

# BIZANTSKI NOVAC IZ MUZEJA FRANJEVAČKOG SAMOSTANA SV. ANTE PADOVANSKOG – HUMAC (LJUBUŠKI, BIH)

## BYZANTINE COINAGE FROM THE MUSEUM OF THE FRANCISCAN MONASTERY OF ST ANTHONY OF PADUA – HUMAC (LJUBUŠKI, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA)

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### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

Hercegovina, Ljubuški, Humac, Muzej franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante Padovanskog Humac, bizantska numizmatika, bizantske kovanice, zlatnici Romana III. Argira

*U radu se donosi 38 bizantskih kovanica koje se čuvaju u Muzeju franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante Padovanskog na Humcu kod Ljubuškog u Bosni i Hercegovini. Dosad ih velika većina nije bila objavljena. U Muzej na Humcu dospjele su uglavnom donacijama svećenika. Najstarije kovanice datiraju se u razdoblje Anastazija I. (491. – 518.), a najmlađe u vrijeme Emanuela I. Komnena (1143. – 1180.). Najviše kovanica pripada vremenu Justinijana I. (527. – 565.) i grupi tzv. anonimnih folisa iz 10./11. stoljeća. Kovanice većinom dolaze iz konstantinopolske kovnice, a pojedini primjerci i iz kovnica u Nikomediji, Antiohiji, Kiziku te Solunu, uz jedan primjerak iz pretpostavljene salonitanske kovnice. Među rjeđe primjerke ubrajaju se zlatnik Konstantina IV. (668. – 685.) i srebrnjak Lava VI. (886. – 912.). U zbirci se nalaze i dva zlatnika Romana III. Argira (1028. – 1034.). Iako ni za jednu kovanicu nije poznato točno mjesto nalaza, može se razložno pretpostaviti da potječu iz Hercegovine, točnije, s prostora hercegovačke franjevačke provincije.*

### KEY WORDS:

Herzegovina, Ljubuški, the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery of St Anthony of Padua Humac, Byzantine numismatics, Byzantine coins, gold coins of Romanos III Argyros

*The article analyses 38 Byzantine coins kept in the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery of St Anthony of Padua in Humac near Ljubuški, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of them have not been published so far. They reached the Humac Museum mainly as donations from priests. The earliest coins are dated to the reign of Anastasius I (491–518), while the most recent belong to the time of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180). The largest number of coins is attributed to the reign of Justinian I (527–565) and to the grouping of so-called anonymous folles of the 10th/11th century. Most of the coins originate from the Constantinople mint, while some specimens come from the mints of Nicomedia, Antioch, Cyzicus and Thessaloniki, along with one piece that have been struck in assumed Salonitan mint. Among the rarer*

*specimens are a gold coin of Constantine IV (668–685) and a silver coin of Leo VI (886–912). The collection also contains two gold coins of Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034). While exact findspots for the coins are unknown, it can reasonably be assumed that these were in Herzegovina, more precisely from the territory of the Herzegovinian Franciscan Province.*

*Što se tiče starih starodrevnih stvari spominjem samo, da bogatstvo, koje naša domovina u velikom mnoštvu ima i nami ovako lijepu priliku podjeljuje, da one izvore tradicijah i vjestih, i.t.d. koje poviesti ubilježene su, osiguramo. Fra Andeo Nuić, 25. ožujka 1884.<sup>1</sup>*

*As for ancient and time-worn things, I shall only mention that the wealth which our homeland possesses in great abundance offers us such a wonderful opportunity to safeguard those sources of traditions and knowledge, etc., which are recorded in history. Fra Andeo Nuić, 25 March 1884<sup>1</sup>*

## UVOD

Muzej franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante Padovanskog na Humcu kod Ljubuškog (BiH) (dalje u tekstu: Muzej) baštini tradiciju najstarije muzeološke institucije u Bosni i Hercegovini, a osnovan je davne 1884. godine.<sup>2</sup> Iako prostorno nevelik, Muzej ima iznimnu kulturnu važnost za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, a napose za hrvatski narod. Najpoznatiji je po čuvenoj Humačkoj ploči, jednom od najvažnijih epigrafskih spomenika s ovih prostora. Muzej sadržava i niz drugih vrijednih artefakata iz vrlo širokoga vremenskog raspona od gornjeg

## INTRODUCTION

The Museum of the Franciscan Monastery of St Anthony of Padua in Humac near Ljubuški, Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforth: the Museum), founded as early as 1884, has the distinction of being the oldest museological institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>2</sup> Although not large in size, the Museum holds exceptional cultural significance for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially for Croats as a people. It is best known for the renowned Humac Tablet, one of the most important epigraphic monuments from the wider region. In addition, the Museum hosts a comprehensive range of valuable artefacts spanning

<sup>1</sup> Citirani tekst potječe iz predgovora rukom pisane knjige koja je poznata pod nazivom *Spomenik*, a čuva se u Muzeju u Humcu. U predgovoru *Spomenika* fra Nuić objašnjava razloge za osnivanje Muzeja, a zatim slijede odredbe kojima je specificirano, među ostalim, da se sav inventar mora popisivati te da je pristup građi svima slobodan. Slijedi svojevrsna „knjiga ulazaka” predmeta koje je Muzej primio od samog osnutka pa do 1928. (vidi NIKIĆ 1985: 8–12). Popis predmeta pristiglih u Muzej nastojalo se voditi i u razdoblju od 1969. do 1973. te od 2002. do 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Za pregled povijesti Muzeja i osobe zaslužne za njegov osnutak i opstanak vidi NIKIĆ 1985 i DUGANDŽIĆ 2009 te internetske stranice Muzeja: <https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html> (pristupljeno 9. rujna 2025.). Turbulentne povijesne mijene na ovim prostorima djelovale su na Muzej i na njegov inventar, pa tako i na numizmatičku zbirku. Posebno je teško bilo vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća, kada je Muzej bio duže vremena zatvoren, a dio je građe i otuđen. Muzej se ponovno otvara za javnost 1973., ali već se za šest godina ponovno zatvara, ovaj put zbog građevinskih radova. Treći muzejski postav otvoren je 1984., ali također je zbog ratnih okolnosti zatvoren 1992. Sadašnji postav otvoren je 2002.

<sup>1</sup> The quoted text comes from the preface of a manuscript entitled *Spomenik* [“The Monument”], kept in the Humac Museum. In the preface to the *Spomenik*, Fra Nuić explained the reasons for establishing the Museum, followed by provisions specifying, among other things, that the entire inventory be recorded and that access to the material be free to all. This is followed by a kind of “entry book” of objects received by the Museum from its foundation until 1928 (s. NIKIĆ 1985: 8–12). The list of objects received by the Museum was also maintained during the periods 1969–1973 and 2002–2004.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the history of the Museum and of the individuals responsible for its establishment and preservation, s. NIKIĆ 1985 and DUGANDŽIĆ 2009, as well as the Museum’s website: <https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html> (9 September 2025). It should be noted here that the turbulent historical changes in this region affected the Museum and its inventory, including the numismatic collection. The period of World War II and its aftermath was particularly difficult, when the Museum was closed for an extended period and part of the material was even stolen. The Museum reopened to the public in 1973, but after only six years it was closed again, this time due to construction works. The third permanent display was opened in 1984, but it too was closed in 1992, owing to wartime conditions. The current display was opened in 2002.

paleolitika do kasnoga srednjeg vijeka<sup>3</sup> koji su u Muzej kroz zadnjih stoljeće i pol dospijevali na različite načine (donacije, slučajni nalazi, artefakti s arheoloških istraživanja i sl.). Većina arheološkog inventara potječe s prostora Hercegovine, odnosno s prostora Hercegovačke franjevačke provincije Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije.<sup>4</sup>

Važan dio muzejskog inventara čini bogata, ali još uvijek nedovoljno obrađena numizmatička zbirka u kojoj se osim velikog broja novčanica nalazi i oko 2000 kovanica u rasponu od grčkih i grčko-ilirskih do novovjekovnih.<sup>5</sup> Kovanice su u Muzej dospijevale na različite načine, a najčešće donacijama samih franjevaca ili državnih službenika, ali i seljaka, poglavito onih koji su životom i radom bili na neki način povezani s franjevcima. Sastavni su dio numizmatičke zbirke i 38 bizantskih<sup>6</sup> kovanica koje obrađujemo u ovome radu, a koje su većinom dosad bile neobjavljene.

<sup>3</sup> GLAVAŠ 2024; <https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html> (pristupljeno 9. rujna 2025.).

<sup>4</sup> Hercegovačka franjevačka provincija ima sjedište u Mostaru. Osnovana je 1892., kada je obuhvaćala prostor Hercegovine od Šuice i Županjca (Tomislavgrada) preko Konjica do Mostara i Međugorja te prostore istočno od Mostara koji su bili u sastavu Mostarsko-duvanjske biskupije (PANDŽIĆ 2001: 140). Prije osnutka Provincije na hercegovačkom je prostoru djelovala franjevačka kustodija osnovana 1852. Za detaljan historijat franjevačke prisutnosti u Hercegovini vidi PANDŽIĆ 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Za pregled i historijat numizmatičke zbirke humaćkog Muzeja usp. KRALJEVIĆ 1985 i DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017. Potpunije su u postojećoj znanstvenoj literaturi obrađeni samo novci Apolonije i Dirahija te novci hrvatsko-ugarskih kraljeva što čini svega oko 2 % zbirke (DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017:143 i literatura navedena na tom mjestu).

<sup>6</sup> Iako u numizmatičkoj literaturi postoji više različitih pristupa vremenskom opredjeljenju bizantske numizmatike, u odnosu na rimsku, istočnorimsku i/ili kasnoantičku, u ovom smo se radu odlučili za pristup po kojemu se o bizantskoj numizmatiki može govoriti počevši od vremena cara Anastazija I. (491. – 518.), tj. njegove monetarne reforme iz 498. godine kojom je na duže vrijeme uspostavljena okosnica bizantskoga monetarnog sustava (usp. GRIERSON 1982: 1-3). Naravno, to ne znači da su ostali pristupi pogrešni. Primjerice, u RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006 rasprava o bizantskom novcu započinje analizom kovanica cara Arkadija (395. – 408.), a u VUČIĆ 2017 analiza kasnoantičkog novca završava 582. godinom, tj. krajem vladavine Tiberija II. Konstantina (578. – 582.).

a very broad period, from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Late Middle Ages<sup>3</sup>; these have reached the Museum over the past century and a half in various ways, including donations, chance finds, and as artefacts from archaeological excavations. Most of the archaeological inventory originates from Herzegovina, that is, from the territory of the Herzegovinian Franciscan Province of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>4</sup>

An important part of the Museum's inventory is the extensive (but still insufficiently studied) numismatic collection, which contains – alongside a large number of banknotes – about 2,000 coins, ranging from Greek and Graeco-Illyrian to modern.<sup>5</sup> The coins reached the Museum in various ways, most often through donations from amongst the Franciscans or by state officials, but also by peasants, especially those whose lives and work were in some way connected with the Franciscans. Integral to the numismatic collection are the 38 Byzantine<sup>6</sup> coins discussed

<sup>3</sup> GLAVAŠ 2024; <https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html> (9 September 2025).

<sup>4</sup> The seat of the Herzegovinian Franciscan Province is in Mostar. It was established in 1892, when it covered the area of Herzegovina from Šuica and Županjac (Tomislavgrad), through Konjic to Mostar and Međugorje, as well as the areas east of Mostar that were part of the Mostar-Duvno Diocese (PANDŽIĆ 2001: 140). Before the establishment of the Province, the Franciscan Custody, founded in 1852, operated in the Herzegovinian region. For a detailed history of the Franciscan presence in Herzegovina, s. PANDŽIĆ 2001.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview and history of the Humac Museum's numismatic collection, cf. KRALJEVIĆ 1985 and DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017. Only the coins of Apollonia and Dyrrachium as well as those of the Croatian-Hungarian kings, comprising a mere fiftieth of the collection, have been more fully treated in the existing scholarly literature (DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 143 and the references cited therein).

<sup>6</sup> Although numismatic literature offers several different approaches to defining the chronological scope of "Byzantine numismatics" (as distinct from "Roman", "Eastern Roman", and/or "Late Antique"), in this paper we have adopted the view that Byzantine numismatics may be said to begin with the reign of Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), specifically his monetary reform of 498, which established the backbone of the Byzantine monetary system for a long time (cf. GRIERSON 1982: 1-3). This does not, of course, imply that other approaches are incorrect. For example, in RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006, the discussion of Byzantine coinage begins with coins of Emperor Arcadius (395-408), while in VUČIĆ 2017 the analysis of Late Antique coinage ends in 582, with the end of the reign of Tiberius II Constantine (578-582).

## DOSADAŠNJE SPOZNAJE I PITANJE PODRIJETLA BIZANTSKIH KOVANICA IZ HUMAČKOG MUZEJA

U dosadašnjoj se literaturi samo lapidarno spominju pojedini primjerci bizantskih kovanica iz Muzeja na Humcu. Carl Patsch još je 1900. naveo da se u „Manastirskom muzeju u Humcu” čuva solid Anastazija I. (491. – 518.).<sup>7</sup> Gojko Kraljević 1985. navodi da je u Muzeju „izloženo tridesetak ranobizantijskih bakrenih novčića i tri srebrna (...) skifata”, u rasponu od „Teodozija II. do Mauricija Tiberija”.<sup>8</sup> Kratak osvrt na bizantske kovanice s Humca donose Ivo Dragičević i Mato Ilkić 2017. navodeći da se u humačkoj zbirci nalazi 39 bizantskih kovanica.<sup>9</sup> Tomislav Šeparović 2021. navodi tri kovanice Anastazija I. i još dvije neodređene

<sup>7</sup> PATSCH 1900: 565, br. 30. Patsch navodi i jedan Anastazijev zlatnik koji se nalazio na Humcu, ali je u trenutku kada piše rad taj zlatnik već bio u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu. Za oba navodi i legende: Av. DNANASTA SIVSPPAVG, Rv. VICTORI AAVGGGI, u odsječku CONOB. Kao mjesto nalaza navodi zapadnu Hercegovinu sjeverno od Neretve ili „bosanske kotare na megji” (PATSCH 1900: 564). Inače, u slučaju kovanice iz Humca riječ je o solidu, a ona iz Sarajeva jest tremisa (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 214).

<sup>8</sup> KRALJEVIĆ 1985: 136. Ako se uspoređi citat iz Kraljevićeve teksta s katalogom u ovome članku, jasno se uočava velika razlika. U ovom radu obrađeno je 15 ranobizantijskih kovanica, a Kraljević spominje „tridesetak (...) ranobizantijskih”. Ovo bi se moglo objasniti činjenicom da Kraljević u svoj navod uključuje i novce koji bi se mogli opredijeliti kao kasnoantički („od Teodozija II.”), koji su također zastupljeni u humačkoj numizmatičkoj zbirci. Ne možemo objasniti zašto ne spominje kovanice kovane od početka 7. do kraja 11. stoljeća, ali nije nemoguće da barem dio tih kovanica dospijeva u Muzej početkom 21. stoljeća.

<sup>9</sup> DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 146. Dragičević i Ilkić navode da se u Muzeju nalazi šest bizantskih kovanica od zlata, jedna od srebra, a ostale su od bakra. Pri višekratnom pregledu zbirke za potrebe pisanja ovog rada registrirano je 38 bizantskih kovanica (četiri zlatne, jedna srebrna i 33 brončane). Uočljiva je razlika u broju zlatnika koji spominju Dragičević i Ilkić (šest) i broju zlatnika obrađenih u ovome radu (četiri). Moguće je da su navedeni autori u broju od šest zlatnika uključili i dva zlatnika iz 4. i 5. stoljeća. Valja ipak naglasiti da numizmatička zbirka humačkog samostana još uvijek nije inventarizirana te bi tek sveobuhvatni pregled muzejskog inventara mogao pružiti odgovor na pitanje o točnom broju bizantskih kovanica (ali i onih iz drugih razdoblja).

in this paper, the great majority of which have so far remained unpublished.

## PREVIOUS FINDINGS AND THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BYZANTINE COINS FROM HUMAC MUSEUM

The existing literature mentions individual specimens of Byzantine coins from the Humac Museum only briefly. As early as 1900, Carl Patsch recorded that a solidus of Anastasius I (491–518) was kept in the “Monastery Museum in Humac”.<sup>7</sup> In 1985, Gojko Kraljević noted that “about thirty Early Byzantine copper coins and three silver... scyphata” were “on display in the Museum”, ranging “from Theodosius II to Maurice Tiberius”.<sup>8</sup> A short review of the Byzantine coins from Humac was published by Ivo Dragičević and Mato Ilkić in 2017, stating that the Humac collection contained 39 Byzantine coins.<sup>9</sup> In 2021, Tomislav Šeparović recorded in

<sup>7</sup> PATSCH 1900: 565, No. 30. Patsch also mentioned a gold coin of Anastasius that had been kept in Humac but, at the time of his writing, was already in the National Museum of Sarajevo. For both coins he gave the legends: Obv. DNANASTA SIVSPPAVG, Rev. VICTORI AAVGGGI, with CONOB in the exergue. He cited western Herzegovina north of the Neretva, or “the Bosnian districts on the border” as the findspot (PATSCH 1900: 564). The coin from Humac is a solidus, while the Sarajevo specimen is a tremissis (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 214).

<sup>8</sup> KRALJEVIĆ 1985: 136. When the quotation from Kraljević’s text is compared with the catalogue in this article, a significant discrepancy becomes clear. In our study, 15 Early Byzantine coins are presented, while Kraljević mentioned “about thirty... Early Byzantine” coins. This may be explained by the fact that Kraljević included in his count coins that could be classified as Late Antique (“... from Theodosius II...”), which are also represented in the Humac numismatic collection. As to why he did not mention coins struck from the early 7th to the late 11th century, we cannot provide an explanation, although it is not impossible that at least some of these coins only reached the Museum in the early 2000s.

<sup>9</sup> DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 146. Dragičević and Ilkić stated that the Museum held six Byzantine gold coins and one silver coin, the remaining pieces being copper. During repeated examinations of the collection for the purposes of this study, 38 Byzantine coins were recorded (four gold, one silver, and 33 bronze). A noticeable discrepancy emerges between the number of gold coins mentioned by Dragičević

ne bizantske kovanice u Muzeju u Humcu.<sup>10</sup> Kovanice koje navode Patsch i Šeparović donose se i u internetskoj bazi *Nomismata*.<sup>11</sup> Od 38 kovanica obrađenih u ovome radu, samo su dvije prethodno bile detaljnije opisane: jedan folis Justinijana I. (kat. br. 5) i jedan zlatnik Romana III. Argira (kat. br. 27).<sup>12</sup>

Mjesta nalaza bizantskih kovanica iz Muzeja na Humcu nisu poznata, što otežava njihovu znanstvenu interpretaciju. Među muzejskim dokumentima u kojima se spominje porijeklo nekih kovanica dospjelih tijekom prošlosti u Muzej ističe se već spomenuti *Spomenik*, svojevrsna muzejska inventarna knjiga.<sup>13</sup> S obzirom na važnost tih podataka, spomenut ćemo ih na ovome mjestu. Iz *Spomenika* tako saznajemo da je 25. travnja 1884. fra Augustin Zubac<sup>14</sup> darovao Muzeju „dva zlatna novca” koji su tada prepoznati kao Anastazijevi (navodi se: „Divus Anastasius P. P. August”). Uskoro fra Luka Begić, tadašnji provincijal hercegovačkih franjevača („redodržavnik”), donosi zapovijed da svi redovnici koji „imadu u sebe starih novaca iste daruju u muzej na Humcu”, a i sam poklanja jedan „grčki zlatni dukat”.<sup>15</sup> Dana 8.

the Humac Museum three coins of Anastasius I and two additional, unspecified Byzantine coins.<sup>10</sup> The coins recorded by Patsch and Šeparović are also listed in the *Nomismata* online database.<sup>11</sup> Of the 38 coins presented in this paper, only two have previously been described in more detail: a follis of Justinian I (Cat. No. 5) and a gold coin of Romanos III Argyros (Cat. No. 27).<sup>12</sup>

The findspots of the Byzantine coins from the Humac Museum are unknown, which hinders their scholarly interpretation. Among the museum documents that mention the provenance of some coins that entered the Museum in the past, special importance attaches to the *Spomenik*, a kind of museum inventory book.<sup>13</sup> In view of the value of these data, we shall mention them here. From the *Spomenik* we learn that on 25 April 1884, Fra Augustin Zubac<sup>14</sup> donated to the Museum “two gold coins”, then identified as coins of Anastasius (noted as “Divus Anastasius P. P. August”). Shortly afterwards, Fra Luka Begić, then the Provincial of the Herzegovinian Franciscans, issued an order that all friars who “have old coins in their possession shall

and Ilkić (six) and the number treated in this paper (four). It is possible that Dragičević and Ilkić's number include two 4./5. century gold coins. It should nonetheless be emphasized that the numismatic collection of the Humac Monastery has not yet been inventoried, and only a comprehensive review of the Museum's holdings could provide an answer to the question of the exact number of Byzantine coins (as well as those from other chronological periods).

<sup>10</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 211, 213 i 214. Inače, citirano je djelo trenutačno najsvieobuhvatniji prikaz bizantskih numizmatičkih nalaza na istočnom Jadranu i u zaobalju. Šeparović evidentira čak 1260 jedinica numizmatičke građe s tog prostora, ali samo one za koje postoje okvirni podaci o nalazištu.

<sup>11</sup> <https://byzantine.units.it/en/> (pristupljeno 9. rujna 2025.). Riječ je o georeferenciranoj i kronoreferenciranoj bazi podataka o bizantskim kovanicama s poznatim mjestom nalaza iz Europe, Azije i Afrike koju je uspostavilo Sveučilište u Trstu.

<sup>12</sup> DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 146 i 147. Folis Justinijana I. (kat. br. 5) donesen je fotografijom te kratkim opisom i u VASILJ, ČULJAK, PAPONJA 2012: 105.

<sup>13</sup> Usp. bilj. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Fra Augustin Zubac (1843. – 1907.) 1884. na službi je u Mostaru. Prije toga obnašao je razne dužnosti, u Širokom Brijegu, na Humcu i u Gradničima kod Čitluka. Školovao se u Širokom Brijegu, Zagrebu i Innsbrucku u Austriji (JOLIĆ 2011: 428). Ovakve podatke donosimo za fra Zupca i još neke svećenike koji su donirali kovanice jer je teoretski (i praktično) moguće da su do njih došli na bilo kojem od spomenutih mjesta gdje su se školovali ili su službovali.

