

Aachenski mir i ranosrednjovjekovna Hrvatska – numizmatički izvori*

Predmet rada je novac koji je u drugoj polovici 8. i u prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća dotjecao na područje ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske. Ponajviše je to zlatni bizantski novac, ali i rijetki primjerci karolinškog i arapskog novca. Riječ je o dragocjenim numizmatičkim izvorima koji, stavljani u političko-gospodarski kontekst, u velikoj mjeri pridonose rasvjetljavanju razdoblja hrvatske povijesti u kojem se dogodio mirovni sporazum u Aachenu.

Ključne riječi: srednjovjekovna numizmatika, ranosrednjovjekovna Hrvatska, bizantski novac, karolinški novac, arapski novac

Treaty of Aachen and early medieval Croatia – numismatic sources

The topic of this paper is coinage flowing into the area of early mediaeval Croatia in the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century. The bulk concerns gold Byzantine coins, as well as some rare specimens of Carolingian and Arabian coins. They are valuable numismatic sources, which, put in the political-economic context, greatly contribute to a better understanding of the period of Croatian history at the time of the Aachen peace treaty.

Keywords: mediaeval numismatics, early mediaeval Croatia, Byzantine coins, Carolingian coins, Arabian coins

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Druga polovica 8. i prva polovica 9. stoljeća značajno je razdoblje hrvatske povijesti. To je doba ubrzanog društvenog razvoja, kada Hrvatska postaje osobit politički čimbenik na međunarodnoj sceni, igrajući važnu ulogu u srazu svjetskih sila, Bizanta i Franaka. Razdoblje je inače siromašno pisanim izvorima pa je od neprocjenjive važnosti upravo arheološka građa kao jedinstveno svjedočanstvo tog vremena. Posebno mjesto među tom iznimno vrijednom građom zauzimaju numizmatički nalazi, čiji pregled donosimo u ovome radu.

Na početku se moramo dotaknuti nalaza zlatnih solidi bizantskog cara Konstantina V. Kopronima, premda o toj temi već postoji obimna literatura.¹ Velika koncentracija takvog novca na prostoru međuriječja Zrmanje i Cetine odavno je privukla pozornost stručnjaka i svakako spada među najintrigantnija pitanja ranosrednjovjekovne numizmatike u južnoj Hrvatskoj.²

Muzeji u južnoj Hrvatskoj čuvaju brojne primjerke zlatnika Konstantina V., no nažalost za većinu nisu poznati podaci o mjestu ili okolnostima nalaza.³ Najpoznatiji lokalitet na kojemu su pronađeni svakako je Biskupija kod Knina. Ondje su na položaju Crkvina u nekim od grobova južno od ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Marije uz brojne priloge pronađeni u funkciji obola.⁴ S istog lokali-

The second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century is a significant period in Croatian history. This was an era of rapid social development, when Croatia became a special political factor on the international scene, with an important role in the collision of two world forces, viz. Byzantium and the Franks. Given that written sources from this period are rather scanty, archaeological evidence is of invaluable importance as its unique testimony. A special place among this extremely valuable material belongs to numismatic finds, which will be reviewed in this paper.

First we should consider the finds of gold solidi of Byzantine Emperor Constantine V Copronymus, although this topic has already been extensively covered in the literature.¹ A high concentration of such coins in the area between the rivers of Zrmanja and Cetina came to the attention of experts long ago and certainly counts as one of the most intriguing questions in early medieval numismatics in southern Croatia.²

Museums in southern Croatia keep numerous gold coins of Constantine V, but sadly the majority lacks information on locations or circumstances of their discovery.³ The most renowned site of such

¹ O ovoj problematici detaljno sam referirao godine 2007. u Krakovu, na međunarodnom skupu *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe*. Vidi: Šeparović 2008.

² Avers sadrži prikaz poprsja Konstantina V. i njegova sina Lava IV. *en face*. Obojica su odjevena u hlamidu i nose stemu. Iznad njihovih glava je križ. Legenda sadrži imena tih suvladara. Na reversu je poprsje Lava III., oca Konstantina V., *en face*, odjevenog u *loros*, sa stemom i križem u desnoj ruci. Uokolo prikaza je legenda. Po svojim osobinama novac pripada tipu koji se kovao u kovnici grada Sirakuze, osobito aktivnoj u drugoj polovici osmog stoljeća. Vremenski raspon u kojem su emitirani ovakvi primjerci je od godine 760. do Kopronimove smrti godine 775. Ovaj tip novca kovan je u vrijeme suvladarstva Konstantina V. Kopronima i njegova sina Lava IV. Kopronim je Lava IV. proglasio Augustom, odnosno uzeo ga za suvladara još godine 751., kad je ovaj bio dvogodišnji dječak. Datacija je određena u zadnju trećinu Kopronimove vladavine, prema prikazu Lava IV. kao mladića (**sl. 1**).

³ Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika posjeduje ukupno 22 primjerka, Arheološki muzej u Splitu 48 primjeraka, Arheološki muzej u Zadru i Gradski muzej u Šibeniku po 2 primjerka. S područja Makarskog primorja potječe probušeni Kopronimov zlatnik ovog tipa koji je sekundarno upotrijebljen kao nakit, privjesak u narodnoj nošnji.

⁴ Petrincec 2009, str. 66, 68, vidi ondje ostalu literaturu.

¹ I elaborated this topic in detail at the 2007 *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe* conference in Krakow. Cf. Šeparović 2008.

² The obverse of the coin depicts the busts of Constantine V and his son Leo IV *en face*. They are both dressed in a chlamys and wear a stemma. Above their heads is a cross. The legend gives the names of the two co-rulers. The reverse shows a bust of Leo III, father of Constantine V, *en face*, dressed in a *loros*, wearing a stemma and holding a cross in his right hand. The legend is written around the depiction. By its characteristics, this coin belongs to the type struck in the mint of the city of Syracuse, which was especially active in the second half of the eighth century. The time span in which such specimens were emitted ranges from 760 until the death of Copronymus in 775. This type of money was minted during the co-reign of Constantine Copronymus and his son Leo IV. Copronymus pronounced Leo IV as Augustus, and made him his co-ruler in 751, when the latter was a two-year-old boy. The specimen is dated to the last third of Copronymus's reign, given the depiction of Leo IV as a young man (**Fig. 1**).

³ The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments possesses a total of 22 specimens, the Archaeological Museum in Split 48 pieces, while the Archaeological Museum in Zadar and the Šibenik City Museum each keep 2 coins. A pierced gold coin of Copronymus of this type, which had been in secondary use as a piece of jewellery or an ornament on a folk costume, originates from the coastal area of Makarska.



Sl. 1. Solid bizantskog cara Konstantina V. Kopronima
Fig. 1 Solidus of Byzantine Emperor Constantine V Copronymus

teta potječe i jedan primjerak pronađen u ljeto godine 2000., za vrijeme revizijskih istraživanja, ali izvan arheološkog konteksta.⁵ Pretpostaviti je da i on potječe iz nekog od grobova. Svi spomenuti biskupijski primjerci čuvaju se u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.⁶ U istome Muzeju je i jedan Kopronimov solid pronađen na jugozapadnoj strani Bribirske glavice za arheoloških istraživanja 1980. godine.⁷ Arheološki muzej u Splitu čuva četiri takva zlatnika s poznatim mjestom nalaza. Jedan je dio poznatog zlatnog nakita hrvatske odličnice iz Trilja,⁸ dok ostali potječu iz Bajagića,⁹ Muća¹⁰ i Garduna.¹¹ Navodno se u privatnom vlasništvu u Sinju nalaze još neki primjerci koji potječu iz Bajagića.¹² U privatnom vlasništvu je i jedan primjerak onovremene imitacije solida Konstantina V. pronađen na Klisu.¹³ Taj nam je osobito važan jer je riječ o rijetkom primjerku iz okolice Splita s poznatim mjestom nalaza. Muzej grada Šibenika čuva dva zlatnika Konstantina V. otkrivena za istraživanja starohrvatskih grobalja u Dubravcima i Vaćanima

finds is certainly Biskupija near Knin. There, at the Crkvina site, coins were found as obols in some graves south of the early medieval church of St. Mary, together with copious grave goods.⁴ One other specimen, found in the summer of 2000 during revision investigations, originates from the same location, but is without the archaeological context.⁵ It can be assumed that it is also from one of the graves. All of the mentioned specimens from Biskupija are kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.⁶ The same Museum also holds one solidus of Copronymus found in the south-west side of Bribirska glavica during archaeological investigations in 1980.⁷ The Archaeological Museum in Split keeps four such gold coins whose find sites are known. One is part of the well-known gold jewellery of a Croatian noble woman from Trilj,⁸ while the others originate from Bajagić,⁹ Muć¹⁰ and Gardun.¹¹ Allegedly, there are some more privately owned specimens in Sinj, originally from Bajagić.¹² Yet another coin is privately owned, an imitation of a Constantine V's solidus from that time, found in

⁵ Gudelj 2000, str. 239.

⁶ Delonga 1981.

⁷ Delonga 1995, str. 79, 80.

⁸ Karaman 1921.

⁹ Milošević 1984, str. 185.

¹⁰ AMS inv. br. 863. Pronađen 1937. godine.

¹¹ AMS inv. br. 917. Pronađen 1890. godine. Imitacija. Težina: 2,23 g.

¹² Šeparović 2003, str. 130.

¹³ O okolnostima nalaza ovog novca vidi u: Šeparović 2003, str. 129-130. Njegova težina je 3,09 g.

⁴ Petrinec 2009, pp. 66, 68; cf. bibliography therein.

⁵ Gudelj 2000, p. 239.

⁶ Delonga 1981.

⁷ Delonga 1995, pp. 79, 80.

⁸ Karaman 1921.

