

Rane tremise Odoakara kovane u Milanu (476./477. - 480.): primjeri iz Hrvatske, Slovenije i Bosne i Hercegovine

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U radu su predstavljene Odoakarove tremise kovane u Milanu u ime Julija Nepota i Zenona u vremenu od 476./477. do 482./483. godine (i kasnije) pohranjene u numizmatičkim zbirkama muzejskih institucija u Hrvatskoj, Sloveniji i Bosni i Hercegovini. Njima su pridodane još dvije tremise: primjerak iz SIASP-a (danas u Trstu, Italija) kao vjerojatni nalaz iz Istre (Hrvatska) i zanimljiva imitacija Odoakarove milanske tremise, kovana nakon 482./483. godine, nađena u Sloveniji. Predstavljena građa uspoređena je sa sličnom publiciranom i nepubliciranom te analizirana u tipološkom i kronološkom smislu. Predstavljene su temeljni stilistički i tipološki elementi koji omogućavaju determinaciju i kronološko pozicioniranje Odoakarovih milanskih tremisa kovanih u razdoblju od 476./477. do 482./483. godine. Pogrešni navodi te neadekvatne i zastarjele procjene u standardnoj referalnoj literaturi (RIC X) korigirani su rezultatima ovih istraživanja te predstavljene tablično i po potrebi opremljeni su opaskama.

Ključne riječi: Hrvatska; Slovenija; Bosna i Hercegovina; Italija; Odoakar; Julije Nepot; Zenon; kasna antika, numizmatika, kovnica u Milanu (Mediolanum), tremise, nalazišta, tipologija, serijacija, kronologija.

Early tremisses of Odovacar struck in Milan (476/7-480): examples from Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina

The paper discusses tremisses of Odovacar struck in Milan in the names of Julius Nepos and Zeno in the period from 476/7 to 480 (and later) kept in numismatic collections of museums in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also discussed are two more tremisses: a specimen from SIASP (today held in Trieste, Italy), a probable find from Istria (Croatia), and an interesting imitation of a Milan tremissis of Odovacar

struck after 482/3, found in Slovenia. The material presented is compared with similar examples, whether described in print or not, and is analysed in typological and chronological terms. The fundamental stylistic and typological elements that enable the determination and chronological classification of Odovacar's Milan tremisses minted in the period from 476/477 to 482/483 are presented. Previous incorrect references and inadequate and outdated assessments in the standard reference work (RIC X) are corrected with the results of this research and presented in table form, furnished, where necessary, with notes.

Keywords: Croatia; Slovenia; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Italy. Odovacar, Julius Nepos; Zeno, Late Antiquity; numismatics; mint in Milan (Mediolanum), tremisses, archaeological sites, typology, seriation, chronology.

Kada je Odoakar u kolovozu 476. godine pristao stati na čelo nezadovoljnih germanskih plaćenika na sjeveru Italije i zauzvrat postati njihovim kraljem, bio je u ranim četrdesetima i s iskustvom vojnog zapovjednika i pripadnika carske garde.¹ To mu je kad su prilike tražile omogućilo da, upoznavši aktualne, ali i buduće protagoniste političke vlasti te njihove karaktere, odnose, snagu i moć, za samo dva tjedna uspješno ukloni sve vojne i političke prepreke te postane dominantom prihvatljivom ne samo svojim vojnicima nego i aristokratskoj oligarhiji i magnatima okupljenima u Rimu u senatu i oko njega.

U trenucima izbijanja nezadovoljstava i njihova naglog prerastanja u otvorenu pobunu Italijom su vladali patricij i *magister militum* Orest te njegov tada još mladi sin i car Romul August(ul), a u Konstantinopolu car Bazilisk, dotada već dobro uzdrmanog kredibiliteta i nadasve nepopularan kako u vojnim tako i u tamošnjim crkvenim krugovima. Kada je 4. rujna 476. godine u Raveni Odoakar okončao pobunu svrgavanjem Romula August(ul)a, u Konstantinopolu je vlast već ponovno bila u Zenonovim rukama, a vijest o tome narednih je dana zacijelo stigla do Rima, ali i do Ravene, gdje je priopćena Odoakaru. Za njega je to bio podatak od prvorazredne važnosti jer ga je upućivao na adresu kojoj je on kao novi vladar Italije trebao iskazati lojalnost te za sebe i svoje dotadašnje i buduće pothvate pribaviti legitimitet koji mu je mogao udijeliti jedino legitimno ustoličeni car u Konstantinopolu. Odoakarova nastojanja da regulira svoj status podupirala je i činjenica da ni Zenon, a ni Bazilisk prije njega nikad nisu ni iskazali namjeru, a kamoli priznali Orestovo ustoličenje i vlast Romula August(ul)a ili pak svrgavanje njegova prethodnika Julija Nepota prihvatili kao *fait accompli*. U izmijenjenim uvjetima to je značilo da pravo na zapadnorimsko prijestolje i dalje pripada izabraniku istočnorimskog dvora, u senatu potvrđenom pa stoga legitimnom i još uvijek živućem Juliju Nepotu. U tom smislu Odoakar se kao pobjednička strana, ali ne i kao jedini gospodar novonastalog stanja odlučio prikloniti legitimitetu, pokazujući to i jednim od temeljnih vladarskih prerogativa – kovanjem novca sadržajem i porukama utemeljenim na pravu uz koje je htio – ne htio vezao i vlastita uvjerenja.

¹ Za osnovne podatke o Odoakarovu porijeklu i razdoblju prije 476. godine, Martindale 1980, str. 791-793 (s.v. „*Odovacer*“); Henning 1999, str. 58-64; MacGeorge 2002, str. 287-288.

When in August 476, Odovacar agreed to head the dissatisfied Germanic mercenaries in northern Italy and in return become the king, he was in his early forties, experienced as a military commander and member of the imperial guard.¹ This enabled him, when circumstances required, knowing current and possible future leading figures in government and their characters, relations, strength, and power, to remove in just two weeks all military and political obstacles and become the dominant figure, acceptable not only to his soldiers but also to the aristocratic oligarchy and the magnates gathered in and around the Senate in Rome.

At the moments when discontent broke out and suddenly developed into open revolt, Italy was ruled by the patrician and *magister militum* Orestes and his then still young son Romulus Augustulus and in Constantinople by Emperor Basiliscus' whose credibility had been by then severely shaken and was extremely unpopular in both military and Byzantine church circles. When on September 4, 476, Odovacar brought his rebellion to an end in Ravenna by deposing Romulus Augustulus, in Constantinople the government was once again in the hands of Zeno, and news about this arrived in the days to come in Rome as well as in Ravenna, where Odovacar was informed. This was for him information of first rate importance, for it showed him to whom, as the new ruler of Italy, he had to pledge his loyalty and for him and his current and future enterprises assure the legitimacy that only the legitimately enthroned emperor in Constantinople could provide him. Odovacar's endeavours to regulate his status were supported by neither Zeno nor Basiliscus before him having shown any intention of accepting Orestes' enthronement or the rule of Romulus Augustulus or even the deposition of his predecessor, Julius Nepos, as a *fait accompli*. In the altered conditions this meant that the right to the Western Roman throne still belonged to the selected candidate of the Eastern Roman court, Julius Nepos, confirmed in the senate and hence legitimate, and still living. Accordingly, Odovacar, as the victorious party, but not the only master of the newly arisen situation, determined to bow to legitimacy, showing this by one of the basic prerogatives of the

¹ For basic information about Odovacar's origin and the period before 476, see Martindale 1980, pp. 791-793 (s.v. „*Odovacer*“); Henning 1999, pp. 58-64; MacGeorge 2002, pp. 287-288.

Slijed događanja tijekom pobune upućuje na vjerojatnost da je prva službena kovnica dijeceze Italije Odoakaru na raspolaganju bila ona u Milanu (*Mediolanum*),² a shodno okolnostima koje su u početku bile poprilično burne i nesigurne, pretpostaviti je da su prve tamošnje Odoakarove serije, izuzmu li se nužne i nezaobilazne korekcije u oblikovanju novca, slijedile ako ne u cijelosti, onda barem jednim dobrim dijelom obilježja i parametre prethodnih Romulovih serija. Time su podjednako i na sličan način obuhvaćeni kako solidi tako i znatno manje istraživane, ali u optjecaju vjerojatno brojnije Odoakarove milanske tremise. Stoga se baš tim potonjima ovdje posvećuje isključiva pažnja.

U numizmatičkim krugovima već je desetljećima poznato da su milanske tremise kovane od Odoakara u ime Nepota i Zenona prepoznatljivije po reversu s križem u vijencu sastavljenom od grančica s osam (Nepot) ili deset latica (Nepot, Zenon).³ Ta je tvrdnja također značajno pripomogla pouzdanijem i bržem prepoznavanju ranijih od onih kasnije kovanih tremisa s imenom Julija Nepota, čime je u struci upućenijima postala vidljivom razlika između kovanica iz razdoblja stvarne, prve vladavine Julija Nepota 474. - 475. godine (14 latica) i kovanica njegove kasnije, nominalne, druge vladavine 476./377. - 480. godine (8 ili pretežno 10 latica).⁴ Uočeno je pa je već i tada upozoreno na različitosti u ukrašavanju linije egzerga, ali je dodatno bila istaknuta jedino upotreba oblika XIX, kao i preuzimanje i nastavak upotrebe ukrasa egzerga prisutnog na tremisama Nepotova prethodnika Romula August(ul)a (XX, XXX).⁵ Mnogo godina kasnije autor tih tvrd-

ruler – minting coins that had contents and messages founded on the right to which whether he wanted or not he had bound his own convictions.

The sequence of events during the rebellion indicates the likelihood that the first official mint of the diocese of Italy at Odovacar's disposal was that in Milan (*Mediolanum*),² and in line with the circumstances that were at the beginning fairly turbulent and uncertain, it can be assumed that the first series of Odovacar from that city, if one excepts the necessary and unavoidable corrections in the formation of the coins, followed, if not in their entirety, but at least in part, the features and parameters of the previous series of Romulus. Accordingly, both the solidi and the much less researched but probably more frequently released and circulated Milanese tremisses of Odovacar were equally encompassed. For this reason, it is to the latter coins that exclusive attention will be devoted here.

In numismatic circles it has been known for decades that the Milanese tremisses minted by Odovacar in the names of Nepos and Zeno are distinguishable by the reverse, which has a cross in a wreath consisting of branches with eight (Nepos) or ten leaves (Nepos and Zeno).³ This claim also considerably assisted a more reliable and rapid recognition of the earlier from the later minted tremisses with the name of Julius Nepos, by which the difference between the coins of the first actual rule of Julius Nepos, 474-475 (14 leaves) and the coins of his later, only nominal, second reign, 476/7-480 (8 or mostly 10 leaves)⁴ was apparent to those better informed about the subject. It was noted and

² Ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost da je neko rano ambulantly kovanje moglo biti obavljeno i negdje drugdje, npr. u Paviji (*Ticinum*), koja se u izvorima spominje kao poprište pregovora Odoakara i Oresta i gdje su nakon što su pregovori propali nastali neredi i uništavanja (Ennodius, *Vita Epiph.*, str. 96, 95-66). Pretpostavlja se da je u Paviji ili Piacenzi (*Placentia*) Odoakar proglašen kraljem (MacGeorge 2002, str. 290) pa je i taj čin mogao poslužiti kao poticaj ranom kovanju novca s imenom Julija Nepota na aversu, čijim se legitimitetom između ostaloga nastojalo opravdati pobunu te „legalizirati“ događanja, ali i njihove glavne protagoniste.

³ Kent 1966, str. 149. Ovdje treba uzeti na znanje da na Odoakarovim tremisama kovanima u Milanu u ime Zenona zasad nije potvrđena pojava vijenca od grančica s osam latica.

⁴ Prema Kentu razdoblje Nepotove druge vladavine započinje 477., a završava 9. svibnja 480. godine (1994, str. 431-432).

⁵ Za točniju i razrađeniju listu ukrasa linije egzerga zaslu-

² One should not rule out the possibility that some early itinerant minting might have been carried out somewhere else, in Pavia (*Ticinum*) for example, which in the sources is given as the scene for the negotiations of Odavacar and Orestes, where, after the talks had collapsed, there were disorders and outbreaks of destruction (Ennodius, *Vita Epiph.*, 96, pp. 95-66) It is assumed that Odavacar was proclaimed king in Pavia or Piacenza (*Placentia*) (MacGeorge 2002, p. 290) and that this might have served as a spur to the early minting of coins with the name of Julius Nepos on the obverse, his legitimacy among other things being used in an attempt to justify the revolt and legalise the events as well as the main figures in them.

³ Kent 1966, p. 149. Here one should be aware that on Odavacar's tremisses minted in Milan in the name of Zeno so far there is no confirmation of the appearance of a wreath of branches with eight leaves.

