The Early Romanization of the Southeastern Alpine Region in the Light of Numismatic Finds

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Abstract

Victoriati, which can be assigned with a great deal of certainty to the first half of the 2nd century BC, appear to a great extent in the southwestern part of Slovenia, in Notranjska region. Their appearance reflects the early phase of Romanization in this region. At the same time, a total lack of such coins can be traced in more northern areas, particularly that of the Norican kingdom, which undoubtedly indicates that the course of Roman penetration was first oriented toward the Balkans. This is further proven by other archaeological finds from this region and the scarce written sources.

At the beginning of the second century BC, the Romans ruled over what is presently northern Italy. The Latin colonia of Aquileia was founded in 181 BC (183 BC), and as the only town in the broad region of northeastern Italy at first its role was the protection of Italy and control over two important routes. The first route led to the north, to the Norican kingdom and Magdalensberg, while the other led through the Postojna Gates and the Ljubljana basin, connecting the Italic region with the Danube basin and the Balkans (Šašel 1976; Horvat 1995, 25). Aquileia was the starting point for both in the establishment of trade relations and cultural contacts with the eastern Alpine Celtic tribes. In recent times primarily Jana Horvat was studied the early Romanization of the southeastern Alpine region on the basis of archaeological remains from sites (Horvat 1999; 2002). Aspects of Romanization in terms of ancient history and epigraphic sources were discussed by J. Šašel (Šašel 1992) and M. Šašel Kos (Šašel Kos 1986; 1995; 2000). This contribution attempts to show what numismatic finds, particularly the coins of the Roman Republic, have to offer on this subject.

The year 211 BC marked an important turning point in Roman Republican monetary policy. Hannibal did not merely strike and lay waste to the Roman state, but also indirectly affected Roman minting. In that year, or a bit before, a completely new monetary system was set up, which was based on a new standard; the weight of an as, as the basic bronze coin, was equated to the weight of the former sextans, thus amounting to two unciae² (Crawford 1985, 52-74). Currently only three Roman Republican coins from the period prior to 211 BC have been documented from the territory of Slovenia: an unaecia, produced between 269 and 266 BC, from the Savinja River in Celje (FMRSI II 340/1-1), a litra, minted between 230 and 226 BC, from Rogoznica near Ptuj (FMRSI II 437-3), and a semuncia, produced

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¹ The article includes a short outline of research, including the main results and syntheses in the last thirty-five years. Other important literature is also cited.
² The as had a theoretical weight of 1/6 of a Roman pound (1 Roman pound weighed 327.45 g).
between 215 and 212 BC, from Simonov zaliv (Simon’s Bay) near Izola (FMRSL III 34-1). Rare Greek coins also date to the earlier period.3 The appearance of victoriatus was placed in the year 211 BC,7 parallel to the beginnings of minting denarii. The victoriatus, which received its name from the depiction of Victoria by a trophy on the reverse, at the beginning had the three quarters value of a denarius.8 The value was undoubtedly equal to that of a drachma. Approximately in the year 170 BC the victoriatus ceased to be minted. These are the facts. Nonetheless the role of the victoriatus in the Roman Republican monetary system remains somewhat unclear. Walker (1980, 58-61; Burnett 1987, 35-37) established on the basis of metal analysis that the victoriatus was always minted from a poorer grade of silver than the denarii. If the denarii were made from more or less pure silver, the victoriatus at the beginning had a silver content between 75 and 95%.9 Given the fact that the silver content in the victoriatus was lower than for the ¾ denarii, Walker considered that the state used the former to pay its expenditures, at least at times when this suited, or rather, when it was possible. In this manner they saved metal (silver). What do the hoards from the region of Italy reveal?

