Starohrvatska prosvjeta
III. serija – svezak/vol. 52/2025.

UDK 737.1(497.6)"06"
Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

Tomislav Šeparović
Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika
Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments
Stjepana Gunjače 3
Split, HR-21000
tomiseparovic@gmail.com

Bizantski zlatnik druge polovine 7. stoljeća iz Muzeja franjevačkog samostana na Humcu kod Ljubuškog

U numizmatičkoj zbirci Muzeja franjevačkog samostana na Humcu kod Ljubuškog čuva se bizantski zlatnik iz druge polovine 7. stoljeća. Riječ je o tremisi emitiranoj u doba vladavine cara Konstantina IV. Takvi su novci izuzetno rijetki na prostoru istočne jadranske obale i predstavljaju dragocjena svjedočanstva razdoblja za koje postoji vrlo malo arheoloških tragova.

Ključne riječi: *bizantska numizmatika, tremisa, Humac, Ljubuški, Konstantin IV.*

A Byzantine gold coin from the second half of the 7th century housed in the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery at Humac near Ljubuški

The numismatic collection of the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery at Humac near Ljubuški preserves a Byzantine gold coin dating to the second half of the 7th century. The specimen is a tremissis issued during the reign of Emperor Constantine IV. Coins of this type are exceptionally rare along the eastern Adriatic coast and represent valuable testimony to a period otherwise characterized by a marked scarcity of archaeological traces.

Keywords: *Byzantine numismatics, tremissis, Humac, Ljubuški, Constantine IV.*

Muzej franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante Padovanskog na Humcu blizu Ljubuškog ustanova je od velikog povijesnog, arheološkog i nacionalnog značaja.[1] Od samog osnutka 1884. u njega pristiže bogata spomenička građa, osobito sa šireg područja Hercegovine. Među brojnim nalazištima koja je Muzej istraživao ističe se rimski vojni logor Gračine na samom Humcu, iz kojeg potječe obilje arheološkog materijala.[2] Pored toga istraživane su i rimske građevine u okolici, srednjovjekovna groblja sa stećcima i ostatci naselja iz prapovijesnih razdoblja.[3] Jedan od najznačajnijih spomenika koji se čuvaju u Muzeju jest Humačka ploča s natpisom datiranim u 11./12. stoljeće. Pisana mješavinom glagoljice i bosančice, smatra se jednim od najstarijih sačuvanih tekstova koji odražavaju hrvatski kulturni i jezični identitet na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.[4] U Muzeju se čuva i bogata numizmatička zbirka, iz koje smo za ovu priliku izdvojili novac druge polovine 7. stoljeća koji pripada bizantskom caru Konstantinu IV.[5] Premda za ovu zlatnu tremisu nisu poznati podatci o nalazištu ni o okolnostima nalaza, ona spada u rijetke primjerke takvog novca na istočnom Jadranu pa zaslužuje da joj se posveti posebna pozornost.[6]

Novac je dosta izlizan, a slova su izobličena tako da su legende djelomično rekonstruirane. Dio legende koji nedostaje umetnut je u uglate zagrade.

1 https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html.
2 Dodig 2011; Dziurdzik 2018.
3 https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html.
4 Vego 1956; Nikić 2011, str. 115–148.
5 U spomen i sjećanje na kolegicu Vedranu Delonga. Muzejska savjetnica Vedrana Delonga u svojem stručnom i znanstvenom radu ponajviše se bavila ranosrednjovjekovnom epigrafikom, no u više se navrata dotaknula i tema povezanih s bizantskom numizmatikom. Istaknimo ovdje njezin rad o bizantskom novcu u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, zatim rad o kasnoantičkom i bizantskom novcu iz Trogira te neobjavljeni referat sa znanstvenog skupa *Arheologija Sinjskog polja*, u kojem donosi i podatke o nalazu novca Konstantina IV. s tog područja (radovi u popisu literature). Vedrana Delonga svojim je marnim i predanim radom u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika ostavila dubok trag, posebice u arheologiji ranog srednjeg vijeka.
6 Bizantski novac iz Muzeja franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante Padovanskog na Humcu tema je rada kolege Tomislava Fabijanića koji je u pripremi za sljedeći broj časopisa *Archaeologia Adriatica*. U njemu autor detaljnije piše o povijesti Muzeja s posebnim osvrtom na numizmatičku zbirku. Vidi: Fabijanić 2025.

