

QUESTIONS OF COIN USE IN THE LATE CELTIC TRANSDANUBIA

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The late Celtic coinage can be characterised in general by the appearance of the small change (small silver and bronze coins), which already shows an advanced form of coin use. It has long been recognised that the development of coin using economy is connected with the protourban settlements of the Celts during the time of the so called oppida civilisation¹. The recent research in the oppida in northern and north-eastern Gaul proved clearly this connection².

This development began in the eastern Celtic region, as well. A vast number of new finds, adding several previously unknown types came to light due to the use of metal detectors (e. g. Roseldorf types in Lower Austria)³, and they are dated to even earlier time – in the first half of the first century BC. The former assumption is proved to be true that small silver coins are joined to the Norican and Tauriscan tetradrachm series⁴. There are coinages in the region neighbouring Pannonia, which can be connected to oppida, like Magdalensberg, Karlstein, Oberleiserberg and the Boier in Bratislava. During the intensive excavations in the territory of Bratislava numerous coins were recovered, sometimes from well-dated archaeological contexts⁵.

¹ NASH, D.: The growth of urban society in France. In: *Oppida: the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*. BAR Suppl. Ser. 11. 1976, p. 95-133, especially p. 122-125; NASH, D.: Plus ça change ...currency in Central Gaul from Julius Caesar to Nero. In: *Scripta Nummaria Romana*. Ed.: R.A.G.CARSON-C.M. KRAAY, London 1978, p. 12-31; WIGG, D.: Die Stimme der Gegenseite? In: *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität*. RGA-E Band 35. Berlin-New York 2002, p. 218-241.

² GILLES, K.-J.: Neue Funde und Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen Triers, in *Trierer Zeitschr.* 55, 1992, p. 193-232; GILLES, K.-J.: Keltische Fundmünzen im östlichen Treverergebiet, in *Trierer Zeitschr.* 56, 1993, p. 35-66; METZLER, J.: *Das treverische Oppidum auf dem Titelberg*. Luxemburg 1995; KRAUSSE, D.: Der „Kasselt“ bei Wallendorf (Kreis Bitburg-Prüm), in *Trierer Zeitschr.* 59, 1996, p. 17-78; GILLES, K.-J.: Ältere Fundmünzen vom „Kasselt“ bei Wallendorf, in *Trierer Zeitschr.* 59, 1996, p. 79-82; WIGG, D.: Das Ende der keltischen Münzgeldwirtschaft am Mittelrhein, in *Germania* 74, 1996, p. 377-397; WIGG, D.-RIEDERER, J.: Die Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung am Mittelrhein. In: *stephanos numismatikos Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. U. Peter, Berlin 1998, p. 660-674; LOSCHEIDER, R.: Untersuchungen zum spätlatènezeitlichen Münzwesen des Trevererlandes, in *ArchMosellana* 3, 1998, p. 63-225; WIGG, D.: Der Beitrag des Martbergs zur eisenzzeitlichen Numismatik. In: *Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mittelgebirgsraum zwischen Luxemburg und Thüringen. Akten des Int. Kolloquiums zum DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm „Romanisierung“ in Trier 1998*. Hrsg. A. Haffner-S.von Schnurbein, Bonn 2000, p. 485-496; HASELGROVE, C.: Archaeological dating of Iron Age coinage in northern France. In: *XII. Int.Num.Kongr. Berlin 1997. Akten I*. Hrsg. B. Kluge-B. Weisser, Berlin 2000, p. 409-417; WIGG, D.: The Martberg on the Lower Mosel and the development of the coin-using economy in North Gaul in the late Latène and early Roman period. In: *XII. Int.Num.Kongr. Berlin 1997. Akten I*. Hrsg. B. Kluge-B. Weisser, Berlin 2000, p. 447-452.

³ DEMBSKY, G.: Neue Keltenmünzen aus Niederösterreich, in *MÖNG* 31, 1991, p. 5-10; DEMBSKY, G.: Keltische Münzen in Noricum, in *Carinthia I*, 189, 1999, p. 625-636; DEMBSKY, G.: Die Fundmünzen vom Mallnitzer Tauern – norische und tauriskische Obole, in *NZ* 10-109, 2001, p. 35-54; DEMBSKY, G.: Neues zu Keltenmünzen aus Österreich. In: *A numizmatika és a tártudományok VI. Konferenz in Székesfehérvár 2004*. Hrsg.: M. Torbágyi. Székesfehérvár 2007, p. 7-12

⁴ GÖBL, R.: Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum. Wien 1973, p. 45-46.

