

# TA OVA JE GODINA DOBRA POČELA SAMO DA NIJE B. I G.'A. TRGOVINA ARHEOLOŠKIM NALAZIMA POČETKOM 20. STOLJEĆA NA PRIMJERU SRIJEMSKJE MITROVICE<sup>1</sup>

## THIS YEAR WOULD HAVE STARTED WELL IF ONLY IT WERE NOT FOR B. AND G.

## THE ANTIQUITIES TRADE IN SREMSKA MITROVICA AT THE TURN OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

Maja Bunčić

Ana Solter

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu

Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19

HR-10000 Zagreb

mbuncic@amz.hr

asolter@amz.hr

Maja Bunčić

Ana Solter

Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19

HR-10000 Zagreb

mbuncic@amz.hr

asolter@amz.hr

UDK/UDC: 930.25:351.853(497.113 Sremska Mitrovica)<sup>19</sup>

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

Rad prikazuje na koje su se sve načine početkom 20. stoljeća prikupljali predmeti i formirale arheološke zbirke. Uz pregled pravnih okvira, ocrtane su okolnosti koje su obilježile nabavu predmeta na primjeru Srijemske Mitrovice, gdje je paralelno funkcionirala „prava arheologija“, kao i tipična preprodaja „starina“. Bogata korespondencija iz tog vremena, pohranjena u okviru Dokumentarne zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, omogućila nam je sagledati opće raspoloženje prema arheologiji i utjecaj pojedinaca na rast muzejskog fundusa. Kao posebno zanimljiva osoba, ističe se Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach, mitrovački urar i zlatar te, kako doznajemo, trgovac starinama, čija se uloga i odnos sa zagrebačkim Narodnim muzejom nastoji prikazati. Propituje se zaključno zašto se danas ne bi trebala provoditi praksa nabave predmeta koja je bila uobičajena za kraj 19. i početak 20. stoljeća.

This paper shows all the ways in which artefacts were collected, and archaeological collections compiled, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After providing an overview of the legal framework, the circumstances typical of the procurement of artefacts are described using the example of Sremska Mitrovica, where 'real archaeology' co-existed simultaneously with a typical trade in antiquities. The voluminous correspondence from that time, stored within the Documentary Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, provides insight into the general attitude towards archaeology, as well as the impact individuals had on the increase of the museum's holdings. Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach, a watchmaker and goldsmith from Mitrovica – and, as we found out, an antiquities dealer – stands out as a particularly interesting person, whose role and relationship with the Zagreb National Museum is presented. In conclusion, the question is posed as to why the practice of procuring artefacts, which was common in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup>, should not also be continued today.

Ključne riječi:

Srijemska Mitrovica, Narodni muzej, trgovina starinama, povijest arheologije, Ignjat Jung, Georg Griesbach

Key words:

Sremska Mitrovica, National Museum, antiquities trade, history of archaeology, Ignjat Jung, Georg Griesbach

## Uvod

Zbog povećane i razgranate međunarodne trgovine arheološkim predmetima u cijelome svijetu, arheološko je crno tržište vrlo aktualna tema koja, dakako, posljedično propituje i koji bi stav muzeji trebali zauzeti u takvim situacijama.<sup>2</sup> Kako bi se bolje spoznali problemi u kojima se nalaze muzeji 21. stoljeća, analiziraju se prakse i zakoni u vremenu nastanka arheologije kao znanstvene discipline, koje korespondira s vremenom najvećeg procvata (današnjeg) Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (kraj 19. i početak 20. stoljeća).<sup>3</sup> Tada je, naime, trgovina *starinama* bila temeljni način priljeva građe (a u manjoj mjeri iskopavanja i darovi), posebno s područja koja obiluju arheološkim lokalitetima kao što je Srijem. Predmeti, koji su pristizali trgovinom, nisu imali najosnovnije podatke o provenijenciji i kontekstu te danas arheolozima predstavljaju izazove koji su ponekad nerješivi.

Zbog svoje burne i bogate povijesti, Srijemska je Mitrovica svakako jedan od najpoznatijih arheoloških lokaliteta u Srijemu, ali i šire. U geografskom i strateškom smislu ima vrlo povoljan položaj na savskoj obali, pogodnoj za prirodnu obranu, promet i trgovinu. Ipak, Sava je imala i svoj negativni aspekt te su razvoj i širenje grada diktirale okolne podzemne vode i močvare. Grad se (*Sirmium*) već u ranorimsko doba razvio kao raskrižje puteva i prerastao u administrativno ekonomsko središte Donje Panonije, što je utjecalo i na daljnji tijek događaja.<sup>4</sup>

Srijemska županija do formiranja Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca dio je Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije unutar Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Arheološka je baština tog područja u nadležnosti Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja, preteče današnjeg Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (dalje: Muzej). Mitrovica je upravo u razdoblju od kraja 19. stoljeća pa sve do početka Prvog svjetskog rata jedan od važnijih punktova iz kojeg pristiže arheološka građa za Muzej kao rezultat arheoloških iskopavanja, djelovanja povjerenika, darova i otkupa, putovanja djelatnika

## Introduction

As a consequence of the increased international trade in archaeological antiquities throughout the world, the archaeological black market has become a major topic, giving rise to questions as to the position museums should take in such situations.<sup>2</sup> To better understand the problems faced by museums in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this paper analyses the practices and laws applicable at the time of the emergence of archaeology as a scientific discipline (late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup>).<sup>3</sup> This period was in fact the time of the greatest prosperity of (today's) Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, when the antiquities trade represented a major source of museum acquisitions (followed by excavations and gifts), especially from such areas as Sarmia, with plenty of archaeological sites. The antiquities obtained through trade lacked basic information in terms of both their provenance and their context and pose, as such, a serious, sometimes insuperable, problem to archaeologists today.

Due to its rich and turbulent history, Sremska Mitrovica is one of the most famous archaeological sites in Sarmia and beyond. In geographical and strategic terms, it has a very favourable position on a bank of the Sava suitable for natural defence, traffic and trade. However, the position on the River Sava has also had its negative aspect. The groundwater and wetlands around the city dictated its development and expansion. The city (*Sirmium*) developed as a major crossroads in the early Roman period and gradually grew into the administrative and economic centre of Lower Pannonia.<sup>4</sup>

Until the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sarmia County was part of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The archaeological heritage of this area was under the jurisdiction of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum, the forerunner of today's Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (hereinafter:

1 Arhiv Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu (dalje: AAMZ) 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu, br. 54. (Jung 155) – „Ta ova je godina dobra počela samo da nije B. i G.'a. Ja sam već mislio da što napišem, premda u glavnom ovde svi za arheol. mare, kao što reče blagopok. Ljubić, kao za lajnski snijeg. Ja sam zadovoljan sa indolencijom samo ako bar po koje – poruge neima. Kao obično extremi ili bagatelizovanje (uništavane starina) ili precijenjivanje (cijene à la G.)“ – Ignjat Jung često je u svojim pismima za Gjurju Griesbacha pisao samo G., dok se B. odnosi na Hinka (Heinricha) Batora. – Ovaj je rad nastao u vrijeme pandemije Covid-19 i potresa u Zagrebu 2020. godine te su se autorice često sjetile Jungovih riječi: „Ta ova je godina dobra počela samo da nije ...“ koje su stoga kao evokaciju na te događaje i iskoristile u naslovu.

2 Brodie 2006; Manacorda, Chappell 2011; Lazrus, Barker 2012; Filipović, Vasić 2017; Гуштин 2017.

3 Novaković 2015, 71–72.

4 Na području grada kontinuitet naseljavanja prati se od neolitika, no najveći prosperitet doživljava kao antički Sirmij u 3. i 4. stoljeću, a nakon slavne povijesti u sastavu Rimskog Carstva osvajaju ga Huni, zatim istočni Goti i Gepidi, potom je kratko u vlasti Bizanta te konačno Avara. Kasnije je (9. st.) u sastavu Bugarske, dolaskom Mađara u sastavu je Bizanta i Ugarske naizmjenično sve do 1180. godine, kada Bizant nestaje s područja Srijema. Tada grad više toliko ne prosperira. Ostaje Manastir sv. Dimitrija s tvrđavom, po kojem grad i dobiva današnje ime (Dimitrovica). Nakon 1526. u sastavu je Osmanskog Carstva i ponovno doživljava veliki prosperitet. Mirom u Požarevcu (1718.) Srijem je oslobođen i pripojen Habsburškoj Monarhiji u kojoj će ostati sve do 1918. godine. Detaljnije o povijesnom pregledu Прица 1969; Милошевић 2001.

1 Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (hereinafter: AAMZ) 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 54. (Jung 155): „This year would have started well if only it were not for B. and G. I wanted to write something, although in general everyone here, to paraphrase the late Ljubić, cares about archaeology like last year's snow. I am satisfied with indolence only if there is no mockery. As the usual extremes, either trivialization (destruction of antiquities) or overestimation (prices à la G.)“. Ignjat Jung often refers to Gjurju Griesbach only by his initial 'G.', and to Hinko (Heinrich) Bator as 'B.'. This paper was created during the Covid-19 pandemic and the Zagreb earthquake of 2020, and the authors often remembered Jung's words: „This year would have started well if only...“ which they have therefore used as an evocation of these events in the title.

2 Brodie 2006; Manacorda, Chappell 2011; Lazrus, Barker 2012; Filipović, Vasić 2017; Гуштин 2017.

3 Novaković 2015, 71–72.

4 The city's greatest prosperity was achieved as ancient Sirmium in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, and after a glorious history as part of the Roman Empire, it was conquered by the Huns, then the Ostrogoths and Gepids, was briefly part of Byzantium, and finally conquered by the Avars. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century it was part of Bulgaria; then, with the arrival of the Hungarians, it was part of Byzantium and Hungary alternately until 1180, when Byzantium disappeared from the area of Sarmia. After that period, the city no longer prospered. But the monastery of St. Dimitry remains, with the fortress from which the city gets its present name (Dimitrovica). After 1526, it was part of the Ottoman Empire and again experienced great prosperity. By the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), Sarmia was liberated and annexed to the Habsburg Monarchy until 1918. For a more detailed historical review: Прица 1969; Милошевић 2001.

Muzeja te rada društva „Sirmium”. Tako je sve do 1922. godine, kada nadležnost prelazi Narodnome muzeju u Beogradu,<sup>5</sup> a potom 1946. godine novoosnovanome Gradskom muzeju Sremska Mitrovica.<sup>6</sup>

Vlasništvo arheološke građe („skrivenog blaga“) krajem 19. stoljeća i početkom 20. stoljeća regulirano je Općim austrijskim građanskim zakonom<sup>7</sup> koji se postupno uvodio u zemljama Habsburške Monarhije od 1811. godine, izvoz *starina* zabranjen je Obnovom starih zakona iz 1880. godine<sup>8</sup> te je istom Obnovom zabranjena preprodaja bez dozvole Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade (dalje: Zemaljska vlada). Skriveno blago po Općem austrijskom građanskom zakoniku sastoji se „u novcu, nakitu ili inim dragocjenostima koje su tako dugo ležale sakrivene, da se njihov prijašnji vlasnik više saznati ne može”.<sup>9</sup> Prema prvobitnim pravilima Zakonika, trećina je nađenog blaga pripadala državi, trećina nalazniku i trećina vlasniku zemljišta.<sup>10</sup> Novim Dekretom dvorske kancelarije od 16. lipnja 1846. godine država gubi pravo na jednu trećinu te se nađeno blago dijeli na jednu polovinu nalazniku, a drugu vlasniku zemljišta.<sup>11</sup>

Zemaljska vlada 25. 11. 1880. godine, odredbom br. 3302, donosi Obnovu starih zakona i naredba u pogledu izvažanja starina iz naše zemlje i njihova sačuvanja kojom je „*zabranjeno izvadjanje* nadjenih dragocjenosti arheološke vrijednosti, ter se ima kazniti i sam pokušaj izvoza plienitbom, a obavljani već izvoz globom u dvostrukoj vrijednosti blaga. (...) nalaže se kr. podžupaniji (grads.

the Museum). At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mitrovica was one of the most important places of supply for the museum collections. Archaeological material arrived through various means: as a result of archaeological excavations, the work of the museum trustees, gifts and redemptions, the travels of museum staff, and the activity of the ‘Sirmium’ society. In 1922 the jurisdiction over archaeological heritage from Mitrovica passed to the Belgrade National Museum,<sup>5</sup> and then in 1946 to the newly-founded City Museum of Sremska Mitrovica.<sup>6</sup>

The ownership of archaeological artefacts (“hidden treasure”) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> was regulated by the General Civil Code<sup>7</sup>, gradually introduced in the countries of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1811. The Restoration of old laws from 1880 prohibited the export of antiques and their resale without the permission of the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government (hereinafter: the Royal Government).<sup>8</sup> Hidden treasures – according to the General Civil Code – consist “in money, jewellery or other valuables that have been hidden for so long that their previous owner can no longer be identified”.<sup>9</sup> According to the legal rules of the General Civil Code, originally one-third of the found treasure, thus archaeology, belonged to “state property”, one third to the finder and one third to the owner of the land.<sup>10</sup> By the new Decree of the court office, from June 16, 1846, the found treasure was divided into one half to the finder and the other half to the owner of the land (with nothing belonging to the state).<sup>11</sup>

5 Godine 1922. u sklopu Kraljevine SHS Hrvatska, kao teritorijalna cjelina u upravnom smislu, nestaje te je njezino područje obuhvaćalo 6 od ukupno 33 jugoslavenske oblasti, a dijelovi hrvatskog prostora pripojeni su subotičkoj i mariborskoj oblasti, Bilandžić 1999, 77; Regan 2003, 263. Aleksandar I. Karadorđević 1929. godine, uspostavom Šestosiječanske diktature, donosi *Zakon o nazivu i podjeli Kraljevine na upravna područja* te u sklopu Kraljevine Jugoslavije veći dio Srijema ulazi u Dunavsku banovinu sa sjedištem u Novom Sadu. Djelomičnom promjenom granica iz 1931. godine zapadni je Srijem pridružen Savskoj, dok je istočni ostao dijelom Dunavske banovine, Bajarin 2016. – Koliko je područje Srijema Muzeju bilo značajno najbolje dočaravaju riječi V. Hoffillera: „... Srijem je za nas najvažnije područje, dok je sve ostalo, što nam preostaje, sterilan teren. Ako izgubimo Srijem, onda možemo u buduće samo životariti.”, AAMZ 46, Muzejski interesi, Dopis V. Hoffillera V. Petkoviću od 22. 1. 1923.

6 Iako je u Mitrovici postojala jaka arheološka osnova za mnogo raniji osnutak muzeja (istraživanja *Sirmiuma*), tek je, nakon niza pokušaja tijekom druge polovine 19. i prve polovine 20. stoljeća, 1946. godine osnovan Gradski muzej Sremska Mitrovica (danas Muzej Srema), <https://muzejsrema.com/o-muzeju/>; Novaković 2015, 106, bilj. 136, 113. – O nefunkcionalnome muzeju u Mitrovici s kraja 19. stoljeća svjedoči i sam Brunšmid. Naime, tijekom jednog putovanja u Mitrovicu (1894.) zamolio je da se spomenici, koji su se nalazili na gradskom šetalištu, prenesu u Narodni muzej kako bi se zaštitili, no dobio je odgovor da je 1885. godine osnovan gradski muzej u Mitrovici koji će pohraniti svu građu s Filipovićeve šetališta. Međutim, za vrijeme svog posjeta Brunšmid je obišao muzej i sam se uvjerio da u tome prostoru nema ni jednog spomenika, već da je lokal iznajmljen te da se u tome “muzeju” toči dosta dobro mitrovačko pivo, Solter 2016, 89.

7 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811. Iako je Zakon službeno bio važeći u cijeloj Monarhiji do 1861. godine, ostao se koristiti kao hrvatski građanski zakonik sve do 1945. godine, a djelom i do 1970-ih. O starim zakonima vidi Kos, Mirnik 2011, 80–87.

8 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu 1880.

9 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811, čl. 398.

10 Justizgesetzsammlung, 1811, čl. 399. Prema istom pravilniku jedna trećina pripada i radnicima, koji slučajno nađu blago, ali ako ih je vlasnik „naročito najmio... da traže blago, treba da se zadovolje svojom urednom plaćom” (§ 401), Simonetti 2009, 59.

11 Spevec 1899, 131.

5 As part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Croatia disappeared as a territorial unit in administrative terms (1922), and its territory included 6 out of a total of 33 Yugoslav areas. Parts of Croatian territory were annexed to the Subotica and Maribor areas: Bilandžić 1999, 77; Regan 2003, 263. With the January 6<sup>th</sup> Dictatorship (1929), Aleksandar I Karadorđević passed the *Act on the Name and Division of the Kingdom into Administrative Areas within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*. According to the new law, most of Syrmia entered the Danube Banovina, with its seat in Novi Sad. With a partial change of borders in 1931, western Syrmia joined the Sava, while eastern Syrmia remained part of the Danube Banovina: Bajarin 2016. How significant the area of Syrmia was to the Museum is best illustrated by the words of V. Hoffiller: “Syrmia is the most important area for us, while everything else we have left is sterile terrain. If we lose Syrmia, then we can only live on scraps”, AAMZ 46, Museum Interests, Letter from V. Hoffiller to V. Petković, January 22, 1923.

