

**TOMISLAV
BILIĆ**

**MLAĐEŽELJEZNO DOBNE
KOVANICE IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG
MUZEJA U ZAGREBU
„KELTSKI“ NOVAC
JUŽNE PANONIJE**

**LATE IRON-AGE COINS AT THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM
IN ZAGREB
A STUDY OF 'CELTIC' COINAGE
FROM SOUTHERN PANNONIA**



← NASLOVNICA:
Kat. br. 1546, imitacija tetradrahme Filipa III.

FRONT COVER:
Cat. no. 1546, imitation of a tetradrachm of Philip III

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arheološki
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u zagrebu
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in zagreb

Zagreb, 2024.

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Tomislav Bilić

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A Study of 'Celtic' Coinage from Southern Pannonia

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Ivanu Mirniku i Peteru Kosu,

koji su me upoznali s temom mladeželjeznodobnih kovanica te čija su me podrška, poticanje i ljubaznost od tog trenutka neprestano pratili

To Ivan Mirnik and Peter Kos,

who introduced me to the study of Late Iron Age coins and whose support, encouragement and kindness have followed me ever since

PREDGOVOR

FOREWORD

Sve otkada sam rane 2006. g. počeo raditi na Numizmatičkom odjelu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (u nastavku teksta „AMZ“), prvo kao suradnik na istraživačkom projektu koji je vodio Ivan Mirnik („Numizmatička topografija Hrvatske“), a onda kao kustos od sredine 2007. nadalje, razmišljao sam o pisanju knjige ovoga tipa. Nepotrebno je istaknuti da su bile potrebne godine učenja prije nego se taj projekt mogao razviti dalje od jedne općenite ideje. Srećom, na dnevnoj osnovi sam radio uz I. Mirnika, vodećeg regionalnog stručnjaka za mladeželjeznodobne kovanice, a istovremeno sam bio u neprekidnom intenzivnom kontaktu s Peterom Kosom, vodećim stručnjakom za ove tipove kovanica na europskoj razini.¹ Brojni razgovori i izmjene ideja među nama znatno su doprinijele nastanku ove knjige, no sve pogreške u razmišljanjima ili interpretacijama isključivo su posljedice mojih propusta.

Tijekom godina, druge su me obaveze sprječavale u provođenju ideje o pisanju ove knjige, koja je nastala sredinom 2000-ih, no svjesno sam odgađao ozbiljniji rad na knjizi očekujući trenutak kada bih mogao biti dovoljno siguran da sam dorastao zadatku. Nakon što sam objavio nekoliko članaka o mladeželjeznodobnim kovanicama u uglednim međunarodnim časopisima, što je bilo praćeno stalnim ohrabivanjem i poticanjem – osobito – od strane P. Kosa, na samom početku 2020-ih, nakon što mi je 2020. tiskana knjiga o zbirci antičkih kovanica konfisciranoj od strane ustaškog režima koja se čuva u AMZ-u, odlučio sam da je konačno sazrelo vrijeme za uhvatiti se u koštac s ovim, pomalo zastrašujućim, zadatkom. Pored samog učenja o mladeželjeznodobnim kovanicama, protekli je period prošao u sakupljanju često teško dostupne, ponekad i opskurne, literature o temi, što je bilo znatno olakšano sredstvima istraživačkog projekta, financiranog od strane Hrvatske zaklade za znanost, kojeg sam vodio od 2014. do 2018. („Kulturološke, ekonomske, monetarne i društvene transformacije u svjetlu arheološke baštine srednjeg Podunavlja između 279. pr. Kr. i 582. po. Kr.“). Iako sam na tom projektu svoje istraživanje fokusirao na rimske republikanske i ranocarske kovanice, osobito one pronađene u Sisku, projektom je bio obuhvaćen i pregled mladeželjeznodobnih kovanica pronađenih u regiji, što je bilo nemoguće ostvariti bez suvremene literature o toj temi. Ako bi se usporedilo ono što sam napisao o

