

Ostava kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti s nalazišta Josipovac - Selište kraj Osijeka

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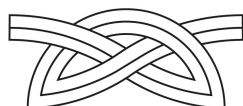
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A HOARD OF HUŠI-VOVRIEŠTI COINS FROM JOSIPOVAC – SELIŠTE NEAR OSIJEK

OSTAVA KOVANICA TIPRA HUŠI-VOVRIEŠTI S NALAZIŠTA JOSIPOVAC – SELIŠTE KRAJ OSIJEKA

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A small hoard of Huši-Vovriešti coins deposited in a Danubian kantharos underneath a Late Iron Age house at the site of Josipovac – Selište near modern Osijek most likely represents a foundation deposit. As such, the cache was not meant to be retrieved, and its deposition was part of a ritual of a sort, one we cannot reconstruct with any certainty. The use of a container otherwise involved in ritualistic practises, funerary and ceremonial, perhaps also the ritual demonetisation of coins with chop-marks, as well as precise and consistent application of these chop-marks, all point to a ritualistic background to the deposition. The hoard was probably interred during the LT C1 period, i.e., during the second half of the 3rd or perhaps at the very beginning of the 2nd century BC. This date is supported by the lower chronological limit of the production of the Huši-Vovriešti coins, the fact that the container in which they were deposited was produced either in LT B2 or LT C1 period, with its latest possible date of usage not later than the early 2nd century BC, as well as on an analogy with the hoards of the Huši-Vovriešti coins deposited in the Scordiscan area that can be dated independently of this particular coin-type.

Key words: Josipovac – Selište, Late Iron Age, coins, Huši-Vovriešti, foundation deposit

Manja ostava kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti odloženih u kantharos, pronađena ispod mlađeželjeznodobne kuće na lokalitetu Josipovac – Selište kraj Osijeka, najvjerojatnije predstavlja votivni depozit položen prilikom podizanja građevine. U tom smislu ovo odlaganje je smatrano konačnim, a bilo je dio ritualnoga obrasca kojega danas ne možemo rekonstruirati. Upotreba posude koja je inače bila upotrebljavana u ritualnoj praksi (u pogrebnom i ceremonijalnom kontekstu), možda i ritualna demonetizacija kovanica dubokim urezima, kao i precizna i dosljedna aplikacija tih ureza, sugeriraju ritualni kontekst odlaganja ostave. Ona je vjerojatno ukopana tijekom LT C1, tj. tijekom druge polovice 3. st. ili početkom 2. st. pr. Kr. Ovu dataciju podupiru donja kronološka granica produkcije kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti, činjenica da je posuda u kojoj su kovanice odložene izrađena u LT B2 ili LT C1 razdoblju, s ranim 2. st. pr. Kr. kao najkasnijim datumom upotrebe, kao i usporedba s ostavama kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti ukopanim na području pod kontrolom Skordiska koje je moguće datirati neovisno o predloženim datacijama toga tipa kovanica.

Ključne riječi: Josipovac – Selište, mlađe željezno doba, kovanice, Huši-Vovriešti, votivno polaganje prilikom konstrukcije

A small cache of Late Iron Age tetradrachms was found at the Josipovac – Selište site during rescue archaeological excavations conducted from the autumn of 2007 to the spring of 2008 (Filipec, Karneluti 2009; Filipec et al. 2009: 63–71).¹ Josipovac – Selište is a site situated ca. 10 km to the west – north-west from the centre of Osijek and ca. 3 km to the south – south-west from the present course of the Drava (Maps 1–2). At the summit of the eastern part of the site a Late Iron Age semi-sunken rectangular pit house was excavated (Fig. 1).² The coins were found in a ceramic vessel at the bottom of the pit house, interred in the ground under a plank floor.³ In the immediate vicinity a semi-sunken oven was found, together with several Late Iron Age pits, postholes and ditches, presumably all part of an apparently rural residential complex (Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 29; Filipec et al. 2009: 63).⁴ Since neither the small finds nor various excavated features, including precise stratigraphic relations, are published in full to date, this is all that can be said on the immediate context of the find. But, in this particular case, the available information seems sufficient for attempting an informed analysis of the cache.

Manja skupina mlađeželjeznodobnih tetradrahmi pronađena je na lokalitetu Josipovac – Selište tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja provedenih od jeseni 2007. do proljeća 2008. godine (Filipec, Karneluti 2009; Filipec et al. 2009: 63–71).¹ Josipovac – Selište se nalazi oko 10 km sjeverno – sjeverozapadno od središta Osijeka i oko 3 km južno – jugozapadno od današnjega toka Drave (karta 1–2). Na najvišem dijelu istočnoga dijela lokaliteta pronađena je mlađeželjeznodobna poluukopana kuća pravokutnoga oblika (sl. 1).² Kovanice su pronađene u keramičkoj posudi na dnu poluukopanoga objekta, ukopane ispod daščanoga poda.³ U neposrednoj blizini kuće pronađena je poluukopana peć, kao i nekoliko mlađeželjeznodobnih jama, rupa za stupove i jaraka, koji svi zajedno vjerojatno čine jedno ruralno imanje (Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 29; Filipec et al. 2009: 63).⁴ Kako niti pronađeni predmeti ni razni iskopani objekti nisu sustavno objavljeni, što uključuje i precizne stratigrafske odnose, ne može se više reći o neposrednome kontekstu nalaza ostave. Ali se u ovom konkretnom slučaju dostupne informacije čine dostatnima za pokušaj realistične analize ovog skupnog nalaza kovanica.

1 I would like to thank prof. Krešimir Filipec from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, the head of the excavations, and Domagoj Dujmić from the Archaeological Museum Osijek, the curator of the Late Iron Age collection of the Osijek Archaeological Museum where the find is kept, for allowing me the opportunity to study and publish this find.

2 For Late Iron Age rectangular above-ground houses, the typical type of dwelling units in this period, excavated in eastern Slavonia and Sarmia, see Drnić, Skelac 2008: 387. It appears that the rectangular above-ground structures were characteristic for fortified settlements, while the semi-sunken ones typically appear in open settlements; but other than their respective constructions, no significant differences between the two types of structures are documented (Mihajlović 2019: 217–218). On the Josipovac – Selište house in particular, see Drnić 2019: 176. At the same time, rectangular semi-sunken structures are often interpreted as work areas, but were most probably also used as dwellings (Wendling 2019: 237).

3 Usually, Late Iron Age houses had rammed earth floors (Drnić, Skelac 2008, 387). The plank floor of the house from Josipovac – Selište site is introduced in a brief study (Filipec et al. 2009: 63) published almost simultaneously – but apparently prior to (since it is cited in Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 30) – the brief initial excavation report, where it is not mentioned (Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 29–30; here “the bottom of the pit-dwelling” is noted as the find spot of the hoard). Drnić (2019: 176) seems to accept this interpretation, understanding the semi-sunken area underneath the plank floor (ca. 70 cm deep in total, but the area covered by the plank floor is only at the bottom part: Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 29; Filipec et al. 2009: 63 with figures on p. 68; cf. Drnić 2019: 175, Fig. 2b) as a storage place or a cellar.

4 For the coin hoard cf. Nađ 2012: 397, no. 5. On rural landscape in Late Iron Age southern Pannonia see Drnić 2019.

1 Ovom prigodom zahvalio bih voditelju istraživanja prof. Krešimiru Filipecu, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu te Domagoju Dujmiću, kustosu Zbirke mlađeg željeznog doba Arheološkog muzeja Osijek, u kojoj se čuva ovaj nalaz, što su mi pružili priliku analizirati i objaviti ovu ostavu.

2 O mlađeželjeznodobnim nadzemnim kućama, koje predstavljaju tipičan oblik staništa u ovome razdoblju, istraženima na području istočne Slavonije i Srijema, vidjeti Drnić, Skelac 2008: 387. Čini se da su pravokutni nadzemni objekti bili karakteristični za utvrđena naselja, dok se zemunice uobičajeno pojavljuju u otvorenim naseljima. No, osim različite konstrukcije, nisu uočene znakovite razlike između ta dva tipa nastambi (Mihajlović 2019: 217–218). Specifično o kući s lokaliteta Josipovac – Selište vidjeti Drnić 2019: 176. Istovremeno, pravokutni poluukopani objekti često se interpretiraju kao radni prostori, ali su najvjerojatnije također korišteni kao nastambe (Wendling 2019: 237).

3 Mlađeželjeznodobne kuće uobičajeno su imale podove od nabijene zemlje (Drnić, Skelac 2008: 387). Daščani pod kuće s lokaliteta Josipovac – Selište prvotno se spominje u kraćoj studiji (Filipec et al. 2009: 63) objavljenom gotovo istovremeno – ali očito prije (naime, citira se u Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 30) – kraćega preliminarnog izvještaja s iskopavanja, gdje se takav pod ne spominje (Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 29–30; ovdje je „dno zemunice” zabilježeno kao mjesto pronalaska ostave). Čini se da Drnić (2019: 176) prihvaća ovakvu interpretaciju, razumijevajući ukopani dio kuće ispod daščanoga poda (oko 70 cm ukupne dubine, ali prostor pokriven daščanim podom je samo u donjem dijelu ukopa: Filipec, Karneluti 2009: 29; Filipec et al. 2009: 63 uz ilustracije na str. 68; usp. Drnić 2019: 175, Fig. 2b) kao prostor za ostavu ili podrum.

4 Oostavijusp. Nađ 2012: 397, br. 5. O ruralnome okolišu u mlađeželjeznodobnoj južnoj Panoniji vidjeti Drnić 2019.

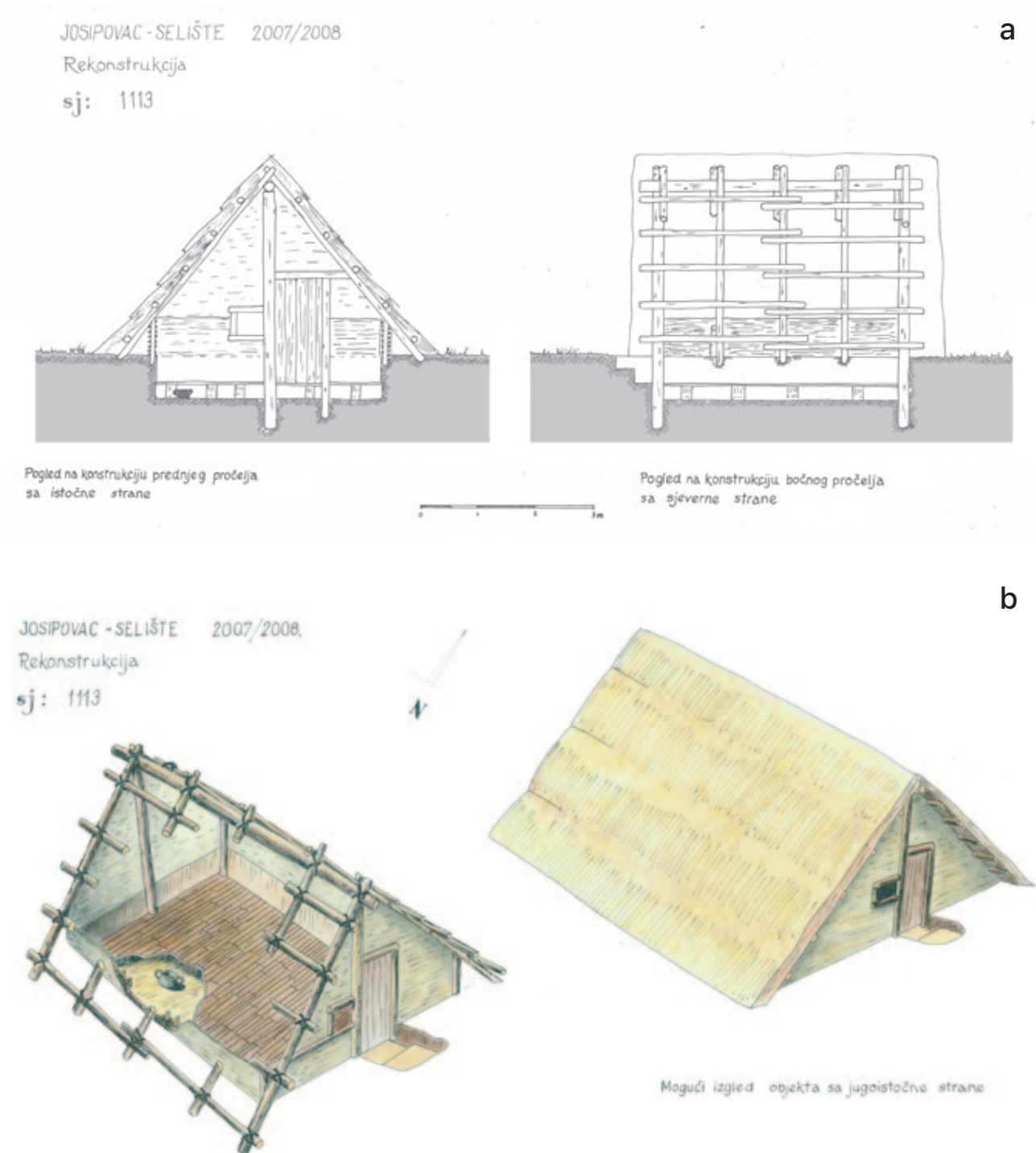


Fig. 1 a) Reconstruction of the Late Iron Age semi-recessed house at Josipovac – Selište; b) Reconstruction of the Late Iron Age semi-recessed house at Josipovac – Selište with the position of the clay vessel containing coins (drawing: Field archaeological workshop of the Department of Archaeology in Bizovac; after: Filipec et al. 2009)
Sl. 1 a) Rekonstrukcija konstrukcije mlađeželjeznodobne poluukopane kuće s lokaliteta Josipovac – Selište; b) rekonstrukcija mlađeželjeznodobne poluukopane kuće s lokaliteta Josipovac – Selište i položaj glinene posude s kovanicama (crtež: Terenska arheološka radionica Odsjeka za arheologiju u Bizovcu; prema: Filipec et al. 2009)

