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MONETARY CIRCULATION IN MOESIA. THE CASE OF THE COIN FINDS FROM NOVAE (BULGARIA)

ABSTRACT: This article discusses finds of Roman coins made during excavations in Novae (Bulgaria), by the University of Warsaw's Research Center on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe. Novae is a Roman legionary camp in the province of Moesia, associated mainly with the Legion I *Italica*. However, the camp was built by the Legion VIII *Augusta*. The article analyzes the coin finds from 60 years of excavations at this archaeological site, coming from the area of the so-called sector IV and sector XII. Sector IV is mainly the Legion I military hospital (*valetudinarium*), while Sector XII is referred to as the Legion VIII cohort barracks area. The aim of the article is to present a model of the circulation of Roman coins in the areas of legionary camps on the lower Danube.

ABSTRAKT: Artykuł dotyczy znalezisk monet rzymskich dokonanych podczas wykopalisk w Novae (Bułgaria) przez Ośrodek Badań nad Antykiem Europy Południowo-Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Novae jest rzymskim obozem legionowym w prowincji Mezja, kojarzonym głównie z Legionem I *Italica*. Obóz został jednak zbudowany przez Legion VIII *Augusta*. W artykule dokonano analizy znalezisk monet z 60 lat wykopalisk na tym stanowisku archeologicznym, pochodzących z terenu tzw. sektora IV oraz sektora XII. Teren sektora IV jest kojarzony głównie ze szpitalem wojskowym (*valetudinarium*) Legionu I, zaś sektor XII określany jest mianem baraków kohort Legionu VIII. Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie schematu obiegu monet rzymskich na terenach obozów legionowych nad dolnym Dunajem.

KEYWORDS: Roman coins, coin finds, Novae (Bulgaria), legionary camp, Moesia, Legion I *Italica*, Legion VIII *Augusta*

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: monety rzymskie, znaleziska monet, Novae (Bułgaria), obóz legionowy, Mezja, Legion I *Italica*, Legion VIII *Augusta*

The article examines monetary circulation within the legionary camp at Novae on the lower Danube, and seeks to develop a generalized model of monetary circulation based on the available database.¹ The coins come from excavations conducted in Novae by the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Center at the University of Warsaw (hereafter OBA).² The OBA project concerns two sectors of the site: IV and XII. Archaeological testing of other legionary camps on the Danube has been rudimentary at best, undertaken irregularly and discontinuously. The state of research on Roman monetary circulation in Moesia has improved in recent years, but there is still much to be done. The situation in the 1st and 2nd century has been studied extensively by Evgeni I. Paunov,³ but the 3rd and 4th centuries are little known, with just a few publications presenting specific finds from restricted time frames.⁴ Research in the Roman army camp at Novae was initiated in 1960, and the University of Warsaw has had a team working there right from the beginning. Other sectors on site are being investigated by an expedition from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The analysis presented here is based on published finds and archival documentation,⁵ complemented by the author's own long-term research. Until the end of the 20th century, coins were obtained from excavations using the traditional methods of manual excavation and sieving. However, since the beginning of the 21st century, excavations have also made use of a metal detector.

The complex stratigraphy of Novae, extensive rebuilding in antiquity, later demolition of ancient structures, conflagrations, earthquakes – all this has made the archaeological and architectural investigations difficult, and with them also the numismatic analyses, which have to take specific archaeological contexts into consideration. The camp at Novae started in the mid-1st century AD, when the *Legio VIII Augusta* was transferred to the Danube after taking part in the campaign in Britain in AD 45. The relatively numerous coins of Claudius I are telling proof of the presence of this legion, which was given the task of building an army camp in the territory where Novae was located, which had just then been incorporated into the already vast Roman Empire. Large sums of money were channeled into the

¹ This article was prepared for publication under the National Science Centre, Poland grant No. 2016/21/B/HS3/00021 *Monetary circulation in Moesia and Illyria. The case of the finds from Novae (Bulgaria) and Risan (Montenegro)*. The Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Center (OBA) at the University of Warsaw is where the grant is being implemented.

² I am deeply grateful to OBA Director Prof. Piotr Dyczek, as well as Janusz Reclaw and the whole team for help in studying the finds of coins from Novae sectors IV and XII.

³ Paunov 2015, pp. 145–176; Paunov 2021 (with further reading).

⁴ Dimitrov 1980, pp. 199–205; Dimitrov 1983, pp. 290–295; Dimitrov 1998, pp. 99–112; Dimitrov 2008, pp. 512–523.

⁵ These are mainly the notes of Prof. Andrzej Kunisz, who participated in the excavations at Novae for many years. I would like to thank Prof. Wiesław Kaczanowicz (University of Silesia, Katowice) for providing access to these materials.

project, and this is well-reflected in the coin pool from Sector XII at Novae.⁶ There is otherwise very little clear-cut evidence for the VIII *Augusta* in Novae, because the timber-and-earth camp that they built was replaced with structures of stone by the *Legio I Italica*, which superseded the VIII *Augusta*.⁷

This timber-and-earth complex, located in Sector IV, reflects the complex history of the army camp at Novae. The archaeological features excavated there represent different chronological periods within a timeframe extending from the encampment of the VIII *Augusta* legion through to the medieval period. Initially, a *thermae legionis* was constructed, later replaced by a hospital built in preparation for the Roman wars with the Dacians, and by civil architecture that arose on the ruins of the hospital, even as the army camp continued to function in other parts of Novae.

Exploration of the *valetudinarium* is now finished. This relatively small area has yielded 765 coins of Roman date, spanning the early years of the 1st century AD to the beginning of the 7th century. The 4th century is represented by the highest number of coins, and the 2nd and 6th centuries by the fewest. The 4th-century issues constitute close to half of all registered finds.⁸

1 st c.	6.53%
2 nd c.	3.8%
3 rd c.	31.56%
4 th c.	48.15%
6 th c.	4.83%

Evidence for the presence of VIII *Augusta* in Sector IV is meagre, but the link between most of the early Imperial coinage from the site and the construction of an army camp by the VIII *Augusta* cannot be doubted. The VIII *Augusta* left Novae to be replaced by another legion in the rule of Nero, hence coins issued before his reign, and possibly also a few from the early part of his rule, could be associated with the wooden fort architecture. This is especially well observed in Sector XII, where the remains of wooden army barracks from this period were discovered (see Table 1).

Coin circulation in different parts of the vast Roman Empire was affected by several different factors that determined how long different coins remained on the market. These factors included the given territory, the coin denomination, the date of issuing, and the issuer themselves (for example, the coins of emperors who suffered *damnatio memoriae* tended to disappear faster). The data for the Danubian provinces is still not clear at all, hence the difficulty in dating specific archaeological features based on the coin assemblage. It is essential to consider the specificity of a given area in every case.

⁶ Ciołek 2022.

⁷ Dyczek 2015, pp. 169–177; Dyczek 2018, pp. 39–80; Lemke 2018, pp. 74–82; Dyczek 2019, pp. 115–126.

⁸ Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, p. 51.

