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Lik mladića na aversu novca Korkire Melaine. Stilistička pitanja.

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UDK: 737.1-34.3(497.584Korčula)“652”
904:325(38)](210.7Korčula)

Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljeno: 26. 6. 2017.
Prihvaćeno: 5. 7. 2017.

Ovaj rad skreće pozornost na enigmu jadranske Korkire iz VI. st. pr. Kr. o kojoj kratko govore neki izvori. Pitanje kojem se pridaje poseban naglasak jest novac Korkire; broj primjeraka tog novca odnedavno je, naime, povećan za još jedan primjerak, nađen na liburnskoj gradini Budimu kraj Posedarja. Tako je sada poznato ukupno 6 primjeraka korkirejskog novca. Autor je već u svojoj sintezi antičke umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj iz godine 2002. taj novac stilski okarakterizirao kao arhajski (druga polovica VI. st. pr. Kr.). No na to se mišljenje nitko nije osvrnuo, ni kritički ni afirmativno. Stoga se ovdje pokušava temeljitije obrazložiti arhajska datacija, na temelju stilskih usporedaba. Arhajska datacija novca ne rješava, međutim, pitanje lokacije knidske kolonije.

Cljučne riječi: Korkyra Melaina, novac, avers, arhajske značajke

The image of a young man on the obverse of a coin from Korkyra Melaina. Stylistic considerations.

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Original scientific paper
Received: 26 June 2017
Accepted: 5 July 2017

This work focuses on the enigma of Adriatic Korkyra in the 6th century BC, which is mentioned briefly in certain sources. Korkyra coins have sparked particular interest; the number of examples of this coinage recently grew by one, which was found in the Liburnia hillfort of Budim, near Posedarje. Thus, there are now six known examples of Korkyra coins. In a synthesis of the art of Antiquity in Croatia written in 2002, this author stylistically classified these coins as Archaic (latter half of the 6th century BC). But this view did not garner any attention, either critical or affirmative. Thus, an attempt is made here to more thoroughly explain the Archaic dating, based on stylistic comparisons. The Archaic dating of the coins does not, however, resolve the question of the Cnidian colony's actual location.

Key words: Korkyra Melaina, coins, obverse, Archaic features

Pitanja u svezi s najstarijom grčkom kolonijom na Korčuli (*Κόρκυρα Μέλαινα*, odnosno *Corcyra Nigra*) koja je utemeljena početkom VI. st. prije Kr., kao kolonija jonskoga Knida, smještenog na zapadnoj obali Male Azije, još uvijek su svojevrsna enigma. To je nedvojbeno najzamršenije pitanje grčke kolonizacije na istočnom Jadranu. Unatoč neznatnoj, ali ipak postojećoj, materijalnoj razmjeni u arhajskom razdoblju ostaloga grčkog svijeta s jadranskom obalom na koju su Grci zakoračili znatno kasnije negoli drugdje, o toj Korkiri jedva da se išta zna. S jedne strane postoje šturi, ali ipak nedvosmisleni podaci iz pisanih izvora¹ te šest brončanih kovanica koje se s dobrim razlozima pripisuju jadranskoj Korkiri, a ne istoimenoj korintskoj koloniji na današnjem otoku Krfu. S druge strane, zasad nema arheoloških tragova mogućeg naselja. S treće pak strane, postoji jasan natpis iz Lumbarde o osnutku isejske naseobine nepoznata imena, s više od 200 imena naseljenika i pomno razrađenom podjelom zemljišta. Natpis je međutim iz znatno kasnijeg doba (ne prije IV. st. pr. Kr.). Taj natpis, nazvan *Lumbar-dskom psefizmom*, pronađen je godine 1877.² na polotočiću Koludrtu, istočno od Lumbarde. Otada je napisan čitav niz velikih znanstvenih radova i studija o raznim pitanjima koja je taj natpis otvorio. Iako se u natpisu navodi osnivanje naselja, zasad (što treba naglasiti) nema arheoloških ostataka koji bi potkrijepili navode iz *Psefizme* i pouzdano locirali naselje na tom mjestu.³ No to, naravno, ne može obeskrjepiti njegovo postojanje (dokument je više nego pouzdan). Iz dosadašnjeg iskustva poznato je da je zemlja dugo ljubomorno krila ostatke i obično „slučajni mašklin“ izbacila iz nje ono za čim se neuspješno traga, pa ni suvremena sredstva (prospekcije u dubinu bez kopanja) nisu jamstvo uspjeha.⁴ No, treba samo uporno istraživati. Dovoljno je prisjetiti se nedavnog pronalaska helenističkog, planski programiranog naselja u Resniku (Donja Kaštela), čije je ime bilo poznato i upozoravalo na sicilsko podrijetlo (*Siculi*) pučanstva, a lokacija je dugo bila nepoznata pa čak i osporavana.⁵ Stoga ne treba odbaciti mogućnost da se i u Lumbarde neće

