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O RECEPCIJI RADA ĆIRE TRUHELKE NA PRAPOVIJESNOJ ARHEOLOGIJI U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI NAKON DRUGOG SVJETSKOG RATA

UDK: 902-051 Truhelka, Ć.

Izvorni znanstveni rad

Svojom muzeološkom djelatnošću, stručnim i znanstvenim radom Ćiro Truhelka ostavio je velik trag u Bosni i Hercegovini. Bilo da se radilo o iskopavanjima, publiciranju nalaza ili administraciji, Ćiro Truhelka je s puno entuzijazma, poudzetnosti i odlučnosti pristupao svakom poslu. Njegovi suvremenici relativno su rano počeli neargumentirano kritizirati i kontroverzno ocjenjivati njegova postignuća, što su potom »preuzeli« i njegovi nasljednici u Zemaljskom muzeju. Ovim radom nastoji se ispraviti nepravda učinjena ovom velikom arheologu, kako pogrdna i ružna riječ ne bi bila posljednje što ostaje iza njegovog djela.

Ključne riječi: Ćiro Truhelka, prapovijesna arheologija, Zemaljski muzej, Bosna i Hercegovina

ON THE RECEPTION OF ĆIRO TRUHELKA'S PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY WORK IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Original scientific paper

Ćiro Truhelka left a major mark on Bosnia-Herzegovina through his museum activities and professional and scholarly work. Whether working on excavations, publishing his finds or in administration, Truhelka approached each task with great enthusiasm, energy and dedication. His contemporaries began to baselessly disparage and tendentiously critique his accomplishments rather early, a practice "taken on" by his successors in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This work constitutes an attempt to rectify the injustice done to this great archaeologist, so that belittling and unseemly comments do not remain the final word on his work.

Key words: Ćiro Truhelka, prehistoric archaeology, The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Kako bi se moglo govoriti o biti i pozadini recepcije Truhelkinog rada u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, treba posegnuti u zadnji decenij 19. i prvi 20. stoljeća. To je ujedno vrijeme vrlo intenzivnog i uspješnog rada mladog Ćire Truhelke u Zemaljskom muzeju. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata taj je rad doživio začudno kontroverznu i, kako ću nastojati pokazati, neopravdanu kritičnu ocjenu upravo od njegovih nasljednika – prapovjesničara u Muzeju: Alojza Benca, Borivoja Čovića i Zdravka Marića. Uz njih se može vezati i kustosicu na Srednjovjekovnoj zbrici Nadu Miletić, no njezin je odnos specifičan i ovdje ga ostavljam po strani.¹

Kritike su počele rano, zapravo s kataloškim objavama nalaza s Glasinca, ubrzo i s drugih lokaliteta. Znanja i materijal s tih nalazišta dugujemo u velikoj (Glasinac) ili potpunoj mjeri (Donja Dolina, Veliki Mošunj, Gorica itd.) upravo Truhelkinom istraživačko-znanstvenom radu.² Dok se taj negativni, gotovo podcjenjivački odnos prema Truhelkinom doprinosu očitovao najprije suzdržano, u objavi kataloga Glasinca, a zatim se izrazio jasnije u disertaciji Zdravka Marića,³ u potpunosti je izašao na vidjelo u dva priloga B. Čovića u Spomenici stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine: 1888.-1988⁴. Upravo, dakle, na mjestu gdje je bilo posve neprikladno, s obzirom na značajni jubilej, iznositi takve stavove.

¹ Nada Miletić nije imala negativan stav prema Truhelkinom radu, dapače. Nije se jedino slagala s interpretacijom starokršćanske arhitekture. Tu je temu opširno i temeljito obradio Nenad Cambi najbolji stručnjak za starokršćansku i općenito antičku arheologiju (Cambi 1994).

² Benac, Čović 1956; Benac, Čović 1957; Truhelka 1899; Truhelka 1904; Truhelka 1913.

³ Marić 1964, 5-6, 11-19.

⁴ Miletić, Čović 1988, 40-42; Čović 1988, 74-83.

In order to speak about the essence and background underlying the reception of Ćiro Truhelka's work in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Second World War, one must look back to the final decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries. This corresponded to the period of the young Truhelka's very intensive and successful work in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in that country. After the Second World War, his work became subject to a controversial and, as I shall endeavour to show, unjustifiably critical assessment by his very successors – the Museum's prehistory specialists: Alojz Benac, Borivoje Čović and Zdravko Marić. The curator of the Medieval Collection, Nada Miletić, may also be added to this list, although her stance was specific, so I shall set it aside herein.¹

Criticism began early, actually with the first catalogue publications of the finds from Glasinac, and then from other sites. The knowledge and materials derived from these sites are largely (Glasinac) or entirely (Donja Dolina, Veliki Mošunj, Gorica, etc.) the result of Truhelka's research and scholarly work.² While this negative, almost disparaging attitude toward Truhelka's contributions initially manifested itself with some restraint in the publication of the Glasinac catalogue, it was clearly expressed Zdravko Marić's dissertation,³ and come to the fore entirely in two articles by Borivoje Čović in the memorial book for the one-hundredth anniversary of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Spomenica stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*:

¹ Nada Miletić did not have a negative view of Truhelka's work, quite the contrary. She only disagreed with his interpretation of Early Christian architecture. This topic was extensively and thoroughly covered by Nenad Cambi, the top expert on Early Christian and Classical architecture in general (Cambi 1994).

² Benac, Čović 1956; Benac, Čović 1957; Truhelka 1899; Truhelka 1904; Truhelka 1913.

³ Marić 1964, 5-6, 11-19.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Povelja za zlatnu medalju Svjetske izložbe u Bruxellesu 1897. godine / Brussels World Exhibition 1897 Gold Medal Charter (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Potaknuti Ćovićevim tekstovima u *Spomenici* u dva smo navrata reagirali u Zagrebu. Tri su rada objavljena u časopisu *Marulić*⁵, a 1992. godine obilježili smo pedesetogodišnjicu Truhelkine smrti manjim simpozijem u Matici hrvatskoj i uspjeli tih devet predavanja tiskati 1994.⁶ Kako bismo, dakle, obuhvatili većinu djelatnosti koje je Truhelka vršio na području arheologije i povijesti, bilo je potrebno okupiti devet stručnjaka. Ta su predavanja iznijela suvremene ocjene koje su u mnogočemu riješila kontroverzne ocje-

1888.-1988.).⁴ Such sentiments therefore appeared precisely where – given the momentous anniversary being observed – they were entirely inappropriate.

Prompted by Ćović's texts in *Spomenica*, we responded twice in Zagreb. Three works were published in the journal *Marulić*,⁵ while in 1992 we marked the fiftieth anniversary of Truhelka's death with a small symposium in Matica Hrvatska, the Croatian literary and cultural foundation, and managed to publish the nine lectures delivered there in 1994.⁶ In

⁵ Majnarić Pandžić 1989; Mirmik 1989; Jarak 1990.

⁶ Majnarić Pandžić 1994.

⁴ Miletić, Ćović 1988, 40-42; Ćović 1988, 74-83.

⁵ Majnarić Pandžić 1989; Mirmik 1989; Jarak 1990.

⁶ Majnarić Pandžić 1994.



Sl. / Fig. 2: Francuski orden »Les palmes académiques« / French medal “Les palmes académiques” (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

order to encompass the majority of the work Truhelka did in the fields of archaeology and history, it was necessary to gather nine experts. These lectures set forth contemporary assessments which in many ways resolved the tendentious critiques of Truhelka’s accomplishments. I also spoke of this in Sarajevo⁷ – in the city and in the country to which Truhelka devoted the most productive period of his life (1886-1922). During that time, he set the foundations for all cultural/historical collections in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, filled the volumes of the museum’s publications *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* (hereinafter: GZM) and *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (hereinafter: WMBH) with numerous and very up-to-date publications of his finds, and thereby also set the foundations for many scholarly branches on the history – both old and new – of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ćović’s assertions depended on the letters of Moriz Hoernes sent to Benjamin Kállay in the Joint Finance Ministry in Vienna or to the Territorial Government in Sarajevo. These letters were published thanks to Hamdija Kapidžić, in a very learned German to be sure, 15 years before the *Spomenica* was published in 1988, where Ćović very imprecisely cited them in two chapters.⁸ Ergo, insofar as Ćović wanted to use these letters for far-reaching assertions and assessments, he should have analyzed them carefully, and not only the one or two he cited in excerpts, but the entire collection of letters, for only then could he have obtained the proper insight into their character.

Since Ćović obviously did not do so, I shall do so here in very general terms, with citations from the whole which enable anyone to

⁷ The lecture was delivered on 5 May 2011, organized by the Croatian Science and Arts Association, Sarajevo.

⁸ Kapidžić 1973. Darko Periša and Dean Zadro pointed me to this book, for which I sincerely thank them.

ne Truhelkinih postignuća. O tome sam govorila i u Sarajevu⁷ – u gradu i zemlji kojima je Truhelka posvetio svoje najkreativnije životno razdoblje (1886.-1922.). Postavio je tada temelje svim kulturno-historijskim zbirka u Zemaljskom muzeju, ispunjavao brojnim i vrlo ažurnim objavama svojih nalaza i interpretacija sveske Glasnika Zemaljskog muzeja (dalje GZM) i Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina (dalje WMBH), postavljajući ujedno temelje brojnim znanstvenim granama o povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine – staroj i novoj.

