



AKADEMIJA NAUKA I UMJETNOSTI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE  
AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN UND KÜNSTE  
VON BOSNIEN-HERZEGOWINA

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## Kritike i prikazi / Besprechungen

Feđa Milivojević, *Cezarov Ilirik*, Hrvatski institut za povijest u Zagrebu - Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci, 2021, 350 str.

Monografska djela čiji tematski okvir se ograničava na period kasne Rimske republike izuzetno su rijetka u regionalnoj historiografiji. Na početku treba, također napomenuti da je knjiga *Cezarov Ilirik* jedna od rijetkih publikacija u našoj šroji iz rimske provincijalne historije, koja se temelji na analizi i kritici narativnih izvora, a ne na interpretaciji arheološkog materijala. Kada je riječ o historiji starog vijeka u većini slučajeva teško je povući jasnu granicu između arheološkog i historijskog pristupa. Imajući to u vidu s pravom se može reći da je Milivojević u ovoj knjizi napravio jedan važan iskorak u pravcu jasnog diferenciranja između rimske historije i klasične arheologije. Istinitost podataka koje su o Iliriku u doba Cezara ostavili grčko-rimski pisci, Milivojević ne utvrđuje oslanjajući se na arheološke nalaze već događaje primarno nastoji posmatrati kroz kritičku analizu i komparaciju antičkih tekstova koji prate razdoblje od propasti Ilirskog kraljevstva do prvog stoljeća nove ere. Naravno, interdisciplinarni pristup ovdje nije u potpunosti izostavljen, ali je stavljen u drugi plan. Treba imati u vidu da se u širokom opusu grčko-rimskih pisaca Ilirik rijetko spominje izravno, te je autor morao određena pitanja posmatrati u širem kontekstu rimske historije kako bi mogao doći do novih naučnih spoznaja o temi o kojoj piše.

Kao što je istaknuto u predgovoru osnovicu teksta čini doktorska disertacija koju je autor odbranio 2017. godine na Sveučilištu u Zadru. Sam naslov knjige boljim poznavateljima rimske provincijalne historije ukazati će da je knjiga nastala sa ciljem da se dokaže teza da je Ilirik postao provincija za vrijeme Gaja Julija Cezara. To je svakako bio dosta hrabar zadatak za historičara koji je na početku svog profesionalnog bavljenja naukom, imajući u vidu da u savremenoj historiografiji i arheologiji još uvijek preovladava mišljenje da je Ilirik postao provincija tek za vrijeme princepsa Augusta. Milivojević pitanje nastanka provincije Ilirik ne ostavlja otvorenim, već na moderan način kroz različite socijalne i političke aspekte argumentira svoju tezu da je Ilirik sredinom prvog stoljeća stare ere već bio provincija.

Na početku knjige nalazi se popis karata i tablica kao i pojašnjenja kratica nakon čega slijedi predgovor u kojem se naznačava na koja naučna pitanja će se pokušati odgovoriti u ovom djelu. U predgovoru se podvlači važnost Vatinijevog zakona na osnovu kojeg je jedan od najvećih Rimljana svih vremena imenovan upraviteljem Cisalpinske Galije i Ilirika. Već iz samog predgovora čitatelji mogu naslutiti da je Ilirik za Cezara nije bio samo jedna kratka epizoda u njegovoj upečatljivoj državničkoj karijeri kako se često relativizira u modernoj historiografiji. Nakon predgovora slijedi opširan uvod u kome se prezentira cilj djela, objašnjava se metodološki aparat, u osnovnim crtama prezentiraju narativni izvori, te rezultati prethodnih istraživanja.

Glavni dio rada je podijeljen na šest velikih tematskih cjelina koje su naslovljene: *Razdoblje prvog protektorata*, *Razdoblje drugog protektorata*, *Osnivanje provincije Ilirik*, *Događaji prokonzulata*, *Upava i organizacija provincije* i *Promjene za Cezarova vremena*. Stiče se utisak da je Milivojević radi bolje preglednosti tekst unutar spomenutih, velikih tematskih cjelina podijelio na više podnaslova. U tom kontekstu treba svakako spomenuti da je tekst leksički vrlo usklađen i neoptrećen nepotrebnim kompleksnim izrazima kojima, nažalost često obiluju stručne publikacije. Iako je bez dileme ovo knjiga uskostručnog sadržaja način na koji je napisana razumljiv je široj čitateljskoj publici.