Some aspects tied to the oldest Greek colony on the island of Korčula (*Κόρκυρα Μέλαινα*, or *Corcyra Nigra*), which was established in the early 6th century BC as a colony of Ionian Cnidus (Knidos), situated on the western coast of Asia Minor, are still something of an enigma. This is certainly the most complex question tied to the Greek colonization in the eastern Adriatic seaboard. Despite the negligible, but still existent, goods exchanges in the Archaic period between the remainder of the Greek world and the Adriatic coast, where the Greeks landed considerably later than elsewhere, hardly anything is known about this Korkyra. First, there are the terse but still unambiguous data gleaned from written sources¹ and the six bronze coins which for good reason have been ascribed to Adriatic Korkyra rather than the eponymous Corinthian colony on today's island of Corfu. Second, thus far no archaeological traces of a possible settlement have been discovered. Third, there is an unequivocal inscription from Lumbarde on the establishment of a settlement with an unknown name, containing over 200 names of the settlers and a meticulously broken down division of the land. The inscription is, however, from a considerably later period (not before the 4th century BC). This inscription, called the *Lumbarde Psephism*, was discovered in 1877² on the small peninsula of Koludrt, east of the town of Lumbarde. Since then, an entire series of major scholarly works and studies have been written on various questions opened by this inscription. Even though the inscription mentions the establishment of a settlement, thus far (which must be emphasized) no archaeological remains have been found which would back the statements made in the *Psephism* and reliably confirm the settlement's location at that site.³ This, naturally, does not refute its existence (the document is more than reliable). All previous experience has demonstrated that the soil has long jealously concealed various remains and ordinarily a "chance swing of the hoe" uncovers out something that had been the object of fruitless searches in the past, so not even the most modern means (underground prospecting without digging) are any guarantee of success.⁴ But research must simply persist. It is sufficient to recall the recent discovery of

1 Pseudo Skimno 428, Strabon VII 5, 5, Plinije, N. Hist III, 152. Tri međusobno neovisna izvora donose istu vijest, te je metodološka obveza da se ona prihvati kao istinita.
2 Brunšmid 1898, str. 14-26. Nedavno Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, str. 75-77. S cjelovitom dotadašnjom literaturom.
3 Kirigin 2010, str. 113-118.
4 U smislu lokacije naselja nikakve rezultate nisu dala opširna arheološka rekognosciranja terena ni pokusni iskopi. Usp. Radić, Bass 2002, str. 289-302; Kirigin 2010, str. 113-118.
5 *Antički Sikuli* 2011.

1 Pseudo-Skymnus 428, Strabo VII 5, 5, Pliny, N. Hist III, 152. Three mutually unconnected sources contain the same information, and it is a methodological obligation to accept it as accurate.
2 Brunšmid 1898, pp. 14-26. Recently Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, pp. 75-77, with the entirety of the preceding scholarly literature.
3 Kirigin 2010, pp. 113-118.
4 Extensive archaeological reconnaissance of the terrain and test excavations did not yield any results in

otkriti ono o čemu bjelodano svjedoči njezina zname-nita *Psefizma*. Tolika materijalna destrukcija, unatoč vremenskoj distanci od dva milenija, teško je zami-sliva. S druge strane, nedvojbeno utemeljenje naselja u blizini Lumbarde nije u skladu s vijestima o navodnoj knidskoj koloniji *Korkyra Melaina*, jer bi potonja, prema *Psefizmi*, bila barem dva stoljeća ranija od osnutka isejskog naselja. Pitanje koje se nameće jest zašto bi se osnivalo naselje (bilo kakve namjene), ako je ono već postojalo na istome mjestu. Stoga bi se starija kolonija na Korčuli po svoj prilici trebala tražiti na nekim drugim mjestima (grad Korčula ili Vela Luka, ali ni druge lokacije ne treba isključiti). U slučaju da bi se Korkira ipak locirala u današnjoj Lombardi, trebalo bi pretpostaviti dugotrajan diskontinuitet, koji je uvjetovao osnivanje novog naselja. Stoga se u pitanju korčulanskih kolonija ili kolonije nalazimo pred teško razrješivom znanstvenom enigmom.