<sup>15</sup> Teoretski je moguće da je u ovom slučaju riječ o bizantskoj kovanici, ali je isto tako moguće da je riječ o zlatniku Kraljevine Grčke.

<sup>10</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 211, 213 and 214. Incidentally, Šeparović's work is currently the most comprehensive overview of Byzantine numismatic finds on the eastern Adriatic and in its hinterland. It records as many as 1,260 units of numismatic material from that area, but only those for which at least approximate provenance data exist.

<sup>11</sup> <https://byzantine.units.it/en/> (9 September 2025). This is a geo- and chrono-referenced database, established by the University of Trieste, of Byzantine coin finds from archaeological contexts in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

<sup>12</sup> DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 146 and 147. A follis of Justinian I (Cat. No. 5) is also presented with a photograph and a brief description in VASILJ, ČULJAK, PAPONJA 2012: 105.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Fra Augustin Zubac (1843–1907) was in service in Mostar in 1884. Before that he had occupied various posts in Široki Brijeg, Humac and Gradnici near Čitluk. He was educated in Široki Brijeg, Zagreb and Innsbruck in Austria (JOLIĆ 2011: 428). We provide such information for Fra Zubac and some other priests who donated coins because it is theoretically (and practically) possible that they had acquired them in any of the places where they studied or served.

veljače 1894. Muzeju je „jedan zlatni novac (...) cara Anastazija Bizantinskog” poklonio fra Anđeo Nuić.<sup>16</sup> Uz taj se opis navodi da je novčić pronađen u Knešpolju (kod Širokog Brijega; op. a.).<sup>17</sup> Fra Nuić 1899. donirao je „jedan zlatni novac cara Anastasija našast kod Vašarovića sa više komada” (Vašarovići se nalaze u blizini Ljubuškog, na samoj granici s Hrvatskom, op. a.).<sup>18</sup> Dana 10. listopada 1901. u Muzej iz ostavštine fra Dominika Šarca<sup>19</sup> dopijeva „1 zlatni novac u malom obliku Anastasius...”. Okružni predstojnik Pittner iz Mostara darovao je 10. ožujka 1903. pet komada srebrnih novaca „iz doba Bizanskog”.<sup>20</sup> Posebno se ističu upisi u *Spomeniku* od 20. lipnja 1903., kada su uneseni podaci o dva bizantska zlatnika, iako se njihova mjesta nalaza eksplicitno ne spominju (sl. 1). Fra Blaž Jerković, župnik Drinovaca do 1902., donirao je Muzeju „1 zlatni novac Bizantinski dosta velik. Na jednoj strani slika Isusova, s drugu stranu car Romanos III iz 10. vijeka i Majka Božja Marija”,<sup>21</sup> a fra Žarko Pehar,<sup>22</sup> župnik Klobuka, donirao je „1 zlatni novac srednje veličine. Na jednoj strani Car Theophilos iz XI vijeka, s drugu

donate them to the Museum in Humac”, and he himself donated a “Greek gold ducat”.<sup>15</sup> On 8 February 1894, Fra Anđeo Nuić donated to the Museum “a gold coin (...) of Emperor Anastasius of Byzantium”.<sup>16</sup> The entry notes that the coin had been found in Knešpolje (near Široki Brijeg).<sup>17</sup> In 1899, Fra Nuić also donated “a gold coin of Emperor Anastasius found near Vašarovići among several pieces” (Vašarovići lies near Ljubuški, directly on the border with Croatia).<sup>18</sup> In 1901, on 10 October, the Museum received from the estate of Fra Dominik Šarac<sup>19</sup> “1 gold Anastasius coin in small form ...”. The district prefect Pittner from Mostar donated on 10 March 1903 five silver coins “from the Byzantine period”.<sup>20</sup> Of particular note are the entries in the *Spomenik* dated 20 June 1903, when records of two Byzantine gold coins were entered, although their findspots are not explicitly mentioned (Fig. 1). Fra Blaž Jerković, parish priest of Drinovci until 1902, donated to the Museum “1 Byzantine gold coin, rather large. On one side an image of Jesus, on the other Emperor Romanos III from the 10th century and Mary, the Mother of God”,<sup>21</sup> while Fra Žarko Pehar,<sup>22</sup> parish priest

<sup>16</sup> Fra Anđeo Nuić (1850. – 1916.) zasigurno je najvažnija osoba za uspostavljanje Muzeja u Humcu. O njegovu životu i radu vidi JOLIĆ, MARIĆ 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Kovanica je navedena u ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 213.

<sup>18</sup> Kovanica je navedena u ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 211.

<sup>19</sup> Fra Dominik Šarac (1855. – 1901.) školovao se u Širokom Brijegu, na Humcu i u Italiji, a službovao je u Posušju, Humcu, Mostaru (gdje je bio prvi gvardijan tamošnjega franjevačkog samostana) i Gabeli (JOLIĆ 2011: 374).

<sup>20</sup> U dokumentu pisanom strojopisom i naslovljenom *Vjerman prijepis upisnika primljenih doprinosa za muzej na Humcu* ovi se novci nazivaju rimskima što je, sva je vjerojatnost, bliže istini.

<sup>21</sup> Fra Blaž Jerković (1836. – 1917.) bio je župnik u Drinovcima od 1888. do 1902. Ostao je upamćen i zbog uređenja Imotsko-bekijskog polja. Zanimljivo bi bilo pomisliti da je kovanica o kojoj je riječ pronađena pri spomenutim radovima, ali je moguće i da bi mogla potjecati iz ostava Argirovih zlatnika iz Drežnice ili Vitine koje su obje pronađene i raspacane prije 1902. (za više podataka o navedenim ostavama vidi bilješku 83).

<sup>22</sup> Fra Žarko Pehar (1868. – 1939.) školovao se u Širokom Brijegu, na Humcu te u talijanskim gradovima Perugia, Macerati i Pisi. Prije službe u Klobuku djelovao je u Širokom Brijegu, Mostaru i Vinici kod Tomislavgrada (JOLIĆ 2011: 305).

<sup>15</sup> It is theoretically possible that, in this case, the coin was Byzantine, but it is equally possible that it was a gold coin of the Kingdom of Greece.

<sup>16</sup> Fra Anđeo Nuić (1850–1916) was undoubtedly the most important figure in the establishment of the Humac Museum. For his life and work s. JOLIĆ, MARIĆ 2010.

<sup>17</sup> The coin is listed in ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 213.

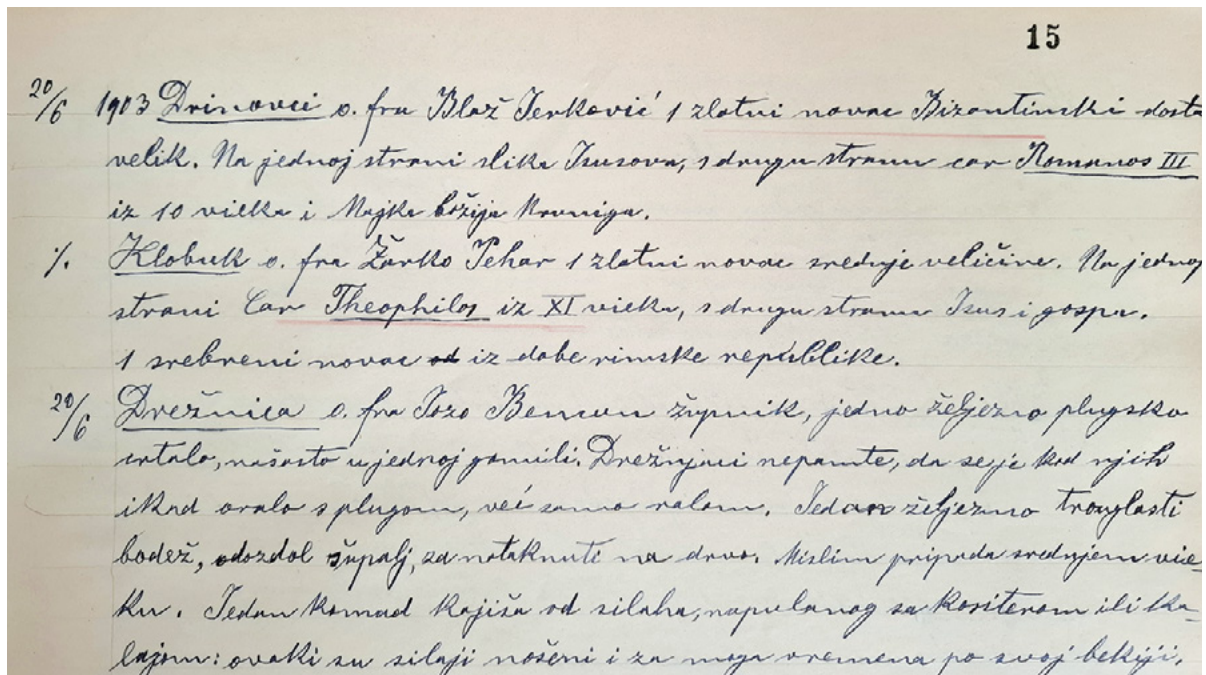
<sup>18</sup> The coin is listed in ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 211.

<sup>19</sup> Fra Dominik Šarac (1855–1901) was educated in Široki Brijeg, Humac and Italy, and served in Posušje, Humac, Mostar (where he was the first guardian of the Franciscan monastery there) and Gabela (JOLIĆ 2011: 374).

<sup>20</sup> In a typewritten document entitled *Vjerman prijepis upisnika primljenih doprinosa za muzej na Humcu* [A Faithful Transcript of the Register of Contributions Received for the Museum in Humac], these coins are described as “Roman”, which is, in all likelihood, closer to the truth.

<sup>21</sup> Fra Blaž Jerković (1836–1917) was parish priest in Drinovci from 1888 to 1902. He is also remembered for the drainage works in the Imotski–Bekija field. That the coin in question was found during these works is an interesting speculation, but it is also possible that it originated from hoards of gold coins of Argyros found in Drežnica and Vitina, both of which had been dispersed by 1902 (for more on these hoards, s. note 83).

<sup>22</sup> Fra Žarko Pehar (1868–1939) was educated in Široki Brijeg, Humac and in the Italian cities of Perugia, Macerata and Pisa. Before serving in Klobuk, he had worked in Široki Brijeg, Mostar and Vinica near Tomislavgrad (JOLIĆ 2011: 305).



SLIKA 1. Stranica Spomenika s upisima od 20. lipnja 1903. (snimila: D. Grbavac)

FIGURE 1 Page of the Spomenik with the entries of 20 June 1903 (photo by D. Grbavac)

stranu Isus i Gospa”.<sup>23</sup> Čitajući *Spomenik* stječe se dojam da se u njega nastojalo upisati i mjesto nalaza pojedinih artefakata, što nam nedostaje u slučaju ovih kovanica. Stoga se u ovom trenutku ipak ne može tvrditi da su ova dva zlatnika uistinu pronađena u Drinovcima i Klobuku, iako se to ne može niti isključiti kao mogućnost. U ovom je trenutku jedino jasno to da su zlatnike u Muzej donijeli tadašnji župnici Drinovaca i Klobuka. Župnik u Gorici, Fra Silvestar Vasilj,<sup>24</sup>

of Klobuk, donated “1 medium-sized gold coin. On one side Emperor Theophilos from the 11th century, on the other Jesus and Our Lady”.<sup>23</sup> Reading the *Spomenik* gives the impression that while efforts were made to record the findspot of individual artefacts, information is lacking in the case of these coins. Therefore, at this point it cannot be asserted that these two gold coins were indeed found in Drinovci and Klobuk. This possibility, nevertheless, cannot be excluded. What is clear for

<sup>23</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 211 navodi neodredivu kovanicu iz Klobuka. Valja istaknuti da je u *Spomeniku* eksplicitno navedeno upravo ime Teofil, koje bi se trebalo moći iščitati s natpisa na kovanici (ako je dobro sačuvana i rub joj nije obrezan). Međutim, citirani navod nije moguće protumačiti na zadovoljavajući način jer car Teofil vlada od 829. do 842. godine, a ne u 11. stoljeću. Osim toga, na Teofilovim se zlatnicima Krist i Bogorodica ne prikazuju. Ako prihvatimo čitanje imena cara kao Teofilova, je li riječ o nekom od tipova njegovih zlatnika na kojima su na reversu zapravo prikazani Mihael II. i Konstantin? Vjerojatno je uistinu riječ o Teofilovu zlatniku, ali je pri upisu u *Spomenik* datiranje i prepoznavanje ikonografije bilo pogrešno. Na kraju krajeva, i vladavina Romana III. pogrešno je stavljena u 10. stoljeće u slučaju kovanice koju je donirao fra Jerković, a u *Spomenik* je zavedena istog dana kad i kovanica iz Klobuka. Za nalaze Teofilova novca kod nas vidi ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 80–82.

<sup>24</sup> U *Spomeniku* se prezime navodi kao Vasiljević.

<sup>23</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 211 mentions an indeterminable coin from Klobuk. It should be noted that the *Spomenik* explicitly records the name Theophilos, which should be legible from the inscription on the coin (provided it was well preserved and the edge had not been trimmed). However, the cited description cannot be interpreted satisfactorily, since Emperor Theophilos reigned between 829 and 842, not in the 11th century. In addition, Christ and the Virgin are not depicted on Theophilos' gold coins. If we accept the reading of the emperor's name as Theophilos, might the coin belong to one of the types of his gold issues on which Michael II and Constantine are in fact depicted on the reverse? Most likely it was indeed a gold coin of Theophilos, but the dating and identification of the iconography were incorrectly recorded in the *Spomenik*. After all, the reign of Romanos III was likewise mistakenly placed in the 10th century in the case of the coin donated by Fra Jerković, and it was entered in the *Spomenik* on the same day as the coin from Klobuk. For finds of Theophilos' coinage in our region, s. ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 80-82.

poklonio je Muzeju 3. travnja 1907. „jedan mali zlatni novac bizantinski” pronađen u nekom od grobova pokraj crkve.<sup>25</sup>

Dakle, u *Spomeniku* se do 1928.<sup>26</sup> navodi osam bizantskih zlatnika (pet Anastazijevih, po jedan Romana III. i Teofila (?) i jedan nepoznate datacije). Navodi se i pet srebrnih kovanica (za koje je ipak vjerojatnije da su rimske) te ni jedna brončana ili bakrena bizantska kovanica. Godine 1929. očito se radio svojevrsan popis inventara pa se u odlomku pod naslovom „Sbirka u zlatu” spominju samo dva Anastazijeva zlatnika (riječ je o onima koje Muzeju poklanja fra Zubac 1884. godine),<sup>27</sup> u odlomku „Sbirka u srebru” ne spominju se bizantske kovanice, a u dijelu naslovljenom „Sbirka u mjedi/bakru”

now is only that the gold coins were brought to the Museum by the then parish priests of Drinovci and Klobuk. Fra Silvestar Vasilj,<sup>24</sup> parish priest in Gorica, donated to the Museum on 3 April 1907 “a small Byzantine gold coin” found in one of the graves next to the church.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, in the *Spomenik* up to 1928,<sup>26</sup> eight Byzantine gold coins were recorded: five of Anastasius, one of Romanos III, one of Theophilos (?) and one of unknown date. Five silver coins are also mentioned (although it is more likely that they are Roman) but not a single bronze or copper Byzantine coin. In 1929, an inventory of sorts was evidently made, since in the section entitled “Collection in gold”, only two gold coins of Anastasius are mentioned (those donated to the Museum by Fra Zubac in 1884<sup>27</sup>); in the

<sup>25</sup> Ovo bi mogla biti kovanica navedena u ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 213. Nije točno poznato o kakvoj je kovanici riječ, što je uistinu šteta, jer u ovom slučaju znamo točno s kojega lokaliteta kovanica potječe (riječ je o položaju Gorica – Šamatorje), a okvirno su poznate i okolnosti nalaza. Pojava bizantskog novca na tom položaju nije iznenađujuća jer je riječ o kompleksnom lokalitetu s kontinuitetom od antike do danas. Oko postojeće crkve iz 19. stoljeća, sagrađene na mjestu ranokršćanske i ranosrednjovjekovne, danas se nalazi župno groblje koje je velikim dijelom preslojilo i uništilo starije grobove. U arheološkim istraživanjima provedenima 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća otkriveni su ranokršćanski grobovi te 37 srednjovjekovnih. U Franjevačkoj zbirci na Gorici čuva se i bizantska kovanica od 16 numma iz vremena Justinijana I. kovana u Solunu između 527. i 538. (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2020: 331 i 345). Lokalitet, istraživanja i nalazi s položaja Gorica – Šamatorje, kao i nalazi s položaja u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini, opisani su u djelu *Gorica od drevne Imote*, ur.: Marić, A., Palčok, M., Gorica: Hrvatska franjevačka arheološka zbirka sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika Gorica, 2020.

<sup>26</sup> Inače, u to je vrijeme učestala pojava koja je u *Spomeniku* opisana riječima „Sada su svi pohlepni za starim novcem.” Naime, ubičajilo se da „žandari, financi, šumari i drugi” otkupljuju novac od nalaznika kako bi ga kasnije, očito, preprodavali. Tomu samostan nije mogao financijski parirati pa se dogodilo da „ne možeš više ništa kao prije što se nađe u Gračinama i u blizini dobiti” (citati iz *Spomenika* se odnosi na 1928. godinu). To je i prije bila praksa, pa tako fra Andeo Nuić, opisujući motive za osnivanje muzejske zbirke na Humcu, piše da su i sami fratri „novaca mnogo poklonili ili prodali štokavim hodalicam koje takve stvari kupe” (JOLIĆ, MARIĆ 2010: 74).

<sup>27</sup> Tada se donose i legende na kovanicama: „2. Rimski Av./Divus Anastasius Pat. Patria August. Av./Victoria. Aug. Caes. Consul. (476-492 po.Kr.); 3. Rimski Av./Divus Anastasius Pat. Patria August. Rv./Victoria. Aug. Caes. Consul. (476-492 po.Kr.) 25. IV.-884.” Međutim, nema spomena o njihovu porijeklu.

<sup>24</sup> In the *Spomenik*, his surname is recorded as “Vasiljević”.

<sup>25</sup> This might be the coin listed in ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 213. It is not known exactly what type of coin it was, which is unfortunate, since in this case we know precisely from where (Gorica – Šamatorje) the coin originated, and the circumstances of the find are broadly known. The presence of Byzantine coinage at this site is not surprising, as it is a complex location with continuity from Antiquity to the present day. Around the existing 19th-century church, built on the site of early Christian and early medieval predecessors, there is now a parish cemetery, which has largely superimposed and destroyed the earlier burials. Archaeological excavations carried out in the 1990s uncovered some early Christian graves and 37 from the Middle Ages. In the Franciscan collection in Gorica, a Byzantine coin of 16 nummi from the time of Justinian I, struck in Thessaloniki between 527 and 538, is also kept (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2020: 331 and 345). The place, the excavations and the finds from the Gorica – Šamatorje site, as well as finds from locations in its immediate vicinity, are described in the work *Gorica od drevne Imote*, eds. Marić, A., Palčok, M., Gorica: Hrvatska franjevačka arheološka zbirka sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika, Gorica, 2020.

<sup>26</sup> A common occurrence of the time is described in the *Spomenik* with the words: “Now everyone is greedy for old coins.” It had become usual for “gendarmierie, customs officers, foresters and others” to purchase coins from finders in order, clearly, to sell them on later. The monastery could not compete financially, with the result that “you can no longer obtain anything found in Gračine and nearby as before” (these quotations from the *Spomenik* are from the year 1928). This trend was not without precedent: Fra Andeo Nuić, describing the original motives for establishing the museum collection at Humac, wrote that the friars themselves “donated or sold many coins to various wanderers who buy such things” (Jolić, Marić 2010: 74).

<sup>27</sup> On that occasion, the legends on the coins were also recorded: “2. Roman. Obv./Divus Anastasius Pat. Patria August. Obv./Victoria. Aug. Caes. Consul. (476-492 AD); 3. Roman. Obv./Divus Anastasius Pat. Patria August. Rev./

osim naslova nema nikakvog upisa.

Iz dokumenta *Opći inventar zbirke starina franjevačkog samostana na Humcu* koji 1977. započinje fra Bonicije Rupčić, tadašnji kustos zbirke u Humcu, saznaje se da je zbirka obogaćena ostavštinom fra Šima Ančića (1876. – 1957.).<sup>28</sup> U Muzej dopijeva 1975., a sadržavala je i „14 novčića Bizantskih”. Fra Rupčić pri zaprimanju ostavštine fra Ančića sačinio je i prijepis njegovih bilješki koje sadržavaju i podatke o mjestima nalaza pojedinih kovanica,<sup>29</sup> međutim, tijekom posjeta Muzeju navedeni nam prijepis nije bio dostupan.

Pod naslovom „Novčići koji su pristigli 2002 – 2003” navodi se „91 novčić rim. biz. većih i manjih” bez pobližih podataka, stoga ovaj navod zasad nije moguće povezati s konkretnim kovanicama. Jedan zlatnik Romana III. Argira (1028. – 1034.) Muzej je otkupio 2006., a navodno mu je porijeklo Ljubuški (kat. br. 26).<sup>30</sup>

Ako bi se netom izneseni podaci usporedili s kovanicama obrađenima u ovome radu, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je Anastazijev zlatnik označen kao kat. br. 1 jedan od dva zlatnika koja Muzeju poklanja fra Zubac (ti se zlatnici navode i u *Spomeniku* i u popisu iz 1929.). Zlatnici Romana III. Argira (kat. br. 26 i 27) mogli bi potjecati iz ostava u Drežnici, Vitini ili Klobuku.<sup>31</sup> Četrnaest kovanica, ali se u ovom trenutku ne zna točno kojih, trebalo bi potjecati iz ostavštine fra Ančića, a porijeklo bi im trebalo biti povezano sa širim duvanjskim područjem.

Nedostatak preciznih informacija o nalazištima znatno ograničava analitičku vrijednost zbir-

section “Collection in silver”, no Byzantine coins are mentioned; while in the part headed “Collection in brass/copper”, apart from the title, there is no entry at all.

From the document *Opći inventar zbirke starina franjevačkog samostana na Humcu* [General Inventory of the Collection of Antiquities of the Franciscan Monastery in Humac], begun in 1977 by Fra Bonicije Rupčić, then curator of the Humac collection, we learn that the collection had been enriched by a bequest from Fra Šimo Ančić (1876–1957).<sup>28</sup> It reached the Museum in 1975 and included “14 Byzantine coins”. On its receipt, Fra Rupčić also made a transcript of Fra Ančić’s notes, which contain information on the findspots of individual coins;<sup>29</sup> however, during our visit to the Museum this transcript was not made available to us.