Prvo poglavlje *Razdoblje prvog protektorata* započinje osvrtom na Prvi ilirski rat. Naime, Milivojević analizira svjedočanstva antičkih pisaca o sukobu Agronove udovice Teute sa Rimljanima čijim porazom Rimljani će proširiti svoj utjecaj na istočnu obalu Jadrana. Može se reći da je u ovom poglavlju akcenat na pitanju: Šta je podrazumjevaio rimski protektorat koji je formiran u jednom dijelu nekadašnjeg Ilirskog kraljevstva? U tom kontekstu detaljno se analizira pozicija indigenih zajednica ko što su Partini i Atintani, ali i pozicija grčkih kolonija

Korkire, Apolonije i Farosa. Na osnovu komparacije i kritike izvora definisana je svojevrsna granica protektorata. Već u Drugom ilirskom ratu pokazati će se strateška važnost novonastalog protektorata. Na osnovu izvora teško je utvrditi da li je došlo, nakon ovog kratkotrajnog sukoba iz 219. god.p.n.e, do nekih značajnih teritorijalnih promjena u protektoratu. Ipak, na osnovu savezničkog ugovora iz 215. godine autor je prepoznao određene promjene: Te promjene se mogu pratiti i na osnovu tabelarnog i kartografskog prikaza. Potom se položaj rimskog protektorata na istočnj obali Jadrana posmatra kroz prizmu tri makedonska rata, odnosno Trećeg ilirskog rata (koji se može smatrati dijelom Trećeg makedonskog rata). S pravom autor veliku pažnju posvećuje analizi Livijevog podatka da je Ilirik podjeljen na tri dijela nakon Gencijevog poraza. U ovom dijelu se može prepoznati da Milivojević ne podliježe naučnim autoritetima, već im se argumentovano suprostavlja namećući rezultate svojih istraživanja. Na temelju svojih naučnih spoznja zaključuje da su sve zajednice koje se spominjuu Acijevom proglasu od tog trenutka sačinjavale rimski protektorat. U daljnjem tekstu prvog poglavlja procjenjuju se posljedice ratovanja protiv Histra (178.god.p.n.e) i Delmata (156 / 155. god.p.n.e) na teritoriju rimskog protektorata. Na kraju prvog poglavlja autor se fokusirao na nastanak provincije Makedonije i posljedica koje je taj događaj ostavio na rimski protektorat na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

Drugo poglavlje je *Razdoblje drugog protektorata*. Iz samog naslova čitatelj može da nasluti da će na temelju istog metodološkog pristupa kao i u prvom poglavlju biti analizirana opstojnost rimskog vojno-političkog utjecaja na istočnoj obali jadrana. U knjizi je ovaj period prepoznat kao *intervencijsko razdoblje* u kojem je Rim slao istaknute vojskovođe da bi ponovo uspostavili vlast na područjima gdje je usljed napada Ardijejaca, Plereja, Delmata, Liburna i Japoda ona dovedena u pitanje. Za razliku od razdoblja prvog protektorata drugi protektorat je obilježilo umirenje buntovnih inidigenih zajednica. Naravno, Rimljani nisu bili u potpunosti uspješni u realizaciji ovog cilja, jer Delmate i Japode nisu uspjeli staviti pod svoju kontrolu, odnosno nisu uspjeli da oslabe njihov utjecaj na najvitalnije dijelove protektorata. U skladu sa shvatanjima savremene arheologije/historiografije, Milivojević prihvata tezu o postojanju dvije Salone odnosno naglašava da treba razlikovati grčku koloniju od delmatske Salone. Postojanje dvije Salone se problematizira kroz Metelov pohod koji je ima za cilj slabljenje delmatskog saveza radi očuvanja protektorata. S istim ciljem i Tuditan je pokrenuo kampanju protiv Japoda. Kada je riječ o Japodima u vrijeme Tuditanovog pohoda njih autor s pravom tretira kao politički savez koji je bio pod hegemonijom najjače zajednice. Potom na primjeru vojne kampanje Gaja Koskonija protiv Delmata ističe se da je Promona bila delmatsko naselje koje politički pripalo Liburnima kao vjernim rimskim saveznicima. Ovo su samo neki od primjera novog posmatranja određenih događaja, sa kojima će se čitatelj moći susresti u drugom poglavlju.

Ukoliko bi se trebalo izdvojiti najvažnije poglavlje ove monografije to bi zasigurno bilo *Osnivanje provincije Ilirik*. Prethodna poglavlja nas hronološki uvode u događaje koji će dovesti do formiranja provincije Ilirik za vrijeme Gaja Julija Cezara. Na samom početku dat je pregled historijskih oklonosti koje će rezultirati nastankom provincije. To je jedan najturbulentijih perioda rimske historije, u kome su Sula i Marije potkopali temelje Republike i stvorili osnovu na kojoj će kasnije Cezar i August izgraditi neki sasvim novi Rim. Pišući o procesu stvaranja provincije autor na početku daje važno objašnjenje da je pojam *lex provinciae* konstrukt historiografije 19. stoljeća stoga povlači da je neophodno da moderna historiografija novostvorenim legalnim terminima objasni stvarnu primjenu rimskog zakona i historijskih procesa. Jedna digresija u ovom tekstu mogla bi biti da bi u budućnosti isto trebalo postupiti prema pojmu romanizacija. S ciljem da se što bolje razumije proces nastanka provincije Ilirik u ovom djelu pribjegava se analogiji sa nastankom drugih provincija posebno Transalpinske Galije. Nastanak provincije Ilirik je dosta komplikovano pitanje, jer je u rimskom svijetu je bilo vrlo malo područja koja su bila slična Iliriku, pošto su na jugu živjele zajednice naviknute na monarhijski centralizirani sistem, a na sjeveru zajednice sa monarhičkog uređenja sličnog habitusa kao npr. u Galiji. Na osnovu Vatinijevog zakona iz 58.god.p.n.e Cezar je na upravu dobio Cisalpinsku Galiju i Ilirik, čime je prema Milivojevićevom mišljenju postao prvi upravitelj reorganiziranog protektorata. Argumentovano i bez okolišanja autor kroz cio daljnji tekst brani svoju tezu da je spomenutim zakonom definisana provincija Ilirik. Primarno to čini kroz vanjsku i unutrašnju kritiku izvora, a sekundarno kroz kritiku i komparaciju. Ovdje se jasno podvlači da je Ilirik, Vatinijevim zakonom osnovan kao zasebna provincija s upraviteljem čija su zaduženja uključivala i upravu nad Cisalpinskom Galijom, a naknadno i Transalpinskom.