U ovom radu, međutim, neće biti govora o toj enigmati, nego o jednom specifičnom pitanju u svezi s korkirejskim novcem. Prije je bilo spomenuto da se očuvalo 6 primjeraka novca koji ne pripadaju jonskoj Korkiri, nego onoj jadranskoj. Pet ih je već otprije poznato. Dva se primjerka nalaze u numizmatičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (jedan iz Visa, drugi iz same Lumbarde), treći je, unatoč oštećenju, detektiran u numizmatičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, četvrti je u *Staatliche Museen* u Berlinu (iz nekadanje zbirke Imhoof-Blumer), peti se nalazio u zbirci Welzl Wellenheim, ali se zagubio nakon aukcije,⁶ dok je šesti nedavno otkriven tijekom istraživanja na gradini Budim blizu Posedarja, na području sjeverne Dalmacije.⁷ Ovim se nalazom dotadašnji broj primjeraka uvećao i otvorio nadu za nova otkrića. Kako su svi novci nađeni na području istočnog Jadrana, a nigdje drugdje, to je veća vjerojatnost da je tip novca s legendom *Korkyraion* kovan u jadranskoj Korkiri, bez obzira gdje se ona nalazila.

Svi autori, od Brunšmida pa nadalje, datiraju korkirejski novac u drugu polovicu IV. st. pr. Kr.⁸ Nisam uspio shvatiti temeljem čega opravdavaju navedenu dataciju. To nije učinio zapravo ni Brunšmid, premda je naznačio da se taj tip novca uklapa u novčani sustav ostalih grčkih kolonija na Jadranu kao polovica

the Hellenistic, planned settlement in Resnik (Donja Kaštela), whose name was known and indicated the Sicilian origin (Siculi) of its population, while the location was long unknown and even disputed.⁵ Therefore one should not discount the possibility that something to which the renowned Psephism clearly testifies will be discovered in Lombarda. The extent of physical destruction, even with due consideration for the chronological distance of two millennia, are difficult to conceive. On the other hand, the information on the establishment of a settlement near Lombarda does not comport with the information on the alleged Cnidian colony of Korkyra Melaina, because the latter, according to the Psephism, would have existed at least two centuries earlier than the establishment of the Issaeian settlement. The question that imposes itself is why a settlement (of any purpose) would have been established if one had already existed at the same site. Therefore, the older colony on Korčula should probably be sought at some other sites (the towns of Korčula or Vela Luka, although other sites should not be excluded). Insofar as Korkyra was nonetheless located in today's Lombarda, a rather long-lasting discontinuity must be assumed which thus necessitated the formal establishment of a new settlement. Therefore, the matter of the Korčula colonies, or colony, is a scholarly conundrum that will be difficult to resolve.

This work, however, shall not deal with that enigma, but rather a specific question tied to the Korkyra coins. Previously it was noted that six coins were found that did not come from Ionian Korkyra, but rather from the eponymous Adriatic island. Five of them had been known from earlier. Two examples are held in the coin collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (one from the island of Vis, the other from Lombarda itself), the third, despite its damaged state, was discerned in the coin collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split, the fourth is held in the *Staatliche Museen* in Berlin (from the former Imhoof-Blumer collection), the fifth was once in the Welzl Wellenheim collection, but has since disappeared after being auctioned,⁶ while the sixth was

6 Brunšmid 1898, str. 69, tab. VI, 92. Na istome mjestu autor navodi tri primjerka, od kojih su dva (jedan nađeni na Visu, a drugi u Lombardi) u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu. Onaj pak iz zbirke Imhoof-Blumer je u berlinskom muzeju. Primjerak iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu objavila je Bonačić Mandinić 1994, str. 261-265, sl. 2. O tim novcima usp. i Göricke-Lukić, Bonačić Mandinić 2010, str. 181, kat. br. 303, s. t. Korkira.

7 Ilkić 2016, str. 99-105, sl. 1.

8 Brunšmid 1898, str. 81.

locating the settlement. Cf. Radić, Bass 2002, pp. 289-302; Kirigin 2010, pp. 113-118.

5 *Antički Sikuli* 2011.

6 Brunšmid 1898, p. 69, pl. VI, 92. In that same work, the author cited three examples, of which two (one found on Vis, the other in Lombarda) are in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. The one from the Imhoof-Blumer collection is in the Berlin museum. The example from the Archaeological Museum in Split was published by Bonačić Mandinić 1994, pp. 261-265, Fig. 2. On these coins, cf. also Göricke-Lukić, Bonačić Mandinić 2010, p. 181, cat. no. 303, s.t. Korkyra.

teške brončane nominale. Moguće je da je razlog mojoj nedoumici moje skromno numizmatičko znanje (koje priznajem), no istodobno moram zamijetiti i slabo poznavanje grčke umjetnosti svih ostalih istraživača.

