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## **PRINOS ASERIJE POZNAVANJU ORGANIZACIJE DALMACIJE U EPOHI CARA JUSTINIJANA**

### *CONTRIBUTION OF ASSERIA TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE ORGANIZATION OF DALMATIA IN THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN'S ERA*

#### *Apstrakt*

*Autor iznosi razmišljanja potaknuta pregledom kasnoantičke fortifikacije otkrivene zalaganjem zadarskih arheologa na položaju antičke Aserije. Statua ugrađena u zidni plašt zapadne kasnoantičke kule kao i brojni votivni, sepulkralni i profani dijelovi iz antičke Aserije u zapadnom i sjevernom kasnoantičkom predzidu svjedočanstva su iz razdoblja bizantsko-gotskih ratova tijekom rekonkviste cara Justinijana I. Sjeverni i zapadni kasnoantički predzid – proteichisma s kulom i kontraforima, uz dijelove sakralnog graditeljstva na položaju nekadašnjeg foruma Aserije dokazuju transformaciju antičkog grada u utvrdu koja vjerojatno traje od 538. godine, tijekom 6. stoljeća i dočekuje, umrežena u sustav obrane Dalmacije, doseljavanje Slavena i Hrvata. Položaj Aserije*

#### *Abstract*

*The author presents considerations incited by an overview of a late antique fortification discovered due to efforts of archaeologists from Zadar at the position of ancient Asseria. A statue which was incorporated into the wall of the western late antique tower as well as many votive, sepulchral and profane finds from ancient Asseria in the western and northern late antique outer wall are evidence from the period of Byzantine-Gothic wars during the reconquista of the Emperor Justinian I. Northern and western late antique outer wall – proteichisma with a tower and counterforts, alongside fragments of the sacral architecture at the position of the forum of Asseria, testify to transformation of an ancient city into a fortress which probably lasted*

dovodi se u logičnu svezu s kopnenim i pomorskim komunikacijama, naslućuju se poneki mikrotopografski elementi organizacije prostora. Istočnojadranski arhipelag, priobalje i zaobalje sjevernog dijela Dalmacije ujedno se uspoređuje i sa susjednom zapadnom obalom Jadrana tijekom kasne antike.

U kontinuitetu ojkonima Asseria – Seriem – Podgrađe, odnosno u ranobizantskom sloju profanog i sakralnog graditeljstva te ponekom pojedinačnom nalazu nakita iz 6. i vjerojatno početka 7. stoljeća, autor naslućuje i neprekinutu nit dugog trajanja života na prirodno zaštićenom položaju uz prapovijesnu, antičku, srednjovjekovnu i novovjekovnu prometnicu koja duboko zaobalje povezuje s istočnim pročeljem Jadrana i tisućljetnim Zadrom, Ninom i Skradinom.

Spoznaje dobivene dosadašnjim marljivim sustavnim istraživanjem Aserije obvezuju na njihov dobro osmišljeni nastavak.

*Ključne riječi:* Asseria, kasna antika, proteichisma, epoha cara Justinijana I, kontinuitet života, sustav kastrova, plovni put, Dalmacija, Slaveni, Hrvati

from 538 AD, during the sixth century and saw the arrival of Slavs and Croats, as a part of defensive system of Dalmatia. Position of Asseria is logically related to naval and land communications. Some microtopographic elements of spatial organization are implied. The eastern Adriatic archipelago, littoral and coastal hinterland of northern Dalmatia are compared with the neighbouring western coast of the Adriatic during Late Antiquity.

In the continuity of oikonym Asseria – Seriem – Podgrađe, i.e. in the early Byzantine layer of profane and sacral architecture and certain individual jewelry finds from the sixth and probably early seventh centuries, the author recognizes uninterrupted thread of long continuity of life on a naturally protected position near the prehistoric, ancient, medieval and modern road which connects deep coastal hinterland with the eastern front of the Adriatic and millennia-old Zadar, Nin and Skradin.

Diligent systematic research of Asseria resulted in insights which impose well planned continuation of the excavations.

*Keywords:* Asseria, Late Antiquity, proteichisma, Emperor Justinian I era, life continuity, castra system, naval route, Dalmatia, Slavs, Croats

U sjevernom dijelu Dalmacije, jednoj od koljevaka stoljetnog zanimanja brojnih pojedinaca za starine, provode se višegodišnja sustavna istraživanja izuzetno iskazljivih nalazišta. Podrobna upoznavanja tih nalazišta doprinose oblikovanju sveukupno bogatije, šarolike slike o kulturnoj slojevitosti unutar prapovijesne, antičke, srednjovjekovne i novovjekovne grane humanističkog polja arheologije. Sva ta složena, zahtjevna i, dakako, skupa istraživanja, dijelovi su različitih znanstvenih projekata koji se mogu logično uklopiti u arheologije prapovijesnog, antičkog, srednjovjekovnog i novovjekovnog krajobraza istočnojadranskog arhipelaga, priobalja i zaobalja. Takova arheološka istraživanja od neprocjenjive su važnosti za šire promatranje složenih pojava koje daruju uvijek nove spoznaje o pripadnosti promatranog prostora sredozemnom i srednjoeuropskom kulturnom podneblju. Pritom je logično sve nužnije i interdisciplinarno povezivanje arheologije pri analizi mikrotopografije pojedinog nalazišta ali i šireg područja s kojim je u prošlosti dijelilo sudbinu. Jedan od takovih pristupa je detaljno rekonosciranje, kako nalazišta, tako i njegova areala u cilju prikupljanja određene baze provjerljivih podataka. U tako složenom i, svakako, dugotrajnom traganju arheologa valja uvažavati i ostale sastavnice koje su u prošlosti bitno određivale postanak točaka

Several years long systematic excavations of exceptionally interesting sites are conducted in the northern portion of Dalmatia, one of the cradles of the centennial interest for antiquities of numerous individuals. Detailed study of these sites contributes to creation of a richer, diverse image of cultural stratification within prehistoric, ancient, medieval and modern branch of the humanistic field of archaeology. All these complex, demanding and expensive explorations are related to different scientific projects which can logically be incorporated into archeologies of prehistoric, ancient, medieval and modern landscape of the eastern Adriatic archipelago, littoral and coastal hinterland. Such archaeological research is extremely important in taking a broader view of complex phenomena which always provide new insights on the affiliation of the area in question to the Mediterranean and Central European cultural circle. It is only logical that interdisciplinary connecting of archaeology is becoming necessary in the analysis of microtopography of a certain site, and the wider area with which it shared the same fate in the past. One of such approaches is a detailed field survey of a site and its area in order to gather a certain amount of verifiable data. In such complex and definitely long-lasting quest of an archaeologist one needs to acknowledge other components which used to determine formation of the spatial points with confirmed

u prostoru s dokazanim dugim trajanjem života i jasnim potvrdama kulturnog uslojavanja. Prije svega to je opći ekosustav, potom paleoklimatske, reljefne i hidrografske danosti, mogućnost prometovanja (kopnenog i pomorskog), postojanje prirodnih resursa, seizmičkog djelovanja u prošlosti i sl. Ako navedenim činiteljima pridodamo i podatke prikupljene od srodnih i komplementarnih znanstvenih polja ili grana, tada se u velikoj mjeri proširuju naši horizonti i predodžbe o važnosti onoga, što rječnikom naše struke, nazivamo arheološkim nalazištem.

U našem radu osvrćemo se na Aseriju, jedan od doista posebice znakovitih arheoloških lokaliteta, koji je predmetom zanimanja stručnjaka raznolikog profila, a naše retke darujemo poštovanom kolegi Julijanu Mediniju koji je sa širokih motrišta proučavao i tumačio važne segmente naše prošlosti.

Na početku našeg rada naglašavamo spoznaje koje su nas, utemeljene u argumentaciji arheologije, dovele do uvjerenja o postojanju kasnoantičkog stratuma života na položaju *Gradina*, tj. na antičkoj Aseriji kraj današnjeg sela Podgrađa. Stoga ćemo se osvrnuti na poneke bitne elemente graditeljstva te na pokretne arheološke nalaze koje nam je podarila Aserija i pokušat odrediti im vremenski okvir i punu vrijednost za ocrtavanje prošlosti naselja. Potom se osvrćemo na položaj Aserije umrežene unutar sustava kopnenih prometnica, utvrda i većih aglomeracija kasnoantičke Dalmacije, proučavanih od arheologa, a na temelju pisanih vrela i od povjesničara. U tom kontekstu svakako

long life continuity and clear confirmations of cultural stratification. Primarily that is the general eco-system, then paleoclimatic, relief and hydrographic conditions, possibilities of travelling (by land and sea), presence of natural resources, seismic activity in the past etc. If we add data acquired from related and complementary science fields or branches then our views and horizons about the importance of what we, in archaeological terms, call a site, significantly widen.

