

Coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts within the area of La Tène settlement in present-day Slovakia – reasons and consequences of their occurrence

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ABSTRACT

In the area of the La Tène settlement in present-day Slovakia autochthonous and various foreign coins circulated. The latter ones include coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts – several types of gold and silver coins dating from the 3rd to 1st century BC. They arrived in the Celtic settlements located in present-day Slovakia mainly through trade, and do not prove that the areas of their circulation were settled by the Boii.

KEYWORDS

Slovakia; La Tène settlement; finds; coins; Bohemian and Moravian Celts.

INTRODUCTION

It is generally known today that the La Tène settlement of present-day Slovakia is reflected, besides different archaeological artefacts, also in coin finds. Coins form an important part of the La Tène civilisation and its bearers, the Celts. In the whole Middle Danube area, and within it in the territory of present-day Slovakia, the Celts were the first to mint and use coins. The varied finds of Celtic coins show there was no single currency. The Celtic coinage in the area studied is divided into several coin types, named after their distinctive iconographic features or according to geographical indicators. The concentration of certain coin types in a particular area indicates the place of their mintage (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2011, 20–37). Besides local coins, there is an array of foreign ones, both from neighbouring and distant areas. They include Greek (SOJÁK – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2017, 1–16), Geto-Dacian (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1997, 37–53), Scordiscan (KOLNÍKOVÁ – TIRPÁK 2019, 1–14), Pannonian Celtic (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1999, 85–106), Eraviscan (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2005, 72–89), Norican (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1996, 9–57), and Vindelician coins (KOLNÍKOVÁ – RAJTÁR 2020, 579–588).

There are also numerous finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts. This contribution attempts to shed light on the reasons for their occurrence within the area of the La Tène settlement of present-day Slovakia and the implications thereof. It avoids the term ‘Boian coins,’ which has been commonly used in scholarly literature for many years, and which many authors continue to use. However, an increasing number of researchers are against associating both these and other Celtic coins, as well as other archaeological items, with a particular ethnic group (KREKOVIČ 2000, 16–17). The problematic use of the term ‘Boian coins’ has been pointed out by several authors, yet the same authors emphasize that it is hard to be replaced (MILITKÝ 2018, 289). The term ‘monetary system of the Amber Road corridor’ is not an appropriate solution either (SMĚLÝ 2017; MILITKÝ 2018, 284), since it only covers the Moravian section of the Amber Road, the one between Lower Silesia and the Austrian Danubeland, and the name does not reveal this fact. Moreover, it is unclear that the term refers to Celtic coinage. The question of attributing coins to a particular Celtic community thus remains open.

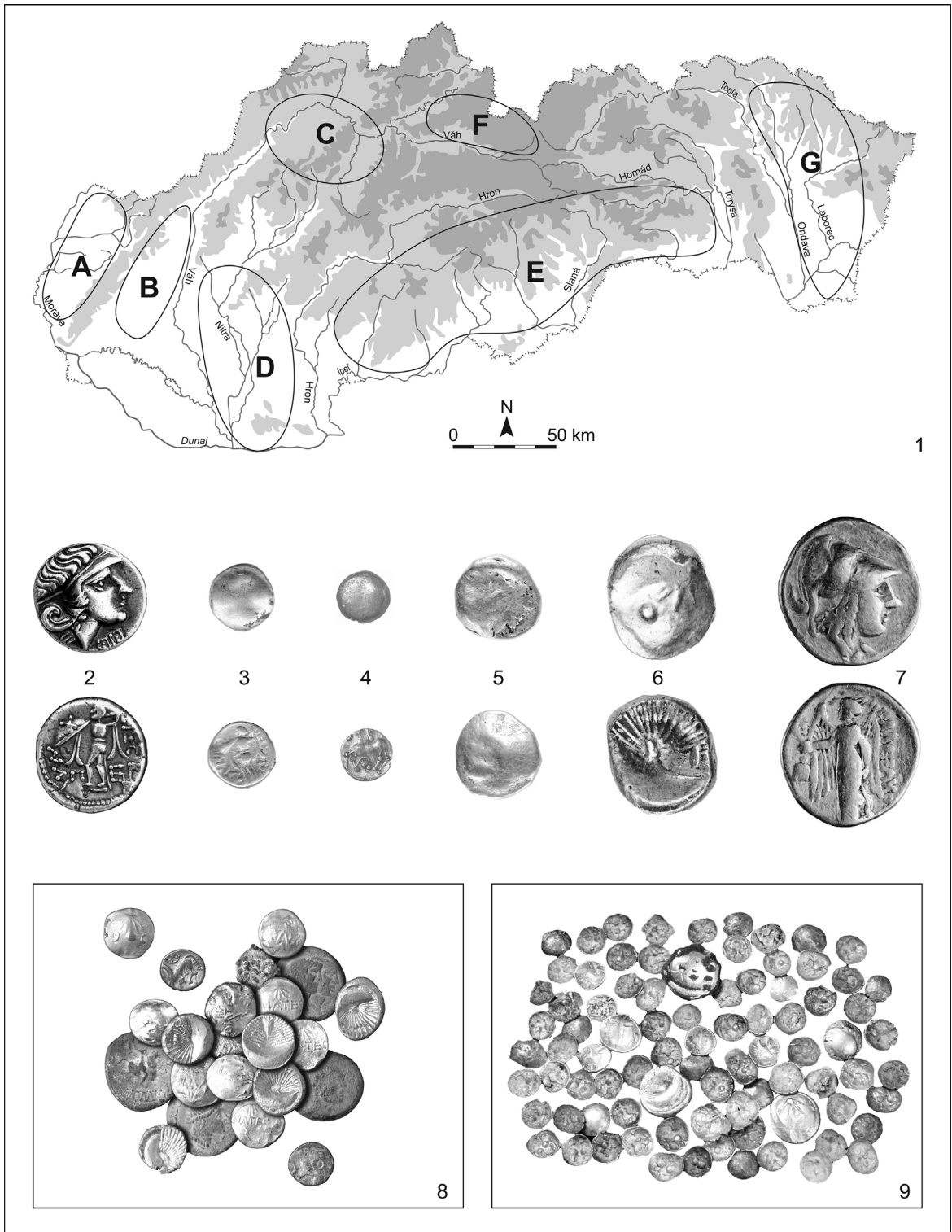


Fig. 1: 1 - Map of Slovak regions A-G. 2 - Veľký Slavkov, drachm, Minerva/Athena Alkidemos type; 3 - Bohdanovce nad Trnavou? 1/3 stater, Athena Alkidemos type; 4 - Podhradie, obol, Roseldorf/Němčice type; 5 - Plavecké Podhradie, stater, bulge/torques type; 6 - Bratislava, stater, shell type, without inscription; 7 - Kurima, stater, Nike type; 8 - Bratislava Castle, hoard of coins, Bratislava types; 9 - Trenčianske Bohuslavice, hoard, with coins, shell types.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE COINS OF THE BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN CELTS FOUND IN SLOVAKIA BY TYPE

The records of Celtic coins from the territory of Slovakia, listed in several catalogues (*Nálezy I/1964; Nálezy III/1978; Nálezy IV/1994; Nálezy V/1/2018*), contain 68 sites with 172 coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts (**Tab. 1**, as of the 31st December 2020). The sites are located in several areas of Slovakia (**Tab. 2: A-G; Fig. 1: 1**). A considerable number of them (13) are situated between the River Morava and the western slopes of the Little Carpathians (**Tab. 2: A**). The majority of the sites (19) are located between the eastern slopes of the Little Carpathians and the lower reaches of the River Váh (**Tab. 2: B**). Some sites have also been recorded east of the River Morava (11), between the White Carpathians, the middle stretch of the River Váh and the Velká Fatra Mountains (**Tab. 2: C**). The number of sites sharply decreases to the east. A few (5) are situated in the area between the lower reaches of the Váh, Nitra, and Hron rivers (**Tab. 2: D**). Several sites (3) have been recorded further to the east, in the area of the Slovenský Kras Mountains (**Tab. 2: E**). Some (3) are also situated in the territory north of the River Váh and its tributaries (**Tab. 2: F**). A few sites (3) can be found east of the Topľa and Torysa rivers (**Tab. 2: G**).