HUȘI-VOVRIEȘTI COINS

The hoard, consisting of five Huși-Vovriești coins, was placed in a ceramic container and deposited in the ground underneath a plank floor.⁵ On all five coins the horseman is depicted riding to the left, which is not unusual, even though the more usual direction seems to have been to the right; more often than not both main types are encountered in the same hoard (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 543, n. 20). All five coins are chop-marked on the reverse, at approximately the same place, below the horse's body (one specimen was struck more forcefully, so the cut thrust all the way to the other side of the coin) (Fig. 2). This is in line with the normal practice of cutting the Huși-Vovriești coins, which were, with only a few exceptions, always chop-marked on the reverse (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 400; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 547). The exact positioning of the cuts – i.e., below the horse's body and between its front and hind legs – which is a characteristic of a large number, but by no means all, of the Huși-Vovriești coins, strongly suggests an intentional care not to deface the depiction of the horse(man) (on this more below) (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 401).⁶ Some of the coins appear to be die-related: the obverses of cat. nos. 2, 3 and 5 most likely share the same die, as do the obverses of 1 and 4. In addition, the reverses of the latter were produced by a very similar, although not identical, die (Fig. 3).⁷ This is rather unusual, since one of the salient characteristics of the Huși-Vovriești hoards is precisely that the coins they contain are as a rule made from different dies (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 542–543). Also, often a hoard contains specimens of a different quality, from both stylistic and technical standpoint (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 546), which is manifestly not the case here: all coins in the Josipovac – Seliște hoard are very stylized and poorly executed pieces. It was recently proposed that it is possible to distinguish two basic types of the Huși-Vovriești hoards, even though the boundaries between them are sometimes rather moot. In

KOVANICE TIP A HUȘI-VOVRIEȘTI

Ostava pet kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești odložena je u keramičkoj posudi i ukopana ispod daščanog poda kuće.⁵ Na svih pet primjeraka konjanik na reversu je prikazan jašući ulijevo, što nije neobično, iako se čini kako je suprotni smjer bio češće korišten; u većem broju slučajeva obje varijante su prisutne u istoj ostavi (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 543, bilj. 20). Svih pet kovanica je zarezano na reversu, otprilike na istome mjestu, ispod konja (jedan primjerak je zarezan upotrebom jače sile tako da je rez probio kovanicu cijelom debljinom) (sl. 2). To je u skladu sa standardnom praksom zarezivanja kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești koje su, uz nekoliko iznimaka, redovito bile zarezivane na reversu (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 400; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 547). Precizno pozicioniranje rezova – ispod tijela konja, između prednjih i stražnjih nogu – karakteristično za veliki broj kovanica ovoga tipa, iako ne sve, snažno sugerira namjeru da se ne nagrdi prikaz konja(nika) (o tome više u nastavku) (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 401).⁶ Neke od kovanica, čini se, izrađene su istim pečatima: aversi kat. br. 2, 3 i 5 najvjerojatnije su izrađeni istim pečatom, kao i reversi kat. br. 1 i 4. Također, reversi kat. br. 1 i 4 su proizvedeni vrlo sličnim pečatima, iako ne identičnim (sl. 3).⁷ To je prilično neobično jer jedna od glavnih karakteristika ostava kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești je upravo redovito prisustvo kovanica izrađivanih različitim pečatima (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 542–543). Također, ostave toga tipa često sadrže primjerke različitih kvaliteta izrade u terminima stilističke i/ili tehničke izvedbe (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 546), što ovdje nije slučaj: sve kovanice su jako stilizirane i slabo otkovane. Nedavno je predložena mogućnost razlikovanja dvaju osnovnih tipova ostava kovanica Huși-Vovriești, iako je granica između njih često nejasna. U prvoj grupi, koja možda ima kronološki prioritet, dominiraju imitacije vjernije originalima, ponekad zadržavajući

5 I will henceforth use the term "hoard" in the widest possible sense denoting a cache of coins, but will restrain from the using of the latter term in order not to be too pedantic and to conform to the standard numismatic practice. Also, I will explain in due place my view on the precise circumstances of the deposition of the hoard with respect to the apparent presence of the plank floor.

6 Compare the completely opposite practice at Martberg, a temple complex of the Treveri, and among the Parisii, where the reverse horse was intentionally chop-marked (Wigg-Wolf 2020: 18, 20).

7 The poor workmanship invested in the production of the dies does not allow straightforward die-identifications. I have personally inspected the coins using a Dino-Lite digital microscope and the results presented here are the reflection of my best ability in estimating die-relations.

5 U nastavku teksta termin „ostava“ bit će korišten u najširem mogućem smislu, označavajući skupni nalaz kovanica, ali će biti zadržan kako bi se izbjegla pretjerana pedantnost te kako bi se zadržala standardna numizmatička praksa. Isto tako, na odgovarajućem mjestu će biti objašnjen pogled na precizne okolnosti odlaganja ostave u kontekstu prisustva daščanoga poda.

6 S ovim se može usporediti potpuno suprotna praksa u Martbergu, hramskome kompleksu Trevera te među Parizijima gdje je prikaz konja na reversu namjerno zarezivan (Wigg-Wolf 2020: 18, 20).

7 Slaba kvaliteta izrade pečata ne omogućava nedvojbeno prepoznavanje povezanosti među pečatima. Kovanice sam pregledao koristeći digitalni mikroskop Dino-Lite, a ovdje predstavljeni rezultati odraz su moje sposobnosti u procjeni odnosa među pečatima.

the first group, possibly chronologically earlier, imitations more faithful to originals, sometimes retaining vestiges of legends and sigla, with a relatively smaller number of cuts and no countermarks seem to predominate. The more numerous group consists of the hoards composed of poorly executed pieces, often characterised by multiple cuts and different countermarks (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 549–550).⁸ However, the chronological relation between the two groups is postulated on the grounds of common sense, rather than on exact evidence. The Josipovac – Selište hoard would certainly belong to the latter group, even though it contained no countermarked coins and the chop-marks, even though present on all specimens, were only applied once. The precise meaning of the chop-marks is a strongly debated issue, with two dominant opposite explanatory strategies ascribing to the practice either a functional or symbolical purpose (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 548, with earlier literature). I will return to this question later.

The hoard from Josipovac – Selište is geographically on the margins – or, certainly, well-

ostatke natpisa i oznaka, uz relativno manji broj zareza i odsustvo kontramarki. Brojnija grupa sastoji se od ostava s kovanicama slabe izrade, često zarezanima više puta i s različitim kontramarkama (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 549–550).⁸ Međutim, kronološki odnos između dvije grupe pretpostavljen je na temelju zdravoga razuma, a ne egzaktnih dokaza. Ostava iz Josipovca – Selišta sigurno bi pripadala drugoj grupi, iako kovanice iz te ostave nisu kontramarkirane, dok su zarezi, iako su prisutni na svim primjercima, uvijek pojedinačni. Točno značenje zareza je pitanje o kojem se puno raspravljalo, a dvije dominantne interpretativne strategije pripisuju ovu praksu funkcionalnoj ili simboličkoj namjeni (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 548, s ranijom literaturom). Na ovo pitanje vratit ću se kasnije.

Ostava s nalazišta Josipovac – Selište je geografski na marginama – u svakome slučaju daleko od jezgre – prilično rasprostranjenoga numizmatičkog fenomena kojega čine kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești (karta 1). Upravo zbog široke rasprostranjenosti čini se da je taj fenomen prihvaćen od strane raznih mlađeželjeznodobnih grupa, iako se



Fig. 2 Coins from the Josipovac – Selište hoard (photo by: B. Jobst)
Sl. 2 Kovanice iz ostave Josipovac – Selište (snimio: B. Jobst)

8 For countermarks as the distinctive characteristic of the Huși-Vovriești coins see Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 548–549.

8 Za kontramarke kao specifično obilježje kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești vidjeti Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 548–549.

cat. no. / kat. br.	AMO inv. no. / br.	weight / težina (g)	dimensions / promjer (mm)	axis / os (h)
1	202209	13.21	26	12
2	202207	12.56	26	11
3	202208	12.27	24	12
4	202206	12.00	24	11
5	202210	11.79	25	12

Tab. 1 Data on the coins from the Josipovac – Seliște hoard (made by: T. Bilić)

Tab. 1 Podaci o kovanicama iz ostave Josipovac – Seliște (izradio T. Bilić)

outside the centre – of the rather widespread phenomenon involving the Huși-Vovriești coin-type (Map 1). Precisely due to the phenomenon's wide distribution it seems that it was embraced by various groups of people, even though its origin in a region outside the easternmost reach of the La Tène complex seems to be beyond doubt (but see below). The current research paradigm would dismiss – rightly, in my opinion – an exclusive connection between the coins of the Huși-Vovriești type and an ethnic, linguistic or tribal group, whose movements would spread it from its core region of origin to the more peripheral areas. But the precise models of spread of this distinctive group of objects of material culture are currently not developed, due primarily to the lack of reliable stratified deposits. The latest comprehensive attempt at reviewing all the available data is certainly a significant move forward (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016), but no conclusive deductions seem to have been reached.

The origin of this type of coin is associated with Moldavia (encompassing both Romanian Moldavia and the Republic of Moldova, roughly a region between the Eastern Carpathians and the Dniester River, with as much as three quarters of all known Huși-Vovriești coins coming from this region) (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 552) and they are traditionally dated from the late 3rd to the mid-2nd century BC (Preda 1973: 126–131, 445; Поповић 1980: 13; 1981: 172, 174–175; 1983: 14–19; 1987: 60–61, 79; Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 395–396, n. 1, 400–402; Rudnicki 2003: 18–20; Čižmář et al. 2008: 671; Kolníková 2012: 57).⁹ However, some recent discoveries and the discussions that followed them allow

⁹ For this type of coinage in general see Preda 1973: 111–131, 444–445; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016.

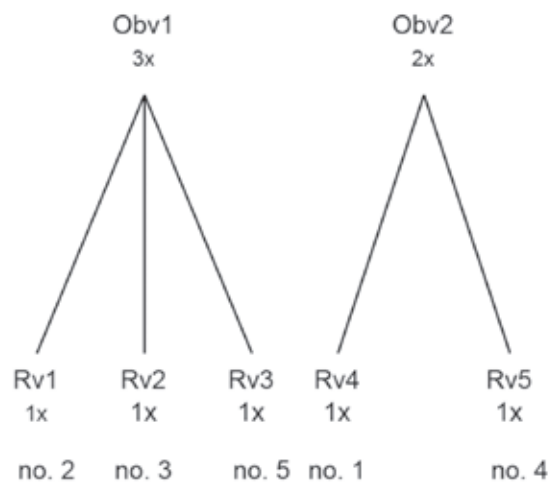


Fig. 3 Die-links in the Josipovac – Seliște hoard (made by: T. Bilić using diagrams.net software)

Sl. 3 Povezanost pečata u ostavi Josipovac – Seliște (izradio: T. Bilić pomoću programa diagrams.net)

čini da je njegovo porijeklo u području izvan najistočnijega rasprostiranja latenskoga kulturalnog kompleksa izvan svake sumnje (ali vidjeti dalje u tekstu). Trenutna istraživačka paradigma odbacila bi – po mojem mišljenju opravdano – ekskluzivnu povezanost kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești s nekom etničkom, jezičnom ili plemenskom grupacijom čiji bi pokreti proširili taj fenomen iz njegove geografske jezgre prema perifernijim regijama. Ali precizni modeli širenja ove karakteristične grupe predmeta materijalne kulture u ovome trenutku nisu razvijeni, prvenstveno zbog nedostatka pouzdano stratificiranih nalaza. Kronološki posljednja sveobuhvatna studija, u kojoj je iznesen pregled svih raspoloživih podataka, svakako je značajan korak naprijed (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016), ali čini se da u njoj nisu dosegnuti neki nedvojbeni zaključci o navedenom problemu.