U narednom poglavlju *Događaji prokonzulata* analizira se značaj Ilirika za njegovog prvog prokonzula Cezara. Sam Cezar je u jednom kratkom izvještaju napisao da je nakon smirivanja situacije u Galiji 57/56. godinu krenuo prema Iliriku da posjeti tamošnje zajednice i upozna područje. Općepoznato je da je cijelu Cezarevu karijeru obilježilo ratovanje pa je tako i njegov kratki boravak u Iliriku obilježio sukob sa Pirustima o čemu se detaljno govori u ovoj knjizi. Ovom pitanju je posvećena značajna pažnja, jer je to situacija zbog koje je Cezar prvi put obratio pažnju na Ilirik. Epizoda sa Pirustima ujedno je zadnji podatak koji dokumentuje događaje u Iliriku za vrijeme Cezarovog prokonzulata. Nedostak više informacija o Iliriku za vrijeme Cezarovog prokonzulata, Milivojević pripisuje velikoj količini podataka koji dokumentuju galske ratove i građanske ratove u Rimu, te su

stoga događaji iz Ilirika bili na periferiji interesa rimskih pisaca. Ilirik svoje mjesto u djelima antičkih historiografa nalazi tek kada se građanski rat koji se vodi između Cezarovih i Pompejevih pristalica proširio i na istočnu obalu Jadrana. Kroz vizuru Cezarovog prokonzulata prate se događaji vezani za japodski napad na Tergeste i Akvileju, te delmatski napad na Promonu.

U poglavlju *Uprava i organizacija provincije* autor se detaljno osvrće na problem teritorijalno – administrativnog uređenja provincije Ilirik za vrijeme Cezara. Argumentovano odbacuje tezu koja preovladava u savremenoj historijografiji o tome da je Kvint Numerije Ruf zamjenika upravitelja u Iliriku. Drugo važno pitanje na koje se u ovom poglavlju nastoji odgovoriti *jeste kada nastaju sudbeni konventi (conventus iuridicus) u Iliriku?* Budući da nema podataka o ovom važnom pitanju u kasnorepubličkom periodu autor zaključak donosi na osnovu analogije sa provincijama Hispanija i Azija, odnosno na podacima iz perioda ranog principata. Na osnovu kompracije i krtike izvora autor zaključuje da takve strukture postojale i u ranocarskodoba, a da je njihov kontinuitet vidljiv u Plinijevom tekstu. Shodno tome, zaključuje da je Narona bilo središte prvog konventa u Iliriku koji je osnovao Cezar. Mora se priznati da autor iznosi dosta uvjerljive argumente koji idu prilog toj tezi.

Posljednja tematska cjelina u okviru glavnog dijela knjige jeste *Promjene za Cezarova vremena*. Kao i u prethodnom poglavlju autor ovdje nastavlja da se bavi problemom *conventus iuridicus*. Prepoznaje dva tipa konventa : prvi koji nastaje u peregrinskom gradu i peregrinskoj zemlji, te drugi koji je nastao izvan gradskog teritorija na javnoj zemlji (*ager publicus*). Zatim se nastoji dokučiti kakva je uprava bila u ovim konventima u kasnoj republici. Postoji također jaka sprega između ilirskog konventa i doseljenika o čemu se u knjizi diskutuje kroz problematiziranje doseljavanja Rimljana. Unutar ovog poglavlja posebna se pažnja posvećuje Histri i Liburnima u vrijeme Cezarovog prokonzulata. Krtički pristupajući podacima koje su ostavili rimski pisci sagledava se administrativno-pravni položaj prostora između Krke i Cetine. U tom kontekstu posebnu važnost ima Salona, što se jasno vidi i u ovoj monografiji. Raspravu o Cezarovom Iliriku autor okončava analizom fraze *oppida civitum Romanorum*. U ovom dijelu teksta možemo slikovito, kroz kartografski prikaz spoznati kako je izgledao Cezarov Ilirik.

