

Prikaz / Review

100 years of Trebenishte, 2018, Sofia [Skopje, Belgrade] National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia, National Museum in Belgrade, NI Institute for protection of Monuments of culture and Museum – Ohrid, P. Ardjanliev, K. Chukalev, T. Cvjetićanin, M. Damjanov, V. Krstić, A. Papazovska, H. Popov (eds) ISBN, 978-954-9472-70-7. 410 str.

U Arheološkome muzeju u Skopju 14. ožujka 2019. otvorena je izložba u povodu obilježavanja stote obljetnice otkrića (godine 1918.) dviju zlatnih pogrebnih maski na nekropoli između sela Gorenci i sela Trebeništa (a ne *Trebenischte*)¹ s ukupno 56 dosad otkrivenih grobova. Tim je povodom objavljena i luksuzna publikacija naslovljena:

100 years of Trebenishte, 2018, Sofia [Skopje, Belgrade] National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia, National Museum in Belgrade, NI Institute for protection of Monuments of culture and Museum – Ohrid, P. Ardjanliev, K. Chukalev, T. Cvjetićanin, M. Damjanov, V. Krstić, A. Papazovska, H. Popov (eds) ISBN, 978-954-9472-70-7. 410 str.

Publikacija se sastoji od uvoda - *Introduction* (str. 9-13), pet poglavlja: *History of Research* (str. 17-55), *The Finds* (str. 59-149), *Trebenishte and Region* (str.

An exhibition was opened in the Archaeological Museum in Skopje on 14 March 2019 to observe the centenary of the discovery (in 1918) of two gold funeral masks in a necropolis between the villages of Gorenci and Trebeništa (and not *Trebenischte*)¹ with a total of 56 graves found thus far. A luxuriously appointed book was also published for the occasion:

100 years of Trebenishte, 2018, Sofia [Skopje, Belgrade] National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia, National Museum in Belgrade, NI Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Museum-Ohrid, P. Ardjanliev, K. Chukalev, T. Cvjetićanin, M. Damjanov, V. Krstić, A. Papazovska, H. Popov (eds.) ISBN, 978-954-9472-70-7. 410 pp.

The publication consists of an “Introduction” (pp. 9-13) and five chapters: “History of Research” (pp.

1 Ispravno i službeno ime sela je Trebeništa (Требеништа). Otkrivači nekropole i prvi autori tekstova bili su stranci, koji su ime sela prilagodili svojim jezicima tako da je ime sela u literaturu ušlo kao *Trebenischte*, Trebenište, koje su koristili i domaći arheolozi - Требениште.

1 The correct and official name of the village is Trebeništa (Требеништа). The finders of the necropolis and the first authors of the texts were foreigners, who adapted the village's name to their own languages, so it is in the relevant literature commonly used as *Trebenischte*, Trebenište, which was also used by domestic archaeologists: Требениште.

153-223), Catalogue (str. 226-381; u sadržaju umjesto str. 226. pogrešno piše 224) i *Bibliografy* (str. 384-400). Na kraju slijedi dodatak naslovljen *Contributors, sponsors, and Museums* (str. 402-406), koji sadrži adrese autora priloga, kataloških jedinica i geografskih karata; imena vlasnika autorskih prava za likovne i crtane ilustracije; imena suradnika iz četiri muzeja u kojima se danas čuva materijal, kao i sponzore ovog projekta. Ispred svakog poglavlja na cijeloj se stranici nalazi fotografija predmeta koja najavljuje temu priloga u tom poglavlju, što nije uvijek potpuno usklađeno. Knjiga je zapravo katalog - vodič izložbe istog naslova, koja će također biti prikazana u Sofiji i Beogradu u trajanju od po 6 mjeseci. Ima zanimanja i najava za gostovanje izložbe i u drugim državama, budući da se ovi značajni nalazi koji su razmješteni u tri države (glavni nalazi trebeniške nekropole razneseni su u dvije susjedne zemlje), nakon čitavih 100 godina prvi put prikazuju zajedno.

Naime, prvi bogati grobovi (*No I-VII*), datirani u kraj VI. stoljeća pr. n. e., od kojih su dva sa zlatnim pogrebnim maskama, bili su otkriveni godine 1918., kad je bugarska vojska izvodila zemljane radove za proširenje puta Ohrid - Kičevo; nalazi su tada odneseni u Arheološki muzej u Sofiji.² Druga skupina bogatih grobova (*No VIII-XIII*) iskopana je u kampanji 1930. i 1932., koje je vodio N. Vulić. Tada su pronađene još dvije zlatne maske, koje su odnesene u Narodni muzej u Beogradu.³ Nakon pune 84 godine, 30. rujna 2002., na lokaciji Gorna porta u Samuilovoj tvrđavi u Ohridu (*Lychnidos*)⁴ otkrivena je peta zlatna maska (čuva se u Zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture i

17-55), "The Finds" (pp. 59-149), "Trebenishte and Region" (pp. 153-223), the Catalogue (pp. 226-381 (the table of contents incorrectly lists p. 224 rather than 226) and the Bibliography (pp. 384-400). At the end there is an appendix with the title "Contributors, Sponsors, and Museums" (pp. 402-406), which contains the addresses of the authors of the texts, catalogue units and maps, the names of the copyright owners for painted and drawn illustrations, the names of contributors from the four museums in which the materials are today held, and the project sponsors. Each chapter is preceded by a full-page photograph of an item which reflects the theme of that chapter, but they are not always entirely suitable. The book is actually a catalogue and guidebook to the eponymous exhibition, which will also be presented in Sofia and Belgrade for six months. Interest in displaying the exhibition abroad has been expressed and announced, since these are significant finds held in three states (the main finds of the Trebeništa necropolis were taken to the two neighbouring countries) which are being displayed together for the first time after a full one hundred years.

The first, rich graves (*No. I-VII*), dated to the end of the 6th century BC, of which two contained gold funeral masks, were discovered in 1918, when the Bulgarian army was conducting civil engineering works to expand the Ohrid-Kičevo road; the finds were then taken to the Archaeological Museum in Sofia.² The second set of rich graves (*No. VIII-XIII*) were excavated in campaigns in 1930 and 1932, led by N. Vulić. At that time, two more gold masks were found and they were taken to the National Museum in Belgrade.³ After 84 years, on 30 September 2002, a fifth

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- 2 Filow B. – Schkorpil K., *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenishte am Ochrida-See*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1927; Vasić M., *Nekropola u blizini Ohrida*, Srpski književni glasnik, 25, Beograd, 1928.
- 3 N. Vulić, *Jedan nov grob kod Trebeništa*, Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva XI, Skoplje, 1932, p. 1 sqq; Id., *Novi grobovi kod Trebeništa*, Spomenik SAN, LXXVI, Beograd, 1933, 1-31; Id., *Das neue Grab von Trebenishte*, Arch. Anzeiger, Bb. III/IV, 1930, pp. 276-279; Id., *Ein neues Grab bei Trebenishte*, Jahreshefte d. Öst. Arch. Inst., 28, Wien, 1932, pp. 164-186; Id., *Neue Graber bei Trebenishte*, Arch. Anzeiger, 1933, pp. 459-486; Id., *La nécropole archaïque de Trebenishte*, Revue archéologique, Paris, 1934, pp. 26-38; B. Filow, *Le nouveau tombeau de Trebenishte*, IBAI, VII, Sofia, 1932/33 (résumé); Id., *Nouvelles trouvailles de Trebenishte*, IBAI, VII, Sofia, 1934 (résumé); Popović Lj., *Catalogue des objets découverts près de Trebenište*, Beograd, 1956.
- 4 N. Proeva, *Sur la localisation de la ville de Lychnidos et sur l'origine du nom de la ville d'Ohrid*, Antidoron M. Suić, Zagreb/Zadar 2015, [2019], u tisku.