Crawford established on the basis of the distribution map of early hoard finds of victoriatus that they had been deposited exclusively in the Greek dominated or Hellenized regions of Apulia, Campania, or northern Lucania (1985, 52 ff.). These are regions where drachmae were in circulation at the end of the 3rd century BC. Later the use of victoriatus was connected to northern Italy and Gaul. The victoriatus had the same weight as the original currency of Cisalpine Gaul, this being an imitation of the Massalia drachma. After 170 BC, when their minting ended, victoriatus would still have been in circulation, according to some authors throughout the entire 2nd century BC. Two arguments are used to support this claim. The first is the significant

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3 FMRSL I-II 64.1 (Montijnan by Koper); 331/1.1 (Muta); 393/1 (Maribor-košak); 396/1 (Maribor-Spodnje Radvanje); 434/25,1-7 (Ptuj); 437/1-2 (Rogoznica); FMRSL III 39.1 (Sermin); 165/1 (Celje-Savinja); FMRSL IV 44.1 (Pivka); 141/1 (Podbojičje).
4 These were: the ancient amber road, which led from the Baltic through Carnuntum, Savaria, Poetovio, Celeia, Emona, Naupontus to Aquileia, and the route of the Argonauts, which connected the Black Sea to Italia, and ran along the Danube, the Sava, and the Ljubljaniaca Rivers, thus through Sirmium, Sisica, Nevidunum, Emona and Naupontus.
5 Horvat defined Sermin as an ancient coastal settlement with an exceptional strategic position, which was important for northern Istria. A small quantity of pottery imported from Italy was dated to the 4th century BC, and the later larger quantities of later Greco-Italic amphorae correspond chronologically to the foundation of Aquileia and the Roman conquest of Istria.
6 Reliable interpretations of hoard finds are possible only for those finds whose original composition was more or less entirely preserved. Likewise, the historical interpretation of the deposition of a find on the basis of a single hoard is much less dependable than when several hoards from the same period are available.
7 The dating of the beginning of minting victoriatus to 211 BC is generally accepted in professional circles. A detailed history of the study of victoriatus is offered by R. Thomsen (Thomsen 1961, 320-391) and O. Marra (Marra 2001).
8 The weight of a denarius is circa 3.9 g and a victoriatus circa 2.9 g.
9 Questions related to the silver content in victoriatus have still not been solved. The results from Italian research indicate a lower silver content in victoriatus. The 361 analysed victoriatus had an average silver content of 65% (Mancini 1984, 31). The most recent such research carried out on victoriatus from the British Museum indicates that they had an average silver content of 68% (Cowell 2000, 53-54).
data from the following quotation from Pliny (NH xxxiii, 46): “Is qui nunc victoriatus appellatur lege Clodia percussus est”.10 The Lex Clodia is dated to circa 100 BC,11 according to Crawford at that time they again introduced the silver quinarius12 with a depiction of Victoria; thus the victoriatus type (RRC 326/2). The new silver coin was to take over the role of the victoriatus in monetary circulation. Thus Crawford considered that the early victoriati that had remained in circulation until then because of wear were worth only half of a denarius in place of their original value. At the same time he had doubt in the report from Pliny, as it is not clearly evident from this text whether the Lex Clodia reduced the value of the victoriatus or reintroduced the quinarius (Crawford 1974, 629, n.2). Another argument was set forth by Walker, who on the basis of the weight and silver content proved the relation between the victoriatus and the denarius. He certainly did not doubt the long-term use of the victoriatus. After 170 BC, when the Romans ceased minting victoriati, they were in circulation loco mercis, according to their actual value as metal. At the end of the 2nd century BC, when victoriati had been in circulation for at least 70 years, their average weight due to wear had declined to 2.3 g. Thus at that point a victoriatus would indeed be worth only half a denarius (Walker 1980, 58-61).13

A different viewpoint was supported by Backendorf, who considered that the victoriati suddenly disappeared from use in the middle of the 2nd century BC. At that time the reformed denarius would have supplanted the victoriatus (Backendorf 1998, 175-177). Backendorf studied hoards that were composed of coins with varied denominations (primarily victoriati, denarii, and quinarii) and were originally from the region of Italy.14 The deposition of a hoard find is chronologically defined by the latest coin in the find. Figure 1 shows the percentages of victoriati, denarii, and quinarii from hoards at 51 sites from continental Italy,15 the period of deposition ranging from 208 BC to AD 4. Between 208 and 170 BC, the greatest proportion in the finds was represented by victoriati, and in the majority of examples the finds contained only victoriati. A change occurs, which is particularly interesting, between 150 and 130, when the proportion of victoriati in comparison