Umjesto zaključka na kraju knjige dat je sažet pregled svih rezultata istraživanja koja su predstavljena u ovoj knjizi. Iz vizure struke poglavlja kao što je ovo pod naslovom *Sažetak za kraj* su vrlo korisna. Naime, u nekim djelovima teksta se stiče utisak da određena pitanja ostaju otvorena. S druge strane ovom poglavlju iskristalizirali zaključci do kojih je autor došao nakon višegodišnjeg studioznog istraživanja. U okviru *Bibliografije* nalazi se popis skraćena, popis korištenih izdanja izvora i popis citiranih djela. Na kraju knjige se nalazi indeks pojmova. Ostaje mali žal što knjiga nije zaključena tekstom recezija ili izvod iz istih, jer bi zasigurno bilo zanimljivo pročitati viđenje ovog djela kroz pero eminentnih hrvatskih naučnika Borisa Olujića i Roberta Matijašića.

Kada se sagleda cjelokupan sadržaj ove knjige ne može se oteti utisku da ona predstavlja prekretnicu za razumijevanje krupnog problema savremene antičke historiografije, a to je problem datiranja nastanka provincije Ilirik. Autor čvrsto stoji pri svom stavu da je Cezar bio prokonzul provincije Ilirik. Slagali se mi sa tim ili ne moramo priznati da je argumentacija koju je Milivojević ponudio u ovoj knjizi razrađena do najsitnijih detalja i odlično faktografski postavljena. Istina, postoji još uvijek prostor za određene rasprave što je svako dobro, jer je savremena regionalna historiografija postala letargična kada je riječ o problemu nastanka provincije Ilirik. U svim narednim istraživanjima koja se bave problem administrativnog uređenja Ilirika ova knjiga će zasigurno zauzimati važno mjesto kao jedno od kapitalnih djela. Shodno tome, nadati se da će knjiga u skorijoj budućnosti doživjeti i englesko izdanje kako bi se njen sadržaj približio i naučnim zajednicama van jugoistočne Europe.

Amra Šaćić Beća

Tomislav BILIĆ, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, Musei Archaeologici Zagrabiensis Catalogi et Monographiae XIII, Zagreb 2015, 540 pages.

The collection of Roman Republican coins curated in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb have been published in this new, extensive and lavishly outfitted book on numismatic by Tomislav Bilić, whose position is curator of the numismatic collection in the same museum.

The largest part of the book is used to publish coins catalogue parallel with its photo images (pp. 25-532) on the opposite page. Due to the variety of the Republican coins in the museum collection, the catalogue provides more excitement than previously published informatologically formed catalogue on the coin hoard from Bukova near Virovitica of 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Both books were published separately within the same museum serial regardless their methodological similarity. The shorter introduction of the book (pp. 7-15) is the only section where we can see scientific ambitions of the author. Even though, the images of three diagrams, three photos and one map have significantly decreased the text. The bibliography (pp. 16-17) is following, the tabular list of the single finds and hoard content (pp. 18-22) presented in the form of table, as well as the catalogue usage instruction (p. 23).

The author tries to describe process of acquiring Republican coins through the review of the history of the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb presented in the introduction. Explicitly stating there have been data about donations of ancient coins, including Republican, years before the National Museum had been founded. Interestingly enough the author marks out its foundation in 1836/1846. Obviously, he is not competent enough to define the institution of the museum within one decade, although the author writes about this museum and works there. Furthermore, he states that donations for the future National Museum in Zagreb, have been stored in Royal Law Academy in Zagreb (since 1828), National library (since 1838) and Croatian-Slavonian Economic Society (since 1841). The oldest known numismatic donation came from Baltazar Adam Krčelić from 1778, the author claims quoting Ivan Mirnik. Nevertheless, the author himself hadn't reported whether there were any Republican coins in that specific donation. Particularly strange, moreover unclear thing here is the donation which had been directed to the National Museum in Zagreb, which however was founded almost 70 years later. The only logical explanation is that the author obviously follows the idea noted at Mirnik's work, which is the tendency to make National Museum, i.e., Archaeological Museum in Zagreb older than it really is. He appoints its foundation long before its official establishing in 1846.<sup>1</sup> Motivation could only be the fact that there have been already established Archaeological Museum in Split in 1820 and the National Museum in Zadar in 1832, then again, Zagreb being seriously behind them. And for the capital of Croatia, such a thing is not commendable.

The chronology of acquiring Republican coins to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and individuals who published it, was delivered by the author, as well as the illustrations of the museum documentation. He openly brings to light that all samples of Republican coins have been gathered into the museum up until 1938. Furthermore, it shows, the museum's priority hadn't evidently been to direct funds to purchase Republican coins, as well as there hadn't been no will nor interest any longer from the side of random finders or collectors to hand some specimen down to the museum. Furthermore, it also illustrates the eagerness and devotion of generations of curators from this numismatic department who, obviously, haven't been capable to acquire not a single specimen not even low-cost one. According to the author's opinion the importance of published collection has been displayed through at least two categories: exceptional importance to researching Republican coins circulation at the area of south Pannonia in particular, and also the importance for numismatic-wise study of Republican coins, emphasizing that both categories have been sublimed into golden coin (aureus) of Quintus Cornificius from Sisač (which have been unique specimen for long period of time). Coloured photographs of this aureus have been published enlarged.