6 Although there were powerful reasons for establishing the museum in Mitrovica much earlier, it was only after a series of attempts during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> that the City Museum of Sremska Mitrovica was founded in 1946: <https://muzejsrema.com/o-muzeju/>; Novaković 2015, 106, n. 136, 113. Brunšmid himself testifies about the non-functional museum in Mitrovica from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During his trip to Mitrovica (1894), he asked to transfer the monuments from the city promenade to the National Museum to protect them; however, he was notified that, in 1885, a city museum had been established in Mitrovica to store all the material from Filipović’s promenade. During his visit, Brunšmid went to the museum and saw that there were no monuments there, but a bar that served quite good Mitrovica beer: Solter 2016, 89.

7 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811. Although the Code was officially valid throughout the Monarchy until 1861, it was still used afterwards as the Croatian Civil Code until 1945, and in part until the 1970s. More about the old laws: Kos, Mirnik 2011, 80–87.

8 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu [Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government Department of Religion and Education] 1880.

9 Justizgesetzsammlung 1811, Sec. 398.

10 Justizgesetzsammlung, 1811, Sec. 399. According to the same Code, one third belongs to the workers who accidentally found the treasure, but if the owner of the land “especially hired them ... to look for the treasure, they should be satisfied with their regular salary” (§ 401): Simonetti 2009, 59.

11 Spevec 1899, 131.

poglavarstvu), da u buduće strogo nad tim bdije, da se *nadjene starine na kupu drže i nerazdadu, prodadu ili unište prije*, nego stigne naredba kr. zemaljske Vlade na izvještje ...<sup>12</sup>

## Povjerenici i mitrovačke starine

Krajem 19. stoljeća u Mitrovici su se provodila tri arheološka iskopavanja. Prvo je vodio poljski svećenik Adolf Hytrek (1853. – 1899.) od listopada 1882. do travnja 1883. godine, sjeveroistočno od Mitrovice na lokalitetu Majurska bara, a istraživao je Baziliku sv. Sinerota.<sup>13</sup>

Drugo je iskopavanje vodio ravnatelj Muzeja Šime Ljubić (1822. – 1896.), u dvorištu kaznionice (danas Gradski arhiv), u lipnju 1885. godine. Vlada je osigurala sredstva za iskopavanje, koje je provodio upravitelj kaznionice Sadar sa zatvorenicima (104 radna dana), uz arheološki nadzor Ignjata Junga i Šime Ljubića, koji boravi u Mitrovici od 7. do 28. lipnja 1885. godine. Ljubić se u Zagreb vratio s „kištrom” materijala te u izvještaju javlja da nije ništa osobito otkriveno.<sup>14</sup> Treće je iskopavanje vodio idući ravnatelj Muzeja Josip Brunšmid (1858. – 1929.) 1894. godine na lokalitetu Rimsko groblje. Nakon četiri dana iskopavanja, neuspjeh ga je natjerao da obustavi radove jer se i osvjedočio o tome da, i ako iskopa još 50 jutara, neće ništa pronaći.<sup>15</sup>

Krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća arheološki materijal iz Mitrovice ipak je u manjoj mjeri prikupljen iskopavanjima, a ponajviše posredstvom muzejskih povjerenika. Prve muzejske povjerenike, arheologe-amatere imenovala je Jugoslavenska akademija – tadašnji pravni upravitelj zagrebačkoga Narodnog muzeja – koji su pod nadzorom muzejskog ravnatelja Šime Ljubića prikupljali građu, ali i obavljali iskopavanja. Time je prvi put donekle organizirano znanstveno istraživanje Hrvatske. Akademija je do 1870. godine imenovala 61 povjerenika diljem zemlje.<sup>16</sup>

The Royal Government, on November 25, 1880, by decree no. 3302, passed the restoration of old laws and orders regarding the removal of antiquities from our country and their preservation, which “prohibits the extraction of found valuables of archaeological value, and punishes the very attempt to export by seizure, treasure already exported will be fined twice the value of the treasures. (...) all royal counties (city government) are ordered to be vigilant in the future to keep the antiquities together in a pile and not to let them be distributed, sold or destroyed before the order of the royal provincial ...”<sup>12</sup>

## Museum trustees and antiquities from Mitrovica

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, three archaeological excavations were undertaken in Mitrovica. The first was led by the Polish priest Adolf Hytrek (1853–1899) from October 1882 to April 1883 in the northeast part of Mitrovica at the Majurska Bara site, where he excavated the Basilica of Saint Synerot.<sup>13</sup>

The second excavation was conducted by the director of the Museum, Šime Ljubić (1822 – 1896), in the courtyard of the prison (today the City Archives) in June 1885. The excavation, funded by the government, was carried out by the warden, Sadar, with prisoners (104 working days), under the archaeological supervision of Ljubić and museum trustee Ignjat Jung. Ljubić resided in Mitrovica from 7 to 28 June 1885 and returned to Zagreb with a “chest” of finds. In his report, he states that nothing special was discovered.<sup>14</sup> The third excavation was conducted in 1894 by the Museum’s director, Josip Brunšmid (1858–1929), at the site of the Roman cemetery. After four days of excavation, failure forced him to suspend his efforts, because he realized that, even if he excavated another 50 acres, he would not find anything.<sup>15</sup>

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Museum trustees collected the majority of archaeological artefacts from Mitrovica. Artefacts collected by excavations were much fewer. The first Museum trustees, amateur archaeologists, were appointed by the Yugoslav Academy – then the legal manager of the National Museum – who, under the supervision of museum director Šime Ljubić, collected material and also carried out excavations. Consequently, this was the first time that the scientific research of Croatia had been organized to some extent. By 1870, the Academy had appointed 61 trustees throughout the country.<sup>16</sup>

12 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu 1880.

13 Ljubić 1883; Ljubić 1886b; Hytrek 1894; Jeremić 2006. Istraživanje je Hytrek prvi put objavio u *Viencu* 1882. godine (br. 47, str. 560) na što Ljubić piše: „(...) no ipak usudjujem se primijetiti da nije sasvim u redu takove ozbiljne uspjehe pripisivati u beletrističkom listu, koji je poglavito namijenjen kras. spolu, tomu sasvim neuku.”; AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, Dopis Š. Ljubića P. Milleru 1882. Istraživanje je financirala Visoka kraljevska vlada na nagovor Franje Račkog.

14 Ljubić 1886a; Ljubić je smatrao da je pronašao terme cara Licinija koje se spominju na spomeniku pronađenom na otoku Braču, ali su u istraživanjima 1960. – 1964. godine pronađene luksuznije terme koje se danas pripisuju Licinijevima, Милошевић 2001, 43-44.

15 Brunšmid 1895, 161-164.

16 Rački, Daničić 1870, 21-25.

12 Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu [Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government Department of Religion and Education] 1880.

13 Ljubić 1883; Ljubić 1886b; Hytrek 1894; Jeremić 2006. The research was first published by Hytrek in *Vienac* in 1882 (no. 47, p. 560), to which Ljubić writes: “(...) But I still dare to note that it is not quite right to report such serious successes in a fiction paper, which is mainly intended for the fair sex, completely ignorant of the topic.”; AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, Letter from Š. Ljubić to P. Miller in 1882. The research was financed by the High Royal Government at the urging of Franjo Rački.

14 Ljubić 1886a; Ljubić believed that he had found the thermal baths of Emperor Licinius, which are mentioned on a monument found on the island of Brač. In 1960-1964 more luxurious baths were excavated, which are today attributed to Licinius: Милошевић 2001, 43-44.

15 Brunšmid 1895, 161-164.

16 Rački, Daničić 1870, 21-25.

Prvi su imenovani povjerenici za Mitrovicu bili učitelj Zarija Grujić i kapelan Živko Ogjić u razdoblju od 1868. do 1871. godine,<sup>17</sup> a među prvim su muzejskim otkupima bili „stršenovo gnijezdo i kamena glava gospođe Klein“, za koju je Ljubić ustanovio da nije niti umjetničko djelo niti iz rimskog doba, ali Muzej ju je otkupio za 5 forinti iako je Klein tražila 50.<sup>18</sup> Ogjić se u par navrata žali Ljubiću da „... nitko ne da ili previše cijeni jer da je svijet prost i pun praznovjerja“<sup>19</sup> te javlja (1869.) da je u Mitrovicu stigao Felix Kanitz (1829. – 1904.)<sup>20</sup> kako bi utemeljio *arheološko društvo*.<sup>21</sup> Ipak, sam Ogjić, baš zbog svog mišljenja o Mitrovčanima, vrlo je skeptičan u uspjeh. Nakon kratkog djelovanja Društva „Sirmium“, ne postoji mnogo podataka o njegovu kasnijem radu.<sup>22</sup> Grujić, pak, prvi popisuje (1871.) rimske kamene spomenike, razasute ulicama i dvorištima Srijemske Mitrovice.<sup>23</sup>

Novim povjerenikom, nakon Ogjića i Grujića, imenovan je 1871. godine Bartolomej Godra, nadliječnik o čijem djelovanju dokumenti nisu sačuvani. Godine 1877. Ljubić je za novog povjerenika imenovao župnika Paju Milera koji je imao puno aktivniju ulogu od svojih prethodnika. U vrijeme prvih istraživanja Miler je čak udomio Hytreka, svojega kolegu svećenika. Šest sanduka materijala s Hytrekovih istraživanja Miler je spakirao za Muzej te ih predao kapetanu parobroda „Hrvat“, Nikoli Bobincu, koji ih je besplatno prevezao do Siska.<sup>24</sup> Tamo ih je preuzeo sisački muzejski povjerenik Dragutin Jagić i dostavio u Zagreb na trošak Muzeja. Iako je Pajo Miler bio muzejski povjerenik sve do 1899. godine, Ljubić je 1884. godine za Mitrovicu imenovao još jednog, mlađeg povjerenika, učitelja Ignjata Junga (1860. – 1915.) (sl. 1).<sup>25</sup>

The first appointed trustees for Mitrovica were teacher Zarija Grujić and chaplain Živko Ogjić (1868–1871).<sup>17</sup> Thus, among the first museum purchases from that period were “the hornet’s nest and the stone head of Mrs Klein”. The stone head, in Ljubić’s estimation, did not have any archaeological or artistic value. Nevertheless, the Museum bought it for 5 forints, even though Klein asked for 50.<sup>18</sup> On a couple of occasions, Ogjić complained to Ljubić that ...no one gives away, and values too highly because the crowd is simple and full of superstition,<sup>19</sup> and he reported (1869) that Felix Kanitz (1829–1904)<sup>20</sup> arrived in Mitrovica to establish an archaeological society.<sup>21</sup> However, Ogjić himself, precisely because of his opinion of the people of Mitrovica, is very sceptical of success. After brief activity by the Sirmium archaeological society, there is not much information about its later work.<sup>22</sup> Museum trustee Grujić was the first (1871) to list Roman stone monuments scattered in the streets and courtyards of Sremska Mitrovica.<sup>23</sup>

After Ogjić and Grujić, the Museum nominated physician Bartolomej Godra (1871) as a new trustee, yet no documentation remains that would provide us with any evidence of his work as a trustee. In 1877 Ljubić appointed a new trustee: Pajo Miler. Miler had a more active role than his predecessor. During the first archaeological excavation, Miler even gave shelter to Hytrek – his fellow clergyman. Miler packed six crates of archaeological finds from Hytrek’s excavation and handed them over to the captain of the steamboat “Hrvat”, Nikola Bobinac.<sup>24</sup> Bobinac transported them for no charge to Sisak, where Dragutin Jagić (museum

17 Muzealni povjerenici 1870, 25.

18 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Dopis Š. Ljubića Ž. Ogjiću od 23. 1. 1869. Kada je 1905. Brunšmid upitao Junga o provenijenciji glave, Jung piše: „Prestara je [gospođa Klein] da ju pitam a možda i nije nužno – jer je od nje valjda drugi komad – stršenovo gnijezdo.“, AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1905, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 16. 2. 1905. Moguće je da je riječ o glavi kipa Izide ili Izidine svećenice (KS-35), Brunšmid 1904, 230.

19 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Dopis Ž. Ogjića Š. Ljubiću od 26. 11. 1868.

20 Felix Kanitz, austrougarski prirodnjak, arheolog i etnolog bio je prvi kustos Anthropologisch-Urgeschichtliches Museum u Beču, ÖBL 1965, 215–216; Mihajlović 2020.

21 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1869, Dopis Ž. Ogjića Š. Ljubiću od 8. 7. 1869.; Novaković 2011, 387.

22 Ljubić (1879.) apelira na povjerenika Milera da se ponovno osnuje društvo u Mitrovici – kao što je Društvo „Siscia“ u Sisku. Miler je pak zdvojan te smatra da je to moguće jedino ako bi se „Arkeološko društvo srpskim imenom i ćirilicom mogli uzdići i nazvati“, AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1879, Dopis P. Milera Š. Ljubiću od 20. 2. 1879. Jung (1884.) javlja da je društvo postojalo 1873. godine te da je Hytrek 1883. godine pokupio sve znamenitije starine Društva koje su se nalazile u Maloj realci u Mitrovici, AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1884, Dopis I. Junga Š. Ljubiću od 15. 4. 1884.

23 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1871, Mitrovačke starine po izvještaju Z. Grujića od 26. 7. 1871.

24 Nikola Bobinac (1842. – 1895.) bio je kapetan parobroda „Paul“ i „Hrvat“ sisačkog „Parobrodarskog društva Šipuš i Morović“. Ovdje nije riječ o prvome hrvatskom parobrodu „Hrvat“, koji je plovio na relaciji Senj – Rijeka. Osamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća tvrtka Šipuš i Morović prelazi u ruke novoosnovanog „Bosanskog parobrodarskog društva“ sa sjedištem u Brčkom. Društvo je spomenute brodove preimenovalo u „Unu“ i „Sarajevo“ te je sagradilo još pet novih brodova: „Vrbas“ i „Bosnu“, za plovidbu Savom, te „Drinu“, „Zvornik“ i „Lim“, za plovidbu Drinom, Komatina et al. 2014, 16.

25 O Ignjatu Jungu, vidi Milošević 1971; Milošević 1973; Милошевић 1979; Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015.

17 Muzealni povjerenici 1870, 25.

18 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Letter from Š. Ljubić to Ž. Ogjić on January 23, 1869. When Brunšmid asked Jung about the provenance of the stone head (1905), Jung wrote: “[Mrs. Klein] is too old to ask her, and perhaps it is not necessary – because hers was probably another piece – hornet’s nest”, AAMZ 40a, Sremska Mitrovica, 1905, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid of February 16, 1905. The artefact may be the head of a statue of Isis or Isis’s priestess (KS-35), Brunšmid 1904, 230.

19 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1868, Letter from Ž. Ogjić to Š. Ljubić, November 26, 1868.

20 Felix Kanitz, an Austro-Hungarian naturalist, archaeologist and ethnologist, was the first curator of the Anthropologisch-Urgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna, ÖBL 1965, 215–216; Mihajlović 2020.

21 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1869, Letter from Ž. Ogjić to Š. Ljubić, July 8, 1869.; Novaković 2011, 387.

22 Ljubić (1879) appealed to trustee Miler to re-establish a society in Mitrovica – such as the “Siscia” Society in Sisak. Miler, on the other hand, was divided and believed that this was only possible if the Archaeological Society could rise and be called by the Serbian name and use Cyrillic: AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1879, Letter from P. Miller to Š. Ljubić, February 20, 1879. Jung (1884) informed Ljubić that the Society existed in 1873 and that in 1883 Hytrek picked up all the most famous antiquities of the Society, which were located in Mala Realca in Mitrovica: AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1884, Letter from I. Jung to Š. Ljubić, April 15, 1884.

23 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1871, Mitrovica antiquities according to the report of Z. Grujić, July 26, 1871.

24 Nikola Bobinac (1842–1895) was the captain of the steamships “Paul” and “Hrvat” of the “Šipuš and Morović Steamship Company” of Sisak. This should not be confused with the first Croatian steamboat, “Hrvat”, which sailed on the Senj–Rijeka route. In the 1880s the Šipuš and Morović company passed into the hands of the newly founded “Bosnian Steamship Company”, based in Brčko. The company renamed the two ships “Una” and “Sarajevo” and built five more new ships: “Vrbas” and “Bosna” for sailing on the Sava, and “Drina”, “Zvornik” and “Lim” for sailing on the Drina: Komatina et al. 2014, 16.