⁹ Milošević 1984, p. 185.

¹⁰ AMS Inv. No 863. Found in 1937.

¹¹ AMS Inv. No 917. Found in 1890. An imitation. Weight: 2.23 g.

¹² Šeparović 2003, p. 130.

kod Skradina.¹⁴ Riječ je o grobnim nalazima koji su, poput onih u Biskupiji, bili u funkciji obola (sl. 2).

U istome Muzeju trebao bi se nalaziti još jedan primjerak, pronađen u mjestu Danilu, na položaju Šematorij, šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća.¹⁵ Jedini primjerak zlatnika Konstantina V. Kopronima iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru s poznatim podacima o mjestu nalaza potječe s groblja kod crkve sv. Križa u Ninu.¹⁶ Za drugi primjerak nije sigurno gdje je pronađen, no s velikom sigurnošću možemo pretpostaviti da potječe iz okolice Zadra.¹⁷ U staroj pak muzejskoj inventarnoj knjizi nalazimo novac koji po opisu upravo odgovara solidu Konstantina V. sirakuške kovnice.¹⁸ Novac je za Muzej nabavljen godine 1903., a kao mjesto nalaza navodi se Islam Latinski.¹⁹ Nažalost, taj zlatnik podijelio je sudbinu ostalog novca iz ove nekoć bogate zbirke koja je dijelom nestala u bombardiranju, a dijelom ju je otuđila talijanska vojska za vrijeme Drugoga svjetskog rata.²⁰ U novije vrijeme nalaz solida Konstantina V. zabilježen je u Podvršju kod Zadra. Ovaj se primjerak čuva u privatnom vlasništvu.²¹

Prema podacima iz *Starinarskih dnevnika* Luje Maruna, osim poznatih nalaza u Biskupiji zlatnici Konstantina V. spominju se još na devet mjesta. To su Prevljes,²² Topolje (Mađarlija)²³ i Vrpolje (Lug, Brgeljuša)²⁴ kod Knina, zatim Gradac (Rogovuša) kod Drniša,²⁵ Gornji Utori kod Unešića,²⁶ Dubravice²⁷ i Piramatovci²⁸ kod Skradina, Štikovo (vinogradi)²⁹ na Svilaji te nepoznati položaj na Dinari kod zaselka Glavaš iznad izvora Cetine.³⁰ Mo-



Sl. 2. Dubravice, grob 34, položaj nalaza solida Konstantina V. Preuzeto iz: Gunjača 1987, 149.
Fig. 2 Dubravice, grave 34, position of the found solidus of Constantine V. Taken from: Gunjača 1987, 149.

Klis.¹³ This one is particularly important to us, since it is a rare example from the greater Split area with a known find site. The City Museum in Šibenik keeps two gold coins of Constantine V, discovered during an investigation of old-Croatian graveyards in Dubravice and Vačani near Skradin.¹⁴

They are grave finds used as obols, like the ones in Biskupija (fig. 2). The same Museum should also have another specimen, found in the 1960s in Danilo, at the Šematorij location.¹⁵ The only gold coin of Constantine V Copronymus from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar with information on its find site originates from the graveyard by the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin.¹⁶ It is not certain where the other specimen was found, but we can assume with great certainty that it originates from the greater Zadar area.¹⁷ An old inventory book of the Museum lists a coin whose description aptly corresponds to

¹⁴ Za primjerak iz Dubravica vidi u: Gunjača 1989, str. 149, sl. 3; primjerak iz Vačana bio je izložen na izložbi *Arheološka istraživanja u Šibensko-kninskoj županiji od 1995. do 2015. godine* u Muzeju grada Šibenika u listopadu 2015. godine. Šeparović 2017, str. 1010.

¹⁵ Šeparović 2003, str. 130.

¹⁶ Belošević 1969, str. 210; Belošević 1980, str. 130, 131. Novac je pronađen u grobu 140 u pokojnikovoj šaci.

¹⁷ Jurić 1987, str. 78.

¹⁸ Kat. br. 333.

¹⁹ Demo 1994, str. 47.

²⁰ Jurić 1987, str. 65-66.

²¹ Uglešić 2009, str. 147.

²² Marun 1998, str. 104.

²³ Marun 1998, str. 111.

²⁴ Marun 1998, str. 126.

²⁵ Marun 1998, str. 111.

²⁶ Marun 1998, str. 94.

²⁷ Marun 1998, str. 221.

²⁸ Delonga 1981, str. 215.

²⁹ Marun 1998, str. 111.

³⁰ Marun 1998, str. 94, 104, 111, 126, 221, 247.

¹³ For the circumstances of discovery of this coin find cf. Šeparović 2003, pp. 129-130. It weighs 3.09 g.

¹⁴ The piece from Vačani was part of the October 2015 exhibition of *Archaeological Investigations in the Šibenik-Knin County from 1995 to 2015* in the Šibenik City Museum. Šeparović 2017, p. 1010.

¹⁵ Šeparović 2003, p. 130.

¹⁶ Belošević 1969, p. 210; Belošević 1980, pp. 130, 131. The coin was found in grave 140 in the fist of a deceased person.

¹⁷ Jurić 1987, p. 78.

guće je da se neki od navedenih primjeraka kriju među onima koji su u inventar Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika uneseni bez podataka o mjestu nalaza. Recimo ovdje i to da Marun spominje nalaze bizantskih zlatnika koje poblize ne određuje, a koji bi mogli pripadati Konstantinu V. Kopronimu, u Tepljuhu te u Oklaju kod Drniša.³¹ Jedan manjkavi podatak iz pisma V. Ardalića Marunu o materijalu iz srednjovjekovnih grobova u Morpolači otvara malu mogućnost da je i na tome mjestu pronađen takav tip novca.³²

U Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu čuvaju se dva zlatnika Konstantina V. za koje se s velikom sigurnošću može reći da potječu s prostora Krbavskog polja u Lici, što, dakako, naglašava važnost tog inače slabo istraženog dijela ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske.³³ Zanimljivo je da se u istome Muzeju čuvaju i dva primjerka nešto ranijih zlatnika Lava III. i Konstantina V. Jedan je iz Donjeg Vaganca kod Ličkog Petrovog Sela,³⁴ a drugi najvjerojatnije iz okolice Srba.³⁵ Budući da je riječ o zapadnim kovovima i uzimajući u obzir dužinu optjecaja, nije nemoguće da su i oni na ove prostore prispjeli zajedno sa sirakuškim solidima u drugoj polovici 8. stoljeća.³⁶

Tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja ranosrednjovjekovnoga groblja na položaju Brekinjova Kosa kod Gline pronađen je sirakuški solid Konstantina V.³⁷ Novac je činio dio luksuznog inventara groba osobe visokog ranga koji po svemu jako podsjeća na poznati nalaz iz sarkofaga u Biskupiji kod Knina.³⁸

solidi of Constantine V from the Syracuse mint.¹⁸ The coin was procured for the Museum in 1903, with Islam Latinski indicated as its find site.¹⁹ Unfortunately, this gold coin shared the fate of the rest of the coinage from this once rich collection, partly disappeared in bombing, and partly taken by the Italian Army during World War II.²⁰ More recently, a solidus of Constantine V was found in Podvršje near Zadar. This specimen is privately owned.²¹

In his *Starinarski dnevnik*, Lujo Marun mentioned nine more find sites of Constantine V's gold coins, in addition to the ones known in Biskupija. These are Prevjės,²² Topolje (Mađarlija)²³ and Vrpolje (Lug, Brgeljuša)²⁴ near Knin, followed by Gradac (Rogovuša) near Drniš,²⁵ Gornji Utori near Unešić,²⁶ Dubravice²⁷ and Piramatovci²⁸ near Skradin, Štikovo (vineyards)²⁹ on Mt. Svilaja, and an unknown site on Mt. Dinara near the hamlet of Glavaš above the spring of the Cetina River.³⁰ It is possible that some of the mentioned specimens are among those recorded in the inventories of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments with no information on their find sites. We should also take note that Marun mentioned Byzantine gold coins, albeit without detailed specifications, found in Tepljuh and Oklaj near Drniš, possibly belonging to Constantine V Copronymus.³¹ A vague piece of information from a letter of V. Ardalić to Marun concerning the material from medieval graves in Morpolača leaves a slight possibility that such type of coins had also been found at that location.³²

³¹ Marun 1998, str. 103, 128. Marun na ovim mjestima spominje ostrižene, odnosno istrižene zlatnike, što ukazuje na mogućnost da je upravo riječ o inače često obrezivanom novcu Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. Štoviše, pišući o nalazu iz Tepljuha, Marun tvrdi da je riječ o bizantskom novcu, pri čemu navodi i početak careva imena – *Constan...* Kao točno mjesto nalaza ovog primjerka spominje oranicu Miloša Paklara pod Petrovcem.

³² Ardalićevo pismo od 19. 2. 1908.

³³ Mirnik 2009, str. 486-487.

³⁴ Mirnik 2009, str. 486-487.

³⁵ Mirnik 2001, str. 77.

³⁶ Na ustupljenim fotografijama novca iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu zahvaljujem kolegama I. Mirniku i M. Nađu.

³⁷ Madiraca *et al.* 2017, str. 164-182, sl. 14.

³⁸ Novac na reversu ima oznaku oficine, grčko slovo *theta*, koja je zabilježena na više primjeraka Kopronimovih solidi iz Biskupije, Like, Podvršja i Mostara.

¹⁸ Cat. No 333.

¹⁹ Demo 1994, p. 47.

²⁰ Jurić 1987, pp. 65–66.

²¹ Uglešić 2009, p. 147.

²² Marun 1998, p. 104.

²³ Marun 1998, p. 111.

²⁴ Marun 1998, p. 126.

²⁵ Marun 1998, p. 111.

²⁶ Marun 1998, p. 94.