The above numbers include several coin types (the first figure in the brackets refers to the number of sites, the other refers to the number of coins of the given type): I – Nike type (4/4), II – Athena Alkidemos type (28/61), III – Bohemian local coinage (1/1), IV – type with a bulge and an outline of a torc as well as an earlier shell type (10/15), V – later shell type without inscriptions (8/34), VI – type with a T symbol (2/2), VII – Roseldorf/Němčice and related types (17/39), VIII – Staré Hradisko type (2/2). The coins are presented in detail in **Tab. 3/1-3/8**. Most of the types date from an earlier mintage period (LT B/C1), i.e., from the mid-3rd to the mid-2nd century BC. The later mintage period is also represented and includes coins that were minted at La Tène oppida from the end of the 2nd century and throughout the 1st century BC (LT D1-D2). As an attempt to explain the occurrence of the coin types of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts, this contribution draws on previous excavation results (PAULSEN 1933; PINK 1936; CASTELIN 1965), as well as new pieces of knowledge (MILITKÝ 2015a; MILITKÝ 2018; SMĚLÝ 2017; SMĚLÝ 2020).

THE NIKE TYPE

The Nike type (**Tab. 3/1**) are imitations of Alexander the Great staters minted in gold; the earliest copies among the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in Slovakia listed above. The obverse shows the head of Pallas Athena in a Corinthian helmet, while the reverse depicts the figure of Nike, the goddess of victory. In scholarly literature, these coins are associated with the Bohemian Boii (MILITKÝ 2015b, 70–71; MILITKÝ 2018, 13), even though R. Paulsen, in his seminal work on the ‘Boian’ coins, assesses them as ‘pre-Boian’ coinage. Paulsen is the author of the first published inventory of the imitations of Alexander’s stater found in the territory of Central Europe (PAULSEN 1933, 7–8). A number of other authors have dealt with their circulation and imitation (for overview see KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006a, 4–9). Earlier authors include Ö. Gohl (1911, 4–5), and in particular K. Pink (1939, 16–17). K. Castelin wrote about these imitations in his monograph on the gold coins of the Bohemian Celts. He did not assume their mintage in the Bohemian territory and noted that they arrived from the Balkans along a trade route running along the Danube. They may also have been spread in this area by Celtic mercenaries or the participants of campaigns into the Greek world. Due to the low number of finds, Castelin did not deal with these coins in detail (CASTELIN 1965, 4–7). He was unable to identify which

Tab. 1: Alphabetical list of the sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in present-day Slovakia.

No.	Site	Region	Type
1	Bernolákovo	B	VII
2	Blatné	B	VII
3	Bohdanovce nad Trnavou	B	IV, VII
4	Borský Svätý Jur	A	VII
5	Borský Svätý Mikuláš	A	V
6	Bratislava	B	II
7	Bratislava -Devín	B	III, VII
8	Bratislava -Devínska Nová Ves	B	V
9	Bratislava-Castle	B	II
10	Bratislava-Jarovce	B	V
11	Bratislava-Petržalka	B	V
12	Bratislava-city	B	V
13	Bratislava-župa	B	II, IV
14	Čachtice	C	II
15	Dolné Vestenice	C	IV
16	Dolný Kubín	F	II, VII
17	Holíč	A	II
18	Horné Orešany	B	II
19	Hrhov	E	VII
20	Chorvátsky Grob	B	IV
21	Kežmarok	F	II
22	Košolná	B	VII
23	Kuklov	A	I
24	Kurima	G	IV
25	Levice	D	VII
26	Lozorno	A	II
27	Malacky	A	IV
28	Nitra-Štitáre	D	II
29	Nová Dubnica	C	VII

No.	Site	Region	Type
30	Plavecké Podhradie	A	II, IV, VII
31	Podhradie	C	II, VII
32	Prosné-Udiča	C	II
33	Pružina	C	II
34	Púchov-area	C	I
35	Radimov	A	VII
36	Rožňava-area	E	II
37	Slatina nad Bebravou	C	II
38	Slovenský Grob	B	VI
39	Smolenice	B	VII
40	Soblahov	C	II
41	Spišská Nová Ves	E	II
42	Stupava	A	II
43	Stupné	C	V
44	Suchohrad	A	VII, VIII
45	Šaštín-Stráže	A	VIII
46	Trenčín	C	II
47	Trenčianske Bohuslavice	C	VI, VII
48	Trnava-area	B	II, VII
49	Tvrdošovce	D	II
50	Veľký Biel	B	II
51	Vyšný Kubín	F	II, IV
52	Závod	A	II, V
53	Zbehy	D	II
54	Zemplín	G	V
55	Zlaté Moravce?	D	IV
56	Zohor	A	VII
57	Slovakia south?	B?	I, II
58	Slovakia east?	G?	I, II

Tab. 2: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by Slovak area.

A	between the Morava river and the western slopes of the Little Carpathians	4, 5, 17, 23, 26, 27, 30, 35, 42, 44, 45, 52, 56
B	between the eastern slopes of the Little Carpathians and the downstream of the Váh river	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 20, 22, 38, 39, 48, 50, 57
C	between the White Carpathians, the middle stretch of the Váh river and the Veľká Fatra mountains	14, 15, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 46, 47
D	between the lower Váh, Nitra and Hron rivers	25, 28, 49, 53, 55
E	between the Hron, Hornád and Torysa rivers – Slovenský Kras mountains	19, 36, 41
F	north of the Váh river and its tributaries	16, 21, 51
G	east of the Topľa and Torysa rivers	24, 54, 58

of them had been minted in the Balkans and which had been issued in the Carpathian area or the Bohemian territory. He noted three sites in Moravia (Brtnice, Kostelany nad Moravou, and Němčice nad Hanou), and one (Nechanice) in Bohemia (CASTELIN 1965, 9, pl. 1: 6–10). Over time, the number of finds of these coins has increased, in particular with the finds from the Moravian centre of Němčice nad Hanou (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 12). Their significance lies mainly with their occurrence in a Celtic settlement area dated to the La Tène B2–C2 period (3rd to mid-2nd century BC). However, neither did these finds provide evidence for their being minted in this Celtic centre, or elsewhere in the Moravian or Bohemian territory. They rather reinforced the view that their origins were in the Balkans, from where they arrived either with Celtic mercenaries or by means of trade (cf. KYSELA 2016, 194, 204–207; SMĚLÝ 2017, 43–44). Deep cut-marks on several specimens reveal that the core of the coin was made of copper that was subsequently gilded (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006b, 57; FRÖHLICH 2014, 18–19). The cut-marks also indicate that the stater arriving in the Celtic areas were not of the highest quality. Cut-marks are also found on three Nike staters from Němčice nad Hanou (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 12, fig. 1: 1–3). They attest that the smelting of such coins was a way of addressing the lack of gold for domestic mintage; before the process, the coins were subjected to a metal quality test (MILITKÝ 2015b, 72). In the Middle Danube area, gold was obtained mainly by panning (KOLNÍKOVÁ – BAKOS – PAUDITS 2018, 142–144).

Tab. 3/1: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type – Nike type.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Kurima	Bardejov	stater	8.75	6	Nálezy I, č. 9; MILITKÝ 2018, 28
Púchov –surroundings	Púchov	stater	8.489	3–4	Nálezy V/1. č. 2 ¹
Slovakia – south?		stater	8.35	19	Nálezy ?; MILITKÝ 2018, 34
Slovakia – east?		stater	8.49	20?	Nálezy ?; MILITKÝ 2018, 38

1 In KAMHALOVÁ 1998, 188, the coin was identified as an imitation of Alexander the Great stater; in MILITKÝ 2012, 110, it is identified as an original stater.

