

BAR KOHBIN BRONČANI NOVAC S GRADSKOJE PLAŽE KOLOVARE U ZADRU

Autori donose spoznaju o brončanom novcu kovanom tijekom Bar Kohbina ustanka od 132. do 135. godine, koji je 2016. slučajno pronađen na gradskoj plaži Kolovare u Zadru. Sudeći prema činjeničnom stanju, ali i prema predaji pokojnog profesora Zdenka Brusića, najvjerojatnije je da novac originalno potječe sa šireg područja kompleksa antičkog foruma, odakle je 60-ih godina nanesen zajedno s građevinskom šutom na mjesto današnje gradske plaže. Pretpostavlja se da je novac u Jader mogao doći preko rimskih vojnika koji su sudjelovali u gušenju Drugog židovskog ustanka ili preko izbjeglica iz Judeje, a također se naglašava i veza Dalmacije i Drugog židovskog ustanka jer upravo je čovjek iz ovih krajeva bio zaslužan za njegovo gušenje, za što ga je odlikovao najvećim mogućim odličjima car Hadrijan.

Ključne riječi: brončani novac, Bar Kohba, Drugi židovski ustank, Jader, Zadar, Kolovare, forum, Sekst Julije Sever

BAR KOKHBA'S BRONZE COIN FROM KOLOVARE BEACH IN ZADAR

The authors discuss the bronze coin minted during the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132-135 AD. The coin was accidentally found at Kolovare Beach in Zadar in 2016. Based on some facts and on some interpretations rendered by the late Professor Zdenko Brusić, chances are the coin originally came from the Roman Forum complex or the surrounding area, from where it was transported in the 1960s to the location of the present-day city beach together with masonry demolition debris. The paper suggests the possibility that the coin could have been brought to later by the Roman soldiers who had taken part in the crushing of the Second Jewish Revolt or by Jewish refugees. The paper also underlines the connection between Dalmatia and the Second Jewish Revolt, because it was a man from these parts who deserved credit for the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, for which he received the highest decorations by Emperor Hadrian.

Key words: bronze coin, Bar Kokhba, Second Jewish Revolt, lader, Zadar, Kolovare, Forum, Sextus Julius Severus

UVOD

Nalazi novca iz perioda Bar Kohbina ustanka na prostoru rimske provincije Judeje pa i šire, zahvaljujući ostavama, danas nisu rijetkost. Posebice se to odnosi na period između 1965. i 1978. kad su mnogobrojni skupni nalazi doprinijeli boljem poznavanju nastanka i optjecaja novca Šimuna Bar Kohbe, ali i Druge židovske pobune općenito.¹ No, što se tiče nalaza tog novca na prostoru rimske Europe, situacija je puno drukčija; ovdje oni predstavljaju svojevrsni raritet, odnosno neobične uplive u rimski monetarni sustav. Postoji i opravdana sumnja je li taj novac ikada i bio dio rimskog monetarnog sustava, zato što su ga nakon gušenja ustanka rimske vlasti zabranile.² Uglavnom se radi o prekovima rimskog provincijalnog novca, ali u manjoj mjeri i o prekivanju carskih denara.³ Do sada je na prostoru Britanije, Panonije i Dacije pronađeno svega 23 komada novca izdana za vrijeme Bar Kohbine pobune. Iz Britanije potječe 1 primjerak (London), iz Panonije 12 (Vindobona 1, Carnuntum 9, Brigetio 2), iz Dacije 3 (po jedan primjerak iz Sarmizegetuse, Ilišue i Pojejene).⁴

NALAZ S KOLOVARA

Korpusu kovanica Bar Kohbina ustanka s područja zapadnih provincija trebalo bi pribrojiti i neobjavljeni nalaz Bar Kohbina brončanog novca iz Zadra, pronađenog slučajno na gradskoj plaži Kolovare, koji pripada srednjoj brončanoj emisiji ustaničkog novca s prikazom stabla palme na aversu i lista vinove loze na reversu (Sl. 1). Novac je pronađen u plitkom moru tijekom 2016. godine te je predan na



Slika 1. Bar Kohbin brončani novac s Kolovara

Figure 1. Bar Kokhba's bronze coin from Kolovare Beach

foto / photo: V. Kramberger

INTRODUCTION

The finds of the hoards that include the coins from the period of Bar Kokhba Revolt in the Roman province of Judea and the neighboring territories are not so rare today. Such finds were particularly frequent between 1965 and 1978, offering a deeper insight into the minting and circulation of Simon Bar Kokhba's coins and into the Second Jewish Revolt in general.¹ But when it comes to what was once Roman Europe, the situation is quite different: Such coins are a rarity of a sort here, reflecting unusual influences on the Roman monetary system. There is also a reasonable suspicion that such coins had ever been part of the Roman monetary system due to the fact that the Roman authorities banned it after the revolt had been crushed.² These are mostly overstricken specimens of the Roman provincial coins and, to a lesser extent, overstricken Imperial denarii.³ Only 23 specimens of the coins from the period of the Bar Kokhba Revolt have been found on the territories of former Britannia, Pannonia and Dacia: one in Britannia (London), 12 from Pannonia (1 at Vindobona, 9 at Carnuntum, 2 at Brigetio) and 3 from Dacia (one from Sarmizegetusa, Ilišua and Pojejena, respectively).⁴

THE KOLOVARE FIND

The still unpublished Bar Kokhba bronze coin found in Zadar should also be added to this corpus of Bar Kokhba Revolt coins found in the western provinces. The coin, accidentally found at Kolovare Beach in Zadar, belongs to the middle bronze issue of the Revolt coins, with a palm tree on the obverse and a vine leaf on the reverse (Fig. 1). Found in shallow sea water in 2016, the coin was deposited at the Archaeological Museum Zadar and registered under the inventory number A28737.