Jung je stekao klasično obrazovanje te je kao mladi učitelj došao u Mitrovicu, gdje je radio u osnovnoj školi od 1881. godine. Korespondenciju s Ljubićem započeo je 1881. godine, kada javlja kako stanovnici Mitrovice kopaju kamen, tj. *rimске stijene*, pogotovo na pozicijama Kuzmin, Brdo i Palanka. Predložio je da se na tlocrtu Mitrovice crvenom bojom naznače pozicije iskopavanja „rimskih stijena“ kako bi se djelomično stvorila slika nekadašnje Mitrovice. Od 1884., kada ga je Ljubić imenovao povjerenikom Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu, sve do 1905. godine iz Mitrovice u Zagreb stižu opširna pisma upućena ravnateljima Muzeja, prvo Ljubiću, a kasnije Brunšmidu, u kojima Jung izvještava o svemu što se odnosilo na *Sirmium* i njegovu širu okolicu. Mnoga su pisma popraćena crtežima, planovima i kartama. Jung se interesirao za epigrafiju, srijemsku topografiju, nadzirao je građevinske radove, ali čak i rigoliranja privatnih posjeda, a najviše je pažnje posvetio sirmijskoj arhitekturi i urbanizaciji.<sup>26</sup> Često je pisao i svoja razmišljanja o raznim antičkim temama, komentirao Brunšmidove članke u *Viestniku* te ga često pitao za mišljenje, savjet i stručnu literaturu. Brunšmid je Jung iznimno cijenio, a iz pisama se opaža kako se s godinama njihov odnos iz dubokog poštovanja (oslovljavajući Brunšmidu uglavnom s „veleštovani prijatelju“) razvio u vrlo prijateljski. Iako je sačuvana samo jednostrana komunikacija – Brunšmid je od Junga u razdoblju od 1894. do 1905. godine primio 337 pisama – evidentno je kako je i Brunšmid Junga smatrao vrlo značajnim suradnikom i dragim prijateljem.<sup>27</sup> Uloga je povjerenika bila vrlo zahtjevna, o čemu svjedoči i sam Jung: „U Mitrovici je teško naći ma i samo jednog intel. čovjeka koga starine zanimaju i koji bi imao volju zauzeti se za muzej međutim ja ću njekeje sondirati a uspjeh Vam dojaviti, meni bi to samom vrlo milo bilo, jer mi se ovako samom pače i rugaju, što mi ipak nesmjeta. Do sad sam naišao na extreme ili bagatelizuju i uništavaju ili – precijenjuju kad što imaju! samo ne kako treba.“<sup>28</sup> Ipak, iako nije bio školovani arheolog, posvećenost povjereničkom poslu i nastojanja da dokumentira mitrovačku arheološku topografiju i sakupi *starine* za muzejske zbirke razlog su što ga se smatra pioniror arheologije u Srijemu.<sup>29</sup> Iz Mitrovice je otišao u srpnju 1905. godine, o čemu piše Brunšmidu: „Ja se nadalje brinem da nađem bar kako takog nasljednika, jer kako znate ovog ljeta po Božjoj volji odlazim na dulje vrijeme iz Mitrovice“.<sup>30</sup> Preselio se u Zagreb, gdje je živio i radio u vladinom građevnom odsjeku kao crtač od 1905.<sup>31</sup> pa sve do smrti, 29. rujna 1915. godine,

trustee from Sisak) took over the crates and transported them to Zagreb at the Museum's expense. Although Miler was the trustee for Mitrovica until 1899, Ljubić appointed another museum trustee in 1884: a young teacher, Ignjat Jung (1860–1915) (Fig. 1).<sup>25</sup>

Jung was classically educated and came as a young teacher to Mitrovica, where he worked in an elementary school from 1881. His correspondence with Ljubić commenced the same year, when he reported that inhabitants of Mitrovica were digging up “Roman stone” at the locations of Kuzmin, Brdo and Palanka. Jung suggested marking the excavation position of the “Roman stone” on the Mitrovica city map to obtain a partial picture of Roman Sirmium. During his duties as a Museum trustee for Mitrovica (1884–1905), he wrote extensive letters to the museum directors – first Ljubić and later Brunšmid – in which he reports on everything relating to archaeology in Mitrovica and its wider surroundings. Many letters were accompanied by drawings, plans and maps. Jung was especially interested in epigraphy and Sirmian topography. Additionally, he supervised construction works and even the rigging of a private estate, but his true interest was Sirmium architecture and urbanization.<sup>26</sup> Jung, in his letters, wrote about various ancient topics. On many occasions, he gave his opinion and comments on Brunšmid's papers in *Viestnik*, consequently often asking him for advice, opinion and professional literature. Jung held Brunšmid in high esteem; thus over the years, their relationship developed from one of respect – addressing Brunšmid mostly as a venerable friend – into a very friendly one. Brunšmid received 337 letters from Jung in the period 1894–1905; although the communication was only one-way, it is evident that Brunšmid also considered Jung a dear friend and collaborator.<sup>27</sup> Duties of the Museum trustee were often very demanding; thus Jung writes, “In Mitrovica, it is difficult to find even one intelligent man who is interested in antiquities and who would be willing to engage for the Museum. However, I will ask around and let you know. It would be fine by me, since they just make fun of me, but it doesn't bother me. So far I have come across extremes: either they trivialize and destroy – or they overestimate when they have something! just not correctly!”<sup>28</sup> However, although he was not an educated archaeologist, his devotion to his work for the Museum, love for archaeology, and dedication to saving archaeological artefacts, was palpable in

26 Milošević 1979.

27 Pisma se čuvaju u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu kao dio Dokumentarne zbirke II, serija Srijemska Mitrovica. Dio dokumentacije (ponajviše planovi i crteži) čuva se i u Hrvatskom povijesnome muzeju.

28 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 29. 11. 1900, br. 220.

29 Milošević 1979.

30 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1905, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 17. 2. 1905, br. 327. Umirovljen je jer je imao problema sa sluhom te više nije mogao raditi u školi, Anon. 1915, 6.

31 Postoji podatak, koji se provlači po raznim internetskim stranicama u Srbiji, kako je Jung 1908. otišao iz protesta iz Mitrovice, navodno čak i bez obitelji, nakon što je gradsko poglavarstvo odlučilo srušiti sirmijski akvadukt, a materijal iskoristiti za gradnju ceste Mitrovica – Mandelos. <http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bastina/izdanja/3952-natasa-miladinovic-radmilovic-miro-radmilovic-pisma-ignjata-junga-edicija-sirmium-br-6-izdavaci-bлаго-sirmiuma-srijemska-mitrovica-i-udruzenje-za-kulturu-zivljenja-oko-sremska-mitrovica-2015>; <http://vodovodsm.rs/o-nama/istorijat> itd. Milošević 1979, 62, navodi također da je 1908. bila godina njegova posljednjeg boravka, međutim, tada je došao samo u kratak posjet nakon što je već tri godine radio u Zagrebu.

25 About Ignjat Jung in: Milošević 1971; Milošević 1973; Milošević 1979; Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015.

26 Milošević 1979.

27 The letters are curated in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb as part of Documentary Collection II, Srijemska Mitrovica series. Part of the documentation (mostly plans and drawings) is curated in the Croatian History Museum.

28 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 29, 1900, no. 220.

**SLIKA 1.** Ignjat Jung, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1894. godine (snimio J. Brunšmid; AAMZ 40b).

**FIGURE 1.** Ignjat Jung, Sremska Mitrovica, 1894 (photo by J. Brunšmid; AAMZ 40b).



ne prestavši se zanimati i baviti arheologijom u svoje slobodno vrijeme, a Muzeju je tada (1908., 1911.) darovao još neke natpise i predmete iz Mitrovice.<sup>32</sup>

Nakon Junga, Muzej nema povjerenika u Mitrovici sve do 3. prosinca 1912. godine, kada Brunšmid imenuje dr. Franju Račkog, vjeroučitelja u kraljevskoj realnoj gimnaziji u Mitrovici. Prilikom njegova imenovanja napisao je „ (...) dužnost Vam je da promičete interese Narodnog muzeja, gdje god Vam se za to pruži prilika, a zemaljske oblasti će Vam pri tome ići na ruku, kad god to bude

his every report to Brunšmid, so some sources consider him the pioneer of Syrmian archaeology.<sup>29</sup> Jung left Mitrovica in July 1905, when he wrote to Brunšmid: “I am still anxious to find at least one successor, because, as you know, this summer, by God’s will, I am leaving Mitrovica for a lengthy period”.<sup>30</sup> He moved to Zagreb, where he worked in the government’s construction department as a draftsman from 1905<sup>31</sup> until his death on September 29, 1915, never ceasing to be interested in archaeology in all his free time. In that period (1908, 1911) he donated to the Museum some more inscriptions and objects from Mitrovica.<sup>32</sup>

32 Mirnik 2005, 61; Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Dokumentarna zbirka I, 118. – Nekoliko dana nakon njegove smrti objavljen je u Narodnim novinama nekrolog, nepotpisan, koji je, međutim, napisao Viktor Hoffiler izražavajući duboko poštovanje prema Jungu kao čovjeku i muzejskom suradniku, Anon. 1915, 6; AAMZ 46, Smrtni slučajevi, Ignjat Jung, 79/1915.

29 Милошевић 1979.

30 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1905, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 17, 1905, no. 327. He retired because he had hearing problems and could no longer work at the school: Anon. 1915, 6.

31 There is an opinion circulating various websites in Serbia that Jung left Mitrovica in protest (1908), allegedly without a family, after the city government decided to demolish the Sirmium aqueduct and use the material to build the Mitrovica-Mandelos road: <http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bastina/izdanja/3952-natasa-miladinovic-radmilovic-miro-radmilovic-pisma-ignjata-junga-edicija-sirmium-br-6-izdavaci-bлаго-sirmiuma-srijemska-mitrovica-i-udruzenje-za-kulturu-zivljenja-oko-sremska-mitrovica-2015>; <https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sirmium>; <http://vodovodsm.rs/o-nama/istorijat> etc. Милошевић 1979, 62, also states that 1908 was the year of his last stay, but at that time he came only for a short visit after working in Zagreb for three years.

32 Mirnik 2005, 61; Croatian History Museum, Documentary Collection I, 118. A few days after his death, Narodne Novine published an unsigned obituary, written by Viktor Hoffiler, expressing deep respect for Jung as a man and museum trustee: Anon. 1915, 6; AAMZ 46, Deaths, Ignjat Jung, 79/1915.

te od njih zatražili.<sup>33</sup> Iako Mitrovica nakon 1922. godine prelazi u nadležnost beogradskoga Narodnog muzeja, Rački i dalje, sve do 1930. godine šalje u zagrebački Narodni muzej kamene spomenike.<sup>34</sup> Rački se u muzejskoj dokumentaciji zadnji put spominje (1940.) kada kustosu zagrebačkog muzeja, Držislavu Švobu, pokazuje novopronađene rimske predmete u Mitrovici. Tom se prilikom Rački tuži na „nedostojan postupak Muzeja kneza Pavla i želi da bude u kontaktu sa zagrebačkim muzejem“.<sup>35</sup>

Povjerenici su obično imali svoju mrežu sakupljača, odnosno dobavljača / trgovaca, kojima je novac uglavnom bio jedini motiv. Oni su prikupljali predmete iz raznih izvora, sami su nadgledali i pratili građevinske i poljoprivredne radove te su imali svoju mrežu ljudi. Sistem ponude i potražnje rezultirao je neprestanim pregovorima o cijenama pa su i povjerenici i muzealci morali biti vješti u procjenama vrijednosti. Povjerenici su često morali obilaziti svoj *kotor* jer se trgovina arheološkim predmetima, posebice numizmatikom, redovito odvijala po gostionicama i trgovinama, gdje su često dolazili preprodavači iz Beča ili Pešte.<sup>36</sup> Međutim, Jung piše da, kad bi u (Donjim) Petrovcima „pitao tamošnju uplivniju gospodu za starine pak mi ovi naravno odgovoriše kao obično: ‘Nikad, nigde, ništa’ Punktum!”<sup>37</sup> Te bi izjave, dakako, trebalo shvatiti sarkastično, povjerenici nisu uvijek i svugdje bili dobrodošli.

O živoj trgovini arheološkim predmetima, odnosno kako su ih obično nazivali, *starinama*, svjedoči Brunšmid osobno 1894. godine, kada nakon putovanja u Mitrovicu, Beograd, Nove Banovce i druga srijemska mjesta, u izvještaju, čak na dva mjesta spominje kako se s nađenim predmetima „tjera trgovina“, a mnogi se predmeti putem posrednika (putujućih trgovaca i domaćih zlatara) prodaju u inozemstvo. Tada je za 3 forinte „kupio hrpu novaca i raznih metalnih predmeta“.<sup>38</sup>

After Jung left there were no Museum trustees in Mitrovica until December 3, 1912, when Brunšmid nominated Franjo Rački, a religious teacher at the Royal High School in Mitrovica. At the time of his nomination, he wrote: “(...) you must promote the interests of the National Museum, wherever you are allowed to do so, and the authorities will be at your service whenever you ask them to”.<sup>33</sup> Although the jurisdiction over archaeology in Mitrovica passed to the Belgrade National Museum (1922), Rački continuously sent Roman monuments to the Zagreb National Museum until 1930.<sup>34</sup> The last time Rački is mentioned (1940) is when he showed the newly-discovered Roman monuments in Mitrovica to the curator of the Zagreb Museum, Držislav Švob. On that occasion, Rački lamented the unworthy action of the Museum of Prince Pavle and wanted to be in contact with the Zagreb Museum.<sup>35</sup>

Museum trustees usually had their network of suppliers/dealers, for whom money was mostly the only motive. They collected archaeological artefacts from various sources, supervised and monitored construction and agricultural work themselves, and also had their network of people. The supply-and-demand system resulted in never-ending price negotiations, so both trustees and curators had to be skilled in estimating values. The trustees often had to circle their district. The trade-in of archaeological objects, especially numismatics, regularly took place in inns and shops – the favourite meeting places of resellers from Vienna or Pest.<sup>36</sup> However, Jung writes that when he asked *the more influential gentlemen in Donji Petrovci about antiquities, they would answer as usual: “Never, nowhere, nothing” Punktum!*<sup>37</sup> These statements should, of course, be taken sarcastically. The trustees were not always and everywhere welcome.

Brunšmid personally testified to the lively trade in archaeological artefacts in 1894 on his trip to Mitrovica, Belgrade, Novi Banovci and some other Syrmian places. In his report, on two occasions, he mentions the archaeological market and how many items were sold abroad through intermediaries (travelling merchants and domestic goldsmiths). Then, for 3 forints, he bought a *pile of money and various metal objects*.<sup>38</sup>

33 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Dekret J. Brunšmida F. Račkom, br. 186.

34 AAMZ 38, Viktor Hoffiller, Priprema za rad „Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Pannonia inferior.“

35 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1936, Izvještaj D. Švoba o putovanju u Srijemsku Mitrovicu iz 27. 12. 1940. – Muzej kneza Pavla nastao je spajanjem Istorijsko-umetničkog (bivši Narodni muzej) i Muzeja savremene umetnosti 1935. godine, a ukinulo ga je Povereništvo za prosvetu ASNOS-a 26. 12. 1944. godine, kada postaje Umetnički muzej, dok je 1952. godine Muzeju vraćen naziv Narodni muzej, koji je i danas središnji nacionalni muzej u Srbiji (Beograd) <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/>.

36 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu, br. 302.

37 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu, br. 298.

38 AAMZ 48b, Dopisi, 1894, Izvješće prof. Josipa Brunšmida o pokusnom iskapanju u Mitrovici i znanstvenom istraživanju srijemske županije u arheološkom pogledu od 3. 6. 1894.

33 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Decree from J. Brunšmid to F. Rački, no. 186.

34 AAMZ 38, Viktor Hoffiller, Preparation for the paper “Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Pannonia inferior.”

35 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1936, Report of D. Švob on a trip to Srijemska Mitrovica, December 27, 1940. The Prince Pavle Museum was created by merging the Historical and Artistic (former National Museum) and the Museum of Contemporary Art in 1935 and abolished by the ASNOS Education Commission on December 26, 1944. The museum was renamed the National Museum, as the central national museum in Serbia (Belgrade): <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/>.

36 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 302.

37 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 298.

38 AAMZ 48b, Dopisi, 1894, Report of Prof. Josip Brunšmid on the experimental excavation in Mitrovica and the scientific research of the Syrmia County in terms of archaeology, June 3, 1894.



**SLIKA 2.** Kuća Griesbach, Trg Čire Milekića, Mitrovica, početak 20. stoljeća (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Srijemska Mitrovica).

**FIGURE 2.** The Griesbach House, Čiro Milekić Square, beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> cent. (Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, Sremska Mitrovica).



Muzej s jednim zaposlenim kustosom nije mogao adekvatno kontrolirati tržište pa Brunšmid mnogo puta navodi da u zakonu nedostaje dovoljno uporišta da se poduzmu mjere. Time vođen, Brunšmid surađuje s preprodavačima i daje dobre ponude (za zlatne predmete čak dvostruko od vrijednosti po gramu zlata), a to sugerira i muzejskim povjerenicima, na što mu Jung odgovara (1900): „Pošto ću od sada i ja po Vašoj želji plaćati ljudima primjereno nadam se puno boljem uspjehu; obznanić ću to svim radnikom i nadničarom koji obično kopaju i koje poznam ili sretajem.”<sup>39</sup>

### Trgovac starinama Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach

Najistaknutiji trgovac starinama u Mitrovici bio je urar i zlatar Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach (sl. 2, sl. 3) od kojega je Muzej otkupio brojne nalaze, ne samo iz Mitrovice već i iz nekih drugih srijemskih mjesta.<sup>40</sup> Budući da su bili aktivni i cijenjeni u zagrebačkom javnom i kulturnom životu, o njegovim nasljednicima, sinu i unuku, poznato je puno više podataka. Georgov sin Ljudevit (Ludwig) Griesbach bio je vlasnik prve zagrebačke tvornice zlatne i srebrne robe „Griesbach i Knaus”, vodeće u ovoj vrsti umjetničkog obrta u Kraljevini SHS, kasnije i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.<sup>41</sup> Zlatarski je zanat učio od svog oca Gjura, a obojica su se školovala u Pforzheimu (Njemačka). Nedugo nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, u kojemu je bio ratni izvjestitelj (fotograf austrougarske vojske), Ljudevit s

The museum had only one curator employed, and therefore could not adequately control the market. Brunšmid stated many times that the law lacked enough footing to take action. Guided by this, Brunšmid cooperated with the dealers, giving them reasonable or best prices for artefacts (for gold items, even twice the value per gram of gold). This kind of action he suggested to the trustees. Jung wrote back: “Since, from now on, I will pay people appropriately according to your wishes, I hope for much better success; I will make this known to all the workers and labourers who usually dig and whom I know or meet.”<sup>39</sup>

### Antiquities dealer Georg (Gjuro) Griesbach

The most prominent antiquities dealer in Mitrovica was watchmaker and jeweller Georg Griesbach (Fig. 2, Fig. 3), from whom the Museum purchased numerous finds, not only from Mitrovica but also from other Strymian places.<sup>40</sup> There is much more known about his heirs, son and grandson, since they were active and esteemed in the public and cultural life of Zagreb. Georg’s son Ljudevit (Ludwig) Griesbach was an owner of the first factory for gold- and silverware in Zagreb, “Griesbach and Knaus”, which was the leading factory in this kind of arts and crafts in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.<sup>41</sup> He learned goldsmithing from his father Gjuro, and both of them were educated in Pforzheim (Germany). Shortly

39 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 29. 11. 1900., br. 115.

