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Hemidrahme Likijskog saveza iz Dola na Visu

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U starom fondu numizmatičke zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu čuva se grupa - mali skupni nalaz iz Dola na Visu, koji čini pet komada srebrnog novca, hemidrahmi Likijskog saveza. Čine ga emisije novca iz 42. g. pr. Kr. (dva primjerka, jedan za pokrajinu *Cragus*, a drugi za pokrajinu *Masyctus*) te one iz 30. do 27. g. pr. Kr. (tri primjerka, svi za pokrajinu *Masyctus*). Na njima je na aversu prikazana glava Apolona, a na reversu kitara i legenda KP ili ΛΥΚΙΩΝ MA-Σ ili M-A i još neki znak poput grančice ili krilatog kaduceja. Novac je spremljen u doba Augusta, na prijelazu stare u novu eru.

Ključne riječi: hemidrahma, Likijski savez, skupni nalaz, Dol, Vis, Apollo

A group of Hemidrachms of the Lycian League from Dol – island of Vis

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Among the holdings of Split's Archaeological Museum is a group - a small coin hoard consisting of five hemidrachms of the Lycian League. It was found in the village of Dol, on the island of Vis, near the site of ancient Issa. Two hemidrachms (one for the district of Cragus, and the other for the district of Masyctus) were issued in 42 BC; three hemidrachms (minted for the district of Masyctus) belong to the period between 30 and 27 BC. All of them bear the head of Apollo on the obverse. A cithara within an incuse square, the legends K-P, ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, MA-Σ, or M-A, and symbols such as a branch or a winged caduceus, are on the reverse. These coins were concealed during the reign of Augustus, between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.

Key words: Hemidrachm, Lycian League, coin hoard, Dol, Vis, Apollo

Mjesto Dol na Visu nalazi se u kotlini južno od grada Visa, uz cestu prema Komiži¹ (sl. 1). Sudeći po nalazima keramike na nekoliko lokacija na području Dola, sigurno je da je još u antici taj kraj bio nastanjen, a polja obrađivana. Pregledavanjem i pretraživanjem terena u sklopu *The Adriatic Islands Project*, na tri je mjesta utvrđena koncentracija antičkih nalaza. Na temelju velike koncentracije keramike, poput ulomaka amfora i pitosa, tegula i imbreksa, zamijećeni su ostaci naselja iz rimskog doba. Nađeni su i ostaci podne žbuke (VS 1067.00, str. 30; VS 1070.00, str. 31; VS 1072.00, str. 31).²

U Dolu je 1997. godine istraživana crkva sv. Nikole. To je istraživanje ponajprije rasvijetlilo srednjovjekovno razdoblje na ovom lokalitetu.³ U donjim segmentima zidova crkve sv. Nikole mjestimično se može prepoznati antički karakter strukture zida. A. Piteša pretpostavlja da je crkva sagrađena na ostacima kasnoantičkog gospodarskog objekta, zaključujući to na temelju analize strukture zida južno od ulaznih vrata, koja izgleda kao rimski *opus spicatum*.⁴

B. Kirigin mi je u razgovoru iznio svoje razmišljanje o postojanju antičke građevine, možda svetišta na mjestu srednjovjekovne crkve. Svoje razmišljanje o kultnom, a ne nekom drugom, primjerice, vojnom karakteru građevine, temelji na činjenici da se Sv. Nikola doduše nalazi na istaknutom položaju na vrhu brežuljku u dolskoj kotlini, ali je položaj bez strateškog značenja da bi na tom mjestu bila podignuta kula.

The village of Dol is situated in a valley to the south of Vis, a town near the ancient city of Issa, on the way to Komiža.¹ (Fig. 1) On account of the ceramic finds from several sites in the Dol area, it is evident that this place was inhabited in the Roman period, and that the land was cultivated. The archaeological investigations conducted during the Adriatic Island Project yielded a concentration of finds of Roman pottery at three sites in the vicinity of Dol. These finds consisted mainly of amphorae and pithoi; remains of architectural structures and roof tiles (tegulae and imbrices) datable to the Roman period were also found. The presence of floor mortar was noted as well (VS 1067.00, p. 30; VS 1070.00, p. 31; VS 1072.00, p. 31).²

In 1997 the church of St. Nicolas in Dol was excavated. These investigations shed light on the history of the site in the Middle Ages.³ The lower courses of the walls of this church have Roman structural features. Since an analysis of the wall structure to the south of the main entrance has shown that the wall was built in a technique that convincingly looks like Roman *opus spicatum*, A. Piteša has suggested that the church was built on the remains of a Late Roman *villa rustica*.⁴

Dr. B. Kirigin told me about the possibility that a building (perhaps a shrine) from the Roman or from an earlier period, existed on the site of the medieval

* Prve poslove za Arheološki muzej u Splitu dobila sam sredinom osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća od kolege Branka Kirigina, tadašnjeg ravnatelja Muzeja, a bili su vezani uz Isu. Bila je to ispomoć kod pripreme za obradu osteološkog materijala, ljudskih kostiju, s isejske nekropole na lokalitetu Vlaška njiva, te prodaja ulaznica i čuvanje izložbe "Issa" (na izložbi je, među ostalim, trebalo paziti da stakla vitrina budu uvijek blistava). Ti jednostavni početci, uz pomoć Branka Kirigina, otvorili su mi vrata kustosa u do tada za mene nedostižnom Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Stoga mu u znak zahvalnosti za spomenuto i kasniju, mogu reći, bezrezervnu podršku i pomoć, posvećujem ovaj rad, prigodno isejske tematike.

