

# Posthumous drachm of Alexander III from Kaptol – Gradca (south-central Pannonia)

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# Dvadeset godina časopisa Annales Instituti Archaeologici Twenty years of the Annales Instituti Archaeologici journal

Nakon ratnih razaranja zadnjeg desetljeća 20. stoljeća, započela su veća ulaganja u infrastrukturnu izgradnju, posebno većih prometnica, čime je započelo razdoblje velikih zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja. Paralelno je započelo znatnije ulaganje u razvoj kulture i znanosti, te posljedično i jačanje djelatnost Instituta za arheologiju. Vrlo brzo se javila ideja o objedinjavanju kraćih godišnjih izvješća terenskih istraživanja Instituta u jednu publikaciju, no format znanstvenog časopisa Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu nije odgovarao takvim potrebama. Stoga je 2005. godine utemeljen novi časopis pod nazivom Annales Instituti Archaeologici – AIA (Godišnjak Instituta za arheologiju) koji od samog početka izlazi jednom godišnje (jedan volumen, jedan broj).

Prvi volumen časopisa (I/2005) izdan je 2005. godine i objedinio je 13 radova. Osim tiskanog izdanja (ISSN 1845-4046), časopis je vrlo brzo počeo izlaziti i u elektroničkom izdanju (ISSN 1848-6363) na centralnom portalu znanstvenih i stručnih časopisa Hrčak (<https://hrcak.srce.hr/aia>). Radovi u idućem volumenu (II/2006) bili su recenzirani, no ta praksa nije nastavljena. Do volumena VIII/2012 časopis je izlazio u oba formata, ali je zbog nedostatka sredstava do danas zadržano samo elektroničko izdanje. Od volumena X/2014 do XVII/2021 u časopisu je objavljivana i ostala djelatnost Instituta koja je od 2022. godine izdvojena u posebno godišnje izvješće

Following the war-ravaged final decade of the 20th century, substantial investments were initiated in the construction of infrastructure, particularly in major roads, thereby initiating a period of extensive rescue archaeological research. Simultaneously, significant investments were initiated in the advancement of culture and science, resulting in the enhancement of the Institute of Archaeology's activities. The idea of combining the Institute's shorter annual field research reports into one publication quickly emerged, but the format of the scientific journal Prilozi Instituta za arheologija in Zagreb did not meet such needs. As a result, in 2005, a new journal was founded under the name Annales Instituti Archaeologici – AIA (Annual of the Institute of Archaeology), which has been published annually (one volume, one issue) since its inception. The first volume of the journal (I/2005) was published in 2005 and included 13 papers. In addition to the printed edition (ISSN 1845-4046), the journal soon commenced publication in electronic format (ISSN 1848-6363) on the central portal for scientific and professional journals Hrčak (<https://hrcak.srce.hr/aia>). The papers in the next volume (II/2006) were peer-reviewed, however, this practice was not continued. Until volume VIII/2012, the journal was published in both formats, but due to lack of funds, only the electronic edition has been retained to this day. From volumes X/2014 to XVII/2021, the journal

Instituta dostupno na mrežnoj stranici (<https://www.iarh.hr/hr/institut/godisnje-izvjesce-instituta/>).

Posustajanjem velikih infrastrukturnih radova, sve jačim tržišnim natjecanjem te promjenom sustava financiranja znanstvene djelatnosti, dugogodišnja forma terenskih izvješća više nije bila pogodna za objavljivanje aktivnosti koje su provedene u sklopu pojedinih znanstvenih projekata, pa je u časopis uvedeno više promjena. Umjesto objava isključivo terenskih izvješća djelatnika Instituta, 2020. godine uveden je recenzentski postupak te je časopis počeo objavljivati sve kategorije radova, osim izvornih znanstvenih, otvarajući se pri tome širem krugu autora. Uvedena je forma proširenog sažetka na stranom jeziku kako bi međunarodna vidljivost radova bila što veća, a zadržana je objava na hrvatskom jeziku, te uvedena mogućnost objave radova na stranom jeziku za strane autore uz prošireni sažetak na hrvatskom jeziku. Zatim je 2021. (Vol. XVII) izmijenjen dizajn naslovnice, a 2022. godine (Vol. XVII) i unutrašnji izgled časopisa. Od volumena XIX/2023 za sve znanstvene radove uvedeno je korištenje doi identifikatora (10.33254/aia). Uvođenjem ovih promjena i podizanjem kvalitete radova, časopis je stekao uvjete za indeksiranje u međunarodnim bazama (Web of Science i Scopus).

U dvadeset godina izlaženja, časopis je vodilo troje glavnih urednika: Željko Tomičić (Vol. I/2005 – VIII/2012), Marko Dizdar (Vol. XIX/2013 – XVI/2020) i Katarina Botić (od Vol. XVII/2021).

Dinamičnost promjena u sadržaju i uredničkoj politici časopisa u stopu je pratila razvoj u znanosti, visokom obrazovanju, kulturi i društvu općenito. Ulaskom Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju 2013. godine stvoreni su uvjeti stabilnijeg financiranja znanstvene djelatnosti, time i izmještanja fokusa sa stručnih na znanstvene teme. No, tek su događaji 2020. godine, obilježene pandemijom koronavirusa i potresima, potaknuli bržu transformaciju sadržaja časopisa i uredničke politike. Društvene promjene koje su uslijedile 2023. godine već nagovještaju smjer daljnjeg razvoja časopisa, ali to ostavljamo za iduće brojeve.

also published other activities of the Institute, which from 2022 have been separated into a special annual report of the Institute available on the website (<https://www.iarh.hr/hr/institut/godisnje-izvjesce-instituta/>).

With the slowing down of large-scale infrastructure works, increasing market competition, and changes in the system of financing scientific activities, the long-standing form of field reports was no longer suitable for publishing activities carried out as part of individual scientific projects, so several changes were introduced to the journal. Instead of publishing only field reports by Institute employees, in 2020 a peer-review process was introduced and the journal began publishing all categories of papers, except for original scientific papers, opening up to a wider circle of authors. The form of an extended abstract in a foreign language was introduced to increase the international visibility of the papers, while publication in Croatian was retained, and the possibility of publishing papers in a foreign language for foreign authors with an extended abstract in Croatian was introduced. Then, in 2021 (Vol. XVII), the cover design was changed, and in 2022 (Vol. XVII) the internal layout of the journal followed. From volume XIX/2023, the use of DOI identifier (10.33254/aia) was introduced for all scientific papers. By introducing these changes and improving the quality of the papers, the journal has gained the conditions for indexing in international databases (Web of Science and Scopus).

