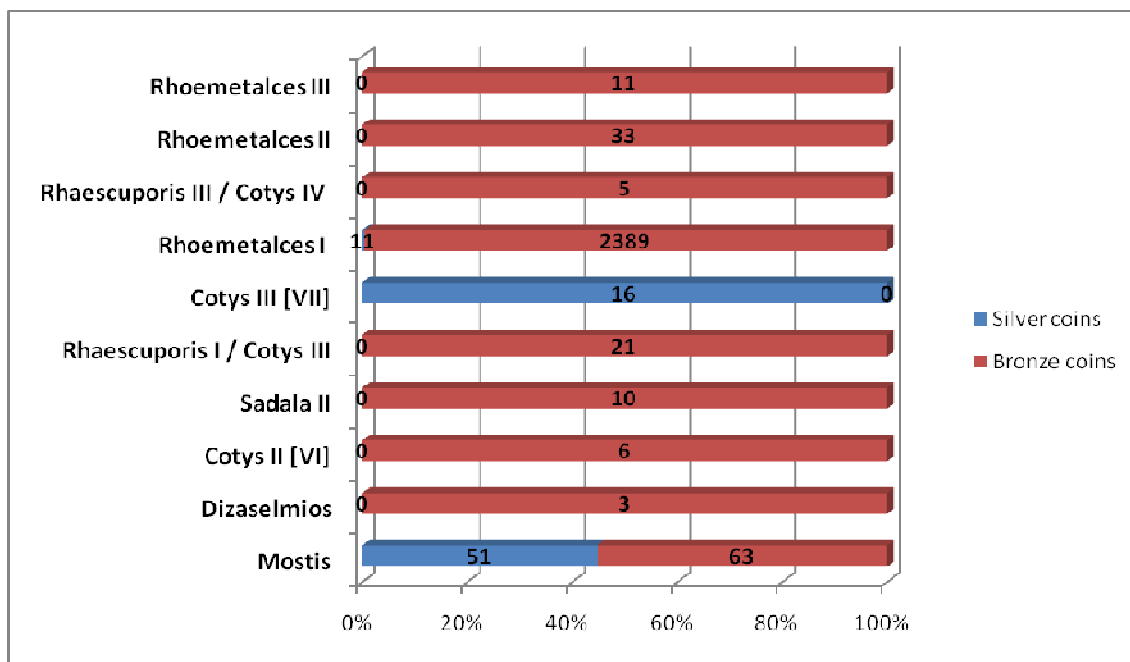


Fig. 6.47. Comparative chart of the late Thracian royal coins (per metal and per number).

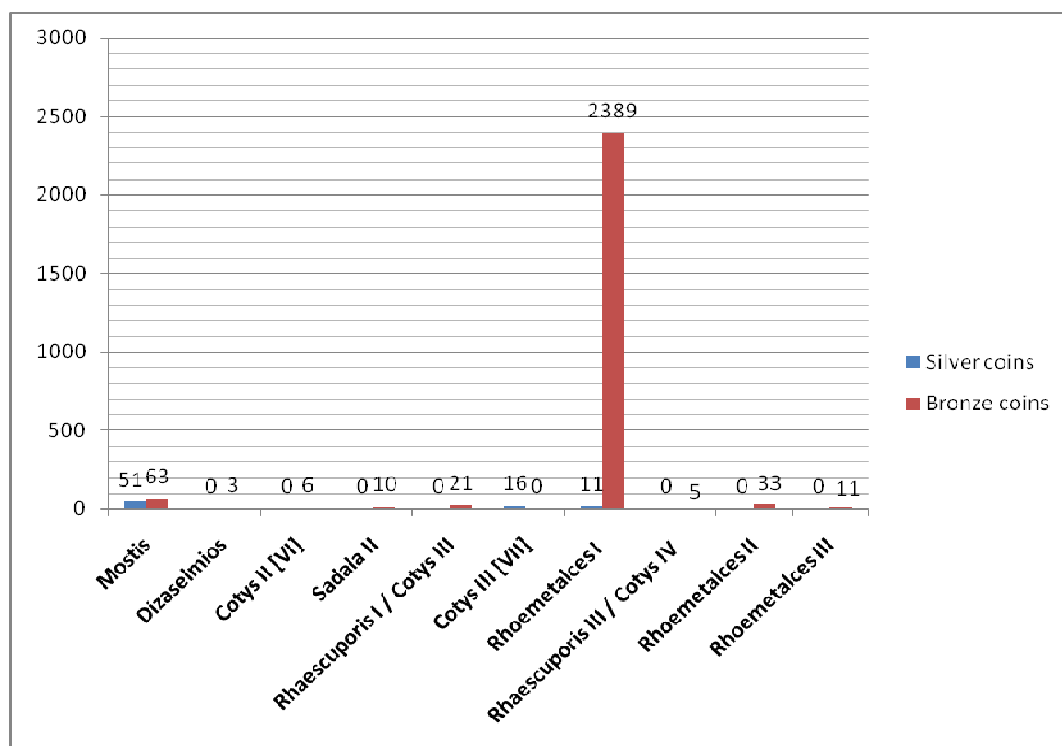


Fig. 6.48. Statistical chart of the same group – late Thracian royal coins (per quantity).

## 6.17. Conclusions

1. The Late Thracian rulers produced a large amount of royal coinage, right up to the annexation of Thrace in AD 45/46. However, given the available quantity of this coinage (ca. 2,600 coins - from published records and studied public collections), it should be regarded more as having a representative meaning for the Thracian kings, rather than as regular minting. Most probably (except for Rhoemetals I), these coinages were produced sporadically only at the beginning of each rule to show king's authority, and not throughout the whole reign.
2. The Late Thracian coinage, as demonstrated above, becomes increasingly influenced by Rome as early as 42-41 BC.<sup>172</sup>
3. Only two Thracian rulers produced coins in silver: Mostis (as a vassal of Mithridates VI) struck tetradrachms [51 specimens known], and Rhoemetals I (drachms and didrachms at Byzantium [11 known]) – as a client-king of Augustus. This is indicative for the subordinate position of the Thracian kings to the powers of the day.
4. The bronze coinage of the rest of the Thracian rulers – before and after Rhoemetals I – was irregular and sporadic.
5. The late Thracian kings, and especially Rhoemetals I, extended their rule to Byzantium and across the Straits – to Chalcedon and Bithynia in Asia Minor, as attested to by coins.
6. The abundance of finds show that the coins of Rhoemetals I was the main source of small change coins within the late Thracian kingdom.
7. As shown, the numerous bronze issues of Rhoemetals I (some 2,400 specimens known) circulated for a long time in Thrace, as late as the

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<sup>172</sup> Hence, it is included and catalogued in the *Roman Provincial Coinage*, volume I (1992).



time of Rhoemetalces III, often being countermarked by his successors (Cotys IV), by Roman authorities (Publius Vellaeus and Trebellenus Rufus) and by Greek cities (Apollonia, Mesambria, Thessalonica and elsewhere).

8. Further research on the stray coin finds of Late Thracian kings in Bulgaria and European Turkey may clarify the extent and the settlement patterns of the state of Rhoemetalces I and his successors.
9. Coins of the last ruler, Rhoemetalces III, are much rarer (about 15 provenanced pieces known) and they obviously had only a symbolic meaning, being struck right after his accession.

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## Chapter 7: The Republican *denarius* hoards

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*“One of the most remarkable phenomena within the pattern of monetary circulation in antiquity is the presence of large numbers of Roman Republican denarii, for the most part struck about 130 and 31, ...”*

(M. H. Crawford 1985, ‘*The Balkan Question*’, 226-7)

### 7.1. Introduction

The main body of this study is formed by the hoards of *denarii* of the Roman Republic and early Principate found on the territory of modern Bulgaria (ancient *Moesia* and *Thrace*), which for long were the main focus of my research interests.<sup>1</sup> According to their contents and chronological framework (see [comparative table 1](#) and [catalogue of finds](#)), the hoards are arranged into two main groups:

Group A: **Republican hoards:** -

A1. Homogenous (*denarii* only) – 73 hoards (with a total of 12,040; of them only 2,699 ‘good’ coins)

A2. Associated (mixed with other issues) – 33 hoards (4,231 in total; of them ‘good’: 1,602 *denarii* and 331 other coin issues)

A3. ‘Groups’ of *denarii* (presumed hoards but uncertain) – 4 (with 103 coins).

Group B: **Early Principate hoards:** – 48 hoards (with a total of 6,341; of them only 4,771 ‘good’ coins).

#### 7.1.1. Status of publication

Table 7.1: Hoards and their status of publication.

<i>Roman Republican</i>	<i>Republican mixed with Late Hellenistic</i>	<i>Imperial Early Principate</i>	<b>TOTAL HOARDS</b>
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<sup>1</sup> See *IRRCHBulg* 2002.

73 hoards	33 hoards	48 hoards	156
Published: 14	Published: 17	Published: 15	<b>Published: 46</b>
Reported: 53	Reported: 29	Reported: 36	<b>Reported: 118</b>
Unpublished: 59	Unpublished: 16	Unpublished: 33	<b>Unpublished: 108</b>

## 7.2. Suitable / unsuitable hoards

Unfortunately, the number of hoards suitable for analysis and further study is remarkably low. This is mainly due to the poor level of recording of Roman hoards in Bulgaria, and the quality of available evidence. The bulk of the hoards found between the 1900s and 1960s were not recorded at all, some were just reported (with approximate number of coins), while others were listed only by magistrates names (according to Babelon) or by emperors (according to Cohen, or by RIC I<sup>1</sup> (1923) in a best case) and then returned to the finders; a third group were misplaced or even stolen (see *chapter 4. Nature of evidence*). Thus, the available suitable evidence for this study consists of:

### A. Republican hoards:

A1. Homogenous – 32 hoards (out of 73), or 44 %.

A2. Associated – 21 hoards (out of 33 hoards), or 63 %.

### B. Early Principate: 31 hoards (out of 48), or 64.5 %.

The totals above show that the one least recorded are the Republican hoards from Bulgaria. As elsewhere<sup>2</sup>, there is only a dozen hoards known to be complete and the data is of variable quality.

For the purpose of study, only hoards with over ten (10)<sup>3</sup> well-identified coins are selected for analyses and only those which were reliably documented and/or published. This low figure is chosen because there are a vast number of smaller deposits recorded (ca. 8/10–20 coins) which are characteristic for the Thracian hoards.

<sup>2</sup> Lockyear 1995, 86.

<sup>3</sup> In contrast to Kris Lockyear's approach, who excluded all hoards with less than 30 coins (Lockyear 1995, 86; Lockyear 1996 and Lockyear 2007, 19). Other scholars like R. Duncan-Jones used only Imperial hoards with face value above HS 400 = 100 *denarii* (Duncan-Jones 1994, 67, notes1-2 and Appendix 10, 261-7).

## Part 1.

### 7.3. Republican coins in Thrace

#### 7.3.1. Republican Bronze

Finds of Roman Republican *aes* are traditionally very rare in the Balkans, except along the Dalmatian coast and Illyria<sup>4</sup>, which were colonized by the Romans since the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>5</sup> The following single finds from Thrace are known to me, all of anonymous Republican *asses*:

Table 7.2.

No.	Find spot	Region	Date	Type / reference	Diam / weight	Location
1.	<b>Krakra fortress, Pernik</b>	Pernik	211–206 or 187–175?	RRC 56/2 or 182?	32 mm, 41.80g	Pernik, H-948 (1971)
2.	<b>Kocherinovo</b>	Blagoevgrad	169–158	RRC 182?	Halved, 26x24 mm, 15.92 g	Kyustendil, 2461 (1988)
3.	<b>Kocherinovo</b>	Blagoevgrad	169–158	RRC 198b	Halved, 28 mm, 13.41 g	Kyustendil, 2542 (1989)
4.	<b>Rupite, Petrich</b>	Blagoevgrad	169–158	RRC 182/1	31 mm, 34.30 g	Petrich, no. 11 (2006)
5.	<b>Skrebatno</b>	Blagoevgrad	179–170	RRC 169/3	28x30 mm, 20.13 g	Blagoevgrad, no. ---
6.	<b>Laskarevo</b>	Blagoevgrad	187–158?	RRC ?	N/A	Private coll. Sofia

The distribution of the Republican *aes* coins listed above is indicative. All finds are concentrated in the southwestern Thrace and near the border with Macedonia, along the valleys of *Strymon/ Strouma* (5 coins) and *Nestos/ Mesta* river (1). The find-spots (except for no. 5, chance find) occurred to be actual Thracian (in case of Skrebatno, possibly Celtic) sites with active occupation in the Late Hellenistic period.

<sup>4</sup> Crawford 1978, 3-11; Crawford 1985, 222-3, App. 52, map 30.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps in Dalmatia were settled Roman *latifundisti*, cf. Crawford 1985, 225.

Two of them – from the Krakra fort in Pernik<sup>6</sup> (see Gazetteer no. 92, find cat. no. 305) and from ‘Rupite’ rigde near Petrich (find cat. nos. 332-334, now identified with the city of *Heraclea Sintica*)<sup>7</sup> were well fortified in earlier time. Both were important regional strongholds and commercial centres along the upper and middle reaches of Strymon. On the other hand, Kocherinovo find derives from the ancient fair of *Scaptopara/ Σκαπτοπάρα*<sup>8</sup>, a site near Blagoevgrad that yielded tens of thousands of ancient coins.<sup>9</sup> Both asses from Kocherinovo are halved in order to produce a small change – common practice towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Augustan period).



**Fig. 7.1.** Halved Republican As from Kocherinovo, RRC 198b. Kyustendil Museum, no. 2542.

The diffusion of these Republican bronzes must be explained with commercial and military contacts with the Romans in the province Macedonia, most likely connected with Thessalonica. This is indeed well recorded in the historical sources of the period (section 3.4).

However, a precise date of the use of the Republican bronze asses from Thrace cannot be determined due to the fact that all examined coins are very worn, corroded and damaged as a result of prolonged circulation. This comes to suggest that their circulation extended down to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, if not even later.

<sup>6</sup> See generally in *Pernik volume 1* (Sofia 1981), this coin ibidem: Юркова / Youroukova 1981, 221-3, no. 7, pl. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Recently see G. Mitrev, “*Civitas Heracleotarum: Heracleia Sintica or the Ancient City at the Village of Rupite (Bulgaria)*”, *ZPE* 145, 2003, 258-71.

<sup>8</sup> See *CIL* III 12336; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 888; Gerov, *Westthrakien I* (Sofia 1961), 307-10, 211-12, no. 173; Mihailov, *IGBulg* IV, 2236.

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished in large majority, some of them are kept in the regional museums in Blagoevgrad and Kyustendil, see notes in E. Paunov – D. Y. Dimitrov, “Der Siegelring des Aurelius Pyrrhus”, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 190-1, Anm. 37; *CCCHBulg.* 2 (Sofia 2009), 13-14, and now *CCCHBulg* 4 (2013, forthcoming).

## 7.4. Hoards of Republican *denarii*

The phenomenon of hoarding of Roman Republican *denarii* in the eastern Balkans – Thrace and Dacia is extensively studied over the last 40-50 years by a number of scholars – M. Chițescu<sup>10</sup>, M. H. Crawford<sup>11</sup>, K. Lockyear<sup>12</sup> and others. Only Crawford has provided a short listing of the Bulgarian hoards (36 in number) in his classic monograph ‘*Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*’.<sup>13</sup> Sadly, the Republican material from Bulgaria was “severely under-represented” in the numismatic literature (also admitted by Lockyear 2007, 34).

A preliminary stage of my work was outlined in 2002 in the co-authored book *IRRCHBulg*.<sup>14</sup> It listed 132 hoards from Bulgaria (71 Republican, 33 Associated, and 28 of the early Principate), 15 of them (previously unpublished) in full details.<sup>15</sup> Despite of this, the recent analytical monograph of Kris Lockyear on Republican hoards in Europe (157–2 BC) includes only eight (in fact - seven) hoards from Bulgaria.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, substantial progress on the hoard evidence collecting has been made. Few new hoards were examined and recorded, others known from before – studied in details, cross-checked and full listing clarified. For instance, 6 hoards (all unpublished) in the collection of National Archaeological Museum in Sofia become available (only with photos) in May-June 2008.<sup>17</sup> Most recently, in April 2012 I had been given full access to the Gulyancy hoard (RRCH 377), kept to the Czech National Museum in Prague.<sup>18</sup> In the recent years I have published a series of academic articles (co-authored in few cases) on individual Republican hoards from Thrace, or their complete re-consideration – such as Rodina / 1964 (IGCH 679)<sup>19</sup>,

<sup>10</sup> Chitescu 1981.

<sup>11</sup> Crawford 1977, 119-22; Crawford 1985, 227-35.

<sup>12</sup> Lockyear 1995, 81-101; Lockyear 1996 and Lockyear 2007, 33-4, 167-8.

<sup>13</sup> Crawford 1985, 328-9, Appendix 54/II.

<sup>14</sup> Paunov – Prokopov 2002.

<sup>15</sup> It must be confessed that this early work lack precision at some places and details.

<sup>16</sup> Lockyear 2007, nos. 245, 286, 406, 336-337 (mispelt), 416, 440, 449 - with a total of 940 coins, table 4.1, and comments on p. 34. The recently launched CHRR Online database compiled by K. Lockyear includes 26 hoards from Thrace:

[http://numismatics.org/chrr/results?q=findspot\\_hier%3A%28%2B%22L1|Bulgaria%22%29&start=20](http://numismatics.org/chrr/results?q=findspot_hier%3A%28%2B%22L1|Bulgaria%22%29&start=20) .

<sup>17</sup> Courtesy of the former director Professor Margarita Vaklinova, after my numerous requests and 2 ½ years of patience.

<sup>18</sup> Thanks to the courtesy of Dr Jiří Militký and Mrs Lenka Vacinová, Prague.

<sup>19</sup> See Паунов / Paunov 2010, 127-147.

Kapitan Dimitriev / 1991<sup>20</sup>, Bratya Daskalovi / 2010<sup>21</sup>, Maluk Porovets / 1995<sup>22</sup>, Maluk Chardak / 1990<sup>23</sup>, Obzor / 1953<sup>24</sup>, Georgi Dobrev / 2000<sup>25</sup>, etc.

Following the classic model of M. H. Crawford (Crawford 1969, 79 and Crawford 1985, Appendix 54) to organize the hoards *per period* (details in comparative table 1), an updated arrangement of hoards from the Thrace/Moesia area follows:

Table 7.3.

Period	Area	Number of hoards available	Total
100 – 91 BC	Moesia	–	3
	Thrace	+++	
90 – 81 BC	Moesia	+	3
	Thrace	++	
80 – 71 BC	Moesia	+++++	10
	Thrace	–	
70 – 61 BC	Moesia	++++	4
	Thrace	–	
60 – 51 BC	Moesia	+++	8
	Thrace	+++++	
50 – 46 BC	Moesia	+++++	15
	Thrace	+++++	
45 – 41 BC	Moesia	+++++	10
	Thrace	++	
40 – 36 BC	Moesia	++	6
	Thrace	++++	
35–30/29 BC	Moesia	+++++	19
	Thrace	+++++	
<b>TOTAL Hoards:</b>			<b>78</b>

- 100-91 Pernik II, Krlev dol, Noevtsi (CH 9.280);  
 90-81 Kyustendil area I (CH 9.277), Kyustendil area II (CH 9.278), Staliyska mahala III;  
 80-71 Beli breg I, Bardarski geran, Bukovets, Montana area I, Galatin, Rassovo II, Vadin, Staliyska mahala II, Staliyska mahala III, Trustenik (IGCH 669);  
 70-61 Rodina (IGCH 679), Kamen (IGCH 680), Rabisha Lake, Koynare I;

<sup>20</sup> In Filipova – Prokopov – Paunov, *CCCHBulg. 2* (2009), 106-111, nos. 626-681.

<sup>21</sup> Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-53.

<sup>22</sup> Davis – Paunov 2012, 390-4, 406-11.

<sup>23</sup> Prokopov – Paunov 2013, 147-63.

<sup>24</sup> Паунов / Paunov 2011, 81-96.

<sup>25</sup> Paunov 2013, 281-94.

- 60-51 Batin, Mindya (IGCH 664), Provadiya II, Smolyan, Dolno Botevo (CH 6.48), Karavelovo (IGCH 978), Bratya Daskalovi, Korten II (IGCH 979);
- 50-46 Beli breg II (CH 6.83), Madara, Maluk Porovets, Russe area II, Gulyantsi (RRCH 377), Dolni Vadin I, Jakimovo I, Bolyarino (IGCH 975), Pavelsko (CH 6.45), Nova mahala (IGCH 977), Vetren (CH 7.141), Starosel II, Belitsa (IGCH 976), Eleshnitsa, Ognyanovo;
- 45-41 Altimir I, Aprilovo, Aydemir, Vetren, Vratsa 'Starata mogila', Orehovitsa (IGCH 686), Pleven area I, Pleven area II, Vratsa area, 'South Dobrudzha', Obzor, Kapitan Dimitriev, Preslaven,
- 40 – 36 Vratsa-Starata mogila, Stoyanovo, Malak Chardak, Pchelin, Korten I, Staro selo;
- 35 – 31/29 Altimir I, Aprilovo, Baurene, Gradeshnitsa I, 'Haemus', Medkovets, Moravitsa, Ohoden, Jakimovo II, Rassovo I, Garvan, Makotsevo, Ognyanovo, Stoyanovo, Teteven, Shumen environs II, Mogila, Nova Zagora area I, Topolovo (RRCH 457), Kotel, Garmen, 'Western Thrace'.

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The chronological pattern of hoarding of the Late Republican period in Thrace is shown in the following chart:

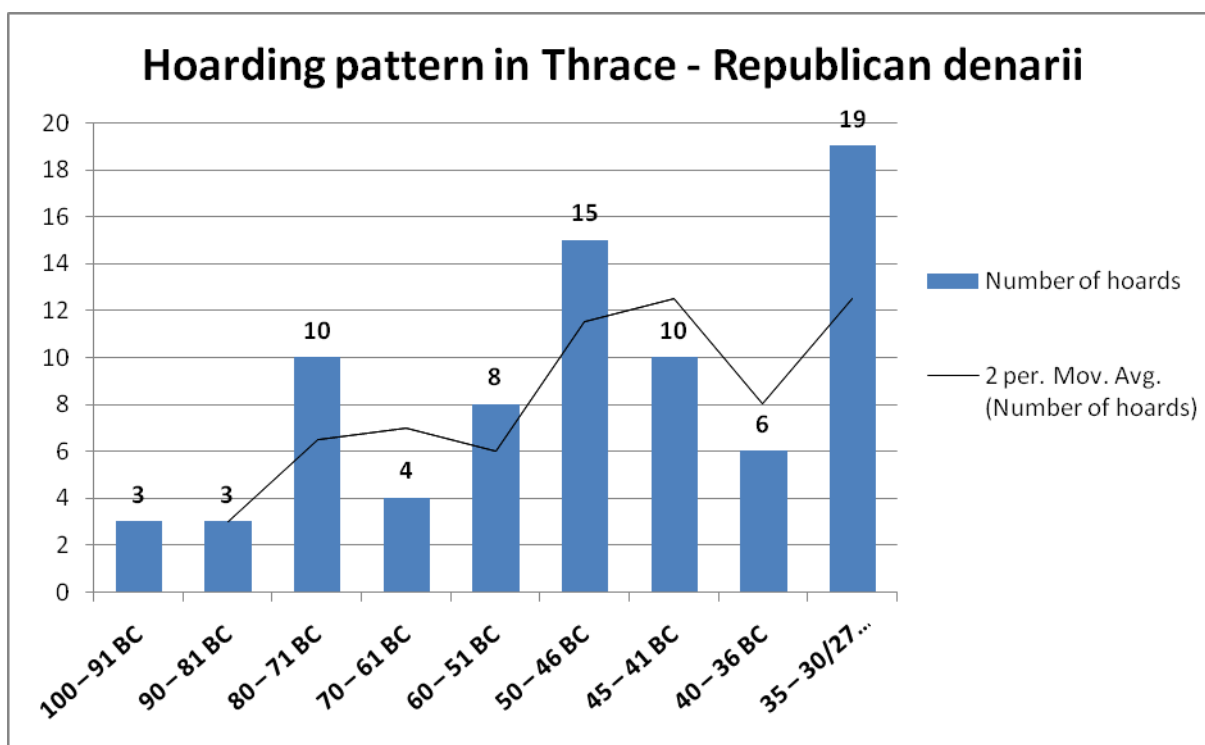


Fig. 7.2. Hoarding pattern of Republican *denarii* in Thrace.

## 7.5. Republican *denarius* hoards per closing period



For the purpose of this research, all available *denarius* hoards in Thrace, were arranged in chronological intervals of 10 years and plotted accordingly per closing date. For the critical period after 50/49 BC - 5-year division was applied.<sup>26</sup>

### 7.5.1. 'First Encounters' – the appearance of denarii, ca. 90–70/60 BC

The actual supply of Roman Republican *denarii* to Thrace started no earlier than the second-third decade of the first century BC.<sup>27</sup> Earlier issues of *denarii* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC were part of those prefabricated sets/ shipments of coins, before they arrived in mass quantities in the Balkans. This fact accounts for the traces of prolonged circulation on earlier issues.

The first phase witnessed the association of *denarii* with the drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. They are similar in material and equal in denomination. These hoards are concentrated mostly in the northern and northwestern areas of Thrace. The representative examples are Galatin, Trustenik (*IGCH* 669) and Koynare I. They contain an overwhelming majority of *denarii* mixed with just a few drachms of Dyrrhachium, which obviously occurred in hoards by chance. The date range of this *denarii*+drachms is from ca. 80 to 61 BC.

Most probably this group of hoards arrived from Dyrrhachium/ Apollonia on the Adriatic coast via the land route in Macedonia and Western Thrace, and not via the Danube (perhaps controlled by the Celts/ Scordisci in this period).

Another group (3 hoards, nos. 1-3) is to be defined in the southwestern areas of Thrace, in the modern regions of Pernik and Kyustendil. It comprises single denarii (1 to 3) and a small number of 'Macedonian' tetradrachms – Aesillas, First Macedonian districts, rarely Thasos, with closing dates in the period 91-87 BC. Unfortunately all three hoards are incomplete and further observations are not possible. Here we should add the Krlev Dol hoard = *CH* 7.209 (find cat. no. 32, table 8.5, no.1) – another small and fragmentary homogenous deposit, closing with issues of D. Iunius Silanus L. f., 91 BC (*RRC* 337/1b).

<sup>26</sup> The chronological division used in other studies, such as Lockyear 2007, was not applicable for the Thracian hoards, which did not start before 100-91 BC.

<sup>27</sup> First stated in Paunov – Prokopov 2002, *IRRCHBg*, 89-92.

In the 70's – 60's BC, Roman *denarii* begin to associate with the tetradrachms of Maroneia (as in the case of the Kamen (dispersed) and Rodina hoards, nos. 7 and 8). These two and one more (Mindya, including Mesambria and Odessos Alexander-types) are found only in the Veliko Tarnovo area along the *Jatrus/Yantra* river.

Apparently, it was a time when Roman *denarii* and Late Hellenistic tetradrachms rarely mingled together, especially if compared with the total number of tetradrachm hoards of the same period. It was rather an exception than a system, and shows the weak position of the Roman *denarius* in Thrace. The situation slowly began to reverse in the late 60's and 50's BC.

Table 7.4. Early Associated hoards

No.	Hoard / Date	Region	Reference ( <i>IGCH</i> , <i>RRCH</i> or <i>IRRCHBg</i> )	Latest <i>denarii</i> ( <i>RRC</i> )	Closing date	Number of tetradrachms and drachms	Number of coins / <i>denarii</i>
1.	<b>Noevtsi 1980</b>	Pernik	<i>CH</i> 9. 280; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 120; <u>Find cat. no. 95</u>	337/3	91 BC	2 Aesillas	3+ / 1
2.	<b>Kyustendil area I 1978</b>	Kyustendil	<i>CH</i> 9.277; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 113; <u>Find cat. no. 89</u>	352/1	85 BC	5 Aesillas 1 Macedonia	12+ / 6
3.	<b>Kyustendil area II 1982</b>	Kyustendil	<i>CH</i> 9.278; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 114; <u>Find cat. no. 90</u>	348/1	87 BC	1 Aesillas 1 Macedonia 3 Thasos	6+ / 1
4.	<b>Galatin 1963</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 103; <u>Find cat. no. 78</u>	380/1	80 BC	2 Macedonia 7 Dyrrhachium 2 Apollonia	~100+ / 3
5.	<b>Trustenik 1958</b>	Pleven	<i>IGCH</i> 669; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 130; <u>Find cat. no. 104</u>	382/1b	79 BC	2 Dyrrhachium	61+ / 59
6.	<b>Vidin area 1948</b>	Vidin	Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 17; <u>Find cat. no. 106</u>	Unspecified	ca 80-70	5 Apollonia	~600 / ?
7.	<b>Kamen 1957</b>	Veliko Tarnovo	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 107; <u>Find cat. no. 83</u>	Unspecified	ca 75-60	2 Maroneia	~50 / 2
8.	<b>Rodina 1964</b>	Veliko Tarnovo	<i>IGCH</i> 679; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 125; <u>Find cat. no. 101</u>	415/1	62 BC	5 Maroneia	80+ / 49
9.	<b>Mindya 1959</b>	Veliko Tarnovo	<i>IGCH</i> 664; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 118; <u>Find cat. no. 93</u>	413/1	60 BC	4 Mesambria 1 Odessos 4 Thas. imitations	80+ / 1
10.	<b>Koynare I 1963</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 107; <u>Find cat. no. 86</u>	408/1a	61 BC	2 Dyrrhachium	341+ / 339
<b>TOTALS:</b>						<b>31 tetr. 13 dr.</b>	<b>421 den.</b>

So far the number of homogenous hoards of Republican *denarii* is still limited. According to the evidence available these are the following:

Table 7.5.

No.	Hoard / Date	Region	Reference ( <i>IGCH</i> , <i>RRCH</i> or <i>IRRCHBg</i> )	Latest <i>denarii</i> ( <i>RRC</i> )	Closing date	Number of <i>denarii</i>
1.	Kralev dol	Pernik	CH 7. 209; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 35; <u>Find cat. no. 32</u>	337/1b	91 BC	12+
2.	Montana area I 1984	Montana	Crawford 1985, App. 54/II = <u>Find cat. no. 41</u>	356/1a-b	84 BC	140
3.	Pleven area II 2002	Pleven	Unpublished, see <u>Find cat. no. 50</u>	367/3	82 BC	69+
4.	Beli breg I 1964	Montana	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 5; <u>Find cat. no. 6</u>	384/1	79 BC	81
5.	Bardarski geran 2004	Vratsa	Unpublished = <u>Find cat. no. 4</u>	387/1	77 BC	177
6.	Bukovets 1936	Montana	Dispersed, <i>IRRCHBg</i> 7 = <u>Find cat. no. 8</u>	387/1	77 BC	500+
7.	Staliyska mahala II 1961	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 63; <u>Find cat. no. 63</u>	391/3	75 BC	60+
8.	Rabisha Lake - Magurata	Vidin	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 55; <u>Find cat. no. 53</u>	415/1	62 BC	293
<b>TOTALS:</b>						<b>1,332 den.</b>

### 7.5.2. 'Going together' – associated phase, ca. 60/55 – 47/6 BC

For some time the Late Hellenistic tetradrachms circulated together with the Republican *denarius*. This phase lasted from ca. 60/55 to 49/46 BC. Both currencies/denominations were frequently associated.<sup>28</sup> Such a mixture occurs in the following hoards:

Table 7.6.

No.	Hoard / Date	Region	Reference ( <i>IGCH</i> , <i>RRCH</i> or <i>IRRCHBg</i> )	Latest <i>denarii</i> ( <i>RRC</i> )	Closing date	Tetradrachms and drachms	Number of coins / <i>denarii</i>
1.	Batin 1974	Russe	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 50; <u>Find cat. no. 74</u>	433/1	54 BC	1 Thasos	200+/ 54

<sup>28</sup> As noted by numerous authors, see recently Prokopov 2006, 56 and Prokopov 2009, 447-53.

2.	<b>Bratja Daskalovi 2010</b>	Stara Zagora	Prokopov – Paunov Filipova 2011, 44-51; <u>Find cat. no. 77</u>	284/1	ca. 50-45 BC	2 Aesillas 1 Maroneia 5 imitations 2 Celtic dr.	12 / 1
3.	<b>Dolno Botevo ~1973</b>	Haskovo	<i>CH</i> 6. 48; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 106; <u>Find cat. no. 82</u>	289/1	ca. 60-50 BC	7 imitations 2 blanks	12+ / 1
4.	<b>Karavelovo 1959</b>	Plovdiv	<i>IGCH</i> 978; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 108; <u>Find cat. no. 84</u>	433/1	54 BC	1 dr. Dyrrhachium	40 / 36
5.	<b>Korten II 1958</b>	Sliven	<i>IGCH</i> 979; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 111; <u>Find cat. no. 86</u>	412/1	59 BC	1 Thasos 2 imitation 1 imit. 1 <sup>st</sup> Mac	50+ / 2
6.	<b>Nova Mahala 1954</b>	Stara Zagora	<i>IGCH</i> 977; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 121; <u>Find cat. no. 96</u>	443/1	49/8 BC	29 imitations of Thasos 3 Athens	50+ / 12
7.	<b>Belitsa 1956</b>	Blagoevgrad	<i>IGCH</i> 976; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 101; <u>Find cat. no. 75</u>	449/1a ?	48? BC	28 Thasos 27 Athens 7 Aesillas 2 cistophori	112+ / 36
8.	<b>Bolyarino 1963</b>	Plovdiv	<i>IGCH</i> 975; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 102; <u>Find cat. no. 76</u>	450/3b	48 BC	3 Thasos 15 imitations 3 Athens 1 Maroneia 1 Mesambria 1 Al. III dr.	30 / 7
9.	<b>Pavelsko 1975</b>	Plovdiv	<i>CH</i> 6.45; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 123; <u>Find cat. no. 99</u>	462/1	47/6 BC	4 Thasos 1 imitation	8+ / 3
10.	<b>Vetren</b>	Pazardzhik	<i>CH</i> 7.141; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 131; <u>Find cat. no. 105</u>	453/1	47 BC	4 Athens 1 Thasos imitation	8+ / 3
<b>TOTALS:</b>						<b>151 tetr. 2 cist. 4 dr.</b>	<b>155 den.</b>

The above review of hoard evidence produced a list of no less than ten deposits, predominantly from southern *Thrace*, and one from northern *Thrace* (the future *Moesia*). It clearly shows that all such hoards close in the period 60/55 – 49/8 BC. This chronological concentration cannot be accidental and suggests a pattern.

What can be clearly noticed from the hoards of this interim phase is that Republican *denarii* are still scarce. They represent only a few specimens, and always less than the Late Hellenistic issues. The only exceptions are Batin (no. 1 above) and the Karavelovo hoard/ *IGCH* 978 (no. 6), but they both actually could be later than 54 BC (since only parts of them were preserved).

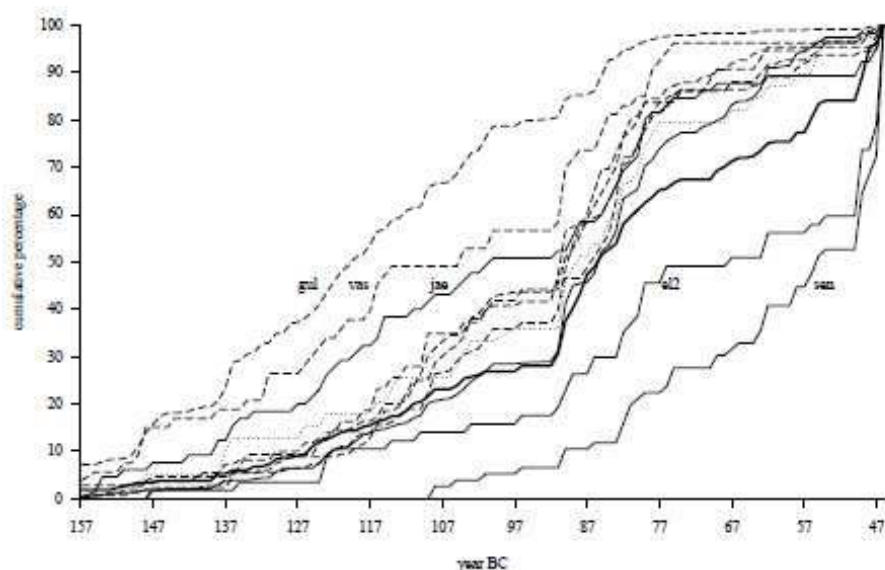
One large homogenous hoard belongs to this period too – Gulyantcy / 1957 = RRCH 377 (find cat. no. 23). It was a pot hoard of over 464 *denarii*, now 441 in Prague, closing with an issue of T. Carisius, 46 BC (RRC 464/2). It was published by

Radoměský yet in 1961<sup>29</sup>, and this way included by M. H. Crawford in his *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* and other numismatic studies<sup>30</sup>. A most recent re-examination<sup>31</sup> detected the presence of 3 unquestioned 'Dacian' imitations, 2 hybrid-copies and few cast copies.<sup>32</sup> Additionally a number of other coins show signs of bank-marking, *graffiti*, test-cuts, and at least 13 plated *denarii* (one overstruck).



**Fig. 7.3.** Plated copy of *denarius* from Gulyancy: Q. Marcius Libo, 148 BC (Cr. 215/1), 3.604g, Prague, no. 23553 (= Radoměský 1961, no 21f), Photo Prague National Museum.

With these specific features Gulyancy hoard much resembles to the 'Dacian' hoards from the time of Burebista. The cumulative percentage graph executed by Lockyear has shown an obvious 'archaic' composition profile for Gulyancy, i.e. earlier coins largely predominate. This is characteristic for the Romanian hoards<sup>33</sup>, and far from the profiles of Italian ones (see *fig. 7.4*).



**Fig. 7.4.** Cumulative percentage graph of hoards closing in 46 BC – Gulyancy is top dotted line (after Lockyear 2007, fig. 5.64).

<sup>29</sup> Radoměský 1961, 69-91, pls. 1-3.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. in Hersch – Walker 1984, 131, table III; Paunov – Prokopov 2002, *IRRCHBulg* 27; Lockyear 2007, no. 286 (mispelt as 'Gulgancy') and pp. 116-9, table 5.18 and fig. 5.64.

<sup>31</sup> Done by the author in April 2012 thanks to the courtesy of Dr Jiří Militký and Mrs Lenka Vacinová, Czech National Museum in Prague.

<sup>32</sup> This particular result and re-examination of Gulyancy hoard is prepared for publication, Paunov 2013 /in print/.

<sup>33</sup> Such as Ilieni, Râmnicu Valcea, Sprâncenata, Târnava II, Vasad, etc., cf. Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, nos. 90-98.

### 7.5.3. Transitional phase, ca. 44/2 – 32/1 BC

During the decade 44/2 – 32/1 BC visible changes in the appearance and supply of Republican *denarii* occurred in Thrace. A snapshot of the monetary circulation in this period shows approximately the following details:

#### Southern Thrace:

1. Imitations of late Thasian tetradrachms<sup>34</sup> – ca 1.200 coins
2. Imitations of autonomous Macedonian bronzes<sup>35</sup> – ca 3.000 coins
3. Roman Republican *denarii* – ca 1.200 coins

#### Northern Thrace (Moesia):

1. Imitations of late Thasian tetradrachms – ca 1.000 coins
2. Other types of imitations – ca 200 coins
3. Roman Republican *denarii* – ca 2.100 coins.

The coin pattern of the region experienced a notable change after the major confrontation in the late Republic, following Caesar's death. Southern Thrace and Macedonia became the arena in the struggle for domination between the assassins Brutus and Cassius on one hand, and Antony and Octavian on the other, resulting in battles at Philippi. The Senate at Rome granted Brutus command, and he ruled Macedonia and Southern Thrace from the middle of 44 to October 42.<sup>36</sup> With the pact of Brundisium in September of 40 BC, the whole area was left under Mark Antony's control (Cassius Dio 51.23.2).<sup>37</sup>

Shortly after the two decisive battles at Philippi<sup>38</sup> in October of 42 BC, changes are clearly visible in terms of coins; the *denarii* now penetrated Thrace *en masse*.<sup>39</sup> Earlier Republican series are scarce, but the Caesarian and the *quattuorvires monetales* issues largely predominate. Thrace and its client kingdom were finally and entirely monetised and a slow, but constant, process of Romanisation began.

<sup>34</sup> Lukanc 1996, 77-119; see now Prokopov 2011, 337-49.

<sup>35</sup> Prokopov 2000a, 369-77.

<sup>36</sup> See Collart 1931, 423-429; Wilkes 1996, in *CAH* 10, 549; Woytek 2003, 380-1, 512.

<sup>37</sup> Generally for the period, see Boteva 2007, 80-5.

<sup>38</sup> Appian, 4. 82; Dio 47, 48, 2; discussion in Collart 1937, 190-219; Crawford 1985, 251; Woytek 2003, 388-91.

<sup>39</sup> Crawford 1985, 236.

The decade 44/2 – 32/1 provides a considerable record of Republican *denarii*. It is exactly the period when the *denarius* imposed his domination on the Thracian markets. The Late Hellenistic tetradrachms began to disappear from the hoards. A characteristic example is the Maluk Chardak hoard (see no. 7 below), where in a deposit of originally over 600 coins only 2 tetradrachms are older Greek type-issues (1 Athens 'New Style' and 1 Thasian imitation) and over 530 *denarii*. The period is represented by the following hoards:

Table 7.7.

No.	Hoard / Date	Region	Reference ( <i>IGCH</i> , <i>RRCH</i> or <i>IRRCHBg</i> )	Latest issue ( <i>RRC</i> )	Closing date	Number of coins / <i>denarii</i>
1.	'South Dobrudja' 1986	Dobrich	Unpublished, see <u>Find cat. no. 61</u>	494/23, 42 BC	42 BC	61/ 52
2.	Pleven area I 1969	Pleven	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 50; <u>Find cat. no. 49</u>	494/23, 42 BC	42 BC	291/ 291
3.	Preslaven 1958	Stara Zagora	Unpublished, see <u>Find cat. no. 51</u>	494/23, 42 BC	42 BC	12+ / 12
4.	Obzor 1953	Burgas	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 44; <u>Find cat. no. 43</u>	496/2, 42 BC	42 BC	56+ / 56
5.	Orehovitsa 1965	Pleven	<i>ICCH</i> 686; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 122; <u>Find cat. no. 98</u>	515/2, 43 or 41? BC	41 BC	281+ / 280
6.	Kapitan Dimitriev 1991	Pazardzhik	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 30; <u>Find cat. no. 27</u>	487/1, 41 BC	41 BC	120+ / 55
7.	Maluk Chardak 1990	Plovdiv	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 115; <u>Find. cat. no. 91</u>	528/2b, 39 BC	39 BC	529+ / 527
8.	Staro selo 2001	Pernik	Unpublished, see <u>Find cat. no. 67</u>	? (dispersed, unspecified)	ca. 39-36/5 BC	~250 / 250
9.	Vratsa – Starata mogila 1963	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 132; <u>Find. cat. no. 107</u>	511/3a, 37-36 BC	37/6 BC	500 / 3
10.	Korten 1955?	Sliven	<u>Find. cat. no. 31</u>	511/3a, 37-36 BC	37/6 BC	7+ / 7
11.	Stoyanovo 1955?	Lovech	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 59; <u>Find. cat. no. 68</u>	511/4d, 37-36 BC	37/6 BC	70 / 70
<b>TOTALS:</b>						<b>2,177 coins / 1,603 <i>denarii</i></b>

A characteristic Thracian hoard of the period is Malak Chardak / 1990, located 20 km north from Plovdiv (find cat. no. 91 and chart 15)<sup>40</sup>. It was a large hoard (circa 1000?) of which 529 coins were collected and brought to the Plovdiv Archaeological

<sup>40</sup> Briefly mentioned in de Callatay – Prokopov 1995, 10, note 9. Later summarized by Paunov – Prokopov in *IRRCHBulg*, 2002, 69-70, no. 115, table 11 (erroneously giving a total of 602).

Museum.<sup>41</sup> Maluk Chardak associates 527 *denarii* and 2 tetradrachms. The first is a rather worn 'New Style' of Athens (with magistrates' names ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ – ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ / ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑ), and the second is an imitation of Thasos executed in rough, barbarous style<sup>42</sup>. The Athenian tetradrachm is rather old issue struck in 126/5 BC<sup>43</sup>, and the imitation must date of the period ca. 60-40 BC. To this unusual association one more foreign coin is added – a 'Dacian' imitation of denarius. Its obverse prototype belongs to issue of the moneyer C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi (RRC 408/1) and the reverse of Q. Minucius M.f. Thermus, 103 BC (RRC 319/1), thus being produced after 61 BC.

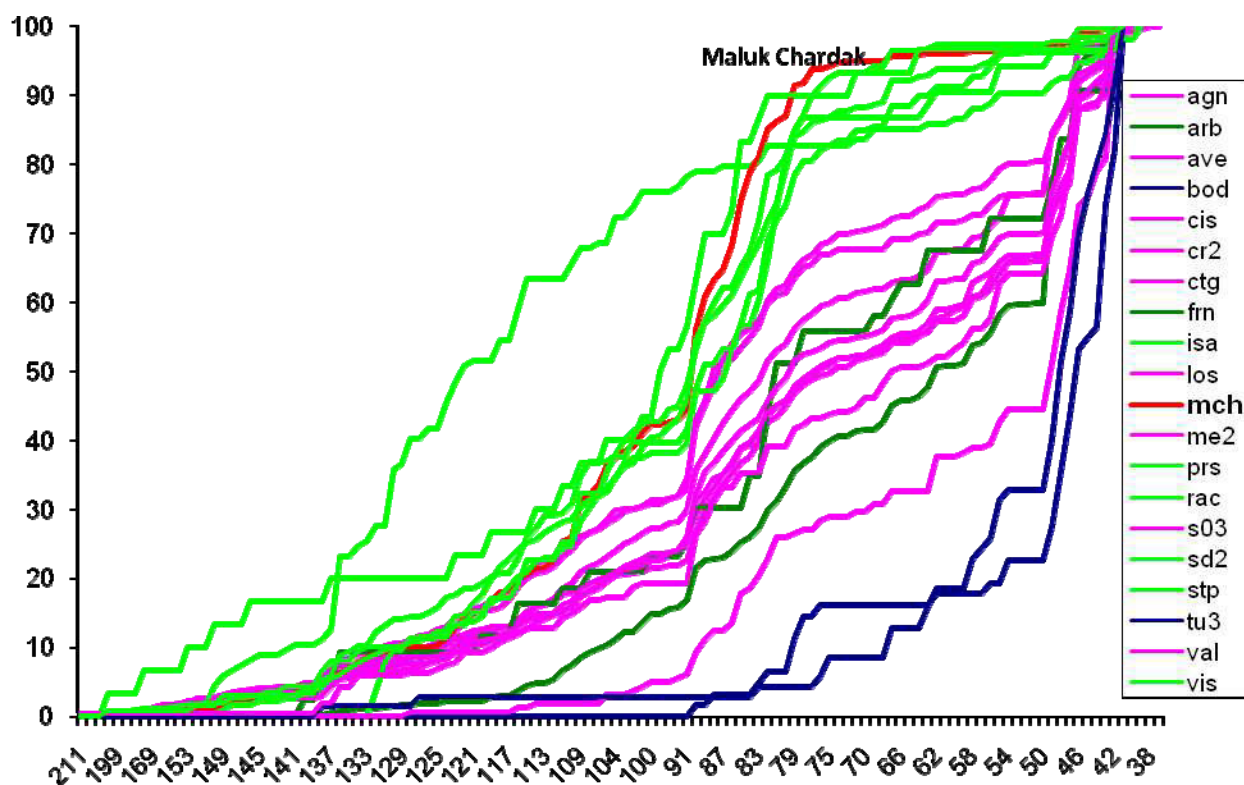


Fig. 7.5. Cumulative percentage graph of hoards closing in 39-36 BC – Maluk Chardak (MCH) is top red solid line (compiled by Lockyear 2011)<sup>44</sup>

The *denarii* (520 exactly identified) range from “Anonymous” issues (with additional symbol ‘bird and TOD’) struck in 189-180 BC (RRC 141/1) down to an issue of Mark Antony and Octavian of 39 BC, struck in an Italian mint (RRC 528/2b).

<sup>41</sup> Now completely published by Prokopov – Paunov 2013, 147-63.

<sup>42</sup> Similar to Göbl 1973, Klass V, taf. 48-9; Lukanc 1996, pls. 150-1.

<sup>43</sup> Thompson 1961, 173, pl. 45, no. 442c-d.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Dr Kris Lockyear for sharing with me the cumulative graph of these hoards from his CHRR database, now online: <http://numismatics.org/chrr/>.



Maluk Chardak / 1990 occurs as the most representative hoard of Republican *denarii* found in Thrace so far.<sup>45</sup> The bulk of the hoard is comprised of denarii of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The highest influx of issues falls into the year 90 BC (Cr. 340, 341 and 342) – 60 pieces in total (11%). This was a year marked by an enormous production of silver coins by the mint of Rome to finance the ongoing Social War. In contrast, the quantity of denarii struck after 77 BC (Cr. 387/1) was relatively small. Quite surprisingly, Maluk Chardak hoard omits not only the very common Gallic mint issue of Caesar, 49 BC (Cr. 443/1; Woytek 2003, 119-32, nos. 37-45; Woytek 2005, 643-8), but also all other Caesarian denarii down to 44 BC. Denarii of Cn. Pompey and his supporters (Crawford 1974, nos. 444–447 and 459–462) which are normally rare, are also missing. The latest types present in quantity are issues of moneyer T. Carisius (Cr. 464), 8 coins in all. No issues struck between 46 and 42 BC are present here, and the single denarius of Mark Antony (Cr. 496/2) is broken and damaged. In addition, a good number of the earlier Republican issues (roughly from 148 down to 49 BC) were marked by banker's (*nummularii*) punches, which is not an isolated case. These monetary activities (money-testing and money-changing) occurred at Rome throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC but most frequently in the years 60s–40s BC.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, there here are also five gauged<sup>47</sup> coins out of 526, running from Cr. 342/4, 90 BC down to Cr. 408/1b, 61 BC. This number makes nearly 1% (precisely 0.95) of the total and fits into the average statistics of 2% (Stannard 1993, 46). Seven denarii are brockages (an error during the intensive striking process).

The composition profile of Maluk Chardak is again 'archaic'. This, however, may result from the disturbed nature of the hoard, giving an anomalous chronological structure<sup>48</sup>. It fits well into the other available hoards in Europe with closing date in 39 BC (fig. 7.5), but again running very closely to the Romanian hoards.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Larger than Gulyancy 1957 = RRCH 377 (458 *denarii*) and Koynare I 1963 (339 *denarii* and 2 drachms), no other sizeable *denarii* hoards are preserved and documented (not to mention here the unpublished 'Zverino' 2000 hoard – 503 *denarii* down to Augustus, issues for C. L. CAESARES, 2-1 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 208-212). A series of similar in size and larger hoards such as the Filipovtsi 1922 (464 *denarii*, unspecified – cf. Мухомов / Mouchmov 1922, 242-3 = IRRCHBulg, 16) are listed but were never published.

<sup>46</sup> For *nummularii*: Herzog 1937, RE XVII, 1441-1450; Crawford 1970, 45; Crawford 1985, 241; for the actual banker's marks see: Ruzicka 1924, 49-60.

<sup>47</sup> A common practice in Republican Rome undertaken in order to adjust the weight of denarius blanks *al marco* with a cut on the metal surface, see Stannard 1993, 45-6.

<sup>48</sup> The latest, least-worn coins are the most likely to have been dispersed in trade.

<sup>49</sup> Lockyear 2007, 131-3, tables 5.22-23 and fig. 5.77.

#### 7.5.4. Before and after Actium

Major portions of Antony's "legionary" coinage of 32-31 BC, issued in enormous quantities and disbursed to veterans (including by Octavian), had been filtered and transferred via Epirus and Thessaly to Macedonia, Thrace and further north to Dacia,<sup>50</sup> where it was subsequently concealed.<sup>51</sup> Antony's coins circulated for a long period alongside the new Imperial *denarii*.<sup>52</sup> Despite their debased<sup>53</sup> silver standard (between 87.5-92%),<sup>54</sup> millions of "legionary" *denarii* were not withdrawn under Augustus, but continued to circulate in the Roman Mediterranean thereafter.<sup>55</sup> They were accepted as legal tender for payment for a very long time after being minted.<sup>56</sup> Overall, in later Imperial provinces the highest number of Antony's "legionary" *denarii* was found in the Danubian zone.<sup>57</sup>

At present, of the total of about 110 Republican hoards known from the territory of modern Bulgaria, I am aware of some 18 deposits (or 16%) closing with "legionary" *denarii* of Mark Antony's or other contemporary Roman coins (Octavian's issues before January 27 BC). Their concealment dates should be therefore set around the time of the engagement at Actium and its political and socio-economic consequences.

**Table 7.8.** *Denarii* hoards closing with issues of M. Antony and Octavian, 32/1 – 29/7 BC<sup>58</sup>

No.	Hoard / Date	Region	Reference ( <i>IGCH</i> , <i>RRCH</i> or <i>IRRCHBg</i> )	Latest issue ( <i>RRC</i> , <i>RIC</i> I <sup>2</sup> )	Closing date	Total no. of coins / <i>denarii</i>
1.	<b>Altimir 1956</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 1 = Find. cat. no. 1	<i>Antonia</i> (?), 42 – 32/1 BC	32-31 BC	30+/30

<sup>50</sup> For *Dacia* in this period, see Winkler 1967, 123-56; Rodewald 1976, 40-5; Crawford 1977, 117-24; Chițescu 1981; Lockyear 1996, 227-9; most recently, Lockyear 2007b.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. below table 7.9 and the following discussion.

<sup>52</sup> On the phenomenon see recently Woytek 2007, 503-18.

<sup>53</sup> Plin. *HN* 33.46: "*miscuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum*".

<sup>54</sup> Walker 1980, 68, 72, fig. 11; Howgego 1995, 118.

<sup>55</sup> *RRCH*, 42; Crawford 1974, 247.

<sup>56</sup> "Legionary" *denarii* were recalled to be melted down first under Trajan in AD 107 (Dio 68. 15.3; Kemmers 2006, 109-110), and again later during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, ca AD 169. At this time, exactly 200 years later both emperors commemorated the series with a restored issue for *legio VI Ferrata* (*RIC* III, 443), reminting the original issue.

<sup>57</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 195-6, table 14.1.

<sup>58</sup> In comparison, the most recent and comprehensive study on Republican hoards in Europe includes no hoards from Thrace from this period, see Lockyear 2007, 136-7, table 5.23.

2.	<b>Aprilovo I 1951</b>	Targovishte	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 2 = <u>Find. cat. no. 2</u>	Antonia (?), 42 – 32/1 BC	32-31 BC	ca 110/110
3.	<b>Baurene 1965</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 4 = <u>Find. cat. no. 5</u>	1 d. – Antonia(?), 42 – 32/1 BC	38-32/1 BC	330/330
4.	<b>'Haemus' 2006</b>	Vratsa	Unpublished = <u>Find. cat. no. 24</u>	2 d. – 543/1, summer 32 BC	32-31 BC	67/ 67 (2 AR jewels)
5.	<b>'Nova Zagora area' 1970</b>	Stara Zagora	Unpublished = <u>Find. cat. no. 42</u>	1 d. – 542/2, summer 32 BC	32-30 BC	3+ / 3
6.	<b>Makotsevo 1910<sup>59</sup></b>	Sofia	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 41 = <u>Find. cat. no. 38</u>	1 d. – 544/15 (LEG III)	31/30 BC, or later	46/46
7.	<b>Mogila 1972</b>	Shumen	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 43 = <u>Find. cat. no. 40</u>	1 d. – 544/19 (LEG VI)	31/30 BC	89/88
8.	<b>Ognyanovo 1980s</b>	Blagoevgrad	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 45 = <u>Find. cat. no. 44</u>	3 d. – 544/15 (LEG III)	31/30 BC	5+ / 5
9.	<b>Ohoden 1943</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 47 = <u>Find. cat. no. 144</u>	13 d. – 544/12 (COH SPEC); 15 (LEG III?); 19 (LEG VI); 20 (LEG VII)-2; (LEG I[.]?)-1; 21 (LEG VIII)-2; 25 (LEG XI); 27 (LEG XIII); 31 (LEG XVI)	31/30 BC (or later?)	277+ / 277
10.	<b>Teteven 1995</b>	Lovech	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 67 = <u>Find. cat. no. 69</u>	1 d. – 543	32 BC	12/12
11.	<b>Gradeshnitsa I, 1962</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 104 = <u>Find. cat. no. 81</u>	1 d. – 544/36 (LEG XX)	31/30 BC	9+ / 6
12.	<b>Moravitsa 1956</b>	Vratsa	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 119 = <u>Find. cat. no. 94</u>	1 d. – 544/14 (LEG II)	31/30 BC	Many/ 13+ / 9
13.	<b>Rassovo I, 1921</b>	Montana	<i>IGCH</i> 688; <i>IRRCHBg</i> 124 = <u>Find. cat. no. 100</u>	Unknown number of d. – 544/(?)	31/30 BC	340/?
14.	<b>Kotel 1999-2000</b>	Sliven	Unpublished = <u>Find. cat. no. 87</u>	1 d. – 544/30 (LEG XV)	31/30 BC	5+ / 2
15.	<b>"Western Thrace" 1941-1944</b>	Northern Greece(?)	Unpublished <sup>60</sup> = <u>Find. cat. no. 14</u>	1 d. – 544/23 (LEG IX)	31/30 BC	16+ / 16
16.	<b>"Thrace / FIB-2" 2003</b>	Unknown	Unpublished <sup>61</sup>	6 d. – 544 (LEG II, V, X, X[...], and XXI)	31/30 BC	23+ / 23
17.	<b>Medkovets 1980</b>	Montana	<i>IRRCHBg</i> 117 = <u>Find. cat. no. 92</u>	10 d. – M. Antony 544/17, 20(3), 26, 30, 33, 35(2), 36 (LEG V, VII, X, XIX and XX) 1 – Octavian, 29/7 BC ( <i>RIC</i> 272)	29-27 BC	86/82
18.	<b>Topolovo 1961</b>	Plovdiv	<i>RRCH</i> 457 = <i>IRRCHBg</i> 131	4 d. – Octavian ( <i>RIC</i> 253 (1); 267 (2) and 269a (1))	30/29 BC	170/130
<b>TOTALS:</b>				<b>Mark Antony: 42+</b> <b>Caesar Octavian : 6</b>	<b>1,198+ AR coins /</b> <b>1,145 denarii</b>	

<sup>59</sup> National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, Inv. nos XVI/2870-2888. Unpublished properly so far, data are available for analysis courtesy of Assoc.Prof. M. Vaklinova (June 2008).

<sup>60</sup> Unpublished, apparently a fragment of a larger hoard. Now kept in the Regional Historical Museum of Russe, inv. nos 1421-1437. Information kindly supplied by Professor Dimiter Draganov.

<sup>61</sup> Unpublished, data recorded by Dr I. Prokopov in Sofia (June 2003).

In comparison with Thrace - northern Greece, the islands and Macedonia produced 7 hoards of the same period, Italy – 10, Dacia – 16, Dalmatia – 2, Gaul – 6, Spain and Portugal – 6 hoards altogether.

Table 7.9. Overall distribution of *denarii* hoards deposited ca. 32/1 – 29 BC (per province)

Province / country	Hoards	Reference ( <i>RRCH</i> , <i>IGCH</i> , <i>CH</i> , etc)	Total coins / <i>Denarii</i>	Number of extant hoards
<b>Achaea</b> (Greece and islands)	Delos 1905 <sup>62</sup>	<i>RRCH</i> 465 = Lockyear 2007, 380	650/648	7
	Porto Bouthallo, Euboea 1948 <sup>63</sup>	<i>RRCH</i> 467	97/97	
	Preveza = Actium 1958	<i>RRCH</i> 473 = Lockyear 2007, 374	41/38	
	Pantocrator/Actium 1982 <sup>64</sup>	<i>CH</i> 7.226; <i>CH</i> 8.542	124+/122	
	Xerias, Kavala 1965	<i>NomChronika</i> 30 (2012), 33-8	170/ 170	
	Corfu/ Korkyra	Lockyear 2007, 378	28/28	
	[near] Nekromanteion, Preveza/1982	<i>CH</i> 8.530	40+/2	
<b>Dacia</b> (Romania)	Bethlen = Beclean 1903	<i>RRCH</i> 449; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 130	31/26 (5 imit.)	16
	Roşiori de Vede 1965	<i>RRCH</i> 474; Lockyear 2007, 387	6/6	
	Costineşti <1970	Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, no. 133; Lockyear 2007, 379	17/17	
	Gura Padinii 1962	Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, no. 137; Lockyear 2007, 383	234/232	
	Prejmer (Tartlau), Braşov 1887	<i>RRCH</i> 412; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 141	161/161 (8 imit.)	
	Deva 1913	<i>CH</i> 7.144; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 134; Lockyear 2007, 381	146/2	
	Breasta 1948	<i>CH</i> 3.133; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 132; Lockyear 2007, 377	11/11 (2 imit.)	
	Dolj region <1955	<i>CH</i> 8.543; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, no. 135	139/3	
	Grozăveşti (Obislav) 1941	<i>CH</i> 7.224; Lockyear 2007, 386; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 136	1000+/53 (2 imit.)	
	Mărgineni 1982	Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 138	18/18	
	Peretu <1961	Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 139	6/6	
	Pietroasele 1940	<i>RRCH</i> 472; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, no. 140.	3/3 (2 imit.)	
	Târgu Ocna 1934/6	Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 142	15/14 (1 imit.)	

<sup>62</sup> See Papageorgiadou-Bani 2003, 291-306, pls. 13-39.

<sup>63</sup> Tsourti – Papageorgiadou-Bani 1996, 161-76.

<sup>64</sup> Chrysostomou 1987, 23-56.

	Dragești 1944	Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 144	5+/5	
	Șeica Mică 1954	RRCH 456; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, no. 145; Lockyear 2007, 404	348/348 (5 AR torques, 5 brățeteles, 1 chain)	
	Oltenia / Valachia Mică <1933	RRCH 454; Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 146; Lockyear 2007, 407	17/17	
<b>Italia (Italy)</b> <sup>65</sup>	Belmonte de Sannio	RRCH 460; Lockyear 2007, 375	54/54	10
	Este 1884	RRCH 466; Lockyear 2007, 398	74/71	
	Moggio 1858	RRCH 470; Lockyear 2007, 384	149/69	
	Vigatto 1969	RRCH 475; Lockyear 2007, 408	742/740	
	“West Sicily” 1915	RRCH 477; Lockyear 2007, 389	26/26	
	Cerriolo 1821	RRCH 478; Lockyear 2007, 397	40/38	
	Maleo 1941	RRCH 480; Lockyear 2007, 391	78/65	
	Méolo 1973	Lockyear 2007, 401	515/510	
	“Italy” 1990s	Lockyear 2007, 373	528/527	
	Cologna Veneta	Lockyear 2007, 409	108/106	
<b>Dalmatia – Illyria (Slovenia, Croatia)</b>	Celje 1895	RRCH 462	24/24	2
	Gajine 1899	RRCH 479; Lockyear 2007, 399	107/93	
<b>Gallia (France)</b>	Segonzac 1897	RRCH 453; Lockyear 2007, 388	7/7	6
	Amiens 1908	RRCH 458	120/117	
	Beauvoisin	RRCH 459; Lockyear 2007, 395	246/195	
	Chantenay 1861	RRCH 461	588/177	
	Mont-Beauvray, <i>Bibracte</i> 1894	RRCH 471	44/33	
	Fos-sur-mer, <1898	RRCH 450	110/93	
<b>Noricum – Raetia (Austria, Switzerland)</b>	Lampersberg 1956	RRCH 468; Lockyear 2007, 400	56/56	2
	Vidy = Lausanne 1945	RRCH 482	45/45	
<b>Germania (Germany)</b>	Niederlangen 1884	RRCH 452; Lockyear 2007, 402	62/62	3
	Stühlingen	RRCH 481; Lockyear 2007, 405	15/14	
	Kempten-Lindenberg	RRCH 451	12/12	
<b>Hispania – Lusitania (Spain, Portugal)</b>	Citânia de Sanfins 1950	RRCH 463; Lockyear 2007, 404	288/288	6
	Cortijo El Álamo 1957	RRCH 464; Lockyear 2007, 394	131/121	
	Mertola 1958	RRCH 469	1000/132	
	Guiães 1986	Lockyear 2007, 382	10/10	
	Castro de Alvarelos 1978	Lockyear 2007, 396	3554/3547	

<sup>65</sup> For the Italian hoards closing in 31 – 29/27 BC, see also Dillon 2007, 39-41.

	Monte Mozihno	Lockyear 2007, 385	4/4	
<b>Britannia (Britain)</b>	Weston 1852	RRCH 476; Lockyear 2007, 390	303/3	1
<b>Armenia (Armenia)</b>	Sarnakunk 1945	RRCH 455	178/95	1
<b>Moesia – Thrace (Bulgaria)</b>	(see above table)			17

### 7.5.5. The End of the Late Hellenistic Coinages, ca. 30/29 – 11/10 BC

In the decade following Actium, the coin circulation in Thrace had entirely changed. The previously so popular Late Hellenistic tetradrachms and their local imitations were used no later than ca. 25–15 BC, when they slowly disappeared. The latest hoards from Southern Thrace that associate such coins with Roman issues are these:

Table 7.10.

No.	Hoard / Date	Region	Reference (IGCH, RRCH or IRRCHBg)	Latest issue (RIC I <sup>2</sup> )	Closing date	Total number of coins / denarii
1.	<b>Topolovo 1961</b>	Plovdiv	RRCH 457; IRRCHBg 131 = Find. cat. no. 103	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 253 - (1) 267 - (2) 269a - (1)	30-29 BC	170 / 130
2.	<b>Kolyu Marinovo</b>	Stara Zagora	IRRCHBg 109 = Find. cat. no. 130	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 294 - (1)	19-18 BC	40 / 31
3.	<b>Medovo 1961</b>	Stara Zagora	RRCH 490; IRRCHBg 116 = Find. cat. no. 140	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 37a - (2) RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 310 - (1) RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 317 - (1)	18 BC	158 / 151
4.	<b>Sadievo 1968</b>	Sliven	IRRCHBg 116 = Find. cat. no. 154	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 339 - (1)	11-10 BC	161 / 159
<b>TOTALS:</b>						<b>55 tetr. 1 dr. 471 den.</b>

Interestingly, these late *tetradrachms+denarii* hoards contain only late barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms – 1 ‘Thasian type’ and 39 imitations in Topolovo, 9 in Kolyu Marinovo and 5 in Medovo hoard. They represent the final descendants of a long tradition.

A few years later the Late Hellenistic types were fully gone (for example the Pravoslav hoard (RRCH 520, details in find cat. No. 149), closing 9/8 BC), to be

completely replaced by the Augustan *denarius*. This was the long-term result of Rome's regulation of local coinages undertaken under Octavian Augustus, and the monetary reform of 23 BC.<sup>66</sup> Though the vassal Thracian kingdom was allowed to produce its own small change in bronze until its fall in AD 45/6<sup>67</sup>, since the time of Augustus the master silver currency was the *denarius*.

This is best illustrated by the famous advice of Maecenas<sup>68</sup> to emperor Octavian in 29 BC, as retold by Cassius Dio in his "Roman History": *μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν*. In other words: "...let none of them have currency, or private weights or measures of their own, but that they should use ours".<sup>69</sup> In fact, Augustus proved to be smarter, he decided to keep the provincial coinages in the provinces<sup>70</sup>.

Therefore, the beginning of complete Roman political and economic control in Thrace could be closely dated by the data of numismatics – to 11-10 BC.

## 7.6. Interpretation of Republican *denarius* hoards: imports, booty or *stipendia*?

There is no definite answer of the question – what was the purpose of the mass imports of Republican *denarii* hoards in the modern-day territories of Romania and Bulgaria. Crawford argued that the presence of a variety of silver denominations in the Lower Danube basin from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC has "*little to do with an operation of a money economy*" and that "*the picture did not alter with the arrival of the denarii of the Republic*" (Crawford 1985, 229). His main argument was the recognisable lack of small change denominations, *i.e.* the bronze coins, which are the effective markers of exchange in a market economy. This is very much true for the lower Danubian zone between the Iron Gate and down to the Bucharest/Russe area but it cannot be fully applicable in other areas. In fact, there are large areas of

<sup>66</sup> See mainly Kraft 1951-1952; Burnett 1977, 48; Crawford 1985, 258; Wolters 2012, 338.

<sup>67</sup> See more details in chapter 7. *Late Thracian Royal Coins*.

<sup>68</sup> A friend of Augustus who died in 8 BC.

<sup>69</sup> Dio 52.30.9, quoted after Rodewald 1976, 89, n.112. See also Grant 1946, 111 with comments and further refs.

<sup>70</sup> Amandry 2012, 395.

ancient Thrace which demonstrated a constant presence of bronze coinages dating back to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Some of them could be mentioned here in particular:

- Western Black Sea coastal zone – with an extensive bronze coinage of the Greek cities of *Apollonia*<sup>71</sup>, *Mesambria*<sup>72</sup>, *Odessos*<sup>73</sup>, *Dionysopolis*<sup>74</sup> and *Callatis*<sup>75</sup>, non-interrupted by 72/1 BC;
- Dobrudzha – with the bronze issues of the “Scythian” kings<sup>76</sup>, a regional coinage of *Scythia minor* of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC;
- South and central Thrace, especially around *Cabyle* – with its autonomous coins and issues for Spartocos, Skostoces, and Cavarus<sup>77</sup> (all in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), and around *Philippopolis* and the northern slopes of Rhodopes (**ΟΔΡΟΣΩΝ** issues of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC)<sup>78</sup>,
- The Odrysian kings of Thrace – known with limited bronze series of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, for instance - certain Cotys in the time of Perseus, ca. 172–167 BC<sup>79</sup>;
- Rhodopes and the Northern Aegean coast of Thrace, with a bulk of 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> c. BC civic issues of *Maroneia*<sup>80</sup>, *Abdera*<sup>81</sup> and *Thasos*<sup>82</sup> (in lesser extent). For example, the Eastern Rhodopes area yielded more than 8 hoards of Maroneia bronzes<sup>83</sup>;
- Southwestern Thrace bordering Macedonia (with middle and lower Strymon and Nestos river valleys) – after 187 BC the entire region was filled up with the prolific bronzes of the late Macedonian kings, autonomous

<sup>71</sup> Review of coinage in Топалов / Topalov 2007.

<sup>72</sup> Карайотов / Karayotov 1992 and Karayotov 2009.

<sup>73</sup> Топалов / Topalov 1999.

<sup>74</sup> Draganov 1997, 371-7; Draganov 2000.

<sup>75</sup> See review of types in *SNG Stancomb* 2000.

<sup>76</sup> Recently see Draganov 2011, 140-155; Драганов / Draganov 2012.

<sup>77</sup> Gerassimov 1958; Драганов / Draganov 1993; Draganov 1997, 677-83.

<sup>78</sup> Койчев / Koychev 2003, 14-29, Кисьов / Kissiov 2004.

<sup>79</sup> see Юркова / Youroukova 1992; Topalov 2009, 47-72.

<sup>80</sup> Schönert-Geiss 1979, 177-86; Schönert-Geiss 1987, 84 and 88 – the Dionysos series A and B of period X. See now Psoma *et alii* 2008, 146.

<sup>81</sup> May 1966; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007.

<sup>82</sup> Picard 1994, 266-76 and Picard 2010a.

<sup>83</sup> For instance Chal 1966 (IGCH 804), Hissar 1962 (IGCH 805), Podkova 1942 (IGCH 936), Dzhebel 1938 (IGCH 938), Ustren 1939 (IGCH 940), Gabrishte/Gabritsa 1971, Menekshe 1977 (Юркова / Youroukova 1979, 59), and other hoards in the Rhodopes.



**ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ**, and the civic issues of Amphipolis, Thessalonica, and Pella<sup>84</sup>.

Recent numismatic studies<sup>85</sup> and the ongoing publication of the regional museum collections (hoards and stray finds) in southern Bulgaria<sup>86</sup> had provided conclusive evidence that the interior of Thrace was well supplied with small change, either being small silver coins (tetrobols of Histiaea or Macedonian issues) or bronzes of the aforementioned types. Moreover, coastal and southern Thrace was sufficiently monetized at least since the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and definitely – much more during the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Consequently, the updated numismatic picture could not support Crawford's statement.

What is more important is the actual purpose and meaning of the Republican *denarius* hoards in the Thracian region. In the 1970s Crawford assumed that the presence of these coins in the Danubian area is due to the slave trade<sup>87</sup>, especially after the victory of Pompey Magnus over the pirates in 67 BC. But this hypothesis lack reliable written evidence and in consequence – and it was sharply criticised. Most scholars after Crawford rejected his arguments about the relationships of the diffusion of the Republican *denarii* in the northern parts of the Balkans with the ancient slave trade. However, his main critics limited themselves to a general statement about the “commercial relations between Romans and natives” or “the period of troubles after the death of Burebista”.<sup>88</sup>

Other scholars connected the phenomenon in Thrace with the Dacian polity and the intense distribution of Roman *denarii* in Burebista 'state'.<sup>89</sup> It is true that some *denarius* hoards, especially those buried around the Danube and its immediate zones southwards (such as Guljancy, and Maluk Porovets), contain single or more copies and imitations of characteristic “Dacian” design (see more in the next section and map 7.6). But this is not universally valid for all the hoards available (at least the ones which have been examined).

<sup>84</sup> For the series Touratsoglou 1987, and Touratsoglou 1994; on circulation - Прокопов / Prokopov 1987 and Prokopov 1989, 89-93.

<sup>85</sup> e.g. Karayotov 2009.

<sup>86</sup> See now series *CCCHBulg.* volumes 2 (2009), 3 (2011) and 4 /in print/, respectively the coins from regions of Kyustendil, Smolyan and Blagoevgrad.

<sup>87</sup> Crawford 1977, 129 ff. = Crawford 1985, 229.

<sup>88</sup> Fulford 1985, 91-105; Schonert-Geiss 1989, 84-9.

<sup>89</sup> Trzeciecka 2004, 151-3.

But again the high hoarding pattern and subsequent non-recovery of all those hoards in the region under study is unusual, almost unprecedented. It cannot be explained by none of the existing theories. And therefore, we may deal with a purely human factor in case of hoards no-recovery. Why they have been left in the ground? The explanation may be trivial – there was no one to recover many of these hoards. In the case of the later Republican period, this could be well related with the march of Marcus Licinius Crassus (Flor. 2.26.13-16; Dio 51.23-24), which virtually lead to total destruction and complete depopulation of the northwestern region in 29-28 BC.<sup>90</sup> In fact, there are at least eight hoards (from regions Vratsa and Montana) closing with Antonian (mostly legionary) or Octavian's *denarii* of 32/1 – 29 BC (see table 8.8 above). It could hardly be a coincidence. Actually, if they are mapped, they form nearly a straight line leading from the Balkan range pass near Mezdra (Moravitsa hoard) to the north-northwest via Vratsa and reaching the place Medkovets hoard (between Montana and Lom), which is not far from the confluence of Tsibritsa (anc. Ciabrus) and Danube where Crassus hold a major battle against the Bastarnae(Scordisci?) and killed himself their leader Deldo (Dio 51.24.4).

So, were these silver hoards booty from plunder, protection tributes to the local chieftains, or loyalty payment dispatched by the Romans in Adriatics or Macedonia? Currently it is remains rather difficult to elucidate this research question.

However, Crawford suggested that their “*function was presumable to define and enhance the status of a local aristocracy*” and it was “*used rather for exchange of gifts and for payments such as dowries, where the gift element is considerable*” (Crawford 1985, 229-30). He further stated: “*coinage in fact is to be envisaged as for the most part a fashionable form in which to hold and display wealth, alongside jewellery and other forms of mobile riches.*”

On the basis of available hoard evidence, its spatial analysis and interpretation this research concludes that most of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC *denarius* hoards found in Thrace could be seen as Roman payments / tributes to local chieftains, either to the Thracian, the Scordiscan, or to groups of a mixed ethnic origin. This occurred to be the case for the northwestern area of Thrace (modern-day regions of Montana, Vratsa, Vidin and Plevan). It is reflected in the heavy accumulation (and non-recovery) of silver coins in the aforementioned region (not to mention the Late

<sup>90</sup> Further details in section 3.9.3 The early history of Moesia, map 3.20, pp. 95-6.

Hellenistic hoards in the same zone) with no market value, collected as prestige items and hoarded as bullion value.

## 7.7. Distribution and spatial analysis of Republican hoards

The precise digital mapping of the Republican hoards from Bulgaria specially done for the purpose of this study allowed some trends and patterns of hoards to be observed.

As pointed out earlier, the first coins commissioned by, or struck on behalf of the Roman authorities in Macedonia were the tetradrachms of Thasos and of Maroneia (more in *chapter 5*). They occurred as the first and most numerous coin issues in the period from 167/148 to *ca.* 90/80 BC (sections 5.2-3), both exceeding 10,000 specimens known. After 148/6 BC in the lands of present day Northern Bulgaria the tetradrachms of the Macedonia First Region and Thasos (regarded by many scholars an early Roman 'provincial' coinage) largely predominated, followed by the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium.

Around the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the minting of 'original' series of Thasian and Maroneian large silver coins declined or was suspended for some time due to the Mithridatic invasion in the Aegean. Instead, the Pontic king revived the silver coinage in a number the western Euxine cities like Odessos, Mesambria and Byzantium, and the gold – in Tomis, Callatis, Istros and again – at Byzantium.

In the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC the first import of Republican *denarii* can be observed in the southwest of Thrace (modern regions Pernik and Kyustendil). It was limited and short-lived. Most known *denarii* have been found in (homogenous) deposits (e.g. Krlev dol, CH 7.209, find cat. no. 32), or mixed with tetradrachms of Thasos and First Region (see Kyustendil area I and II, CH 9.277-278 = cat. nos. 89-90). Simultaneously, in the northwestern part of modern Bulgaria, a massive penetration of Roman Republican *denarii* has began always associated with the drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, obviously coming from a western direction.

### 8.7.1. Northern Thrace (later *Moesia*)

The concentration of Roman Republican coins in Northern Bulgaria decreases as we move from North-West to North-East. It is possible to identify three zones (*i.e.* North-Western, North-Central and North-Eastern), separated by the valleys of the rivers Timok (anc. *Timacus*), Iskar (anc. *Oescus*) and Jantra (anc. *Iatrus*). All these rivers flow north to the Danube from the Stara Planina (*Haemus*) mountain range (see chapter 2. Geography, fig. 2.8).

The westernmost zone (from Timok/Vidin up to the course of the Cherni Lom river) contains predominantly hoards of *RRD* and drachms of the Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in Illyria. The highest concentration of *denarii* of the Republic is to be seen in the area between Lom (*Almus*) and Iskur (anc. *Oescus*) rivers (detail map, fig. 8.3). Among the recorded hoards containing *RRD* found in this area are: Vidin area, Rabisha Lake / Magurata (both in region Vidin), Staliyska Mahala II and III, Rasovo I and Rassovo III, Ohoden, Bukovets, Jakimovo II, Koynare I, Moravitsa, Beli Breg I and II, Bardarski Geran, Gradeshnitsa II, Galatin, Tishevitsa, Tarnava, Vratsa 'Starata mogila' (all from Montana and Vratsa areas). Typical early hoards in the region occurred to be Montana area I (*t.p.q.* after 84 BC), Staliyska mahala III (*t.p.q.* 84 BC), Galatin (*t.p.q.* after 80 BC), Dolni Vadin I (*t.p.q.* after 76 BC), Beli Breg I (*t.p.q.* 79 BC), Rassovo II (*t.p.q.* after 79 BC), Bardarski Geran (*t.p.q.* 77 BC) and Bukovets (*t.p.q.* 77/6 BC). Sadly, many of the listed above does not exist anymore and no further studies can be made.

The former hoard from the village of Galatin in region Vratsa (find cat. no. 78), provides the rare opportunity to set a precise date of the late series tetradrachms of the Macedonia First Meris, based on the *denarius* included in hoard, to *circa* 80-75 BC (Prokopov 2012). The hoards from Koynare I (*t.p.q.* 61 BC), Moravitsa (*t.p.q.* 32/1 BC), Orehovitsa (*t.p.q.* 43/1 BC) and Trustenik (*t.p.q.* 79 BC), all found along the banks of Iskur (anc. *Oescus*) river valley, shape the easternmost group that associates *denarii* with drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. This region – the present-day North-Western Bulgaria – has to date provided the largest quantities of Roman Republican *denarii* in the whole of Thrace. The amount of hoards exceeds 34 with nearly 12,000 coins altogether.

The *denarius* hoards of the North-Central zone (between Iskar (anc. *Oescus*) and Jantra (anc. *Iatrus*) are comparable in type and closing dates with the first zone

but smaller in number and fewer hoards have been discovered, though some of considerable amount. They include Stoyanovo (*t.p.q.* 37/6 BC, cat. no. 68) and Teteven (in region Lovech); Trustenik/ IGCH 669 (*t.p.q.* 79 BC, cat. no. 104), Orehovitsa / IGCH 686 (*t.p.q.* 41 BC, cat. no. 98), Gigen I and Gulyantsi (RRCH 377), Pleven area I and Pleven area II (all in region Pleven), Gabrovo I and II (if both are hoards at all). These 10 hoards contained over 1,200 *denarii*.

The next zone is a buffer – interim area, between Jantra (anc. *Iatrus*) and the Black Sea coast. In this North-Eastern zone far fewer Roman Republican *denarius* hoards have been found: such as Maluk Porovets (Find cat. no. 37), Aprilovo I (Find cat. no. 2), ‘Aydemir’ (cat. no. 3), three larger hoards from the region of Shumen – Madara (Find cat. no. 36), Mogila (cat. no. 40), and Shumen area (early Augustan date, find cat. no. 156), and two small hoards near Varna - Provadiya I and II (cat. nos. 52, 152). The closing dates of all hoards in North-Eastern zone varies between 58 to 10 BC, but most narrow down from 49/8 to 32/1 BC.

Few associated (with Thasos and Maroneia tetradrachms) hoards also derived from this zone, most of them concentrated along the course of Jantra (anc. *Iatrus*) valley. The examples include Batin (*t.p.q.* 54 BC, cat. no. 54), Rodina (*t.p.q.* 62 BC, cat. no. 101), Mindya (*t.p.q.* 60 BC, cat. no. 93), and Kamen (*t.p.q.* 75-60?, cat. no. 83) and the uncertain Krivnya hoard *t.p.q.* 49-44? BC, cat. no. 88).

The situation along the Black Sea western coast and in Dobrudzha (*Scythia minor*) is something like a mirror image. The coastal zone yielded only one *denarius* hoard on the Bulgarian section, found south of Varna near Obzor (cat. no. 43) and two more from northern Dobrudzha – Costinesti<sup>91</sup> and Tuzla near Mangalia/ *Callatis* (both closing in 32/1 BC). Obzor is a hoard of 56+ *denarii* closing to the time of Mark Antony (RRC 496/2) of 42 BC.<sup>92</sup> A number of individual Roman Republican coins have been unearthed in Dobrudzha – near the villages of Topola (cat. no. 385), Onogur, Bozhurets and Orlyak in the area of Dobrich and Balchik. Most of them are also dated from Caesar to the time of Mark Antony as Triumvir.<sup>93</sup> The accumulation of the hoards in this zone obviously began after the destructive march of the Roman consul M. Lucullus in 72/1 BC.

<sup>91</sup> Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 135, no. 133.

<sup>92</sup> See now Паунов / Paunov 2012b, 81-96.

<sup>93</sup> Прокопов – Владимирова-Аладжова / Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladjova 1995, 51-5.

### 8.7.2. Southern Thrace

In the south again, it is possible to identify three particular zones of hoard distribution (*i.e.* South-Western, South-Central and South-Eastern). The diffusion of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC coins in the present-day South Bulgaria follows the pattern of main rivers in the Thracian Plain area. The majority of the Late Hellenistic and Republican *denarius* hoards have been found on a south-southeast axis (*cf.* infra sections 5.2. and 5.3 and fig. 7.3). The most important were discovered along the banks of the Maritsa (*Hebros*), Tundza (*Tonzos*) and the tiny Sazliyka river. The former two rivers and the Stara Planina range (anc. *Haemus*) form an irregular triangle, where a bulk of hoards containing silver issues is concentrated.<sup>94</sup> The majority of coin hoards containing Roman Republican *denarii* are found in the central part of the Thracian Plain around Plovdiv / *Philippopolis*:

1. To the west: 4 hoards – 2 near Pazardzhik / *Bessapara* from the villages of Ognyanovo (*t.p.q.* 49/8 BC, cat. no. 45), Kapitan Dimitriev ( *t.p.q.* 41 BC, cat. no. 27) and 2 more in the upper reach of Maritsa/*Hebros* – Pchelin (*t.p.q.* 40-39? BC, no. 47) and Dolna Banya (*t.p.q.* data not recorded, cat. no. 10);

2. To the north/east: 7 hoards, from Eleshnitsa (*t.p.q.* 48 BC, cat. no.15), Starosel II (*t.p.q.* after 46 BC, cat. no. 66), Karavelovo I (*t.p.q.* 36 BC, cat. no. 84), Malak Chardak (*t.p.q.* 39 BC, cat. no. 91), Bolyarino (*t.p.q.* 48 BC, cat. no.76), Kolyo-Marinovo (*t.p.q.* 19-18 BC, cat. no. 130) and Bratya Daskalovi (*t.p.q.* ca. 60-40 BC, cat. no. 77); and

3. Further east/southeast: Topolovo (*t.p.q.* 29 BC, cat. no. 103), Dolno Botevo (*t.p.q.* ca. 60-50/45 BC, cat. no. 82) and Iskra/Popovo (*t.p.q.* ? BC, cat. no. 25). A peculiar feature of these hoards is the frequent association of *denarii* with local (Thracian / Celtic?) imitations of Thasos tetradrachms (see above 7.5.5 and table 7.10), at least in 6 occasions. This demonstrates that here since the 50's-40's BC the *denarii* were equalled to *drachms* and circulated together with the remains of the old Late Hellenistic tetradrachm-system.

The accumulation of these coins as hoards took place in the first half or the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and their concealment – from 50/40 BC down to the reign of Augustus. All hoards discovered around Plovdiv / *Philippopolis* reveal a pattern of

<sup>94</sup> See a review in Прокопов/ Prokopov 2008, 240-57.

hoarding in the short period between 49/8 and 39/36 BC. This probably too may well be related with some political events in this period, of which we have no reliable historical record.

Surprisingly, the next zone – the South-East of Bulgaria has no registered *denarius* hoards at all. This could not be a pure coincidence, since there is no hoards east from Korten II / IGCH 979 (*t.p.q.* 59 BC; cat. no. 86) and Nova Zagora area (after 40-32/1 BC; cat. no. 97) as far as to the Black Sea coast. During the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC these territories should be regarded as the core of the late Odrysian kingdom. It is known that it was closely linked with the East and it used the denominational system of Bithynia and Western Asia Minor.<sup>95</sup> Here freely circulated a number of eastern issues as cistophoric tetradrachms, Bithynian royal coins, tetradrachms of Byzantium of Lysimachi type, of Ilium and Alexandria Troas, Abydos and Tenedos (see sections 6.10–6.14). It seems that until the time of Augustus (see Sadievo hoard, *t.p.q.* 11-10 BC, cat. no. 97), the Roman *denarius* was not well accepted in Southeast Thrace and did not belong to the local circulation. *Denarii* came into circulation only with the accession of Rhoemetalces I and the linkage of his kingdom as a client state.

Another specific zone of interest is the present day South-Western Bulgaria, which partly belonged to the territory of the province of *Macedonia* after 146 BC. From this area we have only few hoards containing denarii (such as Belitsa, Gotse Delchev, Garmen and Ognyanovo, almost always mixed with other Late Hellenistic issues). This zone also gave record of stray bronze coins of the Roman Republic – asses of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and also many single *denarii*.

In the far west of Thrace – the area of regions Sofia, Pernik and Kyustendil – is observed another smaller accumulation of *denarius* hoards. There are 9 hoards in this zone: Filipovtsi (cat. no. 16; not recorded, lost), Noevtsi (cat. no. 95; dispersed, partial record), Krlev dol (cat. no. 32; lost, record uncertain), Staro selo (cat. no. 67; dispersed, lost), Kyustendil area I and II (both dispersed, record uncertain), Mirovo (dispersed, lost), and Gorna Koznitsa (dispersed, lost). Sadly, there's not good record on many of this group and the data cannot provide firm considerations. However, it must be emphasized that few of them are among the earliest imports of Republican denarii in western Thrace dating back to the 90's BC (see above, the notes in 7.7.0).

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<sup>95</sup> Where too there is no *denarius* hoards, except a single one from Halicarnassus, see recently de Callatay 2011, 55-86.

In the region east of Sofia – towards Elin Pelin and Pirdop – there is also a minor group of hoards. There are Makotsevo and Ossoitsa, found long ago (1909-1910) and not properly recorded. They too should mark a local hoarding pattern, though of uncertain date.

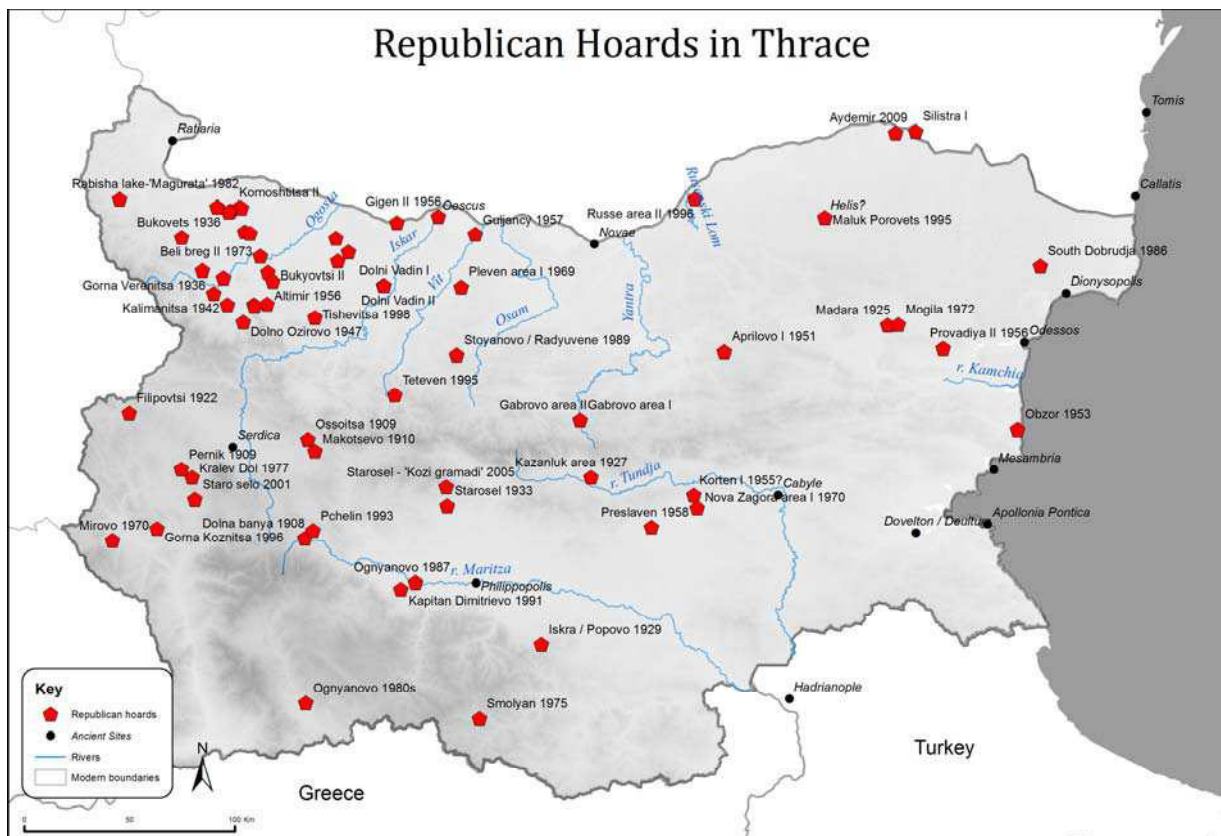


Fig. 7.6. Distribution of Republican *denarius* hoards in Bulgaria (map by A. Sobotkova).



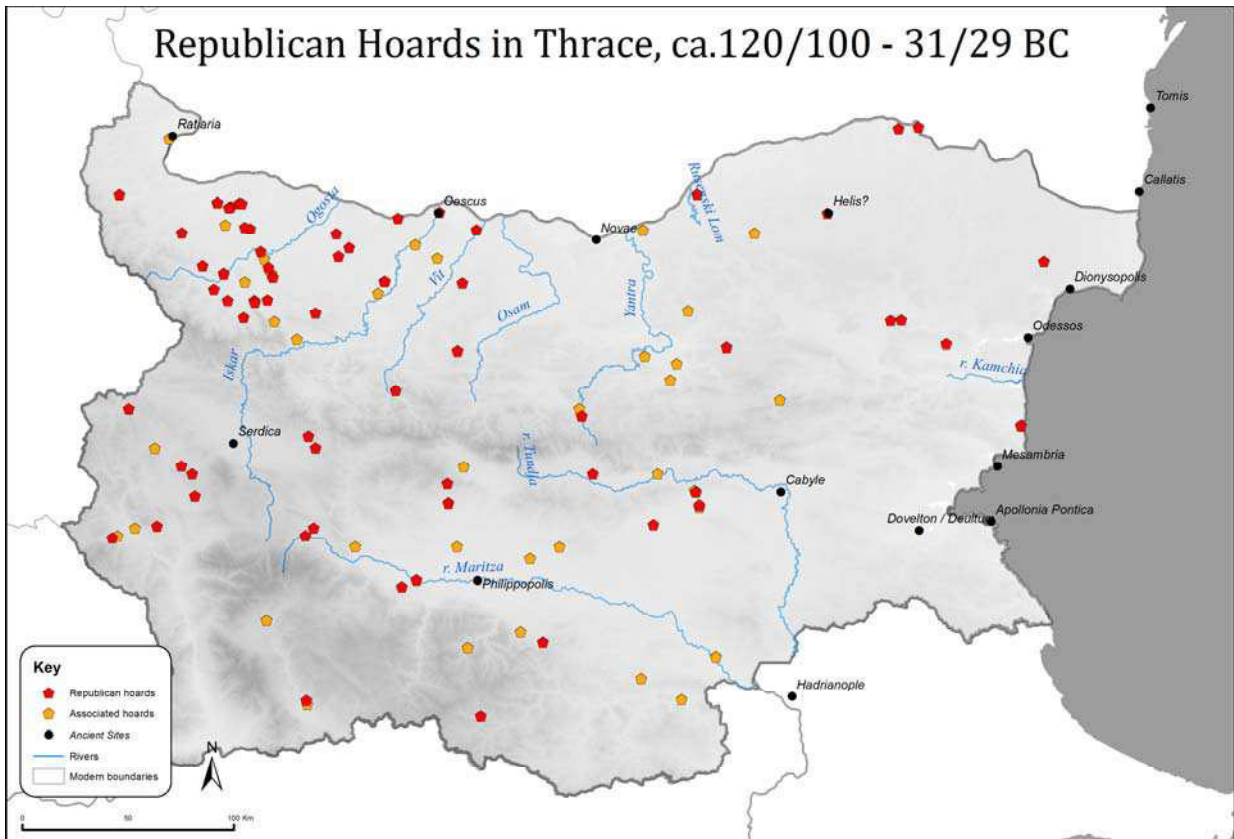


Fig. 7.7. Distribution of Associated hoards in Bulgaria (map by A. Sobotkova).

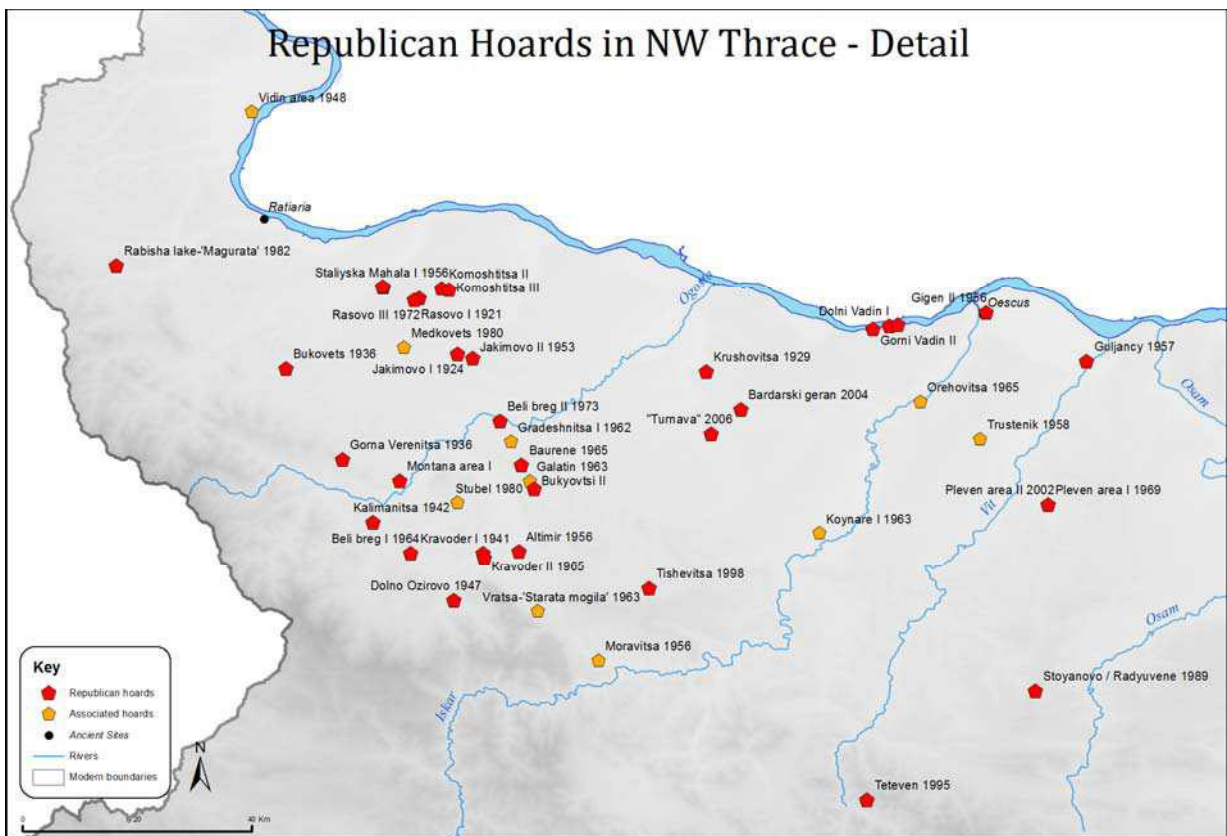


Fig. 7.8. Detail – Republican homogenous and associated hoards in NW Bulgaria (map by A. Sobotkova).

## 7.8. Conclusions

The analysis and review of the 'associated' hoards (tetradrachms + *denarii*) clearly shows the stages of transition in the monetary system in 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Thrace. In fact, the Republican *denarius* first appeared in southwestern Thrace around 90–80 BC, close to the border with Macedonia (perhaps related to plunder from Thracian attacks on the province). Its initial appearance/presence in the Thrace was limited. In the following years the *denarius* demonstrates a slow but steady importation into the region, most intensively in the northwest of Thrace (future *Moesia*), frequently along with drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia (both of the same value). At least ten hoards with closing dates of 80-71 BC are known from this area. In the 60's BC the influx of *denarii* in Thrace was constant (as in neighboring Dacia). The next phase is marked by a huge import of *denarii* in the 40's, with over 25 hoards known from the period, the largest proportion of them from the short period ca. 49-44 BC. Large hoards also appear from the late years - ca. 42-39 BC. This actually follows the same pattern as in Romania and Italy. The period is also characterized by the intense production of local imitations of Thasian tetradrachms.

In the 30's there was a small decline in *denarius* supply to Thrace (only 6 hoards known), which increased once again towards the end of the period, and the final clash between Mark Antony and Octavian. The period 32/1 – 29/27 BC is represented by at least 18 *denarius* hoards from Thrace. At the same time, the late Hellenistic tetradrachms largely disappeared from the Thracian market.

The beginning of complete Roman political and economic control in Thrace is marked by the final disappearance of the *tetradrachm* (and *tetradrachm* imitations) from the local coin pool in the 20's BC. It can be strictly dated to the period ca. 18/15 – 11/10 BC under Augustus, apparently following a special Roman regulation of the coin pool. From then on the Roman *denarius* was dominant, complete master of the monetary system in the Thracian region for the subsequent 250 years (until Gordian III).

## **Part 2.**

### **7.9. Imitations of Republican *denarii* in Thrace (plates 2-4)**

#### **7.9.1. Introduction**

The imitation of the *denarii* of the Roman Republic in Central and Southeastern Europe has received long overdue attention in recent years.<sup>96</sup> Most of this has focused on discoveries in Romania, the heartland of the Dacian polity, where these coins are most often found. The fact that these imitations are also encountered further south in Moesia and Thrace, within the borders of modern Bulgaria, is almost unknown.<sup>97</sup> This review is primarily an attempt to compile a *corpus* of all known examples of the Thracian imitations of *denarii*.

The provenance of these coins is divided into four categories:

1. coins unearthed in controlled archaeological excavations,
2. coins now residing in provincial museums of Bulgaria,
3. coins that were part of published hoards, and
4. coins encountered in trade.

Eleven imitations were part of a single, larger hoard of 56 coins, consisting mostly of official *denarii* of the Roman Republic, unearthed in Maluk Porovets, Razgrad region, in 1995. These coins will be treated as a single group in the second section. The remainder of the corpus, from all sources, will be inventoried in the third section. To avoid confusion, a single numbering sequence will be used throughout the two sections of the catalogue. Where it is possible to accurately identify the prototype of these imitations, the coins are listed and dated according to the standard catalogue of the coins of the Republic, *Roman Republican Coinage*, published by Michael H. Crawford in 1974. No attempts to speculate will be made regarding possible

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<sup>96</sup> Cf. Davis 2006, with a recent overview. See also Chițescu 1981 and the comments of Lockyear 2008, 155-9.

<sup>97</sup> Briefly mentioned in Читецкы / Chițescu 1979, 24-29, and Chițescu 1981. In 2002 only three *denarii* imitations were illustrated in the inventory *IRRCHBg*, plate I. See now Davis – Paunov 2012, 389-413.

prototypes in those cases where the Republican model cannot be identified with certainty.

### 7.9.2. Hoards: Maluk Porovets 1995 and other

The coins are described as follows: Name of the Roman moneyer responsible for striking the Republican prototype, number in *RRC* (Cr. = Crawford), date of the prototype according to Crawford,<sup>98</sup> diameter in millimeters, weight in grams. Where available, the die axis is also provided using the conventional “clock” notation. Numbers in parentheses are the inventory number of the individual coin in the Municipal Museum of History at Isperih. In some cases, a brief discussion follows the description.

1. Uncertain prototype, after 144 BC, 18x19 mm, 3.0g (IM109), see Cr. 221/1 for earliest instance of Jupiter in quadriga.
2. Obverse prototype less certain, but reverse certainly of **M. Tullius** (Cr. 280/1), 120 BC, 20 mm, 4.7g (Isperih museum 108).
3. Uncertain prototype, perhaps **M. Cippius M. f.** (Cr. 289/1), 115-114 BC, 18x19 mm, 4.2g (Isperih museum 113).
4. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **L. Flaminius Chilo** (Cr. 302/1), 109-108 BC, 18x19 mm, 4.1g (Isperih museum 114).
5. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **C. Coelius Caldus** (Cr. 318/1), 104 BC, 17x19 mm, 3.8g (Isperih museum 117).
6. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **C. Coelius Caldus** (Cr. 318/1), 104 BC, 19 mm, 3.8g (Isperih museum 115). At first glance, the reverse appears to be double-struck. Closer examination however, demonstrates that the two inscriptions are not identical, and that the die was deliberately engraved in this manner. Presumably, this was a naïve attempt to render separately the inscriptions above and below the exergual line on the prototype (or simply the prototype was double struck).
7. **M. Lucilius Rufus** (Cr. 324/1), 101 BC, 19x20 mm, 3.1g (Isperih museum 98).  
 In his discussion Dimitrov suggested that this coin may be a badly struck original, rather than an imitation.<sup>99</sup> This possibility cannot be ruled out; the authors however consider it more likely that this is indeed a local imitation, struck from new dies mechanically transferred from an official coin. This phenomenon is well known among the Dacians, see Davis website, nos. CT1+ to HT9+ for other examples.<sup>100</sup>
8. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **Q. Titius** (Cr. 341), 90 BC, 18 mm, 3.8g (Isperih museum 124).
9. Obverse prototype **C. Censorinus**, reverse prototype uncertain (Cr. 346/2), 88 BC, 17x18 mm, 4.7g (Isperih museum 118).

<sup>98</sup> In the case of hybrid imitations combining two Republic prototypes, the date given is the later of the two types.

<sup>99</sup> Dimitrov 2007, 378, no. 51.

<sup>100</sup> Davis website <http://rimitations.ancients.info/CopiesTransferDies.html>.

10. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **Q. Antonius Balbus** (Cr. 364/1), 83-82 BC, 18x19 mm, 3.7g (Isperih museum 111).
11. **L. Papius** (Cr. 384/1), 79 BC, 17x18 mm, 3.8g (Isperih museum 106).

Maluk Porovets / 1995 (fig. 7.9) is a pot hoard of 56 silver coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, found in the locality 'Novite korenezhi' near the same village, in the district of Razgrad.<sup>101</sup> This is in Northeastern Bulgaria, once the Roman province of *Moesia inferior*, some 35 km south of the Danube (see map fig. 7.10). It was discovered during the controlled archaeological excavation of a series of small Thracian stone circles, not far from the *tumuli* of the western necropolis.<sup>102</sup> The site is roughly dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>103</sup> and it is located some 400 m west of the 'Getic' fortified town of *Helis*.<sup>104</sup> The hoard consisted of 44 *denarii* of the Roman Republic, 11 imitations of the same, and a single late drachm of *Apollonia Illyriae*, with magistrate names ΔΩΠΙΟΝΟΣ / ΔΕΙΝΩΝ, traditionally dated to ca. 50–25 BC.<sup>105</sup>



Fig. 7.9. Maluk Porovets / 1995 hoard (photo after Gergova 2004).

<sup>101</sup> Original excavation report in Вълчева / Valcheva 1996, 49. The site lies 250–300 m west of the town fortification walls.

<sup>102</sup> Гергова / Gergova 2004, 53–54.

<sup>103</sup> The dating suggests this is an intrusive hoard buried in an earlier site, especially if it was regarded as an obvious landmark.

<sup>104</sup> As identified by the researchers of the Sboryanovo site; see Chichikova, Delev, Bozhkova 1992, and recently T. Stoyanov *et alii* 2004, 23-5; Stoyanov *et alii* 2006, 53-6.

<sup>105</sup> SNG Fitzwilliam, no. 2508.

After a substantial delay, in 2007 the entire hoard was published by Kamen Dimitrov.<sup>106</sup> It is presently kept in the Municipal Historical Museum in Ispereh (Inv. no. 65).<sup>107</sup> Although the hoard closes with an issue of C. Considius Paetus (Cr. 465/2b), struck in 46 BC, Dimitrov speculated that it was perhaps hidden a bit later, ca. 40–32 BC<sup>108</sup>. It is more plausible to assume it was secreted in the short period ca. 46–44/2 BC in the aftermath of the suggested conflict between Caesar and the ‘Dacian’/Getic dynast Burebista,<sup>109</sup> perhaps brought across the Danube into Dacia / Transylvania by a soldier returning from that engagement.

The eleven imitations – in a hoard of 56 *denarii* – comprise almost 20% of the total. Typically the Thracian hoards contain only a single “stray” imitation, or none, even in larger hoards of 150-200 or more coins.

Only two other hoards from Northern Thrace are known to have contained any quantity of imitations of Republican *denarii*. The first was discovered in 1912 near the village of Garvan on the Danube, in Silistra district<sup>110</sup>, and contained an unknown number of imitations, out of some 100 Republican *denarii* down to Augustus.<sup>111</sup> The second was found in 1985/6 somewhere between Balchik and Kavarna, in the district of Dobrich in the coastal Black Sea zone. The ‘South Dobrudja’ / 1986 hoard contained around 120 official *denarii* down to P. Clodius, 42 BC (Cr. 494/23), and nine imitations, all found in a small gray jug. This hoard is unpublished,<sup>112</sup> and has been dispersed in trade.<sup>113</sup> These nine imitations are therefore not included in the catalogue. The geographic location (in Dobrudja, named *Scythia minor*; see *map*) fits in well with the historical evidence for the period. It is well-known that Burebista conquered the northern and western Pontic cities in the late 50s – early 40s BC.<sup>114</sup> Olbia, Histros and Mesambria resisted him and were partially destroyed; other cities, such as Tomis, Callatis, Odessos and Dionysopolis, submitted to him without a fight. Burebista and his ambassador Akornion were honoured with a decree (ψηφισμα) in

<sup>106</sup> Dimitrov 2007, 369-79, see also *IRRCHBulg*, no. 40 – for an earlier note on this hoard.

<sup>107</sup> My thanks are due to Mrs Maria Nikolaeva, keeper of the coin collection in the Ispereh museum, who kindly provided me with photographs and metric data on the coins from the Maluk Porovets hoard.

<sup>108</sup> Dimitrov 2007, 379.

<sup>109</sup> See Syme 1999, 174 ff; Lica 2000, 62-75.

<sup>110</sup> Short notes in Filow 1913, 336; Seure 1923, 17, no. 8 = *IRRCHBulg*, no. 77 = *Find cat. no. 123*.

<sup>111</sup> The Garvan/1912 hoard was later misplaced and is now missing from the numismatic collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, as of June 2008.

<sup>112</sup> See *Find cat. no. 61*.

<sup>113</sup> In May 2010 photographs of the imitations from this hoard were examined by the author in a private collection in Vienna, but were not available for the present study.

<sup>114</sup> Suetonius, *Caesar* 44.6; comments in Lica 2000, 73-5.

Dionysopolis<sup>115</sup> (present-day Balchik) dated to June-August 48 BC. In fact, Burebista claimed the crown of the kings of Thrace (...πρώτου καὶ μ[ε / γίστου γεγ]ονότος τῶν ἐπὶ Ορᾶκης βασιλέων...)<sup>116</sup> as attested to in the Dionysopolis decree, lines 22-23. Soon after the death of Burebista, in ca. 44/2 BC the entire coastal region reverted to the sovereignty of the Thracian king Sadas II, who was honoured in a decree by the people of Odessos.<sup>117</sup> The closing date of ‘South Dobrudja’ / 1986 hoard, coincides with another Republican hoard, found on the coast, 40 km south of Odessos – the Obzor / 1953 hoard<sup>118</sup> which also closes in 42 BC, with an issue of Mark Antony (Cr. 496/2). Although the Obzor hoard contains only a single apparent imitation (out of 55 denarii, no. 18 below), it marks the same hoarding wave, presumably connected in some way with the political events discussed above.

The Maluk Porovets hoard can also be usefully compared with another hoard now in the Belgrade National Museum. Like Maluk Porovets, this hoard was discovered quite far from the Dacian heartland, within the borders of modern Serbia.<sup>119</sup> The hoard arrived in Belgrade sometime between the two World Wars; its findspot is identified in Borić-Bresković – Popović as the ‘Voyvodina Region’ (= formerly Southern Hungary). Quite atypically,<sup>120</sup> it consists *solely* of “barbarous” imitations, 15 in all. These were struck from a very restricted number of dies, five obverse and four dies in all. Three die pairs are present in multiple examples.<sup>121</sup> Of these, the prototypes of only a single die pair (Borić-Bresković – Popović 2006, no. 1673) can be identified with confidence. The obverse of this piece derives from C. Mamilius Limetanus (Cr. 362/1), 82 BC; the reverse from C. Naevius Balbus (Cr. 382/1), 79 BC. It is perhaps significant that this is the only coin in the hoard of which both dies are represented only in this single example. The remaining coins depict a “generic” Roma head and biga; earlier attempts to identify the prototype(s) are not persuasive.

According to the photographs of the Voyvodina hoard published by B. Borić-Bresković and Popović, all of these coins exhibit unmistakable evidence of

<sup>115</sup> Mihailov, *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup>, 13 = V, 5006; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup> 762.

<sup>116</sup> Lica 2000, 82-3, note 96.

<sup>117</sup> Mihailov, *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup>, 43.

<sup>118</sup> Youroukova 1963, 39-44; *IRRCHBg*. 44 = see *find cat. no. 44*.

<sup>119</sup> See Borić-Bresković – Popović 2006, nos. 1659-1673 and Popović 1974, nos. 1–15 for catalogues of this hoard. Popović’s initial 1974 publication also includes a useful discussion of the Belgrade hoard, and of the general phenomenon of the imitation of Republican denarii in Central and Eastern Europe.

<sup>120</sup> Perhaps, in fact, *uniquely*; the authors know of no comparable case.

<sup>121</sup> See Davis 2005, S1+ (website: <http://rimitations.ancients.info/bulgarian.html>) for another example of one of these die pairs, Borić-Bresković – Popović 2006, nos. 1661-1664; Popović 1974, type B.

considerable wear from circulation; the same is true of the Davis website S1+ example. This circumstance of worn denarii, present in die-matched examples in a single hoard, is at first glance unexpected. It is in marked contrast to, for example, the many die-matched copies in the Poroschia hoard, which were evidently hidden very soon after they were produced, having circulated very little, if at all. This finding is precisely parallel however to the case of the imitations issued by the Celtic Eravisci tribe in Pannonia in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>122</sup> The Eraviscans also utilized a limited inventory of dies to strike a substantial coinage. The coins saw considerable circulation, and the dies were used repeatedly, to the point of near-obliteration. The style of the Voyvodina coins more closely resembles that of their Eraviscan counterparts than it does that of “typical” Dacian productions.

This is in marked contrast to the situation in the Maluk Porovets hoard. These coins indeed “look” Dacian. They also certainly did circulate, but all of the dies used to strike them are unique within the hoard. In fact, there are no other examples of any of these dies known. This is entirely consistent with analyses of hoards of imitations found nearer the Dacian heartland. A large majority of Dacian dies are known only from a single example; when analyzing a “new” hoard of Dacian imitations, it is expected to find matches with previously-known dies only at a rate of some 10-15%.<sup>123</sup>

### 7.9.3. ‘Stray’ imitations

This section follows the general format of the first section, with the following *proviso*: Certain dates from the period 78–51 BC have been adjusted according to the Mesagne Hoard.<sup>124</sup> Where available, information as to the find-spot and present whereabouts of the coin follows the description.

12. **L. Iteius** (Cr. 209/1), 149 BC, 17.5x18.2 mm, 3.02g. A stray find from the village of Lyulin, Yambol region in 1956.

Regional Historical Museum of Yambol, inv. no. 415.

Hitherto unpublished, see now Паунов / Paunov 2012a, 467, cat. no. 46.

<sup>122</sup> See Freeman 1998, for a die-study of the Eraviscan imitative coinage.

<sup>123</sup> This frustrating reality is the *enigma* that lies at the heart of Dacian numismatic studies. A convincing explanation would represent a major advance in the understanding of the Dacian imitative coinage, but it is beyond the scope of this work.

<sup>124</sup> Hersh – Walker 1984, 103-34.



13. Obverse prototype **Q. Marcius Libo** (Cr. 215/1), reverse of **C. Terentius Lucanus** (Cr. 217/1), 147 BC, dimensions and weight unknown.  
 From the Bardarski Geran / 2004 hoard<sup>125</sup> (Vratsa region) of 177 *denarii*, closing with L. Rutilius Flaccus in 77 BC (Cr. 387/1).  
 Private collection in Sofia.  
 See Davis website, M173+ for another example of this reverse die, paired there with an obverse of M. Atilius Saranus (Cr. 214/1a).
14. **L. Minucius** (Cr. 248/1), 133 BC, 20x21 mm, 3.39g.  
 Both sides somewhat stylized; traces of illegible lettering on reverse. Unusually broad and thin flan, perhaps the result of double-striking.  
 Find spot: from the Pleven region, central northern Bulgaria, 2003; now in the private American collection RW. Davis website, M176+ (this coin).<sup>126</sup>
15. Uncertain prototype, perhaps **L. Sentius** (Cr. 325/1), 101 BC; 17x18 mm, 3.15g.  
 From a hoard found in the Shumen area in the 1970s<sup>127</sup>, of 80 *denarii* and 3 imitations closing with M. Durmius issue for Augustus in 19-18 BC (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 315).<sup>128</sup>  
 Regional Historical Museum of Shumen, ex-Dr. Haralanov collection, inv. no. 133.1 / 20.<sup>129</sup>
16. Prototype of **L. Sentius** (Cr. 325/1), 101 BC, plated, porous, 18.4x18.9 mm, 3.37g.  
 From the Gulyantsi / 1957 hoard (RRCH 377) of 467 *denarii* closing with T. Carisius, Cr. 464/2, 46 BC.  
 First published in Radoměský 1961, no. 103b; now in the Czech National Museum at Prague, inv. no. H5-23845.
17. Obverse prototype **Sex. Julius Caesar**?/ (Cr. 258/1); reverse of **L. Titurius Sabinus** (Cr. 344/2), 89 BC, dimension and weight not available.  
 From the Ohoden hoard/ 1943, consisting of 470 *denarii*, ending in 13 legionary *denarii* (all very worn, some with bankers-marks) of Mark Antony of 32/1 BC.<sup>130</sup>  
 See below for a closer discussion of this coin, cf. Davis, website B1 for another example of these dies (= *Gemini* 9, 8 Jan. 2012, Phillip Davis collection, no. 619).  
 NAM, Sofia, inv. no. CXLIX-1957 (250 specimens).  
 Published, see Paunov – Prokopov, *IRRCHBg* 47, this coin illustrated on pl. 1, 1; see now Paunov 2012b, no. 141.
18. **L. Thorius Balbus** (Cr. 316/1), 105 BC, 20x19.5mm, 3.95g.  
 From the Obzor / 1953 hoard of 55+ *denarii*, closing in 42 BC, with an issue of Mark Antony, Cr. 496/2. Partially published by Юркова/ Youroukova 1963, 40, no.11, but not recognized as an imitation (*ibidem*, p. 41, fig. 1.1).

<sup>125</sup> Recorded by Dr Ilya Prokopov in November 2004, unpublished, see *Find cat. no. 4*.

<sup>126</sup> See Davis, website: <http://rrimitations.ancients.info/americancollection2.html>.

<sup>127</sup> Published: see Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladjova 1999, 27–33, no. 283; *IRRCHBg*. 65; see *Find cat. no. 156*.

<sup>128</sup> Sutherland 1984.

<sup>129</sup> Information and photographs courtesy of Dr Zhenya Zhekova, Shumen Museum.

<sup>130</sup> See *IRRCHBg*. 47. As originally published by Cecilia Dimitrova-Chudilova (S. Dimitrova-Chudilova 1972, 23–31), this hoard also contained a *denarius* of M. Aemilius Lepidus (Cr. 419/1c), 61 BC, countermarked **MP.VES** (Howgego 1985, no. 839), applied AD 74–79 at Ephesus (Howgego 1985, no. 839). This piece is surely an extraneous intrusion to the hoard. Whether this took place in antiquity or more recently cannot be determined; in either case, it can safely be disregarded.

- Burgas Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 597.
19. **L. Julius Bursio** (Cr. 352/1), 85 BC, 19 mm, 3.90g.  
Both sides stylized, with meaningless, almost abstract legends.  
Find spot: Pleven region, Central north Bulgaria, 2003.  
Currently in the private American collection RW, see Davis, M185+ (this coin).<sup>131</sup>
20. **C. Norbanus** (Cr. 357/1), 83 BC, 19x18 mm; 3.77g, 6h.  
Find spot: Stray find, unknown find-spot; now in a private collection in Sofia.
21. Obverse prototype **Pub. Crepusius** (Cr. 361/1), reverse of **L. Censorinus** (Cr. 363/1), 82 BC, dimension and weight not available.  
Find spot: From Topolovo / 1961 hoard<sup>132</sup> near Plovdiv, closing with a denarius of Octavian of 30-29 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 269a).  
Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2229 / 114.
21. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **C. Mamilius Limetanus**, (Cr. 362/1), 82 BC, plated, dimension and weight not available.  
Find spot: From a large hoard from Gradeshnitsa III<sup>133</sup> / 1964, Vratsa – of 764 Republican (427) and Imperial (343) denarii and 7 silver bracelets, closing with Trajanic issues in AD 108/9–111 (RIC II, 129 and 162 = resp. Woytek 2010, no. 282 and 218c/e, etc).  
Ex Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa, inv. no. 3456.<sup>134</sup>
22. Obverse prototype uncertain, perhaps the restored issue of **C. Caecilius Metellus**, (Cr. 369/1); reverse of **C. Junius** (Cr. 210), 82 BC, 18x19mm, 3.83g.  
Obverse quite stylized, perhaps tooled (hair details); Dioscuri riding *left*, somewhat stylized. Blundered, meaningless obverse legend, reverse legend retrograde and crude, but accurate.  
Find spot: from Knezha environs in Pleven district, Central northern Bulgaria, 2002; now in the private American collection RW, see Davis, M196+ (this coin).<sup>135</sup>
23. **Q. Antonius Balbus** (Cr. 364/1), 82-81 BC, plated, 18.5x17.6 mm, 3.687g, 1h.  
From the Gulyantsi / 1957 hoard (RRCH 377), see no. 16 above.  
First published in Radoměský 1961, 88, no. 137 = *IRRCHBg*, 27.  
Czech National Museum in Prague, inv. no. HS-23939.<sup>136</sup>
24. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **Q. Antonius Balbus** (Cr. 364/1), 82-1 BC, dimension and weight not available.  
From the hoard from “Zverino” / 2000<sup>137</sup> (Vratsa region) of 500 Republican *denarii* and 3 drachms of Juba I of Numidia (SNG Cop. 523-524), closing with Augustus for C. et L. Caesares, 2–1 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 208 and 210).

<sup>131</sup> Davis, website: <http://rrimitations.ancients.info/americancollection3.html>.

<sup>132</sup> Published, see the listing in *IRRCHBg*, 129 = Find cat. no. 103.

<sup>133</sup> Unpublished, details in *IRRCHBg*, 80 = Find cat. no. 128.

<sup>134</sup> All silver coins in the Vratsa museum were announced missing as of 2003.

<sup>135</sup> Davis, website: <http://rrimitations.ancients.info/americancollection4.html>.

<sup>136</sup> Information and photographs thanks to Dr Jirí Militký and Mrs Lenka Vacinova, National Museum in Prague, August 2011.

<sup>137</sup> Confiscated in July 2001 from a coin dealer near Sofia, examined and evaluated by E. Paunov and I. Prokopov, later returned to the owner. Unpublished, see now Find cat. no. 160.

25. Unknown obverse prototype (illustration not available), reverse perhaps of **Q. Antonius Balbus** (Cr. 364/1), 82-1 BC, dimension and weight unknown.  
Find spot: From the Topolovo / 1961 hoard [see no. 20 above], closing with a denarius of Octavian in 30-29 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 269a).  
Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2229 / 132.
26. Serrate hybrid, obverse prototype of **C. Marius Capito** (Cr. 378/1), 82 BC; reverse of **C. Naevius Balbus** (Cr. 382/1), 79 BC, 19.8x19 mm, 3.63 g.  
Find spot: unknown, most likely North/ northwestern Bulgaria. From a hoard of 96 denarii (down to Cr. 429/1, 55 BC) donated in 1998 to the in National Archaeological Museum from the Police HQ in Sofia, now published by Dotkova 2011, p. 18, table 7.1.
27. Obverse prototype uncertain, reverse of **Ti. Claudius Nero** (Cr. 383/1), 79 BC, dimension and weight not available.  
Find spot: From the Bardarski geran / 2004 hoard, unpublished, see no. 13 above; now Paunov 2012, no. 4.  
Private collection, Sofia.
28. Obverse prototype **C. Piso Frugi** (Cr. 408/1), reverse of **Q. Thermus** (Cr. 319/1), 61 BC, dimension and weight not available.  
Find spot: From the Maluk Chardak / 1990 (Plovdiv region), a large hoard of ca. 530 Republican denarii and 2 tetradrachms, closing with a denarius of Mark Antony and Octavian in 39 BC (Cr. 528/2b).  
Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 5769 / 123.  
Unpublished, but cf. *IRRCHBulg*, no. 115, now Prokopov – Paunov 2012, 149, fig 4.
29. **M. Plaetorius Cestianus** (Cr. 405/5), 57 BC, 19x19 mm, 3.82g.  
Find spot: From a dispersed hoard of 11 recorded *denarii*, closing with an issue of Caesar Octavian struck in 43 BC (Cr. 490/1), found somewhere in Northwestern Bulgaria before 2005, formerly in a private collection in Sofia.  
Published: Prokopov 2012/in press/, plate 4A, no.7 and Davis 2006, no. 55 = Davis website C23 (this coin); cf. Davis website C23+ for another example of these dies, see now *Gemini* 9 (8 Jan. 2012), Davis collection, no. 702.
30. Uncertain prototype, perhaps struck ca. 60 BC, pierced, 17x19 mm, 3.61g.  
Find spot: From the 'Shumen area' I hoard found in the 1970s<sup>138</sup>, closing with M. Durmius for Augustus in 19-18 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 315).  
Regional Historical Museum of Shumen, ex-Dr. Haralanov collection, inv. no. 133.1 / 19.<sup>139</sup>  
See no. 15 above, Prokopov, Vladimirova-Aladjova 1998, 27-33, no. 284; *IRRCHBg*. 65; see now Paunov 2012b, no. 156.
31. Obverse prototype **Q. Sicinius** (Cr. 440/1), reverse of **M. Volteius** (Cr. 385/1), 49 BC, dimension and weight not available.  
Find spot: From the Kolyu-Marinovo / 1958 hoard<sup>140</sup>, Plovdiv region, closing with P. Petronius Turpilianus for Augustus, 19-18 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 294).

<sup>138</sup> See no. 15 above, Prokopov, Vladimirova-Aladjova 1999, 27-33, no. 284; *IRRCHBg*. 65; see now *Find cat. no. 155*.

<sup>139</sup> Information and photographs courtesy of Dr Zhenya Zhekova, Shumen Museum.

<sup>140</sup> Златарева / Zlatareva 1960, 367-76 = *IRRCHBg*, 109, see *Find cat. no. 130*.

- Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. no. 2175 / 36.
32. Prototype - **C. Iulius Caesar** (Cr. 443/1), 49-48 BC, plated imitation, 17mm, 2.9 g.  
Find-spot: from a hoard of 6 *denarii* and 14 barbarous imitations of Thasos tetradrachms from Naydenovo, Stara Zagora region. Published in M. Minkova 2012, 418-420, no. 20.  
Regional Archaeological Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. no. 3187.
33. **M. Porcius Cato** (Cr. 462/1), 47-6 BC, 15.5x16 mm, 3.73g.  
Find spot: From the Lazarovo / 1962 hoard<sup>141</sup> of 124 *denarii*, closing with 2 issues of Augustus for C. et L. Caesares, 2–1 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 209).  
National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, inv. no. CCXIV–1962 /124.  
The general texture and lack of detail of this coin is consistent with a piece struck from new dies mechanically transferred from an official Roman *denarius*, but the possibility that this is an official, poorly-preserved coin cannot be ruled out. Cf. Davis website CT2+ for an example of this type struck from very similar dies, also apparently mechanically derived from an official coin.<sup>142</sup>
34. **Mark Antony and Octavian** (Cr. 528/3), 40-39 BC; dimension and weight not available.  
Evaluated in the National History Museum at Sofia in 2008, unpublished.<sup>143</sup>  
cf. Davis, website C37+ – for a similar example.  
Find spot: From an unpublished hoard of 72 *denarii* down to Sextus Pompeius (Cr. 511/3a - 2 specimens), 36 BC, and a cistophoric tetradrachm of Ephesus struck in 80/79 BC (Kleiner 1972, 27-28 = de Callataÿ 1997, 164, 172, pl. 41), most likely found in southern/southeastern Thrace.<sup>144</sup>
35. **Augustus**, 27 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 167 or 187), plated, 18x20 mm, 2.4g.  
Find spot: Stray find in the Nova Zagora area, Sliven district, unpublished.<sup>145</sup>  
Regional Historical Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. no. 3293.
36. **P. Petronius Turpilianus** – issue for **Augustus** in 19-18 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 300), plated, 18x19 mm, 1.83g, 12h.  
Find spot: Found in a controlled archaeological rescue excavation in central Russe on the Danube bank, 2005.  
Regional Historical Museum of Russe, field no. 101A/2005.  
Published in Hawthorne – Varbanov – Dragoev 2011, 73 and 80; and Varbanov, Dragoev 2012 (in print), fig. 8.13.<sup>146</sup>

#### 7.9.4. Discussion

Arguments on style are always imprecise, but a few observations could be made. Only one of these Thracian coins, no. 28, belongs to the class described by Maria

<sup>141</sup> Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1964, 238-239; see *Find cat.* no. 137.

<sup>142</sup> According to Dr Bernhard Woytek this is an official coin from the second emission of issue Cr. 462/1.

<sup>143</sup> Examined by Dr Ilya Prokopov, 2008.

<sup>144</sup> Discussed in Paunov 2011, 75-76.

<sup>145</sup> Information from Mrs Mariana Minkova, Stara Zagora Museum.

<sup>146</sup> Information from Mr Varbin Varbanov and Mr Deyan Dragoev, Russe Museum.

Chițescu as “copies”; *i.e.* coins which quite faithfully reproduce the style and legends of their Roman model. Visually, these imitative *denarii* – at least the good-silver examples – are indistinguishable from the unambiguously Dacian *denarii* described by Chițescu as “imitations”.<sup>147</sup> Both their “barbarous” style and faulty or nonexistent inscriptions diverge dramatically from their Republican prototypes. Sometimes, as is also the case with recognizably Dacian coins of this class, the prototype cannot be ascertained at all. This is entirely consistent with the notion that these imitations found in the Dacian “hinterlands”, relatively distant from the political and economic center of the Dacian polity at Sarmizegetusa, were also *struck* locally.

What I do mean by “barbarous” can be illustrated by a closer look at no. 16 from the Ohoden hoard. That the obverse of this coin is derived from the *denarius* of Sex. Julius Caesar (Cr. 258/1) is revealed by the presence of the anchor. The head of Roma, however, has been misunderstood, with Roma’s helmet interpreted as hair. The vigorous “stick figures” on the reverse are engaging, but render accurate identification of the Roman model they derive from. The identification in *IRRCHBg* (2002) of the *denarius* struck by Q. Thermus in 103 BC (Cr. 319/1) is plausible, as a martial scene of some sort is surely intended. A closer look, however, points to the interesting possibility that the true model is the coin struck by L. Titurius Sabinus in 89 BC, which depicts Tarpeia buried to her waist in shields, raising her hands to fend off the attack of two soldiers. The position of the shields across the bodies of the soldiers and the raised hand of the figure between them also indicate this.

The five plated coins in this group (nos. 16, 21, 32, 35 and 36) are presumably ancient counterfeits intended to deceive the recipient. The remaining 21 coins in the group, however, all apparently struck in good silver, although sometimes weighing less than the Republican norm of approximately 4 grams, represent a local endeavor by non-Romans, already accustomed to using Roman coins, to augment an insufficient quantity of official *denarii*. It is sometimes argued that the immense quantity of Republican *denarii*, both official and imitative, found within the borders of modern Bulgaria and Romania were, by and large, not used in daily commerce and are not indicative of a true monetary economy at all. The proponents of this view maintain instead that the Bulgarian and Romanian hoards represent a static store of wealth,

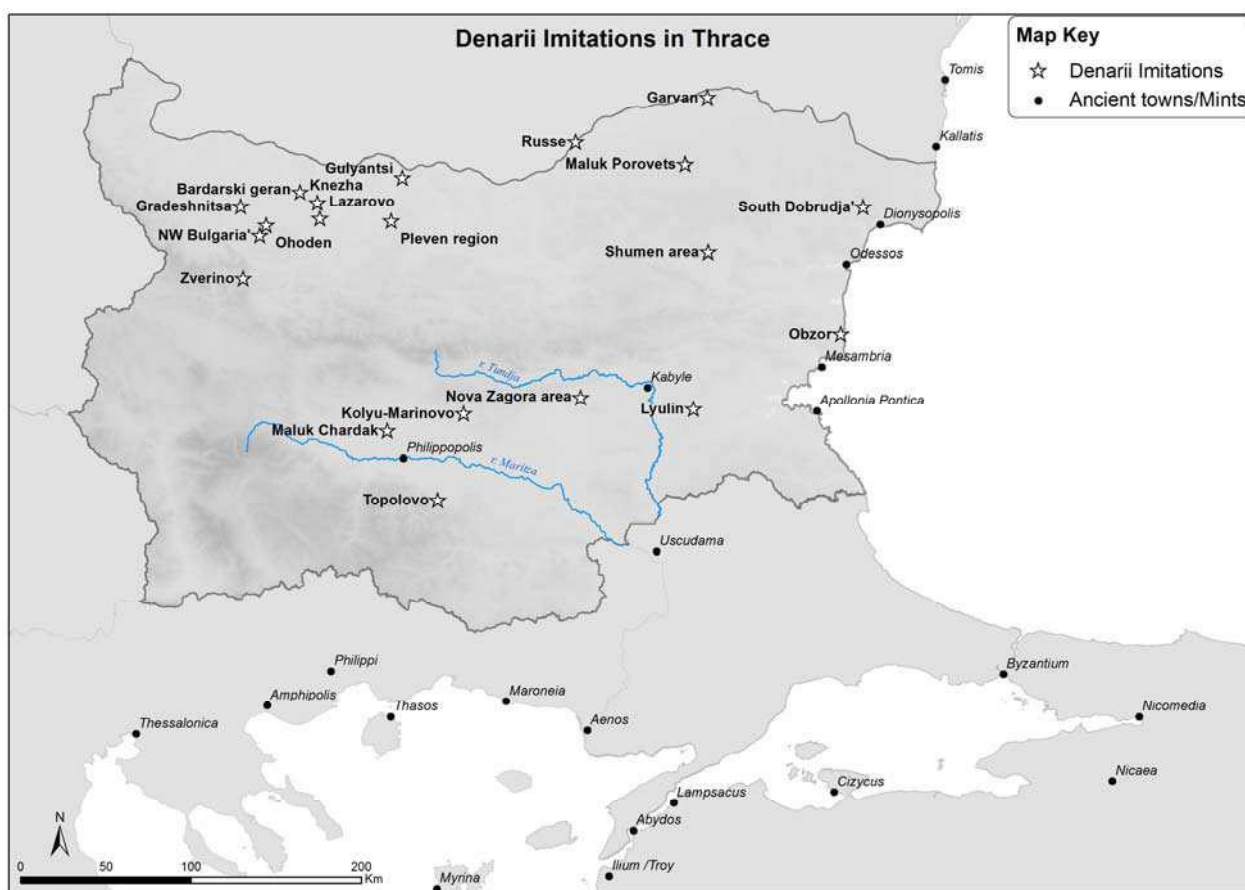
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<sup>147</sup> Кицеску / Chițescu 1979, 24–29; Chițescu 1981; see also the comments of Lockyear 2008, 155–9.

perhaps also having a social component, *i.e.* – coins as a measure of prestige.<sup>148</sup> A close examination of the coins presented here demonstrates that some of them unquestionably *did* circulate. For example, nos. 15, 19, 21 and 33 are quite worn, and no. 31 is worn nearly smooth. While this does not *prove* that the group(s) who produced these coins are the same group(s) that used them in commerce, any other explanation is unlikely.<sup>149</sup>

### 7.9.5. Distribution

The territorial distribution/diffusion of imitations of denarii in Thrace exhibits some easily recognizable patterns (map *fig.* 7.10).



**Fig. 7.10.** Distribution map of *denarius* imitations in Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

<sup>148</sup> See for example Lockyear 2004, 70, where he suggests: “Rather than seeing these coins as evidence of trade and markets, perhaps we can see them as one expression of competition between and within polities. The use of Roman coins was perhaps... a symbol of power”.

<sup>149</sup> See Davis 2010, for a detailed demonstration that at least some Dacian imitative *denarii* indeed circulated and a discussion of the implications of that fact.

So far the imitations discussed above have been primarily discovered in the north-eastern part of Moesia, in the zone of the modern Bulgarian districts of Russe–Razgrad–Shumen–Silistra–Dobrich. This area is also the findspot of the three extant hoards containing imitations: the Maluk Porovets, Garvan and ‘South Dobrudja’ hoards (20–25+ specimens in all). Imitations have also been found along the Black Sea coast (Obzor hoard, no. 18). I would call this area the ‘core’ of imitation denarii, their major circulation and distribution zone. Whether this zone may coincide and overlap with the Burebista zone of control south of the Danube in ca. 60–44 BC, is unclear.

However, the bulk of imitations from Moesia and Thrace (15+ specimens) have been found in the western zone, in the modern districts of Vratsa and Pleven along the Danube itself (e.g. Gulyantsi) and from a strip extending 20–40 km south of the Danube. They originate from denarii hoards deposited between 77 and 43/2 BC; it seems that the denarii imitations were a familiar and acceptable form of currency among the local population in Northwestern Thrace.

A third zone appears in Thrace proper, south of the Balkan chain/Haemus. It is concentrated in the modern districts of Plovdiv, Yambol and Sliven, roughly between *Philippopolis* and *Cabyle*, for the moment represented by 7 coins. All of them come either from hoards of Augustan date (closing between 30/29 and 2/1 BC), or from stray imitations – of late Republican, Civil war and Augustan prototypes. They do not seem to have been an integral part of the coin pool in the Thracian kingdom, but rather foreign intrusions (from the north).

#### 7.9.6. Conclusions

Just which ethnic group or groups (Thracians, Celts, Dacians or mixed?) struck these imitative *denarii* found in Thrace cannot be determined. The fact that, with the exceptions of the Maluk Porovets 1995 hoard, the Garvan 1912 hoard (now misplaced), the ‘South Dobrudja’ hoard (dispersed in trade) and Gulyantsi 1957 hoard, these imitations from Thrace have been found alone or in pairs in association with primarily official *denarii*, perhaps implies that most — imitative and official coins alike — arrived here in the normal course of circulation and that the imitations were not produced locally. It remains an open question whether these imitative coins are a direct manifestation of the Dacian monetary economy, or a reflection of it. What can be

said however is that these coins were used by people/s within the Dacian social and economic sphere, or by outlying groups of the Dacians themselves. These imitations are not an independent development of Thrace. In the Dacian heartland (modern Romania) the production and circulation of *denarius* imitations continued at least into early Imperial period.<sup>150</sup> Little can be said about the production of imitations in the outlying areas discussed above, as no actual dies have been unearthed, but their circulation seemingly ended somewhat earlier in these regions. With the exception of the *Gradeshnitsa III* hoard, closing with *denarii* of Trajan and containing a single plated imitation, the hoards included here all close with coins struck during the reign of Augustus or earlier.

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<sup>150</sup> See for example Glodariu *et alii* 1992 and Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1990, 98. They report the 1988 excavation at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* of the remains of a pre-Roman coining workshop, including 4 dies. One could not be identified; the others are obverse dies of two Republican *denarii*, Crawford 1974, *RRC* 266/1 and 407/2, and an obverse die for an *aureus* / *denarius* of Tiberius.





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## Chapter 8. The *denarius* system: how it worked

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### 8.1. Roman silver – a brief introduction

The standard currency unit of Rome in the Republican and Imperial period was the *denarius*.<sup>1</sup> Under the Republic Rome depended heavily on its silver coinage, with only few issues of gold (*aurei*), due to practical requirements, under Sulla, Pompey and Caesar.<sup>2</sup> From its introduction in *ca.* 211 BC<sup>3</sup>, the *denarius* system slowly spread to over all regions in Europe and beyond during their progressive integration under Roman rule.<sup>4</sup> In the Eastern Mediterranean the *denarius* penetrated slowly, and the Romans managed to adapt local silver coins like *cistophori* in Asia Minor and *staters* in Syria for provincial taxation.<sup>5</sup>

Table 8.1. The Imperial denominations and their equivalents.

	<i>Aureus</i>	<i>Denarius</i>	<i>Sestertius</i>	<i>Dupondius</i>	<i>As</i>	<i>Quandrans</i>
<i>Aureus</i>	1	25	100	200	400	1,600
<i>Denarius</i>		1	4	8	16	64
<i>Sestertius</i>			1	2	4	16
<i>Dupondius</i>				1	2	8
<i>As</i>					1	4
<i>Quandrans</i>						1

After Actium, Augustus preserved the Republican and Caesarian system of coin denominations. *Denarius* was again a keystone in the early Principate currency system. It was the link against all other existing coins, provincial or civic ones.<sup>6</sup> After the tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, now the *denarius* became the common means of value and payment in the entire Mediterranean world. In fact, the Augustan

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<sup>1</sup> See mainly Crawford 1974, 633-95; Rodewald 1976, 18-28; Harl 1996, 38-60; Woytek 2012, 315-8.

<sup>2</sup> Reviews in Harl 1996, 48-53; Duncan-Jones 1994, 99; Woytek 2003, 182-6, 264-8; Woytek 2012, 321-2,

<sup>3</sup> See Crawford 1974, *RRC*, 28-35; Crawford 1998, 121; Woytek 2012, 316.

<sup>4</sup> Lo Cascio 1981, 76; Harl 1996, 61-6.

<sup>5</sup> Crawford 1985, 204-9; Harl 1996, 72; de Callatay 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Harl 1996, 74.

precious metal coins were exchanged at the rate 25 *denarii* to 1 *aureus*, with a ratio of silver to gold 12:1 (Dio 55.12, confirmed also by the data of *congiaria*).<sup>7</sup> In 30-27 BC Augustus converted the enormous spoils from Spain, Illyricum and Egypt into *aurei* and *denarii* to pay off his wartime debts, and to fund a large building program, ceremonies and distributions in Rome (detailed in the *Res Gestae*), costing over 750 million *denarii* (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 41. 2). For example, when these booty was coined, it caused sharp increases in the prices in Italy, followed by a secondary wave in inflation across the Empire. The soldiers of 30 legions marching in his Alexandrian triumph received 120 *aurei* (or 3,000 *denarii*) per person, so the *praemia* were in excess of 360 million *denarii* (*Res Gestae divi Augusti*, 15-21), of course, not counting the higher bonuses distributed to centurions and officers.<sup>8</sup>

## 8.2. Mints, metrology and silver standard

It is generally accepted that all Roman silver coinage under Augustus and Tiberius was struck at a single mint based at Lugdunum in Gaul, which opened in ca. 15 BC.<sup>9</sup> This situation lasted for the next 80 years until ca. AD 64, though some scholars argue that the *denarii* of Caligula were also struck in Rome.<sup>10</sup> Recent metallurgical analyses carried out by Butcher and Ponting demonstrated that the single main mint of Lugdunum supplied the silver for the whole of Roman world from ca. 12 BC to AD 54.<sup>11</sup> During 61/2 – 64 the mint of Lugdunum produced *denarii* again for Nero in pure silver (issues with *Virtus* and *Roma*, types RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 32, 34 and 41).

From 211 BC the *denarius* was produced of pure silver – ca. 97–99%.<sup>12</sup> In the late Republic it fell as low as 92%. Augustus restored it to its traditional levels 97.5–98 % of fine silver.<sup>13</sup> This standard was strictly followed also by its successors down to Nero.<sup>14</sup> As regards the weight of the *denarius*, in the Triumviral period it had

<sup>7</sup> Harl 1996, 74; for *congiaria* see below.

<sup>8</sup> Discussion in Brunt 1962, 78-81; Harl 1996, 75.

<sup>9</sup> Summarized in Mattingly 1923, cxii-cxiii; Giard 1983; Duncan-Jones 1994, 99.

<sup>10</sup> Sutherland 1984, in *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, p. 102-103; Metcalf 1989, 52-8.

<sup>11</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2005, 190, 194-5.

<sup>12</sup> Hollstein 2000, 107; Woytek 2012, 316.

<sup>13</sup> Walker 1976, 22-5.

<sup>14</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2005, 175, fig. 1, and 178.

reached as low as 84 coins to the pound<sup>15</sup> (i.e.  $1/84 = \text{ca. } 3.89 \text{ g}$ ), as Pliny states of the Antonian legionary coinage (Plin. *NH* 33.132).

Under Augustus there was a series of striking experiments at different mints – such as Ephesus/Pergamum, Spain 1 and Spain 2, Emerita, Lugdunum and Rome.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the Augustan *denarius* had a stable weight of median average 3.75-3.85g, no matter the mints differences<sup>17</sup>, keeping the standard to  $1/84$  of a pound.<sup>18</sup> Under Tiberius and Claudius the implied target weight of the *denarius* was about 89 coins to the pound, with a respective average of 3.75g and 3.71g.<sup>19</sup>

Until the reign of Nero it is assumed that the *denarius* was struck of pure silver – 98% and above. In AD 64 the Nero's monetary reform also affected the silver as well as gold.<sup>20</sup> Various weights of the post-reform *denarius* are cited – 3.50g<sup>21</sup>, 3.18g<sup>22</sup>, 3.36g<sup>23</sup> and 3.41g (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, p. 141). Significant fall of the weight is certain (with some 6-7%<sup>24</sup>) but the exact target remains unclear: it seems to have been struck at  $1/96$  of a Roman pound.<sup>25</sup> Some scholars believe that the mint for silver was transferred from Lugdunum to Rome at this time most probably after the great fire in Rome.<sup>26</sup> The *denarius* was debased and further reduced.<sup>27</sup>

After AD 64 the fineness of the *denarius* was lowered considerably, to 80%.<sup>28</sup> At the very end of Nero's reign, the silver content was increased once again, to 90%. The analyses of K. Butcher and M. Ponting shown that Nero did indeed experiment with four different standards for his *denarius* coinage<sup>29</sup>:

- 1) with about 1% copper;
- 2) with no base metal;
- 3) with  $1/5$  (20%) copper added, and -

<sup>15</sup> *Libra* of ca. 327 g.

<sup>16</sup> Review in Sutherland 1984.

<sup>17</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 219-220, table 15.4.

<sup>18</sup> Sutherland, in RIC I<sup>2</sup>, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 220-1.

<sup>20</sup> More about it further in this chapter, section 9.7: The Gold.

<sup>21</sup> MacDowall 1979, 143.

<sup>22</sup> Walker 1976, 18.

<sup>23</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 221 and 225.

<sup>24</sup> See Duncan-Jones 1994, 221.

<sup>25</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2005, 164, note 2.

<sup>26</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 100; Wolters 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Sutherland, in RIC I<sup>2</sup>, p. 134; Metcalf 1989, 68.

<sup>28</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2005, 195.

<sup>29</sup> Butcher – Ponting 2005, 190-1 and 195.

4) with 1/10 (10%) copper.

The last Neronian standard of *denarius* was maintained during the Civil War of AD 68–69, although by the beginning of Vespasian's reign the 80%<sup>30</sup> standard of 64-reform had been revived.<sup>31</sup> Vespasian struck 103 *denarii* of a silver pound with a target weight of 3.36g.<sup>32</sup> This should be related to the Vespasian's critical financial problems when he came to power (Dio 66.8.3–4).

Under Titus, the *denarius* weight rose to 98 coins to the pound (target weight 3.47g). Domitian further increased the weights with a new standard of AD 82, being 1/92 to the pound.<sup>33</sup> Early in his reign he had quickly restored the pre-64 standard to the 98% purity in the issues of *ca.* AD 82-85.<sup>34</sup> Under Nerva the target weight fell slightly to the 1/93 to the pound. Finally, at the beginning of Trajan's reign silver purity was set at 90% (Butcher – Ponting 1998, 308-34), although this too was reduced to 80% after a few years (Butcher – Ponting 2005, 195), most probably as a money-saving strategy with the preparations of the war with Dacia.<sup>35</sup> Trajan used the Vespasianic target weight 3.36g, thus about 103 coins to the pound.<sup>36</sup>

### 8.3. State expenditure

Annual state expenditure during the early Empire may be estimated to around 600 million to a 1 billion *sestertii* per year.<sup>37</sup> As we shall see below, this amount was largely fixed by the immense proportion of army costs. Until Domitian's increase, these costs (*stipendia* and *praemia*) would vary between HS 493 and 554 million per year (resp. HS 643 and 707 million after AD 84), see table below. At about AD 150 the annual state budget of the Empire is estimated at HS 832 million<sup>38</sup>, with 643 million for the army (77%).

<sup>30</sup> Thus, somewhat lower than the 88%, as indicated by D.R. Walker (Walker 1976, 111).

<sup>31</sup> Butcher – Ponting 1995, 17-36; Butcher – Ponting 2005, 173.

<sup>32</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 227, table 15.6.

<sup>33</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 221.

<sup>34</sup> Carradice 1987, 142; Duncan-Jones 1994, 224.

<sup>35</sup> Woytek et al. 2007, 147-163; Beckmann 2012, 406.

<sup>36</sup> See Duncan-Jones 1994, 227, table 15.6.

<sup>37</sup> As estimated in Wolters 2012, 347-8.

<sup>38</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 45 and table 3.7.

*abite, inquit, laeti, abite locupletes*  
 (“Go away happy, go away rich!”),

Emperor Gaius addressing his soldiers  
 (Suetonius, *Gaius* 46)

## 8.4. Army payments

One of the main functions of silver coinage was to provide the payment for the Roman troops. The costs of keeping a professional army encompassed up to 2/3 of all state expenditure.<sup>39</sup> As a matter of fact, the army expenditure took three main forms:

1. Wages (*stipendia*);
2. Retirement bonuses (*praemia*), and
3. Bonuses / largesses while in service (*donativa*).

Table 8.2. Total estimates for annual state expenditure of army salaries and *praemia* (after Duncan-Jones 1994, 36, 45).

<i>Period</i>	<i>Stipendia</i>	<i>Praemia</i> for legionaries	Total	Total (if <i>praemia</i> also paid to auxiliary units)
AD 5 – 85	HS 450 million	HS 43 million	<b>HS 493 million</b>	HS 554 million
AD 85 – 96	HS 600 million	HS 43 million	<b>HS 643 million</b>	HS 707 million

### 8.4.1. *Stipendia*

*Stipendium* was not properly a wage but rather a compensation for the expenses incurred by the soldier while in service. The cost of the food, clothing, boots, socks, weapons (and their repair) supplied by the state was deducted from it.<sup>40</sup> Caesar tripled the Republican rate (Polybios 6.39.12) of legionaries’ *stipendium* (Caes. *BC* 3.76: “*eius itinere VIII milia passuum ex eo loco procedit*” and Suet. *Jul.* 26.3) to 3 ½ *asses* per day (120 *denarii* a year).<sup>41</sup> According to Tacitus<sup>42</sup> in AD 14,

<sup>39</sup> Wierschowski 1984; Wolters 2012, 347.

<sup>40</sup> Brunt 1950, 50-1; MacMullen 1984, 571-80; Speidel 1992, 92-4; Casey 1996, 114.

<sup>41</sup> Discussion in Brunt 1950, 50-2.

<sup>42</sup> *Ann.* 1. 17.6: “*denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimar*”.

the amount of the army pay was fixed by Augustus at 10 *asses* per day; being an equivalent to 225 *denarii* (or 9 *aurei* = 900 *sestertii*) a year.<sup>43</sup> It stood firmly at this rate during the entire Julio-Claudian and early Flavian period, to be increased under Domitian. The pay was regulated in three installments (*stipendia*) a year, each of 75 *denarii* (300 *sestertii*). According to Suetonius<sup>44</sup> in AD 84 after the victory over Chatti<sup>45</sup>, Domitian added a fourth payment in 3 *aurei* (*quartum stipendium*), so the annual payment of legionaries increased to 300 *denarii* = 1,200 *sestertii*.<sup>46</sup> After his death in AD 96 *stipendium Domitiani* was abolished and Cassius Dio (67.3.5) says that the old system of three pay-days was resumed, but then every soldier received an amount of 400 *sestertii*. The payment was due on the first of January, May and September as attested in numerous cases in the Egyptian papyri.<sup>47</sup>

While the legionary pay is reliably well known, sadly the ancient sources gave no clear notion of what the pay of the *auxilia* was.<sup>48</sup> It has long been known that equestrian soldiers in the *auxilia* were paid more than foot soldiers, and *equites alares* more than *equites cohortales*, as Tacitus attested to (*Hist.* 4.19) and emperor Hadrian stated.<sup>49</sup> However, a recent find of a writing tablet (pay-receipt) from *Vindonissa* (Raetia, now in Switzerland), and the data extracted from the papyri in Egypt, helps to restore the pay scale.<sup>50</sup> The following amounts (in *sestertii*) for the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD emerge as reconstructed:

**Table 8.3.** The legionary and *auxilia* pay-scale (adapted after Speidel 1992):

Branch	Rank	Total a year before AD 84	Total a year after AD 84
<i>miles cohortis</i>	basic pay (1)	750 HS	1,000 HS
	<i>Sesquiplicarius</i> (1 ½)	1,125	1,500
	<i>duplicarius</i> (double)	1,500	2,000
<i>eques cohortis</i>	basic	900	1,200
	<i>sesquiplicarius</i>	1,350	1,800

<sup>43</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994; Wolters 2012, 227.

<sup>44</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 7.3: “*addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos*”.

<sup>45</sup> The date is confirmed by a rare *sestertius* in Paris inscribed **STIP IMP AVG DOMITIAN**, see Kraay 1960, 109-116 = now RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 206 of AD 84.

<sup>46</sup> Brunt 1950, 52, 54, 56 with notes 26 and 28; Speidel 1992, 87, note 1.

<sup>47</sup> Review in Speidel 1992, 87-8.

<sup>48</sup> Brunt 1950, 64-7; Speidel 1973, 141-7.

<sup>49</sup> See Dessau, *ILS* 2487.

<sup>50</sup> Speidel 1992, 90-5.

	<i>duplicarius</i>	1,800	2,400
<i>miles legionis</i>	basic	900	1,200
	<i>sesquiplicarius</i>	1,350	1,800
	<i>duplicarius</i>	1,800	2,400
<i>eques legionis alae</i>	basic	1,050	1,400
	<i>sesquiplicarius</i>	1,575	2,100
	<i>duplicarius</i>	2,100	2,800

All figures above before AD 84 are easily divisible by three and therefore, in theory, payable in *sestertii* three times a year. Domitian's pay-rise brought the soldiers another 4<sup>th</sup> *stipendium*, so the yearly sums were then divisible by four.<sup>51</sup> But these are all simple nominal sums from which several considerable deductions were made (Tacitus in *Ann.* 1.17, speaks of deductions from “*vestis, arma, tentoria*”)<sup>52</sup>. In addition, a deduction of 1% was made from each *stipendium*, even before it was accredited to the soldier. It was first recognized by M. P. Speidel who suggested it was made for the exchange fee for conversion of *denarii* into *drachms* /in the eastern provinces/<sup>53</sup>. Other deductions were made as a contribution to the expense of regimental celebrations, especially the *Saturnalia*<sup>54</sup>. Overall, the sum of deductions /stoppage/ represented about one third<sup>55</sup> to 40% of the basic *stipendium* of foot soldiers.<sup>56</sup> The deduction from each *stipendium* for food (and hay for horses) was stopped under the reign of Hadrian and the emperors began provisioning the army in kind for free – *annona militaris*.<sup>57</sup>

Papyrological and epigraphic evidence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD revealed a complex financial scheme in which the state, through the agency of the individual regiments, held the cash balances.<sup>58</sup> Such a system guaranteed that in a period of financial allocation large sums of money held on long-term credit could be used for other financial needs.<sup>59</sup> Apparently, such deductions made from the military pay of provincial garrisons were spent on purchases from elsewhere in the same province.

<sup>51</sup> Speidel 1992, 93.

<sup>52</sup> More comments in Brunt 1950, 60-1; Speidel 1992, 93-4, note 49.

<sup>53</sup> Speidel 1973, 141 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Casey 1996, 114.

<sup>55</sup> Casey 1996, 114.

<sup>56</sup> Speidel 1992, 94.

<sup>57</sup> Berchem 1937; Speidel 1992, 98 and notes 79-80.

<sup>58</sup> See more in Casey 1996, 114.

<sup>59</sup> After Casey 1996, *ibidem*.



In fact, there is direct epigraphic evidence from other areas of the Empire for the intercession of merchants and credit brokers whose business heavily relied on dealings with soldiers stationed in remote areas.<sup>60</sup> The excavations of *Mons Claudianus* in the eastern desert of Egypt provided a mass of some 10,000 *ostraca* (earthen pots with inscriptions on them) which detail transactions between troops in the fort attached to the imperial marble quarries.<sup>61</sup> Many of these involve purchases on credit from itinerant merchants or subtlers (*cibariatores*), whose debts were discharged by the army unit treasury on behalf of the purchaser, from funds retained by the regiment from soldier's pay. Unfortunately, such documents did not survived in continental Roman frontiers in Europe, but there is little doubt that itinerant merchants and traders of goods would have been attracted to the military market along the *limes*, especially at the times of three times annual payments<sup>62</sup>, i.e. around the first of January, May and September.

The Roman army had a great many ranks and functions below the centurionate level.<sup>63</sup> Most probably, only three different pay grades existed for them:

- 1) basic,
- 2) pay-and-a-half (*sesquiplicarius*), and -
- 3) double pay (*duplicarius*).<sup>64</sup>

Therefore, the pay scale for the officers of legions and *auxilia* is also calculated and reconstructed as follows:

Table 8.4. Pay scale for the officers of legions and *auxilia* (after Speidel 1992):

Rank	Branch / level	Total a year before AD 84	Total a year after AD 84
<i>centurio legionis</i>	centurion legionary	13,500 HS	18,000 HS
<i>primus ordo</i>	centurion legionary	27,000	36,000
<i>primuspilus</i>	centurion legionary	54,000	72,000
<i>centurio cohortis</i>	centurion auxiliary	3,750	5,000
<i>decurio cohortis</i>	centurion auxiliary	4,500	6,000

<sup>60</sup> Casey 1996, 119.

<sup>61</sup> Bingen et alii 1992 and 1997; Peacock – Maxfield 1997.

<sup>62</sup> As suggested in Casey 1996, 119.

<sup>63</sup> Figeleben 1913; Breeze 1971, 130-5.

<sup>64</sup> In general see Speidel 1992, 100-1, though Holder argued that a triple pay must have been existed for *evocati* (Holder 1980, 91).

<i>decurio alae</i>	centurion auxiliary	5,250	7,000
<i>decurio equitum singular. Aug.</i>	centurion	N/A	14,000

The centurion's annual wage is calculated by Speidel on the basis of a 15:1 ratio to the legionary's basic pay (900) would amount to 13,500 *sestertii* per year. Five times the respective basic pay of the *miles cohortis*, *equus cohortis*, and *equus alae* is the most likely conjecture for the pay of the *centurio cohortis*, *decurio cohortis* and *decurio alae*.<sup>65</sup>

As a matter of fact, we do not know what soldiers did with their excess savings thereafter.<sup>66</sup> We are left with the impression that, especially if paid at the normal rates, the legionary had the opportunity to make substantial savings. But the Vegetius' remark (2.20) that "*most men, and particularly poor ones, spend as much as they can get*", is, however, to be remembered. Further, Domitian forbade savings deposited by the soldier in the regiment treasury to exceed 250 *denarii* = 4 *aurei* (Suet. *Dom.* 7.3). As we shall see further in the following section (*chapter 10*), this figure is well supported by the evidence of 1<sup>st</sup> century hoards from Moesia and elsewhere.

#### 8.4.2. Discharge costs (*praemia*)

For those veterans who had survived 25 (or more) years of army service, there were discharge bonuses (*praemia militare*).<sup>67</sup> As Dio states, in AD 5 Augustus fixed the sum for legionaries to HS 12,000 /equal to 3,000 *denarii* = 120 *aurei*, and HS 20,000 /5,000 *denarii* = 200 *aurei* to praetorians (Dio 55.23.1). However, as Duncan-Jones has shown, the mortality during the years of service would reduce the amount to be paid by the state.<sup>68</sup> If a mortality rate of 55% is included, then for an average of 30 legions the sum will be HS 43 million per year at the Augustan rate of HS 12,000. Tenney Frank thought that this *praemium* would have sufficed to purchase only 8–10

<sup>65</sup> Speidel 1992, 103-5, tables 5 and 6.

<sup>66</sup> As pointed out in Brunt 1950, 61.

<sup>67</sup> Review in Millar 2004, 98-100.

<sup>68</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 35-6.

*iugera* land in Italy<sup>69</sup>, and no doubt – much more in the provinces. But this amount was not always paid.

Under Augustus and Tiberius there were well-known difficulties in funding payments of the *praemia*, which virtually lead in a few cases to mutiny (Tac. *Ann.* 1.17, 26, 33; *Res Gestae* 18). Tiberius paid a few discharge bonuses (Suet. *Tib.* 48.2) but was too slow to pay the legacies of Augustus (in 14) and of Livia in AD 27 (Dio 57.14). On his deathbed, Tiberius left behind approximately 3 billion *sestertii* (Suet. *Gaius* 37; Dio 59.2.2). The accumulation of such a large surplus may be related to the slow minting activity under Tiberius<sup>70</sup>, but also to a prudent financial management.<sup>71</sup> In AD 37 Caligula had halved the amount of *praemium* for the legions in the German campaign (Suet. *Gaius* 44.1), but we do not know if this had a long-term effect.

Under the Early Principate, after discharge some veterans were granted land (*missio agraria*) instead of cash (*missio nummaria*), when new colonies were formed. Such was the case with both Roman colonies in southern Thrace – *Apri*<sup>72</sup>, not far from Perinthus (established under Claudius after AD 45) and *Deultum*<sup>73</sup> near Burgas (in the early Vespasian's years). But after Trajan new colonies ceased to be formed, suggesting most possibly that the difficulties in funding of *praemia* in cash to veterans was ended.<sup>74</sup>

### 8.4.3. *Donativa*

*Donativa* were handouts (largesses), sums of money, dispersed to the soldiers while in service, usually given by the reigning emperor at his accession, or to commemorate his predecessor. As in principle it was a personal gift from the emperor to the individual soldier, it was regularly paid in newly minted coins.<sup>75</sup> The most frequent recipients were the Praetorian guards and urban cohorts, but sometimes – also legionary troops. For instance, at Augustus' death Tiberius was

<sup>69</sup> Frank 1940, 190.

<sup>70</sup> As suggested in Wolters 2012, 347.

<sup>71</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 11.

<sup>72</sup> With deduced veterans of *legio II Adiutrix*, see Pliny, *NH* 4.11. 40-50; Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 3.11.5, discussion in Eck 1975, 295-9; Draganov 2005, 338-9.

<sup>73</sup> With veterans of *legio VIII Augusta*, Pliny, *NH* 4.45. See a review in Draganov 2006, 24-28.

<sup>74</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 36-7.

<sup>75</sup> Millar 2004, 97-8, based on the assumption of Bastien 1988 – for the Arras hoard.

obliged to distribute his legacies to the Roman people and army (Suet. *Aug.* 101; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8): the citizens received HS 260 (= 65 *denarii*) per head, and the legionaries HS 300 (75 *denarii*). The Praetorians however received higher *donativa* – HS 1,000 (250 *denarii*) per head and the urban cohorts HS 500 (125 *denarii*). Total amount of these handouts in AD 14-15 is estimated to ca. 100 million *sestertii*.<sup>76</sup> Similar allocations were distributed under the Tiberius will in AD 37.

**Table 8.5.** *Donativa* in the Early Principate period

Year	Emperor	Reason	Denarii
14	Augustus	Last will	250
31	Tiberius	Loyalty during Sejanus crisis	1,000
37	Caligula	Upon accession	500
41	Claudius	Upon accession	3,750
Annually	Claudius	Anniversary of accession to the throne	25
54	Nero	Accession	3,750
		Pay for assassinations	500 or less
69	Galba	Promised by Nymphidius Sabinus, but not paid	7,500
69	Otho	Promised	1,250
69	Vitellius	Promised	1,250
69	Vespasian	Regular <i>donativa</i>	unknown
79	Titus	Regular <i>donativa</i>	unknown
81	Domitian	Considered doubling the <i>donativum</i> but opted for regular sum	unknown
96	Nerva	Regular <i>donativa</i>	unknown
98	Trajan	Regular <i>donativa</i>	unknown

#### 8.4.4. *Congiaria*

The civilian handouts carried out by the emperor were called *congiaria*.<sup>77</sup> They become inescapable public ritual, growing bigger and more frequent. *Congiaria* were usually distributed to specific events, such on accessions, the naming of heirs, or marriages. Of course, these handouts went to privileged recipients – citizen who already received regular payments, not to the Roman plebs.<sup>78</sup> *Congiaria* totals per each reign are well known and calculated in the literature.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 18, table 1.2.

<sup>77</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 39-4; Millar 2004, 89-104, esp. 101-3.

<sup>78</sup> See Millar 1977, 177.

<sup>79</sup> van Berchem 1939; Duncan-Jones 1994, 41 and table 3.6, Appendix I, 248-9.

## 8.5. Civilian employees and senatorial governors

Another significant part of the imperial budget was allocated for the civilian salary costs. Among the main recipients in this list may be mentioned citizen procurators, provincial governors, legionary commanders and lesser procurators.<sup>80</sup> For instance, the total number of citizen procurators was 136 at the death of Commodus, and later further raised. Their salary level was specified by their grade. The procurators of the great prefectures such as Egypt, the Praetorians, and the *annona*, were most paid in *trecenarius*-grade, i.e. with an annual pay of HS 300,000.<sup>81</sup> This gave a total annual sum of 15.4 million *sestertii* for the year AD 192.<sup>82</sup>

As under the Republic, in the Early Principate senatorial governors received payment too. Cassius Dio stated that the proconsulship of Africa was worth HS 1 million *sestertii* in the time of Macrinus (Dio 78.22.5). This high figure would imply that a senatorial governor received much more than an equestrian governor. Duncan-Jones had suggested that a consular governorship would give a million *sestertii*, and the praetorian – half a million pay.<sup>83</sup> Representative figures for the 2<sup>nd</sup> century lists 14 consular and 21 praetorian provincial governors.<sup>84</sup> The annual cost for governors on this basis would give another HS 24 ½ million. Senators of praetorian rank also provided the commanders of the legions throughout the Empire. That would lead to another 12 million *sestertii* for a total of 24 legions with their legates under the High Empire.<sup>85</sup> The estimated civilian salary costs during the Severans amount to 74.8 million *sestertii* per year.<sup>86</sup>

## 8.6. Principles of coin circulation

Before starting to analyse and comment the hoard evidence from Thrace we need to have some basic models of circulation of coins.<sup>87</sup> For the particular needs of this study, I shall briefly outline some already existing theoretical models of coin

<sup>80</sup> Review in Duncan-Jones 1994, 37-9.

<sup>81</sup> See more in Pflaum 1950; Millar 2004, 152-9.

<sup>82</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 37, table 3.4.

<sup>83</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 38.

<sup>84</sup> Marquardt 1881-1885, I, 484; Birley 1981, 16-17.

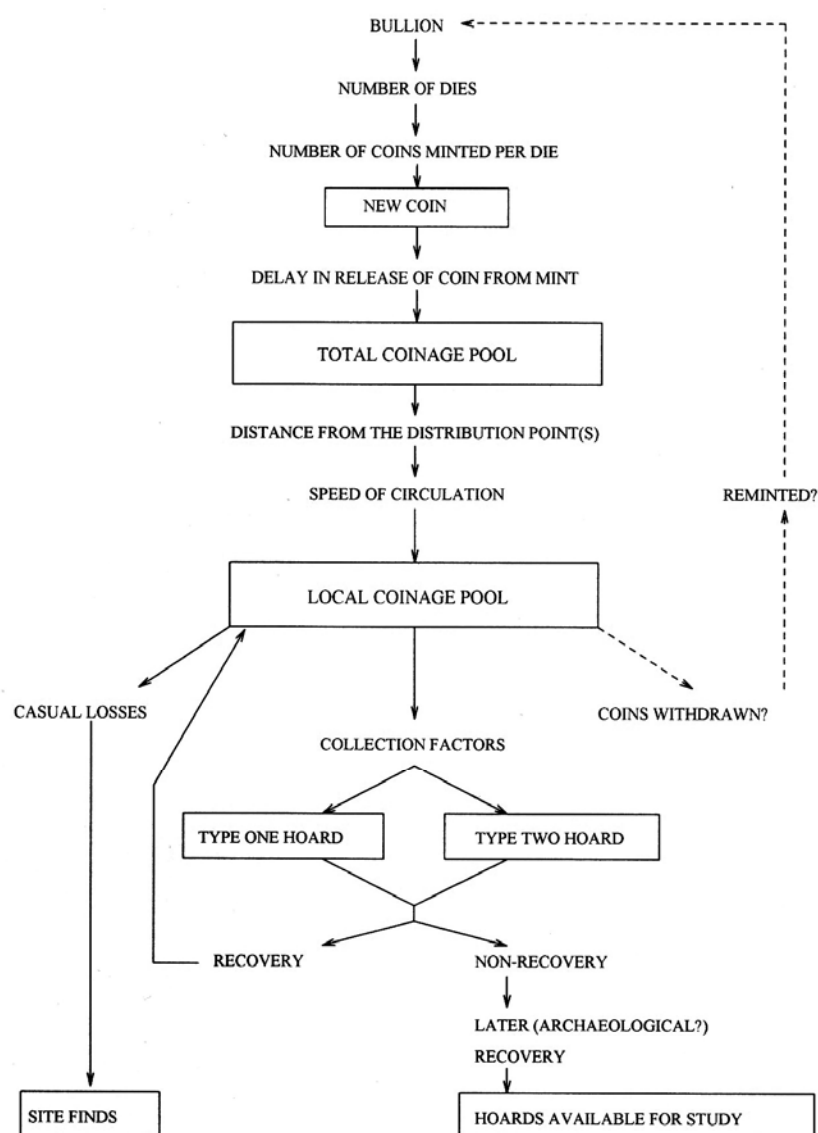
<sup>85</sup> Birley 1981, 16.

<sup>86</sup> See details in Duncan-Jones 1994, 38-39, table 3.5.

<sup>87</sup> More on circulation models in Haselgrove 1987; Guest 1994; Lockyear 1991, 195-203; Lockyear 2007, 21-5.

supply and circulation to see how they have reflected the hoards. For the moment we can assume that most hoards are random selection and accumulation of coins in any coinage pool.<sup>88</sup>

The life cycle of a coin is well represented on *fig. 8.1*. This theoretical model has been designed by K. Lockyear and it shows the various phases of minting, distribution, supply and use.<sup>89</sup> At the bottom it shows the typical formation of the hoards (at right) and the nature of the site finds (at left), so how the archaeologist or numismatist get their research material.



**Fig. 8.1.** Model of coin circulation (after Lockyear 1991, fig. 28.9).

<sup>88</sup> Thordeman 1948, 188-204. But see further notes in Lockyear 2007,28, proving this is wrong.

<sup>89</sup> Lockyear 1989 and 1991,195-206.

With this regard at least three factors that could create or destroy the local / regional variation of hoard composition had been suggested by Lockyear<sup>90</sup>:

1. Distance from distribution points – whether the local coinage pool is close or far away from the initial production/ distribution points it will take shorter or longer the fresh coins .

2. Speed (velocity) of circulation – the faster the coins circulates the sooner distribution will be even.

3. Time – the longer the period since issue is released, the more likely the distribution of that issue will be even in the coinage pool.

When coins have once entered circulation, they usually will fall out of circulation slowly within a certain time span. This could happen as a result of the following reasons, which have different circulation impact:

- Accidental losses (dropped/lost coins);
- Accidental non-recovery of hoards
- Deliberate disposal (e.g. in burlas as ‘Charron’s obol’, or ritual/ votive disposal);
- Melting down of coins for bullion, or cutting them to pieces (in barbarian environment);
- Export of coins outside Roman frontiers, e.g. in *Barbaricum* or in India.

But sometimes coins fall out of circulation quickly and it may envisage different state of monetary matters. This can be done via the recall of certain coinage by the state (e.g. the Republican and Antonian *denarii* under Trajan), or by deliberate disposal due to demonetization of a worthless coinage (such as the Julio-Claudian countermarked coins and their imitations in Moesia after the Cical War in AD 69/70). Different scholars have called the rate of coin loss with a different term: – decay rate<sup>91</sup>, wastage rate<sup>92</sup>, or attrition rate.<sup>93</sup> The Lockyear’s model of circulation also provides two theoretical mechanisms for the method of collection of hoards.

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<sup>90</sup> Lockyear 1991,195-206; Lockyear 2007, 22-3.

<sup>91</sup> Lockyear 1991, 195-205.

An alternative model of coin circulation has been suggested nearly at the same time by J. D. Creighton.<sup>94</sup> He has seen the hoards as an appendage of circulation of money, as “dynamic stores of wealth”. The hexagon of pool in Creighton’s diagram (fig. 8.2) represents a variety of exchanges with coin being kept in small quantities, such as in a hand, in purse, and to large amounts, such as *armarium* (strong box for store of wealth). In essence, his theoretical model is an equivalent of the circulation model for today.

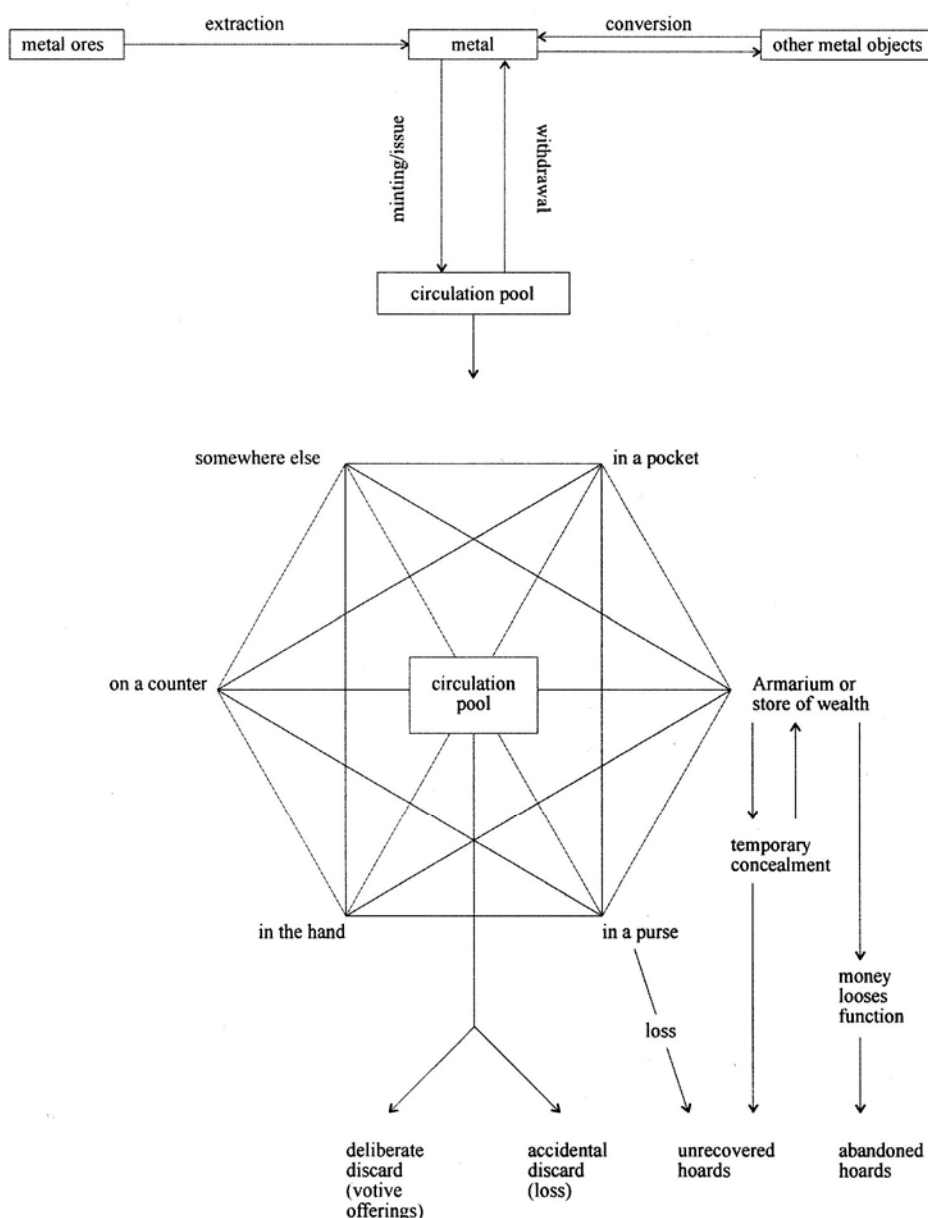


Fig. 8.2. Model of coin circulation (after Creighton 1992, fig.21.02, reproduced after Lockyear 2007).

<sup>92</sup> Creighton 1992; Duncan-Jones 1999, 61-82.

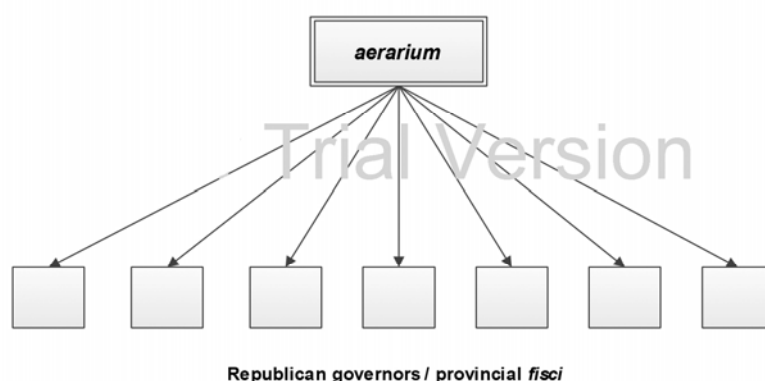
<sup>93</sup> Buttrely 1993, 335-51.

<sup>94</sup> Creighton 1992, section 2.12.



Unfortunately both models discussed above fail to show the principles of supply of coins, from the mint/s – to a closer or more remote circulation area<sup>95</sup>.

In Rome there was never a central bank or a financial office to calculate the needs of cash supply, and to estimate the amount of currency to be introduced in circulation. Likewise, there was no banks through which freshly struck coins to be distributed.<sup>96</sup> In this case, the state payments were the only way to bring the newly minted coins in real circulation.



**Fig. 8.3.** Structure of the treasury administration under the Republic (after Alpers 1995).

Against the theoretical ‘integration model’ of the Roman Imperial economy of Keith Hopkins<sup>97</sup>, it now seems much more likely that the coin circulation remained limited by region.<sup>98</sup> The low proportion and mint activities under the Julio-Claudians favors a model of regional money circulation on a largely self-contained principle.<sup>99</sup> This would provide a basic financial model for the provincial *fisci*: first, the revenues of a province were drawn on to meet the expenses incurred in it, and only the surplus would be sent to the central Imperial *fiscus* in Rome. In return, from the central treasury those provinces in deficit and with a high number of stationed troops would receive a fresh coin supply. Further, to avoid the physical transfer of large sums of

<sup>95</sup> See more about the supply in Duncan-Jones 1999, 61-82; Lockyear 2007, 24-28.

<sup>96</sup> Wolters 2012, 348.

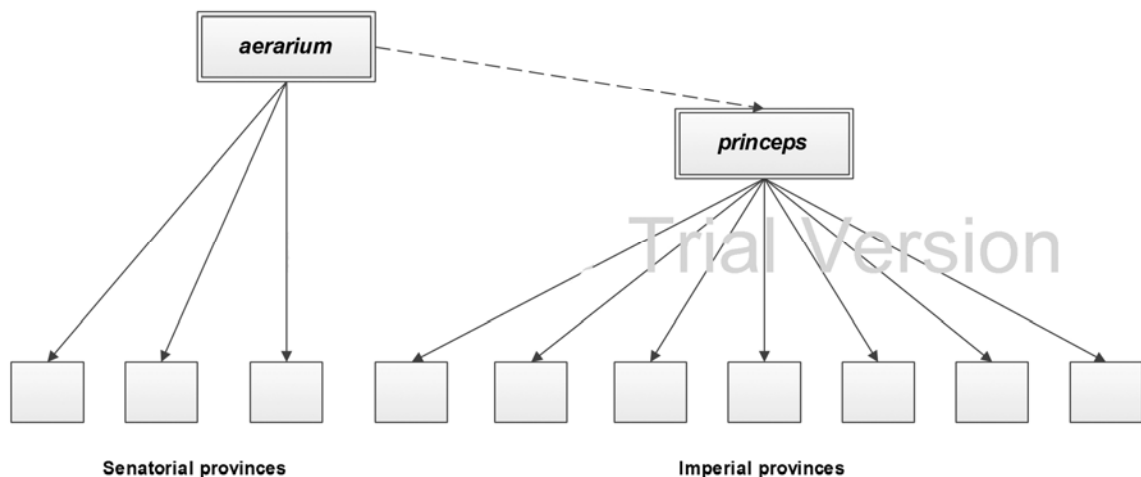
<sup>97</sup> Hopkins 1980, 112-3.

<sup>98</sup> Duncan-Jones 1996, 139-52.

<sup>99</sup> Wolters 2012, 349.

money, neighbouring provinces would meet such a sum directly, instead of from Rome, where it should be merely recorded on the account books.<sup>100</sup>

Therefore, it appeared that the movements of coins were not caused by state manipulation, but rather by the flow of commerce and personal mobility.<sup>101</sup> At the same time, the public transactions in the provinces were not entirely monetized and even a large proportion of taxes were levied in kind, not in cash.<sup>102</sup>



**Fig. 8.4.** Structure of the *aerarium* and *fiscus* in the Early Principate (after Wolters 2012).

Under the Roman Empire coins were normally not recalled by the state. Though, exceptions occurred, such as the *damnatio memoriae* on coins of Caligula in AD 41. According to Cassius Dio (60.23.3)<sup>103</sup> a decree of the Senate was issued to melt down Gaius' bronzes and to erase name from these coins. But it is uncertain how this was carried out on practice. In reality, it was rarely possible to recall one or a few types of coins that have been issued and the case of Moesia proved it (see chapter 10. *Early Principate Site Finds*, 10.7), where a high proportion of Caligula *aes* coins continued to circulate later.

In the Early Empire the Republican issues still made up most of the silver coins in active circulation.<sup>104</sup> That was the case in Italy and elsewhere, as in Moesia.

<sup>100</sup> model after Wolters 2006, 23-45; Wolters 2012, 349.

<sup>101</sup> Wolters 2012, 350.

<sup>102</sup> Details in Hopkins 1980, 103; Duncan-Jones 1994, 20-3, with examples from Egypt.

<sup>103</sup> Discussion in Wolters 2012, 350.

<sup>104</sup> Duncan-Jones 1994, 99.

It was not until the decisive measures of Nero (in AD 64) and Trajan (AD 107) which changed the situation that the Republican *denarii* largely disappeared from circulation. Under the Early Principate silver coins did circulate actively and had an average life of fifty years and more.<sup>105</sup>

## 8.7. The Bronze

The base-metal coinage of Rome under the Early Principate, commonly called bronze<sup>106</sup>, primarily consisted of *sestertii* (ca. 26 g) and *dupondii* (ca. 12.5 g) struck from *aurichalcum* (copper with 20-25% brass, already used in the eastern Mediterranean). They were complimented by *asses* (ca. 11 g, quarter-*sestertii*), the rarer *semisses* (about 6 g) and *quadrantes* (ca. 3 g, quarter-*asses*), all minted from pure copper.<sup>107</sup> The former are the commonest types of the Roman Imperial coinage.

This system of *aes*-denominations was first introduced by Augustus after the new constitutional settlement in 23 BC<sup>108</sup> or in 19, according to other scholars<sup>109</sup>, after an interval of some twenty years. Under the successors of Augustus the *sestertii* and *dupondii* were minted in at a somewhat higher weight. The radiate crown came to dominate as attribute of the reigning emperor on the *dupondii* and become the indicator for its value of 2 *asses*.<sup>110</sup> Some authors called the mainstream Roman bronze 'senatorial', in order to distinguish it from the 'provincial' series.<sup>111</sup>

The supply of base-metal coins throughout the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century was sporadic / irregular, especially to remote and frontier provinces, such as Britain and Moesia. In the case of Moesia, due to its military nature, the Roman *aes* accounted virtually for all the coins in circulation.<sup>112</sup> Naturally, the bronze had much shorter circulation life, than the silver *denarius*, for instance.<sup>113</sup> Because of their faster process of 'wear and

<sup>105</sup> Sutherland 1984, RIC I<sup>2</sup>, p. 10.

<sup>106</sup> In general, for the western provinces, see Holey 1998; for the early Roman *aes* in *Moesia* – see Kunisz 1991, 129-140; Kunisz 1992a, 106-119; and Kunisz 1993, 331-5.

<sup>107</sup> Sutherland 1984; Duncan-Jones 1994, 235; Wolters 2012, 336-7.

<sup>108</sup> Burnett 1977, 48; Crawford 1985, 258; Harl 1996, 76.

<sup>109</sup> Kraft 1951/2; Sutherland 1984.

<sup>110</sup> Wolters 2012, 338.

<sup>111</sup> Kunisz 1991, 129 ff.

<sup>112</sup> As first pointed out by the editors of *RPC I*, p. 22.

<sup>113</sup> Kunisz 1991, 129.

tear', bronze coins usually did not exceed the rule of the next 2-3 emperors. And because of its low value, not too much care was given to recover a lost coin. In such a way, they gave more precise chronological value if found as site finds in controlled archaeological context.

Further considerations on the site finds, stray coins and peculiarities of mainstream Roman bronze from the region under study are discussed in *chapter 10. Early Principate Site Finds* (especially 10.7). Under the Early Principate, hoards of bronze coins are generally very rare in *Moesia & Thrace* area before Trajan (only one under Nero near Plovdiv / 1987, cat. no. 147, see section 10.7). The main volume of hoards with bronze coins in Moesia and Thrace are of Trajanic-Hadrianic and later date. They are discussed separately in the relevant hoard section, 10.8-9.

## 8.8. The Gold: early Roman *aurei*

The most important gold coin during the Principate was the *denarius aureus*. However, traditionally gold coins are scarce outside of Rome and Italy, except in some rare cases.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, the presence of *aurei* in the Thracian and Lower Danube provinces<sup>115</sup> is also very limited.<sup>116</sup> This scarcity is usually explained by the high intrinsic value of gold coins, which made people more careful not to lose them.<sup>117</sup> For instance, the review work of Găzdac on the coin circulation in the Middle and Lower Danube provinces does not include a single gold coin of both *Moesiae*.<sup>118</sup>

### 8.8.1. Hoards

Until recently<sup>119</sup>, no hoards of Roman gold coins from the Early Principate were known from the territories of *Moesia* and *Thracia*.<sup>120</sup> However, there is a small group of *aurei* reported – two identical pieces of Domitian Caesar from the area of Kozloduy on the Danube Moesian limes.<sup>121</sup> As described in the brief report by Gerassimov, both examples were in excellent (*FDC*) condition, both struck under Vespasian in AD 73 – early 75 (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 679). The set may well represent a fragmentary *aurei*-hoard of the Flavian period, dispersed upon discovery. The Kozloduy group of *aurei* is comparable in terms of size and date of concealment to other contemporary gold hoards. Currently we are aware of finds from the *Caerleon*

<sup>114</sup> The classic example is Pompeii where the gold examples amount to 69-70% of the coin finds (Howgego 1992, 11). This excludes the large *aurei* hoards from Liberchies/ 1970 in Northern Gaul (Thirion 1972), and both hoards from Trier in Germany (Elmer – Steiner 1936, 170-5 and Gilles 1994, 9-24).

<sup>115</sup> A preliminary assessment of this problem is given by the late Professor Andrzej Kunisz, see Kunisz 1992, 60-2 and 179.

<sup>116</sup> Compare, for example, the case in the neighbouring province of *Dacia* – Găzdac 2010, 94-5, and 146.

<sup>117</sup> Howgego 1992, 4; Wolters 2001, 586.

<sup>118</sup> Găzdac 2010, 95.

<sup>119</sup> e.g. no *aurei* hoards are listed in the classic study of Gerov 1977.

<sup>120</sup> The discussion omits both gold hoards from the Belgrade area: the large *Zemun /1875 pot* hoard – 230 *aurei* down to Trajan (*t.p.q.* AD 98/9), (see Ljubić 1876 = Mirnik 1981, 50, 52, no. 112; Carradice 1983, 97-109) and *Belgrade I / 1889 hoard* (Vasić 1968, 237-46 = Mirnik 1981, 53, no. 116) – 26 *aurei* from Nero to Hadrian (*t.p.q.* AD 119/120).

<sup>121</sup> Герасимов/ Gerassimov 1942, 283; Kunisz 1992, 60, no. 1.

legionary fortress<sup>122</sup> and Springhead<sup>123</sup>, both in Britain, where each hoard contains five *aurei*. Considering the environment as well as the available historical evidence, the set in question may be linked to a military occasion or payment, most probably connected with the early auxiliary fort of *Regianum* localised near Kozloduy<sup>124</sup>.

Another *aurei* hoard has been discovered in (Upper) Moesia yet in 1907 – in the ruins of *Lederata* fort (modern-day Ram) on the Danube, near Požarevac in Serbia.<sup>125</sup> Only three early *aurei* are preserved from its contents – one of Tiberius (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 25) and two of Claudius (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 11 and 59, struck respectively in AD 41/2 and 50/1), kept in the National Museum of Serbia at Belgrade.<sup>126</sup> Again the context suggested a military connection.

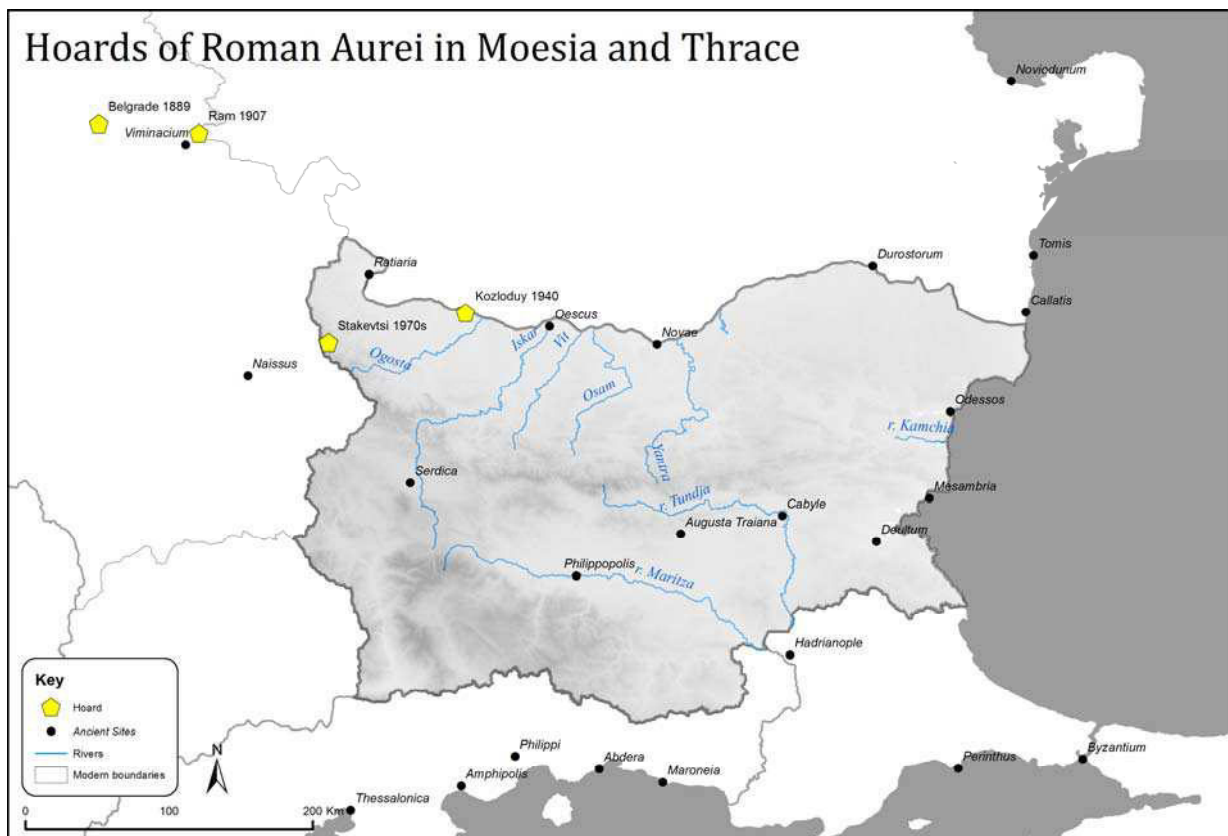


Fig. 8.5. Hoards of early Roman *aurei* in Moesia and Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

In addition, a hoard from the territory of modern Northwestern Bulgaria should be mentioned, although its concealment dates to the Antonine period. It was

<sup>122</sup> Robertson 2000, 13, no. 62.

<sup>123</sup> Robertson 2000, 13, no. 60.

<sup>124</sup> Шкорпиль / Škorpil 1905, 468; Ivanov 1997, 483; Zahariade – Gudea 1997, 3-4.

<sup>125</sup> Vasić 1907, 19-21; Mimik 1981, 51, no. 110.

<sup>126</sup> My written request (as of June 2012) for more information and photographs of *aurei* from Ram to the National Museum in Belgrade remained unanswered (end of September 2012).

reportedly discovered in the early 1970s near the village of Stakevtsi, Belogradchik area<sup>127</sup>, not far from *Ratiaria* (27 km to the southwest). It has now been published twice by Bozhkova without proper explanation or satisfactory dating (Bozhkova 2000, 35-44; Bozhkova 2001, 203-8).<sup>128</sup> The Stakevtsi group in Sofia museum includes 17 *aurei* and 1 *denarius*, listed in chronological order as follows:

**Table 8.6. Stakevtsi Hoard**<sup>129</sup>

1.	<b>Nero</b>	<b>64-66</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 52; Calicó 443	1 AV
2.	<b>Otho</b>	<b>Jan. – Mar. 69</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 7; Calicó 531	1 AV
3.	<b>Vitellius</b>	<b>Apr.–Dec. 69</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 94; Calicó 565	1 AV
4.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>70</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 20	1 AV
5.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>70</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 26	1 AV
6.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>72-73</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 358; Calicó 654a	1 AV
7.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>74</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 691; Calicó 632	1 AV
8.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>76</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 839; Calicó 589a	1 AV
9.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>77-78</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 936; Calicó 625	1 AV
10.	<b>Vespasian – for Titus Caesar</b>	<b>72-73</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 365	1 AV
11.	<b>Trajan</b>	<b>January 103</b>	RIC II <sup>1</sup> 77; Calicó 1020; Woytek 149	1 AV
12.	<b>Trajan</b>	<b>112-113</b>	RIC II <sup>1</sup> 247; Calicó 988; Woytek 399	1 AV
13.	<b>Hadrian</b>	<b>119-122</b>	RIC III 62; Calicó 1311a	1 AV
14.	<b>Hadrian</b>	<b>134-138</b>	RIC III 271; Calicó 1373	1 AV
15.	<b>Hadrian – for Trajan and Plotina</b>	<b>134-138?</b>	RIC III 387; Calicó 1418	1 AV
16.	<b>Antoninus Pius</b>	<b>159-160</b>	RIC III 302; Calicó 1602	1 AV
17.	<b>Antoninus Pius – for Marcus</b>	<b>159-160</b>	RIC III 481b; Calicó 1973	1 AV
18.	<b>Lucilla</b>	<b>164-166/7</b>	RIC III 787 (Marcus)	1 Den <sup>130</sup>

In its present condition<sup>131</sup> the Stakevtsi hoard amounts to 1,700 *sestertii* (or 1,704, if we count the Lucilla *denarius*). No pre-reform Nero aurei were found within.

<sup>127</sup> It was reportedly discovered while ploughing a field near the village of Stakevtsi about 1970-5. Around 1985-6 further ca. 30 aurei from the same hoard were metal-detected and found, subsequently all lost in trade (information Mr MS, Vienna). No record of the Stakevtsi hoard is kept in the Municipal Museum of Belogradchik (information from Mrs Sara Tatarova, 2011).

<sup>128</sup> Sadly this interesting hoard was poorly published and with a number of errors, lacking logical interpretation, or even a reasonable clue to its burial date.

<sup>129</sup> ID-references of all coins were re-checked. Those of the Flavians and Trajan were re-attributed according to the most recent standard works *RIC II<sup>2</sup>* and Woytek 2010.

<sup>130</sup> Not illustrated by Bozhkova in either of her articles, see above, note 14. The presence of this coin in the Stakevtsi hoard is highly doubtful, most probably added / mingled with the aurei.

<sup>131</sup> See note 7 for the incompleteness of the Stakevtsi hoard.