Therefore, it's shameful to a great degree that the author avoided to say, yet it was his obligation, to emphasize the fact that not only the most attractive coin in the collection had been saved by Viktor Hoffiller, director of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum in Zagreb at that time, but also had been purchased with his own money plus his wife's Mihaela savings because giving of the fact the museum was lacking in funds at that time. What's more, it was exactly Hoffiller's merit to issue the first scientific article of that golden coin,<sup>2</sup> which also "surprisingly" the author fails to bring to notice. Evidently, the article of Zdenka Dukat and I. Mirnik where the same coin had been published, was more significant to the author. The title of the article had been submitted to,

<sup>1</sup> I. Mirnik, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu Zagreb / Archaeological Museum, u: Muzeopis 1846-1996, Zagreb 1996, 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> V. Hoffiller, Dva zlatna rimska novca iz Siska, u: Šišićev zbornik / Melanges Šišić, Zbornik naučnih radova Ferdi Šišiću povodom šezdesete godišnjice života, 1869-1929, Zagreb 1929, 619-621.

obviously “well-intentioned and intelligent” intervention of typesetter in the printing office and, as a result, name *Kornuficije* (Cornuficius) had been altered into *Konfucije* (Confucius).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the author decided to assort this anecdote into the history of research of this collection. It seems to me, this book by Bilić could easily be incorporated into similar anecdotes. Even though there’s barely anything to read literary-wise *Idi Vidi* (cro. *idi vidi!* – eng. go see!) had been engaged for proofreading (it is translation agency not a person). Bilić in his introduction published drawing of renaissance medal as curiosity (fig. 2) that has been modelled after Republican coin having inscription of the famous Caesar’s sentence *Veni, vidi, vici*.

The largest number of Republican coins curated in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb originate from several hoards. Some of them had been analysed and published (Mazin near Gračac and Lički Ribnik near Gospić) long time ago. Therefore, they need re-evaluation and republishing, for the most part due to latest cognitions regarding dating newest types and sets of Republican coins. That has already been done for some hoards, namely Cesarica near Karlobag,<sup>4</sup> so that the author brings nothing new for this hoard. On the other hand, single finds from specific sites have never been published as unity. The most important contribution of the author, in this context, is publication of 81 single sample of Republican coins from Sisak, (pre-roman Segestika, roman Siscia). The author has determined all samples according to the anthological opus *Roman Republic Coinage* by Michael H. Crawford.

The evidence that Bilić in his book arguably uses museology and informatically formed organization rather than scholarly numismatic or archaeological criteria is detected in the fact that coin’s samples have been published by actual age instead by content of hoards or sites of single finds. However, the author himself tabulated according to the sites as a substitute. Also, the hoards containing, both Republican and early Roman Imperial coins, have artificially been divided in this book.

More than ten hoards have been discovered in the basin of the rivers Zrmanja, Una and Unac so far. They contained massive cast bronze coins – Carthaginian, Numidian, Ptolomaic Egyptian, Hispanic, and Italic i.e., Roman (aes signatum and aes grave). Occasionally they were found in abundance together with pieces of raw bronze (aes rude) as well as broken bronze items. The hoards had been dug into the ground in the end of 2nd and the beginning of 1st century BC and mainly originate from outskirts of southeast Iapodic area. They don’t appear in other regions. The first hoard of this kind had been found in Mazin, consequently all other hoards were named after that one.

In his short scholarly step forward in this book, the author brings up the following on the Mazin type hoards: “*The relatively large number of individual finds of coins which usually appear in hoards of the Mazin type, more so in north Dalmatia and the coastal region at the foot of the Velebit mountain than in Iapodic territories, suggests that this coinage circulated over a relatively large territory, possibly marking the very beginnings of monetary circulation in the mountainous areas of north Dalmatia (the Roman province, that is). The context of the penetration of this type of coinage into the interior is in fact quite unexplainable and has to this day not been interpreted in a satisfactory and credible manner. It is somewhat perplexing why bronze coinage, mostly from Rome and northern Africa, produced from the 5th century BC onward, came to this relatively restricted geographical area and why it was kept in its original form such a long time, considering the fact that hoards of the Mazin type can roughly be dated to the time-frame between the end of the 2nd century and 75 BC. It is almost impossible to determine whether it arrived to this area through Dyrrachium (less likely) or through Liburnian ports (more likely); did it arrive into this area through trade (amber?) or as a result of Roman military campaigns, perhaps together with Roman traders and/or soldiers; and whether hoards were concealed due to the insecurities created by the Roman military threat or for some other less dramatic reasons, often unrecorded in historical sources. According to one theory, coins from Carthage and Numidia arrived to the Iapodic and Liburnian areas via an over-sea trade. Peoples from the western Balkans traded bronze coinage for timber, the raw material for building Mediterranean ships, (supposing it was the other way around? – remark by D. P.) either because of its worth as raw materials or by preserving its monetary function. Based on more recent data, it could be claimed that the Velebit area really did export high-quality construction timber precisely for shipbuilding, but the theory is not easy to prove and needs to be supported with firmer evidence.*