A new overview of the imitations of Alexander the Great stater depicting Nike has been published by J. Militký and includes newly discovered staters. Militký collected 85 examples from Central Europe, which include finds from Bohemia (3), Moravia (3), Slovakia (3), Germany (4), Austria (3), Hungary (3), and Poland (3). Only 32 of these coins are documented with data about the sites, while the majority are randomly discovered coins without an archaeological context. Only four imitations come from a La Tène settlement environment (Němčice nad Hanou, Roseldorf, Nowa Cerekwia, Etzersdorf). The only hoard comes from the Bohemian territory (Nechanice) and contains three preserved examples. Two imitations were discovered in a grave in Germany (DOBĀN – POLENZ 1982, 57–58). The remaining coins from these regions are registered either as probable finds with known findspots (7) or as collection specimens (37). As we can see, the finds in this group are largely scattered throughout the area of Central Europe (MILITKÝ 2018, 16–17, tab. 2). A new grave find of a Nike stater was identified on the Pezdirčeva Njiva site in Slovenia (GRAHEK – KOVAČ 2020, 449, 458; the authors associate it with the Bohemian Boii). Finds from the territory of Croatia and a survey of existing opinions about this coin type has been published by T. Bilić (2017, 228–229, 232, 240–241; I would like to thank J. Fröhlich for drawing my attention to these contributions). The claim that the largest concentration of Nike staters is in Central and East Bohemia and in Central and South Moravia is largely exaggerated, as is the assumption that these areas were their ‘main production regions’. Nor do the few finds attest that ‘Moravia with the entire Amber Road corridor can clearly be considered one of the regions where Nike staters were struck’ (MILITKÝ 2018, 21–22). The concentration of Moravian sites along the River Morava, Bohemian sites along the Elbe, and Austrian sites along the Danube indicates a foreign origin of these coins and their arrival in Central Europe from the Balkan territories along significant river trade routes. From the Danube Road, the coins spread further to northern regions along regional waterways. In this way, the imitations of Alexander’s stater also spread to the territory of present-day Slovakia. However, these finds are low in number (**Tab. 3/1**). Only one has been identified as a find from the north Slovak village of Kurima (**Tab. 1: 24; Tab. 3/1; Fig. 1: 7**). J. Militký (2018, 16, 28–29, tab. 2: 2; 19, fig. 1: 143) assigned this example to his Group I, whose origin he assumes to be from the Bohemian territory. However, the site’s location does not support this view, as La Tène settlement has not been attested in the village of Kurima. The arrival of this coin to the north-easternmost area of Slovakia is related to trade. From the Balkans, the coin spread along a trade route that diverged from the Danube Road towards the River Tisa, continued along the local streams towards the River Topľa, and further over the mountain passes to present-day Poland. The same origin can likely be attributed to the coin with an unknown findspot, which has been published as a find from eastern Slovakia (**Tab. 1: 58; Tab. 3/1**). Also, the imitation of a Nike stater found in the south of present-day Slovakia probably arrived along the Danube Road (**Tab. 1: 57; Tab. 3/1**). Another imitation of a Nike stater, found in the area of Púchov (**Tab. 1: 34; Tab. 3/1**), likely found its way to this area through trade (MILITKÝ 2012, 110–111 considered it to be a Greek original). The site lies on the trade route along the Váh, which facilitated contacts between the Danube and the Visla by means of the tributaries of the upper course of the Váh. The exact origins of these, and of the other known imitations of the Nike stater, are unknown (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006a, 8, tab. 2; FRÖHLICH 2014, 11; SMĚLÝ 2017, 43). The Nike staters discovered in Slovakia probably originated in the Balkan regions. They do not attest to the contacts of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts with La Tène settlements in Slovakia.

THE ATHENA ALKIDEMOS TYPE

Gold coins of this type (**Tab. 3/2**) were minted by the Moravian Celts in the central settlement of Němčice nad Hanou. This is attested not only by a high number of examples from this site – both staters and lower denominations (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 89–96, no. 4–161) – but also by other finds related to coin minting. One of them is a coin casting mould that was used before coinage, with microscopic remnants of gold (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2010, 662, 666, fig. 9: 6). There are also fragments of foreign gold coins and gold ingots – material for coinage (FRÖHLICH 2012a, 147–159; see also SMĚLÝ 2017, 47), as well as coin blanks ready for minting (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006a, 40–41, obr. 15: 2–4). The minting of coins in the territory of La Tène Moravia is attested by the find of a set of coin dies from an unknown site (FRÖHLICH 2017b, 144; the author assumes their link with the minting of late Athena Alkidemos coins). The coins of this type, with the head of Pallas Athena on the obverse and a figure resembling Athena Alkidemos on the reverse, have been described as Boian by R. Paulsen (1933, 9), K. Pink (1936, 16–20), and later by K. Castelin (1965, 18–20). New finds have allowed significant changes in their interpretation. For instance, the figure on the reverse is compared to Athena Alkidemos instead of Athena Alkis, as was the case earlier (BRETT BALDWIN 1950, 55–72; FRANKE 1956, 111, 130). On the coins of the Moravian Celts, however, Athena Alkidemos has the look of a Celtic warrior (FRÖHLICH 2013a, 26–27; MILITKÝ 2016, 140; SMĚLÝ 2017, 58, note 11). The image is accompanied by an undeciphered inscription (MILITKÝ 2016, 146, fig. 3; RUDNICKI 2013, 46–50). They are no more believed to have been modelled on the silver drachms with the head of Minerva on the obverse and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse (SMĚLÝ 2017, 62), originally attributed to the Boii of Upper Italy (on this problem FRÖHLICH 2016a, 166–192). Based on the new finds, these coins are considered to belong ‘to the oldest coins minted by the Celts north of the Danube, in the Amber Road corridor’, whose iconography ‘is influenced by the Romano-Campanian, Thracian-Macedonian coinage, and coinage of the Seleucid rulers (FRÖHLICH 2016a, 179–181, 186). Their source may even be ‘in the area of northern Hungary, or in the Slovak-Hungarian borderland’ (MILITKÝ 2018, 321–322). However, both of these opinions are based on no more than three Minerva/Athena Alkidemos coins – one from Nižbor-Stradonice (PAULSEN 1933, no. 190), one from South Moravia (KOLNÍKOVÁ – KOHÁČEK 2009, 309–310), and one from Velký Slavkov (**Fig. 1: 2**) in North Slovakia (HLINKA 1980, 257–259). Therefore, the origin of these coins should rather be sought in the Balkans. From there, they found their way to the Middle Danube through trade or by means of Celtic mercenaries – returnees from the services of Greek commanders. Based on new finds in the central Celtic settlements, their coinage is assumed to be in the mid-3rd century BC or earlier (FRÖHLICH 2016a, 186; SMĚLÝ 2017, 63; ZIEGAUS 1997, 216).

Gold coins of the Athena Alkidemos type, staters with an unclear image (MILITKÝ 2015b, 72), and their sub denominations – 1/3-, 1/8-, and 1/24-staters – circulated throughout the Middle Danube region settled by the Celts (SMĚLÝ 2020, 635–636). In addition to the Moravian central Celtic settlement of Němčice, these coin types were issued in other Celtic centres, in particular Nowa Cerekwia in southwest Poland (RUDNICKI 2014, 431–432) and Roseldorf in the Austrian Danubeland (DEMBSKI 2009, 87–102). The late 1/8- and 1/24-staters of the Athena Alkidemos type are considered to be the coinage of the Staré Hradisko oppidum after the end of the central settlement of Němčice nad Hanou (FRÖHLICH 2016a, 186–187; SMĚLÝ 2017, 67).