It is noteworthy that ten aurei (or 59%) from this hoard are pre-Trajan issues, i.e. - the hoard structure is clearly 'archaic'. Actually, this fits in well with the current historical context. The latest<sup>132</sup> issues in the Stakevtsi hoard dates to AD 159/60. Therefore, the concealment of the Stakevtsi hoard should be dated to around the period of the Marcomannic wars, and the raid of the *Costoboci* in Moesia inferior (*HA Marcus* 22.1)<sup>133</sup>. It corresponds well to other hoards, for instance those from Corbridge/1911 in Britain<sup>134</sup> and from Acre in Syria (*CH* 7, no. 243; Metcalf 1995, 150, n.9). Moreover, they have already been linked with the extravagant *donativum* given by Marcus Aurelius upon his accession, to legionaries and other troops in AD 161 (*HA Marcus* 7.9; Dio 74.8.4).<sup>135</sup> The above interpretation seems to be also valid for the Stakevtsi hoard in Moesia.

### 8.8.2. Stray aurei (plate 5)

Among the isolated site finds from Roman Moesia and Thrace, I was personally able to locate and examine eleven single *aurei* in Bulgarian museums and other collections.<sup>136</sup>

Besides a single legionary issue of Mark Antony (with no known provenance, see below, table 2, no.1), no Late Republican *aurei* have so far been attested to from Thracian lands, which is not surprising. However, the earliest properly provenanced gold pieces are from the Tiberius period. In fact, the first Principate gold coin (*RIC* I 25) originates from a rich tumulus grave excavated near the village of Karanovo (*Augusta Traiana* in Thrace). It was found along with a further 10 *denarii* (9 Augustus; 1 Tiberius) and other luxurious Roman grave goods.<sup>137</sup> The second is a worn coin of the same type which comes from the region of *Oescus* (Pleven district, north-central Bulgaria), /find no. 3 below/.

In addition, the collection of the National Archeological Museum in Sofia contains 13 *aurei* of the pre-Trajanic period, which were published recently by B.

<sup>132</sup> If we assume that the *denarius* of Lucilla is extraneous – added to the Stakevtsi hoard at a later point (in Sofia museum).

<sup>133</sup> Discussion in Gerov 1977, 118-22; Gerov 1980, 260-7.

<sup>134</sup> Robertson 2000, 41, no. 203.

<sup>135</sup> Comments in Duncan-Jones 1994, 88-9; but see the serious criticism in Metcalf 1995, 145-59, esp. at 150.

<sup>136</sup> In comparison – there are only 2 pieces listed in Kunisz 1992, 60.

<sup>137</sup> A preliminary report in Игнатов и др. / Ignatov *et alii* 2010, 248, dated to AD 40-50s (sic!); cf. also Find cat. no. 231.



Bozhkova.<sup>138</sup> Sadly, no data on their provenance<sup>139</sup> is reported, nor is any other supporting information.

Single gold coins have been reported (or known) from the following locations in Moesia and Thrace:

*Table 8.7.*<sup>140</sup>

No.	Issuer / moneyer	Date	Reference	Weight (g.)	Mint	Find spot / region	Disposition
1.*	Mark Antony - LEG XII	32-31 BC	Cr. 544/4 <sup>141</sup> ; Calicó 95	8.07	Patrae?	Burgas region, unknown find-spot [THR]	Burgas Museum, 2796 <sup>142</sup>
2.*	Tiberius	15-18?	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 25; Calicó 305e	7.66	Lugdunum	Karanovo, Stara Zagora [THR]	Nova Zagora, 112/ 2009; no. 6576 <sup>143</sup>
3.*	Tiberius	14-17?	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 25; Calicó 305d	7.47	Lugdunum	Pleven region, unknown location (central <i>Moesia</i> )	Pleven, no. 1370 <sup>144</sup>
4.	Caligula	37-38	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 1	7.71	Lugdunum	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 4004
5.	Caligula and Agrippina	37-38	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 13; Calicó 326b	7.30(?)	Rome	'Nessebur'/2008 (allegedly from Vidin/Archar area) <sup>145</sup>	Burgas Police HQ
6.*	Claudius I	41-42	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 9	7.71	Rome	Isaccea / <i>Noviodunum</i> <sup>146</sup> near the site, 1970s [MOE]	Constanța, no. 6094
7.	Claudius I – for Antonia	ca. 41-45	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 65	7.60	Rome	Unknown	NAIM Sofia, 2991
8.	Claudius I – for Agrippina Junior	ca. 50-54	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 80/?/; Calicó 396	N/A	Rome	Staychovtsi, Tran / 1941, Pernik region [THR]	Once in private possession, now lost (see below)
9.*	Nero	56-57	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 11; Calicó 421	7.60.	Rome	Stara Zagora, Ayazmoto hill, [THR]	Stara Zagora, no. 4507 <sup>147</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Божкова / Bozhkova 2001, 208-13.

<sup>139</sup> Most probably they belong to the core of the first collection of the National Archaeological Museum, formed in ca.1879–1910, when the provenance of coins usually was not noted.

<sup>140</sup> Coin numbers marked with *asterix* sign are illustrated on [plate 5](#).

<sup>141</sup> Professor M. H. Crawford cited only one coin of this type in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, see Crawford 1974, 544/4.

<sup>142</sup> Unpublished, acquired for the Burgas Archaeological Museum in 1982 from 'Zlatarska Promishlenost' in Burgas – a state-run company for bullion and the re-melting of precious metals during the communist period. Examined by the author in Burgas, August 2011 (to be published by the author shortly).

<sup>143</sup> Unpublished, information kindly provided by Mr Vesselin Ignatov, Nova Zagora Museum. All coins from this find have been identified and catalogued by the author. See also [Find cat. no. 236](#).

<sup>144</sup> Acquired in 1974 from 'Zlatarska Promishlenost' in Pleven. Published by Dr. Theodora Kovacheva, see Kovacheva 1990, p. 11, no. 1, fig.1 on p. 15. Additional information and photographs courtesy of Dr Petar Banov, Pleven Museum.

<sup>145</sup> Information kindly provided by Professor Dr Ivan Karayotov who examined this rare coin, *per litteras* (April 2011).

<sup>146</sup> Ocheșeanu 1975, 234, no. 4, note 16; Popescu, in Lockyear *et alii* 2006, 137.

<sup>147</sup> Misplaced by Kunisz 1992, 60 with a different find-spot. Additional information and photographs from Mrs Mariana Minkova, Stara Zagora Museum.

10.*	<b>Nero</b>	<b>64-66</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 44 and 56; Calicó 401.	N/A	Rome	'North Bulgaria', unknown <sup>148</sup> [MOE]	Unknown
11.	<b>Nero</b>	<b>64-66</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 52	7.24	Rome	Unknown	NAIM Sofia, 2376
12.	<b>Nero</b>	<b>64-66</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 52	7.22	Rome	Unknown	NAIM Sofia, 3367
13.	<b>Nero</b>	<b>64-66</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 52	7.18	Rome	Unknown	NAIM Sofia, 3382
14.	<b>Nero</b>	<b>65-66</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 56	6.93	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 2420
15.*	<b>Nero</b>	<b>65-67</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 59; Calicó 443a	6.91	Rome	Plovdiv region/1985, [THR]	Plovdiv, 5233 <sup>149</sup>
16.	<b>Galba</b>	<b>July 68–Jan. 69</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 213; Calicó 503	7.09	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 2421
17.	<b>Vitellius</b>	<b>Jan.–June 69</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , 1; Calicó 539	7.31	Tarraco, Spain	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 3251
18.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>72-73</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 363	7.21	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 2979
19.*	<b>Vespasian – for Titus Caesar</b>	<b>74</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 696	6.92	Rome	Plovdiv area? / 1920, [THR]	Plovdiv, 1164 <sup>150</sup>
20.*	<b>Vespasian – for Titus Caesar</b>	<b>74</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 707; Calicó 752	7.15	Rome	'Between Oescus and Ratiaria' / Around 1985 <sup>151</sup>	Unknown, formerly pr. collection, Sofia
21.	<b>Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar</b>	<b>73</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 540	6.95	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 2349
22.	<b>Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar</b>	<b>75</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 787	7.17	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 3818
23.*	<b>Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar</b>	<b>75</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 787; Calicó 912	6.65	Rome	Sofia / <i>Serdica</i> -centre, south sector, 2010 [THR]	NAIM, Sofia, field no. A-1387/2010 <sup>152</sup>
24.*	<b>Titus – for Domitian Caesar</b>	<b>80-81</b>	RIC II <sup>2</sup> 270	7.28	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 3015 <sup>153</sup>
25.	<b>Trajan – Traianus Pater</b>	<b>112-113</b>	RIC II <sup>1</sup> 762; Calicó 1138; Woytek 407	6.95	Rome	Unknown	NAIM, Sofia, 2329

### 8.8.3. Discussion

As Pliny stated, the monetary reform of Nero in AD 64 (Plin. *NH* 33.3.47)<sup>154</sup> reduced the weight of *aurei* to 1/45th to the Roman pound (*ca.* 7.27 g), instead of 1/40th (7.9–8.0g, decline of *ca.* 0.35 g) as had been established by Caesar and

<sup>148</sup> Information kindly provided by Dr. Ilya Prokopov, Sofia.

<sup>149</sup> Published in Kissiov – Prokopov – Dochev 1999, 37, no. 148.

<sup>150</sup> Published as *denarius*(!) in Kissiov – Prokopov – Dochev 1999, 44, no. 165.

<sup>151</sup> Information provided by Dr. Ilya Prokopov, Sofia.

<sup>152</sup> Information kindly provided by Dr. Mario Ivanov, head of the *Roman Serdica* excavations at Sofia City center in 2010–2012; see Иванов / Ivanov 2011, 316.

<sup>153</sup> This coin is illustrated in Gerassimov 1977, 76-7, fig. 26.

<sup>154</sup> Discussion in Bolin 1958, 182-3, table 15, 191; MacDowall 1979, 133-49; Sutherland 1984, 3-4, 134-6; Duncan-Jones 1994, 217-8; Harl 1996, 90-1.

Augustus.<sup>155</sup> This change (about 7%) was compensated for by an intensified coinage in gold (Plin. *NH* 33.67)<sup>156</sup>.

The summarized table 8.7 demonstrates that only a few stray *aurei* from Moesia and Thrace date from before Nero's reform in AD 64. Obviously, as elsewhere<sup>157</sup>, most of the earlier issues were withdrawn from circulation, following the classic economic theory, "Gresham's Law", '*the bad money drives out good*'.<sup>158</sup> The lack of the 'heavy aurei' (2<sup>nd</sup> period, of AD 81-85) of Domitian must follow the same logic.<sup>159</sup>

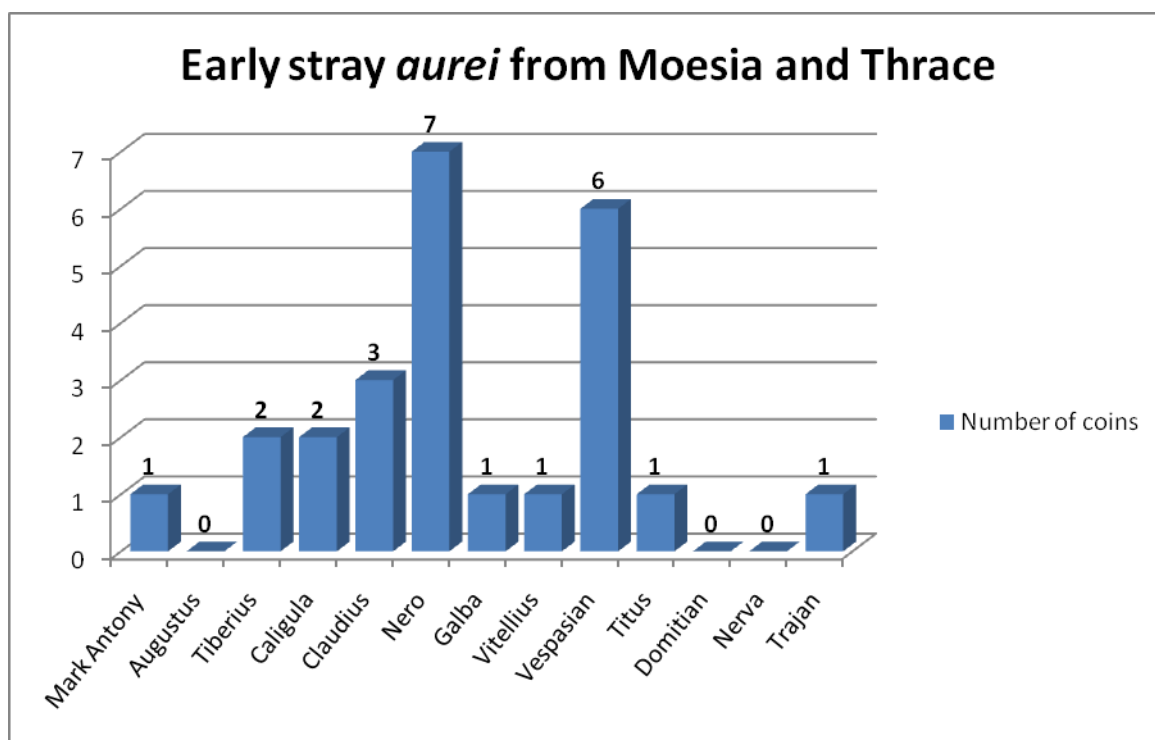


Fig. 8.6. Chronological distribution of stray gold coins in Thrace / Moesia (per issuer).

As illustrated, the largest amount of stray *aurei* in Moesia and Thrace seemingly belong to the coinage of Nero (post-reform) and Vespasian (resp. 29% and 25%). This should be explained by the substantial increase in their series in gold.

The geographic distribution of gold coins in the Lower Danube follows a distinct pattern. Interestingly, the majority of single *aurei* with known provenance

<sup>155</sup> Further discussion in Sutherland 1984, *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 134.

<sup>156</sup> Comments in Thirion 1972, 43-7.

<sup>157</sup> Bolin 1958, 191-3, table 16.

<sup>158</sup> Bolin 1958, 59-64, 77-8 and 86; MacDowell 1979, 137.

<sup>159</sup> Carradice 1983, 99-100.

derive from the inland non-militarized province of *Thracia* (7 pieces), against only 4 specimens from the well-defended *Moesia* [map below]. This may well be explained either by the fragmentary level of evidence currently available, or by the role of *Moesia* as an important military *limes*-zone<sup>160</sup>, which as a rule was supplied mostly with silver issues to cover military expenses.<sup>161</sup>

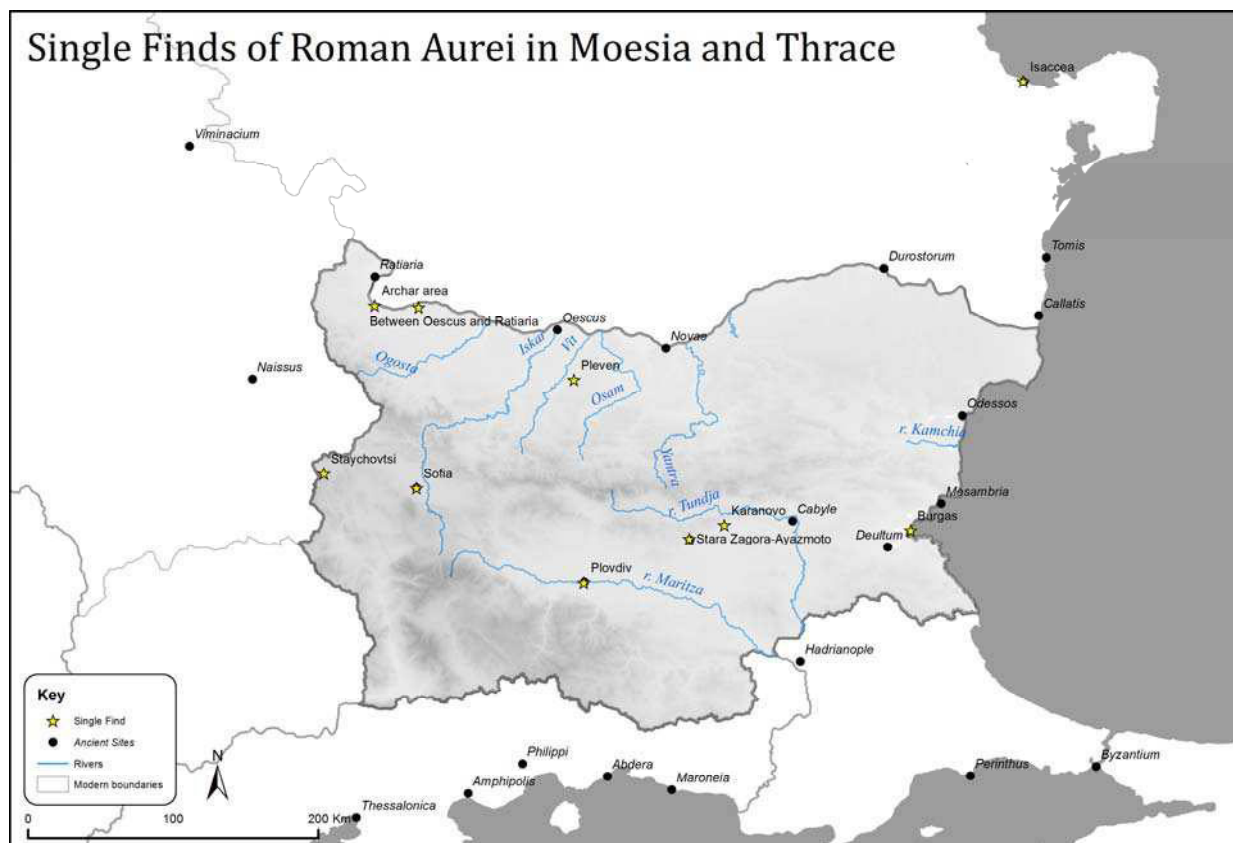


Fig. 8.7. Stray finds of early Roman *aurei* in Moesia and Thrace (map by A. Sobotkova).

The major sites in early Roman *Thrace* are represented by site find *aurei*:

- *Deultum*(?) or the neighbouring area: 1 specimen – Mark Antony legionary.
- *Augusta Traiana*: 1 Nero – from the ‘Ayazmoto’ locality, a sacred hill above the town (pierced, possibly lost later);

<sup>160</sup> Defended by 3 (or 4) legions and a substantial number of *auxilia* under the Flavians, see more details in chapter 4. *History of Thrace*, 3. Moesia.

<sup>161</sup> Howgego 1992, 11, note 100; Wolters 2001, 579-88.

- *Philippopolis* (and vicinity): 2 specimens – 1 Nero and 1 Vespasian (though the find-spots remain uncertain in the region);
- *Serdica*: 1 Vespasian for Domitian Caesar – from a stratified excavation, close to the *decumanus maximus* of *Serdica*.<sup>162</sup>

Currently nothing is known about the provenance of item no. 4 listed in the table above, but it allegedly comes from the area of Archar/ *Ratiaria*, one of the Moesia's major sites.

The provenance of item no. 5 – a lost *aureus* of Claudius and Agrippina<sup>163</sup> is worth mentioning, because it was reportedly found around 1941 in a Roman fortified site near the village of Staychovtsi in the Tran area, Pernik region (Western Thrace).<sup>164</sup> The find location is located in the vicinity of the ancient gold mines at Zabel and Glogovitsa<sup>165</sup>, well known from votives from the Severan period (*CIL* III 8256 /time of Caracalla/).<sup>166</sup> This in fact can contribute to the context of the coin and its possible attribution to early Roman mining of which so little is known at present. As to coin no. 6 – the Claudius' aureus from the area of Isaccea/ *Noviodunum* – it is the earliest evidence for late Claudian–Neronian expansion to the east of Moesia and in Dobrudzha.

In comparison, a typical legionary camp on the Middle Danube limes such as *Carnuntum* in Pannonia produced quite a substantial volume of gold from the period from Augustus to Trajan. There are 38 gold pieces in total from *Carnuntum* – 37 *aurei* (1 Republican) and a gold *quinarius* of Augustus.<sup>167</sup> Apparently, as with the case of pre-Trajanic *Moesia*, we are dealing with a poor level of knowledge due to a dearth of evidence. It may be that both are a result of a tendency, noted above, resulting in ancient people taking care not to lose coins of high value<sup>168</sup>, or more likely – because of the knowledge lost due to the after 1989-looting of Roman sites in Moesia and Thrace using metal detectors.

<sup>162</sup> Details on the site finds in chapter 10. *Early Principate Site Finds*, section 10.3.2.

<sup>163</sup> See here *Find cat. no. 367*.

<sup>164</sup> Unpublished, record kept in the archive of the Regional Historical Museum of Pernik, see R. Todorov, "Старинни монети от Трънския край", p. 2 (unpublished manuscript in Bulgarian, dated 1983).

<sup>165</sup> Davies 1935, 217; Davies 1937/8, 411.

<sup>166</sup> Gerov 1961, 328-330; Геров / Gerov 1965, 63-73.

<sup>167</sup> Vondrovec 2007, 89-90, 128-9, 286; but cf. Woytek 2007, 494-6, esp. 495, n.36.

<sup>168</sup> For instance, at the central Sofia excavations in 2010-2011 (see note 29 above) – only 1 *aureus* was found in a group of ca. 200 isolated coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

#### 8.8.4. Conclusions

As elsewhere, the site finds from Thracian and Lower Danube provinces are not an accurate reflection of the amount of *aurei* in circulation. In general, the gold did not circulate actively (Sutherland 1984, *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 10). As Howgego rightly pointed out “evidence for high value coins may be distorted or lacking altogether”.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, it indicates a distinct trend of the circulation and the use of silver and bronze as the regular means of army payment.<sup>170</sup>

As illustrated, there is a visible discrepancy between the early gold issues from the province of *Moesia* which juxtaposes the evidence from *Thrace*. This seems to have been linked with the regional characteristics, and especially the nature and control of socio-political and military relations. However, from the sporadic finds of stray *aurei* a distinct pattern cannot be defined.

Overall, the limited coin evidence available prevents us from reaching further specific conclusions on the circulation of early Roman gold.

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<sup>169</sup> Howgego 1992, 4.

<sup>170</sup> Wolters 2001, 579–88, esp. 586.

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## Chapter 9: *Denarius* hoards of the Early Principate

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*“Münzschatze sind in aller Zeiten und aus verschiedenen Anlässen verstreckt worden.”*

(B. Gerov 1977, 112)

### 9.1. The Hoards

A total of 48 coin hoards from Bulgaria date to the Early Principate period and are subject of this study.<sup>1</sup> This is by far the largest ever assembled body of coin deposits.<sup>2</sup> They form a significant collection with a total of 6,341; of them only 4,771 ‘good’ coins. As with the Republicans, only hoards larger than 10 well-identified coins are selected for analyses and those which were reliably documented and/or published. This figure is chosen because there are a vast number of smaller deposits recorded (*ca.* 8/10 – 20 coins) which are characteristic for the hoards from Bulgaria and they are conceived hereby as constructive data.

The main objective here is to properly record and study the hoard data which occurred to be the most complete record of the region and to make them available for further studies.

In terms of denominations there are 41 *denarius* hoards, 6 contain only bronze issues, and one (Plovdiv area 1981) is mixed. The chronological attribution of 46 deposits<sup>3</sup> can be determined per closing date as follows, arranged after the Crawford’s principle:

Table 9.1. Early Principate coin hoards from Thrace and Moesia (per reign).

Period	Area	Number of hoards available	Total
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<sup>1</sup> Hoards with closing dates under Hadrian are beyond the scope of this study but they are given only for comparative purposes at the end of the discussion.

<sup>2</sup> In comparison, twenty years ago A. Kunisz had used 22 hoards from the period (down to AD 98), see Kunisz 1992, 32 ff.; and Kunisz 1993, 331-2.

<sup>3</sup> Further details of each deposit in Catalogue of Finds, 15.5 and in Comparative table 1, hoards nos. 112-160.

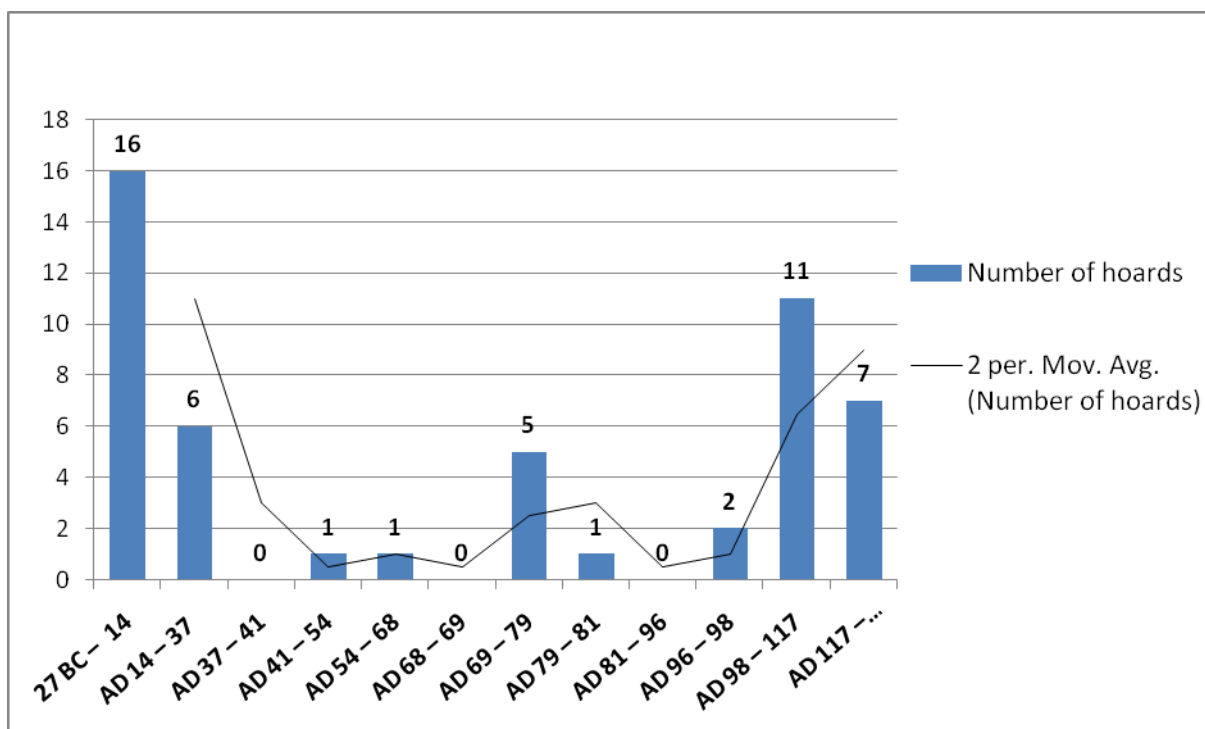
30 BC – AD 14	Moesia	+++++++	16
	Thrace	+++++	
AD 14 – 37	Moesia	++++	6
	Thrace	++	
AD 37 – 41	Moesia	–	0
	Thrace	–	
AD 41 – 54	Moesia	–	1
	Thrace	+	
AD 54 – 68	Moesia	–	1
	Thrace	+	
AD 69 – 79	Moesia	+++++	5
	Thrace	–	
AD 79 – 81	Moesia	+	1
	Thrace	–	
AD 81 – 96	Moesia	–	0
	Thrace	–	
AD 96 – 98	Moesia	+	2
	Thrace	+	
AD 98 – 117	Moesia	+++++++	11
	Thrace	++++	
AD 117 – 138	Moesia	+++	3
	Thrace	–	
<b>TOTAL Hoards:</b>			<b>46</b>

- 30 – 14     *Moesia*: Aprilovo II(?), Lazarevo II, Medkovets, Montana area II, Shumen area, 'Zverino', Russe area, Provadiya I, 'Sofia airport';  
*Thrace*: Gotse Delchev area, Medovo, Pravoslav, Kolyo-Marinovo, Sadievo;
- 14–37     *Moesia*: Belene II, Gradeshnitsa II, Kladorup, Koshava;  
*Thrace*: Omarchevo, Plovdiv area.
- 41–54     *Thrace*: Chehlare;
- 54–68     *Thrace*: Plovdiv environs;
- 69–79     *Moesia*: Dolni Dabnik, Komoshtitsa I(?), Kozloduy, Belitza;
- 79–81     *Moesia*: Koynare II;
- 96–98     *Moesia*: Prelez;  
*Thrace*: Nikyup;
- 98–117    *Moesia*: Altimir II, Lazarovo I, Belene I, Gigen II, Gigen III, Damyanovo, Lovech area;  
*Thrace*: Dragantsi, Popovo, Sheynovo, Jambol area;
- 117–138   *Moesia*: Archar, Lesicheri, Chervena voda (and table 10.24).



Unfortunately, only 32 early Imperial hoards (66 %) are relatively well documented and suitable for the needs of this study (out of a total of 48). The rest were partially recovered (for example: Gradeshnitsa II, Damyanovo, Koshava, Krasno gradishte, Mihaylovo I, Nikyup I, Prevala, Provadiya I, etc.), some poorly recorded with summary information provided in the older publication; others remained unpublished and unavailable (Lazarovo I, Lesicheri, Popovo, Sheynovo, Jambol area, etc.). Finally, there is a group of hoards that are now lost and cannot be traced (e.g. Altimir II, Garvan, Gigen II, Komoshtitsa I, Kozloduy, Lovech area, Prelez), or simply stolen from museum collections (e.g. all the hoards from the Vratsa and Veliko Tarnovo museums)<sup>4</sup>. The data of the latter group, when available, are integrated in this study only as statistical record. Therefore, the numismatic evidence of early Principate period greatly varies in but was made suitable for analytical purposes.

The pattern of hoarding in Early Principate period is shown in the following chart:



**Fig. 9.1.** Hoarding pattern in Bulgaria during the Early Principate (per period)

<sup>4</sup> More on this problem in chapter 4. *Nature of Evidence*.

## 9.2. Augustan hoards

There are 16 *denarius* hoards overall from Bulgaria with closing dates in the reign of Octavian / Augustus, being the highest rate for the entire Early Principate period (33%, or 1/3) for country statistics. In comparison, Romania produced 33 hoards from the same period.<sup>5</sup> This is in marked contrast with Italy, where this period saw nearly a full stop of the silver hoards under Augustus.<sup>6</sup> Apparently the peripheral areas of the Roman Empire, such as Britain<sup>7</sup> and Dacia / Moesia region produced much intensive hoarding.

The Bulgarian hoards are listed in details in the following table:

Table 9.2. Denarius hoards of Augustan period from Thrace.

Find cat. no	Hoard name	RRCH	Denarii	Other issues	Closing date - From	BC	Closing date - To	BC/AD
103	<b>Topolovo / 1961</b>	457	130	40	30	BC	29	BC
92	<b>Medkovets / 1980</b>	–	82	3	29	BC	27	BC
137	<b>Kolyu-Marinovo / 1958</b>	–	31	9	19	BC	18	BC
141	<b>Mihaylovo I / 1910</b>	–	10	1	19	BC	18	BC
142	<b>Montana area II / &lt;1985</b>	–	9	–	19	BC	18	BC
156	<b>Shumen area / 1970s</b>	–	81	1	19	BC	18	BC
126	<b>Gotse Delchev area / 1977</b>	–	11	–	18	BC	18	BC
140	<b>Medovo / 1960</b>	490	151	5	19	BC	18	BC
115	<b>Aprilovo II / 1992</b>	–	37+	–	15	BC	15 (or later)	BC
154	<b>Sadievo / 1968</b>	–	159	2	11	BC	10	BC
152	<b>Provadiya I / 1910s</b>	–	10+	–	10	BC	10	BC
149	<b>Pravoslav / 1960</b>	520	58	–	9	BC	8	BC
137	<b>Lazarovo II (Strupen) 1962</b>	–	124	–	2	BC	1	AD
153	<b>Russe area I / 1952</b>	–	8	–	2	BC	1	AD
157	<b>"Sofia Airport" / 2000</b>	–	199	–	2	BC	1	AD
160	<b>'Zverino' / 2000</b>	–	500	3	2	BC	1	AD

Sadly, some of the Augustan hoards are of insufficient number and not suitable for study, such as: Mihaylovo I (too small, possibly later), Provadiya I (only 5 pieces recorded), Strashimir (Augustan issue probably extraneous), and Russe area I (too small). The remaining Augustan hoards deserve particular mention and analysis.

However, since the reign of Octavian/Augustus lasted for a long period – 41 years (from January 27 BC), or nearly 45 years (from the battle of Actium in

<sup>5</sup> Moisil – Depuyrot 2003, 143-176, nos. 144-177.

<sup>6</sup> See Guest 1994, 200-18; Lockyear 2007, 34-5, fig. 4.3 and 160.

<sup>7</sup> Robertson 2000.

September 31 BC to 19 August 14 AD). For lucidity the entire Augustan era is divided into three sub-periods:

- Early (ca. 31/0 – 20 BC),
- Middle (ca. 20 – 9/8 BC), and
- Late (8/7 BC – 14 AD),

and consequently, all available hoards are arranged accordingly in three groups.

### 9.2.1. Early Augustan hoards – group 1, ca. 31/30 – 20 BC

There are only two hoards from the study area which certainly belong to the early Augustan period (against seven in Romania<sup>8</sup>). One each from Moesia – Medkovets / 1980 and Thrace – Topolovo / 1961 (RRCH 457).

For example, Topolovo / 1961 near Plovdiv (find cat. no. 103) is a pot hoard of 170 silver coins: 130 *denarii* and 40 tetradrachms.<sup>9</sup> The majority of *denarii* are Republican (123 issues = 72%, starting with RRC 231/1, 138 BC) with only two of Mark Antony (RRC 516/2 and 546/2a), and four of Octavian. Indicative Imperial issues are also well represented: 7 Caesar (all RRC 443), 2 Pompey Magnus (both Spanish issue RRC 469/1a), 1 Cassius et Brutus (RRC 500/3) and 3 Sextus Pompey (RRC 511/2-4). Octavian's coins are all struck after Actium (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 153 (1), 167 (2), and 269a – 1 specimen), thus giving a closing date circa 30-29 BC. Two 'Dacian' imitations of Republican *denarii* contribute to this numismatic puzzle.<sup>10</sup> Associated with local imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, Topolovo is a characteristic hoard for the changes in the Thracian monetary system in the late 30 –20's BC (see the discussion in previous section).

As for Medkovets / 1980 (find cat. no. 92)<sup>11</sup>, the second early Augustan hoard<sup>12</sup>, is also *denarius* hoard. Besides 82 *denarii*, it also contains three anachronistic (struck ca. 90-80s BC) drachms of Dyrrhachium (Group V after

<sup>8</sup> Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 143-9, nos. 144-150.

<sup>9</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1963, 265; Златарева / Zlatareva 1963, 161-171; Crawford 1985, *CMRR*, 328; *IRRCHBulg*, 129.

<sup>10</sup> Both coins are now published, see Davis – Paunov 2012, 395-6, nos. 20 and 25; see also section Imitations of Republican *denarii*, nos. 21 and 25.

<sup>11</sup> Александров – Белитов / Alexandrov – Belitov 1991, 35-7, figs. 1-5; *IRRCHBulg*, 117.

<sup>12</sup> Though it may be accepted as a 'Republican' as well.

Коновици / Conovici 1989, 22). At least thirty-five Republican *denarii* were punched with one or more different bankers' marks. A single *denarius* is brockage (striking error, no obverse) of RRC 287/1 from 115/4 BC. Caesar is represented by a single issue (RRC 480/13) and Mark Antony with ten 'legionary' *denarii*. The latest coin is an Augustan issue *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 272, giving a closing date of 29-27 BC.

Both hoards above show similarities in their contents and profiles of accumulation.

### 9.2.2. Middle Augustan hoards – group 2, ca. 20 – 9/8 BC

In contrast to the previous group, the hoards of the middle Augustan group are most numerous. From the territory of *Thrace* there are five hoards fitting in this period and two from Moesia (against 17 in Romania<sup>13</sup>). The Thracian from southern Thrace are Kolyo-Marinovo / 1958 (find cat. no. 130)<sup>14</sup>, Medovo / 1960 (*RRCH* 490 = find cat. no. 140, hoard chart 21)<sup>15</sup> and Pravoslav / 1960 (*RRCH* 520 = find cat. no. 149)<sup>16</sup>, all of the 20-10's BC, found very close to each other.<sup>17</sup> This is in central southern Thrace, halfway between *Philippopolis* and *Augusta Traiana*, on the southern slopes of the Chirpan heights.<sup>18</sup> The area was well known for its gold mines concentrated near Kolyo-Marinovo, which were exploited from the Roman time<sup>19</sup>. All three hoards came from plain Thracian(?) settlements found during agricultural work.<sup>20</sup> Though their closing dates vary by some ten-eleven years (resp. 19/8, 18 and 9/8 BC), they tend to show very similar profiles of accumulation. As shown above, both Kolyo-Marinovo and Medovo hoards contain a limited number of barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms (9 vs. 5 pieces), while the Pravoslav, hoard, concealed at least ten years later, lacks such issues due to the decline of the Late Hellenistic coinage pool in Thrace. While Kolyo-Marinovo (31 *denarii*) and Pravoslav

<sup>13</sup> Moasil – Depeyrot 2003, 150-68, nos. 151-168.

<sup>14</sup> Цончев / Tzontchev 1960, 211; Герасимов / Gerassimov 1962, 226; Златарева / Zlatareva 1960, 367-76; Прокопов 1995, 451-4; *IRRCHBulg*, 109.

<sup>15</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1963, 260; Николов / Nikolov 1964, 153-66; Прокопов – Minkova 1998, 564, 570, nos. 25-29; *IRRCHBulg*, 116.

<sup>16</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1963, 261; Николов / Nikolov 1964, 153, 166-72; Rodewald 1976, 146, table 1, no. 10; Прокопов – Minkova 1998, 564; *IRRCHBg*, 52.

<sup>17</sup> With no more than 10-20km distances from each other.

<sup>18</sup> See Tonkova 2000, 133-145, esp. 134-5.

<sup>19</sup> Баласчев / Balashev 1922, 461-6; Tonkova 2000, 135; Tonkova 2008, 267-8, fig.3.

<sup>20</sup> For more details see the respective entries in the Catalogue of finds – Imperial hoards, nos. 130, 140 and 149.

(58 *denarii*) are relatively small hoards, the Medovo is three times larger – 158 *denarii* in a clay pot. Recently Lockyear has further analysed and compared Medovo with other hoards from Italy, France, Spain and Romania.<sup>21</sup>

The closing dates of the three Thracian hoards discussed above are as follows:

Table 9.3.

No.	Hoard	Latest issue of Augustus	Date
1	<b>Kolyo-Marinovo</b>	with P. Petronius Turpilianus, moneyer, <i>RIC</i> I 294	19/8 BC
2	<b>Medovo</b>	with L. Aquilius Florus, moneyer, <i>RIC</i> I 310	19/8 BC
3	<b>Pravoslav</b>	with Caius Caesar, <i>RIC</i> I 199	9/8 BC

Sadievo / 1968 (find cat. no. 154)<sup>22</sup> is another pot hoard of at least 167 coins<sup>23</sup>, found some 50 miles east from the previous three hoards. It is an association of silver coins which circulated in south/southeastern Thrace during the 20-10's BC. Besides the majority of Republican (115 /with 7 illegible/ = 71%), it also contains an earlier imitation of Macedonia Prima tetradrachm<sup>24</sup> and a rare<sup>25</sup> drachm of the Thracian king Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, minted in Byzantium (type Schönert-Geiss 1972, nos. 1302-1305; *RPC* I, 1775, dated to 12-10 BC). It has higher numbers of Caesarian issues – 22 in total (mostly *RRC* 443/1 – 15 coins), and also of Octavian/Augustus – 44 issues<sup>26</sup>. The closing date of Sadievo is marked by an Augustan *denarius* dated IMP XII / ACT of Lugdunum mint (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 180 – with Apollo Citharaedos), struck in 11/10 BC. What has to be mentioned at Sadievo is the higher coefficient 'entries per year' of Augustan coins – 1.15, the highest rate registered in the three groups.

Table 9.4.

Sadievo / 1968			
Issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (from 136 BC)	87	54.0	0.88
Julius Caesar	22	13.6	4.4
Brutus / Cassius	2	1.25	1
Sex. Pompey	–	–	–

<sup>21</sup> Lockyear 2007, 145-7, figs. 5.90-91 and table 5.26.

<sup>22</sup> Юркова / Youroukova 1972, 32-8; Герасимов / Gerassimov 1979, 136; *IRRCHBg* 126.

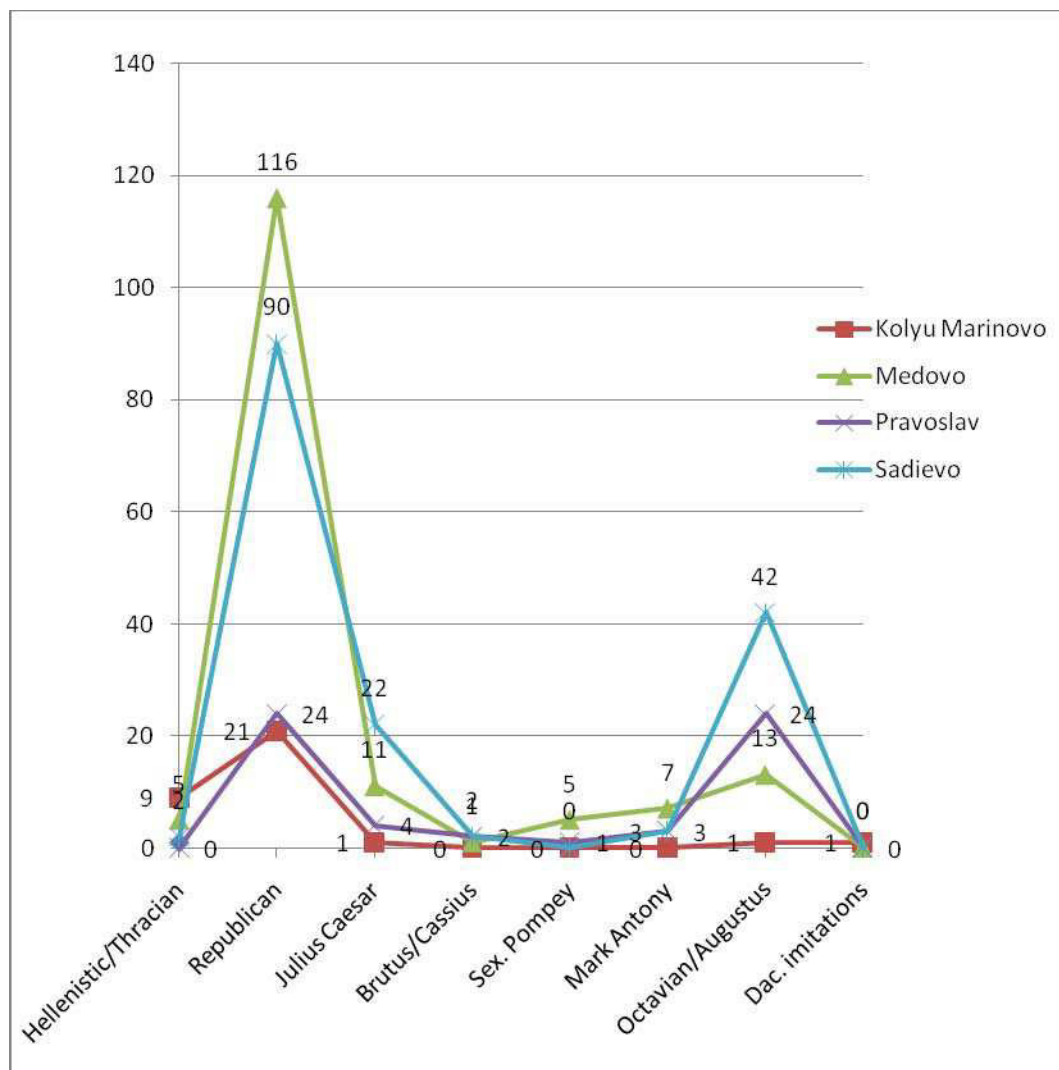
<sup>23</sup> Now a total of 161 coins kept in Nova Zagora Museum, inv. nos. 2005-2008. It was not possible to re-examine the Sadievo coins in Nova Zagora (collection is sealed as of Dec. 1999) at this point.

<sup>24</sup> See now Prokopov 2012, no. 793.

<sup>25</sup> Only ten specimens of this type are known, see more in chapter 7. *Late Thracian Royal Coins* (7.11.6, figs. 7.35-7.36).

<sup>26</sup> The issues of Octavian and Augustus cannot be identified and separated because of the ambiguity in the original publication of Юркова / Youroukova 1972, 33-37.

Mark Antony, 40–31 BC	5 (2 legionary)	3.1	0.55
Octavian/ Augustus, 39 – 2/1 BC	44	27.3	1.15
Rhoemetaces I, <i>drachm</i>	1	0.6	–
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>100%</b>	



**Fig. 9.2.** Comparative graph of hoards from Thrace closing under Augustus.

The above comparison (fig. 9.2) between the Augustan *denarii* hoards in southern Thrace shows some very clear trends. In fact, their accumulation profiles nearly match. What is most characteristic for them is the absolute domination of the Republican issues, varying between 54 and 75 % of total coins.<sup>27</sup> 'Legionary' *denarii* of Mark Antony also have a constant presence, having an average *quota* of 1/5.<sup>28</sup> As shown above, in Thracian hoards the percentage varies between 0.55 to 5.6 % for the Augustan era, and rises to 10-19% in the Tiberian period. The imperial issues of

<sup>27</sup> At Gotse Delchev / 1977 hoard it reaches 90%, the same with some hoards from Moesia.

<sup>28</sup> On this phenomenon see recently Woytek 2007, 503-18, esp. at 517.

Augustus occur in different numbers: they vary between 8 and 41 %, giving an average about 20% (depending of which of three chronological groups a hoard belongs to).

Therefore, all *denarius* hoards in Thrace of the Augustan period have a marked 'archaic' profile of accumulation.<sup>29</sup>

Gotse Delchev area / 1977 (CH 6.88 = find cat. no. 126)<sup>30</sup> is a small (and fragmentary?) hoard of ten Republican *denarii*, closing with a single issue of Augustus from 18 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 108a from Tarraco mint). It was found in the vicinity of *Nicopolis ad Nestum*, the 'city of the victory', that was established most probably not by Trajan, but as early as 32-1 BC by Mark Antony, immediately before the Actium battle (see Boteva 2007, 80-5). Whether this is true or not, this hoard, found in the southwestern corner of the vassal Thracian kingdom, shows the presence of mainstream Roman money in the early 20's BC. However, due to its small volume, Gotse Delchev area / 1977 is excluded from tables, calculations and further analysis.

From the territory of Northern Thrace (with *Moesia* not established yet as a province) we have two hoards of the middle Augustan period. The first is Shumen area / 1970's hoard (find cat. no. 156, chart 24). This assemblage of Republican and Augustan *denarii* was once part of the Dr Vassil Haralanov numismatic collection, housed in the Shumen Historical museum since the late 1970's.<sup>31</sup> Hence its exact provenance<sup>32</sup> is unknown and conditionally named 'Shumen area'. Its overall appearance and internal characteristics define it as a genuine *denarii* hoard of the Augustan period.

Table 9.5.

<b>'Shumen area' / 1970?</b>			
<b>Issuer</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Entries/ years</b>
Republic (from 206-195 BC)	69	83.1	0.44
Julius Caesar	5	6.0	0.71
Brutus / Cassius	–	–	–

<sup>29</sup> Compare a similar conclusion on most Augustan hoards as analysed in Lockyear 2007, 145-155 and 168.

<sup>30</sup> Юрукова / Youroukova 1978, 58-9; *Coin Hoards* 6 (1981), no. 88; Домарадски – Андонова – Прокопов / Domaradzky et al. 1999, 32-3, note 211; *IRRCHBulg*, 25.

<sup>31</sup> Published in Прокопов – Владимирова-Аладжова / Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladjova 1998, 27-33, nos. 1-82; see also in Раунов – Прокопов 2002, *IRRCHBg*, 65.

<sup>32</sup> The original records of Dr Vassil Haralanov on each item were destroyed on purpose by the Communist state security and the Shumen regional police in the 1970's.

Sex. Pompey	–	–	–
Mark Antony, 37–31 BC	3	3.6	1.5
Octavian/ Augustus, 30–2/1 BC	3	3.6	0.10
'Dacian' imitations of <i>denarii</i>	3	3.6	–
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100%</b>	

The 'Shumen area' hoard is closing with an issue of Augustus for M. Durmius in 19–18 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 315). Noteworthy is the fact that this hoard contains three imitations of *denarii* (actually two imitations and one hybrid copy). One of them is of uncertain prototype, probably of L. Sentius (RRC 325/1), 101 BC, and the other – also undefined, perhaps struck ca. 60 BC, pierced and very worn.<sup>33</sup> The hybrid copy is based on obverse of *denarius* RRC 244/1 (134 BC), and reverse of RRC 283/1b (118/7 BC). With the latter peculiarities the 'Shumen area' hoard resembles to the Dacian hoards of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC as well as Guljancy hoard (RRCH 377).

The second is a fragmentary hoard from Aprilovo II / 1992 (find cat. no. 113)<sup>34</sup> near Popovo, region Targovishte. Originally it contained some 400-500 *denarii*, but sadly only 40 coins (*i.e.* 1/5 of total) were recorded (37 fully listed)<sup>35</sup>. The latest coin is an Augustan *denarius* of Lugdunum, struck in 15 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 167a). Reportedly, among the dispersed coins of this hoard there were many of Augustus and some later Principate issues down to emperor Galba. Actually, this is proved by the high number of Antonian *denarii*. There are 21 'legionary' issues listed, or 58% of the total, a percentage that is truly unrealistic for Augustan hoards. We certainly deal with a later hoard. If it really ended with issues of Galba, it could be related with unrest and troubles in Moesia during the Dacian raids in AD 68 and 69 (see more details in chapter Historical account of Thrace, part 3. Moesia). Unfortunately, this no longer can be proved, and remains uncertain.

### 9.2.3. Late Augustan hoards – group 3, ca. 8/7 BC – AD 14

At least four Augustan hoards belong to this late group, most probably<sup>36</sup> all found in *Moesia* (against 8 in Romania<sup>37</sup>). They all usually close with Augustan *denarii* for Caius and Lucius Caesars, the grandsons of Augustus and his designated

<sup>33</sup> Both coins are now published, see Davis – Paunov 2012, 394 and 397, nos. 15 and 29. See also section Imitations of Republican *denarii*, nos. 15 and 30.

<sup>34</sup> Paunov – Prokopov 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, 3.

<sup>35</sup> This fragment was examined and a list compiled by Mr G. Dzanev of Razgrad museum in 1994.

<sup>36</sup> Due to the uncertain provenance of 'Sofia Airport' 2000 hoard.

<sup>37</sup> Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 168-76, nos. 169-177.



heirs.<sup>38</sup> These issues (types RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 208–212) are usually attributed to the mint of Lugdunum. Although Sutherland (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 55-56) dated the series to ca. 2 BC – AD 4<sup>39</sup>, some other scholars suggested an extended period of its coinage and possibly more mints than just Lugdunum.<sup>40</sup> Recently the mainstream production for C L CAESARES was re-dated by R. Wolters<sup>41</sup> to the brief period 2–1 BC (with only the X-marked types /RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 211-212/ dated to AD 5). In my modest opinion, it seems quite short and unlikely for such an abundant coinage.

Here is most recent and indicative hoard for this late period – ‘Zverino’ / 2000 (find cat. no. 160, hoard chart 26) hitherto unpublished.<sup>42</sup> It is a large deposit of 503 coins, containing a number of rare Republican issues (of Imperial and Civil wars period, e.g. Cr. 500/3 and 500/5, 506/2, 519/2, etc), one Dacian imitation (rev. prototype of Q. Antonius Balbus, Cr. 364/1, 82–81 BC)<sup>43</sup>, plus three *drachms* of Juba I (60–46 BC), king of Numidia (type *SNG Cop.* 523-4). Being one of the most representative hoards from the Thracian area, percentages and coefficients ‘entry per year’ are calculated below.

Table 9.6.

<b>‘Zverino’ / 2000</b>			
<b>Issuer</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Entries/ years</b>
Republic (from 206/195 BC)	365	72.5	2.5
Sulla	4	0.79	2
Cn. Pompey	1	0.19	0.5
Julius Caesar	39	7.7	7.8
Brutus / Cassius	4	0.79	2
Sex. Pompey	3	0.59	1.5
Mark Antony, 37–31 BC	7	1.39	1
Octavian/ Augustus, 30–2/1 BC	66	13.1	2.27
Illegible	10	1.98	–
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>100%</b>	

<sup>38</sup> Kienast 1999; Wolters 2002, 297-323; Eck 2003, 119, 152.

<sup>39</sup> Review in Kemmers 2006, 75-6; see also Berger 1996, 31.

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps also in Spain – see Giard 1983, 28.

<sup>41</sup> See Wolters 2002, 322-3.

<sup>42</sup> Seized by the Bulgarian police authorities in July 2001 in the village of Zverino, Mezdra area, Sofia region; examined and photographed by I. Prokopov and E. Paunov. Encrustation corresponds to a pot hoard. In 2002 after examination and prosecution, the District Court in Sofia returned the coins to the owner – a coin dealer named LM. Dispersed in trade.

<sup>43</sup> This coin is now published, see Davis – Paunov 2012, 396, no. 24, see also section Imitations of Republican denarii, no. 24.

However, the presence of Numidian issues is not unusual – there are a number of Late Republican and Augustan hoards containing such coins (of Juba I and Juba II) struck on the *denarius* standard as follows:<sup>44</sup>

Table 9.7.

Code	Hoard name	Country	RRCH	Closing date
CRO	<b>Crotone</b>	Italy	383	46 BC
LIS	<b>Lissac</b>	France	409	42 BC
PQU	<b>Pieve-Quinta</b>	Italy	421	42 BC
ME2	<b>Meolo (Albaredo d'Adige)</b>	Italy	337	39 BC
CTG	<b>Contigliano</b>	Italy	432	39 BC
AVE	<b>Avetrana</b>	Italy	440	38 BC
LOS	<b>Mornico Losana</b>	Italy	442	38 BC
BDS	<b>Belmonte del Sannio</b>	Italy	460	32 BC
DEL	<b>Delos</b>	Greece	465	32 BC
GAJ	<b>Gajine</b>	Bosnia and Herzegovina	472	32 BC
BEU	<b>Mont Beuvray</b>	France	471	32 BC
VIG	<b>Vigatto</b>	Italy	475	29 BC
CRR	<b>Cerriolo</b>	Italy	478	29 BC
MAI	<b>Maillé</b>	France	488	19 BC
BOU	<b>Bourgueil</b>	France	493	18 BC
ZAR	<b>Zara</b>	Italy	–	18 BC
RDJ	<b>Răcătau de Jos I</b>	Romania	–	8 BC

These African issues arrived in the European provinces of the Republic when in 46 BC Julius Caesar crushed Q. Metellus Scipio with the Numidian royal forces at Thapsus in Tunisia and as a result Juba I fled and committed suicide (Appian, *BC* 2.100; Seneca, *De prov.* 2.10). After this battle, Caesar demanded a payment of 50,000 HS (12,500 *denarii*) from the vanquished. As can be seen above (fig. 9.7), of all 17 hoards with issues of Numidian kings, the hoard from 'Zverino' in Moesia is the latest one according to its closing date.

In total, the Republican *denarii* in Zverino number 343 pieces (68%), with few very high internal 'peaks' (fig. 10.3 and chart 26): 46 BC – 45 coins, 42 BC – 41, and 40 BC – 24 coins. Antonian issues number seven (1.4%), with just one legionary issue (LEG XI, Cr. 544/25). Augustan issues are no less than 75 (<15%), closing with three *denarii* for Caius and Lucius Caesars. *Denarii* of Augustus also have two visible 'peaks': in 30/29 BC – 15, and in 19/18 BC – 10 *denarii*. Of course, these figures mirror the amount of *denarii* in empire-wide circulation, and not a local trend.

<sup>44</sup> See Lockyear 2007, 162. I am grateful to Dr Kris Lockyear for this consultation and the list of hoards.

'Zverino' hoard has clearly an 'archaic' structure, with the Republican issues largely prevailing over Imperial and Augustan coins (68% to 32%). However, it is indicative of the nature and varieties of silver issues in the coinage pool of Moesia in the late 1<sup>st</sup> BC – early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. No doubt, this hoard is of a military nature, though we lack any evidence of its provenance. Most probably, it reflects the events around the establishment of Moesia as a separate province (between AD 6–15). In face value the 'Zverino' hoard amounts to 2,012 *sestertii* (HS), which rank around the middle of the average for *denarius* hoards from Moesia and Thrace. There is no such large comparable hoard in Romania from this period, with only the deposit from Barboși (RRCH 531 = Moisil-Depeyrot 2003, 170), reached a close size – 368 *denarii* (331 Republic, 4 Antony and 18 Octavian/Augustus [down to RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207/8]).

Another Augustan hoard of the late period is 'Sofia Airport' / 2000, which is again unpublished (find cat. no. 157, chart 24).<sup>45</sup> Its original content is unknown, but 199 *denarii* were examined and identified. Here we have nearly identical picture, very close to the Zverino percentages regardless the coin amount, as follows:

Table 9.8.

<b>'Sofia Airport' / 2000</b>			
<b>Issuer</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Entries/ years</b>
Republic (from 170/158 BC)	153	76.88	1.4
Julius Caesar	15	7.5	3
Brutus / Cassius	–	–	–
Sex. Pompey	1	0.5	0.5
Mark Antony, 37–31 BC	5	2.5	2.5
Octavian/ Augustus, 30–2/1 BC	25	12.5	0.86
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Here only the coefficients 'entries per year' are different (smaller because of the size), but the rate for Antonian *denarii* is 2 ½ bigger, when compared with 'Zverino' rates. The Republican issues are 153 (plus 8 not identified), starting with RRC 187/1. Mark Antony is represented by 6 coins (of them 3 'legionary' *denarii*), Augustus – by 25 in total, closing with ten issues for Caius and Lucius Caesares (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207–212). In face value the 'Sofia airport' 2000 hoard is equal to 796 HS.

<sup>45</sup> Found somewhere in the Vratsa / Montana/ Plevan regions. Seized by the custom authorities at Sofia Airport in November 2000. during an illicit export attempt. Unpublished, data examined and recorded by I. Prokopov and E. Paunov, December 2000.

Next comes Lazarovo II / 1962 (find cat. no. 137). This a smaller pot hoard of 125 *denarii*, hitherto unpublished.<sup>46</sup> Nearly all – one hundred twenty four coins entered the collection of National Archaeological Museum in Sofia.<sup>47</sup> The coins appear to be quite worn, uncleaned since 1962. The majority of Republican *denarii* and even the early Augustan issues have numerous (up to 4) banker's marks and *graffiti*. Its content is similar to the 'Zverino' hoard, again with one 'Dacian' imitation. It is a rough copy of prototype of M. Porcius Cato (RRC 462/1), 47/6 BC.<sup>48</sup>

Table 9.9.

Lazarovo / 1962			
Issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (from 169-158 BC)	98	79.03	0.88
Julius Caesar	4	3.2	0.8
Brutus / Cassius	2	1.6	1
Sex. Pompey	1	0.8	0.5
Mark Antony, 37–31 BC	4	3.2	0.57
Octavian/ Augustus, 30–2/1 BC	14	11.3	0.48
<i>Denarius</i> imitation	1	0.8	–
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Of course, the individual coefficients 'entries per year' are much lower, since the total number is smaller. In face value, the Lazarovo II hoard amount to 500 *sestertii* (HS).

Another fragmentary coin hoard of the late Augustan period is Russe area / 1952 (find cat. no. 153) with just eight coins recorded.<sup>49</sup> Because of this small size and incompleteness, it is excluded from further consideration, but it complements the late Augustan record.

#### 9.2.4. Augustan hoards of uncertain date

Once containing over 1,000 *denarii*, Mihaylovo /1910 hoard<sup>50</sup> closes with an Spanish issue of Augustan dated in 19/8 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 120). It is worth discussing it only due to its distinctness. There is a unusual piece within – a very worn *drachm* of

<sup>46</sup> First recorded in Герасимов / Gerassimov 1964, 238-9; see also *IRRCHBulg*, 39.

<sup>47</sup> Under inventory no. CCXIV / 1962. It has been made available for study in June 2008 thanks to Professor M. Vaklinova, former director of NAIM.

<sup>48</sup> This coin is now published, see Davis – Paunov 2012, 398, no. 31, see also section Imitations of Republican denarii, no. 33.

<sup>49</sup> Unpublished, information from Mr Dejan Dragoev, Russe Museum.

<sup>50</sup> Филлов / Filow 1910, 224; Seure 1923, 11, no. 3; Crawford 1985, 328; *IRRCHBulg*, 11.

king Archelaus Philopatris of Cappadocia (36 BC – 17 AD), struck ca. 20 BC in Caesarea (Simonetta 1977, type 2.1).<sup>51</sup> Its presence at Mihaylovo is suggesting an eastern origin of this hoard, with that coin being an integral part of the *denarius* circulation in a common Imperial market.

Unfortunately, it is only a small fragment of 11 coins available from the large hoard from Mihaylovo, a fact that prevents any firm considerations. The closing date is also uncertain, but definitely post-Augustan.

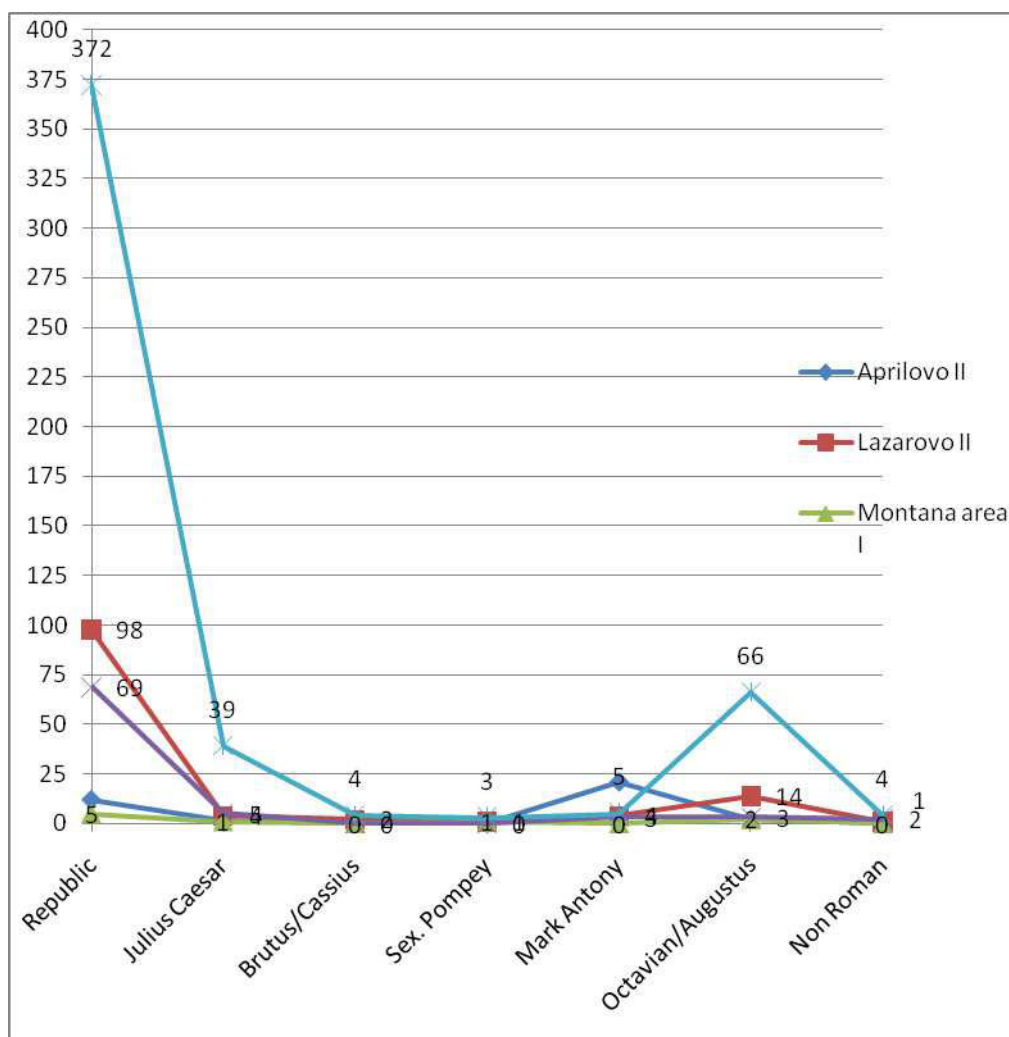


Fig. 9.3. Comparative graph of hoards from Northern Thrace (Moesia) closing under Augustus.

Having in mind the comparative graph above (fig. 10.3), it shows that all discussed hoards from Northern Thrace have nearly matching parameters. Of course, it is dominated by the 'Zverino' hoard record. However, despite the differences in numbers, it essentially demonstrates nearly the same coin trends as

<sup>51</sup> I am grateful to Mr Phillip Davis, Chicago, for his help with identification of this coin.

already attested in Augustan hoards from southern Thrace (see above fig. 10.2), with well marked 'archaic' profiles of accumulation.

### 9.3. *Denarius* hoards closing under Tiberius

There are six hoards with closing dates from the time of Tiberius' reign (against 4 in Romania<sup>52</sup>). These are: 4 in Moesia – Gradeshnitsa II, Belene II, Kladorup, Koshava, and 2 in Thrace: Omarchevo and Plovdiv area. Koshava / 1967 (find cat. no. 132) is a fragmentary (only 3 coins) and unsuitable for study hoard, but all remaining deserves individual discussion.

Belene II / 1971 (find cat. no. 116)<sup>53</sup> is a complete Tiberian pot hoard of 135 *denarii*. It was recently published by Prokopov and Kovacheva.<sup>54</sup>

Table 9.10.

Belene II / 1971			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (153 BC onwards)	66	54.09	0.54
Mark Antony (legionary)	23	18.8	11.5
Augustus	31	25.4	0.75
Tiberius	2	1.6	0.086
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>100%</b>	

The majority of the Republican and Antonian *denarii* in Belene II are worn/very worn and marked with numerous banker's marks and *graffiti*.<sup>55</sup> The Augustan issues number thirty-one, ranging from 28 BC (type AEGYPTO CAPTA, RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 278a, with broken edge and countermark), to 13 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 406), ending with nineteen pieces for C et L CAESARES. The closing date of Belene II is marked by two Tiberian issues of the most common PONTIF MAXIM type<sup>56</sup> (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 28 and 30 /chair with ornamented legs/). As in other hoards, the highest coefficient (11.5) of 'entry per year' comes from the Antonian legionary *denarii*. The face value of Belene II is 540 *sestertii* (HS).

<sup>52</sup> Moasil – Depeyrot 2003, 176-82, nos. 178-181.

<sup>53</sup> Gerassimov 1979, 139; Kunisz 1992, 128, no. 3; *IRRCHBulg*, 73.

<sup>54</sup> Now 122 kept in Pleven museum, see Prokopov – Kovacheva, *Pleven* (Sofia 2006), 13-27, nos. 1-122.

<sup>55</sup> See in Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 15-24, nos. 1-89.

<sup>56</sup> More comments on this mass Tiberian series in Giard 1983, 47-48 and 124-9; Sutherland 1984, 87-8.

A similar profile is to be observed in the Kladorup / 1963 hoard (find cat. no. 129)<sup>57</sup>, also in Moesia, not far from *Ratiaria*. It is another pot hoard, containing 59 *denarii* (equal to 236 HS).

Table 9.11.

Kladorup / 1963			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (190 BC onwards)	45	77.9	0.28
Mark Antony (legionary)	6	10.1	3
Augustus	6	10.1	0.14
Tiberius	2	3.4	0.086
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100%</b>	

In this case there are only Augustan issues, including one for Tiberius Caesar (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 222). Again, the latest coins are two Tiberian *denarii* of the numerous PONTIF MAXIM coinage (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26 and 30?).

Gradeshnitsa II / 1972 (find cat. no. 128)<sup>58</sup> is in Vratsa region, a hoard of ca. 100 *denarii* (68 recorded).<sup>59</sup> Due to its incompleteness<sup>60</sup> (only two early Imperial issues), any further conclusions about Gradeshnitsa II hoard would be impractical.

Table 9.12.

Gradeshnitsa II / 1972			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (170 – 42 BC)	66	97	0.51
Mark Antony (legionary)	–	–	–
Octavian Augustus	1	1.5	0.02
Tiberius	1	1.5	0.04
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100%</b>	

The high proportions of Republican *denarii* (54 to 77 %) in the Augustan and Tiberian hoards reveals how long they remained in active circulation - for several decades and more (down to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century in some cases). As it was already noticed (Guest 1994, 60), the distribution of early Imperial hoards simply reflects the location and deployment of the military garrisons. The same is true of all available

<sup>57</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1964, 242; Юркова – Атанасова / Youroukova – Athanassova 1979, 249-53, pl. II.1-12; Kunisz 1992, 127, no. 2; *IRRCHBulg*, 84.

<sup>58</sup> Юркова / Youroukova 1979, 60-1; *IRRCHBulg* 26.

<sup>59</sup> Now missing, completely stolen from Vratsa museum since 2003.

<sup>60</sup> Reportedly, many more (ca.200-300) coins from the same hoard were found later, in the early 1990s.

Moesian hoards of Tiberian date: especially for Koshava, Belene II and Kladorup (all early forts), perhaps also for Gradeshnitsa II.

In Thrace the same role has Omarchevo / 1952 hoard (find cat. no. 145), reported twice by Gerassimov<sup>61</sup> and recently published.<sup>62</sup> It was found in a Thracian plain settlement near Nova Zagora, half way between *Augusta Traiana* and *Cabyle*. Omarchevo contained 35 *denarii* (equal to HS 140), hidden in a clay pot<sup>63</sup>. The content is as follows:

Table 9.13.

Omarchevo / 1952			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (?)	1	3.4	0.014
Mark Antony (legionary)	–	–	–
Augustus	20	69	0.48
Tiberius	8	27.5	0.34
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Here we see the overall domination of the Augustan issues (nearly 70%), with just one Republican. Nineteen of them are the type C et L CAESARES (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207 /12 coins/, 209 /5 coins/ and 212 /2 coins with X/), the former struck at Lugdunum in 2-1 BC<sup>64</sup>, the latter – in AD 5. There is only one earlier issue – of Tarraco in Spain struck in 19 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 77a). Tiberian issues are eight, all of the type PONTIF MAXIM series (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26 /plain legs above double line – 3 coins/, 28 (ornamented legs, inverted spear - 3) and 30 /ornamented legs, single line – 2 coins/). Some of the Augustan *denarii*, especially the earliest, are worn, one is marked with banker's punch, one – with *graffito*, so the concealment of the Omarchevo hoard must be assigned later in the reign of Tiberius.

Plovdiv area / 1981 (find cat. no. 146)<sup>65</sup> is the only hoard from Thrace and the entire Early Principate period, associating silver with bronze issues. It was a hoard of over 100 specimens, containing many bronzes of Rhoemetalces I with Augustus (ca. 12/1 BC – AD 12) and at least 7 *denarii* of Tiberius (type PONTIF MAXIM, unspecified variant). The Thracian coins examined by Youroukova were bronzes of

<sup>61</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 604 and Герасимов / Gerassimov 1957, 324.

<sup>62</sup> See Игнатов / Ignatov 2008, 158-63.

<sup>63</sup> Now 28 coins are published completely.

<sup>64</sup> For the recent dating of this series, see Wolters 2002, 297-323, esp. at 322-3.

<sup>65</sup> A short record in Юркуова / Youroukova 1983, 114.



both types *RPC* 1718 and 1721. In the case of this hoard, its burial and non-recovery must be explained by the events and unrest around *Philippopolis* in AD 21 and 26, when king Rhoemetalces II was besieged in his residence during two consecutive rebellions of Bessi and Coelaetae.<sup>66</sup> The revolts were cruelly suppressed by the Romans with the active participation of the army of Moesia.

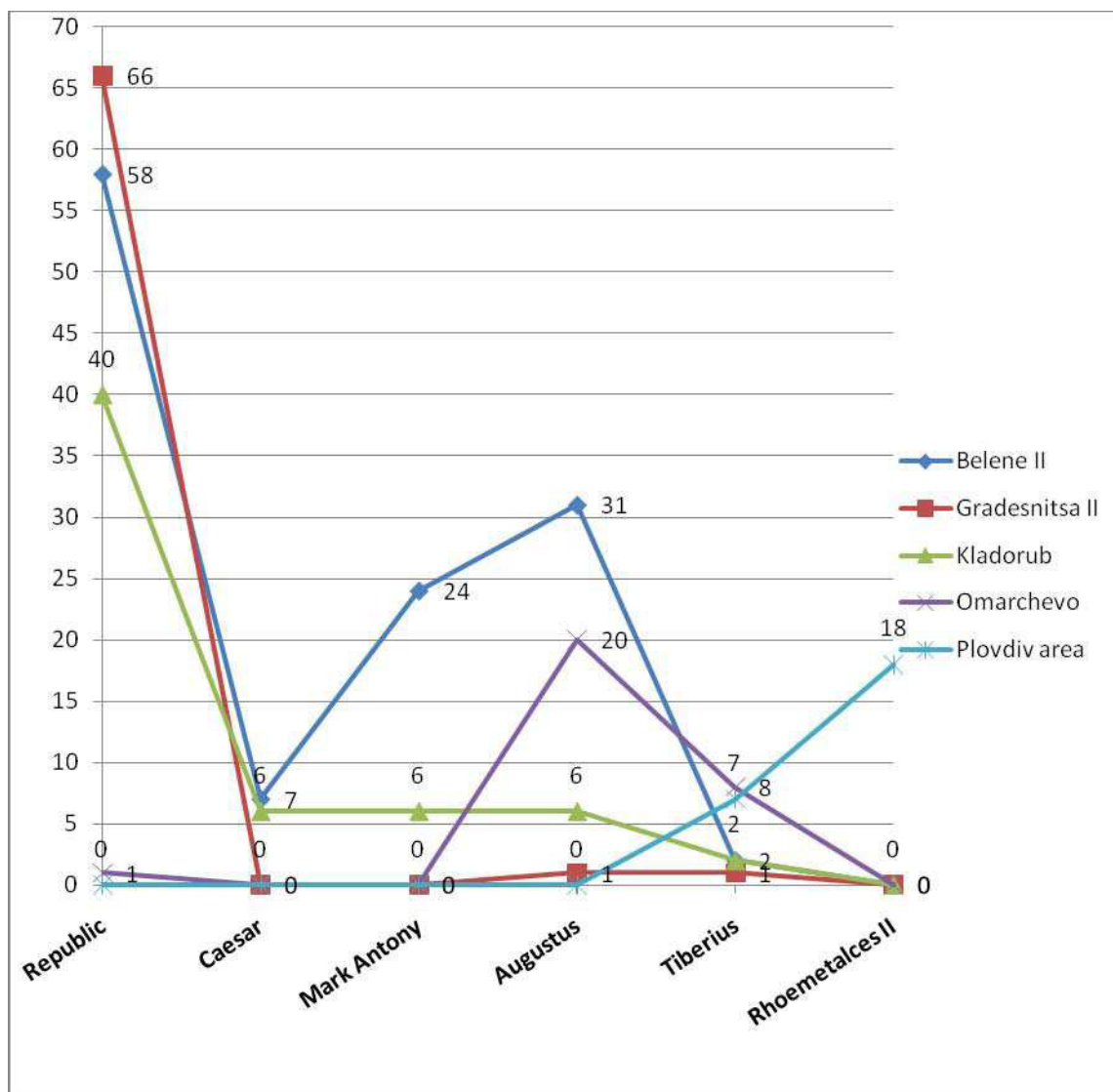


Fig. 9.4. Comparative graph of hoards closing under Tiberius.

The above comparison (*fig. 9.4*) shows that the *denarius* hoards of Tiberian period have a similar profile of accumulation. Except for Plovdiv area hoard (which is of a different composition, denarii and bronzes of Rhoemetalces I), all the others follow the same pattern, with higher quota of Antonian (up to 18%) and Augustan coins (10-25%, rising to 69% at Omarchevo). Further considerations and more

<sup>66</sup> For more details see chapter 3. *Historical account of Thrace*, 3.8.9.

precise closing dates of this cluster of hoards is currently impossible, due to the uncertain internal chronology of the PONTIF MAXIM coinage of Tiberius. In his Lugdunum coinage book J.-B. Giard had proposed an internal subdivision and classification in six groups.<sup>67</sup> It has been suggested that most of the PONTIF MAXIM *denarii* in circulation in the western provinces belong to the late period of Tiberian coinage (Giard, group 4) – dated to ca. AD 31-36 and the final two groups by Giard, his 5-6, ca. AD 36/7.<sup>68</sup>

#### 9.4. Hoards closing under Caligula

So far there are no hoards from Bulgaria closing with coins of Caligula. As a matter of fact, Romania yielded a single one – from Augustin near Braşov, 294 *denarii* down to issue of March-April 37 (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 4 or 10).<sup>69</sup>

#### 9.5. Hoards closing under Claudius

There is only one hoard dating from the Claudian period in both Thracian provinces (matched by a single from Romania<sup>70</sup>). It is Chehlare / 1938 (find cat. no. 118)<sup>71</sup> – a pot hoard of 60 *denarii*, of which 48 were offered to the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, but only 24 entered the collection.<sup>72</sup> The find-spot is in central Thrace, some 30 miles northeast from *Philippopolis*.

Table 9.14.

Chehlare / 1938			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (42 BC onwards)	1	2.3	0.11
Mark Antony (legionary)	–	–	–
Augustus	14 (1 plated)	31.8	0.34
Tiberius	9 [once 28]	63.6	1.21
Claudius	1	2.3	0.5

<sup>67</sup> Giard 1983, 47-52.

<sup>68</sup> Burnett – Plouviez – Tuckett, “Sutton Suffolk”, in *CHRB* 9 (London 1992), 24-31, esp. at 27-8.

<sup>69</sup> Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 183-5, no. 182.

<sup>70</sup> Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 185-6, no. 183 – from Nikuliţel near Tulcea, 161 *denarii* (37 listed) down to RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 54 (AD 50-51).

<sup>71</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1939, 345; Kunisz 1992, 129, no. 9; *IRRCHBulg.* 74.

<sup>72</sup> I am grateful to Prof. M. Vaklinova who largely facilitated the access to this and other hoards kept in the NAIM in Sofia to be available for study in June 2008.

<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100%</b>	
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At present there are fourteen *denarii* of Augustus – ranging from 30-29 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 271), with four Spanish issues of 19-16 BC, down to seven for C et L CAESARES (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207 and 212 – 1 plated). Earlier Augustan issues are very worn, a few with banker's marks and two – with countermarks on the obverse. Tiberian coins are all of the same undated type PONTIF MAXIM (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26 /2 coins/, 28 /2/ and 30 /5/).<sup>73</sup> Again, no issue of Caligula is present. The latest coin is a *denarius* of Claudius dating to AD 41/2 (CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI = RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 14). Thus, the Chehlare hoard has a 'modern' profile, obviously accumulated in the time from Tiberius to early Claudius. Its face value is equal to 240 *sestertii* (HS).

### 9.6. Hoards closing under Nero

Once again, only one hoard is known from the time of Nero for the territories of Moesia and Thrace (matched with one from Romania<sup>74</sup>). This is Plovdiv environs / 1987 (find cat. no. 147)<sup>75</sup>, the only hoard from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD with bronze issues. Eleven coins of this deposit entered the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv. According to the inventory book description, these are:

- Rhoemetalces I and Augustus: 3 AE24 mm, unspecified type;
- Caligula for Mark Agrippa, 37/8 AD: 1 AE as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 32), Rome, 28x29 mm, VW
- Claudius, 41-54 AD: 6 AE asses (26-28 mm), Rome/?/, unspecified;
- Nero, 65-67? AD: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 312 or 543), Rome.

Apparently, it is a mixed hoard of only bronze coins – mainstream Roman with few Thracian pieces. The presence of Rhoemetalces I bronzes is not occasional – this was one of the commonest base metal coins in the 1<sup>st</sup> century coinage pool in Thrace and typical for the region. The Claudian *as* is largely prevails (54%) in this hoard, with only one of Nero, type 'Victory advancing left with shield inscribed SPQR'. All Roman issues seems to be a product of Rome mint. Unfortunately, in the absence of further details, no more considerations can be made at the moment.

<sup>73</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1939, 345 – noted that all 28 *denarii* of Tiberius are of the PONTIF MAXIM type.

<sup>74</sup> Moisil – Depeyrot 2003, 186, no. 184 – from Rachelu near Tulcea (in a Roman fort), only 6 *denarii* down to Nero, RIC I2 53 (AD 64/5).

<sup>75</sup> Unpublished, kept in the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 5480-5491. No further details become available after my initial recording in October 2010.

### 9.7. Hoards closing under the Flavians

Overall, there are 5 hoards<sup>76</sup> from Bulgaria ending with issues of the Flavians, all from territory of *Moesia* (against 3 in Serbia<sup>77</sup> and 20 from Romania<sup>78</sup>). These are Dolni Dabnik / 1910, Komoshtitsa I / 1920, Belitza / 1938, Kozloduy / <1940, and Koynare II / 1967. All of them are *denarius* hoards, except Kozloduy (2 aurei). Four are dating from the reign of Vespasian and one from Titus (in Romania: 10 Vespasian, 3 Titus and 6 Domitian, 1 unspecified). So far not a single hoard from the Bulgarian territory is proved to be from the time of Domitian.<sup>79</sup> All featured Flavian hoards have very close closing dates – between AD 76 and January–June 80 (against seven hoards in Romania with a pre-76 date<sup>80</sup>). The precise reason for this heavy hoarding pattern cannot be established at the moment.

Dolni Dabnik / 1910 (find cat. no. 122)<sup>81</sup> was a mid-size hoard, originally of 134 *denarii*. Sadly, it was dispersed right after its discovery (and apparently later in Sofia). Its present condition in the National Museum in Sofia features only 28 coins available which is a small portion (less than ¼) of the original hoard.<sup>82</sup> The combined records (based on Filow's and Seure's publications) of its content would look like as follows:

Table 9.15.

Dolni Dabnik / 1910			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (65? BC onwards)	83 [now 7]	61.9 / 25.0	2.1
Mark Antony	unlisted [now 4]	– / 14.2	1.5
Augustus	13 [now 2]	9.7 / 7.1	0.31
Tiberius	4 [now 0]	2.98 / –	0.17

<sup>76</sup> To add one more Flavian hoard (15+ *denarii*) down to COS VIII, AD 77-78) from Letnitsa in region Lovech (*Moesia*). Data about it arrived from Lovech Museum too late (September 2012) to be included in this work and the subsequent analyses.

<sup>77</sup> Borić-Bresković 1994, 110 ff.

<sup>78</sup> Moasil – Depeyrot 2003, 186-95, nos. 185-204.

<sup>79</sup> It is possible that hoard Komoshtitsa I could be of Domitianic date, but this can no longer be confirmed.

<sup>80</sup> Moasil – Depeyrot 2003, 186-89, nos. 185-191.

<sup>81</sup> Filow 1910, 224; Seure, in *RN*<sup>4</sup> 26 (1923), 21, no. 24; Bolin 1958, 338-9; Kunisz 1992, 128, no. 6; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 76.

<sup>82</sup> Most recently Dotkova 2006, 180-7.

Claudius	1	0.7 / 3.5	0.07
Nero	5 [now 2]	3.7 / 7.1	0.35
Vitellius	1	0.7 / 3.5	0.5
Vespasian	24 [now 11, 3 Titus Caesar]	17.9 / 39.2	3.42
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>134</b> [now 28]	<b>100%</b>	

Among the published 28 coins, there are two Augustan *denarii*. Of them is countermarked **MP.VES**<sup>83</sup> which was applied at Ephesus between AD 74 and 79. This presence of this coin leads to an assumption for a military hoard, connected with a supply from Asia, not from the western provinces. The latest published issue in Dolni Dabnik is a *denarius* of Vespasian struck in AD 76 (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 99 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 847 /or 848/). The fragmental nature prevents any further consideration. However, it must be noted that at Dolni Dabnik / 1910 the coefficients 'entry per year' are not very different from the rest of Flavian hoards (see below).

The next three hoards were all found along the Moesian limes on the Danube. Komoshtitsa I / 1920 (find cat. no. 131)<sup>84</sup> near Lom was a pot hoard of some 70 *denarii* but sadly N. Mushmov reported only 19 pieces down to Domitian, which make it unsuitable for further study. Its face therefore would be 280 *sestertii* (HS).

Kozloduy / <1940, not far from *Augustae*/ Hurllets (find cat. no. 134)<sup>85</sup> was a small fragment of *aureus* hoard (more details in section Early Roman gold). Two *aurei* were recorded from its partial contents – both Vespasian's issues for Domitian Caesar struck in AD 73 – early 75 (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 679), which is an interesting coincidence having such a limited record.

Belitza / 1938 (find cat. no. 117) is near Tutrakan, between *Appiaria* and *Durostorum*. It is a fragment of a larger Flavian hoard with 12 coins, now in Bucharest.<sup>86</sup> It contain 5 Republicans, and closes with two Vespasianic issues (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 961 and 966) dated to AD 77/8.

<sup>83</sup> Howgego 1985, no. 839.

<sup>84</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1924, 239; Kunisz 1992, 130, no. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1941, 283; Kunisz 1992, 60.

<sup>86</sup> C. Moisil 1944, 101-2, nos. 1155-1165; Vertan 2002, 271-2; Talmaçhi 2006, 185, no. 2; Petac 2011, 18 and 352.

So far, the most important and almost complete Flavian pot hoard occurs to be Koynare II / 1967 (find cat. no. 133, chart 23) hitherto unpublished.<sup>87</sup> Originally Koynare II contained 211 *denarii*, of which 200 entered in the Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa. Although these two hundred coins are now missing (stolen since 2003), they have been well documented with a full photo record.<sup>88</sup>

Table 9.16.

Koynare II / 1967			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (131 BC onwards)	61	30.5	0.61
Mark Antony (legionary)	16	8.0	8
Augustus	11	5.5	0.26
Tiberius	3	1.5	0.13
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius – for Nero Caesar	1	0.5	0.07
Nero	10	5.0	0.71
Galba	4	2.0	4
Otho	1	0.5	1
Vitellius	6	3.0	6
Vespasian	65	32.5	6.5
Titus	25 (5 – for Vespasian; 10 – for Domitian Caesar )	12.5	8.33
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100%</b>	

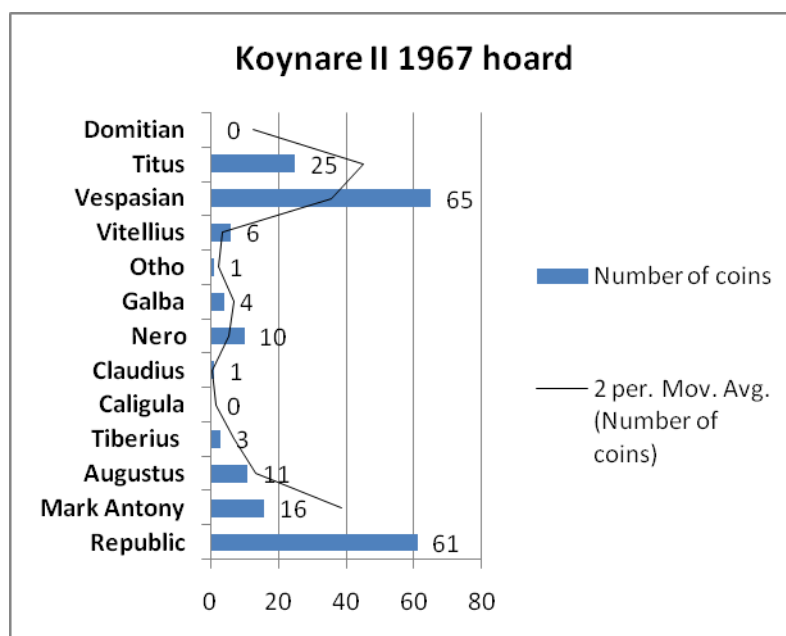


Fig. 9.5. Chart of Koynare II hoard (per number).

<sup>87</sup> See the listing in Gerassimov 1979, 135; Kunisz 1992, 128-9, no. 7; first details given in *IRRCHBulg* (2002), 85.

<sup>88</sup> In possession of Professor Ilya Prokopov and the present author.

There are two visible internal 'peaks' of accumulation within Koynare II: the Republican *denarii* – 61 specimens (30.5 %) and the Vespasian – 65, or 32.5 %. There is no gap except for Caligula (as usual). The Civil War emperors are well represented giving a total of 11 *denarii*, providing high coefficients of entry per year. Vespasianic issues were struck in the following mints: 51 Rome; 1 Ephesus, 9 Antioch; 1 western uncertain. The *denarii* of Titus include also five issues for Divus Vespasian (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 357 (4 coins) and 364 (1), ten for Domitian Caesar of the same type (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 266), and one for Julia Titi (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 388 – VENVVS AVGVST), giving a high coefficient (8.33) for the closure date of Koynare II hoard. Its closing date is strictly set during the short reign of Titus – with latest issues of the period from 1 January to 30 June 80 AD (TRP IX IMP XV COS VII), types RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 122 and 124, nearly uncirculated. The face value of the Koynare II hoard is 844 HS.

However, there are three Domitianic *denarius* hoards from Upper Moesia. These are Boljetin / 1947 (102 *denarii*)<sup>89</sup>, Tekija / 1950 = *Transdierna* (111 *denarii*)<sup>90</sup> and Bare<sup>91</sup> hoards. The third one is important for this study and will be shortly discussed. It was a large hoard of 279+ *denarii* along with 36 silver jewellery pieces, found in 1964 near the village of Bare, 6 km east of Pojarevac, not far from the legionary camp *Viminacium*. The content<sup>92</sup> of Bare is the following:

Table 9.17.

Bare / 1964			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries / years
Republic (206/0 BC onwards)	101	36.2	0.66
Julius Caesar	9	3.2	1.28
Mark Antony (legionary)	22	7.88	11
Juba I, Numidia	2	0.72	–
Augustus	13	4.66	0.31
Tiberius	1	0.36	0.04
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	1	0.36	0.07
Nero	9	3.23	0.64
Civil War	1	0.36	1
Galba	7	2.51	3.5
Otho	–	–	–
Vitellius	5	1.8	2.5
Vespasian	87	31.18	8.7
Titus	18	6.45	6

<sup>89</sup> Mirnik 1981, 50, no. 102.

<sup>90</sup> Mirnik 1981, 52, no. 111.

<sup>91</sup> Popović – Borić-Breskovic 1994.

<sup>92</sup> According to Borić-Bresković 1994, 108-9 and 172-3.

	(5 Divus Vespasian; 2 Domitian Caesar; 1 Julia Titi)		
Domitian	3	1.07	1.5
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>279</b>	<b>100%</b>	

One can notice that not only the percentage accumulation (see graph below, fig. 10.6) but also the coefficients 'entry per years' in Koynare I and Bare hoards are very close. The latest issues in Bare hoard are two early *denarii* of Domitian dated COS VII DES VIII PM (types RIC II 19 and 21 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 42-3 and 74), which corresponds to the short period 13 September – 31 December AD 81. Bare also has a single undated Domitianic issue<sup>93</sup> in mint state which is now (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 145) more closely set to AD 82-83. Borić-Bresković suggested that Bare hoard could be related somehow with the instability in Moesia during the Domitian's Dacian War in 85, a hypothesis which seems not impossible.<sup>94</sup> In face value, the Bare hoard numbers to HS 1,116, a considerable amount, especially if we add the metal value of the silver jewels.

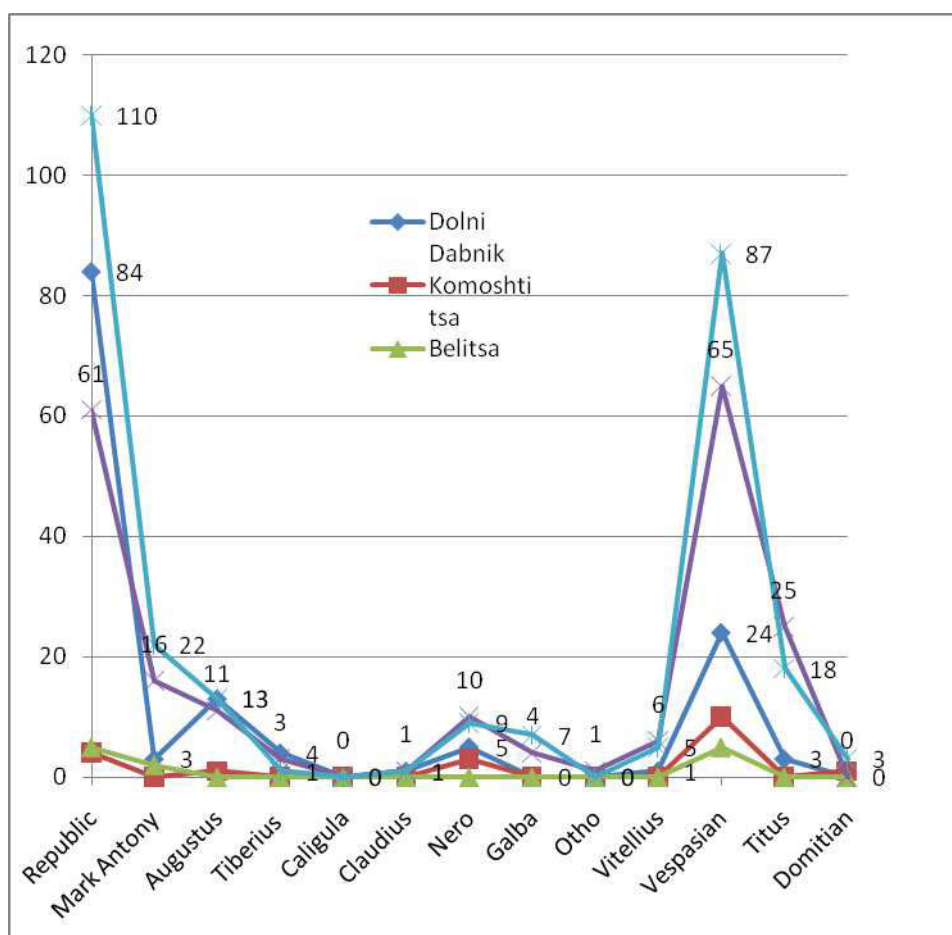


Fig. 9.6. Comparative graph of hoards from Moesia closing under the Flavians.

<sup>93</sup> Borić-Bresković 1994, 170, cat. no. 278.

<sup>94</sup> Borić-Bresković 1994, 129-33 and 192-4, 198.



The comparison between the above discussed Flavian hoards from Moesia show a remarkably identical profile of accumulation. This must be a logical consequence and reflection of the coinage pool in the Lower Danube region under the Flavians. Overall, the number of Flavian hoards in Moesia is relatively smaller (8 registered, against 20 in Dacia), compared with the higher concentrations in Spain and in Italy (*cf.* Guest 1994, 60-1, citing a hoarding factor of 0.05 over for the latter regions). In the case of Moesia, there seems to be a lack of evidence for 'emergency hoards' (except for Bare near Viminacium, as shown above), indicating that the available deposits are anything else other than saving coins for future use. This observation looks to be valid not only for the Flavian period, but for the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

### 9.8. Hoards closing under Nerva

There are two hoards from Moesia and Thrace ending in the reign of Nerva (matched by two from Romania<sup>95</sup>). These are: the large Prelez (originally over 600 *denarii*) and the fragmentary Nikyup (3+) hoards. Prelez hoard (former Junuzlar) / 1926 (find cat. no. 150)<sup>96</sup>, known for some time was studied by Bolin<sup>97</sup>, Gerov<sup>98</sup> and Kunisz<sup>99</sup>. In composition it is a typical Flavian hoard. Vespasian is represented with 205 *denarii* (~53 %), however, it also contains a number of earlier issues – 86 Republican and 1 Mark Antony (22.5% in total).

Table 10.18.

Prelez (former Junuzlar) 1926			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries / years
Republic (? BC onwards)	85	21.9	1.21
Mark Antony (legionary)	1	0.25	0.5
Augustus	–	–	–
Tiberius	–	–	–
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	7	1.8	0.53
Nero	18	4.65	1.28
Galba	5	1.3	5
Otho	7	1.8	7
Vitellius	10	2.57	10

<sup>95</sup> Moasil – Depeyrot 2003, 196-8, nos. 205-206.

<sup>96</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 325.

<sup>97</sup> Bolin 1958, 339, Table 2.

<sup>98</sup> Gerov 1977, 148, no. 2.

<sup>99</sup> Kunisz 1992, 129, no. 8.

Vespasian	205	52.83	20.5
Titus	12	3.1	4
Domitian	29	7.5	1.93
Nerva	1	0.25	0.5
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>388+</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Sadly, the Prelez hoard was dispersed long ago and unavailable for further study. Its face value once was 1,548 HS.

As far as Nikyup hoard is concerned, the data are rather insufficient (but it is featured in fig. 9.7).

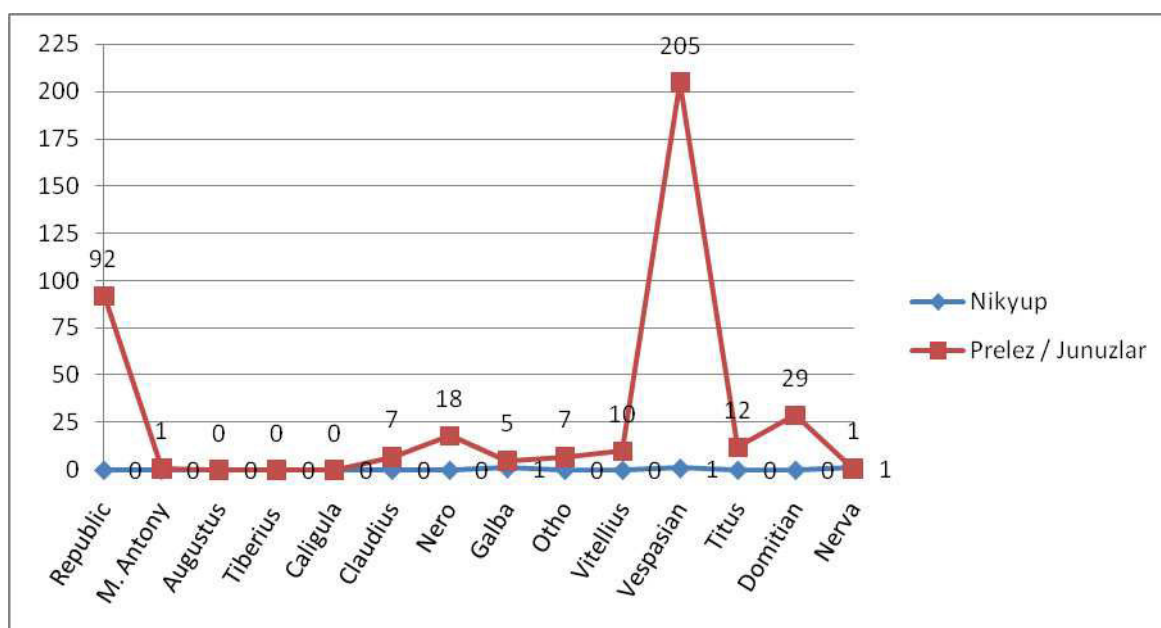


Fig. 9.7. Comparative graph of hoards closing under Nerva.

### 9.9. Hoards closing under Trajan

There are 11 hoards available from the reign of Trajan (24% of the total for period under study), 4 from *Thrace* and 7 from *Moesia* (against 5 *denarius* hoards from Romania<sup>100</sup>). Eight of them are *denarius* hoards, and three of bronze issues. However, only 7 are well-recorded and suitable for study.

In comparison, the review work of Găzduc on the coin circulation in the Middle and Lower Danube provinces includes only 3 Trajanic (and Hadrianic) hoards from *Moesia inferior*.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Moasil – Depuyrot 2003, 198-204, nos. 207-211.

<sup>101</sup> Găzduc 2010, 67-8, tables A. 2-5.

Gigen III / 1998 and Gradeshnitsa III / 1964 occurred as two characteristic hoards for *Moesia* under Trajan. Gigen III / 1998 (find cat. no. 125)<sup>102</sup> is a fragmentary hoard of 49 *denarii*<sup>103</sup> but it allows narrowing down some observations and tendencies.

Table 9.19.

Gigen III / 1998			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries / years
Republic (129 BC onwards)	25	51.0	0.25
Mark Antony (legionary)	10	20.4	5
Augustus	1	2.0	0.02
Tiberius	1	2.0	0.04
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	–	–	–
Nero	–	–	–
Galba	–	–	–
Otho	–	–	–
Vitellius	–	–	–
Vespasian	6	12.2	0.6
Titus	–	–	–
Domitian	2	4.08	0.13
Nerva	–	–	–
Trajan	3	6.12	0.6
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100%</b>	

The latest issues in Gigen III hoard are three Trajanic *denarii* dated to PM TRP COS IIII PP, *i.e.* December 102 AD (*RIC* II, 72 = Woytek 2010, 144). Therefore, it seems logical to assume that it could be related with the events around the First Trajanic War with Dacians.

Originally Gradeshnitsa III / 1964 (find cat. no. 128)<sup>104</sup> in Vratsa region contained some 764 *denarii* (407 Republican and 357 Imperial), closing with Trajanic issues down to AD 107/8 – 111 (according to Woytek's recent classification and dating). The contents are as follows:

Table 9.20.

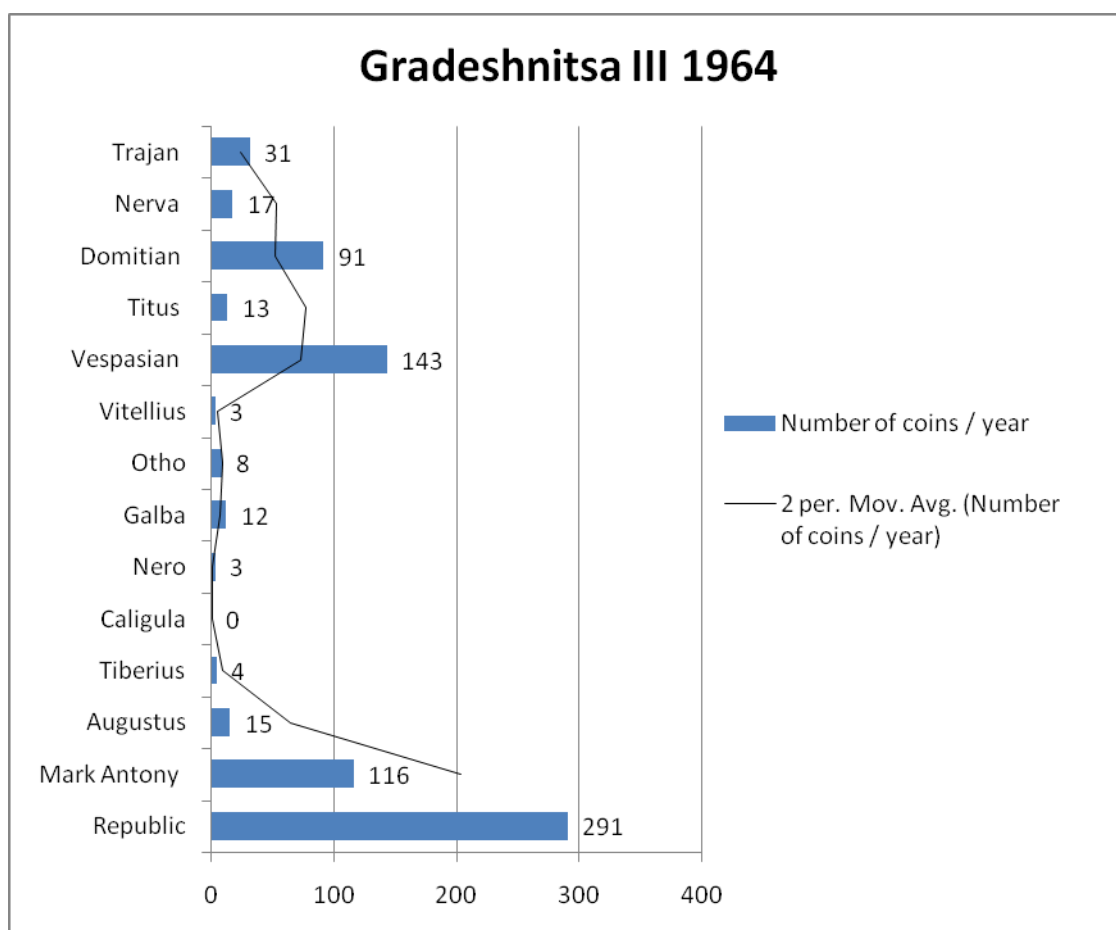
Gradeshnitsa III / 1964			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries / years
Republic (170 BC onwards)	291	38	2.1
Mark Antony (legionary)	116	15.8	58

<sup>102</sup> See a listing in *IRRCHBulg* 79.

<sup>103</sup> Examined and recorded by E. Paunov in a private collection in Pleven, July 1998.

<sup>104</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1966, 212; Gerov 1977, 399, no. 4; Youroukova 1979, 281; Kunisz 1992, 142, no. 1; *IRRCHBg*, 80; see also the superficial notes in Găzduc 2010, 68, n.1.

Augustus	15	1.95	0.36
Tiberius	4	0.52	0.17
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	3	0.39	0.23
Nero	12	1.57	0.85
Galba	8	1.04	11.4
Otho	3	0.39	3
Vitellius	7	9.16	7
Vespasian	143	18.7	14.3
Titus	13	1.7	4.3
Domitian	91 18 – as Caesar	11.9	4.86
Nerva	17	2.22	8.5
Trajan	27	4.05	1.63
Trajan – imitations	4		
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>764</b>	<b>100%</b>	



**Fig. 9.8.** Chart of Gradeshnitsa III hoard (per number).

Gradeshnitsa III is a major association of both types of *denarii*, most probably – the Republican issues (53 %) being added some time later to the original Imperial accumulation, probably from another deposit/payment. In this case, again we deal with a hoard with ‘archaic’ profile in structure. It also contained one ‘Dacian’ imitation of

Republican *denarius* (prototype of C. Mamilius Limetanus, RRC 362/1, 82 BC)<sup>105</sup>, four copies of Trajanic *denarii* (sadly, no details known) and seven silver jewels (four earrings and three bracelets<sup>106</sup>), typical for the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD-jewellery distributed on both sides of the Danube (in Upper Moesia and Dacia).<sup>107</sup> Its face value it is 3,056 HS, being one of the largest from its time in the whole region.

Unfortunately, Gradeshnitsa III hoard is now completely lost (stolen from Vratsa museum since 2003), so unavailable for any further study. No doubt, this was a “saving hoard” of a veteran, or someone returned/settled in Moesia shortly after the Second Dacian War. The contemporary four imitations of Trajan’s *denarii* and a single ‘Dacian’ imitation are indicative, they too show origin of accumulation in Dacia.

For the territory of *Thrace* – the same role has the hoard from Dragantsi / 1958.<sup>108</sup> This is in the region of Burgas, not far from *colonia Deultum* – 336 *denarii* in a bronze container (find cat. no. 121). Its content is as follows:

Table 9.21.

Dragantsi / 1958			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic	–	–	–
Mark Antony	–	–	–
Augustus	–	–	–
Tiberius	1	0.3	0.04
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	–	–	–
Nero	13	3.9	0.92
Galba	2	0.6	2
Otho	8	2.4	8
Vitellius	6	1.8	6
Vespasian	149	44.3	14.3
Titus	2	0.6	0.66
Domitian	152	45.2	10.13
Nerva	2	0.6	1
Trajan	1	0.3	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>100%</b>	

The content is overwhelmingly Flavian – with very high peaks for Vespasian 149 (44%) and Domitian 152 (45%)<sup>109</sup>, but few coins reach to early Trajanic time.<sup>110</sup> No

<sup>105</sup> This coin now published, see Davis – Paunov 2012, 396, no. 21, see also section Imitations of Republican denarii, no. 21.

<sup>106</sup> Published in Torbov 2008, 57-67.

<sup>107</sup> See Russeva-Slokoska 1991 and Popovič – Borič-Breskovič 1994; Popovič 1994.

<sup>108</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1962, 230; Gerov 1977, 112 and 148, no. 3; Kunisz 1992, 129-30, no. 10. To be fully published by the present author.

issues before Tiberius are attested at all. Coins of the Civil War emperors are not missing too – 2 Galba, 8 Otho and 6 Vitellius, producing high coefficients ‘entry per year’. Emperor Nerva is represented with two *denarii* of the late 97 and early 98 (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 34 and 48), and the latest coin<sup>111</sup> is an early Trajanic issue struck between February and the autumn of AD 98 (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 12 = Woytek 2010, no. 20). Therefore, Dragantsi hoard have a typical ‘modern’ profile of structure. It is the first hoard from the region that completely lacks Republican issues, even before their partial recall and restrike in AD 107. Its face value is 1,344 HS, thus below the average amount for the Thracian provinces.

Another Trajanic hoard from Thrace is Popovo / 1938 (find cat. no. 148)<sup>112</sup>, near Bolyarovo in Yambol region, half way between *Cabyle* and *Adrianople* along Tonzos river. It is (again) unpublished in its entity but the correct figures for each issuer are known and were re-checked in the Sofia Museum.<sup>113</sup>

Table 9.22.

Popovo / 1938			
Emperor / issuer	Number	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic	1	0.4	0.01
Mark Antony	–	–	–
Augustus	–	–	–
Tiberius	1	0.4	0.04
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	–	–	–
Nero	7	2.9	0.5
Galba	–	–	–
Otho	3	1.2	3
Vitellius	2	0.8	2
Vespasian	56	23.4	5.6
Titus	28	11.7	9.3
Domitian	83	34.7	8.3
Nerva	18	7.5	9
Trajan	38	15.9	2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>100%</b>	

<sup>109</sup> The number of Titus *denarii* (only 2) is suspiciously low, perhaps due to incorrect identification in the mid-1970s when I. Karayotov compiled the first list for the study of B. Gerov (1977).

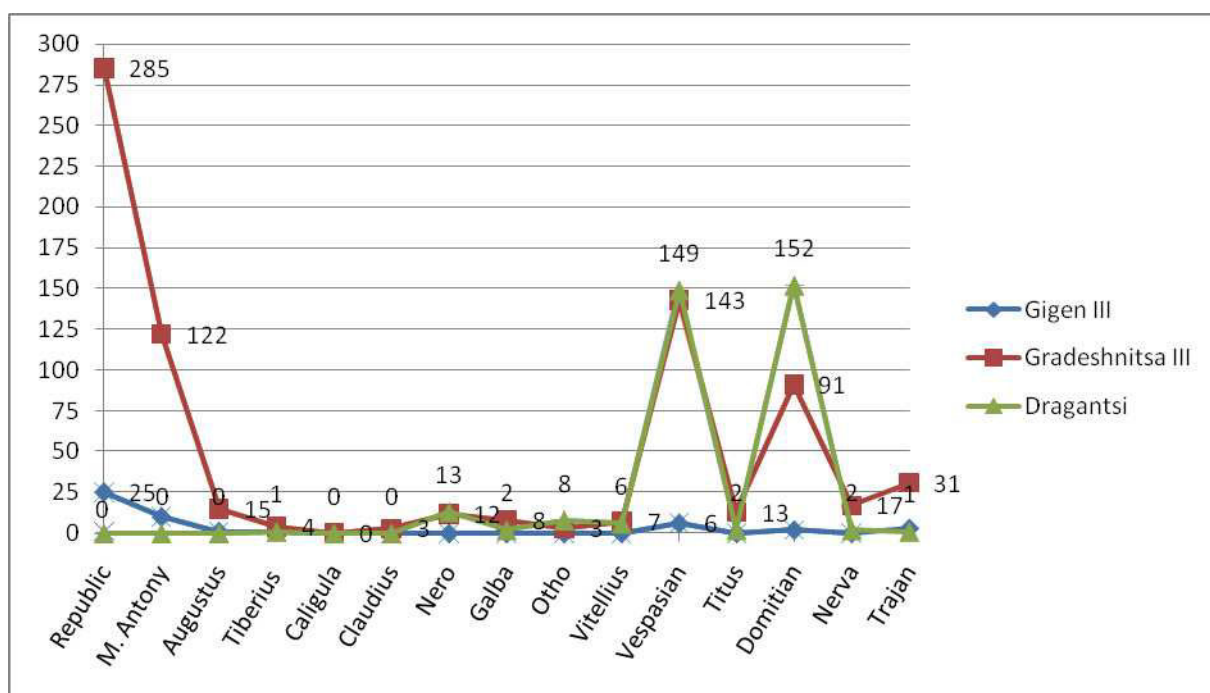
<sup>110</sup> All previous researchers dated the Dragantsi hoard to the reign of Nerva, see Gerov 1977, 112.

<sup>111</sup> Examined by the author, August 2011.

<sup>112</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov, 1940, 344; Bolin 1958, 341, Table 3, no. 8; Gerov 1977, 112 and 149, no. 10.

<sup>113</sup> Sofia National Archaeological Museum acquired 237 *denarii*, inv. no. CXXII/ 1940. Particular information on the coins and internal contents was denied (June 2008).

It appears that Popovo / 1938 hoard has a ‘modern’ profile too, very similar to Dragantsi indeed (but with only one Republican *denarius*). It again has a dominating presence of Flavian issues (with very high coefficients ‘entry per year’), but with a higher rate for Titus – 28 (11%) and Trajan’s coins – 38 (15.9%). That would definitely mean it was concealed sometime later in the Trajan’s reign (no details of individual coin types are available)<sup>114</sup>. Its face value is 956 HS.



**Fig. 9.9.** Comparative graph of selected Trajanic hoards from Moesia and Thrace.

Four other Trajanic hoards are fragmentary, unsuitable and cannot be used for further considerations but they are included in the catalogues of finds and hence – briefly mentioned here. There are from Thrace: Sheynovo – 5+ *denarii* (*t.p.q.* after 110; find cat. no. 155) and Jambol area – 4+ (*t.p.q.* 103-107; find cat. no. 159). The same is valid for two hoards in Moesia: from Altimir II / 1957 – 9+ *denarii* (find cat. no. 112)<sup>115</sup> and from Lovech area / 1937 (*t.p.q.* ?; find cat. no. 139). The latter once contained over 550+ *denarii*, but only 67 were recorded by Gerassimov, which makes it incomplete and unsuitable.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> No details of the individual types in Popovo hoard were provided, despite my explicit request to the NAIM in Sofia (April-June 2008). Naturally, it still remains unpublished.

<sup>115</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1959, 360; Gerov 1977, 148, no. 5; Kunisz 1992, 142-3, no. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1938, 450; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 8.

As regards the bronze hoards of Trajanic time, there are only three such known. These are as follows: Belene I / 1948 (find cat. no. 115)<sup>117</sup>, Lazarovo I / 1912 (find cat. no. 136)<sup>118</sup>, and Damyanovo / 1977-8 (find cat. no. 120).<sup>119</sup> They all contain a small number of coins (between 6 and 60 *aes*), in most cases – Trajanic *sestertii*. These are hoards with coins of low-value metal, probably accidental losses. Only the Belene I (a pot hoard of 60 *sestertii*) is of higher value, but the exact circumstances of its discovery are not known. However, it must be mentioned here that Belene is located on the site of *Dimum*, where one of the Roman customs stations<sup>120</sup> on the Lower Danube existed – *portorium publicum Illyrici et ripa Thraciae, statio Dimensis*.<sup>121</sup>

It is not easy to guess about the reasons of burial and non-recovery of the Trajanic hoards in Moesia. If we may assume some relation with First Dacian War in 101-102 for Gigen III hoard, then the remaining deposits seems to be personal wealth, 'savings' hoards. In the case of Thrace – with 4 hoards of Trajanic time – no unrest or turmoil could be envisaged, since it was a secured and peaceful internal province.

### 9.10. Hoards closing under Hadrian<sup>122</sup>

The chronological limit of this study is the reign of Trajan. However, this is an artificial border. That is why, for the purpose of comparison and continuity, a short discussion on the Hadrianic hoards will follow below. Currently there are 7 hoards known from Thrace/Moesia – 5 of *denarii* and 2 in bronze – with closing dates under Hadrian.

Chervena Voda / 1966, region Russe (find cat. no. 119)<sup>123</sup> is a major Hadrianic pot hoard, originally of over 889 *denarii*.<sup>124</sup> It includes some 14 Republican and 20

<sup>117</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1950, 322; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 9; Kunisz 1992, 153, no. 2.

<sup>118</sup> Филов / Filov 1912, 275-6; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 6; Kunisz 1992, 153, no. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Юркуова / Youroukova 1979, 61; *CH* 7.232; Kunisz 1992, 154, no. 1.

<sup>120</sup> On this customs organization of Illyricum, see Dobó 1940; Геров / Gerov 1949; Gerov 1979, 215-6; Fitz 1990, 64 ff.; recently in Tomas 2007, 35.

<sup>121</sup> Well attested with epigraphic records: *CIL* III 12399 = *ILBulg* 237 = AE 1895, 44, Pelisat (AD 209/10 or 209/12); AE 1895, 45 = *CIL* III 12363 = *ILBulg* 336, from Belene (around AD 150-160), see Gerov 1980, 119-30.

<sup>122</sup> Hadrianic hoards from the Thracian provinces are discussed here only for comparative purpose.

<sup>123</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1968, 235; Димова / Dimova 1968, 11-38 (published 889 coins); Gerov 1977, 149; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 98; and the brief notes in Găzdac 2010, 68, table B.5.

<sup>124</sup> Now only 679 coins are kept in the Russe Historical Museum (as of May 2011).



Antonian issues associated with 844 Imperial. The correct distribution of types per issuer currently is as follows:

Table 9.23.

Chervena Voda / 1966			
Emperor / issuer	No. of coins	Percentage	Entries/ years
Republic (127 BC onwards)	13	1.9	0.13
Mark Antony	20	2.9	10
Augustus	–	–	–
Tiberius	–	–	–
Caligula	–	–	–
Claudius	–	–	–
Nero	24	3.5	1.71
Galba	8	1.8	8
Otho	–	–	–
Vitellius	15	2.2	15
Vespasian	119	17.5	11.9
Titus	22	3.2	7.3
Domitian	110	16.2	7.33
Nerva	32	4.7	16
Trajan	252	37.1	13.2
Hadrian	56	8.2	5.09
Non-Roman – drachm of Antioch, Trajan	1	0.14	–
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>100%</b>	

The latest issues in Chervena Voda are Hadrianic *denarii* of the late AD 125 – early 128 (RIC II, 181 and 183) as recorded. This hoard also shows a good proportion of Republican *denarii* (5%), especially after their recall in AD 107.

It has been suggested that hoards which contain unusual high proportion of Republican issues (such as Gradeshnitsa III, Chervena voda and Zhitnitsa/Bazaurt) are actually showing the existence of a separate circulation pool (Guest 1994, 133). This seems highly likely for *Moesia* and *Dacia* in the post-Trajanic period.

Naturally, in the region there are also other *denarii* hoards from the time of Hadrian that fall outside of the scope of this study. Some of them are as follows:<sup>125</sup>

Table 9.24.

Hoard name / date	Region / province	No. of coins	Closing date	References
Lipnik / 1950	Razgrad / <i>Moesia</i>	ca. 800	117–138	Gerassimov 1941, 124; Gerassimov 1952, 402; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 14

<sup>125</sup> See also Comparative table 10: Face value, nos. 34-37.

<b>Popitsa / 1939</b>	Vratsa / <i>Moesia</i>	ca. 200	117–138	Герасимов /Gerassimov 1941, 344; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 11
<b>Slatino / 1921</b>	Kyustendil / <i>Thrace</i>	ca. 600	125–138	Мушмов / Mouchmov 1924, 242; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 17; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 97
<b>Zhitnitsa (fmr. Bazaurt) / 1916</b>	Dobrich/ <i>Moesia</i>	once 1430] now 976 <sup>126</sup>	137–138	Филов – Велков / Filow – Velkov 1920, 150-1; Seure 1923, 17-8, no.11; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 83; Божкова / Bozhkova 2003, 35-50.

Two bronze<sup>127</sup> hoards of Hadrianic time are known too, both from *Moesia*. The first is Archar / 1981 (find cat. no. 114), a pot hoard of 16+ *sestertii*, now published<sup>128</sup>. It is found in the close vicinity of the site of *Ratiaria*, former legionary camp, in this time raised to *colonia*. There are 13 issues of Trajan and only three of Hadrian, closing with a *sestertius* of AD 119-120/1 (RIC II, 589b).

The second hoard is Lesicheri / 1910 (find cat. no. 138)<sup>129</sup> in Veliko Tarnovo region, not far from Nikyup / *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. Of a total of about 50 bronzes, 31 were identified and recorded:

- Trajan 19 Æ: 15 S, 4 Dp/??/
- Hadrian 12 Æ: 7 S, 5 Dp.

Unfortunately, after Filow's report there is no typological identification of the coins published, so we can only guess about the actual types after RIC. However, it must be noted that it most probably should date from the early years of Hadrian's reign, rather than late.

## 9.2. Distribution and spatial analysis

The digital mapping (see below *fig.* 9.10) of the of Early Imperial hoards from Bulgaria shows some clear and indicative patterns.

First of all, a major concentration of hoarding can be observed in the territory of Roman province of *Moesia*, roughly the zone between *Ratiaria* and the valley of *Iatrus/ Jantra* river. At least 28 hoards are found in this area, mostly from area along

<sup>126</sup> According to Божкова / Bozhkova 2003, 35 ff., the latest issue should be a *denarius* of Aelius Caesar (RIC II, 434). The last three reported *denarii* (2 Caracalla, 1 Severus Alexander) are apparently extraneous, mingled in the Sofia National Archaeological Museum after 1918.

<sup>127</sup> An earlier view on the Imperial bronze in Kunisz 1991, 129-138, and Kunisz 1992, 75-90.

<sup>128</sup> Юркова / Youroukova 1983, 114; Божкова / Boškova 1991, 8-14.

<sup>129</sup> Филов / Filow 1911, 278; Filow, in *AA JDAI* 1911, col. 369; Seure 1923, 18, no. 31; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 15; Kunisz 1992, 153, no. 5.

the southern Danube bank. This is indicative and clearly demonstrates the uncontroversial military nature of the Moesian hoards. They may also show the instability and vulnerability along the *limes*, especially in the early years of the new province (late Augustus and Tiberius – e.g. Koshava, Belene II, Russe area) and during the Dacian/Sarmatian incursions in *Moesia* under late Nero and Vespasian (hoards Kozloduy, Belitza, Komoshtitsa I). The final hoards in this Danubian zone date as late as late Trajan/early Hadrian (Altimir II, Archar, Chervena voda, Belene I). Hoards such as Gigen II and Gigen III (*t.p.q.* December 102) should be explained as indications of the activities around the Trajan's invasion in Dacia in AD 102, with *Oescus* being an important part of it.

Secondly, another concentration area is clearly seen in Thrace – in the region of *Philippopolis*/ Plovdiv, and especially to the northeast of it – around Brezovo/ Chirpan area. Four hoards are found very close from each other in this zone – Pravoslav (RRCH 520), Medovo (RRCH 490), Kolio-Marinovo and Chehlare (find cat. nos. 130, 140, 149 and 118), ranging from the time of mid-Augustus to Claudius. They should mark a late Thracian centre of power, probably dynastic, certainly linked with local exploitation of placer gold (the mines at Kolio-Marinovo).<sup>130</sup> No hoards are registered in this region after the transformation of Thrace in province in AD 45/6. Both hoards found in the immediate vicinity around Plovdiv point to the importance of the city in post-Augustan period. The first one – Plovdiv area 1981 (find cat. no. 146) dates from the time of Tiberius, probably of AD 21-26, and certainly relates to the events after the crushing the Thracian rebellions, where direct influx of Imperial *denarii* might be expected. The second one – Plovdiv environs 1987 contains only *aes*-coins from the time of Nero (discussion above in 9.6).

A third zone is to be observed in the eastern part of the Thracian Plain around *Augusta Traiana* and *Cabyle*. In chronological terms the hoards range from Augustus/Tiberius (Sadievo and Omarchevo) down to Trajan (Jambol area and Popovo). The latter two, together with Dragantsi, should be related to the escalating process of Romanisation in internal Thrace and most probably - with the settlement of veterans in Trajanic date. The same explanation should have some smaller hoards from the northern slopes of *Haemus* (in Moesia), including only bronze issues – Lazarovo I, Lesicheri and Damyanovo, again all of late Trajanic/ Hadrianic date.

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<sup>130</sup> See notes 18-19 above.

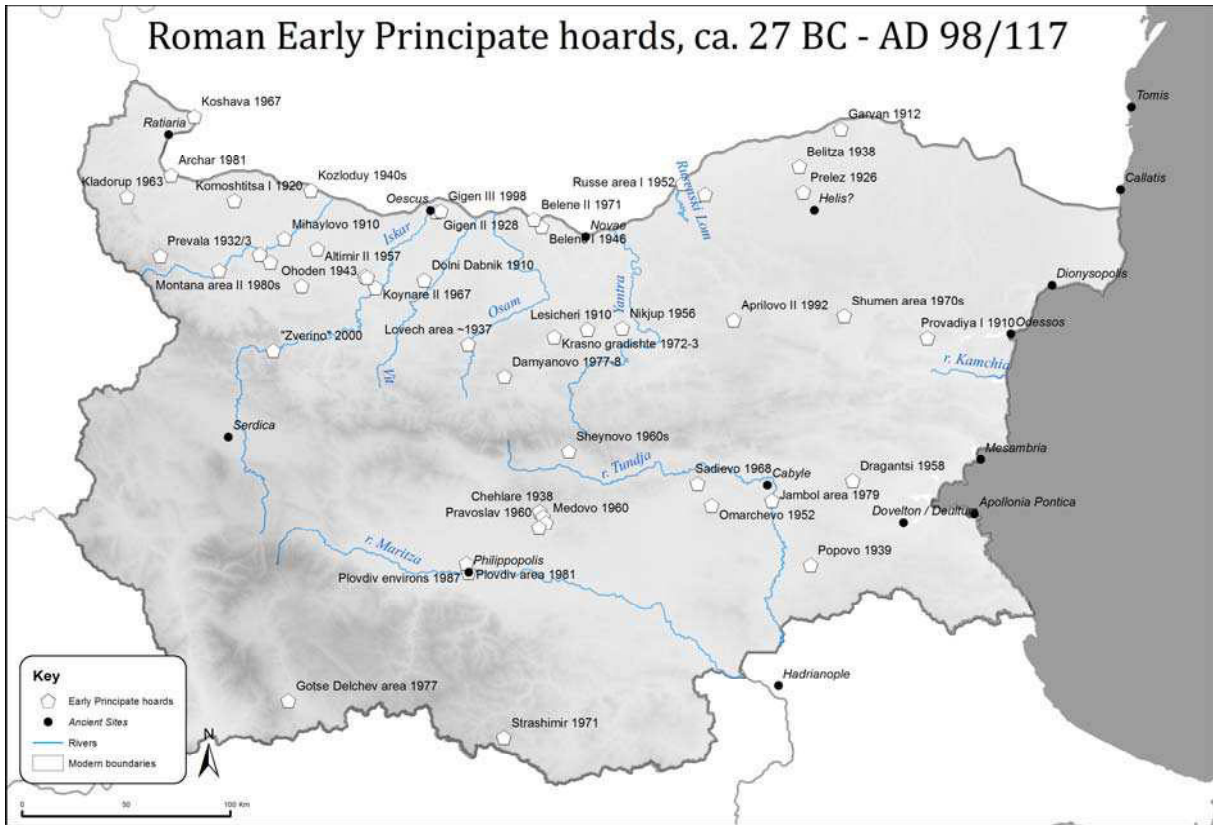


Fig. 9.10. Distribution of Early Principate hoards in Bulgaria (map by A. Sobotkova).

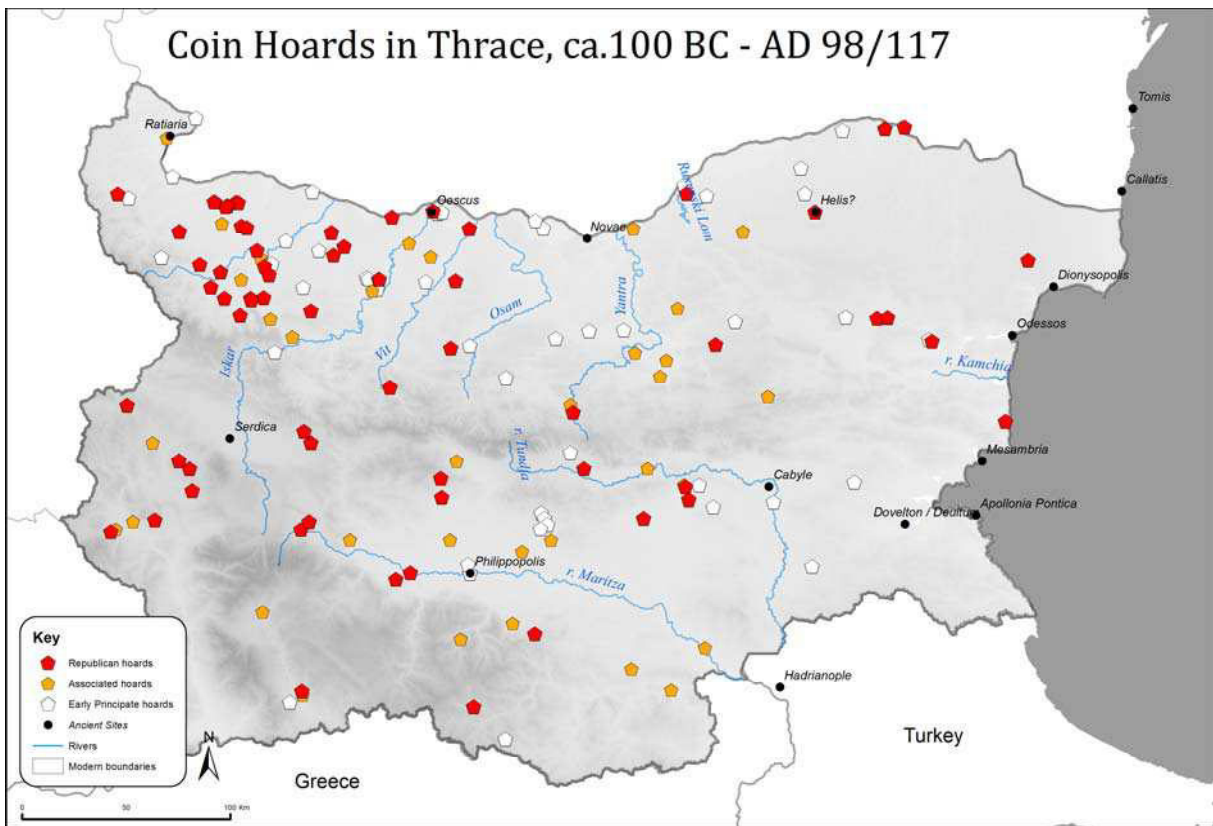
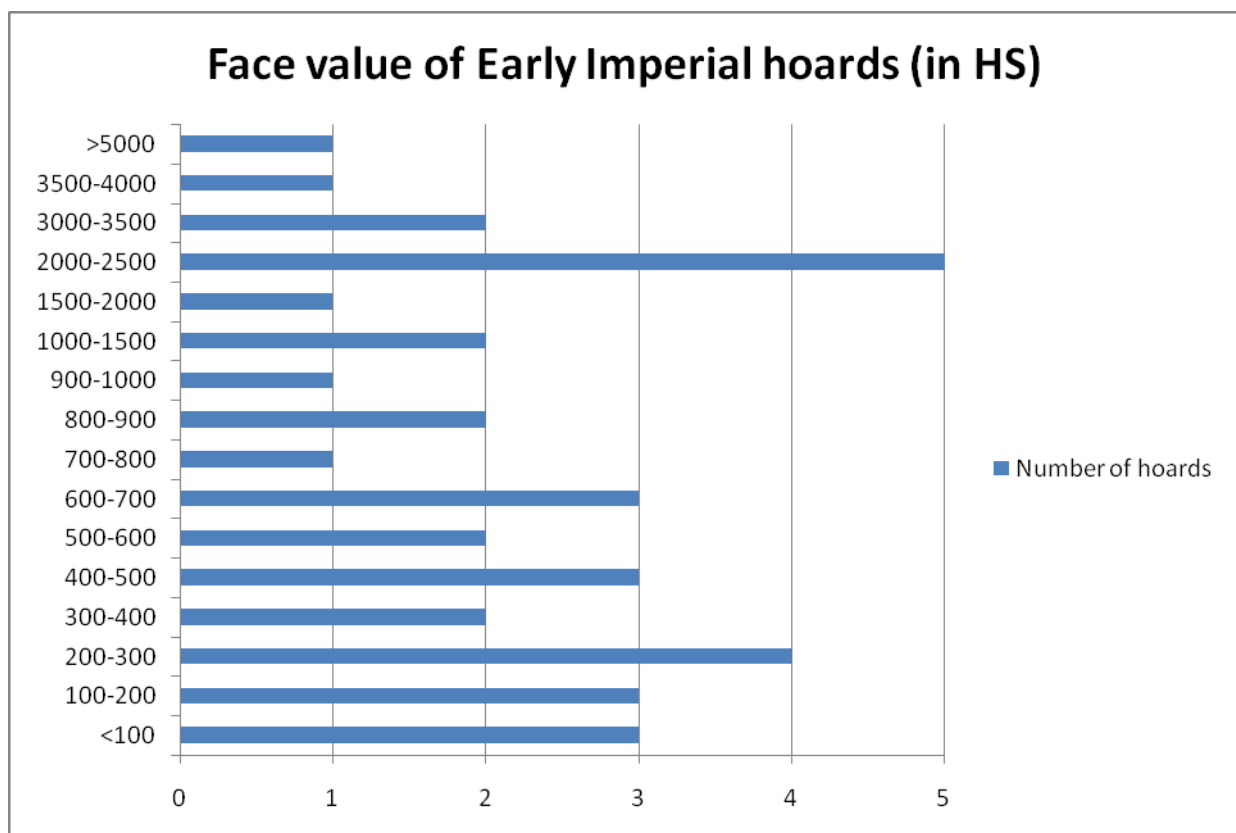


Fig. 9.11. Distribution of Republican, Associated and Imperial *denarius* hoards in Bulgaria, ca. 100 BC – AD 98/117 (map by A. Sobotkova).

Overall, the distribution of early Imperial hoards in both Thracian provinces fits well to the hoarding pattern of the previous periods under study (*fig. 9.11*).

### 9.3. Face value of Early Imperial hoards (*cf.* comparative table 11)

Another important element of the study of hoards from the Imperial period is the *face value* of individual deposits (see Duncan-Jones 1994, 67, n.2 and 261 – for the method). Although many of the available hoards from Thrace and Moesia were poorly recorded or even lost, the original number of their volume is known in most cases. Thus, all extant hoards from Augustus to Hadrian are converted to their value in *sestertii*. Hoards are arranged by reign, and by closing date, and have a minimum value of 10 *denarii* = 40 *sestertii*. The sequence is first gold (comparative table 11, nos. 11.1-2) and then silver (table 11, nos. 11.3-36). The complete list includes 36 hoards in total for the period under study from Moesia and Thrace. Hadrianic hoards (5 altogether) are listed at the end only for comparison purposes. The overall size and face value is presented in the following diagram:



**Fig. 9.12.** Face value of early Imperial hoards from Moesia and Thrace (in *sestertii*).

Two obvious peaks are clearly observed: there is an accumulation of hoards containing average amount:

- 1) Between 50 to 75 *denarii* (= 200–300 *sestertii*) – 4 hoards (average 40-60 *denarii*);
- 2) Between 500 and 750 *denarii* (= 2,000–2,500 *sestertii*) – 5 hoards (average of 500-600).

Registered hoards containing over 1,000 *denarii* are very rare in the region – only two cases occurred, Mihaylovo = ca. HS 4,000 (see above, *t.p.q.* 19-18 BC) and Zhitnitsa/ Bazaurt = HS 5,720 (comparative table 11, no. 37; *t.p.q.* AD 137/8).

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## Chapter 10. Early Imperial Site Finds

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*“The use of coined money in the cities of the Empire .... was probably an incidental consequence of its existence and not the result of governmental policy.”*

(M. H. Crawford 1970, 45)

### 10.1. Site Finds of the Early Principate

As noted earlier (see *Nature of Evidence* section) before this study, the state of research on the site finds coins was not well developed and extremely limited. The majority of excavated Roman towns, forts, *villae* or other sites in the territory of Bulgaria remains unpublished to a great extent and lacks comprehensive publications.<sup>1</sup> The few notable exceptions from the area along the Lower Danube are the coin assemblages from the Bulgarian – British excavations at *Nicopolis ad Istrum*<sup>2</sup>, and those from *Noviodunum*<sup>3</sup> and *Histria*<sup>4</sup> on the western Euxine coast. The review work of C. Găzdac on the coin circulation in the Middle and Lower Danubian provinces (from Trajan to Constantine the Great), published recently, includes only seven site-finds in *Moesia inferior* (four of them in modern Romania) and enlarged the available evidence.<sup>5</sup> For the first century AD, all of them produced very little evidence.

The current work includes an extensive numismatic and archeological record of material found in modern Bulgaria. In the course of this study I have attempted to compile as many Roman Republican and Early Principate period coins as possible. They were uncovered mostly as site finds from archaeological excavations (cited in groups/ categories listed below), occasionally as isolated finds (from agricultural or digging work), as well as

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<sup>1</sup> Also stated by Rodewald 1976, 56 and Butcher 1995, 304.

<sup>2</sup> See K. Butcher, “The Coins”, in *Nicopolis ad Istrum* 1 (London 1995), 269-314; and P. Guest, *NC* 158 (1999), 314-29 (most of the legible coins dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>3</sup> Popescu 1996, 47-66 and Popescu, in K. Lockyear *et alii* 2006, 121–58, esp. at 135-7.

<sup>4</sup> Preda – Nubar 1973: altogether 2,049 stray coins but very few (40, of them 11 not identified) from the Early Principate (*ibidem*, 58-61, 157-159).

<sup>5</sup> Găzdac 2010, 38-9 and Appendices.

donations, confiscations or handed-in coins, subsequently added to various museum collections around the country. Statistically, 2,521 coins have been recorded and included, deriving from more than 215 sites. For lucidity and methodological reasons they are divided into the following groups according to the issue-period and level of previous publication:

Table 10.1.

<b>Sites / coins</b>	<b>Late Thracian</b>	<b>Roman Republican</b>	<b>Imperial Early Principate</b>	<b>Early Roman Provincial</b>	<b>Imitations</b>	<b>TOTAL COINS</b>
	<b>267 coins</b>	<b>422 coins</b>	<b>1.751 coins</b>	<b>69 coins</b>	<b>12 coins</b>	<b>2,521</b>
<b>215+</b>	Publ.: 11	Publ.: 87	Publ.: 365	Publ.: 12	Publ.: 7	Publ.: 482
	Listed: 188	Listed: 32	Listed: 845	Listed: 5	Listed: 1	Listed: 1,071
	Unpubl.: 68	Unpubl.: 303	Unpubl.: 541	Unpubl.: 52	Unpubl.: 4	Unpubl.: 968

The above table shows that an average of about 40% of the coin evidence included in this thesis has been previously unpublished and unavailable in any form for study. However, if the briefly listed/mentioned coins in older publications are added, then the percentage doubles. Late Thracian and Early Roman Provincial coins are included only when they are associated with Roman issues, from site finds or in museum collections with known provenance.

## 10.2. Basic patterns observed

As a result of the earliest attempt to overview the Imperial coins from the area under study, in 1977 R. Reece stated: “*there is little Roman coinage before 69 and what there is is mainly Imperial bronze*”.<sup>6</sup> Today the available data also leads almost to the same conclusion. There are a number of objective reasons for this. Early Principate coins are rare because:

1. The mainstream coinage in the entire Julio-Claudian period (except under early Augustus and late Nero) was irregular, sometimes with

<sup>6</sup> Reece 1977, 169.



intervals of several to ten years of inactivity.<sup>7</sup> Hence the volume of coinage was rather small, right until Domitian and Trajan's time.

2. The majority of coins derive from multi-layer archaeological sites, inhabited for millennia, where the early Roman *strata* were not always reached and excavated. Thus, the issues of the Early Principate period are not abundant before Trajan in principle.

3. Almost without an exception, the coins of this period are often in poor physical condition – much worn and corroded, sometimes absolutely illegible and hard to identify.

4. The discussed level of publication of site finds in Bulgaria, especially during the 1970's, together with incomplete inventory records at museums, greatly influenced the available data.

Luckily, this has not always been the case. At present a more complete record is available. For example, the site finds from *Novae* (by sectors) were published first in summary form by A. Kunisz<sup>8</sup> and others.<sup>9</sup> Most recently the coins from sector IV were fully recorded by R. Ciołek and P. Dyczek.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately, the early coins from recent rescue excavations in central *Serdica* (campaigns 2010-2011) were accessible to the author and integrated into the current study.<sup>11</sup>

### 10.3. Case studies: *Novae*, *Serdica*, *Cabyle* and *Aquae Calidae*

For the purpose of this research four representative coin assemblages of the 1<sup>st</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD are closely compared and juxtaposed with the available record for the period. Regardless of their location (one in *Moesia*, three in *Thrace*, see map below), they feature a similar pattern, mirroring the military context (except for *case study* 4).

<sup>7</sup> Von Kaenel 1994; Wolters 1999, 234-253. See recently Wolters 2012, 336 and 346-7.

<sup>8</sup> Listed by Kunisz 1992a, 134-5 and 161-2. Check also Kunisz 1992b, 107-14.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Божкова / Bozhkova 2002, 111-6 and Dimitrov 2007, 429-50.

<sup>10</sup> Ciołek – Dyczek 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to the kindness and understanding of Dr Mario Ivanov, head of the excavations in Sofia-centre.

The site finds under revision are calculated by the standard *per mille* method to present coin loss that originally was designed by Alison Ravetz for the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD sites in Roman Britain.<sup>12</sup>

Using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Coins per period}}{\text{Length of period}} \quad \times \quad \frac{1000}{\text{total for site}}$$

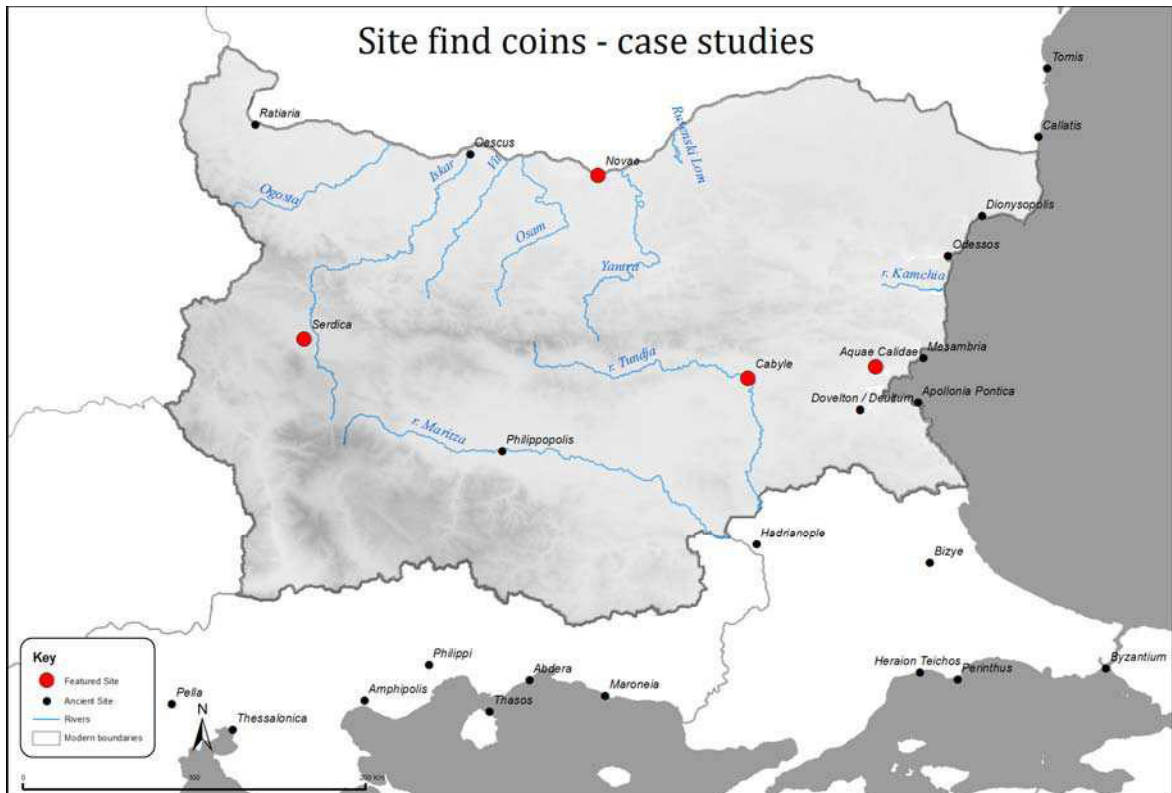


Fig. 10.1. Location of four features site finds (map by A. Sobotkova).

### 10.3.1. Case Study 1: Novae

*Novae* was one of the earliest Roman camps on the Lower Danube.<sup>13</sup> Therefore its data is vital for getting a good overview on the historical and numismatic tendencies. From AD 44/5<sup>14</sup> *Novae* was the base of *legio VIII*

<sup>12</sup> Ravetz, *Roman Coinage of the Fourth Century in Roman Britain* (University of Leeds, Unpubl. PhD thesis), 1963; Ravetz, "The fourth-century inflation and Romano-British Coin Hoards: I. Patterns of fourth century coinage on Romano-British sites", *Num.Chron*<sup>7</sup> 4 (1964), 201-31.

<sup>13</sup> See Генчева / Genčeva 2002, esp. at 13-23 and Dyczek 2010; full details in the Gazetteer of Sites, no. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Most probably related with the changes after the annexation of Thracian kingdom.

*Augusta* who built an earth-and-timber camp.<sup>15</sup> Twenty-five years later – in March-April 69, this unit left *Novae* for Northern Italy and took active part in the battle of Cremona.<sup>16</sup> It had been replaced in late 69 – early AD 70 by *legio I Italica*<sup>17</sup> who came to Moesia after the end of the Civil war.<sup>18</sup> Actually this historical picture is well supported by the coin evidence. The site produced a substantial coin assemblage, being the site of archaeological excavations carried out regularly since 1960 (224 coins of the period analysed; see details in Find cat. nos. 376-380).

Following a small number of Augustan issues (9  $\text{Æ}$  = 0.89 ‰) there is a high increase in coin issues of Tiberius (27  $\text{Æ}$  = 5.24‰), Caligula (22  $\text{Æ}$  = 24.55 per mille) and Claudius (65 coins, only  $\text{Æ}$  = 22.32 ‰). However it remains uncertain whether the pre-44/5 AD coins were indeed residual on the site, or were brought with *legio VIII Augusta*.<sup>19</sup>



**Fig. 10.2.** Imitation *sestertius* from *Novae*, sector X, type RIC 55 (after Bozhkova 2002, fig.15).

A Claudian imitation (*fig. 10.2*) from the *scamnum tribunorum* building (sector X) deserves particular mention (see *fig. above*).<sup>20</sup> It is a barbarous *sestertius* of the Gaius type: *carpentum* drawn by two mules to left / large retrograde **S – C**).

Another very unusual for *Moesia* provincial coin from the time of Caligula was reported from sector IV.<sup>21</sup> It is a Bosporan issue of 12 *nummi* for

<sup>15</sup> Filow 1906, 8, 19-21; Ritterling 1925, col. 1574; Sarnowski 1988, 29; Dyczek 2001, 7; Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 9. The first epigraphic document attesting the legion at *Novae* dates ca. AD 50, see and *AE* 1999, 1331 = *IGLNov* 81.

<sup>16</sup> For more historical details of the period see chapter 3. *History of Thrace*, 3.11, p. 108-112.

<sup>17</sup> Ritterling 1924/5, in *RE*, cols. 1407-1416; Dyczek 2010; Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 10.

<sup>18</sup> Most likely this legion was posted to *Moesia* by the new emperor Vespasian for having sided with the eventual loser Vitellius during the Civil war.

<sup>19</sup> Exactly the same problem occurs in *Carnuntum* where the fortress was built by *legio XV Apollinaris* about AD 50.

<sup>20</sup> Published by Б. Божкова / Bozhkova, in *Genčeva* 2002, 111, no. 17, fig. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 51 and no. 8 (dated to AD 42-46).

Gepaepyris<sup>22</sup>, the Thracian princess and queen of Bosphorus, struck in AD 37/8 – 38/9 at Panticapaeum (Æ 21mm, *RPC I* 1907 = MacDonald 2005, 306). The presence of this coin at Novae is very likely to be related to the Claudian expedition and military involvement (*'bellum Mithridaticum'*) in Crimea in AD 45-49 (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 15–21)<sup>23</sup>, headed by A. Didius Gallus, the governor of Moesia.<sup>24</sup>

Neronian issues represent no more than 17 coins (5.42 per mille). This is no surprise when one bears in mind that his coinage in base metal was irregular and limited in volume.<sup>25</sup> As may be expected, no *denarii*<sup>26</sup> were found at Novae<sup>27</sup> before Nero (2 post-reform issues: one from sector XI and one from the *'extra muros'*-site in sector IV). As elsewhere<sup>28</sup>, the earlier denarii simply disappear from circulation with Nero's reform in AD 64. An unusual for the region tetradrachm of Nero from Alexandria<sup>29</sup> found on site points to external affairs (see below for more comments).

As a matter of fact, the only known Julio-Claudian stratified context in Novae is in sector XI, *Principia*.<sup>30</sup> In 1981 a small hoard of six Æ coins (five Claudius (2 Dp, 3 As) and one Nero's sestertius of type RIC I<sup>2</sup> 168) was found bonded in oxidation together in the oldest street sewer running along the east side of the headquarters building. They were discovered in the fill deposits, corroded together and bonded. Most probably this was a small soldiers/ officers' sum of money dropped accidentally and lost in the sewage (Sarnowski 2012 /in print/<sup>31</sup>, details in find cat. no. 377). Furthermore, a single illegible as of Nero was found in the clay bonding the stones in the foundation of the western wall of the *Principia*.

<sup>22</sup> Gepaepyris was the first daughter of Antonia Tryphaena and the Thracian king Cotys IV [VIII], ruled AD 12 – 17/18. She married the Bosporan king Aspurgos in the 30's AD and she first inscribed her name in full on coins: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΓΗΠΑΙΠΥΡΕΩΣ. Her sons Mithradates (VIII) and Cotys I became the next kings of Bosphorus.

<sup>23</sup> Webster 1988<sup>2</sup>, 45 and Frolova – Ireland 2002, 9-10.

<sup>24</sup> See brief account in Wilkes 1996, in *CAH* 10, 556.

<sup>25</sup> von Kaenel 1986, 258; Wolters 1999, 80.

<sup>26</sup> This statement omits 4 'legionary' denarii of Mark Antony (*RRC* 544), mentioned in Kunisz 1992b, p. 113 and table 1, since they have no chronological value.

<sup>27</sup> Also observed by Ciołek 2011, 236.

<sup>28</sup> Compare with Kemmers 2006, 92.

<sup>29</sup> Mentioned by Kunisz 1992, 74 and 135.

<sup>30</sup> See T. Sarnowski, "Headquarters building (*principia*) of *legio I Italica* at Novae", in: P. Dyczek (ed.), *Novae – 40 years of excavations* (Warszawa 2002), 31-7.

<sup>31</sup> See Kunisz, "Sammelfund aus dem ältesten Strassenkanal östlich der Principia" (unpublished manuscript, 3 pp.), courtesy of Professor T. Sarnowski, Warsaw University, *per litteras* (November 2009).

### Countermarks

Surprisingly only four Julio-Claudian coins with countermarks have been published from *Novae*.<sup>32</sup> These are:

1. Claudian As, 41/2 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 97), unlisted countermark on obverse (from *Principia* - sector XI, unpublished)<sup>33</sup>;
2. Claudian Dupondius – with **CA** countermark on obverse at the back of the head (from sector IV, no. 65/1993, Svishtov no. 2747)<sup>34</sup>;
3. Claudian imitation Sestertius /identified as Nero/ after AD 50-54, type *Spes Augusta?*, obv. countermark 'DV' on neck<sup>35</sup>, Danubian limes type (No. 32/2007)<sup>36</sup>
4. Another Sestertius of Claudius: type SPES AVGVSTA (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 115), square countermark '*capricorn*'<sup>37</sup> on obverse (from sector 8A, site *extra muros*; Svishtov, HCΦ no. 289).<sup>38</sup>

Such a limited number of countermarked coins reported from *Novae* comes as a surprise. But it has been already suggested that the distribution of the countermarked Julio-Claudian *aes*-coins in Moesia was limited to the east not beyond the *Jatrus* river valley (Martini – Paunov 2004, 169, note 44)<sup>39</sup>. The absence of earlier countermarked coins (esp. Augustan and Tiberius, otherwise numerous) at *Novae* should be explained by the fact that these did circulate later – namely in the period ca. AD 42/4 – 68, in this way coinciding with the 25-year post of *legio VIII Augusta*.

Not a single coin from AD 68-69 is attested to, which was as surprise, but has a reasonable historical explanation. During that time the legionary camp at *Novae* was empty. The regular coin supply was quickly restored with the Flavians. Vespasian is presented by 31 coins (equal to 1.25 ‰), Titus – 5 coins (7.44 ‰) and Domitian 13 (equal to 3.86 ‰). The vast majority of them are

<sup>32</sup> Ciołek 2011, 237.

<sup>33</sup> Information from Professor T. Sarnowski, November 2009, *per litteras*.

<sup>34</sup> See Ciołek 2011, 52, cat. no. 10.

<sup>35</sup> For the type see Martini – Paunov 2004, 162, fig. 12; Martini 2003, *Pangerl collection*, 151, 156, no. 85.

<sup>36</sup> Ciołek 2011, 55, no. 21.

<sup>37</sup> For the type see Martini 2003, *Pangerl collection*, no. 94.

<sup>38</sup> See К. Димитров / Dimitrov, in *Festschrift Maria Chichikova* (Sofia 2008), 429 and 435-6.

<sup>39</sup> With *Sexaginta Prista* (modern day Russe – see Find cat. no. 336 /3) and *Appiaria* (mod. Ryahovo) being the only exceptions to the east of this zone.

small 'bronzes', in particular *asses* (16 – 3 – 5); rarely *dupondii* (7 – 0 – 1) and *sestertii* (3 – 1 – 1).

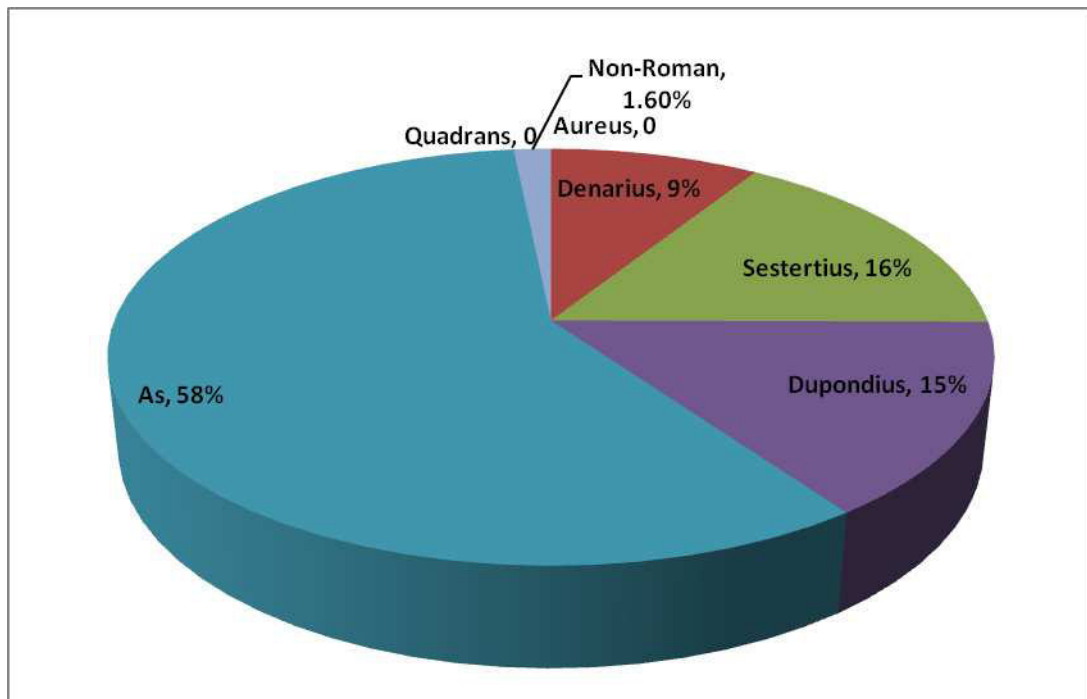


Fig. 10.3. *Novae* – diagram of denominations (percentage).

The noticeable appearance of Flavian *denarii* is illustrated by: 4 Vespasian, 1 Titus, and 4 Domitian. Interestingly, coins of such short-lived emperors like Nerva appear in relatively high number in comparison to others – at least 6 coins (8.92 ‰). The increase of Trajanic issues finds comes as no surprise, and is recorded by 26 coins reported (6.1‰). With Trajan the large *aes*-denomination started to dominate (12 sestertii, 11 dupondii, only 2 asses).

The legionary bath (*thermae legionis*) in sector IV provided further stratified coins of the Flavian period.<sup>40</sup> More specifically, this is an *as* of Vespasian (illegible type)<sup>41</sup> found on the floor of the *basilica thermarum*. After two consecutive construction periods, the bath was dismantled in the early years of Trajan's reign.<sup>42</sup> A number of earlier coins (4 Claudian issues and 1 Domitian) were lost during the dismantling and levelling along with a dupondius of Trajan.<sup>43</sup> A new building was erected on the spot – an army hospital

<sup>40</sup> Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 11-2.

<sup>41</sup> Ciołek 2011, 11 and, 59, cat. no. 36.

<sup>42</sup> Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 15-6.

<sup>43</sup> Ciołek 2011, 62, cat. no. 49.

(*valetudinarium*)<sup>44</sup> which is well dated by another dupondius of Trajan struck between January 101 and December 102 AD (RIC 428 = Woytek 2010, 96).<sup>45</sup>

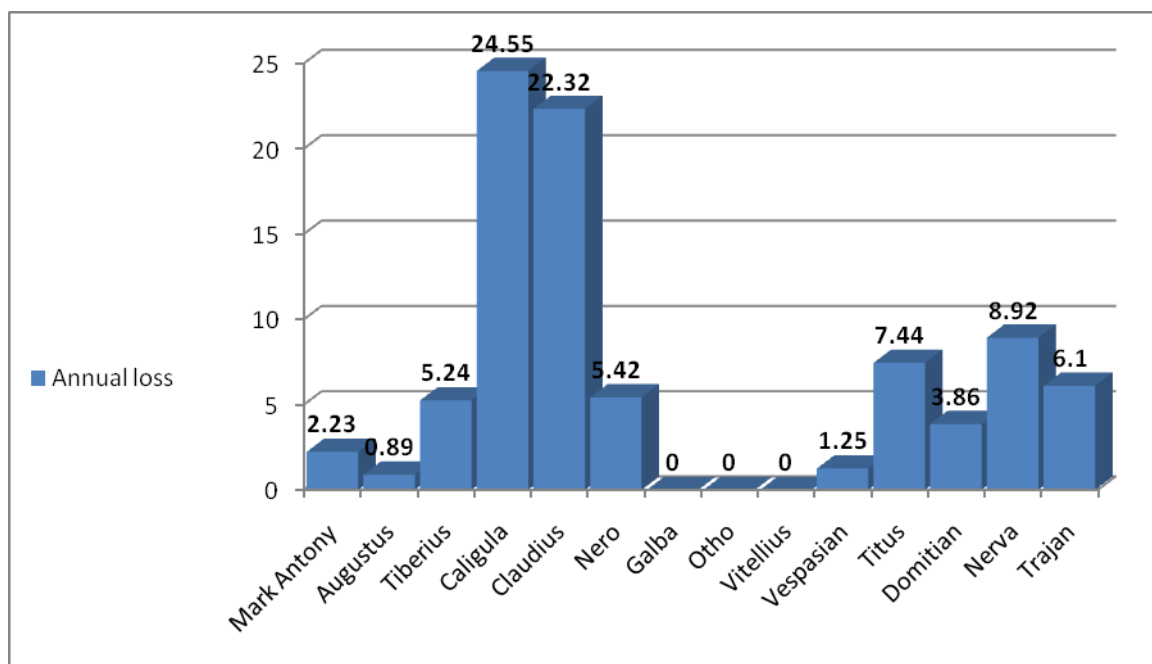


Fig. 10.4. Site finds from *Novae*: annual loss (per 1,000 coins).

### 10.3.2. Case Study 2: *Serdica*

*Serdica*<sup>46</sup> for long was considered to have been not a significant site before the time of Trajan, who established *Ulpia Serdica* after the Dacian wars. Only after the new excavations in 2010-2012 did it become apparent that *Serdica* indeed *did* exist and furthermore was an essential military site in western Thrace since the time of Augustus / Tiberius.

The recent archaeological excavation (campaigns 2010 and 2011) on Maria Louisa Boulevard in central Sofia<sup>47</sup> has finally provided important evidence for the early Roman history of *Serdica* and its interregional relations. In the last two years the site was unearthed and thoroughly studied, which has

<sup>44</sup> Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 16-9.

<sup>45</sup> Ciołek 2011, 62, cat. no. 46.

<sup>46</sup> For the history of early *Serdica* (Σερδική, Σαρδική) see: Jireček 1877, 25-7; Oberhummer, *RE* II/4, (Stuttgart 1923), cols. 1669-1671; Gerov, *Westthracien* II (Sofia 1967), 90ff; Gerov / Геров 1977, 52; Danov 1979, 267-81; Boardman, *CAH* 3/2, (Cambridge 1992), 600.

<sup>47</sup> See preliminary reports in Иванов / Ivanov 2011, 316-9; Иванов / Ivanov 2012, 315-7; Ivanov 2012 /in print/.

provided a significant material basis for analytical consideration. The deep trenches at the northern end of the excavations have revealed baked brick and timber structures, as well as other Roman finds (*fibulae*, imported Italian *terra sigillata*, military equipment, etc.<sup>48</sup>) of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. Among over 2,500 coins excavated (from an area of approximately 3,200 m<sup>2</sup>), some 80 specimens<sup>49</sup> date to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>50</sup> They form a distinct group, comparable with numismatic complexes from other military sites along the Danube limes. Considering the absence of any published early coins from *Serdica*, these new site finds have a unique historical and numismatic value and significance (see also Single finds, cat. nos. 361-362). This is further proved by the extended excavation area which is currently in progress.

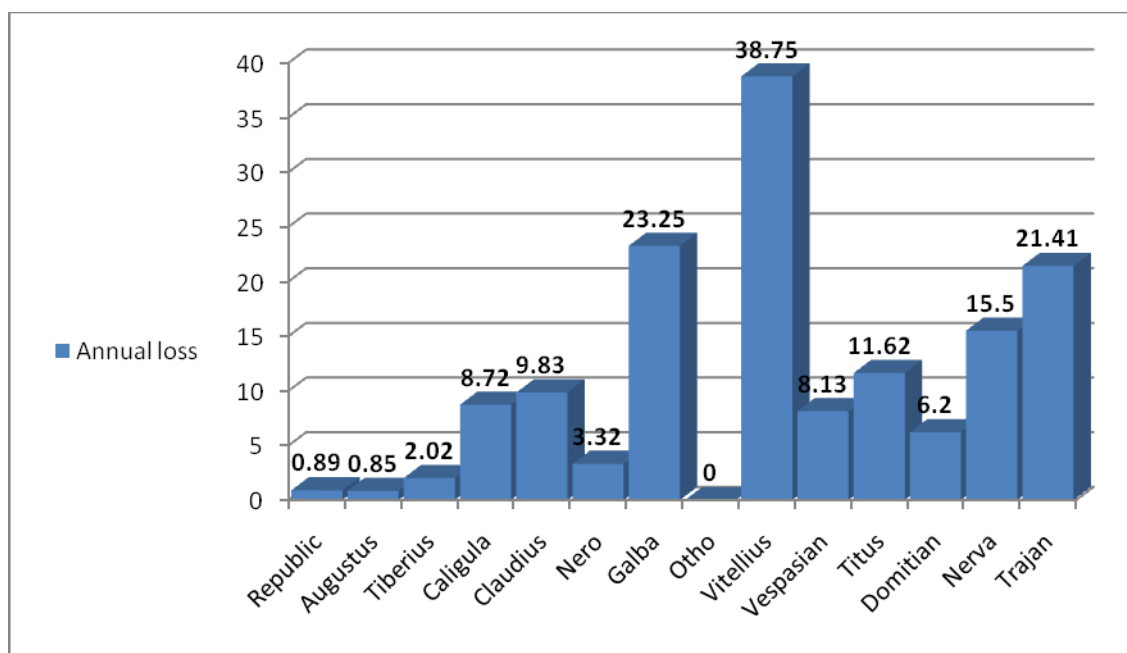


Fig. 10.5. Site finds from *Serdica* 2010-2011, annual loss (per 1,000 coins).

### ***Serdica* highlights**

The main features of new numismatic evidence from *Serdica* should be noted:

<sup>48</sup> See more details on finds in Иванов / Ivanov 2011, 316-9 and Иванов / Ivanov 2012, 315-7.

<sup>49</sup> Campaign 2012 provided further 48 coins (10 *denarii* and 38 AEs) dating from the Late Republic to Hadrian; they were not included and analysed in this review.

<sup>50</sup> My warm thanks to Dr Mario Ivanov (National Archaeological Institute with Museum) for allowing me to examine the early coins from the rescue excavation in central Sofia.



- All coins are stray finds, accidental losses, and no hoards of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD have been attested to so far.
- The coin evidence covers the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. More precisely almost every emperor is well attested to in the numismatic material. Even emperors such as Galba and Vitellius, who reigned for very short periods, are also represented by single *denarii*.
- No earlier Greek or Hellenistic coins have been found on the site, only two very worn and corroded Macedonian royal bronzes (one Alexander III; the other – illegible) of the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (having being lost in an earlier Thracian/Celtic? settlement).
- So far the earliest Roman coin from the area is a Late Republican *denarius* (plated, corroded) of Q. Cassius Longinus, (RRC 433/1 or 500?), struck in 55 (or 42?) BC;



**Fig. 11.6.** Brass C•A-type *sestertius* of Augustus, ca. 27-23 BC, Pergamum, RPC 2233. From Sofia-centre excavations, campaign 2010, field no. A1736 (Photo E. Paunov).

- The Augustan coins start with an *orichalcum* (brass) *sestertius* and an *as*, both struck at Pergamum<sup>51</sup> (the ‘C•A–coinage’ for the province of Asia). It is supplemented by a perfectly well preserved *denarius* struck at Lugdunum in 11/10 BC. However, these two Augustan issues do not imply that they had arrived in *Serdica* before the end of his reign, but rather that this occurred slightly later.

<sup>51</sup> Howgego 1982, 2-7 and Harl 1996, 76.



**Fig. 11.7.** *Denarius* of Augustus, 11-10 BC, Lugdunum mint, RIC I<sup>2</sup> 193b. From Sofia-centre excavations, campaign 2010, field no. A1681 (Photo E. Paunov).

- All *aes* coins of the Rome mint (Tiberius, Caligula and especially – Claudius) are very worn due to prolonged circulation, perhaps until the end of the Flavian period.
- A substantial number of provincial bronzes have been found from the reigns of Claudius and early in Nero's reign (54-58). These are issues of *Thessalonica* for ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (5 *Æ*: 1 Claudius and 4 Nero), the nearest provincial mint. They should have well supplemented the circulation of small change during the shortage of central base-metal issues that was resumed by Nero only after AD 64. Their high degree of wear attests to an extended circulation.
- A very rare brass *sestertius* (28.46g, see fig. 12.2) of Britannicus Caesar, AD 51-54 (von Kaenel 1984, pl. 20, type A, B.3) comes from the same stratified context.<sup>52</sup> It was discovered in 2011, along with other Roman finds of the Julio-Claudian period, in the deepest layers of timber and mud-brick structures.
- *Denarii* of Galba (1) and Vitellius (2) produced very high figures *per mille*. They suggest that some special activity occurred in Serdica during the 'Year of the Four Emperors'. Their coins are absent in nearly all legionary camps in Moesia, and at military sites along the Danube limes. At the same time it must be emphasized that *legio VI Ferrata* passed in the autumn of AD 69 on its way from Syria to Italy in order to support Vespasian *via* Serdica.
- The silver issues are generally scarce (17 in total = ~20%) in comparison to the base metal coins (69+*Æ* = 80%). These figures are closely

<sup>52</sup> Now published by Владимирова-Аладжова / Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2011, 110-6.

comparable with other sites such as Histria<sup>53</sup>, or the early finds from Novae (see above).

- Silver become more frequent only with Trajan (4 *denarii*). It is worth noting that altogether five (out of 17) *denarii* from site are plated (one each of the Republic, Caligula/?, Vespasian, Titus, and Trajan). This may well indicate a military context at the site.
- Under the Flavians, a sharp rate of increase in the supply at Serdica can be observed (7 Vespasian; 3 Titus, 8 Domitian), supplying ‘fresh’ coins to Serdica as is also to be observed elsewhere in Thrace.
- A stray *aureus* of Vespasian for Domitian Caesar (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 787, struck AD 75, see [plate 5, 23](#)), discovered in the southern sector of the excavation, confirms the aforementioned observation, and proves the strategic importance of *Serdica* during the reign of the Flavians.<sup>54</sup>
- The increase in coin supply becomes even more significant and indicative under Trajan (35 coins: 4 D, 9 S, 3 Dp, 5 As, 1 Qd, 11 Prov = 40.6% = 21.41 ‰). It coincides with the time when *Serdica* was re-founded as a town by Trajan (AD 106) and named *Ulpia Serdica*. However, 9 of this number are the small anonymous bronzes of Philippi (RPC 1651), attributed to Augustus (see below for discussion).

Both the highest peaks (Galba and Vitellius) are unusual. They are caused by the rare presence of their *denarii* on site (see above for a possible reason).

In conclusion, the nature of numismatic evidence from *Serdica* indicates a military context for an early Roman site:

1. Early Augustan *aes*-issues (a *sestertius* and as of **C•A**-coinage), struck at Pergamum in Asia;
2. Cast copy (*limes falsum*) of Claudian *as*;
3. At least five plated *denarii* of Republican, Julio-Claudian, Flavian and Trajanic date;
4. A rare *sestertius* of Britannicus Caesar (possibly of Perinthus);

<sup>53</sup> See Preda – Nubar 1973.

<sup>54</sup> More historical details in chapter 3. *Historical account of Thrace, 3. Moesia*.

5. A silver *drachm* of Vespasian – struck for Titus Caesar at Caesarea in Cappadocia.

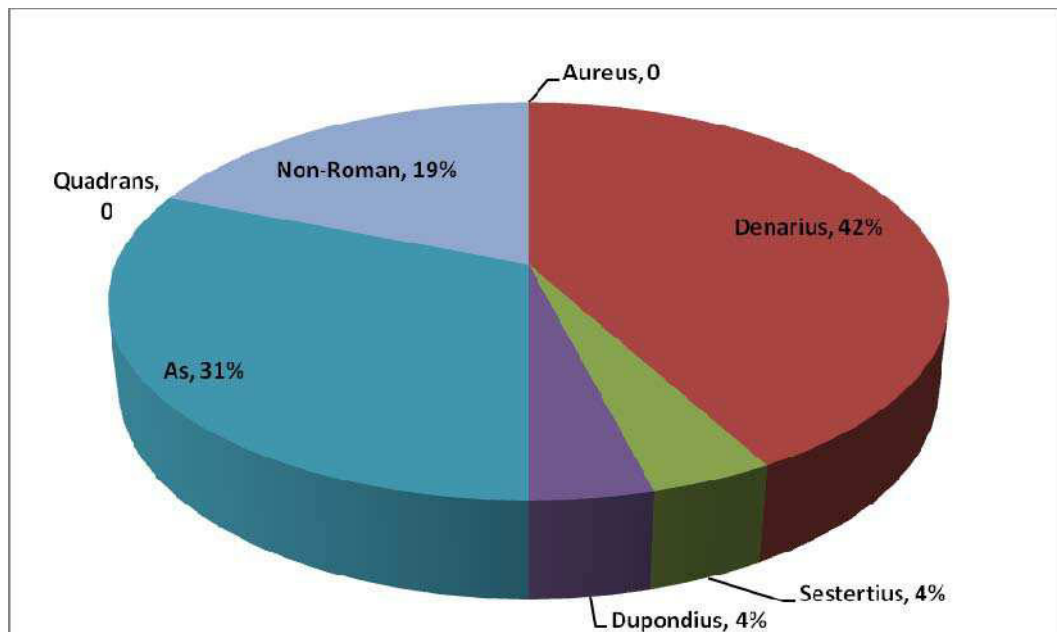


Fig. 11.8. *Serdica* – diagram of denominations (percentage).

The new site finds clearly reveal the military nature of early *Serdica*<sup>55</sup>, and especially its early-1<sup>st</sup> century AD inclusion in the Roman monetary and economic system.<sup>56</sup> The natural key geographic position of *Serdica* presumes an east–west orientation of contacts, exchange of goods and coin supply. The monetary evidence gathered during 2010-2011 demonstrates that a larger amount of coins arrived indeed from Asia Minor and from the eastern provinces than from the west (except for the mint of Rome issues). In fact, army movements and reinforcements from the province of Asia towards the west have been noted at *Serdica* as well as at *Cabyle* (see below) and *Philippopolis* at numerous occasions throughout the entire first century AD.

This supports the previously suggested theory<sup>57</sup> that there was a direct Roman military presence in Thrace, at least at major sites in the vassal

<sup>55</sup> *Serdica* and its vicinity fell under Roman control in 29/8 BC, during the Marcus Licinius Crassus march into Thrace and Moesia (Dio 51.23.5; Liv. *Perioch.* 134-135).

<sup>56</sup> The earliest epigraphic evidence from *Serdica* and its region are three identical inscriptions from the time of Nero dated AD 61 – for the construction of the main military route (*via militaris*) and roadside stations (*tabernae et praetoria*) in Thrace, see *CIL* III, 6123 / 14207<sup>34</sup>; *AE* 1912, 193, Геров / Gerov 1961, 239, no. 218 and Ivanov 1973, 209-213.

<sup>57</sup> See Rostovtzeff 1953, 987ff; Жуглев / Jouglev 1966, 195-6 and more in chapter 3. *Historical account of Thrace*, sections 3.8.8-9.

kingdom, even before its annexation and the establishment of the province (AD 44/45).

### 10.3.3. Case Study 3: Cabyle

*Cabyle*<sup>58</sup> has long been known as an old Macedonian fort and a Thracian fortified town with its own mint<sup>59</sup> operating in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. It is uncertain what was its Late Hellenistic and Early Roman *modus vivendi*. The ancient sources mentioned briefly that *Cabyle* was besieged and taken by Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus (as governor of Macedonia) and his Roman army in 72 BC.<sup>60</sup> From the reign of Hadrian (sometime between AD 127 and 136) a military camp (*castra*) of a pedestrian cohort (*cohors II Lucensium*) was built<sup>61</sup>, but the settlement near the camp had no civic status.<sup>62</sup> No site finds from the regular archaeological excavations of *Cabyle* carried out since 1972 (except one as of Augustus)<sup>63</sup> have been published or mentioned in any way. In 2010 for the needs of the present study, the author undertook a full revision and examination of the site finds from *Cabyle* and its extended area (hinterland), now kept in the Regional Historical Museum of Jambol.<sup>64</sup> The following picture emerges from the available coin material (ful listing in Find cat. no. 232).

#### 10.3.3.1 The evidence

There is a considerable accumulation of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Republican issues in *Cabyle*: 8 *denarii*, 3 *quinarii* and 1 cistophoric tetradrachm. Three coins are plated, all with traces of active circulation (except the *cistophor*). This material would point to some special activities that took place on the site. The Roman

<sup>58</sup> Danoff 1967, “Kabyle“, *Der Kleine Pauly* Band 2, (Stuttgart 1967), col. 39; Драганов / Draganov 1993, pp. 101–108; von Bredow 1999, col. 128; Z. Archibald 2004, “Kabyle“, in: M.H. Hansen, T.H. Nielsen (eds.) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004), 893–4.

<sup>59</sup> See Draganov 1984, 94–109 and Драганов / Draganov 1993.

<sup>60</sup> Sources in Salust. *Hist.*, frg. 3. 51; 4. 18, Livy, *Per.* 97, Florus (1. 39), Appian, *Illyrica* 5. 30, Festus, *Brev.* 9.2–4, Orosius, 6.3.4, and Jordanes, *Rom.* 221.

<sup>61</sup> Velkov 1989, pp. 247–250; Velkov / Velkov 1991, 3–17, inscriptions nos. 4–5, 12–15, 18–19; and *AE* 1999, 1370–1383, especially nos. 1371–1373.

<sup>62</sup> Velkov 1978, 433–9; Velkov / Velkov 1991, 17. Most probably *Cabyle* belonged to the territory of *colonia Deultum* in the Flavian period, later after Hadrian/Pius – to *Augusta Traiana*.

<sup>63</sup> Димитров / Dimitrov 1982, 160, no. 10.

<sup>64</sup> Preliminary results now in Paunov / Паунов 2012a, 443–87.

*quinarii* (otherwise very unusual for the Balkans and Thracian coinage pool<sup>65</sup>) were minted in the decade 97-87 BC and indicate the most likely dating of these events. Either *Cabyle* was an important commercial hub in inner Thrace as already suggested<sup>66</sup>, or these Republican issues are direct evidence for Roman actions in the area in the 80's or 70's BC (see above for the march of M. Lucullus in 72/1 BC). One rare and unusual issue confirms this theory – a Late Hellenistic tetrobol (1.89 g) of Massalia in Gaul, struck ca. 121–82 BC.<sup>67</sup> The coin is plated and corresponds well with the above group of *quinarii* from *Cabyle*. It is in the Jambol museum collection, but unfortunately its exact find spot is not known.<sup>68</sup> The cistophoric tetradrachm of Mark Antony (type *RPC I*, 2201) struck in 39 BC is a silent witness to a new era – the period of Civil wars and the inclusion of Thrace in the Roman economic and monetary sphere in the 30-20's BC.

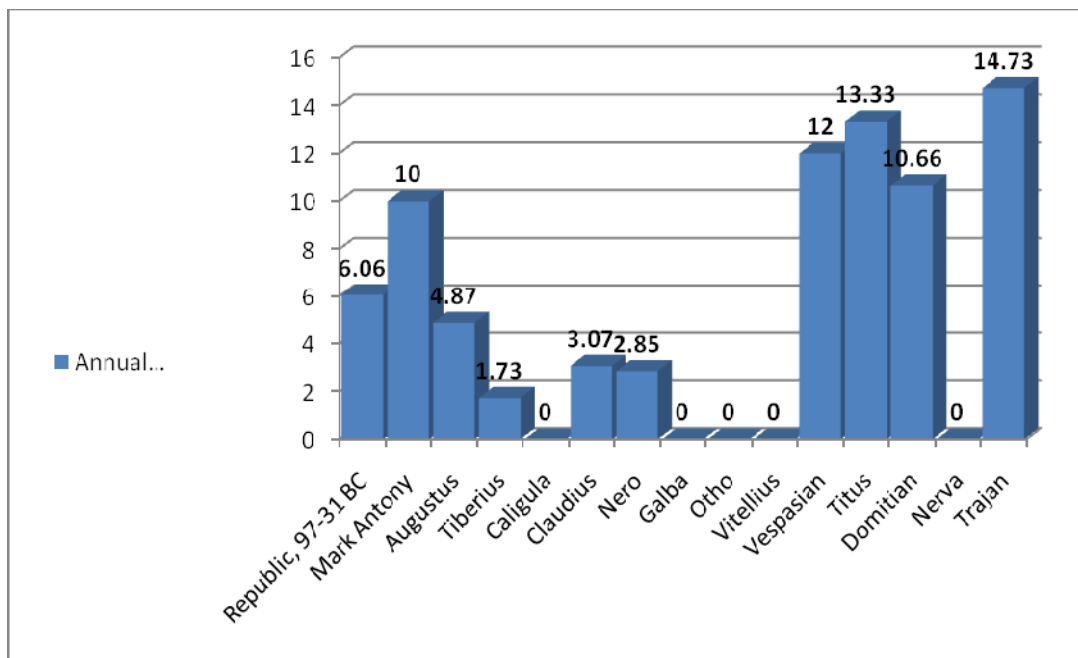


Fig. 10.9. Site finds from *Cabyle*: annual loss.

The next distinct group contains five Augustan pre-reform asses (*fig. 10.11*). All are of the '**C•A / AVGVSTVS**–coinage' for the province of Asia,

<sup>65</sup> See Stogias 2005, 232, note 69 and pl. II at 240, who gives examples of Republican *victoriati* and *quinarii* on the Balkans, quoting sites only along the Adriatic coast (Epirus and Albania).

<sup>66</sup> As pointed out by a number of scholars, see recently Karayotov 2009, suggesting that an *emporium* of *Mesambria* was located in *Cabyle* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>67</sup> Depeyrot 1999, type 47(?).

<sup>68</sup> Jambol, inv. no. 4589, acquired in 1987. See now Плайнов / Paunov 2012a, 471, no. 40.

struck in Pergamum between ca. 25–23 BC (type RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486; RPC I, 2235). This coinage is now thought to have been payment issues for the Roman armies in the East (Syria, Pamphylia, Bithynia) and in the Balkans.<sup>69</sup> The known examples are come from typical military sites such as Augustae<sup>70</sup> in Moesia, Carnuntum<sup>71</sup> in Pannonia, as well as major cities like Sardes in Lydia<sup>72</sup>, Antioch ad Orontes<sup>73</sup>, and many others.<sup>74</sup>



**Fig. 10.10.** Augustan asses from *Cabyle*, all RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486 = RPC I, 2235 (Photo E. Paunov).

All five coins of Augustus from *Cabyle* are mid-worn to very worn in circulation, and 2 – halved. Those two halves are particularly important. They point to a period in the history of *Cabyle* with apparent Roman military presence. This happened most probably after ca. 13-11 BC, during the so-called ‘Thracian war’<sup>75</sup> of Piso, the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, acting under special instructions from Augustus<sup>76</sup>. The remaining Julio-Claudian coins from

<sup>69</sup> See also for the type – Grueber 1910, *BMCRR* ii, 546, n.1; Grant 1946, 102–106; Grant 1953, 9-10, pl. 14, 2-7; Grant 1954, 64-7; Giard 2001, *CBN*, 149–50, nos. 964-971; Howgego 1982, 2-7, pl. II.3-4; Harl 1996, 76.

<sup>70</sup> See full details in *Find cat. no. 227*.

<sup>71</sup> *Carnuntum*: 14 halves and 7 asses of Augustus, see in Vondrovec 2007, 91–2, 98, nos. 339992 – 339998 and 425-434, 469, 537, 599, 618, 1226.

<sup>72</sup> *Sardes*: at least 19 halved and 7 intact asses of Augustus, see – Buttrey 1972, 32, no. 10; Buttrey *et alii* 1981, 92 and 129, no.3.

<sup>73</sup> *Antioch*: Waagé 1952, 30-1 and 35-6, nos. 318-319, 360-361 – 51 halves and 12 intact Augustan asses.

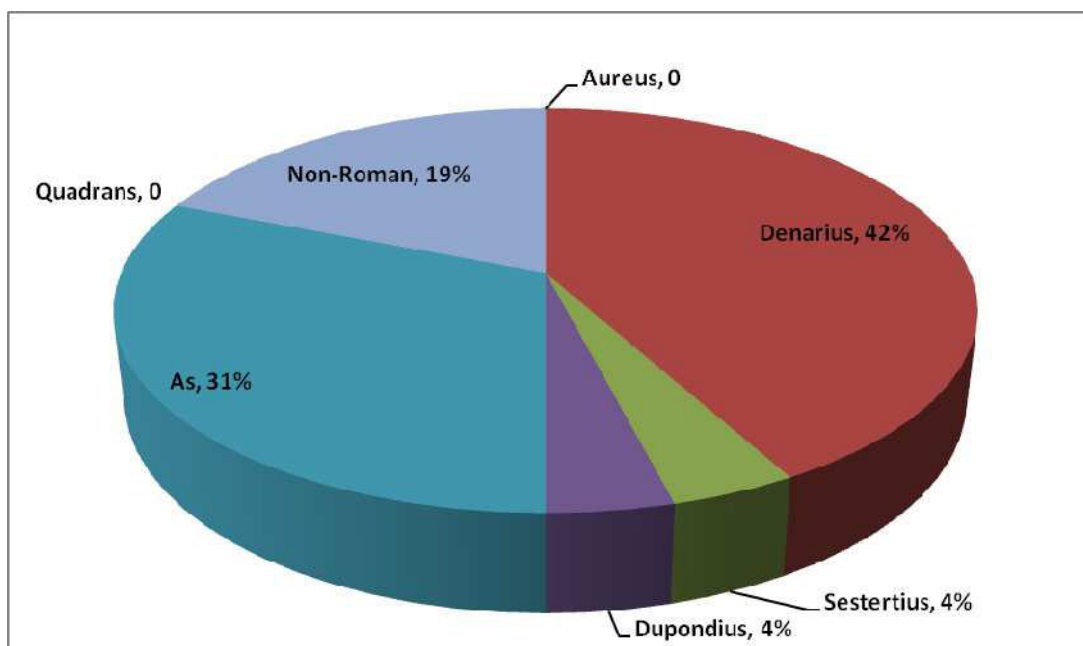
<sup>74</sup> Discussion and a list of known provenanced coins in Grant 1946, 105-6; Grant 1953, no. 4, 18; Rodewald 1976, 140-1; Howgego 1982, 3-5.

<sup>75</sup> Principal sources: Dio 54.34. 5-7 and Velleius 2.98.2; commens in Stout 1911, 1, no.6; Syme 1939, 398; Syme 1999, 203-5.

<sup>76</sup> Seneca, *Epp.* 83.14: „...*secreta mandata*”.

*Cabyle* are scarce for the moment (1 Tiberius (as for Divus Augustus - RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81); 1 Claudius; 1 Nero), being represented by mostly provincial issues of Thessalonica and Philippi.

The coin supply experienced a visible increase under the Flavians: 3 Vespasian, 1 Titus and 4 Domitian. The Titus coin from *Cabyle* is a 'restored' as for Drusus Junior, now attributed to the mint of Perinthus (type *RPC* II, p. 88, no. 517). The only Domitianic bronze is an anonymous provincial issue, now assigned to Nicaea in Bithynia (*RPC* II, p. 112, no. 709), showing the Eastern orientation of circulation in this region of Thrace.



**Fig. 10.11.** *Cabyle* – diagram of denominations (percentage).

*Denarii* began to appear on a regular basis under the Flavians – 2 for Vespasian and 3 for Domitian (2 of the same series, RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 739 and 742, struck AD 92-93). A sharp increase is observed with the accession of Trajan – 7 coins: 5 *denarii*, 1 dupondius and 1 provincial (Philippi in Macedonia). Another 'eastern' coin is the *dupondius* of Trajan for Antioch and Syria.<sup>77</sup>

As elsewhere, the early Principate coins from *Cabyle* are pretty limited in comparison with the entire numismatic assemblage from the site (over 2,500).<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> McAlee 2007, 210-1, no. 498A.

<sup>78</sup> As recorded in the Jambol Historical museum, mostly unpublished.

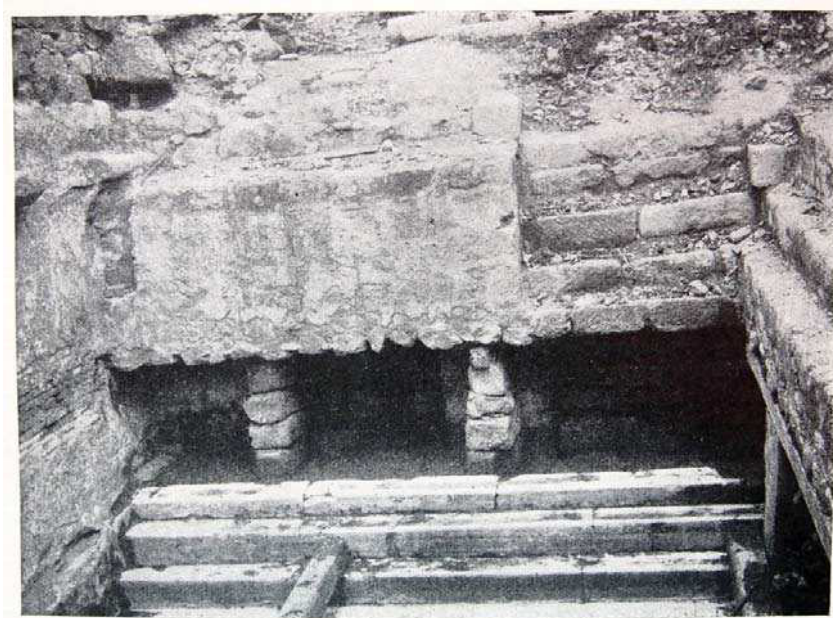


#### 10.3.4. Case Study 4: *Aquae Calidae*

“Soviel vorläufig über die Funde von *Aquae Calidae*...”

(Filow 1911, 357)

For the purpose of completeness, I shall briefly consider here one more famous site find in Thrace in a separate case study. This is the ancient sacred mineral spring, baths and sanctuary of the Three Nymphs at *Aquae Calidae*<sup>79</sup> near Burgas. It is located some 75 km east to the east of *Cabyle* (50 Roman miles in the Peutingeran map) but was in the civic territory of *Anchialus*. The springs are only 10 km from the Black sea coast, in the lowest hills of the Eastern Haemus range, now 2 km to the south of the modern village of Banevo.<sup>80</sup>



**Fig. 10.12.** *Aquae Calidae* – the rectangular pool of the baths, excavation photo 1910. Below – the marble steps of the Neronian construction, above – the Justinianic phase (photo after Filow 1911, col. 351).

In April-May 1910<sup>81</sup> while cleaning the head (at a depth of 6 to 9m) of the mineral spring the remains of two stone Roman pools were uncovered.<sup>82</sup> The

<sup>79</sup> Mentioned yet in Jordanes, *Get.* 20.109: „Ibi ergo multis feruntur mansisse diebus aquarum calidarum delectati lavacris, quae duodecimo miliario Anchialitanae civitatis sunt siti, ab imo suae fontis ignei scaturientes, et inter reliqua totius mundi thermarum innumerabilium loca omnino precipua et ad sanitatem infirmorum efficacissima”.

<sup>80</sup> For the earlier records see “Aqua, 24. *Aquae calidae in Thrakien*”, in *RE* II, 1 (1895), col. 297; also Jireček 1877, 148 and Kanitz 1882, band III, 150.

<sup>81</sup> First report of the new find in B. Filow, “*Aquae Calidae*”, in newspaper *Пряпорець / Pryaporets* (Sofia) no. 122, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1910 [in Bulgarian].

<sup>82</sup> Best described in Filow 1911, cols. 349-350.

first pool was round with a diameter of ca. 9 m, the second – rectangular (7.5 x 12m) fitted with marble steps (Fig. 10.13). The wall between rested on large timber posts, thus allowing free transfer of mineral water between the two pools.

Beneath the perforated stone floor of both pools some 3,000-4,000 coins and other numerous small objects (*fibulae*, finger-rings (some in gold), gems and cameos, crosses, combs, bone hair-pins, etc.) were collected from the sediment mud and sand.<sup>83</sup> The majority of them entered the collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia<sup>84</sup>, some went to the museums in Plovdiv<sup>85</sup>, Burgas<sup>86</sup> and even in Berlin Münzkabinett<sup>87</sup>, while other were dispersed by private persons (see more details in Find cat. no. 166, pp. 600-2).

#### 10.3.4.1 The evidence

The ancient coins from the head of *Aquae Calidae* range from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> (Archaic drachm of Apollonia Pontica)<sup>88</sup>, numerous from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Philip II, Alexander III, Apollonia and Maroneia issues) down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. They show a very high concentration of Julio-Claudian issues and the late Thracian kings from ca. 11 BC to AD 44/5. The number of coins after Nero gradually declines.

Adapted in a modernised table form, the finds of 1910 may be presented thus:

Table 10.2.

No.	Issuer / mint	Date	Denomination / metal	Reference	Location	Inv. nos.	No. of coins
1.	Roman Republic	~120/110 –31/27 BC	32 AR, unspecified	---	Sofia	N/A	32

<sup>83</sup> See the preliminary report and a brief listing of all coins (2,914 listed) in Filow 1911, AA, col. 352-355. Other details in Филов / Filow 1910, 216-7 and Филов / Filow 1911, 283. Further discussion in Bates 1912, 111; Noe 1925, 33; Rodewald 1976, 57, notes 443-4, Schönert-Geiss 1965, 38; Schönert-Geiss 1987, 113; Touratsoglou 1988, p. 117; Gyuzelev 2008, 183.

<sup>84</sup> The entire coin assemblage from *Aquae Calidae* remains unpublished a century later. Only the civic coins of Mesambria (some 220 pieces) were studied and published by Prof. Ivan Karayotov (Karayotov 2009).

<sup>85</sup> Unpublished, examined by the author, October 2010.

<sup>86</sup> Mostly unpublished, examined by the author, August 2011.

<sup>87</sup> Some 30+ coins (1 Nero den and 29 Æ, unlisted) were purchased/donated to the Berlin numismatic cabinet, see M. L. Strack, *AMNG* II,1 (Berlin 1912), 206, note 4, for further details see now: [http://www.smb.museum/ikmk/filter\\_text.php?search=Aquae+calidae&lang=en](http://www.smb.museum/ikmk/filter_text.php?search=Aquae+calidae&lang=en)

<sup>88</sup> Karayotov – Kiyachkina 1997, 126, fig. 1.

2.	<b>Augustus</b>	27 BC–14 AD	265 (AR+ Æ), unspecified	---	Sofia	N/A	265
		ca. 25–23	1 Æ as	RIC I 486 = RPC 2235	Burgas	1197	1
3.	<b>Tiberius</b>	14–37	3 Æ, unspecified, including:	---	Sofia	N/A	3
4.	<b>Livia</b>	ca. 14–30	1 Æ	---	Sofia	N/A	(1)
5.	<b>Caligula</b>	37–41	65 Æ, unspecified, including:	---	Sofia	N/A	65
6.	<b>Mark Agrippa</b>		53 Æ asses	---	Sofia	N/A	(53)
7.	<b>Germanicus</b>		8 Æ asses	---	Sofia	N/A	(8)
8.	<b>Claudius I</b>	41–54	236 Æ, unspecified, including:	---	Sofia	N/A	236
			Perinthus: 3	RPC I, 1747?	Sofia	N/A	(3)
			3 Æ asses	RIC? and 97	Burgas	203, 1101, 1196	3
9.	<b>Agrippina Senior</b>		5 Æ, unspecified	---	Sofia	N/A	(5)
10.	<b>Antonia</b>		2 Æ, unspecified	---	Sofia	N/A	(2)
11.	<b>Nero Drusus</b>		2 Æ, unspecified	---	Sofia	N/A	(2)
12.	<b>Britannicus</b>	ca. 51–54	Æ Sestertius	von Kaenel 1984, p. 130, no. B4, fig. 4	Berlin	1924/489 = 18202639	(1)
13.	<b>Agrippina Minor</b>	ca. 50–54	Æ Sestertius	von Kaenel 1984, p. 141, Abb. 25	Berlin	1912/683	(1)
14.	<b>Nero</b>	54–68	1 Den	Strack 1912, 206	Berlin	?	1
			8 Æ, unspecified, including:	---	Sofia	N/A	13
			Perinthus: 3	RPC I, 1758-1762?	Sofia	N/A	(3)
15.	<b>Octavia</b>	54–59	Perinthus: 1 Æ 25mm	RPC I, 1755	Plovdiv	236	(1)
16.	<b>Poppaea</b>	ca. 63–65	Perinthus: 2	RPC I, 1756	Sofia	N/A	(2)
17.	<b>Vespasian</b>	69–79	7, unspecified		Sofia	N/A	7
18.	<b>Nerva</b>	96–98	2 Æ		Sofia	N/A	2
19.	<b>Trajan</b>	98–117	6 Æ, unspecified, including:		Sofia	N/A	6
			Perinthus: 2	?	Sofia	N/A	2
20.	<b>Illegible 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, not specified</b>	?	191 Æ	---	Sofia	N/A	191
21.	<b>Halved coins, 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – AD 68, unspecified</b>	?	22 Æ (11 published)	---	Sofia	N/A	22
<b>TOTALS:</b>							<b>848</b>

Here we should add the coins of the late Thracian kings which belong to the same period:

Table 10.3.