²⁷ Marun 1998, p. 221.

²⁸ Delonga 1981, p. 215.

²⁹ Marun 1998, p. 111.

³⁰ Marun 1998, pp. 94, 104, 111, 126, 221, 247.

³¹ Marun 1998, pp. 103, 128. With regard to these locations, Marun mentioned *sheared or trimmed* gold coins, indicating a possibility that these were the very oft-clipped coins of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV. Moreover, in his writings on the Tepljuh find, Marun claimed they were Byzantine coins, quoting the initial letters of the Emperor's name – *Constan...* He mentioned Miloš Paklar's plough-land near Petrovac as the exact find site of this specimen.

³² Ardalić's letter dated 19. 2. 1908.

Nalazi zlatnika Konstantina V., premda rijetki, zabilježeni su i izvan matičnog područja ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine. Tako je jedan primjerak pronađen u mjestu Zasada kraj Bileće,³⁹ a jedan u Suđurđu na otoku Šipanu.⁴⁰ Sa šireg područja Mostara potječe primjerak koji se čuva u Zemaljskom muzeju BiH u Sarajevu.⁴¹ Zanimljivo je da u bizantskim gradovima na istočnoj jadranskoj obali nisu zabilježeni nalazi novca tog vremena, što samo govori o zamiranju robno-novčane privrede na tim prostorima. Iznimka je nalaz solida beneventanskog vojvode Grimoalda iz okolice Trogira, koji ukazuje na određene kontakte između dviju jadranskih obala.⁴²

Brojni nalazi zlatnih solida Konstantina V. Kopronima u međuriječju rijeka Zrmanje i Cetine potaknuli su mnoge rasprave, u kojima ih se pokušalo smjestiti u povijesno-kronološki okvir. Ovdje je važno kratko se osvrnuti na činjenicu da su ti solidi dijelom bili u funkciji obola, što je fenomen kojim su se bavili mnogi stručnjaci. Mi na ovome mjestu nećemo detaljno govoriti o tome, nego samo ustvrditi da su Hrvati taj običaj preuzeli sa Zapada, ali sigurno prije godine 800. Običaj stavljanja obola zadržao se sve do sredine 9. stoljeća, o čemu svjedoči grob 62 na Ždrijcu u Ninu sa srebrnim denarom Lotara I., tako da su i Kopronimovi zlatnici od trenutka dospijea u hrvatske krajeve mogli biti u funkciji obola još barem u prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća.⁴³

Puno je važnije kronološko pitanje, što je usko povezano s datacijom slojeva u kojima su takvi novci pronađeni. Tu je popriličnu zabunu izazvala ekspertiza novca iz biskupijskog sarkofaga koji je Šime Ljubić pogrešno pripisao Baziliju I.⁴⁴ Ljubić se naime kod determinacije novca služio tadašnjom literaturom, tj. Sabatierom.⁴⁵ On doslovno prepisuje opis novca objavljenog kod Sabatiera kao novac

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb keeps two gold coins of Constantine V which can be said with great certainty to originate from Krbavsko polje in Lika, which definitely underlines the importance of this otherwise poorly researched part of early mediaeval Croatia.³³ It is interesting to note that the same Museum also holds two specimens of somewhat earlier gold coins of Leo III and Constantine V. One is from Donji Vaganac near Ličko Petrovo Selo,³⁴ and the other most likely from the surroundings of Srb.³⁵ Since these are western mints, and taking into account the length of circulation, it cannot be ruled out that they were introduced in this region together with Syracuse solidi in the second half of the eighth century.³⁶

A Syracuse coin of Constantine V was found during the rescue archaeological investigations of an early medieval graveyard at the Brekinjova Kosa location near Glina.³⁷ The coin was part of a luxurious sepulchral inventory for a high-ranking person, reminiscent in all aspects of the well-known artefact from the sarcophagus in Biskupija near Knin.³⁸

Constantine V's gold coins were also found, admittedly rarely, beyond the territory proper of the early mediaeval Croatian Principality. Thus, one specimen was found in the village of Zasada near Bileća,³⁹ and another in Suđurađ on the island of Šipan.⁴⁰ The specimen held in the BiH National Museum in Sarajevo is from the greater Mostar area.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that no coins from the era have been found in Byzantine towns on the eastern Adriatic coast, which confirms the fading of

³³ Mirnik 2009, pp. 486–487.

³⁴ Mirnik 2009, pp. 486–487.

³⁵ Mirnik 2001, p. 77.

³⁶ I would like to thank my colleagues I. Mirnik and M. Nađ for providing me with photographs of coins from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

³⁷ Madiraca *et al.* 2017, pp. 164–182, Fig. 14.

³⁸ The reverse of the coin bears the officina mark – the Greek letter *theta* – as found on a number of solidi of Copronymus from Biskupija, Lika, Podvršje and Mostar.

³⁹ Miletić 1980, p. 287. Zasada is a settlement south of Dabarsko polje and is in fact closer to Stolac than to Bileća.

⁴⁰ The specimen is owned by the Svilokos family. For more details on the circumstances of discovery of this find cf. Lupis, Ničetić 2001, p. 73.

⁴¹ This solidus was presented at the *Pecunia non olet – Circulation of Coins in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Fourth Century BC to the 19th Century* exhibition, curated by Dr. Sc. Ana Marić from the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³⁹ Miletić 1980, str. 287. Zasada je naselje smješteno s južne strane Dabarskog polja i zapravo je bliže Stocu nego Bileći.

⁴⁰ Primjerak je u vlasništvu obitelji Svilokos. Poblježe o okolnostima nalaza vidi u: Lupis, Ničetić 2001, str. 73.

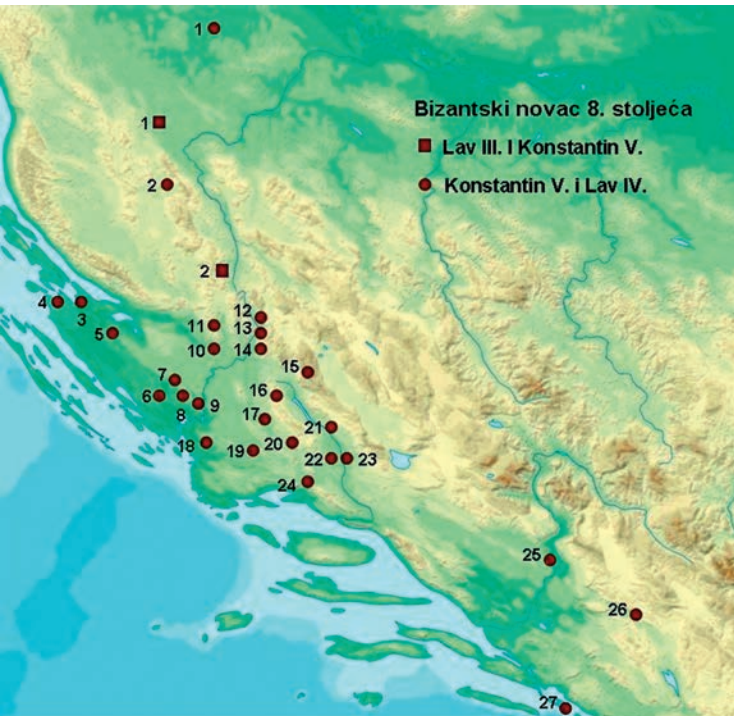
⁴¹ Ovaj solid predstavljen je na izložbi *Pecunia non olet – cirkulacija novca na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine od 4. stoljeća prije Krista do 19. stoljeća* autorice dr. sc. Ane Marić iz Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine.

⁴² Ivanišević 1980, str. 969; Delonga 1985, str. 102, 109.

⁴³ Detaljno o problematici obola vidi u: Petrincec 2009, str. 198, 199.

⁴⁴ Radić 1896, str. 74.

⁴⁵ Sabatier 1862.



Karta rasprostranjenosti bizantskog novca 8. stoljeća
Map of distribution of Byzantine coinage of the eighth century

Lav III. i Konstantin V. – 1. Donji Vaganac 2. Srb; Konstantin V. i Lav IV. – 1. Bojna (Brekinjova kosa), 2. Udbina (okolica), 3. Podvršje, 4. Nin, 5. Islam Latinski, 6. Piramatovci, 7. Bribir, 8. Vačani, 9. Dubravice, 10. Mokro Polje, 11. Prevljes, 12. Vrpolje, 13. Topolje, 14. Biskupija, 15. Glavaš, 16. Štikovo, 17. Gradac, 18. Danilo Gornje, 19. Gornje Utoje, 20. Muć, 21. Bajagić, 22. Gardun, 23. Trilj, 24. Klis, 25. Mostar (okolica), 26. Zasada, 27. Suđurađ

Bazilija I.⁴⁶ Riječ je o novcu koji je ikonografski istovjetan sirakuškim kovovima Konstantina V., kojih pak kod Sabatiera nema. U pismu Luje Maruna Šimi Ljubiću novac se naziva Bazilijevim, a u opisu je jasno da je riječ o novcu Konstantina V. Kopronima objavljenom u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti*, jer on navodi siglu koja je jasno vidljiva na fotografiji tog novca.⁴⁷ Dakle, posve je očito da je Ljubić pogriješio i da je u sarkofagu novac Konstantina V., a nikako Bazilija I.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Sabatier 1862, str. 109-110.

⁴⁷ Radić 1896a, str. 146, sl. 2. Zahvalnost dugujem pok. kolegi Mati Zekanu koji mi je skrenuo pozornost na ovaj dokument.