⁵ ZACHAR, L.-REXA, D.: Beitrag zur Problematik der spätlatènezeitlichen Siedlungshorizont innerhalb des Bratislavaer Oppidums, in *Zborník Slovenského Narodného Muzea* 82, 1988, p. 27-70; KOLNÍKOVÁ, E.: Münzfunde und die historischen Ereignisse im nördlichen Mitteldonauraum um die Zeitwende. In: *Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mitteldonaugebiet vom Ausklang der latène Zivilisation bis zum 2. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg.: J.Tejral, K.Pieta, J.Rajtar, Brno-Nitra 1995, p. 103-119.; KOLNÍKOVÁ, E.: Norische Münzen im Oppidum Bratislava und in seinem Hinterland, in *SlovNum* 14, 1996, p. 9-57; PIETA, K.-PLACHA, V.: Die ersten Römer im nördlichen Mitteldonauraum im Lichte neuen Grabungen in Devín. In: *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes*. Spisy Arch. Ústavu AV ČR Brno 14, 1999, p. 179-205.

What is the situation in Transdanubia, west of the river Danube? The territory under consideration is more or less the northern part of the later province Pannonia, between the river Drav and Danube. There are some coin types, which are dated to the late La Tène period⁶. But the chronology of the types in question is exclusively based on typology, metrology and sometimes on overstrikes. They have not been known from stratified deposits in controlled excavations, so far.

There are some oppida or oppidum-like settlements dated to the La Tène D period in this area (*Map 1.*), but the few recent excavations concentrated, first of all on the dating of the fortifications, and no real evidences of the urbanisation have been discovered, yet.⁷ Velemszentvid⁸ was systematically excavated in the frame of the common French-Hungarian project in 1988-1994 but new numismatic material was not discovered. Even at the beginning of the 20th century the excavation by Miske produced about two dozen coins apart from the coin hoard of the Velem-type (*Fig. 1*)⁹, but the exact circumstances are unknown. There are some small silver coins among them (*Fig. 2*). They are probably local types on the base of the distribution (*Map 2*), but we do not have definite evidences to minting activity in the site. The dating of the tetradrachms of Velem type to the first part of the first century BC is based on the Tauriscan overstrikes. Some imported coins came to light in the territory of Velem, as well which can also be dated to the early first century BC (Boii gold fractions and Norican „Kugelreiter”B2)¹⁰. Even the Kapos-type bronze coin discovered here may be dated to this period because it belongs to the older serie of the Kapos-type coinage¹¹. The end of the oppidum may be indicated by a La Tène D2 pot, unfortunately it did not come from clearly stratified context¹². On the small silvers, ca. 0.45 g, we do not have any information, at all.

Similar small silver coins (ca. 0.75 and 0.45 g) are known even from Komárom and Ó-Szőny¹³ (the Roman Brigetio), the sites are very close to each other (*Fig. 3-5*). To their dating the only information available is a Velký Bystřec-type tetradrachm which is dated to the first part of the first century BC by Eva Kolníková¹⁴. They may be connected to the Boii or to an unknown

⁶ TORBÁGYI, M.: Late Celtic coinage in Hungary, in *NumKözlöny* 100-101, 2001-2002, p. 243-247.

⁷ PETHŐ, M.: A Gellérthegyi oppidum déli oldalán végzett kutatások 1993-1997 között, in *Budapest Régiségei* 35, 2002, p. 125-129.

⁸ BUCHSENSCHUTZ, O.-CSERMÉNYI, V.-GUILLAUMET, J.-P. -SZABÓ, M.: La campagne franco-hongroise de fouilles des 1988 à Velem-Szentvid, in *AAH* 42, 1990, p. 45-54; SZABÓ, M.-GUILLAUMET, J.-P. - CSERMÉNYI, V.: Fouilles franco-hongroise à Velem-Szentvid: recherches sur la fortification laténienne, in *AAH* 46, 1994, p. 107-126; GUILLAUMET, J.-P. - SZABÓ, M.-CZAJLIK, Z.: Bilan des recherches franco-hongroise à Velem-Szentvid 1988-1994, in *Savaria* 24/3, 1998-1999, p. 383-408.

⁹ TORBÁGYI, M.: Zwei keltischen Münzschatzfunde im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum (Velemszentvid und Ostffyasszonyfa), in *Folia Archaeologica* 49-50, 2001-2002, p. 143-160.

