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O točnom nalazištu i preciznijem mitološkom određenju rimske figurine iz okolice Glamoča

On the exact findspot and a more precise mythological attribution of a Roman statuette from the surroundings of Glamoč

UDK / UDC: 904:739.5(497.6)“652”

Stručni rad / Professional paper

U radu se ponovno analizira lijepa rimska brončana figurina koja je davno nađena u okolici Glamoča, a čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Stare zabilješke o tome nalazu u jednom katoličkom shematizmu osvjetljavaju da je figura nađena 1865. u potoku Medvidnjaku, najvjerojatnije kod sela Ćoslija, i da je tom prilikom svjesno i namjerno oštećena. Zbog današnjeg nedostatka atributa u rukama, a zbog podatka da je u desnoj šaci bila strijela, preispituje se predstavlja li figurina boga Dioniza, Bakha ili Libera, kako se dosad smatralo, ili dolazi u obzir mladi Jupiter. Zaključak je da figurina ikonografski zaista predstavlja Dioniza ili Bakha, odnosno u rimskom kontekstu Libera, ali se ne može isključiti i Liberova asimilacija s Jupiterom.

Ključne riječi: figurina, Glamoč, Dioniz, Liber, Bakho, Jupiter

The paper offers a new analysis of the beautiful Roman bronze statuette discovered a long time ago in the vicinity of Glamoč and kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. The old notes concerning the find contained in a Catholic schematism indicate that the figurine was discovered in 1865 in the Medvidnjak stream, most likely in the vicinity of the village of Ćoslija, and that on that occasion it was intentionally and deliberately damaged. Due to the lack of any attributes in its hands, and due to the information that it used to hold an arrow in its right hand, the question arises as to whether this statuette represented the god Dionysius, Bacchus or Liber, as believed to date, or possibly a young Jupiter. The conclusion reached is that, with its iconography, the figurine truly represented either Dionysius or Bacchus, that is Liber in a Roman context, but that Liber's assimilation with Jupiter cannot be ruled out, either.

Key words: statuette, Glamoč, Dionysius, Liber, Bacchus, Jupiter

U katalogu antičkih figuralnih brončanih predmeta, koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, Josip Brunšmid je pod rednim brojem 38. objavio predmet sa sljedećim opisom:

„Dionysos. Bronsan kipić. Iz Glamoča u Bosni. Darovao o. Grga Ložić, župnik.

Vis. 131 mm. Odlomljen komad d. ruke, atribut u l. ruci i noge povrh glježanja. Desna ruka na dva mjesta narezana. Ispao veći dio srebrne inkrustacije na krznu.

Napred okrenuti mladi lik pristajao je l. nogom na zemlju a desnu je nešto natrag postavio. Puna mu je duga kosa po srijedi razdijeljena i ostrag u dva manja čvora svezana. U njoj je vijenac od bršljanova lišća i cvijetova, od kojih se povrh čela izdiže jedan veći, koji je negda bio srebrom tauširan. Srebrne oči imaju izbušene zjenice a srebrnim i bakrenim limom bila je negda sprijeda inkrustirana nebrida, koja pokriva jedan dio prsiju i leđa, spuštajući se s desnoga ramena prema lijevomu kuku. Visoko podignuta d. ruka upirala se je možda o thyrsos, dok je spuštena zatvorena l. ruka valjda držala kantharos.

Običan posao rimskoga carskoga doba. Patina sasna skinuta.”¹

Teško je posve se složiti s ocjenom da je ta figurina „običan” rimski carski rad, kako je J. Brunšmid ocijenio mnoge figurine u svome katalogu, koje to zaista jesu. Dovoljno je samo imati u vidu da su pojedini dijelovi brončane figurine iz okolice Glamoča bili tauširani srebrom. Ipak, nije riječ o slučajnom Brunšmidovom spisateljskom ili naknadnom tiskarskom previdu zbog sličnosti riječi *običan* i *odličan*, nego zaista o njegovoj procjeni, jer je u svome radu za najkvalitetnije primjerke koristio izričaj *izvrstan*.

Enver Imamović, Veljko Paškvalin i Ivana Jadrić u svojim su sintetskim djelima o Librovom kultu na području rimske provincije Dalmacije smatrali da ta figurina, bez obzira na nedostatak atributa u rukama, predstav-

¹ Brunšmid 1914, 224, sl. 38.

In his catalogue of bronze statues dating from classical antiquity kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, under no. 38, Josip Brunšmid described an item as follows:

“Dionysos. Bronze statuette. From Glamoč in Bosnia. Donated by Father Grga Ložić, parish priest.

H. 131 mm. Part of r. arm, attribute in l. hand and legs from above the ankles down broken off. Right arm cut in two places. Large amount of silver incrustation on hide is missing.