Table 1. Coins from the period through the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty
 (the changeover time in Novae)

Issuer	Denominations	Sector IV	Sector VIII	Sector X ⁹	Sector XI	Sector XII	Novae	Denominations total	All coins total
Cassander	AE					1		1	1
Marcus Antonius	D			1	2			3	3
Octavian Augustus	D						1	1	5
	As	2				1	1	4	
	Dp								
	S								
Tiberius	As	4		2	2	5	1	14	16
	Dp				2			2	
	S								
Gepaepyris (37–39)	AE	1						1	1
Caligula	Qu						1	1	23
	As	1	1			1	13	16	
	Dp						5	5	
	S			1				1	
Claudius I	As	7	6	4	5	12	10	44	66
	Dp	1			3	1	4	8	
	S	6	1		1	3	3	14	

⁹ Genčeva 2002, pp. 111–116.

Issuer	Denominations	Sector IV	Sector VIII	Sector X ⁹	Sector XI	Sector XII	Novae	Denominations total	All coins total
Nero	D		1		2		1	4	26
	Qu					1		1	
	As			2	1	2	4	9	
	Dp			1		1	1	3	
	S	1		1	1		6	9	
Julio-Claudian dynasty (unspecified emperor)	As	11				2		13	20
	Dp	1						1	
	S	3				3		6	
Total		37	9	12	18	33	51	161	161

The earliest history of the army camp is evidenced by 161 coins available for study. The bulk of these come from Sector IV, which has been subject to more prolonged investigations than Sector XII – although the latter has yielded coins that bear witness to the earliest phases of construction and operation of the camp on the Lower Danube. The Sector IV coins are for the most part connected with the functioning of a large bath, the *thermae legionis*, built in the early part of the reign of Vespasian.¹⁰ Little remains of the bath that existed in the early stages of the occupation of the *Legio I Italica* at Novae, the ashlar from its walls having been reused in the construction of the hospital. Finds include clay floor tiles from the bath, marked with the stamp of this legion.¹¹ Thirty-eight coins relate to the Flavian bath. The total absence of Republican coins from the site is proof that there was no substantial occupation earlier in this area, since coins from this period were in circulation with relative frequency during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The bath was torn down no later than in the beginning of Trajan's rule as indicated by a set of coins from the dismantling layer. Numismatic dating of this fact is not possible, because the youngest coin from this complex, which could be a dating

¹⁰ Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, pp. 247–250.

¹¹ Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, pp. 11–15.

find, is too corroded to be identified and in any case, its issue date is hardly the date of the cessation of operations in the legionary bath. The absence of any coins of Hadrian and later in the bath contexts is an indicator that this event could not take place after 138, while had there been more coins of Trajan (there is just one and undated), that would have suggested the dismantling of the bath occurred later in this emperor's reign. Therefore, considering the numismatic evidence, the bath had to be torn down around the year 98 or shortly after that (see Table 2).¹²

Table 2. Coins from the archaeological context of the *thermae legionis*

Octavian Augustus	1 AE	11–12 CE
Tiberius	1 AE	21–22
Gaius	1 AE	3
Claudius I	8 AE	4
Nero	1 AE	6
First half of 1 st c.	4 AE	10–64
Vespasian	5 AE	69–79
Domitian	1 AE	85
Flavian dynasty (unspecified emperor)	1 AE	69–96
Nerva	1 AE	96–98
Trajan	1 AE	98–117
1 st –2 nd c.	6 AE	1 st –2 nd c.
Turn of 1 st c.	1 AE	Turn of 1 st c.
1 st –2 nd c.	1 AE	1 st –2 nd c.
Unidentified	5 AE	? (presumably 1 st c.)
Total	38 AE coins , including 22 asses, 5 dupondii, 4 sestertii	

The army hospital, the *valetudinarium*, is the most important building uncovered in Sector IV. The coin evidence places the construction of this complex in the early years of Trajan's reign, a dating corroborated by historical events, namely the Roman preparations for the Dacian wars and plans to conquer a new province of Dacia. In discussing the hospital, one should also mention an *Asklepeion*, the sanctuary of the healing deities, built in the courtyard of the *valetudinarium*, where a Roman coin was also found.

¹² Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, pp. 248–249.

Accurate documentation has permitted the coin finds from the hospital to be assigned to the different phases of activity at this site, separating the occupation levels from the layer of debris formed after the abandonment of the building. Coins from this latter context offer an important indication of the date when the hospital ceased to serve in its primary role (see Table 3).

Table 3. Coins from the hospital-operation phase and the post-hospital debris layer

Hospital operation layers		Post-hospital debris layers	
Claudius I	as		
Julio-Claudian dynasty (unspecified emperor)	as		
Vespasian	denarius 2 dupondius		
Domitian	as AE provincial		
Nerva	2 AE		
Trajan	subaeratus 3 AE		
Hadrian	denarius subaeratus 7 AE		
Antoninus Pius	subaeratus 6 AE		
Marcus Aurelius	sestertius subaeratus		
Commodus	sestertius AE provincial		
Nerva-Antonine Dynasty (unspecified emperor)	as		
Septimius Severus	4 denarii 6 AE provincial		
Caracalla	3 AE provincial 2 subaerati	Caracalla	AE AE provincial
Geta	denarius 2 AE	Geta	AE provincial
Elagabalus	5 AE provincial		
Severus Alexander	3 denarii 2 AE provincial	Severus Alexander	2 denarii subaeratus

Hospital operation layers		Post-hospital debris layers	
1 st –2 nd c.	denarius 9 AE	2 nd c.	denarius
2 nd –3 rd c.	2 AE 3 AE provincial	2 nd –3 rd c.	3 AE provincial
		Maximinus Thrax	AE provincial
		Gordian III	antoninianus 6 AE provincial
		Trebonianus Gallus	AE provincial
		Valerian I	antoninianus
Unidentified	5 AE	Unidentified	2 AE
Total	82 coins	Total	22 coins

The pool of coin finds from the hospital layers, as presented here, confirms the continued use of the building in its medical capacity through the reign of Severus Alexander, although an exact date cannot be established based on a study of the coins. This does not contradict the chronological evidence provided by other finds, which include a marble portrait head of the emperor Maximinus Thrax and a fragment of a marble slab with the designation of the *Legio I Italica Maximina*, the text revealing that the legion had been subjected to *damnatio memoriae* after this emperor's death. Therefore, the *valetudinarium* was closed down in 238.¹³

Provincial issues, which are a specific kind of branding for the provinces of Moesia and Thrace, are a distinctive feature in the general pool of coins from Sectors IV and XII. In the earliest phase of the army camp, bronzes struck in mints located in Rome constituted the most numerous group in Novae. These denominations include asses and, more rarely, dupondii and sestertii, all imported from the mints in Rome. The statistics in favor of local, provincial issues start to improve during the reign of Commodus, and become the predominant denomination by the end of the reign of Gordian III (see Table 4).

An impressive bronze with a bust of Commodus, struck in the Pergamum mint, is one of the first provincial coins.¹⁴ A bronze coin struck at Nicaea in Bithynia, the only example from this mint, is also from this time. They are accompanied by denarii, which are rare on the Danube,¹⁵ but no coins from Rome. This coin structure is typical of the monetary circulation in the two Moesian provinces and Thrace in the first half of the 3rd century. A closer look at the provincial coins of the said three provinces is in order at this point.

