

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

Alenka MIŠKEC

Izvleček

Viktoriatii, katere lahko s precejšnjo gotovostjo postavimo v prvo polovico 2. st. pr. Kr., se v veliki meri pojavljajo v JZ delu Slovenije, na Notranjskem. Njihov pojav odraža zgodnjo stopnjo romanizacije na tem prostoru. Obenem lahko zasledimo popolno pomanjkanje viktoriatov v severnejših predelih, predvsem v Noriškem kraljestvu, kar brez dvoma kaže na potek rimskega prodora, ki je bil sprva usmerjen proti Balkanu. To tezo dodatno dokazujejo še druge arheološke najdbe s tega območja in redki pisni viri.

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;¹ 2002). Aspects of Romanization in terms of ancient history and epigraphic sources were discussed by J. Šašel (Šašel 1992) and M.

Abstract

Victoriatii, 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.

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 *unciae*² (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 *uncia*, 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

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 (FMRSI III 34-1). Rare Greek coins also date to the earlier period.³ The presence of both those first and second coins is not surprising, as all the finds are related to two main routes (Šašel Kos 1998),⁴ which already in the prehistoric period formed the main connection between Italy, the Balkans, and the Danube. At the same time, it can be concluded on the basis of the rich archaeological material originating from Italic sources that the coastal region had probably already been inhabited during the 2nd century BC by Italic settlers, and it was certainly included in the Italic economy. Sermin represents the most important settlement in this region according to the present stance of knowledge and research (Horvat 1997).⁵

In studying the monetary circulation in the Republican period it is important to take into consideration the fact that Republican coins, particularly *denarii*, were still in use in the Imperial period, in the southeastern Alpine region primarily in the 1st century, as is shown by coin hoards (Kos 1986, 25), and in other parts of the Empire even into the 3rd century. It is necessary in particular to analyze the individual finds, which best disclose the regularity of monetary circulation in a given region. Hoard and possible grave finds⁶ definitely offer less information in the study of monetary circulation (Kos 1997).

It seems that for studying the early Republican period the most reliable are silver *victoriatii*, as individual finds of them can be placed with fair assurance in the first half of the 2nd century BC. The appearance, production, and use (circulation) of *victoriatii* has long represented one of the main problems of minting in the period of the Roman Republic, thus it is necessary to illuminate certain basic facts.

The appearance of *victoriatii* 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 *victoriatii* were always minted from a poorer grade of silver than the *denarii*. If the *denarii* were made from more or less pure silver, the *victoriatii* at the beginning had a silver content between 75 and 95%.⁹ Given the fact that the silver content in the *victoriatii* was lower than for the $\frac{3}{4}$ *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 *victoriatii* 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 *victoriatii* 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, *victoriatii* 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

³ FMRSI I-II 64,1 (Montinjan by Koper); 331/1,1 (Muta); 393,1 (Maribor-Košaki); 396,1 (Maribor-Spodnje Radvanje); 434/25,1-7 (Ptuj); 437,1-2 (Rogoznica); FMRSI III 39,1 (Sermin); 165,1 (Celje-Savinja); FMRSI IV 44,1 (Pivka); 141,1 (Podbočje).

⁴ These were: the ancient amber road, which led from the Baltic through Carnuntum, Savaria, Poetovio, Celeia, Emona, Nauportus to Aquileia, and the route of the Argonauts, which connected the Black Sea to Italia, and ran along the Danube, the Sava, and the Ljubljanica Rivers, thus through Sirmium, Siscia, Neviudunum, Emona and Nauportus.

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 *victoriatii* to 211 BC is generally accepted in professional circles. A detailed history of the study of *victoriatii* 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 *victoriatii* have still not been solved. The results from Italian research indicate a lower silver content in *victoriatii*. The 361 analysed *victoriatii* had an average silver content of 65% (Mancini 1984, 31). The most recent such research carried out on *victoriatii* 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 victoriatius 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 *quinarius*¹² with a depiction of Victoria; thus the *victoriatius* type (RRC 326/2). The new silver coin was to take over the role of the *victoriatius* in monetary circulation. Thus Crawford considered that the early *victoriatii* 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 *victoriatius* 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 *victoriatius* and the *denarius*. He certainly did not doubt the long-term use of the *victoriatius*. After 170 BC, when the Romans ceased minting *victoriatii*, they were in circulation *loco mercis*, according to their actual value as metal. At the end of the 2nd century BC, when *victoriatii* had

been in circulation for at least 70 years, their average weight due to wear could have declined to 2.3 g. Thus at that point a *victoriatius* would indeed be worth only half a *denarius* (Walker 1980, 58-61).¹³

A different viewpoint was supported by Backendorf, who considered that the *victoriatii* suddenly disappeared from use in the middle of the 2nd century BC. At that time the reformed *denarius* would have supplanted the *victoriatius* (Backendorf 1998, 175-177). Backendorf studied hoards that were composed of coins with varied denominations (primarily *victoriatii*, *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 *victoriatii*, *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 *victoriatii*, and in the majority of examples the finds contain only *victoriatii*. A change occurs, which is particularly interesting, between 150 and 130, when the proportion of *victoriatii* in comparison