The rather poor condition of the coin makes it impossible to establish the exact year of its minting, but it can be roughly dated to the period between AD 132 and 135. This type of coins was made by overstriking Roman provincial bronze coins already in circulation at the time. The original Roman motif would be removed beforehand, thus resulting in thinner blank discs and poorer quality (Fig. 2). As the Kolovare specimen was found in shallow sea water, it is considerably corroded. The coin got chipped off where the crack is, thus causing aggressive

1 L. Mildenberg, 1980, 311-313. Usp. B. Zissu – H. Eshel – B. Langford – A. Frumkin, 2010. O Bar Kohbinu ustanku vidi detaljno: M. Mor, 2016. Usp. W. Eck, 1999.

2 T. Grüll, 2016, 3.

3 Y. Meshorer, 1982, 134-135.

4 Do sada je literaturi bilo poznato 16 primjeraka kovanica Bar Kohbina ustanka na području Europe (H. Eshel – B. Zissu – G. Barkay, 2010). Na nedavno održanom znanstvenom skupu *Bar Kokhba Revolt Revisited: Old and New Studies* koji se od 27. do 30. lipnja 2016. održao na Sveučilištu u Haifi, Tibor Grüll javnosti je predstavio spoznaju o još 7 Bar Kohbinih kovanica s područja Europe (članak je još uvijek neobjavljen, no osnovni stavovi i argumenti mogu se pročitati na njegovu profilu na društvenoj mreži *academia.edu*. Usp. T. Grüll, 2016).

1 L. Mildenberg, 1980, 311-313. Cf. B. Zissu – H. Eshel – B. Langford – A. Frumkin, 2010. For more on Bar Kokhba's revolt, see M. Mor, 2016. Cf. W. Eck, 1999.

2 T. Grüll, 2016, 3.

3 Y. Meshorer, 1982, 134-135.

4 These 16 Bar Kokhba specimens were the only ones found in Europe and known to literature until recently (H. Eshel – B. Zissu – G. Barkay, 2010). However, at the conference *Bar Kokhba Revolt Revisited: Old and New Studies* that took place at the University of Haifa from 27-30 June 2016, Tibor Grüll presented the information about at least 7 other Bar Kokhba's coins found in Europe (the paper has not been published yet, but the basic views and arguments can be found on his profile on *academia.edu*. Cf. T. Grüll, 2016).

čuvanje Arheološkom muzeju Zadar, gdje je zaveden pod inventarni broj A28737.

Zbog lošijeg stanja sačuvanosti reversa nije moguće utvrditi točnu godinu kovanja, tako da se novac okvirno može datirati između 132. i 135. godine. Taj tip novca nastao je prekivanjem optjecajnih rimskih brončanih provincijalnih kovanica, prije čega bi se poništavao originalni rimski prikaz na novcu, što je uvjetovalo stanjivanje kovne pločice i lošiju kvalitetu (Sl. 2). Kako je primjerak s Kolovara pronađen u plitkom moru, novac je znatno korodiran, a na mjestu pukotine kovanica se okrhnila te se ispod otvorila agresivna i aktivna korozija metala, tzv. „bolest bronce“.⁵

Površina novca relativno je izgrižena, što se odrazilo na njegovu težinu – 7,18 grama. Promjer iznosi 26 milimetara i sasvim odgovara primjercima iz ove emisije. Novac je kovan s medaljerskom orijentacijom od 12 h. Nažalost, natpis na starohebrejskom nije u cijelosti vidljiv na aversu, a posebno na reversu kovanice.

Na aversu je prikazano stablo palme sa sedam grana,⁶ što se dovodi u vizualnu, ali i simboličnu vezu sa sedmero-krakom menorom i njezinim značenjem u judaizmu. Ispod se nalazi natpis na starohebrejskom pismu i jeziku, pisan zdesna nalijevo, a predstavlja osobno ime *Šimun* koje se direktno dovodi u vezu s vođom pobune, Šimunom Bar Kohbom. Ime Šimun nalazi se na gotovo svim primjercima novca kovanog tijekom ustanka, u nekoliko dužih i skraćeni oblika.⁷ Samo su primjerci s početka pobune nosili ime rabina Eleazara za kojeg se smatra da je bio Bar Kohbin ujak.⁸ Zadarski primjerak na aversu nosi puni naziv imena Šimun, što se može zaključiti prema sačuvanom dijelu natpisa s lijeve strane aversa.