40 Za pomoć pri prikupljanju fotografija iz Mitrovice (Sl. 2, 3, 4) zahvaljujemo kolegicama Nataši Miladinović-Radmilović iz Arheološkog instituta Beograd i Tatjani Jesretić iz Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture iz Sremske Mitrovice.

41 Koprčina 2009.

39 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 29, 1900, no. 298.

40 We thank our colleagues Nataša Miladinović-Radmilović, of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade, and Tatjana Jesretić, of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, in Sremska Mitrovica, for their help in collecting photographs from Mitrovica (Figs 2, 3, 4).

41 Koprčina 2009.



**SLIKA 3.** Kuća Griesbach, 2020. godine (snimio M. Radmilović).

**FIGURE 3.** The Griesbach House, 2020. (photo by M. Radmilović).

obitelji napušta Mitrovicu te dolazi u Zagreb (1919.), gdje nastavlja djelovati. Nakon 1925. godine, na vrhuncu svoje zlatarske karijere, profesionalno se okreće fotografiji i postaje stalni vanjski suradnik revije „Svijet“, urednika umjetnika slikara i ilustratora Otta Antoninija.<sup>42</sup> Dok je još živio u Mitrovici, preuzeo je obiteljski obrt (sl. 4), a time i suradnju s Muzejom.<sup>43</sup>

Unuk, Đuro Griesbach (1911. – 1999.), Ljudevitov sin, bio je pak istaknuti zagrebački umjetnički fotograf. Fotografiju je učio od oca u obiteljskoj tvrtki za izdavanje foto-razglednica „Griesbach i Knaus“ i u berlinskoj foto-školi (1930.). U razdoblju od 1930. pa sve do 1941. godine fotografirao je kulturno-umjetničke spomenike za Hrvatsku akademiju znanosti i umjetnosti (tada JAZU) pod vodstvom prof. dr. Artura Schneidera.<sup>44</sup>

after WWI, in which he served as a war reporter (photographer of the Austro-Hungarian army), Ljudevit left Mitrovica with his family and moved to Zagreb (1919), where he kept on working. After 1925, at the peak of his career as a goldsmith, he turned professionally to photography and became a permanent associate of the “Svijet” journal, edited by painter and illustrator Otto Antonini.<sup>42</sup> While still in Mitrovica he took over the family business (Fig. 4), as well as the cooperation with the Museum.<sup>43</sup>

The grandson, Đuro Griesbach (1911–1999), son of Ljudevit, was a most prominent artistic photographer in Zagreb. He learned photography from his father in “Griesbach and Knaus”, the family company for editing photo postcards, and at photography school in Berlin (1930). In the period from 1930 until 1941, he photographed cultural monuments for the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (back then the Yugoslavian Academy) under the supervision of Professor Artur Schneider.<sup>44</sup>

42 Hlevnjak 1994, 159.

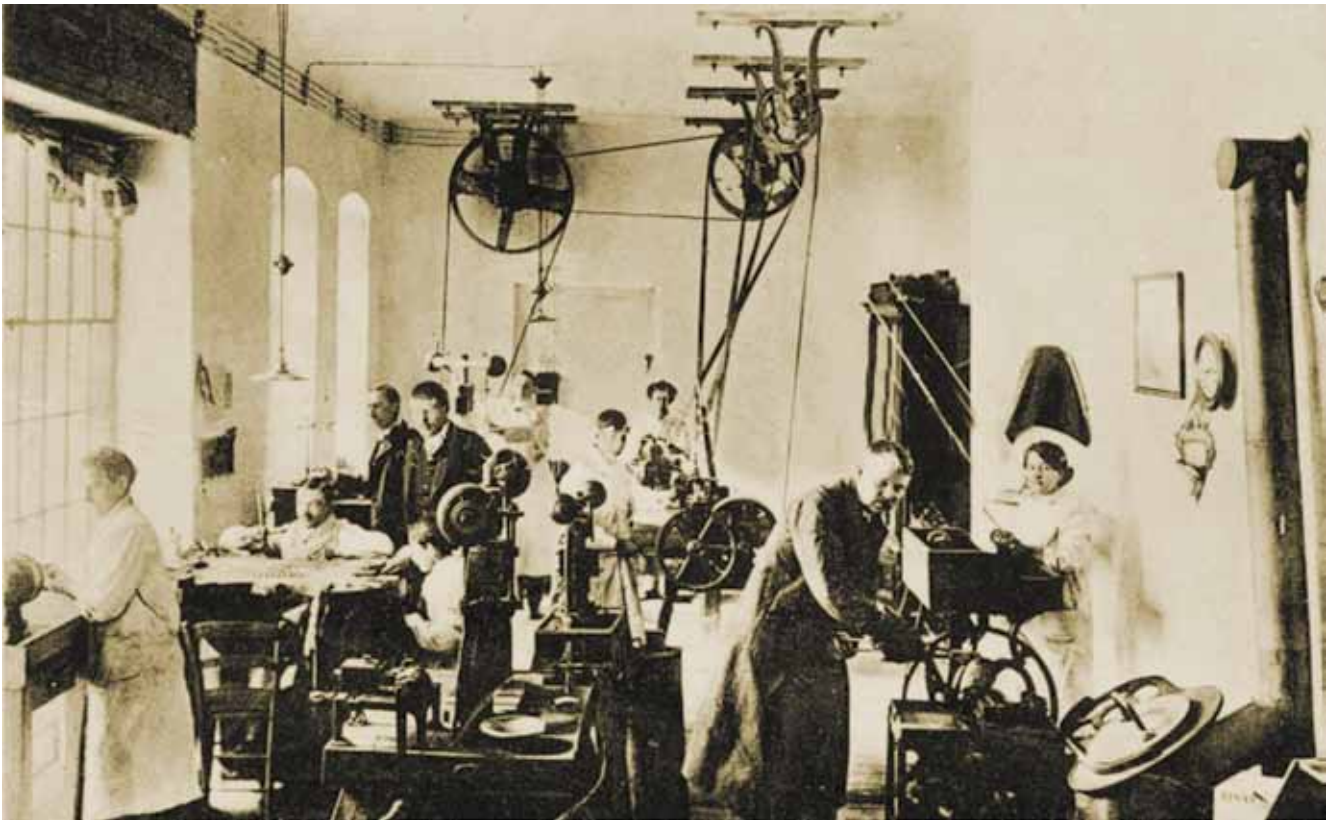
43 Tvornica za izradu zlatnog prstenja i naušnica u Mitrovici u Ljudevitovu je vlasništvu od 1908. godine, Anon. 1912b.

44 Hlevnjak 2000, 47; Kuzmić 2001.

42 Hlevnjak 1994, 159.

43 From 1908, Ljudevit was the owner of the factory for making gold rings and earrings in Mitrovica, Anon. 1912b.

44 Hlevnjak 2000, 47; Kuzmić 2001.



**SLIKA 4.** Radionica vjenčanih prstena, ukrasa i zlatnog pribora, vl. L. Griesbach, Mitrovica (fotografiju ustupio V. Malbašić, izdavačka kuća Blago Sirmijuma).

**FIGURE 4.** Workshop for wedding rings, jewellery and goldware, owner L. Griesbach. (photo by V. Malbašić, Blago Sirmiuma publishing house).

Suradnja Muzeja i Gjura Griesbacha počinje 1900. godine prije svega komunikacijom preko povjerenika Junga,<sup>45</sup> a nakon što s Jungom prekine dobre odnose, Griesbach će Brunšmidu direktno pisati. Brunšmidu je Jung slao izvješća uz opise, a često i uz crteže o predmetima koji se nalaze kod Griesbacha.<sup>46</sup> Redovito ga je obilazio i bio s njim u kontaktu jer je u više navrata u izvještajima spominjao da je bio kod Griesbacha koji kaže da nema ništa novo.<sup>47</sup> Od samih su početaka njihove suradnje neizbježni bili pregovori o prodaji te o novčanim iznosima pa se, navodeći koliko Griesbach traži i koliko po njegovu sudu vrijede pojedini predmeti, znao i požaliti Brunšmidu: „Sa Griesbachom je kako ste posve pravo slutili vrlo teška stvar...“. Veza sa Zagrebom, dakako, nije bila jedina pa Jung usput i navodi da je Griesbach pisanim

The collaboration between the Museum and Gjuro Griesbach began in 1900, primarily through communication with museum trustee Jung<sup>45</sup>; but, after cutting good ties with Jung, Griesbach started writing to Brunšmid directly. Jung sent Brunšmid reports with descriptions, and often with drawings of artefacts in Griesbach's possession.<sup>46</sup> He visited him regularly and was in contact with him, as he repeatedly mentioned in reports that he had been to Griesbach, who said he had nothing new.<sup>47</sup> From the very beginning of their collaboration, negotiations on sales and costs were unavoidable, so he sometimes expressed regret about how much Griesbach asked for finds and how much in his opinion certain items were worth: “As you assumed, it is very hard with Griesbach...”. Of course, the connection with Zagreb was

45 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 22. 5. 1900, br. 112. – „Početkom svibnja donio je neki nadničar navodno iz Srbije liepu narukvicu sa emailom od njeke meni nepoznate tvari (jamačno salivena) koja neima u sebi kovine, onda još jednu jednostavnu bronzanu fibulu, fragment igle i nešto rim. novca od bakra. Sve to je prodao uraru g. Griesbachu za 1 for i nekoliko novc.“

46 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 2. 7. 1901, br. 143.

47 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu br. 252.; 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu br. 271.

45 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, May 22, 1900, no. 112: “At the beginning of May, a day labourer allegedly brought from Serbia a beautiful bracelet with an enamel made of a substance unknown to me (probably salivated) that does not contain metal, another simple bronze fibula, a fragment of a needle, and some roman copper money. He sold it all to the watchmaker Mr Griesbach for 1 forint and a few coins.”

46 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 2, 1901, no. 143.

47 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 252; AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, no. 271.

putem dobio i ponudu iz Sarajeva za otkup.<sup>48</sup> Naglašava kako Griesbach „neće da pojedine komade proda, nego sve skupa!... a u Peštu je ipak prodavao i pojedine“<sup>49</sup>, za koje ukupno traži 1200 K, dok on smatra da sve to skupa vrijedi 150 kruna. Griesbach u ovom slučaju objašnjava kako ne prodaje za vrijednost materijala te da je i on sam sve više platio „Sa ‘žao mi je’ smo se rastali...“<sup>50</sup> Isto tako, Griesbach bi često preduhitrio Junga u nabavi starina. Raspitujući se „kod Švajberića u Palanki“ za iskopine, saznao je da je baš taj dan i Griesbach tražio od njega stvari za otkup!<sup>51</sup>

Jedan od Griesbachovih dobavljača bio je službenik Heinrich (Hinko) Bator za kojeg Jung piše „da ne ide u Birtiju i ne puši pa mu je to onda kako veli bila zabava“.<sup>52</sup> Međutim, svako toliko Jung javlja kako Bator ne želi ništa prodati, već mu je namjera sve predmete izložiti u dućanu, jednom kada ode u mirovinu.<sup>53</sup> Bator je prije svega bio kolekcionar ...“ upravo se zaljubio u starine premda ništa o njima ne razumije...“ te Junga uvjerava da će sve predati Muzeju „kad bude bogat pa umre. Hoće silom neku ‘izložbu’ da pravi premda mu rekoh da zato Mitrovčani vrlo slabo mare“.<sup>54</sup> U svojim se dopisima Jung učestalo žalio Brunšmidu upravo na Batora i Griesbacha. Kada je 1901. Bator premješten iz Mitrovice u Sombor, Jung piše kako „od njega jamačno nebude više koristi a ni štete!“<sup>55</sup>. Uz njega, često se spominje i Mladen Vukašinić, nadničar iz Srpske Mitrovice (Mačvanska Mitrovica), koji pak previše traži jer su ga pokvarili Bator i Griesbach. Njega je neki gospodin poslao Jungu da mu proda predmete.<sup>56</sup> Iz mnogih se Jungovih dopisa zaključuje kako svi oni međusobno surađuju, jedni od drugih kupuju pa dalje prodaju kako bi bolje zaradili. Primjerice, u jednom dopisu Jung opisuje kako Vukašinić ima srebrni prsten s crvenim karneolom za koji mu je Griesbach nudio 4,5 a on traži 5 forinti.<sup>57</sup> Uz crtež i opis pita Brunšmida za mišljenje o prstenu. Također, napominje da je zamolio Vukašinića da stvari samo njemu nosi na uvid, što je on i obećao.<sup>58</sup> I iduće je godine (1904.) u kontaktu s Vukašinićem, koji mu je donio „malo stvari“ (game, igle i neke sitne stvari) za koje traži 100 forin-

not the only one, and Jung also states that Griesbach received a written offer from Sarajevo for the purchase.<sup>48</sup> He stresses that Griesbach “won’t sell by piece but only altogether!, but he did sell by pieces in Pest”<sup>49</sup>, for which he asked 1200 crowns in total, while thinking it all worth 150 crowns. In this case, Griesbach explained that he did not sell for the value of the material, and that he paid more for that: “We separated with *I’m sorry*”.<sup>50</sup> Also, Griesbach would often overtake Jung in the procuring of antiquities. Asking Švajberić in Palanka about the excavations, he found out that it was on that same day that Griesbach had asked him for things to buy!<sup>51</sup>

One of Griesbach’s suppliers was an official, Heinrich (Hinko) Bator, of whom Jung wrote: *he doesn’t go to an inn and doesn’t smoke, thus he says it’s just fun for him*.<sup>52</sup> However, now and then Jung revealed that Bator would not sell anything, but intended to display all the finds in a shop once he had retired.<sup>53</sup> Bator was first and foremost a collector ...*he’s fallen in love with antiquities, although he doesn’t understand anything about them... assuring Jung he would give everything to the Museum when he’s rich and dies. He wants to make an “exhibition” although I told him that people in Mitrovica care very little for that*.<sup>54</sup> In his reports to Brunšmid, Jung continually complains about Bator and Griesbach. In 1901 Bator was relocated from Mitrovica to Sombor; Jung writes how *surely there won’t be any more profit or harm for him!*<sup>55</sup> Besides Bator, Jung often mentioned a day labourer from Serbian Mitrovica (Mačvanska Mitrovica), Mladen Vukašinić, because he asked for too much money, since Griesbach and Bator had spoiled him. He was sent by some gentleman to Jung to sell him finds.<sup>56</sup> From many of Jung’s reports, it is evident that all of the dealers collaborated, bought from each other, and then sold again to get more money. For example, in one report, Jung describes how Vukašinić possessed one silver ring with a carnelian, for which Griesbach offered him 4.5 crowns, but he demanded 5 crowns.<sup>57</sup> Jung asks Brunšmid for his

48 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 7. 1901., br. 151.

49 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu primljeno 14. 11. 1902., br. 224.

50 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 7. 1901., br. 151.

51 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 1. 1. 1901., br. 1.

52 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 5. 1901., br. 98.

53 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 24. 5. do 22. 11. 1900., br. 113.

54 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 29. 11. 1900., br. 115.

55 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 6. 7. 1901., br. 151.

56 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 11. 7. 1901., br. 158.

57 Iako uvedena 1892. godine, nakon prijelaznog razdoblja od osam godina, 1. siječnja 1900. g. austro-ugarska kruna postaje zakonskom valutom u Austro-Ugarskoj te zamjenjuje guldene, odnosno forinte, ekvivalent u ugarskom dijelu Monarhije, Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 124–125; 32, bilj. 68. U korespondenciji se ipak još nekoliko godina kasnije može pratiti korištenje forinte prilikom izražavanja cijena predmeta.

58 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 5. 8. 1903., br. 252.

48 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 6, 1901, no. 151.

49 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 14, 1902, no. 224.

50 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 6, 1901, no. 151.

51 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, January 1, 1901, no. 1.

52 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, May 6, 1901, no. 98.

53 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, May 24 - November 22, 1901, no. 113.

54 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1900, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 29, 1900, no. 115.

55 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 6, 1901, no. 151.

56 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1901, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 11, 1901, no. 158.