the conclusion that it is possible that they are somewhat earlier, with a *taq* of c. 240 BC being established by the presence of Hellenistic coins in mixed hoards.¹⁰ Moreover, higher dates for this type of coins were proposed as of late: end of the 4th – 1st half of the 3rd century BC.¹¹ On the basis of the Stolniceni hoard and the Istros drachms it contained alongside the Huși-Vovriești coins, the production of the latter was dated from the end of the 4th century onwards (Măndescu 2011: 212). Similarly, on the basis of new finds some strongly argue for the second half of the 4th century BC as the date of the production of Huși-Vovriești coins (Levinschi 1997; Левинский 1999; 2010: 31; Левинский, Чокану 2005). But Munteanu and Chiriac emphasise that the latest Istros drachms in the Stolniceni hoard should be dated to ca. 256/255–240 BC, which makes these inferences invalid, at least with respect to this particular hoard.¹² In a recent comprehensive study of the Huși-Vovriești coins, Munteanu and Chiriac set the lower limit of their production in the last decades of the 3rd century BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 557), but do not discuss the upper limit, although they seem not to favour Levinschi's attribution of the coins to the Triballi settled on the right bank of the Danube (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 550).¹³

With respect to the ethnic, or ethnolinguistic, affiliation of the producers and/or users of the Huși-Vovriești coins, the latest summary review of hypotheses shows the pointlessness of this type of reasoning (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 550). For what it is worth, Munteanu and Chiriac note that at the archaeologically excavated settlement sites of Bunești and Poiana (both in Romanian Moldavia), the Huși-Vovriești coins can be associated with early "Celtic"

Porijeklo ovoga monetarnog fenomena veže se uz Moldaviju (pojam koji obuhvaća i rumunjsku Moldaviju i Republiku Moldaviju, ugrubo prostor između istočnih Karpata i rijeke Dnjestar iz kojega potječe čak tri četvrtine svih nalaza kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești) (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 552), a tradicionalno se datira od kasnoga 3. do sredine 2. st. pr. Kr. (Preda 1973: 126–131, 445; Поповић 1980: 13; 1981: 172, 174–175; 1983: 14–19; 1987: 60–61, 79; Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 395–396, n. 1, 400–402; Rudnicki 2003: 18–20; Čižmář et al. 2008: 671; Kolníková 2012: 57).⁹ No, neka nedavna otkrića i studije proistekle iz njih dopuštaju mogućnost da je fenomen nešto raniji, s *taq* oko 240. pr. Kr. utvrđenim prisustvom helenističkih kovaniica u pomiješanim ostavama.¹⁰ Štoviše, nedavno je predložena još ranija datacija za ovaj tip kovaniica: kraj 4. – prva polovica 3. st. pr. Kr.¹¹ Na osnovi ostave iz Stolnicenija i drahmi grada Istra koje se u njoj nalaze zajedno s kovanicama tipa Huși-Vovriești, produkcija ovih posljednjih datirana je od kraja 4. st. pr. Kr. nadalje (Măndescu 2011: 212). Slično tome, novi nalazi snažno podupiru datiranje u drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr. kao vrijeme produkcije ovoga tipa kovanica (Levinschi 1997; Левинский 1999; 2010: 31; Левинский, Чокану 2005). Ali Munteanu i Chiriac naglašavaju da se najkasnije drahme grada Istra u ostavi iz Stolnicenija trebaju datirati u oko 256./255. – 240. g. pr. Kr., što prethodne prijedloge čini neosnovanima, tj. one koji se oslanjaju upravo na ovu ostavu.¹² U nedavno objavljenoj opsežnoj studiji kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești, Munteanu i Chiriac postavljaju donju granicu njihove proizvodnje u posljednja desetljeća 3. st. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 557), ali ne raspravljaju o gornjoj granici, iako se čini da ne podržavaju Levinschijevu atribuciju ovoga tipa kovanica plemenu Tribala na sjevernoj obali Dunava (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 550).¹³

10 Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 401, who also suggest that the coins might have been produced in the area traditionally associated with the Scordisci, south of the Danube, citing Pink (1939: 38–39) as the authority for the latter claim. However, since Pink based his conjecture on the presence of countermarks exclusively on the coins found in the southern part of the area of circulation of these coins, i.e., in the region nearer to the Danube (the Narta and Chișineu-Criș hoards) (cf. Поповић 1983: 18; 1987: 61; Dembski 1992: 87), the appearance of a large number of countermarks on the coins in the hoards from Vovriești (Romanian Moldavia, Preda 1973: 121, 509–511, Pl. XXV–XXVII), Velikaya Gorazdovka (Transcarpathian Ukraine, Sova-Gmitrov 1961) and Tabani (Republic of Moldova, Левинский, Чокану 2005) makes this argument invalid.

11 Ziegau 2010: 14, offering no arguments or references (the date is actually given in the caption of the figure of a Huși-Vovriești coin; in the text on the same page Ziegau dates the early imitations of posthumous tetradrachms of Philip II to the first half of the 3rd century BC).

12 Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 553, n. 82, cf. p. 554 for the corresponding *taq* for the hoard.

13 For the thesis see especially Левинский, Чокану 2005. On the problems with the Triballi and the attribution of certain types of material culture to them see Mihajlović 2014: 106–107.

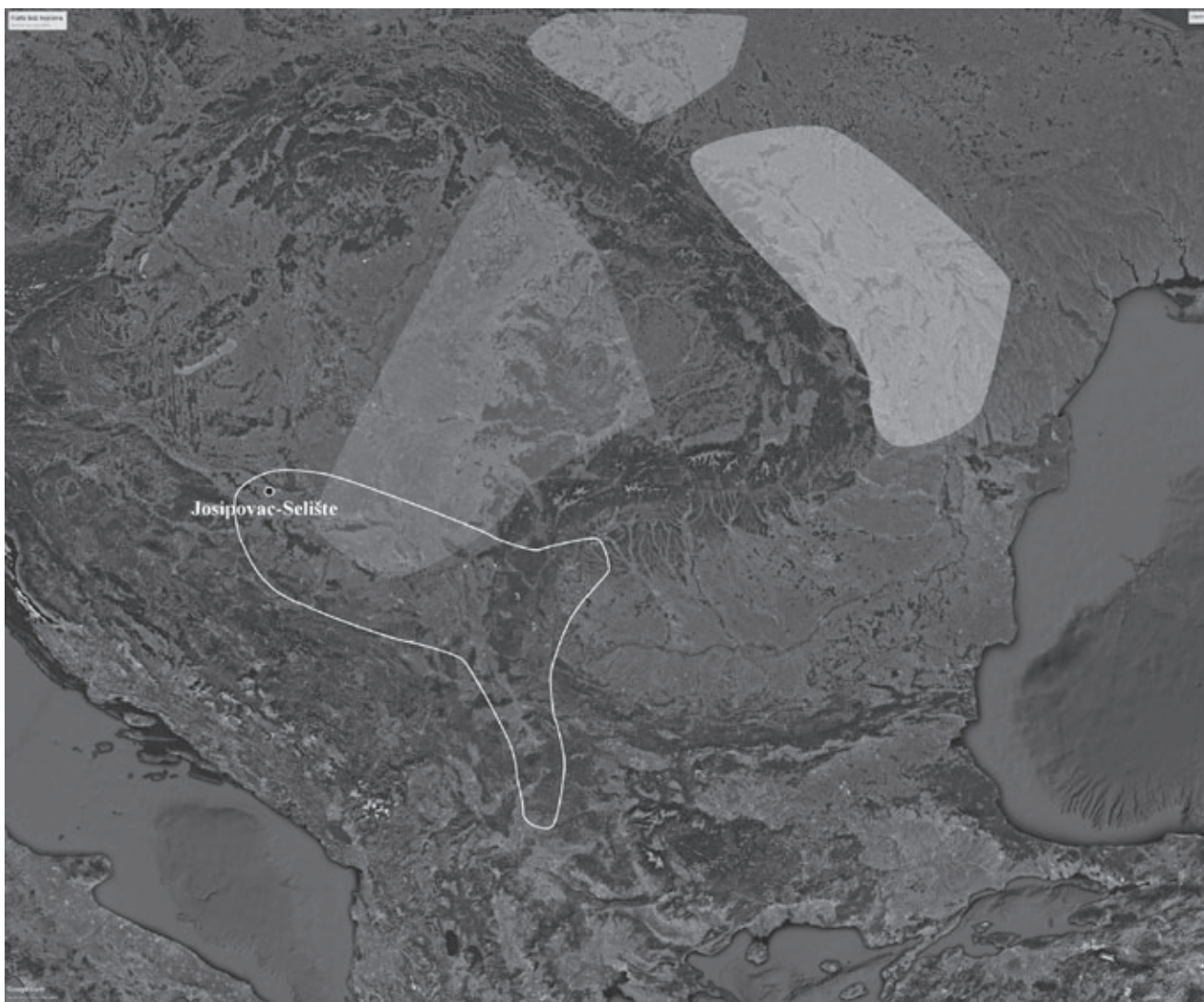
9 Generalno o ovom tipu kovanica vidjeti Preda 1973: 111–131, 444–445; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016.

10 Wartenberg, Kagan 1999: 401, koji također sugeriraju kako su kovanice mogle biti proizvedene na području koje se tradicionalno pripisuje Scordiscima, južno od Dunava, citirajući Pink (1939: 38–39) kao autoritet za ovu posljednju tvrdnju. No, kako je Pink zasnivao svoj prijedlog na isključivom prisustvu kontramarki na kovanicama pronađenima u južnome dijelu područja rasprostiranja kovanica ovoga tipa, tj. u području u blizini Dunava (ostave iz Narte i Chișineu-Crișa) (usp. Поповић 1983: 18; 1987: 61; Dembski 1992: 87), prisustvo velikoga broja kontramarki na kovanicama iz ostava iz Vovrieštija (rumunjska Moldavija, Preda 1973: 121, 509–511, Pl. XXV–XXVII), Velikaye Gorazdovke (Zakarpatska Ukrajina, Sova-Gmitrov 1961) i Tabanija (Republika Moldavija, Левинский, Чокану 2005) čini ovaj argument nevaljanim.

11 Ziegau 2010: 14, bez argumenata ili referenci (datacija je navedena u potpisu pod sliku kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești; u glavnom tekstu na istoj stranici Ziegau datira rane imitacije posthumnih tetradrahmi Filipa II u prvu polovicu 3. st. pr. Kr.).

12 Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 553, bilj. 82, usp. str. 554 za odgovarajući *taq* za ostavu.

13 Za ovu tezu vidjeti osobito Левинский, Чокану 2005. O problemima s



Map 1 Distribution of the Huși-Vovriești coins. Lighter grey: core area of the distribution of the Huși-Vovriești coins; darker grey: secondary areas of distribution (after: Preda 1974: 123, Fig. 10; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 581, Pl. IV; Левинский 2010: 119, Fig. 8); solid white line: the area traditionally attributed to the Scordisci (after: Drnić 2020: 426, Fig. 1) (base map: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus; made by: T. Bilić)
 Karta 1 Rasprostiranje kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești. Svijetlosivo: jezgra rasprostiranja kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești; tamnosivo: sekundarna područja rasprostiranja (prema: Preda 1974: 123, Fig. 10; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 581, Pl. IV; Левинский 2010: 119, Fig. 8); puna bijela crta: područje tradicionalno pripisano Skordiscima (prema: Drnić 2020: 426, Fig. 1) (osnova karte: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus; izradio: T. Bilić)

(presumably La Tène) material of the 3rd century BC.¹⁴ Furthermore, they associate the same postulated ethno-linguistic group with the Huși-Vovriești coins in other regions (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 552–553). These are rather tentative conclusions, as the authors themselves recognize, with little bearing on the situation obtaining in southern Pannonia.

Nedavni pregled hipoteza vezanih uz etničku ili etno-lingvističku afilijaciju proizvođača i/ili korisnika kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești zorno pokazuje neadekvatnost ovakvoga pristupa (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 550). Što se toga tiče, Munteanu i Chiriac primjećuju da se u arheološki istraženim naseljima Bunești i Poiana (oba u rumunjskoj Moldaviji) kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești mogu povezati

14 The settlement at Bunești does not seem to have functioned after the end of the 3rd century BC (Măndescu 2011: 212).

konceptom Tribala i atribucijom određenih tipova materijalne kulture toj zajednici vidjeti Mihajlović 2014: 106–107.