** Zahvaljujem Paolu Visonà na pomoći prilikom prevođenja teksta na engleski jezik. Isto tako zahvaljujem kolegama iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu Iki Prpa-Stojanac za čišćenje novca, Zoranu Podrugu za pripremu karata i likovnih priloga, Borisu Čargu na fotografijama zlatnih pločica s prikazom Apolona, Arsenu Duplančiću na podacima iz Arhiva Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu.

1 Piteša 2005, str. 217.

2 Kirigin *et al.* 2006, str. 30-31.

3 Piteša 2005, str. 217 i dalje.

4 Piteša 2005, str. 219-220, sl. 5.

* In the mid-1980s I (an unemployed archaeologist at that time) was assigned my first museum tasks by my colleague Branko Kirigin, the director of Split's Archaeological museum. One of them was to assist in preparing the human remains from Issa's Vlaška njiva necropolis for anthropological analysis and research. In addition, I was put in charge of selling admission tickets, and I was asked to care for the Issa Exhibition (e.g., to make sure that the glass of the display cases was impeccably clean). These mundane beginnings, and Kirigin's help, led me to the post of curator in the Archaeological Museum in Split, which had been elusive for me until then. Therefore, as a token of my gratitude for introducing me to the Split Museum, and for his friendship and support throughout many years, I dedicate this paper to Branko Kirigin.

** I am grateful to Paolo Visonà for editing the translation of this essay in English. I would like also to thank my colleagues at the Archaeological Museum in Split, from Ika Prpa-Stojanac who cleaned the coins, to Tonći Seser for the photographs, to Zoran Podrug for the illustrations and for preparing the maps (using Google Maps), to Boris Čargo who took the photos of the gold appliques, and to Arsen Duplančić for the data from the Museum's archives.

1 Piteša 2005, p. 217.

2 Kirigin *et al.* 2006, pp. 30-31.

3 Piteša 2005, p. 217 ff.

4 Piteša 2005, pp. 219-220, Fig. 5.



Sl. 1. Dol na otoku Visu

Fig. 1. Dol on the island of Vis

Činjenica je da je u srednjem vijeku ondje izgrađena crkva, pa se može razmišljati o kontinuitetu kulturnog karaktera građevine na tom lokalitetu. Ovakvo intrigantno mišljenje o postojanju svetišta na istaknutom brežuljku u dolskoj kotlini treba vrlo oprezno razmotriti i eventualno provesti dodatna istraživanja.

U starom fondu Numizmatičke zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu čuva se skupni nalaz koji čini pet komada srebrnog novca, hemidrahmi Likijskog saveza.⁵ Jedini podatak sačuvan za ovaj nalaz jest da je novac nađen u Dolu na Visu, na zemlji obitelji Roki. Ne zna se kad su hemidrahme nađene, niti kako su i kada nabavljene za Arheološki muzej. Moglo se to dogoditi tridesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, pa i ranije, jer je ravnatelj Muzeja, Mihovil Abramić, redovito otkupljivao arheološki materijal s Visa od Gvida Lučić-Rokija i Župnog ureda u Visu. Gvido Lučić-Roki bio je muzejski povjerenik koji je primao nalaze Višana i prosljeđivao ih Muzeju, kako je razvidno iz Abramićeve knjige izdataka 1926.-1946., koja se čuva u muzejskom Arhivu.

Hemidrahme su mogle biti nabavljene za Muzej i u vrijeme kad je M. Abramić istraživao na Visu 1948. godine. U svojem radu Abramić piše kako mu je seljak Pavao Žitko donio ulomak latinskog natpisa što ga je našao u svom vinogradu kod Sv. Nikole na položaju "Odsuh".⁶ Možda je Abramiću u nekoj prilici donesen i taj skupni nalaz novca, a on nije zapisao sve podatke, računajući kako će ih kasnije objaviti, no to se poslije nije dogodilo.

Hemidrahme Likijskog saveza iz Dola pripadaju emisijama za pokrajine Masicytus i Cragus. Te pokrajine formirao je Rim radi lakšeg ubiranja poreza.⁷

church. Even though the Church of St. Nicolas was built on a hilltop in the valley of Dol, its location did not have strategic significance (it was not suitable for a watchtower, for example). The fact that in the Middle Ages a church was built there may testify to the continuous religious importance of this site. But this theory should be tested and additional investigations should be undertaken.

The numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split contains a group of five silver hemidrachms of the Lycian League, which represent a small hoard.⁵ The only information that is known about them is that they were found on land owned by the Roki family at Dol, on the island of Vis. It is not known when these coins were found, nor how and when they were acquired by the Museum. This could have occurred in the 1930s or earlier, because Mihovil Abramić, who was then the director of Split's Archaeological Museum, purchased archaeological finds from Vis from Gvido Lučić-Roki and from Vis' Parish office. Gvido Lučić-Roki was a Museum trustee who acquired archaeological finds from the people who lived on Vis, paid for them, and forwarded these materials to the Split Museum, as one can see in Abramić's list of expenses from 1926 to 1946, which is kept in the Museum archives.

