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The coin of the Illyrian king Mytilos in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – its re-evaluation and the question of authenticity

APPENDIX: on the dating and provenance of KOPKYPAIΩN-issues

Kovanica ilirskog kralja Mitila u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu – reevaluacija i pitanje autentičnosti

DODATAK: o dataciji i provenijenciji kovanica tipa KOPKYPAIΩN

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UDC: 7.026:737.1]929.731Mitila
902:069.58(497.521.2Zagreb)

Original scientific paper

Received: 7 September 2020

Accepted: 2 October 2020

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Izvorni znanstveni članak

Primljeno: 7. 9. 2020.

Prihvaćeno: 2. 10. 2020.

The Illyrian king Mytilos is mentioned in Pompeius Trogus' Philippic History, while his name, accompanied by a royal title, also appears on coins. The coins in question are the earliest Dyrhachian bronzes with the head of Heracles on the obverse and the hero's attributes and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΑΟΥ on the reverse. A total of five coins bearing the king's name are known, including the specimen in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. However, the results of the recent conservation-restoration and analytical research of the Zagreb coin have shown that it is actually a replica and not an original coin, as hitherto believed.

A hypothesis postulating the Archaic date and attributing the KOPKYPAIΩN-issues to the Knidian colony on Korčula is analysed and dismissed in the appendix.

Key words: Greco-Illyrian coins, king Mytilos, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, replicas, Korkyra Melaina

Ilirski kralj Mitil poznat je iz *Filipovih povijesti* Pompeja Troga, a njegovo se ime, uz kraljevsku titulaturu, pojavljuje i na kovanicama. Riječ je o najranijem tipu dirahijskog brončanog novca, s prikazom Heraklove glave na aversu i njegovih atributa na reversu, uz natpis ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΑΟΥ. Iz literature je poznato pet primjeraka kovanica s njegovim imenom, uključujući i primjerak koji se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu, no recentna konzervatorsko-restauratorska i analitička istraživanja pokazala su da se u slučaju zagrebačkog primjerka radi o replici, a ne originalu, kako se dosad mislilo.

U dodatku se analizira i odbacuje teza po kojoj se kovanice tipa KOPKYPAIΩN datiraju u arhaisko razdoblje i pripisuju knidskoj koloniji na Korčuli.

Cljučne riječi: grčko-ilirski novac, kralj Mitil, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, replike, Korkira Melaina

The coins of king Mytilos

A coin attributed to the Illyrian king Mytilos, kept at the Numismatic Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (inv. no. A2809), was initially published by J. Brunšmid in his revised doctoral dissertation on the typology of Greco-Illyrian mints in the eastern Adriatic.¹ Brunšmid asserted that the coin had most probably been found on the island of Hvar, but did not substantiate this claim in any detail. This particular piece of information is found neither in the Museum's inventory book nor in the Department's files or on the label attached to the coin. In actual fact, there is no information whatsoever on the circumstances under which the coin arrived in the Museum. It is not entered in Š. Ljubić's printed List of 1890, but it is recorded in handwriting on a blank page opposite p. 15. In any case, it must have arrived in the Museum before 1898 and Brunšmid's publication.² D. Rendić-Miočević asserted it might have been found in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar (ancient Pharos), but he too did not offer any evidence in support of his claim.³ D. Rendić-Miočević's paper in which he stated this claim, i.e. its segment in which he discussed the Mytilos' coin, remains the most detailed study of this type of coins,⁴ used by all – admittedly, rare – scholars who touched upon the subject. At the same time, his reading of the reverse inscription (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΙΟΥ) was accepted as the final word on the subject, and hence the reading that reflected the actual name of this Illyrian king, as opposed to Brunšmid's ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΙΟΥ. The information on other coins of this type are even less concrete: thus Brunšmid stated that the German numismatist Behrendt Pick had informed him of an identical coin in the collection of the 'Turin Library' (Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino?),⁵ while D. Rendić-Miočević

Kovanice kralja Mitila

Kovanicu u literaturi poznatu kao novac kralja Mitila, koja se čuva u numizmatičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (inv. br. A2809) prvi je objavio J. Brunšmid u sklopu objave svog prerađenog doktorskog rada u kojem je ponudio tipologiju novca grčko-ilirskih kovnica na istočnom Jadranu.¹ Brunšmid navodi kako je kovanica najvjerojatnije pronađena na Hvaru, ali ne navodi svoje izvore za tu tvrdnju. Ni u inventarnoj knjizi, ni u kartoteci, a ni na ceduljici koja se nalazi uz novac ne nalazimo taj podatak. Zapravo, nema nikakvih podataka kada je i na koji način ova kovanica stigla u AMZ. Ona se ne nalazi u Popisu Š. Ljubića iz 1890. g., ali je zabilježena na praznoj stranici nasuprot str. 15 te je izvjesno u Muzej stigla prije 1898. godine i Brunšmidove objave.² D. Rendić-Miočević dodaje da je možda nađena u Starome Gradu, ali ni on ne navodi svoj izvor za tu tvrdnju.³ Navedeni rad D. Rendić-Miočevića, odnosno njegov segment u kojem raspravlja o Mitilovoj kovanici, ujedno je i najtemeljitija studija ovog novca,⁴ koji je poslužio kao osnova svim daljnjim – iako rijetkim – spominjanjima tog novca u stručnoj literaturi. Istodobno, čitanje Rendić-Miočevićeva natpisa na reversu (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΙΟΥ) prihvaćeno je kao konačno te ono koje odražava stvarno ime ilirskoga kralja, za razliku od Brunšmidova ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΙΟΥ. Još su manje konkretni podaci o ostalim nalazima ovog tipa novca koji se spominju u literaturi: Brunšmid navodi kako mu je Behrendt Pick, njemački numizmatičar, priopćio da se ista ovakva kovanica nalazi i u zbirci "torinske biblioteke" (*Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino?*),⁵ dok D. Rendić-Miočević torinski prim-

1 Brunšmid 1898, p. 54 note 47 with Pl. 7.139 = 1998, p. 66 note 47: inv. no. A2809, weight 2.20 g, diameter 14 mm. The term "Greco-Illyrian" is used in this paper as a standard designation for the issues of Greek colonies in the eastern Adriatic, at the same time naturally encompassing the coins issued by Illyrian rulers (such as Ballaios), communities or towns, cf. Rendić-Miočević 1988, p. 10 = 1989, p. 400.

2 Ljubić 1890.

3 Rendić-Miočević 1972–1973, p. 257 = 1989, p. 371.

4 Rendić-Miočević 1965, p. 82 = 1989, pp. 233, 242, note 16; 1972–1973, pp. 257–258 = 1989, pp. 371–372. Compare also Rendić-Miočević 1966–1967, pp. 301–302 = 1989, pp. 78–79; 1976, p. 187 = 1989, p. 147; 1981, p. 101 = 1989, p. 264.

5 Brunšmid 1898, p. 54 note 47 = 1998, p. 66 note 47. This collection was divided between various institutions, with the Greek and Roman coins transferred to the Soprintendenza Archeologia belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Torino (we are grateful to Prof. Rodolfo Martini for this information). However, we were kindly informed by Federico Barello of the Soprintendenza that Brunšmid's reference must have regarded the Royal Collection (*Medagliere Reale*), affiliated with the Biblioteca Reale through Domenico Promiso, a librarian at the Biblioteca and a numismatist,

1 Brunšmid 1898, str. 54, bilj. 47 s T. 7.139 = 1998, str. 66, bilj. 47. Kovanica nosi inv. br. A2809, težine je 2,20 g, a promjera 14 mm. Termin "grčko-ilirski" zadržavamo kao uobičajeni naziv za izdanja grčkih kolonija na istočnoj obali Jadrana, kao i – razumljivo – novac ilirskih vladara (npr. Balej), zajednica i gradova, usp. Rendić-Miočević 1988, str. 10 = 1989, str. 400.

2 Ljubić 1890.

3 Rendić-Miočević 1972 – 1973, str. 257 = 1989, str. 371.

4 Rendić-Miočević 1972 – 1973, str. 257–258 = 1989, str. 371–372. Usporedi i Rendić-Miočević 1965, str. 82 = 1989, str. 233, 242 bilj. 16, 1966 – 1967, str. 301–302 = 1989, str. 78–79; 1976, str. 187 = 1989, str. 147; 1981, str. 101 = 1989, str. 264.

5 Brunšmid 1898, str. 54, bilj. 47 = 1998, str. 66, bilj. 47. Ova je kolekcija rasformirana, a antički novac prebačen je u *Soprintendenza Archeologia belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Torino* (na ovoj informaciji zahvaljujemo prof. Rodolfo Martiniju). No kako nam je ljubazno javio kolega Federico Barello iz navedene *Soprintendenze*, Brunšmidova referenca mora se odnositi na Kraljevsku zbirku (*Medagliere Reale*) vezanu uz *Biblioteca Reale* preko Domenica Promisa, bibliotekara *Biblioteca Reale* i numizmatičara, koja se danas čuva u torinskim *Musei Reali* (osobno priopćenje, 15. 10. 2018.). Nažalost, navedenu kovanicu nije bilo moguće locirati (zahvaljujemo na pomoći kolegici Elisi Panero iz *Musei Reali* u Torinu). U kraljevskoj numizmatičkoj zbirci koja se danas čuva u torinskim *Musei Reali* kovanica Dirahija ovog tipa uvedena je pod inv. br. 20289, ali na fotografijama koje smo dobili ljubaznošću Elise Panero jasno se

questioned the Turin specimen, but mentioned a coin of this type from the ‘Museum in Tirana’ (the National Archaeological Museum of the Institute of Archaeology, Muzeu Arkeologjik Kombëtar, Institutiti i Arkeologjisë në Tiranë), to which his attention had been drawn by the Albanian numismatist Hasan Ceka and the archaeologist and historian Selim Islami, and another coin, of which he had been informed by the German numismatist and historian Peter Robert Franke, who kept it in his private collection in Saarbrücken, and which had been found in Greece;⁶ finally, H. Ceka noted the existence of the Zagreb, Turin and Tirana (“Musée de Tirana”) specimens.⁷ Besides these coins, all apparently of the same type of Dyrrhachian coinage, another, apparently Mytilos’, bronze coin, is kept at the British Museum (obv. head of Heracles with lion’s pelt to the right, rv. club in an incuse square, snake on the right), with an inscription mentioning the ruler on the reverse.⁸ In the online catalogue of the British Museum collection, this coin is attributed to “Illyria”, rather than Dyrrhachium, while the type of coin as described in the catalogue does not belong to any known Dyrrhachian or Greco-Illyrian issues. The appearance of an

jerak stavlja pod upitnik, ali navodi jedan primjerak iz “Muzeja u Tirani” (Nacionalni arheološki muzej Instituta za arheologiju, Muzeu Arkeologjik Kombëtar, Institutiti i Arkeologjisë në Tiranë), na koji su ga upozorili Hasan Ceka (albanski numizmatičar) i Selim Islami (albanski arheolog i povjesničar), te još jedan, o kojem ga je obavijestio Peter Robert Franke, njemački numizmatičar i povjesničar, koji ga posjeduje u svojoj privatnoj zbirci u Saarbrückenu, a pronađen je u Grčkoj;⁶ napokon, H. Ceka spominje zagrebački, torinski i tiranski (“Musée de Tirana”) primjerak.⁷ Uz te kovanice, koje navodno sve pripadaju istom tipu dirahijskog novca, u *British Museumu* nalazi se jedan sličan – navodno Mitilov – brončani novac (av. Heraklova glava s lavljom kožom nadesno, rv. toljaga u četverokutnom inkuzumu, desno zmija), s natpisom u kojem se spominje vladar na reversu.⁸ *Online* katalog *British Museuma* ne pripisuje ovu emisiju Dirahiju, već “Iliriji”, a takav tip novca – kako je opisan u *online* katalogu – nije poznat ni među dirahijskim emisijama ni među emisijama ostalih grčko-ilirskih kovnica. Osobito je neobična upotreba inkuzuma, značajka ranijih razdoblja i kovanica od plemenitih metala.