Čovićevo navodi oslanjajući se na pisma Moriza Hoernesu upućivana ministru Benjaminu Kállayu u Zajedničko ministarstvo financija u Beču ili Zemaljskoj vladi u Sarajevu. Ta su pisma zahvaljujući Hamdiji Kapidžiću bila objavljena, doduše na jednom vrlo školovanom njemačkom jeziku, 15 godina prije Spomenice iz 1988., gdje ih u dva poglavlja Čović posve neprecizno citira.⁸ Ergo, ukoliko ih je autor Čović htio koristiti za dalekosežne izjave i ocjene, trebao je pisma pažljivo proanalizirati, i to ne samo jedno ili dva koja citira u izvatku, nego čitavu zbirku pisama, jer bi jedino tako dobio uvid u njihov karakter.

Kako to očito nije učinio Čović, učinit ću to ovdje vrlo okvirno ja sama, s citatima iz cjelina koje svakome omogućavaju provjeru u Kapidžićevoj knjizi. Mislim da to treba iznijeti jer pogrdna i ružna riječ ostaje sve dok se ne razotkrije u punoj istini.

⁷ Predavanje je održano 5.5.2011. godine u organizaciji Hrvatskog društva za znanost i umjetnost, Sarajevo.

⁸ Kapidžić 1973. Na knjigu su me upozorili Darko Periša i Dean Zadro, pa im ovdje najljepše zahvaljujem.

verify the content of Kapidžić's book. I believe that this should be set forth, because belittling and untoward words remain until they are overturned by the complete truth.

M. Hoernes (1852-1917), Truhelka's senior by 13 years, was at the time of this roughly decade of regular correspondence with Kállay the curator (*adiunctus*) in the Royal Natural History Museum in Vienna, and very, very interested in the prehistory of the Austro-Hungarian lands, particularly the recently occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was with the greatest interest and delight that he received the exceptional finds from Glasinac, which the occupation army procured for the Vienna museum when it unearthed some grave mounds.⁹ Hoernes himself rushed to Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately and published several works on the finds there and future prospects for archaeology.¹⁰ The establishment of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Truhelka's arrival as the curator of the still nascent museum halted the outflow of valuable finds to Vienna. Once the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established, Kállay charged Hoernes to report on the progress of archaeological research in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in that capacity, Hoernes, who soon became professor of prehistoric archaeology at the Viennese university, sent many letters on every event and mishap in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I should note that in 1886, Truhelka was the sole educated trained archaeologist with a degree from Zagreb, and he also held a doctorate in art history. All of the remaining associates who came in subsequent years had only received some tutoring in archaeologi-

⁹ Hochstetter 1881.

¹⁰ Hoernes 1882; Hoernes 1883. See further the list of his works published in Benac 1987, 957 – out of 9 works, 6 pertain to sites in this region.

M. Hoernes (1852.-1917.), stariji od Truhelke 13 godina, bio je u vrijeme svog otprilike desetogodišnjeg redovitog pisanja Kállayu kustos (adiunctus) u Kraljevskom prirodoslovnom muzeju u Beču i vrlo, vrlo zainteresiran za prapovijesnu arheologiju austrougarskih zemalja, naročito za nedavno okupiranu Bosnu i Hercegovinu. S najvećim je zanimanjem i oduševljenjem primio izuzetne nalaze s Glasinca koje je raskopavanjem grobnih humaka okupaciona vojska pribavila bečkom muzeju.⁹ Sam Hoernes je odmah pohrlio u Bosnu i Hercegovinu i objavio nekoliko radova o tamošnjim nalazima i budućim arheološkim perspektivama.¹⁰ Osnivanjem Zemaljskog muzeja i dolaskom Truhelke za prvog kustosa Muzeja u osnivanju, bio je zaustavljen priliv dragocjenih nalaza u Beč. Kállay je po osnutku Zemaljskog muzeja zadužio Hoernesa da ga izvještava o napretku arheoloških istraživanja u Bosni i Hercegovini i s tog je položaja Hoernes, koji je postao uskoro profesor prapovijesne arheologije na Bečkom sveučilištu, odaslao veliki broj pisama o svakoj zgodi i nezgodi u Zemaljskom muzeju.

Napominjem da je 1886. Truhelka bio jedini školovani stručnjak – arheolog sa zagrebačkom diplomom i doktoratom povjesničara umjetnosti. Svi ostali suradnici u sljedećim godinama bili su tek priučeni arheološkom radu.¹¹ Kako je poznato (upozoravam ovdje na izvrstan članak u

cal work.¹¹ As known (I should point out here the outstanding entry in Wikipedia,¹² which provides basic information on Truhelka and a substantial bibliography featuring many authors on his work in various disciplines), Truhelka arrived in Sarajevo at the age of 21 to serve as secretary of the Museum Association, and he actively participated in all possible aspects of preparations for the establishment of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He immediately became thoroughly engaged in a number of tasks, and among these archaeological excavations assumed a major role from the very beginning. He began to work at Glasinac already in 1888. He presented his finds to the Anthropology Association in Vienna already in the next year, and he brought specific excavated materials with him for perusal. From year to year afterward, this was followed by reports, lectures abroad by invitation, and publications concerning everything on which he worked in the preceding year, appearing in the Museum's bulletin (*Glasnik*) as of 1889. In the first year, he published 11 works. Besides regular reports on Glasinac, he also covered other topics; it is apparent that already at that time he had opened many themes, discovered many sites and, in with his characteristic lucidity, specified the scope of significance of individual major themes (e.g., Early Christian architecture, the *Bosančica* script, monolithic tombstones – *stećci*, medieval inscriptions, numismatics). The organization of the archaeological congresses in Sarajevo in 1894 and 1895 (with participation by anthropologists from

⁹ Hochstetter 1881.

¹⁰ Hoernes 1882; Hoernes 1883. Vidi nadalje popis njegovih radova objavljen u Benac 1987, 957 - od 9 radova 6 ih se odnosi na nalazišta iz naših krajeva.

¹¹ Radimský je bio rudarski inženir (kapetan), Fiala kemičar i botaničar, ali su se obojica dobro snašla u arheološkim radovima. Tek 1893. stiže u Sarajevo Patsch na Gimnaziju, a od 1898. na antičku zbirku u Zemaljskom muzeju. Patsch raspolaze odličnom naobrazbom s Bečkog sveučilišta.

¹¹ Radimský was a mining engineer (captain), while Fiala was a chemist and botanist, but both found their bearings quite well in archaeological work. It was only in 1893 that Patsch arrived in Sarajevo, first to teach at the Classics Gymnasium, and then, as of 1898, he began to work in the National Museum's Antiquity Collection. Patsch had received an exemplary education at the University of Vienna.

¹² http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka (31.10. 2013.).



Sl. / Fig. 3: Povelja o proglašenju Ćire Truhelke vitezom od strane cara Franje Josipa I / Knighthood charter of Ćiro Truhelka by the Emperor Franz Joseph I (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Wikipediji¹² koji je donio osnovne podatke o Truhelki kao i bogatu bibliografiju raznih autora o njegovom radu u raznim disciplinama), Truhelka je stigao u Sarajevo, star 21 godinu, za tajnika Muzealnog društva i živo sudjelovao u svim mogućim aspektima priprema za osnivanje Zemaljskog muzeja. Odmah je započeo vrlo angažiran rad na više zadataka, a među njima su od samog početka važno mjesto zauzimala arheološka iskopavanja. Na Glasincu je počeo raditi već 1888. Sljedeće je već godine predstavio Antropološkom društvu u Beču svoje nalaze, a ponio je na uvid i konkretni iskopani materijal. Slijede iz godine u godinu izvještaji, predavanja uz poziv u inozemstvu,

¹² http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka (31.10.2013.).

Vienna and Berlin) and preparations and set-up of the Bosnian pavilions at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest (1896), the exhibition in Brussels in 1897, in Vienna in 1898 and at the World Expo in Paris in 1900 greatly preoccupied him, leaving him with little time for anything else. This was why he turned over the research at Glasinac to Fiala in 1892, and nowhere was there any indication that he was removed from the Glasinac research, as Ćović claimed.

As a corresponding member of the Anthropology Associations in Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Stockholm, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg and Moscow, he truly enjoyed an international reputation. Less known is that in 1895, at the behest of Msgr. Anton de Waal, the re-



Sl. / Fig. 4: Povelja o počasnom članstvu u Carskom moskovskom arheološkom društvu / Honorary membership charter of the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

objave svega što je radio tekuće godine, od 1889. u muzejskom Glasniku. U prvom godištu objavio je 11 radova. Uz redovito izvještavanje o Glasincu, tu su i brojne druge teme; vidi se da ih je velik broj načeo već tada, otkrio mnoga nalazišta i sebi svojstvenom lucidnošću odredio gabarite značenja pojedinih većih tema (starokršćanska arhitektura, bosančica, stećci, srednjovjekovni natpisi, numizmatika, npr.). Poslovi oko organizacije arheoloških kongresa u Sarajevu 1894. i 1895. (bečki i berlinski antropolozi) te pripreme i izvedba bosanskih paviljona na Milenijskoj izložbi u Pešti (1896.), izložbi u Bruxellesu 1897. u Beču 1898. te na Svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu 1900. vrlo su ga okupirali i nije baš preostajalo vre-

nowned Catholic writer and publisher of the journal *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, he published his excavations of Early Christian architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹³ I believe there is no need for further explication on Truhelka's unusually vigorous and competent activities during the decade when, according to Čović, the right to conduct excavations at Glasinac was "denied" him. In his own memoirs, he stated that he very gladly relinquished this work to Fiala.¹⁴

Hoernes certainly became a respected scholar in the Monarchy, but he did not participate in field excavations himself. He wrote about the

¹³ Truhelka 1895; Truhelka 1942, 98; Cambi 1994.

¹⁴ Truhelka 1942, 55.

mena. Stoga je rado predao 1892. istraživanja na Glasincu Fiali i nije bilo nigdje govora o stvarnom oduzimanju glasinakih istraživanja, kako tvrdi Čović.