57 On January 1, 1900, after a transitional period of eight years, having been introduced in 1892, the Austro-Hungarian crown became the legal currency in Austro-Hungary and replaced the guilder or forint (the equivalent in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy): Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 124–125; 32, n. 68. In correspondence, however, the prices of artefacts were still expressed in forints for a few more years.



ti, a Jung mu nudi samo 8, na što ne pristaje te dalje prodaje za višu cijenu. Bio je Vukašinić dva puta i kod krčmara Marojevića sa starim stvarima, kojega je potom Jung upozorio da ga svakako njemu pošalje kad opet dođe dok bude „mala voda”.<sup>59</sup> Inače, Vukašinić sve što je bolje, proda u Pančevo i Beograd.<sup>60</sup> Raspitujući se i obilazeći neprestano razne lokacije i ljude, saznao je Jung i da je dolazio neki čovjek iz Sombora i kupovao od Bugara.<sup>61</sup>

Godina 1902. posebno nam je zanimljiva i bogata informacijama. Određene su situacije nagnale Junga da odlučno pokuša uvesti red i zaustaviti nekontroliranu trgovinu *starinama*. U veljači prijavljuje Griesbacha zbog kupnje olovnog sarkofaga za 25 forinti (a za koji je već Jung znao i pratio da ne izmakne) te traži i gradsko poglavarstvo da mu ga zaplijeni na temelju zakona Zemaljske vlade iz 1880. godine (*Obnova starih zakona i naredba u pogledu izvažanja starina iz naše zemlje i njihova sačuvanja*). Brunšmidu iskazuje netrpeljivost prema Griesbachu navodeći, između ostalog, da skupo prodaje predmete Muzeju, ne prijavljuje nalaze i prodaje ih van zemlje. To pismo ima potpuno službeni karakter, tada se obraća ravnateljstvu Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja, a ne, kao i obično, osobno Brunšmidu s „veleštovani prijatelju”.<sup>62</sup> Nakon samo desetak dana dodatno argumentira taj slučaj jer mu je Brunšmid javio da, prema odredbama na koje se poziva, nema dovoljno uvjeta za zapljenu. No Jung je uporan i smatra da mora reagirati jer nije potrebno čekati da se pojavi neki rijedak vrijedan nalaz koji će Griesbach potom prodati i time nanijeti veliku štetu. Jer, njemu je uostalom važan samo novac. Apelira pritom da ga se kazni i zbog drugih stvari kako bi bio upozoren da ne može raditi što i kako hoće. Na Brunšmidovo mišljenje da se ne treba bojati da će kupovati kamene spomenike i arhitekturu, Jung mu upravo daje primjer da je za jednu kamenu ploču nekome nudio 15 forinti, a za koju čak i nije znao da ima reljef!<sup>63</sup>

Potpuna suprotstavljenost u stavovima i pristupu prema arheološkoj građi ključna je za taj nepremostivi animozitet prema Griesbachu. Jung je, s jedne strane, u ulozi povjerenika delegiranog od državne institucije, koji marljivo sakuplja *starine* i spomenike te bilježi sve popratne informacije i dostavlja ih u „centralu”, a s druge je lokalni obrtnik koji iz osobnih interesa preprodaje arheološku baštinu i cilj mu je zarada, a vjerojatno i zabava.

O konačnom zahlađenju odnosa i Jungovu bijesu spram Griesbacha svjedoči i pismo u kojem propituje Brunšmida je li kupio neke „zlatne stvari i srebrne fibule iz Jarka“ (sl. 5), jer ne zna, budući da s Griesbachom „više ne mari govoriti“. No, ipak, izražava

opinion, enclosing a drawing and description of the ring. He also notes that he requested Vukašinić to bring finds only to him for inspection, which he finally promised.<sup>58</sup> The following year (1904) they were still in contact, and Vukašinić brought “some things” (gems, pins and some small finds) for which he asked 100 forints, but Jung offered him only 8, which he did not agree to, so he went elsewhere and sold for a better price. Vukašinić went twice with antiquities to innkeeper Maroević. Afterwards, Jung warned him to send Vukašinić back to him when he came again during the “small water”.<sup>59</sup> Otherwise, Vukašinić sold everything that was valuable in Pančevo or Belgrade.<sup>60</sup> While inquiring and regularly visiting various locations and people, Jung found out that some man from Sombor was coming and buying from the Bulgarians.<sup>61</sup>

The year 1902 was quite fascinating and full of information. A particular situation resolutely prompted Jung to try and bring order to stop the uncontrolled antiquities trade. He reported Griesbach in February for buying a lead sarcophagus for 25 forints (which Jung already knew of and was keeping an eye on). On the basis of a legal act of 1880 (*Restoration of old laws and orders regarding the removal of antiquities from our country and their preservation*), he asked the city government to confiscate it. Jung expressed his intolerance towards Griesbach to Brunšmid, stating, among other things, that he sold items for a high price, did not report them, and finally sold them outside the country. This report was addressed to the directorate of the National Museum, and not to Brunšmid as a respectable friend, thus having a quite official character.<sup>62</sup> Only ten days later, Jung further argued the case, after Brunšmid had informed him that there were not enough grounds for confiscation in accordance with the act of 1880. But Jung was persistent and believed he must react instead of waiting for Griesbach, who cared only for money, to sell some unique valuable artefact and thus cause enormous damage. Jung appealed to Brunšmid to punish Griesbach also for other things as a warning that he could not do whatever and however he wanted. In Brunšmid's opinion, there was no fear that he would be buying stone or architectural monuments, but then Jung gives an example that, for some stone slab, Griesbach offered 15 forints and did not even know it had a relief!<sup>63</sup>

Fundamentally different opinions and approaches to archaeological artefacts are the keys to this insurmountable animosity that Jung had towards Griesbach. On the one hand, Jung is in the role of a trustee, delegated by a state institution, who diligently

59 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 13. 3. 1902, br. 166. – „Mala voda” vjerojatno se odnosi na niski savski vodostaj koji je omogućavao lakšu komunikaciju između dvije obale.

60 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 5. 11. 1904., br. 299.

61 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 7. 7. 1902, br. 147, 8.

62 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 10. 2. 1902., br. 37.

63 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 22. 2. 1902., br. 152.

58 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, August 5, 1903, no. 252.

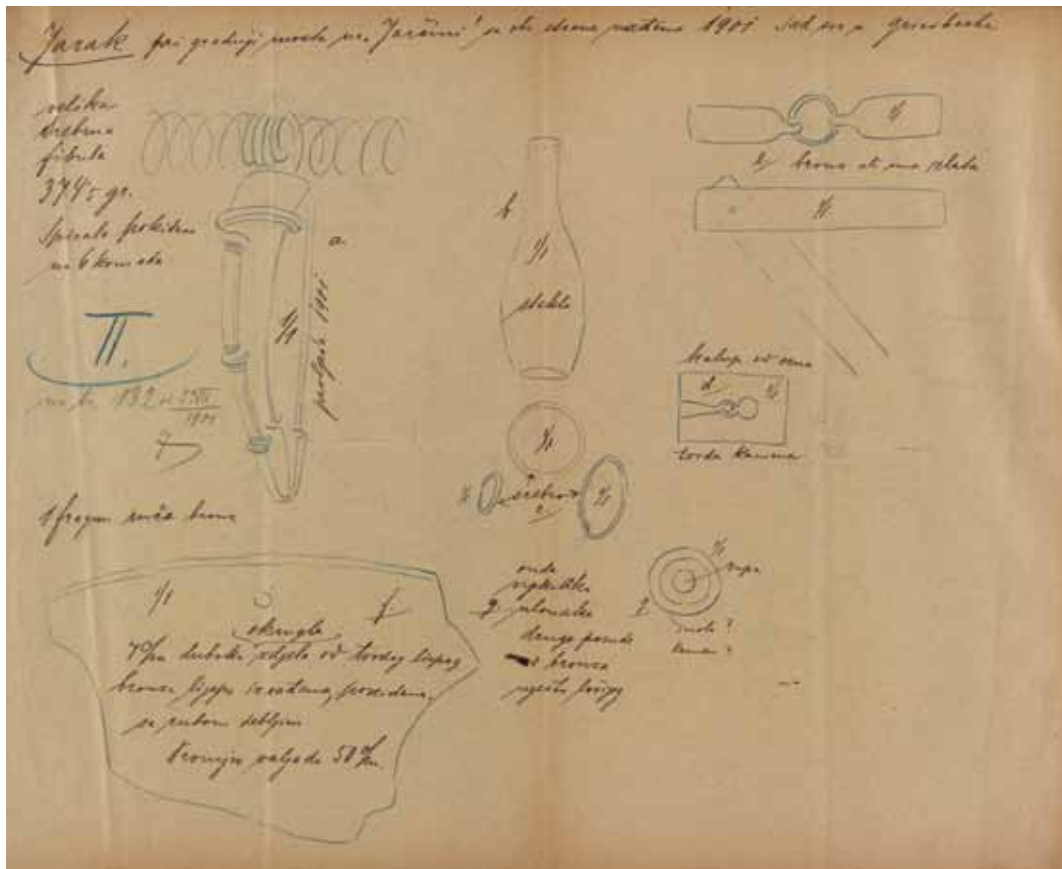
59 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, March 13, 1902, no. 166. The term “small water” probably refers to the low Sava water level, which enabled more natural communication between the two banks.

60 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1904, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 5, 1904, no. 299.

61 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, July 7, 1902, no. 147, 8.

62 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 10, 1902, no. 37.

63 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 22, 1902, no. 152.



SLIKA 5. Crtež nalaza iz Jarka, I. Jung 1902. godine (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica 13. 3. 1902.).

FIGURE 5. Drawing of finds from Jarak, I. Jung 1902 (AAMZ 40a, Sremska Mitrovica 13/3/ 1902).

žaljenje što neće vidjeti stvari koje je on pokupovao.<sup>64</sup> Sreli su se još prilikom nadgledanja nekog rigolanja, a Griesbach je tada („badava“) odnio neko zeleno glazirano posuđe, za koje Jung smatra da je novijeg datuma.<sup>65</sup> Krajem godine Jung ga je ponovno počeo obilaziti, no tada Griesbach „reče da nema ništa boljeg samo nekoliko željeznih izhrdalih strijelica i stara željeza. Reče da mu više Srbijanac (Vukašinović, op.a.) ne donosi bolje stvari nego ide drugima“.<sup>66</sup>

Godine 1903. Griesbach se prvi put osobno obraća Brunšmidu i nudi dva para naušnica za prodaju Muzeju (sl. 6, sl. 7).<sup>67</sup> Nekoliko godina kasnije i Brunšmid piše njemu te mu za jedan srebrni prsten nudi 6 kruna i moli da ga zadrži dok netko iz Muzeja ne dođe ili neka ga pošalje.<sup>68</sup>

collects antiquities and monuments, records all accompanying information and delivers it to the ‘headquarters’. On the other, there we have a local craftsman who resells archaeological artefacts for personal interests, and for fun.

The final cooling of relations, and Jung’s anger towards Griesbach, are evident in a letter in which he asks Brunšmid whether he has bought some gold things and silver fibulae from Jarak (Fig. 5). Jung does not know, since he no longer cares to talk to Griesbach, but he expresses regret at not seeing the artefacts.<sup>64</sup> They met again during some agricultural work when Griesbach took (“for free”) some green-glazed ware (of modern date, in Jung’s opinion).<sup>65</sup> By the end of the year, Jung had started to visit him again, but then Griesbach said that he has nothing better except rusty iron arrowheads and old iron. He said that the Serb [Vukašinović] doesn’t bring better stuff, since he’s going to the others.<sup>66</sup>

64 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 11. 3. 1902., br. 164. – O spomenutim otkupljenim zlatnim i srebrnim nalazima bit će više riječi kasnije.

65 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 13. 3. 1902., br. 166.

66 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Dopis I. Junga J. Brunšmidu od 27. 11. 1902., br. 212.

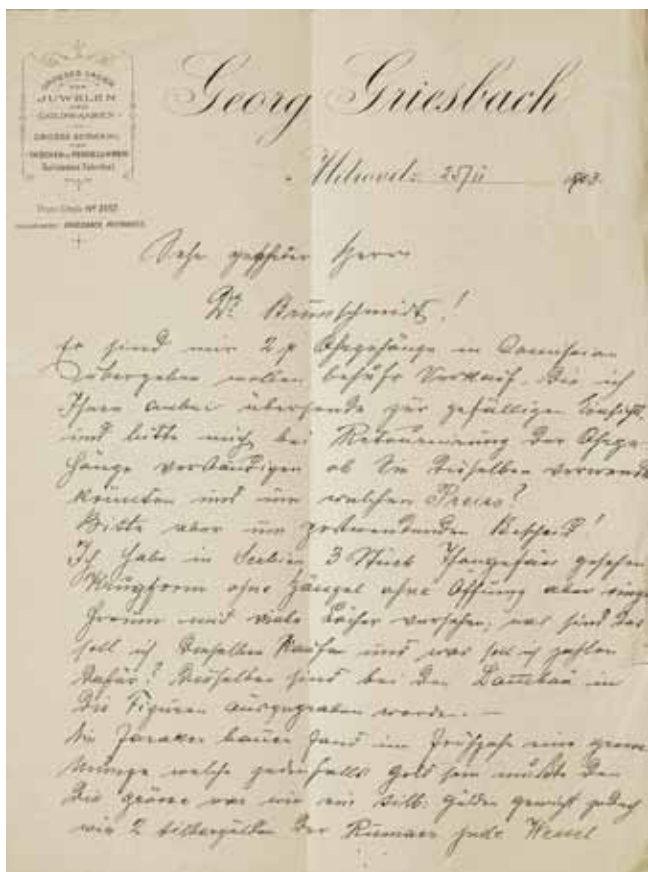
67 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Dopis G. Griesbacha J. Brunšmidu od 25. 2. 1902., br. 149.

68 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1907, Zapis o odaslanom Brunšmidovom pismu Griesbachu od 17. 12. 1907., br. 172. Prsten nije otkupljen.

64 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, March 11, 1902, no. 164.

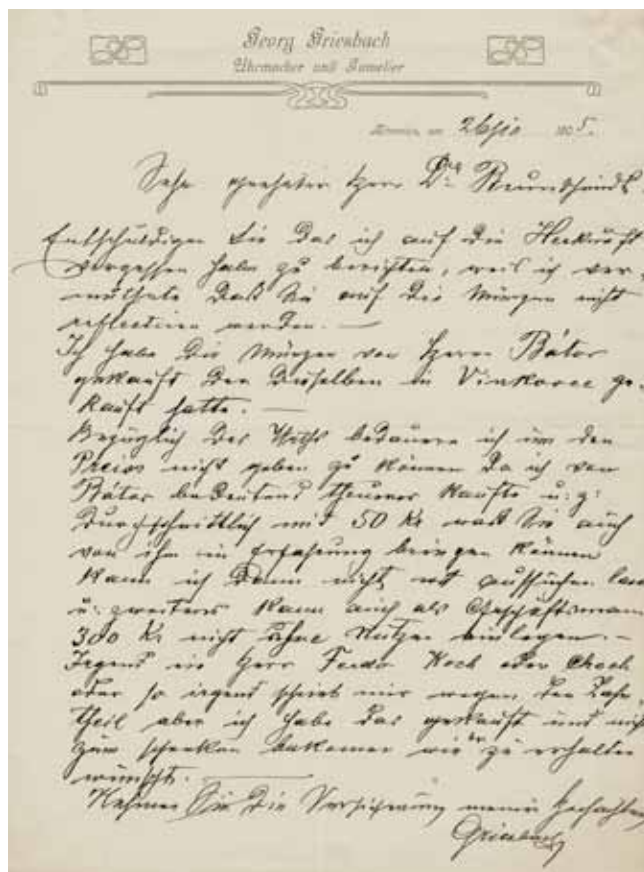
65 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, March 13, 1902, no. 166.

66 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1902, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, November 27, 1902, no. 212.



SLIKA 6. Pismo Georga Griesbacha Josipu Brunšmidu na memorandumu zlatarske radnje (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 25. 2. 1903.).

FIGURE 6. Letter from Georg Griesbach to Josip Brunšmid on the headed note-paper of the jewelry store (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 25/2/1903).



SLIKA 7. Pismo Georga Griesbacha Josipu Brunšmidu na memorandumu zlatarske i urarske radnje (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 26. 10. 1905.).

FIGURE 7. Letter from Georg Griesbach to Josip Brunšmid on the headed note-paper of the jewelry and watchmaking store (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 26/10/1903).

Nakon Jungova odlaska iz Mitrovice (1905.), priljev građe, ali i informacija o Mitrovici sve je slabiji. Primjerice, 1907., 1910. i 1911. godine nije otkupljen ni jedan predmet iz Mitrovice. Korespondenciju, iako sve rjeđu, sada vodi Viktor Hoffiller, kustos Muzeja koji ne zaboravlja upozoriti novog povjerenika Račkoga da pazi na stvari koje posjeduje Griesbach.<sup>69</sup>

In 1903, for the first time, Griesbach approached Brunšmid without a middle man, offering him two pairs of earrings for sale (Fig. 6, Fig. 7).<sup>67</sup> A few years later Brunšmid wrote back to him and offered 6 crowns for a silver ring and asked him to keep it until someone from the Museum came, or else to send it.<sup>68</sup>

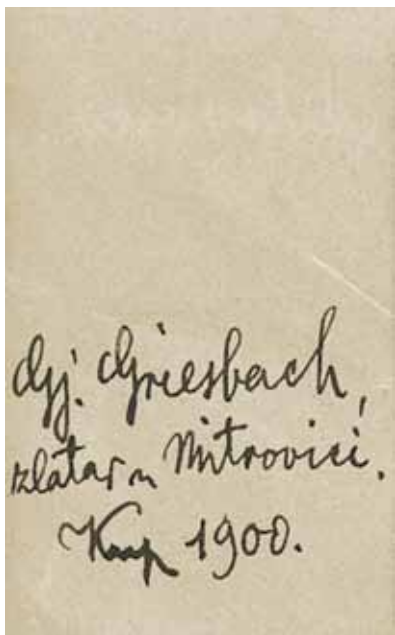
After Jung departed from Mitrovica (1905) the influx of material, along with information, grew weaker. For example, in 1907, 1910 and 1911 not a single artefact was purchased from Mitrovica. Viktor Hoffiller was then in charge of the very infrequent correspondence; nevertheless, he did not forget to warn the new museum trustee, Rački, to look out for Griesbach and artefacts in his possession.<sup>69</sup>

69 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Dekret od 3. 12. 1912, br. 186.