No.	Issuer	Date	Denomination metal	Reference	Location	Inv. nos.	No. of coins
1.	Sadals II	ca.48–42 BC	3 Æ	SNG BM Black Sea, 314	Sofia	6920, 6559, 7366	3
2.	Rhaescuporis I and Kotys IV	ca. 48–42 BC	1 Æ	RPC I, 1702-1703?	Sofia	N/A	1
3.	Rhoemetalces I with Augustus	ca. 11 BC – AD 12	182 Æ, unspecified, including:	RPC I, 1704-1720?	Sofia	N/A	182 <sup>89</sup>
			1 Æ 22mm	RPC I, 1709	Plovdiv	234	1
			2 Æ 22mm, 1 Æ 18mm	RPC I, 1712	Burgas	319, 1102, 1203	3
4.	Rhoemetalces III, with Caius	ca. 38–45/6 AD	3 Æ, unspecified	RPC I, 1724	Sofia	6463 (2 pcs), 7447	3 <sup>90</sup>
<b>TOTALS:</b>							<b>192</b>

Later in the 1950s Todor Gerassimov published eleven halved Roman coins<sup>91</sup> of the first find of 1910, now in Sofia National museum.<sup>92</sup> Based on his drawings (*fig. 10.14*) eight of them may be identified as follows:

A. Republic: 1 halved Æ:

— Æ26 mm - Caius Sosius(?) for Mark Antony, Cilicia, ca. 38 BC, halved (*RPC I*, p. 715, no. 5409 = Grant, *FITA*, 13-19, attributed to a Macedonian mint – for Caesar or for Brutus/?/) [Gerassimov 1955, no. 4, fig. 1, 3].

B. Early Principate:

— Augustus: 6 halved Æ:

- 2 Æ Asses (25-26 mm) – Pergamum, ca. 25-23 BC, type RIC 486 = *RPC I*, 2235 [Gerassimov, nos. 2-3];
- 1 Æ 25mm – Dium, ca. 25 BC – for C. Herennius / L. Titucius Ilviri (*RPC I*, 1531; Grant, *FITA* 282), [Gerassimov, no. 1, 1];
- 1 Æ 23mm – Amphipolis (*RPC I*, 1629), countermarked twice - xxx, VW [No. 5; fig. 1,4];
- 1 Æ 23mm – Amphipolis (*RPC I*, 1627), MW [No. 6; fig. 1, 5];

<sup>89</sup> Most likely some of these '182 of Rhometalces I' are actually struck under Rhoemetalces II and Tiberius, they are simply not separated in the original Filow's report.

<sup>90</sup> Listed in Мухомов / Mouchmov 1925, 248, nos. 211-213.

<sup>91</sup> Although Dr B. Filow had listed 22 halved coins of the 1910 find (*cf. Filow 1911, col. 354*).

<sup>92</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 579-81, see also the comments of T.V. Buttrey 1972, 32, n.10) and Rodewald 1976, 126, note 466.

- 1  $\text{AE}$  28mm – Thessalonica (RPC I, 1561), VW, [Gerassimov, no. 8; not ill.].
- Claudius?, ca. 41-54 AD: 1  $\text{AE}$  24 mm – Philippi (RPC I, 1653), MW [Gerassimov no. 7, fig. 1, 6].
- Illegible: 2  $\text{AE}$ .

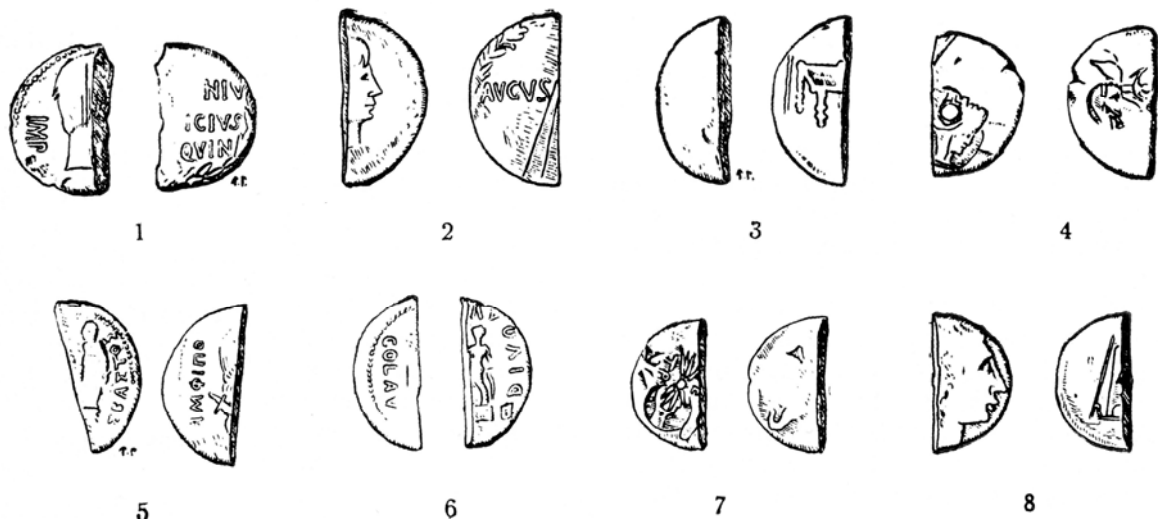


Fig. 10.13. Drawing of the halved coins from *Aquae Calidae* (after Gerassimov 1955, 580, fig.1)

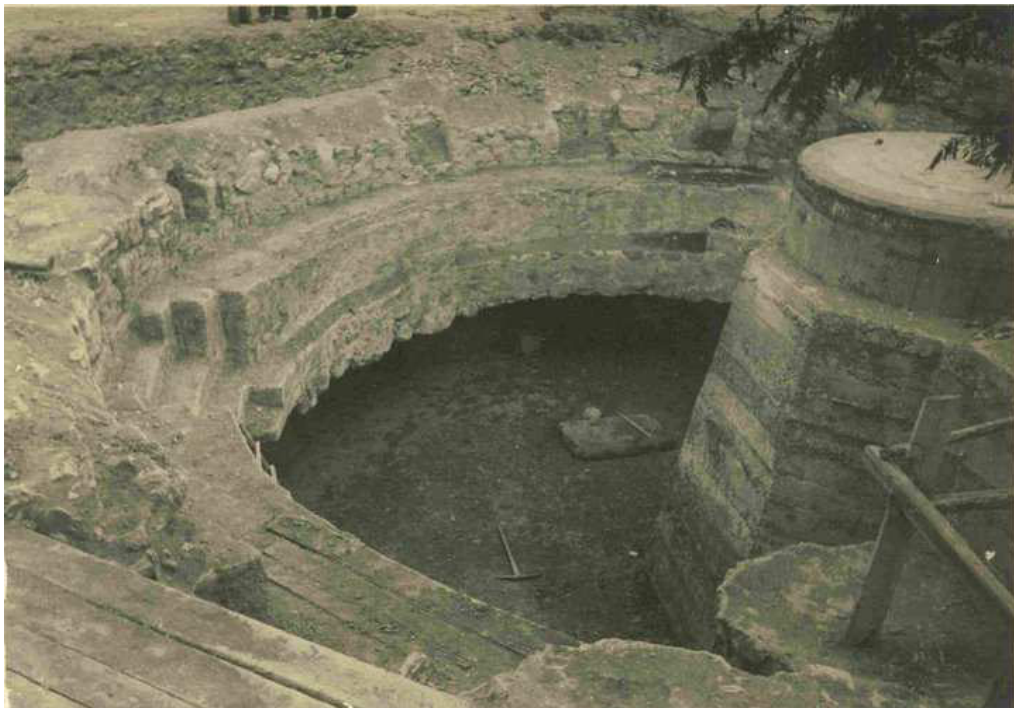


Fig. 10.14. The round Roman pool (diam. ca. 9 m) and the modern head of the mineral spring at *Aquae Calidae*, excavation photo, 1994 (courtesy of Professor Ivan Karayotov).

In the winter of 1994 a new cleaning of the water head of the mineral baths of *Aquae Calidae* was carried out. The head instantly became too dry and workmen were called to clean the base (fig. 10.15).

A consequent field research was organized by Dr Ivan Karayotov and a team from the Archaeological museum of Burgas. More than 300 silver and bronze coins and other finds were uncovered, which have been partially published<sup>93</sup> (details in Find cat. no. 167). Additionally, a further 54 coins were purchased for the Burgas museum collection from one of the workmen; and 43 by the Nessebar museum.<sup>94</sup> Recently, the author examined all the coins from *Aquae Calidae* that are kept in the Burgas Archaeological museum. The new finds produced the following list for the period:

Table 10.4. Roman coins from the 1994 cleaning.

No.	Issuer / mint	Date	Denomination / metal	Reference	Location	Inv. nos.	No. of coins
1.	<b>C. Egnatuleius C. f.</b>	97 BC	AR Quin	Cr. 333/1	Burgas	A1704	1
2.	<b>Mn. Acilius Glabrio</b>	49 BC	AR Den	Cr. 442/1	Burgas	?	1
3.	<b>C. Julius Caesar</b>	49/8 BC	AR Den	Cr. 443/1	Burgas	A1703	1
4.	<b>Mark Antony – LEG XIII</b>	32-31 BC	AR Den	Cr. 544/27	Burgas	A2305	1
5.	<b>Augustus</b>	ca. 25 BC	Æ S	RIC I 501 = RPC 2233	Burgas	A1721	1
		ca. 25-23 BC	Æ Dp	RIC I 502 = RPC 2234	Burgas	A1720	1
		ca. 25-23 BC	6 Æ As (Pergamum)	RIC I 486 = RPC 2235	Burgas	A1718, A1722-A1725	6
		ca. 12 BC	Æ Prov - Parium	RPC 2263	Nesebar	27/2009	1
		ca. 9/8 – 3 BC	Æ Prov - Nemausus	RPC I, 523-525?	Burgas	?	1
6.	<b>Caligula – for Mark Agrippa</b>	37–41	2 Æ Asses	RIC I, 58	Burgas	A1710-1711	2
7.	<b>Claudius I</b>	41–54	5 Æ 1 Dp, 4 Asses	RIC I, 94, 100, 111, 113	Burgas	1705-1709	5
8.	<b>Nero – for Poppaea Sabina</b>	ca. 63–65	Æ Prov - Perinthus	RPC I, 1756	Burgas	A2302	1
<b>TOTALS:</b>							<b>22</b>

Table 10.5. Thracian royal issues from the 1994 cleaning.

<sup>93</sup> Reports in Karayotov – Kiyachkina 1997, 129-30; Карайотов – Кияшкина – Господинов 2000, 27-33; Karayotov – Raychevski – Ivanov 2011, 34-41.

<sup>94</sup> Acquired in 2002 from Mr K. Athanasov, information from Dr M. Gyuzelev, Burgas, and from Mrs S. Dimova, Nesebar museum, inv. no. 27/2009. Examined by the author in August 2011.

No.	Issuer	Date	Denomination metal	Reference	Location	Inv. nos.	No. of coins
1.	Cotys II [VI]	ca. 57–48 BC	1 Æ 12mm	Youroukova 1992, 142-3	Burgas	A1712	1
2.	Rhoemetalces I with Augustus	ca. 11 BC – AD 12	9 Æ	RPC I, 1704	Burgas	?	9 <sup>95</sup>
			3 Æ 26-27mm	RPC I, 1708	Burgas	A1715 - 1716, 2306	3
			2 Æ 22-25mm	RPC I, 1711	Burgas	A2248 - A2249	2
			2 Æ 18mm	RPC I, 1718	Nesebar	27/ 2009	2
3.	Thracian Imitation of Rhoemetalces I with Augustus	ca. AD 10-15?	1 Æ 18mm	Type RPC I, 1718	Nesebar	27/ 2009	1
4.	Rhoemetalces II with Tiberius	AD 18/9 - 37	1 Æ	RPC I, 1721	Burgas	?	13 <sup>96</sup>
<b>TOTALS:</b>							<b>31</b>

Sadly, the effect of *Aquae Calidae* mineral water on the coins was particularly severe – the majority of them were corroded to a various extent. Many of them were heavily encrusted and lost a proportion of their weight.

The combined data from all finds present a remarkable ‘snap-shot’ of the coin circulation in Thrace during the Julio-Claudian period.

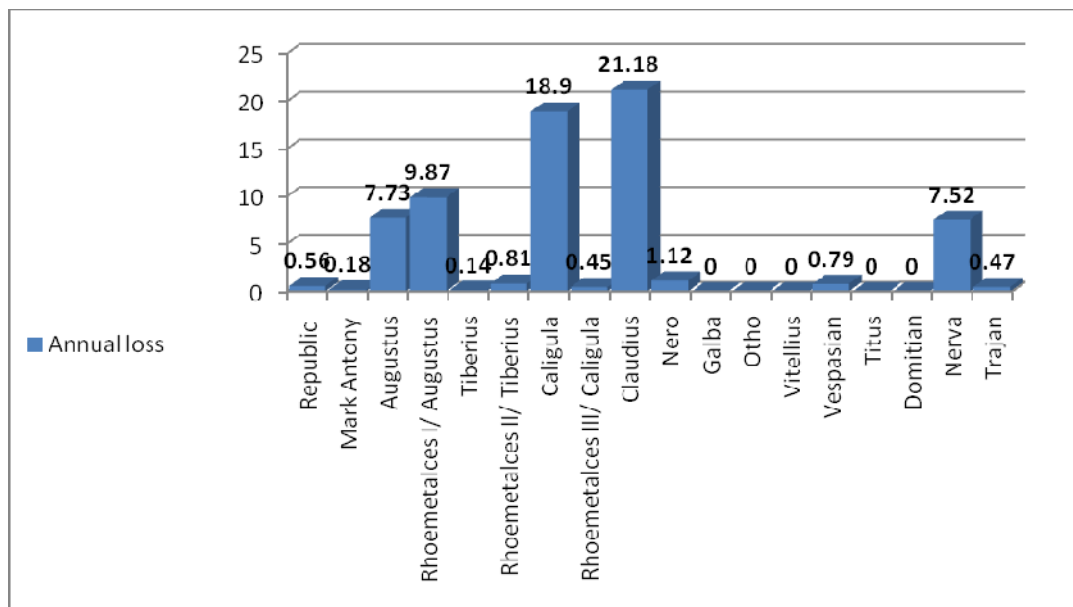


Fig. 10.15. Site finds from *Aquae Calidae*: annual loss.

<sup>95</sup> This figure is based on the record in Karayotov – Raychevski – Ivanov 2011, 35-8.

<sup>96</sup> Based on the record in Karayotov – Raychevski – Ivanov 2011, 36-9.

### 10.3.4.2. The halves

The halved coins of *Aquae Calidae* are particularly interesting. As a rule, it appears that all coins halved were of large denominations, diameters 25-28 mm. A Late Republican half<sup>97</sup> belongs to one of the most interesting Imperial issues – with the impressive reverse design: *fiscus*, *sella quaestoria* and spear (*hasta*), large **Q** below, thus resembling the tetradrachms of the *quaestors* Aesillas and Sura, *legatus pro quaestore* of Macedonia. Earlier this anonymous issue had been assigned to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia.<sup>98</sup> Later Professor M. Grant convincingly attributed it to Thessalonica and to an unnamed *quaestor pro praetore* of Macedonia in the late years of Caesar (46–44 BC, or after his death).<sup>99</sup> Inexplicably, the *RPC I* editors preferred to assign it to Mark Antony in Cilicia dated to 38 BC.<sup>100</sup> The question remains open until more conclusive evidence is available. However, the *Aquae Calidae* halved specimen support the Macedonian attribution of this series<sup>101</sup>.



**Fig. 10.16.** Bronze issue (21.90g) for Caesar in Macedonia, ca. 46-44 BC/?, type Grant, *FITA*, pp. 13-19 = *RPC I*, p. 715, no. 5409. Photo after *CNG MBS 65* (8 June 2005), no. 1192.

The Augustan halves represented two issues of mass *aes* ‘**C•A / AVGVSTVS**–coinage’ for Asia (type RIC 486 = *RPC I*, 2235) and five of the Macedonian provincial mints (2 Amphipolis, 1 Philippi, 1 Thessalonica and 1 Pella/Dium). This is indicative of the origin of coins brought to *Aquae Calidae* – namely from Macedonia.

They point to the most plausible type of visitors, the people who brought the coins to the sacred springs / baths. Most likely these were Roman soldiers who were stationed nearby (most probably at *Deultum*, *Perinthus* or in

<sup>97</sup> See Gerassimov 1955, no. 4, fig. 1, 3.

<sup>98</sup> Gaebler 1906, 74 and taf. III, 6-7 following Friedländer 1868.

<sup>99</sup> Grant 1946, *FITA*, 13-19, pl. 2, 3.

<sup>100</sup> *RPC I*, 715, no. 5409.

<sup>101</sup> Grant cited one more specimen of this type from southeastern Thrace, purchased in Istanbul, see Grant 1946, 15, no. 8.



Macedonia(?/). Were they just soldiers on a march or visiting the area? We do not know.

Whatever the case, the halved pre-reform of 23 BC coins are typical for the military sites along the Middle and Lower Danube of the late Augustan-Tiberius period.

Located nearly half way between the military camps at *Cabyle* and the veteran's colony of *Deultum* (established in AD 70 under Vespasian), *Aquae Calidae* spring should fit well into the early military history of Roman Thrace.

#### 10.3.4.3 Highlights of *Aquae Calidae* assemblage

- It is not difficult to guess how all coins came to the site. They were brought by the sick visitors: people who made a deliberate act of piety into the sacred water in gratitude for their healing.<sup>102</sup>
- The coin evidence suggests that the baths of *Aquae Calidae* were visited exclusively by visitors from the local regions of Thrace and Moesia, but people from Macedonia and Asia Minor also might have visited it.
- The Republican *denarii* are only single issues which were most probably used / thrown in the spring later – under Augustan and/or Tiberius;
- The presence of such a high number of Roman (Augustan and other Julio-Claudian) *aes* coins in an internal region (not yet a province!) such as Thrace is surprising.
- Out of those identified, a large number of Augustan provincial coins come from mints in Asia Minor– for instance Parium (1), and '**C•A / AVGVSTVS**–coinage' for the province of Asia (*Pergamum* and/or *Ephesus*?);

<sup>102</sup> This is a common practice that still exists in Bulgaria and elsewhere. Indeed, a large number of 19-20<sup>th</sup> century coins were found in the upper layers of both pools at *Aquae Calidae*, as Filow himself stated (Filow 1911, col. 351). Similar cases were also registered in other mineral springs in Thrace: at Hissarja (see Find cat. no. 230), at *Germanea* (mod. Sapareva banya), in *Pautalia* (mod. Kyustendil, see Find cat. no. 260) and in *Serdica*/ modern-day Sofia (see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 611).

- Another Augustan bronze is western – an issue of *colonia Nemausus* (Nîmes) in Gaul for Mark Agrippa and Augustus (series II of 9 – 3 BC, *RPC I*, 524). It means that the coins available there were mixed – again a typical case for a military context.
- A large number of the civic bronze coins from *Aquae Calidae* are countermarked.<sup>103</sup> This number includes two Roman countermarks: one Augustan as with three (**AVG, TI•CAE** and helmet in oval frame)<sup>104</sup> – so typical for the Danubian limes<sup>105</sup> as well as one issue of Perinthus for Nero countermarked with **ΓΑΛ•ΚΑΙ**<sup>106</sup> erasing Nero's face.<sup>107</sup>
- One possible reason for the high increase in coin issues lost under Claudius (244 coins or 21.18 %) could be the events and turmoil in southern Thrace after its transformation into a province (ca. AD 45/6 – 53)<sup>108</sup>.
- Both finds (but particularly the second of 1994) strongly suggests that the stone floor of the first Roman pool was laid under Nero.<sup>109</sup> That should be the time when the first stone construction period of the bath at *Aquae Calidae* (called 'Hellenic' in some of the archaeological reports<sup>110</sup>) was completed, *i.e.* very soon after Thrace was transformed into a Roman province (AD 44/5).
- Before Nero's time the sacred spring must have been in the open air, or as mentioned above, there was only a timber floor above it.
- Late Thracian royal coins (225+ specimens) represent about 20% of the total for the period. They clearly shows that the spring and baths at *Aquae Calidae* were also visited by a considerable number of local people.

<sup>103</sup> See Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 51-81, esp at 52 and 75-6.

<sup>104</sup> Gerassimov 1946, 56, fig. 29, 14.

<sup>105</sup> See in Martini 2002, 117-31, nos. 1.1697–1.2072.

<sup>106</sup> Gerassimov 1946, 78-9, fig. 31, 5.

<sup>107</sup> On this Galban countermark cf. Schönert-Geiss 1965, 36-7; Howgego 1985, no. 527 and Martini 2002a, 205-6, nos. 1.4054 – 1.4065.

<sup>108</sup> See more details in chapter 3. *Historical account of Thrace*, section 3.8.10.

<sup>109</sup> Already pointed out by Filow 1911, cols. 355-6.

<sup>110</sup> See details in Filow 1911, cols. 350-1, Abb. 1.

#### 10.3.4.4 *Aquae Calidae* – a summary

Thus, the material from *Aquae Calidae* is one of the largest accumulations of ancient coins ever published in the Balkans. The assemblage from the spring throw considerable light on the coinage and circulation in early Roman Thrace.

One can observe that the baths at *Aquae Calidae* were frequently visited and used in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Upon departure each visitor has donated a small coin or valuable personal adornment (many *fibulae*, gems, cameos, finger-rings, etc.) – his ‘*votive*’ to the sacred spring and to the Nymphs – in gratitude for his healing.<sup>111</sup> In fact, this was a common ancient practice, also well attested to in the Western Roman provinces. For example, the famous sacred spring of goddess Sulis-Minerva in Bath<sup>112</sup>, or the baths at Nymes and Mont-Beuvray, Bourbonne-les-Bains/Bibracte<sup>113</sup> in Gaul, etc.

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<sup>111</sup> Emphasized also by Filow 1911, col. 356.

<sup>112</sup> See Walker 1988, 281-337: 12,595 coins in total from the sacred spring in Bath. The coins from Bath entirely dominate in the Romano-British site finds.

<sup>113</sup> Sauer 2005, 58-68.

### 10.4. Comparative analysis of the site finds

A comparison between the four sites featured and discussed above (1 *Moesia*, 3 Thracia) is also necessary. Of course, the overall statistics are largely dominated by the *Aquae Calidae* data. However, it appears that in many aspects it is not an exception. Besides the enormous Augustan figure at *Aquae Calidae*, issues of Tiberius and Caligula appear more actively in *Novae* and *Serdica*. Claudian coins present a different story – despite the difference in numbers, they actually overlap (excluding *Cabyle*). Issues of Nero are usually not common from the main Thracian sites and coins nearly disappear during the Civil War (except in *Serdica*). The increase in supply and coin loss under Vespasian is observed everywhere. Less clear under Titus, a new increase in supply is noticeable in the time of Domitian. The Trajanic era experienced a sharp increase in the amount of coinage in circulation.

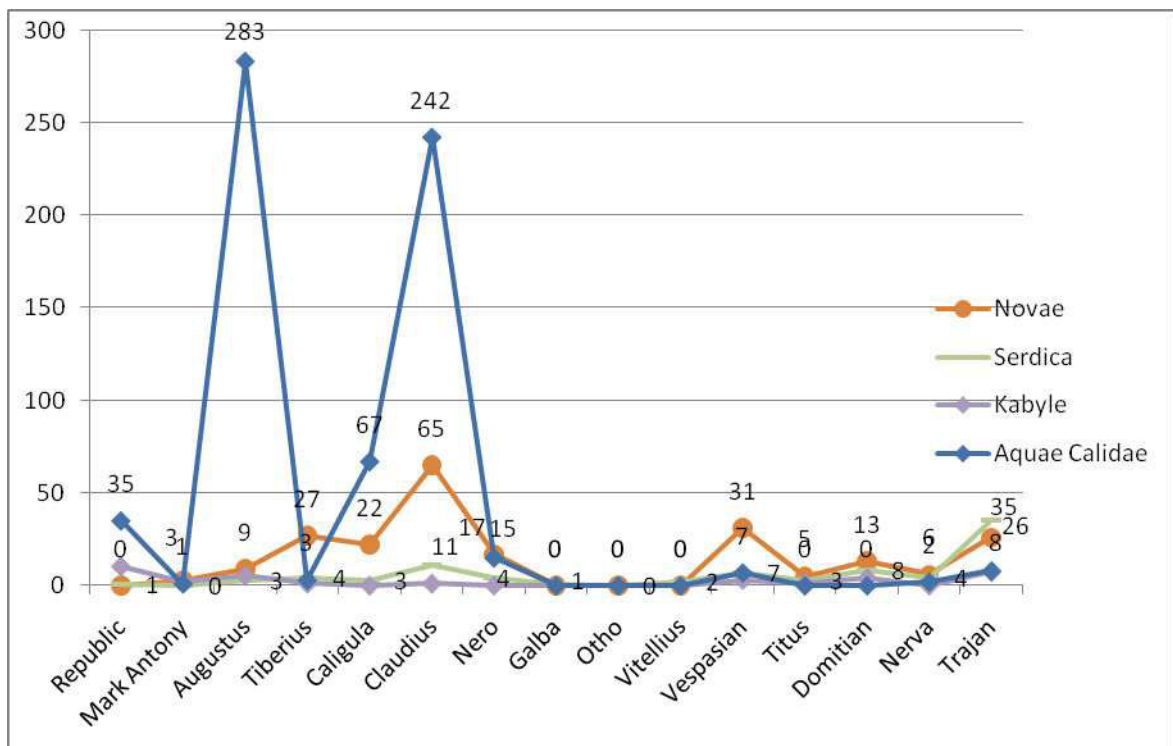


Fig. 10.17. Comparative diagram of denominations in Novae, Serdica, Cabyle and Aquae Calidae.

According to the denominations the following statistics emerge on the sites under study:

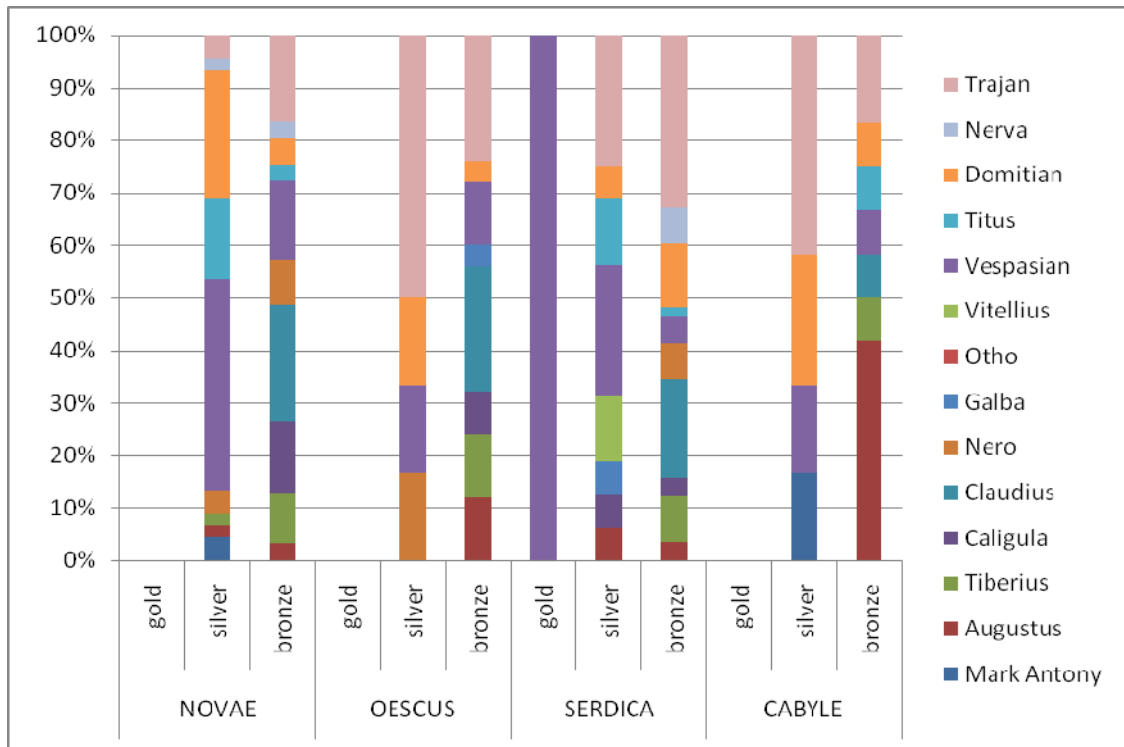


Fig. 10.18. Denominations per four main sites in Moesia and Thrace.

If we compare the denominational structure of selected site finds from Moesia and Thrace with some key Roman sites in Italy and Western Europe (1 Italy, 1 Britain, 2 in Germany and 1 in Pannonia; 1 civic, 4 military) of the same period, the following trends emerge:

Table 10.6. Structure of denominations from selected site finds.

Denomination / site	Serdica	Cabyle	Sorgosia / Pleven	Oescus (combined data)	Novae (combined data)	Pompeii	Comulodunum	Mogontiacum	Haltern <sup>114</sup>	Carnuntum
<b>AV Aureus</b>	1.1%	0	2.4%	0	0	4%	0	<1%	<1%	<1%
<b>AR Denarius</b>	20%	42%	7%	21%	9%	48%	3%	4%	5%	5.2%
<b>AE Sestertius</b>	12.7%	4%	12%	15.6%	16%	9%	10%	10%	3%	6.3%
<b>AE Dupondius</b>	13.95%	4%	16.6%	12.1%	15%	0%	20%	5%	6%	6.6%
<b>AE As</b>	37.2%	31%	57%	24.5%	58%	27%	65%	80%	85%	72.1%
<b>AE Quadrans</b>	1.1%	0	4.7%	12.1%	<1%	11%	1%	<1%	<1%	6.8%
<b>Non-Roman</b>	20.9%	19%	N/D	N/D	1.6%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	N/D

<sup>114</sup> Abandoned in AD 9, see Kraft 1951-52, 28 ff. and *FMRD* VI, 4.

The absolute domination of the as in the Roman mainstream coinage seems universal, from Britain to the Lower Danube<sup>115</sup>. The Moesian/Thracian sites provided more *sestertii* (12-16%) from the period than the western sites (3 to 10%); the same being valid for the *dupondius* (14-15% in the Balkans against 9-10%). The percentage of *denarii* from Moesian/Thracian sites is higher too, *Serdica* being an example (but many plated). As attested to in many places, gold is equally scarce at the site finds in the west and east.<sup>116</sup> Only two single aurei are to be mentioned – one from *Storgosia/ Pleven* (Tiberius), and one from *Serdica* (Vespasian for Domitian Caesar).

The high figure (12.1%) of *quadrantes* in *Oescus* is caused by the four small Trajanic issues of type '*lupa Traiana*' (RIC 691 and 694 = Woytek 2010, 599 and 600). Recently they are convincingly re-interpreted as '*semisses*', with an average weight of 3.14 – 3.15 g.<sup>117</sup> These coins apparently circulated in the *Oescus* area in AD 105/6 during the preparations for the invasion of Dacia.<sup>118</sup> However, it must be taken with caution because of the condition of the *Oescus* coin assemblage publication<sup>119</sup>.

What is striking is the very high number of 'non-Roman' coinage in both Thracian sites: *Serdica* and *Cabyle* (19-21 %). In fact, this is normal and it is caused by the provincial issues of neighbouring Macedonian mints (mostly KOINΩN MAKEΔONΩN and Philippi), which supplemented the bronze, especially under Claudius and Nero. Late Thracian royal coins also contributed to the local market specifics until their disappearance in AD 44/5. The figure of 'non-Roman' for the legionary camp of Novae (1%) fits well with the western statistics.

## 10.5. Context and typology of the site finds

<sup>115</sup>Kunisz claimed that the *as* in *Novae* took up to as far as 75% of the total, but his data includes the entire 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Kunisz 1993, 334).

<sup>116</sup> See Găzdac 2010, 94-95; more comments in chapter 9. *The Denarius system*, 9.8. *Gold*.

<sup>117</sup> See most recently Woytek 2010, 159, and Woytek 2012b, NZ 119, 7–30.

<sup>118</sup> *Contra* Woytek (2010, 159, 484-5) who dated both *semis*-series after AD 109 solely on the grounds of portrait features of Trajan.

<sup>119</sup> See full details in Find Cat. nos. 213-214.

The following typological categories can be distinguished from the available evidence. They are designed and attributed for each entry of 'stray' coins according to the archaeological context as:

1. Military sites (legionary camp, auxiliary forts, etc) – **M**
2. Civil sites (settlements, towns, *villae*, farming) – **C**
3. Production centres (for pottery, bricks, lime, etc) – **P**
4. Roadside (along ancient roads, stations, pass) – **R**
5. Votives/sacred (sanctuaries, temples, baths, spa) – **V**
6. Funerary (burials as 'Charron's obol') – **F**
7. Extraneous (in earlier / later settlement, fills, etc.) – **E**
8. Uncertain/ unspecified (not identified or not clear) – abbreviation **U**.

The above categories relate to the site type where the coins were found. When grouped and coins calculated, the following picture appears:

Table 10.7.

<b>No.</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>No. of coins</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1.	MILITARY SITES	587	21%
2.	CIVIL SITES	268	10%
3.	PRODUCTION CENTRES	29	1 %
4.	ROADSIDE	50	2 %
5.	VOTIVES/RITUAL	1293	47%
6.	FUNERARY	33	1%
7.	EXTRANEIOUS	3	0
8.	UNCERTAIN	479	18%

Firstly, the 'military' sites (comparative table 16) – this group includes coins from the legionary camps in *Moesia* (*Ratiaria*<sup>120</sup>, *Oescus*<sup>121</sup>, *Novae*<sup>122</sup> and *Durostorum*<sup>123</sup>); major and smaller auxiliary forts (to mention *Dorticum*,<sup>124</sup>

<sup>120</sup> On the coins from Ratiaria see Божкова / Boškova 1986, 42-5 = Bozkova 1987, 97-110 and the comments in Kunisz 1992, 163-4; Find cat. nos. 162 and 399; and Gazetteer, no. 10.

<sup>121</sup> Иванов – Ковачева / Ivanov – Kovacheva 2002, 52-4, and details in Find cat. nos. 213-214.

<sup>122</sup> See above (Case study 1) and details in Find cat. nos.376-380; Gazetteer, no. 39.

<sup>123</sup> See Иванов – Атанасов – Донеvски / Ivanov – Atanasov – Donevski 2006, and Gazetteer no. 74.

*Augustae*,<sup>125</sup> *Regianum*,<sup>126</sup> *Variana*,<sup>127</sup> *Pedoniana/Ostrov*<sup>128</sup>, *Asamus*,<sup>129</sup> *Utus*,<sup>130</sup> *Jatrus*,<sup>131</sup> *Sexaginta Prista*,<sup>132</sup> *Appiaria*<sup>133</sup> *Popina*<sup>134</sup>, and *Durostorum/Ostrov*<sup>135</sup>). Here also belong a number of interior sites (comparative table 17), such as *Combustica*,<sup>136</sup> *Montana*,<sup>137</sup> *Storgosia/Pleven*,<sup>138</sup> *Sostra*,<sup>139</sup> *Ad Radices*,<sup>140</sup> *Sub Radice*,<sup>141</sup> *Abritus*<sup>142</sup>, *Cabyle*<sup>143</sup> and early *Serdica*<sup>144</sup>) which were directly established by, or related to, the Roman army during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Secondly, the civil sites (comparative table 18). Here are grouped the cities in inland Thrace (to include *Philippopolis*,<sup>145</sup> *Diocletianopolis-Hissar*<sup>146</sup>, *Augusta Traiana*,<sup>147</sup> *Deultum*,<sup>148</sup> *Marcianopolis*<sup>149</sup>, *Nicopolis ad Istrum*<sup>150</sup>), rural

<sup>124</sup> Иванов / Ivanov, "Dorticum" in Ivanov 2 (Sofia 2003), 11-17; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 135-136 and Find cat. no. 405; Gazetteer, no. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Ivanov 1997, 483-5 and 543-8; Mashov, in *Limes. Studi di storia* 5 (1994), 21-36; Иванов / Ivanov, in Ivanov (2003), 27-38; Аврамова – Машов / Avramova – S. Mashov (Sofia 2006), 19-26; and Find cat. nos. 227-228; Gazetteer, no. 18.

<sup>126</sup> Б. Николов / Nikolov, "Monuments antiques de la région de Vraca", *BIAB* 30 (Sofia 1967), 233; Find cat. nos. 249 and Gazetteer no. 17.

<sup>127</sup> Find cat. nos. 262-263; and Gazetteer, no. 26.

<sup>128</sup> Gazetteer no. 27.

<sup>129</sup> See Find cat. nos. 197-198 and Gazetteer, no. 35.

<sup>130</sup> Madzharov 2009, 155-7 and Gazetteer, no. 33.

<sup>131</sup> See Schönert-Geiss, in *Iatrus-Krivina (1992-2000)* Band VI (2007), 329-82; Find cat. no. 253 and Gazetteer, no. 44.

<sup>132</sup> Now Vurbanov 2012, 209-47; Find cat. 336-337 and Gazetteer no. 51.

<sup>133</sup> Филов / Filow, 1911, 274 = Filow, in *AA JDAI* 26 (Berlin 1911), 369; Vladimirova-Aladjova, in *Numizmatika* 20/2 (Sofia 1986), 36-8; and and Vladimirova-Aladjova 1999, 45-9; details in Find cat. no. 329 and Gazetteer, no. 60.

<sup>134</sup> Details in Find cat. nos. 320 and Gazetteer, no. 71.

<sup>135</sup> Dima – Elefterescu 2009, 44-50 and Find cat. no. 298;

<sup>136</sup> Gazetteer, no. 9.

<sup>137</sup> Александров / Alexandrov 1977, 279, 287; Александров / Alexandrov, in Велков/Velkov, *Montana* 1 (Sofia 1987), 80, fig. 8; Find cat. no. 281 and Gazetteer no. 19.

<sup>138</sup> Ковачева / Kovacheva 2005, 55-8 and details in Find cat. nos. 310-314.

<sup>139</sup> Христов / Hristov, in *Sostra* 2 (Sofia 2006), 11-65; Madzharov 2009, 205-6; and Find cat. no. 265; Gazetteer no. 35.

<sup>140</sup> Христов и др. / Hristov et al. 2004, 9-19; Madzharov 2009, 206 and Gazetteer no. 129.

<sup>141</sup> Христов и др. / Hristov et alii 2004, 120-34; Madzharov 2009, 209-10 and Gazetteer no. 127.

<sup>142</sup> Радославова – Дзанев / Radoslavova – Dzanev 2003, 110-48, Find cat. no. 325 and Gazetteer no. 78.

<sup>143</sup> Find cat. nos. 232 and 408-409; Gazetteer no. 140 (with refs.) and above, Case Study 3.

<sup>144</sup> See preliminary reports in Иванов / Ivanov 2011, 316-9; Иванов/ Ivanov 2012, 315-7 and above, Case study 2; full details in Find cat. no. 360-362 and Gazetteer no. 93.

<sup>145</sup> See recently Topalilov 2012, in *TIR K35/2*, 293-9; Find cat. no. 317 and Gazetteer no. 110.

<sup>146</sup> Маджаров / Madzharov 2003; Find cat. no. 230 and Gazetteer no. 125.

<sup>147</sup> Минкова / Minkova 2005, 79-102; Find cat. nos. 367-368 and Gazetteer no. 136.

<sup>148</sup> Геров 1980, 41-4; Балабанов – Петрова / Balabanov – Petrova, in *Ivanov* 1, 2002, 237-50; Draganov 2007, 24–35; Find cat. nos. 201-202 and Gazetteer no. 143.

<sup>149</sup> Ангелов / Angelov, in *Ivanov* 1, 105-24; Gazetteer no. 77.

<sup>150</sup> Poulter 1995; Poulter 1999; Butcher, 279-80, 302-5; Guest 1999, 314-29; see full details in Find cat. no. 290-292 and Gazetteer no. 139.



settlements (*vici*).<sup>151</sup> This category also contains the few published farms (*villae rusticae*) of the Principate period such as the ones at Breznik<sup>152</sup> and Busintsi<sup>153</sup> in western Thrace, Madara<sup>154</sup> near Shumen, and Chataalka<sup>155</sup>. The coin evidence from these sites is limited (so far half as many as the military) since the published coin assemblages from excavations are few.

Thirdly, production centres (comparative table 19): here one can count the few excavated Roman pottery kilns at Butovo<sup>156</sup> and Pavlikeni<sup>157</sup> in the territory of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, and the lime-workshops at *Jatrus* on the Danube.<sup>158</sup>

Furthermore, the overall domination of votives / ritual coins (47%) is due to the enormous assemblage of *Aquae Calidae* sacred spring.<sup>159</sup> This category also includes a large number of coins from Thracian sanctuaries in the plain areas (Lozen<sup>160</sup> near Lyubimets, Viden<sup>161</sup> near Kazanluk, Branipole<sup>162</sup>, and Dyulevo<sup>163</sup> near Strelcha); in the Rhodopes (Tatul<sup>164</sup>, Ruchey<sup>165</sup>, Sivino<sup>166</sup>, Kostandovo<sup>167</sup>, Debrashtitsa<sup>168</sup>, Velingrad-Ostrets<sup>169</sup>, and Babyak<sup>170</sup>) and

<sup>151</sup> For the rural communities in *Lower Moesia* see Poulter 1980, 729-44; Poulter 2007, 361-84 and Tomas 2009, 31-47.

<sup>152</sup> See Андреев / Andreev 1932, 142-3 and Find cat. no. 186.

<sup>153</sup> No published records for the site near Tran in Pernik region, see Find cat. no. 191.

<sup>154</sup> Дремсизова-Нелчинова / Dremiszova-Nelchinova 1984; Герасимов / Gerassimov 1960, 57-61; and Find cat. no. 272.

<sup>155</sup> Николов / Nikolov 1984, 3-73; and Find cat. no. 195.

<sup>156</sup> Kunicz 1992, 141; М. Цочев / Tsochev 1998 and Find cat. no. 193.

<sup>157</sup> Tsochev / Цочев 1998, 109-1 and Find cat. no. 304.

<sup>158</sup> See Вагалински / Vagalinski, in *AOR Reports for 2005* (Sofia 2006), 186-7; Vagalinski, in *JRA Suppl.* 82 (2011), 55; details in Find cat. no. 254.

<sup>159</sup> See above and full details in Finds cat. nos. 166-168 and Gazetteer no. 145.

<sup>160</sup> Sanctuary of *Apollo Geikesenos* and the Thracian Horseman, see Добруски / Dobrusky, in *SbNUNK* vol. 11 (Sofia 1894), 75-6 and Добруски / Dobrusky, in *Annuaire Sofia* 1 (Sofia 1907), 124-6; details in Find cat. no. 266.

<sup>161</sup> Домарадски/Domaradzky, "Culture of the Thracians during the Late Iron Age in the Kazanluk region", In: *The Thracian Culture during Hellenistic Age in the Kazanluk region* (Kazanluk 1991), 127; Find cat. no. 397.

<sup>162</sup> Цончев / Tzonchev, "Staroto selishte pri s. Brani pole", *GNAMP* 1 (Plovdiv 1948), 41; and Find cat. no. 180.

<sup>163</sup> See Ботушарова / Botusharova, in *GNAMP* 1, (Plovdiv 1948), 73 and Find cat. no. 211.

<sup>164</sup> Unpublished, see a preliminary report in Овчаров – Лещаков – Коджаманова/ Ovcharov – Leshtakov – Kodzhamanova – Dimitrov, 'The ancient *heroon* at Tatul', *Arheologija* (Sofia 2008), no. 1-4, 49-54; Find cat. no. 383.

<sup>165</sup> Герасимов / Gerassimov, "Светилище на тракийския конник при с. Ручей", *BIAB* 13, (Sofia 1939), pp. 325-327; Gerassimov 1934, in *BIAB* 8, 472-3 (basic list of coins); Find cat. no. 331.

<sup>166</sup> Георгиева / Georgieva, in *AOR Reports 1977* (Sofia 1978), 51-3; Прокопов / Prokopov, *Smoljan* (1991), 14, 53-4, figs. 168-170; *CCCHBulg.* III, nos. 739, 1192 and 1197; Find cat. no. 350.

<sup>167</sup> Unpublished excavations, see Ив. Панайотов – Н. Гиздова – Б. Колева / Panayotov – Gizdova – Koleva, *AOR Reports for 1978* (Sofia 1979), 61-3 and Find cat. no. 248.

mountain rock sanctuaries in Western Thrace (Vladimir<sup>171</sup>, Baykalsko<sup>172</sup>, Dobravitsa<sup>173</sup>). Coins from sacred places in *Moesia* are also included – for instance at Liliache<sup>174</sup> near Vratsa, Staliyska Mahala<sup>175</sup> near *Almus*/ Lom, Russe<sup>176</sup>, Telerig<sup>177</sup> in *Scythia minor*. A bulk of Republican and Augustan *denarii* fall into this group, provincial bronzes and issues of the latest Thracian kings.

In the time of Augustus coins on most of the sacred sites in Thrace mentioned above abruptly cease (details in comparative table 20). Apparently, only a handful of sanctuaries survived the coming of the Romans (and respectively - the crushing of both Thracian uprising in the Rhodopes in AD 21 and 26)<sup>178</sup>. Of them the central rock-cut sanctuary at Tatul in the Eastern Rhodopes yielded a *denarius* of Tiberius and issues of Rhoemetalces II. The sanctuaries at Liliache, Russe and Telerig continued to exist and to be used by the local population after the formation of Roman *Moesia*.

Fifth, the roadside finds. This a small category of coins all discovered along the Roman roads in Thrace (more in chapter 2.6).<sup>179</sup> Mainly this is the imperial *via militaris* / *diagonalis* crossing Thrace west-east from *Naissus/Serdica* to *Adrianople*.<sup>180</sup> Then comes the *Oescus* – *Philippopolis* trans-*Haemus mons* military road built before Trajan.<sup>181</sup> This road yielded a bulk

<sup>168</sup> Unpublished, see a report in Д. Катинчарова / Katincharova, in *AOR Archaeological Reports for 2001*, (Sofia 2002), 69-70; and Find cat. no. 204.

<sup>169</sup> Find cat. no. 396.

<sup>170</sup> Филипова – Прокопов / Filipova – Prokopov 2008, 165-172; and Find cat. no. 164.

<sup>171</sup> No written records about this site near Radomir, region of Pernik, see Find cat. no. 401.

<sup>172</sup> A sanctuary of Zeus and Hera at the "Tchokljovo blato" lake, see Добруски / Dobrusky, in *Annuaire Sofia* 1 (Sofia 1907), 156-7, no. 206; Геров / Gerov 1961, 330, no. 203; Detschew, in *ВИАВ* 7 (Sofia 1933), 384-5; Прокопов / Prokopov 1987, 119, note 97; and Find cat. no. 170.

<sup>173</sup> Х. и К. Шкорпил / Škorpil, *Mogjili* (Plovdiv 1898), 117; and Find cat. no. 205.

<sup>174</sup> Венедиков / Venedikov, in *ВИА* 18 (Sofia 1952), 210-1; Find cat. no. 264.

<sup>175</sup> Бонев – Александров / Bonev – Alexandrov, "Archaeological excavations of Thracian sanctuary in locality Bagatchina near Staliyska mahala", *Arheologija (Sofia)* 27, (1986) no. 3, 49, fig. 1; Bonev – Alexandrov (Sofia 1994), 50, fig. 105; see Find cat. no. 365.

<sup>176</sup> A sanctuary of Apollo and earlier Thracian pit sanctuary in the central area of *Sexaginta Prista*, see Hawthorne – Vurbanov – Dragoev, in *JRA Suppl.* 82 (2011), 73 and 80, now Върбанов / Vurbanov 2012, 209-47; Find cat. no. 336.

<sup>177</sup> Torbatov, in *Studia Liubae Ognenova-Marinova* (Sofia 2005), 80-91; see Find cat. no. 284.

<sup>178</sup> More on both episodes see in chapter 3. History of Thrace, section 3.8.9.

<sup>179</sup> See most recently Маджаров / Madjarov 2009 and Speidel 2009, 501-13, esp. at 503 and 512.

<sup>180</sup> On the course and history of *via militaris* / *diagonalis* in Thrace, see Jireček 1877, 46-7; Todorov 1937, 20ff, fig. 9; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009 and Gazetteer nos. 93, 99-123.

<sup>181</sup> Аврамов / Avramov 1914, 226-40; Маджаров / Madjarov 1985, 36-44; Христов / Hristov 2002; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, and Gazetteer nos. 124-135.

of pre-Trajanic issues starting with Augustus from nearly all stations along its course (comparative table 21). That most probably means it was used earlier, perhaps as early as AD 21-26 when the Moesian legions twice appeared at *Philippopolis* being the shortest way from Danube to the plain of Thrace. It was certainly repaired under Nero in AD 61 as an inscription from the station *Viamata/Mihiltsi* attests.<sup>182</sup>

*Funerary* – is another minor category formed by coins found as grave goods in Thracian tumular burials – the so called 'Charron's obol'.<sup>183</sup> Most come from mounds (*tumuli*), including the Celtic/?/ burial at Bratya Daskalovi<sup>184</sup> and the rich graves of Thracian/Odryian aristocrats of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD from Iztochnata mogila near Karanovo<sup>185</sup>, mound no. 7 at Chatalka<sup>186</sup>, Kitova mogila at Krushare near Sliven<sup>187</sup>, etc.

Grouped together the first two categories – the *military* and *civil* site finds would give a total of 855+ coins, or 31%. If we exclude the 'votives' from the calculation, we shall see that these are the places where most coins were found, the most intensely monetized areas of the provincial society.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>182</sup> see *CIL* III, 6123 = 14207<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> On this ancient custom see S.T. Stevens, "Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice", *Phoenix* 45, no. 3 (Toronto 1991), 215–29 and В. Герасимова / Gerassimova, in *Numizmatika (Sofia)* 4 (1972), no. 2, 13-7.

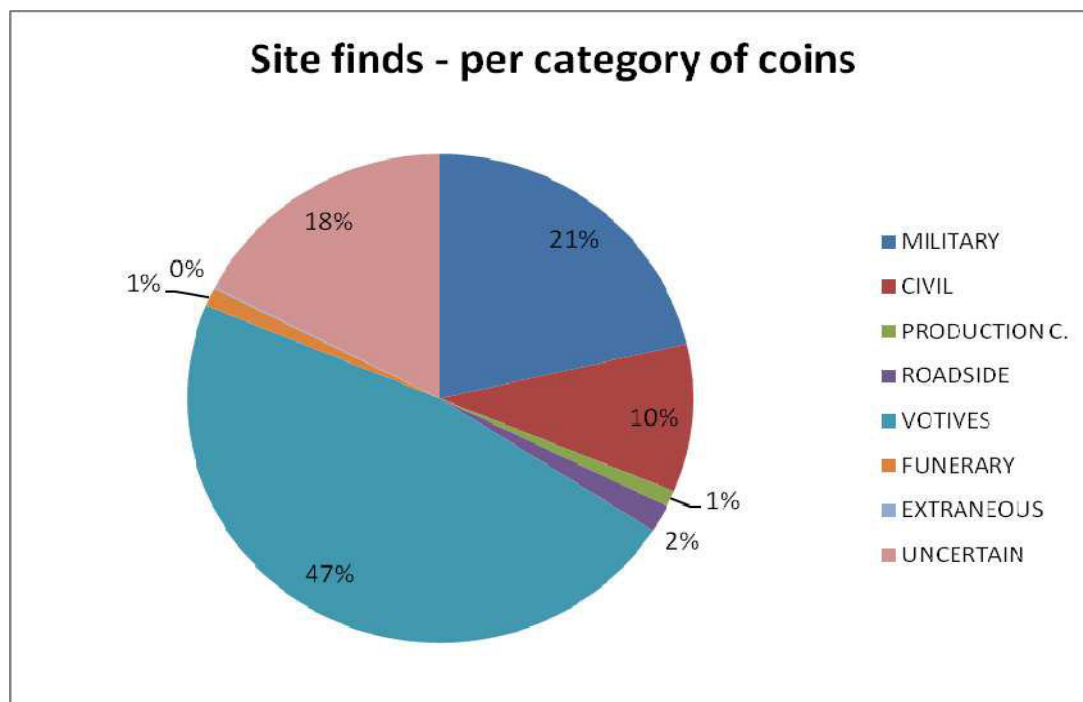
<sup>184</sup> On the coins of this site see Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-6, and Find cat. no. 183.

<sup>185</sup> Игнатов и др. / Ignatov *et alii*, *AOR Reports for 2009*, (Sofia 2010), 247-9 and Find cat. no. 236.

<sup>186</sup> See Буюклиев / Buyukliev 1986 and full details in Find cat. no. 194.

<sup>187</sup> Unpublished tumulus find of August 2009 (5 Republican *denarii* and 1 Augustus), see preliminary report in Д. Димитрова / Dimitrova, in *AOR Reports for 2009*, (Sofia 2010), 255-6.

<sup>188</sup> More on this view in Wolters 2001, 579-88; Wolters 2012, 345.



**Fig. 10.19.** Site finds – per category of coins.

Finally, it should be stated that a proportion of the studied stray coins (nearly 500) stored in various museums and collections in Bulgaria, remains without recorded provenance and archaeological context (marked with category U = 'uncertain' – 18%).

### 10.6. Odd / 'Exotic' coins in Thrace

In fact, along with the regular coins some foreign and completely unusual coin issues attracted my attention. They are uncommon for the coinage pool in Thrace and therefore have been given a special mention in the current study. For instance, a few 1<sup>st</sup> century AD tetradrachms of Alexandria in Egypt in the museum of Pazardzhik which hosts many finds from the Upper Maritsa / *Hebros* valley area. Actually, these are integrated in an unpublished hoard deposited there.<sup>189</sup> There are 5 billion coins of Claudius (2 – dated in regnal year 1 = AD 41/2) and Nero (3 pieces – dated in years 11, 13 and 14 = AD 64/5, 66/7 and 67/8).<sup>190</sup> As mentioned, these are unique so far and were brought into the territory under study from a long distance away. Their presence in the region

<sup>189</sup> Inventory numbers 177-180 and 221. Sadly no record of provenance was noted in the book, but most likely from the region of Pazardzhik in the 1920-1930's.

<sup>190</sup> Examined in 2005 by the author. To be published by I. Prokopov, S. Filipova and E. Paunov in a forthcoming volume of *CCCHBulg. Series* (planned for 2013).

might have been seen as result of the passing of foreign units and army forces such as the movement of *legio VI Ferrata* from Syria to Italy in October/November 69 AD, on its way to fight for Vespasian's cause.

However, these rare coins are not completely isolated in the area under study. Single tetradrachms of Alexandria for Nero are known from the legionary camp at *Novae*<sup>191</sup> and one was found between *Montana* and *Ratiaria* (the village of Slavotin, Montana region).<sup>192</sup>

### 10.7. Site finds in Moesia and Thrace: general observations

Assessment of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD coin circulation in the Thracian provinces is a matter of difficulty due to both major factors emphasized at the beginning of this chapter. Firstly, it comprises incomplete evidence from a limited number of excavated sites, and secondly – a very fragmentary published record from the region. However, after a comprehensive analysis of the collected evidence, some specifics of the Early Principate circulation began to emerge.

First, the stray and site finds of single Roman Republican coins are excluded from this analysis. This is due to the fact that a Republican *denarius* struck in 120 or 60 BC might have entered into circulation in Thrace / Moesia well into the first century AD, or even later. A typical example is the legionary camp of *Novae*, where in principle all Republican *denarii* should have a date or arrival after AD 44/5 as “*terminus post quem*”.<sup>193</sup> Thus, no Republican issue (or even a number of Julio-Claudian ones) has a real dating value, unless found in a controlled and stratified archaeological context.<sup>194</sup>

Second, as demonstrated above for *Novae* – in the case of province of *Moesia*, due to its military nature, mainstream Roman coins accounted for virtually all the coinage in circulation.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Quoted by Kunisz 1992, 74 and 135.

<sup>192</sup> Now kept in Historical Museum of Montana (inv. no. 501), see Kunisz 1992, 135 (misplaced).

<sup>193</sup> This observation is confirmed by the common physical condition (worn to very worn) of all Republican coins from the early Imperial sites. Of them, the Marcus Antonian 'legionary' *denarii* of 32-31 BC largely prevail in quantity.

<sup>194</sup> As in the case of the excavations in *Serdica*, campaigns 2010-2012, see above.

<sup>195</sup> As pointed out by the editors of *RPC* I, 22.

To begin with the Augustan coins. A few early sites in *Moesia* (most of all – in *Augustae* and some from *Ratiaria*) show that the Rome' *aes*-issues of moneyers (*tresviri monetales*)<sup>196</sup> from ca. 18 – 6 BC are numerous. Many of them were countermarked later in the time of Tiberius and Claudius. Bearing it in mind their presence, it should be related with the arrival of the first military units in *Moesia* after ca. AD 6.<sup>197</sup>

To the south, in Thrace, the case was the reverse. There I have examined a good amount of the '**C•A / AVGVSTVS**–coinage' struck in western Asia Minor (types RIC I<sup>2</sup> 483-486 and RPC I 2233-2235) which enhances our knowledge. They become a matter of discussion according to their site allocation: at *Cabyle*<sup>198</sup>, *Serdica*<sup>199</sup>, at *Philippopolis*<sup>200</sup>, near Smolyan in the Central Rhodopes<sup>201</sup>, at *Anchialus/ Pomorie*<sup>202</sup> and the bulk from *Aquae Calidae*.

It become apparent that this was the most numerous Augustan type in the territories of *Moesia* and Thrace during the Augustan period<sup>203</sup>. In comparison, the amount of **C•A**-*aes* coins in western *Pannonia* (mod. Slovenia) to do not usually exceeds 2-3% (Miškec 2009, 286-7).

Some of the *asses* of the '**C•A / AVGVSTVS**'- series are halved by cutting (2 in *Cabyle* and 1 *Aquae Calidae*), which is indicative of the low supply of small change, as attested in the western provinces. Halves of Augustan *asses* appear in numbers at the auxiliary fort of *Augustae* in *Moesia* – 16+ specimens (see find cat. no. 227, 21-36). Therefore, the halving is no longer a phenomenon confined only to Italy, Gaul and Germany<sup>204</sup>, but also occurred in the Lower Danube region. As the regional halving of *aes*-coins was well assigned to the late Augustan – Tiberius period until the AD 20s–30s for the Rhine limes<sup>205</sup>, the same date should be applicable for the Eastern Balkan provinces.

<sup>196</sup> See Kraft 1951/2, 28-35; Sutherland 1984, 31-4; and recently – Wolters 2012, 338.

<sup>197</sup> For the events, compare chapter *Historical account of Thrace, 3. Moesia*.

<sup>198</sup> See above, Case study 3: Cabyle.

<sup>199</sup> See above and Find cat. no. 362, 1 (sestertius) and 2 (as).

<sup>200</sup> See Find cat. nos. 317, 1 and 318, 2.

<sup>201</sup> See Find cat. nos. 357, 7.

<sup>202</sup> Unpublished, kept in the Burgas Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2166, acquired in 1976.

<sup>203</sup> Noticed also by Martini 2003b, p. xiii.

<sup>204</sup> As Blanchet (1897) and Strack (1902) argued, this is now revised by Buttrey 1972, 31-45.

<sup>205</sup> Buttrey 1972, 39 and 42, but see the doubts about this dating in Miškec 2009, 288-9.

The short but intensive coinage of Caligula<sup>206</sup> needs a particular mention with regard to its local provincial circulation. The finds of precious metal in the region are few – two *aurei* (one with no provenance in Sofia museum, the other – possibly from *Ratiaria*?) and one *denarius* (plated) from *Serdica*. More important is the observation on afterlife of the *aes*-coinage of Caligula in Moesia. It was not completely withdrawn and melted according to the Senate's regulations after his assassination and *damnatio memoriae* in AD 41, as previously thought.<sup>207</sup> On the contrary, a large number of the same coins derive from military sites such as *Novae* (13 S, 1 Dp, 6 As) and its area (5 Dp, 13 As, 1 Qd), *Regianum* (1 As), *Variana* (3 As), *Storgosia* and its area (17 As), Baykal near *Oescus* (1 As), *Oescus* itself (2 As)<sup>208</sup>, *Dimum* (1 As), *Jatrus* (1 As), *Appiaria* (1), and Ostrov near *Durostorum* (6 As) – provided substantial evidence.

Besides the issues for Marcus Agrippa and Germanicus, the regular *as*-issues of the VESTA type (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 38) are common in the site finds. Excluding the *Novae* group, so far more than 24 *aes* coins of Caligula are represented in Moesian finds of the period. For example Gaius coinage appears also at regular inland sites – the ceramic kilns at Palvikeni (3 As) and Butovo (1 As). The case of the *aes* coinage of Caligula is similar into Thrace – 67 *asses* in *Aquae Calidae* (mostly of Marcus Agrippa type), *Anchialus* (1 As), *Cabyle* area (1 As), *Philippopolis* and its area (1 S, 4 As), *Serdica* (1 D, 3 As), *Augusta Traiana* area (3 As), Haskovo area (1 As), etc. The vast majority of Caligulan issues are of the type with Marcus Agrippa on the obverse and Neptune on the reverse (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58). They represent 24 specimens from *Moesia* and 64 more from *Thrace*. The rare *sestertii* of Gaius depicting the funeral of his mother Agrippina Maior (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 55) were also frequently found in Moesia. To be more precise, one specimen has been published from *Montana*, one registered from *Novae* sector

<sup>206</sup> For the coinage of Caligula see *RIC I<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 104-110; Szaivert 1984; von Kaenel 1994, 51-2; a good review in Metcalf 1989, 52-8.

<sup>207</sup> Kunisz 1992, 86 and recently Ciołek – Dyczek 2011, 236.

<sup>208</sup> A small hoard of 6 AE from Oescus/ 1931 dating to the time of Antoninus Pius contains a single *as* of Caligula, see Gerassimov 1934, 423.

X (and one imitation of the same site), and many others allegedly from the *Ratiaria/Vidin* area.<sup>209</sup>

Therefore, the existing theory for the complete withdrawal and melting down of Caligula *aes*-coinage<sup>210</sup> should be reconsidered and revised. However, it remains unclear if this phenomenon suggests the loyalty of the Moesian / Balkan armies to the memory of Gaius, or it had much simpler monetary reasons – the deficiency of small change in the Claudian-Neronian period.

Next, the coins of Claudius are abundant in *Moesia* and *Thrace*. They amount to some 386 coins (244 *Æ* from *Aquae Calidae*), with the *aes* – being most numerous – 126 pieces: 27 *sestertii*, 7 *dupondii* and 92 *asses* (Comparative table 13).

It must be emphasized that the Claudian finds of *aes* apparently mark the centres of earlier Romanisation in Moesia and Thrace. Most probably, the site finds indicate the places of movement and settlement of Roman military or veterans, immediately after the annexation of Thrace in AD 45/6. A couple of places in southern Thrace demonstrate notable concentrations – around *Philippopolis* / Plovdiv and *Heracleia Sintica* / Rupite. In a word, Claudian coins were injected *en masse* in Thrace with the transformation of the kingdom into a province after AD 45/6.

In the case of *Novae*, *Sexaginta Prista* and *Appiaria* – the finds of *dupondii* struck in the name of Antonia Minor, the mother of Claudius (RIC 92) – show a particular supply to the Moesian limes troops in AD 41-42. The overall number of known Claudian imitations from Moesia is relatively low – only five pieces (three *sestertii* and two *asses*), plus two more coins (with no provenance known) published by Penchev.<sup>211</sup> This is quite a limited quantity, compared with the amount of imitations published in both volumes of R. Martini on Moesian countermarks.<sup>212</sup>

As regards the silver, earlier *denarii* of Claudius and Nero simply disappear from circulation with the currency reform in AD 64. All attested *denarii*

<sup>209</sup> A few *sestertii* of Agrippina Senior (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 55) examined by the author and Dr I. Prokopov in Vidin Historical Museum in 2005-6.

<sup>210</sup> Burnett 1977, 55; Duncan-Jones 1994, 98, n.9 and 221.

<sup>211</sup> Пенчев / Penchev 1973, 4-8.

<sup>212</sup> Martini 2002 and 2003a.



of Nero are post-reform (8 in Moesia, 9 in Thrace) which again supports the premise.

As pointed out, Nero's coinage in base metal until AD 64 was irregular and limited in volume.<sup>213</sup> This is the natural reason for the restricted number of Neronian *aes* in Moesian and Thracian site finds: respectively 37 and 30. The issues of Lugdunum prevail along the *limes*, while in Thrace they are mostly from the mint of Rome. In addition, a good number of provincial coins of Nero have been registered in the south (13 coins, against only 1 in Moesia). But the most frequent are the issues of Perinthus (9), followed by those of Thessalonica and ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. Countermarked coins (applied on issues from Augustus to Nero), local imitations and halves are typical for *Moesia* for the period up to AD 68/9 (Martini 2002 and 2003; Comparative table 15).

Apparently,<sup>213</sup> during the entire Julio-Claudian period the *aes*-coinage was not supplied to Moesia on a regular (annual) basis. This is confirmed by the presence of imitations (local and imported), numerous countermarks and cast copies.

As a rule, the coins of the *Year of the Four Emperors* are very rare. *Serdica* is the only notable exception with 1 *denarius* of Galba and 2 *denarii* of Vitellius.<sup>214</sup> The area of Vidin (from *Ratiaria?*), *Oescus* and *Abritus* in Moesia yielded single site finds of the period: respectively 2 *denarii* of Galba, 1 *as* of Galba and 1 *denarius* of Otho. Limited number of Civil War coins also derived from Thrace, all arranged as follows:

Table 10.8.

No.	Emperor	Denomination	Type (RIC)	Mint	Provenance	Disposition
1.	Galba	denarius	49	Tarraco	Vidin area ( <i>Ratiaria?</i> )	Vidin, 632
2.	Galba	denarius	167	Rome	Vidin area ( <i>Ratiaria?</i> )	Vidin, 455
3.	Galba	denarius	167	Rome	Troyan, Haskovo reg.	Haskovo, 950
4.	Galba	denarius	186	Rome	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 1460
5.	Galba	sestertius	467	Rome	Plovdiv area	Plovdiv, 1182
6.	Galba	dupondius / as ?	318 or 328?	Rome	Arbanas, Radomir	Pernik, 6110/ 1988
7.	Galba	denarius	167 or 170?	Rome	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, field A1745/ 2010
8.	Otho	denarius	?	Rome	Ragzrad – <i>Abritus</i>	Sofia, NAIM, n/a?

<sup>213</sup> von Kaenel 1986, 258; Giard 2000, 24 Wolters 1999, 80; Wolters 2012, 346.

<sup>214</sup> For more comments on this case, see above in Case study 2: *Serdica*.

9.	<b>Vitellius</b>	denarius	56?	Rome	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, field A841/ 2010
10.	<b>Vitellius</b>	denarius	105	Rome	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, field A1502/ 2010
11.	<b>Vitellius</b>	denarius	73	Rome	Rogosh, Plovdiv area	Plovdiv, 2009
12.	<b>Vitellius</b>	denarius	109	Rome	Kula – <i>Castra Martis</i>	Vidin, 1543

The Flavian era provided stability and economic progress after the Civil War.<sup>215</sup> Moesian limes was stabilized and intensively fortified and in Thrace – the first wave of Roman colonists and veterans were settled (mainly at *Deultum* and *Philippopolis*).<sup>216</sup> Under Vespasian, most probably in AD 74, the province of *Thracia* was first taxed.<sup>217</sup> In numismatic terms, a slow but constant increase in the coin circulation is observed at many sites in the region. The statistical record of the mainstream Flavian coinage<sup>218</sup> from the main and secondary sites is as following:

Table 10.9.

<b>Site</b>	<b>Vespasian</b>		<b>Titus</b>		<b>Domitian</b>		<b>Totals</b>
<b>Serdica</b>	<b>7:</b>	1 AV, 3 D, 1 Dr, 2 As, 1 Prov.	<b>3:</b>	2 D, 1 As	<b>8:</b>	1 D, 3 Dp, 3 As, 1 Prov	<b>18</b>
<b>Philippopolis</b>	<b>5:</b>	1 AV, 4 D	<b>3:</b>	2 D, 1 As	<b>4:</b>	2 D, 2 Prov	<b>12</b>
<b>Cabyle</b>	<b>3:</b>	2 D, 1 S	<b>1:</b>	1 As	<b>4:</b>	3 D, 1 Prov	<b>8</b>
<b>Deultum</b>	<b>2:</b>	1 D, 1 As	<b>0</b>	—	<b>1:</b>	1 As	<b>3</b>
<b>Bononia/Vidin</b>	<b>4:</b>	3 D, 1 As	<b>1:</b>	1 D	<b>0</b>	—	<b>5</b>
<b>Ratiaria</b>	some	(unlisted)	<b>0</b>	—	<b>1:</b>	1 D	<b>3-4?</b>
<b>Oescus</b>	<b>4:</b>	1 D, 2 S, 1 As	<b>0</b>	—	<b>2:</b>	1 D, 1 Æ?	<b>6</b>
<b>Storgosia</b>	<b>2:</b>	1 D, 1 As	<b>2:</b>	1 As, 1 Sem	<b>1:</b>	1 D	<b>5</b>
<b>Melta</b>	<b>11:</b>	2 D, 1 S, 2 Dp, 6 As	<b>1:</b>	1 D	<b>11:</b>	8 D, 3 As	<b>23</b>
<b>Nicopolis ad Istrum</b>	<b>4:</b>	4 D	<b>0</b>	—	<b>1:</b>	1 D	<b>5</b>
<b>Novae</b>	<b>16:</b>	3 D, 1 S, 3 Dp, 9 As	<b>4:</b>	1 D, 1 S, 3 As	<b>9:</b>	3 D, 1 S, 1 Dp, 3 As, 1 Qd	<b>29</b>
<b>Sexaginta Prista</b>	<b>2:</b>	2 D	<b>1:</b>	1 D	<b>1:</b>	1 Dp	<b>4</b>
<b>Durostorum</b>	<b>7:</b>	5 D, 1 Dp, 1 As	<b>0</b>	—	<b>1:</b>	1 As	<b>8</b>
<b>Ostrov / Silistra</b>	<b>4:</b>	1 D, 1 Dp, 2 As	<b>5:</b>	3 S, 1 Dp, 1	<b>5:</b>	2 Dp, 3 As	<b>14</b>

<sup>215</sup> see chapter 3. *History of Thrace, Moesia*, 3.12, p.108-111.

<sup>216</sup> Топалилов / Topalilov 2005 and Topalilov, 'Philippopolis', in *TIR K-35* (2012), 294.

<sup>217</sup> As attested in Suet. *Vesp.* 8.4 and Ioannes Malalas, *Chron.* 8, 60.338-339. A discussion and more arguments in Топалилов / Topalilov 2005, 688-91.

<sup>218</sup> For the Flavian coinage see the revised edition of *Roman Imperial Coinage volume II/1* (2007) and most recently - Carradice 2012, 375-90.

				As			
<b>Histria</b>	<b>4:</b>	3 D, 1 S	<b>1:</b>	1 Æ?	<b>0</b>	—	<b>5</b>
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>77</b>	2 AV, 35 D, 1 Dr, 6 S, 7 Dp, 24 As, 1 Prov.	<b>22</b>	8 D, 4 S, 1 Dp, 8 As, 1 Sem, 1 Æ?	<b>49</b>	21 D, 1 S, 7 Dp, 13 As, 1 Qd, 4 Prov, 1 Æ?	<b>148</b>

Compared with the coins of his predecessors, those of Nerva have been found in small numbers in the region. A major factor in this is Nerva's short reign – only sixteen months between October 96 and the end of January 98 AD.<sup>219</sup> Logically, the number of coins dated his second consulate (only three months in 96) is smaller than those issued during his third consulate (the entire AD 97). The coinage of Nerva is recorded in Moesia and Thrace so far with 52 coins: 11 *denarii*, 8 *sestertii*, 5 *dupondii*, 23 *asses*, and 5 uncertain (Comparative table 14).

The attention and involvement of emperor Trajan in the Danubian area<sup>220</sup> and the subsequent urbanisation of Thrace<sup>221</sup> are well known and studied. Right from the start of his reign Roman coinage<sup>222</sup> became abundant in both Thracian provinces. In fact, *Moesia* experienced a high concentration of army units at this time and they were on the move along the *limes* (grouped around Viminacium and Oescus) before the invasion of Dacia in AD 101 and 105.<sup>223</sup> The increase in coin supply under Trajan is drastic compared to the previous periods. *Sestertii* and *dupondii* become frequent, the *as* slowly vanished, and *quadrantes* / *semisses* appear in limited quantities (only around Oescus, not a single from *Novae*). More significantly, the *denarii* doubled in quantity and monetary weight. The indicative examples are again the sites discussed in details above. Statistically, the record of Trajanic coins is as follows:

— *Cabyle* (7 coins: 5 D, 1 Dp, 1 Prov) and its area (19: 12 D, 1 S, 1 Dp, 4 As),

<sup>219</sup> Kienast 1996, 220.

<sup>220</sup> See Филов / Filov 1915, 177-206; Patsch 1937; Syme 1959, 122-34; Strobel 1984 and Poulter 1986, 521-3.

<sup>221</sup> Poulter 1995, 10-11; Zahrt 2002, 51-67.

<sup>222</sup> For the Imperial coinage of Trajan see the comprehensive corpus of Woytek 2010. See also Beckmann 2012, 405-22.

<sup>223</sup> Strobel 1984, *passim* and Poulter 1986, 521.

- *Serdica* (23: 4 D, 8+ S, 3 Dp, 7 As, 1 Prov),
- *Novae* (26: 2 D, 11 S, 11 Dp, 2 As) and its area (30: 9 S, 15 Dp, 3 As, 3 Qd).

The Trajanic issues began to appear regularly along the road network, the strategic locations, as well as in many rural sites in *Moesia*.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, it is clear that the Roman mainstream coinage was not supplied to the Balkan provinces on a regular basis before Trajan.

In statistical terms, the vast majority of site finds coins in *Thracia* and in *Moesia* were found at military and civil sites – the most intensely monetized areas of the provincial society.

The above discussion and analysis further proves that the Roman money played a decisive role in the regional and local economy. Since the time of Augustus there was no other means of payment and exchange. They are one of the basic indicators for the increasing Romanisation in both provinces.

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<sup>224</sup> See a preliminary account on the bronze coins in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD in Kunisz 1991, 129-38, and Kunisz 1992, 75-90.

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## Chapter 11. *Varia numismatica*: contemporary issues

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This chapter consists of six individual essays on various numismatic topics of the early Roman Moesia and Thrace, connected to the main discussion on the transition of the monetary system ‘*from a tetradrachm to denarius*’. In fact, they are showing few aspects of the increased Romanisation and the extensive use of Roman money in both provinces after Augustus. The topics are as follows:

1. The provincial mints in southern Thrace – Byzantium, Bizye, Perinthus and Philippopolis;
2. Roman mint for mainstream *aes*-coins operating in Thrace under Claudius and under Titus, most possibly located at Perinthus;
3. military mint in Moesia active in the early reign of Vespasian, ca. AD 69-70;
4. Roman countermarks on Imperial *aes* coins, concentrated along the limes of Moesia (review);
5. coinage of Philippi in northeastern Macedonia and its distribution in the Thracian provinces; and -
6. finds of coin dies and coin hubs (forger’s or military) in Moesia and Thrace (never assembled before).

### 11.1 Mints in early Roman Thrace

#### 11.1.1 Byzantium

*Byzantium*<sup>1</sup> was included of the province of *Bithynia-Pontus*<sup>2</sup>, but it naturally belonged to its Thracian hinterland. After 12/1 BC, it produced the royal coinage of

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<sup>1</sup> On the early history of Byzantium, see Loukopoulou – Lejtar 2004, 915-8, no. 674.

<sup>2</sup> Gerov 1979, 230-1.

Rhoemetalces I and Augustus.<sup>3</sup> The provincial coinage of *Byzantium* is fully catalogued in the *corpus* of E. Schönert-Geiss<sup>4</sup> and summarised in *RPC I*.

Furthermore, a good number of tetradrachms of the late Lysimachi type struck in *Byzantium* between ca. 115–75/70 BC were countermarked with **CL.CÆS**.<sup>5</sup> Actually, they were equal to 4 *denarii* (as the Berlin coin is countermarked with Δ) and re-called after a long circulation under Claudius. F. de Callataÿ has gathered seven countermarked pieces of *Byzantium* in his comprehensive corpus of Mithridates coinage<sup>6</sup>, but he argues that they should be linked to a Roman provincial official in Macedonia after ca. 75 BC<sup>7</sup>, someone like Aesillas. The function of the **CL.CÆS** countermark remains uncertain, although H. Seyrig supposed that they must be connected with the transformation of Thrace into a province.<sup>8</sup> He further implied that the first governor of Thrace demonetized the local currency at *Byzantium*, and re-called the old tetradrachms for a new period of circulation. However, this seems quite unlikely some 100 years after the seizure of the *Byzantium* silver coinage of Lysimachus type.

### 11.1.2 Bizye

*Bizye* (Βιζύη)<sup>9</sup> on the southern slopes of Mount Strandja (mod. town of Vize in European Turkey), Southeastern Thrace, was the main town of the *Astae* tribe, and a residence of the last Thracian kings (*arx regum Thraciae*).<sup>10</sup> As capital city of the *Astae*an dynasty, it is very likely that the last royal series of Rhoemetalces I and the entire coinage of Rhoemetalces II was organised within this place.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, chapter 7. Late Thracian Royal Coins, 7.11.1.

<sup>4</sup> Schönert-Geiss 1972.

<sup>5</sup> Mowat 1909, pp. 10-18 = *NZ* n.s. 4, 1911, 237-242; Seyrig 1968, 198-9; Howgego 1985, 293, no. 838; *RPC I*, 321.

<sup>6</sup> de Callataÿ 1997a, 137-8, pl. 33.

<sup>7</sup> de Callataÿ 1997, 138.

<sup>8</sup> Seyrig 1968, 199; Howgego 1985, 293.

<sup>9</sup> On *Bizye*, see Mommsen 1875, 252; Dawkins – Hasluck 1906, 175-83; Jurukova 1981, 1-7; Velkov 1978, 176-180; Стоянов / Stoyanov 1984, 35-40; Slawisch 2007, 66-7; Gyuzelev 2008, 277.

<sup>10</sup> Main sources: Strabo 7, frg. 48; Ptol. 3. 11, 7; Plin. *NH* 4. 11. 57; and 2.47; Steph. Byz. 169.13.

<sup>11</sup> Youroukova 1981, 5, though she contradicted herself later, see: Юрүкова/ Youroukova 1992, 201 – where she indicated Philippopolis as a main mint in the period AD 21-26.

Given the known provenance of the tetradrachms inscribed with KOTYOC XAPAKTHP<sup>12</sup>, it is very likely that this small issue was also minted at Bizye in the late 30's – early 20's BC.

The Roman provincial coinage at Bizye started much later – with issues for Hadrian and Sabina in the 120's, and continued until both Philips in AD 244-9.<sup>13</sup>

### 11.1.3 Perinthus

*Perinthus*<sup>14</sup> (modern Marmaraereğlisi) in southeastern Thrace, later *Heraclea Thraciae*<sup>15</sup>, was the administrative capital of the Roman province of *Thracia* from AD 45/6 (see *supra*), and therefore it was the seat of the provincial governor. The provincial coinage of *Perinthus* is fully catalogued and discussed by E. Schönert-Geiss<sup>16</sup>, and now republished in the *Roman Provincial Coinage* volume I.<sup>17</sup>

#### 11.1.3.1. Claudius–Neronian issues at *Perinthus*

This apparently was the location where a group of uncommon but distinct coins in Roman style were struck under Claudius – for Britannicus, Agrippina Junior and the young Nero, circa AD 51–54.<sup>18</sup> From the territories of ancient *Moesia* a significant number of such *sestertii* of Britannicus<sup>19</sup> have been reported.<sup>20</sup> Due to their extreme scarcity and commercial value, they have been almost all dispersed in trade. Sadly, only a single Britannicus' piece from Bulgarian museums has been published<sup>21</sup>, unfortunately again - without known provenance.<sup>22</sup> One more Britannicus *sestertius*

<sup>12</sup> *supra*, chapter 6. *Numismatics of the late Thracian kings.*

<sup>13</sup> Jurukova 1981, 9, Nos. 1-9; Varbanov 2005, 118, nos. 1414-1423.

<sup>14</sup> On the history of *Perinthus*, see Oberhammer, *RE* 19/1, (1937), cols. 802-813; Sayar 1998, 71-5 and Loukopoulou – Lejtár 2004, 919-22, no. 678.

<sup>15</sup> *Perinthus* was renamed Heraclea in AD 286 in honour of emperor Maximian Herculius, see Oberhammer, *RE* 19/1, 1937, cols. 810; Sayar 1998, 76-7.

<sup>16</sup> Schönert-Geiss 1965.

<sup>17</sup> *RPC* I, 318-319, nos. 1745-69.

<sup>18</sup> *RIC* I<sup>1</sup>, 87-88; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 130 /note/; von Kaenel 1984, 127-150 esp. at 140; omitted in *RPC* I, but compare comments on p. 319.

<sup>19</sup> Most of type B after von Kaenel 1984, 130ff, pl. 20.5-7.

<sup>20</sup> Unconfirmed records by collectors and detectorists, most from Vidin and Pleven regions in Northern Bulgaria.

<sup>21</sup> Kept in the National History Museum in Sofia, inv. no. N/A, 36mm.

<sup>22</sup> Божкова / Bozhkova 1980, 10-11.

is in the Berlin collection (*fig. 11.1*)<sup>23</sup>, explicitly noted as having been found at *Aquae Calidae*.<sup>24</sup>



**Fig. 11.1.** Sestertius of Britannicus (struck ca. AD 51-54) from *Aquae Calidae*, 1910. Berlin collection, accession no. 1924/489; object 1820263.

A cast of another Britannicus is in the Stadtliche Museen at Berlin from the former Mr. Panayotov' collection, no doubt again from Bulgaria<sup>25</sup>. The last recorded provenance is a coin seen by K. Regling in *Selymbria* (mod. Silivri)<sup>26</sup> back in the 1920's.<sup>27</sup> An identical situation and provenance is recorded for the contemporary sestertii of Agrippina Minor of type *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 103 /*carpentum*/<sup>28</sup>.

In the summer of 2011 a brass *sestertius* of Britannicus (*fig. 11.2*) was found during regular archaeological excavations in central Sofia— early Roman *Serdica* [previous *chapter 11. Early Imperial Site Finds, case study 4. Serdica*].<sup>29</sup> It was discovered with other imported finds (fibulae, *terra sigillata*, etc.) of the Julio-Claudian period in the deepest layers of timber and mud-brick structures. The new *Serdica* piece is the rarer of the two varieties, with the portrait of Britannicus facing to right, not to left.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps an earlier variety of the same type?

<sup>23</sup> Actually this coin is included by H.-M. von Kaenel 1984, 130, B4, Abb. 4. See it online: <http://www.smb.spk-berlin.de/ikmk/object.php?objectNR=0>.

<sup>24</sup> Details for the site and coins in chapter 11. *Early Principate Site Finds, case study 4 (11.3.4)*.

<sup>25</sup> von Kaenel 1984, 131, B.5; see also *BMC I*, 196, no. 226 with note.

<sup>26</sup> Most likely in the A.P. Stamoulis collection, kept in Silivri (Silivria) until 1922.

<sup>27</sup> See von Kaenel 1984, 131, B.11.

<sup>28</sup> von Kaenel 1984, pp. 141-143, A.1-7.

<sup>29</sup> Field number No. A716/ 2011, NAIM Sofia; see Владимирова-Аладжова / Vladimirova-Aladzova 2011, 110-6.

<sup>30</sup> von Kaenel 1984, pl. 20, type A, B.3.





**Fig. 11.2.** Sestertius of Britannicus Caesar, ca. AD 51–54, from *Serdica* (central Sofia), campaign 2011 (Photo after Aladzova 2011, 110-111, fig.1).

The above brief review demonstrate that most of the known specimens of Britannicus and Agrippina Junior had distinct East Balkan origin and they should be attributed to a mint in southern Thrace as suggested by von Kaenel. Should they be certainly linked with *Perinthus*, remains an open question.<sup>31</sup>

Whatever the case with the actual mint, these ‘Roman’ series in brass may be regarded as special issue for the first Roman troops and administration in Thrace, shortly after the annexation and pacification of the country in circa AD 50–53.

It also seems that *Perinthus* was the mint for another series of ‘Roman’ coins struck under Nero, described as “provincial”.<sup>32</sup> These are types of sestertii, dupondii and ases executed in a crude style. They were first listed by D. W. MacDowall<sup>33</sup> who attributed them to a mint most probably located in *Moesia*. Their reported provenances, however, strongly suggest *Perinthus*. Furthermore, many of them have countermarks of Galba ( $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda\bullet KAI$  and  $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda BA$ ) erasing Nero’s features. The same punch was used to apply this countermark on both coin types.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the operation of the mint of *Perinthus* under Claudius and Nero is beyond doubt. According to the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage I*<sup>35</sup>, the dating of the Neronian series is as follows: the *Perinthus* civic issues, and pseudo-Roman types – after AD 63/4. The application of the Galba countermark at *Perinthus* must be dated somewhere between his accession at Carthago Nova on 2 April 68, and his death in Rome on the 15 January 69 AD.<sup>36</sup> Recently a number of such issues countermarked

<sup>31</sup> Compare *RPC I*, 319.

<sup>32</sup> *RPC I*, nos. 1758-1762 and *Supplement I*.

<sup>33</sup> MacDowall 1960, 106-12.

<sup>34</sup> Schönert-Geiss 1965, 36-7; Howgego 1985, no. 527.

<sup>35</sup> *RPC I*, p. 318.

<sup>36</sup> *pace* McDowall 1960, 106-107.

with ΓΑΛ•ΚΑΙ and ΓΑΛΒΑ (host coins all of Nero) have been published by R. Martini.<sup>37</sup>

The present work includes a few unpublished stray coins of this series of the *Perinthus* mint, which have been identified, of both sorts and periods. They are summarised in the following table.

Table 11.1.

No.	Issuer	Den.	Date	Reference	Find-spot	Disposition	Totals
1.	Nero	Sest.	65–68	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 107; RPC I 1758	Silistra ( <i>Durostorum</i> )	Silistra, no. 1281	1
2.	Nero	Sest.	65–68	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 107; RPC I 1758	Kamenets, Jambol	Jambol, no. 3252	1
3.	Nero	Sest.	65–68	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 107; RPC I 1758	Jambol, Sofularska mahala, 1959.	Jambol, no. 1668	1
4.	Nero	Dup	64–68	RPC I 1759	Bulgaria, unknown	Sofia, no. N/A--- <sup>38</sup>	1
5.	Nero	As	64–68	RPC I 1760	From Plovdiv ?	Smolyan, no. 1275	1
6.	Nero	As	64–66	RPC I 1760	Hissarja ( <i>Augustae</i> )	Plovdiv, no. 4450	1
7.	Nero	As	64–66	RPC I 1761	From Russe area	Priv. collection, Ontario, Canada <sup>39</sup>	1
8.	Nero	As	64–66	RPC I 1762	Bulgaria, unknown	Sofia, no. N/A--- <sup>40</sup>	1
9.	Nero	As	64–66	RPC I 1762	Brestnik, Plovdiv	Plovdiv, no. 2660	1
10.	Nero	As	64–66	RPC I 1762	Ostrov, Vratsa ( <i>Pedoniana</i> )	Vratsa, no. 297	1
11.	Titus	Semis	80–81	RIC II/1 <sup>2</sup> 141	Pleven	Pleven, no. 1114	1

As may be observed on table 11.1, the distribution is concentrated mainly in the regions of southern Thrace: mainly around *Philippopolis* and *Cabyle*, this is to say – not far from *Perinthus*. This means it is possibly related to temporary activities and maneuvers in both areas under Nero and then – later under Titus/early Domitian' reign. Only two coins (both of Nero, nos. 7 and 10), which come from the *limes* in Moesia, have been recorded so far. The Neronian issues of *Perinthus* fulfilled the need of aes-coinage in the Balkan provinces, due to its shortage.

<sup>37</sup> Martini 2002, 32, 205-206, nos. 1.4048–1.4053 and 1.4054–1.4065; Martini 2003, 85-86, nos. 2.1439-2.1440; Martini – Paunov 2004, 167-170.

<sup>38</sup> Listed in McDowall 1960, 107, no. 3 and *RPC* I, no. 1959.

<sup>39</sup> Published in *The Anvil (Newsletter of the Classical and Medieval Numismatic Society)* 1.2 (Willowdale, Ontario May 1991), 3-4 = *RPC* I, Supplement I, (London–Paris 1998), 24.

<sup>40</sup> Listed in McDowall 1960, 108, no. III and *RPC* I, 320, no. 1962.

### 11.1.3.2 Flavian aes-issues struck in Thrace (*Perinthus?*)

Under the Flavians a mint for Imperial aes coins also continued to work somewhere in Thrace. It operated for a short period under Titus and Domitian in AD 80–82. These are brass and copper sestertii, dupondii, asses and semis for Titus himself, for Julia *Titi* and Domitian.<sup>41</sup>

Earlier it was localized by Herbert Cahn in Bithynia.<sup>42</sup> But the evidence of known find-spots of these coins (15 Istanbul; 7 Sofia; 2 Oxford /bought in Istanbul/)<sup>43</sup> suggests it was actually in southern Thrace (*RPC* II, p. 87). The most plausible candidate again is *Perinthus*, the provincial capital. Here also belongs the so-called ‘restored series’, struck in AD 81–82 in the name of all good emperors after Augustus.<sup>44</sup>

### 11.1.4 *Philippopolis*

Under Domitian the city of *Philippopolis* issued its first coins. They were catalogued by N. Mouchmov<sup>45</sup>, Burnett in the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (*RPC* II, p. 76-77), I. Varbanov<sup>46</sup> and most recently discussed by B. Woytek.<sup>47</sup> This special series was struck on one occasion in AD 88-89 (well dated by imperial titulature COS XIII CENS), in four different denominations (*RPC* II, nos. 351-354).

Table 11.2.

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Æ 1</i> (= <i>sestertius</i> ) <sup>48</sup>	<i>Æ 2</i> (= <i>dupondius</i> )	<i>Æ 3</i> (= <i>as</i> )	<i>Æ 4</i> (= <i>quadrans?</i> )
<i>Metric data</i>	31-38 mm, 22.55 g, 6 h (13)	26-28 mm, 11.24 g (2)	22-23 mm, 6.53 g (4)	17 mm, 2.97 g (2)

<sup>41</sup> See now *RPC* II, 87-88, nos. 501-511; *RIC* II/1<sup>2</sup> (2007), 193-4, nos. 498-514.

<sup>42</sup> Cahn 1985, 14-26.

<sup>43</sup> See Cahn 1985, 20-1.

<sup>44</sup> *RPC* II, nos. 511-525 and 540-543.

<sup>45</sup> Мушмов / Mouchmov 1912, nos. 5062-5068; Мушмов 1926, nos. 3-9.

<sup>46</sup> Varbanov 2007, 84-5, nos. 613-623.

<sup>47</sup> Woytek 2011, 424-7.

<sup>48</sup> Some authors also name this large denomination ‘a medallion’ (cf. Varbanov 2007, 85, no. 620-621).

<b>Reverse type</b>	Female figure (city goddess?) wearing polos standing l., holding patera and two corn-ears, at her feet on left – river god Hebros reclining. (RPC II 351)	Naked male figure (Apollo?) standing l., leaning on column, holding patera. (RPC II 352)	Ares wearing helmet standing l., holding shield and inverted spear. (RPC II 353)	Artemis advancing right, holding bow and drawing arrow from quiver. (RPC II 354)
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Curiously, they are inscribed in Latin on the obverse (imperial titulature) and in Greek on the reverse – the civic name: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ – ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. The style of Domitian's portrait is elaborate, a fact that may imply the entire series was struck elsewhere (at *Perynthus*?), and brought for circulation in the Philippopolis region of Thrace. The occasion of this provincial coinage is probably related to the elevation of the city's status under Domitian as μητρόπολις, but this remains uncertain until further evidence is available.



**Fig. 11.3:** Bronze coin (38mm = *sestertius*) of Domitian for Philippopolis, struck AD 88-9, *RPC* 351 (Photo NAC Auction R, 17 May 2007, lot 1462).

### Circulation pattern

Six of these Domitianic coins struck for *Philippopolis* are listed in the inventory books of the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv.

Table 11.3.

Female figure (city goddess?) wearing polos standing l., holding patera and two corn-ears, at her feet on left – river god Hebros reclining. (RPC II 351)	Naked male figure (Apollo?) standing l., leaning on column, holding patera. (RPC II 352)	Ares wearing helmet standing l., holding shield and inverted spear. (RPC II 353)	Artemis advancing right, holding bow and drawing arrow from quiver. (RPC II 354)
5 (inv. nos. 145, 1358,	1	---	---

1376, 1976, 2109)	(inv. no. 5219)		
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Fig. 11.4: Bronze (28mm = dupondius) of Domitian for Philippopolis, AD 88-9, *RPC* 352.



Fig. 11.5. Bronze (22/3 mm = as) of Domitian for Philippopolis, AD 88/9, *RPC* 353.

One more of the type *RPC* 351 is kept in the neighbouring Pazardzhik Historical Museum (inv. no. 1896, 22.01g, 32x32 mm). Though relatively small in number (Sofia National Archaeological Museum coins were not available for study), these coins illustrate that they circulated primarily in *Philippopolis* and its civic territory.

## 11.2. A Moesian military mint under Vespasian, AD 69–70

One of the earliest coin series with the name of Vespasian was minted in Moesia.<sup>49</sup> It appears to be part of an emission of which only two specimens are preserved, one *aureus* and one *denarius*, both unique. They have a common obverse type, and are as follows:

1. A *denarius* (fig. 11.6) in the British Museum in London (inventory no. 1937-7.23-3, 3.2g, axis 6h)<sup>50</sup>;

<sup>49</sup> See *RIC II/1*<sup>2</sup> (2007), 39 and 155, nos. 1342–1343 and now Carradice 2012, 276-7, fig. 20.3.

<sup>50</sup> First published by H. Mattingly 1938, 5, pl. 6, 12. Presented to the BM by Mr Paul Tinchant in 1937.



**Fig. 11.6.** Denarius of Vespasian for the army of Moesia, AD 69-70. London, BM, no. 1937-7.23-3. (©Trustees of the British Museum)

2. An *aureus* (fig. 11.7) in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris – inventory no. AF 413, E.3127, 6.67g, axis 2h (Mattingly, *BMCRE* II, 110, pl. 19, 13; Giard 1998, *BNC* III, 130, no. 383, attributed to an uncertain eastern mint).<sup>51</sup>



**Fig. 11.7.** Aureus of Vespasian, struck AD 69-70 in Moesia. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, no. AF 413 (Photo D. Hollard, Paris).

Both coins share a common obverse type with radiate and laureate head of Vespasian to the right, and the typical early legend, clockwise: **IMP.CAES – VESPASIANVS AVG** (AV in ligature). The portrait has an unusual style, unlike any other, resembling Vitellius' features. Buttrey and Carradice ruled out (*RIC* II/1<sup>2</sup>, p. 39) their being struck with a common obverse die, but after careful examination of the available photographs it appears that the denarius die was altered or re-cut<sup>52</sup> when compared with the aureus. It is also possible that two similar (originating from a single positive prototype), but not identical, obverse dies were used for each coin.<sup>53</sup>

The London denarius has a reverse with a facing figure of Mars standing facing, holding a spear and trophy, inscribed **EXERCITVS (sic!) – MOESIC[VS]**, *i.e.* clearly made for the army of Moesia. The Paris *aureus* of the same series has a reverse **VICT – AVG**, with Victory advancing left, holding wreath and palm. Though a standard type, in this case it clearly refers to the victories in AD 69 and 70. This single

<sup>51</sup> This coin came from the Hoffman acquisition, purchased on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1865, see Cohen 1880, no. 587.

<sup>52</sup> I owe this highly important remark to Prof. Constantin Marinescu and Dr Sarah Cox, New York.

<sup>53</sup> As suggested by Dr Ilya Prokopov, Sofia.

issue, clearly intended for the *exercitus Moesicus* is now roughly dated by Buttrey and Carradice to JULY 69 – 70 (*RIC II*<sup>2</sup>, 155).

No suggestion about the actual mint of this series is proposed in *RIC II*<sup>2</sup>. It may be one of Moesia's legionary bases: *Viminacium*, *Oescus*, or perhaps – *Novae*. The similar style, unusual portrait and characteristic lettering of legends suggest a travelling military mint.

The close comparison of obverse dies, the sharper lettering, work on the fillet and some other details of the portrait of Vespasian, suggest that the denarius die was at some point deemed too weak to strike further and was re-engraved (*recut*). This may have been when it was decided to produce the gold aurei, and reflects the reuse of scarce resources, which again suggests a traveling military mint. Sadly, the unique character<sup>54</sup> of both coins renders further conclusions impossible.

It also remains uncertain whether this short series is linked either by the support of the Moesian army for Vespasian as early as July–August 69, or with the suppression of the Dacian raids in February 69, and again in AD 70. Whatever the reason for this issue, these coins had a purely military nature and directly reflect the significance of Moesian support for Vespasian's ultimate victory in the Civil War. The series clearly shows Vespasian's appreciation for supporting him being directed at the army of Moesia (*exercitus*) rather than the individual officers (*cf. Tac. Hist. 2.74.1; 85, 96; Suet. Vesp. 6*).<sup>55</sup> It was the common soldiers and centurions of the Moesian legions who won the war for the Flavians.

### 11.3. The Early Imperial Countermarks

A characteristic feature of the Early Principate *aes* coinage is the occurrence of numerous countermarks found mostly along the Moesian *limes*, but also in the interior. This numismatic phenomenon was noticed and recorded long time ago (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946a, 51-81, fig.26.1; Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955; Draganov 1990, 445-450), but only recently discussed in detail (Martini 2002, Martini

<sup>54</sup> This is most likely due to the recalling of the type after the final victory of Vespasian, like many others coins of the Civil Wars.

<sup>55</sup> More arguments on this conclusion in Nicols 1978, 133.

2003; Martini – Paunov 2004, 159-174). Until the early 2000's the evidence was scarce and poorly documented. Only a dozen of countermarked coins from *Appiaria* on the Danube had been published by D. Vladimirova-Aladzova. She also commented twice a *sestertius* of Nero with a countermark of Galba from the same site.<sup>56</sup> A single Augustan issue countermarked with **A/G** and **TI•CAE** was also published from the excavations in *Oescus*.<sup>57</sup> Between 2000 and 2003 R. Martini of Milan undertook the brave task of gathering all the countermarked Roman coins from Moesia and Thrace scattered in a number of museums, private and public collections and on the coin market; the entire corpus, published in two volumes, exceeded 5,600 specimens (Martini 2002, 35ff.; Martini 2003 for details).

The countermarked coins from the Roman provinces of Moesia and Thrace include specimens that were clearly marked in Pannonia, as well as those which are marked locally – in Moesia–Thrace. This enabled the first broad geographic distinction among these countermarked coins to be established.

### 11.3.1. Typology of countermarks<sup>58</sup>

(A) **Pannonian types**<sup>59</sup> alone, whose area of production and primary distribution lies between the military camp at *Carnuntum*<sup>60</sup> and the southern reaches of Illyria;

(B) **Pannonian and Moesian types** associated together<sup>61</sup> on the same coin, probably struck and distributed initially further to the East, perhaps along the border(?) between Pannonia and Moesia;

(C) **Moesian types** alone<sup>62</sup>, whose area of production and primary distribution located along the Danube *limes* between the military camps at *Ratiaria* and *Novae* (see *infra*, territorial distribution).

<sup>56</sup> Владимирова-Аладжова / Vladimirova-Aladjova 1986, 36-8; Vladimirova-Aladjova, "Counter-marked Roman coins from Lower Danube", *MNJ* 3, (Skopje 1999), 45-9, not illustrated; and Владимирова-Аладжова / Vladimirova-Aladjova 2000.

<sup>57</sup> Kabakchieva 2000, 34-5, no. A.3, pl. 1, 2-3.

<sup>58</sup> See details in Martini 2002, 17 ff, 35ff.; also in Martini – Paunov 2004, 159-161.

<sup>59</sup> Martini 2002, 35ff, section 3.2.1.

<sup>60</sup> On countermarks from *Carnuntum*, see Hahn 1976 (*FMRÖ* 3/1), now superseded in Alram – Dick-Schmidt 2007.

<sup>61</sup> Martini 2002, 35ff, section 3.2.2.

<sup>62</sup> Martini 2002, 35ff, section 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.



The group with the largest number of specimens is (C), coins with unaccompanied Moesian countermarks, and currently consists of about 3,500 countermarked pieces (published in Martini 2002 and Martini 2003a). These were divided into three subgroups:

(C1) „**Associated**” **countermarks**, the subgroup that is most numerous and shows the most complex internal relations, both chronologically and in terms of minting;

(C2) „**Isolated**” **countermarks** of only a few types, found on their own but not associated with other countermarks;

(C3) „**Uncertain**” **countermarks**,<sup>63</sup> nearly always present in only a few specimens, either accompanied by (C1)-countermarks or un-associated, often with no signs of relationships to the countermarks above. The context of these countermarks is certainly broader, both in geographic and chronological terms, than that of the countermarks in (C1) or (C2).

The countermarked material from Moesia and Thrace has made it possible to establish certain foundations for discussion, although the study is still at its preliminary stage and further analyses are necessary:

- (i) the methods for production of the coins and countermarks, whether struck (punched) or cast;
- (ii) internal chronological relations based on relations of over-type and under-type, which are especially common among coins of groups (B) and (C1);
- (iii) average weights of the countermarked coins, with particular reference to comparison of Roman tresviral specie with coins from the Ephesus/Pergamum mint; and
- (iv) the possible breakdown of dating and location for certain countermarks on the basis of production techniques.

### 11.3.2. Relative chronology

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<sup>63</sup> Martini 2002, 35ff, section 3.2.5.

The widespread countermarking operation appears to have begun with the AD 45/6 territorial reorganization of the Balkans carried out by Claudius' administration. It is less clear when the countermarking ceased, although the use and production of countermarked coinage and imitations continued almost certainly until the end of Nero's reign<sup>64</sup>.

### 11.3.3. Distribution

The area involved in the spread of (C1) coinage seems to have been almost exclusively the Danubian part of the Moesian *limes*, while current data indicates that secondary circulation must have been responsible for the occasional recovery of these materials in Thrace. On the other hand, the (C2) countermarks with the isolated type **Ti•C•A** may have been produced and distributed in a larger area, perhaps originally including the Thracian region, while the other three types in group (C2), *i.e.* **DV**, **PR**, and the *head of Hercules r.*, appear to have been demonstrably used further to the East(?), with the *head of Hercules r.* and **PR** types, in particular, around the coastal area of the provinces of Moesia and Thrace.

### 11.3.4. Circulation

There is overlapping of countermarks from Pannonia and Moesia, which creates the group (B), with systematic documentation of Pannonian types as under-types of Moesian types. Furthermore, the **P•P**, countermark shows a variant (small frame), in that it does not appear to belong to Pannonia proper but to an area (?) bordering Moesia.

The number of countermarks attested in Pannonia and documented in Moesia–Thrace and that of countermarks originating in Moesia/Thrace is relatively limited, excluding those of group (C2). The main types, subdivided by area of production and distribution, are as follows:

### 11.3.5. Typology

#### (A) Pannonian Types

<sup>64</sup> See also Martini 2003a, 19-21.

These are the **AIG** (with AV in ligature) [=Augustus] type<sup>65</sup> from the area of *Carnuntum*<sup>66</sup>, the **CAE** [=Caesar] type<sup>67</sup> (fig. 11.8.1), the Tiberian **IMP** (=Imperator) type in ligature (fig. 11.8.2), either the graphically simple version in rectangular frame<sup>68</sup>, or the embossed cartouche<sup>69</sup> (fig. 11.8.3), and the **P•P** (=Pater patriae) type in a round frame.<sup>70</sup>



Fig. 11.8. Pannonian countermarks, types CAE (1), and IMP (2-3), (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004).

### (C1) Associated Moesian Types



Fig. 11.9. Moesian countermarks, types AVG, TI•CAE, and T•C•A (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004).

<sup>65</sup> Martini 2002, 18.

<sup>66</sup> MacDowell 1966, 125-133.

<sup>67</sup> Martini 2002, 19; Martini 2003, 105, suggesting southern Pannonian origin (Slovenia, Croatia).

<sup>68</sup> See Martini 2002, 20.

<sup>69</sup> See Martini 2002, 21.

<sup>70</sup> The **P•P** countermark is not attested among the finds in southern Pannonia, cf. Kos – Šemrov 1995. See also Martini 2002, 22; Martini 2003, 106 for the type.

This is the largest group and includes types of both lexical and figurative design, in various combinations, with the **AVG** type<sup>71</sup> (fig. 11.9.4) and the **TI•CÆ** type<sup>72</sup> (fig. 11.9.5) by far the most common and always accompanying one another (over 520 specimens listed)<sup>73</sup>. These are followed by the **T•C•A** type<sup>74</sup> (fig. 11.9.6) and the **TI•C•A** type<sup>75</sup> (fig. 11.9.7). Next, comes the *helmet*, both in its frontal depiction<sup>76</sup> (fig. 10.8) and in its lateral variety (fig. 11.10.10), and the *dolphin to right* type, either in an image „with objects” (*patera* or *crown?*)<sup>77</sup>, or in the version „without objects”.<sup>78</sup>



**Fig. 11.10.** Moesian countermarks, types 'helmet' (8-9) and 'dolphin to r. with objects' (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004).

**11.3.1.3. (C2) Isolated Moesian Types**, consisting of three quite distinct groups:



**Fig. 11.11.** Moesian countermark, type isolated TI•C•A (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004).

<sup>71</sup> See Martini 2002, 23-4.

<sup>72</sup> Martini 2002, 27

<sup>73</sup> Martini 2002, 63-81, nos. 1.453–1.979.

<sup>74</sup> Martini 2002, 25.

<sup>75</sup> Martini 2002, 26.

<sup>76</sup> Martini 2002, 30.

<sup>77</sup> Martini 2002, 28.

<sup>78</sup> Martini 2002, 29.

**C2a:** This is the **TI•C•A** type in isolation<sup>79</sup> (*fig. 11.11*), not associated with the (C1) countermarks, and it is characterized by lettering more slanted than the same type in (C1), generally stamped on unminted flans (between 2.5 and 5 grams) and serve to give exposure to a countermark. Such specimens account for approximately half of the entire set of countermarked coins known.



**Fig. 11.12.** Moesian countermark, type DV on neck (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004).

**C2b:** This group includes a few different types probably dating later than (C1), the **DV** [=dupondius] type<sup>80</sup> (*fig. 11.12*) applied on Claudian *sestertii* (or imitations), the group with the name of Galba (**GALBA**, **ΓΑΛΒΑ** and **ΓΑΛ•ΚΑΙ**) types<sup>81</sup> on Nero's issues, probably applied at Perinthus<sup>82</sup> (*fig. 11.13*).



**Fig. 11.13.** Thracian countermark on Nero's sestertius, type ΓΑΛ•ΚΑΙ, Perinthus? (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004, Pangerl collection MR8).

Next, the **PR** type<sup>83</sup> on asses of Caligula-Claudius (*fig. 11.14.14*) and the **head of bearded Hercules r.** type<sup>84</sup> on asses of Claudius (*fig. 11.14.15*), to which one should add the **capricorn r./ rudder-globe** type<sup>85</sup> (*fig. 11.14.16*).

**C2c:** This is a group of countermarks whose identification is more complicated, both because of their rarity and because of the difficulty in recognizing the coins that

<sup>79</sup> Martini 2003a, 107.

<sup>80</sup> Martini 2002, 31.

<sup>81</sup> Martini 2002, 32; Martini 2003a, 108-9.

<sup>82</sup> See above, *Perinthus*.

<sup>83</sup> Martini 2002, 33.

<sup>84</sup> Martini 2002, 34.

<sup>85</sup> Martini 2002, 207-8, nos. 1.4071-1.4079; Martini 2003a, 110-1.

were used, due to their poor physical condition. In general, they consist of simple heads, male and female, human or divine, with or without ornaments, or of inanimate objects.<sup>86</sup>



**Fig. 11.14.** Moesian countermarks, types PR, *head of Hercules r.* and *goat's head/ rudder-globe* (Photo after Martini – Paunov 2004).

The research of currently known countermarked coins from Moesia–Thrace is still in its preliminary stage and many questions have yet to be precisely answered (Martini 2002, Martini 2003; Martini 2005, 1013-9). Doing so will require both added information from additional specimens and the analysis of the historical and archaeological contexts. However, it should be emphasized that the numismatic record, which is of fair quality, is left to a large extent without a correspondingly certain knowledge of the areas of origin. Moreover, the archaeological record shows a nearly total lack of determining elements like coins from stratigraphic excavations or contextual information on coin hoards or occurrences of countermarked coins in the territory (see below).

Although the collected evidence from Moesian–Thracian sheds light on the distribution and circulation of the countermarked coins from the area that have been analyzed, showing the eastward shift of Pannonian countermark types, the lack of comprehensive archaeological documentation in Moesia detracts from some of the theories that are put forth in this review. Nevertheless, the specimens that have been identified make it possible to better grasp the widespread phenomenon of countermarking, which had not, hitherto been comprehensively reviewed. It is to be hoped that initial documentation collected by R. Martini will be followed by

<sup>86</sup> For details, see in Martini 2002, 210-1.

publications of further evidence, both numismatic and archaeological, which may clarify our understanding of the main unresolved issues regarding primary distribution and circulation of the main types of Moesian countermarks.

### 11.3.6. Spatial analysis of distribution of countermarked coins

Unfortunately, the absence of stratigraphically excavated and properly published numismatic evidence from *Moesia*<sup>87</sup> is preventing from any indisputable conclusions. Thus, any further discussion on the provenance is doubtful and comparative value remains limited. Until recently the number of published countermarked coins from excavations of Roman sites along the Lower Danube does not exceed ten. By the late 1990's few pieces from *Oescus*, *Appiaria* and *Ratiaria* were known. Recently a new group of ca. 60 coins from the auxiliary fort of *Augustae* is being prepared for publication (*fig.* 11.16).<sup>88</sup>

The large assemblage (ca. 5,600, consisting of groups of different origin) published by R. Martini, is reported to been discovered in the area between the Danube river and the northern slopes of the *Haemus mons/ Stara planina* range<sup>89</sup>. The alleged find-spots (map *fig.* 11.15) include the following<sup>90</sup>:

- Vidin: near villages of Vruv (*Florentiana*), Labets (*Pomodiana*) and around Vidin (*Bononia*);
- Lom: mainly from the area of the village Archar (*Ratiaria*) and Lom (*Almus*) itself;
- Oryahovo: mainly from the villages of Leskovets (*Variana*), town of Kozloduy (*Regianum*) and Hurlets (*Augustae*);
- Montana: from the villages of Belimel, town of Berkovitsa and in the town of Montana (ancient *Montana*);
- Byala Slatina and Knezha area;
- Cherven bryag and village of Chomakovtsi;

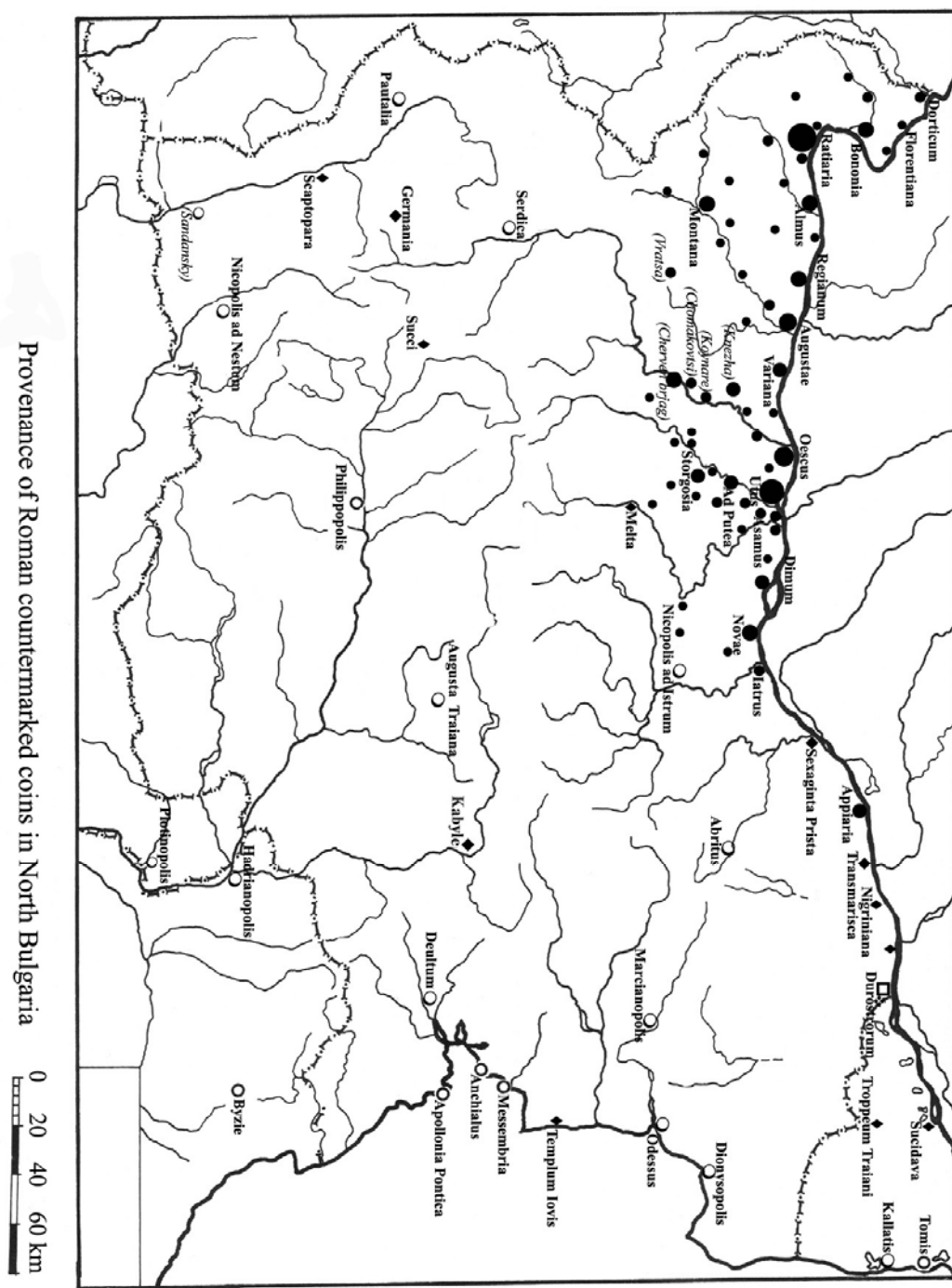
<sup>87</sup> Excluding a single specimen from *Oescus* excavations, see Kabakchieva 1996, 101, Abb. 5/1 and Find. cat.no. 215/ 2.

<sup>88</sup> Paunov 2013 /in preparation/, coins being kept in the Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa.

<sup>89</sup> Martini 2002, 17-35.

<sup>90</sup> As listed in Martini – Paunov 2004, 167-9.

— Svishtov: mainly around the site of *Novae* and its satellite settlements;



**Fig. 11.15.** Distribution map of Roman countermarked coins in *Moesia* (after Martini – Paunov 2004, author E. Paunov).

— Pleven: from numerous sites, among them are: Nikopol, Gigen (around *Oescus*), Belene (*Dimum*), Riben (*Ad Putea*), Gulyantsi and Milkovitsa (*Utus*), Byala voda, Dolni Dubnik, Tuchenitsa, Muselievo (*Asamus*), Grivitsa, and southward up to town of Lovech (*Melta*);



- Russe / Silistra area: very few countermarked pieces are known from this area, mainly nearby Ryahovo (*Appiaria*).

In the course of this study, new and unpublished countermarks were surfaced in few Bulgarian museums. They amount to some 35 specimens, listed in comparative table 15.



**Fig. 11.16.** Countermarked Augustan coins from *Augustae*. Vratsa Museum (photo E. Paunov).

Naturally, the concentration of countermarked coins in *Moesia*, clearly follows the disposition of the Roman military forces in the western areas of *Moesia*. As in the western provinces (Peter 2001, 230-1; Kemmers 2006, 79) or in *Pannonia* (Miškec 2005, 1005–1012), these coins were brought and used exclusively by the army.

East from the river *Jatrus*/*Jantra* countermarked coins are generally very scarce (1 from *Jatrus*, 1 from *Sexaginta Prista*, a dozen from *Appiaria*), as the case of *Novae* demonstrates.<sup>91</sup> This observation may only be easily explained with the fact that the area was annexed to the territory of *Moesia* later – during the reign of Nero<sup>92</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> See chapter 12. *Imperial Site Finds, Case study 1: Novae*.

<sup>92</sup> First pointed out in Martini – Paunov 2004, 169.

The most important reason for the countermarking and imitation (Roman copies<sup>93</sup>) production in the period under study is the limited coin supply in the remote provinces:

- 1) the output of *aes* for Claudius of mint of Roman was short (only in 41 and 42/3<sup>94</sup>) and quite evidently not enough to meet the needs of both western (e.g. in Britain, Gaul and Germany) and eastern provinces, as is clearly shown by the local Claudian imitations<sup>95</sup>, and –
- 2) Nero minted no *aes* coins at all between AD 54 – ca. 64, when he restored the *aes* of Rome, ultimately supplemented by that of Lugdunum.<sup>96</sup>

### 11.3.6. Conclusions

The close relations and overlapping circulation between the early Imperial countermark types of Pannonia and Moesia shows an obvious fact: the interchange and close relationships between the Roman armies in both provinces during the Julio-Claudian period.

All countermarked coins that have been discovered so far in Moesia came from the area of the main military sites on the Lower Danube. Most probably, the responsible army commanders distributed those coins to the Roman soldiers as monthly wages (*stipendia*) and bonuses (*donativa*).<sup>97</sup> A very high percentage of these coins is highly worn and illegible, so obviously the countermarking extended their validity in circulation. Apparently all coins were in use for the needs of the local *limes* market. One can easily suppose that the counter-stamping of worn *aes*-coins was ordered and executed by the military administration of the legions in the province (less likely by smaller auxiliary units). The countermarking activity and use of countermarked coins occurred extensively under the reigns of Claudius and Nero, probably between AD 44/5 and ca. 60/64.

Based on observations and the historical situation, the production, countermarking and imitation of *aes*-coins in Moesia was centralized in/around the

<sup>93</sup> See generally in King 1996, 237-64.

<sup>94</sup> Giard 1988, 25.

<sup>95</sup> Boon 1988, 102-188; Besombes 2004, 31-41; Kemmers 2006, 91-2.

<sup>96</sup> MacDowall 1979; Sutherland, *R/C I*<sup>2</sup>, 11; Giard 2000, 24 ff.

<sup>97</sup> See Chantraine 1982, 33; Speidel 1993, 14.

main legionary camps – *i.e.* *Viminacium*, *Ratiaria* and *Oescus* (with *Novae* falling out).

One important new observation is the presence of countermarked coins in Thrace. These are Claudian and Neronian issues grouped in and around *Philippopolis* and *Deultum*. This demonstrates that Roman military brought them into inner Thrace after the annexation of kingdom in AD 44/5.

The withdrawal from circulation of the countermarked *aes*-coins in Moesia was organized soon after the end of Civil War crisis – under the Vespasian's new monetary policy. At few archaeological sites in Moesia these coins are found in layers dating no later than the Flavians<sup>98</sup>. At this time most of the worn coins, re-countermarked many times since Augustus, completely lost their value in the new conditions and were discarded by their owners.

#### 11.4. *Philippi* – bronzes with *Victoria Augusta*

The small bronzes (*Æ* 17-19 mm) of the Roman colony of *Philippi* in northeastern Macedonia are among the commonest Thracian site finds. This issue depicts the type *Victoria Augusta* standing left upon a base/prora on the obverse, and – military *vexilla* with legend COHOR / PRAET / PHIL on the reverse.



**Fig. 11.17.** *Philippi* (*Æ*18mm), RPC I, 1651. Photo after *CNG e-sale* 259 (6 July 2011), no. 237.

Previously this series was attributed to the time of Augustus, based only on iconographic and historical ground<sup>99</sup>, a view that was remained unchanged for many years.<sup>100</sup> The compilers of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* volume I questioned this date, pointing out the nature of the metal they were minted from – pure copper. In fact, copper is not used in Macedonian provincial issues until the time of Claudius.

<sup>98</sup> *E.g.* in *Oescus*, see Kabakchieva 1996 and 2000.

<sup>99</sup> Collart 1937, 232-235 with references.

<sup>100</sup> *SNG Cop.* 305-306; *SNG Tübingen*, 1031, *etc.*

Consequently, in 1992 they suggested a later date – ‘*the time of Claudius or Nero*’.<sup>101</sup> Based on the evidence of few hoards in Macedonia S. Kremydi-Sicilianou recently reconsidered this issue of Philippi. The author down-dated the entire series to the period Trajan to Antoninus Pius.<sup>102</sup> At present the bronzes of *Philippi* of type Victoria Augusta/ *vexilla* are seen as anniversary issues of the colony that was established in the time of Augustus.

Here is the available evidence from the territory under study:

Table 11.4.

No.	Provenance/ site	Region	Situation / context	Disposition	Number
1	<i>Serdica</i> , excavation 2010-2011	Sofia	Stratified excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A735/2011	9
2	<i>Philippopolis</i> – city centre	Plovdiv	Site find	Plovdiv no. 2843	1
3	Hissarja, Havuza spring	Plovdiv	Chance site find	Plovdiv no. 4448	1
4	Vratsata fort, Vratsa	Vratsa	Stratified excavation, hoard (3 <i>Æ</i> )	Vratsa / 2010	3
5	Leskovets – Roman fort	Vratsa	Chance site find	Oryahovo, unlisted	1
6	Belchin, Late Roman fort	Sofia	Stratified excavation	Samokov, 194a/2010	1
7	Borino – <i>tumuli</i> necropolis	Smolyan	Excavation finds	Smolyan, nos. 1236, 2342	2
8	Smolyan, city centre	Smolyan	Chance site find	Smolyan, no. 834	1
9	Pazardzhik area	Pazardzhik	Chance finds	Pazardzhik, RHM nos. 161, 166, 168, 1180, 2340, 2486; HCΦ 29 – 33	11
10	Kyustendil / <i>Pautalia</i>	Kyustendil	Site find (1) Chance finds (8)	Kyustendil, RHM	9
11	Kocherinovo, <i>emporium</i>	Blagoevgrad	Chance site finds	Kyustendil, RHM	2
12	Gradeshnitsa	Blagoevgrad	Chance site find	Blagoevgrad, RHM, no. 1171	1
13	Laskarevo	Sandanski	Hoard (56 <i>Æ</i> )	Kyustendil, RHM	2
14	Dolna Ribnitsa	Blagoevgrad	Hoard (17 <i>Æ</i> , 2 AR), unpublished	Blagoevgrad, 1137-1142, 1147	5
15	Koprivlen	Blagoevgrad	Excavation find 1999	Gotse Delchev	1
16	Edirne/ <i>Hadrianopolis</i>	Edirne, Turkey	Excavation find 2012 <sup>103</sup>	Edirne Museum	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>					<b>51</b>

<sup>101</sup> *RPC* I, 308 and no. 1651.

<sup>102</sup> Kremydi 2002, 64-5, 75-6.

<sup>103</sup> Information from Dr. Aliye Erol, Istanbul University, unpublished.

Without being complete, the above listed evidence of *Philippi* bronzes from Thrace emerges as rather substantial. Both site finds and three hoards are presented, respectively 41 and 10 pieces. Luckily, most of the site finds are provenanced, which made the case and the observations more secure. They provide a clue to the circulation area of these bronzes. Its spatial distribution is in south and southwestern Thrace, but also to minor extent in the western part of *Moesia* (Vratsa and its region). Surprisingly, the most intensive territorial concentration zone is the Central/Western Rhodopes with the *Nestos / Mesta* and *Strymon / Struma* river valleys, which actually are beside the city of *Philippi*.

The recent stratigraphic data from excavations in *Serdica* city centre strongly speak for a Trajanic date of the anonymous series of *Philippi*, judging by the accompanying coins of Trajan and Hadrian, found in the same archaeological context.

## 11.5. Coin Dies from Moesia and Thrace

*“There is no universally valid way of distinguishing between forgers’ dies and official dies”*

(M. H. Crawford, *RRC*, p. 577)

This section traces the distribution of finds of dies<sup>104</sup> for Late Republican and early Imperial coin types in Moesia and Thrace. It discusses the key issues concerning those rare numismatic finds<sup>105</sup>, their presence in the Eastern Balkans and their interpretation as genuine monetary items or as forgers’ accessories. The problem appears to be essential for the comprehension of Roman military activities in Moesia in the Augustan-Tiberian period, as well as for the general discussion on ancient coin techniques.

### 11.5.1 The Evidence

Currently, no less than ten *denarii* dies originate from the territory of western Thrace and Moesia. These are as follows:

<sup>104</sup> All ancient dies known up to 1953 (but not a single Republican) are listed in Vermeule 1954, 20-6, with comments on 38-41, now fully superseded by Malkmus 2008, 75 ff.

<sup>105</sup> See the theoretical review of M. H. Crawford 1981, 176-7, and the remarks by Crawford, *RRC*, pp. 576-577. A good up-to-date picture is to be found in Stannard 2011, 59-79, esp. at 72-6.

1. Obverse die (h. 28mm, diam. 28.8 mm, *fig.* 11.18) of Augustus, legend AVGVSTVS DIVI F – for *aurei* / *denarii* of Lugdunum mint, dated to 15–13 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 162a; *BNC* I, 1361<sup>106</sup> type). Found in 1898 near Vratsa.<sup>107</sup> A sharp chisel cut in the right field of die.



**Fig. 11.18.** Obverse die (bronze mounted on iron case) for *aurei* / *denarii* of Augustus, after 15-13 BC. Found near Vratsa, 1898. NAIM Sofia, inv. no. 164 (photo R. Staneva).

2. Obverse die of Augustus, legend SPQR CAESARI AVGVSTO (h. 23mm, diam. 24.8 mm, *fig.* 11.19) – from the village of Dolna Dikanya (near Radomir, Pernik district)<sup>108</sup> found before 1901 – for *denarii* assigned to an uncertain Spanish mint, probably *colonia Patricia* (modern-day Cordoba), dated to 17-16 BC (type *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 148; *BNC* I, 1237)<sup>109</sup>;



**Fig. 11.19.** Obverse die (bronze in iron sheath) for *aurei* / *denarii* of Augustus, after 17-16 BC. Found near Dolna Dikanya, ~1901. NAIM Sofia, inv. no. 165 (photo R. Staneva).

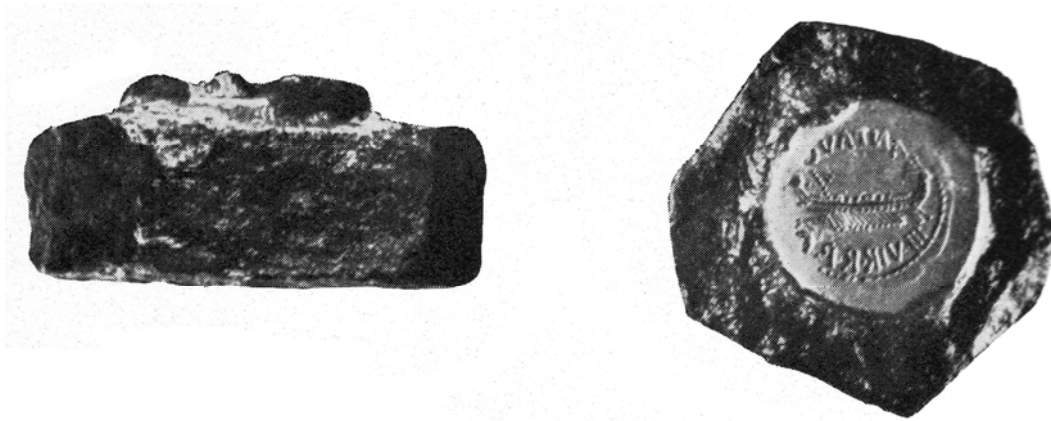
<sup>106</sup> In fact this was the first series of Augustus produced at Lugdunum, see Giard 1976, 199, no. 1361.

<sup>107</sup> Drawing in Babelon, *Traité* I, cols. 908-909, fig. 27; Kubitschek 1925, 134-5, pl. 13, A-2; Vermeule 1954, 23, no. 21; Божкова / Bozhkova 1984, 15-9 = Bozhkova 1992, 62-6; see now Malkmus 2008, no. V-21.

<sup>108</sup> Kubitschek 1925, 134-5, pl. 13/A-3; Vermeule 1954, p. 23, no. 22; see now Malkmus 2008, 129, no. V-22.

<sup>109</sup> It seems that Babelon (*Traité* I, op.cit.) had confused the find-spots of these two dies from Bulgaria, and later Bozhkova 1984, 15-8, copied his error. This had been corrected by Kubitschek 1925, 134. See the note in Malkmus 2008, 129 under no. V-21.

3. Obverse die for legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony (Cr. 544), found in the 1950s in the 'Kuryakovets' locality on the bank of the Sava river near the town of Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) in Serbia.<sup>110</sup> The outline of the model flan is clearly visible, off-centre (*fig. 11.20*).



**Fig. 11.20.** Obverse die (bronze inset in hexagonal case) for legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony (Cr. 544), from Sremska Mitrovica / *Sirmium*, before 1960 (photo after Pegan 1961).

4. Reverse die for Caesar's *denarii* (Cr. 443/1, pontifical emblems type), 48mm x 24 mm, said to have been found in the vicinity of *Montana*, northwestern Bulgaria.<sup>111</sup> The image was re-engraved, outline of the model coin well visible (*fig. 11.21*).



**Fig. 11.21.** Reverse die (bronze inset in iron cylindrical shaft) for C. Iulius Caesar's *denarii*. Found near Montana around 2000 (photo after Manov 2001, 1118).

<sup>110</sup> Pegan 1965, 435-6, pl. 30.1; Popovič 1988, 150, n. 919; Crawford 1974, 562, note 2 = Malkmus 2008, no. V-7u.

<sup>111</sup> M. Manov, "Two New Coin Dies Found in Bulgaria", *Annotazioni Numismatiche* 12, No. 48 (Dicembre 2002), 1118-21 = Malkmus 2008, no. V7-k.

5. A pair of dies for *denarii* of Augustus, with Gaius and Lucius Caesares, ca. 2–1 BC (type RIC I<sup>2</sup> 207 of Lugdunum mint) – unknown provenance, reportedly from ‘Eastern Europe’, private property, examined at the Prähistorische Staatssammlung in Munich in 2000 (*fig. 11.22*).<sup>112</sup>
- A. Obverse: bronze die mounted in iron case, h. 2.1 cm, w. 3.9x3.4 cm, diam. die 2.9 cm, 144 g; legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE.
- B. Reverse: bronze die inset in iron conical shift, h. 4.74 cm, diam. die 2.55 cm, 172.61 g; legend CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT (slightly off-center).



**Fig. 11.22.** Pair of dies for *denarii* of Augustus, after 2–1 BC, bronze into iron cases, unknown provenance (photo after Ziegauß 2000, no. 71).

Here should be added another item which appeared on the market in 1996: –

6. Obverse bronze hub<sup>113</sup> (positive) for *denarii* / *aurei* of Tiberius (type RIC I<sup>2</sup> 25-30), said to have been ‘*found in eastern Europe*’ (diam. 20mm, h. 12mm, 12.32 g), now in the Geldgeschichtlich Sammlung of the Deutsche Bundesbank in Frankfurt a. M. (*fig. 11.23*).<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Published by Ziegauß 2000, in L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer I* = Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung München 1/, (Mainz 2000), 350-351, no. 71.

<sup>113</sup> On ‘hubbing’ see G.F. Hill, “Ancient methods of coining”, *NC*<sup>5</sup> 2 (1922), 19-22; M.H. Crawford fully rejected hubs to be used under the Republic, see Crawford 1974, *RRC*, 578; now supported by Stannard 2011, 75-6.

<sup>114</sup> *CNG* 38, 6-7 June 1996, lot 877; Walburg 2004, 85-90; see now Malkmus 2008, 135, no. V-27c.





**Fig. 11.23.** Obverse 'hub' for *denarii / aurei* of Tiberius (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 25-30). Found in 'Eastern Europe' around 1995. Geldgeschichtlich Sammlung der Deutsche Bundesbank, Frankfurt (photo after Walburg 2004).

7. Reverse bronze conical die for *denarii / aurei* of Tiberius, AD 14-37 (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 25-30 type), 13mm x 20.5/21.5mm – reportedly from the area of *Oescus*, in Moesia (*fig. 11.24*).<sup>115</sup>



**Fig. 11.24.** Reverse die for *denarii / aurei* of Tiberius, AD 14-37. Found in the area of *Oescus*, around 2000. (photo after Manov 2001, 1120).

More recently two similar coin dies have become known. These are two iron shafts, ending in bronze with the legend engraved in retrograde, both for Mark Antony's legionary *denarii*. A few years ago they simultaneously appeared on the American coin market, naturally with no provenance noted. According to anonymous sources, the obverse die below (no. 7) was found around 2000, somewhere near the town of Montana (anc. *praesidium et castra Montanensium*), in northwestern Bulgaria.<sup>116</sup> The possibility that both dies form a single pair seems plausible, but other experts doubt that.<sup>117</sup> These are as follows:

8. Obverse die for legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony (Cr. 544/?), 26mm x 24mm, 57.61 g (*fig. 11.25*).<sup>118</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Manov 2002, 1120-1, no. 2. Private collection, Sofia, 2005 = Malkmus 2008, no. V-27d.

<sup>116</sup> Subsequently seen by collectors in Montana and Sofia, 2001.

<sup>117</sup> I am very grateful to Mr Phil Davis, H.J.Berk Ltd, Chicago, for his comments.

<sup>118</sup> CNG *Triton V* sale, 15 January 2002, no. 1849 = Malkmus 2008, no. V-7o.



**Fig. 11.25.** Obverse die (bronze in iron sheath) for legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony (Cr. 544/?), after 32/1 BC (photo after *Triton V*, 2002, no. 1849).

9. Reverse die for *denarii* of the same series of Mark Antony (Cr. 544/19 – for LEGIO VI), 33 mm x 20 mm; 77.46g, image off-centre (*fig. 11.26*).<sup>119</sup>



**Fig. 11.26.** Reverse die (bronze in iron cylindrical shaft) for legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony (Cr. 544/19), after 32/1 BC (photo after *Gemini I*, 2005, no. 299).

Finally, another forger's die, again from *Moesia*:

10. Reverse die for Republican *denarii* of C. Porcius Cato, after 123 BC (Cr. 274/1), corroded and rusted; dimensions not available. Examined in a private collection in Sofia, spring 2008 (*fig. 11.27a-b*).

<sup>119</sup> *Gemini* sale I, 11-12 January 2005, no. 299 (described as a forgers' die by P. Davis) = Malkmus 2008, no. V-71.



**Fig. 11.27a-b.** Bronze mounted on iron shaft – reverse die for *denarii* of C. Porcius Cato, 123 BC. Found in Northern Bulgaria, around 2007 (Photo IP, Sofia).

### 11.5.2 Discussion

According to the available record, the majority of surviving genuine Imperial coin dies come from locations within Roman Gaul, especially from the period from Augustus to Nero.<sup>120</sup> Bearing in mind that the main Imperial mint for the period operated at *Lugdunum* (mod. Lyon)<sup>121</sup>, this concentration of dies<sup>122</sup> fits well contextually. It is fascinating when dies originating from a distant location such as those from Moesia, having a different socio-economic environment, are found.

Modern scholars agree that the majority of other dies, found outside Gaul, are not official but contemporary forgers' dies.<sup>123</sup> The main argument has derived from the fact that these dies are usually produced not by real engraving (cutting) in negative<sup>124</sup>, but by impressing a genuine coin into the heat-softened metal of the 'fake die', often called a *transfer-die*. By this mechanical copying, most of the details and sharpness of the genuine coin are absent. Other shortcomings also occurred in this mechanical process, in particular the flan shape of the model being carried over on the die, often with incomplete or off-centre images, lettering and beading.

The other reason is the basic rule that a genuine mint's dies were systematically destroyed under careful supervision, and no traces are left behind. But what if certain minting was carried out in camps during military marches, or in small towns in

<sup>120</sup> For a list of known genuine Roman dies see P. Le Gentilhomme, 'Coins monétaire d'Auguste', *Revue Numismatique*<sup>5</sup> 9, 1946, *Procès-verbeaux 1945-6*, pp. ii-viii; Vermeule 1954; now Malkmus 2008, 128ff.

<sup>121</sup> On the mint of Lugdunum see Sutherland, in *RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 27-9, 87-88, 103 and 155; and Giard 1983.

<sup>122</sup> The majority of 'genuine' dies of Lugdunum are listed in Giard 1983, 27-30.

<sup>123</sup> Vermeule 1954, pp. 23, 38-39; *RRC*, p. 562, n. 3 and no. 246.

<sup>124</sup> On the technique see Crawford 1974, *RRC*, 577-8.

dangerous areas? And when instant dispatch took place? Would it be possible that this would result in coin dies being discarded instead of being destroyed?

The above list of Moesian/Thracian dies seems to be linked with regional distribution, but also with a certain concentration of ancient coin dies, otherwise very rare monetary items. At first glance it appears rather unusual for original coin dies to originate from Moesia and Dacia, even more importantly – before they had become regular Roman provinces.

The forgers' verdict is given also to the famous pot hoard of dies for copies of Republican denarii from Tilișca near Sibiu, in Transylvania. This coin workshop set came to light in 1961 during excavations of a 'Dacian' settlement and included fourteen coin dies (6 obverse; 4 reverse, 4 completely defaced) of types struck between 150 BC and 70 BC, and also three iron cases, all hidden in a clay pot.<sup>125</sup> Other finds of forger's dies in Dacia were made in the so-called 'Dacian mint' at *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, published by Glodariu<sup>126</sup> and elsewhere. The five dies from *Sarmizegetusa* range from an obverse die for a denarius of C. Cassius (Cr. 266/1, 125 BC) to Cr. 407/2, 68 BC, down to a copy of the obverse of a *denarius* of Tiberius. Furthermore, a reverse forgers' die for *denarii* of C. Marius Capito (Cr. 388/1a) was found in Ludești near Hunedoara.<sup>127</sup> Traditionally, all those finds in Romania are related with the Geto-Dacian state of Burebista and his local monetary activities in ca. 60 – 45/4 BC. But what is the situation in *Moesia*? It may well be similar, as the finds demonstrate. It appears that the local manufacture of Republican *denarii* under Burebista was organized on the southern bank of the Danube too.

Therefore, if we dismiss all the dies of Republican and Mark Antonian types (nos. 4, 8-9-10 above) found in Moesia as ancient forgers' coinage (transfer-dies) for producing local copies of *denarii*, how should we interpret the early Imperial dies (Augustus – Tiberius) in question?

Both Augustan dies in Sofia Museum (nos. 1 & 2) have been labeled '*forgers*' by Le Gentilhomme in 1946<sup>128</sup> and then called '*de fabrique barbare*' by J.-P. Giard in

<sup>125</sup> Lupu 1967, 101-10, pls. 5-7; Chițescu 1981, 57, 316, pl. 1, 1-10; Crawford 1974, 562, notes 1-2; Crawford 1985, 226-236; see now Malkmus 2008, 119-120, nos. V12b – V12-o.

<sup>126</sup> Glodariu *et alii* 1992, 57-68, pls. 4-5; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1990, 98 = Malkmus 2008, 121-2, nos. V-12v – V-12z.

<sup>127</sup> See Mitrea 1945, 120, no. 35; Chițescu 1981, 316, pl. 1, 11.

<sup>128</sup> Le Gentilhomme 1946, *Procès-verbeaux*, p. viii.

his catalogue of the Paris collection.<sup>129</sup> But what can their geographic and historical context tell us?

Die no. 1 (*fig. 11.18*) above for coins struck in 15–13 BC originates from ‘Voyvodin Dol’ - a locality in the Vratzata mountain pass in the Stara Planina/*Haemus*, not far from Zgorigrad, where ancient silver and copper mines have been identified. They were heavily exploited in Roman times.<sup>130</sup> Recently a Thracian fort has been excavated only 200-300m north of the actual place of discovery of this die (See Gazeteer, site no. 5).<sup>131</sup> The adjacent region on the eastern side has rendered many Republican *denarii* hoards closing in the late 40–30s BC (see Moravitsa, Vratsa ‘Starata Mogila’, ‘Haemus-Vratsa’/ 2006, etc). Additionally, the die from Vratza was deliberately cut by a chisel in the field (*fig. 1a-b*), apparently in an attempt to destroy it. Upon close inspection of the die surface it appears that a few small spots of silver are still stuck into Augustus’ portrait.

Die no. 2 (type struck in 17–16 BC, *fig. 11.19*) was found near Dolna Dikanya on the course of the ancient road *Serdica – Pautalia – Scupi*, which was certainly in use during the march of M. Licinius Crassus, the proconsul of Macedonia, into Western Thrace and to the Danube in 29-28 BC<sup>132</sup>, if not earlier. It is hard to believe that a precious and intact die would be easily discarded, if not enforced by an emergency. Not far from the locality (only 1.5 km to the north) and again along the same road (still the shortest way from Skopje to Sofia), in 2001 a hoard of ca. 250 Republican *denarii* was unearthed, reportedly closing with issues of Caesar and Marcus Antonius (find cat. no. 67: Staro selo hoard). Unfortunately, it was immediately dispersed among private persons and collectors, and is not available for study. However, its closing date should be set around the 30’s BC according to the information available.

It seems possible to see both dies above within the Roman military context of the period. At that time Moesia experienced rapid re-organisation, and there was an intensive Roman military presence (pre-provincial territory with a governor, as early as AD 6 during the Pannonian revolt<sup>133</sup>).

<sup>129</sup> Giard 1976, 24-5.

<sup>130</sup> Radoslavoff 1919, 16; Gaul 1942, 401.

<sup>131</sup> The site finds produced a single Republican *denarius* of 112/1 BC (Cr. 297/1a), and three (Trajanic) provincial bronzes of Philippi (RPC I, 1651), see Find cat. no. 401.

<sup>132</sup> Dio 51.23-25; Liv. *Perioch.* 134-135; Flor. 4.12.13-16; review in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 10, 1996, p. 174; Syme 1999, 200-2.

<sup>133</sup> Details in see chapter 3. History of Thrace, 3. Early Moesia, 3.9.3.

### 11.5.3. At attempt for conclusion

In my opinion, both dies of Augustus from Moesia and Western Thrace are direct evidence for the wartime coinage of the Roman generals of the Augustan-Tiberian era, being found outside of the context of the established mints. This should be connected to the rights of the so-called '*imperium*', i.e. the right to strike coins during a military march. Consequently, it is not surprising if the dies from Moesia are regarded as the dies of provisional military mints.<sup>134</sup> The same explanation of dies found so far in Moesia was given by Manov.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, a coin die for Tiberius *denarii* (again types RIC I 25-30) was found in 2004 during archaeological excavations in a layer datable to AD 45, under a military officer's house of the legionary camp *Vindonissa* (Windisch in Switzerland)<sup>136</sup> fitting in well with the above theory.

Thus, it may be presumed that the above discussed dies from Moesia, if not official, were used semi-officially<sup>137</sup> by the Roman military administration to manufacture coins in and around the Moesian legionary camps (especially *Oescus*; see find no. 5 above). This may be true for the period in the reign of Tiberius which resulted in the famous shortage of credit and currency (*inopia rei nummariae*) in AD 33 (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.16-17; Suet. *Tib.* 48.1; Dio 58.21.1-5)<sup>138</sup>.

It is significant that such a large concentration of dies is found in a relatively constrained area, but so far understanding does not clearly reveal what the significance is.

The concentration of dies in Moesia is surprising and unexpected. Since there is no reason to think that the population there was more "criminal" than anywhere else, we are left with two possibilities. Either the dies were produced in "normal" numbers here, but for unknown reasons they have tended to survive, or these are not forger's dies at all. In the latter case, a "military mint" explanation seems very plausible.

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<sup>134</sup> Already suggested by Chițescu 1981, 57; Божкова / Bozhkova 1984, 19.

<sup>135</sup> Manov 2002, 11-21.

<sup>136</sup> Now published in Doppler – Pauli-Gabi – Peter 2005, 41-9; also Malkmus 2008, no. V-27b.

<sup>137</sup> Even Professor M.H. Crawford admitted that '*there is no universally valid way of distinguishing between forgers' dies and official dies*' (see *RRC*, p. 577).

<sup>138</sup> Discussion in Rodewald 1976, 1-16; Wolters 2012, 348-52, n.4.

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## Chapter 12: Conclusions: summary of analyses

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### 12.1. Thematic conclusions

Due to the diverse and wide-range nature of this research, comprising simultaneous and overlapping coinages (especially in the late Hellenistic period), a series of conclusive remarks on the main coin types will be presented below.

#### 1. Late Hellenistic coinages (*chapter 5.1.-15.*)

From the time of Alexander the Great, the silver *tetradrachm* of Attic standard had a dominating role in the markets of the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece and the Balkans. This ‘world currency system’ continued to be used *en masse* for over 200 years. After the fall of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 BC, for deliberate fiscal and commercial reasons, the Roman provincial authorities in Achaëa, Macedonia and southern Thrace actively promoted all currencies based on the Attic weight standard (based on a drachm of 4.2-4.3g): they insisted that all public transactions and tax payments be in *attikas* [*drachmas*].<sup>1</sup> Facing the local affection and appreciation of the *tetradrachm*, for long the Romans had no alternative in the region but to keep using and instigate the production of the old and well known heavy types. For this purpose, a series of Greek-type silver coinages were minted in Macedonia with Roman permission – the Thasos (and Thasian type), Maroneia, the Macedonian Regions, tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas, Surra and CÆ•PR [=Cae(sar) pr(aetor), and the short-lived series inscribed LEG / MAKEΔONΩN and MAKEΔONΩN. After Sulla took Athens in 86 BC – the same role was played by the Athenian

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, this Roman policy had also purely intrinsic reasons, see *infra*, [chapter 5.17](#), p. 199.

New Style tetradrachms. They all could only be seen in this transitional period as a means of accomplishing the financial and strategic goals of the Rome on the Balkans. The export and distribution of these silver coinages were directed mainly to the north – into interior Thrace and beyond (in Dacia and Dardania). The almost complete lack of finds of such tetradrachms in their issuing centres (see maps *figs.* 5.2, 5, 14 and 16) attests without doubt to the fact that that they were issued only for payments abroad. This was especially the case with the extensive silver coinages of Thasos, Maroneia and for the Macedonian Regions (sections 5.2, 3 and 7).

In the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, for some 40 years the mighty Pontic king Mithridates VI Eupator took control of the coastal zone of the Black Sea, the Straits and southern Thrace (see section 3.5 and map *fig.* 3.7). He made good use of the local mints in the Greek colonies of Odessos, Mesambria, Tomis, Callatis and Istros on the western Black Sea coast (map *fig.* 3.9), and further south – in Byzantium and Chalcedon.<sup>2</sup> For instance, the volume of silver coinage of Byzantium of Lysimachi type (*figs.* 5.25-26) was immense – realized with 115 obverse and 180 reverse dies in just 15 years. At these centres Mithridates and his state produced enormous quantities of gold (staters in Lysimachus type) and silver (tetradrachms of Alexander and Lysimachus type) coinage, in order to finance his economy and the upcoming long and exhausting wars with the Roman Republic.<sup>3</sup>

With the closure of the First Mithridatic War in 85 BC the Romans regained control in Macedonia and positions in the north Aegean. At this point, by financial and strategic reasons, they reopened the mints in Maroneia and Thasos. Together with the last phase of the Macedonian Regions, the mass late coinage of Maroneia and Thasos was minted in this period, from 85 to ca. 72/1 BC. In parallel, the mints of Odessos and Mesambria in Thrace and other Pontic cities that actively minted for Mithridates, were closed after 71 BC. In fact, the totals number of registered Late Hellenistic coins in the Thracian hoards exceeds 22,000 specimens (details and discussion in section 5.18 and relevant maps in 5.2-15).

<sup>2</sup> Sections 5.5, 10 and 11, pp. 150 ff., 167 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See also the remarks in section 3.6, pp. 66-7.



Late Hellenistic coin types freely continued to circulate in Thrace, but were no longer produced and imported into the region after the late 70's – 60's BC. Because of the lack of newly minted silver issues on the market, the local population and communities (especially in southern Thrace) started to make imitations, most of them copying the Thasian coinage. It happened to become a local phenomenon and many hoards and finds of the period ca. 60s – late 40s BC contain this imitative coinage (on Thasian imitations see section 5.2 and notes of distribution).<sup>4</sup> At the same time, in the northwest and also across the Danube (in Dacia), the locals began to imitate the coin they knew best – the Republican *denarius* (see *chapter 7.9* and plates 2-4). Imitating the *denarius* in this region continued at least until the time of Augustus. Thus, copying different prototypes but for similar reasons (lack of fresh coins) to the south as well as to the northwest of Thrace simultaneously, two separate imitative coinages received appreciation and had a market, circulation and hoarding impact.

## **2. Celtic imitative coinages** (*chapter 5.16.1-2*)

The Celts from Central Europe settled in the Eastern Balkans after the great invasion in 280/79 BC and their presence may be easily traced in the local coin market. They produced for many years an imitative coinage of the types of the Macedonian kings “Philip II”, “Alexander III” and “Philip III Arrhidaeus”, actually their favourite prototypes across Europe. The climax of this coinage (struck in silver alloy) was apparently in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, even after the Celtic Tylis-state and Cavarus were liquidated (ca. 216 BC). In fact, the real volume of this imitative coinage was far larger (more than 3,220 coins from 44+ hoards) than previously envisaged, and therefore it has to be taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the numismatic history of the Lower Danubian region before the Romans. This is particularly true for the south bank of the Danube. Its most intense distribution falls in the region of Russe-Veliko Tarnovo (section 5.16.1 and maps 5.43-45), which discloses its local production centre. With the arrival of the Roman *denarius* (or caused by another, so far unknown reason) about 100/90 BC, the production of this regional coinage

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<sup>4</sup> More on the Thasian imitations in Lukanc 1996, and Prokopov 2011, 337-49.

completely died out. Nearly at the same time (the whole of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC), another Celtic group who inhabited the southwest of Thrace (area of Gotse Delchev/ Nevrokop) struck another single type of imitations. It is minted only in bronze based on the Macedonian prototype “head of river god Strymon / trident” inscribed MAKE–ΔΟΝΩΝ (*fig. 5.46*)<sup>5</sup>. This coinage had a significant market impact in the region of the Middle Nestos which seems to be related to a state organisation which would have the capacity to produce and maintain a controlled monetary system.

### 3. Thracian royal coinages (*chapter 6*)

As far as the late Thracian royal and tribal coins are concerned, it is clear that the local rulers struck a substantial amount of coinage, right up to the annexation of Thrace in AD 45/6. However, given the quantity of this coinage (*ca.* 2,600 coins, from published records and studied public collections)<sup>6</sup>, it should be regarded more as having a representative meaning for the Thracian rulers, rather than as regular minting or means of payment. Most probably (except for Rhoemetalces I), it was produced sporadically only at the beginning of each rule to show the king’s authority, and not throughout the whole reign. As demonstrated, the late Thracian coinage became increasingly influenced by Rome as early as 42/1 BC (hence, it was included in the *RPC I*, regarded as ‘Roman provincial’). Bronze occurred as a preferred coins and in fact, only two Thracian late rulers struck in silver: Mostis (as a vassal of Mithridates VI) struck tetradrachms [51 specimens known, *figs. 6.7-10*], and Rhoemetalces I (drachms and didrachms at Byzantium [11 known, *figs. 6.35-36*]) – as a client-king of Augustus. This is indicative for the subordinate position of the Thracian kings to the powers of the day. The bronze coinage of the rest of the Thracian rulers – before and after Rhoemetalces I (*ca.* 12/1 BC – AD 12), was irregular and sporadic. Coins of the last ruler, Rhoemetalces III (AD 38 – 45/6), are much rarer (about 15 provenanced pieces known) and they obviously had only a symbolic meaning, being struck right after his accession.

<sup>5</sup> See [section 5.16.2](#) and maps 5.47 and 48.

<sup>6</sup> See [comparative tables 2 and 3](#) for details.

#### 4. Roman Republican coins in Thrace (*chapter 7*)

The presence of the Republican *denarius* in Thrace envisaged a different stage of market relations and circulation. At first, the Republican *denarius* appeared in southwestern Thrace around 95/0–80 BC, close to the border with Macedonia and its initial appearance in the Thracian market was rather limited and unstable. In the following years the *denarius* demonstrates steady penetration into the region, most intensively in the northwest of Thrace (future *Moesia*) via Illyria and the Scordisci area (i.e. coming from the west, not directly from Macedonia). At this point, the *denarius* was very often associated with drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia (both of the same value). In the 60's BC the influx of *denarii* in Thrace was constant, as in neighbouring Dacia. The next stage is marked by a huge increase of the *denarii* imports in the 40's (with 25+ hoards known from the period), the largest proportion of them from the short period ca. 49-44 BC. Large hoards also appear from the late years of this period, ca. 42-39 BC. This actually follows the same hoarding pattern as in Romania and Italy. The period is also characterized by the intense production of local imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, the last appearance of indigenous coinage in Thrace.

Complete Roman political and economic control over Thrace is marked by the final disappearance of the *tetradrachm* (and *tetradrachm* imitations) from the local market in the 20's BC. Following the analysis of hoard evidence, this *momentum* can be precisely dated to the period ca. 18/15 – 11/10 BC under Augustus. Most probably (though there are no sources)<sup>7</sup>, there was a kind of purposeful Roman regulation of the coin system, coinciding with Thrace becoming a vassal state of Rome after 12/11 BC. From then the Roman *denarius* was completely dominant, the single master of the monetary system in the Thracian region for the next 250-260 years.

#### 5. Early Imperial site finds in Moesia and Thrace (*chapter 10*)

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<sup>7</sup> It is seen from the analysis of the Sadievo hoard (find cat. no. 154).

The analysis and interpretation of the site finds from Early Principate and the comparison of four representative assemblages as case studies allowed some obvious trends to be observed.

Firstly, due to its military nature, in the case of province of *Moesia*, mainstream Roman coins accounted for virtually all the coinage in circulation. The few civic issues of this period are traditionally rare in the region, and found mostly along the western Pontic coast.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, in the early Principate period *Moesia* and *Thracia* being two separate (though neighbouring) provinces (an imperial, under *legatus Augusti*, and a senatorial, under equestrian *procurator*) were supplied with different coin types and at different frequency mode.

In fact, the legions and army of *Moesia* received regular payment of wages and *praemia* from Rome, or from neighbour provinces, which created a regular flow of coins. This could be well seen both by the data of hoards and of 'stray' finds. A typical example is the distribution in (western) *Moesia* of early imperial countermarks on *aes* coinage, a phenomenon which originated in the Claudian-Neronian period, caused by the lack of fresh coinage and small change. In this particular case *Moesia* was supplied with countermarked coins directly from the camps in *Pannonia*, before local copies and types of countermarks to be produced (section 11.3, comparative table 15). Here one could see how the armies of neighbour provinces cooperated closely even in issues of monetary resources.

In contrast, *Thracia* was established as an internal un-armed province (*provincia inermis*) after AD 45/6 and therefore – it received little mainstream coinage. Early Roman coins have been first noticed at few sites (e.g. *Philippopolis*, *Deultum*, *Anchialus* and *Aquae Calidae*). In fact, they came in straight after the annexation (Claudian issues of AD 41/2) and the initial settlements of Roman army veterans under Nero. The process of coin supply in internal Thrace was intensified only with the Flavians, but mostly under Trajan, most probably related to fiscal reasons. Instead, the mechanisms of circulation of small change were regulated in Thrace through the activity of the local mints.

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<sup>8</sup> See *RPC I*, p.22; see now Лазаренко / Lazarenko 2011, 24-57 (for Odessus).

Such provincial mints operated with no interruption at *Byzantium*, *Perinthus*, and *Abdera*. Additionally, new ones were opened in *Maroneia* (under Nero and later), in *Philippopolis* (single series under Domitian, regular after Trajan), at *Bizye* (under Hadrian), as well as at the coastal cities of *Mesambria* (under Hadrian), *Odessus* and *Tomis*. The coin deficit of small change in western Thrace was compensated locally with bronze issues from the nearby cities of Macedonia – mostly *Philippi*,<sup>9</sup> *Thessalonica* and *Stobi* (after Vespasian).<sup>10</sup> In fact, *Perinthus* in southern Thrace was the alleged the centre of an unusual Roman coinage in brass, executed in the style of Rome’s mint (section 11.1).<sup>11</sup> It produced two distinct series – the first under late Claudius/early Nero – with issues for Britannicus and Agrippina Minor, and the second - under Titus and early Domitian, with coins for Titus himself, for Julia *Titi* and Domitian as well as the so-called ‘restored’ issues. Under Galba at *Perinthus* were also applied two types of countermarks (**ΓΑΛ•ΚΑΙ** and **ΓΑΛΒΑ**) all over earlier bronze coins, predominantly erasing the features of Nero. All aforementioned coins are well represented in the finds from Thrace and Moesia, which proves their production in a nearby mint in Thrace, such as *Perinthus*.<sup>12</sup>

Third, an important numismatic phenomenon in *Moesia* is the strong presence of a high number of coin dies finds for late Republican and early Imperial issues (section 11.5, *figs.* 11.18-27). This study suggests their presence could be interpreted not always as “forgers dies” of local irregular workshops, but rather as products/ accessories of some military, travelling mints in the late Augustan – Tiberian period. By all means, the concentration of dies (8+ specimens) in Moesia is surprising and unexpected.

Finally, with the exception of the ‘votive’/‘ritual’ coins from site finds (*fig.* 10.20 and table 10.7), we can conclude that the military and the civil sites in Thrace and in Moesia are the places where the vast majority of coins were found, being the most intensely monetized areas of the provincial society.

<sup>9</sup> On *Philippi* bronzes (RPC I 1581) see more in [section 11.4](#).

<sup>10</sup> Details of each of these mints and their coinage, in RPC I (1992) and RPC II (1998).

<sup>11</sup> See mainly RPC I, p.22 and 318.

<sup>12</sup> As it was suggested by the editors of *RPC II* and now by T. Butrey and I. Carradice in *RIC III*<sup>1</sup>.

### 13.2. General / Long-term conclusions

Yet, again the main research questions asked:

- How did the Roman Empire gradually take full political control of the Balkan Peninsula?
- How was this achieved in economic and monetary terms?
- What role did Roman money play in the regional economy?
- What were the exact stages of the transformation of ‘barbarous’ *Thrace* and *Moesia*, from an unstable area bordering the province of Macedonia with a dozen local tribal rulers, to a peaceful and prosperous region in just a century ?

Three distinctive periods of coin dynamics can be detected in the territory of Thrace between ca. 150 BC and AD 100:

- the Late Hellenistic (resulting from a long lasting tradition, continued to ca. 70/60 BC);
- the Thracian (ca. 100/60 to 20/10 BC), and
- the Roman (starting since the 50/40 BC, complete domination after 11-10 BC),

All three of them were a matter of study in this thesis. They have developed in time and were consecutively the leading currencies and forms of payment within the study period (250-260 years).

The above periods feature different states of political and economic relations, seen through the prism of purely monetary instruments, but essentially performing the same attitude as means of payment. It has to emphasize that either Roman Macedonia or *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium* on the Adriatic (or both together) played a key role in the monetary matters and coin supply in Thrace. With the results of applied analytical studies of the coins in the study period, the following reconstruction can be suggested.

As a matter of fact, the transition in the monetary system in Thrace – from Hellenistic to Roman – actually took no more than 50 years. It was fully

completed by the time of Augustus in ca. 20/10 BC. The actual shift from *tetradrachm* to the *denarius* was gradual, with no interruptions in the coin supply. Initially in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> BC the Romans supplied inner Thrace with tetradrachms minted under their authority in Macedonia. They were well accepted within the region, well accustomed to silver tetradrachms struck to the Attic weight standard since the time of Alexander the Great. Large-scale coinages like the Thasos (and Thasian type), Maroneia, Macedonian Regions, Aesillas, and Athenian New Style were dispatched in mass quantities to Thrace. Whatever the reason of their presence might have been (mercenary wages, slave trade payments, dowries, tributes to local vassals?)<sup>13</sup> for the need and “*hunger for precious metal*”<sup>14</sup> in the Thracian hinterland, it is clear that it was the Romans in Macedonia who were behind it.

At the same time, another feature of the Roman financial and monetary policy can be observed. It came from the direction of *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia* on the Adriatic coast, not from southern Macedonia. For some (yet unknown) reason, it was directed towards the territory of the Scordisci, who lived along the middle/lower Danube, roughly between Belgrade and Northwestern Thrace, extending east to the Iskar/Vit rivers. In this case another pure Roman coin type – the drachms of *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia* (who were controlled by the Republic), were used as the main means of payment in the Lower Danubian region. This phase lasted for some 20-30 years until ca. 60 BC and gradually genuine Republican *denarii* were associated more and more with the drachms. By that time the local communities (Scordisci / Thracians / Dacians) on both sides of the Danube were already well accustomed to the *denarius* as a main currency of the time.

By the early 50's BC (after the victory over Mithridates Eupator, the last powerful Hellenistic monarch), and the changes in the Republican government, this ‘northern policy’ of the Roman provincial administration of Macedonia ceased to be efficient. With the new situation in the Civil Wars (late 50-early 40s BC) it was discontinued and the monetary affairs of Thrace were left on their own. As a result the local indigenous coinage (imitations of Thasos

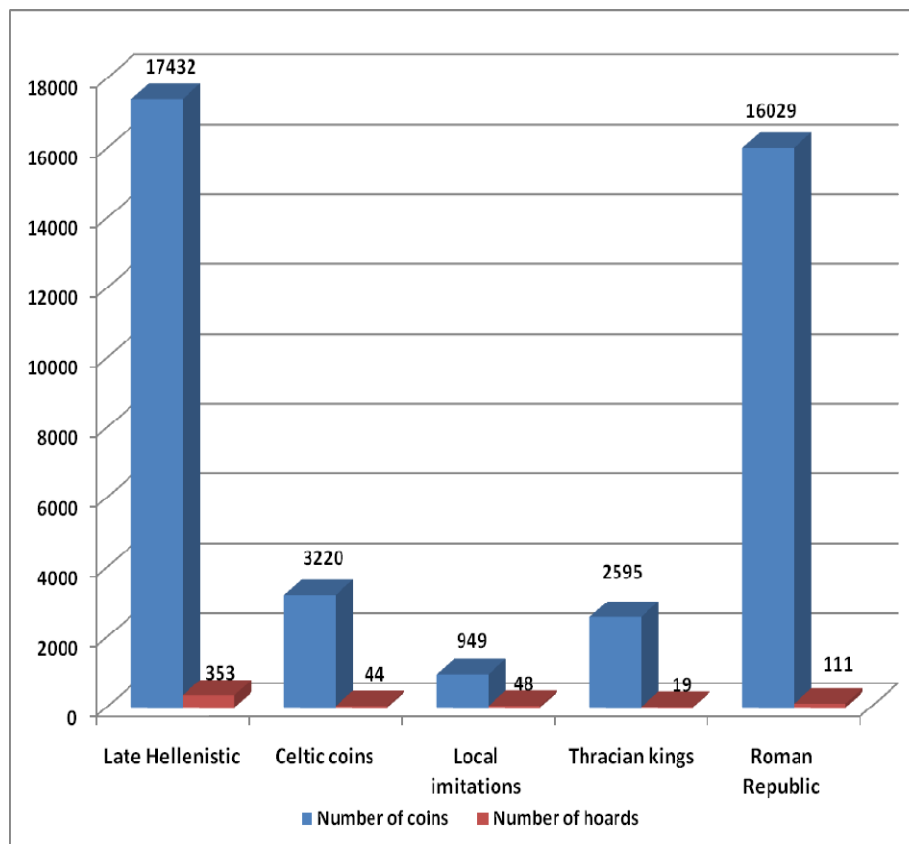
<sup>13</sup> More details on this problem in section 7.6, pp. 273-6.

<sup>14</sup> As termed in M. Crawford 1985, 227.

tetradrachms, overstruck on earlier foreign flans) flourished in this period. Apparently these imitative coins marked the last period of the Thracian/local independence in political and numismatic terms. In fact, this ended in the aftermath of the Civil War between Mark Antony and Octavian. Between 31/30 BC, after Actium, and 20/15 BC, an interim period was marked by political uncertainty and frequent unrest.

In the framework of the new Imperial monetary policy of Augustus after 23/19 BC, changes took place in Macedonia and Thrace<sup>15</sup> as in other provinces. With the march of L. Calpurnius Piso<sup>16</sup> in southern Thrace in 13-11 BC it became obvious that a different currency other than the *denarius* could no longer be tolerated. In other words, it marks the time of complete domination of the Roman *denarius* as means of payment and standardised market value.

### The *two pillars* – as a model of transition system



**Fig. 12.1.** The “*two pillars*”: overall statistics of the coin types in Thrace, ca. 150–30/20 BC.

<sup>15</sup> Though nominally an independent state.

<sup>16</sup> Historical details in [section 3.9.4](#), pp. 96-9.



For illustrative purposes I shall repeat here a comparative chart (*fig. 12.1*) because of its significance. It shows in graphic form the transition of the monetary system in 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Thrace was indeed smooth and gradual with the presence of the local Celtic and Thracian royal coinages having a supportive and customary role. However, both major components are the Late Hellenistic and Roman Republican, represented by nearly equal quantities of coins and hoards. This chart may be labelled '**The Two Pillars model**' and illustrates the two distinctive coin systems which dominated the market and circulation in Thrace one after another. Moreover, it demonstrates how the Romans introduced their own coinage (resp. political and economic influence) in Thrace, as a constant money flow to substitute the Late Hellenistic tetradrachms. It again proves the strategic and financial genius of the Romans as exploiters of foreign countries and resources. The *denarius* now became a symbol of domination and one of the main instruments of the Romanisation of Thrace and its local communities. Through analyses and interpretation it become apparent that the Roman coinage played a decisive role in the regional and local economy. It integrated the local market/financial mechanisms within a common well structured monetary system. In fact, from the time of Augustus there was no other means of payment and exchange and so remained until mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

### **13.3. Future directions and research perspectives**

As already mentioned, further work and integration of the numismatic data on Thracian royal coinage from European Turkey, in the light of the recent excavation finds, could greatly contribute to the matter and support new directions and perspectives of research.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in my view an updated corpus with comparative analysis and revised chronology and typology will provide handful data on the late Thracian as well as on other related Late Hellenistic coinages.

On a further level a sophisticated comparative analysis of the internal composition of hoards is intended based on K. Lockyear's "CA-

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<sup>17</sup> Planned by author for 2013.

correspondence analysis” and cluster analyses (Lockyear 2007, 39-42, 179-202). Since they required advanced mathematical and statistical methods and skills it could not be performed at this point.

Furthermore, when the new coin data from key Roman sites such as *Serdica/Sofia*, *Oescus*, *Aquae Calidae*<sup>18</sup> become freely available for study it would foster our knowledge on the specifics of coin circulation in Moesia and Thrace much further and provide much needed evidence from stratified archaeological context.

With the numismatic material from Bulgaria gathered and arranged as in this thesis, all kinds and approaches of future research might take place.

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<sup>18</sup> As expected from the ongoing excavations in *Serdica* (2010-2012) and *Aquae Calidae* (2009-2012) and other sites.

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## 14. Catalogue of Finds

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*“Lay not up for yourselves hoards in the earth –  
there moth and rust do consume...”*

(Matthew 6.19-21)

### 14.1. Republican Hoards

#### Notes on use of the catalogue

This catalogue includes all the extant data on Roman Republican hoards available in the Bulletin of the coin hoards found in Bulgaria – from the National Liberation in 1878 until 1982.<sup>1</sup> It should be immediately stated that this material does not provide us with firm foundations. The reluctance of the finders to report new hoards, and the fact that many came to light through hearsay after dispersal, have led to the unsatisfactory description of many coin deposits.

The entries are listed in alphabetical order according to the modern name of the place of discovery of hoards and based on the classic inventories model of M. Crawford's *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* (London 1969) and of M. Thompson – O. Mørkholm – C. M. Craay's *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973) and later in the *Coin Hoards* series (London/ New York, 1975–). The hoards are divided into homogenous and mixed/associated. Textual descriptions are omitted for maximum clarity, and each coin is given a short description following the format of the standard reference catalogues.

Where and when possible, the available data has been checked *de visu* at the museum holdings and collections.

Data and information about hoards discovered after 1982 (especially after the 1990's) has been provided by numismatists from Bulgarian museums as well as private

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<sup>1</sup> Publication of the annual bulletin of hoards in Bulgaria was discontinued in 1985 for police and security reasons (information from the late Professor Yordanka Youroukova).

collectors. They all have been examined by the author *de visu* throughout this study; they are also marked with the sign #.

Coin hoards described earlier in the Bulletin of Coin Hoards in *BSAB* & *BIAB* by Bogdan D. Filow (in 1909–1912), Nikola A. Mushmov (between 1914–1929) and Todor Gerassimov (between 1934–1970) and Yordanka Youroukova (between 1971–1982). Those that are listed were originally grouped under the Roman moneyers names after E. Babelon arrangement. Later in the mid-1960's - early 1980's Yordanka Youroukova and other scholars in Bulgaria followed the system of E. A. Sydenham.

All previously given data for these coins has been thoroughly revised by the present author according to the standard catalogue system of M. H. Crawford, *RRC*, pp. 123-546.

An updated list of Roman Republican coin moneyers (in alphabetical order) is freely available on the British Museum website:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online\\_research\\_catalogues/rrc/roman\\_republican\\_coins/roman\\_republican\\_moneyers.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/rrc/roman_republican_coins/roman_republican_moneyers.aspx).

### **Model of work**

The following information is given for each hoard:

1. *Quantity* – my use of the word “many” is for quantities of 100 or more coins, when the exact number is unknown;
2. *Place of discovery* – the name of the village / town, area, district/region;
3. *Findspot* – the exact locality, date and circumstances of discovery (when known);
4. *Contents of hoard* – the originally reported and published composition of hoards (full contents (when known per type) is given in the individual Tables of Hoards);
5. *Closing date* – the approximate date when the hoard was deposited;
6. *Disposition* – the current location of each hoard (when known);
7. *Comments* – any additional information and author's notes. ‘Unpublished’ means the hoard is substantially unpublished, with the exception of the few named coins. Where no coins are listed, ‘unpublished’ then means that only a brief record of the discovery was given;

8. *Reference* - to publication/s or sources of information.

When possible and applicable, the modern and ancient places of discovery are given. Modern names are shown in bold letters thus, **Gigen**; ancient in italics thus, *Oescus*.

RRCH is used to denote those hoards which are included in the *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* by M. H. Crawford.

IGCH is used to denote the hoards mentioned in M. Thompson - O. Mørkholm - C. M. Craay's classic work '*An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*'.

CH is used to denote the *Coin Hoards* volumes.

When the original size of an incompletely preserved hoard can be estimated with some accuracy, it is given.

Since this is an *inventory of Republican coins*, the description of non-Roman coins is kept to a minimum. A full description is given only of pieces from inadequately published finds and of pieces important for the hoard chronology to which they belong.

When no reference or other sources of information are cited for a hoard, the account for entry in the catalogue is based entirely on my own studies of it.

### **Re-arrangement of dates**

Since the publication of Crawford's *RRC*, some datings of Republican denarius issues have now been re-defined and slightly changed. For instance, the dates of the series struck in the period 72–40 BC are adjusted to more recent studies, such as the Mesagne hoard. Consequently, the dating of Charles Hersh and Alan Walker of the issues of 72–50 BC was adopted here (Hersh-Walker 1984), as well as the one of B. Woytek (2003) for the Imperial period (49 – 40 BC).

## 14.2. Homogenous Republican Hoards

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### 1. Altimir / 1956, Byala Slatina area, Vratsa district

*Findspot:* Found in 1956 in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:* Gerassimov reported about 30 *RRD* of the following moneyer families:

- Antonia (*RRC* 488-544?, 42-32/1? BC)
- Cassia (*RRC* 413 or 428, 60 or 55 BC)
- Cordia (*RRC* 463, 46 BC)
- Iulia (*RRC* 443, 452 or 458, 49/8-46 BC)
- Scribonia (*RRC* 416, 62 BC)
- Vibia (*RRC* 449/451, 48 BC)

*Closing date:* after 31 BC ?

*Disposition:* Mr M. Stoyanov, a collector from Oryahovo, informed T. Gerassimov that the coins were dispersed between the villagers after discovery

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 356; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 1.

### 2. Aprilovo I / 1951, Popovo area, Targovishte district

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 110 *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1951 in the 'Kerchan Bair' locality near the village, where an ancient and medieval settlement-fortress existed.

*Contents:* Gerassimov reported only 3 *RRD* from families:

1. Antonia (*RRC* 488-544? 42-32/1? BC)
2. Caecilia (*RRC* 364, 81 BC)
3. Porcia (*RRC* 462, 46 BC)

*Closing date:* ca.32-1 BC ?

*Disposition:* Dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1955, p. 602; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 2.

### 3. 'Aydemir' / 2009, Silistra district

*Quantity:* A pot? hoard of 55+ *denarii*



*Findspot:* Found in unknown circumstances somewhere in the Silistra region, confiscated by the police in March 2010.

*Contents:* A total of 55 identified and listed:

From

- L. Trebanus, 135 BC (*RRC* 241/1)

Latest issue of

- L. Papius Celsus, 45 BC (*RRC* 472/1).

Uncleaned, some coins with copper encrustation.

*Closing date:* ca. 45 BC

*Disposition:* Museum of Silistra?

*Comments:* Unpublished, list completed from a small press release photo, March 2010.

#### **4. Bardarski Geran / 2004, Byala Slatina, Vratsa district (chart 1)**

*Quantity:* Pot/?/ hoard of 180 *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 2004 near the village of Bardarski Geran.

*Contents:* 177 *denarii* examined:

from

- Anonymous **AN/ AV**, 194-190 BC (*RRC* 136/1)

latest issues of

- L. Rutillius Flaccus, 77 BC (*RRC* 387/1): 2

plus

- 'Dacian' imitation: 1 – type rev: *RRC* 383/1, after 79 BC.

All coins – LW or MW degree of wear.

*Comments:* Typical early hoard

*Closing date:* after 77 BC

*Disposition:* Private collection, Sofia.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by I. Prokopov, November 2004.

#### **5. Baurene / 1965, Krivodol, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 330 *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1965 in the locality 'Novite Gradini' during ploughing.

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported 3 *RRD* of the following families:

1. Antonia (*RRC* 488–544?, 42-31? BC)
2. Caecilia (*RRC* 459, 47-46 BC)
3. Porcia (*RRC* 462/1, 47-46 BC)

*Disposition:* Dispersed after discovery, according to D. Buchinsky of Vratsa.

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1966, p. 211; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 4.

### **6. Beli Breg I / 1964. Montana district (chart 2)\***

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 160 *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1964 in the locality 'Druma/Drumishtata' near the village.

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported coins from the following families:

1. Aburia (*RRC* 244, 134 BC)
2. Antestia (*RRC* 219, 146 BC)
3. Appuleia (*RRC* 317/3b, 104 BC)
4. Atilia (*RRC* 225/1, 141 BC)
5. Baebia (*RRC* 236/1a, 137 BC)
6. Calpurnia (*RRC* 340, 90 BC)
7. Cassia (*RRC* 500 & 505, 43 BC)
8. Claudia (*RRC* 512, 41 BC)
9. Fabia (*RRC* 265, 127 BC)
10. Flaminia (*RRC* 302, 109/8 BC)
11. Fonteia (*RRC* 307, 108/7 BC)
12. Furia (*RRC* 356, 84 BC)
13. Herennia (*RRC* 308/1a, 108/7 BC)
14. Iunia (*RRC* 337, 91 BC)
15. Licinia (*RRC* 460, 47/46 BC)
16. Lucilia (*RRC* 324, 101 BC)
17. Lucretia (*RRC* 237, 136 BC)
18. Mamilia (*RRC* 362/1, 82 BC)
19. Marcia (*RRC* 346, 88 BC)
20. Papia (*RRC* 384, 79 BC)
21. Papiria (*RRC* 279, 121 BC)
22. Scribonia (*RRC* 416, 62 BC)
23. Sentia (*RRC* 325, 101 BC)
24. Sergia (*RRC* 286, 115/4 BC)
25. Thoria (*RRC* 316, 105 BC)
26. Tullia (*RRC* 280, 120 BC)
27. Vibia (*RRC* 342/4b, 90 BC)

Now 81 listed, latest issues of L. Papius (384/1) and Ti. Claudius Ti.f. Ap.n. Nero (382/1), both from 79 BC

*Disposition:* Dr B. Nikolov, keeper of coins in Vratsa Museum at that time, wrongly reported to T. Gerassimov that the hoard had gone abroad in trade. In fact, 81 pieces were acquired for the Historical Museum in Vratsa, inv. Nos. 4095-4174, inventoried on 18 February 1965. Now all are stolen/ lost.

*Closing date:* According to Professor M. H. Crawford – 80/76 BC; after **79 BC**

*Comments:* Unpublished, see the listing in *IRRCHBulg.* no. 5. Typical early hoard.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1966, p. 211; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg.*, no. 5.

### **7. Beli Breg II / 1973, Montana district (= CH 6. 83)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 18+ *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1973 in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:* 18 *RRD*

from

- L. Sempronius Pitio (*RRC* 216/1), 148 BC  
to latest issue of
- C. Iulius Caesar, 49-48 BC (*RRC* 443/1), MW (extraneous?)

All coins but the latest well preserved.

*Closing date:* 49/8 BC.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Montana as noted, Inv. Nos. 1009-1026, acquired in October 1973.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mr M. Markov, Montana Museum.

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1978, 73; *Coin Hoards* VI (London 1981), no. 83; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg.*, no. 6.

### **8. Bukovets / 1936, Brusartsi, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of ca.1000 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1936 near the village

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported 500 *RRD* (in the possession of a private collector in Sofia) from the following families:

1. Anonymous: 20 d. (*RRC* ?)
2. Aburia (*RRC* 244, 134 BC)
3. Antestia (*RRC* 219, 146 BC)
4. Appuleia (*RRC* 317, 104 BC)
5. Atilia (*RRC* 214, 148 BC)

6. Baebia (RRC 236/1a, 137 BC)
7. Calpurnia (RRC 340, 90 BC)
8. Cassia (RRC 321?, 102 BC)
9. Claudia (RRC 512, 41 BC)
10. Fabia (RRC 265, 127 BC)
11. Flaminia (RRC 302, 109/108 BC)
12. Fonteia (RRC 307, 108/7 BC)
13. Furia (RRC 356, 84 BC)
14. Herennia (RRC 308/1a, 108/7 BC)
15. Iunia (RRC 337, 91 BC)
16. Licinia (RRC 460, 47/46 BC)
17. Lucilia (RRC 324, 101 BC)
18. Lucretia (RRC 390, 76 BC)
19. Mamilia (RRC 362/1, 82 BC)
20. Marcia (RRC 346, 88 BC)
21. Papia (RRC 384/1, 79 BC)
22. Papiria (RRC 276/1, 122 BC)
23. Scribonia (RRC 216/1?, 62 BC)
24. Sentia (RRC 325, 101 BC)
25. Sergia (RRC 286, 115/114 BC)
26. Thoria 1 (RRC 316/1, 105 BC)
27. Tullia (RRC 280/1, 120 BC)
28. Valeria (RRC 306/1, 108/7 BC)

Latest issues of T. Annius and L. Rutilius Flaccus (RRC 387/1) of 77 BC.

*Closing date:* according to M. H. Crawford – 80/76 BC, possibly ca. 77-76 BC

*Disposition:* These coins were seen in Mr Takov's collection, 1935.

*Comments:* Unpublished, dispersed and lost.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1937, 320; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 7.

### **9. Bukyovtsi II / 1966** (present town of **Mizia**), Vratsa district

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 103 *RRC* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1966 in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:* N/A

*Disposition:* Dispersed and lost

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1967, p. 187; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 9.

### **10. Dolna Banya / 1908, Kostenets area, Sofia district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 14 *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1908 in the hills above the village, along the upper reaches of the Maritsa river (anc. *Hebrus*)

*Contents:* N/A – 14 D.

*Disposition:* Dispersed and lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* MOUCHMOV 1914, p. 273, no. 53; SEURE 1923, 27, no. 43; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 10.

### **11. Dolno Ozirovo / 1947, Berkovitsa area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many *RRD* from 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1947 in the 'Cherkovishteto' locality near the village while plowing a vineyard at a depth 0.5 m

*Contents:* Gerassimov reported only 2 pieces from the following families:

- Herennia (=RRC 308/1a-b, 108/7 BC)
- Valeria (=RRC 306/1, 108/7 BC)

*Disposition:* Dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1950, p. 321; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 12.

### **12. [Dolni?] Vadin I / 1947 (anc. Valeriana), Orjahovo area, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of many *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1947 during digging work in a field near the village

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov listed 51 *RRD*:

1. Aburia (RRC 244, 134 BC)
2. Aurelia (RRC 314/1b, 105 BC)
3. Baebia (RRC 236, 137 BC)
4. Caecilia (RRC 374, 81 BC)
5. Calpurnia (RRC 340, 90 BC)
6. Cuppiania (RRC 218/1, 147 BC)
7. Fabia (RRC 265, 127 BC)
8. Flaminia (RRC 302, 109/8 BC)
9. Fonteia (RRC 290/1, 114/3 BC)

10. Lucilia (RRC 324, 101 BC)
11. Lucretia (RRC 390, 76 BC)
12. Minucia (RRC 319/, 103 BC)
13. Satriena? / [listed as Saturnia!] (RRC 388/1, 77 BC)

*Disposition:* Acquired from D.Med. N. Statelov, a private collector from the village of Bukyovtsi. Perhaps part of these 51 are in the 'Gorna Oryahovitsa' group [Cat. no. 108].

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1950, p. 320; B. NIKOLOV 1996, pp. 113-114.

### **13. Dolni Vadin II / 1956 (anc. Valeriana), Oryahovo area, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 700-800 RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1956 during digging of a vineyard near the village

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported only a few *denarii* of the following families:

1. Cornelia (RRC 367 ?, 82 BC)
2. Iulia (RRC 443 or 458?, 49/8–44? BC)
3. Minucia (RRC 319, 103 BC)
4. Naevia (RRC 382, 79 BC)
5. Thoria (RRC 316/1, 105 BC)
6. the rest - *incerta*

*Disposition:* Dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished. T. Gerassimov was informed by Mr M. Stoyanov, a private collector from the town of Oryahovo.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 357; B. NIKOLOV 1996, pp. 113-114; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 13.

### **14. "Western Thrace- Macedonia" / 1941-44**

*Findspot:* From the region of *Western Thrace* (modern Northern Greece), found between 1941/44, in unknown circumstances.

*Contents:* 17 RRD:

from

- Pinarius Natta, 155 BC, Rome, (RRC 200/1)

down to

- Mark Antony - legionary LEG IX (RRC 544/23), Patrae.

Plus one Titus - for Divus Vespasian, AD 80-81: 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 357), 2.94 g, MW [No. 1438] – extraneous?

*Closing date:* 32/1 BC (or later?)

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Russe, Inv. nos. 1420-1438, acquired in 1955 from Mr St. Mindov.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Prof. D. Draganov, 2006 and D. Dragev, May 2011.

### **15. Eleshnitsa / 1956, Hissarya area, Plovdiv district<sup>#</sup>**

(submerged since 1962 under the 'Pyasachnik' dam)

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many *RRD* of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the autumn of 1956 by shepherds in the 'Koriyata' locality, 1 km west of the village

*Contents:* Part of the hoard - 7 *RRD*:

1. C. Fabius C.f., 102 BC (RRC 322/1a): 1, MW
2. Q. Antonius Balbus, 83/2 BC (RRC 364/1d): 1, HW, 1 b/m obv.
3. C. Egnatius Maxsumus, 75 BC (RRC 391/3): 1, LW
4. L. Furius Brocchus, 63 BC (RRC 414/1): 1, LW
5. P. Fonteius P.f. Capito, 55 BC (RRC 429/1): 1, LW
6. Q. Sicinius, 49 BC (RRC 440/1): 1, MW
7. D. Iunius Albinus Bruti f., 48 BC (RRC 450/2): 1, LW.

*Disposition:* NAM Plovdiv acquired only 7 pieces, inv. nos. 2134 / 1-7, purchased from Mr K. D. Genchovsky. The rest was dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* D. TZONTCHEV 1960, pp. 210, 214; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 15.

### **16. Filipovtsi / 1922, Trun area, Pernik district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard in a clay jug of c. 800 *RRD* from the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1922 in the vicinity of the village. According to recent sources, the bronze vessel was found at the foot of high rocky hill, near a natural spring, some distance to the west of the village.

*Contents:* N. Mushmov examined 464 *denarii* that were classified per E. Babelon's catalogue, but he never published the records.

*Disposition:* According to N. Mushmov, the coins were returned to the owners. The jug, was acquired by the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia.

*Comments:* The coins never reached the Museum in Sofia. Unpublished.

*Reference:* MOUCHMOV 1924, pp. 242-243; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 16.

### **17. Gabrovo area I / 1960s, Gabrovo district**

*Quantity:* Part of a dispersed hoard - 5 *RRD*

*Findspot:* from an unknown site in the Gabrovo district

*Contents:*

- L. Cuppienius (RRC 218/1, 147 BC): 2
- C. Porcius Cato (RRC 274/1, 123 BC): 2  
latest issue of
- L. Caplurnius Piso Frugi (RRC 340/1, 90 BC)

*Comments:* Published

*Disposition:* Museum of Gabrovo, Inv. Nos. M-259–262.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV - KOICHEVA, Gabrovo, p. 48, Nos. 18-22; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 17.

### **18. Gabrovo area II / 1980s, Gabrovo district**

*Quantity:* Part of another dispersed hoard

*Findspot:* unknown

*Contents:* 4 pieces *RRD*:

from

- L. Cuppienius (RRC 218/1, 147 BC),  
latest issue of
- M. Volteius, 78 BC (RRC 385/4)

*Comments:* Published

*Disposition:* Museum of Gabrovo, Inv. Nos. M-3215–3218; 3226.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV - KOICHEVA, Gabrovo, p. 48, Nos. 22-26, pl. 4; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 18.

### **19. Gigen / 1956 (anc. Oescus), Pleven district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in October 1956 while ploughing

*Contents:* N/A

*Disposition:* Dispersed. A villager from Gigen found and kept only 17 denarii – unspecified moneyers.

*Comments:* Unpublished, lost.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 357; ; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 20.

### **20. Gorna Koznitsa / 1996, Kyustendil district**



*Quantity:* Hoard of c. 200 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1996 in the 'Kaletó' locality, NE of the village with a metal detector

*Contents:* Details not known.

*Disposition:* The hoard was dispersed among private collectors from Kyustendil and Sofia.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information obtained by I. Prokopov; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 21.

### **21. Gorna Verenitsa / 1936, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of many *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1936 in the area of the village

*Contents:* Gerassimov examined only 26 pieces, shown to him by a local teacher, unspecified moneyers types.

*Disposition:* Dispersed, lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1937, p. 320; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 22.

### **22. Gorni Vadin II / 1967, Oryahovo area (anc. Valeriana), Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of ca. 150 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1967 in the 'Ledenika' locality, west of the village.

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported only about 20 pieces, all unspecified types and dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.

*Disposition:* Dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV, 1968, p. 232; B. NIKOLOV 1996, pp. 91-92; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 23.

### **23. Guljantcy / 1957 (anc. Utus), Pleven district (=RRCH 377), (chart 3)**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 464 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1957 in town while digging a street canal.

*Contents:* List of 464 in the first publication, from:

- *Anonymous*, RRC 44/5, /struck after 211 BC/  
down to
- T. Carisius, 46 BC (RRC 464/2): 1
- Two *imitation denarii* –

1. Prototype of L. Sentius (RRC 325/1), after 101 BC, plated, porous, 3.37g. (Radoměský 1961, no. 103b; inv. no. 23845);
2. Prototype of Q. Antonius Balbus, 3.67g, after 83 BC (Radoměský 1961, no. 137; inv. no. 23939).

*Disposition:* The larger part preserved. 441 denarii acquired by the Czech National Museum in Prague in February 1960; a further 23 denarii of another hoard included in the original publication.

*Closing date:* According to M. Crawford – 50/46 BC; actually – 46 BC.

*Comments:* According to M. Chițescu, there are copies - 3 copies of the so-called *Dacian type* (actually 2); 2 hybrids, 2 brockages and overstrike. Further information from T. Kleisner, Czech National Museum, May 2006 and Mrs Lenka Vacinova, April 2012.

*References:* RADOMERSKY 1961, pp. 69-91, pls. 1-3; CRAWFORD, *RRCH* 377; HERSCH - WALKER 1984, 131, table III; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 27.

#### **24. “Haemus”/ 2006, Vratsa Area (chart 4)**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of 67 *RRD* and 3 jewelry pieces.

*Findspot:* Found in the NW area of Bulgaria, in autumn 2006, somewhere in the Vratsa district, in the mountain Stara Planina near the ancient road (at a distance from the settlement).

*Contents:* 67 *denarii*

From

- P. Crepusius, 82 BC (RRC 361/1c)

latest issues –

- 2 *denarii* of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, 32 BC (RRC 543/1),
- including 2 plated (of type P. Clodius M.f., 42 BC (RRC 494/23; lead cores)

Most coins not circulated but struck with quite worn dies.

Together with 3 pieces of silver jewelry:

- a torque (a twisted square wire with 3 spiral rings, about 60g);

and

- 2 large bracelets ‘*armillae*’ (weights: 112 and 117g).

*Disposition:* Examined and recorded by I. Prokopov, Nov 2006. Private collection, Sofia.

*Comments:* Published, see now E. PAUNOV – I. PROKOPOV (Athens 2012), /forthcoming/.

#### **25. Iskra / 1929 (formerly Popovo), Parvomay, Plovdiv district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of over 800 *RRD* (ca. 3 kilos) from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1929 in the ‘Popovo’ locality, 5 km south of the village – in an ancient settlement?

*Contents:* N. Mushmov reported only a few pieces, no details given

*Disposition:* The larger part of the hoard was dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* MOUCHMOV 1931, p. 316; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 28.

## **26. Kalimanitsa / 1942, Berkovitsa area, Montana district**

(submerged under the Ogosta dam since 1984)

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of ca. 70 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1942 in the 'Grobishtata' locality near the village, while villagers were digging clay for bricks.

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported 55 *RRD* of the following families:

1. Accoleia 1 (RRC 486/1, 41 BC)
2. Aemilia 2 (RRC 415/1, 62 BC)
3. Antestia 2 (RRC 219, 146 BC)
4. Antonia 18 (RRC ???, 42-31 BC)
5. Caecilia 1 (RRC 262, 128 BC)
6. Calpurnia 1 (RRC 340, 90 BC)
7. Cordia 3 (RRC 463, 46 BC)
8. Cornelia 1 (RRC 367, 82 BC)
9. Domitia 1 (RRC 519/2 ?, 42 BC)
10. Flaminia 1 (RRC 302/1, 109/8 BC)
11. Iulia 4 (RRC ?, 49-44 BC)
12. Iunia 1 (RRC 337, 91 BC)
13. Lutacia 1 (RRC 305/1, 109/8 BC)
14. Manlia 3 (RRC 367/3 or 5?, 82 BC)
15. Memmia 1 (RRC 349/1, 87 BC)
16. Minucia 1 (RRC 319, 103 BC)
17. Papiria 1 (RRC 276/1, 122 BC)
18. Plautia 1 (RRC 453/1c, 47 BC)
19. Pompeia 1 (RRC 434/1, 54 BC)
20. Poblicia 2 (RRC 380/1, 80 BC)
21. Servilia 1 (RRC 327/8, 100 BC)
22. Veturia 1 (RRC 234/1, 137 BC)
23. Volteia 1 (RRC 385, 78 BC)
24. 5 *incerta*

All coins were fairly worn, as noted by T. Gerassimov.

*Closing date:* ca. 41-31 BC

*Disposition:* Returned to owners after examination.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1946, p. 239; PAUNOV – ПРОКОПОВ 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 29. See also – for earlier recorded monuments from the area - ДЯКОВИЧ / ДУАКОВИЧ 1904, 11-12.

## **27. Kapitan Dimitriev / 1991, Peshtera, Pazardzhik district (chart 5)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of ca. 120-130 RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1991 with a metal detector in a Roman *villa rustica*, close to a Prehistoric tell in the 'Banyata' locality near the village

*Contents:* 55 coins, earliest issue of -

- L. Saufeius, 152 BC (RRC 204/1): 1 - mid-worn
- C. Iunius C. f., 149 BC (RRC 210/1): 1 - 3 punch-marks on obv.
- C. Antestius, 146 BC (RRC 219/1e): 1
- C. Curiatius Trigeminus, 142 BC (RRC 223/1): 1
- M. Baebius Q. f., 137 BC (RRC 236/1a): 1
- Cn. Lucretius Trio, 136 BC (RRC 237/1a): 1
- L. Antestius Gragulus, 136 BC (RRC 238/1): 1
- C. Serveilius M.f., 136 BC (RRC 239/1): 2
- L. Trebanus, 135 BC (RRC 241/1b): 1
- Anonymous, 128 BC (RRC 262/1): 1
- C. Serveilius C. f. Vatia, 127 BC (RRC 264/1): 1
- M. Porcius Cato, 89 BC (RRC 343/1b): 1
- M. Carbo, 122 BC (RRC 276/1): 1
- C. Plutius, 121 BC (RRC 278/1): 1
- M. Furius, 119 BC (RRC 281/1): 1
- C. Poblicius Malleolus C. f., 118 BC (RRC 282/3): 1
- M. Cippius M.f., 114/3 BC (RRC 289/1): 1
- L. Appuleius Saturninus, 104 BC (RRC 317/3b): 1
- latest coins of
- Petillius Capitolinus (RRC 487/1, 41 BC): 1

plus

- One civic denarius of Bolscan / Oscan in Spain, ca. 150-100 BC (SNG BM Spain, 695-710).

Among the dispersed coins there were *denarii* of Caesar and Octavian.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Kyustendil - only these 55 coins, inv. Nos. 4608-4663.

*Closing date:* ca. 41-39 BC.

*Comments:* Published. This hoard clearly has a military nature (esp. the Spanish issue of Osca) and must be related to some Roman activities against the area of Bessapara, one of the leading towns of Odrysian Thrace – after 41 BC.

*Reference:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 30; *Kyustendil I*, (Sofia 2009), nos. 626-681.

### **28. Kazanluk area / 1927, Stara Zagora area**

*Quantity:* Hoard of over 600 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1927, no further data known

*Contents:* Mushmov reported 500-600 *RRD*, in the possession of Mr P. Sapundjiev, a merchant from Kazanluk

*Disposition:* Larger part dispersed, lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* MOUCHMOV 1929, p. 382; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 31.

### **29. Komoshititsa II / 1958, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of ca.600 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

*Findspot:* Found in 1958 in a field near the village.

*Disposition:* Town Museum of Lom once kept 132 coins, as reported by P. Gruntcharov to T. Gerassimov.

*Comments:* Unpublished, no further data available.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1962, p. 226; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 33.

### **30. Komoshititsa III / 1972, Lom, Montana district (=CH 4. 100)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of several hundred *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1972 in the vicinity of the village

*Disposition:* Town Museum of Lom kept about 100 *denarii*.

*Comments:* Unpublished, dispersed after the robbery of the Lom collection in the 1980s.

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1977, p. 69; *Coin Hoards IV*, no. 100; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 34.

### **31. Korten I / 1955?, Nova Zagora area, Stara Zagora district**

*Quantity:* Part of a larger hoard.

*Findspot:* Found in 1954-5? near the village.

*Contents:* 7 *denarii*:

- Q. Marcius Libo, 148 BC (RRC 215/1): 1

- C. Renius, 138 BC (RRC 231/1): 1, b/m obv.
- T. Cloelius, 128 BC (RRC 260/1): 1
- C. Iulius Caesar, 46 BC (RRC 467/1a): 1
- L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC (RRC 494/30): 1
- Marcus Antonius Augur Imp III, 38 BC (RRC 533/2): 1, b/m obv., VW
- Sextus Pompeius, 37-36 BC (RRC 511/3a), Sicily mint: 1, MW.

*Closing date:* after 36 BC

*Disposition:* Museum of Nova Zagora, Inv. No. 1260 / 1-7, acquired from Mr. G. Bozukov of Korten.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr. V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora museum.

*Reference:* see now: V. IGNATOV 2008, 158-163.

### **32. Kralev dol / 1977, Pernik district (=CH 7.209)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of unknown number of *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1977 in the area of the village

*Contents:* Y. Jouroukova examined only 11 *denarii* and 1 *quinarius*:

from

- Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, 114/3 BC (RRC 291/1): 2
- L. Memmius, 109 BC (RRC 304/1): 1
- L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC (RRC 316/1): 2
- C. Coelius Caldus, 104 BC (RRC 318/1a): 2
- P. Serveilius M. f. Rullus, 100 BC (RRC 328/1): 1
- C. Egnatuleius C.f., 97 BC (RRC 333/1): 1 *quinarius*
- L. Pomponius Molo, 97 BC (RRC 334/1): 1

latest issues:

- D. Iunius Silanus L. f., 91 BC (RRC 337/1b): 2

*Disposition:* Dispersed between private persons and collectors

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1979, p. 60; *Coin Hoards VII*, London 1985, p. 151, no. 209; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 35.