What can be concluded on the basis of solid evidence – such as it is – is that the Huși-Vovriești coins were produced mainly, but not exclusively, in Moldavia, perhaps as early as the late 4th, but certainly during the first half of the 3rd century BC. They do not seem to have been produced after the end of the century. It seems highly unlikely they were used in short-term transactions, but were rather used in the capacity of special-purpose money.¹⁵

THE CONTAINER

The coins from the Josipovac – Seliște hoard were deposited in a ceramic container. This is not the only hoard containing the coins of the Huși-Vovriești type that was concealed in a vessel.¹⁶ Thus the hoard from one of the eponymous find sites, Huși (Romanian Moldavia), was – uniquely – interred in a silver Hellenistic (?) *phiale* (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556–557). Apparently, it was concealed during the 3rd century BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 563). Two more hoards from the core region of the distribution of the Huși-Vovriești coins were deposited in containers. The Stolniceni hoard (Republic of Moldova) was thus deposited in a hand-made cup of the Moscalu XIVd or XVd type, which can be dated to a wide period 5th–3rd/2nd century BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 564). The date of concealment of the hoard was estimated, on solid numismatic grounds independently of the dates of the Huși-Vovriești coins, to after 256/255–240 BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 553, 564). The other hoard, from Tabani (Republic of Moldova), was concealed in a bell-shaped vessel of the type Crișan I, dated to the 4th–3rd century BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 565). This is also the estimated date for the concealment of the hoard (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 565). The same type of vessel was used as a container for the hoard from Turulung (Romanian Upper Tisza region) (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 565); but the date of concealment of this hoard was estimated on numismatic grounds independently of the dates of the Huși-Vovriești coins to after ca. 263–241 BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 565). Finally, the hoard from Velikaya

s ranim „keltskim“ (tj. latenskim) materijalom 3. st. pr. Kr.¹⁴ Nadalje, oni povezuju tu pretpostavljenu etno-lingvističku grupaciju s kovanicama tipa Huși-Vovriești na drugim područjima (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 552–553). Ovo su prilično nepouzdan zaključci kako to i sami autori ističu, s malo refleksija na situaciju u južnoj Panoniji.

Ono što se može zaključiti na temelju čvrstih dokaza – onakvih kakvima raspolažemo – je da su kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești kovane uglavnom, ali ne isključivo, u Moldaviji, možda već u kasnom 4. st., ali sigurno tijekom prve polovice 3. st. pr. Kr. Izgleda da nisu kovane nakon kraja tog istog stoljeća. Čini se krajnje neuvjerljivim da su bile korištene u kratkoročnim transakcijama, već su vjerojatnije bile u funkciji novca posebne namjene.¹⁵

SPREMNIK

Kovanice iz ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta bile su odložene u keramičkoj posudi. Ovo nije jedina ostava kovanica toga tipa koja je bila odložena na taj način.¹⁶ Tako je ostava iz jednoga od eponimnih nalazišta ovoga tipa kovanica, Hușija (rumunjska Moldavija), bila – jedinstveno – ukopana u srebrnoj helenističkoj (?) posudi tipa *phiale* (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556–557). Čini se da je bila sklonjena tijekom 3. st. pr. Kr. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 563). Još su dvije ostave iz područja koje je jezgro rasprostiranja kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești bile odložene u posudama. Ostava iz Stolnicenija (Republika Moldavija) bila je odložena u rukom izrađenoj čaši tipa Moscalu XIVd ili XVd, koja se može datirati u široko razdoblje između 5. i 3./2. st. pr. Kr. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 564). Na čvrstim numizmatičkim osnovama datum sklanjanja ove ostave je procijenjen – neovisno od datacije tipa Huși-Vovriești – nakon 256./255. – 240. g. pr. Kr. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 553, 564). Druga ostava, iz Tabanija (Republika Moldavija), bila je odložena u zvonoliku posudu tipa Crișan I koja se datira u 4. – 3. st. pr. Kr. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 565). To odgovara procijenjenom datumu sklanjanja ostave (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 565).

15 One of the characteristics of the Huși-Vovriești hoards mentioned above is that the coins they contain are as a rule made from different dies (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 542–543). If they were indeed used as special-purpose money that did not circulate (in the widest possible sense) for long, or at all, and that was deposited shortly after being produced, one would rather expect to find die links within individual hoards (such as in the Josipovac – Seliște hoard), perhaps also between different hoards, so this is a phenomenon in need of explanation.

16 On the Krčedin hoard see below.

14 Naselje u Buneștiju, čini se, nije funkcioniralo nakon kraja 3. st. pr. Kr. (Măndescu 2011: 212).

15 Jedna od gore spomenutih osobina ostava kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești je da su u pravilu bile izrađivane različitim pečatima (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 542–543). Ako su uistinu bile korištene kao novac posebne namjene koji nije bio dugo – ili uopće – u cirkulaciji (u najširem mogućem značenju te riječi) te koji je odlagan nedugo nakon kovanja, očekivalo bi se pronaći povezanosti među pečatima unutar pojedinih ostava (kao što je to slučaj s ostavom iz Josipovca – Selišta), možda i između različitih ostava, tako da ovaj fenomen zahtijeva objašnjenje.

16 O krčedinskoj ostavi vidjeti dalje u tekstu.

Gorazdovka (Ukrainian Upper Tisza region), was interred in a hand-made jar with widening mouth, dated to the period 4th–3rd century BC (Sova-Gmitrov 1961: 128; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 565). Apparently, it was concealed during the period 3rd–2nd century BC (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 565). Munteanu and Chiriac, on the basis of this evidence, conclude that “[t]he vessels of the hoards comprising ‘Huși-Vovriești’ pieces belong to the category of handmade pottery produced in the local environment until the 3rd–2nd centuries BC” (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556). But the hoard from Huși clearly deviates from this rule, as does the Josipovac – Seliște hoard.



Fig. 4 Kantharos in which the Josipovac – Seliște hoard was deposited (AMO, inv. 202005; photo by: B. Jobst) Sl. 4 Kantharos u kojem je odložena ostava Josipovac – Seliște (AMO inv. 202005; snimio: B. Jobst)

The latter was concealed in a Danubian kantharos, a vessel-form that imitates Hellenistic models, widely distributed throughout the Carpathian Basin (Fig. 4). The Josipovac – Seliște kantharos is of a type imitating Hellenistic prototypes, with a shorter and simpler foot, and a slightly wider body, dated to LT C1 (260/250–175 BC), but already appearing in LT B2 (330/320–260/250 BC) (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 218; 2011: 18, 20 with some examples in Rustoiu, Egri 2010: Pl. 4: 6, 9; 2011: Fig. 6: 6, 9; Dizdar 2013: 297, Fig. 116: 3, 298, Fig. 117: 6).¹⁷ However, they might also appear in later contexts (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 220;

Isti tip posude iskorišten je za ukop ostave iz Turulunga (regija uz gornji tok Tise u Rumunjskoj) (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 565), ali datum sklanjanja ove ostave procijenjen je na osnovi numizmatičkih dokaza neovisno od datacije tipa Huși-Vovriești u vrijeme nakon približno 263. – 241. g. pr. Kr. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 565). Konačno, ostava iz Velikaye Gorazdovkaje (regija uz gornji tok Tise u Ukrajini) ukopna je u rukom proizvedenoj posudi s proširenim otvorom koja se datira u 4. – 3. st. pr. Kr. (Sova-Gmitrov 1961: 128; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556, 565). Čini se da je ostava sklonjena u periodu 3. – 2. st. pr. Kr. (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 565). Munteanu i Chiriac, na osnovi ovih podataka, zaključuju da „posude u kojima su odlagane ostave kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești pripadaju kategoriji lokalnih rukom proizvedenih keramičkih posuda, izrađivanih do 3. – 2. st. pr. Kr.” (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 556). Ali ostava iz Hușija očigledno odudara od ovoga obrasca, kao što odudara i ostava iz Josipovca – Selišta.

Ostava iz Josipovca – Selišta bila je odložena u kantharos podunavskoga tipa, tip posude koja imitira helenističke modele, široko rasprostranjen kroz Karpatsku kotlinu (sl. 4). Kantharos iz Josipovca – Selišta pripada tipu koji imitira helenističke prototipove, s kraćom i jednostavnijom nogom te malo širim tijelom, a koji se datira u razdoblje LT C1 (260./250. – 175. g. pr. Kr.), ali koji se već bio pojavio u razdoblju LT B2 (330./320. – 260./250. g. pr. Kr.) (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 218; 2011: 18, 20; s nekim primjerima u Rustoiu, Egri 2010: Pl. 4: 6, 9; 2011: Fig. 6: 6, 9; Dizdar 2013: 297, Fig. 116: 3, 298, Fig. 117: 6).¹⁷ No, primjerci ovoga tipa mogu se pojavljivati i u kasnijim kontekstima (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 220; 2011: 33, 35), iako se čini da su potpuno nestali iz arheološkoga zapisa tijekom ranoga 2. st. pr. Kr. (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 236, 238; 2011: 103, 118). Ovo ujedno mora biti i najkasniji datum sklanjanja ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta. Situaciju donekle komplicira prisustvo posuda istoga tipa na groblju Zvonimirovo – Veliko polje koje je pouzdano datirano u razdoblje LT C2 (kraj 3. – sredina 2. st. pr. Kr.) (Dizdar 2013: 18, 69 (apsolutni datum), 301, 338; usp. Drnić 2015: 99, 102),¹⁸ tako da se datum potpunoga nestanka ovih posuda može korigirati za nekoliko deset-

¹⁷ Drnić (2015: 13) offers slightly different absolute dates: 325–275 BC (LT B2) and 275–200 BC (LT C1). Dizdar (2013: 292, 338) associated the Zvonimirovo-Privlaka type kantharoi with this group.

¹⁷ Drnić (2015: 13) donosi malo drugačije apsolutne datume: 325. – 275. g. pr. Kr. (LT B2) i 275. – 200. g. pr. Kr. (LT C1). Dizdar (2013: 292, 338) povezuje kantharose tipa Zvonimirovo-Privlaka s ovom grupom.

¹⁸ Dizdar (2013: 65) i Drnić (2015: 13) slično datiraju LT C2 u 200. – 150. g. pr. Kr.

2011: 33, 35), although they apparently disappeared completely from archaeological record in the early 2nd century BC (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 236, 238; 2011: 103, 118). This must be the latest date when the Josipovac – Selište hoard could have been interred. The situation is somewhat complicated, however, by the kantharoi of the same type from the Zvonimirovo – Veliko polje cemetery, which are securely dated to LT C2 (end of the 3rd – mid-2nd century BC) (Dizdar 2013: 18, 69 (absolute date), 301, 338; cf. Drnić 2015: 99, 102),¹⁸ so the date of the overall disappearance of kantharoi could conceivably be corrected for several decades. The kantharoi are characteristic for the southern part of the Carpathian Basin, but also the Crišana region, the Upper Tisza valley and the middle Danube region (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 221, 237, 255, Pl. 3; 2011: 20, 35, 37, 115, Fig. 5; Dizdar 2013: 336–337, Figs. 133–135), certainly well-outside of the core area of the production of Huși-Vovriești coins. It appears that this type of vessel is primarily, but not exclusively, associated with the material culture of the communities that are traditionally considered as part of the Scordisci tribal alliance or that would eventually evolve into 'the Scordisci' (Dizdar 2013: 330–339).

Many kantharoi, although not exclusively, come from funerary contexts (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 227–228; 2011: 71, 73; Dizdar 2013: 290), while the use of some specific types of kantharoi was probably restricted to exclusive groups or individuals, most likely utilised as ceremonial apparatus (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 235–238; 2011: 98–99, 105, 109, 113, 117–119). These characteristics of the vessel-type in which the coins were deposited might be significant in assessing the reasons for the deposition of the hoard (on this see below).

DISCUSSION

The site of Josipovac – Selište is within the area – more precisely, on its western periphery – that is traditionally conceived as occupied by the Scordisci (Map 1) (Drnić 2020: 426, Fig. 1). The ethnonym Scordisci has recently been the object of re-evaluation in terms of modern developments in the understanding of formation, development and notions of identity of – specifically – Late Iron Age communities. It appears that one should speak with any justification of the 'Scordisci' only after the formation of the Roman province of

ljeća. Kantharosi su karakteristični za južni dio Karpatske kotline, ali također i regiju uz rijeku Criș, dolinu gornjega toka Tise i srednjodunavsku regiju (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 221, 237, 255, Pl. 3; 2011: 20, 35, 37, 115, Fig. 5; Dizdar 2013: 336–337, Figs. 133–135), svakako izvan jezgre produkcije kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești. Čini se da je ovaj tip posude primarno povezan, iako ne isključivo, s materijalnom kulturom zajednica koje se tradicionalno smatraju dijelovima plemenskoga saveza Skordiska ili koje će s vremenom evoluirati u „Skordiske“ (Dizdar 2013: 330–339).

Mnogi kantharosi, iako ne svi, pronađeni su u pogrebnome kontekstu (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 227–228; 2011: 71, 73; Dizdar 2013: 290), dok je upotreba nekih specifičnih tipova kantharosa vjerojatno bila ograničena na ekskluzivne grupe ili pojedince koji su ih najvjerojatnije koristili kao dio ceremonijalnoga aparata (Rustoiu, Egri 2010: 235–238; 2011: 98–99, 105, 109, 113, 117–119). Te karakteristike tipa posude u kojem su kovance bile odložene mogle bi biti značajne u određivanju razloga za sklanjanje ostave (o tome više u nastavku).