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10 In translation: “What is now called the victoriatus was minted under the lex Clodia”.
11 The date of the lex Clodia is placed variously between 105 BC (Buora 1989, 159) and 101 BC (Crawford 1974, 628-629; Marra 2001, 103), but an exact date is not important for the subject being discussed.
12 The quinarius was a silver coin with half the value of a denarius. Both began to be minted in 211 BC. In contrast to the denarius, which the Romans minted without interruption throughout the Republican period, the minting of quinarii ceased as early as 170 BC. The Romans reintroduced the quinarius with the lex Clodia at the end of the 2nd century BC.
13 Buora similarly interpreted the victoriati that were discovered in Friuli, and considered that their light weight meant that they had still been in circulation at the end of the 2nd century (Buora 1989, 158-161).
14 Backendorf re-evaluated these finds in this extensive work, thus making them much more credible.
15 These data have been taken from D. Backendorf, Römische Münzschatze des zweiten und ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vom italienischen Festland (Berlin 1998) (= Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 13).
to denarii changed. Such a reversal can be explained by the sudden cessation of minting victoriatii, which occurred ca. 170 BC. From 130 BC, the proportion of denarii rose, and to a smaller extent the proportion of quinarius. On the basis of the above it is possible to hypothesize that victoriatii to a great extent disappeared from circulation between 150 and 130 BC (Fig. 1).

During this period, in 141 BC, a significant monetary reform occurred. The value of the denarius, which had been 10 asses until then, was changed to 16 asses (Crawford 1974, 612-613, 621, 625). The victoriatus thus was removed from the monetary system, as it was difficult to determine the rate of exchange.

An additional argument for the chronological classification of the victoriatii found in Slovenia to the first half of the 2nd century BC is their weight. Figure 2 shows that the majority of victoriatii had a weight over 2.5 g, while at the same time these were well preserved coins that could not have been in circulation throughout an entire century.

The distribution map of individual finds of victoriatii and hoard finds that also contain victoriatii (Fig. 3) shows an interesting situation in the southeastern Alpine region. They are concentrated mostly in the western part of present-day Slovenia, in the Notranjska region (Inner Carniola). Could this mean that this region was the easternmost section of Cisalpine Gaul in the 2nd century BC? Or should the appearance of individual coin finds be explained as a gradual broadening of Roman influence in this region, as shown primarily by trade? It can definitely be stated that victoriatii represent an important link in the study of the Romanization of the territory of present-day Slovenia. The opinion of M. Šašel Kos is incontestable in explicating the process of Romanization, who stated in interpreting the origin of Nauportus: "Romanization began quite early, long before the creation of the province" (1990, 30). Today it is possible to add to this, primarily on the basis of new archaeological discoveries and findings, that the course of Romanization extended gradually from the southwestern and western sections of Slovenia towards the east, along the ancient amber route. The early finds from the Notranjska region are surprising in this context. The earliest proofs of Roman presence in present-Day Slovenia have been documented in the coastal zone. The hoard of Roman Republican weapons at Grad near Smihel is dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC, and Horvat considers it to have been connected to the first military actions for gaining control over the amber route (Horvat 2002, 142-143). The next known point is the station of Roman merchants at Razdrto, which existed at the end of the 2nd century BC (Bavdek 1996). The more eastern position of Nauportus was the site of a Roman station in the mid 1st century BC at the latest (Horvat 1990). Not least in this series was the recent discovery of a boundary stone from the bed of the Ljubljanica River near Bevke, which proves that Emona was never a part of Illyricum, but had been in Italy, and before that in Cisalpine Gaul. The fact of primary importance is that Aquileia up to the Caesarian period was responsible for the administration of an exceptionally large territory as the only autonomous city in the broader region of northeastern Italy, which was later diminished when other colonies were established in its vicinity (Šašel Kos 2002, 377-379).

The appearance of victoriatii in the Notranjska region thus reflects an early phase of Romanization. The appearance of Roman coinage in this area indicates a distinct Roman influence, and although it actually does not necessarily infer Roman presence,
it does show an undoubted inclusion of this area into the economic system of the Roman Republic. The extent to which the Celtic tribes, or rather individual elements, were tied to the Roman merchants is shown mostly by the hoards that in addition to Roman Republican denarii also contain coinage of the Celtic tribes of the Norici and Taurisci (as well as others).

