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Helenistički novac Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije iz sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like

Hellenistic coins from Greece, Macedonia and Thrace found in northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika

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Iz sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like potječe 14 komada brončanoga helenističkog novca podrijetlom iz različitih monetarnih središta antičke Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije. Ovaj novac se rijetko nalazi u optjecaju na području Dalmacije i šireg zaleđa, pa predstavlja zanimljivu pojavu. Pretpostavka je da dolazi pomorskim putevima u Liburniju (sjevernu Dalmaciju), a na načine njegova širenja prema unutrašnjosti ukazuje topografija nalaza koja govori o pravcima usmjerenima prema južnom Velebitu i njegovim planinskim prijevojima. Ovaj tok novca odgovara i drugim poznatim emisijama koje su cirkulirale na ovome području u helenističko vrijeme.

Northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika together yielded 14 Hellenistic bronze coins originally from the various minting centers of ancient Greece, Macedonia and Thrace. Such coins are rare finds in the territory of Dalmatia and its wider hinterland, so they constitute an intriguing phenomenon. The assumption is that they came to Liburnia (northern Dalmatia) via maritime routes, and the overland routes whereby they spread into the interior are indicated by the topography of the find sites, which say much about how they moved into the interior toward southern Velebit and its mountain passes. This flow of money corresponds to other known issues of currency that circulated in this territory during the Hellenistic era.

Ključne riječi: brončani novac, helenizam, sjeverna Dalmacija, južna Lika, Grčka, Makedonija, Trakija

Key words: *bronze coins, Hellenism, northern Dalmatia, southern Lika, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*

U sjevernoj Dalmaciji i jugoistočnoj Lici nađen je neveliki broj primjeraka helenističkoga novca podrijetlom iz različitih monetarnih središta antičke Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije. Evidentirano je 14 takvih komada (kat. br. 1-14), što je oko 0,5 % od cjelokupne numizmatičke građe iz predcarskog razdoblja s razmatranoga područja. Većina ih do sada nije bila publicirana.¹ Glavnina ih se čuva u različitim institucijama, a neki su u privatnim zbirnkama. Pojedine primjerke sadržavale su slučajno otkrivene ostave tzv. tipa Mazin. Takav novac otkriven je i pojedinačno u arheološkim rekognosciranjima i iskopavanjima. Svi su primjerci od bakrene slitine, mnogi s izvornom patinom, ponekad s ponešto naslaga nečistoće. Potječu s 12 lokaliteta (karta 1).² Većina ih je s gradinskih naselja, a samo su neki iz njihova neposredna podnožja.

Premda se ovi tipovi helenističkoga novca javljaju u relativnom malom broju na našem prostoru, svakako su zanimljiva pojava kad se promatraju u širem kontekstu novčanoga optjecaja u Dalmaciji, gdje se mahom nalaze u primorskom pojasu, a manjim dijelom i u njegovu dubljem zaleđu. Naše poznavanje helenističkog novca grčko-makedonskoga civilizacijskog okvira, a koji je cirkulirao istočnom obalom Jadrana, još je uvijek dosta manjkavo. Stoga je cilj ovoga rada: 1. kataloški prikazati sve primjerke iz dosad slabo poznate sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like, koje su komunikacijski usko povezane i 2. pokušati dati širi prikaz povijesnog konteksta njihove pojave i širenja na prostoru gornjeg Jadrana koliko je to moguće na temelju dosadašnjeg stanja istražnosti i publiciranosti.

Vrijeme kojem ovi novci pripadaju, politička situacija na širem prostoru Balkana te nemogućnost preciznije datacije pojedinih tipova uvjetovali su stavljanje te vrste numizmatičke građe u isti rad. Naime, prostori Grčke i Trakije u ovom su razdoblju pod snažnim političkim i vojnim utjecajem Makedonije, a u pojedinim fazama čak se i nalaze pod njihovom političkom dominacijom ili izravno pod njihovom vlašću. Nakon poraza Makedonije ovim prostorima dominira Rimska Republika, koja je upravo u fazi svoje političke i trgovačke ekspanzije prema Istoku. Stoga pojavu i cirkulaciju ovog novca treba promatrati u kontekstu tadašnjih političkih i ekonomskih pri-

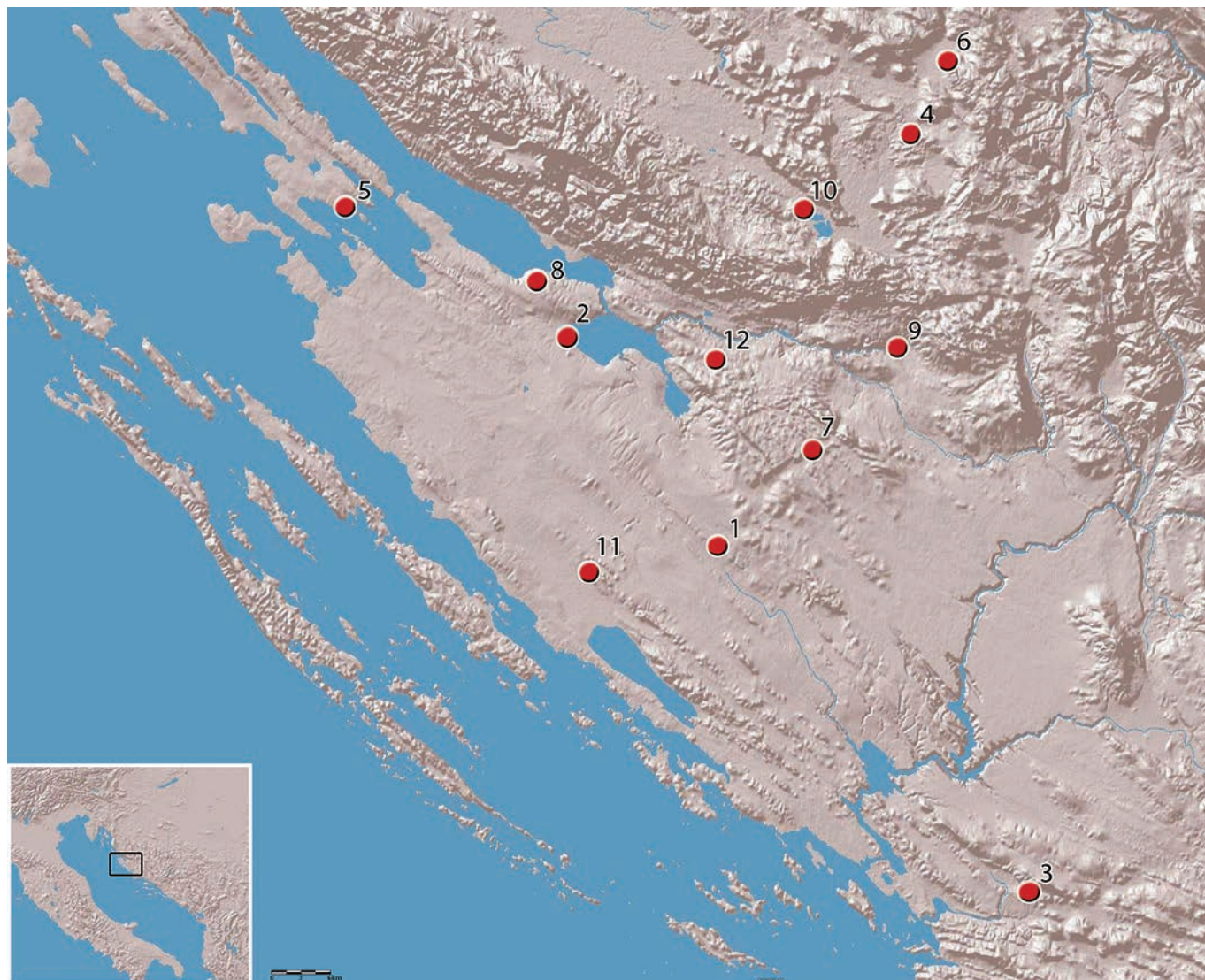
A modest number of Hellenistic coins from the various minting centres of ancient Greece, Macedonia and Thrace were found in northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika. A total of 14 such coins (cat. no. 1-14), which is approximately 0.5% of the overall numismatic inventory dated to the pre-imperial period from the territory under observation. They have mostly not been published thus far.¹ Most of them are held in various institutions, while some are in private collections. Individual examples were a part of unintentionally discovered hoards of the so-called Mazin type. Such coins were also discovered individually during archaeological reconnaissance and digs. All examples considered herein are made of copper alloy, many with their original patina, occasionally with some deposits of impurities. They came from 12 sites (map 1).² Most are from hillfort settlements, while some are from their immediate foot.

Although these types of Hellenistic coins appeared in rather small numbers in the territory of northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika, they are certainly an intriguing phenomenon when considered within the broader context of currency circulation in Dalmatia, where they can mostly be found in the coastal belt, and only to a lesser extent in its deeper interior. Our knowledge of Hellenistic coins of the Greco-Macedonian civilizational sphere that circulated in the eastern Adriatic seaboard is still quite meagre. Therefore, the objectives of this paper are: 1. to present in catalogue format all examples from the thus far inadequately examined regions of northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika, which were closely linked in terms of communication; and 2. to provide a broader overview of the historical context of their appearance and spread in the upper Adriatic to the extent possible on the basis of current levels of research and publication.

The time to which these coins date, the political situation in the wider Balkans and the impossibility of more precisely dating individual types necessitated the inclusion of this type

1 U ovome se radu prvi put analizira novac s našeg područja podrijetlom iz Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije, te se radi preglednosti i cjelovitosti donose i dosad objavljeni primjerci.
2 Kartu nam je pomogao izraditi Dario Vujević. Slike novca iz javnih institucija, kao i suglasnost za njihovu objavu dobili smo od Tonija Brajkovića (Muzej grada Šibenika), Tatjane Kolak (Muzej Like Gospić), Miroslava Nađa (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu), Tomislava Šeparovića (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu) i Ante Uglešića (Studijska zbirka Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru). Svima najljepše zahvaljujemo, kao i Feđi Milivojeviću na pomoći oko teško dostupne literature, Markici Rebiću za dopuštenje objave novca iz njegove zbirke te Luki Bogdaniću, Maji Grgurić, Alanu Mandiću i Marini Šimičić na ustupljenim zračnim fotografijama arheoloških lokaliteta. Za novce iz privatnih zbirki za koje se ne navode imena vlasnika na njihovo traženje, podaci su poznati autorima.

1 Certain coins found in northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika originally from Greece, Macedonia and Thrace are being analyzed in this paper for the first time, so in the interest of simpler reference and completeness the previously published examples have also been included.
2 Dario Vujević helped us make the map. Photographs of the coins from public institutions as well as consent for their publication were granted by Toni Brajković (Šibenik City Museum), Tatjana Kolak (Museum of Lika, Gospić), Miroslav Nađ (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb), Tomislav Šeparović (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split) and Ante Uglešić (Archaeology Department Study Collection, University of Zadar). We would like to sincerely thank all of them, as well as Feđa Milivojević for his assistance in securing difficult-to-access literature, Markica Rebić for permission to publish the coins from his collection, and Luka Bogdanić, Maja Grgurić, Alan Mandić and Marina Šimičić for providing aerial photographs of archaeological sites. In the case of coins from private collections for which the names of their owners have been withheld by request, the authors are aware of the relevant data.



Karta 1.

Topografija helenističkog novca Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije iz sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like: 1. Asseria – Podgrađe; 2. Budim – Posedarje; 3. Danilo; 4. Donja gradina – Bruvno; 5. Gradac – Smokvica; 6. Gradina – Mazin; 7. Gradina – Medviđa; 8. Lergova gradina; 9. Smokovac; 10. Štikada; 11. Trojan – Stabanj; 12. Velika gradina – Kruševo (izradio D. Vujević)

Map 1.

Topography of Hellenistic coins of Greece, Macedonia and Thrace from northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika: 1. Asseria – Podgrađe; 2. Budim – Posedarje; 3. Danilo; 4. Donja gradina – Bruvno; 5. Gradac – Smokvica; 6. Gradina – Mazin; 7. Gradina – Medviđa; 8. Lergova gradina; 9. Smokovac; 10. Štikada; 11. Trojan – Stabanj; 12. Velika gradina – Kruševo (made by: D. Vujević)

lika, koje mogu pomoći i u razumijevanju pojave ovih raznovidnih pa i rijetkih tipova na području sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like.

NOVAC S PODRUČJA GRČKE

Helenističko razdoblje u Grčkoj obilježile su dvije države, Ahejska i Etojska liga,³ čija je politika bitno utjecala na njezi-

of numismatic material in the same paper. Namely, the territories of Greece and Thrace during this period were powerfully influenced by Macedonia, and during individual phases they were even under its political domination or even direct rule. After Macedonia's downfall, these territories came under the sway of the Roman Republic during the period of its eastward political and mercantile expansion. Thus the appearance and circulation of these coins should be observed within the context of the political and economic circumstances of the time, which may in turn shed light on the discovery of these different and even rare types in the territory of northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika.