The Museum of the Franciscan Monastery of St. Anthony of Padua at Humac, near Ljubuški, represents an institution of considerable historical, archaeological and national importance.[1] Since its establishment in 1884, the Museum has assembled an extensive and diverse corpus of artefacts, particularly material originating from the wider Herzegovina region. Among the numerous sites investigated by the Museum, the Roman military camp at Gračine, located at Humac itself, stands out as particularly significant, as research has yielded an abundance of archaeological material there.[2] In addition to this site, systematic research has encompassed Roman architectural remains in the surrounding area, medieval cemeteries featuring stećci (monolithic tombstones), and settlement remains dating to prehistoric periods.[3] Among the most significant monuments preserved in the Museum is the so-called Humac Tablet, an stone tablet with an inscription dated to the 11th or 12th century. Written in a combination of Glagolitic and Bosnian Cyrillic (Bosančica) scripts, the inscription is widely regarded as one of the oldest preserved texts reflecting the Croatian cultural and linguistic identity within the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina.[4] The Museum holds a substantial numismatic collection, from which a gold tremissis from the second half of the 7th century, attributed to Emperor Constantine IV, is analysed for the purposes of this study.[5] Although no information is available regarding the findspot or

1 https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html
2 Dodig 2011. Dziurdzik 2018.
3 https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html
4 Vego 1956; Nikić 2011, pp. 115 – 148.
5 In memory of my colleague Vedrana Delonga. Museum advisor Vedrana Delonga, in the course of her professional and scholarly career, was primarily devoted to the study of early medieval epigraphy. Nevertheless, her research interests also extended on several occasions into the field of Byzantine numismatics. Particularly noteworthy are her works on Byzantine coins in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, and on Late Roman and Byzantine coins from Trogir, as well as an unpublished paper presented at the scholarly conference *Arheologija Sinjskog polja (Archaeology in the plain of Sinj)*, in which she provides information about the discovery of a coin of Constantine IV in that region (her works are listed in the bibliography). Through her diligent and dedicated work at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Vedrana Delonga left a lasting and distinctive mark, especially in the archaeology of the Early Middle Ages.





Konstantin IV. (668. – 685.)

Zlato, tremisa, 18 mm, 2,7 g, kalup 6.

Avers: ƏNCONS[TANTINVS]PP

Poprsje s dijademom, oklopom i vojnim plaštem (paludamentumom) nadesno.

Revers: VICTOR-IAVꝩ

Križ s krajevima u obliku slova T; izdužena hasta na ravnom postolju.

U polju desno ⁂. U odsječku CONOB.

Prema: BNP 14/02; BMC 2: 86; MIB 3: X10; Bateson, Campbell 1998, ad 12.

Kovnica: najvjerojatnije Sirakuza.

Nepoznato nalazište, moguće šira okolica Ljubuškog.

Literatura: Fabijanić 2025.

Vladavina bizantskog cara Konstantina IV. (668. – 685.) predstavlja ključno razdoblje u monetarnoj povijesti ranog srednjeg vijeka. Nakon dubokih političkih i vojnih potresa u 7. stoljeću, izazvanih perzijskim provalama, arapskim osvajanjima i općom krizom u doba heraklijevske dinastije, upravo se u to doba bizantski monetarni sustav stabilizira i prilagođava novim okolnostima.[7] Tijekom njegove vladavine, uslijed smanjene dostupnosti zlata, znatno opada emitiranje tremisa, no ta najmanja zlatna nominala bizantskog monetarnog sustava, unatoč svojoj rijetkosti i skromnom ikonografskom repertoaru, ipak čini važan segment bizantskog novčarstva 7. stoljeća, slijedeći kasnoantičku monetarnu tradiciju i zadržavajući standardnu masu od približno 1,45 – 1,50 g.[8] Apsolutna čistoća zlata ostaje iznimno visoka, često između 95 i 97 %, što slijedi

[7] Laiou, Morrisson 2007, str. 38–42.

[8] MIB, str. 42–45; Hendy 1985, str. 75–89.

circumstances of discovery of this gold tremissis, it represents one of the rare examples of this type of coin from the eastern Adriatic region and therefore merits particular attention.[6]

The coin is considerably worn and the letters are distorted, and the legends have therefore been partially reconstructed. The missing parts of the legend are inserted in square brackets.

Constantine IV (668–685)

Gold, tremissis, 18 mm, 2.7 g, die axis 6.

Obverse: ƏNCONS[TANTINVS]PP

Bust with diadem, cuirass and military cloak (paludamentum) facing right.

Reverse: VICTOR-IAVꝩ

Cross with T-shaped ends; elongated arm on a flat base.

In the right field ⁂. Exergue CONOB.

According to: BNP 14/02; BMC 2: 86; MIB 3: X10; Bateson, Campbell 1998, ad 12

Mint: most probably Syracuse.

Site unknown, possibly the wider area of Ljubuški.

Literature: Fabijanić 2025.

The reign of Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV (668–685) marks a pivotal period in the monetary history of the Early Middle Ages. Following the profound political and military upheavals of

[6] Byzantine coins in the collection of the Franciscan museum in Humac is the subject-matter of a forthcoming study by our colleague Tomislav Fabijanić, currently in preparation for publication in the next issue of *Archaeologia Adriatica*, in which the author provides a more detailed account of the history of the Museum, with particular emphasis on the numismatic collection. See: Fabijanić 2025.

standard kasnoantičkog zlatnog novca još od kraja 3. stoljeća.[9]