The hoard from Enemonzo in the Carnian Alps (Gorini 1999) contains 399 coins that were placed in a bronze situla of the Celtic type; 359 were victoriatii and 40 eastern Norican tetradrachmas of the Kugelreiter type. The average weight of the Celtic coins in this hoard was 11.52 g. This represents a 1:4 ratio to victoriatii, corresponding to the drachma: tetradrachma ratio. It is certainly significant that coins of the Kugelreiter type were among the heaviest in the early emissions of coinage of the Celtic tribes of the Norici and the Taurisci.16 Similar finds from Cisalpine Gaul include the hoard from Padua (RRCh 73; Backendorf 1998, 95), which contained 2 victoriatii and 22 imitations of Massalian drachmas, and the hoard of Sanzeno nell’Ananua (RRCh74; Backendorf 1998, 116), which contained 4 victoriatii and 6 imitations of Massalian drachmas. A hoard from Slovenia found at the confluence of the Zrnica and the Ljubljanica Rivers (FMRSI IV 110; Kos, Šemrov 2003) has a similar composition. The find consists of 23 Roman Republican coins and 59 Celtic coins. This find is more varied, as it contains 3 Celtic silver coins from southern Germany and 47 large and small coins of the Celtic tribe of the Taurisci. The Roman Republican coins consisted of victoriatii, denarii, and asse. The earliest coin in the hoard was a denarius from 147 BC. On the basis of the Roman Republican coins and the Celtic coins from southern Germany, both of which are precisely assigned chronologically, it can be established that this was a chronologically homogenous find. Due to this, the find is important for the chronological placement of the use of victoriatii to the middle of the 2nd century BC. This find proves in a particularly clear form the trade the Taurisci had with the west, as well as that of the Romans with other northern Celtic tribes. Equally important in terms of the chronological definition of victoriatii was a hoard from the Notranjska region, from the site of Baba (FMRSI IV 46). The find contained 37 victoriatii and 3 denarii, and the latest coin in the find is dated to 146 BC. The hoard from Knežak (FMRSI III 53), which contained 387 asses, belonged to the same chronological framework, meaning the mid 2nd century BC. Its deposition was placed in 146 BC on the basis of the last dated coin. Thus at least three finds can be related to the same chronological event, representing military activity. But can we really speak of the beginnings of Roman military campaigns in the area of present-day western Slovenia?

A search through the scarce written sources for this region uncovers the following. According to data from ancient writers,17 it is very likely that in the period before the Roman conquest the Romans numbered the inhabitants of the region of western Slovenia (mostly corresponding to the Notranjska region) among the Carni (Božić 1999, 203). After the second Histrian War (178/177), the Histri lost a part of their territory to Cisalpine Gaul because of the expansion of the Carni (Šašel Kos 2000). Was this region then actually under the jurisdiction of Aquileia and in this sense included in Cisalpine Gaul? De facto still under the influence of the Carni? Certainly the Romans controlled the main roads and placed fortified trading stations along them. Trade existed throughout the entire period between this region and the Roman merchants (probably from Aquileia), and as was established by F. Cassola, Romanization was a gradual process, where cultural and economic factors preceded military and administrative ones (Cassola 1983, 35). Certainly the position of the far boundaries of the region, where the territory of the Carni was located, was not always clearly defined and changed in accordance with each changing geopolitical situation (Šašel Kos 2000). Just as on the one hand the Roman finds from the middle of the 2nd century BC could indicate friendly relations, on the other hand it is known from sources that the consul Marcus Aemilius Scæverus celebrated a triumph over the Carni (CIL I, 1, 2nd ed., pl. 49 ~ In. It. 13, 1 pp. 84-85, frag. 36; Šašel Kos 1990, 30). It is not known against which Carni the consul fought at the time, as they inhabited a very large territory that extended from Noricum all the way to Zuglio (Iulium Carnicum).

It is the finds of victoriatii tied to the Notranjska region that indicate an active Roman policy in this region in comparison with more northerly areas, particularly the Norican Kingdom. A review of the coin finds from Magdalensberg (Bannert, Piccottini 1972) and all of Carinthia (FMRO; Dembski 1977; Jablonka 2001, 182; Buora 2002) show that no victoriatii are documented there. Other Roman

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16 Coins of the Kugelreiter type were first defined as western Norican (Göbl 1973), and then as Norican (Göbl 1994).
17 Mentions of the Carni in the works of classical writers were gathered by Vedaldi Iasbez (1994, 229-239).
Republican coins are also rare,\(^{18}\) and an increased circulation can only be noted for after 100 BC. Surely more coin finds can be expected from the Celtic tribes, primarily the Norici and the Taurisci. In Istria, a much more uniform region, an otherwise small number of *victoriati* has been documented, which can be determined with certainty as early. According to current knowledge,\(^ {19}\) *victoriati* are known from only three sites: Kaštelir near Nova Vas (FMRh XVIII 9/4-8), Vizače (FMRh XVIII 82/1-1,2,3), and Pula (FMRh XVIII 98/2-1,2). The last site is irrelevant to this study, as it was a grave find. The contexts of the first two finds are related to settlements with earlier cultural strata.