⁴⁸ Novac s fotografije poslan je kasnije i kolegi B. Overbecku (*Staatliche Münzsammlung* u Münchenu), koji je potvrdio da je riječ o sirakuškom solidu Konstantina V. Kopronima - pismo od 14. 11. 1978. (arhiv MHAS-a).

goods-monetary economy in the region. The exception is a solidus of Grimoald, duke of Benevento, found in the greater Trogir area, suggesting certain contacts between the two Adriatic coasts.⁴²

Numerous discoveries of gold solidi of Constantine V Copronymus between the rivers of Zrmanja and Cetina have initiated many a discussion in an attempt to place them in a historical-chronological framework. We should now briefly refer to the fact that these solidi were partly used as obols – a phenomenon researched by a number of experts. We will not discuss it in detail here, but merely note that this custom was adopted by the Croats from the West, definitely before the year 800. The custom of placing obols continued until the mid-ninth century, as evidenced by grave 62 at Ždrijac in Nin with a silver denarius of Lothair I, meaning that gold coins of Copronymus were possibly used as obols from the moment of their introduction in the Croatian territories, at least in the first half of the ninth century.⁴³

Much more important is the question of chronology, which is closely tied with the dating of strata in which such coins were found. Quite a confusion was caused here by the expertise of a coin from the Biskupija sarcophagus, when Šime Ljubić wrongly attributed it to Basil I.⁴⁴ Namely, when determining coins, Ljubić used to consult the literature of the time, viz. Sabatier.⁴⁵ He literally copied the published Sabatier's description, stating that the coin was Basil I's.⁴⁶ This coin is identical in iconography with those of Constantine V from Syracuse mints, which were not covered by Sabatier. In a letter of Lujo Marun to Šime Ljubić, the coin is referred to as Basil's, whereas the description clearly indicates this is a coin of Constantine V Copronymus as published in the *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* journal, since he pointed out a siglum that is clearly visible on the photograph of the coin.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is quite obvious that Ljubić made a mistake and that the coin from the sarcophagus is of Constantine V, and certainly not of Basil I.⁴⁸

⁴² Ivanišević 1980, p. 969; Delonga 1985, pp. 102, 109.

⁴³ For more details on the topic of obols cf. Petrinec 2009, pp. 198, 199.

⁴⁴ Radić 1896, p. 74.

⁴⁵ Sabatier 1862.

⁴⁶ Sabatier 1862, pp. 109–110.

⁴⁷ Radić 1896a, p. 146, Fig. 2. I would like to thank my late colleague Mate Zekan, who drew my attention to this document.

⁴⁸ The coin from the photograph was later sent to our colleague B. Overbeck (*Staatliche Münzsammlung*

Kakva je zapravo datacijska vrijednost zlatnika Konstantina V.? Lj. Karamanu⁴⁹ i Z. Vinskom⁵⁰ ti su zlatnici poslužili kao argument za približnu dataciju biskupijskih grobova južno od bazilike u kraj 8. stoljeća. Da oni imaju datacijsku vrijednost, smatrala je i U. Giesler, koja je po njima te grobove datirala u zadnju trećinu 8. stoljeća.⁵¹ Vinski je poslije korigirao svoje mišljenje podižući dataciju nekih grobova čak do sredine 9. stoljeća,⁵² prihvativši teoriju J. Wernera, koji je smatrao da zlatnici potječu iz nekakvog obiteljskog blaga do kojeg je na nepoznat način došao vladajući sloj Hrvata te zlatnike polagao u grobove tijekom cijeloga devetog stoljeća, te da pa stoga oni nemaju nikakvu datacijsku vrijednost.⁵³ Do istih zaključaka došla je i P. Korošec, koja je poznati nalaz iz Trilja datirala u drugu polovicu 9. stoljeća, te u najnovije vrijeme i A. Milošević, pokušavajući dokazati da je u biskupijskom sarkofagu pokopan knez Branimir.⁵⁴ M. Petrinec, pak, uspoređujući sirakuške i konstantinopolske kovove, smatra da je vremenski okvir u kojem treba računati s dospijećem zlatnika u hrvatske krajeve upravo suvladavina Konstantina V. i Lava IV., nakon čega se taj novac koristio kao dragocjenost i polagao u grobove sljedećih nekoliko desetljeća, pa samim time ne treba odbaciti mogućnost da on ima datacijsku vrijednost za grobove u kojima je otkriven i općenito za groblja s poganskim načinom pokapanja.⁵⁵ Autorica ukazuje i na neodrživost teze o obiteljskom blagu, iz jednostavnog razloga što su nalazi Kopronimova novca raspršeni na širokom prostoru sjeverne i srednje Dalmacije i nisu bili u posjedu isključivo osoba najvišega društvenog statusa.⁵⁶

Što se povijesnog konteksta tiče, zanimljiv prijedlog vezan uz razrješenje problematike dospijeća velike količine zlatnika Konstantina V. na teritorij ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske dala je Vedrana Delonga, iznijevši svoja razmišljanja na znanstvenom skupu *Arheologija Sinjskog polja*, održanom 1994. godine. Ona ostavlja mogućnost da ti zlatnici potječu iz franačkih zaliha stvorenih putem bizantskih misija na franački dvor, ali i sukcesivnom pljačkom u višegodišnjem ratu vođenom u Panoniji s Avari-

What is the actual dating validity of Constantine V's gold coins? These gold coins served as an argument to Lj. Karaman⁴⁹ and Z. Vinski⁵⁰ for the approximate dating of the Biskupija graves south of the basilica to the end of the eighth century. U. Giesler also believed in their dating validity, and utilised them to date the graves to the last third of the eighth century.⁵¹ Vinski later corrected his opinion by shifting the dating of some graves as far as the mid-ninth century,⁵² having accepted the theory of J. Werner, who had held that the gold coins had originated from some family treasure that the Croatian ruling class had acquired in an unknown way, and had been placed in graves throughout the ninth century, consequently possessing no dating validity whatsoever.⁵³ The same conclusions were also made by P. Korošec, who dated the known artefact from Trilj to the second half of the ninth century, and recently by A. Milošević, who has been attempting to prove that Prince Branimir had been interred in the Biskupija sarcophagus.⁵⁴ M. Petrinec, on the other hand, while comparing the Syracuse and Constantinople mints, believes that the time-frame to be considered as that of the introduction of gold coins in the Croatian territories corresponds to the very co-reign of Constantine V and Leo IV. Subsequently they were used as valuables and placed in graves during the next few decades, and thus their potential dating validity should not be rejected vis-à-vis the graves in which they were discovered, as well as the graves connected with pagan funeral traditions in general.⁵⁵ The authoress has also pointed out that the proposition of family treasure is not viable, for the simple reason that the sites where coins of Copronymus were found are scattered over a broad area of northern and central Dalmatia, and were not possessed by persons of the highest social status only.⁵⁶

As far as historical context is concerned, an interesting suggestion concerning the question of huge quantities of Constantine V's gold coins in the territory of early mediaeval Croatia was made by

in Munich), who confirmed that this was a Syracuse solidus of Constantine V Copronymus – letter dated 14/11/1978 (MHAS archive).

⁴⁹ Karaman 1929, str. 183.

⁵⁰ Vinski 1970, str. 138.

⁵¹ Giesler 1974, str. 532.

⁵² Vinski 1981, str. 22.

⁵³ Werner 1978/79, str. 228.

⁵⁴ Milošević 2009.

⁵⁵ Petrinec 2009, str. 198.

⁵⁶ Petrinec 2009, str. 197.

⁴⁹ Karaman 1929, p. 183.

⁵⁰ Vinski 1970, p. 138.

⁵¹ Giesler 1974, p. 532.

⁵² Vinski 1981, p. 22.

⁵³ Werner 1978/79, p. 228.

⁵⁴ Milošević 2009.

⁵⁵ Petrinec 2009, p. 198.

⁵⁶ Petrinec 2009, p. 197.

ma. Na istočnojadranske prostore ti bi zlatnici dospjeli kao potpora pograničnoj hrvatskoj sklaviniji u globalnom franačkom sučeljavanju s Bizantom.⁵⁷ U novije vrijeme o tom je pitanju raspravljao i A. Milošević prigodom izložbe *Hrvati i Karolinzi*. On se pita nisu li možda zlatnici Konstantina V. dospjeli u posjed vladajućeg sloja Hrvata za vrijeme kratkotrajnog zauzimanja bizantskih gradova u Dalmaciji od strane Franaka 803. godine.⁵⁸

Odgovore na pitanja vremena i razloga dospijeca tog novca u hrvatske krajeve svakako treba potražiti u kontekstu općih političkih prilika u kojima se našla istočna obala Jadrana u drugoj polovini osmog stoljeća. O toj problematici i sâm sam pisao u dva navrata pa ću na ovome mjestu samo ukratko ponoviti već iznesene stavove, nadopunjene nekim novim saznanjima.⁵⁹ U to doba u Dalmaciji žive gradovi koji su pod bizantskom vlašću, dok njihovo zaleđe nastavaju različite slavenske skupine organizirane u rodove, koje se u ove krajeve postupno doseljavaju od prve polovice 7. stoljeća. Među njima na prostoru srednje i sjeverne Dalmacije dominiraju Hrvati, kojima su gradovi u jednom trenutku bili prisiljeni ustupiti veću količinu zlatnog novca kao zalag svoje sigurnosti. Ovome u prilog govori činjenica da se radi o velikoj količini novca istoga tipa, kovanog u samo jednoj, sirakuškoj kovnici, premda u isto vrijeme djeluju i kovnice u Konstantinopolu i Rimu. To više imamo razloga vjerovati da se ustupanje ovog novca Hrvatima moralo dogoditi upravo za vladavine Konstantina V. Kopronima i njegova sina Lava IV., a najkasnije tijekom osamdesetih godina osmog stoljeća.⁶⁰ Izvjesno je da nakon godine 768. i dolaska Karla Velikog na franačko prijestolje franačka država sve više jača, te ima veoma jak utjecaj i u jadranskim sklavinijama, što je i arheološki potvrđeno. Oslabljeni gradovi, u strahu od sve snažnijih susjeda, očito potpomognutih Francima, zvone na uzbunu, pa im bizantska vlast odobrava stanovitu količinu zlatnog novca koji ovi jednokrat-