Under the heading “Coins received 2002–2003”, “91 Roman/Byzantine coins, larger and smaller” are listed without further details, so for now this entry cannot be linked to specific coins. One gold coin of Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) was purchased by the Museum in 2006, and its supposed provenance is Ljubuški (Cat. No. 26).<sup>30</sup>

If the data presented above are compared with the coins discussed in this paper, it may be assumed that the gold coin of Anastasius listed as Cat. No. 1 is one of the two gold coins donated to the Museum by Fra Zubac (these coins are mentioned both in the *Spomenik* and in the 1929 list). The gold coins of Romanos III Argyros (Cat. Nos. 26 and 27) could originate from the hoards found in Drežnica, Vitina or Klobuk.<sup>31</sup> Fourteen coins – although at present

Victoria. Aug. Caes. Consul. (476–492 AD) 25. IV.–884.” However, no mention is made of their provenance.

<sup>28</sup> Fra Šimo Ančić (1876. – 1957.) najveći je dio svoje svećeničke službe proveo na širem području Duvna (Seonica, Bukovica, Roško polje, Tomislavgrad) pa bi se moglo razložno pretpostaviti da kovanice potječu sa širega duvanjskog prostora. Školovao se u Humcu, u Širokom Brijegu, Mostaru i Rimu, a krajem 19. stoljeća završio je studij arheologije u Zagrebu (JOLIĆ 2011: 38).

<sup>29</sup> DRAGIČEVIĆ 2017: bilj. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Informacija: fra Milan Jukić.

<sup>31</sup> Usp. bilj. 83.

<sup>28</sup> Fra Šimo Ančić (1876–1957) spent most of his priestly service in the wider Duvno area (Seonica, Bukovica, Roško Polje, Tomislavgrad), so it may be reasonably assumed that he had acquired the coins in this region. He was educated in Humac, Široki Brijeg, Mostar and Rome, and at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century completed studies in archaeology in Zagreb (JOLIĆ 2011: 38).

<sup>29</sup> DRAGIČEVIĆ 2017: n. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Information provided by: Fra Milan Jukić in 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. n. 83.

ke bizantskog novca u Humcu. No s obzirom na način na koji su u humački franjevački samostan dospijevali predmeti od arheološke, povijesne, povijesnoumjetničke, etnološke i prirodoslovne važnosti, moglo bi se, uz dužan oprez, pretpostaviti da bizantske kovanice iz Muzeja najvećim dijelom potječu s prostora koje obuhvaća ili je kroz prošlost obuhvaćala Franjevačka hercegovačka provincija Uznesenja BDM. Iz tog ćemo se razloga na njih ipak nešto šire osvrnuti dalje u tekstu.

## BIZANTSKE KOVANICE IZ MUZEJA NA HUMCU – RASPRAVA

U radu se donosi 38 bizantskih kovanica koje se datiraju u vremenski raspon od cara Anastazija I. (491. – 518.) do vremena Emanuela I. Komnena (1143. – 1180.).

**Anastazijevu (491. – 518.)** vremenu pripada jedna tremisa (kat. br. 1) te dva folisa kovana nakon monetarne reforme 498. godine (kat. br. 2 i 3). Svi potječu iz Konstantinopola. Na aversu tremise carevo je poprsje prikazano u profilu, a o „rimskosti” ovakvih kovanica svjedoči i prikaz Viktorije na reversu. Folisi, koje uvodi upravo Anastazije, na reversu pokazuju jedan od tipičnih elemenata ranobizantske numizmatike, a to je veliko slovo kao oznaka denominacije. U slučaju folisa to je slovo M. Anastazijev novac nije rijedak na našim prostorima, a valja istaknuti da je zlatni novac čak brojniji od brončanoga. Kovanice tog cara zabilježene su na dvadesetak lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, a njima treba pridodati i zlatnike (solide i tremise) istočnogotskog kralja Teodorika (488. – 526.) kovane u ime Anastazija pronađene u približno 40 primjeraka na tridesetak lokaliteta i to samo na prethodno navedenom prostoru.<sup>32</sup> To stanje, iako neposredno nakon pada Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva, zapravo je u skladu s

it is not known exactly which – should originate from Fra Ančić's bequest, and their provenance should be connected with the wider Duvno area.

The lack of precise information on findspots significantly limits the analytical value of the Humac collection of Byzantine coins. However, given the way in which objects of archaeological, historical, art-historical, ethnological and natural-scientific significance came to the Franciscan Monastery in Humac, it may, with due caution, be assumed that the Byzantine coins held in the Museum were found largely in the area encompassed, or historically encompassed, by the Herzegovinian Franciscan Province of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. For that reason, we shall consider them in somewhat greater detail further in the text.

## BYZANTINE COINS FROM THE HUMAC MUSEUM – DISCUSSION

The study analyses 38 Byzantine coins dated to the period from the reign of Emperor Anastasius I (491–518) to that of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180).

Three coins belong to the time of **Anastasius (491–518)**: one tremissis (Cat. No. 1) and two folles struck after the monetary reform of 498 (Cat. Nos. 2 and 3). All originate from Constantinople. On the obverse of the tremissis, the Emperor's bust is shown in profile, and the depiction of Victoria on the reverse also attests to the “Roman character” of such issues. The folles, introduced precisely by Anastasius, display on the reverse one of the typical features of Early Byzantine numismatics: a capital letter indicating the denomination. In the case of the follis, this letter is “M”. The coinage of Anastasius is not uncommon in our region, and it should be noted that his gold issues are even more numerous than the bronze ones. Coins of this emperor have been recorded at some twenty sites in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina; furthermore, in the same area, nearly forty specimens of gold coins (solids and tremisses) of the Ostrogothic king Theodor-

<sup>32</sup> Brojčani podaci prikupljeni su na temelju ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021.

očekivanjima temeljenima na povijesnim podacima. Naime, car Anastazije na prijestolje stupa u podmaklim godinama, ali s dugim iskustvom financijskog službenika. Stoga ne čudi što su neke od njegovih ključnih reformi bile one monetarnog i poreznog sustava Carstva koje su doprinijele jačanju tržišne privrede i povećanom optjecaju novca.<sup>33</sup>

Upravo će puna blagajna (više od 100 t zlata)<sup>34</sup> koju je iza sebe ostavio Anastazije omogućiti najveći uspon Istočnoga Rimskog Carstva uopće. Taj se uspon događa u vrijeme cara **Justinijana I. (527. – 565.)**, a očituje se širenjem granica Carstva, sveobuhvatnim zakonodavnim reformama i umjetničkim dostignućima koja će rezultirati nastankom niza monumentalnih građevina diljem Carstva i širenjem novoga, bizantskoga umjetničkog stila. Nemojmo zaboraviti ni činjenicu da je Justinijanovo doba zadnje razdoblje u povijesti kada je Sredozemlje uistinu „sredozemlje”, tj. to je posljednji put da jedan politički entitet kontrolira gotovo sve mediteranske obale. Posljedica uspješnih ratova i vraćanja nadzora nad velikim dijelovima nekadašnjega Rimskog carstva bit će i povećanje broja kovnica na više od deset.<sup>35</sup> Ni vrijeme istočnogotske vlasti u našim krajevima nije doba ekonomske stagnacije, o čemu svjedoče i brojne kovanice istočnogotskih vladara.<sup>36</sup> Međutim, upravo je Justinijanovo doba donijelo gospodarstveni napredak, o čemu nam govori gradnja i/ili obnova niza sakralnih i fortifikacijskih objekata na istočnom Jadranu i njegovu širem zaobalju. Naravno, pojačane ekonomske aktivnosti

ic (488–526), struck in the name of Anastasius, have been found at around thirty sites.<sup>32</sup> This situation – although occurring shortly after the “collapse of the Western Roman Empire” – is in fact consistent with expectations based on historical data. Anastasius ascended the throne at an advanced age, but with long experience as a financial official. It is therefore unsurprising that some of his key reforms were those of the monetary and fiscal system of the Empire, which contributed to strengthening the market economy and increasing the circulation of coinage.<sup>33</sup>

It was precisely the full treasury (more than 100 tonnes of gold)<sup>34</sup> left by Anastasius that made possible the greatest rise of the Eastern Roman Empire. This occurred under Emperor **Justinian I (527–565)** and was manifested in the expansion of the Empire’s borders, comprehensive legislative reforms, and artistic achievements that resulted in the construction of numerous monumental buildings throughout the Empire and in the spread of a new, “Byzantine” artistic style. We should also not forget that the Justinianic period was the last in history when the Mediterranean was truly a “middle sea”, that is, the last time a single political entity controlled almost all its shores. As a consequence of successful wars and the restoration of control over large parts of the former Roman Empire, the number of mints rose to more than ten.<sup>35</sup> Nor was the period of Ostrogothic rule across the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland marked by economic stagnation, as attested by numerous numismatic finds struck by Ostrogothic rulers.<sup>36</sup> However, it was precisely the age of Justinian that brought economic

<sup>33</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 37–38.

<sup>34</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 38.

<sup>35</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 47.

<sup>36</sup> Na prostoru nekadašnje rimske Dalmacije zabilježeno je oko 80 istočnogotskih kovanica kojima je mjesto nalaza barem donekle poznato (ŠEPAROVIC 2021: 18 i literatura citirana u bilj. 50 na tom mjestu), što je s obzirom na kratkotrajnu istočnogotsku vladavinu na tom području zapravo nemali broj, posebno ako mu se pridodaju i brojni primjerci iz raznih muzejskih zbirki (za pregled istočnogotskog novca u muzejskim zbirkama Hrvatske, BiH i Slovenije vidi DEMO 1994).

<sup>32</sup> The numerical data are based on ŠEPAROVIC 2021.

<sup>33</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 37–38.

<sup>34</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 38.

<sup>35</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 47.

<sup>36</sup> Across the territory of former Roman Dalmatia, around 80 Ostrogothic coins with at least partly known findspots have been recorded (ŠEPAROVIC 2021: 18 and the literature cited in note 50 there), which is, given the short duration of Ostrogothic rule in that area, by no means a small number – especially when numerous specimens from various museum collections are added (for an overview of Ostrogothic coinage in the museum collections of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slovenia, s. DEMO 1994).

nužno mora pratiti i dotok novca<sup>37</sup> pa bi se u taj kontekst moglo staviti i pet Justinijanovih folisa iz humačkog Muzeja. Tri su kovanana u Konstantinopolu (kat. br. 4, 5 i 6), a po jedan u Nikomediji (kat. br. 7) i Kiziku (kat. br. 8). Konstantinopolski folis kat. br. 4 izrađen je prije reforme kovanja folisa koju Justinijan provodi u dvanaestoj godini svoje vlasti, tj. 538./539., te na reversu ne sadržava godinu kovanja, a na aversu je carsko poprsje prikazano u profilu. Reformom je povećana težina folisa, uvedeno je bilježenje godine kovanja na reversu, a od tada se ustaljuje *en face* prikaz cara, iako je taj prikaz obično bez izrazitih fizionomijskih osobina.<sup>38</sup>

Šestu Justinijanovu kovanicu iz Humca (kat. br. 9) mogli bismo na određeni način staviti u vojni kontekst. Naime, riječ je o polufolisu kakvi se obično povezuju s pretpostavljenom kovnicom u Saloni, koja je mogla djelovati nakon što je Salona oduzeta Istočnim Gotima početkom bizantsko-gotskog rata. Salona ne gubi na vojnoj važnosti ni kasnije, jer će odatle Bizantinci krenuti u nekoliko pohoda prema Italiji, pa će tako i Narzes iskoristiti Salonu kao početnu točku svojeg pobjedonosnog pohoda kojim će nakon dva desetljeća teških sukoba biti okončan bizantsko-gotski rat.<sup>39</sup> Glede samih kovanica, riječ je o dosta „grubim” monetama, osjetno manjima i lakšima nego što su to

progress, as evidenced by the construction and/or renovation of numerous sacral and fortification structures on the eastern Adriatic and in its wider hinterland. Naturally, increased economic activity was necessarily accompanied by an inflow of coinage,<sup>37</sup> and it is in this context that we may also place the five folles of Justinian from the Humac Museum. Three were struck in Constantinople (Cat. Nos. 4, 5 and 6), and one each in Nicomedia (Cat. No. 7) and Cyzicus (Cat. No. 8). The Constantinopolitan follis Cat. No. 4 was produced before the reform of follis coinage that Justinian implemented in the twelfth year of his reign (AD 538/539) and therefore lacks the regnal year on the reverse; on the obverse is the imperial bust shown in profile. The reform increased the weight of the follis, introduced the marking of the year of issue on the reverse, and from that time an *en face* depiction of the emperor became standard, although usually without pronounced physiognomic features.<sup>38</sup>

The sixth Justinianic coin from Humac (Cat. No. 9) could, in a certain sense, be placed in a military context. It is a half-follis of the type usually associated with the presumed mint in Salona, which may have operated after Salona was taken from the Ostrogoths at the beginning of the Byzantine–Gothic War. Salona did not lose its military significance thereafter, since it served as the starting point for several Byzantine campaigns towards Italy; it was from there that Narses launched his victorious expedition which, after two decades of harsh conflict, brought the

<sup>37</sup> Šeparović navodi više od 400 kovanica Justinijana I. s područja Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine s poznatim mjestom nalaza (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 254–255), a njima treba pridodati desetke primjeraka koji se čuvaju u muzejima, nepoznatog mjesta nalaza. Primjerice, samo u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu čuva se najmanje 75 Justinijanovih zlatnika i pedesetak srebrnjaka koji bi, barem većim dijelom, mogli potjecati iz Salone i njezine šire okolice (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 24).

<sup>38</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 60–61. Za poznavanje prirode bizantske carske vlasti vrlo je ilustrativno Griersonovo maštovito objašnjenje zašto nestaju fizionomijske osobine na ranobizantskom novcu. On kaže: „The differing personalities of individual emperors are swallowed up in the majesty of the office they hold.” (GRIERSON 1999: 24).

<sup>39</sup> Za kratak pregled bizantsko-gotskog rata s naglaskom na našoj obali usp. GOLDSTEIN 1992: 20–29.

<sup>37</sup> Šeparović has cited more than 400 coins of Justinian I from the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina with known findspots (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 254–255), to which should be added dozens of specimens of unknown provenance kept in museums. For example, in the Archaeological Museum in Split alone, at least 75 gold coins of Justinian and some 50 silver coins are kept, which (at least for the most part) could originate from Salona and its wider surroundings (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 24).

<sup>38</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 60–61. For an understanding of the nature of Byzantine imperial power, Grierson’s imaginative explanation of why physiognomic features disappear on Early Byzantine coinage is very illustrative. He wrote: *The differing personalities of individual emperors are swallowed up in the majesty of the office they hold* (GRIERSON 1999: 24).

polufolisi kovani u velikim kovnicama Carstva.<sup>40</sup> Na aversu je carevo poprsje u profilu, a na reversu veliko slovo K kao oznaka da je riječ o polufolisu. Na našim područjima ovaj je novac najzastupljeniji u Saloni i okolici te u srednjodalmatinskom zaleđu, među ostalim i na strateškim točkama na kojima se može s razlogom pretpostaviti boravak vojnika.<sup>41</sup> S obzirom na povijesne okolnosti te rasprostranjenost ovoga novca, postoji mogućnost da je kovan ili u samoj Saloni ili u nekoj „putujućoj” kovnici, iako se to u ovom trenutku ne može s potpunom sigurnošću utvrditi.<sup>42</sup>

Međutim, kako je to već primijećeno u literaturi<sup>43</sup>, Justinijanovo razdoblje neće biti početak nove povijesne epohe, nego će na

Byzantine–Gothic War to an end.<sup>39</sup> With regard to the coins themselves, they are rather “crude” pieces, noticeably smaller and lighter than the half-folles struck in the major mints of the Empire.<sup>40</sup> On the obverse, the emperor’s bust is shown in profile, while on the reverse a capital letter K indicates that the piece is a half-follis. Across the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, these coins are most common in Salona and its surroundings and in the central Dalmatian hinterland, including at strategic points where the presence of soldiers at that time may reasonably be assumed.<sup>41</sup> Given the historical circumstances and the distribution of this coinage, it is possible that it was struck either in Salona itself or in some “mobile” mint, although this cannot be established with complete certainty at present.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Ako usporedimo težine, ovi polufolisi upola su lakši od onih kovanih u velikim carskim kovnicama (oko 2 do 4 g prema oko 8 do 10 g), a sličan je omjer i u pogledu dimenzija. Isti princip vrijedi i za ostale kovanice iz moguće kovnice u Saloni, folis i dekanumij (GRIERSON 1982: 74).

<sup>41</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 32.

<sup>42</sup> Mišljenje o mogućem salonitanskom porijeklu ovih kovanica izneseno je u DOC 1: str. 187–189, gdje je u tabličnom prikazu među nesigurnim kovnicama („uncertain mint”) navedena Salona. Autor tog sveska A. R. Bellinger na str. 187 poziva se na Griersonovo mišljenje da je riječ o vojničkoj kovnici koja je mogla biti u Saloni („military mint perhaps at Salona”). Jedna kovanica navedena u DOC 1 na str. 188 prekov je preko Teodahadova novca, što bi je moglo pobliže datirati u razdoblje 40-ih godina 6. stoljeća. Grierson kasnije elaborira svoje mišljenje (GRIERSON 1982: 74). Naime, i dalje smatra da je riječ o kovnici u Iliriku („Illyrian mint”), ali da je riječ o kovnici koja nije povezana s nekom fiksnom lokacijom. Solinska kovnica figurira kao takva i u MIB 1 (autor toga djela W. Hahn objašnjava dimenzije i težinu „salonitanskih” polufolisa mišljenjem da je riječ o svojevrsnoj doznaci – *Kreditmünzen*, MIB 1: str. 76).

U našoj literaturi prvi na mogućnost da je u Saloni djelovala kovnica u Justinijanovo vrijeme ukazuje S. Bakota 1974. (*Numizmatičke vijesti*, 32/1974). To mišljenje prihvaćaju i drugi autori (spominjemo samo neke), i to bez ograde (kako se doima tekst u ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 32–34) ili u formi manje ili više utemeljene pretpostavke (MIRNIK 1975: 163, gdje se izražava i oprez s obzirom na činjenicu da Prokopije ne spominje kovnicu u Saloni; MAROVIĆ 1986: 290; MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 134 gdje se navodi „supposed Justinian’s mint in Salona”, iako u podnaslovu i u kataloškom popisu stoji *The Salonitan Mint* i *Salona*). Međutim, valja reći da postoji i mišljenje o mogućnosti da je ovaj novac kovan u Raveni, što je aktualizirano u BALDI 2011.

<sup>43</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 47.

<sup>39</sup> For a brief overview of the Byzantine–Gothic War with an emphasis on the Adriatic coastline, cf. GOLDSTEIN 1992: 20–29.

<sup>40</sup> If we compare their weights, these half-folles are roughly half as heavy as those struck in the major imperial mints (c. 2–4 g as opposed to c. 8–10 g), and a similar ratio applies to their dimensions. The same principle applies to the other coins from the presumed mint in Salona – the follis and the dekanummium (GRIERSON 1982: 74).

<sup>41</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 32.

<sup>42</sup> The view on the possible Salonitan origin of these coins is presented in DOC 1: pp. 187–189, where Salona is listed among the uncertain mints in a tabular overview. A. R. Bellinger, the author of that volume, refers on p. 187 to Grierson’s opinion that there was a “...military mint perhaps at Salona”. One coin listed in DOC 1 on p. 188 is an overstrike on a coin of Theodahad, which could date it to the 540s. Philip Grierson later elaborated this view (GRIERSON 1982: 74). He continued to maintain that this was an Illyrian mint, but one not tied to any fixed location. The Solin mint appears as such also in MIB 1, where the author, W. Hahn, explained the dimensions and weight of the “Salonitan” half-folles by the view that they represent a form of remittance – *Kreditmünzen* (MIB 1: p. 76).

In Croatian scholarship, the possibility that a mint operated in Salona in Justinian’s time was first noted by S. Bakota in 1974 (*Numizmatičke vijesti* 32/1974). That view has been accepted by other authors (to mention only some), either without reservation (as the text in ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 32–34 appears to do), or in the form of more or less well-founded assumptions (MIRNIK 1975: 163, where caution is also expressed given that Procopius did not mention a mint in Salona; MAROVIĆ 1986: 290; MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 134, where “...supposed Justinian’s mint in Salona” is stated, although in the subtitle and in the catalogue the form “The Salonitan Mint” and “Salona” is used). However, it should be noted that there is also the view that this coinage may have been struck in Ravenna, a possibility revived in BALDI, 2011.

određeni način označavati kraj jedne ere, što se na simboličnoj razini može opisati nadahnutim riječima G. Ostrogorskog da je Justinijan I. „posljednji rimski car na bizantskom prijestolju”<sup>44</sup>. Naime, jedna od posljedica intenzivnih graditeljskih, vojnih i umjetničkih napora diljem Carstva bit će i neizbježno pražnjenje carske blagajne. Ako se tome pridodaju razorni učinci tzv. Justinijanove kuge koja se na obalama Egipta pojavljuje 541. godine, zatim globalno zahlađenje i barbarske provale, ne čudi što će desetkovana istočnorimska populacija imati dojam da je nastupio kraj svijeta.<sup>45</sup> Sve će se to osjetiti već u vrijeme kasne Justinijanove vladavine, a posebno za njegovih nasljednika. Prvi je od njih Justinijanov nećak **Justin II. (565. – 578.)**, čije se carstvo nosilo s kugom i hladnoćom te gubitkom najvećeg dijela Italije, višedesetljetnim ratovima s Perzijom i intenzivnim upadima Avara i Slavena. Da se opća nesigurnost vremena reflektira i na teritorij današnje Hercegovine dokazuju i dvije ostave s novcem Justinijana I. i Justina II. Riječ je o ostavi s položaja Vrtljak u Grabovniku kod Ljubuškog s četiri Justinijanova i čak 14 Justinovih solida te o ostavi s položaja Grmine u Blatnici kod Čitluka s po pet Justinijanovih i Justinovih tremisa.<sup>46</sup> Inače, na našim se prostorima primijećuje pad dotoka novca već u doba Justina II., a posebno za vrijeme njegovih nasljednika.<sup>47</sup> Iako je dotok novca opao, podaci pokazuju da pad još nije bio znatan tijekom vladavine samog Justina II., posebno ako se u obzir uzme činjenica da on vlada praktički tri puta kraće od Justinijana I. (13 nasuprot 38 godina). Primjerice, u zbirci zagrebačkoga Arheološkog muzeja nalazi se 397 Justinijanovih i 114 Justinovih kovanica,<sup>48</sup> u katalogu bizantskog novca

Yet, as has already been observed in the literature<sup>43</sup>, the age of Justinian would mark not the beginning of a new historical era but, in a certain sense, the end of one – something that can be expressed symbolically in the inspired words of G. Ostrogorski, who called Justinian I “the last Roman emperor on the Byzantine throne”<sup>44</sup>. One of the consequences of the intensive building, military and artistic efforts throughout the Empire was the inevitable depletion of the imperial treasury. If we add to this the devastating effects of the so-called “Justinianic Plague”, which appeared in coastal Egypt in 541, followed by global cooling and barbarian incursions, it is unsurprising that a decimated Eastern Roman population had the impression that the end of the world had come.<sup>45</sup> All this was already being felt in the later part of Justinian’s reign, and more so under his successors. The first of these was Justinian’s nephew, **Justin II (565–578)**, whose empire grappled with plague and cold, the loss of most of Italy, decades-long wars with Persia and intense incursions by Avars and Slavs. That the general insecurity of the period was also felt in the territory of present-day Herzegovina is demonstrated by two hoards containing coins of Justinian I and Justin II: the first from the site of Vrtljak in Grabovnik near Ljubuški, with four solidi of Justinian and no fewer than fourteen of Justin; and the second from the site of Grmine in Blatnica near Čitluk, with five tremisses of Justinian and five of Justin.<sup>46</sup> A decline in the influx of coinage into our region had already been noted in the time of Justin II, and especially under his successors.<sup>47</sup> Although the influx of coinage did decrease, the data show that the drop was not yet significant during the reign of Justin II himself – particularly if one bears in mind that his reign was practically a third as long as that of Justinian I (13 as opposed to 38 years). For example, the collection of the Archaeological Mu-

<sup>44</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 46.