The hemidrachms could also have been acquired for the Museum in 1948, while Abramić was excavating on the island of Vis. Abramić wrote in an article that a farmer named Pavao Žitko brought him a fragment of a Latin inscription that he had found in his vineyard near the church of St. Nicolas, on the site called "Odsuh".⁶ It is conceivable that this small hoard of silver coins was brought to Abramić, and that he planned to publish it at a later date, but never did.

The hemidrachms of the Lycian League from Dol comprise issues minted for the district of Masicytus and the district of Cragus. These districts were organised by Rome, for the purpose of collecting taxes more easily.⁷

Masicytus is the name of the mountainous area located on the southern side of the central part of the interior of Lycia, oriented from west to east, between the valley of Xantus and the Solymna mountains, to the north of the city of Phellus on the coast, towards eastern Lycia.⁸ Cragus is a mountain or a mountain range in western Lycia, between the river Xantus and Lycia's western coast.⁹ (Fig. 2) These two districts

5 O formiranju Likijskog saveza vidi Troxell 1982, str. 9-13.

6 Abramić 1949, str. 15.

7 Troxell 1982, str. 117.

5 On the Lycian League, Troxell 1982, pp. 9-13.

6 Abramić 1949, p. 15.

7 Troxell 1982, p. 117.

8 Troxell 1982, p. 112.

9 Troxell 1982, p. 112.



Sl. 2. Likija

Fig. 2. Map of Lycia

Masicytus je brdovito područje u južnom središnjem dijelu unutrašnjosti Likije, koje se proteže od zapada prema istoku, između doline Xantusa i brda Solymna, odnosno sjeverno od gradova na obali od Phellusa prema istoku Likije.⁸ Cragus je brdo ili brdoviti kraj na zapadu Likije, između rijeke *Xanthus* i zapadne obale⁹ (sl. 2). Ove dvije pokrajine kovale su novac Likijskog saveza u drugoj polovini 1. st. pr. Kr.

U skupnom nalazu iz Dola četiri hemidrahme pripadaju emisiji za Masicytus, a jedna je iz emisije za Cragus. Prema podjeli koju je napravila Hyla Troxell u osnovnom radu za poznavanje novca Likijske lige "The Coinage of the Lycian League", novac nađen na Visu pripada četvrtom razdoblju, koji je podijeljen na sedam serija. U dolskom nalazu primjerci kat. 1 i 2 pripadaju 2. seriji, a primjerci kat. 3-5 pripadaju 5. seriji.¹⁰ Hemidrahma kat. 1 je iz emisije za područje Cragus. Na licu novca su slova Λ-Y i glava Apolona, a na naličju uz kitaru slova K-P i grančica kao simbol. Hemidrahma kat. 2 pripada emisiji za područje Masicytus. Na naličju novca iznad kitare je legenda ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, a uz nju MA-Σ. Ove dvije hemidrahme datirane su u 42. godinu pr. Kr.¹¹

Hemidrahme kat. 3-5 su iz emisije za područje *Masicytus*. Na licu novca iza Apolonove glave trebala bi biti slova Λ-Y, ali ona su vidljiva samo na novcu kat. 5. Na naličju novca su uz kitaru slova M-A i krilati kaducej. Datirane su u razdoblje od 30. do 27. g.

issued the coins of the Lycian League in the second half of the 1st century BC.

The Dol hoard contains four hemidrachms that are issues of the district of Masicytus, and one hemidrachm that belongs to the district of Cragus. According to the classification of Lycian coins by H. Troxell, in her book "The Coinage of the Lycian League", the standard work on this subject, the hemidrachms from the island of Vis belong to her Period IV. Troxell divided this period into seven series. The coins from Dol in Catalogue nos. 1 and 2 belong to her series 2; those in Catalogue nos. 3 - 5 belong to her series 5.¹⁰

The hemidrachm no. 1 is an issue of Cragus. Apollo's head and the mint initials Λ-Y are on the obverse. The reverse bears a cithara, the mint initials K-P, and a branch representing a symbol. The hemidrachm no. 2 is an issue of Masicytus. Its reverse bears a cithara and the legend ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, and to the left and right of cithara are the mint initials MA-Σ. These two coins have been dated to 42 BC by Troxell.¹¹ The hemidrachms nos. 3-5 belong to the issue of Masicytus. On the obverse, there should be the mint initials Λ-Y. However, these letters are legible only on coin no. 5. On the reverse, besides the cithara in the incuse square, are the mint initials M-A and a winged caduceus. These hemidrachms have been dated between 30 and 27 BC.¹² Their weight ranges from 1.50 g to 2.08 g. The weight of the hemidrachms of Troxell's series 1-6 corresponds to the weight of Roman quinarii minted