Na reversu se nalazi prikaz lista vinove loze, još jedan prikaz koji je poznat u starijoj židovskoj numizmatici.⁹ Uokolo se nalazi natpis koji ujedno i datira novac. U prvoj godini kovanja (132./133.) natpis u prijevodu s hebrejskog glasi: *Prva godina isкупljenja Izraela*; u drugoj godini (133./134.) glasi: *Druga godina slobode Izraela*; dok zadnja (134./135.) ima revolucionarni karakter koji bi u prijevodu s



Slika 2. Primjer bolje očuvanog Bar Kohbinog brončanog novca

Figure 2. Example of better preserved Bar Kohba's bronze coin

preuzeto iz / taken from: Ira & Larry Goldberg Coin & Collectibles, Auction 106, Lot 1209; (4. 9. 2018.)

and active metal corrosion underneath – the so-called “bronze disease”.⁵

As the coin's surface is relatively corroded, its weight has been reduced to 7.18 grams. Its diameter – 26mm – perfectly corresponds with other specimens from this issue. The coin was struck in medal turn (0 degrees or 12 o'clock). Unfortunately, the Ancient Hebrew inscription on the obverse is incomplete, and even more so on the reverse.

A palm tree with seven branches⁶ is depicted on the obverse. Visually and symbolically, it is associated with the seven-branched Menorah and its symbolism in Judaism. Underneath there is an Ancient Hebrew inscription, written from right to left, reading “*Simon*”. It is believed that it directly refers to the leader of the Revolt, Simon Bar Kohba. The name Simon can be found on almost all the coins minted during the Revolt, in a few long and abbreviated versions.⁷ Only the specimens from the early days of the Revolt mentioned the name of Rabbi Eliezer, believed to have been Bar Kohba's uncle.⁸ The Zadar specimen has a full version of the name, Simon, on its obverse, as can be concluded on the basis of the preserved part of the inscription on the left side of the obverse.

5 Budući da je kovanica pronađena u moru, u cijelosti je bila prekrivena tvrdim kamencem koji je tek godinu dana nakon pronalaska mehaničkim i kemijskim čišćenjem odstranjen te se tako došlo do površine i prikaza na novcu.

Ponajprije uslijed dugotrajnog boravka kovanice u moru, zatim kemijskog čišćenja, površina je izgubila originalnu patinu. Nakon konačnog čišćenja i dokumentiranja dodana joj je umjetna patina prilagođene tamnosmeđe-crne boje. Kemijskim postupkom također je i sanirana takozvana „bolest bronce“. Za čišćenje predmeta od bakra i njegovih slitina v. G. Budija, 2001.

6 Stablo palme poznato je na ranijim primjercima židovskog novca i na određeni se način može smatrati antičkim simbolom Judeje. Usporedi primjerice prikaz Vespazijanova sestercija datiranog u 71. godinu, kojim Vespazijan slavi pobjedu u Prvom židovsko-rimskom ratu (RIC II 233). Na njemu je prikazano stablo palme ispod kojeg s desne strane dominira rimski legionar, a s lijeve strane u sjedećem položaju porobljena ženska osoba koja simbolizira Judeju te natpis – „JUDEA CAPTA“.

7 *Šimun princ Izraela* uvijek na prvoj godini, *Šimun* ili skraćeno *Šim* na preostalim godinama kovanja. O datumima korištenim tijekom Bar Kohbina ustanka v. B. Kanael, 1971.

8 Usp. P. Schäfer, 2003, 6-7.

9 Y. Meshorer, 1982, 143.

5 As it was found in sea water, the coin was completely covered with hard scale. When the scale was mechanically and chemically removed – not earlier than a year after the coin had been extracted from the sea – the motif depicted on the surface became visible. Primarily due to the lengthy exposure to salt water and then due to chemical scale removal, the coin's surface lost its original patina. After the final cleaning and documenting, an artificial patina of a suitable dark-brown/black color was added to it. The so-called “bronze disease” was also removed using a chemical treatment. For cleaning of copper items and copper-alloy items, see G. Budija, 2001.

6 The palm-tree motif is known from the earlier specimens of Jewish coins. In a way, it could be considered an ancient symbol of Judea. Cf. for instance, the Vespasian's sestertius dated to AD 71, celebrating Vespasian's triumph in the First Jewish-Roman War (RIC II 233). It shows a palm tree underneath which, to the right, a dominant Roman soldier is depicted. To the left, a seated enslaved female figure is shown, symbolizing Judea. Next to it is the inscription – “JUDEA CAPTA“.

7 The coins from the first year of the revolt always have *Simon Prince of Israel* inscribed on them. The inscriptions on the second- and third-year coins read *Simon* or abbreviated *Sim*. For dates used Bar Kohba Revolt, see B. Kanael, 1971.