RASPRAVA

Lokalitet Josipovac – Selište je na području – preciznije, na zapadnoj periferiji područja – tradicionalno pripisivanoga Skordiscima (karta 1) (Drnić 2020: 426, Fig. 1). Etnonim Skordisci je nedavno bio predmetom reevaluacije u terminima modernijih razmišljanja o formiranju, razvitku i osjećaju identiteta kod – specifično – mlađeželjeznodobnih zajednica. Čini se da donekle opravdano možemo govoriti o „Skordiscima“ tek nakon osnivanja rimske provincije Makedonije 146. g. pr. Kr. – ne kao oznaka nepromjenjive etno-lingvističke političke zajednice, već kao rimski egzonom za različite zajednice na središnjem Balkanu i srednjodunavskoj regiji s kojima su došli u kontakt tijekom razdoblja nakon pripajanja Makedonije. U ranijem razdoblju, koje se naslanja na napad na delfsko proročište zabilježen u literarnim izvorima, može se govoriti samo u terminima „latenizacije“ ove regije, a ne o postojanju političkoga entiteta u obliku plemenske zajednice Skordiska koja bi onda jednostavno nastavila svoje postojanje do rimskoga osvajanja (Drnić 2020: 425–427, 441–442, uglavnom prema Mihajlović 2019).¹⁹ U ovome radu termin

¹⁸ Dizdar (2013: 65) and Drnić (2015: 13) similarly date LT C2 to 200–150 BC.

¹⁹ Vidjeti Mihajlović 2019: 191–195, 200, 202–203, 205–208, 212–219, 241–242,

Macedonia in 146 BC – not as designating a fixed ethno-linguistic political community, but rather as a Roman exonym for different communities in the central Balkans and the middle Danube region they came in contact with over the period in the wake of their acquisition of Macedonia. In the earlier period, i.e., in the period that pivots upon the attack on the Delphian sanctuary documented in literary sources, one can only speak in terms of “Latenisation” of the region, rather than assuming the existence of a political entity in the form of Scordiscan tribal alliance that simply continued its existence until the Roman conquest (Drnić 2020: 425–427, 441–442, building mainly upon Mihajlović 2019).¹⁹ In the present paper the term ‘Scordisci’ and/or ‘Scordiscan area’ will be used heuristically to designate the population or the region encompassing the territory traditionally associated with the Scordisci tribal alliance. However, one should keep in mind that earlier authors used it in a somewhat less nuanced way.

The Josipovac – Selište hoard is, due to its small volume of coins and its homogeneity, unique for this territory. Other hoards containing Huși-Vovriești coins in the Scordiscan area – which are not particularly numerous – all included Hellenistic coinage and thus exhibit structurally different depositional practises: Baranda, which perhaps also contained a silver ring and which was apparently concealed in the period 3rd–2nd century BC (Поповић 1981, who is unsure whether the ring was part of the hoard; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 563), Krčedin, with the date of concealment of this hoard estimated on numismatic grounds independently of the dates of the Huși-Vovriești coins to after ca. 250–225 BC (Поповић 1983; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 564),²⁰ and “the Balkan area hoard”, with a closing date also established independently of the dates of the Huși-Vovriești coins to ca. 240 BC (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 563). These hoards show that the deposition of Huși-Vovriești coins in hoards was an established, although not particularly widespread, practice in the region, but at the same time emphasise the uniqueness of the Josipovac – Selište hoard.

Individual finds of the Huși-Vovriești coins in

„Skordisci“ i/ili „teritorij Skordiska“ bit će korišten heuristički u značenju populacija ili područja koja obuhvaćaju teritorij tradicionalno povezan s plemenskim savezom Skordiska. Ipak, mora se imati na umu da su raniji autori koristili ove termine u nešto manje nijansiranom smislu.

Ostava iz Josipovca – Selišta je svojim malim brojem kovanica i homogenošću jedinstvena za ovo područje. Druge ostave koje sadržavaju kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești na teritoriju Skordiska – kojih nema veliki broj – sve sadrže i helenističke kovanice te na taj način reflektiraju strukturalno različite obrasce odlaganja: ostava iz Barande, koja je možda sadržavala i srebrni prsten te koja je, čini se, bila sklonjena u razdoblju 3. – 2. st. pr. Kr. (Поповић 1981, koji nije siguran je li prsten bio dio ostave; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 563), krčedinska ostava, čiji je datum odlaganja procijenjen na osnovi numizmatičkih argumenata neovisno o dataciji kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești u vrijeme nakon približno 250. – 225. g. pr. Kr. (Поповић 1983; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 564),²⁰ te „ostava s područja Balkana“, čiji je datum sklanjanja također procijenjen neovisno o dataciji kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești na oko 240. g. pr. Kr. (Wartenberg, Kagan 1999; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 554, 563). Ove ostave pokazuju da je odlaganje kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești u ostavama bila utvrđena praksa u ovoj regiji, iako ne osobito raširena, ali istovremeno naglašavaju jedinstvenost ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta.

Pojedinačni nalazi kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești na teritoriji Skordiska su iznimno rijetki (Preda 1973: 118–123; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 561), no nedavno je kovanica ovoga tipa, neobično male težine,²¹ pronađena tijekom arheoloških istraživanja – čini se – utvrđenoga latenskog naselja na lokalitetu Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 oko 50 km prema jugu-jugozapadu zračnom linijom od lokaliteta Josipovac – Selište (sl. 5; karta 2). Nekoliko istraženih jama ili ukopanih objekata na lokalitetu datirano je od ranog 2. do sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. (Miklik-Lozuk 2018; 2020).²² Ovaj nalaz svjedoči da je zapadna pe-

20, 252, 268, 270–271. O identitetima mladeželjeznodobnih zajednica južne Panonije te odnosu materijalne kulture i etnika zabilježenih u literarnim izvorima, s nijansiranom raspravom o terminima „latenizacija“, „keltizacija“ i, konačno, „romanizacija“, vidjeti Potrebica, Dizdar 2014: 135–141.

20 Ova ostava je također, čini se, bila odložena u keramičkoj posudi, no ne raspoložemo detaljnijim informacijama (Поповић 1983: 11).

21 8,60 g; Preda (1973: 113) primjećuje da malo kovanica ovoga tipa teži manje od 11 g.

22 Čini se da je lokalitet bio naseljen već u razdoblju LT C (sigurno u LT D), ali podaci za čvršći zaključak nisu dostupni (Miklik-Lozuk 2020). Ovom prigodom zahvalio bih voditeljici istraživanja Lidiji Miklik-Lozuk (Muzej Brodskog Posavlja) što mi je pružila priliku analizirati i ponovo objaviti ove nalaze.

19 See Mihajlović 2019: 191–195, 200, 202–203, 205–208, 212–219, 241–242, 250, 252, 268, 270–271. On the identities of the Late Iron Age communities in southern Pannonia and the relations of material culture and ethnicities documented in literary sources, with a nuanced discussion of such terms as “Latenisation”, “Celtisation” and, finally, “Romanisation”, see Potrebica, Dizdar 2014: 135–141.

20 This hoard was apparently also concealed in a ceramic vessel, although no further information is available (Поповић 1983: 11).

the Scordiscan area are extremely rare (Preda 1973: 118–123; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 561), but recently a coin of this type, of unusually low weight,²¹ was found during archaeological research of an apparently fortified La Tène settlement at the site of Kruševica – Zbjeg 3, ca. 50 km to the south-south-west in a straight line from Josipovac – Selište (Fig. 5; Map 2). Several pits or dugout features were excavated at the site and they are dated from the early 2nd to the mid-1st century BC (Miklik-Lozuc 2018; 2020).²² This find suggests that the western periphery of Scordiscan area indeed received the Huši-Vovriešti coins on more than a single occasion, but, unfortunately, the stratigraphic context of the Kruševica find is not particularly revealing, since the coin was recovered as a surface find (Artuković Župan et al. 2021: 10). Two more coins were recovered as surface finds at the site (Artuković Župan et al. 2021: 32), but they are of little help in the chronological positioning of the Kruševica Huši-Vovriešti coin (Fig. 5). One (MBP-37344) is a Srem Phase C AE tetradrachm. These coins were mainly found in Syrmia and eastern Slavonia (Поповић 1987: 51, Fig. 13), so its presence in Kruševica is unsurprising. Since this type of coin was present at Nēmčice not later than the mid-2nd century BC, in other words, the end of the LT C2 period (Kolníková 2012: 56, no. 933–934, 57; John et al. 2015: 144; Militký 2015: 147), while, at the other end of the time scale, a coin of this type was found together with an Augustan as (both heavily worn) in a cremation grave at the (north-)eastern necropolis of Mursa (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 39, 64–66, no. 1–2, 95, 100–101, 126; 2018: 46, 94, 58, no. 26, 102, no. 75 – grave no. 27), it could have arrived and been in use at Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 at any point of the 2nd or 1st century BC. The same at least partially applies to the third coin from Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 (MBP-37343), which belongs to a type of small silver coins hitherto documented by a single unprovenanced piece from the Flesche collection (0.877 g, 8.4 mm). The type was christened by Ziegeus as the “Head with stringy hair” type (*Kopf mit strähnigen Haaren*). He noted that it is impossible to locate the place of origin of this type more precisely, but at the same time rather ingeniously assigned it on typological and stylistic grounds to

riferija teritorija Skordiska zaista primala kovanice tipa Huši-Vovriešti više nego jednom prilikom, ali, nažalost, stratigrafski kontekst nalaza s lokaliteta Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 ne otkriva puno jer je kovanica pronađena na površini lokaliteta (Artuković Župan et al. 2021: 10). Još su dvije kovanice pronađene na lokalitetu kao površinski nalazi (Artuković Župan et al. 2021: 32), ali one ne pomažu puno u određivanju kronološkoga položaja kovanice tipa Huši-Vovriešti iz Kruševice (sl. 5). Jedna (MBP-37344) predstavlja brončanu tetradrahmu tipa Srem C. Taj tip kovanica se uglavnom pronalazi u Srijemu i istočnoj Slavoniji (Поповић 1987: 51, Fig. 13), tako da njezino prisustvo u Kruševici nije iznenađujuće. Kako je ovaj tip kovanica pronađen u naselju kod Nēmčica gdje nije mogao biti prisutan nakon sredine 2. st. pr. Kr., tj. kraja perioda LT C2 (Kolníková 2012: 56, br. 933–934, 57; John et al. 2015: 144; Militký 2015: 147), dok je, s druge strane, kovanica ovoga tipa pronađena zajedno s augustovskim asom (obje jako istrošene) u paljevinskome grobu na (sjevero)istočnoj nekropoli Murse (Göricke-Lukić 2000: 39, 64–66, br. 1–2, 95, 100–101, 126; 2018: 46, 94, 58, br. 26, 102, br. 75 – grob br. 27), primjerak s Kruševice mogao je stići i biti korišten na lokalitetu Zbjeg 3 u bilo kojem trenutku tijekom 2. ili 1. st. pr. Kr. Slično djelomično vrijedi i za treću mlađeželjeznodobnu kovanicu s istoga lokaliteta (MBP-37343) koja pripada rijetkom tipu maloga srebrnog novca koji je do sada bio dokumentiran sa samo jednim primjerkom, bez provenijencije, u zbirci Flesche (0,887 g, 8,4 mm). Ovome tipu je Ziegeus dao naziv „Glava s vlaknastom kosom“ (*Kopf mit strähnigen Haaren*). Iako je naglasio da je nemoguće locirati regiju porijekla ovoga tipa s velikom dozom preciznosti, istovremeno ga je ingeniozno pripisao, na osnovi tipoloških i stilističkih argumenata, skordističkoj zoni utjecaja (Ziegeus 2010: 228, br. 601). Njegov prijedlog je sada poduprt nalazom s Kruševice. Primjerak iz zbirke Flesche se u nekim detaljima razlikuje od kruševičkog, najviše po nedostatku prikaza šešira širokoga oboda na reversnom konjaniku na ovom posljednjem, ali obje kovanice nedvojbeno pripadaju istome tipu. Tip „Glava s vlaknastom kosom“ pripada jugoistočnopanonskim izdanjima koja prethode tipu Srem, dakle, tzv. Srpskoj grupi, koja se može datirati u kasno 3. i rano 2. st. pr. Kr. (Поповић 1987: 78–79; Ziegeus 2010: 230). Čini se da je ovaj tip bio u optjecaju istovremeno s kovani-

21 8.60 g; Preda (1973: 113) notes that only few of Huši-Vovriešti coins weigh under 11 g.

22 The site seems to have been occupied already in the LT C period (certainly in LT D), but the data are insufficient (Miklik-Lozuc 2020). I would like to thank Lidija Miklik-Lozuc of the Museum of Brodsko Posavlje, the head of the excavations, for allowing me the opportunity to study and republish these finds.