In its twenty years of publication, the journal has been led by three editors-in-chief: Željko Tomičić (Vol. I/2005 – VIII/2012), Marko Dizdar (Vol. XIX/2013 – XVI/2020) and Katarina Botić (from Vol. XVII/2021).

The dynamics of changes in the journal's content and editorial policy have kept pace with developments in science, higher education, culture and society in general. The accession of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union in 2013 created conditions for more stable financing of scientific activities, thus shifting the focus from professional to scientific topics. However, it was only the events of 2020, marked by the coronavirus pandemic and earthquakes, that prompted a more rapid transformation of the journal's content



Na kraju, bez autora, a posebno anonimnih recenzentata koji uvijek spremno odvajaju svoje vrijeme, kvaliteta sadržaja i opstanak časopisa Annales Instituti Archaeologici ne bi bili mogući. Zato svima hvala na uloženom trudu.

Katarina Botić

and editorial policy. The social changes that followed in 2023 already hint at the direction of the journal's further development, but we will leave that for future issues.

Finally, without the authors, and especially the anonymous reviewers who always willingly give of their time, the quality of the content and the survival of the journal Annales Instituti Archaeologici would not be possible. Therefore, thank you all for your hard work.

## Dosadašnji brojevi časopisa Annales Instituti Archaeologici / Previous issues of the journal Annales Instituti Archaeologici

Godina izdanja / Year of publication	Godište broja / Year of issue	Broj (volumen) / Number (volume)	Format izdanja / Publication format	Ukupan broj radova / Total number of papers	Ukupan broj stranica / Total number of pages
2006	2005	I	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	13	86
2007	2006	II	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	18	101
2007	2007	III	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	19	98
2009	2008	IV	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	21	115
2010	2009	V	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	31	150
2011	2011	VI	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	22	121
2012	2011	VII	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	26	121
2013	2012	VIII	tiskano i elektroničko / printed and electronic	26	156
2013	2013	IX	elektroničko / electronic	27	194
2014	2014	X	elektroničko / electronic	35	215 (228)
2015	2015	XI	elektroničko / electronic	25	141 (148)
2016	2016	XII	elektroničko / electronic	36	222 (234)
2017	2017	XIII	elektroničko / electronic	29	181 (190)
2018	2018	XIV	elektroničko / electronic	24	160 (173)
2019	2019	XV	elektroničko / electronic	28	238 (251)
2020	2020	XVI	elektroničko / electronic	23	301 (314)
2021	2021	XVII	elektroničko / electronic	24	258 (268)
2022	2022	XVIII	elektroničko / electronic	16	222
2023	2023	XIX	elektroničko / electronic	11	151

# Posthumous drachm of Alexander III from Kaptol – Gradca (south-central Pannonia)

## Posthumno kovana drahma Aleksandra III. s lokaliteta Kaptol – Gradca (središnja južna Panonija)

Preliminary report >  
Prehistoric archaeology  
Prethodno priopćenje >  
Prapovijesna arheologija

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Key words: Kaptol, Late Iron Age, coins, drachm, Alexander III, imitation

A posthumous drachm of Alexander III, possibly an imitation, was found outside of any archaeological context on the important Iron Age site in southern Pannonia, the hillfort settlement at Kaptol – Gradca. The settlement seems to have been abandoned by Lt B2, while the deposition of the drachm should be dated to the later part of Lt C1 or the early Lt C2 period. The deposition date can be inferred from the hoard evidence in the immediately adjacent regions. This leaves a hiatus of a generation or two between the abandonment of the settlement and the deposition of the coin. The drachm certainly arrived to south-central Pannonia from the east, either the south-eastern Pannonia and the Central Balkans area or the region between the Southern Carpathians and the Balkan mountain range.

Ključne riječi: Kaptol, mlađe željezno doba, kovanice, drahma, Aleksandar III., imitacija

Posthumno kovana drahma Aleksandra III. – možda imitacija – pronađena je izvan arheološkog konteksta na važnom željeznodobnom lokalitetu u južnoj Panoniji, visinskom naselju Kaptol – Gradca. Čini se da je to naselje bilo napušteno do razdoblja Lt B2, dok se odlaganje drahme treba datirati u kasni Lt C1 ili rani Lt C2. Datum odlaganja može se odrediti na temelju analize ostava odloženih u susjednim područjima. To ostavlja prazninu od jedne ili dvije generacije između napuštanja naselja i odlaganja kovanice. Drahma je sigurno na područje središnje južne Panonije dospjela s istoka, bilo iz jugoistočne Panonije i središnjeg Balkanskog poluotoka ili iz područja između južnih Karpata i planinskog lanca Balkana.



## Introduction

In 2022 a drachm issued in the name of Alexander III of Macedon was found at the Kaptol – Gradca Iron Age site.<sup>1</sup> It was not recovered in proper archaeological excavations, but was a chance find on the forest road that was cut in the highest terrace of the settlement.<sup>2</sup> Naturally, to a certain measure, this in certain measure undermines the reliability of the information on the coin's provenance. Nevertheless, it does not seem futile to study the coin while assuming that the information on its find spot is secure.

## The settlement at the Kaptol – Gradca hillfort: a short overview

If Kaptol – Gradca is accepted as the coin's find spot, the drachm should be treated both as a rare find, certainly not part of the "regular circulation" in the region (south-central Pannonia), at least not so far to the west,<sup>3</sup> as well as an unexpected find on the site that is primarily and almost exclusively characterized by a Hallstatt settlement and necropolises.<sup>4</sup>

However, the most recent settlement horizon at the Kaptol – Gradca hillfort might be dated to the Early La Tène period (Dizdar, Potrebica 2005: 57, 64; Potrebica 2012a: 157; 2012b: 191; 2013: 170; 2015: 123; 2019: 498, 512; Rakvin 2016: 172–173; Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32, n. 2; Potrebica, Rakvin, Fileš Kramberger 2018: 157–158),<sup>5</sup> or perhaps down to the Early/Middle La Tène transition (Potrebica 2012a: 157) or even the Middle La Tène period (Potrebica 2005: 45; 2012b: 193; Rakvin 2016: 172). Thus, the

1 For the form "Gradca" see Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32, n. 1. The news of the find were disseminated on various news websites in Croatia, national, regional and local, as well as on several national TV networks.

2 The archaeological team has organized periodical surveys of the site to detect illegal activities such as the use of metal detectors or any intervention in the soil by the local forestry service. Surveys are also performed after more intensive storms because the cultural layers are so shallow that any erosion reveals new material. The coin was discovered on the forest road that cuts through the highest terrace of the settlement, immediately after the annual clearance of the forestry service, by M. Poletto, a volunteer from Kaptol that has constantly worked with the archaeological team for the last 16 years and often does periodical checks of the site.