8 Cf. P. Schäfer, 2003, 6-7.



Slika 3. Označeni položaj pronalaska novca

Figure 3. Designated location where coin was found

izvor / source: <http://geoportal.dgu.hr/>

hebrejskog glasio: *Sloboda Jeruzalemu* ili: *Za slobodni Jeruzalem*.¹⁰ Na primjerku s Kolovara natpis je slabo vidljiv, tako da ostaje upitna točna godina kovanja, što otežava i točno referiranje tipa kovanice.¹¹

Pronalazak antičkog novca na gradskoj plaži Kolovare nikako nije rijetkost jer dosad je na tom položaju (Sl. 3) pronađena relativno bogata količina predrimskog, rimskog, srednjovjekovnog, ali i novovjekovnog novca.¹² Navedeni

A vine leaf is depicted on the reverse – another motif found on earlier Jewish coins.⁹ Around the leaf there is an inscription which helps date the coin. The Hebrew inscription on the coins minted in the first year of the revolt (AD 132/133) reads *The First Year of the Redemption of Israel*. The one on the coins of the second year (AD 133/134) reads *The Second Year of the Freedom of Israel*. The coins from the final year (AD 134/135) have a revolutionary inscription that, translated from Hebrew, reads *Freedom to Jerusalem, or For Free Jerusalem*.¹⁰ As the inscription on the Kolovare specimen is poorly legible, the exact year of minting remains questionable, thus making precise determination of the coin type more difficult.¹¹

10 Smatra se da se u prvoj i drugoj godini kovanja spominje Izrael kao zemlja u cijelosti jer su Židovi tada kontrolirali Jeruzalem. U zadnjoj godini kovanja novca Rimljani su preuzeli kontrolu nad Jeruzalemom, tako da legenda na novcu aludira na židovski pokušaj oslobođenja Jeruzalema. Vidi o tome: Y. Meshorer, 1982, 134-154; R. Plant, 1997, 176-177.

11 Prema svemu navedenom, novac s Kolovara okvirno pripada jednom od tipova novca prema Y. Meshorer, 1982, 265, br. 5, 270, br. 42, 275, br. 73-75.

12 N. Cesarik – D. Filipčić – V. Kramberger, 2014.

9 Y. Meshorer, 1982, 143.

10 It is believed that the entire Israel is mentioned in the first and second years of minting because the Jewish people controlled Jerusalem at the time. In the last year of minting, the Romans regained control over Jerusalem and the inscription on the coins refers to the Jewish attempt to liberate the city. For more, see Y. Meshorer, 1982, 134-154; R. Plant, 1997, 176-177.

11 Based on all the above, the Kolovare coin can roughly be classified as belonging to one of the types described in Y. Meshorer, 1982, 265, no. 5, 270, no. 42, 275, no. 73-75.



Slika 4. Izgled Kolovara prije nasipanja građevinske šute s Poluotoka

Figure 4. Kolovare Beach before masonry demolition debris from Zadar Peninsula was backfilled there

foto / photo: Privatna zbirka autora / Author's private collection

primjerak pronađen je u plitkom moru; u recentnom pomiješanom depozitu, nanesenom nakon rušenja Zadra u Drugom svjetskom ratu, u istom kontekstu s talijanskim crijepom i austrougarskim krajcarima, pa je očito da je pronađen izvan izvornih arheoloških slojeva.¹³ Možda se ne može s apsolutnom sigurnošću odrediti kontekst u kojem se originalno nalazio, no ipak se mogu predložiti izgledne solucije izvornog mjesta gdje je novac bio deponiran.

IZVORNO MJESTO NALAZA?

Najizglednije je da se novac originalno nalazio na širem prostoru zadarskog foruma jer je upravo na mjestu gdje je pronađen novac Bar Kohbina ustanka izbačena zemlja s arheoloških istraživanja kompleksa antičkog foruma 60-ih godina. Naime, tadašnje gradske vlasti nisu imale previše razumijevanja za probleme arheološke struke jer su im u fokusu bili primarno vlastiti problemi, posebno

The finds of ancient coins at Kolovare Beach in Zadar are not rare: Relatively large quantities of pre-Roman, Roman, Medieval and modern-history coins have been found on that location (Fig. 3).¹² The specimen discussed here was found in shallow sea water in 2016, in a mixed deposit created after the World War II demolition of Zadar, in the context with Italian roof tiles and Austro-Hungarian coins. Clearly, the coin was found outside original archaeological layers.¹³ While we cannot establish with absolute certainty what was the coin's original context, we can nevertheless propose its probable original site.

THE COIN'S ORIGINAL SITE?

The original site of the coin was most probably the Zadar Forum or its surroundings: On the very place where the Bar Kohbina Revolt coin was found, the earth dug during the archaeological excavations of the Roman Forum complex in the 1960s had been dumped. The city authorities at the time were not particularly supportive of archaeological excavations and related problems since their primary concern were their own problems, mostly those related

13 Taj položaj ne treba dovoditi u vezu s antičkom lukom kod fontane, koja se nalazi oko 300 metara istočnije od mjesta nalaza Bar Kohbina novca.

12 N. Cesarik – D. Filipčić – V. Kramberger, 2014.

13 This position should not be mixed with the Roman port near the fountain, some 300 meters further east of the position where Bar Kohbina's coin was found.