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- 2 Filow B. – Schkorpil K., *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenishte am Ochrida-See*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1927; Vasić M., "Nekropola u blizini Ohrida," *Srpski književni glasnik*, 25, Belgrade, 1928.
- 3 N. Vulić, "Jedan nov grob kod Trebeništa," *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva XI*, Skoplje, 1932, p. 1 sqq; Id., "Novi grobovi kod Trebeništa," *Spomenik SAN*, LXXVI, Belgrade, 1933, 1-31; Id., "Das neue Grab von Trebenishte," *Arch. Anzeiger*, Bb. III/IV, 1930, pp. 276-279; Id., "Ein neues Grab bei Trebenishte," *Jahreshefte d. Öst. Arch. Inst.*, 28, Vienna, 1932, pp. 164-186; Id., "Neue Graber bei Trebenishte," *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1933, pp. 459-486; Id., "La nécropole archaïque de Trebenishte," *Revue archéologique*, Paris, 1934, pp. 26-38; B. Filow, "Le nouveau tombeau de Trebenishte," IBAI, VII, Sofia, 1932/33 (résumé); Id., "Nouvelles trouvailles de Trebenishte," IBAI, VII, Sofia, 1934 (résumé); Popović Lj., *Catalogue des objets découverts près de Trebenište*, Belgrade, 1956.

Muzeja u Ohridu),⁵ najmlađa u nizu (V. st. pr. n. e.). Ti nalazi svjedoče o kontinuitetu trebeniške kulture u ohridsko-struškom području,⁶ južnom dijelu antičke Dasaretije,⁷ od VII. do IV./III. st. pr. n. e.

Prije otvaranja izložbe, 11. veljače 2019., publikacija je predstavljena makedonskoj javnosti u Arheološkom muzeju Makedonije u Skopju. Knjiga je tiskana u Sofiji, a najvećim je dijelom financirana sredstvima bugarskih privatnih sponzora, uz dva državna, zbog čega je, s pravom, kao izdavač najprije naveden Arheološki muzej u Sofiji, a na drugome mjestu Arheološki muzej Makedonije, zemlje odakle potječu svi nalazi prikazani u knjizi i na izložbi; slijedi Narodni muzej u Beogradu i na kraju Ohridski muzej, gdje se čuva peta maska trebeniške kulture. Knjiga je bogato opremljena ilustracijama i bugarske kolege zaista zaslužuju priznanje, na prvome mjestu za tehnički i grafički dizajn i odlične fotografije arheoloških eksponata u boji. Nažalost, ima nešto što baca veliku mrlju na uloženi trud. Radi se o nekoliko propusta, koji su neprihvatljivi za publikaciju ovakvog formata. Na prvome mjestu treba spomenuti kartu br. 1, na str. 16, koja prethodi poglavlju *History of Research*, s ciljem da se prikaže, kao što je red, lokacija sela gdje je otkrivena nekropola. Legenda ispod karte, *Fig. 1. Detail of a topographic map. Archive of NMMH*, više je nego indikativna. Ne samo što ne upućuje na koju zemlju se odnosi taj topografski detalj, što se moglo postići umetanjem, u gornjem kutu, smanjene karte Makedonije s označenom lokacijom sela, nego je taj isječak karte preuzet s karte tiskane na bugarskom jeziku! Tako će primarni dojam čitatelja, osobito onih koji su loše upoznati s geopolitikom i geografijom Balkana, a ti nisu malobrojni, biti da se nekropola nalazi u Bugarskoj! Taj bi dojam bio izbjegnuto da je legenda sadržala barem godinu objavljivanja karte i podatke o

gold mask was discovered⁴ at the Gorna porta site in Samuel's Fortress in Ohrid (*Lychnidos*).⁵ It is the most recent in the series (5th c. BC) and it is kept in the Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture and Museum-Ohrid. These finds testify to the continuity of the Trebeništa culture in the Ohrid-Struga area,⁶ the southern part of ancient Dassaretia,⁷ from the 7th to 4th/3rd centuries BC.

Prior to the opening of the exhibition, on 11 February 2019, the publication was presented to the Macedonian public in the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia in Skopje. The book was printed in Sofia, and was largely financed by Bulgarian private sponsors, as well as by two state sponsors, so that the Archaeological Museum in Sofia is rightfully cited first as the publisher, followed in second place by the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia, the country in which all of the finds presented in the book and exhibition are discovered; they are followed by the National Museum in Belgrade and finally the Ohrid museum, where the fifth Trebeništa culture mask is kept. The book is very richly illustrated, so our Bulgarian colleagues certainly deserve credit, primarily for the technical and graphic design and the outstanding colour photographs of the archaeological exhibits. Unfortunately, there is something that considerably mars these great efforts. There are several oversights which are unacceptable for a publication of this type. The first that should be noted is map no. 1 on p. 16, which precedes the chapter "History of Research," with the aim of showing, rightly, the location of the village in which zone the necropolis was discovered. The legend beneath the map, "Fig. 1. Detail of a

5 Kuzman P., Le masque funéraire en or d'Ohrid dans les trouvailles identiques du cercle culturel de Trebeništa, in *Hommage M. Garašanin*, Beograd, 2006, p. 549 sqq.
6 Pregled iskopavanja i starije literature R. Vasić, Ohridska oblast, u: A. Benac (ur.) *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, tom V, Sarajevo, 1987, p. 724-733.
7 Proeva N., Enchéléens, Dassarètes, Illyriens, les sources littéraires, épigraphiques et archéologiques, *Acte du II colloque international sur l'Illyrie méridionale et Epire dans l'Antiquité, Clermont-Ferrand 25-27 octobre 1990, Paris 1993*, pp. 191-199. Ead., За дасаретските племиња (*Penestae, Dassaretae, Engeleanes*) и местоположбата на градот *Uscana* во Горна Дасаретида, Жива Антика, LXIV, 2014, стр. 165-180, fig. 1-2, résumé: Sur les tribus dassarètes (*Penestae, Dassaretae, Engelanés*) et la localisation de la ville d'Uscana en haute Daasaretie, p. 180-181.

4 N. Proeva, "Sur la localisation de la ville de *Lychnidos* et sur l'origine du nom de la ville d'Ohrid," *Antidoron Mate Suić*, Zagreb/Zadar 2015, [2019], forthcoming.
5 Kuzman P., "Le masque funéraire en or d'Ohrid dans les trouvailles identiques du cercle culturel de Trebeništa," in *Hommage M. Garašanin*, Belgrade, 2006, p. 549 sqq.
6 A review of excavations and previous literature provided by R. Vasić, "Ohridska oblast," in: A. Benac (ed.) *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, book V, Sarajevo, 1987, p. 724-733.
7 Proeva N., Enchéléens, "Dassarètes, Illyriens, les sources littéraires, épigraphiques et archéologiques," *Acte du II colloque international sur l'Illyrie méridionale et Epire dans l'Antiquité, Clermont-Ferrand 25-27 octobre 1990, Paris 1993*, pp. 191-199. Ead., За дасаретските племиња (*Penestae, Dassaretae, Engeleanes*) и местоположбата на градот *Uscana* во Горна Дасаретида, Жива Антика, LXIV, 2014, стр. 165-180, fig. 1-2, résumé: Sur les tribus dassarètes (*Penestae, Dassaretae, Engelanés*) et la localisation de la ville d'Uscana en haute Daasaretie, p. 180-181.