3 For the early circulation of coins in the region see Dukat, Mirnik 1976: 186–200; Kos 1977; 1986: 20–24, 53–54; Поповић 1987; Göricke-Lukić 2004; Mirnik 2008; Bilić 2012: 359–375; 2017a; 2017b; 2024, in press; Bilić, Nad 2017. The term "regular circulation" is placed in quotation marks because it cannot be literary applied to the processes involving production, distribution, inflow (and outflow), use and deposition of coins during the Late Iron Age. Here it should be understood heuristically; for such a wider use of the term "circulation" cf. Wigg-Wolf 2011: 303, n. 14.

4 A recent brief overview of research for the settlement at Kaptol – Gradca is Potrebica 2019: 497–498; for the necropolis at Kaptol – Gradca see Potrebica 2019: 494–497; for the nearby necropolis of Kaptol – Čemernica see Potrebica 2019: 490–494. For the spatial and chronological relations within the complex that encompassed two burial-mound cemeteries and a fortified hillfort settlement see concisely in Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32.

5 More precisely, to the late phase of the Early La Tène period (Potrebica 2013: 169).

lowest possible date for the settlement at Kaptol – Gradca, according to the latest estimates of the researchers, seems to be Lt B2 (Potrebica 2019: 498; Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32, n. 2), i.e., in absolute terms, 325–275 BC.<sup>6</sup> This, as will be immediately demonstrated, corresponds well with the issue date of the Alexander III posthumous drachm, if not quite as well with the dates at which these and similar drachms were used and deposited in the region.

## The drachm from Kaptol – Gradca

The Alexander III posthumous drachm from Kaptol was struck during the period c. 310–301 BC (Price 1991: 248, 253–256) in a mint that is usually, but not conclusively, associated with Colophon in Asia Minor (hence "Colophon") (Price 1991: 247–248). The specific type is characterised by a combination of monograms in front of the seated Zeus and underneath his throne on the reverse depiction (crescent-PKA monogram) (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

## Single finds

Single finds of Alexander III drachms are known from the territory traditionally considered as occupied by the Scordisci (Map 1).<sup>8</sup> These were most recently surveyed by Dubravka Ujes (Ujes 2002: Appendices, Lists 1–2). It seems safe to assert that these finds are rare; their westernmost reach is, on present evidence, limited to the easternmost part of Sarmia, near the confluence of the Sava with the Danube, more than 200 km to the east-south-east, as the crow flies, from Kaptol. Thus, two drachms were found at Novi Banovci in easternmost Sarmia.<sup>9</sup> Novi Banovci, the Roman frontier fort *Burganae*, has yielded a truly unexpected volume of coins from all periods.<sup>10</sup> The Roman *Burganae* was built directly upon a La Tène

6 For the periodization of the Late Iron Age in terms of absolute dates see Dizdar 2013: 65 and Drnić 2015: 13. This could be further downdated if the Middle La Tène is taken as the latest period when the settlement was inhabited, i.e. down to 150 BC.

7 Price no. 1827. Weight 4.07 g, diameter 17.5 mm, axis 12 h.

8 On the recent reevaluation of the ethnonym Scordisci in terms of the latest developments in understanding the formation, development and notions of identity of Late Iron Age communities see Drnić 2020: 425–427, 441–442, building mainly upon Mihajlović (Mihajlović 2019: 191–195, 200, 202–203, 205–208, 212–219, 241–242, 250, 252, 268, 270–271).

9 Mirnik forthcoming: nos. 724 (Price no. 2637, Sardes, c. 323–319 BC) and 825 (halved, unidentifiable type).

10 See Mirnik (1999: 226–227) for a short overview of Late Iron Age and Roman coins from the site kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; cf. Поповић 1987: 141, 143. For a brief overview of the military history of the site see Radman-Livaja 2008: 295, 303; 2009: 189–190, with earlier literature. For an in-depth study of mediaeval coins from Novi Banovci, kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, but with interesting observations that also have some bearing on earlier periods, see Metcalf 1965: 132–139; 1979: 141–143.



Fig. 1 Posthumous drachm of Alexander III from Kaptol – Gradca (photo by: I. Krajcar)  
 Sl. 1 Postumno kovana drahma Aleksandra III. s Kaptola – Gradce (snimio: I. Krajcar)

settlement on the Gradina (hillfort) site,<sup>11</sup> which is the most likely context of the Late Iron Age coin-finds, including these two Alexander III drachms, until proven otherwise. Other single finds come from the area of easternmost Syrmia, between Batajnica and Zemun (Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, no. 16: halved, Price no. 1406, Lampsacus, c. 310–301 BC), and from the city of Zemun itself (Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, no. 18: Price no. 2090, Miletus, c. 325–323 BC). Another four drachms were found in the district of Belgrade, which now encompasses the easternmost Syrmia and the area immediately to the north of the Danube in modern Banat, but also largely occupies the area immediately to the south of the Sava and Danube rivers. One of these drachms is a posthumous coin of Alexander III struck in “Colophon” (Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, no. 17: “Colophon”, Price no. 1813, c. 310–301 BC).<sup>12</sup> Two more drachms were found near Vršac in southern Banat (modern Serbia, near the Romanian border), one of which is another posthumous coin of Alexander III struck in “Colophon”.<sup>13</sup> Finally, two unpublished drachms come from the vicinity of

Smederevo and “Eastern Serbia”.<sup>14</sup> Since these are all unprovenanced finds, little information can be drawn from them, apart from the inference that posthumous drachms of Alexander III indeed sporadically circulated in the area traditionally considered as occupied by the Scordisci.

### The evidence from hoards

This is further supported by the evidence from hoards, which also provide some chronological indicators for the inflow of these drachms in the region. Thus a number of specifically “Colophon” drachms appear in a hoard from Jabukovac (near the Iron Gates),<sup>15</sup> which has a *terminus post quem* of 240–235 BC, determined by the latest datable tetradrachms, those of Attalus I (Hunter 1967: 34; Поповић 1982: 24). Based on this unequivocal evidence, various scholars have offered different dates for the deposition of the hoard, varying from c. 220 BC (Hunter 1967: 34) to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Поповић 1982: 24; 1987: 79) or the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC or later (Ujes 2002: Appendices, List 3).<sup>16</sup> Thus, the “Colophon” drachms here are securely contextualised within the coin circulation of the second half

11 Ujes 2002: §18; Црнобрња 2015: 109, 303–304 = 2020: 85, 219–221.

12 The remaining three are Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, nos. 15 (Price no. 1389, Lampsacus, c. 310–301 BC), 19 (Price no. 2151, Miletus, c. 295–275 BC), and 20 (of doubtful authenticity according to the authors, monogram not recorded by Price, “Macedonian emissions”, prior to c. 300 BC).