8 Troxell 1982, str. 112.

9 Troxell 1982, str. 112.

10 Troxell 1982, str. 111-184.

11 Troxell 1982, str. 184, T. 6.

10 Troxell 1982, p. 111-184.

11 Troxell 1982, p. 184, Pl. 6.

12 Troxell 1982, p. 184, Pl. 6.



Sl. 3. Zlatne pločice s prikazom Apolona iz groba 37 na Martvilu

Fig. 3. Gold appliques bearing the image of Apollo from the Grave 37 of Martvilo necropolis in Issa

pr. Kr.¹² Težina im se kreće od 1,50 do 2,08 grama. Težina hemidrahmi iz serija 1-6 odgovara težini rimskog kvinara iz vremena od oko 48. g. pr. Kr. do 23. g. pr. Kr.¹³ Najkasnija 7. serija, datirana od 19./18. g. pr. Kr. do 43. godine.¹⁴ Njezina je težina reducirana.¹⁵ Troxell smatra da su ove hemidrahme vrlo ujednačene težine emitirane da budu komplementarne s rimskim novcem, i da budu u optjecaju kao republikanski kvinari.¹⁶ Likija je plaćala tribut Rimu četrdesetih godina pr. Kr., a najvjerojatnije i ranije, premda ju je Marko Antonije oslobodio toga nakon bitke kod grada Filipi 42. g. pr. Kr., radi velikih gubitka koje je ranije Likija pretrpjela od Bruta.¹⁷ M. H. Crawford smatra da novac Likijske lige služio za plaće vojnicima ili mornarima.¹⁸

Svih pet primjeraka hemidrahma iz Dola dosta je dobro sačuvano, nisu istrošeni od dugotrajne upotrebe, ali su u manjoj mjeri oštećeni korozijom. Prema stanju sačuvanosti možemo vidjeti da novac nije bio dugo u upotrebi. Oštećenje lica novca najviše je vidljivo na primjercima kat. br. 2. i 4. Avers je na kat. br. 2 i 4 bio oksidiran i prekriven korom nastalom interakcijom sastava tla i metala, ovisno o uvjetima u kojima se novac godinama nalazio. Reversi novca su dosta dobro sačuvani. Stoga mislimo da su ovih pet primjeraka srebrnog novca pohranjeni i čuvani kao vrijedni predmeti, možda baš zbog toga što je na njima bio prikazan Apolon.

Glava boga Apolona na likijskim hemidrahmama, gledajući u isejskom kontekstu, izaziva asocijaciju na prikaz glave Apolona na zlatnim pločicama nađenim

between c. 48 BC and 32 BC.¹³ Troxell's 7th series has been dated from 19/18 BC to AD 43,¹⁴ and comprises coins of reduced weight.¹⁵ According to Troxell, "the districts' hemidrachms, all struck to the same weight, must then have been intended to complement the Roman coinage from the start. They must have been struck to circulate as quinarii from the outset."¹⁶ Although in the 40s BC, and most likely even earlier, Lycia paid tribute to Rome, after the Philippi battle in 42 BC, Marc Antony declared Lycia free from taxes "in the return for what she had suffered from Brutus' invasion."¹⁷ M. H. Crawford has suggested that this League coinage was used to pay Lycian soldiers or sailors.¹⁸

All of the five hemidrachms from Dol are well preserved. They are not worn from long circulation, but they are partially corroded. The damaged face of Apollo can be seen on the coins of Catalogue nos. 2 and 4. Their obverses are oxidized and a crust was formed on them, because of the metal's interaction with substances in the soil and because of the conditions of the space in which the coins were kept or hidden for a very long time. In contrast, their reverses are in good condition. Therefore we think that these silver coins were kept as valuable items. They could also have been hoarded just because they showed the image of Apollo.

The head of Apollo on the hemidrachms evokes the image of Apollo on some gold appliques found in two graves at Issa. Grave 37 of Issa's Martvilo necropolis, which was excavated in 1982, yielded several precious objects: a pair of gold earrings in the form of winged Erotes, earrings made of gold wire, and a pair of gold appliques bearing a repoussé image of Apollo in profile to the right, with perforation holes. They must have been used as pendants or as decorations for a diadem. (Fig. 3) In addition, 12 multicolored glass beads, 11 amber beads, and 59 astragals (hoop whorls of the pig), that were used for a game, were among the grave goods.¹⁹

Two similar gold appliques were found in another grave in Vis, as one learns from a letter that Gvido Lučić-Roki wrote to Abramić on January 27, 1927 (Fig. 4). Lučić-Roki listed the objects found in a grave

12 Troxell 1982, str. 184, T. 6.

13 Troxell 1982, str. 111.

14 Troxell 1982, str. 184, T. 6.

15 Troxell 1982, str. 111.

16 Troxell 1982, str. 123.

17 Troxell 1982, str. 117 i bilj. 232.

18 Crawford 1985, str. 246.

13 Troxell 1982, p. 111.

14 Troxell 1982, p. 184, Pl. 6.


15 Troxell 1982, p. 111.

16 Troxell 1982, p. 123.

17 Troxell 1982, p. 117 and the footnote 232.

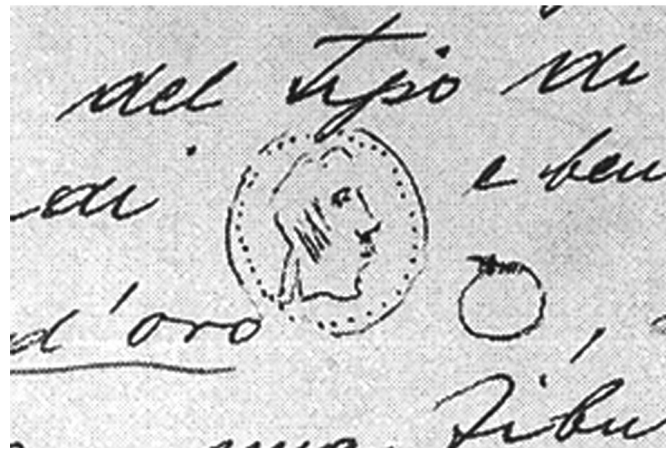
18 Crawford 1985, p. 246.