<sup>45</sup> HARPER 2019: 199–287.

<sup>46</sup> DEMO 1994: 233–236 (i literatura navedena na tom mjestu).

<sup>47</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 34.

<sup>48</sup> MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 134. Najveći je broj ovih kovanica nepoznatog mjesta nalaza, međutim, s obzirom na to

<sup>43</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 47.

<sup>44</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 46.

<sup>45</sup> HARPER 2019: 199–287.

<sup>46</sup> DEMO 1994: 233–236 (and the literature cited there).

<sup>47</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 34.

iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu donose se 144 Justinijanove kovanice i 97 kovanica Justina II.,<sup>49</sup> a 70-ak kovanica Justina II. navodi i Šeparović<sup>50</sup>.

U humaćkoj zbirci nalaze se četiri kovani- ce Justina II., i to jedan folis kovan u Kon- stantinopolu (kat. br. 10), jedan folis kovan u Nikomediji (kat. br. 11) i dva polufolisa kovana u Solunu (kat. br. 12. i 13). Svi na aversu prikazuju cara i carica Sofiju koji sje- de na prijestolju, a reversi u načelu ponav- ljaju obrasce iz Justinijanova doba. Pojava Sofije na novcu prvi je slučaj pojave jedne bizantske carice na kovanicama,<sup>51</sup> a razlozi za to mogli bi ležati u utjecaju koji je imala pri dovođenju svojega supruga na prijesto- lje, kao i u utjecaju na njegovu politiku.<sup>52</sup> Ne iznenađuje ni činjenica da dva polufolisa potječu iz kovnice u Solunu, jer su i inače vrlo česti na prostoru jugoistočne Europe.<sup>53</sup>

Ako za vrijeme Justina II. i nije došlo do znatnijeg poremećaja u dotoku novca, za njegovih nasljednika zasigurno jest. Iz raz- doblja kraja 6. i početka 7. stoljeća u hu- maćkoj se zbirci čuvaju tri kovanice. Dva su folisa cara **Mauricija (582. – 602.)** kovan u Nikomediji (kat. br. 14), a jedan Antio- hiji<sup>54</sup> (kat. br. 15). Treća je kovanica folis cara **Foke (602. – 610.)** kovan u Konstan- tinopolu (kat. br. 16) na kojemu vidimo znatnu promjenu na reversu folisa uvedenu u vrijeme Tiberija II. (574. – 582.), a riječ je o supstituciji grčke oznake vrijednosti M rimskim brojevima. Valja istaknuti da će se na Fokinim kovanicama, pa tako i na netom

seum in Zagreb contains 397 coins of Justinian and 114 of Justin;<sup>48</sup> the catalogue of Byzantine coinage in the National Museum in Belgrade lists 144 coins of Justinian and 97 of Justin II;<sup>49</sup> and some 70 coins of Justin II were also recorded by Šeparović.<sup>50</sup>

In the Humac collection there are four coins of Justin II: one follis struck in Constantinople (Cat. No. 10), one follis struck in Nicomedia (Cat. No. 11), and two half-folles struck in Thes- saloniki (Cat. Nos. 12 and 13). On the obverse they all depict the Emperor and the Empress Sophia seated on a throne, while the reverses generally repeat patterns from the time of Jus- tinian. The appearance of Sophia on the coinage is the first instance of a Byzantine empress being shown on coins,<sup>51</sup> and the reasons may lie in the influence she exercised in securing her husband's accession to the throne, as well as in her shaping of his policies.<sup>52</sup> Nor is it surprising that the two half-folles originate from the Thessaloniki mint, since such issues are generally very common across the south-eastern European region.<sup>53</sup>

While during the reign of Justin II there may not yet have been a significant disruption in the influx of coinage, under his successors there cer- tainly was. From the period of the late 6th and early 7th centuries, three coins are kept in the Humac collection. Two are folles of Emperor **Maurice (582–602)**, one struck in Nicomedia (Cat. No. 14) and one in Antioch<sup>54</sup> (Cat. No. 15). The third coin is a follis of Emperor **Phocas (602–610)**, struck in Constantinople (Cat. No.

da ovakvim podacima želimo ilustrirati neke opće pojave i trendove u vremenskoj i prostornoj distribuciji novčanih emisija pojedinih careva, smatramo da ih je ipak opravda- no upotrebljavati u tom kontekstu (ova opaska vrijedi i za bilj. 49 i 50).

<sup>49</sup> RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006: 106–135.

<sup>50</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 112–219.

<sup>51</sup> PETROVIĆ 2023: 62.

<sup>52</sup> LOUTH 2008: 125.

<sup>53</sup> Usp. MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 131, 178–181 (42 primjer- ka); RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006: 132–135 (45 primjer- ka).

<sup>54</sup> Justinijan I. Antiohiju je prozvao Theopolis, što se reflekti- ra i u tekstu u odsječku.

<sup>48</sup> MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 134. The majority of these coins have unknown findspots; however, since such data are in- tended to illustrate certain general phenomena and trends in the chronological and spatial distribution of the mone- tary issues of individual emperors, we consider it justified to use them in that context (this remark also applies to no- tes 49 and 50).

<sup>49</sup> RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006: 106–135.

<sup>50</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 112–219.

<sup>51</sup> PETROVIĆ 2023: 62.

<sup>52</sup> LOUTH 2008: 125.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 131, 178–181 (42 speci- mens); RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006: 132–135 (45 speci- mens).

<sup>54</sup> Justinian I renamed Antioch Theopolis, which is also re- flected in the legend in the exergue.

spomenutoj, nakon dužeg vremena moći vidjeti pokušaj realnijeg prikazivanja careva lica, koje je u ovom slučaju prikazano izduženo, sa šiljatom bradicom.

Okvirno vrijeme u kojemu vladaju ova dva cara, kao i Fokin nasljednik Heraklije (610. – 641.) prijelomno je doba u povijesti ovih krajeva. Naime, to je doba na simboličkoj i stvarnoj razini ponajbolje oličeno konačnim padom Sirmija 582. godine,<sup>55</sup> a obilježeno je nastavkom intenzivnih avarsko-slavenskih upada na prostore jugoistočne Europe, što će u konačnici rezultirati i trajnim naseljavanjem skupina slavenskog porijekla na istočni Jadran i šire zaobalje. O tom nam dobu svjedoče i brojne ostave bizantskog novca na području jugoistočne Europe bez obzira nastaju li primarno kao rezultat ratne ugroze<sup>56</sup> ili su posljedica tadašnjega ekonomskog, monetarnog i političko-vojnog sustava<sup>57</sup> (iako je najvjerojatnije riječ o kombinaciji razloga). Stoga ne čudi činjenica da će doba 7. i 8. stoljeća, u našoj srednjovjekovnoj arheologiji ponekad nazivano „mračnim dobom”, biti obilježeno i drastičnim padom dotoka bizantskog novca nakon vladavine cara Heraklija.<sup>58</sup> Naravno, razlozi za to nisu samo lokalne prirode, nego su primarno rezultat širih povijesnih zbivanja i snažnog opadanja moći Bizanta koji rapidno gubi teritorij i ekonomsku bazu (posebno nakon arapskog osvajanja Egipta sredinom 7. stoljeća). Niz velikih kovnica, od kojih su neke zastupljene i u humačkoj zbirci, prestat će postojati tijekom 7. ili početkom 8. stoljeća: Antiohija, Nikomedija, Kizik, Aleksandrija, Kartaga, a čak će i solunska na neko vrijeme prestati s produkcijom.<sup>59</sup> Stoga ne iznenađuje činjenica da se u humačkom Muzeju nalazi samo jedna kovanica kovana između već spomenutog Fokinog folisa i dvije kovanice

16), on the reverse of which we see an important change introduced in the time of Tiberius II (574–582): the substitution of the Greek denominational mark “M” with Roman numerals. It should be noted that on Phocas’ coins, including this one, after a long interval one can again observe an attempt at a more realistic rendering of the emperor’s face, here shown elongated, with a pointed beard.

The approximate period in which these two emperors (as well as Phocas’ successor Heraclius (610–641) reigned, represents a watershed in the history of these lands. Symbolically and in reality, it is best embodied in the final fall of Sirmium in 582<sup>55</sup>, and was marked by the continued intensification of Avar–Slav incursions into south-eastern Europe, which would ultimately result in the permanent settlement of groups of Slavic origin along the eastern Adriatic and in the wider hinterland. This period is also reflected in numerous hoards of Byzantine coinage found across south-eastern Europe, perhaps contingent primarily on wartime threats<sup>56</sup> or possibly the economic, monetary and politico-military system of the time<sup>57</sup> (although it was most likely a combination of all). It is therefore unsurprising that the 7th and 8th centuries – in medieval archaeology of the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland sometimes termed the “Dark Age” – were also marked by a drastic decline in the influx of Byzantine coinage after the reign of Emperor Heraclius.<sup>58</sup> Of course, the reasons for this were not merely local in character but mainly due to wider historical developments and the strong decline in Byzantine power, with the rapid loss of territory and economic base (especially after the Arab conquest of Egypt in the mid-7th century). A number of major mints – some of which are represented in the Humac collection – ceased to exist during the 7th or early 8th century: Antioch, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Alexandria, Carthage, and even the Thessaloniki mint halted production

<sup>55</sup> O padu Sirmija vidi GRAČANIN 2011: 123–124.

<sup>56</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 42.

<sup>57</sup> CURTA 1996: 116–117.

<sup>58</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 50.

<sup>59</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 85.

<sup>55</sup> On the fall of Sirmium s. GRAČANIN 2011: 123–124.

<sup>56</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 42.

<sup>57</sup> CURTA 1996: 116–117.

<sup>58</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 50.

Lava VI. (886. – 912.). Riječ je o prilično „barbariziranoj” tremisi **Konstantina IV. (668. – 685.)**<sup>60</sup> (kat. br. 17), važnoj s obzirom na povijesne okolnosti druge polovice 7. stoljeća i općenitu rijetkost novca iz toga vremena kod nas. Po svemu sudeći, riječ je o produktu nepoznate kovnice iz Italije.<sup>61</sup> Novac toga cara, inače poznatog i po slomu arapske opsade Carigrada 678. godine, što je bio prvi kontraudar do tada nezaustavljivoj arapskoj invaziji, rijedak je na našim prostorima. Jedan njegov krivotvoreni solid pronađen je u Jasenskom kod Sinja, tremisa kovana u Rimu u Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu dopijeva zahvaljujući P. Kostelcu iz Prozora kod Otočca, a folis kovana u Raveni potječe s Kastruma na Brijunima.<sup>62</sup> No koliko god pojava novca Konstantina IV. kod nas bila zanimljiva, na ovom bi mjestu bilo uputno prekinuti svaku daljnju raspravu o njemu s obzirom na nejasne ili posve nepoznate okolnosti pronalaska većine njegovih kovanica na našim prostorima.<sup>63</sup>

U Muzeju u Humcu čuva se samo jedan bizantski srebrnjak (kat. br. 18). Riječ je o miliaresiju **Lava VI. (886. – 912.)**, pripadnika makedonske dinastije s kojom inače započinje ponovni uspon Carstva. Humački miliaresij pripada tipu koji ovaj car kuje samostalno do 908. godine. Lav VI. poznat

for a time.<sup>59</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that the Humac Museum contains only one coin struck between the above-mentioned follis of Phocas and the two coins of Leo VI (886–912). This is a rather “barbarised” tremissis of **Constantine IV (668–685)**<sup>60</sup> (Cat. No. 17), important given the historical circumstances of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the general rarity of coinage from that period in the wider eastern Adriatic region. In all likelihood, it is the product of an unknown mint in Italy.<sup>61</sup> Coinage of this emperor – known otherwise for breaking the Arab siege of Constantinople in 678 (the first counterblow to the hitherto unstoppable Arab advance) – is rare across the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland. One forged solidus of his was found at Jasensko near Sinj; a tremissis struck in Rome reached the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb thanks to P. Kostelac from Prozor near Otočac; and a follis struck in Ravenna came from Castrum on the Brijuni Islands.<sup>62</sup> However interesting the presence of Constantine IV’s coinage may be in the region under study, it would be advisable at this point to end any further discussion of it, given the unclear or entirely unknown circumstances of the discovery of most of his coins across the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland.<sup>63</sup>

The Humac Museum holds only one Byzantine silver coin (Cat. No. 18). It is a miliaresion

<sup>60</sup> Uz ime cara Konstantina IV. još se uvijek često navodi i njegov navodni nadimak Pogonat (hrv. ‘bradati’). Međutim, po svemu sudeći, ovaj bi se nadimak trebao odnositi na Konstans II. (641. – 668.), što bi mogao dokazivati i Konstansov prikaz na kovanicama (usp. DOC 2, 2: 403, bilj. 9).

<sup>61</sup> Kovanica iz Humca gotovo je identična kovanici MIB 3: X10. S obzirom na izgled i jedne i druge kovanice, točno određivanje kovnice gotovo je nemoguće (o tome više u MIB 3: 154–155; o odlikama novca iz talijanskih kovnica tijekom 7. i početka 8. stoljeća vidi GRIERSON 1982: 138–144).

<sup>62</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 52; za primjerak iz zagrebačkoga Arheološkog muzeja vidi MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 201, br. 785 (na tom je mjestu navedeno „Provenance: Pavao Kostelac, Prozor”).

<sup>63</sup> Naravno, ova opaska ne vrijedi za kovanicu s Brijuna jer je riječ o jednoj od ključnih točaka na istočnojadranskom plovnom putu koji u vrijeme Konstantina IV. još uvijek kontrolira Bizant. Stoga pojava kovanice toga cara na tom mjestu uopće ne iznenađuje.

<sup>59</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 85.

<sup>60</sup> Alongside the name of Emperor Constantine IV, his supposed nickname “Pogonatus” (“the bearded”) is still frequently cited. However, it would appear that this nickname should instead refer to Constans II (641–668), as suggested by his depiction on the coinage (cf. DOC 2, 2: 403, n. 9).

<sup>61</sup> The Humac coin is almost identical to the piece MIB 3: X10. Given the appearance of both coins, precise determination of the mint is virtually impossible (s. MIB 3: 154–155; on the characteristics of coinage from Italian mints during the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, s. GRIERSON 1982: 138–144).

<sup>62</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 52; for the specimen from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, s. MIRNIK, ŠEMROV 1998: 201, no. 785 (there noted as “Provenance: Pavao Kostelac, Prozor”).

<sup>63</sup> Naturally, this remark does not apply to the coin from the Brijuni Islands, as they were one of the key points on the eastern Adriatic maritime route still controlled by Byzantium in the time of Constantine IV. The appearance of this emperor’s coin at that location is therefore not surprising at all.

je po unutarnjim reformama carskog dvora, a ponajviše po zakonodavnim aktivnostima (zbog čega je i stekao nadimak Mudri).<sup>64</sup> Inače, srebro u bizantskom monetarnom sustavu dobiva na važnosti tek od početka 7. stoljeća kada Heraklije 615. godine uvodi heksagram koji se kuje do 80-ih godina 7. stoljeća.<sup>65</sup> Lav III. (717. – 741.) 720. godine uvodi novu srebrnu kovanicu nazvanu *miliaresion*.<sup>66</sup> Promijenjene geopolitičke okolnosti u odnosu na ranija stoljeća dobro ilustrira činjenica da je miliaresij inspiriran islamskim dirhamom<sup>67</sup> poglavito s obzirom na činjenicu da nema prikaz vladara, što je do tada bio jedan od najprepoznatljivijih elemenata rimske i bizantske numizmatike. Na aversu ovih kovanica nalazi se natpis, a na reversu križ na postolju. Na humaćkom primjerku vidimo novine koje na miliaresij uvodi Lav VI., a to su osam globula na trostrukom obodu od točkica (po uzoru na abasidski dirham) i riječ EVSEBHS (‘pobožan’) na reversu.<sup>68</sup> Srebrnjaci Lava VI. kod nas su vrlo rijetki, a zabilježen je još jedan primjerak u Segetu Donjem kod Trogira.<sup>69</sup>

I folisi su toga cara rijetki, a zabilježeni su u Dubrovniku (dva primjerka) i u okolici Zadra, uz jedan folis kovan sa suvladarom Aleksandrom iz Eraka kod Ploča.<sup>70</sup> Jedan folis Lava VI. kovan u Konstantinopolu čuva se i na Humcu (kat. br. 19), a pripada tipu na kojemu car sjedi na prijestolju.<sup>71</sup> Inače, sve spomenute kovanice Lava VI. pripadaju vremenu kada se i inače bilježi smanjen dotok bizantskog novca na naše prostore, što je

of **Leo VI (886–912)**, a member of the Macedonian dynasty, with whom the renewed rise of the Empire began. The Humac miliaresion belongs to the type that this emperor struck on his own up to 908. Leo VI is best known for reforms within the imperial court and, above all, for legislative activity (hence his epithet: the Wise).<sup>64</sup> Silver gained significance in the Byzantine monetary system only from the early 7th century, when Heraclius introduced the hexagram in 615, struck until the 680s.<sup>65</sup> Leo III (717–741) introduced a new silver coin, the *miliaresion*, in 720.<sup>66</sup> The altered geopolitical circumstances – in comparison with earlier centuries – are well illustrated by the fact that the miliaresion was inspired by the Islamic dirham,<sup>67</sup> particularly in the absence of a ruler’s portrait, until then one of the most recognisable features of Roman and Byzantine numismatics. On the obverse of these coins there is an inscription, while the reverse shows a cross on a base. The Humac specimen displays the innovations introduced on the miliaresion by Leo VI, namely eight pellets on a triple dotted border (modelled on the Abbasid dirham) and the word EVSEBHS (“pious”) on the reverse.<sup>68</sup> Silver coins of Leo VI are very rare in the region studied, and only one further specimen has been recorded, at Seget Donji near Trogir.<sup>69</sup>

Folles of this emperor are also rare and have been recorded in Dubrovnik (two specimens) and in the vicinity of Zadar, along with one follis, struck with the co-emperor Alexander, from Eraci near Ploče.<sup>70</sup> A follis of Leo VI struck in Constantinople that is kept at Humac (Cat. No. 19), belongs to the type on which the emperor is shown seated

<sup>64</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 141–150.

<sup>65</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 103–105.

<sup>66</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 160 (Grierson primjećuje da je uvođenje miliaresija jedna od prijelomnih točaka bizantskoga monetarnog sustava među ostalim i na simboličnoj razini, jer se njegove osobine ni na koji način ne mogu povezati s rimskim numizmatičkim obrascima). Inače, iako miliaresij uvodi Lav III., on ulazi u opću upotrebu tek od Teofila (829. – 842.) (GRIERSON 1999: 14).

<sup>67</sup> GRIERSON 1999: 14.

<sup>68</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 181.

<sup>69</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 83.

<sup>70</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 84, 86.

<sup>71</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 184.

<sup>64</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 141–150.

<sup>65</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 103–105.

<sup>66</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 160 (Grierson noted that the introduction of the miliaresion was one of the turning points of the Byzantine monetary system – also on a symbolic level – since its characteristics can in no way be linked with Roman numismatic models). Additionally, although the miliaresion was introduced by Leo III, it came into general use only from the time of Theophilus (829–842) (GRIERSON 1999: 14).

<sup>67</sup> GRIERSON 1999: 14.

<sup>68</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 181.

<sup>69</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 83.