izdavaču, tj. autoru karte, što bi ukazalo na političku situaciju tadašnjeg trenutka u Makedoniji, koja je od 15. listopada 1915. do 29. rujna 1918. bila pod bugarskom vlašću. Njezino ime kao zemlje u kojoj se nalazi nekropola uopće nije spomenuto u uvodu.⁸ Takav će se dojam u čitatelja neizbježno kompletirati kada vide naslovne stranice, jer je rijetko tko od čitatelja upoznat s izdavačkim i bibliografskim pravilima za označavanje publikacija. Na str. 3, premda su ostala tri muzeja navedena kao partneri, tj. izdavači, kao mjesto izdanja stoji samo Sofija, a na str. 4 je umjesto CIP-a naveden međunarodni ISBN broj i *copy right* samo za bugarski muzej, koji je zapravo samo tehnički izdavač, i samo Sofija kao mjesto izdavanja. Iako sam makedonskim urednicima i vršitelju dužnosti direktora Arheološkog muzeja u Skopju (G. Sanev), koji se ogradio od svake odgovornosti uputivši me na urednike, pravodobno ukazala na ovaj naizgled malen, ali vrlo važan detalj, kako osobno tako i elektroničkim putem,⁹ ništa nije promijenjeno. Opravdanje makedonskih urednika da karta potječe iz vremena otkrića nekropole, ne drži vodu,¹⁰ jer se ne radi o arhivskom materijalu (kao što su ostali objavljeni dokumenti, pisani na materinskom jeziku tadašnjih bugarskih vlasti i istraživača), nego o segmentu geografske karte kojim je trebalo jednostavno pokazati lokaciju sela, koje se i danas nalazi na istome mjestu kao i godine 1918. Naime, selo nije nikamo migriralo, a osim modernizirane seoske arhitekture i putova geografija oblasti ostala je ista. Ako su pak urednici publikacije htjeli prikazati tadašnje političko stanje (što za ovakav vid publikacije nije neophodno), onda je trebalo da objave kartu sa srpskom transkripcijom, jer je ovaj dio Makedonije po završetku Balkanskih ratova, sve do 1941. godine, bio pod srpskom vlašću,¹¹ a pod bugarskom vlašću bio je samo tri godine za vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata. Još manje drži vodu objašnjenje bugarskih kolega, koje su navodno dali makedonskim kolegama, kako nisu imali kartu na makedonskom jeziku, što izaziva blagi ironičan osmijeh. Naime, u eri informatike uopće nije teško naći originalnu kartu, a još lakše i logičnije

topographic map. Archive of NMMH,” is more than indicative. Not only is the country to which this topographic detail pertains not indicated, which could have been achieved by inserting a reduced map of Macedonia in the upper corner with the village’s location marked, but this map section was taken from a map published in the Bulgarian language! Thus the primary impression created among readers, particularly those not as well versed in the geopolitics and geography of the Balkans, and there are more than a few such, will be that the necropolis is in Bulgaria! This impression could have been avoided if the legend had at least contained the year of publication of the map and data on its publisher, and the map’s author, which would have underscored the political situation of the time in Macedonia, as it was under Bulgarian rule from 15 October 1915 until 29 September 1918. Its name as the country in which the necropolis was found is not even mentioned in the introduction.⁸ Such an impression among readers will be completed when they see the title pages, because few readers are familiar with the publishing and bibliographic rules for the designation of publications. On p. 3, although the three other museums are cited as partners, and publishers, only Sofia is cited as the place of publication, while on p. 4, instead of the CIP only the international ISBN and copyright for the Bulgarian museum are cited, which was actually only the technical publisher, and only Sofia as the place of publication. Even though I pointed out this apparently minor, but rather vital detail to the, both personally and by e-mail,⁹ Macedonian editors and acting director of the Archaeological Museum in Skopje (G. Sanev), who shirked any responsibility by referring me to the editors, nothing was changed. The justification of the Macedonian editors that the map originated from the time when the necropolis was discovered does not hold water,¹⁰ because this is not an archival source (as are the others published documents, written in the native language of the Bulgarian authorities and researchers at the time), but rather a segment of a map which should have simply shown the location of the village, which is today at the same

8 To ostavlja dojam da se ime Republike Makedonije namjerno izbjegava. Naime, Republika Makedonija spomenuta je samo jedanput na str. 12, kao jedna od triju zemalja gdje će izložba biti prikazana, što nikako ne indicira lokaciju trebeniške nekropole, koja je razvidna samo za stručnjake tog užeg razdoblja, no ne i za sve, a još manje za širu publiku.

9 Za što postoji elektronički zapis.

10 Pritom mi je mladi urednik drsko odbrusio da će on tiskati kartu na makedonskom jeziku iz 1918. godine budem li mu je našla.

11 Od 1929. do 1941. g. imao je naziv Vardarska banovina.

8 This creates the impression that the name of the Republic of Macedonia is being intentionally avoided. The Republic of Macedonia is mentioned only once on p. 12, as one of the three countries in which the exhibition will be presented, which certainly does not indicate the location of the Trebeništa necropolis, which is apparent only to experts well versed in this narrower period, but not to everyone, and certainly not to the wider public.

9 For which there is an electronic record.

10 A young editor pretty gruff retorted that he would print the map in the Macedonian language from 1918 if I could find it for him.

je bilo, štoviše, trebalo je, da bugarski kolege potraže kartu Republike Makedonije od svojih makedonskih kolega s kojima su surađivali - ako su surađivali i ako su se iskreno, otvoreno i pošteno dogovarali oko izrade i izgleda publikacije. I ako bugarski kolege žele dokazati da se iza ovog propusta, točnije kazano, postupka, ne kriju, makar i podsvjesno, politički motivi koji proizlaze iz povijesnih frustracija i psihološkog kompleksa, na prvome mjestu bugarskih političara, u odnosu na makedonski narod, njegov jezik i njegovu povijest, najmanje što su poslije moje reakcije¹² trebali učiniti (a nisu), bilo je da prilijepe segment karte na makedonskom jeziku ili da ga prilože na kraju publikacije kao *errata*. Makedonski urednici minimaliziraju ovaj kapitalan “propust” objašnjenjem da će karta na makedonskom jeziku biti tiskana u makedonskom izdanju koje planiraju, što je više nego ironija: kod kuće ćemo biti Makedonija, a u inozemstvu ćemo biti predstavljeni kao dio Bugarske! Naime, Makedoncima nije potrebna karta na makedonskom jeziku da znaju odakle su i tko su. No to je svakako potrebno strancima, a ponajpre susjedima. Osim ovog kapitalnog “propusta”, za što su, nažalost, u prvom redu odgovorni makedonski urednici dr. Aleksandra Papazovska i mr. Pero Ardjanliev, koji, za razliku od bugarskih i srpskih kolega koji imaju veliko iskustvo na polju međunarodne suradnje, očito nisu bili dorasli tom zadatku,¹³ moram ukazati i na propuste napravljene u mojem prilogu (str. 153-157). Naime, na karti (str. 155) s rasporedom plemena duž Egnatijskog puta (za arhajsko doba ispravnije je ime Kadmejski put, kako ga je s pravom nazvao prof. P. Lisičar), nisu popravljena netočno locirana geografsko-etnička imena, iako mi je urednica A. Papazovska bila obećala da će to biti učinjeno i da će mi karta biti vraćena na uvid i odobrenje, kao što je red i na što kao autorica imam pravo. Naime, između predaje moga priloga i prve korekture od makedonskog urednika bilo mi je rečeno da svi geografsko/topografski prilozi moraju biti na reljefnoj podlozi i da će to biti učinjeno prema mojoj skici koju sam bila priložila prilikom dostave rada. Nasuprot tome, publicirana je karta bez ispravaka na koje sam ukazala prilikom korekture, čime su povrijeđena moja autorska prava. Također, nije točno da se skice ne prihvaćaju, što se vidi prema skici na str. 210. Kritike za ove pogreške svakako će ići na moju adresu

place as it was in 1918. The village did not go anywhere, and besides more modern rural architecture and roads, the geography of the district remains the same. If the editors wished to portray the political situation at the time (which is not essential for such a publication), then they should have published a map with a Serbian transcription, because this part of Macedonia was under Serbian rule from the end of the Balkan Wars until 1941,¹¹ while it was under Bulgarian rule only for three years during the First World War. Even less tenable is the explanation from the Bulgarian side, who allegedly told their Macedonian colleagues that they did not have a map in the Macedonian language, which evokes a wry smile. In this era of information technology, it is rather simple to find an original map, and even simpler and more logical and, indeed, imperative, for the Bulgarian colleagues to request a map of the Republic of Macedonia from their Macedonian colleagues with whom they were collaborating – if they were in fact collaborating and if they were sincerely, openly and candidly conferring with each other over the making and layout of the publication. If the Bulgarian colleagues wished to prove that this oversight, or more accurately stated, treatment, was not – at least subconsciously – politically motivated, due to political frustrations and psychological complexes (of Bulgarian politicians first and foremost) regarding the Macedonian people, their language and their history, then after my objection¹² the very least they could have done (but did not) was to affix a segment of the map in the Macedonian language or append it at the end of the publication as an *erratum*. The Macedonian editors are downplaying this major “oversight” with the explanation that the map in the Macedonian language will be printed in the Macedonian edition that they are planning, which is more than ironic: at home we’ll be Macedonia, but abroad we’ll be presented as part of Bulgaria! Macedonians do not require a map in the Macedonian language because they know where they are from and who they are. But foreigners, and our neighbours first and foremost, do require one. Besides this major “oversight,” which is first and foremost the responsibility of Macedonian editors Aleksandra Papazovska, Ph.D., and Pero Ardjanliev, M.S., who were not up to this task¹³ (unlike

12 “Картата на Македонија во каталогот за Требениште мора да биде на македонски,” *Нова Македонија*, бр. 24560, год. LXXIV, 14 фебруари, 2019, стр. 15.