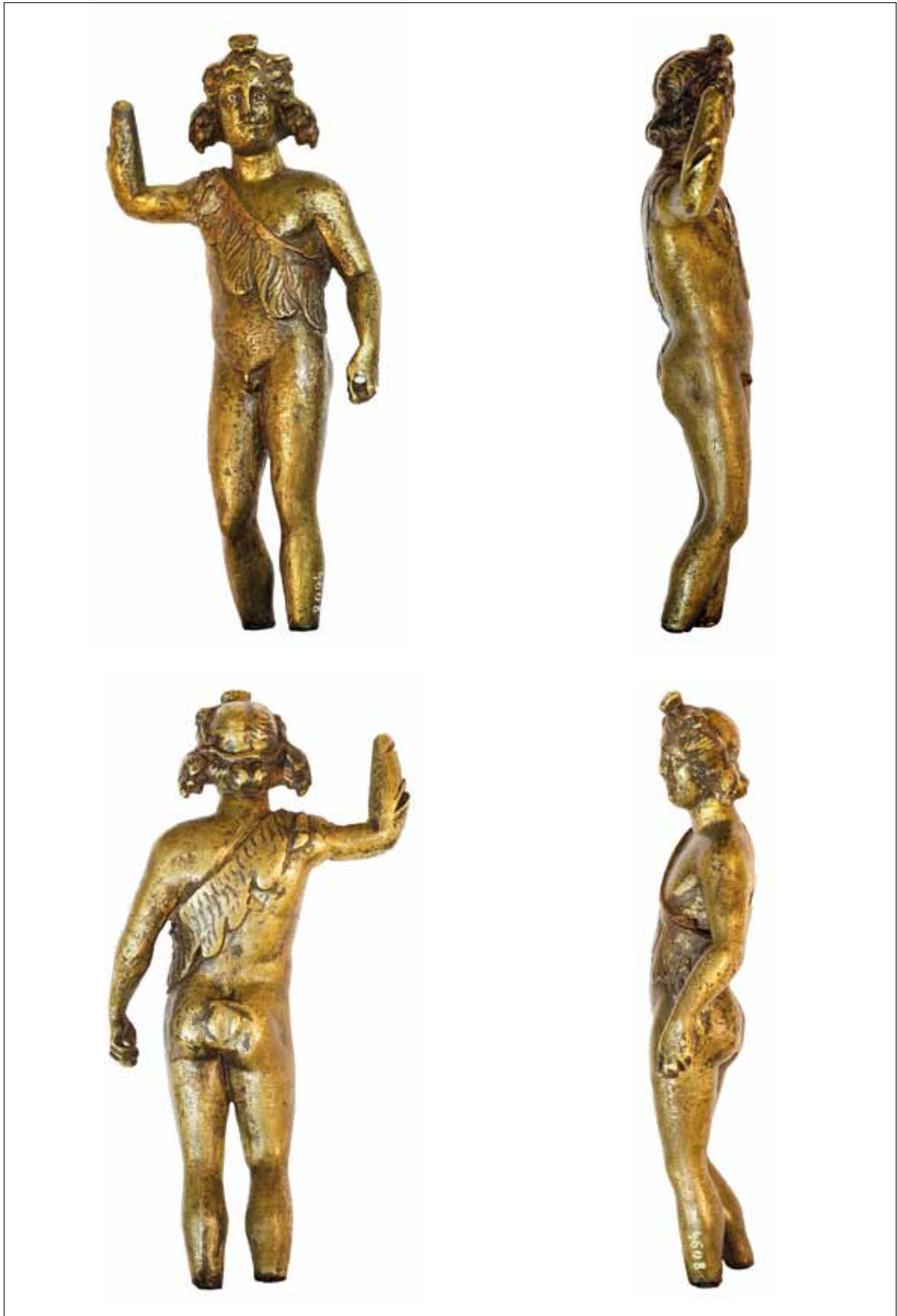
The young figure, facing forwards, stands with his l. foot on the ground, while his right foot is placed somewhat to the rear. His long, abundant hair is parted at the front and tied in two small knots at the back. In his hair, there is a wreath made of laurel leaves and flowers, with a large flower, placed above his forehead, which used to be inlaid with silver. The pupils of the silver eyes are polished, and the front side of the animal hide (nebrys) which partially covers his chest and back, falling from his right shoulder to his left hip, used to be incrustated with silver and copper sheet. The r. hand, raised high, could have leaned against a thyrsos, while the lowered and closed l. hand possibly held a kantharos.

An ordinary work of the Roman Imperial era. The patina completely removed.”¹

I can hardly agree with the assessment that the statuette is an “ordinary” work of the Roman Imperial era, the label used by Brunšmid to describe many figures in his catalogue, which indeed are ordinary works. It should suffice to note that some parts of the bronze statuette from the vicinity of Glamoč were inlaid with silver. Nonetheless, this was neither an accidental writing error made by Brunšmid nor a subsequent typographical error made in print and caused by the similarity of the words *običan* [Eng. ordinary] and *odličan* [Eng. outstanding]; it was Brunšmid’s real estimate, because in his work he described artefacts of the highest quality as *izvrstan* [Eng. excellent].

In their synthetic works discussing the cult of Liber in the Roman province of Dalmatia, Enver Imamović, Veljko Paškvalin and Ivana

¹ Brunšmid 1914, 224, Fig. 38.



Slika / Figure 1: Rimska figura iz okolice Glamoča. (snimio: M. Periša) / Roman statuette from the vicinity of Glamoč. (photo by M. Periša).

lja rimskog boga Libera,² koji je istobitan grčkom bogu Dionizu. Međutim, u sintetskom djelu o istoj temi Boris Olujić tu figurinu nije uvrstio,³ ali nije niti izrazio sumnju da je riječ o Liberu. Posljednji je put figurina objavljena u katalogu izložbe *Klasični Rim na tlu Hrvatske* (u kojem je to jedini predmet koji nije s područja današnje Hrvatske) i određena kao prikaz boga Bakha-Dioniza.⁴ Nebridu koja prelazi preko prsa ima Dioniz, ali i grčki Pan, što upućuje na helenističke tradicije u izradi te figurine. Međutim, već vijenac od bršljanovog lišća i cvjetova na glavi, a ne od vinove loze s grožđem, dovodi u sumnju neupitnost određenja figurine kao Dioniza ili Libera, iako je taj bog također prikazivan s prvim vijencem. Takvom mitološkom određenju ne ide u prilog ni položaj podlaktice desne ruke, koja je uzdignuta pod pravim kutom tako da izgleda da je nečim zamahivala ili nešto bacala, a ne da se upirala u štap (*thyrsos*).

Stare zabilješke o tom nalazu, prije Brunšmidove objave, kako u arheološkoj literaturi tako i u jednom katoličkom shematizmu, osvjetljavaju figurinu ne samo u pogledu točnog nalazišta, godine i okolnosti u kojima je nađena i oštećena, te dospjela u Zagreb, nego također pokreću raspravu oko preciznijeg mitološkog određenja.