Primjerak iz Tirane čuva se u Numizmatičkom kabinetu Nacionalnog arheološkog muzeja Instituta za arheologiju u Tirani (*Muzeu Arkeologjik Kombëtar, Institutiti i Arkeologjisë në Tiranë*), a ne postoje podaci o mjestu nalaza ove kovanice.⁹ Izgled kovanice

which is at present kept at the Turin Musei Reali (pers. comm., 15 October 2018). Unfortunately, it was not possible to trace this coin in the Musei Reali collection (for which we would like to thank Elisa Panero of the Musei Reali). The royal numismatic collection kept at the Turin Musei Reali has in its holdings a coin from Dyrrhachium of this type (inv. no. 20289), but the photographs kindly sent to us by Elisa Panero clearly display the lack of any legend on the reverse, apart from the abbreviation DYP (Elisa Panero, pers. comm., 4 February 2019).

- 6 Rendić-Miočević 1971, p. 388, note 26 = 1989, p. 814, note 26. Unfortunately, we were not able to acquire any further information on this coin since Prof P. R. Franke passed away in late 2018. His collection of Greek coins – more than 4000 specimens – was purchased by the Yale University Art Gallery in 2004 (Metcalfe 2011, p. 33; the precise number is 4105, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/98934> [6 October 2020]). The Mytilos’ coin is not among the specimens of Illyrian coins, mostly those of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, published online (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collection/search/illyria> (6 October 2020), inv. nos. 2004.6.1811-1832, and since we were informed by Benjamin Hellings, the curator of the Yale numismatic collection, that all purchased coins are online, the Mytilos’ coin is certainly not kept at Yale. In addition, another part of Peter Robert Franke’s collection of Greek coins – more than 2000 pieces (2241, to be precise) – was offered at the Heidelberg Münzhandlung Herbert Grün auction (20 November 2014, Auction 64, part 1), but the Mytilos’ coin was not among the specimens of Illyrian coins, exclusively those of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, offered at the auction (see pp. 68–69 of the catalogue, nos. 566–577) (<http://www.hdmhg.de/pgs/Katalog/online/Katalog%2064-1/Kat64-1.html> [6 October 2020]).
- 7 Ceka 1972, p. 66.
- 8 BM 1852,0222.108, weight 2.00 g, acquired in 1852 (inventory number assigned as late as 2011). (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1123585&partId=1&searchText=Mytilus&page=1) (6 October 2020). We would like to thank Atdhe Prelvukaj for drawing our attention to this coin.

vidi da – osim kratice DYP – na reversu nema drugog natpisa (Elisa Panero, osobno priopćenje, 4. 2. 2019.).

- 6 Rendić-Miočević 1971, str. 388, bilj. 26 = 1989, str. 814, bilj. 26. Nažalost, do daljnjih informacija o ovoj kovanici nismo uspjeli doći jer je prof. P. R. Franke preminuo krajem 2018. godine. Zbircu grčkog novca Petera Roberta Frankea, više od 4000 kovanica, otkupila je *Yale University Art Gallery* 2004. godine (Metcalfe 2011, str. 33; točan broj je 4105, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/98934> [6. listopada 2020.]), a prema objavljenim kovanicama na internetu među ilirskim novcem – tj. uglavnom novcem Apolonije i Dirahija – ne nalazi se Mitilova kovanica (<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collection/search/illyria> (6. listopada 2020.)), inv. br. 2004.6.1811-1832 (kolega Benjamin Hellings, kustos numizmatičke zbirke, obavijestio nas je da su svi otkupljeni primjerci novca *online*, tako da Mitilova kovanica sigurno nije u Yaleu). Također, drugi dio zbirke grčkog novca Petera Roberta Frankea, više od 2000 kovanica (točnije, 2241), ponuđen je na aukciji *Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbert Grün* 20. 11. 2014. god., Aukcija 64, 1. dio, ali među ilirskim novcem, predstavljenim kovanicama Apolonije i Dirahija, nije bilo Mitilove kovanice (vidi str. 68–69 kataloga, kat. br. 566–577) (<http://www.hdmhg.de/pgs/Katalog/online/Katalog%2064-1/Kat64-1.html> [6. listopada 2020.]).
- 7 Ceka 1972, str. 66.
- 8 BM 1852,0222.108, težina 2,00 g, nabavljena 1852. g. (inventarna oznaka dodijeljena joj je tek 2011. god.) (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1123585&partId=1&searchText=Mytilus&page=1) (6. listopada 2020.). Željeli bismo zahvaliti Atdhe Prelvukaju što nas je upozorio na postojanje ovog novca.
- 9 Inv. br. 6855, težina 2,30 g, promjer 13 mm. Zahvaljujemo kolegici Shpresi Gjongecaj na informacijama o ovoj kovanici, kao i na fotografijama te na dopuštenju za objavu ovog predmeta i pripadajućih fotografija.



Figure 1.
Dyrrhachian coin of the
Heracles/bow, club, quiver
type with the inscription
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ, kept at
the Archaeological Museum
in Zagreb (photograph: I.
Krajcar). Scale 3:1.



Slika 1.
Dirahijski novac tipa Heraklo/
luk, toljaga, tobolac s
natpisom ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ
iz Arheološkog muzeja u
Zagrebu (snimio I. Krajcar).
Mjerilo 3 : 1.



Figure 2.
The same coin after the partial
removal of artificial patina
(photograph: I. Krajcar).
Scale 3:1.



Slika 2.
Ista kovanica nakon
djelomičnog uklanjanja
umjetne patine (snimio I.
Krajcar). Mjerilo 3 : 1.

incuse is especially unusual, since it is characteristic of earlier periods and coins struck in precious metals.

The Tirana specimen is kept in the Numismatic Cabinet at the National Archaeological Museum of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana (Muzeu Arkeologjik Kombëtar, Institutiti i Arkeologjisë në Tiranë), and its provenance is unknown.⁹ Its authenticity is supported by the type of corrosion and accretions observable on the coin, but since this claim is based on a photograph, it must remain tentative until a more detailed study and analyses are conducted. It differs from the Zagreb specimen – i.e., from the model for the Zagreb replica – in that its reverse inscription is positioned upside-down: while on the Zagreb coin the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is placed between the quiver and the club, with ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ between the club and the bow, on the Tirana coin the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is between the bow and the club, with ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ between the club and the quiver.¹⁰ With respect to the letter shape, the “Zagreb” tau, with its unequal arms of the horizontal bar and a slightly curved right arm reappears on the Tirana coin, the sigmas are very similar (in the form of Σ with a large angle between the horizontal and vertical bars), as are the epsilons (in the form of ε, even though the “Zagreb” epsilon is less lunular in shape). On the other hand, the lambda in the ruler’s name on the Tirana specimen is seemingly written upside-down (in the

na fotografiji, s obzirom na vrstu korozije i naslage, upućuje na njezinu autentičnost, iako to bez detaljnijeg pregleda i analiza nije moguće sa sigurnošću tvrditi. Od zagrebačkog primjerka – tj. od originala po kojem je načinjena zagrebačka replika – razlikuje se u tome što je natpis na reversu postavljen obrnuto: dok se na zagrebačkom primjerku riječ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ nalazi između tobolca i buzdovana, a riječ ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ između buzdovana i luka, na tiranskom primjerku se ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ nalazi između luka i buzdovana, a riječ ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ između buzdovana i tobolca.¹⁰ Što se tiče oblika slova, “zagrebački” tau s nejednakim krakovima horizontalne haste i lagano zaobljenim desnim krakom ponavlja se i na “tiranskom”, *sigme* su vrlo slične (u obliku Σ s velikim otklonom horizontalnih hasta u odnosu na poprečne), kao i epsiloni (u obliku ε, iako je “zagrebački” nešto manje lunulast). No, *lambda* u imenu vladara na tiranskom primjerku napisana je čini se, naopako (kao slovo V), iako je ona u natpisu ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ standardna i vrlo slična onima na zagrebačkom primjerku (s velikim otklonom između hasta). Čini se da su oba natpisa djelo istog autora, a primjer naopako napisane lambdae na tiranskom primjerku sugerira njegovu slabiju pismenost (ili privremeni pad koncentracije). Istodobno, kvaliteta izrade obaju primjeraka izuzetno je slaba, odnosno prikazi na aversu i reversu izrazito su nekvalitetno izrađeni i/ili otkovani (čak i uzevši u obzir jaku istrošenost oba primjerka).¹¹

9 Inv. no. 6855, weight 2.30 g, diameter 13 mm. We would like to thank Shpresa Gjongecaj for the curatorial information and the photographs of the coin, as well as for the permission to publish the coin together with the photographs.

10 Since the inscription (or at least its initial part, i.e. the letters DY) is placed within the arch of the bow on the Dyrrhachian coins with the abbreviated name of the town, it seems that the royal inscription on the Tirana coin is more correctly oriented (see SNG Cop. 519-520; Ceka 1972, p. 67; Gjongecaj 2007a, p. 103; 2007b, p. 57; Jeličić Radonić 2017, pp. 142-143).

10 S obzirom na to da se na dirahijskim primjercima s natpisom koji označuje grad (ili barem početni dio natpisa, tj. slova DY) on nalazi unutar luka, čini se da je kraljevski natpis na tiranskom primjerku pravilnije orijentiran (vidi SNG Cop. 519-520; Ceka 1972, str. 67; Gjongecaj 2007a, str. 103; 2007b, str. 57; Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 142-143).