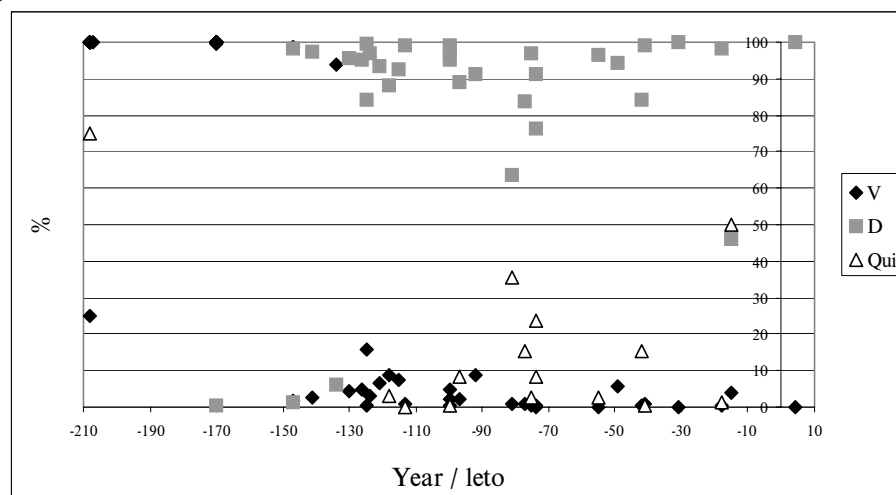


Fig. 1: The percentage of *victoriatii*, *denarii*, and *quinarii* in the hoard finds of central Italy.
Sl. 1: Procentualni delež viktoriaotov, denarijev in kvinarijev v zakladnih najdbah osrednje Italije.

¹⁰ In translation: “What is now called the *victoriatius* 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 *victoriatii* 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).

RRC	Date (BC) / obdobje (pr. Kr.)	No. of coins / št. novcev	Average weight / povprečna teža	Stand. deviation / stand. deviacija
44/1	from / od 211	35	2.718 g	0.4777
53/1	after / po 211	9	2.395 g	0.7961
57/1	207	4	2.3575 g	0.8511
71/1	211-208	7	2.891 g	0.2282
83/1	211-210	2	2.58 g	/
95/1; 97/1	211-208	4	2.51 g	0.7123
89	208	4	2.71 g	0.54
105/1	209	1	2.15 g	/
112/1; 119/1; 120/1	206-195	4	2.72 g	0.1737
162/1; 166/1	179-170	8	2.847 g	0.248
?	211-170	4	1.355 g	0.22
total / skupaj		82	2.605 g	0.58

Fig. 2: The average weights of *victoriatii* found in Slovenia.

Sl. 2: Pregled povprečne teže viktoriatov, najdenih na slovenskem ozemlju.

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 *quinarii*. 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 *victoriatii* 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 Šmihel 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'Anania (RRCH 74; 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 *asses*. 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 (Božič 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 Scaverus* 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 (FMRÖ; Dembski 1977; Jablonka 2001, 182; Buora 2002) show that no *victoriatii* are documented there. Other Roman

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 *victoriatii* has been documented, which can be determined with certainty as early. According to current knowledge,¹⁹ *victoriatii* are known from only three sites: Kaštelir near Nova Vas (FMRHr XVIII 9/4-8), Vizače (FMRHr XVIII 82/1-1,2,3), and Pula (FMRHr 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

Victoriatii from Slovenian territory can be relatively reliably dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC. The hoard finds from the Ljubljana River, Baba, and Knežak also belong to this period. This is an additional reason for an early dating of the *victoriatii*. 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.

BACKENDORF, D. 1998, *Römische Münzschatze des zweiten und ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vom italienischen Festland*. - Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 13, Berlin.

BANDELLI, G. 2001, Veneti e Carni dalle origini alla romanizzazione. - In: *Iulium Carnicum. Centro Alpino tra Italia e Norico dalla protostoria all'età imperiale*, Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 13, 13-38, Roma.

BANNERT, H. and G. PICCOTTINI 1972, *Die Fundmünzen vom Magdalensberg*. - Klagenfurt.

BAVDEK, A. 1996, Fundorte aus spätrepublikanischer und frühromischer Zeit in Razdrto am Fuße des Nanos (Najdišči iz poznorepublikanskega in zgodnjericimskega časa na Razdrtem pod Nanosom). - *Arh. vest.* 47, 297-306.

BOŽIČ, D. 1999, Die Erforschung der Latenezeit in Slowenien seit Jahr 1964 (Raziskovanje latenske dobe na Slovenskem po letu 1964). - *Arh. vest.* 50, 189-213.

BUORA, M. 1989, Appunti sulla circolazione monetaria nell'agro di Aquileia nell'età repubblicana. - *Ant. Altoadr.* 35, 151-178.

BUORA, M. 2002, I rinvenimenti della Gurina e la romanizzazione dell'arco Alpino orientale. - *Aquil. Nos.* 73, 509-530.

BURNETT, A. 1987, *Coinage in the Roman World*. - London.

BURNETT, A. 2000, The Silver Coinage of Italy and Sicily in the Second Punic War. - In: *Metallanalytische Untersuchungen an Münzen der Römischen Republik*, Berliner Numismatische Forschungen, N.F. 6, 102-113.

CASSOLA, F. 1983, Politika rimske republike i Istra (La politica della repubblica romana e l'Istria). - In: *Antički Nezakcij u kulturi i povijesti Istre (Nesazio antica nella cultura e storia dell'Istria)*, Materijali. Prilozi za povijest i kulturu Istre 3, 35, 84-85, Pula.

COWELL, M. R. and PONTING, M. 2000, British Museum Analyses. - In: *Metallanalytische Untersuchungen an Münzen der Römischen Republik*, Berliner Numismatische Forschungen, N.F. 6, 49-54.