⁴ According to Kent, the period of Nepos' second reign started in 477 and ended on May 9, 480 (1994, pp. 431-432).

nji J. P. C. Kent ugradio ih je u svoje monumentalno djelo referentnih obilježja posvećeno kasnorimskoj numizmatičkoj ostavštini Istočnorimskoga i Zapadnorimskoga Carstva (1994 = *RIC X*), predstavivši milansku skupinu tremisa kovanih u ime Nepota i istovremenu skupinu kovanu u ime Zenona, svaku sa po tri primjerka: Nepotovu skupnu pripisanu drugoj, nominalnoj vladavini i razdoblju od 477. do 9. svibnja 480. godine predstavio je jednim snimkom, a Zenonovu skupinu za tu prigodu nazvanu „*Early group*“ i svrstano u njegov „*First period; ? October 476-7*“ razvrstao je na tremise s natpisom •COMOB• i COMOB u egzergu, predstavivši ih s tri snimke (Tablica 1). Različiti završeci aversnih legendi trebali su, mislilo se tada, pripomoći prepoznavanju kako Nepotovih tremisa (VAC, AVC, NC) tako i onih Zenonovih (AVC, NC). Kod Nepotovih tremisa kovanih u razdoblju Nepotove druge, nominalne vladavine ta se podjela pokazala svrsishodnom jer je pripomogla razrješenju kronološkog redoslijeda pojedinih serija, ali ne i kod Odoakarovih milanskih tremisa kovanih u istom vremenskom razdoblju u ime cara Zenona. Razlog tomu je – to Kent nije zapazio niti je o tome išta napisao – da se upotreba AVC završetka aversne legende na tremisama kovanima u Milanu u to vrijeme oslanjala na *modus operandi* primjeren kovnici u Konstantinopolu i da je najranije ubrzo nakon Nepotova ubojstva 9. svibnja 480. godine, ali najvjerojatnije kasnije, tek nakon Odoakarove intervencije u Dalmaciji 481./482. godine, AVC završetak zamijenjen novim NC završetkom. Stoga ne čudi da i Kentova „*Later group*“ Odoakarovih milanskih tremisa kovanih u ime Zenona uključuje i dvije tremise s AVC završetkom, koje ne samo da ne spadaju u „*Second period: 9. May 480-11. April 491*“⁶ kako je on tada ustvrdio, već su naprotiv obje kovane u Milanu u razdoblju Nepotove nominalne druge vladavine. Da je broj Odoakarovih milanskih serija tremisa kovanih u ime Nepota i Zenona u razdoblju od 476./477. - 480. godine veći od broja predstavljenog u *RIC X* (4), moguće je provjeriti u djelima dvojice zaslužnih numizmatičkih entuzijasta (O. Ulrich-Bansa i G. Lacam), čija su monografska ostvarenja – svako u svoje vrijeme i s različitim gledanjima na krono-

even then attention was drawn to the differences in the ornamentation of the line of the exergue, but pointed out in addition were only the use of the form XIX and the adoption of the continuation of the use of the decoration of the exergue present on the tremisses of Nepos' predecessor Romulus Augustulus (XX, XXX).⁵ Many years later, the author of these claims, J.P.C. Kent, incorporated them into his monumental reference work devoted to the later Roman numismatic legacy of the Eastern and the Western Roman Empire (1994 – *RIC X*), presenting the Milan group of tremisses minted in the name of Nepos and the contemporaneous group minted in the name of Zeno, each one of them with three examples: the Nepos group ascribed to the second, nominal reign and the period of 477 to May 9 480 he presented with a single illustration, while the Zeno group, called for this purpose the “*early group*” and catalogued within his “*First period; ? October 476-7*” was classified into tremisses with the inscription •COMOB• and COMOB in the exergue, presenting them with three illustrations. (Table 1).

Different endings of the legends on the obverses were supposed, it was then thought, to help in the identification of both Nepos's tremisses (VAC, AVC, NC) and those of Zeno (AVC, NC). In the cases of Nepos's tremisses minted in the time of the second but only nominal reign of Nepos, this division proved to be useful, for it helped to settle the chronological order of individual series, but not with Odovacar's Milanese tremisses minted in the same period in the name of Emperor Zeno. The reason for this – and Kent neither noticed this nor wrote anything about it – is that the use of the AVC ending of the obverse legend on the tremisses struck in Milan at that time relied on the *modus operandi* suitable for the mint in Constantinople and that at the earliest soon after the murder of Nepos on May 9, 480, but probably later and only after the intervention of Odovacar in Dalmatia in 481/482, the VC ending was replaced with the new NC ending. So it is not surprising that Kent's “*later group*” of Odovacar's Milanese tremisses struck in the name of Zeno includes two tremisses with the AVC ending, which not only do not belong to the

žan je G. Lacam (1983, str. 685). Upotrebljivost te njegove liste čini se svrsishodnijom pri raspoznavanju inačica unutar pojedinih serija te kao njihova dobrodošla poveznica.

⁶ Kent 1994, str. 216-217, 444 no. 3610-3611.

⁵ G. Lacam (1983, p. 685) is to be credited with making a more exact and elaborated list of decorations of the line of the exergue. The usefulness of this list makes it more sensible to use in determination of the versions within individual series and as a very welcome connection among them.

Odoakar u ime Nepota (476/7.-480.) / Odovacar for Nepos (476/7-480)

Kent 1994, 432/ no. (<i>Nepos, 2nd Reign, 477-80</i>)	Lacam 1983, 686, 869/ no. (474-475)	Ulrich-Bansa 1949, 326/ no. (<i>fra il 474 ed il 476</i>)
3240 (Pl. –) BM B.11490 ¹	–	165 (Tav. XIII) BM B.11490
3241 (Pl. –) BM 1867.0101.981)	–	164* (Tav. XIII) BM 1867.0101.981)
–	81 (Pl. 41=CLXXII:2a2) BnF	–
3242/Bo ² (Pl. 70) <i>Naville XI/1925, 1056</i>	88 (Pl. 41=CLXXIII:4b1) <i>Naville XI/1925, 1056</i>	166 (Tav. XIII) <i>Naville XI/1925, 1056</i>
–	90 (Pl. 41=CLXXIII:4b:2) Bo ³	–
–	89 (Pl. 41=CLXXIII:4b:3) DO ⁴	–
–	79 (Pl. 41=CLXXII:2b2) <i>MuM 44/1971, 207</i>	168 (Pl. XIII)
–	80 (Pl. 41=CLXXII:2b1) <i>Spink & Son 15/1981</i>	–

Odoakar u ime Zenona (476/7.-480.) / Odovacar for Zeno (476/7-480)

Kent 1994, 444/ no. (<i>Zeno, Early Group</i>)	Lacam 1983, 821, 826/ no. (476-493)	Ulrich-Bansa 1949, 326-9/ no. (<i>dal 476 in poi</i>)
3605 (Pl. 73) <i>Hamburger 96/1925, 1102</i>	–	177 (Tav. XV) <i>Hamburger 96/1925, 1102</i>
3606/2 ⁵ (Pl. 73)	–	–
3607 ⁶ (Pl. 73) <i>NFA VI/1979, 989</i> ⁷ (<i>Zeno, Later Group</i>)	–	–
3610 (Pl. 73) <i>Hess-Leu 28/1965, 561</i> ⁸	–	–
–	70 (Pl. 53=CXCIX-B:4) Bo	–
3611 (Pl. –) <i>MEC I, 422 no. 57</i> (Pl. 3)	–	–
–	–	179 (Tav. XV)

Napomene / Annotations:

¹ Kent 1966, Pl. XI:10.

² Greškom je tada navedeno da novac čuva Museo civico u Bolonji (=Bo).

³ Kod Lacama greškom je označen kao primjerak u posjedu vašingtonskog DO (1983, 687, 689). Za tu tremisu v. Hendy 1985, 718 no. 18 (Pl.11:18); Grierson, Mays 1992, Pl. 37:955 (ex. coll. H. Longuet).

⁴ Kod Lacam greškom je označen kao primjerak iz Museo civico u Bolonji (1983, 687, 689).

⁵ Porijeklo tremise nije navedeno.

⁶ Ovo je još uvijek jedini primjerak tremise kovane u ime Zenona prema milanskom predlošku, ali s grančicama sastavljenima od dvanaest latica (!) povezanih krugolikom rozetom (!).

⁷ = NAC 78/2014, no. 1281.

⁸ Vidi ovdje bilj. 11.

¹ Kent 1966, Pl. XI:10.

² By mistake, it was then noted that the coin was in the Museo Civico in Bologna (=Bo).

³ In Lacam, it was mistakenly noted as an example held by Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC (1983, 687, 689). For this tremissis, see Hendy 1985, 718 no. 18 (Pl. 11: 18); Grierson, Mays 1992, Pl. 37: 955 (ex. coll. H. Longuet).

⁴ In Lacam, it was noted by mistake as an example from the Museo Civico in Bologna (1983, 687, 689).

⁵ The provenience of the tremissis is not cited.

⁶ This still represents the only example of a tremissis minted in the name of Zeno according to the Milan model, or with branches composed of twelve petals (!) connected by a circular rosette (!).

⁷ = NAC 78/2014, no. 1281.

⁸ See here n. 11.

Tablica 1. Odoakarove tremise i razdoblja njihova kovanja u Milanu u ime Julija Nepota i Zenona predstavljena u djelima J. P. C Kenta (1994 = *RIC X*), G. Lacama (1983) i O. Ulrich-Bansa (1949). Brojke na svojoj podlozi pripadaju razdoblju od rujna 476./7. do 9. svibnja 480. godine.

Table 1 – Odovacar's tremisses and their minting periods in Milan in the name of Julius Nepos and Zeno as presented in the works of J.P.C Kent (1994 = RIC X), G. Lacam (1983), and O. Ulrich-Bansa (1949). The numbers on a grey background were minted in the period from 476/7 to the 9th of May 480.

Kat. Cat.	Zbirka Collection	Aversna legenda Obvers legend	Egzerg / Exergue		
			(1)	(2)	(3)
1	AMZ 25473	D N IVL NEP – OS P F AVC	××	–	COMOB
2	NMSlo 25982	D N IVL NEP – OS P F NC	××	.ř.	COMOB
3	MHAS 4049	D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC	××	–	
4	NMSlo 5294	D N ZENO – PERP AVC	××	–	
5	SIASP		××	–	
6	MHAS 4050		××	–	
7	AMZ 283	D N ZENO – PERP NC	××	–	
8	NMSlo 25149		××	–	
9	NMSlo 27220		××	–	
10	ZMBiH 1810			–	
11	AMS 141			–	
12	AMS 438			–	
13	ZMBiH 7957			–	
14	AMS 186			.ř.	•COMOB•
15	AMS 187			–	COMOB
16*	NMSlo 25149	D N ZENO – PEPP NC		–	

Napomene / Annotations:

Analizirane sastavnice egzerga / Analyzed composition of the exergue:

(1) – ukras / design; (2) – dodaci / additions; (3) – natpis / legend.

Tablica 2. Odoakarove tremise iz muzejskih zbirki u Hrvatskoj [no. 1, 3, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15], Sloveniji [no. 2, 4, 8-9, 16*/imitacija] i Bosni i Hercegovini [no. 10, 13] te iz Trsta/SIASP u Italija [5] kovane u Milanu u ime Julija Nepota [no. 1-2] i Zenona [no. 3-15]: 1-6 – razdoblje od 476/7. do 480. godine; 7-9 – razdoblje od 480.-482. godine; 10-15 – razdoblje od 482./3. godine i ne puno kasnije; 16* – imitacija po uzoru na tremise milanske kovnice Odoakarova vremena, nakon 482./3. godine.

Table 2 – Tremisses of Odovacar from museum collections in Croatia [no. 1, 3, 6-7, 11-12, 14-15] Slovenia [no. 2, 4, 8-9, 16*/imitation], and Bosnia & Herzegovina [no. 10, 13], and from Trieste /SIASP in Italy [no. 5] minted in Milan in the name of Julius Nepos [no. 1-2] and Zeno [no. 3-15]: 1-6 – the period from 476/7 to 480; 7-9 – the period 480-482; 10-15 – the period from 482/3 and not much later; 16* – an imitation modelled on the tremisses of the Milan mint from the period of Odovacar, after 482/3.

loški položaj pojedinih Odoakarovih serija – prikupila i analizirala znatnu numizmatičku građu, koja je i danas važna i komparativno nezaobilazna.

Primjerci ranih Odoakarovih milanskih tremisa kovanih u ime Julija Nepota i Zenona u muzejskim zbirkama koje se nalaze ili su se nalazile u Hrvatskoj, Sloveniji i Bosni i Hercegovini nisu brojni (15 + 1 imitacija). Najveći broj potječe (9)⁷ ili se čuva u muzejima u Hrvatskoj (8), nešto je manji broj otkrivenih i prikupljenih u Sloveniji (4 + 1 imitacija),

“Second Period: 9 May 480 – 11 April, 491)⁶ as he then claimed but on the contrary both were minted in the Milan mint in the period of Nepos’ nominal second reign. It is possible to confirm that the number of Odovacar’s Milan series of tremisses struck in the names of Nepos and Zeno in the period from 476/7 to 480 is larger than the number presented in RIC X (4) in the works of two estimable numismatic enthusiasts (O.Ulrich-Bansa and G. Lacam), whose monographic works – each in his own time with different views of the chronological position of individual Odovacar series – brought together and analysed a considerable amount of numismatic material that is important today and not to be missed for the sake of comparison.

⁷ Ovamo je pridodana tremisa iz zbirke tršćanskog SIASP-a [no. 5], budući da se ona prije II. svjetskog rata i kasnijeg premještanja te zbirke najprije u Veneciju, a potom u Trst (od 1969. god.), gdje se sada nalazi i čuva, dugo godina nalazila najprije u Poreču (od 1885. godine), gdje je društvo 1884. godine osnovano, a potom u Puli (od 1927. godine.).