In Slovakia, gold coins of the Athena Alkidemos type are represented by 61 finds from 28 sites (**Tab. 3/2**). They include staters (17), 1/3-staters (14), 1/8-staters (9), and 1/24-staters (19). Only two of them belong to the Staré Hradisko type (Čachtice – **Tab. 3/2**). Most of the sites (19) are situated in western Slovakia, which has rich La Tène settlement (**Fig. 1: 3** – 1/3-stater from Bohdanovce). Three sites are in central and eastern Slovakia and one in northern Slovakia.

Tab. 3/2: Sites with the finds of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in Slovakia by type - Athena Alkidemos type (PC - Private collection, unpublished; Sub. - fourré).

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Bratislava-Devín	Bratislava	1/8	?	121?	Nálezy IV, 13
Bratislava-Devín	Bratislava	1/8	?	121?	Nálezy V, 57
Bratislava-Jarovce	Bratislava	1/3	2.78	59-73	Nálezy V, 1 ²
Čachtice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	?	132-133	Nálezy V/1, 55
Čachtice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/24	?	171-172	Nálezy V/1, 56
Dolné Vestenice	Prievidza	1/3	2.67	84	Nálezy V/1, 33
Holíč	Skalica	1/3	2.65	86	Unpublished (PC)
Horné Orešany	Trnava	stater	8.06	?	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/3	2.65	89	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/3	2.66	91	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/3	1.21 sub	91	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/8	0.96	117	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/8	0.96	117	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.34	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.33	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.34	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.31	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.32	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.34	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.30	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.32	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.34	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Horné Orešany	Trnava	1/24	0.33	158	Nálezy V/1,19
Hrhov	Rožňava	stater	8.33	48-54	FRÖHLICH 2017
Hrhov	Rožňava	stater	8.35	48-54	FRÖHLICH 2017
Hrhov	Rožňava	1/3	2.80	80-81	FRÖHLICH 2017
Hrhov	Rožňava	1/3	2.76	80-81	FRÖHLICH 2017
Košolná	Trnava	1/8	0.50 sub.	138?	PC
Malacky	Malacky	stater	8.105	58	PC
Nová Dubnica-Veľký Kolačín	Ilava	stater	3.89 sub.	56-58	Nálezy V/1,22
Plavecké Podhradie	Malacky	stater	7.00	?	Nálezy V/1, 46

2 Bratislava-Jarovce. The find is published in ČAMBAL – BUDAJ 2009, 3, fig. 1:2; in the Nálezy V/1, it was mistakenly listed under no. 40 as a find from Bratislava-Rusovce.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Plavecké Podhradie	Malacky	1/24	0.26	?	Nálezy V/1,46
Podhradie	Topoľčany	stater	8.08	56–58	Nálezy V/1, 13
Podhradie	Topoľčany	stater	7.974	48	Nálezy V/1, 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	1/3	1.160 sub.	?	Nálezy V/1, 43
Prosné-Udiča	Považská Bystrica	1/24	0.13	161–164	Nálezy III, 19
Pružina-Michalová	Považská Bystrica	stater	?	48–58	Nálezy V/1,94 ³
Pružina-Michalová	Považská Bystrica	stater	?	48–58	Nálezy V/1,94 ⁴
Rožňava-okolie	Rožňava	stater	?	48–58	Nálezy V/1, 23
Rožňava-okolie	Rožňava	stater	?	48–58	Nálezy V/1, 23
Rožňava-okolie	Rožňava	1/3	?	80	Nálezy V/1, 23
Rožňava-okolie	Rožňava	1/3	?	80	Nálezy V/1, 23
Slatina nad Bebravou	Bánovce	stater	8.082	58	PC
Slatina nad Bebravou	Bánovce	1/8	1.006	58	PC
Soblahov	Trenčín	1/8	1.007	121?	PC
Spišská Nová Ves	Spiš.N.Ves	1/24	0.33	151–174	Nálezy I, 16
Spišská Nová Ves	Spiš.N.Ves	1/24	0.31	151–174	Nálezy I, 16
Stupava	Malacky	1/3	2.62	82	Nálezy I, 13
Trenčín	Trenčín	1/3	?	77–80	Nálezy IV, 33
Trnava-area	Trnava	1/3	2.75	59–76	Nálezy V/1,39
Trnava-area	Trnava	1/8	?	121–128	Nálezy V/1,21
Trnava-area	Trnava	1/24	?	146	Nálezy V/1,39
Tvrdošovce	Nové Zámky	stater	8.002	48–50	Nálezy I, 12
Veľký Biel	Bratislava-vidiek	1/8	?	112–131	Nálezy I, 15 ⁵
Vyšný Kubín	Dolný Kubín	stater	?	?	Nálezy I, no. 11
Závod	Malacky	1/24	0.27	154	PC
Zbehy	Nitra	stater	8.02	55	Nálezy I, no. 10
Slovakia-south-west		1/24	0.31	?	PC
Slovakia-south-west		1/24	0.25	?	PC
Slovakia-east		stater	?	53	Nálezy V/1, 24

3 The information provided in *Nálezy V/1* is incorrect; according to new findings in FRÖHLICH 2018, 28, the find contained two Athena Alkidemos staters, and not five Nike staters.

4 Cf. the previous footnote.

5 According to GOHL 1915, 72: a hoard of twelve to thirteen 1/8-staters.

Noteworthy among these finds are the two 1/8-staters of the Athena Alkidemos type discovered at the Devín Castle, in the area of an assumed Celtic hillfort (**Tab. 1: 7; Tab. 3/3**). They are likely related to the trading activities of the Moravian Celts crossing the River Morava eastwards. This site also produced other coins of foreign origin: three Tauriscian coins – the Đurdevac type, the Frontalgesichtstyp, and a small coin of the Gurina type; one Pannonian Celtic tetradrachm of the Kapos type; one Vindelician quinarius of the Büschel type; and a hoard of 70 Eraviscian denarii (HARMADYOVÁ 2012, 195). Autochthonous coins from the mint of the Bratislava oppidum were found on the hillfort as well (one tetradrachm inscribed NONNOS, four small coins of the Simmering type, and five obols of the Karlstein type). The trading function of the site is also suggested by its location on the Amber Road, at the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers.

A significant proof of trade between the Moravian and Slovak Celts is the hoard of Athena Alkidemos coins from Horné Orešany (**Tab. 1:18; Tab. 3/2**). The location of the site on the eastern slopes of the Little Carpathians suggests that this assemblage is associated with trade in local ore resources (FRÖHLICH 2013a, 19).

By means of trade, Athena Alkidemos coins found their way also to the hillfort in the surroundings of Čachtice (**Tab. 1:14; Tab. 3/2**), and to the Celtic settlement on the spot of present-day Trenčín Castle (**Tab. 1: 46; Tab. 3/2**), which, as suggested by numerous finds of clay spindle whorls, specialised in weaving and also engaged in trade in these products (NEŠPOROVÁ 1979, 36–37).

The hoard from Pružina, found on the Michalová hill (**Tab. 1: 33; Tab. 3/2**), on a site situated between the River Váh and the Strážov Mountains, contained two Athena Alkidemos staters, in addition to two bronze necklaces and three bronze bracelets (FRÖHLICH 2013a, 28).

Also, the hoard of 105 Celtic coins from Hrhov in the Rožňava district in the southern part of central Slovakia (**Tab. 1:19; Tab. 3/2**) is related to trade. Besides silver half drachms (the seated figure type) and tetradrachms (the Philippus/Audoleon type) it contained four gold coins of the Athena Alkidemos type. The trade link is suggested by clear traces of iron ore mining and processing at the site where the coins were found (FRÖHLICH 2017a, 99–103). Another hoard discovered in the area of Rožňava (**Tab. 1: 36; Tab. 3/2**) also contained Athena Alkidemos coins; it may also be related to iron trade in the 3rd century BC.

Coins of the Athena Alkidemos type have been discovered at other La Tène settlements (overview **Tab. 3/2**), and were likely the result of trading activities with the Moravian centres.