Slika 5. Izgled Kolovara prije nasipanja građevinske šute s Poluotoka

Figure 5. Kolovare Beach before masonry demolition debris from Zadar Peninsula was backfilled there

foto / photo: zbirka / collection of E. Magazin

komunalnog karaktera,¹⁴ stoga je zemlja iskopana sa šireg područja antičkog foruma predstavljala očit problem gradskom uređenju i općem operativnom funkcioniranju samog centra grada. Prema predaji koju nam je prenio pokojni profesor Zdenko Brusić, a koji je sudjelovao u arheološkim iskopavanjima kompleksa antičkog foruma u Zadru 60-ih godina, arheolozi su dobili kratak vremenski rok da se riješe ogromnog nasipa zemlje i građevinskog materijala koji je stajao na rubnom dijelu foruma. Realnih rješenja bilo je malo pa je s jednim stanovnikom Arbanasa dogovoren prijenos nasipa izvan gradske jezgre. Lokacija na kojoj je nasip završio, prema riječima profesora Brusića, bila je upravo ona u samom centru današnje gradske plaže Kolovare.

to municipal services.¹⁴ This is why the earth excavated at the Roman Forum and in the area around it clearly constituted problems for the urban development and daily functioning of the city center in general. According to late Professor Zdenko Brusić, who had participated in the archaeological excavations at the complex of Zadar's Roman Forum in the 1960s, the archaeologists were given a short period of time to get rid of this massive mound of earth and construction material piled up on the Forum's edge. Solutions were few; eventually, it was agreed with a person from Arbanasi that the mound be transported away from the city's historical core. According to Professor Brusić, the location the mound was moved to was this location, in the very center of the present-day Kolovare Beach.

Although the entire eastern coast (Fig. 4, 5) – from Foša to Punta Bajlo – had been backfilled during the public campaigns for cleaning of Zadar's Peninsula (Fig. 6, 7), the pre-Roman, Roman and Medieval coins were mostly found on the very place where, according to Zdenko Brusić, the earth dug during the archaeological excavations in the

14 Prilikom arheoloških radova došlo je do puknuća kanalizacijske cijevi, tako da je nekoliko dana cijeli Poluotok imao problema s odvodnim sustavom (usmena predaja pokojnog profesora Zdenka Brusića).

14 A sewer pipe burst during the archaeological excavations and, as a result, the entire Zadar Peninsula had problems with its drainage system for a few days (according to a verbal report of the late Professor Zdenko Brusić).



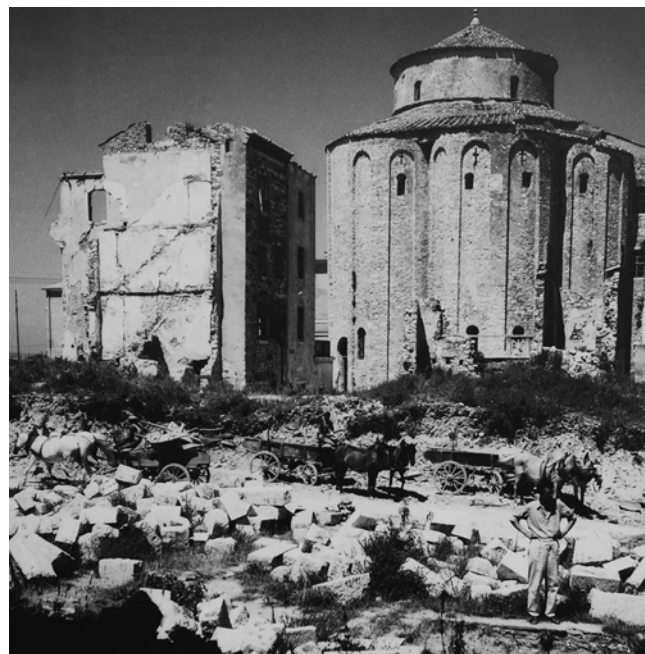
Slika 6. Građanske akcije čišćenja Poluotoka
Figure 6. Public cleaning campaigns on Peninsula

foto / photo: Fototeka Arheološkog muzeja Zadar /
Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Museum Zadar

Iako je cijela istočna obala (Sl. 4, 5), od Foše pa sve do Punte Bajlo, nasuta tijekom građanskih akcija čišćenja Poluotoka (Sl. 6, 7), ipak je najveća koncentracija novca iz predrimskog, rimskog i srednjovjekovnog perioda pronađena upravo na mjestu na kojem je, prema predaji Zdenka Brusića, bila izbačena zemlja s arheoloških istraživanja foruma 60-ih godina.¹⁵ Stoga se čini izglednim zaključiti da je brončani novac Bar Kohbina ustanka originalno najvjerojatnije stajao u arheološkim slojevima šire okolice kompleksa antičkog foruma. Zbog raznih administrativnih i funkcionalnih okolnosti, ali i zbog općeg duha vremena, igrom slučaja završio je među građevinskom šutom nasutom na gradskoj plaži Kolovare (Sl. 8).

KAKO JE NOVAC DOSPIO U JADER?

Iako se na ovo pitanje vjerojatno nikada neće moći ponuditi zadovoljavajući i konačan odgovor, zanimljivo je pitati se kako je novac kovan tijekom Druge židovske pobune završio u Zadru, posebno ako ga je rimska vlast demonetarizirala. Logičnom bi se činila pretpostavka da je donesen kao suvenir nekoga tko je svjedočio Bar Kohbinu ustanku i njegovu konačnom gušenju. Primjerice, u natpisnoj građi antičkog Jadera zabilježen je zanimljiv



Slika 7. Građanske akcije čišćenja Poluotoka
Figure 7. Public cleaning campaigns on Peninsula

foto / photo: Fototeka Arheološkog muzeja Zadar /
Photographic Archives of the Archaeological Museum Zadar

1960s had been dumped.¹⁵ It seems logical to conclude that the bronze coin from the period of Bar Kohba Revolt was originally deposited in the archaeological layers of the Roman Forum or the surrounding area. Due to various administrative and practical reasons and due to the prevailing practice in that period, the coin ended up in the masonry demolition debris at Kolovare Beach (Fig. 8).