In this article we will pay attention to Asseria, one of truly exceptionally indicative archaeological sites, which has been a subject of interest of scholars of different profiles. These considerations are dedicated to our honored colleague Julijan Medini who comprehensively studied and interpreted important segments of our past.

At the beginning of our work we will emphasize insights, based in the argumentation of archaeology, which led us to believe that a late antique stratum existed at the position of *Gradina*, i.e. in ancient Asseria near the present-day village of Podgrađe. Therefore we will consider some important architecture elements and movable archaeological finds recovered from Asseria and we will try to determine their chronological framework and full value in delineating this settlement's past. Then we will pay attention to the position of Asseria incorporated into a system of land roads, forts and larger agglomerations of late antique Dalmatia, studied by archaeologists, on the basis of written sources and historians. In that context it is definitely very important to emphasize naval communication

je od posebne važnosti i naglašavanje pomorskog prometovanja Jadranom, odnosno postojanja presudno važne bizantske talasokracije tijekom ratovanja s Istočnim Gotima (535-555.). U razmatranje se uzima i važnost zapadne jadranske obale i, posebice, kasnoantičke metropole Ravenne koji su svakako imali bitnoga odraza

on the Adriatic, i.e. existence of the crucially important Byzantine thalassocracy during the warfare with the Ostrogoths (535-555). Importance of the western Adriatic coast is also taken into consideration as well as the late antique metropolis Ravenna which definitely had significant influence on spatial formation and general life conditions on the



Sl. 1. Položaj Aserije tijekom 6. stoljeća u sredozemnom i srednjoeuropskom okruženju (prema zamisli autora oblikovao Hrvoje Jambreč)

*Fig. 1. The position of Asseria in the Mediterranean and Central European surrounding during the 6th century (created by Hrvoje Jambreč according to the author's conception).*

na oblikovanje prostora i svekolikih životnih okvira na promatranom istočnojadranskom arhipelagu, priobalju i zaobalju. U navedenom okviru prepoznaje se mogući prinos Aserije poznavanju organizacije Dalmacije tijekom epohe cara Justinijana I. /Sl. 1/.

1. Svjedoci smo kako Podgrađe kraj Benkovca, tj. antički municipij *Asseria*, zaslugom marljivih zadarskih arheologa doživljava u novije doba svojevrsnu renesansu arheoloških istraživanja.<sup>1</sup> Tim su, novim sustavnim višegodišnjim istraživanjima od 1999. godine, kao i popratnim zaštitnim zahvatima na od ranije poznatim, ali i novootkrivenim građevinskim strukturama te sustavnim objavljivanjem arheološke građe, prethodila još u 19. stoljeću poznata istraživanja *Austrijske arheološke škole*.<sup>2</sup> Utvrđena urbana aglomeracija antička Aserija pruža nam pregršt dragocjenih arheoloških spoznaja koje se prepoznaju, kako u pokretnom arheološkom fundusu, tako ponajprije u monumentalnosti njene nepokretne građe, tj. imponantnim bedemima, odnosno dijelovima foruma i *Trajanovim slavolukom*, ispred

observed eastern Adriatic archipelago, littoral and coastal hinterland. In the mentioned framework possible contribution of Asseria to understanding of the organization of Dalmatia during the Emperor Justinian I era is recognized /Fig. 1/.

1. We have witnessed a kind of renaissance of archaeological research at the site of ancient municipium of Asseria (present-day Podgrađe near Benkovac) owing to efforts of diligent archaeologists from Zadar.<sup>1</sup> Research of the *Austrian Archaeological School*<sup>2</sup> from the 19th century preceded this new systematic years-long research which is underway from 1999, as well as accompanying rescue actions on previously known, and newly-discovered architectural structures and systematic publications of the archaeological material. Discovered urban agglomeration of ancient Asseria offers an abundance of precious archaeological insights which are recognized, not only in movable archaeological repertory, but also in monumentality of its immovable material i.e. imposing walls, and parts of the forum and Trajan's triumphal arch, in front of the

<sup>1</sup> Istraživanja prostora Aserije je 2001. i 2002. godine provodio Ivo Fadić (tad u Arheološkom muzeju iz Zadra). Zahvaljujemo se kolegi Fadiću na ustupanju dijela relevantne arheološke dokumentacije koja je nastala njegovom zaslugom u tim i kasnijim vrlo uspješnim istraživanjima, a bitna je za našu temu. Ujedno se kolegi zahvaljujemo i na dragocjenim sugestijama koje su potkrijepile našu tezu.

<sup>2</sup> O austrijskim istraživanjima vidi: H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908.

<sup>1</sup> Research of Asseria was conducted in 2001 and 2002 by Ivo Fadić (in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar at the time). We would like to thank colleague Fadić for lending us a part of relevant archaeological documentation which was formed thanks to him in these and later very successful excavations, which was important for our theme. At the same time we would like to thank our colleague for valuable suggestions which supported our thesis.

<sup>2</sup> On the Austrian research see: H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908.



Sl. 2. Zapadna kasnoantička kula naslonjena na kasnorepublikanski bedem Aserije (snimio: Ž. Tomičić)  
 Fig. 2. Western Late Roman tower leaning against the Late Republican city walls of Asseria (photograph by Ž. Tomičić).

sjeverozapadnih glavnih gradskih vrata.<sup>3</sup> Do tih je spoznaja svojedobno došao i Alberto Fortis. Stoga nam se potpuno utemeljenim čini posegnuti za citatom toga poznatog europskog putopisca, zainteresiranog, s jasnim razlozima, za područje Dalmacije: “Starinar, pa i jednostavan ljubitelj umjetnosti i dobre učenosti, kada se nađe u Podgrađu, neće se moći suzdržati i ne poželjeti da neka moćna ruka *quicquid sub terra est in apricum proferat*“.<sup>4</sup>

north-western main city gate.<sup>3</sup> Alberto Fortis reached identical conclusions in his time. Therefore it seems reasonable to cite this famous European travel writer interested in the Dalmatian region, for obvious reasons: “An antiquarian, or a simple art enthusiast of good education, when in Podgrađe, will not be able to sustain himself from wishing that some mighty hand *quicquid sub terra est in apricum proferat*“.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> N. CAMBI, 2002, 88, Sl. 110.

<sup>4</sup> A. FORTIS, 1984, 23; (“...što je god pod zemljom iznese na vidjelo“ – Horacije, Epistolae 1, 6, 24).

<sup>3</sup> N. CAMBI, 2002, 88, Fig. 110.

<sup>4</sup> A. FORTIS, 1984, 23; (“...whatever is under the earth to expose to light“ – Horatius, Epistolae 1, 6, 24).



Sl. 3. Pogled na zapadni kasnoantički predzid Aserije iz 6. stoljeća.

Fig. 3. View of the western 6th century Late Roman outer wall of Asseria.

U našem radu osvrćemo se ponovno na jedan osebujan i rijedak nalaz spolija koji je privukao veliku pozornost tijekom naših prvih posjeta arheološkoj ekipi na položaju Aserije 2001. i 2002. godine. Taj je *spolium* bio ishodištem i okosnicom ideje koja nas je dulje vrijeme zaokupljala, jer je, uz brojna druga *spolia*, otrgnuta iz antičke prošlosti, skrenula našu pozornost i obasjala posebice važnu i nezaobilaznu etapu kasnoantičke povijesti Aserije o kojoj smo se ranije i očitovali.<sup>5</sup>

Prigodom arheoloških istraživanja pojasa monumentalnog zapadnog bedema antičke Aserije, nastalog prema mišljenju I. Fadića u “jednom dahu” sredinom 1. st. pr. Kr.,<sup>6</sup> otkrivena je 2001. godine naknadno pridodana kasnoantička kula koja ostavlja u

In our article we will consider once more a peculiar and rare find of a *spolium* which attracted great attention during our first visits to the archaeological team at Asseria in 2001 and 2002. This *spolium* was a starting point and a core of an idea which engaged us for a long time since it, alongside other numerous *spolia* taken from ancient past, directed our attention and shed some light on important and unavoidable stage of late antique history of Asseria about which we have already written.<sup>5</sup>

When the belt of the monumental wall of ancient Asseria was excavated, which was formed “in one breath” according to I. Fadić’s opinion in the mid-first century BC,<sup>6</sup> a subsequently added late antique tower was discovered in 2001 resembling a rectangle in layout. To be precise, northern, western and southern walls of that tower, which was dated to Late Antiquity by Fadić, i.e. late fifth and early 6th centuries,<sup>7</sup> were leaning directly on the monumental early Roman wall /Fig. 2/. Parallely with the western part of the wall at an approximate distance of 5 m, archaeological method unearthed a face of relatively massive outer wall /Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5/ which was related to Late Antiquity by Fadić with good reason, and he attempted to date it to quite late period, i.e. late sixth century.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001, 69-89.