³ Grčki je termin *koinon*, što se u povijesnim djelima prevodi kao konfederacija, no kako se termin liga ustalio osobito u numizmatičkim

nu povijest i u konačnici dovela cijelo ovo područje pod rimsku vlast. Geografski položaj omogućio je Etolskoj ligi kontrolu središnje Grčke, a Ahejskoj Peloponeza, dok su obje kontrolirale Korintski zaljev, jedna sa sjeverne, a druga s južne strane.

Druga Ahejska liga formirana je 280. pr. Kr., a raspustili su je Rimljani nakon Ahejskog rata 146. pr. Kr. i uništenja Korinta. Ranu fazu postojanja lige obilježio je njezin sukob s Antigonom II. Gonatom, koji preko vojnih garnizona i lokalnih političara *de facto* kontrolira Grčku. Liga postaje značajna sila kad 251. pr. Kr. Arat zbacuje tiraniju u svome rodnome gradu Sikionu (makedonska kontrola) i uključuje ga u Ligu. Taj grčki državnik postaje zanimljiva figura i Antigonidima i Ptolemejevićima, preko kojega ovi nastoje održati utjecaj u Grčkoj. Ptolemej II. Filadelf, štoviše, i novčano pomaže Arata u ovoj ranoj fazi, čime stječe utjecaj u Sikionu i Ligi. To je posebno učvršćeno Aratovim osvajanjem Korinta, kada on miče makedonsku posadu te i ovaj polis ulazi u konfederaciju. Početni saveznici Spartan- ci ubrzo se okreću protiv ekspanzionističke Lige, te stari neprijatelji Makedonci postaju novi saveznici, a sam Arat potkraj života postaje savjetnik Filipa V. Makedonskog. No politika Ahejske lige se mijenja. U Drugom makedonskom ratu Ahejci su rimski saveznici i konačno uništavaju Spartu, čime postaju dominantna sila i *de facto* drže cijeli Peloponez. Taj trijumf neće dugo trajati, jer će njihovi pokušaji pristupa novom makedonskom kralju Perzeju dovesti do sukoba s Rimom, koji je u Trećem makedonskom ratu konačno porazio Makedoniju, a za kaznu su Ahejci morali predati taoce, među kojima je bio i povjesničar Polibije, koji piše o ovim događajima. Konačno uništenje Lige dogodilo se nekoliko godina kasnije u Ahejskom ratu, kada je ona i raspuštena.⁴

Nakon što su se oslobodili Makedonaca, Ahejci su uveli zajednički federalni srebrni i brončani novac, koji je postao glavna valuta na Peloponezu tijekom 2. st. pr. Kr. Kako su gradovi pristupali Ligi, tako su se širile i federalne kovnice, koje su sve prihvatile isti ikonografski izgled i težinu novca. Na aversu je prikazan lik Zeusa Homarija,⁵ a na reversu ahejski monogram u lovorovu vijencu. Razliku među pojedinim kovnicama čine lokalni simboli i imena gradskih magistrata. Standard srebrnog federalnog novca bio je hemidrahma.⁶ Tip brončanog novca s nagim Zeusom Homarijem na aversu - koji na ispruženoj desnoj ruci drži malu Niku, koja mu nudi krunu, dok lijeva ruka počiva na žezlu, a na reversu je odjevena Ahaja koja sjedi, u ispruženoj desnoj ruci drži vijenac, a lijeva počiva na dugačkome žezlu -

COINS FROM GREEK TERRITORY

The Hellenistic era in Greece was marked by two states, the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues,³ whose policies considerably influenced its history and ultimately led to this entire region coming under Roman rule. Their respective geographic positions allowed the Aetolian League to control central Greece and the Achaean League the Peloponnese, while both controlled the Gulf of Corinth, one from the north and the other from the south.

The second Achaean League was established in 280 BC, and dissolved by the Romans after the Achaean War and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. The early phase of the League's existence was marked by its conflict with Antigonos II Gonatus, who exercised *de facto* control over Greece through military garrisons and local politicians. The League became a formidable power when Aratus overthrew the tyranny in his native city of Sycion (under Macedonian control) in 251 BC and brought it into the League. This Greek statesman became an interesting person to both the Antigonids and Ptolemaians, through whom they attempted to retain their influence in Greece. Ptolemy II Philadelphus, moreover, even initially provided financial assistance to Aratus, thereby gaining influence in Sycion and the League. This was particularly reinforced after Aratus captured Corinth and expelled the Macedonian garrison, and this polis joined the League. Initially allies, the Spartans soon turned against the expansionist League, and the Macedonians, previously old enemies, became allies, and near the end of his life Aratus himself became an advisor to Philip V of Macedon. But the Achaean League's policies changed. In the Second Macedonian War, the Achaeans were Roman allies; they finally destroyed Sparta, thereby becoming the dominant power and *de facto* ruler of the entire Peloponnese. This triumph would not last, as their attempts to form stronger ties with King Perseus of Macedon led to a conflict with Rome, which would finally vanquish Macedonia in the Third Macedonian War, and as punishment the Achaeans had to hand over hostages, among them the historian Polybius, who wrote about these events. The League's final destruction occurred several years later in the Achaean War, when it was dissolved.⁴

After liberating themselves from the Macedonians, the Achaeans introduced common federal silver and bronze coinage, which became the primary currency on the Peloponnese during the 2nd century BC. As cities joined the League, so too were federal mints established, which accepted the same ico-

radovima, koristit ćemo ga i u ovome članku.

- 4 Detaljniji pregled povijesti Ahejske lige, Walbank 1993, str. 154-158; Walbank 2008, str. 243-252, str. 461-467; Shipley 2014, str. 136-140; Rizakis 2015, str. 118-131.
5 Simbolični prikaz mjesta gdje se sastajala ahejska skupština, svetište Zeusa Homarija, barem u početnoj fazi, kasnije u Egiju. O tome, Walbank 2008, str. 244.
6 Head 1911, str. 416-417.

- 3 The Greek term is *koinon*, which is translated as confederation in historical texts, but since the term league has become customary in numismatic works in particular, we shall use it in this article.
4 For a more detailed overview of the Achaean League, Walbank 1993, pp. 154-158; Walbank 2008, pp. 243-252, pp. 461-467; Shipley 2014, pp. 136-140; Rizakis 2015, pp. 118-131.

obrađen je monografski u djelu *The Bronze Coinage of the Achaean Koinon*.⁷ Legenda na ovom novcu ima tri elementa: 1. naziv Ahejaca, 2. genitiv množine s etnikom grada u kojem je novac kovan i 3. ime službenika kovnice, koje je često pokraćeno ili je u obliku monograma. Raspored ovih legendi varira.⁸ Do sada je poznato 45 kovnica federalnog novca, a svaka od njih kuje od jedne do devet varijanti novca.⁹ Drži se da je novac Druge Ahejske lige kovan tek početkom 2. st. pr. Kr.¹⁰ Ono oko čega se stručnjaci spore jest kasnija serija srebrnog ahejskog novca i posljednje razdoblje federalnih kovnica (167. - 146. g. pr. Kr.), pri čemu ih dio smatra da se kovanje nastavlja i nakon uništenja Korinta, dok drugi drže da dio ovih kovnica opstaje i kasnije, ali se uglavnom koriste vezano uz vojne akcije, npr. za vrijeme Sule, događaja oko Akcija i sl. Za brončane novce drži se da nema dokaza koji bi ih mogli datirati nakon 146. g. pr. Kr.¹¹

Dva primjerka novca pripadaju kovnici grada Kaphyai, s imenom službenika Kalimaha (kat. br. 1-2).¹² Prvi je iz Aserije (*Asseria*) (kat. br. 1), a drugi iz mazinske ostave (kat. br. 2). Iste je ikonografije treći primjerak (kat. br. 3), koji potječe s Trojana, liburnske gradine oko 7 km sjeveroistočno od Biograda na Moru. No zbog lošijeg stanja sačuvanosti nazivi na njemu nisu čitljivi, osim etničkog dijela imena Ahejaca (kat. br. 3).¹³ Arheološkim istraživanjima u Dalmaciji novac Ahejske lige otkriven je na rtu Ploči, u Diomedovu svetištu, gdje su pronađene dvije srebrne hemidrahme.¹⁴

Etoliju su najvećim dijelom njezine povijesti ostali Grci smatrali primitivnom i zaostalom zemljom; to međutim ne vrijedi za helenističko vrijeme. U 3. st. pr. Kr. Etolija je područje s razvijenim urbanim središtima, gdje su fortificirani ne samo gradovi nego i sela. Arheologija je potvrdila bogate grobove iz tog vremena, a antički izvori govore da je najbogatiji Grk bio upravo Etolac po imenu Aleksandar.¹⁵ To veliko bogatstvo koje se slijevalo u Etoliju već u kasno klasično doba raniji su povjesničari pripisivali djelovanju pirata i plaćenika u stranim vojska-

nographic imagery and weight for coins. The obverse featured the image of Zeus Homarius,⁵ while the reverse bore the Achaean monogram inside a laurel wreath. The differences between the individual mints consist of local symbols and the names of city magistrates. The standard silver federal coin was the hemidrachm.⁶ The bronze coin type with a nude Zeus Homarius on the obverse – who holds a small Nike proffering a crown to him in his extended right hand, while his left hand rests on a long sceptre; the reverse features a clothed seated Achaia holding a garland in her left hand, while a long sceptre rests in her left hand – it has been analysed in the monograph *The Bronze Coinage of the Achaean Koinon*.⁷ The legend on this coin has three elements: 1. the name of the Achaeans; 2. the genitive plural with the ethnicon of the city in which the coin was minted; and 3. the name of the mint's official, often abbreviated or rendered as a monogram. The arrangement of these legends varies.⁸ It is thus far known that there were 45 mints for federal coinage, and each of them minted one to nine varieties of coins.⁹ It is believed that the coins of the Second Achaean League were only minted at the onset of the 2nd century BC.¹⁰ What is disputed by experts is the later series of silver Achaean coins and the final period of federal mints (167-146 BC), wherein some believe that minting continued even after the destruction of Corinth, while others maintain that some of these mints survived even later, but that they were generally used in connection with military campaigns, e.g. during the time of Sulla, the events surrounding Actium, etc. In the case of bronze coins, it is believed that there is no evidence that could date them after 146 BC.¹¹

Two coins came from the mint in the city of Caphyae, with the official's name Callimachus (cat. no. 1-2).¹² The first is from Asseria (cat. no. 1), and the second from the Mazin hoard (cat. no. 2). The third example (cat. no. 3), which came from Trojan, a Liburnian hillfort roughly 7 km north-east of Biograd na Moru, has the same iconography. Due to its poor condition, however, the designations on it are illegible, except for the

7 Warren 2007.

8 Warren 2007, str. 1.

9 Warren 2007, str. viii.

10 Ta se datacija temelji na proučavanju ostave Agrinion (Thompson 1968). Warren ga datira između 191. i 146. g. pr. Kr. na osnovi stratigrafskih nalaza u Korintu i Ateni (Warren 2007, str. 145-146).

11 Warren 1999, str. 99-109; Warren 2007, str. viii, str. 110-111.

12 Arkadski grad *Kaphyai* smješta se blizu modernog sela Khotoussa, s kojim je poistovjećen na osnovi antičkih izvora. O tomu detaljno, Pritchett 1989, str. 18-19. O kovnici, Warren 2007, str. 124.

13 Na ovom novcu revers je opisan kao Demetra koja sjedi s vijencem i žezlom. Međutim, ovdje se radi o ranijim interpretacijama prikazanog lika, koji je u jednom trenutku bio smatran Demetrom Panahajom jer se mislilo da drži klasje, a ne vijenac. No kako ne postoje nikakvi atributi Demetre ovo je potpuno odbačeno još potkraj 19. st., te se od tada ovaj lik interpretira kao Ahaja, Warren 2007, str. 112, bilj. 29.

14 Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, str. 154-155, 159-160, sl. 9-10.

15 Polyb. 21.29.

5 A symbolic portrayal of the place where the Achaean assembly met, the shrine of Zeus Homarius, at least in the initial phase, later in Aegium. On this, see Walbank 2008, p. 244.

6 Head 1911, pp. 416-417.

7 Warren 2007.

8 Warren 2007, p. 1.

9 Warren 2007, p. viii.

10 This dating is based on study of the Agrinion hoard (Thompson 1968). Warren dated it to between 191 and 146 BC on the basis of stratigraphic finds in Corinth and Athens (Warren 2007, pp. 145-146).