CRAWFORD, M. H. 1974, *Roman Republican Coinage*. - Cambridge.

CRAWFORD, M. H. 1985, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean Economy*. - London.

DEMBSKI, G. 1977, Die antiken Münzschatzfunde aus Österreich. - *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 91, 3-64.

FMRHr XVIII: A. Miškec, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Kroatien. Abteilung XVIII*. - Mainz 2002.

FMRÖ II/3: F. Schmidt-Dick, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Österreich. Abteilung II/3 Kärnten*. - Wien 1989.

FMRSI I-II: P. Kos, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien I, II*. - Berlin 1988.

FMRSI III: P. Kos and A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien III*. - Mainz 1995.

FMRSI IV: A. Šemrov, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Slowenien IV*. - Mainz 1998.

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.

Sl. 3: Razprostranjenost republikanskih viktoriatov na območju Slovenije.

1 Gradič (Kobarid); 2 Sv. Pavel (Vrtovin); 3 Simonov zaliv; 4 Žerovnišček (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.

GÖBL, R. 1973, *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum*. - Denkschr. Phil.-hist. Kl. Österr. Akad. Wiss 113 (Veröff. d. Komm. f. Numismatik 2).

GÖBL, R. 1994, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier. Ablauf, Chronologie und historische Relevanz für Noricum und Nachbargebiete*. - Wien.

GORINI, G. 2001, Il ripostiglio monetale di Enemonzo. - In: *I Celti in Carnia e nell'arco alpino centro orientale. Atti della Giornata di studio, Tolmezzo 30 aprile 1999*, 173-193, Trieste.

HORVAT, J. 1990, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*. - Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33, Ljubljana.

HORVAT, J. 1995, Ausbreitung römischer Einflüsse auf das Südostalpengebiet in voraugusteischer Zeit. - In: *Provinzialrömische Forschungen. Festschrift für Günter Ulbert zum 65. Geburtstag*, 25-40, Espelkamp.

HORVAT, J. 1997, *Sermin. Prazgodovinska in zgodnjerimska naselbina v severozahodni Istri*. - Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 3, Ljubljana.

HORVAT, J. 1999, Roman Provincial Archaeology in Slovenia Following the Year 1965: Settlement and Small Finds (Rimska provincialna arheologija v Sloveniji po letu 1965: poselitvena slika in drobna materialna kultura). - *Arh. vest.* 50, 215-257.

HORVAT, J. 2002, The Hoard of Roman Republican Weapons from Grad near Šmihel (Zaklad rimskega republikanskega orožja z Gradu pri Šmihelu pod Nanosom). - *Arh. vest.* 53, 117-192.

JABLONKA, P. 2001, *Die Gurina bei Dellach im Gailtal. Siedlung,*

Handelsplatz und Heiligtum. - Aus Forschung und Kunst 33, Klagenfurt.

KOS, P. 1986, *The Monetary Circulation in the Southeastern Alpine Region ca. 300 B.C. - A.D. 1000*. - Situla 24, Ljubljana.

KOS, P. 1997, Interpretacija (antičnih) novčnih najdb. Metodologija - njene možnosti in pasti (Interpretation of (Roman) coin finds. Methodology: its potentials and pitfalls). - *Arh. vest.* 48, 97-115.

KOS, P. and A. ŠEMROV 2003, Skupna najdba keltskih in rimskih novcev v reki Ljubljanici. Doprinos h kronologiji novcev plemena Tavriskov (A hoard of Celtic and Roman coins from the Ljubljanica River. A contribution to the chronology of the coinage of the Taurisci). - *Arh. vest.* 54, 381-395.

MANCINI, C. 1984, Silver Evaluation in Roman Republican *Victoriatus*. - *Revue d'Archéométrie* 8, 30-32.

MARRA, O. 2001, Il vittoriato: sua circolazione e funzione all'interno del sistema monetario romano. - *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* 102, 89-145.

RRC: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*. - Cambridge 1974.

RRCH: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*. - London 1969.

ŠAŠEL, J. 1976, Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi orientali e dei Balcani occidentali. - *Ant. Altoadr.* 9, 71-90 (= Opera Selecta, Situla 30, Ljubljana 1992, 408-431).

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

- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1986, *Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Akvilejo, Jadranom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu*. - Ljubljana.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1990, Nauportus: antični literarni in epigrafski viri (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources) - In: Horvat 1990, 17-33, 143-159.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1995, The 15th Legion at Emona - Some Thoughts. - *Ztschr. Pap. Epigr.* 109, 227-244.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1997, The End of the Norican Kingdom and the Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia. - In: B. Djurić and I. Lazar (eds.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens*, 21-42, Situla 36, Ljubljana.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 1998, Autochthonous Cults between Emona and Poetovio. - In: J. Fitz (ed.), *Religions and Cults in Pannonia. Exhibition at Székesfehérvár, Csók István Gallery, 15 May - 30 September 1998*, 17-22, Székesfehérvár.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 2000, Caesar, Illyricum, and the Hinterland of Aquileia. - In: G. Urso (ed.), *L'ultimo Cesare. Scritti, Riforme, Progetti, Poteri, Congiure*, 277-304, Roma.
- ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 2002, The boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona (Mejnik med Akvilejo in Emono). - *Arh. vest.* 53, 373-382.
- THOMSEN, R. 1961, *Early Roman Coinage. A Study of the Chronology II: Synthesis I*. - Arkaeologisk-Historisk Raekke 9, København.
- VEDALDI IASBEZ, V. 1994, *La Venetia orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente*. - Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 5, Roma.
- WALKER, D.R. 1980, The Silver Contents of the Roman Republican Coinage. - In: D. M. Metcalf and W. A. Oddy (eds.), *Metallurgy in Numismatics I*, 55-72, London.