13 Sada kada ja makedonska država pritiješnjena, a Makedonci ranjeni, svaka njihova nemarnost perfidno i surovo se koristi od svih susjeda, kako bi se ugurala vlastita tumačenja (Bugarska) ili umanjilo značenje (neprikazivanje groba br. VIII – beogradski Muzej).

11 From 1929 to 1941, by Serbian authorities it was appointed Vardar Banovina.

12 “Картата на Македонија во каталогот за Требениште мора да биде на македонски,” *Нова Македонија*, бр. 24 560, год. LXXIV, 14 фебруари, 2019, p. 15.

13 Now, when the Macedonian state is intimidated and harassed and the Macedonians are wounded, any carelessness on their part is perfidiously and brashly exploited by all of their neighbours in order to promote

(moje ime kao autorice karte figurira na str. 403, iako je kartu izradio netko od dvojice članova sofijskoga tehničkog tima) i većina čitatelja će misliti da kao arheologinja i povjesničarka ne znam gdje su se nalazile oblasti Pelagonija, Linkestida itd. Na moj zahtjev nakon predstavljanja knjige da se moja karta popravi, bugarski urednik dr. H. Popov mi je otpisao¹⁴ da je bilo teško izraditi kartu koja pokriva četiri suvremene zemlje, što je najblaže rečeno proziran izgovor, jer su karte takvog opsega napravljene za priloge bugarskih kolega (str. 159, 196, 204).

Pri tome, iako sam na to bila ukazala, u bibliografiji je ispuštena moja najnovija studija o značenju zlatnih maski, predstavljena na međunarodnoj konferenciji u Rimu 2017. godine,¹⁵ što je neshvatljiv propust, jer su maske najekskluzivniji nalazi nekropole i najatraktivniji eksponati ove izložbe. Utoliko više što tema simbolike i značenja maski u pogrebnom rituelu nije tretirana u posebnom prilogu, nego je uzgred dotaknuta u nekoliko priloga, pri čemu autori, u suglasnosti sa svojim uvjerenjem, upućuju na neka od različitih mišljenja koja su dosad iskazali istraživači - od onih koji smatraju da su maske simbol socijalnog ili religioznog statusa, do onih koji drže da su simbol vjerovanja vezanih uz zagrobni život, uz eshatološku ili orfičku doktrinu. Da se ne radi o slučajnom propustu, kako mi je pisao bugarski urednik dr. H. Popov, već da je to napravljeno svjesno i tendenciozno, dokaz je to što su moji radovi sustavno ignorirani. Naime, osim tog rada, iz moga priloga ispuštena su još tri moja rada (str. 157) koja su citirana i u drugim priložima (str. 223). Razloge za te "propuste" znaju samo urednici, u prvom redu bugarski, kao i bugarski kolege koji su potpisali bibliografiju (v. str. 399). Ovdje želim izričito ukazati kako je pobuda za moj zahtjev da se unesu korekcije isključivo znanstvene prirode,¹⁶ jer je akribija, za razliku od politike, u znanosti obvezna.¹⁷

14 I za ovo postoji elektronički zapis.

15 "La coutume funéraire avec des masques en Macédoine archaïque, in *Masques, théâtre et coutumes funéraires dans le monde antique*" (Roma 16-18 XI, 2017). Ade e Dioniso, *Scienze del' Atntichita*, 24/3, 2018, 69-87.

16 Za one koji me ne poznaju, i koji će ove primjedbe protumačiti kao nacionalizam, reći ću samo to da sam bila među rijetkima koji su surađivali s bugarskim kolegama u vrijeme "zaleđenih" odnosa između Bugarske i Jugoslavije, i prva koja je uključila bugarskog kolegu (prof. dr. P. Delev) u komisije za obranu poslijediplomskih i doktorskih radnji na Odsjeku za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Skopju.

17 Kao što je uobičajeno kod nas, ni ovaj kulturni događaj nije bio cijepljen od politikantstva. Naime, vršitelj dužnosti ravnatelja Arheološkog muzeja mr. Goran Sanev,

their Bulgarian and Serbian colleagues with their considerable experience in international cooperation), I must point out several mistakes made in my essay (pp. 153-157). Namely, on the map (p. 155) showing the distribution of tribes along the Via Egnatia (for the Archaic period, the more correct term is Via Cadmea, as Prof. P. Lisičar correctly referred to it), the inaccurately situated geographic-ethnic names were not corrected, even though Papazovska promised that this would be done and that the map would be returned to me for review and approval, which would have only been proper and to which I am entitled as the author. Namely, between the submission of my essay and the first proofreading, I was told by a Macedonian editor that all geographic/topographic supplements had to be on a relief base and that this would be done in compliance with my sketch which I attached when I submitted the paper. However, the map was published without the corrections that I highlighted during the proofreading phase, which is a violation of my copyright. Also, it is not true that sketches were not accepted, as there is a sketch on p. 210. The criticism for this error will certainly be levelled at me (my name as the map's author is cited on p. 403, even though the map was made by one of the two members of the technical team in Sofia) and most readers will think that I am an archaeologist and historian who does not know the location of the regions of Pelagonia, Lynkestis, etc. After the book's presentation, the Bulgarian editor H. Popov, Ph.D. responded to my request that my map be corrected¹⁴ by stating that it was difficult to create a map that covers four modern countries, which is at the very least a naive (flimsy) excuse, because maps of such extent were made for the articles from Bulgarian scholars (pp. 159, 196, 204).

Furthermore, even though I pointed this out, the bibliography does not include my most recent study on the gold masks, submitted at an international conference in Rome in 2017,¹⁵ which is an incomprehensible omission, because the masks are the most exclusive finds from the necropolis and the most attractive exhibits in this exhibition. All the more so since the symbolism and significance of the masks in funeral rituals were not covered in a separate essay, rather these aspects were touched upon in several essays, wherein the authors, in compliance with their own

their own interpretations (Bulgarian) or lessen the significance (failure to present grave no. VIII – by the Belgrade Museum).

14 There is an electronic record of this as well.

15 "La coutume funéraire avec des masques en Macédoine archaïque, in *Masques, théâtre et coutumes funéraires dans le monde antique*" (Roma 16-18 Nov. 2017). Ade e Dioniso, *Scienze del' Atntichita*, 24/3, 2018, 69-87.

No da nastavim s prikazom publikacije. Najprije treba kazati da je knjiga kombinacija kataloga i prikaza trebeniške nekropole¹⁸ i kulture nazvane njezinim imenom,¹⁹ a ne običan katalog izložbe, kako je nazivaju čak i autori priloga. Uvod ima dva dijela: *Trebenishte Inspiration and Mystery* (str. 9-11, koji potpisuju ravnatelji triju muzeja) i *Word of the editors* (12-13, gdje urednici obrazlažu motiv organiziranja ove izložbe), koji završava porukom čitateljima da knjigu i izložbu gledaju, isto kao i oni: *as neighbours, colleagues with respect for each other and good friends*.²⁰ U dijelu uvoda koji potpisuju ravnatelji triju muzeja, kojemu prethodi njihova zajednička fotografija, dan je sumarni opis dosadašnjih iskopavanja nekropole, dok je detaljan pregled dan u prvom poglavlju. Bugarska iskopavanja prikazao je K. Chukalev (str. 17-31), srpska V. Krstić (str. 33-41), koja odvojeno i detaljno opisuje otkriće groba br. VIII (str. 43-47, *Grave VIII – The Tomb of Beautiful Antiquities*), pri čemu prilaže plan groba koji je objavio N. Vulić (str. 43). Nalazi iz ovoga najbogatijeg groba nekropole prikazani su u kataloškom dijelu publikacije, ali nažalost nije bilo volje da budu izloženi na prigodnoj izložbi, navodno iz tehničkih razloga (str. 43, bilješka), a zapravo da se ne bi okrnjio stalni postav Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu. Time je okrnjena ova jubilara izložba, a njihovo uključivanje u kataloškom dijelu publikacije daje lažnu sliku o izložbi. Zbog toga, najmanje što su mogli i trebali napraviti kolege iz beogradskog Muzeja, bilo je da se naprave i izlože kopije, barem najznačajnijih predmeta, i da se prikaže plan groba. Planovi ostalih grobova otkrivenih u bugarskim i srpskim iskopavanjima nisu prikazani, kao ni cjeloviti plan nekropole, osim plana s prvih sedam grobova koje je objavio B. Filov (str. 27). Poslijeratna iskopavanja u slobodnoj