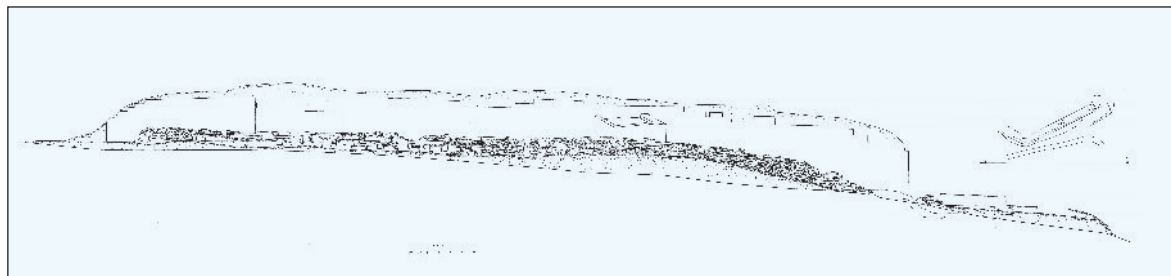
<sup>5</sup> Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001, 69-89.

<sup>7</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001, 79.

<sup>8</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001, 79.





Sl. 4. Arhitektonski snimak zapadnog kasnoantičkog predzida Aserije iz 6. stoljeća.  
 Fig. 4. Architectural survey of the western 6th century Late Roman outer wall.



Sl. 5. Pogled na detalj zapadnog kasnoantičkog predzida Aserije.  
 Fig. 5. View of the detail of the western Late Roman outer wall in Asseria.

tlorisu dojam pravokutnika. Točnije sjeverni, zapadni i južni zid te kule, koju Fadić datira u kasnu antiku, tj. prema njegovom uvjerenju na svršetak 5. i početak 6. stoljeća,<sup>7</sup> neposredno su naslonjeni na monumentalni ranorimski bedem /Sl. 2/. Usporedno sa zapadnim dijelom bedema na približnoj udaljenosti od 5 metara, arheološkom metodom otkriveno je lice relativno masivnog predzida /Sl. 3, Sl. 4

When the research of the northern belt of the city wall of Asseria was continued in 2002, several massive counterforts with incorporated spolia were found, and under one of the counterforts was a vaulted late antique tomb /Fig. 6/.<sup>9</sup> In the western segment of the city walls a fragment of a Liburnian cippus was incorporated into foundations of a late antique tower, then the aforementioned stone statue /Fig. 7 and Fig. 8/ and a fragment of a great architrave beam taken from some public object /Fig. 2/. Similar spolia can be found in the added counterforts of the mentioned northern segment of the wall /Fig. 9/.

In the continuation we will try to present the importance of certain late antique elements discovered at the Asseria position. Important components of the recognized late antique stratum of Asseria were primarily fortification details i.e. outer wall, then counterforts and the tower, cemetery remains with the belonging inventory, layout elements of an early Christian sacral object within the fort and in the limited area in front

<sup>7</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001, 79.

<sup>9</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003.



Sl. 6. Svođena kasnoantička grobnica natkrivena u 6. st. masivnim kontraforom na sjevernom dijelu gradskog bedema Aserije.

*Fig. 6. Vaulted Late Roman tomb on the western part of the city walls of Asseria, covered during the 6th century by a massive buttress.*

i Sl. 5/ kojega Fadić opravdano drži kasnoantičkim, a pokušava ga datirati dosta kasno, tj. na svršetak 6. stoljeća.<sup>8</sup>

Prigodom nastavka istraživanja sjevernog pojasa gradskog bedema Aserije registrirana je tijekom 2002. godine nekolicina masivnih kontrafora s ugrađenim spolijima, a ispod jednog potpornjaka i svođena kasnoantička

of the city entrance and wall, existence of the cemetery with a cemeterial early Christian church and for now, assumed existence of suburbium /Fig. 10/. Microtopographic elements of late antique Asseria are definitely supplemented by a position of early Christian church in the nearby village of Lepuri with the accompanying horizon of graves,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001, 79.

<sup>10</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000.

grobница /Sl. 6/.<sup>9</sup> U zapadnom dijelu gradskih bedema je u temelje kasnoantičke kule također ugrađen ulomak liburnskog cipusa, potom ranije spomenuta kamena statua /Sl. 7 i Sl. 8/ i ulomak velike arhitravne grede skinute s nekog javnog objekta /Sl. 2/. Slična spolija susrećemo i u pridodanim kontraforima spomenutog sjevernog dijela bedema /Sl. 9/.

U nastavku nastojimo predočiti važnost pojedinih kasnoantičkih elemenata otkrivenih na položaju Aserije. Bitne sastavnice prepoznatog kasnoantičkog stratuma Aserije su prije svega otkriveni detalji fortifikacije, tj. predzid, potom kontrafori i kula, ostatci groblja s pripadajućim iskazljivim inventarom, elementi tlorisa ranokršćanskog sakralnog objekta unutar utvrde te u užem arealu ispred gradskoga ulaza i bedema, postojanje groblja sa cemeterijalnom ranokršćanskom crkvom i, za sada, pretpostavljeno postojanje podgrađa /Sl. 10/. Mikrotopografske elemente kasnoantičke Aserije dopunjuje svakako i položaj ranokršćanske crkve u nedalekim Lepurima s pripadajućim horizontom grobova,<sup>10</sup> te blizina antičke prometnice koja prolazi sinklinalom, tj. relativno širokom i plodnom dolinom južno od grada.<sup>11</sup>

Građevinske strukture koje smo netom spomenuli, tj. pridodanu kasnoantičku kulu i pojas karakterističnog predzida (*lat. proteichisma*) te kontrafori, kao što je ranije već

and the vicinity of ancient road which passes through a syncline, i.e. relatively wide and fertile valley south of the city.<sup>11</sup>

Architectural structures mentioned before, i.e. added late antique tower and the belt of a characteristic outer wall (*lat. proteichisma*) and counterforts, as emphasized earlier, were filled with many stone spolia which significantly improve general image of the cultural-historical layers of Asseria. At the same time spolia in certain way help in dating of the so-called outer wall i.e. *proteichisma*, and towers. These are, as mentioned before, Liburnian cippi,<sup>12</sup> altars, remains of sepulchral monuments, architrave beams of monumental objects and other fragments which were intentionally built into the outer wall structure.

While visiting square tower, leaning on the south-western section of the city wall we noticed, except for other spolia, a horizontally incorporated stone statue whose head was missing /Fig. 7 and Fig. 8/. Evidently this statue could not fit into the western wall of the mentioned tower, at the time of building. Was this “decapitation” intentional because of purely practical reasons of building or was it a kind of *damnatio memoriae*, i.e. intentional act with quite the opposite meaning, primarily the spiritual one. We do not intend to analyze this sculpture in

<sup>9</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003.

<sup>10</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000.

<sup>11</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 1985; N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a.

<sup>11</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 1985; N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a.

<sup>12</sup> I. FADIĆ, 1990; I. FADIĆ, 2006. Position of the Liburnian cippi is particularly well recognizable within late antique *proteichisma* in the mentioned article on Fig. 1 - Fig. 5.



Sl. 7. Pogled na detalj zapadne kasnoantičke kule s ugrađenom skulpturom žene (snimio: Ž. Tomičić)  
 Fig. 7. View of the detail of the western Late Roman tower with a female sculpture built in the construction (photograph by Ž. Tomičić).

naglašeno, ispunjeni su mnoštvom kamenih spolija koje u znatnoj mjeri obogaćuju svekoliku predodžbu o kulturno-povijesnoj slojevitosti Aserije. Ujedno spolija na određeni način pomažu pri datiranju tzv. vanjskog bedema, tj. predzida, ali i kula. Riječ je, kao što je ranije navedeno, o liburnskim cipusima,<sup>12</sup> arama, ostacima sepulkralnih spomenika, arhitravnim gredama s monumentalnih objekata i ostalim ulomcima koji su svjesno ugrađeni u konstrukciju predzida.