¹³ Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, pp. 18–25.

¹⁴ Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, p. 65, no. 71.

¹⁵ Ciołek, Dyczek 2011, pp. 241–244.

Table 4. Provincial coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae, presented by mints

Issuer	Mint										Total		
	Viminacium	Niko polis	Hadriano polis	Anchialos	Marciano polis	Perinthos	Dionysopolis	Tomis	Pergamum	Nicaea/Deultum		Amastris / Laodicea	Unidentified
Domitian						<i>1</i>							1
Marcus Aurelius			<u>2</u>										2
Commodus									<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>			2
Amastris											<i>1</i>		1
Septimius Severus		<i>6</i>		<i>1</i>	<u>1</u>							<i>3</i>	16
Geta		<u>3</u>		<u>1</u>								<u>1</u>	5
Caracalla		<i>3</i>			<i>2</i>						<u>1</u>	<i>1</i>	16
		<u>6</u>			<u>1</u>							<u>2</u>	
Maerinus		<i>2</i>											4
		<u>2</u>											
Elagabalus		<i>2</i>			<i>2</i>							<i>1</i>	18
		<i>4</i>			<i>1</i>							<i>2</i>	
Diadumenian		<u>6</u>			<u>2</u>					<u>1</u>			9
Severus Alexander		<u>1</u>			<u>4</u>					<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>	7
Maximinus Thrax												<i>1</i>	1
Gordian III	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>					<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>	18
Philip I			<u>1</u>		<u>4</u>								0
Herennia Etruscilla	<i>1</i>												1
Trebonianus Gallus	<i>1</i>												1
Trajan Decius													0
Volusianus	<i>1</i>												1
Unidentified												<i>25</i>	33
												<u>8</u>	
Total													136
Total	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<i>1</i>			<i>1</i>	<u>3</u>	<i>1</i>	<i>34</i>	68
	<u>1</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>19</u>					<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	68

The province of Moesia started minting coins in the 2nd century, leading up to a peak in coin production in the first half of the 3rd century. This growth is reflected in the pool of coins recorded from Sectors IV and XII. Provincial bronzes from the nearest mint at Nikopolis ad Istrum were the most numerous at Novae. The number of Nikopolis coins from the area of the hospital (excavations completed) is only slightly larger than the share observed among the finds of coins from Sector XII after a few years of excavations. Together, they form a group of nearly 50 coins in the corpus of 136 provincial coins known to date. It is also probable that most of the unidentified coins came from this mint.

The Sector XII excavation also yielded a group of at least 25 coins from the mint in Marcianopolis,¹⁶ an increase of 19 above the previously known total. Five of the coins were minted at Hadrianopolis and it appears that coins from that mint did not reach the Lower Danube in any quantity. Other mints were represented by just one or two coins. The preponderance of the two mints, Nikopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis, is easily explained by their proximity to Novae. The former mint in particular was very prolific, its minting production peaking in the reign of Septimius Severus and his immediate successors (see Table 4) when the demand for bronze coin far exceeded what the mint in Rome could supply. Provincial mints had to increase their production substantially and their number in the reign of Septimius Severus grew to 365 altogether.¹⁷

A comparison of the set of provincial coins from the army hospital (Sector IV) and from Sector XII reveals a noticeably lesser differentiation of the latter; indeed, there are practically no other mints represented save for the two mentioned above. The statistics are similar for a hoard of 46 provincial coins published elsewhere,¹⁸ which comprised for the most part pieces from these two mints in a reverse proportion: Marcianopolis (22) and Nikopolis ad Istrum (17); see Table 5. The hoard also contained two coins struck by Anchialos, two from Hadrianopolis and one each from Deultum and Dionysopolis. Interestingly, a Deultum bronze was discovered in Sector XII close to where the hoard was found (Fig. 1). So far, no other coins from Deultum have ever been found at Novae.

The latest provincial coins found in Novae were issued in Viminacium (Fig. 2), which started up operations when the Thracian and Moesian mints closed down.¹⁹ Viminacium was active in 239–255. It is represented at Novae rather symbolically.

¹⁶ Gerov 1975, pp. 49–72.

¹⁷ Bursche 1992, p. 234.

¹⁸ Ciołek 2019, pp. 79–98.

¹⁹ Orlov 1970; Martin 1991/1992, pp. 214–217; Kos 1992, pp. 209–214.



Fig. 1. Diadumenian, AE, 217–218, Deultum Mint. Novae (Bulgaria), inv. no. 119/16, scale 1.5:1

Table 5. Chronological structure and provenance of coins from the hoard found in Sector XII at Novae

Issuer	Specimens (n)		%	Mint	Coins from a given mint
Hadrian	1		2.08%	Rome	1 pc / 2.08%
Septimius Severus	30	32	66.6%	Marcianopolis	19 pcs / 39.5%
	2 (Julia Domna)			Nicopolis ad Istrum	12 pcs / 25%
				Thracian Anchialos	1 pc / 2.08%
Caracalla	8	9	18.7%	Nicopolis ad Istrum	3 pcs / 6.25%
	1 (Plautilla)			Marcianopolis	2 pcs / 4.1%
				Hadrianopolis	1 pc / 2.08%
				Thracian Anchialos	3 pcs / 6.25%
Macrinus	1		2.08%	Nicopolis ad Istrum	1 pc / 2.08%
Elagabalus	1		2.08%	Nicopolis ad Istrum	1 pc / 2.08%
Severus Alexander	2		4.1%	Marcianopolis	1 pc / 2.08%
				Dionysopolis	1 pc / 2.08%
Maximus Caesar	1		2.08%	Deultum	1 pc / 2.08%
Gordian III	1		2.08%	Hadrianopolis	1 pc / 2.08%
Total	48		100%	7 mints	48 pcs / 100%



Fig. 2. Gordian III, AE, 241–242, Viminacium mint. Novae (Bulgaria), inv.no. 139/13, scale 1.5:1

Minting in the provinces was extremely sensitive to local politics. For example, the visit of Elagabalus in Moesia in 218 is marked in the archaeological record at Novae by a relatively large number of provincial bronzes from the two most important mints in the region. The coins of Gordian III are just as numerous, in both sectors, and this situation can be justified by the imperial army's march east through the Balkans in 241. Most of the Moesian and Thracian mints were phased out in this period, also in connection with contemporaneous political events and the specificity of the monetary system in the second half of the 3rd century, which suffered from a rapid and definite debasement of silver antoniniani that led in turn to a devaluation of the bronze coinage. Thus, the maximally devalued antoniniani are the sole coin finds from layers dated to the second half of the 3rd century from the two investigated sectors.²⁰

The set of finds from the first half of the 3rd century indicates beyond doubt that the demand for coins in Novae during this time was filled by the nearby Moesian and Thracian mints to the exclusion of all others. Of these mints, Nikopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis dominated the record, the latter second in number after the Nikopolis issues. One should expect many more provincial coins in general, because they were paid out to the soldiers at a time of intensive military activities when the state treasury was short of silver. Hence the quantities of coins struck by Septimius Severus, who fought a particularly fierce battle for the imperial throne with four other contenders, and won thanks to the backing of fifteen legions, including the *I Italica* legion.²¹

Significantly less is known about monetary circulation in Moesia in the 3rd–4th centuries compared to the earlier periods. A hoard discovered in the ruins of the army headquarters building (*principia*), next to the Chapel of the Standards,

²⁰ The original designation of the new silver denomination is not known. The *argenteus antoninianus* is attested for the first time in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (SHA 15,8); see Kubitschek 1893, cols 2568–2571.