Kao dopisni član Antropoloških društava u Beču, Berlinu, Münchenu, Stockholmu, Kopenhagenu, Petrogradu i Moskvi doista je uživao međunarodni ugled. Manje je poznato da je 1895. godine, na želju mons. A. de Waala, glasovitog katoličkog pisca i izdavača lista »Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte«, objavio svoja iskopavanja starokršćanske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini.¹³ Mislim da ne treba dalje navoditi neobično živu i kompetentnu Truhelkinu djelatnost u desetljeću kada mu je po Čoviću »oduzeto« pravo kopanja na Glasincu. Da je taj rad vrlo rado prepustio Fiali svjedoči sam u svojim Uspomenama.¹⁴

Hoernes je svakako postao uglednim znanstvenikom u Monarhiji, ali sam nije iskopavao na terenu. Pisao je o nalazima što su ih drugi otkopali u raznim dijelovima Monarhije.¹⁵ Kako je sam djelovao 1894. u Dolenjskoj (tada Kranjskoj) iznijet ću malo kasnije. Pređimo sada na Hoernesova pisma koja su poslužila za negativne napomene o Truhelkinom radu u Spomenici iz 1988.

Počnimo s dugim pismom od 20.11.1893.¹⁶ na koje se, bez navoda o datumu i adresatu poziva Čović.¹⁷ Zanimljivo je tu razmotriti Hoernesove prigovore koje iznosi Kállayu: u Zemaljskom muzeju se ne briše prašina s eksponata, neki su spomenici netočno etiketirani, fragmenti nekih antičkih kamenih spomenika smješteni su na brzinu u zahod (sic!) prije dolaska

finds that others excavated in various parts of the Monarchy.¹⁵ His own role in events in Lower Carniola (in Slovenia) in 1894 will be discussed below. I would now like to turn to Hoernes' letters, which served as the basis for the negative characterizations of Truhelka in the *Spomenica* in 1988.

Let us begin with the second letter dated 20 November 1893,¹⁶ which Čović cited without specifying the date and addressee.¹⁷ Interesting to consider here are Hoernes' complaints to Kállay: that dust was not wiped from the exhibits in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that some monuments were inaccurately labelled, that fragments of certain ancient stone monuments were hastily placed stored in the lavatory (sic!) prior to the arrival of some distinguished visitor. K. Patsch complained that Truhelka worked too quickly and superficially, that he rushed from field site to field site and that, allegedly, on one occasion he mocked a much older colleague named Radimský... That year Hoernes spent a total of three days in inspection work in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In those three days, he was at the digs in Butmir (in which he had considerable scholarly interest, as he wanted to participate in the publication of this sensational discovery of European import); he was furthermore at Ilidža and Glasinac and he inspected everything on exhibit in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He also found time for proposals and opinions on the arrangement of the museum library. Having read all of the letters published in Kapidžić's book, I cannot dispel the impression, almost a certainty, that his reports on circumstances in the Museum reflected information "from the first hand, from a confidential source," K. Patsch. I shall allow myself a touch of malice: Patsch and *Klatsch* rhyme perfectly, and Patsch's "informing" can be discerned in

¹³ Truhelka 1895; Truhelka 1942, 98; Cambi 1994.

¹⁴ Truhelka 1942, 55.

¹⁵ Vidi bilj. 10.

¹⁶ Kapidžić 1973, 112-115.

¹⁷ Vidi bilj. 4.

¹⁵ See note 10.

¹⁶ Kapidžić 1973, 112-115.

¹⁷ See note 4.

nekog uglednog posjetitelja. K. Patsch se tuži da Truhelka radi prebrzo i površno, da žuri s terena na teren i da se, navodno, nekom prilikom rugao mnogo starijem Radimskom... Te je godine Hoernes bio u sveukupno trodnevnoj inspekciji rada u Zemaljskom muzeju. U ta je tri dana bio na iskopavanjima u Butmiru (za koja je bio znanstveno vrlo zainteresiran, sa željom da sudjeluje u objavi tog senzacionalnog otkrića europskog ranga); nadalje na Ilidži i na Glasincu te inspicirao sve izloženo u Zemaljskom muzeju. Našao je vremena i za prijedloge i mišljenje o uređenju muzejske knjižnice. S iskustvom čitanja svih pisama, objavljenih u Kapidžićevoj knjizi, ne mogu se oteti dojmu, gotovo sigurnosti, da je o odnosima i situaciji u Muzeju odavao podatke »iz prve ruke, iz povjerljivog izvora« K. Patsch. Neka mi bude dopušteno malo zlobe: Patsch – Klatsch izvrsno se rimuje, a Patschevo »informiranje« zapaža se doista u više pisama. Na kraju svog opširnog izvještaja Hoernes iznosi mišljenje da bi Truhelki »trebalo oduzeti prapovijesnu zbirku« (vrlo zanimljivu sâmom Hoernesu) »dodatno još antičku« (na kojoj je želio neometano raditi Patsch), a da se Truhelki prepuste srednjovjekovna i etnografska zbirka! Za voditelja prapovijesne zbirke preporuča Franju Fiala, kemičara i botaničara, koji se kasnije ipak pokazao dobrim arheologom, a krajem stoljeća, 1899. preporučit će za taj položaj preparatora Vejsila Čurčića, upravo u godini kada je Truhelka započeo svoje višegodišnje iskopavanje, dokumentiranje i objavu jednog od tada najznačajnijih prapovijesnih lokaliteta u Europi – Donje Doline na Savi.¹⁸

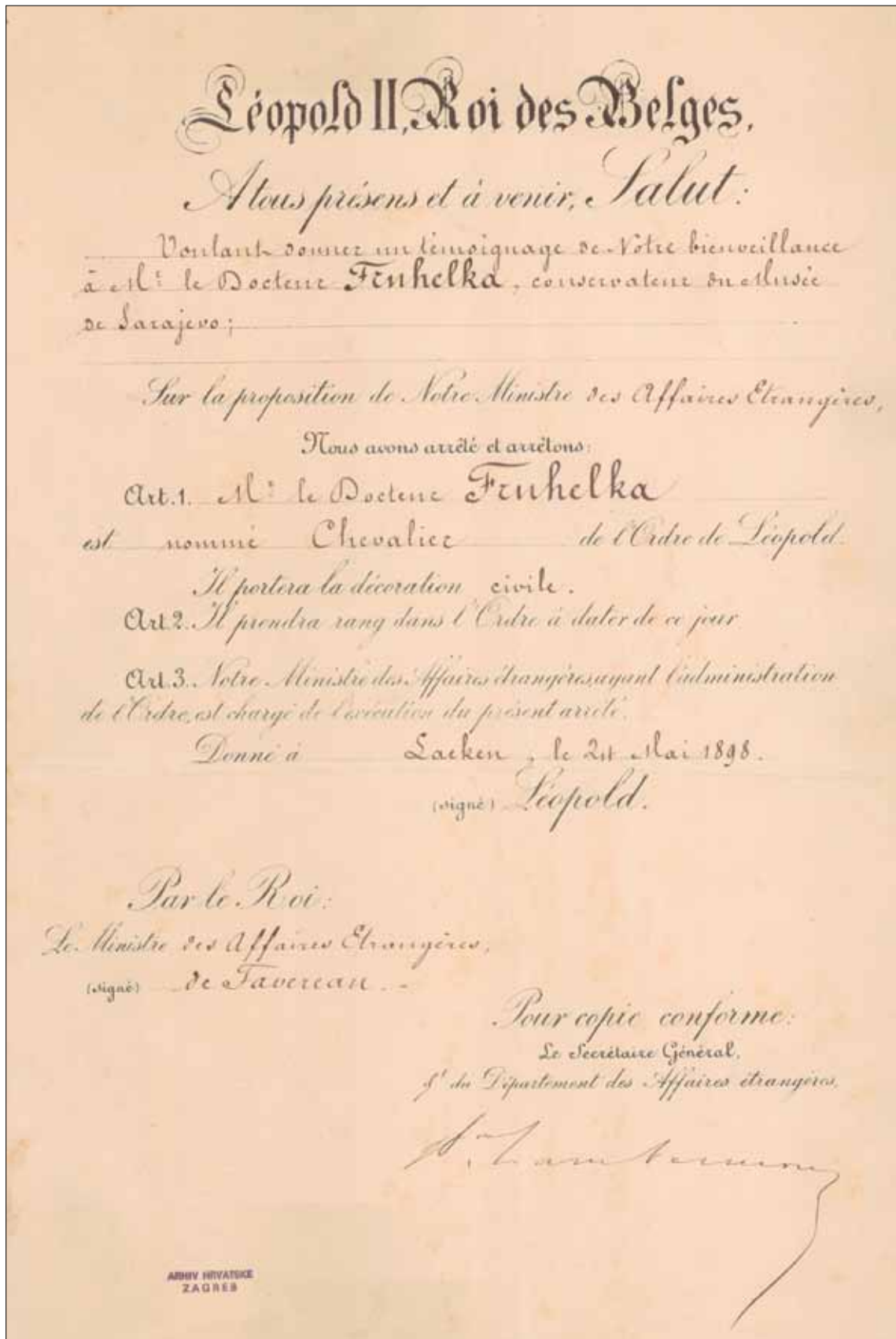
¹⁸ Truhelka 1902; Truhelka 1903; Truhelka 1904 – sinteza na njemačkom jeziku. Zanimljivo je da Čović iznosi niz ozbiljnih nedostataka Fialinog iskopavanja na Glasincu (Čović 1959), ali ih ne spominje u Spomenici iz 1988. nego ga u biografiji čak neumjereno hvali (Čović 1988a). Izvanrednu pohvalu Truhelkinih iskopavanja u Donjoj Dolini donosi Habulant u recenziji (Kapidžić 1973, 342-343).