67 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1903, Letter from I. Jung to J. Brunšmid, February 25, 1903, no. 149.

68 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1907, Record of Brunšmid's letter sent to Griesbach, December 17, 1907, no. 172. The ring was not redeemed.

69 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1912, Decree, December 3, 1912, no. 186.



**SLIKA 8.** Oznaka o porijeklu muzejskog predmeta, rukopis J. Brunšmida (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Srednjovjekovni odjel).

**FIGURE 8.** Museum object label with information on origin; handwriting of J. Brunšmid (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Medieval department).



**SLIKA 9.** Rimska zlatna naušnica s privjeskom u obliku sjekirice (A-9217; snimio I. Krajcar).

**FIGURE 9.** Roman gold earring with pendant in the shape of an axe (A-9217; photo by I. Krajcar).

## Otkupi od Griesbacha

Na temelju indirektnih i u manjoj mjeri direktnih informacija (korespondencija) o prodaji „mitrovačkih starina“ te prema popisu darovanih i otkupljenih predmeta za Muzej u razdoblju od 1900. do 1913. godine, prati se aktivnost Gjuro Griesbacha, prema čemu se zaključuje da nije sakupljao predmete za svoju zbirku, niti je sakupljao samo određenu vrstu predmeta.<sup>70</sup> Analiza popisa otkupljenih predmeta pokazuje njegovu široku sakupljačku lepezu. Neki su predmeti zaista iznimni, dok je prodavao i skupine manje vrijednih željeznih ili brončanih predmeta (sl. 8).

Ime Gjuro Griesbach u popisu se otkupljenih predmeta Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja prvi put pojavljuje 1900. godine. Tada je Muzeju prodao 18 predmeta (odnosno 13 pojedinačnih i pet skupina predmeta) za ukupno 55 kruna. Uglavnom, bila je riječ o nakitu (zlatu, srebru, bronci, staklu, karneolu) te brončanim i željeznim upotrebnim predmetima (ulomcima), kao i o keramičkim nalazima. Najskuplji je predmet bila rimska zlatna

## Purchases from Griesbach

Griesbach's activity of selling antiquities from Mitrovica can be traced on the basis of indirect and, to a lesser extent, direct information (correspondence) and through the list of museum acquisitions in the period from 1900 to 1913 – according to which it is concluded that he did not collect artefacts for his collection, nor did he collect only a certain type of item.<sup>70</sup> An analysis of the list of acquisitions shows that he collected a wide range of artefacts. Some artefacts are truly exceptional, while he also sold groups of less valuable iron or bronze items (Fig. 8).

The name Gjuro Griesbach first appeared in the list of acquisitions of the National Museum's Archaeological Department in 1900. He then sold 18 objects (13 individual objects and 5 groups) for 55 crowns in total. Mostly it was jewellery (gold, silver, bronze, glass, carnelian) and bronze and iron utility items (fragments), as well as pottery finds. The most expensive object was a Roman gold earring with a pendant in the shape of an axe (Fig. 9), for

<sup>70</sup> Ostali aktivniji sakupljači toga perioda u Mitrovici su već spominjani: Heinrich (Hinko) Bator iz Srpske Mitrovice koji prodaje i predmete iz drugih zbirki (npr. zbirka K. Arsenića iz Iloka, s lokaliteta Ilok, Sot, Bapska, Opatovac i sl.) te Mladen Vukašinić (1903, 1904), a od 1905. i Iso Velikanović koji pak prodaje predmete kupljene od Vukašinića.

<sup>70</sup> The more active collectors/dealers of that period in Mitrovica include the abovementioned Heinrich (Hinko) Bator from Srpska Mitrovica who also sold items from other collectors (e.g. K. Arsenić from Ilok collected on various sites: Ilok, Sot, Bapska, Opatovac etc.), Mladen Vukašinić (1903, 1904) and, from 1905, Iso Velikanović (who sold items bought from Vukašinić).



Red. br.	Predmet	Gdje se je našao	Od koga se kupio	Nabavna cijena u f	Opaska	
312.	Zlatan nakit halštatskoga doba, sastoji se od 4 spirale i 3 urešene ovulje jabučice, tež. 57 gr.	Mitrovica, grob u tvornici	Mitrovica	330 .		
313.	Tri mlamka jedne zlatne spirale, 3.65 gr.	tanina		10 .		
314.	Srebrna ploča od pojasa la tënskoga doba	Jarak, na vodno grad.		50 .		
315.	Srebrna fibula la tënskoga doba	na mjestu pod ko Jarčine		50 .		
316.	Ulomci bronzanih posuda			50 .		
317.	Zlatna rimska minđuša od žice, 1.55 gr.			6 .		
318.	Zlatni rimski sitniji predmeti, 1.10 gr.			3 .		

SLIKA 10. Detalj iz Nadopunidbenog inventara s popisom otkupa zlatnih i srebrnih nalaza iz Mitrovica i Jarka (AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta).

FIGURE 10. Detail from Supplementary inventory with a list of purchased gold and silver objects from Mitrovica and Jarak (AAMZ 29, Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902).

naušnica s privjeskom u obliku sjekirice (sl. 9), za koju je dobio 10 kruna. Razni su lokaliteti navedeni uz mjesto pronalaska (Klenak, Grgurevci, Morović, Mitrovica Srpska, Mitrovica te čak i njegovo dvorište, gdje su pronađeni „glazirani rimski pećnjaci“), što u konačnici može ići u prilog istinitosti njegovih iskaza.<sup>71</sup>

Godine 1901. nije od njega zabilježen ni jedan otkup, no već iduća, 1902. godina, bila je najplodonosnija od svih, kako po broju otkupljenih predmeta tako i po zaradi. Muzej je, naime, Griesbachu ukupno isplatio 599,7 kruna, deset puta više nego 1900. godine.<sup>72</sup> Od 80 zabilježenih otkupa, 46 su pojedinačni predmeti, dok ostalo čine skupine od dva ili više predmeta. Najviše je predmeta prikupljeno u Mitrovici na savskoj obali, a dio prilikom gradnje željezničke pruge Ruma – Klenak, te u Jarku prilikom gradnje mosta preko Jarčine (sl. 10), odakle potječu poznati nalazi latenske srebrne pojasne kopče, para fibula i ulomaka brončanih posuda (150,5 kruna).<sup>73</sup>

which he got 10 crowns. Various sites are listed by the place of origin (Klenak, Grgurevci, Morović, Mitrovica Srpska, Mitrovica and even his yard, where he found “glazed Roman stove tiles”) which could, in the end, be a good sign for the truthfulness of his statements.<sup>71</sup>

Not a single purchase is recorded for 1901, but the next year, 1902, was the most fruitful of all years, considering the number of objects purchased and the profit made. In total, the Museum paid 599,7 crowns to Griesbach, which is ten times more than in 1900.<sup>72</sup> Of 80 registered acquisitions, 46 are individual artefacts, while others are groups of two or more artefacts. Most of the finds were collected in Mitrovica on the banks of the River Sava, some during the construction of the Ruma–Klenak railway, and in Jarak during the construction of the bridge over the Jarčina (Fig. 10), whence the famous La Tène-period silver belt buckle, pair of fibulae and fragments of bronzeware originate (150.5 crowns).<sup>73</sup>

71 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar predmeta nabavljenih tečajem godine 1900.

72 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta. – Te je godine učinjeno 659 otkupa u ukupnom iznosu od 1454,98 kruna, od čega na Griesbacha otpada 39%.

73 Brunšmid 1902, 84–86.

71 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar predmeta nabavljenih tečajem godine 1900 [Supplementary inventory of items acquired during the year 1900].

72 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902]. In 1902, 659 redemptions were made in the total amount of 1454.98 crowns, of which Griesbach accounted for 39%.

73 Brunšmid 1902, 84–86.

Najviše je novca te godine izdvojeno (330 kruna) za halštatski zlatni nakit („Mitrovica, grob u tvornici tanina“) koji je ukupno težio 60,65 g (sl. 10).<sup>74</sup> Ostali su nalazi uglavnom brončani, u manjoj mjeri srebrni, željezni i olovni te poneki kameni ili keramički. Te je godine ipak uspio prodati i olovni sarkofag s poklopcem oko kojeg je ranije bilo dosta polemike, i to za 30 kruna, za 5 kruna više nego što ga je on sam platio.<sup>75</sup> Najviše srednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih prstena (11) također je od njega otkupljeno 1902. godine, a zanimljiva je činjenica da jedino za šest prstena nema podataka o mjestu nalaza, što može sugerirati da su nabavljeni nekim drugim kanalima, preprodavani ili su, s obzirom na njegovu profesiju, bili u njegovu posjedu i duže vrijeme. Od numizmatičkih su nalaza zabilježena četiri otkupa 1902. godine (rimске i srednjovjekovne kovanice iz Mitrovice).<sup>76</sup>

I iduće, 1903. godine, Griesbach prodaje nekoliko zlatnih komada nakita, sitnijih srebrnih, brončanih, zatim koštanih predmeta te olovnih plombi iz Mitrovice i iz Save, te zarađuje 360 kruna.<sup>77</sup> Godine 1904. prodao je samo dvadesetak predmeta (ili skupina predmeta) za 39,5 kruna. Riječ je o brončanim i željeznim upotrebnim predmetima i komadima oružja te o nekoliko keramičkih i kamenih predmeta iz Mitrovice.<sup>78</sup> Sljedeće, 1905. godine, prodaje predmete za ukupno 186 kruna, međutim, osim dva zlatna nalaza iz Mitrovice, ostali su pronađeni u Novim Banovcima i u sjevernoj Srbiji („ušće Kolubare kod Kupinova“) koje je on otkupio od M. Vukašinića.<sup>79</sup> Samo je šest predmeta otkupljeno od njega 1906. godine za ukupno 68 kruna, i to jedna olovna votivna pločica iz Male (Mačvanske) Mitrovice, zlatni privjesak iz Rume, tri srebrna prstena iz Mitrovice i srebrna tetradrahma iz Martinaca.<sup>80</sup> Komunikacija s Griesbachom je bila sve rjeđa pa iduće dvije godine ništa od njega nije otkupljeno, a 1909. godine samo tri predmeta za ukupno 50 kruna iz Mitrovice (brončana fibula), Čalme (srebrni prsten) te nepoznatog nalazišta (srebrni okov korica handžara).<sup>81</sup> Zadnja godina, kada pratimo otkupe od G. Griesbacha, jest 1912., kada je prodao brončane, željezne, olovne i keramičke predmete iz *Srpske Mitrovice na Savi* te nekoliko predmeta, srebrnih koma-

Most of the money that year (330 crowns) was given for Hallstatt-period gold jewellery (“Mitrovica, grave in the tannin fabric“) of total weight 60.65 g (Fig. 10).<sup>74</sup> Other finds were mostly bronze, some of them silver, iron and lead, and just a few stone or ceramic. In that year, he also managed to sell the lead sarcophagus with lid which had caused a lot of polemics earlier, for 30 crowns, which was 5 crowns more than he had paid himself.<sup>75</sup> Most of the late medieval and modern rings were purchased from him in 1902. An interesting fact is that, for only 6 rings, we lack information on the origin, which could suggest that they were acquired through some other channels, or were in his possession for a considerable time. Four numismatic finds (Roman and medieval coins from Mitrovica) were purchased in 1902.<sup>76</sup>

In the next year, 1903, Griesbach sold a few pieces of gold jewellery, smaller silver, bronze and bone objects, as well as lead seals from Mitrovica and the River Sava, making 360 crowns in total.<sup>77</sup> In 1904 he sold only about 20 objects, for 39.5 crowns, and those were bronze and iron utility objects, weapons and a few ceramic and stone finds from Mitrovica.<sup>78</sup> The next year (1905) he sold artefacts for 186 crowns in total; except for two gold objects from Mitrovica, all were found in Novi Banovci and in northern Serbia (confluence of the River Kolubara and Sava River, near Kupinovo), which he had bought from M. Vukašinić.<sup>79</sup> Only 6 artefacts were purchased from him in 1906, for 68 crowns, of which one was a lead votive slab from Mala (Mačvanska) Mitrovica, a gold pendant from Ruma, 3 silver rings from Mitrovica, and a silver tetradrachm from Martinaci.<sup>80</sup>

Communication with Griesbach weakened, so for the next two years nothing was purchased from him, and in 1909 only 3 objects for 50 crowns from Mitrovica (bronze fibulae), Čalma (silver ring) and unknown site (fitting of a *handžar* scabbard; type of oriental knife/sabre).<sup>81</sup> The last year with a recorded purchase from Griesbach is 1912, when he sold bronze, iron, lead and ceramic objects from *Srpska Mitrovica na Savi* (Serbian Mitrovica on the

74 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta; br. 312.; Brunšmid 1902, 73–77. U toj objavi Brunšmid uopće ne spominje Griesbacha, nego inž. Baschea. Zanimljivo je da ga ustvari Brunšmid nikada u VHAD-u nije spomenuo.

75 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starina i predmeta; br. 383.

76 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902. nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja, br. 304–314. Zanimljivo je da su to jedini otkupi kovanica od Griesbacha. Nedostatak numizmatičkih nalaza navodi na razmišljanje da se nije bavio sakupljanjem kovanica ili, pak, ako jest, prodavao ih je negdje drugdje.

77 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1903. nabavljenih starina i predmeta.

78 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1904. nabavljenih starinskih predmeta.

79 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1905. nabavljenih starinskih predmeta.

80 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906. nabavljenih starinskih predmeta; AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906. nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja, br. 255.

81 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1909. nabavljenih starina i predmeta.

74 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902], no. 312; Brunšmid 1902, 73–77. In this announcement, Brunšmid does not mention Griesbach at all, but *engineer Basche*. Interestingly, Brunšmid never actually mentioned Griesbach in the VHAD.

75 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1902], no. 383.

76 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1902 nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja [Supplementary inventory of procured old money and medals 1902], nos 304–314. Interestingly, these are the only coin purchases from Griesbach. The lack of numismatic findings suggests that he did not collect them – or, if he did, he sold them elsewhere.

77 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1903 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1903].

78 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1904 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1904].

79 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1905 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1905].

80 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1906]; AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1906 nabavljenih starih novaca i medalja [Supplementary inventory of procured old money and medals 1906], no. 255.

81 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1909 nabavljenih starina i predmeta [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques and Objects 1909].

da nakita (!) s nepoznatih lokaliteta i ukupno zaradio 70 kruna.<sup>82</sup> Dvije zlatne narukvice iz rimskoga groba u Mitrovici (Ratarska ul. br. 1103, podrum kuće Andrije Perkovića) otkupljene su za 120 kruna, no kao prodavatelj se, prvi (i zadnji) put, navodi njegov sin Ludwig (Ljudevit) Griesbach.<sup>83</sup>

Sava, i.e. Mačvanska Mitrovica) and a few silver pieces of jewelry from unknown sites and earned 70 crowns.<sup>82</sup> Two gold bracelets from a Roman grave in Mitrovica (the basement of Andrija Perković's house at Ratarska 1103) were bought for 120 crowns, but his son Ludwig (Ljudevit) Griesbach is listed as the seller for the first (and last) time.<sup>83</sup>

GODINA / YEAR	IZNOS KRUNA / SUM CROWNS
1900	55
1902	599.7
1903	360
1904	39.5
1905	186
1906	68
1909	50
1912	70
1913	120
<b>UKUPNO / TOTAL</b>	<b>1548.2</b>

**TABLICA 1.** Prikaz godišnjih isplata Narodnog muzeja G. Griesbachu.

**TABLE 1.** Display of yearly payment by National Museum to G. Griesbach.

Iz popisa nabavljenih predmeta za Muzej mogu se iščitati zanimljivi podaci i usporedbe. Tako je, primjerice, jedan od obaveznih podataka cijena po kojoj je predmet (ili skupina predmeta) otkupljen. Uz zlatne je predmete uvijek upisana i njihova težina u gramima, prema čemu je lako izračunati da se zlato po gramu prosječno plaćalo 5 kruna. Međutim, tržišna je cijena zlata tada bila 2 kruna, što je jasno istaknuto baš na memorandumu zlatarske radnje Ludwiga Griesbacha (sl. 11), na kojemu je pisao Brunšmidu i nudio Muzeju par narukvica iz rimskog groba, tražeći 7 kruna za gram zlata!<sup>84</sup>

U Hoffillerovu dopisu povjereniku Račkome stoji pak da su te narukvice kupljene za 6 kruna/g, a da Muzej inače plaća 5 kruna/g, iako samo zlato vrijedi 2,5 kruna/g. Ipak, za dobre rimske i pret-povijesne stvari može se plaćati po 6 kruna. Hoffiller napominje i da je Griesbach trgovac te da on mora zaraditi, a da mu je Muzej

The list of Museum acquisitions shows interesting data and comparisons. For example, one of the obligatory data items was the price for which artefacts (or groups of artefacts) were purchased. Also, for gold artefacts, their weight in grams is always entered, so it is easy to calculate that the Museum paid an average of 5 crowns per gram of gold. However, the market price of gold at that time was 2 crowns, which was noted on a sheet of headed notepaper of Ludwig Griesbach's goldsmith workshop (Fig. 11), when he wrote to Brunšmid offering a pair of bracelets from a Roman grave and asking 7 crowns per gram!<sup>84</sup>

Hoffiller's letter to trustee Rački states that gold bracelets were bought for 6 crowns per gram, and that the Museum usually pays 5 crowns per gram, although gold itself is worth 2.5 crowns per gram. Nevertheless, for good Roman and prehistoric artefacts, the Museum can pay 6 crowns. Hoffiller also notes that

82 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1912. nabavljenih predmeta.