²¹ Ciołek/Kolendo 2008, pp. 225–235.

dates to this period.²² The identifiable coins from this hoard were from the Balkan mints of the 4th century. Many of these coins are rare, even unknown types. The production of these mints made up the core of the monetary mass in circulation in Moesia and Thrace at the close of the 3rd and in the 4th century. This situation reflects the booming growth of local provincial mints after the monetary reform of Diocletian of 294 (see Table 9). Many of the 3rd- and 4th-century coin types are unknown, revealing the gaps in studies of the Balkan mints, as well as of the material culture of the 3rd and 4th centuries in this region. Few hoards are known from former Moesia of this period and even they have not been studied thoroughly. In light of the described state of research, discussion of the monetary circulation in Moesia is not yet possible.

The pool of coins from the two sectors is relatively poor in coins covering the period from the reign of Gordian III to the beginning of Gallienus's rule, which corresponded to a wave of barbarian raids on the northern borders of the Empire, including the Goths who laid siege to the camp at Novae in 250.²³ The sudden rise in coin numbers in 268–282 corresponds to a broad stream of coins, antoniniani struck around the Empire, which reached Novae via Rome. Antoniniani from this period are hardly ever discussed in the literature, hence little more can be said about these coins. An absolute peak in the coinage found at the camp falls in the reigns of Claudius II, Aurelian, Tacitus and Probus. The coefficient of coins per year is more than 15 and 16 during this time, a result unmatched either earlier or later. Even the Constantines are not represented by a larger number of coins per year ($F^{c/r} = 13.71$; see Table 10). In the 14 years between 268 and 282, there is also a considerable diversity of mints striking the coins discovered on site (see Table 8). The majority still come from Rome, but the local mints in Siscia, Serdica and Ticinum grow in importance in Moesia, even as coins struck in Milan and Antioch, and even a single antoninianus from Tripolis appear in the archaeological record. Such a coin structure by mint demonstrates that the pool of coins came in its entirety from Rome rather than being formed on the spot from the pool of coins issued by the local mints.

Generally, 4th-century coins form a quantitatively large assemblage, but then they are also generally the most frequently encountered coins all over Europe. They were mass-produced in many imperial mints. Despite appearances, it is not the coins of Constantine the Great that are the most numerous in Novae. Most of the coins come from the reigns of Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius II (see Table 10).

The coins coming from the different legionary structures are of little use for their dating; better evidence is offered, of course, by coins registered in specific archaeological contexts, if their distribution between occupational and

²² Kunisz 1979, pp. 219–225.

²³ Dimitrov 2005, pp. 79–98; Kolendo 2008, pp. 117–131.

destruction/dismantling layers is known. In the case of the army hospital, it was possible to determine, based on the coins, when the complex was still in use and when it was ultimately deserted. However, finds of coins failed to contribute new data or more precise determinations to the interpretation of the legionary baths and the sanctuary of the healing deities, yielding only a *terminus post quem* that is hardly a serious indicator in the case of these buildings. Therefore, coins can help in the dating of complexes that functioned for a long time, providing that the archaeological documentation is precise, enabling a study of the coin finds from specific layers associated with the “use-life” of a given structure. One should keep in mind the nature of the imperial monetary system and the duration and specificity of the circulation of given denominations depending on the province.

Summing up the data on monetary circulation within the army camp, it should be emphasized that the pool of coins coming from the excavation is a perfect illustration of the camp’s history. The beginnings of the camp correspond to a relatively large number of coins of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Bronzes from the mint in Rome – asses and less frequently sestertii and dupondii – constituted the most numerous group of coins from the earliest phase of the camp. The data for the 1st–2nd centuries CE from Table 6 and the F coefficient clearly indicate a clear frequency peak in the reign of Claudius I: more than two coins per year in the rule of Claudius, but only 1.4 coins for each year of Vespasian’s rule, Vespasian being the second-ranked emperor in this listing (see Fig. 3). Such a large number of coins issued by Claudius I cannot be attributed to chance, especially as Claudius came nowhere near to the quantities of coin struck by Vespasian, for example.

Denarii and a series of subaerati turned up first in layers post-dating Nero’s reform of 64 CE. They were not present in preceding layers, while the sole denarius of Octavian Augustus, of which there is information, was found out of context. As for the legionary series of the denarii of Mark Anthony, they did not reach Novae until the second half of the 1st century CE, perhaps later, because they were still in circulation in Roman territories in the first half of the 3rd century. Two quadrantes, one of Nero (Fig. 4) and the other of Trajan (Fig. 5), found in Sector XII, are the first examples of this denomination found in Novae. So far, such low-value bronzes, equal to a quarter of an as, had not been recorded from the camp. Abundant series of these coins were issued through the end of Trajan’s reign.²⁴ However, excavations in the legionary camp in Novae have demonstrated that denominations smaller than an as were of no significance in this province.

²⁴ Mattingly, Sydenham 1986, pp. 293–295.