several letters. At the end of his extensive report, Hoernes proffered the view that Truhelka “should be removed from the prehistory collection” (interesting to Hoernes himself) “and also the Antiquity collection” (on which Patsch wanted to work unhindered), and allowed to only hold the medieval and ethnographic collections! He recommended that the prehistory collection be entrusted to Franjo Fiala, a chemist and botanist, who later nonetheless proved to be a good archaeologist, while at the end of the century, in 1899, he recommended the museum technician Vejsilo Čurčić for this post, in the very year that Truhelka began his many years of excavations, documentation and publication of one of the most significant prehistoric sites in Europe at the time: Donja Dolina on the Sava River.¹⁸

Hoernes demonstrated unconcealed antipathy and a desire to persecute Truhelka in his letter dated 15 February 1899.¹⁹ He complained to Kállay that Truhelka and Apfelbeck were seeking higher funding for their annual work than Patsch and Reiser. Hoernes warned Kállay not to approve these funds, particularly to Truhelka, because “then his dilettantism would become even more vigorous than before”. This was, therefore, only a matter of efforts to reduce the funds Truhelka received for his work! Hoernes always proffered “sound justifications” for his proposals – savings for the Territorial Government and the Joint Finance Ministry. If one were to read F. Hauptmann’s excellent analysis of the economic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then it becomes apparent that Hoernes’ “reason” had sound psychological grounds and was

¹⁸ Truhelka 1902; Truhelka 1903; Truhelka 1904 – synthesis in German. It is interesting that Čović pointed out a series of serious shortcomings to Fiala’s excavations in Glasinac (Čović 1959), but he did not mention them in the *Spomenica* in 1988, rather excessively praising him in the biography he wrote (Čović 1988a). In a review, Habulant highly praised Truhelka’s excavations at Donja Dolina (Kapidžić 1973, 342-343).

¹⁹ Kapidžić 1973, 256-258.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Povelja o proglašenju Ćire Truhelke vitezom od strane belgijskog kralja Leopolda II / Knight-hood charter of Ćiro Truhelka by the Belgian king Leopold II (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Primjer neskrivene antipatije i želje za proganjanjem Truhelke pokazao je Hoernes u pismu od 15.2.1899.¹⁹ Tuži se Kállaya da Truhelka i Apfelbeck traže veća novčana sredstva za godišnji rad od Patscha i Reisera. Hoernes opominje Kállaya da ne odobri ta sredstva, osobito Truhelki jer »bi tada oživio njegov diletantizam još snažnije nego nekoć«. Radi lo se tu, dakako, samo o nastojanju da se Truhelki smanji dotacija za rad!!! Hoernes je uvijek podastirao »važno opravdanje« za svoje prijedloge – uštedu za Zemaljsku vladu i Zajedničko ministarstvo financija. Kada pročitamo izvrsnu analizu F. Hauptmanna o gospodarskoj situaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini, taj Hoernesov »razlog« psihološki postaje razumljiv i dobro pogođen.²⁰ Pokazuje se nadalje da je Hoernes dobro poznao Kállayeva slaba mjesta.

Da takav postupak nije bio osamljen slučaj, vidimo i u pismu od 9.1.1897.²¹ u kojemu Hoernes traži od Kállaya da Truhelki smanji broj zatraženih separata rada o slavonskim banovcima.²² Truhelka, koji je uložio veliki trud i tromjesečni studijski boravak u muzejima Zagreba, Osijeka i Pešte zbog komparacije tih srednjovjekovnih novaca, molio je, naime, za dodatne separate koje bi sam razaslao ili dao u prodaju. I ovdje Hoernes pridobiva Kállaya nadom u uštedu financijskih sredstava; i doista, Kállay 21.1. iste godine dopisom Zemaljskoj vladi smanjuje broj separata Truhelki na polovicu.²³

U početku je Hoernes nastupao pred Kállayem protiv Truhelke vrlo oprezno. 19.1.1891. piše da Truhelka »kao povjesničar umjetnosti ima na Glasincu smisla

¹⁹ Kapidžić 1973, 256-258.

²⁰ Hauptmann 1987.

²¹ Kapidžić 1973, 201-202.

²² Truhelka 1897; Truhelka 1899a. Literatura o Truhelkinim slavonskim banovcima citirana u Mirnik 1989.

²³ Kapidžić 1973, 202.

well chosen.²⁰ Furthermore, it becomes apparent that Hoernes had a keen awareness of Kállay's weak points.

That this was not an isolated case is shown by the letter dated 9 January 1897,²¹ in which Hoernes asked Kállay to reduce the number of offprints sought by Truhelka for his work on Slavonian *banovci* (medieval coins).²² Truhelka, who invested great effort and spend three months on a study leave in the museums of Zagreb, Osijek and Budapest in order to compare these medieval coins, asked for additional offprints which he would send out himself or attempt to sell. Here as well, Hoernes won Kállay over with the hope saving money; and indeed, on 21 January of that same year Kállay sent a letter to the Territorial Government in which he halved the number of offprints for Truhelka.²³

Initially Hoernes trod very cautiously before Kállay in his efforts against Truhelka. On 19 January 1891, he wrote that Truhelka, "as an art historian, primarily has a sense for aesthetic values or some new forms at Glasinac, but he cannot properly assess the value of individual finds [which do not possess these qualities – *author's note*] in the scholarly sense". Here he naturally failed to mention Truhelka's study of and degree in archaeology. Later he would move from these cautious insinuations to graver incriminations of "dilettantism, superficiality, lack of concern for work in the Museum," and so forth. In a series of letters to Kállay, Hoernes extolled his enormous and painstaking work on editing WMBH, while underscoring the much lower rank of *Glasnik*, and he made a series of requests for the delivery of data and documentation. He lambasted the editorial board of *Glasnik* (its editor-in-chief was Kosta Hörmann), etc., and he further complained rather caustically to Kállay about Radimský, who in some manner violated

²⁰ Hauptmann 1987.

²¹ Kapidžić 1973, 201-202.

²² Truhelka 1897; Truhelka 1899a. The sources on Truhelka's Slavonian *banovci* are cited in Mirnik 1989.

²³ Kapidžić 1973, 202.

u prvom redu za estetske vrijednosti ili za neke nove oblike, no vrijednost pojedinih nalaza (koji ta svojstva ne posjeduju, op. aut.) ne može pravilno procijeniti u znanstvenom smislu«. Prešućuje pritom, dakako, Truhelkin studij i diplomu arheologije; kasnije će od tih opreznih insinucija prijeći na teže inkriminacije »diletantizam, površnost, nebriga za rad u Muzeju« i sl. Hoernes u nizu pisama Kállayu ističe svoj ogroman i naporan rad na uređivanju WMBH, ističe mnogo niži rang Glasnika i podnosi niz zahtjeva za dostavu podataka i dokumentacije. Tuži se na redakciju Glasnika (glavni urednik je bio Kosta Hörmann) itd., tuži se nadalje Kállayu vrlo oštro na Radimskog koji je nešto na Butmiru, kao njegov istraživač, učinio protiv dogovora s Hoernesom.²⁴ Hoernes objavljuje u Analima svog Muzeja u Beču²⁵ da je 1889. »u pratnji kustosa Truhelke preduzeo nova iskopavanja na Glasincu, prije dolaska J. Hampela«. Nigdje to, osim u bilješkama bečkih Anal, nije spomenuto! Bojim se ustvrditi, ali izgleda da se pred svojom bečkom publikom Hoernes kitio tuđim perjem.

Simptomatičan je Hoernesov način oslovljavanja, njegove »pokornosti« i dvorske učtivosti nasuprot jasnom i jednostavnom Truhelkinom obraćanju Kállayu.²⁶ Usprkos Hoernesovom trudu Kállay nije protiv Truhelke poduzeo ništa, nema ni traga o nekoj opomeni. Truhelka je i dalje sudjelovao u svim važnim poduhvatima bosanskohercegovačke znanstvene i muzealne djelatnosti. Zanimljivo je da u popisu Prvog sarajevskog kongresa iz 1894., koji je bio pomno pripreman i pod pažljivim auspicijama Kállaya i Zemaljske vlade, u popisu uzvanika, gdje čitamo tada najslavnija imena europske antropologije i arheologije, poput Bormana, v. Duhna, Ghirardinia, Hampela, Munroa,

an agreement with Hoernes while working as his researcher at Butmir.²⁴ Hoernes wrote in the Annals of his Museum in Vienna²⁵ that in 1889, “accompanied by curator Truhelka, he assumed charge of the excavations at Glasinac, prior to J. Hampel’s arrival”. Except in this notation in the Viennese Annals, this is mentioned nowhere else! I am almost hesitant to say so, but it would appear that Hoernes took credit for the achievements of others before his Viennese public.

Symptomatic in this regard were Hoernes’ manner of address, his “obeisance” and courtly civility, as opposed to Truhelka’s clear and straightforward communication with Kállay.²⁶ Despite Hoernes’ efforts, Kállay undertook no action against Truhelka, and there is no trace of any form of reprimand. Truhelka continued to participate in all major scholarly and museum undertakings in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is interesting that the documentation of the First Sarajevo Congress in 1894, which was carefully prepared under the watchful auspices of Kállay and the Territorial Government, the list of guests, which includes the most notable names of European anthropology and archaeology, such as Borman, von Duhn, Ghirardini, Hampel, Munro, Pigorini, and Szombathy, does not mention Hoernes. I do not know the reason for this, for perhaps Hoernes was a member of some internal group at the Congress. This would be an intriguing question to explore in further detail.²⁷

²⁴ Kapidžić 1973, 155-156.