⁶ Kent 1994, pp. 216-217, 444 nos. 3610-3611.

a najmanje ih je u Bosni i Hercegovini (2): najveći broj primjeraka posjeduju ljubljanski NMSlo (4 + 1 imitacija) i splitski AMS (4). Ipak, zanimljivi su i od važnosti jer se za sve njih može s pravom pretpostavljati da su lokalnog porijekla, čak i u primjerima kada im način nabave ili mjesto nalaza nisu bili zabilježeni: u četiri slučaja podaci o nalazištu zabilježeni su u Sloveniji (3 + 1)⁸ i Hrvatskoj (2 + 2 regionalna)⁹, a u samo jednom slučaju u Bosni i Hercegovini¹⁰ (Tablica 2). Najraniju i najrjeđu, pa stoga i najzanimljiviju tremisu Julija Nepota kovanu početkom Odoakarove vladavine čuva AMZ [no. 1], a jedina imitacija ovdje predstavljena zanimljiva je ne samo kao primjerak s podatkom o nalazištu već ni stoga što oponaša milanske tremise nastale prema obrascu ustanovljenom 482./483. godine pa i sama nije mogla biti ni kovana, ni biti u optjecaju, a ni biti izgubljena prije tog vremena [no. 16*]. Rijetka je ili je čak još uvijek jedinstvena Odoakarova tremisa kovana u ime Zenona s grafijom *F* umjesto *E* u aversnoj legendi i s dvodijelnim ukrasom linije egzerga,¹¹ zbog kojeg je treba smatrati završnom inačicom čitave te nevelike skupine kovane 476./477. godine [no. 3]. Trodijelni ukras linije egzerga (× × ×) ukrašava šest tremisa, od kojih su prve tri kovane u razdoblju Nepotove druge vladavine [no. 4-6], a druge tri nakon Nepotova ubojstva 9. svibnja 480. godine i kraja druge trećine 482. godine [no. 7-9]. Točke u podnožju križa na reversu pojavljuju se ovdje na dvjema tremisama: na jednoj ranijoj kovanoj u ime Nepota iz NMSlo [no. 2] i na jedno od nje zasigurno dosta kasnijoj, kovanoj u ime Zenona iz AMS-a [no. 14], zanimljivoj i zbog za milanske tremise rijetke i čini se sporadične pojave •COMOB• u egzergu. Zbog stilskih obilježja i međusobne povezanosti kalupa bilo aversa bilo reversa ističe se skupina od čak šest tremisa iz četiri muzeja [no. 7-12], čija nalazišta opisuju putanju koja započinje s Tonovcovim gradom kod Kobarda [no. 8], nedaleko od današnje slovensko-talijanske granice, vodi do Gradeca kod Prapretnog u jugoistočnoj Sloveniji [no. 9], nastavlja prema Skender

Specimens of early Milan tremisses of Odovacar struck in the name of Julius Nepos and Zeno in museum collections that are or once were in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina are not numerous (15, and one imitation). The highest number⁷ either come from or are kept in museums in Croatia (9), a somewhat smaller number were discovered and collected in Slovenia (4, and one imitation), and the least come from Bosnia and Herzegovina (2). The greatest number of specimens are owned by Ljubljana's NMSlo (4 and one imitation) and by the AMS in Split (4). But they are nevertheless interesting and important, for all of them can be assumed to be of local origin, even in cases when the manner of acquisition or the place of the find were not recorded. In four cases, archaeological site data are recorded in Slovenia (3 and 1)⁸ and in Croatia (2 and 2 regionally)⁹, and only in one case in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰ (Table 2). The AMZ holds the earliest and rarest, and hence most interesting, tremisses of Julius Nepos struck at the beginning of the rule of Odovacar [no. 1] and the single imitation presented here is interesting not only as an example that is accompanied by data about its archaeological site, but also because it imitates Milan tremisses minted according to a pattern established in 482-483 and could not itself then have been either struck, in circulation, or lost before that time [no. 16*]. An Odovacar tremisses minted in the name of Zeno with the lettering *F* instead of *E* in the legend on the obverse and with a two-part decoration of the line of the exergue¹¹ is rare and perhaps still unique; it should be considered a final version of the entire and not very large group minted in 476/477 [no. 3]. The three-part decoration of the line of the exergue (× × ×) is used to decorate six tremisses,

⁸ Velika Strmica-Gradec [no. 4], Kobarid-Tonovcov grad [no. 8], Prapretno-Gradec [no. 9] i Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje [no. 16*].

⁹ Štrpci [no. 6] i Vid (*Narona*) [no. 12] te Dalmacija [no. 1] i vjerojatno Istra [no. 5] u regionalnom smislu.

¹⁰ Skender Vakuf (Donji Varoš), danas Kneževo [no. 10].

¹¹ Brojniji su primjerci istog aversnog kalupa kovani u kombinaciji s trodijelnim ukrasom linije egzerga na reversu, npr. Kent 1994 (= *RIC X*), no. 3610, Pl. 73.

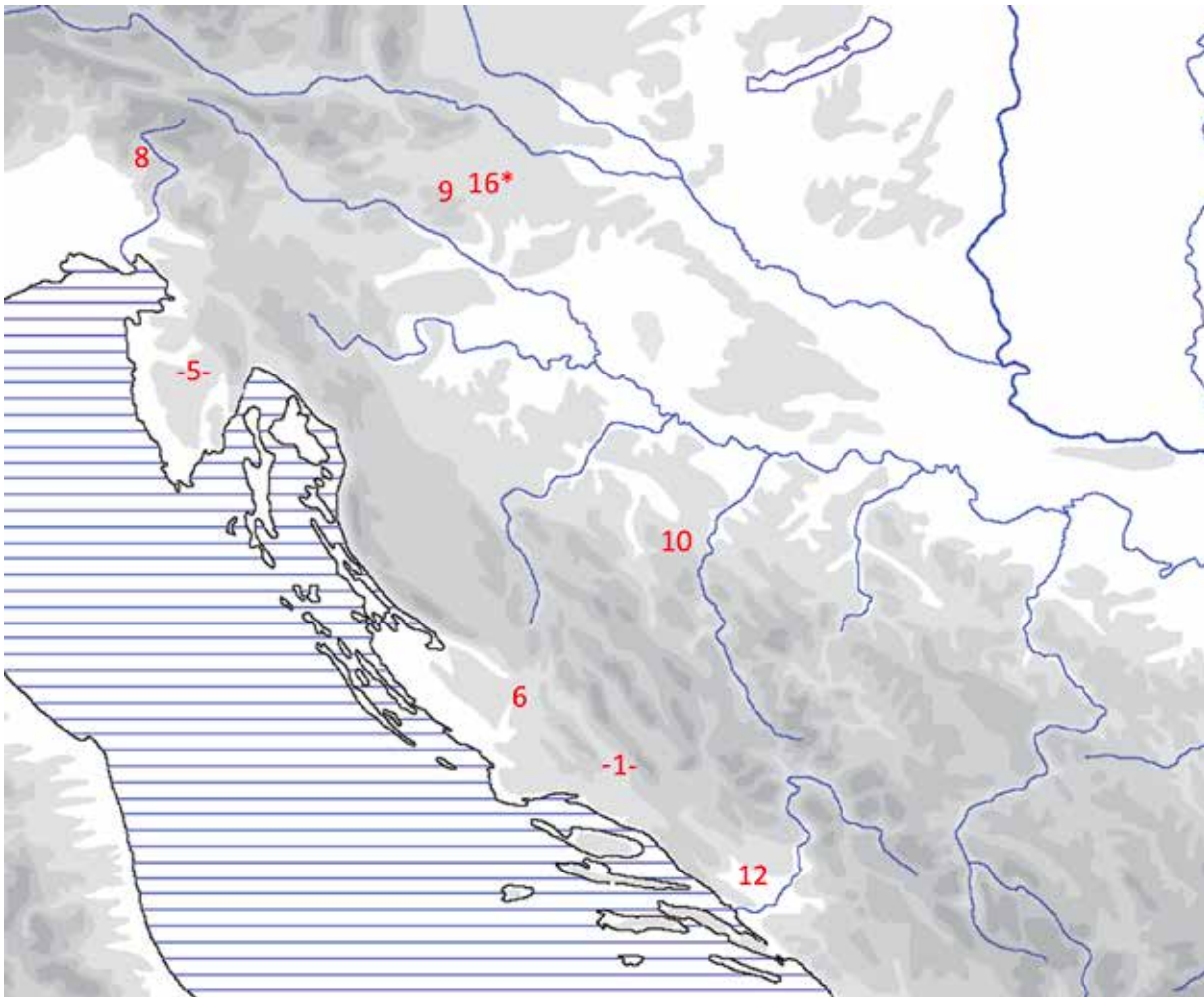
⁷ Added here is the tremisses from the Trieste SIASP collection [no. 5] since it was previously, before World War II and its later removal first to Venice and then to Trieste (1969), where it is now housed, and has been for many years, located in Poreč (from 1885), where the society was founded in 1884 and later in Pula (from 1969)

⁸ Velika Strmica-Gradec [no. 4], Kobarid-Tonovcov grad [no. 8], Prapretno-Gradec [no. 9], and Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje [no. 16*].

⁹ Štrpci [no. 6] and Vid (*Narona*) [no. 12] as well as Dalmatia [no. 1] and probably Istria [no. 5] from a regional point of view.

¹⁰ Skender Vakuf (Donji Varoš), today Kneževo [no. 10].

¹¹ There are more examples of the same obverse die struck in combination with the tripartite ornamentation of the line of the exergue on the reverse, for example Kent 1994 (= *RIC X*), no. 3610, Pl. 73.



Sl. 1. Nalazišta Odoakarovih tremisa kovanih u Milanu iz Hrvatske, Slovenije i Bosne i Hercegovine opisanih u katalogu (broj na karti odgovara broju u katalogu): Dalmacija [no. 1], Velika Strmica-Gradec [no. 4], Istra [no. 5], Štrpci [no. 6], Kobarid-Tonovcov grad [no. 8], Prapretno-Gradec [no. 9], Skender Vakuf/Kneževo [no. 10], Vid (Narona) [no. 12] i Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje [no. 16*].

Fig. 1 The sites of discovery of tremisses of Odovacar minted in Milan from Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia & Herzegovina described in the catalogue (the number on the map corresponds to the number in the catalogue): Dalmatia [no. 1], Velika Strmica-Gradec [no. 4], Istria [no. 5], Štrpci [no. 6], Kobarid-Tonovcov grad [no. 8], Prapretno-Gradec [no. 9], Skender Vakuf (Donji Varoš), today Kneževo [no. 10], Vid (Narona) [no. 12], and Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje [no. 16].*

Vakufu, danas Kneževu [no. 10] u središnjoj Bosni i Hercegovina i završava u Vidu, rimskodobnoj Naroni [no. 12], smještenoj nedaleko od ušća Neretve u Jadransko more (sl. 1).¹²

the first three of which were struck in the period of Nepos' second reign [nos. 4-6] and the second three after the murder of Nepos on May 9, 480 and the end of the second third of 482 [nos. 7-9]. The dots at the foot of the cross on the obverse appear here on two tremisses: on an earlier one minted in the name of Nepos, from NMSlo [no. 2], and on one certainly minted in the name of Zeno from AMS [no. 14] struck considerably later than it, interesting also because of the (for Milan tremisses) rare and it seems only sporadic appearance of •COMOB• in the exergue. Because of the stylistic characteristics and the interconnectedness of the dies of both the

¹² Podlogu za kartu dugujem ljubaznosti kolege Mihaila Milinkovića s Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, kojem i ovom prigodom zahvaljujem.

K A T A L O G ¹³

Napomena: Inventarni brojevi tremisa ovdje pribilježeni odgovaraju brojevima koji su mi zajedno s kovanicama stavljeni na raspolaganje prigodom njihova snimanja tako da su zapisi u mojim bilješkama identični onima vidljivima na snimkama (negativi) pohranjenima u mojoj fotodokumentaciji. Inventarni brojevi tremisa iz NMSlo preuzeti su iz publikacija u kojima su ove objavljene ili su mi ljubaznošću voditeljice (A. Miškec) tamošnjeg numizmatičkog kabineta stavljeni na raspolaganje.

Odoakar u ime Nepota (476./477.) (Sl. 2)

1

D N IVL NE-POS P F AVC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak ><><, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,46 g, 13,5 mm, 6h.

AMZ 25473; kupljeno od Josipa Frankina u Splitu.

Nalazište: Dalmacija, Hrvatska (Hr).

Lit.: Demo 2005, str. 188 no. 5, str. 192 Pl. 1:5.

Av/Au: KHM-MK.

Rv/Au: KHM-MK.

2

D N IVL NE-POS P F NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

¹³ Snimke tremisa iz muzejskih numizmatičkih zbirki u Hrvatskoj, Sloveniji i Bosni i Hercegovini napravljene su u raznim prigodama, najčešće u drugoj polovini 70-ih i tijekom prve polovine 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, kada su mi odgovorni djelatnici tamošnjih muzejskih institucija ovu i drugu srodnu numizmatičku građu dobrohotno stavili na uvid i omogućili da je pregledam, snimim i koristim za evidenciju, istraživački rad i publiciranje: Zdenka Dukat i Ivan Mirnik u AMZ-u (1977. i 1981. god.), Ivan Marović i Maja Bonačić-Mandinić u AMS-u (1977., 1982. i 1985. god.), Vedrana Delonga u MHAS-u (1986. god.), Peter Kos u NMSlo (1983. god.) i Nada Miletić u ZMBiH (1983. god.). Svima njima, kako onima kojih više nema, tako i onima koji su i dalje tu s nama, bio sam zahvalan kako tada tako i danas. Zadovoljstvo mi je također iskazati zahvalnost francuskom numizmatičaru svjetskog glasa Georgesu Depeyrotu zbog mogućnosti da konzultiram (vjerojatno ne i jedini) njegovu osobnu fotodatoteku, koja je jedno vrijeme bila javno dostupna. Ta nesebična gesta svojstvena rijetkima omogućila mi je sustavniji istraživački rad, saznanja i zaključke, od kojih neke ovom prilikom predstavljam struci i zainteresiranima.

obverse and the reverse, a group of as many as six tremisses from four museums stands out [no. 7-12], the finding sites of which illustrate a trajectory that starts in Tonovcov grad by Kobarid [no. 8] not far from the current Slovene and Italian border, leads to Gradec by Prapretno in south-east Slovenia [no. 9], continues on towards Skender Vakuf, today Kneževovo [no. 10] in central Bosnia and Herzegovina and ends in Vid, in Roman times Narona [no. 12] sited not far from the mouth of the Neretva River in the Adriatic (fig. 1).¹²

C A T A L O G U E ¹³

Nota bene: The inventory numbers noted here correspond to the numbers made available to me together with the coins when they were photographed, so that the writing in my notes are identical to those visible in the photographs (negatives) kept in my photographic documentation. The inventory numbers of the tremisses from NMSlo are taken from publications in which these have been described or thanks to the kindness of the head (A. Miškec) of the numismatic cabinet were placed at my disposal.

Odovacar in the name of Nepos (476/477) (Fig. 2)

1

D N IVL NE-POS P F AVC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

¹² I owe the map base to the kindness of colleague Mihailo Milinković of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Belgrade, whom I wish to thank on this occasion.