HOW DID THE COIN END UP IN IADER?

Indeed, how did the coin minted during the Second Jewish Revolt end up in Zadar, particularly if we know that the Roman authorities had withdrawn it from circulation? While a satisfactory answer to it will probably never be found, it seems logical to suppose that it was brought here as a souvenir by someone who had witnessed the Bar Kohba Revolt and its final defeat. For example, inscriptions from the Roman Iader include the one about Quintus Raecius Rufus,¹⁶ a battle-hardened Roman soldier who, among other things, was decorated by Vespasian and Titus for his participation in the crushing of the First Jewish Revolt.¹⁷ It is therefore logical to assume that someone like Raecius Rufus also participated in the crushing of the Bar Kohba Revolt and that he, upon

15 Upravo je na tom mjestu pronađena većina kovanica objavljenih u N. Cesarik – D. Filipčić – V. Kramberger, 2014.

15 It is this location where most of the coins published in N. Cesarik – D. Filipčić – V. Kramberger, 2014 were found.

16 CIL 3, 2917 = 9985.

17 For Quintus Raecius Rufus, see N. Cesarik, 2014.

slučaj Kvinta Recija Rufa,¹⁶ prekaljenog rimskog vojnika, kojeg su, između ostalog, odlikovali Vespazijan i Tit za zasluge u gušenju Prvog židovskog ustanka.¹⁷ Stoga se može pretpostaviti da je netko poput Recija Rufa sudjelovao i u gušenju Bar Kohbina ustanka te se pred stare dane skrasio u koloniji Jader.¹⁸ Tim je putem u Jader mogao i doći novac kovan tijekom Drugog židovskog ustanka.

Može se primijeniti i Alföldyjeva konstatacija da je u Dalmaciji, sudeći prema natpisnoj građi, u kasnijim periodima vidljiv određeni priljev stanovništva iz istočnih provincija.¹⁹ Prema tome, moguće je da je krajem Hadrijanove vladavine u Dalmaciju pristiglo i izbjeglo stanovništvo iz Judeje,²⁰ koje je sa sobom moglo ponijeti i Bar Kohbin novac.²¹

Među potencijalnim solucijama valja napomenuti i realnu konekciju provincije Dalmacije i gušenja Bar Kohbina ustanaka, jer upravo je Sekst Julije Sever – čovjek iz ovih krajeva i najbolji Hadrijanov general, kako to veli Kasije Dion,²² skršio Drugi židovski ustanak i za to bio odlikovan trijumfalnim odličjima (*ornamenta triumphalia*) – najvišom vojnom časti koju je tijekom Rimskog Carstva mogao primiti pobjedonosni general koji nije bio pripadnik carske familije.²³ Veza Seksta Julija Severa i njegova rodnog kraja opipljiva je i u epigrafskom smislu jer upravo je njemu u čast gradsko vijeće burnumskog municipija podiglo počasni natpis,²⁴ a isto su u dva navrata učinili i stanovnici njegova rodnog Ekvuma.²⁵ Vjeruje se da je upravo on lobirao kod Hadrijana ne bi li se Burnum uzdigao na municipalni rang,²⁶ što svjedoči o aktivnoj patronskoj brizi Julija Severa prema stanovništvu njegove rodne Dalmacije. Stoga ne bi trebalo isključiti ni opciju da je pod zapovjedništvom Seksta Julija Severa bilo i mnogo vojnika iz Dalmacije koji su se nakon vojne službe vratili u svoje rodne krajeve. Netko od njih mogao je biti upravo iz Jadera.²⁷

retiring, settled down in the colony of Iader.¹⁸ A coin minted during the Second Jewish Revolt could have come to Iader the same way.

Also relevant here is Alföldy's observation that, based upon inscriptions, Dalmatia saw a certain inflow of the population from eastern Roman provinces in the late Imperial period.¹⁹ So it is possible that, by the end of Hadrian's reign, refugees from Judea arrived to Dalmatia,²⁰ bringing with them Bar Kokhba's coins.²¹

As a potential solution, one real connection between the province of Dalmatia and crushing of Bar Kokhba Revolt should be mentioned here: It was Sextus Julius Severus, a man from these parts and – according to Cassius Dio²² – Hadrian's best general, who suppressed the Second Jewish Revolt, for which he received triumphal honors (*ornamenta triumphalia*), the highest military award that a victorious general who was not a member of the imperial family could receive during the Empire.²³ Sextus Julius Severus' connection with his native soil can also be seen in epigraphs: the town council of the municipium of Burnum erected an inscription in his honor²⁴ and the people of his native Aequum did the same thing twice.²⁵ It is believed that it was him who persuaded with Hadrian that Burnum be raised to the level of municipium,²⁶ which can be seen as evidence of his patronage and active care about the people of his native Dalmatia. For this reason, we should not rule out the possibility that Sextus Julius Severus had many Dalmatian soldiers under his command and that they returned to their native soil upon retiring from military service. Some of them could have been from Iader.²⁷

CONCLUSIONS

Regardless of the widespread opinion that it was the Roman soldiers that brought the Bar Kokhba Revolt coin to the western provinces of the Roman Empire – either as a souvenir or as an element commemorating the spoils of

16 CIL 3, 2917 = 9985.

17 O Kvintu Reciju Rufu v. N. Cesarik, 2014.

18 Do sada je prevladavajuće mišljenje bilo da je Bar Kohbin novac na područje zapadnih provincija došao s vojnicima koji su ih sa sobom ponijeli kao simbol plijena ili kao suvenir, s obzirom na to da su svi do sada poznati primjerci pronađeni u ili u blizini rimskih vojnih uporišta (H. Eshel – B. Zissu – G. Barkay, 2010).