Konstantinopol je jedina pouzdano potvrđena kovnica tremisa Konstantina IV.[10] Međutim, po svojim stilskim odlikama primjerak iz Muzeja na Humcu pripada nekoj kovnici koja je djelovala na području Apeninskog poluotoka ili Sicilije.[11] Vjerojatno je riječ o kovnici u Sirakuzi, koja je imala ključnu ulogu u financiranju bizantskih posjeda na zapadu i koju karakteriziraju grublji stil i kraće legende. Ipak, ovdje treba napomenuti da je atribucija novca rimskoj kovnici također moguća.[12]

Problem s tremisom Konstantina IV. iz Muzeja na Humcu, kao što je već navedeno, ponajprije proizlazi iz činjenice što za taj primjerak nisu zabilježeni nalazište, okolnosti otkrića ni način na koji je dospio u muzejsku zbirku. Ako novac doista potječe iz ljubuškog kraja, predstavljao bi iznimno rijedak spomenik bizantskog podrijetla na tom području. Za područje Ljubuškog, osobito za 7. stoljeće, nedostaje izravnih pisanih i arheoloških izvora, no nema sumnje da i ovaj kraj dijeli sudbinu unutrašnjosti istočnojadranskog zaleđa u razdoblju koje se često naziva mračnim.[13] Arheološki nalazi s lokaliteta Stari grad Ljubuški, ulomci bizantske keramike datirani u 6. i 7. stoljeće, te ostatci arhitektonskih struktura potvrđuju postojanje kasnoantičke građevine na tom mjestu.[14] Za ostala kasnoantička nalazišta u okolici zasad nema potvrde o kontinuitetu života u drugoj polovini 7. stoljeća. Ipak, nalazi sa Starog grada upućuju na mogućnost da naseljenost u njegovu podnožju nije u potpunosti zamrla tijekom tog razdoblja. Pitanje je li i nalazište na Gračinama tada nastavilo živjeti i u kojem opsegu ostaje otvoreno te ga je moguće rasvijetliti jedino daljnjim arheološkim istraživanjima ili slučajnim otkrićima. S tim nalazištem može se dovesti u vezu ostava bizantskih zlatnika iz obližnjeg sela Grabovnika, no ona je datirana u vrijeme vladavine Justina II. i povezuje se s kretanjima bizantskih vojnih postrojbi u doba kada je istočno jadransko zaobalje još uvijek pod kontrolom Konstantinopola.[15]

9 MIB, str. 10–12; Grierson 1982, str. 38–40.
10 MIB, str. 48–49.
11 W. Hahn u MIB 3: X10 pripisuje novac nekoj kovnici u Italiji.
12 Morrisson 2010, str. 39.
13 O društveno-političkoj situaciji na istočnom Jadranu u to doba vidi: Goldstein 1995, str. 93–134.
14 Čuljak, Uglešić 2021, str. 69.
15 Šeparović 2021, str. 44, 210.

the 7th century caused by Persian incursions, Arab conquests and the broader crisis during the Heraclian dynasty, it was in this period that the Byzantine monetary system began to stabilise and adjust to new geopolitical and economic circumstances.[7] During Constantine's rule, the emission of tremisses declined significantly due to a reduced availability of gold. Nevertheless, this smallest gold denomination within the Byzantine monetary system, despite its rarity and modest iconographic repertoire, constituted an important component of this system in the 7th century. It continued the late ancient monetary tradition, maintaining a standard weight of approximately 1.45–1.50 g.[8] The absolute purity of the gold remained exceptionally high, often between 95% and 97%, following the established standards of late ancient gold coinage since the end of the 3rd century.[9]

Constantinople is the only reliably confirmed mint of Constantine IV's tremisses.[10] However, on the basis of its stylistic features, the specimen from the museum at Humac may be attributed to a mint operating in Italy or Sicily.[11] Most likely, it was struck in the mint of Syracuse, which played a key role in financing Byzantine possessions in the West. Coins from this mint are often characterized by a coarser style and shorter legends. Nevertheless, one should note that the attribution to the Roman mint is also possible in this case.[12]

The principal difficulty concerning the tremissis of Constantine IV preserved in the Museum at Humac lies, as already noted, in the absence of recorded information regarding its findspot, the circumstances of discovery and the manner in which it ended up in the museum collection. If the coin indeed originates from the wider Ljubuški area, it would represent an exceptionally rare artefact of Byzantine provenance in this region. For the area of Ljubuški, particularly with regard to the 7th century, direct written and archaeological sources remain scarce. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that also this region shared the destiny of the interior of the eastern Adriatic hinterland during the peri-

7 Laiou, Morrisson 2007, pp. 38-42.
8 MIB p. 42-45; Hendy 1985, pp. 75 – 89.
9 MIB p. 10-12; Grierson 1982, pp. 38-40.
10 MIB p. 48, 49.
11 W. Hahn in MIB 3: X10 attributes the coin to a mint in Italy.
12 Morrisson 2010, p. 39.