19 Kirigin 1983, p. 18, 27-32; Kirigin 1983a, p. 22; Kirigin 1986, pp. 39, 293-298.

Vis 27/I/1927
 M. Abramčić!
 La tomba della prima tomba sul terreno
 Radišić ho trovato una seconda intatta
 contenente 20 pezzi tutti piccoli ed
 eleganti in 3 vasi ampore di 20 cm di
 altezza, un cranio abbastanza bene conservato
 nella parte superiore e spazzato dalla
 polvere con tutti i pezzi; due bellissimi
 pezzi oro del tipo di quella aurea soltanto
 più grandi, un occhio d'oro, una moneta d'argento
 di Corcyra, una fibula  intatta,
 un oggetto che non conosco d'altre app. bisogno
 non mi 4 pezzi ed un anello d'altre
 e credo di trovare anche altre tombe.
 Il vecchio mate ha in vita una e
 uomini l'aprile. Questo preso per quarant
 e larro da sera dopo le 8 Qui. 240 - mi tutto
 tempo ancor dovuto per 5 uomini e due donne
 ipse romani (Pionedi) così la prego di
 telegrafarmi subito domani se detta costruirne
 il Caorro venerdì ed in tal caso la prego
 di spedirmi denaro che suo conto mi
 trovare.

Tutti gli oggetti sono da me in
 scritto la sua disposizione, come
 pure conservo quello che trovo.
 Al piacere di leggerla ed in
 attesa di un suo telegramma ma
 gratifica i miei migliori saluti
 G. Lučić

del tipo di
 di
 d'oro
 e bene
 Fibula



Sl. 4. Pismo G. Lučić-Rokija od 27. 1. 1927. M. Abramčić; uvećan detalj pisma s crtežom zlatne pločice s prikazom Apolona

Fig. 4. The letter from G. Lučić-Roki to M. Abramčić dated January 27, 1927; enlarged detail of the drawing of the gold applique bearing the image of Apollo

u dva groba u Isi. U grobu 37 na nekropoli Martvilo u gradu Visu, istraženom 1982. godine, nađeni su brojni raskošni prilozi: dvije zlatne naušnice u obliku krilatih Erota, naušnica od zlatne žice, dvije kružne pločice od zlatnog lima, možda privjesci ogrlice ili dijademe, jer imaju perforaciju, s prikazom glave Apolona u ispučenom reljefu u profilu nadesno, izrađene u tehnicu iskucavanja (sl. 3), dvanaest raznobojnih staklenih perli ogrlice, jedanaest jantarnih perli ogrlice, 59 astragala - pršljenova papaka svinje koji su se koristili za igru.¹⁹ Nalaz dviju jednakih kružnih zlatnih pločica spominje Guido Lučić-Roki u pismu Mihovilu Abramčiću 27. 1. 1927. (sl. 4), kada nabroja nalaze u neaktutoj grobnici na zemlji Radišića.²⁰ Izvještava M. Abramčića da je u grobu nađeno 20 predmeta, svi su mali osim tri amfore visine 20 cm. Spominje dva vrlo lijepa zlatna komada; donosi crtež kružne pločice s prikazom glave Apolona, malu jednostavnu naušnicu od zlatne žice, koju je također nacrtao, srebrni novac Korkire, neoštećenu fibulu, prilaže i njezin crtež, te

in the estate of a landowner named Radišić,²⁰ and he described 20 objects, all of them of small size except for three vessels that were 20 cm in height. Later on in the same letter he mentioned two handsome gold pieces, and he made a sketch of an applique bearing Apollo's image, to show what these objects looked like. In addition, he listed a simple earring made of gold wire, a silver coin of Korkyra, a fibula, and an unidentified metal object that was broken into four parts. He sketched the earring, the fibula and the mysterious object, which was possibly a probe.²¹ M. Nikolanci wrote about the finds of "small, tiny, rounded sheets of gold, which have been pressed on a relief of a coin or a gem. A number of these sheets are kept in the Museum or in private collections in Vis, but they are misshapen and cannot be recognized. These gold appliques may have been strung on a cord, and

19 Kirigin 1983, str. 18, 27-32; Kirigin 1983a, str. 22; Kirigin 1986, str. 39, 293-298.

20 Pismo je sačuvano u muzejskom Arhivu. Zemlja Radišića je na Martvilu, vidi Nikolanci 1969, str. 78.

20 The letter is kept in the Museum Archive. The land belonging to Radišić family is situated on the necropolis of Martvilo in Vis, see Nikolanci 1969, p. 78.

21 About the finds in the Issaeon tombs, including the finds described in the letter from G. Lučić-Roki, see Nikolanci 1969, p. 85.