¹³ Illustrations of tremisses from museum numismatic collections in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina have been made for various occasions, mostly in the later 1970s and early 1980s when the employees of the museum institutions kindly let me inspect this and similar numismatic material and let me examine, photograph, and use for records, research, and publication: Zdenka Dukat and Ivan Mirnik in AMZ (1977 and 1981), Ivan Marović and Maja Bonačić-Mandinić in AMS (1977, 1982. and 1985), Vedrana Delonga in MHAS (1986), Peter Kos in NMSlo (1983), and Nada Miletić in ZMBiH (1983). To all of them, both those who are still with us and those who are not, I was and am most grateful. It is a pleasure to me to express my gratitude to world-renowned French numismatic expert Georges Depeyrot for the opportunity for me (probably not the only one) to consult his personal photographic collection, which was for a time publicly accessible. This unselfish act, typical of few, enabled me to carry out more systematic research work and to reach insights and conclusions some of which on this occasion I am presenting to the interested scholarly world.



Sl. 2. Odoakarove tremisse kovane u Milanu u ime Julija Nepota (1-2) i Zenona (Ad-1), 476./477.;
M 2,5:1: 1 – AMZ 25473; 2 – NMSlo 25982; Ad-1 – ANS (1980.109.241).

Fig. 2. Odovacar's tremisses minted in Milan in the name of Julius Nepos (1-2) and Zeno (Ad-1), in 476/477; M 2,5:1: 1 – AMZ 25473; 2 – NMSlo 25982; Ad-1 – ANS (1980.109.241).

Križ između točaka u vijencu (†.), odsječak ><><, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,46 g, 14 mm, 6 h.
NMSlo 25982.

Nalazište: nepoznato.

Lit.: Demo 2005, str. 188 no. 4, 192 Pl. 1:4.

Rv/Au: Naville XI/1925, no. 1056 = Ulrich-Bansa 1949, str. 166 = Lacam 1983, str. 687 Pl. CLXXIII:4b/1, str. 689 type 4b/1, Pl. 41:88 = Kent 1994 (*RIC X*), no. 3242 = Giessener 102/2000, 611 = Triton XX/2016, no. 932 = Heritage Auctions 3076/2019, no. 30336; Ercolani Cocchi 1980, no. 537 (coll. Piancastelli); Yale, no. 87.20128; Lacam 1983, str. 687 Pl. CLXXIII:4b/2 (DO), str. 689 type 4b/3 (Bologna), Pl. 41:90;¹⁴ *NAC* 9/1996, 963; *MuM* 93/2003, no. 310; *NAC* 84-1/2015, no. 1312.

Tremisa AMZ 25473 [no. 1] s uobičajenom aversnom legendom D N IVL NE-POS P F AVC — bez NC završetka korištenog na milanskim tremisama Romula August(ul)a — kovana je kalupom od kojeg su zasad poznata samo dva primjerka,

Cross within wreath, exergue ><><, COMOB.
Mediolanum; 1.46 g, 13.5 mm, 6h.

AMZ 25473; Purchased from Josip Frankin in Split.

Site: Dalmatia, Croatia (Cro).

Lit.: Demo 2005, p. 188 no. 5, p. 192, Pl. 1:5.

Obv./Au: KHM–MK.

Rv./Au: KHM–MK.

2

D N IVL NE-POS P F NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross between dots within wreath (†.), exergue ><><, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.46 g, 14 mm, 6h.
NMSlo 25982.

Site: Unknown.

Lit.: Demo 2005, p. 188 no. 4, 192, Pl. 1:4.

Rv./Au: Naville XI/1925, no. 1056 = Ulrich-Bansa 1949, p. 166 = Lacam 1983, p. 687, Pl. CLXXIII:4b/1, p. 689 type 4b/1, Pl. 41:88 = Kent 1994 (*RIC X*), no. 3242 = Giessener 102/2000, p. 611 = Triton XX/2016, no. 932 = Heritage Auctions 3076/2019, no. 30336; Ercolani Cocchi 1980, no. 537 (coll. Piancastelli); Yale, no. 87.20128; Lacam

¹⁴ Za tremisu iz vašingtonskog DO, v. Hendy 1985, str. 718, no. 18, Pl. 11:1; Grierson, Mays 1992, Pl. 37:955.

oba u muzejskim numizmatičkim zbirkama: osim primjerka iz zagrebačkog AMZ-a drugi primjerak nalazi se i čuva u bečkom KHM–MK-u. O pripadnosti tih dviju tremisa vremenu kasnijem od kraja Nepotove prve vladavine u Italiji (okončana 19./24. lipnja 475. godine) govori revers s križem u vijencu sastavljenom od grančica s deset kratkih latica,¹⁵ ali i dvodijelni ukras linije egzerga (><>). Zbog toga je ove tremise moguće povezati s kasnim tremisama Romula August(ul)a kojima je kovanje u Milanu obustavljeno možda već i prije 23. kolovoza 476. godine, datuma uz koji se obično veže proklamacija Odoakara kraljem. Vjerojatnost da su zagrebačka i bečka tremisa kovane u Milanu (ili drugdje)¹⁶ u ime Julija Nepota neposredno nakon obustave kovanja Romulova novca predstavlja ih kao jedino raspoznatljivo povijesno svjedočanstvo eventualnih Odoakarovih promišljanja, stavova ili namjera glede mogućeg Romulova nasljednika na zapadnorimskom tronu u trenucima otpočinjanja pobune sredinom kolovoza, neuspjelih pregovora Odoakara i Oresta u Paviji (*Ticinum*) i proklamacije Odoakara za kralja 23. kolovoza te likvidacije Oresta u Placenciji (*Placentia*) 28. kolovoza i svrgavanja Romula August(ul)a u Raveni 4. rujna 476. godine.¹⁷ Tom istom ranijem Odoakarovom milanskom kovanju, iako je nešto kasnija od prethodne, pripada i tremisa NMSlo 25982 [no. 2]. Ova je unatoč stilističkim sličnostima ponajprije u portretistici aversa prepoznatljivo različita od prethodne, ne samo zbog nešto manjeg carskog prikaza već i zbog (ponovne) upotrebe ligature *N* (= ΔV) na kraju aversne legende *D N IVL NE-POS P F NC*. Na reversu križ u vijencu od grančica s deset listova i ukrasni detalji egzerga nisu mijenjani (><>), ali su latice vijenca podebljane i produljene. Zbog korištenja reversnog kalupa Nepotovu tremisu NMSlo 25982 moguće je izravno povezati s prvim, zacijelo malobrojnim Odoakarovim milanskim tremisama s imenom cara Zenona u legendi *D N ZENO – PERP*

1983, p. 687, Pl. CLXXIII:4b/2 (DO), p. 689 type 4b/3 (Bologna), Pl. 41:90;¹⁴ *NAC* 9/1996, 963; *MuM* 93/2003, no. 310; *NAC* 84-1/2015, no. 1312.

Tremisis AMZ 25473 [no. 1] with the usual legend on the avers of *D N IVL NE-POS P F AVC* —without the *NC* ending used on Milan tremisses of Romulus Augustulus — was struck in a die known currently only from two examples, both of which are in numismatic collections: apart from the specimen from AMZ the other example is kept in KHM-MK in Vienna. The reverse with a cross in a wreath composed of branches with ten short leaves¹⁵ and a two-part line of the exergue (><>) tells us that these two tremisses belong to a time later than the end of Nepos' first rule in Italy, concluded June 19/24, 474. For this reason these tremisses can be correlated with the later tremisses of Romulus Augustulus, the minting of which in Milan was concluded perhaps before August 23, 476, a date that is usually related to the proclamation of Odovacar as king. The probability that the Zagreb and Vienna tremisses struck in Milan (or somewhere else)¹⁶ in the name of Julius Nepos immediately after the halting of the minting of the coins of Romulus presents them as the only discernible historical testimony of any of Odovacar's possible reflections, viewpoints, or intentions to do with being a possible heir to Romulus on the Western Roman throne at the moments of the beginning of the revolt in mid-August, the failed negotiations of Odovacar and Orestes in Pavia (*Ticinum*) and the proclamation of Odovacar king on August 23 and the liquidation of Orestes in Placentia on August 28 and the deposition of Augustulus in Ravenna on September 4, 476.¹⁷ The NMSlo tremisis 25982 [no. 2] belongs to the same earlier Milan minting of Odoacar, although it is a bit later than the preceding specimen. In spite of the

¹⁵ Prvi je atribuciju milanskih tremisa s vijencem sastavljenim od grančica s deset (ili osam) latica Nepotovoj drugoj vladavini predložio i tvrdnju argumentirao, Kent 1966, str. 149.

¹⁶ Ambulantno kovanje prvih Odoakarovih tremisa milanskih obilježja u Milanu ili u njegovoj u blizini [no. 1] moglo bi biti razlogom zbog kojeg su prve tremise kovane u ime Julija Nepota samo u osnovnim naznakama i selektivno slijedile praksu i obilježja milanskih tremisa Romulova vremena.

¹⁷ Za ovakav slijed povijesnih događanja kratko i pregledno, MacGeorge 2002, str. 289-290.

¹⁴ For the tremisis from the DO in Washington, see Hendy 1985, p. 718 no. 18, Pl. 11:1; Grierson, Mays 1992, Pl. 37:955.

¹⁵ The first to propose and to defend the attribution of the Milan tremisses with a wreath composed of branches with ten or eight leaves to Nepos' second reign was Kent, 1966, p. 149.

¹⁶ The itinerant minting of the first Odovacar tremisses with Milanese characteristics in Milan or the vicinity [no. 1] might have been a reason why the first tremisses struck in the name of Julius Nepos only in basic outlines and selectively followed the practice and features of the Milanese tremisses of Romulus'.

¹⁷ For this sequence of historical events, briefly and readably, see MacGeorge 2002, pp. 289-290.

AVC (sl. 2),¹⁸ koje su najvjerojatnije kovane odmah ili ubrzo nakon zaprimanja vijesti iz Konstantinopola o Zenonovu povratku na carski tron (kasni kolovoz 476. godine).¹⁹

Treba također istaknuti da je (prema meni dostupnoj dokumentaciji) za ovo najranije razdoblje Odoakarova kovanja u Milanu, koje osim posljednje trećine 476. godine obuhvaća i prvu trećinu 477. godine, broj zasad evidentiranih aversnih kalupa milanskih tremisa s Nepotovim imenom (3) veći od broja aversnih kalupa s imenom Zenona (2), a da je broj zasad evidentiranih primjeraka s Nepotovim imenom više nego dvostruko veći (10 ili 11) od broja primjeraka kovanih u ime Zenona (4).

Odoakar u ime Zenona (477. - 480.) (sl. 3)

3

D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak ><><, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,44 g, 14 mm, 6h.

MHAS 4049

Nalazište: nepoznato .

Lit.: Delonga 1981, str. 209 no. 6, Tab. II:6 (mjesto nalaza nepoznato).

Av/Au: Hess-Leu 28/1965, no. 561 = *Apparuti-Sternberg* XIX/1987, no. 1034 = Kent 1994 (= *RIC* X), no. 3610/Tr*, Pl. 73:3610²⁰ = Leu 71/1997, 584; Lacam 1983, 821 Pl. CXCIX-B:type 4/1, 826 type 4, Pl. 53:70 (Bologna); *Vannenes* 265/2018, no. 1121 = *Vannenes* 278/2019, no. 530.

Av/Arg: AMS, (Viktorija na pramcu).

¹⁸ Reversnim kalupom tremise NMSlo 25982 (s točkama u podnožju križa) kovana je tremisa iz zbirke ANS-a u New Yorku (ANS - 1980.109.241), na čijem reversu točaka (još?) nema. Ta tremisa je pak svojim aversnim kalupom povezna s primjerkom iz KHM-MK-a u Beču, zanimljivim i zbog pojave •COMOB• u egzergu njegova reversa.

¹⁹ Za svrgavanje Baziliska u kasnom kolovozu 476. godine, Seeck 1919/1984, str. 423; Martindale 1980, str. 214 (s.v. „*Fl. Basiliscus* 2^o“). Da se u Rimu već 14. rujna 476. godine znalo da Bazilisk više nije car u Konstantinopolu, pokazao je Prostko-Prostyński 2000, str. 260-262.

²⁰ Tremisa koju je 1994. godine objavio Kent kao primjerak iz nekad porečkog (i pulskog zatim venecijanskog), a danas tršćanskog *Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* (= *RIC* X, 444 no. 3610/Tr*, Pl. 73) ne čuva se u spomenutoj zbirci jer potječe s dražbe Hess-Leu 28/1965, no. 561 = *Apparuti-Sternberg* XIX/1987, 1034 = *Leu* 71/1997, no. 584.

stylistic similarities, primarily in the portrait on the obverse, is discernibly different from the previous coin not only because of the somewhat smaller depiction of the emperor but also because of the repeated use of the ligature *N* (=AV) at the end of the obverse legend D N IVL NE-POS P F NC. On the reverse, the cross in a wreath of branches with ten leaves and the decorative details of the exergue are not changed (><><), but the leaves of the wreath are made thicker and longer. Because of the use of the reverse of the die of the Nepos tremissis, NMSlo 25982 can be directly linked with the first, very likely, not very numerous Milan tremisses of Odovacar with the name of Emperor Zeno in the legend D N ZENO – PERP AVC (fig. 2: Ad 2)¹⁸, which were most probably struck immediately or soon after reception of the news from Constantinople about Zeno's restoration to the imperial throne (late August 476).¹⁹

Also worth pointing out is that (according to documentation accessible to me) the number of dies recorded to date for the obverses of the Milan tremisses with the name of Nepos (3) is greater than the number of obverse dies with the name of Zeno (2), and the number of recorded specimens with the name of Nepos is more than double (10 or 11) the number of specimens struck in the name of Zeno (4).

Odovacar in the name of Zeno (477-480) (Fig. 3)

3

D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue ><><, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.44 g, 14 mm, 6h.

MHAS 4049

Site: unknown.