Još relativno davno pisac ovih redaka ukazao je da korkirejski novac pokazuje nedvojbene stilske značajke grčke arhaike i da zbog toga može pripadati samo tom razdoblju, a nikako kasnoj klasicisti ili čak helenizmu. Ovdje donosim tek neznatno izmijenjen citat iz moje knjige *Antika. Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2002.: “Vrlo važno civilizacijsko dostignuće grčkih kolonista je kovanje novca. Iako novac ima prvenstveno gospodarsko značenje, neki primjerci mogu imati znatnu umjetničku vrijednost. Grčke kolonije, Korkyra Melaina (u manjoj mjeri), zatim Issa, Pharos i Herakleja kuju vlastiti novac. Još su uvijek otvoreni mnogi problemi u vezi s novcem jadranskih Grka. Jedno od pitanja o kojima se višekratno raspravljalo je i problem novca Korkyre Melaine.⁹ Znana su ukupno četiri primjerka koja bi se mogla pripisati kovovima jadranske Korkyre.¹⁰ Na tom se novcu nalazi razmjerno stilizirano oblikovana muška glava.¹¹ Novac se obično datira u helenističko doba, iako je likovni izraz arhajski, što potvrđuje oblik oka, koje je, iako je glava u profilu, prikazano u *en face* položaju, a arhajska svojstva pokazuju i drugi detalji lica (kosa i nos).¹² To se kasnije više nikada ne ponavlja, jer se takav svjesno izabrani, ali neprirodni položaj na arhajskim reljefima, slikarijama, novcima i dr. napušta. Nezamislivo je pretpostaviti da se na korkirejskom novcu dogodila ovakva stilska retardacija u neko kasnije, helenističko doba. Da je u IV. i III. st. pr. Kr. na novcu prevladavao drukčiji izraz, svjedoče i brojni primjerci novca drugih grčkih gradova na Jadranu. Oni su, naime, oblikovani u skladu s tendencijama svoga vremena, čak kad su u pitanju i neki tehnički skromni primjerci novca, poput onih dinasta Baleja. Taj novac nema nikakve veze s likovnim izričajem spomenutih korkirejskih primjeraka. To pak daje još jednu potkrepu ovdje iznesenoj pretpostavci o arhajskim svojstvima potonjih primjeraka.

recently discovered during research at the Budim hillfort near Posedarje, in northern Dalmatia.⁷ This latter find increased the total number of examples and spurred hopes in new discoveries. Since all of these coins were found in the eastern Adriatic seaboard, and nowhere else, this increases the likelihood that this coin type bearing the legend *Korkyraion* was minted on Adriatic Korkyra, regardless of where the individual examples were found.

All authors, from Brunšmid onward, dated the Korkyra coins to the latter half of the 4th century BC.⁸ I have not succeeded in ascertaining the grounds used to justify this dating. This was actually not even done by Brunšmid, although he pointed out that this coin type fit into the monetary system of the remaining Greek colonies in the Adriatic as a half of a bronze nominal. Perhaps my own confusion is due to my modest numismatic expertise (which I acknowledge), but I must simultaneously underscore the poor familiarity of Greek Art by the remaining researchers.

A rather long time ago, the writer of these lines pointed out that the Korkyra coins undoubtedly exhibit the stylistic features of the Greek Archaic era and that they may thus belong to that period, rather than the late Classical or Hellenistic periods. Here I shall provide an only slightly altered citation from my book *Antika. Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj*, ('Antiquity. Art History in Croatia'. Zagreb, 2002):

“A major civilizational achievement of the Greek colonists was the minting of coins. Even though coinage primarily had economic significance, some examples also had considerable artistic value. The Greek colonies, Korkyra Melaina (to a lesser extent), and Issa, Pharos and Herakleia minted their own coins. Many problems pertaining to the coins of the Adriatic Greeks still remain unresolved. One of the questions that has been debated on numerous occasions is the problem of the coinage from Korkyra Melaina.⁹ There are four known examples that may be ascribed to the mints of Adriatic Korkyra.¹⁰ These coins feature the image of a relatively stylized man's head.¹¹ The coins are usually dated to the Hellenistic era, even though

9 Brunšmid 1898, str. 69, tab. VI, 92.

10 Rendić-Miočević 1980, str. 237, sl. 3, 1 i 3. Sada ih je, dakle, 6.

11 Glava se obično pripisuje Apolonu, Brunšmid 1898, str. 69. Autor drži da je ovaj novac stilski blizak ostalom novcu kovanom na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Međutim, pojedinosti lica zapravo su karakteristične za arhajski način prikazivanja i nemaju ništa zajedničko s drugim kovovima.

12 Usp. novac objavljen u: Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, str. 201, br. 303, sl. na str. 180.

7 Ilkić 2016, pp. 99-105, Fig. 1.

8 Brunšmid 1898, p. 81.

9 Brunšmid 1898, p. 69, pl. VI, 92.

10 Rendić-Miočević 1980, p. 237, fig. 3, 1 and 3. Now, of course, there are 6.

11 The head is normally attributed to Apollo, Brunšmid 1898, p. 69. The author maintained that this coin is stylistically close to the remaining coins minted in the eastern Adriatic seaboard. However, the details of the face are actually typical of the Archaic manner of portrayal and have nothing in common with the other mints.