¹⁰ GÖBL, R.: Typologie und Chronologie ... p. 23-24; GÖBL, R.: Münzprägung und Geldverkehr der Kelten in Österreich, in *Veröffentlichungen der Num. Kommission* Bd. 28 Wien 1992, p. 9-10; The coin hoard in Enemonzo 1998 considerably overturned the traditional chronology of the Norican and Tauriscan coinages. As a consequence the chronology of all the coinages in connection with them must be revised. GORINI, G.: Il ripostiglio di Enemonzo e la monetazione del Norico. Padova 2005. DEMBSKI, G.: Beginn und Ende der Münzprägung in Noricum. In: stephanos numismatikos Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag, Hrsg. U. Peter, Berlin 1998, p. 199-205; DEMBSKI, G.: Keltische Münzen in Noricum.; KOS, P.: The beginnings of the coinage of Celtic tribes in the southeastern Alps, in *SlovNum* 18, 2007, p. 59-68.

¹¹ TORBÁGYI, M.: Bemerkungen zur Chronologie der keltischen Münzen vom Kapostaler Typ. In: *stephanos numismatikos Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. U. Peter, Berlin 1998, p. 631-642.

¹² SZABÓ, M.- GUILLAUMET, J.-P. - CSERMÉNYI, V.: Fouilles franco-hongroise à Velem-Szentvid: recherches sur la fortification laténienne, p. 124.

¹³ CASTELIN, K.: Keltische Kleinsilbermünzen von Brigetio, in *NumKözlöny* 68-69, 1969-1970, p. 3-12.

¹⁴ KOLNÍKOVÁ, E.: Severoslovenské keltské mince hrboľom na avarze, in *SlovNum* 17, 2004, p. 11-49.

tribe which became independent after the collapse of the Boian power owing to the Boii-Dacian war in ca. 45-40 BC¹⁵.

Another mysterious coinage of this period is the drachms of Tótfalu-type. Apart from the almost 1000 coins of the Tótfalu hoard – the site situated in the Danube island called Szentendre – hardly any pieces are known from sites. Their relative chronology is also based only on numismatical evidences. Tóthfalu-type has certain typological relation – first of all its reverse – to the Simmering-type attributed to the Boii¹⁶. Tótfalu-type has, however, a larger type-repertoire (*Fig. 6-8*) than Simmering and their weight is heavier, and so the Tótfalu drachms may have been minted earlier. The prototypes of the obverses of Tótfalu reveal far-reaching contacts towards Noricum, Gaul and Rome¹⁷.

Two large oppidum-like settlements can be found in the southern part of the territory under consideration – south of the Lake Balaton – Szalacska and Regöly. Neither Szalacska nor Regöly have been systematically excavated recently. New coin finds are not known from either sites, but several Kapos-type coins – mainly bronzes – were discovered by private collectors on many sites, unfortunately, without exact find place (*Fig. 9-11*). Recently, a die for Kapos-type came to light, but it is only known on photo to me (*Fig. 12*). Dies for Kapos-type small silver and/or bronze coins with equipment of a metal-workshop were discovered at the beginning of the 20th century¹⁸, but the whole ensemble was destroyed during the World War II. A Tauriscan tetradrachm (Gjurgjevac-type) gives some support to the dating of the mint to the middle third of the first century BC. Coin finds of Kapos-type were mentioned in the territory of the oppidum in Regöly by the old excavation reports, unfortunately they gave information neither on the amount of the coins nor the exact archaeological context. It is, however a fact that the Kapos-type appears to be the most common type among the late Celtic coin types in Pannonia. It has several well-separated phases of development, beginning from the good quality silver tetradrachms (weighing 11-12 g) and drachms until the extremely poor quality bronze coins, the so-called Dunaszekcső-type (*Fig. 13*). The Kapos-type coinage has a relatively large distribution area, but they – even the bronze exemplars – are distributed far from their place of origin, as well (*Map 3*). A very poor quality bronze specimen of Kapos-type is the only coin find in the oppidum at Gellért-hill (Budapest). It was formerly assumed that the minting of the bronze coins or at least their circulation was still lasting in the early Roman period¹⁹, though we do not have any indication of their survival. So far they have been coming to light neither with Roman coins together nor in Roman milieu. In addition the region, which seems to be the most developed area with regard to the coin use in the late Celtic period in Pannonia, produced only very few early Roman coin finds²⁰. In the light of the research in the Middle-Rheinland²¹ a similar process may have taken place in the Kapos valley. The coin using economy came to an

¹⁵ The exact time of the war is hardly discussed still today. DOBESCH, G.: Zur Chronologie des Dakerkönigs Burebista. In: Göbl, R.: *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier*. Wien 1994, p. 51-68.; DOBESCH, G.: Die Boier und Burebista. In: Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mitteldonaugebiet vom Ausklang der Latène – Zivilisation bis zum 2. Jahrhundert. Brno – Nitra 1995, p. 15-19.