<sup>70</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 84, 86.

pojava koja se uočava nakon vladavine cara Teofila, a među nalazištima se brojnošću (i lokaliteta i samih kovanica) sve više počinju izdvajati ona na južnom Jadranu.<sup>72</sup>

Sin Lava VI. Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet (913. – 959.) pri stupanju na prijestolje ima samo osam godina. Stoga će stvarnu vlast desetljećima obnašati regentsko vijeće, regenti i/ili suvladari, od kojih je jedan i **Roman I. Lekapen (920. – 944.)** čiji se folis kovan u Konstantinopolu između 931. i 944. nalazi u Muzeju na Humcu (kat. br. 20). Riječ je o Griersonovu četvrtom tipu konstantinopolskih folisa kovanih za vrijeme Konstantina VII. koji obilježava prikaz Romana I. na aversu i natpis na reversu na kojemu se spominje Romanovo ime.<sup>73</sup> Ovakvi folisi kod nas nisu česti, a ako uzmemo u obzir samo one kojima je poznata provenijencija, ističe se da čak pet Romanovih folisa potječe iz Dubrovnika, jedan s Korčule, a dvije su Romanove kovanice nađene u Rovinju. Očit naglasak na širem dubrovačkom prostoru (a isto vrijedi i za kovanice Konstantina VII.) ocrta čvrstu bizantsku vlast nad tim područjem, a da se bizantski utjecaji šire i prema unutrašnjosti svjedoče nam i nalazi bule Lava VI. i Aleksandra iz Podgradine kod Livna te folisa Konstantina VII. i Zoe (913. – 919.) iz Rešetarice, također kod Livna.<sup>74</sup>

No „prijateljski” odnos Hrvatske i Bizanta kulminirat će u drugoj polovici 10. stoljeća, kada će Stjepan Držislav (969. – oko 997.) od Bizanta dobiti i krunu. U tom će se vremenu, točnije, od 970. godine, početi kovati niz tipova folisa koji će zbog činjenice da na njima nema ni prikaza ni imena cara biti prozvani anonimnim folisima. Počinju se kovati u doba cara Ivana Cimiska (969. – 976.) te se kuju sve do 1092. godine, tj. do reforme Aleksija Komnena (1081. – 1118.). Postoji 15 tipova anonimnih folisa

on a throne.<sup>71</sup> All of the mentioned coins of Leo VI fall within a period in which a reduced influx of Byzantine coins into our region is recorded – a phenomenon observed after the reign of Emperor Theophilos. Among the findspots, those on the southern Adriatic increasingly stand out, both in terms of the number of sites and the number of coins.<sup>72</sup>

The son of Leo VI, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), was only eight years old when he ascended the throne. For decades, real power was therefore exercised by a regency council, regents and/or co-rulers, one of whom was **Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944)**. A follis of Romanos I struck in Constantinople between 931 and 944 is kept in the Humac Museum (Cat. No. 20). It is Grierson's fourth type of Constantinopolitan follis struck during the reign of Constantine VII, characterised by the depiction of Romanos I on the obverse and the inscription on the reverse naming Romanos.<sup>73</sup> Such folles are not common in the studied region and, if we consider only those with known provenance, it is significant that as many as five folles of Romanos I came from Dubrovnik and one from Korčula, while two coins of Romanos were found in Rovinj. The clear concentration in the wider Dubrovnik area (and the same applies to the coinage of Constantine VII) reflects the firm Byzantine rule over that region, while finds inland bear witness to the spread of Byzantine influence: the lead seal of Leo VI and Alexander from Podgradina near Livno and the follis of Constantine VII and Zoe (913–919) from Rešetarica, also near Livno.<sup>74</sup>

The “friendly” relationship between Croatia and Byzantium would culminate in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when Stjepan Držislav (969 – c. 997) received the royal crown from Byzantium. At that time – more precisely from 970 onwards – a series of follis types began to be struck which, owing to the absence of both imperial portraits and imperial names, came to be known as any-

<sup>72</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 82.

<sup>73</sup> DOC 3.2: 538.

<sup>74</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 86.

<sup>71</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 184.

<sup>72</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 82.

<sup>73</sup> DOC 3.2: 538.

<sup>74</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 86.

označenih slovima od A do N (tip A ima dva podtipa označena brojevima 1 i 2). Svi ovi tipovi pripadaju religijskim tipovima. Na aversu je uvijek prikaz Krista (do tada rezerviran samo za zlatne kovanice) najčešće u obliku biste, a na reversu je natpis, prikaz Bogorodice ili križ.<sup>75</sup> Najvjerojatnije su kovani u Konstantinopolu.<sup>76</sup> U humačkom Muzeju čuva se 11 anonimnih folisa, a zastupljeno je pet tipova: A2, B, C, G i I. Tip A2 zastupljen je s čak pet primjeraka (kat. br. 21–25). Svi na aversu imaju bistu Krista, a na reversu natpis u četiri reda **ⲠⲎⲤⲨⲤ** / **ⲪⲚⲒⲤⲨⲤ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤⲨ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤ**. Kovani su od 976.(?) do 1030./1035. Tip B, zastupljen samo jednim primjerkom (kat. br. 28), na aversu također ima bistu Krista, ali je na reversu natpis **ⲒⲒⲤⲨⲤ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤ** te križ na postolju. Ovi su folisi kovani od 1030./1035. do 1042.(?). Na aversu tipa C nalazi se polufigura Krista, na reversu je *crux gemata*, a kovan je od 1042.(?) do 1050. U humačkom Muzeju dva su takva folisa (kat. br. 29 i 30), od kojih bi jedan (kat. br. 29) mogao biti prekov preko anonimnog folisa tipa B (prekovi nisu rijetka pojava na anonimnim folisima općenito). I tip G zastupljen je dvjema kovanicama (kat. br. 33 i 34). Karakterizira ga bista Krista na aversu te bista Bogorodice na reversu, a kuje se od 1060. do 1065. I konačno, tip I zastupljen je jednim primjerkom (kat. br. 35), a odlikuje se bistom Krista na aversu te prikazom križa na reversu na kojemu nema nikakvog natpisa. Kovan je od 1075. do 1080. Prema Šeparoviću, najviše je anonimnih folisa zabilježeno u Dubrovniku i njegovoj okolici (42 primjerka) jer se upravo tu najsnažnije osjećala bizantska vlast.<sup>77</sup> Zaključno, možemo reći da razmjerno velik broj anonimnih folisa kod nas (a njima valja pridodati i humačke primjerke) ipak svjedoči o razmjerno

mous folles. They began to be minted under Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976) and continued to be produced until 1092, that is, until the reform of Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118). There are 15 types of anonymous folles, designated by the letters A to N (type A has two subtypes, numbered 1 and 2). All these types belong to the so-called religious types. The obverse always shows Christ (until then reserved only for gold coinage), usually in the form of a bust, while the reverse carries an inscription, a depiction of the Virgin, or a cross.<sup>75</sup> They were most likely struck in Constantinople.<sup>76</sup> The Humac Museum holds 11 anonymous folles, representing five types: A2, B, C, G and I. Type A2 is represented by as many as five specimens (Cat. Nos. 21–25). All of them have a bust of Christ on the obverse, and on the reverse an inscription in four lines: **ⲠⲎⲤⲨⲤ** / **ⲪⲚⲒⲤⲨⲤ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤⲨ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤ**. They were struck between 976(?) and 1030/1035. Type B, represented by only one specimen (Cat. No. 28), also has a bust of Christ on the obverse, but on the reverse bears the inscription **ⲒⲒⲤⲨⲤ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤ** / **ⲪⲀⲒⲒⲚⲤ** together with a cross on a base. These folles were struck between 1030/1035 and 1042(?). On the obverse of type C there is a half-length figure of Christ, while on the reverse is a *crux gemmata*; it was struck between 1042(?) and 1050. In the Humac Museum there are two such folles (Cat. Nos. 29 and 30), one of which (Cat. No. 29) may be an overstrike on an anonymous follis of type B (overstrikes are not uncommon on anonymous folles in general). Type G is likewise represented by two coins (Cat. Nos. 33 and 34). It is characterised by a bust of Christ on the obverse and a bust of the Virgin on the reverse, and was struck between 1060 and 1065. Finally, type I is represented by a single specimen (Cat. No. 35), distinguished by a bust of Christ on the obverse and a depiction of a cross without any inscription on the reverse. It was struck between 1075 and 1080. According to Šeparović, the greatest number of anonymous

<sup>75</sup> DOC 3.2: 634, 647; GRIERSON 1982: 204–210.

<sup>76</sup> Za problematiku mjesta kovanja anonimnih folisa usp. DOC 3.2: 640–642.

<sup>77</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 88.

<sup>75</sup> DOC 3.2: 634, 647; GRIERSON 1982: 204–210.

<sup>76</sup> For the question of the minting places of anonymous folles, cf. DOC 3.2: 640–642.

stabilnoj ekonomskoj situaciji, pa i o jačanju gospodarskih aktivnosti tijekom 11. stoljeća, posebno u njegovoj prvoj polovini.

Iako se neki tipovi anonimnih folisa kuju gotovo do kraja 11. stoljeća, car **Konstantin X. Duka (1059. – 1067.)** ponovno će pokrenuti kovanje novaca koji nose ime i prikaz vladara.<sup>78</sup> Iako se prikaz cara vraća na folise, sada je na reversu, a na aversu je prikaz Krista. U humaćkom Muzeju dva su folisa Konstantina X. (kat. br. 31 i 32), od kojih je kat. br. 31 najvjerojatnije prekov preko anonimnog folisa. Novac ovoga cara kod nas je rijedak, a bilježe se samo primjerci iz Zadra i Dubrovnika.<sup>79</sup> Vrijeme Konstantina X. izrazito je nepovoljno za Carstvo kojemu na obzor dolaze Seldžuci u trenutku kada se izdaci za vojsku smanjuju, dok na unutaršnjem planu država siromaši. Humački folisi pripadaju jednom od dva tipa Konstantinova bakrenog novca, onom na kojem je uz cara na reversu prikazana i njegova supruga Eudoksija, na čije bi ambicije mogao ukazivati njezin položaj na kovanici. Naime, prikazana je lijevo, a car desno, što je neobično s obzirom na činjenicu da se u slučaju prikaza dviju carskih figura na novcu senior postavlja na lijevu stranu (s obzirom na promatrača). Međutim, objašnjenje je ovog jedinstvenog slučaja, prema Griersonovu mišljenju, u položaju njihove lijeve ruke, koja im je na prsima (srcu), pa bi zapravo *labarum* koji drže (desna ruka carice nalazi se ispod desne ruke cara) mogao predstavljati ili barem ukazivati na Krista čiji je prikaz na aversu.<sup>80</sup> U tom bi slučaju bizantska heraldička pravila bila ispoštovana.

Ipak, u okvirima 11. stoljeća najintrantrantija pojava s naših prostora u numizma-

folles had been recorded in Dubrovnik and its surroundings (42 specimens), as Byzantine power was felt strongest there.<sup>77</sup> In conclusion, we may say that the comparatively large number of anonymous folles in our region (to which the Humac examples should be added) nevertheless bears witness to a relatively stable economic situation, and even to a strengthening of economic activity during the 11th century, especially in its first half.

Although certain types of anonymous folles continued to be struck almost to the end of the 11th century, Emperor **Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067)** reintroduced coinage bearing the ruler's name and portrait.<sup>78</sup> Although the emperor's image returned to the follis, it now appeared on the reverse, while the obverse bore an image of Christ. The Humac Museum houses two folles of Constantine X (Cat. Nos. 31 and 32), of which Cat. No. 31 is most probably an overstrike on an anonymous follis. Coinage of this emperor is rare in the studied region, and only specimens from Zadar and Dubrovnik are recorded.<sup>79</sup> The reign of Constantine X was markedly unfavourable for the Empire, with the advent of the Seljuks at a time when expenditure on the army was being reduced and the state was becoming impoverished. The Humac folles belong to one of the two types of Constantine's copper coinage – that which shows, on the reverse alongside the emperor, his wife Eudokia. Her ambitions may be suggested by her position on the coin: she is shown on the left and the emperor on the right, which is unusual given that, when two imperial figures appear on a coin, the senior one is placed on the left (from the viewer's perspective). However, the explanation for this unique case, according to Grierson, lies in the position of their left hands. Their left hands rest on their chests (over the heart), so the

<sup>78</sup> To, naravno, znači da se vjerojatno istodobno kuju i anonimni i „potpisani”, folisi što unosi popriličnu zbrku u pitanje određivanja kovnica, posebno s obzirom na činjenicu da je teško vjerovati da iste kovnice kuju i jedne i druge kovnice te s obzirom na to da u ovo vrijeme više nema oznaka kovnica na novcu (usp. literaturu navedenu u bilj. 75).

<sup>79</sup> ŠEPAROVIC 2021: 125, 186.

<sup>80</sup> DOC 3.1: 110.

<sup>77</sup> ŠEPAROVIC 2021: 88.

<sup>78</sup> This of course means that anonymous and “signed” folles were probably being struck simultaneously, which introduces considerable confusion when it comes to determining the mints – especially given that it is hard to believe that the same mints produced both types, and in view of the fact that by this time mint-marks no longer appear on the coinage (cf. the literature cited in n. 75).

<sup>79</sup> ŠEPAROVIC 2021: 125, 186.

tičkom smislu zasigurno je pojava velikog broja zlatnika cara **Romana III. Argira (1028. – 1034.)**, cara koji za vrijeme svoje kratke vladavine nije doprinio ni vojnoj ni ekonomskoj snazi Carstva svojim poreznim reformama kojima je oslabio i vojsku i carsku blagajnu, a čije će se posljedice u punom opsegu osjetiti tek nakon njegove smrti.<sup>81</sup> Koliko je njegov inače vrlo kvalitetan zlatni novac čest kod nas govori i činjenica da 90 % poznatog novca iz 11. stoljeća pripada baš Romanu III.<sup>82</sup> Na aversu ovih zlatnika prikazan je Krist, a na reversu je Bogorodica koja kruni cara. Na području Hercegovine pronađene su dvije velike ostave *romanata*: u Gornjoj Drežnici (više od 300 komada) i u Klobuku (56 komada). Uz njih, poznat je i nalaz osam Romanovih zlatnika iz Vitine.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 186–187.

<sup>82</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 92. U citiranoj je publikaciji navedeno 38 lokaliteta na kojima je pronađen ovaj novac u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini. To djelo donosi i niz bibliografskih zapisa o Romanovim zlatnicima i pregled dosadašnjih razmišljanja o pojavi tog novca kod nas (str. 96–100). Za kartu distribucije nalaza zlatnika Romana III. na našim prostorima vidi JAKŠIĆ 2015: 428, sl. 2.

<sup>83</sup> Ostava iz Gornje Drežnice sjeverno od Mostara pronađena je 1867. i mogla je sadržavati više od 300 kovanica, a ostava iz Vitine pronađena je 1890. i sadržavala je devet kovanica, od kojih su dvije „nestale”; PATSCH 1900: 570–572. Ostava iz Klobuka kod Ljubuškog pronađena je 1930., a sadržavala je 56 kovanica, od kojih je spašeno 23, a ostale su nestale (MAROVIĆ 2006: 278). Spomenimo i da je 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća u Grabovniku nedaleko od Vitine pronađen još jedan zlatnik Romana III. Argira koji je otkupio Arheološki muzej u Splitu (DODIG 2013). Glede ostave iz Gornje Drežnice treba reći da je Patsch do broja od „preko 300 zlatnika” došao raspitujući se o sudbini kovanica kod fra N. Šimovića, biskupova tajnika u vrijeme nalaza. U izvornom tekstu o pronalasku ostave na koji se poziva Patsch (PATSCH 1900: 571) navedeno je da je pronađeno nekoliko stotina zlatnika (BAKULA 2016: 130 za tekst na latinskom i 293 za prijevod na hrvatski jezik). U sferi nepotrebnih domišljanja ostat će pitanje jesu li baš sve kovanice pripadale istom caru (i Patsch razmišlja o tome), a vjerojatno nikad nećemo saznati koji su to „drugi” položaji na kojima je do 1873. pronađen Romanov novac na koje se misli u izvornoj objavi. Inače, Patsch na citiranom mjestu pogrešno pripisuje novac caru Romanu II. (959. – 963.). Valja spomenuti i to da su, prema mišljenju N. Čuljak i D. Pinjuh, temeljenom na putopisu G. Arbuthnota iz 1862., zlatnici zapravo pronađeni na području preko kojega se iz doline Svinjače ide prema Duvnu, dakle nešto zapadnije od Gornje Drežnice (ČULJAK, PINJUH 2018: 132–134).

*labarum* they hold (the empress's right hand being beneath the emperor's right) could represent or at least allude to Christ, whose image appears on the obverse.<sup>80</sup> In that case, Byzantine heraldic conventions would have been respected.

Nevertheless, within the framework of the 11th century, the most intriguing numismatic phenomenon from the region under study is undoubtedly the appearance of a large number of gold coins of Emperor **Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034)**. During his brief reign, this emperor contributed neither to the military nor to the economic strength of the Empire; his fiscal reforms weakened both the army and the imperial treasury, and their consequences would be fully felt only after his death.<sup>81</sup> The frequency of his otherwise very fine gold coinage in the region under study is illustrated by the fact that 90 % of all known 11th-century coins belong precisely to Romanos III.<sup>82</sup> Christ is depicted on the obverse of these gold coins, and the Virgin crowning the emperor on the reverse. Two large hoards of *romanati* have been found in Herzegovina: at Gornja Drežnica (over 300 pieces) and at Klobuk (56 pieces). In addition, a find of eight gold coins of Romanos III from Vitina is also known.<sup>83</sup> The Humac col-

<sup>80</sup> DOC 3.1: 110.

<sup>81</sup> OSTROGORSKI 2006: 186–187.

<sup>82</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 92. The cited publication also lists 38 sites at which this coinage has been found in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It further provides a series of bibliographical records relating to the gold coins of Romanos III, as well as an overview of current interpretations of the appearance of this coinage in the region of study (pp. 96–100). For a distribution map of finds of Romanos III gold coins in our region, see JAKŠIĆ 2015: 428, fig. 2.

<sup>83</sup> The hoard from Gornja Drežnica, north of Mostar, was found in 1867 and may have contained over 300 coins, while the hoard from Vitina, found in 1890, contained nine coins, two of which “disappeared” (PATSCH 1900: 570–572). The hoard from Klobuk near Ljubuški was found in 1930 and contained 56 coins, of which 23 were saved, while the remainder disappeared (MAROVIĆ 2006: 278). It should also be noted that in the 1990s, another gold coin of Romanos III Argyros was found at Grabovnik, not far from Vitina; this was purchased by the Archaeological Museum in Split (DODIG 2013).

With regard to the hoard from Gornja Drežnica, it should be mentioned that Patsch arrived at the figure of “over 300 gold coins” by inquiring about the fate of the coins with Fra N. Šimović, the bishop's secretary at the time of the find. In the original text on the discovery of the hoard to

U humačkoj zbirci čuvaju se dva zlatnika Romana III. (kat. br. 31 i 32) bez podataka o mjestu nalaza, iako se može razumno pretpostaviti da potječu iz neke od spomenutih ostava. Više je teza o logici pojave ovog novca kod nas u tako velikom broju. Prema D. M. Metcalfu, riječ je o blagu s broda koji je potonuo negdje na Jadranu za vrijeme rata Mihajla IV. (1034. – 1041.) protiv Bugara, koje je prisvojio zetski vladar Stefan Vojslav.<sup>84</sup> Metcalf se poziva na bizantskog ljetopisca iz druge polovice 11. stoljeća Georgija Kedrena i njegovo djelo *Pregled povijesti* (*Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*) gdje se spominje da je 1039./1040. na iliričkim obalama brodolom doživio brod koji je prevozio 10 kentenarija zlata koje je Ivan Orfanotrof poslao caru u Solun. Grierson tome iznosi prigovor, uviđajući nemogućnost da se brod koji kreće iz Konstantinopola u Solun nasuče na obalama Ilirika i odbacujući Metcalfovu tezu kao „fantaziju”, primjećujući i da bi se brodski teret trebao sastojati od Mihaelovih zlatnika jer on 1040. vlada već šest godina.<sup>85</sup> Ne zalažući se na ovom mjestu za Metcalfovu tezu o brodolomu, valja reći da je, ako ćemo vjerovati Kedrenovu navodu, do brodoloma sa znatnom količinom zlata na istočnoj jadranskoj obali najvjerojatnije ipak došlo, i to u vrijeme Mihaela IV., nasljednika Romana III. Pritom je intrigantno razmišljanje da je Ivan Orfanotrof zapravo mogao narediti dalmatinskim carskim službenicima da porezne prihode pošalju caru,<sup>86</sup> što bi premostilo spomenuti geografski problem. Naravno, to nam ne odgovara na prigovor zašto bi u brodskom teretu bio samo novac Romana III., jer zlatnici njegova nasljednika kod nas nisu pronađeni, točnije, pronađen je samo jedan primjerak u Matacima kod Podvršja u

lection preserves two gold coins of Romanos III (Cat. Nos. 31 and 32) without information on their findspots, although it is reasonable to assume that they were part of one of the aforementioned hoards. There are several hypotheses concerning the reason behind the appearance of this coinage in such large numbers in the region under study. According to D. M. Metcalf, it represents treasure, from a ship that sank somewhere in the Adriatic during the campaign of Michael IV (1034–1041) against the Bulgars, which was appropriated by the ruler of Zeta, Stefan Voislav.<sup>84</sup> Metcalf referred to Georgios Cedrenus, a Byzantine chronicler of the second half of the 11th century, and his work *Synopsis historion* (*Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*), in which it is mentioned that in 1039/1040 a ship carrying ten kentenaria of gold sent to the emperor in Thessaloniki by John the Orphanotrophos was wrecked on the Illyrian shores. Grierson objected, pointing out the improbability of a ship sailing from Constantinople to Thessaloniki running aground on the Illyrian coast, and dismissed Metcalf's hypothesis as “fantasy”, noting also that the cargo should have consisted of gold coins of Michael, since by 1040 he had already ruled for six years.<sup>85</sup> Without advocating Metcalf's shipwreck hypothesis, it should nonetheless be said that, if Kedrenos' account is to be trusted, a shipwreck involving a significant quantity of gold on the eastern Adriatic coast most likely did occur, and that in the time of Michael IV, the successor of

which Patsch refers (PATSCHE 1900: 571), it is stated that several hundred gold coins were found (BAKULA 2016: 130 for the Latin text and 293 for the Croatian translation). The question of whether all the coins really belonged to the same emperor (Patsch also considered this question) will remain in the realm of unnecessary speculation, and we shall probably never know which “other” sites are meant in the original publication when it speaks of finds of the coinage of Romanos III found up to 1873. Incidentally, in the passage cited, Patsch erroneously attributed the coinage to Emperor Romanos II (959–963). It should also be mentioned that, according to the view of N. Čuljak and D. Pinjuh, based on the 1862 travelogue of G. Arbuthnot, the gold coins were in fact found in the area through which the route from the Svinjača valley leads towards Duvno, that is, somewhat to the west of Gornja Drežnica (ČULJAK, PINJUH 2018: 132-134).

<sup>84</sup> METCALF 1960: 101–104.

<sup>85</sup> DOC 3. 2: 58, bilj. 183.

<sup>86</sup> Ovo mišljenje iznosi J. Wortley u komentarima na tekst Ivana Skilice (SKYLITZES, WORTLEY 2010: 384 bilj. 64). Kedren u svojoj kronici praktički prepisuje Skiliciino djelo.

<sup>84</sup> METCALF 1960: 101-104.