13 Ujes 2002: Appendices, List 2, no. 16, n. 96 cites Ујес, Бакић 1996: 24. In Ујес, Бакић 1996: 24 only a single Alexander III drachm from Vršac is noted, which might correspond to the drachm cat. 2 (Ујес, Бакић 1996: 20 with the image on the Plate): “Colophon”, Price no. 1762, c. 323–319 BC (our attribution). Perhaps the hypothetical second drachm is precisely the one mentioned in Ујес, Бакић 1996: 24, if it is not the same as the drachm published as cat. 2.

14 Kept in the Museum in Smederevo and the National Museum in Belgrade, respectively.

15 Поповић 1982: 15 convincingly argues for the identity of the hoards “from Jabukovac” and “from Southern Serbia” (the modern Republic of North Macedonia), although this is not unanimously accepted by all scholars (such as Ujes 2002; cf. CHY 15, 20, 42). The drachms of Alexander III are only a part of the “Southern Serbia” (part of the) hoard (Ujes 2002: n. 32 draws attention to this particular fact).

16 On her proposal for an extremely late chronology see below.



Map 1 Distribution of imitations of the coins of Alexander III and Philip III (greatest concentration and wider area of distribution; after Preda 1972: 339, Fig. 23). Finds of Alexander III drachms in the area traditionally associated with the Scordisci: 1 Jabukovac (hoard); 2 Novi Banovci; 3 Batajnica/Zemun; 4 Zemun; 5 Belgrade district; 6 Vršac; 7 Smederevo; 8 eastern Serbia (satellite image sources: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus; made by: T. Bilić).

**Karta 1** Rasprostranjenost imitacija kovanica Aleksandra III. i Filipa III. (najveća gustoća i šire područje rasprostiranja; prema: Preda 1972: 339, sl. 23). Nalazi drahma Aleksandra III. u području koje se tradicionalno veže uz Skordiske: 1 Jabukovac (ostava); 2 Novi Banovci; 3 Batajnica/Zemun; 4 Zemun; 5 beogradsko područje; 6 Vršac; 7 Smederevo; 8 istočna Srbija (izvori satelitskih slika: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus; izrada: T. Bilić).

of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC or even somewhat later.<sup>17</sup>

The Jabukovac hoard belongs to the horizon of hoards from the Scordiscan area, not particularly numerous, characterized by the combined presence of Hellenistic coinage and various “Barbarian” imitations (Ujes 2002: Appendices, List 3). The hoards in question are the Eastern Sarmia Krčedin hoard (containing no drachms), with the date of concealment of this hoard estimated on numismatic grounds, independently of the dates of the Huși-Vovriești coins, to after c. 250–225 BC (CHY 15a; Поповић 1983; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 564), and “the Balkan area hoard” of an unknown exact find spot (also containing no drachms), with a closing

date of c. 240 BC, also established independently of the dates of the Huși-Vovriești coins (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 563).

These chronological considerations cannot be easily harmonised with what Ujes proposed as the date and context of deposition for the hoards containing various “Barbarian” imitations, most prominently the Huși-Vovriești coins, interred in the territory controlled by the Scordisci. She proposed the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC or somewhat later as the date of the concealment of the hoards, dating the influx of the coins rather precisely to the years 179–175 and 168 BC. Ujes associated these coins with the migrations of the Bastarnae and their relations with the Macedonia of Philip V and Perseus on one side and the Scordisci on the other (Ujes 2002: §32, 34, 42–43). As argued elsewhere, her well-elaborated hypothesis, however, cannot explain the distribution of Huși-Vovriești coinage outside the two regions –

17 “Colophon” drachms from the Jabukovac (including the “Southern Serbia”) hoard: Поповић 1982: 26, nos. 27–34 = Hunter 1967: 22, nos. 24–30 (= Price nos. 1805, 1812, 1813, 1817, 1825, c. 310–301 BC; 1842, c. 301–297 BC) plus Вучковић-Тодоровић 1969: 394, no. 9 (= Price no. 1825, c. 310–301 BC) and Поповић 1982: 30, no. 290 (= Price no. 1813, c. 310–301 BC).

Moldavia and the territory of the Scordisci – and relies too much on a somewhat forced down-dating of the hoards. Also, it relies on outdated concepts of ethnicity and the relation of ethnic or tribal groups with specific items of material culture. Thus, the earlier dates for the deposition of the hoards should be preferred: the second half or the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC or perhaps somewhat later.

### Imitations

Finally, a fine imitation of a “Colophon” posthumous drachm of Alexander III is kept in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> This coin is an imitation of the Price 1827 type – the exact same type as the Kaptol drachm. This museum piece (AMZ inv. A2020) is almost identical to the original “Colophon” drachms, except

These imitations circulated mostly in the eastern Balkans, with the core area of distribution in modern Romania to the south of the Carpathians (Oltenia, Muntenia) and modern Bulgaria to the north of the Balkan mountain range (Map 1). This corresponds well with the fact that the AMZ inv. A2020 piece was acquired from Nikola Gržetić, who served during the Austro-Hungarian Empire in modern Romania – Caransebeș (Banat) and Arad (Crișana) (Dugački 2002) – where he most likely acquired this particular coin and the other pieces kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb today.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time, several imitations of drachms of Alexander III were part of the Jabukovac/“Southern Serbia” hoard (Поповић 1982: 31, nos. 308–315, Pl. V.7–14; 1987: 164, Pl. 27: 6–12).<sup>21</sup> The region of the Iron Gates, where the village of Jabukovac is located, is on the margins of the wider area of distribution of the imitations of coins of Alexander III (Map 1),



Fig. 2 Imitation of posthumous drachm of Alexander III from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (inv. no. A2020) (photo by: I. Krajcar)  
Sl. 2 Imitacija poshumne drahme Aleksandra III. iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (inv. br. A2020) (snimio: I. Krajcar)

for the letter Δ rendered as a Λ; the Kaptol piece is very similar in this respect, although one can discern what could be the beginning of the horizontal bar on the left vertical bar of Δ/Λ (if pressed, however, we would read Λ here). Also, both AMZ inv. A2020 and the Kaptol drachm use A, while the original Price 1827 drachms have Λ instead of A as a rule (but not exclusively). Thus, there is a fair chance that the Kaptol drachm is also an imitation. The proposed dates for these imitations correspond well with those offered for the circulation and deposition of original drachms: the first half or the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Preda 1973: 343) or 300–220/200 BC (Lukanc 1996: 17, 21).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Bilić 2024, in press: cat. no. 1539: OTA 574/575, cf. Lukanc II.1–3 (nos. 17–38). Weight 4.29 g, inv. A2020.