MBP inv. no. / br.	weight / težina (g)	dimensions / promjer (mm)
37342	8.60	24
37343	0.70	10
37344	11.8	25

Tab. 2 Data on the coins from the Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 site (made by: T. Bilić)

Tab. 2 Podaci o kovanicama s lokaliteta Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 (izradio: T. Bilić)

the Scordiscan zone of influence (Ziegeus 2010: 228, no. 601). His inference is now supported by the Kruševica find. The Flesche coin is somewhat different from the Kruševica piece, most notably by the lack of the wide hat on the latter's reverse horseman, but they both undoubtedly belong to the same type. The "Head with stringy hair" type belongs to the south-eastern Pannonian issues preceding the Srem type, to the so-called Serbian group, which can be dated to the late 3rd and the early 2nd century BC (Поповић 1987: 78–79; Ziegeus 2010: 230). This type thus seems to have been in use contemporaneously with the Huši-Vovriešti coins (cf. Поповић 1987: 79) and probably belongs to an earlier horizon than the Srem Phase C AE tetradrachm from Kruševica, although the new dating of the latter type makes this chronological difference less pronounced.

cama tipa Huši-Vovriešti (usp. Поповић 1987: 79) te vjerojatno pripada ranijem horizontu od brončane tetradrahme tipa Srem C iz Kruševice, iako novija datacija ovog posljednjeg tipa čini ovu kronološku distinkciju manje naglašenom.

Kao što je već navedeno, zadnja desetljeća 3. st. pr. Kr. uzimaju se kao donja kronološka granica produkcije kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti. U skladu s time, ostave kovanica pronađene na teritoriji Skordiska koje se mogu datirati neovisno o dataciji kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti, ukazuju na treću četvrtinu 3. st. pr. Kr. kao (najraniji) datum njihovoga odlaganja. Nadalje, datacija izrade i korištenja kantharosa iz Josipovca – Selišta (ne kasnije od ranoga 2. st. pr. Kr.) ne proturječi ovoj dataciji odlaganja. U isto vrijeme,



Fig. 5 Coins from the Kruševica – Zbjeg 3 site: 1 Huši-Vovriešti tetradrachm; 2 Srem Phase C AE tetradrachm; 3 "Head with stringy hair" small silver coin (inv. MBP-37342, 37343 and 37344; photo by: D. Fajdetić)

Sl. 5 Kovanice s lokaliteta Kruševica – Zbjeg 3: 1 tetradrahma tipa Huši-Vovriešti; 2 brončana tetradrahma srijemskog tipa C; 3 mala srebrna kovanica tipa „Glava s vlaknastom kosom“ (inv. MBP-37342, 37343 i 37344; snimio: D. Fajdetić)



Map 2 Sites discussed in the text (base map: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus; made by: T. Bilić)

Karta 2 Lokaliteti koji se spominju u tekstu (osnova karte: Google Earth. Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image Landsat / Copernicus; izradio: T. Bilić)

As noted above, the lower limit of the production of Huši-Vovriešti coins was set in the last decades of the 3rd century BC. In accordance with this inference, the hoards deposited in the Scordiscan area that can be dated independently of the Huši-Vovriešti coins point to the third quarter of the 3rd century BC as the (earliest) date of deposition. Furthermore, the date established for the production and use of the Josipovac – Selište kantharos (not later than the early 2nd century BC) does not contradict this deposition date. At the same time, these facts cannot be easily harmonised with the date and context of deposition for these hoards advanced by Ujes (2002). She proposed the mid-2nd century BC or somewhat later for the date of the concealment of the hoards containing the Huši-Vovriešti coins interred in the territory controlled by the Scordisci (she dates the influx of the coins rather precisely to the years 179–175 and 168 BC). Ujes associates these coins with the migrations of Bastarnae and their relations with Macedonia of Philip V and Perseus on one side, and the Scordisci on the other (Ujes 2002: §32, 34,

ove činjenice nije jednostavno uskladiti s datacijom i kontekstom odlaganja tih ostava koje je predložila Ujes (2002). Ona tvrdi da su ostave koje su sadržavale kovanice tipa Huši-Vovriešti na teritoriju koji su kontrolirali Skordisci odložene tijekom sredine 2. st. pr. Kr. ili nešto kasnije (priljev kovanica datira vrlo precizno u razdoblje između 179. – 175. i 168. g. pr. Kr.). Ujes povezuje ove kovanice s migracijama Bastarna i njihovim odnosima s Makedonijom za vladavina Filipa V i Perzeja s jedne strane te sa Skordiscima s druge (Ujes 2002: §32, 34, 42–43). Njezina dobro razrađena hipoteza, ipak, ne može objasniti nedvojbeno prisustvo kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti izvan tih dvaju regija – Moldavije i teritorija Skordiska – te se jako oslanja na ponešto nasilno snižavanje datacija odlaganja navedenih ostava. Uz to, koristi i uglavnom zastarjele koncepte etniciteta i odnosa etničkih ili plemenskih skupina sa specifičnim premetima materijalne kulture, što je karakteristika nekad dominantne kulturno-historijske paradigme (o čemu je već bilo riječi). Konačno, njezina hipoteza po-

42–43). Her well-elaborated hypothesis, however, cannot explain the manifest distribution of the Huši-Vovriešti coinage outside the two regions – Moldavia and the territory of the Scordisci – and relies heavily on a somewhat forceful down-dating of the hoards. In addition, she operates with rather outdated concepts of ethnicity and the relation of ethnic or tribal groups with specific items of material culture, a characteristic of the once dominant culture-historical paradigm (on this see more above). Finally, her thesis is unfalsifiable: how can anybody disprove that the ‘Bastarnae’ used the Huši-Vovriešti coins as “payments” to the ‘Scordisci’ “for provisions and services” (Ujes 2002: §34)?²³ In any case, even if the coins that were eventually deposited below the Late Iron Age house at Josipovac – Selište indeed arrived to the region in this way (which is contradicted by the latest possible date for their interment as inferred from the accepted date for the production and use of the kantharoi), we would still be in the dark as regards the character of the hoard’s deposition, to which we now must turn.

Several significant differences between the Josipovac – Selište hoard and other hoards containing the Huši-Vovriešti coins in the region have already been pointed out: the homogeneity of the Josipovac – Selište hoard, which included only the Huši-Vovriešti coins, with no other coinage or other objects of material culture, which amounts to significant differences in terms of structural deposition; the fact that the coins in the hoard are die-related; the small volume of coins in the hoard; the specific container used, i.e., the kantharos. With respect to the last item on the list, it seems noteworthy that the container used is a vessel with well-established ritualistic usage in both funerary and ceremonial contexts. In addition, as already noted, the coins were chop-marked at a specific point on the reverse depiction, at the same time apparently intentionally avoiding the desecration of both the divine representation on the obverse and the horse(man) on the reverse.²⁴ In the context of other evidence – that adduced immediately above and, especially, the immediate depositional context of the find, which will be discussed immediately below – it could be argued

stavljena je tako da je nije moguće opovrgnuti: kako se može opovrgnuti da su „Bastarni“ koristili kovanice tipa Huši-Vovriešti kako bi „platili“ „Skordiscima“ za „opskrbu i usluge“ (Ujes 2002: §34)?²³ U svakome slučaju, čak i da su kovanice koje su na kraju odložene ispod mlađeželjeznodobne kuće na lokalitetu Josipovac – Selište stigle u regiju na ovaj način (što nije u skladu s najkasnijim mogućim datumom njihovog odlaganja izvedenim iz prihvaćene datacije izrade i korištenja kantharosa), i dalje ne bi znali ništa više o razlozima odlaganja ostave, pitanju kojem se sada moramo posvetiti.

Već je spomenuto nekoliko značajnih razlika između ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta i ostalih ostava iz regije koje su sadržavale kovanice tipa Huši-Vovriešti: homogenost ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta koja se sastojala isključivo od kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti, bez drugih tipova kovanica ili predmeta materijalne kulture, što sugerira značajne razlike u terminima strukturiranog odlaganja; činjenica da su kovanice iz ostave izrađene uz upotrebu povezanih pečata; mali broj kovanica u ostavi; upotreba specifične posude za spremnik, tj. kantharosa. Vezano uz posljednji navod na listi, čini se značajnim da je kao spremnik iskorištena posuda koja je potvrđeno često korištena u ritualne svrhe, u pogrebnom i ceremonijalnom kontekstu. Dodatno, kao što je već primijećeno, kovanice su bile zarezane na specifičnim mjestima u odnosu na reversni prikaz, izgledno namjerno izbjegavajući nagrdivanje prikaza božanstva na aversu i konja(nika) na reversu.²⁴ U kontekstu drugih dokaza – onih upravo navedenih te, osobito, neposrednoga konteksta odlaganja ostave o kojem će biti više riječi odmah u nastavku teksta – može se argumentirati da zarezi u ovom specifičnom slučaju predstavljaju ritualno „ubijanje“ kovanica, tj. njihovu konačnu demonetizaciju (van Hesch 2008: 52; Wigg-Wolf 2005: 371–376; 2020: 17–21).²⁵ „Demonetizacija“ ovdje nije uvjetovana postojanjem tržišne ekonomije te upotrebom kovanica tipa Huši-Vovriešti u monetarnim transakcijama, već u širem smislu označava njihovo povlačenje iz manje ili više profane domene te njihovu po-

23 Mihajlović (2019: 188–190) questions the authenticity and appropriateness of ethnic labels used in classical authors’ reports of these events – both Bastarnae and Scordisci.

24 How far these depictions were understood as significant in terms of religion and/or ritual is impossible to answer; the chop-marks themselves would be the only indication of such an understanding, and the interpretation of chop-marks in such terms would thus be based on circular reasoning.

23 Mihajlović (2019: 188–190) dovodi u pitanje autentičnost i prikladnost etničkih naziva koje su koristili antički autori u svojim izvještajima o ovim događajima – to se odnosi i na Bastarne i na Skordiske.

24 Nemoguće je utvrditi do koje mjere su ovi prikazi bili razumijevani kao značajni u terminima religije i/ili rituala; sami zarezi bili bi jedina indikacija takvoga shvaćanja te bi interpretacija zareza u tim terminima bila bazirana na cirkularnoj argumentaciji.

25 Ova interpretacija ne može se primijeniti na sve zarezane kovanice tipa Huši-Vovriešti te ju treba razumjeti kao provizorni prijedlog primjenjiv samo na kovanice iz ostave Josipovac – Selište.

that the chop-marks *in this particular case* represented the ritual 'killing' of the coins, i.e., their final demonetisation (van Hesch 2008: 52; Wigg-Wolf 2005: 371–376; 2020: 17–21).²⁵ The "demonetisation" here does not entail the existence of market economy and the involvement of the Huși-Vovriești coins in monetary transactions, but more broadly denotes their removing from the more or less profane sphere and their consequent suitability for the ensuing involvement in a long-term transaction, i.e., their deposition underneath the plank floor.²⁶ The strongest indication that the deposition of the Josipovac – Selište hoard indeed represents an example of a long-term transaction, i.e., a votive deposition, is precisely its depositional setting, when viewed in the context of other arguments adduced in this section.

So, what arguments can be adduced in support of the claim that the hoard interred in the ground underneath the plank floor of the Late Iron Age house represents a votive deposit, rather than a batch of coins concealed due to some immediate danger, or perhaps a treasury or cache of modest savings? First, although mere five coins do not seem an especially valuable possession, we cannot know in what way and to what measure these objects were valuable to their owner(s), so this argument does not stand up to scrutiny.²⁷ The homogeneity of the hoard, on the other hand, indicates an intentional formation of this particular composition, but one cannot be sure if this occurred prior to the deposition itself or prior to the transaction through which whoever deposited the coins received them in the first place (or prior to any hypothetical series of transactions preceding this particular transaction, for that matter). If the latter is the case, whoever deposited the coins apparently did not find any reason to interfere with the hoard's composition. The heterogeneity of other hoards containing the Huși-Vovriești coins in the region certainly supports the argument for the intentional formation of the Josipovac – Selište hoard, but perhaps conditioned simply by the unavailability of any other types of coins that were normally deposited together with the Huși-Vovriești coins.

25 This interpretation cannot apply to all chop-marked Huși-Vovriești coins and should thus be understood as a provisional suggestion valid only for the coins in the Josipovac – Selište hoard.

26 See Aarts (2005) and Wigg-Wolf (2011: 303), following Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, for a discussion of short-term and long-term transactions.

27 A hoard of five Huși-Vovriești coins was thus found in the settlement at Bunești, but here accompanied by a silver fibula and iron tools (Măndescu 2011: 212; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 553–554, 562–563).

sljedičnu raspoloživost za učešće u dugotrajnim transakcijama, tj. njihovo odlaganje ispod daščanoga poda mlađeželjeznodobne kuće.²⁶ Naj-snažnija indikacija da je odlaganje ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta primjer dugotrajne transakcije, tj. votivni depozit, upravo je njezin kontekst odlaganja kada se on promatra u kontekstu ostalih argumenata iznesenih u ovome dijelu studije.

Koji se onda argumenti mogu priložiti kao podrška tvrdnji da ostava ukopana ispod daščanoga poda mlađeželjeznodobne kuće predstavlja votivni depozit, a ne hrpicu kovanica sklonjenu zbog neke neposredne opasnosti ili možda tezuriranu skromnu ušteđevinu? Prvo, iako se pet kovanica ne čini osobito vrijednom imovinom, ne možemo znati na koji način i u kojoj mjeri su ti predmeti bili vrijedni njihovim vlasnicima, što ovaj argument čini neprimjenjivim.²⁷ Homogenost ostave, s druge strane, indicira namjerno formiranje ove specifične kompozicije, ali nije moguće znati je li se ono odvijalo prije samoga odlaganja ili prije transakcije kroz koju ih je odlagatelj kovanica prvotno zaprimio (ili prije nekih hipotetskih transakcija koje su prethodile ovoj specifičnoj transakciji). Ako je ovo potonje slučaj, tkogod je odložio kovanice očigledno nije smatrao shodnim intervenirati u sastav ostave. Heterogenost ostalih ostava iz regije koje su sadržavale kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești svakako podržava argument za namjerno formiranje ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta, možda uvjetovano jednostavno nedostupnošću drugih tipova kovanica koji su uobičajeno odlagani zajedno s kovanicama tipa Huși-Vovriești.