11 Warren 1999, pp. 99-109; Warren 2007, p. viii, pp. 110-111.

12 The Arcadian city Caphyae has been placed near the modern village of Khotoussa, with which it has been equated based on ancient sources. On this in greater detail in Pritchett 1989, pp. 18-19. On the mint, Warren 2007, p. 124.

ma. U novije vrijeme se drži da se na taj način ne može objasniti razvoj cijele države te da su ključni faktori razvoja bili poljoprivreda, trgovina, kontrola važnih luka i cesta. Jednako je važno bilo djelovanje etolskih trgovaca u ime Lige u drugim velikim trgovačkim središtima, poput Korinta, Atene, Aleksandrije, gradova u Siriji, koji su osiguravali promicanje Lige.¹⁶ Ta sve veća ekonomska važnost ogleda se i u kovanju novca. Drži se da počinju emitirati svoj novac poslije 280. g. pr. Kr., nakon što su se riješili makedonske i galske opasnosti (279. g. pr. Kr.). Upravo se ovi događaji komemoriraju na novcu gdje je glavni prikaz personificirana Etolija ispod čijih se nogu nalaze simboli neprijatelja, keltski i makedonski štitovi. Osim Etolije, koja može biti i na prednjoj i stražnjoj strani novca, često se na aversu prikazuju božice Atena i Artemida, zatim heroji Etol i Heraklo, a na reversu najčešće Heraklo i njegovi simboli.¹⁷ Novac Etolske lige vjerojatno nije bio kovan u nekoj velikoj količini i uglavnom je cirkulirao na njezinu teritoriju. U ostavama s Peloponeza (uglavnom područje Ahejske lige) zastupljen je u manjoj količini, dok je izvan tog prostora dosta rijedak.¹⁸ Na području BiH poznata su dva komada s Ošanjića.¹⁹ Novac Etolske lige nije čest nalaz u Dalmaciji. Jedan primjerak pronađen je na liburnskoj gradini Budim uz zapadnu obalu Novigradskog mora (sl. 1). Na aversu je prikazana glava Atene s korintskom kacigom, a na reversu je stojeći goli Heraklo s toljagom (kat. br. 5). Ovaj tip novca pripisuje se posljednjoj fazi kovanja tzv. prorimskih asova, za koje Scheu drži da bi mogli biti kovani nakon 167. g. pr. Kr. pa do barem 146. g. pr. Kr. Veže ih uz marionetski režim koji su kontrolirali Rimljani.²⁰

Jedan od važnih i bogatih trgovačkih gradova u Korintskom zaljevu bio je Sikion, čuven po svojim slikarima i kiparima. Taj grad bogatih i slavni zanatlija, uglavnom je tijekom arhajskog i klasičnog razdoblja bio pod vlašću tirana, a pokušaji uvođenja demokracije neslavno su završavali sve do preuzimanja vlasti od strane Arata polovicom 3. st. pr. Kr. i uvođenja Sikiona u Ahejsku ligu, čiji član ostaje sve dok je Rimljani nisu raspustili. Ranu helenističku fazu obilježila su makedonska osvajanja od strane Ptolemeja I. i Demetrija Poliorketa, kada postaje njihova vojna baza na Peloponezu. Štoviše, Demetrije je bio razorio dio grada i ponovno ga dao sagraditi promijenivši mu i ime u Demetriju, no ono se nije dugo zadržalo. Nakon uspješnog svrgavanja makedonskog režima, prvu polovicu 3. st. pr. Kr. obilježili su pokušaji uspostave demokracije i ponovnog vraćanja ti-

ethnic portion of the name Achaean (cat. no. 3).¹³ Coins of the Achaean League were discovered during archaeological excavations in Dalmatia on Cape Ploča, in the shrine of Diomedes, where two silver hemidrachms were found.¹⁴

For most of its history, Aetolia was considered a primitive and backward country by other Greeks; this did not, however, hold during the Hellenistic era. In the 3rd century BC, Aetolia was a region with well-developed urban centres, where not only the cities but also villages were fortified. Archaeology has confirmed the rich graves of this period, while according to Classical sources the wealthiest Greek was in fact an Aetolian named Alexander.¹⁵ Earlier historians attributed this great wealth which flowed into Aetolia already in the late Classical era to the activities of pirates and mercenaries in foreign armies. It has been more recently asserted that this does not explain the development of the entire state and that the key developmental factors were agriculture, trade and control over major ports and roads. Equally vital were the activities of Aetolian merchants on the League's behalf in other major trade hubs, such as Corinth, Athens, Alexandria and cities in Syria, whereby they ensured the League's promotion.¹⁶ This greater economic importance was also reflected in the minting of coins. It is maintained that they began to issue their currency after 280 BC, when they had dealt with the Macedonian and Gallic threats (279 BC). These events are in fact commemorated on coins, where the primary image is a personification of Aetolia with the symbols of its enemies, Celtic and Macedonian shields, under its feet. Besides Aetolia, which may be on both the obverse and reverse of a coin, the obverse often featured the goddesses Athena and Artemis, followed by the heroes Aetolus and Heracles, while the reverse most often featured Heracles and his symbols.¹⁷ The coinage of the Aetolian League was probably not minted in a great quantity and it generally circulated within its own territory. It is present in smaller quantities in hoards found in the Peloponnese (generally in the Achaean League's territory), while it was quite rare outside of this area.¹⁸ Two coins from Ošanjići are known from the

16 Detaljnu raspravu o mogućnostima stjecanja bogatstva u Etolskoj ligi, Grainger 1999, str. 188 i dalje.

17 Head 1911, str. 334-335.

18 O pregledu ostava i novca Etolske lige unutar njih, Grainger 1999, str. 195-199.

19 Dragičević 2022, kat. br. 7-8.

20 Scheu 1960, str. 50-51. Isti motiv Herakla na reversu javlja se i kod drugih rimskih vazala, npr. u Bitiniji te na otoku Tasu, čiji je novac postao glavna valuta u Trakiji od polovice 2. st. pr. Kr.

13 The reverse image has been described as a seated Demeter holding a wreath and sceptre. However, this is an earlier interpretation of the figure, which at one point was considered Demeter Panachaea because she was thought to be holding a sheaf of grain rather than a wreath. But since there are no attributes of Demeter, this had been entirely rejected already at the end of the 19th century, and since then this figure has been interpreted as Achaia, Warren 2007, p. 112, note 29.

14 Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, pp. 154-155, 159-160, Fig. 9-10.

15 Polyb. 21.29.

16 For a detailed discussion of the possibilities for acquiring wealth in the Aetolian League, see Grainger 1999, p. 188 ff.

17 Head 1911, pp. 334-335.

18 For an overview of hoards and Aetolian coins in them, Grainger 1999, pp. 195-199.

ranije, dok vlast nije preuzeo Arat.²¹ Čini se da se sikionski novac počinje kovati tek za vrijeme perzijskih ratova, i u toj fazi nije osobito čest, što će se promijeniti nakon 400. g. pr. Kr. Najraniji grčki brončani novac kovan je upravo u gradu Sikionu. On će preplaviti Peloponez, a zatim i središnju Grčku do kraja helenističkog razdoblja. Sikionske brončane emisije u upotrebi su na području cijele Ahejske lige, vjerojatno vezano uz Aratovo djelovanje, premda arheologija govori o tome da je taj novac cirkulirao na cijelome Peloponezu još od polovice 4. st. pr. Kr.²² S japodskog područja potječe jedan primjerak novca s raskriljenim golubom na aversu i vijencem s pokraćenim imenom *Sikiona* na reversu (kat. br. 11). Nađen je na Donjoj gradini nedaleko od Bruvna, približno 11 km sjeverno od Gračaca. Svrstava se u skupinu 4, koju je Waren datirala od 330. do 200. g. pr. Kr. i predstavlja najčešći tip, te zadnju emisiju ove skupine.²³ Ne posve isti novac grada Sikiona nađen je i u arheološkim istraživanjima u Starome Gradu na otoku Hvaru, datiran u 3. st. pr. Kr.²⁴

Akarnanija je smještena na sjeverozapadu Grčke, uz Jonsko more, između Ambrakijuskog zaljeva na sjeveru i Patraskog zaljeva na jugu. U zapadnom dijelu zemlje dominiraju brda, dok je istočni orijentiran na najdužu grčku rijeku Aheljoj, koja je ujedno granica Akarnanije i Etolije. Pripada joj mali arhipelag Echinades, a veći dio povijesti otok Leuka bio je vezan uz Akarnaniju. U riječnoj dolini odvijala se glavna gospodarska djelatnost i ondje su se razvila dva značajna središta Stratos²⁵ i Oiniadai.²⁶ Leuka, koja je blizu kopna, imala je posebno značenje za plovidbu, ali su to određivali politički odnosi između otoka, koji je bio pod korintskom dominacijom, i kopna, koji drže Akarnanci. Izvori govore da je otok u pojedinim fazama bio i povezan s kopnom, isprva nasipom, koji su Korinćani probili, a u helenističko vrijeme mostom.²⁷ Povijest ovog prostora obilježena je sukobima s kolonijama Korinta i njihovim interesima, a tijekom Peloponeskog rata i atenskim kolonijama, kada je Oiniadai uključen u Akarnanijsku ligu.²⁸ Sukob s Etolskom ligom obilježiti će helenističku povijest Akarnanije, kada su se saveznici tražili među Makedoncima, Ilirima i Epircima, koji su se često i sami ponašali kao neprijatelji. U vrlo nepovoljnoj političkoj situaciji, kad je veliki dio njihova teritorija pripao neprijateljima, 224. g. pr. Kr. ulaze u Helensku ligu Antigona Dosona. Uz pomoć Filipa V. uspjeli su vratiti dio gradova od Etolaca, među njima i Oiniadai, gdje je makedonski kralj započeo velike građevinske po-



Sl. 1.
Budim kod Posedarja
(foto: L. Bogdanić)

Fig. 1.
Budim near Posedarje
(photograph: L. Bogdanić)

territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹⁹ The Aetolian League's coins are not a common find in Dalmatia. One example was found at the Liburnian hillfort of Budim on the western shore of the Novigrad Sea (Fig. 1). The obverse bears an image of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet, while a standing nude Heracles with a club is on the reverse (cat. no. 5). This coin type has been attributed to the final phase of minting of the so-called pro-Roman asses, which Scheu maintained could have been minted after 167 BC and up until 146 BC. He associated them with the puppet regime controlled by the Romans.²⁰

Sicyon was one of the major and affluent mercantile cities in the Gulf of Corinth, renowned for its painters and sculptors. This city of wealthy and famed artisans was generally under the rule of a tyrant during the Archaic and Classical eras, while attempts to introduce democracy ended rather ignominiously until Aratus assumed power in the mid-3rd century BC and brought Sycion into the Achaean League, where it remained until the League was dissolved by the Romans. The early Hellenistic phase was marked by the Macedonian conquests of Ptolemy I and Demetrius Poliorcetes, when it became their military stronghold in the Peloponnese. Moreover, Demetrius had destroyed a part of the city and then had it rebuilt, changing its name to Demetrias, but this did not last long. After the successful overthrow of the Macedonian regime, the first half of the 3rd century BC was characterized by attempts to both establish democracy and restore the tyranny, until Aratus assumed

21 Wallbank 2008, str. 243-252; Shipley 2014, str. 137-138.

22 Warren 1985, str. 45-54.

23 Warren 1983, str. 39-40.

24 Na aversu dominira lavlja glava otvorenih ralja, a u reversnom središtu je prikaz golubice u letu (Dukat, Jeličić 2017, str. 208, br. 6).

25 Strab. 10.2.2.

26 Strab. 10.2.2.; Paus. 4.25.1.

27 Strab. 10.2.8.

28 Freitag 2015, str. 71-73.

19 Dragičević 2022, cat. no. 7-8.

20 Scheu 1960, pp. 50-51. The same motif of Heracles on the reverse also appeared on the coinage of other Roman vassals, e.g., in Bythynia and on the island of Thassos, whose coins became the main currency in Thrace as of the mid-2nd century BC.