convictions, cited some of the various opinions that have thus far by put forth by researchers – from those who believe that the masks were social or religious status symbols, to those who maintain that they symbolize beliefs related to the afterlife, associated with eschatological or Orphic doctrines. That this was not a chance omission, as Bulgarian editor H. Popov wrote to me, but rather a deliberate and tendentious act is proven by the fact that my works were systematically ignored. For besides the aforementioned paper, three more of my studies were left out of my essay (p. 157) although they were cited in other essays (p. 223). The reasons for these “omissions” are known only to the editors, primarily the Bulgarian editors, as well as the Bulgarian colleagues who signed the bibliography (see p. 399). Here I wish to stress that the motive for my request that corrections be made is entirely scholarly in nature,¹⁶ because in contrast to politics, such rigor is mandatory in scholarship.¹⁷

But I shall now return to my review of the publication. Out the outset, it should be noted that the book is a combination of a catalogue and overview of the Trebeništa necropolis¹⁸ and the culture named after it,¹⁹ and not just an ordinary exhibition catalogue, as it is called even by the contributors. The introduction

je na predstavljanju publikacije o ovom projektu (koji je bio rađen i završen godine 2018., a otvaranje izložbe je kasnilo), zahvalio na potpori Vladi Republike Sjeverne Makedonije, što je u tom trenutku bilo netočno ime. Naime, do 12 sati 11. veljače 2019. novo, silom nametnuto ime, još uvijek nije bilo službeno - to se dogodilo dan i po kasnije (uvečer 12. veljače 2019.). Za razliku od Saneva, bugarski direktor Nacionalnog arheološkog instituta i Muzeja pri BAN, dr. Hristo Popov, koristio je sintagmu “Vlada na Makedonija”, pa neka čitatelji ocijene tko skuplja političke poene i tko stavlja političke interese iznad znanstvenih i nacionalnih.

- 18 Historijat iskopavanja nekropole Stibbe, C. M., *Trebenishte. The Fortunes of an Unusual Excavation*, Roma, 2002.
- 19 V. Lahtov, *Problem Trebeniške kulture*, Ohrid, 1965.
- 20 Nažalost, prema dosad rečenom o publikaciji, ne stječe se takav dojam.

16 For those who do not know me, and who will interpret these remarks as nationalism, I shall say that I was among the rare individuals who collaborated with our Bulgarian colleagues in the time of “frozen” relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and the first who included a Bulgarian colleague (Prof. P. Delev) into the commission for the defence of post-graduate and doctoral dissertations at the History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.

17 As usual there, not even this cultural event was inoculated from petty politics. Namely, at the presentation of the publication on this project (which was compiled and completed in 2018, while the opening of the exhibition was delayed), the acting director of the Archaeological Museum, Goran Sanev, M.S., expressed gratitude for support from the Government of the Republic of Northern Macedonia, which at that time was the incorrect name. Until midnight on 11 February 2019, that name – imposed by force – was still not official. This happened a day and a half later (on the evening of 12 February 2019). As opposed to Sanev, the Bulgarian director of the National Archaeological Institute and Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Hristo Popov, Ph.D., used the term “Government of Macedonia,” so readers can assess who was earning political points and who was placing political interests ahead of scholarly and national interests.

18 A history of the excavation of the necropolis: Stibbe, C. M., *Trebenishte. The Fortunes of an Unusual Excavation*, Rome, 2002.

19 V. Lahtov, *Problem Trebeniške kulture*, Ohrid, 1965.

makedonskoj državi, kampanje 1953. - 1954. i 1972., prikazala je T. Stojoska Vidoska (str. 49-55).

U poglavlju *Finds* prikazani su nalazi po vrstama. Prva dva priloga odnose se na zlatne maske. P. Kuzman i P. Ardjanliev autori su rada *Gold Funerary Masks and hands from Trebenishte and Ohrid* (str. 59-63); naslov mnogo obećava, ali osim opisa predmeta, tj. ornametike, autori ne daju nikakvo novo tumačenje, nego opisuju pet pronađenih maski i dvije “rukavice” s naglaskom na njihovoj ornamentici. P. Penkova i P. Ilieva (str. 65-69) prikazuju tehniku izrade spomenutih predmeta uključivši i sandale i pektorale. Ostale metalne predmete prikazali su: Y. Mutafchieva, brončano posuđe (str. 87-95); R. Stojchev - P. Penkova, srebrno posuđe (str. 97-105); oružje je prikazao R. Vasić (str. 107-130). Posebno su prikazani predmeti od jantara, A. Palavestra (str. 115-121), stakla i fajanse, M. Chacheva - S. Vasileva (str. 123-131), kao i keramika; luksuznu keramiku prikazuje G. Sanev (str. 133-141), a domaću S. Blazhevska (str. 143-151). Iako je tehnika izrade i ikonografije predmeta dobro opisana, u ovim priložima nisu dana, osim u rijetkim slučajevima, objašnjenja, čak ni hipotetična, o njihovoj funkciji i ulozi u grobnom ritualu.

U trećem dijelu, naslovljenom *Trebenishte and Region* (str. 153-223), dva autora obrađuju stanovništvo i etničku pripadnost trebeniške kulture, ponajprije na osnovi pisanih izvora. N. Proeva (str. 153-157) je stavila naglasak na Enhelejce/Engelane, nositelje trebeniške kulture u ohridsko-struškom području, južnoj Dasaretiji rimskog vremena, dok je P. Delev (str. 159-165) prikazao sva plemena trebeniške kulture, raspoređena duž Kadmejskog/Egnatijskog puta koja se spominju u izvorima. Podatke iz pisanih izvora nije lako razumjeti, jer potječu iz različitih razdoblja i odnose se na različita razdoblja, te često nije lako razlučiti vrijeme i situaciju koju opisuju; stoga su ponekad naizgled kontradiktorni, to prije što su tokom vremena mnogi od njih u manjoj ili većoj mjeri iskrivljeni. Zato je neophodna rigorozna analiza svih relevantnih izvora koji su sačuvani, a ne samo pojedinih, kako radi P. Delev (Pseudo-Skilak, Apijan), s ciljem da odbaci moje mišljenje o etničkoj pripadnosti Enhelejaca/Engelana (str. 161), bez pobijanja mojih detaljnih obrazloženja i argumenata.²¹ Očit dokaz da je ovakav pristup pogrešan jest podatak kod Apijana (*Illyr.*, 2) koji je zapisao da je mitski predak Enhelejaca bio sin Ilirijev (*Illyrios*). Naime, podatak se odnosi na vrijeme rimske vlasti. Radi se o mitskoj genealogiji čiji je

has two sections: “Trebenishte Inspiration and Mystery” (pp. 9-11, signed by the directors of the three museums) and “Word of the Editors” (12-13, wherein the editors explain the motives for organizing this exhibition) which ends with the message to readers that they look upon the book and the exhibition as the editors do: “as neighbours, colleagues with respect for each other and good friends.”²⁰ That part of the introduction signed by the directors of the three museums, which is preceded by a photograph of them all together, provides a summary description of previous excavations of the necropolis, while a thorough description follows in the first chapter. The Bulgarian excavations were covered by K. Chukalev (pp. 17-31), and the Serbian by V. Krstić (pp. 33-41), who separately and methodically described the discovery of grave no. VIII (pp. 43-47, “Grave VIII – The Tomb of Beautiful Antiquities”), she encloses the drawing of the grave published by N. Vulić (p. 43). The finds from this richest grave in the necropolis are presented in the publication’s catalogue section, but unfortunately there was no interest in displaying them in the exhibition, allegedly due to technical reasons (p. 43, note), but actually to avoid detracting the permanent display of the National Museum in Belgrade. This jubilee exhibition was thereby truncated, and their inclusion in the catalogue section creates a false picture of the exhibition. Because of this, the least the colleagues from the Belgrade Museum could, and should, have done was to make and display copies – of the most important objects at least – to present the scheme of the grave. The layout of the remaining graves discovered in the Bulgarian and Serbian excavations was not presented, nor was an overall map of the necropolis, except for drawings of the first seven graves published by B. Filov (p. 27). The post-war excavations in the free Macedonian state, the campaigns in 1953-1954 and 1972, were presented by T. Stojoska Vidoska (pp. 49-55).