<sup>19</sup> Preda (1973: 343) actually differentiates between several stages of production and deposition of the imitations of Alexander-Philip III (often indistinguishable) tetradrachms and drachms: the earliest, dated to the first half or the mid-3<sup>rd</sup>

century BC (the Venea hoard, for which cf. Preda 1973: 335 no. 34); the early, from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (the Hinova, Oancea and Satu Nou hoards, for which cf. Preda 1973: 137 no. 5, 334 no. 18), and the peak period in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, declining towards the end of the century (the Pirogovo and Beleanovo hoards, for which cf. Preda 1973: 240 no. 45, 283 no. 27). Only the Oancea hoard contained original drachms of Alexander and Philip III together with an imitation of the Alexander drachm (Preda 1973: 334 no. 18). Also, the Comana/Vlasca hoard contained a number of late imitations of the drachms of Alexander and Philip III, likely accompanied by Adâncata-type imitations (Preda's Adâncata-Pitești) (Preda 1973: 333 no. 12); the latter are dated by Preda to the mid and third quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Preda 1973: 213). Another hoard, that of Ruse (Preda 1973: 209 no. 36), contained Adâncata-type imitations together with several imitations of Philip III drachms, not younger than the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Preda 1973: 213).

<sup>20</sup> Bilić 2024, in press: cat. nos. 1418, 1449, 1482–1483, 1539, 1546, 1555, 1558 (see Index under Gržetić, dr. Nikola coll.).

<sup>21</sup> Among the hoards from the Scordiscan area characterized by the combined presence of Hellenistic coinage and various “Barbarian” imitations, the imitations of Alexander's drachms actually occur only in the hoard from Jabukovac/“Southern Serbia” (Поповић 1987: 60; Ujes 2002: § 31).

and the same applies to the area of the modern Republic of North Macedonia (i.e. “Southern Serbia”). Thus it appears that the imitations of Alexander III drachms also circulated in the area traditionally considered as occupied by the Scordisci.

## Conclusion

It seems that the Kaptol drachm of Alexander III is a well-made imitation of the original “Colophon” drachm Price no. 1827 (struck c. 310–301 BC), although it cannot be excluded that it is an original piece. In both cases it is certain that it arrived to Kaptol from the east. If original, it would most likely be associated with the area traditionally considered as occupied by the Scordisci, i.e. the south-eastern Pannonia and the Central Balkans. On the other hand, if it is an imitation, it should more likely be associated with the area further to the east, most probably the region encompassing modern Romania to the south of the Carpathians and modern Bulgaria to the north of the Balkan mountain range, although the Central Balkans area should also not be completely discarded, as the Jabukovac/“Southern Serbia” hoard clearly shows. With respect to its date of production – if the drachm is considered an imitation – the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC seems the most likely.<sup>22</sup> Naturally, this would give only the *tpq* for the deposition of the coin on Kaptol – Gradca. If original – even though this would most likely also apply to an imitation, since it is almost perfectly executed – the drachm should be associated with the horizon of hoards from the Scordiscan area characterized by the combined presence of Hellenistic coinage and the various “Barbarian” imitations, which can be dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC or, perhaps, somewhat later. We argue that this should be taken as the date of deposition of the posthumous Kaptol – Gradca drachm of Alexander III, i.e. the later part of Lt C1 to the early Lt C2 period (from c. 240 BC – the *tpqs* of “the Balkan area hoard” and the Jabukovac/“Southern Serbia” hoard – to the first few decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC – based on Popović’s estimate for the concealment of the Jabukovac/“Southern Serbia” hoard and Preda’s dating of imitations of the drachms of Alexander III). Since this date does not quite correspond with the lowest possible date for the settlement at Kaptol – Gradca (Lt B2, i.e., c. 325–275 BC), we can only hope that future excavations will solve this conundrum.

<sup>22</sup> Lukanc 1996 is unreliable: see the reviews of Lukanc’s book in Overbeck 1997 and de Callatay 1998.

# Abbreviations

## Kratice

CHY – Mirnik, I. A. 1981, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 95, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

OTA – Göbl, R. 1973, *Ostkeltischer Typen-Atlas*, Klinkhardt & Biermann, Braunschweig.

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# Sažetak

## Posthumno kovana drahma Aleksandra III. s lokaliteta Kaptol – Gradca (središnja južna Panonija)

### Uvod

Na željeznodobnom lokalitetu Kaptol – Gradca 2022. godine pronađena je drahma kovana u ime Aleksandra III. Makedonskog.<sup>1</sup> Nije iskopana tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, nego je nađena kao slučajna nalaz na šumskoj cesti usječenju u najvišu terasu naselja.<sup>2</sup> Naravno, to u izvjesnoj mjeri dovodi u pitanje pouzdanost informacija o podrijetlu kovanice. Ipak, ne čini se uzaludnim proučavati kovanicu uz pretpostavku da je informacija o mjestu nalaska točna.

### Visinsko naselje Kaptol – Gradca: kratki pregled

Ako se Kaptol – Gradca prihvati kao mjesto nalaska kovanice, drahma se treba smatrati rijetkim nalazom, koji nipošto ne spada u "redovni optjecaj" u tom području (središnjoj južnoj Panoniji), barem ne tako daleko na zapad,<sup>3</sup> kao i neočekivanim nalazom na lokaciji koju prvenstveno i gotovo isključivo obilježavaju halštatsko naselje i nekropole.<sup>4</sup>

Međutim, zadnji horizont naseljavanja na visinskom naselju Kaptol – Gradca može se datirati u rani

laten (Dizdar, Potrebica 2005: 57, 64; Potrebica 2012a: 157; 2012b: 191; 2013: 170; 2015: 123; 2019: 498, 512; Rakvin 2016: 172–173; Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32, n. 2; Potrebica, Rakvin, Fileš Kramberger 2018: 157–158),<sup>5</sup> ili možda kasnije u prijelaz s ranog na srednji laten (Potrebica 2012a: 157) ili čak srednji laten (Potrebica 2005: 45; 2012b: 193; Rakvin 2016: 172). Stoga bi najkasnije moguće datiranje naselja Kaptol – Gradca, prema zadnjim znanstvenim procjenama, bilo Lt B2 (Potrebica 2019: 498; Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32, n. 2), odnosno, apsolutno govoreći, 325. – 275. g. pr. Kr.<sup>6</sup> Odmah će se vidjeti da se to dobro slaže s razdobljem kovanja posthumne drahme Aleksandra III., iako ne toliko dobro s razdobljima kad su te i slične drahme bile korištene i odložene u tom području.