Obilazeći kvadratnu kulu, naslonjenu na jugozapadnu sekciju gradskog bedema, primijetili smo pored inih *spolia* i vodoravno ugrađeni kameni kip kojemu je nedostajala glava /Sl. 7 i Sl. 8/. Očito se statua nije mogla uklopiti, prigodom ugradnje, u zapadni zid spomenute kule. Međutim, je li ta “dekapitacija“

detail or possible time of its creation. We believe it was a sculpture made of local limestone, probably of local production. Where could such statue have been placed? Definitely at some public area, perhaps in some of porticos at the city forum of ancient Asseria where it represented some distinguished person. The drapery of a toga which was worn by that person is still visible on the remains of the decapitated body. Alternatively the statue may have represented a fragment of some ancient sepulchral monument from a nearby ancient necropolis, and definitely it was some distinguished, probably female person.

We will reiterate previously mentioned question. How come that this sculpture does not have a head? With necessary caution, our belief is that this was intentional decapitation. In a certain historical moment there may have been intentional removal of a memory of a certain stratum of distinguished persons which probably in pre-Christian period obtained some important administrative or perhaps also religious functions in Asseria. These dignitaries had their place, their statue, in some of the porticos at the forum which was situated in Asseria at the southern side of the plain next to the periphery of the fortification.<sup>13</sup> Porticos were on the western, northern and eastern side of the forum, whereas the southern

<sup>12</sup> I. FADIĆ, 1990; I. FADIĆ, 2006. Položaj liburnskih cipusa posebice je razvidan unutar kasnoantičke proteihizme u navedenom radu na Sl. 1-Sl. 5.

<sup>13</sup> N. CAMBI, 2002, 59, Fig. 61; M. SUIĆ, 1976, 136, Fig. 74; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 17-88; I. FADIĆ, 2003, 417-528, Fig. 5; I. FADIĆ, 2003, 7-23.

učinjena svjesno poradi isključivo praktičnih razloga ugradnje ili je riječ o nekoj vrsti *damnatio memoriae*, tj. svjesnom činu koji ima potpuno oprečnu poruku. Prije svega onu duhovne naravi. Nije nam nakana ulaženja u neku detaljnu analizu te skulpture kao i u moguće doba njezina postanka. Držimo kako je skulptura od domaćeg vapnenca i vjerojatno lokalne izradbe. Gdje je nekoć takva statua mogla biti postavljena? Svakako na javnom prostoru. Možda u nekom od trijemova na gradskom forumu antičke Aserije. Ondje je, pretpostavljamo, predstavljala neku istaknutu osobu. Na ostatcima obezglavljenoga trupa vidljiva je još draperija toge u koju je ta osoba bila ogrnuta. Statua bi, alternativno, mogla predstavljati i ulomak nekog antičkog sepulkralnog spomenika s nedaleke antičke nekropole, a svakako je riječ o nekoj istaknutijoj osobi vrlo vjerojatno ženskoga spola.

Ponavljamo ranije postavljeno pitanje. Kako to da toj skulpturi nedostaje glava? Uz dužan oprez, mi smo uvjerenja kako je riječ o svjesnoj dekapitaciji. U određenom povijesnom trenutku moglo je doći do namjernog uklanjanja uspomene na određeni sloj istaknutijih osoba koje su vjerojatno, u pretkršćansko doba, obnašale neku važnu upravnu ili možda i vjersku dužnost u Aseriji. Ti su odličnici imali svoje mjesto, svoj kip, u nekom od trijemova na forumu koji je u Aseriji bio na južnoj strani zaravni uz obod fortifikacije.<sup>13</sup> Trijemovi su bili sa zapadne,



Sl. 8. Pogled s južne strane na detalj zapadne kasnoantičke kule s ugrađenom skulpturom žene.

Fig. 8. View from the south at a detail of the western Late Roman tower with the female sculpture built in the construction.

side was oriented towards the south and sun.<sup>14</sup> Capitolia and forums probably lost their importance gradually from the period of tetrarchy.<sup>15</sup>

After Christianity was proclaimed the only official religion of the Roman Empire in 324 AD by Constantine the Great (306-337), and particularly at the end of the fourth century during the affirmation of Christianity in the period of the emperor Theodosius I the Great (379-396) memories of polytheistic religion were erased. Temples and estates were robbed and destroyed, priests and renown philosophers – opponents of Christianity were tortured and persecuted. As if the victory of Christianity incited *damnatio memoriae* of an earlier period in which very

<sup>13</sup> N. CAMBI, 2002, 59, Sl. 61; M. SUIĆ, 1976, 136, Sl. 74; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 17-88; I. FADIĆ, 2003, 417-528, Sl. 5; I. FADIĆ, 2003, 7-23.

<sup>14</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1976, 136, Fig. 74 and Fig. 96; N. CAMBI, 2003, 59.

<sup>15</sup> N. CAMBI, 2002, 66.

sjeverne i istočne strane foruma, dok je južna bila okrenuta prema jugu i suncu.<sup>14</sup> Kapitolijski i forumski su vjerojatno od tetrahijskog doba postupno gubili važnost.<sup>15</sup>

Proglašenjem kršćanstva jedinom službenom religijom Rimskog carstva 324. godine od strane Konstantina I. Velikog (306.-337.), a posebice krajem 4. stoljeća afirmacijom kršćanstva u doba cara Teodozija I. Velikog (379.-396.), svjedoci smo uklanjanja uspomene na politeističku religiju. Uništavaju se i pljačkaju hramovi, posjedi, muče i progone svećenici i istaknuti mislioci – protivnici kršćanstva. Kao da je pobjedom kršćanstva potaknuta *damnatio memoriae* na jedno ranije razdoblje u kojem je bio aktualan vrlo razgranani rimski Pantheon. U slučaju Aserije postoje materijalna svjedočanstva o bogu Liberu,<sup>16</sup> potom reljefni prizor dionizijačkog kruga i zavjetni natpis Kibeli.<sup>17</sup> Iz poganskih svetišta izbacuju se kulturni predmeti, a takvi se sakralni prostori zamjenjuju građenjem crkava ili oratorija na istom mjestu kako to dokazuje i primjer Aserije.<sup>18</sup> Zatiru se stara religijska shvaćanja u sukobu s pobjedonosnim kršćanstvom. Taj

diversified Roman pantheon was honored. In the case of Asseria there is material evidence about the god Liber,<sup>16</sup> then a relief depiction of a Dionysiac circle and a votive inscription dedicated to Cybele.<sup>17</sup> Cult objects were thrown out of pagan sanctuaries, and such sacral objects were replaced by churches or oratoria at the same place as indicated by the example of Asseria.<sup>18</sup> Old religious beliefs were exterminated in conflict with victorious Christianity. This process is recognized as a *creative conflict between paganism and Christianity*.<sup>19</sup>

A late antique vaulted tomb was discovered next to the northern walls of Asseria, with subsequently added counterfort /Fig. 6/. Numerous finds of fragments of the early Christian stone furnishings (pluteus fragments, small columns with capitals) were discovered indicating the existence of an early Christian cemetery church, which was probably some twenty meters distant from the wall at the area of the necropolis of Asseria.<sup>20</sup> Characteristic jewelry i.e. attire objects were also recognized belonging to the sixth or perhaps

<sup>14</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1976, 136, Sl. 74 i Sl. 96; N. CAMBI, 2003, 59.

<sup>15</sup> N. CAMBI, 2002, 66.

<sup>16</sup> I. JADRIĆ, 2005, 53-74. Autorica utemeljeno, ali i s dužnim oprezom, pretpostavlja postojanje Liberovog svetišta u okviru aserijatskog foruma.

<sup>17</sup> B. MIGOTTI, 1992, 228-229; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 58; J. MEDINI, 1976, 197.

<sup>18</sup> B. MIGOTTI, 1992, 237; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003; P. VEŽIĆ, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> I. JADRIĆ, 2005, 53-74. The author proposes a well-founded hypothesis, though with necessary caution, about the existence of the Liber's sanctuary within the forum of Asseria.

<sup>17</sup> B. MIGOTTI, 1992, 228-229; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 58; J. MEDINI, 1976, 197.

<sup>18</sup> B. MIGOTTI, 1992, 237; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003; P. VEŽIĆ, 2004.

<sup>19</sup> B. MIGOTTI, 1992, 237.

<sup>20</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003, 198-203.