Sl. 2.
Smokovac na sutoku
Orovače i Krupe
(foto: M. Grgurić)

Fig. 2.
Smokovac at the confluence
of the Orovača and Krupa
Rivers
(photograph: M. Grgurić)

thvate, s naglaskom na lučku utvrdu i skloništa za brodove.²⁹ U ratu Filipa protiv Rimljana nalaze se na njegovoj strani kao saveznici, što će ih učiniti metom. Za svoje etolske saveznike 211. g. pr. Kr. Rimljani su osvojili Oiniadai i predali ga Etolicima. Ova borba Akarnanaca na strani makedonskih vladara trajala je sve do poraza Makedonskog Kraljevstva, kada im je za kaznu 167. g. pr. Kr. oduzeta Leuka.³⁰

O novcu koji je kovan u Akarnaniji postoje brojna sporenja, osobito o onome koji se pripisuje Akarnanijskoj ligi. Riječ je o problemima oko mjesta kovanja, datacije i postojanja federalnog novca. Uglavnom se drži da su postojale dvije serije srebrnog federalnog novca, koje karakterizira glava riječnog boga Aheloja na aversu.³¹ No, s druge strane, ovaj simbol Akarnanije javlja se i na lokalnim emisijama. Brončani novac grada Oiniadai datira se preko povijesnih događaja u razdoblje između 219. i 211. g. pr. Kr., u vrijeme kada je grad pod zaštitom Filipa V. Makedonskoga. Ipak, ne postoji jasan arheološki kontekst ove datacije.³² Novac ovoga grada s glavama Zeusa na aversu i Aheloja na reversu (kat. br. 4) potječe sa Smokovca, liburnske gradine na sutoku Orovače i Krupe (sl. 2), 17 km istočno od Obrovca.

Od vremena Filipa II. Makedonskog Tesalija se nalazila pod makedonskom dominacijom. Kao saveznici makedonskih kra-

authority.²¹ It would appear that Sicyon coinage began to be minted during the Persian wars, and in this phase it was not particularly common, which would change after 400 BC. The earliest Greek bronze coins were, in fact, minted in Sicyon. They would flood the Peloponnese, and then central Greece until the end of the Hellenistic era. The Sicyon bronze issues were used throughout the Achaean League's territory, probably in connection with the activities of Aratus, although archaeology indicates that these coins circulated throughout the Peloponnese already as of the mid-4th century BC.²² An example of a coin from Iapyde territory features a dove with outspread wings on the obverse and a wreath with the abbreviated name of Sicyon on the reverse (cat. no. 11). It was found in Donja gradina not far from Bruvno, approximately 11 km north of Gračac. It belongs to group 4, which Warren dated from 330 to 200 BC, and it constitutes the most frequent type and the final issue of this group.²³ Not entirely the same Sicyon coin type was also found during archaeological excavations in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, dated to the 3rd century BC.²⁴

Acarnania is situated in north-western Greece, next to the Ionian Sea, between the Ambracian Gulf in the north and the Gulf of Patras in the south. Highlands predominate in the region's west, while in the east it is oriented toward the longest river in Greece, the Achelous, which is also the boundary between Acarnania and Aetolia. The small island group, the Echinades, also belonged to it, while the island of Leucas was tied to Acarnania for most of its history. The bulk of economic activity proceeded in the river valley, and was there that the two most important settlements grew, Stratos²⁵ and Oiniadai.²⁶ Leucas, which is close to the mainland, had particular importance for seafaring, but this was dictated by political relations between the island, which was under Corinthian domination, and the mainland, which was held by the Acarnanians. Sources indicate that the island had been connected to the mainland at various times, first by embankments constructed by the Corinthians and then by a bridge during the Hellenistic era.²⁷ The history of this region has been characterized by conflicts with the Corinthian colonies and their interests, and with the Athenian colonies as well during the Peloponnesian War, when Oiniadai was incorporated into the Acarnanian League.²⁸ The conflict with the Aetolian League would mark the Hellenistic history of Acarnania, when its denizens sought allies

29 Oiniadai je smješten u delti rijeke Aheloja, na ulazu u zaljev Patrasa, na nekadašnjem otoku Trikardo. Nekoć važna pomorska geostrateška pozicija, danas nije jasno vidljiva, jer je područje zatrpano tijekom vremena i danas se nalazi 9 km od mora. O geomorfologiji ovog arheološkog lokaliteta, Vött 2007.

30 Freitag 2015, str. 76-77. Novac Leuke, datiran nakon 167. g. pr. Kr., pronađen je na rtu Ploča (Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, str. 154, sl. 8).

31 Freitag 2015, str. 83-85.

32 Head 1911, str. 328-329, 331.

21 Wallbank 2008, pp. 243-252; Shipley 2014, pp. 137-138.

22 Warren 1985, pp. 45-54.

23 Warren 1983, pp. 39-40.

24 The obverse is dominated by a lion with jaws agape, while the reverse has a dove in flight in the middle (Dukat, Jeličić 2017, pp. 208, no. 6).

25 Strab. 10.2.2.

26 Strab. 10.2.2.; Paus. 4.25.1.

27 Strab. 10.2.8.

28 Freitag 2015, pp. 71-73.

ljeva bili su im obavezni služiti, a u tesalskim su gradovima postavljani strani garnizoni i magistrati. Tek nakon što su Rimljani porazili Filipa V., kada je T. Kvinkije Flaminin proglasio obnovu grčke slobode, nastaje Tesalska liga. Ona se u vrijeme Perzeja nalazi ponovno pod dominacijom Makedonije. Ova helenistička zajednica datira se od 196. g. pr. Kr. i po nekim autorima traje do 146. g. pr. Kr., kada je Liga uključena u rimsku provinciju Makedoniju, dok po drugima nastavlja trajati sve do kraja 3. st. po Kr.³³ U razdoblje nakon bitke kod Kinoskefale, koja je označila kraj makedonske prevlasti, stavlja se i kovanje federalnog novca, koji se izdaje u ime Tesalaca, vjerojatno u kovnici u Larisi.³⁴ Na aversu se obično nalazi glava božanstva, i to Zeusa, Apolona ili Atene i ime magistrata lige. Na reversu može biti Atena Itonija, Demetra ili konj te imena magistrata.³⁵ Primjerak tipa Apolon / Atena Itonija (kat. br. 12) nađen je na Gradini u Medviđi (sl. 3), 16 km sjeveroistočno od Benkovca.

Korkira je, zahvaljujući prije svega svom geostrateškom položaju na moru, od samoga početka imala značajnu ulogu grčke kolonije koja kontrolira pomorske putove koji povezuju zapadnu Grčku s južnom Italijom i Sicilijom, te Albanijom i jadranskim prostorom. Svoju je dominantnu poziciju iz kasnog arhajskog i klasičnog doba izgubila, te je do kraja 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. svedena na ulogu pomorske baze, koju u danom trenutku koriste različite helenističke sile. Godine 303. pr. Kr. nakratko ju osvajaju Kleonim i Spartanci, a zatim je opsjeda Kasandar.³⁶ Na poziv Korkirana 300. g. pr. Kr. dolazi Sirakužanin Agatoklo, koji prekida opsadu i tjera Kasandra na povlačenje, jer je Korkira bila strateški previše važna i previše blizu Siciliji da bi se takvo što dopustilo. Agatoklo je drži nekoliko godina i zatim je daje kao miraz svojoj kćeri Lanasi kad se udala za epirskog kralja Pira 295. g. pr. Kr., čime je Agatoklo osigurao saveznika na suprotnoj obali.³⁷ Do 255. g. pr. Kr. članica je Epirske lige i tek nakon smrti Aleksandra Mološanina ponovo stječe neovisnost.³⁸ No to traje vrlo kratko, jer je već 229. g. pr. Kr. osvajaju Iliri, koji je daju na upravu Demetriju Farskom, a ovaj je izručuje Rimljanima.³⁹ Takvu političku sudbinu prati i rad kovnice. Tradiciju kovanja pretežno u srebru od početka 6. st. pr. Kr. pa negdje do kraja 3. st. pr. Kr. zamjenjuje emitiranje uglavnom bronča-

among the Macedonians, Illyrians and Epirotes, who often behaved like enemies themselves. Under very inauspicious political circumstances, when a great deal of their territory was in the hands of their enemies, they joined the Hellenic league of Antigonos Doseon in 224 BC. With the help of Philip V, they managed to retake some of their cities from the Aetolians, among them Oiniadai, where the Macedonian king initiated major architectural undertakings with emphasis on fortifications for the harbour and shelter for ships.²⁹ The Acarnanians were allied with Philip in his war against the Romans, which made them targets. In 211 BC, the Romans seized Oiniadai and handed it over to their Aetolian allies. Acarnanian warfare on the side of Macedonian rulers endured until the downfall of the Macedonian kingdom, when Leucas was taken from them in 167 BC as a form of punishment.³⁰

There are many disputes surrounding the coins minted in Acarnania, particularly those attributed to the Acarnanian League. They specifically concern the problems associated with the location of the mints, dating and the existence of federal coinage. It is generally maintained that there were two series of federal silver coins characterized by the head of the river god Achelous on the obverse.³¹ On the other hand, however, this symbol of Acarnania also appears on local issues. The bronze coinage of the city of Oiniadai has been dated on the basis of historical events to the period between 219 and 211 BC during a period when the city was under the protection of Philip V of Macedon. Even so, there is no unambiguous archaeological context for this dating.³² This city's coins featuring the heads of Zeus on the obverse and Achelous on the reverse (cat. no. 4) were found in Smokovac, a Liburnian hillfort at the confluence of the Orovača and Krupa Rivers (Fig. 2), 17 km east of Obrovac.

Thessaly was under Macedonian domination since the reign of Philip II of Macedon. As allies of the Macedonian kings, they were obliged to assist them, and foreign garrisons and magistrates were posted in Thessalian cities. It was only after the Romans defeated Philip V, when Titus Quinctius Flamininus proclaimed the restoration of Greek liberty, that the Thessalian League emerged. It once more came under Macedonian domination during the reign of Perseus. This Hellenistic union has been dated as beginning in 196 BC, and according to some scholars it endured until 146 BC, when the League was

33 Bouchon, Helly 2015, str. 231; Head 1911, str. 291. Riječ je, naime, o imenu zajednice Tesalaca koji se javljaju kao *koinon* na novcima, premda se ovdje ne radi ni o kakvoj političkoj organizaciji.

34 U literaturi je navedeno da s područja Polače potječe grčki novac od bakrene slitine koji se pripisuje Larisi (Mirmik 1987, str. 91). No ne postoje njegove fotografije niti je točno opisan pa ga nismo uvrstili u ovaj rad. Isto vrijedi i za još nekoliko primjeraka novca u javnim i privatnim zbirkama za koje nisu poznata ili su nepouzdana mjesta nalaza.

35 Head 1911, str. 311.

36 Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, str. 3.

37 Meister 2005, str. 406.

38 Hammond 2001, str. 441-443.

39 Errington 2004, str. 89-90.

29 Oiniadai is situated on the Achelous River's delta at the entrance to the Gulf of Patras on the former island of Trikardo. Once a major maritime geostrategic point, today it is no longer clearly visible, because the area was buried over time and is today 9 km from the sea. On the geomorphology of this archaeological site, Vött 2007.

30 Freitag 2015, pp. 76-77. A coin of Leucas, dated after 167 BC, was found at Cape Ploča (Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, p. 154, Fig. 8).

31 Freitag 2015, pp. 83-85.

32 Head 1911, pp. 328-329, 331.



Sl. 3.
Gradina u Medviđi
(foto: A. Mandić)

Fig. 3.
Gradina in Medviđa
(photograph: A. Mandić)

novca. Nakon što je postala trajna pomorska baza Rimljana dobila je status slobodne države pod njihovom upravom te nastavlja s kovanjem, što će potrajati i u carsko vrijeme. Njezina pomorska tradicija slavljena je na novcu helenističkog i rimskog vremena, gdje se na reversu prikazuje pramac broda, a od 3. st. pr. Kr. stavljaju se imena pobjedničkih trirema, koje sudjeluju u godišnjem natjecanju brodova koje se održava u čast festivala bogovima Posejdonu, Dioniziju i akcijskom Apolonu.⁴⁰ I kasnije, u rimsko carsko vrijeme uobičajeni su prikazi brodova.⁴¹ Novci kovani pod Rimskom Republikom mahom su brončani. Datiraju se dosta široko, od 229. do 48. g. pr. Kr., i dalje, zadržavajući grčki dizajn i legende, a ponekad donose i imena lokalnih pritaneja.

Novac Korkire prisutan je na dalmatinskim lokalitetima od 5. st. do polovice 1. st. pr. Kr.⁴² Pronađen je u arheoloških istraživanjima u Diomedovim svetištima na rtu Ploči⁴³ i na Palagruži⁴⁴ te na otoku Visu, odnosno grčkoj Isi.⁴⁵ S južnoliburnskoga područja potječu tri primjerka. Među njima je najstariji onaj s gradine uz uvalu Gradac nedaleko od Smokvice na južnome dijelu otoka Paga. Pripada tipu orao / Nika (kat. br. 6), a iskovan je oko 281. g. pr. Kr., tj. za Pirove vladavine Epirom. Vremenski slijede primjerci iz razdoblja kada je Korkira bila u rukama Rimске Republike. Iz Aserije je novac s glavama Herakla i Korki-

incorporated into the Roman province of Macedonia, while others maintain that it endured until the end of the 3rd century AD.³³ In the period after the battle at Cynoscephalae, which signified the end of Macedonian predominance, the minting of federal coinage, which was issued in the name of the Thessalians, was probably initiated in Larissa.³⁴ The obverse featured a deity's head, either Zeus, Apollo or Athena, and the name of the league's magistrate. The reverse may have featured Athena Itonia, Demeter or a horse and the magistrate's name.³⁵ An example of the Apollo/Athena Itonia type (cat. no. 12) was found at Gradina in Medviđa (Fig. 3), 16 km north-east of Benkovac.