11 Ceka (2013, str. 175) tvrdi da ove kovanice nisu iskovane u Dirahiju (koji nije pripadao Mitilovoj državi), već u njegovu zaleđu, dakle izvan organizacijske strukture grčke kovnice te uz upitno sudjelovanje njezinog stručnog osoblja, što bi moglo objasniti slabu kvalitetu izrade/kovanja te slabiju pismenost gravera.

form of the letter V), even though the lambda in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is of a standard type and quite similar to the ones on the Zagreb specimen (with a large angle between the bars). It appears that both inscriptions were made by the same engraver, while the upside-down lambda on the Tirana coin suggests his poor level of literacy (or a temporary lapse in concentration). At the same time, the quality of production of both coins is rather sub-standard, i.e. the depictions on both the obverse and reverse are poorly executed (even when taking into account the heavily worn state of both specimens).¹¹

The position of the inscription on the British Museum coin, which appears to be unquestionably authentic, corresponds to the one on the Zagreb specimen.¹² Its high-resolution photograph does not show its postulated incuse reverse; this coin is actually of the standard Dyrrhachian type without the abbreviated name of the city on the reverse, i.e. the same type as that of the Zagreb and Tirana coins. At the same time, the ‘snake’ mentioned in the description of the reverse cannot be discerned; either the tip of the bow-handle, vaguely resembling a snake’s head, or the undulating curved bow-handle as a whole, misled the author of the description. In actual fact, the reverse depiction is of the standard Dyrrhachian type: bow, club and quiver. With respect to the letter shape, the single visible sigma is again very similar to the ones on other specimens (in the form of ε with a large angle between the horizontal and vertical bars), the tau with unequal arms of the horizontal bar is also present here (even though the slight curvature of the right arm is not discernible on the London specimen), the epsilon is also in the form of ε, closer to the “Zagreb” epsilon, somewhat less lunular in comparison with the “Tirana” counterpart, while the lambdas are also written with a large angle between the bars. The London specimen does not replicate the mistake visible on the Tirana coin, where the lambda in the ruler’s name is written upside-down (in the form of the letter V), and the very letter is somewhat similar to the “Zagreb” lambda. However, the left bar of the lambda in the ruler’s name on the London coin is not even close to resembling a straight line (approximately at the point level with the tip of the right bar, the left bar breaks in an obtuse angle and continues downwards), while the bars of the lambda in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ are clearly unequal in length, the right being the longest. Several details are in common for all three iterations of the ruler’s name: markedly larger spacing between the first



Figure 3.
Dyrrhachian coin of the Heracles/bow, club, quiver type with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΑΟΥ, kept at the National Archaeological Museum in Tirana. Photo & copyright: National Archaeological Museum in Tirana. Scale 3:1.

Slika 3.
Dirahijski novac tipa Heraklo/luk, toljaga, tobolac s natpisom ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΑΟΥ, iz Nacionalnog arheološkog muzeja u Tirani. Fotografije i autorska prava pripadaju Nacionalnom arheološkom muzeju u Tirani. Mjerilo 3 : 1.

Položaj natpisa na primjerku iz *British Museuma*, koji se čini neosporno autentičnim, odgovara onom na zagrebačkom primjerku.¹² Iz fotografije visoke rezolucije nije jasno da se radi o inkuznom reversu, već je ovdje riječ o standardnom dirahijskom kovu bez skraćenog imena grada na reversu, dakle istom tipu kojem pripadaju i zagrebački i tiranski primjerak. Istodobno, “zmija” koja se spominje u opisu reversa nije vidljiva, već je vjerojatno vrh drške luka zavarao opisivača, koji je ovdje možda vidio glavu zmije, ili ga je zavarala valovito povijena čitava drška luka. Zapravo, prikaz na reversu standardni je dirahijski tip: luk, toljaga i tobolac. Što se tiče oblika slova, jedina vidljiva *sigma* je opet vrlo slična onima na ostalim primjercima (u obliku Σ s velikim otklonom horizontalnih hasta u odnosu na poprečne), *tau* s nejednakim krakovima horizontalne haste i ovdje se ponavlja (iako lagano zaobljenje desnog kraka ovdje nije vidljivo), *epsilon* je opet u obliku ε, sličniji “zagrebačkom”, koji je nešto manje lunular u odnosu na “tiranski”, dok su *lambda* također napisane s velikim otklonom između hasta. Na londonskom primjerku ne ponavlja se pogreška s tiranskog, gdje je *lambda* u imenu vladara napisana naopako (kao slovo V), a samo slovo donekle nalikuje “zagrebačkom”. Ipak, lijeva hasta *lambda* u kraljevskom imenu na londonskom primjerku nije ni blizu ravne crte (otprilike na razini početka desne haste na lijevoj dolazi do loma te se ona nastavlja pod tupim kutom prema dolje), dok su haste *lambda* u natpisu ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ izrazito nejednake duljine, s time da je ovdje desna dulja. Vrijedi uočiti i naglašeno povećan razmak između prvog *ipsilona* i slova *tau* u imenu vladara na sva tri primjerka u odnosu na ostale razmake

11 Ceka (2013, p. 175) claims that these coins were not struck at Dyrrhachium itself (which was not under Mytilos’ sovereignty), but in its hinterland, i.e. outside the organisational structure of the Greek mint and with a questionable involvement of its staff, which could explain the poor quality of their execution and the engraver’s sub-standard literacy.

12 We would like to thank Amelia Dowler of the British Museum for providing us with the photograph of the coin.

12 Zahvaljujemo kolegici Ameliji Dowler iz *British Museuma* na ustupljenoj fotografiji ove kovanice.

upsilon and the tau in the ruler's name compared with the spacing between other letters, as well as a somewhat less prominent spacing between the tau and the iota. It appears that the inscription on the London coin is a work of the same engraver, who here once again showed a somewhat lacking level of literacy or proneness to lapses in concentration. Furthermore, even though the London coin is less worn compared with the Zagreb and Tirana coins (especially the reverse), the quality of its workmanship is also rather low, i.e. the depictions on both sides are poorly executed.

The question of authenticity: conservation-restoration and analytical research

Since the coin had already been analysed in numismatic terms, published and, moreover, showed no visible traces of active corrosion, there was no particular need for its additional conservation and restoration until quite recently. When an occasion for its re-publication, accompanied by a new photograph, arose, the coin was sent to the Conservation-Restoration Department of the AMZ in order to be cleaned and, possibly, to discover new pertinent details.¹³ During the preliminary research, which primarily included microscopic examination and investigative cleaning, it was already noticed that the surface layer of the "patina" could be easily removed with a solvent (acetone), revealing a glossy grey metal surface. It became obvious at that point that the coin was not made of a copper alloy, as hitherto believed, but rather of some other metal, which also aroused our suspicion in the authenticity of the coin. In order to determine the precise metal composition of the coin, a qualitative elemental analysis using PIXE spectroscopy was performed, which determined that the alloy in question consisted of lead and tin.¹⁴ In addition to PIXE spectroscopy, a further analysis of surface layers using a scanning electron microscope with the accompanying spectrometer of characteristic X-rays (SEM-EDS) was also conducted.¹⁵ This



Figure 4.
Dyrrhachian coin of the
Heracles/bow, club, quiver
type with the inscription
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ, kept at
the British Museum (drawing:
M. Galić, after https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1852-0222-108 (6
October 2020), ©
The Trustees of the British
Museum).
Approximate scale 3:1.

Slika 4.
Dirahijski novac tipa
Heraklo/luk, toljaga,
tobolac, s natpisom
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΟΥ iz
British Museuma (crtež M.
Galić prema https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1852-0222-108
(6. listopada 2020.), ©
The Trustees of the British
Museum). Mjerilo oko 3 : 1.

među slovima, kao i nešto manje naglašeni povećan razmak između slova *tau* i *jote*. Čini se da je i ovaj natpis djelo istog gravera, koji je i u ovom slučaju pokazao određeni manjak pismenosti ili koncentracije. Također, iako je londonski primjerk manje istrošen od zagrebačkog i tiranskog (osobito revers), i u ovom je slučaju kvaliteta izrade izuzetno slaba, odnosno prikazi na aversu i reversu izrazito su nekvalitetno izrađeni i/ili otkovani.

Pitanje autentičnosti: konzervatorsko-restauratorska i analitička istraživanja

Kako je kovanica već ranije objavljena i determinirana te je bez vidljivih tragova aktivne korozije, nije bilo potrebe za njezinom dodatnom konzervatorsko-restauratorskom obradom sve donedavno, kada je zbog ponovnog fotografiranja i objave novac prosljeđen u Konzervatorsko-restauratorski odjel AMZ-a s ciljem čišćenja te eventualnog otkrivanja novih detalja.¹³ Već tijekom preliminarnih istraživanja, koja su prije svega uključivala mikroskopski pregled i istražno čišćenje, ustanovljeno je da se površinski sloj "patine" vrlo lako uklanja otapalom (ac-

13 The removal of the artificial patina has revealed traces of a possible obverse legend, hitherto undocumented on this or on similar types of Dyrrhachian coinage. But inasmuch as this coin is a replica, it is possible that these are actually residues of the production process. Although it is at this point impossible to discuss the existence of an obverse legend on the original from which the impression was taken, we hope that prospective future research will throw some light on this issue.

14 PIXE (particle-induced X-ray emission) spectroscopy was conducted by Ivana Zamboni at the Laboratory for Ion Beam Interactions at the Ruđer Bošković Institute. The analysis was performed in a vacuum on the ion microprobe using the PGT Si(Li) detector of characteristic X-rays with a resolution of ca. 150 eV for the detection of the Mn K line using standard reference materials SRM®620 and SRM®1107.

15 The SEM-EDS analysis was conducted by Damir Doračić in the analytical laboratory of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. No

13 Kao rezultat uklanjanja umjetne patine na aversu kovanice mogu se zamijetiti tragovi nečega što možda nalikuje natpisu, što dosad nije zabilježeno na dirahijskim kovanicama ovog tipa i sličnih tipova. No budući da je u pitanju replika, nije isključeno da se radi o artefaktima nastalima tijekom njezine izrade. Iako je u ovom trenutku nemoguće govoriti o postojanju natpisa na originalu s kojeg je uzet otisak, nadamo se da će eventualna buduća istraživanja razjasniti ovu nedoumicu.

	inv. oznaka / inv. no.	težina/weight (g)	promjer/diameter (mm)	mjesto nalaza / find-spot
Tirana	6855	2,30	13	nepoznato/unknown
Zagreb	A2809	2,20	14	Hvar(?), Stari Grad(?)
London	1852,0222.108	2,00	nema podataka / not available	nema podataka / not available
Saarbrücken	nema podataka / not available	nema podataka / not available	nema podataka / not available	Grčka/Greece
Turin	nema podataka / not available	nema podataka / not available	nema podataka / not available	nema podataka / not available

Table 1.
An inventory of known specimens of Mytilos' coins

Tablica 1.
Poznati primjerci Mitilova novca

analysis detected a significant difference between the elemental composition of the metal core and surface “patina”.

The results reveal that the basic component of the “patina” is iron, almost absent in the metal core, with a sporadically high share of carbon, which typically indicates the existence of an organic compound. The elemental analyses also detected the presence of very small quantities of several other elements, such as zinc, aluminium, silicon, potassium, calcium and titanium; most of these, considering their low concentration, can be considered as impurities.

Since the methods used are not suitable for the identification of organic materials, nor for the precise determination of the mineral composition of pigments, the surface layer of the “patina” was additionally analysed by the method of Fourier-transform infrared spectroscopy (FT-IR), which confirmed the presence of iron oxide hematite (Fe_2O_3), which gives the “patina” its reddish hue, as well as very small quantities of white pigments of calcium carbonate (CaCO_3) and lead (II) carbonate (PbCO_3).¹⁶ In addition to these pigments, the presence of shellac was also detected. Shellac is a well-known natural organic resin which has been used for a long time in conservation and restoration for various protective coatings, inter alia.¹⁷ In this particular case, shellac was certainly used as

etonom), otkrivajući pritom metalnu površinu sjajne sive boje. Već tada je postalo jasno da novac nije izrađen od slitine bakra, kako se dotad mislilo, već od nekog drugog metala, što je dakako pobudilo i sumnju u autentičnost same kovanice. Kako bi se otkrilo o kojem metalu je točno riječ, načinjena je kvalitativna elementna analiza metala PIXE spektroskopijom, kojom je ustanovljeno da se zapravo radi o slitini olova i kositra.¹⁴ Osim PIXE analize provedena je i dodatna analiza površinskih slojeva pomoću pretražnog elektronskog mikroskopa s pripadajućim spektrometrom karakterističnog X-zračenja (SEM-EDS), kojom je uočena znatna razlika u elementnom sastavu metalne jezgre i površinske “patine”.¹⁵

Naime, iz dobivenih rezultata vidljivo je da je osnovni sastojak “patine” željezo, kojeg gotovo da i nema u metalnoj jezgri, uz mjestimično visok postotak ugljika, što u pravilu upućuje na postojanje nekog organskog spoja. Spomenutim analizama elementnog sastava ustanovljena je i prisutnost vrlo malih količina nekoliko drugih elemenata, poput cinka, aluminija, silicija, kalija, kalcija, bakra i titana, od kojih se većina, s obzirom na niske koncentracije, može smatrati nečistoćama.