THE BOHEMIAN LOCAL COINAGE EMISSIONS

The term ‘Bohemian local coinage emissions’ (**Tab. 3/3**) refers to a group of gold coins with unusual and varied iconography. This type appears under different names in scholarly literature; J. Militký (2018, 60) introduced the term ‘Bohemian local coinage emissions group’. While R. Paulsen (1933, Taf. 9:197–204, 10:205–225, 11:227–236) and K. Castelin (1965, Tab. VII–VIII) identified 10 types among these coins, J. Militký (2018, 114, note 85–86) identifies 62 series and types. He defined a series as ‘a group of coins with the same or very similar iconography on several denominations’, and distinguished 12 such series. A type refers to ‘iconographically specific coins attested by a single denomination’, where he assigns all the other coins of this group. He divides the coins into two chronological horizons, based on their weight and alloy purity. He assumes that the minting of these coins started in LT C1, around the mid-3rd century, and states that the Boii may not have participated in the minting. It is impossible to determine whether all the types were issued in the Bohemian territory, or some of them were struck in Moravia (MILITKÝ 2018, 117).

Tab. 3/3: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type - Bohemian local coinage emissions.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Bratislava - Devínska Nová Ves	Bratislava	1/3	?	209?	Nálezy I, 14

Only one find of this type was discovered in the area of the La Tène settlement of Slovakia. It is a 1/3-stater from Bratislava-Devínska Nová Ves (**Tab. 1: 8; Tab. 3/3**) of the 'head/kneeling figure' type (MILITKÝ 2018, 63–64). We know only four examples of this type: besides the Slovak find there is one from Stradonice in the Czech Republic, one from Kleinottersdorf in Germany, and one from an unknown site. All four are 1/3-staters. J. Militký is convinced about the Bohemian origin of this coin type, despite it only being attested at one site. He dates its minting to the LT C1 period (MILITKÝ 2018, 63–64). In Bratislava-Devínska Nová Ves, this coin find is related to the La Tène settlement around the Devín hillfort, and suggests contacts between this settlement and the Celtic centres in the Bohemian territory.

THE BULGE/TORC TYPE AND THE EARLIER SHELL TYPE

Paulsen (1933, 45, no. 259–268) classed these types (**Tab. 3/4**) among the earlier Boian coins and described them as 'coins of the Athena Alkidemos coinage system'. Castelin followed suit (1965, 12–14, Tab. I). Smělý (2020, 638–646, fig. 4a–b, 5, 6) renamed them 'late Athena Alkidemos type series'. Militký (2018, 107, 262) considers some of them to be 'Bohemian local emissions'

Tab. 3/4: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type - The bulge/torc type and the earlier shell type.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Bohdanovce	Trnava	1/3	2.69	469	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Jur	Senica	1/8	0.73	556	Unpublished (PC)
Čachtice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	?	493	Nálezy V/1, 56
Dolný Kubín	Dolný Kubín	stater	?	259–260	Nálezy I, 17
Kežmarok	Kežmarok	stater	7.79	303–304	Nálezy III, 17
Levice	Levice	stater	7.95	259–260	Nálezy I, 29
Levice	Levice	stater	8.00	259–260	Nálezy I, 29
Levice	Levice	stater	8.11	259–260	Nálezy I, 29
Levice	Levice	stater	8.04	259–260	Nálezy I, 29
Levice	Levice	stater	8.04	259–260	Nálezy I, 29
Levice	Levice	stater	8.05	259–260	Nálezy I, 29
Nitra-Štitáre	Nitra	stater	7.0	259–260	Nálezy V/1, 20
Plavecké Podhradie	Malacky	stater	7.0	261–267	Unpublished (PC)
Vyšný Kubín	Dolný Kubín	stater	7.765	268	Nálezy I, 11
Vyšný Kubín	Dolný Kubín	stater	7.894	268	Nálezy I, 11
Zlaté Moravce?	Nitra	stater	7.98	268	Nálezy III, 18

minted in the LT C period, but does not exclude the possibility that initially they may have been minted in one of the Moravian centres. In Slovakia, this coin type (16) is represented at ten sites – La Tène settlements and hillforts situated on important trade routes along the Morava, Váh, and Orava rivers (**Tab. 3/4; Fig. 1: 5** – Plavecké Podhradie). Significant among these finds is a hoard from Levice (**Tab. 1: 25; Tab. 3/4**). It contains five staters of this type and 126 East Celtic tetradrachms (ONDROUCH 1937). Today, these tetradrachms are referred to as the Levice type (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1993, 252, Abb. 4; see also FRÖHLICH 2013, 9–12). The discovery of this coin assemblage in the town of Levice points to a significant La Tène centre, which has also been attested by an archaeological excavation of a Celtic cemetery within its territory (SAMUEL 2007, 173–174). The trading function of these coins in the region of central Slovakia was related to tradesmen's interest in the ore resources of the Štiavnické vrchy.

THE LATER SHELL TYPE WITHOUT INSCRIPTION

These coins (**Tab. 3/5**) include gold staters with astral symbolism on a blank bulge on the obverse (sun/star and a full moon, the five beams are interpreted as a motif of a hand – MILITKÝ 2015a, 49). The reverse shows an astral motif resembling a shell. These coin types were issued in the Bohemian Celtic centre of Stradonice. However, staters with a weight lower than 7 grams and of poorer quality alloy were likely struck in the Bratislava oppidum, both those without inscription and those marked BIATEC and NONNOS (MILITKÝ 2015a, 49). These staters were believed to have been minted by the Bohemian Boii after they abandoned the Bohemian territory at the end of the 2nd century BC following a conflict with the Cimbri and the Teutons and after the destruction of the Stradonice oppidum (CASTELIN 1965, 17, Tab. I, 25, Tab. II). According to new findings, however, this oppidum perished as late as the third quarter of the 1st century BC, and staters of the shell type were minted there until its end (MILITKÝ 2015a, 44–62; MILITKÝ 2015b, 90). Also, specimens with a weight lower than 7 grams were struck there (MILITKÝ 2015a, 196, no. 58, 200, no. 68, 72, 202, no. 75, 76, 77, 78, 204, no. 80). Shell staters and their lower denominations gained supraregional significance as a currency throughout the 1st century BC. This is attested by finds over a wider area of Central Europe, where the staters served as models for several Celtic centres that minted their own coins. The staters issued in Lesser Poland are known as the Cracow type (RUDNICKI 2012, 1–96), while those issued in northern Slovakia are known as the type 'with a ring' (ČAPLOVIČ 1960, 185–186, 201). The Bratislava oppidum minted shell staters inscribed BIATEC and NONNOS (MUSILOVÁ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – HLOŽEK 2015, 253–255, 292), hypothetically also DEVIL (FRÖHLICH 2011, 3–22). Shell staters without inscriptions were not minted in the Bratislava oppidum. The fact that such coins were issued in the Bohemian Celtic mints is suggested by differences in the metal fineness of shell staters with and without inscriptions. J. Fröhlich (2016b, 16–17, 22) pointed out this problem by comparing the results of the metallographic analysis of three shell staters without inscription from the Stupné-Žeravica site with the analysis of staters with inscriptions (see also the analysis results of these two types of shell stater found at the acropolis of the Bratislava oppidum: MUSILOVÁ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – HLOŽEK 2016, 283, tab. 7). The Bohemian shell staters without inscription found their way to the La Tène settlements, and especially to the area of the Bratislava oppidum and its acropolis, through trade.