Zgodnja romanizacija jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora v luči numizmatičnih najdb

Na začetku drugega stoletja pr. Kr. so Rimljani obvladovali današnje severno Italijo. Leta 181 pr. Kr. (183) je bila ustanovljena latinska kolonija Akvileja, ki je imela kot edino mesto na širšem območju severovzhodne Italije sprva vlogo varovanja Italije in nadzora dveh pomembnih poti. Prva pot je vodila proti severu v Noriško kraljestvo in na Štalensko goro, druga pa je prek Postojnskih vrat in ljubljanske kotline povezovala italjski prostor z Balkanom in Podonavjem (Šašel 1976; Horvat 1995, 25). Obenem je bila Akvileja izhodiščna točka pri vzpostavitvi trgovskih odnosov in kulturnih stikov z vzhodnoalpskimi keltskimi plemeni. Zgodnja romanizacija jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora je na podlagi arheoloških ostalin z najdišč v jugozahodni Sloveniji v zadnjem času obravnavala predvsem J. Horvat (Horvat 1999;¹ 2002). S problemi romanizacije, predvsem z vidika antične zgodovine in epigrafskih virov, sta se ukvarjala J. Šašel (Šašel 1992) in M. Šašel Kos (Šašel Kos 1986; 1995; 2000). Kaj kažejo numizmatične najdbe, predvsem novci rimske republike, skuša prikazati pričujoči prispevek.

Leto 211 pr. Kr. velja za pomembno ločnico v rimskem republikanskem denarništvu. Hanibal ni le prizadel in opustošil rimske dežele, temveč je posredno vplival tudi na rimsko kovanje. Tega leta, ali malo prej, je bil vzpostavljen popolnoma nov denarni sistem, ki je temeljil na novem standardu; teža asa kot osnovnega bronastega novca je bila izenačena s težo nekdanjega sekstansa, znašala je torej dve unciji² (Crawford 1985, 52-74). Z območja Slovenije so iz obdobja pred letom 211 pr. Kr. do danes dokumentirani le trije rimski republikanski novci. Uncija, ulita med letoma 269 in 266 pr. Kr., iz Savinje v Celju (FMRSI II 340/1-1); litra, kovana med letoma 230 in 226 pr. Kr., iz Rogoznice

pri Ptujju (FMRSI II 437-3) ter semuncija, ulita med letoma 215 in 212 pr. Kr., iz Simonovega zaliva pri Izoli (FMRSI III 34-1). Iz zgodnejšega obdobja so tudi redki grški novci.³ Prisotnost prvih in drugih novcev ne preseneča, ker so vse najdbe vezane na dve glavni poti (Šašel Kos 1998),⁴ ki sta že v prazgodovini predstavljali glavno vez med Italijo ter Balkanom in Podonavjem. Obenem pa je na podlagi bogatega arheološkega gradiva, ki izvira iz italjskega okolja, možno sklepati, da je bil obalni pas v 2. stoletju pr. Kr. verjetno že poseljen z italjskimi naseljenci, vsekakor pa je bil vključen v italjsko gospodarstvo. Najpomembnejša naselbina na tem območju je po današnjem vedenju in stanju raziskav Sermin (Horvat 1997).⁵

Pri preučevanju denarnega obtoka v republikanskem obdobju je pomembno upoštevati dejstvo, da so, kot kažejo novčne zakladne najdbe na prostoru jugovzhodnih Alp, bili republikanski novci, predvsem denarji, v uporabi še v imperialnem obdobju, predvsem v 1. stoletju (Kos 1986, 25), v drugih delih imperija celo še v 3. stoletju. Obravnavati je potrebno predvsem posamične najdbe, ki najbolje razkrivajo zakonitosti denarnega obtoka v neki regiji. Pri preučevanju denarnega obtoka so zakladne ali morebiti grobne najdbe⁶ zagotovo manj izpovedne (Kos 1997).

Zdi se, da so za preučevanje zgodnjega republikanskega obdobja najzanesljivejši srebrni viktorijati, ker lahko posamične najdbe teh s precejšnjo gotovostjo postavimo v prvo polovico 2. stoletja pr. Kr. Pojav, produkcija in uporaba (denarni obtok) viktoriatov že od nekdanj predstavljajo enega glavnih problemov kovanja v času rimske republike, zato je potrebno osvetliti nekatera osnovna dejstva.

Pojav viktoriatov je postavljen v leto 211 pr. Kr.,⁷ vzporedno z začetkom kovanja denarja. Viktoriat, ki je dobil svoje ime

¹ Avtorica je v članku podala kratek oris raziskav, glavne izsledke in sinteze v zadnjih petintridesetih letih. Poleg je navedena še ostala pomembna literatura.

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); 331/1,1 (Muta); 393,1 (Maribor-Košaki); 396,1 (Maribor-Spodnje Radvanje); 434/25,1-7 (Ptuj); 437,1-2 (Rogoznica); FMRSI III 39,1 (Sermin); 165,1 (Celje-Savinja); FMRSI IV 44,1 (Pivka); 141,1 (Podbočje).