²⁵ Kapidžić 1973, 60-61.

²⁶ Kapidžić 1973, 32-33.

²⁷ Kapidžić 1973, 133-138; the extent of Hoernes’ scholarly appetite is reflected in a letter dated 19 January 1891, precisely in the year when he sought Truhelka’s “removal” from the work at Glasinac. Stratimirović was working at Glasinac that year, but Hoernes made no mention of him. Kapidžić cited Stratimirović’s report for 1891 (Kapidžić 1973, 40-41). In the aforementioned letter, Hoernes recommended to Kállay the annual excavation of 50-100 tumuli! By way of comparison, in an annual campaign employing modern methods, Čović conducted research in two tumuli (Čović 1959).

²⁴ Kapidžić 1973, 155-156.

²⁵ Kapidžić 1973, 60-61.

²⁶ Kapidžić 1973, 32-33.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Komemorativna diploma Svjetske izložbe u Parizu 1900. godine / Commemorative diploma of the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Čiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Čiro Truhelka)

Pigorinia, Szombathya npr., Hoernesovog imena nema. Razloge ne znam, možda je Hoernes bio uključen u neku unutarnju kongresnu ekipu. Bilo bi to zanimljivo istražiti.²⁷

²⁷ Kapidžić 1973, 133-138; koliki je znanstveni apetit Hoernes posjedovao pokazuje u pismu od 19.1.1891, upravo u godini kada je tražio da se Truhelki »oduzme« rad na Glasincu. Te je godine na Glasincu radio Stratimirović no Hoernes ga uopće ne spominje. Kapidžić je donio Stratimirovićev izvještaj za 1891. (Kapidžić 1973, 40-41). U navedenom pismu Hoernes Kállayu preporuča da se godišnje otkopa 50-100 tumula! Nevjerojatan broj! Za usporedbu navodim da je Čović u jednoj godišnjoj kampanji modernim metodama istražio dva tumula (Čović 1959).

Truhelka, thus, continued to work in all fields. Nonetheless, Minister Kállay, because of the seed of doubt planed by Hoernes' ever-present reports, did verify: on 17 May 1893²⁸ he wrote to Mommsen for his thoughts on the work of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and GZM; Mommsen replied to him on 30 June with a favourable assessment of the scholarly work being done in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On another occasion (27 March 1896), Kállay contacted Thallóczy, a great authority on Balkan history. Thallóczy responded on 17 November 1896, also favourably evaluating Truhelka's work on the Slavonian *banovci*. It thus follows that all of Hoernes' accusations, complaints and denunciations

²⁸ Kapidžić 1973, 97-99.

Truhelka, dakle, djeluje na svim područjima dalje. Ipak, ministar Kállay, zbog crva sumnje vječno prisutnog u Hoernesovim izvještajima provjerava: 17.5.1893.²⁸ piše Mommsenu po mišljenje o radu u Zemaljskom muzeju i GZM-u; Mommsen mu 30.6. odgovara s povoljnom ocjenom znanstvenog rada u Bosni i Hercegovini. Drugi se puta (27.3.1896.) Kállay obratio Thallóczyu, velikom autoritetu za povijest Balkana. Thallóczy odgovara 17.11.1896. i daje također povoljnu ocjenu Truhelkinog rada o slavonskim banovcima. Kako iz ovoga proizlazi, sva Hoernesova optuživanja, prigovaranja i denuncijacije nisu ni kod Kállaya ni kod Zemaljske vlade izazvala nikakav odjek. Truhelka radi na mnogim lokalitetima, odaziva se na svaku dojavu o novim nalazima i tako je spasio mnoga nalazišta. Sve ažurno objavljuje – ništa od njegovih istraživanja nije ostalo neobjavljeno.²⁹ Radi redovito na izdavanju Glasnika, od 1905. je ravnatelj Zemaljskog muzeja i glavni urednik Glasnika. Mislim da analiza Hoernesovih pisama iz Kapidžićeve knjige nepovoljnije govori o sâmom piscu negoli o Truhelki.

Hoernes je zapravo slijedio svoje probitke pa je katkada ispadao iz takta i prema drugim bosanskim arheolozima. Tako je želio na svaki način kontrolirati Radimskog na Butmiru, kasnije na istom nalazištu i Fialu (pismo od 22.12.1894.).³⁰ Ističući svoj značajni udio u korigiranju i dotjerivanju teksta butmirskog kataloga uvest će u oba sveska svoje opširne uvode, zamišljene kao glavnu valorizaciju nalazišta.³¹ U oba sveska te velike i kra-

did not generate any effect on Kállay or the Territorial Government. Truhelka worked at many sites, and he responded to any report of new finds and thereby saved many sites. He regularly published everything – none of his research remained unpublished.²⁹ He worked continually on the publication of *Glasnik*, and as of 1905 he was the director of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and *Glasnik*'s editor-in-chief. I believe that an analysis of Hoernes' letters published in Kapidžić's book reflect more negatively on their author than on Truhelka.

Hoernes remained consistent in pursuing his aims, so he sometimes found himself at odds with other Bosnian archaeologists. Thus, he wanted to control Radimský at Butmir in every way, and later Fiala as well at the same site (letter of 22 December 1894).³⁰ Highlighting his considerable contribution to the correction and refinement of the text of the Butmir catalogue, he incorporated his own extensive introductions in both volumes which he conceived as the primary validation of the site.³¹ He is specified as the co-author in both volumes of these large and beautifully appointed German-language monographs.

In concluding this overview of M. Hoernes and his activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, another indicative detail of his archaeological work in the Monarchy bears mention. As is known, in the final decades of the nineteenth century, Slovenia in general, and Lower Carniola in particular, were an archaeological El Dorado for supplying the museums and private collections of Vienna. In 1894, Jernej Pečnik, an amateur archaeologist, dug out some large and very rich tribal tumuli and

²⁸ Kapidžić 1973, 97-99.

²⁹ Za razliku od Truhelke, Patsch nije objavio svoja višegodišnja iskopavanja (1899.-1914.) vrlo značajne arhitekture u Mogorjelu kod Čapljine, ni srednjovjekovne grobove u Arnautovićima kod Visokog.

³⁰ Kapidžić 1973, 153-154.

³¹ Radimský, Hoernes 1895; Fiala, Hoernes 1898.

²⁹ As opposed to Truhelka, Patsch did not publish his many years of excavations (1899-1914) of the very significant architecture in Mogorjelo near Čapljina, nor the medieval graves in Arnautovići at Visoko.

³⁰ Kapidžić 1973, 153-154.

³¹ Radimský, Hoernes 1895; Fiala, Hoernes 1898.

sno opremljene monografije na njemačkom jeziku naveden je kao koautor.

U završnici predstavljanja M. Hoernesa i njegovih akcija u Bosni i Hercegovini navest ću još jedan simptomatičan detalj njegovog arheološkog djelovanja u Monarhiji. Kako je poznato, u posljednjim dekadama 19. stoljeća Slovenija je općenito, a Dolenjska naročito, bila arheološki eldorado za opskrbljivanje bečkih muzeja i privatnih zbirki. 1894. Jernej Pečnik, amater-arheolog, raskopavao je velike i vrlo bogate rodovske tumule i nalaze prodavao u Beč ili Trst.³² M. Hoernes je, doznajući za novootkrivene velike tumule u Novom Mestu, tamo poslao svoga brata Rudolfa, profesora paleontologije u Grazu, da provede iskopavanja dva od njih. Ovaj je to i obavio, premda je samo dio vremena proveo na terenu (ostalo je vodio preparator). R. Hoernes je, ne poznavajući karakteristike sastava dolenjske zemlje bogate željeznim oksidima, proglasio sve pronađene grobove paljevinskima, premda su bili skeletni. Primjenjujući već tada neprihvatljivu tehniku iskopavanja tumula, dobio je dvostruki broj grobova u svakom od njih.³³ Sve je to bilo objavljeno 1986. u Novom Mestu u velikom i reprezentativnom katalogu i Čoviću je ta knjiga njegovog dobrog kolege morala biti i dostupna i poznata. Čudi, dakle, da te podatke nije uzeo u obzir pri pisanju ocjene Truhelkinog rada na Glasincu u Spomenici iz 1988.

³² O Jerneju Pečniku vidi Teržan 1974. I vojvotkinja Mecklenburška kopala je na svojim imanjima u Sloveniji i njezina je raskošna arheološka zbirka prodana na aukciji 1934. (Treasures of Carniola). Velikim je dijelom stigla u Peabody Museum na Harvardu. Slovenija je tako ostala bez svog značajnog arheološkog blaga za razliku od Bosne i Hercegovine gdje su domaći nalazi ostajali u Zemaljskom muzeju.

³³ Knez 1986.

sold the finds in Vienna and Trieste.³² Hoernes, having learned of the newly-discovered large tumuli in Novo Mesto, sent his brother Rudolf, a palaeontology professor in Graz, to conduct excavations at two of them. The latter did so, although he only spent a part of his time at the actual site (the rest of the work was led by a museum preparation technician). Due to his unfamiliarity with the features of the Lower Carniolan soil, rich in iron oxides, R. Hoernes proclaimed all of the graves discovered as incineration graves, even though they were in fact skeletal. Applying a tumulus excavation technique that was already deemed unacceptable at that time, he obtained double the number of graves in each.³³ All of this was published in Novo Mesto in 1986 in a large and representative catalogue, and Čović should have known of and had access to this book by his good colleague. It is therefore puzzling that he did not take this information into account when writing his assessments of Truhelka's work at Glasinac for the *Spomenica* in 1988.