*Literary sources which could help clarify the situation are scarce: according to Livy, Iapodic envoys received 2000 asses from the Romans in 170 BC (Liv. XLIII. 5.3, 8), and this is the only precise information on any kind of influx of Roman bronze coinage into this region. At this point, it is not possible to determine with any certainty the kind of role the coinage found in hoards of the Mazin type played in the Roman-Iapodic political and economic*

<sup>3</sup> Z. Dukat / I. Mirnik, Aureus Kvinta Konfucija (Kornuficija – sic!), Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu XVI-XVII, Zagreb 1984, 91-93 (+ 1 table).

<sup>4</sup> Z. Dukat / I. Mirnik, Ostava rimskih denara iz Cesarice I, Numizmatičke vijesti XXVII/38, Zagreb 1984, 7-29; *Idem*, Ostava rimskih denara iz Cesarice II, Numizmatičke vijesti XXVIII/39, Zagreb 1985, 30-45.



relations during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (possibly also in the 3rd century BC), but M. Bonačić-Mandinić's hypothesis about a gradual transformation from collecting bronze as a raw material to using bronze coinage in trading transactions seems plausible, at least when discussing the interior, while such a process was probably not necessary along the coast." (p. 15).

While publicizing Mazin hoard Josip Brunšmid came to conclusion that foreign merchants from Africa – Carthaginians at first place, who have been well-known merchants and seamen, same as their ancestors Phoenicians – have kept upcoming to Eastern Adriatic shores to trade, mainly to purchase amber. It has been arriving along the land road from Baltic Sea. Whatsoever, despite everything, J. Brunšmid knowledgeably assumed that, in Iapodic territories, the value of money had been determined based on its weight. Therefore, the worth of the coinage equalled to copper raw material. This conclusion Brunšmid confirmed with partially melted coin specimens.<sup>5</sup>

Brunšmid's conclusion hadn't been accepted by Carl Patsch who, however, considered that massive casted bronze coins, from large hoards in Iapodic territory, hadn't been used as mean of payment but only as raw material for casting purposes.<sup>6</sup>

Once I. Mirnik had analysed the content of the Mazin type hoards and had made the list of single finds of African and Italic coins in the Western Balkans, he came upon the conclusion those coins have been spread over significantly wider territory than the area where these hoards had been found. In addition, he assumed the coins from those hoards represented metal raw material, thus it could have easily been transformed into some other item. At the same time, Mirnik considered they presented the very beginning of monetary flow at wider area. He was motivated to conclude it was about circulated coinage, by the significant number of single finds of African and Italic coins. Even though the way and time of coins arrival to Iapod territory remained secret, Brunšmid's idea to relate those coinage to amber trade, seemed understandable to Mirnik since amber items in Iapod graves exist in abundance.<sup>7</sup>

Petar Popović became engaged in the hoards of the Mazin type at the same time as Mirnik, whereas he tended to follow Patsch's thesis in that aspect. Popović presumed the presence of African and Italic coins already more than a century old, existing at relatively limited area and period cannot prove Iapods utilised those coins as mean of payment. It is hardly plausible for Iapods, even if they had a need to use coins, to take over coins originated from distant North Africa or Italy furthermore having in mind it hadn't been into circulation for longer period. Even less plausible permission is that some strong trade relations had existed between North Africa and Iapodic territory. Since Numidian coinage existed in all hoards it is more likely to presume that both Carthaginian and Egyptian coins came from the same place i.e., it has already been in Numidia and arrived to Iapodic territory from there. Roman soldiers and merchants have been intermediaries since Numida had been crowded with Italic merchants and dealers at the second half of 2nd century B.C. They had been selling to Iapods, as raw material, African coins together with Italic coins that had been out of circulation, and crude pieces of bronze and copper. Then Iapods have been producing bronze jewellery.<sup>8</sup> Despite the fact Bilić, in his book, has quoted notably significant Popović's work, the section where Popović plausibly explain the hoards of the Mazin type Bilić obviously hasn't even read. If he had read it in that case, it would have been necessary to explain why he does or doesn't acknowledge his opinion. In that case he would have known that Maja Bonačić-Mandinić thesis hadn't only been "plausible" but also it neither hadn't been scientifically original. (By the way, not so long ago, Tomislav Bilić has naively included the hoard from Lički Ribnik in the Mazin type hoards<sup>9</sup>, nonetheless he is mentor of Anja Bertol Stipetić's doctoral dissertation entitled *The Mazin type hoards*.)