Činjenica da su kovanice izrađene povezanim pečatima snažno sugerira da je ostava formirana, ako već ne i odložena, kratko vrijeme nakon što su one otkovane.²⁸ Prikazi na kovanicama izrađeni su vrlo nesmotreno, figure su reducirane gotovo na same obrise. Čini se da su plitki prikazi na kovanicama posljedica nestručne izrade pečata ili možda istrošenosti pečata koji su upotrebljavani za izradu većeg broja kovanica, a ne izlizanosti poradi trenja. Ovo se može podržati nedostatkom primjetne izlizanosti u apliciranim urezima (s druge strane, to može biti i posljedica činjenice da su kovanice zarezane

26 Vidjeti Aarts (2005) i Wigg-Wolf (2011: 303), koji slijede Mauricea Blocha i Jonathana Parryja, za raspravu o kratkoročnim i dugoročnim transakcijama.

27 Tako je ostava pet kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești pronađena u naselju na lokalitetu Bunești, ali ovdje zajedno sa srebrnom fibulom i željeznim oruđem (Măndescu 2011: 212; Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 553–554, 562–563).

28 Usp. Kos, Šemrov 2003: 385–386, 389–390 za ostavu iz Ljubljaniče, Kos 2009: 308–311 za ostavu iz Đurđevca te Kos, Mirnik 2011: 100, 102 za ostavu iz Varaždina.

The fact that the coins were die-related strongly suggests that the hoard was formed, if not deposited, shortly after they were struck.²⁸ The depictions on the coins are very carelessly produced, reducing the figures to almost mere outlines. It seems that the flat appearance of the images is a consequence of poor workmanship in the production of dies, or perhaps due to the use of dies worn through an extended usage, rather than of the attrition inflicted by circulation of any kind. This is supported by a lack of any noticeable wear in the grooves produced by cutting or chopping (on the other hand, this could be explained by the fact that the coins were only chop-marked immediately prior to the deposition, which did not coincide with the actual striking process, but was enacted significantly later). The already emphasised substandard quality of the depictions, i.e., their extreme stylization, also speaks for the poor workmanship invested in the production of dies. The low average weight of the coins (12.37 g), significantly lower than the average weight of the coins in the larger hoards of the Huși-Vovriești type (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 546),²⁹ suggest either a wear through some kind of usage or – more likely – represents another example of the substandard level of production invested in the striking of these coins.

Foundation deposits in the form of individual coins or hoards – or deposits associated with some other important event in the “biography” of a building – occur frequently in Antiquity, but also, in a lesser measure, during the Late Iron Age. They appear in various forms, accompanied by other material, with or without a recipient, as homogeneous or heterogeneous assemblages. They frequently occur in relation to temples or other sacral structures, but also in relation to both public and private buildings of a manifestly profane character. As a rule, these deposits were not meant to be retrieved, although this is often hard to prove (Pavlović 2018: 227–228, with an overview of earlier literature, focusing on Antiquity; Horsnæs 2018: 115, 117; Krmnicek 2018: 521–522; Bland et al. 2020: Ch. 3, subheading “Processes of hoarding”, Ch. 5, subheadings “Hoards associated with buildings” and “Discussion”). With respect to the Josipovac – Seliște situation, plank floor is notoriously easy to remove, but since the hoard remained undisturbed until discovery, and since

neposredno prije odlaganja koje nije koincidiralo s procesom kovanja, već je primijenjeno znatno kasnije). Već naglašena slaba razina kvalitete prikaza, tj. njihova izrazita stilizacija, također govori u prilog slaboj kvaliteti izrade uloženoj u produkciju pečata. Niska prosječna težina kovanica (12,37 g), znatno niža od prosječne težine kovanica u većim ostavama kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești (Munteanu, Chiriac 2016: 546),²⁹ sugerira ili istrošenost kroz neki oblik korištenja ili – vjerojatnije – predstavlja još jedan primjer niske razine kvalitete izrade ovih kovanica.

Votivni depoziti prilikom izgradnje nekoga objekta u obliku pojedinačnih kovanica ili ostava – ili depoziti povezani s nekim drugim bitnim događajem u „biografiji“ građevine – često se pojavljuju u antičkome razdoblju, ali i, u manjoj mjeri, tijekom mlađega željeznog doba. Pojavljuju se u raznim oblicima, zajedno s drugim predmetima, sa ili bez recipijenta, kao homogene ili heterogene formacije. Često su vezani uz hramove ili druge objekte sakralne namjene, ali također i u kontekstu javnih i privatnih građevina očigledno profane namjene. U pravilu te depozite nije se imalo namjeru povratiti, iako je to često teško dokazati (Pavlović 2018: 227–228, s pregledom ranije literature, s fokusom na antičko razdoblje; Horsnæs 2018: 115, 117; Krmnicek 2018: 521–522; Bland et al. 2020, pogl. 3, podnaslov „Processes of hoarding“, pogl. 5, podnaslovi „Hoards associated with buildings“ i „Discussion“). U kontekstu situacije na lokalitetu Josipovac – Seliște, daščani pod je vrlo lako ukloniti, ali kako je ostava ostala nedirnuto do trenutka otkrivanja te kako nema tragova bilo uništavanja ili napuštanja građevine, možemo biti prilično sigurni da nije postojala namjera da se ostava povrati te da najvjerojatnije ona predstavlja votivni depozit položen prilikom izgradnje građevine. Nasuprot svemu rečenome, određeni oprez mora postojati, a minimalističko objašnjenje situacije na lokalitetu Josipovac – Seliște bilo bi da je ostava namjerno odložena u nekom trenutku postojanja građevine, možda iz neke ne-utilitarne, ne-ekonomske ili ne-profane namjere.

Slična, ali puno impresivnija, situacija pojavljuje se na ruralnome lokalitetu Saint-Denis-lès-Sens (Yonne) gdje su 242 zlatne kovanice odložene u posudu u rupu od stupa građevine iz 1. st. pr. Kr., možda elementa jednog imanja.

28 Cf. Kos, Šemrov 2003: 385–386, 389–390 for the Ljubljana hoard, Kos 2009: 308–311 for the Đurđevac hoard and Kos, Mirnik 2011: 100, 102 for the Varaždin hoard.

29 13.02 g is the lowest average weight recorded for a hoard of 10+ pieces.

29 Najniža prosječna težina kovanica u ostavama od 10+ primjeraka je 13,02 g.

there are no traces of destruction or abandonment in haste of the building, we can be fairly certain that the hoard was indeed not meant to be retrieved and that it most likely represents a foundation deposit. With that said, at least some degree of caution is necessary, and a minimalist interpretation of the Josipovac – Selište hoard would be that it was intentionally deposited at some point in the building's history, perhaps with some non-utilitarian, non-economic or non-profane intention.

A similar, but much more impressive, situation occurs at a rural site of Saint-Denis-lès-Sens (Yonne), where 242 gold coins were deposited in a pot in a posthole of a 1st century BC building, perhaps a feature of a farm complex. This hoard can plausibly be interpreted as a foundation deposit, but other interpretations are also possible (Barrandon et al. 1993: 637, 644; Haselgrove 2005: 153).³⁰ As in the case of Josipovac – Selište, the Gallic example shows that coins were available for deposition at rural sites, with an important difference in the intrinsic value of the two deposits. Much nearer to southern Pannonia, but in a different – (proto)urban – setting, the analysis of foundation deposits from Magdalensberg offers another parallel case that might help with the interpretation of the Josipovac – Selište hoard. Here the (rather numerous) coins deposited underneath floors, i.e., in the structures' foundations, come exclusively from domestic and workshop settings. As the detailed analysis shows, this seems to have been primarily a Late Iron Age practice, with the Late Iron Age coins at first exclusively and later predominantly being used in such deposits, which, in time, started to include Roman coins (Krmnec 2018: 521–522, 525). Although the situation at Magdalensberg, with its (proto)urban setting, later date (after ca. 40 BC) and a less formal or complex structure of deposits (no containers were used), differs in an important manner from that at Josipovac – Selište, it does offer a partial parallel for the use of (Late Iron Age) coins as, most likely, foundation deposits in a Late Iron Age setting.

Another modality of the use of coins as votive deposits in the area traditionally understood as occupied by the Scordisci tribal alliance has recently been documented. Moreover, this use is recorded at the Osijek – Barracks site, some 10 km downstream the Drava from Josipovac (Map 2). The archaeological excavations of the La-

Ova ostava može se plauzibilno interpretirati kao votivni depoziti prilikom izgradnje građevine, iako su moguća i drugačija objašnjenja (Barrandon et al. 1993: 637, 644; Haselgrove 2005: 153).³⁰ Kao i u slučaju objekta na lokalitetu Josipovac – Selište, ovaj primjer iz Galije pokazuje da su kovanice bile na raspolaganju za odlaganje u kontekstu ruralnih lokaliteta, s važnom razlikom u osnovnoj vrijednosti između dva depozita. Mnogo bliže južnoj Panoniji, ali u drugačijem – (proto-)urbanom – kontekstu, analiza votivnih depozita položenih prilikom izgradnje građevina u Magdalensbergu predstavlja još jednu paralelu koja može pomoći pri interpretaciji ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta. Na tom su lokalitetu (relativno brojne) kovanice odložene ispod podova, tj. u temelje građevina, pronađene isključivo u kontekstu stambenih i radioničkih objekata. Kao što je pokazala detaljna analiza, ovo je dominantno bila mladeželjeznodobna praksa, pa su u takvim odlaganjima isprva bile upotrebljavane isključivo mladeželjeznodobne kovanice, a kasnije su nastavile dominirati, iako su im se s vremenom počele pridruživati i rimske kovanice (Krmnec 2018: 521–522, 525). Iako se situacija na Magdalensbergu, s tamošnjim (proto-)urbanim karakterom naselja, kasnijom datacijom (nakon oko 40. g. pr. Kr.) te manje formalnom ili kompleksnom strukturom depozita (bez korištenja spremnika), značajno razlikuje od one na lokalitetu Josipovac – Selište, ona ipak nudi djelomičnu analogiju korištenju (mladeželjeznodobnih) kovanica kao, najvjerojatnije, votivnih depozita prilikom izgradnje građevina u mladeželjeznodobnome kontekstu.

Nedavno je dokumentiran drugi oblik korištenja kovanica kao votivnih depozita na području tradicionalno pripisivanom plemenskom savezu Skordiska. Štoviše, ova je praksa zabilježena na lokalitetu Osijek – Vojarna nekih 10 km nizvodno Dravom od Josipovca (karta 2). Arheološka istraživanja kasnolatenskoga naselja na tom lokalitetu otkrila su postojanje – izgledno – kultnoga prostora, možda ostataka svetišta, zajedno s – izgledno strukturiranim – depozitima ljudskih i životinjskih kostiju, oružja (ponekad povijenoga), konjske opreme, dijelova kola, dijelova brončanih posuda, kao i drugih predmeta. Među njima pronađeno je i nekoliko kovanica, uglavnom lokalno kovanoga tipa

30 For other examples of possible Late Iron Age foundation deposits from Gaul see briefly in Haselgrove, Webley 2016.

30 Za druge primjere mogućih mladeželjeznodobnih votivnih depozita položenih prilikom izgradnje građevina iz Galije vidjeti kratko u Haselgrove, Webley 2016.

te La Tène settlement at the Barracks position have revealed what is apparently a cultic space, perhaps the remains of a sanctuary, with, apparently structured, deposits of human and animal bones, weapons (occasionally bent), horse gear, wagon-parts, pieces of bronze vessels, and other objects. The assemblage also included several coins, mostly of locally-produced Srem type, but also a more exotic Boian gold stater. The “sanctuary” is dated to the LT D1 period (150–80 BC), but perhaps it was already functioning during the LT C2 phase (based on the presence of objects characteristic for this period), which would make it almost contemporary with the proposed date of deposition of the Josipovac – Selište hoard (Filipović 2010: 38–40; Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 90, 92, 94, 96–97).³¹ The complete interpretation of the Barracks site is unfortunately compromised by an unclear stratigraphic situation (Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 90–91),³² even though some clustering of weaponry and horse gear was detected (Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 90, 97), but still adds much to our knowledge of the ritual activities conducted by the – presumably – the warrior elite of the Scordisci (Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 91, 95–97). Some light is also already thrown on the use of coins in ritual deposition in south-eastern Pannonia – basically, that they were indeed almost certainly used as votive deposits – while future studies³³ promise to add more to our knowledge, naturally, if the very plausible interpretation of the site as a sanctuary stands. For the purposes of this paper it is an important, almost contemporary, evidence for the use of coinage in a ritualistic context in the Lower Drava region, near to the river’s confluence with the Danube.³⁴