Sl. 9. Sjeverni gradski bedem Aserije s nizom kasnoantičkih kontrafora.  
 Fig. 9. Northern city walls of Asseria with a series of Late Roman buttresses.

proces prepoznaje se kao *stvaralački sukob poganstva i kršćanstva*.<sup>19</sup>

Uz sjeverne bedeme Aserije otkrivena je kasnoantička presvođena grobnica, na kojoj je naknadno sagrađen kontrafor /Sl. 6/. Potom su otkriveni i brojni nalazi ulomaka ranokršćanskog kamenog crkvenog namještaja (dijelovi pluteja, stupići s kapitelima)

early seventh centuries indicating relatively high cultural level of some of the population. These objects include a bronze cross-shaped appliqué and a silver cloisonné cross-shaped fibula with blue glass inlay and a Byzantine style fibula with a folded foot.<sup>21</sup>

When did this immense devastation and destruction which was testified

<sup>19</sup> B. MIGOTTI, 1992, 237.

<sup>21</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003, 203, sl. 10 a, b; M. BUORA, 2008, 61, T. 1: 7.

koji upućuju na postojanje ranokršćanske ceterijalne crkve, udaljene vjerojatno dvadesetak metara od bedema na prostoru aserijatske nekropole.<sup>20</sup> Prepoznati su i karakteristični predmeti nakita, tj. nošnje 6. i možda početka 7. stoljeća koji ocrtavaju relativno visoku kulturnu razinu života dijela pučanstva. Riječ je o brončanoj križolijkoj aplijci, odnosno srebrnoj kloazoniranoj križnoj fibuli s umetkom modrog stakla te fibuli bizantskog stila s povijenom nogom.<sup>21</sup>

Kada je nastupila ta silna devastacija i razgradnja koja je zasvjedočena na primjeru Aserije u ugradbi brojnih spolija u kasnoantičke kule, kontrafore i relativno dugi gradski sjeverni i zapadni predzid? Svaka-ko u trenutku vrlo izražene potrebe da se u velikoj žurbi, poradi nadolazeće opasnosti, osnaži ionako monumentalna obrambena arhitektura grada smještenog na pogodnom i prirodno dobro branjenom položaju uz glavni prometni pravac koji je iz unutrašnjosti Dalmacije vodio prema velikom urbanom središtu tisućljetne starosti – Jaderu (Zadru). Čini se vrlo vjerojatnim da je Aserija bila samo jednom od točaka otpora koje su bile umrežene u strateški sustav obrane Dalmacije koji je izrastao posebice tijekom 6. stoljeća.<sup>22</sup> Stoga je ta točka otpora mogla biti dulje

on the example of Asseria by incorporating numerous spolia into late antique towers, counterforts and relatively long city northern and western outer wall happen? Definitely in a great hurry due to approaching peril, at the moment of a very pronounced need to strengthen already monumental defensive architecture of a city situated on a favourable and naturally well-defended position near the main road which led from the interior of Dalmatia towards great urban center millennia-old Iader (Zadar). It seems very likely that Asseria was only one of points of resistance which were incorporated into the strategic defensive system of Dalmatia which developed mostly during the sixth century.<sup>22</sup> Therefore this point of resistance may have been in function for long time. It may have existed in some form even earlier during antiquity and particularly at the transition from the fifth to sixth centuries when the Ostrogoths were stationed there from 493 to 537.<sup>23</sup> In the opinion of some historians Dalmatia saw the reconquista of the emperor Justinian I spared from great devastations and ravages. Namely in the last years of the Gothic rule over Dalmatia church synods took place in Salona reflecting uninterrupted and very lively religious life in the country.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003, 198-203.

<sup>21</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003, 203, Sl. 10 a, b; M. BUORA, 2008, 61, T. 1: 7.

<sup>22</sup> Na tu je činjenicu opravdano upozorio P. VEŽIĆ (2004, 123, bilj. 14) iznoseći misao o nastanku ranobizantske utvrde kao novog kulturnog stratuma na Aseriji, uklopljenog u justinijanski limes u Dalmaciji.

<sup>22</sup> This fact was rightfully emphasized by P. VEŽIĆ (2004, 123, note 14) in proposal of a thesis about the formation of the early Byzantine fort as a new cultural stratum in Asseria, incorporated into the Justinianian limes in Dalmatia.

<sup>23</sup> M. KATIĆ, 2003, 523-528.

<sup>24</sup> N. KLAIĆ, 2000, 52.





Sl. 10. Pogled na sjeverni kasnorepublikanski bedem Aserije s kasnoantičkim kontraforima i dijelom liburnskog bedema.

*Fig. 10. View of the northern Late Republican city walls of Asseria with Late Roman buttresses and a part of the Liburnian bulwark.*

vrijeme u funkciji. Ona je mogla postojati u nekom obliku i ranije tijekom antičke epohe te posebice na prijelazu iz 5. u 6. stoljeće kada ondje od 493. do 537. borave Istočni Goti.<sup>23</sup> Dalmacija je, prema mišljenju nekih povjesničara, dočekala rekonkvistu cara Justinijana I. pošteđena od velikih razaranja i pustošenja. Naime, još posljednjih godina gotske vladavine nad Dalmacijom održavaju se u Saloni

The rule of the Ostrogoths was ended by reconquista during the reign of the emperor Justinian I (527-565). It was the historical moment in which traces of Arianism which may have been present in Asseria during the Ostrogothic rule were erased by the Gothic-Byzantine war (535-555) in the region of the province of Dalmatia by establishing new rule and new victorious church of the Emperor Justinian.

As an illustration of a possible scenario we will mention some examples from

<sup>23</sup> M. KATIĆ, 2003, 523-528.

crkveni sabori, koji su dokaz neprekinutog i vrlo živog vjerskog života u zemlji.<sup>24</sup>

Vlast Istočnih Gota dokida rekonkvista tijekom vladavine cara Justinijana I. (527.-565.). Bio je to onaj povijesni trenutak u kojem se gotsko-bizantskim ratom (535.-555.) na prostoru provincije Dalmacije, uspostavom nove vlasti i nastupom pobjedničke crkve cara Justinijana uklanjaju tragovi arijanstva koji su tijekom vladavine Istočnih Gota bili možda prisutni i u Aseriji.

Kao ilustraciju mogućeg scenarija navodimo poneki primjer iz razdoblja vladavine cara Justinijana I. koji je možda usporediv i s prilikama u onodobnoj Dalmaciji. Tako je, primjerice, car Justinijan I. kolovoza 535. pomoću *Novella de Africana Ecclesia* naredio trenutnu restituciju svih crkvenih posjeda katoličke crkve u sjevernoj Africi (nekadašnje Kraljevstvo Vandala), pri čemu je pokrenuo sustavni progon protiv "Donatista, Židova, pogana, Arijanaca i drugih heretika". Papa Agapet je prihvatio carevu tvrdnu liniju pišući Justinijanu "da u skladu sa svojom funkcijom" nije mogao arijanskim klericima, u nekadašnjem Vandalskom Kraljevstvu, dozvoliti da zadrže svoj status u kleru.

Slična je korespondencija nastala i u svezi s Ilirikom, kada je nekoliko mjeseci nakon Novele 11, koja je dala crkvenu autonomiju Justinijani Primi (rodnom mjestu cara), papa Agapet potvrdio rimsku vlast nad čitavom provincijom Ilirikom. U lipnju 535.

the period of reign of the Emperor Justinian I which may be comparable with circumstances in Dalmatia at the time. For instance on August 1, 535, in *Novella de Africana Ecclesia* the Emperor Justinian ordered momentary restitution of all church estates of the Catholic Church in north Africa (former Vandal Kingdom) starting thereby systematic persecution of the "Donatists, Jews, pagans, Arians and other heretics". Pope Agapet accepted emperor's rigid standpoint writing to Justinian that "in accordance with his function" he could not let Arian clerics retain their clerical status in the former Vandal Kingdom.

Similar correspondence was also created regarding Illyricum when several months after Novella 11 which gave church autonomy to Justiniana Prima (birthplace of the emperor), pope Agapet confirmed Roman rule over the entire province of Illyricum. In June 535 Justinian attacked Sicily and Dalmatia with the imperial army.<sup>25</sup>

Initial successes in expelling the Ostrogoths from the northern Dalmatian region (535-538) and thereby probably from Asseria as well, incited urgent reinforcement of all fortifications previously used by the Ostrogoths, as well as building completely new large (castra) and smaller forts (froua, filakteria) which were distributed in the interspace to secure land road and parallel naval route in the Adriatic, meaning also a connection with the capital Constantinople and other important Mediterranean centers at the time (Ravenna,

<sup>24</sup> N. KLAJIĆ, 2000, 52

<sup>25</sup> C. SOTINEL, 2005, 277, notes 35, 37, 38.