⁴ To sta: starodavna jantarna pot, ki je vodila od Baltika skozi Karnunt, Savarijo, Petovijono, Celejo, Emono, Navport do Akvileje; in pot Argonavtov, ki je povezovala Črno morje z Italijo in je vodila vzdolž Donave, Save in Ljubljance, torej mimo Sirmija, Siscije, Nevidoduna, Emona in Navporta.

⁵ Horvatova je opredelila Sermin kot staro obalno naselbino z izjemno strateško lego, ki je bila pomembna za severno Istro. Majhna količina uvožene keramike iz Italije je datirana že v 4. stoletje pr. Kr., kasnejše večje količine mlajših grško-italjskih amfor pa časovno sovpadajo z ustanovitvijo Akvileje in rimsko osvojitvijo Istre.

⁶ Zanesljive interpretacije zakladnih najdb so možne le pri najdbah, katerih prvotni sestav je bolj ali manj v celoti ohranjen. Prav tako je historična interpretacija zakopa najdbe na podlagi ene zakladne najdbe veliko manj zanesljiva, kot če je na voljo več zakladnih najdb iz istega časa.

po upodobitvi Viktorije ob trofeji na zadnji strani, je imel na začetku vrednost $\frac{3}{4}$ denarija.⁸ Po vrednosti je bil nedvomno izenačen z drahmo. Okoli leta 170 pr. Kr. so prenehali z njihovim kovanjem. To so dejstva. Še vedno pa ostaja nekoliko nejasna vloga viktoriatov v rimskem republikanskem denarnem sistemu. Walker (1980, 58-61; Burnett 1987, 35-37) je na podlagi analize kovin ugotovil, da so bili viktoriatii vedno izkovani v slabšem srebru kot denariji. Če je bil denarij narejen iz bolj ali manj čistega srebra, so imeli viktoriatii na začetku vsebnost srebra med 95 in 75 %.⁹ Glede na dejstvo, da je bila vsebnost srebra v viktoriatu nižja kot v $\frac{3}{4}$ denarija, je Walker menil, da je država z njimi plačevala svoje stroške, vsaj takrat, ko ji je to ustrezalo oziroma ko je bilo to možno. S tem je prihranila pri kovini (srebru). Kaj pa nam razkrivajo zakladne najdbe z območja Italije?

Crawford (Crawford 1985, 52 ss) je na podlagi karte razprostranjenosti zgodnjih zakladnih najdb viktoriatov ugotovil, da so bile zakopane izključno na grških ali heleniziranih območjih Apulije, Kampanije ali severne Lukanije. To so območja, kjer je bila konec 3. st. pr. Kr. v obtoku drahma. Kasneje je bila uporaba viktoriatia vezana na severno Italijo in Galijo. Viktoriat je bil namreč iste teže kot prvotni denar Cisalpinske Galije, tj. imitacije masalskih drahem. Po letu 170 pr. Kr., ko je zastalo njihovo kovanje, naj bi bili viktoriatii še vedno v obtoku, po mnenju nekaterih avtorjev še celo 2. stoletje pr. Kr. Za to trditev izpostavljajo dva argumenta. Prvi je pomenljivi podatek iz naslednjega odlomka pri Pliniju (NH xxxiii, 46): "*Is qui nunc victoriatu appellatur lege Clodia percussus est.*"¹⁰ *Lex Clodia* je datirana okoli leta 100 pr. Kr.,¹¹ po Crawfordu so takrat ponovno uvedli srebrni kvinarij¹² z upodobitvijo Viktorije; torej s tipom viktoriatia (RRC 326/2). Nov srebrnik naj bi prevzel v denarnem obtoku vlogo viktoriatia. Zato Crawford meni, da so bili stari viktoriatii, ki so ostali do tedaj v obtoku, zaradi obrabljenosti vredni le še polovico denarija namesto izvornih $\frac{3}{4}$. Obenem pa dvomi v Plinijevo poročilo, ker iz besedila ni jasno razvidno, ali je *lex Clodia* zmanjšala vrednost viktoriatia ali pa ponovno uvedla kvinarij (Crawford 1974, 629, op. 2). Drugačen argument navaja Walker, ki je na podlagi tež in vsebnosti srebra dokazoval odnos med viktoriatom in denarijem. Nikakor ne dvomi o dolgoletni uporabi viktoriatov. Po letu 170 pr. Kr., ko so Rimljani prenehali kovati viktoriate, so bili ti namreč v obtoku *loco mercis*, po njihovi dejanski vrednosti kovine. Konec 2. stoletja pr. Kr., ko so bili viktoriatii v obtoku vsaj 70 let, je njihova povprečna teža zaradi obrabljenosti lahko padla na težo 2,3g. Takrat naj bi bil torej viktoriat vreden le polovico denarija (Walker 1980, 58-61).¹³