¹⁶ PAULSEN, R.: *Die Münzprägungen der Boier*. Leipzig und Wien 1933, p. 98-99.

¹⁷ TORBÁGYI, M.: Late Celtic coinage ...; TORBÁGYI, M.: *Monete celtiche in Ungheria*. Milano 2000. p. 53-58.

¹⁸ GOHL, Ö.: A szalacsai kelte pénzverő és bronzöntő műhely, in *NumKözlöny* 6, 1907, p. 47-64.

¹⁹ BÍRÓ SEY, K.: The Questions of the Chronology of the Transdanubian Celtic Bronze Coins, in AAH 24, 1972, p. 359-363.

²⁰ GABLER, D.: Aspects of the development of late Iron Age settlements in Transdanubia into the Roman period. (Evidence based upon the excavations at Szakály.) In: *Studies in the Iron Age of Hungary*. BAR Int. Series 144. Oxford 1982, p. 94.

²¹ WIGG, D.: Die Stimme der Gegenseite? 231 ff.

end with the end of the oppida civilisation ca. in the middle of the first century BC and then for a long time there has been no such millieu which demanded to use money in daily life.

All the coin types mentioned above belong to the group of the Philippeus imitations. The first signs of the Roman influence appeared already in the coinage of Tótfalu (a Memmius denarius was the prototype of an obverse design), which connects them to the Boii even more who also used some Roman prototypes and Latin letters on their coin legend²².

Indisputably the latest Celtic coinage in Pannonia belongs to the Eraviscan tribe²³. It is the only coinage, which was minted exclusively on Roman prototypes and on denarius standard. The legend – I RAVISCI, RAVIS (*Fig. 14-15*) – unambiguously connects them to the tribe, which lived in north-eastern Pannonia according the Roman historical and epigraphical sources²⁴. One of its centres was the oppidum on the Gellért-hill (Budapest)²⁵. The minting on the base of the prototypes issued in the 80-60s BC could be supposed in the middle of the first century BC, but there are not any literary or archaeological data to the Roman contact at that time. The first evidences of the Roman contacts are the Republican coins – several coin hoards can be found in the Eraviscan territory – but they were even in circulation in large amount during the reign of Augustus either in the Empire or outside its borders²⁶. The earliest Roman import can be dated also to the Augustan period²⁷. Rome's interest in the Middle-Danubian area began after the capture of Siscia in 35 BC²⁸.

The recently arisen Dacian theory connects the arrival of the Roman Republican denarii to Burebista's campaign. The Eraviscan coinage might have been induced by the Dacians, and the Eraviscan coins without legend might even have been Dacian products²⁹. Apart from the different style of the Dacian and Eraviscan imitations there are hardly any trace of the Dacian presence or influence in the Eraviscan territory³⁰. I assume, however, that a Roman-type coinage can be imagined rather in an „economical or political sphere” influenced by the Romans.

Unfortunately, only a very few literary information on the Roman presence and on the Roman contact is available, at all from the time preceding the organisation of the province. The recent excavations have discovered numerous early Roman finds in the Eraviscan territory, e.g. Aquincum³¹ and its neighbouring, Páty³² and Budaörs³³, and even some Republican denarii and

²² ONDRUCH, V.: *Keltské mince typu Biatec z Bratislavu*. Bratislava 1958; KOLNÍKOVÁ, E.: *Bratislavské keltské mince*. Bratislava 1991; GÖBL, R.: *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier*. Wien 1994.

²³ TORBÁGYI, M.: Die Münzprägung der Eravisker, in *AAH* 36, 1984, p. 161-196.

²⁴ KOVÁCS, P. : Civitas Eraviscorum. In: *Pannonia and beyond Studies in honour of László Barkóczi*. Hrsg. A. Vaday, *Antaeus* 24, 1999, p. 278.

²⁵ BÓNIS, É.: *Die spätkeltische Siedlung in Gellérthegy-Tabán*. Budapest 1969; MARÁZ, B.: A Budapest-Gellérthegy és környékének késő La Tène kori településtörténete, I, in *Budapest Régiségei* 39, 2005, p. 39-49.

²⁶ TORBAGYI, M.: Die Münzprägung der Eravisker, pp. 180-186; and on the problem of the dating value of the Augustus' coins REECE, R.: Roman monetary impact in the Celtic world – thoughts and problems. In: *Coinage and society in Britain and Gaul*. CBA Research Report. No. 38, 1981, p. 24-25.