¹⁸ A tremissis from the collection ANS in New York (ANS - 1980.109.241) was struck with the reverse die of the NMSlo 25982 tremissis (with dots at the foot of the cross); on its reverse there are not yet any dots. This tremisses, however, with its obverse die is connected with specimen from KHM-MK in Vienna, interesting also because of the appearance of •COMOB• in the exergue of its reverse.

¹⁹ For the dethronement of Basiliscus in late August 476, see Seeck 1919/1984, p. 423; Martindale 1980, p. 214 (s.v. „*Fl. Basiliscus* 2^o“). Prostko-Prostyński 2000, pp. 260-262, showed that in Rome as early as September 14, 476 it was known that Basiliscus was no longer emperor in Constantinople.



Sl. 3. Odoakarove tremise (3-6) i četvrtsilikve (Ad 3-4, Ad 6) kovane u Milanu u ime Zenona, 477.-480.; M 2,5:1: 3 – MHAS 4049; 4 – NMSlo 5294; 5 – SIASP (Istria?) = Gorini 1974, 117 no. 14; 6 – 4050; Ad 3 – AMS; Ad 4 – GE = Tolstoi 1912, no. 59; Ad 6 – Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 190γ.

Fig. 3 Odovacar's tremisses (3-6) and quarter-siliquae (Ad 3-4, Ad 6) minted in Milan in the name of Zeno, 477-480; M 2,5:1: 3 – MHAS 4049; 4 – NMSlo 5294; 5 – SIASP (Istria ?) = Gorini 1974, 117 no. 14; 6 – 4050; Ad 3 – AMS; Ad 4 – GE = Tolstoi 1912, no. 59; Ad 6 – Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 190γ.

4

D N ZENO – PERP AVC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak (∞∞∞, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,46 g, –, 6h.

NMSlo 5294

Nalazište: Velika Strmica-Gradec [= Gradec pri Veliki Strmici; Šmarjeta; okolica Šmarjete], obč.

Lit.: Delonga 1981, p. 209 no. 6, Tab. II:6 (site unknown).

Obv./Au: Hess-Leu 28/1965, no. 561 = *Apparuti-Sternberg* XIX/1987, no. 1034 = Kent 1994 (= *RIC* X), no. 3610/Tr*, Pl. 73:3610²⁰ =

²⁰ The tremissis that Kent gave as example from the former Poreč (or Pula, then Venice) and currently Trieste *Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* (= *RIC*

Mokronog-Trebelno (199), Jugovzhodna Slovenija, Slovenija (Slo).

Lit: Kos 1986, str. 221-222 n. 17, 263 Pl. 10:4; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI* I), str. 406 no. 248-1 [Šmarjeta]; Bitenc et alii 1991, str. 61 no. 3 [Šmarjeta]; Božić, Ciglencečki 1995, str. 250 no. 9, str. 261 sl. 10:1, str. 269, 273-274 [Gradec pri Veliki Strmici]; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI* V), str. 521 no. 248 [Gradec (Velika Strmica)].

Av/Au: *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1104; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 179; Grierson, Blackburn 1986 (= *MEC* I), no. 57; *CNG* 483e/2021, 530; KBR.

Rv/Au: *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1104; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 179; Grierson, Blackburn 1986 no. 57; *CNG* 483e/2021, 530; KBR.

Av/Arg: Tolstoi 1912, no. 59; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 186 (Viktorija na pramcu / Victory on prow).

5

D N ZENO – PERP AVC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,35g, 13 mm, 6h.

SIASP

Nalazište: Istra.

Lit.: Gorini 1974, str. 117 no. 14 (provenienza Scampicchio);²¹ Miškec 2002 (= *FMRHr* XVIII), str. 305 no. 133/749 (Istra / Istria).²²

Av/Au: *InAsta* 76/2018, str. 334.

Rv/Au: *InAsta* 76/2018, str. 334; BM 1860,0329.239 = Baldi 2014, no. 14.1.

6

D N ZENO – PERP AVC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,45 g, 14 mm, 6h.

MHAS 4050 / 3610

Nalazište: Štrpci (kupljeno od Ilije Štrbca 25. 6. 1904. godine, opć. Kistanje, Šibensko-kninska županija, Hrvatska.

Lit: Delonga 1981, str. 209 no. 7, Tab. II:7 (mjesto nalaza nepoznato / site unknown; no. 4050) = Šeparović 2000, str. 39 no. 18 (Štrpci kod Kistanja?); Šeparović 2003, str. 61 no. 442, str. 144 no. 442 (Štrpci).

²¹ O kolekcionarstvu i numizmatičkoj zbirci labinskog pravnik, političara i ljubitelja starina Antonija Francesca Scampicchija (1830. – 1912.) ukratko, Demo 1994, str. 239-242, 279.

²² Vidi ovdje bilj. 20.

Leu 71/1997, 584; Lacam 1983, 821 Pl. CXCIX-B:-type 4/1, 826 type 4, Pl. 53:70 (Bologna); *Vannenes* 265/2018, no. 1121 = *Vannenes* 278/2019, no. 530.

Av/Arg: AMS, ??? (Victory on prow).

4

D N ZENO – PERP AVC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.46 g, –, 6h.

NMSlo 5294

Site: Velika Strmica-Gradec [= Gradec pri Veliki Strmici; Šmarjeta; okolica Šmarjete], obč. Mokronog-Trebelno (199), Jugovzhodna Slovenija, Slovenia (Slo).

Lit: Kos 1986, 221-222 n. 17, 263 Pl. 10:4; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI* I), 406 no. 248-1 [Šmarjeta]; Bitenc et alii 1991, 61 no. 3 [Šmarjeta]; Božić, Ciglencečki 1995, 250 no. 9, 261 Sl. 10:1, 269, 273-274 [Gradec pri Veliki Strmici]; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI* V), 521 no. 248 [Gradec (Velika Strmica)].

Obv/Au: *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1104; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 179; Grierson, Blackburn 1986 (= *MEC* I), no. 57; *CNG* 483e/2021, 530; KBR.

Rv/Au: *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1104; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 179; Grierson, Blackburn 1986 no. 57; *CNG* 483e/2021, 530; KBR.

Obv/Arg: Tolstoi 1912, no. 59; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 186 (Victory on prow).

5

D N ZENO – PERP AVC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.35 g, 13 mm, 6h.

SIASP

Site: Istria.

Lit.: Gorini 1974, 117 no. 14 (provenienza Scampicchio);²¹ Miškec 2002 (= *FMRHr* XVIII), 305 no. 133/749 (Istra / Istria).²²

X, 444 no. 3610/Tr*, Pl. 73) is not kept in that collection for it comes from an auction, *Hess-Leu* 28/1965, no. 561 = *Apparuti-Sternberg* XIX/1987, 1034 = *Leu* 71/1997, no. 584.

²¹ For the collecting activity and numismatic collection of the Labin lawyer, politician, and lover of antiquities Antonio Francesco Scampicchi (1830-1912), see, briefly, Demo 1994, 239-242, p. 279.

²² See above n. 20.

Av/Au: BM 1860.0329.239 = Baldi 2014, 14.1; *Monnaies d'Antan* 15/2014, no. 429; *MuM-Liste* 395/1977, no. 95; *RomNum* IV/2012, no. 702.

Rv/Au: *Monnaies d'Antan* 15/12014, no. 429; *Glendining* 27/5/1941, no. 705.

Av/Arg: BM B 2932-2933 = Baldi 2014, no. 21.1-2; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 191γ.

Tremise s AVC ili ΛVC završetkom kovane u Milanu u ime Zenona treba u pravilu (unatoč malobrojnim i dosta kasnijim izuzecima) pripisati ranijem razdoblju Odoakarove uprave u Italiji, podudarnom s vremenom Nepotove druge vladavine i životom provedenim u svojstvu nominalnog zapadnorimskog vladara u izbjeglištvu u rodnoj mu Dalmaciji u razdoblju od 476. do 480. godine. To razdoblje ovdje je zastupljeno s četiri stilom raznolike, ali kronološki ipak povezane tremise [no. 3, 4, 5, 6]. U stručnoj literaturi, podjednako numizmatičkoj kao i u arheološkoj, najčešće je spominjana ponajviše zbog nalazišta s kojeg bi imala potjecati tremisa NMSlo 5294 [no. 4] — nakon što je prvotno smatrana nalazom iz Šmarjete ili okolice Šmarjete na jugoistoku Slovenije,²³ u novije je vrijeme pretpostavljeno da je povezana s kasnoantičkom visinskom utvrdom Gradec pri Veliki Strmici.²⁴ U numizmatičkom smislu ta je tremisa zbog portretnog prikaza na aversu usporediva s već opisanim ranim Odoakarovim tremisama kovanima u ime Nepota [no. 1-2], a zbog malog poprsja na aversu i dvodijelnog ukrasa na egzergu reversa s još jednom ranom Odoakarovom skupinom milanskih tremisa kovanih u ime Nepota čiji se primjerci nalaze i čuvaju u Londonu (BM)²⁵ i Parizu (BnF).²⁶ Aversnim kalupom tremise NMSlo 5294 kovane su u Milanu i četvrtsilike s prikazom Viktorije na pramcu između sigli M i D na reversu, među kojima je i jedan već dugo poznat primjerka iz zbirke grofa Tolstoja, danas u posjedu muzeja u Sankt Peterburgu (GE).²⁷

(sl. 3:Ad 4)

Osim tremise NMSlo 5294 razdoblju Nepotove druge vladavine pripadaju još tri milanske tremise, od kojih se čak dvije nalaze u posjedu numizmatičke zbirke splitskoga MHAS-a. Od tih dviju osebujnija

Obv./Au: *InAsta* 76/2018, 334.

Rv/Au: *InAsta* 76/2018, 334; BM 1860,0329.239 = Baldi 2014, no. 14.1.

6

D N ZENO – PERP ΛVC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue × × ×, CO-MOB.

Mediolanum; 1.45 g, 14 mm, 6h.

MHAS 4050 / 3610

Site: Štrpci, purchased from Ilija Štrbac, June 25, 1904), Kistanje, Šibensko-kninska županija, Croatia (Cro).

Lit: Delonga 1981, 209 no. 7, Tab. II:7 (mjesto nalaza nepoznato / site unknown; no. 4050) = Šeparović 2000, 39 no. 18 (Štrpci kod Kistanja?); Šeparović 2003, 61 no. 442, 144 no. 442 (Štrpci).

Obv./Au: BM 1860.0329.239 = Baldi 2014, 14.1; *Monnaies d'Antan* 15/2014, no. 429; *MuM-Liste* 395/1977, no. 95; *RomNum* IV/2012, no. 702.

Rv/Au: *Monnaies d'Antan* 15/12014, no. 429; *Glendining* 27/5/1941, no. 705.

Obv./Arg: BM B 2932-2933 = Baldi 2014, no. 21.1-2; Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 191γ.

Tremisses with AVC or ΛVC at the end minted in Milan in the name of Zeno should as a rule (notwithstanding a few and much later exceptions) be ascribed to the earlier period of Odoacar's rule in Italy, contemporaneous with the time of Nepos' second rule and his life carried out as of the nominal ruler of the Western Roman Emperor in exile in his native Dalmatia, in the 476 to 480 period. This period is represented here with four tremisses [nos. 3, 4, 5, 6], different in style but still chronologically connected. In the scholarly literature, both numismatic and archaeological, the most frequently mentioned, most of all because of the site from which it was probably derived, is the tremissis NMSlo 5294 [no. 4]; after it was originally thought to have been found in Šmarjeta or thereabouts, in south-east Slovenia,²³ in more recent times it is assumed to be connected with the Late Antique hill fort of Gradec by Velika Strmica.²⁴ From a numismatic point of view, because of the portrait on the obverse this

²³ Kos 1986, str. 221-222 n. 17, 263 Pl. 10:4; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI* I), 406 no. 248-1 (Šmarjeta).

²⁴ Božić, Ciglencečki 1995, str. 248-250, 261 Sl. 10:1, str. 269, 273-274 (Gradec pri Veliki Strmici).

²⁵ Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 164* (BM 1867,0101.981).

²⁶ Depeyrot 1996, no. 43/1 (BnF) = Lacam 1983, no. 81 (Pl. 41=CLXXII:2a2).

²⁷ Tolstoj 1912, no. 59.

²³ Kos 1986, pp. 221-222 n. 17, 263 Pl. 10:4; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI* I), 406 no. 248-1 (Šmarjeta).