Corcyra (Corfu), thanks above all to its geostrategic position in the sea, played a vital role from the very beginning as the Greek colony that controls the maritime routes linking western Greece with southern Italy and Sicily, and with Albania and the Adriatic zone. Its dominant position during the late Archaic and Classical era had been lost, and until the end of the 4th century BC its role had been reduced to that of a maritime base, which was exploited by various Hellenistic powers at specific times. In 303 BC, it was briefly conquered by Cleonymus and the Spartans, and then it was besieged by Cassander.³⁶ At the invitation of the Corcyrans, Agathocles of Syracuse came in 300 BC, broke the siege and forced Cassander to retreat, because Corcyra was too strategically vital and too close to Sicily for something like this to go unchecked. Agathocles held the island for several years and then relinquished it to his daughter Lanassa as her dowry when she married King Pyrrhus of Epirus in 295 BC, whereby Agathocles secured an ally on the opposite shore.³⁷ Until 255 BC, it was a member of the Epirote League and only regained its independence after the death of Alexander Molossus.³⁸ But this was short-lived, as already in 229 BC the island was conquered by the Illyrians, who granted it to Demetrius of Pharos to administer, and he in turn relinquished it to the Romans.³⁹ This political fate was reflected in the work of its mint. The tradition of minting mostly with silver from the onset of the 6th century BC until the end of the 3rd century BC was replaced by the

40 O novcu Korkire, Head 1911, str. 325-328.

41 Calomino 2014, str. 430.

42 Bonačić Mandinić 2004, str. 28, 30.

43 Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, str. 152, 154, sl. 6-7.

44 Bonačić Mandinić 2012, str. 351, 364-365, 368, 372.

45 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, str. 326.

33 Bouchon, Helly 2015, p. 231; Head 1911, p. 291. This refers to the name of the community of Thessalians who appear as a *koinon* on coins, although here it is not a matter of any political organization.

34 According to the relevant literature, a Greek copper-alloy coin ascribed to Larissa originally came from the area of Polača (Mirnik 1987, p. 91). But there are no photographs of it nor was it accurately described, so it was not included in this paper. The same applies to several other examples of coins in public and private collections for which the find-sites are either unknown or dubious.

35 Head 1911, p. 311.

36 Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, p. 3.

37 Meister 2005, p. 406.

38 Hammond 2001, pp. 441-443.

39 Errington 2004, pp. 89-90.

re na aversu te pramca broda na reversu (kat. br. 7). Primjerak tipa glava Posejdona / glava bika u vijencu (kat. br. 8) nađen je arheološkim rekognosciranjem na Lergovoj gradini (sl. 4) iznad Slivnice Gornje, oko 21 km sjeveroistočno od Zadra.

NOVAC S PODRUČJA MAKEDONIJE

Iz sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like potječe i nekoliko numizmatičkih nalaza koji pripadaju makedonskim kraljevima dinastije Antigonida. U njihovo ime kovan je novac u sva tri metala, isto kao i za njihovih prethodnika. Ikonografija na novcu od plemenitih kovina ponajprije promovira vladare i njihova vojna postignuća, pa se tako na aversu nalaze portreti kraljeva i važnih božanstava, dok su na reversu prikazane njihove pobjede ili značajni događaji kroz simboličke personifikacije u liku Pana, Posejdona, Apolona i sl.⁴⁶ Brončani novac kovan za Antigona Gonata ima na aversu prikaz Atene, Posejdona, mladog Herakla ili makedonski štit, dok se na reversu javljaju karakteristični simboli vojnih pobjeda i snage: Pan podiže trofej, pramac broda, konjanik, makedonska kaciga. Navodi se naziv vladara bilo u obliku monograma ili punim imenom.⁴⁷ Ni Antigon Gonat, kao ni njegov nasljednik Antigon Doson nikada nisu stavljali svoje portrete na novac. Za razliku od njih Filip V. se često na aversima prikazuje kao vladar s dijamantom,⁴⁸ te osim svog lika na novcu promovira sina i nasljednika Perzeja. Brončani novac kao i ranije nosi prikaze božanstava važnih za dinastiju kao što su Atena, Posejdon, Pan, Artemida, ali i likove Helija, bradatog Herakla te kraljevog sina Perzeja kao heroja. Na reversima su i dalje prikazi simbola vojnih postignuća, Atena Alkis, pramac broda, konjanik, munja, orao, toljaga.⁴⁹ Filip je kovao novac u velikoj količini i taj je novac bio vrlo cijenjen kao platežno sredstvo. Pravo kovanja je nakon 187. g. pr. Kr. dodijelio i važnim gradovima u svome kraljevstvu te okruzima u kojima su bili rudnici. To je vjerojatno učinio kako bi ih s jedne strane pridobio za sebe, ali i kako bi mu pomogli u eksploataciji rudnika i povećanju količine novca. O tome svjedoče i nalazi brončanog novca, bilo kao pojedinačni primjerci, bilo u ostavama, koji je mahom makedonski i dominira od kraja 3. st. pr. Kr. do prve polovice 2. st. pr. Kr. (vladavina Filipa V. i Perzeja). Nasuprot tomu, novac ranijih makedonskih vladara puno je rjeđi u ostavama.⁵⁰

Ekonomska politika Filipa V., barem koliko je poznato iz po-

issuing of largely bronze coinage. After the island had become a permanent maritime base for the Romans, it acquired the status of a free state under their administration and continued minting, and this would endure until the imperial era. Its maritime tradition was celebrated on the coins of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when a ship's bow appeared on the reverse, while as of the 3rd century BC they featured the names of individual victorious triremes that participated in the annual competitions of ships held during festivals honouring the gods Poseidon, Dionysus and Apollo Actiacus.⁴⁰ Even later, during the Roman imperial era, images of ships were common.⁴¹ The coins minted under the Roman Republic were mostly bronze. They have been dated broadly, from 229 to 48 BC, and they maintained the Greek design and legends, sometimes also including the names of the local prytaneis.

Corcyran coinage was present at Dalmatian sites from the 5th to mid-1st centuries BC.⁴² It has been found during archaeological excavations at the Diomedan shrines at Cape Ploča⁴³ and Palagruža⁴⁴ and on the island of Vis, i.e., Greek Issa.⁴⁵ Three examples came from southern Liburnian territory. Among them the oldest is from the hillfort next to Gradac Cove not far from Smokvica in the southern part of the island of Pag. It belongs to the eagle/Nike type (cat. no. 6), and it was minted at around 281 BC, i.e., during the reign of Pyrrhus in Epirus. They are chronologically followed by examples from the period when Corcyra was held by the Roman Republic. The coin from Asseria has the heads of Heracles and Corcyra on the obverse and a ship's bow on the reverse (cat. no. 7). An example of the type with the head of Poseidon/a bull in a wreath (cat. no. 8) was found during archaeological reconnaissance at the Lergova hillfort (Fig. 4) above Slivnica Gornja, ca. 21 km north-east of Zadar.

COINS FROM MACEDONIAN TERRITORY

Several numismatic finds from northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika were issued under the Macedonian kings of the Antigonid dynasty. These kings had coins in all three metals minted, the same as their predecessors. The iconography on the coins made of precious metals first and foremost promoted the rulers and their military accomplishments, so the obverse contained portraits of the kings and major deities, while the reverse portrayed their triumphs or significant events by means of symbolic personifications rendered in

46 Pregled novca Makedonskog Kraljevstva i njegove cirkulacije tijekom helenističkog razdoblja, Touratsoglou 2012. O srebrnom novcu Antigona Gonata i Antigona Dosona, Merker 1960; Panagopoulou 2000; Panagopoulou 2001, str. 313-364.

47 Head 1911, str. 232.

48 O srebrnom i zlatnom novcu Filipa V. Makedonskog, LeRider 1977.

49 Head 1911, str. 233.

50 Touratsoglou 2012, str. 47.

40 On Corcyran coinage, Head 1911, pp. 325-328.

41 Calomino 2014, p. 430.

42 Bonačić Mandinić 2004, pp. 28, 30.

43 Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, pp. 152, 154, Fig. 6-7.

44 Bonačić Mandinić 2012, pp. 351, 364-365, 368, 372.

45 Bonačić Mandinić, Visonà 2002, p. 326.



Sl. 4.
Lergova gradina kod Slivnice
Gornje (foto: M. Grgurić)

Fig. 4.
Lergova hillfort above
Slivnica Gornja
(photograph: M. Grgurić)

vijesnih izvora i pisanih dokumenata, bila je usmjerena na re-populaciju „prave“ Makedonije, opustošene nakon ratova, promoviranje nove važne luke Tesalonike, briga o kraljevskim imanjima, podizanje carine na izvoznu i uvoznu robu, izvoz drva te eksploatacija rudnika. U tome su on i njegov nasljednik Perzej bili vrlo uspješni, što svjedoči i činjenica da su u kraljevskim riznicama Rimljani našli više od 6000 talenata u srebru i zlatu.⁵¹

Novac Antigona Gonata poznat je s Ošanjića, gdje su nađena dva primjerka.⁵² Za njega je iskovan sjevernodalmatinski primjerak tipa glava Herakla / konjanik (kat. br. 9), koji je nađen na Gradini u Medviđi. Ostava iz Štikade nedaleko od Gračaca sadržavala je i novac Filipa V. Pripada tipu Helijeva glava / snop munja (kat. br. 10).

NOVAC S PODRUČJA TRAKIJE

U sjevernoj Dalmaciji pronađena su i dva primjerka novca s područja Trakije, koji pripadaju starim grčkim kolonijama Maroneji i Odesi. Prvi navedeni grad bio je čuven po vinogradima i vinu, što je vidljivo i na prikazima Dionizija na novcu.⁵³ Maroneju je osvojio Filip II. i ona ostaje pod makedonskom vlašću sve do Perzejeva poraza, kada joj Rimljani dodjeljuju slobodu

the image of Pan, Poseidon, Apollo, etc.⁴⁶ The bronze coinage minted for Antigonus Gonatus featured an image of Athena, Poseidon, the young Heracles or a Macedonian shield on the obverse, while the reverse had the typical symbols of military victory and power: Pan raising a trophy, a ship's bow, a horseman or a Macedonian helmet. The ruler's name either fully rendered or as a monogram is also cited.⁴⁷ Neither Antigonus Gonatus nor his successor Antigonus Doson ever had their portraits placed on coins. In contrast to them, Philip V is often depicted on the obverse as a ruler wearing a diadem,⁴⁸ and besides his own image on coins he also promoted his son and heir Perseus. As before, bronze coins also bore images of the deities considered important to the dynasty, such as Athena, Poseidon, Pan and Artemis, but also figures of Helios, a bearded Heracles and the king's son Perseus as a hero. The reverse sides still featured symbols of military accomplishments, Athena Alcis, a ship's bow, a horseman, thunderbolt, eagle or club.⁴⁹ Philip minted coins in a high quantity and this coinage was highly valued as a means of payment. After 187 BC he also granted minting rights to major cities in his kingdom and the districts in which there were mines. He probably did so in order to curry favour with them, but also so that they could help him exploit mines and increase the quantity of coins. The finds of bronze coins testify to this fact, either as individual examples or in hoards, which are mostly Macedonian and which predominated from end of the 3rd to the first half of the 2nd century BC (reign of Philip V and Perseus). By contrast, the coinage of earlier Macedonian rulers is far rarer in hoards.⁵⁰

The economic policies of Philip V, to the extent that it is known based on historical sources and written documents, were aimed at the repopulation of the "real" Macedonia, devastated after many wars, the promotion of the new major port of Thessalonica, care for the royal estates, as well as the increase of tariffs on exported and imported goods, timber exports and the exploitation of mines. He and his successor Perseus were quite successful in these endeavours, which is reflected in the fact that the Romans found over 6,000 talents in silver and gold in the royal treasuries.⁵¹

Coins of Antigonus Gonatus are known from Ošanjići, where two were found.⁵² A north Dalmatian example of a Heracles/horse-rider type (cat. no. 9) was minted for him. It was found at Gradina in Medviđa. The hoard from Štikada not far from

51 Rostovtzeff 1998, str. 632-634.

52 Dragičević 2016, str. 121, br. 12 i 13.

53 Pick, Regling 1910, str. 547-548; Head 1911, str. 251. O ovome novcu te novijoj stilsko-tipološkoj analizi i interpretaciji prikazanog božanstva kao Plutona/Hada, tj. tračkog boga podzemlja Darzala, Bekov 2008; Bekov 2015.