Sl. 1. Avers novca Korkire Melaine s likom kurosa (Apolon?) s cijelim profilom. Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu

Fig. 1. Obverse of coin of Korkyra Melaines with kouros image (Apolo?) in complete profile. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

Glede primjeraka drugih grčkih kovnica na Jadranu valja kazati da je osobito vrstan farski novac,¹³ a najbrojnije su pak emisije isejske kovnice.¹⁴ To upućuje na gospodarsko značenje toga grada. Na aversima novca jadranskih Grka najčešće su prikazani simboli mitološkoga karaktera (božanstva, herosi i eponimi gradova), dok su na reversima motivi koji aludiraju na karakter gospodarstva (koza, grozd, kantaros i dr.). Prikazi počivaju na klasičnim ili klasicističkim oblicima (sl. 1, avers srebrnog novca Farosa). Kvaliteta prikaza je visoka, osobito na novcu farske i isejske produkcije koji iskazuje možda pomalo zakasnjelu klasičnu inspiraciju, ali zato visoku vještinu i ljupkost izradbe.”¹⁵

Na moja prije navedena zapažanja nitko se nije osvrnuo, ponajmanje kritički, kao da nije ni napisano, a knjiga je ušla u optjecaj i čak je uvrštena u obvezno nastavno pomagalo na obje katedre na kojima se predaje arheologija (Zagreb i Zadar). Stoga sam odlučio već navedenome pridodati još nekoliko argumenata u prilog arhajskoj dataciji tog novca. Umjetničke



Sl. 2. Revers s prikazom žita na istome novcu

Fig. 2. Reverse with image of grain sheaf on the same coin

their artistic style is Archaic, which is confirmed by the shape of the eye depicted *en face*, even though the head is in profile. The other details of the face (the hair and nose) also exhibit Archaic qualities.¹² This was later never repeated, because such a consciously chosen but unnatural pose in Archaic relief portrayals, paintings, coins, etc. was abandoned. It is inconceivable to suppose that such a stylistic holdover on the Korkyra coins would have appeared in some later period, such as the Hellenistic. That a different form of expression prevailed on coins in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC is reflected in the numerous examples of coins from other Greek settlements in the Adriatic seaboard. They were formed in line with the tendencies of their time, even when certain technically modest examples of coins are considered, such as those of the dynast Ballaios. These coins had nothing in common with the artistic expression seen on the aforementioned Korkyra examples. This only further backs the hypothesis on the Archaic properties of these coins.

As to the examples of other Greek mints in the Adriatic seaboard, it is worth noting that the coins of Pharos are particularly exemplary,¹³ while the most numerous are those issued by the Issaeian mint.¹⁴ This

13 Brunšmid 1898, str. 41 i d., tab. I-III, 44.

14 Brunšmid 1898, str. 70-80, tab. III 56 i VI 91. O isejskome novcu usp. Kirigin 1996, str. 155-162, sl. na str. 135.

15 Katalog *Pharos* 1995, sl. na str. 135. Osobito su lijepe prve dvije glave bradatog božanstva slijeva.

12 Cf. the coin published in: Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, p. 201, no. 303, fig. on p. 180.

13 Brunšmid 1898, pp. 41 ff, pl. I-III, 44.

14 Brunšmid 1898, pp. 70-80, pl. III 56 and VI 91. On Issaeian coins, cf. Kirigin 1996, pp. 155-162, Fig. on p. 135.



Sl. 3. Avers novca Korkyre Melaine s likom kurosa (Apolon), s pomaknutom matricom (nedostaje dio portreta). Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
 Fig. 3. Obverse of coin of Korkyra Melaines with kurosa image (Apollo), with shifted cast (missing part of portrait). Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

odrednice novca svih grčkih naselja na Jadranu stilski su različite i jasno upozoravaju na vrijeme nastanka u kasnom klasičnom ili helenističkom razdoblju (usp. primjerke emisija Ise, Fara ili Herakleje). Arhajske retardacije nakon stoljeća ili dva naprosto nisu zamislive ni tehnički provedive, jer prestankom kronološkog, a time i stilskog kontakta prestaju i umjetnički poticaji. Takozvane retardacije nikad nisu stoljećima duge. Bez obzira što je na gotovo svim primjercima zbog pogrešnog otkivanja nestao dio lica na aversu ili je pak jako oštećen (osim primjerka Imhoof Blumer u Berlinu i jednog primjerka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, sl. 1, avers, sl. 2, revers), lijepo se vidi arhajski profil, s karakterističnim smiješkom. Oko je predstavljeno u *en face* vizuri (čak se vidi okrugli obris šarenice unutar bademolikog izreza oka). Drugi zagrebački primjerak ima kao i budimski odsječen dio profila, ali oko je također u *en face* položaju (sl. 3, avers, sl. 4, revers).¹⁶ Frizura je nedvojbeno muška i nije srodna grčkim kurosima, nego istovjetna s njima, iz doba oko sredine VI. pr. Kr. ili neznatno poslije. Kosa je priljubljena uz kalotu lubanje i jasno se vide pramenovi koji od sredine tjemena vode postrance