²⁴ Božić, Ciglencečki 1995, pp. 248-250, 261 Sl. 10:1, pp. 269, 273-274 (Gradec pri Veliki Strmici).

je pa stoga vjerojatno i zanimljivija tremisa MHAS 4049, ponajviše zbog svoje aversne legende, u kojoj je slovo *E* zamijenjeno slovom *F*, tako da legenda glasi D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC [no. 3],²⁸ ali i zbog dvodijelnog ukrasa (><><) linije egzerga na reversu s križem u vijencu od graničica s deset listova. Broj zasad poznatih primjeraka ovakvih obilježja je malen, ali unatoč malobrojnosti svi su oni proizvod istog aversnog kalupa. Potrebno je upozoriti da se zamjena slova *E* slovom *F* susreće i na općenito brojnijim Odoakarovim milanskim tremisama kovanima u ime Nepota s legendom D N IVL NF–POS P F AVC, gdje je ova pojava potvrđena na još barem jednom kalupu aversa.²⁹ Stoga je vjerovati da je nastanak i upotreba zamjene slova *E* slovom *F* na Odoakarovim milanskim tremisama kovanima u ime Nepota i u ime Zenona ako ne istovremena, onda barem nekim dijelom istovremena i s pojavom

tremissis is comparable with the already described early Odovacar tremisses minted in the name of Nepos [nos. 1-2], and yet also because of the small bust on the obverse and the two part decoration on the exergue of the reverse, with another early Odovacar group of Milan tremisses minted in the name of Nepos, examples of which are kept in London (BM)²⁵ and Paris (BnF).²⁶ Also minted in Milan with the same obverse die as tremissis NMSlo 5249 are quarter-siliquae with a depiction of Victory on a prow between the signs M and D on the reverse, among which is a long-known example from the collection of Count Tolstoy, today in the possession of a museum in St Petersburg (GE).²⁷ (Fig. 3:Ad 4)

Also belonging to the period of Nepos' second reign, in addition to tremissis NMSlo 5294, are three Milanese tremisses two of which are owned by the numismatic collection of the Split MHAS. Of these two, probably the most distinctive and hence probably more interesting is it the tremissis MHAS 4049, primarily because of the legend on the obverse in which an E is replaced by an F, so that the legend actually reads D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC [no. 3]²⁸ but also because of the bipartite dec-

²⁸ Na postojanje slova *F* na mjestu slova *E* upozoreno je već prigodom prve objave ove tremise, Delonga 1981, str. 209, no. 6. Začudo, 1994. godine sličnu zamjenu slova *E* slovom *F* u tek nešto malo drukčijoj aversnoj legendi na tremisi iz BM (B.11490) Kent nije smatrao znakovitom (*RIC* X, 427, 443, 475, 477) te ju nije ni zabilježio, a samim time nije ju pokušao ni protumačiti, iako se s njom susreo još 1966. godine, pišući članak o “nominal second reign of Nepos in Italy” i o Odoakarovu kovanju novca s imenom Julija Nepota, ustvrdivši već tada “that Odovacar acknowledged Nepos as ‘Western Emperor, and coined for him down to his death in 480’” (1966, str. 150). Tu svoju važnu tezu nastojao je tom prigodom, između ostalog, poduprijeti i dvama zlatnicima Odoakarove milanske kovnice iz kolekcije londonskog BM-a: solidom kovanom u ime Zenona (Pl. XI:7) s legendom D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC i tremisom kovanom u ime Nepota (Pl. XI:10) s osebujnom i još uvijek jedinstvenom legendom D N IVLI NF–POS P F VAC. Spomenutu Nepotovu tremisu ne registriraju ni Lacam (1983) ni Depeyrot (1996), iako je ona zanimljiva ne samo zbog aversne legende već i zbog reversa s vijencem sastavljenim od graničica s osam latica, kakav se može zapaziti i na pojedinim milanskim tremisama kovanima u ime Baziliska (npr. Kent 1994 = *RIC* X, no. 3314). Ipak treba istaknuti da je Lacam registrirao postojanje Odoakarovih tremisa kovanih u ime Zenona s legendom D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC koje je pripisao razdoblju od 476. do 493. godine (1983, 821 Pl. CXCIX-B:Type 4 (Bologne), 826, Pl. 53:70). Zamjenu slova *E* slovom *F* sadrži i neobična legenda D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC na jedinoj zasad poznatoj tremisi naizgled milanskih obilježja (Ratto 1930/1974, no. 2463 = Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 176), o čijoj sudbini nakon aukcije u Luganu u Švicarskoj 1930. godine na kojoj je bila ponuđena i prodana (35 Sfr.) čini se da nema vijesti ili novih podataka (?).

²⁹ Npr. Robertson 1982, Pl. 71:J.N. 3; Lacam 1983, no. 79 Pl. 41=CLXXII:2b1).

²⁵ Ulrich-Bansa 1949, no. 164* (BM 1867,0101.981).

²⁶ Depeyrot 1996, no. 43/1 (BnF) = Lacam 1983, no. 81 (Pl. 41=CLXXII:2a2).

²⁷ Tolstoy 1912, no. 59.

²⁸ The first time this tremissis was described in print, Delonga 1981, p. 208, no. 6, the existence of the letter F instead of the E was in fact referred to. Strangely, in 1994, Kent did not consider a similar replacement of E by F in an only slightly different obverse legend on a tremissis of the BM (B.11490) at all remarkable (*RIC* X, 427, 443, 475, 477) and did not even note it, and naturally did not explain it, although he had encountered it once before, in 1966, writing an article about the “nominal second reign of Nepos in Italy” and about Odovacar’s minting of coins with the name of Julius Nepos stated that “Odovacar acknowledged Nepos as Western Emperor, and coined for him down to his death in 480” (1966, 150). He attempted on that occasion to support his important thesis with two gold coins from Odovacar’s Milan mint from the BM collection in London: a solidus struck in the name of Zeno (Pl. XI:7) with the legend D N ZFNO – PFRP AVC and a tremissis struck in the name of Nepos (Pl. XI:10) with the very peculiar and still unmatched legend D N IVLI NF–POS P F VAC. Neither Lacam (1983) nor Depeyrot (1996) registered this tremissis, although it is interesting not only because of the legend on the obverse but also because of the reverse with its wreath composed of branches with eight leaves of the kind that can be seen on some Milanese tremisses minted in the name of Basilicus (eg. Kent 1994 = *RIC* X, no. 3314). Still it should be pointed out that Lacam did register the existence of Odoacar’s tremisses struck in the name of Zeno with the legend D N

već u prvoj polovini Nepotove nominalne, druge vladavine, tj. oko 477./478. godine). Kasnija od nje je tremisa MHAS 4050/3610 [no. 6] kao i njoj srodan primjerak vjerojatno iste serije iz SIASP-a u Trstu [no. 5]. Tremise iz splitskog MHAS-a dodatno su zanimljive, jer je aversnim kalupom prve od njih [no. 3] kovana Odoakarova milanska četvrtasilikva s prikazom Viktorije na pramcu između sigli *M* i *D* na reversu, koji se također nalazi i čuva u Splitu, ali u tamošnjem AMS-u (sl. 3:Ad 3),³⁰ a aversnim kalupom druge [no. 6] ako ne najraniji, onda zasigurno jedan od najranijih primjeraka Odoakarovih četvrtasilikvi s prikazom orla na desno s križem iznad glave na reversu. (sl. 3:Ad 6)

Odoakar u ime Zenona (480. - 489.)
(sl./Fig. 4, 5, 6)

7

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,48 g, 14,5 mm, 6h.

AMZ 283; kup. od Moritza Auspitz, 1910. god.

Nalazište: nepoznato.

Lit.: neobjavljeno.

Av/Au: Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, str. 261 sl. 10:3, str. 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), str. 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; Ball 8/1932, no. 2058; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

Rv/Au: Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, str. 261 sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), str. 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), str. 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; Ball 8/1932, no. 2058; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

8

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,45 g, –, 6h.

NMSlo 25149

Nalazište: Kobarid-Tonovcov grad [=Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu], obč. Kobarid (46), Goriška regija, Slovenija (Slo).

Lit.: Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, str. 261 sl. 10:3,

³⁰ AMS: 0,87g, 13,5/12mm, 12h.

oration ($\times \times \times$) of the line of the exergue on the reverse with the cross in a wreath of branches with ten leaves. The number of examples with such characteristics known to date is small, but in spite of this paucity all are the products of the same obverse die. It should be pointed out that the replacement of E with F is to be found on the generally more numerous Milan tremisses of Odoacar minted in the name of Nepos with the legend D N IVL NF-POS P F AVC where this phenomenon is confirmed on at least one obverse die.²⁹ Accordingly, it is credible that the origin and use of the replacement of E by F on Odovacar's Milan tremisses minted in the name of Nepos and of Zeno if not simultaneous is then at least in some part contemporaneous with an appearance in the first half of Nepos' nominal second reign i.e., about 477/476. Later than it, however, is tremisis MHAS 4050/3610 [no. 6], as well as the example akin to it probably from the same series from SIASP in Trieste [no. 5]. The tremisses from the Split MHAS are additionally interesting, as the obverse die of the first of them [no.3] was used to mint the Milan quarter-siliqua with a depiction of Victory on a prow between the signs M and D on the reverse which is also kept in Split, but in AMS however (fig. 3. Ad 3),³⁰ while the obverse die of the other tremisis [no. 6], if not the very earliest, is certainly one of the earliest examples used on Odovacar's quarter-siliqua with the depiction of an eagle on the right with a cross above the head on the reverse (fig. 3: Ad 6).

Odovacar in the name of Zeno (480-489)
(fig. 4, 5, 6)

7

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.48 g, 14.5 mm, 6h.

ZFNO – PFRP AVC that he ascribed to the 476-493 period (1983, p. 821 Pl. CXCIX-B:Type 4 (Bologna), p. 826, Pl. 53:70). The replacement of the E by the F is also found in the uncommon legend on the only tremisis of its kind so far known with probably Milanese characteristics (Ratto 1930/1974, no. 2463 = Urlich-Bansa 1949, no. 176), the fate of which after its appearance at auction in Lugano in 1930, at which it was offered and sold for 35 francs, is apparently unknown.

²⁹ E.g. Robertson 1982, Pl. 71: J.N. 3; Lacam 1983, no. 79 Pl. 41=CLXXII:2b1).

³⁰ AMS: 0.87g, 13,5/12mm, 12h.



Sl. 4. Odoakorove tremise (7-12), kovane u Milanu u ime Zenona, 482./438. godina; M 2,5:1: 7 – AMZ 283; 8 – NMSlo 25149 (Kobarid-Tonovcov grad); 9 – NMSlo 27220 (Prapretno-Gradec); 10 – ZMBiH 1810 (Skender Vakuf/Kneževo); 11 – AMS 141; 12 – AMS 438 (Vid/Narona).

Fig. 4. Odovacar's tremisses (7-12), minted in Milan in the name of Zeno, 482/438; M 2,5:1: 7 – AMZ 283; 8 – NMSlo 25149 (Kobarid-Tonovcov grad); 9 – NMSlo 27220 (Prapretno-Gradec); 10 – ZMBiH 1810 (Skender Vakuf/Kneževo), 11 – AMS 141; 12 – AMS 438 (Vid/Narona).

262; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), str. 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; Kos 2011, str. 225, 228 no. 128.

Av/Au: AMZ 283; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

Rv/Au: AMZ 283; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 4 str. 65 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; *Artemide XXVI-II/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

9

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,51 g, 14/13mm, 6h.

NMSlo 27220

Nalazište: Prapretno-Gradec, k.s. Planina pri Sevnici, obč. Šentjur (120); Savinjska regija, Slovenija (Slo).

Lit.: Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55.

Av/Au: AMZ 283; Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, str. 261 sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

Rv/Au: AMZ 283; Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, str. 261 sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

10

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,45g, 14mm, 6h.

ZMBiH 1810; kupljeno od Nikole Bikića, 1893. god.

Nalazište: Skender Vakuf (Donji Varoš), danas Kneževo, opšt. Kneževo, Bosna i Hercegovina (BiH).

Lit.: Patsch 1900, 564 no. 23 (bez slike).³¹

Av/Au: AMS 141; *Hamburger 96/1932*, no. 1106 = Boutin 1983, no. 1005 = Lacam 1983, 699 Pl. CLXXVI:type 5/1 (revers), type 5/3 (avers), Pl. 46:166; KHM–MK.

³¹ Predstavljena aversna legenda ne odgovara onoj na novcu.

AMZ 283; kup. od Moritza Auspitz, 1910. god. / purchased from Moritz Auspitz in 1910.

Site: unknown.

Lit.: unpublished.

Obv./Au: Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, 261 Sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; Ball 8/1932, no. 2058; *Artemide XXVI-II/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

Rv/Au: Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, 261 Sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; Ball 8/1932, no. 2058; *Artemide XXVI-II/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

8

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.45 g, –, 6h.

NMSlo 25149

Site: Kobarid-Tonovcov grad [=Tonovcov grad pri Kobaridu], obč. Kobarid (46), Goriška regija, Slovenia (Slo).

Lit.: Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, 261 Sl. 10:3, 262; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; Kos 2011, 225, 228 no. 128.

Obv./Au: AMZ 283; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

Rv/Au: AMZ 283; Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55; *Artemide XXVIII/2010*, no. 1385 = *Künker 227/2013*, no. 2004 = *Varesi 67/2015*, no. 140.

9

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.51 g, 14/13mm, 6h.

NMSlo 27220

Site: Prapretno-Gradec, k.s. Planina pri Sevnici, obč. Šentjur (120); Savinjska regija, Slovenia (Slo).

Lit.: Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI V*), 465 no. 55, Tab. II:141-55.

Obv./Au: AMZ 283; Božić, Ciglenečki 1995,

Rv/Au: *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1106 = Boutin 1983, no. 1005 (coll. Kapamadji) = Lacam 1983, 699 Pl. CLXXVI: type 5/1 (revers), type 5/3 (avers), Pl. 46:166; KHM–MK.

11

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1, 44 g, 13,5/13 mm, 6h.

AMS 141

Nalazište: nepoznato.

Lit.: neobjavljeno.

Av/Au: ZMBiH 1810; Platt 26/6/1922, no. 814 = GE, *Hamburger* 96/1932, 1106; Boutin 1983, 1005 (coll. Kapamadji) = Lacam 1983, 699 Pl. CLXXVI: type 5/1 (revers / reverse), type 5/3 (avers / obverse), Pl. 46:166; GE.

Rv/Au: AMS 438 (skupni nalaz / hoard, Vid (*Narona*), 1901); GE.

12

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum, 1,42 g, 13 mm, 6h.

AMS 438; skupni nalaz zlatnog novca i nakita (tzv. nalaz Urbica), 1901. god.

Nalazište: Vid (*Narona*), Grad Metković, Žup. Dubrovačko-neretvanska, Hrvatska (Cro).

Lit.: Marović 1988, str. 308 no. 66, 315 Pl. 4:66; Marović 2006, str. 246-247 no. 66.

Rv/Au: AMS 141; GE.

Nakon Nepotove nasilne smrti 9. svibnja 480. godine Odoakar je nastavio s kovanjem zlatnika jedino u ime cara Zenona, ali su promjene dotadašnjih osnovnih obilježja milanskih tremisa bile neizbježne i nije ih trebalo dugo čekati. Prva je na redu bila aversna legenda u kojoj je dotadašnji AVC završetak u neko vrijeme nakon 9. svibnja 480. godine promijenjen u NC, a potom je 1. rujna 482. godine na red došao revers, na kojem je trodijelni ukras egzerga ($\times \times \times$) zamijenjen dvodijelnim ($\times \times$). Prvi primjerci prepoznatljivi po tim novim obilježjima aversa i reversa oblikuju skupinu od čak šest tremisa – četiri primjerka s podacima o nalazištu – iz četiri muzeja u Hrvatskoj [no. 7, 11, 12], Bosni i Hercegovini [no. 10] i Sloveniji [no. 8, 9]. Sve ih povezuje upotreba istog kalupa: u tri slučaja aversa i reversa (sl. 4:7-9), a u dva slučaju ili samo aversa (sl. 4:10-11) ili samo reversa (sl. 4:11-12).