U prvom broju *Viestnika Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu*, prvog muzejskog (i sadržajem uglavnom arheološkog) časopisa u Hrvatskoj, Šime Ljubić je u popisu darova za 1870. naveo sljedeći podatak: „M.P.O. (kratica od *mnogo poštovani otac* – op. a.) *Grgo Lozić, župnik u Glamoču u Bosni, preko M.P.O. Antuna Kneževića u Djakovu – kip mjedeni sv. Ivana Krst., nađen u Glamoču*”.⁵ Nema dvojbe da je riječ o istoj figurini koju je objavio J. Brunšmid, samo što je Š. Ljubić

Jadrić were of the opinion that, irrespective of the lack of attributes in its hands, the statuette represented the Roman god Liber,² which corresponds to the Greek god Dionysius. However, Boris Olujić did not mention this statuette in his synthetic work concerning the same topic,³ although he did not express any doubt that it represented Liber, either. The statuette was published last in the catalogue of the exhibition *Classical Rome in the Territory of Croatia* (where it was the only item listed that had not been discovered in the territory of today's Croatia). In it, it was described as a representation of the god Bacchus-Dionysius.⁴ Both Dionysius and the Greek god Pan wear nebryses over their chests, which suggests the presence of Hellenistic tradition in the figure's making. However, the wreath of laurel leaves and flowers on its head (rather than a wreath of vines and grapes) brings a question mark over the certainty of the description of the figure as Dionysius or Liber, although there are representations of the god wearing such a wreath. Such a mythological attribution is not supported by the position of the right forearm either: it is raised at a right angle, making it look as if it used to swing something or throw something, rather than lean against a staff (*thyrsos*).

Some old notes about this find, which can be found both in the archaeological literature and in a Catholic schematism predating Brunšmid's publication, throw light on the statuette's exact findspot, the year of its discovery and the circumstances under which it was found and damaged, and subsequently brought to Zagreb. They also ignite the discussion concerning its more precise mythological determination.

In the first edition of the *Viestnik Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu* [*Herald of the National Museum in Zagreb*], the first Croatian museum journal (whose contents dealt mostly with archaeology), Šime Ljubić published a list of donations for 1870, which included the following: “*The*

² Imamović 1977, 161, 163, 396, sl. 152; Paškvalin 1989, 168, T. IV/3; Jadrić 2007, 180 (u tom je djelu proizvoljno naveden podatak da je figurina nađena u Halapiću kod Glamoča).

³ Olujić 1990, 3–30.

⁴ Šegvić, Marković (ur.) 2014, 188, 269, kat. br. 136. Autori kataloških jedinica inače nisu potpisani, a u poglavljima u tom katalogu nitko se ne poziva na tu figurinu.

⁵ Ljubić 1870, 214.

² Imamović 1977, 161, 163, 396, Fig. 152; Paškvalin 1989, 168, Pl. IV/3; Jadrić 2007, 180 (The text contains the arbitrary information that the statuette was found in Halapić, near Glamoč).

³ Olujić 1990, 3–30.

⁴ Šegvić, Marković (eds.) 2014, 188, 269, Cat. no. 136. Authors of the catalogue items are not named, and the statuette is not referenced in the text of the catalogue.

u njoj, vjerojatno zbog skromne odjeće, pogrešno vidio biblijskog proroka i sveca. Iz tog podatka saznajemo da je figurina nađena posljednjih godina osmanske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Moritz Hoernes je neposredno poslije okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine od strane Austro-Ugarske Monarhije 1878., arheološki obišao to područje, pa tako i Glamočko polje, i već 1880. donio sistematizirane podatke o rimskim nalazištima i spomenicima. Između ostalog zabilježio je sljedeći podatak: „*Auch bei dem Orte Za Jarugom, 3 Km. südl. von Jakir, soll eine ähnliche Sculptur gefunden worden sein, in Glamoč selbst aber vor 7-8 Jahren ein Topf mit ca. 500 römischen Münzen und, bei einer anderen Gelegenheit, eine spannenlange Bronzestatuetten, die nach Agram (Zagreb – op. a.) gekommen sein soll.*”⁶ Nema dvojbe da je riječ o figurini koju je naveo Š. Ljubić, a objavio J. Brunšmid, a iz bilješke saznajemo da je figurina nađena u neposrednoj okolici gradića Glamoča.

Franjevac Grgo Lozić (Zlosela kod Kupresa, 1810. – Split, 1876.), koji je darovao tu figurinu Arheološkom odjelu Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu, skrbio se od 1865. do 1874. o mladoj katoličkoj kapelaniji u Glamoču. Između 1865. i 1869. napisao je djelo *Adnotationes variae* o livanjskom, glamočkom, kupreškom i uskopskom kraju, u kojem je, uz niz raznih zanimljivosti, također donio prve vijesti o arheološkim nalazištima i nalazima na tom području. Tako se rješenje svih problema vezanih uz točno nalazište, ali i stvarnu mitološku pripadnost figurine nalazi u sljedećoj bilješci u njegovom djelu: „*Medvid Grad soren dalek po sata (od Glamoča – op. a.). Niže grada teče potok Medvidnjak, a di-koji sada zovu Alina vodica. Medvidnjak voda iznilaje 1865. Idola Peruna /Iovem fulminantem/ salivena od tuča čudnovato glavu okrunjenu ima, a oči su srebrenne, et fascia lota priko ramena spojena iz pod drugog ramena priko persa i ledja posrebrena. Rečenog Idola, našlo je djete u pisku vodenom. Ali je bijo vas cern, misleć turci, da je od zlata pripilali su mu obe noge, peržili u žestokoj vatri dok*