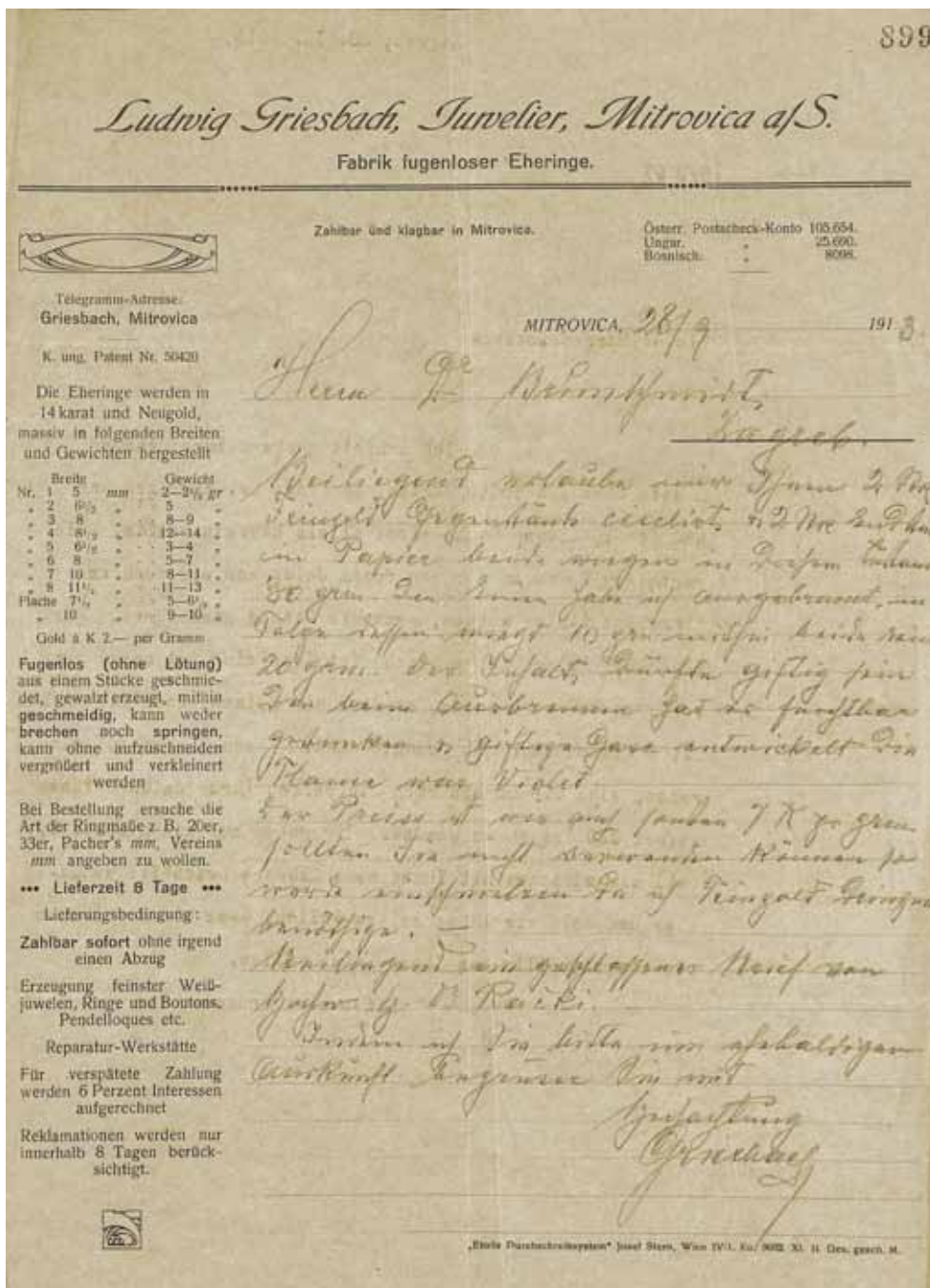
83 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913. nabavljenih predmeta. – Ostale predmete iz tog (grobnog) nalaza (zlatni vjenčani prsten, zlatne naušnice, ogrlica i perla) prodao je Andrija Perković, vlasnik kuće.

84 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1913, Dopis L. Griesbacha J. Brunšmidu od 28. 9. 1913.

82 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1912 nabavljenih starina [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques 1912].

83 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913 nabavljenih starina [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques 1913]. Andrija Perković, the owner of the house, sold other items from the same grave (gold wedding ring, gold earrings, necklace and pearl).

84 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1913, Letter from L. Griesbach to J. Brunšmid, September 28, 1913.



**SLIKA 11.** Pismo Ludwiga Griesbacha na memorandumu tvornice vjenčanih prstena (AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 28. 9. 1913.).

**FIGURE 11.** Letter of Ludwig Griesbach on headed notepaper of the factory of wedding rings (AAMZ 40a, Sremska Mitrovica, 28/9/1913).

dobro platio, ali ne i preplatio.<sup>85</sup> Cijena po kojoj je on (ali i ostali) prodavao Muzeju mogla se tumačiti vrijednošću starine, ali i nekoga osnovnog trgovačkog sistema ponude i potražnje. U konačnici, narukvice su plaćene 120 kruna, odnosno 4 kruna po gramu zlata (težina narukvica 20,15 i 9,82 g).<sup>86</sup> Sa srebrom je situacija drugačija. Uz srebrne predmete, jer ih je, između ostaloga, bilo

Griesbach is a dealer, and he has to make money, and that the Museum paid him well, but did not overpay.<sup>85</sup> The price at which he (but also others) sold to the Museum could be interpreted not only as the value of antiquities, but also of some basic trading system of supply and demand. Ultimately, the bracelets were paid 120 crowns for, i.e. 4 crowns per gram (weight 20.15 and 9.82

85 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1913, Dopis V. Hoffillera F. Račkom od 18. 10. 1913, br. 97. – Za usporedbu, donosimo tržišne cijene u Zagrebu na dan 30. 10. 1912. za 100 kg: pšenica 22-23 kruna, kukuruz 21,5-22 kruna, crveni luk 11-12 kruna, proso 16-17 kruna itd., Anon. 1912a. Prema tomu, Muzej je za gram zlata platio iznos kao za 50 kg luka.

86 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913. nabavljenih predmeta, br. 282.

85 AAMZ 40a, Srijemska Mitrovica, 1913, Letter from V. Hoffiller to F. Rački, October 18, 1913, no. 97. For comparison, the market prices in Zagreb on October 30, 1912, per 100 kg: wheat 22-23 crowns, maize 21.5-22 crowns, red onion 11-12 crown, millet 16-17 crowns etc., Anon. 1912a. Therefore, the Museum paid the same amount for a gram of gold as for 50 kilos of onions.

i daleko više, a i vrijednost mu je bila u padu,<sup>87</sup> nije se bilježila gramaža, što znači da nije imalo fiksnu cijenu, nego se, ovisno o predmetu, radila procjena (ukras, starost, kvaliteta rada, stanje i sl.).

## Zaključak – suvremena praksa

S obzirom na uvjete i način funkcioniranja Muzeja te općenito zaštite spomenika, razdoblje kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća ipak je rezultiralo priljevom velike količine materijala u Muzej i mnogo novih saznanja koja su bila potrebna za razvoj arheološke struke. Uloženi su veliki naponi kako bi sakupljanje građe, evidencija lokaliteta i njihovo istraživanje, kao i praćenje trgovine arheoloških predmeta bilo koliko-toliko pod kontrolom. Srijemska Mitrovica (i šira okolica) ističe se kao dobar primjer gdje aktivno djeluju povjerenici, kao i živa trgovina arheološkom građom, što se, dakako, odrazilo i u velikom udjelu predmeta s tog područja u fondusu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu uz bogatu popratnu dokumentaciju.

Prema zakonu, koji je bio na snazi krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, *skriveno blago* ne pripada državi niti jednim svojim dijelom te su time muzejski ravnatelji, bez zakonskog uporišta o zaštiti pokretne kulturne baštine, bili prisiljeni sudjelovati na otvorenom tržištu arheoloških predmeta. I ne samo što su morali biti konkurentni već su i diktirali cijenu kako bi se trgovci prvo njima obratili. Povjerenici (S. Dimitrijević ih naziva muzejskim obavještajcima i terenskom agenturom),<sup>88</sup> mahom učitelji i župnici, proizvodili su upute i naloge muzejskih kustosa, ponekad i nevoljko, koji su jedino otkupima mogli sačuvati arheološke predmete od daljnjeg preprodavanja i čestog izvoza u druge dijelove Monarhije.

Od 31. srpnja 1945. godine (retroaktivno od 6. travnja 1941.) skriveno blago smatrano je općenarodnom imovinom i po zakonu pripada državi.<sup>89</sup> Danas, prema Zakonu o vlasništvu i drugim stvarnim pravima iz 1997. godine, pronađeno blago u cijelosti je vlasništvo Republike Hrvatske. Blagom se u smislu ovog Zakona smatra novac, dragocjenosti i druge stvari od vrijednosti koje su bile skrivene tako dugo da se više ne može utvrditi tko im je vlasnik.<sup>90</sup>

Svi „spomenici” (tj. kulturna i povijesna baština) koji su poslije 31. srpnja 1945. godine bili izvađeni iz zemlje, ili iz vode, ili nađeni pri iskopavanju i istraživanju, smatrali su se po Zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1967. godine društvenim vlasništvom, odnosno općenarodnom imovinom (čl. 10). Spomenicima kulture po Zakonu smatrali su se „nepokretni i pokretni predmeti, kao i grupe predmeta koji su zbog svoje arheološke, povijesne, sociološke, etnografske, umjetničke, arhitektonske, urbanističke, tehničke

g).<sup>86</sup> The situation is different with silver, probably because silver artefacts were more numerous and the market price was declining.<sup>87</sup> No weight was recorded for silver artefacts, which means that there was no fixed price, but an assessment was made that depended on the item (decoration, age, quality of work, condition and similar).

## Conclusion – modern practice

The turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century resulted in the influx of large amounts of material into the Museum and much new knowledge needed for the development of the archaeological profession. Great effort was made to keep archaeological practices (collecting material, recording sites and their investigation), as well as monitoring the market, under control as much as possible. Sremska Mitrovica (with its surroundings) stands out as a good example where museum trustees are active alongside the dealers trading in archaeological heritage. As a consequence of their work, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb curates a large proportion of objects along with rich documentation from that region.

According to the law in force at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *hidden treasure* did not belong to the state in any part, so museum directors were forced to participate in the open antiquities market. Not only did they have to be competitive, but they had to dictate the price so dealers would come to them first. Museum trustees (Dimitrijević calls them museum informers and field agents)<sup>88</sup> carried out these purchases, sometimes reluctantly, in the names of museum directors.

As of July 31, 1945 (retroactively as of April 6, 1941) hidden treasure is considered to be public property and belongs to the state by law.<sup>89</sup> Today, according to the Act on Ownership and Other Real Rights of 1997, found treasure is entirely the property of the Republic of Croatia. In the context of this Act, treasure is considered to be money, valuables and other items of value that have been hidden for so long that it is no longer possible to determine who owns them.<sup>90</sup>

All “monuments” (i.e. cultural and historical heritage) that have been removed from the ground or water, or found during excavations, since July 31, 1945, are considered, under the 1967 Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, in social ownership, i.e. as public property (Art. 10). According to the 1967 Act, cultural monuments are considered to be “movable and immovable objects, as well as a group of objects due to their archaeological, historical, sociological, ethnographic, artistic, architectural, urban, technical and other scientific or cultural values of importance to the social community” (Art. 2). That also applies to hidden treasure on the surface or underground, in buildings and other structures (things and valuables of the unknown owner).<sup>91</sup> The current Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Property of 1999

87 Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 117, 118.

88 Dimitrijević 1981, 55.

89 Simonetti 2009, 59.

90 Narodne novine 1996, čl. 140.

86 AAMZ 29, Nadopunidbeni inventar godine 1913 nabavljenih starina [Supplementary Inventory of Procured Antiques 1913], no. 282.

87 Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013, 117-118.

88 Dimitrijević 1981, 55.

89 Simonetti 2009, 59.

90 Narodne novine 1996, Sec. 140.

91 Narodne novine 1967.

i druge naučne ili kulturne vrijednosti od značaja za društvenu zajednicu" (čl. 2.). Jednako tako i skriveno blago na površini ili ispod površine zemlje, u zgradama i drugim građevinama (stvari i dragocjenosti nepoznatog vlasnika).<sup>91</sup> Važeći Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara iz 1999. godine jasno propisuje da je svako dobro za koje se predmnijeva da ima svojstvo kulturnog dobra, a nalazi se ili se nađe u zemlji, moru ili vodi, vlasništvo Republike Hrvatske (čl. 19). Kulturna dobra po ovom Zakonu smatraju se među inima pokretne i nepokretne stvari od arheološkog značaja, kao i arheološka nalazišta i arheološke zone (čl. 2).<sup>92</sup> Isto tako, arheološka istraživanja (dakle, i prikupljanje nalaza) nije dopušteno obavljati bez odobrenja nadležnoga konzervatorskog odjela Ministarstva kulture,<sup>93</sup> a svačija je dužnost prijaviti bilo kakav nalaz pronađen prilikom građevinskih ili drugih radova na kopnu, u vodi ili moru.<sup>94</sup> Svaki drugi način nabavljanja arheoloških predmeta smatra se ilegalnim, što podrazumijeva i korištenje detektora metala, nestručno iskopavanje / prikupljanje nalaza u svrhu stvaranja privatnih zbirki ili organizirane pljačke koje su u Hrvatskoj u posljednje vrijeme, zbog jačanja ilegalnoga međunarodnog tržišta te preprodaje putem interneta i raznih aukcijskih kuća, postale sve češće.<sup>95</sup> Hrvatska, naravno, nije izdvojen primjer, pljačke, ilegalna trgovina te namjerno uništavanje kulturne baštine prisutni su u cijelom svijetu. U ovom je kontekstu zanimljiv primjer ilegalno iskopane latenske pojasne kopče iz Srijema (Kuzmin?) i prodane u (vjerojatno) Sjedinjene Američke Države, istog tipa (tip Laminci) i s istog područja (Jarak) kakvu je i Gjuro Griesbach prodao muzeju 1902. godine za 50 kruna.<sup>96</sup>

Darovi i otkupi kamen su temeljac fundusa Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. Ipak, ta građa često ne posjeduje najosnovnije podatke o provenijenciji predmeta niti o kontekstu pronalaska. Međutim, niti danas donacije i otkupi predmeta za muzejske zbirke, unatoč često nerazjašnjenim okolnostima o pronalasku, nisu zakonski zabranjeni pa je uvriježeno mišljenje da su muzeji uvijek voljni primiti građu, pogotovo ako predmeti potječu s njihova područja nadležnosti.<sup>97</sup>

U takvim slučajevima muzejske ustanove ne pristupaju jednako i o tom problemu ne postoji jasan stav. Primjerice, pozivajući se na tradiciju svog sugrađanina J. Brunšmida i sustav povjereniš-

stipulates that any good that is presumed to have the status of cultural heritage, and is located or found in the ground, sea or water, is property of the Republic of Croatia (Art. 19). According to this Act, cultural goods are considered to be, amongst others, movable and immovable objects of archaeological importance, as well as archaeological sites and zones (Art. 2).<sup>92</sup> Also, archaeological research (and therefore the collection of findings) is not allowed to be conducted without a licence from the competent Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture,<sup>93</sup> and everyone must report any findings found during construction or other works on land or water, or at sea.<sup>94</sup> Any other way of acquiring archaeological artefacts is considered illegal, which includes the use of metal detectors, unprofessional excavation/collection of findings to create private collections, and organized robberies, which – due to the strengthening of the illegal international market and resale via the Internet and various auction houses – has become more common in Croatia.<sup>95</sup> Of course, Croatia is not an isolated example. Robberies, illegal trade, and deliberate destruction of cultural heritage are present all over the world. In this context, an interesting example is the illegally excavated La Tène belt buckle from Srijem (Kuzmin?), sold in the United States (probably), of the same type (type Laminci), and from the same area (Jarak), as that sold by Gjuro Griesbach to the museum in 1902 for 50 crowns.<sup>96</sup>

Gifts and purchases are the cornerstones of the museum holdings of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. However, those objects often lack the most elementary data on origin and context. Despite frequent unclear circumstances of discovery, donations and purchases of objects for museum collections are not legally prohibited. There is a mainstream opinion that museums are always willing to receive material, especially if the antiquities originate within their areas of responsibility.<sup>97</sup>

In such cases, museum institutions do not proceed equally, and there is no transparent position on this issue. For example, invoking to the tradition of their fellow citizen Brunšmid and the museum trustee's system, the Vinkovci City Museum has organized a network of collaborators, who submit finds and data about new sites to the museum.<sup>98</sup> However, certain objects collected

91 Narodne novine 1967.

92 Narodne novine 1999.

93 Narodne novine 2010, čl. 5.

94 Narodne novine 1999, čl. 45.

95 Kao primjer može se istaknuti nedavna pomno organizirana pljačka tumula u Jalžabetu, Kovačević 2019.

96 Filipović, Vasić 2017, 339–342. O još nekim primjerima trgovine arheološkim predmetima u Srbiji, vidi Гуштин 2017.

97 Ovdje je riječ o arheološkim zbirkama. Svaka muzejska zbirka (etnografska, kulturno-povijesna, umjetnička, prirodoslovna itd.) ima svoje specifičnosti te se stavovi i prakse vezane uz otkupe i donacije ne bi trebale shvaćati jednoznačno.