Vedrana Delonga, who presented her thoughts at the 1994 scientific conference *Arheologija Sinjskog polja*. She allowed the possibility that the gold coins had originated from Frankish stock accumulated by Byzantine missions to the Frankish court, but also from successive plundering in the long war fought in Pannonia against the Avars. These gold coins would have been brought to the eastern Adriatic region in support of the Croatian border land of Selavinia during the global Franco-Byzantine confrontation.⁵⁷ Recently, A. Milošević also discussed this matter at the *Croats and Carolingians* exhibition. He wondered whether Constantine V's gold coins had perhaps come into the possession of the Croatian ruling class during the short-lived occupation of Byzantine towns in Dalmatia by the Franks in 803.⁵⁸

The answers to the questions concerning the period and reasons for the inflow of these coins in Croatian regions should certainly be sought in the context of the general political situation in which the eastern coast of the Adriatic found itself in the second half of the eighth century. I have already discussed these matters in two papers, and will therefore only briefly reiterate the already presented views, with some new findings added.⁵⁹ During that period in Dalmatia, towns were under Byzantine rule, while their hinterland was inhabited by various Slav groups organised in tribes, which had been gradually settling in this area from the first half of the seventh century. In central and northern Dalmatia the dominant force were the Croats, to whom the towns were forced to yield a large quantity of gold coinage in return for their security. This is supported by the fact that this was a great amount of coins of the same type, struck in only one mint, viz. in Syracuse, even though the mints in Constantinople and Rome were active at the same time. Therefore, we have even more reason to believe that the ceding of this coinage to Croats must have taken place during the reign of Constantine V Copronymus and his son Leo IV, and no later than in the 780s.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Rad pod naslovom *Bizantski novac na širem području Sinjskog polja* na žalost nije objavljen. Autorici Vedrani Delonga zahvaljujem što mi je ljubavno stavila svoj rukopis na raspolaganje.

⁵⁸ Milošević 2000, str. 119.

⁵⁹ Šeparović 2003, str. 131-132; Šeparović 2008, str. 557.

⁶⁰ Značajno je ovdje ponovno navesti podatak o rezultatu dendrokronološke analize drvene oplata groba 33 u Dubravicama, koja je otprilike ukazala upravo na vrijeme vladavine Konstantina V. O tome u: Petrincec 2009, str. 273.

⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the paper titled *Byzantine coins in the greater area of Sinjsko polje* has not been published. I would like to thank the author, Vedrana Delonga, for kindly providing me with her manuscript.

⁵⁸ Milošević 2000, p. 119.

⁵⁹ Šeparović 2003, pp. 131-132; Šeparović 2008, p. 557.

⁶⁰ Here we should reiterate the information on the results of dendrochronological analysis of wooden formwork from grave 33 in Dubravice, which approximately in-

no ustupljaju vladajućem sloju Hrvata kako bi se time osigurali od eventualnih napada. Do novca je na taj način došla hrvatska vojna elita, na što ukazuju bogati grobni nalazi oružja i ratničke opreme, kao i činjenica da je dobar dio nalaza registriran na važnim strateškim punktovima.⁶¹ Možda se to dogodilo u vrijeme pobune protiv franačke vlasti u Italiji potpomognute od strane Bizanta, koji je zlatnicima želio osigurati dalmatinske gradove u slučaju da se bude morao ozbiljnije angažirati na strani pobunjenika.⁶² Tome u prilog govori činjenica da su ovi gradovi u drugoj polovici 8. stoljeća ostali rijetka bizantska uporišta na Jadranu te ih je Carstvo svakako imalo interesa braniti.⁶³

Dakle, posve je izvjesno da su solidi Konstantina V. Kopronima dospjeli na područje istočne jadranske obale kao tribut, odnosno zalog sigurnosti bizantskog posjeda ugroženog nakon pada Ravenskog egzarkata godine 751. i osobito nakon franačkog osvajanja Istre godine 788. U grobove su najvjerojatnije polagani tijekom dvije generacije, čemu u prilog govori nalaz iz Ždrijca s novcem, obolom karolinškog vladara Lotara, po čemu vidimo da ih sredinom 9. stoljeća više nema. Tako je i poznati sarkofag iz narteksa crkve sv. Marije u Biskupiji s bogatim vladarskim nalazima i solidom Konstantina V. Kopronima zakopan najvjerojatnije u prvoj trećini 9. stoljeća.⁶⁴ Sarkofag bi mogao pripadati knezu Borni i vremenski se podudara s nalazom kneževskoga groba 4 u Brekinjovoj Kosi, te ih oba valja promatrati u kontekstu zbivanja iz prvih desetljeća 9. stoljeća koje spominju franački anali.⁶⁵

Kronološki vrlo bliski emisijama solida Konstantina V. su i arapski novci, odnosno zlatni abasidski dinari. Riječ je o dvama izdvojenim primjercima kovanim u zadnjoj trećini 8. stoljeća u kovnici grada Bagdada.⁶⁶ Jedan se može pripisati abasidskom kalifu al-Mansuru (754. - 775.) (sl. 3),⁶⁷ dok

It is certain that the Frankish state was becoming stronger after 768 and Charlemagne's accession to the Frankish throne, with a very great influence in the Adriatic sclavinia, as corroborated by archaeology. The weakened towns, in fear of their ever more powerful neighbours, obviously aided by the Franks, raised alarm, and Byzantium granted them a certain amount of gold coinage, which they ceded in bulk to the Croatian ruling class to secure themselves against potential attacks. Thus the Croatian military elite acquired hard currency, as evidenced by opulent grave finds of weaponry and warrior equipment, as well as the fact that a large part of finds has been registered on important strategic points.⁶¹ Perhaps this happened at the time of the revolt against the Frankish rule in Italy, aided by Byzantium wishing to secure the Dalmatian towns with gold coins in case of having to get seriously involved on the side of the rebels.⁶² This is supported by the fact that these towns remained rare Byzantine strongholds on the Adriatic in the second half of the eighth century, and that it was certainly in the Empire's interest to defend them.⁶³

Therefore, it is quite certain that solidi of Constantine V Copronymus were introduced on the eastern Adriatic coast as tribute in return for the safety of Byzantine possessions endangered after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751, and particularly after the Frankish conquest of Istria in 788. They were most likely placed in graves during two generations, as supported by the coin find from Ždrijac, the obol of the Carolingian ruler Lothair, which shows that they had vanished by the mid-ninth century. Thus the well-known sarcophagus from the narthex of the church of St. Mary in Biskupija, with lavish discovered artefacts belonging to a ruler and a solidus of Constantine V Copronymus, was most likely buried in the first third of the ninth century.⁶⁴ The sarcophagus could belong to Prince

⁶¹ O komunikacijama i topografiji nalaza vidi u: Jurčević 2011, str. 137-139.

⁶² Općenito o političkim prilikama na ovim prostorima u drugoj polovini 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća vidi u: Goldstein 1992.

⁶³ U to je doba u vlasti Bizanta na Jadranu ostalo još samo područje Venecije, izuzmemo li *Otranto*, koji se nalazi posve na jugu, te *Gallipoli*, koji je na obali Tarantskog zaljeva.

⁶⁴ Uz navedeno na takav zaključak sugeriraju i ostali nalazi u samom sarkofagu.

⁶⁵ Klaić 1972, str. 16-18.

⁶⁶ Delonga 2000, str. 362-363.

⁶⁷ Delonga 2000, str. 362.

indicated the time of Constantine V's reign. For more details cf. Petrinc 2009, p. 273.

⁶¹ For more details on the communications and topography of finds cf. Jurčević 2011, pp. 137-139.

⁶² For general information on the political situation in the region in the second half of the eighth century and the early ninth century cf. Goldstein 1992.

⁶³ At the time, the only remaining part of the Adriatic governed by Byzantium was Venice, save for *Otranto*, located all the way south, and *Gallipoli*, in Taranto Bay.

⁶⁴ In addition, such a conclusion is also suggested by other finds in the very sarcophagus.



Sl. 3. Dinar kalifa al-Mansura
Fig. 3 Dinar of Caliph al-Mansur



Sl. 4. Dinar kalifa al-Hadia
Fig. 4 Dinar of Caliph al-Hadi

je drugi kovan u razdoblju kalifa al-Hadija (785. - 786.) (sl. 4).⁶⁸

Novac je emitiran u vrijeme koje je sukladno emisijama zlatnih solida Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. te arheološkim nalazima karolinške pripadnosti u južnoj Hrvatskoj. Primjerci su pronađeni godine 1893. u okolici Knina, no poblizi podaci o mjestu i okolnostima nalaza nisu poznati.⁶⁹ Razloge

Borna and coincides with the discovered princely tomb 4 in Brekinjova Kosa. Therefore, both should be considered in view of the events during the initial decades of the ninth century, as mentioned in Frankish Annals.⁶⁵

Arabian coins, viz. gold Abbasid dinars, are chronologically very close to the emissions of Constantine V's solidi. Specifically, we are referring to two separate specimens struck in the last third

⁶⁸ Delonga 2000, str. 362, sl. na str. 363.