Budući da navedene metode nisu prikladne za determinaciju materijala organskog porijekla niti za precizno utvrđivanje mineralnog sastava pigmenta, površinski sloj “patine” dodat-

additional standard reference materials were used during measurements, since only a qualitative element analysis was performed. The measurements were taken in a vacuum, with a working voltage of 20 kV and a detector resolution of ca. 130 eV for the detection of the Mn K line.

16 FT-IR spectroscopy of the “patina” samples was conducted by Domagoj Šatović and Vladan Desnica of the Department of Conservation and Restoration of Artworks at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb. The PerkinElmer Spectrum2 spectrometer was used in the analysis; four spectra were recorded per range from 4000 to 400 cm^{-1} at a resolution of 4 cm^{-1} .

17 McGowan-Jackson 1992.

14 PIXE spektroskopiju provela je Ivana Zamboni u Laboratoriju za interakcije ionskih snopova Instituta *Ruder Bošković*. Analiza je provedena u vakuumu na ionskoj mikroprobi uz PGT Si(Li) detektor karakterističnih X-zraka razlučivosti od oko 150 eV za detekciju Mn K linije uz korištenje standardnih referentnih materijala SRM®620 i SRM®1107.

15 SEM-EDS analizu proveo je Damir Doračić u analitičkom laboratoriju Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. S obzirom na to da se radilo isključivo o kvalitativnoj elementnoj analizi, tijekom mjerenja nisu korišteni nikakvi dodatni referentni standardni materijali. Mjerenja su provedena u vakuumu, uz radni napon od 20 kV te razlučivost detektora od oko 130 eV za detekciju Mn K linije.

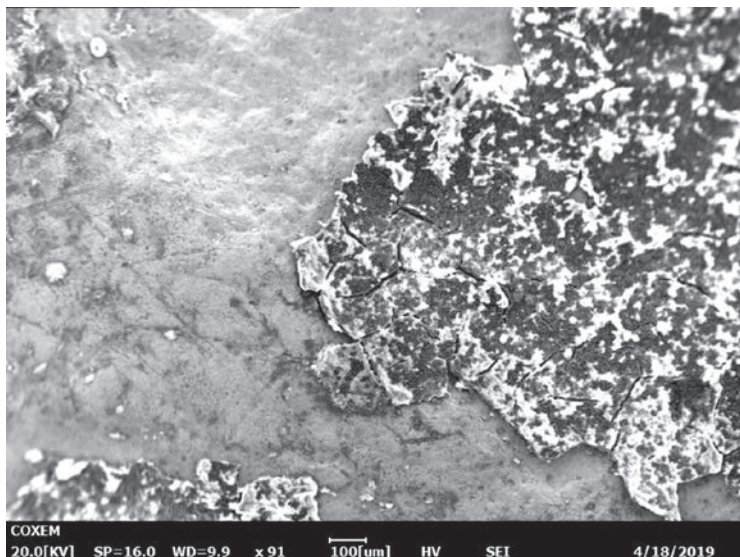


Figure 5.
SEM photograph of the partially cleaned coin surface with the remains of artificial patina clearly visible (the photograph was taken with a secondary electron detector at a magnification of 91x).

Slika 5.
SEM fotografija djelomično očišćene površine kovanice, s jasno vidljivim ostacima umjetne patine (fotografija je snimljena uz pomoć detektora sekundarnih elektrona pod uvećanjem od 91x).

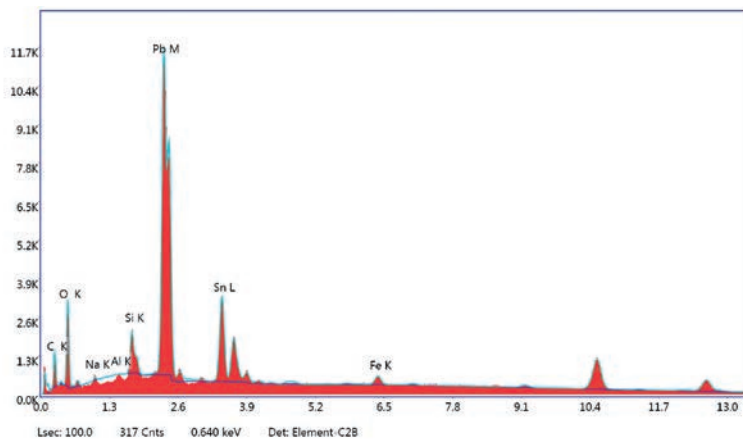


Figure 6a.
Spectrum obtained by SEM-EDS metal analysis, with lead and tin lines clearly emphasized.

Slika 6a.
Spektar dobiven SEM-EDS analizom metala, s jasno istaknutim linijama olova i kositra.

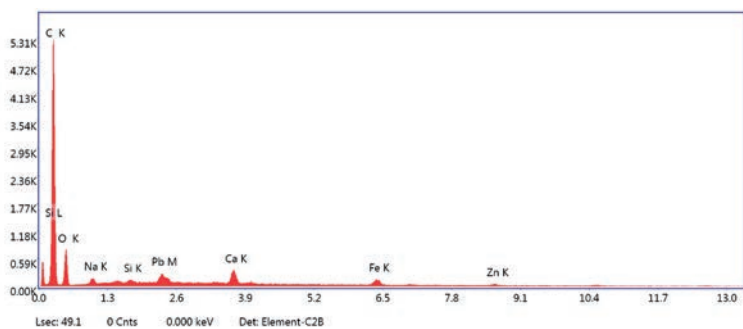
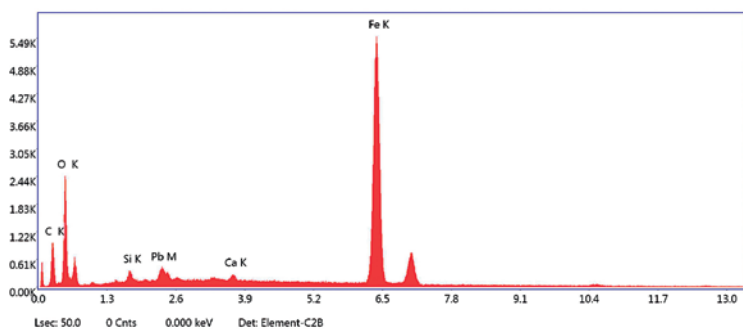


Figure 6b.
Spectra obtained by SEM-EDS analysis of artificial patina, with iron (up) and carbon (down) lines emphasized.

Slika 6b.
Spektri dobiveni SEM-EDS analizom umjetne patine, s istaknutim linijama željeza (gore) i ugljika (dolje).



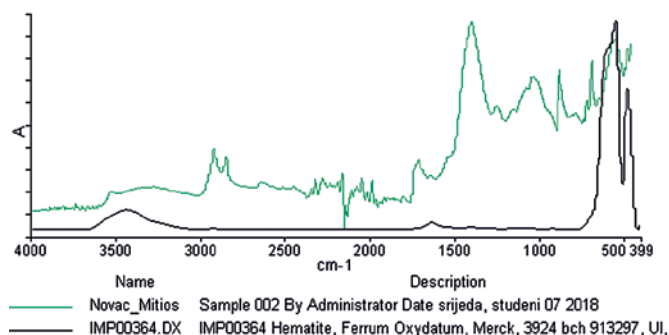
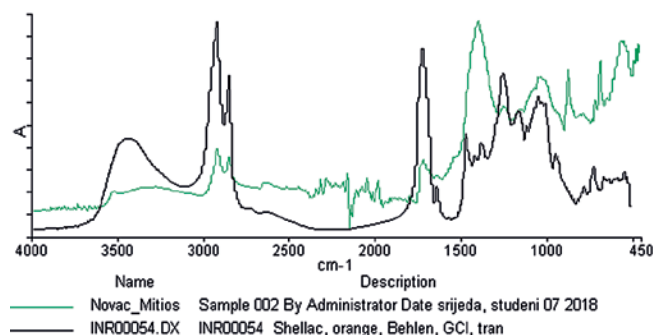


Figure 7.

Spectra obtained by FT-IR analysis of the artificial patina (green lines); the presence of haematite (left) and shellac (right) was detected by comparison with reference ranges (black lines).



Slika 7.

Spektri dobiveni FT-IR analizom umjetne patine (zelene linije), na kojima je, usporedbom s referentnim spektrima (crne linije), utvrđena prisutnost hematita (lijevo) i šelaka (desno).

a binder during the application of the patina.

Considering all these results, the conclusion that the coin hitherto considered original is actually a replica, is unavoidable. Although at first glance the coin seems authentic, it is actually a rather simple replica, which is easily discernible under a microscope. When imitations of coins are meant to deceive buyers, they are usually made of materials similar to those used in the production of the originals (in this particular case, that would most likely be an alloy of copper and tin, i.e. bronze),¹⁸ while the patina is achieved by using more durable chemically produced materials.¹⁹ Moreover, some imitations are of such good quality that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from the originals, even by means of sophisticated analytical methods. The main reason for the late discovery of the nature of this coin most likely lies in the complete lack of doubt in the authenticity of this already numismatically analysed and published coin on the part of the Museum staff. Since lead-tin replicas are typically produced by casting in a mould prepared by the impression taken from the original, several important questions arise as a consequence: when and why was the replica made, and where is the original coin from which the impression was taken, if it still exists? Unfortunately, the lack of information on the acquisition of the coin suggests that these questions will remain unanswered in the foreseeable future.

Discussion

Based on the fact that king Mytilos (Illyricum... rege Mitylo) had been mentioned in the context of a war with the Epirote

no je analiziran metodom infracrvene spektroskopije Fourierovom transformacijom (FT-IR), kojom je potvrđena prisutnost željezova oksida hematita (Fe_2O_3) koji "patini" daje crvenkastu boju, te u vrlo maloj količini bijelih pigmenata kalcijevog karbonata (CaCO_3) i olovnog (II) karbonata (PbCO_3).¹⁶ Osim navedenih pigmenata ustanovljena je i prisutnost šelaka, dobro poznate prirodne organske smole, koja se, uz ostalo, već dugi niz godina koristi i u konzervatorsko-restauratorskoj struci za razne zaštitne premaze.¹⁷ U ovom je slučaju šelak zasigurno služio kao vezivo za pigmente tijekom patiniranja kovanice.