The Iapodic envoys received 2000 asses from the Romans in 170 B.C., which is the news from Livy's account which, consequently, goes in favour to Popović's thesis whatsoever, interesting curiosity here is that the amount received was copper not silver coins. If this is Roman present (as a matter of fact it was compensation for self-willed Gaius Cassius Longinus campaign against them) had been significant amount for Iapods's opinion, then the owners of those hoards containing heavy casted coins would have surely been wealthy people (given the fact those coins had been used as a mean of payment rather than raw material). Livy's account indeed goes in favour of the conclusion the huge arrival of casted coins to Iapodic area had just appeared in second half of 2nd

<sup>5</sup> J. Brunšmid, Našašće italskih i afrikanskih novaca u Mazinu, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva II (1896/7), Zagreb 1897, 46-47.

<sup>6</sup> C. Patsch, Die Lika in römischer Zeit, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung I, Wien 1900, 52-53.

<sup>7</sup> I. Mirnik, Circulation of North African etc. currency in Illyricum, Arheološki vestnik 38, Ljubljana 1987, 371-373.

<sup>8</sup> P. Popović, Novac Skordiska. Novac i novčani promet na Centralnom Balkanu od IV do I veka pre n. e. (cyrillic) / Le monnayage des Scordisques. Les monnaies et la circulation monétaire dans le centre des Balkans IVe-Ier s.av.n.è., Posebna izdanja, Arheološki institut u Beogradu, Matica srpska u Novom Sadu, Beograd – Novi Sad 1987, 116-119.

<sup>9</sup> T. Bilić, Late Roman republican hoards terminating with the denarii of C.L. Caesares, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu XLV, Zagreb 2012, 118.

century BC. Romans had already destroyed Carthage and soon enough conquered Numidia, therefore coins of those two states had no worth as mean of payment.

Giving no explanation the author attributes five republican denarii to Roman coin hoard from Tribić near Livno. Those five specimens had been registered into inventory catalogue of Numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb together as one ensemble noting they had been a gift from 1937 (curiously enough the name of person who gifted those denarii hadn't been noted which is unprecedented) and that they originate from surroundings of Livno. For this reason, only it was the author's obligation to note exact record and only than his conclusion i.e., the specimen belongs to the Tribić hoard. That, anyhow, is not plausible speculation. Furthermore, the Tribić hoard was found in 1930 containing 112 samples of Roman coins, of which largest part belonged to Republican denarii while only fewer portions were Augustinian coins. Eight denarii as well eight specimens of bronze and copper coins (sestertii, dupondii, asses). Immediately after the hoard had been found two specimens were lost, while the complete hoard had been purchased by Aleksandar Poljanić, director of the National bank in Sarajevo who had been extremely passionate numismatic collector. It was him, on the other hand, who permitted Dimitrije Sergejevski expertly analyse this hoard while Sergejevski published thorough paper on it in the same year.<sup>10</sup> The Tribić hoard destiny had been unknown to professional community after World War II. It was certainly arbitrarily conclusion of I. Mirnik that the hoard had been scattered around, as a result five samples from it arrived in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>11</sup> Obviously Bilić has adopted that conclusion. However, A. Poljanić was sentenced to prison during communist Yugoslavia and consequently, largest part of his property and assets had been deprived, including his numismatic collection. The large number of Roman silver coins had been listed inside the collections. Numismatic collection, all packed up had been allocated to the Land (National) Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo,<sup>12</sup> but however, had never been registered to inventory catalogues of classical antique and medieval coins pertaining the collection hasn't even been unpacked. For all those reasons one should keep hoping the Tribić hoard is awaiting to be scholarly reanalyse following modern numismatic catalogues. However, if Mirnik and Bilić had taken into consideration, the fact that the complete hoard from Tribić had been purchased by Poljanić except for two samples, if only they double checked that five samples which have been curated in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb are not existing in the coins catalogue in Sergejevski's article, it is possibility they would have understood those five samples have not been part of that hoard. Eventually, they would understand the samples which we're talking about are part of another coin hoard of Republican and Augustian denarii from Livno field – the one from Bastasi founded by chance in 1930 as well. Smaller portion of that hoard had also been published by Sergejevski.<sup>13</sup> In my separate article I have reconstructed the content of the hoard from Bastasi, where I have explained that the largest portion of that hoard was purchased by Franciscan Fr. Lujo Marun, as a matter of fact it was him who donated five denarii to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>14</sup>

Even though there are no reliable information, the author as interpreting I. Mirnik and interprets five Republican denarii as part of the hoard which have been found in Kukuruzovića Pećina (cro. *pećina* – eng. cave) near Gornji Vaganac in Ličko Petrovo Selo area (cro. *selo* – eng. village). In addition, the author overlooked the fact that Mirnik have already published precise description of the same coins in another paper, while he has dated hiding of the hoard in the second half of 1st century B. C.<sup>15</sup> However, early Imperial coins – *as* of Claudius and denarius of Antoninus Pius – have also been founded in this cave, while unlike Mirnik, Bilić includes those samples as being part of this highly questionable hoard and offers late dating for hiding!?! Three Republican denarii bear traces of high temperature activities, suggesting to secundar metallurgy, or else melting of metals items at the very site.