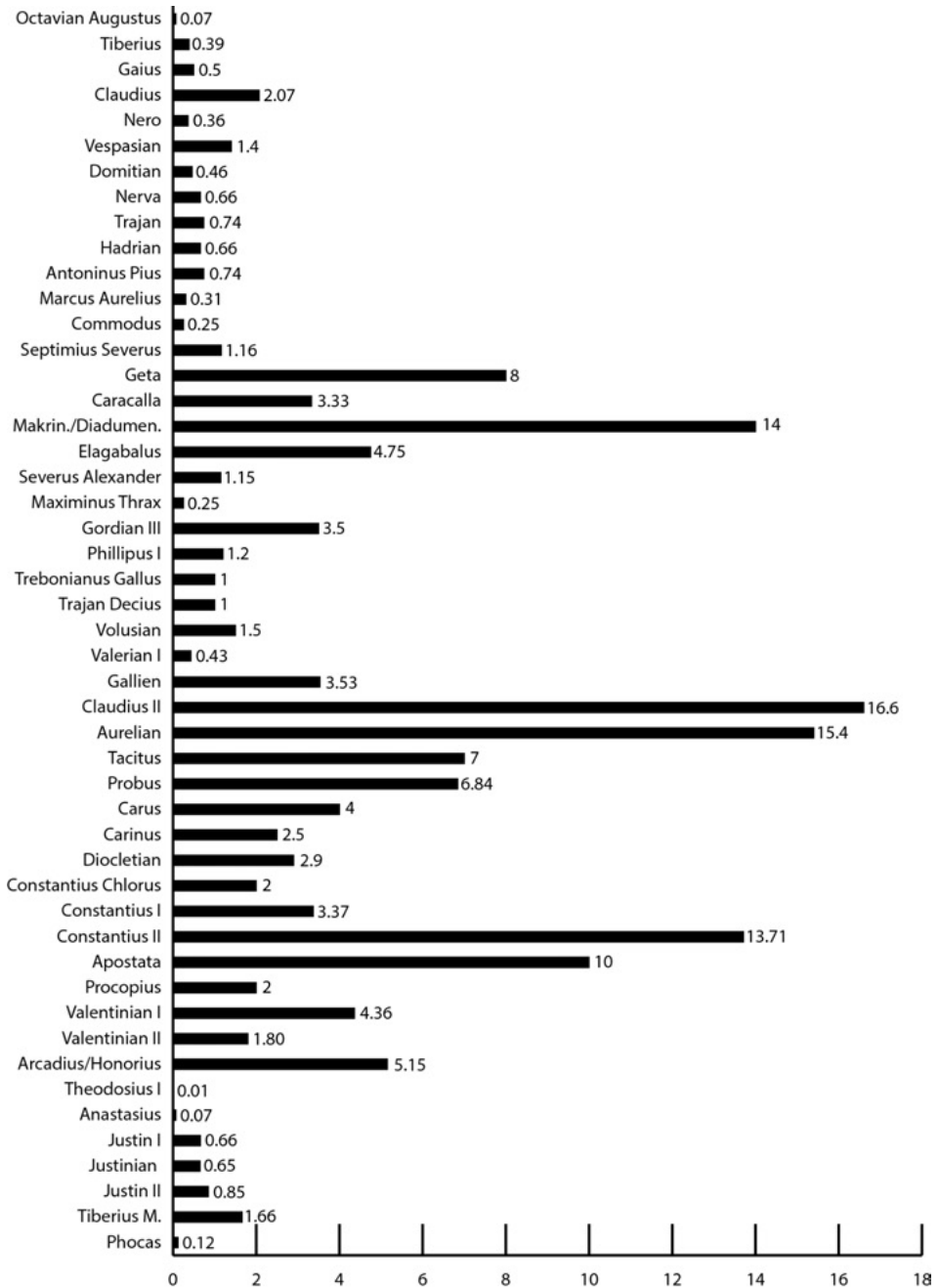


Fig. 3. Share of coins per year (see Tables 6–11)



Fig. 4. Quadrans of Nero, AE, 64, Rome mint. Novae (Bulgaria), inv. no. 150/13, scale 1.5:1



Fig. 5. Quadrans of Trajan, AE, 101–117, Rome mint. Novae (Bulgaria), inv. no. 219/13, scale 1.5:1

Monetary circulation in the Danubian provinces changed radically with the end of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty. The F coefficient in the 1st and 2nd century CE exceeded 1 only twice (Claudius and Vespasian), whereas in the 3rd and 4th century CE it never dropped below this value. There is an evident jump in the number of coins in the first half of the 3rd century. From the rule of Commodus, the share of provincial coins was on the rise, becoming the prevailing or even dominant denomination practically until the end of the reign of Gordian III (see Table 4). The apogee in Novae was around 218, when the F coefficient reached 14 coins. This can be linked to the presence of the emperor Elagabalus in Moesia that year.²⁵

The monetary circulation in Novae in this period is characterized by provincial coinage; not one coin from the central mint in Rome has been registered. The finds from the first half of the 3rd century demonstrate that Novae's demand for coin at this time was met by the nearby Moesian and Thracian mints. Denarii are few, leading to the assumption that they were not the main denomination in use at the camp. Gold coins are missing entirely. This coin structure is typical of the circulation of coins in the two Moesias and Thrace in the period up to the first half of the 3rd century.

The number of coin finds from the camp at Novae peaked again in 268–282 (see Table 8). Quantitatively, the largest set is that of Gallienus (53 coins), but in truth this was a relatively long reign (253–268), compared to that of Claudius II (268–270) – 33 coins (F = 16.5), or even Aurelian (270–275) – 77 coins, F = 15.4.

²⁵ Schönert-Geiss 1967, pp. 226–227; Icks 2014, p. 27.

Table 6. Roman coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae:
 1st-2nd centuries (until the end of the Nerva-Antonine reign)

Issuer	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	AE unidentified	Provincial	Denarius	Subaeratus	Total	F ^{nr}
Cassander				<u>1</u>				1	
Octavian Augustus			2 <u>1</u>					3	0.07
Tiberius			4 <u>5</u>					9	0.39
Gepaepyris				<i>1</i>				1	
Caligula			<i>1</i> <u>1</u>					2	0.5
Claudius I	3 <u>2</u>	<i>1</i> <u>1</u>	7 <u>12</u>					27	2.07
Nero	<i>1</i>	<u>1</u>	2	<u>1Qu</u>				5	0.36
Julio- Claudian Dynasty	3	<i>1</i>	6 <u>2</u>					12	0.18
Vespasian		3	5 <u>4</u>			<i>1</i> <u>1</u>		14	1.4
Domitian	<u>1</u>		<i>1</i> <u>1</u>		<i>1</i>	2	<i>1</i>	7	0.46
Flavian Dynasty			<i>1</i>			<u>1</u>		2	
Nerva	<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>					2	0.66
Trajan	<i>1</i>	3	3	<u>1Qu</u>		4	<i>1</i> <u>1</u>	14	0.74
Hadrian	2 <u>1</u>	<i>1</i>	3 <u>2</u>			<i>1</i> <u>2</u>	<i>1</i> <u>1</u>	14	0.66

Issuer	Sestertertius	Dupondius	As	AE unidentified	Provincial	Denarius	Subaeratus	Total	F ^{vr}
Trajan/ Hadrian							1	1	
Antoninus Pius	3 3	2 1	2			3	1 2	17	0.74
Marcus Aurelius	1 1			1	1		1 1	6	0.31
Commodus	1				2			3	0.25
Pescenius Niger						1		1	
2nd c. (+Amastris)			1		1			2	
Total	13 12	11 3	34 33	1 4	4 1	2 14	6 5	143	0.75

Table 7. Roman coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae: from 193 to 235

Issuer	Sestertertius	Dupondius	As	AE unidentified	Provincial	Denarius	Subaeratus	Total	F ^{vr}
Septimius Severus					10 6	4 1		21	1.16
Geta	1			1	2 3	1		8	8
Caracalla					6 10	1 1	2	20	3.33
Macrinus					2 3			5	14
Diadumenian					9			9	

Issuer	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	AE unidentified	Provincial	Denarius	Subaeratus	Total	F ^{gr}
Elagabalus					<u>6</u> 13			19	4.75
Severus Alexander					2 <u>5</u>	3 2	3	15	1.15
Total	1			<i>1</i>	28 49	9 4	5	97	2.31

Table 8. Roman coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae: from 235 to 311

Issuer	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	AE unidentified	Provincial	Antoninian	Subaeratus	Total	F ^{gr}
Maximinus Thrax					<i>1</i>			1	0.25
Gordian III					8 <u>11</u>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	21	3.5
Philip I	<u>1</u>				<u>1</u>	2	2	6	1.2
Trebonianus Gallus					<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>	2	1
Trajan Decius					<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	3	1
Volusianus					<i>1</i>		2	3	1.5
Valerian I						2	<i>1</i>	3	0.43
Gallienus						17	36	53	3.53
Claudius II						11	22	33	16.5