⁶⁹ Moguće je da je riječ o skupnom nalazu. Podatak iz

⁶⁵ Klaić 1972, pp. 16–18.

njihova dospijeća na teritorij ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske kneževine argumentirano je iznijela V. Delonga.⁷⁰ Ona ih promatra u okviru arapsko-karolinških odnosa i karolinškog prodora prema jugoistočnoj Europi, odnosno u kontekstu političko-diplomatskih veza abasidskog kalifata i Franaka. Nakon prvog diplomatskog kontakta Abasida i Franaka godine 768. na Pipinovu dvoru otvaraju se velike mogućnosti trgovačke razmjene, u okviru koje je abasidski novac dospijevao na Zapad. U takvim trgovačkim kontaktima dominirali su plemeniti metali, mirodije i robovi, pri čemu su veliku ulogu imali židovski trgovci.⁷¹ Upravo su Židovi bili ti koji su kao karolinški izaslanici pohodili Haruna al-Rašida, a prisutni su i na dvoru u Aachenu, gdje se i nastanjuju.⁷² Oni putuju morem, ali i kopnom, te stoga nije nemoguće da se s njima može povezati skupni nalaz abasidskog novca iz Donjih Petrovaca u Srijemu.⁷³ U kontekstu takve transkontinentalne trgovine valja promatrati i nalaze zlatnih abasidskih denara u okolici Knina, budući da je riječ o središtu ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske kneževine, u kojoj su prisutni intenzivni kontakti s Francima, što je, uostalom, vidljivo i po brojnim franačkim nalazima upravo na tom području.

Prva polovina 9. stoljeća razdoblje je pojačanog dotoka bizantskog novca u odnosu na razdoblje prije Konstantina V. Kopronima. Taj skok odraz je prisutnosti znatne količine zlatnih solida bizantskog cara Teofila (829. - 842.), čiji su primjerci zabilježeni na većem broju nalazišta u prostoru između Zrmanje i Cetine (sl. 5). Prema dostupnim podacima ti su novci najbrojniji u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, gdje su pronađeni na sljedećim nalazištima: Zadarska Brodarica,⁷⁴ Zadar,⁷⁵ Nin (2),⁷⁶ Knin,⁷⁷ Pađene⁷⁸ i Lukar (2).⁷⁹ Pojačan dotok novca bio bi još izraženiji da postoje podaci o nalazima novca cara Teofila iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Ondje se čuva ukupno 17 primjeraka Teofilovih zlatnika, ali je samo

of the eighth century at the Baghdad mint.⁶⁶ One can be attributed to the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur (754–775) (Fig. 3),⁶⁷ while the other one was struck during the period of the Caliph al-Hadi (785–786) (Fig. 4).⁶⁸

The coins were emitted at the time coinciding with the emissions of the gold solidi of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV, and the archaeological finds of Carolingian provenance in southern Croatia. The specimens were found in 1893 in the area of Knin, but there is no detailed information on the site and circumstances of their discovery.⁶⁹ The reasons for their presence in the territory of the early mediaeval Croatian Principality were substantiated by V. Delonga.⁷⁰ She regarded them in the framework of Arab-Carolingian relationships and the Carolingian encroachment into South-Eastern Europe, i.e. in the context of political-diplomatic ties between the Abbasid Caliphate and the Franks. After the first diplomatic contact between the Abbasids and the Franks in 768 in the court of Pepin, great possibilities for trade became available, and Abbasid coinage started flowing to the West. Such trading contacts were mostly dominated by a flow of noble metals, spices and slaves, in which Jewish merchants played a major role.⁷¹ It was the Jews who were sent as Carolingian emissaries to Harun al-Rashid, and they were also present and residing in the court at Aachen.⁷² They travelled by sea, but also on land, and thus it is not impossible that they can be connected with the Abbasid coin hoard from Donji Petrovci in Srijem.⁷³ This context of trans-continental trade should also be considered with respect to the Abbasid gold dinars found in the area of Knin, since it was the centre of the early mediaeval Croatian Principality, with intensive contacts with the Franks, as apparent in numerous finds of Frankish provenance in that location.

The first half of the ninth century was a period of intensified inflow of Byzantine coins, compared to the pre-Constantine V Copronymus era. This leap was a reflection of the presence of a number of gold

arhiva HSD-a govori da je jedan zlatni arapski novac otkupljen od Kaštelanina Ive Čipika.

⁷⁰ Delonga 2000, str. 362–363.

⁷¹ Pirrene 2006, str. 217.

⁷² Pirrene 2006, str. 214.

⁷³ Mirnik 1981, str. 91.

⁷⁴ AMZD S 538.4; Demo 1994, str. 47.

⁷⁵ Jurić 1987, str. 78.

⁷⁶ AMZD S 661.4 i 639; Demo 1994, str. 47.

⁷⁷ Delonga 1981, str. 222.

⁷⁸ MHAS 1258.

⁷⁹ MHAS 1258; Marun 1998, str. 206.

⁶⁶ Delonga 2000, pp. 362–363.

⁶⁷ Delonga 2000, p. 362.

⁶⁸ Delonga 2000, p. 362, Fig. on p. 363.

⁶⁹ It is possible that this was a hoard. Information from HSD archives reveals that one Arabian gold coin was purchased from Ivo Čipiko from the town of Kaštela.

⁷⁰ Delonga 2000, pp. 362–363.

⁷¹ Pirrene 2006, p. 217.

⁷² Pirrene 2006, p. 214.

⁷³ Mirnik 1981, p. 91.



Sl. 5 – Solid bizantskog cara Teofila
Fig 5 – Solidus of Byzantine Emperor Theophilus

za jedan zlatnik poznato da potječe iz Salone.⁸⁰ Moguće je da dio tog novca pripada skupnom nalazu s nepoznatog položaja u južnoj Hrvatskoj koji se spominje krajem 19. st.⁸¹

Ovdje valja skrenuti pozornost i na sličan skupni nalaz 22 solida i 9 semisa cara Teofila zabilježen godine 1892. u Dubrovniku.⁸² Taj nam nalaz može poslužiti kao dokaz da je na prostore Hrvatske kneževine i ostalih istočnojadranskih sklavinija novac tog vremena dospijevao preko primorskih gradova pod vlašću Bizanta. Tijekom arheoloških iskopavanja godine 1977. u Ublima na otoku Lastovu pronađen je dosta rijedak Teofilov solid, kao i fragment srebrnog miliaresiona cara Mihajla I. Teofilakta (811. - 813.).⁸³ Navedeni nalazi ukazuju na pomorski pravac koji je služio za prijevoz ljudi i dobara u smjeru istočne jadranske obale. Zanimljivo je da su nalazi Teofilovih zlatnika zabilježeni i dublje u unutrašnjosti. Tako jedan primjerak potječe iz Like, no bez pobližih podataka o mjestu nalaza.⁸⁴ Navodno je više primjeraka zabilježeno u Sisku.⁸⁵

Moguće je da razlozi prisutnosti novca cara Teofila u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji leže u, kako je to zaključila V. Delonga, odnosu mlade Hrvatske kneževine u doba kneza Trpimira i priobalnih gra-

solida of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus (829–842), specimens of which have been found at quite a few sites in the area between the Zrmanja and the Cetina rivers (**Fig. 5**). According to available information, the highest concentration of these coins is in northern Dalmatia, where they have been found at the following sites: Zadarska Brodarica,⁷⁴ Zadar,⁷⁵ Nin (2),⁷⁶ Knin,⁷⁷ Pađene⁷⁸, and Lukar (2).⁷⁹ The increased inflow of coins would be even more pronounced if there existed information on the found coins of Emperor Theophilus from the Archaeological Museum in Split. A total of 17 gold coins of Theophilus are kept there, but only one is known to have originated from Salona.⁸⁰ It is possible that a part of the coins belongs to the hoard from an unknown location in southern Croatia, mentioned at the end of the 19th century.⁸¹

Here we should point out a similar hoard of 22 solida and 9 semises of Emperor Theophilus from 1892 in Dubrovnik.⁸² This find can be used as evidence that the coins at the time flowed into the Croatian Principality and other eastern Adriatic sclavinia

⁸⁰ Marović 1953.

⁸¹ Mirnik 1981, str. 91.

⁸² Mirnik 1981, str. 91.

⁸³ Bonačić Mandinić 2001, str. 221-224.

⁸⁴ Mirnik 2009, str. 487.

⁸⁵ Budak 1994, str. 172.

⁷⁴ AMZDS 538.4; Demo 1994, p. 47.

⁷⁵ Jurić 1987, p. 78.

⁷⁶ AMZDS 661.4 and 639; Demo 1994, p. 47.

⁷⁷ Delonga 1981, p. 222.

⁷⁸ MHAS 1258.

⁷⁹ MHAS 1258; Marun 1998, p. 206.

⁸⁰ Marović 1953.

⁸¹ Mirnik 1981, p. 91.

⁸² Mirnik 1981, p. 91.

dova pod vlašću Bizanta.⁸⁶ Razdoblje je to ekonomskog napretka, kada nakon kratkotrajnog sukoba dolazi do gospodarske suradnje između bizantskih gradova i hrvatskog zaleđa. Ta suradnja ogleda se u pojačanoj građevinskoj djelatnosti u okviru koje u te prostore dospijevaju i zlatne bizantske monete. Stoga nije slučajno što su nalazi Teofilova novca zabilježeni upravo u krajevima oko značajnih starohrvatskih središta, Nina i Knina, gdje je takva aktivnost najizraženija.