**CONCLUSION**

*Victoriati* from Slovenian territory can be relatively reliably dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC. The hoard finds from the Ljubljanica River, Baba, and Knežak also belong to this period. This is an additional reason for an early dating of the *victoriati*. The interpretation, however, of the early Roman Republican finds is much more difficult than the chronological determination. Given the data in Strabo (4, 6, 10, c. 207) that at Okra the Iapodes had a border with the Carni, and the data in Pliny that Okra had once been a Carnian settlement (N. h. 3, 131), it seems very likely that the Notranjska region was settled by a tribe (or tribal association) that the Greek and Roman writers considered to be the Carni (Božič 1999, 203). And even if in fact these had not been Carnian, then they were definitely a tribe under the political authority of the Carni. The appearance of Roman Republican coin finds along the ancient amber road and in the Notranjska region in the middle of the 2nd century and the simultaneous complete lack of such coins in more northern areas, and particularly in the Norican Kingdom, undoubtedly indicates the course of Roman penetration, directed towards the Balkans. In the Republican period, the Romans exhibited no interest whatsoever in the conquest of the Norican Kingdom, as it better suited them to retain good relations with the Norican king (Šašel Kos 1997, 30). The hypothesis of Bandelli is very significant in relation to this (Bandelli 2001, 20-21), as he tied the *rex Gallorum* cited in the sources (Livy 43.5.1) - King Cincibila - with the Taurisci and not the Norici, as had been the case with the majority of scholars to the present. Accordingly, the kingdom of Cincibila could be considered as the kingdom of the Taurisci, which would represent additional evidence of great Roman interest in the southeastern Alpine region in the first half of the 2nd century.

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\(^{18}\) Large numbers of Roman Republican coins are represented only at the sites of Magdalensberg and Virunum.

\(^{19}\) In terms of sources that would document early Romanization (after the 2nd Istrian War), there are very few documented coin finds. There are two reasons for this: many lost finds during the period of the Second World War, and a poor degree of investigation.
Fig. 3. The distribution of Republican victoriatii in Slovenia.

\[\text{Sl. 3: Razprostranjenost republikanskih viktoriatov na območju Slovenije.}\]

1 Gradič (Kobarid); 2 Sv. Pavel (Vrtovin); 3 Simonov zaliv; 4 Žerovniček (Žerovnica); 5 Goli vrh (Razdrto); 6 Ulaka (Stari trg pri Ložu); 7 Kerin (Pivka); 8 Ambroževo gradišče (Slavina); 9 Baba (Slavina); 10 Stari grad (Hošperk); 11 Ljubljana; 12 the confluence of the Ljubljanica and Zrnica Rivers / sotočje Ljubljanice in Zrnice (Blatna Brezovica); 13 Savinja (Celje); 14 Rogoznica.


ŠAŠEL, J. 1992; *Opera selecta*. - Situla 30, Ljubljana.


Zgodnjega romanizacije jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora v luči numizmatičnih najdb


Zgodnjo romanizacijo jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora v luči numizmatičnih najdb

1) Avtorica je v članku podala kratak oris raziskav, glavne izsledke in sinteze v zadnjih petintridesetih letih. Poleg je naveden a še dodatno izvora, ki so bile iztaknjene v tekstu, kot sta literatura v rimskega evropskega prostora.

2) As je imel teoretično težo 1/6 rimskega funta (1 rimski funt je tehtal 327,45g).

3) FMRSI I-II 64.1 (Montinjan pri Kopru); 331/1 (Muta); 393.1 (Maribor-Košak); 396.1 (Maribor-Spodnje Radovje); 434/25.1-7 (Ptuj); 437.1-2 (Rogoznica); FMRSl III 39.1 (Sermin); 165.1 (Celje-Savinja); FMRSl IV 44.1 (Pivka); 141.1 (Podbočje).