Uzevši u obzir izneseno, evidentno je da je ova kovanica, donedavno smatrana originalom, zapravo replika. No iako na prvi pogled izgleda prilično autentično, ovdje se radi o replici jednostavne izrade koju nije suviše teško raspoznati ako ju se pažljivije pogleda pod mikroskopom. Naime, krivotvorene kovanice, izrađene s namjerom da zavaraju potencijalnog korisnika, najčešće su načinjene od materijala sličnih izvorniku (u našem slučaju bila bi to vjerojatno slitina bakra i kositra, odnosno bronca)¹⁸ i patinirane trajnijim patinama dobivenim kemijskim putem.¹⁹ Štoviše, neke od krivotvorina tako su dobre izrade da ih je teško razlikovati od originala, čak i uz pomoć sofisticiranih analitičkih metoda. Glavni razlog tek nedavnog razotkrivanja vjerojatno leži u potpunoj odsutnosti sumnje muzejskoga stručnog osoblja u autentičnost ovog, već obrađenog i objavljenog, primjerka iz numizmatičke zbirke. S

18 For the composition of copper alloys used in the production of Greek and Greco-Illyrian coins found at Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, see Doračić, Zamboni 2017.

19 For more on the production of replicas and counterfeits in numismatics, see Craddock 2009, pp. 178–185.

16 FT-IR spektroskopiju uzorka "patine" proveli su Domagoj Šatović i Vladan Desnica na Odsjeku za konzerviranje i restauriranje umjetnina Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu. Za analizu je korišten PerkinElmerov spektrometar Spectrum2, kojim su snimljena po 4 spektra u području od 4000 do 400 cm^{-1} s rezolucijom od 4 cm^{-1} .

17 McGowan-Jackson 1992.

18 O sastavu bakrenih slitina korištenih za izradu grčkoga i grčko-ilirskog novca iz Staroga Grada na otoku Hvaru vidi Doračić, Zamboni 2017.

19 Više o izradi replika i falsifikata u numizmatiki vidi Craddock 2009, str. 178–185.

king Alexander II (Pomp. Trog. Hist. Phil. lib. 25 prol., Seel 1956, p. 141), D. Rendić-Miočević dated his reign to ca. 270 BC, which is consequently the date of his coinage as well.²⁰ This information does not come from Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic History, the source of the major part of this otherwise lost work, but from the prologue or summary of the 25th book.²¹ At the same time, ever since the first publication, it has been recognised that Mytilos' coinage is of the type issued by Dyrrhachium, with Heracles on the obverse, and quiver, bow and club on the reverse.²² This type of coins regularly bore the inscription DY[PP] on the reverse (without the names of mint magistrates, which appeared on later variants of this type). According to Gjongecaj, it was struck from the late 4th c. BC onwards.²³ Other scholars, even though they refer to Gjongecaj's study, offer somewhat different dates: from 300 to 250 BC²⁴ or somewhat earlier, viz. the first half of the 4th c. BC.²⁵ In any case, all these variant datings of this type of Dyrrhachian coinage support D. Rendić-Miočević's dating of Mytilos' reign. Coins of this type were occasional in the coastal area of Dalmatia, in rare cases overstruck by the coins of Issa.²⁶ In the archaeological excavations of Stari Grad (ancient Pharos), coins of this Dyrrhachian type were discovered in layers from the first half of the 4th c. BC, as well as in those from the middle and second half of the 4th century,²⁷ which suggests that they were likely produced somewhat earlier than Gjongecaj's proposal (i.e. the first half of the 4th c.). It was also unearthed in the archaeological excavations on Palagruža.²⁸ Other finds of this type from central Dalmatia are associated with the island

obzirom na to da se olovno-kositrene replike u pravilu izrađuju lijevanjem u kalupu koji je napravljen uzimanjem otiska s originala, neizbježno se nameće nekoliko temeljnih pitanja: u koje vrijeme je replika nastala, koji su razlozi njezine izrade i, na posljetku, postoji li još uvijek i gdje se nalazi original s kojeg je skinut otisak? Nažalost, zbog nepostojanja ikakvih podataka o akviziciji kovanice, vrlo je vjerojatno da će ova pitanja još dugo vremena ostati neodgovorena.

Rasprava

Na temelju spominjanja kralja Mitila (*Illyricum... rege Mitylo*) u kontekstu rata s epirskim kraljem Aleksandrom II. (Pomp. Trog. Hist. Phil. lib. 25 prol., Seel 1956, str. 141), D. Rendić-Miočević datira vladavinu ovog kralja, a samim time i njegov novac, oko 270. g. pr. Kr.²⁰ Podatak u Pompeju Trogu ne dolazi iz Justinova epitoma, kao veći dio *Filipovih povijesti* sačuvan do današnjeg dana, već iz prologa, odnosno sažetka Knjige 25.²¹ Istodobno, od prve objave jasno je prepoznato da ovaj novac pripada emisijama dirahijskog novca s Heraklom na aversu i tobolem, lukom i toljagom na reversu.²² Spomenuti tip novca redovito je imao i natpis DY[PP] na reversu (bez imenâ kovničkih magistrata, koja se pojavljuju na kasnijim varijantama ovog tipa), a kovao se, prema Gjongecaj, od kraja 4. st. nadalje.²³ Drugi autori, iako se pozivaju upravo na rad Shprese Gjongecaj, donose dataciju od 300. do 250. g. pr. Kr.²⁴ ili čak i nešto ranije, u prvu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr.²⁵ U svakom slučaju, sve varijante datacije ovog dirahijskog tipa novca podržavaju dataciju Mitilove vladavine D. Rendić-Miočevića. Taj novac ponekad se nalazio na dalmatinskoj obali, a u rijetkim slučajevima bio je prekivan

20 Rendić-Miočević 1965, p. 82 = 1989, pp. 233, 242, note 16; 1971, p. 388 = 1989, p. 806; 1972–1973, p. 258 = 1989, p. 372; Papazoglou 1965, p. 166 = Papazoglu 1967, p. 136 = 2007, p. 55; Ceka 2005: p. 120; 2013, p. 174; Ciołek 2011, pp. 116–117; Meta 2015, p. 169; Jeličić Radonić 2017, p. 141. For Alexander's war with Mytilos, see also Cabanes 1976, pp. 81–85, 100; 2002, p. 87 and Walbank 1984, p. 239. There is no lemma for Mytilos either in *Brill's New Pauly* or in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, which speaks volumes for his obscurity.

21 For the prologues or summaries of Pompeius Trogus, see Yardley, Heckel 1997, p. 2 (perhaps later than Justin's epitome?). For Justin's omission of Mytilos, see Yardley, Heckel 1997, p. 24 n. 64; for Trogus' sources, see Yardley, Heckel 1997, pp. 30–34.

22 Brunšmid 1898, p. 54, note 47 = 1998, p. 66, note 47; Rendić-Miočević 1971, p. 388 = 1989, p. 801; 1972–1973, pp. 257–258 = 1989, p. 372; Ceka 1972, p. 69; Cabanes 1976, p. 82; 2002, pp. 87–88; Ceka 2013, pp. 174–175; Meta 2015, p. 169; Jeličić Radonić 2017, p. 141.

23 Gjongecaj 2007, pp. 103, 109; 2007b, pp. 63–64.

24 Visonà 2017, p. 209 after Gjongecaj 2007, pp. 103, 106, 109, 123, no. 124.

25 Jeličić Radonić 2017, p. 136, also after Gjongecaj 2007, pp. 103, 109. Jeličić Radonić 2017 bases her dating on the finds of this type of coins in an archaeological context, for which see below.

26 Bonačić-Mandinić, Visonà 2002, p. 328 with note 32; Visonà 2017, p. 209 with note 72.

27 Jeličić Radonić 2017, pp. 134–135.

28 Bonačić-Mandinić 2013, p. 363, no. 22; Visonà 2017, p. 209, note 70.

20 Rendić-Miočević 1965, str. 82 = 1989, 233, str. 242, bilj. 16; 1971, str. 388 = 1989, str. 806; 1972 – 1973, str. 258 = 1989, str. 372; Papazoglou 1965, str. 166 = Papazoglu 1967, str. 136 = 2007, str. 55; Ceka 2005: str. 120; 2013, str. 174; Ciołek 2011, str. 116–117; Meta 2015, str. 169; Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 141. Za rat Aleksandra i Mitila vidi i Cabanes 1976, str. 81–85, 100; 2002, str. 87 i Walbank 1984, str. 239. Mitil je do te mjere slabo poznat da nema lemu ni u *Brill's New Pauly* ni u *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

21 O prolozima, odnosno sažecima knjiga Pompeja Troga vidi Yardley, Heckel 1997, str. 2 (možda kasniji od Justinova epitoma?). O Justinovu izostavljanju Mitila vidi Yardley, Heckel 1997, str. 24 bilj. 64; o Pompejevima izvorima vidi Yardley, Heckel 1997, str. 30–34.

22 Brunšmid 1898, str. 54, bilj. 47 = 1998, str. 66, bilj. 47; Rendić-Miočević 1971, str. 388 = 1989, str. 801; 1972 – 1973, str. 257–258 = 1989, str. 372; Ceka 1972, str. 69; Cabanes 1976, str. 82; 2002, str. 87–88; Ceka 2013, str. 174–175; Meta 2015, str. 169; Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 141.

23 Gjongecaj 2007a, str. 103, 109; 2007b, str. 63–64.

24 Visonà 2017, str. 209 prema Gjongecaj 2007a, str. 103, 106, 109, 123, br. 124.

25 Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 136, također prema Gjongecaj 2007a, str. 103, 109. Jeličić Radonić 2017 ovu dataciju temelji na nalazima ovog tipa novca u arheološkom kontekstu, o čemu vidi dalje.

of Hvar, Stari Grad in particular,²⁹ and perhaps also with Brač³⁰ and Vis.³¹ It appears that the main area of circulation of these coins was centred on Stari Grad, either due to the state of research or as a reflection of the actual situation in the ancient period.

It can be said with certainty that the notion of king Mytilos' coinage is decidedly associated precisely with the coin kept at the Numismatic Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.³² However, the results of the conservation-restoration and analytical research have confirmed beyond doubt that the Zagreb coin is not an original, as hitherto believed, but rather a lead-tin replica with a patina made of the reddish-brown pigment hematite applied onto the metal by a varnish based on natural resin (shellac) so that the coin would resemble corroded bronze as much as possible. Since we cannot discuss here the authenticity of other "coins of king Mytilos" (apart from the above brief comments based on the study of available photographs), we can only point out that their analysis, in the light of the new knowledge on the Zagreb coin, is more than welcome.³³

isejskim novcem.²⁶ U arheološkim istraživanjima Staroga Grada ovaj dirahijski novac pojavljuje se već u slojevima prve polovice 4. st. te također sredine i druge polovice istog stoljeća,²⁷ što sugerira početak njegova kovanja u nešto ranijem razdoblju od onog koje je ponudila Gjongecaj (tj. u prvoj polovici 4. st.), a pronađen je i u arheološkim istraživanjima na Palagruži.²⁸ Ostali poznati nalazi iz srednje Dalmacije vezuju se uz Hvar, napose Stari Grad,²⁹ te možda uz Brač³⁰ i Vis.³¹ Čini se da je glavina cirkulacije ovog novca vezana upravo za Stari Grad, bilo zbog stanja istraženosti ili kao barem relativno pouzdan odraz stvarne situacije u antici.