Issuer	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	AE unidentified	Provincial	Antoninian	Subaeratus	Total	F _{cr}
Aurelianus						27	50	77	15.4
Tacitus							7	7	7
Probus						18	23	41	6.84
Carus						3	1	4	4
Carinus						2	3	5	2.5
Diocletian						3	6	9	
Maximian						1		1	
Herculius									
Galerius Maximianus							6	6	2.90
Unidentified	1					13	10	24	
Total	1 1				12 12	101	172	299	4.27

Table 9. Roman coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae: from 294 to 337

Issuer	Follis	Follis fraction or generally AE	Total	F ^{vr}	
Diocletian	<u>4</u>	6	10	2.90	
Galerius	<u>3</u>	3	6		
Constantius Chlorus	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	2	2	
Maximinus	<i>1</i>		1		
Constantine I	<i>17</i>	<i>5</i>	87	3.37	
	<u>24</u>	<u>41</u>			
Licinius I	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>	11		
	<u>4</u>				
Licinius II	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	6		
	<u>1</u>				
Crispus		<u>1</u>	1		
Delmatius		<u>1</u>	1		
Total	<i>28</i>	<i>16</i>	125		3.90
	<u>36</u>	<u>45</u>			

Table 10. Roman coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (*underlined*) of the legionary camp in Novae: from 337 to 455

Issuer	AV	AE2	AE3	AE4	AE unidentified	Total	F ^{v/r}
Constantine II		3 <u>1</u>	2AR	2 <u>12</u>		20	
Constantius II		9 <u>75</u>	24 <u>41</u>	6 <u>2</u>	3	160	
Constans		3 <u>9</u>	2 <u>18</u>	4	3	39	
Constantius II or Constans		1 <u>1</u>	4	1		7	13.71
Constantius Gallus		2 <u>6</u>	1			9	
Constantine Dynasty		3 <u>7</u>	6 <u>39</u>	1 <u>15</u>	23	94	
Julian Apostate			6	2	1	9	
Jovianus			1			1	10
Procopius		<u>2</u>				2	2
Valentinian I		<u>2</u>	2 <u>6</u>	4		14	
Valens			5 <u>5</u>		1	11	4.36

Issuer	AV	AE2	AE3	AE4	AE unidentified	Total	F ^{v/r}
Valentinian II		<u>2</u>	<u>3</u> <u>7</u>	<u>10</u>		22	
Valentinian I, Valens or Valentinian II		<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>		13	
Valentinian I, Valens, Valentinian II or Theodosius I			<i>10</i>		<u>1</u>		1.80
Theodosius I		<u>2</u>	<u>4</u> <u>3</u>	<u>3</u> <u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	21	
Gratian		<i>1</i>	<u>2</u>	<i>1</i>		4	
Arcadius		<i>1</i> <u>8</u>	<u>6</u> <u>15</u>	<u>3</u> <u>11</u>		44	
Honorius		<u>1</u>	<u>5</u> <u>2</u>			8	
Arcadius or Honorius	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>		<i>1</i> <u>9</u>	<i>1</i>	16	5.15
Arcadius, Honorius, Valentinian III or Theodosius II			<i>1</i> <u>2</u>				
Valentinian III				<u>3</u>		3	
Theodosius II			<u>1</u>	<i>1</i> <u>2</u>		4	0.01
Theodosius I or Theodosius II			<i>1</i>		<u>2</u>	3	
Total	1	26 115	79 143 2AR	26 76	33 3	504	4.46

Table 11. Roman and Byzantine coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae: from 491 to 610

Issuer	M	K	I	AE	Total	F ^{er}
Anastasius I	<i>1</i>	<u>1</u>			2	0.07
Justin I	<i>2</i> <u>1</u>	<i>1</i>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	6	0.66
Justinian I	<i>12</i> <u>1</u>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i> <u>1</u>		22	0.65
Justin II	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i> <u>3</u>			11	0.85
Justinian I or Justin II		<i>2</i>	<u>1</u>		3	
Tiberius Mauritianus		<i>1</i> <u>4</u>			5	1.66
Phocas	<i>1</i>				1	0.12
Total	<i>22</i> <u>2</u>	<i>10</i> <u>8</u>	<i>5</i> <u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	50	0.42

Table 12. Roman coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) of the legionary camp in Novae: coins of unidentified issuers

Period	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	AE	Denarius	Subaeratus	Total
1 st -2 nd – early 3 rd c. (to the denarius)	<i>6</i> <u>3</u>	<i>1</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i> <u>3</u>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i> <u>1</u>	37
3 rd c.	<i>1</i>		<u>AE</u>		<i>Antoninianus</i>		51
			<i>27</i> <u>10</u>		<i>13</i>		

	Follis	AE 2	AE3	AE4	AE
4 th c.		1	5	3	98 35
5 th c.					28 19
Late 4 th –5 th c.					24 6
Unidentified					67 18
Total					392

Table 13. Roman coins from Sectors IV and XII of the legionary camp in Novae: in terms of metal

Metal	Sector IV		Sector XII		Total	Percentage
	No. of pieces	%	No. of pieces	%		
AV	1	0.06	0	0.00	1	0.06 %
AR	127	8.39	193	12.75	320	21.14%
AE	637	42.07	556	36.73	1193	78.8%
Total	765		749		1514	100%

Table 14. Antoniniani: coins from Sectors IV (*italics*) and XII (underlined) by mint

Issuer	Lugdunum	Milan	Rome	Ticinum	Siscia	Serdica	Cyzicus	Heraklea / Tripolis	Antioch	Asia	Unknown	Total
Gordian III			<i>1</i>									2
			<u>1</u>									
Philip I			<i>1</i>						<i>1</i> (?)			4
			<u>2</u>									
Trebonian Gallus			<u>1</u>									1
Trajan Decius			<i>1</i>						<i>1</i> (?)			3
			<u>1</u>									
Volusianus			<u>2</u>									2
Valerian I		<i>1</i>							<u>1</u>		<i>1</i>	3
Gallien	<i>1</i>	<u>1</u>	<i>8</i> <u>14</u>		<i>2</i> <u>2</u>					<i>1</i>	<i>5</i> <u>19</u>	53
Claudius II		<u>1</u>	<i>5</i> <u>11</u>	<i>1</i> <u>1</u>			<i>1</i>		<u>1</u>		<i>3</i> <u>8</u>	33
Aurelian	<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>		<u>7</u>		<i>8</i> <u>16</u>	77
	<u>2</u>		<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>					
Tacitus				<u>2</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>11</u>			<u>2</u>	7
Probus			<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>				<i>4</i>	41
			<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>					<u>13</u>	
Carus			<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>		<u>1</u>				<i>1</i>	4

Slightly fewer coins were recorded for Tacitus (7 coins for not quite one year of rule) and Probus (41 for six years), but even so, there are still far more of them than in any period before or since. The monetary mass was made up of heavily devalued antoniniani, struck in large quantities all over the Empire, and virtually no other denominations were of significance.²⁶ Aurei were also struck in this period, but they are absent entirely from Novae. From the reign of Gordian III (238–244) until the end of the 3rd century the sector yielded 273 coins, giving a rather high coefficient of 4.27 coins per year.