Sl. 4. Revers novca s prikazom žita. Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
 Fig. 4. Reverse of coin with image of grain sheaf. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

points to the economic importance of that settlement. The obverse sides of the coins issued by the Adriatic Greeks most often bear depictions of mythological symbols (deities, heroes and the eponyms of cities), while the reverse sides bear motifs that allude to the character of the local economy (a goat, a bunch of grapes, a kantharos, etc.). The depictions are modelled after Classical or classicist forms (Fig. 1, observe of a Pharos silver coin). The quality of the depictions is high, particularly on the coins produced in Pharos and Issa, which perhaps reflect a slightly belated Classical inspiration, but with considerable skill and loveliness in rendering.”¹⁵

Nobody responded to, much less criticized, these observations of mine, as though they had never been written, and the book was even incorporated into the mandatory lecture aids in two departments of archaeology (Zagreb and Zadar). I have therefore decided to add several arguments to back the Archaic dating of these coins. The artistic determinants of the coins from all Greek settlements in the Adriatic seaboard differ stylistically and clearly indicate the late Classical or Hellenistic era as the time of their production (cf. the examples of issues from Issa, Pharos or Herakleia). Archaic holdovers after a century or two are simply not conceivable nor even technically feasible, because

16 Na fotografijama zahvaljujem Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu te posebno Ivanu Mirniku, bivšem voditelju Numizmatičke zbirke, kolegi Miroslavu Nađu te svima koji su se pobrinuli za fotografije.

15 The catalogue *Pharos* 1995, fig. on p. 135. The first two heads of bearded deities facing left are especially lovely.



Sl. 5. Avers srebrekog novca Fara s likom božanstva klasično koncipiranog. Arheološki muzej u Splitu
Fig. 5. Obverse of silver coin from Pharos with the image of a classically conceived deity. Archaeological Museum in Split

prema ušima. Iznad čela su dvije pletenice koje opleću čitavu glavu i stvaraju izgled vijenca. Koliko se to može vidjeti samo na glavi primjerka iz Berlina, uz pletenicu je prikazan i pojednostavnjeni vijenac. To je očito drugi kalup, ali svejedno s istovjetnim značajkama, nedvojbeno arhajskim.¹⁷

Prema tome, s ovim novim primjerkom i još nekoliko otprije poznatih imamo numizmatički dobro dokumentiranu korkirejsku seriju. Ako se taj novac samo letimično uspoređi s drugim, kasnijim novcima bilo naših, bilo drugih sredozemnih grčkih gradova, tada se smije kazati da su oni u stilskom pogledu posve različiti i da ne mogu pripadati istome vremenu. Kako bih to malo temeljitije dokumentirao, upozorio bih na nekoliko paralela. Kroz čitavo se arhajsko razdoblje proteže prikaz oka u *en face* položaju na reljefima. To se može zamijetiti na brojnim primjerima, na reljefu iz Hrisafe kod Sparte (danas u Berlinu), primjerice, ili na likovima na reljefu baze u Ateni.¹⁸ Moglo bi se navesti još čitav niz takvih primjera.

Ono što je, međutim, još važnije jest frizura, na koju također nitko nije obratio temeljitiju pozornost. Opisana frizura odgovara kurosima i drugim figurama

once the chronological, and thus also stylistic, contact is severed, the artistic inspirations also cease. Such holdovers never persist for centuries. Despite the fact that on almost all of the examples part of the face on the obverse is missing due to faulty minting or simply severe damage (except for the Imhoof-Blumer example in Berlin and the one from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Fig. 1, obverse, fig. 2, reverse), the Archaic profile can be nicely seen, with the typical smile. The eye is presented in the *en face* view (even the round contour of the iris inside the almond-shaped eye slit can be discerned). The second Zagreb example, like the one from Budim, has part of the profile cut off, but the eye is also *en face* (Fig. 3, obverse, Fig. 4, reverse).¹⁶ The hairstyle is undoubtedly male and is not similar to the Greek kouros but rather identical to them, from the period around roughly the mid-6th century BC or negligibly later. The hair is pressed against the pate and the locks running from the middle of the pate down the sides toward the ears can be clearly discerned. Above the forehead there are two braids encircling the entire head, creating the impression of a wreath. To the extent that this can be seen only on the example from Berlin, a simplified wreath is depicted next to the braid. This is obviously from a different cast, but it nonetheless has the same features, undoubtedly Archaic.¹⁷