19 G. Alföldy, 1969, 12.

20 Po tom pitanju valja posebno napomenuti natpis CIL 3, 10055 iz Senije, pisan grčkim alfabetom, na kojem se spominje Aurelije Dionizije, Židov iz Tiberijade (*Ἀυρηλιουσιος Διονυσίουσ Ιουδαίουσ Τιβεριηνας / Aurelius Dionysios Ioudeous Tiberiensis*). Usp. M. Zaninović, 1984, 35-36.

21 Tibor Grüll spominje židovske robove kao jedne od potencijalnih posrednika širenja Bar Kohbina novca na područje zapadnih provincija (T. Grüll, 2016).

22 Cass. Dio 69.13.1-2.

23 Punim imenom *Cn. Minucius Faustinus Sex. Julius Severus*, bio je rodom iz kolonije Aequum (današnji Čitluk kod Sinja). O njemu v. PIR2 J 576; G. Alföldy, 1968, 116 i d; A. R. Birley, 2005, 130-131.

24 CIL 3, 2830 = 9891.

25 AE 1950, 45 = ILJug 145; AE 1904, 9 = ILJug 1957.

26 N. Cambi – M. Glavičić – D. Maršić – Ž. Miletić – J. Zaninović, 2007, 11.

27 Usporedi primjerice natpise rimskih legionara podrijetlom iz Jadera: CIL 13, 6827 (Mainz: *miles legionis XV Apollinaris*), AE 1978, 632 (Carnuntum: *miles legionis I Adiutricis*), CIL 3, 1200 (Alba Iulia: *eques legionis XIII Geminae*). Iako ni jedna od ovih legija nije sudjelovala u slamanju Drugog židovskog ustanka, ipak je zanimljivo natuknuti da je bilo Jadestina među rimskim legionarima.

18 The prevailing opinion until now has been that Bar Kokhba's coins were brought to the western provinces by the soldiers who had taken them as spoils of war or as souvenirs, since all such coins were found in our near Roman military strongholds (H. Eshel – B. Zissu – G. Barkay, 2010).

19 G. Alföldy, 1969, 12.

20 In this context, we should particularly mention the inscription CIL 3, 10055 from Senia, written in Greek alphabet, mentioning one Aurelius Dionisius, a Jew from Tiberias (*Ἀυρηλιουσιος Διονυσίουσ Ιουδαίουσ Τιβεριηνας / Aurelius Dionysios Ioudeous Tiberiensis*). Cf. M. Zaninović, 1984, 35-36.

21 Tibor Grüll mentions Jewish slaves as potential distributors of Bar Kokhba coins in the western provinces (T. Grüll, 2016).

22 Cass. Dio 69.13.1-2.

23 His full name was *Cn. Minucius Faustinus Sex. Julius Severus*. He was from the colony of Aequum (present-day Čitluk near Sinj). For more on him see PIR2 J 576; G. Alföldy, 1968, 116 et al; A. R. Birley, 2005, 130-131.

24 CIL 3, 2830 = 9891.

25 AE 1950, 45 = ILJug 145; AE 1904, 9 = ILJug 1957.

26 N. Cambi – M. Glavičić – D. Maršić – Ž. Miletić – J. Zaninović, 2007, 11.

27 Cf. for example the inscriptions of Roman legionaries descending from Iader: CIL 13, 6827 (Mainz: *miles legionis XV Apollinaris*), AE 1978, 632 (Carnuntum: *miles legionis I Adiutricis*), CIL 3, 1200 (Alba Iulia: *eques legionis XIII Geminae*). Although none of these legions took part in the Second Jewish Revolt, we find it interesting to notice that some Roman legionaries actually came from Iader.



ZAKLJUČAK

Iako se ustalilo mišljenje da je novac Bar Kohbine pobune na zapad Rimskog Carstva došao s rimskom vojskom, kao suvenir ili kao komemorativni element u spomen na ratni plijen vojnika koji su služili u gušenju tog ustanka, svjesni smo da je nemoguće točno utvrditi pravi način njegova dolaska u zapadne provincije. No ono što je svakako najvažnije, jest činjenica da je primjerak s Kolovara prvi nalaz takvog novca na području rimske provincije Dalmacije²⁸ te za sada tek 24. poznati njegov primjerak na području zapadnih provincija. Zanimljivo je primijetiti i da Jader svojim civilnim karakterom odstupa od vojnog karaktera lokaliteta na kojima je do sada zabilježen Bar Kohbin novac na području Europe, što svakako može baciti novo svjetlo u rasvjetljavanju puta kojim je taj novac stigao na zapad. Ako ništa drugo, Jader je kao važna luka na istočnom Jadranu zasigurno privlačio različit spektar ljudi koji su na ovaj ili onaj način imali veze s Drugim židovskim ustankom. Među takvim se sigurno krije i nekadašnji vlasnik ovog zanimljivog predmeta.