In Slovakia, the finds of shells staters without inscription (14), 1/3-staters (3) and, 1/8-staters (17) are represented at four sites. At the acropolis of the Bratislava oppidum (**Tab. 1: 9; Tab. 3/5; Fig. 1: 8**), two examples were discovered in a hoard of a trading character in the 'Roman building I', along with Bratislava tetradrachms and staters with inscriptions. Another two staters without inscription come from the area of the acropolis, and four (**Tab. 1: 11–13**)

Tab. 3/5: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type - The later shell type without inscription.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Bratislava-Castle	Bratislava	stater	6.47	688	<i>Nálezy</i> III, 20
Bratislava-Castle	Bratislava	stater	6.499	694	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 123
Bratislava-Castle	Bratislava	stater	6.429	678	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 123
Bratislava-Castle	Bratislava	stater	6.46	686	Unpublished
Bratislava-Petržalka	Bratislava	stater	6.44	688-692	<i>Nálezy</i> I, č. 60b
Bratislava-city	Bratislava	stater	6.40	681-686	<i>Nálezy</i> I, č. 60a
Bratislava	Bratislava	stater	6.61	688	<i>Nálezy</i> III, č. 16
Bratislava-župa	Bratislava	stater	6.43	688	<i>Nálezy</i> I, č. 1
Stupné	Považská Bystrica	stater	6.58	692	FRÖHLICH 2016b, č.4
Stupné	Považská Bystrica	stater	6.52	684-685	FRÖHLICH 2016b, č.5
Stupné	Považská Bystrica	1/3	2.18	479-480	FRÖHLICH 2016b, č. 6
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	stater	6.666	689	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1,44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	stater	6.648	678	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	stater	6.631	689	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/3	2.245	702	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/3	2.194	703	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.867	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.850	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.842	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.830	707	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.819	707	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.819	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.818	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.815	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.801	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.794	542	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.791	706	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.790	706	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.786	706	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.785	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.770	542	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.763	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.568	708	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44
Zemplín	Trebišov	stater	4.13 sub	684	<i>Nálezy</i> I, č. 19

come from the wider area of the oppidum (MUSILOVÁ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – HLOŽEK 2016, 255, no. 15). Trading contacts between the Bratislava oppidum and the Bohemian Celtic centres are also attested by the presence of small Bratislava coins (Simmering type) among the finds from the Stradonice oppidum (MILITKÝ 2015a, 49, no. 2141–2145).

Another find indicating that the Bohemian and Moravian Celts traded with the Celtic settlements in the territory of Slovakia is the hoard of coins of the shell type found at the Celtic hillfort at Trenčianske Bohuslavice (**Tab. 1: 46; Tab. 3/5; Fig. 1: 9**). The hillfort was situated on the significant trade route between the Váh and Morava river basins. The assemblage (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1998, 16–25) contained shell staters (3), 1/3-staters (2) and 1/8-staters (17). Other finds from this site include small silver obols depicting a horse (140) and South German, Pannonian Celtic, and Roman Republican coins. Also, these coins testify to the trading function of the hillfort.

The assemblage of three coins of the shell type and gold jewellery from the Stupné-Žeravica site is presumed to have a votive character (FRÖHLICH 2016b, 21). However, also this collection (**Tab. 1: 43; Tab. 3/5**) may have been related to trade. Perhaps the tradesman sacrificed it for his successful journey on the Žeravica hill (a similar place of sacrifice with coin finds was situated, for instance, in one of the passes in the Alps in the area of the Mallnitzer Tauern: LIPPERT – DEMBSKI 2000, 251).

The shell stater without inscription discovered at the Celto-Dacian hillfort of Zemplín (**Tab. 1: 54; Tab. 3/5**) in eastern Slovakia is an extraordinary find in a place so distant from the Bohemian and Moravian Celtic centres. The finds of shell staters, Bratislava tetradrachms, and drachms in the Celtic-Dacian environment in the territory of Romania provide evidence that this find is a result of trading contacts between the Middle Danubian Celtic settlements and the Celtic-Dacian settlements (for overview see KOLNÍKOVÁ 1997, 50–51). Until recently, however, it was believed that these coins were associated with the Boian-Dacian conflict in the Middle Danube region (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1997, 42–43).

THE T TYPE

These coins minted in gold, with the weight of a 1/8-stater, were found at two sites in Slovakia (**Tab. 3/6**). One of the examples was found in a hoard of coins of the shell type discovered at the Celtic trade station in Trenčianske Bohuslavice (**Tab. 1: 47; Tab. 3/6**), the other is from a La Tène settlement in Slovenský Grob specialised in crafts (**Tab. 1: 38; Tab. 3/6**), which proves that both were related to trade. Coins of this type were presumably minted in one of the Celtic centres situated at the confluence of the Morava and Danube (Roseldorf?, Staré Hradisko? – DEMBSKI 1994, 62–63; DEMBSKI 2002, 3; DEMBSKI 2009, 91–92, Abb. B-8; MILITKÝ 2015a, 116; SMĚLÝ 2017, 68 – the latter author dates their minting to the beginning of the LT D1 or the end of the LT C2 period).

Tab. 3/6: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type – T-type.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Slovenský Grob	Pezinok	1/8	0.95	239	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 58
Trenčianske Bohuslavice	Nove Mesto nad Váhom	1/8	0.844	239	<i>Nálezy</i> V/1, 44

THE ROSELDORF/NĚMČICE TYPE AND PARALLEL SERIES

These obols of the Roseldorf/Němčice type with a weight from 0.5 to 1.0 g, minted in silver alloy (**Tab. 3/7**) were first recorded as part of the Celtic coinage among the finds from the Celtic centre Roseldorf in Lower Austria at the beginning of the 1990s. The coins were first named after this site (DEMBSKI 1991, 6–7), but are now referred to as the Roseldorf/Němčice type due to their abundant occurrence in the Moravian Celtic centre of Němčice (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006a, 28). The obverse of some of the obols shows a head, but the majority only have a blank bulge. The reverse shows a horse with a stylised symbol of a lyre below its belly and different signs above its back. Based on these signs, the obols of the Roseldorf/Němčice type are divided into several variants (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 179–182). Their occurrence in the Celtic centre of Němčice dates their minting to the first half of the 2nd century BC (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006a, 29). In Slovakia, 40 obols (several variants – **Tab. 3/7**) have been recorded at 17 sites. Most are concentrated in the La Tène settlements located around the Little Carpathians, on the western and eastern slopes of the mountain range (ČAMBAL 2017, 53–66). The only site situated outside of this area is the Celtic hillfort of Úhrad in the surroundings of Podhradie in the Topoľčany district (**Tab. 1: 31; Fig. 1: 4**). The hoard of 50 coins discovered at this site contained coins of the Roseldorf/Němčice type and a 1/3-stater of the Athena Alkidemos type (KAMHALOVÁ – KOLNÍKOVÁ 1998, 217–219). It also included a small coin of the Taurisci tribe (GÖBL 1973, fig. 36, no. 84a/163Z, type with an eye), which suggests an unusual contact between the Úhrad hillfort and the Celtic centres situated in the territory of present-day Slovenia (KOS 1979, 31–34).

A parallel series of obols with the same metrological characteristics but with different iconography were minted at the same time as the Roseldorf/Němčice type (for overview see KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 183–184, C–V types; see also KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006a, 33–36). J. Militký considers some of them to be Bohemian local coinages (MILITKÝ 2018, 60, 115–117). Most of them occur among the finds from the Moravian Celtic centre of Němčice. In the finds from Slovakia, they are represented rather sparsely. Some of them have been found in La Tène settlements in Slovakia and are thought to have been minted there. They include the H type, which depicts a horse on both sides of the coin (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 184) and occurs at several sites in Slovakia (RUČKA 2012, 127–133), and the N type, which shows a horse with a lyre and triskele symbols (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 184) and is represented by two examples in the La Tène settlement of Nitra-Martinský vrch. This settlement existed at the same time as that in Němčice. Other coins discovered in Nitra (an early Roman Republican *aes grave*, a tetradrachm with a lyre, an O type obol – see KOLNÍKOVÁ 1963, 129–133) indicate a trading function of this Celtic centre (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1964b, 391–408). The significance of the Celtic settlement in Nitra is underlined by the cemetery within its area (BŘEZINOVÁ 2020, 191–201).