Rev. Father Grgo Lozić, parish priest in Glamoč in Bosnia, through the Rev. Father Antun Knežević in Đakovo - brass statue of St. John the Baptist, found in Glamoč”.⁵ There is no doubt that this is the same figure published by Brunšmid, but Ljubić saw in it the biblical prophet and saint - a mistake probably caused by its modest garments. The item listed reveals that the statuette was discovered in the final years of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Immediately after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1878, Moritz Hoernes made an archaeological reconnaissance tour of the region, including the Glamoč Valley, and as early as 1880 he produced systematized data on Roman sites and monuments. Among other data, he wrote down the following: “*Auch bei dem Orte Za Jarugom, 3 Km. südl. von Jakir, soll eine ähnliche Sculptur gefunden worden sein, in Glamoč selbst aber vor 7-8 Jahren ein Topf mit ca. 500 römischen Münzen und, bei einer anderen Gelegenheit, eine spannenlange Bronzestatuetten, die nach Agram [Zagreb] gekommen sein soll.*”⁶ There is no doubt that the statue mentioned is the same listed by Ljubić and also published by Brunšmid. The note reveals that the statuette was discovered in the immediate vicinity of the town of Glamoč.

Franciscan friar Grgo Lozić (Zlosela, near Kupres, 1810 - Split, 1876), who donated the figure to the Department of Archaeology of the National Museum in Zagreb, was in charge of a young Catholic chaplaincy in Glamoč between 1865 and 1874. In the period between 1865 and 1869, he wrote the book *Adnotationes variae*, about the region of Livno, Glamoč, Kupres and Uskoplje, which contained a range of interesting information, including the first reports on archaeological sites and artefacts discovered in the area. Thus, the solution of all the problems regarding the exact findspot of the statuette, and its true mythological attribution, can be found in the following note in that book: “*The ruined Castle of Medvid at a distance of half an hour [from Glamoč]. The Medvidnjak stream flows below the castle, nowadays called by some Alina Vodica [Eng. Ale's Water]. In 1865, the Med-*

⁵ Ljubić 1870, 214.

⁶ Hoernes 1880, 206.

⁶ Hoernes 1880, 206.

*nisu vidili da je tuč, i peržeć Ga ruka desna iz šake je odpala, koja derži strilu u ruki. Pak sam ga ja kupio rad starine bosanske.*⁷

Dakle, figurina je nađena u potoku Medvidnjaku (Medvjednjaku ili Medvednjaku, ovisno o dijalektu), koji izvire blizu malog srednjovjekovnog burga Medvidgrada, južno od grada Glamoča. Podatak da je figurinu iznio potok Medvidnjak i da ga je našlo dijele upućuje da treba isključiti gornji tok kroz nenaseljeni planinski i šumoviti predjel, i nalazište smjestiti u donji tok koji izbija u Glamočko polje, a to je upravo u selu Ćoslije sjeverozapadno od Glamoča. Vidljiva oštećenja i nedostatak patine na figurini nastali su nasilno poslije otkrića od strane radoznalih muslimana, koji su mogli biti roditelji djeteta-nalaznika u Ćoslijama,⁸ ali su to mogli biti i glamočki begovi Filipovići (inače, potomci poznatog poturčenog zagrebačkog kanonika Franje Filipovića), kojima je kao gospodarima tog kraja, prema osmanskome zakonu, figurina na kraju mogla pripasti kao potencijalna dragocjenost.⁹

⁷ Manderalo 1992, 79.

⁸ U Ćoslijama je do novijeg doba živjelo uglavnom pravoslavno stanovništvo uz nešto malo katoličkoga. Međutim, u vrijeme kada je nađena ta figurina većinsko stanovništvo bilo je muslimansko. Tako je na prvom popisu stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini 1879. zabilježeno da u Ćoslijama živi 86 muslimana i 34 pravoslavca. Uspoređi: *Haupt-Uebersicht der politischen Eintheilung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina / Glavni pregled političkoga razdieljenja Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo, 1879, 63.

⁹ G. Lozić je u svome literarnom djelu namjerno pisao etnonim *Turci* malim početnim slovom, a imenicu *idol* (čak i zamjenicu) velikim, pa treba objasniti pozadinu takvog postupka. Studirao je i završio teologiju i filozofiju na Sveučilištu u Budimu, pa stoga nije riječ o njegovoj slaboj pismenosti, nego o odbojnosti prema osmanskoj islamskoj vlasti. Naime, 1816. jedan je kupreški beg želio oženiti njegovu bližu rođakinju Katu Lozić, a kako se ona nije željela udati za muslimana i tako preći na islam, on ju je s još nekoliko muslimana sasjekao. Kata se u kupreškom kraju od tada štuje kao katolička mučenica. Tijekom 19. st. položaj kršćanskog stanovništva (i katoličkog i pravoslavnog) u Bosanskom pašaluku ponovno je postao jako težak, što je 1831. dovelo do ustanka Hrvata i Srba u Livnu pod vodstvom Luke Cvrka i Luke Kujundžića, kojima je osmanska vlast javno odsjekla glave. Ti su događaji sigurno bili potresli G. Lozića. Kada je 1875. izbio veliki hrvatski i srpski ustanak u Bosni i Hercegovini, već je bio teško bolestan u franjevačkom samostanu na Gorici kod Livna. Ustanak Hrvata u Livnu izbio je upravo zbog ubojstva starog franjevca Lovre Karaule, inače Lozićevog učitelja i duhovnika, od strane livanjskih muslimana, a na čelo ustanka stalo je nekoliko franjevaca. Tako je život, ionako bolesnog, G. Lozića bio ugrožen. Početkom 1876. otišao je u Split na liječenje, ali je ubrzo preminuo. Glamoč-