Justinijan je carskom vojskom napao Siciliju i Dalmaciju.<sup>25</sup>

Početnim uspjesima u protjerivanjima Istočnih Gota s prostora sjeverne Dalmacije (535.-538.), pa time, vrlo vjerojatno i iz Aserije, ukazala se potreba za žurnim pojačanjem svih fortifikacija koje su ranije koristili Istočni Goti, ali i ubrzanom izgradnjom potpuno novih velikih (kastra), odnosno manjih utvrda (froua, filakteria), koje su, raspoređene u međuprostoru, osiguravale kopneni cestovni promet i usporedni pomorski plovni put Jadranom, pa time i svezu s prijestolnicom Konstantinopolom i drugim onodobnim važnim sredozemnim središtima (Ravenna, Aquileia).<sup>26</sup> Kastru oblikovana u zaobalju, uglavnom na položajima prethodnih kasnoantičkih utvrda 4. i 5. st., štitila su pored Salone i Skardone posebice grad Jader (Zadar). Pritom valja svakako uzeti u obzir i činjenicu, da je spomenuto razdoblje obilježeno pojavom preseljavanja pučanstva iz nesigurnog zaleđa Panonije i područja južno od rijeke Save, tj. Dalmacije, u donekle sigurnije priobalne urbane aglomeracije (*Spalatum/Split – Palača, Epidaur – Rausion*) i arhipelag uz istočnu obalu Jadrana.<sup>27</sup>

2. A kako je bilo istodobno na suprotnoj, zapadnoj jadranskoj obali, gdje je bila Ravenna jedan od najvažnijih gradova kasne

Aquileia).<sup>26</sup> Castra in the coastal hinterland, mostly at the positions of the previous late antique forts from the fourth and fifth centuries protected particularly Iader (Zadar) besides Salona and Scardona. We need to take into consideration the fact that the mentioned period is characterized by population movements from the insecure Panonian hinterland and region south of the Sava river i.e. Dalmatia to somewhat securer coastal urban agglomerations (*Spalatum/Split – Palace, Epidaur – Rausion*) and the archipelago along the eastern coast of the Adriatic.<sup>27</sup>

2. What was it like at the same time on the opposite, western Adriatic coast where Ravenna was one of the most important cities in European Late Antiquity?<sup>28</sup> These insights are important for recognizing possible similarities or differences on the eastern Adriatic front and its coastal hinterland /Fig. 1/.

Demographic crisis in the mid-sixth century had no effect on Ravenna which maintained stable contact with Constantinople and the East. Great amounts of different goods kept being imported in Ravenna. Building activities flourished resulting in some of the most important extant monuments including San Vitale and San Apollinare in Classe.<sup>29</sup> In other words in the

<sup>25</sup> C. SOTINEL, 2005, 277, bilj. 35, 37, 38.

<sup>26</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1995; Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1998.

<sup>27</sup> Ž. RAPANIĆ, 2007, 131-137.

<sup>26</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1995; Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1998.

<sup>27</sup> Ž. RAPANIĆ, 2007, 131-137.

<sup>28</sup> In the period between 400 and 751 Ravenna was the seat of the Western Roman Empire, then of the Ostrogothic kings, Byzantine governors of Italy, whereas its bishops and archbishops were ranked immediately after the Pope.

<sup>29</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 201.

antike Europe?<sup>28</sup> Važne su nam te spoznaje kako bi bolje prepoznavali moguće sličnosti ili razlike na istočnom jadranskom pročelju i u njegovom kopnenom dijelu u zaobalju /Sl. 1/.

Demografska kriza u sredini 6. stoljeća nije imala utjecaja na Ravennu koja je održavala stabilan kontakt s Konstantinopolom i Istokom. U Ravennu su se nastavile uvoziti velike količine razne robe. Nastupio je procvat graditeljske djelatnosti koji je rezultirao nekim od najznačajnijih i do danas preostalih spomenika, uključujući San Vitale i San Apollinare in Classe.<sup>29</sup> Drugim rječima u kasnom 6. stoljeću, kada su ostali gradovi Italije podnosili posljedice kuge, rata i drugih prirodnih razaranja, Ravenna je nastavila razvoj u istom smjeru kojim je krenula u ranom 5. stoljeću, pa je od 540. postala sjedištem bizantske vlasti, administracije, crkve i vojske. To je ponajprije određivala logistika te sigurni i lagani transport do Konstantinopola, potom zaštićenost, prestiž i činjenica da je u Ravenni preostao neki oblik administracije iz prethodnog doba istočnogotske vlasti. Sve su to bili razlozi relativno dugog funkcioniranja života u Ravenni za razliku od drugih sredina.<sup>30</sup>

Šesto stoljeće se često promatra kao epoha u kojoj su klimatski, epidemiološki i oborinski događaji razarali prethodno

late sixth century when other cities in Italy suffered from plagues, wars and other natural disasters Ravenna continued its development started in the early fifth century so that it became a center of the Byzantine power, administration, church and army in 540. This primarily had to do with logistics, and secure and easy transport to Constantinople, then protection, prestige and the fact that a certain kind of administration remained in Ravenna from the previous period of the Ostrogothic rule. All these reasons affected relatively long functioning of life in Ravenna as opposed to other cities.<sup>30</sup>

The sixth century is often considered to be an epoch in which climatic, epidemiological and precipitation elements destroyed previously established economic basis and even led to the end of late antique world.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 205-207.

<sup>31</sup> There are proofs in Cassiodorus, Procopius and other authors from such distant regions such as China about climatic events from 536 or 537. Sources mention dark sky and sun eclipse which lasted for more than a year. Scholars believe that it may have been caused by a strong volcanic eruption or a comet. Anyhow it is said that it affected the crops. It seems that events were seen as bad luck, but annual tree rings prove that the earth's climate became significantly colder in the next ten years as a consequence of these events (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, note 1). Gregory the Great noted serious floods in Rome and Verona in 589 caused by heavy rains (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, notes 2-4). Collected knowledge led many scholars to believe that the sixth century marked the beginning of colder and more humid period known as Vandal Minimum, lasting approximately until 850 (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, note 5).

<sup>28</sup> U razdoblju između 400. i 751. Ravenna je bila rezidencijom Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva, potom ostrogotskih kraljeva, bizantskih upravitelja Italije, dok su njezini biskupi i nadbiskupi bili u drugom rangu iza papa.

<sup>29</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 201.

<sup>30</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 205-207.

uspostavljenu gospodarsku osnovu i čak doveli do svršetka kasno-antičkog svijeta.<sup>31</sup>

Urbano i ruralno pučanstvo bilo je devastirano kugom koja je pogodila Italiju početkom 543. i u valovima se ponavljala do 740-tih godina.<sup>32</sup> Nakon smrti cara Justinijana I. (565.) u Italiji je stradalo pučanstvo od kuge koja je izbila i 566. godine. Kao i, vrlo vjerojatno, na susjednom prostoru Dalmacije, i gradovi u Italiji su razarani sukladno tim prirodnim događajima kao i učestalim ratovima između Istočnih Gota i Bizantinaca. Pisci poput Prokopa i Grgura Velikog opisuju krajobraz napušten od ljudi.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Postoje dokazi od Kasiodora, Prokopa i drugih autora iz tako udaljenih krajeva kao što je Kina, o klimatskim događajima 536. ili 537. Izvori govore o tamnom nebu i zamračenju Sunca koje je potrajalo više od godine dana. Znanstvenici razmišljaju da je to moglo biti uvjetovano snažnom vulkanskom erupcijom ili kometom. U svakom slučaju rečeno je da je utjecalo na usjeve. Ti su događaji, čine se, u to doba bili doživljavani kao nesreća, ali dokazi o godovima drveća dokazuju da je zemljina klima postala osjetno hladnija narednih deset godina kao posljedica tih događaja (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, bilj. 1). Grgur Veliki bilježi ozbiljne poplave u Rimu i Veroni 589., što je izazvala obilna kiša (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, bilj. 2-4). Sabrane spoznaje navele su mnoge znanstvenike na pomisao kako je 6. stoljeće označilo početak hladnijeg i vlažnog razdoblja, poznatog pod nazivom Vandal Minimum, koje je potrajalo do oko 850. (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, bilj. 5).

<sup>32</sup> Stupanj mortaliteta teško je dokučiti ali neki znanstvenici pretpostavljaju da je bila slična Crnoj Smrti, ubijajući 30 % ili više pučanstva, posebice u urbanim arealima. Izbijanje bolesti zabilježeno je u Ravenni za 560-e, 591.-592. i 600.-602. godine (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, bilj. 6).

<sup>33</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 205.