The Bosnian opposition's attitude toward the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e., Kállay's cultural policies, and thereby also Truhelka as the proponent of the Museum's progress, could be read in the press of the time.³⁴ Besarović cited an excerpt from the local press: "In the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the

³² For more on Jernej Pečnik see Teržan 1974. Even the Duchess Mecklenburg conducted digs on her estates in Slovenia, and her rich archaeology collection was sold at auction in 1934 (Treasures of Carniola). Much of it made its way to the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Slovenia was thus left without its major archaeological treasures, as opposed to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where local finds remained in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³³ Knez 1986.

³⁴ Besarović 1987, 367-402.

Raspoloženje bosanske opozicije prema Zemaljskom muzeju, tj. Kállayevoj kulturnoj politici, a time i protagonistu muzejskog napretka Truhelki, moglo se očitati u tadašnjem tisku.³⁴ Besarović donosi odlomak iz ondašnjeg tiska »U Zemaljskom muzeju i Institutu za Balkan³⁵ objavljen je rad u onim naučnim disciplinama koje je forsirala okupaciona uprava diktiran opštim političkim interesima Dvojne monarhije. U istom »nastojanju« su i međunarodni kongresi, pa ekskurzije i svjetske izložbe... Ta prenaplašena reklamerska nota nije ostala nezapažena ni među bosanskohercegovačkim stanovništvom. Odatle i neskrivena odbojnost prema Zemaljskom muzeju i Institutu, iskazana na stranicama nekih opozicionih listova i sa govornice u Bosanskohercegovačkom saboru.«³⁶ Ta se linija otpora prema kulturno-znanstvenom radu u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme austrougarske okupacije produžila i znatno kasnije, u međuratno razdoblje³⁷, pa kako smo već vidjeli sve do kraja 1980-ih. Neukusan i nedopustiv napad na Truhelkin rad i znanstveni renome desio se 1945. u tekstu J. Korošca kada je analizirao jedinstvenu (od Truhelke spašenu i objavljenu ostavu luksuznog oružja iz Velikog Mošunja,

³⁴ Besarović 1987, 367-402.

³⁵ Balkanski institut (Institut für Balkanforschungen) osnovan je tek 1904., a vodio ga je Patsch koji se želio odvojiti od Zemaljskog muzeja, točnije uz Hoernesovu pomoć od Truhelke (Kapidžić 1973, 115). Institut je znanstveno i publicistički djelovao do 1918.

³⁶ Vidi bilj. 34; Besarović dodaje »Spektakularni efekti... sračunati za opravdavanje mandata«. To je osnovni motiv austrougarske kulturne politike u BiH (Besarović 1987, 369).

³⁷ U međuratnom razdoblju Truhelku nitko i ne spominje, no ipak postoji zgodan članak Milenka Filipovića (Filipović 1928) u kojem objavljuje nalaze iz Olova (koje je Truhelka već objavio!). Uredništvo broja smatra »pošto je g. Filipović ovu temu iscrpno obradio i snabdjeo je sa više slika, odlučili smo se da njegov rad publikujemo«.

Balkan Institute³⁵ a work was published on the scholarly disciplines being imposed by the occupation administration, dictated by the general political interests of the Dual Monarchy. The international conferences, and even excursions and world exhibitions are dedicated to these same "efforts" ... This excessive promotion did not go unnoticed among the public in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hence the unconcealed loathing of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Institute conveyed on the pages of certain opposition newspapers and from the podium of the diet of Bosnia-Herzegovina".³⁶ This resistance to cultural and scholarly work in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation persisted even significantly afterward, into the interwar period,³⁷ and, as shown above, until the 1980s. A tasteless and impermissible attack on Truhelka's work and scholarly reputation can be found in a text by J. Korošec in 1945, when he analyzed a unique hoard of luxurious weapons from Veliki Mošunj (which was rescued and published by Truhelka, and often cited and examined in the European literature). Korošec claimed that Truhelka purposely reconstructed a part of the pectoral on a fibula and thus "raised" the dating of the entire find. Leav-

³⁵ The Balkan Institute (Institut für Balkanforschungen) was only established in 1904, and it was led by Patsch, who wanted to separate himself from the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, more precisely from Truhelka with Hoernes' aid (Kapidžić 1973, 115). The Institute was active in research and publishing until 1918.

³⁶ See note 34; Besarović added, "Spectacular effects... calculated to justify their mandate. This was the fundamental motive of Austro-Hungarian cultural policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina" (Besarović 1987, 369).

³⁷ During the interwar years, Truhelka was never mentioned by anyone, but there is an odd article by Milenko Filipović (Filipović 1928) in which he publishes the finds from Olovo (which Truhelka had already published!). The issue's editors believed that "since Mr. Filipović covered this topic so exhaustively and supplemented it with many illustrations, we decided to publish his work".

otada često citiranu i razmatranu u europskoj literaturi). Korošec je ustvrdio da je Truhelka namjerno rekonstruirao dio pektorala u fibulu i da je tako »podigao« dataciju cijelog nalaza. Ostavivši po strani tko je zapravo radio na čišćenju i rekonstrukciji oštećenih i rastavljenih dijelova predmeta, vjerojatno preparator, možemo samo zaključiti da je i tako Truhelka znatno manje pogriješio u datiranju ostave nego li Korošec, koji je znameniti mač datirao 800 godina prekasno određivši ga kao rimski gladius!!!³⁸ Čović je, dakako, preuzeo Koroščevu ocjenu Truhelke kao falsifikatora u Spomenici iz 1988.³⁹

Truhelka je zaokružio svoja istraživanja prapovijesti Bosne i Hercegovine u Glasniku 26 iz 1914.⁴⁰ i dodatno u vodiču »Kulturne prilike Bosne i Hercegovine u prehistoričko doba«. Takvim se vodičem, i sadržajno i grafički, moglo tada, uoči Prvog svjetskog rata, pohvaliti vrlo malo muzeja u Europi.

U međuratnom razdoblju Zemaljski je muzej vegetirao u nepovoljnim okolnostima za rad, o Truhelki se šutjelo. Ipak, postoji mala i rječita epizoda kako se Truhelka već 1928. zaobilazio. Radi se o već spomenutom članku »Starine u Bakićima kod Olova«. U bilj. 1 se navodi da je o toj temi pisao Truhelka, ali uredništvo odlučuje da se objavi ista tema od Milenka Filipovića, jer ima više slika.⁴¹

U pedesetim godinama pa nadalje slijedi niz primjera o nevoljkom, podcjenjivačkom ocjenjivanju Truhelkinog doprinosa. O nepovoljnom odnosu u objavi kataloga

ing to one side the question of who actually did the cleaning and reconstruction on the damaged and dismantled parts of the items – probably a museum technician – we may only conclude that Truhelka erred considerably less than Korošec, who dated a notable sword 800 years later, classifying it as a Roman gladius!!!³⁸ Čović, to be sure, repeated Korošec's characterization of Truhelka as a falsifier in the *Spomenica* in 1988.³⁹

Truhelka rounded off his research into the prehistory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in *Glasnik* 26 in 1914⁴⁰ and additionally in the guide on "Cultural Circumstances in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Prehistory". Very few museums in Europe on the eve of the First World War could boast of such a guide, both in terms of content and graphic layout.

During the interwar years, the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina stagnated under unfavourable operating conditions, and Truhelka was never mentioned. Nonetheless, there is a minor episode that nonetheless speaks volumes about how Truhelka was already being ignored in 1928. This is the already mentioned article on "Antiquities in Bakići near Olovo". In note 1, it is noted that Truhelka wrote about this topic, but the editorial board decided to publish a piece on the same topic by Milenko Filipović, because he provided more illustrations.⁴¹

A series of reluctant or disparaging evaluations of Truhelka's contributions followed in the 1950s. I have already mentioned the negative stance on the publication of the *Glasi-nac* 1 and *Glasi-nac* 2 catalogues; what fol-

³⁸ Korošec 1945, 6-7.

³⁹ Miletić, Čović 1988, 41 – »Najzad, nedopustive intervencije na materijalu pomoću kojih je izveo rekonstrukciju fibule iz ostave Veliki Mošunj... na granici su naučnog falsifikata i ne služe mu na čast (Truhelki, op. aut.), pogotovo što je u to doba (1913.) bio već zreo naučni radnik.«

⁴⁰ Truhelka 1914.

⁴¹ Vidi bilj. 37; Filipović 1928.

³⁸ Korošec 1945, 6-7.

³⁹ Miletić, Čović 1988, 41 – "Finally, the unacceptable interventions into the materials whereby he carried out a reconstruction of a fibula from the Veliki Mošunj hoard... border on scholarly forgery and do not speak well of him [Truhelka], particularly at a time (1913) when he was a mature scholar".

⁴⁰ Truhelka 1914.

⁴¹ See note 37; Filipović 1928.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Povelja o počasnom članstvu u Kraljevskom društvu za nordijske starine / Honorary membership charter of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Glasinac 1 i Glasinac 2 već sam rekla, slijedi objava 10 Truhelkinih grobova – iz Donje Doline u međunarodnom izdanju *Inventaria archaeologica* kojom je Čović izašao u međunarodnu stručnu javnost.⁴² Crteži u tom izdanju daleko su ispod kvaliteta Truhelkine originalne objave, ali ovo je izdanje kotiralo. Godine 1963. proslavljeno je u Sarajevu 75 godina postojanja i neprekinutog rada Zemaljskog muzeja. U novinskom izvještaju kćerka Ćire Agata čita da je njezin otac svrstan među »Austrijance ili pripadnike drugih naroda« pa reagira pismom Bencu koji je to na proslavi izrekao. U ostavštini su

⁴² Čović 1961.

followed was the publication of 10 of Truhelka's graves – from Donja Dolina in an international edition of *Inventaria archaeologica* which Čović presented to the international scholarly public.⁴² The sketches in this edition were far below the quality of Truhelka's original publication, but this edition was circulated. In 1963, the 75 years of the existence and uninterrupted work of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina was celebrated. In a newspaper report, Ćiro's daughter Agata read that her father was placed among the "Austrians or members of other nationalities", so she responded by writing to Benac, who made this claim at the celebration ceremony. Both

⁴² Čović 1961.

sačuvana oba pisma. Benac se naravno ispričava »zbog nesporazuma« i navodi da je u tisku ispala riječ »uglavnom« a da je »nama ovdje svima dobro poznato da je pok. Ćiro Truhelka bio Hrvat...«. ⁴³ Takvim nesporazumima nije bilo kraja ni u sljedećim godinama, a naročito su se pokazali u *Spomenici* iz 1988.