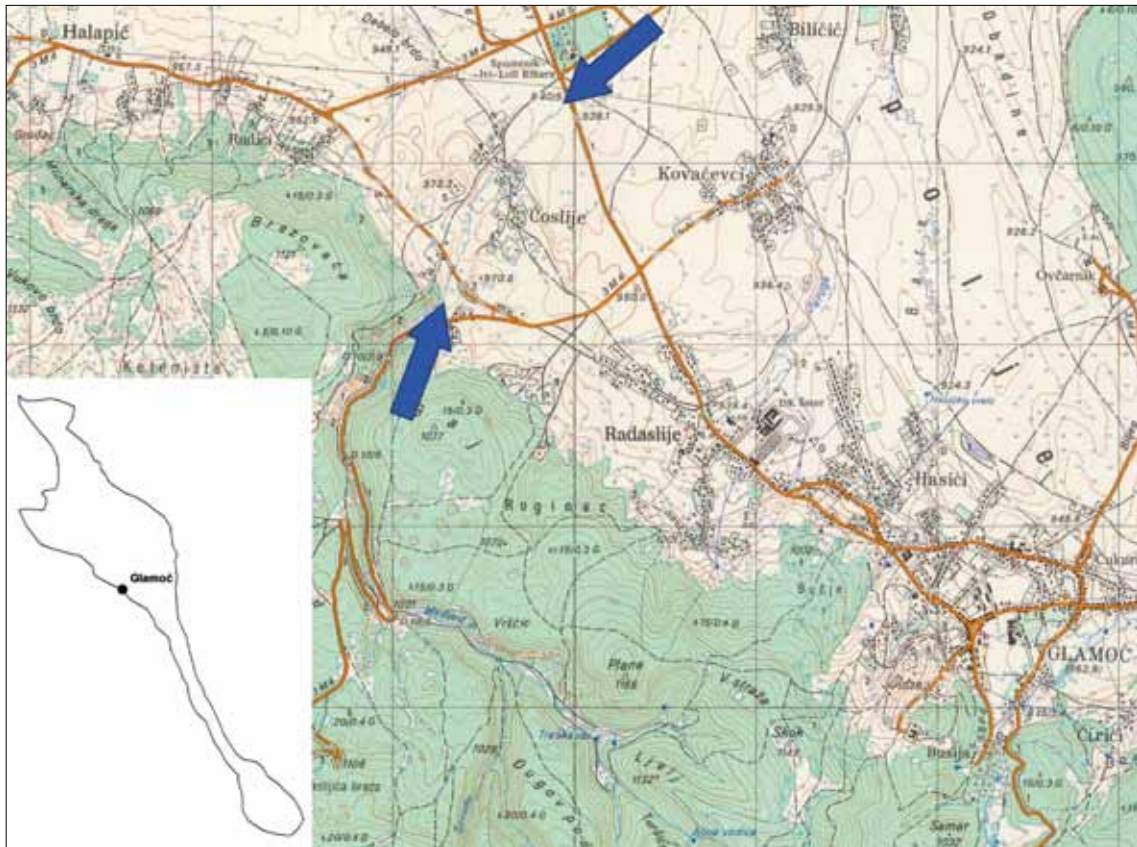
*vidnjak stream brought the Idol of Perun /Iovem fulminantem/ cast in bronze, His head strangely crowned and His eyes silver, et fascia lota over His shoulder and tied under the other shoulder, coated with silver over the chest and back. The said Idol was found by a child in the sand in the stream. But it was all black, as the turks thought it was made of gold, so they sawed both its legs and burned it in fierce fire until they realized it was bronze, and while they scorched it, its right hand, holding an arrow, fell off. I picked it up for the Bosnian heritage.*⁷

Therefore, the statuette was found in the Medvidnjak stream (Medvjednjak or Medvednjak, depending on the dialect), whose source is in the vicinity of the mediaeval castle of Medvidgrad, to the south of Glamoč. The information that the figure was brought by the Medvidnjak stream, and that it was discovered by a child, suggests that the upper flow of the stream should be ruled out, as it passes through an uninhabited, mountainous and forested area, and that the findspot is to locate in the lower flow of the stream, which reaches the Glamoč Valley, precisely in the village of Ćoslije to the northwest of Glamoč. The visible damage to the statuette and the lack of patina on it are results of deliberate actions committed after its discovery by inquisitive Muslims - possibly the parents of the child who had found it in Ćoslije,⁸ or the Glamoč landlords (begs) Filipović (who were descendants of the well-known Zagreb canon Franjo Filipović, who converted to Islam). According to Ottoman law, the statuette could have ended up with them, the local landlords, as a potential treasure.⁹

⁷ Manderalo 1992, 79.

⁸ Until recently, Ćoslije was inhabited by a mainly Orthodox population, with a small number of Catholics. However, at the time when the statuette was found, the majority of the population were Muslims. In 1879, the first population census in Bosnia and Herzegovina recorded that 86 inhabitants of Ćoslije were Muslims and 34 Orthodox. Cf. *Haupt-Uebersicht der politischen Eintheilung von Bosnien und der Hercegovina / General Overview of the Political Structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, 1879, 63.

⁹ In his literary work, G. Lozić deliberately wrote the ethnonym *Turks* with a lowercase letter, and the noun *idol* (and even the pronoun referring to it) with an uppercase letter, and this calls for an explanation. Lozić had a degree in theology and philosophy, which he obtained at the University of Buda, so it could not have been a result of his poor literacy, but rather his aversion to the Ottoman Islamic authorities. In 1816 in Kupres, a landlord (beg) wanted to marry his close relative Kata Lozić, and because she did not want to



Slika / Figure 2: Topografska karta okolice Glamoča. Strelicama označen potez potoka Medvjednjaka na kojem je nađena rimska figurina. / Topographic map of the surroundings of Glamoč. The arrows mark the section of the Medvjednjak stream in which the Roman statuette was found.