92 Narodne novine 1999.

93 Narodne novine 2010, Sec. 5.

94 Narodne novine 1999, Sec. 45.

95 The recent carefully organized robbery of the tumulus in Jalžabet, Kovačević 2019.

96 Filipović, Vasić 2017, 339–342. For more examples of archaeological trade in Serbia, see Гуштин 2017.

97 We are referring to archaeological artefacts. Each museum (ethnographic, cultural-historical, artistic, natural history, etc.) has different specifics and practices relating to redemptions and donations, which should not be understood unambiguously.

98 Rapan Papeša 2020, 41–42.

tva, Gradski muzej Vinkovci organizirao je mrežu suradnika koji su predmete i podatke o novim lokalitetima dostavljali Muzeju.<sup>98</sup> Ipak, određene su vrste predmeta, prikupljene na oranicama korištenjem detektora metala, ti isti suradnici zadržali i stvarali privatne zbirke.<sup>99</sup>

Mnogo je pravnih, ali i stručnih argumenata zašto danas muzeji kolekcionarske zbirke, pojedinačne otkupe i darove ne bi trebali podržavati,<sup>100</sup> a jedan od ključnih je što se s ilegalnim iskopavanjem, tj. prikupljanjem, gube kontekstualni podaci o arheološkim nalazima koje mogu prikupiti jedino arheolozi s dovoljno obrazovanja i iskustva.<sup>101</sup> Stoga, takva praksa danas u odnosu na prošlost nije primjenjiva, ne samo zbog zakonskih osnova već i zbog promjena metodoloških pristupa arheološkim terenskim istraživanjima.<sup>102</sup>

Radnje koje prethode otkupu ili primanju dara danas (u slučaju Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu) zahtijevaju ozbiljniju proceduru, a mjere opreza trebale bi ustanoviti povijest predmeta, počevši od njegova pronalaska. Muzej ne bi trebao stjecati kupnjom, darovanjem, posudbom, nasljeđivanjem ili razmjenom građu ako nije uvjeren u pravo vlasništva, odnosno ako postoji opravdana sumnja da je građa dobivena neovlaštenim ili neznanstvenim terenskim radom ili namjernim uništavanjem ili oštećivanjem spomenika, odnosno arheoloških lokaliteta. Također, do nabave ne bi trebalo doći ako je nalaz zatajen vlasniku ili korisniku zemlje ili odgovarajućim državnim vlastima.<sup>103</sup> Čak i kada je riječ samo o ekspertizama, slijedeći etički kodeks Međunarodnog odbora muzeja (ICOM – International Council of Museums), Muzej ne daje mišljenje o predmetima koji su pronađeni unutar i izvan Republike Hrvatske, a čije je porijeklo nepoznato ili u suprotnosti s državnim ili međunarodnim pravom, osim po prethodnom nalogu nadležnih državnih institucija. „Valjano porijeklo predmeta“ podrazumijeva da je kretanje predmeta moguće pratiti barem do studenoga 1970. godine te da vlasništvo nad predmetom nije u suprotnosti lokalnim zakonima o zaštiti starina u zemlji porijekla predmeta.<sup>104</sup>

Slijedom toga, današnji pravni okviri Republike Hrvatske omogućuju profesionalnim arheolozima da, uvažavajući trud i poštenost u okolnostima u kojima su djelovali, ne posežu za metodom svojih prethodnika otprije 150 godina.

using a metal detector have been kept by the same collaborators for themselves, making private collections.<sup>99</sup>

There are many legal and professional arguments as to why museums should not support private collections, purchases and gifts at present.<sup>100</sup> One of the main problems is that, by illegal excavation/collection, we lose contextual data of archaeological finds which can only be collected by archaeologists with sufficient education and experience.<sup>101</sup> Today's practice differs from the past one, not only due to the legislation, but also because of changes in methodological approaches.<sup>102</sup>

Actions that precede purchase or receipt of a gift today (in the case of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) require a more pressing procedure concerning the object's history since it was found. A museum should not acquire artefacts by purchase, gift, loan, inheritance or exchange if it is not certain of ownership rights, or if there is a reasonable suspicion that the artefact was obtained by unauthorized or unscientific field work or intentional destruction or damage of monuments or archaeological sites. Also, procurement should not take place if the find has been hidden from the owner or user of land or competent authorities.<sup>103</sup> Even when it comes to expertise only, following the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Code of Ethics, the Museum does not give an opinion on objects, found inside or outside the Republic of Croatia, whose origin is unknown or contrary to state or international law, except by previous warrant of competent authorities. "Valid origin of the object" means that the movement of the artefact can be traced at least until November 1970 and that ownership of the artefact is not contrary to local laws of antiquities protection in the country of origin of the artefact.<sup>104</sup>

Consequently, the present-day legal framework of the Republic of Croatia allows professional archaeologists not to resort to the methods of their predecessors of 150 years ago, while still respecting the effort and sacrifice made in the circumstances in which they worked.

98 Rapan Papeša 2020, 41–42.

99 Adžaga 2020, 7–8. – Zbirka *Srednjovjekovno prstenje s područja istočne Slavonije* sukladno rješenju Ministarstva kulture oduzeta je članovima Udruge Banovac i predana Gradskom muzeju Vinkovci, Rapan Papeša 2020, 42.

100 Renfrew 2006.

101 Chapman, Wylie 2016, 55–92.

102 Novaković 2015, 65–87, 221–225.

103 Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu 2019, čl. 4.

104 Uvjeti i protokol usluge identifikacije predmeta Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu: <https://www.amz.hr/hr/usluge/identifikacija-predmeta>.

99 Adžaga 2020, 7–8. The collection *Srednjovjekovno prstenje s područja istočne Slavonije* [Medieval rings from the area of Eastern Slavonia] was confiscated from the members of the Banovac Association and handed over to the Vinkovci City Museum, in accordance with the decision of the Ministry of Culture: Rapan Papeša 2020, 42.

100 Renfrew 2006.

101 Chapman, Wylie 2016, 55–92.

102 Novaković 2015, 65–87, 221–225.

103 The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb 2019, Sec. 4.

104 Terms and protocol of the object identification service of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb: <https://www.amz.hr/hr/usluge/identifikacija-predmeta>.

## KRATICE ABBREVIATIONS

---

AAMZ

Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

AAMZ

The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb Archive

## INTERNETSKI IZVORI INTERNET SOURCES

---

<http://www.zkvh.org.rs/index.php/bastina/izzdanja/3952-natasa-miladinovic-radmilovic-miro-radmilovic-pisma-ignjata-junga-edicija-sirmium-br-6-izdavaci-bлаго-sirmiuma-srijemska-mitrovica-i-udruzenje-za-kulturu-zivljenja-okosremska-mitrovica-2015> (4 April 2020).

<http://vodovodsm.rs/o-nama/istorijat> (4 April 2020).

<https://muzejsrema.com/o-muzeju/> (16 September 2020).

<http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/o-muzeju/istorijat-muzeja/> (16 September 2020)

## ZAKONI, PRAVILNICI I ODLUKE LAWS, REGULATIONS AND DECREES

---

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu 2019, Pravilnik o načinima stjecanja muzejske građe i muzejske dokumentacije koju muzej stječe za popunu svog fundusa [Ordinance on ways of acquiring museum objects and museum documentation to replenish its holdings], Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 14. 5. 2019. (ur. br. 1047/2019).

Justizgesetzsammlung 1811, Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch für die gesammten Deutschen Erbländer der Oesterreichischen Monarchie, Justizgesetzsammlung, br. 1-6, 1811.

Kr. hrv. slav. dalm. zem. Vlada Odjel za bogoštovje i nastavu 1880, Obnova starih zakona i naredba u pogledu izvažanja starina iz naše zemlje i njihova sačuvanja od 25. 11. 1880. [Renewal of the Old Laws and Orders regarding the removal of antiquities from our country and their preservation from November 25, 1880], Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, br. 3302.

Narodne novine 1967, Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture [Cultural Heritage Preservation Act], Narodne novine d.d., 7/67., 13/67., 25/77., 31/86., 47/86., 47/89., 19/91., 26/93., 52/94.

Narodne novine 1996, Zakonu o vlasništvu i drugim stvarnim pravima [Act on Ownership and Other real Rights], Narodne novine d.d., 91/96, 68/98, 137/99, 22/00, 73/00, 129/00, 114/01, 79/06, 141/06, 146/08, 38/09, 153/09, 143/12, 152/14.

Narodne novine 1999, Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara [Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Property], Narodne novine d.d., 69/99, 151/03, 157/03, 100/04, 87/09, 88/10, 61/11, 25/12, 136/12, 157/13, 152/14, 98/15, 44/17, 90/18, 32/20, 62/20.

Narodne novine 2010, Pravilnik o arheološkim istraživanjima [Ordinance on archaeological research], Narodne novine d.d., 102/2010.

<https://www.amz.hr/hr/usluge/identifikacija-predmeta> (1. 6. 2020.).



## BIBLIOGRAFIJA

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adžaga 2020 – M. Adžaga, *Srednjovjekovno prstenje istočne Slavonije. The medieval rings of eastern Slavonia*, Udruga Banovac, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, Cerna 2020.
- Anon. 1912a – Anonymous, Tržne ciene u Zagrebu, *Jutarnji list* br. 206, 1912, 6.
- Anon. 1912b – Anonymous, Tvornica prstenja i naušnica, *Jutarnji list* br. 206, 1912, 6.
- Anon. 1915 – Anonymous, † Ignjat Jung, *Narodne novine* 229, 6.
- Bilandžić 1999 – D. Bilandžić, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, Golden marketing, 1999.
- Brodie 2006 – N. Brodie, Introduction, in Brodie N., Kersel M. M., Luke C., Tube K. W. (eds.), *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*, University Press of Florida, 2006, 1–24.
- Brunšmid 1895 – J. Brunšmid, Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arheološkoga društva* 1, 1895, 148–183.
- Brunšmid 1902 – J. Brunšmid, Prehistorijski predmeti iz srijemske županije, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arheološkoga društva* 6, 1902, 68–86.
- Brunšmid 1904 – J. Brunšmid, Kameni spomenici Hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arheološkoga društva* 7, 1904, 209–240.
- Chapman, Wylie 2016 – R. Chapman, A. Wylie, *Evidential Reasoning in Archaeology*, Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Dimitrijević 1981 - Josip Brunšmid (1858- 1929) u svom i našem vremenu i prostoru, *Radovi odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti* 7, 1981, 47–63.
- Filipović, Vasić 2017 – V. M. Filipović, R. Vasić, Illicit antiquities plague in Serbia, *Гласник Српског археолошког друштва* 33, 335–347.
- Гуштин 2017 – М. Гуштин, Археолошка ризница Србије на пијаци Европе, *Гласник Српског археолошког друштва* 33, 349–357.
- Hlevnjak 1994 – B. Hlevnjak, Moderna fotografija Ljudevita Griesbacha (1914-1943), *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 37, 1994, 159–168.
- Hlevnjak 2000 – B. Hlevnjak, Đuro Griesbach i muzeji, *Informatica museologica* 31 / 3-4, 2000, 47–49.
- Hytrek 1894 – A. Hytrek, Starokršćansko grobište sv. Sinerota u Sremu, in *Ephemeris Salonitana*, L. Vitaliani 1894, 5-10.
- Jeremić 2006 – M. Jeremić, Adolf Hytrek et les premieres fouilles archéologiques á Sirmium, *Старинар* 55, 2006, 115–130.
- Kolar-Dimitrijević 2013 – M. Kolar-Dimitrijević, *Povijest novca u Hrvatskoj od 1527. do 1941. godine*, Hrvatska narodna banka, 2013.
- Komatina et al. 2014 – D. Komatina, Ž. Milković, D. Isaković i G. Šukalo, *Priručnik za plovidbu na rijeci Savi*, Međunarodna komisija za sliv rijeke Save, 2014.
- Koprčina 2009 – A. Koprčina, „Griesbach i Knaus“, prva zagrebačka tvornica zlatne i srebrne robe (1925.–1939.) – radionička i unikatna produkcija, *Radovi Instituta povijesti umjetnosti* 33, 2009, 261–270.
- Kos, Mirnik 2011 – P. Kos, I. Mirnik, Coin hoards from Croatia. XVII. The Križovljan (Varaždin) hoard of Celtic tetradrachms (1843), *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 44, 2011, 77-130.
- Kovačević 2019 – S. Kovačević, Gomila u Jalžabetu – hitna zaštitna istraživanja tijekom 2017. i 2018. u okviru pod teme A4: Ritual unutar „Strategije znanstvene djelatnosti Instituta za arheologiju 2014.–2019.“, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 15, 137-143.
- Kuzmić 2001 – Z. Kuzmić, Iz Zbirke hrvatske fotografije Fotokluba Zagreb, Neumorni stvaralac, Portret: Đuro Griesbach, *Vijenac* 191, 2001.
- Lazrus, Barker (eds.) 2012 – P. K. Lazrus, A.W. Barker, *All the King's Horses. Essays on the Impact of Looting and the Illicit Antiquities Trade on our Knowledge of the Past*, The Society for American Archaeology, 2012.
- Ljubić 1883 – Š. Ljubić, Basilika sv. Synerotesa u Mitrovici, *Viestnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* 5, 1883, 19.
- Ljubić 1886a – Š. Ljubić, Rimske Thermae u Mitrovici (Syrmiium), *Viestnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* 8, 1886, 1–6.
- Ljubić 1886b – Š. Ljubić, O groblju sv. Sinerota u Mitrovici, *Viestnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* 8, 1886, 97–105.
- Manacorda, Chappell (eds.) 2011 – S. Manacorda, D. Chappell, *Crime in the art and antiquities world. Illegal Trafficking in Cultural Property*, Springer, 2011.
- Mihajlović 2020 – V. D. Mihajlović, Frontier gentlemen's club: Felix Kanitz and Balkan archaeology, in Roberts, J., Sheppard, K., Hansson, U. R., Trigg, J. R. (eds.), *Communities and knowledge production in archaeology*, Manchester University Press 2020, 188–200.
- Miladinović-Radmilović, Radmilović 2015 – N. Miladinović-Radmilović, M. Radmilović, *Pisma Ignjata Junga*, Blago Sirmiuma, 2015.
- Milošević 1971 – P. Milošević, Earlier Archaeological Activity in Sirmium, *Sirmium II*, 1971, 3–11.
- Milošević 1973 – P. Milošević, Ignjat Jung (1860 – 1915), *Sirmium III*, 1973, bez paginacije.
- Милошевић 1979 – П. Милошевић, Игњат Јунг, један од пионира археолошког рада у Срему, Рад војвођанских музеја 23-24, 1979, 55–62.
- Милошевић 2001 – П. Милошевић, Археологија и историја Сирмијума, Матица српска, 2001.
- Mirnik 2005 – I. Mirnik, Jung, Ignjat (Ignac, Vatroslav), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* 6 (I-Kal), 2005, 61.
- Muzealni povjerenici* 1870 – Muzealni povjerenici kašnje jugoslavenskom akademijom imenovani, *Viestnik Narodnoga zemaljskoga muzeja* 1, 1870, 25.
- Novaković 2011 – P. Novaković, Archaeology in the new countries of Southeastern Europe: a historical perspective, in Lozny, L. R. (ed.), *Comparative Archaeologies: a sociological view of the science of the past*, Springer, 2011, 339–461.
- Novaković 2015 – P. Novaković, *Historija arheologije u novim zemljama Jugoi-stočne Evrope*, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, 2015.
- ÖBL 1965 – Kanitz Felix Philipp, in: *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, Band 3, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1965, 215 - 216.
- Прица 1969 – П. Прица (ed.), Сремска Митровица, Сремска Митровица 1969.
- Rački, Daničić 1870 – F. Rački, Gj. Daničić, Proglas jugosl. akademije u poslu nar. zemalj. muzeja, i muzealni povjerenici od nje imenovani, *Viestnik Narodnoga zemaljskoga muzeja* 1, 1870, 21 – 25.
- Rapan Papeša 2020 – A. Rapan Papeša, Preliminarna razmišljanja o tipologiji srednjovjekovnog prstenja Istočne Hrvatske, in Adžaga M., *Srednjovjekovno prstenje istočne Slavonije. The medieval rings of eastern Slavonia*, Udruga Banovac, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, Cerna 2020, 41–63.
- Regan (ed.) 2003 – K. Regan, *Hrvatski povijesni atlas*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2003.
- Renfrew 2006 – C. Renfrew, Museum acquisitions: Responsibilities for the Illicit Traffic in Antiquities, in Brodie N., Kersel M. M., Luke C., Tube K. W. (eds.), *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*, University Press of Florida, 2006, 245–257.
- Simonetti 2009 – P. Simonetti, Nekretnine kao objekti prava vlasništva i prava građenja, *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci* 30, 2009, 33–62.
- Solter 2016 – A. Solter, *Arheološki muzeju Zagrebu – život od 19. do 21. stoljeća*, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2016.
- Spevec (ed.) 1899 – F. J. Spevec, *Opći austrijski građanski zakonik, proglašen patentom 29. studenog 1852. u Kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Tisak i naklada knjižare L. Hartmana (Kugli i Deutsch), 1899.
- Vajađiћ 2016 – П. Vajađiћ, Банови Дунавске бановине, Академска књига, 2016.