Svakako se može tvrditi da je pojam novca kralja Mitila odlučujuće povezan upravo s kovanicom koja se čuva u numizmatičkoj zbirci Arheološkoga muzeju u Zagrebu.³² Međutim, rezultati provedenih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih i analitičkih istraživanja pokazali su da se u slučaju ove kovanice bez sumnje radi o olovno-kositrenoj replici patiniranoj crvenkasto-smeđim pigmentom hematitom – koji je na metal apliciran lakom na bazi prirodne smole (šelakom) kako bi kovanica što više sličila korodiranoj bronci – a ne o originalu, kako se ranije mislilo. Kako o autentičnosti ostalih primjeraka "novca kralja Mitila" ne možemo meritorno raspravljati na ovome mjestu (osim kratkih komentara iznesenih u tekstu na temelju uvida u dostupne fotografije kovanica), možemo samo istaknuti da je njihova analiza u svjetlu novih spoznaja o zagrebačkom primjerku više nego dobrodošla.³³

- 29 A total of 25 coins of this type were discovered in the archaeological excavations conducted in Stari Grad (the sites of Remetin vrt, the church of St John, the tower at the southern city-wall of Pharos, the area in front of the Dominican Monastery, the Vaganj Street); three coins of this type from Stari Grad are kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, two of those from archaeological excavations (inv. nos. A2286-2287, cf. Jeličić Radonić 2017, p. 137) and one stray find (inv. no. A2301), together with another find from Hvar (inv. no. A2300). Rathgeber (1841) reported that Pietro Nisiteo (Petar Nižetić) had written in a letter from 1840 of 20 coins of this type, probably from Stari Grad (Visonà 2017, p. 209, note 70).
- 30 Mirnik 1979, p. 12, no. 12, probably from the island itself (Visonà 2017, p. 209, note 70), even though Mirnik (1979, p. 19) noted that not a single find-spot was known for the coins kept at the Dominican Monastery in Bol.
- 31 Bonačić-Mandinić, Visonà 2002, pp. 328, 334–335, nos. 15–18, from the Apollonio Zanella collection and thus probably from Vis, although this cannot be positively ascertained (see Bonačić-Mandinić, Visonà 2002, pp. 320, 323) (Visonà 2017, p. 209, note 70).
- 32 See Papazoglou 1965, p. 167 = Papazoglu 1967, pp. 136–137 = 2007, pp. 55–56; Ceka 1972, pp. 66–70; Cabanes 1976, p. 82; 2002, pp. 87–88; Wilkes 1992, pp. 129, 146, 177; Kos 1998, p. 242; Hoover 2016, p. 33; Jeličić Radonić 2017, p. 141.
- 33 Finally, let us note that Ceka (2005, p. 120; 2013, p. 175) mentioned some bronze coins of Apollonia bearing the "Mytilos" monogram and symbols similar to those of the Aetolian League. These are extremely rare small bronze coins with a depiction of the head of Artemis to the right on the obverse and a wild boar's jaw and a spear on the reverse; the reverse bears the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ and the monogram ΜΟΥ (Picard, Gjongecaj 1995, pp. 179, 191 with Pl. I:5; Ceka 2013, p. 175). Ceka (1972, pp. 59–60) associated the wild boar's jaw with the Aetolian League and a hypothetical alliance between Apollonia and the League against Alexander II of Epirus, in the war against whom Mytilos had also been involved, while Ceka (2013, p. 175) explicitly added Mytilos to the alliance of Apollonia and the League, based on the same arguments. However, it is more likely that the wild boar's jaw should be associated with the same motif

26 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 328 s bilj. 32; Visonà 2017, str. 209 s bilj. 72.

27 Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 134–135.

28 Bonačić Mandinić 2013, str. 363, br. 22; Visonà 2017, str. 209 bilj. 70.

29 U arheološkim istraživanjima u Starome Gradu (lokaliteti Remetin vrt, crkva sv. Ivana, kula uz južne bedeme Farosa, prostor ispred Dominikanskog samostana, ulica Vaganj) pronađeno je ukupno 25 primjeraka ovog novca (Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 132–135), dok se u numizmatičkoj zbirci AMZ-a čuvaju tri primjerka iz Staroga Grada, dva iz arheoloških istraživanja (inv. br. A2286-2287, usp. Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 137) i treći, inv. br. A2301, koji nije iz arheološkog konteksta te jedan iz Hvara (inv. br. A2300). Rathgeber (1841) donosi podatak iz pisma Pietra Nisitea (Petra Nižetića) iz 1840. g. o 20 primjeraka, vjerojatno iz Staroga Grada (Visonà 2017, str. 209, bilj. 70).

30 Mirnik 1979, str. 12, br. 12, vjerojatno sa samog otoka (Visonà 2017, str. 209, bilj. 70), iako Mirnik (1979, str. 19) primjećuje kako ni za jednu kovanicu iz zbirke Dominikanskog samostana u Bolu nije poznato mjesto nalaza.

31 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 328, 334–335, br. 15–18, iz zbirke Apollonija Zanelle te na taj način vjerojatno s Visa, iako se to eksplicitno ne može tvrditi (vidi Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 320, 323) (Visonà 2017, str. 209, bilj. 70).

32 Vidi Papazoglou 1965, str. 167 = Papazoglu 1967, str. 136–137 = 2007, str. 55–56; Ceka 1972, str. 66–70; Cabanes 1976, str. 82; 2002, str. 87–88; Wilkes 1992, str. 129, 146, 177; Kos 1998, str. 242; Hoover 2016, str. 33; Jeličić Radonić 2017, str. 141.

33 Na kraju, spomenimo kako Ceka (2005, str. 120; 2013, str. 175) navodi brončane kovanice Apolonije s "Mitilovim" monogramom i

**APPENDIX: on the dating and provenance of
KOPKYPAION-issues³⁴**

One of the least numerous issues of Greco-Illyrian coins known to modern researchers is the KOPKYPAION-issue.³⁵ The coins bear what is most likely the head of Apollo on the obverse and an ear of grain accompanied by the legend KOPKYPAION on the reverse (a rare example of a full – i.e. non-abbreviated – inscription on Greco-Illyrian coins).³⁶ Only seven specimens of this coin-type have been recorded, one of which is known only from numismatic literature. Lately, two new specimens came to light, one discovered in the Liburnian area to the north-west of the central Dalmatian region, at the Budim hillfort (bearing the abbreviated legend KOP),³⁷ while another example of this issue is in a private collection at Lumbarda and remains unpublished.³⁸ As to the previously recorded coins, one more was found at Lumbarda, another one at Vis (Issa), and a third one most likely on Hvar.³⁹

Some of the coins issued by the Greco-Illyrian minting authorities in the central Adriatic region had a more limited, local circulation, while others had a wider, regional reach, especially the coins of Pharos, Issa and Ballaios.⁴⁰ Indeed, these coin types seem to have formed a distinctive regional monetary nexus that played an important role in the economic history of the central Adriatic region from the 4th to the 2nd c. BC. At that point, because of the radically changed historical circumstances, it was completely and decisively supplanted by Roman Republican coinage. The small number of known KOPKYPAION-issues prevents a categorical assessment of the role of this coin type in this regional monetary nexus. Even so, the find of a specimen of this type in the Liburnian area, together

on Monounios' staters; the same applies to the almost identical monogram that also appears on Monounios' staters and designates the king's name (Picard, Gjongecaj 1995, pp. 179, 191; Gjongecaj 1998, p. 101; for the staters, see Gjongecaj 1998, pp. 88–89, 95–96; Meta 2015, pp. 42–44, 165–173). Thus, this issue of Apollonia stands in no connection with Mytilos.

- 34 The following is a reply to Nenad Cambi's comment: "Nobody responded to, much less criticized, these observations of mine [on the KOPKYPAION-issues, for which see below], as though they had never been written, and the book [Cambi 2002] was even incorporated into the mandatory lecture aids in two departments of archaeology (Zagreb and Zadar)" (Cambi 2017, p. 72).
- 35 For the mint that issued these coins, see Bonačić-Mandinić 1994; Visonà 2005; Ilkić 2016.
- 36 Rendić-Miočević 1980, p. 23; Visonà 2005, p. 243.
- 37 Ilkić 2016.
- 38 I have obtained the information on the coin in private possession at Lumbarda from H. Potrebica, *pers. comm.*, 2019.
- 39 Göricke-Lukić, Bonačić-Mandinić 2010, p. 181.
- 40 For Pharos, see Göricke-Lukić, Bonačić-Mandinić 2010, p. 175; for Issa, see Visonà 2017, pp. 196–200; Pamić, Visonà 2019, p. 66; for the distribution of Ballaios' coins, see most recently Ciołek 2011, pp. 315–319, 323–327, 331–332, and Mirnik, Kapetanić 2019, pp. 37–46.

**DODATAK: o dataciji i provenijenciji kovanica tipa
KOPKYPAION³⁴**

Kovanice tipa KOPKYPAION spadaju među brojčano najmanje emisije grčko-ilirskog novca poznate suvremenim istraživačima.³⁵ Na tim kovanicama prikazana je – najvjerojatnije – Apolonova glava na aversu i klas žita uz natpis KOPKYPAION na reversu (što je rijedak primjer punog, tj. neskrtačenog, natpisa na grčko-ilirskom novcu).³⁶ Zabilježeno je samo sedam primjeraka ovog tipa, od kojih je jedan poznat samo iz numizmatičke literature. Nedavno su prepoznata dva primjerka, od kojih je jedan pronađen na liburnskom teritoriju, sjeverozapadno od srednjodalmatinske regije, na gradini Budim (sa skraćenim natpisom KOP),³⁷ dok se drugi primjerak nalazi u privatnom vlasništvu u Lumbardi te je u ovom trenutku neobjavljen.³⁸ Još jedna od prethodno dokumentiranih kovanica pronađena je u Lumbardi, jedna u Visu te jedna – vjerojatno – na Hvaru.³⁹

Neki od tipova novca koje su izdavali grčko-ilirski kovnički autoriteti na istočnoj obali srednjeg Jadrana imali su ograničenu, lokalnu cirkulaciju. Ali drugi tipovi istog novca imali su širi, regionalni doseg, osobito kovanice Fara, Ise i Baleja.⁴⁰ Uistinu, ti su tipovi kovanica, čini se, tvorili karakterističan regionalni monetarni neksus, koji je imao važnu ulogu u ekonomskoj povijesti

simbolima nalik onima Etoleske lige. Riječ je o vrlo rijetkim sitnim brončanim kovanicama s prikazom Artemidine glave nadesno na aversu i čeljustima divlje svinje i kopljem na reversu; na reversu je i natpis ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ te monogram MOY (Picard, Gjongecaj 1995, str. 179, 191 i T. I:5; Ceka 2013, str. 175). Ceka (1972, str. 59–60) povezuje motiv čeljusti divlje svinje s Etoleskom ligom i hipotetskim savezništvom Apolonije i Lige protiv epirskog kralja Aleksandra II., protiv kojeg je ratovao i Mitil, dok Ceka (2013, str. 175) savezništvu Apolonije i Lige, na temelju istih argumenata, eksplicitno pridružuje i Mitila. No vjerojatnije se motiv čeljusti divlje svinje treba povezati s istim motivom na Monunijevim staterima; isto vrijedi i za gotovo istovjetni monogram, koji se također pojavljuje na Monunijevim staterima te označava njegovo ime (Picard, Gjongecaj 1995, str. 179, 191; Gjongecaj 1998, str. 101; za navedene statere vidi Gjongecaj 1998, str. 88–89, 95–96; Meta 2015, str. 42–44, 165–173). Na taj način ova emisija Apolonije nije ni u kakvoj vezi s Mitilom.