### **33. Kravoder I / 1941 (anc. vicus Vorovum Minor), Krivodol, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of about 100 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1941 in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:* N/A

*Disposition:* Dispersed. Single pieces from this hoard were seen in a Sofia goldsmith by T. Gerassimov, before being melted down for silver bullion.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1946, p. 236; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 36.

### **34. Kravoder II / 1965 (anc. vicus Vorovum Minor), Krivodol area, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of c. 100 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1965 in the area of the village

*Contents:* N/A

*Disposition:* Dispersed. A few pieces from this hoard were seen at the goldsmiths in Sofia

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1966, p. 320; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 37.

### **35. Krushovitsa / 1929, Miziya area, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 200 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1929 during ploughing work in the 'Govedarnika/Bazovichki Gred' / 'Vuzovich'? locality, 3.5 km southeast of the village

*Contents:* In 1931 N. Mushmov reported only 36 coins. Another 100 pieces were left among the finders in the village.

Later B. Nikolov published a photograph with obverses of 6 *denarii* to be identified as:

1. M. Fannius C. f., 123 BC (RRC 275/1): 1
2. M. Tullius, 120 BC (RRC 280/1): 1
3. M. Furius Philus, 119 BC (RRC 281/1): 1
4. C. Poblicius Malleolus C. f., 118 BC (RRC 282/3): 1
5. L. Appuleius Saturninus, 104 BC (RRC 317/3b): 1
6. Uncertain late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC: 1 den.

*Closing date:* after 104 BC, but perhaps well in the 1st century.

*Disposition:* Once in the former collection of the Krushovitsa village school. Subsequently dispersed and lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished, except for these mentioned above.

*Reference:* N. MUSHMOV 1931, p. 316; B. NIKOLOV, *Kroushovitsa*, 1967, p. 16, fig. 8; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 38.

### **36. Madara / 1925, Shumen district**

A part of a large (over 100?) hoard of *RRD*:

*Findspot:* Found in 1925 during digging in the 'Djado-Dimovi Peshteri' locality on the plateau, just north of the rocky relief.

*Contents:* only 3 coins preserved:

- **L. Proculus F.**, 80 BC (RRC 379/1), Rome, 18x19 mm, 3.88 g, 3 h, MW [4131]
- **C. Memmius C. f.**, 56 BC (RRC 427/2), Rome, 18x20 mm, 3.74 g, 6 h axis, MW, 1 b/m obv. [4130]
- **C. Iulius Caesar**, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1), Gaul, 18x18 mm, 3.68 g, 12 h, MW [No. 4132]

*Closing date:* 48 BC, or later?

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Shumen, Inv. nos. 4030-4032, acquired in 1964 from Mr St. Dragiev of Kjulevcha village.

*Comments:* Unpublished, only mentioned by VLADIMIROVA-ALADJOVA 1992, p.191, note 3. Further information was kindly provided by Dr Z. Zhekova, Shumen museum, February 2010.

### **37. Maluk Porovets / 1995, Isperih area, Razgrad district (chart 6)**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 56 coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1995 in the 'Novite Korenezhi' locality during archaeological excavation (work square D-6, at a depth 30 cm) of a Thracian cult site, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, near the village. Located some 400 m west of the Thracian/Getic fortified town of *Helis*.

*Contents:* 44 RRD

from

- Spurius Afranius, 150 BC (RRC 206/1)

down to

- C. Considius Paetus, 46 BC (RRC 465/2b),
- 11 'Dacian' imitation *denarii* (Dimitrov, pp. 378-9, nos. 46-56; cf. Davis 2006, 321-355)

and

- Apollonia, Illyriae: 1 *denarius*: eponymos ΔΩΠΙΟΝΟΣ / ΔΕΙΝΩΝ, ca. 50-25 BC (SNG Fitzwilliam, 2508)

*Closing date:* According to K. Dimitrov – 40/32 BC, most probably in the aftermath of the Caesar and Burebusta alleged conflict – 45/4 BC.

*Disposition:* Historical Museum Isperih, Inv. no. 65. Photographs provided by Mrs. M. Nikolaeva, from Isperih Museum, June 2011.

*Comments:* Published in 2007 by Dr. K. Dimitrov. Earlier information was kindly provided by Mr G. Dzanev, 1997. The hoard contains 11 imitations of the types from the period 120-60 BC.

*Reference:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 40; see now DIMITROV 2007, 369-379.



**38. Makotsevo / 1910, Elin Pelin area, Sofia district (chart 7)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 46 *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in the autumn of 1910 in a field in the 'Graovo' locality

*Contents:* B. Filow also noted these:

- Caesar: 1
- P. Clodius M.f., 42 BC (RRC 494/23?): 1
- M. Antony: 1
- Augustus: 3.

Now 44 *RRD* from:

- Anonymous – symbol 'rostrum' (RRC 114/1), 206-195 BC  
down to
- Mark Antony, legionary issue, 32/1 BC.

*Closing date:* According to Professor M. Crawford – ca. 45/41 BC, probably during the period 27-19 BC

*Disposition:* NAM Sofia, Inv. No. XVI / 1910; 2870–2888 (all 44 coins).

*Comments:* No further details published, data was finally available for study in June 2008. Published later in 2008.

*References:* Б. ФИЛОВ / FILOW 1911, p. 270; FILOW, AA 1911, col. 369; SEURE 1923, 26, no. 41; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 41; DOTKOVA 2008, pp. 33-43.

**39. Mirovo / 1970, Kyustendil district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of c. 200-250 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1970 in the 'Dervena' locality, along the ancient road from the town of Pautalia (Kyustendil) to Scupi (Skopje)

*Contents:* A few denarii examined in the 1980s.

*Disposition:* Dispersed among the children of the finders, a few coins were once in the late Dr J. Janev collection.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Dr I. Prokopov.

*Reference:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 42.

**40. Mogila / 1972, Kaspichan, Shumen district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 89 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1972 in the 'Strajza' locality near the village

*Contents:*

from:

- Anonymous, 194/190 BC (RRC 137/1, symbol moon)  
down to latest issue of
- Mark Antony - legionary LEG VI, 32/31 BC (RRC 544/19)  
plus
- 1 'Dacian' imitation - prototype Cr. 285/2, after 116/5 BC
- 2 brockages of Mn. Aemilius Lepidus (RRC 291/1)

*Closing date:* ca. 31/30 BC

*Comments:* Published.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Shumen, Inv. Nos. 13406-13503.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV – VLADIMIROVA-ALADJOVA, *Shumen*, Nos. 285-373, pp. 17-26, pls. XLII ff.; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 43.

#### **41. Montana area I / 1980s, Montana district (chart 8)**

*Quantity:* Hoard (part of?) of 140 RRD:

From

- Anonymous issues (RRC 44/5), after 211  
latest issue of
- P. Furius Crassipes, 84 BC (RRC 356/1a-b)

*Closing date:* 84 BC

*Disposition:* The National History Museum in Sofia kept these 140 coins, inv. nos. N/A.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined and data recorded by Prof. M. H. Crawford, 1985.

*Reference:* CRAWFORD 1985, 328, App 54/II.

#### **42. Nova Zagora area / 1970, Stara Zagora district**

*Findspot:* Found in 1970 in the region of town, during digging work.

*Quantity:* In 1985 M. H. Crawford examined 3 *denarii*, now:

- L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC, Rome (RRC 316/1), c-mark: L. , 18x20 mm, 3.6 g., 1 b/m  
obv, MW
- Q. Caec. Metellus Pius Scipio, with Eppius leg, 47-46 BC, Africa (RRC 461/1), 16x17  
mm, 3.4 g., 1 b/m rev, VW
- M. Antonius Augur Imp III, 32 BC (RRC 542/2), Athens/?/, 18x20 mm, 3.7 g., 1 b/m  
obv, MW

*Closing date:* after 32 BC

*Disposition:* Region. Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. no. 4011/ 1-3.

*Comments:* Part of a larger hoard – early Augustan?

*Reference:* Unpublished, mentioned in CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, p. 328, App. II. Additional information from Dr K. Lockyear, 2009. See also PROKOPOV 2006, no. 202 (listed as associated with Thasos and Thasian type tetradrachms).

**43. Obzor / 1953 (anc. *Naulochus / Templum Iovis*), Burgas district (chart 9)**

*Quantity:* Hoard (in a leather purse) of 56+ *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in January 1953 in a cooperative field near the village while ploughing

*Contents:* Prof. T. Gerassimov reported coins from the following moneyers:

- Aburia 1 (RRC 250/1, 132 BC)
- Aemilia 2 (RRC 415/1, 62 BC)
- Antonia 2 (RRC 496, 42 BC)
- Atilia 1 (RRC 214/1, 148 BC)
- Calpurnia 1 (RRC 340, 90 BC)
- Cassia 1 (RRC 266/1, 126 BC)
- Claudia 1 (RRC 512, 41 BC)
- Crepusia 1 (RRC 361, 82 BC)
- Furia 3 (RRC 356, 84 BC)
- Herennia 1 (RRC 308/1, 108/107 BC)
- Iunia 1 (RRC 337, 91 BC)
- Licinia 1 (RRC 460, 47/46 BC)
- Lucilia 1 (RRC 324, 101 BC)
- Lucretia 1 (RRC 390, 76 BC)
- Marcia 2 (RRC 346, 88 BC)
- Minucia 1 (RRC 319/1, 105 BC)
- Naevia (RRC 382, 79 BC)
- Ogulnia (RRC 350A/1a, 86 BC)
- Porcia 1 (RRC 274/1, 123 BC)
- Postumia 4 (RRC 372, 81 BC)
- Servilia 2 (RRC 327 and 328, 100 BC)
- Thoria 1 (RRC 316, 105 BC)
- Vibia 1 (RRC 342, 89 BC)
- Volteia 1 (RRC 385, 78 BC).

Actually issues range from:

- Q. Marcius Libo, 148 BC (RRC 215/1) and M. Atilius Saranus, 148 BC (RRC 214/1a)

Down to:

- Marcus Antonius (RRC 496, 42 BC): 1, Gaul mint.
- 1 'Dacian' imitation (hitherto unrecorded) – prototype of L. Thorius Balbus, RRC 316/1 (Burgas, no. 597).

Earlier coins are apparently rather worn.

*Closing date:* According to T. Gerassimov - c. 43 BC, but J. Youroukova inexplicably related the burial with the march of M. Terentius Varro Lucullus in 72/1 BC along the Black Sea coast. If so, the latest 4 issues struck after 71 BC should be extraneous?

According to M. Crawford - 60/56 BC. Suggested disposition date: 42–40 BC, after the Philippi battle and the death of the Thracian king Sitalces II.

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Burgas, Inv. Nos. 579-621, acquired in 1962 – 43 coins. In 1977 a further 13 denarii from the same hoard were handed in to the police in Obzor, Inv. Nos. 2363-2375.

*Comments:* Published incompletely by Youroukova. Information kindly provided by Prof. Dr Ivan Karayotov, 1999 and Dr Martin Gyuzelev, in 2009. All coins examined by E. Paunov, August 2011. Re-publication is forthcoming.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1955, p. 607; YOUROUKOVA 1963, pp. 39-44; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 44.

#### **44. Ognyanovo / 1980s, Gotse Delchev area, Blagoevgrad district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of an unknown number of *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in the early 1980's near the village.

*Contents:* Mr D. J. Dimitrov examined 5 pieces from the following issues:

- Q. Titius, 90 BC (RRC 341/ 1?)
- latest issues - legionary denarii of Marcus Antonius, LEG III (RRC 544/15, 32/1 BC).

*Closing date:* probably c. 31/29 BC after the Actium battle

*Disposition:* School collection of the village of Garmen, Gotse Delchev area(?)

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information provided by Mr D. Y. Dimitrov.

*Reference:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 45.

#### **45. Ognyanovo / 1987 (anc. *Burdapa*) Pazardjik district**

*Quantity:* Part of a larger hoard – only 10 *RRD*:

*Contents:* 8 d. in Pazardjik:

- **L. Marcius Philippus**, 113/2 BC (RRC 293/1), Rome, 3.84 g, 16.5x18 mm, 12 h, Rev. scratches [No. 2401]
- **L. Calpurnius Piso L.f. L.n. Frugi**, 90 BC (RRC 340/1 var), Rome, 3.74 g, 17x18 g, 7 h, mid-worn [2406]
- **Q. Titius**, 90 BC (RRC 341/1), Rome, 3.87 g, 10 h, graffiti obv, medium wear [2402]
- **L. Iulius Bursio**, 85 BC (RRC 352/1c), Rome, 3.66 g, 6 h, scratches rev. [2403]

- **Q. Antonius Balbus**, 83-82 BC – serratus (Cr., 364/1c), Rome, 3.75 g, 6 h, medium wear [2405].
- **Postumius A.f. S.n. Albinus**, 81 BC - serratus (RRC 372/2), Rome, 3.94 g, 3 h [2404].
- **L. Roscius Fabatus**, 59 BC - serratus (RRC 412/1), Rome, 3.84 g, 6 h, medium wear [2407]
- **Iulius Caesar**, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1), Gaul, 3.95 g, 10 h, edge test-cut, no wear [2408].

*Findspot:* Found in 1987 during archaeological excavation of the sanctuary of the Three Nymphs / 'Charites' in the 'Oreshaka' locality, 1 km SW of the village, east of the main sanctuary building. The site provided also many Roman and provincial bronze coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Dobrusky 1897, 121-122).

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum at Pazardjik, Inv. nos. 2401-2408.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs S. Ignatova, Pazardjik Museum.

*Reference for site:* W. DOBRUSKY 1897, pp. 119-120; hoard mentioned in GOICHEVA / ГОЧЕВА 2003, p. 115.

#### **46. Ossoitsa / ~1909, Elin Pelin area, Sofia district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 36 RRD from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC(?)

*Findspot:* Found shortly before 1910.

*Contents:* no data available, all very well preserved, LW.

*Closing date:* no data.

*Disposition:* Not in the Nat. Archaeol. Museum Sofia (June 2008), misplaced.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* FILOW 1910, 228; SEURE 1923, 25, no. 39; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 46.

#### **47. Pchelin / 1993, Kostenets area, Sofia district**

*Quantity:* Hoard in purse of ca. 10 RRD from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1993 while ploughing, 20-30 m from a Thracian burial mound

*Contents:* Mr D. J. Dimitrov examined:

C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1): 3

Mark Antony et Caesar Octavian, 39 BC (RRC 528/3): 1

*Incerta* of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Closing date:* after 42/40 BC ?

*Disposition:* Dispersed in trade

*Comments:* Information provided by Mr D. Y. Dimitrov, Pernik.

*References:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 48.

#### **48. Pernik / 1909, Pernik district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 135 RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1909 in the 'Ralitsa' locality, east of the ancient fortress on Krakra Hill (now in town regulation)

*Closing date:* no data available

*Disposition:* Coins never reached the collection of the National Museum in Sofia, contrary to Mouchmov's record. Misplaced or lost?

*Comments:* Unpublished. Dispersed.

*References:* FILOW 1910, p. 403; MOUCHMOV 1914, p. 279, No. 56; SEURE, 1923, 30-31, no. 57; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 49.

#### **49. Pleven area I / 1969<sup>#</sup>**

*Quantity:* A hoard of 291 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1969 at an unknown site in the Pleven district

*Contents:* Earliest issue

from

- Anonymous, 194/0 BC (RRC 135/1, symbol owl)

latest issue of

- P. Clodius M. f. of 42 BC (RRC 494/23).

*Disposition:* Pleven Museum, Inv. Nos. 329–405.

*Comments:* Published. This hoard resembles the nearby deposit from Orehovitsa (see Cat. no. 98).

*Reference:* PROKOPOV – KOVATCHEVA 2006, pp. 39-69, nos. 203.1–493.291; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 50.

#### **50. Pleven area II / 2002, Pleven district (chart 10)<sup>#</sup>**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 69+ denarii

*Findspot:* Found in 2002 with a metal detector at an unknown site near the town.

*Contents:* 41 coins examined:

from Cn. Baebius Tampilus, 194-190 BC (RRC 132/2), HW

down to L. Cornelius Sulla Imp / L. Manlius, 82 BC (RRC 367/3): 1

*Closing date:* after 82 BC, most likely 40-30's BC.

*Disposition:* Formerly in a private collection, Pleven.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr BT, examined by E. Paunov, August 2002. Later dispersed. Apparently part of a larger hoard, Caesarian – early Augustan/?/

#### **51. Preslaven / 1958, Stara Zagora district**

*Quantity:* Part of a hoard of 12+ *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1958 in the 'Shumata' locality, near the village.

*Contents:* In 1985 Prof. M. Crawford examined these 12 *RRD*:

From

- M. Baebius Q.f. Tamphilus, 137 BC (RRC 236/1), Rome latest issue of
- P. Clodius M. f., 42 BC (RRC 494/23), Rome, 1 b/m obv. - C

*Closing date:* after 42, probably ca.40-32/1 BC.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. nos. 3513 / 1-12.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs. Mariana Minkova, Stara Zagora museum, 2009.

### **52. Provadiya II / 1956, Varna district**

*Quantity:* Part of a hoard of ca. 10 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Acquired in 1956 from a goldsmith in Provadiya for the collection of the Museum of Dulgopol.

*Contents:* M. Mirchev described only these 4 *RRD*:

1. Ti. Quinctius, 112/1 BC (RRC 297/1a): 1
2. Claudius Pulcher et T. Malius, 111/0 BC (RRC 299/1a): 1
3. Mn. Fonteius, 108/7 BC (RRC 307/1a): 1
4. M. Aemilius Scaurus et P. Plautius Hypsaeus, 58 BC (RRC 422/1a-b?): 1

*Closing date:* after 58 BC

*Disposition:* Hist. Museum of Dulgopol, since 1956 when acquired.

*References:* M. MIRCHEV (Varna 1971), p. 191, no. 4; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 54.

### **53. Rabisha Lake –'Maqurata' / 1982, Vidin district (chart 11)<sup>#</sup>**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 293 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the summer of 1982 on the shore of the Rabisha Lake when the water level subsided.

*Contents:* Youroukova reported a group of coins from 109 BC to 51 BC according to E. A. Sydenham's catalogue.

From

- Anonymous - symbol 'staff and club', 208 BC (RRC 106/3b) latest issues of
- L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, 62 BC (RRC 415/1).

No imitations of denarii of Q. Curtius/ M. Iunius Silanus, 116/5 BC (RRC 285/2), as previously reported.

*Closing date:* after 62 BC

*Disposition:* The Regional Historical Museum of Vidin acquired 293 coins in 1984, Inv. No. 1548/ 1-293.

*Comments:* Under publication. A new study and re-arrangement of the coins is to be presented by I. Prokopov and E. Paunov.

*References:* ЮРЯКОВА / YOUROUKOVA 1985, pp. 59-60; see *IRRCHBulg*, no. 55; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV, 'A Roman Republican coin hoard from Rabisha Lake, Northwest Bulgaria' (forthcoming).

#### **54. Rasovo II / 1964, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of over 200 *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1964 while ploughing

*Contents:* In 1985 Professor M Crawford examined and recorded in the Lom museum the following 188 denarii:

- Anonymous, 187/150 BC: 14
- Aburia, 119-110 BC: 1
- Acilia, 119-110 BC: 1
- Aelia, 133-126 BC : 1
- Aemilia, 109-100 BC: 3
- Afrania, 150 BC (RRC 206/1): 1
- Annia, 135-80 BC: 7
- Antestia, 137/127 BC: 2
- Appuleia: 5
- Apulia, 109 BC: 1
- Baebia: 3
- Caecilia, 109-100 BC: 1
- Calpurnia, 90-85 BC: 7
- Claudia, 106-104 BC: 1
- Cloelia: 2 (128 BC)
- Cornelia, 109-85 BC : 6
- Cuppientia (147 BC) : 3
- Curtia, 116 BC (RRC 285/2): 8
- Decia: 1
- Domitia, 119-110 BC: 2
- Fabia, 109-100 BC: 9



- Fannia, 123 BC: 1 (RRC 275/1)
- Flaminia, 109-100 BC : 6
- Fonteia, 85-83 BC: 6
- Fulvia, 109-100 BC: 1
- Furia, 112-108 BC: 3
- Iulia, 133-126 BC: 8
- Iunia, 90-85 BC: 1
- Licinia, 109-83 BC: 8
- Lucilia, 100-95 BC: 3
- Lucretia: 2 (Cn. Lucretius Trio, 136 BC, RRC 237/1a)
- Lutatia: 1 (Q. Lutatius Cerco, 109/8 BC, RRC 305/1)
- Maenia, 132 BC: 2
- Maiana: 1 (153 BC)
- Malia, 106-104 BC: 1
- Marcia, 145-100 BC: 4
- Memmia, 109-85 BC: 4
- Minucia, 137-110 BC: 7
- Quesilia : 2 ???
- Papiria, 137-134 BC: 8
- Poblizia, 92-91 BC : 1
- Porcia, 137-134 BC: 7
- Postumia, 82-79 BC: 1
- Rubria: 1 (L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC, RRC 348/1)
- Sempronia: 4 (L. Sempronius Pitio, 148 BC, RRC 216/1)
- Sentia: 1 (L. Sentius C.f., 101 BC, RRC 325/1a)
- Sergia: 2 (M. Sergius Silus, 116/5 BC, RRC 286/1)
- Servilia, 125-95 BC: 4
- 'Silia', 116? BC: 2 (RRC 286/1)
- Terentia, 101-100 BC: 3
- Thoria, 105 BC: 4
- Valeria, 133-130 BC: 3
- Vargunteia: 1 (M. Vargunteius, 130 BC, RRC 257/1)
- Veturia: 2 (Ti. Veturius, 137 BC, RRC 234/1)
- Uncertain / illegible: 4

*Closing date:* 79? BC

*Disposition:* The Municipal Historical Museum of Lom once kept 188 denarii. When part of the museum collection of coins was stolen in the early 1980's, the Rasovo II hoard, though recovered, was mixed with other coins and were never divided. In the Rasovo school collection were another 12 *RRD*.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Records kindly provided by Professor M. H. Crawford, 1999.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1965, p. 249; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 56.

### **55. Rasovo III / 1972, Lom area, Montana district (= CH 4. 99)**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of over 250 *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1972 in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:* *RRD* down to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Disposition:* Lom Museum once had 250 coins. Misplaced or stolen during the museum theft in the 1980's?

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1977, p. 69; *Coin Hoards IV*, London 1978, p. 32, no. 99; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 57.

### **56. Russe area II / 1996<sup>#</sup>**

*Quantity:* Hoard of at least 26 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1996 with a metal detector at a Roman site in the region

*Contents:* the author examined 26 coins, 22 are listed:

- M. Iunius Silanus, 145 BC (RRC 220/1): 1
- C. Aburius Geminus, 134 BC (RRC 244/1): 1
- M. Vargunteius, 130 BC (RRC 257/1): 1
- M. Caecilius Metellus Q. f. Q. n., 127 BC (RRC 263/1a): 1, mid-worn
- M. Fannius C. f., 123 BC (RRC 275/1): 1, mid-worn
- Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 116/5 BC (RRC 285/1): 2
- L. Marcius Philippus, 113/2 BC (RRC 293/1): 1
- Mn. Fonteius, 108/7 BC (RRC 307/1b): 1, very worn
- L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, 106 BC (RRC 311/1a): 1
- Q. Minucius Thermus M.f., 103 BC (RRC 319/1): 1
- C. Fabius C.f., 102 BC (RRC 322/1a): 1
- D. Iunius Silanus L. f., 91 BC (RRC 337/1a): 1
- Q. Titius, 90 BC (RRC 341/1): 1, mid-worn
- C. Vibius C.f. Pansa, 90 BC (RRC 342/3b): 2, mid-worn

- L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC (RRC 344/1): 1, punch mark **AT**
- Anonymous, 86 BC (RRC 350A/2): 2, with punch mark
- C. Norbanus, 83 BC (RRC 357/1a): 1
- L. Papius, 79 BC (RRC 384): 1, *serratus*
- Mn. Acilius Glabrio, 49 BC (RRC 442/1a): 1, LW.

*Closing date:* after 49 BC

*Disposition:* Dispersed in trade

*Comments:* Examined at the numismatic club in Veliko Turnovo, recorded by E. Paunov, December 1997.

*Reference:* see PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 58.

### **57. Silistra I / 1970s (anc. *municipium Durostorum*)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 19 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970's on the eastern outskirts of the town of Silistra

*Contents:*

- M. Licinius Rufus, 101 BC (RRC 324/1): 1
- Gargilius, Ogulnius, Vergilius, 86 BC (RRC 350A/2): 7
- L. Iulius Bursio, 85 BC (RRC 352/1a): 8
- Mn. Fonteius C.f., 85 BC (RRC 353/1a): 1
- P. Crepusius, 82 BC (RRC 361/1a): 1
- Postumius A. f. S. n. Albinus, 81 BC (RRC 372/2): 1

*Disposition:* Constanța Museum, Romania.

*Comments:* Published

*Reference:* R. OCHEȘEANU, "Cîteva descoperiri de denari republicani romani dîn Scythia Minor", *Pontica* 19, 1986, 75-88; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 60.

### **58. Smolyan / 1975, Plovdiv district<sup>#</sup>**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 8 *coins* [7 denarii and 1 quinarius] from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1975 in the center of the town – in the Ustovo quarter.

*Contents:*

- M. Fanius C. f., 123 BC (RRC 275/1): 1 D
- M. Furius L. f. Philus, 118 BC (RRC 281/1): 1 D
- L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC (RRC 316/1): 1 D
- Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, 88 BC (RRC 345/2): 1 Quin
- Ogulnius, 86 BC (RRC 350A/1c): 1 D., obverse punch-mark

- C. Norbanus, 83 BC (RRC 357/1a): 1 D, extremely worn
- C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC (RRC 383/1b): 1 D, obverse punch-mark
- L. Marcius Philippus, 56 BC (RRC 425/1): 1 D, unclear punch-mark on obverse

Three of the coins - bankers marked.

*Closing date:* after 56 BC

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Smolyan, Inv. Nos. 817–824.

*Comments:* Published

*Reference:* PROKOPOV, *Smolyan*, pp. 11 and 19–20, figs. 23–30; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 61; now FILIPOVA - PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – TENCHOVA - PROKOPOV 2011, *Smolyan*, nos. 1199–1206.

### **59. Sofia 'FIB-1' / 2003**

*Quantity:* A hoard of more than 20 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Most possibly from the NW of Bulgaria(?)

*Contents:* 13 *RRD* examined:

1. M. Iunius Silanus, 145 BC (RRC 220/1), Rome, 19mm, 3.79 g) - 1
2. Ti. Quinctius, 112/1 BC (RRC 297/1), Rome, 17x19 mm, 3.56 g) – 1
3. L. Flaminius Chilo, 109/8 BC (RRC 302/1 (19 mm, 3.82 g) – 1
4. L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, 106 BC (RRC 311/1a-d (18 mm, 3.65 g)
5. L. Calpurnius Piso L.f. L.n. Frugi, 90 BC (RRC 340/1var), Rome, 16x18mm, 3.62 g) -1
6. L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC - RRC 348/1-3? (16 mm, 3.61 g) - 1
7. M. Volteius M.f. , 78 BC – RRC 385/1-3? (18mm, 3.90 g) – 1
8. Mn. Aquilius Mn.f. Mn.n., 65 BC – RRC 401/1 (21 mm, 3.83 g) – 1 (serr)
9. M. Plaetorius Cestianus, 69 BC - RRC 405/1-3?var. (18 mm, 3.33 g) -1
10. C. Calpurnius Piso L.f Frugi, 67 BC - RRC 408/1a var. (18x19 mm, 3.23 g) - 1
11. L. Furius Brocchus, 63 BC – RRC 414/1 (18 mm, 3.44 g) -1
12. L. Marcius Philippus, 56 BC Rome – RRC 425/1 (18 mm, 3.60 g) – 1.
13. C. Iulius Caesar Dictator, 46 BC (RRC 467/1a) Sicily, 17x18mm, 3.51 g. – 1.

*Closing date:* after 46 BC

*Disposition:* Private collection, Sofia.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Dr I. Prokopov, November 2004.

### **60. Sofia–NAIM 'North-Western Bulgaria' / 1980s**

*Quantity:* Hoard of more than 13 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Unknown provenance, probably from NW Bulgaria

*Contents:* Only 11 denarii of a larger hoard entered the collection of NAIM:

- L. Sempronius Pitio, 148 BC (RRC 216/1), Rome, 17.5x18.5 mm, 3.58 g., MW
- M. Marcius Mn.f. 134 BC (RRC 245/1), Rome, 17.5x18 mm, 3.77 g, LW

- Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 128 BC (RRC 261/1), Rome, 17.5x18.5 mm, 3.77 g., LW.
- M. Calidius, Q. Caelilius Metellus, Cn. Fulvius, 117 BC (RRC 284/1b), Rome, 17.5x18.5 mm, 3.85 g, LW.
- Q. Curtius et M. Silanus, 116 BC (RRC 285/2), Rome, 18.5x19 mm, 3.86 g, LW.
- M. Herrenius, 108 BC (RRC 308/1b), Rome, 18x18 mm, 3.82 g, MW.
- D. Iunius Silanus L. f., 91 BC (RRC 337/3), Rome, 18x18 mm, 3.95 g, MW.
- Q. Titius, 90 BC (RRC 341/1), Rome, 17x19 mm, 3.66 g, LW.
- C. Vibius C.f. Pansa, 90 BC (RRC 342/5b), Rome, 17.5x18 mm, 3.77 g, VW.
- Anonymous - for Gargonius / Ogulnius / Vergilius, 86 BC (RRC 350A/2), Rome, 18x19 mm, 4.01 g, LW.
- L. Axsius L.f. Naso, 71 BC (RRC 400/1a), Rome, 17.5x18.5 mm, 3.89 g, MW.

*Closing date:* Probably shortly after 71/0 BC.

*Disposition:* NAIM Sofia, Inv. No. CCLXXXV / 1985 (11 coins), acquired in the mid-1980's from a private collector.

*References:* DOTKOVA 2010, pp. 63-70.

### **61. 'South Dobrudja' / 1986, Balchik area, Dobrich district**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of ~120 RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1985/6 in the vicinity of Balchik-Kavarna, with a metal detector.

*Contents:* 61 RRD

from

- Anonymous, ca. 212-200 BC (RRC 21/?)

to latest issue of

- P. Clodius, 42 BC (RRC 494/23), MW
- including 9 'Dacian' imitations of *denarii*, various types, unspecified.

All coins but the latest well preserved.

*Closing date:* 42 BC.

*Disposition:* Private collection MS, Vienna, including the pot (small rough gray-ware jug).

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mr MS, Vienna.

### **62. Staliyska Mahala I / 1956, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1956 by a tractor driver in the 'Bagachina' (mispelt 'Balachina') locality during ploughing work

*Contents:* N/A

*Disposition:* Hist. Museum of Lom, 8 coins noted by Gerassimov. The rest were dispersed.

*Comments:* Unpublished, probably stolen.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 359; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 62.

### **63. Staliyska Mahala II / 1961, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1961 during ploughing work in the 'Bagachina' locality

*Contents:* Prof. T. Gerassimov examined the coins and classified them as per Babelon's catalogue. In 1979 Prof. J. Youroukova and J. Athanassova published the preserved 60 coins according to E. Sydenham' old catalogue. Actually they are

from:

- Anonymous issue - symbol "corn ear" (RRC 68/1b), 207 BC to latest issue of
- C. Egnatius Cn.f. Maxsumus, 75 BC (RRC 391/3)

All coins well preserved.

*Closing date:* 75 BC. The first publishers related the concealment with the events during the march of governor of Macedonia M. Terentius Varo Lucullus against the Moesians and West Pontic cities in 72/1 BC

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum in Vidin - 60 coins, inv. No. 537 / 1-60.

*Comments:* Published (Youroukova 1969, table I, nos. 1-36).

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1962, p. 232; YOUROUKOVA - ATHANASSOVA 1979, pp. 248-249, nos. 1-36, figs. 1-9; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, p. 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 63.

### **64. Staliyska Mahala III / 1985, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Small hoard of 7 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1985 in a ritual pit, during archaeological excavation of the Thracian sanctuary in the 'Bagachina' locality, 2 km north of the village.

*Contents:* from period 120-84 BC, by the following moneyers:

1. M. Tullius, 120 BC (RRC 280/1): 1
2. Anonymous, 115/4 BC (RRC 287/1): 1
3. Mn. Aquilius, 109/8 BC (RRC 303/1): 1
4. L. Memmius Galeria, 106 BC (RRC 313/1b): 1 *serratus*
5. Mn. Fonteius, 85 BC (RRC 353/1a-c?): 1
6. C. Licinius Macer L. f., 84 BC (RRC 354/1): 1

(figs. 103-104, *uncleaned and difficult to identify*)

*Closing date:* ca. 84 BC

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Montana, Inv. No. 1029 / 1-7.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* A. BONEV - G. ALEXANDROV, *Bagachina*, (Montana 1994), 50, figs. 103-104; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 64.

### **65. Starosel I / 1933 (fmr. Staro-Novo-Selo), Hissar area, Plovdiv district**

*Findspot:* Found in 1933? near/around the village.

*Contents:* only 2 *RRD* are preserved:

1. **Cn. Domitius, Q. Curtius, M. Silanus, 116/5 BC:** 1 D (RRC, 285/1), LW, excellent [Plovdiv, no. 1749];
2. **Q. Curtius / M. Iunius Silanus, 116/5 BC:** 1 D (RRC, 285/2), LW, excellent [Plovdiv, no. 1750].

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. nos. 1749-1750, both in the same condition and with the same patina.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

### **66. Starosel II - 'Kozi Gramadi' / 2005, Hissar area, Plovdiv district**

*Findspot:* Found in 2005 during archaeological excavations of a Thracian fortified royal residence on the 'Kozi Gramadi' peak (1361 m) in the Sredna Gora range. Coins were discovered in a tiny rock crack/cavern, near to a stone altar.

*Contents:* The excavator I. Christov listed 8 *RRD*, apparently part of a larger hoard. Additionally, there is uncertain data on three more *denarii* hoards, all dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, down to Caesar and Octavian.

Coins recovered are as follows:

1. D. Iunius Silanus L.f., 91 BC (RRC 337/3), mid- worn [PIN no. 30]
2. L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus, 89 BC (RRC 344/1a) , [PIN no. 26]
3. Anonymous - for Gargonius / Ogulnius / Vergilius, 86 BC (RRC 350A/2), worn, deposits, corrosion [PIN no. 25]
4. Mn. Fonteius C.f., 85 BC (RRC 353/1d), worn [PIN no. 24]
5. C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC (RRC 382/1b), serratus, mid-worn [PIN no. 23]
6. L. Lucretius Trio, 76 BC (RRC 390/2), mid-worn [PIN no. 21]
7. C. Postumius, 74 BC (RRC 394/1a), mid-worn, pits [PIN no. 22]
8. Mn. Aquilius Mn.f. Mn.n., 65 BC (RRC 401/1), serratus, worn, deposits [PIN no. 27]
9. Mn. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC (RRC 463/1a), worn, graffiti obv. [PIN no. 20].

*Closing date:* after 46 BC, or later? [Partial hoard]

*Disposition:* National History Museum of Sofia, Inv. nos. N/A.

*Comments:* Published with numerous errors.

*Reference:* ХРИСТОВ / HRISTOV 2006, pp. 85-86, cat. nos. 20–27, 30.

**67. Staro Selo / 2001, Radomir area, Pernik district**

*Quantity:* A hoard of ca. 250 RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the autumn of 2001, SE of the village, some 500 m east of the main road Sofia–Blagoevgrad, in a small creek valley.

Unknown details, but latest coins to Caesar and Marcus Antonius issues, ca. 41-39/36 BC, according to the data provided.

*Burial date:* ca. 39/36 BC ?

*Disposition:* Dispersed among private collectors from Pernik and Sofia, in trade.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from private collectors in Pernik and Sofia, 2002.

**68. Stoyanovo (now Radyuvene) / 1989, Lovech district (chart 12)#**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 72 RRD from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1989 in the 'Balika' locality near the village. Only 70 coins belong to hoard according to the publishers:

*Contents:* 72 Denarii

from

- P. Cornelius Sulla, 151 BC (RRC 205/1)  
latest coin of
- Sextus Pompeius, 37-36 BC (RRC 511/4d),  
plus
- Octavian Augustus : 2 D, very worn, 1 extraneous? or

*Closing date:* 31/0 BC, or 2-1 BC/?/

*Disposition:* Region. Hist. Museum Lovech, Inv. no. 1197/1-72.

*Comments:* The last 2 coins of Augustus are most probably extraneous.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV – GUSHTERAKLIEV, *Lovech*, nos. 175-239, pls. 1-5; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, p. 41, no. 59.

**69. Teteven / 1995, Lovech district**

*Quantity:* Hoard in leather purse of ca. 12 RRD from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1995 with a metal detector on the rocky plateau 'Treskavets' (1151 m), just north of the town (or 2.5 km west of Babintsi village)

*Contents:* Mr D. Y. Dimitrov had a chance to examine a few coins:

1. C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1): 2 D
2. M. Antonius Imp. and Caesar Octavian, 41 BC (RRC 517/2): 1 D
3. M. Antonius and Cleopatra regina, 32 BC (RRC 543/1): 1 D
4. *Incerta* of mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC: 8 D.



*Closing date:* after 32/1 BC

*Disposition:* Dispersed in trade

*Comments:* Information kindly provided by Mr D. Y. Dimitrov. See now: PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 67.

*Reference for site:* L. LAZAROV, in *AOR Reports for 2008* (Sofia 2009), pp. 445-447.

### **70. Tishevitsa / 1998, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of c. 300 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1998 with a metal detector at an unknown site near the village of Tishevitsa.

*Contents:* Dr K. Kisyov examined 90 coins in a private collection in Plovdiv:

latest issues of C. Iulius Caesar, 44 BC (RRC 480/?): 1

*Incerta* and unlisted of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Closing date:* after 44 BC

*Disposition:* Dispersed in trade; a part was confiscated by the authorities.

*Comments:* Information from I. Prokopov.

*Reference:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 68.

### **71. 'Turnava' / 2006, Byala Slatina, Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* A purse/?? hoard of ~55 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in March-April 2006 with a metal-detector, scattered in a field near the village of Turnava.

*Contents:* examined only 7 *denarii*:

1. C. Claudius Pulcher, 110/9 BC (RRC 300/1) – 3.7 g., 3h - VW
2. L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC (RRC 344/1a) – 3.5 g., 3 h – LW.
3. L. Iulius Bursio, 85 BC, (RRC 352/1c) – 3.7 g, 12 h axis - HW.
4. L. Procilius, 80 BC, serr (RRC 379/1) – 3.4 g., 3 h, W
5. C. Postumius, 74 BC (RRC 394/1a) – 3,6 g., 6h, HW, scratches
6. L. Furius Cn. F. Brocchus, 63 BC (RRC 414/1) – 3.7 g., 12h - SW
7. Ti. Carisius, 46 BC (RRC 464/3a) – 3.5 g., 6h – MW.

*Closing date:* after 46 BC

*Disposition:* Private collection, Sofia, recorded by I. Prokopov, May 2006.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

### **72. Jakimovo I / 1921 (formerly Progorelets), Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of ca. 70 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in January 1921 by Mr N. Alexov in a forest in the 'Okopa' locality (where there is an early Medieval *vallum*) near the village

*Contents:* All *denarii* well preserved,  
latest issue of

- T. Carisius, 46 BC (RRC 464/1).

*Closing date:* According to Professor M. Crawford - 50/46 BC

*Disposition:* NAIM museum of Sofia once kept 53 coins, inv. no. N/A. Misplaced or lost, these coins were not located in June 2008.

*Comments:* Unpublished

*References:* MOUCHMOV 1922, p. 239; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 70.

### **73. Jakimovo II / 1953, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many, 65+, *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1953 in the 'Gradishte' locality close to a large burial mound, near the village, while digging a garden.

*Contents:* Prof. T. Gerassimov examined 39 coins of the following families:

- Antonia, 42/31 BC (RRC 488-544/?): 20 D.
- Acilia (RRC 255, 130 BC)
- Antestia (RRC 238, 136 BC)
- Appuleia (RRC 317, 104 BC)
- Caecilia (RRC 374, 81 BC)
- Calpurnia (RRC 340, 90 BC)
- Claudia (RRC 512, 41 BC)
- Considia (RRC 465, 46 BC)
- Domitia (RRC 519, 41 BC)
- Hostilia (RRC 448, 48 BC)
- Iulia (RRC 452 & 458, 48/6 BC)
- Iunia (RRC 337, 91 BC)
- Luventia (RRC 202, 154 BC)
- Licinia (RRC 460, 47/46 BC)
- Lucilia (RRC 324, 101 BC)
- Lucretia (RRC 390, 76 BC)
- Marcia (RRC 346, 88 BC)
- Pompeia (RRC 479, 43 BC onwards)

- Thoria (RRC 316/1, 105 BC)
- Volteia 1 (RRC 385, 78 BC)

*Closing date:* 32-31 BC. According to Professor M. Crawford - 35/31 BC

*Disposition:* City Hist. Museum of Lom as noted by T. Gerassimov. Misplaced or stolen?

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1955, 608; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 71.

### 14.3. Associated Hoards: Republican and non-Roman

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#### **74. Batin / 1974 (near *Iatrus*), Russe district (chart 13)**

**Quantity:** Mixed pot hoard of over 200 *RRD* and Thasian tetradrachms

**Findspot:** Found in the autumn of 1974, SW of the village on the high bank of the Danube. The coins were uncovered during deep ploughing work over several square metres. Russe Historical Museum has acquired to date 54 denarii. A total number of approximately 200 coins was reported.

**Contents:**

54 *RRD*, well preserved, mid worn:

- from
- Anonymous, 206-200 BC (Syd. 290a = RRC 128/1)
- to latest issue of
- Q. Iunius Caepius Brutus, 54 BC (Syd. 906a = RRC 433/1), worn.

Among the dispersed coins there was a Thasian late type tetradrachm.

**Closing date:** 54 BC

**Disposition:** Regional Historical Museum of Russe, Inv. Nos. I D-1823, 1955 and 1988, bought from the mayor of the village, as noted by D. Ivanov. Remainder dispersed.

**Comments:** Published, information from D. Draganov, Russe Museum, May 2006.

**References:** YOUROUKOVA 1978, p. 73; ИВАНОВ / IVANOV, "Bulletin of Coin Hoards from the Russe district", *BMNRusse* 5, 1977, 42, N° 121; Д. СТАНЧЕВ / STANCHEV 1988, pp. 43-47, table 1; PAUNOV – ПРОКОПОВ 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 100; DIMITROV 2007, pp. 379-380.


#### **75. Belitsa / 1956, Razlog area, Blagoevgrad district (IGCH 976)**

**Quantity:** Pot hoard of over 112 ancient silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

**Findspot:** Found in 1956 during digging work in a village garden at a depth of about 2 m

**Contents:**

- Roman Republic: 36 *RRD* (most ver and highly worn), down to issues of ?48 BC
- Thasos: 28 late type tetradr.
- Athens New Style: 27 tetradr., M. Thompson listed 19 coins:
  - ΘΕΟΦΡΑ–ΣΟΤΑΣ: 1 dr. - Thompson, 162/1 BC = 130/29 BC - as per Lewis,
  - ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ–ΣΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ: 7 tetr. - Thompson, 158/7 BC = 126/5 BC
  - ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ–ΑΛΚΕΤΑΣ: 5 tetr. - Thompson, 157/6 BC = 125/4 BC

- ΜΙΚΩΝ–ΕΥΠΙΚΛΕΙ: 2 - Thompson, 156/5 BC = 124/3 BC
  - ΚΑΡΑΙΧ–ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕΙ: 1 - Thompson, 153/2 BC = 121/0 BC
  - ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ–ΚΛΕΑΣ: 1 - Thompson, 122/1 BC = 90/89 BC
  - ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ–ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ: 1 tetr. - Thompson, 117/6 BC = 85/4 BC
- 
 • (monogram of M. Lucullus, *quaestor*): 1 tetr. – Thompson, pp. 425-439, 86-85 BC, under Sulla.

A time gap between 117/6 and 86/5 BC could be seen according to M. Thompson (actually from 130/29 to 54/3 BC).

- Aesillas *quaestor*: 7 tetradr (*light wear*)
- Dyrrhachium: 12 dr. (some imitations)
- *Cistophoric* tetradr. (Ephesos/Pergamum?): 4
- 3 small silver ingots (with equal weight)
- 1 fragmented silver gilt cup

*Disposition*: Nat. Archaeological Museum Sofia - only these 112 coins. Another part of the hoard was dispersed among finders.

*Comments*: Unfortunately this highly important coin hoard remains completely unpublished. At the exhibition ‘*Coin treasures from the Bulgarian Lands*’ in the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia (June-September 1997), 32 *denarii* of the following moneyers were displayed, from which the following could be identified:

- C. Vibius C. f. Pansa, 90 BC (RRC 342/5b): 1
- L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC (RRC 348/1): 1
- L. Roscius Fabatus, 64 BC (RRC 412/1): 1 (highly worn)
- C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, 48 BC (RRC 449/1a): 1

and other unidentified and uncertain.

*Closing date*: *ca.* early 40’s BC.

*References*: GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 357; M. THOMPSON, *Athens*, p. 522; B. GEROV, “Westthrakien...”, *AnnUniSofia* (Sofia 1961), 217, Anm. 1; D. M. LEWIS, “The Chronology of Athenian New Style Coinage”, *NC* 138, 1962, 285; YOUROUKOVA 1973, pp. 1-2; BAUSLAUGH 2000, pp. 106-107; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 101.

## **76. Bolyarino / 1963, Rakovski, Plovdiv district (=IGCH 975; CH 9. 325)**

*Quantity*: Mixed pot hoard of 30 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot*: Found on 28 May 1963 in the ‘Starijat Drum’ locality, 1,200 m N of village, during ploughing, in a Thracian settlement

*Contents*:

- Thasos: 3 tetradr. (Prokopov 2001, *Thasos*, class GG<sub>1</sub>, Obv. 378; HH<sub>7</sub>, CA, c. 90-70 BC)

- Thasian imitations: 15 tetradr. (1- Göbl, Klass III; 1- Göbl, II group, overstruck over Athens New Style)
- Athens New Style: 3 tetradr. (all c. 126/5 BC – M. Thompson, *Athens*, no. 2286-2287, 2319)
- Maroneia imitation: 1 tetradr. (Schönert-Geiss, 1987, 192, no. 1138/3; per Callataÿ - ca. 80 BC)
- Messambria Alexander type: 1 tetradr. (die M47 per I. Karayotov - ca. 150/125 BC)
- *Republican*: 7
  - D. Silanus L. f., 91 BC (RRC 337/3): 1
  - L.C. Memmies L. f. Galleria, 87 BC (RRC 349/1): 1
  - M. Volteius M.f., 78 BC (RRC 385/4): 1
  - C. Egnatius Cn.f. Maxsumus, 75 BC (RRC 391/1): 1
  - Marcus Phillipus, 56 BC (RRC 425/1): 1
  - Q. Cassius, 55 BC (RRC 428/3): 1
  - latest issue -
  - D. Iunius Albinus Bruti f., 48 BC (RRC 450/3b)

All RRD apparently mid-worn.

*Closing date*: according to M. Thompson - ca. 44 BC; to M. Crawford - 50/46 BC, as per F. de Callataÿ & I. Prokopov – in the 40/30's of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Disposition*: Archaeological Museum Plovdiv, Inv. Nos. 2273-2295 & 2313-2319. Partially dispersed.

*Comments*: Published completely

*References*: KOLEV 1968, p. 160; GERASSIMOV 1964, p. 241; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 975; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; KARAYOTOV, *Mesambria*, 120, N° 28; CALLATAY - PROKOPOV 1995, pp. 5-12, pl. I-III; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 102.

## 77. Bratya Daskalovi, Chirpan area, Stara Zagora district

*Quantity*: Mixed hoard of 12 silver coins from the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

Greek: 1 tetr., 1 dr.

- **Aesillas the Quaestor**: 2 tetr. (Bauslaugh 2000, nos O. 71- R. 273 and O. 45 / R.?), MW,
- **Maroneia**: 1 tetradr. (Schönert-Geiss, 1987, no. 1066, V29-R84), VW;
- **Alexander III**: 1 dr., highly worn, illegible.

'Celtic/Thracian': 5 tetr., 2 dr.:

- **Thasian barbarous imitations**: 5 tetradr. (Göbl, OTA, Klass V, taf. 48-49; Prokopov 2006, 56, Group III), 2 overstrikes, uncirculated.
- **'Celtic' of Philip III type**: 2 dr. (CCCBM I, 215-216; Göbl OTA, 577/3; Kostial 896)

Republic: 1 D.

- **L. Licinius, Cn. Domitius with L. Porcius Licinius, 118 BC** – D serratus (RRC 284/5), Narbo, 17.5x18 mm, 3.76 g., VW, scratches [Field in. no. 7].

*Closing date:* ca. 72/1 – 50/45 BC

*Findspot:* Found in 2010 during excavations of 'Karakochova Mogila', a Thracian mound east of the village, close to burial no. 10 (central).

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Chirpan, field nos. 1-20/ 2010.

*Comments:* Published, information from Dr M. Tonkova, Sofia, Jan. 2011.

*Reference:* M. ΤΟΝΚΟΒΑ, <http://www.archeo-bratia-daskalovi.com/aboutproject/view/13>, see now: ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΒ – ΠΑΥΝΟΒ – ΦΙΛΙΠΟΒΑ / ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΒ – ΡΑΥΝΟΒ – ΦΙΛΙΠΟΒΑ 2011, pp. 44-53.

### **78. Galatin / 1963, Vratsa area\***

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard of many silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1963 in the locality of 'Masurovoto', 3 km NW of the village

*Contents:*

- Dyrrhachium: 7 dr.(2 plated) of the following moneyers:
  - ΠΥΡΒΑ – Ceka, 360
  - ΔΑΜΗΝΟΣ – Ceka, 357?
  - ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ – Ceka, 362 - 3 specimens
  - ΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ – Ceka, 196
  - ΔΑΜΗΝΟΣ – Ceka, 164;
- Apollonia Illyriae: 3 dr. (2 plated):
  - ΜΟΣΧΙΛΟΣ–ΠΑΡΜΗΝΟΣ – Ceka, 80
  - ΣΙΜΙΑΣ–ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ (97-5 BC) - Ceka, 98
  - [.....]–[ΑΥΤΟΒΟ]ΥΛΟΥ - Ceka, 98;
- Macedonia First Meris tetradr: 2 (Prokopov 2012, no. 396,3: dies O.82 – R.310, and no. 520,3: dies O.108 – R.411);
- Republic: 3 (43 [typo?] in Conovici), latest coin of
 

**C. Poblicius Q. f., 80 BC (RRC 380/1)**

All *denarii* well preserved, slightly worn.

*Closing date:* 80-75 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Vratsa once kept 12 coins, Inv. Nos. 2996-2998. Now stolen.

*References:* ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΒ, *First Macedonia*, pp. 11, 31; CONOVICI 1989, p. 19, pl., no. 12; CONOVICI 1989, p. 19, no. 12; GRIGOROVA - ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΒ 2002, no. 4; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 103; ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΒ no. 64.

### **79. Garmen / 1982 (anc. Nicopolis ad Nestum), Gotse Delchev area**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of many coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1982 during digging work in a small pool of an ancient sanctuary with many other ancient coins, in the centre of village

*Contents:* D. J. Dimitrov examined:

- Mark Antony (RRC 544/?, 32/1 BC): 1 D. (NW, slightly worn)
- Amphipolis autonomous: 6 bronzes (type: god Strymon/trident – Gaebler, *AMNG* III, Taf. IX, 9-10)

*Closing date:* probably ca. 20s BC

*Disposition:* In the school collection of the village of Ognyanovo - only these 7 coins as examined by D. J. Dimitrov in 1983. The rest dispersed

*Comments:* Unpublished, information kindly provided by Mr D. J. Dimitrov, Pernik.

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1985, p. 59; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 105.

### **80. Georgi Dobrevo / 2000, Lyubimets area, Haskovo district**

*Quantity:* Fragment of a larger hoard – only 5 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 2000, during rescue archaeological excavation in 'Dana Bunar' locality, in a Thracian settlement, scattered in a field, 0.10-0.40 m of surface.

*Context:* settlement.

*Contents:* Republic: 2

- **L. Sempronius Pitio**, 148 BC (RRC 216/1), Rome [19x20 mm, 3.74 g; MW]
- **L. Sentius C.f.**, 101 BC (RRC 325/1a), Rome [19x20 mm, 3.95 g.]

*Greek:*

- **Troas, Ilium:** 1 AR tetradr., Mithridatic war issue, c.95–86/5 BC (bent, broken, 13.83 g), magistrate name: ΗΓΗΣΙΑΔΗ[ΜΟΥ] / ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΦ[ΑΝΟΥ] (= Bellinger, "The First Civic Tetradrachms of Ilium," *ANSMN* 8 (1958), p.14, no. 20; Bellinger 1961, 25, no. T54, but different monogram).
- **Thasos** late barbarous imitations: 2 tetradr. (Göbl, *Klass V*, taf.48-49; cf. Lukanc 1996, pls. 105-144).

*Closing date:* uncertain but after 86/5 BC, related to Mithridates VI's activities in southern Thrace [because *Ilium* was besieged and sacked by troops of Fimbria in 85 BC (Appian, XII 8.53) and later well treated by Sulla who gave her freedom (XII 9.61)].

*Disposition:* National History Museum in Sofia, inv.nos. N/A; field nos. 33 and 49 / 2000.

*Reference:* ПЕЧЕВ / ПЕНЧЕВ 2001, pp. 33-38, figs. 1-5; see now PAUNOV 2013 /in print/.

### **81. Gradeshnitsa I / 1962, Vratsa area\***

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of silver coins - unknown number of *RRD* and Dyrrhachium drachms

*Findspot:* Found in 1962 in the 'Zolata' locality, 2 km west of the village



Republic: 6 – latest issue of **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/8-39?)

Dyrrhachium: 3 dr.

- ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ–ΔΥΡ.ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΥ, Ceka 344, ca. 116 BC
- ΞΗΝΩΝ–ΔΥΡ.ΔΑΜΗΝΟΣ, Ceka 357, ca. 98 BC
- ΔΙΟΝΙΣΙΟΥ–ΔΥΡ.[...], Ceka 320, ca. 88 BC

*Closing date:* after 32/1 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa, Inv. nos. 201-209 (now missing, stolen as of 2003).

*Reference:* N. CONOVICI 1989, p. 19, table 1, no.10; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 104.

### **82. Dolno Botevo / 1973, Stambolovo, Haskovo district (=CH VI, 48)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of ca.100-120 silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (originally over 30 Thasian imitations)

*Findspot:* Found in 1973 and some later during ploughing in the 'Kralev Dol' locality on the ridge 'Chala', west of the village, where an ancient Thracian settlement existed

*Contents:* 10 coins and 2 cores for tetradrachms:

- *Republican:* M. Cippius M.f., 114/3 BC (RRC 289/1), brockage: 1
- Thasian late highly barbarized imitations: 7 tetradr. (plus 3 new?), [1 - Göbl, *OTA*, Klass IV, 1-8; 7 - Klass V, taf.48-9, and 1 - Klass V/B, no 1-3]
- Tetradrachm blanks: 2 (weight and size identical with the Thasian type)

*Closing date:* possibly ca. 60-50s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Haskovo acquired only 16 coins, Inv. Nos H-1073-1074 & H-1106-1109, as noted by D. Aladzov; recently (since 2000) on display at the National Museum of History, Sofia. The remainder was dispersed between private collectors.

Three more Thasian late type highly barbarized imitation tetradrachms are in Mr S. Topalov's collection, Sofia.

*Comments:* Unpublished, being prepared for full publication.

*References:* YOUROUKOVA 1978, p. 73; ALADJOV 1994, p. 109 ff.; PROKOPOV - PETROV, Haskovo, p. 10, no. 95; TOPALOV 1996, pp. 70-71, 96-98, fig. 14-16; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 106; PROKOPOV 2006, no. 92.

### **83. Kamen / 1957, Strajitsa area, Veliko Turnovo district (=IGCH 680)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1957 by Mr M. Sminov while digging a corn-field

*Contents:*

- *Republic:* 2 (unspecified, no details given)

- Maroneia: 2 tetradr. (Schönert-Geiss, period X, ca. 189/8–49/5 BC)

*Disposition:* Dispersed as noted by Dr N. Statelov, then a pharmacist in the village of Kamen.

*Closing date:* possibly ca. 75-60 BC.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1959, 361; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 680; SCHÖNERT-GEISS 1987, p. 100; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 107.

#### **84. Karavelovo I / 1959, Karlovo area, Plovdiv district (=IGCH 978)**

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard of 40 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1959 during digging work for a canal in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:*

Republic: 36 –

From

- Pinarius Natta, 150 BC (RRC 208),

latest issue –

- M. Iunius Brutus, 54 BC (RRC 433/1), 5 with banker's marks;

and

Dyrrhachium dr.: 1

- ΕΕΝΩΝ–ΔΥΡ. ΦΥΛΛΙΑ, Ceka 361.

T. Gerassimov reported 5 other coins (from this hoard?):

- Athens New style tetradr.: 3 (unspecified)
- Thasos tetradr.: 1 (unspecified)
- Thasos imitation tetradr.: 1 (unspecified)

*Closing date:* 54 BC. According to M. Crawford - 55/1 BC

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Karlovo, inv. no. N/A.

*Comments:* Unpublished in detail, brief records.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1962, 232; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 978; SHULEKOVA 1979, pp. 13-17, nos. 1-32; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 108; PROKOPOV 2006, no. 140.

#### **85. Koynare I / 1963, Vratsa area, Pleven district (IGCH 687), (chart 14)\***

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard (pot broken by tractor during discovery) of ca. 400 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in July 1963 in the 'Progonya' locality while ploughing near the flour-mill 'Zhitnitsa', and near a Thracian burial mound, just north of the town. The coins

were collected from a furrow by the finders. For the Museum of Vratsa a total of 341 coins in three parts were acquired.

**Contents:**

*Republic:* 339 (341 in Conovici)

from

- Anonymous – symbol 'anchor', 209-208 BC (RRC 50/1)

latest issue of

- C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 61 BC (RRC 408/1a)

and

- Dyrrhachium: 2 dr.
  - [M]ENISKOΣ – ΔΥΡ.ΑΓ[ΑΤΙΩΝΟΣ], Ceka, 316
  - [A]ΛΚΩΝ – ΔΥΡ.ΦΙΛ[ΟΔΑΜΟΥ], Ceka, 62.

According to the late Dr M. Chițescu (who saw the hoard in 1979), its contents included a few copies of original *RRD*. These are 2 *serrati* denarii of L. Farsuleius Mensor, 75 BC, with reduced weight and diameter, struck from the same pair of dies – imitations?

*Closing date:* after 61 BC

*Comments:* Unpublished. According to other sources, in the summer of 1997, 2 new parts of this large hoard with over 500 coins were found, distant only 1-2 m from the first vessel.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa, Inv. nos. 2506-2844. Now all stolen, since 2003.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1964, p. 242; GERASSIMOV 1965, p. 248; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 687; CONOVICI 1989, p. 19, pl., no. 17; CHIȚESCU 1979, p. 28, note 34; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 110.

**86. Korten II / 1958, Nova Zagora area, Sliven district (=IGCH 979)**

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard of over 50 silver coins - 4 *RRD* and 5 Thasian tetradrachms

*Findspot:* Found in 1958 by two villagers near the village

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov reported only on 6 coins:

- Macedonia First Meris imitation: 1 tetradr. [No. 1856 – Prokopov 2012, no. 793, dies O. 33 – R. 40, imitation of 'Second B' group];
- Thasos late type: 1 tetradr (Prokopov 2006, *Thasos*, O.199, HH<sub>1</sub>);
- Thasos imitations: 2 tetradr (Prokopov 2006, *Thasos*, O.200, HH<sub>2</sub> and O.305, CH<sub>2</sub>);

*Republic:*

- **C. Poblicius Q. f.** (RRC 380/1, 80 BC): 1 *serratus*, 4.00 g., 18x20 mm;
- **L. Roscius Fabatus** (RRC 412/1, 59 BC): 1 *serratus*, 3.85 g., 18x20 mm, both highly worn.

*Disposition:* Historical Museum of Nova Zagora - only 5 coins, Inv. No. 1852-1856. The rest were dispersed.

*Closing date:* ca.59-50/45 BC.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1962, p. 230; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 979; PROKOPOV, *First Macedonia*, pp. 11-12, 35; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 111; PROKOPOV 2012, no. 76.

### **87. Kotel / 1999-2000, Sliven district**

*Quantity:* A scattered mixed hoard of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC silver coins: 4-5 late Republican denarii ('Caesarian') and one cistophoric tetradrachm of Mark Antony.

*Contents:* Only two *denarii* in the Kotel museum:

1. **C. Iulius Caesar**, 49-8 BC: 1 den (RRC 443/1) Gaul mint, 19 mm, MW, dark patination, edge broken [Kotel, no. 130];
2. **Mark Antony**, 32-31 BC - legionary den (RRC 544/30 - LEG XV), Patrae?, 18x13 mm, LW, dark patination, edge broken [Kotel, no. 131].
3. **Mark Antony and Octavia**, 39 BC: AR cistophor (RPC I, 2201), Ephesus, LW, lost in trade (information from M. Nikolov).

*Findspot:* Found around 1999-2000 with a metal detector in the "Arab Alan" locality, some 1.2 km NW from the "Roman fortress /Hissar-Kalesi" hillfort, distant ca.10 km NE from the town of Kotel. Later treasure-hunters dug there and found 10 further RRdenarii – all unspecified and lost. A mountain pass in Haemus ran along the ancient road.

*Closing date:* after 32/1 BC.

*Disposition:* Historical museum of Kotel, both denarii, acquired in 2000, inv. nos. 130-131.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr Milen Nikolov, Burgas Museum and the Kotel museum staff, December 2011.

*Reference for site:* see M. DASKALOV, M. NIKOLOV, in *AOR reports in 2005* (Sofia 2006), pp. 317-319.

### **88. Krivnya / 1910?, Senovo area, Russe district**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found around 1910 in the 'Manastira' locality, 1 km west of the village

*Contents:* 5 coins:

Thasos late type (or imitations?): 4 tetradr.

*Republic:* 1 d.- **Iulia** (type unspecified, RRC 443/1?)

*Closing date:* possibly mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Disposition:* Museum collection of Krivnya village once kept these 5 coins, as reported by K. Shkorpil, now stolen.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information kindly provided by Mr G. Dzanev, Razgrad Museum.

References: SCHKORPIL 1914, p. 81, No. 71; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 112; DZANEV 2007, in *CCCHBg* I, 75, note 47.

### **89. Kyustendil area I / 1978 (anc. territorium Pautaliense, (CH 9.277)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of ancient silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1978 in the vicinity of the town

*Contents:* Prof. J. Yourukova examined only 12 coins:

RRD: 6

- D. Iunius Silanus, 91 BC (RRC 337/3): 1
- L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, 90 BC (RRC 340/1): 1
- Q. Titius, 90 BC (RRC 341/1): 1
- Anonymous, 86 BC (Syd. 723 = RRC 350A/2): 2 (FDC)
- L. Iulius Bursio, 85 BC (RRC 352/1): 1

Aesillas quaestor, ca. 91-88 BC: 5 tetradr. (FDC)

Macedonia First Region tetradr.: 1 (highly worn)

*Closing date:* According to Jurukova - around 83 BC. Obviously the burial date should be adjusted to a few years earlier - c. 85 BC, as per the latest standard system of M. Crawford.

*Disposition:* In a private collection at Dupnitsa. In the Regional Historical Museum of Kyustendil - only 1 Aesillas tetradrachm.

References: YOUROUKOVA, 1981, 127; PROKOPOV, *First Macedonia*, 14, note 45; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 113; PROKOPOV 2012, no. 78.

### **90. Kyustendil area II / 1982 (territorium Pautaliense, CH 9.278)**

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard of ca. 100 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1982 in the vicinity of the town

*Contents:* J. Yourukova examined:

- L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC (Syd. 706 = RRC 348/1): 1 (FDC)
- Aesillas quaestor, ca. 92-88/7 BC: 1 tetradr.
- Thasos late type: 3 tetradr.
- Macedonia First Region: 1 tetradr.

*Closing date:* after 87 BC

*Disposition:* Dispersed

References: YOUROUKOVA 1985, 59; PROKOPOV, *First Macedonia*, 14, note 45; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 114; PROKOPOV 2006, no. 152.

### **91. Maluk Chardak / 1990, Saedinenie area, Plovdiv district (chart 15)\*#**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of over 600 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in May-June 1990 in 'Pereto' locality (a Thracian burial mound nearby), in the NW part of the village, while digging a ditch. Subsequent archaeological trial digs and metal detecting led by Dr K. Kolev.

*Contents:* A total of 529 coins and a silver bracelet (21.15 g, 41x 37 mm) collected -

*Republic:* 527 [only 521 listed]:

From

- Anonymous 'bird and TOD', 189-180 BC (RRC 141/1) to latest issue of
- Mark Antony and C. Iulius Caesar Octavian, 39 BC (RRC 528/2b)
- 1 barbarous imitation of *RRD*: - type obv. Cr.408/1 / rev. Cr. 319/1)

Greek:

- Athens New Style: 1 tetradr. -

ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ-ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑ, struck 126/125 BC, (*cf.* Thompson, *Athens*, 173, pl. 46, no 442c-d?);

- Thasian late imitation: 1 tetradr, ca.60-40 BC (=Göbl, *OTA*, Klass V).

*Closing date:* ca. 39 BC by comparison with a nearby hoard from Bolyarino (*cf.* Inv. No. 76)

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. Nos. 5769-5770, all total 529 coins and a bracelet acquired in June 1990.

*Comments:* To be published shortly by I. Prokopov and E. Paunov, 2011. Later in the same location treasure-hunters unearthed more than 100 coins from the same hoard, all dispersed in trade.

*Reference:* Mentioned by CALLATAY – PROKOPOV 1995, p. 10, note 9; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 115; PROKOPOV – PAUNOV 2012, pp. 147-163 (forthcoming).

## **92. Medkovets / 1980, Montana district (chart 16)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard in a purse of at least 86 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1980 during ploughing work, in the 'Penkov Geran' locality, 4 km east of the village. At the same location a Thracian settlement existed.

*Contents:*

Dyrrhachium dr.: 3 (Group V - 97/85 BC after Conovici 1989, 22)

- ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ – [ΔΥΡ].ΟΒΡΙΜΟΥ (Ceka, 118)
- ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ – ΔΥΡ.ΑΓΑΤΙΩΝΟΣ, c. 94 BC (Ceka, 316)
- ΞΕΝΩΝ – ΔΥΡ.ΠΥΡΒΑ, c. 95 BC (Ceka, 360)

*RRD:* 82 –

from

- Cn. Domitius, 189/180 BC (RRC 147/1) to latest issue of
- Octavian, 29-27 BC (*BMC*, 638 = *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 272), countermarked.  
plus 1 AE coin - highly corroded, uncertain (extraneous ?)

35 *denarii* were punched with one or more different bankers' marks. A *RRD* is brockage (no obverse), from 115/4 BC (RRC 287/1).

*Closing date*: probably ca. 29-27 BC

*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum Montana, Inv. Nos. 877-963. Partly dispersed among finders.

*Comments*: Published completely.

*Reference*: ALEXANDROV - BELITOV 1991, pp. 35-37, figs. 1-5; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 117.

### **93. Mindya / 1959, Veliko Tarnovo district (=IGCH 664)**

*Quantity*: Pot hoard of over 80 silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot*: Found in 1959 near the village

*Contents*: T. Gerassimov reported only 10 coins:

- Thasos late type imitations: 4 tetradr.
- Alexander III posthumous: 4 (now 5) tetradr.
  - Odessos mint (monogram KOI): 1 tetradr.
  - Messambria mint: 3 tetradr. (now 4, struck with the same obverse die)
- Cistophoric tetradrachm of Asia Minor? (monogram OII): 1
- *RRD*: L. Cassius Longinus, 60 BC (RRC 413/1): 1 (now lost)

*Closing date*: after 60 BC; as per Prof. M. H. Crawford - c. 65/61 BC

*Disposition*: NAM Sofia acquired all except the denarius

*Comments*: Published in part, apparently linked somehow with the nearby located hoard of Rodina (cat. No. 101), also closing in 60 BC.

*References*: GERASSIMOV 1962, p. 231; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, p. 328, App. 54/II; KARAYOTOV, *Mesambria*, p. 119, No. 27; RUSSEVA 2005, pp. 15-23; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 118.

### **94. Moravitsa / 1956, Mezdra area, Vratsa district\***

*Quantity*: Mixed hoard of many *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC and Dyrrhachium drachms

*Findspot*: Found in 1956 near the village

*Contents*: Only 13 coins were preserved:

Dyrrhachium dr.: 4

- ΚΥΔΙΠΠΩΣ – ΜΕΝΕΚΚΑ, Ceka, 288
  - 2-3. ΜΗΝΙΣΚΟΣ – ΚΑΛΛΩΝΟΣ, Ceka, 322
  - 4. ΜΗΝΙΣΚΟΣ – ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ, Ceka, 325;

*Republic:* 9, earliest coin of

- M. Porcius Laeca, 125 BC (RRC 270/1),  
latest issue –
- Mark Antony, 32/1 BC - legionary denarius (RRC 544/14)

*Closing date:* after 32/1 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa, Inv. nos. 2072-2084 (now missing, stolen since 2003). A large part of the hoard was dispersed.

*Comments:* Unpublished. A time gap (*hiatus*) between 78–32/31 BC can be clearly observed, but the hoard is incomplete. Now all missing, stolen (since 2003).

*Reference:* CONOVICI 1989, p. 19, pl. 1, no. 13; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 119.

### **95. Noevtsi / 1980, Breznik area, Pernik district (CH 9.280)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of c. 20 silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the autumn of 1980 during digging work in the village area

*Contents:* Only 3 coins were examined by J. Yourukova:

*RRD:* 1 -

- D. Iunius Silanus L. f., 91 BC (Syd. 646 = RRC 337/3)
- Aesillas quaestor, ca. 92-88/7 BC: 2 tetradr.

*Closing date:* after 90-85 BC

*Disposition:* Unknown, lost?

*References:* YOUROUKOVA 1982, p. 62; PROKOPOV 1985, p. 5, pl. I, 2; BAUSLAUGH 2000, 108; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 120.

### **96. Nova Mahala / 1954, Nikolaevo, Stara Zagora area (IGCH 977)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of over 50 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1954, no further data available.

*Contents:*

*Republic:* once 12 denarii (plus 3 in Stara Zagora):

- C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 BC (RRC 346/2)
- Faustus Cornelius Sulla, 56 BC (RRC 426/1)
- C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1), Gaul



Greek:

- Thasian late type barbarous imitations: 18 (plus 11 in Stara Zagora)
- Athens New Style: 3 tetradr. (plus 1 in Stara Zagora), magistrates: ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗ-ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ – [ΛΕΟΝ]ΤΟΜΕ, 126/5 BC (Thompson 1961, 173-180, Nos. 441-460).

*Disposition:* In 1962 Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora acquired only 3 *denarii*, Inv. nos. H 3187–3189. Municipal History Museum of Chirpan – acquired the other 33 coins (as noted, unconfirmed).

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mrs. M. Minkova, Nov. 2009.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1955, p. 610; M. THOMPSON, *IGCH* 977; PROKOPOV – MINKOVA 1999, pp. 568-569, nos. 13-24; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 121.

### **97. Nova Zagora area / 1973, Stara Zagora district**

*Findspot:* Found in 1973 near the town, unknown location and findspot.

*Quantity:* 7 tetradrachms and 1 *denarius*

- Thasos: 1 'original' tetradrachm
- Thasos barbarous imitations: 6 tetradrachms
- 1 *denarius* of Mark Antony – unspecified type (Cr. 544/?).

*Closing date:* ?43 – 32/1 BC

*Disposition:* Museum of Nova Zagora, or dispersed?

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr. V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora museum.

*Reference:* YUROUKOVA, *Archeologija* (Sofia 1978), no. 2, p. 73, following T. Gerassimov handwritten notes.

### **98. Orehovitsa / 1965, Pleven district (=IGCH 686), (chart 17)#**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard in a bronze vessel (*aryballos*?) of 281 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the spring of 1965 by tractor-driver M. Mikov in the 'Golemiya Rastivir/Chengene Saray' locality, 7 km southwest of the village (where the remains of an ancient settlement existed). A late Thasos tetr. also found there.

*Contents:*

Dyrrhachium dr.: 1:

- ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ – ΔΥΡ/ (ΑΣ/ΚΛΑ)ΠΟΥ, Ceka 444, group IV – N.Conovici, ca. 116 BC;

*RRD:* 232 (280 originally) –

from

- Pinarius Natta (RRC 200/1, 155 BC),

latest coin of

- L. Servius Rufus, 43 or 41? BC (RRC 515/2)

*Closing date:* ca. 41/40 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pleven, Inv. no. H-1874

*Comments:* Published

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1966, p. 213; GENOVA 1967, pp. 53 ff.; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 686; PROKOPOV-KOVATCHEVA, *Pleven*, pp. 104-129, nos 627- 858; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 122.

### **99. Pavelsko / 1975, Chepelare area, Smolyan district (=CH 6. 45)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of ancient silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Contents:* Youroukova examined only 8 coins:

*Republic* – 3, only one recorded:

- M. Porcius Cato Proprator, 47/6 BC (RRC 462/1a-c ?): 1
- Thasos late type: 4 tetradr.
- barbarous imitation of Thasian late type: 1 tetradr.

*Closing date:* perhaps ca. 46/41 BC. According to Prof. M. Crawford - ca. 50/46 BC

*Findspot:* Found in the spring of 1975 during the digging of an orchard in the vicinity of the village, near ancient mines for lead and copper (Radoslavoff 1919, 53; Gaul 1942, 402).

*Disposition:* Dispersed, these in a private collection in Plovdiv

*Comments:* Unpublished

*References:* YOUROUKOVA 1978, 58; CH 6. 45; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 123; PROKOPOV 2006, no. 221.

### **100. Rasovo I / 1921, Lom area, Montana district (=IGCH 688)**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of over 340 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1921 near the village

*Contents:* N. Mouchmov examined:

- Republic: 7+, no details given but latest coins of Mark Antony, 32/1 BC (RRC 544/ 8-39?)
- Dyrrhachium: 37+ dr.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum Sofia acquired only 44 coins (37 dr. and 7 *denarii*) as listed, donated by Dr P. Kurdjiev, Lom. Another 300 pieces remained among the goldsmiths in Lom.

*Comments:* Unpublished, misplaced or lost? No coins found in Sofia museum holdings as of June 2008.

*References:* MOUCHMOV 1922, p. 239; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 688; N. CONOVICI 1989, p. 19, table 1, No. 8; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 124.

**101. Rodina / 1964, Veliko Turnovo district (=IGCH 679), (chart 18)**

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard of over 80 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in December 1964 in the 'Dermenya' locality near the village, after the ploughing of a field by a local villager.

*Contents:* Dr B. Sultov reported to Gerassimov on 55 coins, 54 were in the museum:

Republic: 49,

from

- C. Iunius C.f., 149 BC (RRC 210/1)

latest issue of

- L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, 62 BC (RRC 415/1)

plus

- Maroneia (~189/8–49/5 BC): 5 tetradr., type Schönert-Geiss (1987), no. 1134 ff. (2); no. 1275 (2); no. 1070ff (1).

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum at Veliko Turnovo acquired these 54 coins in December 1964, Inv. nos. 2169-2171 (tetr.); 2172-2214 (denarii). At present all coins are stolen – most in 1969/71, the rest in Jan.2006.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from the late Mr M. Tsochev (October 1999) and Mr S. Mihaylov, Veliko Turnovo Museum (Sept. 2009).

Apparently linked with the nearby hoard from the village of Mindya (IGCH 664; cat. No. **93**), closing in 60 BC

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1966, 213; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 679; T. IVANOV 1983, p. 258, Anm.1: no. 25; SCHÖNERT-GEISS, pp. 104-5; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 125; recently PAUNOV, *Rodina hoard..*, (Veliko Tarnovo 2010), pp. 127-147.

**102. Stubel / 1980, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of many *RRD* and Thasos type tetradrachms

*Findspot:* Found in the spring of 1980 in the vicinity of the village

*Disposition:* National Museum of History, Sofia, inv. no. N/A (only 7 Thasos type tetradrachms acquired).

*Comments:* Unpublished, no further data available. Access to this hoard denied.

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1982, p. 62; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 128; see PROKOPOV 2006, no. 292.

**103. Topolovo / 1961, Plovdiv district (=RRCH 457)\*#**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 170 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in October 1961 in the 'Branite' locality, ~4 km north of the village, by villagers while ploughing.

**Contents:** Republic: 130 –

from

C. Renius, 138 BC (RRC 231/1,)

latest coins of

- Octavian, 30-29 BC: 2 (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 269a), Rome mint?: LW, both from the same pair of dies; and
- 2 ‘Dacian’ imitations:
  - 1 - prototype of obv. type RRC 361/1 / Rev. L. Censorinus, *RRC* 363, after 82 BC
  - 1 - prototype Rev. perhaps Q. Antonius Balbus, *RRC* 364/1.

Thasos late type: 1 tetradr. (Prokopov 2006, *Thasos*, Obv. 324, AA<sub>8</sub>)

Thasos barbarous imitations: 39 tetradr.

**Closing date:** ca. 30-29 BC. According to M. Crawford - ca. 35/1 BC.

**Disposition:** Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. No. 2229.

**Comments:** Published with errors. Time gaps in the *RRD* (hiatuses) between: 124/109, 100/90, 75/64, 56/49, and 39-30/29 BC.

**References:** GERASSIMOV 1963, p. 265; KOLEV 1968, 159; KOLEV, newspaper ‘*Evening news*’, Plovdiv, 14th November 1961, p. 8; ZLATAREVA 1963, pp. 161-171, pls. I, 1-77; II 1-32; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/II; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 129.

#### **104. Trustenik / 1958, Pleven district (=IGCH 669), (chart 19)#**

**Quantity:** Mixed pot hoard of of many coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

**Findspot:** Found in 1958 in a field near the village during ploughing work

**Contents:** only 61 coins gathered from the finders and brought to the museum -

Dyrrhachium: 2 dr:

- ΦΙΛΩΝ – ΔΥΡ/[ΦΑΝΙΣ]ΚΟΥ, Ceka 441, ca. 100 BC
- ΖΩΠΥΡΟΣ – ΔΥΡ/ ΔΑ[ΜΗ]ΝΟΣ, Ceka 201, ca. 98 BC

Republic: 59 D – according to T. Gerassimov, now 58:

from

- Anonymous - symbol staff, 206-195 BC (RRC 112/2a), Rome to latest issues of
- C. Naevius Balbus, serratus, 79 BC (RRC 382/1b), Rome.

**Closing date:** 79 BC; per M. Thompson - after 45 BC?

**Disposition:** Hist. Museum Pleven acquired only these 61 coins, Inv. Nos. 1086 / 1-63.

**Comments:** Published, information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven Museum.

**References:** GERASSIMOV 1962, pp. 232-233; GENOVA 1967, pp. 53-57; THOMPSON, *IGCH* 669; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 130.

**105. Vetren / 1977** (anc. mansio *Lissae*), Pazardjik district (=CH VII, 141)

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of many silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1977 during field work in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:*

Greek: 5

- Athens New Style tetradr.: 4
  - ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ–ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ (symbol Nike): 1, according to M. Thompson, *Athens*; struck in 108/107 BC; after Lewis - 76/5 BC,
  - ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ–ΗΡΟΔΗΣ (Dionysos): 2 - according to Thompson, *Athens*, 98/7 BC; after Lewis - 64/3 BC;
  - ΗΡΑΚΛΩΝ–ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ (Eagle): 1 - Thompson, 93/2 BC; Lewis - 61/0 BC;
- Thasos barbarous imitation tetradr.: 1

Republic: 3:

- **L. Hostilius Saserna**, 48 BC (Syd. 953 = RRC 448/1-3 ?): 2
- **L. Plautius Plancus**, 47 BC (Syd. 959 = RRC 453/1): 1

*Closing date:* ca. 47 BC

*Disposition:* Dispersed – in a Plovdiv private collection only these 8, as listed by Youroukova.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1979, p. 60; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 131.

**106. Vidin area / 1948** Vidin district

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of 2 kg (= ca. 600) silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in April 1948 in a location near the town of Vidin.

*Contents:* Many *RRD* and drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. Dr Haralanov examined and purchased only:

Apollonia, Illiriae: 5 dr. – from the following magistrates:

- ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝ – ΑΠΟΛ ΕΥΛΛΟΥ... (Ceka, 22; Petronyi, Class L 1, no. 4): 2
- ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΑΔΑΣ – ΑΠΟΛ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ (Ceka, 31; Petronyi, Class L 1, no. 4): 1
- ΣΙΜΙΑΣ–ΑΠΟΛ [ΑΥΤΟ]ΒΟΥΛΟΥ (Ceka, 98; Petronyi, Class L 2/a, no. 7): 2

*Closing date:* uncertain, ca. 90/80 – 70/60? BC

*Comments:* Published. Further information from Dr Z. Zhekova, Shumen Museum.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Shumen kept only these 5 coins, Inv. no. 99 / 1-5, donated by the late Dr V. Haralanov. The rest were dispersed.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV – VLADIMIROVA-ALADJOVA 1999, p. 39, nos. 377.1–381.5; GRIGOROVA – PROKOPOV 2002, no. 17, 1-5.

### **107. Vratsa – ‘Starata mogila’ / 1963, Vratsa district \***

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of ca. 500 silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1963 in the ‘Izvora’/‘Starata Mogila’ locality, 5 km north of the town (presently a quarter of the town of Vratsa, behind the modern gas station)

*Contents:*

- *Republic:* 3 - latest issue of **Sextus Pompeius**, 37-36 BC (RRC 511/3a)
- Dyrhachium dr.: 4 (Ceka, nos. 325, 358, 360; groups IV and V as per Conovici, ca. 92-87/6 BC)

*Closing date:* probably ca. 36-31 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum Vratsa kept only these 7 coins, Inv. Nos. 273-279. The rest was dispersed between the finders. Now all stolen, as of 2003.

*Comments:* Unpublished

*References:* see N. CONOVICI 1989, p. 19; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 132.

## 14.4. Groups of Republican denarii

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### (Presumed hoards but uncertain)

#### **108. Borislavtsi / ~1960, Madzharovo, Haskovo district**

*Quantity:* A group of 3 *RRD* (part of a larger hoard?).

*Findspot:* unknown but presumably from the village area.

*Contents:* 3 *RRD*:

- **C. Vibius C.f. Pansa 90 BC** (RRC 342/5b), Rome, 18.5x21 mm, 3.46 g., dark oxidation, HW [No. 1010];
- **Lollius Palicanus, 45 BC** (RRC 473/1), Rome, 19.5x20 mm, 3.09 g, patinated, cracked, 1 b/m obv., VW [No. 1009];
- **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC**, LEG III (RRC 544/15), Patrae?, 16.5x18.5 mm, 3.79 g., VW [No. 1011];

*Closing date:* after 31/0 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Haskovo, Inv. Nos. H-1009-1011, acquired in 1975 from an old family collection.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mrs. M. Slavova, Haskovo Museum, December 2010.

#### **109. “Gorna Oryahovitsa”/ <1960, Veliko Tarnovo district**

*Quantity:* A group of 41 *RRD* (part of a hoard?) from a collection.

*Findspot:* unknown but probably part of a hoard from the area of Oryahovo–Bukyovtsi in the Vratsa district.

*Contents:* 41 *RRD*

from

- Anonymous - symbol 'crescent', 194-190 BC (RRC 137/1)

down to

- P. Fonteius P.f. Capito, 55 BC (RRC 429/1).

*Disposition:* Once in the collection of Dr N. Statelov (apothecian from Oryahovo), acquired in March 1960 by the Regional Hist. Museum of Veliko Tarnovo, ex-inv. nos. 1266–1306. Now all stolen, since 2006.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Dr S. Mihaylov, Veliko Tarnovo Museum.

#### **110. Gabrovo area, Lovech district**

*Quantity:* Single pieces of *RRD*:

*Findspot:* unknown, somewhere in the Gabrovo region.

*Contents:* 4 *denarii* :

- **C. Norbanus, 83 BC** (RRC 357/1): 2 [Nos. 3239, 2764]
- **P. Crepusius, 82 BC** (RRC 361/1c): 1 [No. 2828]
- **L. Rutilius Flaccus, 77 BC** (RRC 387/1): 1 [No. 1409].

*Comments:* Published

*Disposition:* Hist. Museum of Gabrovo, Inv. Nos. M-3218 sqq.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV-KOITCHEVA, Gabrovo, 48, nos. 27-30, pl. 4-5.

### **111. Pleven area / 1950s, Pleven district**

*Quantity:* Part of one or more scattered hoards of *RRD*.

*Findspot:* unknown in the Pleven region, no exact provenance noted:

*Contents:* 58 *RRD*:

- from
- Anonymous issues, *ca.* 211 BC (RRC 44 or 46): 6 latest coin of
- L. Papius Celsus, 45 BC (RRC 472/1)

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. numbers: 1", 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11a, 11b, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 43, 47, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74.

*Comments:* Published by I. Prokopov and T. Kovacheva, further information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2009.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV-KOVATCHEVA, *Pleven*, (Sofia 2006), pp. 130-136, nos. 859.1 – 918.60.



## 14.5. Early Principate Hoards (Closing AD 117-138)

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### **AR** 1 / 112. Altimir II / 1957, Vratsa district

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 11 *denarii*.

*Findspot:* Found July 1957 in a vineyard near the village during digging.

*Contents:* Gerassimov reported 11 coins:

- *Republic:* 2 D. (unspecified, mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC)
- *Imperial:* 9 D.
  - Vespasian: 4
  - Domitian: 3
  - Trajan: 2 (down to AD 103-106?)

*Disposition:* Museum of Vratsa according to Gerassimov. No such hoard/ coins were kept in this museum as of 1997.

*Closing date:* Trajanic – AD 103-106?

*Comments:* Unpublished, lost.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 360; GEROV 1977, p. 148, no. 5; KUNISZ 1992, pp. 142-3, no. 3.

### **AR** 2/ 113. Aprilovo II / 1992, Popovo area, Targovishte district

*Quantity:* Hoard of *ca.* 400-500 *denarii* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> century AD

*Findspot:* Found in 1992 (or 1994) with a metal detector near the village

*Contents:* Mr G. Dzanev was allowed to examine only circa 40 coins (*i.e.* 1/5 of total), 37 listed:

1. *Incertum*, most probably P. Aelius Paetus, 138 BC (Cr. 233/1): 1 (VW)
2. C. Licinius L.f. Macer, 84 BC (Cr. 354/1): 1
3. L. Marcius Censorinus, 82 BC (Cr. 363/1a): 1
4. M. Volteius M. f., 78 BC (Cr. 385/3): 1
5. C. Hosidius C. f. Geta, 68 BC (Cr. 407/2): 1
6. Q. Pomponius Musa, 66 BC (Cr. 410/6): 1
7. C. Memmius C. f., 56 BC (Cr. 427/2): 1
8. Q. Cassius Longinus, 55 BC (Cr. 428/2): 1
9. A. Plautius, 55 BC (Cr. 431/1): 1
10. C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (Cr. 443/1): 1
11. T. Carisius, 46 BC (Cr. 464/3a): 1
12. Considius Paetus, 46 BC (Cr. 465/2b) : 1

13. L. Valerius Acisculus, 45 BC (Cr. 474/1b): 1
14. Marcus Antonius, 32/1 BC (Cr. 544/var.): 21
15. Augustus, 19 BC Tarraco, Spain (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 86a-87a?): 1 (worn)
16. Augustus, 15 BC, Lugdunum (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 167a): 1 (worn, b-mark F on obverse)

According to other sources, the same hoard also contained *denarii* of Augustus and later issues down to emperor Galba, unconfirmed.

*Closing date:* after 15 BC (or later)

*Disposition:* Dispersed in trade between the discoverers.

*Comments:* Mr G. Dzanev of Razgrad Museum kindly provided this information in 1997.

*Reference:* see PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 3.

**Æ 3 / 114. Archar / 1981 (anc. *Ratiaria*), Vidin district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 16+ sestertii dated AD 103–120/1

*Findspot:* Found in 1981 near the village in unknown circumstances

*Contents:*

- Trajan: 13 S (*RIC* II, 495 (2); 489; 625; 627; 652 (3); 655; 663; 672 (2))
- Hadrian: 3 S (*RIC* II, 551a; 563b and 589b)

All very worn and corroded.

*Closing date:* AD 119-120/1.

*Disposition:* National History Museum, Sofia – these 16 coins, Inv. Nos. 13625-13640.

*References:* YOUROUKOVA 1983, p. 114; BOŠKOVA 1991, pp. 8-14.

**Æ 4 / 115. Belene I / 1948 (anc. *Dimum*), Pleven district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 60 *sestertii*.

*Findspot:* Found in 1948 in a garden in the town.

*Contents:*

- Trajan – 60 S: unspecified.

*Disposition:* Acquired by the Roman Catholic priest in Belene. Later dispersed and lost?

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1950, p. 322; GEROV 1977, p. 149, no. 9; KUNISZ 1992, p. 153, no. 2.

**AR 5 / 116. Belene II / 1971 (anc. *Dimum*), Pleven district (chart 22)**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of over 135 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1970 in the 'Hissarlaka' / 'Naklata' locality on the Danube bank in some ruins, NW of the modern town of Belene

*Contents:*

*Republic:* now 58 D (most with banker's marks and graffiti),

from

- C. Maianus (Cr. 203/1, 153 BC): 2
- to
- Caesar: 7
  - Mark Antony: 23 legionary
  - Augustus: 31 [19 – type for C et L CAESARES, Lugdunum]
  - Tiberius: 2, 14-21 AD (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 29 and 30); Lugdunum.

Most of the coins are punch-marked, some of them highly worn from prolonged circulation. A denarius of Augustus is plated.

*Closing date:* AD 14-21

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Plevna – now these 122 coins, Inv.no. 1502/1-101.

*Comments:* Published recently.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1979, p. 139; KUNISZ 1992, p. 128, no. 3; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 73; PROKOPOV–KOVATCHEVA, *Plevna* (Sofia 2006), 13-27, nos. 1-122.

### **AR 6 / 117. Belitza / 1938, Tutrakan, Silistra district**

A pot hoard of 12+ denarii:

*Republic:* 5 D (from *RRC* 383/1, 79 BC)

- Mark Antony: 2 legionary (LEG II and LEG --?)

*Imperial:* 5:

- Vespasian: 4 D: *RIC II*<sup>1</sup>/<sup>2</sup>, 27 (AD 70), 357 (AD 72/3), 360 (AD 72/3), and 966 (AD 77/8), and
- Domitian Caesar: 1 D: *RIC II*<sup>1</sup>/<sup>2</sup>, 961 (Vespasian) struck AD 77/8.

*Closing date:* after AD 78 or later.

*Disposition:* National Museum Bucharest, Numismatic Department, no. 1165; CNBAR, inv. no. 504/ 1939.

*Comments:* First details published by C. Moisil in 1944. Additional information from Dr Emanuel Petac, Numismatic cabinet of the Romanian National Library, Bucharest (September 2012).

*Reference:* C. MOISIL 1944, 101-102, nos. 1155-1165; VERTAN 2002, 271-2; TALMAȚCHI 2006, 185, no. 2; PETAC 2011, 18 and 352.

### **AR 7 / 118. Chehlare / 1938, Brezovo area, Stara Zagora district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 60 denarii

*Findspot:* Found in 1938 during the digging of a vineyard near the village

*Contents:*

*Republic:* Clodia (Cr. 494/19?, 42 BC): none [once 1]

- Augustus: 14 D, issues from 30/29 down to 2/1 BC, most VW, a few are countermarked

- Tiberius: 9 D. [once 28] (all undated PONTIF MAXIM = RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26, 28 and 30)
- Claudius: 1 D, 41/2 AD (CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI = RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 14); Rome, MW.

*Closing date:* after AD 41/2.

*Disposition:* 48 coins were offered for sale to the NAM Sofia, only 24 pieces purchased, now kept under Inv. no. CXXIII–1938.

*Comments:* Unpublished, data finally available for study in June 2008.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1939, 345; KUNISZ 1992, 129, no. 9; *IRRCHBulg.* 74.

### **AR 8 / 119. Chervena Voda / 1966, Russe district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of over 889 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1966 in the village during digging work for water pipes.

*Contents:*

*Republic:* 33 (and 1 measure weight):

1. C. Servilius, 127 BC (Cr. 264/1)
2. M. Furius L.f. Philus, 119 BC (Cr. 281/1)
3. L. Memmius, 109/8 BC (Cr. 304/1)
4. L. Appuleius Saturninus, 104 BC (Cr. 317/3a)
5. P. Servilius M.f. Rullus, 100 BC (Cr. 328/1)
6. L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC (Cr. 348/2)
7. Gargonius / Ogulnius / Vergilius, 86 BC (Cr. 350A/1a)
8. Ti. Claudius Ti.f. Ap.n. Nero, 79 BC (Cr. 383/1) - serratus
9. L. Roscius Fabatus, 59 BC (Cr. 412/1)
10. Paullus Aemilius Lepidus 63 BC (Cr. 415/1)
11. M. Aemilius Scaurus / L. Plautius Hypsaeus, 58 BC (Cr. 422/1b)
12. C. Serveilius Cf., 57 BC (Cr. 423/1)
13. Mn. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC (Cr. 463/1a)

Legionary issues of Mark Antony, 32/1 BC: (HW, most with b/marks) – 20

14. LEG XII ANTIQUA (Cr. 544/9) – 1
15. LEG II (Cr. 544/14) - 1
16. LEG IV (544/17) – 2
17. LEG VI (544/19) – 1
18. LEG VII (544/20) – 1
19. LEG X (544/24) - 2
20. LEG XV (544/30) - 2
21. LEG XVI (544/31) - 1
22. LEG XVII (544/32) - 1
23. LEG XX (544/36) – 3

24. LEG XXI (544/37) – 2

25. LEG illegible (544/8-39?) – 3

plus

- a fragment of an uncertain *Republican denarius*: cut into a square *weight* (for coins?), (1.14g).

Imperial: once 844 (now **647**)

- Nero: **24**
- Galba: **8 / 11**
- Otho: **6**
- Vitellius: **15**
- Vespasian: 211 (now only **119**)
- Titus: 45 / 44 (only **22**)
- Iulia Titi: 1
- Domitian: 113 (now **110**)
- Nerva: 37 (now **32**)
- Trajan: 327 / 326 (now **252**, incl. **1** AR drachm (Antioch?))
- Marciana: 1
- Matidia: 1
- Hadrian: 57 (now **56**), down to the late 125–early 128 AD [RIC II, 181, 183]

*Closing date:* after AD 128.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Russe, Inv. no. 1618. Mrs V. Dimova noted 889 coins kept, now only **679**.

*Comments:* Not published properly. Data kindly provided by Prof. D. Draganov, May 2006 and Mr V. Varbanov, May 2011.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1968, p. 235; DIMOVA 1968, 11-38, PLS. I-II; GEROV 1977, p. 149; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 98.

**Æ 9 / 120. Damyanovo / 1977-8, Sevlievo, Gabrovo district**

*Quantity:* A small (purse?) hoard of 6 *sestertii* from the 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD

*Findspot:* Found in 1977/8 in the 'Marevoto' locality near the village.

*Contents:*

- Trajan – 2 S: types unspecified.

*Disposition:* Historical Museum Sevlievo – 2 coins. No further data available.

*References:* YOUROUKOVA 1979, p. 61; *CH7*, 232; KUNISZ 1992, P. 154, no. 1.

**AR 10 / 121. Dragantsi / 1958, Karnobat area, Burgas district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 336 Imperial *denarii* in a bronze vessel:

*Findspot:* Found in 1958 while ploughing in the footslopes of a burial mound near the village.

*Contents:* 336 *denarii* in Burgas:

- Tiberius: 1 (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 30)
- Nero: 13
- Galba: 2
- Otho: 8
- Vitellius: 6
- Vespasian: 149
- Titus: 1
- Iulia Titi: 1
- Domitian: 152
- Nerva: 2
  - 1 - COS III PATER PATRIAE, Augur implements, Sept. – December 97 AD (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 34)
  - 1 - IMP II COS III PP, Clasped hands, 98 AD (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 48)
- Trajan: 1 – PONT MAX TR POT COS II, Concordia seated left, struck February – Autumn 98 AD, very fine, little wear, patina (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 12 = Woytek 2010, no. 20).

*Closing date:* Autumn – winter 98 AD.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Burgas, inv. no. VI / 1959, inventoried 1963, purchased by Mr Manol Hristov from Dragantsi. Some coins in the nearby Municipal Museum of Karnobat, unconfirmed.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, August 2011. A full publication is forthcoming.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1962, p. 230; GEROV 1977, p. 148, no. 3; KUNISZ 1992, pp. 129-130, no. 10.

## **AR 11 / 122. Dolni Dabnik / 1910, Pleven district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 134 Roman *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1910 in the area of the village

*Contents:*

*Republic (together with M. Antony):* once 87 [now 11, spanning from Mn. Aquillius, 71 BC down to Mark Antony: 3 legionary den.]

- Augustus: was 13 [now 2, one c/ marked **MP.VES** (Howgego 1985, no. 839)]
- Tiberius: was 4 [none]
- Claudius: x [now 1]
- Nero: 5 [now 2]
- Vitellius: 1 [1]

- Vespasian: 24 [now 8] down to RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 99; AD 76]
- Titus Caesar: none listed [now 3 published].

*Closing date:* AD 76, or later Flavian?

*Disposition:* NAM at Sofia acquired part of this hoard, now only 28 coins kept, Inv. Nos. 2806-2833.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* FILOW 1910, 224; SEURE, *RN*<sup>4</sup> 26, 1923, 21, no. 24; BOLIN 1958, 338-9, Table I.12; KUNISZ 1992, 128, no. 6; ДОТКОВА 2006, pp. 180-7; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 76.

### **AR 12 / 123. Garvan / 1912, Sitovo, Silistra district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of ~100 denarii of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.

*Findspot:* Found in 1912 by Mr P. Dobrev in his field near the village

*Contents:*

- **Republic:** ~100 D., plus some 'Dacian' imitations
- **Augustus:** D., unspecified.
- 1 AR bracelet

*Closing date:* ca. 40–20/10? BC

*Disposition:* Currently not in the NAIM Sofia numismatic collection (negative answer of June 2008), misplaced?

*Comments:* Unpublished, lost.

*Reference:* Б. ФИЛОВ / FILOW 1913, p. 336; SEURE 1923, p. 17, no. 8; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 77.

### **AR 13 / 124. Gigen II / 1928 (anc. Oescus), Pleven district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard (covered with a clay tile) of ca. 400 denarii

*Findspot:* Found on 26 March 1928 while plowing in the 'Pyasuka' locality, some 2 km northeast of Oescus, near the village.

*Contents:* Mushmov examined only 22 coins:

- *Republic:* 2
  - P. Fonteius Capito, 55 BC (Cr. 429/1): 1
  - Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, 47/6 BC (Cr. 459/1): 1

*Imperial:* 20 -

from

- Augustus
- Vespasian
- Domitian
- Nerva

latest issues of

- Trajan, unspecified.

No other details given.

*Closing date:* ca. AD 101–117

*Disposition:* Dispersed and lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished

*References:* MOUCHMOV, 1929, 382-3; GEROV 1977, 149, no. 7; KUNISZ 1992, 150, no. 4.

**AR** 14 / 125. Gigen III / 1998, Pleven district<sup>#</sup>

*Quantity:* Hoard of 49 denarii

*Findspot:* Found in 1998 with a metal detector in a Roman site near the village, 8 km east of *Oescus*

*Contents:* author examined 48 coins:

- *Republic:* 35

1. Q. Marcius Philippus, 129 BC (Cr. 259/1): 1, worn
2. Q. Fabius Labeo, 124 BC (Cr. 273/1): 1, worn
3. C. Claudius Pulcher, 110/9 BC (Cr. 300/1): 1, c/m
4. Mn. Fonteius, 108/7 BC (Cr. 307/1b): 1, worn
5. C. Vibius C.f. Pansa, 90 BC (Cr. 342/3b): 1, mid-worn, c/m
6. L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC (Cr. 344/1): 1, punch mark - **P**
7. Ogulnius et Gargilius, 86 BC (Cr. 350A/1c): 1, worn, punch - **M**
8. Anonymous, 86 BC (Cr. 350A/2): 1, highly worn
9. L. Papius, 79 BC (Cr. 384/1): 1, punch mark - **C**
10. M. Volteius M. f., 78 BC (Cr. 385/3): 1
11. C. Coelius Calvus, 51 BC (Cr. 437/1b): 1, punch mark **X**
12. C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (Cr. 443/1): 1, mid-worn
13. L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC (Cr. 448/2): 1, worn
14. C. Vibius Pansa et Albinus Bruti f., 48 BC (Cr. 451/1): 1, punch mark - **S**
15. Mn. Cordius Rufus III Vir, 46 BC (Cr. 463/3): 1, mid-worn
16. P. Clodius M. f. Turrinus III Vir, 42 BC (Cr. 494/23): 1, worn
17. L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC (Cr. 494/39a): 1, punch mark - **(**
18. M. Antonius et Octavian, 40/39 BC (Cr. 528/2a): 1, mid-worn out
19. M. Antonius et Octavian, 39 BC (Cr. 529/3): 1, worn
20. M. Antonius, 32/1 BC (Cr. 544/14, 18, 19, 24, 25): 10, various punch marks
21. *Incerta RRD:* 6

*Imperial:* 13

- Augustus: 1 (*RIC* I, 338), mid-worn
- Tiberius: 1 (*RIC* I, 30), mid-worn



- Vespasian: 6 (*RIC* II, 77, 87, 90)
- Domitian: 2 (very well preserved, *RIC* II, 106a, 140)
- Trajan: 3 (*FDC*, PM TRP COS IIII PP, December 102 AD, *RIC* II, 72 = Woytek 2010, 144).

*Closing date:* AD 102-103.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pleven

*Comments:* Information from Mr BT, Pleven. Examined by E. Paunov, July 1998.  
Apparently a part of a larger hoard. early Trajanic/?/.

*Reference:* *IRRCHBulg*, 2002, no.79.

**AR 15 / 126. Gotse Delchev area / 1977 (near Nicopolis ad Nestum), Blagoevgrad district (=CH 6. 88)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 12 *RRD* of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1977 in the vicinity of the town

*Contents:* 11 *denarii* were examined:

1. L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, 90 BC (RRC 340/1): 2: 16x17 and 17x19mm, 3.79 and 3.47, VW [Nos. 239 and 240]
2. C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 61 BC (RRC 408/1b, symbols 67/80): 1, 16x18 mm, 3.87 g, VW [No. 238]
3. L. Scribonius Libo, 62 BC (RRC 416/1a): 1, 18x20 mm, 3.81 g, MW, 1 b/m obv. [No. 241]
4. L. Roscius Fabatus, 59 BC (RRC 412/1): 1 *serratus*, 18x19 mm, 3.83 g, MW, [No. 242]
5. D. Postumius Albinus Bruti f., 48 BC (RRC 450/2): 1, 17x18 mm, 3.68 g, MW, [No. 243]
6. C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1): 1, 17x18 mm, 3.40g, MW, patinated [No. 247]
7. C. Considius Paetus, 46 BC (RRC 465/2a): 1, 18x19 mm, 4.02 g, MW, [No. 244]
8. P. Clodius M.f. Turrinus, 42 BC (RRC 494/23): 1, 18x20 mm, 3.72 g, VW, [No. 245]
9. C. Vibius Varus, 42 BC (RRC 494/38): 1, 18x19 mm, 3.51 g, MW [No. 246]

latest issue of

10. Augustus, 18 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 108a) CAESARI AVGVSTO / SPQR, Tarraco, Spain, 19x20 mm, 3.72 g, LW [No. 248].

*Closing date:* 18 BC. According to the editors of *CH6* – after 32 BC.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Blagoevgrad these 11 *denarii*, Inv. Nos. 238–248.

*Comments:* No complete data displayed to date. Information from Mrs. M. Andonova, May 2011.

*References:* first mentioned in YOUROUKOVA 1978, pp. 58-9; *Coin Hoards* 6 (1981), no. 88; DOMARADZSKY – ANDONOVA – PROKOPOV 1999, pp. 32-3, note 211; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 25.

**AR 16 / 127. Gradeshnitsa II / 1972, Vratsa district \***

*Quantity:* Hoard of over 100 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1972 in a ploughed cornfield in the 'Tsera' locality, NW of the village. Many more coins from the same hoard were found later, in the early 1990s.

*Contents:* 68 D. listed, earliest coin from:

Anonymous, 179-170 BC (RRC 168/1),  
down to  
P. Clodius M.f., 42 BC (RRC 494/23)  
latest issue of  
Octavian Augustus, 30-29 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 274, Rome),  
and  
Tiberius: 1, 14-21 AD (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 26), Lugdunum /extraneous?/

*Closing date:* after 29 BC, or later under Tiberius?

*Disposition:* The Museum in Vratsa kept only 68 pieces, Inv. Nos. 8443-8444, 8449-8503 and 8505-8614, now stolen. The rest were dispersed between the finders

*Comments:* Later at the same location treasure hunters found more coins from the same deposit (all dispersed).

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1979, pp. 60-61; *IRRCHBulg* no. 26.

**AR 17 / 128. Gradeshnitsa III / 1964, Vratsa area (chart 27)\*#**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 764 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in October 1964 at a depth 0.35 m while ploughing in the 'Kvachkite / Denoskata koshara' locality, 4.5 km southeast of the village

*Contents:*

- *Republican:* 427 (most very worn from prolonged circulation), in the table listed only 411)
- *Imperial:* 343
  - Octavian: 15 ?
  - Tiberius: 4
  - Claudius: 3
  - Nero: 12
  - Galba: 8
  - Otho: 3
  - Vitellius: 7
  - Vespasian: 143
  - Titus: 13

- Domitian: 91 (18 – as Caesar)
- Nerva: 17
- Trajan: 27 (down to of 108/9–111 AD) – issues COS V PP /SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI, *RIC* II, 129 and 162 = WOYTEK 2010, 282 and 218c/e);
- plus imitations of Trajanic denarii: 4.

7 AR jewels: 4 earrings and 3 bracelets (published in TORBOV 2008, pp. 57, 65-66, nos. 11-19)

*Closing date:* According to B. Gerov – AD 105. After the Second Dacian War - ca. 107/8 – 111 AD.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Vratsa – these 764 coins, Inv. Nos. 3331-3734; 3738-4094, purchased from the finder Mr B. Kotsev. Since 2003 – all coins stolen and missing.

*Comments:* Unpublished, now lost (except the silver jewels, see Torbov 2008).

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1966, p. 212; GEROV 1977, p. 399, no. 4; YOUROUKOVA 1979, p. 281; KUNISZ 1992, p. 142, no. 1; *IRRCHBg*, no. 80.

**AR 18 / 129. Kladorub / 1963 (anc. *Conbustica*), Dimovo, Vidin district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 59 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1963 in close proximity to the ruins of *mansio Conbustica* (a Roman road station on the road from Ratiaria to Naissus).

*Contents:*

*Republic:*

- From Anonymous - symbol 'crescent' (Cr. 137/1, 194-190 BC)

down to :

- Caesar: 6
- Sextus Pompeius: 1
- Octavian: 1
- Mark Antony: 6

*Imperial:*

- Augustus: 5 (Rome 1; Col.Patricia 1; Lugdunum 3)
- Tiberius Caesar: 1
- Tiberius: 2 (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 30; struck Lugdunum)

*Closing date:* AD 21-37.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vidin, Inv. no. 921.

*Comments:* Published.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1964, p. 242; YOUROUKOVA – ATHANASSOVA 1979, pp. 249-53, pl. II.1-12; KUNISZ 1992, p. 127, no. 2; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 84.

**AR 19 / 130. Kolyu-Marinovo / 1958, Chirpan area, Stara Zagora district**

*Quantity:* Mixed hoard of silver coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in September 1958 by Mr T. Kuntchevski in the 'Dulbokoto Dere' locality on the southern slope of ridge Kamenitsa while digging a vineyard at a depth 0.15 m. In this area, some 2 km north-east of the village, were the ruins of a Thracian settlement had existed.

*Contents:*

*Republic:* once 31 Den (now 23 pieces listed)

from

- L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC (RRC 316/1a): 1

latest issue of

- Augustus, 19/8 BC (moneyer P. Petronius Turpilianus, *RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 294)
- 'Thracian/Dacian' imitation: 1 D., hybrid type:
  - Obv. **FORT - P R**, this type of Q. Sicinius, 49 BC (RRC 440/1)
  - Rev. Illegible and retrograde **NOIX**, temple - type of M. Volteius, 85 BC (RRC 385/1) – struck after 49 BC
- Thasos late type barbarous imitations: 9 (Göbl, *OTA*, Klasse III = Lukanc 1996, IV – 6 coins; Göbl, Klasse V – 3 coins).

One of the Thasian barbarous imitations has the head of Roma I. and letter **X** behind the goddess, clearly copied from an obverse of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC' *RRD*; another bears a punch-mark –anchor, the emblem of Apollonia Pontica. Apparently, all the *RRD* are worn, but the imitations are almost uncirculated.

*Closing date:* 19/8 BC, according to Prof. M. Crawford – 20/16 BC

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv – 23 pieces, Inv. no. 2175.

*Comments:* Published. Here *RRD* are completely re-arranged to the M.H. Crawford *RRC*' standard

*References:* TZONTCHEV 1960, 211; GERASSIMOV 1962, 226; ZLATAREVA 1960, 367-76; PROKOPOV 1995, 451-4; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 109.

### **AR 20 / 131. Komoshtitsa I / 1920, Lom area, Montana district**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 70 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1920 by Mr B. Tsolov while ploughing a field

*Contents:* Mushmov reported only 19 pieces:

*Republic:* 4 (unspecified Den)

*Imperial:*

- Augustus: 1
- Nero: 3
- Vespasian: 10
- Domitian: 1, type not listed?

*Closing date:* Vespasian – Domitianic?

*Disposition:* Dispersed and lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* MOUCHMOV 1924, 239; KUNISZ 1992, 130, no. 6.

**AR 21 / 132. Koshava / 1967, Vidin district**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of 10 *denarii*.

*Findspot:* Found in 1967 near the village under unknown circumstances.

*Contents:* Gerassimov examined only 3 coins:

- **Tiberius:** 3 D.
- Other den. of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

*Closing date:* Claudian /or Flavian?/ hoard ?

*Disposition:* Dispersed and lost.

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1969, p. 233.

**AR 22 / 133. Koynare II / 1967, Vratsa area (chart 23)\*#**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 211 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found on 28 November 1967 while digging a ditch in a garden.

*Contents:*

*Republic:* 55 den:

- Caesar: 5
- M. Antony: 17

*Imperial:* 123

- Augustus: 11
- Tiberius: 3
- Claudius: 1
- Nero: 10
- Galba: 4
- Otho: 1
- Vitellius: 6
- Vespasian: 65
- Titus: 25 (Rome, down to TRP IX IMP XV COS VII, 1 Jan.–30 June 80 AD)
- Iulia Titi: 1
- Domitian as Caesar: 10

*Closing date:* AD 80. Probably during a Dacian attack in Moesia in the autumn of 84?

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa – 200 coins, Inv. nos. 5135-5334.  
Now all stolen (since 2003).

*Comments:* Unpublished in detail.

*Reference:* mentioned by GERASSIMOV 1979, p. 135; KUNISZ 1992, pp. 128-9, no. 7; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 85.

**AV 23 / 134. Kozloduy area / <1940 (anc. Regianum), Vratsa district**

*Quantity:* A fragment of a larger *aurei* hoard.

*Findspot:* Found before 1940 near this town, no details available.

*Contents:* Gerassimov shows only 2 *aurei*:

- **Domitian Caesar, 73–early 75 AD:** 2 (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 679), both FDC, NW.

*Closing date:* Vespasianic.

*Disposition:* Dispersed and lost?

*Comments:* Unpublished

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1941, p. 283; KUNISZ 1992, p. 60.

**AR 24/ 135. Krasno Gradishte /1972-3?, Suhindol, V. Turnovo district**

*Quantity:* hoard of 3+ *denarii*

- **Mark Antony:** 1, legionary – LEG III, 1 grafitto rev, 3 b/m obv., 2.96 g. [No. 1637];
- **Tiberius:** 2 Den:
  - 1 - (RIC I, 30, ornamented), Lugdunum, 3.44 g, VW, pitted surface;
  - 1 - (RIC I, 30), 3.54 g, MW, [Nos. 1635-1636]

*Findspot:* Found mid-1970's near the village. No further data known.

*Closing date:* AD 21–37 ?

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Russe, Inv. nos. 1635-1637.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Fragment of a hoard.

**Æ 25 / 136. Lazarovo I / 1912, Kneja, Pleven district (formerly Strupen)**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of 11 AE *sestertii*

*Findspot:* Found in March 1912 by a villager in his garden while digging.

*Contents:* B. Filow reported on the following:

- Domitian: 1 S
- Trajan: 10 S (types not listed)

*Closing date:* Trajanic ?

*Disposition:* National Arch. Museum of Sofia acquired the entire hoard. No further information available.

*Comments:* Unpublished since 1912.

*References:* FILOW 1912, pp. 275-6; GEROV 1977, p. 149, no. 6; KUNISZ 1992, p. 153, no. 1.

**AR 26 / 137. Lazarovo II / 1962, Knezha, Pleven district (chart 20)**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 125 *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1962 by Mr Tz. I. Vassilovsky during digging work in a vineyard

*Contents:* Gerassimov reported on the coins according to the moneyers families.

*Republic:* 96

from Anonymous, symbol 'gryphon', 169-158 BC (Cr. 182/1)

with

- Caesar: 5
- Brutus: 2
- Mark Antony: 4
- 1 "Dacian" imitation - prototype of M. Porcius Cato (RRC 462/1), 47/6 BC.

*Imperial:*

Octavian/Augustus: 14 (2 for C. L. CAESARES, Lugdunum, 2/1 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 209).

All 1<sup>st</sup> century BC coins - very worn, uncleaned, many with banker's marks.

*Closing date:* 2 – 1 BC.

*Disposition:* Few coins were dispersed among the finders. NAM Sofia acquired almost the entire hoard – 124 pieces, inv. no. CCXIV / 1962.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Data available for study, June 2008.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1964, pp. 238-9; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 39.

**Æ 27 / 138. Lesicheri / 1910, Pavlikeni area, Veliko Tarnovo**

*Quantity:* A hoard of ca. 50 Imperial AE coins:

*Findspot:* Found in the autumn of 1910 near the village under unknown circumstances.

*Contents:* B. Filow identified 31 Æ coins, as follows:

22 S, 9 Dp: Trajan – Hadrian

- Trajan 19: 15 S, 4 Dup?
- Hadrian 12: 7 S, 5 Dup?

All coins very well preserved.

*Closing date:* Hadrianic, 117–124/8 AD?

*Disposition:* National Arch. Museum of Sofia, presumably as B. Filow noted. Unpublished.

*Reference:* FILOW, *BSAB* 2, 1911, p. 278; FILOW 1911, *AA*, col. 369; SEURE 1923, p. 18, no. 31; GEROV 1977, p. 149, no. 15; KUNISZ 1992, p. 153, no. 5.

**AR 28 / 139. Lovech area / ~1937, Lovech district**

*Quantity:* A hoard of 550+ Imperial *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1937 around the town of Lovech.

*Contents:* T. Gerassimov examined the following 67:

- Nero: 3
- Galba: 1
- Vitellius: 5
- Vespasian: 12
- Titus: 7
- Domitian: 10
- Trajan: 29, unspecified (*FDC*).

*Disposition:* Dispersed, lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV, in *BIAB* 12, 1938, p. 450; GEROV 1977, p. 149, no. 8.

**AR 29/ 140. Medovo / 1960, Stara Zagora district (*RRCH* 490), (chart 21)\***

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of 158 coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the summer of 1960 by tractor driver Mr I. Alamanski in the 'Sbor St. Iliya' locality, near the ancient gold ore mines

*Contents:* D. Nikolov identified the moneyers according to E. Sydenham's catalogue:

*Republican:* once 151 (now 149)

from

- L. Saufeius Philippus, 152 BC (*RRC* 204)

down to

- Caesar: 11
- Pompey: 6
- Mark Antony: 9
- Octavian Augustus: 13,

latest coins

- Augustus – with L. Aquilius Florus, 19-18 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 310): 1, and
- Augustus – with M. Durmius, 18 BC, Rome (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 317): 1.

Some coins are marked with punches, as can be seen from the unclear photos in D. Nikolov's work.

- Thasos imitations tetradr.: 5 (1 – Göbl, *OTA*, Klasse I,1-5 = Allen, *CECBM*, pl. 28; 1 – Klass V, 20 ; 1 – Göbl, Klasse IV; 1 – Göbl, Klasse V.19 = Dessewffy 1910, no. 845; 1- Göbl, Klasse VI, taf. 51)

*Closing date:* after 18 BC; according to M. Crawford – ca. 20/16 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. no. 2865.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1963, p. 260; NIKOLOV 1964, pp. 153-66; CRAWFORD, *RRCH* 490; PROKOPOV-MINKOVA 1998, pp. 564, 570, nos. 25-29; *IRCHBulg*, no. 116; PROKOPOV 2006, no. 178.



**AR 30/ 141. Mihaylovo / 1910** (former **Dolna Gnoynitsa**), Hayredin area, Vratsa district

*Quantity:* Hoard of ca. 1000 RRD of 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in March 1910 in the sand of a ditch near the village in the vicinity of the Ogosta river.

*Contents:* only 11 RRD examined:

1. C. Valerius Flaccus, 140 BC (RRC 228/2): 1
2. Appius Claudius Pulcher / T. Manlius, 111/0 BC (RRC 299/1a): 2, HW, banker's marks obv.
3. Uncertain type, late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (Roma hd. r./ Quadriga r.): 1, HW, illegible
4. L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC (RRC 348/2): 1, HW, banker's marks obv.
5. Q. Cassius, 55 BC (RRC 428/3): 1, 3 banker's marks obv.
6. Q. Sicinius / C. Coponius Pr., 49 BC (RRC 444/1): 1, HW
7. T. Carisius, 46 BC (RRC 464/4): 1, HW, bankers marks obv. – M, S
8. C. Cassius Longinus, early 42 BC (RRC 500/3), Smyrna: 1, worn
9. Mark Antony, 32/1 BC - LEG X (RRC 544/24): 1, HW, banker's marks obv. - V
10. Augustus, 19/8 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 120, Tarraco): 1 plated Den., VW, reddish corrosion and patination;
11. Cappadocia, king Archelaus Philopatris (36 BC–17 AD), ca. 20 BC: 1 AR drachm, Caesarea, HW (Simonetta 1977, type 2.1).

All coins very worn, including the latest issues, reddish patina (from mineral water?).

Apparently a small part of a larger hoard. Early Imperial – after Tiberius(?).

*Closing date:* According to M. H. Crawford – 55/1 BC, possibly 19/10 BC, or later.

*Disposition:* Dispersed. The NAM Sofia acquired 23 pieces; now only 11, Inv. no. XII/1910, as of June 2008.

*Comments:* Unpublished, 11 coins available for study (June 2008).

*References:* ФИЛОВ / FILOW 1910, p. 224; SEURE 1923, 11, no. 3; CRAWFORD, *CMRR*, 328, App. 54/ II; ПАУНОВ – ПРОКОПОВ 2002, *IRCHBulg*, no. 11.

**AR 31 / 142. Montana area II / 1980s**, Montana district

*Quantity:* A part of a hoard of 9+ *denarii*:

*Findspot:* Found before 1984 somewhere in the Montana district.

*Contents:* Prof. M. H. Crawford examined 9 coins of this hoard:

From

- Postumius Albinus S.f., 96 BC (Cr. 335/10)

down to

- Augustus: 2 Den:
  - 1 - CAESAR AVGVSTVS, 2 laurels, 19/8 BC, Emerita (RIC I, 33a).

*Closing date:* after 18 BC.

*Disposition:* National History Museum of Sofia, Inv. no. 3580.

*Comments:* Unpublished. MHC' personal card file, now in the British Museum, Coins & Medals Dept, courtesy of Dr Kris Lockyear, 2009.

*Reference:* CRAWFORD 1985, p. 328, App 54/II.

**AR 31 / 143. Nikyup / 1956 (anc. Nicopolis ad Istrum), V. Tarnovo district**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of 3+ *denarii* (unknown number)

*Findspot:* Found in 1956 while ploughing a vineyard near the village (east of the Nicopolis site).

*Contents:* Gerassimov examined 3 coins as follows:

- Galba 1
- Vespasian 1
- Nerva 1

Part of a larger hoard.

*Closing date:* uncertain, early Trajan???

*Disposition:* dispersed and lost

*Comments:* Not properly recorded and published.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1959, p. 358; GEROV 1977, 148, no. 1; KUNISZ 1992, 131, no. 10.

**AR 32 / 144. Ohoden 1943, Vratsa district #\***

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of ~480 *RRD* from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1943 in the 'Lukata' locality by workers while digging a quicklime pit in the playground of the new school.

*Contents:* The part in the NAIM Sofia: 250 coins -

From

- Anonymous issue, after 211 BC (RRC 44/5)  
latest coins of
- Mark Antony, 32-31 BC – 13 legionary *denarii* (all very worn; some bankers-marks);
- 1 barbarous imitation – obv. prototype Sex. Julius Caesar(?), Cr-258/1; reverse of L. Titurius Sabinus, Cr-344/2, 89 BC.
- 30 D. with banker's punches (28 on obverse side)
- Denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus, 61 BC (RRC 419/1c) is countermarked **MP. VES** [Howgego 1985, cmk 839, applied AD 74/9 at Ephesus];
- M. Aurelius et L. Verus, 161–169 AD (LEG VI, RIC III, 443): 1 D. – extraneous??

*Closing date:* Vespasianic, AD 73/4, or later – AD 166-169??

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum Sofia – 250 pieces, Inv. Nos. CXLIX/1957. A further 27 *denarii* were kept in the Museum of Vratsa, Inv. Nos. 210-222, 2897-2908, 6404-6405 (now stolen).

*Comments:* Published in 1972 under the Sydenham's system with numerous errors. Probably an associated hoard (Republican and Imperial), concealed in the Flavian period, or two different hoards mingled in Sofia museum?

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1946, p. 242; DIMITROVA-CHUDILOVA 1972a, pp. 23-31, figs. 1-6, pl. I/1-129; EADEM 1972b, pp. 41-50; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBulg*, no. 47.

**AR 33 / 145. Omarchevo / 1952, Nova Zagora area, Sliven district<sup>#</sup>**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 35+ *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in 1952 in the 'Doulare' locality in a Thracian settlement, NE of the village near the local dam.

*Contents:*

- *Republic:* 1 D. (now lost)
- Augustus: 20 [19 – for C. L. CAESARES, 2/1 BC (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 207, 209, and 212)];
  - 1 D. – 19 BC, type RIC I, 77a, Tarraco, Spain
- Tiberius: 8, all RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26, 29 and 30, struck between 14/5 and 37 AD, Lugdunum.

*Closing date:* AD 21–37. Most probably in 21 or 26? - during the Thracian revolt, suppressed by the Romans.

*Disposition:* Municipal History Museum of Nova Zagora – these 28 coins, Inv. No. 1176 /1-28. Clay pot – inv. no. A-6371.

*Comments:* Now published.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1955, p. 604; GERASSIMOV 1957, p. 324; ИГНАТОВ / IGNATOV 2008, pp. 158-163.

**AR+AE 34 / 146. Plovdiv area / 1981, Plovdiv district**

A hoard of over 100 coins - AE of Rhoemetalces II and *denarii* of Tiberius.

*Findspot:* Found 1981 somewhere in the Plovdiv region.

*Contents:* Youroukova examined 19 coins as follows:

- Rhoemetalces II (and Pythodoris) with Tiberius: 14 – AE20mm (RPC I, 1721)
- Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris: 4 – AE18?mm (RPC I, 1718?)
- Tiberius: 1 D., PONTIF MAXIM, NW or LW (along with 6 other found)

*Burial:* ca.19-26 AD

*Disposition:* Once in a private collection, Plovdiv, lost?

*Reference:* Y. YOUROUKOVA 1983, p. 114.

**AE 35 / 147. Plovdiv environs / 1987, Plovdiv district**

Part of a dispersed AE hoard:

*Contents:* 11 AEs, all corroded and damaged:

- **Rhoemetalces I and Augustus:** 3 AE24 mm, unspecified type;

- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37/8 AD:** 1 AE as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 32), Rome, 28x29 mm, VW
- **Claudius, 41-54 AD:** 6 AE asses (26-28 mm), Rome/?/, unspecified;
- **Nero, ca. 65/7 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 312 or 543), Rome/Lugdunum, unspecified.

*Burial:* ca. 65–68 AD

*Findspot:* Found in 1987 somewhere southwest of the town of Plovdiv.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. now. 5480-5491, 11 coins altogether, acquired in December 1987.

*Comments:* Unpublished, partial information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

### **AR 36 / 148. Popovo / 1939, Bolyarovo area, Jambol district**

*Quantity:* Mixed pot hoard of many Roman denarii of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC - 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD

*Findspot:* Found in 1939 in the 'Popovo' locality while ploughing a field

*Contents:* Gerassimov gave a brief report on 239 *denarii*:

- *Republican:* 1 [?]
- *Imperial:* 238
  - Tiberius: 1
  - Nero: 7
  - Otho: 3
  - Vitellius: 2
  - Vespasian: 56
  - Titus: 28
  - Domitian: 83
  - Nerva: 18
  - Trajan: 38 (LW, well preserved)
  - *Incertum* – 1 (Vesp/ Dom)

*Closing date:* AD 109-112

*Disposition:* NAM Sofia acquired 237 coins, inv. no. CXXII/ 1940.

*Comments:* Unpublished, a brief record of coin types available for study (June 2008). Remainder was dispersed.

*References:* GERASSIMOV, 1940, p. 344; GEROV, 1977, 149, no. 10; BOLIN 1958, p. 341, Table 3, no. 8.

### **AR 37 / 149. Pravoslav / 1960, Brezovo area, Stara Zagora district (RRCH 520)**

*Quantity:* Pot hoard of 58+ *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in the summer of 1960 by tractor driver P. Petrov in the 'Merata' locality, 6 km along the road from the village of Pravoslav to Medovo, while ploughing.

*Contents:* Dr D. Nikolov identified all 58 coins according to Sydenham's catalogue:

*Republic:* 24, from

- L. Papius, 79 BC (Syd. 773 = RRC 384/1)  
down to
- Caesar: 4
- Sex. Pompey: 1
- Mark Antony: 3
- Octavian/Augustus: 24,  
latest issues of
- Augustus - with Caius Caesar, 9/8 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 199), Lugdunum.

Some coins are punch-marked, as can be seen from the unclear photographs in D. Nikolov's article (*op.cit.*, pp. 176-178)

*Closing date:* 9/8 BC

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. No. 3513.

*Comments:* Published. Compare the hoard from the village of Medovo (see cat. no **140**).

*References:* GERASSIMOV 1963, p. 261; НИКОЛОВ / NIKOLOV 1964, pp. 153, 166-172; RODEWALD 1976, p. 146, table 1, no. 10; ПРОКОРОВА-МИНКОВА, *Stara Zagora*, 564; *IRRCHBg* no. 52.

**AR 38 / 150. Prelez / 1926, Kubrat area (formerly Junuzlar), Razgrad district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of ca. 600 Roman denarii from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> century AD

*Findspot:* Found in 1926 by a villager while ploughing in the vicinity of the village

*Contents:* N. Mouchmov examined 388 coins, in the possession of Dr B. Nikolov, then a bank officer in the town of Razgrad:

*Republic:* 79 coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (all very worn)

- Caesar: 6
- M. Antonius: 1, etc.

*Imperial:* 302

from

- Claudius: 7
- Nero: 18
- Galba: 5
- Otho: 7
- Vitellius: 10
- Vespasian: 205
- Titus: 6
- Iulia Titi: 6
- Domitian: 29 (most NW)
- Nerva: 1 (*FDC*)

*Closing date:* 96/8? AD

*Disposition:* Once in a private collection, later dispersed and lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* MOUCHMOV 1927, p. 325; GEROV 1977, p. 148, no. 2; BOLIN 1958, p. 339, Table 2; KUNISZ 1992, 129, no. 8; *IRRCHBg* no. 95.

**AR 39 / 151. Prevala / 1933?, Chiprovtsi, Montana district**

*Quantity:* A hoard of *denarii* – unknown number.

*Findspot:* Found in 1932/3 in the ‘Gradishki Venets’ hill locality, NE of the village, where an early Roman fort existed. Along the upper reaches of the Ogosta river.

*Contents:* only one examined:

- Galba, AD 68/9: 1 D. (unspecified)

*Closing date:* uncertain, Flavian ?

*Disposition:* NAIM Sofia – this coin only as noted. Unpublished.

*Reference:* GERASSIMOV 1934, p. 468; GEROV 1977, p. 173, no. 339.

**AR 40 / 152. Provadiya I / 1910s, Varna district**

*Quantity:* A hoard of 10+ *RRD* from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1910/2 in a field, some 0.5 km west of Provadiya, near the modern road to the village of Krivnya

*Contents:* M. Mirchev examined only 5 *RRD*:

- L. Furius Cn. f. Brocchus, 63 BC (RRC 414/1): 1
- M. Aemilius Scaurus / P. Plautius Hypsaeus, 58 BC (RRC 422/1a): 1
- C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1): 1
- M. Antonius Imp / C. Caesar Octavian, 41 BC (RRC 517/2): 1
- Augustus, 10 BC (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 193 - IMP XII), Lugdunum: 1

*Closing date:* after 10 BC

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum of Dulgopol, as noted by the late M. Mirchev

*References:* / MIRCHEV, “Trésors monétaires de la région de Varna”, *BulNatMusVarna* 7 (=22), Varna 1971, 190-191, no. 3; *IRRCHBg* no. 53.

**AR 41 / 153. Russe area I / 1952, Russe district**

*Quantity:* A hoard of *denarii* – unknown number.

*Findspot:* Found before November 1952, somewhere in the Russe region.

*Contents:* 8 coins preserved:

*Republic* : 5 D

from

- L. Proculus F., 80 BC (RRC 379/2), serratus, 3.62g, VW, scratch [No. 1205]

- Petillius Capitolinus, 43 BC, RRC 487/2a, 3.17g, VW, 1 b/m rev. patina [No. 1202]
- C. Postumius, 74 BC, 3.79g, 2 b/ms obv., MW [1203]
- M. Aemilius Scaurus / L. Plautius Hypsaeus, 58 BC, 3.75g, VW [1204]
- C. Memmius C. f., 56 BC, 3.74g, bent, scratch, VW [1206]

Down to

- Augustus: DIVVS – IVLIVS, comet, 19/8 BC, 3.73 g, scratches, VW [1208]
- Augustus - IMP X, bull r. (RIC I, 167a), 15-13 BC, 3.72g, MW [No. 1207]
- Augustus for C L CAESARES, 2/1 BC, Lugdunum (RIC I, 208-212?), MW, plated, 3.20g, hit on rev.field, patina.

*Closing date:* Augustan, the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Russe, Inv. nos. 1202-1209, acquired in 1952 from Mr T. Dobrev.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mr D. Dragoev, Russe museum, May 2011.

**AR 42 / 154. Sadievo / 1968, Nova Zagora area, Sliven district\*#**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of silver coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1968 in the 'Kadubunar' locality near the village

*Contents:* Republican: 161 (was 167):

from

- L. Antestius Gragulus, 136 BC (Syd. 451 = RRC 238/1)

down to

- Pompey: 3
- Caesar: 23
- Brutus-Cassius: 2
- Mark Antony: 5
- Octavian/Augustus: 43,

latest issues of

- Augustus: 1 D., IMP XII, 11/10 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 180), Lugdunum;

Not identified / *incerta*: 7 RRD

Greek: 2:

- Macedonia First Meris barbarous imitation: 1 AR tetradr.
- Thrace, Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 12–10 BC: 1 AR dr., 3.98g, struck Byzantium (Schoenert-Geiss 1972, nos. 1302-1305; RPC I, 1775).

*Closing date:* 11/10 BC. Professor M. H. Crawford suggested ca. 15/10 BC.

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum of Nova Zagora, 161 pieces kept, Inv. nos. 2005-2008.

*Comments:* Published. Further information from Mr V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora Museum

References: YOUROUKOVA 1972, 32-8, pls. I, 1-86, figs. 1-2; GERASSIMOV 1979, p. 136; PROKOPOV 1994, 10; *IRRCHBg* no. 126.

**AR 43 / 155. Sheynovo / 1960s, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 5+ early Imperial *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960's in the 'Kamenlivata Mogila' locality near the village.

*Contents:*

- **Domitian:** 1 D, AD 92/3 (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 739), Rome, 17 mm [no. 3994]
- **Trajan:** 4 D:
  - - 1 D., ca. AD 106-7 (RIC II, 187-189? = Woytek 2010, 220), 18x19 mm [no. 3997];
  - - 1 D, ca. AD 110 (RIC II, 142 = Woytek 2010, no. 285), 16x17 mm [no. 3995];
  - - 1 D. (RIC II, - unspecified), Rome, 18x19mm [no. 3996];
  - - 1 D. (RIC II,? - unspecified), Rome, 18mm [no. 3998].

*Closing date:* Trajanic hoard, after AD 110.

*Disposition:* Municipal History Museum of Kazanluk, 5 pieces kept, Inv. Nos. 3994–3998.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs. M. Parvin, Kazanluk Museum, 2011.

**AR 44 / 156. Shumen area / 1970s, Shumen district (chart 24)**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 83 *RRD* of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970's at an unknown site in the Shumen region.

*Contents:* From-

- Anonymous, 206-195 BC (RRC 113/1, symbol star)  
down to
  - Caesar:
  - Mark Antony: 3
  - Octavian/Augustus: 3, latest issue of 19/8 BC (BMC 323 = RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 37a), Emerita, Spain;
- along with:
- 'Dacian' imitations: 2 D., 1 – Obv. prototype RRC 318/1? and 1 - L. Sentius, (RRC 325/1), 101 BC;
  - Hybrid imitation: 1 d, obv. prototype RRC 244/1 (134 BC) / Rev. RRC 283/1b (118/7 BC).

*Closing date:* after 19/8 BC

*Comments:* Published, additional information from Dr Z. Zhekova, Shumen Museum.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Shumen, ex Dr Vasil Haralanov collection, inv. no. BX.133.1, listed in 1978.



Reference: PROKOPOV – VLADIMIROVA-ALADJOVA 1998, *Shumen*, pp. 27-33, nos. 1-82; PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2002, *IRRCHBg*, 65.

**AR 45 / 157. 'Sofia Airport' / 2000 (chart 25)**

*Quantity:* hoard of 199+ *denarii* of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found somewhere in the Vratsa / Montana/ Pleven regions. Seized by custom authorities in an illicit export attempt at Sofia airport, November 2000.

*Contents:*

From

- *Furius Purpurio*, 169-158 BC (RRC 187/1),
- *Caesar*: 16
- *Sextus Pompey*: 1
- *Mark Antony*: 6
- *Octavian Augustus*: 25

latest issues of

- *Augustus*: 12 for C. L. CAESARES, 2-1 BC (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 207-212), Lugdunum.

Many with banker's marks; damaged during discovery.

*Closing date:* probably late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

*Disposition:* National Museum of History, Sofia, inv. numbers N/A.

*Comments:* Unpublished, data examined and recorded by I. Prokopov and E. Paunov, December 2000.

**AE+AR 46 / 158. Strashimir / 1971, Zlatograd area, Smolyan district<sup>#</sup> (CH IV, 79)**

*Quantity:* A pot hoard of 26 coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1971 by Mr I. Kadiyski in the roots of an old nut-tree near the village

*Contents:*

*Greek:* 24:

- *Thasos*: 24 AE late bronzes (of 2 different types /SNG Cop. 1050; 1057 ff./, few countermarked with 'bucranium')

*Republic:* 2 D:

- *L. Cosconius M. f.*, 118 BC (RRC 282/2): 1 *serratus* (3.72 g, 19x19 mm, mid-worn) and
- *Augustus*: 1 D. for C. L. CAESARES, Lugdunum, 2/1 BC (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 207-212?), (lost, extraneous?)

*Burial:* According to V. Naydenova should be associated particularly with the march of M. Licinius Crassus against the *Bessi* in 29/8 BC. Prof. M. Crawford suggested 5-1 BC.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Smolyan – these 24 coins, Inv. nos. 646-652, 693; 1296-1308.

*Comments:* Published.

*References:* YOUROUKOVA 1977, 69; V. NAJDENOVA, “Au sujet de monnaies en bronze thasiennes”, *Studia V. Beshevliev* (Sofia 1978), 350-362; PROKOPOV, *Smoljan*, 11, 21, figs. 15-22; now FILIPOVA - PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – TENCHOVA - PROKOPOV 2011, *Smoyan II*, nos. 1165-1187.

### **AR 47 / 159. Jambol area / 1979, Jambol district**

*Quantity:* Hoard of 4+ early Imperial *denarii*

*Findspot:* Found in the late 1970's at an unknown location in the region.

*Contents:*

- **Vespasian:** 1 D, 75 AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 772), Rome, 20 mm, MW [No. 2924]
- **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar:** 1 D, 75 AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 788), Rome 20 mm, LW [No. 2925]
- **Nerva:** 1 D, January 98 AD (RIC II, 48), Rome, 20 mm, 3.11 g, LW [No. 2926]
- **Trajan:** 1 D, 103-107 AD (Woytek 2010, 185, or 189-191 /S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI/), Rome, 20 mm, LW [No. 2929].

*Closing date:* Trajanic hoard, *after* 103–107 AD.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Jambol, Inv. nos. 2924–2929, acquired in 1979.

*Comments:* Examined by E. Paunov, courtesy of Mr S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010. To be published in PAUNOV 2012a /in press/.

### **AR 48 / 160. 'Zverino' / 2001, Mezdra, Vratsa district (chart 26)<sup>#\*</sup>**

*Quantity:* A pot? hoard of 503 *denarii* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD

*Findspot:* Found in unknown circumstances, most probably somewhere in the nearby Vratsa/Pleven regions.

*Contents:* A total of 503 were examined:

*Republic:* 343 D. (many b/marked)

From

- Anonymous - symbol 'star', 206-195 BC (Cr. 113/1)
- Cn. Pompey: 8
- Caesar: 39
- Brutus - Cassius: 4
- Sextus Pompey: 3
- Ahenobarbus: 1
- Mark Antony: 17 (only 1 legionary LEG XI)

latest issues of

- Augustus: 66, down to issues for C. L. CAESARES, 2/1 BC: 3 Den.

Non-Roman issues:

- 'Dacian' imitation: 1 D. of rev. Cr. 364/1, after 83 BC;
- Numidia, Juba I, 60-46 BC: 3 AR drachms (*SNG Cop.* 523).

*Closing date:* probably the very beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD

*Disposition:* Seized by the police authorities in July 2001; examined and photographed by I. Prokopov and E. Paunov. Encrustation corresponds to a pot hoard. In 2002 after examination and prosecution coins were returned to the owner – a coin dealer of Sofia. No doubt it was dispersed in trade.

*Comments:* Unpublished, prepared for publication, PAUNOV – PROKOPOV 2013 /in print/.

A characteristic military hoard of the mid-Augustan period – the establishment Moesia as a separate region. Many rare issues, plus 3 *denarii* of Juba I.

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## 14.6. Stray and Site Finds

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### 14.6.1. Notes on Use

#### LEGEND – DISTRIBUTION OF THE SITE FINDS

The following typological division of available evidence was designed for each entry according to its find-spot/ archaeological context:

1. Military site (legionary camp, auxiliary fort, etc) – abbreviation **M**
2. Civil site (settlements, *villae*, farms) – abbreviation **C**
3. Production centre (bricks, tiles, pottery, lime) – abbreviation **P**
4. Roadside (along ancient roads, stations, pass) – abbreviation **R**
5. Votive / ritual (sanctuaries, temples, baths, spa) – abbreviation **V**
6. Funerary (burials, tombs as 'Charron's obol') – abbreviation **F**
7. Extraneous (in earlier / later settlement, fills) – abbreviation **E**
8. Uncertain/ unspecified (not identified or not clear) – abbreviation **U**.

Despite the other existing records of single coins of the early Imperial period in museums and sites throughout Bulgaria (for instance – those listed in the A. Kunisz' book (Katowice 1992), 133-142), this *thesis* incorporates only those coins which have been checked or confirmed by the author, by reliable data, photos and/or publications in the course of this research.

All coins are found in the territory of Republic of Bulgaria, unless otherwise stated at the entry header.

**161. Altimir, Byala Slatina area, Vratsa region**

– U

Single *RRdenarii* – unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960's during the construction of the spring 'Stublata', 4 km SE of the village in the ruins of ancient buildings.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vratsa, or lost?

*Reference:* Б. НИКОЛОВ / NIKOLOV, *BIA* 29 (Sofia 1966), 216-217.

**162. Archar (anc. Ratiaria), Vidin region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins – a group of 121 AE from the mid-1960s:

1. **Augustus - for M. Maecinius Tullus, 7 BC:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 435), Rome, 22 mm, MW [no. 464/1]
2. **Claudius – for Agrippina Senior, 41-50 AD:** Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 103), Rome, 28 mm, HW [no. 464/2];
3. **Nero:** Æ unspecified
4. **Vespasian:** Æ unspecified
5. **Domitian, 81-96? AD:** Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found in 1976-1982, in the locality 'Kaletu' west from the village during the Bulgarian-Italian excavation of Ratiaria – west city wall sector. Coins nos. 1–2 – from an earlier find at Archar of the mid-1960's.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vidin, inv. no. 464, etc.

*Reference:* BOŠKOVA 1984, p. 105; БОЖКОВА / BOŠKOVA 1986, pp. 42-45, fig. 1/ 1-2, nos. 1-2. = BOZKOVA 1987, 97-110. Cf. comments in A. KUNISZ 1992, pp. 163-164; and АТАНАСОВА / ATANASSOVA 1995, pp. 70 and 80, notes 52-53.

**163. Asenovgrad, Plovdiv district**

– U

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Augustus, 27 BC–14 AD:** 1 D, unspecified;
2. **Vespasian, 71 AD:** Æ Sest, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 98) COS III/ PAX AVGVSTI, Rome, MW.
3. **Vespasian, 71 AD:** Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 51) IVDAEA CAPTA, Rome, MW, 32 mm [found before April 1911, now Plovdiv, no. 220]

*Findspot:* Found in 1960 in and around the town.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Asenovgrad.

*Reference:* Mentioned by K. ZHUGLEV – KALUDOVA, *Archaeologija* 3.1 (Sofia 1962), pp. 42-43, fig.19a.

**164. Babyak, Belitsa area, Blagoevgrad region**

– V

Single pieces of *RRD* and early Imperial *denarii*:

1. **L. Flaminius Chilo, 109/8 BC** (RRC 302/1), Rome, worn;
2. **C. Hosidius C.f. Geta, 64 BC** (RRC 407/2), Rome, worn, porous [no. 12866]
3. **P. Accoleius Lariscolus, 41 BC** (RRC 486/1), Rome, worn;

4. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC - legionary** LEG VII (RRC 544/20), Patrae? Mint, MW
5. **Augustus, 19/8 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 33a), Emerita, Spain, VW, porous, 1 b/m on obv: **D** [no. 12867].

*Findspot:* Found in 1994/5 and 2008 seasons during archaeological excavation of the Thracian sanctuary on the peak 'Babyashka chuka' /='Babyak hill'/ (~1640-1650m) in the Western Rhodopes, 12 km NE from Belitsa, 3 km N from the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Blagoevgrad, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Now published.

*Reference:* see ФИЛИПОВА – ПРОКОПОВ / FILIROVA – PROKOPOV 2008, pp. 165, 171-172.

### **165. Balchik (anc. *Dionysopolis*), Varna region**

– E

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Tiberius – for Drusus Minor, 22-23 BC:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 45) Rome, 28x29 mm, 9.53 g, pierced, VW [Balchik, no. 331].

*Findspot:* Found 2007/8 during archaeological excavation of the Hellenistic temple of *Kybele Pontia* in central Balchik. Fill, extraneous to the site.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Balchik, inv. no. 331.

*Comments:* Now published. Information from Mr I. Lazarenko, Varna museum, June 2011.

*Reference:* see LAZARENKO ET ALII (Thessaloniki 2010), p. 37.

### **166. Banevo I - (Ajtoski mineralni bani)/ 1910 (*Aquae Calidae*), Burgas region**

– V

Single Greek, Thracian, Republican and early Imperial coins as votive offerings:

**Roman Republic:** 32 D, unspecified;

- **Augustus:** 265 Æ, unspecified [plus 1 Æ ass in Burgas, no. 1197],
- **Tiberius:** 3 Æ, unspecified (incl. Livia: 1)
- **Caligula:** 65 Æ, unspecified, including:
  - Mark Agrippa:** 53 Æ Asses
  - Germanicus:** 8 Æs, of them
    - **Philadelphia Lydiae:** 1 Æ17 mm (RPC I, 3024; Gerassimov 1966, 216-217), 4.20 g., 17 mm.
- **Claudius:** 236 Æ unspecified [plus 3 Æ in Burgas, nos. 203, 1101 and 1196], , including:
  - Agrippina Senior:** 5 Æ
  - Antonia:** 2 Æ
  - Nero Drusus:** 2 Æ

**Britannicus, ca. AD 51-54:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, p. 130; von Kaenel 1984, p. 130, No. B4, fig. 4), Perinthus/?, 27.14 g, 35 mm, 6h, MW (Berlin, no. 18202639).

**Agrippina Minor:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 103; von Kaenel 1984, p. 141, Abb. 25) MW, Perinthus/?, 28.81 g, 6h (Berlin, no. 683/1912).

- **Nero:** 13 Æ unspecified, including:
  - **Octavia, ca. AD 54-59,** Perinthus: 1 Æ 25mm (RPC I, 1755; now Plovdiv, no. 236)
- **Vespasian:** 7 unspecified.
- **Nerva:** 2 Æ, unspecified.
- **Trajan:** 8 Æ, unspecified.

Late Thracian:

- **Sadala II, ca. 48-42 BC:** 3 Æ (*SNG BM Black Sea* 314)
- **Rhaescuporis I and Cotys IV, ca. 48-42 BC:** 1 Æ (*RPC I*, 1702-1703?)
- **Rhoemetalces I, with Augustus, ca. 11 BC – AD 12:** 183 Æs,
  - in Plovdiv: **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus:** 1 Æ 22 (*RPC I*, 1709), 22 mm, with monogram **PAK** obv., MW [Plovdiv, No. 234, acquired October 1911];
  - in Burgas: **Rhoemetalces and Augustus:** 1 Æ 22 (*RPC* 1712), 22 mm, 10.37 g., corroded [Burgas, no. 319, acquired 1912];
- **Rhoemetalces III, with Gaius, ca. AD 38-45/6:** 3 Æ (*RPC I*, 1724).

Including 191 Æ not identified, unspecified 1<sup>st</sup> century coins and 22 Æ halves (not listed)

= TOTAL: 852 coins.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, inv. numbers N/A; Plovdiv Museum - few; Berlin Numismatic Cabinet – 30+ (1 Nero den, 29 - Æ).

*Reference:* Unpublished, listed by FILOW, *JDAI* 26, AA 1911, col. 352-354; FILOW / ФИЛОВ 1910, pp. 216-217; see also STRACK 1912, *AMNG* 2,1, 206, note 4; RODEWALD 1976, p. 57, n. 444.

## 2. Eleven halves of Æ coins:

- Æ 26 mm – **Caius Sosius/?/ - for Mark Antony, Cilicia, ca. 38 BC** [Rev. Fiscus, sella quaestoria and hasta, Q below], halved (=RPC I, 5409, p. 715; Grant, *FITA*, 13-19, attributed to a Macedonian mint – Caesar or Brutus?) [No. 4, fig. 1/3].
- **Augustus:** 6 Æs:
  - 2 Æ halves (25-26 mm) – **Pergamum, ca. 25-23 BC** asses type RIC I, 486 [Nos. 2-3];
  - 1 Æ 25mm – **Dium, ca. 25 BC – for C. Herennius / L. Titucius Ilviri Qvin** (RPC I, 1531; *FITA* 282), [No. 1];
  - 1 Æ 23 mm - **Amphipolis** (RPC I, 1629), countermarked twice - , VW [No. 5; fig. 1/4];
  - 1 Æ 23 mm - **Amphipolis** (RPC I, 1627), MW [No. 6; fig. 1/5];
  - 1 Æ 28 mm - **Thessalonica** (RPC I, 1561), VW, [No. 8; not ill.].

- **Claudius?**, ca. 41-54 AD: 1 Æ24 mm - **Philippi** (RPC I, 1653), half, MW [No. 7, fig. 1/6].

*Findspot:* Found 1910 while cleaning of the mineral water spring and piping - more than 3,000 coins were collected in the sediment mud.

*Comments:* B. Filow reported on 22 halves but that paper of Gerassimov treats only 11.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, inv. numbers N/A.

*Reference:* Halves: GERASSIMOV 1955, pp. 579-581, fig. 1.

### **167. Banevo II - Burgaski mineralni bani / 1994 (Aquae Calidae), Burgas region**

Single pieces of *RRC* and early Imperial coins from a sacred mineral spring: – V

#### Republic:

- **C. Egnatuleius C. f.**, 97 BC (RRC 333/1): 1 Quin, Rome, 1.89 g, patinated [no. A-1704]
- **Mn. Acilius Glabrio**, 49 BC (RRC 442/1a): 1 D, Rome
- **C. Iulius Caesar**, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1): 1 D., Narbo Gaul mint, 3.86 g, deformed, 2 b/ms [no. A-1703];
- **Mark Antony**, 32/1 BC - **legionary** LEG XIII (RRC 544/27), Patrae, corroded, 3.66g, [no. A-2305];

#### Imperial/Provincial:

- **Augustus:** 8 Æs: 1 S, 1 Dup. and 6 Asses – all Pergamum [nos. A-1718 – 1725];
- **Augustus – Parium, Mysia, ca. 12 BC:** 1 Æ 22mm (RPC I, 2263), 6.31g., MW, corroded [Nessebur, inv. no. 27/2009, acquired 2002];
- **Augustus with M. Agrippa, Nemausus, ca. 9/8–3 BC:** 1 Æ Dup (RPC I, 523-525?)
- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa:** 2 Asses [nos. A-1710 and 1711]
- **Claudius:** 5 Æ: 1 Dp, 4 Asses: 4 Rome and 1 imitation [nos. A-1705 – 1709]
- **Nero – for Poppaea Sabina, 63-65 AD, Perinthus:** 1? Æ 25mm (RPC I, 1756).

#### Thracian:

- **Cotys III (ca. 57–48 BC):** 1 Æ (12 mm; type Jouroukova 1992, 142-143), 1.35g, [no. A-1712];
- **Rhoemetalces I, with Augustus, ca. 11 BC – AD 12:** 24 Æ (RPC I, 1704 /9 coins/ and 1708-1711 /15 coins/);
- **Imitation of Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, after ca. AD 10-12:** 1 Æ (type RPC I 1718), south Thrace?, 18mm, 4.86g, corrosion [Nessebar, no. 27 / 2009];
- **Rhoemetalces II, with Tiberius, ca. 19-36 AD:** 13 Æ (RPC I, 1721).

*Findspot:* Found in 1994 during the renovation works of the head of mineral spring along with more than 300 silver and bronze coins, rings, etc.



*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Burgas, inv. nos. A-1703–1725, 2302 and 2305, enlisted in 1996.

*Comments:* Information from Professor I. Karayotov, 2000, 2010; and Dr M. Gyuzelev, Burgas museum, October 2010. Examined by the author, August 2011.

*Reference:* КИАСКИНА – КАРАЙОТОВ 1997, pp. 129-130; КАРАЙОТОВ – КИЯШКИНА – ГОСПОДИНОВ / KARAYOTOV – KIYASHKINA – GOSPODINOV 2000, pp. 27-33, fig. at p. 32.

**168. Banevo III / 1960s (Aquae Calidae), Burgas region** – **M?**

Single piece of early Imperial coin:

- **Augustus, ca. 27-25 BC:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 501; RPC 2233) Pergamum, 25.31g, 24x25 mm, MW, patinated [no. A-2733].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960's in the vineyards during vintage, some 1 km east of the village.

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Burgas, Inv. no. A-2733, donation, 1981.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Dr M. Gyuzelev, Burgas museum, August 2011.

**169. Baykal (anc. Palatiolum?), Pleven region** – **M**

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula, AD 37-38:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 27 mm, 10.36 mm, MW, light corrosion [No. 1159].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960's near the village, formerly at the school collection.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. no.

*Comments:* Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.

*Reference:* KUNICZ 1992, p. 134.

**170. Baykalsko, Radomir area, Pernik region** – **V**

Single site pieces of *RRD*:

- some **10 Republican denarii**, unspecified types of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (unlisted).

*Findspot:* Found in the period 1985-1992 in the locality 'Gradishteto', 1.5 km SE of village, within the Thracian sanctuary of Zeus and Hera, known as the "Tchokljovo blato"/ swamp'.

*Disposition:* Dispersed, unknown.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by D.Y. Dimitrov in the period 1985-1992.

*Reference:* И. ПРОКОПОВ / ПРОКОРОВ 1987, p. 119, note 97.

**171. Borovan, Byala Slatina, Vratsa region** – **E**

Single Republican denarius:

- **Atilius Saranus, 155 BC** (Cr. 199/1), MW, no further data.

*Findspot:* Found in 2010 during regular excavation of a Neolithic settlement in the locality 'Ezeroto' on the bank of a small creek, 3 km north from the village.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr G. Ganetsovski, Vratsa museum.

*Reference for site:* GANETZOVSKI, in *AOR Reports for 2010* (Sofia 2011), pp. 90-93.

### **172. Belashtitsa Rhodopi, Plovdiv region**

– U

Single find of Early Imperial coin:

- **Domitian, 88/9 AD - Philippopolis:** Æ 35mm (RPC II, 351), 35 mm, MW [No. 145, acquired 1910].

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. no. 145.

*Findspot:* Found in 1910 at unknown find spot near the village.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

### **173. Belchin, Samokov area, Sofia region**

– C

Single early Imperial and Provincial coins:

- **colonia Philippi – under Trajan/?:** Æ 17 mm (RPC I 1651, p.308), 16x17 mm, 3.25 g. MW, patinated [Field no. 194a/2010]
- **Trajan, 98/9 AD:** Æ As (RIC II, 402), Rome, 25x26 mm, 7.30 g, VW, light corrosion [Field No. 14/ 2009].

*Findspot:* Found in 2009-2010 during archaeological excavation of a late Roman fort (4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century AD) on the St. Spas ridge, W of the village.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Samokov, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Information from Mr V. Hadzhiangelov, Samokov museum, examined by E. Paunov.

### **174. Belene (anc. *Dimum*), Pleven region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **M. Lepidus and Octavian, 42 BC:** 1 AR Den (RRC 495/2a), Italian mint, 17 mm (Svishtov, inv. no. 108, donation 1927, stolen 1969);
2. **Caligula - for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 28 mm, 11.29 g, MW [Pleven, no. 3150];
3. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 4 Æs: 2 Dup (1 Dup for Antonia; RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 92?, Svishtov no. 394?);  
2 Asses (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 113 and 116), Rome, 30 and 27 mm (Svishtov, nos. 106, 107 (donation 1927));
4. **Vespasian, 76:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 894), Rome, 27 mm, MW (Svishtov, no. 109, donation 1927);
5. **Domitian, AD 82:** Æ As, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 110-114?) Rome, 27 mm (Svishtov, no. 376).

*Findspot:* Found in 1927/1935 by chance in the town of Belene.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Svishtov and Pleven, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Most unpublished, only mentioned by Kunisz, information from Mr M. Marinov, Svishtov museum.

*Reference:* KUNISZ 1992, p. 134.

### 175. Belene area, Pleven region

– U

Single RRD

*Findspot:* Found in 2002 at a Roman site near Belene.

- **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1), Narbo Gaul mint, MW.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pleven

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr BT, Pleven. Examined by E. Paunov, August 2002.

### 176. Byala Cherkva, Pavlikeni area, Veliko Tarnovo region

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, 73/4 AD:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 658?), MW, 27mm [Plovdiv, no. 2518].

*Findspot:* Found in the late-1960's in the locality 'Selishteto', some 3 km southeast from the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2518, acquired 1969.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

### 177. Blagoevgrad, Blagoevgrad district

– U

Single pieces of Republican and early Imperial coins:

1. **C. Scribonius, 154 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 201/1), Rome, 17 mm; 3.88 g, HW [no. 12642];
2. **Sex. Pompeius Fostlus, 136 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 235/1c), Rome, 18 mm; 3.88 g, VW, pierced [no. 11040];
3. **Cn. Lucretius Trio, 136 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 237/1a), Rome, 18 mm; 3.50 g, VW, 2 bankers' marks obv. [no. 11041];
4. **Q. Minucius Rufus, 122 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 277/1), Rome, 18 mm, 3.50 g, MW [no. 11280];
5. **M. Sergius Silus, 116-115 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 286/1), Rome, 17x18 mm, 3.68 g, pierced. [no. 12644];
6. **Ap. Claudius Pulcher, T. Manlius Mancius and Q. Urbinius, 111 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 299/1a), Rome, 17x18 mm; 3.65 g, pierced [no. 286];
7. **L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 316/1), Rome, 18/20 mm; 3.40 g, VW, pierced [no. 287];
8. **L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 316/1), Rome, 17 mm; 3.78 g, MW, control mark: C [no. 11232];
9. **L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 316/1), Rome, 18 mm; 3.88 g, LW, control mark: L. [no. 11287];
10. **C. Vibius Pansa, 90 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 342/5b), Rome, 17x20 mm; 3.41 g, pierced [no. 288];

11. **Anonymous – for Gargilius, Ogulnius, and Vergilius, 86 BC:** 1 AR Den (RRC 350A/2), Rome, 18/19 mm; 3.64 g, mid-worn, b/m obv: **V**. [no. 12588];
12. **A. Postumius A.f. Sp. n. Albinus, 81 BC:** 1 Den serratus (RRC 372/2), Rome, 18x19 mm; 3.49 g, VW [no. 12589];
13. **M. Volteius M.f., 78 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 385/2), Rome, 15x16 mm, 3.77 g, MW [no. 12626];
14. **L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, 62 BC:** 1 AR Den (RRC 415/1), Rome, 17x18 mm; 3.86 g, VW. Inv. no. 11278];
15. **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 443/1), Narbo Gaul, 17 mm; 3.39 g, MW, patinated. [no.: 12645];
16. **T. Carisius, 46 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 464/3c), Rome, 16 mm; 3.69 g, MW [no.: 12643];
17. **Augustus – for C. L. Caesares, ca.2-1 BC,** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207) Lugdunum, 15/17 mm; 3.47 g, very worn, pierced. [no. 12646];
18. **Tiberius, ca.16-35 AD:** 1 Den (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 30), Lugdunum, 17 mm; 3.62 g, MW [Blagoevgrad, no. 12895], [from Gotse Delchev area]
19. **Nero, 64-65 AD:** 1 Den (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 45), Rome, 18 mm, 3.43 g, MW [no. ...?]
20. **Vespasian – for Titus, 76 AD:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 908), Rome, 23.64 g, 32 mm, MW [no. 11096];
21. **Vespasian, 77-78 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 1003), Rome, 10.10 g, 24/25 mm, MW [no. 11103];
22. **Vespasian, 79 AD:** 1 Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1062), Rome, 3.87 g, 18/19 mm, MW, [no. 12727];
23. **Nerva, 97 AD:** Æ Sest (RIC II, 86), 23.19 g, 30/31 mm, VW, corroded [no. 11334].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960-1980's, no precise provenance known but from the area and region of Blagoevgrad.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Blagoevgrad, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs. M. Andonova, May 2011.

### 178. Borino, Smolyan region [

– F

Single *RRD* of 1st century BC

- **P. Accoleius Lariscolus, 41 BC** (RRC 486/1), plated, 19x20 mm, 3.10 g [No. 584]

*Findspot:* Found in 1988 in a grave during archaeological excavation of a Roman cemetery in the 'Izvora'/'Kabata' locality near the village. Burial mound No. 6, in clay pot.

At the same site a few bronze issues of Philippi under Claudius (= *RPC* I, 1646-1651?) have also been found, as well as many Roman Imperial coin issues from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Smolyan, Inv. no. 584.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* KISSJOV 1999, p. 48; PROKOPOV, *Smoljan*, 13-14, 54, figs. 169; see now I. PROKOPOV – PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – FILIPOVA – TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan Museum* (=CCCHBulg. III), Sofia 2011, no. 1196.

### 179. Botevo, Tundzha area, Jambol region

– U

Single early Imperial denarius:

- **Vespasian**: 1 D, 76 AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 849), Rome, d. 18 mm, MW, patinated [No. 3190].

*Findspot*: Found in 1980 at unknown location near the village.

*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum of Jambol, Inv. no. 3190.

*Comments*: Unpublished, examined and identified by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr. S. Bakardjiev, Jambol Museum, July 2010.

### **180. Branipole I, Rhodopi, Plovdiv region** – V

Single find of *RRD*:

- **C. Antestius Catulus**, 146 BC (RRC 219/1d-e?), Rome

*Disposition*: Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, misplaced?

*Findspot*: Found in 1943 in the 'St. Konstantin' locality, 500 m NW from the village, in a Thracian settlement and sanctuary, along with many other late Roman coins.

*Reference*: D. TZONCHEV, 'Staroto selishte pri s. Brani pole', *GNAMP I*, (Plovdiv 1948), p. 41.

### **181. Branipole II, Plovdiv region [8 km south,** – C

Single find of early Imperial coin:

- **Claudius, 41-50 AD**: Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 99), SPES AVGVSTA, Rome, LW, green patination [field No. ?/ 1990].

*Findspot*: Found in July 1990 in a Roman settlement in the 'Trunovets' locality, some 500-600 m W from the village, near a Thracian burial mound dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

*Disposition*: Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv – unlisted (as of 15 October 2010), lost or misplaced?

*Comments*: Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, August 1990.

*Reference for site*: G. КИТОВ, in *AOR Reports for 1990* (Lovech 1991), p. 58.

### **182. Bratzigovo, Pazardzhik region** – V

Single coin:

- **Augustus, ca. 25/3 – 10/6? BC**: Æ coin, unspecified (As?).

*Findspot*: Found in 1928 while cleaning a pond near the scared spring 'Sveta Troitza' in the W part of the town (along with other coins from 4<sup>th</sup> BC to Late Roman period).

*Reference*: H. МУШМОВ / MOUCHMOV, *BIAB 5* (Sofia 1929), p.329.

### **183. Bratya Daskalovi, Chirpan, Stara Zagora region** – F

Single early Imperial denarius:

- **C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC** – D serratus (RRC 382/1b), Rome, 16.5x18.5 mm, 3.47 g., burnt, corroded [field No. 60/2010].

*Findspot:* Found in 2010 during excavations of 'Karakochova mogila' mound east from the village, in the central cremation burial (no. 10).

*Disposition:* Municipality History Museum of Chirpan.

*Comments:* Information from Dr I. Prokopov and M. Tonkova, Sofia, January 2011.

*Reference:* See now PROKOPOV – PAUNOV – FILIPOVA 2011, p. 45, no. 1.

**184. Brestnik, Rhodopi area, Plovdiv district**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Nero, 64/6 AD, Perinthus:** Æ As (RPC I, 1762), MW, 23x25 mm [Plovdiv, no. 2660, acquired 1975];

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1970's in the vineyards near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2660, acquired 1975.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**185. Brestovitsa, Rhodopi area, Plovdiv district**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula, 37/8 AD:** Æ as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, MW, 28 mm, [Plovdiv, no. 2125, acquired 1956];

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1950's near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2125, acquired 1956.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**186. Breznik, Breznik area, Pernik district**

– C

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Vespasian:** 1 D, AD 69–79? (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>?), unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found in 1930 while hand-plough the ruins of Roman site (*villa rustica?*), south from the town in the 'Dubravitsi' locality, 5km southeast of Breznik. Along with *denarius* of Antoninus Pius and a bronze military diploma of Thracian soldier-sailor of *Misenum* fleet dated March 70 AD (=CIL XVI, 10).

*Disposition:* Lost or misplaced.

*Comments:* Unpublished, mentioned by Ст. АНДРЕЕВ / ANDREEV, 'Новооткрита военна диплома от императора Веспасиана', *BIAB* 6 (Sofia 1932), pp. 143-144.

**187. Breznishki izvor, Breznik area, Pernik region**

– C

Single piece of *RRD*

- **L. Farsuleius Mensor,** 75 BC (RRC 392/1b), Rome, d. 17x18 mm, 3.95 g, MW, obv. scratches.

*Findspot:* Found March 2004 during field research of a Thracian site, just above the micro-reservoir, near the village.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pernik.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, April 2004.

**188. Buhovo, Sofia region**

– C

Single RRD:

- **Petillius Capitolinus, 43 BC** (RRC 487/2b), Rome, unlisted.

*Findspot:* Found around 1900 in Roman settlement at the 'Ursul' locality, south-east of the village.

*Disposition:* Lost, unknown.

*Reference:* В. ДОБРУСКИ / DOBRUSKY (Sofia 1901), pp. 782-783, note 1.

**189. Bulgarene, Levski area, Pleven region**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian – with Titus and Domitian, AD 70:** 1 D, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 16), Rome, VW, scratches [Pleven, no. 3182]

*Findspot:* Found in the 1980's near the village, once in the former school collection.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. 3182.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information and photos from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.

**190. Bulgarovo (fmr. Urum-enikioy), Aytos area, Burgas district**

– U

Single Republican coin:

- **L. Cornelius Lentulus et C. Marcus Cos, 49 BC:** 1 D (RRC 445/2), Apollonia, 3.77 g; LW, acquired in 1912 [no. 346];

*Findspot:* Found in the 1910's near the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Burgas, inv. no. 346.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Dr M. Gyuzelev, August 2011.

**191. Busintsi, Trun area, Pernik district**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Nero, AD 65/6:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 62), Rome, 2.95 g, VW, patinated.

*Findspot:* Found in 1996 with a metal detector in the ruins of a Roman site (*villa rustica?*), 2 km NE of the village, near a group of Thracian burial mounds (dated to ca. AD 185-190).

*Disposition:* Private collection K.M.M., Trun.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, courtesy of Mr K.M.M., August 1997.

**192. Burgas, Burgas district**

– U

Single pieces of Republican and early Imperial coins:

1. **M. Aurelius Scaurus, 118 BC:** 1 D serratus (RRC 282/1), Narbo Gaul, 3.57g, MW, from Burgas? [no. 662];
2. **L. Rubrius Dossenus, 90 BC:** 1 D serratus (RRC 348/1), Rome, 3.53g, VW [no. 663];
3. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC:** 1 legionary aureus – LEG XII (RRC 544/4; Calicó 95), Patrae, 8.07 g, VW, heavy scratches [no. 2796, acquired 1979, enlisted 1982];
4. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 486) Pegamum, 10.09 g, 24x26 mm, VW, no patina, from the Prof. I. Galabov fund, unknown provenance [no. 2237];
5. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 11.07, MW, donation 1971 [no. 1495];
6. **Claudius I, AD 41-50:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), 12.51g, 28.5x29 mm, VW, no patina [no. 2545];
7. **Claudius I, AD 41-50:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 9.98, metal surface, MW [no. 1071];
8. **Nero, AD 64-66:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 60 or 67?), Rome, 3.11g, VW, corroded, acquired in 1910s [no. 70];
9. **Nero, AD 64-66:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 53 or 64), Rome, 2.94 g, VW, acquired in Burgas, 1970 [no. 1424];
10. **Nero, AD 54-68: Perinthus Æ30** (RPC I, 1754), 30mm, 26.68 g, centre-mark, HW [no. 641]
11. **Nero – for Poppaea Sabina, ca. AD 60-63: Perinthus Æ24** (RPC I, 1756), 23x24mm, 8.92g, VW [no. 636];
12. **Vespasian, AD 75:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 762-764?), Rome, 2.78g, MW [no. 1678];
13. **Vespasian, AD 75:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 776), Rome, 3.11g, HW, acquired in 1910s [No. 35];
14. **Vespasian, AD 71:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1431), Ephesus, 2.81g, patinated [no. 756];
15. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, AD 76:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 860), Rome, 3.03g, MW, patinated [no. 667];
16. **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar AD 79:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1081-1088?), Rome, 2.62g, HW, acquired 1910s [no. 36]
17. **Titus – for Divus Vespasianus, AD 80-81:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 359), Rome, 2.31 g, HW, from Sarafovo area, in old stone, 1971 [no. 1487];
18. **Domitian, AD 81:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 23-24 or 48-50?), Rome, 3.13g, MW [no. 750];
19. **Domitian, AD 88-89:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 667-670?), Rome, 3.07g, MW, from Burgas? [no. 828];
20. **Domitian, AD 88-89:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 667-671?) Rome, 2.76 g, MW, patinated, acquired in 1910s [no. 45];
21. **Nerva, 97 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 13), Rome, 2.91 g, HW [no. 42];
22. **Nerva, 97 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 16), Rome, 3.09 g, VW [no. 41].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1920-1980's, no precise provenance known, but from the environs of the town of Burgas and its district.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Burgas, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Dr M. Gyuzelev, August 2011.

**193. Butovo (emporium Piretensium), Pavlikeni, Veliko Tarnovo region**

– P

Single piece of RRD and other early Imperial coins from a production center:

1. **L. Appuleius Saturninus, 104 BC:** 1 AR Den (RRC 317/3b), Rome, 19 mm, 3.28 g, square piercing, VW [No. 795, p. 125].



2. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, AD 22/3-26?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81 or 99 – Divus Augustus Pater/ PROVIDENT), Rome, 28 mm, VW [No. 18, p. 128]
3. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 28 mm, VW [No. 17, p. 128 - from a burial]
4. **Vespasian AD ?69-79**: 1 Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), type illegible, Rome, 32 mm, HW [No. 20, p. 128]
5. **Vespasian, AD ?69-79**: 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), type illegible, Rome, 26 mm, HW [No. 19, p. 128]
6. **Domitian, AD 90/1**: D (RIC II, 152 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 719), Rome, 18 mm, 3.29 g, MW [No. 796, p. 125]
7. **Domitian, AD 90/1**: D (RIC II, 155 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 722), Rome, 18 mm, 3.25 g., VW [No. 797]
8. **Domitian, AD 90/1**: 1 Æ As (RIC II, 397 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 709), Rome, MW, 29 mm [No. 21, p. 128 – from a burial]
9. **Domitian, AD 81/96**: Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), type illegible, Rome, MW, 24 mm [No. 22, p. 128];
10. **Nerva, AD 97**: 1 D (RIC II, 13), Rome, 18 mm, 3.41 g, MW [No. 798, p. 125].

*Findspot*: Found in 1961-1962 in the 'Vurbovski livadi' locality during the course of archaeological excavation of a Roman kiln-center and cemetery.

*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum of Veliko Turnovo, Inv. no. 3362, etc.

*Comments*: Published

*Reference*: KUNICZ 1992, p. 141; M. ЦОЧЕВ / TSOCHEV 1998, pp. 125, 128, 154, nos. 1-4, 17-22, pl. LXVI, 795-798.

#### **194. 'Chatalka' I (fmr. Elhovo), Stara Zagora region**

– F

A group of 9 RRD – as *grave goods*:

*Findspot*: Found in the late 1960's during archaeological excavation of Thracian burial cemetery at Chatalka dam – in the main grave of mound no. 7:

1. **S[p]. Afranius I?/I**, 150 BC (RRC 206/1), burnt, broken core, worn, 2.5 g, 17 mm [No. 3944]
2. Uncertain Denarius, ca.110-30 BC Burnt, broken in half, worn, crystallized [No. 3940].
3. Half of Den serratus - **L. Proculus L.f.**, 80 BC (RRC 379/2), Rome, 2.00 g, 18x19 mm, worn [No. 3941]
4. **P. Plautius Hypsaeus**, 60 BC (RRC 420/2c), Rome, 3.30 g, 17 mm, broken edge, 3 b/ms obv. [no. 3942]
5. **T. Carisius**, 46 BC (RRC 461/1), Rome, 3.6 g., 18 mm, worn, burnt [no. 3943]
6. **C. Julius Caesar**, 49/8 BC (RRC 443/1), Narbo Gaul, 3.7 g, 18 mm, worn, 1 b/m obv [no. 3945a]
7. **C. Julius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1), Narbo Gaul, 3.3 g, 18 mm [no. 3945b]
8. **Augustus, c.19-10 BC**, Type not identified, burnt, ashes, 3.6 g, 21 mm [no. 3946b]
9. **Augustus - for c. L. CAESARES, ca. 2-1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-211?) Lugdunum, burnt, ashes, 3.4 g, 18 mm, worn [no. 3946a]

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum at Stara Zagora, inv. nos. 3940–3948.

*Comments:* Unpublished, only mentioned in the first publication, see БУЮКЛИЕВ / BUYUKLIEV 1986, 29, 93, 149, nos. 402-409. Information and photos from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora Museum, November 2009.

*Reference for site:* H. BUYUKLIEV, *La necropole tumulaire thrace près de Čatalka, region de Stara Zagora I=RP 16/*, (Sofia 1986).

**195. 'Chatalka' II (near fmr. Elhovo), Stara Zagora region** – C

Excavation assemblages from Roman *villae*:

*Findspot:* Found in 1965/6 during archaeological excavation of Roman sites and country *villae*, for the construction of 'Chatalka' dam.

A. From the 'Delimonjovo kale' site – a fortified Roman residence on a hilltop (7 ha), dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD [*op.cit.*, pp. 26-27]:

- **Claudius:** 2 Æ Asses, unspecified.
- **Nero:** 1 Æ Sest
- **Vespasian:** 1 Æ Sest
- **Trajan:** 2?, etc.

Out of 230 excavated coins from the site.

B. From 'Delimonjova niva' site – farming centre [*op. cit.*, p. 38]:

- **Nero:** 2 Æ? unspecified, etc.

Out of 41 excavated coins from this site

C. From the farming Roman complex in the locality 'Lambata' [*op. cit.*, pp. 47-48]:

- **Nero:** 1 Æ Sest, unspecified, etc.

Out of 185 excavated coins from this site.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. nos. 3633–3635; 3794–3794; 3938; 3973.

*Comments:* Unpublished, only listed by issuer in the site publication, see Николов / НИКОЛОВ, pp. 3-73, esp. 26, 38, 47.

**196. Chelnik, Tundzha area, Jambol region** – U

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Vespasian, AD 73:** 1 D, plated? (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 545), Rome, d. 17x18 mm, 3.12 g, MW, AE encrustation [No. 3665].

*Findspot:* Found in 1974 near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Jambol, Inv. no. 3665.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr. S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

**197. Cherkovitsa I (Asamus), Nikopol, Pleven region** – M

Two single *RRD* found together:

1. **M. Porcius Laeca, 125 BC** (RRC 270/1), 17x17.5 mm, 3.59g, VW, 2 obv./ 1 rev banker's marks [No. 1877];

2. **M. Cippius M.f., 115/4 BC** (RRC 289/1), 16x16.5 mm, 3.81 g, MW [No. 1882].

*Findspot:* Found 1978 under unknown circumstances near the village.

*Comments:* Published. Part of a hoard?

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, Inv. nos. 1877 and 1882.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV-KOVATCHEVA, *Pleven*, p. 132, no. 883.25 and 886.28.

### **198. Cherkovitsa II, Pleven region**

– M

Single find of early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, AD 71:** 1 AE Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 431), Rome, MW, light corrosion [No. 1131].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960's while digging in the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, Inv. No. 1131.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mr P. Bunov, March 2010.

*Reference:* mentioned by KUNICZ 1992, p. 134.

### **199. Chirpan, Stara Zagora region**

– U

Single finds of Republican and early Imperial coins:

1. **Q. Titius, 90 BC:** 1 D (RRC 341/1), Rome, 17 mm, MW [Plovdiv, no. 765, acquired April 1917];
2. **Mark Antony – with M. Turullius, 31 BC:** 1 D (RRC 545/1), Egypt, 20 mm, MW, [Plovdiv, no. 766, acquired April 1917];
3. **Rhoemetaces I, with Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12:** Æ 23mm (RPC I, 1711-1712?), 23 mm LW [Plovdiv, no. 1213, acquired 1921];
4. **Nero – for Poppaea Sabina, ca. 63/5 AD:** Æ 25mm (RPC I, 1756), Perinthus, MW, [Plovdiv, no. 1379, acquired 1924];
5. **Vespasian, AD 74:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 757), Rome, LW, excellent [Plovdiv, no. 758, acquired April 1917];
6. **Domitian, AD 81–96: Perinthus:** Æ 26mm (RPC II, 363), LW, excellent [Plovdiv, no. 1340, acquired 1922];
7. **Domitian, 88/9 AD - Philippopolis:** Æ 26mm (RPC II, 351), LW [Plovdiv, no. 1376, acquired 1924].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1920's from around the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

### **200. Choba, Breznik, Plovdiv region**

– C / R

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Augustus – with C. L. CAESARES, 2/1 BC:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-211?), Rome, 18 mm, MW, pierced [Plovdiv, no. 2382].

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1960s at the 'Ploskata mogila' locality, NE of the village, where a Roman settlement and roadstation was located.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2382, acquired December 1965.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

*Reference for site:* H.V. & K. SHKORPILS 1885, pp. 102-103; D. TZONCHEV 1942, in *Annuiare Plovdiv* (1940-41), p. 55.

### **201. Debelt I (anc. Deultum), Burgas region**

– C

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC:** AR *cistophor* (RPC I, 2201), Ephesus, 11.39 g, 26x26 mm, 6 h, MW, obv. scratches [Burgas, no. 827, acquired 1963];
2. **Tiberius – for Livia, AD 22/23:** Æ Dupondius (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 47), Rome, 11.42 g., host coin HW, cmked 'NCAPR' under Nero [Burgas, no. 2089, donated 1961 by a workman from 'Rossen' mine, inventoried 1976 – from 'Gradisheto'];
3. **Nero – for Poppaea Sabina, AD 63/5,** Perinthus: Æ24mm (RPC I, 1756), 23x24mm, 9.04 g, with cmk ΓΑΛΒΑ (rough lettering), [Burgas, no. A-2202];
4. **Vespasian, AD 76:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 99a), Rome, 3.00 g., HW, patinated [Burgas, no. 186, acquired 1926];
5. **Domitian, ca. AD 85-92:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?) – MONETA AVG[VSTI], Rome, 25x26 mm, HW, no patination, 9.17 g [Burgas, no. A-1792];
6. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 19), Rome, 3.29 g., LW, patinated [Burgas, no. 185, acquired 1926].

*Findspot:* Found at different occasions in the 'Gradishteto' locality, the ruins of the ancient site of *Deultum*.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Burgas, inv. numbers as noted.

*Comments:* Unpublished.

*Reference:* see I. PANDALEEV, *BIAB* 4 (Sofia 1927), p. 306; KUNICZ 1992, p.138 (nos. 4 & 6 only).

### **202. Debelt II (anc. Deultum), Burgas region**

– F

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, 76 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 890), Rome, HW, green patina.

*Findspot:* Found 2005 during archaeological excavation of a Thracian burial mound 'Helikon' to the NW of Deultum, in burial 14/2005, in a male inhumation.

*Disposition:* Municipal History Museum of Sredetz, as noted.

*Comments:* Published, without ID.

*Reference:* P. BALABANOV, in *JRA Suppl.*82, (2011), p. 109, fig. 5.

### **203. Debovo, Nikopol area, Pleven region**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Claudius, 50-54 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111), Rome, 30 mm, 8.56 g [Pleven, no. 969].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1950's near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. no.

*Comments:* Now published, see below.

*Reference:* БЪНОВ / ВАНОВ, in *Studia in honorem Iliae Prokopov* (Veliko Tarnovo 2012), 497, no.29.

#### **204. Debrashtitza, Pazardzhik region**

– V

Single find of *RRD*:

- **C. Postumius, 74 BC** (RRC 394/1a), plated, 3.10 g, 6 h, MW [no. 2496]

*Findspot:* Found 2001 during archaeological excavation of a Thracian sanctuary in the 'Goljam Kosoman' locality, a large stone building No. 1 (north sector), along with tetradrachm of Aesillas, *quaestor* of Macedonia (ca. 92 – 88/7 BC).

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pazardzhik, Inv. no. 2496.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs S. Ignatova, formerly at Pazardjik Museum.

*Reference for site:* Д. КАТИНЧАРОВА / KATINCHAROVA, in *AOR Archaeological Reports for 2001*, (2002), pp. 69-70.

#### **205. Dobravitsa, Svoje area, Sofia region**

– V

Single pieces of *denarii*

1. **M. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC:** 1 D (RRC 463/1-3?), Rome
2. **Augustus:** 1 Den, unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found 1895/6 near the village, at the mountain peak 'Stol' in the Stara Planina range, possibly – a Thracian sanctuary, along with other coins, such as *denarii* of Augustus, etc.

*Disposition:* Unknown, probably lost. Examined by K. Schkorpil during his visit in the village.

*Reference:* X. и К. ШКОРПИЛ / SHKORPIL BROTHERS 1898, p. 117.

#### **206. Dolno Sahrane, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora region**

– U

Single Republican *denarius*:

- **Mn. Fonteius, 104 BC:** 1 D (RRC 307/1), Rome, 20 mm.

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1930's near the modern cemetery, south of the village.

*Disposition:* 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 854 (missing since 1987).

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.

#### **207. Dimitrovgrad–Chernokonevo, Haskovo region**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, 75 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 772), Rome, 17.4x19.1 mm, 2.61g, HW [No. 1614].

*Findspot:* Found 1988 in a Roman settlement near Chernokonevo borough towards village of Velikan, at the north bank of the river Maritsa.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Haskovo, resp. Inv. no.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum.

### **208. Dragoyново, Parvomay, Plovdiv region**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Nerva, 98 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 48), Rome, LW.

*Findspot:* Found in 1956 at an unknown location near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2113, acquired June 1956.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

### **209. Drama, Elhovo area, Jambol region**

– C

Single pieces of early Imperial coins:

- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa:** Æ As, 37/8 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 32), Rome, 27x28 mm, MW [No. 6184 – field no. 94.0125];
- **Claudius:** Æ As, illegible, 41–54 AD, Rome, d. 24.5x25 mm, 7.51 g, HW [No. 6179 –field no. 91:0725, from trench 1, TG.2.3, 0.68 m].

*Findspot:* Found in 1991-1994 under regular archaeological excavation by the German-Bulgarian team in the prehistoric tell 'Drama', northeast of the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Jambol, Inv. nos. 6179, 6184.

*Comments:* Examined by E. Paunov, courtesy of Mr Stefan Bakardjiev, Jambol Museum, July 2010.

*Reference:* D. DRAGANOV 1996, 137-139.

### **210. Dulboki, Stara Zagora region**

– U

Single find of *RRD*:

- **D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, 48 BC** (RRC 450/2), Rome, 3.2 g., 18x20 mm, very worn [No. 4336]

*Findspot:* Found in 1970's near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. no. 4336.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information and photos from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora, November 2009.

### **211. Dyulevo, Strelcha, Pazardjik region**

– V

Single find of *RRD*:

- **Imitation of a 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC Republican *denarius*:**Type: *Obv.* Helmeted head of Roma to right.*Rev.* Quadriga riding to r., in exergue blundered letters ROMA.

Most probably – ca. 60–40 BC.

*Findspot:* Found in August 1947 in a Thracian sanctuary in the locality 'Gradishteto', some 2.5 km south of the village.*Disposition:* Not found in the Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, misplaced or lost (as of October 2010).*Reference:* БОТУШАРОВА / BOTUSHAROVA, "Thrakijското svelitlishte pri Djulevo", *GNAMP* I, (Plovdiv 1948), p. 73.**212. Filipovtsi, Tran area, Pernik district<sup>#</sup>**

– C

Single *RRD*- **L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC** (RRC 344/1), Rome.*Findspot:* Found 1983 during the renovation of an old house in the Dragovtsi region of the village, along with other 'old' coins.*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pernik, Inv. no. H-1401.*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, October 1997.*Reference:* see *IRRCHBulg.* no. 137.**213. Gigen I (anc. *Oescus*), Pleven region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

- **Domitian, Sept.-Dec. 91 AD:** 1 D, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 725), Rome, LW, scratch [Pleven, no. 2027]*Summary list:* sector *Forum* (from the temples of the Capitolian Triad; temple of Minerva; East portico of *forum*; the Civil Basilica; temple of Fortuna and the east *cardo*):

	<i>Issuer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Tota</i>
	<b>Augustus</b> 27 BC–14 AD	7 BC	<b>Dup</b>	1	Rome	RIC I, 426a?	2
		12 BC	<b>As</b>	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	
	<b>Tiberius</b> 14 – 37	?	<b>Den</b>	x			1
		22–30	<b>As</b>	1	Rome	RIC I, 81	
	<b>Caligula</b> 37 – 41	40–41	<b>As</b>	1	Rome	RIC I, 58	1
	<b>Claudius</b> 41 – 54	?	<b>Den</b>	?		RIC I, ?	6
		41–50	<b>Sest (41-50 AD)</b>	1		RIC I, ?	
		?	<b>As</b>	?		RIC I, ?	
	<b>Nero</b> 54 – 68	64 – 68?	<b>Den</b>	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	1
	<b>Galba</b> 68 – 69	68 – 69	<b>As</b>	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	1

<b>Vespasian</b> 69 – 79	69 – 79	<b>Den</b>	<b>1</b>		RIC II, ?	<b>3</b>
		<b>Sest</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	
		<b>Dup</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	
<b>Domitian</b> 81 – 96	91	<b>Den</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome	RIC II/1 <sup>2</sup> , 725	<b>2</b>
	?	<b>?</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Trajan</b> 98–117	98–117	<b>Den</b>	<b>?</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	<b>9</b>
		<b>Sest</b>	<b>?</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	
		<b>Dup</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	
		<b>Quad/Semis</b>	<b>4</b>	Rome	RIC II, 691, 694	
<b>TOTAL for period:</b>						<b>27</b>

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970-1980's during excavation at *Oescus*.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, Inv. No. 2027, etc.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information and photos from Mr P. Banov, March 2010.

*Reference:* Briefly listed by T. КОВАЧЕВА / KOVACHEVA (Sofia 2002), pp. 42-54.

#### **214. Gigen II (anc. Oescus), Pleven district**

– M

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, AD 70/1:** Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 422), Rome, LW, nice patina [No. 1771]

*Findspot:* Found 1978 while digging in the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, Inv. No. 1771.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information and photos from Mr P. Banov, March 2010.

#### **215. Gigen III (anc. Oescus), Pleven region**

– M

Single early *RRD*:

1. **Denarius: uncertain type**, 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (RRC 2../?), illegible, 16x17 mm; 3.7 g., burnt, HW [No. 146/1989]  
*Obv:* Head of Roma r.  
*Rev:* Illegible.
2. **Augustus**, Æ As: illegible host coin, 23 mm; 3.7 g, VW, pierced, two countermarks: **TI.CAE** and **AVG** [No. 144/1990];
3. **Tiberius – for Augustus, ca. AD 22-30:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81 or 95?), Rev. Eagle S.C.), Rome, 26 mm; 11.1g, MW [No. 107/1990]
4. **Tiberius – for Augustus, 22-30 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, 26 mm, 7.4 g, VW [No. 6/1993];
5. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 28 mm, 9.82 g, MW [No. 5 – Pleven, no. 3247].

*Findspot:* Found 1989-1993 in the NW part of *forum Romanum* in *Oescus*.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* G. KABAКCHIEVA 1996, p. 101, Abb. 5/1-5; KABAКCHIEVA 2000, pp. 34-35, no. A.1 – A.5, pl. I/1-5.

#### **216. Gorno Sahrane, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora region**

– U



Single early Imperial *denarius*:

- **Vespasian, 72/3 AD**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 359), Rome, 18 mm.

*Findspot*: Found in the late-1930's near the village, no specific location known.

*Disposition*: 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 1000 (missing since 1974).

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.

### **217. Gradets, Vidin region**

– C

Single finds of *RRD*:

1. **C. Iulius Caesar - with C. Cossutius Maridianus, 44 BC** (RRC 480/19), Rome, HW, scratches;
2. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC**, legionary - LEG V (RRC 544/18), Patrae?, MW

*Findspot*: Found in late 1990-2000's in a Roman settlement in the locality 'Malata' / Roga', east from the village.

*Disposition*: Private collection, now donated to the Vidin Historical Museum collection.

*Reference*: Information from the Vidin museum, see B. ТОДОРОВ / TODOROV 2007, pp. 31-2.

### **218. Granitovo, Elhovo, Jambol region**

– U

Single finds of *denarii*:

1. **D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, 48 BC** (RRC 450/2), Rome, 17x18 mm, 3.7 g, HW [no. 3336];
2. **Claudius, AD 41-50**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 100), Rome, 25 mm, 6.5g, VW [no. 3318]

*Findspot*: Found in the 1960's near the village.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. no. 3336, 3317.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information and photos from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora.

### **219. Gulubovo, Banite area, Smolyan region**

– C

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, 76-77 AD**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 921-922?), Rome, 17x18 mm, 2.73 g, VW.

*Findspot*: Found in the 1970s near the village.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Smolyan, Inv. no. 1772.

*Reference*: See now PROKOPOV ET AL., *Numismatic Collection Smoljan* / =CCCHBulg. III/, Sofia 2011, p. 8.

### **220. Isperih (or environs), Razgrad region**

– U

Single find of cast copy of a Republican *denarius*:

- **Type of late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC** (RRC?, not identified): 1 Den cast base-metal AR, 18x20 mm, 2.53g, corrosion, cast sprues [No. 4007].

*Findspot:* Found in the 2002 at unknown site near the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Razgrad, Inv. no. 4007.

*Reference:* Published, see G. DZANEV, IN *SCN* (Bucharest 2006), pp. 105-107.

### **221. Izvororo (near Castra Rubra), Harmanli area, Haskovo**

– R

Single find of early Imperial coins:

1. **Vespasian, 71 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1175-1177?), Lugdunum, 27x28 mm, 8.31 g, HW, scratches [No. 1328].
2. **Vespasian, 76 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 887), Rome, 26x27 mm, 9.79 g, MW [No. 1434].

*Findspot:* Found 1981 near the village, close to the Roman central road *Via Diagonalis*.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 1328.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. M. Slavova, Haskovo Museum, December 2010.

### **222. Jabalkovo I, Dimitrovgrad area, Haskovo region**

– C

Single find of early Imperial coins:

- **Vespasian, 76 AD:** Æ As (RIC II, 578 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 887), Rome, 25.6x25.9 mm, 9.89 g, from, acquired 1976 [No. 1069].

*Findspot:* Found 1976 at unknown location near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, inv. no. 1069.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

### **223. Jabalkovo II, Dimitrovgrad area, Haskovo region**

– E

Single Republican denarius:

- **T. Quinctius Flamininus, 126 BC:** plated D (RRC 267/1), Rome, 18.5x19.5 mm, 2.72 g. [Haskovo, No. 2462].

*Findspot:* Found in 2006 during excavation of a Prehistoric site in the 'Barievsko jurte' locality near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 2462.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs M. Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

### **224. Jagoda, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora region**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 28 mm.

*Findspot:* Found in the 1930's near the village, unknown location.

*Disposition:* 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 194.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.

**225. Jarlovtsi, Tran area, Pernik district**<sup>#</sup>

– C

Single finds of denarii:

- **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/6 – LEG XX), VW and pierced.

- **Trajan:** 1 D (struck 106-112 AD), unspecified, MW.

*Findspot:* Found in the 1980's during field works, SW of the Roman and Early Byzantine fortress 'Zemun', some 500 m NE of the village.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pernik.

*Comments:* Examined by E. Paunov, August 1997, see *IRRCHBulg* no. 162.

*Reference for the site:* D. MITOVA-DJONOVA, *Archaeological Monuments in Region of Pernik*, [in Bulg.], (Sofia 1983), pp. 179-180, fig. 132/2-3.

**226. Jerussalimovo, Lyubimets area, Haskovo region**

– R

Single find of *RRD*:

- **C. Claudius Pulcher, 110 BC:** 1 D (RRC 300/1), Rome, 18x19 mm, 3.50 g., acquired 1975 [Haskovo, no. 1033]

*Findspot:* Found 1975 near the village, on the surface. Apparently along *via militaris Thraciae*.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 1033.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

**227. Harlets I (anc. Augustae), Kozloduy, Vratsa region**

– M

Single pieces of late Republican and Early Imperial coins:

A group of 34 Æs: 18 countermarked and 18 AE halves of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD coins:

A. Countermarked coins:

1. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 486, RPC I 2235), Pergamum, 27 mm, 9.9 g. Obv. [CAE]SAR . Bare hd. of Augustus r. Border of dots. A rectangular cmk upon his face - **AVG** (4.5x9 mm), Rev. Laurel wreath and legend [AVGVS]TVS.
2. **Augustus – ca. 25-23 BC:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 486, RPC I, 2235), Pergamum, 26 mm, 4.2 g. Obv. [CAESAR], bare hd. of Augustus r. Border of dots. Three rectangular cmks in front of face - **AVG** (10x4 mm), **TI•CÆ** (ca. 10x4 mm) and **[TI]•C•A** (11x5 mm);

Rev. Laurel wreath and traces of inscription [AVGVSTVS]. Pale traces of a countermark **P•[P]?**.

Green patina, a crack, countermarked twice.

3. **Augustus – ca. 25-23 BC:** *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 486, RPC I, 2235)*, Pergamum, 24x26 mm, 6.9 g.  
Obv. Pale traces of bare hd. of Augustus r. - [CAESAR]. Two rectangular cmks on face - **TI•CÆ** (13.5x5 mm) and **[AV]G** (max. 5x4 mm);  
Rev. Traces of laurel wreath - [AVGVSTVS].
4. **Augustus – for C. Marcius Censorinus, 18 BC:** *Æ Dupondius (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 326)*, Rome, 24x27 mm, 8.9 g.  
Obv. Laurel wreath and inscription in 3 lines within – AVGVSTVS / TRIBVNIC / POTEST.  
Rev. Large **S□C**. Two oval cmks - **CAE** (max. size 8x11 mm), and **P•P** (max. size 9x6 mm).
- Augustus, ca. 15 BC:** *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 382 or 389?)*, Ephesus, 29x30 mm, 9.10 g.
5. Obv. TRIBVNIC POT.. Hd. of Augustus l. Three countermarks upon - 2 rectangular - **TI•CÆ** (size 10x5 mm), **AVG** (4.5x9.5 mm), and one unclear oval /possibly helmet?/ (4.5x4 mm).  
Rev. Not clear. Pale **S. C**. A large countermark **P•P**.
6. **Augustus, ca. 15 BC:** *Tresviral Æ As (RIC 381)*, Rome, 24x26 mm, 6.8 g.  
Obv. Laurel wreath and unclear inscription - [AVGVSTVS]. Two rectangular cmks on it - **AVG** (sizes 9x4.5 mm), **TI•CÆ** (ca. 9x5 mm).  
Rev. Pale **S□C** and illegible inscription around it – ...IIIVIR... Two oval cmks - **CÆ** (*Æ* in ligature, 11x7.5 mm), and **P•P** (max. size 8x7 mm).
7. **Augustus – Æ As (type uncertain)**, 24x27mm, 7.8 g.  
Obv. Pale traces of bare hd. of Augustus r. Two rectangular cmks in front of face - **AVG** (10x4 mm), and **[T]I•CA** (ca. 9x4 mm),  
Rev. Illegible. Unclear rectangular cmk (9x4 mm).
8. **Augustus, ca. 19-15 BC:** *Æ As (type uncertain)*, Patinated in dark green. 22x24 mm, 4.3 g.  
Obv. [AVGVSTVS] - pale traces of bare hd. of Augustus r. Two rectangular cmks in front and below chin - **AVG** (9x4 mm), **[TI]•CA[E?]** (ca. 9x5 mm);  
Rv. Not clear. A rectangular countermark - **TI•C•A** (sizes 12x4.5 mm).
9. **Augustus – Æ As, 19-15 BC**, 23x25 mm, 5.3 g.  
Obv. Pale traces of head of Augustus r. Two rectangular cmks - unclear **AVG** (sizes 8x4.5 mm) and one unclear (max. 6x4.5 mm);  
Rev. Illegible. Two rectangular cmks - **[T]I•C•A** (sizes 13x6 mm) and other unclear in centre.
10. **Augustus – Æ As (type uncertain)**, 23x24 mm, 5.5 g, patinated in green.  
Obv. Pale traces of bare hd. of Augustus. Two rectangular cmks on face - **TI•C•A** (12.5x6 mm) and **AVG** (7x4 mm). Rv. Illegible.
11. **Augustus – Æ As (type uncertain)**, fragment, 25x11 mm, 5.2 g.  
Obv. Pale traces of bare hd. of Augustus r. Two visible rectangular cmks in front of the face - **AV[G]** (sizes max. 7x4.5 mm), and an unclear (sizes max. 5x4 mm);  
Rev. Illegible. Hardly visible cmk.
12. **Augustus – Æ As (type uncertain)**, 23x24 mm, 7.0 g.