In the chapter “Finds,” the latter are shown by types. The first two contributions cover the gold masks. P. Kuzman and P. Ardjanliev wrote the work “Gold Funerary Masks and Hands from Trebenishte and Ohrid” (pp. 59-63); the title promises a great deal, but with the exception of a description of the items, i.e., the ornamentation, the authors do not provide any new insights, rather they describe the five discovered masks and two “gloves” with emphasis on their ornamentation. P. Penkova and P. Ilieva (pp. 65-69) cover the technique for crafting the aforementioned items,

21 Treba kazati kako je koncept uredništva bio da se napravi knjiga prezentacijskog karaktera, a ne znanstvenoraspravno. Jedina iznimka od tog pravila je ovaj rad.

20 Unfortunately, based on what has been said about the publication thus far, one does not get such an impression.

cilj bio da se opravda rimska vlast i barbarski narodi uključe u grčko-rimski svijet.²² Prema ovoj genealogiji Ilirij je sin kiklopa Polifema i nimfe Galateje, iz čega proizlazi da su Iliri bili Grci! No s obzirom na sve što znamo o njima, oni to svakako nisu bili. Na ohridsko-struško područje odnose se i dva priloga koja slijede. Arheološki lokaliteti prikazani su na osnovi materijalnih izvora. P. Ardjanliev i M. Verčik (str. 167-175) stavili su naglasak na željezno i arhajsko doba, dok A. Papzovska i D. Heilmann (str. 177-185) prikazuju način sahranjivanja i priloge tzv. siromašnih grobova u istoj nekropoli. Sljedeća tri priloga odnose se na šire područje. S. Babić i A. Palavestra (str. 187-193) uspoređuju trebeniške grobove s “kneževskim” grobovima europskoga ranoga željeznog doba, s naglaskom na kolektivno značenje maski, za zajednicu, a ne za pojedinca, upućujući na rituale s maskama kod suvremenih potomaka starijih “primitivnih” zajednica Afrike, Južne Amerike i Oceanije. A. Bozkova (str. 195-201) na osnovi keramike prikazuje putove trgovine koji ukazuju na kulturne i političke kontakte, čime objašnjava sličnosti u pogrebnoj praksi i ritualu bogatih grobova na potezu od ohridskog do halkidičkog područja, pritom ukazujući na lokalne specifičnosti grobnog rituala. Rijetku pojavu luksuzne keramike u bogatim grobovima, koju pojedini autori tumače kao darove - *keimelia*, autorica tumači kao nezainteresiranost za ovakvu vrstu predmeta. U svom prilogu H. Popov (str. 203-207) bogatstvo tzv. kneževskih grobova Termajskog zaljeva objašnjava rudnim bogatstvom pangejskog područja koje je rano privuklo Grke s juga u potrazi za rudom i obradivom zemljom, a bogatstvo grobova s ohridskog područja, osim rudnim naslagama (tragovi eksploatacije srebra u okolini Resena, gdje nažalost dosada nisu poduzeta nikakva istraživanja) tumači i povoljnim položajem na raskrižju putova u pravcu zapad-istok, kao i sjever-jug.

U posljednjem prilogu P. Kuzman (str. 209-223) se vraća trebeniškoj kulturi, točnije najnovijim nalazima arhajskog doba u Ohridu, pri čemu ukazuje na sličnosti s bogatim grobovima iz Trebeništa. To su tri groba otkrivena u arheološkoj kampanji godine 2002. - 2009., za koje nije objavljeno arheološko izvješće. Kremirani grob br. 132 je grob s dvojnim ukopom, zlatnom maskom te prvim i zasad jedinim nalazom votivnih kolica u ovom području; drugi grob, br. 167 (na str. 209 pogrešno označen kao 127) je dječji grob s inhumacijom, ali nepotpuno prikazan; spomenuti su samo zlatni predmeti, ali, za razliku od

including sandals and gorgets. The remaining metal items were presented by: Y. Mutafchieva, bronze vessels (pp. 87-95); R. Stojchev – P. Penkova, silver vessels (pp. 97-105); weapons were presented by R. Vasić (pp. 107-130). Are presented separately items made of amber, by A. Palavestra (pp. 115-121), glass and faïence, by M. Chacheva–S. Vasileva (pp. 123-131), and pottery: luxury was presented by G. Sanev (str. 133-141), and the domestic pottery by S. Blazhevaska (pp. 143-151). Even though the production technique and iconography of the items are well described, these contributions do not provide, except in rare instances, explanations, not even hypothetical, for their function and role in funerary rituals.

In the third section, with the title “Trebenishte and Region” (pp. 153-223), two authors covered the population and ethnicity of the Trebeništa culture, primarily on the basis of written sources. N. Proeva (pp. 153-157) emphasized the Encheleis / Engelanians as creators of the Trebeništa culture in the Ohrid-Struga area, the southern Dassaretia of Roman times, while P. Delev (pp. 159-165) presented all tribes of the Trebeništa culture, located along the Via Cadmeia: Egnatia, who are mentioned in the sources. The data from the written sources is not easy to understand, because they originated in different periods and pertain to different periods, and often it is no simple task to discern the times and circumstances being described; thus they are sometimes contradictory, all the more so because over time many of them were distorted to a greater or lesser degree. This is why a rigorous analysis of all relevant preserved sources is essential, rather than considering only individual sources, as Delev did (Pseudo-Scylax, Appian) with the objective of casting aside my view of the ethnicity of the Encheleis / Engelanians (p. 161), without actually refuting my detailed explanations and arguments.²¹ Obvious evidence that such an approach is erroneous is the fact that Appian (*Illyr.*, 2) wrote that the mythical ancestor of the Encheleis was the son of Illyrios. This data pertain to the period of Roman rule. This is a mythical genealogy that was aimed at justifying Roman rule and involving the barbarian peoples into the Greco-Roman world.²² According to this genealogy, Illyrios was the son of the Cyclops Polyphemus and the nymph Galatea, from which it follows that the Illyrians were Greeks! But

22 Na Apijanovo nesnalazjenje u povijesti Ilira i nespretno korištenje raznih izvora ukazala je F. Papazoglu, *Srednjobalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*, Sarajevo, 1969, str. 73.

21 It should be stated that the editorial concept was to compile a book with a presentational rather than scholarly-discursive character. The sole exception to that rule was this contribution.

22 Appian's unfamiliarity with Illyrian history and his slipshod use of sources were pointed out by F. Papazoglu, *Srednjobalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*, Sarajevo, 1969, p. 73.



Sl. 1. Vitrina sa zlatnom maskom
Fig. 1. Display case with golden mask

predmeta iz groba 132, nijednog predmeta iz ovog groba, iz neobjašnjivih razloga, nema u katalogu. Detaljnije je opisan i grob br. 1, koji vrlo jasno pokazuje pogrebni ritual grobova s kremacijom, str. 221, sl. 8, čiji nalazi također nisu uključeni u katalog. Prilog završava prikazom mišljenja o etničkoj pripadnosti nositelja trebeniške kulture, pri čemu se autor ne opredjeljuje za ilirsku pripadnost Enhelejaca/Engelana, nego smatra da pripadaju brigijskom sloju (oba pitanja detaljno obrazložena u mojim radovima, izostavljena u bibliografiji).