<sup>85</sup> DOC 3. 2: 58, n. 183.

zaleđu Zadra.<sup>87</sup>

Bitan doprinos ovoj raspravi donio je N. Jakšić, koji, na temelju Kekaumenovih spisa, zlatnike o kojima je riječ povezuje uz misije „arhonta i toparha” Dobronje, koji odlazi na Argirov dvor u dva navrata i biva bogato obdaren (pri trećem odlasku na carski dvor, nakon smjene vlasti, bit će zatočen te će umrijeti u tamnici).<sup>88</sup> Jakšić se poziva na već prije u literaturi<sup>89</sup> naznačenu mogućnost da je Dobronja ustvari dalmatinski prokonzul Grgur iz zadarske obitelji Madijevaca (ili njegov brat),<sup>90</sup> a vrijedi spomenuti njegovo povezivanje pojave velike količine kvalitetnoga zlatnog novca na istočnoj jadranskoj obali s razvitkom romanike kod nas.<sup>91</sup> Marović prema ovom pitanju ima pomalo kompromisan odnos. Naime, slaže se da su romanati na zadarsko područje mogli dospjeti zahvaljujući Dobronji, ali ipak primjećuje da ih je najveći broj na „neretvanskom području”. To objašnjava mogućnošću da su neretvanski gusari orobili neki bizantski brod, ali naglašava i važnost Dubrovnika, čija je mornarica sudjelovala u pobjedi bizantske flote nad Saracima 1032., a u Dubrovniku s flotom deset godina potom boravi i strateg Katakalon iz

Romanos III. It is an intriguing possibility that John the Orphanotrophos may actually have instructed imperial officials in Dalmatia to send tax revenues to the emperor,<sup>86</sup> which would bridge the geographical difficulty mentioned above. Naturally, this does not resolve the objection as to why the ship's cargo would have consisted solely of the coinage of Romanos III, since the gold coins of his successor are not found here – more precisely, only a single specimen has been recorded, at Matiaci near Podvršje in the hinterland of Zadar.<sup>87</sup>

A significant contribution to this discussion was made by N. Jakšić, who linked, on the basis of the writings of Kekaumenos, the gold coins in question with the missions of the “archon and toparch” Dobronja. He went to the court of Romanos III on two occasions and was richly rewarded (on his third journey to the imperial court, after a change of power, he was imprisoned and died in captivity).<sup>88</sup> Jakšić also drew attention to the possibility, already suggested in the literature,<sup>89</sup> that Dobronja was in fact the Dalmatian proconsul Grgur of the Zadar family of the Madii (or his brother),<sup>90</sup> and it is worth recalling his association of the appearance of a

<sup>87</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 183.

<sup>88</sup> JAKŠIĆ 1982: 180–182; 2007: 137–139; 2015: 425–430. Spomenimo da je sasvim logično pretpostaviti da je Dobronja darovan zlatnicima, ali ipak nije zgoroga spomenuti da izvori zapravo ne navode od čega se točno sastoji „veliko bogatstvo” s kojim je on otpremljen iz Konstantinopola.

<sup>89</sup> FERLUGA 1966: 204.

<sup>90</sup> Mišljenje da su Dobronja i Grgur ista osoba izneseno je i u STEPHENSON 2004: 127. Rasprava o tome tko je zapravo Dobronja izlazi iz okvira ovoga rada. Ipak, s obzirom na to da je u literaturi njegov identitet povezan s pojavom zlatnika Romana III., valja sumarno spomenuti i mišljenja koja ne povezuju Dobronju i Grgura. Primjerice, F. Šišić smatra da Dobronja odlazi u Konstantinopol kao predstavnik hrvatskog kralja i vlastitog „rođaka” Krešimira (ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 487), a L. Margetić u Dobronji vidi hrvatskog vladara koji vlada od 1031. do 1034./1035. (MARGETIĆ 2006: 12; usp. i ranije Margetićeve radove navedene u citiranom članku). U novije vrijeme i H. Gračanin smatra da „po svojoj prilici” stratega Grgura i Dobronju ne treba poistovjetiti, ali i da Dobronju ne treba smatrati ni hrvatskim kraljem: GRAČANIN 2015: 510.

<sup>91</sup> Usp. literaturu navedenu u bilj. 88.

<sup>86</sup> This view is set out by J. Wortley in his commentary on the text of John Skylitzes (SKYLITZES, WORTLEY 2010: 384, n. 64). Kedrenos, in his chronicle, virtually copied Skylitzes' work.

<sup>87</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 183.

<sup>88</sup> JAKŠIĆ 1982: 180–182; 2007: 137–139; 2015: 425–430. It is reasonable to assume that Dobronja was presented with gold coins, yet it is still worth noting that the sources do not in fact specify the exact composition of the ‘great wealth’ with which he was sent from Constantinople.

<sup>89</sup> FERLUGA 1966: 204.

<sup>90</sup> The view that Dobronja and Grgur are the same person is also presented in STEPHENSON 2004: 127. Discussion of who Dobronja actually was lies beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, since the literature links his identity with the appearance of the gold coins of Romanos III, it is worth briefly mentioning the views that do not connect Dobronja and Grgur. For example, F. Šišić considered that Dobronja went to Constantinople as the representative of the Croatian king and his “kinsman” Krešimir (ŠIŠIĆ 1925: 487), while L. Margetić saw in Dobronja a Croatian ruler governing from 1031 to 1034/1035 (MARGETIĆ 2006: 12; cf. also earlier works by Margetić cited in the article in question). More recently, H. Gračanin likewise considered that the strategos Grgur and Dobronja “in all probability” should not be equated with one another, and also that Dobronja should not be considered a Croatian king: GRAČANIN 2015: 510.

Klazomene.<sup>92</sup> U svom najnovijem osvrtu na ovaj problem Jakšić nadopunjuje kartu nalaza zlatnika Romana III. iz koje je jasno vidljivo da su pojedinačni nalazi romanata ravnomjerno raspoređeni duž istočne jadranske obale. Pojavu većine ostava u srednjoj i južnoj Dalmaciji objašnjava nesigurnim vremenima, a u slučaju ostava iz zapadne Hercegovine mogućnošću da se „spas traži u bijegu preko Neretve“.<sup>93</sup>

Bez obzira na mehanizme dolaska Romanovih zlatnika na naše područje, koji uistinu mogu biti višestruki, smatramo nedvojbenim da pojava ovog novca dobro ilustrira gospodarski napredak naših krajeva, kako obale tako i unutrašnjosti.<sup>94</sup> O tome nam govori i podatak da izvori iz 11. stoljeća sve učestalije spominju trgovinu, pa i globe upravo u zlatnicima, a ne u robi.<sup>95</sup> U obzir svakako treba uzeti i složene političke okolnosti u „velikoj igri“ koju igraju Bizant, Venecija, Hrvatska i dalmatinski gradovi, što barem može objasniti odnos careva prema samom Dobronji.<sup>96</sup> U svakom slučaju, moramo zaključiti da su razlozi i mehanizmi pojave velike količine zlatnika Romana III. Argira na našim područjima još uvijek otvoreni za raspravu.

Može se postaviti još jedno pitanje: zašto se kod nas u iole znatnijoj količini ne nalaze zlatnici bizantskih careva koji slijede nakon Romana III. Argira? Odnosno, da preformuliramo ovo pitanje: zašto se čuvaju i deponiraju upravo zlatnici Romana III.? Razlog bi mogao ležati u činjenici da su upravo Argirovi zlatnici morali biti „privlačni“ za prikupljanje dugo nakon njegove smrti jer manjim dijelom već za vrijeme njegova nasljednika Mihaela IV. dolazi do opadanja vrijednosti zlatnog novca, a pad vrijednosti bit će posebno vidljiv u doba Konstantina IX. Mo-

large quantity of high-quality gold coinage on the eastern Adriatic coast with the development of the Romanesque style in our region.<sup>91</sup> Marović adopted a somewhat more cautious position on this question. He agreed that the romanati may have reached the Zadar area thanks to Dobronja, but nevertheless noted that the largest number had been found in the “Neretva region”. He explained this by the supposition that the Neretva pirates had plundered a Byzantine ship, but also emphasised the importance of Dubrovnik, whose navy took part in the Byzantine fleet’s victory over the Saracens in 1032, noting that ten years later the strategos Katalokos of Klazomenai stayed in Dubrovnik with the fleet.<sup>92</sup> In his most recent commentary on this issue, Jakšić supplements the map of finds of gold coins of Romanos III, from which it is evident that individual finds of *romanati* are evenly distributed along the eastern Adriatic coast. He explains the appearance of most hoards in central and southern Dalmatia by insecure times, and in the case of the hoards from western Herzegovina by the possibility that “salvation was sought by fleeing across the Neretva.”<sup>93</sup>

Regardless of the mechanisms by which the gold coins of Romanos III reached our region – which may indeed have been multiple – we consider it beyond doubt that the appearance of this coinage clearly illustrates the economic progress of the Croatian lands, both on the coast and in the interior.<sup>94</sup> This is also indicated by the fact that sources from the 11th century increasingly mention trade and even fines being levied specifically in gold coins rather than in goods.<sup>95</sup> Account should also be taken of the complex political circumstances in the “great game” played between Byzantium, Venice, Croatia and the Dalmatian cities, which may at least help explain the emperors’ attitude towards Dobronja himself.<sup>96</sup> In any case, we must conclude that the appearance of large quantities

<sup>92</sup> MAROVIĆ 2006: 282–283.

<sup>93</sup> JAKŠIĆ 2015: 430.

<sup>94</sup> GOLDSTEIN 1995: 378–379; MAROVIĆ 2006: 282–283; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 99–100.

<sup>95</sup> GOLDSTEIN 1995: 378–379.

<sup>96</sup> KLAIĆ, PETRICIOLI 1976: 90–91.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the literature cited in note 88.

<sup>92</sup> MAROVIĆ 2006: 282–283.

<sup>93</sup> JAKŠIĆ 2015: 430.

<sup>94</sup> GOLDSTEIN 1995: 378–379; MAROVIĆ 2006: 282–283; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 99–100.

<sup>95</sup> GOLDSTEIN 1995: 378–379.

<sup>96</sup> KLAIĆ, PETRICIOLI 1976: 90–91.

nomaha (1042. – 1055.), kada dolazi i do namjerne devalvacije zlatnog novca<sup>97</sup> nakon sedam stoljeća u kojima je bizantski zlatnik bio mjerilo vrijednosti. Ova okolnost vjerojatno je pridonijela i pojavi krivotvorenja zlatnika Romana III., o čemu svjedoči i patvoreni primjerak nepoznatog mjesta nalaza iz Franjevačkog muzeja i galerije Gorica u Livnu.<sup>98</sup> Naravno, iz istog će razloga Romanovi zlatnici ostati u upotrebi još desetljećima nakon njegove smrti<sup>99</sup> o čemu svjedoče, osim povijesnih izvora i poneki arheološki nalazi poput tri *romanata* pronađena u grobu 75 na položaju Pakoštane – Crkvina. Gradnju toga groba valja na temelju povijesno-umjetničke analize i radiokarbonskog datiranja smjestiti u 12. stoljeće, točnije, u vrijeme oko 1170. godine, a nastanak mu je povezan s dolaskom prvih templara na područje Vrane.<sup>100</sup> O vrijednosti zlatnika Romana III. svjedoče i povijesni izvori 11. – 13. stoljeća koji romanate spominju kako u smislu samih kovanica, tako i kao obračunsku jedinicu.<sup>101</sup>

Inače, do kraja 11. stoljeća zlatnik će spasti na samo trećinu svoje originalne vrijednosti, što je među ostalim i dovelo do reforme monetarnog sustava 1092. godine za vrijeme Aleksija I. Komnena (1081. – 1118.).<sup>102</sup> Tom se reformom, među ostalim, uvodi zdjelčasti oblik kovanica, i to za zlatni, srebrni i bakreni novac. Glede bakrenog novca, to znači da se folis, toliko prepoznatljiv element bizantske numizmatike, prestao kovati nakon pola tisućljeća u optjecaju. Najmlađe bizantske kovanice u zbirci franjevačkog samostana u Humcu proistječu upravo iz te reforme, a kovane su u doba **Emanuela I. Komnena (1143. – 1180.)**. Riječ je o tri kovanice

of the gold coinage of Romanos III Argyros in the region under study remains open to debate.

Another question may be posed: why have no significant quantities of the gold coins of Byzantine emperors following Romanos III Argyros been found in the studied region? Or, to reformulate the question: why were the gold coins of Romanos III in particular preserved and deposited? The answer could lie in the fact that the coinage of Argyros must have remained “attractive” for accumulation long after his death, since under his successor Michael IV there was already a decline in the value of gold coinage, and that drop became especially evident under Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055), when there was a deliberate devaluation of the gold coin<sup>97</sup> for the first time in the seven centuries in which the Byzantine solidus had been the standard of value. This circumstance likely contributed to the emergence of counterfeit gold coins of Romanos III, as evidenced by a forged specimen of unknown provenance held in the Franciscan Museum and Gallery Gorica in Livno.<sup>98</sup> Naturally, for the same reason, the gold coins of Romanos continued to circulate for decades after his death,<sup>99</sup> as attested not only by historical sources but also by archaeological finds, such as the three specimens of romanati found in Grave 75 at the site of Pakoštane – Crkvina. The construction of that grave, on the basis of art-historical analysis and radiocarbon dating, should be dated to the 12th century – more precisely, around the year 1170 – and its origin is linked to the arrival of the first Templars in the area of Vrana.<sup>100</sup> The value of the gold coins of Romanos III is also attested by historical sources from the 11th to the 13th centuries, which mention *romanati* both in the sense of the coins themselves and as a unit of account.<sup>101</sup>

Up to the end of the 11th century, the gold coin

<sup>97</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 197.

<sup>98</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 1999: 40.

<sup>99</sup> MAROVIĆ 2006: 279.

<sup>100</sup> GUSAR, VUJEVIĆ 2013: 291.

<sup>101</sup> Da bi pojam *romanat* u izvorima 11. – 13. stoljeća trebao označavati upravo zlatnike Romana III. argumentirano je s primjerima u JAKŠIĆ 2015: 430–432.

<sup>102</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 192, 215–217.

<sup>97</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 197.

<sup>98</sup> ŠEPAROVIĆ 1999: 40.

<sup>99</sup> MAROVIĆ 2006: 279.

<sup>100</sup> GUSAR, VUJEVIĆ 2013: 291.

<sup>101</sup> That the term *romanat* in sources from the 11th to the 13th centuries should denote precisely the gold coins of Romanos III has been argued with examples in JAKŠIĆ 2015: 430–432.

zdjelicaštog oblika, tzv. trahejima<sup>103</sup> (kat. br. 36–38) od legure bakra i srebra nazvane *billon*. Na aversima humačkih kovanica nalazi se prikaz Isusa na prijestolju, a na reversu je Bogorodica koja kruni cara. Pripadaju Griersonovoj četvrtoj fazi kovanja traheja od bilona (1167. – 1183.?). Takve su kovance zabilježene i drugdje kod nas, iako ne u prevelikom broju, a kad je riječ o prostoru rasprostiranja, većina ih potječe s prostora južnog Jadrana. Upravo je to vrijeme kada će Bizant zadnji put u povijesti imati efektivnu vlast nad našim prostorima, točnije, nad Dalmacijom i Bosnom. U tom smislu treba istaknuti podatak da je Emanuel I. Komnen zapravo jedini bizantski car koji u svojoj titulaturi ima pridjev „bosanski”.<sup>104</sup> To je i inače vrijeme jednog od posljednjih uspona Carstva u vojnom, političkom i ekonomskom smislu, što pokazuje i velika količina pronađenih kovanica dinastije Komnen, posebno bakrenih (odnosno onih od legure bilon) na prostoru pod nadzorom Carstva. Međutim, carska će vlast na našim prostorima biti kratkog vijeka, najvjerojatnije će trajati samo 15 godina, od 1165. do 1180.,<sup>105</sup> nakon čega će se odnosi Bizanta s našim krajevima svesti na, Goldsteinovim riječima, „slabe odjeke nekoć intenzivnih odnosa”.<sup>106</sup> Posredan je dokaz za to i činjenica da u Humcu ne nalazimo novce mlađe od vladavine Emanuela I. Komnena, ali da su i drugdje kod nas takvi novci rijetki.<sup>107</sup> Naravno, to je rezultat ne samo nepostojanja bizantske vlasti kod nas nego i drastičnog opadanja moći Carstva, koje rapidno gubi na

had declined to only one third of its original value, a development that, among other factors, led to the reform of the monetary system of 1092 under Alexios I Komnenos (1081 – 1118).<sup>102</sup> That reform, among other changes, introduced the cup-shaped form of coins – for gold, silver, and copper issues alike. For copper coinage, this meant that the follis – such a characteristic element of Byzantine numismatics – ceased to be struck, after half a millennium in circulation. The most recent Byzantine coins in the collection of the Franciscan Monastery at Humac stem precisely from this reform, and were minted in the time of **Manuel I Komnenos (1143 – 1180)**. These are three cup-shaped coins – so-called trachea<sup>103</sup> (Cat. Nos. 36–38) – made of a copper-silver alloy known as *billon*. The obverses of the Humac specimens show Christ enthroned, while the reverses depict the Virgin crowning the emperor. They belong to Grierson’s fourth phase in the minting of billon trachea (1167–1183?). Such coins are attested elsewhere in our regions as well, although not in any great number, and in terms of their geographical distribution most were found in the area of the southern Adriatic. This is precisely the period when Byzantium would, for the last time in history, exercise effective authority over the Croatian lands – that is, over Dalmatia and Bosnia. In this respect, it is worth noting that Manuel I Komnenos is, in fact, the only Byzantine emperor whose titlature includes the epithet “Bosnian”.<sup>104</sup> It is also a period of one of the Empire’s final peaks in military, political and economic terms, also demonstrated by the large quantity of coins of the Komnenian dynasty – especially copper (i.e. billon) issues – found in the territory under imperial control. However, imperial authority over the studied regions would be short-lived, most likely lasting only some 15 years, from 1165 to 1180,<sup>105</sup> after which Byzantium’s relations with the Croatian lands would, in Goldstein’s words, be reduced

<sup>103</sup> Za ovakve kovanice ponekad se upotrebljava i naziv *skifat*, što je pogrešno (GRIERSON 1999: 60).

<sup>104</sup> GOLDSTEIN 2003: 40.

<sup>105</sup> GOLDSTEIN 2003: 45.

<sup>106</sup> GOLDSTEIN 2003: 47.

<sup>107</sup> Šeparović kao najmlađe novce s poznatim mjestom nalaza na istočnom Jadranu i zaobalju navodi kovanice Andronika II. Paleologa (1282. – 1328.), i to svega tri, dvije iz Dubrovnika i jednu iz Sokol grada u Konavlima (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 126, 127). Razumije se da će na prostorima istočnije od Hrvatske i BiH takav novac ipak biti češći, pa se tako u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu čuva 12 kovanica spomenutog cara (RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006: 218).

<sup>102</sup> GRIERSON 1982: 192, 215-217.

<sup>103</sup> The term *scyphate* is sometimes used for such coins, which is incorrect (GRIERSON 1999: 60).

<sup>104</sup> GOLDSTEIN 2003: 40.

<sup>105</sup> GOLDSTEIN 2003: 45.

snazi poglavito nakon IV. križarskog rata početkom 13. stoljeća.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Numizmatička zbirka Muzeja franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante na Humcu iznimno je bogata kovanicama iz svih povijesnih razdoblja, a prikupljena je i sačuvana marom franjevačke subraće i brojnih donatora. Upravo način na koji su kovanice prikupljane otežava potpunu znanstvenu analizu, poglavito u kontekstu gospodarskih tokova i povijesnih prilika na prostoru današnje Hercegovine od kraja 5. do kraja 12. stoljeća. U radu je analizirano 38 bizantskih kovanica. Najstarije se kovanice datiraju u razdoblje Anastazija I., a najmlađe u vrijeme Emanuela I. Komnena. Većina kovanica potječe iz konstantinopolske kovnice, a pojedini su primjerci kovani u Nikomediji, Antiohiji, Kiziku, Solunu te jedan u pretpostavljenoj salonitanskoj kovnici.

Iako ni za jednu kovanicu nije poznato točno mjesto nalaza, može se razložno pretpostaviti da većina potječe s prostora hercegovačke franjevačke provincije. Ako prihvatimo taj stav, opravdano je usporediti korpus obrađenih kovanica s numizmatičkim materijalom iz okolnih regija te ga pokušati uklopiti u opću sliku bizantske numografije. U tom se slučaju primjećuje da bizantski novac s Humca zapravo previše ne odstupa od očekivane slike utemeljene na povijesnim i ekonomskim prilikama. Čak 13 kovanica potječe iz vremena od Anastazija I. do Justina II., a najviše je kovanica iz vremena Justinijana I. Ova je pojava očekivana s obzirom na političku, vojnu, ekonomsku i kulturnu snagu Bizanta u tom razdoblju. Iz vremena nakon, za naše krajeve, povijesno prijelomne prve polovice 7. stoljeća pa sve do kraja 9. stoljeća u Humcu se nalazi samo jedna kovanica, i to vrlo intrigantan zlatnik Konstantina IV. Ipak, rijetkiji je o „iznimci koja potvrđuje pravilo” po

to “weak echoes of once intense ties”.<sup>106</sup> An indirect confirmation of this is the absence, at Humac, of coins later than the reign of Manuel I Komnenos, and the fact that such coins are also rare elsewhere in the studied region.<sup>107</sup> Of course, this is the result not only of the absence of Byzantine rule but also of the drastic decline in the strength of the Empire, which rapidly lost power, especially after the Fourth Crusade in the early 13th century.

## CONCLUSION

The numismatic collection of the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery of St Anthony in Humac is exceptionally rich in coins from all historical periods, gathered and preserved through the dedication of the Franciscan brethren and numerous donors. Nevertheless, the manner in which the coins were collected hinders full scholarly analysis, especially in the context of economic and historical conditions in the area of present-day Herzegovina from the late 5th to the late 12th century. The paper analyses 38 Byzantine coins. The earliest coins date to the reign of Anastasius I, and the latest to the time of Manuel I Komnenos. Most of the coins originate from the Constantinople mint, while individual specimens were struck in those of Nicomedia, Antioch, Cyzicus and Thessaloniki, and one in the presumed mint of Salona.

Although the exact findspot of none of the coins is known, it can reasonably be assumed that most of them were discovered in the territory of the Herzegovinian Franciscan province. If we accept this supposition, a comparison of the cor-

<sup>106</sup> GOLDSTEIN 2003: 47.