²⁷ GABLER, D.: Pannonia megszállásának néhány kérdése a terra sigillaták tükrében, in *ArchÉrt* 106, 1979, p. 199-217.

²⁸ MÓCSY, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*. London-Boston 1974, 31ff.

²⁹ HAUPt, P. -NICK, M.: Ein neuer Münzschatz mit Denaren der Eravisker aus Gegend von Győr (Ungarn), in *NZ* 104-105, 1997, p. 41-81; KOLNIKOVÁ, E.: Münzen der Eravisker, Azaler und andere Nachahmungen der Republikanischen Denare im Nordkarpatischen Raum. In: *In memoriam Ludovici Huszár*, Hrsg. K. Bíró Sey, J. Buza, M. Csoma, I. Gedai, Budapest 2005, p. 85.

³⁰ TORBÁGYI, M.: Neue Beiträge zur eraviskischen Münzprägung. In: *Pannonica provincialia et Archaeologia. Studia sollemnia auctorum hungarorum Eugenio Fitz octogenario dedicata*. Budapest 2003, p. 47-56.

³¹ HABLE, T.: Preliminary report on the excavations at a celtic (Eraviscus) settlement and a Roman period cemetery soith of the Roman military fort in the Viziváros. In: *Aquincum. Excavations and rescue works at the Aquincum Museum in 1997*. Budapest 1998, p. 34-35.

³² OTTOMÁNYI, K. et alia: A pátyi római telep újabb kutatási eredményei, in *Studia Comitatensis* 30, 2007.

bronze coins of Iulio-Claudian dynasty came to light. (6 Republican denarii in a LTD house in Páty.) The excavations and field survey prove the unbroken survival of several LTD settlements in the Roman period³⁴. As the result of the long discussion on the conquest of Pannonia the research today agreed that the organisation of Province Pannonia was a gradual process³⁵.

With regard to the Roman type Eraviscan coinage it may be worth to take into consideration the possibility of a kind of foedus in the Augustan period. Giving Roman right of citizenship to certain local leaders of tribes living on Eraviscan territory may also refer to federal relationship between them and the Romans (CIL III 3377, 10552). The tribes of Transdanubia were not organised into tribal cohorses, their regular recruitment into certain Pannonian army corps can be traced only from the Flavian period³⁶. It is, however, surprising that no Eraviscan coin has come to light in the Eraviscan settlements, either Gellért-hill or Tabán and other small settlements around the Gellért-hill or Páty and Budaörs, so far. There are only the coin hoards and some single finds with uncertain origin³⁷. On the other hand we know some quinar-sized coins which probably belong to the Eraviscan coinage³⁸ (*Fig. 16-17*). Recently, two new coin hoards (Devin, Győr)³⁹ came to light out of the Eraviscan territory. These finds show a definite distribution to north and north-west (*Map 4*). It is assumed that Devin may have been Tiberius' winter camp during the campaign against Marobodus in 6 AD⁴⁰.

These new hoards gave me the idea that the Eraviscan denarii may have served for certain purposes of the Roman army⁴¹. This may be indicated by the RAVIS denar in a hoard of Roman denarii in Lutterkrug⁴².

There are some single finds of Eraviscan coins in Slovakia but a part of them is undoubtedly imitation, their style is quite different and their weight is much lighter⁴³. An Eraviscan imitation

³³ OTTOMÁNYI, K.: Die Grabungen in der spätlatènezeitlich-römischen Siedlung von Budaörs, in *AAH* 56, 2005, p. 67-132.; TORBÁGYI, M.: Újabb adatok Pannónia romanizációjához. In: *A numizmatika és a társtudományok VI. Konferencia Székesfehérváron 2004*. Székesfehérvár 2007, p. 17-24.

³⁴ GABLER, D.: The survival of late La Tène settlements in the Roman period. In: *Roman Frontier Studies* 1989. Ed.: V.A.Maxfield-M.J.Dobson, Exeter 1991, p. 424-431; GABLER, D.: The shaping of the life of the late La Tène settlements in the Roman period, in *Antaeus* 19-20, 1990-1991, p. 51-70.

³⁵ KOVÁCS, P. : The conquest of Pannonia and its organisation as a province. In: *Early Geographers – the period of the Roman conquest*. Ed.: B. Fehér-P. Kovács, /Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae I./ Budapest 2005, p. 198-225. with the complex literature of the problem.

³⁶ Idem p. 224-225.

³⁷ TORBÁGYI, M.: Die Münzprägung der Eravisker.