Slijedi kataloški dio publikacije, za koji bi bilo logičnije da je stavljen poslije prvog poglavlja s opisom slijeda istraživanja, jer se autori svih priloga pozivaju na brojeve kataloških jedinica. U katalogu (str. 226-381; u sadržaju je umjesto str. 226 pogrešno napisano 224) najprije su prikazani nalazi iz bogatih trebeniških grobova (No 1-224), zatim iz siromašnih (No 225-232), a onda slijede luksuzni nalazi iz grobova s lokaliteta Tri čeljusti, Vrtuljka i Suve Česme (No 233-331). Katalog završava s nalazima bogatog groba, br. 132, sa zlatnom maskom iz Ohrida (No 332-413).

Na kraju nekoliko riječi o tehničkim pitanjima. Svi toponimi su doneseni u engleskoj transkripciji (*Kichevo, Trebenishte, Tri Cheljusti, Suva Cheshma* i dr.) bez originala u zagradi, što je bar za makrotoponime neophodno, osobito strancima, kako bi ih mogli prepoznati kad ih budu tražili na suvremenim geografskim kartama. I kao što mi je, poslije moje reakcije u javnosti o karti na bugarskom jeziku, elektroničkim putem pisao slovenski kolega, “nikako da naučimo kolege da poštuju makedonski, jednostavno ne shvaćaju, da se tako gubi identitet”. Iz nejasnog razloga arhivski materijali muzejâ u Sofiji i Beogradu u legendama se nazivaju *documentation*, a oni iz Ohridskog muzeja označeni su kao *courtesy of...* Ne vidim koja je razlika između dokumentacije triju muzeja, osim što potječu iz različitih zemalja. Kao u svakoj knjizi, ima

given everything we know about them, they certainly were not. The next two contributions also deal with the Ohrid-Struga area. The archaeological sites are presented on the basis of material sources. P. Ardjanliev and M. Verčik (pp. 167-175) placed emphasis on the Iron Age and Archaic era, while A. Papzovska and D. Heilmann (pp. 177-185) presented burial manner and the items from the so-called poor graves in the same necropolis. The following three contributions pertain to a wider area. S. Babić and A. Palavestra (pp. 187-193) compare the Trebeništa graves to the “princely” graves of the Early Iron Age in Europe, with emphasis on the collective meaning of masks, i.e., to the community rather than to individuals, referring to rituals involving masks among the contemporary descendants of the the previous ones “primitive” communities of Africa, South America and Oceania. A. Bozkova (pp. 195-201) based on pottery shows the trade routes which were indicative of cultural and political contacts, and thus she explains the similarities in funerary practices and rituals pertaining to the rich graves in the vast swath of territory from Ohrid to Chalcis, while also highlighting the specific aspects of local grave-side rituals. She interprets the rare appearance of luxury pottery in the rich graves, which certain scholars have interpreted as gifts, *keimelia*, as a lack of interest in such items. In his contribution, H. Popov (pp. 203-207) explains the wealth of the so-called princely graves of the Thermaic Gulf by citing the mineral wealth of the Pangaea area which had attracted Greeks from the south rather early in search of ores and arable land, while the wealth of the graves from the Ohrid area by not only the mineral deposits (traces of silver mining in the vicinity of Resen, where, unfortunately, no research has yet been done) but also the favourable position at the intersection of west-east and north-south routes.

In the final contribution, P. Kuzman (pp. 209-223) returns to the Trebeništa culture, exactly to the the latest finds of the Archaic era in Ohrid, wherein he highlights the similarities to the rich graves from Trebeništa necropolis. These are three graves discovered in the archaeological campaign in 2002-2009, about which an archaeological report has not been published. Cremation grave no. 132 contained a double burial, a gold mask and the first and thus far sole find of a votive cart in this area; the second grave, no. 167 (on p. 209, incorrectly marked as 127) was a child’s inhumation grave, but incompletely presented; only the gold items are mentioned, but, contrary to the goods from grave 132, not a single item from this grave is included in the catalogue for reasons that are entirely inexplicable. A more detailed description is also provided for grave no. 1, which very clearly shows the funerary ritual pertaining to cremation



Sl. 2. Vitrina s aplikacijama
Fig. 2. Display cases with appliqué

tiskarskih pogrešaka; iako one nisu nerazumljivog karaktera, ipak bi bilo korisno da se napravi *errata*.

Izložbe o ovako značajnim nalazima (trebeniška nekropola svakako je svjetski najpoznatija arhajska nekropola s Balkana i jedna od najznačajnijih, ako ne i najznačajnija arhajska nekropola na Balkanu) u ovakvim prigodama pridružene su znanstvenim skupovima na kojima se na licu mjesta, izravno uz predmete, raspravlja o različitim aspektima nalaza i neriješenim pitanjima kojih je u ovom slučaju mnogo i oko kojih se mišljenja razilaze. Navodno je znanstveni skup predviđen u budućnosti, ali u ovom je slučaju usporedni skup uz izložbu bio neophodan, jer su izloženi predmeti inače razmješteni po muzejima u tri države - Bugarskoj, Makedoniji i Srbiji. Glavni nalazi trebeniške nekropole koji su razneseni u dvije susjedne zemlje sada su prvi put konačno izloženi zajedno (osim nalaza groba br. VIII) i logično je bilo da se skup organizira dok je izložba bila u Makedoniji, zemlji iz koje nalazi potječu. Pri tome bi sudionici skupa imali mogućnost posjetiti lokaciju nekropole i doživjeti ambijent područja trebeniške kulture. Umjesto toga u katalog su uvršteni prilozi o različitim vrstama predmeta, u kojima se ukazuje na još uvijek neriješena pitanja i nabrajaju se dosad predložena tumačenja, vrlo rijetko s novim tumačenjima.

graves, p. 221, *fig. 8*, although its finds are also not included in the catalogue. The contribution ends with an overview of opinions on the ethnicity of the members of the Trebeništa culture, wherein the author does not support the Illyrian character of the Encheleis / Engelanians, rather he believes that they belonged to the Brygian sphere (both questions were elucidated in detail in my works, omitted from the bibliography).

The catalogue section follows, although it would have been more logical if it had been placed immediately after the first chapter with the description of the sequence of research, because the authors of every contribution cited the numbers of the catalogue units. The catalogue (pp. 226-381; the table of contents incorrectly lists p. 224 rather than 226) first presents the finds from the rich graves of Trebeništa (*No 1-224*), followed by the poor graves (*No 225-232*), and the luxurious finds from the graves at the Tri čeljusti, Vrtuljka and Suva Česma sites (*No. 233-331*). The catalogue closes with finds from a rich grave, no. 132, with a gold mask from Ohrid (*No 332-413*).

I shall conclude with a few observations concerning technical aspects. All of the toponyms are rendered in English transcriptions (Kichevo, Trebenishte, Tri Cheljusti, Suva Cheshma and so forth) without the original spelling in parentheses, which is essential for major toponyms, particularly to foreign readers, so that they can recognize them if they were to search for them on modern maps. I am reminded of something a Slovenian colleague told me in an e-mail after my public remarks on the map in the Bulgarian language: “no way to teach our colleagues to respect Macedonian, they simply don’t understand that that’s how an identity is lost.” For inexplicable reasons, the archival materials from the museums in Sofia and Belgrade are called “documentation,” while the materials from the Ohrid museum are simply designated as “courtesy of...” I do not see the difference between the documentation from the three museums, except the obvious fact that they come from three different countries. As in every book, there are printing errors; even though none of them render the text incomprehensible, it would have nonetheless been useful to include *errata*.

Exhibitions on such significant finds (the Trebeništa necropolis is the world’s best known Archaic-era necropolises and if not the most important, then one of the most important Archaic necropolises in the Balkans) for such occasions are accompanied by scholarly conferences on the spot, right next to the exhibits, to deliberate on the various aspects of the finds and any unresolved issues, of which there are many in this case and about which opinions diverge. Allegedly a scholarly conference has been foreseen for the future, but in this case such a meeting parallel to the



Sl. 3. Osvjetljenje izložbe

Fig. 3. Lighting at the exhibition

Na kraju nekoliko riječi o načinu na koji je postavljena izložba i kako su predmeti prikazani. Osvjetljenje izložbe nije primjereno njezinu sadržaju. Naljepnice ispisane bijelim slovima na prozirnim staklenim vitrinama nečitljive su, čemu najviše pridonosi loše koncipirano svjetlo (sl. 1).