Urban and rural population was devastated by plague which appeared in Italy at the beginning of 543 reappearing in waves until 740s.<sup>32</sup> After the Emperor Justinian's death (565) population in Italy suffered from plague which broke out in 566. Cities in Italy were destroyed due to these natural catastrophes as well as frequent wars between the Ostrogoths and Byzantines, as was probably the case in the neighbouring region of Dalmatia. Writers such as Procopius and Gregory the Great described deserted landscape.<sup>33</sup>

Long-lasting war with the Byzantines destroyed the Kingdom of Ostrogoths not only in the military sense but also the administrative organization conceived by Theodoric. Taxation system broke due to wars and demographic crisis. Order had to be restored so that Justinian issued an imperial edict in 554 known as the Pragmatic Sanction which prescribed how exactly to put it into practice.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Mortality rate is difficult to discern, but some scholars assume it was similar to the Black Death, killing 30 % or more of the population, particularly in the urban areas. Disease outbreaks were recorded in Ravenna in the years 560, 591, 592 and 600-602 (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 203, note 6).

<sup>33</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 205.

<sup>34</sup> Pragmatic Sanction is a particular document delineating new social and political order which respected the best elements of the previous period. This means that laws issued by Amalasuintha, Athalaric and Theodahad were supposed to be respected, but not the ones by Totila. Properties which changed ownership during the war were supposed to be returned to the previous owners. Payments to *grammatici*, orators, physicians and lawyers had to continue so that knowledge and education could continue to develop (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 207, notes 22-23).

Dugotrajni rat s Bizantincima razorio je ne samo vojnički Kraljevstvo Istočnih Gota, već i administrativni ustroj kojega je osmislio Teodorik. Sustav poreza slomio se pod udarom ratova i demografske krize. Morao se obnoviti red, pa je 554. Justinijan izdao carski edikt poznat kao Pragmatička sankcija, koji je podrobno odredio kako će se to provesti.<sup>34</sup>

Zahvaljujući statusu političkog središta Ravenna je postala kozmopolitskim gradom s etnički raznolikom populacijom. Preostali su Istočni Goti, romansko pučanstvo, Grci i Orientalci. Službeni i uobičajeni jezik bio je latinski ali se susreću i dokumenti na grčkom jeziku. Bankari, trgovci svilom, liječnici i bilježnici spominju se u dokumentima i dokazuju još cvatuće gospodarstvo. Ubrzo nakon 540. ravenska kovnica proizvodi zlatni novac prema carskom predlošku i kroz bizantsku epohu nastavila je proizvoditi novce u zlatu, srebru i bronci.<sup>35</sup>

Još 567. Ravenna je bila *caput Italiae*, ali nakon 570. nije više bila glavnim gradom carstva ili kraljevstva, već provincije koja se ubrzano smanjivala. Egzarh je bio

Owing to status of a political center Ravenna became a cosmopolitan city with ethnically diverse population. Ostrogoths, Roman population, Greeks and Orientals remained living in the city. Official and common language was Latin, but there are also documents in Greek. Bankers, silk merchants, physicians and notaries were mentioned in the documents and confirm that the economy was still flourishing. Soon after 540 the mint from Ravenna produced golden coins after an imperial copy. Throughout the Byzantine era it continued to produce golden, silver and bronze coins.<sup>35</sup>

Still in 567 Ravenna had been *caput Italiae*, but after 570 it was no longer the capital of the empire or kingdom, but of a province which was rapidly shrinking. The exarch was a relatively minor representative of an emperor who lived somewhere away.<sup>36</sup> Bishops and archbishops were the ones who represented the identity – iconographically, historiographically and politically, as heirs of secular rulers of Ravenna.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Pragmatička Sankcija je osobiti dokument koji ocrta novi socijalni i politički red koji je uvažavao najbolje elemente prethodne epohe. To znači da su se u praksi trebali respektirati zakoni doneseni od strane Amalasuina, Athalarica i Theodahada, ali ne i od Totile. Vlasništvo koje je promjenilo vlasnika tijekom rata trebalo je vratiti izvornim vlasnicima. Plaćanja gramaticima, oratorima, liječnicima i pravnicima morala su se nastaviti kako bi znanje i edukacija nastavili svoj cvat (D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 207, bilj. 22-23).

<sup>35</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 209, bilj. 38.

<sup>35</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 209, note 38.

<sup>36</sup> The first mention of exarch (*exarchus*) appeared in Italy in 584, after the Pragmatic Sanction. Exarch who was sent from Constantinople was in charge of military and civilian questions. Besides the exarch in the late sixth century military function was obtained by the individuals with military titles such as *magister militum*, *dux* and *tribunus*. Before the year 600 these officials were sent from Constantinople to Ravenna with military contingents, sometimes recruited among the barbaric population in the Balkans, and sometimes directly from the East.

<sup>37</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 208-209, notes 31-33.

relativno minorni predstavnik vladara koji je živio negdje podalje.<sup>36</sup> Biskupi i nadbiskupi su bili ti koji su, kao nasljednici sekularnih vladara Ravenne predstavljali identitet – ikonografski, historiografski i politički.<sup>37</sup>

3. Dakle, na temelju nekih činjenica navedenih o Ravenni, gradu koji je svakako odigrao važnu ulogu tijekom kasne antike, pa je sukladno tome bitno utjecao i na događaje na istočnoj obali Jadrana, mogu se svakako povući određene paralele. Posebice s kasnoantičkom Salonom i Jaderom. Analize tih podudarnosti i sveza svakako su zadatci koje tek trebaju temeljito rješavati humanistička i druga znanstvena polja. Povijesni i ini događaji na Apeninskom poluotoku imali su tijekom 6. stoljeća kako posrednog, tako i neposrednog odraza na istočnojadransku obalu i njezino dublje zaleđe. Preseljavanjem Langobarda 568. godine u savezu s brojnim drugim autohtonim i inim etničkim skupinama iz Panonije u Italiju, nakon vladavine Justinijana I, stvoren je bitan demografski hijatus kojega će postupno potkraj 6. i početkom 7. stoljeća popunjavati velike mase Slavena i drugih naroda.

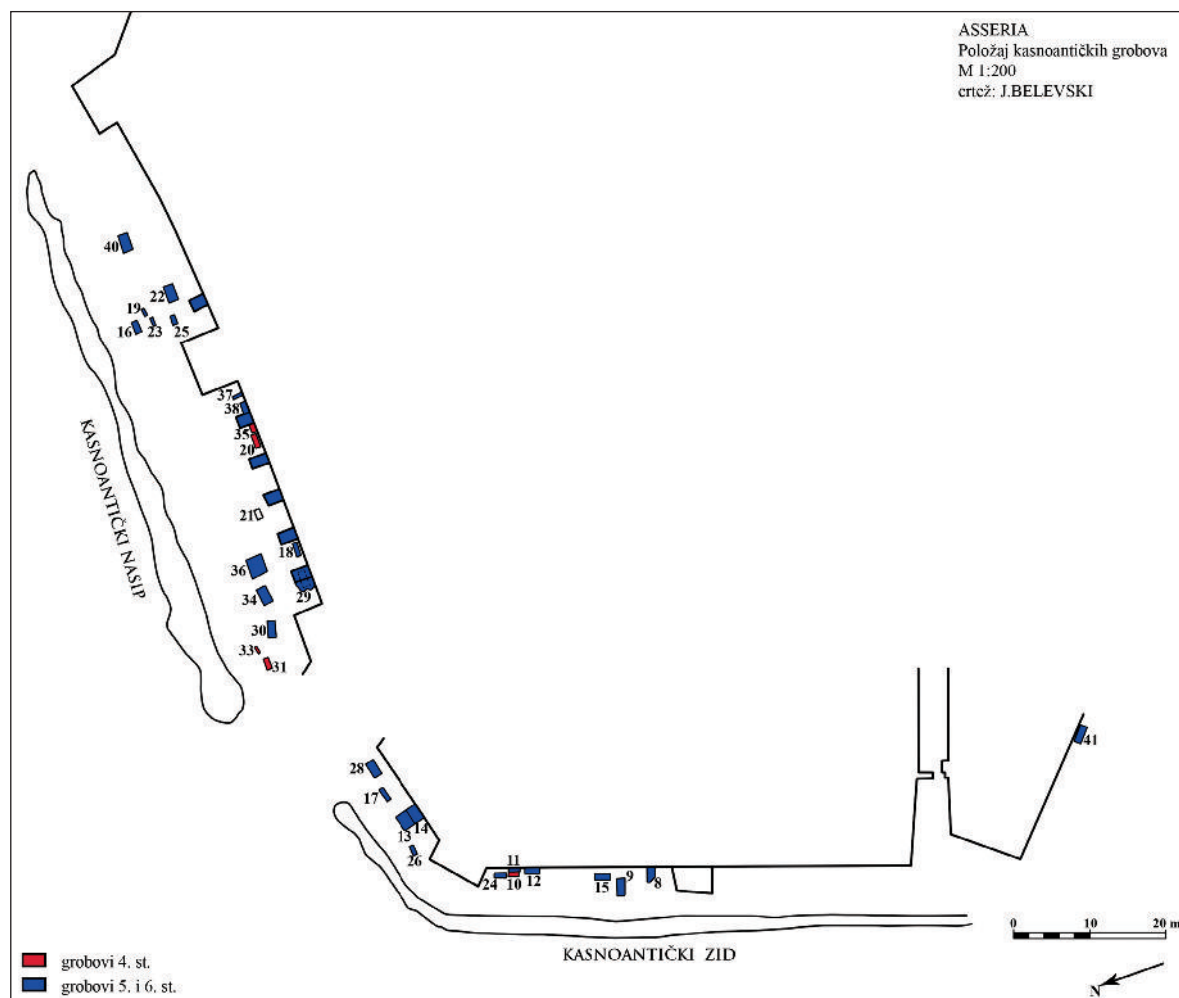
<sup>36</sup> Prvi spomen egzarha (exarchus) pojavio se u Italiji 584. godine, dakle nakon Pragmatičke Sankcije. Egzarh je obnašao istodobno vojnu i civilnu vlast, a bio je odaslan iz Konstantinopola. Pored egzarha u kasnom 6. stoljeću civilnu dužnost su obavljali i pojedinci s vojničkim titulama poput magister militum, dux i tribunus. Prije 600. godine ti dužnosnici bili su slani iz Konstantinopola u Ravennu zajedno s kontingentima postrojbi, ponekad novačenih među barbarskim pučanstvom na Balkanu a ponekad neposredno s istoka.