- 34 Tekst koji slijedi reakcija je na opasku Nenada Cambija: "Na moja prije navedena zapažanja [o kovanicama tipa KOPKYPAION, o čemu vidi dalje u tekstu] nitko se nije osvrnuo, ponajmanje kritički, kao da nije ni napisano, a knjiga [Cambi 2002] je ušla u optjecaj i čak je uvrštena u obvezno nastavno pomagalo na obje katedre na kojima se predaje arheologija (Zagreb i Zadar)" (Cambi 2017, str. 71).
- 35 O kovnici u kojoj su te kovanice izrađene vidi Bonačić Mandinić 1994; Visonà 2005; Ilkić 2016.
- 36 Rendić-Miočević 1980, str. 23; Visonà 2005, str. 243.
- 37 Ilkić 2016.
- 38 Podatak o kovanici u privatnom posjedu iz Lumbarde dolazi od H. Potrebice, osobno priopćenje, 2019.
- 39 Göricke-Lukić, Bonačić Mandinić 2010, str. 181.
- 40 Za Far vidi Göricke Lukić, Bonačić Mandinić 2010, str. 175; za Isu, Visonà 2017, str. 196–200; Pamić, Visonà 2019, str. 66; za distribuciju Balejeva novca vidi zadnje Ciołek 2011, str. 315–319, 323–327, 331–332, te Mirnik, Kapetanić 2019, str. 37–46.

with its apparent presence on the central Dalmatian islands, suggest that they were indeed part – however marginal – of this matrix.

Metrological considerations, alloy, modules, palaeography and stylistic features all point to the 3rd c. BC (more precisely, ca. 250–230 BC) as the date of manufacture of these coins,⁴¹ but some dissenting voices have been raised recently, arguing for the second half of the 6th c. as the date of their production.⁴² The portrait of Apollo on the obverse indeed shows some quite remarkable Archaic characteristics, but these can be explained as consistent with stylistic coarsening of the portrait on the coin's Issaeian antecedents of the head of Athena/goat type (with the legend ΙΣ), especially its latest issue.⁴³ The Knidian colony that was established on Korčula (Kórkyra Mélaina), in view of the majority of researches, including Cambi himself, in the Archaic period,⁴⁴ cannot have anything to do with this particular coin type, because Knidos itself only began to mint bronze coins in ca. 375 BC.⁴⁵ The coins were issued more plausibly by the Issaeian colony mentioned in the *Lumbarda Psephisma* (we are using the term “psephisma” – with a final “a” – since it is preferred by P. J. Rhodes in Brill's *New Pauly s.v. Psephisma*).

Indeed, the circumstances surrounding the foundation and history of the Knidian colony on Korkyra Melaina are rather blurry. Thus the three classical sources that mention the Knidian colony on Korkyra Melaina are rather obviously derived from a common source.⁴⁶ The name of the colony is not mentioned, and its rendering as Korkyra (Melaina) is purely circum-

regije srednjeg Jadrana od 4. do 2. st. pr. Kr. U tom trenutku, zbog radikalno promijenjenih povijesnih okolnosti, u potpunosti je zamijenjen rimskim republikanskim novcem. Mali broj poznatih kovanica tipa ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ sprječava kategoričku interpretaciju uloge ovoga tipa kovanica u navedenom regionalnom monetarnom neksusu. Bez obzira na to, pronalazak primjerka ovog tipa na području Liburna, zajedno s određenom prisutnošću kovanica ovoga tipa na srednjodalmatinskim otocima, sugerira da je on bio dio, koliko god marginalan, ove matrice.

Metrologija, metal upotrijebljen za izradu, modul kovne pločice, paleografske značajke i stilske osobine – sve upućuje na 3. st. pr. Kr. (preciznije, oko 250. – 200. g. pr. Kr.) kao datum izrade ovog tipa kovanica.⁴¹ Nasuprot tome, nedavno se pojavilo mišljenje kako su te kovanice nastale u drugoj polovici 6. st. pr. Kr.⁴² Apolonov portret na aversu uistinu pokazuje određene upečatljive arhaične značajke, ali one se mogu objasniti kao posljedica stilske ogrubljenja portreta na njegovim isejskim prethodnicima tipa glava Atene/koza (s natpisom ΙΣ), osobito najkasnije emisije.⁴³ Knidska kolonija na Korčuli (Kórkyra Mélaina), osnovana, prema većini modernih autora, uključujući i Cambija, u arhajskom razdoblju,⁴⁴ ne može se dovesti u vezu s ovim tipom kovanica, jer je sam Knid počeo s kovanjem brončanog novca oko 375. g. pr. Kr.⁴⁵ Uvjeljivija je pretpostavka da je ove kovanice izdala isejska naseobina koja se spominje u *Lumbardskoj psefizmi*.

Uistinu, okolnosti koje su pratile osnivanje i trajanje knidske kolonije na Korčuli prilično su nejasne. Tri antička izvora koja spominju knidsku koloniju na Korčuli izvjesno su izvedena iz zajedničkog izvora.⁴⁶ Naziv kolonije nigdje se ne spominje, a

41 Visonà 2005, pp. 244–245; cf. Ilkić 2016, p. 103.

42 Cambi 2017, cf. his earlier remarks in Cambi 2002, p. 42. Visonà 2005, a seminal paper on the subject, is not cited by Cambi. The archaic characteristics of Apollo's portrait were previously noted by Rendić-Miočević 1980, pp. 237–238. Rendić-Miočević actually attributed this type of coin to the Korkyra mint on Corfu (e.g. Rendić-Miočević 1953, p. 8; 1980, pp. 236–239).

43 Visonà 2005, pp. 244–245. He further adduces the Metapontine head of Demeter/barley ear coin type from ca. 330–280 BC as the model for the ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ-issues (Visonà 2005, pp. 243–244).

44 Wilkes 1969, pp. 8–9; Antonelli 2000, pp. 142–143 = 2002, p. 195; Kirigin 2010, p. 113.

45 Ashton 1999, 92; 2006, 8. See similarly Kirigin 2003, p. 139

46 Rendić-Miočević 1953, p. 5; 1980, pp. 230–231, *pace* Cambi 2017, p. 68, note 1, who claims that the three sources are “mutually unconnected”. Čače 2015, pp. 14, 22 suggests that Pseudo-Scymnus' (whose text is the earliest extant that preserves this information) source here (*Periegesis* 427–428 = *FGrHist* 2048T1) was Ephorus, either directly or perhaps *via* Apollodorus of Athens' *Catalogue of Ships* (Čače here actually transmits the opinion from Gisinger 1927, column 683.48–52). The three ancient texts in question are Pseudo-Scymnus' *Periegesis* 427–428 ([νῆσοι] ἢ τε λεγομένη Μέλαινα Κόρκυρ', ἢν Κνίδιοι κατώκισαν), Strabo's *Geography* 7.5.5 (νῆσοι ἢ μέλαινα Κόρκυρα καλουμένη καὶ πόλις, Κνιδίων κτίσμα) and Pliny's *Natural History* 3.152 (*Corcyra Melaena cognominata cum Cnidiorum oppido*).

41 Visonà 2005, str. 244–245; usp. Ilkić 2016, str. 103.

42 Cambi 2017, usp. autorove ranije opaske u Cambi 2002, str. 42. Cambi ne citira rad Visonà 2005, ključnu publikaciju o ovoj temi. Arhaične značajke Apolonova portreta već je primijetio Rendić-Miočević 1980, str. 237–238. Rendić-Miočević pripisuje ovaj tip novca kovnici u Korkiri na otoku Krfu (npr. Rendić-Miočević 1953, str. 8; 1980, str. 236–239).

43 Visonà 2005, str. 244–245. Visonà dalje predlaže tip glava Demetre/klas žita metapontinskog novca iz oko 330. – 280. g. pr. Kr. kao model za kovanice tipa ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ (Visonà 2005, str. 243–244).

44 Wilkes 1969, str. 8–9; Antonelli 2000, str. 142–143 = 2002, str. 195; Kirigin 2010, str. 113.

45 Ashton 1999, str. 92; 2006, str. 8. Vidi slično i Kirigin 2004, str. 139.

46 Rendić-Miočević 1953, str. 5; 1980, str. 230–231, *pace* Cambi 2017, str. 68, bilj. 1, koji tvrdi kako su tri izvora “međusobno neovisna”. Čače 2015, str. 14, 22 sugerira kako je Pseudo-Skimnov izvor na ovome mjestu (*Periegeza* 427–428 = *FGrHist* 2048T1) bio Efor (Pseudo-Skimnova *Periegeza* najraniji je sačuvani tekst koji sadrži navedenu informaciju), izravno ili možda preko *Kataloga brodova* Apolodora iz Atene (Čače ovdje zapravo prenosi mišljenje izneseno u Gisinger 1927, stupac 683.48–52). Tri antička svjedočanstva su Pseudo-Skimnova *Periegeza* 427–428 ([νῆσοι] ἢ τε λεγομένη Μέλαινα Κόρκυρ', ἢν Κνίδιοι κατώκισαν), Strabonova *Geografija* 7.5.5 (νῆσοι ἢ μέλαινα Κόρκυρα καλουμένη καὶ πόλις, Κνιδίων κτίσμα) te Plinijeva *Naturalis Historia* 3.152 (*Corcyra Melaena cognominata cum Cnidiorum oppido*).

stantial.⁴⁷ In terms of archaeology, 7th and 6th c. finds on the island are extremely rare,⁴⁸ while no remains of the Knidian colony have been recognised in archaeological surveys of the island.⁴⁹ Although the absence of evidence cannot be equated with evidence of absence, and there is no particular reason to doubt the veracity of the information on a Knidian colony on Korčula,⁵⁰ its Archaic dating is rather suspicious in the light of archaeological records, while a somewhat later date of foundation of the colony cannot be discarded.⁵¹ Indeed, our earliest witness for its foundation is the author of Pseudo Scymnus *Periegesis* from the last third of the 2nd c. BC;⁵² if his information indeed ultimately derives from Ephorus (although this is only an informed guess), then it is not earlier than the mid-4th c., which is at the same time the t.a.q. for the foundation of the colony (alternative suggestions concerning the author of this information would only lower this date).⁵³ Notwithstand-

ime “Korkyra (Melaina)” je samo nagađanje.⁴⁷ Arheološki nalazi grčke provenijencije s Korčule koji se mogu datirati u 7. i 6. st. iznimno su rijetki,⁴⁸ a u arheološkim pregledima i iskopavanjima na otoku nije otkrivena lokacija knidske kolonije.⁴⁹ Iako se nepostojanje dokaza ne može izjednačiti s dokazom o nepostojanju kolonije, a istodobno ne postoji uvjerljiv razlog zašto bi se sumnjalo u istinitost podatka o osnutku knidske kolonije na Korčuli,⁵⁰ u svjetlu arheološkog zapisa njezino datiranje u arhaisko razdoblje je upitno, a nešto kasniji datum osnivanja kolonije ne može se odbaciti.⁵¹ Uistinu, najraniji tekst u kojem se spominje osnivanje kolonije je Pseudo-Skimnova *Periegeza* iz zadnje trećine 2. st. pr. Kr.;⁵² ako informacija koju prenosi izvorno potiče od Efora (iako je to samo učena pretpostavka), onda ona nije starija od sredine 4. st., što je u isto vrijeme *taq* osnutka kolonije (alternativni prijedlozi za autora ove informacije samo bi dodatno snizili ovo datiranje).⁵³ Ali, dalje od