### Drahma s Kaptola – Gradce

Posthumna drahma Aleksandra III. s Kaptola kovana je u razdoblju oko 310.–301. pr. Kr. (Price 1991: 248, 253–256) u kovnici koja se obično, iako ne konačno, povezuje s Kolofonom u Maloj Aziji (odatle „Kolofon“) (Price 1991: 247–248). Taj konkretni tip obilježava kombinacija monograma pred sjedećim Zeusom i pod njegovim prijestoljem na naličju (polumjesec-PKA monogram) (sl. 1).<sup>7</sup>

### Pojedinačni nalazi

Pojedinačni nalazi drahma Aleksandra III. poznati su s teritorija koji se tradicionalno smatra područjem Skordiska (Karta 1).<sup>8</sup> Njihov najnoviji pregled napravila je Dubravka Ujes (Ujes 2002: Dodatci, Popisi 1–2). Može se sa sigurnošću ustvrditi da su ti nalazi rijetki; njihov najzapadniji doseg,

1 Za oblik „Gradca“ vidi Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32, n. 1. Vijest o pronalasku objavljena je na raznim informativnim portalima u Hrvatskoj – nacionalnim, regionalnim i lokalnim – kao i na više nacionalnih TV-mreža.

2 Arheološki je tim organizirao povremene preglede lokacije kako bi utvrdio ilegalne aktivnosti kao što je korištenje detektora metala ili neku šumarsku intervenciju u tlu. Pregledi se vrše i nakon jačeg nevremena zato što su kulturni slojevi tako plitki da svaka erozija razotkriva nove nalaze. Kovanica je otkrivena na šumskoj cesti usječenju kroz najvišu terasu naselja, odmah nakon godišnjeg šumarskog krčenja, a otkrio ju je M. Poletto, dragovoljac iz Kaptola koji zadnjih 16 godina stalno surađuje s arheološkim timom i često provjerava lokaciju.

3 Za rani optjecaj kovanica u tom području, vidi Dukát, Mirnik 1976: 186–200; Kos 1977; 1986: 20–24, 53–54; Поповић 1987; Göricke-Lukić 2004; Mirnik 2008; Bilić 2012: 359–375; 2017a; 2017b; 2024, u tisku; Bilić, Nađ 2017. Izraz „redovni optjecaj“ stavljen je pod navodnike jer se ne može doslovno primijeniti na procese koji uključuju proizvodnju, distribuciju, priljev (i odljev), korištenje i odlaganje kovanica u mlađem željeznom dobu. Ovdje se to treba shvatiti heuristički; za takav širi pojam „optjecaja“ usp. Wigg-Wolf 2011: 303, n. 14.

4 Za noviji kratak pregled istraživanja naselja Kaptol – Gradca, vidi Potrebica 2019: 497–498; za nekropolu Kaptol – Gradca, vidi Potrebica 2019: 494–497; za obližnju nekropolu Kaptol – Čemernica vidi Potrebica 2019: 490–494. Za prostorne i kronološke odnose s kompleksom koji je obuhvaćao dva groblja s humcima i utvrđeno visinsko naselje, vidi ukratko Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 32.

5 Točnije, u kasnu fazu ranog latena (Potrebica 2013: 169).

6 Za periodizaciju mlađeg željeznog doba u smislu apsolutnog datiranja, vidi Dizdar 2013: 65 i Drnić 2015: 13. To se može dodatno pomaknuti kasnije ako se srednji laten uzme kao zadnje razdoblje života u naselju, odnosno onda je 150. g. pr. Kr.

7 Price br. 1827. Težina 4,07 g, promjer 17,5 mm, os 12 h.

8 O novijem prevrednovanju etnonima Skordisci u smislu zadnjih koraka u razumijevanju nastanka, razvitka i pojmove identiteta u zajednicama mlađeg željeznog doba, vidi Drnić 2020: 425–427, 441–442, koji se uglavnom zasniva na Mihajloviću (Mihajlović 2019: 191–195, 200, 202–203, 205–208, 212–219, 241–242, 250, 252, 268, 270–271).

po sadašnjim nalazima, ograničen je na najistočniji dio Srijema, kod utoka Save u Dunav, na više od 200 km zračne linije istočno-jugoistočno od Kaptola. Tako su dvije drahme nađene u Novim Banovcima na krajnjem istoku Srijema.<sup>9</sup> Novi Banovci, odnosno rimska pogranična utvrda *Burgenae*, dali su zbilja neočekivanu količinu kovanica iz svih razdoblja.<sup>10</sup> Rimski su *Burgenae* sagrađeni točno na latenskom naselju na lokalitetu Gradina,<sup>11</sup> što je najvjerojatniji kontekst nalaza kovanica iz mlađeg željeznog doba, u koje spadaju te dvije drahme Aleksandra III., ako se ne pokaže drukčije. Drugi pojedinačni nalazi dolaze s krajnjeg istoka Srijema, između Batajnice i Zemuna (Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, br. 16: polovica, Price br. 1406, Lampsak, oko 310.–301. pr. Kr.) i iz samog grada Zemuna (Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, br. 18: Price br. 2090, Milet, oko 325.–323. g. pr. Kr.). Još su četiri drahme nađene u beogradskom području, koje sada obuhvaća krajnji istok Srijema i područje neposredno sjeverno od Dunava u današnjem Banatu, ali uvelike zauzima i područje neposredno južno od Save i Dunava. Jedna od tih drahma posthumna je kovanica Aleksandra III. iskovana u „Kolofonu” (Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, br. 17: „Kolofon”, Price br. 1813, oko 310.–301. g. pr. Kr.).<sup>12</sup> Još su dvije drahme nađene kod Vršca u južnom Banatu (današnja Srbija, kraj granice s Rumunjskom), od kojih je jedna opet posthumna kovanica Aleksandra III. iskovana u „Kolofonu”.<sup>13</sup> Napokon, dvije neobjavljene drahme dolaze iz okolice Smedereva i „istočne Srbije”.<sup>14</sup> Budući da su sve to nalazi bez podrijetla, iz njih se ne može izvući mnogo podataka, osim zaključka da su posthumne drahme Aleksandra III. uistinu sporadično bile u optjecaju u području koje se tradicionalno smatra područjem Skordiska.