Sl. 2 - Pogled s utvrde Stari grad Ljubuški na Ljubuški i Humac (foto: T. Šeparović)
Fig. 2 - View from the fortress of Stari Grad Ljubuški towards Ljubuški and Humac (photo: T. Šeparović)

Novac Konstantina IV. treba promatrati u širem kronološkom okviru jer su takvi novci mogli ostati u optjecaju više desetljeća, čak i cijelo stoljeće. To dokazuju skupni nalazi zlatnog bizantskog novca 6. i 7. stoljeća.[16] Na istočnom Jadranu poznate su takve ostave iz Vida, tzv. Urbica,[17] zatim iz Šuplje crkve u Solinu[18] te iz Nerežišća na otoku Braču.[19] Primjera, međutim, ima i diljem Bizantskog Carstva. Izdvojimo ovdje nedavni nalaz ostave iz mjesta Sussita kraj Galilejskog jezera, otkrivene u ljeto 2025.[20] Ostava je sadržavala nakit i 97 zlatnika od Justina I. do Heraklija, pri čemu je vremenska razlika između najstarijeg i najmlađeg primjerka gotovo sto godina. Ostave, pak, u kojima je najstariji novac Konstantina IV., primjerice tzv. Sicilijanska ostava[21] i ostava iz Atike,[22] izravno svjedoče o kolanju novca tog vladara i u 8. stoljeću.

Razdoblje u kojem je tremisa Konstantina IV. emitirana nadovezuje se na političku i ekonomsku krizu koja je u drugoj polovini 6. stoljeća zahvatila Carstvo, a koja je u dobroj mjeri bila uvjetovana i stalnim ratovima koje je Bizant morao voditi na dugod commonly described as the "Dark Age."[13] Archaeological finds from the Ljubuški Fortress, i.e. the site of the Old town of Ljubuški (*Stari grad*), including fragments of Byzantine pottery dated to the 6th and 7th centuries and the remains of architectural structures, confirm the presence of a late ancient building at this location.[14] For other late ancient sites in the surrounding area, there is currently no evidence indicating continuity of settlement in the second half of the 7th century. Nevertheless, the finds from the Ljubuški Fortress point to the possibility that settlement activity at its foothill may not have ceased entirely during this period. Whether the site at Gračine continued to be inhabited at that time, and to what extent, remains an open question. It can only be clarified through further archaeological investigation or through chance discoveries. The hoard of Byzantine gold coins from the nearby village of Grabovnik may be associated with this site; however, it has been dated to the reign of Justin II and is generally interpreted in connection with the movements of Byzantine military units at a time when the eastern Adriatic hinterland was still under the control of Constantinople.[15]

The coin of Constantine IV should be examined within a broader chronological framework, since such coins could have remained in circulation for several decades, and in some cases for as long as a century, as evidenced by the hoards of Byzantine gold coins dating to the 6th and 7th centuries.[16] On the eastern Adriatic, comparable hoards are known from Vid (the so-called Urbica),[17] from the Hollow Church (Šuplja Crkva) in Solin,[18] and from Nerežišća on the island of Brač,[19] with similar examples also found throughout the Byzantine Empire. Particularly noteworthy is also the recent discovery of a hoard at Sussita near the Sea of Galilee, which was found in the summer of 2025.[20] The hoard contained jewellery and 97 gold coins rang-

16 O ostavama bizantskog novca, osobito u istočnoj i jugoistočnoj Europi te u Maloj Aziji, vidi: Curta 1996; Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006.
17 Marović 1988.
18 Šeparović 2019.
19 Bulić 1920; Šeparović 2021, str. 115.
20 https://www.ynetnews.com/environment/article/r1ctvvm3lx.
21 Grierson 1965, str. 219.
22 Vryonis 1963.

13 On the socio-political situation in the eastern Adriatic at that time, see: Goldstein 1995, pp. 93 – 134.
14 Čuljak, Uglešić 2021, p. 69.
15 Šeparović 2021, p. 44, 210.
16 On hoards of Byzantine coins, especially in eastern and southeastern Europe and in Asia Minor, see: Curta 1996; Morrisson et al. 2006.
17 Marović 1988.
18 Šeparović 2019.
19 Bulić 1920; Šeparović 2021, p. 115.
20 https://www.ynetnews.com/environment/article/r1ctvvm3lx

navskom prostoru s Avarima i Slavenima te s Perzijancima na istoku.[23] Numizmatička istraživanja pokazala su da od vremena cara Justinijana, koji je pobjedom nad Istočnim Gotima podvrgao prostore nekadašnje rimske Dalmacije bizantskoj vlasti, i njegovih nasljednika Justina II. i Tiberija II. dolazi do znatnog pada dotoka novca.[24] Velike probleme stvarali su i Langobardi u Italiji te Vizigoti u Španjolskoj, čijim su djelovanjima bizantski posjedi i u tim područjima bili jako ugroženi.[25] I u samom Bizantu došlo je do unutarnjih borbi jer je pobunjena vojska zbacila cara Mauricija Tiberija i na prijestolje postavila Foku, nakon čega su uslijedile nove prijetnje izvana, osobito perzijskog cara, što je kasnije, nakon sklapanja mira s Avarima na Dunavu, primoralo Heraklija da vojsku povuče u Aziju.[26] Jasno je da su takve političke prilike utjecale i na situaciju u udaljenijim dijelovima Carstva. Nebranjena dunavska granica otvorila je mogućnost snažnijeg prodora Slavena prema Italiji i Jadranu te je prva polovina 7. stoljeća vrijeme kada oni konačno zauzimaju prostor na istočnoj jadranskoj obali i ondje se trajno naseljavaju.[27]