Figurina je u desnoj šaci držala predmet u kojem je G. Lozić vidio strijelu, pa je figurinu odredio kao vrhovnog rimskog boga Jupitera i to *fulminator*, koji je istobitan sa staroslavenskim bogom Perunom. Zbog toga treba preispitati je li riječ o Liberu ili Jupiteru.

Ako je figurina držala strijelu, koja je predstavljala munju, onda je riječ o Jupiteru Munjevitome (*Iuppiter fulgurator*). U dostupnoj znanstvenoj literaturi nema kipa Jupitera koji bi bio analogija toj figurini. Međutim, na rimskom carskom novcu Jupiter Munjeviti prikazan je mladalačkim likom, odnosno bez brade, i kako desnom rukom

ki Srbi su u kolovozu 1876. napali i spalili Filipovića dvore (selo Odžak) i neke od njih poubijali. Zbog svega navedenoga nije slučajno da G. Lozić opisuje prženje figurine u žestokoj vatri i sječenje njegovih udova od strane muslimana dramatično gotovo kao mučenje i sakaćenje živih ljudi, a etnonim *Turci* (kako se tada nazivalo i slavensko muslimansko stanovništvo) namjerno piše malim slovom.

In the figure's right hand there was an object which Lozić recognized as an arrow, and thus he

marry a Muslim and thus be converted to Islam, he, together with several other Muslims, hacked her to death. Kata has been worshipped as a Catholic martyr ever since in the region of Kupres. During the 19th century, the position of Christians in the Bosnian Pashaluk [Ottoman district] was very difficult, resulting in the 1831 uprising of Croats and Serbs in Livno, led by Luka Cvrk and Luka Kujundžić, who were publically beheaded by the Ottoman authorities. These events must have been very stressful for Lozić. At the time of the great Croatian and Serbian uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875, he was already gravely ill, and he lived in the Franciscan monastery at Gorica near Livno. The Croatian uprising in Livno was caused precisely by the murder of the old Franciscan friar Lovro Karaula (Lozić's teacher and priest), at the hands of Livno Muslims. The uprising was led by several Franciscan friars. Therefore, the life of Lozić, who was already ill, was in jeopardy. In early 1876 he went to Split for treatment, but he soon died. In August 1876, Serbs from Glamoč attacked and burned down the Filipović Mansion (village of Odžak) and killed some members of the family. Due to all this, it should not surprise us that Lozić describes the figure being burned in fierce fire, and its limbs being sawn off by Muslims nearly as dramatically as the torturing and maiming of living people, and he deliberately writes the ethnonym *Turks* (used at the time to describe the Slavic Muslim population, too) in lower case.

baca munju.¹⁰ Time bi otpala pretpostavka da je u šupljini desne šake od figurine bila posuda *kantaros*, nego bi bio neki Jupiterov atribut. U tom je pogledu znakovita poznata figurina Jupitera-Dolihena na biku iz Karnunta (*Carnuntum*). Jupiter u lijevoj ruci, savijenoj u laktu, drži snop munja dok u uzdignutoj desnoj ruci drži šipku, koja zbog konteksta ipak nije munja nego držak dvojne sjekire.¹¹ Također, na rimskom carskom novcu Jupiter Uzdržavatelj (*Iuppiter stator*) prikazan je, često mladalačkog lika, sa žezlom u desnoj ruci i snopom munja u lijevoj.¹²

Ipak, u *Margumu* (Dubravica) u rimskoj provinciji Gornjoj Meziji (*Moesia Superior*) nađena je potpuno očuvana brončana figurina, vrlo slična onoj iz okolice Glamoča. Figurina je fiksirana na kvadratno profilirano i dekorirano postolje. Desna je noga je povučena unatrag tako da težina počiva na lijevoj. Na glavi se također nalazi vijenac od lišća, ali i grozdova (*corona convivialis*), dok se od desnog ramena prema lijevom kuku također spušta nebrida košute. U visoko podignutoj desnoj ruci, savijenoj u laktu, figurina drži tirs s češerom koji je u ukošenom položaju, dok u lijevoj ruci drži *kantaros* čiji je otvor okrenut prema tlu. Pored lijeve noge nalazi se pantera. Milivoje Veličković je figurinu odredio kao Bakha (*Bacchus*) i datirao u 2. ili 3. st.¹³ Osim te figurine, u *Walters Art Museum (Gallery)* u Baltimoru čuva se još jedna slična figurina Bakha i to sa srebrnom inkrustacijom, upravo kao primjerak iz okolice Glamoča, s pretpostavljenim datiranjem u 3. st.¹⁴ Dakle, nema dvojbe da i figurina iz okolice Glamoča, predstavlja Bakha, odnosno Dioniza ili Libera ovisno o religiji. Dakle, G. Lozić je u tirsu u desnoj

determined that it represented the supreme Roman deity Jupiter, more precisely *Jupiter Fulminator*, which corresponds to the Old Slavic god Perun. Because of this, it is worth reviewing the issue of whether the figure represents Liber or Jupiter.

If it indeed held an arrow, symbolizing a thunderbolt, then it represented *Jupiter Fulgurator*. The available scientific literature makes no mention of any Jupiter statue which would correspond to this figure. However, on a Roman Imperial coin, Jupiter Fulgurator is represented as a beardless youthful figure, throwing a thunderbolt with his right fist.¹⁰ This would preclude the assumption that the figure held a *kantaros* in its right hand; it would rather have been one of Jupiter's attributes. In this respect, the well-known statuette from Carnuntum of Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull is significant. With his left arm bent at the elbow, Jupiter holds a sheaf of thunderbolts in his left hand, while in his right hand, held up high, he holds a rod, which the context suggests is not a thunderbolt but the handle of a double-headed axe.¹¹ Furthermore, Jupiter Stator was often portrayed on Roman Imperial coins as a youthful figure, with a sceptre in his right hand and a sheaf of thunderbolts in his left.¹²

Nonetheless, a completely preserved bronze statuette, very similar to the one discovered in the vicinity of Glamoč, has been found in *Margum* (Dubravica), in the Roman province of *Moesia Superior*. The statuette is fixed on a profiled and decorated square base. Its right leg is placed to the rear so that its weight sits on its left leg. In this case, too, there is a wreath of leaves on the figure's head, but also of grapes (*corona convivialis*), and there is a doe's hide (*nebrys*) falling from its right shoulder towards the left hip. In its right hand, lifted high and bent at the elbow, the figure holds a slanted staff with a cone, while in its left hand there is a *kantaros*, its mouth turned downwards. Next to its left foot there is a panther. Milivoje Veličković determined that the statuette represented Bacchus, and dated it to

¹⁰ Na primjer aurej (*aureus*) cara Dioklecijana: RIC V/2, 146.