46 For an overview of the Macedonian Kingdom's coinage and its circulation during the Hellenistic era, Touratsoglou 2012. On the silver coins of Antigonus Gonatus and Antigonus Doson, Merker 1960; Panagopoulou 2000; Panagopoulou 2001, pp. 313-364.

47 Head 1911, p. 232.

48 On the silver and gold coins of Philip V of Macedon, LeRider 1977.

49 Head 1911, p. 233.

50 Touratsoglou 2012, p. 47.

51 Rostovtzeff 1998, pp. 632-634.

52 Dragičević 2016, pp. 121, no. 12 and 13.

na zagovor pergamskog kralja.⁵⁴ Novac Maroneje pronađen je u arheološkim istraživanjima na području Danila,⁵⁵ oko 12 km istočno od Šibenika (kat. br. 13). Iskovan je iza 146. g. pr. Kr., kada je već uspostavljena rimska provincija Makedonija. Tada Maroneja uz Tasos postaje jedan od gospodarski važnih gradova, čiji je novac preplavio Balkanski poluotok i postaje jedno od glavnih sredstava plaćanja među keltskom i tračkom populacijom, a sve uz rimsko odobrenje.⁵⁶

Drugi grčki grad, Odesu, osvojio je Aleksandar Makedonski, a kasnije, unatoč pobuni protiv makedonske vlasti, postaje važno Lizimahovo uporište i luka. Upravo za ovih vladara počinje i kovanje novca. Grad jedno vrijeme uspijeva zadržati autonomiju, ali potkraj 2. st. pr. Kr. postaje dio velike države Mitradata VI. Pontskog. Natpisi govore da je Odesa u 2. st. pr. Kr. imala zlu sudbinu ostalih grčkih gradova na zapadnoj i sjevernoj obali Crnoga mora. Naime, bilo je to vrijeme ratova, depopulacije i velike nesigurnosti.⁵⁷ Novac Odesa pronađen na Velikoj gradini kod Kruševa (kat. br. 14) datira se nakon 200. g. pr. Kr. Glava bradatog muškarca s vijencem u kosi na aversu i konjanik s kornukopijom na reversu tumači se kao prikaz Velikog boga Odesa.⁵⁸

RASPRAVA

Za bolje razumijevanje pojave različitog helenističkoga novca u sjevernoj Dalmaciji i jugoistočnoj Lici potrebno je razmotriti njegovu cirkulaciju na prostoru odakle dolazi, i to barem onih tipova i emisija o kojima postoji više topografskih i statističkih podataka. Također, važno je sagledati mogućnosti kontakta južne Liburnije i njezina dubljeg japodskog zaleđa s prostorima antičke Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije.

Brončani novac Ahejske lige uglavnom cirkulira lokalno, odnosno u gradovima gdje je i kovan. Stoga možemo kazati da je njegova proširenost pretežno vezana uz Peloponez.⁵⁹ Poseban je slučaj Korint. Uz njegov se novac nalazi i onaj iz 14 različitih monetarnih središta Lige. Na optjecaj raznovrsnog novca, pretpostavlja se, utjecalo je to što je Korint veliki trgovač-

Gračac also contained a coin of Philip V. It belonged to the head of Helios/thunderbolt bundle type (cat. no. 10).

COINS FROM THRACIAN TERRITORY

Two examples of coins from Thracian territory were also found in northern Dalmatia. They belong to the ancient Greek colonies of Maroneia and Odessos. The first city was renowned for its vineyards and wines, which is apparent in the depictions of Dionysus on the coins.⁵³ Maroneia was conquered by Philip II and it remained under Macedonian rule until the defeat of Perseus, when the Romans granted it freedom at the urging of the king of Pergamon.⁵⁴ The Maroneia coin was found during archaeological excavations in the area of Danilo,⁵⁵ approximately 12 km east of Šibenik (cat. no. 13). It was minted after 146 BC, when the Roman province of Macedonia had already been established. At the time Maroneia, together with Thassos, became an economically vital city, and its coinage flooded the Balkan Peninsula and became one of the primary currencies among the Celtic and Thracian populations, all with Roman approval.⁵⁶

The other Greek city, Odessos, was conquered by Alexander the Great, and despite a rebellion against the Macedonian authorities, it later became a major stronghold and port for Lysimachus. It was precisely during the reign of these rulers that the minting of coins began. The city managed to retain its autonomy for a time, but at the end of the 2nd century BC it became a part of the state ruled by Mithradates VI of Pontus. Inscriptions indicate that in the 2nd century BC Odessos had suffered the same ill fate as other Greek cities on the western and northern shores of the Black Sea. This was, namely, a period of warfare, depopulation and great insecurity.⁵⁷ The coin of Odessos found at Velika gradina near Kruševo (cat. no. 14) has been dated to some time after 200 BC. The head of a laureate bearded man on the obverse and a horseman with a cornucopia on the reverse has been interpreted as a depiction of the Great God of Odessos.⁵⁸

54 Polyb. 30.3.

55 Taj numizmatički nalaz otkriven je 27. listopada 1970. na lokalitetu Šematorij, nedaleko od danilske gradine.

56 Rostovtzeff 1998, str. 764, 1504, bilj. 11 i str. 1510, bilj. 30. Područje Bugarske, Rumunjske, Mađarske, Srbije i Turske. O problemima kovanja i cirkulacije novca na prostoru regija Makedonije i grčkih središta Maroneje i Tasa, Crawford 1985, str. 131-132.

57 Rostovtzeff 1998, str. 765.

58 Head 1911, str. 276.

59 Najveći problem kod određivanja njegove cirkulacije jest što se za većinu katalogiziranih primjeraka novca ne zna mjesto nalaza, a i kada su pronađeni u arheološkim istraživanjima, uglavnom su nepublicirani pa time i nedostupni za proučavanje.

53 Pick, Regling 1910, str. 547-548; Head 1911, p. 251. On these coins and a newer stylistic-typological analysis and interpretation of the portrayed deity as Pluto/Hades or the Thracian chthonic god Darzalas, Bekov 2008; Bekov 2015.

54 Polyb. 30.3.

55 This numismatic find was discovered on 27 October 1970 at the Šematorij site, near the Danilo hillfort.

56 Rostovtzeff 1998, pp. 764, 1504, note. 11 and p. 1510, note. 30. The territory of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Serbia and Turkey. On the problems of minting and circulating coins in the regions of Macedonia and the Greek centres of Maroneia and Thassos, Crawford 1985, pp. 131-132.

57 Rostovtzeff 1998, p. 765.

58 Head 1911, p. 276.

ki i lučki grad.⁶⁰ Budući da je on dosta dobro arheološki istražen i publiciran, a numizmatički nalazi poznati iz različitih konteksta u gradu, uglavnom rezidencijalnog dijela i slojeva rimskog rušenja, novac ukazuje na to da je korišten za kupovinu robe i usluga. Putuje li taj novac preko Korinskog zaljeva zajedno s ahejskim osvajanjima gradova Pleurona i Herakleje? Stanje istraženosti i publiciranosti ne pruža nam uvid u ovu situaciju. Pronađen je jedan primjerak na Itaki. S druge strane, iznenađuje prisutnost nešto veće količine federalnog novca u Tesaliji, koja je dosta udaljena od Peloponeza. Nešto ga je malo otkriveno i u Ateni. Izvan kopnene Grčke nađen je još u Prijeni (današnja Turska), u jugoistočnoj Lici (kat. br. 2)⁶¹ i južnoj Liburniji (kat. br. 1, 3). Slična situacija je i s novcem Etolske lige, koji, barem u mjeri koliko je poznato, cirkulira uglavnom lokalno.⁶² Izvan nje u nešto većoj količini otkriven je na području Delfa, koje Etolska liga kontrolira. Nije rijedak ni na ahejskom prostoru, gdje je pronađen u gradovima Peleni i Egiju, ali iz vremena kad Ahejska liga postaje potpuno politički i vojno nemoćna. Pojedinačni primjerci nalaze se na geografski bliskim otocima Zakintu i Kefaloniji te na području Akarnanije i Korinta.⁶³ Primjerak objavljen u ovome radu (kat. br. 5) za sada spada u krajnji sjeverozapadni nalaz novca Etolske lige. Isto vrijedi i za onaj iz Sikiona (kat. br. 11). Inače, njegov novac je vrlo rasprostranjen po cijelom Peloponezu, kao i korintski. Količinski je gotovo jednak lokalnome, koji se otkriva na arheološkim nalazištima. Osobito je brojan uz obalu Korinskoga zaljeva.⁶⁴

Novac makedonskih kraljeva u Grčkoj uglavnom se interpretira kao posljedica vojnih djelovanja i garnizona postavljenih u pojedinim tamošnjim gradovima. Zanimljivi su nalazi koji potvrđuju istovremeni optjecaj većih denominacija makedonskih kraljeva, Ptolemeja III. i Ahejske lige na Peloponezu. U isto vrijeme cirkuliraju i manje nominale, poput one Sikiona i lokalnih kovnica.⁶⁵ Primjerci makedonskog novca s našeg područja (kat. br. 9-10) spadaju u perifernu pojavu. To se može kazati i

DISCUSSION

In order to better understand the appearance of different Hellenistic coins in northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika, it is necessary to consider their circulation in their area of origin, at least for those types of issues for which there are more topographic and statistical data. Furthermore, it is important to examine the possibilities of contacts between southern Liburnia with its deeper lapydic hinterland and the regions of ancient Greece, Macedonia and Thrace.

The Achaean League's bronze coins generally circulated locally, i.e., in the cities in which they were minted. Thus it may be said that their range was mostly linked to the Peloponnese.⁵⁹ Corinth is a special case. The coinage from fourteen different minting centres in the League can be found alongside Corinth's currency. The fact that Corinth was a large mercantile city and port probably influenced the circulation of a diversity of coins.⁶⁰ Since it has been archeologically quite well researched and published, while numismatic finds in different contexts in the city, generally in the residential area and the layers of Roman destruction, the coinage indicates that it was used to purchase goods and services. Did this coinage travel across the Gulf of Corinth together with the Achaean conquests of the cities of Pleuron and Herakleia? The current level of research and publication do not provide any insight into this situation. One example was found on Ithaca. On the other hand, the presence of a somewhat higher quantity of federal coinage in Thessalia is surprising, as it is rather far from the Peloponnese. A small quantity was also discovered in Athens. Outside of continental Greece, examples have also been found in Priene (modern Turkey), south-eastern Lika (cat. no. 2)⁶¹ and southern Liburnia (cat. no. 1, 3). A similar situation applies to the Aetolian League's coinage which, at least to the extent known, generally circulated locally.⁶² Outside of its territory, a somewhat higher quantity was discovered in Delphi, which the Aetolian League controlled. It was moreover not uncommon in Achaean territory, where it has been found in the cities of Pellene and Aegium, albeit from the time when

60 Ostala velika središta nisu ni približno tako dobro istražena pa je teško govoriti je li i u njima ista situacija.

61 Detaljne bilješke o lokacijama i broju nađenih kovanica, Warren 2007, str. 139-145.

62 Brončani novac kuje se naveliko u Grčkoj sredinom i potkraj 2. st. pr. Kr. i uglavnom cirkulira lokalno. Isti obrazac se vidi na Kreti, Delosu, Parosu, Delfima, Tesaliji, Korkiri, Akarnaniji, Etoliji, Elidi, Tegeji i Korintu. Crawford 1985, str. 126-127.

63 Detaljnije o prisutnosti novca Etolske lige u ostavama, Grainger 1999, str. 195-199.

64 Warren 1985, str. 49-52. Da su se ove obale itekako prelazile, svjedoči i ostava srebrnog novca iz Epira, gdje je nađen novac Korinta, Korkire, Dirahija, Apolonije, Akarnanije, Epirske lige, Kaulonije i Sikiona (Crawford 1985, str. 122-123).

65 Price 1967, str. 364, 368. Crawford drži da na Peloponezu potkraj 3. st. pr. Kr. osim lokalnog novca dominira srebrni novac Atene, makedonskih kraljeva, Seleukida i Ptolemejevića. On tu pojavu vezuje uz drugi makedonski rat i smatra da nakon 200. g. pr. Kr. ovdje nema ostava s velikim srebrnim novcem, tj. da taj novac nastavlja cirkulirati samo u Makedoniji (Crawford 1985, str. 123).

59 The greatest problem in ascertaining its circulation is that the find-site is not known for the majority of catalogued examples, and when they have been found in archaeological excavations, they generally were not published and thus remained unavailable for study.