Sl. 5. Sredozemlje

Fig. 5. Mediterranean

jedan metalni predmet koji mu je nepoznat, razbijen u četiri dijela, koji je također nacrtao; najvjerojatnije se radi o metalnoj sondi.²¹ M. Nikolanci spominje nalaze “tankih okruglih zlatnih listića s petljom za vješanje, koji su, pritisnuti na neki reljef (možda gemu ili novac) nosili taj otisak, ali je to na primjercima koje poznam (nešto u muzeju, a više kod pojedinaca u Visu) već deformiran i ne može se prepoznati. Ovi su listići nanizani na žicu, vjerojatno sačinjavali dijamem na glavi pokojnika”.²²

Zbog očite sličnosti prikaza Apolona na novcu i na zlatnim pločicama, koja se može prepoznati u paralelnim uvojcima kose koja pada niz obraz i blago svinutim lučnim linijama pramenova kose na tjemenu, možemo pretpostaviti da je majstor zlatar koji je izrađivao reljef za kalup s kojeg je skinut otisak na zlatnoj pločici, za predložak imao Apolona s likijskih hemidrahmi ili republikanskog denara (*RRC 369*).²³

21 O nalazima u isejskim grobovima među kojima su i oni o kojima u pismima izvještava G. Lučić-Roki vidi Nikolanci 1969, str. 85.

22 Nikolanci 1969, str. 84. O još jednoj zlatnoj naušnici ili privjesku s Martvila, slične izrade kao i opisane pločice vidi Visonà, članak u ovom časopisu, Dodatak III., sl. 21.

23 Kirigin 1986, str. 39, 295.

probably formed a diadem decorating the head of the buried person”.²²

The image of Apollo on the coins clearly resembles that and on the gold appliques from Vis. It can be recognized by the parallel locks of the hair falling down the cheek of Apollo, and the folded, almost semicircular lines of the folds of hair atop Apollo’s head. Therefore, one could tentatively suggest that a goldsmith used Apollo’s image on the Lycian League hemidrachm or on a Roman Republican denarius (*RRC 369*) as a model for these appliques.²³ The goldsmith imitated his model as best as he could. He meticulously repeated all the details he saw, but he was unable to replicate the classicizing look of Apollo’s face as seen on the coins. Apollo’s image on the appliques is coarse and simplified. This may perhaps be attributed to the unskilled work of a local craftsman. We do not know if his workshop was located at Issa or somewhere else. Since the appliques with Apollo’s image have been found in Issaeen graves, and since the hoard of hemidrachms bearing Apollo’s image was

22 Nikolanci 1969, p. 84. Another gold earring or pendant similar to the gold appliques described above has been found at Martvilo necropolis, cf. Visonà, in this journal, Appendix III, Fig. 21.

23 Kirigin 1986, pp. 39, 295.

Majstor je imitirao lik Apolona s predloška u okviru svojih mogućnosti. Ponovio je pomno sve detalje, ali nije bio sposoban postići fine, klasične linije Apolona lica s novca. Prikaz Apolona na pločicama je rudimentarniji. U tome možemo prepoznati nevješat rad lokalnog majstora. Pitanje je je li radionica za koju je radio bila u Isi ili na drugome mjestu. Budući da su u isejskim grobovima nađene spomenute ukrasne pločice s likom Apolona, i budući da je u blizini Ise nađena ostava novca s likom Apolona, možda možemo razmišljati o mogućnostima da su Isejci osobito štovali Apolona, ili im se sviđao njegov lik kao dekoracija. Ovu hipotezu valja svakako imati na umu, ali je treba potvrditi nalazima dodatnog arheološkog materijala u budućnosti.

Novac je spremljen u doba Augusta, na prijelazu stare u novu eru. Tražimo li konkretan uzrok skrivanja novca te priklonimo li se mišljenju da su novac i vrijednosti uglavnom skrivani u nesigurnim vremenima uzrokovanim ratnim stanjem, onda možemo pretpostaviti da se to dogodilo u vrijeme panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka, 6.-9. godine.

Kad tražimo određenu podudarnost u numizmatičkim nalazima kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. i početka nove ere, vidimo da je grčki novac iz tog vremena evidentiran na Visu, a potječe iz gradova Korinta i Egija.²⁴ Novac iz Korinta pripada emisiji iz 34.-31. g. pr. Kr. (*RPC I*, 1127-1128), a primjerak iz Egija, grada na sjevernoj obali Peloponeza, u Korintskom zaljevu, emitiran je kratko prije 31. g. pr. Kr. (*RPC Suppl. I*, str. 18). Ova dva novca nalaze se u zbirci Arheološkoga muzeja u Splitu, a potječu iz viške zbirke Zanella. Okolnosti i pojedinosti o njihovu nalazu nisu poznate. U ovoj za sada maloj skupini grčkog novca s kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. i početka nove ere, prepoznaju se tragovi starih veza između Ise i grčkih gradova.²⁵ Korint, Egij, Tanagra i Atena su istaknuti gradovi u Grčkoj, daleko bliži Isi od Likije. No morski su putovi nepredvidivi i pomorska trgovina je praktički otvorena za sve relacije. Tako je u Isi iz ranijeg razdoblja nađen novac Aradusa iz Fenicije i novac Ptolemejevića, zatim s otoka Hija (*Hios*) i iz grada Mileta u Joniji u Maloj Aziji.²⁶

Grčki novac iz vremena Augusta nalažen je i na drugim dalmatinskim otocima. Zanimljivo je da je i na Lastovu nađen novac Korinta iz 44. ili 43. pr. Kr. (*RPC I*, 1116).²⁷ U zbirci dominikanskog samostana u Bolu na Braču nalazi se primjerak novca grada Tana-

not found far from the site of Issa, one could surmise that the inhabitants of Issa favored Apollo as deity, or as a decorative image, or both. But this hypothesis, which should be taken into consideration, needs to be corroborated by additional archaeological evidence.