<sup>107</sup> Šeparović listed, as the most recent coins with a known findspot on the eastern Adriatic and in its hinterland, those of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), of which there are only three: two from Dubrovnik and one from Sokolgrad in Konavle (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2021: 126, 127). Naturally, such coins are more frequent in regions further east of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus the National Museum in Belgrade holds 12 coins of this emperor (RADIĆ, IVANIŠEVIĆ 2006: 218).

kojoj je riječ o vremenu kada dotok novca gotovo u potpunosti prestaje, a to potvrđuju i inventari muzejskih zbirki i drugdje u regiji. S prijelaza 9. u 10. stoljeće, tj. iz vremena Lava VI. potječe jedina bizantska srebrna kovanica, što je također dobar odraz količine srebrnog novca u optjecaju za vrijeme Carstva. U Muzeju se čuva čak 11 tzv. anonimnih folisa iz kraja 10./11. stoljeća, dakle upravo iz vremena povoljne ekonomske konjunktore. Iz istog razdoblja, točnije, iz prve polovine 11. stoljeća, potječu i dva *romanata*, tj. zlatnika Romana III. Argira, čija prisutnost u Humcu s obzirom na dosadašnje nalaze tih novaca u Hercegovini nimalo ne iznenađuje. Najmlađi su bizantski novac u Humcu tri traheja Emanuela I. Komnena, dakle upravo iz onog vremena kad je Bizant uspio po posljednji put u svojoj povijesti efektivno ovladati našim krajevima. O uklopljenosti ove slike u opću sliku bizantske numizmatike svjedoči i podatak iz internetske baze podataka *Nomismata*. Ta baza bilježi više od 200 000 kovanica s više od 5000 nalazišta, a u njoj se najveći broj kovanica uočava za razdoblja od 520. do 570. godine (s vrhuncem oko 560. godine) i od 1020. do 1030. godine (s vrhuncem oko 1030. godine).<sup>108</sup> Ista ili barem vrlo slična slika vrijedi i za objedinjeno područje Dalmacije i Bosne i Hercegovine, pa tako i za mali uzorak iz humačke zbirke.

Ovaj rad donosi analizu razmjerno malog broja kovanica iz humačkog Muzeja, koji ih u svojem inventaru čuva još gotovo 2000. Stoga neka bude skroman poticaj za daljnju znanstvenu obradu i valorizaciju ove iznimno važne numizmatičke građe.

### Zahvale

Posebnu zahvalu dugujemo fra Milanu Jukiću na svesrdnoj pomoći pri uvidu u numizmatičku građu obrađenu u ovom radu.

<sup>108</sup> <https://byzantine.units.it/en/> (pristupljeno 12. rujna 2025.).

pus of analysed coins with numismatic material from the neighbouring regions is justified, as is an attempt to place it within the general picture of Byzantine numography. In that case, it can be observed that the Byzantine coins from Humac do not in fact deviate significantly from the expected picture based on historical and economic circumstances. As many as thirteen coins date from the period between Anastasius I and Justin II, and the largest number belong to the time of Justinian I. This is to be expected in view of the political, military, economic and cultural strength of Byzantium in that era. At Humac there is only a single coin from the period between the first half of the 7th century (historically pivotal for the regions under study) and the end of the 9th century – a highly intriguing gold coin of Constantine IV. However, it does represent the “exception that proves the rule”, namely that this was a time when the inflow of coinage almost completely ceased, as confirmed by inventories of museum collections elsewhere in the region. From the turn of the 9th to the 10th century, – from the time of Leo VI – comes the only Byzantine silver coin, which also aptly reflects the volume of silver coinage in circulation during the Empire. The Museum holds as many as eleven so-called anonymous folles from the late 10th/11th century, that is, from a time of favourable economic conditions. From the same period, more precisely from the first half of the 11th century, come two romanati – gold coins of Romanos III Argyros, whose presence at Humac is not at all surprising in view of previously recorded finds of these coins in Herzegovina. The most recent Byzantine coins at Humac are the three trachea of Manuel I Komnenos, that is, precisely from the period when Byzantium succeeded, for the last time in its history, in exercising effective control over our regions. That this picture aligns well with the general pattern of Byzantine numismatics is supported by data from the online *Nomismata* database. The database records more than 200,000 coins from over 5,000 findspots, and shows the highest concentrations of coinage for the periods from 520 to 570 (peaking around 560) and from 1020

Uvid je ostvaren još 2010. pri pripremanju podneska za *6. međunarodni numizmatički kongres u Hrvatskoj*, koji je održan u rujnu iste godine na Sveučilištu u Zadru. Autor ovog rada tom je prilikom održao izlaganje o bizantskom novcu iz Humca koje nije urodilo tekstem u objavljenom zborniku radova (*INCC 2010: zbornik radova 6. međunarodnoga numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj*, ur. Dobrinić, J., Rijeka: Hrvatsko numizmatičko društvo, 2011.).

Nadalje, zahvalu dugujemo i kustosici Muzeja Danijeli Grbavac za pomoć pri ponovnom pregledu analizirane građe u ožujku i lipnju 2025., a na osobit način zahvalni smo i fra Dariju Dodigu, tadašnjem gvardijanu samostana u Humcu, na dozvoli za ponovni pregled i objavu građe. Zahvalni smo na pomoći i dr. sc. Mirku Rašiću te izv. prof. dr. sc. Mati Ilkiću na korisnim savjetima.

to 1030 (peaking around 1030).<sup>108</sup> The same, or at least a very similar, pattern applies to the combined area of Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus also to the small sample from the Humac collection.

This study offers an analysis of a relatively small number of coins from the Humac Museum, which in its inventory preserves nearly 2,000 more. Let it therefore serve as a modest incentive for further scholarly research and appreciation of this exceptionally important numismatic material.

### *Acknowledgements*

We owe special thanks to Fra Milan Jukić for his wholehearted assistance during the consideration of the numismatic material analysed in this paper. This inspection took place in 2010 during the preparation of a paper for the 6<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress in Croatia, held in September of the same year at the University of Zadar. On that occasion, the author of this paper presented a talk on the Byzantine coinage from Humac, which did not result in a published text in the proceedings (*INCC 2010: Proceedings of the 6th International Numismatic Congress in Croatia*, ed. Dobrinić, J., Rijeka: Croatian Numismatic Society, 2011).

Furthermore, we express our gratitude to the Museum Curator Danijela Grbavac for her assistance during the renewed examination of the material in March and June 2025, and particularly to Fra Dario Dodig, then Guardian of the Humac Monastery, for granting permission for the renewed examination and publication of the material. We are also grateful to PhD Mirko Rašić and Assoc. Prof. Mato Ilkić, PhD, for their helpful advice.

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ETNOtrend d.o.o.***

<sup>108</sup> <https://byzantine.units.it/en/> (12 September 2025).

KATALOG<sup>1</sup> / CATALOGUE<sup>2</sup>

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

## BMC 2

Wroth, W. 1908, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum, Volume 2*, London.

## BNP 1

Morrisson, C. 1970, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale, Tome premier: d'Anastase I<sup>er</sup> a Justinien II (491-711)*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale.

## BNP 2

Morrisson, C. 1970, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale, Tome deuxième: de Philippicus a Alexis III (711-1204)*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale.

## DOC 1

Bellinger, A. R. 1992, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, Volume 1, Anastasius I to Maurice, 491 – 602*, Second Impression, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

## DOC 2.1

Grierson, Ph. 1993, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, Volume 2, Part 1, Phocas and Heraclius (602–641)*, Second Impression, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

## DOC 3.2

Grierson, Ph. 1993, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, Volume 3, Part 2, Basil I to Nicephorus III (867–1081)*, Second Impression, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

## DOC 4.1

Hendy, H. F. 1999, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, Volume 4, Part 1, Alexius I to Alexius V (1081–1204)*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

## MIB 1

Hahn, W. 1973, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini, 1. Teil, von Anastasius I. bis Justinianus I. (491–565)*, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.



## MIB 3



Hahn, W. 1981, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini, 3. Teil, von Heraclius bis Leo III. (610–720)*, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.



<sup>1</sup> Fotografije: Tomislav Fabijanić (osim kat. br. 27: preuzeto iz DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 154, kat. br. 10). Natpisi s kovanica preneseni su uz pomoć fonta *Athena Ruby* koji je za potrebe znanstvenog publiciranja bizantskih natpisa (poglavito za potrebe numizmatike i epigrafije) razvio institut Dumbarton Oaks (SAD). Font je dostupan u slobodnom pristupu na <https://www.doaks.org/resources/athena-ruby> (pristupljeno 1. ožujka 2025.). Opisi prikaza na kovanicama u skladu su s opisima u DOC. Kao referentni priručnik korišten je DOC, a gdje je bilo moguće i BNP. U slučaju kat. br. 17, za koji nismo našli referentne primjerke u DOC i BNP, korišten je BMC i MIB. U izložbenom postavu Muzeja u Humcu u lipnju 2025. bilo je izloženo 13 kovanica: kat. br. 6, 8, 14, 18, 19, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36 i 37.



<sup>2</sup> Photographs: Tomislav Fabijanić (except Cat. No. 27: taken from DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 154, Cat. No. 10). Legends from the coins are reproduced using the *Athena Ruby* font, developed by the Dumbarton Oaks Institute (USA) for scholarly publication of Byzantine inscriptions (especially for numismatics and epigraphy). The font is freely available at <https://www.doaks.org/resources/athena-ruby> (1 March 2025). Descriptions of the designs on the coins follow those in DOC. DOC was used as the principal reference manual, and BNP where possible. For Cat. No. 17, for which no reference specimens were found in DOC or BNP, BMC and MIB were used. In the exhibition display of the Museum on Humac in June 2025, 13 coins were on display: Cat. Nos. 6, 8, 14, 18, 19, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.



<p>1.</p>	<p>Anastazije I. (491. – 518.), Konstantinopol, tremisa, 13 mm, 1,45 g, 5 h; DOC 1: 10a (491. – 518.), BNP 1: 1/Cp/A/22; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNANASTA-SIVSPPAVC Poprsje nadesno, dijadema, oklop, paludamentum.</p> <p>Rv. VICTORIAAUCVSTORVM Viktorija hoda nadesno, hiton; u desnoj je ruci vijenac, u lijevoj globus s križem. U polju desno osmerokraka zvijezda . U odsječku CONOB.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Anastasius I (491–518), Constantinople, tremissis, 13 mm, 1.45 g, 5 h; DOC 1: 10a (491–518), BNP 1: 1/Cp/A/22; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNANASTA-SIVSPPAVC Bust facing right with diadem, cuirass and paludamentum.</p> <p>Rev. VICTORIAAUCVSTORVM Victoria walking right, wearing a chiton; holding wreath in right hand and <i>globus cruciger</i> in left hand. Eight-pointed star in right field. Exergue: CONOB.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>2.</p>	<p>Anastazije I. (491. – 518.), Konstantinopol, follis, 30 mm, 16,76 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 23c (498. – 518.), BNP 1: 1/Cp/Æ/68; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNANASTA-[SIVSPPAVC] Poprsje nadesno, dijadema, oklop, paludamentum.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Gore križ. Lijevo šesterokraka zvijezda, iznad koje je točka, dolje B. U odsječku CON.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Anastasius I (491–518), Constantinople, follis, 30 mm, 16.76 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 23c (498–518), BNP 1: 1/Cp/Æ/68; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNANASTA-[SIVSPPAVC] Bust facing right with diadem, cuirass and paludamentum.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre with cross above. Six-pointed star with dot above in left field, B below. Exergue: CON.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>3.</p>	<p>Anastazije I. (491. – 518.), Konstantinopol, folis, 30 mm, 15,95 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 23j.2–k (498. – 518.), BNP 1: 1/Cp/Æ/76–80; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [DNANASTA]–[SIVSPP]AV[C] Poprsje nadesno, dijadema, oklop, paludamentum.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Gore križ. Lijevo i desno osmerokraka zvijezda, dolje €. U odsječku CON.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anastasius I (491–518), Constantinople, follis, 30 mm, 15.95 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 23j.2–k (498–518), BNP 1: 1/Cp/Æ/76–80; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [DNANASTA]–[SIVSPP]AV[C] Bust facing right with diadem, cuirass and paludamentum.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre with cross above. Eight-pointed star left and right, € below. Exergue: CON.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished</p>	
<p>4.</p>	<p>Justinijan I. (527. – 565.), Konstantinopol, folis, 29 mm, 16 g, 12 h; DOC 29a (527. – 538.), BNP 1: 4/Cp/Æ/12; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [DN]IVSTINI–ANVSPP[AVC] Poprsje okrenuto nadesno, dijadema.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Gore, lijevo i desno križ. Dolje €.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justinian I (527–565), Constantinople, follis, 29 mm, 16 g, 12 h; DOC 29a (527–538), BNP 1: 4/Cp/Æ/12; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [DN]IVSTINI–ANVSPP[AVC] Bust facing right with diadem.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre. Cross above, left and right, € below.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>5.</p>	<p>Justinijan I. (527. – 565.), Konstantinopol, follis, 41 mm, 23,47 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 39d (540./541.), BNP 1: 4/Cp/Æ/52–53; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIVSTINI-ANVSPPAVI Poprsje okrenuto frontalno, s kacigom i dijademom, u oklopu, na lijevom ramenu štit na kojem je konjanik. Lijevo u ruci križ na globusu. Desno u polju križ.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Lijevo</p> <p>A/N/N/O, desno X/II/II. Gore križ, dolje Δ. U odsječku CON.</p> <p>Literatura: VASILJ, ČULJAK, PAPONJA 2012: 105; DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 153, kat. br. 9.</p> <hr/> <p>Justinian I (527–565), Constantinople, follis, 41 mm, 23.47 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 39d (540/541), BNP 1: 1/Cp/Æ/52–53; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNIVSTINI-ANVSPPAVI Frontal bust in helmet with diadem and cuirass; shield with horseman device on left shoulder. Holding globus cruciger in left hand. Cross in right field.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre. A/N/N/O in left field, X/II/II in right field. Cross above, Δ below. Exergue: CON.</p> <p>Bibliography: VASILJ, ČULJAK, PAPONJA 2012: 105; DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 153, Cat. No. 9.</p>	
<p>6.</p>	<p>Justinijan I. (527. – 565.), Konstantinopol, follis, 39 mm, 23,8 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 40a (541./542.), BNP 1: 4/Cp/Æ/58–59; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC Poprsje okrenuto frontalno, s kacigom s dijademom, u oklopu, na lijevom ramenu štit s prikazom konjanika. U desnoj ruci križ na globusu. Desno u polju križ.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Lijevo A/N/N/O, desno X/4. Gore križ, dolje A. U odsječku CON.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justinian I (527–565), Constantinople, follis, 39 mm, 23.8 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 40a (541/542), BNP 1: 4/Cp/Æ/58–59; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNIVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC Frontal bust in helmet with diadem and cuirass; shield with horseman device on left shoulder. Holding globus cruciger in right hand. Cross in right field.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre. A/N/N/O in left field X/4 in right field. Exergue: CON.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

7.	<p>Justinijan I. (527. – 565.), Nikomedija, folis, 28 mm, 13,48 g, 5 h; DOC 1: 109 (527. – 538.), BNP 1: 4/Ni/Æ/01–03; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIVS[TINI]–[ANVSPPAVC] Poprsje okrenuto nadesno, dijadema.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Gore križ. Lijevo šesterokraka zvijezda, dolje A. U odsječku NIKM.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justinian I (527–565), Nicomedeia, follis, 28 mm, 13.48 g, 5 h; DOC 1: 109 (527–538), BNP 1: 4/Ni/Æ/01–03; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNIVS[TINI]–[ANVSPPAVC] Bust facing right with diadem.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre, cross above. Six-pointed star in left field, A below. Exergue: NIKM.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
8.	<p>Justinijan I. (527. – 565.), Kizik, folis, 33 mm, 15,72 g, 12 h; DOC 1: 177b (551./552.), BNP 1: 4/Cy/Æ/23 (var. <i>officina</i>); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [DNIV]STINI–[ANVS]PPAVI Poprsje okrenuto frontalno, s kacigom, dijademom i u oklopu. Na lijevom je ramenu štit s prikazom konjanika. Lijevo u ruci križ na globusu. Desno u polju križ.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Lijevo A/N/N/O, desno X/X/Ч. Gore križ, dolje B. U odsječku KYZ.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justinian I (527–565), Cyzicus, follis, 33 mm, 15.72 g, 12 h; DOC 1: 177b (551/552), BNP 1: 4/Cy/Æ/23 (var. <i>officina</i>); uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [DNIV]STINI–[ANVS]PPAVI Frontal bust wearing helmet, diadem and cuirass. Shield with horseman device on left shoulder. Holding globus cruciger in left hand. Cross in right field.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre. A/N/N/O in left field, X/X/Ч in right field. Cross above, B below. Exergue: KYZ.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



9.	<p>Justinijan I. (527. – 565.), Salona (?), polufolis, 15 mm, 1,8 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 360 (552./553.), BNP 1: 4/X/Æ/02–06; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIVS[TINI]–[ANVS]PPAVI          Popsrje okrenuto nadesno, dijadema, oklop i paludamentum.</p> <p>Rv. Veliko slovo K.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justinian I (527–565), Salona (?), half-follis, 15 mm, 1.8 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 360 (552/553), BNP 1: 4/X/Æ/02–06; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNIVS[TINI]–[ANVS]PPAVI          Bust facing right, diadem, cuirass and paludamentum.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter K.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
10.	<p>Justin II. (565. – 578.), Konstantinopol, folis, 31 mm, 15,20 g, 6 h; DOC 1: (33e), BNP 1: 5/Cp/Æ/47; (571./572.); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [DN]IVS[TI]–NVSPPAV'          Justin II. lijevo i Sofija desno, sjede na prijestolju, kruna, aureola, duga odjeća, Justin drži globus s križem, carica žezlo s križem.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Lijevo A/N/N/O, desno ϚI. Gore kristogram, dolje €. U odsječku CON.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justin II (565–578), Constantinople, follis, 31 mm, 15.20 g, 6 h; DOC 1: (33e), BNP 1: 5/Cp/Æ/47; (571/572); uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [DN]IVS[TI]–NVSPPAV'          Justin II on left and Sophia on right, enthroned, crowned, nimbate and wearing long garments; Justin holding globus cruciger, the empress holding cruciform scepter.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter M in centre. A/N/N/O in left field, ϚI in right field. Christogram above, € below. Exergue: CON.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>11.</p>	<p>Justin II. (565. – 578.), Nikomedija, folis, 29 mm, 13,90 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 99, BNP 1: 5/Ni/Æ/25–26; 573./574.; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIVST[1]–NVSPPAV[C] Justin II. lijevo i Sofija desno, sjede na prijestolju bez naslona, kruna, aureola, duga odjeća, Justin drži globus s križem, carica žezlo s križem.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Lijevo A/N/N/O, desno Ϻ/II. Gore križ, dolje B. U odsječku NIKO.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justin II (565–578), Nicomedia, follis, 29 mm, 13.90 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 99, BNP 1: 5/Ni/Æ/25–26; 573/574; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNIVST[1]–NVSPPAV[C] Justin II on left and Sophia on right, seated upon backless throne, crowned, nimbate and wearing long garments; Justin holding globus cruciger, the empress holding cruciform scepter.</p> <p>Rev. Centre: capital letter M. A/N/N/O in left field, Ϻ/II right field. Cross above, B below. Exergue: NIKO.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>12.</p>	<p>Justin II. (565. – 578.), Solun, polufolis, 20 mm, 4,92 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 65, 568./569.; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIV[STI–NVSPPAV] Justin II. lijevo i Sofija desno.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo K. Lijevo A/N/[N/O], desno Δ. Gore križ.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Justin II (565–578), Thessaloniki, half-follis, 20 mm, 4.92 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 65, 568/569; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. DNIV[STI–NVSPPAV] Justin II on left and Sophia on right.</p> <p>Rev. Capital letter K in center. A/N/N/O in left field, Ϻ in right field, cross above.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>13.</p>	<p>Justin II. (565. – 578.), Solun, polufolis, 20 mm, 6,35 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 67, 569./570.; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. DNIV[ST-INVSPPAVI] Justin II. lijevo i Sofija desno s aureolom, kruna, duga odjeća, Justin drži globus s križem, carica žezlo s križem.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo K. Lijevo A/N/N/O, desno €. Gore ΘK̄S, dolje TES.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p>	
<p>14.</p>	<p>Mauricije (582. – 602.), Nikomedija, folis, bakar, 35 mm, 13,35 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 98a, 589./590.; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. ONMAV[---]-[---] Poprsje okrenuto frontalno, u oklopu, s kacigom, na lijevom ramenu štít. Lijevo u ruci križ na globusu.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo M. Lijevo A/N/N/O, desno Ϛ/II. Gore križ, dolje A. U odsječku NIKO.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p>	

<p>15.</p>	<p>Mauricije (582. – 602.), Antiohija, follis, 27 mm, 11,4 g, 6 h; DOC 1: 167b, 596./597.; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [ΘΝΜ]ΑΥΓΙ-ΚΝΡΑΥΤΙ          Popsrje okrenuto frontalno, kruna s ukrasom u obliku tri točke, konzularna odjeća, u desnoj je ruci mapa, u lijevoj žezlo s orlom na vrhu.</p> <p>Rv. U središtu veliko slovo Μ. Lijevo Α/Ν/Ν/•, desno Χ/Ω. Gore križ, dolje Γ. U odsječku ΤΗΕΥΡ'.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p>	
<p>16.</p>	<p>Foka (602. – 610.), Konstantinopol, follis, bakar, 31 mm, 10 g, 7 h; DOC 2.1: 29c, 606./607.; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [ΘΜΦΟΚ]ΑΣ-[ΡΕΡΡΑΥΚ]          Popsrje okrenuto frontalno, kruna s križem, konzularna odjeća, u desnoj je ruci mapa, u lijevoj križ.</p> <p>Rv. ΑΝΝΟ/ΧΧΧΥ          U odsječku ΚΟΝΔ.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p>	