Ever since I started working at the Numismatic Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (henceforth “AMZ”), at first as a research associate on a research project directed by Ivan Mirnik back in early 2006 (“Numismatic Topography of Croatia”), then as a curator from mid-2007 onwards, I have contemplated the idea of writing the present study. Needless to say, years of training were required before this project had any chance of developing any further than the most general idea. I was lucky to work on a day-to-day basis alongside Dr Mirnik, the leading regional expert in Late Iron Age coinage, as well as to be in continuous and intensive contact with Peter Kos, the leading expert on this type of coinage in Europe as a whole.¹ Numerous conversations and exchanges of ideas among the three of us have contributed greatly to this volume, with any faults in reasoning or interpretation being solely of my own making.

Over the years, other commitments have prevented me developing my idea from the mid-2000s, but I have also consciously delayed any serious work on this subject pending the moment when I could be fairly certain that I was up to the task. After several papers on Late Iron Age coins published in respectable international journals, accompanied by constant encouragement and prompting – especially by Dr Kos – during the very beginning of the 2020s (after my book on a collection of ancient coins confiscated by the Ustashe regime, kept at the AMZ, was published in 2020), I decided I was finally ready to engage with this formidable task. Alongside learning more on Late Iron Age coinage, the preceding period was spent collecting the literature on the subject – often difficult to find, sometimes even obscure – which was greatly facilitated by the research project funded by the Croatian Science Foundation that I directed from 2014 to 2018 (“Cultural, economic, monetary and social transformations in view of the archaeological heritage of the Middle Danubian region 279 B.C. – A.D. 582”). Although I have focused my project research on Roman Republican and Early Imperial coins, especially those from Siscia, this also included an overview of LIA coins found in the region, which was impossible to achieve without modern literature on the subject. If one compares what I wrote on Late Iron Age coins in my overview of coin circulation in the region from a 2012 BAR-published collected volume on the archaeology

1 O I. Mirniku vidi Bilić 2012b i Latinović 2016, 70–71; o P. Kosu vidi Miškec 2021.

1 On I. Mirnik see Bilić 2012b and Latinović 2016, 70–71; on P. Kos see Miškec 2021.

2 ZBIRKA

2 THE COLLECTION

2.1 Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu

Konačno, treći dio naslova odnosi se na numizmatičku zbirku Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.²² Dio numizmatičkog fundusa o kojem se ovdje raspravlja i dalje se tradicionalno obilježava u muzejskim inventarima kao „Zbirka keltsko-barbarskog novca“, što je naziv dodijeljen ovom tipu kovanica u drugačijim vremenima, kada je kulturno-historijska paradigma bila neupitno dominantni interpretacijski obrazac.²³

Najvažniji dio zbirke mladeželjeznodobnih kovanica predstavljaju ostave pronađene na području jugozapadne Panonije, tj., u modernim terminima, sjeverozapadne Hrvatske. Riječ je o ostavama iz Narte, Ribnjačke, Varaždina, Samobora i Đurđevca. Posljednje tri ostave – među kojima je daleko najveća samoborska – dale su imena trima glavnim tipovima taurišćanskih kovanica, iako ponešto nezasluženo, jer su ostave o kojima je riječ zapravo pronađene na području obližnjih sela Križovljan, Okić i Šemovec (danas Šemovci). No, čini se da bi bilo previše sitničavo pokušati uvesti nove nazive za te ostave i tipove kovanica prema kojima su nazvani – iako bi ti nazivi sigurno bili prikladniji – te će u nastavku sustavno biti upotrebljavani tradicionalni nazivi, ponekad u kombinaciji s dodatnom oznakom (npr., ostava Samobor-Okić). Ipak treba upozoriti da su navedene ostave stvarno pronađene na udaljenostima od oko 17, 6 i 6 km od Varaždina, Samobora i Đurđevca, te na taj način imaju malo toga zajedničkog s hipotetskim prethodnicima tih suvremenih naselja. Pet ostava navedenih o ovom odsječku su također dio zbirke koji je privukao najviše pozornosti stručnjaka, tako da su ostave iz Ribnjačke, Varaždina i Đurđevca objavljene tijekom proteklih nekoliko desetljeća,²⁴ dok je ostava iz Narte privukla malo pažnje nakon što je objavljena još krajem 19. st.²⁵ U ovome je iznimka ostava Samobor-Okić, koja je dosad predstavljala najsloženiji izazov numizmatičarima, poradi velike količine kovanica od kojih se sastoji te