261 Sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI* V), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; *Artemide* XXVIII/2010, no. 1385 = *Künker* 227/2013, no. 2004 = *Varesi* 67/2015, no. 140.

Rv/Au: AMZ 283; Božić, Ciglonečki 1995, 261 Sl. 10:3, 262 = Šemrov 2004 (= *FMRSI* V), 24 no. 4-1, Tab. I:4-1; *Artemide* XXVIII/2010, no. 1385 = *Künker* 227/2013, no. 2004 = *Varesi* 67/2015, no. 140.

10

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.45 g, 14mm, 6h.

ZMBiH 1810; purchased from Nikola Bikić in 1893.

Site: Skender Vakuf (Donji Varoš), danas Kneževo, opšt. Kneževo, Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH).

Lit.: Patsch 1900, 564 no. 23 (no ill.).³¹

Obv./Au: AMS 141; Platt 26/6/1922, no. 814 = GE; *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1106 = Boutin 1983, no. 1005 = Lacam 1983, 699 Pl. CLXXVI: type 5/1 (reverse), type 5/3 (obverse), Pl. 46:166; KHM–MK.

Rv/Au: *Hamburger* 96/1932, no. 1106 = Boutin 1983, no. 1005 (coll. Kapamadji) = Lacam 1983, 699 Pl. CLXXVI: type 5/1 (revers), type 5/3 (avers), Pl. 46:166; KHM–MK.

11

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.44 g, 13.5/13 mm, 6h.

AMS 141

Site: unknown.

Lit.: unpublished.

Obv./Au: ZMBiH 1810; Platt 26/6/1922, no. 814 = GE; *Hamburger* 96/1932, 1106; Boutin 1983, 1005 (coll. Kapamadji) = Lacam 1983, 699 Pl. CLXXVI: type 5/1 (reverse), type 5/3 (obverse), Pl. 46:166; GE.

Rv/Au: AMS 438 (hoard, Vid (*Narona*), 1901); GE.

12

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

³¹ The obverse legend presented does not correspond to that on the coin.

Osim povezanosti kalupa i brojnosti primjeraka njihovoj osobitosti pridonosi rasprostranjenost i poprilična međusobna udaljenost njihovih nalazišta koja od sjeverozapadne i jugoistočne Slovenije (Kobarid-Tonovcov grad, obč. Kobarid, **no. 8**); Prapretno-Gradec, obč. Šentjur; **no. 9**)³² preko sjeverozapadne Bosne i Hercegovine (Skender Vakuf/Kneževo, opć. Kneževo; **no. 11**) sežu sve do jugoistoka Hrvatske (Vid/ant. *Narona*, Grad Metković; **no. 12**); dovodi ih u vezu s arheološkim istraživanjima dokazanim strateški pozicioniranim utvrđenjima (Kobarid-Tonovcov grad, Prapretno-Gradec) ili pak s urbanim središtem od regionalne važnosti i značenja (Vid/*Narona*). Povezanost kalupa je pak monetarna zanimljivost ovisna o kovničkoj regulativi i pravilima, ali je njezina pojavnost i učestalost među nalazima na nekom širem području zacijelo drugačije prirode i značaja. Na brojnost primjeraka, a time vjerojatno i na učestalost nalaza jedne monetarne serije utječu raznorodni čimbenici, a jedan je od zasigurno najznačajnijih namjera monetarnog autoriteta da u nekom kratkom vremenskom razdoblju za podmirenje troškova i povećanu distribuciju pripremi i osigura osim tezuriranog i veću količinu „svježeg“ novca potrebnog za uspješnu provedbu zamišljenog i financijski zacijelo zahtjevnog pothvata. U oskudnim povijesnim vrelima koja se odnose na istočna područja prefekture Italije, posebice na Dalmaciju kao njezinu najistočniju provinciju, ističu se ranih godina Odoakarove vladavine tek dva događaja od osobite važnosti i značenja: Nepotovo ubojstvo 9. svibnja 480. godine, a nešto kasnije i Odoakarova vojna intervencija u Dalmaciji, obično datirana u 481./482. godinu, kojom su

Cross within wreath, exergue ⋈⋈, COMOB. Mediolanum, 1.42 g, 13 mm, 6h.

AMS 438; Hoard of gold coins and jewellery (so-called Urbica hoard), 1901.

Site: Vid (*Narona*), Grad Metković, Žup. Dubrovačko-neretvanska, Croatia (Cro).

Lit.: Marović 1988, 308 no. 66, 315 Pl. 4:66; Marović 2006, 246-247 no. 66.

Rv/Au: AMS 141; GE.

After Nepos' violent death on May 9, 480, Odoacar went on with the minting of gold coins, only in the name of Emperor Zeno, but changes to the previous basic features of the Milan tremisses were inevitable and there was not long to wait for them. The first in order was the legend on the obverse in which the previous AVC ending at some time after May 9, 480 was changed to *NC*, and then on September 1, 482, it was the turn of the reverse, in which the tripartite ornamentation of the exergue (⋈⋈⋈) was replaced by a bipartite version (⋈⋈). The first examples identifiable from these new features of obverse and reverse form a group of as many as six tremisses – four examples with data about the sites of discovery – from four museums in Croatia [**nos. 7,11,12**], Bosnia and Herzegovina [**no. 10**], and Slovenia [**nos. 8, 9**]. They are linked by the use of the same dies: in three cases both obverse and reverse (**fig. 4: 7-9**) and in two cases just the obverse (**fig. 4: 10-11**) or only the reverse (**fig. 4:11-12**). What makes them distinctive, apart from the connections of the dies and the numerosness of the examples, is their wide distribution and the quite considerable distance between the sites, which extend from north-west and south-east Slovenia: Kobarid-Tonovcov grad, obč. Kobarid, **no. 8**); Prapretno-Gradec, obč. Šentjur; **no. 9**)³² across

³² Osim navedenih [**no. 8, 9**] nalazištima u Sloveniji pripisuju se još neke tremise s imenom cara Zenona na aversu, do danas nažalost nesačuvane. Jedna od njih svrstava se među nalaze iz Starog trga pri Ložu-Ulaka, gdje je otkrivena 1857. godine, a, sudeći po opisu, imala bi biti kovana u Milanu ili Raveni za vladavine Odoakara (Božić, Ciglencečki 1995, str. 262 [*Ulaka bei Stari trg pri Ložu*]; Šemrov 1998 (= *FMRSI IV*), str. 109 no. 42-132, 113 [*Stari trg pri Ložu-Ulaka*]). Druga potječe iz Hrastja kod Ljubljane, ali je bez podataka koji bi sugerirali njezinu atribuciju nekoj od bilo zapadnorimskih bilo istočnorimskih kovnica (Pegan 1960, 91 [*Hrastje pri Ljubljani*]; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI I*), str. 366 no. 180-1 [*Ljubljana-Polje/Hrastje*]; Božić-Ciglencečki 1995, str. 262 [*Hrastje nordöstlich von Ljubljana*]). Treba upozoriti da se ovaj novac u slovenskoj stručnoj literaturi katkad spominje kao nalaz iz Hrastja, naselja na lijevoj obali Save jugoistočno od Kranja.

³² Apart from the tremisses mentioned (nos. 8, 9), some others with the name of Emperor Zeno on the obverse are ascribed to sites in Slovenia, although they are no longer extant. One of them is classified among finds from Stari trg pri Ložu-Ulaka, where it was discovered in 1857 and judging from the description was probably minted in Milan or Ravenna during the reign of Odoacar (Božić, Ciglencečki 1995, p. 262 [*Ulaka bei Stari trg pri Ložu*]; Šemrov 1998 (= *FMRSI IV*), p. 109 no. 42-132, p. 113 [*Stari trg pri Ložu-Ulaka*]). Another comes from Hrastje by Ljubljana, but without any data suggesting it might be attributed to any of the Western or Eastern Roman mints (Pegan 1960, p. 91 [*Hrastje pri Ljubljani*]; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI I*), p. 366 no. 180-1 [*Ljubljana-Polje/Hrastje*]; Božić-Ciglencečki 1995, p. 262 [*Hrastje nordöstlich von Ljubljana*]). In Slovene scholarly literature this coin

Nepotove ubojice kažnjene,³³ a Dalmacija napokon stavljena pod izravnu kontrolu vladara u Raveni (Odoakar).³⁴ Zaposjedanje provincije Dalmacije dotad već desetljećima znatnim dijelom izuzete iz upravnih tokova Zapadnorimskog Carstva i dobrim dijelom monetarno neovisne, posebice tijekom Nepotove vladavine u svojstvu nominalnog zapadnorimskog cara,³⁵ zasigurno je zahtijevalo primjerenu materijalnu pripremu koja je osim vojnog cilja imala administrativno-političke ciljeve i karakter. Stoga nije neočekivano da je u vremenu neposredno nakon uspješnog Odoakarova pothvata u Dalmaciji uslijedio pojačani priljev svježeg novca praćen zamjenom starog novca novim, kovanim u Odoakarovoj Italiji 481. - 482./483. godine,³⁶ što je izvan svake sumnje moralo ostaviti traga u numizmatičkim nalazima u Dalmaciji pa i u nalazima u njezinom neposrednom susjedstvu.

13.

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,425 g, 14/13,5 mm, 6h.

ZMBiH 7957; kupljeno u Sarajevu od Stepaneka 1903. god.

Nalazište: nepoznato.

Lit.: neobjavljeno.

14.

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ između točaka u vijencu (.†.), odsječak $\times \times$, •COMOB•.

Mediolanum; 1,48 g, 14 mm; 6h.

Nalazište: nepoznato.

AMS 186

north-west Bosnia and Herzegovina (Skender Vakuf/Kneževo, opć. Kneževo; no. 11) all the way to south-east Croatia (Vid/ant. *Narona*, Grad Metković; no. 12), connecting them with archaeological excavations of, for example, proven strategically positioned fortifications (Kobarid-Tonovcevi grad, Prapretno-Gradec) or with an urban centre that was regionally important (Vid-Narona). The linkage of the dies represents a monetary particularity, dependent on the laws and regulations of mints, but its appearance and frequency among sites in a wider area had a different nature and significance. Quite varied factors affect the numbers of specimens and accordingly, probably, the frequency of finds of a monetary series; one of the most important must be the intention of the monetary authority in a short period of time to meet costs and to prepare and assure increased distribution, apart from the larger quantity of “fresh” money in the vaults necessary for the successful implementation of a planned and financially demanding enterprise. In the meagre historical sources that refer to the eastern areas of the diocese of Italy, particularly the Dalmatian province, its most easterly, only two events of particular significance stand out in the early years of Odovacar’s rule: the murder of Nepos on May 9, 480, and a little later, Odovacar’s military intervention in Dalmatia, usually dated to 481-482, in which the killers of Nepos were punished³³ and Dalmatia was at last brought under the direct control of the ruler in Ravenna (Odovacar).³⁴ The occupation of the province of Dalmatia, in previous decades largely excepted from the administrative flows of the Western Roman Empire and in large part monetarily independent, particularly during the rule of Nepos as nominal emperor of the West,³⁵ must have required an appropriate material preparation that, apart from a

is sometimes referred to as the find from Hrastje, a settlement on the left bank of the Sava River southeast of Kranj.

³³ Martindale 1980, p. 805 (s.v. „*Ovida*“).

³⁴ What really happened in the not so very short time between these two events is unknown and mysterious, as is whether there might have been negotiations between Ravenna and Constantinople and if there were then what was agreed upon. Also unknown is whether Odovacar’s intervention in Dalmatia might perhaps have had the approval or even support of the emperors in Constantinople (Zeno) or whether the decision and the implementation of it were left up to Odovacar.

³⁵ For the mint and the minting of gold coins in Dalmatia during the actual rule of Nepos and later during his nominal reign, see Demo pp. 1988, 247-270; Demo 2005, pp. 187-194; Demo 2020, pp. 56-85.

³³ Martindale 1980, str. 805 (s.v. „*Ovida*“).

³⁴ Što se pak stvarno zbivalo u ne odviše kratkom vremenu između tih dvaju događaja, nepoznanica je i tajna, kao i to da li se na relaciji Ravenna-Konstantinopol eventualno pregovaralo, a ako jest, da li je i što je bilo dogovoreno. Nepoznanica je i to da li je Odoakarova intervencija u Dalmaciji eventualno imala odobrenje ili čak potporu cara u Konstantinopolu (Zenon) ili su pak odluka i izvršenje ostavljeni Odoakaru na volju.

³⁵ O kovnici i kovanju zlatnog novca u Dalmaciji u vrijeme Nepotove stvarne vladavine, ali i kasnije u vrijeme nominalne vladavine, Demo 1988, str. 247-270; Demo 2005, str. 187-194; Demo 2020, str. 56-85.

³⁶ Pretpostaviti je da je u tom razdoblju intenzivirano povlačenje iz optjecaja novca kovanog u Saloni u ime Julija Nepota.

Lit.: neobjavljeno.

Au/Au: Cumont 1893, 424-425 = Dasnoy 1955, 19-20, Pl. III:1 = Mariën 1961, str. 63-64 Fig. 46a (Rochefort-Corbois, gr. 46).

Rv/Au: Cumont 1893, 424-425 = Dasnoy 1955, 19-20, Pl. III:1 = Mariën 1961, str. 63-64 Fig. 46a (Rochefort-Corbois, gr. 46).

15.

D N ZENO – PERP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1,42 g, 14/13 mm, 6h.

Nalazište: nepoznato.

AMS 187

Lit.: neobjavljeno.