¹¹ Ertl 2006, 360.

¹² Na primjer aureji careva Antonina Pija i Gordijana III.: RIC III, 72c; RIC IV, 99.

¹³ Veličković, *Bah*, u: Popović *et al.* 1969, 95, sl. 110; Veličković 1972, 47–48, sl. 66. Najnovija objava: Pilipović 2011, 163–164, T. IX/33.

¹⁴ LIMC IV/1, 912; LIMC IV/2, 617, nr. 85.

¹⁰ For example, the aureus of emperor Diocletian: RIC V/2, 146.

¹¹ Ertl 2006, 360.

¹² For example, the aurei of emperors Antoninus Pius and Gordian III: RIC III, 72c; RIC IV, 99.

ruci pogrešno vidio strijelu, posebno ako je tirs bio prelomljen i imao češer. To ne znači da je on sasvim pogriješio što je u figurini vidio Jupitera.

Jupiter je bio prastaro italsko božanstvo neba, (meteorološkog) vremena i munja te vrhovni bog rimskog panteona, čiji je kult imao najveće državno i političko značenje. Kao bogu svjetlosti i neba, Jupiteru su posvećeni i praznici grožđa – ploda koji najviše ovisi o vremenskim prilikama. Po vinogradima je 19. augusta u njegovu čast slavljen praznik *Vinalia rustica*, a na početku berbe grožđa, vrhovni je svećenik Jupiteru žrtvovao janje. Kraj je berbe također obilježen Jupiterovim praznikom *Meditrinalia*, koji je svetkovan 11. oktobra. S tim se praznikom prvi put točilo slatko, neprevrelo vino (mošt), a s trećim Jupiterovim praznikom, *Vinalia priora*, koji se održavao 23. aprila, u grad se unosilo i točilo prevrelo prošlogodišnje vino.¹⁵ Kao i Jupiter, Liber je staroitalsko božanstvo, a zatim rimski bog plodnosti, posebno vinove loze. Liber je isprva bio samostalno božanstvo plodnosti, a zatim je asimiliran s Jupiterom (Jupiter Liber) i poistovjećen s Dionizom ili Bakhom. Asimilacijom s Dionizom ili Bakhom, Liber je prije svega postao bog vinove loze i vina.¹⁶ Asimilacija Libera s Dionizom ili Bakhom dogodila se u rimsko kasno republikansko doba, vjerojatno zahvaljujući ulozi Bakha kao pokrovitelja duša.¹⁷ Poput drugih staroitalskih bogova i božanstava, Liber nije imao svoj mit i njegova se ikonografija zasnivala, odnosno ujednačavala, s onom Dioniza ili Bakha. Liberov je karakter tako imao sve aspekte svog grčkog prototipa.¹⁸

Kulturna zajednica Jupitera i Libera nije neobična i poznata je u raznim dijelovima Rimskog Carstva jer su oba boga smatrana zaštitnicima vinove loze i vina, što potvrđuje jedan latinski natpis iz sjeverne Italije.

the 2nd or 3rd c.¹³ In addition to this statuette, the Baltimore *Walters Art Museum (Gallery)* keeps another similar statuette of Bacchus, incrustated with silver just like the one from the vicinity of Glamoč, and presumably dating from the 3rd c.¹⁴ Therefore, there can be no doubt that the statuette from the vicinity of Glamoč also represents Bacchus, that is Dionysius or Liber, depending on the religion in question. Thus, Lozić was mistaken when he interpreted the staff in its right hand as an arrow, especially if the staff were broken and included a cone. But it does not mean that he was completely mistaken in interpreting the statuette as Jupiter.

Jupiter was an ancient Italian deity of the sky, weather and lightning, and the supreme god of the Roman pantheon, whose cult was of the highest state and political importance. Festivities of grapes - fruits which are most vulnerable to weather conditions - were dedicated to Jupiter as the god of light and the sky. On August 19th, the feast of *Vinalia rustica* was celebrated in vineyards in his honour, and at the beginning of the grape harvest, the supreme priest would sacrifice a lamb to Jupiter. The end of the harvest was also marked by Jupiter's festivity of *Meditrinalia*, which was celebrated on October 11th. On this occasion, the sweet unfermented wine (must) was poured for the first time, while on the third festivity of Jupiter, *Vinalia priora*, celebrated on April 23rd, the fermented wine produced last year would be brought into the town and poured.¹⁵ Much like Jupiter, Liber is an Old Italian deity, and also a Roman god of fertility, and especially of vines. At first, Liber was an independent deity of fertility, and later was assimilated to Jupiter (Jupiter Liber) and identified with Dionysius or Bacchus. Through that assimilation with Dionysius or Bacchus, Liber became primarily the god of vines and wine.¹⁶ The assimilation occurred in the Roman Late Republican era, probably due to Bacchus's role of the sponsor of souls.¹⁷ Like other Old Italian

¹⁵ Srejović, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1989, 183.

¹⁶ Srejović, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1989, 233–234.

¹⁷ Pilipović 2011, 16.