The 4th-century coins occur in relatively large quantities at the site (sectors IV and XII). The apogee is not in the reign of Constantine I, but rather Constantius II and Constans, until the end of the Julian the Apostate's rule. The 339 coins recorded from this time give a very high coefficient of 13.71 for the Constantinian period up to the death of Constantine the Great, and 10 per year for the rule of Julian Apostate. The bronzes from Novae come mainly from the Balkan mints: Siscia, Heraclea, Ticinum, but examples from Nikomedia, Thessaloniki, Kyzikos, Sirmium and Constantinople occur as well. Based on studied pool of finds from the legionary camp, it is justified to say that coinage from the mints in the Balkans and Asia Minor prevailed in Moesia at the close of the 3rd century and in the 4th, at least in the first half of that century. The western mints were represented by a very small quantity of coins.

A temporary increase in the number of coins at Novae is observed at the turn of the 4th and in the 5th centuries, during the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, especially for Sector XII (see Table 10). The coefficient for each year of the reigns of the two emperors is 5.15, which is rather high. As for the 5th century, the number of coins from this period is symbolic at best.

The study has characterized monetary circulation in the given period as follows:

- in the earliest phase of the history of the army camp, the most numerous denomination group are the bronzes from the mint in Rome, primarily the asses, then the sestertii and dupondii;
- the pool of coins issued by Claudius, which is when the Roman army camp at Novae started to be built, is distinctive;
- from the reign of Septimius Severus the statistics turn over in favor of the provincial coinage, which remain the prevailing denomination until practically the end of the reign of Gordian III;
- coins from the central mint are virtually absent from the camp in the first half of the 3rd century;
- provincial issues are characteristic of the monetary circulation in Novae; finds of coins from the first half of the 3rd century indicate that Novae's demand for coin in this period was met by the nearby Moesian and Thracian mints to the exclusion of all others;

²⁶ Callu 1969, pp. 56–57; Kunisz 1971, pp. 71–77.

- denarii are few among the finds, which proves that they were never a major denomination used at the army camp;
- the antoninianus was the denomination in use throughout the Empire in the second half of the 3rd century; the coins in circulation in Moesia came from the Balkan mints: Siscia, Serdica, Ticinum, Kyzikos, and the mint in Rome;
- gold coins are missing entirely;
- this coin structure is typical of the monetary circulation in the two Moesias and Thrace during the first half of the 3rd century;
- coins from the 4th century appear in Novae in large quantities; based on the pool of coins from the army camp, it is reasonable to conclude that in the 4th century issues from the Balkan and Asia Minor mints predominated in the territory of Moesia, while coins from the Western mints reached the province in very small quantities;
- there is a marked increase in the number of coins during the reign of Constantine II and Constans, and in the following period during the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius.

At the present stage of research, it can be assumed that the comments made here regarding the circulation of Roman coins at Novae, based on the pool of finds from Sectors IV and XII, probably also apply to the other legion camps, as well as to other smaller military sites located on the lower Danube.

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OBIEG PIENIĘŻNY W MEZJI NA PRZYKŁADZIE ZNALEZISK MONET Z NOVAE (BUŁGARIA)

(Streszczenie)

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie obiegu monet na terenie obozu legionowego w Novae nad dolnym Dunajem oraz próba uogólnienia modelu tegoż obiegu na podstawie dostępnej bazy danych. Chodzi tu o monety pochodzące z wykopalisk w Novae prowadzonych przez Ośrodek Badań nad Antykiem Europy Południowo-Wschodniej (OBA) Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Badania prowadzone przez OBA dotyczą odcinka IV oraz XII. Pozostałe obozy legionowe nad dolnym Dunajem są tylko w nieznacznym stopniu przebadane archeologicznie. Wykopaliska prowadzone tam były nieregularnie i nie są kontynuowane. Generalnie stan badań nad obiegiem monet rzymskich w Mezji poprawił się w ostatnich latach, ale nadal jest dużo do zrobienia. O ile bowiem obieg monetarny w I–II w. cieszy się dobrym stanem badań za sprawą Evgenia I. Paunova, to mennictwo III–V w. jest wyjątkowo słabo poznane. Dysponujemy jedynie opracowaniami pewnych znalezisk z niewielkich przedziałów tego okresu. Badania na terenie obozu legionowego w Novae prowadzone są od 1960 r. Od początku uczestniczy w nich Uniwersytet Warszawski. Ponadto swoje

odcinki do badań ma ekspedycja Narodowy Instytut Archeologiczny z Muzeum Bułgarskiej Akademii Nauk (bułg. Национален археологически институт с музей). Przedstawione tu analizy dokonane są na podstawie publikacji znalezisk, archiwaliów oraz własnych, wieloletnich badań autorki.

Historia obozu w Novae zaczyna się w połowie I w. n.e., kiedy to skierowano tutaj Legion VIII *Augusta* po zakończeniu kampanii w Brytanii w 45 r. Wyraźnym śladem po działalności tego legionu są relatywnie licznie znajdowane monety Klaudiusza I. Wysyłano wówczas z Rzymu nad dolny Dunaj dużą ilość pieniędzy. Znajduje to odzwierciedlenie w puli monet znalezionych w Novae. Szczególnie dobrze widoczne jest to w puli monet pochodzącej z terenów badanego obecnie odcinka XII. Ślady pobytu i działalności Legionu VIII *Augusta* są bardzo słabo widoczne, ponieważ po przeniesieniu do Novae Legionu I *Italica* nastąpiła całkowita przebudowa obozu legionowego. Legion VIII budował obóz z drewna, zaś Legion I zastąpił go konstrukcjami kamiennymi.

Puła znalezisk numizmatycznych idealnie odzwierciedla historię tego obozu. Relatywnie duża liczba monet dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej wiąże się z początkami tego obozu. W najwcześniejszej historii obozu legionowego w Novae najliczniejszą grupą nominalową są „brązy” z mennicy rzymskiej, przede wszystkim asy, rzadziej sesterce i dupondiusy. Patrząc na zestawienia w tabeli 6 dotyczące okresu I–II w. oraz na współczynnik F określający liczbę monet na rok panowania danego cesarza widzimy wyraźny wzrost liczby monet w okresie panowania Klaudiusza I. Uśredniona liczba monet przypadająca na każdy rok panowania Klaudiusza wynosi ponad 2, podczas gdy dla cesarza Wespazjana, zajmującego drugie miejsce w tych statystykach, 1,4 monety na każdy rok jego panowania (por. Fig. 3). Tak duża liczba monet Klaudiusza I nie może być przypadkiem, tym bardziej, że cesarz ten nie wybijał monet w dużej liczbie, porównywalnej chociażby do Wespazjana.