47 Rendić-Miočević 1953, p. 5; 1980, pp. 230–233, 235, 237; Braccesi 1971, p. 52; Kirigin 2010, p. 113.

48 Radić, Borzić 2017, pp. 316, 318–319.

49 Kirigin 2010, pp. 113–114; Radić, Borzić 2017, p. 307.

50 However, due to the scarce and incomplete literary sources accompanied by the lack of any archaeological support, B. Kirigin’s scepticism is reasonable: “The Knidian colony on Korčula might be a failed attempt at founding a settlement or could represent a “fictive tradition” fabricated by the ancient authors for some purpose” (Kirigin 2010, p. 114, the authors’ translation). Incidentally, the connection of the episode involving Periander, Korkyra on Corfu and Knidos (Plut. *Mor.* 860BC – modern scholars agree that *De Herodoti malignitate* is a genuine work of Plutarch, Bowen 1992, pp. 2–3; Hershbell 1993, pp. 143–144 – on the authority of Dionysius the Chalcidian fr. 3 Dueck 2012 of the 4th c. BC? and Antenor *BNJ* 463F2 of the 2nd c. BC; Hdt. 3.48 does not mention the Knidian involvement) with the foundation of the Knidian colony on Korčula (see e.g. Brunšmid 1898, p. vii; Wilkes 1969, pp. 8–9; Katičić 1970, p. 125 = 1995, p. 106; Braccesi 1971, pp. 50–52; Antonelli 2000, pp. 142–143 = 2002, p. 195; Domínguez 2006, pp. 313–314; Cabanes 2008, p. 174) is only a modern scholarly construction (cf. Graham 1982, p. 130) and should be treated accordingly.

51 Thus Rendić-Miočević 1980, p. 230, cf. 234.

52 Korenjak 2011.

53 Ephorus was the most important source for the author of the *Periegesis* (Korenjak 2011), and he mentioned the eastern Adriatic in *BNJ* 70F89; Timaeus can probably be discounted since he was – together with Eratosthenes fr. 146 Roller – a named source for the preceding verses 405–414 (*BNJ* 566F77, cf. Čače 2015, p. 14); Gisinger 1927, column 683.52–53 mentioned Ephorus’ younger contemporary Theopompus as a less likely possibility – for what it’s worth, Theopompus is named as one of Pliny’s sources for his third book, while Ephorus is not on his list of references; in addition, Theopompus wrote relatively extensively on the eastern Adriatic (*BNJ* 115F128–131), and was at the same time the main source on the eastern Adriatic for the author of the *Periegesis* (Jacoby *FGrHist Kommentar* 3B, p. 572). Furthermore, from the preserved fragments of these three Greek historians it would seem that only the youngest, Timaeus, wrote on the Knidian colonisation of the West (*BNJ* 566F164). Judging by the information available at present it does not seem possible to make an informed choice among these three authors, not to mention the possibility that the source of infor-

47 Rendić-Miočević 1953, str. 5; 1980, str. 230–233, 235, 237; Braccesi 1971, str. 52; Kirigin 2010, str. 113.

48 Radić, Borzić 2017, str. 316, 318–319.

49 Kirigin 2010, str. 113–114; Radić, Borzić 2017, str. 307.

50 Ipak, zbog šturih i nepotpunih literarnih izvora te nedostatka bilo kakve arheološke potkrepe, razumljiv je skepticizam B. Kirigina: “Moglo bi se, prema navedenom, zaključiti da je knidska kolonija na Korčuli bila pokušaj koji se izjalovio ili je to ‘izmišljena tradicija’ antičkih pisaca kojima je takva priča zbog nečega trebala” (Kirigin 2010, str. 114). Usput, povezanost epizode koja uključuje Perijandra, Korkiru na Krfu i Knid (Plut. *Mor.* 860BC – recentni autori slažu se da je *De Herodoti malignitate* autentičan Plutarhov esej, Bowen 1992, str. 2–3; Hershbell 1993, str. 143–144 – prema Dioniziju iz Halkide fr. 3 Dueck 2012 iz 4. st. pr. Kr.? i Antenor *BNJ* 463F2 iz 2. st. pr. Kr.; Hdt. 3.48 ne spominje Knidane u kontekstu ove priče) s osnutkom knidske kolonije na Korčuli (vidi npr. Brunšmid 1898, str. vii; Wilkes 1969, str. 8–9; Katičić 1970, str. 125 = 1995, str. 106; Braccesi 1971, str. 50–52; Antonelli 2000, str. 142–143 = 2002, str. 195; Domínguez 2006, str. 313–314; Cabanes 2008, str. 174) samo je konstrukcija suvremenih istraživača (usp. Graham 1982, str. 130) te se prema njoj na taj način treba i ophoditi.

51 Tako Rendić-Miočević 1980, str. 230, usp. 234.

52 Korenjak 2011.

53 Efor je najvažniji izvor kojim se koristi autor *Periegeze* (Korenjak 2011), a istočni Jadran spominje u *BNJ* 70F89; Timeja se vjerojatno može odbaciti jer je on – zajedno s Eratostenom, fr. 146 Roller – imenovani izvor za prethodne stihove 405–414 (*BNJ* 566F77, usp. Čače 2015, str. 14); Gisinger 1927, stupac 683.52–53, kao manje izvjesnu varijantu spominje Eforova mlađeg suvremenika Teopompa, koji se ipak, za razliku od Efora, pojavljuje na Plinijevoj listi izvora za njegovu treću knjigu; također, Teopomp je relativno opširno pisao o istočnoj obali Jadrana (*BNJ* 115F128–131), a ujedno je i glavni izvor za opis istočnojadranske obale autoru *Periegeze* (Jacoby *FGrHist Kommentar* 3B, str. 572). Nadalje, iz sačuvanih fragmenata trojice grčkih historičara proizlazi da je jedino najmlađi od njih, Timej, pisao o knidskoj kolonizaciji na Zapadu (*BNJ* 566F164). Prema informacijama koje posjedujemo, ne čini se vjerojatnim da možemo s bilo kakvom razinom sigurnosti učiniti izbor između ova tri autora, ne spominjući mogućnost da je izvor informacije o knidskoj kolonizaciji Korčule jedan od brojnih autora čija su djela nepovratno izgubljena u potpunosti ili u većoj mjeri u usporedbi s onima spomenutih triju autora.

ing, we cannot go any further than that.

Thus the combination of analyses of historical sources and archaeological research seems to confirm Rendić-Miočević's view on the date of foundation of the Knidian colony on Korkyra Melaina. At the same time, Visonà's research convincingly attributes the ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ-issues to a mint in the Issaeon colony mentioned in the *Lumbarda Psephisma*. In addition, Cambi's stylistic arguments are indeed suggestive if considered outside of the historical and numismatic contexts, but Visonà's explanation of the 'archaising' elements in the depiction of the male head on the obverse of these coins is more plausible because it takes into consideration both historical and numismatic settings in which they were produced. Finally, a colony minting bronze coinage some 150 years before its mother city, in a true numismatic vacuum in the region, does not seem particularly convincing.

After all, Archaic bronze coins of the Knidian colony on Korčula would actually be by far the earliest Greek bronze coins ever, since the first bronze coins issued by any Greek minting authority (perhaps in Magna Graecia) are dated to the middle or the second half of the 5th c. BC.⁵⁴ Therefore, this hypothesis seems to be quite unacceptable.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their gratitude to Federico Barello, Amelia Dowler, Shpresa Gjongecaj, Benjamin Hellings, Rodolfo Martini, Elisa Panero, Atdhe Prelvukaj and Paolo Visonà for their kind help in the preparation of this paper. We would also like to thank Ivana Zamboni, Milko Jakšić and Stjepko Fazinić of the Laboratory for Ion Beam Interactions at the Ruđer Bošković Institute for conducting the PIXE analysis, and Vladan Desnica and Domagoj Šatović of the Department for Conservation and Restoration of Artworks at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb for their help and for conducting the FT-IR analysis.

Prijevod / Translation: Tomislav Bilić

ovoga ne možemo ići.

Na taj način, čini se da kombinacija analize literarnih izvora i rezultata arheoloških istraživanja potvrđuje razmišljanje Duje Rendić-Miočevića o datumu osnutka knidske kolonije na Korkiri Melaini. U isto vrijeme, Visonà uvjerljivo pripisuje kovanice tipa ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ kovnici u isejskoj naseobini na otoku koja se spominje u *Lumbardskoj psefizmi*. Nadalje, Cambijevi stilski argumenti uistinu su sugestivni ako se razmatraju izvan povijesnoga i numizmatičkog konteksta, dok je objašnjenje "arhaičnih" elemenata u prikazu muške glave na aversu ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ kovanica koje nudi Visonà mnogo prihvatljivije upravo jer uzima u obzir i povijesni i numizmatički kontekst u kojem su one proizvedene. Konačno, kolonija koja kuje brončani novac nekih 150 godina prije svojeg matičnog polisa, u kontekstu stvarnoga numizmatičkog vakuuma u regiji, ne čini se osobito uvjerljivom pretpostavkom.

Uostalom, arhajske brončane kovanice knidske kolonije na Korčuli bile bi zapravo *daleko najraniji grčki brončani novac uopće*, jer se najranije brončane kovanice izdane od strane bilo kojega grčkoga kovničkog autoriteta (možda u Velikoj Grčkoj) datiraju u sredinu ili drugu polovicu 5. st. pr. Kr.⁵⁴ Ta se pretpostavka, dakle, čini iznimno neprihvatljivom.

Zahvale

Autori ovom prigodom žele izraziti zahvalnost kolegama Federicu Barello, Ameliji Dowler, Shpresi Gjongecaj, Benjaminu Hellingsu, Rodolfu Martiniju, Elisi Panero, Atdheu Prelvukaju i Paolu Visoni na pomoći prilikom pisanja ovog rada. Također, zahvaljujemo i Ivani Zamboni, Milku Jakšiću te Stjepku Faziniću iz Laboratorija za interakcije ionskih snopova Instituta Ruđer Bošković na izradi PIXE analize te Vladanu Desnici i Domagoju Šatoviću s Odsjeka za konzerviranje i restauriranje umjetnina Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu na pomoći i provođenju FT-IR analize.

mation on the Knidian colonisation of Korčula might be one of the numerous authors whose works have been irretrievably lost, either in their entirety or in a larger measure than those of the three historians discussed here.

54 Von Reden 2010, p. 32; Fischer-Bossert 2012, p. 148; Hollander 2012; Rutter 2012, p. 136. This fact can also be found in works in Croatian that are not specifically numismatic in character, see, e.g. Kirigin 2004, p. 139.

54 Von Reden 2010, str. 32; Fischer-Bossert 2012, str. 148; Hollander 2012; Rutter 2012, str. 136. Ova činjenica poznata je i u domaćoj nespecijaliziranoj numizmatičkoj literaturi, vidi npr. Kirigin 2004, str. 139.

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