4) To sta: sandalovani kožasti obušek, ki je vodilo od Balaša skozi Karnunt, Savarijo, Petovijono, Celejo, Emona, Novač, Aquileja

5) Pojav viktorijov je postavljen v leto 211 pr. Kr., vzpostavilo z začetkom kovanja denarj. Viktorij, ki je dobil svoje ime
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8 Teža denarja je okoli 3,9 g, teža viktoriata okoli 2,9 g. 9 Vprašanja o vsebnosti srebra v viktoriatah še vedno niso razrešena. Rezultati, ki so jih dobili italijanski raziskovalci, namreč kažejo, da so bile viktoriati v počasi in ravni srebra.

10 Prevod v slovenščino se glasi: "Ta, ki se zdaj imenuje viktoriat, je bil kovan po upodobitvi Viktorije ob trofeji na zadnji strani, je imel na levo toliko, da je mogoče pravilno pridrževati, da so bile viktoriati v obtoku vsaj 70 let, je njihova povprečna teža nad 2,5 g, obenem so to dobro ohranjeni novci, ki torej niso mogli biti v obtoku celo stoletje.

2. stoletja pr. Kr. je datiran depo rimskega republikanskega orozja na Gradu pri Śmihelu, za katerega Horvatova meni, da je povezan s prvimi akcijami za zagotovitev nadzora nad jantarjevo potjo (Horvat 2002, 142-143). Naslednja poznana točka pa je postojanka raznih trgovcev na Rastdrem, ki je obstajala konec 2. stoletja pr. Kr. (Bavdek 1996). Vzhodne ležišče Navport je bil sredi najkasneje 1. stoletja pr. Kr. rimsko postojanje (Horvat 1990). In ne nazadnje novo odkriti mejni kamen iz struge Sanzeno nell’Anaunia (RRCH 74; Backendorf 1998, 116), ki v območju zahodne Slovenije, predvsem Notranjske, prištevali so naseljevali zelo veliko območje, ki je potekala trgovina med tem prostoro in rimskimi trgovci. V ta čas sodijo po današnjem vedenju lahko zasledimo viktoriate le na treh najdiščih: Kaštelir pri Novi vasi (FMRHr XVIII 9/4-8), Vizače pri Preloku (FMRHr XVIII 82/1-1,2,3) in Pula (FMRHr XVIII 98/3-1,2).

Po današnjem vedenju lahko zasledimo viktoriate le na treh najdiščih: Kaštelir pri Novi vasi (FMRHr XVIII 9/4-8), Vizače pri Preloku (FMRHr XVIII 82/1-1,2,3) in Pula (FMRHr XVIII 98/3-1,2).

V pravljici romanskih trajnostnih posameznikov je to opravilo veliko območja, ki je potekala trgovina med tem prostoro in rimskimi trgovci. V ta čas sodijo po današnjem vedenju lahko zasledimo viktoriate le na treh najdiščih: Kaštelir pri Novi vasi (FMRHr XVIII 9/4-8), Vizače pri Preloku (FMRHr XVIII 82/1-1,2,3) in Pula (FMRHr XVIII 98/3-1,2).

Zaključek

Viktoriate z ozemlja Slovenije lahko časovno razmeroma zanesljivo opredelimo v sredino 2. st. pr. Kr. V ta čas sodijo tudi zakladne novčne najdbe iz Ljubljanske, zabe in kranja. Tekoče iz tovornjezne literatury (s. 6, 10, c. 207), ki omenja, da je bila Ókra nekoč karmijsko naselje (n. h. 3, 131), se zdijo zelo verjetno, da so na Notranjskem živela plemena (ali plemenska zveza), ki so jih rimski in grški pisci imeli za Karmo (Božič 1999, 203). In tudi če to v resnici niso bili Karni, so bila zagotovljena plemen, ki so bila pod politično oblastjo Karnov. Prav pojav rimskih republikanskih novčnih najdb pozdržal starejše starodoljenje in na Notranjskem v sredini 2. st. pr. Kr. in hkrati popolno pomanjkanje teh najdb v severnejših predelih, predvsem v Noriškem kraljestvu.

Zaključek

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