Z. Marić je u svojoj disertaciji iz 1964. nepovoljno i neadekvatno prikazao tehniku iskopavanja i dokumentiranja u Donjoj Dolini o čemu sam pisala i ispravila Marićeve tvrdnje pa da ovdje ne ponavljam. ⁴⁴ Nasuprot tome, gotovo zadanom i orkestriranom kritiziranju Truhelkinog stručnog i znanstvenog doprinosa, kao da postoji zadano »vježbanje strogoće«, postoje i vrlo pozitivne procjene. U *Spomenici* iz 1988. čitamo »Donja Dolina je ušla u red najznačajnijih nalazišta željeznog doba u južnom dijelu panonskog bazena... Kad je u pitanju praistorija, iskopavanje i publikovanje Donje Doline najznačajniji je istraživački doprinos Ć. Truhelke, moglo bi se reći - njegovo životno djelo u toj oblasti«. ⁴⁵ Truhelkine grobovi iz Donje Doline služili su i u kasnije vrijeme kao pouzdan oslonac u stvaranju novih kronoloških sustava: njih je koristila ugledna europska zajednica prapovjesničara kao osnovicu regionalnih kronologija. S priznanjem Truhelkinom radu koristili su ih B. Teržan i Rastko Vasić u više navrata u svojim kronološkim razmatranjima. ⁴⁶

Dok Čović minorizira Truhelkino određenje glasilačke kulture ilirskim Autarijatima i to u jednoj sinteznoj i teorijskoj

letters are preserved in the bequest materials. Benac naturally apologized for the misunderstanding, and stated that the word "generally" was left out by the press, and that "here we all know that the deceased Ćiro Truhelka was a Croat...". ⁴³ There was no shortage of such misunderstandings in the coming years, and this came to the fore especially in the *Spomenica* in 1988.

In his dissertation in 1964, Z. Marić unfavourably and inadequately portrayed the excavation and documentation techniques in Donja Dolina, about which I wrote, correcting Marić's assertions, so I shall not repeat this here. ⁴⁴ By contrast to the virtually established and orchestrated criticism of Truhelka's professional and scholarly contributions, as though there was some sort of mandatory "hard-line stance" that had to be adopted, there are also very positive assessments. In the 1988 *Spomenica*, we can read that "Donja Dolina entered the ranks of the most important finds of the Iron Age in the southern part of the Pannonian basin... When speaking of the prehistory, excavation and publication of Donja Dolina, the most important research contribution was made by Ć. Truhelka, one may even say that this was his life's achievement in this field". ⁴⁵ At a later date, Truhelka's graves from Donja Dolina served as a foundation for the creation of new chronological systems: they were used by the European community of prehistorians as the basis for regional chronologies. Acknowledging Truhelka's work, they were used by B. Teržan and Rastko Vasić at several points in their chronological considerations. ⁴⁶

While Čović downplayed Truhelka's attri-

⁴³ Pisma su sačuvana u Truhelkinoj ostavštini koja se čuva u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu u 9 kutija. Dodatne 2 kutije sadrže ostavštinu kćeri Agate.

⁴⁴ Majnarić Pandžić 1989, 291-293.

⁴⁵ Miletić, Čović 1988, 40.

⁴⁶ Teržan 1974; Teržan 1985; Teržan 1987; Vasić 1972; Vasić 1973; Vasić 1975.

⁴³ The letters are preserved in Truhelka's bequest in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb in 9 boxes. Two additional boxes contain the bequest of his daughter Agata.

⁴⁴ Majnarić Pandžić 1989, 291-293.

⁴⁵ Miletić, Čović 1988, 40.

⁴⁶ Teržan 1974; Teržan 1985; Teržan 1987; Vasić 1972; Vasić 1973; Vasić 1975.

raspravi⁴⁷, Vasić je govoreći o istoj temi koristio Truhelkine rezultate.⁴⁸ Čović pak u petom svesku velike sinteze Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja,⁴⁹ Truhelkinu najstariju i ispravnu tvrdnju da su na Glasinu u starije željezno doba živjeli Autarijati uopće ne spominje, a citira autore koji su istu tvrdnju iznijeli pola stoljeća kasnije.

Zanimljiv je slučaj Čovićevog negativnog stava prema Truhelkinom otkriću u Gorici kraj Posušja. Truhelka je Goricu uzorno iskopao i dokumentirao no interpretacija mu u ono vrijeme nije mogla biti ispravna, jer još tada nisu bila poznata grčka i egejska svetišta. Čović Goricu određuje kao epihorsko svetište željeznog doba i oštro kritizira Truhelkino tumačenje nalazišta kao prapovijesnog krematorija. Međutim, Čović je 1987. posve zanemario, upravo prešutio Reineckeove identične interpretacije iz 1933., stare, dakle, više od pola stoljeća.⁵⁰

U članku o Autarijatima,⁵¹ Čović između dva poglavlja u raspravi umeće par sljedećih redaka, nepovezanih s ostalim tekstom, prava interpolacija (naknadna?, na nečije upozorenje?) »Dužnost mi je na ovom mjestu istaći da je misao o pripadnosti glasinčkih nalaza Autarijatima došao, već krajem prošlog vijeka Ćiro Truhelka (GZM 1893., 115-116), ne navodeći, doduše, nikakve sigurnije dokaze. Novi arheološki nalazi i njihova analiza, pokazali su, kako se čini, opravdanost Truhelkinih mišljenja«. ⁵²

Zadovoljstvo je čitati kod poslijeratnih stručnjaka, okupljenih u Spomenici iz

tribution of the Glasinac culture to the Illyrian Autariatae in a synthesis and theoretical discussion,⁴⁷ Vasić used Truhelka's results when speaking of the same topic.⁴⁸ In the fifth volume of a major synthesis of the prehistory of the Yugoslav lands,⁴⁹ Čović did not even mention Truhelka's first, and correct, assertion that the Autariatae lived in Glasinac in the older Iron Age, while citing other scholars who made the same assertion fifty years later.

The case of Čović's negative stance on Truhelka's discovery in Gorica, near Posušje, is interesting. Truhelka's excavation and documentation of Gorica were exemplary, but at the time his interpretations could not be correct, as the Greek and Aegean shrines were still not known at the time. Čović classified Gorica as an epichoric Iron Age shrine and sharply criticized Truhelka's interpretation of the site as a prehistoric crematorium. However, in 1987 Čović entirely overlooked, actually purposely ignored Reinecke's identical interpretation from 1933 over 50 years before.⁵⁰

In an article on the Autariatae,⁵¹ Čović inserted the following few lines between two chapters in the discussion, entirely unconnected with the rest of the text and a genuine interpolation (subsequent? In response to someone's advice?): "I must point out here that the idea of the attribution of the Glasinac finds to the Autariatae came already at the end of the preceding century from Ćiro Truhelka (GZM 1893, 115-116), without, to be sure, specifying any certain evidence. New archaeological finds and their analysis have shown, it would appear, that Truhelka's opinion was justified". ⁵²

⁴⁷ Čović 1967.

⁴⁸ Vasić 1972.

⁴⁹ Čović 1987, 642, bilj. 314.

⁵⁰ Truhelka 1899; Čović 1976; Čović 1987, 996; Reinecke 1933 (na ovu recenziju upozorio me D. Periša).

⁵¹ Čović 1967, 115.

⁵² Čović 1967.

⁴⁷ Čović 1967.