Preostale tri Odoakarove milanske tremise [no. 13-15] kovane su tek nakon 482./483. godine, na što upućuju aversna legenda D N ZENO – PERP NC i dvodijelni ukras linije egzerga na reversu ($\times \times$). Zbog natpisa •COMOB• na reversu najzanimljivija je tremisa AMS 186 [no. 14], koju bi prema Kentu isključivo zbog tog detalja trebalo pripisati Zenonovoj ranoj skupini milanskih tremisa (RIC X, no. 3605, Pl. 73), tj. prvom razdoblju kovanja Odoakarova novca u ime Zenona, koje je on stavio u vrijeme od „? oktobra 476-7“.³⁷ Da se isti natpis pojavljuje i na primjercima kovanima nakon 480. godine, pokazuje još jedna Kentova milanska tremisa (RIC X, 3606, Pl. 73), koja zbog NC aversnog završetka i trodijelnog ukrasa linije egzerga na reversu ($\times \times \times$) ne pripada prvom razdoblju Odoakarova kovanja u Milanu, kako je 1994. godine sugerirano, već razdoblju između svibnja mjeseca 480. i 1. rujna 482. godine. Kasniji su od ovih, ali i od tremise AMS 186, primjerci s istim reversnim natpisom iz dviju poznatih muzejskih zbirki u Parizu (BnF)³⁸ i Sankt Peterburgu (GE), zbog čega valja pretpostaviti da je kovanje Odoakarovih tremisa s natpisom •COMOB• u egzergu pojava kojoj tek treba ustanoviti razloge postojanja te trajanje ili vrlo vjerojatnu sporadičnost (kada je riječ o tremisama). Isto se može kazati i za pojavu točke desno i lijevo od okomite haste križa (.†.) na reversu tremise AMS 186, koja se sporadično javlja na Odoakarovim milanskim tremisama, kako onima kovanima u razdoblju od 476. do 480. godine [no. 2] tako i

military element, also had some administrative and political objectives and character. It is not unexpected that at the time just after the successful Odoacar's undertaking in Dalmatia, there should have been an enhanced influx of fresh money accompanied by withdrawal of the old coins and their replacement with new ones struck in Odovacar's Italy in 481-482/3,³⁶ which without any doubt had to have left a trace in the numismatic finds in Dalmatia and in the finds in its immediate neighbourhood.

13.

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times$, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.425 g, 14/13.5 mm, 6h.

ZMBiH 7957; Purchased in Sarajevo from Stepanek in 1903.

Site: unknown.

Lit.: unpublished.

14.

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross between dots within wreath (.†.), exergue $\times \times$, •COMOB•.

Mediolanum; 1.48 g, 14 mm; 6h.

Site: unknown.

AMS 186

Lit.: unpublished.

Obv./Au: Cumont 1893, 424-425 = Dasnoy 1955, 19-20, Pl. III:1 = Mariën 1961, 63-64 fig. 46a (Rochefort-Corbois, gr. 46).

Rv/Au: Cumont 1893, 424-425 = Dasnoy 1955, 19-20, Pl. III:1 = Mariën 1961, 63-64 fig. 46a (Rochefort-Corbois, gr. 46).

15.

D N ZENO – PERP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue $\times \times$ d, COMOB.

Mediolanum; 1.42 g, 14/13 mm, 6h.

Site: unknown.

AMS 187

Lit.: unpublished.

The remaining three Milan tremisses of Odovacar [no. 13-15] were struck only after 482/483, as indicated by the legend on the obverse, D N ZENO

³⁷ Kent 1994, str. 215.

³⁸ BnF, Schlumberger 1880.

³⁶ It can be assumed that in this period the withdrawal of coins minted in Salona in the name of Nepos was stepped up.



Sl. 5. Odoakarove tremise (13-15) kovane u Milanu u ime Zenona; nakon 482./483. Godine; M: 13 – ZMBiH 7957; 14 – AMS 186; 15 – AMS 187; Ad 14 – Künker 248/2014, no. 7637.

Fig. 5 Odovacar's tremisses (13-15) minted in Milan in the name of Zeno; after 482/483; M: 13 – ZMBiH 7957; 14 – AMS 186; 15 – AMS 187; Ad 14 – Künker 248/2014, no. 7637.

na onima kasnijim, kovanima zasigurno nakon 480. godine (sl. 5:Ad 14).

16. (imitacija / imitation)

D N ZENO – PEPP NC Poprsje s plaštem, oklopom i dijademom na d.

Križ u vijencu, odsječak $\times \times$, COMOB.

Italija ?

Kovnica nepoznata; 1,45 g; 12,5/12 mm, 6h.

NMSlo 27636

Nalazište: Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje [= Tinje nad Loko pri Žusmu], k.s. Loka pri Žusmu, obč. Šentjur (120); Savinjska regija, Slovenija (Slo).

Lit: Kos 1986, str. 221-222 bilj. 17, Pl. 10:4; Kos 1988 (= FMRSI II), str. 135 no. 383-11; Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, str. 261 sl. 10:2, str. 362; Cigle-

– PERP NC and the bipartite line of the exergue on the reverse ($\times \times$). Because of the legend on the reverse •COMOB• the most interesting is the tremissis AMS 186 [no. 14], which, according to Kent, only because of this detail, should be ascribed to the early Zeno group of Milan tremisses (RIC X, no. 3605, Pl. 73), i.e., to the first period of the minting of coins by Odovacar in the name of Zeno, which he placed in the period of “? October 476-7”.³⁷ But the same legend appeared on examples struck after 480, as shown by one more Kent Milan tremissis (RIC X, 3606 Pl. 73), which because of the NC ending on the obverse and the tripartite ornamentation of the line of the exergue on the reverse ($\times \times \times$) does not belong to the first period of Odovacar's mint-

³⁷ Kent 1994, p. 215.



Sl. 6. Imitacija Odoakarove tremise milanske kovnica; nepoznata kovnica, između 482./483. i 485. godine: 16* – NMSlo 27636 (Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje); 16*/a – Künker 273/2016, no.1035; 16*/b – BM B. 12660 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

Fig. 6 Imitations of the tremisses of Odovacar from the Milan mint, unknown mint, between 482/483 and 485: 16* – NMSlo 27636 (Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje); 16*/a – Künker 273/2016, no.1035; 16*/b – BM B. 12660 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

nečki 2000, str. 189, Taf. 39:1 (površinski nalaz / surface find).

Već i letimičan pogled na tremisu NMSlo 27636 s kasnoantičke utvrde na Tinju [no. 16*] sugerira da ona nije izvorni proizvod Odoakarove milanske kovnice, već je rađena tek po uzoru na tremise te kovnice. Aversna legenda D N ZENO – PEPP NC, posebno ligatura slova u njezinom završnom dijelu, upućuju na upotrebu aversnih oznaka milanske kovnice karakterističnih za vrijeme ne ranije od svibnja 480. godine, a dvodijelni ukras egzerga na reversu, također izvorno oznaka milanskih tremisa, pomiče njezin nastanak u vrijeme ne ranije od 482./483. godinu. Na reversu pak stil izradbe, izgled vijenca, a posebice broj latica (15/16+14) odstupaju od uobičajene onovremene milanske produkcije (10 + 10) i čine se sličnijima vijencu i laticama na reversima vandalskih srebrnjaka (polusilikve, četvrtsilike) kovanih za vladavine kralja Gunthamunda³⁹ [sl. 6:Ad 16*/a], koji je na prijestolje stupio pod sam kraj 484. godine (vladao do 496. g.). Slično obliko-

ing in Milan, which was already suggested in 1994, in the period between May 480 and September 1, 482. Later than these, and also than the AMS 186 tremisses, are examples with the same legend on the reverse from two well known museum collections, in Paris (BnF)³⁸ and St Petersburg (GE), because of which it can be assumed that the minting tremisses of Odovacar with the •COMOB• in the exergue is a phenomenon the reason for the existence of which is still to be determined, as well as its duration or, very probably, its sporadic nature (as far as tremisses are concerned). The same thing can be said of the appearance of the dot left and right of the vertical arm of the cross (.†.) on the reverse of the tremissis AMS 186, which appears sporadically on Odovacar tremisses minted in Milan, as well as those minted in the period from 476 to 480 [no. 2] and also on those struck later, certainly after 480. (fig. 5:Ad 14).

16. (Imitation)

D N ZENO – PEPP NC *Draped, cuirassed, and pearl-diademed bust r.*

Cross within wreath, exergue ∞∞, COMOB. Italy?

³⁹ Künker 273/2016, no. 1035 = Künker 158/2009, no. 911 = Aufhäuser 8/1991, no. 797.

³⁸ BnF, Schlumberger 1880.

van vijenac i latice moguće je zapaziti i na jednoj već dugo vremena poznatoj Odoakarovoj tremisi iz londonskog BM-a, obično pripisivanoj kovnici u Raveni⁴⁰ (**sl. :Ad 16*/b**) i s nastankom vjerojatno u približno istom vremenu te je i ona mogla poslužiti kao uzor graveru reversnoga kalupa tremise NMSlo 27636.

Mint unknown; 1.45 g; 12.5/12 mm, 6h.

NMSlo 27636

Site: Loka pri Žusmu-Tinje [= Tinje nad Loko pri Žusmu], k.s. Loka pri Žusmu, obč. Šentjur (120); Savinjska regija, Slovenia (Slo).

Lit: Kos 1986, 221-222 n. 17, Pl. 10:4; Kos 1988 (= *FMRSI* II), 135 no. 383-11; Božić, Ciglenečki 1995, 261 Sl. 10:2, 362; Ciglenečki 2000, 189, Taf. 39:1 (surface find).

Just a cursory glance at tremissis NMSlo 2736 from the Late Antique fortress at Tinje [**no. 16***] suggests that it is not an authentic product of Odoacar's Milan mint, rather was made on the model of a tremissis from this mint. The obverse legend D N ZENO – PEPP NC particularly the ligature letters in the final part, indicate the use of the obverse marks of the Milan mint characteristic of a time not earlier than May 480, while the two-part ornament of the exergue on the reverse, also originally a marking of the Milan tremisses, places its origins in a time not earlier than 482/483. But on the reverse, the style of engraving, the appearance of the wreath, and in particular the number of leaves (15/16+14) diverge from the usual Milanese production of the time (10+10) and seem more like the wreath and leaves on the reverses of Vandal silver coins (half-siliqua, quarter-siliqua) minted during the reign of King Gunthamund,³⁹ [**fig. 6:Ad 16*/a**] who ascended the throne only at the end of 484 (ruling until 496). A similarly shaped wreath and leaves can be observed on an tremissis of Odoacar long known from the London BM, usually ascribed to the mint in Ravenna⁴⁰ (**fig.: Ad 16*/b**) and probably originating at about the same time, and it could have served as a model for the engraver of the reverse die of the tremissis NMSlo 27636. (**G. M.**)

⁴⁰ Wroth 1911, 44 no. 7, Pl. V:5; Kent 1994 (= RIC X), no. 3642 = Lacam 1983, 819-820 Pl. CXCIX-A:Type 2:2, Pl. 53:63 = Ranieri 2006, 70 no. 220 = Baldi 2014, no. 33.1 (B. 12660). Kao usporedbu toj tremisi J. P. C. Kent je ponudio tremisu iz berlinskog SMB-a kovanu u ime bizantskog cara Anastazija, koju je prethodno već objavio W. Hahn (1984, str. 234 no. 12, Taf. I:12) i pripisao ju Odoakarovoj kovnici u Raveni. Zbog COII ili COI• (umjesto COM ?) u egzergu potrebno je spomenuti i tremisu kovanu u ime Zenona s neprekinutom aversnom legendom, koju je G. Lacam kao primjerak iz muzejske zbirke u Bologni svrstao u svoj ravenski tip 3.1. (1983, str. 820 Pl. CXCIX-A: Type 3:1, Pl. 53:65).

³⁹ *Künker* 273/2016, no. 1035 = *Künker* 158/2009, no. 911 = *Aufhäuser* 8/1991, no. 797.

⁴⁰ Wroth 1911, p. 44 no. 7, Pl. V:5; Kent 1994 (= RIC X), no. 3642 = Lacam 1983, pp. 819-820 Pl. CXCIX-A:Type 2:2, Pl. 53:63 = Ranieri 2006, 70 no. 220 = Baldi 2014, no. 33.1 (B. 12660). As a comparison to this tremissis, J.P.C. Kent offered a tremissis in SMB minted in the name of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius and previously described in print by W. Hahn (1984, p. 234 no. 12, Taf. I:12), who ascribed it to the mint of Odoacar in Ravenna. Because of the COII or COI• (instead of COM?) in the exergue, one should also mention a tremissis minted in the name of Zeno with an unbroken obverse legend that G. Lacam as an example from the museum collection in Bologna classified into his Ravenna type 3.1 (1983, p. 820, Pl. CXCIX-A: Type 3:1, Pl. 53:65).

Kratice muzeja i zbirki /

Abbreviations of museums and collections

AMS – Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Split (Cro)
AMZ – Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb (Cro)
ANS – American Numismatic Society, New York (USA)
BM – The British Museum, London (GB)
BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (F)
DO – The Dumbarton Oaks, Washington (DC; USA)
KBR – Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale, Bruxelles (B)
KHM-MK – Kunsthistorisches Museum-Münzkabinett, Wien (A)
MHAS – Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split (Cro)
NMSlo – Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana (Slo)
GE – Государственный Эрмитаж, Sankt Peterburg (Ru)
SIASP – Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, Trieste (I)
SMB – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (D)
ZMBiH – Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo (BiH)
Yale – Yale University Art Gallery, Numismatics, New Haven (CT, USA)

Skraćenice u tekstu / *Abbreviations*

Arg – argentum / srebro / silver
Au – aurum / zlato / gold
Av – avers / obv.
d. – desno
g – gram / gram
h – položaj kazaljke na satu / clockwise position
k.s. – krajevna skupnost / local community
Lit. – literatura / literature
mm – milimetar / millimeter
no. – broj / number
obč. – občina / municipality
Obv. - obverse
opć. – općina / municipality
opšt. – opština / municipality
r. – right
Rv – revers / reverse
s.v. – sub voce

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