<p>17.</p>	<p>Konstantin IV. (668. – 685.), Italija (nepoznata kovnica), tremisa, zlato, 18 mm, 2,7 g, 6 h; BMC 2: 86 (Rim, oko 670. – 680.); MIB 3: X10 (Italija); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. ΘΝCON[---]-[---]PP        Poprsje okrenuto nadesno, dijadema, paludamentum i oklop.</p> <p>Rv. VICTOR-IAVϢΥ        Križ na ravnom postolju. U polju desno ⚡. U odsječku CONOB.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Constantine IV (668–685), Italy (uncertain mint), tremissis, gold, 18 mm, 2.7 g, 6 h; BMC 2: 86 (Rome, circa 670–680); MIB 3: X10 (Italy); uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. ΘΝCON[---]-[---]PP        Bust facing right and wearing diadem, paludamentum and cuirass.</p> <p>Rev. VICTOR-IAVϢΥ.        Cross potent on base. ⚡ in right field. Exergue: CONOB.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>18.</p>	<p>Lav VI. (886. – 912.), Konstantinopol, miliariesij, srebro, 21 mm, 2 g, 12 h; DOC 3.2: 3, 886. – 908., BNP 2: 35/Cp/AR/02; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. +ΛΕΩΝ/ΕΝΧ'ΩΕΥ/ΣΕΒΗΣΒΑΣΙ/ΛΕΥΣΡΩ/ΜΑΙΩΝ        Trostruki obod od točkica (vanjski nije sačuvan), središnji s osam globula.</p> <p>Rv. ΙΗΣΥΣΧΡΙ-ΣΤΥΣΗΙΚΑ        Križ na postolju, tri stepenice i globusu.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Leo VI (886–912), Constantinople, miliaresion, silver, 21 mm, 2 g, 12 h; DOC 3.2: 3, 886–908, BNP 2: 35/Cp/AR/02; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. Triple circle of dots (the outer unpreserved), the middle with eight pellets.        +ΛΕΩΝ/ΕΝΧ'ΩΕΥ/ΣΕΒΗΣΒΑΣΙ/ΛΕΥΣΡΩ/ΜΑΙΩΝ</p> <p>Rev. Cross potent on base, three steps and globus. ΙΗΣΥΣΧΡΙ-ΣΤΥΣΗΙΚΑ</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

<p>Lav VI. (886. – 912.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 28 mm, 6,8 g, 6 h; DOC 3. 2: 5, (886. – 912.), BNP 2: 35/Cp/Æ/14-55; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. +ΛΕΟΝΒΑ-S-ILEVSROM* Car sjedi na tronu s naslonom u obliku lire, loros, kruna s križem. U desnoj ruci labarum, lijeva na krilu.</p> <p>Rv. +ΛΕΟΝ/ΕΠΘΕΟΒΑ/SILEVSR/ΟΜΕΟΝ</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <p>19. ....</p> <p>Leo VI (886–912), Constantinople, follis, copper, 28 mm, 6.8 g, 6 h; DOC 3. 2: 5, 886–912, BNP 2: 35/Cp/Æ/14–55; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. +ΛΕΟΝΒΑ-S-ILEVSROM* Emperor seated on lyre-backed throne, wearing loros and crown with cross. Labarum in right hand, left hand resting on lap.</p> <p>Rev. +ΛΕΟΝ/ΕΠΘΕΟΒΑ/SILEVSR/ΟΜΕΟΝ</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>Roman I. Lekapen (920. – 944.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 27 mm, 8,2 g, 5 h; DOC 3.2: 25a, 931. – 944., BNP 2: 37/Cp/Æ/31-47; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. +ΡΩΜΑΝ'ΒΑΣΙΛΕVSRΩΜ' Poprsje okrenuto frontalno, s krunom, hlamida, u desnoj je ruci motka labaruma s trolisnim ukrasom, a u lijevoj globus s križem.</p> <p>Rv. +ΡΩΜΑ/ΗΕΗΘΕΩΒΑ/SILEVSRΩ/ΜΑΙΩΗ</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <p>20. ....</p> <p>Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944), Constantinople, follis, copper, 27 mm, 8.2 g, 5 h; DOC 3.2: 25a, 931–944, BNP 2: 37/Cp/Æ/31–47; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. +ΡΩΜΑΝ'ΒΑΣΙΛΕVSRΩΜ' Frontal bust, crown, chlamys, in right hand holding, by its shaft, labarum with trefoil ornament, globus cruciger in left.</p> <p>Rev. +ΡΩΜΑ/ΗΕΗΘΕΩΒΑ/SILEVSRΩ/ΜΑΙΩΗ</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>21.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip A2 (976.(?) – oko 1030./1035.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 29 mm, 10,5 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.24; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [+EMMA]-NOVHA          Poprsje Krista s aureolom, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U krakovima križa po dvije točke. U polju IC-XC.</p> <p>Rv. +IHSYS/XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE          Ukras iznad i ispod natpisa.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class A2 (976?–circa 1030/1035), Constantinople, follis, copper, 29 mm, 10.5 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.24; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [+EMMA]-NOVHA          Bust of Christ, nimbate, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. Two pellets in each arm of the cross. IC-XC. in field.</p> <p>Rev. +IHSYS/XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE. Decorations above and below the inscription.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>22.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip A2 (976.(?) – 1030./1035.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 28 mm, 12,1 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.40b; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [+EMMA]-NOVHA          Poprsje Krista s aureolom, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U krakovima križa pet točaka, od kojih je središnja najveća. U polju IC-XC.</p> <p>Rv. +IHSYS/XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE          Gore i dolje florealni ukras.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class A2 (976?–1030/1035), Constantinople, follis, copper, 28 mm, 12.1 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.40b; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [+EMMA]-NOVHA          Bust of Christ, nimbate, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. Five pellets in each arm of the cross, the central one being the largest. IC-XC in field.</p> <p>Rev. +IHSYS/XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE. Floral ornament above and below.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>23.</p>	<p>Anonimni follis, tip A2 (976.(?) – 1030./1035.), Konstantinopol, follis, bakar, 29 mm, 9,9 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.47; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [+ΕΜΜΑ-ΝΟVΗΛ]          Popsrje Krista s aureolom s križem u čijim su krakovima kvadrati, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U polju [ΙC-ΧC].</p> <p>Rv. +ΙΗΣΥS/ΧΡΙΣΤΥS/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ          Gore i dolje kvadrat.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class A2 (976?–1030/1035), Constantinople, follis, copper, 29 mm, 9.9 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.47; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [+ΕΜΜΑ-ΝΟVΗΛ]          Bust of Christ with nimbus cruciger with squares in arms, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. [ΙC-ΧC] in field.</p> <p>Rev. +ΙΗΣΥS/ΧΡΙΣΤΥS/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ          Square above and beneath.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>24.</p>	<p>Anonimni follis, tip A2 (976.(?) – 1030./1035.), Konstantinopol, follis, bakar, 31 mm, 10,5 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.24; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. +ΕΜΜΑ-[ΝΟVΗΛ]          Popsrje Krista s aureolom i križem, u krakovima križa po dvije točke, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U polju ΙC-ΧC.</p> <p>Rv. +ΙΗΣΥS/ΧΡΙΣΤΥS/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ          Gore i dolje ukras.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class A2 (976?–1030/1035), Constantinople, follis, copper, 31 mm, 10.5 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: A2.24; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. +ΕΜΜΑ-[ΝΟVΗΛ]          Bust of Christ, nimbate, with a cross with two pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. ΙC-ΧC in field.</p> <p>Rev. +ΙΗΣΥS/ΧΡΙΣΤΥS/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕ          Decoration above and beneath.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>25.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip A2 (976.(?) – 1030./1035.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 31 mm, 9,9 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: (A2.22); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. +EMMA-[NOVHA]          Poprsje Krista s aureolom s križem, u krakovima križa po dvije točke, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U polju IC-XC.</p> <p>Rv. +IHSYS/XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE          Gore i dolje romb između dvije crtice.</p> <hr/> <p>Obv. +EMMA-[NOVHA]          Bust of Christ, nimbate, with a cross with two pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. IC-XC in field.</p> <p>Rev. +IHSYS/XRISTYS/BASILEY/BASILE          Above and beneath, a rhombus-shaped ornament between two dashes.</p>	
<p>26.</p>	<p>Roman III. Argir (1028. – 1034.), Konstantinopol, nomisma histamenon, zlato, 24 mm, 4,28 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: 1d, BNP 43/Cp/A/01-02; nepoznato nalazište</p> <p>Av. +IHSXISREX-REFNANTIHM          Krist sjedi na prijestolju s pravokutnim naslonom, frontalno, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj za gornji rub drži knjigu položenu na koljeno. Dvostruki obrub od točkica. Urezani grafit u obliku osmerokrake zvijezde u polju lijevo.</p> <p>Rv. ΘΕΕΒΟΗΘ-ΜΘ-ΡΩΜΑΝΩ          Roman III. (lijevo) i Bogorodica (desno) koja ga kruni desnom rukom, stoje, car ima krunu s križem i globus s križem u lijevoj ruci, desna mu je na prsima, loros s četiri točke i križem na kraju; Bogorodica s aureolom, tunika i maforion, lijeva je ruka na prsima.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Obv. +IHSXISREX-REFNANTIHM          Christ seated on throne with square back, facing, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book by its upper rim in left hand, the book resting on knee. Double circle of dots. Incised graffito of an eight-pointed star in left field.</p> <p>Rev. ΘΕΕΒΟΗΘ-ΜΘ-ΡΩΜΑΝΩ          Standing figures of Romanos III on left and Virgin nimbate on right crowning emperor with right hand, emperor wearing crown with cross and holding globus cruciger in left hand, right hand resting on chest, loros with four pellets and cross at the end; Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, left hand resting on chest.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	



<p>Roman III. Argir (1028. – 1034.), Konstantinopol, nomisma histamenon, zlato, 24 mm, 4,36 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: 1d, BNP 43/Cp/A/01-02; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. +IHSXISREX-REϢNANTIHM Krist sjedi na prijestolju s pravokutnim naslonom, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj za gornji rub drži knjigu položenu na koljeno. Dv- ostruki obrub od točkica. U polju lijevo urezani grafit u obliku slova X.</p> <p>Rv. ΘCEBOHΘ-ΜΘ-RWMANΩ Roman III. (lijevo) i Bogorodica (desno) s koja ga kruni desnom rukom, stoje, car ima krunu s križem i globus s križem u lijevoj ruci, desna mu je na prsima, loros s četiri točke; Bogorodica s aureolom, tunika i maforion.</p> <p>Literatura: DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 154, kat. br. 10.</p> <hr/> <p>27. Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034), Constantinople, nomisma histamenon, gold, 24 mm, 4.36 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: 1d, BNP 43/Cp/A/01-02; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. +IHSXISREX-REϢNANTIHM Christ seated on throne with square back, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book by its upper rim in left hand, the book resting on knee. Double circle of dots. Engraved graffito in form of letter X in left field.</p> <p>Rev. ΘCEBOHΘ-ΜΘ-RWMANΩ Standing figures of Romanos III on left and Virgin nimbate on right crowning emperor with right hand, emperor wearing crown with cross and holding globus cruciger in left hand, right hand resting on chest, loros with four pellets; Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p> <p>Bibliography: DRAGIČEVIĆ, ILKIĆ 2017: 154, Cat. No. 10.</p>	
<p>Anonimni folis, tip B (oko 1030./1035 – 1042.(?)), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 31 mm, 8,8 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: B, BNP 2: 41/Cp/AE/80*; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [+EMMA]-NOV[HA] Poprsje Krista s aureolom frontalno, aureola s kvadratom u hastama križa i točkom u gornjim međuprostorima, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu s pet točaka. U polju [IC-XC].</p> <p>Rv. [+]IS-XS/BAS-ILE/BAS-ILE Križ na dvije stepenice. S točkama na krajevima vodoravnih hasti.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>28. Anonymous follis, class B (circa 1030/1035–1042?), Constantinople, follis, copper, 31 mm, 8.8 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: B, BNP 2: 41/Cp/AE/80*; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [+EMMA]-NOV[HA] Bust of Christ, nimbate, facing, nimbus cruciger with squares in arms and pellets in upper interstices, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book with five pellets in left hand. [IC-XC] in field.</p> <p>Rev. [+]IS-XS/BAS-ILE/BAS-ILE Cross on two steps. With dots at ends of horizontal arms.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

<p>29.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip C (1042.(?) – oko 1050.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 30 mm, 8 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: C, BNP 2: 41/Cp/Æ/95; nepoznato nalazište. Prekov preko anonimnog folisa tipa B (?).</p> <p>Av. [+EMM]A-N[OV]HA Figura Krista (3/4) s aureolom frontalno, aureola ima točku u svakom kraku, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U polju [IC-XC].</p> <p>Rv. +IS-XS/NI-KA Križ ukrašen dragim kamenjem, s točkom na krajevima hasti.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class C (1042?–circa 1050), Constantinople, follis, copper, 30 mm, 8 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: C, BNP 2: 41/Cp/Æ/95; uncertain findspot. Overstrike of anonymous follis of class B (?).</p> <p>Obv. [+EMM]A-N[OV]HA Three-quarter figure of Christ nimbate, facing, nimbus cruciger with pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. [IC-XC] in field.</p> <p>Rev. +IS-XS/NI-KA Jeweled cross with pellets at arm ends.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>30.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip C (1042.(?) – oko 1050.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 28 mm, 7,2 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: C; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. [+EMMA]-NOVHA Figura Krista (3/4) s aureolom frontalno, aureola ima točku u svakom kraku, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, a u lijevoj drži knjigu. U polju IC-XC.</p> <p>Rv. +IS-XS/NI-KA Križ ukrašen dragim kamenjem, s točkom na krajevima hasti.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class C (1042?–circa 1050), Constantinople, follis, copper, 28 mm, 7.2 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: C; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. [+EMMA]-NOVHA Three-quarter figure of Christ nimbate, facing, nimbus cruciger with pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand and holding book in left hand. IC-XC in field.</p> <p>Rev. +IS-XS/NI-KA Jeweled cross with pellets at arm ends.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

<p>31.</p>	<p>Konstantin X. Duka (1059. – 1067.), Konstantinopol, follis, bakar, 29 mm, 9 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: 8; nepoznato nalazište. Prekov preko anonimnog folisa.</p> <p>Av. [+EM]MA-[NOVHA] Krist s aureolom stoji na suppedaneumu, frontalno, aureola s križem na čijim je hastama po jedna točka, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, u lijevoj drži knjigu na donjem rubu. Ispod Krist na prijestolju. U polju <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math>.</p> <p>Rv. [--] Eudoksija lijevo, stoji frontalno, loros, križ; Konstantin Duka desno, stoji frontalno, loros i kruna, oboje drže ruku na labarumu koji stoji na tri stepenice.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067), Constantinople, follis, copper, 29 mm, 9 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: 8 uncertain findspot. Overstrike of anonymous follis.</p> <p>Obv. [+EM]MA-[NOVHA] Bust of Christ nimbate standing on suppedaneum, facing, nimbus cruciger with one pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand, holding book at lower rim in left hand. Christ enthroned below. <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Rev. [--] Eudokia to left, standing facing, wearing loros, holding cross; Constantine Doukas to right, standing facing, wearing loros and crown; both resting hand on labarum set on three steps.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>32.</p>	<p>Konstantin X. Duka (1059. – 1067.), Konstantinopol, follis, bakar, 28 mm, 6,6 g, 7 h; DOC 3.2: 8; nepoznato nalazište. Prekov preko anonimnog folisa (?).</p> <p>Av. +EMMA-[NOVHA] Krist s aureolom stoji na suppedaneumu, frontalno, aureola s križem na čijim je hastama po jedna točka, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, u lijevoj drži knjigu na donjem rubu. U polju <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math>.</p> <p>Rv. ΕΥΔΚ[---]-+ΚΩΝΤΑΚ Eudoksija lijevo, stoji frontalno, loros, križ; Konstantin Duka desno, stoji frontalno, loros i kruna, oboje drže ruku na labarumu koji stoji na tri stepenice.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067), Constantinople, follis, copper, 28 mm, 6.6 g, 7 h; DOC 3.2: 8; uncertain findspot. Overstrike of anonymous follis (?).</p> <p>Obv. +EMMA-[NOVHA] Bust of Christ nimbate standing on suppedaneum, facing, nimbus cruciger with one pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand, holding book at lower rim in left hand. <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Rev. ΕΥΔΚ[---]-+ΚΩΝΤΑΚ Eudokia to left, standing facing, wearing loros, holding cross; Constantine Doukas to right, standing facing, wearing loros and crown; both resting hand on labarum set on three steps.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

<p>33.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip G (oko 1065. – oko 1070.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 27 mm, 5 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: G; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. Nema natpisa. Krist s aureolom frontalno, brada, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, u lijevoj je ruci svitak. U polju [IC-XC].</p> <p>Rv. Nema natpisa. Bogorodica orans, aureola, tunika i maforion. U polju okruženom velikim točkama [MP]-ΘV.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class G (circa 1065–circa 1070), Constantinople, follis, copper, 27 mm, 5 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: G uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. No inscription. Christ nimbate, facing, bearded, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand, holding scroll in left hand. [IC-XC] in field.</p> <p>Rev. No inscription. Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. [MP]-ΘV in field surrounded by large pellets.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>34.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip G (oko 1065. – oko 1070.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 34 mm, 13,3 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: G; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. Nema natpisa. Krist s aureolom frontalno, brada, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, u lijevoj je ruci svitak. U polju IC-XC.</p> <p>Rv. Nema natpisa. Bogorodica orans, aureola, tunika i maforion. U polju okruženom velikim točkama [MP]-ΘV.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class G (circa 1065–circa 1070), Constantinople, follis, copper, 34 mm, 13.3 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: G uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. No inscription. Christ nimbate, facing, bearded, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand, holding scroll in left hand. IC-XC in field.</p> <p>Rev. No inscription. Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. [MP]-ΘV in field surrounded by large pellets.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

<p>35.</p>	<p>Anonimni folis, tip I (oko 1075. – oko 1080.), Konstantinopol, folis, bakar, 25 mm, 4,2 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: I; nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. Nema natpisa. Krist s aureolom s po jednim peletom u hastama, frontalno, duga, pomalo „kozja” brada, tunika i himation, desnom rukom blagoslivlja, u lijevoj je ruci knjiga s pet točaka. U polju <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math>.</p> <p>Rv. Križ s po jednom velikom i dvije male globule na krajevima hasti, gore, lijevo i desno polumjesec, dolje florealni ukras lijevo i desno od točke.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Anonymous follis, class I (circa 1075–circa 1080), Constantinople, follis, copper, 25 mm, 4.2 g, 6 h; DOC 3.2: I; uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. No inscription. Christ with nimbus cruciger with a pellet in each arm, facing, with long pointed beard, wearing tunic and himation, blessing with right hand, holding book with five pellets in left hand. <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Rev. Cross with one large and two small pellets at arm ends, crescent left and right above, floral ornament beneath left and right of pellet.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>36.</p>	<p>Emanuel I. Komnen (1143. – 1180.), Konstantinopol, bilon trahej, 29 mm, 4,2 g, 6 h; DOC 4.1: 13d (1167. – 1183.(?)); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. Isus, brada i aureola s križem, tunika i kolobij, sjedi na prijestolju bez naslona, drži knjigu. U polju <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math>.</p> <p>Rv. [--]-<math>\Delta\text{E}\text{C}\Pi</math>[--] Puna figura cara nalijevo, s bradom, frontalno, u desnoj ruci labarum, u lijevoj globus s križem, na pojasu pet točaka, ukras vrata ima tri točke, a između njega i pojasa nalazi se jedna točka. Bogorodica u tunici i mafiorionu kruni cara. U polju M <math>[\Theta\text{V}]</math>.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), Constantinople, billon trachea, 29 mm, 4.2 g, 6 h; DOC 4.1: 13d (1167–1183); uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. Christ bearded, with nimbus cruciger, wearing tunic and colobium, seated upon backless throne, holding book. <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Rev. [--]-<math>\Delta\text{E}\text{C}\Pi</math>[--] Full-length figure of emperor to left, bearded, facing, labarum in right hand, globus cruciger in left, five pellets on belt, three pellets on neckline, one pellet between neckline and belt. Virgin wearing tunic and maphorion, crowning emperor. M <math>[\Theta\text{V}]</math> in field.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

<p>37.</p>	<p>Emanuel I. Komnen (1143. – 1180.), Konstantinopol, bilon trahej, 28 mm, 2,9 g, 6 h; DOC 4.1: 13b (1167. – 1183.(?)); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. Isus, brada i aureola s križem, tunika i kolobij, sjedi na prijestolju bez naslona, drži knjigu. U polju <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math>.</p> <p>Rv. [--] <math>\Delta[\text{ЄCΠOT}]</math> Puna figura cara nalijevo, s bradom, frontalno, u desnoj ruci labarum, u lijevoj globus s križem, pojas s pet točaka, ukras vrata ima pet točaka, a između njega i pojasa nalaze se tri točke. Bogorodica u tunici i mafori- onu kruni cara. U polju <math>\text{MP}-[\Theta\text{V}]</math>.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), Constantinople, billon trachea, 28 mm, 2.9 g, 6 h; DOC 4.1: 13b (1167–1183?); uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. Christ bearded, with nimbus cruciger, wearing tunic and colobium, seated upon backless throne, holding book. <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Rev. [--] <math>\Delta[\text{ЄCΠOT}]</math> Full-length figure of emperor, bearded, facing, labarum in right hand, globus cruciger in left, five pellets on belt, five pellets on neckline, three pellets between neckline and belt. Virgin wearing tunic and maphorion, crowning emperor. <math>\text{MP}-[\Theta\text{V}]</math> in field.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	
<p>38.</p>	<p>Emanuel I. Komnen (1143. – 1180.), Konstantinopol, bilon trahej, 30 mm, 3,8 g, 6 h; DOC 4.1: 13c (1167. – 1183.(?)); nepoznato nalazište.</p> <p>Av. Isus s bradom i aureolom s križem, tunika i kolobij, sjedi na prijestolju bez naslona, drži knjigu. U polju <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math>.</p> <p>Rv. <math>\text{MAN}\Theta\text{HA}-\Delta\text{ЄCΠT}</math> Puna figura cara nalijevo, s bradom, frontalno, u desnoj ruci labarum, u lijevoj globus s križem, pojas s pet točaka, ukras vrata ima tri točke, a između njega i pojasa nalaze se tri točke. Bogorodica u tunici i mafori- onu kruni cara. U polju <math>\overline{\text{MP}}-\overline{\Theta\text{V}}</math>.</p> <p>Literatura: neobjavljeno.</p> <hr/> <p>Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), Constantinople, billon trachea, 30 mm, 3.8 g, 6 h; DOC 4.1: 13c (1167–1183?); uncertain findspot.</p> <p>Obv. Christ bearded, with nimbus cruciger, wearing tunic and colobium, seated upon backless throne, holding book. <math>\overline{\text{IC}}-\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Rev. <math>\text{MAN}\Theta\text{HA}-\Delta\text{ЄCΠT}</math> Full-length figure of emperor, bearded, facing, labarum in right hand, globus cruciger in left, five pellets on belt, three pellets on neckline, three pellets between neckline and belt. Virgin wearing tunic and maphorion, crowning emperor. <math>\overline{\text{MP}}-\overline{\Theta\text{V}}</math> in field.</p> <p>Literature: unpublished.</p>	

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