³⁸ TORBÁGYI, M.: „Eraviszkusz” quinar. In: *In memoriam Ludovici Huszár*. Hrsg. K. Bíró Sey, J. Buza, M. Csoma, I.Gedai, Budapest 2005, p. 90-95.

³⁹ HAUPT, P. -NICK,M.: Ein neuer Münzschatz mit Denaren der Eravisker aus Gegend von Győr; FIALA, A.-PLACHÁ, V.: Hromadný nález keltských mincí na hrade Devín, in *SlovNum* 15, 1998, p. 201-210.

⁴⁰ PIETA, K.-PLACHÁ, V.: Die ersten Römer im nördlichen Mitteldonauraum im Lichte neuen Grabungen in Devín. In: *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes*. Spisy Arch. Ústavu AV ČR Brno 14, 1999, p. 179-205.

⁴¹ On the possible military purposes of the local coinages in Gallia and Germania, NASH, D.: Plus ça change ... p. 21; WIGHTMAN, E. M.: Le Gaule Chevelue entre Caesar et Auguste. In: *Actes du 9th Congrès International d'études sur les frontières romaines. Mamaia 1972*. Köln – Bukarest – Wien 1974, p. 480-481; FURGER-GUNTI, A.: Frühe Auxilien am Rhein – keltische Münzen in römischen Militärstationen, in *ArchKorrb* 11, 1981, p. 231-246; WOLTERS, R.: Keltische Münzen in römischen Militärstationen. Und die Besoldung römischer Hilfstruppen in spätrepublikanischer und frühaugusteischer Zeit, in *Tyche* 3, 1988, p. 261-272; WIGG , D.: Die Stimme der Gegenseite? 226ff;

⁴² BERGER, F.: *Untersuchungen zu römerzeitlichen Münzfunden in Nordwestdeutschland*. SFMA 9. Berlin 1992, p. 88-89.

⁴³ TOMÁŠOVA, B.-KOLNÍKOVÁ, E.: Keltské a rímske mince z Hradiska v Hrabušiciach, in *SlovNum* 15, 1998, p. 196-200, pl. 2, 4-5.

came to light in West-Ukraine, as well in a Dacian “dava” dated to the period between 60 BC and 106 AD⁴⁴.

On the base of the above mentioned three different coinage centres seem to emerge in Transdanubia: one in North-Western part of Pannonia which seems to be a kind of periphery of the Boii-Tauriscan coinage. Another in the Kapos-valley which may have been the most advanced region in Pannonia in the aspect of the coin use during the Late Celtic period, but the development stopped in the Roman period. The third region is the Eraviscan territory in North-Eastern Pannonia where a Roman-type coinage emerged in the Augustan period, perhaps with Roman impetus. The Eraviscan coins must have survived to the late Tiberian-early Claudian period, as one of the Bia hoards contains a Caligula’s denarius⁴⁵. This hoard in Bia contains even some special type of Eraviscan denarii (*Fig. 18-20*). They may have been minted in a later phase of the Eraviscan coinage, and perhaps in another mint.

Based on the above mentioned, I would risk the assumption that the Celts in Transdanubia took the first steps to the coin using economy in connection with the oppida. There are some indications, which refer to the collapse of the oppida civilisation, involving at the same time the end of the late Celtic coinages about the middle of the first century BC in this region, as well (North-west Pannonia, Kapos-valley). It seems, the latest Celtic coinage, the Eraviscan can be definitely interpreted in Roman context.

It is not so simple to clarify the historical background. The Boii-Dacian war under Burebista⁴⁶, seems to be plausible, but the connection between the destruction of the oppida and the war can be proved only in the case of Bratislava⁴⁷, at present.

To discuss the very difficult history of this period go far beyond the scope of this short survey, but the Pannonian numismatic material in lack of a reliable chronology is unsuitable at present to clarify historical problems.

⁴⁴ KOLNÍKOVÁ, E.-KOTIGOROŠKO, V. G.: Der dakische Burgwall Malaja Kopanja am Oberen Theissgebiet im Lichte der Münzfunde. In: *Miscellanea Numismatica Antiquitatis. In honorem septagenarii magistri Virgilii Mihăilescu-Bîrliba oblata*. Iași 2008, p. 130, fig. 2, 4.

⁴⁵ GOHL, Ö.: A budapesti eraviskusz éremlelet, in *NumKözlöny* 1, 1902, p. 31.

⁴⁶ DOBESCH, G.: Zur Chronologie des Dakerkönigs Burebista.