Po reformie Nerona z 64 r. zaczęły pojawiać się w obozie legionowym denary oraz szereg subaeratów. Co do zasady denary sprzed reformy w Novae nie występują. Mamy informację o znalezieniu denara Oktawiana Augusta, ale jest to znalezisko bezkontekstowe. Natomiast denary Marka Antoniusza serii legionowej z całą pewnością dotarły do Novae w 2. połowie I w. n.e., a może nawet później. Były one bowiem w obiegu na terenie państwa rzymskiego jeszcze nawet w 1. połowie III w. Pewną ciekawostką są dwa kwadransy znalezione na odcinku XII, jeden Nerona, drugi Trajana. Jak dotąd te monety „brązowe” tak niskiej wartości w Novae nie były znajdowane. Kwadransy stanowiły ¼ wartości asa. Wybijane były w większej liczbie do końca panowania Trajana. W tym czasie wybito bardziej obfite serie tych nominalów. Ale jak wykazują wykopaliska w obozie legionowym w Novae, nominały mniejsze niż as nie odgrywały na terenie prowincji jakiegokolwiek znaczącej roli.

Wraz z końcem panowania dynastii Antoninów, zmienił się też diametralnie obraz obiegu monetarnego w prowincjach nad Dunajem. O ile w okresie I–II w. n.e. współczynnik F jedynie dwukrotnie przekroczył 1 (Klaudiusz i Wespazjan), to w okresie III–IV w. nigdy nie spadł poniżej tej granicy. Widać wyraźny skok w liczbie monet w 1. połowie III w. Już od panowania Kommodusa statystyki zaczynają się zmieniać na korzyść monet prowincjonalnych, których liczba rośnie do rangi kategorii przeważającej lub nawet dominującej praktycznie do końca panowania Gordiana III (por. Tabela 4). Apogeum w Novae następuje około 218 r., kiedy współczynnik F osiąga aż 14 monet. Możemy to powiązać z faktem, że właśnie w tym roku w Mezji przebywał cesarz Heliogabal.

Monet z mennicy centralnej dla tego okresu nie odnotowano wcale. Cechą charakterystyczną obiegu monetarnego w Novae są emisje prowincjonalne. Znaleźiska monet z I. połowy III w. wskazują na to, że zapotrzebowanie na pieniądź w Novae w tym przedziale chronologicznym było zaspakajane wyłącznie przez pobliskie mennice mezyjskie oraz trackie. Denary spotykane są nielicznie, co skłania do przypuszczenia, że to monety prowincjonalne były głównym nominałem pozostającym w użytkowaniu na terenie obozu. Brakuje zupełnie monet złotych. Taka struktura znalezisk jest typowa dla obiegu pieniężnego obydwu Mezji oraz Tracji w okresie do I. połowy III w.

Kolejny duży skok w liczbie znajdujących na terenie obozu legionowego w Novae monet przypada na lata 268–282 (por. Tabela 8). Najwięcej pod względem ilościowym jest monet Galliena, ale panował on stosunkowo długo w porównaniu z Klaudiuszem II, którego mennictwo reprezentują 33 egzemplarze (16,5 monety na rok panowania!), czy nawet Aurelianem – odpowiednio 77 monet. Masę monetarną w tym czasie tworzyły bardzo zdewaluowane antoniniany, które wybijano w całym Imperium Romanum w dużej liczbie, a inne nominały praktycznie nie miały znaczenia. Wybijano również aureusy, ale tych w Novae brakuje zupełnie. Dla okresu od panowania Gordiana III do końca III w. zarejestrowano na badanym odcinku 273 monety, co daje nam współczynnik dość wysoki, bo 4,27 monety na każdy rok.

Monety z IV w. występują na badanych stanowiskach (odc. IV i odc. XII) w relatywnie dużych liczbach. Przy czym apogeum w IV w. nie przypada wcale na czas rządów Konstantina I, a raczej Konstancjusza II, Konstansa, aż po koniec panowania Juliana Apostaty. Brązy odkryte w Novae pochodzą głównie z mennic bałkańskich, Siscji, Heraklei, Ticinum, ale zdarzają się też z Nikomedii, Thessaloniki, Kyzikos, Sirmium i z Konstantynopola. Na podstawie puli znalezisk z obozu legionowego dostępnej do tych badań, uzasadniony jest wniosek, że u schyłku III i w IV w., a przynajmniej w jego I. połowie, przewagę na terenach Mezji miały produkty mennic bałkańskich i małoazjatyckich, natomiast z mennic zachodnich docierały w bardzo małej liczbie. Przejściową zwyżkę liczby monet w Novae obserwujemy na przełomie IV i V w., za panowania Arkadiusza i Honoriusza. Szczególny wzrost wystąpił podczas badań na odcinku XII (por. Tabela 10).

Przeprowadzone analizy wskazują na następujące cechy obiegu monetarnego na badanym obszarze:

- w najwcześniejszej historii obozu legionowego najliczniejszą grupą nominałową są brązy z mennicy rzymskiej, przede wszystkim asy, następnie sesterce i dupondiusy;
- pod względem liczby wyróżnia się pula monet Klaudiusza, za rządów którego nastąpiła budowa obozu w Novae;
- od panowania Septymiusza Sewera statystyki zaczynają się zmieniać na korzyść monet prowincjonalnych, których liczba rośnie do rangi kategorii przeważającej praktycznie do końca panowania Gordiana III;
- dla I. połowy III w. monet z mennicy centralnej nie odnotowano właściwie wcale;
- cechą charakterystyczną obiegu monet w Novae jest obecność pieniądza prowincjonalnego; znaleźiska monet z I. połowy III w. wskazują, że zapotrzebowanie na pieniądź w Novae w tym przedziale czasowym zaspakajane było wyłącznie przez pobliskie mennice mezyjskie oraz trackie;
- denary spotykane są nielicznie, co wskazuje, że nie były one głównym nominałem użytowanym na terenie obozu;

- w 2. połowie III w. nominałem obowiązującym w całym Cesarstwie był antoninian; w Mezji obiegały antoniniany z mennic bałkańskich: Siscja, Serdica, Ticinum, Kyzikos oraz z mennicy w Rzymie;
- brakuje monet złotych;
- zaobserwowana struktura monet jest typowa dla obiegu monetarnego obydwu Mezji oraz Tracji w okresie do 1. połowy III w.;
- monety z IV w. występują w Novae w dużych liczbach; na podstawie puli monet z obozu legionowego w Novae uzasadniony będzie wniosek, że w IV w., przewagę na terenach Mezji miały emisje z mennic bałkańskich i małoazjatyckich, zaś z mennic zachodnich docierały w bardzo małej liczbie;
- widoczny jest wyraźny wzrost liczby monet w okresie panowania Konstantyna II – Konstancjusza II – Konstansa oraz w późniejszym okresie za panowania Arkadiusza i Honoriusza.

Na obecnym etapie badań można przyjąć, że przedstawione tutaj uwagi, dotyczące obiegu monet rzymskich w Novae, sformułowane na podstawie puli znalezisk z odcinka IV i XII, odnoszą się również do pozostałych obozów legionowych, a także do innych mniejszych obiektów wojskowych usytuowanych w dolnym odcinku biegu Dunaju.

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