Drugačno stališče zastopa Backendorf, ki meni, da so sredi 2. stoletja pr. Kr. viktoriatii nenadoma izginili iz uporabe. Takrat

je namreč reformni denarij izpodrinil viktoriat (Backendorf 1998, 175-177). Backendorf je preučeval zakladne najdbe, ki so sestavljene iz novcev različnih nominalnih vrednosti (to so predvsem viktoriatii, denariji in kvinariji) in so izvirno z območja Italije.¹⁴ Zakop zakladne najdbe časovno opredeljuje najmlajši novce v najdbi. Na diagramu 1 so prikazani procentualni deleži viktoriatov, denarijev in kvinarijev iz zakladnih najdb z 51 najdišč celinske Italije.¹⁵ Čas zakopa najdb sega od leta 208 pr. Kr. do leta 4 po Kr. Med letoma 208 in 170 pr. Kr. imajo največji delež v najdbah viktoriatii, v večini primerov pa so v najdbah zgolj viktoriatii. Do spremembe, ki je še posebno zanimiva, pride med letoma 150 in 130 pr. Kr., ko se spremeni delež zastopanosti viktoriatov v primerjavi z denariji. Tak preobrat lahko razložimo z nenadnim prenehanjem kovanja viktoriatov, ki se je zgodil že leta 170 pr. Kr. Od leta 130 pr. Kr. tako narašča delež denarijev in v manjši meri delež kvinarijev. Na podlagi zgoraj navedenega je možno postaviti tezo, da so viktoriatii v največji meri izginili iz obtoka med letoma 150 in 130 pr. Kr. (*sl. 1*). Ravno v tem obdobju, leta 141 pr. Kr., se je zgodila pomembna reforma denarija. Vrednost denarija, ki je bila do tedaj 10 asov, se spremeni na 16 asov (Crawford 1974, 612-613, 621, 625). Viktoriat je tako izpadel iz denarnega sistema, ker je bilo težko določiti valutno razmerje.

Dodaten argument, zakaj kaže viktoriate na našem ozemlju časovno opredeliti v prvo polovico 2. stoletja pr. Kr., so njihove teže. Pregled tež viktoriatov na *sliki 2* kaže, da ima večina viktoriatov težo nad 2,5 g, obenem so to dobro ohranjeni novci, ki torej niso mogli biti v obtoku celo stoletje.

Karta razprostranjenosti posamičnih najdb viktoriatov in zakladnih najdb, ki med ostalim vsebujejo tudi viktoriate (*sl. 3*), kaže na območju jugovzhodnih Alp zanimivo sliko. Viktoriatii se pojavljajo predvsem v zahodnem delu današnje Slovenije, na območju Notranjske. Ali bi lahko to pomenilo, da je bilo to območje v 2. stoletju pr. Kr. najvzhodnejše območje Cisalpinske Galije? Ali pa moramo pojav posamičnih novčnih najdb razložiti kot postopno širjenje rimskega vpliva v ta prostor, ki se kaže predvsem v trgovini? Zagotovo lahko rečemo, da viktoriatii predstavljajo pomemben člen pri preučevanju romanizacije slovenskega prostora. Pri razlagi romanizacije neizpodbitno drži mnenje M. Šašel Kos, ki je že pri interpretaciji nastanka Navporta ugotovila: "Romanizacija se je začela že zgodaj, dolgo pred nastankom provinc." (Šašel Kos 1990, 30). K tej trditvi lahko danes, predvsem na podlagi novih arheoloških odkritij in dognanj, dodamo, da je romanizacija potekala postopoma od jugozahodnih in zahodnih predelov slovenskega prostora proti vzhodu vzdolž starodavne jantarne poti. Pri tem presenečajo zgodnje najdbe na Notranjskem. Najzgodnejši dokazi rimske prisotnosti na našem ozemlju so dokumentirani v priobalnem pasu. V prvo polovico

⁷ Datacija začetka kovanja viktoriatov leta 211 pr. Kr. je v strokovnih krogih na splošno sprejeta. Natančen historiat proučevanja viktoriatov podaja R. Thomsen (Thomsen 1961, 320-391) in O. Marra (Marra 2001).

⁸ Teža denarija je okoli 3,9 g, teža viktoriatia okoli 2,9 g.

⁹ Vprašanja o vsebnosti srebra v viktoriatih še vedno niso razrešena. Rezultati, ki so jih dobili italijanski raziskovalci, namreč kažejo na nižje vsebnosti srebra v viktoriatih. 361 analiziranih viktoriatov je imelo povprečno 65 % vsebnost srebra (Mancini 1984, 31). Najnovejše tovrstne raziskave, izvedene na viktoriatih iz Britanskega muzeja, kažejo, da imajo ti povprečno 68 % vsebnost srebra (Cowell 2000, 53-54).

¹⁰ Prevod v slovenščino se glasi: "Ta, ki se zdaj imenuje viktoriat, je bil kovan po *lex Clodia*."

¹¹ Datacijo *lex Clodia* postavljajo avtorji različno med letoma 105 pr. Kr. (Buora 1989, 156) in 101 pr. Kr. (Crawford 1974, 628-629; Marra 2001, 103), natančna datacija za naš problem ni pomembna.

¹² Kvinarij je bil srebrni novce polovične vrednosti denarija. Oba so začeli kovati leta 211 pr. Kr. Za razliko od denarija, ki so ga Rimljani kovali neprekinjeno skozi republikansko obdobje, pa se je kovanje kvinarija zaključilo že leta 170 pr. Kr. Rimljani so ponovno uvedli kvinarij z *lex Clodia* konec 2. st. pr. Kr.

¹³ Podobno tudi Buora interpretira viktoriate, ki so bili najdeni v Furlaniji. Zaradi njihove nizke teže meni, da so bili v obtoku še konec 2. stoletja. (Buora 1989, 158-161).

¹⁴ Backendorf je v svojem obsežnem delu na novo ovrednotil te najdbe, ki so zato mnogo bolj verodostojne.

¹⁵ Podatki so povzeti iz D. Backendorf, *Römische Münzschatze des zweiten und ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vom italienischen Festland* (Berlin 1998) (= Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 13).