These coins were concealed during the reign of Augustus, between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD. If the general opinion that money and values are hidden in turbulent and insecure times (e.g., in time of war) can be accepted, this hoard presumably was hidden during the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion in AD 6 - 9.

Other coins from Issa datable to the end of the 1st century BC include a bronze of Corinth and one of Aegium.²⁴ The coin of Corinth is an issue datable between 34 and 31 BC (*RPC I*, 1127-1128); the bronze of Aegium was minted shortly before 31 BC (*RPC Suppl. I*, p. 18). These coins come from Apollonio Zanella's collection, which was assembled at Vis, and are kept in Split's Archaeological Museum. The circumstances of their discovery are not known. Traces of the ancient connections between Issa and other Greek cities can be recognized in this small group of coins from the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.²⁵ Corinth, Aegium, Tanagra and Athens are prominent Greek cities much closer to Issa than Lycia. But maritime routes lead to many different destinations. A coin of the Phoenician city of Aradus and one from Miletus in Ionia, as well as one from Chios, and coins of Ptolemies, all of them minted in earlier periods, have also been found at Vis.²⁶

Greek coins from the age of Augustus also come from other Dalmatian islands. A coin of Corinth datable to 44 BC or 43 BC (*RPC I*, 1116) has been found on the island of Lastovo,²⁷ and a coin of Tanagra from the reign of Augustus (*RPC I*, 1314), which was probably found on the island of Brač, is in the collection of the Dominican monastery at Bol.²⁸ A New Style Athenian tetradrachm minted between 86 and 30 BC has recently been found on the Kopila hillfort (in grave 3) on the island of Korčula.²⁹

A coin of Rhodes from on the island of Hvar is the only issue of a Greek city close to Lycia that has been found in Dalmatia thus far.³⁰ (Fig. 5)

24 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 339.

25 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 325-329.

26 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 327-328, bilj. 30; Bonačić Mandinić 2014, str. 217, 14-15.

27 Della Casa *et al.* 2009, str. 125.

24 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, p. 339.

25 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, pp. 325-329.

26 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, pp. 327-328, note 30; Bonačić Mandinić 2014, p. 217, 14-15.

27 Della Casa *et al.* 2009, p. 125.

28 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 1998, p. 337.

29 Radić 2017, p. 94; Radić *et al.* 2017, p. 172.

30 Novak 1924, pp. 655-658.

gre iz Augustova vremena (*RPC I*, 1314).²⁸ Najvjerojatnije je i pronađen na Braču. Jedna atenska tetradrahma iz vremena 86.-30. pr. Kr. nađena je u grobnici 3 na gradinskom naselju Kopila na otoku Korčuli.²⁹

Od emisija novca gradova u blizini Likije, koji su nađeni u srednjoj Dalmaciji, za sada je zabilježen jedino nalaz novca otoka Roda (*Rodos*) s Hvara³⁰ (sl. 5).

Valja još spomenuti da je ovo za sada treći poznati skupni nalaz s Visa. U jednom se nalazi devet komada rimskoga carskoga brončanog novca: dva asa, jedan dupondij i šest sestercija, koji pripadaju carevima Trajanu, Hadrijanu, Antoninu Piju i Marku Aureliju.³¹ Drugi je nalaz 78 komada srebrnoga rimskog carskog novca: 75 denara i tri antoninijana careva i carica od Antonina Pija do Gordijana III.³² Koliko nam je do sada poznato, novac Likijskog saveza nije nađen izvan područja Likije, osim ostave iz Marmarisa (Karija) u jugozapadnoj Turskoj, no taj nalaz je upitan jer je Marmaris važno mjesto za trgovinu novcem.³³ Stoga je mali skupni nalaz hemidrahmi Likijskog saveza sa Visa, skroman po količini, ali značajan jer, pomalo neočekivano, proširuje dosadašnja saznanja o području cirkulacije ovog novca.

Dodatak

Dio pisma Gvida Lučić-Rokija Mihovilu Abramiću 27. 1. 1927. u kojem opisuje nalaze u jednom grobu u Visu.

A distanza della prima tomba sul terreno Radišić ho trovato una seconda intatta contenente 20 pezzi tutto piccoli ad eccezione di 3 belle anfore di 20 cm di altezza, un cranio abbastanza bene conservato dalla parte anteriore e spazzato dalla parte posteriore con tutti pezzi; due bellissimi pezzi oro del tipo di quelli avanti soltanto piu grandi (crtež) e bene conservati, un piccolo orchino d'oro (crtež), una moneta d'argento di Corcyra, una fibula (crtež) intatta, un ogetto che non conosco d'ottone app. disegno (crtež) rotto in 4 pezzi ed un anello d'ottone e credo di trovare anche altre tombe. Il vecchio Mate ha mi visto una e domani l'aprirà.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the hoard of hemidrachms from Dol is the third coin hoard known from the island of Vis to date. One of them contains nine Roman bronze coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and part of this hoard is probably dispersed.³¹ The other hoard comes from controlled excavations, and contains 78 Roman silver coins from Antoninus Pius to Gordian III.³² As far as we know, coins of the Lycian League have previously been found only in the territory of Lycia itself. A hoard from Marmaris in Caria is somehow suspect, because Marmaris is “an important center of the coin trade in southwestern Anatolia, and one should maintain some skepticism about the accuracy of the reputed spot.”³³ For all these reasons, the small hoard of coins of the Lycian League from the island of Vis is a significant find, which contributes in an unexpected way to broadening our knowledge of the area of circulation of these coins.