- Obv. Pale traces of head of Augustus r. Two rectangular cmks - **AVG** (9x4 mm) and an unclear one (5x4 mm)  
 Rev. Illegible. Rectangular cmk – **TI•CAE** (12x4.5 mm).
13. **Augustus** – Æ As (type uncertain), pierced. 22x23 mm, 4.3 g.  
 Obv. Illegible. Two rectangular cmks - **TI•C•[A]** (max. 11x4 mm) and **AV[G]** (max. 7x4 mm);  
 Rev. Illegible.
14. **Augustus** – Æ As (type uncertain), 21x23 mm, 3.6 g.  
 Obv. Illegible. A rectangular cmk **[T]I•C•A** (max. size 11x5 mm)  
 Rev. Illegible. Traces of a cmk – **[TI]□•CA** (max. 9x4.5 mm).
15. **Augustus** – Æ As (type uncertain), 24x26 mm, 4.6 g.  
 Obv. Illegible. Pale traces of head r.  
 Rev. Illegible. A rectangular cmk - **TI•C•A** (12x4.5 mm)
16. **Augustus** – Æ As (type uncertain), 20x21 mm, 3.45 g.  
 Obv. Illegible. Pale traces of a head r. Rectangular cmk - **TI•C•A** (13x5 mm);  
 Rev. Illegible.
17. **Augustus** – Æ As (type uncertain), 21x22 mm, 4.65 g.  
 Obv. Illegible. Pale traces of a head r.  
 Rev. Illegible. Rectangular cmk - **[T]I•C•A** (sizes max. 11x5 mm).
18. **Augustus** – Æ As, after 18 BC. Limes Imitation of type RIC I 326 (after 18 BC), 23 mm, 5.6 g.  
 Obv. Laurel wreath and traces of inscription in 3 lines [AVGVSTVS] / AOI....  
 Rv. **S. C.** and traces of inscription around it. Two identical rectangular cmks - **TI•AV[G]** (10x5 mm).  
 RIC I –; Kos – Šemrov 1995, no. 86 (imitation);
- B. Halves:
19. **Sex. Pompeius**, 42-38 BC: 1 Æ As (RRC 479/1; Martini 1995, no. 92?) Sicily mint, 17x25 mm, 12.9 g;
20. **Nemausus (I, series 2), Augustus – with Mark Agrippa**, ca. 16-10 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 154-155; RPC I 525), Nemausus (period II), 13x26 mm, 5.99 g. Rough cutting, obv. countermarked **D•D** in oval frame;
21. **Augustus – with C. Gallius Lupercus**, 16 BC: Æ Senatorial As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 379), Rome, 14x27 mm, 5.4 g.
22. **Augustus – with Cn. Piso Cn.f.** 15 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 382), Rome, 15x25 mm, 4.89 g.
23. **Augustus – with P. Lurii Agrippa**, 7 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 427), Rome, 15x28 mm, 6.1 g, metal surface.
24. **Augustus – with P. Lurii Agrippa**, 7 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 427), Rome, 18x25.5 mm, 5.4 g. Rough cutting, deformed.
25. **Augustus – with P. Lurii Agrippa**, 7 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 427), Rome, 13x25 mm, 3.9 g., countermarked: **IMP** in ligature.
26. **Augustus – with P. Lurii Agrippa**, 7 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 427), Rome, 15x25 mm, 5.4 g.
27. **Augustus – with M. Salvius Otho**, 7 BC: Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 431), Rome, 16x27 mm, 4.7gm. Deformed.

28. **Augustus – with M. Salvius Otho**, 7 BC: *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 431)*, Rome, 12/14x27 mm, 3.05g, Rough cutting - indented edge, countermarked: **IMP/?/** in ligature, cmk halved by cutting.
29. **Augustus – with M. Salvius Otho**, 7 BC: *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 431)*, Rome, 14x26 mm, 3.88 g, rev. countermarked: **IMP** in ligature.
30. **Augustus – with Volusus Valerius Messalla**, 6 BC: *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 441)*, Rome, 17x26 mm, 4.4 g, metal surface.
31. **Augustus – with Volusus Valerius Messalla**, 6 BC: *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 442)*, Rome, 14/15x27 mm, 4.1 g.
32. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC**: *Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486)*, Ephesus/Pergamum?, 14x26 mm, 3.6 g.
33. **Nero, AD 66-67**: *Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 357)*, Rome, 19x24 mm, 7.4 g., halved.
34. **Trajan, ca. AD 103-111**: *Æ Dp (RIC II 490?)*, Rome, 8x23 mm, 6.99 g, halved.

*Findspot*: From the modern vineyards west of the site, where the Roman auxiliary *canabae* once should be located.

*Disposition*: Regional History Museum of Vratsa, acquired for the Vratsa museum in 1996-2000.

*Reference*: Unpublished, to be by published E. Paunov, 2012.

### **228. Harlets II (anc. *Augustae*), Kozloduy area, Vratsa region**

– M

Single pieces of early Imperial coins:

From the north gate (*porta praetoria*) and main street – *cardo maximus*, excavated in 2005:

1. **Claudius, AD 41-54**: *Æ As*, type unspecified;
2. **1<sup>st</sup> century** *Æ As*, type illegible and unspecified.

*Reference*: Unpublished, mentioned by АВРАМОВА – МАШОВ / AVRAMOVA – S. MASHOV (Sofia 2006), pp. 25-6.

### **229. Haskovo (or environs), Haskovo region**

– U

Single pieces of Republican and Early Imperial coins in the Haskovo museum:

1. **M. Cippius M.f., 115 BC**: 1 D, (RRC 289/1), Rome, 16x17 mm, 3.70 g, pierced, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1972 [No. 449];
2. **Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, 114 BC**: 1 D, (RRC 291/1), Rome, 17.5x19 mm, 3.70 g, pierced, soldering trace, obv. b/marks, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 790];
3. **L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus, 89 BC**: 1 D, (RRC 344/1), Rome, 17x18 mm, 3.31 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1972 [No. 450]
4. **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Q., 76/5 BC**: 1 D, (RRC 393/1a), Spain, 18x18.5 mm, 3.04 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 963];
5. **C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC**: 1 D serratus (RRC 382/1a), Rome, 17.5x18.5 mm, 3.64 g, obv. b/mark – L, cracked, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 977];

6. **M. Volteius M.f., 75 BC:** 1 D (RRC 385/1), Rome, 14x18.2 mm, 2.66 g, pierced, broken, unknown provenance Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 997];
7. **M. Aemilius Scaurus / L. Plautius Hypsaeus, 58 BC:** 1 D, (RRC 422/1b), Rome, 16.5x18.5 mm, 3.63 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 964];
8. **P. Clodius M.f., 42 BC:** 1 D (RRC 494/23), 16.8x20 mm, 2.95 g, LW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1978 [No. 1303a]
9. **L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC:** 1 D (RRC 494/42c), Rome, 16.8x18 mm, 3.88 g. - unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1985 [No. 1449];
10. **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC:** 1 D (RRC 443/1), 18x20 mm, 3.68 g., obv/rev. b/marks – L, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, donation 1975 [No. 962];
11. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC:** 1 legionary D – LEG XX, (RRC 544/36), Patrae?, 18.5x19 mm, 3.51 g, LW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1978 [No. 1303b];
12. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC:** 1 legionary D – LEG II? (RRC 544/14?), Patrae?, 16.2x19 mm, 3.34 g, HW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1983 [No. 1342];
13. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC:** 1 legionary D – LEG II (RRC 544/14), Patrae?, 15.5x16.5 mm, 3.45 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [No. 1505];
14. **Octavian Augustus, 30-29 BC:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 271), Rome?, 19x19.7 mm, 3.76 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 2001 [No. 2148];
15. **Augustus, c.2 BC-4 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-210?), Lugdunum, 16x17 mm, 3.48 g, HW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 723];
16. **Augustus, c.2 BC-4 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207), Lugdunum, 16.5x17.2 mm, 3.72 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 809];
17. **Augustus, c.2 BC-4 AD:** 1 plated D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207?), Lugdunum?, 16.7x17.5 mm, 2.50 g, VW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 999];
18. **Augustus, c.2 BC-4 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207), Lugdunum, 16.7x18.8 mm, 3.38 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 2008 [No. 2639];
19. **Tiberius, c. 21-22 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 44?), Rome, 25.7x28 mm, 9.12 g, VW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 1300/1];
20. **Tiberius, 16-22 AD:** Æ Dupondius (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 39), Rome, 12.34g, 28.8x29 mm, VW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1990 [No. 1717].
21. **Tiberius, 21-22 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 44), Rome, 8.20g, 28.6x29 mm, VW, surface metal, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1981 [No. 1337];
22. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, 22/3-26? AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 83), Rome, 26.2x28 mm, 9.33 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 1087];
23. **Caligula, 37/8 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38) - VESTA, Rome, 26.9x28 mm, 6.38 g., unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 728];

24. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 97) – LIBERTAS, Rome, 27x28 mm, HW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 870/3];
25. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 100), Rome, 7.32g, 26.7x28.4mm, cracks, MW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [No. 1509];
26. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 113 or 116?), Rome, 9.94 g, 27.8x28.6 mm, HW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [No. 1513];
27. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111) - CONSTANTIAE, Rome, 27.5x28 mm, 8.14 g., VW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 1300/2];
28. **Claudius, 41-54 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?, type illegible), Rome, 24.6x26.6 mm, 8.43 g., HW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 984];
29. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?, type illegible), Obv. cmk: **PR** in frame = Martini, *Pangerl Collection*, no. 87, Rome, 23.6x26.4 mm, 8.98 g, HW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1977 [No. 1173];
30. **Nero, 64-65 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 47), Rome, 17.2x17.7 mm, 2.68 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 820];
31. **Galba, 68/9 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 186) – [DIVA AVG]VSTA(?), Rome, 18.6x18.9 mm, 3.01 g, VW, broken in 3 pieces, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1985 [No. 1460];
32. **Vespasian, 70 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 19), Rome, 17.2x17.5 mm, 3.01g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [1533c];
33. **Vespasian, 71 AD:** 1 AE Dupondius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 266 or 267?), Rome, 11.67g, 26.3x26.8 mm, MW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, 1987 [No. 1543];
34. **Vespasian, 72/3 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 356), Rome, 15.1x16.7 mm, 3.11 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [1533b];
35. **Vespasian, 73 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 545), Rome, 17.5x18.8 mm, 2.56 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [822a];
36. **Vespasian, 74 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 681), Rome, 18.7x19.5, 2.95 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1988 [1584];
37. **Vespasian, 74 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 684), Rome, 17.5x18.6 mm, 2.96 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [1506];
38. **Vespasian, 75 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 774), Rome, 16.6x18.9 mm, 2.99 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [1533a];
39. **Vespasian, 77/8 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 939-940), Rome, 17x17.9 mm, 2.53 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [822b];
40. **Vespasian, 77/8 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 982-983), Rome, 17x18.1 mm, 3.26 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1987 [1556];
41. **Vespasian, 76 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 894), Rome, 25.3x27.2 mm, 9.84 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 868];
42. **Vespasian, 76 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 894), Rome, 25.4x25.7 mm, 7.81 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 915];



43. **Titus, July-Dec. 79 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 28), Rome, 17.2x17.6 mm, 2.76 g, from **Haskovo**, locality 'Bunardzhika', 1971, [No. 346];
44. **Titus, Jan-June 80 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 112), Rome, 17.2x18.1 mm, 2.91 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 725];
45. **Titus, Jan-June 80 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 124), Rome, 18.7x19.9 mm, 3.04 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 819];
46. **Titus, Jan-June 80 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 115), Rome, 17.6x18 mm, 2.46 g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 1060];
47. **Titus, 80-81 AD:** Æ Sestertius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 137), Rome, 18.02g, 32.4x32.5 mm, VW, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1981 [No. 1325];
48. **Titus – for Domitian, 80-81 AD:** Æ Dupondius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 307 or 308), Rome, 11.70g, 25.7x26.2 mm, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, 1987 [No. 1544];
49. **Domitian Caesar, 76/7 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 238 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 921 /Vespas/), Rome, 17.3x18.8 mm, 2.68 g, unknown provenance, 1970 [No. 458];
50. **Domitian Caesar, 77/8 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 242 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 957 /Vespas/), Rome, 17.2x18.6 mm, 3.13 g, unknown provenance, Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 726];
51. **Domitian Caesar, 77/8 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 242 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 957 /Vespas/), Rome, 17.7x18.7 mm, 2.82 g, unknown provenance, Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 818];
52. **Domitian, Sept.-Dec. 89 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 146 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 688), Rome, 17.4x18.8 mm, 3.13 g, pierced, unknown provenance, Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 812];
53. **Domitian, ca.85-96 AD:** Æ Sestertius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> ?, unspecified), Rome, 21.88g, 32.7x33.5 mm, VW, corroded, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1975 [No. 878];
54. **Domitian, 93/4 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 176 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 762), Rome, 17.5x18.7 mm, 3.08 g, unknown provenance, Haskovo region, acquired 1965 [No. 134];
55. **Nerva, 97 AD:** Æ As (RIC II, 77), Rome, 26.7x28.1 mm, 9.89g, unknown provenance in Haskovo region, acquired 1974 [No. 870/2].

*Findspot:* Found in or around the town of Haskovo between the 1960's and 2000's.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information kindly provided by Mrs Mariana Slavova, Haskovo museum, December 2010.

### **230. Hissarja (anc. Diocletianopolis), Plovdiv region**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

1. **Nero, 64/66 AD:** Æ As (RPC I 1760?), Perinthus, MW, 26mm [Plovdiv, no. 4450].
2. **Colonia Philippi – under Trajan?:** 1 Æ17 (RPC I 1658), MW, 17mm [Plovdiv, no. 4448].

*Findspot:* Found 1977 in/near the mineral spring 'Havuza'/ 'Toplitsa', in the western part of town.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 4448, 4450, acquired 1977.

*Comments:* Unpublished, but see ЦОНЧЕВ/ TZONTCHEV 1937, in *Annuaire Plovdiv* (1935-6), p. 153, no. 2, information from RAM Museum in Plovdiv, October 2010.

### 231. Hotnitsa, Veliko Turnovo region

– U

Single pieces of *RRD*

1. **L. Procilius L.f., 80 BC** (RRC 379/1), serratus, Rome, pierced, VW.
2. **Mark Antony, legionary** - LEG XV, 32/1 BC (RRC 544/30), Patrae?, VW.
3. **Mark Antony, legionary** - LEG IV, 32/1 BC (RRC 544/17), Patrae?, LW, b/m V.

*Findspot:* Found in 1950-1970's in the vicinity of the village of Hotnitsa.

*Disposition:* Formerly the Hotnitsa Chitalishte collection, now kept at the Regional History Museum Veliko Tarnovo, inv. numbers 1–3/Hotnitsa.

*Comments:* Unpublished, photographed in 1993 by I. Prokopov. Information from Mr S. Mihaylov, Veliko Tarnovo Museum, September 2009.

### 232. Kabile (fmr. Taushan-tepe; anc. *Cabyle*), Jambol region

– C/ M?

Eight single *RRDenarii*, 3 *quinarii* and 1 *cistophor*, plus early Imperial coins:

1. AR Quinarius: **C. Egnatuleius C.f., 97 BC** (RRC 333/1), Rome, w. 1.67 g, d. 16x17 mm, [no. 4387];
2. Quinarius: **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, 88 BC** (RRC 345/2), Rome, w. 1.59 g., 14 mm [no. 4259 – Kabyle'1984, sector X];
3. Quinarius: **L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC** (RRC 348/4), Rome, w. 1.57 g, 14 mm, [no. 4016];
4. Denarius: **Q. Titius, 90 BC** (RRC 341/1), Rome, w. 3.61 g., 17 mm, [no. 4697];
5. 3 denarii: **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, 88 BC** (RRC 345/1), Rome, w. 3.62 and 3.75 g. [nos. 1237, 3248 and 4359];
6. Denarius: **Mn. Fonteius, 85 BC** (RRC 353/1d), Rome, HW, scratches, w. 2.63 g., 15 mm [no. 4715];
7. Denarius serr. /plated/: **Q. Antonius Balbus?, 83 BC** (RRC 364/1), Rome, w. 2.65 g., VW [no. 421];
8. Denarius: **L. Cornelius Sulla / L. Manlius Torquatus, 82 BC** (RRC 367/3), moving mint with Sulla, w. 3.04 g. [no. 1235];
9. AR Cistophor: **Mark Antony with Octavia**, Ephesus, 39 BC (RPC I, 2201), 27.5 mm, 11.60 g., MW, patinated [no. 5304];
10. Denarius /plated/: **Mark Antony, legionary** - LEG IX, 32/1 BC (RRC 544/23), w. 3.50 g, VW [no. 4258 – Kabyle'1984, sector X];

*Imperial coins:*

11.  $\text{AE As}$ : **Augustus, ca. 27/3 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 24x25 mm, 9.73 g., VW, no patination [no. 2713 – Kabyle'1973, sector I, sq. XXXVIII/35];
12.  $\text{AE As}$ : **Augustus, ca. 27/3 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 23x24 mm, 10.84 g, MW, light corrosion [no. 3493 – Kabyle'1972, sector I, sq. LI/B];
13.  $\text{AE As}$ : **Augustus, ca. 27/3 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 26x27 mm, 11.64 g, HW [no. 4685 – Kabyle'1987, no provenance details];
14.  $\frac{1}{2} \text{AE As}$ : **Augustus, ca. 27/3 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 23x13 mm, 5.64 g., light corrosion [no. 5251 – Kabyle'1989, sector V, sq. XXXIX/38];

15. ½ Æ As: **Augustus, ca. 27/3 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 24x14 mm, 7.19 g., MW, corrosion [no. 5292];
16. Æ As: **Tiberius – for Augustus Pater, AD 22/3-26?** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81), Rome, 27x28 mm, 9.03 g., MW [no. 3494 – Kabyle'1971, donation, no provenance data];
17. Æ 24mm: **Claudius – with Britannicus, AD 53-54**, Thesalonica (RPC I 1588), Thessalonika, 23x24 mm, 7.59 g [no. 4894 - Kabyle'1987, sector 5];
18. Æ 26mm: **Nero, AD 57**, Philippi (RPC I 1655), 23x26 mm, 9.61g, HW, corroded [no. 4817 - Kabyle'1988, acquisition];
19. Denarius, plated?: **Vespasian, AD 69-70** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 2), Rome, 17mm, 3.07 g, [No. 2884 – Kabyle'1978, stray find sector 5];
20. Denarius: **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, AD 77-78** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 957), Rome, 15.5x19.8 mm, HW [No. 1871 – Kabile'1969, stray find];
21. Æ Sest: **Vespasian, AD 75-78?** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 995 or 997?), Rome, 34 mm, 21.36 g, HW, [No. 5544 - Kabile'1990, unknown context]
22. Æ As: **Titus – for Drusus Minor, AD 80-81** (RPC II, 517 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 437), Rome, 27mm, 9.86 g [No. 3716 – Kabile'1965, donation];
23. Denarius: **Domitian, AD 88-89** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 652), Rome, 3.42 g, MW [no. 4695 – Kabile'1988, no provenance data];
24. Denarius: **Domitian, AD 92-93** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 739), Rome, 20x21mm, MW, burnt? [No. 2959 – from the Kabile area, 1979];
25. Denarius: **Domitian, AD 92-93** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 742), Rome, 17.7x19mm, 3.21 g [No. 1611 – Kabile'1970, Hissarluka, chance find];
26. Æ 26mm: **Domitian AD 92-93** (RPC II, 709), Nicaea Bithynia, 26x27 mm, VW, metal surface [No. 4204 – Kabile'1982, cleaning works];
27. Dupondius: **Trajan, AD 98-99** (McAlee, 498A), Rome – for Antiochia, Syria, 26.2x26.5 mm, HW, rev.illegible [No. 1991 – Kabile'1969, Hissarluka, chance find];
28. Denarius: **Trajan, AD 105-107** (RIC II,?), Rome, 17.6x19 mm, [No. 306 – Kabile'1963, Hissarluka, chance find, now lost];
29. Denarius: **Trajan, AD 108-109** (RIC II, 119 = Woytek 279), Rome, 18.6x19 mm, VW [No. 1852 – Kabile'1969, Hissarluka];
30. Denarius: **Trajan, ca. AD 110** (RIC II, 98 = Woytek 289b), Rome, 18mm, 3.19 g, MW, patinated [No. 3765 – Kabile'1983, no other data];
31. Denarius: **Trajan, ca. AD 103-111** (RIC II, 184?) Rome, 2.69 g, flan flaw [No. 2024 – Kabile'1970, Hissarluka].
32. Denarius: **Trajan, AD 114-117** (RIC II, 298-307?), Rome, 19x19.5 mm [No. 310 – Kabile'1962, Hissarluka, chance find, now lost];
33. Æ 24mm, **Trajan, AD 103-111**: Philippi (Mouchmov 1912, no. 6927; Varbanov 3, no. 3187), 21x25 mm, [No. 2944 – Kabile'1979, no further data}.

*Findspot:* Most found between 1972-1990 during archaeological excavation around the late Roman *horraeum* in Cabyle (mainly from sectors 1, 5 and 10).

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Jambol, Inv. nos. as listed.

*Comments:* Examined and identified by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr. S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

*Reference:* short report in V. VELKOV, 'Excavations and researches in Kabyle in 1982-1986', *Settlement Life in ancient Thrace*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium, Yambol 6–9.10. 1986 (Yambol 1986), p. 9; see now PAUNOV 2012b, pp. 443–88.

### **233. Kalugerovo (anc. Arzus), Simeonovgrad area, Haskovo region**

– R / C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, 71 AD:** Æ Sestertius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 96 or 98?), Rome, 20.62g, 32.7x32.7 mm, MW, acquired 1988 [Haskovo, no. 1597].

*Findspot:* Found in 1988? in the Roman roadside station (*mansion Arzus*) and later large settlement, 1 km south of Kalugerovo.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 1597.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

*Reference on site:* ŠKORPILS 1885, 17-19; ГЕРАСИМОВА / GERASSIMOVA, in *Yambol 3* (1994), 371-389.

### **234. Kamenets, Straldja area, Jambol region**

– C

Single pieces of early Imperial coins:

1. **Nero:** Æ Sest, after 65/66 AD (cf. RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 107; RPC I, 1758), Perinthus?, 35 mm, 23.90 g, HW [No. 3252];
2. **Vespasian:** 1 D, 71 AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 43), Rome, d. 17.5x18 mm, 3.20 g., LW, patinated [No. 2918].

*Findspot:* Found in 1978-1980 in the 'Ulu-bunar' locality, 0.5 km S of the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Jambol, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Examined and identified by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr. S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

### **235. Karaevli, Tekirdağ district, Turkey**

– C

Stray excavation pieces of Thracian and Republican issues:

1. **Mostis, ca. 120–87/6 BC:** 8 Æs, most corroded and burnt [Yağiz, nos. 19-26];
2. **Sadala II, ca. 48–42 BC:** 1 Æ 14 mm, 3.00 g, type Youroukova 1976, nos. 149-152 [field no. 0401; Yağiz, no. 27];
3. **Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 47-46 BC:** 1 D (RRC 459/1), African mint, 3.44g, 17 mm, [field no. 0533; Yağiz, no. 40].

*Findspot:* Found in 2000-2007 during excavations of the ancient town *Heraion Teichos*, on a flat plateau in the 'Karaevlialti Mevkii' locality, east of the coastal village Karaevli.

*Disposition:* Regional Museum of Tekirdağ, Turkey.

*Reference:* see O. YAĞIZ, Les monnaies d'Heraion Teichos, *Anatolia antiqua* 16, 2008, pp. 110, 112-113, nos. 19-26, 40.

### **236. Karanovo, Nova Zagora area, Stara Zagora region**

– F

A group of 10 *RRD* and an *aureus* – as *grave goods*:

*Findspot:* Found in October 2009 during archaeological excavation of rich mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD burial in a Thracian mound ('Iztochnata mogila'), 1300m NW of the village:

1. **Q. Fabius Labeo, 124 BC** (RRC 273/1), Rome, HW, burnt, patination [No. 103]
2. **L. Valerius Flaccus, 108 BC** (RRC 306/1), Rome, HW, burnt, 1 grafitto obv, oxidation [No. 104]
3. **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, 88 BC** (RRC 345/1), Rome, HW, 2 b/m obv: L ; N [No. 105]
4. **P. Furius Crassipes, 84 BC** (RRC 356/1a), Rome, VW, 1 grafitto obv, 1 b/m rev [No. 102]
5. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/9-38?) – legion illegible, Patrae?, VW, plated [No. 106]
6. **Augustus – for C. L. CAESARES, 2/1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 208), Lugdunum, MW, burnt, corroded [No. 123a]
7. **Augustus – for C. L. CAESARES, 2/1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 208), Lugdunum, MW, burnt, [No. 124]
8. **Augustus – for C. L. CAESARES, 2/1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-211) Lugdunum, badly burnt [No. 125]
9. **Tiberius Caesar, AD 13/4**, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 222) Lugdunum, badly burnt, corrosion [No. 126]
10. **Tiberius Augustus, AD 14-37?** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 30?), Lugdunum, badly burnt, corrosion [No. 122]
11. **Tiberius, AD 15-18?: 1 AV aureus** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 25; Calicó 305e) Lugdunum, LW, 7.66 g. [No. 112].

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum of Nova Zagora, field inv. nos. 102–126 / 2009.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information provided by Mr V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora museum.

*Reference:* V. IGNATOV ET AL., *AOR Reports for 2009*, (Sofia 2010), pp. 247-249.

### **237. Karavelovo, Jambol region**

– C?

Single piece of early Imperial coin:

- **Nero, 64-65 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, ?), illegible type, Rome, d. 26x26 mm, 8.97 g, MW, c/marked at Perynthus in AD 68 - ΓΑΛΚΑΙ [No. 5399].

*Findspot:* Found in 1990 on the Tundja river bank, under the railway bridge, 4.5 km SE of the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Jambol, Inv. no. 5399.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr. S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

### **238. Karlovo area, Plovdiv district**

– U

Single piece of *RRD* :

- **L. Papius, 79 BC** (RRC 384/1), Rome, 18 mm, MW [No. 1932]

*Findspot:* Found in the early 1950's near the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 1932, acquired 1951.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**239. Kazanluk I, Stara Zagora district**

– U

Single find of *RRD*:

- **Q. Sicinius / C. Coponius**, 48 BC (RRC 444/1a), Asia mint – with Pompey, 16x18 mm, 3.8 g., 1 obv b/m, VW [No. 440]

*Findspot*: Found in 1920's near Kazanluk, no exact provenance noted.*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. no. 440.*Comments*: Unpublished. Information and photos from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora.**240. Kazanluk II, Stara Zagora region** [

– C

Single piece of *RRD*

- **M. Fannius C.f.**, 123 BC: 1 D (RRC 275/1), Rome

*Findspot*: Found in the 1930's near the railway station, at the south end of town.*Disposition*: 'Iskra' Municipal Historical Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 233.*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.*Reference for site*: G. TABAKOVA-TSANOVA, Ancient Pottery from the Kazanlak museum, *Archeologija* 3, no. 1 (Sofia 1961), pp. 52-4; M. DOMARADZKY, Culture of the Thracians during the Late Iron Age in the Kazanluk region [in Bulg.], In: *The Thracian Culture during Hellenistic Age in the Kazanluk region* (Kazanluk 1991), p. 128.**241. Kazanluk III, Stara Zagora region**

– C

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Claudius**, 41-50 AD: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111 or 113?), Rome, 28 mm, HW, green patina [Kazanluk, field no. 2 /16.04.2009];
2. **Nerva**, 97 AD: 1 Den (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 13), Rome, 15 mm, MW [Kazanluk, field no. 4/ 15.03.2009]

*Findspot*: Found in 2009 during an archaeological field survey and excavation of an ancient site, some 3 km W of the town centre in the direction to Koprinka village.*Disposition*: Municipal Historical Museum 'Iskra', Kazanluk, inv. nos. N/A.*Reference for site*: НЕХРИЗОВ / NEHRIZOV, *AOR Reports for 2009* (Sofia 2010), pp. 145 and 651.**242. Kazanluk (or the environs), Stara Zagora district**

– U

Stray Republican and early Imperial coins:

1. **Pinarius Natta**, 155 BC: 1 Den (RRC 200/1), Rome, [No. 453];
2. **C. Vibius C.f. Pansa**, 90 BC: 1 Den (RRC 342/5b), Rome, 16x17 mm [No. 610];
3. **C. Mamilius Limetanus C.f.**, 82 BC: 1 Den serr. (RRC 362/1), Rome, [No. 440]
4. **Q. Caecinius Metellus Pius Imp.**, 81 BC: 1 Den (RRC 374/2), North Italy, 19 mm [No. 612, missing since 1974];
5. **L. Proculus**, 80 BC: 1 Den (RRC 379/1), Rome, 19 mm [No. 611, missing since 1987];
6. **L. Proculus**, 80 BC: 1 Den (RRC 379/1), Rome, 19 mm [No. 441];

7. **M. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 463/1), Rome, [No. 451];
8. **Ti. Carisius, 46 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 464/1), Rome, [No. 443];
9. **C. Iulius Caesar, 46-5 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 468/1-2?), Spain mint, [No. 448];
10. **Lollius Palicanus, 45 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 473/2), Rome, 17x19 mm [No. 616];
11. **Petillius Capitolinus, 41 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 487/2), Rome, 19 mm [No. 444];
12. **Q. Caepio Brutus Procos with L. Sestius Proq, 42 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 502/2), Asia Minor, 19 mm [No. 618, missing since 1987];
13. **Augustus – with moneyer L. Naevius Surdinus, 15 BC:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 384) Rome, 26 mm, MW [No. 243];
14. **Mark Antony, 32-1 BC** – legionary Den. plated (RRC 544/17 – LEG IV), Patrae?, 18 mm, [no. 621];
15. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58) Rome, 27x28 mm, VW [No. 82];
16. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58) Rome, 27 mm, VW [No. 601];
17. **Claudius, AD 41-50:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 100) Rome, 25 mm [No. 603, missing since 1981];
18. **Vespasian, AD 77-78:** Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 964), Rome, [No. 629, missing since 1987];
19. **Vespasian, AD 77-78:** Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 968?), Rome, [No. 928];
20. **Vespasian, AD 70-79:** AE Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), unspecified, 30x31 mm,
21. **Domitian, AD 80/1-96:** AE As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), unspecified type, Rome, 26mm [No. 608];
22. **Domitian, AD 85-6?:** AE Dup (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 370?), Rome, 26mm [No. 244];
23. **Nerva, AD 97:** AE Sest (RIC II, 83), Rome, 34 mm [No. 211];
24. **Nerva, AD 97:** AE Sest (RIC II, 102), Rome, 31mm, [No. 604];
25. **Nerva, AD 97:** AE As (RIC II, 100?), Rome, 27x28 mm, VW [No. 136].

*Findspot:* Found between 1930-1970's in the Kazanluk and its region, no exact provenance noted.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum 'Iskra', Kazanluk, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs Meglena Parvin, Kazanluk museum, April 2011.

### **243. Kitanchevo, Isperih area, Razgrad region**

– C

Single piece of *RRD*

- **Mn. Fonteius C.f., 85 BC** (RRC 353/1d): 1

*Findspot:* Found near the local reservoir next to the village.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Isperih, Inv. no. 5.

*Reference:* Published, mentioned by K. DIMITROV 2007, pp. 381-2.

### **244. Kladorub (anc. *Conbustica*), Dimovo area, Vidin region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

- **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** AE Sest Imitation (fragment), (type RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 115) local Danubian '*limes-falsum*', d. 24x12 mm, HW, corroded, broken [Field No. 124/ 2009]

- **Vespasian, 77-78 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1012), Rome, 23x25 mm, VW, corroded [Field No. x/ 2009]
- **Domitian Caesar, 80-81 AD:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 350 /Titus/), Rome, 25x26 mm, patinated, light corrosion [Field No. 137/2009]

*Findspot:* Found 2009 during archaeological excavation (sector East wall) of the Roman site of *Conbustica* near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vidin, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, December 2009. See now K. Luka, in *AOR for 2009* (Sofia 2010), pp. 327-329.

### **245. Kocherinovo (anc. *Scaptopara*), Blagoevgrad region** – C

Single AE as and *RRDenarii*:

1. **Anonymous Republican As:** Æ, halved (RRC 56/2), Rome, ~211-206 BC  
Obv. Janus head / Rev. Prora of galley, ROMA, legend above: I.  
HW, 26x14 mm, 15.92 g. [Kyustendil, no. 2461, acquired 1988 = *CCCHBulg* II, no. 197];
2. **Den. uncertain, ~150-110 BC,** Obv. Roma with winged helmet to r., behind X / Rev. Dioscuri galloping to r., in ex. ROMA, legend illegible (RRC 2..?), HW, corroded, 17.5 mm, w. 2,96 g, 11h [Kyustendil, no. 2471, acquired 1988]
3. **Den: Mn. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC** (RRC 463/3, pl. 54<sup>20</sup>) [private collection, Pernik]
4. **Den: Mark Antony, 32-31 BC** - legionary LEG V, (RRC 544/18), Patrae?, HW, 17x18 mm, 3.18 g, 5 h [Kyustendil, no. 2319]

*Findspot:* Found in 1986-1991 in the 'Cheprashluko' locality, southwest from the quarter 'Barakovo' of town of Kocherinovo, where a fair and market of the ancient Thracian and Roman village of *Skaptopara* was situated (*cf. IGBulg* IV, no. 2236)

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Kyustendil, resp. inv. nos.

*References:* Д. Й. ДИМИТРОВ / DIMITROV 1988, p. 59, note 54; ПАУНОВ – DIMITROV (Munich 1996), p. 191, note 37.

### **246. Korten, Nova Zagora area, Sliven region** – U

Single *RRD*

- **Mn. Aquilius Mn. f. Mn. n., 65 BC** (RRC 401/1), *serratus*, 20 mm [No. 1230]

*Findspot:* Found in 1950's, acquired from Mr G. Bozukov of Korten.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Nova Zagora, inv. no. 1230.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr. V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora museum.

### **247. Kosharevo, Breznik area, Pernik region** – C

Single piece of *RRD*



- **M. Herrenius, 108/7 BC** (RRC 308/1a), Rome, 17 mm, 3.82g, MW, obv. 2 bankers-marks.

*Findspot:* Found in March 2001 during field research of an ancient (Thracian-Roman) settlement, beneath the 'Bolchar' ridge, close to the local reservoir, south of the village.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pernik.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, March 2001.

#### **248. Kostandovo, Rakitovo area, Pazardjik region**

– V

Single *RRD*:

- **Sex. Pompeius Fostlus, 137 BC** (RRC 235/1a), Rome, 3.56 g, 3 h [no. 1512].

*Findspot:* Found 1978-1980 in the 'Alkov kamuk' locality (~1100 m) during archaeological excavations of a rock-cut Thracian sanctuary, NW of the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pazardjik, Inv. no. 1512.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mrs S. Ignatova, Pazardzhik Museum.

*Reference for site:* I. PANAYOTOV – N. GIZDOVA – B. KOLEVA, *AOR Reports for 1978* (Sofia 1979), pp. 61-3.

#### **249. Kozloduy (anc. Regianum), Vratsa region**

– M

Single pieces of *RRD* of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC:

- **Unspecified Republican Den** (?)
- **Caligula – for Germanicus:** Æ, unspecified
- **Vespasian:** Æ, etc.

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1960's in the ruins of a Roman settlement in the 'Kalifera / Mitrevi lozya' locality on the Danube bank, 1.5 km W of the Kozloduy port.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by the late Dr B. Nikolov.

*Reference:* Б. НИКОЛОВ / NIKOLOV, "Monuments antiques de la région de Vraca", *BIAB* 30 (Sofia 1967), p. 233; ДИМИТРОВА / DIMITROVA 1986, no. 96, p. 28.

#### **250. Krepcha, Opaka area, Targovishte region**

– U

Single early Imperial aes-coin:

- **Vespasian, AD 71-79?**: Æ As, Rome rev. illegible, 25 mm [No. 1277]

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum of Svishtov, inv. no. 1277, acquired in 1945.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Mentioned by KUNISZ 1992, p. 133.

#### **251. Kreta (Lapidarias), Gulyantsi area, Pleven district<sup>#</sup>**

– M

Single piece of *RRD*

- **C. Licinius L. f. Macer, 84 BC** (RRC 354/1), MW, obv. bankers-mark - III,

*Findspot:* Found in 1995 in a Roman site, unknown place some 2.2 km NE of the village on the Vit river bank.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pleven

*Comments:* Information from Mr BT, Pleven. Examined by E. Paunov, March 1998.

*Reference:* Published, see PAUNOV – PROKOPOV, *IRRCHBulg* (2002), no. 144.

### **252. Kreta II (anc. Lapidarias), Gulyantsi area, Pleven region**

– M

Single Imperial coin:

- **Trajan, AD 116-117:** 1 Sest (RIC II 642 = Woytek 590), Rome, VW, metal surface [Pleven, no. 964].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970s in the locality 'Lukata', north of the village on Vit river.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. 964.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mr Petar Banov, March 2010.

### **253. Krivina I (anc. Iatrus), Russe region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, AD 22/3-26?:** Æ Dp (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81?), Rome, 28 mm, VW, countermark x? [No. 571 = 47/1975];
2. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome;
3. **Claudius – for Agrippina, AD 41-50:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 102 or 103?), Rome;
4. **Claudius, AD 41-54:** Æ As (RIC I, [hd. left]...) unspecified, Rome, 27 mm, VW, corroded, [field no. 1960/5, sector 1, in profile; Kluwe 1966, no. 13];
5. **Claudius, AD 41-54:** 1 Æ As, unspecified, Rome, 26x26.5 mm [No. 572 = 77/1975];
6. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** Æ As (Minerva r. shield / SC), = RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 116) Rome, 27.8 mm, [no inv. No., field 1960/18, sector VII, trial m; Kluwe 1966, no. 14];
7. **Domitian, AD 95/6:** Æ Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 804), Rome, MW [No. 967 = 93/1999];
8. **Domitian, AD 95/6:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 806), Rome, 28.2 mm, VW, corroded [Inv. no. 423, field 1962/9, sector IX/A; Kluwe 1966, no. 15];
9. **Trajan, AD 107-108:** Æ As (RIC 483 = Woytek 299), Rome, 27 mm [No. 573 = 48/1979].

*Findspot:* from the Roman fortified settlement and Late Antique *vicus* of *Iatrus* – in the 'Gradishte' locality, on an elevated plateau, west of the village. Excavated by the East German and Bulgarian team between 1959–2001.

All together only 9 coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, out of over 2500 in total.

*Disposition:* Sofia NAIM and Russe Historical museum, resp. inv. numbers.

*Reference:* E. KLUWE, *Klio* 47 (1966), pp. 398-400; SCHÖNERT-GEISS, in *Iatrus–Krivina*. Bd. I (Berlin 1979), pp. 174-5; SCHÖNERT-GEISS, *Iatrus–Krivina (1992-2000)*, Band VI (2007), pp. 329-82.

### **254. Krivina II (anc. Iatrus), Russe region**

– P

Two single early Imperial coins:

1. **Nero, 66 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 348; McDowell, *WCN* 297 [Ianiculum door r.]), type 16), Rome, 25x26 mm, MW, nice patination.

2. **Vespasian, 75 or 76 AD:** Æ Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 818 or 887), Rome, 26x27 mm, VW.

*Findspot:* Found in 2005 at the Roman site in locality 'Chichov elak', 2 km NE from Krivina, - interpreted as a Roman lime kilns nearby *latrus*.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological museum Sofia, inv. nos. N/A.

*Reference for site:* see Л. ВАГАЛИНСКИ / VAGALINSKI, *AOR Reports for 2005* (Sofia 2006), pp. 186-7; VAGALINSKI, in *JRA Suppl.* 82 (Portsmouth, RI 2011), p. 55.

**255. Krivodol area, Vratsa district**

– U

Single piece of Republican *denarius*:

- **C. Renius, 138 BC** (RRC 231/1), Rome, HW, scratches, 16.5 mm, 3.52g.

*Findspot:* Found 2009-2010 at an unknown site in the Krivodol region.

*Disposition:* Reg. Historical Museum of Vratsa, acquired from the Regional Police Dept in Vratsa after confiscation.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Dr N. Torbov, Vratsa museum, December 2010.

**256. Krushovene, Dolna Mitropoliija, Pleven region**

– P

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula, AD 37-38:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 28 mm, 9.61 g, VW, patinated [No. 1889]

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960's in a broken Roman brick, nearby the village.

*Disposition:* Reg. Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. 1889

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.

*Reference:* P. BANOV, in *Studia in honorem Iliae Prokopov*, 2012, p. 497, no. 21.

**257. Krumovo, Asenovgrad, Plovdiv region**

– U

Single find of Early Imperial coin:

- **Claudius, AD 41-50:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 100? – Spes r.), Rome, 27 mm, HW, corroded [Plovdiv, no. 2695].

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1970's near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2695, purchased 1976.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**258. Krumovo, Jambol region**

– U / C

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Nero, AD 64-65:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 53), Rome, d. 16 mm, 3.03 g, VW [No. 3715].

*Findspot:* Found in 1972 near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Jambol, Inv. no. 3715.

*Comments:* Examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

**259. Kula (anc. *Castra Martis*), Vidin region**

– M

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Vitellius, 69 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 109), Rome, LW [Vidin, no. 1543].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970's during archaeological excavation of the late Roman *quadriburgium* of *Castra Martis*, in the town centre of Kula.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Vidin, Inv. no. 1543.

*Reference:* Published, see K. DIMITROV, in Y. ATANASSOVA et al. (Sofia 2005), p. 226, no. 2.

**260. Kyustendil (or the environs), Kyustendil region**

– V

Stray finds of *RRD* (mostly from the mineral water spring in town):

1. **Uncertain *RRD*, ~155-120 BC** (RRC 2..?), Rev. Roma in biga riding r., VW, grainy surface. 16x17 mm, 2.86 g, 3h [No. 2112, acquired in 1979];
2. D - **Pinarius Natta, 155 BC** (RRC 200/1). LW, minor scratches, 17x18 mm, 3.72 g, 12h [No. 4467];
3. D - **F. Decimus Flaus, ~150 BC** (RRC 207/1), HW, 15x16 mm, 3.22 g, 6h [No. 2111];
4. D - **C. Valerius Flaccus, 140 BC** (RRC 228/1), HW, 18 mm, 3.20 g, 12h, 2 punch-marks both on the obv. and rev. [No. 2109];
5. D - **Q. Minucius Rufus, 122 BC** (RRC 277/1), MW, deformed, 18 mm, 3.61 g, 3h [No. 112];
6. D - **Q. Curtius & M. Iunius Silanus, 116/5 BC** (RRC 285/2 = Syd.537), LW, 18 mm, 3.71 g, 3h [No. H-1171];
7. D - **L. Marcius Philippus, 113/2 BC** (RRC 293/1 = Syd. 551), pierced, HW, 19 mm, 3.36 g, 2h [No. 117];
8. D - **M. Lucilius Rufus, 101 BC** (RRC 324/1 = Syd. 599), LW, 18x20 mm, 3.33 g, 5h [No. 2108];
9. D - **C. Vibius C.f. Pansa, 90 BC** (RRC 342/5b, add. symbol - sceptre), MW, 19 mm, 3.80 g, 12h [No. 419];
10. D - **C. Norbanus, 83 BC** (RRC 357/1b = Syd. 739), LW, diam. 17 mm, w. 3.63 g, 8h [inv. № 441];
11. D - **C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC** (RRC 382/1b), MW, deformed, diam. 19 mm, w. 3.38 g, 3h [No. 113];
12. Plated den. - **C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 67 BC** (RRC 408/1b), LW, but copper core visible, 17x18 mm, 2.92 g, 6h [No. 2107, acquired in 1979];
13. D - **Q. Pomponius Musa, 66 BC** (RRC 410/7d), worn, pierced, 15x16 mm, 2.98 g, 6h [No. 2113, acquired on 7.12.1979];
14. D - **M. Iunius Brutus, 54 BC** (RRC 433/1), HW, grainy surface, punch-mark **S**, 19 mm, 3.36 g, 2h [No. 114];
15. D - **Q. Caecinius Metellus Pius Scipio with M. Eppius, 47/6 BC** (RRC 461/1), LW, 19 mm, 3.79 g, 12h [No. 116];
16. D - **P. Clodius M.f, 42 BC** (RRC 494/23); MW, gray silver patina, diam. 18 mm, w. 3.19 g, 5h [No. 420, from the mineral spring];

17. Legionary RRD - **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/14-39? – LEG ?), HW, 17 mm, 3.32 g, 10h [№ 111];
18. **Octavian, 30-29 BC**: 1 D (*RIC* I, 274; BMC 647), LW, 19 mm, 3.72 g, 3 banker's marks, scratches [No. 115, acquired in 1953/5, from the mineral spring];
19. **Octavian Augustus, 29-28 BC**: AR *Quin*, Ephesus? mint. Obv. CAESAR. Head of Octavian to r. / Rv. ASIA [RECEPTA], cista mistica (*RIC* I 18, pl. III/55), LW, 14 mm, 1.65 g, 9h [No. 2446, from the vicinity of Kyustendil]

*Findspot*: Found in the early 1950's (or earlier) during cleaning of the old piping of mineral water spring in the centre of Kyustendil (where once was the *Asclepeium*).

*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum of Kyustendil, Inv. Nos. 111-116; 419-420, 441, 1171, 2108, et al. Acquired from Mr A. Rozev between 1953/55 and 1960.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov and S. Filipova, October 2002.

*Reference for site*: Ў. ИВАНОВ / IVANOV 1920, pp. 68-73 [on the 1908-1912 excavation of site].

*Reference see now*: S. FILIPOVA – I. PROKOPOV – E. PAUNOV, *The Numismatic Collection of the Regional Historical Museum at Kyustendil*. Vol. I, (Sofia 2009), nos. 196–219.

### **261. Laskarevo, Sandanski, Blagoevgrad region**

– C

Single pieces of *Republican asses* and *denarii*:

- ½ **Æ As**, Republican – halved (RRC 1.?), Rome, ~169-158 BC;
- **Republican Denarii** – 2 unspecified, of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

*Findspot*: Found in the late 1980's on the slopes of the 'St. Spas' plateau on the top of which the St. Spas church is situated, 300 m west of the village. Along with bronze coins of the Macedonian kings Philip V and Perseus, as well as autonomous coins of Amphipolis, Pela and Thessaloniki, dated to the period ca. 221–168/148 BC.

*Disposition*: Regional Histor. Museum of Kyustendil or Blagoevgrad/?/

*Comments*: Unpublished. Examined and mentioned by I. Prokopov (1987).

*Reference for site*: DREMSIZOVA-NELCHINOVA (Sofia 1987), pp. 82-3, nos. 171 and 172, fig. 56; PAUNOV – D. Y. DIMITROV, (Sofia 2000), pp. 57-8, cat. no. 4.

### **262. Leskovets I (anc. *Variana*), Oryahovo area, Vratsa region**

– M

Excavation early Imperial coins:

1. **Claudius**, **Æ As** (hd. to l., unspecified), 5.16g, 22x23mm, VW, burnt, corroded;
2. **Claudius, ca. AD 51-50?**: **Æ Sest**, Rome, 14.36g, 30x31 mm, VW, rev. illegible (linen textile imprint of rev. – from a burial?);
3. **Domitian**, **Æ As** (unspecified, illegible), Rome, 4.49g, HW;
4. **Hadrian, AD 128-132**: **Æ As** (*RIC* III 975? [cos III / SC, Salus r]), Rome, 5.17g, 16x19 mm, VW, corrosion.

*Findspot*: Found in October 2003 during rescue archaeological excavation of the eastern fortification wall of *Variana*, 2 km northeast of the village, at the Danube bank.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Oryahovo, unlisted.

*Comments:* Unpublished, only brief record in the excavation report. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, August 2011.

*Reference:* N. TORBOV – D. ANTONOV – E. NAYDENOVA, in *AOR Reports for 2004* (Sofia 2005), pp. 167-168.

### **263. Leskovets II (anc. *Variana*), Oryahovo area, Vratsa region**

– M

Stray early Imperial coins:

1. **Augustus:** Æ As, unspecified type, HW, scratches, 7.4g, 26x25 mm [Oryahovo museum, un-listed];
2. **Augustus:** Æ As limes-imitation, barbarous style S-C / wreath, VW, 8.6g. 24x26 mm [Oryahovo museum, un-listed];
3. **Augustus /Tiberius?:** Æ27, Bithynia-Asia Minor, uncertain mint/?, 7.3g. 27x23 mm, MW, light-green patination (Oryahovo museum - donation, 1970s).
4. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** Æ As (RIC I 58), Rome, HW, corroded, 8.3g, 27x28 mm.
5. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I 58), Rome, VW, 9.7g, 25x26 mm – from *Variana*.
6. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I 58), Rome, no further data [Vratsa, no. 187, acquired 1960];
7. **Vespasian, AD 71** (cos III): Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 482), AEQVITAS AVGVSTI, Rome, MW, green patination, 9.90 g, 25x25.5 mm [Oryahovo, unlisted].
8. **Trajan?, Philippi mint:** COHOR PRAE-[PHIL], Æ, 15x17mm, 3.69 g. [Oryahovo, unlisted].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1950-1990's in the ruins of *Variana*, 2 km northeast of the village.

*Disposition:* Municipal Historical Museum of Oryahovo (1 in Vratsa), unlisted, various donations.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined and identified by E. Paunov, August 2011.

*Reference for the site:* GANETZOVSKI - NAYDENOVA, in *Proceedings of the museums in Northwestern Bulgaria* 28 (Vratsa 2000), 215-216, map 3.

### **264. Liliache, Vratsa region**

– V

Single early Imperial coins:

- **Augustus:** 3 Æ Asses? (countermark: **TI AVG**);
- **Nero:** 2 Æs, unspecified;
- **Illegible 1<sup>st</sup> century AD** coins – 18 Æs, unspecified;
- **Trajan:** 2, unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found in 1951 during excavation of a Thracian horseman and Silvanus sanctuary in the locality 'Kadin vir' near a sacred spring, 1 km east from the village.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, inv. numbers not known.

*Comments:* Unpublished in detail except this short excavation report.

*Reference:* ВЕНЕДИКОВ / VENEDIKOV (Sofia 1952), pp. 210-211.

### **265. Lomets (Sostra), Troyan area, Lovech region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Found 2002-2006 during archaeological excavation of auxiliary fort *Sostra* on left bank of Osum (Asamus) river near village of Lomets, 12 km north from Trojan.

- **Nero, 64-65 AD:** 1  $\text{AE}$  Sest, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 172), Rome, no further data;
- **Nero:** 1 D, unspecified type
- **Nerva:** 1  $\text{AE}$  As, unspecified type, HW
- **Trajan:** 2  $\text{AE}$  Asses, unspecified types

Out of 222 coins excavated from the site.

*Disposition:* Municipal History Museum of Troyan, resp. inv. numbers. More specific information was officially denied in May 2011.

*Comments:* Unpublished, mentioned briefly I. HRISTOV (Sofia 2003), pp. 39-42; ХРИСТОВ / HRISTOV (Sofia 2006), pp. 31, 34 (figs. 27-28), and pp. 81-4.

### **266. Lozen (fmr. Diynikliy), Lyubimets area, Haskovo region**

– V

Single Republican and early Imperial coins:

- **Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, 62 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 415/1), Rome.
- **Augustus – with C. L. CAESARES, ca. 2–1 BC:** 2 Denarii [identical?], (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-211?), Lugdunum.
- **Domitian, 84 AD:**  $\text{AE}$  As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 224) - SALVTI AVGVSTI / S–C, Rome.

Out of 28 coins in total from the site, ranging from AEs of Philip II and Maronea down to *nummus* of Constantius II (AD 348-355).

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, unspecified inv.nos.

*Findspot:* Found between 1893 and 1898 in the sanctuary of *Apollo Geikesenos* and the Thracian Horseman, in the 'Goljama madenska reka' locality near the village.

*Reference:* ДОБРУСКИ / DOBRUSKY, in *SbNUNK* vol. 11 (Sofia 1894), pp. 75-6; ДОБРУСКИ / DOBRUSKY, in *Annuaire Sofia I* (Sofia 1907), pp. 124-6.

### **267. Lozenets, Jambol region**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

1. **Vespasian, 76 AD:** 1  $\text{AE}$  As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 894); Rome, d. 27x28 mm, 10.97 g, MW [No. 1085, acquired 1964];
2. **Vespasian, 76 AD:** 1  $\text{AE}$  Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 887), FELICITAS [PVBLICA], S–C, Rome, d. 25x26 mm, 10.64 g, VW [No. 1128].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960s, in the 'Marasha' locality near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Jambol, Inv. numbers 1085 and 1128.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr Stefan Bakardzhiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

**268. Lyubenovo / 1969, Haskovo region** – R

Single early Imperial *denarius*:

- **Titus – for Domitian Caesar, 80 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 41 = II/1<sup>2</sup>, 99), Rome, 18x19 mm, 2.76g [No. 298].

*Findspot:* Found 1969 in the locality 'Hancheto' near the village, on the surface.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 298.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, December 2010.

**269. Lyulin I / 1956, Jambol region** – U

Single *RRD*:

- **Imitation of *RRD***, prototype of L. Itaeus, struck in 149 BC (*RRC* 209/1), 3.02g, 17.5x18 mm, VW [No. 415, near the village]

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Jambol, Inv. no. 415.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

**270. Lyulin II / 1967, Jambol region** – F

Four *denarii* in a burial as grave goods:

1. **Nerva, AD 96/7:** 1 D, (RIC II, 4 or 17), 2.48 g [No. 1557]
- 2-3. **Trajan:** 2 D, 1 – (RIC II, 52) [No. 1246, 1258]
4. **Hadrian:** 1 D, illegible, burnt [No. 1257].

All burnt and damaged by fire.

*Findspot:* Found 1967 in vaulted Roman brick tombs in tumulus, in the 'Bjaldjadova mogila' locality near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Jambol, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr Stefan Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

*Reference:* mentioned by Л. ГЕТОВ – Ж. ПОПОВ / ГЕТОВ – ПОПОВ, "Grobni nahodki ot Yambolsko", *Archeologija* 14 (Sofia 1972), no. 3, pp. 45-46, № 8.

**271. Maglizh, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora region** – U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, 70 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 29), Rome, 17 mm

*Findspot:* Found in the 1930s near town, unknown location.



*Disposition:* 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 287.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum, 2011.

### **272. Madara, Shumen region**

– C

Stray early Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Found 1949-1963 during archaeological excavation of a Roman *villa rustica* (peristyle building) in a field in the locality 'Klise-yeri', E from the village of Madara, spread over 2 ha.

Out of 122 coins excavated:

1. **Vespasian:** 3 D:

1 D. – **70 AD**, type RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 43 [No. 1 - from Villa 1, room no. 29]

- i. 1 D – **Jan.-June 70 AD**, type RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 19 (COS ITER TRPOT [No. 42 - from the Baths, E from the main building]

2. **Domitian:** 2 D., 1 – **87/8 AD**: Minerva stg.r. – IMP XIII COS...? [No. 43 – from the baths, W of room no. IX];

3. **Trajan:** 5: 1 D., 1 drachm and 3 *Æ* Asses.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Shumen, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished, mentioned by T. GERASSIMOV, (Shumen 1960), pp. 57 and 61; and DREMSIZOVA-NELCHINOVA 1984, pp. 83, 87, 97 and 102.

### **273. Malko Gradishte / 1975, Lyubimets area, Haskovo region**

– U

Single find of *RRD*:

- **Q. Fufius Calenus / Mucius Cordus, 68 BC:** 1 D serratus (RRC 403/1), Rome, 19x21 mm, 3.16 g [No. 1048].

*Findspot:* Found 1975 in the river while panning sand (near the concrete bunker), near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 1048.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. M. Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

### **274. Malko Trunovo, Chirpan, Stara Zagora region**

– C

Single find of *RRD*:

1. **L. Saufeius, 152 BC** (RRC 204/1), Rome, 3.4 g, 17 mm, VW, scratches [No. 2130];
2. **Caligula, AD 37-41:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38) Rome, 27 mm, 11.3 g, scratches [No. 2129].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960s around 'Hissarja' tell, 2 km north from the village.

*Disposition:* Region. Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. nos. 2129 and 2130.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora.

**275. Maluk Porovets / 1990, Isperih area, Razgrad region** – C

Single find of early Imperial coin:

- **Claudius I, ca. 50-54 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111?), CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI / S-C), Rome, no further data.

*Findspot:* Found in 1990 in the 'Novite korenezhi' locality during archaeological excavation of a Thracian cult site, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, near the village. Located some 400 m west of Getic town of *Helis*.

*Disposition:* Historical Museum Isperih, Inv. no. 54-1990.

*Comments:* Published in 2007 by Dr. K. Dimitrov. Compare hoard Find cat. No. 37 (56 denarii with 11 imitations from the same site).

*Reference:* DIMITROV 2007, p. 382, no. 7.2.

**276. Mandra / 1973, Haskovo region** – U

Single find of *RRD*:

- **Q. Pompeius Rufus, 54 BC:** 1 D, (RRC 434/2), Rome, 17.5x19 mm, 2.70 g. [No. 534].

*Findspot:* Found 1973 in the locality 'Kazancheto' near the village, on the surface.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 534.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

**277. Manole, Plovdiv region [** – U

Single piece of *RRD*

- **Mn. Aemilius Lepidus, 113 BC** (RRC 291/1), Rome, 19 mm, MW [No. 2179]

*Findspot:* Found in the 1950s near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2179, acquired Jan. 1959.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**278. Mechka, Pleven area, Pleven region<sup>#</sup>** – C

Single *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1997 at a Roman settlement, SE from the village.

- **Sextus Pompeius, 37/6 BC** (RRC 511/4a-c?), Sicily mint, MW.

*Disposition:* Private collection, Pleven.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Mr BT, Pleven. Examined by E. Paunov, August 2002.

**279. Molyvoti (anc. Maroneia), GREECE**

– C

Single excavation coins:

1. **M. Volteius M.f., 78 BC:** 1 Den plated (RRC 385/1), Rome?, plated, 3.17 g, 19 mm, 12h [M367, inv. no. 1260];
2. **Augustus, with M. Salvius Otho, 7 BC:** 1 As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 189), Rome, 26mm, 10.28 g, 11h [M368; inv. no. 2293]
3. **Rhoemetalces I, ca. AD 10-12**, 1 AE, late style (Jouroukova 1976, no. 194 = RPC I, 1718), 21 mm, 4.38 g, 6h [M241, inv. no. 9538];
4. **Nero – Maroneia, ca. AD 54-68:** AE 22mm (RPC I, 1718), 22 mm, 8.44 g, 6h [M157, inv. no. 9258];
5. **Claudius / Nero, Thessalonika** for KOINON MAKEDONWN: 1 AE 23 (RPC I, 1611-1612), 23 mm, 7.01 g, 0h [M321, inv. no. 111].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960-1990s on the Molyvoti peninsula, where ancient city of *Maroneia* was located.

*Disposition:* Komotini Museum, resp. inv. numbers.

*Reference:* Published, see PSOMA – KARADIMA – TERZOPOULOU, *The Coins from Maroneia*, (Athens 2008), pp. 77, 95, 107 and 118.

**280. Montana I (or the regional environs), Montana district**

– U

Stray finds of *RRD* (the first three may constitute a hoard /or fragment of it?/):

1. **L. Valerius Flaccus, 108/7 BC** (RRC 306/1), Rome, MW [no. 972]
2. **L. Sentius C.f., 101 BC** (RRC 325/1b), Rome, MW [no. 971]
3. **M. Porcius Cato, 89 BC** (RRC 343/1), Rome, VW, 2 b/m obv. [no. 970]
4. **C. Licinius L.f. Macer, 84 BC** (RRC 354/1), Rome [no. 994], found in Montana centre.
5. **P. Accoleius Lariscolus, 41 BC** (RRC 486/1), Rome, MW, patination [no. 1008]
6. **Sextus Pompeius, 37-36 BC** (RRC 511/3a), Sicily, 2 b/m obv.- S C [no. 1007].

*Findspot:* Found in 1960-1970s near the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Montana, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr M. Markov, Montana Museum, Jan. 2010.

**281. Montana II (anc. praesidium Montanensium), Montana region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Tiberius - for Augustus, AD 22-30:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81), Rome, 30x33 mm, MW [Montana HM, no. ?]
2. **Caligula – for Agrippina, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 55), Rome [Montana HM, no. N/A]
3. **Vespasian, AD 76:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 887), Rome, 25 mm [found before 1909, now Plovdiv, no. 60]

4. **Colonia Philippi, under Trajan?, AD 98-117**: 1 Æ18 mm (RPC I, 1658), [found before 1909, now Plovdiv, no. 62];

*Findspot*: Found 1971-3 during archaeological excavation of the early Roman fort in the 'Kaletó' locality, just above the modern town of Montana.

*Disposition*: Regional History Museum of Montana, resp. inv. nos.

*Reference*: Unpublished, mentioned by АЛЕКСАНДРОВ / ALEXANDROV (Vratsa 1977), pp. 279, 287; АЛЕКСАНДРОВ / ALEXANDROV (Sofia 1987), p. 80, fig. 8; A. KUNISZ (Katowice 1992), p. 135.

**282. Mostovo – Belentash / 2011, Assenovgrad, Plovdiv region**

– V

Single Republican coin:

- **Mark Antony, 32-31 BC**: 1 legionary Den, LEG III (RRC 544/15), Patrae?, LW, 3.39g [field no. 51/2011].

*Findspot*: Found in 2011 during archaeological excavation of the Thracian rock sanctuary.

*Disposition*: Mun. Historical Museum of Assenovgrad, Inv. no. N/A.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Dr B. Borislavov and M. Hristov (Dec. 2011).

**283. Mihaylovo, Stara Zagora, Stara Zagora region**

– F

Single find of *RRD*:

- **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, 88 BC** (RRC 345/1), Rome, 3.0 g, 17 mm, HW [No. 2366]

*Findspot*: Found in 1960s in a Thracian mound burial near the village (along with AE Roman vessels).

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. no. 2366.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora, November 2009.

**284. Mineralni bani / 1962, Haskovo region**

– V

Single find of early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 26.9x28 mm, 6.38 g. [No. 530].

*Findspot*: Found 1962 in the village, near the hot mineral spring.

*Disposition*: Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 530.

*Comments*: Unpublished, information from to Mrs. M. Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

**285. Nedelkovo, Trun area, Pernik district**

– U/C

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Domitian Caesar, AD 77/8**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 957-962?), cos v, Rome [No. 375].

*Findspot:* Found in 1972 while digging in a village garden.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pernik, Inv. no. H-375.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, Nov. 1997.

**286. Negovantsi, Radomir area, Pernik district**

– C

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Domitian, AD 88:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 552-605?), COS XIII, Rome, LW, patinated.

*Findspot:* Found in March 1999 with a metal detector in a Roman settlement near the village.

*Disposition:* Private collection D.Y.D., Pernik.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, March 1999.

**287. Nessebar I (anc. Messembria), Burgas region**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Nero, 64-67 AD:** 1 *Æ* S (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 372), Lugdunum, 33 mm, LW [before 1909, now Plovdiv, no. 96].

*Findspot:* Found before 1909 in the sands near the sea coast.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 96, acquired 1909.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, October 2010.

**288. Nessebar II (anc. Messembria), Burgas region**

– C

Single Republican, Thracian and early Imperial coins:

1. **C. Porcius Cato, 123 BC:** 1 Den (RRC 274/1), Rome, 3.80g, MW [Burgas, no. 1148];
2. **Rhoemetalces with Augustus:** *Æ* 24 (RPC I, 1711-1713?), 10.17 g, 22.5x24mm, [Burgas, no. 1151];
3. **Titus, 80 AD:** Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 128 or 129?), Rome, 2.99g, VW [Burgas, no. 1147].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960s in and around the town.

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Burgas, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, August 2011.

**289. Nevestino, Kyustendil region**

– C

Few early Imperial coins:

1. **Rhoemetalces I, ca. 11 BC–AD 12:** 1 *Æ* (unspecified);
2. **Claudius, AD 41-50:** 1 *Æ* Sest/As (unspecified);
3. **Trajan, AD 98-117:** 2 *Æ* Dup/As (unspecified).

Out of 34 coins reported in total.

*Findspot:* Found in 1909/10 during archaeological excavation of a Thraco-Roman settlement (*villa?*) in the 'Moshteni' locality, some 600 m east from the 'Kadin most' old bridge on the Strymon river near Nevestino.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, inv. nos. N/A.

*Reference:* Й. ИВАНОВ / IVANOV 1910, p. 192; A. KUNISZ (Katowice 1992), pp. 140 and 174; Хр. ХАРИТОНОВ, „Акад. Йордан Иванов и монетите от Кадин мост“, *Известия на Исторически музей Кюстендил* 10 (Kyustendil 2005).

## **290. Nikyup (anc. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*), Veliko Turnovo region**

– C

Excavation assemblage from the site.

*Findspot:* Found in 1907 during the first archaeological excavation at Nikyup by V. Dobrusky (forum and odeium):

1. **Vespasian**, 69-79 AD: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), unspecified.
- 2-3. **Nerva**, 96-98 AD: 2 Den (RIC II,?), Rome, unspecified.
4. **Trajan**, 98-117 AD: 1 D (RIC II?), Rome, (unspecified).

Out of 529 coins in total.

*Disposition:* National Archaeological Museum Sofia, Inv. nos. N/A.

*Reference:* T. GERASSIMOV 1939a, pp. 340-341.

## **291. Nikyup II (anc. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*), Veliko Turnovo region**

– C

Stray find:

- **Nero**, 64/5 AD: Den (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 53 – IVPPITER CVSTOS), Rome, VW [Russe, no. 867].

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum Russe, inv. no. 867, acquired in the 1950's.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by E. Paunov, May 2011.

## **292. Nikyup III (anc. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*), Veliko Turnovo region**

– C

Excavation assemblages from the site.

*Findspot:* Found in 1986-1990 and 2008 during regular archaeological excavation in the agora of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*:

1. **Mark Antony, legionary** - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC (RRC 544/8-39?), Patrae?, HW, 2.91 g, [Inv. no. 3976 / 1988, from the '*thermoperipathos*' building];
2. **Claudius**: Æ As, 41-54 AD (RIC I, ?), Rome, 26x27 mm, 8.51 g., corroded, HW [Field No. 54/1998 – from E part of agora, on a dried brick pavement of 1<sup>st</sup> building phase, beneath a collapsed roof];
3. **Nero**: Æ As, 65-66 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 543 or 605), Lugdunum, 27x27.5 mm, 8.20 g., VW [Field No. 1383/2008 – from a street of 1<sup>st</sup> building phase, W from agora];
4. **Vespasian**: 1 D, 72-3 AD (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 357 or 1557?), Rome / Ephesus?, 3.13 g [No. 4120 – from pit 2 in agora, latest coins dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD];

5. **Vespasian**: 1 D, 73 AD (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 545), Rome, 2.18 g [No. 4068 – on brick pavement in central agora area, work square 55/25, 1<sup>st</sup> building phase];
6. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar**, 77/8 AD: 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 972), Rome, 3.08 g, 18 mm [No. 4046 – from drainage fill at the E entrance of agora];
7. **Domitian**, 88 AD: 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 580), Rome, 3.18 g., LW to mint state [Field no. 60/2000 – from central area of agora, in the filling layer above the 1<sup>st</sup> building phase];
8. **Nerva**, 96-8 AD: Æ As/Dup? (RIC II,?) – Fortuna/Aequitas stg.I. , VW [field no. 414/A/2260/5301; Butcher, no. 97]
9. **Nerva**, 96-8 AD: Æ As (RIC II,?), illegible, Rome, 26x27 mm, 7.13 g [Field No. 1384/2008 – between buildings 7 and 9, W part of agora, near cardo of 1<sup>st</sup> building phase, along with coin of Antoninus Pius];
10. **Trajan**, 103-111 AD: Æ Sest (RIC II,?; *BMCRE* 772 = Woytek xx) – Roma and a Dacian , MW [field no. 379/C/4035/6524; Butcher, no. 98];
11. **Domitian – Hadrian?**, Anonymous Æ Quad (RIC II, p. 218, 19-23) Helm. bust of Mars / Cuirass between S-C, MW [field no. 542/F/3301/8295; Butcher, no. 100].

*Disposition*: Regional Museum of History – Veliko Tarnovo, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments*: Most unpublished. Information from Dr P. Vladkova and Mr S. Mihaylov, Veliko Tarnovo Museum, December 2009 – February 2010.

*Reference*: BUTCHER 1995, p. 279, nos. 97-100; the rest – unpublished.

### **293. Nova Zagora area, Sliven district**

– U

Single pieces of *RRD*

*Findspot*: Found 1937-39 at unknown sites near the town.

1. **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1): 1 D, Narbo Gaul mint, 18 mm
2. **M. Iunius Brutus Imp. / Casca Longus, 42 BC** (RRC 507/2): 1 D, Greek mint, moving with Brutus, 18 mm.

*Disposition*: Municipal Hist. Museum of Nova Zagora, Inv. nos. 228, 605.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mr V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora Museum.

### **294. Nova Zagora, Sliven district**

– U

- '*Dacian*' imitation of **Augustus: 1 D.**, after 15 BC (type RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 167 or 187), plated, 18x20 mm, 2.4 g. [No. 3293]

*Findspot*: Found in 1960s near the town.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. no. 3293.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora, November 2009.

### **295. Nova Zagora area, Sliven district**

– U

Single *RRD*

- **Mark Antony** - LEG VIII, **32/1 BC** (RRC 544/21), Patrae?, 16 mm, ...g. [No. 1261]

*Findspot:* Found in 1955, acquired from Mr. G. Bozukov of Korten.

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum of Nova Zagora, Inv. no. 1261.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora museum.

### **296. Obnova, Levski, Pleven region**

– C

Single coins:

1. **Republican denarii:** 2, unspecified, late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC
2. **Caligula – for Germanicus**, AD 37-41: AE As?, unspecified
3. **Vespasian, AD 69-79:** 2 Den, unspecified;
4. **Trajan, AD 100:** 1 AE As (RIC II 417 = Woytek 82), Rome, MW [Pleven, no. 493].

*Findspot:* Found in 1982/4 in the west part of village – an unidentified Roman settlement. *Aureus* of Trajan Decius is found on the same site, RIC IV/3, 28 (Pleven, no. 808).

*Disposition:* Not located in the Regional Museum in Pleven (as of March 2010). Brought by Mr As. Yordanov in the early 1980's and later returned; only no. 4 in Pleven.

*Reference:* mentioned by V. GERASSIMOVA-TOMOVA, *Archeologija* 28/3 (Sofia 1986), pp. 27-28; KUNISZ 1992, p. 134; see also МИТОВА-ДЖОНОВА 1979, 54.

### **297. Odartzi, Dobrich region**

– C

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Nero, 64-66 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 198), Rome, 25x25.5 mm, 10.26 g, MW, extra muros sector, [Dobrich, no. 2646; Torbatov 2002, 44, B.1];
2. **1<sup>st</sup> century AE As**, completely illegible, Rome, 23.4x25.4 mm, 8.08 g, HW [Dobrich, no. 2612; Torbatov 2002, 40, A.4];
3. **Vespasian, 74-75 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC II 577a? = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?- not AS!), Rome, 26x27.3 mm, 9.79 g, MW [Dobrich, no. 2612; Torbatov 2002, 39, A.1, fig.11.1];
4. **Vespasian, 74-75 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC II 577a = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), Rome, 25x26.7 mm, 7.23 g, MW, extra muros sector, [Dobrich, no. 2644; Torbatov 2002, 44, B.2];
5. **Domitian, 81-96 AD:** 1 AR Den plated, (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, unspecified, illegible), Rome?, 17x18 mm, 1.60 g, HW, pierced twice, from a medieval house 32, [Dobrich, no. 2582; Torbatov 2002, 39, A.2];
6. **Domitian, 81-96? AD:** 1 AE As (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, unspecified, illegible), Rome, 26.7x27.3 mm, 9.34 g, HW [Dobrich, no. 3339; Torbatov 2002, 39, A.3].

*Total:* 6 early Roman coins out of 312 in total published from site.

*Findspot:* Found in 1969-1991 during archaeological excavation of a large Late antique fortified town, 1 km south from the village.

*Comments:* Published adequately, but erroneous IDs of Vespasian's coins.

*Reference:* published by C. ТОРБАТОВ / TORBATOV 2002, pp. 36, 39-40, 44, nos. A1-A3, B1-B2.



**298. Oryahovo / 2006, Ljubimets, Haskovo region**

– R

Single Republican coin:

- **Sextus Pompeius: AE As:** ~42/38 BC (RRC 479/1; RPC I, 671; Martini 1995; Woytek 2003, no. 281, pp. 499-501), Sicily mint, 27.7x29.2 mm, 19.62 g., VW, pierced, patinated [No. 2471]

*Findspot:* Found 2006 – a stray find in the 'Bostanite' locality, east of the village (close to the Roman main road – *via militaris Thraciae*).

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 2471, donated by a local person.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Slavova, Haskovo museum. To be published by E. PAUNOV & M. SLAVOVA, 2012 /in print/.

**299. Ostrov (near Silistra), Constanța district, Romania**

– M

Stray finds of Republican *denarii* and early Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Found in 1955-2008 during excavations of a Roman site in the 'Ferma-4' locality near village of Ostrov, some 2.5 km southeast from *Durostorum/Silistra*.

1. **L. Cornelius Lentulus et C. Marcius Cos, 49 BC:** 1 D (RRC 445/2), Apollonia, 3.02 g; 17.1x18 mm; 11 h, VW [Dima, no. 5]
2. **Mark Antonius, 32-31 BC:** 1 D (RRC 544/2), Patrae?, 2.63g, 16.4x17.3 mm, VW, broken [Dima, no. 6];
3. **Augustus – unspecified As**, countermark **TIB·IM** on obv, 7.43 g, 24.5x26.3 mm, illegible, HW [Dima, no. 7];
4. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, c.22/3-30 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81), Rome, 6.19g, 24.6x25.8mm, VW [Dima, no. 8];
5. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, c.22/3-30 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 81), Rome, 7.05g, 24x26 mm, VW [Dima, no. 9];
6. **Caligula, 37-38 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 38, 47 or 54? – Vesta), Rome, 8.50g, 25.3x26.5 mm, VW [Dima, no. 10];
7. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), Rome, 8.31g, 25.6x26.6 mm, VW, corroded [Dima, no. 11];
8. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), Rome, 8.14g, 27x28 mm, [Dima, no. 12];
9. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), Rome, 7.67g, 26.2x27.6 mm, obv. c/mked **CA** [Dima, no. 13];
10. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), Rome, 7.45g, 27.3x28.4 mm, [Dima, no. 14];
11. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), Rome, 4.79g, 23x25 mm, found 1971-6, VW [Dima, no. 15];
12. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 100), Rome, 8.36g, 26.8x27.6 mm, HW, corroded [Dima, no. 16, inv. no. 8482];
13. **Claudius – for Germanicus, 50-54 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 106), Rome, 8.11g, 26.3x27.6 mm, [Dima, no. 17; no. 8464];

14. **Unspecified As (Caligula – Claudius?)**, Rome, 8.36g, 27x28.5mm, obv. c/mk capricorn to r. [Martini 2003, nos. 4068-4078], VW [Dima, no. 18];
15. **Unspecified As, Julio-Claudian**, Rome, 6.19g, 21.5x25.6 mm, HW, illegible – from trial digs [Dima, no. 19];
16. **Unspecified As, Julio-Claudian**, Rome, 4.96g, 27.2x28.2 mm, pierced, HW, illegible, found 1997 [Dima, no. 20];
17. **Unspecified Æ As, Julio-Claudian**, Rome, 4.87g, 26.3x28 mm, HW, illegible [Dima, no. 21];
18. **Vespasian, Jan. – June 70 AD: 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 29)** Rome, 2.92g, 16.2x18 mm, MW [Dima, no. 22];
19. **Vespasian, c.70-76? AD: Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> unspecified; seated figure to r., holding patera and sceptre?)**, Rome, 8.93g, 25.5x26.8 mm, VW, illegible [Dima, no. 23];
20. **Vespasian, 77-78 AD: Æ Dupondius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 1218)** Lugdunum, 12.77g, 24.6x26 mm, MW [Dima, no. 24];
21. **Vespasian – for Titus, 75-76 AD: Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 836)** Rome, 8.45g, 26.5x27 mm, excavations 1997 [Dima, no. 25];
22. **Titus, 80-1 AD: Æ Sestertius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 168)**, Rome, 20.22g, 33.5x34 mm, VW [Dima, no. 26];
23. **Titus, 80-1 AD: Æ Sestertius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 168)**, Rome, 20.18g, 32.3x33.7 mm, VW, donation 1980 [Dima, no. 27];
24. **Titus – for Domitian, 80-81 AD: Æ Sestertius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 302)**, Rome, 18.59g, 32.2x32.9 mm, MW [Dima, no. 28];
25. **Titus – for Domitian, 80-81 AD: Æ Dupondius/As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 350)**, Rome, 4.70g, 24.2x26 mm, VW, edge badly corroded [Dima, no. 29];
26. **Titus – for Domitian, 80-81 AD: Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 316)**, Rome, 7.42g, 24.7x mm, MW, corroded [Dima, no. 30];
27. **Domitian, 80-1 or 82 AD: Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 341 (Titus), 87 or 110?)**, Rome, 8.12g, 23.8x24.7 mm, legend illegible [Dima, no. 31];
28. **Domitian, 85 AD: Æ Dupondius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 293)**, Rome, 6.87g, 24.4x25.7 mm [Dima, no. 32];
29. **Domitian, 90-91 AD: Æ Dupondius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> 706)**, Rome, 9.26g, 25.8x27.6 mm, corroded [Dima, no. 33];
30. **Domitian, AD 81-96?: Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> ?, illegible)**, Rome, 7.72g, 25.3x24 mm, corroded, salvage excavations 1995 [Dima, no. 34];
31. **Domitian?: Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup> ?, illegible)**, Rome, 4.54g, 26.3x27 mm, HW, corroded, [Dima, no. 35];
32. **Flavians – unspecified: Æ Dupondius (RIC II<sup>2</sup> ?, illegible)**, Rome, 6.96g, 24.9x25.6 mm, HW, corroded [Dima, no. 36];
33. **Flavians – unspecified: Æ Sestertius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>?, illegible)**, Rome, 12.98g, 29.3x30.6 mm, VW, obv. c/mk **AP**<sup>1</sup>, see Howgego 1985, no. 604 = monogram of Amorium, Phrygia [Dima, no. 37];
34. **Nerva, AD 96-98: Æ Dupondius (RIC II?, illegible)**, Rome, 12.45g, 27.3x28.7 mm, HW, corroded [Dima, no. 40];
35. **Nerva, AD 96-97: Æ As (RIC II, 77 or 92 – Aequitas Avgvsti / S.C)**, Rome, 10.27 g, 26x27 mm, HW [Dima, no. 38];

36. **Nerva, AD 97**: Æ As (RIC II, 100), Rome, 10.82g, 26x28 mm, VW [Dima, no. 39];

37. **Nerva, AD 96-98**: Æ As (RIC II?, illegible), Rome, 5.69g, 25.8x29.3 mm, HW, corroded [Dima, no. 41].

*Reference*: published by DIMA – ELEFTERESCU 2009, pp. 44-50, nos. 5-41.

### **300. Ovchartzi / 2009, Radnevo, Stara Zagora region**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Tiberius, 14-37 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26 or 30), Lugdunum, 18mm, VW, deformed.

*Findspot*: Found in 2009 during archaeological excavation of a Roman plain site (fair?).

*Disposition*: Municipal Historical Museum of Radnevo, Inv. no. N/A

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Dr. V. Dinchev, Sofia, 2011.

*Reference*: V. DINCHEV, *AOR Reports for 2009*, (Sofia 2010), p. 404.

### **301. Pazardzhik I / 1870 (fmr. Assun-hanlu), Pazardzik region**

– R

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Trajan, 114-116 AD**: 1 AE sestertius, most likely RIC II, 657 or 669 (Trajan seated on platform).

*Findspot*: Found before 1870 near to a Roman bridge over the Topolnitsa river, 1.1 km west from Pazardzhik, where the ancient Roman road ran.

*Disposition*: Once in St. Zaharieff's collection. Unknown, probably lost.

*Reference*: S. ZAHARIEFF (Wien 1870), p. 78; АВДЕВ / AVDEV (1981), p. 28, No. 59.

### **302. Pazardzhik (or the regional environs), Pazardhik region**

– U

Stray finds of *RRD*, no provenance noted:

1. **Lydia, Tralles: 1 AR cistophor**, ca. 145-140 BC (Kleiner–Noe 1977, series 15, 66-67), d. 27x28 mm, 9.17 g., axis 12 h, VW [No. 176]
2. **Q. Marcius Libo, 148 BC**: 1 D (RRC 215/1), Rome, 3.38 g; 19x19 mm; 11 h, rough piercing, edge torn apart, light wear [Inv. no. 201]
3. **P. Aelius Paetus, 138 BC**, (RRC 233/1) Rome, 3.10 g; 11.5x12 mm, 12 h, light wear [Inv. no. 212]
4. **Sex. Pompeius (Fostlus), 137 BC** (RRC 235/1a), Rome, 3.56 g, 19x19 mm, 3 h; [Inv. no. 1512]
5. **M. Opeimius, 131 BC** (RRC 254/1), Rome, 3.29 g; 18x18 mm, 3 h [Inv. no. 188]
6. **T. Cloelius, 128 BC** (RRC 260/1), Rome, 3.06 g; 18x19 mm; 3 h, pierced, very worn [No. 213]
7. **M. Fannius C.f., 123 BC** (RRC 275/1), Rome, 3.75 g, 17x18.5 mm, 10 h, mid-worn [No. 208]
8. **Papirius Carbo, 121 BC** (RRC 279/1), Rome, 3.37 g; 21x23 mm; 5 h, worn. [No. 184]

9. **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 116/5 BC** (RRC 285/1), Rome, 3.74 g; 19x19 mm, 8 h, pierced, mid-worn [No. 190]
10. **M. Sergius Silus Q., 116-115 BC** (RRC 286/1), Rome, 3.70 g; 17x18 mm, 5h, mid-worn [No. 193]
11. **M. Sergius Silus Q., 116-115 BC** (RRC 286/1), Rome, 3.36 g, 16.5x17 mm, 10 h, very worn [No. 1160]
12. **M. Cippius M.f., 115/114 BC** (RRC 289/1), Rome, 17x18 mm; 7 h, rough square piercing [Inv. no. 204]
13. **T. Didius, 113/2 BC** (RRC 294/1), Rome, 3.62 g; 19x19 mm, 6 h, pierced, worn [Inv. no. 604]
14. **Mn. Fonteius, 109/8 BC** (RRC 307/1a), Rome, 3.77g; 19x19 mm, 2 h, pierced [Inv. no. 232]
15. **Q. Minucius Thermus M.f. 103 BC** (RRC 319/1), Rome, 3.71 g; 18x19 mm, 7 h, mid-worn [No. 182]
16. **L. Pomponius Molo, 97 BC** (RRC 334/1), Rome, 3.51 g; 17x18 mm, 5 h, very worn, banker's mark obv. [No. 186]
17. **L. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 90 BC** (RRC 340/1 var), Rome, 3.74 g; 16x17, 6 h, worn [No. 424]
18. **L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus, 89 BC** (RRC 344/1a), Rome, 3.58 g, 17.5x17, 4 h [Inv. no. 210]
19. **C. Marcus Censorinus, 88 BC** (RRC 346/2b), Rome, 3.22 g, 16x19 mm, 12 h, pierced [No. 191]
20. **L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC** (RRC 348/1), Rome, 3.77 g, 16.6x17 mm, 10 h, mid-worn [Inv. no. 209]
21. **L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC** (RRC 348/3), Rome, 3.88 g, 17x18 mm; 3 h, pierced, worn [No. 205]
22. **L. et C. Memmius L. f. Galleria, 87 BC** (RRC 349/1), Rome, 3.76 g, 18x18 g, 6 h, mid-worn [No. 199]
23. **L. et C. Memmius L. f. Galleria, 87 BC** (RRC 349/1), Rome, 3.36 g; 16x17 mm; 2 h, worn out [No. 217]
24. **Gargonius / Ogulnius / Vergilius, 86 BC** (RRC 350A/2), Rome, mid-worn. Field No. 60 (not listed in main Inv. book)
25. **Mn. Fonteius C.f., 85 BC** (RRC 353/1d), Rome, 3.64 g, 19x18.5 g, 6 h, mid-worn [No. 197]
26. **P. Furius Crassipes, 84 BC** (RRC 356/1a-b), Rome, 3.91 g; 19x20 mm, 7 h, pierced, very worn [No. 194]
27. **C. Norbanus, 83 BC** (RRC 357/1b), Rome, 3.64 g; 18x19 mm, 3 h, pierced, very worn [No. 200]
28. **Q. Antonius Balbus, 83/2 BC** (RRC 364/1c) *serratus*, Rome, 3.59 g, 19x19 mm, 5 h, pierced, worn; b/m obv – **S, o** [No. 192]
29. **C. Marius C.f. Capito, 81 BC** (RRC 378/1c) *serratus*, Rome, 3.53 g; 18x18 mm, 6 h, pierced, worn [No. 196]
30. **C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC** (RRC 382/1b), Rome *serratus*, 3.73 g, 18x18 mm, 3 h, worn. [No. 185]

31. **M. Volteius M.f. 78 BC** (RRC 385/3), Rome, 3.66 g; 16x16 mm, 10 h [No. 189]
32. **M. Volteius M.f. 78 BC** (RRC 385/3), Rome, 3.21 g; 17x17 mm; 3 h, highly worn [Inv. no. 215]
33. **M. Volteius M.f., 78 BC** (RRC 385/4), Rome, 3.49 g; 16x17 mm; 6 h [Inv. no. 203]
34. **L. Rutilius Flaccus, 77 BC** (RRC 387/1), Rome, 3.68 g; 17x18 mm, 6 h, mid-worn [No. 183]
35. **C. Hosidius Geta, 68 BC** (RRC 407/2), Rome, 3.51 g, 17.5x15 mm, 7 h, pierced, very worn [No. 1161]
36. **C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 67 BC** (RRC 408/1a var.?), Rome, 2.77 g; 17x19 mm; 7 h, worn [No. 211]
37. **M. Plaetorius M.f. Cestianus, 67 BC** (RRC 409/1), Rome, 3.68 g; 18x18 mm, 3 h, worn, [No. 187]
38. **M. Plaetorius M.f. Cestianus, 67 BC** (RRC 409/1), Rome, 3.43 g; 19.5x18 mm; 5 h [No. 202]
39. **L. Scribonius Libo, 62 BC** (RRC 416/1a), Rome, 3.61 g, 18x18 mm, 6 h, mid-worn [No. 1159]
40. **C. Julius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1), Gaul mint, 2.87 g; 17.5x18 mm; 2 h, pierced, worn [No. 206]
41. **C. Julius Caesar, 47/6 BC** (RRC 458/1), Africa, 2.66 g; 15x16 mm; 6 h, highly worn [No. 216]
42. **T. Carisius, 46 BC** (RRC 464/3c), Rome, 3.32 g, 16x18 mm, 5 h, very worn. [No. 1048].
43. **Lollius Palikanus, 45 BC** (RRC 473/2a-d), Rome, 2.75 g; 18x18 mm, 8 h. Pierced, mid-worn [No. 195]
44. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/15) - LEG III. Patrae (?), 3.08 g; 17x17 mm; 11 h, pierced, worn, b/m obv – C [No. 214]
45. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC** - LEG XI (RRC 544/25) Patrae?, 3.26 g; 17x18mm, 11 h; very worn, banker's mark rev. [No. 425]
46. **Caesar Octavian, 32/1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 251) Rome?, 3.32 g, 18x19 mm, 5 h, pierced, worn [No. 207]
47. **Caesar Octavian, 30-29 BC**, Rome? (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 274), 3.61 g, 18x18 g, 12 h [No. 198]
48. **Augustus, 19-18 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 37b), Emerita, Spain, 3.13 g; 16x15 mm, 6 h, pierced, VW, c/mark obv? [No. 607]
49. **Augustus, 17-16 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 139?), Tarraco, Spain, 2.47 g; 16x18 mm, 3 h, HW [No. 263]
50. **Augustus – for C. L. CAESARES, 2-1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-210) Lugdunum, 3.62 g; 18x19 mm, 2 h [No. 266].

*Findspot:* Found in 1930-1950s around the town, unfortunately no exact find-spots records in the inventory book, but from the region of Pazardjik.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pazardjik, resp. Inv.nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs Stoilka Ignatova, formerly at Pazardjik Museum.

**303. Parvenets, Plovdiv region**

– C

Single Early Imperial coins:

1. **Tiberius – for Augustus, AD 35/6:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 68), Rome, 34 mm, HW, obv. countermark **NCAPR** [No. 2805];
2. **Vespasian, AD 69-79?:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible – Rev. Standing figure r., Rome, 32 mm, HW [No. 2804].

*Findspot:* Found in the early 1980s near the village.*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2804-2805, acquired 1980.*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.**304. Pavlikeni, Veliko Turnovo region**

- C

Single piece of *RRD* and other Early Imperial coins:

1. **Ti. Minucius C.f. Augurinus, 134 BC** (RRC 243/1), Rome, 18 mm, 3.41 g, VW, obv. b/mark [Inv.no. 3390; Tsochev, 1, p. 109 - pl. LXVI, 791];
2. **Tiberius, AD 14-37:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, ?), illegible, Rome, 28 mm, HW [Tsochev, no. 5, p. 110];
3. **Caligula – for M. Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, HW [Tsochev, no. 4, p. 109-110];
4. **Caligula – for Germanicus, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 35 or 50?), Rome, 28 mm [Tsochev, no. 7, p. 110];
5. **Caligula, AD 39-40:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 47?), Rome, 26 mm, VW [Tsochev, no. 8, p. 110];
6. **Claudius, AD 41-50:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111?), CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI / S.C., Rome, 28 mm, MW [Tsochev, no. 9, p. 110];
7. **Claudius, AD 41-54:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), type illegible, Rome, 27 mm, HW [Tsochev, no. 10, p. 110];
8. **Claudius, AD 41-54:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), type illegible, Rome, 28 mm, HW [Tsochev, no. 11, p. 110];
9. **Nero, AD 54-68?:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, ?), type illegible, Rome, 27 mm, HW [Tsochev, no. 12, p. 111];
10. **Vespasian, AD 71:** 1 AE Dup (RIC II, 474 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 83), Rome, 28 mm, MW, [Tsochev, no. 14, p. 110];
11. **Vespasian, AD 76:** 1 AE Dup (RIC II, 578 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 887), Rome, 28 mm, MW [Tsochev, no. 13, p. 110];
12. **Domitian, AD 88/9:** 1 D (RIC II, 139 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 669) Rome, 19 mm, 3.22 g, MW, patinated [Tsochev, no. 2, p. 109 - pl. LXVI, 792];
13. **Domitian, AD 91:** 1 D (RIC II, 158 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 726) Rome, 18 mm, 3.04 g, MW, [Tsochev, no. 3, p. 109 - pl. LXVII, 793];
14. **Domitian, AD 92-94:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, 407? = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 755), Rome, 28 mm, MW;

15. **Domitian, AD 95/6:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, 424a = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 810), Rome, 27 mm, MW [Tsochev, no. 5, p. 109];
16. **Domitian, AD 95/6:** 1 D (RIC II, 206 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 812) Rome, 19 mm, 2.84 g, MW, patinated [Tsochev, no. 4, p. 109 - pl. LXVII, 794];
17. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, 83), Rome, 26 mm, MW.

*Findspot:* Found 1975 in the course of archaeological excavations of a Roman kiln-center and *villa rustica*, 5 km west from the town

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Veliko Turnovo, Inv. No. 3390, etc.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* M. TSOICHEV / ЦОЧЕВ 1998, pp. 109-111, 122, nos. 1-17, pl. LXVI, 791-794.

### 305. Pernik I, Pernik region

– C

Single *RRC* of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

*Findspot:* Found in 1968/71 in the excavation of the fortified hill 'Krakra', 3 coins:

1. **Anonymous As, after 211 BC:** 1 Æ (RRC 56/2) Rome, 32 mm, 41.80 g, HW [found 1971 in work square XIII/94 at a depth 0.4 m];
2. **C. Egnatuleius C.f.:** 1 Quin, 97 BC, Rome (RRC 333/1), D. 15 mm, 1.85 g. [found 3 November 1968 in work square V/187, at a depth 2 m]
3. **C. Fabius C.f.:** 1 D, 102 BC (RRC 322/1), Rome, bad condition, probably burnt.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pernik, Inv. Nos. H-948–949.

*Comments:* Published

*Reference:* YOUROUKOVA 1981, 221-223, Nos. 7-9, pl. II.

### 306. Pernik II, Pernik district

– C

Single piece *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1968 on the hill Krakra

- **Augustus – for C. L. CAESARES, ca. 2-1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 207-212), Lugdunum MW, 18 mm, 3.8 g [no. 330]

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pernik, Inv. No. H-330.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, November 1997.

### 307. Pernik III, Pernik district<sup>#</sup>

– F

Single piece *RRD* from a scattered /purse/ hoard?

*Findspot:* Found in 2003 during regular archaeological excavation of a small Thracian mound 'Ognjanova mogila', 200 m north opposite the 'Krakra' hill in Pernik.

- **M. Iunius Silanus, 145 BC** (RRC 220/1), Rome, MW, 17x18 mm, 3.65 g.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pernik, field inv. No. 15/2003.

*Comments:* In a tumulus together with 15 silver *diobols* of the Histiaea on Euboea and 2 autonomous Macedonian bronzes of Pella and Amphipolis (not precise date around mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC).

*Reference:* Published by PAUNOV 2003, pp. 167-172, esp. 167.

### **308. Pernik environs, Pernik region** #

– U

Single piece *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1974 at an unknown site in the Pernik environs.

- **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, 128 BC (RRC 261/1), LW, d. 16 mm

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pernik, Inv. No. H-584.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, October 1997.

### **309. Petrich, Blagoevgrad district**

– U

Single finds of *denarii*:

1. **P. Aelius Paetus**, 138 BC (RRC 233/1), MW, plated!, 2.85 g, 20x22 (private collection, Petrich)
2. **L. Lucretius Trio**, 74 BC (RRC 390/2), 2.82 g., VW, porous, (private collection, Sofia)
3. **Augustus – for C. L. CAESARES**, ca.2/1 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 208), Lugdunum, VW, pierced, 3.5 g, 19x19 mm [Inv. no. 43]

*Disposition:* Municipal Museum of Petrich, Inv. nos. 43, donated from a private person, unknown provenance.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr S. Ivanov, Petrich Museum and Dr. I. Prokopov, Sofia.

### **310. Pleven I (anc. *Storgosia*), Pleven region**

– C

Single pieces of early Imperial coins:

1. **Caligula, 37-38 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, VW [No.1211 – unknown provenance];
2. **Caligula – for Germanicus, AD 37-41:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 57), 28 mm, 13.79 g. VW, corrosion [No. 696 – in Pleven, locality of 'Bukovsko ezero'];
3. **Caligula - for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** Æ As, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 27 mm, VW, corroded [No. 1580 – Pleven, from K. Velichkov St., private garden, in a burial]
4. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, AD 76:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 678), Rome, VW, metal surface [No. 1429 – from Pleven centre while digging];
5. **Titus, AD 80-81:** Æ Semis (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 141), Balkan mint – Perinthus? 19 mm VW [No. 1114 – Pleven, at 20 'M. Drinov' St., in a private garden];
6. **Trajan, AD 100:** Æ As (RIC II 417 = Woytek 82), Rome, MW [No. 870, found near the Pleven railstation];



7. **Trajan, AD 114:** Æ Sest (RIC II 671 = Woytek 499), Rome, MW, green patina. [No. 861, found near the church St. Nikolaos].

*Findspot:* Found 1920-1980s in or near the town of Pleven.

*Disposition:* Reg. Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.

### **311. Pleven II - 'Kayluka', Pleven region**

– C

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Vespasian, AD 70:** 1 D, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 42), Rome, LW, dark patinated [No. 478];
2. **Domitian, AD 94:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 766?), Rome, VW, corroded [No. 1137];
3. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC II, 86), Rome, 27 mm, MW, patinated [No. 940];
4. **Trajan AD 98-99:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC II 399 = Woytek 51) Rome, MW [No. 1210, recorded as from Radishevo]
5. **Trajan, AD 101-102:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC II 428 = Woytek 96) Rome, MW, scratches [No. 938].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960s in a Roman settlement in the east part of the 'Kayluka' park (former cooperative field), while ploughing.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Published.

### **312. Pleven III - 'Kayluka', Pleven region**

– C

Single *RRD* and early Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Found in 1972-1975 during archaeological excavation of a Roman fortress in the Kayluka park, south from Pleven. From the Late antique basilica:

1. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC: 1 DEN legionary**, LEG III (RRC 544/15), 17 mm, VW [No. 3032, found 1975];
2. **Caligula - for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 9.27g, 27 mm, VW, metal surface [No. 1779, found 1972];
3. **Trajan, AD 108-109:** 1 Den (RIC II 121 = Woytek 280), Rome, MW [No. 1985, found 1971].

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Published. Additional informations and photos from Mr. P. Banov, March 2010.

*Reference:* T. КОВАЧЕВА / KOVACHEVA (Sofia 2005), pp. 56, 58, no. 1 and 3.

### **313. Pleven area I, Pleven district**

– U

Single early Imperial *aureus*:

- **Tiberius, ca. AD 14-17:** AV Aureus, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 25; Calicó 305d), Lugdunum, 18 mm, 7.45g, VW, scratches [No. 1370].

*Findspot:* Found in mid-1970s in the region of Pleven, unknown location, acquired from 'Zlatarska promishlenost' state company.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. 1370.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* Т. КОВАЧЕВА / KOVACHEVA (Sofia 1990), p. 11, no. 1, fig.1 on p. 15.

### **314. Pleven area II, Pleven district**

– C

Single pieces of *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found March 1998 at early Roman site close to the town of Pleven:

1. **L. Marcius Censorinus, 82 BC** (RRC 363/1c), on obverse a bankers-mark **C**
2. **C. Annius T.f. T.n. / L. Fabius L. f. Hispaniensis, 82/1 BC** (RRC 366/1a), plated, HW, traces of gilding, 2 x marks on reverse - **P** and □;
3. **Petillius Capitolinus, 41 BC** (RRC 487/1), VW, pits on metal surface.

*Disposition:* Private collection, BT, Pleven

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr B. Takev, Pleven, examined by E. Paunov, April 1998.

### **315. Pleven area III, Pleven district**

– U

Single early Imperial coins, no provenance noted:

1. **Caligula, AD 37-38:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 26 mm, 8.41 g [Pleven, no. 670<sub>1</sub>];
2. **Caligula, AD 37-38:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 28 mm, 10.39 g [Pleven, no. 670<sub>2</sub>];
3. **Caligula, AD 37-38:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 29 mm, 9.15 g [Pleven, no. 670<sub>3</sub>];
4. **Caligula, AD 37-38:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 28 mm, 9.68 g [Pleven, no. 670<sub>4</sub>];
5. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 *Æ* as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 26 mm, 9.27 g [Pleven, no. 471<sub>1</sub>];
6. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 *Æ* as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 29 mm, 11.27 g [Pleven, no. 471<sub>2</sub>];
7. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 *Æ* as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 29 mm, 9.47 g [Pleven, no. 472];
8. **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 *Æ* as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 30 mm, 9.50 g [Pleven, no. 1431];
9. **Claudius – for Agrippina Senior, ca. AD 41-42:** 1 *Æ* Sestertius (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 102), Rome, 35 mm, 27.02 g [Pleven, no. 695];
10. **Claudius – for Germanicus, AD 50-54:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 106), Rome, 29 mm, 9.92 g [Pleven, no. 697<sub>1</sub>];
11. **Claudius – for Germanicus, AD 50-54:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 106), Rome, 30 mm, 12.11 g [Pleven, no. 697<sub>2</sub>];
12. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 110), Rome, 29 mm, 8.79 g [Pleven, no. 474<sub>1</sub>];
13. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 110), Rome, 29 mm, 14.00 g [Pleven, no. 474<sub>2</sub>];

14. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 110), Rome, 30 mm, 11.62 g [Pleven, no. 474<sub>3</sub>];
15. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 110), Rome, 28 mm, 10.32 g [Pleven, no. 671];
16. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111), Rome, 28 mm, 9.26 g [Pleven, no. 473<sub>1</sub>];
17. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111), Rome, 30 mm, 9.00 g [Pleven, no. 473<sub>2</sub>];
18. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111), Rome, 30 mm, 9.28 g [Pleven, no. 473<sub>3</sub>];
19. **Claudius, 50-54 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 30 mm, 10.62 g [Pleven, no. 472];
20. **Claudius, 50-54 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 30 mm, 8.77 g [Pleven, no. 1231];
21. **Nero, 64-66 AD:** Æ Dup. (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 109 or 400?), Rome, 30 mm, 14.61 g [Pleven, no. 476];
22. **Nero, 64 AD:** Æ Sest. (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 167), Rome, 37 mm, 28.03 g [Pleven, no. 475];
23. **Nero, ca. 65 AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 476-478?), Lugdunum, 25 mm, 8.35 g. [Pleven, no. 477];
24. **Nero, 64-66 AD:** Æ As (RPC I, 1762), Perinthus, 26 mm, 8.43 g. [Pleven, no. 691];
25. **Titus – restored for Mark Agrippa, AD 80-81:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 470), Rome, 27 mm, 10.04 g [Pleven, no. 470].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1950-1980s in the region of Pleven, unknown locations.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Now published, see below.

*Reference:* P. BUNOV, in *Studia in honorem Iliæ Prokopov*, Sofia 2012, (in progress).

### **316. Ploska mogila, Stara Zagora region**

– U/C

Single find of *RRD*:

- **C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 61 BC** (RRC 408/1a-b), Rome, 3.8 g, 18 mm, VW, scratches [No. 3223]

*Findspot:* Found in 1970s near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. no. 3223.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora museum, November 2009.

### **317. Plovdiv (anc. *Philippopolis*), Plovdiv region**

– C

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC:** 1 AR cistophor (RRC I, 2201), Ephesus, 24 mm, 11.81 g, MW, patinated (No. 610, acquired March 1915 – from town of Plovdiv, acquisition);
2. **Augustus, ca. 27-23 BC:** Æ Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 28x29 mm, MW, [No. 2743, acquired 1977 – from town of Plovdiv, acquisition];

3. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 96 or 112?), Rome, 36x37 mm, 25.08 g, MW [No. 6157 - from Nebet-tepe hillfort, excavations L. Botusharova, 1969];
4. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 29x30 mm, MW, obv. cmk: Capricorn r.? [No. 2719 - from Nebet-tepe hillfort, excavations A. Peykov, 1976];
5. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113?), Rome, 27x28 mm, HW, corrosion [No. 2720 - from Nebet-tepe hillfort, excavations A. Peykov 1976];
6. **Vespasian, after 71-73 AD:** 1 plated D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 356), Rome, 17x18 mm, 2.39 g, MW [No. 6174 - from site '23 Nezavisimost Blvd.', excavations 1989];
7. **Vespasian, 74 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 683), Rome, 19 mm, MW [No. 2551, acquired 1970 – found behind the Electric Power Station TEZ-North, handed in];
8. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC II, 86), Rome, MW [Plovdiv, No. 1992, acquired 1954, near to 'Djendem tepe' hill];
9. **Trajan, 98-101 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 53), Rome, 19 mm, LW [No. 1759, acquired 1933 – found behind the 'Moderen Theatur' cinema];
10. **Trajan, 100-101 AD:** Æ Dup (RIC II, 411), Rome, 27 mm, HW, corrosion [No. 2507, acquired 1968 – on Kukush 28 St., while digging up in basement];
11. **Trajan, 112-115 AD:** Æ Sest (RIC II, 625-626?), Rome, 27 mm, [No. 2589, acquired 1972 – found on Zahari Stoyanov 39d St., in the garden, 0.70m];
12. **Colonia Philippi – under Trajan?:** 1 AE17 (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 17 mm, HW, corrosion [No. 2843 - from 'M-16' site, excavations E. Kessyakova, 1982].

*Findspot:* Found between 1970-2000s in the modern town of Plovdiv, by chance or during excavation of the ancient town.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments:* All unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, October 2010, in the Plovdiv museum.

### **318. Plovdiv region (Philippopolis and its vicinity), Plovdiv region**

– U

Stray Roman Republican and early Imperial coins:

1. **Attalid Asia, Ephesus, 134/3 BC:** AR cistophoric tetradrachm (Kleiner 1972, no. 2; Kleiner – Noe 1977, pl. XVI/9), Ephesus, MW [No. 1309, acquired 1921, missing since 1981 – from the Plovdiv region];
2. **Province of Asia, Pergamum, c.85-76 BC:** AR cistophoric tetradrachm (Kleiner 1978, 79-80, No. 105, pl. XV.32), Pergamum, 25 mm, 8.44 g, LW [No. 2062, acquired 1955 – from Plovdiv region];
3. **Q. Caecilius Metellus, 130 BC:** 1 D (RRC 256/1), Rome, 19 mm, MW [No. 2732, acquired 1976 – from the Plovdiv region, acquisition];
4. **L. Appuleius Saturninus, 104 BC:** 1 D (RRC 317/3), Rome, 18 mm, MW, [No. 1856, acquired 1939 – from the Plovdiv region, no find spot known];
5. **L. Calpurnius Piso L.f. L.n. Frugi, 90 BC:** 1 D (RRC 340/1var), add. moneyer numeral: TXI, Rome, 19 mm, MW, [No. 4941, acquired 1980 – from the Plovdiv region, no find spot known];
6. **C. Norbanus, 83 BC:** 1 D (RRC 357/1), Rome, 21 mm, control mark: XXXXVIII, MW [No. 1820, acquired 1935 – from the Plovdiv region, acquisition];
7. **L. Marcius Censorinus, 82 BC:** 1 D (RRC 363/1d), Rome, MW, 1 b/ms obv. [No. 5068, acquired 1981 – from the Plovdiv region, acquisition];
8. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 24x26 mm, MW, cmk above face obv.: **AVG** [No. 5196, acquired 1983 – from Plovdiv region];

9. **Rhoemetalces I, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ10 (RPC I, 1706)**, Byzantium, 9x10 mm, MW [No. 849, acquired June 1918 – from Plovdiv or the region];
10. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ22 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, 22 mm, MW [No. 152, acquired 1910 – from Plovdiv region];
11. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ23 (RPC I, 1709-1711?)**, 22 mm, LW [No. 400, acquired July 1914 – from Plovdiv or the region];
12. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ23 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, 23 mm, LW [No. 561, acquired March 1915 – from Plovdiv or the region];
13. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ24 (RPC I, 1711)**, Bizye?, 21x24 mm, LW [No. 793, acquired May 1917 – from Plovdiv or the region, acquisition];
14. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ22 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, 22 mm, LW [No. 810, acquired January 1918 – from Plovdiv or the region];
15. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ23 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, 23 mm, MW [No. 705, acquired July 1915 – from Plovdiv or the region];
16. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: Æ 23 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, 23 mm, LW [No. 706, acquired July 1915 – from Plovdiv or the region];
17. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: 1 Æ23 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, 22 mm, LW [No. 811, acquired January 1918 – from Plovdiv or the region];
18. **Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris, and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: 1 Æ25 (RPC I, 1709-1712?)**, Bizye?, 25x27 mm, MW [No. 1392, acquired 1924 – from the Plovdiv region];
19. **Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: 1 Æ21 (RPC I, 1711-1712?)**, 21 mm, MW [No. 1372, acquired 1924 – from Plovdiv or its region];
20. **Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: 1 Æ22 (RPC I, 1711-1712?)**, Bizye?, 22 mm, MW [No. 1851, acquired 1938 – from the Plovdiv region];
21. **Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: 1 Æ22 (RPC I, 1711-1712?)**, Bizye?, 21 mm, MW [No. 1851, acquired 1938 – from the Plovdiv region];
22. **Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12: 1 Æ20 (RPC I, 1711-1712?)**, Bizye?, 20 mm, MW [No. 2385, acquired 1965 – from the Plovdiv region];
23. **Rhoemetalces III with Caligula, ca. 38-41 AD: 1 Æ28 (RPC I, 1722)**, 28 mm, LW [No. 562, acquired March 1915 – from the Plovdiv region];
24. **Caligula, AD 37/8: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38) Rome**, 27 mm, MW [No. 1561, acquired 1927 – from Plovdiv region];
25. **Caligula, AD 37/8: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38) Rome**, 28 mm, MW [No. 1806, acquired 1935 – from Plovdiv region];
26. **Caligula – for M. Agrippa, AD 37-41: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58)**, Rome, 27x27 mm, MW [No. 1835, acquired 1937 – from Plovdiv region];
27. **Caligula – for Drusus, 41-50 AD: Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 109)**, Rome, 36 mm, LW, [No. 169 - acquired 1910, along with other AEs; – from Plovdiv region];
28. **Claudius, 41-50 AD: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113?)**, Rome, 28x29 mm, HW, pierced [No. 5226 - acquired March 1985];
29. **Nero, 65-67 AD: AV Aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 59 or 66?)**, Rome, 18x18.5 mm, 6.90 g, LW [No. 5233, acquired July 1985 – from Plovdiv region, handed in by the regional police prosecutor, published PROKOPOV – KISSJOV – DOCHEV 1999, p. 37, no. 148];
30. **Nero, 65 AD: 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 306)**, Rome, 28 mm, LW [No. 1788, acquired 1935 – Plovdiv region, acquisition];

31. **Galba, December 68 AD:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 467), Rome, 32 mm, LW [No. 1182, acquired June 1920 – Plovdiv region, donation];
32. **Vespasian, Jan.-June 70 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 27) - Pax, Rome, 17 mm, MW [No. 2469, acquired 1967 – Plovdiv region, acquisition];
33. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, 74 AD:** AV Aureus (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 696 /Vesp./), Rome, 20 mm, 6.92 g, MW [No. 1164, acquired Sept. 1920 – possibly from the Plovdiv region];
34. **Vespasian, 76 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 847) – Eagle, Rome, 17 mm, MW [No. 1746, acquired 1933 – from Plovdiv region];
35. **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, 77/8 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 976 /Vespasian/), Rome, 19 mm, VW [No. 2773, acquired 1978 – Plovdiv region, unknown findspot];
36. **Titus, 80/1 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 112-113?), Rome, 17 mm, FDC [No. 1786, acquired 1935 – Plovdiv region, unknown findspot];
37. **Titus – for deified Vespasian, 80/1 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 357), Rome, 17 mm, LW [No. 842, acquired 1918, from Plovdiv or its region]
38. **Titus, 80/1 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 163), Rome, 28 mm, LW [No. 1826, acquired 1936 – Plovdiv region, fmr. Coll. Dr Nazlumov, donation];
39. **Domitian, 88/9 AD - Philippopolis:** 1 AE26mm (RPC II, 352; Varbanov 617), 25x26 mm, MW [No. 5219, acquired 1985 – donation];
40. **Domitian, 91 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 727), Rome, 19 mm, FDC [No. 1739, acquired 1932 – Plovdiv region, unknown findspot];
41. **Domitian, 95-96 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 787), Rome, 18 mm, VW, corrosion [No. 2079, acquired 1955 – Plovdiv region, unknown findspot];
42. **Domitian, 81-96 AD, Perinthus:** Æ 32mm (RPC II, 361), Perinthus, 32 mm, MW [No. 1476, acquired 1925 – from Plovdiv region];
43. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC II, 84), Rome, 26 mm, MW [No. 1560, acquired 1927 – from Plovdiv region];
44. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, 100), Rome, 26 mm, MW [No. 1559, acquired 1927 – from Plovdiv region];
45. **Trajan, 101-102 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 60), Rome, 17 mm, LW [No. 1780, acquired 1935 – from Plovdiv or the region].

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments:* All unpublished, except both *aurei* of Nero and Vespasian [see KISSIOV – PROKOPOV – DOCHEV 1998, pp. 37 and 44, nos. 148 and 165]. Examined and identified by E. Paunov in the Plovdiv museum, October 2010.

### **319. Podem, Dolna Mitropoliya area, Pleven region**

– C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Claudius – for Agrippina Senior, ca. 41-42 AD:** 1 Æ Sestertius (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 102), Rome, 35 mm, 28.23 g [Pleven, no. 1340].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960s near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. no. 134.

*Comments:* Now published, see below.

*Reference:* P. BUNOV, in *Studia in honorem Iliae Prokopov* (in progress), 2012, 498, no.35.

### **320. Popina, Silistra region** #

– M

Single pieces of *RRD*:

*Findspot:* Found in the early 1960s in the 'Oreshaka' locality, E from the village (where a small square Roman fort existed), while ploughing.

1. **C. Vibius Pansa, 90 BC** (RRC 342/5b?): 1, HW, pierced twice, b/marks;
2. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC – legionary LEG [IIII]**, (RRC 544/16?): 1, VW, scratches.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Silistra, Inv. nos. 1139 and 164.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mrs. S. Petrova, Silistra museum, June 2010.

*Reference for site:* K. SHKORPIL, Aboba-Pliska, *IRAIK* 10 (Sophia 1905), pp. 447-8.

### **321. Popovitsa, Asenovgrad area, Plovdiv district**

– F

Single early Imperial coins – as grave goods in burials:

1. **Nero, AD 64/5:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 55), Rome, 18 mm, [No. 1952];
2. **Domitian, AD 88/9:** Æ 35mm, Philippopolis (*RPC* II, 351), LW [Plovdiv, no. 1976]

*Findspot:* Found in June 1952 during excavation of Thraco-Roman burial mounds, 500 m E from the village, 100 m north from the railway.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. numbers as listed.

*Reference:* D. TZONCHEV, 'Тракийският могилен некропол при с. Поповица', - *Ann.MNAPlovdiv* 2, (Plovdiv 1954), p. 222, no. 8.

### **322. Poroy, Pomorie area, Burgas region**

– C

Single Thracian and early Imperial coins:

1. **Rhoemetalces I and Augustus, ca.12/1 BC – AD 12:** 1 Æ22 (*RPC* I, 1711), 22x23 mm, 10.35g, MW [Burgas, no. 1999];
2. **Rhoemetalces I and Augustus:** Æ22 (*RPC* I 1711-1712?), 7.14 g, 21.5x22 mm, HW, 2 obv. c/mks: **B** (in rectang.frame) and **aedicule to front**, donation in 1980 [no. 2653];
3. **Vespasian – for Titus, AD 73:** 1 D plated (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 695?) 1.99g, copper core, HW [no. 2064].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970s, in a Thracian settlement, some 2 km north of the village, where the ancient road *Anchialus – Odessus* ran.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Burgas, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Dr M. Gyuzelev, August 2011.

### **323. Radievo / 1974, Dimitrovgrad area, Haskovo region**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula – for M. Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58?), Rome, 27x27.1 mm, 8.66 g., VW, bent [No. 937].

*Findspot:* Found 1974 near the village, no further D/A.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 937.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

### **324. Radomir – ‘Arbanas’, Pernik region**

– P

Excavation assemblage from a Thraco-Roman commercial site:

1. **Claudius, 41-50 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 97?), 27x29 mm, 9.07g [Field no. 582 / 1983];
2. **Claudius, 41-54 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), unspecified, uncleaned [Field no. 845 / 1983];
3. **Nero, 62-68 AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), unspecified, uncleaned, 8.48 g. [Field no. 844 / 1983];
4. **Galba, 68-69 AD:** 1 Æ Dup/As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 318, or 328?), Rome? [Field no. 6110 / 1988];
5. **Domitian Caesar, 73-74 AD:** 1 AE Dup (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 657), Rome, 25x25 mm, 11.18 g. [Field no. 5281 / 1986];
6. **Domitian, 81-96 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), unspecified, uncleaned [Field no. 298 / 1983];
7. **Unspecified, 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD:** Æ As (RIC I / II?), Rome, 26x28 mm, 9.21 g. [Field no. 2691 / 1984];

Out of over 1,100 excavated coins from site, all unpublished.

*Findspot:* Found in 1983/9 during road construction and subsequent archaeological excavation of a Roman site (emporium or production centre?) near ‘Arbanas’ neighbourhood, NE from town of Radomir.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Pernik, resp. inv. numbrs.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by Mrs S. Filipova, Kyustendil museum, identified by E. Paunov, Sept. 2009.

*Reference for the site:* В. ЛЮБЕНОВА / LYUBENOVA, in *Archaeologija* (Sofia 1985), pp. 35-38, fig. 36, etc.

### **325. Razgrad (anc. Abritus), Razgrad region**

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Claudius – for Germanicus, AD 50-54:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 106), Rome, pierced [from building VIII in Medieval context, near the large peristyle building in town, campaign 2008, Inv. no. 4027];
2. **Otho:** 1 Den? unspecified [from the south cemetery, in the 1960s, lost, or in NAIM Sofia?];
3. **Vespasian, AD 69-79:** Æ Sest/Dup, unspecified [from a sarcophagus in the south cemetery, lost, found 1910];
4. **Nerva, AD 96:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, 51), Rome, HW, corrosion [from excavation in the early *canabae*, east from the town, 2010, unpublished, Razgrad museum].

*Findspot:* No. 3 - found 1910 by chance in the ‘Tulka-gjolu’ locality.

*Disposition:* Unknown, lost or transferred to the NAIM, Sofia.



*Comments:* Unpublished, No. 3 is mentioned by B.FILOW and A. YAVASHOV. Information from Mr. G. Dzanev, Razgrad museum, May 2011.

*Reference for the site:* B. FILOW, *BIAB* 1 (Sofia 1910), p. 225; and A. YAVASHOV (Sofia 1930), p. 57

### **326. Razgrad area II, Razgrad region**

– U

Single pieces of *RRD* and early Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Found in 1990/95 at few unknown sites in Razgrad district, as informed:

1. **M. Papius Carbo, 122 BC** (RRC 276/1): 1 D
2. **C. Marcus Censorinus, 82 BC** (RRC 346/1c): 1 D
3. **L. Roscius Fabatus, 64 BC** (RRC 412/1): 1 D *serratus*
4. **L. Scribonius Libo, 62 BC** (RRC 416/1a): 1 D
5. **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1): 1 D, Narbo Gaul mint
6. **Mn. Acilius Glabrio, 49 BC** (RRC 442/1b): 1 D, pierced
7. **D. Postumius Albinus Bruti f., 49/8 BC** (RRC 450/2): 1 D
8. **Mark Antony, 32/31 BC** (RRC 544/var.): 4 Den (1 – punch mark S on obverse);
9. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC:** *Æ As* (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486; *RPC* I, 2235), Pergamum?, 9.16g, 22.5x23.5 mm, MW, [Razgrad, no. 1692 = *CCCHBg* I, Razgrad, 80, no. 1].

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum Razgrad, Inv. Nos. 721-726, 1765-1766, 2042-2043.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr G. Dzanev, Razgrad Museum.

### **327. Resen, Veliko Turnovo region**

– C

Single pieces of *RRD* and one early Imperial *denarius*:

1. **Aurelius Rufus, 144 BC** (RRC 221/1), Rome, worn, 2 p/m on obv., 3.33 g;
2. **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1), Narbo Gaul, VW, 2 p/m obv (L, **II**), 3.38 g;
3. **Vespasian, AD 72-73:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 356), Rome, MW [missing, stolen in 2006].

*Findspot:* Found in 1960 near the village while digging a vineyard. From a settlement/?/

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Veliko Tarnovo, Inv. Nos. 1326-1328, now missing.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr Stoyan Mihaylov, Veliko Tarnovo Museum, October 2009.

*Reference:* see now PAUNOV 2010, pp. 135-137, figs. 8-9.

### **328. Riben (anc. *mutatio Ad Putea*), Pleven region**

– R

Single *RRD* :

- **L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC** (RRC 344/1a), 17.6x18.9 mm, 3.56 g, MW, obv. marks.

*Findspot*: Found in the 'Nad ezeroto' locality, about 1.2 km SW from the village. At the same spot a hoard of 21 tetradrachms of the Macedonia First Meris (*IGCH* 497) and couple small AEs of Constantine and his sons were discovered.

*Comments*: Published

*Disposition*: Regional History Museum of Pleven, Inv. No. 1505.

*Reference*: ПРОКОПОВ – КОВАТЧЕВА, *Pleven*, 135, no. 910.52.

### 329. Ryahovo (anc. *Appiaria*), Russe region

– M

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Caligula, 37-38 AD**: 1  $\text{AE}$  As, (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 38), Rome, VESTA, 30 mm, MW [Russe, no. 91, acquired 1948];
2. **Claudius – for Antonia Minor, 41-50 AD**: 1  $\text{AE}$  Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 92), Rome, 29 mm, MW [Russe, no. 80, acquired 1942];
3. **Nero, 65-67 AD**: 1 AR Den (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 60 or 72), SALVS, 20mm, MW [Russe, no. 82, acquired 1942]
4. **Nero**: 1  $\text{AE}$  Dp, very worn host coin, 29x31 mm (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ? - obv. NERO CLAVD...  
...AR head. I.), Lugdunum, rectangular countermark **GALB.IMP**(sic!), size 16x6mm, applied under Galba [Shumen, no. 12163].
5. **Vespasian**: 1  $\text{AE}$  (Sest?), unspecified, in a group of 213 Roman coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c. AD [before 1911, see ФИЛОВ / FILOW 1911, 274];
6. **Nerva, AD 96-97** : 1  $\text{AE}$  Sest (RIC II, 84 or 99?), Fortuna Avgvsti / SC, 28mm, MW [No. 81, acquired 1942]
7. **Trajan, AD 116/7**: 1 AR Den (RIC II 332, Woytek, no. 565?), [Russe, no. 1874, acquired 1955].
8. **Hadrian, ca. AD 119-121**: 1  $\text{AE}$  As/Sest (RIC II, unspecified) – PONTMAX COS III/ SC, Rome, MW [Russe, no. 1, acquired 1948].

*Findspot*: Found in the 'Rjahovsko kale' - eroded remains of fort and settlement on the Danube bank (sandy beach), some 6 km NE from the modern town of Ryahovo.

*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum of Shumen, Inv. No. 12163 and Regional History Museum of Russe, resp. numbers.

*Comments*: Unpublished, information from Mr D. Dragoev, May 2011.

*References*: K. ШКОРПИЛ, *Aboba-Pliska, IRAIK* 10, (Sophia 1905), pp. 450-1; AVDEV (Sofia 1981), p. 31, no. 106; Б. ФИЛОВ / FILOW, 'Новооткрити старини', *BIAB* 2 (Sofia 1911), p. 274 = FILOW, *JDAI* 26 (Berlin 1911), col. 369; VLADIMIROVA-ALADJOVA, in *Numizmatika* 20/2 (Sofia 1986), pp. 36-38; and and VLADIMIROVA-ALADJOVA 1999, 45-49.

### 330. Rogosh, Maritsa area, Plovdiv district

– R

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vitellius, April-December 69 AD**: 1 D. (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 73), Rome, MW, 18 mm, [Plovdiv, no. 2009, acquired 1955];

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1950s by chance along the road Plovdiv–Rogosh, along the Roman road *Philippopolis – Ranilum* (cf. Tsonchev 1942, 42-43; Madzharov 2009, 98).

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. no. 2009, acquired 1955.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**331. Ruchey /fmr. Dikili-kayrjak/, Krumovgrad, Kurdzhali district** – V

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Republican *denarius***: 1, unspecified;
2. **Rhoemetalces I**: 1  $\text{Æ}$ .

Along with many other coins – 1 AR Thasos tetr., many Roman down to Constantius I.

*Findspot:* Found in 1933 during an amateur excavation of a Thracian horseman sanctuary on a hill above the village.

*Disposition:* 'Iskra' Municipal History Museum of Kazanluk, inv. nos. N/A

*Reference:* Т. ГЕРАСИМОВ / GERASIMOV, "Светилище на тракийския конник при с. Ручей", *ВИАВ* 13, (Sofia 1939), pp. 325-327; GERASIMOV 1934, in *ВИАВ* 8, pp. 472-3 (for the coins).

**332. Rupite I, Blagoevgrad region** – C

Single piece of *RRD*

- **C. Iulius Caesar, with M. Mettius, 44 BC** (RRC 480/3).

*Findspot:* Found in the early 1910s, near the village during the church construction.

*Disposition:* Unknown, examined by Dr Bogdan Filow on July 19, 1915.

*Reference:* Б. ФИЛОВ / FILOW, *Travels in Thrace, Rhodopes and Macedonia, 1912-1916* [in Bulg.], (Sofia 1993), p. 81.

**333. Rupite II (anc. *Heraclea Syntica*), Petrich area, Blagoevgrad region** – C

Two single *RRD* – *fragment* of a hoard?

1. **M. Servilius C.f. Vatia**, 100 BC (RRC 327/1), Rome, MW
2. **L. Calpurnius Piso / Q. Servilius Caepio**, 100 BC (RRC 330/1a), Rome, MW
3. **C. Porcius Cato**, 123 BC (RRC 274/1), Rome, HW, corroded, burnt [field no. 134/2011].

*Findspot:* Found in 1975 in the foot slopes of Kojuh hill, 2 km east from the village.

*Disposition:* City Museum Petrich, Inv. nos. 37-38, donated from a private person.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr S. Ivanov, Petrich Museum, October 2009.

**334. Rupite III (anc. *Heraclea Syntica*), Petrich area, Blagoevgrad region** – C

Single finds of a *Republican* as and two Imperial bronzes:

1. **Anonymous Republican**, ca.169-158 BC: 1 Æ As (RRC 182/1), Rome, HW, 30x31 mm, 34.30 g, patinated (private collection Petrich, no. 11);
2. **Claudius**, AD 50-54: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 116), Rome, 28x31 mm, 9.51 g, LW [Blagoevgrad, no. 12683];
3. **Claudius – imitative issue**, after AD 42-54: 1 Æ Sestertius (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 115 - Spes), 'Danube limes' mint, 34 mm; 23.74 g, VW, no patination [Blagoevgrad, no. 12704].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970-1980s on the foot slopes of Kojuh hill, 2 km east from the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Blagoevgrad, Inv. nos. 12683, 12704; the other private collection in Petrich.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Andonova, Blagoevgrad Museum, May 2011.

### **335. Rupkite (anc. Carassura), Chirpan area, Stara Zagora**

– C

Single piece of *RRD*

- **C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 61 BC** (RRC 408/1a – Rv. Control mark: Δ), 18 mm, 4.0 g., VW, corrosion.

*Findspot:* Found in 1984 during archaeological excavations of the late Roman fortress and road station *Carassura*, in the 'Kaleto' locality, 3.5 km east from the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Stara Zagora, Inv. No. 96/ 1984.

*Comments:* Published but wrong identification and cataloguing. Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora museum, November 2009.

*Reference:* M. MINKOVA (Warszawa 2000), 127; MINKOVA 2002, pp. 145 and 175, No. 5.

### **336. Russe I (anc. Sexaginta Prista), Russe region**

– M

Excavation finds of early Roman coins.

*Findspot:* from the sanctuary of Apollo and earlier Thracian pit sanctuary in the central area of *Sexaginta Prista* site:

1. **Q. Antonius Balbus, 83/2 BC:** 1 D. *serratus* (RRC 364/1b), Rome, 19.5x20 mm, 3.54 g, burnt, corrosion, MW [Russe, field no. 70/ 2006];
2. **Imitation of Augustus, after 19 BC:** 1 Den plated (type RIC I<sup>2</sup> 300), 18x19mm, 1.83 g, corrosion, hole, MW [Russe, field no. 101A/ 2005];
3. **'Limesfalsum' cast imitation of Augustus, after 18 BC:** Æ Dupondius (type RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 326), Rev. countermarked **IMP**, 25x26 mm, 7.06 g, MW [Russe, field no. 103A/ 2005];
4. **Rhoemetalces I and Augustus, ca. 11 BC–12 AD:** 1 AE 17mm (RPC I, 1718), Byzantium?, 17x19.5mm, MW [Russe, field no. 117/ 2005];
5. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, 22/3-26? AD:** Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 83), Rome, 28.8x29.7 mm, 7.72 g, HW, corroded [Russe, field no. 23 / 2009; published as 'Claudius'];
6. **Claudius, ca. 41-50 AD:** AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, ?), 27.3x28 mm, 8.2 g, HW, illegible [Russe, field no. 105 / 2005]
7. **Claudius – for Antonia Minor, ca. 41-42? AD:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 92), Rome, 27x27.4 mm, MW, chipped [Russe, field no. 28 / 2007]

8. **Claudius – for Antonia Minor, ca. 41-42? AD:** 1 Æ Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 92), Rome, 26.5x27.5, 12.14 g., HW, green patina [Russe, field no. 53 / 2010]
9. **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, 76/7 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 921), Rome, 3.19 g, 17.6x18.3 mm, MW, gilt obv.surface [Field no. 135/ 2006]
10. **Titus – for Divus Vespasian, 80/1 AD:** 1 D (plated) (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 357), Rome, 3.00 g, 17.6 x 17.8 mm, MW, copper encrustation [Russe, field no. 32 / 2010];
11. **Domitian, ca. 82-96 AD:** Æ Dup (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), 25x26.5 mm, 8.85 g, HW, illegible [Russe, field no. 50 / 2005]
12. **Trajan, AD 114-117:** Æ Sest (RIC II? – illegible, Providentia), Rome, 22.04g, 32.2x32.4 mm, corroded [Russe, field no. 54 / 2010];
13. **Trajan, AD 112-114:** Æ Dup (RIC II 623 = Woytek 468), Rome, 9.48g, 27x27.8 mm [Russe, field no. 28 / 2005];
14. **Trajan, after AD 114-117:** AR Den, cast imitation, 3.19 g, 18.2 mm [Russe, field no. 30 / 2010].

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum Russe, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Information from Mr V. Varbanov and Mr. D. Dragoev, 2010/1, Russe museum.

*Reference:* see V. VURBANOV – D. DRAGOEV, Archaeological excavations within the territory of the Roman fort Sexaginta Prista, *Istros* 14 (Braila 2007), pp. 227-243; HAWTHORNE - VURBANOV – DRAGOEV (Portsmouth, RI 2011), pp. 73 and 80, see now VURBANOV 2012, pp. 209-247.

### 337. Russe II, Russe region

– C

Excavation find of Roman coins:

- **Vespasian:** 1 Den, unspecified. [Russe, no. 635/ 1949]

*Findspot:* Found in 1949 in the 'Selishte' locality, a Roman tower-*burgus*, mid-2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century on the top of Neolithic tell, in the east end of town (Sugar factory) near the Danube. Along with other 12 coins from Faustina Junior to Probus.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum Russe, resp. inv. number.

*Reference:* see G. GEORGIEV - N. ANGELOV, *BIA* 18 (Sofia 1952), p. 123, and *Idem*, *BIA* 21 (Sofia 1957), p. 44.

### 338. Russe, or the environs, Russe district

– U

Single finds of *RRD* and early Roman coins, no provenance noted:

1. **L. Antestius Gragulus, 136 BC** (RRC 238/1), [No. 661, donation, unknown provenance, recorded 1949]
2. **L. Antestius Gragulus, 136 BC** (RRC 238/1), [No. 2588, unknown provenance, recorded 1984]
3. **C. Servilius M.f., 136 BC** (RRC 239/1), pierced [No. 548, from Russe centre, recorded 1948]
4. **M. Marcius Mn.f., 134 BC** (RRC 245/1), pierced [No. 550, from Russe centre, recorded 1948]
5. **M. Aburius M.f. Geminus, 132 BC** (RRC 250/1), Rome [No. 549, from Russe centre, recorded 1948]
6. **L. Licinius / Cn. Domitius, etc., 118 BC**, serratus (RRC 282/4), Narbo, [No. 958, donation, unknown provenance, recorded 1953]
7. **M. Calidius, Q. Caecilius Metellus / Cn Fulvius, 117/6 BC**, (RRC 284/1a), Rome pierced, [No. 547, donation, unknown provenance, recorded 1948]

8. **Anonymous D., 115/4 BC**, (RRC 287/1), Rome [No. 936, donation, unknown provenance, recorded 1951]
9. **C. Fabius C.f. Hadrianus, 102 BC** (RRC 322/1a), [No. 552, from Russe centre, recorded 1948]
10. **Q. Titius, 90 BC**, (RRC 341/1), [No. 1232, unknown provenance, recorded 1954]
11. **Q. Titius, 90 BC** (RRC 341/1), [No. 1233, unknown provenance, recorded 1954]
12. **C. Vibius C.f. Pansa, 90 BC** (RRC 342/5b [No. 10, recorded 1948]
13. **L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, 90 BC**, Rome (RRC 340/1 = Calico 2001, 307), [No. 543, from Russe centre, recorded 1948].
14. **L. Cornelius Sulla / L. Manlius Torquatus, 82 BC**, Rome (RRC 367/3), [No. 551, from Russe centre, recorded 1948]
15. **L. Procius F., 80 BC**, (RRC 379/2), serratus, pierced [No. 546, donation, recorded 1948]
16. **L. Procius F., 80 BC** (RRC 379/2) serratus [No. 935, donation, unknown provenance, recorded 1951]
17. **Mark Antony, legionary** - LEG XIX (RRC 544/35); Patrae, [No. 3353, unknown provenance, recorded 1995]
18. **Vespasian, 72/3 BC**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1556), Antioch [No. 580, from Russe town centre].

*Disposition*: All in the Regional Hist. Museum Russe, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments*: Information from Dr. D. Draganov, 2010, Russe.

### **339. Russe area II, Russe district**

– U

Single finds of early Roman coin:

- **Nero**: 1 Æ As (RPC I, 1761), Perinthus, MW [No. S-1761A].

*Findspot*: Found in the early 1990s at unknown location in the Russe region.

*Disposition*: Private collection, Ontario, Canada.

*Reference*: *The Anvil (Newsletter of the Classical and Medieval Numismatic Society)* 1.2 (May 1991), Willowdale, Ontario, pp. 3-4 = RPC I, Supplement I, (London–Paris 1998), p. 24.

### **340. Sadovetz, Dolni Dubnik area, Pleven region**

– C

Single early Roman Imperial coin:

1. **Caligula, AD 37-38**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 28 mm, 10.54 g. [Pleven, no. 1392];
2. **Claudius, AD 50-54**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 28 mm, 9.59 g [Pleven, no. 1391];
3. **Vespasian, AD 75**: 1 Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 816), Rome, MW, patinated [No. 1314].

*Findspot*: Found in the 1970s during digging, south from the village.

*Disposition*: Reg. Historical Museum of Pleven, Inv. nos. 1391, 1392 and 1314.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.

**341. Sadovik, Breznik area, Pernik region [ – C**

Single *RRD*:

- **L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, 90 BC** (RRC 340/1var.), Rome, 18 mm, VW, obv. scratches [No. 587].

*Findspot*: Found in 1974 during renovation of the water piping in Roman ruins in the 'Sveta voda' locality, some 1 km NW from the village

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Pernik, Inv. No. H-587

*Comments*: Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, October 1997

*Reference for site*: D. MITOVA-DJONOVA, *Archaeological Monuments in Region of Pernik*, (Sofia 1983), 58.

**342. Sharkovo, Bolyarino, Jambol region – C**

Stray finds of 2+ early Imperial coins:

1. **Domitian** – unspecified *Æ*;
2. **Nerva** – unspecified *Æ*.

*Findspot*: Found before 1900 in the hillfort 'Hissarluka', NW from the village on Chal-baba hill.

*Disposition*: Lost most probably.

*Reference*: K. SHKORPIL, *Aboba-Pliska*, *IRAIK* 10, (Sophia 1905), p. 516; AVDEV 1981, p. 31, no. 110.

**343. Shivachevo, Sliven region – U**

Single piece of *RID*:

- **Tiberius – for Augustus, 31-37 AD**: 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81), Rome, d. 25x26 mm, 10.10 g, MW, patinated [No. 4803].

*Findspot*: Found in 1988 near the village.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Jambol, Inv. no. 4803.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, thanks to Mr. S. Bakardjiev, Yambol Museum, July 2010.

**344. Shtipsko, Vulchidol area, Varna region – F**

Single piece of early Imperial denarius:

- **Domitian, AD 82**: D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 102), Rome, 19 mm, MW.

*Findspot*: Found in 1965 while ploughing a small burial mound distant 1 km NE from the village. In a small stone sarcophagus along with other Roman grave goods.

*Disposition*: Archaeological Museum of Varna, Inv. no. N/A.

*Reference*: M. MIRCHEV, *Bulletin Museum Varna* 4 (19), Varna (1968), p. 223.

**345. Shtruklevo, Russe region – C**

Stray find of a *RRD*:

- **L. Pomponius Musa**, 56 BC (RRC 410/9c), Rome, 18 mm, MW [No. 32]

*Findspot*: Found in 1943 while digging in the schoolyard in village centre (along a sestertius of Hadrian).

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Russe, Inv. No. 32, recorded 1948.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Prof. Dr. D. Draganov and D. Dragoev, 2010, Russe.

### **346. Shumen – ‘Shumenska krepost’**, Shumen region

– C

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Caligula - for M. Agrippa, 37-41 AD**: 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, VW
2. **Vespasian, AD 69-79?**: 1 AR D, type unspecified.

*Findspot*: Found in early 1970's during excavation of the 'Shumenska krepost' – Roman hillfort of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c AD, above the town.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Shumen, inv. numbers N/A.

*Comments*: Unpublished, mentioned by V. ANTONOVA, *Archeologija* 20/ 4 (Sofia 1978), p. 22, note 30.

### **347. Shumen area, Shumen district**

– U

Stray finds of *RRD* and 1 *cistophoric tetradrachm*:

1. **Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC: AR cistophor**, Ephesus (RPC I); 25x26 mm, 10.15 g, 12 h axis, VW, scratches [No. 119]
2. **C. Caesar Octavian, 30-29 BC**: 1 D (RIC I, 269a), Italian mint – Rome?, 20x21 mm, 3.45 g, VW, 1 b/m obv. [No. 144]

*Findspot*: Found in 1926-1932 near the town, no provenance noted in the records.

*Disposition*: Region. Hist. Museum of Shumen, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Dr Z. Zhekova, Shumen Museum.

### **348. Silistra (anc. *Durostorum*)**, Silistra region

– M

Single finds:

1. **Anonymous den**, 86 BC (RRC 350/A2), Rome, 16 mm, 2.51g, MW, few b/mks [No. 195];
2. **Claudius, 41-54**: 1 *Æ* As, illegible, 19x20 mm, 5.61g, [No. 5535]
3. **Nero**: 1 *Æ* Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 107; RPC I, 1758), Perinthus, Thrace?/, 19.75g, HW, center marks [No. 1281];
4. **Vespasian, 71 AD**: 1 *AE* Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 279), Rome, 27 mm, 11.78g, MW, pierced [No. 213]
5. **Vespasian, AD 73**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 546), Rome, 19 mm, 3.16 g, MW [No. 234]
6. **Vespasian, AD 75**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 773), Rome, 3.17g, MW [No. 5483]
7. **Vespasian, AD 76**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 841), Rome, 3.26g, MW [No. 5580]
8. **Vespasian, AD 77/8**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 943) Rome, 16x16 mm, 2.94g, MW [No. 5462]
9. **Vespasian, AD 79**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1062), Rome, w, 3.02 g, LW [No. 231];



10. **Vespasian**, AD 69-79: 1 *Æ* As, illegible, 8.76 g, HW, pierced [No. 6046; from a *sarcophagus*];
11. **Domitian**: *Æ* As, illegible, 9,34 g, 25x26 mm, HW [No. 203].

*Findspot*: Found between 1950-1978 in the town, most coins collected from the Danube south riverbank, others no exact provenance noted.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Silistra, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs. S. Petrova, Silistra Museum, June 2010.

### 349. Silistra area, Silistra district

– U

Single finds from the region of Silistra, no provenance noted:

1. **M. Tullius**, 120 BC (RRC, 280/1): 1 D, Rome, d. 19x21 mm, 3.64 g, VW, deformed [No. 4042];
2. **Anonymous den**, 115 BC (RRC, 287/1): 1 D, Rome, d. 19 mm, 3.76 g, MW [No. 5381];
3. **L. Thorius Balbus**, 106 BC (RRC, 316/1): 1 D, Rome, 3.66 g, MW, scratches [No. 5404];
4. **P. Servilius M.f. Rullus**, 100 BC (RRC 328/1): 1 D, Rome, d. 19 mm, 3.44 g, VW, deformed [No. 5382];
5. **C. Marius C.f. Capito**, 82 BC (RRC 378/1c): 1 D serratus, control mark CVIII, Rome, d. 18x19 mm, 3.85 g, MW, scratches, pierced [No. 5578];
6. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC – LEG IV** (RRC 544/17): 1, Patrae?, 2.66 g., VW [No. 5372];
7. **Caligula**, 37/8 AD: 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 10.51g, 23 mm, MW [No. 120];
8. **Claudius**, 50-54 AD: 1 *AE* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 8.41g, VW, corroded [No. 121]
9. **Claudius**, after 50/4 AD: 1 *AE* As? (cf. RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 110), Danube *limes-falsum*?, 30 mm, 13.37 g, MW [No. 112]
10. **Nero**, 64/5 AD: 1 *AE* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 312 or 391?), Rome, 9.95 g., 27 mm, MW [No. 117];
11. **Vespasian**, 74 AD: 1 D, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 684), Rome, 2.53 g, 18 mm, MW [No. 74];
12. **Vespasian**, 70 or 71 AD: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 28-30?), Rome, 2.82 g, VW, scratches [No. 84];
13. **Vespasian**, 71 AD: 1 *AE* Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 279), Rome, 11.78 g., 28 mm, LW, pierced [No. 213];
14. **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar**, 72 AD: *AE* As, illegible Rome, w. 10.74 g., 26x27 mm, MW [No. 5309].
15. **Titus**: 1 D, 79-80 AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 35 or 54), Rome, w. 3.40 g., MW [No. 5579].

*Findspot*: Found in 1953-1978, no exact provenance noted in the inventory books.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum of Silistra, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs. S. Petrova, Silistra Museum, June 2010.

### 350. Sivino, Smolyan region

– V

Two single *RRD* and other coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

1. **Mn. Cordius Rufus, 46 BC** (RRC 463/3), 20x21 mm, 3.94 g [No. 730]
2. **P. Clodius M.f., 42 BC** (RRC 494/18), 19x20 mm, 3.54 g [No. 729]

3. **Rhoemetalces I and Pythodoris, with Augustus**, ca.11 BC–12 AD: 1 *Æ* (*RPC* I, 1712), 20x20 mm, [No. 739].

*Findspot:* Found in 1978 during regular archaeological excavation of the peak Kom, 1569 m, west from the village, 2 km from the modern Bulgarian-Greek border

This site – a Thracian sanctuary – has provided also early bronzes of Aenus and Maroneia (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), along with Abdera, of the king of Thrace Rhoemetalces I, and other 3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD' Roman denarii, antoniniani and folles.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum Smolyan, Inv. nos. 729–730.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* R. GEORGIEVA ET ALII, "Archaeological excavations at peak Kom near village of Sivino, Smoljan district", *AOR Reports 1977* (Sofia 1978), pp. 51-3; PROKOPOV, *Smoljan*, (Sofia 1991), pp. 14, 53-54, figs. 168-170, see now I. PROKOPOV – PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – FILIPOVA – TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan (=CCCHBulg. III)*, Sofia 2011, nos. 1192, 1197, and 739.

### 351. Skobelevo, Krichim area, Plovdiv region

– C

Single piece of early *RRD*:

1. **L. Rutilius Flaccus, 77 BC** (*RRC* 387/1): 1 D, Rome, MW [Plovdiv, field no. 007/1974];
2. **Claudius – for Drusus, 41/2 AD:** *Æ* Sest (*RIC* II/1<sup>2</sup>, 93), Rome, 29x36 mm, broken, VW [Plovdiv, no. 1995, acquired 1954];
3. **Trajan, 112-114 AD:** 1 D. (*RIC* II, 266), Rome, LW, [Plovdiv, no. 5099, acquired 1983].

*Findspot:* Found in 1974 in a Thracian fortress at 'Momino kale' in the North Rhodopes, altitude 1300 m, 3 km NE from village, along with other coins of Parium, Philip II, Alexander III, Histiaea and 'Οδρυσων/ Odrysa bronzes.

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, field inv. No. 007/1974, etc.

*Comments:* Unpublished, see I. PANAYOTOV – N. GIZDOVA – V. MAZANOVA – B. CHAPUROV – IV. DJAMBOV, *Rodopski sbornik* 4, (Sofia 1976), 215-236; K. KISSYOV 2004, p. 22-23.

### 352. Skrebatno Gotze Delchev area, Blagoevgrad district

– U

Single Republican coin:

- **Anonymous Republican As, ca. 179-170 BC:** *RRC* 169/3:

*Obv.* Laur. head of bearded Ianus.

*Rev.* Prora of galley r., above MA (in ligature), below ROMA, large I (mark of value) – to right.

*Æ* As, 28/30 mm, 20.13 g, very worn, corroded.

*Findspot:* Found in 2008? near the village, along with other Macedonian and Thracian coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC – 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Blagoevgrad, field inv. No. 019/1982.

*Comments:* Unpublished, see now M. ANDONOVA – S. FILIPOVA – E. PAUNOV – I. PROKOPOV, *CCCHBulg. IV/1: Blagoevgrad Museum Coin Collection*, (Sofia 2012) in progress.

**353. Skutare, Maritsa area, Plovdiv district** – U

Single early Imperial coin:

1. **Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC–AD 12:** 1 Æ23 (*RPC* I, 1711-1712?), Bizye?, 23 mm, Bizye?, VW [Plovdiv, no. 1873, acquired 1941];
2. **Claudius, AD 50-54:** 1 Æ As (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, MW, 29x30mm mm, countermarked obv. –? (unspecified), [Plovdiv, no. 4507, acquired 1941];

*Findspot:* Found in the early-1940s near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, Inv. nos. 1873 and 2009, acquired 1941.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from RAM Museum Plovdiv, October 2010.

**354. Slavyanovo / 1962, Harmanli area, Haskovo region** – U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Vespasian, AD 75:** 1 Æ As (*RIC* II/1<sup>2</sup>, 818), Rome, 26.2x27 mm, 8.61 g, VW [No. 106].

*Findspot:* Found 1962 in/around the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 106.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

**355. Slomer, Pavlikeni area, Veliko Tarnovo region** – U

Single Roman Imperial *denarius*, from a hoard:

- **Domitian, AD 87:** 1 D (*RIC* II/1<sup>2</sup>, 507), Rome, MW, patinated [No. 1139, part of a pot hoard of 200 denarii]

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970s near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Plevén, Inv. no. 1139, others – dispersed and lost.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Plevén museum, March 2010.

**356. Sliven I / 1883, Sliven region** – U

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Claudius – for Drusus, AD 41-50:** 1 Æ Sest (*RIC* I<sup>2</sup>, 109?), Rome, no further data;
2. **S.C. As/Sestertius (Caligula / Claudius?):** Æ, unspecified, no further data.

*Findspot:* Found 1883/4 in the south end of town, while digging a burial mound, along with other provincial coins such as *Anchialus*, *Serdica*, *Philippopolis*, etc.

*Disposition:* Unknown, probably lost. Examined by K. Jirecek during his visit in Sliven, 1884.

*Reference:* V. & K. SHKORPIL (Plovdiv 1885), p. 67; JIRECEK (Sofia 1888), pp. 67-8, 710; АВДЕВ / AVDEV (1981), p. 29, no. 69.

### **357. Sliven II / 1886 (anc. *Touidas*), Sliven region**

– U

Single early Imperial coins:

1. **Nero, 64-68 AD:** 1 *Æ* Sest, unspecified?
2. **Trajan:** 1 *Æ* sestertius, unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found before 1886 in the 'Hissarluka' above and north-est from the town, along with coins of Septimius Severus, Constantine, etc.

*Disposition:* Unknown, probably lost.

*Reference:* H. SHKORPIL (Sliven 1886), p. 23; АВДЕВ / AVDEV (1981), p. 29, No. 79.

### **358. Smochan, Lovech district<sup>#</sup>**

– F

Single *RRD* of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

- **L. Scribonius Libo, 62 BC** (RRC 416/1), Rome, LW, patinated.

*Findspot:* Found in 1985 during excavations of a Thracian burial mound „Smochan–3”, some 600 m NE from the village. This tumulus contained Thracian burials and ritual pits from the La Tène D period.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Lovech, Inv. no. xxx/1985.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, September 1986.

*Reference:* G. КИТОВ, “Archaeological excavations of Thracian tumuli near Smochan, Lovech district”, *AOR for 1985*, (Veliko Turnovo 1986), p. 57.

### **359. Smolyan (and environs), Smolyan district**

– U

Five *RRD* and early Imperial coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD:

*Findspot:* Unknown sites and date of discovery in Smolyan region:

1. **C. Allius Bala, 92 BC** (RRC 336/1a-c ?), Rome, 17.5x18 mm, 3.24 g [No. 2349]
2. **C. Naevius Balbus, 79 BC** (RRC 383/1b, *serratus*) - 19 mm, 3.79 g [No. 864]
3. **D. Iunius Albinus Brutus, 48 BC** (RRC 450/1a-b?), Rome, 16x17 mm, 3.19 g, HW [No. 845- from Ustovo quarter in Smolyan]
4. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC - legionary** LEG IV (RRC 544/17), 17x18 mm, 3.32 g. [No. 819] Since 1997 two new *RRD*, donated from the regional police in Smolyan:
5. **C. Iulius Caesar, 47/6 BC** (RRC 458/1), 17x18 mm; 3.63 g, edge broken [No. 2231]
6. **C. Iulius Caesar, 47/6 BC** (RRC 458/1), 17x18 mm; 3.69 g, MW [No. 2232].

Early Imperial coins:

7. **Augustus, ca. 27-23 AD:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486; RPC 2235), Pergamum, VW, corroded [No. 1248];
8. **Caligula, 37-38 AD:** 1 *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 27x28 mm, 10.52 g, VW [No. 793]
9. **Claudius – for Drusus, 41-50 AD:** 1 *Æ* Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 93), Rome, 36x37 mm, 28.63 g, MW [No. 792]

10. **Claudius – for Drusus, 41-50 AD:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 93), Rome, 34x36 mm, 25.84 g, HW, corroded, scratches [No. 1252]
11. **Nero, 64-67 AD:** 1 Æ Sest, type illegible (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 396?), Lugdunum, 33x34 mm, 23.17 g, HW [No. 1253]
12. **Nero, 64-68? AD:** 1 Æ As (RPC I, 1760), Perinthus, 26x27 mm, 7.34 g, VW [No. 1275, acquired from a person from Plovdiv]
13. **Domitian, 1 Jan. – 1 Sept. 88 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 594), Rome, 17x18 mm, LW, 3.16 g. [No. 917]
14. **Nerva, 96 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 4), Rome, 16x17 mm, 3.23 g., MW [No. 919].
15. **Trajan, 100 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 41), Rome, 18x19 mm, 3.26 g., LW, encrustation [No. 806].
16. **Trajan, 101-102 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 61), Rome, 16.5x18 mm, 3.08 g., MW [No. 863].

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Smolyan, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Most published; information from Dr I. Prokopov, Sofia.

*Reference:* PROKOPOV, *Smolyan*, 12, 53-54, figs. 166, 167, 171; see now I. PROKOPOV – E. PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – FILIPOVA – TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan (=CCCHBulg. III)*, Sofia 2011.

### **360. Sofia I (anc. *Serdica*), Sofia district**

– C

A Single early Roman provincial coins:

*Findspot:* Chance find from the town or the area, no context:

- **Nero - for Poppaea Sabina, ca. AD 63-5:** Æ 24mm (RPC I, 1756), Perinthus, 24 mm, HW, burnt, edge broken, corroded [Plovdiv, no. 1459, acquired 1925].

*Disposition:* Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. no. 1459.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, October 2010.

### **361. Sofia II (anc. *Serdica*), Sofia district**

– M

A single early Roman Imperial excavation coin:

*Findspot:* From the late Roman Amphitheatre excavation on 12, Dondoukov Blvd, season 2005, sector 2, depth 4.19m from the street level:

1. **Claudius - for Drusus, 41-50 AD:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 93 or 109?), Rome, 32x33 mm, 14.93 g, HW, burnt, edge broken, corroded [Field no. 268/ 2005].
2. **Tiberius and Livia, ca. AD 14-37:** Æ 22mm, Thessalonica (RPC I 1570-1572?), 22 mm [Field no. xx/2010].

*Disposition:* Sofia City Historical Museum, field nos. 268/2005 and xx/2010.

Unpublished, examined and identified by E. Paunov, October 2010.

### **362. Sofia III (anc. *Serdica*), Sofia district**

– M

Excavation assemblage of early Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Discovered in 2010 – 2011 during rescue archaeological excavation for construction of underground metro station 'TZUM' (MS 8-II) on Maria Louisa Blvd. in central Sofia. A large late antique residential complex, N from *decumanus maximus* of ancient *Serdica* (NW part of town) – among Early Roman clay-timber structures:

1. **Q. Cassius Longinus, 55 BC?**: 1 D plated (RRC, 433/1?) 18x20 mm, 2.49 g, corroded, edge broken, MW [No. A737/ 2011];
2. **Augustus, ca. 27-23 BC**: 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 483; RPC 2233) Pergamum, 33x34 mm, 23.19 g, VW, no patina [No. A1736/ 2010];
3. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486; RPC 2235) Pergamum, 25x26 mm, 11.1g, no patina [No. A745 / 2011];
4. **Augustus, 11-10 BC**: 1 AR D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 193b), Lugdunum, 17x17 m, 3.25 g, FDC, nice patina [No. A1681/ 2010]
5. **Augustus, or Caligula?**: 1 AR D plated (RIC I ?), 18x20 mm, 2.79g, corroded, illegible [No. A721/ 2011];
6. **Tiberius – for Augustus, AD 21-30**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 80?), Rome, 26x27 mm, 8.77 g, VW, no patina, [No. A1706/ 2010]
7. **Tiberius – for Livia, AD 22/3**: 1 Æ Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 47), Rome, 26x27 mm, 11.41 g, HW, no patina, [No. A1678/ 2010]
8. **Tiberius, AD 34-35**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 53), Rome, dated TRIB POT XXXVI, 24x27 mm, 9.34 g, VW, no patina [No. A1694/ 2010]
9. **Caligula, AD 37-41**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38, or?), illegible type, 26x27 mm, 6.01 g, VW, no patina, pierced [No. A1733/ 2010]
10. **Caligula, AD 37-41**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 26.5x27 mm, 9.1g, VW, no patina [No. A833/ 2011]
11. **Claudius – for Britannicus Caesar, ca. AD 50-54**: Æ Sestertius (von Kaenel 1984, pl. 20, type A, B.3) Perinthus?, 33 mm, 28.46 g, no patina, LW [No. A716/ 2011];
12. **Claudius, AD 41-42**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 111), Rome, 27.5x29 mm, MW, brown patina [No. A80/ 2010];
13. **Claudius, AD 41-50?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, Rome, 26x26 mm, bad corrosion [A172/ 2010];
14. **Claudius – cast imitation, after AD 41/54**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113 - type LIBERTAS), 27x28 mm, MW, green patina, casting sprues [A266/ 2010];
15. **Claudius, AD 41-54?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, Rome, 26x26.5 mm, bad corrosion, burnt [No. A1105/ 2011];
16. **Claudius, AD 41-54?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, Rome, 26x27 mm, 7.80 g, VW, no patina [No. A1146/ 2010];
17. **Claudius, AD 41-54?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, Rome, 25x25 mm, 7.82 g, VW [No. A1391 / 2010];
18. **Claudius, AD 41-54?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, Rome, 25x27 mm, 6.41 g, VW, no patina [No. A1679 /2010];
19. **Claudius, AD 41-54?**: 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>,?), illegible, Rome, 26.5x28 mm, 9.30 g, VW, no patina [No. A1723/2010];
20. **Claudius, AD 41 – 54**: 1 Æ25 mm, ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (RPC 1612), Thessalonika, 25.5x25 mm, 8.99 g, HW, no patina [No. A674/ 2011];
21. **Nero?, AD 41/54 – 58**: 1 Æ21 mm, ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (RPC 1612 or 1614?),Thessalonika, 21 mm, 7.71 g, LW, green patina [No. A316 / 2010];
22. **Nero, AD 54-58**: 1 Æ23 mm, ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (RPC 1614),Thessalonika, 23 mm, 7.70 g, VW, no patina [No. A1676/ 2010];

- 23. Nero, AD 54-58:** 1 Æ21 mm, KOINΩN MAKEΔONΩN (RPC 1614),Thessalonika, 21x21 mm, 7.70 g, MW, no patina [No. A688/ 2011];
- 24. Nero, AD 54-58:** 1 Æ22 mm, KOINΩN MAKEΔONΩN (RPC 1614),Thessalonika, 19x24 mm, 6.09 g, VW, rev. illegible, no patina [No. A813/ 2011];
- 25. Galba, Aug.-October 68 AD:** 1 AR D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 167 or 170?), Rome, 18x18 mm, 3.83 g, corrosion, burnt [No. A1745 / 2010];
- 26. Vitellius, April – December 69 AD:** 1 AR D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 56?), Rome, 18x19 mm, 3.40 g, burnt, corroded [No. A841/ 2011];
- 27. Vitellius, April – December 69 AD:** 1 AR D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 105), Rome, 17x18.5mm, 2.95 g, MW, burnt, corrosion [A1502/ 2010];
- 28. Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, AD 75:** 1 AV aureus (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 787; Calicó 912), Rome, 6.65 g., MW, scratches [No. A1387/ 2010]
- 29. Vespasian, AD 71:** 1 AR D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 43), Rome, 16x17.5 mm, 2.30 g, HW, corrosion [No. A799/ 2011]
- 30. Vespasian, AD 69-71:** 1 AR D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>: 1558 – IVDAEA CAPTA), Antioch, 19x20 mm, 2.29 g, MW, burnt obverse, well preserved [No. A800/ 2011];
- 31. Vespasian, AD 74:** 1 D plated (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 702? - PON MAX / TRP COS V, Rome?, 18x18 mm, 2.66 g. HW, pierced, corrosion [No. A1660 / 2010]
- 32. Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, AD 76/7:** 1 AR Drachm (RPC I, 1654), Caesarea Cappadociae, 18x19mm, 2.91 g, burnt, corrosion [No. A269 / 2010];
- 33. Vespasian, AD 76 AD** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> ?), Rome, 25.5x26 mm, 8.20 g, MW, no patina [No. 798 / 2011]
- 34. Vespasian, AD 70-79? AD** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> ?), illegible, 26.5x27mm, 9.80g, VW, no patina [A862/ 2011];
- 35. Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, AD ~72-81:** 1 Æ 26mm (RPC II,? - Asia), 25x26mm, LW, green patina [No. A683/ 2010]
- 36. Titus, 80-81 AD:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> ?), Rome, 17x19 mm, 2.23 g, MW, burnt, corrosion [No. A1710 / 2010];
- 37. Titus – for Vespasian deified, AD 80/1:** 1 D plated (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 357 /Titus/), Rome, 17x19 mm, 2.78 g, MW, deformed, corroded, burnt [No. A1718 / 2010]
- 38. Titus – for Domitian Caesar, AD 80/1:** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 157a /Titus/), Rome, 26x26 mm, 5.73 g, VW, no patina, burnt, corrosion [No. A1707/ 2010]
- 39. Domitian, 82-95? AD:** 1 AR D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> ? – Minerva to I.), Rome, 21x21 mm, 3.22 g, MW, burnt [No. A1134 / 2010]
- 40. Domitian, 85 AD:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 288-289?), Rome, 28x29mm, 11.19g, VW, no patina, corroded [No. 1670/ 2010]
- 41. Domitian, 90-91 AD:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 702-706?), Rome, 26x27 mm, 12.22g [No. 1392/ 2010]
- 42. Domitian, 92/4 AD:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 753, or 754?) – CENS COS XVI, illegible type, Rome, 26x26 mm, 9.86 g, HW, corrosion [No. A1689/ 2010]
- 43. Domitian, 81-96? AD** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> ?), illegible type, Rome, 26x27 mm, 5.98 g, HW, corrosion [No. A1144/ 2010]
- 44. Domitian, 81-96? AD** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>?, illegible type), Rome, 25x25mm, 8.05 g, VW, no patina, corrosion [No. A1669/ 2010];

45. **Domitian, 81-96? AD** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>?, illegible type), Rome, 26x26.5 mm, 9.91g, HW, no patina [No. 1677/ 2010];
46. **Domitian, AD 81-96:** 1 Æ21mm KOINΩN MAKEΔONΩN (RPC ?), Thessalonica, 21x24 mm, 8.0 g, VW, no patina [No. 869 / 2011];
47. **Nerva, AD 96/7:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II, 84 or 99?), Rome, 26x27 mm, 10.91g, VW, no patina [No. 1721/ 2010];
48. **Nerva, AD 96/7:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 83 or 86?), Fortuna or Libertas?, Rome, 21x22 mm, 10.74 g, MW, light corrosion [No. A1377 / 2010];
49. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 83), Rome, 25x26 mm, 9.20g, MW, corroded [No. A1299/ 2010];
50. **Nerva, AD 96/7:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?, illegible), Rome, 24x26mm, 7.35g, VW, corroded [No. 1435/ 2010];
51. **Trajan, AD 103-117:** 1 AR D (RIC II ?), Rome, 18x18 mm, 2.91 g, MW, corroded, burnt [No. A236/ 2010];
52. **Trajan, AD 111:** 1 AR D (RIC II 102 = Woytek 347), Rome, 18x19 mm, burnt, corrosion obv, reverse damaged [No. A1711/ 2010];
53. **Trajan, AD 106-107:** 1 AR D plated (RIC II 183? = Woytek 217?), Rome, 18x19 mm, 2.04 g, MW, good condition [No. A1700/ 2010];
54. **Trajan, AD 103-107?:** 1 AR (RIC II ? = Woytek ?), Rome, 17.5x19 mm, 2.30 g, MW, corroded uncleaned [No. A722/ 2011];
55. **Trajan, 102-111? AD:** 1 Æ S (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 31x33 mm, 22.40 HW, encrustation, [No. A1277/ 2010];
56. **Trajan, AD 102-112?:** 1 Æ S (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 33x34 mm, 24.29 g, MW, bad corrosion, burnt, uncleaned [No. A1738/ 2010];
57. **Trajan, AD 108-110:** 1 Æ S (RIC II 500 = Woytek 329), Rome, 33x34 mm, 26.74 g, MW, light corrosion [No. A1661/ 2010];
58. **Trajan, AD 108-112:** 1 Æ S (RIC II ? – Fortuna standing I.), Rome, 30x32 mm, MW, corroded, no patina, burnt [No. A124/ 2010];
59. **Trajan, AD 108-112:** 1 Æ S (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 30x32 mm, VW, corroded, burnt [No. A124 / 2010];
60. **Trajan, AD 114-116:** 1 Æ S (RIC II 672 = Woytek 534), Rome, 32x34 mm, 25.17 g, MW, light corrosion [No. A1009/ 2010];
61. **Trajan, AD 114-117:** 1 Æ S (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 33x33 mm, 23.60 g, MW, well preserved, light corrosion [No. A1147/ 2010];
62. **Trajan, after AD 103:** 2 Æ S /bonded together in corrosion/ (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 35x35 mm, total over 50 g, MW, green patina, uncleaned [No. A1360<sub>1-2</sub>/ 2010];
63. **Trajan, AD 101-102:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II 428 = Woytek 96), Rome, 27x27 mm, 12.96g, LW, brown patina [No. A967/ 2010];
64. **Trajan, AD 113-116?:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II,?), Rome, 25x25 mm, 10.6 g, no patina, metal surface, mid-worn, black dirt [No. A755/ 2011];
65. **Trajan, AD 113-116?:** 1 Æ Dp (RIC II, ?), Rome, 26x27 mm, 10.5 g, well preserved, mid-worn [No. A831/ 2011];
66. **Trajan, AD 98/9-102?:** 1 Æ As (RIC II 395 or 435?), Rome, 26.5x27mm, 12.1 g, corrosion, patina damaged, VW [No. A785/ 2011];



- 67. Trajan, AD 98/9-102?:** 1 Æ As (RIC II 395 or 435?), Rome, 27x28 mm, 11.1g, no patina, metal surface, LW [No. A801/ 2011];
- 68. Trajan, AD 112/3–114:** 1 Æ As (RIC II 600 = Woytek 474), Rome, 26x26 mm, 9.30g, corrosion, no patina, MW [No. A763/ 2011];
- 69. Trajan, AD 101:** 1 Æ As (RIC II 417 = Woytek 82), Rome, 26x27 mm, 11.00 g, LW, no patina [No. A1712/ 2010];
- 70. Trajan, AD 99-100:** 1 Æ As? (RIC II 399? = Woytek ?), Rome, 19x21 mm, VW [No. 891/ 2010];
- 71. Trajan, AD 99-100:** 1 Æ As (RIC II ? - illegible), Rome, 26x26mm, 11.26 g, HW, corroded [A988/ 2010];
- 72. Trajan, AD 98-101?:** 1 Æ As (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 25x26 mm, 6.79 g, HW, badly corroded [No. A1433/ 2010];
- 73. Trajan, AD 106-107:** 1 Æ As? (RIC II 524 = Woytek 258), Rome, 21x22 mm, MW, green patina [No. A1418/ 2010];
- 74. Trajan, AD 98-102:** 1 Æ Quad (RIC II 702 = Woytek 602), Rome, 15x16 mm, 2.51 g, LW, no patina [No. A1639 / 2010];
- 75. Late Trajan / early Hadrian, 115-122?:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, ?), Rome, 25.5x26 mm, 9.2g, corrosion, no patina, encrustation, VW [No. A720/ 2011];
- 76. Trajan, AD 103-111, Philippopolis:** Æ18mm (Varbanov III, 627 = Woytek 2011, 424-5, Abb. 6-7), 18x18mm, 2.59 g, MW, no patina [No. A1719/ 2010];
- 77. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ17mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 17x18 mm, 3.59g., MW, corrosion [No. A1027 / 2010];
- 78. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ18mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 18x19 mm, 5.36g, HW, green patina [No. A1148 / 2010];
- 79. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ21mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 21x22 mm, 5.28g, MW [No. A1200 / 2010];
- 80. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ17mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 17x18 mm, 3.47g, MW, well preserved [No. A1580 / 2010];
- 81. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ15mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 15x17 mm, 3.44g, LW, uncleaned [No. A1630 / 2010];
- 82. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ18mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 18x18 mm, 3.95g, MW, light corrosion [No. A1631 / 2010];
- 83. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ17mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 16x17 mm, 3.02g, MW, corrosion, no patina, metal surface [No. A1658 / 2010];
- 84. Trajan, AD 98-117?, Philippi:** Æ17mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 17x17 mm, 2.38g, corrosion, no patina, metal surface [No. A1695 / 2010];
- 85. Trajan, AD 98-117, Philippi:** Æ17mm (RPC I, 1651), Philippi, 16.5x17mm, 3.4 g, LW, uncleaned, [No. A735 / 2011].

Altogether, 87 coins from the period from Augustus to Trajan (out of 2,500+ excavated).

*Disposition:* NAIM Museum Sofia, all finds.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Dr Mario Ivanov of NAIM, Sofia; examined in person August-September 2010, September 2011.

**363. Sofia – NAIM Museum**

– U

Museum collection of early Imperial *aurei*:*Findspot*: unknown provenance noted, unspecified, roughly modern Bulgaria.

1. **Caligula, 37/8 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 1) Rome, 17 mm, 7.71 g, FDC [No. 4004];
2. **Claudius – for Antonia, ca. 41-50 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 65) Rome, 19 mm, 7.60 g, MW [No. 2991];
3. **Nero, 65-66 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 56) Rome, 18 mm, 6.93 g, MW [No. 2420];
4. **Nero, ca.64-66 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 52) Rome, 18 mm, 7.24 g, MW [No. 2376];
5. **Nero, ca.64-66 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 52) Rome, 18 mm, 7.22 g, LW [No. 3367];
6. **Nero, ca.64-66 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 52) Rome, 18 mm, 7.18 g, VW [No. 3382];
7. **Galba, July 68–Jan. 69 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 213) Rome, 19 mm, 7.09 g, MW [No. 2421];
8. **Vitellius, Jan.–June 69 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 1) Tarraco, Spain, 17 mm, 7.31 g, LW [No. 3251];
9. **Vespasian, 72/3 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 363) - IVDAEA, Rome, 18 mm, 7.21 g, LW, rev. grafitto V [No. 2979];
10. **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, 73 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 540), Rome, 19 mm, 6.95 g, VW [No. 2349];
11. **Vespasian – for Domitian Caesar, 75 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 787), Rome, 20 mm, 7.17 g, MW [No. 3818];
12. **Titus – for Domitian Caesar, 80/1 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 270), Rome, 18 mm, 7.28 g, LW [No. 3015];
13. **Trajan – for Traianus Pater, 112-113 AD**: 1 AV aureus (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 762 = Calico, 1138), Rome, 20 mm, 6.95 g., pierced at 12h, MW [No. 2329].

*Disposition*: National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, resp. inv. numbers.*Comments*: Published with numerous errors.*Reference*: Б. БОЖКОВА / BOZHKOVA, in *Proceedings of NAIM I* (Sofia 2001), pp. 208-211, nos. 18-29, fig. 3.1-13.**364. Somovit (anc. *Ad Lucenarium burgus* / *Lucernaria*), Pleven district**

– M

A single early Imperial coin:

- **Nerva, AD 96-98?**: Æ Sest/Dup (RIC II,?), Rome, unspecified.

*Findspot*: Found in the 1975-76 in a Roman hill-fort (light-house?) in the locality 'Karierata' near Borunya river, 1 km E from the village.*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. N/A*Reference*: T. KOVACHEVA, in *IMSZBulg.* vol. 1, (Vratsa 1977), p. 251.**365. Staliyska mahala, Lom area, Montana region**

– V

Single *RRD* of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC from a sanctuary:*Findspot*: Found in 1986-7 during archaeological excavation in the 'Bagachina' locality, 2 km north of the village, in a Thracian ritual pit sanctuary (see also hoards nos. **62-64**).

- **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, 88 BC** (RRC 345/1), VW, 1 b/m obv.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Montana, Inv. No. 1067.

*Comments:* Published with incorrect ID.

*Reference:* Ал. БОНЕВ – Г. АЛЕКСАНДРОВ / BONEV - ALEXANDROV, "Archaeological excavations of Thracian sanctuary in locality Bagatchina near Staliyska mahala", *Arheologija* (Sofia) 27, 1986/3, 49, fig. 1; and A. BONEV - G. ALEXANDROV (Sofia 1994), 50, fig. 105.

### **366. Stanjovtsi, Breznik area, Pernik district**

– U

Single piece of early Imperial denarius:

- **Nero**, 64-68 AD: 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, ?), unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found in 1934 by chance in the ruins of a Roman tower? on the hill in the 'Bolchar' locality, east from the village.

*Disposition:* Lost, no details known.

*Comments:* Unpublished, see P. ТОДОРОВ / TODOROV 1983, p. 2.

### **367. Stara Zagora I (anc. Augusta Traiana), Stara Zagora district**

– C

Stray finds of *denarii* and one *sestertius*, with or no provenance noted:

1. **M. Aurelius Scaurus, 118 BC** (RRC 282/1), serratus, Narbo Gaul, 20 mm, 3.5 g [no. 4139]
2. **C. Valerius Flaccus, 82 BC** (RRC 365/1b), Massalia, 18 mm, 3.8 g. [No. 3224]
3. **Augustus - for C. L. CAESARES, ca. 2/1 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 208), Lugdunum, 18 mm, 3.9 g. [No. 785].
4. **Tiberius, 14-21 AD** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 30), Lugdunum, 17 mm, 3.60 g. [No. 4363 – from Stara Zagora];
5. **Nero, 64-67 AD**: 1 AE Sestertius (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 392), Lugdunum, 35.5 mm, countermarked with ΓΑΛ•ΚΑΙ on Nero's face [No. 5657 – unknown provenance; see Martini 2002, no. 1.4055];
6. **Vespasian, 69-70 AD** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 2), Rome, 17x19 mm, 3.30 g. [No. 4504 – from locality 'Besh bunar', on the left bank of Bedechka river, NE from town];
7. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, 77-78 AD** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 986), Rome, 18 mm, 3.04 g. [No. 174].

*Findspot:* Found in 1940-1980s in or near the town.

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum at Stara Zagora (resp. inv. numbers).

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora museum, November 2009.

### **368. Stara Zagora II anc. Augusta Traiana), Stara Zagora region**

– U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Nero, AD 56-57: AV aureus** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 11; Calicó 421) Rome, MW, 7.60g, pierced [No. 4507 – from 'Ayazmoto' hill in Stara Zagora].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1970s in the Ayazmoto area of the town (sacred hill).

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Stara Zagora, inv. no. 4507.

*Comments:* Information from Mrs M. Minkova, Stara Zagora (Jan. 2012).

*Reference:* Unpublished, mentioned briefly in A. KUNISZ (Katowice 1992), p. 60; and MINKOVA 2006, p. 82.

**369. Startzevo, Zlatograd, Smolyan region** – U

Single RRD:

- **C. Iulius Caesar / P. Sepullius Macer**, 44 BC (RRC 480/5a), Rome, 19x20 mm, 3.25 g, VW.

*Findspot:* Found in 1980s near the village, no further data.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Smolyan, Inv. no. 725, acquired in 1980s from Mr. Z. Merkov of Startzevo village.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from Dr I. Prokopov, Sofia.

*Reference:* see now I. PROKOPOV – E. PAUNOV – N. BOYADZHIEV – S. FILIPOVA – A. TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan* /CCCHBulg. III/1/, Sofia 2010, no. 1195.

**370. Staychovtsi, Trun area, Pernik district** – C

Single piece of early Roman Imperial coin:

- **Claudius – for Agrippina, AD 50-54?**: 1 AV aureus (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 80/?/), Rome, no further data.

*Findspot:* Found in 1941 by chance in the 'Gradishteto' locality near the village.

*Disposition:* Lost, probably melted by the owners.

*Comments:* Unpublished, recorded by Mr R. TODOROV, 'Старинни монети от Трънския край', p. 2 (unpublished manuscript in Bulgarian, Pernik museum archive, 1983).

**371. Stomanevo, Devin area, Smolyan region** – U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Claudius – for Agrippina, 42-50? AD:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 102; von Kaenel 730), Rome, 34.5x35 mm, 27.86 g, VW, corroded [No. 890].

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Smolyan, Inv. no. 890.

*Reference:* Unpublished, see now PROKOPOV – PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – FILIPOVA - TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan* /CCCHBulg. III/, (Sofia 2011), no. 138.

**372. Stezherovo, Levski, Pleven region** – C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula, AD 37-38:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, 29 mm, 11.00 g, patinated [No. 1211].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1960s in a broken Roman brick, nearby the village.

*Disposition:* Reg. Historical Museum of Pleven, resp. inv. no.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.

**373. Stroyno, Elhovo area, Jambol region** – C

Single piece of early Roman Imperial coins:

1. **Tiberius, 21-37 AD:** 1 D. (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 30), Lugdunum, VW, porous [No. 1853]

*Findspot:* Found 1961 near the village.

2. **Trajan, 116/7 AD:** 1 *Æ* Sest (*RIC II*, 667), Rome, 31.5x32 mm, 21.22 g, VW, no patination [No. 4325].

*Findspot:* Found in July 1968 in the 'Jurta' locality, 2.5 km S from the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Jambol, inv. nos. 1853, 4325.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, July 2010, thanks to Mr S. Bakurdjiev, Jambol museum.

**3741. Suhindol, Veliko Tarnovo region** – C

Single pieces of early Imperial coins:

1. **Vespasian, AD 75:** 1 D. (*RIC II*<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>, 772 or 773), Rome
2. **Titus – for Vespasian, 80/1 AD:** 1 D (*RIC II*<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>, 357), Rome
3. **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 *Æ* As (*RIC II*, 83), Rome.

*Findspot:* Found in 1960s in the 'Seltzeto' locality, 1.5 km SW from the town, where a Roman settlement existed.

*Disposition:* Municipal Museum of Suhindol.

*Reference:* A. PISAREV – TZOICHEV (V.Tarnovo 1975), pp. 33 and 38.

**375. Sturmen, Byala area, Russe region** – M

Single early Imperial aes-coin:

- **Domitian, AD 81-96?:** 1 *Æ* As? (unspecified), Rome.

*Findspot:* Found 1968 during the Polish-Bulgarian excavation of a Late Roman fort and early medieval Slavic settlement near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Russe, inv. no. N/A

*Reference:* Unpublished, see A. KRZYZANOWSKA, *Slavia antiqua* 18, 1971, p. 227.

**376. Svishtov / Novae I, Veliko Tarnovo region** – M

Excavation assemblages of single Republican and early Roman Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Found under archaeological excavation in the Roman legionary camp and town of Novae, since 1959–.

*Findspot:* From scamnum tribunorum building (sector X) – coins from the 1996-2001 excavation, 16 coins in total (3 unspecified):

- **Mark Antony:** 1 AR Den, 32/1 BC (Cr. 544/?), LEG illegible, worn out, b/m, 17x19 mm, [Svishtov, 2391];
- **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus 2 *Æ*:** 1 As, 22/30 AD (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 31), 25x27 mm [Svishtov, 1069];

- 1 As, 22/3-26? AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 82), 28x29mm [Svishtov, 2384];
- **Caligula – for Agrippina** 1 Æ Sest, 37-41 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 55), 35x36 mm, [Svishtov, 2389]
- **Claudius** 4 Æ 2 Asses: 50-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 116), Rome
  - 1 As, 50-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 113), Rome [no. 2382]
- **Claudian imitation** 1 Æ Sest, local imitation. Obv. *carpentum* to l./ retrograde S–C, [see RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 55 /Gaius/], 30 mm, [Svishtov, no. 2405]
- **Nero** 4 Æ 2 Asses: 66 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 543; 605), Lugdunum
  - Dp : 64-65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 369; 410?), Lugdunum
  - 1 Sest: 64/65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 397), Lugdunum
- **Vespasian** 2 Æ 1 As: 76 AD (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 580a), Rome
  - 1 Sest: 71 AD (RIC II/1, 230), Rome, 30x31mm, [Svishtov, 2388].
- **Trajan** 1 Æ Sest: 112-114 AD (RIC II, 625 or 672), Rome, 34 mm [Svishtov, no. 2423].

Reference: B. Božkova, in E. Genčeva, *Novae* (Sofia 2002), pp. 111-116.

### **377. Svishtov / Novae II, Veliko Tarnovo region**

– M

*Findspot:* Principia site (legion headquarters, sector XI) until 2008 campaign, personal comm. by Prof. T. Sarnowski, cf. also Kunisz 2012 /forthcoming/) – 12 coins in total:

- **Marcus Antonius** 2: 2 AR legionary Den, 32/1, Patrae? (Cr. 544/---?)
- **Tiberius** 2: 1 Æ As, 15/6 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 37)
  - 1 As? – Divus Augustus Pater, 22/3-26? AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81, 83?)
- **Claudius** 5 Æ 1 Dp - for Antonia, 41/42 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 92), low weight!
  - 2 Dp , 41-50 AD, CERES AVGVSTA, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 94)
  - 1 As, 42/3 AD, LIBERTAS AVGVSTA, Rome? (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 97), 1 countermarked obv./?/?
  - 1 As, 41-50 AD, Minerva (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 100)
- **Nero** 3: 1 AR Den, 64/65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 47) and
  - 1 Æ As (not identified, imitation?)
  - 1 Æ Sest, 64-65 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 168)
- **Vespasian** 1 Æ: Æ Dp , 70/71, Rome?, (RIC II, 476)

A group of 6 of these Claudian-Nero bronzes above were found in 1981 in the street sewage canal, running south-north, east of Principia in the fill deposits, corroded together and bonded. Perhaps a small soldiers' hoard lost in the closet? (cf. Kunisz 2012, *op.cit.* /forthcoming/).

Reference: Unpublished, personal comm. by Professor T. SARNOWSKI, Warsaw, Nov. 2009.

### **378. Svishtov / Novae III, Veliko Tarnovo district**

– M

*Findspot:* Army hospital / Flavian baths – valetudinarium / thermae legionis (sector IV).

*Quantity:* 54+ out of 770 coins total from the site:

- **Augustus** 3 Æ
  - Æ As, 7 BC, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 435), pierced [no. 12/09-1; Ciołek, no. 2]

Æ As, 11-12 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 471), [no. 215/93; Ciołek, no. 3]

Æ As, uncertain – worn out (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?), VW [no. 54/71; Ciołek, no. 473]

- **Tiberius** 4 Æ

Æ As, 15-16 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 34), Rome, [no. 215/81; Ciołek, 50, no. 4]

Æ As, 15-16 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 34 or 36?), Rome, [no. 10/67; Ciołek, no. 5]

Æ As, 22-23 AD – for Drusus Minor (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 45), Rome [no. 153/85; Ciołek, no. 6]

Æ As – for Divus Augustus Pater, 22/3-26? AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81), Rome [No. 40/07; Ciołek, no. 7]

- **Caligula** 2 Æ

1 Æ As – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), Rome [No. 248/93; Ciołek, no. 9]

Æ As – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41? AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58?), Rome, MW [No. 49/10; Ciołek, no. 28]

- **Claudius** 12 Æ

Æ Sest – for Nero Claudius Drusus, 41-50 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 93), Rome, [No. 65/1965; Ciołek, no. 19];

Æ Sest, 41-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 98 or 114?), Rome, VW [No. 106/1967; Ciołek, no. 13];

Æ Sest, 50-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 112), Rome [No. 22/2008; Ciołek, no. 11];

Æ Dup, 41/2-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 94 or 110), Rome, cmk **CA** obv, HW [No. 65/93; Ciołek, no. 10]

Æ As, 41-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 100 or 116), Rome, HW [No. 210/93; Ciołek, no. 14]

Æ As – for Germanicus, 50-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 106), Rome, MW [No. 79/1981; Ciołek, no. 20]

Æ As, 41-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?), Rome, HW [No. 162/93; Ciołek, no. 15]

Æ As, 41-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?), Rome, HW [No. 116/93; Ciołek, no. 16]

Æ As, 41-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?), Rome, HW [No. 179/79; Ciołek, no. 17]

Æ As, 41-54 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> ?), Rome, HW [No. 11/09-1; Ciołek, no. 18]

Æ Imitation Sest, after 50-54 AD, type RIC I<sup>2</sup> 115 – Spes Augusta?, obv. countermarked 'DV' on neck (see R. Martini, *Pangerl collection*, 2003, no. 85), Danubian limes type, HW [No. 32/07; Ciołek, no. 21 - identified as 'Nero'].

- **Uncertain Julio-Claudians?** 6 AE - Æ Asses, uncertain [Ciołek, nos. 22-27].

- **Vespasian** 9: 1 AR/ 8 Æ

AR Den, 74 AD (RIC II, 75 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 703), Rome, MW [No. 205/87; Ciołek, no. 29]

Æ Dup, 71 AD (RIC II, 472 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 266), Rome, VW [No. 205/87; Ciołek, no. 30]

Æ Dup, 73 AD (RIC II, 539b = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 581), Rome, [No. 48/87; Ciołek, no. 32]

Æ Dup, 76 AD (RIC II, 578 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 887), Rome [No. 8/85; Ciołek, no. 33]

Æ As, 71 AD (RIC II, 482 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 286) Rome [No. 55/93; Ciołek, no. 31]

Æ As, 71-73? AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?) Rome, HW [No. 93/87; Ciołek, no. 34]  
 Æ As – not identified, 70-79? AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?) Rome, MW, No. 37/83;  
 Ciołek, no. 35 – from East villa, room 5]  
 Æ As – not identified, 70-79? AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?) Rome, [No. 78/89; Ciołek, no.  
 36]  
 Æ As – not identified, 70-79? AD (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?) Rome, VW, [No. 16/09;  
 Ciołek, no. 37].

- **Domitian** 4:  
 AR Den plated, 95-96 AD (RIC II, 190 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 787), Rome, [no. 2/87;  
 Ciołek, no. 38]  
 Æ As, AD 85 (RIC II, 304a = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 385), Rome, [no. 28/10; Ciołek, no.  
 39]  
 Æ As, 84-86? AD (bust I. = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 210, 480?), Rome [no. 137/85; Ciołek,  
 no. 40]  
 Æ30 mm, *Perinthus*, 81-96 AD (RPC II, 362), [no. 92/94; Ciołek, no. 41]
- **Uncertain Flavian** 1 Æ: 1 Æ As, AD 69-96? (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,? – Rv. Traces of  
 female figure adv. r., arm raised), Rome, HW [no. 256/00; Ciołek, no. 42].
- **Nerva** 2 Æ:  
 Æ Sest, AD 97 (RIC II, 86), Rome, LW [no. 97/94; Ciołek, no. 43]  
 Æ As, AD 96-97 (RIC II, 51 or 60ff.?), Rome, LW [no. 203/79; Ciołek, no.  
 44].
- **Trajan** 5: 1 AR/ 4 Æ  
 Æ Sest, ?AD (RIC II ? – illegible), Rome, 32x34 mm, 22.15g [Svishtov,  
 2862; Ciołek no. 48];  
 Æ Dp, AD 101-102 (RIC II 471 = Woytek 96), Rome, LW, 27x27 mm,  
 11.452g [Svishtov, 2509; Ciołek no. 46; fig. 14];  
 Æ Dp, AD 104/5-107 (RIC II 505 = Woytek 206), Rome, 26.5x27 mm,  
 11.76g, MW [Svishtov, 2268; Ciołek no. 47];  
 Æ Dp, AD 104/5-107 (RIC ? illegible), Rome, 28x29 mm, 10.06g, HW  
 [Svishtov, field no. 34/2008; Ciołek no. 49];  
 Den plated, AD 116-117, imitation? (type RIC II 361 = Woytek 580),  
 Rome?, 17x19 mm, 2.31g, MW [Svishtov, 3571; Ciołek no. 45, fig. 12];

**Provincial: 1 – Gepaepyris, queen of Bosporus**, AD 37/8 – 38/9: Æ 21mm (RPC I 1907 = SNG Cop. 26), Panticapaeum, 20x21 mm, 6.67g, VW [Svishtov no. 1603; Ciołek, no. 8].

*Reference:* Information from Prof. P. Dyczek, August 2010, see now R. CIOŁEK, P. DYCZEK, *Novae II: The Coins from Sector IV* (Warsaw 2011), pp. 49-61 and analysis on pp. 235–238.

### **379. Svishtov / Novae IV, Veliko Tarnovo region**

– M

*Findspot:* Villa extra muros (sector VIIIA), some 80 m W of the west gate of the *castra*.

*Quantity:* 163 coins, of them only 13 of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (cf. *Ibidem*, 429, 435-6):

- **Caligula – for M. Agrippa** 1 Æ As, 37-41 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58), [Svishtov, 1405]
- **Claudius** 7 Æ:



- Æ Sest: SPES AVGVSTA (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 115), HW, obv. square cmk 'capricorn' (see Martini, *Pangerl collection*, 2003, no. 94), applied along the Moesian limes on regular central coinage [Svishtov, HCΦ 289];
- Æ As, CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, 41-50 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 95) [Svishtov, HCΦ 281];
- Æ As, for Germanicus, 50-54 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 106) [Svishtov, 2615]
- 4 Asses: very worn and corroded, not identified by types [Svishtov, HCΦ 277, 358, 886, 888].
- **Nero** 1 AR Den, 64-65 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 53) [Svishtov, 2398]
- **Vespasian** 3 coins:
  - 1 AR Den, 76 AD, Rome (RIC II, 102) [Svishtov, 2372]
  - Æ Sest – not identified [Svishtov, HCΦ 287]
  - Æ As – not identified [Svishtov, 3587];
- **Nerva** 1 Æ Dp/As?, 97 AD [Field no. 337/2007], Rome, 26 mm, VW.

*Comments:* Most unpublished, information from Dr P. Vladkova, Veliko Tarnovo Museum.

*Reference:* K. DIMITROV, in *Festschrift Maria Cicikova* (Sofia 2008), pp. 429-450.

### **380. Svishtov / Novae V, Veliko Tarnovo region**

– M

Excavation coins

*Findspot:* From *Novae* during the 1960–1986 archaeological excavation, short-listed summary by A. Kunisz (Katowice 1992), pp. 135 and 162:

	Emperor	Date	Denomination	Number	Mint	References	Totals
1.	<b>Augustus</b>	<b>27 BC - 14 AD</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>x</b>		RIC I, ?	<b>6</b>
			<b>Sest</b>	<b>x</b>		RIC I, ?	
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>1</b>		RIC I, ?	
			<b>As</b>	<b>5</b>		RIC I, ?	
2.	<b>Tiberius</b>	<b>AD 14 – 37</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome	RIC I, 81	<b>19</b>
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>1</b>		RIC I	
			<b>As</b>	<b>17</b>		RIC I, ?	
3.	<b>Caligula</b>	<b>37 – 41</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>x</b>			<b>8</b>
			<b>Sest</b>	<b>1</b>			
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome		
			<b>As</b>	<b>6</b>			
4.	<b>Claudius</b>	<b>41 – 54</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>x</b>			<b>44</b>
			<b>Sest</b>	<b>4</b>			
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>5</b>			
			<b>As</b>	<b>35</b>			
5.	<b>Nero</b>	<b>54 – 68</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>x</b>			<b>9</b>
			<b>Sest</b>	<b>4</b>			
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>2</b>			
			<b>As</b>	<b>3</b>			
6.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>69 – 79</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>3</b>			<b>16</b>
			<b>Sest</b>	<b>1</b>			
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>3</b>			
			<b>As</b>	<b>9</b>			
7.	<b>Titus</b>	<b>79 – 81</b>	<b>Den</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>5</b>
			<b>Sest</b>	<b>1</b>			
			<b>Dp</b>	<b>x</b>			
			<b>As</b>	<b>3</b>			

8.	Domitian	81 – 96	Den	3			9
			Sest	1			
			Dp	1			
			As	3			
			Quad	1			
9.	Nerva	96 – 98	Den	x			3
			Sest	x			
			Dp	x			
			As	3			
			Sest	10			
			Dp	8			
			As	2			
			Quad	x			
<b>TOTAL for period:</b>						<b>116</b>	

*Disposition:* Municipal History Museum of Svishtov, or Regional Museum of Veliko Tarnovo, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Most unpublished, information from Professor Dr T. Sarnowski, Warsaw.

*Reference:* A. KUNISZ (Katowice 1992), pp. 135 and 161-162.

### **381. Svishtov area (Novae environs), Veliko Tarnovo district**

– M

Early Roman Imperial coins:

*Findspot:* Novae and neighbouring area, found before 1959 and kept in the Svishtov Museum, as listed in A. Kunisz, *Obieg monetarny na obszarach Mezji i Tracji w I i II w. n.e.* (Katowice 1992), pp. 134-135 and 161:

	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denominatio n</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1.	Augustus	27 BC - 14 AD	Den	1		RIC I, ?	2
			As	1		RIC I, ?	
2.	Tiberius	14 – 37	As	4	Rome	RIC I, 81	4
3.	Caligula	37 – 41	Den	x			15
			Sest	x			
			Dp	5	Rome		
			As	13	Rome		
			Quad	1	Rome		
4.	Claudius	41 – 54	Den	x			17
			Sest	3			
			Dp	4			
			As	10			
5.	Nero	54 – 68	Den	1			13
			Sest	6			
			Dp	1			
			As	4			
			Tetradr.	1	Alexandria		
6.	Vespasian	69 – 79	Den	13			33
			Sest	6			
			Dp	6			
			As	8			
7.	Titus	79 – 81	Den	6			11
			Sest	1			

			Dp	x			
			As	4			
8.	Domitian	81 – 96	Den	7			12
			Sest	2			
			Dp	x			
			As	3			
9.	Nerva	96 – 98	Den	1			5
			Sest	x			
			Dp	1			
			As	3			
			Sest	9			
			Dp	15			
			As	3			
			Quad	3			
						<b>TOTAL for period:</b>	<b>112</b>

Reference: A. KUNISZ (Katowice 1992), pp. 134-135 and 161.

**382. Tarnicheni, Pavel banja area, Stara Zagora region**

– U

Single Republican *denarius*:

- L. Procilius F., 80 BC: 1 D (RRC 379/1), Rome, 18 mm

*Findspot*: Found in the mid-1930s in the 'Karazayka' locality near the village.

*Disposition*: 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 797.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.

**383. Tatul, Momchilgrad area, Kurdzhali region**

– V

Single early Imperial *denarius*:

- Tiberius, 21-37 AD: 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 26 or 30?), no further details known;

- Rhoemetalces II with Tiberius, AD 19-38: 9 AE (RPC I, 1721?).

*Findspot*: Found 2005 during archaeological excavation of the rocky hill in 'Kaya Bashu' locality near the village – the Tatul '*heroon*' interpreted as the '*Tomb of Orpheus*'.

*Disposition*: Regional History Museum of Kurdjali, Inv. no. xx/2005.

*Comments*: Unpublished, reported in brief.

*Reference for site*: see N. OVCHAROV, Z. DIMITROV, K. LESHTAKOV, D. KOZHMANOVA, 'The ancient *heroon* at Tatul', *Archeologia* 50 (Sofia 2008), No. 1-4, p. 49 and 54, n. 9.

**384. Telerig, Krushari area, Dobrich region**

– V

Single early Imperial coins:

- **Mark Antony**: 4 *Den* (all RRC 544/?), HW;
- **Rhoemetalces I and Augustus, c.11 BC–12 AD**: 1 AE 18x19mm, MW
- **Augustus**: 17 AE (16 asses, HW and 1 dupondius, cmked in Odessus, 20x21mm)
- **Tiberius**: 1 AE As, HW

- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa:** 1 Æ As, MW
- **Claudius – for Germanicus:** 2 Æ Asses (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 106)
- **Claudius:** 3 Æ Asses, HW
- **Nero:** 2 Æ (1 As and 1 AE 21mm provincial, Galatia)
- **Vespasian:** 3 Æ (2 Asses, MW and 1 AE20 mm provincial, Tomis)
- **Domitian:** 4 Æ (3 Asses and 1 Sest. HW)
- **Nerva:** 2 Æ Asses
- **Trajan:** 7 Æ (2 Sest, HW, 1 Dup, 2 Asses and 2 quadr., HW).
- **Illegible 1<sup>st</sup> century AD:** 11 Æ (1 Dup, 9 Asses, 1 Semis?).

1<sup>st</sup> century pieces: 58, out of total 812 stray coins excavated from site.

*Findspot:* Found in 1993-1996 during excavation of a large Thracian sanctuary of the *Heros Hephaios* near the village.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Dobrich, resp. inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr V. Varbanov, Russe museum.

*Reference for site:* see S. TORBATOV, in *Studia Liubae Ogenova-Marinova* (Sofia 2005), pp. 80-91.

### **385. Topola, Kavarna area, Dobrich region**

– C

Three single *RRD* and two Imperial coins:

1. **Cn. Cornelius Blasio, 112 BC** (RRC 296/1a-g?), Rome, 3.25 g, 17 mm [No. I 2142]
2. **C. Iulius Caesar, 46-45 BC** (RRC 468/2), Spain, 3.38 g, 19 mm [No. I 1885]
3. **P. Clodius M.f. Turrinus, 42 BC** (RRC 494/23), Rome, fragmented, broken [No. I 2313]
4. **Augustus, 15 BC:** AR Den (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 171a), Lugdunum, IMP X / Apollo I., 3.47 g, 18x19 mm, 1 obv. bankers mark [No. I 1917]
5. **Nerva, AD 96-98:** Æ As (RIC II ? - illegible type), 9.69 g, 25x26 mm, HW [No. I 2267].

Out of 303 coins (270 – Roman Imperial) in total excavated from site.

*Findspot:* Found in the 1977-1983 in the 'Kovanluka' locality, some 3 km NW from the village, in an ancient Thracian/?/ settlement, along with many other Greek, royal Scythian and late Roman coins.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Dobrich, resp. Inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Published.

*Reference:* B. ПАРУШЕВ / PARUSHEV 1992, pp. 113 and 115, nos. 15-19.

### **386. Tserovo, Blagoevgrad region**

– U

A single early Imperial coin:

*Findspot:* Found in the 1980's near the village:

- **Claudius, 50-54 AD:** *Æ* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 116), Rome, 26x27 mm; 8.94g, MW [Blagoevgrad, no. 11586].

*Disposition:* Regional Historical Museum of Blagoevgrad, Inv. no. 11586.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Andonova, Blagoevgrad Museum, May 2011.

**387. Tran area / 1980, Pernik district**<sup>#</sup>

– U

A single *RRD*

- **P. Accoleius Lariscolus, 41 BC** (RRC 486/1), Rome, 19 mm, 3.58 g., MW.

*Findspot:* Found in 1980 at an unknown location in the Tran region.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pernik, Inv. No. H-924.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, 1997.

**388. Troitsa, Shumen region**

– V

Stray finds of Republican and Imperial coins:

- **Republican *denarii*** – unspecified
- **Vespasian** – unspecified.

*Findspot:* Found before 1900 near the ‘Bash-bunar’ spring in the foots of hill ‘Mamil-baiyir’, NW from the village.

*Disposition:* Lost.

*Reference:* K. SHKORPIL, Aboba-Pliska, *IRAIK* 10 (Sophia 1905), p. 432; AVDEV 1981, p. 31, no. 102.

**389. Troyan / 1975, Simeonovgrad, Haskovo region**

– R

Single find of Imperial *denarius*:

- **Galba, 68-69 AD:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 167) – SPQR / OB / CS, Rome, 16.7x19.7 mm, 2.98 g [No. 950].

*Findspot:* Found 1975 near the village, along the central Roman road *via diagonalis*.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Haskovo, Inv. no. 950.

*Comments:* Unpublished, information from to Mrs. Mariana Slavova, Haskovo Museum, Dec. 2010.