Materijal iz grobova nije dosljedno prikazan u vitrinama. Tako su između prve vitrine, sa zlatnom maskom i rukavicom, i drugih vitrina s materijalom iz groba br. I postavljene dvije vitrine s predmetima iz groba br. II i III, što daje pogrešnu sliku da svi predmeti pripadaju grobu br. I, to prije što je plan groba postavljen pokraj vitrine s maskom, a legende su teško čitljive. Osim plana za grob br. I i grob br. IX iz neshvatljivih razloga nisu prikazani planovi ostalih grobova. Treba napomenuti da planovi grobova nisu dani ni u publikaciji, osim plana groba br. I. Nedostatak planova s rasporedom predmeta onemogućuje posjetiteljima da shvate njihovo mjesto i ulogu u pogrebnom ritualu. Objašnjenja ili barem hipoteze o njihovoj funkciji nisu dane ni u publikaciji, gdje je opisana samo njihova tehnika i ikonografija.

U vitrinama su izloženi predmeti različite namjene, a da to nije pokazano u legendama. Sve legende su oskudne, bez ikakvog objašnjenja, osim identifikacije predmeta, nema ni riječi o tome kojoj posudi pripadaju, a još manje o njihovoj funkciji. Tako je npr. figurica kože (kat. br. 15), koja pripada dinos-krateru, izložena u istoj vitrini s dvije ručke (kat. br. 14) kratera, a da to nije kazano u legendi (sl. 2). Isto je i s legendama za zlatne aplikacije. Običnom posjetitelju trebalo je ukazati na kakav materijal su bile pričvršćene (najveći dio aplicirao bi se na tkaninu, ali bilo ih je i na ratničkoj opremi – mačevima, kacigama). Nešto malo se može naći u publikaciji, iz koje su bila izložena samo dva primjerka, ali loše osvjetljenje otežavalo je čitanje.

exhibition seemed essential, because the exhibits are otherwise divided between museums in three different states: Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia. The main finds of the Trebeništa necropolis that were taken to two neighbouring countries are now finally being exhibited together (with the exception of the finds from grave no. VIII) and it would have been logical to organize a gathering while the exhibition was still in Macedonia, the country from which the finds came. The participants in such a conference furthermore would have had the opportunity to visit the necropolis site and experience the ambience of the Trebeništa cultural area. Instead, the catalogue contains contributions on different types of exponents, in which still unsettled questions are underscored and previously suggested interpretations are listed, very rarely accompanied by any new insights.

Finally, a few words about the manner in which the exhibition was set up and how the exhibits are displayed. The lighting at the exhibition is not suited to its content. The white letters affixed to the glass display cases are illegible, mainly due to the poorly conceived lighting (Fig. 1).

The goods from the graves are not consistently presented in the display cases. Thus, between the first display case, with a gold mask and hand, and other display cases featuring materials from grave no. 1, two display cases were installed with items from graves no. II and III, which paints an inaccurate picture of grave no. I, all the more so since a drawing of the graves was installed next to the display case with the mask, and the legends are difficult to read. Besides the drawing for grave no. I and grave no. IX, no maps of the remaining graves are shown. It should be noted that grave drawings were also not provided in the publication, except for the grave no. I. The absence of drawings with layout of the goods prevents visitors from understanding their place and role in the funerary ritual. Explanations or, at a minimum, hypotheses on their function were not provided in the publication, either, where only their production techniques and iconography are described.

Items with varying uses are exhibited in the display cases, but this is not indicated in the legends. All of the legends are terse, lacking any explanations except identification of the item, there is not even mention of the vessel to which they belong, and even less about their function. Thus, for example, the figurine of a goat (cat. no. 15), which belongs to a dinos-krater, is exhibited in the same case with two handles of column krater (cat. no. 14), but this is not stated in the legend (Fig. 2). The same can be said of the legends for the gold appliqué. An ordinary visitor should be shown the type of material to which they were fastened (most were applied to fabric, but they were also attached to

Siromašni grobovi, kao i oni s lokaliteta Suva Česma prikazani su odmah poslije posljednjeg groba (XIII) od bogatih grobova iz Trebeništa, bez ikakva panoa s planom lokacije nekropola, kojim bi bio razjašnjen ne samo njihov položaj nego bi se ukazalo i na njihovu međusobnu povezanost. Općenito, izložbi nedostaju panoi s objašnjenjima koji bi pomogli razumijevanju funkcija i uloga predmeta u grobnom ritualu. Sve u svemu, može se reći da ambijent izložbe deprimira i da prekrasni predmeti nisu istaknuti onako kako su zaslužili (sl. 3), tj. njihova se ljepota izgubila u mraku izložbe. Sve nabrojeno je neshvatljivo i nedopustivo za jednu muzejsku izložbu u 21. stoljeću.

Na kraju treba otvoreno i bez uvijanja kazati da je žalosno što je jedna sjajna ideja iskorištena za manipulaciju od strane jednih i za političko profiterstvo od strane drugih. Izbjegavanjem imena zemlje na veoma vješt i suptilan način (za što treba skinuti kapu bugarskim urednicima), faktički se negira makedonski identitet. Pri tome nereagiranje makedonskih urednika i ravnatelja muzeja pokazuje njihovo nesnalaženje, ponajprije u iskorištavanju mogućnosti atraktivnog predstavljanja zemlje putem promicanja makedonskoga kulturnog naslijeđa, kao što rade sve države u svijetu. To je, među ostalim, i rezultat izostanka jasne strategije vrednovanja kulturnog naslijeđa.²³ Velika je šteta što ovaj kulturni projekt nije iskorišten za reconcilijaciju i istinsko izmirenje u prvom redu Bugarske s Makedonijom te za postavljanje kulturne suradnje triju država na zdrave temelje, s istinskim i iskrenim međusobnim poštovanjem. Ovo još jednom pokazuje kako politika kontaminira znanstveno područje te da je znanost, nažalost, još uvijek, manje ili više u službi politike.

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military gear: swords, helmets). A little can be found in the publication, from which only two examples are on display, but poor lighting renders reading difficult.

The poor graves, like those from the Suva Česma site, are presented immediately after the last (XIII) rich grave from Trebeništa, without any display board featuring a map of their location in the necropolis, which would explain not only their position but also indicate their mutual connections. In general, the exhibition is lacking display boards with explanations that would foster a better understanding of the functions and role of the items in funerary rituals. All in all, it may be said that the atmosphere of the exhibition was depressing and that the exquisite items were not featured in the manner that they deserve (Fig. 3), i.e., their beauty is lost in the gloom of the exhibition space. All of this is incomprehensible and impermissible for a museum exhibition in the 21st century.

In the end, it should be bluntly and honestly stated that it is saddening that a splendid idea was exploited for manipulation by one side and political profit by others. By avoiding the names of the countries in a rather deft and subtle fashion (hats off to our Bulgarian editors), Macedonia's identity is indeed negated. The lack of response by the Macedonian editors and museum director shows that they were they were not up to par, primarily in exploiting the possibilities for the attractive presentation of their country by promoting the Macedonian cultural heritage, as all other countries in the world do. This is, among other things, also a consequence of the lack of a clear strategy to make the most out of the cultural heritage.²³ It is truly unfortunate that this cultural project was not used for a genuine reconciliation on Bulgaria's part with Macedonia and for the establishment of cultural cooperation between the three states on a healthy foundation, with real and earnest mutual respect. This once more shows that politics contaminates the scholarship and that scholarship is still, unfortunately, more or less in the service of politics.

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23 To podrazumijeva izradu kratkoročnih i dugoročnih planova za istraživanje kulturnog naslijeđa, putem izgradnje stručnih kadrova, planova za njegovu prezentaciju, marketing itd.

23 This implies programming of short-term and long-term plans to research the cultural heritage by creating qualified experts, plans for its presentation, marketing, etc.