60 The remaining large centres were not nearly as well studied so it is difficult to state that the situation in them was the same.

61 For detailed notes on the locations and number of discovered coins, Warren 2007, pp. 139-145.

62 Bronze coins were minted in high quantities in Greece in the mid- and late 2nd c. BC and generally circulated locally. The same formula could be seen on Crete and in Delos, Paros, Delphi, Thessalia, Corcyra, Acarnania, Aetolia, Elis, Tegea and Corinth. Crawford 1985, pp. 126-127.

za sjevernodalmatinske novčane nalaze podrijetlom s područja Tesalske lige (kat. br. 12), Akarnanije (kat. br. 4) i Trakije (kat. br. 13-14). Novac tračkih gradova Odese i osobito Maroneje uz rimsko odobrenje postaje jedno od glavnih platežnih sredstava na Balkanskom poluotoku, a povremeno prelazi i u Italiju.⁶⁶ Što se tiče južnoliburnskih nalaza novca Korkire (kat. br. 6-8), on ne predstavlja veliku rijetkost u Dalmaciji.⁶⁷

Razmotrimo li putove kojima bi ovaj helenistički novac mogao doći u sjevernu Dalmaciju, a preko nje i u Liku, onda zasigurno treba razmišljati o kontaktima s područjem Korintskog zaljeva i trgovini koja se odvijala na tom prostoru. Teže je odgovoriti na pitanje jesu li liburnski trgovci sami sudjelovali u ovoj trgovini ili se ona odvija posredno.⁶⁸ Analize helenističke keramike na istočnojadranskom prostoru tipološki i stilski jasno govore o utjecajima koji se mogu vezati uz Grčku, osobito sjeverozapadnu.⁶⁹ Numizmatički nalazi u pomorskom svetištu na rtu Ploči pokazuju da novac s grčkoga područja doista dolazi u sjeverni Jadran tijekom cijelog helenističkog razdoblja.⁷⁰ Zastupljene su srebrne hemidrahme Ahejske lige te brončani novac Korkire, Leuke i Arga.⁷¹ To Diomedovo svetište je na ruti koja veže sjeverni i južni Jadran, što potvrđuju otkrića i drugoga, tzv. grčko-ilirskog novca, koji također dolazi s jugoistoka. Riječ je o mnogobrojnim liburnskim i japodskim nalazima novca svih grčkih kolonija u Dalmaciji (Far, Herakleja, Isa, Korkira), ilirskih kraljeva (Balej, Gencije), a ponešto i grčkih kolonija s područja današnje Albanije (Apolonija, Dirahij).⁷²

Dakle, helenistički novac iz različitih monetarnih središta Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije dospio je, bilo izravno bilo posredno, morskim putovima do južnoliburnskih luka, odakle se daljnjom trgovinom proširio i dublje u japodsko zaleđe. Topografija nalaza te malobrojne, ali raznovrsne novčane građe ukazuje na to da je glavni kopneni prometni pravac usmjeren prema južnom Velebitu i njegovim planinskim prijevojima (karta 1). Na

the Achaean League had become entirely politically and militarily powerless. Individual examples have been found on the geographically nearby islands of Zakynthos and Cephalonia and in the territory of Acarnania and Corinth.⁶³ The example published in this paper (cat. no. 5) belongs among the thus far extreme north-western finds of Aetolian League coins. The same applies to the one from Sicyon (cat. no. 11). Otherwise, the latter's coins were quite widespread throughout the Peloponnese, as were those of Corinth. Its quantity is almost identical to that of the local coinage discovered at archaeological sites. It is particularly numerous along the shores of the Gulf of Corinth.⁶⁴

The coinage of the Macedonian kings found in Greece has generally been interpreted as a consequence of military operations and garrisons established in individual local cities. Interesting are the finds that confirm the simultaneous circulation of higher denominations minted by both Macedonian kings (such as Ptolemy III) and the Achaean League in the Peloponnese. Smaller denominations, such as those of Sicyon and local mints, circulated at the same time.⁶⁵ Examples of Macedonian coins from northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika (cat. no. 9-10) can be considered a peripheral phenomenon. This may even be said of the northern Dalmatian finds originally from the Thessalian League's territory (cat. no. 12), Acarnania (cat. no. 4) and Thrace (cat. no. 13-14). Coinage from the Thracian cities of Odessos and particularly Maroneia became, with Roman permission, among the primary means of payment on the Balkan Peninsula, and occasionally even crossed over into Italy.⁶⁶ As to the southern Liburnian finds of Corcyran coins (cat. no. 6-8), these were not a great rarity in Dalmatia.⁶⁷

If we consider the routes whereby these Hellenistic coins may have arrived in northern Dalmatia, and then through it in Lika, then contacts with the territory of the Corinthian Gulf and the trade that proceeded in this zone must certainly be borne in mind. It is more difficult to answer the question of

66 Crawford 1985, str. 319, App. 46.

67 O ostalom arheološkom materijalu i kontaktima s Korkirom i područjem Korintskog zaljeva, Šešelj 2010, str. 437-438, 515.

68 Odgovor na to pitanje vjerojatno se krije i u liburnskim lukama iz mlađega željeznog razdoblja. Nedavno se ušlo u trag prvoj takvoj, gdje se tek započelo s podvodnim arheološkim istraživanjima. Riječ je o Budimu, golemoj liburnskoj gradini s lukom čiji arheološki ostatci leže uz zapadnu obalu Novigradskog mora, nedaleko od Posedarja. Radiokarbonskom analizom drvenih ostataka dobiven je kalibrirani datum koji ukazuje na to da je luka nastala između 371. i 199. g. pr. Kr. (Beta Analytic Inc, Miami, Beta - 551897 report, February 18th 2020). Ukratko o tome, Ilkić, Šešelj 2021, bilj. 13.

69 To su: Korint, Patras, Istmos, Keryneia, Leukada, Atena (Šešelj 2010, str. 515, 518-527; Šešelj 2021).

70 O ulozu rta Ploče i pomorskih ruta na istočnome Jadranu, Šešelj, Ilkić 2015, str. 428-429.

71 Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, str. 152-155, 159-160, sl. 5-11.

72 O nalazima grčko-ilirskog novca s područja Like i sjeverne Dalmacije, Šeparović 2013, str. 525-536; Ilkić 2016, str. 99-105; Ilkić, Šešelj 2017, str. 281-302; Ilkić 2018, str. 57-66.

63 For more details on the presence of Aetolian League coins in hoards, Grainger 1999, pp. 195-199.

64 Warren 1985, pp. 49-52. That these shores were certainly crossed over is indicated by the hoard of silver coins from Epirus, which contained coins of Corinth, Corcyra, Dyrrhachium, Apollonia, Acarnania, the Epirote League, Caulonia and Sicyon (Crawford 1985, pp. 122-123).

65 Price 1967, pp. 364, 368. Crawford maintained that besides local coins, the silver coinage of Athens, Macedonian kings, the Seleucids and Ptolemaians dominated in the Peloponnese. He linked this phenomenon with the second Macedonian war and believed that after 200 BC there were no hoards here containing high quantities of silver coins, i.e., that this currency continued to circulate only in Macedonia (Crawford 1985, p. 123).

66 Crawford 1985, p. 319, App. 46.

67 On the other archaeological materials and contacts with Corcyra and the area of the Corinthian Gulf, Šešelj 2010, pp. 437-438, 515.

baš isti novčani tok u predcarskom razdoblju upućuju i topografske analize drugih emisija, poput hispanskih,⁷³ ali i općenito lomljenog novca, koji je pretežno sjevernoafričkog podrijetla.⁷⁴ Helenistički novac iz Grčke, Makedonije i Trakije potječe s niza gradinskih naselja. Uglavnom je nađen unutar bedema, a samo iznimno izvan njih, tj. u gradinskome podnožju. Otkriven je pojedinačno, ali i u sastavu mazinskog tipa ostava. Pripada razdoblju najstarijega optjecaja novca, i to kao platežnog sredstva u Liburniji i Japodiji, koje su u 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr. bile objedinjene istom ili vrlo sličnom monetarnom strukturom. Ovdje prikazana numizmatička građa potiče na daljnja istraživanja zasad još uvijek slabo poznatih trgovačkih i kulturnih veza između autohtonih zajednica s našega područja i visokorazvijenih helenističkih središta jugoistočne Europe.

whether Liburnian merchants engaged in this trade themselves or whether it was conducted by proxy.⁶⁸ Analyses of Hellenistic pottery in the eastern Adriatic seaboard clearly indicate typological and stylistic influences that may be linked to Greece, particularly its north-western part.⁶⁹ The numismatic finds in the seaside shrine on Cape Ploča indicate that coins from Greek territory came to the northern Adriatic during the Hellenistic era.⁷⁰ Silver hemidrachms of the Achaean League and bronze coins from Corcyra, Leucas and Argos have been found.⁷¹ This Diomedan shrine was on a route that linked the northern and southern Adriatic, which has been confirmed by the discovery of other, so-called Greco-Illyrian coins, which also came from the south-east. These are numerous Liburnian and lapydic finds of coins from every Greek colony in Dalmatia (Pharos, Herakleia, Issa, Corcyra), the Illyrian kings (Ballaios, Gentius), and some from the Greek colonies in the territory of today's Albania (Apollonia, Dyrrhachium).⁷²

Thus, Hellenistic coins from various minting centres in Greece, Macedonia and Thrace made their way, either directly or indirectly, by maritime routes to the southern Liburnian ports, whence they spread into the lapydic hinterland via further trade. The topography of the finds and meagre but diverse numismatic materials indicate that the primary mainland route was oriented toward southern Velebit and its mountain passes (map 1). Precisely the same monetary flow in the pre-imperial period has also been indicated by a topographic analysis of other issues, such as the Hispanian,⁷³ but also broken coins, which are primarily north African in origin.⁷⁴ Hellenistic coins from Greece, Macedonia and Thrace were discovered in a series of hillfort settlements. They were generally found inside the perimeter walls, and only exceptionally outside of them, i.e., at their foot. They were mostly discovered individually,

68 The answer to this question is probably also concealed in the Liburnian ports from the younger Iron Age. Recently underwater archaeological excavations began at only the first of these, Budim. This is a large Liburnian hillfort with a port, whose archaeological remains lie along the western shore of the Novigrad Sea, not far from Poseđarje. Radiocarbon dating of wood remains secured a calibrated result which indicates that the port was built between 371 and 197 BC (Beta Analytic Inc, Miami, Beta-551897 report, February 18th 2020). Briefly on this in Ilkić, Šešelj 2021, note 13.

69 These are: Corinth, Patras, Isthmos, Keryneia, Lefkada, Athens (Šešelj 2010, pp. 515, 518-527; Šešelj 2021).

70 On the role of Cape Ploča and maritime routes in the eastern Adriatic, Šešelj, Ilkić 2015, pp. 428-429.

71 Bonačić Mandinić 2004 a, pp. 152-155, 159-160, fig. 5-11.

72 On the finds of Greco-Illyrian coins from the territory of Lika and northern Dalmatia, Šeparović 2013, pp. 525-536; Ilkić 2016, pp. 99-105; Ilkić, Šešelj 2017, pp. 281-302; Ilkić 2018, pp. 57-66.

73 Čelhar, Ilkić 2019, pp. 37-38, 44-45, karta 1.

74 Out of the total numismatic materials dated to the pre-imperial period from the territory of northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika, approximately 15% is coin fragments. Coins were broken in order to obtain change. For more on this: Ilkić, Šešelj 2021, map 1.

73 Čelhar, Ilkić 2019, str. 37-38, 44-45, karta 1.

74 Od cjelokupne numizmatičke građe iz predcarskoga razdoblja s područja sjeverne Dalmacije i jugoistočne Like oko 15% je novčanih ulomaka. Novac je lomljen radi dobivanja sitniša. Više o tome u: Ilkić, Šešelj 2021, karta 1.

but also in Mazin-type hoards. They date to the period of the oldest circulation of coins, as the currency in Liburnia and Iapydia, which were unified in the same or a very similar monetary structure in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The numismatic materials presented herein serve as an impetus for further research into the still insufficiently known trade and cultural links between the indigenous communities in the territory of today's northern Dalmatia and south-eastern Lika and the highly-developed Hellenistic centres of south-eastern Europe.

KATALOG



- 1 Ahejska liga, Arkadija, *Caphyae*, 227. g. pr. Kr., AE, 19 mm, 6,03 g; SNG Cop. Vol. 3, Part 11, br. 339.
Av. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑ-[Χ]ΟΥ. Zeus Homarije stoji nag, s glavom ulijevo, drži Niku i oslanja se o žezlo.
Rv. [ΑΧΑΙΩΝ]-ΚΑΦΥΕ/ΩΝ. Ahaja sjedi ulijevo, drži vijenac i oslanja se o žezlo.
Podgrađe (*Asseria*); privatna zbirka; neobjavljeno.