28 U Dalmaciji (Gornji Muć) je već pronađena jedna kovanica s prostora Judeje. Riječ je o brončanom provincijalnom novcu iz vremena Neronove vladavine, kovanom u Jeruzalemu 54. godine (T. Šeparović, 2003, 49, br. 369).

Slika 8. Potencijalna rekonstrukcija – od primarnog (A) do sekundarnog (B) konteksta

Figure 8. Potential reconstruction – from primary (A) to secondary (B) contexts

izvor / source: Google Earth

war of the troops that participated in the crushing of the Revolt – we are aware that the real explanation of the presence of this coin in the western provinces cannot be given. But most importantly, the Kolovara specimen is the first known find of such a coin in the former Roman province of Dalmatia²⁸ and the 24th find in the western provinces. Interestingly, lader – as a civil settlement – differs from the military settlements where Bar Kokhba coins were found in Europe. This fact could cast new light on how this coin made it to the west. If anything, as a relevant port in eastern Adriatic, lader must have attracted people from all walks of life who – one way or another – had something to do with the Second Jewish Revolt. Among them certainly must have been the former owner of this interesting item.

28 A coin from Judea had already been found in Dalmatia (Gornji Muć). It is a bronze provincial coin from the period of Nero's reign, minted in Jerusalem in AD 54 (T. Šeparović, 2003, 49, no. 369).

Kratice / Abbreviations

- AE – *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris.
 CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
 ILJug – Anna et Jaro Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla*, 5, Ljubljana 1963; *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla*, 19, Ljubljana 1978; *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla*, 25, Ljubljana, 1986.
 PIR² – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III.*, second edition, Berlin, 1933-2015.
 RIC – *Roman Imperial Coinage*, London.

Literatura / Bibliography

- Alföldy, G., 1968 – Senatoren in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, *Epigraphische Studien* 5, Düsseldorf, 1968, 99-144.
 Alföldy, G., 1969 – *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg, 1969.
 Birley, A. R., 2005 – *The Roman Government of Britain*, Oxford – New York, 2005.
 Cambi, N. – Glavičić, M. – Maršić, D. – Miletić, Ž. – Zaninović, J., 2007 – *Rimska vojska u Burnumu / L'esercito romano a Burnum*, Drniš – Šibenik – Zadar, 2007.
 Budija, G., 2001 – Čišćenje, zaštita i održavanje umjetničkih predmeta i starina od bakra i njegovih slitina, *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora* 4, Zagreb, 2001, 5-18.
 Cesarik, N., 2014 – Kvint Recije Ruf i problem funkcija princepsa pretorija i trecenarija / Quintus Raecius Rufus and the problem of princeps praetorii and trecenarius, *Diadora* 28, Zadar, 2014, 93-116.
 Cesarik, N. – Filipčić, D. – Kramberger V., 2014 – Numizmatički nalazi s Kolovara u Zadru, u: *INCC 2013. Zbornik radova 7. međunarodnoga numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj*, Dobrinčić, J. (ur.), Rijeka, 2014, 49-64.
 Eck, W., 1999 – The bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 89, London, 1999, 76-89.
 Eshel, H. – Zissu, B. – Barkay, G., 2010 – Sixteen Bar Kokhba Coins from Roman Sites in Europe, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 17, Jerusalem, 2010, 91-97.
 Grill, T., 2016 - Bar Kokhba Coins from Roman Sites in Europe: A Reappraisal, u: *Bar Kokhba Revolt Revisited: Old and New Studies*, conference organized by the University of Haifa (<https://www.academia.edu/26772572>).
 Kanael, B., 1971 – Notes on the Dates Used During The Bar Kokhba Revolt, *Israel Exploration Journal* 21 (1), Jerusalem, 1971, 39-46.
 Meshorer, Y., 1982 – *Ancient Jewish Coinage, Volume II: Herod the Great through Bar Cochba*, New York, 1982.
 Mildenberg, L., 1980 – Bar Kokhba Coins and Documents, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 84, Harvard, 1980, 311-335.
 Mor, M., 2016 – *The Second Jewish Revolt: The Bar Kokhba War, 132-136 CE*, The Brill Reference Library of Judaism, Vol. 50, Boston – Leiden, 2016.
 Plant, R., 1997 – *A Numismatic Journey Through the Bible*, London, 1997.
 Schäfer, P., 2003 – Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis, u: *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt Against Rome*, Schäfer, P. (ur.), Tübingen, 2003, 1-22.
 Šeparović, T., 2003 – *Zbirka rimskog novca u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika*, Split, 2003.
 Zaninović, M., 1984 – Stanovništvo velebitskog podgorja u antici, *Senjski zbornik* 10-11, Senj, 1984, 29-40.
 Zissu, B. – Eshel, H. – Langford, B. – Frumkin, A., 2010 – Coins from the Bar Kokhba Revolt, hidden in Me'arat Ha-Te'omim (Mughâret Umm et Tûeimîn), Western Jerusalem Hills, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 17, Jerusalem, 2010, 113-147.