2. stoletja pr. Kr. je datiran depo rimskega republikanskega orožja na Gradu pri Šmihelu, za katerega Horvatova meni, da je povezan s prvimi akcijami za zagotovitev nadzora nad jantarjevo potjo (Horvat 2002, 142-143). Naslednja poznana točka je postojanka rimskih trgovcev na Razdrtem, ki je obstajala konec 2. stoletja pr. Kr. (Bavdek 1996). Vzhodneje ležeči Navport je bil sredi najkasneje 1. stoletja pr. Kr. rimska postojanka (Horvat 1990). In ne nazadnje novo odkriti mejni kamen iz struge Ljubljanice pri Bevkah, ki dokazuje, da Emona ni nikoli pripadala Iliriku, temveč je bila v Italiji, pred tem pa v Cisalpinski Galiji. Predvsem pa je pomembno dejstvo, da je imela Akvileja do cezarijanskega časa kot edino avtonomno mesto na širšem območju severovzhodne Italije v svoji upravi izjemno veliko ozemlja, ki se je pozneje, ko so bile v njeni bližini ustanovljene druge kolonije, zmanjšalo (Šašel Kos 2002, 377-379).

Pojav viktoriatov na območju Notranjske torej odraža zgodnjo stopnjo romanizacije. Pojav rimskega denarja na tem prostoru gotovo kaže na izrazite rimske vplive, in čeprav ne pomeni nujno rimske prisotnosti, pomeni nedvomno vključevanje tega prostora v gospodarski sistem rimske republike. Kako so bila keltska plemena ali bolj posamezniki povezani z rimskimi trgovci, dokazujejo predvsem tiste zakladne najdbe, ki poleg rimskega republikanskega denarja vsebujejo tudi novce keltskih plemen Norikov in Tavriskov (ali celo drugih).

Najdba iz Enemonza v Karnijskih Alpah (Gorini 1999) vsebuje 399 novcev, ki so bili shranjeni v bronasti situli keltskega tipa; 359 je viktoriatov in 40 vzhodnonoriških tetradrahem tipa *Kugelreiter*. Povprečna teža keltskih novcev v tej najdbi je 11,52 g. V odnosu do viktoriatov je to 1:4, to pa je razmerje drahma : tetradrahma. Seveda je pomembno dejstvo, da so novci tipa *Kugelreiter* med najtežjimi med zgodnjimi emisijami novcev keltskih plemen Norikov in Tavriskov.¹⁶ Podobni najdbi iz Cisalpinske Galije sta najdba iz Padove (RRCH 73; Backendorf 1998, 95), ki vsebuje 2 viktoriate in 22 imitacij masalskih drahem, in najdba Sanzeno nell'Anaunia (RRCH 74; Backendorf 1998, 116), ki vsebuje 4 viktoriate in 6 imitacij masalskih drahem. Z območja Slovenije ima skupna najdba iz sotočja Zrnice in Ljubljanice (FMRSI IV 110; Kos, Šemrov 2003) podobno sestavo. Najdba obsega 23 rimskih republikanskih novcev ter 59 keltskih novcev. Ta najdba je bolj raznolika, ker vsebuje 3 keltske srebrnike iz južne Nemčije ter 47 velikih in malih novcev keltskega plemena Tavriskov. Med rimskimi republikanskimi novci so zastopani viktoriate, denariji in asi. Najmlajši novc v najdbi je denarij iz leta 147 pr. Kr. Na podlagi rimskih republikanskih novcev in keltskih novcev iz Južne Nemčije, ki so oboji časovno natančno opredeljeni, lahko ugotovimo, da gre za izrazito časovno homogeno najdbo. Prav zato je najdba pomembna za kronološko uvrstitev uporabe viktoriatov, torej v sredino 2. st. pr. Kr. Izredno nazorno pa prav ta najdba dokazuje trgovino, ki so jo Tavriski imeli tako z zahodom, to je Rimljani, kot tudi z drugimi severnimi keltskimi plemeni. Prav tako pomenljiva v smislu časovne opredelitve viktoriatov je najdba z Notranjske, z najdišča Baba (FMRSI IV 46). Najdba vsebuje 37 viktoriatov in 3 denarije, najmlajši novc v najdbi je časovno opredeljen v leto 146 pr. Kr. V isti časovni okvir, torej v sredino 2. st. pr. Kr. pa sodi tudi zakladna najdba s Knežaka (FMRSI III 53), ki vsebuje 387 asov. Njen zakop je z najmlajšim časovno opredeljenim novcem postavljen v leto 146 pr. Kr. Torej lahko vsaj tri najdbe povežemo z istim časovnim dogodkom, ki predstavlja vojaško dejavnost. Ali lahko govorimo o začetkih rimskih vojaških akcij na območju današnje zahodne Slovenije?