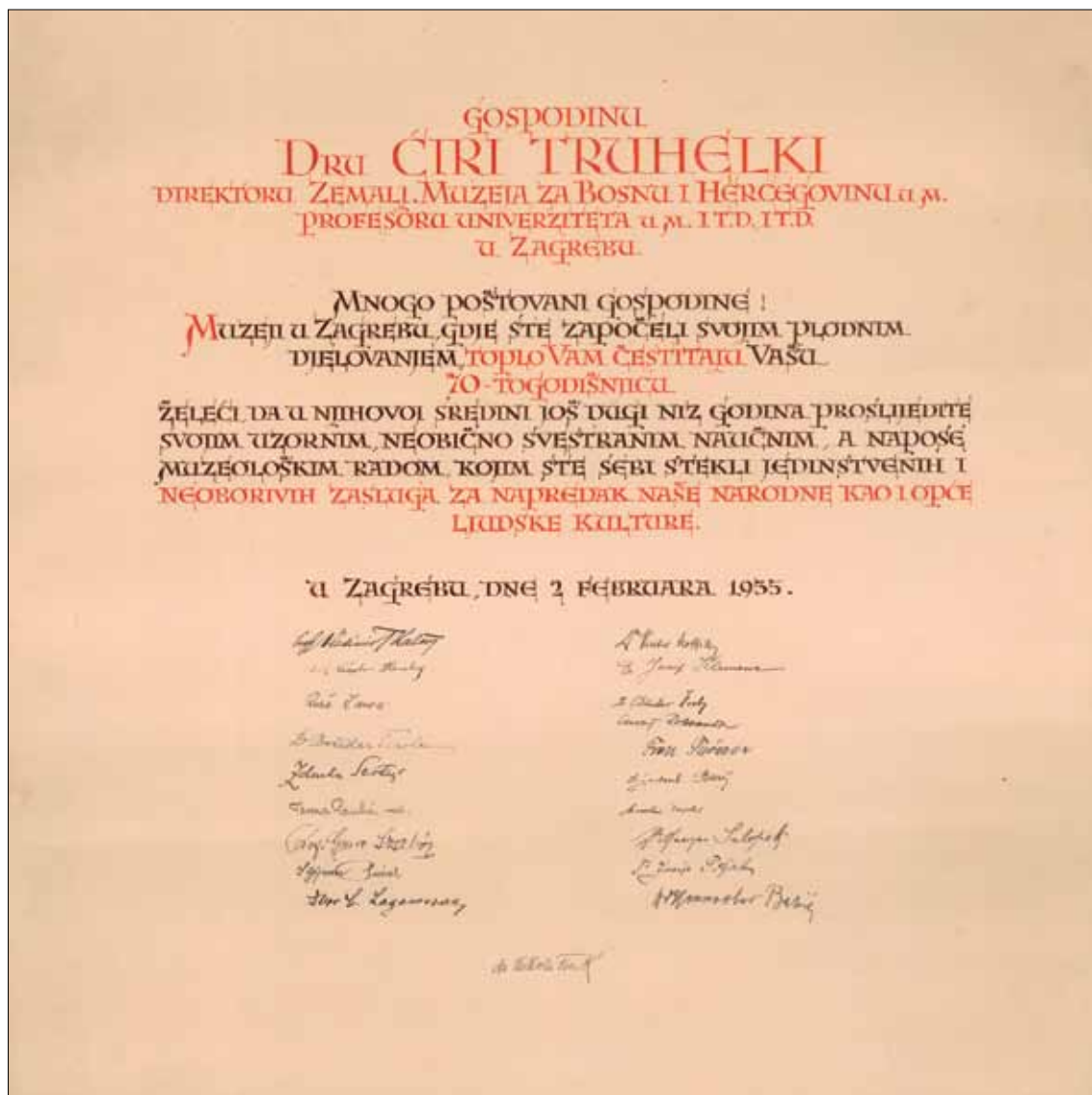
⁴⁸ Vasić 1972.

⁴⁹ Čović 1987, 642, note 314.

⁵⁰ Truhelka 1899; Čović 1976; Čović 1987, 996; Reinecke 1933 (I was informed of this review by D. Periša).

⁵¹ Čović 1967, 115.

⁵² Čović 1967.



Sl. / Fig. 8: Čestitka ravnatelja zagrebačkih muzeja povodom 70. godišnjice života / Celebratory greetings by the Zagreb Museums directors on the occasion of the 70th birthday (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

1988.⁵³ pohvalne izjave o Truhelkinom radu. Brunislav Marijanović to iznosi u poglavlju o Muzeološkoj djelatnosti Arheološkog odjeljenja, Zorislava Čulić za Etnološko odjeljenje, Đuro Basler o zaštiti spomenika kulture, a Jela Božić o nezaobilaznom Truhelkinom trudu u izgradnji i stvaranju novih zgrada Zemaljskog muzeja. Čak i Nada Miletić, koja je inače žestoko osporavala Truhelkinu interpretaciju bosanskohercegovačke starokr-

⁵³ Palavestra 1988.

It is gratifying to read laudatory statements on Truhelka's work by the post-war experts gathered in the *Spomenica* from 1988.⁵³ Brunislav Marijanović does so in the chapter on the museological activities of the Archaeology Section, Zorislava Čulić in the Ethnography Section, Đuro Basler in his work on the protection of cultural monuments, and Jela Božić on Truhelka's inescapable efforts dedicated to the construction and creation of new buildings for the National Museum of

⁵³ Palavestra 1988.

ščanske arhitekture, piše: »Ali, u zahuktalom vremenu naučnoistraživačkog rada Zemaljskog muzeja, u kome je (Truhelka, op. aut.) radio najveći dio svoga života, u kraju gdje je sve bilo nepoznato i gdje je svaki podatak, makar i nepotpun, značio... rad Ć. Truhelke bio je kapitalan doprinos, nemjerljiv po obimu i izuzetno značajan – i kao samo djelo i kao osnova za kasnija, specificirana istraživanja, kojima je, to se mora priznati, postavio prve temelje«. ⁵⁴

Truhelkino izvanredno pažljivo iskopavanje i dokumentiranje Arareve gomile na Glasincu i lucidna interpretacija situacije u tumulu omogućili su dugotrajno korištenje tih sjajnih podataka i u modernim sinteznim studijama. ⁵⁵

Bešlagić u svojim monografijama o stećcima mnogo koristi Truhelkine radove i izražava se s priznanjem o njegovom doprinosu: »Najobimniji i najkvalitetniji doprinos proučavanju stećaka u ovom austrougarskom periodu dao je Ćiro Truhelka, koji je istovremeno najviše učinio za stvaranje i prosperitet Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu... ovaj neumorni naučni radnik je mnogo vremena posvetio stećcima. Putovao je po terenu, opisivao, sam crtao, fotografisao i u gips odljevao natpise i ukrase stećaka...«. ⁵⁶ Truhelkin doprinos priznaju i Dominik Mandić i Franjo Šanjek i Ivan Lovrenović te čitav niz mlađih autora koje je popisala Wikipedija. ⁵⁷

U ovom sam se tekstu dugo zadržala na analizama Hoernesova utjecaja na kasnija mišljenja i izražene stavove u bosanskohercegovačkoj arheološkoj znanosti. Hoernes je vjerojatno pružao samo izliku

⁵⁴ Miletić, Čović 1988, 43.

⁵⁵ Truhelka 1893; Truhelka 1893a; Čović 1979; Jovanović 1979.

⁵⁶ Bešlagić 1982, 15.

⁵⁷ Mandić 1982; Šanjek 1975; Lovrenović 2002; http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka (31.10.2013.).

Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even Nada Miletić, who otherwise harshly refuted Truhelka's interpretation of Early Christian architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina, wrote: "But in a tumultuous time in the scholarly research work of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he [Truhelka] worked most of his life, in a region where everything was unknown and where each piece of data, however incomplete, meant something... Ć. Truhelka's work was a capital construction, immeasurable in its extent and exceptionally significant – in and of itself and as the basis for later, specific research, for which, it must be said, he set the foundations". ⁵⁴

Truhelka's extraordinarily careful excavation and documentation of the Arareva mound at Glasinac and his lucid interpretation of the situation in the tumulus facilitated the long-term use of these outstanding data even in modern synthetic studies. ⁵⁵

In his monographs of monumental tombstones (*stećci*), Bešlagić made much use of Truhelka's works and acknowledged his contributions: "The most extensive and highest quality contribution to the study of *stećci* in the Austro-Hungarian period was made by Ćiro Truhelka, who simultaneously did the most for the creation and prosperity of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo... This tireless scholar dedicated much time to the *stećci*. He travelled in the field, described them, sketched them himself, photographed them and made gypsum castings of the inscriptions and ornamentation on them..." ⁵⁶ Truhelka's contribution was also recognized by Dominik Mandić, Franjo Šanjek and Ivan Lovrenović, and an entire series of young writers who are listed in the Wikipedia entry. ⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Miletić, Čović 1988, 43.

⁵⁵ Truhelka 1893; Truhelka 1893a; Čović 1979; Jovanović 1979.

⁵⁶ Bešlagić 1982, 15.

⁵⁷ Mandić 1982; Šanjek 1975; Lovrenović 2002; http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka (31.10.2013.).

za kasnije stavove koji se ipak činjenično iskazuju kao ideološki obojeni. Čini mi se da ne bismo pogriješili kada bismo odnos čovjeka Hoernesa prema čovjeku Truhelki (znanost je samo nadgradnja u ovom slučaju) prisposodobili odnosu Salieria prema Mozartu, kako ga je pročitao Puškin, a nama ocrtao Miloš Forman. Sve kasnije ocjene lagano je protumačiti političkim i ideološkim prilikama.

Na kraju moram reći da smo ne tako davno doživjeli da su kronologije i teorije zamišljene ambiciozno i na nivou svog vremena (Benac-Čović-Marić) danas korigirane i postavljene na druge osnove.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Pare 1999; Majnarić Pandžić 2002 - U svojoj recenziji tog obimnog eseja branila sam upravo Čovićevu kronologiju Glasinca, kao što sam se protivila i Pareovom napuštanju regionalnih kronologija ostvarenih dugotrajnim znanstvenim nastojanjima.

In this text, I dedicated the most consideration to an analysis of Hoernes' influence on later views and attitudes expressed in the archaeological field in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hoernes probably only provided a pretext for later views which proved to be ideologically driven. It would appear to this author that it would be fair to characterize the attitude of Hoernes the man toward Truhelka the man (scholarship was only a superstructure in this case) as similar to Salieri's view of Mozart, as read by Pushkin and illustrated for us by Miloš Forman. All later assessments may easily be interpreted by the given political and ideological circumstances.

In the end, I must say that not so long ago we saw that the chronologies and theories so ambitiously conceived at the top level of their time (Benac-Čović-Marić) were corrected and set on different foundations.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Pare 1999; Majnarić Pandžić 2002: In my review of this extensive essay, I defended none other than Čović's chronology of Glasinac, just as I opposed Pare's abandonment of regional chronologies based on long-term scholarly efforts.

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