**390. Troyan (or the environs), Lovech district**

– U

Stray find of *RRD*, no provenance noted:

- **Mn. Aquilius, 109 BC** (RRC 303/1), Rome, LW [Varna, No. II-4032].

*Findspot:* Found before 1960 at an unknown site in the Troyan area.

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Varna, Inv. No. II-4032, acquired 1960.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr I. Lazarenko, Varna Museum, June 2010.

*Reference:* I. LAZARENKO, *Antique and Mediaeval Coins from Varna and the Varna region*, (Varna [2005]), p. 13.

**391. Tsenino, Nova Zagora area, Sliven district**

– U

Single pieces of *RRD*

*Findspot:* Found in 1939/40 in the vineyards near the village

1. **L. Iulius Bursio, 85 BC** (RRC 352/1b): 1
2. **L. Hostilius Saserna, 48 BC** (RRC 448/1): 1

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum of Nova Zagora, Inv. nos. 228 and 605.

*Comments:* Information from Mr V. Ignatov, Nova Zagora Museum, 2000.

*Reference:* PAUNOV – PROKOPOV, *IRRCHBg*, 2002, no. 160.

**392. Turiya, Pavel banja area, Stara Zagora region**

– U

Single early Imperial *denarius*:

- **Titus – for Domitian Caesar, AD 80-81:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 266), Rome, 17x18 mm.

*Findspot:* Found in the 1950s near the village, no exact location known.

*Disposition:* 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 3083.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.

**393. Tuzha, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora region**

– C

Single early Imperial *denarius*:

- **Domitian, AD 87:** 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 518), Rome, gilt, 17x18 mm.

*Findspot:* Found in the late 1930s in the locality 'Gabraka' [forest] near the village.

*Disposition:* 'Iskra' History Museum of Kazanluk, Inv. no. 1014.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mrs M. Parvin, Kazanluk museum.

**394. Varna (or the environs), Varna district**

– U

Stray finds of Republican and Early Imperial coins, no provenance noted:

1. **C. Sulpicius C.f. Galba, 106 BC** (RRC 312/1), Rome, MW [No. II-3094, unknown provenance, acquired 1957];
2. **Augustus, 27 BC** (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 475), Pergamum, AVGVSTVS / bull r., LW, patinated [No. II-19067, unknown provenance, acquired before 1974].

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Varna, these inv. numbers.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr I. Lazarenko, Varna Museum, June 2010.

Reference: I. LAZARENKO, *Antique and Mediaeval Coins from Varna and the Varna region*, (Varna [2005]), p. 13.

### **395. Veliko Tarnovo (or the environs), Veliko Tarnovo district**

– U

Stray finds of *RRD*, no provenance noted:

1. **L. Antestius Gragulus, 136 BC**: 1 D. (RRC 238/1), Rome, 3.02 g, mounted on a hook [Inv. no. 310]
2. **M. Aburius M.f. Geminus, 132 BC** (RRC 250/1), Rome, VF, 4.47 g [Inv. no. 483]
3. **Uncertain denarius, ~160-110 BC**. ROMA X/ Rv. Roma riding in biga r., Rome, pierced, 3.05 g [Inv. no. 357]
4. **Uncertain denarius, ~120-90 BC**. Obv. Laur. hd. r. / Rv. Roma riding in quadriga r., Rome, 3.10 g [Inv. no. 4761, acquired 1991]
5. **A. Claudius Pulcher, 110/9 BC** (RRC 300/1), Rome, 3.59 g [Inv. no. 2043, acquired 1963]
6. **Iunius Silanus L.f., 91 BC** (RRC 337/ 3), Rome, 3.78 g [Inv. no. 3612, acquired 1987]
7. **Q. Antonius Balbus, 83/2 BC** (RRC 364/1), serratus, Rome, 3.80 g, [Inv. no. 622]
8. **P. Crepusius, 82 BC** (RRC 361/1c), Rome, 3.95 g, [Inv. no. 473]
9. **L. Cornelius Sulla / L. Manlius Torquatus, 82 BC** (RRC 367/1), Rome, 3.72 g, worn, [Inv. no. 620]
10. **L. Farsuleius Mensor, 75 BC** (RRC 392/1a), Rome, worn, 3.43 g, worn [Inv. no. 579]
11. **L. Axius L.f. Naso, 71 BC** (RRC 400/1a), Rome, 3.82 g, [Inv. no. 621]
12. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG VI, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/19), very worn, 3.18 g [Inv. no. 359]
13. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG IV, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/17), very worn, 3.36 g [Inv. no. 360]
14. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), worn, 3.26 g, [Inv. no. 355]
15. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), very worn, 3.30 g, [Inv. no. 361]
16. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), very worn, 3.21 g, [Inv. no. 362]
17. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), very worn, 2.95 g, [Inv. no. 363]
18. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), very worn, 3.62 g, [Inv. no. 364]
19. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), very worn, 3.18 g, 2 b/m on obv. [Inv. no. 365]
20. **Mark Antony, legionary - LEG illegible, 32/1 BC** (RRC 544/?), VW, 2.88 g, 1 b/m on obv. [Inv. no. 366]
21. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC - legionary, LEG XIV** (RRC 544/29), 3.24 g, VW [Inv. no. 372].

*Findspot*: Found in 1940-60's near the town.

*Disposition*: Region. Hist. Museum Veliko Tarnovo, inventoried between 1956-1960.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mr S. Mihaylov, Veliko Tarnovo Museum, 2009.

### **396. Velinograd – 'Ostretz', Pazardjik region**

– V

Single piece of *RRD* of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found in July 2009 during archaeological excavation of the Thracian sanctuary on the SW edge of peak 'Ostretz' in the Rhodopes, 1433 m, W from town.

- **L. Farsuleius Mensor, 75 BC** (RRC 392/1b), Rome, worn, Rev. symbol **XCIIIX**.

*Disposition:* Municipal Hist. Museum Velingrad, field inv. no. N/A.

*Comments:* From a press release, August 2009.

*Reference:* Д. ГЕРГОВА / GERGOVA, in *AOR Reports for 2009* (Sofia 2010), p. 187.

### **397. Viden, Kazanluk area, Stara Zagora region**

– **V**

Single piece:

- **Unspecified D**, HW, most possibly late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC

*Findspot:* Found 1955 in the 'Bentut' or 'Top-djeviz' locality, on a small creek bank, near to a sanctuary of the Thracian Horsemen (2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), 2 km NW from the village.

*Disposition:* 'Iskra' Municipal History Museum of Kazanluk, inv. no. N/A.

*Reference for site:* G. TABAKOVA-TSANOVA, *Die Thrakische Kultstätte beim dort Viden, bezirk Stara Zagora, BIA 24*, (Sofia 1961), p. 204 [in Bulg., Germ.sum.]; M. DOMARADZKY, Culture of the Thracians during the Late Iron Age in the Kazanluk region, In: *The Thracian Culture during Hellenistic Age in the Kazanluk region*, (Kazanluk 1991), p. 127.

### **398. Vidin area I, Vidin district**

– **U**

Single find of Republican *denarius*, no exact provenance known:

- **C. Iulius Caesar, 49/8 BC** (RRC 443/1), Narbo Gaul, MW, patinated, bankers marks [Varna, Inv. no. II-5, "from Vidin", acquired 1922].

*Disposition:* Archaeological Museum of Varna, resp. inv. number.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr I. Lazarenko, Varna Museum, June 2010.

### **399. Vidin area II (anc. *Bononia-Ratiaria* and area), Vidin district**

– **U**

Single finds of Republican *denarii* and early Imperial coins, no provenance noted:

1. **Q. Lutatius Cerco, 109 BC** (RRC 305/1), Rome, VW, pierced [No. 432a]
2. **L. Thorius Balbus, 105 BC** (RRC 316/1), Rome, LW, modern round piercing [No. 626]
3. **Coelius Calvus, 104 BC** (RRC 318/1b), Rome, MW, pierced, patinated [No. 623]
4. **Fabius C. f. Hadrianus, 102 BC** (RRC 322/1b), Rome, MW, patinated [No. 29]
5. **M. Porcius Cato, 89 BC** (RRC 343/1c), Rome, MW, pierced [No. 622]
6. **L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC** (RRC 344/3), Rome, HW [No. 431]
7. **L. Rubrius Dossenus, 87 BC** (RRC 348/1), Rome, VW, AE-patination [No. 32]
8. **Mn. Fonteius C.f., 85 BC** (RRC 353/1a-c), Rome, VW, scratch, square piercing [No. 432b]
9. **Q. Antonius Balbus, 83 BC** (RRC 364/1c-d?): 1 D. serratus, porous, pierced, HW [No. 628]
10. **M. Volteius M.f., 78 BC** (RRC 385/2), Rome, 2 b/ms obv., 1 – rev, VW [No. 427]



11. **Postumius, 74 BC** (RRC 394/1b), Rome, 3 b/ms obv, HW [No. 624]
12. **Furius Cn. f. Brocchus, 63 BC** (RRC 414/1), Rome, MW, patinated [No. 25]
13. **T. Carisius, 46 BC** (RRC 464/2), MONETA, Rome, VW, [No. 28]
14. **T. Carisius, 46 BC** (RRC 464/5), Rome, MW, AE patination [No. 33]
15. **C. Antius C.f. Restio, 47 BC** (RRC 455/2a), Rome, MW, pierced, AE-patination [No. 35]
16. **T. Carisius, 46 BC** (RRC 464/4), Rome, VW, light AE-patination [No. 33]
17. **T. Carisius, 46 BC** (RRC 464/2), Rome, VW [No. 28]
18. **T. Carisius, 46 BC** (RRC 464/1), Rome, MW, patinated [Inv. No. 621]
19. **L. Valerius Acisculus, 45 BC** (RRC 474/2b), Rome, VW, AE-patination [No. 31]
20. **P. Accoleius Lariscolus, 41 BC** (RRC 486/1), Rome, MW, AE-patination [No. 30]
21. **Augustus – for M. SALVIUS OTHO, 7 BC**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 432), moneyer, Rome, LW, patinated [No. 37]
22. **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, 22/3-26? AD**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81), Rome, HW, corrosion [No. 38]
23. **Claudius, AD 41-50**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 97), LIBERTAS [AV]GVSTA, Rome, MW, light corrosion [No. 39]
24. **Claudius, 50-54 AD**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113) LIBERTAS [AVG]VSTA, Rome, VW, corroded [No. 40]
25. **Nero, 64-65 AD**: 1 AE Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 162, or 170) DECVRVSIO, Lugdunum, VW, corrosion [No. 41]
26. **Nero, after 66 AD: 1 D, cast copy – limes falsum?** (cf. RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 64), Lugdunum, MW, [No. 616]
27. **Galba, 68 AD**: 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 49), Tarraco, Spain – CONCORDIA PROVINCIIARVM, MW [No. 632]
28. **Galba, 68 AD**: 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 167), Rome, VW, AE patination [No. 455]
29. **Vespasian, 76 AD**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 849) [IOVIS CVSTOS], Rome, VW, AE-patination [No. 430]
30. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, 77-78 AD**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 972), ANNONA seated to I. with sack of corn-ears, Rome, VW, scratches [No. 629]
31. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, 72 AD**: 1 AE As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 443), FELICIT[AS P]VBLICA, Rome, VW, graffiti rev. [No. 44]
32. **Vespasian – Domitian Caesar, 77/8 AD**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 957) COS V, Horseman r., Rome, MW, AE-patination [No. 640]
33. **Titus - for Divus Vespasian, 80 AD**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 357) Two capricorns on shield SC, Rome, HW, bad corrosion [No. 36]
34. **Trajan, 99-106 AD: 1 D**, plated?, Rome, VW, AE-patination [No. 516]
35. **Trajan, 103-111 AD: 1 D**, plated?, (RIC II, ?), SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI, Fortuna? Rome, VW, [No. 630]
36. **Trajan, 106-111 AD** (RIC II, ?), COS VI SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI, Victoria I., Rome MW, [No. 639]
37. **Trajan, 103-111 AD**: 1 AE Sest, Fortuna ? Rome, VW [No. 532]
38. **Trajan, 103-111 AD**: 1 AE Dup, MW, no patination [No. 52].

*Findspot*: Found in 1940-1970s within and around the town and Vidin region.

*Disposition*: Regional Hist. Museum at Vidin, the respective inv. numbers.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mrs. F. Filipova, Vidin Museum. Coins listed above as 7 [Inv. no. 32], 15 [Inv. no. 35], 19 [Inv. no. 30], 20 [Inv. no. 31] and 16 [Inv. no. 33] share the same appearance and copper-patination and probably they constitute part of an unknown, unlisted hoard from the Vidin region.

#### **400. Vinishte, Montana region**

– C

Single find of *RRD*:

- **L. Valerius Acisculus, 45 BC** (RRC 472/2), Rome, VW [No. 980]

*Findspot:* Found in early 1970s near the village, along with a drachm of Apollonia (moneyers: ΚΑΛΛΗΝ–ΑΠ[ΟΛ Α]ΓΗΝΟΣ), Ceka 65 [No. 979].

*Disposition:* Region. Hist. Museum of Montana, Inv. no. 980.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr M. Markov, Montana Museum.

#### **401. Vladimir, Radomir area, Pernik region**

– V

Single piece of *RRD*

- **Denarii: ca. 10**, unspecified moneyers, late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

*Findspot:* Found in the mid-1990s in locality Vladimir ridge, near the village, where ancient Thracian sanctuary existed.

*Disposition:* Dispersed, unknown.

*Comments:* Unpublished, examined by Mr D.Y. Dimitrov.

#### **402. Vladinya, Lovech region**

– C

Two single early Imperial coins:

1. **Titus – for Domitian Caesar, 80-81 AD:** AE Dup. (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 308), Rome, 27 mm, 8.27 g., VW [Lovech, no. 11];
2. **Nerva, 97 AD:** AE Dp (RIC II, 84) Rome, 25x26 mm, 12.41 g, MW [Lovech, no. 12].

*Findspot:* Found in the 1990s in the 'Cherkvitsa' locality while plough, north from the village, where a Roman *vicus* was existed.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Lovech, resp. inv. nos, acquired in 1998.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Mr R. Gushterakliev, Lovech Museum.

#### **403. Vratsa – 'Vratzata', Vratsa region**

– U

Single excavation *RRD* and early Imperial coins:

1. **Ti. Quinctius, 112/1 BC** (RRC 297/1a), Rome, illegible control rev. mark; MW, 17x18 mm, 3.85 g. [Field No. 1/2007];
2. **Colonia Philippi – under Claudius/Nero, or later?:** 3 AEs (RPC I, 1651):
  - 1 – AE19 mm, 4.83 g. MW [Field No N/A]
  - 1 – AE18 mm, 3.92 g, VW, corroded [Field No N/A ]
  - 1 – AE18 mm, 3.93 g, MW, [Field No N/A].

*Findspot:* Found in June 2007/10 during archaeological excavation in the 'Vratzata' locality in the rocky canyon above Vratsa, where ancient settlement and fortress was located.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Vratsa, resp. inv. nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Information from Dr N. Torbov, Vratsa Museum.

**404. Vratsa area, Vratsa district**<sup>#</sup> – USingle *RRD*

- **C. Cassius Longinus, early 42 BC** (RRC 500/3), Smyrna?, 18 mm, 3.56 g., HW, pierced, 2 punch marks X and C.

*Findspot*: unknown site in the Vratsa area*Disposition*: Hist. Museum of Vratsa, Inv. No. 2913, acquired in 1964 for the museum collection from a private person. Now stolen and missing.*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mr S. Mashov, Vratsa Museum, 1997.**405. Vrav (anc. Dorticum), Vidin region** – M

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Augustus, 16 BC**: 1 Sest, moneyer P. Licinius Stolo (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 345), Rome, LW.

*Findspot*: Found 1995 in the ruins of an early Roman fort *Dorticum*, 2.5 km west from the port of Vruv in the 'Krepostta' / 'Cetatea' locality.*Disposition*: Information from D.Y.D., Sofia, in his private collection.*Comments*: Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, 1995.**406. Vulchitrun, Pleven region** – C

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Caligula - for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, VW, scratch [No. 1482]

*Findspot*: Found in late 1960s near the village.*Disposition*: Reg. Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. 1482.*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.**407. Vurbitsa, Pleven region** – U

Single early Imperial coin:

- **Nerva, AD 97**: 1 D (RIC II, 20), Rome, MW, patination [No. 1547]

*Findspot*: Found in late 1960s during digging in the village.*Disposition*: Regional Historical Museum of Pleven, inv. no. 1547.*Comments*: Unpublished. Information from Mr P. Banov, Pleven museum, March 2010.**408. Yambol, Jambol region** – CSingle pieces of *RRD* and early Imperial coins:

1. **L. Papius, 79 BC**: 1 D serratus, (RRC 384/1), Rome, 19x19.5 mm, 3.81 g, LW [No. 414 – from 'Rakovski' street in town, 1958];

2. **Augustus, ca. 25-23 BC:** 1 Sest, (RIC I 501; RPC I, 2233), Pergamum, 27x29 mm, 13.44g, LW [No. 1188 – from older collection, in the town, 1934];
3. **Nero, after 64/5 AD:** 1 AE Sest (cf. RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 162 or 170), Perinthus?, 31x32.5 mm, 17.58 g, center marks, VW, patinated [No. 1668 – from ‚Sofularska mahala’ area, at the Technical college, 1959 - 42.483; 26.497; 130 m];
4. **Domitian Caesar, 77-78 AD:** 1 D, (RIC II/1, 957), Rome, 18x18.5 mm, 3.11 g, LW [No. 1652 - near the town];
5. **Nerva, 97 AD:** 1 D, (RIC I, 34), Rome, 17 mm, 3.11 g. [No. 317 - from loc. ‚Kaynashki bair’, 2 km W from town, 1961 - / 42.489; 26.470, 150m].

*Findspot:* Found between 1920-1960s in the modern town of Jambol.

*Disposition:* Regional Histor. Museum of Jambol, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, July 2010, thanks to Mr S. Bakurdjiev, Jambol museum.

#### **409. Yambol area (anc. Kabyle and its hinterland), Jambol district**

– U

Single pieces of *RRD* and early Imperial coins:

1. **Pinarius Natta, 155 BC:** 1 D (RRC 200/1), Rome, 17.5 mm, 3.26 g, VW, 3 obv. bankers marks, graffiti [No. 4276 – from Yambol area, unknown, acquisition 1985];
2. **L. Antestius Gragulus, 136 BC:** 1 D (RRC 238/1), Rome, 18x20 mm, 3.56 g, VW, 2 bankers marks obv - **S.** [No. 3682 – from Yambol area, unknown, 1970’s];
3. **Q. Minucius Rufus, 122 BC:** 1 D (RRC 277/1), Rome, 17.5x19 mm, 3.64 g, MW, patinated [No. 420 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955];
4. **L. Licinius / Cn. Domitius - C. Malleolus C.f., 118 BC:** 1 D serratus (RRC 282/3), Narbo Gaul, 18.5x18.5 mm, 3.18 g, MW, patinated [No. 412 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955];
5. **C. Claudius Pulcher, 110 BC:** 1 D (RRC 300/1), Rome, 20 mm, 3.83 g, LW, patinated in red [No. 2943 – from Yambol area, unknown, acquisition, 1979];
6. **Q. Lutatius Cerco, 109 BC:** 1 D (RRC 305/1), Rome, 17.5x18.5 mm, 3.29 g, VW, scratches [No. 413 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955];
7. **P. Fonteius Capito, 55 BC:** 1 D (RRC 429/1), Rome, 18 mm, 3.43 g, 2 bankers marks obv, patinated [No. 3931 – from Yambol area, unknown, 1970’s];
8. **C. Iulius Caesar, 46-45 BC:** 1 D (RRC 458/1), cast copy of denarius, pierced, 2.60 g, HW [No. 1731 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955];
9. **Augustus – with C. L. CAESARES, ca. 2/1 BC:** 1 D (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 210), Lugdunum, 18.5x19.5 mm, 3.51 g, VW, porous, patinated [No. 1654 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955]

10. **Caligula, AD 39-40**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 47), Rome, 26x27 mm, 9.27 g, VW, corrosion, deformed [No. 1751 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955]
11. **Claudius, AD 41-50**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 95), Rome, 8.69 g, MW, patinated, scratches [No. 5131 – from Yambol region, unknown, 1989];
12. **Claudius, AD 41-50**: 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 95, 97, or 100?), illegible type, Rome, 28x29 mm, 9.68g, VW, pierced, [No. 3029 - Yambol area, unknown, 1980?]
13. **Nero, AD 64/5**: 1 AE Sest (cf. RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 162, or 170), Rome, 33x34 mm, rectangular countermark ΓΑΙΚΑΙ on face, host coin – MW, patinated [No. 4643 - Yambol area, unknown, 1987];
14. **Vespasian, AD 69-70**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 1340), Spain mint, 18x18 mm, 2.97 g, VW, corrosion, patinated [No. 1637 – from the former Mr I. Marangozov collection, Yambol area, ~ 1955];
15. **Vespasian, AD 69-79?**: 1 D (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), Rome, 18x19.5 mm, 3...? g [No. 343 – Jambol area, unknown /not available in July 2010/];
16. **Vespasian, AD 69-79?**: 1 AE Dp. (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>,?), Rome, 25x26.5 mm, 10x? g. [No. 360 – from old museum collection, Yambol area, before 1955 /not available in July 2010/];
17. **Vespasian – for Titus Caesar, AD 76**: 1 D plated (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 858), Rome, 16x16.5 mm, 2.16 g, corrosion [No. 1665 – from the former Mr. I. Marangozov collection, Yambol area, 1955];
18. **Domitian, 13. Sept.-31 Dec. 81 AD**: 1 AE As, (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 87), Rome, 27x28 mm, 9.90 g, LW, dark green patina [No. 5130 – from Yambol region, unknown, 1989];
19. **Nerva, AD 97**: 1 AE Sest (RIC II, 83), Rome, 31.5x33 mm, 24.56 g, MW, patinated [No. 1643 – from former Mr N. Savov collection, Yambol area, 1962];
20. **Nerva, Jan.-Sept. 97 AD**: 1 AE Dp. (RIC II, 86), 29 mm, 11.11 g, corrosion [No. 3545 – from Yambol area, unknown, acquisition, 1973?];

*Findspot*: Found between 1930-1990s around the town of Jambol and region.

*Disposition*: Regional History Museum of Jambol, resp. Inv. nos.

*Comments*: Unpublished. Examined and identified by E. Paunov, July 2010, thanks to Mr S. Bakurdjiev, Jambol museum.

#### **410. Zabel, Tran area, Pernik district**<sup>#</sup>

– C

Single pieces of *RRD*:

1. **C. Vibius C. f. Pansa, 90 BC** (RRC 342/5b, add.symbol: lyre), Rome, 17/18 mm, 3.71 g, very well preserved;
2. **L. Calpurnius L.f. Piso Frugi, 90 BC** (RRC 340/1 var.), Rome, 17 mm, 3.69 g, found 2001, in a small burial mound;
3. **C. Marius C.f. Capito, 81 BC** (RRC 378/1c - *serratus*), Rome [found January 2004].

*Findspot*: Found in 1996-2000 in the 'Kranjev dol/Krusye' locality, 1 km NE of the village, on the south slopes of Ruy mountain, along with another silver coin – a

drachm of Apollonia (ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ – ΠΡΕΥΡΑΔΟΥ, c. 150/148 BC, group A/III after Conovici 1989, 23, pl. III/72).

*Disposition:* Private collection of Mr KMM, Tran.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, 1997-2004.

*Reference for the site:* D. ΜΙΤΟΒΑ-DJONOVA, *Archaeological Monuments in the region of Pernik*, (Sofia 1983), 82-83, fig. 54/3.

#### **411. Zidartsi, Pernik region**

– U

Single piece of *RRD*

- **C. Plutius, 121 BC** (RRC 278/1), Rome, 17 mm, 3.50 g., well preserved.

*Findspot:* Found in 1983.

*Disposition:* Regional Hist. Museum of Pernik, Inv. no. H-1512.

*Comments:* Unpublished. Examined by E. Paunov, November 1997.

#### **412. Zlatograd, Smolyan region**

– U

Single piece of Republican and early Imperial denarii:

- **L. Plautius Plancus, 47 BC** (RRC 453/1b), Rome, 18 mm, 3.34 g [No. 775];

*Findspot:* Found in the 1980's near the village, no details.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Smolyan, resp. inv. numbers.

*Reference:* see now I. PROKOPOV – E. PAUNOV – N. BOYADZHIEV – S. FILIPOVA – A. TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan Museum (=CCCHBulg. III)*, Sofia 2011, no. 1191.

#### **413. Zlatovrah, Asenovgrad area, Plovdiv region**

– U

Single early Imperial denarius:

- **Vespasian, 75 AD** (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 772-773), Rome, 16x17 mm, 3.80 g., LW [No. 779]

*Findspot:* Found the 1980's near the village, no details.

*Disposition:* Regional History Museum of Smolyan, Inv. no. 779, acquired from a private person.

*Reference:* see now I. PROKOPOV – E. PAUNOV – BOYADZHIEV – FILIPOVA - TENCHOVA, *Numismatic Collection Smoljan (=CCCHBulg. III)*, Sofia 2010, no. 142.

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# Appendix 1. Hoards of Late Hellenistic and Local Coins

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## 1.1. Hoards of Thasos, Thasian type tetradrachms and its imitations

1. Adrianople (Edirne), before 1925 (IGCH 971): 75 AR, concealed ca. 86/5 BC – 45 tetradrachms of Thasos, in total 75 coins in Istanbul National Museum (Unpublished, see Robert 1951, 5, note 3; de Callataÿ 1996b, 90; de Callataÿ 1997a, 159; Prokopov 2006, no. 3);
2. Akandzhievo / 1975, reg. Pazardzhik: 8+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Jurukova 1979, 60; Prokopov 2006, no. 5);
3. Batin / 1974, reg. Russe, concealed after 54 BC: ca. 200 AR (with 54 denarii) – 1 tetradrachm of Thasos, now lost, 54 denarii in Russe Museum, inv. nos. 1823, 1955 and 1988 (Stanchev 1988, 43-47; *IRRCHBg* 100; Prokopov 2006, no. 12; full details in Find cat. no. 74);
4. Belene / 1882, reg. Pleven (IGCH 576): 4+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Thasos, dispersed (Avdev 1981, no. 14; Prokopov 2006, no. 13);
5. Belitsa / 1956, Blagoevgrad area (IGCH 976): 112+ AR – 28 tetradrachms of Thasos, mostly Thasian types, listed in Prokopov (Unpublished, see Thompson 1961, 522; Bauslaugh 2000, 106-7; Prokopov 2006, no. 14; full details in Find cat. no. 75);
6. Benkovski I (fmr. Murzijan) / 1933-4, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 913): 106 AR – 2+ tetradrachm of Thasos, only 2 of Thasian type in Stara Zagora museum (Gerassimov 1934, 471-2; Prokopov 2006, no. 16 = no. 176);
7. Benkovski II / 1952, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 918): 50 AR in pot – 25 tetradrachms of Thasos, 26 in Sofia NAIM Museum (Unpublished; see Gerassimov 1955, 602; Prokopov 2006, no. 17);
8. Benkovski III / 1956, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 916): 60+ – 5 tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 original type, 4 of Thasian type, 5 in Stara Zagora Museum (Gerassimov 1958, 357; Prokopov – Minkova 1999, 567ff; Prokopov 2006, no. 15);
9. Bisser II / 1980, Haskovo region (CH 8.x): ca. 20 AR in pot – few tetradrachms of Thasos (unpublished, see Jurukova 1982, 62; Prokopov 2006, no. 20);
10. Byala Slatina I / 1903 reg. Vratsa: (IGCH 537): 74 AR – 74 tetradrachms of Thasos, no further detail, dispersed? (Mouchmov 1914, 272, no. 29; Prokopov 2006, no. 58);
11. Byala Slatina II / 1940, reg. Vratsa: ca. 50 AR – 35 examined - barbarous imitations of tetradrachms of Thasos, well preserved (Gerassimov 1942, 282; Prokopov 2006, no. 59);

12. Byala Slatina III, reg. Vratsa: ?AR – few tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed, few in private collection, Vratsa (Prokopov 2006, no. 21);
13. Blagoevgrad area/ 2000, reg. Blagoevgrad, concealed ca. 70-60 BC: 100 AR - tetradrachms of Thasos, 11 examined – all of Thasian type, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 22);
14. Blatnitsa / 1943, reg. Pazardzhik (IGCH 944): 51+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, only 2 tetradrachms and few Histaea tetrobols in Pazardzhik museum (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 241; Prokopov 2006, no. 23);
15. Bolyarino I / 1963, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 975), concealed after 48 BC: 30 AR – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos ('Thasian type') and 15 Thasian barbarous imitations, all in Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 2275-2295, 2313-2319 (de Callataÿ – Prokopov 1995, 5-12; *IRRCHBulg* 102; Karayotov 2012, 270, no. 7; Prokopov 2006, no. 25; full details in Find cat. no. 76);
16. Bolyarino II / 1962, reg. Plovdiv: 2AR+ – 1 tetradrachm of Thasos and 1 Thasian barbarous imitation, dispersed (Gerassimov 1964, 247; Prokopov 2006, no. 26);
17. Bozhuritsa / 1951, reg. Pleven (IGCH 494): 16+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, now in Pleven Museum (Gerassimov 1952, 403; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 86-89, nos. 573-581; Prokopov 2006, no. 27);
18. Bratya Daskalovi / 2010, reg. Stara Zagora: 12 AR in a grave – 5 barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, all Group III, all in Chirpan Museum (Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-53, full details in Find. Cat. no. 77);
19. Bratya Kunchevi / 1970s, reg. Stara Zagora (CH 9. 326): 5 AR – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos, 5 coins in Stara Zagora Museum (see Prokopov – Minkova 1999, 567-568; Prokopov 2006, no. 32);
20. Brestovets / 1993, reg. Pleven: ca. 1600 AR – major part dispersed, 116 tetradrachms of Thasos (6 original and 110 Thasian type), 116 kept in Pleven Museum (see Prokopov – Banov 1997, 57-70; Prokopov 2006, no. 33);
21. Cherna gora /1960's, Bratya Daskalovi area, reg. Stara Zagora: ca. 300 AR – 10 tetradrachms of Thasos, mostly dispersed, few in Stara Zagora Museum (Prokopov – Minkova 1999; Prokopov 2006, no. 71);
22. Chernokolevo / 1947, Chirpan area, reg. Stara Zagora: ca. 10 AR – ca. 10 barbarous imitations of tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 imitation in Sofia NAIM Museum (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1950, 322; Prokopov 2006, no. 72);
23. Chirpan / 1969, Chirpan area, reg. Stara Zagora: 19 AR in pot – 19 tetradrachms of Thasos (with 2 types of monograms), examined by Dr Haralanov, dispersed (Gerassimov 1979, 139; Prokopov 2006, no. 74);
24. Chomakovtsi / 1960s, Cherven bryag area, reg. Pleven: 2+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos, rest dispersed, 2 in Vratsa Museum, now stolen (Prokopov 2006, no. 75);
25. Debnevo / 1970s, reg. Lovech: 8 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, 8 in Lovech Museum, published (Prokopov – Gusthterakliev 1998; Prokopov 2006, no. 88);



26. Didymoteichon / ~1870/5, reg. Komotini, Greece (IGCH 960): ca. 20 AR – 16-17 tetradrachms of Thasos and its imitations, dispersed (see Tacchella, *RN* 1898, 214-5; Prokopov 2006, no. 89);
27. Dobrolevo / 1960, Borovan area, reg. Vratsa: 8+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos (1 Thasos, 7 Thasian type – 1 plated), once in Vratsa Museum (inv. nos. 355-362), now stolen (Prokopov 2006, no. 90);
28. Dobrodan / ~2000, Troyan area, reg. Lovech: 17+ in pot – 17 tetradrachms of Thasos, examined in private collection, Troyan, rest dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 92);
29. Dolno Botevo / 1973, Stambolovo, reg. Haskovo (CH 6.48), concealed ca. 60-50 BC: ca. 100-120 AR – 7 imitations of tetradrachms of Thasos and 2 unstruck blanks, 16 in Haskovo Museum, few in Topalov collection, Sofia (Jurukova 1978, 73; *IRRCHBulg* 106; Prokopov 2006, no. 93; full details in Find cat. no. 82);
30. Dragana/ 1998, reg. Lovech: 4+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 94);
31. Drama / 1989, reg. Kavala, Greece (CH 8. 403): 1 AR, 30 AE – 1 tetradrachm of Thasos (Touratsoglou 1994, no. 34; Prokopov 2006, no. 95);
32. Drenovo / 1991, reg. Lovech: 142 AR – few tetradrachms of Thasos and mostly Thasian imitations, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 96);
33. Gagalya / 1951, reg. Russe: ?AR – some tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1952, 403-4; Prokopov 2006, no. 102);
34. Georgi Damyanovo / 1977, reg. Montana (CH 7.123): ca. 200-300 AR – unknown number of tetradrachms of Thasos, only 55 drachms in Sofia NHM museum (Jurukova 1979, 60; Conovici 1989, 19, no. 3; Prokopov 2006, no. 104; Prokopov 2012, no. 64);
35. Georgi Dobrevo / 2000, reg. Haskovo: 6+ AR (with 3 denarii down to 101 BC) – 2 barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, now in Sofia NHM (Пенчев / Penchev 2001, 33-8; now revised in Paunov 2012b /in print/; full details in Find cat. no. 80);
36. Gipsovo / 1951, Nova Zagora area, reg. Stara Zagora: ca.30 AR – 7 barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, all in Nova Zagora Museum, inv. nos. 1007-1015 (Gerassimov 1952, 404; Prokopov 2006, no. 102);
37. Gorni Dabnik / 1958, reg. Pleven (IGCH 490): 12 AR in pot – 10 tetradrachms of Thasos, now 7 in Pleven Museum, inv. no. 428 and 432, published (Gerassimov 1961, 225; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 90-92, nos. 588.1-594.7; Prokopov 2006, no. 107);
38. Gorno pole / 1958 (fmr. Tursko pole), Madzharovo area, reg. Haskovo (IGCH 910): 60 AR in pot – 56 tetradrachms of Thasos (53 original Thasos and 3 Thasian type), all 56 in Haskovo Museum, well preserved (Gerassimov 1960, 232; Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 5-7; Prokopov 2006, no. 108);
39. Gortalovo / 1951, reg. Pleven (IGCH 495): 14+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, 3 Thasos original and 3 Thasian type, now 7 in Pleven Museum, inv. nos. 873-875 (Gerassimov 1952, 404; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 93-96, nos. 603.9-608.14; Prokopov 2006, no. 109);

40. Gotse Delchev area / 1995, Blagoevgrad reg.: 48 AR – 21 tetradrachms of Thasos, in Blagoevgrad (33 in total) and Kyustendil (15) Museums (Prokopov – de Callataÿ 1998, 228-236; Prokopov 2006, no. 110; *CCCHBulg.* II, nos. 508-521);
41. Gradets / 1946, Nova Zagora, reg. Sliven (IGCH 819): 8+ AR in pot – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1950, 316-7; Prokopov 2006, no. 111);
42. Gradeshnitsa I / 1962, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 571): 431 AR – 400 tetradrachms of Thasos, 21 original of Thasos and rest – Thasian type, once in Vratsa Museum, now stolen (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1964, 247; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 5; Prokopov 2006, no. 112);
43. Gradeshnitsa II / 1952, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 538): 60 AR in pot – 60 tetradrachms of Thasos, 50 examined in Sofia, later dispersed, unpublished (Gerassimov 1955, 603; Prokopov 2006, no. 113);
44. Haskovo area I / 1975, reg. Haskovo: 2+AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos, in Haskovo Museum, published (Prokopov – Petrov 2000; Prokopov 2006, no. 119);
45. Haskovo area II/ 1974, reg. Haskovo (CH 1.92): 15+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos (Prokopov – Petrov 2000; Prokopov 2006, no. 120);
46. Haskovo area III / 1990's, reg. Haskovo: ca. 30+ – some 20 tetradrachms of Thasos, once in private collection Z. Kolev, now dispersed and lost (Prokopov 2006, no. 121);
47. Haskovo area IV/ 1977-8, reg. Haskovo (CH 6.44): 7+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos, few examined in a private collection in Haskovo, dispersed (Jurukova 1979, 70-72; Prokopov 2006, no. 122);
48. Ex-Haralanov collection I / 1960s: reg. Shumen?: ca.20 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, 4 original Thasos and 4 Thasian type, now in Shumen Museum (Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1998, 18ff; Prokopov 2006, no. 123);
49. Ex-Haralanov collection II / 1960?, reg. Shumen?: ca. 10 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos Prokopov 2006, no. 124);
50. Hotnitsa 1959, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 525), concealed ca. 90-70 BC: 67+ AR – 66 tetradrachms of Thasos, 2 original Thasos and 64 Thasian type, once in Veliko Tarnovo Museum (inv. nos. 1334-1395), now stolen since 2006 (Gerassimov 1962, 265; Karayotov 1994, 119; now Prokopov 2006, no. 129);
51. Jasen I / 1966, reg. Pleven (IGCH 491): 20+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos (original), Pleven Museum, inv. no. 1145 (Gerassimov 1967, 190; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 100-102, nos. 616.1-617.2; Prokopov 2006, no. 135 = no. 136);
52. Kamenets / 1990s, Pordim area, reg. Pleven: 3+ AR in pot – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos (1 original and 2 of Thasian type), dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 139);
53. Karavelovo / 1959, Karlovo area, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 978): 37+ AR (36 denarii) – few tetradrachms of Thasos (not examined), all in Karlovo museum (Шулекова / Shulekova 1979; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 10; Prokopov 2006, no. 140; *IRRCHBg.* 108; full details in Find Cat. No. 84);
54. Karlovo / 1980, reg. Plovdiv: 5+ – 1 Thasian type and 1 barbarous imitation of Thasos, dispersed, lost (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2006, no. 141);

55. Karnobat I / 1945, Burgas (IGCH 966): 28 AR in AE container – 27 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed, lost (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 243; Prokopov 2006, no. 142);
56. Karnobat II / 1916, Burgas (IGCH 967): ca. 50 AR – 20 tetradrachms of Thasos, 4 Thasos and 16 imitations, in Sofia NAIM museum (Mouchmov 1919, 163; Prokopov 2006, no. 143);
57. Krushovitsa I / 1912, reg. Pleven (IGCH 533): 85-90 AR – ca. 85 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed, unpublished (Mouchmov 1919, 161-2; Prokopov 2006, no. 144);
58. Krushovitsa II / 1996, reg. Pleven: 506 AR – 477 tetradrachms of Thasos (17 originals of Thasos, ca. 100 Thasian type and ca. 300 imitations, examined by Mr D.J. Dimitrov, Sofia, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2006, no. 145; Prokopov 2012, no. 77);
59. Koilovtsi / 1951, reg. Pleven, (IGCH 492): 7+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos, now in Pleven museum (inv. nos. 890-892), rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1952, 402; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 97-99, nos. 609.1-615.7; Prokopov 2006, no. 146; Prokopov 2012, no. 75);
60. Kolyo-Marinovo / 1958, Chirpan area, reg. Plovdiv, concealed ca. 19-18 BC: 40 AR – 9 late imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, 1 countermarked in Apollonia (anchor) on obverse (Prokopov 1995, 451-4; Prokopov 2006, no. 147; *IRRCHB*. 108; full details in Find Cat. No. 130);
61. Korten I / 1938, Nova Zagora area, reg. (IGCH 920): 40 AR – 40 tetradrachms of Thasos (Gerassimov 1938, 456; Prokopov 2006, no. 148);
62. Korten II / 1959, Nova Zagora area, reg. (IGCH 979): 50 AR (with 4 denarii, down to 59 BC – 4 tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 original and Thasian type, those 6 in Nova Zagora Museum (Gerassimov 1962, 230; Prokopov 2006, no. 149; full details in Find Cat. No. 86);
63. Koprivets / 1963, reg. Russe (IGCH 929): 3+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos, all kept in Russe Museum (Gerassimov 1964, 242; Kazarova 1966; Prokopov 2006, no. 150);
64. Kuklen / 1953, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 911; CH 1.97): 23 AR in pot – 23 tetradrachms of Thasos, 19 of Thasian type and some early imitations, all in Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2171 (Gerassimov 1955, 606; Prokopov 2006, no. 151);
65. Kyustendil area II / 1982, reg. Kyustendil, Bulgaria (CH 9. 278): 100+ AR (1 denarius) – many tetradrachms of Thasos, 3 examined (Jurukova 1985, 59; Prokopov 1994, 14, note 45; Prokopov 2006, no. 152; Prokopov 2012, no. 78; see details in Find cat. No. 90);
66. Ludzhane / 1937, Svishtov area, reg. Pleven (IGCH 535): 150 AR – 150 tetradrachms of Thasos, 18 examined, dispersed (Gerassimov 1938, 450-1; Prokopov 2006, no. 153);
67. Levka / 1973, Haskovo area (CH 6.49): 28 AR – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 original, 13 of Thasian type and 1 barbarous imitation of Thasos, now in Haskovo museum (Jurukova 1977; Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 7-8, nos. 57-82; Bauslaugh 2000, 102-103; Prokopov 2006, no. 154; Prokopov 2012, no. 80);
68. Levski / 1970s, reg. Pleven: 3 tetradrachms of Thasos, 3 of Thasian type, 3 Pleven Museum, inv. no. 429/1-3 (Prokopov 2006, no. 155);

69. Lipnitsa I / 1963, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 570): 50+ AR (with Dyrhachium drachms) – 19 tetradrachms of Thasos, all of Thasian type, once 19 in Vratsa Museum (inv. nos. 2847–2896), now stolen (Gerassimov 1964, 242; Prokopov 2006, no. 156 = no. 157);
70. Lipnik / 1950, Razgrad region (IGCH 968): ca. 80 AR – 35 tetradrachms of Thasos and 7 imitations of Thasian coins, dispersed, some in Varna Archaeological Museum (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1952, 402; Prokopov 2006, no. 158);
71. Lovech area / 1950, reg. Lovech: 15+ AR in AE container – 15 tetradrachms of Thasos, most of Klass AG1, 15 kept in Lovech Museum, inv. nos. 1310-1324 (Published, see Prokopov – Gushterakliev 1998; Prokopov 2006, no. 159);
72. Lomets / 1930, Troyan area, reg. Lovech: 30+ AR – 30 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Мушмов / Mouchmov 1933, 424; Prokopov 2006, no. 160);
73. Lyaskovets / 1950's, reg. Veliko Tarnovo: 8+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, once in Veliko Tarnovo Museum (inv. nos. 1246-1253), now stolen (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2006, no. 161);
74. Matsa I / 1954, Radnevo area, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 921), concealed ca. 120 BC: 520 AR in pot – 411 Thasian tetradrachms (originals of Thasos), now 380 in Nova Zagora Museum (Gerassimov 1955, 610; Prokopov 2006, no. 164);
75. Matsa II / 1938, Radnevo area, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 922): 60 AR – 5 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1938, 456; Prokopov 2006, no. 165);
76. Matsa III / 1951-2, Radnevo area, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 923): 20+ AR – 20 tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 in Nova Zagora Museum (Gerassimov 1955, 604; Prokopov 2006, no. 166);
77. Mahalata / 196?, Strumyani area, reg. Blagoevgrad: 6+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 169);
78. Madan / 1936, reg. Smolyan (IGCH 961): 11+ AR – 10 imitations of tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1937, 322; Prokopov 2006, no. 170);
79. Madrets / 1973, reg. Stara Zagora (CH 6.47): ?AR – unknown number tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed and lost, only 1 Thasos in Stara Zagora Museum (see Prokopov – Minkova 1999, 567ff; Prokopov 2006, no. 171);
80. Maglzh 1933-4, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 915), concealed ca. 125-100 BC: 71+ AR – 44 tetradrachms of Thasos (with monograms ΔI and M), only 1 Chalcedon in Sofia NAIM Museum, the rest – dispersed (Unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerasimov 1934, 472; Marinescu 1996, 307; Prokopov 2006, no. 173);
81. Maluk Chardak / 1990, reg. Plovdiv: 529+ AR (527 denarii) – 1 late imitation of tetradrachm of Thasos, in Plovdiv Archaeological Museum (*IRRCHBulg*, 115; Prokopov 2006, no. 174; now see Prokopov – Paunov 2012, 147-63 and Find cat. No. 91);
82. Medovo I / 1962, reg. Stara Zagora: 158 AR (151 denarii) concealed after 18 BC – 5 late imitations of Thasos tetradrachms, all in Stara Zagora Museum, inv. no. 2865 (Nikolov 1964, 153-166; Prokopov 2006, no. 178 = no. 180 = no. 247; *IRRCHBulg*, 116; full details in Find cat. No. 140);

83. Medovo II / 1970's?, reg. Stara Zagora: 5+ AR – 5 late barbarous imitations of Thasos tetradrachms (Prokopov – Minkova 1999, 567ff; Prokopov 2006, no. 179)
84. Merichleri I / 1909, Haskovo region (IGCH 908): 4 AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos, possibly in NAIM Sofia (Unpublished, see Filow 1910, 227; Prokopov 2006, no. 181; Prokopov 2012, no. 84);
85. Merichleri II / 1909, Haskovo region (IGCH 909): ca. 700 AR – 700 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed and lost (Tzonchev 1960, 206; Prokopov 2006, no. 182);
86. Mezek / 1978, Haskovo region (CH 7.126): ca. 280+ AR – 272 tetradrachms of Thasos and its imitations, Haskovo Museum, now all on loan to NHM Museum Sofia (see Jouroukova 1979, 60; now Prokopov 2006, no. 184; Prokopov 2012, no. 86);
87. 'Vratsa-MVR', reg. Vratsa: some Thasian tetradrachms, once in the Vratsa Museum collection, now stolen (Prokopov 2006, no. 185);
88. Mindya / 1959, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 664): 80+ AR – 10 examined, 4 imitations of Thasos tetradrachms (Gerassimov 1962, 231; Karayotov 1994, 119, no. 27; Russeva 2005, 15-23; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 118; full details in Find cat. No. 93);
89. Momkovo / 1970s, reg. Haskovo: 22 AR – some tetradrachms of Thasos, all kept in the Haskovo Museum (Prokopov – Petrov 2003, 197-206; Prokopov 2006, no. 187);
90. Mramoren / 1962, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 502): 8 AR – some tetradrachms of Thasos, previously in the Vratsa Museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1964, 239; Prokopov 2006, no. 188);
91. Naydenovo / 1958, reg. Stara Zagora: 35+ AR – 27 Thasos: 2 Thasian type tetradrachms (group XII) and 25 barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, all kept in Stara Zagora Museum, inv. nos. 2287, 2311-2313 and 3092 (Prokopov – Minkova 1998, 568-9; Prokopov 2006, no. 192 = no. 193; Minkova 2012, 415-420);
92. Nedan / 1964, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 531): 102 AR – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, in Veliko Tarnovo Museum, now stolen (Prokopov 2006, no. 194);
93. Nessebar / 1982, reg. Burgas, concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 282 AR – ca. 166 tetradrachms of Thasos (and Thasian type), burnt in fire, exhibited in Nessebar Archaeological Museum (Unpublished, see Karayotov 1985, 151-5; Karayotov 1994, 71; Prokopov 2006, no. 195; Prokopov 2012, no. 87);
94. Nikolaev I / 1933, reg. Pleven (IGCH 536): 40 AR – 40 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1934, 468; Prokopov 2006, no. 196);
95. Nikolaev II / 1948, reg. Pleven (IGCH 498): 18+ AR – 10 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1950, 324; Prokopov 2006, no. 197);
96. Nova Mahala / 1954, Chirpan area, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 977): ca. 50 AR – 18 tetradrachms of Thasos, 11 in Stara Zagora Museum, rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1955, 610; Prokopov 2006, no. 198; full details in Find cat. No. 96);
97. Nova Zagora I / 1943, reg. Sliven (IGCH 963): 24 AR in AE vessel – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos and 12 Thasian imitations, once in Mr A. Doren possession, now dispersed and lost (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 242; Prokopov 2006, no. 200);

98. Nova Zagora II / 1965 (IGCH 964): 39 AR – 5 tetradrachms of Thasos, in Nova Zagora Museum, or dispersed? (Gerassimov 1967, 188; Prokopov 2006, no. 201 = no. 203);
99. Nova Zagora III / 1970, reg. Sliven: 8+ AR (3 denarii) – 5 tetradrachms of Thasian type, all in Nova Zagora Museum, inv. no. 4011 (Crawford 1985, App. 54/II; Prokopov 2006, no. 202; details in Find cat. No. 44);
100. Novo selo / 1938, reg. Vidin? (IGCH 540): 4+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Thasos, fine style, well preserved, dispersed (Gerassimov 1938, 454; Prokopov 2006, no. 205);
101. Oryahovitsa / 1963, reg. Stara Zagora: ? AR – 2 late Thasian imitations, 2 in Stara Zagora Museum, inv. no. 3272 (see Gerassimov 1964, 247 ff.; Prokopov – Minkova 1999, 571, no. 33, taf. 581; Prokopov 2006, no. 210 = no. 211);
102. Ossen / 1952, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 539): 100+ AR in pot – few examined, all tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1955, 604; Prokopov 2006, no. 212);
103. Ossikovo / 1966, reg. Targovishte (IGCH 928; CH 5. 50): 27 AR – 22 tetradrachms of Thasos, all in Targovishte Museum (see Gerassimov 1967, 188-189; Karayotov 1994, 119-120; Karayotov 2012, 273-4, no. 27; Prokopov 2006, no. 214; Prokopov 2012, no. 94);
104. Padarevo I / 1962?, Stara Zagora area: 9 AR – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, 5 original series and 1 Thasian type, all 9 in Nova Zagora Museum (Kazarova 1964, 131-152; Prokopov 2006, no. 217);
105. Padarevo II / 1975, Nova Zagora area, reg. Sliven (CH 1.99 = 1.100): 42 AR - tetradrachms of Thasos, in Nova Zagora Museum, inv. no. 1934 (Jurukova 1977, x; Прокопов / Prokopov 2003, 111-115; Prokopov 2006, no. 216 = no. 218);
106. Palauzovo / 1956, Straldzha area, reg. Jambol: 8 AR – 8 imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, 5 examined, dispersed (Gerassimov 1958, 358; Prokopov 2006, no. 220);
107. Pavelsko / 1975, Asenovgrad, reg. Smolyan (CH 6.45): 8+ AR (3 denarii) – 5 tetradrachms of Thasos – 4 Thasian type and 1 imitation of Thasian tetradrachms, all dispersed, these examined in a private collection in Plovdiv (Jurukova 1978, 58; *IRCHB*g 123; Prokopov 2006, no. 221; full details in Find cat. No. 99);
108. Petokladentsi / 2000's, reg. Pleven: ca. 800 AR in large pot – tetradrachms of Thasos (mostly) and some Maroneia, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2006, no. 223);
109. Pleven area I / 1967, reg. Pleven: – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1969, x; Prokopov 2006, no. 233);
110. Pleven area II / 2002, reg. Pleven, concealed ca. 148 BC (after Prokopov): ca. 100 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, original series, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 234);
111. Pirgovo II / 1975, reg. Russe (CH 7.113): 418 AR in pot – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos; now 395 Celtic imitations in Russe Museum, inv. no. 1883 (Youroukova 1979, 60; Draganov 2001, 41; see now Draganov 2008, 36-37; Prokopov 2006, no. 229);
112. Popina / 1957, reg. Silistra (IGCH 930, CH 9. 268): 170+ AR in AE container – 168 tetradrachms of Thasos, 4 of original series and 129 of the Thasian type, now 146 in Silistra Museum (Gerassimov 1959, 362; Prokopov – Batchvarov 1990, 3-22; Prokopov 2006, no. 244);

113. Popintsi (fmr. Popnica) / 1909, Panagurishe area, reg. Pazardzhik (IGCH 912): ca. 100 AR – ca. 100 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed and lost (Filow 1910, 228; Prokopov 2006, no. 245);
114. Radnevo / 1980's, reg. Stara Zagora: ca. 100 AR – a large number of Thasian imitations, few examined in Plovdiv private collection, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 251);
115. Radomir area / 1869, reg. Pernik: ca. 100 AR – tetradrachms of Thasos and some of Alexander-type, dispersed, no records (Avdev 1981, no. 6; Prokopov 2006, 249);
116. Razgrad area / 1970's, reg. Razgrad: 7+ AR – 7 tetradrachms of Thasos, all in Razgrad Museum, published (Dzanev – Prokopov 2007, 82-84, nos. 6-13; Prokopov 2006, no. 251);
117. Razlog / 1983, reg. Blagoevgrad (CH 9.258): 32+ AR – 18 tetradrachms of Thasos, 12 in Kyustendil Museum (Прокопов / Prokopov 1989, 249-268; Prokopov 2006, no. 252; Filipova – Paunov – Prokopov 2009, *CCCHBulg.* II, nos. 496.1-507.12);
118. Ribaritsa / 1941, Teteven area, reg. Lovech (IGCH 532): ca. 10 AR – 2+ tetradrachms of Thasos examined, 2 in Sofia NAIM Museum (unpublished, see Герасимов Gerassimov 1946, 237; Prokopov 2006, no. 255);
119. Ex-Rogalski coll. I / 1970's, reg. Varna?: 8 tetradrachms of Thasos, in Varna Archaeological Museum (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 256);
120. Ex-Rogalski coll. I / 1970's, reg. Varna?: 11+ AR – 11 tetradrachms of Thasos, 3 original series and 8 of Thasian type, in Varna Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. I-2741-2748 (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 257);
121. Rodni Balkani – Varna, reg. Varna: 8 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 258);
122. Russe I / 1970's, reg. Russe: 13+ AR – 13 tetradrachms of Thasos, all of Thasian type, in Russe Museum (Prokopov – Ivanov 1989; Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 259);
123. Russe II / 1975-6 (CH 6.41): ca. 10 AR – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos, part in Sofia NAIM Museum, inv. no. CCXI (Unpublished, see Jurukova 1979, 60; Prokopov 2006, no. 260);
124. Russe III / 2000, reg. Russe: ca. 200 AR – many tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed in Russe and Sofia (; Prokopov 2006, no. 261);
125. Rouptzi / 1960, reg. Pleven (IGCH 572, CH 9.260): 32 AR in pot – 4 tetradrachms of Thasos, all in Pleven museum (Gerassimov 1965, 261; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 23; Prokopov – Kovacheva 1990, 37-43; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 21; Prokopov 2006, no. 262);
126. Sabrano I / 1936, Nova Zagora area, reg. Sliven (IGCH 965; CH 2. 99): ca. 600 AR in pot – 29 tetradrachms of Thasos, 23 original series and 6 of Thasian type/early imitations, total 35 in Nova Zagora Museum, inv. no. 1402, rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1937, 324; Prokopov 2006, no. 263);
127. Sabrano II / 1960's, Nova Zagora area, reg. Sliven: 7 tetradrachms of Thasos, 7 in Nova Zagora Museum (Prokopov 2006, no. 264);

128. Sadievo / 1963, near Burgas (IGCH 925, CH 1.101), concealed ca. 120-110 BC<sup>1</sup>: 47 AR in pot – 4 tetradrachms of Thasos (original series), once in Burgas Archaeological Museum, now stolen (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1964, 244; Lazarov 1965, 52-61; Marinescu 1996, 298-301, no. 47; Prokopov 2006, no. 265);
129. Sadovets I / 1947, reg. Pleven (IGCH 573): 461+ AR in pot – 40 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed, only 26 drachms in Sofia NAIM Museum (Gerassimov 1950, 321; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 29; Prokopov 2006, no. 267);
130. Sadovets II / 1957, reg. Pleven (IGCH 574): 43+ AR – 21 tetradrachms of Thasos examined, dispersed (Gerassimov 1959, 362; Prokopov 2006, no. 268);
131. Samovodene / 1933, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 522): 25 AR, 50 AE – 15+ tetradrachms of Thasos, 4 examined (1 original series and 3 Thasian type), once those 4 in Veliko Tarnovo Museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1934, 469; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 34; Prokopov 2006, no. 269; Prokopov 2012, no. 104);
132. Saevo / 2000's, reg. Lovech: 36+ in pot – 36 barbarous imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 270);
133. Sarnitsa / 1970's, Mineralni bani area, reg. Haskovo: 12 AR – 12 imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, Haskovo Museum, inv. no. H-2.25 (Prokopov – Petrov 2000; Prokopov 2006, no. 271);
134. Shumen area I / 1941 (IGCH 898), concealed ca. 115-110 BC: 62+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Thasos, 33 in Varna Museum, 15 Shumen, 10 in Sofia NAIM Museum (Gerassimov 1946, 238; Karayotov 1994, 118, no. 21; Prokopov 2006, no. 274; Karayotov 2012, 276, no. 43);
135. Silistra area / after 1970, reg. Constanta, Romania: 7+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of Thasos, 2 original series and one early imitation, Bucharest National History Museum (Grămăticu 1996, 23-6; Prokopov 2006, no. 278);
136. Slatina / 1963, reg. Lovech (IGCH 488): 12+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of Thasos, all in Lovech museum (Gerassimov 1964, 243; published in *CCCHBulg* I, (2007) nos. 349-355; Prokopov 2006, no. 283, Prokopov 2012, no. 109);
137. Sokolovo / 1993, reg. Lovech: 12 AR (with Celtic imitations) – 5 tetradrachms of Thasos and 2 Thasian imitations (Prokopov 2006, no. 284);
138. Stroyno / 1961, reg. Jambol (IGCH 924), concealed after 81/80 BC: 195 AR – 126 tetradrachms of Thasos and its imitations, all in Jambol Museum (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 105-106; Prokopov 2006, no. 291; Prokopov 2012, no. 112);
139. Stubel / 1980, reg. Montana: ca. 100 AR in pot (with denarii), few Thasian imitations, now 7 in NHM Sofia (Unpublished, Youroukova 1982, 62; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 128; Prokopov 2006, no. 292 and full details in Find cat. no. 102);
140. Suvorovo / 1970s, reg. Varna: 70 AR – 32 tetradrachms of Thasos, 2 original series, 32 of Thasian type, all 32 in Varna Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 2228-2241 (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 295);

<sup>1</sup> F. de Callatay dated the burial of Sadievo hoard a bit later – ca. 110-100 BC, see de Callatay 1997a, p. 136.



141. Southwest Bulgaria / 1990's, reg. Blagoevgrad: 56+ AR – 35 examined, all tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 original series, 34 Thasian type, dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 296);
142. Svoboda (fmr. Kepeli) / 1906, Panagyurishte area, reg. Pazardzhik (IGCH 914): 231 AR (few tetradrachms of Abydos) – mostly tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Unpublished, see Mouchmov 1914, 273, no. 40; Seure 1923, 28, no. 48; Le Rider 1963, 52; Prokopov 2006, no. 297);
143. Targovishte / 1966, reg. Targovishte (IGCH 927): 60+ AR – 60 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1967, 190; Prokopov 2006, no. 299);
144. Tarnava / 1956, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 506): 139 AR – 37 tetradrachms of Thasos, once in Vratsa Historical Museum (inv. nos. 1934–2071), now stolen (Prokopov 2006, no. 300);
145. Teteven / 1970's, reg. Lovech: ca. 20+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Thasos in Municipal Museum Teteven, rest dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 303);
146. 'Thrakia' / 1926, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 907): ca. 438+ AR – 438 tetradrachms of Thasos, 38 examined, all well preserved, dispersed (Mouchmov 1927, 323; Prokopov 2006, no. 307);
147. Topolovo / 1961, reg. Plovdiv (RRCH 457), concealed ca. 29 BC: 170 AR (with 130 denarii) – 40 tetradrachms of Thasos, 1 Thasian type, 39 imitations of Thasian tetradrachms, all in Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. no. 2229 (Gerassimov 1963, 265; Zlatareva 1963, 161-171; Prokopov 2006, no. 308; full details in Find cat. no. 103);
148. Tran area / 1878, reg. Pernik: ?AR – few tetradrachms of Thasos and Dyrhachum drachms, dispersed and lost (Avdev 1981, 26ff; Prokopov 2006, no. 310);
149. Valchitrun / 1933, reg. Pleven (IGCH 575): 132+ AR – 64 tetradrachms of Thasos, 132 examined, few in Sofia NAIM Museum (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1934, 468; Prokopov 2006, no. 314);
150. Varbitsa (fmr. Vlashitsa) / 1934, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 529): 59 AR – 11 tetradrachms of Thasos, 3 original series, 4 of Thasian type, those 7 once in Veliko Tarnovo Museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1937, 315; Кацарова/ Kacarova 1962, 17-30; Schönert–Geiss 1987; Prokopov 2006, no. 316 = no. 317);
151. Varbovka / 1935, Sevlievo area, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 530): 47 AR – 47 tetradrachms of Thasos, dispersed (Gerassimov 1937, 317; Prokopov 2006, no. 318);
152. Varna I / 1970's?, reg. Varna: 19 AR – 19 tetradrachms of Thasos, 2 original series and 17 of Thasian type, all in Varna Archaeological Museum (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 320);
153. Varna II / 1970's?, reg. Varna: 9 AR – 9 tetradrachms of Thasos, all of Thasian type and early imitations, in Varna Archaeological Museum (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 321);
154. Varna III / 1980's?, reg. Varna: 7+ AR – 7 tetradrachms of Thasos, 2 original series, 5 of Thasian type, all in Varna Archaeological Museum (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 322);

155. Varna IV / 1980's?, reg. Varna: 4+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Thasos, all of Thasian type, in Varna Archaeological Museum (Lukanc 1996; Prokopov 2006, no. 323);
156. Varna area / 2003, reg. Varna: ca. 80 AR – 80 early barbarous imitations of Thasos tetradrachms, dispersed, lost (Prokopov 2006, no. 324);
157. Vetren / 1977, reg. Pazardzhik (CH 7.141): 8+ AR – 1 barbarous imitation of Thasos tetradrachm, dispersed (Jurukova 1979, 60; *IRRCHBulg* no. 131; Prokopov 2006, no. 325, full details in Find cat. no. 105);
158. Vidrare / 1949, Jablanitsa area, reg. Sofia (IGCH 526): 40+ AR – 40 tetradrachms of Thasos, unspecified, and Alexander III tetradrachms and drachms? (Gerassimov 1952, 400; Prokopov 2006, no. 326);
159. Zagortsi / 1960's, reg. Stara Zagora: 5+ AR – 5 tetradrachms of Thasos, 5 original series, all 5 in Nova Zagora Museum, rest dispersed (Prokopov 2006, no. 330);
160. Zgalevo / 1953, reg. Pleven (IGCH 534): 12+ AR in pot – 12 tetradrachms of Thasos (some with monogram MH), 12 in Sofia NAIM Museum, unpublished (Gerassimov 1955, 606; Prokopov 2006, no. 331);
161. Zetyovo / 1944, Chirpan area, reg. Stara Zagora: 13+ AR – 13 examined, all barbarous imitations of Thasos tetradrachms, dispersed, lost (Gerassimov 1946, 243; Prokopov 2006, no. 332);
162. Zlatograd / 1967, reg. Smolyan (IGCH 969): 13 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Thasos and 1 early imitation, 11 in Plovdiv museum (Gerassimov 1969, 232; Bauslaugh 2000, 99; Prokopov – Davidova 2004, 242-254; Prokopov 2006, no. 333);

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## 1.2. Hoards of First and Second Macedonian Regions

1. Nikolovo (fmr. Banya) / 1909, reg. Montana (IGCH 500): 44 AR – 44 tetradrachms of First Macedonian Region, excellent condition, some in Sofia NAIM? (Unpublished, see Filow 1910, 224; Filow 1910, *AA JDAI* 25, 403; Prokopov 2012, no. 1);
2. Baurene / 1966, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 503): 28 AR: – 26 of First Region, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1967, 187; Prokopov 1994, 29; Prokopov 2012, no. 2);
3. Belish / ~2006, reg. Lovech: unknown number in pot hoard – 3 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed and lost (Prokopov 2012, no. 3);
4. Belotintsi / 1966, reg. Montana (IGCH 508): 23 AR: – 23 of First Region, listed as in Belogradchik museum, but not available (Gerassimov 1967, 187; Prokopov 2012, no. 4);
5. Berkovitsa / 1965, reg. Montana (IGCH 507): 24 AR: – 24 of First Region, listed as in Belogradchik museum, but not available (Gerassimov 1966, 211; Prokopov 2012, no. 5);
6. Bistrets / 1970 (today Vratsa), reg. Vratsa: ~10 AR – 4 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed (unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 6);
7. Borislav / 2000, reg. Pleven: unknown number of tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 8);
8. Bosilegrad / 1998, East Serbia: 30+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of First Region examined, dispersed (Ujes 2001, 342, no. 57; Prokopov 2012, no. 9);
9. Boshulya / 1967, reg. Pazardzhik: ca. 10+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of First Region, very well preserved, dispersed (see Gerassimov 1968, 231; Prokopov 2012, ---);
10. Bosnek / 1997, reg. Pernik: 2 AR – 2 tetradrachms of First Region examined, private collection Pernik (Prokopov 2012, no. 10);
11. Breznik area/ 1960s, reg. Pernik: 2 AR – 2 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Pernik museum, inv. nos. H-1309-1310 (unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 11);
12. Central North Bulgaria I/ before 1960: 3+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Sofia NAIM Museum, Inv. nos. CCLX, 1-3 (unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 12);
13. Central North Bulgaria I/ 2004, reg. Pleven/Lovech?: 200+ AR – many tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed, several in private collections (unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 13);
14. Edirne (anc. Adrianople) / before 1789, Turkey (IGCH 893): unknown number of tetradrachms of First Region (Sestini, *Lettere... Ainslieana* 1 (Livorno 1789), 130, note 1; Prokopov 2012, no. 16);

15. Gaber / 1960, Dragoman area, reg. Sofia (IGCH 484): 3+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of First region, well preserved specimens with monogram  $\mathcal{R}$ , dispersed (Gerassimov 1963, 257; Prokopov 2012, no. 17);
16. Golyama Zhelyazna / 2004, reg. Lovech: 18+ AR – 18 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed, several in private collections (Prokopov 2012, no. 18);
17. Gorochevtsi / 1999, reg. Pernik: 3+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of First Region examined by E. Paunov in 2001, worn out, dispersed in trade (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 19);
18. Gostilica I / 2007, Sevlievo area, reg. Gabrovo: 180+ AR – 9 tetradrachms of First Region, private collection, Sofia 9 (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 20);
19. Gostilica II / 2010, Sevlievo area, reg. Gabrovo: 30+ – 30 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed in trade (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 20A);
20. Ex-Haralanov collection II / 1960?, reg. Shumen: 13 AR – 13 tetradrachms of First Region, fragment of hoard, all in Shumen Museum (Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzova 1998, 18-20, no. 31.43.13; see Prokopov 2012, no. 21);
21. Karlukovo / before 1944, reg. Lovech: 17+ AR – 17 tetradrachms of First Region, now all in NAIM Museum Sofia, inv.no. CCLII (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 22);
22. Krlev dol / 1962, reg. Pernik (IGCH 894): 10 AR in pot – 10 tetradrachms of First Region, one examined, dispersed (Gerasimov 1964, 238; Prokopov 2012, no. 23);
23. Krasno Gradishte / 1954, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 486): 37 AR in pot – 37 tetradrachms of First Region, only 2 in Gabrovo Museum (Gerassimov 1955, 610; Prokopov 2012, no. 24);
24. Krushevo/ 1959, reg. Gabrovo (IGCH 485): 70 AR in pot – all tetradrachms of First region, 50 in Sevlievo museum (now missing), some in Sofia museum (unpublished, see Gerasimov 1962, 230-231; Prokopov 2012, no. 25);
25. Lesura / 1939, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 504): 15 AR – all tetradrachms of First region, well preserved, kept in Sofia NAIM Museum (Unpublished, see Gerasimov 1939, 343; Prokopov 2012, no. 26);
26. Lipnitsa / 1947, Botevgrad area, reg. Sofia (IGCH 499): 8 AR – tetradrachms of First region, one examined, dispersed (Gerasimov 1950, 321; Prokopov 2012, no. 27);
27. Lomets / 2002, Troyan area, reg. Lovech: ca. 600 AR (in 3 pots) – all tetradrachms of First region, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 28);
28. Montana area /2000, reg. Montana: unknown number AR – tetradrachms of First region, few examined, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 30);
29. Mramoren / 1962, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 502): 8 AR – all tetradrachms of First region, 7 once in Vratsa, now stolen (Gerasimov 1964, 239; Prokopov 2012, no. 31);
30. North-west Bulgaria I/ after 1980, reg. Vratsa/Montana: 122 AR – tetradrachms of First region, all in National History Museum, Sofia (published Prokopov 2003, 47-68; Prokopov 2012, no. 32);

31. North-west Bulgaria II / 1992, reg. Vratsa?: 121+ AR in bronze container – tetradrachms of First region, few in private collection, rest dispersed (Prokopov 2012, no. 33);
32. Novae / 1958, near Svishtov, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGHC 493): 40 AR – tetradrachms of First region, 8 in Svishtov Museum, stolen in 1971 (Gerassimov 1962, 228; Prokopov 2012, no. 34);
33. Novgrad / 1958, reg. Russe (IGCH 487): 110 AR – 109 tetradrachms of First region, 1 of the Second region, now 87 in Russe Museum (Димова / Dimova 1959, 81-84; Прокопов – Д. Иванов / Prokopov – Ivanov 1989, 269-306; Prokopov 2012, no. 35);
34. Ovdin bair / 1970s, reg. Gabrovo: many AR – 4 tetradrachms of First region, 1 of the Second region, 5 Sevlievo Museum (Prokopov 1994, nos. 46, 48, 56, 62, 67; Prokopov 2012, no. 36);
35. Petrich / 1960s, reg. Blagoevgrad: 10+ AR – tetradrachms of First region, 1 Petrich Museum (Prokopov 2012, no. 37);
36. Pessochnitsa / 1969, Berkovitsa area, reg. Montana: 30 AR – 30 tetradrachms of First region, 3 examined, all dispersed (Gerassimov 1979, 138; Prokopov 2012, –)
37. Petărnița / after 2000, reg. Pleven: ? AR – unknown number of tetradrachms of First region, dispersed (Prokopov 2012, no. 38);
38. Rakita / 1964?, reg. Pleven, (IGCH 489): 200+ AR – 46 tetradrachms of First region, 46 in Pleven Museum (inv. nos. 974 and 1085), (Gerassimov 1967, 189; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 70-78, nos. nos. 494.1–539.46; Prokopov 2012, no. 39);
39. Ralevo / 1940, reg. Pleven (IGCH 496): 17 AR – 16 tetradrachms of First region and one barbarous imitation, dispersed (Gerassimov 1943, 284; Prokopov 2012, no. 40);
40. Riben / 1951, reg. Pleven (IGCH 497): 22 AR in AE container – 21 tetradrachms of First region, 21 in Pleven Museum, inv. no. 885-888 (Gerassimov 1952, 404; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 79-83, nos. nos. 540.1–560.21; Prokopov 2012, no. 41);
41. Russe II / after 2000, reg. Russe: ? AR – unknown number of tetradrachms of First region, dispersed, few in private collections (Prokopov 2012, no. 42);
42. Skrino/ 1971, reg. Kyustendil: 21 AR in pot – tetradrachms of First region, 4 examined with monogram *R*, 3 Sofia NAIM Museum, inv. nos. 12219-12221 (Jurukova 1977, 69; Prokopov 2012, no. 43);
43. Studena / 1974, reg. Pernik (CH 6.40): 15 AR – tetradrachms of First region, only 1 Pernik Museum, inv. No. H-923 (Jurukova 1978, 73; Prokopov 2012, no. 44);
44. Studeno Buche / 1956, reg. Montana (IGCH 509): ca. 100 AR – 100 tetradrachms of First Region, very well preserved, dispersed (Gerassimov 1959, 359; Prokopov 2012, no. 45);
45. Tiklach / 2005, reg. Vratsa: 160 AR – tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 46);

46. Troyan area/ 2010, reg. Lovech: 68 AR – tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed, seen in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 46A);
47. Turokovtsi / 2000, reg. Pernik, concealed ca. 110 – 90/80 BC: 199 AR in two pots – tetradrachms of First Region, 99 examined, most FDC, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 47);
48. Vratsa / 2000, reg. Vratsa: 300+ AR – 298 tetradrachms of First Region, 2 of Second Region, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 48);
49. Zgorigrad / 1996, reg. Vratsa: 165 AR in massive silver jug: – 165 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 49);
50. Bozhuritsa / 1951, reg. Pleven (IGCH 494): 16+ AR – 9 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Pleven Museum (Gerassimov 1952, 403; Prokopov 2006, no. 27; Prokopov – Kovacheva, 86-89, nos. 573-581; Prokopov 2012, no. 53);
51. Chomakovci / early 1990s, Cherven briag area, reg. Pleven: ca. 25 kg AV and AR in bronze vessel: 1500-1600 coins, many tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed (Prokopov 2012, no. 58);
52. Galatin / 1963, reg. Vratsa: 15+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of First Region, once in Vratsa Museum, now stolen (see Conovici 1989, no. 12; *IRRCHBulg.* 103; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 4; Prokopov 2012, no. 64; details in Find Cat. No. 78);
53. Georgi Damijanovo / 1977, reg. Montana (CH 7.123): 300+ AR – few tetradrachms of First Region and drachms of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, 55 drachms in NHM Sofia, rest dispersed (Jurukova 1979, 60; Prokopov 2012, no. 65);
54. Gorna Oryahovitsa / 1939, Veliko Tarnovo reg. (IGCH 521): 355 AR in bronze vessel – 338 tetradrachms of First Region (and 7 imitations), 2 of Second, all First Region issues – much worn, dispersed (Gerassimov 1939, 342; Karayotov 1994, 118-9; Prokopov 2012, no. 66);
55. Gorni Dabnik / 1956, reg. Pleven (IGCH 490): 22+ AR in pot – 2+ tetradrachms of First Region, 1 in Pleven Museum, rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1962, 225; Prokopov 2006, no. 107; Prokopov 2012, no. 67);
56. Gortalovo / 1951, reg. Pleven (IGCH 495): 14 AR+ – 7 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Pleven Museum (inv. nos. 873-887); the rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1952, 404; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 93-96, no. 595-602; Prokopov 2012, no. 68);
57. Haskovo area IV / 1977 (CH 6.44): 7+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of First Region, once in private collection in Haskovo, dispersed (Jurukova 1979, 70-72; Bauslaugh 2000, 102; Prokopov 2012, no. 69);
58. Jasen / 1966, reg. Pleven (IGCH 491): 20+ AR in pot – 4 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Pleven Museum 6 (4 Macedonia, 2 Thasos, inv. no. 1145); the rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1967, 190; Prokopov 2006, no. 135; Prokopov 2012, no. 72);

59. Kameno pole / 1964, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 501): 3+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of First Region, once in Vratsa Museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1965, 248; Conovici 1989, 19; no. 14; Prokopov 2012, no. 74);
60. Koilovtsi / 1951, reg. Pleven, (IGCH 492): 7+ AR – 5 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Pleven museum (inv. no. 890-892), rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1952, 402; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 97-99, nos. 609.1-615.7; Prokopov 2006, no. 146.; Prokopov 2012, no. 75);
61. Korten II / 1958, Nova Zagora area, reg. Sliven (IGCH 979): 50+ AR (2 denarii) – 1 imitation of tetradrachm of First Region, only 5 in Nova Zagora Museum (Gerassimov 1962. 230; Prokopov 2012, no. 76; see details in Find cat. no. 86);
62. Krushovitsa II / 1996, reg. Pleven: 506 AR – 37 tetradrachms of First Region, examined by Mr D.J. Dimitrov, Sofia, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 77);
63. Kyustendil area II / 1982, reg. Kyustendil, Bulgaria (CH 9. 278): 100+ AR (1 denarius) – many tetradrachms of First Region, 1 examined (Jurukova 1985, 59; Prokopov 1994, 14, note 45; Prokopov 2012, no. 78; see details in Find cat. No. 90);
64. Levka /1973, Haskovo area (CH 6.49): 28 AR – 3 tetradrachms of First Region, now in Haskovo museum (Bauslaugh 2000, 102-103; Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 7-8, nos. 57-82 = Prokopov 2006, no. 154; Prokopov 2012, no. 80);
65. Matsa I / 1954, Radnevo area, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 921), concealed ca. 120 BC: 520 AR in pot – 1 tetradrachm of First Region recorded, none in Nova Zagora Museum as recorded (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 610; Prokopov 2001, 193-209; Prokopov 2006, no. 164; Prokopov 2012, no. 82);
66. Merichleri I / 1909, Haskovo region (IGCH 908): 4 AR – 2 tetradrachms of First Region, possibly in NAIM Sofia (Unpublished, see Filow 1910, 227; now Prokopov 2006, no. 181; Prokopov 2012, no. 84);
67. Mezek / 1978, Haskovo region (CH 7.126): ca. 280+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of First Region, all in NHM Museum in Sofia (see Jouroukova 1979, 60; now Prokopov 2006, no. 184; Prokopov 2012, no. 86);
68. Nessebar / 1982, reg. Burgas, concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 282 AR – 5 tetradrachms of First Region, burnt in fire, exhibited in Nessebar Museum (Unpublished, see Karayotov 1985, 151-5; Karayotov 1994, 71; Prokopov 2006, no. 195; Prokopov 2012, no. 87);
69. Nikolaevo / 1948, reg. Pleven (IGCH 498): 18+ AR – 10 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed (Gerassimov 1950, 324; Prokopov 2012, no. 88);
70. Central North Bulgaria / 2009, reg. Pleven/Lovech?: 40+ AR – 20 tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2012, no. 91);
71. Ossikovo / 1966, reg. Targovishte (IGCH 928; CH 5. 50): 27 AR – 1 tetradrachm of First Region, some in Targovishte museum (see Gerasimov 1967, 188-189; Karayotov 1994, 119; Karayotov 2012, 273-4, no. 27; Prokopov 2006, no. 214; Prokopov 2012, no. 94);

72. Pirgovo /1961, reg. Russe (IGCH 896), concealed ca. 150-125 BC: 17+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of First Region (Gerassimov 1963, 263; Karayotov 1994, 118; Karayotov 2012, 273-4, no. 29; Prokopov 2012, no. 97);
73. Pleven district I/ 2003, reg. Pleven: 20+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of First Region dispersed, some in private collection (Prokopov 2012, no. 98);
74. Pleven district II / 2003, reg. Pleven: 18+ AR, part of larger hoard – 13 tetradrachms of First Region, private collection, Troyan, (Prokopov 2004, 127-137; Prokopov 2012, no. 99);
75. Portitovtsi / 1949, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 505): 614 AR – 9 tetradrachms of First Region, said to be in Sofia NAIM (Gerassimov 1952, 401; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 20; Prokopov 2012, no. 101);
76. Rish / before 1970, reg. Shumen: 9+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of First Region, 8 in Sofia National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. CCLIII/1-8 (unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 102);
77. Russe III / 2000, reg. Russe: 200+ AR in pot – many tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed in trade and private collections (Prokopov 2012, no. 103);
78. Samovodene/ 1933, Veliko Tarnovo reg. (IGCH 522): 25 AR, 50 AE – 1 tetradrachm of First Region, once in Veliko Tarnovo museum (inv. nos. 442-446), now stolen (Gerassimov 1934, 469; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 34; Prokopov 2012, no. 104);
79. Silistra area / after 1970, reg. Constanța, Romania: 7+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of First Region, Bucharest National Museum (Grămăticu 1996, 23-6; Prokopov 2006, no. 278; Prokopov 2012, no. 106);
80. Slatina / 1963, reg. Lovech (IGCH 488): 12+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of First Region, all in Lovech Museum (Gerassimov 1964, 243; published in *CCCHBulg I*, (2007) nos. 349-355; Prokopov 2012, no. 109);
81. Smyadovo / 2002, reg. Shumen: 1800+ AR in bronze vase – several tetradrachms of First Region, dispersed in trade (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 110);
82. Stroyno / 1961, reg. Jambol (IGCH 924), concealed after 81/80 BC: 195 AR – 3 tetradrachms of First Region, all in Jambol Museum (Schönert–Geiss 1987, 105-106; Prokopov 2006, no. 291; Prokopov 2012, no. 112);
83. Suvorovo / before 1980, reg. Varna: 10+ AR – few tetradrachms of First Region, some in Varna Archaeological Museum, 1 examined (Unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 115);
84. Tărgovishte / 1956, Nova Zagora area, reg. Sliven (IGCH 926): 23+ AR, part of a larger hoard – 2 tetradrachms of First Region, all in Nova Zagora Museum (Gerassimov 1959, 359; Prokopov 2012, no. 116);
85. Tarnava / 1956, reg. Vratsa, (IGCH 506): 195 AR – 116+ tetradrachms of First Region, 140 once in Vratsa Museum (105 First Region), now stolen (Gerassimov 1959, 359; Prokopov 2012, no. 117);
86. Trastikovo/ 1955, Varna reg. (IGCH 897): 30 AR – 4 tetradrachms of First Region, (Gerassimov 1956, 73; Karayotov 1994, 118; Prokopov 2012, no. 119);
87. Vranyak 2001-2 /, reg. Vratsa: 540 AR – 531 tetradrachms of First region, 2 examined, the rest dispersed (Prokopov 2012, no. 124).



### 1.3. Hoards of LEG MAKEΔONΩN and MAKEΔONΩN tetradrachms

1. Siderokastro / 1961 (IGCH 642): 420-500 AR – few **LEG MAKEΔONΩN** tetradrachms, dispersed, possibly two hoards combined (Thompson 1961, 320; Mattingly 1979, 155, note 37; Bauslaugh 2000, 99-100);
2. 'Southwest Macedonia' / 1981 (CH 7. 133): – 5 tetradrachms **LEG MAKEΔONΩN**, and 1 with **MAKEΔONΩN**, dispersed in trade (Burnett 198, 54-57, 64-67);
3. Veria /1990, in Chalkidiki (CH 9.264): 4 AR – 1 tetradrachm **LEG MAKEΔONΩN** (*AEMTH* 4, 1990, 361, pl. 13; Prokopov 2012, no. 121).

#### 1.4. Hoards of late Alexanders of Odessos and Mesambria

1. Dolna Oryahovitsa / 1939, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 521): 355 AR in bronze vessel – 7 tetradrachms of Mesambria with monograms M50, M58, M62 and M78, dispersed, few in Veliko Tarnovo Museum, now stolen (see Gerassimov 1939, 342; Karayotov 1994, 118-9; Karayotov 2012, 271, no. 16; Prokopov 2012, no. 66);
2. Samovodene / 1933, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 522): 25 AR, 50 AE – 4 tetradrachms of Mesambria (with monogram M18) and 50 AE issues of Odessos, once in Veliko Tarnovo Museum (inv. nos. 119-120), now stolen, since 2006 (Gerassimov 1934, 469; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 34; Prokopov 2012, no. 104);
3. Hotnitsa / 1955, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 525), concealed ca. 90-70 BC: 63 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Mesambria, with monogram M50, once in Veliko Tarnovo Museum (inv. nos. 1396), now stolen (Gerassimov 1962, 265; Karayotov 1994, 119; now Prokopov 2006, no. 129);
4. Suha reka / 1958, reg. Shumen (IGCH 892): 6+? AR – 6 tetradrachms of Mesambria with monograms M45 (1) and M47 (5) of group 2, once in Dr. Haralanov collection, now all in Shumen Museum (Gerassimov 1960, 228; Karayotov 2012, 275, no. 39);
5. Pirgovo / 1961, reg. Russe (IGCH 896), concealed ca. 150-125 BC: 17+ AR — 9 tetradrachms of Mesambria (Gerassimov 1963, 263; Karayotov 1994, 63, 118; Karayotov 2012, 273-4, no. 29);
6. Trastikovo / 1955, reg. Varna (IGCH 897): 30 AR – 11 tetradrachms of Mesambria (with monogram M40, M42, M44, M46, M47, M62, M67 and M74) and 15 of Odessos (group 1) with monograms ΔH, Α and ΘΕ (Gerassimov 1956, 13; Karayotov 1994, 118; Karayotov 2012, 276, no. 46);
7. Aytos area / 1925, reg. Burgas (IGCH 899): 25 AR – 17 tetradrachms of Mesambria (with monograms M25 (6 spec.) and M28?) and 7 of Odessos, Group 2 (Mouchmov 1927, 322-323; Karayotov 2012, 270, no. 5);
8. Sladka voda / 1911, Provadiya, reg. Varna (IGCH 900), concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 14 AR – 4 tetradrachms of Mesambria (with monograms M124 and M125) and 10 of Odessos, all in Varna Archaeological Museum (Gerassimov 1956, 73; Karayotov 1994, 118, no. 17; Karayotov 2012, 275, no. 37);
9. Varna / 1946 (IGCH 901), reg. Varna: 15+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of Mesambria with monograms M69, M77 and M81 (Gerassimov 1950, 316; Karayotov 1994, 120, no. 29; Karayotov 2012, 271, no. 12);
10. Targovishte area / 1921 (IGCH 902): 45 AR – at least 1 tetradrachm of Mesambria, dispersed and lost (Mouchmov 1922, 243; Karayotov 2012, 275, no. 41);
11. Shumen area II / 1949 (IGCH 903), concealed ca. 100 BC: 6+AR – 6 tetradrachms of Mesambria with monogram M77, Varna Archaeological Museum (Gerassimov 1952, 400; Karayotov 1994, 117, no. 16; Karayotov 2012, 276, no. 44);
12. Antonovo (fmr. Dolna Zlatitsa) / 1962, Targovishte reg. (IGCH 904), concealed ca. 110-100 BC: 2+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Mesambria (with monogram M58) and 1 of Odessos

- with monogram ΔH, the rest – dispersed (Gerassimov 1964, 238; Karayotov 1994, 117, no. 15; Karayotov 2012, 271-2, no. 18);
13. Ossikovo / 1966, Targovishte reg. (IGCH 928 = CH 5.50), concealed ca. 100-75 BC: 27 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Mesambria (with monogram M37) and 2 of Odessos with monograms ΔH and ΘE, all in Targovishte museum (Gerassimov 1967, 188-189; Ginev 1978, 18-25; Karayotov 1994, 119, no. 31; Karayotov 2012, 273-4, no. 27);
  14. Shumen area I / 1941, reg. Shumen (IGCH 898), concealed ca. 115-110 BC: 61+ AR – 48 tetradrachms of Mesambria (with monograms M25, M40, M42, M45, M52, M55, M56, M58, M59, M62, M63, M64, M70, M74, M77, M78) and 13 of Odessos, now Varna 33, Shumen 15 (Gerassimov 1946, 238; Karayotov 1994, 118, no. 21; Prokopov 2006, no. 274; Karayotov 2012, 276, no. 43);
  15. Burgas area / 1966 (IGCH 959), concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 132 AR – 45 tetradrachms of Mesambria (with monograms M64, M105 (ΑΠΟΛΛΑ) and M115) and 86 Odessos /5 with ΔH, 81 with c ΘE/ (Gerassimov 1967, 187; Karayotov 1994, 119, no. 26; Karayotov 2012, 270, no. 9);
  16. Bolyarino / 1963, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 975; CH 9.325), concealed after 48 BC: 30 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Mesambria (with monogram M47), now in Plovdiv museum (de Callatay – Prokopov 1995, 5-12; *IRCHBulg* 102; Karayotov 2012, 270, no. 7);
  17. Rudnik / 1975 near Burgas (CH 2.98 = CH 3.74 = CH 6.43), concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 124 AR – 43 tetradrachms of Mesambria and 80 of Odessos with monograms ΔH, Α and ΘE; one Mesambria is overstruck on Athens New Style tetradrachm, Thompson 1961, no. 494-496 (Karayotov 1976, 36-44; Karayotov 1994, 119; de Callatay – Prokopov 1994, 204; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 31);
  18. Drumevo/ 1975, Shumen reg.: 30 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Mesambria with monogram M56, Shumen private collection (see Karayotov 1994, 97 and 121, no. 35; Karayotov 2012, 272, no. 19);
  19. Ex-Haralanov collection I / 1960s, reg. Shumen?, concealed ca. 100-90 BC: 119+ AR – 29 tetradrachms of Mesambria (of Group 2 (3) and Group 3 (26) and 90 tetradrachms of Odessos (Group 1), now in Shumen museum (see Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1998, 25-27, nos. 83.1-202.120; de Callatay 1997a, 115);
  20. Ruen /~1989, Burgas reg.: 120+ AR – ca. 100 tetradrachms of Mesambria and Odessos, unspecified, dispersed in trade (unpublished, see Karayotov 2009, 483; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 32);
  21. Ivan Shishmanovo 1990s / Ispereh area, reg. Razgrad: ca. 10 AR – around 10 tetradrachms of Odessos, 1 examined, of late style, the rest dispersed in trade (see Dzanev 2007, in *CCCHBg* I, p. 75);
  22. Sinemorets / 2012, Ahtopol area, reg. Burgas, concealed ca. 86/5–80 BC: 199 AR in pot – 5 of Mesambria and Odessos. To be exhibited in the new Historical Museum in Tzarevo, Burgas region, in spring 2013 (Unpublished, see Karayotov,

[http://morskivestnik.com/mor\\_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html](http://morskivestnik.com/mor_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html); 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2012).

### 1.5. Hoards of Athenian tetradrachms of the 'New Style'

1. Chernogorovo / 1962, Pazardzhik reg. (IGCH 949): 282 AR in a bronze *oenochoe*, all Athens tetradrachms, 282 in Pazardzhik Museum (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1963, 266; now Prokopov 2011, no. 1);
2. Dragomir / 1938, Plovdiv reg. (IGCH 950): 14+ AR – now 5 tetradrachms of Athens, kept in Plovdiv museum (Gerassimov 1942, 283);
3. Dragomir / 1960, Plovdiv reg. (IGCH 951): 16+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of Athens, in Pazardzhik museum (Gerassimov 1963, 258);
4. Kyustendil / 1950s, from the mineral spring, reg. Kyustendil: 11+ AR: – 5 tetradrachms of Athens (Prokopov 1985, 9, nos. 4-5; Bauslaugh 2000, 107; see now *CCCHBulg* II, nos. 3-6);
5. Ex-Haralanov coll. I, reg. Shumen: – 5 tetradrachms of Athens, in Shumen museum, fragment of a large hoard (see Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1999, p. 17, nos. 21.1-25.5);
6. Ex-Haralanov coll. II, reg. Shumen: – 4 tetradrachms of Athens, in Shumen museum, fragment of a large hoard (Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1999, p. 18, nos. 26.1-29.4);
7. Nessebar / 1982, reg. Burgas: 282 AR – 91 tetradrachms of Athens down to issues of M. Lucullus, 86/5 BC, exhibited in Nessebar museum (see Karayotov 1985, 151-5; Karayotov 1994, 71; Prokopov 2006, no 195; Prokopov 2012, no. 88).
8. Belitsa / 1956, Blagoevgrad reg. (IGCH 976): 112+ AR – 27 tetradrachms of Athens, 19 listed in Thompson (Thompson 1961, p. 522; Bauslaugh 2000, 106-7; see now Prokopov 2006, no. 14; full details in Find cat. no. 75);
9. Rish / before 1970, reg. Shumen: 9+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Athens, all in Sofia National Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. CCLIII, 1-8 (unpublished, see Prokopov 2012, no. 102);
10. Bisser II / 1980, Haskovo region (CH 8.x), concealed after 56/5 BC: ca. 20 AR in pot – 1 tetradrachm of Athens examined, of moneyers ΗΡΑΚΛΩΝ - ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ, dispersed in private persons (Unpublished, see Jurukova 1982, 62);
11. Razlog / 1983, Blagoevgrad reg. (CH 9.258): 32+AR – 18 tetradrachms of Athens, 14 listed in Prokopov (Прокопов / Prokopov 1989, 249-268; Prokopov 2006, no. 252);
12. Gotse Delchev area / 1995, Blagoevgrad reg.: 48 AR – 25 tetradrachms of Athens, in Blagoevgrad (33 in total) and Kyustendil (15) museums (Prokopov – de Callataÿ 1998, 228-236; Prokopov 2006, no. 110; *CCCHBulg*. II, nos. 508-521);
13. Momkovo / 1970s, Haskovo reg.: 22 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Athens, in Haskovo museum (Prokopov – Petrov 2003, 197-206; Prokopov 2006, no. 187);

14. Maluk Chardak / 1990, Plovdiv reg.: 529+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Athens, in Plovdiv Museum (*IRRCHBulg*, 115; Prokopov 2006, no. 174; now see Prokopov – Paunov 2012, 147-163);
15. Naydenovo I / 1958, reg. Stara Zagora: 35+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Athens, in Stara Zagora Museum, inv. nos. 2287, 2311-2313 and 3092 (Prokopov – Minkova 1998, 568, no. 13; Prokopov 2006, no. 192 = no. 193; Minkova 2012, 415-420);
16. Vetren / 1975, Pazardzhik reg.: 8+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Athens examined (CH 7. 141; *IRRCHBulg* no. 131, full details in Find cat. no. 105);
17. Stroyno / 1961, Jambol reg. (IGCH 924): 195 AR, concealed after 81/80 BC – 4 Athens, all in Jambol museum (Schönert–Geiss 1987, 105-106; Prokopov 2006, no. 291);
18. Bolyarino / 1963, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 975, CH 9.325): 30 AR – 3 Athens in Plovdiv museum (de Callataÿ – Prokopov 1995, 5-12; *IRRCHBulg* 102, full details in Find cat. no. 76);
19. Southwest Bulgaria / ~2002, reg. Blagoevgrad: ?AR – 21 tetradrachms of Athens, in private collection (Prokopov 2006, no. 296; Прокопов/ Prokopov 2011, no. 19, p. 92);
20. Levka / 1973, Haskovo reg. (CH 6.49): 28 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Athens (126/5 BC) in Haskovo museum (Bauslaugh 2000, 102-103; Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 7-8, nos. 57-82 = Prokopov 2006, no. 154);
21. Simitli (Izvorite) / 1938, Blagoevgrad reg. (IGCH 952): 5+ – 5 tetradrachms of Athens, 5 in Sofia NAIM, the rest – dispersed (Gerassimov 1938, 456);
22. Benkovski I (fmr. Murzijan) / 1933-4, Plovdiv reg. (IGCH 913): 106 AR – a number of Athens, dispersed, now lost (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1934, 471; Prokopov 2006, no. 176; Прокопов/ Prokopov 2011, no. 24, p. 94);
23. Benkovski II / 1933-4 (fmr. Murzijan), Plovdiv reg. (IGCH 917): over 160 AR – few of Athens, dispersed, now lost (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1934, 471-2; Prokopov 2006, no. 16, p. 20, note 49);
24. Benkovski III / 1952, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 918): 50 AR in pot – some tetradrachms of Athens, 26 in Sofia NAIM (Unpublished; see Gerassimov 1955, 602; Prokopov 2006, no. 17);
25. Nova Mahala / 1956, Stara Zagora reg. (IGCH 977): 36+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of Athens, 1 in Stara Zagora (Prokopov – Minkova 1998, 568-9; Prokopov 2006, no. 198; Прокопов/ Prokopov 2011, no. 27, p. 94 *IRRCHBulg* 121, full details in Find cat. No. 96);
26. Nova Zagora I / 1943, Stara Zagora reg. (IGCH 963): 24 AR in AE vessel – 2 tetradrachms of Athens, once in private collection, now dispersed and lost (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1946, 242; Prokopov 2006, no. 200);
27. Madrets / 1973, Stara Zagora reg. (CH 6.47): ?AR – unknown number of Athens, dispersed and lost, only 1 Thasos in Stara Zagora (see Prokopov 2006, no. 171);
28. Haskovo area II / 1974, reg. Haskovo (CH 1.92): 15+ AR – 2+ tetradrachms of Athens, dispersed, some in Haskovo (see Bauslaugh 2000, 101; Prokopov 2006, no. 120).

## 1.6. Hoards of tetradrachms of Maroneia

1. Varbitsa (fmr. Vlashitsa)/ 1934, Veliko Tarnovo area (IGCH 529): 59 AR+ – 35 tetradrachms of Maroneia (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1937, 315, published in Кацарова/ Kasarova 1962, 17–30 and Schönert–Geiss 1987; see also Прокопов / Prokopov 2002, 18-23; Prokopov 2006, no. 316);
2. Nedan / 1964, Tarnovo area (IGCH 531): 103 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, previously all in Tarnovo museum, now stolen (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1966, 212; Prokopov 2006, no. 194);
3. Rodina / 1964, Tarnovo region (IGCH 679): 80+ AR – 5 tetradrachms of Maroneia in Tarnovo museum, now stolen (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1966, 213; see now Паунов/ Paunov 2010, 127-147; full details in Appendix 2, Find cat. no. 101);
4. Kamen / 1958 (fmr. Theodossievo), Tarnovo area (IGCH 680): 5+ – 2 tetradrachms of Maroneia, dispersed and lost (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1959, 361);
5. Stroyno / 1961, reg. Jambol (IGCH 924): 195 AR, concealed after 81/80 BC – 62 tetradrachms of Maroneia, all in Jambol Museum (Schönert–Geiss 1987, 105-106; Prokopov 2006, no. 291);
6. Ossikovo / 1966, Targovishte area (IGCH 928; CH 5. 50): 27 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, some in Targovishte museum (see Герасимов / Gerasimov 1967, 188-189; Karayotov 1994, 119; Karayotov 2012, 273-4, no. 27; Prokopov 2006, no. 214);
7. Devetak/ 1909 (fmr. Isitliy), Karnobat area, reg. Sliven (IGCH 933): 8 AR+ – 8 tetradrachms of Maroneia, all in Sofia Museum (unpublished, see Filow 1910, 226);
8. Didymoteichon/ ~1870-75, Komotini province, Greece (IGCH 960): 20+ – ca. 3-4 late tetradrachms of Maroneia, dispersed (see Tacchella, *RN* 1898, 214-5; Prokopov 2006, no. 89);
9. Adrianople (Edirne), before 1925 (IGCH 971): 75 AR, concealed ca. 86/5 BC – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, 75 in Istanbul (Unpublished, see Robert 1951, p. 5, note 3; de Callataÿ 1996b, 90; de Callataÿ 1997a, 159);
10. Churek/ 1912, Sofia reg. (IGCH 962): ca. 430 AR (~7 kilos) – unknown tetradrachms of Maroneia, dispersed and lost (see Filow 1913, 330; Mouchmov 1914, 274; Filow, *AA* 1914, p. 428);
11. Nova Zagora I/ 1943, Stara Zagora reg. (IGCH 963): 24 AR in AE vessel – 7 tetradrachms of Maroneia, once in A. Doren possession, now dispersed and lost (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 242; Prokopov 2006, no. 200);
12. Nova Zagora II / 1965 (IGCH 964): 39 AR – 34 tetradrachms of Maroneia, possibly dispersed and lost (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1967, 188; Prokopov 2006, no. 201);
13. Lipnik / 1950, Razgrad region (IGCH 968): ca. 80 AR – 2 tetradrachms of Maroneia, some Thasos coins in Varna museum (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1952, 402; Prokopov 2006, no. 158);

14. Karnobat / 1945, Burgas (IGCH 966): 28 AR in bronze container – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, dispersed, lost (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 243);
15. Bolyarino /1963, Plovdiv area (IGCH 975; CH 9.325): 30 AR – 1 tetradrachm (imitation?) of Maroneia, dated *ca.* 80 BC, now in Plovdiv museum (de Callatay – Prokopov 1995, 5-12; *IRRCHBulg* 102);
16. Padarevo II / 1960s, Stara Zagora area: 9 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, all in Nova Zagora Museum, inv. no. 1934 (Prokopov 2006, no. 217);
17. Gradeshnitsa I / 1962, Vratsa reg. (IGCH 571): 431 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia of rarer type Schönert Geiss 1987, dies 976 (V1) – 976 (R1), 977 (R2), once all in Vratsa Museum, now stolen (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1964, 237; Prokopov – Paunov – Torbov 2013 /in print/);
18. Popina / 1957, reg. Silistra (IGCH 930, CH 9. 268): 170+AR – 2 tetradrachms of Maroneia, 146 in Silistra museum (Prokopov – Batchvarov 1990, 3-22; Prokopov 2006, no. 244);
19. Kurdzhali / 1959, reg. Kurdzhali: 4+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Maroneia, very well preserved, dispersed (Unpublished, see Gerasimov 1962, 231);
20. Momkovo/ 1970s, Haskovo region: 22 AR – 10 tetradrachms of Maroneia, all in Haskovo museum (published in Prokopov – Petrov 2003, 197-206; Prokopov 2006, no. 187);
21. Levka /1973, reg. Haskovo (CH 6.49): 28 AR – 5 tetradrachms of Maroneia, Haskovo museum (Bauslaugh 2000, 102-103; Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 7-8, nos. 57-82 = Prokopov 2006, no. 154);
22. Haskovo area II/ 1974 (CH 1.92): 15 AR+ – 2 tetradrachms of Maroneia, some in Haskovo (see Bauslaugh 2000, 101; Prokopov 2006, no. 120);
23. Skalina / 1981, Dzhebel area, reg. Kurzdjali: 30 AR in pot – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, dispersed (unpublished, see Jouroukova 1982, 114);
24. Naydenovo I/ 1958, reg. Stara Zagora: 35+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, in Stara Zagora Museum (Prokopov – Minkova 1998, 568; Prokopov 2006, no. 192 = no. 193; Minkova 2012, 415-420);
25. Bratya Kunchevi / 1970s, reg. Stara Zagora (CH 9. 326): 5 AR – 2 tetradrachms of Maroneia, total 5 in Stara Zagora Museum (see Prokopov – Minkova 1999, 567-568; Prokopov 2006, no. 32);
26. Nessebar / 1982, reg. Burgas, concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 282 AR – 20 tetradrachms of Maroneia, burnt in fire, all in Nessebar Museum (Unpublished, see Karayotov 1985, 151-5; Karayotov 1994, 71; Prokopov 2006, no. 195; Prokopov 2012, no. 87);
27. Krushovitsa II / 1996, reg. Pleven: 506 AR – 2 tetradrachms of Maroneia, of the rare type ΜΑΡΟΝΙΤΩΝ (Schönert–Geiss 1987, no. 976, taf. 37, dies (V1) – (R1), examined by Mr D.J. Dimitrov of Sofia, dispersed (Prokopov 2012, no. 77);
28. Bratya Daskalovi / 2010, reg Stara Zagora: 12 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Maroneia, type Schönert-Geiss 1987, no. 1066, dies V29–R84 (see now Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-53, no. 2);
29. ‘Osijek’ / 1968 (CH 9. 271): 39+ AR – 8 tetradrachms of Maroneia (and 1 imitation), now in Slavonian Museum in Osijek, smuggled from Bulgaria (Mirnik 1993, 197-200, pls. 27-32; Prokopov 2006, no. 213).

## 1.7. Hoards of Aesillas, Sura and CAE•PR tetradrachms of Macedonia

1. Stroyno / 1961, reg. Jambol (IGCH 924): 195 AR, concealed after 81/80 BC – 1 tetradrachm of **SVVRA•LEG / PRO •Q** (group 4, dies O17-76), in Jambol Museum (Bauslaugh 2000, 98; Prokopov 2006, no. 291);
2. Zlatograd / 1967, Smolyan reg. (IGCH 969): 13 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Aesillas (group 1, dies O3-9), 9 in Plovdiv Museum (Gerassimov 1969, 232; Bauslaugh 2000, 99; Prokopov – Davidova 2004, 242-254; Prokopov 2006, no. 333);
3. Haskovo area II/ 1974 (CH 1. 92): 15 AR+ – 2 tetradrachms of Aesillas, some in Haskovo Museum (see Bauslaugh 2000, 101; Prokopov 2006, no. 120);
4. Haskovo area IV / 1977 (CH 6. 44): 7+ – 1 tetradrachm of Aesillas, once in private collection (Bauslaugh 2000, 102; Prokopov 2012, no. 69);
5. Levka /1973, Haskovo area (CH 6. 49): 28 AR – 3 tetradrachms of Aesillas, 1 in Haskovo Museum (group I, dies O6A-12), 2 – in private collections (Bauslaugh 2000, 102-103; Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 7-8, nos. 57-82 = Prokopov 2006, no. 154);
6. Belitsa / 1956, Blagoevgrad reg. (IGCH 976), concealed ca. ?48 BC: 112+ AR – 7 tetradrachms of Aesillas, unlisted (unpublished, see Thompson 1961, p. 522; Mattingly 1979, 155, note 36; Bauslaugh 2000, 106-7; now *IRRCHBulg*, no. 101 and Prokopov 2006, no. 14; full details in Find cat. no. 75);
7. Blagoevgrad area / 1981, Blagoevgrad reg. (CH 9. 269), concealed after ca. 65 BC: ca. 200 AR – 200 tetradrachms of Aesillas, 14 listed, 9 examined (groups VI and VIII), one issue was **CAE• PR / ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ**, dies O86-310 (Prokopov 1985, 9; Bauslaugh 2000, 103-4);
8. Kyustendil / 1950s, from the mineral spring, reg. Kyustendil: 11+ AR: – 2 tetradrachms of Aesillas (Prokopov 1985, 9, nos. 4-5; Bauslaugh 2000, 107; see now *CCCHBulg II*);
9. Chepino / 1921-22, Pernik reg. (IGCH 646): ca. 100 AR – ~100 tetradrachms of Aesillas, 1 examined, unlisted, all dispersed and lost (Mouchmov 1922, 242; Bauslaugh 2000, 108);
10. Velingrad (fmr. Kamenitsa) / 1936, Pazardzhik reg. (IGCH 970): 15 AR – 15 tetradrachms of Aesillas, unlisted, now 7 in Plovdiv, 1 Pazardzhik museums (Gerassimov 1938, 452; Bauslaugh 2000, 108);
11. Zhabokrut /1980s, Kyustendil reg.: 30+ AR - ‘several dozens’ tetradrachms of Aesillas, unlisted, 1 in Kyustendil museum (group VI, dies 41A-173), (Prokopov 1985, 9, no. 5 ; Bauslaugh 2000, 108; see now *CCCHBulg II*, 2009, 13);
12. Kyustendil area I/ 1982 (CH 9. 282), concealed after 87 BC: 100+ AR – 6 examined – 1 tetradrachm of Aesillas, unlisted, dispersed (Youroukova 1985, 59; Prokopov 1994, 14, note 45; *IRRCHBulg* 114; full details in Find cat. no. 90);



13. Noevtsi / 1980, Pernik reg. (CH 9. 280): ca. 20 AR, 3 examined – 2 tetradrachms of Aesillas, unlisted (see Jurukova 1982, 62; Prokopov 1985, 5, no. 2; Bauslaugh 2000, 108; full details in Find cat. no. 95);
14. Tran area / 1969, Pernik reg.: 2+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Aesillas, unlisted, very worn (Gerassimov 1979, 139);
15. Ex-Haralanov coll. / 1960s, SW Bulgaria?: 6+ AR – 6 tetradrachms of Aesillas, part of a larger hoard, now in Shumen museum (see Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzova 1999, 24-5, nos. 77.1-82.6);
16. Bratya Daskalovi / 2010, reg. Stara Zagora: 12 AR – 2 tetradrachms of Aesillas, very worn, group VI, dies O45–/unlisted/ and dies O71-273 (see Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-53, no. 2);
17. Southwestern Macedonia/ 1981 (CH 7. 133): 32 AR – 8 tetradrachms of Aesillas (Groups I and III), 5 of **LEG MAKEΔONΩN** and 1 with **MAKEΔONΩN** (Burnett 1986, 54-58, 64-67; Bauslaugh 2000, 99);
18. Siderokastro / 1961 (IGCH 642): 420-500 AR – 300? tetradrachms of Aesillas (49 listed), few **LEG MAKEΔONΩN**, dispersed, possibly two hoards combined (Thompson 1961, 320; Mattingly 1979, 155, note 37; Bauslaugh 2000, 99-100);
19. Kerassia (anc. Aineaia) / 1959? near Thessalonika (IGCH 653, RRCH 283), concealed after 78 BC: 48 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Aesillas (group 6, dies O77-275), in Thessalonika (see Burnett 1986, 57; Bauslaugh 2000, 101-2);
20. Platania / 1959 near Drama (IGCH 663; RRCH 358), concealed ca. 49/8 BC: 4 AR (2 denarii), 39 AE: – 2 tetradrachms of Aesillas (group VI, dies O76-283 and VIII, O94-353), all in Athens NM (Varoucha 1960, 486-7; Touratsoglou 1993, 53; Bauslaugh 2000, 107, notes 75-77);
21. Nea Karvali (or Kavalla) / 1963 (IGCH 660; RRCH 336), concealed ca. 55-50 BC: ca. 83+ AR (25 denarii): – 10 tetradrachms of Aesillas (groups V (1), VI (8) and VIII (1)); all in Kavalla Archaeological Museum (Hackens 1965, 54; de Callataÿ 1986; Bauslaugh 2000, 104-5, note 60);
22. Macedonia / 1980, concealed ca. 50 BC: 101+ AR (91 denarii) - 10 tetradrachms of Aesillas (groups V (1), VI (2), VII (4) and VIII (3), all dispersed in trade (published in Burnett 1986, 57; Bauslaugh 2000, 105-6);
23. Thessalonika environs / 1976 (CH 5. 55): ca. 540 AR – 40 tetradrachms of Aesillas, all dispersed in trade (Burnett 1986, 57; Bauslaugh 2000, 102);
24. Macedonia II /1986, concealed ca. 70 BC: 144 AR – 16 tetradrachms of Aesillas, 14 listed, all dispersed in trade (Bauslaugh 2000, 103);
25. Drama?/ 1940's, Greece: ?AR: – 4 tetradrachms of Aesillas, now in Blagoevgrad Museum (unpublished, see now *CCCHBulg* IV, 2012, nos. 907-910 /in print/).

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## 1.8. Hoards of drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium

1. Vidin environs / 1948, reg. Vidin: ca. 600 AR (with denarii) – only 5 drachms of Apollonia, once in ex-collection Haralanov, now Shumen (Unpublished, see Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1999, 39, nos. 377.1–381.5);
2. Rassovo / 1921, Lom, reg. Montana (IGCH 688): 340 AR (9+ denarii) – 37 drachms of Dyrrhachium; 44 once in Sofia, now not available, dispersed (Mouchmov 1922, 239; Conovici 1989, table 1, no. 8; details in Find Cat. no. 100);
3. Madan I / 1936, reg. Montana: ca. 300 AR – ‘several hundreds’ drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, dispersed (Gerassimov 1937, 358; Conovici 1989, table 1, no. 4);
4. Madan II / 1956, reg. Montana: 16+ AR – 16 drachms: 16 Dyrrhachium, in Montana museum (Gerassimov 1959, 358; Conovici 1989, table 1, no. 5; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 11);
5. Berkovitsa area / 1958, reg. Montana (IGCH 613): 550 AR – 550 drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, dispersed (Gerassimov 1962, 225; Conovici 1989, table 1, no. 8);
6. Montana area / 1971, reg. Montana (CH 4. 62): 293 AR – drachms: 55 Apollonia, 235 Dyrrhachium, and 5 imitations of Dyr., all in Sofia museum (Jurukova 1977, 68; Conovici 1989, 19, table 1, no. 2);
7. Montana / 1970s, reg. Montana: 6 AR (fragment of hoard, mixed with denarii?) – 6 drachms: 1 Apollonia, 4 Dyrrhachium and 1 imitation - test-cut), all in Montana museum (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 15);
8. Georgi Damyanovo / 1977, reg. Montana (CH 7.123): ca. 200-300 AR : – 1 Apollonia, 51 Dyrrhachium and 3 imitations of Dyr., 55 in Sofia NHM museum (Jurukova 1979, 60; Conovici 1989, 19, no. 3; Prokopov 2012, no. 64);
9. Medkovets / 1980, reg. Montana: 86 AR (82 denarii) – 3 drachms: 3 Dyrrhachium, all in Montana (Belitov – Alexandrov 1991, 35-7; *IRRCHBg.* 117; full details in Find Cat. No. 92);
10. Vratsa environs / 1939, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 617): 90+ AR – 90 drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, some in private collection Sofia, the rest dispersed (Gerassimov 1939, 342; Conovici 1989, 20, no.19);
11. Kameno pole / 1964, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 501): 3+ AR – 1 drachm of Dyrrhachium, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1965, 248; Conovici 1989, 19; no. 14; Prokopov 2012, no. 74);
12. Galatin / 1963, reg. Vratsa: 15+ AR – 3 Apollonia, 7 Dyrrhachium, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (see Conovici 1989, no. 12; *IRRCHBulg.* 103; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 4; full details in Find Cat. No. 78);
13. Vratsa ‘Starata mogila’ / 1964, reg. Vratsa: ca. 500 AR – 3 drachms of Dyrrhachium, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (unpublished, see Conovici 1989, 19; no. 12, *IRRCHBulg.* 132; full details in Find Cat. No. 107);

14. Gradeshnitsa II / 1962 ('Zolata'), reg. Vratsa: 9+ AR (with denarii) – 3 drachms of Dyrrhachium (Conovici 1989, 19, no.10; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 104; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 7; full details in Find Cat. No. 81);
15. Koynare I / 1963, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 687): 343+ AR – 2 drachms of Dyrrhachium, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (Conovici 1989, 19, no.17; *IRRCHBulg*, no. 110; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 9; full details in Find Cat. No. 85);
16. Moravitsa / 1956, reg. Vratsa: 13+ AR (9 denarii) – 4 drachms of Dyrrhachium, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (Conovici 1989, no. 13; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 13; *IRRCHBg.* 119; full details in Find Cat. No. 94);
17. Portitovtsi / 1949, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 505): 614 AR – 605 drachms of Dyrrhachium, said to be in Sofia NAIM (Gerassimov 1952, 401; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 20; Prokopov 2012, no. 101);
18. Lipnitsa / 1963, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 570): ca. 100 AR – 31+ drachms: 4 Apollonia and 25 Dyrrhachium, 2 hybrids, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1964, 242; Conovici 1989, 20, no.18; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 10);
19. Gradeshnitsa I / 1962, reg. Vratsa (IGCH 571): 431+ AR – 30 drachms: 15 Apollonia, 15 Dyrrhachium, once in Vratsa museum, now stolen (Gerassimov 1964, 247; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 5);
20. Oryahovo / 1889, reg. Vratsa: ca. 300 AR – 'several hundreds' drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, dispersed (Avdev 1981, 26; Conovici 1989, 19, no. 15);
21. Glava Panega/ 1902, reg. Lovech: 20 AR – drachms: 19 Dyrrhachium and 1 imitation, all in Sofia NAIM museum (Unpublished, see Dobrusky 1907, 29; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 26);
22. Alexandrovo / 1941, Lovech [and not Vidin] region (IGCH 615): 1016 AR – drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, 20 Dyrrhachium with magistrate  $\Xi\text{EN}\Omega\text{N}$  examined, dispersed (Gerassimov 1946, 235; Conovici 1989, 19, table 1, no. 1);
23. Teteven area/ 1973, reg. Lovech: ca. 100 AR – only 2 drachms: 1 Apollonia and 1 Dyrrhachium, dispersed (Jurukova 1978, 73; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 27);
24. Lovech area / 1962, reg. Lovech (IGCH 616): 152 AR – drachms: 1 Apollonia, 148 Dyrrhachium, and 3 imitations of Dyr., all in Lovech museum (Gerassimov 1964, 239; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 28; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 3; published in *CCCHBulg* I, nos. 102-253);
25. Lovech area II/ 1970?, reg. Lovech: 9+ – drachms: 2 Apollonia, 7 Dyrrhachium, all in Lovech museum (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 14; published in *CCCHBulg* I, nos. 154-162);
26. Smochan II / 1953, reg. Lovech: 8+ AR – 8 drachms of Dyrrhachium, all in Lovech museum (published, see Prokopov – Gushterakliev 1998; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 22; *CCCHBulg* I, nos. 163-270);
27. Belene / 1882, reg. Pleven (IGCH 576): 8+ – 3 drachms of Dyrrhachium, dispersed (Conovici 1989, 20, no. 32);

28. Valchitrun / 1933, reg. Pleven (IGCH 575): 132+ AR – once 17 (now 19) Apollonia and 1 imitation, 50 (now 42) Dyrrhachium, all in Sofia NAIM (Gerassimov 1934, 468; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 25; Prokopov 2006, no. 314);
29. Sadovets I / 1947, reg. Pleven (IGCH 573): 461+ AR in pot – 421 drachms, 25 examined: 13 Apollonia, 12 Dyrrhachium, dispersed, 26 in Sofia NAIM Museum (Gerassimov 1950, 321; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 29; Prokopov 2006, no. 267);
30. Sadovets II / 1957, reg. Pleven (IGCH 574): 43+ AR – 22 drachms: 8 Apollonia, 14 Dyrrhachium, these 22 kept in Sofia NAIM museum (Gerassimov 1959, 362; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 30);
31. Brestovets / 1951, Pleven reg. (IGCH 614): 58+ AR – 58 drachms examined, 31 in Pleven museum: 5 Apollonia, 26 Dyrrhachium, and 1 imitation (Gerassimov 1952, 403; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, 651, no. 1; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 34-38, nos. 172.1 – 202.31);
32. Rouptsi / 1960, reg. Pleven (IGCH 572, CH 9.260): 32 AR in pot – 28 drachms: 5 Apollonia, 22 Dyrrhachium and 1 hybrid, all in Pleven museum (Gerassimov 1965, 261; Conovici 1989, 20, no. 23; Prokopov – Kovacheva 1990, 37-43; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 21);
33. Orehovitsa / 1965, reg. Pleven (IGCH 686): 281 AR (280 denarii) – 1 drachm of Dyrrhachium, all in Pleven museum (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 20; *IRRCHBg.* 122; full details in Find Cat. No. 98);
34. Trustenik / 1958, reg. Pleven (IGCH 669): 63 AR (61 denarii) – 2 drachms of Dyrrhachium, all in Pleven museum (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 23; *IRRCHBg.* 130; full details in Find Cat. No. 104);
35. Pleven area / 1960s, reg. Pleven: 49 AR, fragment of a hoard: 49 drachms of Dyrrhachium, all in Pleven museum, inv. nos. 893-920 (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 16; Prokopov – Kovacheva 2006, 28-33, nos. 123.1-171.49);
36. Ex-Haralanov coll./ 1960s, North Bulgaria: 13+ AR – 13 drachms of Dyrrhachium, now in Shumen museum (Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1999, 39-40, no. 382.1-394.13.; Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 17, [only 17, 6-13]);
37. Gabrovo area / 1970s, reg. Gabrovo: 3+ AR - 3 drachms of Dyrrhachium, Gabrovo museum (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, 651-2, no. 2);
38. Maluk Porovets / 1995, Isperih, reg. Razgrad, concealed after 46/45 BC: 56 AR – 1 late drachm of Apollonia, magistrates ΔΩΠΙΟΝΟΣ – ΔΕΙΝΩΝ (dated ca. 50-25 BC), type *SNG Fitzwilliam* 2508, all in Isperih museum (Dimitrov 2007, 369-379; *IRRCHBg.* 40; Davis – Paunov 2012, 391-392; full details in Find Cat. No. 37);
39. Belitsa / 1956, Blagoevgrad reg. (IGCH 976), concealed ca. ?48 BC: 112+ AR – 12 drachms of Dyrrhachium (or imitations?), all in Sofia museum (unpublished, Conovici 1989, 20, no. 31; *IRRCHBg.* 101; full details in Find Cat. No. 75);
40. Karavelovo / 1959, Karlovo, reg. Plovdiv (IGCH 978): 37 AR (36 denarii): – 1 drachm of Dyrrhachium, all in Karlovo museum (Grigorova – Prokopov 2002, no. 10; *IRRCHBg.* 108; full details in Find Cat. No. 84).

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### 1.9. Hoards of Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium (and Chalcedon)

1. Adrianople (Edirne), before 1925 (IGCH 971): 75 AR, concealed ca. 86/5 BC – 11 Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium, 75 in Istanbul (see Robert 1951, 5; de Callataÿ 1997a, 159);
2. Merichleri I / 1909, Haskovo region (IGCH 908): 4 AR – 1 Lysimachi tetradrachm of Byzantium, possibly in NAM Sofia (Unpublished, see Filow 1910, 227; now Prokopov 2006, no. 181);
3. Maglzh 1933-4, Stara Zagora area (IGCH 915), concealed ca. 125-100 BC: 71+ – 27 tetradrachms of Lysimachus, 26 Byzantium and 1 Chalcedon, only the latter coin in Sofia NAIM (unpublished, see Герасимов / Gerasimov 1934, 472; Marinescu 1996, 307; Prokopov 2006, no. 173);
4. Debelt 1951, Burgas region (IGCH 972), concealed ca. 90-72/1? BC: 47+ – 41 Lysimachi of Byzantium (some in late barbarous style, groups of 2A, 2B, 3 and 4 of de Callataÿ), one plated coin, now 41 in Burgas museum (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1952, 603; Marinescu 1996, 301-2, no. 49, to be published by C. Marinescu);
5. Sadievo / 1963, near Burgas (IGCH 925, CH 1.101), concealed ca. 120-110 BC<sup>2</sup>: 47 AR in pot – 43 Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium, once in Burgas museum, now stolen (Герасимов / Gerasimov 1964, 244; details in Lazarov 1965, 52-61; Marinescu 1996, 298-301, no. 47);
6. Matsa I / 1954, Radnevo area, reg. Stara Zagora (IGCH 921), concealed ca. 120 BC: 520 AR in pot – 22 tetradrachms of Byzantium, now in Nova Zagora museum (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 610; Prokopov 2001, 193-209; Prokopov 2006, no. 164; Prokopov 2012, no. 82; Marinescu 1996 does not list this hoard, but since the dissertation he has obtained photographs of this material and informs me that the Lysimachi include specimens from Marinescu issues 104, 109, 120, 123, 124, 130, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157 and 158);
7. Tărgovishte / 1956, reg. Sliven (IGCH 926): 23+ AR, part of a larger hoard – 21 tetradrachms of Byzantium, all 23 in Nova Zagora museum (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1959, 359-360; Prokopov 2012, no. 116);
8. Levka 1973, Haskovo region (CH 6.49): 28 AR – 1 Lysimachi tetradrachm of Byzantium, in Haskovo museum (Prokopov – Petrov 2000, 7-8, nos. 57-82 = Prokopov 2006, no. 154);
9. Mezek 1978, Haskovo region (CH 7.126): ca. 280+ AR – 4 tetradrachms of Byzantium, Haskovo Museum, now all loaned to Sofia NHM (unpublished, see Jouroukova 1979, 60; now Prokopov 2006, no. 184);
10. Skalina / 1981, Dzhebel area, reg. Kurzdhali: 30 AR in pot – 8 tetradrachms of Byzantium, dispersed (unpublished, see Jouroukova 1982, 114);

<sup>2</sup> F. de Callataÿ dated the burial of Sadievo hoard a bit later – ca. 110-100 BC, see de Callataÿ 1997, p. 136.

11. Bisser I / 1967, Haskovo region (IGCH 955): 20+ AR – 22 tetradrachms of Byzantium (late Lysimachi type), in Sofia NAIM museum (Gerassimov 1968, 231; Marinescu 1996, 307; Prokopov 2006, no. 20; to be published by C. Marinescu /2012/);
12. Bisser II / 1980, Haskovo region (CH 8.?), concealed after 56/5 BC: ca. 20 AR in pot – 3 tetradrachms of Byzantium examined (late style, barbarous), dispersed, few in private collection Haskovo (see Jurukova 1982, 62);
13. Burgas area / 1966 (IGCH 959), concealed ca. 72/1 BC: 132 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Byzantium, dispersed (Gerassimov 1967, 187; Karayotov 1994, 119; Karayotov 2012, 270, no. 9; Marinescu 1996, 307);
14. Rudnik/ 1975 near Burgas (CH 2.98 = CH 3.74 = CH 6.43), concealed ca. 72/1 BC (according to Karayotov): 124 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Byzantium, in Burgas museum (Karayotov 1994, 119; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 31);
15. Ex-Haralanov collection I / 1960s, reg. Shumen?, concealed ca. 100-90 BC: 119 AR – 1 tetradrachm of Byzantium, damaged in fire, now in Shumen museum (see Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1998, 25-7, no. 202.120; de Callatay 1997a, 115);
16. Sinemorets / 2012, Ahtopol area, reg. Burgas, concealed ca. 86/5–80 BC: 199 AR in pot – 143 tetradrachms of Byzantium, plus 36 of king Mostis, 1 Prusias II, 13 of Nicomedes II (or III?), 5 of Mesambria and Odessos and 1 Cyzicus. To be exhibited in the new Historical Museum in Tzarevo, Burgas region, in spring 2013.

(Unpublished, see Karayotov,

[http://morskivestnik.com/mor\\_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html](http://morskivestnik.com/mor_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html); 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2012).

## 1.10. Hoards of Mithridatic staters of Tomis, Callatis and Byzantium

1. Granichar / 1954 near Shabla, reg. Dobrich (IGCH 974), concealed ca. 90 – 72/1 BC: ca. 10 AV: – 5 examined: 2 staters of Mithridates VI Eupator and 3 late Lysimachi staters: Byzantium 2, Tomis 1, dispersed and lost (Gerassimov 1955, 609; Marinescu 1996, 307; de Callataÿ 1997, 149-50);
2. Balgarevo / 1968 near Kaliakra, reg. Dobrich (IGCH 954; CH 2.123), concealed ca. 110-90 BC: 4 AV staters; 4 AE – 4 late Lysimachi staters (Byzantium 1 – issue 166 per Marinescu), Callatis 2 (or Calchedon?), Tomis 1 – ca. 110-90 BC). The AE coins of Scythian king Akrosas<sup>3</sup> are from a different hoard, later mingled, all in Dobrich museum (Gerassimov 1975, 25-26, pl. 1; Gerassimov 1979, 134; Marinescu 1996, 300-301, no. 48; de Callataÿ 1997, 146, 148, 150; Draganov 2011).

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<sup>3</sup> About the coins of Akrosas and the Scythian kings in Dobrudja see now: D. Draganov, 'The Coinage of the Scythian Kings in the West Pontic area: Iconography', *Proceedings of Glasgow congress*, vol. I (London 2011), 140-55, pls 1-7.

### 1.11. Hoards of *cistophori* of Asia (plate 1)

1. Belitsa / 1956, reg. Blagoevgrad (IGCH 976): 112+ AR – 2 (or 4?) cistophoric tetradrachms, unspecified issuer (Unpublished, see Thompson 1961, p. 522 and *IRRCHBulg* 2002, p. 7, no. 101; for more details Find Cat. No. 75);
2. Malko Tarnovo/ 1968, reg. Burgas, concealed after 94/3 BC: 3+ AR – only 3 coins examined – 1 cistophoric tetradrachm of Asia, unspecified, dispersed (Gerassimov 1979, 138; see now Paunov 2012b, /in print/).
3. Kotel / 1999-2000, reg. Sliven, concealed after 31/1 BC: 5+ AR (with denarii) – 1 cistophor of Mark Antony and Octavia (RPC 2201), Ephesus, dispersed. Lost in trade (Unpublished, information from Dr M. Nikolov, Burgas; see more details in Find Cat. No. 87).



## 1.12. Hoards of Abydos and Tenedos tetradrachms

1. Svoboda (fmr. Kepeli) / 1906, Panagyurishte area, reg. Pazardzhik (IGCH 914): 231 AR (mostly Thasos) – few tetradrachms of Abydos, dispersed (Unpublished, see Мушмов / Mouchmov 1914, 273, no. 40; Seure 1923, 28, no. 48; Prokopov 2006, no. 297);
2. Adrianople (Edirne), before 1925 (IGCH 971): 75 AR, concealed ca. 86/5 BC – 1 tetradrachm of Abydos, 75 in Istanbul museum (Unpublished, see Robert 1951, 5, note 3; de Callataÿ 1996b, 90; de Callataÿ 1997a, 159);
3. Sladun / 1969, Svilengrad area, reg. Haskovo, concealed ca. 80-70 BC: 4+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Abydos (one of moneyer ΦΕΡΕΝΙΚΟΥ, type SNG von Aulock 7540; de Callataÿ 1996b, dies D14-R3 /ca. 80-70 BC/ and 1 plated of the moneyer ...PENHY (?) and 2 tetradrachms of Tenedos, dispersed (Unpublished, see a note in Gerassimov 1979, 139).

### 1.13. Hoards of Ilium and Alexandria Troas tetradrachms

1. Adrianople (Edirne), before 1925 (IGCH 971): 75 AR, concealed ca. 86/5 BC – 3 tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas, now 75 in Istanbul museum.  
(Unpublished, see Robert 1951, 5, note 3; de Callataÿ 1996b, 90; de Callataÿ 1997a, 159);
2. Malko Tarnovo area / 1968, reg. Burgas, concealed after 94/3 BC: 3+ AR – only 3 coins examined, later all dispersed – 1 tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas, with magistrate name ΜΑΛΟΥΣΙΟ[Υ] and a city era date 208 [ΣΗ], this coin published in F. de Callataÿ 1997a, 151 and 155, pl. 39, dies D2-R1.  
(Gerassimov 1979, 138; see now Paunov 2012b, /in print/).
3. Ruen /~1989, Burgas reg.: 120+ AR – 1 tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas, all dispersed in trade.  
(Unpublished, see Karayotov 2009, 483; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 32).
4. Georgi Dobrevo/ 2000, reg. Haskovo: 6+ AR (with 3 denarii down to 101 BC) – 1 tetradrachm of Ilium, with magistrate Ἡγησιδήμου τοῦ Διοφάνου, type Bellinger 1961, 25, no. T54, dated ca. 95–87/6 BC.  
(Published by Пенчев / Penchev 2001, 33-8; now revised in Paunov 2012b, /in print/; full details in Find cat. no. 80).

### 1.14. Hoards of Ptolemaic tetradrachms of Egypt

1. Tvarditsa / 1969, reg. Sliven, concealed ca. 150 BC: 50+ AR in pot – 1 tetradrachm of Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 300-282 BC), worn out, with numerous Egyptian bank punch-marks ('punzen'), associated with 47 Celtic imitations (see E. Batzova-Kostova 1973, 14-15, fig. 2-д);
2. Izgreve / 1979, Tzarevo area, reg. Burgas (CH 8. 535): 5+ AR – 2 tetradrachms of Ptolemy XII Auletes (85-80 or 55-51 BC), dispersed, 2 in NHM museum in Sofia (Unpublished, see Jurukova 1981, 126).

## 1.15. Hoards of Celtic coins (imitations of Macedonian types)

### A. Hoards with imitations of “Philip II” type:

1. Harsovo / 1966, Samuil area, reg. Razgrad: unknown number AR – xx tetradrachm imitations of type Pink 1939, taf. XVI, 302-305 = ‘Virteju-Buchuresti’, dispersed (Gerassimov 1967, 190; Preda 1973, 240, no. 43);
2. Kavarna / 1910, reg. Dobrich: ca. 50 AR – 42 tetradrachm imitations, type Philip II ‘Adincata’, kept in Sofia NAIM museum, inv. No. XVIII-1910 (unpublished, see Filow 1911, 281-282; Preda 1973, 209, no. 34);
3. Pissanets / ~1900, Vetovo, reg. Russe: 35 AR – all tetradrachm imitations, type Pink 1939, taf. XIX, 358, dispersed and lost (see Shkorpil, 1914, 49, fig. 46.2; Gerassimov, 1939, 344);
4. Slivo Pole / 1967, Russe reg.: 10 AR – 4 examined, all tetradrachm imitations of type Pink 1939, taf. XVI, 301-305 = ‘Virteju-Buchuresti’, dispersed (Gerassimov 1969, 234; Preda 1973, 240, no. 47);
5. Nikolovo (fmr. Gagalya) / 1951, Russe region: 10+ AR – 10 examined, all imitations of Pink 1939, taf. XVI, 301-305 = type ‘Virteju’, dispersed (Gerassimov 1952, 403-404; Preda 1973, 240, no. 44);
6. Gorsko Novo Selo / 1936, Zlataritsa, reg. Veliko Turnovo: 9 AR – all tetradrachm imitations, all in Sofia NAIM museum (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1937, 320);
7. Krousheto / 1967, Gorna Oryahovitsa area, reg. Veliko Turnovo: 10+? AR – 5 examined: tetradrachm imitations of type Pink 1939, taf. VIII, 156 and XVI, 301, dispersed (Gerassimov 1969, 233);
8. Lyublen / 1900, Popovo area, reg. Targovishte: 25 AR – all tetradrachm imitations, dispersed? (Mouchmov 1914, 272; Avdev 1981, 26ff.; Stoykov 2002-3, 82, no.11);
9. Palamartza / 1990, Popovo area, Targovishte reg.: 27 AR – 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC tetradrachm imitations of Philip II type (unpublished, see Stoykov 2002-2003, 82, no. 10);
10. Vlassatitsa / 1941, reg. Vratsa: 11 AR – all tetradrachm imitations, well preserved, few examined, dispersed (see Gerassimov 1946, 236).

### B. Hoards with imitations of “Philip II” and “Philip III” associated types:

11. Pirgovo I / 1938, reg. Russe: 98 AR – 87 tetradrachm imitations of Philip II type (Desewffy 1911, taf. XVII, 429-439) = 76 of type ‘Virteju’ and 11 of Philip III, only 20 in Sofia NAIM (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1938, 455; Preda 1973, 240, no. 45);
12. Pirgovo III / 1995, Russe reg.: 7+ AR – these 7 in Russe museum, inv. no. 1883 (Draganov 2008, 37, note 11);

13. Russe – Sredna kula / 1965: 64+ AR: – 55 Celtic imitations of Philip II tetradrachms (type ‘Virteju’) and 9 of Philip III (6 tetradrachms and drachms), all 64 in Russe museum, inv. no. 1612 (Gerassimov 1966, 213; Preda 1973, 209, no. 36; Draganov 2001, 40);
14. Belyanovo/ 1960, Russe reg.: 377 AR – 300 imitation tetradrachms of Philip III – type Pink 1939, taf. XII, 247-250 = ‘Aninoasa’ and 3 imitations of Philip II, kept in Russe museum holdings (inv. no. 1530) but now loaned to NHM Sofia (Gerassimov 1963, 257; Draganov 2001, 40);
15. Russe – city centre / 1965, Russe: 15 AR – imitations of Philip II, 5 type Adincata’ and 10 type ‘Virteju-Bucuresti’, now all in Russe museum, inv. nos. 986-1000 (Gerassimov 1966, 213; Preda 1973, 209, no. 35);
16. Russe area / 1968, reg. Russe: 12+ AR – 9 tetradrachms and 1 drachm imitations of Philip II and of 2 drachms of Philip III type, kept in NAIM Sofia (unpublished, see Gerassimov 1979, 138);
17. Mechka / 1929, Nikopol, reg. Pleven: 30 AR in pot – 29 imitation tetradrachms of Philip II type and 1 of Alexander III type, all kept in Sofia museum (unpublished, see Moushmov 1932, 314);
18. Kamenovo / 1961, Senovo, Razgrad reg.: 54 AR in pot – all tetradrachm imitations of type Göbl, OTA 581/11; Dembski 1483; Kostial 920; now 52 kept in Razgrad museum, published (Gerassimov 1963, 263; Draganov 2001, 40; see now *CCCHBulg* I, 2007, nos. 95-146);
19. Kostandenets 1956, Tsar Kaloyan, reg. Razgrad: ~10 AR in pot – 4+ tetradrachms imitations, now 4 kept in Russe museum, inv. no. 1494 (Gerassimov 1959, 358; Draganov 2001, 40);
20. Varna/?, reg. Varna: 3+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of type ‘Adincata’, inv. nos. 1915-1917 (Preda 1973, 209, no. 38).

#### C. Hoards with imitations of “Philip III Arrhidaeus” type only:

21. Ostritsa / 1958, Dve mogili, reg. Russe: 50 AR in pot – imitation tetradrachms of Philip III, 10 examined, dispersed (Gerassimov 1962, 231; Draganov 2001, 40);
22. Pepelina / 1965, Russe reg.: 12 AR – all imitation drachms (Gerassimov 1966, 213; Preda 1998, 219);
23. Gorna Oryahovitsa II/ 1939, reg. Veliko Tarnovo: 1000+ AR – over 1000 drachms of Philip III, type Pink 1938, taf. XXIX, 594; dispersed and lost (see Gerassimov 1939, 342);
24. Radanovo / 1962, reg. Veliko Tarnovo: 47 AR in pot – 45 imitation tetradrachms and 2 drachms of Philip III types, once 2 in Veliko Tarnovo Museum, missing since 1971 (inv. nos. 2118, 2020-2021), stolen in 2006 (Gerassimov 1964, 240; Draganov 2001, 40);
25. Veliko Tarnovo area/ 1962, reg. Veliko Tarnovo: 5+ AR – 5 imitation tetradrachms of Philip III type in private possession Mr. N. Statelov, Gorna Oryahovitsa, unknown (Gerassimov 1964, 241);

26. Kutzina / 1970, Polski Trambezh, reg. Veliko Tarnovo: 9 AR in pot – 9 imitation tetradrachms of Philip III type; now in Russe Museum, inv. no. 1653 (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1979, 139; Draganov 2001, 40);
27. Pordim I / 1958, reg. Pleven: 3+ AR – 3 tetradrachms of Philip III, highly oxidized (Gerassimov 1960, 231; Draganov 2001, 38);
28. Pordim II / 1960, reg. Pleven: 43 AR in pot – 41 imitation tetradrachms of Philip III and 3 drachms, acquired for the NAIM Museum in Sofia (Unpublished, see Gerassimov 1962, 261);
29. Alexandrovo / 1939, reg. Lovech: 71 AR in pot – all tetradrachm imitations, type Pink 1939, taf. XXIX, 588; dispersed and lost (see Gerassimov 1939, 341);
30. Smochan I / 1947, reg. Lovech: 46 AR in pot – all tetradrachm imitations of Philip III, type Göbl, *OTA* 581/11; Dembski 1483; Kostial 924-927, now in Lovech Museum (Gerassimov 1950, 322; see now *CCCHBulg* I, 2007, nos. 57-101);
31. Lomets / 1925, Troyan, reg. Lovech: ca. 100 AR – about 100 drachms of Philip III type, dispersed and lost (unpublished, see Muchmov 1927, 324; Noe 1937, no. 622; Pink 1974, 87);
32. Glavatsi / 1936, Krivodol area, reg. Vratsa: 224 AR – all tetradrachm imitations, 12 in Sofia NAIM, 12 in Vratsa museum /now stolen/, some of the type Göbl, *OTA* 574-577 (unpublished, see Gerassimov 1937, 320);
33. Vrachesh / 1933-4, near Botevgrad, reg. Sofia: 178 AR in pot – all tetradrachm imitations of Philip III, unspecified, dispersed or in Sofia NAIM? (Gerassimov 1934, 467);
34. Glozhene / 1973, Teteven, reg. Lovech (CH 6.60): several AR – tetradrachms of Philip III type, 1 in Teteven Museum (unpublished, see Jurukova 1978, 72);
35. Choba / 1940, reg. Plovdiv: 63 AR – all tetradrachm imitations, most very worn, dispersed, unpublished (Gerassimov 1943, 285);
36. Krumovo / 1973, reg. Plovdiv (CH 1. 134 = CH 6.58): 50 AR in pot – 6 drachms of type 'Alexander III'?, perhaps in Sofia NAIM? (unpublished, see Jurukova 1978, 72);
37. Stara Zagora / 1973, reg. Stara Zagora (CH 6.59): 16+ AR – tetradrachms of Philip III type, including 5 of poor alloy, dispersed (unpublished, see Jurukova 1978, 72, no.5).

#### D. Hoards of Celtic imitations associated with Hellenistic types:

38. Samovodene / 1933, reg. Veliko Tarnovo (IGCH 522): 25 AR, 50 AE – 5 drachm imitations of Philip III type, once in Veliko Tarnovo museum, now stolen since 2006 (Gerassimov 1934, 469; Karayotov 2012, 274, no. 34; Prokopov 2012, no. 104);
39. Slana Bara / 1940, reg. Vidin (IGCH 454): 163+ AR in AE container, concealed ca. 150 BC – only 52 examined by Gerassimov:
  - Athens: 15 tetradr.
  - Philip II: 7 tetradr.

- Imitations of Philip II: 55 tetradr. (52 - type Pink 1939, taf. 3, 43; ; 3 – type Pink, taf. 11, 218);
- Alexander III: 51 tetradr.
- Imit. Alexander: 10 tetradr.
- Philip III: 2 tetradr.
- Imit. Philip III: 13 tetradr (13 - type Pink 1939, taf 16, 301)
- Lysimachus: 3 tetradr.
- Seleucus I Nikator, 296/5 – 281 BC: 3 tetradr. (type Houghton – Lorber, SC 130 or 177?)
- Antiochus I, 280-261 BC: 2 tetradr.
- Imit. Antiochus I: 2 tetradr.

Only 16 kept in NAIM Sofia, others in private collections in Frankfurt and Stockholm (Unpublished, see the listing in Gerassimov 1942, 284-285; Preda 1973, xx);

40. Pirgovo II / 1975, reg. Russe (CH 7.113): 418 AR in pot – 401 imitations of Philip II tetradrachms ('Sattelpferdkopf'-type), 14 drachms of Philip III type, and 3 tetradrachms of Thasos; now all kept in Russe Museum, inv. nos. 1883 to 1885 (Jurukova 1979, 60; Draganov 2001, 41; see now Draganov 2008, 36-37);
41. Russe II / 1975-6, reg. Russe (CH 6.41): ca. 10 AR – some drachms of Philip III type (and 3 Thasos tetradrachms), part in Sofia NAIM museum, inv. no. CCXI (Unpublished, see Jurukova 1979, 60; Prokopov 2006, no. 260);
42. Tvarditsa / 1969, reg. Sliven: 50+ AR in pot – 3 imitations of Alexander III tetradrachms (1 of Cabyle mint), 7 more tetradrachms of the 'buckel'-type and 38 drachms of Philip III type, with 1 original posthumous Alexander tetradrachm; now 50 in Sliven Museum (published, see Batzova-Kostova 1973, 14-15);
43. Sokolovo / 1993, reg. Lovech: 12 AR (with Thasian tetradrachms) – 4 imitations drachms (Philip III?), dispersed in trade (Prokopov 2006, no. 284);
44. Bratya Daskalovi / 2010, reg. Stara Zagora: 12 AR – 2 drachms of Philip III, type Pink 1974, 577; Göbl *OTA*, 577/1-3; Kostial 896; Dembski 1998, 1463-1464, all in Chirpan Museum (published, see now Прокопов – Паунов – Филипова / Prokopov – Paunov – Filipova 2011, 44-53, nos. 11-12).

### 1.16. Hoards of Celtic imitations of Macedonian bronze coins (type Strymon river / trident)

1. Ablanitsa / 1940, Gotse Delchev area, reg. Blagoevgrad (IGCH 890): 36+  $\text{AE}$  – 36 imitations 'Strymon river / trident' type in Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. no. 1861, 12 overstrikes identified: 4 over Thessalonica, 4 over Amphipolis, 3 over Pella (Gerassimov 1943, 242; Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 357-61; Prokopov 2000a, 370-371, plate 1, 1-21);
2. Bogolin / 1989, Gotse Delchev area, reg. Blagoevgrad: ca. 400  $\text{AE}$  – 384 imitations of type 'Strymon / trident' type – 284 in Blagoevgrad Museum and 100 in Pernik priv.collection, host coins: 2 over Philip II; 2 Alexander III; 1 Cassander, 1 Philip V, 2 autonomous issues (time of Philip V and Perseus), 2 Thessalonica, 2 Amphipolis, 1 Pella, 1 Thessalian league, 270 uncertain host coins (Прокопов / Prokopov 1991, 69-77; Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 357-8; Prokopov 2000a, 371-4, plate 2; see now *CCCHBulg.* 4, nos. 911-1196 /in print/);
3. Laskarevo / 1986, Sandanski area, reg. Blagoevgrad: ca. 130  $\text{AE}$  – 58 in Kyusendil Museum: bronzes of 2 Philip II, 2 Antigonos Gonatas, 4 Philip V, 4 Perseus, 1 Thasos, 10 Amphipolis, 3 Pella, 21 Thessalonika (down to Augustus) and 2 Philippi and 3 barbarous imitations 'Strymon river / trident' type (Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 358-9; see now *CCCHBulg.* 2, nos. 545/1 – 600/56);
4. Kocherinovo / 1985, reg. Blagoevgrad: ca. 140  $\text{AE}$  – 25 in Kyusendil Museum: bronzes of 1 Philip II, 1 Antigonos Gonatas, 2 autonomous issues (time of Philip V and Perseus), 6 Amphipolis, 3 Pella, 9 Thessalonika, 1 Philippi and 1 barbarous imitation type 'Strymon river / trident' (Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 358-9; see now *CCCHBulg.* 2, 2009, nos. 601/1-625.25);
5. Kornitsa / 1991, Gotse Delchev area, reg. Blagoevgrad: ca. 30  $\text{AE}$  – 20—30 barbarous imitations type 'Strymon river / trident', some in Blagoevgrad Museum, unpublished (Прокопов / Prokopov 1998, 358; Prokopov 2000a, 374-5);
6. Gotse Delchev / 1990's, Gotse Delchev area, reg. Blagoevgrad: 400+  $\text{AE}$  – 37 imitations type 'Strymon river / trident' in Kyustendil Museum, 1 Antigonos Gonatas and 1 Philippi (RPC 1651), overstrikes: 1 over Philip II, 1 over Thessalonika (Prokopov 2000a, 374, plate 3. 1-14);
7. Ognyanovo / 1980's, reg. Pazardzhik: 63+  $\text{AE}$  – 33 imitations of type 'Strymon river / trident', associated with bronzes of Pella, Philippi and Thasos, now in Pazardzhik, НСФ, nos. 133-173 (unpublished, see *CCCHBulg.* 5, /in print/).



## 1.17. Hoards of Late Thracian royal coins

### 1. With tetradrachms of Mostis

1. Mezek / 1977, Slivengrad area, reg. Haskovo (CH 7.126): 431 AR – reportedly it originally contained one tetradrachm of Mostis (year 13) with 4 posthumous Alexanders<sup>4</sup> and 1 Lysimachi tetradrachm of Byzantium, 217 Thasos and 205 Thasian imitations, now in Haskovo museum, inv. no. 430 (see Прокопов – Петров 2000, 5-22; Prokopov 2006, no. 184: list only 280 coins, 4 Byzantium, 1 Odessos, 4 Macedonia Prima and 272 Thasos and its imitations);
2. Svilengrad / late 1980's, reg. Haskovo (near Hadrianople): ca 150 AR – 100 Lysimachi tetradrachms of Byzantium, 2 issues of Mostis (regnal years 13 and 22)<sup>5</sup>, associated with Bithynian tetradrachms of Nicomedes III and Nicomedes IV (unpublished, lost in trade, see the note of Юркова/ Youroukova 1992, 170, n. 220; Karayotov 2009, 489);
3. Ruen near Burgas / early 1990's, reg. Burgas: ca 115 AR – around 100 tetradrachms of Mesambria and Odessos (period II, after 113 BC), 8-10 Nicomedes II of Bithynia, 2 tetradrachms of Mostis and 1 Alexandria Troas, dispersed in trade (reported by Karayotov 2009, 483<sup>6</sup>);
4. Burgas region / 1990's (in private hands, partly seen in trade<sup>7</sup> [*same as the ABOVE?*])
5. Sinemorets / 2012 near Agathopolis/Ahtopol, reg. Burgas: 199 AR – 143 Lysimachi type tetradrachms of Byzantium, 1 of Prusias II, 5 Mesambria and Odessos, 13 of Nicomedes II (or III?), 1 Cyzicus, and 36 tetradrachms of king Mostis (regnal years not recorded). Unpublished<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> F. de Callataÿ suggested that the tetradrachm of Mesambria overstruck on Mostis may well derive from the Mezek hoard, see de Callataÿ 1991, 43-4, pl. II, 1.

<sup>5</sup> According to Professor Ivan Karayotov, see Karayotov 2009, 489.

<sup>6</sup> Callataÿ 1991, 43-4, pl. II, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Professor I. Karayotov was informed about this hoard by the late Dr G. Raev, collector of Burgas, *per litteras* (September 2012)

<sup>7</sup> Information from Mr MS, Vienna.

<sup>8</sup> See a preliminary announcement in I. Karayotov, 'Morski vestnik' newspaper, October 1, 2012, online: [http://morskivestnik.com/mor\\_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html](http://morskivestnik.com/mor_kolekcii/izsledwaniq/karajotov01102012.html)

## 2. With bronze coins of Rhoemetalces I

1. **Gruevo / 1954**, Momchilgrad area, region Kardzhali: ca. 600 in pot – examined 448 Æ (now in Sofia).

A. One coin of Mytilene in Lesbos, in the name of Theophanes, time of Augustus (ca. AD 5–14), type *RPC* I, 396-7, no. 2342;

B. 447 belong to Rhoemetalces I with Augustus (types *RPC* 1711-2 and 1717-1720);

C. Some Rhoemetalces II and Tiberius?

448 pieces – in the Sofia NAIM Museum. *T.p.q.*: ca. AD 5–12.

Ref: Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 610. Unpublished, but discussed in Youroukova 1976, 61-3; Youroukova 1989, 195-6, pl. 22.5; Юркува 1992, 198-9, figs. 53-56.

2. **Erma Reka / 1951**, Zlatograd area, reg. Smolyan: ca. 400–500 Æ in pot, dispersed.

Two different denominations listed, all of Rhoemetalces I with Pythodoris and Augustus.

Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, no. 4340 – only 2 specimens (*RPC* I, 1711-2?). Unpublished. *T.p.q.*: ?

Ref: Д. Цончев / Tzonchev (Plovdiv 1960), 207-8.

3. **Plovdiv – 'Lauta' / 1956**, reg. Plovdiv: 85 Æ in pot

A. Rhoemetalces I, 75 of large denomination (23 mm); 8 of the smaller.

Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, inv. no. 2127 (84 pieces), unpublished. *T.p.q.*: AD 19-21?

Ref: Герасимов / Gerassimov 1959, p. 359; Цончев / Tzonchev 1960, 209; Кисъов / Kissiov 2004, 35, table 2.

4. **Plovdiv area / 1981**, reg. Plovdiv: 100+ Æ and 7 AR: 18 bronzes examined:

A. 4 Æ of Rhoemetalces I;

B. 14 Æ Rhoemetalces II and Tiberius;

C. 7 *denarii* of Tiberius (1 examined, type PONTIF MAXIM) in mint condition, dispersed. *T.p.q.*: AD 19–21/6.

Ref: Юркува / Youroukova 1983, 114; see also Find cat. no. 146.

5. **Kurdzhali / 1954**, region Kurdzhali: 100+ Æ in pot, only 4 examined,

Of two types of Rhoemetalces I: *RPC* 1711-2 and 1713-6, very well preserved. Dispersed. *T.p.q.*: AD 10-12?

Ref: Герасимов / Gerassimov 1955, 610, unpublished.

6. **Karlovo / 1969**, region Plovdiv: ~100 Æ, only 10 examined,

Of large denomination – all Rhoemetalces I and Pythodoris with Augustus (type RPC I, 1711-1712?), very well preserved.

Municipal Museum of Karlovo, unpublished. *T.p.q.*: ?

Ref: Gerassimov 1979, 137.

7. **'Southern Thrace' / 1976**, Komotini province/?, Greece (*CH* 3. 85) – over 1000 Æs of Rhoemetalces I, both denominations 18mm and 22mm, some RPC I, 1708. Many countermarked with **PK** or **PKA** monogram (Howgego 1985, no. 632 and 636). Dispersed in trade. *T.p.q.*: ca. AD 12 – 21?
  
8. **Plovdiv / 1920**, reg. Plovdiv: – a hoard of unknown contents: 9+ coins of Rhoemetalces and Augustus of denominations, 17/18mm and 22 mm.  
Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, nos. 1099-1107, unpublished. *T.p.q.*: after 12-14 AD?
  
9. **Pazardzhik area / 1960s**, reg. Pazardzhik [hitherto unknown, unpublished] – a (part of?) hoard, contents unknown: 19+ Æ of Rhoemetalces and Augustus - of three denominations, 16.5/16 mm (1), 22/24 mm (8) and 28/30mm (10 pieces),  
Regional Historical Museum of Pazardzhik, inv. nos. 2184-2202. *T.p.q.*: after 12 AD?
  
10. **'Eastern Haemus' (Aytos pass) / 2002**, reg. Burgas: 32+ Æ, part of hoard: 1 of Rhoemetalces I and Augustus and 31(?)<sup>9</sup> of Rhoemetalces II with Tiberius.  
Archaeological Museum of Varna, published. *T.p.q.*: AD 21/6–37?  
Ref: Лазаренко / Lazarenko 2005, 249-62.

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<sup>9</sup> Some of these “31 coins of Rhoemetalces II” actually belong to the late series to Rhoemetalces I, executed in rough, peculiar style, see *RPC* I, 313, nos. 1711 and 1718.

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## Appendix 2. Gazetteer of Sites

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# GAZETTEER OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

(Arrangement and numbering follows the Roman road system in the Lower Danube and Thrace, provincial organisation and modern boundaries)

### Abbreviations:

AOR = *Археологически открития и разкопки / Archaeological discoveries and excavations* (Sofia, 1971–)

B-L = M. Biernacka-Lubańska, *Roman Fortifications in Bulgaria* (Wroclaw 1990)

IGBulg = G. Mihailov *et alii* (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, Vol. 1 – 5 (Sofia 1966–1997)

ILBulg = B. Gerov (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, Vol. 1.2 (Sofia 1989)

Iv = R. Ivanov, *Die Römische Verteidigungssystem an der Unteren Donau zwischen Dordicum et Durostorum (Bulgarien) von Augustus bis Maurikios / = BerRGK 78/*, (Frankfurt 1997), 467–640.

Ivanov 1 = R. Ivanov (ed.), *Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България, том 1* (2002)

Ivanov 2 = R. Ivanov (ed.), *Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България, том 2* (Sofia 2003)

Ivanov 3 = R. Ivanov (ed.), *Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България, том 3* (2008)

GMs = N. Gudea, “Die Nordgrenze der römischen Provinz Obermoesien: Materialien zu ihrer Geschichte (86–275 n. Chr.)”, *Jhb. des Röm.-Germ.Zentralmuseum Mainz* 48 (2001), 3–118.

Gudea = N. Gudea, “Der untermoesische Donaulimes und die Verteidigung der moesischen Nord-und Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres. Limes et Litus Moesiae inferioris (86-275 n. Chr.)”, *Jhb. des Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseum Mainz* 52 (2005), 319–566.

Kalinka = E. Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler aus Bulgarien* (Wien 1906)

Madjarov = M. Маджаров / Madjarov, *Римски пътища в България / Roman Roads in Bulgaria* (Велико Търново 2009)

Škorpil = Škorpil / К. В. Шкорпиль, *Абоба-Плиска. Материали для болгарский древностей, / = Известия на Руския Археологически Институт в Константинопол, 10/*, (Sofia 1905)

Škorpils = V. & K. Škorpil / Вл. и К. Шкорпиль. *Някои бележки върху археологическите и историческите изследвания в Тракия / Archaeological and Historical studies in Thrace*, (Plovdiv 1885)

Z = M. Zahariade, *Moesia Secunda, Scythia and Notitia Dignitatum* (Amsterdam 1988)

ZG = M. Zahariade and N. Gudea, *The Fortifications of Lower Moesia (A.D. 86–275)*, (Amsterdam 1997)

ZScM = M. Zahariade, “The Roman frontier in Scythia Minor 1980-1994”, in P. Petrović (ed.), *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (Belgrade 1996), 223-34.

## I. Province of Moesia

[modern Bulgarian sector of *Moesia superior*]

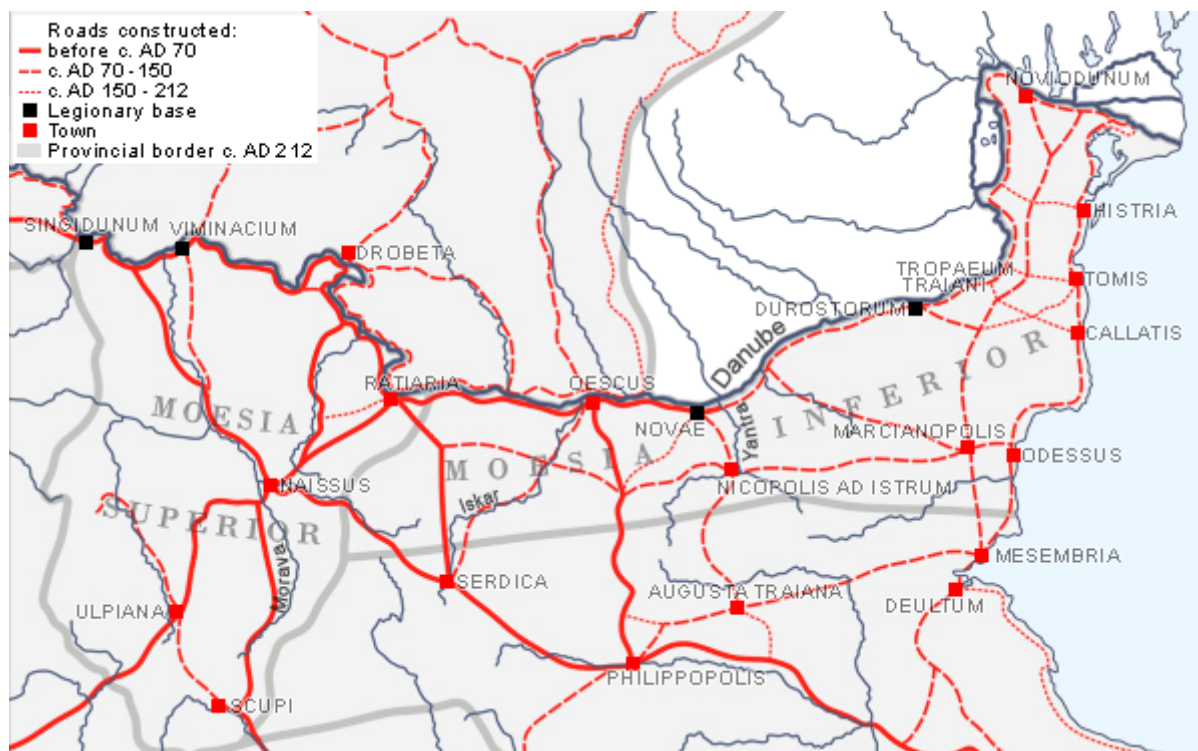


Fig. 16.1. Roman roads and main sites in *Moesia* (map after RGZM, *Transformation* project, 2006)

### **A. Via Danubiana from Dorticum to Durostorum (TP 7.4; IA 219.3)**

#### **1. Dorticum (Vruv) – XXV m.p. (usque ad *Ad malum*) [44.197; 22.705]**

Miller 1916, cols. 495-516; B-L, 231; Iv. 481; Iv 1997, 538; GMs, 26; *TIR* K-34; R. Ivanov, in *Ivanov 2* (2003), 11-7; Madzharov 2009, 135-6.

Early auxiliary fort and a nearby *vicus*

*Excavation:* drawn by Count Luigi Marsigli in 1699-1700; no real excavation ever held, only field surveys led by T. Ivanov in 1961 and by R. Ivanov and V. Stoichkov in 1989.

*Location:* early rectangular fort on the right bank of the Timok (*Timacus*), 1.5 km east of the mouth of the river; 3 km west of the port of Vruv in the locality 'Krepostta' /

'Cetatea'; northern parts eroded by the Danube current. At present the site has been dug up with heavy machinery and destroyed by treasure-hunters.

*Castellum* and a nearby *vicus* – fort measures 140/160 x 50/60 m, space ca. 1 ha; early finds – bronze brooch from the Flavian period, etc.

*Units*: mid-1<sup>st</sup> century - *cohors I Cretum sagittariorum* (from 45? AD onwards – brick stamps COH I CRET); Flavian period - *cohors VIII [Gallorum]*; *cohors I A[ugusta?]* or *cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum* /not identified/ (isolated brick stamps only); mid- 4<sup>th</sup> century - *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium*.

*Coins*: cf. R. Ivanov, in *Ivanov 2*, 16: by 1989 in the local 'Chitalishte' village collection were kept coins of:

- Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius and Faustina, Marcus et Verus, Commodus, etc. down to Justinian I (all unspecified, unpublished).

## **2. Florentiana (Florentin)**

B-L, 227; Iv. 481; GMs, 28a; Madzharov 2009, 137.

Late fort, mentioned in Procopius (*De Aed.* 4.4).

## **3. Jasen**

GMs 28.

*Location*: possible fort, Diocletianic votive bronzes.

## **4. Ad Malum (Koshava) – XVI m.p.**

Iv. 481; Iv (1999), 30; Madzharov 2009, 136-8

Early fort and harbour

*Location*: opposite Kikinete island, south of Koshava village, at a locatoin convenient for anchoring. Recently Madzharov considers *Ad Malum* as equal to *Bononia* as its early name.

## **5. Bononia (Vidin) – XVI m.p.** (usque ad *Ratiaria*) [43.993; 22.886]

Dobrusky 1890, 31-2; *TIR* K34, 28; B-L, 230; Ivanov (1997), 538-9; Iv (1999), 150; GMs, 29; Mitova-Dzonova, in *Limes XIII* (1986), 504-9; Dimitrova-Milčeva, *Limes XIV*, 863-4; M. Ivanov, in *Ivanov 2* (2002), 18-22; Madzharov 2009, 138-9.

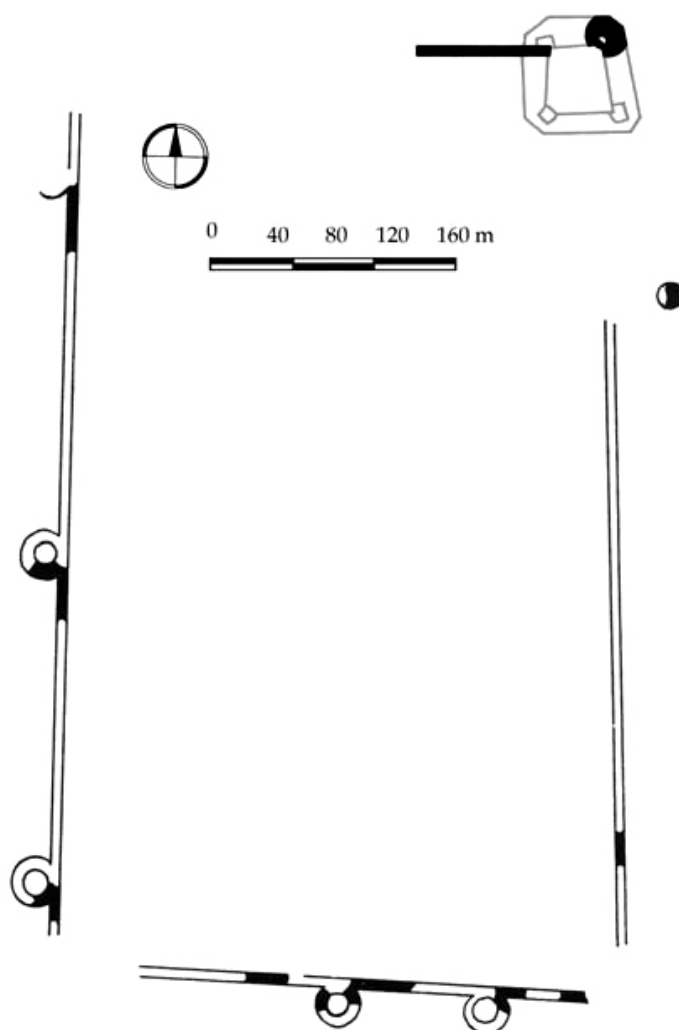


Fig. 16.2. *Bononia / Vidin*, ground plan (after Ivanov 1997).

*Excavations*: limited studies in the 1960's by J. Athanasova-Georgieva, further rescue digs in 1988-1989 by A. Nikolaeva.

*Location*: possible early fort; early 4<sup>th</sup> century (Constantine and later) – fortified *castellum*: 365 x c.600 m, space ca. 20 ha, with 9+ round towers, repaired under Justinian I. Tower 6 under the northwest corner of 'Baba Vida' Medieval and Ottoman castle.

*Units*: fortress of *legio IIII Flavia* before AD 101/?!; stone fort, *cohors I Cisipadensium*, stamps and records of *cohors I Cretum*, *ala I Claudia miscellanea*, *numerus Dalmatarum*; late 4<sup>th</sup> century - *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Fortensium*.

*Inscription*: Gerov, *Romanisation I*, no. 9;

*Statuary*: An elaborate bronze head from an emperor's statue found in 1962 during construction work in the 'Kaleto' quarter: Trajanic, portrait of a high-ranking officer, or the emperor himself, styled ca. 103-108 AD (see Athanasova, *Archeologija* 4.1 (1963), 13-5; J. Athanasova-Georgieva – D. Mitova-Djonova, *Ancient Sculpture from the Vidin Museum* (1985), 15-7).

### 7. **Castra Martis (Kula)**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 32-33; Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 37-39; TIR K34, 34-35; Atanasova, in *Ratiarensia* 3-4 (1987), 119 ff.; J. Atanassova et al., *Castra Martis I=RP 33I*, (Sofia 2005).

*Excavations*: in 1964-1972 by J. Atanassova, finds in Vidin museum.

Late fort and *quadriburgium*

*Location*: late *quadriburgium* (31.8 x 31.8 m) in the centre of the modern town, perhaps late 4<sup>th</sup> century and adjacent fort (1.25 ha).

Coins: cf. the report of K. Dimitrov, in Atanassova (2005), pp. 231-239, esp. 226, no. 2:

- **Vitellius, 69 AD**: 1 D, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 109), Rome, LW [Vidin, 1543].

and numerous later coins from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

### 8. **Gradets**

B-L, 39; Тодоров / Todorov (Vidin 2007).

*Location*: Roman settlements in the localities 'Balabanovo' and 'Malata', east of the village, along the Topolovets river.

Coins: A few early coins published, now kept in the Vidin Museum (V. Todorov 2007, 31-33):

- **Vespasian**: 1 AE Dupondius, 76 AD, Rome (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 887)
- **Domitian Caesar**: 1 AR Denarius, 79 AD, Rome (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, 1089)

**Vidin region interior fortifications**: (B-L, 231-240 with catalogue number)

Belogradchik (5)

Chichilisk Krepost (16)

Gradets (39)

Gamzovo Chongurvz (41)

Tsar Petrovo (96)

Gorni Lorn (102)

Makres (104)

Oshane (106)

Podgore (107)

Repljana (109);

Salash (no);

Sinagovtsi (in);

Struindol (113);

Targovishte (114);

Varbovo (115).



### 9. **Combustica (Kladorup)** [43.716; 22.657]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 33; Лука / Luka, in *AOR Reports for 2009* (Sofia 2010), 327-9; Лука / Luka, *AOR Reports for 2010* (Sofia 2011), 287-9.

*Excavations*: field survey – V. Dobrusky in 1889; digs 2008-2011– by K. Luka.

*Location*: interior (Flavian?) auxiliary fort (140 x 110 ‘paces’), wall thickness up to 4 m; and a roadside station on the *Ratiaria – Naissus* route (see *TP*), near the confluence of two small rivers, on a flat plateau east of the village.

*Inscriptions*: Гергов / Gerov, *Romanisation* (1953), nos. 20 – tombstone dated AD 213.

Coins: - A hoard of 59 *denarii* down to Tiberius, found nearby (Find cat. no. 129)

Single excavation coins (2009-2010):

- **Claudius, after 42/5 AD**: Æ Sest (fragment), RIC I<sup>2</sup> 115 (type) - Danubian ‘*limes-falsum*’, 24x12 mm, HW, corroded, broken;
- **Vespasian, 77/8 AD**: Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 1012), Rome, 23x25 mm, VW, corroded;
- **Titus – for Domitian Caesar, 80/1 AD**: Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 350), Rome, 25x26 mm.

### 10. **Ratiaria (Archar) – XII m.p.**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 20-23; B-L, 226; GMs, 30; Iv. 482; Iv. (1997), 540-3; J. Atanassova-Georgieva, *Limes XIII* (Aalen 1983), 437-40; Dinchev, in *Ivanov 1* (2002), 13-31.

Legionary fort and *colonia*; port and base of the Danube fleet

*Excavations*: 1952 – by Teofil Ivanov and Y. Athanassova; 1958–1962 and 1976-1990 by V. Velkov, Y. Athanassova et al., in 1978–1990 by an Italian team from Bologna University (see *Ratiarensia* 1–3/4, 1980–1987).

*Location*: On a high terrace overlooking the right bank of the Danube, 770-771 km, in the localities ‘Kaleto’ and ‘Parlozite’ and western part of the village of Archar. Approximate fortified size: 426 x 285 m, ca. 35 (or 45?) ha. At present, the entire site has been almost entirely destroyed by the looting of treasure-hunters.

Fortress and harbour from late Augustan–Tiberian time; legionary fortress - *legio IIII Scythica*, from AD 9 – 56/7; second half of 1<sup>st</sup> century, *legio IIII Flavia* (stamps) until end of Dacian wars; town raised to colony (*colonia Ulpia Traiana Ratiaria*) - AD 125 (or earlier), large late Roman fortress – seat of *legio XIII Gemina* after AD 271 (from Apulum); seat of *praefectus classis Ratiarensis*.



Fig. 16.3. *Ratiaria* – satellite photograph, 2005 (after Google Earth™).

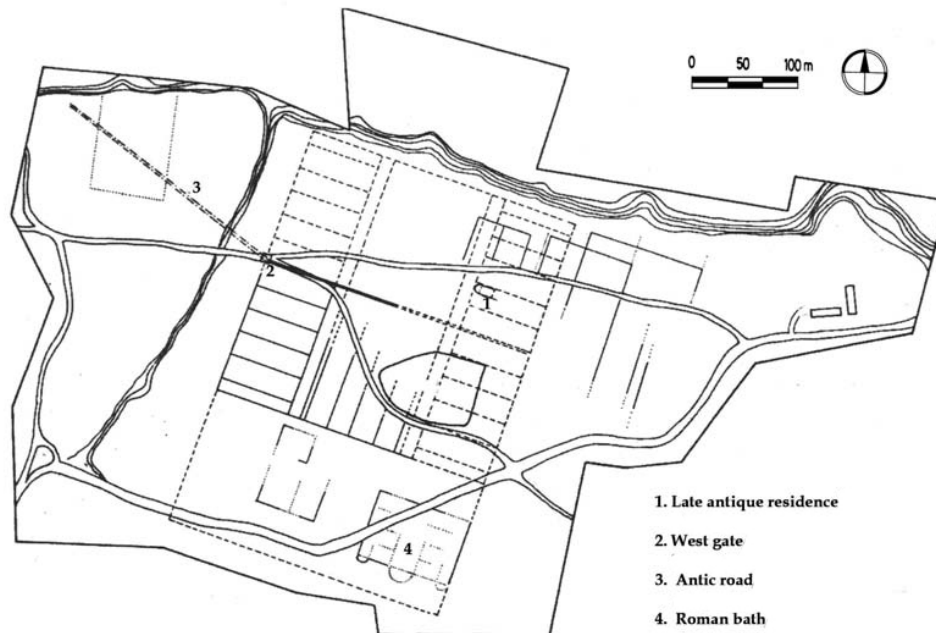


Fig. 16.4. *Ratiaria* - ground plan, 1991 (after R. Ivanov 1997)

*Inscriptions*: CIL III, 1641; 6289-6294, 7421, 8081-8094; 12647; Геров / Gerov, *Romanisation...*, nos. 9-30, 192-198; Velkov – Atanassova 1967, 143-56; AE (1979), 537–542.

Epitaph of a soldier(?) from *Sagalassus*: Susini, *Festschrift J. Fitz*, 95-96; votive to *Somnus*: AE (1993), 1350.

Imperial acclamation under Anastasius: *ANASTASIANA RATIARIA / SEMPER FLOREAT*, on a large stone block, setup in the western city-gate (cf. Velkov 1984, in *Archeologija* (Sofia) 2-3, 92-4 = AE (1985) 723).

Coins: Extremely limited number of coins published from this enormous site – see Bozhkova 1984, 105-15; Bozhkova 1987, 95-109. See also the comments of A. Kunisz (1992), 163-4.

- West city gate excavations, 1976-1982: 1,584 stray coins in total, only 12 of them assigned to 'the 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD', down to the late 6<sup>th</sup> – early 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD, closing with Maurice Tiberius, AD 582-602 (see Атанасова / Atanassova 1995, 70 and 80, notes 52-53).

Reportedly tens of thousands Roman coins were found with metal-detectors and illegal digging in the period 1990s–2010s (cf. *infra*, pp. 135-137). Dispersed and lost.

### 11. Dobri Dol, near Vidin [43.772; 23.004]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 17; GMs, 31.

Fort

*Location*: in the locality 'Kalle-Bayir', northeast of the village, size 57x57 m.

*Inscriptions*: a child's tombstone (Dobrusky 1890, 17).

### 12. Remetodia (Orsoya) – XII m.p. (ab *Ratiaria*); IV m.p. [43.781; 23.098]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 17; Бассанович / Bassanovich 1894, 66-67; Miller 1916, 495-516; B-L, 228; Iv, 482; GMs, 31; Madzharov 2009, 140.

Fort and settlement

*Location*: visible remains on a plateau along the road, 1,700m south of the Danube bank, spread over 3-4 decares, the central part was dug up by the villagers in 1887 – a stone fortification with a square plan.

*Inscriptions*: two veteran's tombstones - see Dobrusky 1890, 20.

Coins: a coin hoard (found before 1890) – some 200 *antoniniani* of Philip I, dispersed, reported by V. Dobrusky.

### 13. Almus (Lom) – XVI m.p. (ab *Ratiaria*); IX m.p. [43.828; 23.238]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 17-18; Bassanovich 1894, 64-65; *TIR* K34, 14; Stoichkov, in *Ratiarensia* 3-4 (1987), 135-42; Iv 1997, 543; M. Ivanov, in *Ivanov* 2, 23-26; Madzharov 2009, 140-3.

Settlement and late fort; customs seat

*Location*: fort 'Kaletó' near the mouth of the river Lom under the modern town; square plan ca. 200x200 m, fortified with a *vallum* and ditch, square towers at the corners, still visible until the 1890's, space ca. 4.1 ha. A section of the western wall, 70 m long, was excavated in the 1980's. The Eastern fortification wall has a total length of 202 m, thick 2 m.

*Units*: detachment of *legio V Macedonica* (brick stamps) – after AD 272; 4<sup>th</sup> century: *cuneus equitum Stablesianorum* (Not. Dign. Or. 42.19).

*Inscriptions*: Kalinka 1906, no. 23 and no. 423; Gerov, *Romanisation*, (1952), nos. 16-19; CIL III, 6125 = 7420; CIL III, 14208.

Coins:

- A hoard of 1,153+ AR *radiates* – from Gordian III down to Volusian (886). Found in 1977, Lom Municipal Museum, misplaced?/, see CH 7, no. 269.

**14. Dolno Linevo**

B-L, 261; ZG, 85.

*Location*: fort, visible remains.

**15. Pomodiana / Cumodiana (Stanevo [fmr. Labets]) – IX m.p.** [43.841; 23.445]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 17; Bassanovich 1894, 65-66; Shkorpil 1905, 468; Iv. 543; ZG, 1; TIR K34, 103; Stoichkov 1994, 53; Gudea 2005, 411, I.1; Madzharov 2009, 143-144.

Late fort

*Location*: northwest of the Stanevo/Labets village in the locality 'Maltepe', on the very bank of Danube; stone 'tower' fortification: 100 x 100 'paces', Diocletian-Constantine period, destroyed in 1886. A small *turris* was excavated in 1992, of Diocletianic-Constantine date, tower 9x18 m, thick 2 m, with parts of the western and eastern wall.

*Inscriptions*: Dobrusky 1890, 16 = Domaszewski, *AEM* XIII (1890), 154 = CIL III, 7422 = Kalinka 1906, no. 378 = Gerov, *Romanisation...*, no. 18 – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century tombstone.

Coins: No data available.

**Moesia inferior (after the division in AD 86)**

**16. Cebrium / Camistrum? (Dolni & Gorni Tsibar) – XII m.p.**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 17; Škorpil 1905, 469; TIR K34, 35; B-L, 227; Iv. 482; ZG, 2; Gudea 2005, 411, I.2; Madzharov 2009, 144-145.

*Location*: fort on the left bank of the river *Ceburus / Ciabrus* (Tsibar), at the northern end of the village where the borough 'Varosha' is located; now eroded; stone fortification wall 1.5 m thick (described 1890).

*Units*: late 4<sup>th</sup> century: *cuneus equitum scutariorum, praefectus legionis quintae Macedonicae*.

Coins: No data available.

**17. Regianum (Kozloduy) – VI m.p.**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 37; Škorpil 1905, 468; lv. 483; ZG, 3-4; Gudea 2005, 411, I.3; Madzharov 2009, 145.

Early fort and late fortification

*Location:* in locality of 'Magura de piatra', 2.4 km east of Kozloduy centre, between the Gherlo lake and Danube channel, square stone fortification 100 x 100 'paces' with a citadel 60x30 feet in the S corner, 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century, walls 2.8m thick. Finds indicate possible earlier fort, or tower. No visible traces.

*Coins:* Roman coins, unspecified (Škorpil 1905, 468). Additionally, more coins found in the 1960's:

- Unspecified Republican *denarius*
- **Germanicus:** AE, unspecified
- **Vespasian:** AE, etc.

As listed in Б. Николов / Nikolov, in *BIA* 30 (Sofia 1967), p. 233.

### 18. Augustae (Hârlets) – XX m.p. (IA 220, 2; TP I, 5.0)

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 37; Škorpil 1905, 467, pl. 99/i.1-2; B-L, 227; lv, 483-5 and 543-548; ZG, 5; Mashov, in *Limes. Studi di storia* 5 (1994), 21-36; R. Ivanov, in *Ivanov* 2, 27-38; Gudea 2005, 411-2, I.5; Аврамова – Машов / Avramov – Mashov 2006, 19-26.



Fig. 16.5. Augustae – satellite photograph, dated 2006 (after Google Earth™).

*Excavation:* field surveys by K. Škorpil in the late 1890's and B. Filow in 1911; regular digs led by S. Mashov, 1973-1984; resumed in 2005-7.

*Location:* early fort on the left bank, north of the river Ogosta, in the locality 'Kaletu / 'Hurla-grada', ca. 2 km north of the village of Hârlets.

*Plan:* auxiliary timber-brick fort: early/mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD? – Augustae I, stone-built fort – Hadrianic (or later?) date; late 3<sup>rd</sup> century extension: Augustae II - north of the

earlier fort, fortress with U-shaped towers, walls thick 2.5 m, size 245 x 2..? m, space ca. 2.5ha, Diocletianic period, with repairs until the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

*Inscriptions:* CIL III, 12347 (eques of *ala Augusta*); Filow, in ИБАД 3, (Sofia 1912), pp. 2-5, no. 1 = AE (1912) 187 (*missicus* of *ala Capitoniana*, time of Claudius-Nero); Gerov 1949, nos. 11-12, 35.

*Units:* mid-1<sup>st</sup> century: *ala Augusta* and *ala [I Claudia Gallorum] Capitoniana* (late Tiberius – Claudius period); mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century – detachment of *legio I Italica*; detachments [*cohortes III, IIII, V* – brick stamps] of *legio V Macedonica* (after AD 272); mid to late-4<sup>th</sup> century - *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* (stamps of Constantinian period).

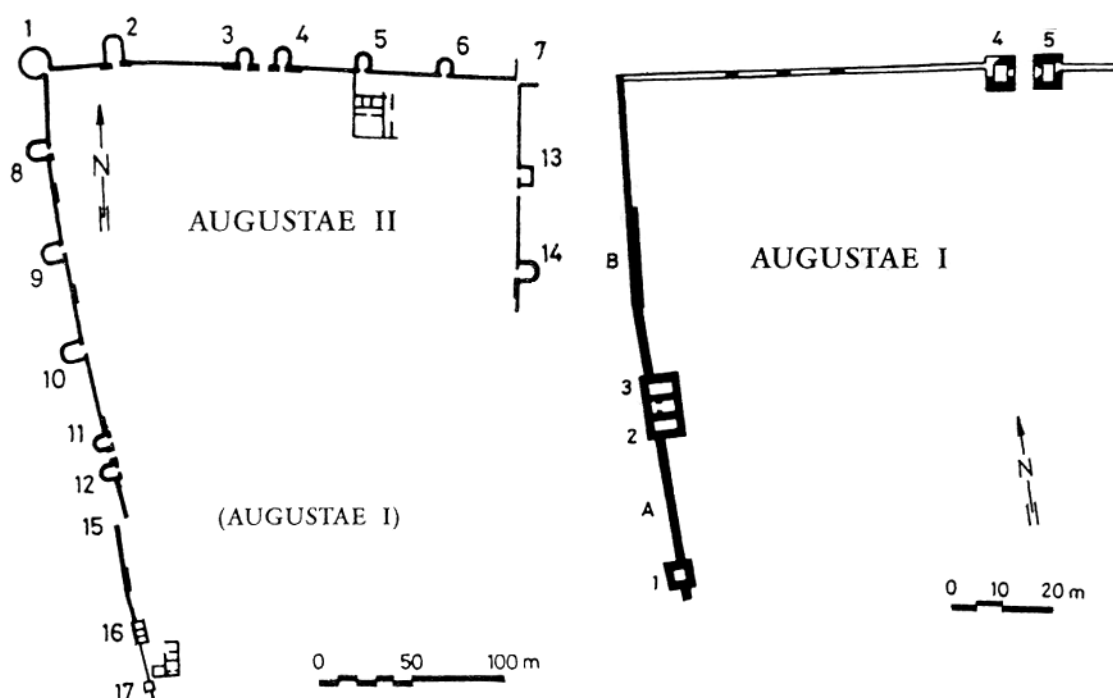


Fig. 16.6. Site plan of *Augustae I* and *Augustae II* (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD extension), after Mashov 1988.

Brick stamps: AVGVSTISEQ[uitis]; DARΣON; AVGVSTISFO, DARPAST, LEGVMCV, etc.

Coins: Very limited information available, no published records. Only a few coins published from the 2005 digs (see Аврамова – Машов / Avramova – Mashov 2006, 23):

- **Claudius:** Æ As? (worn) and numerous later coins from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

B. Chance finds (1996-2000) from the vineyards west of the site (*canabae*?):

- 19 Æ halves and some 20 countermarked Augustan and other 1<sup>st</sup> century AD aes-coins, now in Regional Historical Museum Vratsa (see Find cat. no. 227).

## 19. Montana (now Montana, formerly Kutlovitsa – Ferdinand – Mihaylovgrad)

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 10-11; Бассанович / Bassanovich 1894, 5-64; Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 17-25; Filow 1911, 72; Филов / Filow 1915, 214-6 (shrine of Diana and Apollo); B-L, 236-7; ZG, 91; Alexandrov 1984, 218–231; Velkov *et alii*, *Montana* 1 (Sofia

1987)-[the late Roman fortress]; Velkov – Alexandrov, *Montana* 2 (1994) [Inscriptions]; Binev, in *Ivanov* 2, 160-82.

Early fort (*praesidium et castra*) and Late Antique town

*Excavation*: surveys by B. Dyakovich in 1900; B. Filow in 1915 (temple of Diana); 1968–1973 by L. Ognenova and G. Alexandrov; 1979–1982 by G. Alexandrov; resumed in 2009 – by G. Kabakchieva.

*Location*: fort 205 x 80 m (*praesidium* and *castra* on inscriptions) and settlement on the western bank of the upper Ogosta river, controlling the route through the Petrohan pass. On a high natural plateau, some 40 m above the modern town of Montana in the locality 'Gradishte' / 'Zharevitsa'.



Fig. 16.7. *Montana* – satellite photograph, 2009 (after Google Earth™).

*Units*: *cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum [veterana equitata]* – from Tiberius/Claudius? to AD 136; detachment of *legio XI Claudia* - mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century; major reconstructions dated AD 256 and 258 – ‘*portam praetoriam cum turre a fundamento fabricavit*’ and ‘*burgus*’ executed by *cohors III Collecta*; vexillations of *legio I Italica* and *XI Claudia*; AD 235/8 – *n(umerus) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*.

Votive by officials of the *portorium* AD 157/61: *AE* (1996), 1341.

*Praesidium* (134 AD), raised to *municipium* in 161 AD under Marcus (Velkov – Alexandrov 1994, no. 12, 102, 116, 123). Centre of a military district in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century: *regio Montanensis*; *castra et civitas Montanensium* (256 AD)

*Inscriptions*: military diploma of AD 78 (*CIL* XVI, 22); over 120 votives and other inscriptions in Latin, see Velkov – Alexandrov, *Montana* 2 (1994); *AE* (1985) 737-756.

*Coins*: - 1. On the coins found before 1890 see the note in Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 11: unspecified AEs of Constantine, Theodosius and Justinian.

1. In 1892, Dr I. Bassanovich (medical doctor from Lom) speaks of 'numerous Republican denarii, coins of Julius Caesar and Augustus, denarii of Trajan, et cetera', kept in his own numismatic collection, acquired from Montana and its area (Басанович/ Bassanovich 1894, 64).
2. A few published coins from the excavations in 1971-9, see briefly Alexandrov (1977), 279, 287; Александров / Alexandrov (1987), 80, fig. 8.

	<i>Issuer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Number</i>
1.	<b>Tiberius for Augustus – restored</b>	<b>22-30</b>	Æ As	Rome	RIC I, 81	<b>1</b>
2.	<b>Caligula – for Agrippina Maior</b>	<b>37-41</b>	Æ Sest	Rome	RIC I, 55	<b>1</b>
3.	<b>Vespasian</b>	<b>76</b>	Æ Dp	Rome	RIC II/1 <sup>2</sup> , 887 [Plovdiv, no. 60]	<b>1</b>

#### Later coins:

- Probus: 1 billon radiate
  - Diocletian: 1 AV *Aureus*, Cyzicus, AD 284/6 (RIC V/2, 251, 295; Depeyrot I, 132; Calicó, no. 4482);
  - Theodosius I: 1 AV *Solidus*, AD 441, Constantinople (RIC X, 282)
3. A hoard of 10 AV *solidi* found in 1979 in one of the inner premises near the west tower:
    - Leo I: 1 (RIC X, 605), 462/6 AD
    - Zeno: 2 (RIC X, 911), 476/91 AD
    - Anastasius I: 7 (DOC I, 3e), 491/8 AD
 (cf. Alexandrov, *Numizmatika* 14 (Sofia 1980), no. 3, 22-6).
  4. Around the town – a hoard of 438 AR coins (den + radiates), from Trajan to Philippus I, acquired by the American Ambassador in Sofia - Mr G. Earl in 1940 (Gerassimov 1946, 238; Gerov 1977, no. 119).

#### **20. Interior fortifications of the Montana region: sites with occupation prior to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (ZG nos):**

Goliamo Gradishte, fort (80)

Berkovitsa, Late fortified town (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 9-11, fig.3; ZG 92)

Prevala, fort (82), early coin: *denarius* of Galba (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 32-34; Gerassimov 1934, 468; Gerov 1977, no. 339)

Belimel, fort of the *cohors Gemina Dacorum*, AD 241/4 (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 28; ZG, 83)

Martinovo, *burgus* (84)

Kopilovtsi, fort (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 14-7; 86)

Diva Slatina, fort (87)



Govezhda, hillfort (88)  
 Lopushna, fort (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 12; 89)  
 Bistrilitsa, fort (90)  
 Petrohan, fort? (93)  
 Smolianovtsi, *burgus* (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 28-29; ZG81)  
 Zamfirovo, turris / signal-tower (94)  
 Portilovitsi, *burgus* (95)  
 Lehchevo, fort (Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 29-30; ZG 96)

## 21. Valvae? (Vratsata gorge, Vratsa)

Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 4-5; *TIR* К34, 134; ZG 102; Torbov, in *AOR 2008* (Sofia 2009), pp. 636-8; Торбов – Петрова / Torbov - Petrova, in *AOR Reports for 2010* (Sofia 2011), 292-3.

*Location:* a late Roman and Byzantine fort guarding the narrow *Haemus* pass and nearby silver mines, located in the locality 'Gradishte'/Vojvodin Dol', along the Leva river, some 3 km west of Vratsa.

Coin Die: An obverse die of Augustus – for *aurei/denarii*, type of the mint at Lugdunum, dated to 15-13 BC (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 162a), [Kubitschek 1925, 134-5, pl. 13/A-3; Vermeule 1954, 23, no. 21; Bozhkova / Божкова 1984, 15-9; see section Coin Dies, no. 1].

Coins: from the 2007-2011 excavations:

- **Ti. Quinctius, 112/1 BC:** 1 D (RRC 297/1a), Rome, MW, 17x18 mm, 3.85 g. [Field No. 1/2007];
- **colonia Philippi – under Trajan/?:** hoard of 3 Æ17-18mm (RPC I, 1651), MW.
- And some 200 later Roman issues, running from Septimius Severus down to Justin II and Sophia.

Interior fortifications in the Vratsa region – sites occupied prior to the 4<sup>th</sup> century:

**Gradeshnitsa**, fort? (97)  
**Chiren**, *burgus* (ZG, 98)  
**Milni Kamak**, fort at copper mine (99)  
**Veselets**, *burgus* at mines (103)  
**Markova Mogila**, *burgus* (ZG, 105)

## 22. Liliache

Венедиков / Venedikov (Sofia 1952), 195-213; ZG, 100.

*Location:* A late Roman fort (and nearby sanctuary) in the locality 'Borovanska Mogila' between Liliache and Chiren villages, 1km east of Liliache, in the locality 'Kadin Vir'.

*Units:* votives of soldiers from *cohors II Aurelia nova equitata c.R.*; *duplicarius legio[nis] I Ital(icae)* – Kazarow 1939, no. 599.

Coins: A short report of the coins excavated in 1951, see in Венедиков / Venedikov (Sofia 1952), 210-211:

1<sup>st</sup> century: Augustus: 3 Æ Asses? (countermarked 'TI AVG'); Nero: 2;

Illegible of the 1<sup>st</sup> century- 18 Æ;

2<sup>nd</sup> century: Trajan: 2; Aelius Caesar: 1; Antoninus Pius: 2;

3<sup>rd</sup> century: Caracalla: 1 Æ (Stobi); Elagabalus: 1 Æ (Nicopolis ad Istr.); Gordian III: 1. Down to Constantine I: 2.

### **23. Gabare**

ZG 101; Машов / Mashov 1975, 40.

*Location:* fort? At 'Marlensko Kale' hill near the village.

Coins: No data available.

### **24. Unknown? / Chomakovtsi**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 44-5; Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 480-2, pl. 108.1-2; ZG, 104.

*Location:* 'Kosten Grad' / 'Kostadin grad' - a large late Roman fortified settlement, on the Iskar river northern bank, under the modern village of Chomakovtsi. At least 14 towers and 3 town gates were noted in 1905, size 485x 825 'paces', walls thick 2.9 m. A centre of a *regio* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III, 6130-6136, 7453-7457, 12395, 14412; 373; Бешевлиев / Beshevliev 1952, no. 70-71, 102; Gerov, *ILBulg*, 160-168; new reading of epitaph of a *praefectus vehiculorum* of AD 325-350: *AE* (1998), 1126.

Coins: Numerous "late Roman coins" examined (Licinius, Constantine, etc.), no detailed records.

- A hoard of 60 AR coins (*denarii* + *radiates*), from Septimius Severus to Gordian III, *t.p.q.* AD 242 (Gerassimov 1968, 235; Gerov 1977, no. 85).

### **25. Oryahovo? (Aedabe)**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 37-38; lv. 483; Ganetzovski – Naydenova 2000, 216-7, map 4.

*Location:* probable site of a late fort, a Byzantine fortress 'Kamuka', at the western end of town on a strategic hill overlooking the Danube.

Coins: a dispersed coin hoard – over 200 silver drachms of Dyrrhachium (2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), found before 1890 at the 'Markov Bayir' hill near the town; dispersed and lost (cf. Dobrusky 1890, 37).

### **26. Variana (Leskovets) – XX (or XVIII) m.p. (ab Augustae)**

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 38; Škorpil 1905, 466, pl. 99/f.1-2; B-L, 229; lv. 483; ZG, 6; Ganetzovski – Naydenova 2000, 216, map 3; Torbov – Antonov – Naydenova (2005), 167-8; Gudea 2005, 412, l.6; Madzharov 2009, 147-9.

*Excavation:* field surveys by Dobrusky (1889) and the Škorpil brothers in the early 1900's; in 1999 – by G. Ganetzovski and E. Naydenova; rescue excavation in 2003–4 by N. Torbov, D. Antonov and E. Naydenova.

*Location:* early and late Roman fort on the Danube bank at the western end of Masta channel, 2 km northeast of the village – called 'Leskovsko Kale', in the locality 'Lukata'. Square plan 265 x 265 'paces' fortification – built in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, with towers, walls thick 3 m, space fortified ca. 15 decares. Now eroded and destroyed by treasure-hunters.



**Fig. 16.8. Variana site (top center) – satellite photograph, 2006 (after Google Earth™).**

*Units:* Tiberius-Claudius – *ala (Claudia Gallorum) Capitoniana*; *cuneus equitum Dalmatarum* – ca. 200-250 AD; *praefectus legionis V Macedonicae*.

*Inscriptions:* Gerov, *Romanisation...* (1953), no. 8; AE (1967), 425 – veteran's tombstone – *duplicarius* of *ala Capitoniana*.

*Statuary:* an early Christian marble relief of the 'Good shephard' (Велков / Velkov 1943, 274, fig. 375; D. Dimitrov 1944, 40-50), now kept in Oryahovo museum.

*Brick stamps:* VARIDAL, LEGVMVAR – dated after 305 AD (Morfova 1963, 31, nos. 24-27; Nikolov 1967, 227, fig.17).

Coins: A limited number of coins from the excavation in 2003-4:

- 6 AE coins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (4 Asses, 1 Dupondius, 1 Sestertius), down to radiates of Philip I Arab, Gallienus and Probus;
- In addition, a number of stray Roman coins are reported from site, kept in the museums in Vratsa and in Oryahovo, among them:
  - o Augustus, Æ As – HW, scratches, 7.4 g, 26x25 mm [Oryahovo, un-listed];
  - o Augustus, Æ As imitation, barbarous style S-C / wreath, VW, 8.6 g. 24x26 mm.

- Augustus / Claudius I – Æ As?, Asia Minor, 7.3 g. 27x23 mm, VW, green patination (Oryahovo – donation, 1970's).
- Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD: Æ As (RIC I 58), Rome, HW, corroded, 8.3 g., 27x28 mm.
- Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD: Æ As (RIC I 58), Rome, VW, 9.7 g., 25x26 mm.
- Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-38 AD: Æ As (RIC I 58), Rome [Vratsa, no. 187 – acquired 1960, now missing].
- Vespasian, 71 AD (cos III) – Æ As, 71 - AEQVITAS AVGVSTI, MW, 9.9 g, 25x25.5 mm [Oryahovo, un-listed].
- Trajan?, Philippi: Æ15x17mm, COHOR PRAE-[PHIL] (RPC 1651), 3.69 g.

### **27. Pedoniana? (Ostrov)** [43.678; 24.196]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 38; Škorpil 1905, 469; Iv. 483; ZG, 7; Gudea 2005, 413, I.7.

Early auxiliary fort

*Location:* at 'Kaletó' hill in the northeast part of the village, now eroded and modern houses built over it. Stone blocks and material re-used in modern buildings.

*Via Danubia* – remains of the Roman road west of village (described 1890).

*Coins:* some stray coins from site are kept in the Vratsa museum, donated in the early 1960's (not included in the *Catalogue of Finds: Single coins* [data received too late]):

1. **Augustus:** Æ As, cmked **TI.C.A.**, HW [Vratsa, no. 304, acquired 1960];
2. **Nero, ca. AD 64/6:** Æ As (Eagle on globe / S–C = RPC II, 1762), Perinthus mint, MW [Vratsa, no. 297];
3. **Nero, ca. AD 65/6:** Æ Dupondius, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 184 or 402 – MACELLVM AVG / S–C, MW [Vratsa, no. 294, now missing].

### **28. Valeriana (Dolni Vadin) - XII m.p. (ab Variana)** [43.688; 24.260]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 38; Škorpil 1905, 465-66; Tudor 1974, 24ff; B-L, 226; Iv, 483 and 548; Ganetzovski – Naydenova 2000, 215-6; ZG, 8; Gudea 2005, 413, I.8; Madzharov 2009, 150-151 and fig.58.

Auxiliary fort

*Location:* at the northwestern corner of the village of Dolni Vadin, most of the ruins (large stone blocks) eroded by the Danube. South wall 260 feet long, thick 2.5m (in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century).

*Bridge over Danube:* built as a pontoon under Domitian in AD 85 (Iord. *Getica* 13.77; Tudor 1971, 30-31), its double pillars were drawn first by Count Luigi Marsigli in 1699-1701.

*Mithra relief:* marble plaque with a chariot (Велков / Velkov 1943, 273-4, fig. 374).

*Bronze statuette:* Venus Pudica, 9.5cm high (Велков / Velkov 1943, 273, fig. 373a-b).

*Inscriptions:* Gerov, *ILBulg.* 21: *ala Scubulorum*.

Coins: “Roman coins”, unspecified (Škorpil 1905, 465).

### 29. Palatiolum (Baykal) [43.711; 24.434]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 38-9; Škorpil 1905, 465; Митова-Джонова 1979, 29, no. 11, fig. 3; Iv. 484; Madzharov 2009, 152-153.