2.1 The AMZ

Finally, the third part of the title refers to the coin collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.²² The part of the collection published here is still traditionally referred to in the Museum's inventories as the “Coins of the Celts and (other) Barbarians” (Croatian “Zbirka keltsko-barbarskog novca”), a label attached to this type of coinage in different times, when the culture-historical paradigm reigned unopposed.²³

The most important part of the collection of LIA coins is the hoards found in the territory of south-western Pannonia, the north-western part of the modern Republic of Croatia. The hoards in question are those of Narta, Ribnjačka, Varaždin, Samobor and Đurđevac. The last three hoards – the Samobor hoard being by far the largest – are eponymous for the three major types of Tauriscan coins, although perhaps somewhat undeservedly, since the hoards in question were actually found in the area of the nearby villages of Križovljan, Okić and Šemovec (now Šemovci), respectively. However, it would seem overly pedantic to try to introduce new names for these hoards and the coin-types derived from them – even if they would indeed be more appropriate – and I will use the traditional names throughout this study, occasionally accompanied with a byname (e.g. ‘the Samobor-Okić hoard’). The reader should be warned, however, that the actual hoards were found approx. 17, 6 and 6 km, respectively, from Varaždin, Samobor and Đurđevac, and thus had little to do with any hypothetical predecessors of these modern settlements. The five hoards enumerated earlier in this paragraph are also the part of the collection that has drawn the most attention from scholars, with the Ribnjačka, Varaždin and Đurđevac hoards being published during the last several decades,²⁴ while the Narta hoard received little attention after it was published as far back as the late 19th c.²⁵ The exception here is the Samobor-

22 U nastavku će naziv Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu (AMZ), što je moderni naziv institucije, biti zbog jednostavnosti i jasnoće korišten kao naziv svih ranijih iteracija te ustanove, uključujući rani period njezinog postojanja kao jednog od odjela Narodnog muzeja (za povijest AMZ-a vidi Balen, Dukat 1996 i Solter 2016; za povijest njegove numizmatičke zbirke vidi Bauer 1963, 8–11; Mirnik 1977, 47–50; 1989; Dukat 1996; Solter 2016, 13, 22–23, 64–66, 159, 229, 244–245).

23 Cf. Mihajlović 2019, 14. Uistinu, J. Brunšmid, arheolog koji je osnovao, razvio i bio kustos zbirke do 1924. g., bio je jedan od pionira kulturno-historijske paradigme unutar mladeželjeznodobne arheologije (Mihajlović 2019, 80).

24 Ostava Đurđevac: Kos 2009, Mirnik 2016; ostava Varaždin: Kos, Mirnik 2011; ostava Ribnjačka: Kos, Mirnik 1999; cf. Bilić, Falileyev 2021.

25 Brunšmid 1895.

22 Hereafter ‘the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ)’, the Museum’s modern name, will be used as shorthand for all its previous iterations, including the early period when it was one of the departments of the National Museum. (For the history of the AMZ see Balen, Dukat 1996 and Solter 2016; for the history of its numismatic collection see Bauer 1963, 8–11; Mirnik 1977, 47–50; 1989; Dukat 1996; Solter 2016, 13, 22–23, 64–66, 159, 229, 244–245.)

23 Cf. Mihajlović 2019, 14. Indeed, J. Brunšmid, who formed, developed and curated the collection until 1924, was one of the pioneers of the culture-historical paradigm in the LIA studies (Mihajlović 2019, 80).

24 Đurđevac hoard: Kos 2009, Mirnik 2016; Varaždin hoard: Kos, Mirnik 2011; Ribnjačka hoard: Kos, Mirnik 1999; cf. Bilić, Falileyev 2021.

25 Brunšmid 1895.