THE STARÉ HRADISKO TYPE

The obols of the Staré Hradisko type (**Tab. 3/8**) were minted in silver, with a weight lower than 0.5 g. Two variants have been identified: one with the obverse showing a head with S-shaped accessories, the other depicting a head with a hairstyle formed of two rows of plant leaves; the reverse of both coins shows a horse with a ring. They were presumably minted in the Moravian oppidum of Staré Hradisko from the LT C2 and throughout the LT D1 period (FRÖHLICH 2012b, 73–74; MILITKÝ 2015a, 116–117). In the La Tène area in Slovakia, these obols have appeared only at two sites, situated in the area between the River Morava and the western slopes of the Little Carpathians (region A): the La Tène settlements at Suchohrad (**Tab. 1: 44; Tab. 3/8**) and

Šaštín-Stráže (**Tab. 1:45; Tab. 3/8**). These small coins likely did not play an important role in the trading contacts with the Moravian Celts. However, it is also possible that due to their low weight the coins have escaped the attention of finders.

Tab. 3/7: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type - Roseldorf/ Němčice type and parallel series.

Site	District	Obol /Var.	Weight (g)	No. KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012	Publication
Bernolákovo	Senec	Aa	0.54	179	Nálezy V/1, 108
Blatné	Senec	Ad	0.77	179	Unpublished (PC)
Bohdanovce nad Trnavou	Trnava	B	0.84	180	Unpublished (PC)
Bohdanovce nad Trnavou	Trnava	Bf	0.73	182	Unpublished (PC)
Bohdanovce nad Trnavou	Trnava	?	0.82	?	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Mikuláš	Senica	Aa	0.95	179	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Mikuláš	Senica	B1	0.61	180	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Mikuláš	Senica	B	0.76	180	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Mikuláš	Senica	Aa	0.61	179	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Jur	Senica	Ba?	0.82	181	Unpublished (PC)
Borský Svätý Jur	Senica	Bk	0.68	182	Unpublished (PC)
Bratislava-Devínska Nová Ves	Bratislava	Bc	0.66	181	Nálezy V/1 č. 16
Holíč	Skalica	Aa	?	179	Unpublished (PC)
Chorvatský Grob	Senec	N	0.78	184	Nálezy V/1, č. 34
Kuklov	Senica	Bj?	0.65	182	Unpublished (PC)
Lozorno	Malacky	A	0.957	179	Unpublished (PC)
Plavecké Podhradie	Malacky	Bc	0.48	181	Nálezy V/1, č. 46
Podhradie	Topoľčany	Aa	0.968	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	Ab	0.933	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	Ab	0.616	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	B1	0.599	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	B1	0.680	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	B1	0.710	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	B5	0.701	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	B5	0.800	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Podhradie	Topoľčany	B5	0.933	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 43
Radimov	Skalica	A	0.931	179	Unpublished (PC)
Smolenice	Trnava	Bc	0.60	181	Nálezy V/1, č. 12
Smolenice	Trnava	?	0.64	?	Nálezy V/1, č. 12
Suchohrad	Malacky	B2	0.85	180	Unpublished (PC)

Site	District	Obol /Var.	Weight (g)	No. KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012	Publication
Trnava-area	Trnava	Aa	0.88	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 51
Trnava-area	Trnava	Aa	0.94	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 51
Trnava-area	Trnava	B1-2	0.81	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 51
Trnava-area	Trnava	B1	0.64	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 51
Trnava-area	Trnava	B	0.73	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 51 ⁶
Zohor	Malacky	A	0.95	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 42
Zohor	Malacky	Aa	0.636	179	Nálezy V/1, č. 42
Zohor	Malacky	B1	0.69	180	Nálezy V/1, č. 42
Zohor	Malacky	Bc	0.593	181	Nálezy V/1, č. 42
Zohor	Malacky	?	0.861	?	Nálezy V/1, č. 42

Tab. 3/8: Sites with the finds of coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts by type – Staré Hradisko type.

Site	District	Denomination	Weight (g)	Paulsen No.	Publication
Suchohrad	Malacky	obol	0.45		Unpublished (PC)
Šaštín-Stráže	Senica	obol	0.47		Unpublished (PC)

THE REASONS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF THE COINS OF THE BOHEMIAN AND MORAVIAN CELTS IN THE TERRITORY OF PRESENT-DAY SLOVAKIA AND THE IMPLICATIONS THEREOF

The presence of foreign coins in the Celtic settlements in any part of Central Europe inevitably raises questions about the causes of this presence. This also applies to the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in Slovakia. As their overview indicates, the main reason for their occurrence was trade, even though some of the coins may have been brought, besides individual tradesmen and merchant caravans, also by craftsmen or prospectors.

The coins found in the La Tène settlements in Slovakia suggest that trading contacts were mostly maintained with the closest neighbours – the Moravian Celts. This is confirmed by the coins of the Athena Alkidemos and Roseldorf/Němčice types, their related coinages, as well as the T and Staré Hradisko types (**Tab. 3/2, 3/6, 3/7, 3/8**). Their minting is assumed to have taken place in the Celtic mints in Moravia. The coins of the Bohemian Celts are less numerous, represented only by staters with bulges and the earlier shell type, shell coins without inscription (**Tab. 3/4, 3/5**). Bohemian local emissions are rare (**Tab. 3/3**). However, some of the listed types were minted by both the Bohemian and the Moravian Celts (MILITKÝ 2015b, 79–86).

Trading contacts with the Moravian Celts are attested mainly by the sites situated between the River Morava and the western slopes of the Little Carpathians (**Tab. 2: A; Fig. 1: A**), such as the fortified Celtic settlement in the Plavecké Podhradie village, in the Pohanská site (PAULÍK 1976), which existed at the same time as the Moravian centre at Němčice (for dating, see ČAMBAL 2015, 41–44). This is indicated by the coins of the Athena Alkidemos type and

6 The same information on five obols is in N V/1 published also under no. 85.

the bulge and torc type (**Tab. 3/2, 3/4**) found at this site. The settlement also minted its own coins (Pohanská type) – obols with the iconography and metrological features similar to the Roseldorf/Němčice group. Among the finds there are several obols from Němčice, which attest to trading contacts. That this Celtic settlement situated on the Amber Road played a role in trading is also suggested by other finds of foreign coins (FRÖHLICH 2012b, 62–72) and iron artefacts (ČAMBAL 2019, 116–117).

Another La Tène settlement in this area specialising in crafts and trade was situated in the Šaštín-Stráže village. The craft industry is attested by worked iron fragments (ZACHAR 1977, 298–299). The remains of a coin casting mould for producing coins with the size of drachms and a weight up to 3.85 g indicate that the settlement minted drachms, presumably the rosette and lyre type (SČASNÁR *et al.* 1984, 12, 133, 138). From there, the coins may have spread to the La Tène settlements in Moravia (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 24–25) and the area of Lower Austria (JANDRASITS 2005, 136, 143; RAUBEC 2013, 57–58). In Šaštín-Stráže, however, no coins of this type have been found so far.

The largest number of sites with coin finds of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts is found in the area between the eastern slopes of the Little Carpathians and the lower reaches of the River Váh (**Tab. 2: B; Fig. 1: 1 B**). The settlements show traces of a craft industry, for instance pottery (ČAMBAL 2019, 117; KOLNÍK – MITÁŠ 2012, 39–41; BŘEZINOVÁ 2006, 9–50; BŘEZINOVÁ 2019, 93–103). The finds of the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in this area testify to trading contacts between these settlements and the ones in the Moravian territory. Such coins were discovered, for instance, in the fortified settlement near the Slovak village of Smolenice (**Tab. 1: 39**).

In the area between the White Carpathians and the middle stretch of the River Váh (**Tab. 2: C**) situated on the route between the Váh and Morava river basins (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1998, 36–37) the already mentioned Celtic trading centre in Trenčianske Bohuslavice (**Tab. 1: 47**) facilitated contacts with the Moravian Celts. Coin finds from the Celtic settlement in the surroundings of Čachtice (**Tab. 1: 14**) show that this settlement also maintained contacts with the Moravian Celts (KOLNÍKOVÁ – RUČKA 2013, 1–8).