Nakon Heraklijeve vladavine zamjećuje se postupno slabljenje dotoka novca na istočnu jadransku obalu. Bizantska je vlast u tom razdoblju bila reducirana na uzak obalni pojas s nekoliko urbanih središta poput Splita, Trogira, Zadra i Dubrovnika te na pojedine otoke. Unatoč tomu, veze s unutrašnjošću nisu potpuno prekinute, što potvrđuju rijetki, ali značajni numizmatički nalazi iz druge polovine 7. i prve polovine 8. stoljeća.[28]

Među takvim su nalazima i tremise Konstantina IV. iz zbirke Muzeja na Humcu i iz Prozora u Lici[29] te njegov solid suberat pronađen u Jasenskom kod Sinja.[30] Dodatno svjedočanstvo bizantske prisutnosti na širem području istočnog Jadrana predstavlja već spomenuta, danas izgubljena ostava zlatnika iz Nerežišća na otoku Braču, datirana u treću četvrtinu 7. stoljeća prema novcu Konstansa II. i njegovih sinova, među kojima je i Konstantin IV.[31]

[23] Ostrogorski 2002, str. 46–55.
[24] To je jasno vidljivo na uzorku pojedinačnih nalaza novca iz Salone. O tome u: Bonačić Mandinić 1992.
[25] Ostrogorski 2002, str. 41–42.
[26] Ostrogorski 2002, str. 44–55.
[27] Ostrogorski 2002, str. 46–47.
[28] Šeparović 2021, str. 258.
[29] Mirnik, Šemrov 1998, str. 201, br. 785; Kolak, Šeparović 2020, str. 26.
[30] Delonga 1994.
[31] Bulić 1920; Šeparović 2021, str. 115.

ing from Justin I to Heraclius, with a chronological span of almost one hundred years between the earliest and latest specimens. Hoards in which the earliest coins belong to Constantine IV, such as the so-called Sicilian hoard[21] and the hoard from Attica[22], provide direct evidence that the coins of this ruler remained in circulation also in the 8th century.

The period during which the tremissis of Constantine IV. was issued follows directly upon the political and economic crisis that affected the Empire in the second half of the 6th century. This crisis was to a considerable extent conditioned by the sustained warfare that Byzantium was compelled to wage in the Danube region against the Avars and Slavs, and in the east against the Persians.[23] Numismatic research has shown that the inflow of coins significantly decreased since the time of Emperor Justinian, who defeated the Ostrogoths and brought the areas of former Roman Dalmatia under Byzantine power, and his successors Justin II and Tiberius II.[24] This decrease was the result of the general crisis. In addition to serious problems with the Lombards in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain also greatly endangered Byzantine possessions in these regions.[25] Even Byzantium became the stage of major internal battles as the rebellious army had overthrown Maurice Tiberius and had placed Phocas on the throne, which led to new external threats directed towards Byzantium, especially from the Persian Emperor. Later, this situation forced Heraclius to withdraw his army from Asia after the peace agreement with the Avars in the Danube region.[26] It is evident that these political circumstances also affected and influenced the situation in the more remote parts of the Empire. The undefended Danube border opened up the possibility of stronger invasions towards Italy and the Adriatic coast by the Slavs, who eventually succeeded in the first half of the 7th century and took possession over the eastern Adriatic coast, where they permanently settled.[27]

After the reign of Heraclius, a gradual decline in the influx of coins to the eastern Adriatic coast is

[21] Grierson 1965, p. 219.
[22] Vryonis 1963.
[23] Ostrogorski 2002, pp. 46 – 55.
[24] This is clearly visible in the sample of individual coin finds from Salona. For more details, see: Bonačić Mandinić 1992.
[25] Ostrogorski 2002, pp. 41, 42.
[26] Ostrogorski 2002, pp. 44 – 55.
[27] Ostrogorski 2002, pp. 46, 47.



Sl. 3 - Zlatna tremisa Konstantina IV. iz Prozora kod Otočca (foto: I. Krajcar)
Fig. 3 - The Gold Tremissis of Constantine IV from Prozor near Otočac (photo: I. Krajcar)