Early settlement and late fort

*Location*: An early settlement and late stone construction (size ca. 10 ha) in the eastern end of modern village – in the locality ‘Selishte’; near the site of the Danube bridge opened by Constantine (5 July, AD 328): *Aur. Vict.*, *Caes.* 7.41.17; *Epit.* 8.41.13; Strobel 1989, 54.

Inscriptions: *ILBulg.* 51 (mid-1<sup>st</sup> century tombstone of a veteran from Brixia (Brescia) in North Italy).

Coins: Single coins known: Roman Republican and Imperial, unspecified (*cf.* Shkorpil 1905, 465). Also: **Caligula**: 1 AE As (Museum Pleven, 1159).

### 30. Stavertsi (Hunno; Hunnion?)

Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 50; Митова-Джонова 1979, 63, № 412, fig. 86; Iv, 484.

Late fort

*Location*: square size 240x240m, with a earthen *vallum* and double ditch, north of the left bank of the Iskar river, 1.25km west of the village on the high left bank of the Iskar river, not far from *Oescus*.



Fig. 16.9. Stavertsi fort – satellite photograph, 2002 (after Google Earth™).

**Coins:** Reportedly numerous coins have been found here (Митова-Джонова / Mitova-Dzhonova 1979, 63), all unpublished. Few isolated *solidi* of emperor Maurice Tiberius of the late 6<sup>th</sup> century (scattered hoard, seen in trade, around 2006).

### 31. ***Oescus (Gigen)*** – XIV m.p. (ad Utum), [43.711; 24.465]

Добруски / Dobrusky 1890, 39-41; Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 45-58; Škorpil 1905, 462-4, pl. 101.1a; B-L, 227; Iv. 484 and Iv (1997), 548-54; ZG, 9; Кабакчиева / Kabakchieva 2000; R. Ivanov – T. Kovacheva (2002) 31-58; Gudea 2005, 413-6, l. 9; Madzharov 2009, 153-155, 203.

Legionary camp and *colonia*

**Excavations:** Karel Škorpil – field survey in 1887; B. Djakovich – in 1900; Vaclav Dobrusky in 1889, 1904-1905 (unpublished); 1941–1943 by Antonio Frova; 1947-1952 and 1970-1987 by Teofil Ivanov, Theodora Kovacheva *et alii*; 1989– by G. Kabakchieva, T. Kovacheva, S. Lazarova *et alii*.

**Location:** in the locality 'Gradishteto', 3 km south of the mouth of the Iskur/ *Oescus* river, into the Danube, 300 m east of the modern Iskur, on the northwestern outskirts and partially in the village of Gigen, Pleven region.

Early timber fortress - *Oescus* I, fortified in stone not before 106/7 AD, approximate size 510x460 m, 18 ha. Under Trajan raised to a colony (*colonia Ulpia Oescensium*), after 106/7 AD.



Fig. 16.10. *Oescus* – satellite photograph, 2002 (after Google Earth™).

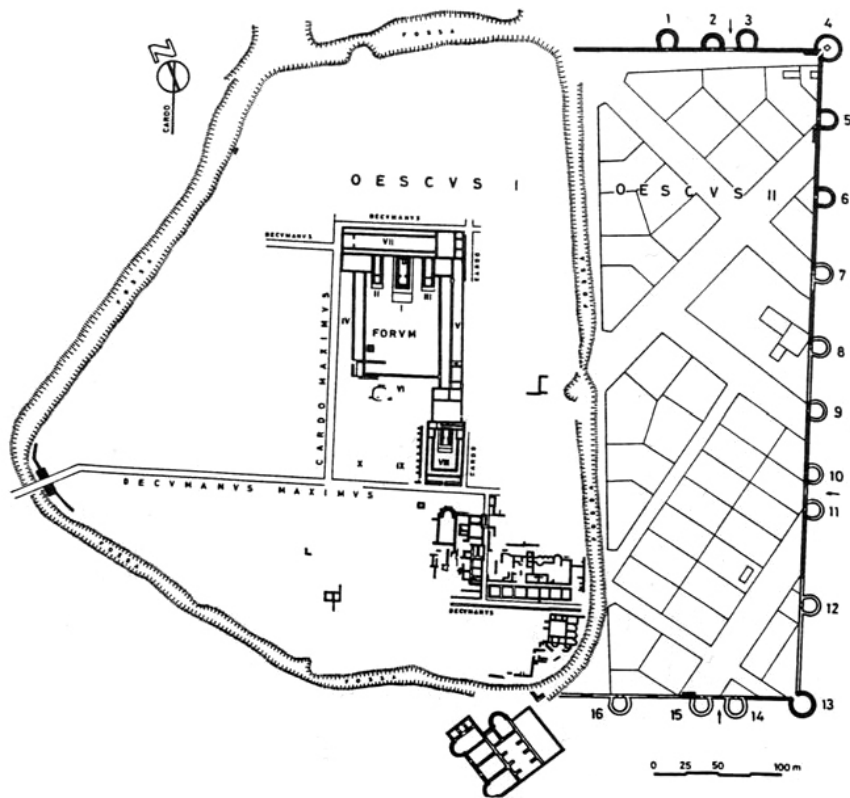


Fig. 16.11. Oescus, ground plan, Oescus I and Oescus II (after Ivanov 1997).



Fig. 16.12. Oescus in late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (plan after *Transformation* project, 2006)

Late Augustan–Tiberian occupation: G. Kabakchieva, *Limes XVI* (1997), 387-92; *Limes XVII*, 487-94; idem, *Oescus: Castra Oescensia I* (Sofia 2000).

Trajanic colony and architecture: T. & R. Ivanov, *Ulpia Oescus I* (Sofia 1998); T. Ivanov, *Ulpia Oescus II* (Sofia 2005).

Units: *legio V Macedonica* – from Augustus, AD 6/9 to 101/2 (interrupted 62–71 and 101–106 AD; brick stamps only), *ala Pansiana* – 1<sup>st</sup> century, *cohors III Gallorum equitata*, replacing the *V Macedonica* in 62-71 AD; *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* briefly after AD 106?; *auxilium Martensium*, *praefectus legionis V Macedonicae*.

Late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> century extension *Oescus II* – 10 ha; from AD 271 – seat of *legio V Macedonica* (returned from Potaissa).

Imported *terra sigillata*: Tiberius – Claudian date, A. Balkanska (1990), 26-33.

*Inscriptions*: *CIL III*, 6128 = III 7425; *CIL III*, 753; Kalinka 1906, 319ff.; Gerov, *ILBulg.* 1–76; re-dating of *ILBulg.* 18: 'adversus hostes Get[itas]' to AD 211/2, AE (1999), 1326. Late 1<sup>st</sup> century freedman legionary valet (*lixa*): AE (1996), 1336.

**Coins:** relatively well-published results of coins found from excavation in 1970-1987 – over 680 pieces; see summary tables in R. Ivanov – T. Kovacheva, in Ivanov 1 (2002), 42-54, esp. table 1 on p. 47:

1. *Oescus I* – general distribution of coins identified by period:

1<sup>st</sup> century: 15

2<sup>nd</sup> century: 34

3<sup>rd</sup> century: 141 (30 – Provincial AE's)

4<sup>th</sup> century: 182

6<sup>th</sup> century AD: 17.

**A. Summarized coin list: *Forum***

(from the temples of the Capitolian Trinity; temple of Minerva; East portico of *forum*; the Civic Basilica; temple of Fortuna and the east *cardo* :

	<i>Issuer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1.	Augustus	27 BC - 14 AD	Den	x			2
			Dup (7 BC)	1	Rome	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 426a?	
			As (12 BC)	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	
2.	Tiberius	14 – 37	Den	x			1
			As (22-30 AD)	1	Rome	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 81	
3.	Caligula – for Mark Agrippa	37 – 41	As (38-41 AD)	1	Rome	RIC I <sup>2</sup> 58	1
4.	Claudius	41 – 54	Den	?	Rome	RIC I, ?	6
			Sest (41-50 AD)	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	
			As	?		RIC I, ?	
5.	Nero	54 – 68	Den	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	1
6.	Galba	68 – 69	As	1	Rome	RIC I, ?	1
7.	Vespasian	69 – 79	Den	1		RIC II/1, ?	3
			Sest	1	Rome	RIC II/1, ?	
			As			RIC II/1, ?	
8.	Domitian	81 – 96	Den	1	Rome	RIC II/1 <sup>2</sup> , 725	2
			?AE	1		RIC II/1, ?	
9.	Trajan	98 –117	Den	3?	Rome	RIC II, ?	



			<b>Sest</b>	<b>2?</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	<b>9</b>
			<b>Dup</b>	<b>1</b>	Rome	RIC II, ?	
			<b>Quad</b>	<b>3</b>	Rome	RIC II, 691-2	

**32. Pleven region interior fortifications.** Sites occupied prior to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD:

**Deventsi**, fort? (ZG 106)

**Karaguy**, fort (ZG 107)

**Orjahovitsa**, fort (Djakovich 1904, 50).

**33. Utum/ Utus (Gulyantsi) – IX m.p.** (usque ad *Asamum*) [43.654; 24.730]

Дякович / Djakovich 1904, 44-45; Škorpil 1905, 462, pl. 101.2.a-b; Митова-Джонова 1979, 41-2, № 166; B-L, 229; Iv. 484; ZG, 10; Gudea 2005, 416, l. 10; Madzharov 2009, 155-7.

Early auxiliary fort and late fortified town

*Location:* on the left bank of the *Utus* (Vit) river, 'Gradishte', 3.2 km northeast of Gulyantsi, trapezoid plan, 365 x 370 feet; later stone fortification with towers (early 4<sup>th</sup> century AD?).

Inscriptions: *CIL* III, 12359; 12361; Kalinka 1906, 404 (Flavian period), Gerov 1949, nos. 11-12, 36-37; *ILBg*, 122–130.

Units: 1<sup>st</sup> century – *ala I Hispanorum milliaria*; 4<sup>th</sup> century - *cuneus equitum Constantinianorum*.

Coins: Numerous Roman coin finds, all unpublished, from Nero – to Maximianus I. Reportedly, two hoards from the 1<sup>st</sup> century *aurei* were found around 2000, all seen in trade: a hoard of 33, another of 12 *aurei* (both down to Claudius); numerous early Roman bronzes, including hundreds countermarked *aes* (dispersed in trade).

**34. Ad Lucenarium burgus / Lucernaria (Somovit)**

Дякович / Dyakovich 1904, 42; Митова-Джонова 1979, 63, fig. 85; Iv. 484; Madzharov 2009, 157.

Late fortified lighthouse and *burgus*

*Location:* on high ground in locality 'Karierata' at the Borunja river, 1100 km northeast of Somovit.

*Inscriptions:* *ILBg*, 133-134: *vexillarii* of *legio V Macedonica* (*ILBg*, 134: mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century): AE (2001), 1732.

Coins: cf. T. Kovacheva, *IzvMuzSZBulg* 1 (1977), 251 - stray coins:

- **Nerva:** 1 AE (As/Dup?)

**35. Asamus (Cherkovitsa/Cherkvitsa)**

Škorpil 1905, 461; Митова-Джонова 1979, 66, fig. 98; B-L, 228; Iv. 489; ZG, 11; T. Kovacheva, in *Ivanov* 3, 14-16; Gudea 2005, 417, l. 11; Madzharov 2009, 157-60.

*Location:* eroded fort remains in the locality 'Manastira / Saraya' near the mouth on the right bank of the *Asamus* (Osam) river, 1 km northwest of the village of

Cherkovitsa, 5 km west of Nikopol. A *vallum* and a ditch 600 feet long were still visible in the 1900's.

*Units:* *ala Scrubulorum* – late Tiberian–Claudian time (before 46 AD); *ala Bosporanorum* (auxilia of *legio V Macedonica*) – Flavian time. *Canabae* of veterans – post-Trajanic (Геров / Gerov, *Romanisation I* (1949), 22, note 12). 4<sup>th</sup> century: *miles praeventores*.

*Inscriptions:* CIL III, 6129<sup>a</sup>; Velkov, *BIAB* 1923/4, pp. 226-7 = *AE* 1925, 70 = *ILBulg* 137 (mid-1<sup>st</sup> century); Геров / Gerov 1949, no. 13 = *ILBg* 138.

Coins: Roman Imperial coins unspecified (cf. Škorpil 1905, 461). A summary of stray coins finds by Бънов / Banov 1994, 46, no.22:

- Republican *denarii* – unspecified (see Find cat. No.197: 1 – M. Porcius Laeca, 125 BC (RRC 270/1), and 1 - M. Cippius M.f., 115/4 BC (RRC 289/1), both in Pleven);
- Augustus: Æ asses and sest.
- Tiberius – for Livia: Æ
- Caligula: Æ
- Claudius: unspecified
- Vespasian, AD 71: 1 Æ Sest, RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 431, Pleven museum.
- Domitian: unspecified.

### **36. Securisca & Curisca (Byala Voda)**

Škorpil 1905, 460, pl. 99.h1; Митова-Джонова 1979, 36-7; Iv. 485; ZG, 12; Gudea 2005, 417, l. 12.

*Location:* Possibly two forts in the same area: one in the locality 'Hisarluka', on a natural plateau, 1.25 km north-west of the village and opposite the former island of Vratnica, eroded remains, now mostly destroyed.

*Units:* 4<sup>th</sup> century - *cuneus equitum scutariorum*.

Coins: Roman and predominantly early Byzantine coins, unspecified (cf. Škorpil 1905, 460). No further data.

### **37. Dimum (Belene)**

Škorpil 1905, 459-60, pl. 99.h; Patsch; B-L, 226; Iv. 485 and 554-556; Митова-Джонова 1979, 31; ZG, 13; Mitova-Dzonova, in *Limes XIII* (1986), 504-509; Mitova-Dzonova, 'Dimum and Regio Dimensis', in *Limes, Studi di storia* 5 (1994), 47-65; D. Mitova-Dzonova, in *Ivanov* 2, 50ff.; S. Lazarova, in *AOR Reports for 2009* (Sofia 2010), 304-6; Gudea 2005, 417-8, l. 13.

Early fort and customs station (*portorium publicum*)

*Excavation:* D. Mitova-Dzonova in the 1970's; since 2007– under G. Kabakchieva and S. Lazarova (Pleven).

*Location:* Flavian fort in stone, 240 x 180 m, end of 1<sup>st</sup> century AD?, late fort with U-shaped towers, constructed under Constantine; site of the Roman customs - *portorium publicum Illyrici - stat(io) Dim(ensis)*, and a base of the Danubian fleet (*classis Flavia Moesiaca*).

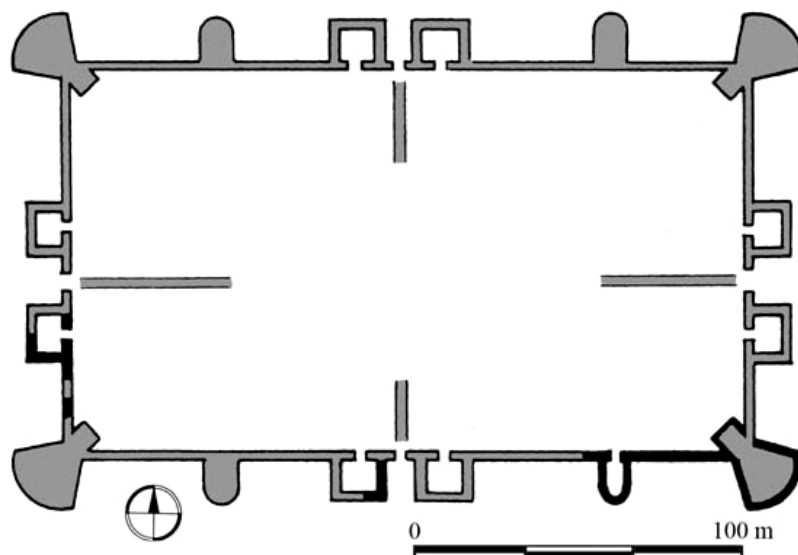


Figure 16.13. *Dimum* / Belene, ground plan of the late quadrivallium (after Diczek 2008)

*Port*: a river port on the Danube bank (*statio Dimensis*); artificial channel (between the town and the Belene island) and dock facilities built (cf. Mitova-Dzonova, in *Limes XIII*, 504-509, esp. 507).

*Units*: *ala Solensium* - 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century; late 4<sup>th</sup> century – *cuneus equitum solensium*.

*Inscriptions*: CIL 12363 = *ILBulg.* 336 (under Antoninus Pius, ca. AD 150-160); and CIL 12364 = *ILBulg.* 338 – a fragmentary gravestone.

*Bricks*: *leg[io] / Ital[ica]* in a few forms, one read: *C(ai) Anton(i) ma[g]i(stri?)*, see Kalinka 1906, nos. 454-456.

Coins: A few stray coins known from this early site:

- Claudius:** 4 AE: 2 AE Dup. (1 for Antonia, 41-42 AD) and  
2 AE As ? (all in Museum Svishtov, 106, 107, 376)
- Domitian:** 1 AE As (Museum Svishtov, 394)

Coins from the 2007-2010 seasons not reported, mostly late Roman, of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, from Sept. Severus to Constantius II.

— A hoard of 150 *denarii* (Герасимов / Gerassimov 1950, 319; Gerov 1977, no. 46) from Galba down to Severus.

### 38. Quinto Dimum (Dolno Gradishte, Belene)

Škorpil 1905, 459, pl. 99.h.1; Iv. 485; ZG, 14; Gudea 2005, 418, l. 13b.

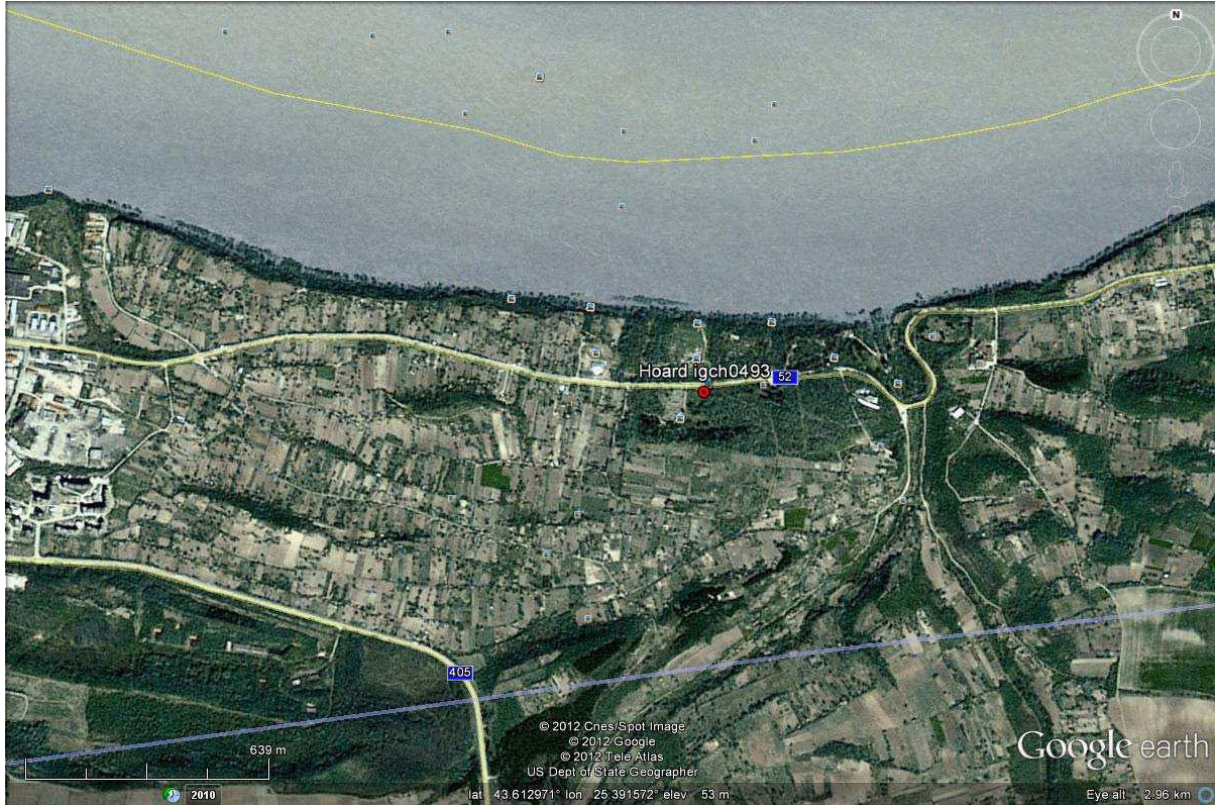
*Location*: Late Roman fort, square, 150 x 150 m, on the bank of Belene channel, opposite Persin island, east of the town.

Coins: no data available.

**39. Novae (near Svishtov)** [43.613; 25.394]

Škorpil 1905, 456-7, pl. 99.c and 102.1; B-L, 229-30; Iv. 486 and 556-74; ZG, 15; L. Press - T. Sarnowski, *Antike Welt* 21 (1990), 225-43; A. Biernacki (ed.), *Novae: Studies and Materials I* (1995); Genčeva (2002); Gudea 2005, 419-25, I. 15; Dyczek 2009.

Legionary fort (*castra legionis*) and later city



**Fig. 16.14. *Novae* and its environs – satellite photograph, 2010 (after Google Earth™).**



**Fig. 16.15. Aerial view of *Novae* fortress, reconstruction (after Sarnowski 2006).**

*Location*: fort on high ground overlooking the Danube, in the locality 'Stuklen', 4 km east of Svishtov. Fort, 368 x 492 m, 18.1 ha, early timber-brick fort with wooden towers from the Claudian period, stone defences built around AD 100 (Strobel 1987,

501). Additional perimeter in the east (*Novae* II) currently dated to Diocletian(?), with later reconstructions. Status raised to *municipium* – under Marcus Aurelius (*ILB*, 281).

*Excavations*: between 1960–1997 (and continuing) by a joint Polish-Bulgarian team.

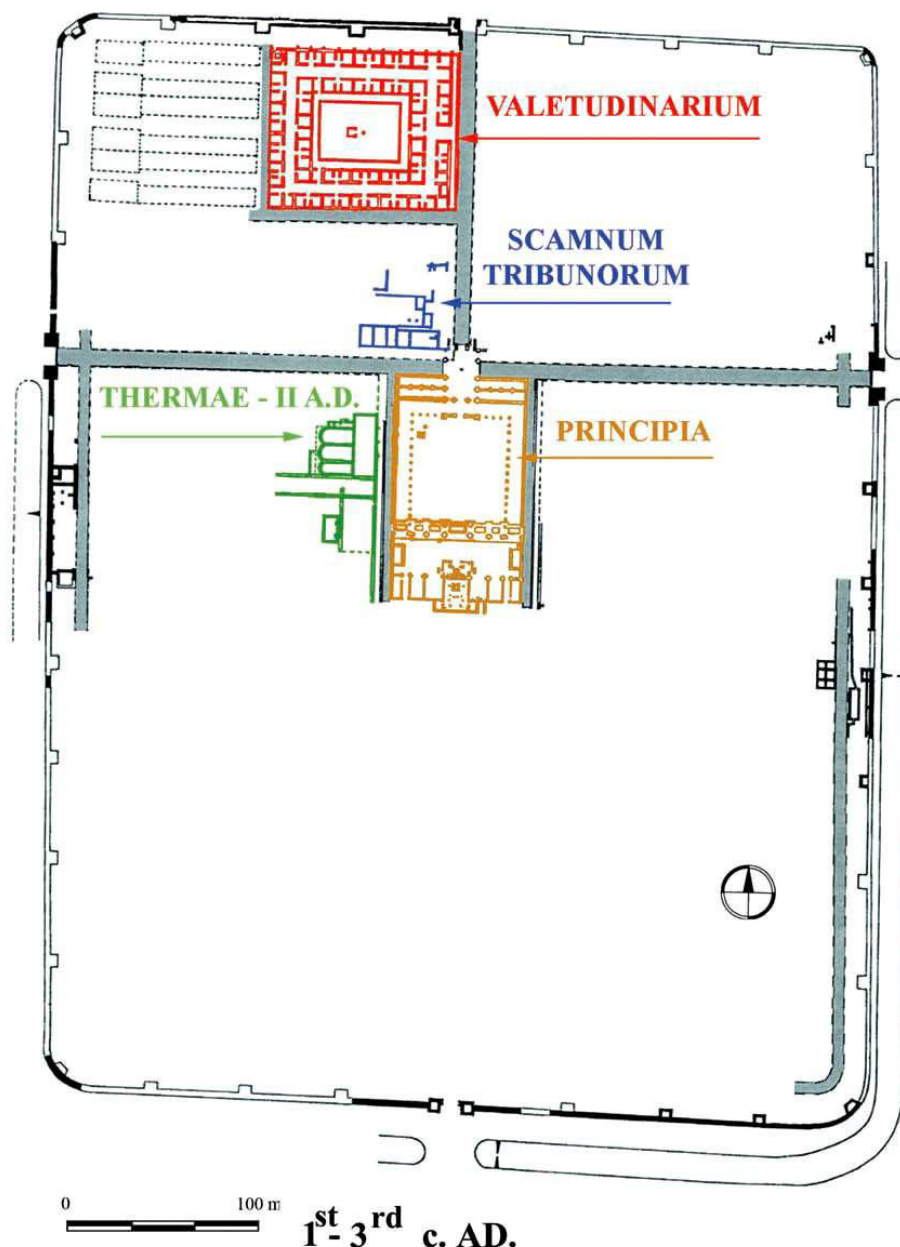


Fig. 16.16. *Novae*, ground plan in 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (after Dyczek 2008)

*Units*: seat of *legio VIII Augusta* in AD 44/5–69, *legio I Italica*, after late autumn of AD 69 / winter 70; *canabae* – in the east (locality 'Ostrite mogili', 2 km east). Temporary base of *legio I M(inervia) p(ia) f(elix)* during Trajan's Dacian wars (brick stamps).

Legionary fortress: early structures built of timber – A. Dimitrova-Milceva, *Limes XV*, 271-6 (early phase); T. Sarnowski, *Limes XV*, 303-7 (*principia*); P. Donevski, *Limes XVI*, 331-4 (defences).

On the hospital: P. Dyczek, *Limes XVI*, 199-204 (excavations); *Limes XVII*, 495-500 (Asclepius shrine with late 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> century votives, *AE* (1998), 1130 and 1137

and *AE* (1999), 1331-8; *Limes XIX*, Abstracts, 25 (analysis of architecture), S. Parnicki-Pudelko, *The Episcopal Basilica in Novae: Archaeological Remains* (1995).

Legionary baths: A. Biernacki, *Limes XVIII*, 649-62 (*gymnasium* design based on Asia Minor prototypes).

*Inscriptions*: *AE* (1914), 93; Gerov, *ILBulg*, 265–335<sub>quinquies</sub>; now superseded by V. Bozhilova – J. Kolendo – L. Mrozewicz, *Inscriptions latines de Novae* (Poznan 1992), and J. Kolendo – V. Bozhilova, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae, (Mesie Inferieure)*, (Bordeaux 1997).

Votive to Capitoline triad, AD 227: *AE* (1997), 1330.

Mithraeum with votives: *AE* (1993), 1365; *AE* (1998), 1127; *AE* (2001), 1734.

Votives to Luna: *AE* (1995), 1335-36.

Votive bull relief to Dolichenus: *AE* (2001), 1733.

Brick stamps: *AE* (1987), 864-865; *AE* (1993), 1368; *AE* (1994), 1334.

*Instrumenta domestica*: *AE* (1996), 1340.

*massa plumbea*: heavy lead ingot, weight marked CCXV = 215 pounds, or 70.402 kg (actually 73 kg), with 14 stamps, see J. Kolendo, in *Archeologia* 37 (Warszawa), 1986, 87-98 = *AE* (1987), 860 = *AE* (1994), 1527. Dated to the reigns of Valens–Valentinian I or Gratian–Valentinian II (**DDNN** / cross). Produced in **TROP** = [*metalla*] *Tr(icorniensia) o(fficina) p(rima)*, modern Šumadija mining region in *Moesia Superior*.

Epitaph of soldier from *Clunia*, Spain: *AE* (2001), 1735.

Veteran from *Carnuntum*: *AE* (1993), 1366.

Late Roman (ca. AD 340-350) *primipilares*: *AE* (1995), 1328-30.

*Deus Aeternus*: *AE* (2000), 1267 and *AE* (1994), 1517.

Bronze statuettes to Roman deities (50 examples): A. Dimitrova-Milceva, *Limes XIII* (Aalen 1983), 469-76.

Military glass medallion (*phalera*) with Drusus Caesar and his children, dated to ca. AD 19-23: A. Dimitrova-Milceva, *Numizmatika* (Sofia) 1979, no. 2, 17-21.

### Coins:

1. Found before 1959 in the area and kept in the Svishtov museum collection, listed in A. Kunisz (1992), 134-5 and 161:

	<i>Issuer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1.	<b>Augustus</b>	27 BC - 14 AD	Den	1		RIC I, ?	<b>2</b>
			As	1		RIC I, ?	
2.	<b>Tiberius</b>	14 – 37	As	4	Rome	RIC I, 81	<b>4</b>
			Den	x			
			Sest				
			Dp	5	Rome		
			As	13	Rome		
3.	<b>Caligula</b>	37 – 41	Den				<b>15</b>
			Sest				
			Dp	5	Rome		
			As	13	Rome		
4.	<b>Claudius</b>	41 – 54	Den	x			
			Sest	3			

			Dp	4			17
			As	10			
5.	Nero	54 – 68	Den	1			13
			Sest	6			
			Dp	1			
			As	4			
			Tetradr.	1	Alexandria		
6.	Vespasian	69 – 79	Den	13			33
			Sest	6			
			Dp	6			
			As	8			
7.	Titus	79 – 81	Den	6			11
			Sest	1			
			Dp	x			
			As	4			
8.	Domician	81 – 96	Den	7			12
			Sest	2			
			Dp	x			
			As	3			
9.	Nerva	96 – 98	Den	1			5
			Sest	x			
			Dp	1			
			As	3			
			Sest	9			
			Dp	15			
			As	3			
			Quad	3			
<b>TOTAL for period:</b>							<b>112</b> (no Tr)

2. Stray coins found at Novae during the 1959–1986 excavation, listed in A. Kunisz (1992), 135 and 162:

	<i>Issuer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1.	Augustus	27 BC - 14 AD	Den	x		RIC I, ?	6
			Sest	x		RIC I, ?	
			Dp	1		RIC I, ?	
			As	5			
2.	Tiberius	14 – 37	Den	1	Rome	RIC I, ..	19
			Dp	1			
			As	17			
3.	Caligula	37 – 41	Den	x			8
			Sest	1			
			Dp	1	Rome		
			As	6			
4.	Claudius	41 – 54	Den	x			44
			Sest	4			
			Dp	5			
			As	35			
5.	Nero	54 – 68	Den	x			9
			Sest	4			
			Dp	2			
			As	3			
6.	Vespasian	69 – 79	Den	3			
			Sest	1			

			Dp	3			
			As	9			16
7.	Titus	79 – 81	Den	1			5
			Sest	1			
			Dp	x			
			As	3			
8.	Domician	81 – 96	Den	3			9
			Sest	1			
			Dp	1			
			As	3			
			Quad	1			
9.	Nerva	96 – 98	Den	x			3
			Sest	x			
			Dp	x			
			As	3			
10.	Trajan	98 – 117	Den	1		RIC I, ?	21
			Sest	10			
			Dp	8			
			As	2			
			Quad	x			
<b>TOTAL for period:</b>							<b>116</b>

3. Scamnum tribunorum (sector 10) – stray coins from the 1996-2001 excavation, listed by B. Bojkova, in E. Genčeva (2002), 111-116: 17 coins in total (3 not identified):

- **Marcus Antonius:** 1 AR Den, 32/1 BC (Cr. 544/?), LEG illegible, worn out, b/m
- **Tiberius – for Augustus** 2 AE: 1 As, 22/30 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 31);  
1 As, 34/7 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 82)
- **Caligula – for Agrippina** 1 AE Sest, 37-41 AD, (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 55)
- **Claudius** 4 AE 3 Asses: 2 Asses, 42-43 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 116), Rome  
1 As, 42-43 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 113), Rome
- **Claudian – imitation** 1 Sest. Imitation - type *carpentum* I./ retrograde S.C (RIC 55 /Gaius/)
- **Nero** 4 AE 2 Asses: 66 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 543; 605), Lugdunum  
1 Dup: 64-65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 369; 410?), Lugdunum  
1 Sest: DECVR SIO - 64/65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 397), Lugdunum
- **Vespasian** 2 AE 1 As: 76 AD (RIC II<sup>1</sup>, 580a), Rome  
1 Sest: Fortunae Reduci - 71 AD (RIC II/1, 230).
- **Trajan** 1 AE Sest: Felicitas, 112-116 AD (RIC II, 625 or 672).

4. Principia site (legion headquarters, sector 11), until season 2008, pers.com. by prof. T. Sarnowski, cf. also Kunisz 2012 /forthcoming/) - 12 stray coins in total:

- **Marcus Antonius** 2: AR legionary Den, 32/1, Patrae? (Cr. 544/---?)
- **Tiberius** 2: AE – 1 As, 15/6 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 37)  
1 Dup – Divus Augustus Pater, 22-30 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81 ?)
- **Claudius** 5 AE 1 Dup - for Antonia, 41/42 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 92), low weight



- 2 Dup, 50-54 AD, CERES AVGVSTA, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 94)
- As, 42-43 AD, LIBERTAS AVGVSTA, Rome? (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 97) - 1 countermarked on obv. /?/
- 1 As, 41-50 AD, Minerva (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 100)
- **Nero** 3: AR 1 Den, 64/65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 47) and 1 As (not identified, imitation?)
- 1 Sest, 64-65 AD, DECVRSIO, to r. Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 168)
- **Vespasian** 1 AE Dup, 70/71, Rome?, (RIC II, 476)

A group of 6 of these Claudian-Nero bronzes above were found in 1981 in the street sewage canal, running south-north, east of the *Principia*, in deposits, corroded together and bonded. A small soldiers' petty-cash lost in the closet? (cf. A. Kunisz, *op.cit.* /forthcoming/)

5. The Baths – *Thermae legionis* site (Flavian date) – 54 early coins of of 770 in total (full listing in R. Ciołek – P. Dyczek 2011)

6. *Villa extra muros*: sector 8A, some 80 m west of the western gate of the *castra* – coins listed by K. Dimitrov, in *Studia M. Cicikova* (2008), 429-450: 162 coins, of them only 12 from the 1<sup>st</sup> century (cf. *Ibidem*, 429, 435-6):

- **Caligula – for M. Agrippa** 1 AE As, 37-41 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 58) [Svishtov, 1405]
- **Claudius** 7 AE :  
1 Sest: SPES AVGVSTA (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 115), worn out, obv. square cmk '*capricorn*' (= R. Martini, *Pangerl collection*, no. 94), applied in Moesian limes on regular central coinage. [Svishtov, HCΦ 289]  
1 As, CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, 41-50 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 95) [Svishtov, HCΦ 281]  
1 As, for Germanicus, 42-43 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 106) [Svishtov, 2615]
- 4 Asses: very worn and corroded, not identified per types.
- **Nero** 1 AR Den, 64-65 AD, Rome (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 53) [Svishtov, 2398]
- **Vespasian** 3 coins:  
1 AR Den, 76 AD, Rome (RIC II, 102) [Svishtov, 2372]  
1. Sest – not identified [Svishtov, HCΦ 287]  
1 As – not identified [Svishtov, 3587]
- **Nerva** 1 AE As?, 97 AD, [Temp. no. 337/2007].

### 3. Hoards:

- A Constantinian hoard from *principia legionis*, campaign 1977 (Kunisz 1982, 802-810; Kunisz 1987; Gazdac 2002, 726-7; Gazdac 2010, 92): 366 AR + AE, 6 Den, 235 ant, 123 nummi, 2 AE Prov, from Nero to Constantine I (*t.p.q.* AD 316/7).

## 40. *Theodoropolis* [unlocated]

lv. 485.

A possible late fort near *Novae*

**41. Melta (Lovech), cf. supra no. 131**

Coins: see find Cat. no. 139 above.

**42. Gabrovo region interior fortifications – sites occupied prior to 4<sup>th</sup> century (ZG nos):**

**Gorsko Kosovo**, fort (115);

**Selishteto**, stone fortlet (116);

**Drianovo**, fortlet (118);

**Vrabsite**, fortlet (119);

**Gradnitsa**, stone fort (120);

**Gradishte**, fortlet (121);

**Uzunkush**, fortlet (122);

**Zdravkovets**, fortlet (123).

**43. Latarkion ([unlocated]), possible late fort between Novae and Iatrus (Iv, 486).****44. Iatrus (Krivina)**

Škorpil 1905, 455-6, pl. 99/j.1-2 ; B-L, 227; Iv, 486 and 574-82; ZG, 16; von Bülow et al., *Iatrus–Krivina*. Bd. V (1995); von Bülow et al., Band VI (2007); Gudea 2005, 426, I. 16; von Bülow, in Ivanov 3 (2008), 54-67.

*Vicus et castellum, mansio viae Danubiae.*

*Location*: ca. 2.5 km south of the the Danube on the right bank of the Yantra, west of the village of Krivina, possible earlier fort on site of late fort with an irregular plan with U-shaped towers, destroyed c. AD 295 by Carpi; with several phases in the 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> century.

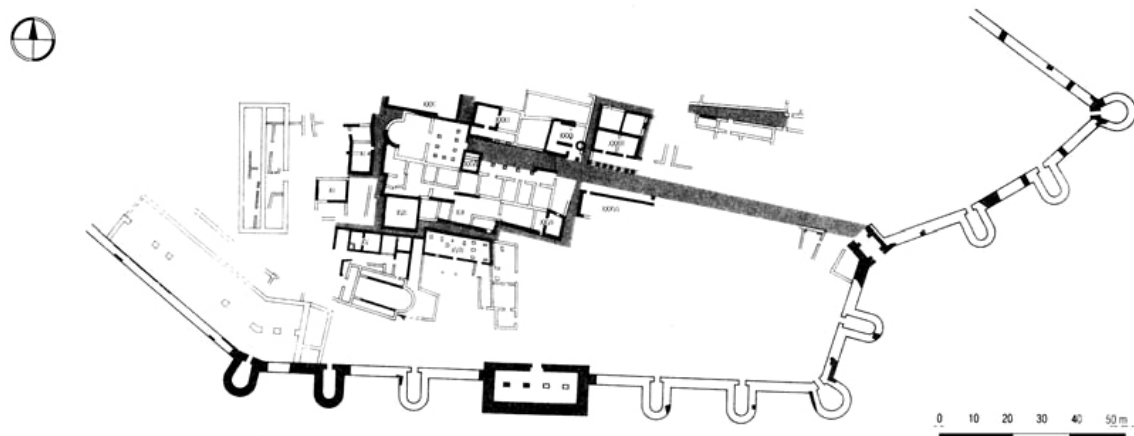


Figure 16.17. *Iatrus* – ground plan (after Dyczek 2008).

*Units*: *n(umerus) S(yrorum)*; 4<sup>th</sup> century *cuneus equitum scutariorum* (with original construction date AD 314/6–324) - *Limes XVIII*, 663-72 (military structures of 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century not preceded by earlier fort).

*Inscriptions: ILBulg I*, 338-345 – mostly veteran tombstones, Severan: Conrad – Stanchev 2003, 37-42; military diploma of a praetorian, dated AD 203 / 207 (Banev – Vagalinski 1995, 26-30 = *AE* (1995) 1337a-b = *RMD IV*, 305); votives: *AE* (1985) 760-763.

Monument fortification built in ca. 340-350 AD under Constantius II and Constans: Wachtel, in von Bülow and Milceva (1999), 195-199 = *AE* (1999) 1339.

*Graffiti* of Greek numerals on 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD *amphorae*: *AE* (1999), 1340a-e (digits in the range 43–56).

Food and economy based on faunal remains: Boettger, *Limes XV*, 268-70; L. Bartosiewicz and A. M. Choyke, *ActArchHung* 43 (1991), 181-209.

Coins: a few early coins from this late site: E. Kluwe, *Klio* 47 (1966), 397-416; esp. 398; E. Schönert-Geiss, in *Jatrus–Krivina I* (1979), 174-5; Schönert-Geiss, in *Jatrus–Krivina VI* (2007), 329-82:

1. The main site of Jatrus:

- **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, 22/3-26? AD**: *AE* Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81?), Rome;
- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, 37-41 AD**: *AE* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome
- **Claudius, 41-50 AD**: *AE* As (RIC I, ?) unspecified, Rome, 27 mm;
- **Claudius, 41-50 AD**: *AE* As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 100 or 116?) Rome, 27.8 mm;
- **Claudius, 41-54 AD**: 2 *AE* Asses, unspecified, Rome, 26x26.5 mm;
- **Claudius – for Agrippina, 50-54 AD**: 1 *AE* Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 102 or 103?), Rome ;
- **Domitian, 95/6 AD**: *AE* Dup (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 804), Rome, MW;
- **Domitian, 95/6 AD**: *AE* As (RIC II 423 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 806), Rome, 28.2 mm;
- **Trajan, 104-111 AD**: *AE* As (RIC II, 483) Rome, 27 mm.

2. Site of 'Chichov elak', excavations by L. Vagalinski, 2005 campaign (listed, properly unpublished, incorrect identifications):

- **Nero**: *AE* Sest, AD 66, Lugdunum (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 348; McDowell, *WCN* 297)
- **Vespasian, AD 75 or 76**: *AE* Dupondius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 818 or 887?), Rome.

**45. Nikjup region interior fortifications.** Sites with occupation prior to the fourth century (ZG nos):

**46. Emporium Piretensium (Butovo)**

B-L, 125; Zawadski 1964, 531-8; Sultov 1985.

A fort, *emporium* and production centre

*Excavation*: by the late B. Sultov in the 1960s-1980.

*Location*: in the locality 'Vurbovski livadi' – a Roman kiln-center and cemetery.

*Inscriptions*: diploma of AD 228 (*RMD II*, 132).

Coins: see Kunicz 1992, p141; M. Цочев / Tsochev 1998, 125, 128, 154, nos. 1-4, 17-22

- **L. Appuleius Saturninus, 104 BC**: 1 AR Den (RRC 317/3b), Rome, 19 mm;

- **Tiberius – for Divus Augustus, 22/3-26? AD:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 81 or 99 – Divus Augustus Pater/ PROVIDENT), Rome, 28 mm;
- **Caligula – for Mark Agrippa, AD 37-41:** 1 Æ As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58), Rome, 28 mm;
- **Vespasian AD ?69-79:** 1 Æ Sest (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), type illegible, Rome, 32 mm, HW;
- **Vespasian, ?69-79:** 1 Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), type illegible, Rome, 26 mm;
- **Domitian, AD 90/1:** D (RIC II, 152 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 719), Rome, 18 mm, 3.29 g;
- **Domitian, AD 90/1:** D (RIC II, 155 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 722), Rome, 18 mm, 3.25 g;
- **Domitian, AD 90/1:** 1 Æ As (RIC II, 397 = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 709), Rome, MW, 29 mm;
- **Domitian, AD 81/96:** Æ As (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), type illegible, Rome, MW, 24 mm;
- **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 D (RIC II, 13), Rome, 18 mm, 3.41 g, MW.

#### **47. Dichin**

ZG, 129; Динчев / Dinchev *et alii*, RP 39 (Sofia 2009)

Late *burgus* and *vicus*, British-Bulgarian excavations in 1996-2003.

Coins: see Guest 1999, 314-29; Guest 2007, 298-307 – few 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD Antonine issues, the large majority of coins are late Roman, 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

#### **48. Scaidava (Batin)**

Škorpil 1905, 455; Iv, 486 and 581-2; ZG, 18; Conrad – Stanchev 2002, 674-5; Gudea 2005, 427, I. 18.

*Location:* Early fort on plateau 'Kale-bayir' on the Danube bank, stone wall, 320 x 100 'paces'; late Roman tower, 9.6 x 9.6 m.

Brick stamps of '*Fl. Rumoridus, dux Moesiae II*' (=PLRE 786); CIL III 2655, AE (1999), 1341, dated to the 360-370s AD (under Valens and Valentinian I).

Coins: Mostly late Roman AE coins. See also the Batin hoard of Republican *denarii* nearby – Find cat. no. 75.

#### **49. Trimammium (Mechka)**

Škorpil 1905, 454, pl. 99/2 and 100/1; B-L, 228; Ivanov, 486; ZG, 19; TIR L35, 73; Gudea 2005, 427, I. 19; V. Varbanov – D. Dragoev, N. Russev, in *AOR Reports for 2006*, (Sofia 2007), pp. 262-263; Varbanov – Dragoev, *AOR Reports in 2009* (Sofia 2010), pp. 317-9.

*Location:* early auxiliary fort beneath a late (4<sup>th</sup> century) rectangular stone fortification on isolated high ground surrounded by marshes, size 200 x 200m, ca. 2.4 ha, in the locality 'Dikilitash', 3 km west of Mechka village, 900 m southeast of the Danube. No towers.

*Rock-cut relief of the Thracian horseman:* the only rock-cut relief of the Thracian Horseman in Bulgaria in the locality 'Stulpishte'. It had been cut into a not very high rock rising in the dry valley of Oreshe river, but was destroyed in the 1930's by treasure-hunters (Дремсизова – Иванов 1983, 47; Oppermann 2005, 118).

*Units:* detachment of *legio I Italica* (grave stone inscription from ‘Stalpishte’ near Mechka) – mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century; late 4<sup>th</sup> century - *militēs Constantini* (Not.Dign., Or. 40.20).

*Inscriptions:* a new inscription found in 2009, naming *cohors Severiana*/?/, unpublished. A milestone column inscribed for Gordian III and for Constantine I (Belkov 1968, 6; Hollenstein 1975, 23-44).

Brick stamps: CORTISIBRA = *cohors I Brac(araugustanorum)/ or Brac(arorum)* – Severan period – to 270s AD; ‘[Fl.] Rumorid(us) [dux Moesiae II]’ = CIL III 2655 (dated to the 364-378 AD).

Coins: Mostly late Roman coins, over 500 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (after Trajan – 1 AE). Distribution of coins found during the 2008 season:

- Roman (Trajan-Probus): 110 coins
- Late Roman (Diocletian-Theodosius II): 132 coins
- Byzantine (Anastasius-Justin II): 6 coins, down to Justin II and Sophia.

### **50. Mediolana (Pirgovo)**

Torbatov 1991, 231; Ivanov, 486; Conrad – Stanchev 2002, in Limes XVIII, 675-676.

*Location:* late fort between *Trimammium* and *Appiaria* (Danube km 510), in the locality ‘Dolnoto skele’, 2.2 km northwest of Pirgovo on the high southern bank of the Danube, as proposed by Conrad – Stanchev (2002).

*Units:* *militēs Dacisci* in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD (Not. Dign. Or. 40.21)

Coins: no data available, although three coins hoards with Late Hellenistic and Celtic coins are coming from the area.

### **51. Sexaginta/ Sexanta Prista (Ruse) [43.8457; 25.9449; 38 m]**

Škorpil 1905, 452-4; B-L, 229; Iv. 487 and 582-3; ZG, 20; D. Stanchev, in *Ivanov* 2, 56-62; Gudea 2005, 427-8, l. 20.

*Name:* see Sarnowski 1987, in *Ratiarensia* 3-4, 261-266, suggesting it should originate from the 60 *centuriae* of a legion (carried onto ships), probably during Domitian’s Dacian war in 85-6 AD.

*Excavation:* 1878– by the local Catholic abbot; 1976-1978 rescue by D. Stanchev; 2005-2012 by V. Vurbanov and D. Dragoev.

*Location:* fort on high Danube bank, north-west of the modern town centre near the mouth of the Russenski Lom river, timber and earth, early fort and a naval base (Flavian?); fort re-built in stone under Trajan (c.100 AD).

*Units:* fleet station(?), *cohors VII Gallorum*; *cohors II Mattiacorum* – attested in AD 145 - AE (1979), 554; *coh. II Flavia Brittonum equitata* (3<sup>rd</sup> century) – re-building (‘a solo restituta’) of a *balneum* dated AD 230 (CIL III 7473); a detachment of *legio I Italica* (stamps); late 4<sup>th</sup> century: *cuneus equitum armigerorum*.

*Praesidium:* late fort constructed AD 298/9 under Diocletian and Maximian (AE (1966), 357), re-built under Justinian I.

Bronze weights with inlaid silver letters have been linked with Severan organization of *annona militaris*: AE (1994), 1529.

*Inscriptions*: CIL III 7472-7473; 12446-12450; a late-1<sup>st</sup> century bronze legionary helmet with 3 soldiers' names of *legio V Macedonica* inscribed, kept in Sofia NHM Museum (E. Peeva – N. Sharankov, in *Archaeologia bulgarica* 10, 2006, no. 1, 25-33).

**Coins**: From the 'sanctuary of Apollo' and principia (excavated 2005-2012), see Howthorne – Vurbanov – Dragoev 2011, 80-81 and Vurbanov 2012:

- 69 stray coins in total, from a plated imitation denarius of Augustus down to radiates of Aurelian and Probus.

— A hoard of 1.602 AR (den.+ ant), found in 1916 by soldiers near the town (Muschmow 1918, 43-54; Kubitschek 1918, 42; Găzdac 2002, 715-6), from Trajan down to Trajan Decius (*t.p.q.* AD 250), including a Hadrianic drachm of Amisos, dated year 168 = AD 136.

— A further hoard of 44 AR coins, found in 1934 (Gerassimov 1937, 315; Găzdac 2002, 716) from Sept. Severus down to Philip I (*t.p.q.* AD 248-9).

## **52. Ruse, Selishte**

ZG, 20a.

Location: *burgus*; remains of a tower, mid-2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century, on the top of Neolithic tell, at the Eastern end of town (Sugar factory), near the Danube.

Brick stamps: *legio I Italica* and *[Fl.] Rumorid(us)*, c.360-370s AD (under Valens and Valentinian I).

**Coins**: 13 coins from Vespasian (*denarius*), Faustina Junior down to to antoniniani of Aurelian and Probus (*cf.* G. Georgiev – N. Angelov, *BIA* 18 (Sofia 1952), 123, and *Idem*, *BIA* 21 (Sofia 1957), 44).

## **53. Shumen – ‚Shumenska Krepost‘**

B-L, 239: ZG 133.

Location: A Thracian and Roman settlement, fortified in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, on a secluded rocky plateau 3 km west of the city of Shumen.

**Coins**: *cf.* V. Antonova, in *Archeologija* 20/ 4 (Sofia 1978), p. 22:

- **Caligula – for M. Agrippa: 1 AE As, 37-41 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 58)**
- **Vespasian: 1 AR den. ?**

## **54. Madara**

Дремсизова-Нелчинова / Dremsizova-Nelchinova, in *RP* 11 (Sofia 1984).

*Excavation*: begun by I. Velkov in 1924, resumed by Tz. Dremsizova in 1948, later V. Antonova and Tz. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, G. Athanasov in the 1980-1990s.

*Location:* A large Roman *villa rustica* in the locality 'Klise-Yeri' near village of Madara, spread over 2ha with an adjacent sanctuary.

*Coins:* Gerassimov (1960), 57 and 61; Dremsizova-Nelchinova, in *RP* 11 (1984), 83, 87, 97 and 102, and D. Vladimirova-Aladzova (1992), 191-200:

A total of 145 stray coins reported:

- **Vespasian:** 3 Denarii:
  - 1 D. – **70 AD**, type RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 43 [No. 1 - from Villa 1, room no. 29]
  - 1 D – **Jan.-June 70 AD**, type RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 19 (COS ITER TRPOT [No. 42 - from Baths, E of the main building])
- **Domitian:** 2 Den, 1 – **87/8 AD:** Minerva stg. r. – IMP XIII COS...? [No. 43 – from baths, W of room no. IX];
- **Trajan:** 1 D., 1 *drachm* and 3 AE Asses, etc.
- Numerous late Roman and early Byzantine coins 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century, down to Justinian I.

### **55. Dineia? (Voyvoda)** [43.459; 27.143]

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 27; Z, 53; Vladimirova-Aladzova, in *Ivanov* 3, 122-35.

Early road station and late fortified town

*Excavation:* field survey by the Škorpil brothers in 1899/1900; trial digs by V. Antonova in 1963; regular excavation in 1968–1976 by A. Milchev and St. Damyanov; after 1976 - unpublished digs of the site by the late G. Athanassov of Shumen museum.

*Location:* early road station on the route *Abritus – Marcianopolis* and early 4<sup>th</sup> century fortified town in the locality 'Hisarluka', 1.5 km southeast of Voyvoda on a flat plateau along the river Teke, U-shaped towers in *opus mixtum* and later *protheihisma*-wall (early 5<sup>th</sup> century), space fortified 4-5 ha /or bigger/, walls thick 3.10-3.25 m, in irregular 5-partite shape.

Brick stamps: over 50,000 fragments – of private producers' stamps such as ANNIA, DVLES, DIONISIS, ANICETVS, ASTERIS, MERCVRIS, TATIANVS, etc.

*Coins:* numerous coins from site; A group of coins was found in 1924 by treasure-hunters (cf. И. Моллов / Mollov 1925, 141):

1. Macedonia and Thrace:
  - Philip II: 1 AE
  - Alexander III: 4 AR tetradr.
  - Lysimachos: 1 AR tetr.
2. Roman coins:
  - Hadrian (1 AE sest.),
  - Antoninus Pius (1 Den);
  - Faustina (1 AE),
  - Julia Domna (1 Den),

- Alexander Severus (1 den),
- Gordian III (47 ant); Philip I (9 ant.),
- bronze provincial issues of Tomis and Marcianopolis (Gordian III and Tranquillina),
- down to Constans (6 AE nummi).

Five hoards of AE4 of the 5<sup>th</sup> century found during the 1970-1976 excavation: 92, 87, 53 and 38 specimens resp. – all *nummi* AE4, down to Leo I.

Early Byzantine coins end with issues of Justin II and Sophia, cf. Владимирова-Аладжова/ Vladimirova-Aladzova (2008), 130-1.

### **56. Cherencha** [43.334; 26.767; 230m]

Škorpil 1905, 441, pl. 96/3b.

*Location:* Late? fort 150 x 180 m, 3.5 km northwest of the village, on the hill 'Fisseka', now 130 m south of the road Shumen – Targovishte. Three U-shaped and one round corner tower were noted. Now eroded and partially destroyed.

**57. Razgrad regions interior fortifications.** Sites with occupation prior to fourth century (ZG nos):

**Braknitsa**, fort (ZG 130)

**Dralfa**, fort? (ZG 131)

**Rish**, fort (ZG 134)

### **58. Kovachevets / ?**

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 471-2, pl. 101/3.a; I. Doncheva, in Slokoska *et al.* (2002), 220-7.

Late fortified settlement and town

*Location:* 3km east of Kovachevets, west of the town of Popovo, on the Imperial road *Marcianopolis – Nicopolis ad Istrum*, Hadrianic road-station and a 4<sup>th</sup> century stone-fortified town with a triangular plan and 17 U-shaped towers and 2 gates, walls thick 3.20m.

Brick stamps: numerous private producers' stamps such as ANNIA, MARCIA, AVXAN, SARM, RAELI, AVGG / MAR, etc.

Coins: Unspecified - Roman Republican and Imperial as well Byzantine coins (cf. Škorpil 1905, 472).

Modern excavation after 1992 produced only late Roman issues – of the 4<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century AD, earliest issue of Macrinus (217-218), latest of Justin II and Sophia.

### **59. Tegra / Tigra (Marten)**

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 451-2, pl. 100/2a-b; B-L, 228; Iv, 487; ZG, 21; Gudea 2005, 428, I. 21.

*Location:* Flavian(?) auxiliary fort with upstream observation over the Danube as far as Ruse, triangular plan, 600 x 600 x 265 'paces', possible early fort (finds).



*Units*: brick stamps of *legio I Italica* (detachment) and *coh. III* [Collecta?] (CIL III, 2107); 4<sup>th</sup> century: *cuneus equitum secundarum armigerorum*.

*Inscriptions*: a milestone of the Aurelian period.

*Sculpture*: a fine marble bust of *Athena Pallas*, h. 32cm (cf. Dobrusky, in *Annuiare Sofia* I, 1907, 177, no. 224, fig. 145); a relief of Apollo (Dobrusky, in *SbNUNK* 16-17, 1900, 175).

*Coins*: Unspecified – Roman Republican and Imperial, plus early Byzantine (Škorpil 1905, 452). A significant number of Roman coins were found there by detectorists in the 1990-2000's, all unspecified, un-recorded.

## 60. Appiaria (Ryahovo)

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 450-1; B-L, 228-9; Iv. 487; ZG, 22; TIR L35, 23; R. Ivanov, in Ivanov 2 (2003), 63-9; Gudea 2005, 429, l. 22.

*Location*: "Ryahovsko kale" – eroded remains of fort and settlement on the Danube's right bank, 6-7 km east of the modern town, some 10-15 m above the river; parts of the fortification walls were visible in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century: sections long 80 m, thick 2.5m.

*Units*: Flavian time – 2 cohortes, one was *cohors* [Gall?] *orum* (construction of the fort or building within?/, AD 76); *ala I Aetectori[gi]ana Antoniniana* (late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century – CIL III, 12452); late 4<sup>th</sup> century *militēs tertii nauclarii* and detachment of *legio XI Claudia*.

*Inscriptions*: CIL III 12451-12453, Kalinka 1906, no. 373; Бешевлиев / Beshevliev 1952, 71-72, no. 122 = AE (1957) 307 = Ivanov 2003, 64 – A Vespasianic building inscription dated to AD 76 (TR POT VII, IMP XV, COS VII).

*Coins*: Single coins from this site known, see in a short note in D. Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2000, 235-9:

- **Augustan asses (and imitations)**: 6 AE (1 Dup & 5 Asses), countermarked with **TI•CA, TICAE, AVG**, and **PR**, hosts coins almost illegible [Shumen museum];
- **Caligula, 37-38 AD**: 1 AE As, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 38), Rome, VESTA, 30 mm, MW [Russe, no. 91, acquired 1948];
- **Claudius – for Antonia Minor, 41-50 AD**: 1 AE Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 92), Rome, 29 mm, MW [Russe, no. 80, acquired 1942];
- **Nero, 65-67 AD**: AR Den, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 60 or 72), SALVS, 20mm, MW [Russe, no. 82, acquired 1942];
- **Nero**: AE Dup/Sest? /very worn host, 29mm/ (RIC I, ?.), Obv. rectangular countermark – **GALB IMP** (*sic!*) [see Владимирова-Аладжова/ Vladimirova-Aladjova 1986, 36-8 [Shumen, no. 12163];
- **Vespasian**: AE (Sest?), unspecified, in a group of 213 Roman coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. AD [before 1911, see ФИЛОВ / FILOW, 1911, 274];
- **Nerva, 96-97 AD**: AE Sest, (RIC I, 84 or 99?), Fortuna Avgvsti / SC, 28mm, MW [Ruse, no. 81, acquired 1942];
- **Hadrian, c.119-121 AD**: AE As/Sest (RIC II, unspecified)-PONTMAX COS III/ SC, Rome [Russe, no. 1, acquired 1948].

— **Trajan:** 1 Den; 1 Dup. (Russe, nos. 1 and 1874).

Around 1900 K. Shkorpil examined “numerous coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Aurelian, Probus, etc.” (Shkorpil 1905, 451), found on the sandy river bank.

### **61. Kynton = Quintum? (Nova Cherna) [44.005; 26.447]**

Milchev – Angelova 1971; B-L, 228; Iv, 487 and 583-5; Gudea 2005, 429, I. 22a.

*Location:* *quadriburgium* on the site of a Thracian settlement, Diocletianic?, replaced by a late fort, c. 90 x 90 m, possibly from the 6<sup>th</sup> century (*Kynton* in Procopius?), 2.9 km north-west of the village, 2.9 km south of the current bank of the Danube (marshy land).

Coins: ? Unpublished, data not available.

### **62. Transmarisca (Tutrakan)**

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 450, pl. 115/4a; B-L, 230; Iv. 487 and 585-6; ZG, 23; Petkov, in Bülow – Milcheva, (1999), 237-43; Gudea 2005, 429-31, I. 23; Vagalinski 2010.

Late fort

*Location:* A Flavian garrisoned fort on the Danube bank opposite mouth of the river Arges, and later fortified town, now beneath the modern town.

Plan: trapezoid 200x240x200x300 m; space ca. 6.5 ha, Diocletianic (dated 301-305 AD) with massive U- and square-shaped towers.

*Units:* *coh. I Thracum Syriaca* – 2<sup>nd</sup> century, stamps of *legio XI Claudia*; 4<sup>th</sup> century - *milites Novenses, praefectus ripae legionis undecimae Claudiaae cohortis quintae pedaturae superioris*.

*Inscriptions:* CIL III 6151 (...*praesidium constituerant*); AE (1939), 10 (Trajanic),

Coins: Unpublished records of the 1995-2000 excavation, numerous late Roman coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

### **63. Pozharevo**

ZG, 23b; TIR L35, 39.

remains of possible fort or road settlement on the Danube bank

### **64. Dunavets**

B-L, 260; ZG, 23c; TIR L35, 40.

possible fort or road station on the Danube bank, turf wall 40 x 35 m, surrounded by ditch, 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century finds, northeast of Dunavets village.

### **65. Dolno Rjahovo?**

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 448, pl. 114/2 a-c; B-L, 260; ZG, 24; Vagalinski 2004, 38-44; Gudea 2005, 431-2, I. 24.

*Location:* Polygonal stone fortification, auxiliary fort/?, 170 x 240 x 145 x 163 'paces', 3 km north-east of the village of Dolno Oriahovo on a flat terrace on the Danube bank at the 'Yayla' hill, locality 'Lyaskovets'. Now estimated at 0.47 ha.

*Units:* LEGXICLFCAND = *legio XI Cl(audia) F(idelis) f(iglina) Cand(idiana)*, and COH.I.O.B – *cohors I Bracarum?* (on brick stamps, Vagalinski 2004, 39-41, fig.1-2)

*Coins:* data not available.

**66. *Nigrinianis & Candidiana (Malak Preslavets) [fmr. Kadu–kioy]* [44.096; 26.827]**

Шкорпил / Shkorpil 1905, 448, pl. 99/c.1; Велков / Velkov, in *Archeologija* (Sofia) 1, 1959, 24-9; В-Л, 228; Ів. 487-8 and Ivanov (1997), 586-87; ZG, 25; R. Ivanov, in *Ivanov 2*, 70-4; Gudea 2005, 432, l. 24.

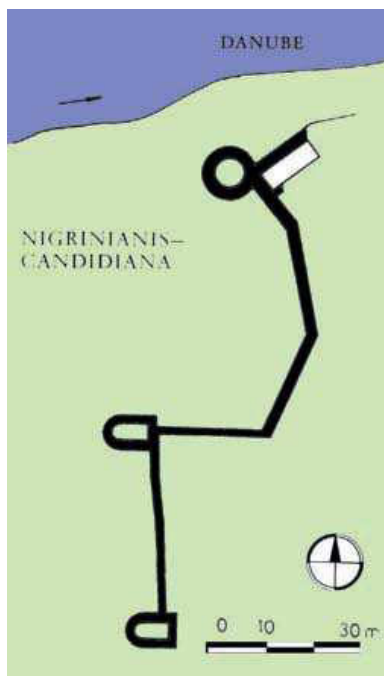
*Location:* fort (or two forts?) in the locality 'Dolno Gradishte'/'Marata' and 'Gorno Gradishte', above the steep Danube bank left of Kadi-Kioy stream, 400 x 400 'paces', 500 m southwest of the Danube quay. Late fort with stone fortification with U-shaped towers.

*Name:* possibly after *Nigrinus* (M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus), first governor of *Moesia Inferior*, 86-89 AD (Dio 67.6.3-5; Sarnowski 1988, 49).

*Units:* 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century - *cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*: AE (1964), 180.

Late fort, renamed under Diocletian - *Candidiana*, with U-shaped towers under Constantine; 4<sup>th</sup> century - *milites primi Moesiaci*.

Brick workshops: *f(iglina) Cand[idianae]* – stamps of *legio XI Claudia*, Constantinian time.



**Fig. 16.18. *Nigrinianis-Candidiana* / Maluk Preslavets, ground plan (after Dyczek 2008).**

*Imperial statue:* A colossal (~3.20 m) bronze cuirassed statue of an emperor with 2 Victories: body parts but no head, probably Domitian after the double triumph in AD 89(?), found by chance in 1985 near the fort ruins [exhibited at the National History Museum, Sofia], see Ив. Венедиков / Venedikov, 1985, 33-106.

*Inscriptions:* fragments of 2 military diplomas, resp. date to 145 and 178 AD: RMD III, 165 = RMD V, 399 and CIL XVI, 128.

Coins: No data about any stray coins found.

- A hoard of 2.669 radiates, from Gordian III to Aurelian (Gerassimov 1950, 324; Gerov 1977, no. 302 – unpublished).

### **67. Garvan**

Škorpil 1905, 448, pl. 99/c.1; B-L, 260; ZG, 26.

*Location:* fort on the Danube bank near Balta marsh, early finds, 100 x 100 m, stamps of *legio I Italica*.

Coins: No data available

### **68. Kyuchiuk-ghiol-kale**

Škorpil 1905, 448-9, pl. 94/2.b; ZG, 26d.

Possible *burgus* east of Kyuchuk lake near the Danube road, 140 x 90 x 60 'paces'.

Coins: No data available

### **69. Garvan Island**

ZG, 26e

A probable fort or road settlement 60 x 30 m, 400 m from the Danube.

Coins: No data available

### **70. Popina**

Škorpil 1905, 447-448, pl. 99/c.2; B-L, 260; ZG, 27; Gudea 2005, 433, I. 27.

*Location:* Triangular fort 'Gradishte' north-west of Popina on the edge of Malki Dunav channel, 300x330x94+ by 415 'paces', with early finds.

### **71. Popina – 'Oreshak'** [44.12833, 26.96869]

Škorpil 1905, 447, pl. 99/c.1 and 3; B-L, 260; ZG, 28; Gudea 2005, 33, I. 28.

*Location:* Square fort east of Popina village on the bank of the Danube in locality 'Oreshaka', rectangular 200x220 by 260 'paces' with a ditch, brick stamps of *legio XI Claudia p.f.*

Coins: a few stray coins, now in Silistra museum:

1. **C. Vibius Pansa, 90 BC** (RRC 342/5b?): 1, HW, pierced twice, b/marks (Silistra, no. 1139);
2. **Mark Antony, 32/1 BC – legionary LEG [IIII]**, (RRC 544/16?): 1, VW, scratches (Silistra, no. 164).

### **72. Tegulicium (Vetren)**

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 446-7, pl. 99/d.1 and 2; B-L, 230; Iv, 488 and 587; ZG, 29; Gudea 2005, 433-4, I.29.

Location: 2<sup>nd</sup> century fort on promontory above late fort, with deep ravines on three sides between Vetren stream, the Danube and a lake south of Sreburna village, trapezoid 200 x 130 x 80 x 58 m. The northern part collapsed into the Danube.

Units: detachment of *legio XI Claudia* (stamps); 4th century – *milites Moesiaci*.

Coins: numerous stray coins (mostly radiates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) found on a sand beach north of the site in the 1990-2000s, all unpublished.

### 73. Tataritsa

ZG, 29f.

A possible fortlet or road settlement.

### 74. Durostorum (Silistra)

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 444-6; B-L, 229; Iv, 488 and 587-90; ZG, 30; R. Ivanov, in *Ivanov 1* (2003), 75-86; Gudea 2005, 434-40, I.30; Ivanov – Atanasov – Donevski, *Durostorum 1* (2006); Angelova – Bachvarov (Berlin-New York 2007), 61-87; Angelova – Bachvarov, in *Ivanov 3*, 82-101.

Legionary fort and *municipium*

*Excavation*: rescue since 1969; regular 1976-2007 – by the late S. Angelova, I. Bachvarov, P. Donevski et alii; since 2007 continued by R. Koleva et alii.

*Location*: fort in the southwestern part of Silistra; approximate fortified size: 480 x 360 m, 18 ha. *Canabae legionis XI Claudia* localised to ca. 600 m to the east, space 25-30 ha.

*Units*: Domitianic: *cohors II (Flavia) Brittonum equitata* (attested 99 AD); legionary camp and fortress, Trajanic (AD 106–), 400 x 390 m, *legio XI Claudia* – after AD 105/6 (Ritterling 1924/5, col. 1697 ff); *portorium* station; fleet base; *canabae Aeliae* (CIL III, 7474, dated 145 AD); *municipium Aurelium Durostorum* – established probably under Commodus / Severus.

*Inscriptions*: CIL III, 7474; 12454–12460; 7474; AE (1985) 726-728.

Late fortification on the Danube bank; 4<sup>th</sup> century – *milites quarti Constantini, praefectus legionis undecimae Claudia*.

Location of fortress, *municipium*, street-network, and cemetery: Donevski, *Limes XV*, 277-80 and Angelova – Bachvarov 2007, 65-78; public and private baths: *Limes XIX*, Abstracts 64-65; stamped bricks: Ivanov 2002, 125-48.

*Roman portraiture*: see V. Popova-Moroz – I. Bachvarov, *Dacia* 36 (1992), 13-21.

Coins:

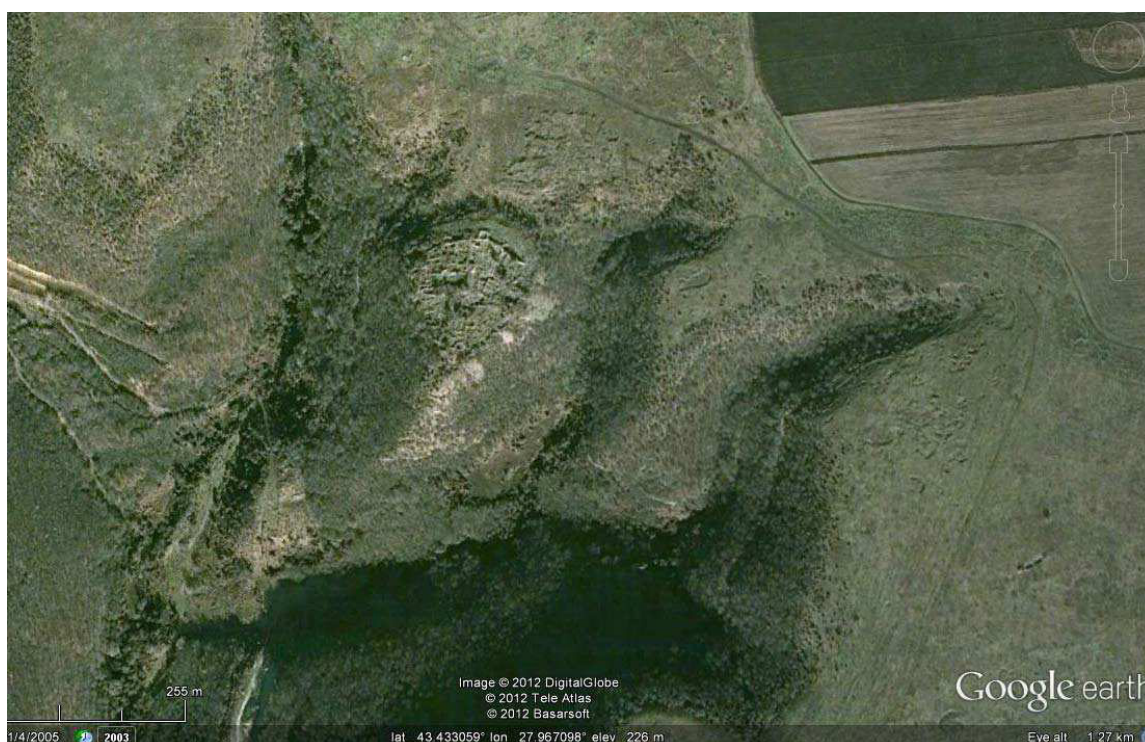
1. A large hoard of 940 *denarii* (Gerassimov 1965, 249; Gerov 1977, no. 37) found 1963, from Germanicus down to M. Aurelius and L. Verus (t.p.q. AD 164);
2. Further, a hoard of 35 *denarii* down to Marcus and Faustina Junior, 161/2 AD found in 1978 in excavation of *canabae legionis* (Христов /Hristov, in *Numizmatika* (Sofia 1987), 17-26 = *IRRCHBulg*, 96);

3. Hoard of *ca.* 200 *denarii* (Gerassimov 1965, 249; Gerov 1977, no. 53) from Vespasian down to down to Septimius Severus;
4. Hoard of 750 *antoniniani* (Gerassimov 1962, 232; Gerov 1977, no. 159) found in 1958, from Gordian III to Philippus I (*t.p.q.* AD 249).

**75. Odartzi (fmr. Yastuk-chilar), near Dobrich [43.4334, 27.9662; 240 m]**

Шкорпил / Škorpil 1905, 375-376, 561; ZG, 67; Дончева-Петкова / Doncheva-Petkova, *Одърци* 1 (Sofia 1991); Торбатов / Torbatov 2002.

*Location:* a *vicus* and Late Antique fortified town - on a flat plateau near Batovska river, 1 km south from the village, in the locality 'Kaletó'. Triangular shape 115 x 160 x 190 'paces', with towers, walls built in *opus quadratum* stone blocks, *vallum* and ditch in front.



**Fig. 16.19. Odartzi – satellite photograph, 2003 (after Google Earth™).**

*Excavation:* field surveys by K. Škorpil in 1904, later by M. Mirchev and D.I. Dimitrov of Varna in 1958; regular excavation between 1967–1979 and 1983–1991 under a joint Bulgarian-Polish archaeological team, led by Al. and U. Dymaszewski and L. Doncheva-Petkova, D. Toptanov, V. Parushev, S. Torbatov, *et alii*.

Coins: Numerous site finds, only 6 early Principate coins out of 312 in total published from site (*cf.* ТОРБАТОВ / TORBATOV 2002, pp. 36, 39–40, 44):

- **Nero, 64–66 AD:** 1 AE As, (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 198), Rome, 25x25.5 mm, 10.26g, MW, extra muros sector, [Dobrich, 2646; Torbatov 2002, 44, B.1];
- **1<sup>st</sup> century AE As,** completely illegible, Rome, 23.4x25.4 mm, 8.08g, HW [Dobrich, 2612; Torbatov 2002, 40, A.4];

- **Vespasian, 74-75 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC II 577a – incorrect ID), Rome, 26x27.3 mm, 9.79g, MW [Dobrich, 2612; Torbatov 2002, 39, A.1, fig.11.1];
- **Vespasian, 74-75 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC II 577a = RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, ?), Rome, 25x26.7 mm, 7.23g, MW, *extra muros* sector, [Dobrich, 2644; Torbatov 2002, 44, B.2];
- **Domitian, AD:** 1 Den plated, (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, unspecified, illegible), Rome?, 17x18 mm, 1.60g, HW, pierced twice, from a medieval house 32, [Dobrich, 2582; Torbatov 2002, 39, A.2];
- **Domitian, 81-96? AD:** 1 AE As (RIC II<sup>2</sup>, unspecified, illegible), Rome, 26.7x27.3 mm, 9.34g, HW [Dobrich, 3339; Torbatov 2002, 39, A.3].

## **76. Dobrich region - interior fortifications**

Sites occupied prior to 4<sup>th</sup> century (with ZG numbers):

- Perchenlik**, fort (ZG 136)
- Debrene**, fort? (138);
- Hrabovo**, fortified settlement (139);
- Balgarevo near Kaliakra kape**, *burgus* (140);
- Sirakovo**, *burgus* (141);
- Sredina**, fort? (142)
- Vasilevo**, fortified settlement (143);
- Plachidol**, fortified settlement (144);
- Dolina**, fort? (145);
- Kamen**, fort? (146);
- Ograzhden**, fort? (147);
- Konten**, fort? (149);
- Gaber**, fort? (150);
- Tsurkva**, *burgus* (151).

Sites with later occupation (B-L nos. 231-40, 261-2):

- Balik** (3);
- Kapitan Dimitrovo** (45);
- Onogur** (68);
- Osenovo** (69);
- Plachidol** (70);
- Vojnikovo** (ZG 92).

## **Odessus to Sexaginta Prista**

### **77. Marcianopolis (Reka Devnia / Devnja) – 24 m.p. [usque ad Odessus]**

Škorpil 1905, 469-70; Kalinka 1906, 359-60, fig. 160; Gerov 1975, 49-72; B-L, 233; ZG 137; Angelov, *Marcianopol* (Russe 1999); Ангелов / Angelov, in *Ivanov 1*, 105-24.

Planned post-Trajanic and late antique city

*Excavation*: field surveys by Teplyakov and Blaramberg in 1829; of K. Jireček in 1884; trial digs and plan by E. Kalinka and H. Hartl in 1898; excavation by A. Minchev and P. Georgiev in 1976-7, and A. Angelov in the 1978-1986 – a city residential complex (*villa urbana*) with mosaics, space 1402m<sup>2</sup>, dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century (now exhibited in the 'Museum of mosaics').

Late (Tetrarchic?) Amphitheatre building was partially excavated in the 1960s, with an ellipsoid shape, area ca. 4000m<sup>2</sup> (Petrov1967; Angelov 2002, 117-118; Vagalinski 2009).

*Location*: in the northwestern end of the Devnya valley, in locality 'Hissar' on both sides of the river. Planned Trajanic city (after AD 106-110) named after his sister Marciana, fortified area of around 70 hectares, probably built under Marcus and Commodus.

Important military site in the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century (HQ of Valens during the Gothic war in 366-9). Construction of fortifications in the territory of the city in AD 152: *AE* (2000), 1268. *Marcianopolis* belonged to the territory of Thrace (from its establishment to AD195/6), then it was transferred to Moesia Inferior.

*Inscriptions*: CIL III 12445; *IGBulg.* 797–826. A Greek epitaph of a gladiator, late 2<sup>nd</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> century: *AE* (1996), 1337. CIL VIII 18084 – a tombstone from Lambaesis, Numidia, veteran of *legio III Augusta* born in Marcianopolis (late Hadrianic or time of Pius).

*Sarcophagi*: marble sarcophagi of marble stone imported from Proconessus island in the Marmara sea (Angelov 2002, 119).

*Eastern cults*: in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD – a number of monuments and coins with depictions of Serapis, Glykon, etc.

Coins: - No published records of the site finds.

- A number of Roman coins from Marcianopolis were acquired and brought by the Russian Imperial army to Odessa in 1829.
- For the famous 'Reka Devnia' hoard, found in November 1929 in a ruined building in town, see N. Mouchmoff, (Sophia 1934), Gerov 1977, in *ANRW* II/6, no. 242, pp. 417-8 and *IRRCHBulg*, no. 75.
- Mixed hoard of 158 coins found in 1964: 7 den. and 151 AE provincials, from Septimius Severus to Philippus I – 90 Marcianopolis; 7 Odessus, 7 Mesembria, 1 Bizye (Gerassimov 1965, 118; Мирчев 1971, 194-198; Gerov 1977, no. 158).



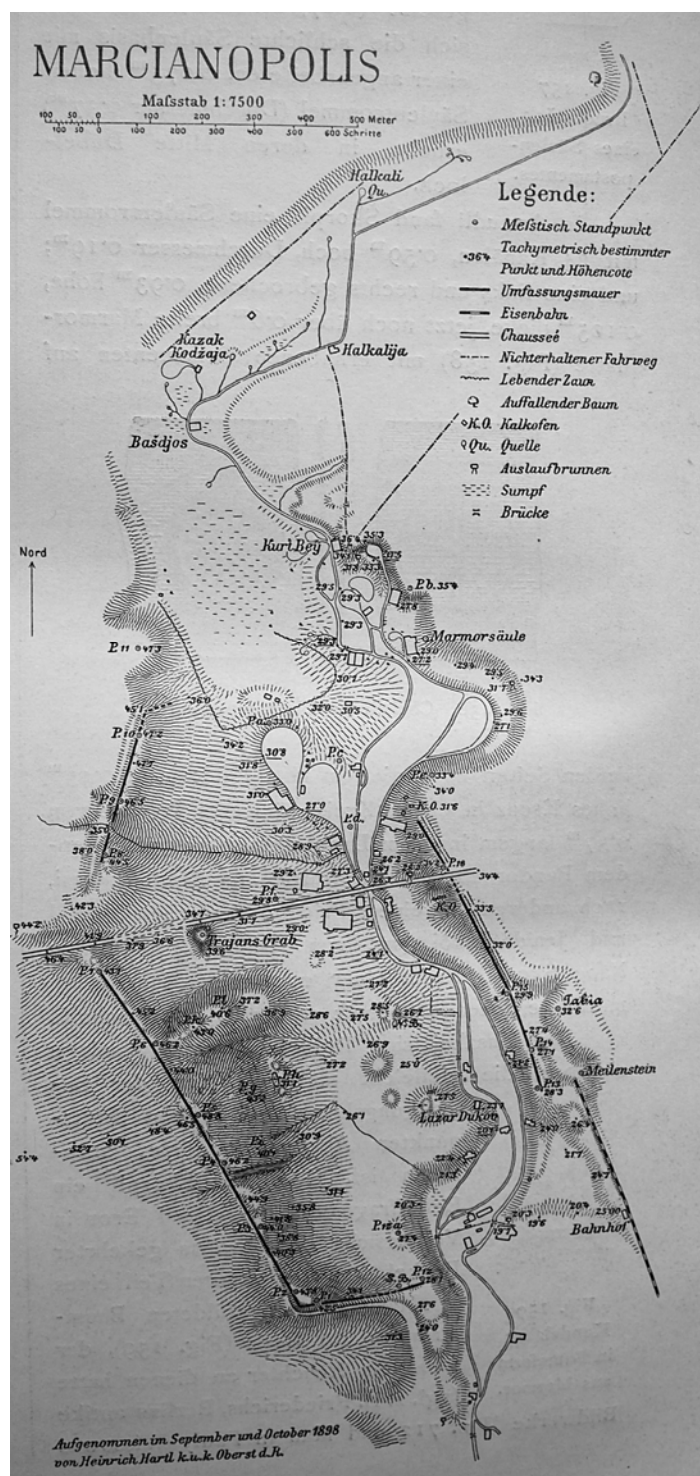


Fig. 16.20. Marcianopolis and its environs (plan after Kalinka 1906)

- Another small hoard found in 1970 (= CH 2, 150), with 153 AR (den.+ant.) and 147 AE provincials, from Sept. Severus to Philip I (8 AEs).
- Coins of the 1970-80's are not specified, all unpublished. Presumably late Roman and early Byzantine.

### **78. Abritus / Abrittus (Razgrad)**

Škorpil 1905, 489-92; Gerov, *Romanisation* (1961) 41ff ; B-L, 238; ZG 132; T. Ivanov 1980; Radoslavova – Dzanev, in Ivanov 2 (2003), 110-48.

*Excavations*: 1887, 1893 and 1928 by A. Yavashov; 1953-1978 by T. Ivanov and S. Stoyanov; 1990-1999 and after 2004– (with interruptions) by P. Georgiev, G. Radoslavova and G. Dzanev.

*Location*: on a hill in the locality 'Hisarluka' on the Razgrad outskirts on the southern and western bank of the Beli Lom, where a Thracian settlement existed. It was the centre of the strategy *Rysike* under the reign of Rhoemetalces II (altar erected by Apollonius, son of Heptaikenthos of Bizye, a royal *strategos*) under Tiberius, ca. AD 19–21.

Centre (name unknown) of a Thracian regional strategy named '*Risyke*', at the time of king Rhoemetalces II and Tiberius, ca. 19–26 AD (*IGBulg* I/2, 378; II, 743; Ivanov (1980), 10-7).

Roman civic settlement (*cives R(omani) et consistentes*) and a fort - *castellum* of *cohors II Lucensium* (from the Flavian time [before 78 AD] – 136 AD); military station - *vexillatio legio XI Claudia* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century; *canabae* – probably east of the site in the locality 'Selishte', 300m from the town.

Battlefield and place of the death of emperor Trajan Decius, AD June-July 251: around *Abritus* near the so-called *Forum Sempronii / Decius's altar* (Dexipp, frg. 16a), now localised near the village of Dryanovets, 15km west of *Abritus*.

Late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century (Licinius / Constantine?) fortified town with U-shaped towers – 295 x 354 x 339 x 359 m; space c.15 ha, 35 towers and 4 gates.

New *beneficiarius cos.* attested to by votives, one to Epona, incorporated into later walls: R. Ivanov, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 484-6; *AE* (1993), 1369-1370).

*Inscriptions*: *IGBulg* II, 743-744; *IGBulg* V, 5264-5266; the majority of Latin inscriptions (many gravestones set into late walls foundation) are not published yet.

Coins: see now a detailed account by G. Dzanev, in Ivanov 2 (2003), 137-141. Earlier records on stray coins: Филлов / Filov, in *BIAB* 1 (1910), 225; Явашов / Yavashov 1930, 57.

Site finds of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and later coins:

- **Vespasian**: 1 AE (Sest/As?), highly worn [from sarcophagus in the southern cemetery (found 1910);
- **Claudius – for Germanicus**: 1 AE As, pierced [from building 8, near the large peristyle building in town];
- **Otho**: 1, unspecified, lost [from the southern cemetery too, lost, or in Sofia?]
- **Nerva**: 1 AE As, from excavation in the early *canabae*, east of the town];
- **Hadrian**: 1 AE (sest?); 1 den. In town [from west portico of the peristyle building]
- **Marcus Aurelius**: 1 AE? – from building 2;
- **Sept. Severus**: AE? from storage 11, etc.



**Fig. 16.21. Abritus site – satellite photograph, 2003 (after Google Earth™).**

Provincials AE's of Moesia/Thrace cities – mainly Severan and down to Philip I and II. The bulk of coins found date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – to 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, see Дзанев / Dzanev (2003), 139-141.

- A major hoard of 835 *solidi* of 480's AD, found in May 1973 near the east city wall (close to Tower 14), running from Theodosius II to Zeno and Leontius (unpublished in details): see Стоянов/ Stojanov 1982; *CH* 4, 179; *RIC* 10, p. lxxxviii; Dzanev 2003, 141.

Reconstruction and revival of the city in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD: coins from Justin I to Justin II and Tiberius Constantine (down to 581/2 AD).

### **Marcianopolis to Durostorum**

#### **79. Palmatis (Kochular?)**

ZG 152.

Fortified settlement

One of two milestones of AD 237/8 records distance 'a Palmatis m.p. II[...]'. *AE* (2001), 1736-1737.

**80. Zaldapa (Abrit)**

Škorpil 1905, 493-9, pl. 111/c; ZG 148; Torbatov, *Zaldapa* (Sofia 2002).

Late fortified town

*Location*: ‘Aptaat-Kale’ / ‘Dobri-kale’ on a naturally elevated flat plateau, long 3 km, 2.5 km south-east of the village of Abrit.

*Plan*: A roadside settlement with a late Roman irregular-shaped stone fortification, 340 x 400 x 200 ‘paces’ (780 x 510 m S-N W-E) with 29 towers and 3 gates, a ditch and *vallum*, at the middle of the road *Durostorum – Callatis*.

*Inscriptions*: *CIL* III, 12508, 14464, etc.

*Coins*: numerous late Roman Imperial and Byzantine coins, see a summary in Torbatov 2002.

## **2. Province of Thrace (after AD 45/6)**

### **Naissus to Serdica – Diagonal road (by Dragoman pass)**

**81. Ballanstra (Kalotina) [42.979; 22.834]**

Делирадев / Deliradev 1941, 28; Gerov 1961, *Westthrakien*, x; Tacheva 2004, 92-3; Madzharov 2009, 75.

Roadside station – *mutatio itineris*

*Location*: in the locality ‘Tsurkvushteto’, some 2 km west of the railway station.

*Inscription*: milestones – one for Philip and Otacilia Severa (*cf.* Beshevliev 1952, 19-20, no. 18 = *IGBulg* IV, 2037 = *IGBulg* V, 5771), dated to AD 247, under Sex. Furnius Publianus legate; another one in a fragment – Kalinka 1906, no. 77.

**82. Meldia (Dragoman) – IX m.p. (usque ad *Scretisca*) [42.880; 22.997]**

Делирадев / Deliradev 1941, 28-9; Tacheva 2004, 91, 104; Madzharov 2009, 75.

Roadside station – *mutatio itineris*

*Location*: between Slivnitsa and Dragoman, along the modern road Kalotina–Sofia at the modern junction to Aldomirovtsi village, in the locality ‘Izvor’.

*Inscriptions*: two milestones for Philip I and Otacilia Severa (*cf.* Kalinka 1906, no. 65 and V. Gerasimova-Tomova – Hollenstein 1977, 96 = AE 1978, 722), dated to AD ca. 247, marking 32 miles from *Serdica*, possibly misplaced (from Kalotina?).

**83. Scretisca / Scretiscara (Kostinbrod) – XII m.p. (usque ad *Serdica*) [42.7985; 23.176]**

Bozhilova 1987, 75-81; Dinchev 1997, 83-94; Tacheva 2004, 93-4; Dinchev in *RP* 30 (Sofia 2003); Dinchev, in *RP* 35 (2005); Madzharov 2009, 77-9.

Roadside station (*mutatio*) and residence

*Location:*

- Station – 1,600 m southwest of the town of Kostinbrod. Building in T-shape form, some 730 m<sup>2</sup>, probably constructed in AD 317-324, burnt and abandoned after AD 378.
- A large late Roman residential building, 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century – in the locality ‘Gradishteto’, 800 m southwest of the town of Kostinbrod, south of the modern road towards Prolesha village, along the Belitsa river.

Inscriptions: *IGBulg IV*, 2022 – veteran votive by Titus Flavius Tarsas, *cornicularius*, late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.; *IGBulg IV*, 2016 – milestone of Gordian III, dated AD 238-240.

Coins: a number of late Roman coins of early 4<sup>th</sup> century to mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, see Dinchev 2003, 24, 26-7, 53-54, etc.

84. **Serdica (Sofia)** [see no. 93]

### **Stobi to Serdica**

(via Bregalnitsa valley, not via Deve Bayir/Gyueshevo pass)

85. **Tranupara (Krupishte [near Bargala], FYROM)** – XX m.p.

Gerov 1961, *Westthrakien...*, 240-1; Јованов 2003; Tacheva 2004, 101-3, fig. 8.

86. **Astibo (Zletovo, or Vinicko kale, FYROM)** – L m.p.

Tomaschek 1882, 13; Јованов 2003; Tacheva 2004, 102-3; fig. 8.

87. **Ulpia Pautalia (Kyustendil)** – [XXVIII] m.p.

88. **Aelea / ?** [see no. 91]

### **Amphipolis to Serdica (via Strymon valley and further north)**

89. **Scaptopara (Kocherinovo near Blagoevgrad)**

Д. Ѐ. Димитров / Dimitrov, in *Vekove* (Sofia 1988), 54-60; Paunov – Dimitrov, in *Chiron* 26 (1996), 183-193.

*Location:* A road-station, village and a market-place (annual fair) in the locality ‘Cheprashlako’, some 2 km southwest of the Barakovo quarter, at present - part of town of Blagoevgrad.

*Excavation:* trial digs by A. Bozhkova in 1990-1992, see *AOR Reports for 1990*, (Sofia 1991), 64 (finds in the Kyustendil museum, unpublished).

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III, 12336 = *IGBulg* IV, 2236 = *AE* (1994), 1552: a petition of the *Scaptopara* villagers to emperor Gordian III, handled by their countryman Aurelius Pyrrhus, a former praetorian guard; the imperial rescript (*libellus*) given to Pyrrhus and addressed to the governor of Thrace, dated 16 December 238 AD.

Coins: Numerous stray coins (over 10,000) from this site (*cf.* Paunov – Dimitrov 1996, 190-1, Anm. 37), some in the Blagoevgrad museum, all unpublished (some in *CCCHBulg* 4 /in print/).

### **90. Germaneia (Sapareva Banja)**

B-L, 255; Иванов / Ivanov 1957, 211-32; Стайкова / Staykova, in *Ivanov* 2 (2003).

*Excavation:* led by Theofil Ivanov in 1957-59 and 1961, and resumed in 1977-1980 under T. Ivanov and L. Slokoska, later by Slokoska and L. Staykova.

*Location:* a fort (castrum of *cohors II Lucensium* – under Septimius Severus; later a fortified Late Antique town, southern and eastern gate excavated

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III, 12338.

Coins: Earliest coin of Antoninus Pius (unspecified). Excavation coins from Constantine to Justin II and Sophia (*cf.* Филипова / Filipova, in *Numizmatika* (Sofia) 2001, 51-59). A *tremis* of Anastasius I, and numerous early Byzantine issues ending AD 570/1.

- A hoard of 411 AEs in a premises by the city wall. Mostly late AE3 and AE4, dated to the AD 335/7–425/450. Including one AE provincial of Elagabalus and one *sestertius* of Julia Mamaea.

### **91. Aelea / Drugan-Chukovets [fmr. Mussi-beg], Radomir** [42.4431; 23.0504]

Аврамов / Avramov 1926, 18-19; Gerov 1961, *Westthrakien...*, 237-9, no. 201; Тачева / Tacheva 2004, 100, 105, note 32.

*Location:* unlocalised, though different suggestions. Most probably it was the military camp located near the modern railway-station 'Tchukovets' between the villages of Drugan and Chukovets, fortified area over 20 decares. Stone fortification walls, block masonry, probably Severan.

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III, 12339 = Kalinka 1906, no. 44 = *AE* 1969/70, 582 – votive by the prefect of the cohort to Severus Alexander (AD 222).

*Units:* a *vexillatio* of *cohors II Lucensium* in the Severan period.

Coins: no reliable records, a single AE As of Antoninus Pius was recorded (from a burial, acquired for the collection of Kyustendil Historical Museum, 2005, unpublished). Reportedly numerous late Roman base-metal coins.

### **92. Pernik / ?**

*TIR* K34, 100; T. Ivanov (ed), *Pernik* I (Sofia 1981); Ljubenova (Sofia 2003), 183-187; Tacheva 2004, 91, 99-100, 110 [42.594; 23.018; 742,m]

Late fort and *vicus*

*Location:* possible the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> century Macedonian fort on the Krakra hill above the Strymon river, at the west end of town, on top of the walled fortress of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> – late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (built under Philip II?).

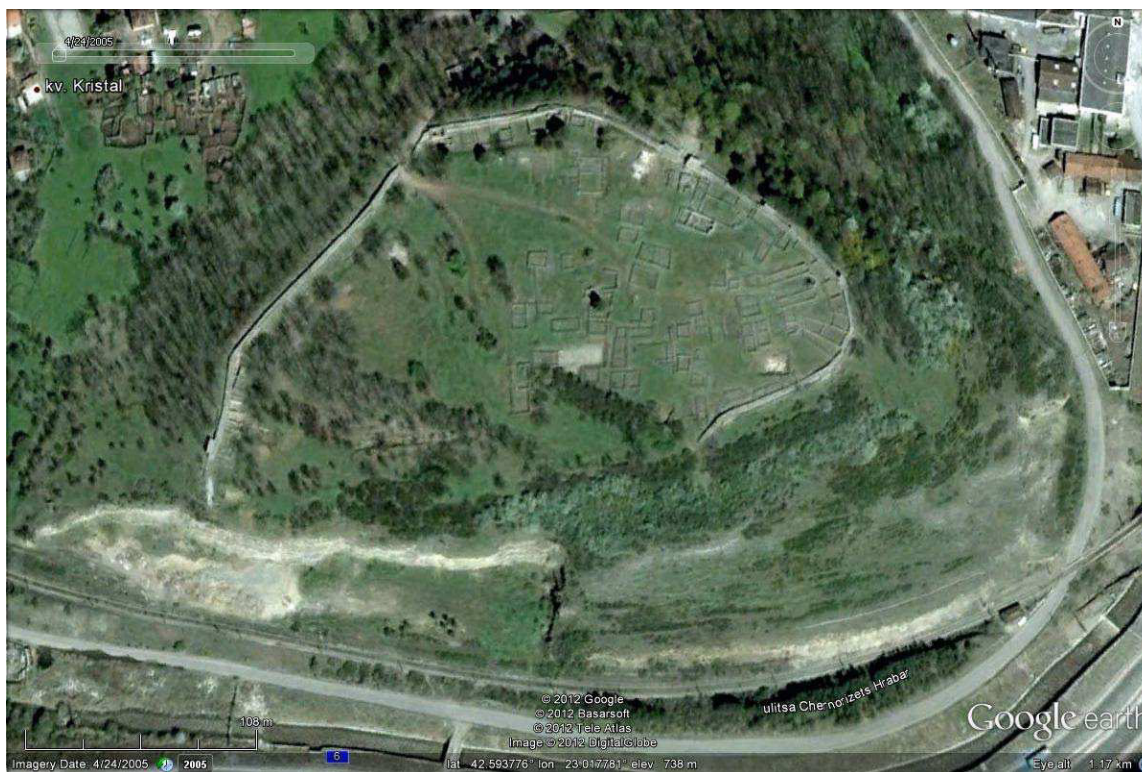


Figure 16.22. Pernik fortress – satellite photograph, 2005 (after Google Earth™)

*Inscriptions:* a fragment of military diploma for *Sitali, son of Cultra*, discharged on 15 October 109 AD, who served in Mauretania Tingitana (*AE* (1979) 553 = *RMD* II, 84).

A mid-2<sup>nd</sup> to late 4<sup>th</sup> century AD sanctuary and a temple of the Thracian horseman in quarter 'Tsurkva' / 'Daskalovo' (7.5 km east on the road to *Serdica*), later associated with *Asclepius* with epithet '*Keiladenos*' (Gerassimova-Tomova, in *Thracian Monuments* 2 (Sofia 1980), 48-95, with numerous votives and plaques, cf. *AE* (1975) 775-779; *AE* (1979) 555, and *IGBg* V, 344-375).

*Coins:* a bulk of mid-2<sup>nd</sup> (Hadrian / Marcus) – to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century Roman coins, most unpublished. Most found around the central altar of *Asclepius*.

### 93. *Serdica / civitas Serdicensium (Sofia)* [42.697; 23.321]

*General account:* Jireček 1877, 25-27; Кацаров / Kazarow 1910; Miller 1916, cols. 528-540; Oberhummer 1923, *RE*, cols. 1669-1671; Gerov, *Westthrakien* II (Sofia 1967), 90ff; Gerov 1977, 52; Danov 1979, 267-81; Boyadzhiev, in *Ivanov* 1, 125-80; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 79-80; М. Иванов / Ivanov 2011, 315-9.

*Location:* in the Sofia city centre. City fortification walls built in stone (re-built?) in 176-180 AD, thick about 2 m, high about 10-12 m; *forum* in the centre.

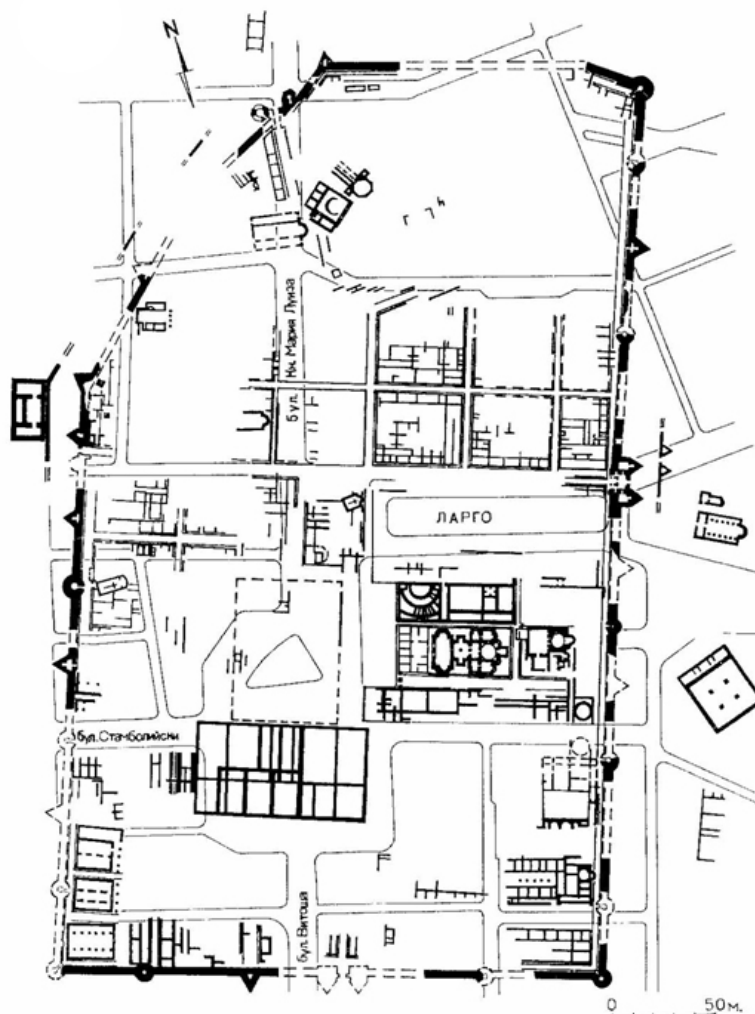


Figure 16.23. *Serdica* – ground plan (after Ivanov 2011).

Established under Trajan as *Ulpia Serdica* – a *polis* of eastern model in 106/110 AD, but new evidence of 2010-2012 suggest earlier Roman occupation (since Tiberius/Claudius).

*Inscriptions*: *IGBulg IV*, 1902 (= AE (1986) 639) and *IGBulg V*, 5668: construction of stone defences in AD 176-180 under the joint reign of Marcus and Commodus, executed by recruits.

Coins: a number of early Roman coins in the recent rescue excavations (2010-2012) for the underground line – from Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius to Trajan (infra find cat. No. 362).

#### **94. Unknown? (Mramor, near Sofia) – VIII m.p.**

*Location*: some 11 km northeast from the Sofia centre.

*Inscriptions*: a milestone with 3 consecutive dedications (Gerasimova-Tomova – Hollenstein 1977, 115 = AE (1978) 727), at 8 miles away from *Serdica*:

1. for Gordian III, dated 238-241 AD (in Greek);
2. for Diocletian and Maximian Herculus and the 2 caesars, ca.393-305 AD (in Latin);



3. for Constantin and Licinius I plus Crispus and Licinius II Caesars, ca. 317-324 (Latin).

### 95. Opletnja/Svoqe (?)

#### 96. Mezdra / ? [43.1397; 23.7036]

B-L, 236; Торбатов / Torbatov, *AOR Reports* for 2004 (Sofia 2005), 266-267; Торбатов / Torbatov, *AOR Reports* for 2006 (Sofia 2006), 293-295; Torbatov – Ivanova, *AOR Reports* for 2007 (Sofia 2008), 433-434; Торбатов / Torbatov, *AOR Reports* for 2008 (Sofia 2009), 506-8.

Hillfort (*praesidium*) and late settlement

*Excavations:* in 1974-1977 by D. Mitova-Dzonova and D. Dimitova; and in 2004-2010 by S. Torbatov and G. Ganetzovski.

*Location:* hillfort 'Kaleto', 1 km west from the centre of Mezdra, on the north rocky bank of Iskar river, guarding the road Sofia – Montana. Roman fortification 'praesidium' built in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, abandoned in early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A pagan Roman sanctuary was setup on its place in the time of Severus Alexander that existed till the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. Late Roman fortification was re-constructed sometime in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, repairs in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

Coins: numerous stray finds of the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, excavation results and data unpublished (over 250 coins; information kindly provided from Vratsa Historical Museum).

1. Hoard of 423 AR, unlisted found in 1896 near the town, unpublished (see Mouchmov 1914, 271);
2. Further hoard of 140 AR (denarii + ant.) found in 1976 in the center of the town – from Septimius Severus to Trajan Decius, unpublished (Vratsa, nos. 8597-8736; *t.p.q.* AD 250);
3. Another hoard of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD *denarii* and radiates from 'Kaleto' site, scattered in the early 1980's;

#### 97. Vicus Trullensium (Kunino near Roman) [43.192; 23.985]

Велков / Velkov 1958, in *Studia Dechev*, 557-567; Gerov 1951, *Romanisation II*, 68; Gerov 1979, 219; Poulter 1980, 740.

*Vicus* and late fort

*Location:* in locality 'Gradishteto' near the village of Kunino, fortified settlement, space 14 decares, walls thick 2m.

*Stone quarries:* the quarries at Kunino provided with stone material Ulpia Oescus in the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.

*Inscriptions:* *IGBulg II*, p. 34, no. 503-508, few gravestones; 503 – honorific Latin inscription giving the name of the settlement erected by few masons.

Shrine of the Thracian horseman at Glava Panega, later associated with Asclepius and Hygiea: AE (1995), 1327.

Coins: numerous stray coins, unspecified.

**via militaris/ via diagonalis – Serdica to Hadrianopolis (by  
Hebros/Maritsa valley)**

**98. Extuomne (Kazichane, now Sofia) – XI m.p.** (from Serdica) [42.639; 23.408]

Jireček 1877, 27-28; B-L, 263; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 80.

*Location:* quarter of Kazichene /or Gorubljanee/, in modern-day Sofia. First described by count Louigi Marsigli in 1699-1701. No visible traces left.

**99. Bugaraca (Lesново) – XXIV m.p.** (from Serdica); **VIII m.p.** (usque ad *Sparata*), [42. 638; 23.634]

Jireček 1877, 29; Deliradev 1953, 338; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 80-81.

Roadside station (*mansio*)

*Location:* near Lesново, km 26.5 east from Sofia, probably south of the village unlocalised.

*Units:* *pseudo-comitanenses Bugaracenses* (in *Notitia Dignitatum* Or., 29).

**100. Sparata/ Sparto? (Vakarel) – XX or XXVIII m.p.**(from Serdica); **X m.p.** (usque ad *Helice*)

Jireček 1877, 29; Miller 1916, col. 528; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 80-1.

Roadside station (*mutatio*)

*Location:* in the locality 'Kaleytsa', in Ruzhana area near Vakarel.

*Inscriptions:* road milestones -

1. For Philip I and Otacilia Severa (*cf.* Gerasimova-Tomova – Hollenstein 1977, 100 = AE (1977) 723), dated ca. AD 247.
2. for Valerian II and Gallienus (Gerasimova-Tomova – Hollenstein 1977, 103 = AE (1977) 724), dated 258-260 AD, distance from *Serdica* not marked.

**104. Helice / Egerica? (Leshta-han near Ihtiman) – X m.p.** (usque ad *Soneium*)

Miller 1916, col. 528-540, 534; B-L, 248; Gerov, *Westthrakien* II, 80 ff, note 2; T. Ivanov 1959, 64-7; Ivanov, in *ArchPolona* 14 (1973), 209-13; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 81.

Roadside station (*mansio*) and late fortified settlement

*Location:* in 'Sekijata' / 'Leshta-han' quarter, now town of Ihtiman. A later fort of the 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Under Nero, AD 61: construction of *tabernae et praetoria per vias [militares]*, supervised by T. Iulius Ustus, governor of Thrace, already recorded elsewhere, *IGBulg*, V 5691; *AE* (1999), 1397.

*Inscriptions*: CIL III 14207 – votive from a veteran of *legio V Macedonica* for Philip I Arabus.

Coins: - a hoard of 4,000 coins: from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century AD ?

- another hoard of 25+ *denarii* and *antoniniani*, found in 1942 along an ancient road near the village Leshta-han, ranging from Septimius Severus to Gordian III, dispersed (see Герасимов / Gerassimov 1946, 239).

### **105. Soneium / Succu / Succorum Claustra (Trajanovi vrata) [42.356; 23.922]**

Monumental Roman gate on *via militaris; mutatio* and late *quadriburgium*

Amm. Marc. 21.10.2–4; B-L, 245 and 256; Митова-Джонова / Mitova-Dzhonova (1994), 77-99; Mitova-Djonova (1998), 531-540, Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 82-6.

*Excavation*: field surveys of count Luigi Marsigli in 1699-1701 and Y. Lejean in 1868; excavations by P. Mutaftchiev in 1913/4 and 1978-1987 by D. Mitova-Djonova.

*Location*: ‘Markova mehana’ hillfort in the foots of Eledjik peak – a late Roman and early Byzantine fortification (late 5<sup>th</sup> – late 6<sup>th</sup> century) above the pass, 600m east from the Roman gate dividing East and Western prefectures in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. The *quadriburgium* ‘Markova mahana’ has irregular 5-corners shape, 36 x 49 m with 2 long frontally extended towers at the single gate (from the north), walls thick 2.10-2.20m, space 1800m<sup>2</sup>.

Remaining parts of the *confinium Succu* and the monumental Roman gate on the road were destroyed by the Turkish army in 1837 and all the rest – during the modern construction of the ‘Thrakia’ motorway in the mid-1970s.

*Inscriptions*: CIL III 7414 (praetorian veteran’ tombstone); and a series of 3 Late Latin inscriptions: *vir spectabilis* (probably referring to Diocletian); a milestone for Valentinian II, Theodosius I and Arcadius, dated AD 382-4 (Mitova-Djonova 1994, 81-83).

Coins: Numerous coin finds, barely listed:

- Two small hoards of 6<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine copper coins (resp. 107 and 64); and
- two *solidi* of Anastasius and Tiberius II Constantine (*cf.* Митова-Джонова / Mitova-Djonova 1994, 92). Reportedly more *solidi* of this scattered hoard were found in the early 1990s.

### **106. Lissae / Bona mansio (Vetren) [42.262; 24.098; 285m]**

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 15-16; Gotzev (1999); Chankovsky 2003, in *AOR Reports for 2002*, 51-2; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 86-7.

Roadside station and late fort

*Location*: on a round and flat plateau, 3 km southeast of the village of Vetren, along the Assar-dere creek.

*Plan*: square plan 400m<sup>2</sup>, north wall long 60 'paces', walls thick 2.9 m. three towers visible in the 1880s. First planning of the site was setup in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; re-arranged and fortified in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (after Chankovsky 2003, 52).

*Inscriptions*: CIL III 12332 = *IGBulg* III/1, 1069 – a milestone for Gordian III, under L. Cadius Celer, governor of Thrace, ca. AD 238-240. In 1990 here was found a long Greek inscription of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC mentioning emporion *Pistiros*.

*Coins*: data not available.

**107. Alusore? (Boshulja near Pazardhik) – IX m.p.** (usque ad *Bessapara*)

Škorpils 1885, 16; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 87.

*Location*: uncertain, mentioned only in *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 86.

**108. Bessapara / Zyrmis? (Sinitevo, Pazardjik) – XIX to XXII m.p.** (usque ad *Philippopoli*)

Jirecek 1886, 16 ff; Seure 1926, 140ff; Цончев / Tsonchev 1950, 78-83; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 87-92.

Roadside station (*mansio*) and late antique town

*Location*: on the right bank of Hebros/Maritsa in the locality 'Cherkovkite', near the village, 10 km from Pazardhik.

A Greek inscription from Philippopolis (*IGBulg* III/1, 947) attested there two settlements with same name: *Upper* and *Lower Bessapara*.

Two *milestones* from the Bessapara area:

- for Severus Alexander under Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, governor of Thrace ca. AD 232-234 (Kalinka 1906, no. 50 = *IGBulg* III/1, 897),
- for Gordian III, under C. Attius Celer, AD 238-240 (Цончев / Tsonchev 1950, 73 = *IGBulg* III/1, 1337).

**109. Tugugerum (Joakim-Gruevo near Plovdiv) – IX m.p.** (usque ad *Philippopolis*) [42.119; 24.572]

Škorpils 1885, 97; Seure 1926, 140ff; Цончев / Tsonchev 1950, 71-73; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 94-95.

Roadside station (*mansio*) and late settlement

*Location*: in the locality 'Gornija Bozaluk' at the east end of the village, called also 'Rimski grobishta'.

A *milestone*: for Maximinus I, under T. Saturninus Fridus, governor of Thrace, AD 236-238 (Kalinka 1906, no. 56 = *IGBulg* III/1, 1374), at 12 miles from Philippopolis.

**110. Philippopolis / Trimontium (Plovdiv) – X m.p.** [42.143; 24.749]

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 61-4; Filow 1915, 9-21; B-L 253; Archibald 2004, 894-5; Топалилов / Topalilov, in *Ivanov* 3, 162-203; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 96-7; Topalilov 2012, in *TIR* K35/2 (2012), 293-9; Топалилов / Topalilov 2012.

**Location:** in central Plovdiv – a Thracian royal residence and seat, then a large planned Roman town, first city privileges given under Domitian (in AD 88-89), confirmed under Trajan after AD 106-110.

Established as a town by King Philip V of Macedon (ca. 184/3 BC): see Plinius, *NH* 4.11.41 (...*inter quos Hebrus amnis, oppidum sub Rhodope Poneropolis antea, mox a conditore Philippopolis, nunc a situ Trimontium dicta.*”).

Twice visited by Hadrian, honoured with a marble *triumphal arch* at the Eastern gate.

Name of Commodus was not erased (*damnatio*) on all inscriptions in 192/3 AD.

Most probably the seat of provincial governor of Thrace and was transferred from Perinthus to Philippopolis under Septimius Severus (Topalilov 2008, 166), where the local union to κοινόν τῶν Θρακῶν already located since the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Twice Imperial *neokoria* – first gifted under Elagabalus in 221 AD, second time - under Alexander Severus (Borell 2004, 243-4).

Honorary status of Roman *colonia* in 248 AD by Philippus I.

Besieged and taken by the Goths in 251 (Dexipp. fg. 27.1; Amm. Marc. 31. 5.15-17; Jord. *Get.* 18. 101-103).

**Forum/ Agora:** size of area: 120 x 106.6 m, first construction phase built most likely by Rhoemetalces I (burnt in AD 21), second phase and re-construction – under Claudius-Nero, completed by the Flavians; third phase - under Commodus. Late period – after 251 AD.

**Inscriptions:** IGBulg III/1, 878 - construction of stone fortifications in AD 172 under Marcus Aurelius, funded by the Imperial treasury; *Aedes The<n>sauro[r]u[m]* at the Agora, built under Commodus in 183/4 AD (*AE* 1979, 547 = *AE* 1985, 768; Ivanov – Ivanov 1983, 190-6).

Veteran tombstones: a retired sailor from *Misenum* fleet, dated to Marcus Aurelius (Topalilov 2002, 59-65), another from *legio VIII Claudia* (IGBg III, 1410), from *legio IIII Scythica* and from the 5<sup>th</sup> *praetorian cohort* (Герасимова – Мартинова/ Gerassimova – Martinova 1994, 27-9).

**Coins:** seat of the Thracian royal mint for Rhoemetalces II, under Tiberius (Tacchella 1902, 174-5). Single series of 4 bronze denominations for Philippopolis under Domitian in 88/9 AD (*RPC* II, 351-354). City mint re-opened and worked continuously after Antoninus Pius to be closed under Elagabalus.

**Stray coins:** a huge number of coins found during excavations of different sectors and structures in Plovdiv (late 1960s to present day), almost all unpublished. Only these are surely identified:

- **Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 BC:** 1 AR cistophor (RRC I, 2201), Ephesus, 24 mm, 11.81 g, MW, patinated (No. 610, acquired March 1915 – from town of Plovdiv, acquisition);
- **Augustus, ca. 27-23 BC:** 1 AE Dup (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 486), Pergamum, 28x29 mm, MW, [No. 2743, acquired 1977 – from town of Plovdiv, acquisition];
- **Colonia Philippi – under Claudius/Nero, ca. 41-68 AD:** 1 AE17 (RPC I, 1651), 17 mm, HW, corrosion [No. 2843 - from 'M-16' site, excavations E. Kessyakova, 1982];
- **Claudius, 41-42 AD:** 1 AE Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 96 or 112?), Rome, 36x37 mm, 25.08 g, MW [No. 6157 - from Nebet-tepe hillfort, excavations L. Botusharova, 1969];
- **Claudius, ca. 41-50 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113), Rome, 29x30 mm, MW, obv. cmk: Capricorn r.? [No. 2719 - from Nebet-tepe hillfort, excavations A. Peykov, 1976];
- **Claudius, ca. 41-50 AD:** 1 AE As (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 113?), Rome, 27x28 mm, HW, corrosion [No. 2720 - from Nebet-tepe hillfort, excavations A. Peykov 1976];

- **Vespasian, after 71-73 AD:** 1 plated D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 356), Rome, 17x18 mm, 2.39 g, MW [No. 6174 - from site '23 Nezavisimost Blvd.', excavations 1989];
- **Vespasian, 74 AD:** 1 D (RIC II<sup>2</sup>/1, 683), Rome, 19 mm, MW [No. 2551, acquired 1970 – found behind the Electric Power Station TEZ-North, handed in];
- **Nerva, AD 97:** 1 AE Sest (RIC II, 86), Rome, MW [Plovdiv, No. 1992, acquired 1954, near to 'Djendem tepe' hill];
- **Trajan, 98-101 AD:** 1 D (RIC II, 53), Rome, 19 mm, LW [No. 1759, acquired 1933 – found behind the 'Moderen theatur' cinema];
- **Trajan, 100-101 AD:** 1 AE Dup (RIC II, 411), Rome, 27 mm, HW, corrosion [No. 2507, acquired 1968 – on Kukush 28 Str, while digging up in basement];
- **Trajan, 112-115 AD:** 1 AE Sest (RIC II, 625-626?), Rome, 27 mm, [No. 2589, acquired 1972 – found on 39d Zahari Stoyanov St., in the garden, 0.70m].

**111. Syrnota / Sernota (Manole) – XII m.p. (from Philippopolis); X m.p. (usque ad Parembole)** [42.186; 24.915]

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 98; 1888, 48, Tomaschek 1894, 79; B-L, 251; Цончев / Tsonchev 1942, 43-44; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 98.

Road station (*mutatio*)

*Location:* in the locality 'Yurtishtata' at the west end of the village, on the left bank of Stryama river.

*Inscriptions:* milestone nearby (found at Skutare):

- For Gordian III, under Sex. Furnius Publianus, dated 241-4 AD (*cf.* Gerasimova-Tomova – Hollenstein 1977, 108 = AE (1978) 725). Distance from Philippopolis not marked.

**112. Parembole / Castra (Belozem) – VIII m.p.** [42.171; 25.081]

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 98-9, B-L, 243; Пеев / Peev, *Annuiare Plovdiv* 1926, 81 ff.; Цончев / Tsonchev 1942, 45-46; Tzonchev 1958, 527-9; Topalilov 2008, 165; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 100-1.

Road station (*mutatio itineris*) and commercial hub

*Location:* in the locality 'Assarluka' on a small height, located some 4 km southeast of the village, 1 km from Maritsa left bank. An oval stone fortification wall surrounded the hillfort (diam. 100m).

*Lead tesserae:* a number of 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century lead commercial seals and *tesserae* (Tomova 2000, 22, Nos. 1-4, and Tomova (2008), 159-163), from trade dispatches and shipments along the main Imperial road. *Tessera* for gladiatorial games, possibly from Philippopolis.

*Inscriptions:* a fragmentary Latin inscription for Nero, perhaps for the construction of *via militaris* in AD 61 – AE (1916), 17; Stein 1920, 7ff.; also an inscription for Nerva (Tzonchev 1958, 527-9).

Coins: - a pot hoard of 237 *denarii* and *antoniniani*, found in 1941 in the locality 'Kavaka' near the village, ranging from Hadrian to Philip I and Otacilia Severa (see Gerassimov 1945, 238).

**113. Ranilum (Orizovo) – XXVII m.p. [from Philippopolis], XXV m.p. [usque ad Pizus]**, [42.208; 25.193]

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 20-1, 100-1; Tomaschek 1894, 68; Seure 1898, 477ff; Miller 1916, col. 528-540; Цончев / Tsonchev 1942, 46-50; Madzharov 2009, 101-102.

Road station (*mutatio*)

*Location*: according to the Škorpils - in the locality 'Kumbaklak' between Cherna gora ana Orizovo; according to Tsonchev – in the locality of 'Imilika' near Orizovo.

**114. Cillae (Cherna Gora/Karaorman) [42.220; 25.227]**

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 20-1, 100-1; Tomaschek 1894, 85; Кацаров/ Kazarow 1915, 1 ff; Цончев / Tsonchev 1942, 50-52; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 102-3.

Road station (*mutatio*) and adjacent settlement

*Location*: around and north of the Cherna gora railway station.

*Inscriptions*: *IGBulg* III/2, 1515-1527; *IGBulg* V, 5548-5552 – a statue of Maximinus Thrax and Maximus Caesar, marble torso of a Roman empress (Plovdiv museum, no. 1508).

**115. Carassura (Rupkite) – L *m.p.* [from *Philippopolis*], IX *m.p.* [usque ad *Pizus*], [42.241; 25.384]**

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1888, 44-48; Цончев / Tsonchev 1942, 52-53; B-L, 254; Wendel (ed.), *Karasura* II (2002); Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 103-9, figs. 53-4.

Road station (*mutatio*) and fortified late antique settlement

*Excavation*: East-German – Bulgarian excavations in 1982-1991 lead by M. Wendel, D. Nikolov and V. Nesheva.

*Location*: on both bank of the Rupchanska river, 3.5 km east/southeast of the village of Rupkite – on 'Kaletó' hill (prehistoric tell). Stone fortifications dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Constantinian).

*Inscriptions*: *IGBulg* V, 5590-5591; *Klio* 73 (1991), 468-73, 481-8; *Klio* 74 (1992), 401-5.



Fig. 16.24. *Carassura* / Rupkite site – satellite photograph, 2002 (after Google Earth™)

Coins: cf. the report of site finds coins published by M. Minkova (2002), in *Karasura* II, pp. 143-231. Only a single early Roman coin:

- **C. Calpurnius Piso L.f. Frugi, 61 BC** (RRC 408/1a, Rv. Control mark: Δ), 18 mm, 4.0g.

**116. Pizus (Dimitrievo) – XXV m.p.** [from *Ranilum*], **XII (or XX) m.p.** [usque ad Pizus], [42.199; 25.560]

Jirecek 1886, 95; Škorpils 1888, 39-43; Seure 1898, 520-557; Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* 2 (1957), pp. 377, 608-9; B-L, 245; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 109-112.

Road station (*mutatio*) and *emporium*

*Location*: on a small hill in 'Latinskisite grobishta', northwest from Dimitrievo.

*Emporium*: in AD 202 Pizus was re-established as a new *emporium* under Septimius Severus with an imperial charter (*libellus*), approved by the provincial governor of Thrace. A full list of 331 new settlers is preserved.

*Inscriptions*: Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 880; Seure 1898, 472-491; Kalinka 1906, no. 34; *IGBulg* III/2, 1690; *IGBulg* V, 5601.

**117. Arzus (Kalugerovo) – XXXV m.p.** (to *Burdepta*) [42.084; 25.873]

Škorpils 1885, 17-19; Tomaschek 1894, 92; Димитров/ Dimitrov 1933, 297-308; Deliradev 1953, 76-77; Герасимова / Gerassimova, in *Yambol* 3 (1994), 371-89; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 112-117.

Roadside station (*mansio*) and later large settlement

*Location*: 800-1000m south from Kalugerovo, along the Sazliyka river (*Arzus flumen*). The late fort had a square shape, separated into 2 parts (or 2 large buildings) in north-south axis, total space ca. 6 ha, walls thick 3m, as described by Škorpil brothers in the 1880s.

*Marble head of Pan*: dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

*Inscriptions*: *IGBulg* III/2, 1704-1707. A milestone for Severus Alexander, under Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, governor of Thrace, ca. AD 232-234 (*AE* 1933, 92 = *IGBulg* III/2, 1704). Another milestone – for Gordian III and Tranquillina, under Pomponius Magianus, ca. AD 241-244 (Dimitrov 1933, 301-302)

*Lead seals*: a large collection of the 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century lead commercial seals (Gerassimova (1994), 371-389; and Still 1994, 389-95), kept in the Yambol museum.

*Coins*: Shkorpil brothers reported on coins of Constantine I and Justinian, all unspecified. Another early Roman stray coin is in Haskovo museum:

- **Vespasian, 71 AD**: 1 AE Sestertius (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup> 96 or 98?), Rome, 20.62g, 32.7x32.7 mm [Haskovo, no. 1597].

**118. Palae (Ovcharovo, near Simonovgrad) – XI m.p.** (from *Arzus*) [42.028; 25.997]



Škorpils 1888, 38-39; Detev 1946, 172-176; Aladzhov 1997, 196-7; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 118-120.

Roadside station (*mansio*)

*Location:* in the locality 'Ipiyta' and 'Geranya' near Ovcharovo, where a Roman settlement is localised.

### 119. **Constantia (Simeonovgrad)** [42.032; 25.861]

Shkorpils 1885, 19-20; B-L, 257; D. Aladjov, in *Maritsa Iztok* 3 (1995), 181-195; D. Aladjov (2001), 52-8.

Late Roman and Byzantine fort on Hebros

*Location:* on a high plateau in locality 'Asara', 1.5 km east from the town, on the right bank of Maritsa/Hebros, size ca.10 ha. Fortified with walls and U-shape towers – 4<sup>th</sup> century AD?

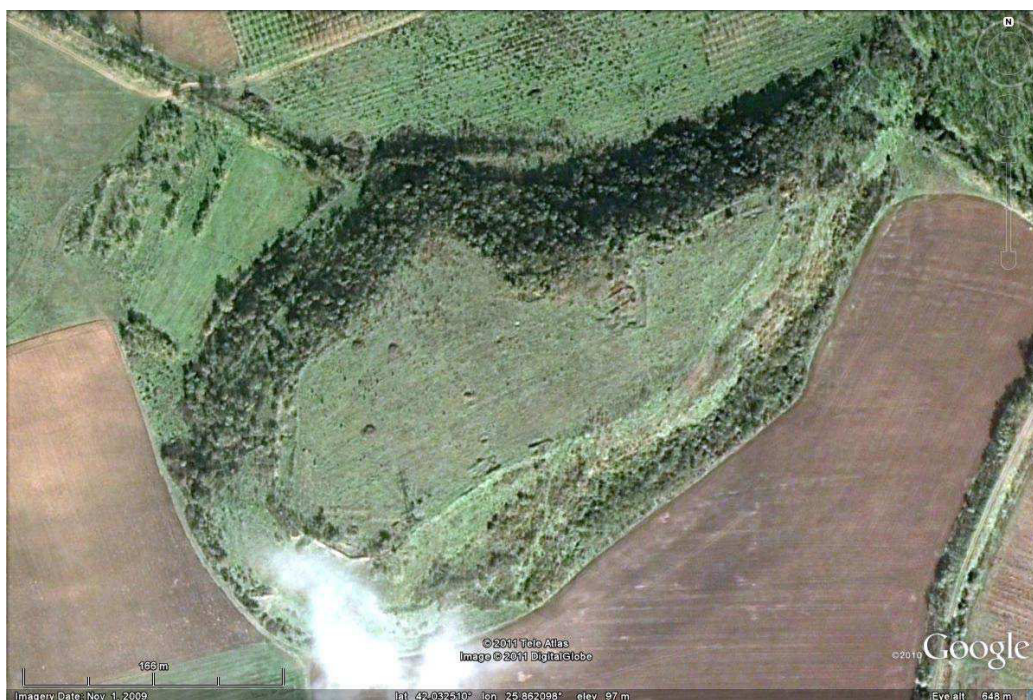


Fig. 16.25. *Constantia* / Simeonovgrad – satellite photograph, 2009 (after Google Earth™)

Coins: a summary of site finds in Аладжов / Aladzhov 1997.

### 120. **Castra Rubra / Subzupara (Orjahovo) – XVIII or XIX m.p. (from Arzus)** [41.9144; 26.1423]

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1888, 33; D. Aladzhov (1997), 93-98; Aladzhov (2001), 101-2; B. Borisov and Sheyleva 2009, in *AOR for 2008*, 471-474; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 120-124, fig. 44; Борисов / Borisov 2011, 7-50.

Early fortification and roadside station (*mansio*), later fort

*Location:* in the locality 'Saru-han' (= 'The Yellow Inn'), 1 km SW from the village, some 500 m from the modern road. Rectangular plan 50x70 m, east-west orientation, entrance from east.

A late fort nearby – on a small flat hill in the locality 'Kaleto', 5 km west from Orjahovo, 5.5 km southwest from Izvorovo village. Fort (170 x 50m) built in stone blocks and bricks in the 4th century AD, later restored under Anastasius and Justinian, survived until AD 800's. Until 2007, no real studies or excavation were carried out on site, chance late antique finds – a Christian basilica with 3-naves.

According to the late D. Aladjov (Аладжов / Aladzov 1997, 95 and 2001), the station *Castra Rubra* was located in locality 'Bahchite', some 100-150 m north from the fort along the main road.

*Inscriptions:* one milestone inscribed in Greek – for Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea, dated AD 222/3, distance marked 36 miles (*m.p.*) away from Hadrianople (AE (1978) 726 = *IGBulg V 5604*); another - again for Alexander Severus, under Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, dated AD 232-234, on the 34<sup>th</sup> mile (Gerassimova 1983, 183-185 = AE 1983, x).

*Coins:* majority of the reported site find issues from 'Kaleto' are early Byzantine (down do Tiberius Maurice, 582-602), plus a hoard of 8 *solidi* of Mauricius Tiberius and Heraclius (616-625 AD), see now Михайлов / Mihaylov 2011, 71-86. Some early provincial issues of Hadrianople for Marcus Aurelius Caesar and few Severan among the 74 coins in total.

- The nearby hoard from Georgi Dobrev 2000 [*Cat. No. 80*; see Paunov 2013, 281-294], is found only 2 km westward from this site.
- A single coin of **Sextus Pompeius: AE As: ~42–38 BC** (RRC 479/1; RPC I, 671), Sicily mint, 27.7x29.2 mm, 19.62g, VW, pierced, patinated [Haskovo, no. 2471, see Паунов – Славова/ Paunov – Slavova 2013 /in print/].

### **121. Rhamae / Rhamis (Lyubimetz) – XI *m.p.*** (from *Castra Rubra*) [41.856; 26.147]

Aladjov 1997, 138-140; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 124-6.

Roadside station (*mutatio*) and settlement

*Location:* in the locality 'Hissarja' on the left bank of Matisa/Hebros. Stone fortification, walls 100x60m, built in *opus mixtum.*, a tower on northwest side, according to Aladjov. Madzharov localized station *Rhamae* – to the north of village of Momkovo (Madzharov 2009, 124-126).

### **122. Burdepa / Burdepta/ Burdipta (Svilengrad) – XVI *m.p.*** (from *Castra Rubra*); **XXIV *m.p.*** (usque ad *Hadrianople*) [41.7666; 26.1988]

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1888, 32; Detev 1946, 172; В-Л, 258; Аладжов/ Aladjov 1997, 214; Aladjov (2001), 60-1; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 127-8.

Roadside station (*mutatio*) and late antique fortress

*Location:* fort on a small hill in locality 'Hissarya', 1 km northwest from the town. Ruins eroded and restoyed, not excavated. Treasure-hunters' trenches where sherds of Roman pottery of 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century was recorded.

Inscriptions: *IGBulg* III/2, 1824-1826; *IGBulg* V, 5000-5506.

**123. Daphabae (Kapitan Andreevo) – XI m.p.** (from *Burdipta*); **XII m.p.** (usque ad *Hadrianople*)

Аладжов/ Aladjov 1997, 103; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 128-9.

Roadside station (*mutatio*) and settlement

*Location:* in the locality 'Chiflika' near Kapitan Andreevo, where sherds of Roman pottery of 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century are found.

*Inscriptions:* *IGBulg* III/2, 1827 – milestone for Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, under the legate Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, AD 232-234, at 12 miles from Hadrianople.

Coins: a single AE issue of Hadrianople for Gordian III is known (Haskovo museum).

### **Philippopolis to Oescus (via Troyan Pass)**

**124. Unknown? (Chernozemen near Plovdiv) – XXVI m.p.** (usque ad *Philippopolis*)

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 99; Аврамов/ Avramov 1914, 235-6; Маджаров 2004, 86-99; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 203, 212.

Roadstation – not listed in *TP*.

*Location:* northwest from the village of Chernozemen, in the locality 'Jurta'.

**125. Diocletianopolis / Augusta (Hissar)**

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 99; Филов/ Filov 1911, 99-146; В-Л, 247-8; Маджаров / Madzharov 2003; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 211.

Mineral baths and late antique fortified town

*Location:* modern town of Hissar/Hissarja, fortified (589 x 548 m, space 300 decares) under Galerius and Licinius I in November – December 308 AD (brick inscription set in the walls), *AE* (1929) 94 = *AE* (1991) 1405.

*Excavation:* field surveys by Dumont in 1868; Škorpil brothers in 1880s; B. Filov in 1909-1911; since 1990 – by M. Madzharov.

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III 6122 (grave stone of veteran of *equites singularis Augusti*); Kalinka 1906, nos. 55, 100 and 364;

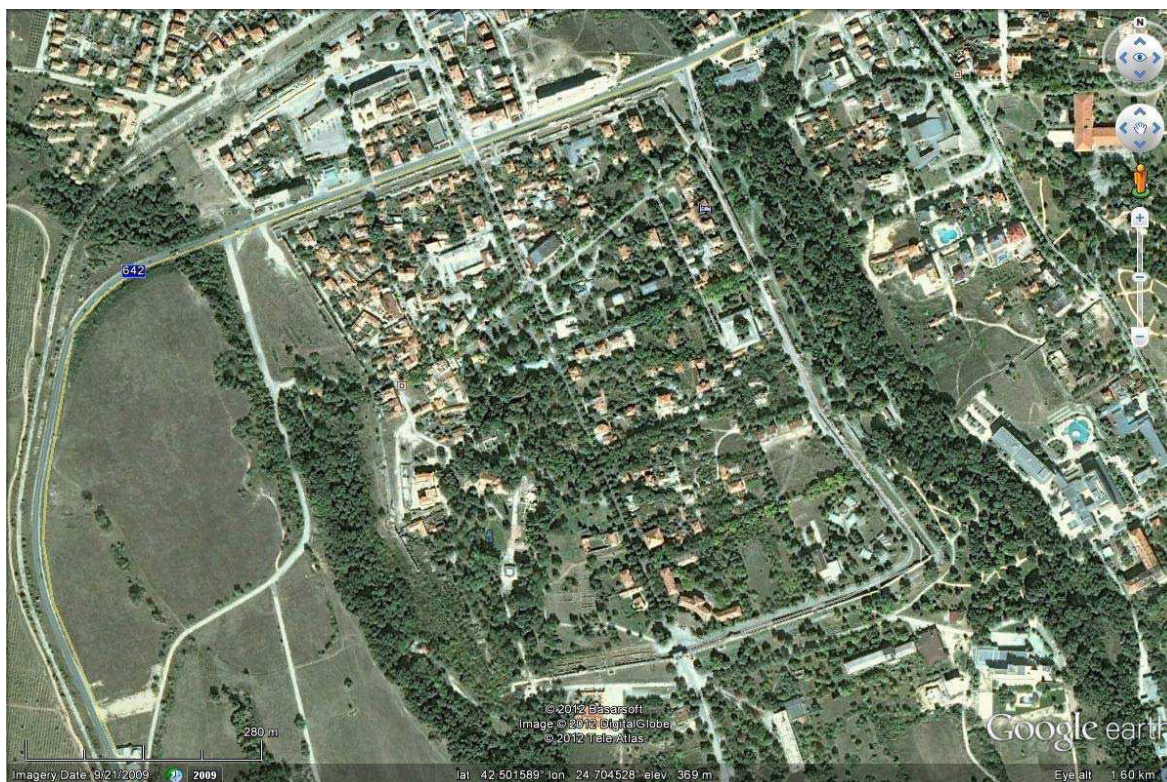


Fig. 16.26. Hissar – satellite photograph, 2009 (after Google Earth™)

#### Coins: stray finds:

1. **Alexander III the Great** (Æ 18), unspecified (mentioned in Filow, op.cit., 1911, 103 and 140, no. 1);
2. **Nero, 64/66 AD:** Æ As (RPC I, 1760?), Perinthus, 26mm [Plovdiv, no. 4450];
3. **Colonia Philippi – under Trajan?:** Æ17 (RPC I, 1658), MW, 17mm [Plovdiv, no. 4448]
4. **Antoninus Pius**, provincial issue (Æ 18), see Filow 1911, 140, no. 2)
5. **Late Roman** (Constantine to Gratian) and **Byzantine** (6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.) coins, see Filow 1911, 140-1, no. 3-11)

#### **126. Viamata (Mihiltsi near Hissar)**

Шкорпилови / Škorpilovci 1885, 99-100, Avramov 1915, 234-5; Цончев / Tzonchev (1959), 159-62; Маджаров / Madjarov, *Arheologiya* 28, 2 (Sofia 1985), 36-44; Madjarov 1990, 26-7, Маджаров / Mazdharov 2009, 210-211, fig. 71.

#### Roadside station (*mansio*) and settlement

Location: in the locality 'Gorni stenitsi', south from the village, now an orchard. Established under Nero (AD 61), the wrecked building '*stabula vetustate dilapsa*' were fully restored under Marcus, dated AD 175/6. Two massive buildings were excavated in the mid 1980s – a *praetorium* and *taberna*.

*Inscriptions:* 2 building Latin inscriptions:

- For Nero, dated AD 61 (Dessau, *ILS* 23 = CIL III 6123 = Tsonchev 1959, 160), and
- For Marcus Aurelius, AD 175-176 (Tsonchev 1959, 160-2; Nikolov 1958, 85 ff).

Coins: Unpublished. Data not available.

### 127. Sub Radice (Hristo Danovo) – VI m.p.

Шкорпилови / Škorpils 1885, 100, B-L, 248; Маджаров / Madjarov, *Arheologija* 28 (Sofia 1986), 45-54; Madjarov 1990, 25-6, figs.11-13; Madjarov 2004, 62 ff.; Hristov 2004, in *AOR Reports for 2003*, 130-131; Христов и др./ Hristov *et alii* 2004, 120-34; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 209-10.

*Location*: Road-station and a large late settlement in the locality ‘Saraya’, 200 m east of the village. Three late rectangular buildings excavated, one is interpreted as the barracks of the *1<sup>st</sup> Aurelian cohort* (late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century); the other – a *praetorium*. Another large building (*burgus*) close to the barracks – 28x28 m, with area 784m<sup>2</sup>, excavated in 2002-3, probably built under Antoninus Pius.

*Units*: late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century - *cohors I Aureliana*.

*Inscriptions*: not known.

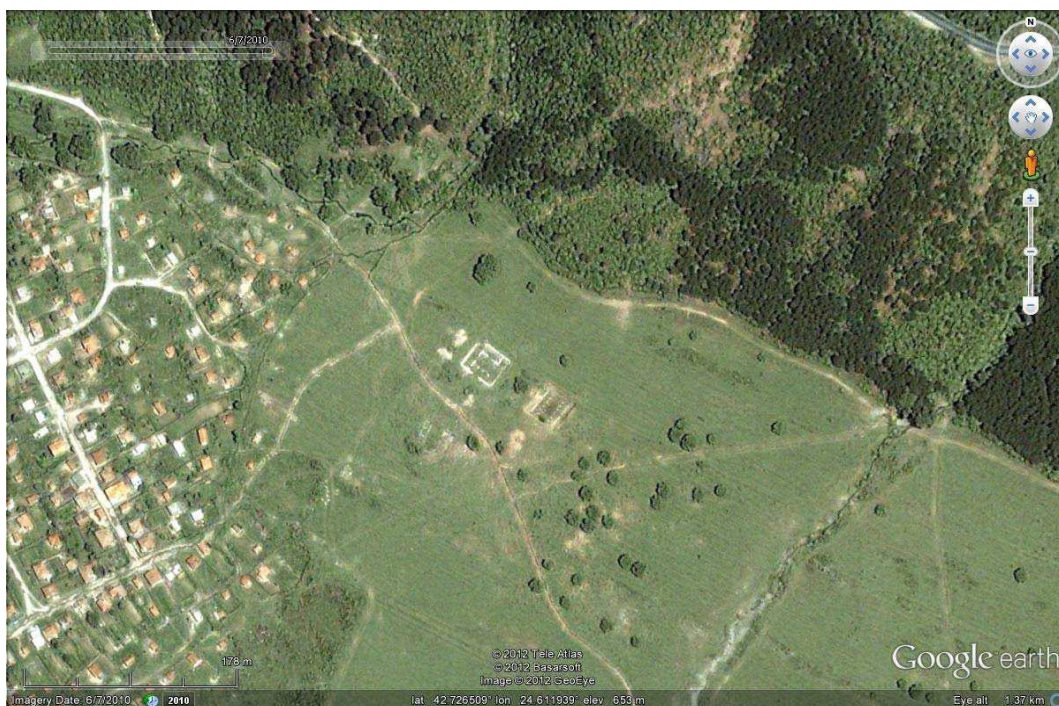


Fig. 16.27. *Sub Radice* (centre) – satellite photograph, 2010 (after Google Earth™)

Coins: excavations in 1984-6 produced some coins, data N/A. Most issues are dating of the 4<sup>th</sup> and by mid-5<sup>th</sup> century AD. The resumed excavations in 2003 – yielded further 49 Roman coins (running from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC very worn Republican *denarii*, AE bronzes of Philippi, *denarii* of Vespasian, *asses* and *dupondii* of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian; down to radiates of Probus, Carus and Diocletian), further unspecified, unpublished (see Христов / Hristov 2004, 131).

**128. Monte Hemno (Vlashki mandri/ kolibi) – VIII m.p. [42.750; 24.647; 1585 m]**

Аврамов/ Avramov 1915, 231; Madjarov 1990, 24-5; Gerov, *ILBulg* I, 121; ZG 114; Hristov, in *AOR for 2001* (Sofia 2002), 75-6; Христов и др. / Hristov et al. 2004, 20-37; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 206-9.

*praesidium Montemno* road station

**Location:**

1. Large square building (ca 600m<sup>2</sup>) on the top of Troyan pass – at ‘Beklemeto’/‘Markova kapija’ locality; not excavated, field surveys – late Roman materials of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD;
2. Round tower (diam. 7m; wall thick 0.7m) controlling the traffic on the Troyan Pass, 1345 m, on the south slope 2.6 km south of the Haemus central range. Finds and materials of the 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.
3. Roman building in the locality ‘Vlashki mandri/kolibi’, 1556 m, 4 km southeast of the pass, partially excavated in 1997 and 2001 (Hristov 2004, 38-55), north wall long 22 m, east – 15m.

*Units:* AD 234, *cohors II Mattiacorum* - after AD 145, *cohors I Cisipadensium*, AD 236/8 – 240/1.

*Inscriptions* (from Beklemeto site): CIL III, 13724 = *ILBulg.* 264 – a votive to Jupiter, erected at: ‘...*praesidiis Haemi monti[s]*’, from Q. Decius Traianus, as legate of Moesia inferior, ca. AD 235-238.

*Coins:* during excavation in 1997-99: 6 coins of 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (after Ant. Pius), unpublished. Further in 2001 and 2003 – numerous Roman coins “*from the 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century AD*”, all in total: 48 coins listed with numerous errors in Христов / Hristov 2004, 32-6; all re-checked identified by the present author:

A. Stray coins (data not included in the *Catalogue of Finds: 5. Single coins* [information received too late]):

- **Mark Antony, 32-31 BC:** 1 legionary Den (RRC 544/14 – LEG II) [field no. 64];
- **Augustus:** 1 *Æ* Sest (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 501; RPC 2233?), Pergamum?, HW [no. 78];
- **Augustan period?, Cizycus:** 1 *Æ* [no. 40];
- **Tiberius:** *Æ*17mm of Amphipolis (RPC ), [no. 28];
- **Claudius:** 1 *Æ* Dup [no. 17]
- **Claudius:** 1 *Æ* As [no. 34]
- **Philippi, under Claudius-Nero, or later:** 1 *AE*17mm (RPC 1658), [no. 18]
- **Vespasian: AD 70:** 1 Den, plated? (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 16? – with Titus and Domitian), Rome, corroded [no. 82];
- **Vespasian, AD 74:** 1 Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 684), Rome [no. 60]
- **Vespasian, AD 76:** 1 Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 847?), Rome, [no. 80]
- **Vespasian, AD Jul. 78- Dec. 79:** 1 Den (RIC II/1<sup>2</sup>, 982-984?), Rome, [no. 81]
- **Vespasian:** 1 *Æ* Dup, - FELICITAS [no. 11]
- **Vespasian:** 1 *Æ* Dup, illegible, corroded [no. 73]
- **Vespasian:** 1 *Æ* Dup, illegible, corroded [no. 75]
- **Flavians, uncertain:** 2 Dup, illegible, unspecified [nos. 59 and 61];

- **Domitian:** 1 Æ Dup [no. 48];
  - **Trajan:** 1 Den (COS III), unspecified [no. 27].
- B. A small hoard of 19 billion radiates: Aurelian to Probus, all corroded (Христов/ Hristov 2004, 29-30, fig. 24).

### **129. Ad Radices (Popina luka – Beli Osum) – X m.p.**

Аврамов/ Avramov 1915, 231; Маджаров / Madjarov 1990, 24; ZG 113; Христов и др. / Hristov et al. 2004, 9-19; Маджаров / Mazdharov 2009, 206.

Roadside station and settlement

*Location:* in the locality 'Popina luka' and 'Momsko' near Belli Osum village, on the right bank of Osum river. Outlines of massive stone building – space ca. 200m<sup>2</sup>, total space of settlement ca. 4 decares. Numerous finds of late 1<sup>st</sup> – end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

*Inscriptions:* a fragmentary Latin monumental imperial inscription, possibly for Marcus Aurelius, naming IMP VI PP (after AD 171) – Hristov 2004, pp. 15-16, fig.7.

*Coins:* during the trial digs in 1997 and 2000, those stray coins are mentioned in Hristov 2004, 13-15 – over 200 stray coins:

- a number of Republican *denarii*, all worn-out, unspecified;
- early Imperial and Flavian *denarii*, worn-out, unspecified;
- Trajan – Hadrian: *denarii*, dupondii and asses, unspecified;
- AE provincials of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, up to 249/250 AD, unspecified;
- A hoard of fake plated *aurei* – 2 illustrated: 1 of Hadrian and 1 of Septimius Severus (Hristov 2004, 14-16, figs. 4-6).

### **130. Sostra (Lomets) – XIII m.p.**

Јирећек 1877, 157; Добруски / Dobruski 1901, 759 ff.; Аврамов/ Avramov 1915, 231; Маджаров / Madjarov 1990, 22-4; В-Л, 236; ZG 112; Христов / Hristov et alii, *Sostra* 1 (2003); Христов / Hristov, *Sostra* 2 (2006), 11-65; Маджаров / Mazdharov 2009, 205-6.

Early auxiliary fort

*Location:* on a relatively flat place on left bank of Osum (*Asamus*) near village of Lomets, 12 km north from Troyan, called 'Troyan-hissar'.



Fig. 16.28. Sostra site – satellite photograph, 2002 (after Google Earth™)

Plan: 125 x 121.5 m, walls thick 1.5m, with round corner towers. Stone fortification – possibly Severan (Gordian III?), re-built under Aurelian, and repaired in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The main road runs from the east side.

*Units*: A statue of Antoninus Pius erected by the prefect of *cohors II Mattiacorum*, dated 145/152 AD; a votive altar to Severus by the *tribunus cohortis* of 198 AD; *cohors I Cisipandensium (Maximiana)* – dated 235 AD; *cohors I Hispanorum* dated 241-244 AD.

*Inscriptions*: Twelve 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century inscriptions so far, see CIL III, 14428, 14429, 14430, AE 1929, 119 and *ILBulg* I, 260–263. Latest votive under Gallienus dated 253/4 AD – from *cohors II Red[ucis /-ta?]*, cf. Hristov 2 (2006), 14-15; AE (2001), 1747-1748.

*Coins*: 222+ stray coins reported from site, cf. Hristov (2003), 39-42; Hristov (2006), 31, 34 (figs. 27-28), 81-4:

- **Nero, 64-65 AD**: 1 AE Sest (RIC I, 172), Rome
  - 1 D, type unspecified
- **Nerva**: 1 AE As, type unspecified, HW
- **Trajan**: 2 AE Asses, unspecified;
- **Antoninus Pius**: 1 AE provincial Philippopolis
- **Commodus**: 2 AE Asses
- and numerous AE provincials of Septimius, Caracalla, Geta, Alexander Severus, etc.
- Late 4<sup>th</sup> century: a small hoard of 6 AE3: Theodosius I and Honorius.
- Coin supply seize with small bronzes of Zeno (474-491).

Hoards:



- 140 AE provincials, found in 1928 (Гущераклиев/ Gushterakliev 2000, 32; Gushterakliev 2009, 102), dispersed.
- 25+ AE provincials, found in 2001 (Гущераклиев/ Gushterakliev 2009, 101-5), from Carcalla to Gordian III, mints of Nicopolis ad Istrum (14), Marcianopolis (9), Hadrianopolis (2).

### 131. **Melta (Lovech / Smochan?) – X m.p.**

Kanitz 1882, II, 14; Аврамов/ Avramov 1915, 231; Маджаров / Madjarov 1990, 22; B-L, 236; ZG 111.

Roadside station / *mansio itineris*

*Location:* In *CIL* VI, 2756 from Rome – in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century *Melta* was raised into *civitas*. Properly unlocalized.

*Units:* 2<sup>nd</sup> century – *cohors I Athoitorum et Berecinthorum* (a soldier's votive to Hercules Invictus - *AE* (1979), 721 = *ILBulg.* I, 255); detachment of *legio I Italica*.

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III, 2736 and 6141 (dated AD 233) and 14207 and *ILBulg.* 250-255; see also *ILBulg.* 257 – gravestone from Smochan.

Coins: No data available.

### 132. **Doriones (Slatina) – XI m.p.**

Patsch, *RE* V, 1905, col. 1564; Аврамов/ Avramov 1915, 231; Маджаров / Madjarov 1990, 22; B-L, 237; ZG 110; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 205.

Roadside station / *mutatio itineris*

*Location:* at the southeast end (1km south) of the village in the locality 'Novodeltsi' or 'Staro selishte'.

*Inscriptions:* *CIL* III, 12398 = *ILBulg.* 249 (Italian veteran of *legio I Italica* tombstone, Severan time).

Coins: few hoards from this site:

1. Hoard of 37+ AR coins, found 1968 in the locality 'Smurdichets': 12 *den.* and 25 radiates, from Faustina Senior to Valerian I (RIC 241) and Mariniana (RIC 6), [Lovech, no. 1477, see Gerassimov 1979, 136 = Гущераклиев / Gushterakliev 2004, 63-7]; later other fragments of this hoard were found in the 1990s.
2. Large hoard of 2.300+ AR/billon *antoniniani* and AE *nummi*, found 1960 (Gerassimov 1965, 261; Ковачева/ Kovacheva 2009, 113-9) from Valerian I and Salonina down to Galerius. Further 293 coins were acquired later in the Pleven Museum.
3. Stray *dupondius* of Nero, 64-65 AD (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, 372-373), MAC / AVG, Lugdunum, LW [found in 1991, seen in trade].

**133. Storgosia (Kayluka, Pleven) – VII m.p. [43.3829; 24.6290; 154 m]**

Lejean, in *RA* 1868, 81-85; Avramov 1915, 231; Fluss, *RE* 4A, 1931, col. 73; Митова-Джонова 1979, 57, № 350; Маджаров / Madjarov 1990, 21-2; ZG 109; Ковачева / Kovacheva, in *Ivanov 3* (2008), 102-121; Маджаров / Madzharov 2009, 205.

Roadside station (*mansio*) and adjacent settlement

*Excavation*: field surveys of G. Lejean in 1867, F. Kanitz in 1875/6 and K. Jirecek in 1880's; excavated in 1905-1906 by the teacher J. Kantardjiev and V. Vulev, 1960-1964 by prof. St. Vaklinov and E. Genova, and regular digs by Theodora Kovacheva and V. Gergov, Pleven historical museum between 1970-1979.

*Location*: a late Roman and early Byzantine *castellum* and a church center, 1.75km south of Pleven in the modern park 'Kayluka', in locality 'Gradishteto'. Space fortified 3.1 ha, irregular shape on a stone plateau, walls thick 1.9-2.2m.

*Inscriptions*: *ILBulg* I, 223–231, mostly votives of the Severan period.



**Fig. 16.29. Storgosia site – satellite photograph, 2009 (after Google Earth™)**

*Coins*: on stray coins *cf.* Ковачева / Kovacheva (Sofia 2005), 56-8: mostly late Roman AE coins – plus one *solidus* of Honorius, AD 408-420, type RIC X 301, Constantinople 'Z' (Pleven, no. 1091).

1. A large hoard of 4,033 AR (den.+ant), found in 1922 near Pleven. Dispersed, of them 3,296 coins were acquired for the British Museum collection (Mattingly – Sallisbury 1924; 210-238; Gerassimov 1934, 440-1; Găzdac 2002, 711) - from Domitian down to Trajan Decius and Hostilian (*t.p.q.* AD 250/1).

2. A further hoard from the 'Maytapa' locality - of c. 3,500 *denarii* in a bronze vessel (Юркова / Youroukova 1978, 73-4), 2,975 kept in Pleven museum, found in 1974 – from Nero down to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, plus 1 Trajan drachm – Caesarea, 1 Aelius Caesar – Amisus. Unpublished (*t.p.q.* AD 166/9?);
3. Another hoard of ca.15 kilos of radiates, some 1,983 in Sofia: from Gallienus to Probus (Mushmov 1922, 239);
4. Hoard from 'Kayluka' fortress – of 441 AE *nummi* (Genova 1964, 52-7; Kunisz 1987, 48-49; Găzdac 2002, 728) from Diocletian down to Constantine and Licinius I.

**134. Ad Putea (Riben) [43.531, 24.615; 60 m] – XIV m.p.**

Аврамов 1914, 227-231; Митова-Джонова 1979, 60; Маджаров / Madjarov 1990, 21; ZG 108; Mazdharov 2009, 205.

Early road station and a large late Roman settlement

*Location:* in locality 'Nad ezeroto'/ Tsarevets', about 500 m NE from village / 1.2 km NE of the village centre, square building 10x10, walls thick 1.5m, area around 10 decares, unexplored. Veterans settlement.

*Inscriptions:* Gerov, *ILBulg*, 214-217 – veteran's tombstones, *ILBulg* 215 – Flavian/Trajan period – veteran of *legio V Macedonica*; the remaining – from Severan time.

Coins: Stray coins:

- L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 BC: 1 D (RRC 344/1a); and numerous late AE bronzes of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

2. Hoard of of 21 tetradrachms of the Macedonia *First Meris* (*IGCH* 497; Prokopov – Kovatcheva 2006).

**135. Unknown? (Brest) – V m.p. (usque ad Oescus) [43.643; 24.575]**

Митова-Джонова 1979, 34-35; Маджаров/ Madjarov 1990, 20; Маджаров / Mazdharov 2009, 155, 204-205.

Roadside station / *mutatio itineris* and settlement

*Location:* in the west end of the Brest village.

Coins: data not available.

**Augusta Traiana to Novae by Shipka Pass**

**136. Augusta Traiana / Beroe (Stara Zagora)**

B-L, 257; Минкова / Minkova (2005), 79-102.

*Location:* Established (re-founded?) under Trajan as *Augusta Traiana* after 106 AD. Fortified under Marcus around 170/6 AD. Space 4.8 ha, second large town in Thrace.

*Inscriptions:* IGBulg V, 5568 – building inscription for stone defences; Aurelius Sabinus from Syria, priest and wine merchant for Dacia: *AE* (1991), 1401.

Greek votive from Korten (Nova Zagora area), for C. Iulius Teres, consular and priest of *Sabazios* erected by equestrian L. Sempronius Tertullus: see H. Müller, *Chiron* 31 (2001), 450-459; *AE* (1991), 1390.

*Coins:* an overview of some 1.500 coins in Minkova (2005), 79-102. Most of the coin evidence is late – of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Early coins are few – coming from burials in the city *necropoleis* (Минкова / Minkova (2005), pp. 80-1, table 3.1): only 5 coins in total (Claudius to Nerva).

**137. Unknown? (Shipka)**

Буюклиев – Гетов / Buyukliev and Getov 1964, 29-32; Mihailov 1969; Tacheva 2000, 1886-1888; Madzharov 2009, 251.

*Location:* A small fortification *burgus* guarding the Shipka pass across *Haemus* (the road from Nicopolis ad Istrum to Augusta Traiana and Novae) near the modern village of Shipka.

Construction of *burgos et praesidia* (*burgos et praesidia ob tutelam fecit...*) dated to AD 152 under Pius, in the territory of *Augusta Traiana*.

Inscription: IGBulg III/2, p. 152, 1734; IGBulg V, 5614 = Tacheva 2000, 1886-7, no. 2.

**138. Discoduratae (Gostilitza)**

B-L, 234; ZG 117; Султов/ Sultov 1966, 25-44; Боянов / Boyanov in *AOR Reports for 2011* (2012), 293-5.

*Emporium* and late fort on the road *Augusta Traiana – Nicopolis ad Istrum*

*Location:* on the left bank of river Jantra in the locality 'Kaletto', some 2 km south of Gostilitza, Dryanovo area. Settlement and trade post with Severan and early-4<sup>th</sup> century defences.

*Inscriptions:* Greek honorific inscriptions from Marcus Aurelius (dated to AD 176-180) to Philippus I by the senate and people of *Augusta Traiana*; Philippus is praised as founder (κτιστης) of the emporium, see IGBulg II, 727-740; V 5257; *AE* (1999), 1389. Another Greek votive to Severus Alexander, erected by a city-councillor of *Augusta Traiana*, dated 231/3 AD (Lozanov, in *Festschrift M. Cicikova* (Sofia 2008), 534-40).

**Coins:**

- 375 published site find coins from the excavation 1958-1961, see Султов/ Sultov 1966, 42-3, and Gerassimov 1969, 25-40: from Sept. Septimius down to Honorius, plus Byzantine.

- 44 site find coins, campaign 2010-2011, from Gordian III down to AE4 of Honorius (unpublished, see Боянов / Boyanov 2012, 295).

### 139. Nicopolis ad Istrum (Nikyup)

Škorpil 1905, 473-6, pl. 101/4.a; ZG 124; A. Poulter (ed.), *Nicopolis ad Istrum* 1 (1995); Poulter, *Nicopolis ad Istrum* 1 (1995) and 2 (1999); Slokoska, in *Ivanov* 2, 83-104.

*Excavation:* Waclav Dobrusky in 1899; G. Seure in 1900-1904; again Dobrusky 1906-9; Teofil Ivanov in 1945, 1966-8, and 1981-4, T. Ivanov and others. In 1985 a joint Anglo – Bulgarian excavation project started (*cf.* A. Poulter, in Slokoska et al., 2002, 14-29) lead by A. Poulter and L. Slokoska, running by 1992. Recent excavations continued by P. Vladkova.



**Fig. 16.30. *Nicopolis ad Istrum* – satellite photograph, 2010 (after Google Earth™)**

*Location:* ‘Gradishteto’, some 3 km southeast from village of Nikyup.

A planned Trajanic city (after AD 106-110) with stone defences, 512x407 m, space 21.55 ha.

Late Roman and Early Byzantine *castrum* (attached on the south side, mid-5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries: 5.74 ha).

*Inscriptions:* *IGBulg* III, 601–694; *IGBulg* V, 5216 (governor’s statue base dated AD 270/271); *ILBulg* I, 360–375; R. Ivanov and T. Ivanov (1994), 147-156.

A *secerdos* of the emperor’s cult: *L. Porcius Ambibuus*, early 3<sup>rd</sup> century (AE (1991) 1376).

Coins: on earlier campaigns coins excavated see Gerassimov 1939, 340-1; short references on few early coins found in the deep soundings of the *agora* of Nicopolis- cf. P. Vladkova, in Slokoska et al. 2002, 30-1:

- **Claudius**: AR As, worn out
- **Domitian**: AR Den. (in the central drainage of agora)
- **Trajan**: early series(?)

For the later coins from Nicopolis: see Butcher, in *Nicopolis ad Istrum* 1; 279-80, 302-5; and Guest 1999, 314-29.

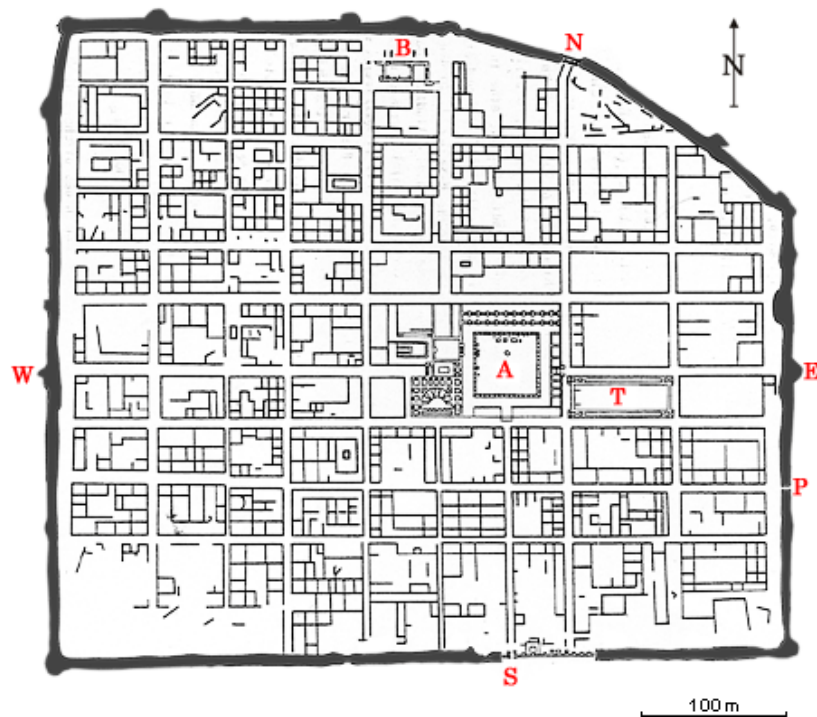


Fig. 16.31. *Nicopolis* I (Severan period), ground plan (after RGZM, *Transformation* project 2006).

### **Cabyle to Black sea**

#### **140. Cabyle (Kabile near Yambol) – L m.p. (usque ad *Aquae Calidae*)**

Demosth., 8. 44; *Tab. Peut.* 590-1; Škorpils 1885, 33-9; V. Velkov (ed.), *Kabile* 1 (1982) and *Kabile* 2 (1991); Archibald 2004, 893-4, no. 654; Lozanov, in *Settlement Life in Thrace* 4 (2006), 145-76; Karayotov 2009, 459.

*Location*: on the east slopes and top of the rocky plateau of ‘Zaychi vruh’/‘Taushan tepe / ‘Rabbit hill’ hill (300 m), along the right bank /old river-bed/ of Tundja/*Tonzos* river, at ‘Hissarluka’ locality, 2 km north from the modern village of Kabile.

*Excavation:* B. Filow in 1912; since 1972– regular digs, headed by V. Velkov, Al. Dimitrova-Milcheva, L. Getov, K. Rabadjiev, I. Lozanov *et alii*.



Fig. 16.32. *Cabyle* – satellite photograph, 2006 (after Google Earth™).



Fig. 16.33. Site plan of *Cabyle* (courtesy of Jambol Historical Museum).

Fort of a Macedonian garrison?, ca. 342/1–280 BC, Hellenistic fortified town (early 3<sup>rd</sup> century). Destroyed in early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC; then besieged and captured by M. Varro Lucullus in 72 BC. A 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century Roman fort (*castra*) was built and existed in the flat plateau northeast from town, a roadstation on the road to *Aquae Calidae* and Anchialus. A late Roman and early Byzantine town.

Units: *cohors II Lucensium* – attested in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (from AD 129/136 to 192/8?, or earlier); *cohors I Athoitorum I?/I* – bronze statue of Aurelian erected in AD 271/2.

*Inscriptions*: after *IGBulg*, in 1972: V. Velkov, *Cabyle* 2 (1991), 7-51; see also *AE* (1978), 728-730; *AE* (1979), 554; *AE* (1999), 1370-83: Severan construction of *Dolichenus* shrine, with votives to Severi.

Coins: No comprehensive publication of the numerous site find coins, only those from the Basilica 1 are published: cf. Димитров / Dimitrov, in *Kabile* 1 (1982), 159-65.

See *supra*, chapter 10. Early Imperial site finds: case study 3: Cabyle.

#### **141. Aquae Calidae (Banevo near Aytos) – XII m.p. (usque ad *Anchialus*)**

[42.6114, 27.3937]

Филов/ Filow 1910, 216-7; Filow, in *JDAI* AA 1911, col. 349-56; Филов / Filow 1911, 283; Karajotov – Kijachkina 1997, 125-30; Карайотов – Кияшкина – Господинов 2000, 27-33; Karayotov 2009, 452.

Sacred mineral spring and baths, sanctuary of the Three Nymphs

*Location*: 2km south of the modern village in the present-day park.

Coins: a list in Filow, *JDAI* 1911, 352-4; Karayotov 2009, 452: on the new coins of 1994 cleaning (kept in the Burgas museum). See complete details find cat. nos. 166-168 and chapter 10. Early Principate Site Finds: *Aquae Calidae*, pp. 387-97.

#### **142. Anchialus (Pomorie)**

Strabo 7.319; Ovid. *Tristia* 1. 10, 35; Proc. *De Aedif.* III. 7, 18-19; КЕТД (1993), 16-17; M. Lazarov, *The Ancient Anchialo* (Varna 2003); Karayotov 2009, 451.

*Excavation*: 1966-70 – by M. Lazarov; rescue excavation in 1979-81 – by T. Stoyanov and P. Balabanov; 1988-90 – by I. Karayotov and I. Boneva; resumed since 2007– under S. Torbatov, see *AOR Reports for 2008* (Sofia 2009), 327-330; *AOR Reports for 2009* (Sofia 2010), pp. 288-291; *AOR Reports for 2010* (Sofia 2011), 255-256.

*Location*: Ancient city of *Anchialo[u]s*, located on the north bank of the Burgas bay – situated in the locality 'Palaiokastro', in the flat area 3.3 km north-west of the modern town of Pomorie. Grid-system city planning, space over 120-130 ha. Stone covered streets wide 8.70 m, fortification wall thick 2.80 of large stone blocks.

Established in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as a fortress (φρουριον) of Apollonia Pontica during its clash with Messambria. *Anchialus* is seen and described by Ovid as a fortified town in 9 AD. Center of a *strategy* (administrative unit) of the late Thracian kingdom under Rhoemetaces II (*IGBulg.* I<sup>2</sup>, 378 and II, 743). Re-established as *Ulpia Anchialus* under Trajan (after AD 106), with a large city-territory. In AD 253/4 (and again in 270) the town was twice taken by the Goths and damaged.



*Provincial mint*: active from Antoninus Pius down to Gordian III and Tranquillina (Strack 1912, 203-17, nos. 415-690; Varbanov 2006, 36-80, nos. 522-1183), including some rare medallions of Gordian III.

*Sea port*: portrayed on provincial coins of the Severan period, serving as the most important import and export station of coastal Thrace.

*Games*: *Severia Nymphia* (CEBHPIA NYMΦIA) in ca. AD 209-211, organised to honor Septimius Severus.

*Coins*: review in Karayotov 2009, 451: stray coins from *Anchialus*: (most in the Burgas museum):

4. Hellenistic issues of: Mesambria, Apollonia, Olbia, the Celtic dynast Cavarus; and coins of Rhoemetalces I and Augustus, etc.
5. The site finds from old excavations – are not published (only a small hoard of copper folles of Justin I and Justinian is reported, closing 550's AD).
6. The new 2008-2010 digs yielded coins only from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century AD period (see references above).

#### **143. *Deultum / colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium (Debelt)* [42.388; 27.280; 14m]**

Škorpils 1885, 26-8; Кацаров / Kazarow 1927, 107-12; Gerov (1980), 41-4; Балабанов – Петрова / Balabanov – Petrova, in *Ivanov 1*, 2002, 237-50; Draganov (2007), 24-35.

*Excavation*: field survey by Škorpil brothers in 1880s; later extensive excavation in 1981–1989; after 1989 – by P. Balabanov, stopped in 1990 by lack of funding. Resumed as trial in 2002, regular since 2003, lead by L. Vagalinski, P. Balabanov and K. Kostova.

*Location*: a legionary *colonia* of Roman citizens, established under Vespasian in AD 70 (Pliny, *NH* 4.45) with discharged veterans (*deductio*) from the *legio VIII Augusta*, on the spot of an earlier Thracian settlement. Space of the early colony was ca. 28 ha, in 4<sup>th</sup> century AD – about 40 ha.

Located 100-200m east from the modern village of Debelt, along Russokastro river and near the Mandra lake (where a ancient port existed), 20 km south from Burgas.

*Augusteum and emperor's statue*: fragmentary colossal statue of Septimius Severus (burnt and exploded in pieces, found 1988, unpublished, now restored).

*Necropoleis*: 8 *tumuli*, one excavated, 300 m NW from city-walls (Balabanov, in *JRA Suppl.* 82 (2011), 107-114); flat cemeteries in the modern village of Debelt.

*Inscriptions*:

1. CIL VI 3828=31692 from Esquiline in Rome – for the founding of colony – of T. Avidius Quietus, former legate of *legio VIII Augusta*;
2. Kazarow, *BIAB* 4, (1926-7), no. 31 = AE (1927), 49 – under Pius - for construction of *burgi et praesidia* within the territory of Deultum supervised by the provincial governor of Thrace, dated 155 AD (from nearby village Panchevo /fmr. Karakjutuk/ near Debelt).



Fig. 16. 34. Bronze head of Septimius Severus (photo Debelt Archaeological Museum).

3. Honorific inscriptions for Philip I, Philip II Caesar and 2 for Otacilia Severa (Boyadzhiev 2000, 139-41) honoured as '*mater castrorum*', discovered in *Augusteum* (built after AD 170s).

*Provincial mint*: active from Trajan (single issue in AD 100); later from Caracalla and Macrinus to Philip II, or from AD 212 to 248 (see Draganov 2007).

Coins: numerous site finds coins, early records of Škorpils 1885, 27: Trajan – 1 AE Sest, Faustina Senior, and

1. No published records about the coins from excavations in 1980-1989 and later, but see notes in Draganov (2007), 183-184 and Karayotov (2009), 462.
2. A hoard of late Hellenistic tetradrachms: 22 Lysimachi of *Byzantium* and 1 *Messambria*, unpublished (Герасимов/ Gerassimov (1955), 603 – 47 coins reported);
3. A stray tetradrachm of Nicomedes II Epiphanes (128-93 BC) of Bithynia (Burgas, no. 930);
4. Odessos tetradrachm of Alexander type, early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Burgas museum, no. 801);
5. Further, a hoard of 71 *sestertii* and *dupondii* from Domitian down to Commodus, *t.p.q.* AD 192 (Герасимов/ Gerassimov (1952), 402; Юркува / Jurukova (1965), 55-61; Gerov 1977, no. 45 – in Burgas Museum);
6. Finally, a hoard of 100+ *milliarenses* and 3 rare silver *multipla* of Constantine I and sons, [only 100 coins published, *multipla* (=4 *siliquae*, Siscia) were dispersed in trade in the mid-1980's:
  - A. Constantine I: 86 AR (56 Ticinum, 30 Thessalonica);
  - B. Constantine II Caesar: 8 AR (all Thessalonica);
  - C. Constantius II: 6 AR (1 Ticinum, 5 Thessalonica).

Published, see Б. Божкова / Bozhkova, in *Numusmatika i Sfragistika* 2, no. 1-4 (Sofia 1993), 58-73.

**144. Nicopolis ad Nestum /Mestum (Garmen) [41.596; 23.795; 537m]**

Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.11.6; Jireček 1881, 468; Кънчов / Kanchov 1895, 228-30; Perdrizet 1906, 217-33; Oberhummer, *RE* 33 (1936) 513-39; Геров / Gerov 1961, 219-24; Dimirova-Milčeva 2002, 311-25; Boteva 2007, 80-5.

Planned Trajanic city

*Excavation:* field surveys by Jireček in 1880, V. Kanchov in 1894, P. Perdrizet in 1900-2; regular archaeological excavations 1980-1989 lead by A. Dimitrova-Milcheva, M. Vaklinova, and G. Kuzmanov, limited trial sounding and restauration in 2005-2011.

*Location:* 'Hissarluka' and 'Markov chiflik' localities, in the west/southwest outskirts of village of Garmen, 7 km east of Gotse Delchev – city built after AD 106-110), space over 18 ha.

Late (3<sup>rd</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD) fortification walls in *opus mixtum*, thick 2.4-2.6 m, south wall fully excavated, west wall long 280 m, with U-shape towers, square at the gates; Roman baths, a luxury late Roman residence with peristyle courtyard inside. A late Roman and Early Byzantine city – two early Christian basilicae; a seat of a bishop.

*Provincial mint:* civic provincial coinage under Geta and Caracalla, February 211–212 AD, see Komnick 2003; only some 300 specimens are known.

*Coins:* numerous site find coins, all unpublished. Some 22 late Roman AE and a *solidus* of Zeno are reported, all kept in the Gotse Delchev Municipal Museum.



**Fig. 16.35. *Nicopolis ad Nestum* site – satellite photograph, 2011 (after Google Earth™).**

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## Appendix 3. Chronology

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### 1. Principal Dates in the history of Thrace

#### BEFORE CHRIST

218–201: Second Punic war; Roman army approached the Balkans

ca. 216: the last Celtic king Kavaros and Celtic kingdom of Tylis in southeastern Thrace fell

ca. 212/1: Introduction of *denarius* in Rome

197: King Philip V of Macedon occupied all the cities in Thrace; Romans reached the Hellespont, led by Ti. Quinctius Flaminius they defeated Philip V at Cynoskephalae in Thessaly

188: The Peace of Apamea, Philip V extended Macedonian boundaries into Thrace and Thessaly. Cn. Manlius Vulso, Roman proconsul, after successful campaign against the Gauls in Asia Minor, he had crossed the Hellespont. From Lysimachia Vulso entered into the southern Thrace and reached the Rhodopes (Flor. 1.39.20; Livy 38.40.4). Ambushed by the Thracians and suffered heavy losses near Cypsela (Livy, 38.40.9–10).

181: Philip V invaded the land of the Maedi based from *Stobi* (Liv. 40. 21.1)

168, 22 June: battle of Pydna, Macedonian army defeated by Roman consul L. Aemillius Paullus. Last king of Macedonia Perseus (179-168 BC) escaped to Samothrace, then surrendered and sent to Rome as captive.

167: South Thrace west of the Hebrus river incorporated into Macedonia and division into four districts (*merides*); beginning of Roman domination, Romans closed the silver and gold mines in the region (Liv., 45, 29; Diod., 31, 13)

158: Silver mines in Macedonia re-opened and given to be managed by Roman *publicani* (Cassiod. *Chron.* 1223c), beginning of local silver coinage – Maroneia, Thasos, Macedonian First and Second Regions and in the name of quaestors; in bronze – for the Fourth Region.

- 149/8: Revolt of Andriscus (Pseudo-Philip) in Macedonia; escaped in south Thrace, but captured by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 146, Macedonia constituted into a Roman province
- 146: Roman army led by Scipio Aemilianus (Africanus) destroyed Carthage
- 141, 135, 119: Romans (M. Cosconius) fought with the Celtic tribe Scordisci between the rivers Sava and Danube (Livy, *Per.* 56)
- ca.125/0 – ca. 87/6: reign of king Mostis (Mostidos) in Southeast Thrace
- 119: Scordisci (a Celtic or mixed Celtic-Thracian tribe) invaded in Macedonia along Axios river together with Tipas, king of Maedi, and a considerable army. Near Stobi they killed - Sextus Pompeius (grandfather of Magnus), the proconsul of Macedonia, and plundered the region; later were defeated by quaestor M. Annius Publius (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 700 from Lete).
- ca.115: Roman consul C. Porcius Cato was defeated by the Scordisci in Thrace (Liv. *Per.* 43; Cass. Dio 26, fg. 88; Eutr. 4.24: Flor. 1.39.1-4; Amm. Marc., 27, 4, 4).
- 112/1: C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, consul in 113 BC, gained victories against the Thracians, and later - M. Livius Drusus, and both celebrated their triumphs in Rome (Vel. Pater. 2.8.2; Eutr. 4, 25.1; Fest. *Brev.* 9.2; Flor. 1.39.5; Amm. Marc. 27.4.10)
- 110-100: Mithridates VI extends his rule over the cities on western coast of Black Sea
- 106: M. Minucius Rufus, proconsul of Macedonia, gained a triumph after a successful battle against the Scordisci and Thracians, reaching the valley of the Hebrus river (Liv., Ep., 45) and crushing the Bessi (a statue dedicated in Delphi – *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 710A).
- 101: Praetor Titus Didius won a battle against the Thracians in Chersonese (Flor. 1.39.5); Fest. *Brev.* 9; Ruf. 9; Amm. Marc. 27.4.10; Iord. *Rom.* 219-220)
- ca.93-87: Q. Bruttius Sura, legate of Macedonia, few issues of silver coins struck.
- 93-91 (or 88?): King Sothimus (*rex*, of the Maedi?) in southwest Thrace (Oros. 5.18.30) invaded in Macedonia ahead of a large army. But the praetor C. Sentius Saturninus repulsed the attack of the Thracian ruler (Diod. 38, frg. 5a).
- 86/5: The Maedi invaded Macedonia allied with Scordisci and Dardanians; looted many cities and sanctuaries, including sack of the famous temple of Apollo at Delphi (Appian, *Illyr.* 2.11; Obsequens 48.53; Livy *Per.* 70, 74-76; Dio, fr. 101.2).
- 85, summer: L. Cornelius Sulla and his legate Q. Hortensius defeated the Maedi and Dardanians, somewhere in the middle course of Strymon valley (Plut. *Sulla* 23.10; Appian, *Illyr.* 5.12-14, Mithr. 55; Liv. *Per.* 83).
- 84, summer: L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes, governor of Macedonia, succeeded to defeat the Maedi and took them away their booty from Delphi

- 76: Appius Claudius Pulcher, governor of Macedonia, advanced into Thracian mountains (Rhodope?) and defeated the Maedi and Odryssi (Liv. *Per.* 91; Flor. 1.39, 6; Iul. Obsequens 59 /120/; Eutrop. 6.2.1).
- 75/3: 'Dardanian war'; C. Scribonius Curio, the new governor of Macedonia, finished the war with Maedi, and he attacked the Moesi with an army of 5 legions from the both sides of the river Timacus (Timok) and up to its mouth of the Danube (Liv. *Per.* 92; Salust. *Hist.* 4, frg. 18-19; Fest. *Brev.* 7; Eutr., 6, 2.2; Flor. 1.39.7; Oros. 6.3.4; Frontin. *Strat.* 4.1.43; Amm. Marc. 221. 5.22)
- 73/1: Slave revolt in Italy, led by Thracian gladiator Spartacus ('*natione Maedus*')
- 72, winter–spring 71: Campaign of M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (proconsul of Macedonia) against the left Pontic Greek cities, being allies of the Mithridates VI, and brought them to the hegemony of Rome. Lucullus defeated the Bessi and captured Uskudama and Cabyle. Some authors said that he also dealt with the Moesi and subjected them (Servius, on *Aen.*, 7.604 = Salust. *Hist.* 4.frg. 38M; Liv. *Per.* 97; App., *Illyr.* 30, Strabo 7.6.1; Plin. 34.39; Amm. Marc. 27.4.10)
- 62/61: March of C. Antonius Hybrida, proconsul of Macedonia, against the Moesi (Liv. *Per.* 103; Cass. Dio 38, 10, 1-3; Obsequens 61a). Somewhere in modern Dobrudja he was defeated near Istrus /Danube/ by Dardanians and Scythians-Bastarnae, he fled the battle with the cavalry, leaving the infantry to make a retreat unaided; and several military standards were captured. Pontic cities soon claimed their allegiance from Rome.
- 60: C. Iulius Caesar elected consul; first Triumvirate after a private agreement between Cn. Pompey, M. Licinius Crassus and Caesar
- c.60–c.44: Reign of Burebista and rise of his 'Geto-Dacian' state (Strabo 7.313).
- 60/59: C. Octavius, father of Octavian Augustus and governor of Macedonia. He marched in Thrace; fought with the Bessi and visited their main sanctuary of Dionysos in the Rhodope, earning imperatorial salutation (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 3.2-3; 94.7; Cic. *Ad Quint.* fr. 1.1.21; Vell. Paterc. 2.59)
- 57/6: March of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonianus, governor of Macedonia, against the Dantheleti, otherwise Rome's loyal allies. Piso put to death the chieftain of the Bessi – Rabocentus and his envoys, who came to his camp to contribute troops. Looting of the sanctuary of Zeus (Urius = Zbelsurdos) in Thrace (Cicero, *In Pis.* 83-85; Vell. Paterc. 2.98)
- 48, August 9: Battle at Pharsalus, Thessaly/Greece – between Caesar and Pompey, an overwhelming victory for Caesar. Pompey's army was supported by Thracians –

- members of the Bessi tribe, mercenaries, and about 500 cavalrymen lead by Sadalas, son of the Odrysian king Cotys V (Caesar, *BC* 2.95).
- 44, 15 March (*Ides*): Caesar assassinated by conspirators M. Junius Brutus, C. Cassius, Decimus Brutus and others in the Senate;
- 43, November: the Second Triumvirate was formed by Mark Antony, Lepidus and C. Iulius Caesar Octavian, at a meeting in Bononia (mod. *Bologna*);
- Mid-44–42, Macedon and south Thrace ruled by Brutus; Brutus had a highly successful campaign (spring/summer 43) against the Bessi and helped king Rhaescuporis in Byzie (App. *Civ.* 4.87); few other Thracian chieftains submitted to him.
- 42, October 2 & 23: The two Battles at Philippi (Macedon); assassins of Caesar defeated by the armies of Mark Antony and Octavian; followed by Cassius and Brutus committed suicide consecutively (App. 4.82; Dio 47.48.2). King Cotys of the Odrysaes hedged his bets on the battle: he sent one of his sons – Rhaiskos, to the Caesarian camp; and the other – Rhaescuporis – to the Republicans side (App. 4.87-88)
- c.38: L. Marcius Censorinus, governor of Macedonia, defeated a march of the Thracian tribes (Jord., *Rom.* 246; Plut., *Ant.*, 24)
- 36/5, spring: Octavian had a successful campaign in the west Balkans, being captured the stronghold of Siscia between the rivers Sava/Drava.
- 31, September 2: Battle of Actium, fleet of Octavian led by M. Agrippa defeats Mark Antony and Cleopatra. Thracian mercenaries and allies participated. King Rhoemetaces I of Thrace with his own large cavalry force, deserted M. Antony's army and joined Octavian. King Dicoemes of the Getae only promised his support to Antony but never appeared (Plut. *Ant.* 63.4; Dio 51.22; Flor. 4.12.18).
- 30 – 14 AD: Octavian reigned, in 27 BC was renamed as '*Augustus*'; the Roman Empire born.
- 29/8: Two campaigns of the proconsul of Macedonia M. Licinius Crassus in west Thrace and Moesia against the Bastarnae with four legions (Dio 51.23, 2.27 ff., 25.4; Liv. *Per.* 134-135). Crassus protected the Dantheleti from Bastarni marches; crossed Thrace via Serdica and defeated the Bastarnae in Moesia after a series of battles. He reached the rivers *Ciabrus* (Tsbritsa) and Danube, conquered the Triballian/ Moesian fortresses, and the proconsul killed their king Deldo in combat.
- 27, 4 July: Triumph "*ex Thracia et Geteis*" of M. Licinius Crassus at Rome
- 24/3: M. Primus, as a proconsul of Macedonia, was inimical to Odrysaes, attacked their territory. Later in Rome he was prosecuted and blamed and for this in the Senate (Dio 54.3.1-2); despite he claimed that Augustus and Marcellus encouraged him.

- 19/8: campaign of M. Lollius (legate of Macedonia), who came to assist to the king of Odrysae against the turbulent Bessi (Dio 54.20.3)
- 16: Scordisci and the Dantheletes attacked and devastated Macedonia. Later they were repelled from L. Tarius Rufus (Dio 54.20.3; *AE* 1936, 18 – from Amphipolis)
- 15, late: Tiberius Caesar was active in the Balkans, and he reduced the Scordisci as a danger, probably as proconsul of Macedonia.
- 13-11: Great rebellion called “The Thracian war” - Bessi under Vologaesus, chief priest of Dionysos, against Rhaiskouporis, king of Odrysae (Dio 54.34.5-7; *Liv. Per.* 140). L. Calpurnius Piso (*COS.* 16 BC) was engaged with his army (summoned from Galatia-Pamphylia) in the conflict for three years (*Vell. Paterc.* 2.98.2); Thrace pacified.
- ca.10-6: March of the Cn. Corneius Lentullus, governor of Pannonia, and propraetor L. Tarius Rufus in Moesia. They left first Roman troops at garrison (*praesidia*) there (*Flor.* 2.28, 19-20; *Tac. Ann.* 4.44) and constituted an area west of Oescus as ‘*regio Triballorum*’

ca.12/1 BC – 12 AD: Rhoemetalces I ruled Thrace

10/9 BC: March of praetorian legate M. Vinicius in Moesia: “*trans flumen Danuvium*” (*Res Gestae* 30)

#### AFTER CHRIST

- 2/3: Campaign of Sex. Aelius Catus [*COS AD* 4] north of Danube and settlement of 50.000 Getae in Moesia (*ripa Thraciae*), calling them ‘*Moesians*’ (*Strabo* 7.3.10)
- 6: A. Caecina Severus, as a legate of Moesia, appeared with his army near Sirmium, after the break of the Pannonian revolt, but he soon departed because of the raids of Dacians and Sarmatians (*Dio* 55.29.3 ff)
- 14, August 19: Octavian Augustus died at Nola, in Campania
- ca.15: Moesia finally re-organized as a new *province* under an Imperial legate
- 19: Thracian kingdom of last Sapaeian dynasty became vassal to Rome. Rhoemetalces II and the regency of T. Trebellenus Rufus, Roman ex-praetor
- 21 & 26: Two unsuccessful Thracian revolts in Haemus and in the Rhodopi suppressed by C. Poppaeus Sabinus (*Tac. Ann.* 3.38-39; 4.46-51)
- 46: Thracian kingdom annexed by emperor Claudius after the murder of Rhoemetalces III; Thrace became a province under a Roman procurator of equestrian rank (*Dio*, 60.24)
- 62: Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, provincial governor of Moesia, transferred over 100,000 Dacians across the Danube (*CIL* XIV, 3608 = *ILS* 986), other activities too but no new territories acquired.



- Late 69 – winter 70 AD: Dacians, Sarmatians, and Roxolani crossed the Danube and invaded Moesia (Tacit. *Hist.* 1.79.1). Two Roman legions defeated; governor of Moesia – C. Fonteius Agrippa killed; *legio V Alaudae* transferred to Moesia.
- 85, ca. June/July: Invasion of Dacians under Diurpaneus over the Danube, killing the Moesian governor C. Oppius Sabinus (Suet. *Dom.* 6; Iord. *Getica* 13.76; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> O 122), *legio V Alaudae* suffered damages;
- 85, August/October – Domitian's '*prima expeditio Dacica*' (Dio *Dom.* 67.1). The emperor arrived at Moesia, possibly based at Naissus, accompanied by his prefect of the Praetorian guard Cornelius Fuscus. Domitian sent Fuscus and one of the Moesian *legati legionis* – M. Cornelius Nigrinus Maternus, against the Dacians (Dio 67.6.3-5) who both had initial success.
- 86, June, ca. 1-15 - Cornelius Fuscus crossed in Dacia over a bridge of boats but perished with his entire *legio V Alaudae* near Tapae in Transylvania (Suet. *Dom.* 6.1; Iord., *Get.* XIII, 77 ff; Tac. *Hist.* 2.86); the military standard (*semeion*) of the Praetorian Guard was also lost in that defeat (Dio 68.9.3). After the victory, the Dacian king Diurpaneus received the name of *Decebalus*.
- 86, ca. July/August: Domitian made his '*secunda expeditio Dacica*' to Danube (Dio, *Dom.*, 6.1), Armies lead by Cornelius Nigrinus, as a new governor of Moesia inferior, and Vettonianus (of Pannonia, appointed to the new post in Moesia superior) achieved some successes against the Dacians, for which they have received military awards.
- 86, end of year – return of Domitian in Rome; province of *Moesia* split up into two parts – *superior* and *inferior*, by strategic and military reasons.
- 88, May-October – Roman armies under L. Tettius Iulianus attack Dacia's heartland and Sarmisegetusa, they reached Tapae, but later withdrew to their winter camps in Upper Moesia.
- 96, summer: Iulius Mar[inus] came to *Moesia inferior* as a new governor, accompanied with the future emperor Hadrian as his *laticlavus* (tribune) for the *legio V Macedonica* at Oescus (*HA*, Hadr. 2. 2-5).

2. Roman magistrates of Macedonia who fought in Thrace (with sources)<sup>1</sup>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name / post</i>	<i>Broughton, MRR</i>	<i>Ancient sources / inscriptions</i>
<b>141 BC</b>	D. Iunius Silanus Manlianus, <i>praetor</i>	I, 477 III, 113	Livy <i>Per.</i> 54. 4–5: ‘ <i>In Scordiscis cladis accepta.</i> ’ Cic., <i>De fin.</i> 1.24; Val. Maxim. 5.8.3
<b>135-133 BC</b>	M. Cosconius, <i>praetor</i>	I, 489 III, 77	Livy <i>Per.</i> 56.7: ‘ <i>M. Cosconius praetor in Thracia prospere cum Scordiscis pugnavit.</i> ’
<b>119 BC</b>	Sextus Pompeius, <i>praetor</i>	I, 526	Decree from Lete (Syll <sup>3</sup> , 700): Pompeius murdered by the Scordisci. Amm. Marc. 27.4.4
<b>119 BC</b>	M. Annius, <i>quaestor</i>	I, 526	Decree from Lete (Syll <sup>3</sup> , 700): Annius restored the <i>statusquo</i> .
<b>114 BC</b>	C. Porcius Cato, <i>consul</i>	I, 533 III, 169	Livy <i>Per.</i> 63.1: ‘ <i>C. Porcius cos. in Thracia male adversus Scordiscos pugnavit.</i> ’ Cic. <i>Verr.</i> 2.3. 184–; 4, 22– Vell. Paterc. 2.8.1; Fest. 9.3; Eutrop. 4.24. Flor. 1.39.3–4: ‘ <i>Saevissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere, sed calliditas quoque ad robur accesserat : silvarum et montium situs cum ingenio consentiebant. Itaque non fusus modo ab his aut fugatus, sed – simile prodigio – omnino totus interceptus exercitus quem duxerat Cato.</i> ’
<b>112-111 BC</b>	M. Livius Drusus, <i>consul</i>	I, 538 I, 541	Livy <i>Per.</i> 63.7: ‘ <i>Livius Drusus cos. adversus Scordiscos, gentem a Gallis oriundam, in Thracia feliciter pugnavit.</i> ’ <i>Fasti</i> , ad 110 BC: [ <i>de Scordist]eis Macedonibus-q(ue)</i> ; cf. p.561. Flor. 1.39.5: ‘ <i>Drusus ulterius egit et vetuit transire Danuvium.</i> ’ Fest. 9.2: ‘ <i>Marcus Drusus inter fines proprios continuit.</i> ’
<b>109-8 BC</b>	M. Minucius Rufus, <i>proconsul</i>	I, 543, 554 III, 144	Livy <i>Per.</i> 65.4: ‘ <i>M. Minucius procos. adversus Thracas prospere pugnavit.</i> ’ <i>Fasti</i> , ad 106 BC: [ <i>de Scordisteis et Macedonibus</i> ]. Inscription from Delphi: Syll <sup>3</sup> , 710; CIL I <sup>2</sup> , 2, 692; Reinach, <i>BCH</i> 1910, 305, n.1, 327; Vell. Paterc. 2.8.3: ‘ <i>per eadem tempora clarus eius Minucii, qui porticus, quae hodieque celebres sunt, molitus est, ex Scordibus triumphus fuit.</i> ’; 2.39.3. Flor. 1.39.5: ‘ <i>Minucius toto vastavit Hebro, multis</i>

<sup>1</sup> This table is adapted after O. Picard 2010a, 489-93.