In the end his catalogue, the author shares almost discretely the information (p.p. 539-541) that the largest number of Republican coins are not in the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb anymore. It refers to the coin hoards from Mazin, Lički Ribnik and Salona. It is far from clear when and which circumstances made those samples disappear from the Museum, also it remains unnoticed have there been any kind of investigation. Being curator of that collection clearly make him responsible, at least to try to explain to the community. It goes without saying someone needs to take responsibility at least with its honour. Having ten samples from the Mazin hoard disappeared present an extreme inconvenience for the Museum particularly hav-

<sup>10</sup> D. Sergejevskij, Nalaz rimskog novca kod Livna, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini XLII, Historija i etnografija, Sarajevo 1930, 119-132 (cyrillic).

<sup>11</sup> I. Mirnik, Coin hoards in Yugoslavia, BAR International Series 95, Oxford 1981, 45, 48.

<sup>12</sup> A. Rodinis, Aleksandar Poljanić, Hrvatska misao 42, Nova serija, Sarajevo 2011, 106, 110, 121-122.

<sup>13</sup> D. Sergejevskij, Numizmatičke beleške, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini XLIV, Historija i etnografija, Sarajevo 1932, 24-25 (cyrillic), T. XV, 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> D. Periša, Ostava rimskih denara iz Bastasa na Livanjskom polju, (in press).

<sup>15</sup> I. Mirnik, Rimski novac iz pećina Hrvatske, u: Šašlov zbornik, Arheološki vestnik 41, Ljubljana 1990, 733-735.

ing in mind J. Brunšmid endeavours to have this hoard content integral.<sup>16</sup> During World War I Austro-Hungarian Monarchy formed Commission for Finding and Excluding Archival and Museum Materials after they had occupied Serbia. Brunšmid sent official letter to Croatian ban (governor) Ivan Skerlec, where he stated that, almost certainly, several samples of Old Italic coins from the Mazin hoard got to the National Museum in Belgrade. Furthermore, he demanded in his letter, they should be returned to the Archaeological department of the National Museum in Zagreb.<sup>17</sup> Those samples are still being curated in the National Museum in Belgrade.<sup>18</sup> Unlike Brunšmid who obviously had no scruple to even use a warfare time to make the hoard complete his successors in the Numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb succeeded to lose already acquired segment of the same hoard.

62 Republican denarii are missing from the Lički Ribnik hoard while early Imperial or Augustus denarii haven't been published by Bilić in his book, it is utterly unknown to us whether they're still numbered in the Numismatic collection either. Even though the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb got larger portion of that hoard right after the chance find, Josip Klemenc made an effort to acquire or, at least, to make the list of samples who ended up in the private collections. After he made the hoard complete (besides coins it contained Iapodic silver and amber jewellery) he published an exceptional and exemplary scientific article.<sup>19</sup> The fact that numerous Republican coins' samples have disappeared from that hoard clearly shows incompetence of someone among Hoffiller's and Klemenc's successors in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb to curate the collection. However numismatic finds get lost easily from the museum collections, but it is the trickiest thing to bring them back into the same collections.

There are namely two European leading numismatists authorities linked to the reviewed book - directly Peter Kos as the recension writer prior to book publication and indirectly M. Crawford whose book has been maximally exploited by Bilić to make his own book. Whereas P. Kos has been able to see the character of Bilić's book prior to publication but apparently agreed to be recension writer for some reason, Crawford could have seen it only after its publishing. The latter knows the best whether it flatters to him, the fact that, someone based on his book, completely made his own.

From the professional point of view, Bilić's book can be a useful work for experts who want to have an insight into the (impoverished) collection of Republican coins in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and serve as a good catalogue for beginners and lovers of numismatics who can't easily get to Crawford's work.

Darko Periša

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<sup>16</sup> J. Brunšmid, Dodatak k V. Našašće italskih i afrikanskih novaca u Mazinu, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva IV, Zagreb 1900, 81-86; *Idem*, II. dodatak k V. Našašće italskih i afrikanskih novaca u Mazinu, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva VI, Zagreb 1902, 167-170; *Idem*, III. dodatak k. V. Našašće italskih i afrikanskih novaca u Mazinu (kotar Gračac), Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva VIII, Zagreb 1905, 176-180.

<sup>17</sup> I. Bilić, Ivan Skerlec Lomnički 1913. - 1917. Kraljevski komesar i hrvatski ban, Doktorski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb 2011, 327-328.

<sup>18</sup> B. Borić-Brešković / P. Popović, Coins of the Roman Republic. Collections of the National Museum in Belgrade and Belgrade University / Novac rimske Republike. Zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu i Beogradskog univerziteta (cyrillic), Numizmatika 2, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, Beograd 2006, 18-19, 48-49.

<sup>19</sup> J. Klemenc, Ostava u Ličkom Ribniku, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva XVI, Zagreb 1935, 83-125 (+ 3 tables).

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