⁴⁷ PIETA, K.- ZACHAR, L.: Mladšia doba železná (laténska). In: *Najstaršie dejiny Bratislav*, ed.. T. Štefanovičová, Bratislava 1993, 143 ff.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11





Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

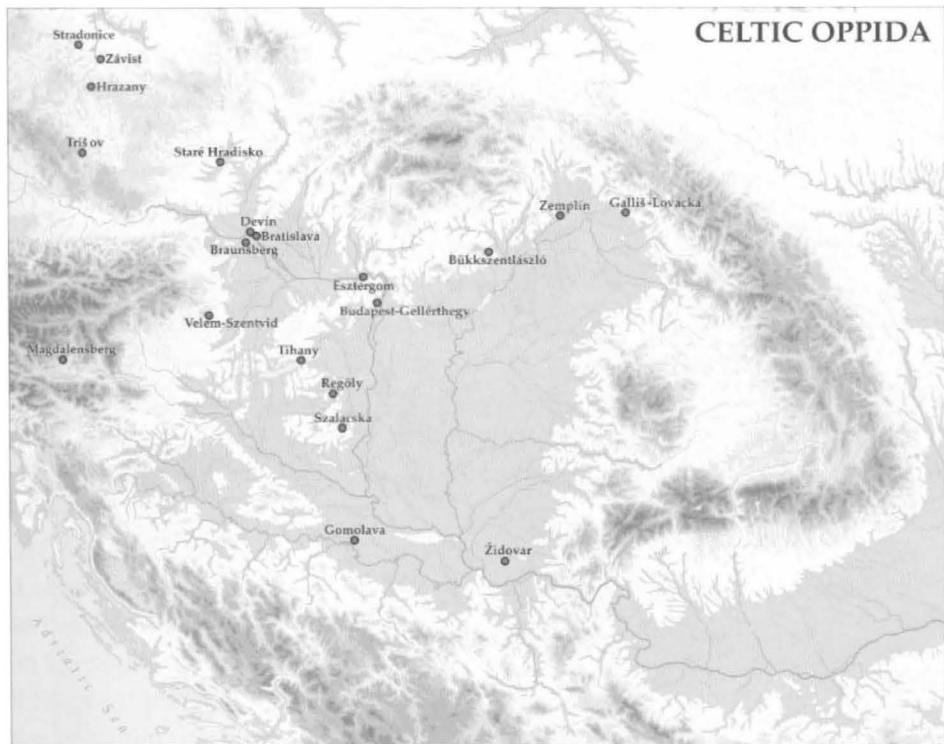


Fig. 19

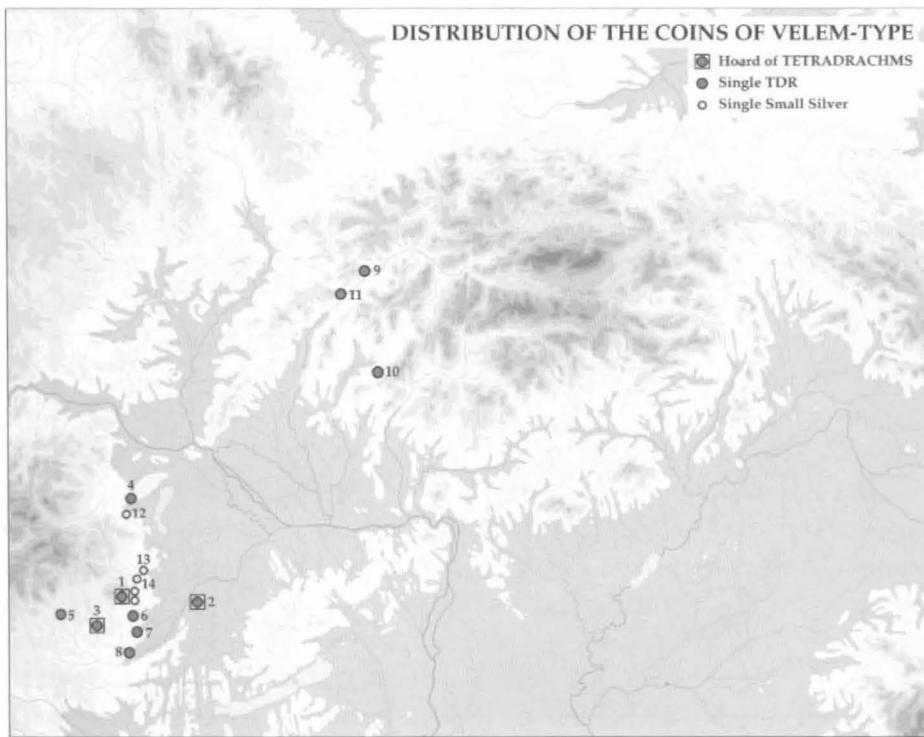


Fig. 20

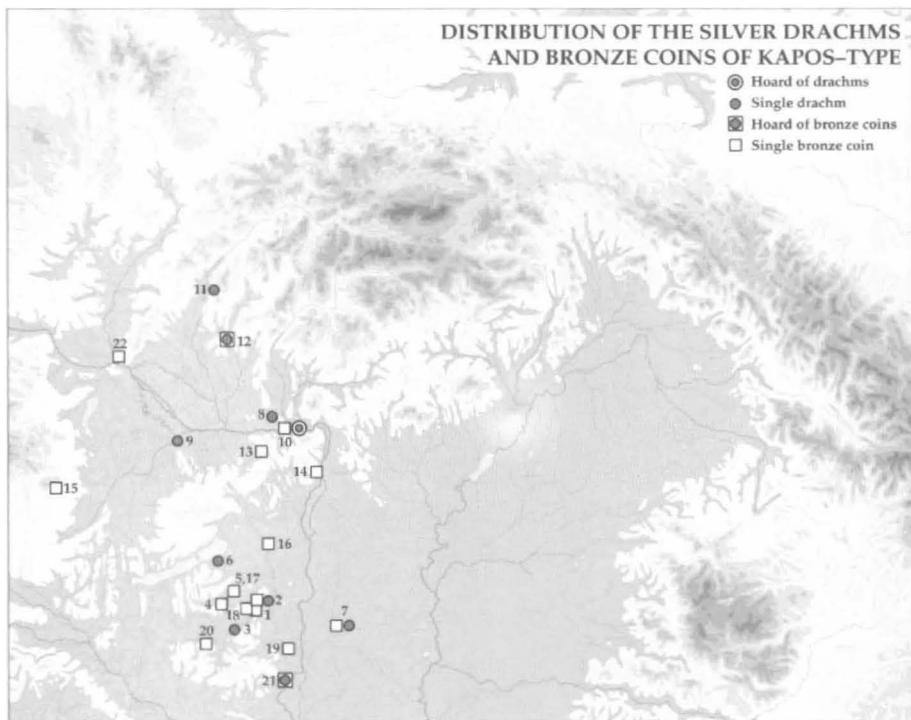




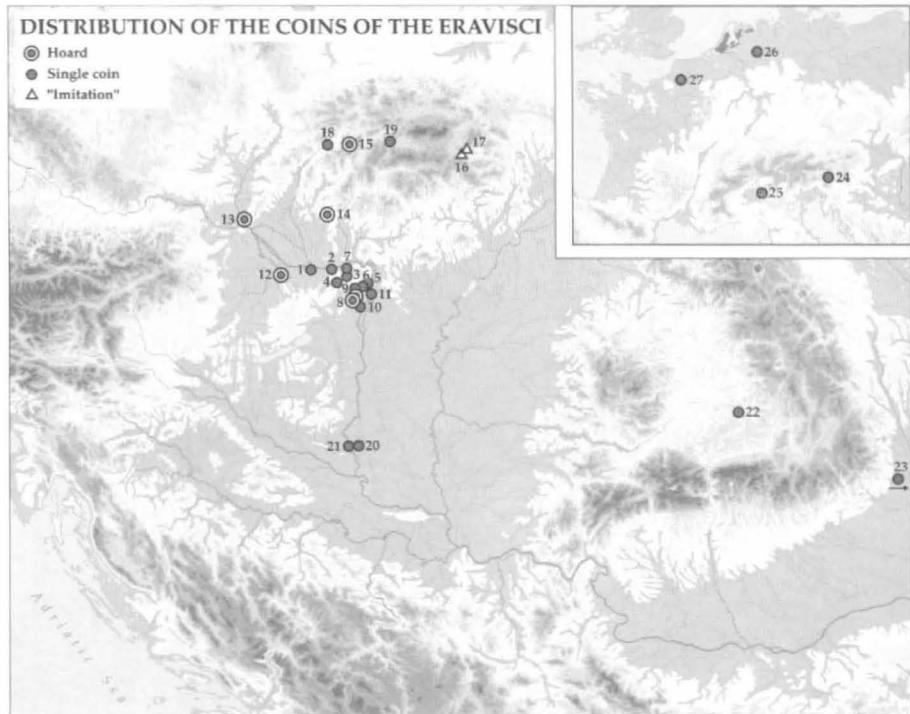
Map 1



Map 2



Map 3



Map 4