¹⁸ Pilipović 2011, 20.

¹³ Veličković, *Bah*, in: Popović *et al.* 1969, 95, Fig. 110; Veličković 1972, 47–48, Fig. 66. The most recent publication: Pilipović 2011, 163–164, Pl. IX/33.

¹⁴ LIMC IV/1, 912; LIMC IV/2, 617, no. 85.

¹⁵ Srejović, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1989, 183.

¹⁶ Srejović, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1989, 233–234.

¹⁷ Pilipović 2011, 16.

Jupiter je bio zaštitnik sakrificijalnog vina (*vinum inferium*), a Liber profanog vina (*vinum spurcum*), neprikladnog za libacije zato što je bilo nečisto.¹⁹

Dakle, lijepa figurina iz Ćoslija kod Glamoča ikonografski predstavlja Bakha u širem smislu. Mitološki ili religijski predstavlja Dioniza ako je štovatelj bio rimskodobni Grk, odnosno Libera ako je štovatelj bio Rimljanin. Štovanje Libera na Glamočkom polju potvrđeno je reljefom iz Šumnjaka.²⁰ Međutim, za figurinu se ne može isključiti i Liberova asimilacija s (mladim) Jupiterom, bogom inače potvrđenim na više od deset rimskih posvetnih natpisa s Glamočkog polja, većinom iz Halapića.²¹ U tom bi slučaju vlasnik i štovatelj bio neki doseljeni konzervativni Italik. U Ćoslijama nisu nađeni arheološki ostaci rimskog naselja, a nisu ni u samom Glamoču, ali upravo u selu Halapiću, zapadno od Ćoslija, nalazilo se najveće rimsko naselje na Glamočkom polju, u kojem je bila putna stanica Salvij (*Salvium*, *Salviae*), očito i sjedište istoimenog municipija. Ta je figurina očito bila vlasništvo nekog stanovnika tog municipija i sljedbenika kulta vezanog uz vinovu lozu i vino.²²

¹⁹ Pilipović 2011, 66–67.

²⁰ Bojanovski 1986, 104–105; Paškvalin 1986, 65–66. Taj i drugi sličan spomenik iz Vašarovina kod Livna također nisu uvršteni u: Olujić 1990.

²¹ Imamović 1977, 356–359, 382–383; Bojanovski 1986, 92–105.

²² Ovaj sam rad predstavio na znanstvenom skupu *Glamoč u arheologiji i istoriji*, održanom 28. srpnja 2012. u Glamoču. Unatoč izvrsnoj organizaciji tog skupa od strane Skupštine općine Glamoč i arheologinje Milke Đukić, referati nisu nikad prikupljeni i objavljeni u zasebnom zborniku. Zbog toga sam prinuđen poslije više godina čekanja svoj rad objaviti na drugome mjestu. *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, časopis muzeja u kojem se čuva ta figura, najidealniji je za objavu.

gods and deities, Liber did not have a myth of his own, and his iconography was based, and often identified, with that of Dionysius or Bacchus. Thus, the figure of Liber featured all the aspects of the Greek prototype.¹⁸

The cult unity of Jupiter and Liber is not unusual; it was familiar in various parts of the Roman Empire, because both gods were seen as patrons of vines, as evidenced by a Latin inscription from northern Italy. Jupiter was the patron of sacrificial wine (*vinum inferium*), and Liber of ordinary wine (*vinum spurcum*), inappropriate for libations since it was impure.¹⁹

Therefore, in terms of iconography, the beautiful statuette from Ćoslije, near Glamoč, represents Bacchus in the widest sense. In terms of mythology or religion, it represented Dionysius if the worshipper was a Roman-period Greek, or Liber if the worshipper was a Roman. The cult of Liber in the Glamoč Valley has been confirmed by a relief from Šumnjak.²⁰ However, as regards this statuette, the assimilation of Liber with (a young) Jupiter cannot be ruled out, and Jupiter has been confirmed in more than ten Roman consecration inscriptions in the Glamoč Valley, mostly from Halapić.²¹ In such a case, the owner and worshipper would have been an immigrant conservative Italian. No archaeological traces of a Roman settlement have been found in Ćoslije, nor in Glamoč, but the village of Halapić, to the west of Ćoslije, was the location of the largest Roman settlement in the Glamoč Valley, which included the road station *Salvium* (or *Salviae*), clearly the centre of the *municipium* of the same name. The statuette was evidently owned by an inhabitant of the *municipium* who followed the cult of vines and wine.²²

¹⁸ Pilipović 2011, 20.

¹⁹ Pilipović 2011, 66–67.

²⁰ Bojanovski 1986, 104–105; Paškvalin 1986, 65–66. This and other similar monuments from Vašarovine, near Livno, have not been included either in: Olujić 1990.

²¹ Imamović 1977, 356–359, 382–383; Bojanovski 1986, 92–105.

²² I presented this work at the scientific conference *Glamoč in Archaeology and History*, held in Glamoč on 28 July 2012. Despite the excellent organization of the conference by the Municipal Assembly of Glamoč and the archaeologist Milka Đukić, the papers have never been collected and published in conference proceedings. Thus, after years of waiting, I have been forced to publish my work elsewhere, and *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, a journal issued by the Museum in which the statuette is kept, is the ideal publication for it.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

LIMC IV = *Lexikon Iconographicum Mithologiae Classicae*, IV, 1–2, *Eros-Herakles et addenda Cerunnos, Demeter, Ceres, Bacchus (in peripheria occidentali)*, *Erechtheus*, Artemis Verlag Zürich und München, 1988.

RIC III = H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage. Antoninus Pius – Commodus*, London, 1930.

RIC IV = H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage. Gordian III – Uranius Antoninus*, London, 1949.

RIC V/2 = P. H. Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage. Marcus Aurelius Probus – Maximian*, London, 1933.

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