Appendix

Partial transcription of the letter from Gvido Lučić-Roki to Mihovil Abramić, describing the finds in a grave in Vis (Issa), from January 27, 1927.

A distanza della prima tomba sul terreno Radišić ho trovato una seconda intatta contenente 20 pezzi tutto piccoli ad eccezione di 3 belle anfore di 20 cm di altezza, un cranio abbastanza bene conservato dalla parte anteriore e spazzato dalla parte posteriore con tutti pezzi; due bellissimi pezzi oro del tipo di quelli avanti soltanto piu grandi (sketch) e bene conservati, un piccolo orchino d'oro (sketch), una moneta d'argento di Corcyra, una fibula (sketch) intatta, un ogetto che non conosco d'ottone app. disegno (sketch) rotto in 4 pezzi ed un anello d'ottone e credo di trovare anche altre tombe. Il vecchio Mate ha vi visto una e domani l'aprirà.

28 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 1998, str. 337.

29 Radić 2017, str. 94; Radić *et al.* 2017, str. 172.

30 Novak 1924, str. 655-658.

31 Pegan 1960, str. 75; Mirnik 1981, str. 58, 147.

32 Čargo 2006, str. 171-194; Nađ 2012, str. 407, 55.

33 Troxell 1982, str. 127.

31 Pegan 1960, p. 75; Mirnik 1981, pp. 58, 147.

32 Čargo 2006, pp. 171-194; Nađ 2012, p. 407, 55.

33 Troxell 1982, p. 127.



T. I. Hemidrahme Likijske lige; A - prije čišćenja, B - poslije čišćenja
Pl. I. The Hemidrachms of Lycian league; A - before cleaning, B - after cleaning

KATALOG (T. I.)

1. hemidrahma, Cragus, 42. g. pr. Kr.
av) glava Apolona s lovorovim vijencem i tenijom d., Λ -(Y)
rv) kitara u utisnutom kvadratu, K-P, simbol grančica desno
AR, 2,08 g, 15x17 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 89, *RPC* 3302
Inv. AMS 15012
2. hemidrahma, Masicytus, 42. g. pr. Kr.
av) glava Apolona s lovorovim vijencem d.
rv) kitara u utisnutom kvadratu, Λ YKIΩN MA-Σ
AR, 1,50 g, 16 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 91, *RPC* 3302
Inv. AMS 15015
3. hemidrahma, Masicytus, 30.-27. g. pr. Kr.
av) glava Apolona s lovorovim vijencem d., (Λ -Y)
rv) kitara u utisnutom kvadratu, M-A, simbol krilati kaducej desno
AR, 1,76 g, 15 x 16 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 109, *RPC* 3305
Inv. AMS 15014
4. hemidrahma, Masicytus, 30.-27. g. pr. Kr.
av) glava Apolona s lovorovim vijencem d., (Λ -Y), oštećen korozijom.
rv) kitara u utisnutom kvadratu, M-A, simbol krilati kaducej lijevo (T. I. uvećan)
AR, 1,54 g, 16 x 17 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 109, *RPC* 3305
Inv. AMS 15016
5. hemidrahma, Masicytus, 30.-27. g. pr. Kr.
av) glava Apolona s lovorovim vijencem d., Λ -(Y)
rv) kitara u utisnutom kvadratu, M-A, simbol krilati kaducej lijevo
AR, 1,81 g, 17 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 109, *RPC* 3305
Inv. AMS 15013

CATALOGUE (Pl. I.)

1. hemidrachm, Cragus, 42 BC
obv) Λ -(Y), Head of Apollo wearing laurel wreath and taenia r.
rv) K-P to either side of cithara in incuse square; to r., branch.
AR, 2,08 g, 15x17 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 89, *RPC* 3302
Inv. AMS 15012
2. hemidrachm, Masicytus, 42. BC
obv) Laureate head of Apollo r.
rv) Λ YKIΩN MA-Σ, cithara in incuse square
AR, 1,50 g, 16 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 91, *RPC* 3302
Inv. AMS 15015
3. hemidrachm, Masicytus, 30-27. BC
obv) (Λ -Y), Laureate head of Apollo r.
rv) M-A, cithara in incuse square, symbol winged caduceus r.
AR, 1,76 g, 15x16 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 109, *RPC* 3305
Inv. AMS 15014
4. hemidrachm, Masicytus, 30-27. BC
obv) (Λ -Y), Laureate head of Apollo r., corroded.
rv) M-A, cithara in incuse square, symbol winged caduceus l. (Pl. I. enlarged)
AR, 1,54 g, 16x17 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 109, *RPC* 3305
Inv. AMS 15016
5. hemidrachm, Masicytus, 30-27. BC
obv) Λ -(Y), Laureate head of Apollo r.
rv) M-A, cithara in incuse square, symbol winged caduceus l.
AR, 1,81 g, 17 mm, \uparrow
Troxell 109, *RPC* 3305
Inv. AMS 15013

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RPC</i>	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripolles, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , London - Paris 1992
<i>RPC Suppl. I</i>	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripolles, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , Supplement I, London - Paris 1998
<i>RRC</i>	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , Cambridge 1974

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