## Nalazi iz ostava

To nadalje potvrđuju nalazi iz ostava, koji također daju neke kronološke pokazatelje za priljev tih drahma u tom području. Tako se više konkretnih „kolofonskih” drahma javlja u ostavi iz Jabukovca (kod Đerdapske klisure),<sup>15</sup> koja ima *terminus post quem* (u nastavku: *tpq*) 240.–235. g. pr. Kr., određen na temelju najmlađih datiranih tetradrahma – kovanica Atala I. (Hunter 1967: 34; Поповић 1982: 24). Temeljem tih neupitnih nalaza, znanstvenici nude različite datume za odlaganje ostave: od oko 220. g. pr. Kr. (Hunter 1967: 34) do kasnog 3. ili ranog 2. st. pr. Kr. (Поповић 1982: 24; 1987: 79) ili sredine 2. st. pr. Kr. ili kasnije (Ujes 2002: Appendices, List 3).<sup>16</sup> Tako su ove „kolofonske” drahme neupitno kontekstualizirane u optjecaj novca u drugoj polovici 3. st. pr. Kr. ili čak nešto poslije.<sup>17</sup>

Ostava iz Jabukovca pripada horizontu ostava iz područja Skordiska, koje nisu posebno brojne, a obilježava ih kombinacija helenističkog novca i raznih „barbarskih” imitacija (Ujes 2002: Appendices, List 3). Dotične ostave su ostava iz Krčedina u istočnom Srijemu (koja ne sadrži drahme), gdje se datum skrivanja ostave procjenjuje na numizmatičkim temeljima, neovisno o datiranju kovanica Huši-Vovriešti, negdje nakon vremena oko 250.–225. g. pr. Kr. (CHY 15a; Поповић 1983; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 564), i „ostava balkanskog područja” s nepoznatim mjestom nalaska (koja također ne sadrži drahme), s konačnim datumom oko 240. g. pr. Kr. koji je također određen neovisno o datiranju kovanica Huši-Vovriešti (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 563).

Ti se kronološki zaključci teško usklađuju s onim što je Ujes predložila kao datiranje i kontekst odlaganja za ostave koje sadrže razne „barbarske” imitacije, prvenstveno kovanice Huši-Vovriešti, zakopane na teritoriju pod kontrolom Skordiska. Za dataciju skrivanja ostava predložila je sredinu 2. st. pr. Kr. ili nešto kasnije, a priljev kovanica datirala je prilično precizno: 179.–175. i 168. g. pr. Kr. Ujes je povezala te kovanice sa seobama Bastarna i njihovim odnosima s Makedonijom Filipa V. i Perzeja s jedne strane i Skordiscima s druge (Ujes 2002: §32, 34, 42–43). Međutim, kao što se dokazuje drugdje, njezina razrađena hipoteza ne može objasniti rasprostranjenost kovanica Huši-Vovriešti izvan ta dva područja – Moldavije i teritorija Skordiska – i previše se oslanja na pomalo forsirano kasnije datiranje ostava. Osim toga, oslanja

9 Mirnik, u tisku: br. 724 (Price br. 2637, Sard, oko 323.–319. g. pr. Kr.) i 825 (polovica, neutvrđeni tip).

10 Vidi Mirnik (1999: 226–227) za kratki pregled mlađeželjeznodobnih i rimskih kovanica s lokaliteta koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu; usp. Поповић 1987: 141, 143. Za kratki pregled vojne povijesti lokaliteta, vidi Radman-Livaja 2008: 295, 303; 2009: 189–190, s ranijom literaturom. Za temeljitu studiju srednjovjekovnih kovanica iz Novih Banovaca pohranjenih u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, ali sa zanimljivim zapažanjima koja se odnose i na ranija razdoblja, vidi Metcalf 1965: 132–139; 1979: 141–143.

11 Ujes 2002: §18; Црнобрња 2015: 109, 303–304 = 2020: 85, 219–221.

12 Preostala tri su Црнобрња, Ујес 2000: 190, br. 15 (Price br. 1389, Lampsak, oko 310.–301. g. pr. Kr.), 19 (Price br. 2151, Milet, oko 295.–275. g. pr. Kr.) i 20 (upitne autentičnosti prema autorima, Price ne bilježi monogram, „Makedonske serije”, prije 300. g. pr. Kr.).

13 Ujes 2002: Appendices, List 2, br. 16, br. 96 citira Ujes, Бакић 1996: 24. U Ujes, Бакић 1996: 24 zabilježena je samo jedna drahma Aleksandra III. iz Vršca, što možda odgovara drahmi kat. 2 (Ujes, Бакић 1996: 20 sa slikom na Tabli): „Kolofon”, Price br. 1762, oko 323.–319. g. pr. Kr. (naša atribucija). Možda je hipotetska druga drahma upravo ona koju spominje Ujes, Бакић 1996: 24, ako nije ista kao drahma objavljena kao kat. 2.

14 Pohranjene u Muzeju u Smederevu odnosno u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu.

15 Поповић 1982: 15 uvjerljivo tvrdi da je ostava „iz Jabukovca” isto što i ostava „iz južne Srbije” (današnje Republike Sjeverne Makedonije), iako to nisu prihvatili svi znanstvenici (kao Ujes 2002; usp. CHY 15, 20, 42). Drahme Aleksandra III. samo su dio ostave (kojoj je dio) „iz južne Srbije” (Ujes 2002: n. 32 skreće pažnju na to).

16 O njezinu prijedlogu jako kasne kronologije vidi u nastavku.

17 „Kolofonske” drahme iz ostave iz Jabukovca (uključujući ostavu „iz južne Srbije”): Поповић 1982: 26, br. 27–34 = Hunter 1967: 22, br. 24–30 (= Price br. 1805, 1812, 1813, 1817, 1825, oko 310.–301. g. pr. Kr.; 1842, oko 301.–297. g. pr. Kr.), te Вучковић-Тодоровић 1969: 394, br. 9 (= Price br. 1825, oko 310.–301. g. pr. Kr.) i Поповић 1982: 30, br. 290 (= Price br. 1813, oko 310.–301. g. pr. Kr.).

se na zastarjele pojmove etnosa i odnos etničkih ili plemenskih skupina s konkretnim predmetima materijalne kulture. Stoga treba preferirati raniji datum odlaganja ostava, a to je druga polovica ili kraj 3. st. pr. Kr. ili možda nešto kasnije.