Pretres skopih pisnih virov za to območje nam razkriva

naslednje. Po podatkih pri antičnih piscih¹⁷ je zelo verjetno, da so Rimljani v času pred rimsko osvojitvijo prebivalstvo na območju zahodne Slovenije, predvsem Notranjske, prištevali med Karne (Božič 1999, 203). Po drugi histrski vojni (178/177 pr. Kr.) so zaradi ekspanzije Karnov Histri izgubili del svojega ozemlja na račun Cisalpinske Galije (Šašel Kos 2000). Je bilo to območje tedaj dejansko pod jurisdikcijo Akvileje in v tem smislu v Cisalpinski Galiji? *De facto* pa še vedno pod vplivom Karnov? Zagotovo so Rimljani nadzorovali glavne poti in si ob njih postavili utrjene trgovske postojanke. Ves čas pa je potekala trgovina med tem prostorom in rimskimi trgovci (verjetno iz Akvileje), kajti kot je ugotovil že F. Cassola, je romanizacija stopenjski proces, v katerem so kulturni in ekonomski faktorji pred vojaškimi in administrativnimi (Cassola 1983, 35). Seveda pa položaj skrajne obmejne regije, kar je območje Karnov bilo, ni bil vedno jasno definiran in se je spreminjal v skladu z vsakokratno spreminjajočo se geopolitično situacijo (Šašel Kos 2000). Tako po eni strani rimske najdbe iz sredine 2. stoletja pr. Kr. lahko kažejo na prijateljske odnose, po drugi strani pa iz virov vemo, da je 115 pr. Kr. konzul Mark Emilij Skaver slavil triumf nad Karni (*CIL* I, 1, 2. izdaja, str. 49 = *In. It.* 13, 1, str. 84-85, frg. 36; Šašel Kos 1990, 30). Vendar pa ne vemo natančno, proti katerim Karnom se je konzul tedaj bojeval, saj so naseljevali zelo veliko območje, ki je proti Noriku segalo vse do Zuglia (*Iulium Carnicum*).

Prav najdbe viktoriatov, ki so vezane na Notranjsko, kažejo na aktivno rimsko politiko v tem prostoru v primerjavi s severneje ležečimi predeli, predvsem z Noriškim kraljestvom. Pregled novčnih najdb s Štalenske gore (Bannert, Piccottini 1972) in cele Koroške (FMRÖ, Dembski 1977; Jablonka 2001, 182; Buora 2002) namreč kaže, da tam še ni dokumentiranih viktoriatov. Tudi ostale rimske republikanske novčne najdbe¹⁸ so redke, večji dotok lahko zasledimo šele po letu 100 pr. Kr. Pričakujejo več je novčnih najdb keltskih plemen, predvsem Norikov in Tavriskov. V Istri, mnogo bolj enoviti pokrajini, je dokumentiranih sicer malo viktoriatov, katere pa lahko z gotovostjo opredelimo kot zgodnje. Po današnjem vedenju¹⁹ lahko zasledimo viktoriate le na treh najdiščih: Kaštelir pri Novi vasi (FMRHr XVIII 9/4-8), Vizače (FMRHr XVIII 82/1-1,2,3) in Pula (FMRHr XVIII 98/3-1,2). Zadnja najdba je za naše preučevanje nepomembna, ker gre za grobno najdbo. Sklop prvih dveh najdb je povezan z naselji s starejšo kulturo.

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 Ljubljanice, z Babe in s Knežaka. Te so dodaten razlog za zgodnje datiranje viktoriatov. Mnogo težja od same časovne opredelitve je interpretacija zgodnjih rimskih republikanskih najdb. Glede na podatek pri Strabonu (4, 6, 10, c. 207), ki omenja, da so pri Okri Japodi mejili na Karne in Plinijev podatek, da je bila Okra nekoč karnijsko naselje (n. h. 3, 131), se zdi zelo verjetno, da so na Notranjskem živela plemena (ali plemenska zveza), ki so jih rimski in grški pisci imeli za Karne (Božič 1999, 203). In tudi če to v resnici niso bili Karni, so bila zagotovo plemena, ki so bila pod politično oblastjo Karnov. Prav pojav rimskih republikanskih novčnih najdb vzdolž stare jantarne ceste in na Notranjskem v sredini 2. st. pr. Kr. in hkrati popolno pomanjkanje teh najdb v severnejših predelih, predvsem v Noriškem kraljestvu, brez dvoma kaže

¹⁶ V literaturi so novci tipa *Kugelreiter* sprva opredeljeni kot zahodnonoriški (Göbl 1973), nato kot noriški (Göbl 1994).

¹⁷ Omembe Karnov pri antičnih piscih je zbrala Vedaldi Iasbez (Vedaldi Iasbez 1994, 229-239).

¹⁸ Večje število rimskih republikanskih novcev je zastopano le na najdiščih Štalenska gora in Virunum na Gosposvetskem polju.

¹⁹ Glede na pisne vire, ki dokazujejo zgodnjo romanizacijo (po 2. istrski vojni), lahko ugotovimo malo število dokumentiranih novčnih najdb. Vzroka za to sta dva: mnoge izgubljene najdbe v času 2. svetovne vojne in slaba raziskanost.

na potek rimskega prodora, ki je bil usmerjen proti Balkanu. V republikanskem obdobju Rimljani namreč niso kazali nobenega interesa za osvojitvev Noriškega kraljestva, ker jim je bolj ustrezalo, da z noriškim kraljem vzdržujejo dobre odnose (Šašel Kos 1997, 30). V tej zvezi je gotovo zelo pomenljiva hipoteza Bandellija

(Bandelli 2001, 20-21), ki je v virih izpričanega *rex Gallorum* (Livij 43.5.1) kralja Cincibila povezal s Tavriskimi in ne Noriki, kot je to storila večina avtorjev do sedaj. Potemtakem lahko kraljestvo Cincibila razumemo kot kraljestvo Tavriskov, kar pa bi bil lahko še dodaten dokaz za veliko rimsko zainteresiranost za ozemlje jugovzhodnih Alp že v prvi polovici 2. st. pr. Kr.

Alenka Miškec
Narodni muzej Slovenije
Prešernova 20
SI-1000 Ljubljana
e-mail: alenka.miscec@narmuz-lj.si