Ovdje međutim postoji i jedan povijesni moment koji je mogao utjecati na pojačan dotok Teofilovih moneta, posebice u Hrvatsku kneževinu. Arapski pritisak prema bizantskim posjedima na Jadranu sve više jača upravo u prvoj trećini 9. stoljeća. Godine 840. Arapi najprije privremeno, a potom godine 847. trajnije zauzimaju grad Bari, a zalijeću se i prema istočnoj jadranskoj obali, pustošeći posebice otoke sjeverno od Zadra. Kako je hrvatski vladar u to doba bizantski saveznik u operacijama protiv Arapa, dotok Teofilovih zlatnika mogao bi se objasniti nastojanjem Carigrada da svojevrsnom financijskom injekcijom osnaži svoje saveznike i osigura njihovu političku i vojnu potporu.⁸⁷

Nalazi karolinškog novca na istočnoj jadranskoj obali vrlo su rijetki. Na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske do sada su zabilježena samo tri nalaza srebrnih denara prve polovice 9. stoljeća. Najstariji među njima je primjerak Karla Velikog, koji potječe s Bribira, ali bez bližih podataka o okolnostima nalaza (sl. 6).⁸⁸

Riječ je o tipu kakav emitiraju franačke kovnice zapadno od Alpa kao i one u sjevernoj Italiji u razdoblju od 793. do 812. godine. Primjerak denara Lotara I. iz groba 62 na Ždrijacu u Ninu emitiran je iz neke od kovnica sjeverne Italije, vjerojatno Mediolana.⁸⁹ S obzirom na okolnosti nalaza ovaj je denar jamačno predstavljao obol, čije je polaganje u grobove osobito često u razdoblju još uvijek jakih poganskih utjecaja. Treći primjerak potječe s lokaliteta Sv. Martin u Donjim Lepurima.⁹⁰ Riječ je o denaru Ludovika Pobožnog tipa *Christiana religio* emitiranom po svoj prilici iz venecijanske kovnice (sl. 7).⁹¹

through coastal towns under Byzantine rule. During the 1977 archaeological excavations in Ubli on the island of Lastovo, a quite rare solid of Theophilus was found, as well as a fragment of a miliarion of Emperor Michael I Theophylact (811–813).⁸³ These finds indicate a sea lane used for transport of people and goods to the eastern Adriatic coast. It is interesting to note that coins of Theophilus have also been found deeper in the hinterland. Thus, one specimen originates from Lika, but there is no detailed information on the location of the find.⁸⁴ Reportedly, a number of specimens were discovered in Sisak.⁸⁵

It is possible that the reasons for the presence of coins of Emperor Theophilus in northern and central Dalmatia lie in the relationship between the young Croatian Principality in the era of Prince Trpimir and the coastal towns under Byzantine rule, as concluded by V. Delonga.⁸⁶ This was a period of economic progress and cooperation between the Byzantine towns and the Croatian hinterland following a brief clash. This cooperation was reflected in an increase of construction activities, which facilitated the inflow of Byzantine gold coinage in the region. Therefore, it is no accident that coins of Theophilus were found in the areas around significant old Croatian centres – Nin and Knin – where such activities were most pronounced.

Notwithstanding, we have a historic moment at play here, possibly affecting the increased inflow of Theophilus's coinage, especially in the Croatian Principality. The Arab pressure on Byzantine possessions on the Adriatic was growing stronger in the first third of the ninth century. The Arabs briefly occupied the town of Bari in 840, and then conquered it in 847, while also raiding the eastern Adriatic coast, particularly wreaking havoc on the islands north of Zadar. Since the Croatian ruler at the time was a Byzantine ally in the operations against the Arabs, the inflow of gold coins of Theophilus could be explained by the efforts of Constantinople to strengthen its allies with a financial injection of sorts, and to secure their political and military support.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Delonga 2000a, str. 363.

⁸⁷ Šeparović 2017, str. 1010.

⁸⁸ Šeparović 2003, str. 127, 128.

⁸⁹ Belošević 1980, str. 131.

⁹⁰ Šeparović 2012.

⁹¹ Šeparović 2012, str. 37–38.

⁸³ Bonačić Mandinić 2001, pp. 221–224.

⁸⁴ Mirnik 2009, p. 487.

⁸⁵ Budak 1994, p. 172.

⁸⁶ Delonga 2000a, p. 363.

⁸⁷ Šeparović 2017, p. 1010.



Sl. 6. Denar Karla Velikog
Fig. 6 Denarius of Charlemagne



Sl. 7. Denar Ludovika Pobožnog
Fig. 7. Denarius of Louis the Pious

Nalazi karolinškog novca nisu ništa brojniji ni u Istri. Ondje su također pronađena samo tri primjerka, što donekle začuđuje s obzirom da je ovaj poluotok zajedno s Furlanijom bio u sastavu Akvilejske marke, tj. izravno pod franačkom upravom. Dva su denara Karla Velikog, od kojih je jedan pronađen u kastrumu na Brijunima,⁹² a drugi u Kopru.⁹³ Treći primjerak je grobni nalaz novca Lotara I. sa starohrvatskoga groblja kod Malih Vrata u blizini Buzeta.⁹⁴ Ovaj denar danas na žalost nije sačuvan, ali prema arhivskim podacima riječ je o tipu kovanom u kovnici grada Pavije. Karolinški denari pro-

Discoveries of Carolingian coins on the eastern Adriatic coast have been very rare. Only three silver denarii from the first half of the ninth century have been found in the area of the early mediaeval Croatia. The oldest among them is a coin of Charlemagne, originating from Bribir, but with no detailed information on the circumstances of its discovery (Fig. 6).⁸⁸

It is of the type emitted by Frankish mints west of the Alps and those in northern Italy in the period from 793 to 812. The denarius of Lothair I from grave 62 at Ždrijac in Nin was emitted from one of the mints in northern Italy, probably Mediolanum.⁸⁹

⁹² Marušić 1990, str. 403 i 430 (429); Istra 1995, str. 73.

⁹³ Kos 2000, str. 115.

⁹⁴ Marušić 1962.

⁸⁸ Šeparović 2003, pp. 127, 128.

⁸⁹ Belošević 1980, p. 131.

nalaze se u većem ili manjem broju diljem područja pod franačkom kontrolom, no njihova stvarna uloga u gospodarstvu do danas nije posve jasna. Metcalf je isticao njihovu važnost u trgovačkoj razmjeni,⁹⁵ dok je primjerice Grierson smatrao da je njihova uloga kao sredstva razmjene zanemariva i da su više služili za utvrđivanje vrijednosti.⁹⁶ Premda je krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća otvoren velik broj kovnica, koje nesumnjivo svjedoče o potrebi za novcem, čini se da je taj vid razmjene bio više lokalnog karaktera i ovisio je o razvijenosti pojedinih područja.⁹⁷ Jasno je da je novčana razmjena bila najizrazitija u matičnom franačkom području između rijeka Loire i Rajne, jer je to područje bilo najnapučeniji i najrazvijeniji dio Carstva.⁹⁸ Njegova velika prednost ogledala se u mogućnosti trgovine sa skandinavskim zemljama. Takva se trgovina preko priobalnih gradova intenzivno odvijala do sredine 9. stoljeća, kada normanskim prodorima biva naprasno prekinuta.⁹⁹ S obzirom na pradávnne veze između dviju jadranskih obala, osobito je zanimljivo obratiti pozornost na situaciju u Italiji. Postoji mišljenje da je ondje karolinški denar više služio za gomilanje bogatstva nego kao sredstvo plaćanja.¹⁰⁰ Možda to zvuči pomalo pretjerano, ali stoji činjenica da je količina pronađenoga karolinškog novca na tom području čak šest puta manja u usporedbi s matičnim franačkim područjem.¹⁰¹ Stoga ne čudi vrlo malen broj nalaza karolinškog novca na istočnom Jadranu, jer ipak je riječ o rubnim područjima, bez obzira na to što je Istra bila u sastavu Akvilejske marke, a od godine 812. i Hrvatska pod franačkom kontrolom. Ipak, najveći uzrok krizi robno-novčane privrede na područjima pod franačkom kontrolom koja su gravitirala Sredozemlju leži u potpunom prekidu velike trgovine, koja je ponajviše ovisila o prohodnosti i sigurnosti plovnih putova. Kako je u tom razdoblju plovidba morem zbog gusarenja i arapskih osvajanja bila u velikoj mjeri ugrožena, tako je iz pravca franačke države u smjeru istoka zamrla trgovina, a samim time i novčani promet.¹⁰² Problem je bio u inferiornosti franačke mornarice u odnosu na arapsku flotu, što je sigurno utjecalo

Given the circumstances of the discovery, this denarius was undoubtedly used as an obol placed in the grave, which was a particularly frequent practice during the period when pagan influences were still strong. The third specimen originates from the site of St. Martin in Donji Lepuri⁹⁰ – a denarius of Louis the Pious of the *Christiana religio* type, presumably emitted from the Venice mint (**Fig. 7**).⁹¹

Carolingian coins have been no more frequent in Istria either. Only three specimens have been found there, which is somewhat surprising, given that this peninsula was part of the March of Aquileia together with Friuli, i.e. under direct Frankish administration. Two specimens are Charlemagne's denarii, of which one was found in the Brijuni castrum,⁹² and the other one in Koper.⁹³ The third specimen is a grave find – a coin of Lothair I from the old Croatian graveyard at Mala Vrata near Buzet.⁹⁴ Unfortunately, this denarius has been lost, but archival information reveals it was of the type struck at the mint of Pavia. Carolingian denarii have been found in lesser or greater numbers across the regions under Frankish control, but their actual application in the economy is still not entirely clear. Metcalf noted their significance in trading,⁹⁵ while Grierson, for instance, held that their medium of exchange function was negligible and that they were more used as the measure of value.⁹⁶ Although a number of mints were started in the late eighth century and the early ninth century, doubtless because of the demand for coins, it seems that this mode of exchange was more of a local nature and depended on the development stage of individual areas.⁹⁷ It is clear that coin exchange was most prominent within Frankish territory proper between the Loire and Rhine rivers, since it was the most populous and developed part of the Empire.⁹⁸ Its major advantage was reflected in the possibility for trade with Scandinavian lands. Such trade via coastal towns was intensive until the mid-ninth century, when it was abruptly interrupted by Norman invasions.⁹⁹ Given the ancient ties between the two Adriatic coasts, it is particularly

⁹⁵ Metcalf 1967, str. 349.