So, this new example together with the several previously known coins form a numismatically well-documented Korkyra series. If these coins are only superficially compared to other, later coins of Greek settlements either in Croatian territory or other places on the Mediterranean, then one may say that in the stylistic sense they are entirely different and cannot possibly belong to the same chronological period. In order to document this more thoroughly, I would like to point out several parallels. The depiction of the eye in the *en face* position appears on relief images from the entire Archaic period. This may be seen in numerous examples, on the relief from Hrisafa near Sparta (today in Berlin), or on the figures on the relief base in Athens.¹⁸ An entire series of such examples could be further cited.

17 Čini se da postoje čak tri matrice za otkivanje.

18 *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst I*, 2002, str. 214, 317, sl. 296, iz doba nešto poslije sredine VI. st. ili na reljefu baze kipa iz Atene str. 256-257, 322, sl. 332 a i b.

16 I would like to thank the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and especially Ivan Mirnik, the former head of the Coin Collection, my colleague Miroslav Nađ and all of those who secured the photographs.

17 It would appear that there were as many as three minting casts.

18 *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst I*, 2002, pp. 214, 317, Fig. 296, from the period slightly prior to the mid-6th cent. or on the relief base of the statue from Athens pp. 256-257, 322, Fig. 332 a and b.

iz doba nakon stilske promjene, kad se frizura mijenja i kad muškarci dobivaju dva reda pletenica oko glave, a otraga na tjemenu je ostatak kose, poput punde, koji je skupljen kako ne bi padao na vrat. Najsličnije su frizure iz Atene¹⁹ ili Londona iz doba druge polovice VI. st. prije Kr.²⁰ te iz Anafe.²¹ Isto tako tip frizure približno odgovara frizuri Tezeja u skupini Tezejeve otmice Antiope (kraljice Amazonki) iz Halkide, iz doba oko godine 520.²² I na stelama se može vidjeti istovjetan razvoj frizura sa sličnim oblicima kao na steli mladića iz Atene iz doba oko 540.-530. pr. Kr.²³ Mogao bi se nabrojiti još cijeli niz sličnih likova u punoj skulpturi ili na reljefima iz kasnijeg arhajskog doba, ali time ne bismo ništa dobili. Prema tome, lik na aversu korkirejskog novca stilski bi pripadao odmaklom VI. st. pr. Kr.; nikako kasnijem razdoblju, jer nema veze s profilima muškaraca na iznimno kvalitetnom novcu Fara iz kasnijega klasičnog razdoblja. Za precizniju dataciju bilo bi se teško odlučiti. To je doba kad likovi nisu individualizirani pa se, ako nema drugih odrednica, teško mogu pripisati kakvom božanstvu ili drugoj osobi.²⁴ Moguće je jedino da muškarac na novcu prikazuje Apolona, s obzirom na vijenac (neodrediv je karakter lišća od kojeg je spleten). To bi, dakle, bilo vrijeme malo poslije navedenog vremena osnutka kolonije na Korčuli. Novac je ili donesen, već pripravljen, iz Male Azije ili su pak došli majstori novčari koji su znali izrađivati matrice.

To što tragova naselja u slučaju Korkire nema, ne poništava mogućnost postojanja grada. Kad je Lombarda u pitanju, čini se prihvatljivom ideja profesora Marija Lombarda (nekoliko radova o toj temi) da je Lombarda bila isejska vojna ispostava prije ulaska u Neretvanski kanal. Vojna baza bila je Isi potrebna u doba kad se ilirska država na južnom Jadranu afirmirala i pokazivala sklonost širenju prema zapadu.²⁵ Isejci su onamo poslali brojno ljudstvo koje je moglo obaviti obrambenu zadaću. Manji posjedi posadi su omogućivali lakše preživljavanje uz sredstva koja im je kao plaćenicima priskrblijavala matična zajednica. Spominje se zemlja unutar i izvan naselja, kuće, okućnice i dr. Takvi primjeri nisu nepoznati u grčkoj povijesti. Oni su bili predstraža u slučaju opasnosti.