Od ostalih pojedinačnih nalaza iz tog razdoblja ističu se primjerci novca Konstansa II. otkriveni na širem sinjskom području[32] i u mjestu Muline na otoku Ugljanu.[33] Za prvu polovinu 8. stoljeća zabilježeni su i nalazi tremisa Lava III. i Konstantina V. iz Donjeg Vaganca i okolice Srba u Lici.[34] U južnoj Hrvatskoj iz tog je vremena zabilježen primjerak langobardskog novca iz Stankovaca, kovanog u ime Justinijana II.,[35] zatim folis Tiberija III., za koji se pretpostavlja da potječe iz Starog Grada na Hvaru,[36] te folisi Konstansa II. i Leoncijeva tremisa s Visa.[37] Od dvaju brončanih primjeraka iz Dubrovnika jedan pripada Konstansu II., dok se drugi datira šire u 8. stoljeće.[38] Značajno je ovdje skrenuti pozornost i na barbarsku imitaciju zlatne tremise pronađenu na otoku Kornatu u blizini crkve Gospe od Tarca, nad kojom se nalaze ostatci bizantske utvrde.[39] Riječ je o novcu koji je po ikonografskim karakteristikama blizak primjerku iz Humca, a može se smjestiti u drugu polovinu 7. ili u 8. stoljeće.[40]

U Istri je pak iz druge polovine 7. i prve polovine 8. stoljeća dosad zabilježeno tek pet primjeraka novca s poznatim mjestom nalaza. Iz Veštra potječe

32 Delonga 1994.
33 Filipi 1962, str. 305.
34 Mirnik 2001, str. 77.
35 Mirnik, Šemrov 1998, str. 209, br. 862.
36 Dukat, Mirnik 1979, str. 13, br. 331.
37 Bonačić Mandinić 2021, str. 289.
38 Mirnik 1995, str. 172, br. 5.
39 Radić Rossi, Fabijanić 2017, str. 26.
40 Šeparović 2021, str. 56.

noticeable. Byzantine power in this area was eventually reduced to a narrow coastal strip with several urban centres, such as Split, Trogir, Zadar and Dubrovnik, together with certain islands during this period. Nevertheless, relations with the hinterland were not entirely severed, as confirmed by rare but significant numismatic finds from the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century.[28]

Among such finds are the tremisses of Constantine IV, which are preserved in the collection of the Museum in Humac, as well as a specimen from Prozor in Lika[29] and a solidus suberatus discovered in Jasensko near Sinj.[30] Further testimony to Byzantine presence in the wider eastern Adriatic region is provided by the already mentioned, now lost hoard from Nerežišća on the island of Brač, dated to the third quarter of the 7th century on the basis of coins of Constans II and his sons, among them Constantine IV.[31]

Other individual finds of coins of that time include specimens of Constans II from the wider area of Sinj[32] and Muline on the island Ugljan.[33] For the first half of the 8th century, finds of tremisses of Leo III and Constantine V that have been recorded in

28 Šeparović 2021, p. 258.
29 Mirnik, Šemrov 1998, p. 201 no. 785; Kolak, Šeparović 2020, p. 26.
30 Delonga 1994
31 Bulić 1920; Šeparović 2021, p. 115.
32 Delonga 1994.
33 Filipi 1962, p. 305.



Sl. 4 - Karta nalazišta novca 641. – 751. (izradio: A. Alajbeg)

Fig. 4 Map showing the locations of finds of coins 641 - 751 (made by: A. Alajbeg)

folis Konstansa II.[41] Iste je nominale novac Konstantina IV. iz Kastruma na Brijunima.[42] Iz Poreča potječu Filipikova tremisa[43] i solid Lava III. i Konstantina V.,[44] dok je iz ranih godina vladavine Konstantina V. srebrni miliaresion pronađen u grobu na lokalitetu Veli Mlun – Zajčji brijeg (Brč) kod Buzeta.[45] Padom Ravenskog egzarhata 751. gotovo je u potpunosti prekinut ionako neznatan dotok novca prema istočnom Jadranu. Pretpostavljam da je to kronološka granica do koje je tremisa Konstantina IV. mogla biti u optjecaju. Takvo stanje uskoro će se promijeniti pojavom zlatnih sirakuških solida Konstantina V. Kopronima, pronađenih u velikom broju na području južne Hrvatske, ali i u Hercegovini (Mostar, Zasada), koji se povezuju s novonastalim političkim prilikama na istočnom Jadranu u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća.[46]

Donji Vaganac and the surrounding area of Srb in Lika.[34] In southern Croatia and from that time are one Lombard coin issued in the name of Justinian II in Stankovci,[35] a follis of Tiberius III, presumably originating from Stari Grad on Hvar,[36] folles of Constans II and a tremissis of Leontius from the island of Vis.[37] Of the two bronze specimens from Dubrovnik, one belongs to Constans II, while the other is more broadly dated to the 8th century.[38] Noteworthy is also the barbaric imitation of the gold tremissis found on the island of Kornat near the church of Our Lady of Tarac, where also the remains of a Byzantine fortress are visible.[39] Based on its iconographic features, this coin closely resembles the specimen from Humac and can be dated to the second half of the 7th or the 8th century.[40]

41 Bekić 2013, str. 85, br. 60.
42 Matijašić 1983, str. 229, br. 126; Miškec 2002, str. 188, br. 96.
43 Gorini 1974, str. 145, br. 42; Miškec 2002, str. 89, br. 73.
44 Miškec 2002, str. 89, br. 74.
45 Matijašić 1983, str. 229, br. 127.
46 Šeparović 2021, str. 66.