- 2 Ahejska liga, Arkadija, *Caphyae*, 227. g. pr. Kr., AE, 19 mm, 5,05 g, 1 h; SNG Cop. Vol. 3, Part 11, br. 339.
Av. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑ-ΧΟΥ. Zeus Homarije stoji nag, s glavom ulijevo, drži Niku i oslanja se o žezlo.
Rv. [ΑΧΑΙΩΝ]-ΚΑΦΥΕ/ΩΝ. Ahaja sjedi ulijevo, drži vijenac i oslanja se o žezlo.
Mazin, ostava; Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu; lit.: Brunšmid 1897, str. 63, T. XIV, 13; Warren 2007, str. 22, 70, br. 348, T. 14; Kolak, Šeparović 2020, str. 109, br. 868.



- 3 Ahejska liga, 3.st. - rano 2. st. pr. Kr., AE, 19 mm, 2,98 g; SNG Cop. Vol. 3, Part 11, br. 325-351.
Av. [---]. Prikaz Zeusa Homarija nije sačuvan.
Rv. ΑΧΑΙ[---]. Ahaja sjedi ulijevo, drži vijenac i oslanja se o žezlo.
Trojan (Stabanj); privatna zbirka; lit.: Ilkić et al. 2020, str. 181, 183, 185, 189, 195, kat. br. 8.

CATALOGUE



- 1 Achaean League, Arcadia, *Caphyae*, 227 BC, AE, 19 mm, 6.03 g; SNG Cop. Vol. 3, Part 11, no. 339.
Obv. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑ-[Χ]ΟΥ. Zeus Homarius standing nude, head left, holding Nike and resting on sceptre.
Rev. [ΑΧΑΙΩΝ]-ΚΑΦΥΕ/ΩΝ. Achaia seated left, holding wreath and resting on sceptre.
Podgrađe (*Asseria*); private collection; unpublished.



- 2 Achaean League, Arcadia, *Caphyae*, 227 BC, AE, 19 mm, 5.05 g, 1 h; SNG Cop. Vol. 3, Part 11, no. 339.
Obv. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑ-ΧΟΥ. Zeus Homarius standing nude, head left, holding Nike and resting on sceptre.
Rev. [ΑΧΑΙΩΝ]-ΚΑΦΥΕ/ΩΝ. Achaia seated left, holding wreath and resting on sceptre.
Mazin, hoard; Archaeological Museum in Zagreb; refs.: Brunšmid 1897, p. 63, Pl. XIV, 13; Warren 2007, pp. 22, 70, no. 348, Pl. 14; Kolak, Šeparović 2020, p. 109, no. 868.



- 3 Achaean League, 3rd-early 2nd c. BC, AE, 19 mm, 2.98 g; SNG Cop. Vol. 3, Part 11, no. 325-351.
Obv. [---]. Image of Zeus Homarius not preserved.
Rev. ΑΧΑΙ[---]. Achaia seated left, holding wreath and resting on sceptre.
Trojan (Stabanj); private collection; refs.: Ilkić et al. 2020, pp. 181, 183, 185, 189, 195, cat. no. 8.



- 4 Akarnanija, *Oeniadae*, 219. - 211. g. pr. Kr., AE, 22 mm, 6,13 g, 12 h; SNG Cop. Part 12, br. 400-403.

Av. Zeusova ovjenčana glava, udesno.

Rv. [---]. Glava riječnog boga Ahelolja, udesno.

Smokovac (Krupa); Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru; neobjavljeno.



- 4 Acarnania, *Oeniadae*, 219-211 BC, AE, 22 mm, 6.13 g, 12 h; SNG Cop. Part 12, no. 400-403.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus, right.

Rev. [---]. Head of river god Achelous, right.

Smokovac (Krupa); Archaeology Department, University of Zadar; unpublished.



- 5 Etolska liga, 279. - 168. g. pr. Kr., AE, 19,5 mm, 3,92 g, 4 h; SNG Cop. Part 13, br. 35.

Av. Glava Atene s kacigom, udesno.

Rv. ΑΙΤΩ-ΛΩΝ. Goli Heraklo stoji glavom okrenut udesno, s lavljom kožom prebačenom preko lijeve podlaktice i desnom oslonjen rukom o toljagu.

Budim, sjeverni dio; Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru; neobjavljeno.



- 5 Aetolian League, 279-168 BC, AE, 19.5 mm, 3.92 g, 4 h; SNG Cop. Part 13, no. 35.

Obv. Head of helmeted Athena, right.

Rev. ΑΙΤΩ-ΛΩΝ. Nude standing Heracles, head turned right, with lion's hide thrown over left forearm and right hand resting on club.

Budim, northern section; Archaeology Department, University of Zadar; unpublished.



- 6 Korkira, oko 281. g. pr. Kr., AE, 17 mm, 3,70 g, 2 h; SNG Cop. Part 12, br. 176; Hoover 2010, br. 92.

Av. Orao skupljenih krila, udesno.

Rv. [KOP]. Nika otvorenih krila, ulijevo.

Gradac, Smokvica, otok Pag; Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru; lit.: Ilkić, Kožul 2017, str. 89-90, 95-06, kat. br. 10.



- 6 Corcyra, ca. 281 BC, AE, 17 mm, 3,70 g, 2 h; SNG Cop. Part 12, no. 176; Hoover 2010, no. 92.

Obv. Eagle with wings folded, right.

Rev. [KOP]. Nike with wings outspread, left.

Gradac, Smokvica, island of Pag; Archaeology Department, University of Zadar; refs.: Ilkić, Kožul 2017, pp. 89-90, 95-06, cat. no. 10.



- 7 Korkira, oko 229. - 48. g. pr. Kr., AE, 26 mm, 10,71 g; SNG Cop, Part 12, br. 227.

Av. Udesno okrenute glave Herakla i Korkire. Prva dijelom zaklanja drugu, od koje je prikazano samo lice.

Rv. Pramac broda, udesno. Gore: [K]OPK[YPAIQN] / AP[ISTEAS] / AP[ISTONOS].

Podgrađe (*Asseria*); privatna zbirka; neobjavljeno.



- 7 Corcyra, ca. 229-48 BC, AE, 26 mm, 10.71 g; SNG Cop, Part 12, no. 227.

Obv. Heads jugate of Heracles and Corcyra, right. First partially obscures second, of whom only face portrayed.

Rev. Ship's bow, right. Top: [K]OPK[YPAIQN] / AP[ISTEAS] / AP[ISTONOS].

Podgrađe (*Asseria*); private collection; unpublished.



- 8 Korkira, oko 229. - 48. g. pr. Kr., AE, 15 mm, 2,83 g, 10 h; SNG Cop, Part 12, br. 220-222.

Av. Udesno okrenuta glava Posejdona, iza trozub.

Rv. Unutar lovorova vijenca je glava bika, između nje [---].

Lergova gradina, jugozapadni dio, arheološko rekonosciranje, 2017.; Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru; neobjavljeno.



- 8 Corcyra, ca. 229-48 BC, AE, 15 mm, 2.83 g, 10 h; SNG Cop, Part 12, no. 220-222.

Obv. Head of Poseidon, right, behind trident.

Rev. Bull's head inside wreath, between it [---].

Lergova gradina, south-west section, archaeological reconnaissance 2017.; Archaeology Department, University of Zadar; unpublished.



- 9 Makedonija, Antigon II. Gonata, 277. - 239. g. pr. Kr., AE, 19 mm, 4,20 g, 4 h; SNG Grèce, Part 2, br. 1436.

Av. Glava Herakla, udesno.

Rv. Konjanik, udesno. Gore B-A, dolje monogram: ANTI.

Gradina, Medviđa; privatna zbirka M. Rebić; lit.: Ilkić, Rebić 2014, str. 95, 102, kat. br. 23.



- 9 Macedonia, Antigonos II Gonatus, 277-239 BC, AE, 19 mm, 4.2 g, 4 h; SNG Grèce, Part 2, no. 1436.

Obv. Head of Heracles, right.

Rev. Horseman, right. Top B-A, below monogram: ANTI.

Gradina, Medviđa; private collection M. Rebić; refs.: Ilkić, Rebić 2014, p. 95, 102, cat. no. 23.



10 Makedonija, Filip V., 221. - 179. g. pr. Kr., AE, 25 mm, 11,52 g; SNG Grèce, Part 2, br. 1452.

Av. Glava Helija sa zrakastom krunom, udesno.

Rv. Unutar hrastova vijenca je snop munja, gore ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, dolje ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Štikada, ostava; Muzej Like Gospić; Mirnik 1982, str. 158, T. III, 56; lit.: Kolak, Šeparović 2020, str. 125, 163.



10 Macedonia, Philip V, 221-179 BC, AE, 25 mm, 11.52 g; SNG Grèce, Part 2, no. 1452.

Obv. Head of Helios wearing radial crown, right.

Rev. Thunderbolts inside oak-leaf wreath, top ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, below ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Štikada, hoard; Museum of Lika Gospić; Mirnik 1982, p. 158, Pl. III, 56; refs.: Kolak, Šeparović 2020, pp. 125, 163.



11 Sikion, oko 330. - 200. g. pr. Kr., AE, 14,5 mm, 3,11 g, 6 h; Warren 1983, skupina 4, C.8.

Av. Reskriljeni golub, ulijevo.

Rv. ΣΙ unutar maslinova vijenca.

Donja gradina, Bruvno; Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru; neobjavljeno.



11 Sicyon, ca. 330-200 BC, AE, 14.5 mm, 3.11 g, 6 h; Warren 1983, group 4, C.8.

Obv. Dove with outspread wings, left.

Rev. ΣΙ inside olive branch wreath.

Donja gradina, Bruvno; Archaeology Department, University of Zadar; unpublished.



12 Tesalska liga, 196. g. - prva polovica 2. st. pr. Kr., AE, 21 mm, 10 h; SNG Cop, Part 11, br. 310-322.

Av. Ovjenčana glava Apolona, udesno.

Rv. [---]. Atena Itonija, udesno; drži štit i koplje. Gradina, Medviđa; privatna zbirka; neobjavljeno.



12 Thessalian League, 196 – first half of 2nd c. BC, AE, 21 mm, 10 h; SNG Cop, Part 11, no. 310-322.

Obv. Laureate head of Apollo, right.

Rev. [---]. Athena Itonia, right; holding shield and spear.

Gradina, Medviđa; private collection; unpublished.



- 13 Trakija, Maroneja, nakon 146. g. pr. Kr, AE, 26,8 mm, SNG Cop, Part 6, br. 644.

Av. Glava Dionizija s bršljanovim lišćem u kosi, udesno.

Rv. Desno [ΔΙΟΝΥ]Σ[ΙΟΥ], lijevo [ΣΩΤ]ΗΡΟ[Σ], dolje [ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΩΝ], lijevo u polju monogram [--]. Dionizije stoji glavom okrenut ulijevo, drži grozd i dva koplja.

Danilo, Šematorij, prostorija 14, arheološka istraživanja, 27. listopada 1970.; Muzej grada Šibenika; neobjavljeno.



- 13 Thrace, Maroneia, after 146 BC, AE, 26,8 mm, SNG Cop, Part 6, no. 644.

Obv. Head of Dionysus with ivy leaves in hair, right.

Rev. Right [ΔΙΟΝΥ]Σ[ΙΟΥ], left [ΣΩΤ]ΗΡΟ[Σ], below [ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΩΝ], left in field monogram [--]. Dionysus standing, head turned left, holding grape bunch and two spears.

Danilo, Šematorij, room 14, archaeological excavation, 27 October 1970; Šibenik City Museum; unpublished.



- 14 Trakija, Odesa, oko 3. st. pr. Kr., AE, 20 mm, 6,95 g, 1 h, SNG BM, br. 290 v.

Av. Ovjenčana glava, udesno.

Rv. Konjanik, udesno. Između konjskih nogu je monogram ΛΥ, a dolje [ΟΔ]ΗΣΙ[ΤΩΝ].

Velika gradina, Kruševo; privatna zbirka: M. Rebić; lit.: Ilkić, Rebić 2014, str. 95, 107, kat. br. 41.



- 14 Thrace, Odessos, ca. 3rd c. BC, AE, 20 mm, 6.95 g, 1 h, SNG BM, no. 290 v.

Obv. Laureate head, right.

Rev. Horseman, right. Monogram ΛΥ between horse's legs, below [ΟΔ]ΗΣΙ[ΤΩΝ].

Velika gradina, Kruševo; private collection: M. Rebić; refs.: Ilkić, Rebić 2014, p. 95, 107, cat. no. 41.

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