Something even more important, however, is the hairstyle, to which nobody has thus far accorded any particular attention. The above-described hairstyle corresponds to those found on the kouros statues and other figures from the period after stylistic changes, when the hairstyle changed and when men were given two rows of breads around their heads, with the remainder of the hair left at the back of the head, like a bun, which was fastened so that it would not fall on the neck. The hairstyles from Athens¹⁹ or London from the latter half of the 6th century BC²⁰ and from Anafa²¹ are the most similar. By the same token, it rather closely corresponds to the hairstyle of Theseus in the group depicting his abduction of Antiope (queen of the Amazons) from Chalcis, from roughly 520 BC.²² The same development of the hairstyle with similar forms can also be seen on stelae, such as the stele of a young man from Athens from the period of approximately 540-530 BC.²³ An entire series of similar figures in full sculpture or in relief portrayals from the later Archaic period may be listed, but this would not accomplish anything. Therefore, the image on the obverse on the Korkyra coins would stylistically belong to the late 6th century BC; by no means a later period, because it has nothing in common with the profiles of the men on the exceptionally high-quality coins of Pharos from the late Classical period. It would be difficult to decide on any more precise dating. This is a period when the images were not individualized, so if there are no other determinants, it is difficult to ascribe them to some deity or other person.²⁴ The sole possibility is that the man depicted on the coins is Apollo, given the wreath (the type of leaves from which it is made cannot be determined). This would, therefore, be the time slightly after the aforementioned period during which the colony on Korčula was established. The coins were either brought, already made, from Asia Minor, or master minters came who knew how to make the casts.

The fact that there are no traces of a settlement in the case of Korkyra does not preclude the possibility that a settlement existed. When considering Lombarda, the idea put forth by Professor Marija Lombarda (in several works on this topic) that Lombarda was an Issaeon military outpost just before the entrance

19 Richter 1988, str. 127-147, sl. 450-457 te kipovi iz Londona.

20 Richter 1988, str. 127-147, sl. 461-463.

21 Boardman 1985 (rep.), str. 88, sl. 188.

22 Martini 1990, str. 240-241, sl. 73.

23 Stewart 1990, sl. 143.

24 O grčkom portretu usp. Fittschen 1988, str. 15-18. O razvoju oblika kurosa usp. Boardman 1985, str. 88, sl. na str. 78.

25 Lombardo 1993, str. 161-188; Lombardo 2002, str. 121-140.

19 Richter 1988, pp. 127-147, Fig. 450-457 and the statues from London.

20 Richter 1988, pp. 127-147, Fig. 461-463.

21 Boardman 1985 (rep.), p. 88, Fig. 188.

22 Martini 1990, pp. 240-241, Fig. 73.

23 Stewart 1990, Fig. 143.

24 On Greek portraits, cf. Fittschen 1988, pp. 15-18. On the development of the kouros form, cf. Boardman 1985, p. 88, fig. on p. 78.

O grčkoj prošlosti otoka Korčule i ilirsko-grčkim vezama puno se očekuje i od istraživanja na Kopili u Blatu, koja su u tijeku.

Stoga, kako iz prije navedenih razloga proizlazi, treba poduprijeti ideju o boljem upoznavanju povijesti Lumbarde i daljnjem radu na otkrivanju naselja koje *Lumbardska psefizma* jasno definira. Odredbe iz *Lumbardske psefizme* pokazuju da je sustav bio dobro isplaniran, a takvi se dokumenti javno stavljaju do znanja suvremenicima i eventualnim budućim naseljenicima. Bez obzira na teško određivu dataciju grčke Lumbarde, u prigodi proslave dvadesete obljetnice Općine bilo bi dobro osmisliti daljnja istraživanja i tako dobiti nove ideje o svim problemima o kojima je ovdje bilo riječi.

to the Neretva Channel seems acceptable. A military base was required by Issa in a time when the Illyrian state was gaining strength on the southern Adriatic and demonstrated a desire to spread westward.²⁵ The Issaeans sent many men there that could have carried out a defensive tasks. Smaller crews made it possible to more easily survive using the resources supplied to them as mercenaries by the core community. Land inside and outside the settlement, houses, yards, etc. are mentioned. Such examples are not known from Greek history. They were the advance guard in case of threats. Much is expected from the ongoing research at Kopila in Blato to shed light on the Greek past of the island of Korčula and the Illyrian-Greek relations.

Therefore, the previously stated reasons dictate the need for better knowledge on the history of Lumbarda and further work on the discovery of the settlement which the Lumbarda Psephism clearly defines. Land inside and outside the settlement, houses, yards, etc. are mentioned. The provisions of the Lumbarda Psephism show that the system was well-planned, and such documents clearly put this knowledge at the disposal of contemporaries and potential future settlers. Regardless of the difficulty in determining the dating of Greek Lumbarda, on the occasion of the Municipality's twentieth anniversary it would be advisable to plan further research and thus obtain a new idea on all problems discussed herein.

25 Lombardo 1993, pp. 161-188; Lombardo 2002, pp. 121-140.

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