34 Mirnik 2001, p. 77.
35 Mirnik, Šemrov 1998, p. 209 no. 862.
36 Dukat, Mirnik 1979, p. 13 no. 331.
37 Bonačić Mandinić 2021, p. 289.
38 Mirnik 1995, p. 172 no. 5.
39 Radić Rossi, Fabijanić 2017, p. 26.
40 Šeparović 2021, p. 56.

Činjenica da za novac Konstantina IV. iz Muzeja na Humcu nisu poznati podatci o mjestu nalaza onemogućava izvođenje vjerodostojnih zaključaka o onome što bi takav nalaz inače značio. Pretpostavimo li, međutim, da novac doista potječe s područja šire okolice Ljubuškog ili Hercegovine, onda bi bez sumnje u taj kraj dospio posredstvom jednog od obalnih gradova koji su, nakon turbulentnih događanja u vrijeme vladavine cara Heraklija, ostali pod bizantskom upravom, prvenstveno Splita ili Dubrovnika. Ti su gradovi u drugoj polovini 7. stoljeća održavali povremene trgovačke veze s područjima u svojem zaleđu koja su se tada nalazila izvan izravne kontrole Carstva. U tom bi kontekstu novac Konstantina IV. predstavljao iznimno rijetko i dragocjeno materijalno svjedočanstvo kontakata unutrašnjosti s obalnim središtima tijekom ranobizantskog razdoblja.

In Istria, on the other hand, there are only five specimens recorded from that very period with a known place of discovery. One follis of Constans II originates from Veštar,[41] and another one of Constantine IV from Kastrum on the Brijuni islands.[42] The tremissis of Philippikos Bardanes[43] and the solidus of Leo III and Constantine V derive from Poreč,[44] while a silver miliaresion from the early years of Constantine V's reign was found in a grave at site Veli Mlun – Zajčji brijeg (Brč) near Buzet.[45] With the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751, the already insignificant inflow of coins towards the eastern Adriatic region was completely interrupted. It may therefore be assumed that this represents the chronological limit up to which the tremissis of Constantine IV could have remained in circulation. However, this situation changed soon with the appearance of a large number of gold solidi from Syracuse by Constantine V Copronymus, which were discovered in considerable numbers in southern Croatia as well as in Herzegovina (Mostar, Zasada), and associated with newly emerging political circumstances in the eastern Adriatic during the second half of the 8th century.[46]

The absence of information regarding the site of discovery of the coin of Constantine IV, kept in the Museum at Humac, precludes firm conclusions about what such a find would otherwise signify. However, if we assume that the coin did indeed originate from the wider Ljubuški area or from Herzegovina, it would almost certainly have reached that region through one of the coastal cities which, following the turbulent events during the reign of Heraclius, remained under Byzantine administration, above all Split or Dubrovnik. In the second half of the 7th century, these cities maintained occasional trade relations with territories in their hinterland that lay beyond direct imperial control. In this context, the coin of Constantine IV would represent an exceptionally rare and valuable material testimony to contacts between the interior and the coastal centres during the early Byzantine period.

41 Bekić 2013, p. 85 no. 60
42 Matijašić 1983, p. 229 no. 126; Miškec 2002, p. 188 no. 96
43 Gorini 1974, p. 145 no. 42; Miškec 2002, p. 89 no. 73.
44 Miškec 2002, p. 89 no. 74.
45 Matijašić 1983, p. 229 no. 127.
46 Šeparović 2021, p. 66.

Bibliografija / *Bibliography*

Bateson, Campbell 1998
J. D. Bateson, I. G. Campbell, *Byzantine and early medieval western european coins in the Hunter coin cabinet University of Glasgow*, London 1998.

Bekić 2013
L. Bekić, Numizmatički nalazi iz uvale Veštar, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 45 (2012), Zagreb 2013, 69–91.

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

BNP
C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, *I d'Anastase I^er^ a Justinien II (491-711)*, Paris 1970.

Bonačić Mandinić 1992
M. Bonačić Mandinić, Nalazi novca, u: *Starohrvatski Solin*, katalog izložbe, Split 1992, 187–197.

Bonačić Mandinić 2021
M. Bonačić Mandinić, Novac, u: *Vis-a-Vis: Arheološka baština otoka Visa*, katalog izložbe, Split 2021, 264–304.

Bulić 1920
F. Bulić, Skrovište zlatnih novaca, našasto u Nerežišćima, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 43, Sarajevo 1920, 199.

Curta 1996
F. Curta, Invasion or Inflation? Sixth- to seventh-century Byzantine coin hoards in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, *Annali dell Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 43, 1996, 65–224.

Čuljak, Uglešić 2021
N. Čuljak, A. Uglešić, Preliminarno izvješće o arheološkim istraživanjima lokaliteta Stari grad Ljubuški, *Hercegovina* 7, 2021, 51–69.

Delonga 1981
V. Delonga, Bizantski novac u zbirci Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 11, 1981, 201–228.

Delonga 1985
V. Delonga, Kasnoantički i bizantski novac iz Trogira i okolice, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 78, Split 1985, 95–116.