⁹⁶ Grierson 1979, str. 536.

⁹⁷ Spufford 1988, str. 40–44.

⁹⁸ Verhulst 2002, str. 122–123.

⁹⁹ Pirrene 2006, str. 197–201.

¹⁰⁰ Verhulst 2002, str. 120.

¹⁰¹ Verhulst 2002, str. 120.

¹⁰² Pirrene 2006, str. 123–146.

⁹⁰ Šeparović 2012.

⁹¹ Šeparović 2012, pp. 37–38.

⁹² Marušić 1990, pp. 403 and 430 (429); Istra 1995, p. 73.

⁹³ Kos 2000, p. 115.

⁹⁴ Marušić 1962.

⁹⁵ Metcalf 1967, p. 349.

⁹⁶ Grierson 1979, p. 536.

⁹⁷ Spufford 1988, pp. 40–44.

⁹⁸ Verhulst 2002, pp. 122–123.

⁹⁹ Pirrene 2006, pp. 197–201.

na intenzitet optjecaja karolinškog novca u jadranskom prostoru. Poznato je da Arapi u prvoj polovici devetog stoljeća pale Brindizi i Ankonu, a zalijeću se i do Venecije. Ni istočna jadranska obala nije ostala pošteđena. Arapi prodiru na područje Kvarnera, gdje su zapalili Osor i porazili mletačku mornaricu kod Suska, a opustošili su i neka mjesta na jugu.¹⁰³ Ključan arapski uspjeh bio je osvajanje Barija, koji im postaje glavno uporište za daljnja djelovanja na Jadranu. U tim uvjetima jedino je bizantska mornarica bila u stanju osigurati kolikotoliko sigurnu plovidbu do dalmatinskih luka, što potvrđuju i bizantske monete, kojih je u odnosu na karolinške denare na istočnom Jadranu pronađeno znatno više. Bizantskom se zaštitom nesumnjivo koristila Venecija, koja se tijekom 9. stoljeća razvija u pravu pomorsko-trgovačku silu i čije su lađe u to doba čest gost luka bizantskih gradova na istočnoj obali Jadrana.¹⁰⁴ Činjenica je, međutim, da Venecija tijekom 9. stoljeća kuje različite tipove karolinškog novca, a da tog novca na istočnoj jadranskoj obali nema.¹⁰⁵ Nekonkurentnost srebrnih karolinških denara u odnosu na stabilnu zlatnu bizantsku valutu u uvjetima slabo razvijenih robno-novčanih odnosa sigurno je znatno tome pridonijela.

Dakle, kao što smo vidjeli, dotok novca na prostore ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske u drugoj polovici 8. i prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća vrlo je skroman i odvija se u uvjetima nerazvijene ili slabo razvijene robno-novčane privrede. U velikoj mjeri na njega utječu opće globalne političke i gospodarske prilike. U tom su dominantnu ulogu igrali Bizantsko Carstvo i Franačko Carstvo, čijeg sučeljavanja nije ostao pošteđen ni hrvatski prostor. Izravna posljedica takvih odnosa je i tribut u obliku zlatnika Konstantina V., koji nije korišten u optjecaju, nego kao dragocjenost i sirovina za izradu nakita te u pogrebnom ritualu. Nakon Aachenskog mira i smirivanja situacije dolazi do gospodarskog oporavka hrvatskih krajeva, no novac i dalje ne dotječe redovito i nije bio primaran kao platežno sredstvo. U tom razdoblju na ove prostore pristiže i karolinški novac, no riječ je o rijetkim primjercima, koji su u hrvatske krajeve dospjeli posve slučajno, i nikako ih se ne smije promatrati kao rezultat nečije monetarne politike ili redovnog optjecaja. Oni pristižu

interesting to consider the situation in Italy. There is a notion that there the Carolingian denarius was more used to accumulate wealth than as a means of payment.¹⁰⁰ As exaggerated as it may seem, the fact remains that the quantity of found Carolingian coins in this area is as much as six times smaller than that in the Frankish territory proper.¹⁰¹ Therefore, a very small number of Carolingian coin finds in the eastern Adriatic is not surprising, because these were border areas, notwithstanding Istria's being part of the March of Aquileia, and Croatia coming under Frankish control in 812. However, the predominant cause of the crisis in the goods-monetary economy in the areas under Frankish control with natural gravitation to the Mediterranean lies in an absolute cut-off of large-scale trade, which mainly depended on freedom of navigation and safety of sea lanes. Since sea navigation was rather endangered at the time due to piracy and Arab conquests, trade from the Frankish state to the east died down, currency circulation included.¹⁰² The issue was the Frankish naval inferiority compared to the Arabian fleet, which surely influenced the intensity of Carolingian coinage circulation in the Adriatic region. It is known that the Arabs burned Brindisi and Ancona in the first half of the ninth century, and also advanced as far as Venice. The eastern Adriatic coast was not spared either. The Arabs penetrated into the area of Kvarner, where they burned Osor and defeated the Venetian fleet at Susak. They also pillaged some villages in the south.¹⁰³ The key Arab achievement was their conquest of Bari, which was to be their main base for further actions in the Adriatic. Under such conditions, only the Byzantine navy was able to secure relatively safe navigation to the Dalmatian ports, as confirmed by a far greater number of Byzantine coinage found in the eastern Adriatic than Carolingian denarii. Byzantine protection was enjoyed by Venice, which developed into a genuine naval and trading force during the ninth century, with her ships frequently at anchor in Byzantine port-towns on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.¹⁰⁴ The fact is, however, that during the ninth century Venice was striking various types of Carolingian coins, which are conspicuously absent on the eastern Adriatic coast.¹⁰⁵ A lack of competi-

¹⁰⁰ Verhulst 2002, p. 120.

¹⁰¹ Verhulst 2002, p. 120.

¹⁰² Pirrene 2006, pp. 123–146.

¹⁰³ Goldstein 1995, pp. 203–205; Pirrene 2006, p. 134.

¹⁰⁴ Goldstein 1995, pp. 183–185.

¹⁰⁵ The only exception seemingly being the Carolingian denarius of Louis the Pious from Donji Lepuri.

¹⁰³ Goldstein 1995, str. 203-205; Pirrene 2006, str. 134.

¹⁰⁴ Goldstein 1995, str. 183-185.

¹⁰⁵ Iznimka je čini se samo karolinški denar Ludovika Požnog iz Donjih Lepura.

posredstvom franačkih misionara čija je prisutnost ovdje potvrđena i drugim arheološkim nalazima. Posrednik je mogla biti i vojska, ali i Venecija, koja je, koristeći se povoljnim političkim okolnostima nastalim nakon Aachenskog mira, u to doba sve prisutnija na istočnoj jadranskoj obali. Nešto je bolja situacija sa zlatnim bizantskim monetama cara Teofila, koje su znak gospodarskog zamaha ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske i njezine političke važnosti kao bizantskog saveznika u borbi protiv Arapa.

Nakon Teofilove vladavine, međutim, ponovno dolazi do zamiranja dotoka novca, tako da su do kraja 9. st. i tijekom cijelog 10. stoljeća na istočnoj jadranskoj obali novčani nalazi vrlo skromni. To je razdoblje u kojem jača hrvatska ranosrednjovjekovna država, no u njoj je slabo razvijena robno-novčana privreda, a bizantska fiskalna politika u tome razdoblju nije bila usmjerena k oživljavanju obalnih gradova u Dalmaciji preko kojih bi novac dotjecao u prostor pod vlašću hrvatskog vladara.

tiveness of silver Carolingian denarii compared to the stable gold Byzantine currency within poorly developed goods-monetary relations was certainly a significant contribution.

Therefore, as we have seen, the inflow of coins to early mediaeval Croatian territories in the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century was very modest and was taking place under the conditions of undeveloped or poorly developed goods-monetary economy. It was greatly influenced by the general global political and economic circumstances. Here the dominant role was played by the Byzantine and Frankish Empires, whose encounter also affected the Croatian territory. A direct consequence of such relations were tributes in the form of gold coins of Constantine V, which were not used in circulation, but rather as valuables and raw material for making jewellery, and in funeral rituals. After the Treaty of Aachen and de-escalation of the situation, economic recovery of Croatian territories followed, but the inflow of coins was still erratic, and they were not used as primary currency. Carolingian coins also flowed into the region during this period, albeit only as rare pieces, appearing in the Croatian territories by pure accident, which cannot be regarded as a result of someone's monetary policy or regular circulation. They flow in via Frankish missionaries, whose presence in the region is also confirmed by other archaeological finds. The medium could have been the army, as well as Venice, which was becoming increasingly present on the eastern Adriatic coast at the time, using the favourable political circumstances created after the Treaty of Aachen. The situation is slightly better with regard to gold Byzantine coins of Emperor Theophilus, indicating the economic momentum of early mediaeval Croatia and its political importance as a Byzantine ally in the struggle against the Arabs.

After Theophilus's reign, however, the inflow of coins ebbed again, so that the discoveries of coins on the eastern Adriatic coast from that time all the way through the tenth century have been very modest. During this period, the early mediaeval Croatian state was consolidating, but its goods-monetary economy was under-developed, while the Byzantine fiscal policy at the time was not focused on reviving the Dalmatian coastal towns, through which coins could have flowed into the territory under Croatian rule.

Popis kratica / List of abbreviations

AMS	Arheološki muzej Split
AMZD	Arheološki muzej Zadar
AP	Arheološki pregled
ARR	Arheološki radovi i rasprave
AV	Arheološki vestnik
HA	Histria Antiqua
HSD	Hrvatsko starinarsko društvo
IzdHAD	Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva
MHAS	Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika
MM	Moravia Magna
ObHAD	Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva
RZHP	Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Knin, Zagreb, Split
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
ZPFSR	Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci

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