- 31 On the coin-finds specifically see Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 92 for a brief overview; also Dizdar 2015: 302. The coins remain unpublished, but were most likely produced in the LT C2–D1 period; for the appearance of Srem coins already in the LT C2 on the strength of the finds from Némčice see Kolníková 2012: 57; John et al. 2015: 144; Militký 2015: 147. Indeed, the La Tène settlement at Osijek might have already functioned in the LT C2 period, which can be inferred from the presence of objects of material culture characteristic for this earlier phase of the Late Iron Age (Mihajlović 2019: 204; Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 92). Naturally, this is a somewhat insecure conjecture, since the objects characteristic for an earlier phase could have been in continuous use in the following periods.
- 32 Filipović (2010: 38–39) speaks of a pit (SU 637) and a ditch (SU 720) with numerous small finds, while Dizdar and Filipović (2020: 90–91), alongside the pit (SU 637/638), describe a ditch (SU 720/721) with small finds that might have served as a boundary of the enclosed area, with the majority of objects apparently recovered from a dark-brown layer provisionally divided into ten stratigraphic units.
- 33 Announced at Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 91, 97.
- 34 Some continuity in the ritualistic use of Late Iron Age coins in the area occupied by modern Osijek is exemplified by the already noted Scordiscan bronze drachm of Phase C found together with an Augustan as in a cremation grave at the (north-)eastern necropolis of Mursa. However, this Late Iron Age coin was certainly deposited in an early imperial context (1st–early 2nd century AD phase of the necropolis, after Göricke-Lukić 2000: 100–101; for the ‘north-eastern’ – actually eastern – necropolis see further Leleković 2020: 93–96, 143–144, who dates its pre-colonial

Srem, ali i jedan puno egzotičniji zlatni stater koji se pripisuje Bojima. „Svetište“ se datira u razdoblje LT D1 (150. – 80. g. pr. Kr.), ali možda je funkcioniralo već tijekom perioda LT C2 (na osnovi prisustva predmeta karakterističnih za taj period), što bi ga činilo gotovo istovremenim s predloženom datacijom odlaganja ostave iz Josipovca – Selišta (Filipović 2010: 38–40; Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 90, 92, 94, 96–97).³¹ Potpunija interpretacija situacije na lokalitetu Vojarna, nažalost, kompromitirana je nejasnom stratigrafskom slikom (Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 90–91),³² iako su prepoznata određena grupiranja oružja i konjske opreme (Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 90, 97), no svejedno znatno pomaže našem poznavanju ritualnih aktivnosti koje su prakticirali – pretpostavlja se – pripadnici vojne elite Skordiska (Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 91, 95–97). Na taj način postoje određene spoznaje o upotrebi kovanica u ritualnome odlaganju na području jugoistočne Panonije – u osnovi, da su gotovo sigurno bile korištene kao votivni depoziti – dok buduće studije³³ obećavaju dodati nove spoznaje, naravno, ako se vrlo uvjerljiva interpretacija ovoga položaja kao svetišta bude održala. Za potrebe ovoga rada riječ je o važnome, gotovo suvremenom dokazu upotrebe kovanica u ritualnome kontekstu na području donjega toka Drave u blizini njezinoga ušća u Dunav.³⁴

- 31 Specifično o nalazima kovanica vidjeti Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 92 za kratak pregled; također: Dizdar 2015: 302. Kovanice nisu objavljene, ali se može pretpostaviti da su najvjerojatnije proizvedene u periodu LT C2–D1; o prisustvu kovanica sremskoga tipa već u razdoblju LT C2 na osnovi nalaza iz Némčice vidjeti Kolníková 2012: 57; John et al. 2015: 144; Militký 2015: 147. Uistinu, latensko naselje na području Osijeka moglo je funkcionirati već u periodu LT C2, što se može zaključiti iz prisustva predmeta materijalne kulture karakterističnih za tu raniju fazu mlađega željeznog doba (Mihajlović 2019: 204; Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 92). Naravno, ovo je donekle nesigurna pretpostavka jer su predmeti karakteristični za raniju fazu materijalne kulture mogli nastaviti biti u upotrebi i u kasnijim periodima.
- 32 Filipović (2010: 38–39) piše o jami (SJ 637) i jarku (SJ 720) s brojnim nalazima malih predmeta, dok Dizdar i Filipović (2020: 90–91), pored jame (SJ 637/638), opisuju jarak (SJ 720/721) s malim nalazima koji je mogao predstavljati granicu ograđenoga prostora, dok je većina predmeta, čini se, prikupljena u tamnosmeđem sloju provizorno podijeljenom na deset stratigrafskih jedinica.
- 33 Najavljeno u Dizdar, Filipović 2020: 91, 97.
- 34 Određeni kontinuitet u ritualnome korištenju mlađeželjeznodobnih kovanica na području modernoga Osijeka predstavljen je već spomenutim nalazom brončane drahme tipa Srem C koja je, zajedno s augustovskim asom, pronađena u paljevinskome grobu na (sjevero)istočnoj nekropoli Murse. No, ova mlađeželjeznodobna kovanica sigurno je odložena u ranocarskome kontekstu (faza nekropole koja pripada 1. i ranom 2. st., prema Göricke-Lukić 2000: 100–101; za „sjeveroistočnu“, zapravo istočnu, nekropolu, vidjeti dalje Leleković 2020: 93–96, 143–144, koji datira fazu nekropole prije osnutka kolonije s početkom u flavijevske razdoblje – s vrhuncom korištenja na prijelazu iz 1. u 2. st. po Kr. – do oko 130-ih godina, što ne mora biti prekasno za navedeni grob) te je nejasno u kojoj mjeri ova upotreba kovanica reflektira hipotetsku mlađeželjeznodobnu praksu – po mojim spoznajama, osim primjera iz Osijeka, niti jedna kovanica na području Skordiska nije pronađena položena u grobu – prije nego rimski utjecaj.

CONCLUSION

The Josipovac – Selište hoard of the Huși-Vovriești coins is something of an outlier, deposited as it was far from the core of the distribution of these coins in Moldavia, more precisely, at the periphery of their secondary distribution in the Carpathian Basin. What can be claimed with some confidence is that it belongs to the early horizon of the presence of coinage in southern Pannonia. In terms of chronology, on account of (1) the lower limit of the production of the Huși-Vovriești coins, i.e., the last decades of the 3rd century BC and (2) the fact that the container in which they were deposited was produced either in LT B2 or LT C1 period, with its latest possible date of usage not later than the mid-2nd century BC, as well as (3) on an analogy with the hoards of the Huși-Vovriești coins deposited in the Scordiscan area that can be dated independently of this particular coin-type, i.e. the third quarter of the 3rd century BC, it seems most likely that the hoard was deposited during the LT C1 period (ca. 260/250–175 BC or 275–200 BC), although a LT C2 date cannot be excluded. This can conditionally be taken as the date for the erection (or, less likely, some other important event in the house's biography) of the building underneath the plank floor of which the hoard was deposited in the ground. The coins, as opposed to the kantharos, were most probably not produced in the region, however, but (much) further to the east-north east. On present evidence, their precise trajectory from Moldavia to the area of the Scordisci cannot be reconstructed with any plausibility. As a foundation deposit, the cache was not meant to be retrieved, and its deposition was part of a ritual of a sort, one we cannot reconstruct with any certainty. The use of a container otherwise involved in ritualistic practises, funerary and ceremonial, perhaps also the ritual demonetisation of coins with chop-marks, as well as precise and consistent application of these chop-marks, all point to a ritualistic background to the deposition. The fact that the coins in the cache are die-related, which is not often encountered in the Huși-Vovriești coin-hoards, points to their simultaneous production at a single production centre, certainly on a single occasion, closely related to the formation of the batch and, perhaps, also to its

phase starting in the Flavian period – with an acme at the turn of the 1st to 2nd century AD – to ca. 130s, which might not be too late for the grave in question), and it is unclear how far this usage reflects a hypothetical Late Iron Age tradition – as far as I am aware, other than the Osijek specimen, no Late Iron Age coins placed in graves have been found so far on the Scordiscan territory – rather than the Roman practice.

ZAKLJUČAK

Ostava kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești iz Josipovca – Selišta predstavlja određenu anomaliju. Ona je odložena daleko od jezgre rasprostiranja ovoga tipa kovanica u Moldaviji, preciznije, na samoj periferiji njihove sekundarne distribucije u Karpatskoj kotlini. Ono što se može relativno pouzdano tvrditi je da ona pripada ranome horizontu prisustva kovanica u južnoj Panoniji. U kronološkim terminima, na osnovi (1) donje granice produkcije kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești, tj. posljednjih desetljeća 3. st. pr. Kr. te (2) činjenice da je spremnik u kojem su one odložene izrađen u LT B2 ili LT C1 razdoblju, s posljednjim mogućim datumom upotrebe ne kasnije od sredine 2. st. pr. Kr., kao i (3) prema analogiji s ostavama koje sadrže kovanice tipa Huși-Vovriești odloženima na teritoriju Skordiska koje se mogu datirati neovisno o dataciji kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești, tj. treće četvrtine 3. st. pr. Kr., čini se najvjerojatnijim da je ostava odložena tijekom razdoblja LT C1 (oko 260./250. – 175. g. pr. Kr. ili 275. – 200. g. pr. Kr.), iako se niti razdoblje LT C2 ne može sasvim isključiti. Ovo se onda može uzeti kao uvjetni datum podizanja (ili, manje vjerojatno, nekoga drugog značajnog događaja u biografiji objekta) građevine ispod čijeg daščanoga poda je ostava bila ukopana. Kovanice, nasuprot kantharosu, vjerojatno nisu bile proizvedene na ovome području, već (puno) dalje na istoku-sjeveroistoku. Prema u ovome trenutku dostupnim podacima, precizna putanja kojom su one iz Moldavije stigle na područje Skordiska ne može se vjerodostojno rekonstruirati. Kao votivni depozit položen prilikom izgradnje, nije bilo predviđeno povratiti kovanice i njihov spremnik, dok je njihovo polaganje bilo dio nekoga rituala kojega ne možemo pouzdano rekonstruirati. Upotreba spremnika, koja je inače bila uključena u ritualnu praksu, u pogrebnom i ceremonijalnom kontekstu, možda i ritualna demonetizacija kovanica zarezima, kao i precizna i sustavna aplikacija tih zarezina – sve to ukazuje na ritualnu pozadinu odlaganja. Činjenica da su kovanice u ostavi izrađene povezanim pečatima, što je rijedak slučaj kod ostava kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești, sugerira njihovu istovremenu proizvodnju u istome produkcijskom središtu, zasigurno u jednoj prigodi koju možemo blisko povezati s formiranjem ove grupe kovanica te, možda, također i s njezinim odlaganjem. Naravno, ovo je u kontradikciji s uobičajeno prihvaćenom činjenicom, tj. proizvodnjom kovanica

deposition. Naturally, this contradicts what is normally accepted as fact, i.e., that the Huși-Vovriești coins were produced in Moldavia, whence they were distributed across the Carpathians to the Pannonian Basin. I can offer two plausible explanations of this conundrum: either the batch was formed in the core region of the Huși-Vovriești coins and transferred as such to the southern Pannonia, where it was (re)used as a foundation deposit, or it was, contrary to all we know, actually produced in the vicinity of the deposition site. In the latter case, it could have been produced with an explicit intention for its subsequent ritualistic usage, as a votive deposition of some kind. The substandard quality of production, as well as the low weight of the flans, supports this particular inference. In the former case, it is merely a coincidence that a batch of die-related coins was deposited together, while its actual formation was performed elsewhere, rather far-away in terms of geography from the deposition site. At this point, it is not possible to choose between these two possibilities.

tipa Huși-Vovriești u Moldaviji otkuda su bile distribuirane preko Karpata u Panonsku nizinu. Moguće je ponuditi dva plauzibilna objašnjenja ove nejasnoće: ili je grupa kovanica formirana u području jezgre produkcije kovanica tipa Huși-Vovriești te je otamo već formirana prenesena u južnu Panoniju gdje je (ponovno) upotrijebljena kao votivni depozit položen prilikom izgradnje građevine ili je, suprotno svemu što znamo o ovome tipu kovanica, iskovana upravo u blizini lokaliteta gdje je i odložena. U drugome slučaju, kovanice su mogle biti proizvedene s izričitom namjerom kako bi bile upotrijebljene u ritualne svrhe, kao neki oblik votivnoga depozita. Čini se da slaba kvaliteta izrade, kao i manja težina kovnih pločica, podupiru ovu interpretaciju. U prvome slučaju činjenica da je grupa kovanica izrađenih povezanim pečatima odložena zajedno predstavlja običnu slučajnost, dok je stvarno formiranje grupe odrađeno drugdje, u geografskim terminima prilično daleko od mjesta odlaganja. U ovome trenutku nije moguće izabrati vjerojatniju od ove dvije mogućnosti.

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