Delonga 1994
V. Delonga, Bizantski novac na širem području Sinjskog polja, izlaganje na znanstvenom skupu *Arheologija Sinjskog polja 1994*, neobjavljeno.

Dodig 2011
R. Dodig, Rimski kompleks na Gračinama. Vojni tabor ili…?, *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 27, Zagreb 2011, 327–343.

Dukat, Mirnik 1979
Z. Dukat, I. Mirnik, Numizmatička zbirka Dominikanskog samostana u Starom Gradu na Hvaru, *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske* 28, Zagreb 1979, 5–15.

Dziurdzik 2018
T. Dziurdzik, Ljubuški archaeological project: Roman and late Antique Settlement in western Herzegovina, 2015, *Swiatowit* XIII–XIV (2015–2016), Warszawa 2018, 355–363.

Fabijanić 2025
T. Fabijanić, Bizantski novac iz Muzeja Franjevačkog samostana sv. Ante padovanskog – Humac (Ljubuški, BiH), *Archaeologia Adriatica* 19, Zadar 2025.

Filipi 1962
A. R. Filipi, Arheološko-topografske crtice iz Ugljana, *Diadora* 2 (1960–1961), Zadar 1962, 303–311.

Goldstein 1995
I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, Zagreb 1995.

Gorini 1974
G. Gorini, La collezione di monete d'oro della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria, *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 74 (n. s. 22), 1974, 97–199.

Grierson 1965
Ph. Grierson, Two Byzantine Coin Hoards of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries at Dumbarton Oaks, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19, Washington 1965, 207–228.

Grierson 1982
Ph. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, London 1982.

Hendy 1985
M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450*, Cambridge 1985.

Kolak, Šeparović 2020
T. Kolak, T. Šeparović, *Numizmatička topografija Like: Od najstarijih vremena do početka 16. stoljeća*, Gospić 2020.

Laiou, Morrisson 2007
A. E. Laiou, C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge 2007.

Marović 1988
I. Marović, A hoard of Byzantine gold coins from Narona, *Situla* 26, Ljubljana 1988, 295–316.

Matijašić 1983
R. Matijašić, Zbirka bizantskog novca u Arheološkom muzeju Istre u Puli, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 13, Split 1983, 217–233.

MIB
W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini, 3. Teil, von Heraclius bis Leo III. (610–720)*, Wien 1981.

Mirnik 1995
I. Mirnik, Numizmatički nalazi u Dubrovniku (prethodni izvještaj o bizantskom novcu), u: *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, Zagreb 1995, 169–177.

Mirnik 2001
I. Mirnik, O kasnorimskom i bizantskom novcu 5.-13. st. u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj, *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci*, Suppl., br. I, Rijeka 2001, 75–90.

Mirnik, Šemrov 1998
I. Mirnik, A. Šemrov, Byzantine coins in the Zagreb archaeological museum numismatic collection, Anastasius I (A.D. 497-518) – Anastasius II (A.D. 713-715), *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 30–31, Zagreb 1998, 129–258.

Miškec 2002
A. Miškec, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Kroatien*, Ab. XVIII Istrien, Mainz 2002.

Morrisson 2010
C. Morrisson, Money, Coins and the Economy, u: *The Byzantine World* (ed. P. Stephenson), London – New York 2010, 34–46.

Morrisson, Popović, Ivanišević 2006
C. Morrisson, V. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *Les trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d Asie Mineure (491 – 713)*, Paris 2006.

Nikić 2001
A. Nikić, *Sakralna baština i Humačka ploča Ljubuškog kraja u srednjem vijeku*, Mostar – Klobuk 2001.

Ostrogorski 2002
G. Ostrogorski, *Povijest Bizanta 324. – 1453*., Zagreb 2002.

Radić Rossi, Fabijanić 2017
I. Radić Rossi, T. Fabijanić, *Kurnatski vremeplov: Arheološka istraživanja Turete i Tarca*, Šibenik 2017.

Šeparović 2019
T. Šeparović, Ostava bizantskih zlatnika iz Šuplje crkve u Solinu, *Verba volant scripta manent: Zbornik u čast akademika Stjepana Krasića*, Split 2019, 499–509.

Šeparović 2021
T. Šeparović, *Bizant na istočnom Jadranu – numizmatički izvori / Byzantium in the eastern Adriatic region – numismatic sources*, Split 2021.

Vego 1956
M. Vego, Humačka ploča: najstariji ćirilski spomenik u Bosni i Hercegovini (X. ili XI. stoljeće), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* XI, Sarajevo 1956, 41–61.

Vryonis 1963
S. Vryonis, An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Coins (668-741) from the Thomas Whittemore Collection and the Numismatic Evidence for the Urban History of Byzantium, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* VIII, Beograd 1963, 291–300.

mrežni izvori / *internet sources*

Muzej Humac, https://muzejhumac.com/hr/muzej-humac.html.
„Hoard of ancient gold coins, jewelry discovered during excavations in Sussita“, https://www.ynetnews.com/environment/article/r1ctvvm3lx.