## Imitacije

Napokon, dobra imitacija "kolofonske" posthumne drahme Aleksandra III. pohranjena je u zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (sl. 2).<sup>18</sup> Ta je kovanica imitacija tipa Price 1827 – posve istog tipa kao drahma s Kaptola. Taj muzejski izložak (AMZ inv. A2020) gotovo je jednak originalnim „kolofonskim” drahmama, samo što je slovo Δ izvedeno kao Λ; kovanica s Kaptola jako je slična u tom pogledu, iako se može razabrati nešto što bi moglo biti početak vodoravne crte na lijevoj okomitoj crti slova Δ/Λ (ipak, kad bi trebalo birati, ovdje bismo čitali Λ). Osim toga, AMZ inv. A2020 i drahma s Kaptola koriste A, dok izvorne drahme Price 1827 u pravilu (ali ne isključivo) imaju Λ umjesto A. Stoga je lako moguće da je drahma s Kaptola također imitacija. Predloženo datiranje tih imitacija dobro se slaže s ponuđenim datiranjem za optjecaj i odlaganje izvornih drahma: od prve polovice ili sredine 3. do ranog 2. st. pr. Kr. (Preda 1973: 343) ili 300. – 220./200. g. pr. Kr. (Lukanc 1996: 17, 21).<sup>19</sup> Te su imitacije uglavnom bile u optjecaju po istočnom Balkanu, a jezgra rasprostiranja bila je današnja Rumunjska južno od Karpata (Oltenija, Muntenija) i današnja Bugarska sjeverno od planinskog lanca Balkana (karta 1). To se dobro slaže s tim da je kovanicu AMZ inv. A2020 nabavio Nikola Gržetić, koji je pod Austro-Ugarskom služio u današnjoj Rumunjskoj – u Caransebešu (Banat) i Aradu (Crișana) (Dugački 2002) – gdje se najvjerojatnije domogao te kovanice kao i drugih koje su danas pohranjene u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.<sup>20</sup>

S druge strane, nekoliko imitacija drahma Aleksandra III. nađeno je u ostavi iz Jabukovca/„južne Srbije” (Popović 1982: 31, br. 308–315, T. V. 7–14; 1987:

164, T. 27: 6–12).<sup>21</sup> Područje Đerdapske klisure, gdje se nalazi selo Jabukovac, na rubu je šireg područja rasprostiranja imitacija kovanica Aleksandra III. (karta 1), što vrijedi i za područje današnje Republike Sjeverne Makedonije (odnosno „južne Srbije”). Stoga se čini da su imitacije drahma Aleksandra III. također bile u optjecaju u području koje se tradicionalno smatra područjem Skordiska.

## Zaključak

Čini se da je drahma Aleksandra III. s Kaptola dobra imitacija izvorne "kolofonske" drahme Price br. 1827 (iskovane oko 310. – 301. g. pr. Kr.), iako se ne može isključiti ni da je original. U oba slučaja sigurno je stigla na Kaptol s istoka. Ako je original, najvjerojatnije bi se vezala uz područje koje se tradicionalno smatra područjem Skordiska, odnosno uz jugoistočnu Panoniju i središnji Balkan. S druge strane, ako je imitacija, vjerojatno bi se trebala vezati uz istočnije krajeve, najvjerojatnije uz područje koje obuhvaća današnju Rumunjsku južno od Karpata i današnju Bugarsku sjeverno od planinskog lanca Balkana, iako se područje središnjeg Balkana također ne bi smjelo posve odbaciti, kao što jasno pokazuje ostava iz Jabukovca/„južne Srbije”. U pogledu datuma proizvodnje – ako se drahma smatra imitacijom – najvjerojatnije je kasno 3. ili rano 2. st. pr. Kr.<sup>22</sup> Naravno, tako bi se dobio samo *tpq* za odlaganje kovanice na lokalitetu Kaptol – Gradca. Ako je drahma original – iako bi to najvjerojatnije vrijedilo i za imitaciju jer je izvedena gotovo savršeno – treba se vezati uz horizont ostava iz područja Skordiska koje su obilježene kombinacijom helenističkog novca i raznih „barbarskih” imitacija, koje se mogu datirati u drugu polovicu 3. st. pr. Kr. ili možda nešto kasnije. Tvrdimo da je to datum odlaganja posthumno kovane drahme Aleksandra III. s lokaliteta Kaptol – Gradca, odnosno kasni Lt C1 ili rani Lt C2 (od oko 240. g. pr. Kr. – *tpq* „ostave iz balkanskog područja” i *tpq* ostave iz Jabukovca/„južne Srbije” – do prvih nekoliko desetljeća 2. st. pr. Kr. – na temelju procjene koju daje Popović za skrivanje ostave iz Jabukovca/„južne Srbije” i datiranja imitacija drahma Aleksandra III. koje daje Preda). Budući da se taj datum baš ne poklapa s najkasnijim mogućim datumom naselja Kaptol – Gradca (Lt B2, odnosno oko 325. – 275. g. pr. Kr.), možemo se samo nadati da će buduća istraživanja riješiti tu nedoumicu.

18 Bilić 2024, u tisku: kat. br. 1539: OTA 574/575, usp. Lukanc II.1–3 (br. 17–38). Težina 4,29 g, inv. A2020.

19 Preda (1973: 343) zapravo razlikuje više faza proizvodnje i odlaganja imitacija tetradrahma i drahma Aleksandra-Filipa III. (koje se često ne mogu razlikovati): one najranije, datirane u prvu polovicu ili sredinu 3. st. pr. Kr. (ostava Venea, usp. Preda 1973: 335 br. 34); one rane, s kraja 3. i početka 2. st. pr. Kr. (ostave Hinova, Oancea i Satu Nou, usp. Preda 1973: 137 br. 5, 334 br. 18); i faza vrhunca sredinom 2. st. pr. Kr. te opadanja prema kraju stoljeća (ostave Pîrgovo i Beleanovo, usp. Preda 1973: 240 br. 45, 283 br. 27). Samo je ostava Oancea sadržavala originalne drahme Aleksandra i Filipa III. zajedno s jednom imitacijom Aleksandrove drahme (Preda 1973: 334 br. 18). Osim toga, ostava Comana/Vlasca je sadržavala više kasnih imitacija drahma Aleksandra i Filipa III., vjerojatno zajedno s imitacijama tipa Adâncata (Adîncata-Pitești kod Prede) (Preda 1973: 333 br. 12); Preda datira ove potonje u sredinu i treću četvrtinu 2. st. pr. Kr. (Preda 1973: 213). Također, ostava Ruse (Preda 1973: 209 br. 36) sadržavala je imitacije tipa Adâncata zajedno s više imitacija drahma Filipa III., ne mlađih od sredine 2. st. pr. Kr. (Preda 1973: 213).

20 Bilić 2024, u tisku: kat. br. 1418, 1449, 1482–1483, 1539, 1546, 1555, 1558 (vidi Indeks pod Gržetić, dr. Nikola, zbirka).

21 Među ostavama iz područja Skordiska koje su obilježene kombinacijom helenističkog novca i raznih „barbarskih” imitacija, imitacije Aleksandrovih drahma pojavljuju se samo u ostavi iz Jabukovca/„južne Srbije” (Popović 1987: 60; Ujes 2002: § 31).

22 Lukanc 1996 je nepouzdan: vidi osvrte na Lukančevu knjigu u Overbeck 1997 i de Callatay 1998.