			<p><i>quidem amissis, dum per perfidum glacie flumen equitatur.</i></p> <p>Fest. 9.2: <i>'Minucius in Hebri fluminis glacie vastavit.'</i></p>
<b>101-100 BC</b>	T. Didius, <i>praetor?</i>	I, 571 III, 81	<p><i>Lex de provinciis praetoriis</i>, Crawford, <i>Roman Statutes</i> (1996), 12: Cnidos inscription, section IV, lines 8-9; Delphi copy, B28-29.</p> <p>Cic. <i>In Pis.</i> 61: listing of those who won triumph in Macedonia.</p> <p><i>Fasti</i>, ad 100 BC?, p. 562.</p> <p>Florus, 1.39.5: <i>'Didius vagos et libera populatione diffusos intra suam repulit Thraciam.'</i></p> <p>Fest. 9.2: <i>'Marcus Didius Thracas vagantes repressit.'</i></p> <p>Amm. Marcell. 27. 4. 10; Hierom. <i>Chron.</i> ad 100 BC (Helm, p. 149).</p> <p>Iord. <i>De summa temporum</i> 219: <i>'ad postremum a Marco Didio et ipsi (Thracas) subacti et loca eorum in provinciam redactam.'</i></p>
<b>93-87 BC</b>	C. Sentius Saturninus, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 15 III, 191	<p>Livy <i>Per.</i> 70.9: <i>'C. Sentius praetor adversus Thracas infeliciter pugnavit.'</i></p> <p>Cic. <i>In Pis.</i> 84: <i>'Denseletis, quae natione semper oboediens huic imperio, etiam in illa omnium barbarorum defectione, C. Sentio praetore, tutata est...'</i></p> <p>Oros. 5.18.30: <i>'Isdem temporibus, rex Sothimus cum magnis Thracum auxiliis Graeciam ingressus cunctos Macedoniae fines depopulatus est tandemque a C. Sentio praetore superatus redire in regnum coactus est.'</i></p>
<b>89 BC</b>		II, 35	Livy <i>Per.</i> 74. 9: <i>'praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque continet.'</i>
<b>88 BC</b>		II, 43	<p>Livy <i>Per.</i> 76. 8: <i>'praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque continet.'</i></p> <p>Cic. <i>Verr.</i> 2.3.217: <i>'modo C. Sentium vidimus hominem vetere illa ac singulari innocentia praeditum, propter caritatem frumenti quae fuerat in Macedonia, permagnam ex cibariis pecuniam deportare.'</i></p> <p>Dio, frg. 99. 2 (ed. Dindorf)</p>
<b>85 BC</b>	L. Cornelius Sulla, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 58 III, 73-78	<p>Livy <i>Per.</i> 83. 3: <i>Sylla compluribus proeliis Thracas cecidit.</i></p> <p>App. <i>Mithr.</i> 55: Sulla attacked and ravaged the lands of Enetians, Dardanians and Sinti, who constantly attacked Macedonia.</p> <p>Plut. <i>Sulla</i> 23. 10: Sulla attacked the Maedi who were devastated, this way giving a good training to his soldiers and enriching them.</p> <p>Aur. Vict. <i>Vir ill.</i> 75.7: <i>'Maedos et Dardanos in</i></p>

			<i>itinere superavit.</i> Granius Licinian. 34-35B.
<b>85 BC</b>	L. Hortensius, legate of Sulla	II, 59 III, 103	Granius Licinian. 35B: Hortensius repulsed raids of Dardanians and Maedi from Thrace.
<b>85 BC</b>	L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 58 III, 71	App. <i>Illyr.</i> 1.5: campaigned in Illyria against Scordisci, Maedi and Dardanians. Hieron. <i>Chron.</i> ad 84 BC (Helm, p. 151): ' <i>templum tertio apud Delfos a Thracibus incensum.</i> ' Plut. <i>Numa</i> 12.6-8.
<b>80-77 BC</b>	Cn. Cornelius Dolabella	II, 84, 88 III, 65	Thasos inscription: Pouilloux – Dunant, no. 175; Sherk 1969, no. 21. Cic. <i>In Pis.</i> 44: he received a triumph in Macedonia. <i>Fasti trium</i> , ad 78 BC? (p. 564). Plut. <i>Caesar</i> 4.1: he was accused in corruption in his province.
<b>77-76 BC</b>	Appius Claudius Pulcher, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 94	Livy <i>Per.</i> 91.3: ' <i>Appius Claudius procos. Thracas pluribus proeliis vicit.</i> ' Fest. 9.2: ' <i>Per Appium Claudium proconsulem hi qui Rhodopam incolebant victi sunt.</i> ' Flor. 1.39.6; Amm. Marcell. 27. 4, 10. Oros. 5.23.17–19: ' <i>Interea Macedonicum bellum Claudius sortitus varias gentes quae Rhodopaeis montibus circumfusae sunt ac tunc Macedoniam crudelissime populabantur. 19 has itaque, ut dixi, Claudius pellere Macedoniae finibus bello adtemptavit magnisque se malorum molibus obiecit. Unde cum animo aeger et curis circumsaeptus, morbo insuper correptus esset, interiit.</i> ' Eutrop. 6.2.1; Obsequens 59.
<b>75-73 BC</b>	C. Scribonius Curio, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 99, 112 III, 186	Livy <i>Per.</i> 92.3: ' <i>praeterea res ab Curione procos. in Thracia gestas adversus Dardanos.</i> ' <i>Per.</i> 95, 1: <i>C. Curio procos. Dardanos in Thracia domuit.</i> Thasos inscription: Pouilloux – Dunant, no. 174: C. mentioned with his tribus-name: ... <i>etina</i> . Cic. <i>in Pis.</i> 44: he had won a triumph in Macedonia. <i>Fasti</i> , ad 72 (?), p. 564. Fest. 7.4: ' <i>Dardanos et Moesianos Curio proconsul subegit et primus Romanorum ducum ad Danubium peruenit.</i> ' Flor. 1.39.6: ' <i>Curio Dacia tenuis venit sed tenebras saltuum expavit.</i> ' Oros. 5.23.20: ' <i>Huius successor Scribonius adtemptaturum superiore bello gentium vim declinans, in Dardaniam arma conuertit eamque superavit.</i> '
<b>72-1 BC</b>	M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 118 III, 204	Livy <i>Per.</i> 97.4: ' <i>M. Lucullus procos. Thracas subegit.</i> ' Decree from Mesambria: <i>IGBulg</i> I, 314 App. <i>Illyr.</i> 30. Fest. 9. 3-4: ' <i>Marcus Lucullus per Thracias cum</i>

			<p><i>Bessis primus confl ixit. Ipsam caput gentis Thraciam uicit, Eumolpiadam quae nunc Philippopolis dicitur, Haemimontanos subegit... Uscudanam [=Hadrianopolis] in dicionem nostrum redegit, Cabylen cepit.</i></p> <p>Eutrop. 6. 10: '<i>Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus Romanorum intulit bellum atque eos ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudanam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die quo adgressus est vicit, Cabylen cepit, usque ad Danubium penetravit.</i></p> <p>Flor. 1.39. 6-; Amm, Marcell., 27, 4, 11.</p> <p>Oros, 6.3.4: '<i>M. Lucullus, qui Curioni in Macedonia successerat, totam Bessorum gentem bello adpetitam in deditionem recepit.</i></p> <p>Hierom. <i>Chron.</i> ad 71 BC (Helm, p. 152): <i>'M. Lucullus de Bessis triumphauit capta Cabyle et Tomis et ceteris vicinis urbibus.'</i></p>
<b>62-60 BC</b>	C. Antonius Hybrida, <i>proconsul</i>	II, 175, 180, 184	<p>Livy <i>Per.</i> 103.8: '<i>C. Antonius [Hybrida] procos. in Thracia paucum prospere rem gessit.</i></p> <p>Cic. <i>Fam.</i> 5.5-6; <i>Att.</i> 1.12.1-2; and 16.16.</p> <p>Dio Cass. 38.10.1-2; <i>Obsequens</i> 61a.</p>
<b>57-55 BC</b>	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus	II, 202, 210, 218	<p>Cicero <i>in Pisonem</i>, passim.</p> <p>Proclaimed <i>imperator</i> by his troops: Cic. <i>Prov. Cons.</i> 4; <i>in Pis.</i> 54 and 91-97.</p>

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**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

<b>Find cat. No</b>	<b>Find Type</b>	<b>Orig. size of find</b>	<b>Size details</b>	<b>Find spot</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Container</b>	<b>No. of examined coins</b>	<b>Denom 1</b>	<b>No. of Den.1</b>	<b>Closing date BC / AD</b>
1	H	30	more than	<b>Altimir 1956</b>	1956	Vratsa	unknown	6	RRD	6	<b>After 31 BC</b>
2	H	110	exact?	<b>Aprilovo I 1951</b>	1951	Targovishte	pot	3	RRD	3	<b>32 – 31 ?</b>
3	H	55	more than	<b>"Aydemir" 2009</b>	2009	Silistra	unknown	55	RRD	55	<b>45 BC</b>
4	H	180	circa	<b>Bardarski geran 2004</b>	2004	Vratsa	purse?	177	RRD	176	<b>77 BC</b>
5	H	330		<b>Baurene 1965</b>	1965	Vratsa	unknown	3	RRD	3	<b>After 47/6</b>
6	H	160		<b>Beli Breg I 1964</b>	1964	Montana	pot	81	RRD	81	<b>79 BC</b>
7	H	18	more than	<b>Beli Breg II 1973</b>	1973	Montana	pot ?	18	RRD	18	<b>49-48</b>
8	H	1000	circa	<b>Bukovets 1936</b>	1936	Montana	unknown	47	RRD	47	<b>77-76 BC</b>
9	H	103		<b>Bukyovtsi II</b>	1966	Vratsa	pot	0	RRD	103	<b>N/A</b>
10	H	14	exact?	<b>Dolna Banya 1908</b>	1908	Sofia	unknown	14	RRD	14	<b>N/A</b>
11	H	100	circa	<b>Dolno Ozirovo 1947</b>	1947	Montana	pot	2	RRD	2	<b>After 108/7</b>
12	H	51	more than	<b>Dolni Vadin I</b>	1947	Vratsa	unknown	13	RRD	13	<b>After 76 BC</b>
13	H	800	circa	<b>Dolni Vadin II 1956</b>	1956	Vratsa	pot	5	RRD	5	<b>49-45 ?</b>
14	H	20	circa	<b>"West Thrace-Macedonia"</b>	1941/4	Greece	unknown	17	RRD	17	<b>32-31 BC</b>
15	H	7	more than	<b>Eleshnitsa 1956</b>	1956	Plovdiv	pot	7	RRD	7	<b>48 BC</b>
16	H	800	circa	<b>Filipovtsi 1922</b>	1922	Pernik	AE vessel	464	RRD	464	<b>N/A</b>
17	H	5	more than	<b>Gabrovo area I</b>	1960	Gabrovo	unknown	5	RRD	5	<b>90 BC</b>
18	H	4	more than	<b>Gabrovo area II</b>	1980	Gabrovo	unknown	4	RRD	4	<b>78 BC</b>
19	H	50	more than	<b>Gigen II 1956</b>	1956	Pleven	pot	17	RRD	17	<b>N/A</b>
20	H	200	circa	<b>Gorna Koznitsa 1996</b>	1996	Kyustendil	purse?	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
21	H	100	circa	<b>Gorna Verenitsa 1936</b>	1936	Montana	unknown	26	RRD	26	<b>N/A</b>
22	H	150	circa	<b>Gorni Vadin II</b>	1967	Vratsa	pot	20	RRD	20	<b>N/A</b>
23	H	464	more than	<b>Gulyantsi 1957 / RRCH 377</b>	1957	Pleven	pot	457	RRD	454	<b>46 BC</b>

**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

<b>24</b>	H	67	exact	<b>"Haemus" 2006</b>	2006	Vratsa	pot	67	RRD	67	<b>32 BC</b>
<b>25</b>	H	800	more than	<b>Iskra / Popovo 1929</b>	1929	Plovdiv	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>26</b>	H	70	circa	<b>Kalimanitsa 1942</b>	1942	Montana	pot	55	RRD	55	<b>41-31</b>
<b>27</b>	H	130	circa	<b>Kapitan Dimitriev</b>	1991	Pazardzhik	purse?	55	RRD	54	<b>After 41</b>
<b>28</b>	H	600	more than	<b>Kazanluk area 1927</b>	1927	Stara Zagora	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>29</b>	H	600	circa	<b>Komoshtitsa II</b>	1958	Montana	pot	132	RRD	132	<b>N/A</b>
<b>30</b>	H	300	circa	<b>Komoshtitsa III</b>	1972	Montana	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>31</b>	H	7	more than	<b>Korten I 1955?</b>	1954	Sliven	unknown	7	RRD	7	<b>After 36</b>
<b>32</b>	H	12	more than	<b>Kralev Dol / CH 7.209</b>	1977	Pernik	unknown	12	RRD	12	<b>91 BC</b>
<b>33</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Kravoder I 1941</b>	1941	Vratsa	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>34</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Kravoder II 1965</b>	1965	Vratsa	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>35</b>	H	200	circa	<b>Krushovitsa 1929</b>	1929	Vratsa	pot	6	RRD	6	<b>After 104</b>
<b>36</b>	H	100	more than	<b>Madara 1925</b>	1925	Shumen	unknown	3	RRD	3	<b>48 BC</b>
<b>37</b>	H	56	exact	<b>Maluk Porovets 1995</b>	1995	Razgrad	pot	56	RRD	44	<b>46 BC</b>
<b>38</b>	H	46	circa	<b>Makotsevo 1910</b>	1910	Sofia	pot	44	RRD	44	<b>After 31</b>
<b>39</b>	H	250	circa	<b>Mirovo 1970</b>	1970	Kyustendil	pot	0		0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>40</b>	H	89	more than	<b>Mogila 1972</b>	1972	Shumen	purse?	89	RRD	89	<b>32-31 BC</b>
<b>41</b>	H	140	more than	<b>Montana area I</b>	1980	Montana	unknown	140	RRD	140	<b>84 BC</b>
<b>42</b>	H	3	more than	<b>Nova Zagora area I 1970</b>	1970	Sliven	unknown	3	RRD	3	<b>32 BC</b>
<b>43</b>	H	56	more than	<b>Obzor 1953</b>	1953	Burgas	purse	55	RRD	55	<b>42-40</b>
<b>44</b>	H	5	more than	<b>Ognyanovo 1980's</b>	1980	Blagoevgrad	unknown	5	RRD	5	<b>32-31</b>
<b>45</b>	H	10	exact	<b>Ognyanovo 1987</b>	1987	Pazardjik	unknown	8	RRD	8	<b>49-48</b>
<b>46</b>	H	36	exact?	<b>Ossoitsa 1909</b>	1909	Sofia	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>47</b>	H	10	circa	<b>Pchelin 1993</b>	1993	Sofia	purse?	4	RRD	4	<b>40-39</b>
<b>48</b>	H	135	exact?	<b>Pernik 1909</b>	1909	Pernik	purse	135	RRD	135	<b>N/A</b>
<b>49</b>	H	291	exact?	<b>Pleven area I 1969</b>	1969	Pleven	unknown	291	RRD	291	<b>42 BC</b>
<b>50</b>	H	69	more	<b>Pleven area II 2002</b>	2002	Pleven	purse?	42	RRD	42	<b>After 82</b>

**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

			than								
<b>51</b>	H	12	more than	<b>Preslaven 1958</b>	1958	Stara Zagora	pot ?	12	RRD	12	<b>42 BC</b>
<b>52</b>	H	10	circa	<b>Provadiya II 1956</b>	1956	Varna	unknown	4	RRD	4	<b>58 BC</b>
<b>53</b>	H	293	exact	<b>Rabisha Lake-'Magurata'</b>	1982	Vidin	pot	290	RRD	290	<b>62 BC</b>
<b>54</b>	H	200	more than	<b>Rasovo II 1964</b>	1964	Montana	pot	188	RRD	188	<b>79 BC?</b>
<b>55</b>	H	250	more than	<b>Rasovo III 1972</b>	1972	Montana	pot	0	RRD	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>56</b>	H	26	more than	<b>Russe area II 1996</b>	1996	Russe	unknown	22	RRD	22	<b>49 BC</b>
<b>57</b>	H	19	?	<b>Silistra I</b>	1970	Silistra/ Romania	unknown	19	RRD	19	<b>After 81</b>
<b>58</b>	H	8	exact	<b>Smolyan 1975</b>	1975	Smolyan	pot	8	RRD	7	<b>56 BC</b>
<b>59</b>	H	20	more than	<b>Sofia – 'FIB-1'</b>	2003	Vratsa	unknown	13	RRD	13	<b>46 BC</b>
<b>60</b>	H	13	more than	<b>Sofia–NAIM 'NW Bulgaria'</b>	1980s	unknown	unknown	11	RRD	11	<b>71 BC</b>
<b>61</b>	H	120	circa	<b>"South Dobrudja" 1986</b>	1986	Dobrich	pot	61	RRD	52	<b>42 BC</b>
<b>62</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Staliyska Mahala I 1956</b>	1956	Montana	pot	8	RRD	8	<b>N/A</b>
<b>63</b>	H	60	more than	<b>Staliyska Mahala II 1961</b>	1961	Montana	unknown	60	RRD	60	<b>75 BC</b>
<b>64</b>	H	7	exact	<b>Staliyska Mahala III 1985</b>	1985	Montana	purse?	7	RRD	7	<b>84 BC</b>
<b>65</b>	H	2	more than	<b>Starosel I</b>	1933	Plovdiv	unknown	2	RRD	2	<b>After 116-115</b>
<b>66</b>	H	9	more than	<b>Starosel II - 'Kozi gramadi' 2005</b>	2005	Plovdiv	purse?	9	RRD	9	<b>After 46 BC</b>
<b>67</b>	H	250	circa	<b>Staro selo 2001</b>	2001	Pernik	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>ca. 39-36 ?</b>
<b>68</b>	H	72	exact	<b>Stoyanovo (Radyuvene)</b>	1989	Lovech	purse?	72	RRD	71	<b>37-36 BC or 2-1 BC /?/</b>
<b>69</b>	H	12	more than	<b>Teteven 1995</b>	1995	Lovech	unknown	4	RRD	4	<b>After 32</b>
<b>70</b>	H	300	circa	<b>Tishevitsa 1998</b>	1998	Vratsa	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>After 44</b>
<b>71</b>	H	55	circa	<b>"Turnava" 2006</b>	2006	Vratsa	purse?	7	RRD	7	<b>After 46</b>
<b>72</b>	H	70	circa	<b>Jakimovo I-Progorelets</b>	1924	Montana	purse?	53	RRD	53	<b>50-46 ?</b>
<b>73</b>	H	65	more than	<b>Jakimovo II</b>	1953	Montana	pot	39	RRD	39	<b>32-31 BC</b>



**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

<b>74</b>	H	200	circa	<b>Batin 1974</b>	1974	Russe	pot	55	RRD	54	<b>54 BC</b>
<b>75</b>	H	120	more than	<b>Belitsa / IGCH 976</b>	1956	Blagoevgrad	pot	112	RRD	36	<b>ca. 48 ?</b>
<b>76</b>	H	30	exact	<b>Bolyarino / IGCH 975</b>	1963	Plovdiv	pot	30	RRD	7	<b>48 BC</b>
<b>77</b>	H	12	exact	<b>Bratya Daskalovi</b>	2010	Stara Zagora	burial	12	RRD	1	<b>ca. 60-45</b>
<b>78</b>	H	15	more than	<b>Galatin 1963</b>	1963	Vratsa	pot	12	RRD	3	<b>80-75</b>
<b>79</b>	H	20	more than	<b>Garmen 1982</b>	1982	Blagoevgrad	unknown	7	RRD	1	<b>After 32-31</b>
<b>80</b>	H	5	more than	<b>Georgi Dobrevo</b>	2000	Haskovo	unknown	5	RRD	2	<b>ca. 60-40 ?</b>
<b>81</b>	H	10	more than	<b>Gradeshnitsa I</b>	1962	Vratsa	unknown	9	RRD	6	<b>32-1 BC</b>
<b>82</b>	H	120	circa	<b>Dolno Botevo / CH 6.48</b>	1973	Haskovo	purse?	15	RRD	1	<b>ca. 60-50/45</b>
<b>83</b>	H	10	more than	<b>Kamen / IGCH 680</b>	1957	V. Tarnovo	unknown	4	RRD	2	<b>ca.75-60</b>
<b>84</b>	H	40	exact	<b>Karavelovo I / IGCH 978</b>	1959	Plovdiv	pot	37	RRD	36	<b>54 BC</b>
<b>85</b>	H	400	circa	<b>Koynare I / IGCH 687</b>	1963	Vratsa	pot	341	RRD	339	<b>61 BC</b>
<b>86</b>	H	50	more than	<b>Korten II / IGCH 979</b>	1958	Sliven	pot	6	RRD	2	<b>After 59 BC</b>
<b>87</b>	H	15	circa	<b>Kotel 1999/2000</b>	2000	Sliven	unknown	3	RRD	2	<b>32-31 BC</b>
<b>88</b>	H	5	more than	<b>Krivnya</b>	1910	Russe	unknown	5	RRD	1	<b>49-44 ?</b>
<b>89</b>	H	12	more than	<b>Kyustendil area I / CH 9.277</b>	1978	Kyustendil	unknown	12	RRD	6	<b>After 85</b>
<b>90</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Kyustendil area II / CH 9.278</b>	1982	Kyustendil	pot	6	RRD	1	<b>After 87</b>
<b>91</b>	H	600	more than	<b>Maluk Chardak 1990</b>	1990	Plovdiv	purse	529	RRD	521	<b>39 BC</b>
<b>92</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Medkovets 1980</b>	1980	Montana	purse ?	86	RRD	82	<b>29-27 BC</b>
<b>93</b>	H	80	more than	<b>Mindyа / IGCH 664</b>	1959	V. Tarnovo	pot	10	RRD	1	<b>60 BC</b>
<b>94</b>	H	13	more than	<b>Moravitsa 1956</b>	1956	Vratsa	unknown	13	RRD	9	<b>32-31 BC</b>
<b>95</b>	H	20	circa	<b>Noevtsi / CH 9.280</b>	1980	Pernik	unknown	3	RRD	1	<b>91 BC</b>
<b>96</b>	H	50	more than	<b>Nova Mahala / IGCH 977</b>	1954	Stara Zagora	unknown	15	RRD	3	<b>49-48 BC</b>
<b>97</b>	H	7	more than	<b>Nova Zagora area I</b>	1973	Sliven	unknown	7	RRD	1	<b>40 – 32/1</b>

**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

<b>98</b>	H	281	exact	<b>Orehovitsa / IGCH 686</b>	1965	Pleven	AE vessel	233	RRD	232	<b>41 BC</b>
<b>99</b>	H	8	more than	<b>Pavelsko / CH 6.45</b>	1975	Smolyan	purse ?	8	RRD	3	<b>After 47/6 BC</b>
<b>100</b>	H	350	circa	<b>Rasovo I / IGCH 688</b>	1921	Montana	unknown	44	RRD	7	<b>N/A</b>
<b>101</b>	H	80	more than	<b>Rodina / IGCH 679</b>	1964	V. Tarnovo	pot	54	RRD	49	<b>62 BC</b>
<b>102</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Stubel 1980</b>	1980	Montana	unknown	7	none	0	<b>N/A</b>
<b>103</b>	H	170	exact	<b>Topolovo / RRCH 457</b>	1961	Plovdiv	pot	170	RRD	129	<b>29 BC</b>
<b>104</b>	H	100	more than	<b>Trustenik / IGCH 669</b>	1958	Pleven	pot	61	RRD	59	<b>79 BC</b>
<b>105</b>	H	8	more than	<b>Vetren / CH 7.41</b>	1977	Pazardjik	unknown	3	RRD	3	<b>47 BC</b>
<b>106</b>	H	600	circa	<b>Vidin area 1948</b>	1948	Vidin area	unknown	5	drachms	0	<b>ca. 90-70</b>
<b>107</b>	H	500	more than	<b>Vratsa-'Starata mogila'</b>	1963	Vratsa	purse ?	12	RRD	3	<b>After 36 BC</b>
<b>108</b>	G	3	hoard'?	<b>Borislavtzi 1960s</b>	1960s	Haskovo	unknown	3	RRD	3	<b>After 31 BC</b>
<b>109</b>	G	41	group	<b>"Gorna Oryahovitsa"</b>	1960	V. Tarnovo	unknown	41	RRD	41	<b>55 BC</b>
<b>110</b>	G	4	group	<b>Gabrovo area</b>	1970	Gabrovo		4	RRD	4	<b>77 BC</b>
<b>111</b>	G	58	group	<b>Pleven area I 1950s</b>	1950	Pleven	unknown	58	RRD	58	<b>45 BC</b>
<b>112</b>	H	11	more than	<b>Altimir II 1957</b>	1957	Vratsa	pot	11	RRD	2	<b>After 103-106</b>
<b>113</b>	H	500	circa	<b>Aprilovo II 1992</b>	1992	Targovishte	unknown	36	RRD	35	<b>After 15 AD?</b>
<b>114</b>	H	16	more than	<b>Archar 1981</b>	1981	Vidin	unknown	16	Sestertii	16	<b>119-12 AD</b>
<b>115</b>	H	60	more than	<b>Belene I 1948</b>	1948	Pleven	pot	60	Sestertii	60	<b>After 106 ?</b>
<b>116</b>	H	135	more than	<b>Belene II 1970</b>	1970	Pleven	pot	122	RRD	90	<b>14 – 21</b>
<b>117</b>	H	12	more than	<b>Belitsa 1938</b>	1938	Silistra	unknown	12	RRD	7	<b>AD 78</b>
<b>118</b>	H	60	exact?	<b>Chehlare 1938</b>	1938	Stara Zagora	pot	24	RRD	1	<b>41-42</b>
<b>119</b>	H	889	more than	<b>Chervena voda 1966</b>	1966	Russe	pot	679	RRD	33	<b>125-128</b>
<b>120</b>	H	6	more than	<b>Damyanoovo 1977/8</b>	1977/8	Gabrovo	purse	2	Sestertii	2	<b>106-117 ?</b>
<b>121</b>	H	336	exact	<b>Dragantsi 1958</b>	1958	Burgas	purse ?	336	Imp. Denarii	336	<b>AD 98</b>
<b>122</b>	H	134	exact?	<b>Dolni Dabnik 1910</b>	1910	Pleven	purse?	28	RRD	11	<b>AD 76</b>

**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

<b>123</b>	H	100	circa	<b>Garvan 1912</b>	1912	Silistra	unknown	0	RRD	0	<b>27 – 2/1 BC</b>
<b>124</b>	H	400	circa	<b>Gigen I 1928</b>	1928	Pleven	pot	22	RRD	2	<b>102/3 – 117</b>
<b>125</b>	H	49	more than	<b>Gigen III 1998</b>	1998	Pleven	purse	48	RRD	35	<b>AD 102-103</b>
<b>126</b>	H	12	more than	<b>Gotse Delchev area / CH 6.88</b>	1977	Blagoevgrad	unknown	11	RRD	103	<b>18 BC</b>
<b>127</b>	H	100	more than	<b>Gradeshnitsa II 1972</b>	1972	Vratsa	purse ?	68	RRD	67	<b>15-21</b>
<b>128</b>	H	764	exact?	<b>Gradeshnitsa III 1964</b>	1964	Vratsa	unknown	758	RRD	411	<b>108/9 – 111</b>
<b>129</b>	H	59	exact?	<b>Kladorup 1963</b>	1963	Vidin	pot	59	RRD	51	<b>21-37</b>
<b>130</b>	H	40	more than	<b>Kolyu-Marino</b>	1958	Stara Zagora	purse ?	32	RRD	24	<b>19-18</b>
<b>131</b>	H	70	exact?	<b>Komoshtitsa I 1920</b>	1920	Montana	pot	19	RRD	4	<b>79-96 ?</b>
<b>132</b>	H	10	exact?	<b>Koshava 1967</b>	1967	Vidin	pot	3	Imp. Denarii	3	<b>After 21-37</b>
<b>133</b>	H	211	exact?	<b>Koynare II 1967</b>	1967	Vratsa	pot	200	RRD	80	<b>AD 80</b>
<b>134</b>	H	2	more than	<b>Kozloduy 1940s</b>	<1940	Vratsa	pot ?	2	Aurei	2	<b>AD 75</b>
<b>135</b>	H	3	more than	<b>Krasno gradishte 1970s</b>	1972/4	V. Turnovo	unknown	3	RRD	1	<b>21-37</b>
<b>136</b>	H	11	exact?	<b>Lazarovo I / Strupen</b>	1912	Pleven	pot	11	Sestertii	11	<b>98-117 ?</b>
<b>137</b>	H	125	exact?	<b>Lazarovo II / Strupen</b>	1962	Pleven	AE vessel	124	RRD	111	<b>2-1 BC</b>
<b>138</b>	H	50	circa	<b>Lesicheri 1910</b>	1910	V. Tarnovo	unknown	31	Sestertii	22	<b>After 119-124</b>
<b>139</b>	H	550	circa	<b>Lovech area</b>	1937	Lovech	unknown	37	Imp. Denarii	37	<b>98-117 ?</b>
<b>140</b>	H	158	exact	<b>Medovo / RRCH 490</b>	1960	Stara Zagora	pot	158	RRD	149	<b>18 BC</b>
<b>141</b>	H	1000	circa	<b>Mihaylovo (D. Gnoynitsa)</b>	1910	Vratsa	unknown	11	RRD	11	<b>After 19-15</b>
<b>142</b>	H	9	more than	<b>Montana area II</b>	<1985	Montana	unknown	9	RRD	7	<b>19-18 BC</b>
<b>143</b>	H	3	more than	<b>Nikyup 1956</b>	1956	V. Tarnovo	pot	3	Imp. Denarii	3	<b>After 96-98</b>
<b>144</b>	H	480	more than	<b>Ohoden 1943</b>	1943	Vratsa	pot	277	RRD	276	<b>After 74-79</b>
<b>145</b>	H	35	more than	<b>Omarchevo 1952</b>	1952	Sliven	pot	28	RRD	1	<b>15-37 AD</b>
<b>146</b>	H	100	more than	<b>Plovdiv area 1981</b>	1981	Plovdiv	unknown	25	Imp. Denarii	7	<b>AD 19-26 ?</b>
<b>147</b>	H	250	more than	<b>Popovo 1939</b>	1939	Jambol	pot	237	RRD	1	<b>98-110 ?</b>

**Comparative table 1: complete list of featured hoards from Thrace**

<b>148</b>	H	60	circa	<b>Pravoslav / RRCH 520</b>	1960	Stara Zagora	pot	58	RRD	37	<b>9-8 BC</b>
<b>150</b>	H	600	circa	<b>Prelez 1926</b>	1926	Razgrad	unknown	383	RRD	81	<b>96-98</b>
<b>151</b>	H	10	more than	<b>Prevala 1932/3</b>	1932/3	Montana	unknown	1	Imp. Denarii	1	<b>After 68-69</b>
<b>152</b>	H	10	more than	<b>Provadiya I 1910</b>	1910/12	Varna	unknown	5	RRD	4	<b>10 BC</b>
<b>153</b>	H	8	more than	<b>Russe area I 1952</b>	<1952	Russe	unknown	8	RRD	5	<b>2-1 BC</b>
<b>154</b>	H	167	exact	<b>Sadievo 1968</b>	1968	Sliven	pot	162	RRD	160	<b>11-10 BC</b>
<b>155</b>	H	5	more than	<b>Sheynovo</b>	1960's	Stara Zagora	unknown	5	Imp. Denarii	5	<b>AD 106-110</b>
<b>156</b>	H	83	?	<b>Shumen area I 1970s</b>	1970	Shumen	unknown	83	RRD	78	<b>19-18 BC</b>
<b>157</b>	H	199	?	<b>"Sofia Airport" 2000</b>	1999/ 2000 ?	Vratsa / Montana	unknown	199	RRD	179	<b>After 2-1</b>
<b>158</b>	H	26		<b>Strashimir / CH 4.79</b>	1971	Smolyan	pot	26	RRD	2	<b>2-1 BC ?</b>
<b>159</b>	H	4	more than	<b>Jambol area I 1979</b>	1979	Jambol	unknown	4	Imp. Denarii	4	<b>After 103-107</b>
<b>160</b>	H	503	?	<b>"Zverino" 2000</b>	2000	Vratsa	pot	503	RRD	464	<b>After 2-1</b>

**Comparative Table 2: Stray finds of the Late Thracian kings (parts 1-2).**

<i>Coins / Find-spot</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Aquae Calidae 1910</i>	<i>Aquae Calidae 1994</i>	<i>Golitsa, Obzor / 1998</i>	<i>Ahtopol 1999/2000</i>	<i>Thasos 1980s<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Adrianople / Edirne (museum)<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Heraion Teichos<sup>3</sup> (near Tekirdag)</i>	<i>Lischine Collection, &gt;1902<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>Stamoulis Collection, Selymbria, &gt;1922<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>Ruchey 1933</i>	<i>Georgi Dobrev</i>	<i>Belovo, Pazardzhik</i>	<i>Pazardzhik (museum)</i>	<i>Plovdiv (museum)</i>	<i>Sivino, Smolyan 1978</i>	<i>Smolyan (museum)</i>	<i>Kyustendil region</i>
<b>Cotys II [VI], ca. 57–48 BC</b>	Youroukova 1976, 148 = SNG Stancomb 299	1 Æ	1 Æ	2 Æ	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Sadala II, ca. 48-42 BC</b>	SNG BM Black Sea 314 = Youroukova 1992, 144-145	3 Æ	—	1 Æ	—	—	—	1 Æ	2 Æ	2 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Rhaescuporis I and Cotys III, ca. 48-42 BC</b>	RPC 1702-3	1 Æ	—	—	—	4 Æ	—	—	9 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC – AD 12</b>	RPC 1706-1718	186 Æ	17 Æ	—	3 Æ	4 Æ	2 Æ	1 Æ	41 Æ	6 Æ	1 Æ	6 Æ	1 Æ	12 Æ	16 Æ	1 Æ	8 Æ	6 Æ
<b>Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV, ca. AD 12 – 17/18</b>	Lischine 1498 = Dzanev 2008	—	—	—	—	—	2 Æ	—	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Rhoemetalces II, with Tiberius, ca. 19–37/8 AD</b>	RPC 1721	Jn- separated from Rhoem. I)	13 Æ	—	—	2 Æ	—	—	—	2 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Rhoemetalces III with Caius, ca. 38–45/6 AD</b>	RPC 1722-1724	2 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	1 Æ	—	1 Æ	—
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>		<b>192</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>

<sup>1</sup> See Picard 1994, 269-70, table 1.<sup>2</sup> Information from Prof. Oguz Tekin, Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> Yağiz 2008, 107-17, esp. 112-3.<sup>4</sup> Collection C. N. Lischine. *Monnaies grecques. Thrace* (Macon 1902).<sup>5</sup> See Oikonomos – Varouka-Christodoupoulou, *The Numismatic Collection of Anastasios P. Stamoulis* (Athens 1955).

## Part 2.

<i>Coins / Find-spot</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Arbanas, Radomir</i>	<i>Shumen (museum)</i>	<i>Varna (museum)</i>	<i>Burgas (museum)</i>	<i>Debelt</i>	<i>Madzarovo, 'Okopa'</i>	<i>Ostrov<sup>6</sup> (near Silistra)</i>	<i>Telerig, Dobrich, 1993/6</i>	<i>Russe-center, excavation, 2005/6</i>	<i>Nevestino 1910</i>	<i>Tatul rock sanctuary / 2005<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>TOTALS</i>
<b>Cotys II [VI], ca. 57–48 BC</b>	Youroukova 1976, 148 = SNG Stancomb 299	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<b>5</b>
<b>Sadala II, ca. 48-42 BC</b>	SNG BM Black Sea 314 = Youroukova 1992, 144-145	—	—	—	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<b>10</b>
<b>Rhaescuporis I and Cotys III, ca. 48-42 BC</b>	RPC 1702-3	2 Æ	—	—	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<b>17</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 11 BC – AD 12</b>	RPC 1706-1718	—	3 Æ	10 Æ	22 Æ	—	—	2 Æ	1 Æ	1 Æ	1 Æ	Æ?	<b>352</b>
<b>Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV, ca. AD 12 – 17/18</b>	Lischine 1498 = Dzanev 2008	—	—	—	1 Æ	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	<b>5</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces II, with Tiberius, ca. 19–37/8 AD</b>	RPC 1721	—	1 Æ	3 Æ	2 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	—	9? Æ	<b>29</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces III with Caius, ca. 38–45/6 AD</b>	RPC 1722-1724	—	1 Æ	1 Æ	—	—	1 Æ	—	—	—	—	—	<b>9</b>
<b>TOTALS:</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>410</b>

<sup>6</sup> Dima – Elefterescu 2009, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished, briefly mentioned by OVCHAROV – DIMITROV – L ESHTAKOV – KOZHMANOVA 2008, 49 and 54, n. 9.

**Comparative table 3. Statistical table of late Thracian royal coins.**

Issuer / ruler	References	Totals
<b>Mostis, ca. 125/0–87/6 BC</b>	Head 1911, 285; <i>SNG Cop.</i> 1172; Роголски / Rogalski 1971, 41-55; Youroukova 1976, 34-7, figs. 131-132; de Callatay 1991, 40-45	<b>51+ AR</b>
	<i>SNG BM Black Sea</i> 310-312; <i>SNG Cop.</i> 1173; Юркуова 1992, № 134-138; Койчев / Койчев 2003, 61-63	<b>63 Æ</b>
<b>Dizaelmios, ca. 87/6–80? BC</b>	Мушмов / Mouchmov 1927, 239, no. 178; <i>SNG BM</i> , nos. 320-321; Койчев / Койчев 2003, 48, nos. 88-89	<b>3+ Æ</b>
<b>Cotys II [VI], ca. 57–48 BC</b>	Head 1911, 286; Мушмов / Mouchmov 1912, 192, no. 5773; Youroukova 1976, 148; Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 142; <i>SNG Stancomb</i> 299	<b>6 Æ</b>
<b>Sadala II, ca. 48–42 BC</b>	Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 144-145 = <i>SNG BM Black Sea</i> 314	<b>10+ Æ</b>
<b>Rhaescuporis I and Cotys III, ca. 48-42 BC</b>	Youroukova 1976, 40-53 and Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 147-150 ; <i>RPC</i> 1702-3	<b>21 Æ</b>
<b>Cotys III [VII], ca. 28/7–23/2 BC, type KOTYOC XAPAKTHP</b>	Youroukova 1976, 41-44, fig. 145; Карайотов 1990, 25-28; Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 177-8; Lukacs 1996, 1924-1926; Prokopov 2006, 1860/ 1-9	<b>16 AR</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces I with Augustus, ca. 12/11 BC – AD 12</b>	<i>RPC</i> 1774-1775	<b>10 drachms</b> <b>1 didrachm</b>
	Юркуова / Youroukova 1992, 188-197; <i>RPC</i> 1704-1720	<b>2024+ Æ (hoards)</b> <b>365+ Æ (stray)</b>
<b>Rhaescuporis III and Cotys IV [VIII], ca. AD 12 – 17/18</b>	Lischine 1498 = Дзанев / Dzanev 2008	<b>5 Æ</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces II, with Tiberius, ca. 19–37/8 AD</b>	<i>RPC</i> 1721	<b>33 Æ</b>
<b>Rhoemetalces III with Caius, ca. 38–45/6 AD</b>	<i>RPC</i> 1722-1724	<b>11 Æ</b>
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>		<b>78 AR</b> <b>2,541 Æ</b>

**Comparative table 4. *Denarius* hoards from Moesia – closing with issues of Augustus.**

Issuers	Aprilovo II / 1992		Lazarovo II / 1962		Montana I / 1980s		Shumen area / 1970s		Zverino / 2000	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Republic	12	33.3	98	79	5	55.5	70	84.3	372	73.95
Julius Caesar	1	2.7	4	3.2	1	11.1	5	6.0	39	7.7
Brutus/ Cassius	–	–	2	1.6	–	–	–	–	4	0.79
Sex. Pompey	–	–	1	0.8	1	11.1	–	–	3	0.59
Mark Antony	21	58.3	4	3.2	–	–	3	3.6	5	0.99
Octavian/Augustus	2	5.5	14	11.3	2	22.2	3	3.6	66	13.1
<i>Denarius</i> Imitations	–	–	1	0.8	–	–	2	2.4	1	0.19
Numidia, Juba I	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	0.59
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b> [once 40+]		<b>124</b> [once 125]		<b>9+</b>		<b>83</b>		<b>503</b> [10 illegible]	
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<b><u>15 BC</u></b>		<b><u>2-1 BC</u></b>		<b><u>18 BC</u></b>		<b><u>19-8 BC</u></b>		<b><u>2-1 BC</u></b>	



**Comparative table 5. Denarius hoards from Thrace – closing with issues of Augustus.**

Issuers	Gotse Delchev area / 1977 <sup>1</sup>		Kolyu-Marinovo / 1958		Medovo / 1960 <sup>2</sup>		Pravoslav / 1960 <sup>3</sup>		Sadievo / 1968 <sup>4</sup>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Late Hellenistic / Thracian	–	–	9 tetr.	27.2	5 tetr.	3.1	–	–	2	1.24
Republic	10	90.9	21	63.6	116	73.4	24	41.8	90	55.9
Julius Caesar	–	–	1	3.0	11	6.96	4	6.9	22	13.66
Brutus/Cassius	–	–	–	–	1	0.69	2	3.44	2	1.24
Sex. Pompey	–	–	–	–	5	3.16	1	1.72	–	–
Mark Antony	–	–	–	–	7	4.43	3	5.17	3	1.86
Octavian/Augustus	1	9.1	1	3.0	13	8.22	24	41.8	42	26.08
Denarius Imitations	–	–	1	3.0	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>		<b>33</b>		<b>158</b>		<b>58</b>		<b>161</b> [7 illegible]	
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<b><u>18 BC</u></b>		<b><u>19-18 BC</u></b>		<b><u>18 BC</u></b>		<b><u>9-8 BC</u></b>		<b><u>11-10 BC</u></b>	

<sup>1</sup> CH 6.88, see find cat. No. 126.<sup>2</sup> RRCH 490, see find cat. No. 140.<sup>3</sup> RRCH 520, see find cat. No. 149.<sup>4</sup> See find cat. No. 154.

**Comparative table 6. Denarius hoards from Moesia and Thrace – closing with issues of Tiberius.**

Issuers	Belene II / 1971		Gradeshnitsa II / 1972		Kladorup / 1963		Omarchevo/ 1952		Plovdiv area / 1981	
	MOE		MOE		MOE		THR		THR	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Thrace, Rhoemetalces II	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18 AE	69.2
Republic	55	45.1	66	97.0	39	66.1	1	3.4	–	–
Caesar	8	6.5	–	–	6	10.1	–	–	–	–
Brutus–Cassius	–	–	–	–	1	1.7	–	–	–	–
Mark Antony	24	19.6	–	–	6	10.1	–	–	–	–
Augustus	33	27.0	1	1.47	6 (incl. Tiberius as Caesar - 1)	10.1	20	68.9	–	–
Tiberius	2	1.6	1	1.47	2	3.4	8	27.5	7	36.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	122 [once 135]		68 [once 100+]		59		29 [once 35]	–	19 [once 25+]	
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<u>AD 14-21</u>		<u>AD 15-21</u>		<u>AD 21-37</u>		<u>AD 21-37</u>		<u>ca. AD 21-37</u>	

**Comparative table 7. Hoards closing with issues of Claudius and Nero (Æ).**

Issuers	Chehlare / 1938		Plovdiv environs / 1987	
	THR		THR	
	No.	%	No.	%
Republic	1	4	–	–
Rhoemetalces I	0	–	3 Æ	27.2
Mark Antony	–	–	–	–
Augustus	14	56.0	–	–
Tiberius	9	36.0	–	–
Caligula	–	–	1 Æ	9
Claudius	1	4	6 Æ	54.5
Nero	–	–	1 Æ	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	25 den [once 60]	100%	11 Æ	100%
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<u>AD 41-42</u>		<u>AD 65-68?</u>	

**Comparative table 8. Denarius hoards from Moesia – closing with issues of the Flavian emperors.**

Issuers / Emperors	Dolni Dabnik / 1910		Komostitsa / 1920		Belitza / 1938		Koynare II / 1967	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Republic	84	62.6	4	21.0	5	41.6	60	30
Mark Antony	3	2.2	–	–	2	16.6	17	8.5
Augustus	13	9.7	1	5.25	–	–	11	5.5
Tiberius	4	2.9	–	–	–	–	3	1.5
Caligula	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Claudius	1	0.7	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
Nero	5	3.7	3	15.7	–	–	10	5.0
Galba	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	2.0
Otho	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
Vitellius	1	0.7	–	–	–	–	6	3.0
Vespasian	24	17.9	10	52.6	4	33.3	65	32.5
Titus	3 (as Caesar)	2.2	–	–	–	–	22	11.0
Domitian	–	–	1	5.25	1 (as Caesar)	8.4	10 (as Caesar)	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28</b> [once 134]		<b>19</b> [once 70]		<b>12+</b> [unknown]		<b>200</b> [once 211]	
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<b><u>AD 76</u></b>		<b><u>AD 79 – 96?</u></b>		<b><u>AD 77/8</u></b>		<b><u>AD 80/1</u></b>	

**Comparative table 9. Denarius hoards from Moesia and Thrace – closing with issues of Nerva.**

Issuers / Emperors	Nikyup / 1956 THR		Prelez / 1926 <sup>5</sup> MOE	
	No.	%	No.	%
Republic	–	–	85	21.9
Mark Antony	–	–	1	0.25
Augustus	–	–	–	–
Tiberius	–	–	–	–
Caligula	–	–	–	–
Claudius	–	–	7	1.80
Nero	–	–	18	4.65
Galba	1	33.3	5	1.28
Otho	–	–	7	1.80
Vitellius	–	–	10	2.57
Vespasian	1	33.3	205	52.83
Titus	–	–	12	3.10
Domitian	–	–	29	7.47
Nerva	1	33.3	1	0.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3+</b>		<b>388</b>	
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<b><u>AD 96-98?</u></b>		<b><u>AD 96?</u></b>	

<sup>5</sup> Hoard Prelez 1926 (former Junuzlar) in the Razgrad region, see Bolin 1958, 339, table 2 = find cat. no. 150.

**Comparative table 10. Denarius hoards from Moesia and Thrace – closing with issues of Trajan.**

Issuers / Emperors	Dragantsi / 1958 THR		Gigen III / 1998 MOE		Gradeshnitsa III / 1964 MOE		Altimir II / 1957 MOE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Republic	–	–	25	51	291	38	2	18.1
Mark Antony	–	–	10	20.4	116	15.8	–	–
Augustus	–	–	1	2.0	15	1.95	–	–
Tiberius	1	0.29	1	2.0	4	0.52	–	–
Caligula	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Claudius	–	–	–	–	3	0.39	–	–
Nero	13	3.86	–	–	12	1.57	–	–
Galba	2	0.59	–	–	8	1.04	–	–
Otho	8	2.38	–	–	3	0.39	–	–
Vitellius	6	1.78	–	–	7	9.16	–	–
Vespasian	149	44.3	6	12.3	143	18.7	4	36.3
Titus	2	0.59	–	–	13	1.70	–	–
Domitian	152	45.2	3	6.1	91 18 – as Caesar	11.90	3	27.3
Nerva	2	0.59	–	–	17	2.22	–	–
Trajan	1	0.29	3	6.1	27	3.53	2	18.1
Trajan - imitations	–	–	–	–	4	0.52	–	–
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>336</b>		<b>49</b>		<b>764</b>		<b>11</b>	
<b>Closing Date:</b>	<b><u>Autumn 98</u></b>		<b><u>AD 101 – 102</u></b>		<b><u>AD 108/9 – 111</u></b>		<b><u>AD 101/3 – 106?</u></b>	

**Comparative table 11. Face value of Early Principate hoards from *Moesia* and *Thrace* (shown in *sestertii*).**

No.	Cat. no.	Value (in HS)	Hoard / year of discovery	Region / province	<i>Aurei</i>	<i>Denarii</i>	Closing date	References
1	X <sup>1</sup>	300	Ram / 1907	Serbia / <i>Moesia</i> [ <i>superior</i> ]	3	–	AD 50–51	Vasić 1907, 19-21; Mirnik 1981, 110
2	134	200	Kozloduy area / 1940	Vratsa, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	2	–	AD 73-75	Gerassimov 1941, 283; Kunisz 1992, 60
3	140	632	Medovo / 1960	St. Zagora, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	158	18 BC	RRCH 490; Gerassimov 1963, 260; Nikolov 1964, 153-66; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 116
4	141	4,000	Mihaylovo / 1910	Vratsa, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	ca. 1,000	19 – 18 BC	Filow 1910, 224; Seure 1923, 11, no. 3; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 11
5	156	332	Shumen area / 1970's	Shumen, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	83	19 – 18 BC	Prokopov – Vladimirova-Aladzhova 1998, 12-7, nos. 1-82, <i>IRRCHBg</i> , 65
6	130	124 <sup>2</sup>	Kolyu-Marinovo / 1958	Plovdiv, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	31	19 – 18 BC	Gerassimov 1962, 226; Zlatareva 1960, 367-76; Prokopov 1995, 451-4
7	126	44	Gotse Delchev area / 1977	Brezovo, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	11	18 BC	CH 6.88; Youroukova 1978, 58-9; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 25
8	113	2,000	Aprilovo / 1992	Razgrad, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	ca. 500	15 BC	Unpublished, see <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 3
9	154	644	Sadievo / 1968	Sliven, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	161	11 – 10 BC	Youroukova 1972, 32-8; Gerassimov 1979, 136; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 126
10	152	40	Provadiya I / 1910's	Varna, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	10+	10 BC	Mirchev 1971, 190-1, no. 3.
11	149	232	Pravoslav / 1960	St. Zagora, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	58+	9 – 8 BC	Gerassimov 1963, 261; Nikolov 1964, 166-72; <i>RRCH</i> 520
12	137	500	Lazarovo II / 1962	Vratsa, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	125	2 – 1 BC	Gerassimov 1964, 238-9, unpublished in details.

<sup>1</sup> No listed in the catalogue, but see a discussion on this hoard in the chapter 8. *The Denarius system: 8.8 Gold*.

<sup>2</sup> This hoard includes also 9 tetradrachms (Thasian imitations).

13	157	796	'Sofia Airport' / 2000	Vratsa/Montana, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	199	2 – 1 BC	Unpublished.
14	160	2,012	'Zverino' / 2000	Vratsa, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	503	2 – 1 BC	Unpublished.
15	127	400	Gradeshnitsa II / 1972	Vratsa, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	ca. 100	AD 14 – 21	Youroukova 1979, 60-1; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 26
16	116	540	Belene II / 1970	Pleven, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	135	AD 14 – 37	Gerassimov 1979, 139; Kunisz 1992, 128, no. 3; Prokopov–Kovatcheva 2006, 7-16, nos. 1-135
17	145	140	Omarchevo / 1952	Sliven, Bulgaria / Thrace	–	35+	AD 15 – 37	Gerassimov 1955, 604; Gerassimov 1957, 324; Ignatov 2008, 158-63
18	129	236	Kladorup / 1963	Vidin, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	59	AD 21 – 37	Gerassimov 1964, 242; Youroukova – Athanassova 1979, 249-53; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 84
19	118	240	Chehlare / 1938	Brezovo, Bulgaria / Thrace	–	60	AD 41 – 42	Gerassimov 1939, 345; Kunicz 1992, 129, no. 9; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 74
20	122	536	Dolni Dabnik / 1910	Pleven, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	134	AD 76	Filow 1910, 224; Bolin 1958, 338-9; Kunisz 1992, 128, no. 6; Dotkova 2006, 180-7
21	117	48	Belitza / 1938	Tutrakan, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	12+	AD 78	Vertan 2002, 271-2; Talmaçhi 2006, 185, no. 2; Petac 2011, 18 and 352.
22	133	844	Koynare II / 1967	Vratsa, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	211	AD 80	Gerassimov 1979, 135; Kunicz 1992, 128-9, no. 7; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 85.
23	X	408	Boljetin / 1947	Serbia / Moesia [ <i>superior</i> ]	–	102	AD 81 – 86	Mimik 1981, no. 50
24	X	1,116	Bare / 1964	Serbia / Moesia [ <i>superior</i> ]	–	279	AD 81 – 82	Popović – Borić-Breskovic 1994
25	X	444	Tekija / 1950	Serbia / Moesia [ <i>superior</i> ]	–	111	AD 84 – 85	Mimik 1981, no. 52
26	150	2,400	Prelez / 1926	Razgrad, Bulgaria / Moesia	–	ca. 600	AD 96 – 98	Mouchmov 1927, 325; Gerov 1977, 148, no. 2; Bolin 1958, 339, table 2; Kunisz 1992, 129, no. 8



27	121	1,344	<b>Dragantsi / 1958</b>	Burgas, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	336	AD 98-99	Gerassimov 1962, 230; Gerov 1977, 148, no. 3; Kunisz 1992, 129-30, no. 10
28	125	196	<b>Gigen III / 1998</b>	Pleven, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	49	AD 102–103	<i>IRRCHBulg</i> , no. 79.
29	124	1,600	<b>Gigen II / 1928</b>	Pleven, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	ca. 400	AD 101–106	Mouchmov 1929, 382-383; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 7; Kunisz 1992, 150, no. 4
30	128	3,056	<b>Gradeshnitsa III / 1964</b>	Vratsa, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	764	AD 108/9– 111	Gerassimov 1966, 212; Gerov 1977, 148, no.4; Duncan-Jones 1994, no. 102; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 80
31	148	956	<b>Popovo / 1939</b>	Plovdiv, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	239	AD 108/9–112	Gerassimov, 1940, 344; Gerov, 1977, 149, no. 10; Bolin 1958, 341, table 3, 8, unpublished in detail.
32	139	2,200	<b>Lovech area / 1937</b>	Lovech, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	550+	AD 101–117	Gerassimov 1938, 450; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 8
33	119	3,556	<b>Chervena voda / 1966</b>	Russe, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	889	AD 125–128	Gerassimov 1968, 235; Dimova 1968, 11-38, pls. I-II; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 13
34	X	3,200	<b>Lipnik / 1950</b>	Razgrad, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	ca. 800	AD 117–138	Gerassimov 1941, 124; Gerassimov 1952, 402; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 14
35	X	800	<b>Popitsa / 1939</b>	Vratsa, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	ca. 200	AD 117–138	Gerassimov 1941, 344; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 11
36	X	2,400	<b>Slatino / 1921</b>	Kyustendil, Bulgaria / <i>Thrace</i>	–	ca. 600	AD 125–138	Mouchmov 1924, 242; Gerov 1977, 149, no. 17; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 97
37	X	5,720	<b>Zhitnitsa (fmr. Bazaurt) / 1916</b>	Dobrich, Bulgaria / <i>Moesia</i>	–	1430 [now 976]	AD 137–138	Filow – Velkov 1920, 150-1; Seure 1923, 17-8, no.11; <i>IRRCHBulg</i> 83; Божкова / Bozhkova 2003, 35-50.

**Comparative table 12. Structure of coin denominations of selected site finds in *Moesia/Thrace* and beyond.**

Denomination / site	<i>Serdica</i>	<i>Cabyle</i>	<i>Vidin / Ratiaria</i>	<i>Sorgosia / Pleven</i>	<i>Oescus</i> (combined data)	<i>Novae</i> (combined data)	<i>Pompeii</i>	<i>Comulodunum</i>	<i>Mogontiacum</i>	<i>Haltern</i>
<b>AV Aureus</b>	1.1%	0	0	2.4%	0	0	4%	0	<1%	<1%
<b>AR Denarius</b>	20%	42%	68%	7%	21%	9%	48%	3%	4%	5%
<b>AE Sestertius</b>	12.7%	4%	4.4%	12%	15.6%	16%	9%	10%	10%	3%
<b>AE Dupondius</b>	13.95%	4%	2.2%	16.6%	12.1%	15%	0%	20%	5%	6%
<b>AE As</b>	37.2%	31%	13.3%	57%	24.5%	58%	27%	65%	80%	85%
<b>AE Quadrans</b>	1.1%	0	0	4.7%	12.1%	<1%	11%	1%	<1%	<1%
<b>Non-Roman</b>	20.9%	19%	0	N/D	N/D	1.6%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%

**TABLE 13.** Site and stray find coins of Claudius from *Moesia* and *Thrace*.

<b>No.</b>	<b>Denomination</b>	<b>Type (RIC)</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Mint</b>	<b>Counter- mark</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Disposition</b>
1	<b>Sestertius</b>	93	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, 65 / 1965
2	<b>Sestertius</b>	93	41–50	Rome	–	Skobelevo, Plovdiv	Plovdiv, 1995
3	<b>Sestertius</b>	93	41–50	Rome	–	Smolyan area	Smolyan, 792
4	<b>Sestertius</b>	93	41–50	Rome	–	Smolyan area	Smolyan, 1252
5	<b>Sestertius</b>	96 or 112?	41–50	Rome	–	Plovdiv - excavation	Plovdiv, 6157
6	<b>Sestertius</b>	98 or 114?	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 106/ 1967
7	<b>Sestertius</b>	99	41–50	Rome	–	Branipole, Plovdiv	Plovdiv?
8	<b>Sestertius</b>	102	41–50	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, no. 695
9	<b>Sestertius</b>	102	41–50	Rome	–	Podem, Pleven	Pleven, no. 1340
10	<b>Sestertius</b>	102	41–50	Rome	–	Stomanevo, Devin	Smolyan, 890
11	<b>Sestertius</b>	102 or 103?	41–50	Rome	–	Krivina / <i>Iatrus</i>	Russe, RHM
12	<b>Sestertius</b>	103	41–50	Rome	–	Archar / <i>Ratiaria</i>	Vidin, no. 464/2
13	<b>Sestertius</b>	103	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Berlin, 683/1912
14	<b>Sestertius</b>	103	41–50	Rome	–	Plovdiv area	Plovdiv, 169
15	<b>Sestertius</b>	109	41–50	Rome	–	Sofia – excavations	Sofia, MH, field no. 268 / 2005
16	<b>Sestertius</b>	109	41–50	Rome	–	Sliven	Sliven, lost
17	<b>Sestertius</b>	112	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 22/2008
18	<b>Sestertius</b>	115	50–54	Rome	<b>capricorn</b>	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIIIA	Svishtov, HCΦ 289
19	<b>Sestertius - imitation, fragment</b>	Type 115	50–54	Rome	–	Kladorub, 2009	Vidin, field no. 124/ 2009
20	<b>Sestertius - imitation</b>	Type 115	After 50–54	Moesia limes	<b>DV</b>	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, field no. 32/ 2007
21	<b>Sestertius - imitation</b>	Type 115	After 50–54	Balkan mint?	–	Rupite, Petrich	Blagoevgrad, 12704
22	<b>Sestertius</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , p. 130, von Kaenel type B.4	51–54?	Perinthus (?)	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Berlin, 1924/489
23	<b>Sestertius</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , p. 130, von Kaenel type B.4	51–54?	Perinthus (?)	–	Uncertain, Northern Bulgaria	Sofia, NHM, n/a
24	<b>Sestertius</b>	RIC I <sup>2</sup> , p. 130, von Kaenel type A, B.3	51–54?	Perinthus (?)	–	Sofia – excavations	Sofia, NAIM, field no. A716 / 2011
25	<b>Sestertius</b>	unspecified	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Oescus</i> – excavation	Pleven, no. n/a?

26	<b>Sestertius</b>	unspecified	41–50	Rome	–	Leskovets / Variana	Oryahovo, N/A
27	<b>Sestertius</b>	unspecified	41–50	Rome	–	Nevestino, Kyustendil	Sofia, NAIM, N/A
28	<b>Dupondius</b>	92	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector XI	Svishtov, N/A
29	<b>Dupondius</b>	92	41–50	Rome	–	Ryahovo / <i>Appiaria</i>	Russe, 80
30	<b>Dupondius</b>	92	41–50	Rome	–	Russe / <i>LX Prista</i>	Russe, field no. 28 / 2007
31	<b>Dupondius</b>	92	41–50	Rome	–	Russe / <i>LX Prista</i>	Russe, field no. 53 / 2010
32	<b>Dupondius</b>	94	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector XI	Svishtov, N/A
33	<b>Dupondius</b>	94	41–50	Rome	<b>CA ?</b>	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, 2747
34	<b>Dupondius</b>	94	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Burgas, A1706
35	<b>As</b>	95	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII-A	Svishtov, HCΦ 281
36	<b>As</b>	97	41–50	Rome	–	Jambol area	Jambol, 5131
37	<b>As</b>	97	41–50	Rome	–	Vidin area	Vidin, no. 39
38	<b>As</b>	97	41–50	Rome	uncertain	<i>Novae</i> , sector XI	Svishtov?
39	<b>As</b>	97	41–50	Rome	–	Arbanas, Radomir	Pernik, field no. 582 / 1983
40	<b>As</b>	97	41–50	Rome	–	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 870/3
41	<b>As</b>	97 or 100?	41–50	Rome	–	Jambol area	Jambol, 5131
42	<b>As</b>	100	41–50	Rome	–	Ostrov, Silistra	Constanta, 8482
43	<b>As</b>	100	41–50	Rome	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Burgas, A1705
44	<b>As</b>	100	41–50	Rome	–	Kazanluk area	Kazanluk, 603
45	<b>As</b>	100	41–50	Rome	–	Krumovo, Plovdiv	Plovdiv, 2695
46	<b>As</b>	100	41–50	Rome	–	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 1509
47	<b>As</b>	100	41–50	Rome	–	Granitovo, St. Zagora	Stara Zagora, 3318
48	<b>As</b>	100 or 116?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 210/1993
49	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 697 <sub>1</sub>
50	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 697 <sub>2</sub>
51	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, 79/1981;
52	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII-A	Svishtov, 2615
53	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	Razgrad / <i>Abritus</i>	Razgrad, 4027
54	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	Ostrov, Silistra	Constanta, 8464
55	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, N/A
56	<b>As</b>	106	50–54	Rome	–	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, N/A
57	<b>As – imitation</b>	Type 106	After 50–54	Moesia limes	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Burgas, A1709
58	<b>As</b>	110	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 474 <sub>1</sub>
59	<b>As</b>	110	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 474 <sub>2</sub>
60	<b>As</b>	110	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 474 <sub>3</sub>

61	<b>As</b>	110	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 671
62	<b>As – imitation</b>	Type 110	After 50–54	Rome	–	Silistra / <i>Durostorum</i>	Silistra, 112
63	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, field no. A80/ 2010
64	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Debovo, Pleven	Pleven, 969
65	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 473 <sub>1</sub>
66	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 473 <sub>2</sub>
67	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 473 <sub>3</sub>
68	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Pavlikeni, V. Tarnovo	Veliko Tarnovo, RHM
69	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Maluk Porovets, Razgrad	Isperih, no. 54 / 1990
70	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 1300/2
71	<b>As</b>	111	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Burgas, A1707
72	<b>As</b>	111 or 113?	50–54	Rome	–	Kazanluk, 2009	Kazanluk, field no. 2/ 2009
73	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Vidin area	Vidin, 40
74	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector X	Svishtov, 2382
75	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 472
76	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Pleven area	Pleven, 1231
77	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Sadovets, Pleven	Pleven, 1391
78	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Plovdiv - excavation	Plovdiv, 2719
79	<b>As</b>	113?	50–54	Rome	–	Plovdiv - excavation	Plovdiv, 2720
80	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Plovdiv area	Plovdiv, 5226
81	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Aquae Calidae</i>	Burgas, A1708
82	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	uncertain	Skutare	Plovdiv, 4507
83	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	<b>capricorn r.</b>	Plovdiv, Nebet tepe	Plovdiv, 2719
84	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Skutare, Plovdiv	Plovdiv, 4507
85	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Belene / <i>Dimum</i>	Svishtov, 106
86	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Silistra / <i>Durostorum</i>	Silistra, 121
87	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Burgas area	Burgas, 1071
88	<b>As</b>	113	50–54	Rome	–	Burgas	Burgas, 2545
89	<b>As</b>	Type 113	After 50–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, no. A266/ 2010
90	<b>As</b>	113 or 116?	50–54	Rome	–	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 1513
91	<b>As</b>	116	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector X	Svishtov, 1259
92	<b>As</b>	116	50–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector X	Svishtov, 2383
93	<b>As</b>	116	50–54	Rome	–	Belene / <i>Dimum</i>	Svishtov, 107
94	<b>As</b>	116	50–54	Rome	–	Krivina / <i>Iatrus</i> , sector VII/m	Russe, field no. 1960/18

95	<b>As</b>	116	50–54	Rome	–	Rupite, Petrich	Blagoevgrad, 12683
96	<b>As</b>	116	50–54	Rome	–	Tserovo, Blagoevgrad	Blagoevgrad, 11586
97	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A172/ 2010
98	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A1105/ 2011
99	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A1146/ 2010
100	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A1391 / 2010
101	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A1679 /2010
102	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Sofia – excavation	Sofia, NAIM, A1723/2010
103	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Arbanas, Radomir	Pernik, field no. 845 / 1983
104	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Drama, Jambol	Jambol, field no. 91:0725
105	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Augustae</i> , 2005	NHM Sofia, no. N/A
106	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Leskovets / <i>Variana</i>	Oryahovo, no. N/A
107	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Nikyup / Nicopolis	Veliko Tarnovo, field no. 54/1998
108	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Pavlikeni, Veliko Tarnovo	Veliko Tarnovo, RHM = Tsochev, 10
109	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Pavlikeni, Veliko Tarnovo	Veliko Tarnovo, RHM = Tsochev, 11
110	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 162/ 1993
111	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 116/ 1993
112	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 179/1979
113	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 11/09-1
114	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII-A	Svishtov, no. HCΦ 277
115	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII-A	Svishtov, 358
116	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII-A	Svishtov, 886
117	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII-A	Svishtov, 888
118	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Krivina / <i>Iatrus</i> , sector 1	Russe, field no. 1960/5,
119	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Krivina / <i>Iatrus</i>	Russe, field no. 77/1975
120	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Russe / <i>LX Prista</i>	Russe, field no. 105 / 2005
121	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Silistra	Silistra, 5535
122	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, no. N/A
123	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, no. N/A
124	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, no. N/A
125	<b>As</b>	?	41–50	Rome	<b>PR</b>	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 1173
126	<b>As</b>	?	41–54	Rome	–	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 984

\*

**TABLE 14.** Site and stray find coins of Nerva from *Moesia* and *Thrace*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Denomination</b>	<b>Type (RIC)</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Disposition</b>
1	denarius	4 or 17?	96 or 97?	Lyulin – Bjaldjadova <i>tumulus</i> , grave	Jambol, no. 1557
2	denarius	4	96	Smolyan region	Smolyan, no. 919
3	denarius	13	97	Burgas area	Burgas, no. 42
4	denarius	13	97	Kazanluk-Koprinka	Kazanluk, field no. 4/ 2009
5	denarius	13	97	Butovo / <i>emporium Piretensium</i>	Veliko Tarnovo, 3362
6	denarius	16	97	Burgas area	Burgas, no. 41
7	denarius	19	97	Debelt / <i>Deultum</i>	Burgas, no. 185
8	denarius	20	97	Vurbitsa, Pleven	Pleven, no. 1547
9	denarius	48	98	Dragoynovo, Plovdiv	Plovdiv, no. 2113
10	denarius	unspecified	96-98	Nikyup / <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> , 1907	Sofia, NAIM, no. N/A
11	denarius	unspecified	96-98	Nikyup / <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> , 1907	Sofia, NAIM, no. N/A
12	denarius	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> region	Svishtov, no. N/A
13	sestertius	86	97	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV, 1994	Svishtov, no. 97/94
14	sestertius	86	97	Kazanluk area	Kazanluk, no. 211
15	sestertius	84 or 99	96 or 97	Rjahovo / <i>Appiaria</i>	Russe, no. 81
16	sestertius	86	97	Pleven – Kayluka	Pleven, no. 940
17	sestertius	86	97	Plovdiv, Djendem tepe hill, 1954	Plovdiv, no. 1992
18	sestertius	86	97	Blagoevgrad area	Blagoevgrad, 11334

19	sestertius	102	97	Kazanluk area	Kazanluk, no. 604
20	sestertius / dp	unspecified	96 or 97	Somovit, Pleven	Pleven, no. N/A
21	dupondius	84 or 99?	96 or 97	Sofia / <i>Serdica</i> , 2010	Sofia NAIM, field no. 1721/ 2010
22	dupondius	84	97	Vladinya, Lovech	Lovech, no. 12/ 1998
23	dupondius	84	97	Plovdiv region	Plovdiv, no. 1560
20	dupondius	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> area, before 1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
24	dupondius	illegible	96-97	Ostrov, Silistra	Constanța, no. 45171
25	as / dp?	?	97	<i>Novae</i> , sector VIII A, 2007	Svishtov, no. 337/2007
26	as / dp?	?	97 ?	Nikyup / <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> , 1992	Tarnovo, field no. 414/A/2260/5301
27	as / dp?	?	97 ?	<i>Aquae Calidae</i> 1910	Sofia, no. N/A
28	as / dp ?	?	97?	<i>Aquae Calidae</i> 1910	Sofia, no. N/A
29	as / dp ?	?	97?	Sharkovo, Jambol, <1904	Lost?
30	as	51	96	Razgrad / <i>Abritus canabae</i> , 2010	Razgrad, no. N/A
31	as	51 or 60?	96-97	<i>Novae</i> , sector IV	Svishtov, no. 203/79
32	as	?	97?	Lomets / <i>Sostra</i>	Troyan, no. N/A
33	as	77	97	Haskovo region	Haskovo, 870/2
34	as	77 or 94?	96-97	Ostrov, Silistra	Constanța, no. 8462
35	as	83	97	Sofia / <i>Serdica</i> , 2010	Sofia NAIM, field no. 1299/ 2010
36	as	83 or 86?	96 or 97	Sofia / <i>Serdica</i> , 2010	Sofia NAIM, field no. 1377/ 2010
37	as	83	97	Suhindol, Tarnovo	Suhindol, no. N/A
38	as	100	97	Ostrov, Silistra	Constanța, no. 45255
39	as	100	97	Plovdiv region	Plovdiv, no. 1559



40	as	100?	97	Kazanluk area	Kazanluk, no. 136
41	as	illegible	96-98	Sofia / <i>Serdica</i> , 2010	Sofia NAIM, field no. 1435/ 2010
42	as	illegible	96-98	Nikyup / <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i> , 2008	Tarnovo, field no. 1384/ 2008
43	as	illegible	96-97	Ostrov, Silistra	Constanța, no. 8410
44	as	illegible	96-98	Topola, Kavarna	Dobrich, no. N/A
45	as	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> , before <1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
46	as	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> , before <1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
47	as	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> , before <1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
48	as	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> area, before 1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
49	as	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> area, before 1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
50	as	unspecified	96-98	<i>Novae</i> area, before 1992	Svishtov, no. N/A
51	as	unspecified	96-98	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, no. N/A
52	as	unspecified	96-98	Telerig, Dobrich	Dobrich, no. N/A

**TABLE 15.** Finds of countermarked coins in Moesia and Thrace, ca. 25/23 BC – AD 68 AD.

No.	Denomination	Obverse	Reverse	Host coin	RIC / RPC	Date	Mint	Site	Location
1	Æ As	A/G	–	Augustus	RIC 486, RPC 2235	25-23 BC	Pergamum?	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
2	Æ As	A/G, TI•CÆ [TI]•C•A	P•[P] ?	Augustus	RIC 486, RPC 2235	25-23 BC	Pergamum?	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
3	Æ As	[A]G, TI•CÆ	–	Augustus	RIC 486, RPC 2235	25-23 BC	Pergamum?	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
4	Æ As	A/G	–	Augustus	RIC 486, RPC 2235	25-23 BC	Pergamum?	Plovdiv area	Plovdiv, 5196
5	Æ Dupondius	–	CAE P•P	Augustus	RIC 326	18 BC	Rome	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
6	Æ As	TIB•IM	–	Augustus	illegible	ca. 25–6 BC	Uncertain	Ostrov near <i>Durostorum</i>	Constanta, 8376A
7	Æ As	AVG, TI•CÆ	TI•C•A	Augustus	?	ca. 19-15 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
8	Æ As	AVG, [TI]•CA	cmk?	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
9	Æ As	AVG, ?	T]I•C•A ?	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
10	Æ As	AVG, TI•CA	–	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
11	Æ As	AVG, ?	TI•CÆ	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
12	Æ As, pierced	AVG, TI•C•[A]	–	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
13	Æ As	[TI]□•CA	[TI]□•CA	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
14	Æ As	–	TI•C•A	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
15	Æ As, flan?	TI•C•A	–	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
16	Æ As	–	[TI]•C•A	Augustus	?	ca. 16-6 BC	Uncertain	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
17	Æ As, halved	D•D	–	Augustus with Agrippa	RPC 525	16-10 BC	Nemausus II	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
18	Æ As	AVG,	CÆ	Augustus	RIC 381	15 BC	Rome	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM

		<b>TI•CÆ</b>	<b>P•P</b>						
19	Æ Dupondius	<b>AVG,</b> <b>TI•CÆ</b> helmet	<b>P•P</b>	Augustus	<i>RIC</i> 382 or 389	15 BC	Ephesus?	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
20	Æ As - imitation	–	<b>TI•AV[G]</b> (twice)	Augustus	Type <i>RIC</i> 326	After 18 BC	Moesia limes?	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
21	Æ As - imitation	–	<b>IMP</b>	Augustus	Type <i>RIC</i> 326	After 18 BC	Moesia limes?	<i>Sexaginta Prista</i>	Russe, RHM, field 103A/2005
22	Æ As, halved	<b>IMP</b>	–	Augustus, M. Otho	<i>RIC</i> 431	7 BC	Rome	<i>Augustae</i>	Vratsa, RHM
23	Æ Dupondius	?		Tiberius – for Divus Augustus	<i>RIC</i> 81?	AD 22/3-26	Rome	<i>Jatrus</i>	Russe, RHM, field 47/ 1975
24	Æ Dupondius	<b>NCAPR</b>	–	Tiberius – for Livia	<i>RIC</i> 47	AD 22-23	Rome	<i>Deultum</i>	Burgas, 2089
25	Æ Sestertius	<b>NCAPR</b>	–	Tiberius – for Augustus	<i>RIC</i> 68	AD 35-36	Rome	Parvenets	Plovdiv, 2805
26	Æ As	cmk ?	–	Claudius	<i>RIC</i> 97	AD 41-50	Rome	<i>Novae</i> , XI	Svishtov?
27	Æ Dupondius	<b>CA</b> ?	–	Claudius	<i>RIC</i> 94	AD 41/2-50	Rome	<i>Novae</i> , IV	Svishtov, 2747
28	Æ Sestertius, Imitation	<b>DV</b>	–	Claudius	Type <i>RIC</i> 115	After 50-54	Moesia limes?	<i>Novae</i> , IV	Svishtov, field 32/ 2007
29	Æ Sestertius	<b>capricorn</b>	–	Claudius	<i>RIC</i> 115	AD 50-54	Rome	<i>Novae</i> , VIIIA	Svishtov, HCΦ 289
30	Æ As	cmk ?	–	Claudius	<i>RIC</i> 113	AD 50-54	Rome	Skutare	Plovdiv, 4507
31	Æ As	<b>capricorn r.</b>	–	Claudius	<i>RIC</i> 113	AD 50-54	Rome	Plovdiv, Nebet tepe	Plovdiv, 2719
32	Æ As	<b>PR</b>		Claudius	<i>RIC</i> ?	AD 50-54	Rome	Haskovo area	Haskovo, 1173
33	Æ Provincial	<b>ΓΑΛΒΑ</b>	–	Nero – for Poppaea	RPC 1756	AD 63-65	Perinthus	<i>Deultum</i>	Burgas, A 2202
34	Æ Dupondius	<b>GALB.IMP</b> (sic!)	–	Nero	<i>RIC</i> ?	AD 64-68?	Lugdunum?	<i>Appiaria</i>	Shumen, 12163
35	Æ Sestertius	<b>ΓΑΛ•KAI</b>		Nero	162 or 170?	AD 64-65	Lugdunum	Jambol area	Jambol, 4643
36	Æ Sestertius	<b>ΓΑΛ•KAI</b>	–	Nero	<i>RIC</i> 392	AD 64-67	Lugdunum	Stara Zagora	St.Zagora, 5657

**Comparative table 16.1. Site finds from military sites along the *Moesian limes* (parts 1 and 2).**

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	<i>Dorticum / Vruv</i>	<i>Gradets, Vidin</i>	<i>Bononia / Vidin</i>	<i>Combustica / Kladorub</i>	<i>RATIARIA / Archar<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Regianum / Kozloduy</i>	<i>Augustae / Hurllets</i>	<i>Montana / Montana</i>	<i>Variana / Leskovets</i>	<i>Pedoniana / Ostrov</i>	<i>Palatiolum / Baykal</i>	<i>OESCUS / Gigen</i>	<i>Ad lucernarias / Somovit</i>	<i>Asamus / Cherkvitsa</i>	<i>Dimum / Belene</i>	<i>NOVAE (total)</i>	<i>NOVAE - sector IV</i>	<i>NOVAE - sector X</i>
<b>Republic</b>	-	1 D	20 D	-	1 D	1 D	1 As	-	-	-	-	1 D	-	2 D	2 D	-	-	-
<b>Mark Antony leg. <i>denarii</i></b>	-	1 D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 D
<b>Augustus</b>	1 S	-	1 As	-	1 As	-	29 As (3 limit)	-	2 As	1 As (c/m)	-	1 Dp 2 As	-	some Æ	-	1 Dp 5 As	3 As	-
<b>Tiberius</b>	some	-	1 As	-	-	-	-	1 As	-	-	-	1 Dp 2 As	-	1 Æ	-	1 D 1 Dp 17 As	4 As	2 As
<b>Caligula</b>	-	-	-	-	-	1 As	-	1 S	3 As	-	1 As	2 As	-	some Æ	1 As	13 S 1 Dp 6 As	1 As 1 Prov	1 S
<b>Claudius</b>	-	-	2 As	1 S	1 S some Æ	-	1 As	-	1 S 1 As	-	-	6 Æ	-	some Æ	2 Dp 2 As	4 S 5 Dp 35 As	3 S 1 Dp 7 As	1 S 4 As

<sup>1</sup> Data from the published reports only, see Boškova 1984, 105; Bozkova 1987, 97-110; comments in Kunisz 1992, 163-4.

**Comparative table 16.1. Site finds from military sites along the *Moesian* limes (parts 1 and 2).**

<b>Nero</b>	-	-	1 D 1 S	-	some	-	1 S	-	-	1 As 1 Dp	-	1 D	-	-	-	4 S 2 Dp 3 As 1 Tetr	-	1 S 1 Dp 2 As
<b>Galba</b>	-	-	2 D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 As	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Otho</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Vitellius</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Vespasian</b>	some	-	3 D 1 As	1 As	some	Æ ?	-	1 Dp	1 As	-	-	1 D 2 S 1 As	-	1 S	1 As	3 D 1 S 3 Dp 9 As	1 D 3 Dp 5 As	1 S 1 As
<b>Titus</b>	-	-	1 D	1 As	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 D 1 S 3 As	-	-
<b>Domitian</b>	-	-	-	-	1 D	-	-	-	1 As	-	-	1 D 1 Æ	-	some	1 As	3 D 1 S 1 Dp 3 As 1 Qd	1 D 2 As 1 Prov.	-
<b>Nerva</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 As	-	-	3 As	1 S 1 As	-
<b>Trajan</b>	some	-	3 D 1 S 1 Dp	-	some	-	1 Dp	-	-	-	-	3 D 2 S 1 Dp 4 Qd	-	-	-	1 D 10 S 8 Dp 2 As	1 D (s) 1 S 3 Dp	1 S
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>~10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12+</b>	<b>~4</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>~10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>16</b>

**Comparative table 16.1. Site finds from military sites along the *Moesian* limes (parts 1 and 2).**

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	<b>NOVAE - sector 11</b>	<b>NOVAE – extra muros</b>	<b>NOVAE - vicinity<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>'Nicomolis ad Istrum' / Nikyup</b>	<b>Jatrus / Krivina</b>	<b>Sexaginta Prista / Russe</b>	<b>Appiaria / Ryahovo</b>	<b>Popina- Oreshak</b>	<b>Durostorum / Silistra</b>	<b>Durostorum area / Silistra vicinity</b>	<b>Ostrov near Silistra (RO)</b>	<b>TOTALS by issuer:</b>
<b>Republic</b>	–	–	–	–	–	1 D	–	1 D	1 D	5 D	1 D	37 D 1 As
<b>Mark Antony leg. <i>denarii</i></b>	2 D	–	–	1 D	–	–	–	1 D	–	1 D	1 D	8 D
<b>Augustus</b>	–	–	1 D 1 As	–	–	1 D (pl) 1 As (f) 1 Prov	1 Dp (c/m) 5 As (c/m)	–	–	–	1 As (c/m)	D 1 S 3 Dp 47 As 1 prov
<b>Tiberius</b>	2 As	–	4 As	–	1 Dp	1 As	–	–	–	–	2 As	1 D 3 Dp 36+ As
<b>Caligula</b>	–	1 As	5 Dp 13 As 1 Q	–	1 As	–	1 As	–	–	1 As	6 As	Dp As 1 Q 1 Prov
<b>Claudius</b>	3 Dp 2 As	1 S 6 As	3 S 4 Dp 10 As	1 As	1 S 4 As	2 Dp 1 As	1 Dp	–	1 As	1 As 1 Dp	3 As	15 S 19 Dp 86 As

<sup>2</sup> Data extracted from the list of A. Kunisz (Katowice 1992), pp. 134-5 and 161.

**Comparative table 16.1. Site finds from military sites along the *Moesian* limes (parts 1 and 2).**

<b>Nero</b>	1 D 1 S 1 As	1 D	1 D 6 S 1 Dp 4 As	1 D 1 As	–	1 As	1 D 1 Dp (c/m)	–	1 S	1 As	–	7 D 14 S 6 Dp 13 As 1 Tetr.
<b>Galba</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 D 1 As
<b>Otho</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Vitellius</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Vespasian</b>	1 Dp	1 D 1 S 1 As	13 D 6 S 6 Dp 8 As	4 D	–	2 D	1 S	–	5 D 1 Dp 1 As	2 D 1 Dp 1 As	1 D 1 Dp 2 As	36 D 13 S 17 Dp 34 As
<b>Titus</b>	–	–	6 D 1 S 4 As	–	–	1 D	–	–	–	1 D	3 S 1 Dp 1 As	9 D 5 S 1 Dp 9 As
<b>Domitian</b>	–	–	7 D 2 S 3 As	1 D	1 Dp 1 As	1 Dp	–	–	1 As	–	2 Dp 3 As	3 D 3 S 5 Dp 16 As 1 Qd 1 Prov.
<b>Nerva</b>	–	1 Dp/As	1 D 1 Dp 3 As	2 D 2 As	–	–	1 S	–	–	–	1 Dp 3 As	3 D 2 S 2 Dp 14 As
<b>Trajan</b>	–	?	9 S 15 Dp 3 As 3 Q	1 S 1 Q	1 As	–	–	–	–	–	1 D 4 S 2 Dp 3 As 2 Q	9 D (1 pl) 25 S 31 Dp 9 As 10 Qd
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>670</b>

**Comparative table 17. Stray find coins from military sites in inner *Moesia* and *Thrace*.**

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	<i>Montana / Montana [MOE]</i>	<i>Melta / Lovech area [MOE]</i>	<i>Storgosia / Pleven [MOE]</i>	<i>Montemno / Troyan pass [THR]</i>	<i>Serdica / Sofia (2010-2011) [THR]</i>	<b>TOTALS by issuer:</b>	
<b>Republic</b>	–	2 D	–	–	1 D	3 D	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Mark Antony</b>	–	–	1 D	1 D	–	2 D	<b>[2]</b>
<b>Augustus</b>	–	1 D 1 As	–	1 S 1 Prov	1 D 1 S 1 As	2 D 2 S 2 As 1 Prov	<b>[7]</b>
<b>Tiberius</b>	1 As	–	1 AV	1 Prov	1 Dp 3 As 1 Prov	1 AV 1 Dp 4 As 2 Prov	<b>[8]</b>
<b>Caligula</b>	1 S	3 As	12 As	1 As	1 D? 3 As	1D? 1 S 19 As	<b>[21]</b>
<b>Claudius</b>	–	1 S 1 Dp 2 As	1 S 4 Dp 7 As	1 Dp 4 As 1 Æ ?	2 S 8 As 1 Prov.	4 S 3 Dp 21 As 1 Prov	<b>[28]</b>



## Comparative tables

<b>Nero</b>	–	1 As 1 Prov	1 S 1 Dp 2 As	–	5 Prov	1 S 1 Dp 3 As 6 Prov	[11]
<b>Galba</b>	–	–	–	–	1 D	1 S 1 D	[2]
<b>Otho</b>	–	–	–	–	–	1 D	[1]
<b>Vitellius</b>	–	–	–	–	2 D	2 D	[2]
<b>Vespasian</b>	1 Dp	2 D 1 S 2 Dp 6 As	1 D 1 As	5 D 3 Dp 1 Æ ?	1 AV 3 D 1 Dr 2 As 1 Prov	1 AV 11 D 1 Dr 1 S 6 Dp 10 As 1 Prov	[31]
<b>Titus</b>	–	1 D	1 As 1 Sem	–	2 D 1 As	3 D 2 As 1 Sem	[6]
<b>Domitian</b>	–	8 D 3 As	1 D	1 Dp 1 Prov	1 D 3 Dp 3 As 1 Prov	10 D 3 Dp 6 As 2 Prov	[21]
<b>Nerva</b>	–	2 D 1 S 1 Dp	1 S	–	1 Dp 3 As	2 D 2 S 2 Dp 3 As	[9]
<b>Trajan</b>	–	?	2 S 2 Dp 1 As 1 Qd	1 D 1 S	4 D 9 S 3 Dp 9 As 1 Qd 11 Prov	5 D 12 S 5 Dp 10 As 2 Qd 11 Prov	[45]
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>24+</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>195</b>	

**Comparative table 18.** Site find coins from civil sites in inner and coastal *Moesia* and *Thrace*.

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	<i>Histris / Istros [MOE]</i>	<i>Abritus / Razgrad [MOE]</i>	<i>Nicopolis ad Istrum / Nikyup [THR]</i>	<i>Anchialus / Pomorie [THR]</i>	<i>Deultum / Debelt [THR]</i>	<i>Cabyle / Kabile [THR]</i>	<i>Augusta Traiana / Stara Zagora [THR]</i>	<i>Philippopolis / Plovdiv [THR]</i>	<b>TOTALS by emperor:</b>	
<b>Republic</b>	1 D	7 D	–	–	–	7 D 3 Quin	2 D	–	17 D 3 Quin	<b>[20]</b>
<b>Mark Antony</b>	3 D (1 plated)	4 D	1 D	–	1 Cist	1 Cist 1 D	–	1 Cist	9 D 3 Cist	<b>[12]</b>
<b>Augustus</b>	–	1 As	–	1 As	–	5 As	1 D	1 Dp	1 D 1 Dp 7 As	<b>[9]</b>
<b>Tiberius</b>	2 As 1 Prov	–	–	–	1 Dp	1 As	1 D	–	1 D 1 Dp 3 As 1 Prov	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Caligula</b>	–	–	–	1 As	–	–	–	1 S 3 As	1 S 4 As	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Claudius</b>	1 S	1 As	1 As	–	–	1 Prov	–	1 S 3 As	2 S 5 As 1 Prov	<b>[8]</b>

<b>Nero</b>	–	–	1 D 1 As	–	1 Prov	–	1 AV 1 S	1 S	1 AV 1 D 2 S 1 As 1 Prov	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Galba</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 S	1 S	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Otho</b>	–	1 D	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 D	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Vitellius</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vespasian</b>	3 D 1 S	1 S/Dp?	4 D	–	1 D 1 As	2 D 1 S	2 D	1 AV 5 D	1 AV 17 D 3 S 1 As	<b>[22]</b>
<b>Titus</b>	1 Æ ?	–	–	–	–	1 As	–	2 D 1 As	2 D 3 As	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Domitian</b>	–	–	1 D	–	1 As	3 D 1 Prov	–	2 D 2 Prov	6 D 1 As 3 Prov	<b>[10]</b>
<b>Nerva</b>	1 S	1 As	2 D 2 As	–	1 D	–	–	1 S 1 Dp 1 As	3 D 4 S 1 Dp 4 As	<b>[12]</b>
<b>Trajan</b>	3 D 4 S 1 Dp? 4 As	–	1 D 1 S 1 Qd	–	1 Æ ?	5 D 1 Dp 1 Prov	N/A	2 D 1 S 1 Dp	11 D 6 S 3 Dp 4 As 1 Qd 1 Prov	<b>[26]</b>
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>145</b>	

**Comparative table 19. Site finds from production sites and *villae* in inner *Moesia* and *Thrace*.**

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	Pavlikeni [MOES, find 302]	<i>Emporium Piretensium / Butovo</i> [MOE, find 193]	Suhindol [MOE, find 371]	Madara [MOE, find 271]	'Chataalka' [THR, find 195]	Breznik [THR, find 186]	Busintsi [THR, find 191]	Nevestino – Kadin most [THR, find 287]	TOTALS by issuer / emperor:	
Republic	1 D	1 D	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 D	[2]
Late Thracian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 Æ	1 Æ	[1]
Mark Antony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[0]
Augustus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[0]
Tiberius	1 As	1 As	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 As	[2]
Caligula	3 As	1 As	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 As	[4]
Claudius	3 As	-	-	-	2 As	-	-	2 As?	7 As	[7]
Nero	1 As	-	-	-	2 S 2 As	-	1 D	-	1 D 2 S 3 As	[6]

**Comparative table 19. Site finds from production sites and *villae* in inner *Moesia* and *Thrace*.**

<b>Galba</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Otho</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vitellius</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vespasian</b>	2 Dp	1 S 1 As	1 D	3 D	1 S	1 D	–	–	5 D 2 S 2 Dp 1 As	<b>[10]</b>
<b>Titus</b>	–	–	1 D	–	–	–	–	–	1 D	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Domitian</b>	3 D 2 As 1 Prov.	2 D 2 As	–	2 D	–	–	–	–	7 D 4 As 1 Prov	<b>[12]</b>
<b>Nerva</b>	1 As	1 D	1 As	–	–	–	–	–	1 D 2 As	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Trajan</b>	–	–	–	1 D 1 Dr 3 As	2 Æ?	–	–	2 Æ?	1 D 1 Dr 4 S/Dp? 3 As	<b>[9]</b>
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>56</b>	

**Comparative table 20.** ‘Votive’/‘ritual’ coins – finds from sanctuaries, spa and temples in inner *Moesia* and *Thrace*.

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	<i>Aquae Calidae / 1910</i> [Find no 166]	<i>Aquae Calidae / 1994</i> [Find no 167]	<i>Lozen / Djynikli</i> [Find no 265]	<i>Tatul</i> [Find no 380]	<i>Ruchey</i> [Find no 329]	<i>Mostovo – Belentash</i> [Find no 280]	<i>Branipole</i> [Find nos 180-1]	<i>Babyak</i> [Find no 164]	<i>Sivino</i> [Find no 348]	<i>Debrashtitsa</i> [Find no 204]	<i>Dobravitsa</i> [Find no 205]	<i>Velingrad – Ostrets</i> [Find no 393]	<i>Kostandovo – Alkov kamuf</i> [Find no 284]	<i>Lilyache</i> [Find no 263]	<i>Sexaginta prista / Rouse</i> [Find no 334]	<i>Telerig</i> [Find no 381]	<b>TOTALS</b> by issuer:	
<b>Republic</b>	32 D 1 As (½)	2 D 1 Quin	1 D	–	1 D	–	1 D	3 D	2 D	1 D	1 D	1 D	1 D	–	1 D	–	47 D 1 Quin 1 As	<b>[49]</b>
<b>Late Thracian</b>	188 Æ	38 Æ	–	9 Æ	1 Æ	–	–	–	1 Æ	–	–	–	–	–	1 Æ	1 Æ	239 Æ	<b>[239]</b>
<b>Mark Antony</b>	Un-separated	1 D	–	–	–	1 D	–	1 D	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4 D	7+ D	<b>[7]</b>
<b>Augustus</b>	265 Æ? 2 As (½) 4 Prov (½)	1 S 1 Dp 6 As 2 Prov	2 D	–	–	–	–	1 D	–	–	1 D	–	–	3 As	1 D (im) 1 As	17 As	5 D 265 Æ? 26 As 6 Prov	<b>[307]</b>
<b>Tiberius</b>	3 Æ?	–	–	1 D	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 As	1 As	1 D 2 As 3 Æ?	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Caligula</b>	65 As 1 Prov	2 As	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 As	68 As 1 Prov	<b>[69]</b>
<b>Claudius</b>	236 Æ? 2 S 1 Prov (½)	5 As 1 Imit	–	–	–	–	1 S	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 Dp 1 As	3 As	236 Æ? 3 S 2 Dp 7 As 1 Prov	<b>[249]</b>

**Comparative table 20. 'Votive'/'ritual' coins – finds from sanctuaries, spa and temples in inner *Moesia* and *Thrace*.**

<b>Nero</b>	7 Æ? 1 Prov	1 Prov	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 Æ?	–	2 As 1 Prov	9 Æ? 2 As 3 Prov	<b>[14]</b>
<b>Galba</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Otho</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vitellius</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vespasian</b>	7 Æ?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 D	–	1 D 7 Æ?	<b>[8]</b>
<b>Titus</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 D	–	1 D	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Domitian</b>	–	–	1 As	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 Dp	1 S 3 As	1 S 1 Dp 4 As	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Nerva</b>	2 Æ?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 As	2 Æ? 2 As	<b>[4]</b>
<b>Trajan</b>	6 Æ?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 Æ?	1 D(im) 1 S 1 Dp	2 S 1 Dp 2 As 2 Q	1 D 3 S 1 Dp 2 As 8 Æ 2 Q	<b>[18]</b>
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>	<b>823</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>971</b>		

**Comparative table 21. Site find and stray coins along the road *Oescus – Philippopolis* (Moesia and Thrace)**

<i>Issuer / Site</i>	<i>Oescus / Gigen</i>	<i>Ad Putea / Riben</i>	<i>Storgosia / Pleven</i>	<i>Dorionos / Slatina</i>	<i>Sostra / Lomets</i>	<i>Ad Radices / Beli Osam</i>	<i>Montemno / Troyan pass</i>	<i>Sub Radice / Hr.Danovo</i>	<b>TOTALS by emperor:</b>	
<b>Republic</b>	1 D	1 D	–	–	–	some D	–	some D	5+	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Mark Antony leg. denarii</b>	–	–	1 D	–	–	–	1 D	some	3+	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Augustus</b>	1 Dp 2 As	–	–	–	–	–	1 S 1 Prov	–	1 S 1 D 2 As 1 Prov	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Tiberius</b>	1 Dp 2 As	–	1 AV	–	–	–	1 Prov	–	1 AV 1 Dp 2 As 1 Prov	<b>[5]</b>
<b>Caligula</b>	2 As	–	12 As	–	–	–	1 As	–	15 As	<b>[15]</b>
<b>Claudius</b>	6 Æ	–	1 S 4 Dp 7 As	–	–	? Æ	1 Dp 4 As 1 Æ ?	–	1 S 5 D 13+ As	<b>[19]</b>



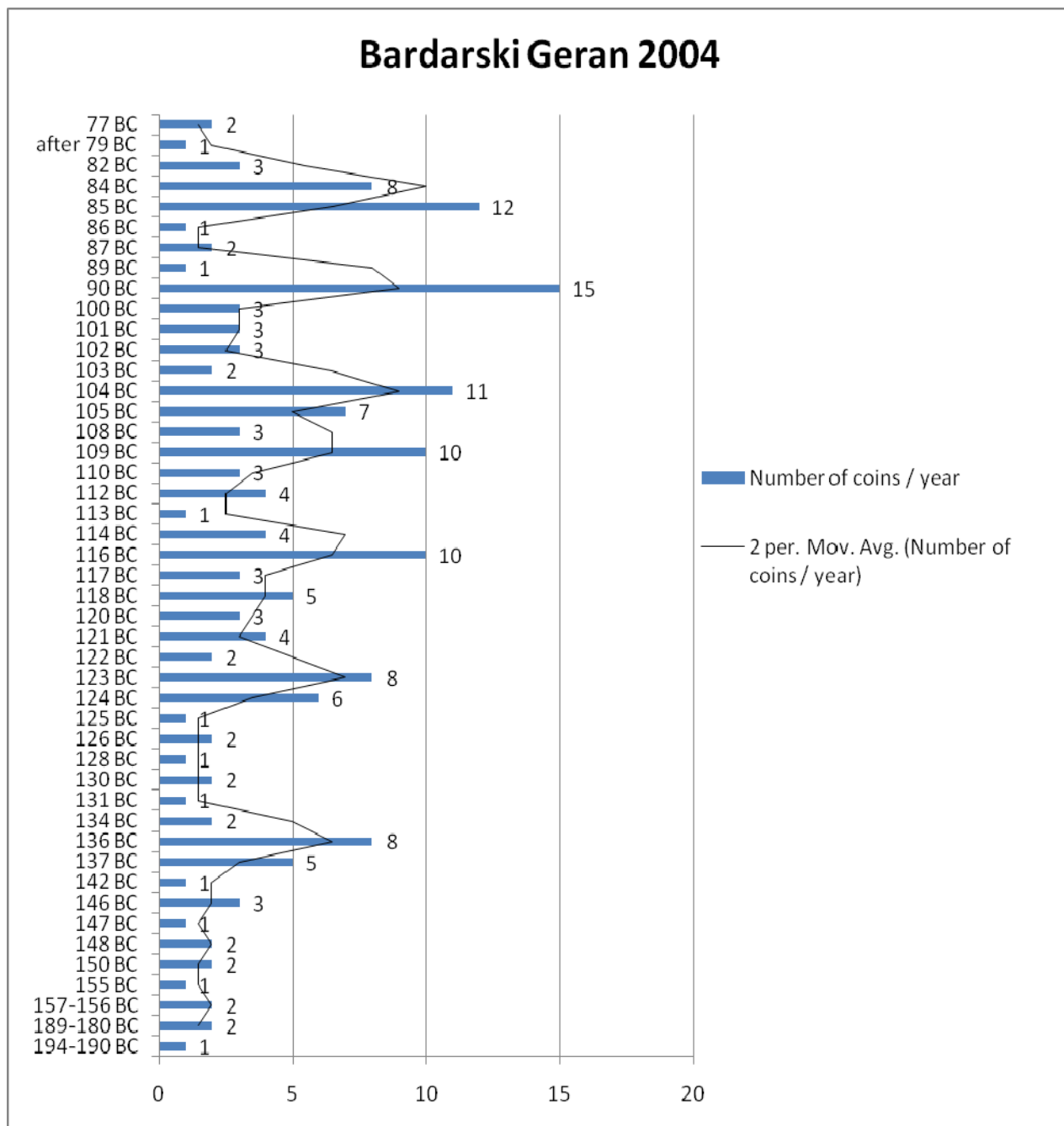
**Comparative table 21. Site find and stray coins along the road *Oescus – Philippopolis* (Moesia and Thrace)**

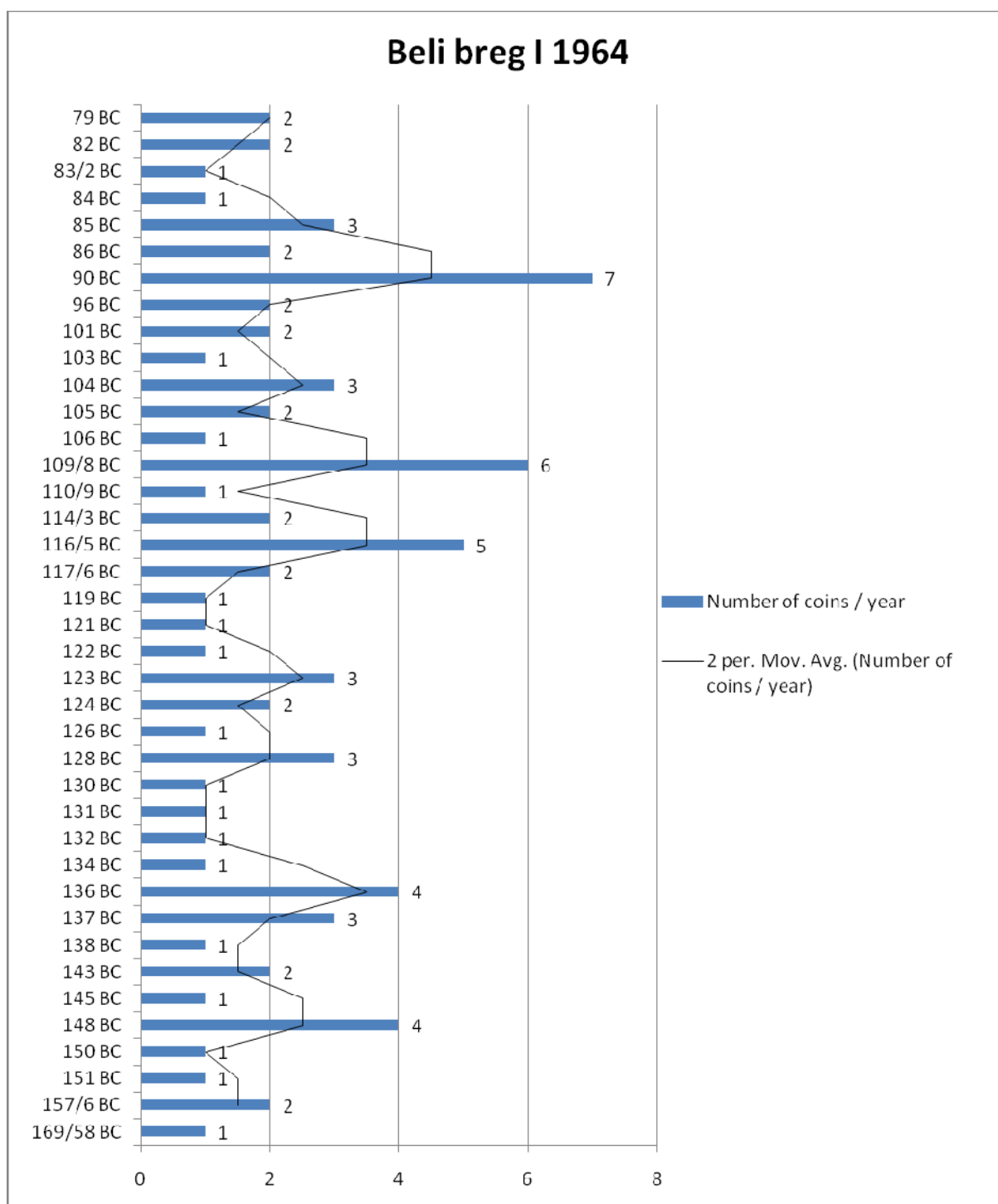
<b>Nero</b>	1 D	–	1 S 1 Dp 2 As	1 Dp	1 D 1 S	–	–	–	2 D 1 S 2 Dp 2 As	<b>[7]</b>
<b>Galba</b>	1 As	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 As	<b>[1]</b>
<b>Otho</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vitellius</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<b>[0]</b>
<b>Vespasian</b>	1 D 2 S 1 As	–	1 D 1 As	–	–	some D ? Æ	5 D 3 Dp 1 Æ ?	some D	9+ D 2 S 3 Dp 4+ As	<b>[18]</b>
<b>Titus</b>	–	–	1 As 1 Sem	–	–	–	–	–	1 As 1 Sem	<b>[2]</b>
<b>Domitian</b>	1 D 1 Æ	–	1 D	–	–	some D	1 Dp 1 Prov	–	3+ D 1 Dp 1 As? 1 Prov	<b>[6]</b>
<b>Nerva</b>	–	–	1 S	–	1 As	–	–	some Dp / As	1 S 1+ Dp 1 As	<b>[3]</b>
<b>Trajan</b>	3 D 2 S 1 Dp 3 Q	–	2 S 2 Dp 1 As 1 Q	–	2 As	some D	1 D 1 S	some Dp / As	5+ D 5 S 4 Dp ~5 As 4 Q	<b>[23]</b>
<b>TOTAL COINS:</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10+</b>	<b>25+</b>	<b>10+</b>	<b>112</b>	

# Charts of hoards (selected)

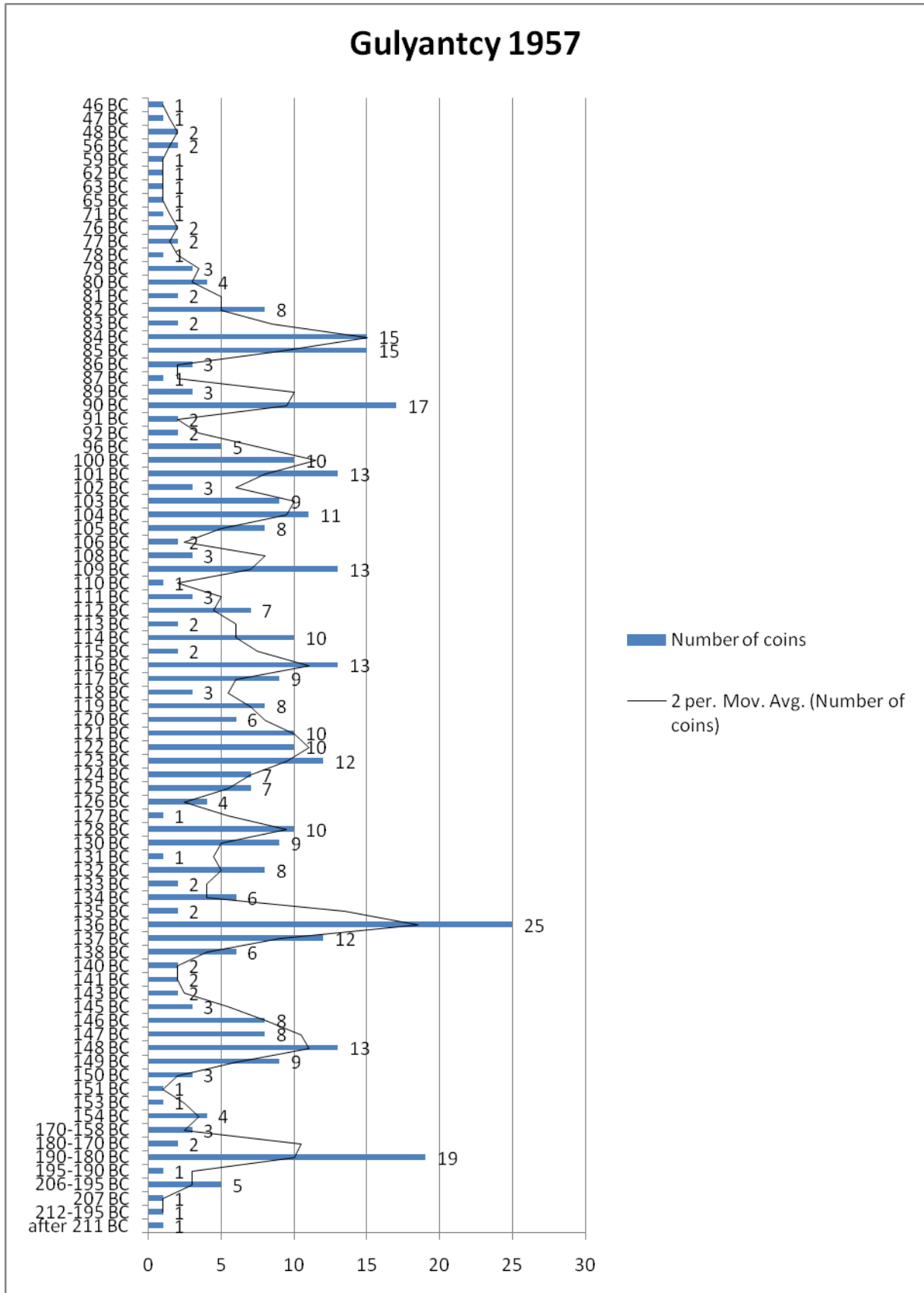
## Part 19.1: Republican hoards

**Chart 1: Bardarski Geran 2004 – 177 denarii [find. cat. no. 4]**

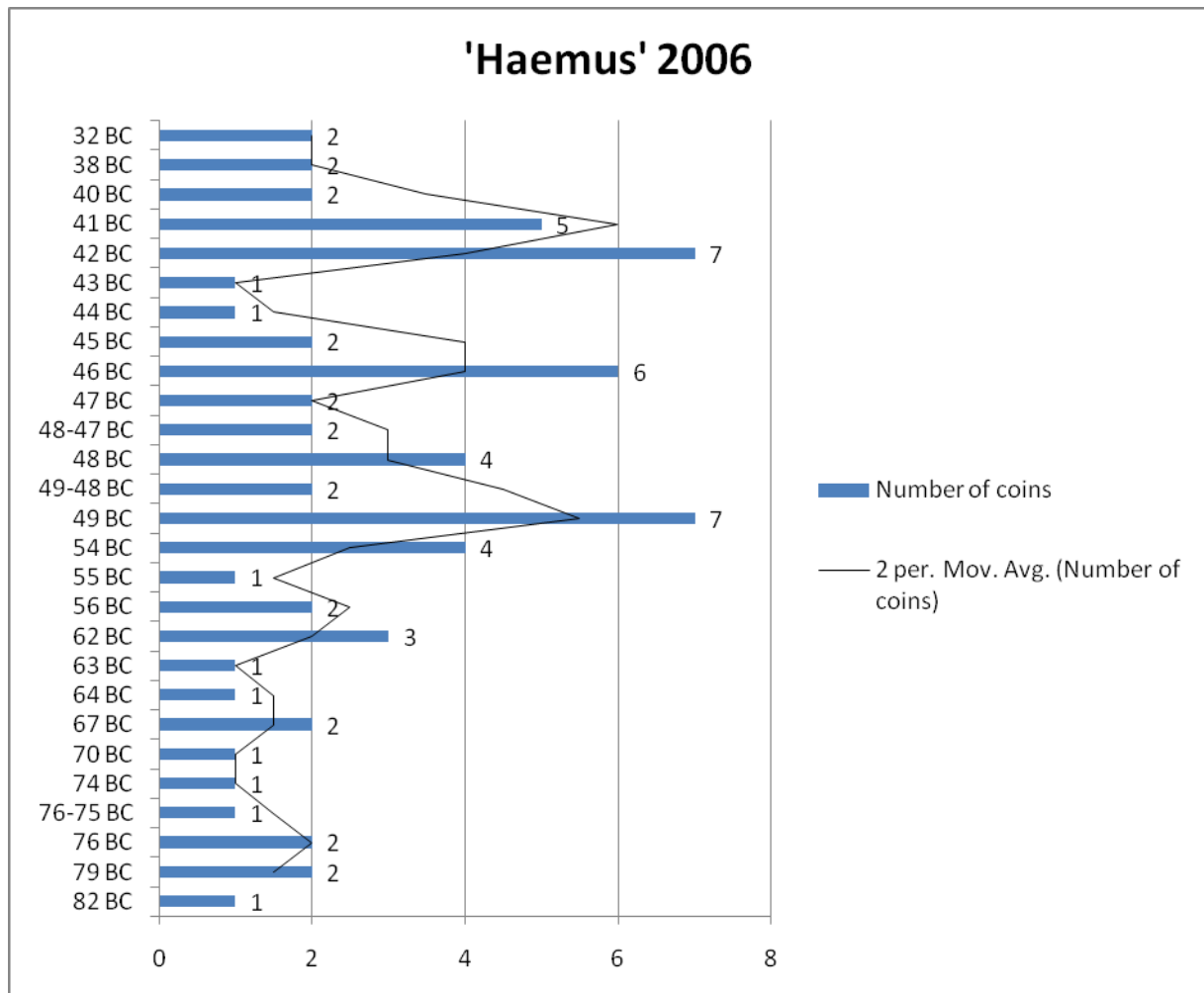


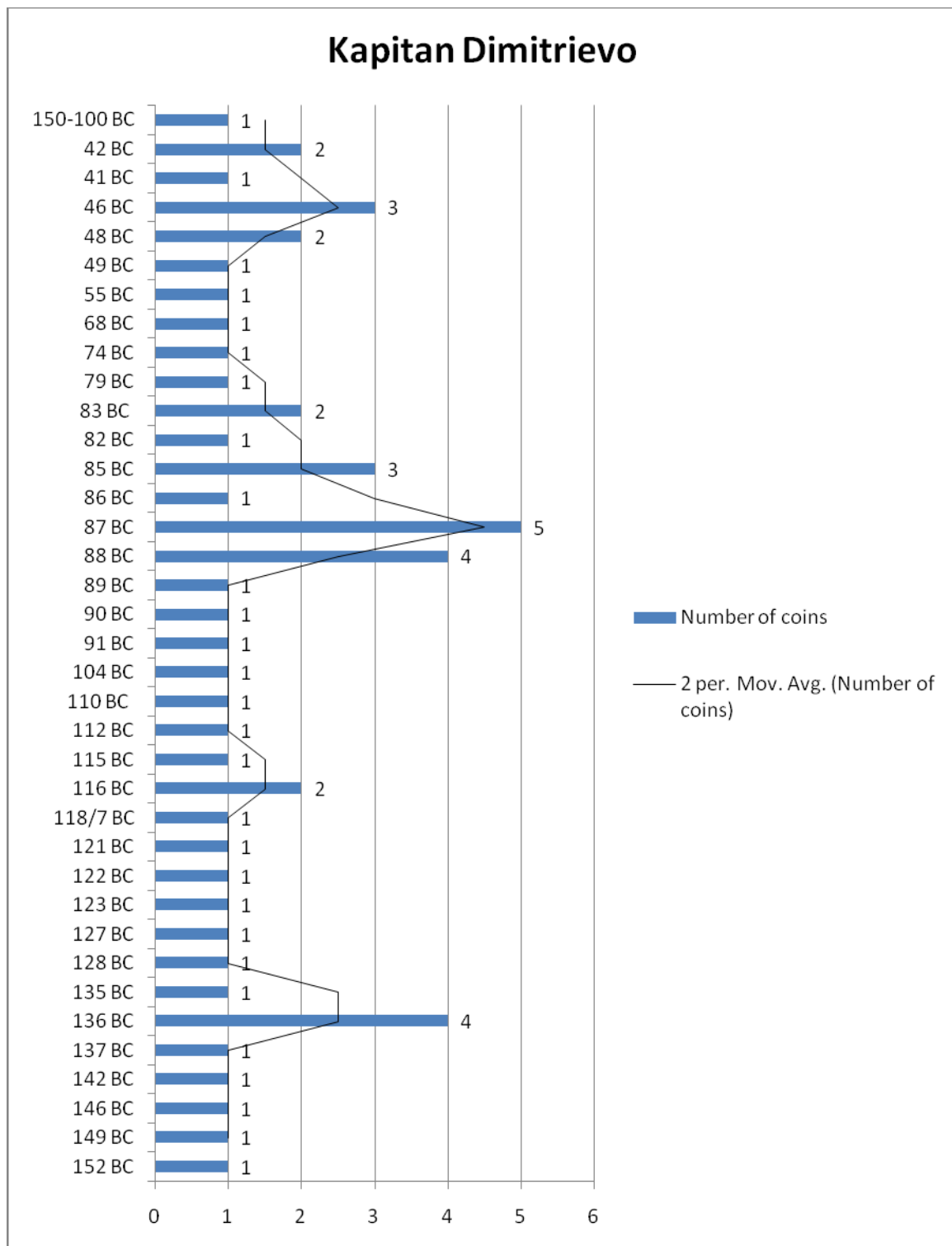
**Chart 2: Beli breg I 1964 – 160 *denarii* (81 listed) [find. cat. no. 6]**

**Chart 3: Gulyancy 1957 = RRCH 377 – 464 denarii [find. cat. no. 23]**



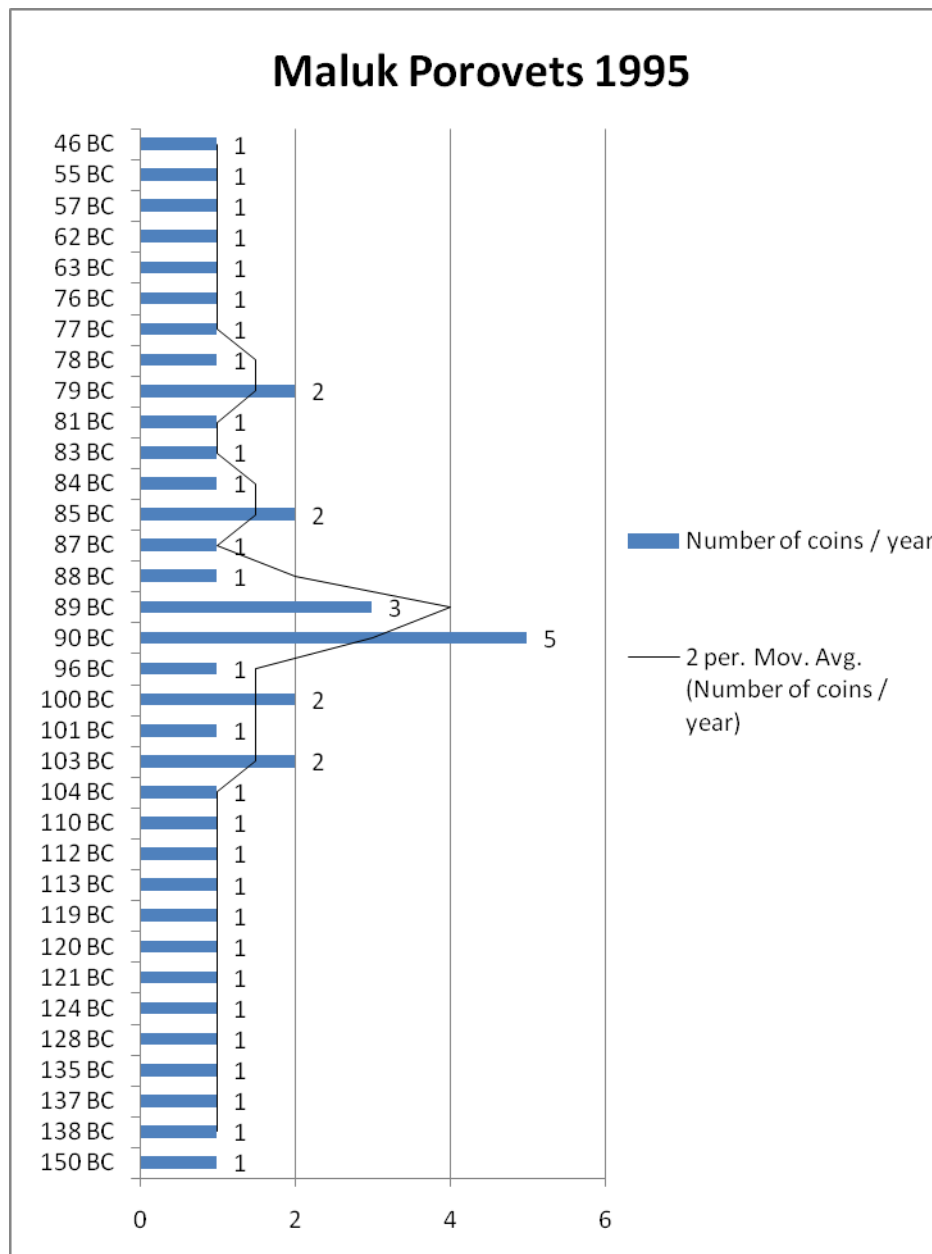
**Chart 4: "Haemus" 2006 – 67 denarii and 3 jewels [find. cat. no. 24]**

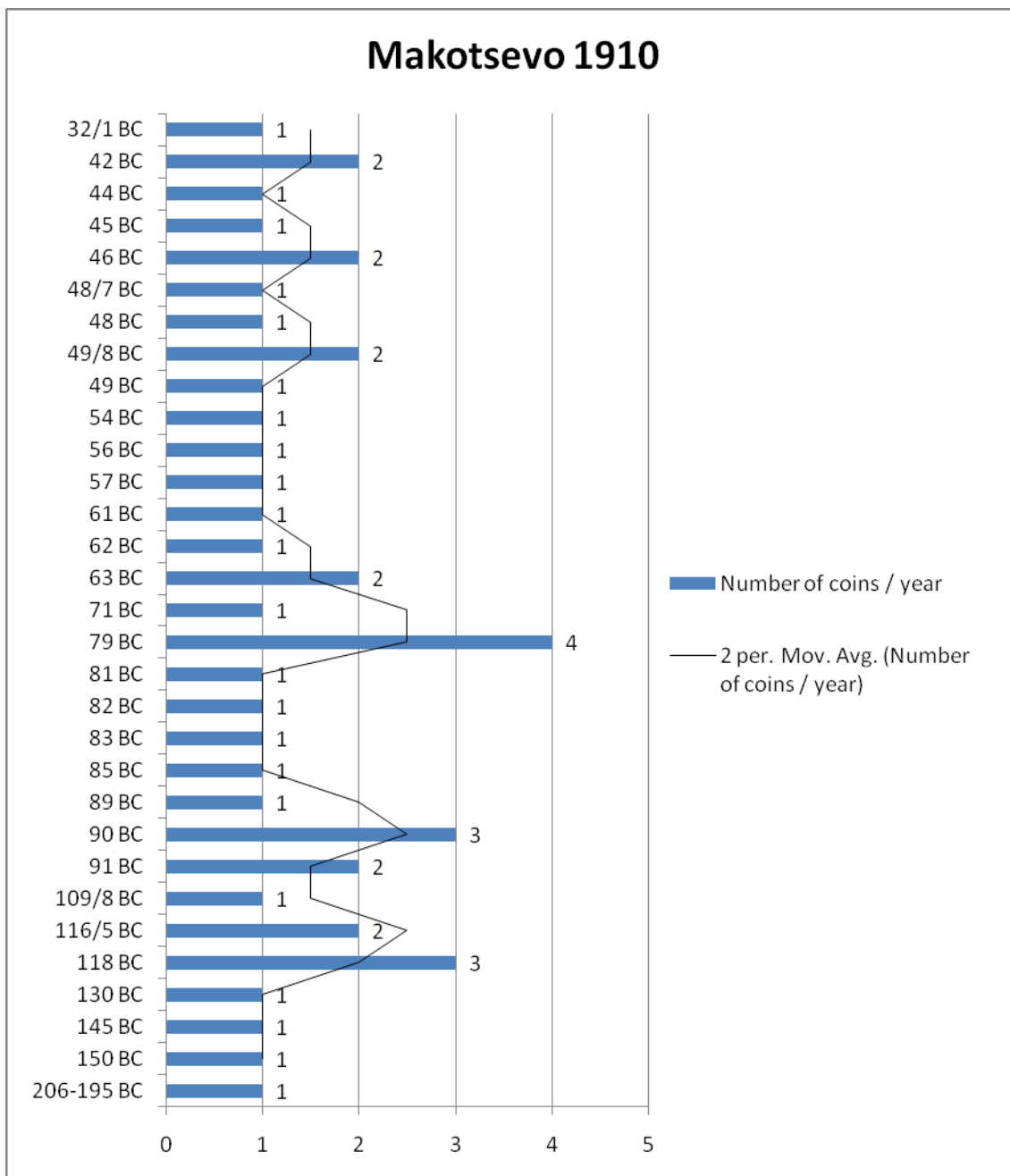


**Chart 5: Kapitan Dimitriev 1991 – 55 *denarii* [find cat. no. 27]**

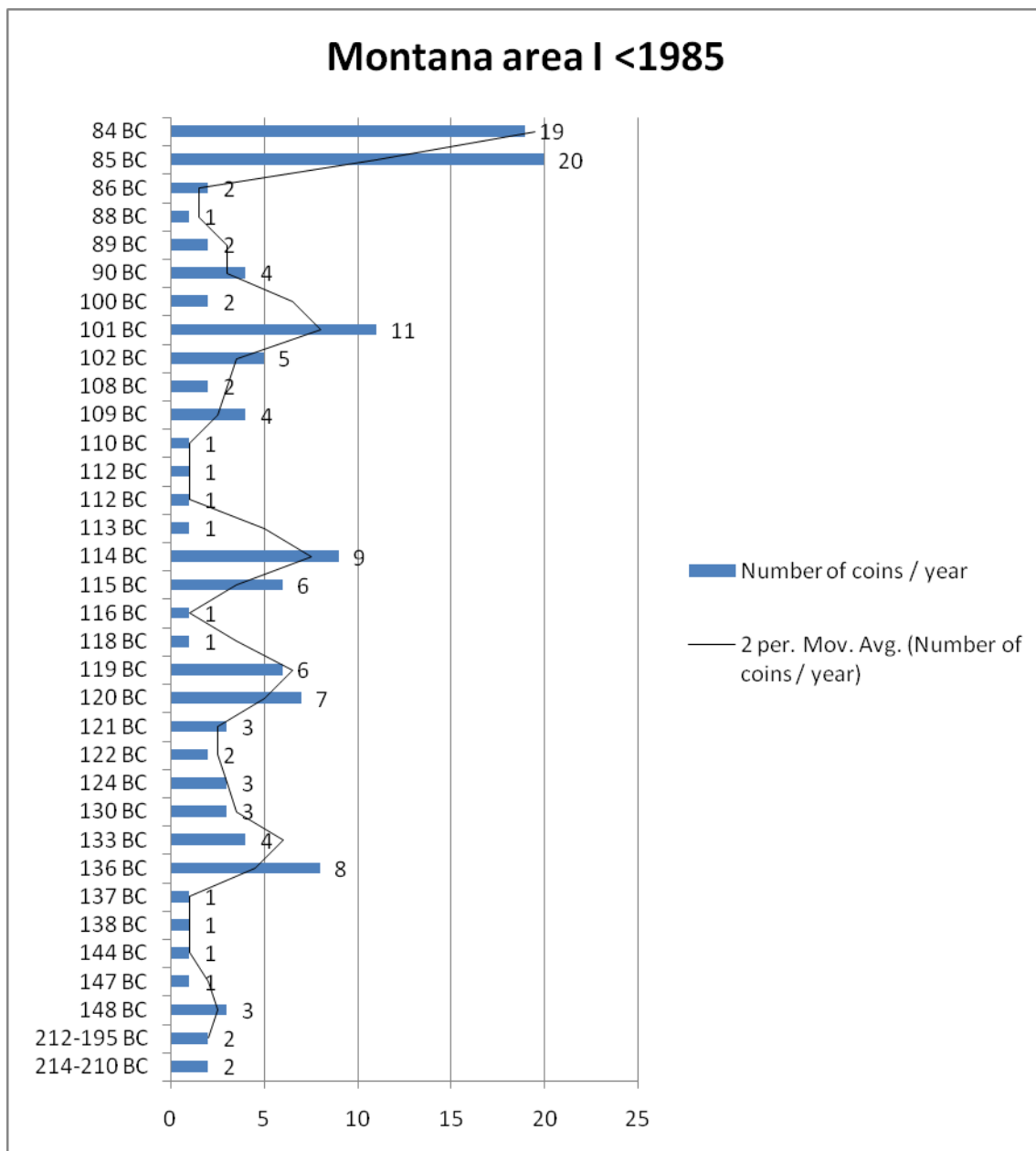
**Chart 6: Maluk Porovets 1995 – 56 AR: 44 *denarii*, 11 imitations, 1 *drachm***

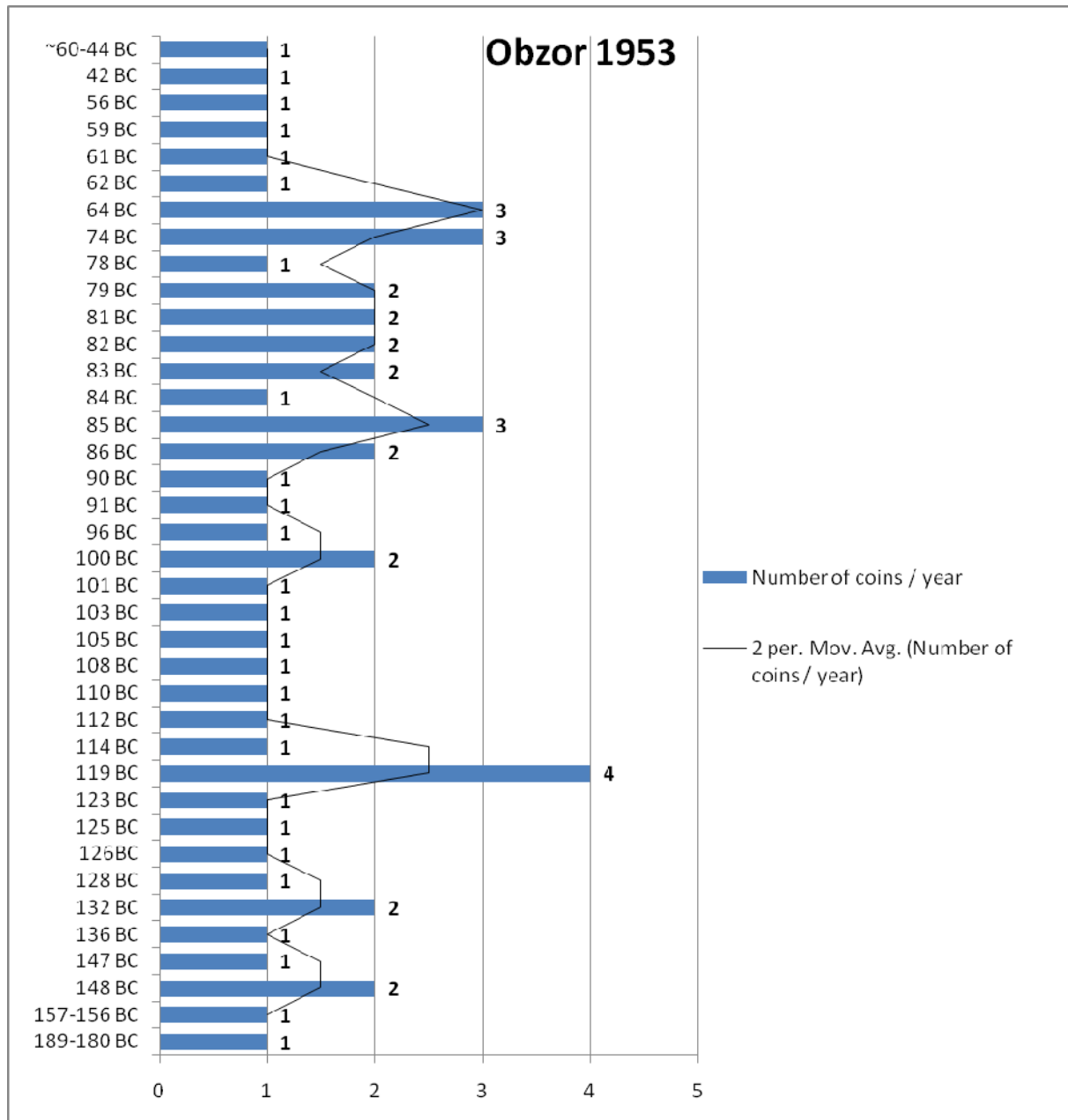
[find cat. no. 37]

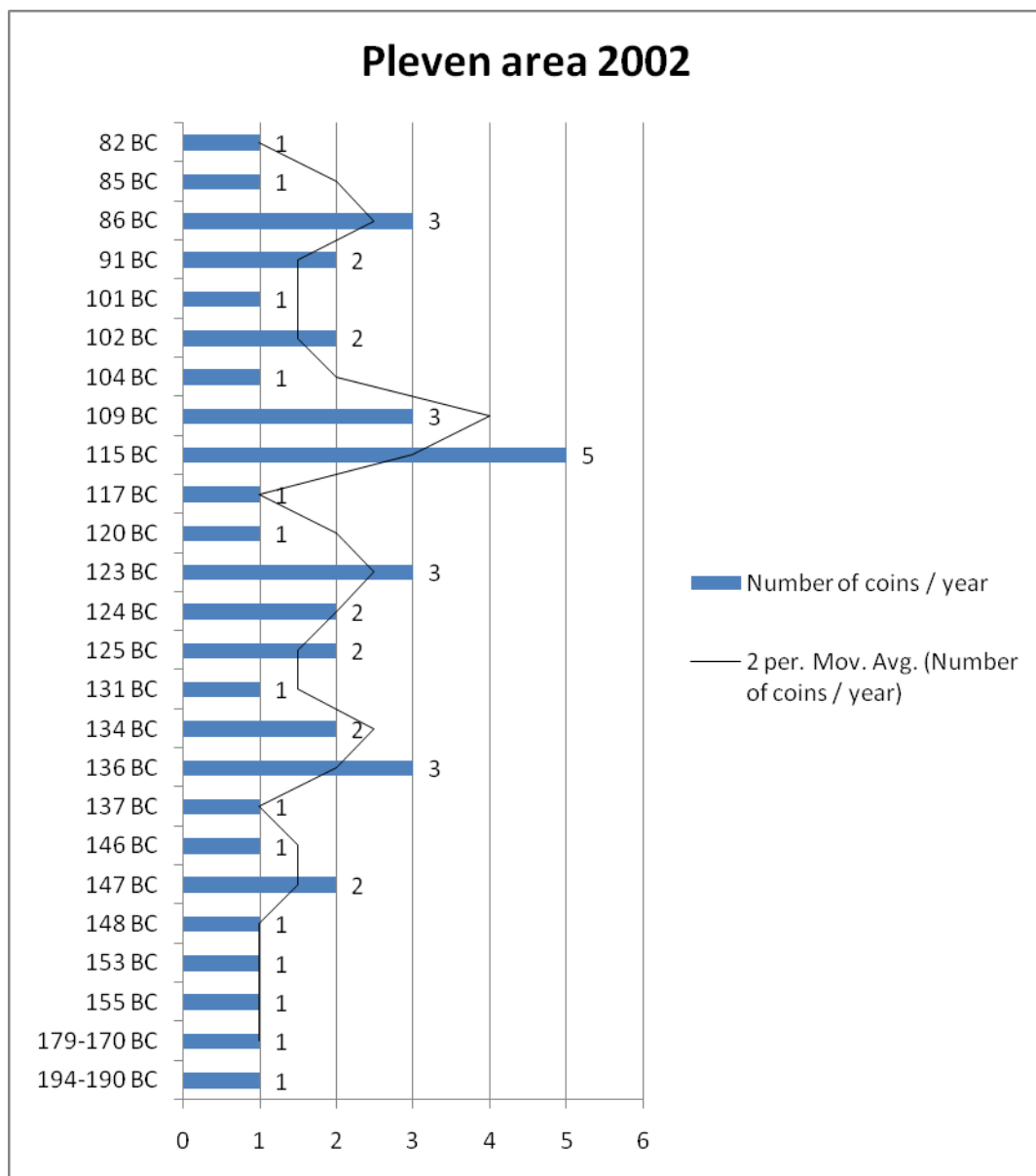


**Chart 7: Makotsevo 1910 – 46 denarii (44 listed) [find. cat. no. 38]**

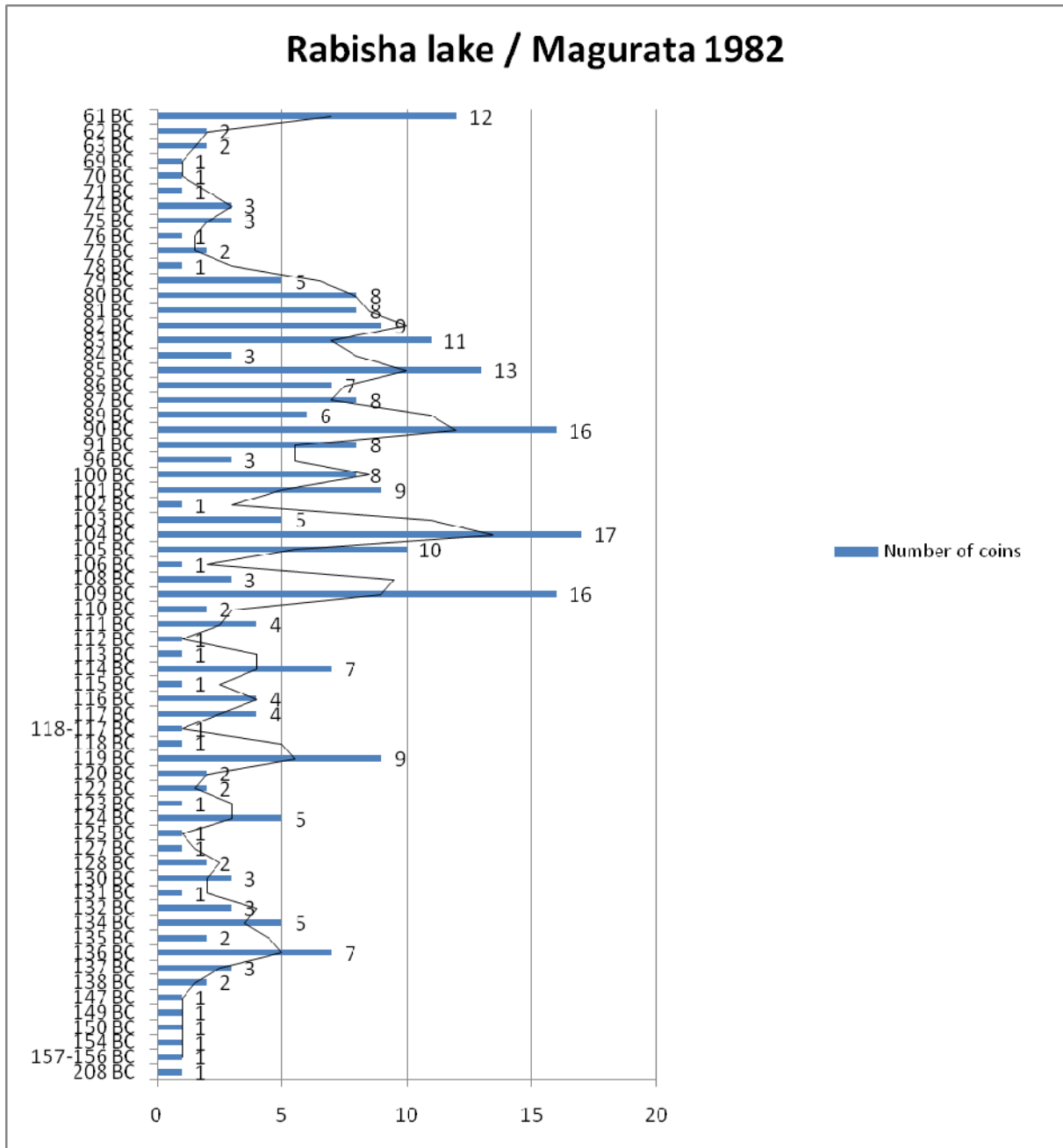


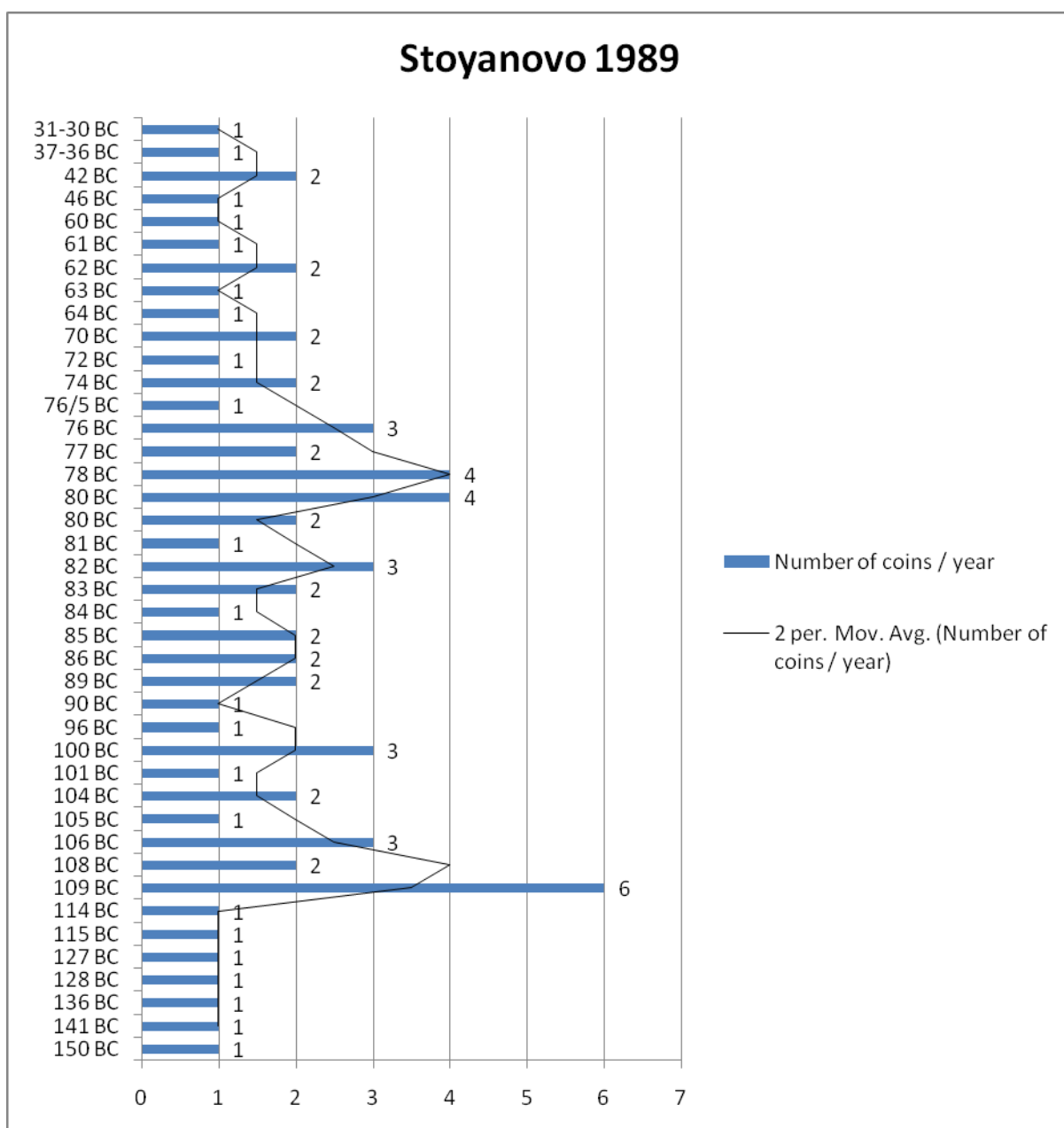
**Chart 8: Montana area <1985 – 140 denarii [find. cat. no. 41]**

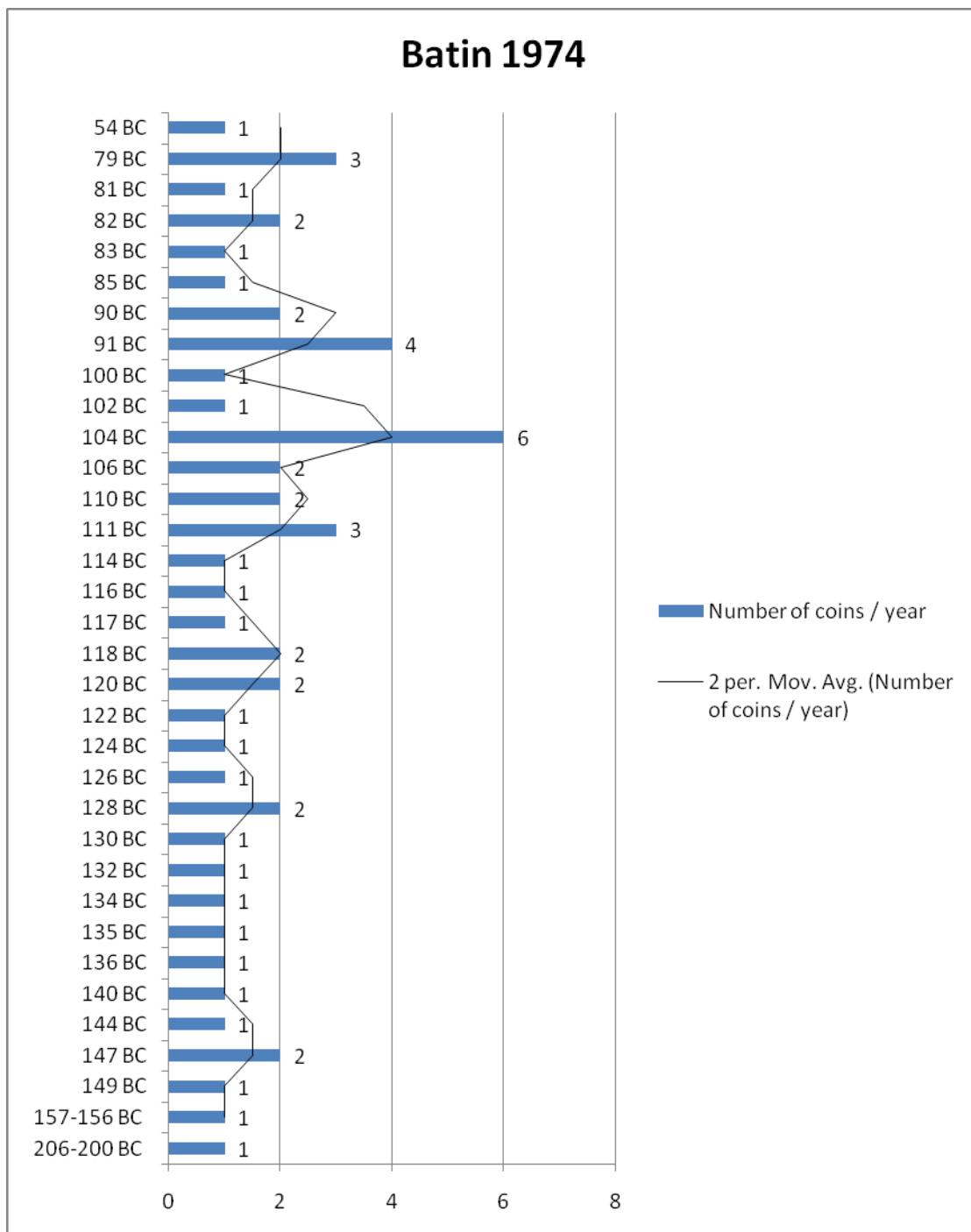
**Chart 9: Obzor 1953 – 55 denarii [find. cat. no. 43]**

**Chart 10: Plevna area II 2002 – 43+ denarii [find. cat. no. 50]**

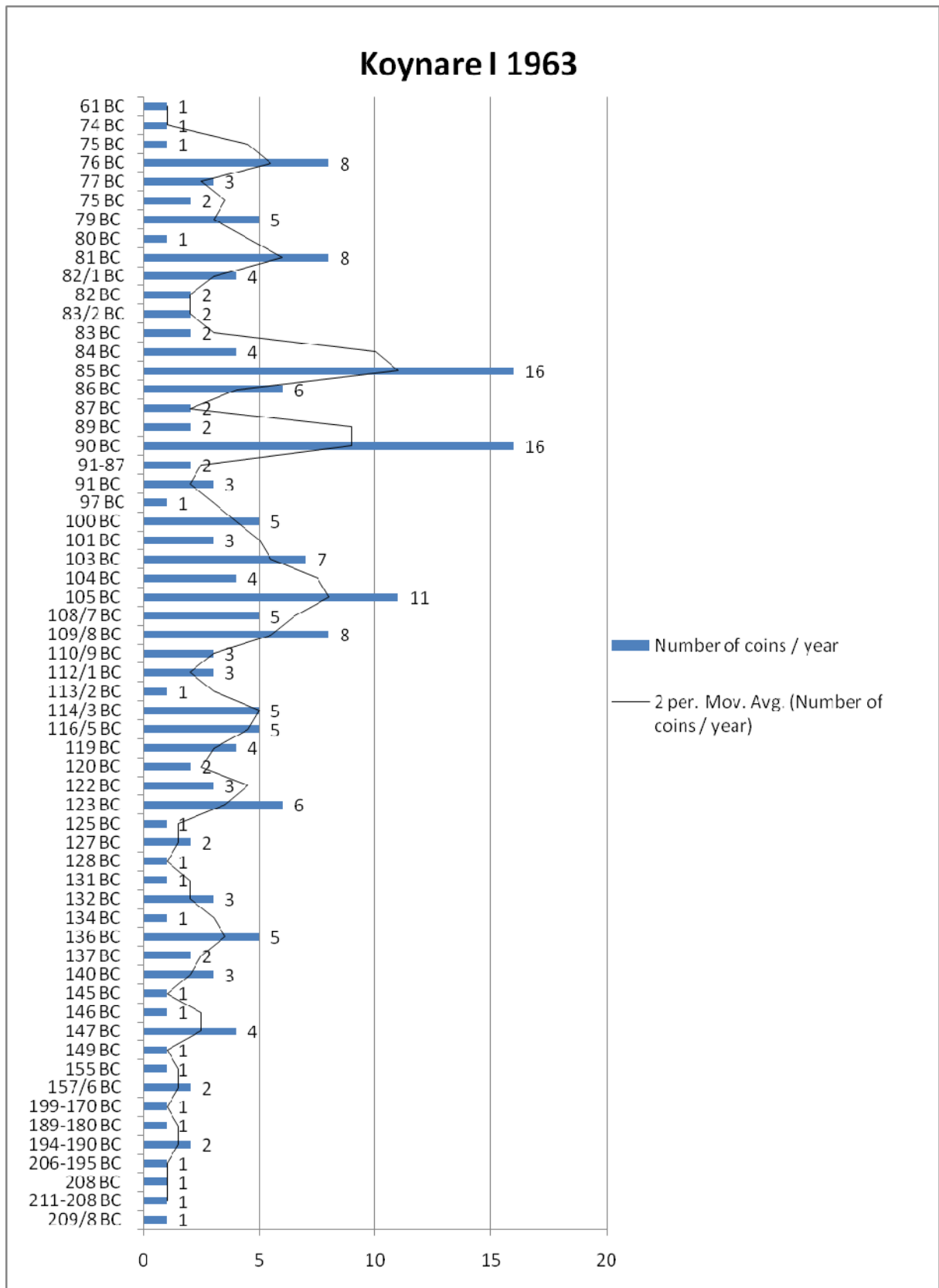
**Chart 11: Rabisha Lake / 'Maqurata' 1982 – 290 denarii [find cat. no. 53]**



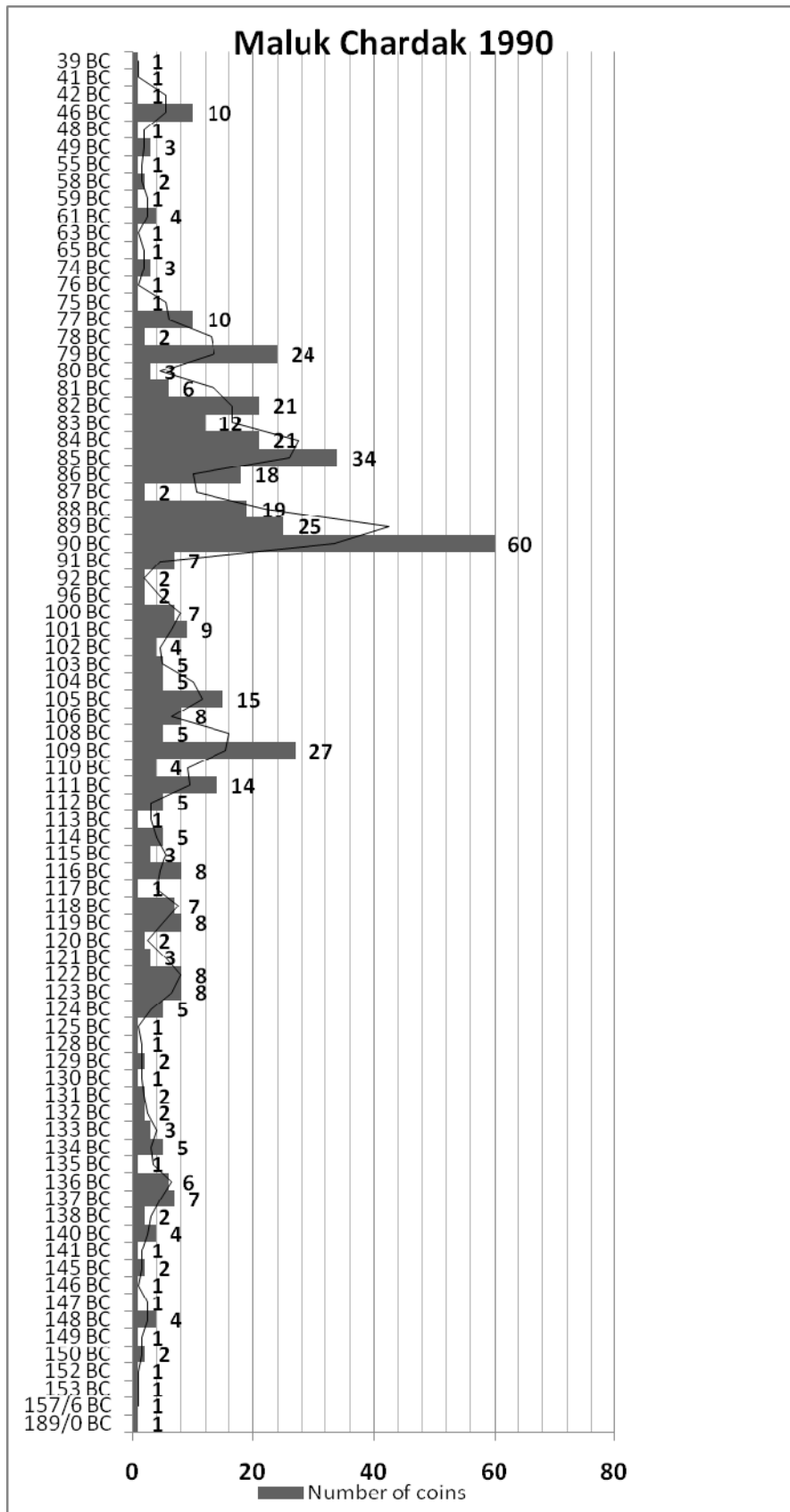
**Chart 12: Stoyanovo 1989 – 72 denarii (1 extraneous) [find. cat. no. 68]**

**Chart 13: Batin 1974 – ca. 200 denarii, 54 listed [find cat. no. 74]**

**Chart 14: Koynare I = IGCH 687 – 342 denarii, 2 drachms [find. cat. no. 85]**

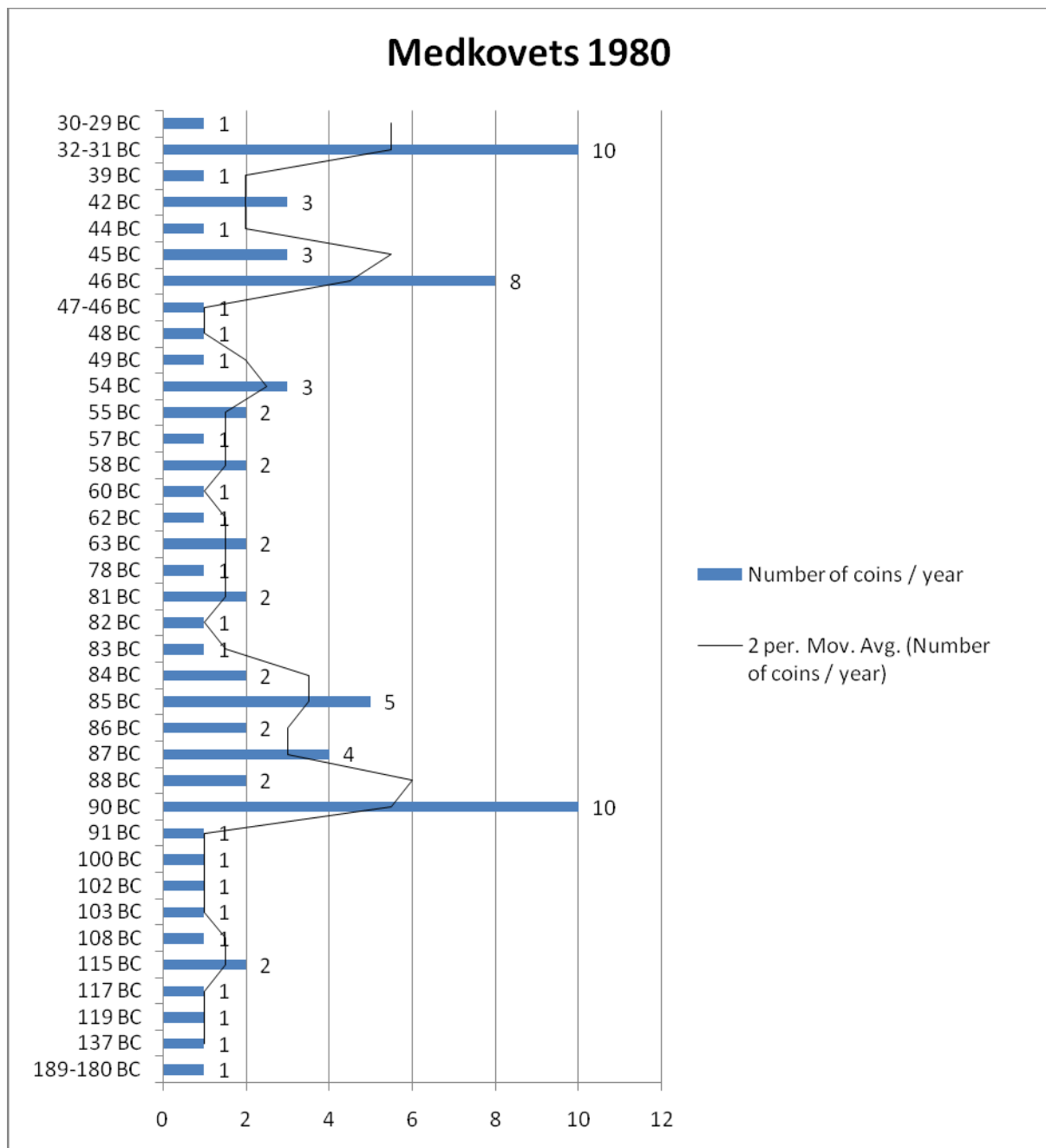


**Chart 15: Maluk Chardak 1990 – 527+ *denarii* (521 listed) and 2 tetradrachms [find. cat. no. 91]**

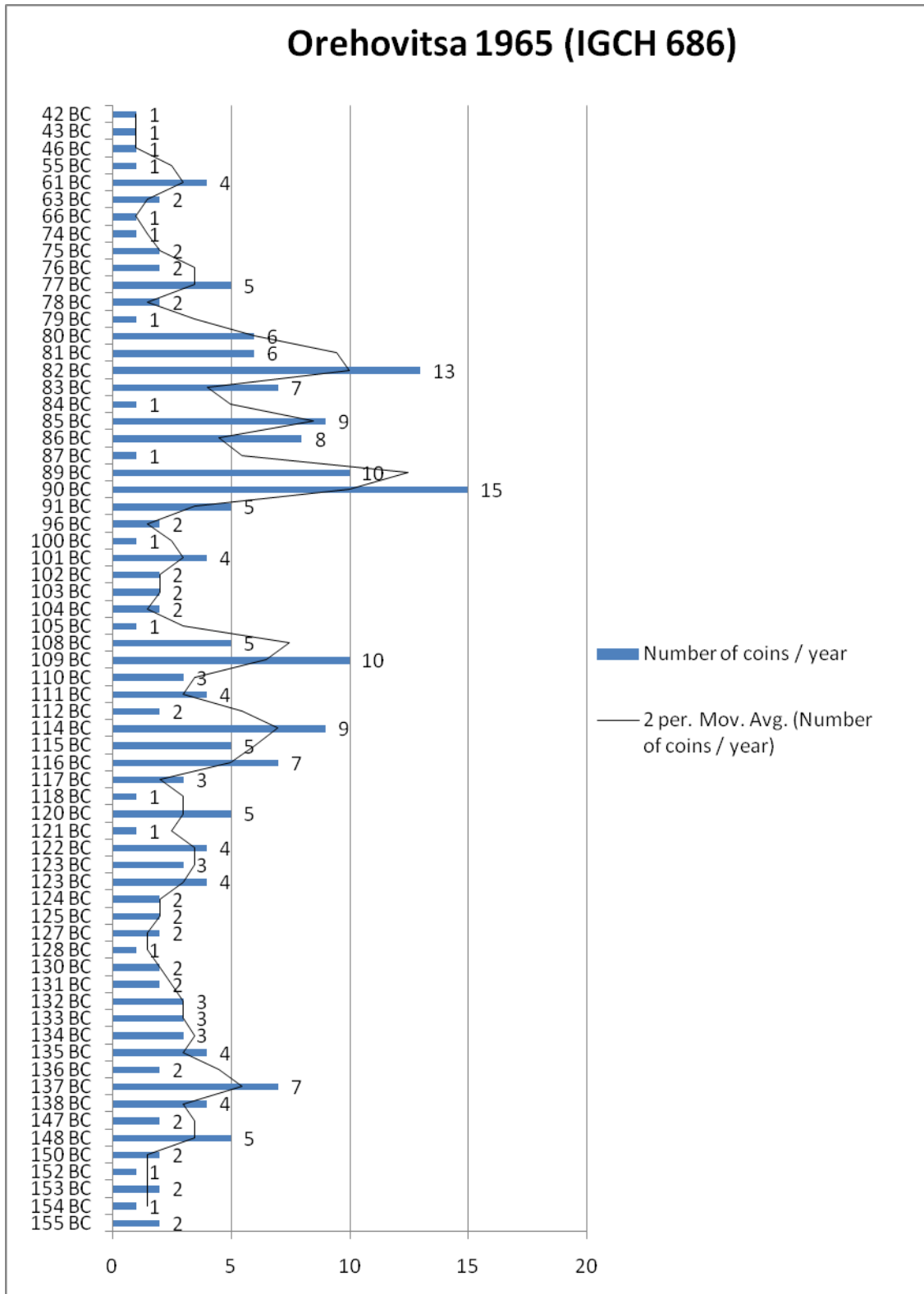




**Chart 16: Medkovets 1980 – 82 denarii and 3 drachms [find cat. no. 92].**

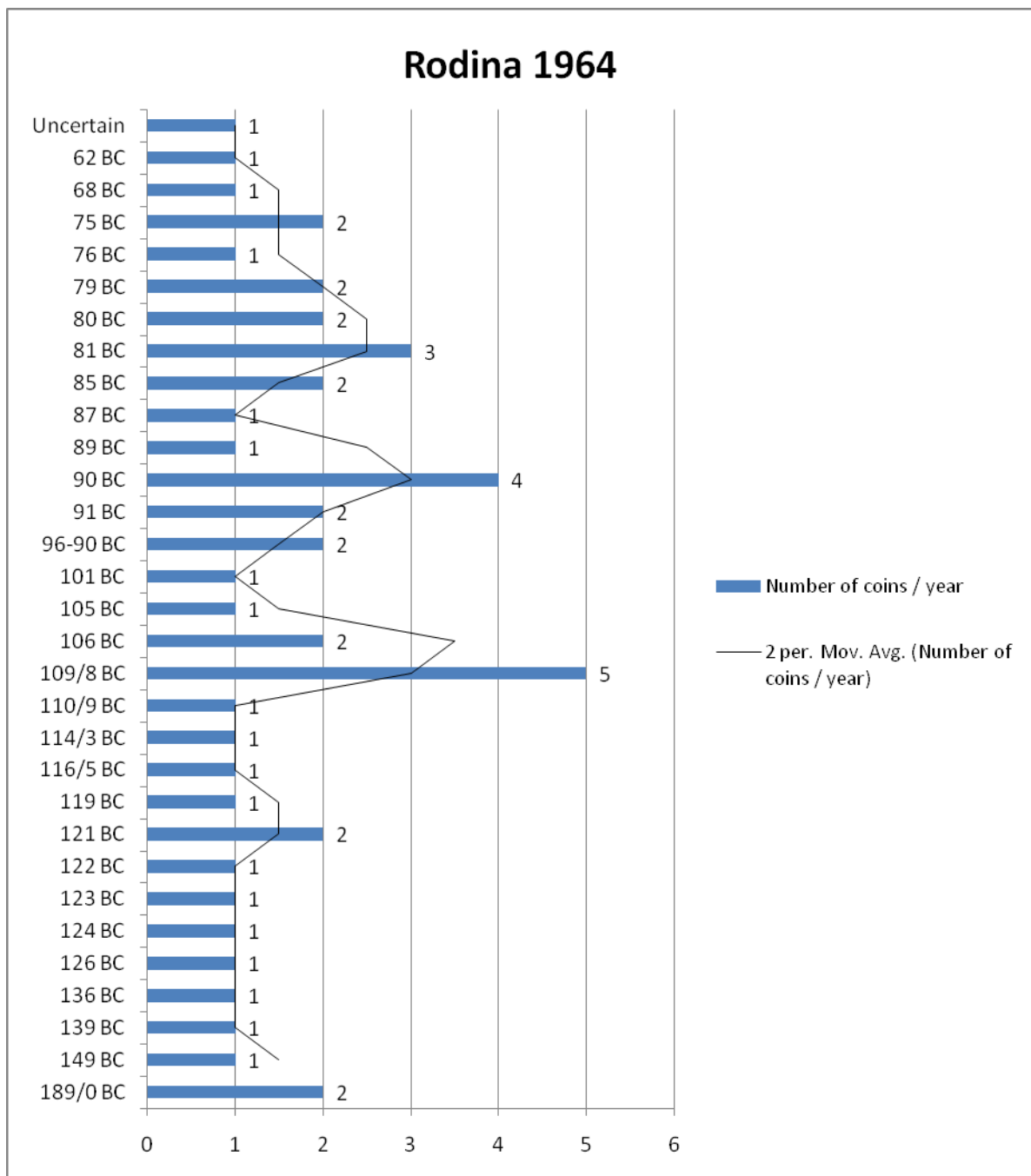


**Chart 17: Orehovitsa 1965 = IGCH 686 – 281 AR:  
280 *denarii* (237 listed) and 1 *drachm* [find cat. no. 98]**



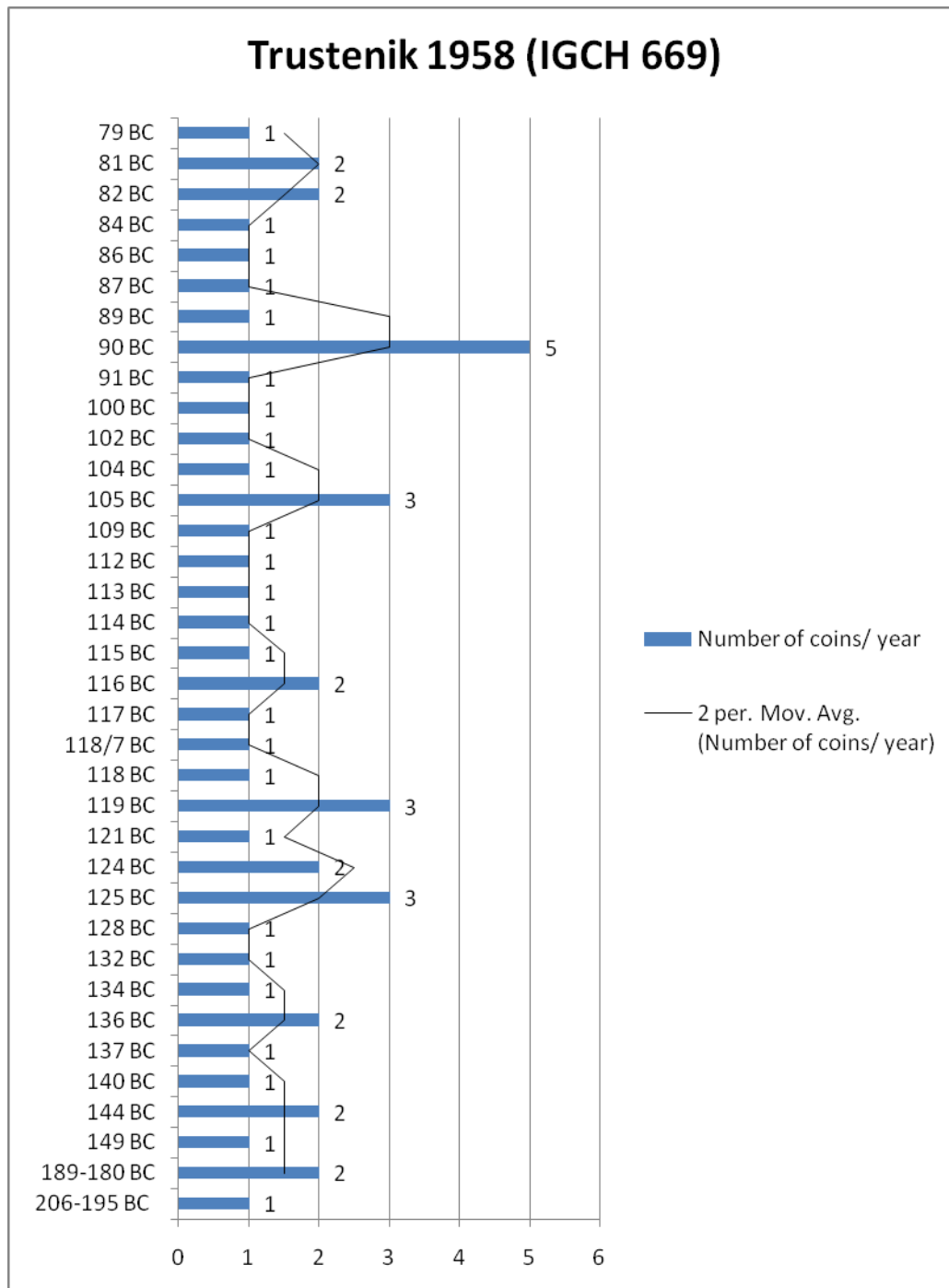
**Chart 18: Rodina 1964 (IGCH 679) – 49 denarii and 5 tetradrachms**

[find. cat. no. 101]



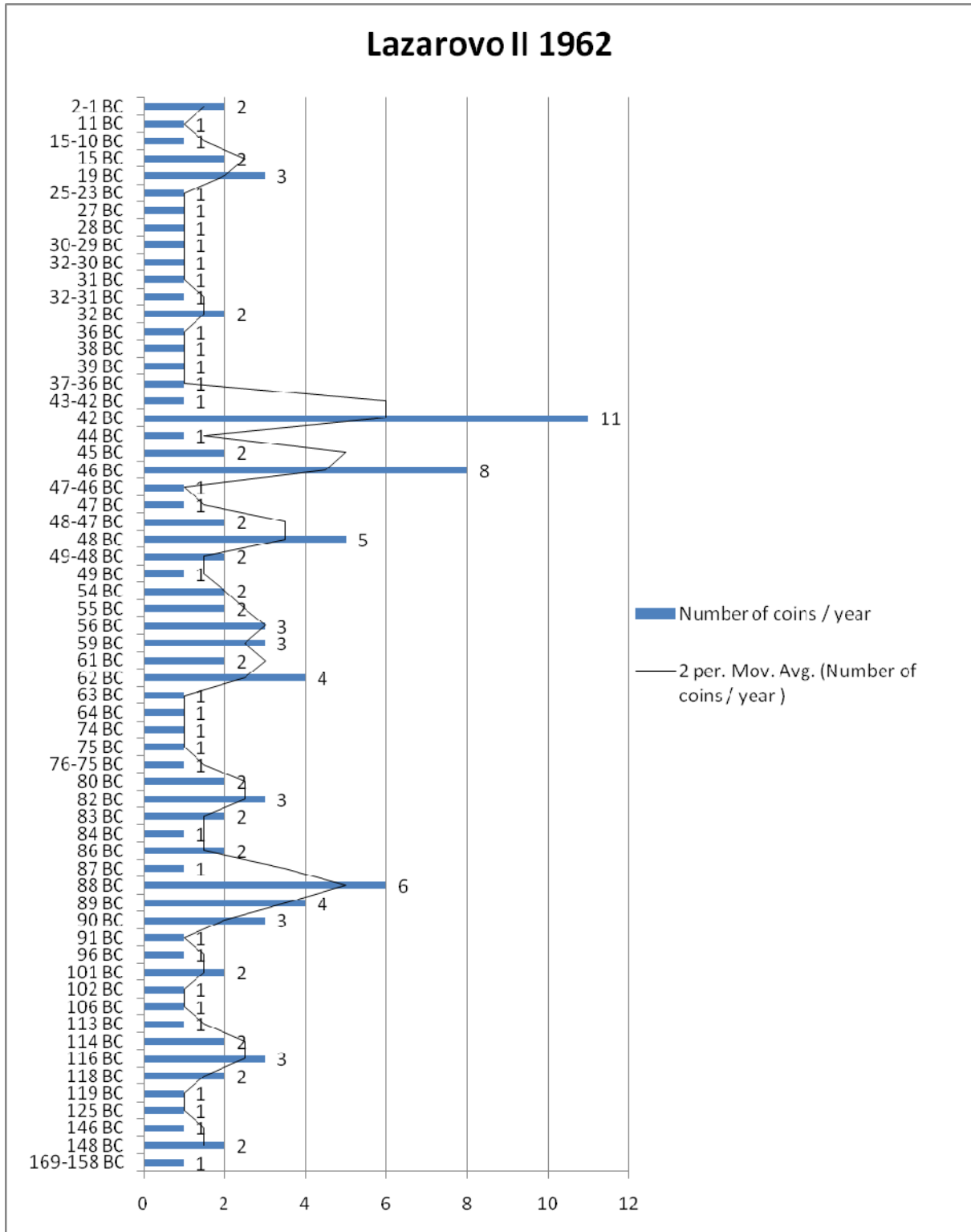
**Chart 19: Trustenik 1948 (IGCH 669) – 59 denarii and 2 drachms**

[find. cat. no. 104]

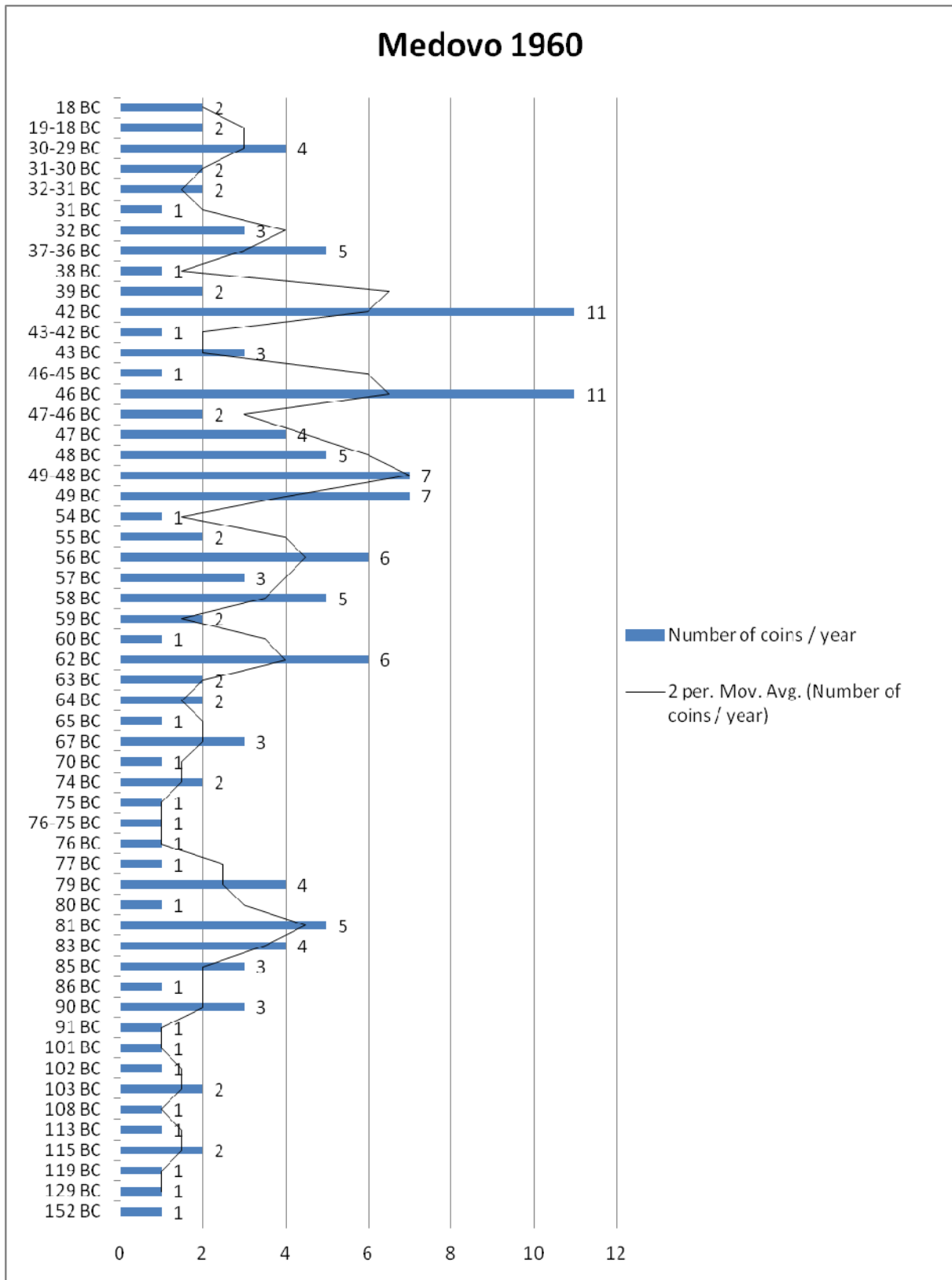


## Part 19.2: Early Principate hoards

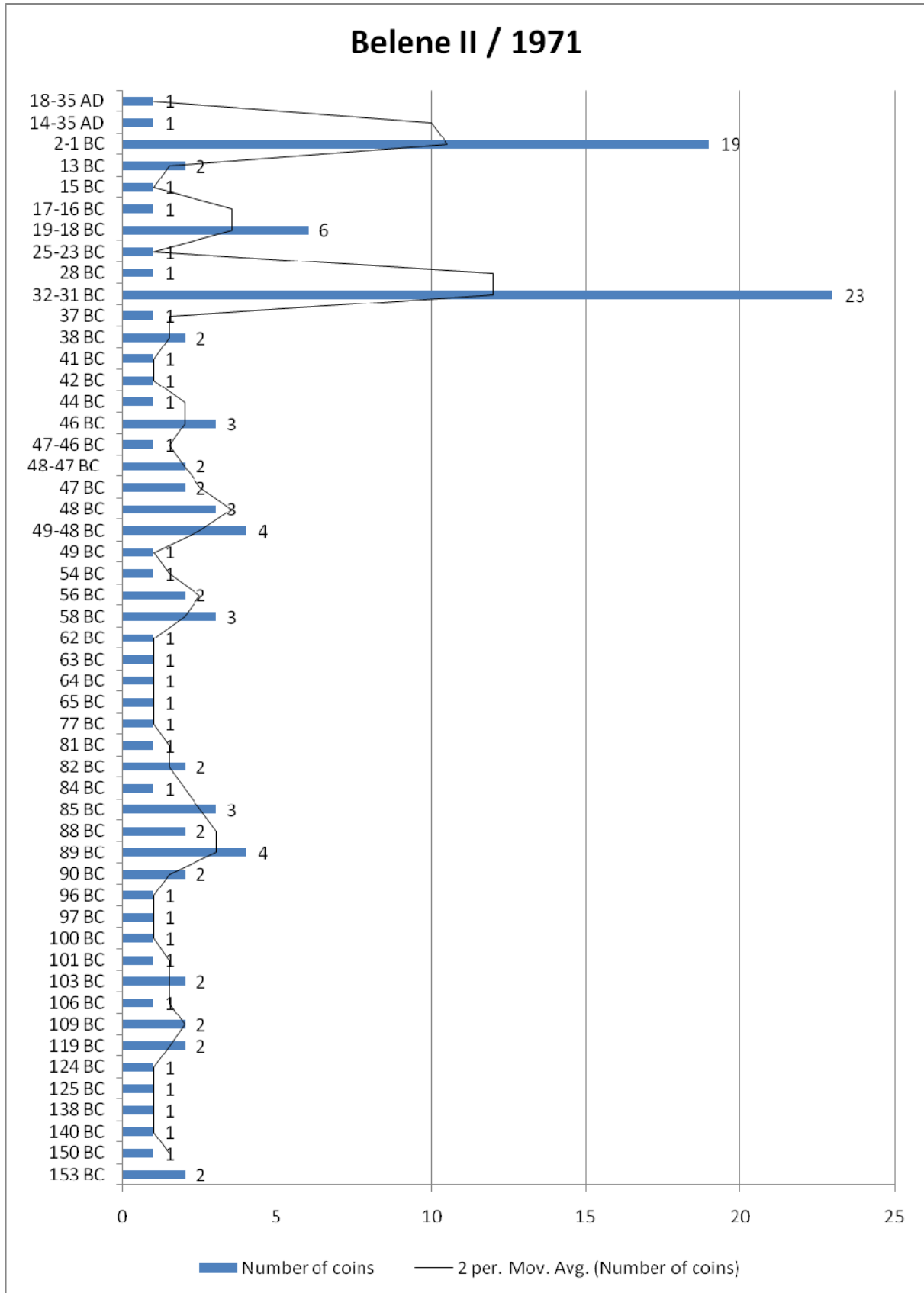
**Chart 20: Lazarovo II 1962 – 125 denarii, 124 listed [find cat. no. 137].**



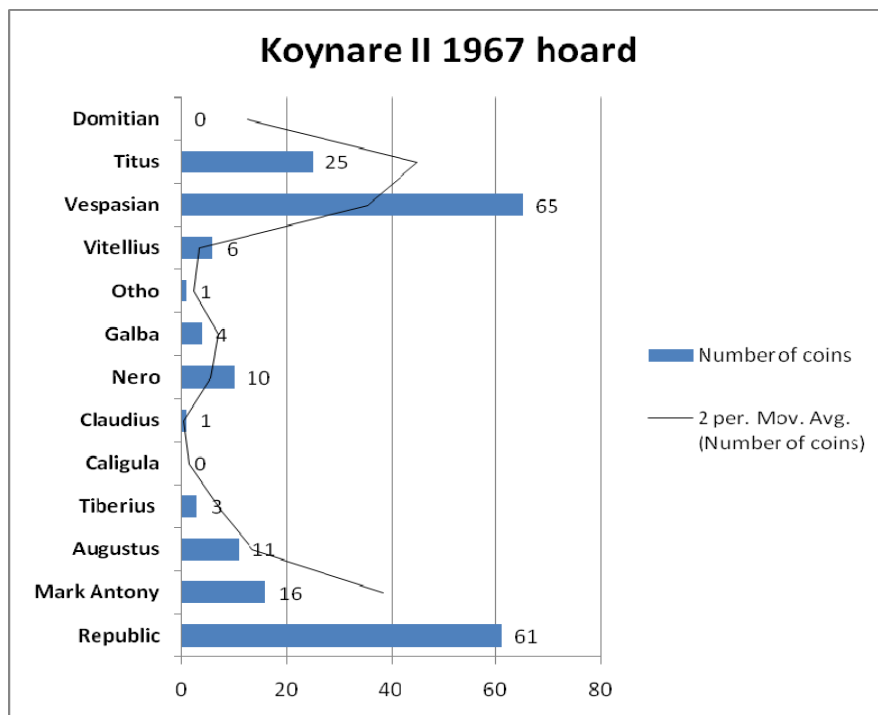
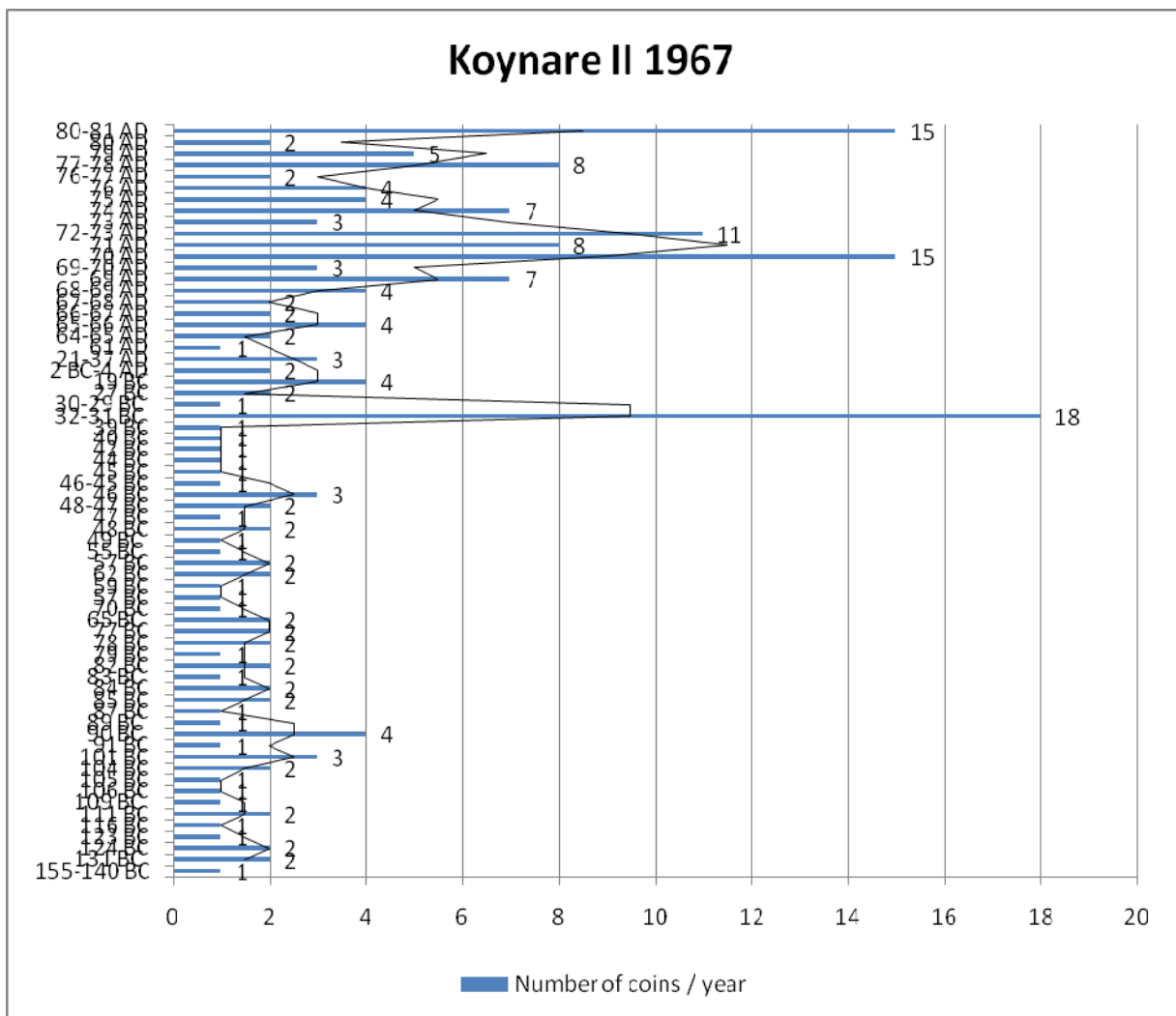
**Chart 21: Medovo 1960 (RRCH 490) – 149 denarii [find. cat. no. 140]**



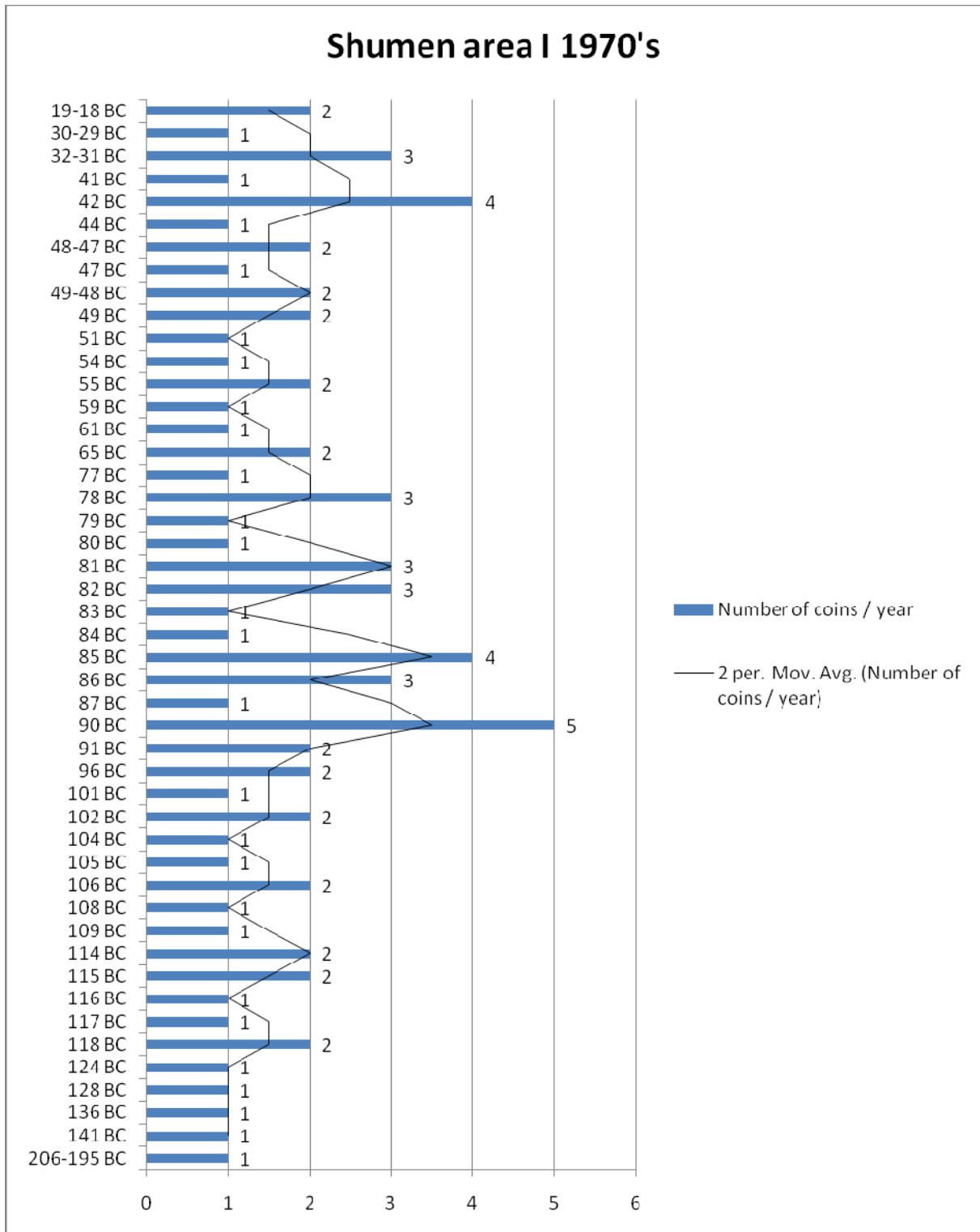
**Chart 22: Belene 1971 – 135 denarii, 122 listed [find. cat. no. 116]**



Charts 23a-b: **Koynare II 1967** – 211 denarii, 200 listed [find. cat. no. 133]





**Chart 24: Shumen area I 1970s – 83 denarii [find. cat. no. 156]**

**Chart 25: 'Sofia Airport' 2000 – 199 denarii [find. cat. no. 157]**

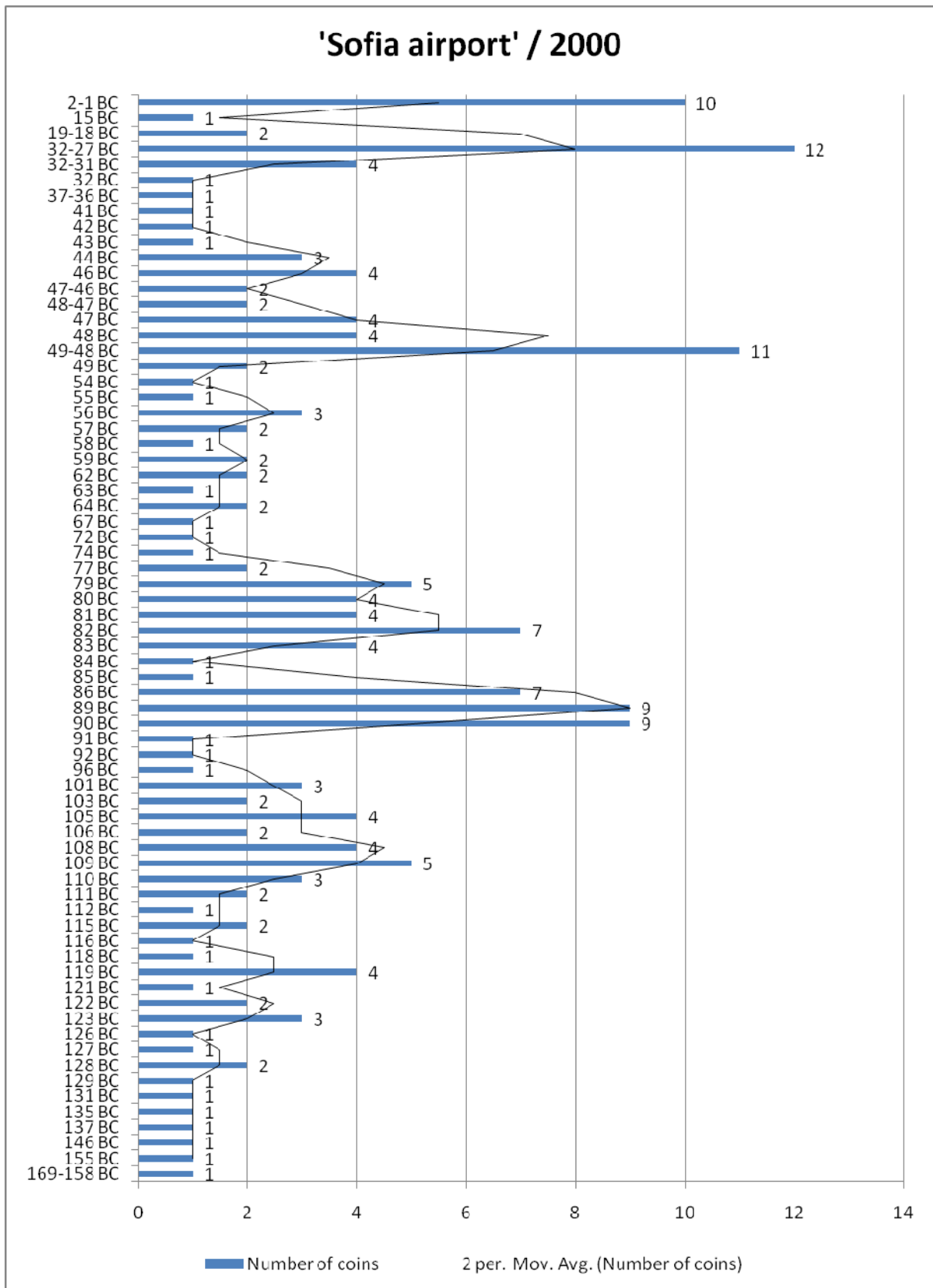
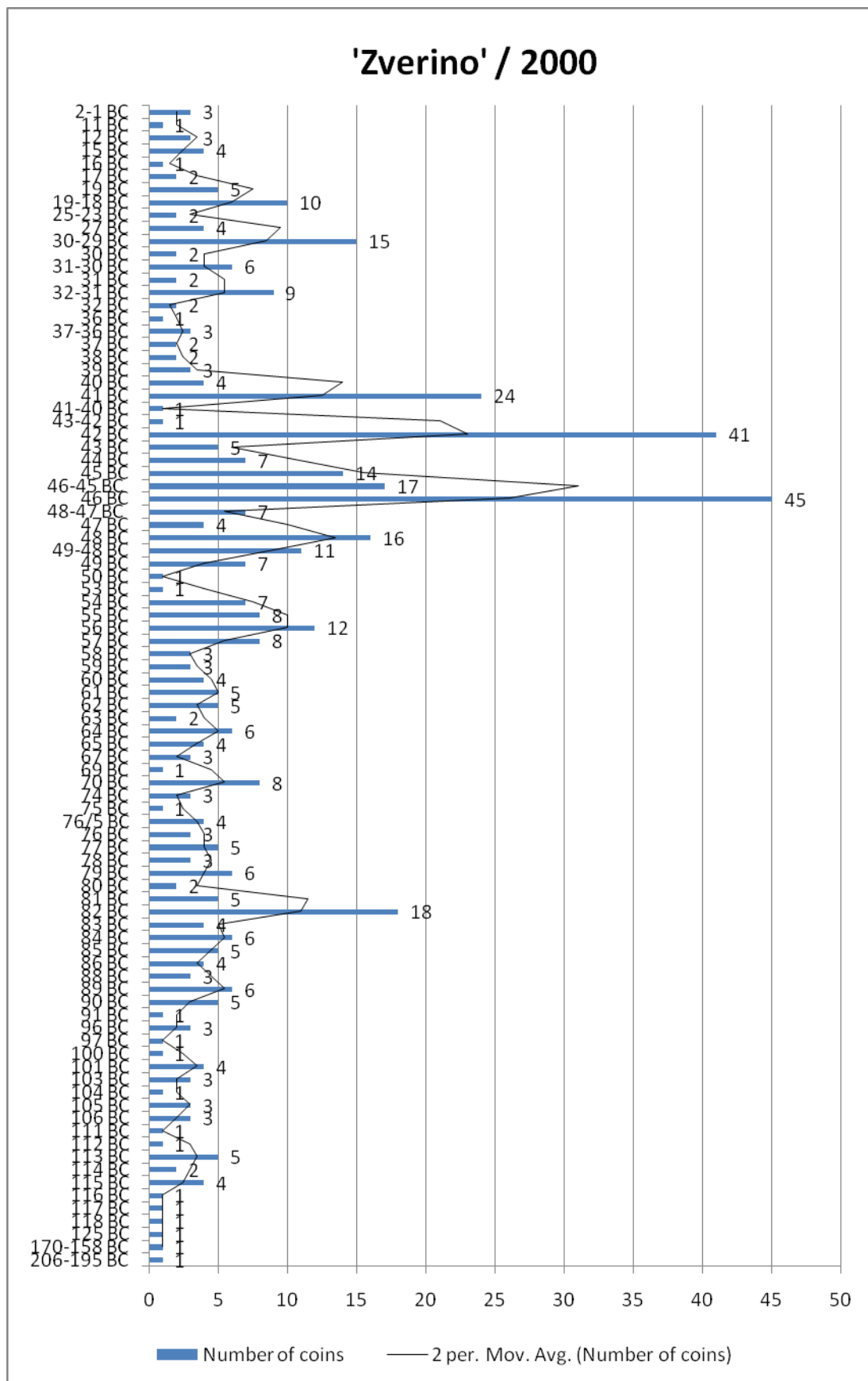
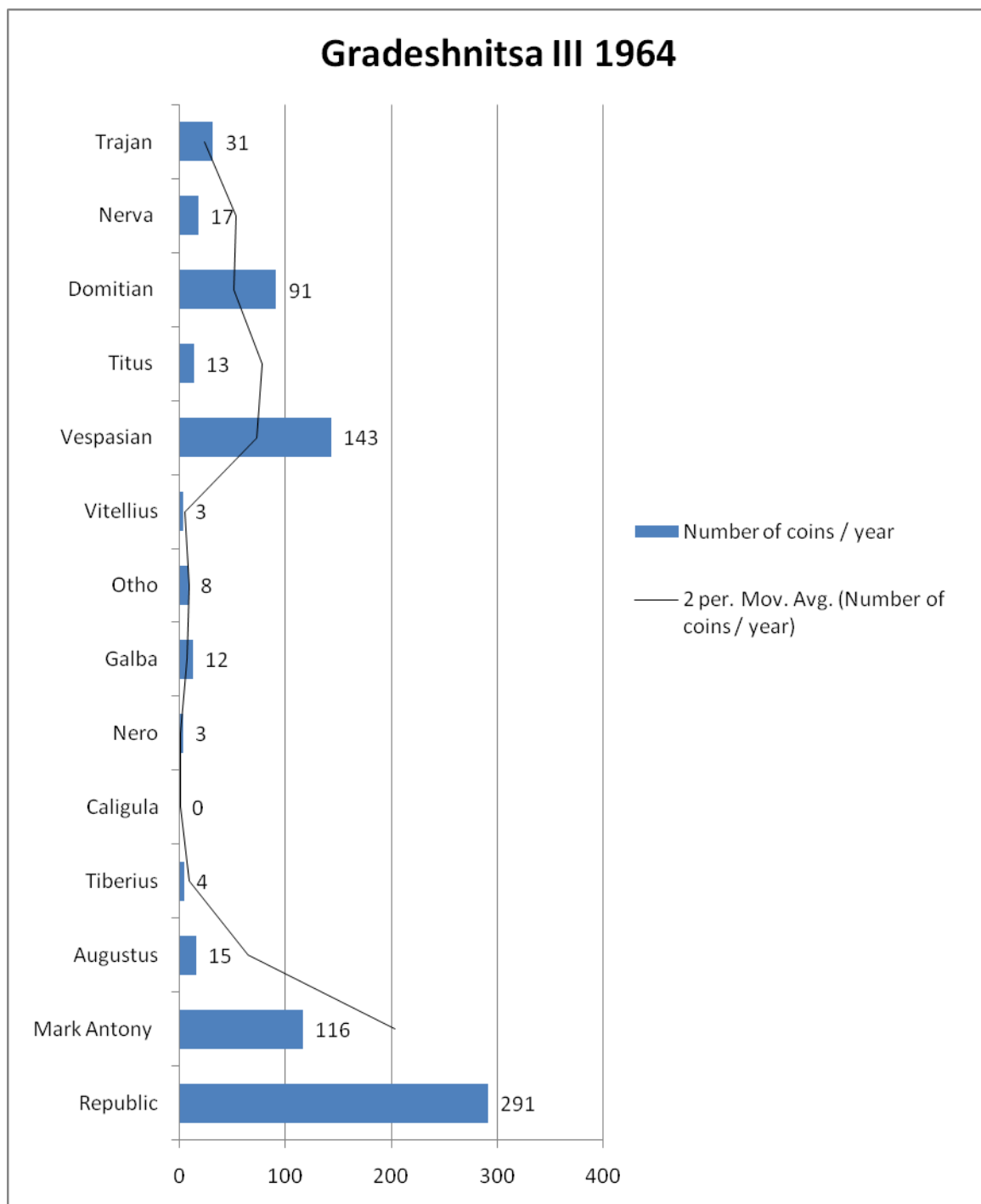


Chart 26: Zverino 2000 – 500 denarii and 3 drachms [find. cat. no. 160]



**Chart 27: Gradeshnitsa III 1964 – 764 *denarii*, 758 listed, along with AR jewelry**

[find. cat. no. 128]



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Plate 1: Cistophori in Thrace



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Plate 2: Imitations of Republican denarii



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Plate 3: Imitations of Republican denarii



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Plate 4: Imitations of Republican denarii



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