The number of sites with the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts is significantly lower in the region between the Váh, Nitra, and Hron rivers' lower reaches (**Tab. 2: D; Fig. 1: 1D**). The already mentioned hoard found in Levice, on the trade route leading along the River Hron to the ore area of the Štiavnické vrchy hills, occupies a special place among these finds (ONDROUCH 1937). New knowledge on La Tène settlement in the areas north of the River Hron (KOVÁR 2019, 137–149) has been provided by a hoard of coins from Hrhov and a similar find from an unidentified site in the area of Rožňava (**Tab. 1: 19**). These coin assemblages were discovered on the trade route running along the River Bodva and connecting the area of the Slovenský Kras with northern Hungary. Their relation to trade is attested by iron ore found in their vicinity, which was likely the centre of interest for the Celtic tradesmen (FRÖHLICH 2017a, 9–17).

Also, the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts found at Dolný Kubín (**Tab. 1: 6**) and Vyšný Kubín (**Tab. 1: 51**) may be associated with trade. Both sites are situated on the trade route that branched off from the upper course of the Váh towards the River Orava and connected the Váh upstream basin with the La Tène settlements in southern Poland.

Trading contacts with the Bohemian Celts are attested by shell staters without inscription found in the Celtic oppidum and its acropolis in the territory of Bratislava (MUSILOVÁ *et al.* 2015).

Trade is considered the major reason for the occurrence of foreign coins in native Celtic settlements also in other parts of Central Europe. For instance, the trading function is attributed to the finds of Boian coins in southern Germany (ZIEGAUS 2015, 371–372; see also SIEVERS 2015, 376–382). Trading contacts with the Bohemian and Moravian Celts are also attested by the coin finds in the significant centre of Lower Silesia at Nowa Cerekwia (RUDNICKI 2014,

421–437). Coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts spread through trade also to the La Tène settlements of Roseldorf, Oberleiserberg, Neubau and a number of others in Lower and Upper Austria (DEMBSKI 2009, 87–101; MILITKÝ 2011, 1198–1206; PROKISCH 2011, 13–15).

The Celtic centres in the Middle Danube area maintained mutual contacts, presumably trading contacts (KYSELA 2018/2019, 280–292), as attested by the finds of the same coin types within their precincts. These include, for instance, tetradrachms with the head of Apollo and a stylised lyre, as well as small coins with the same symbol (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1964a, 195–206; FRÖHLICH 2015, 45–60). They were minted in one of the Celtic centres in southwest Slovakia, which is attested by the find of tetradrachms with a lyre in a Celtic grave in Bánov (BENADIK 1984, 102), a hoard in Hul (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2008, 11), several finds of individual coins (BIROŠ 1992, 136), and above all the coins found in the Celtic central settlement, whose ruins were unearthed at Nitra-Martinský vrch (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1964b, 398–399). That the tetradrachms with a lyre were issued in the territory settled by south Slovak Celts is indicated by the casting mould discovered in Nitra-Šindolka, which was used to cast coin flans before minting (BŘEZINOVÁ 2007, 31, 31–40). The silver coins with a lyre were minted there at the time when the Moravian Celts struck gold coins of the Athena Alkidemos type. Tetradrachms with a lyre symbol attest to trading contacts between the Slovak and Moravian, and likely also Austrian Celts. They are represented among the finds from Nēmčice (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 24–25) and Roseldorf (DEMBSKI 2009, 93–94).

The given examples lead to the conclusion that trade was the main reason for the occurrence of the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in La Tène settlements in Slovakia (PIETA 2008, 243–249). However, this conclusion resulted in the view that the areas, where these coins occurred belonged to the Bohemian or Moravian Celts – the Boii. This view was presented in the early works on the Boian coinage (PAULSEN 1933; PINK 1936; CASTELIN 1965), and continues to be asserted in a number of contributions (e.g., MILITKÝ 2015b, 89–91; ČAMBAL *et al.* 2015, 225–242). The Boii are credited with settling the southwest parts of Slovakia and building the Bratislava oppidum (see also KOLNÍKOVÁ 1991, 20–21). This view draws not only on the coin finds, but also on ancient written sources. However, these sources are becoming increasingly unreliable. Strabo's and Caesar's reports (the related passages in *Geographica* and *Commentarii de bello Gallico*) have been discredited – not only the reports on the movements of the Upper Italian Boii (following their defeat by the Romans in 191 BC) and the Hercynian Boii (following the campaigns of the Germanic Cimbri and Teutons before 113 BC) to the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers, but also their accounts of the events that took place after the Boii's unsuccessful siege of Noreia (STROBEL 2015, 35, 52; TREBSCH 2015, 201). Also new coin finds shed a different light on the issue of the Boii in the territory of Slovakia. The idea that the Boii arrived from Upper Italy can no longer be supported by the 'Upper Italian Boian drachms showing Minerva and Athena Alkidemos', as these were not minted in Upper Italy, as was previously assumed. Today, the origin of these coins is found in the Middle Danube area (FRÖHLICH 2016a, 170–172) or somewhere in the Balkans (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 15; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2015, 259). Nor is the view as to the arrival of the Celts – the Boii from Upper Italy to the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers any longer supported by the heavy Roman Republican *aes grave* in copper depicting a ship's prow that were found in the Celtic settlements in Nitra (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1964b) and Nēmčice nad Hanou (KOLNÍKOVÁ – SMRŽ 2007, 3–18). Hoards of early Republican copper coins and other metal items found on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea attest to trade in this metal raw material (MAZIN – BAHRFELDT 1901; KURZ 1974, 155–161, for further sites in this area see MIRNIK 1981, no. 20a, 24, 93; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ – POPOVIĆ 2006, no. 25; BILIĆ 2017, 226; on this topic KYSELA 2016, 202). Traded goods spread from Italy along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea to the Amber Road and the Baltic Sea (MIELCZAREK 1989,

112–115). It was through trade like this, and not with the arrival of the Upper Italian Boii, that the early republican coins likely found their way to the La Tène centres in Němčice and Nitra.

Furthermore, neither do the finds of shell staters without inscription any longer support the view that the parts of Slovakia where these staters occurred were settled by the Boii. As it turned out, all these staters were struck in the Stradonice oppidum, including the lighter coins of a poorer quality alloy, which were previously associated with the Bratislava oppidum (CASTELIN 1965, 209, 215). The view that the Boii who failed to besiege Noreia (before 58 BC according to DOBESCH 1993, 13; in 64/65 BC according to GÖBL 1994, 39–40) moved to the area of Bratislava and founded the oppidum is supported neither by historical written sources nor by coin finds. The same applies to the ‘Great Boii’ invented by R. Göbl and the Bratislava tetradrachms with inscriptions, which have been changed to ‘hexadrachms’ (for criticism of Göbl’s conclusions, see, for instance, TREBSCH 2015, 185–186; on the issue of hexadrachms see KOLNÍKOVÁ, 2021, 3–21).

The coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts – the Boii (the Volcae-Tectosages are also considered) do not prove that the territories where these coins occurred, were settled by the Boii (SALAČ 2015, 134). This is true also for the surroundings of Bratislava. The Bratislava oppidum was established on the settlement that had been developing in southwest Slovakia from the Middle La Tène period and which minted its own tetradrachms with a lyre. The favourable economic and social development of the Celtic population in southwest Slovakia culminated in the rise of the Bratislava oppidum and its coinage (VRTEL 2006, 184), but without the participation of the Bohemian or Moravian Celts.

Finally, we may conclude that:

- the main reason for the occurrence of the coins of the Bohemian and Moravian Celts in the La Tène settlements in Slovakia is trade, or other, short-term interactions of foreign craftsmen or prospectors; and
- the occurrence of these coins in some parts of southwest Slovakia did not lead to the permanent settling of these area by the Bohemian or Moravian Celts – the Boii.

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