<sup>37</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, 2010, 208-209, bilj. 31-33.

3. On the basis of certain facts about Ravenna, the city which definitely played an important role during Late Antiquity, affecting thereby events on the eastern Adriatic coast, certain parallels can be drawn, particularly with late antique Salona and Iader. Analyses of these correspondences and connections are definitely tasks which should be solved detailedly by the humanistic and other scientific fields. Historical and other events on the Apennine Peninsula during the sixth century had direct and indirect influences on the eastern Adriatic coast and its deeper hinterland. Resettling of the Langobards in 568 in alliance with many autochthonous and other ethnical groups from Pannonia to Italy, after the reign of Justinian I, resulted in an important demographic hiatus which will gradually be filled with great masses of Slavs and other populations at the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries.

What was definitely an important connection between the two coasts in the Justinian's era was the existence of the Byzantine thalassocracy in the Adriatic which during and after successfully ended war of the Byzantine Empire against Ostrogoths (535-555) enabled safe sea connection between Istria, Dalmatia, neighbouring Italic coast and Constantinople.<sup>38</sup> How strong was the connection between the two Adriatic coasts will be revealed only by the future aimed research. In a certain sense they probably shared the same fate. There were

<sup>38</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 23-34.



Sl. 11. Situacijski plan kasnoantičke Aserije tijekom 6. stoljeća s položajem gradskog predzida (proteihizma), kontrafora i skupina grobova (crtež: J. Belevski)

*Fig. 11. Ground plan of 6th century Late Roman Asseria with the position of the city's outer wall – proteichisma, buttresses and groups of graves (drawn by J. Belevski).*

Ono što je svakako bila važna poveznica dviju obala u Justinijanovoj epohi je postojanje bizantske talasokracije nad Jadranom koja je, tijekom i nakon uspješno okončanog rata Bizantskog carstva protiv Ostrogota (535.-555.) osigurala sigurnu pomorsku svezu Istre, Dalmacije i susjedne italske

definitely administrative, religious, military and trade connections since this was a safe naval route defended by a series of well distributed forts mostly in the archipelago and littoral alongside navigable eastern coast of the Ionius' Bay.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1998.



obale s Konstantinopolom.<sup>38</sup> Koliko je snažna sveza postojala između dviju jadranskih obala, kao što smo ranije spomenuli, dokazat će svakako tek buduća usmjerena istraživanja. U određenom smislu jamačno su dijelile jedinstvenu sudbinu. Svakako su postojale administrativne, vjerske i vojne te svakako trgovačke sveze, jer se radilo o sigurnom plovnom putu branjenom nizom vješto raspoređenih utvrda ponajviše na arhipelagu i priobalju uz plovno pogodnu istočnu obalu Jonijevog zaljeva.<sup>39</sup>

Podsjetimo se u nastavku nakratko nekih bitnih činjenica koje osvjetljavaju scenu ratnih događaja na istočnojadranskoj obali tijekom Justinijanove rekonkviste Dalmacije. Bitno je napomenuti kako je tijekom istočnogotsko-bizantskog ratovanja Salona uz Skardonu bila od presudne važnosti za ostvarenje konačnog cilja oslobađanja carske provincije i uspostave sigurne vlasti. Već je 536. bizantski vojskovođa Mund, strateg Ilirika, prodro u Dalmaciju i zauzeo je Salonu, strateški važnu točku na istočnojadranskoj obali te glavni grad nekadašnje rimske provincije Dalmacije.<sup>40</sup> Zauzećem Salone Carstvo je steklo talasokraciju na Jadranu u kojemu je upravo istočna obala tijekom dvadesetogodišnjeg rata s Istočnim Gotima bila Bizantincima od presudne važnosti jer se s te obale mogla dosegnuti svaka točka na

Let us remember briefly some important facts which shed light on the scene of war events on the eastern Adriatic coast during the Justinian's reconquista of Dalmatia. It is important to mention that during the Ostrogothic-Byzantine wars Salona and Scardona were crucially important for reaching final aim of liberating the imperial province and establishing secure government. As early as 536 Byzantine army-leader Mundus, strategos of Illyricum, penetrated Dalmatia and occupied Salona, a strategically important position on the eastern Adriatic coast and the capital of the former Roman province of Dalmatia.<sup>40</sup> With occupation of Salona the Empire won thalassocracy in the Adriatic in which exactly the eastern coast during the twenty-year long war with the Ostrogoths was crucial for the Byzantines as they could reach any point on the neighbouring Italic coast from the eastern one.<sup>41</sup> Thalassocracy in the Adriatic was crucial in the military operations around Ravenna, the Po river valley and northern Italy. In our opinion Dalmatia was an important offensive basis which was confirmed in the forties during the Ostrogothic offensive. In the early fifties of the sixth century the eastern Adriatic coast and the Adriatic sea were important in the advancement of the Byzantine army under the army leader Belisarius towards Italy.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 23-34.

<sup>39</sup> Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1998.

<sup>40</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 24-25, b.V,5,2.

<sup>40</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 24-25, b.V,5,2.

<sup>41</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 25.

<sup>42</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 25.

susjednoj italskoj obali.<sup>41</sup> Talasokracija nad Jadranom bila je presudna u vojnim operacijama oko Ravenne, doline rijeke Po i sjeverne Italije. Mišljenja smo kako je Dalmacija bila i važnom desantnom osnovom što je potvrđeno i četrdesetih godina, u razdoblju ostrogotske ofanzive. Početkom pedesetih godina 6. stoljeća istočna obala Jadrana i Jadransko more važni su za napredovanje bizantske vojske pod vođstvom Belizarom prema Italiji.<sup>42</sup>

Nakon kraćeg povlačenja iz Salone vojskovođa Konstancijan s flotom iz Epidamna dolazi do Salone koju osvaja 536. a istočnogotska vojska povlači se prema sjeverozapadu u Skardonu, te potom u Ravennu. Tako su Bizantinci bez borbe povlastili čitavu Dalmaciju i Liburniju.<sup>43</sup>

Ostrogotski kralj Vitigis pokrenuo je ponovno operacije za oslobađanje istočnojadranske obale koje su vođene oko Skardone i osobito oko Salone koju je obranio vojskovođa Konstancijan koncentracijom postrojbi iz svih utvrda duž kopnenih i pomorskih komunikacija<sup>44</sup> i obnovom gradskih bedema (vjerojatno pojačanih pentagonalnim kulama, posebice na sjevernom dijelu). Neuspjeh pod Salonom naveo je Istočne Gote na ponovno povlačenje iz Dalmacije.

Prema mišljenju Goldsteina Dalmacija je bila odmorište i pribježište bizantske

After shorter retreat from Salona army leader Constantianus with the fleet from Epidamnus came to Salona which he conquered in 536 and the Ostrogothic army retreated towards north-west in Scardona, and then in Ravenna. In that way the Byzantines conquered entire Dalmatia and Liburnia without fights.<sup>43</sup>

Ostrogothic king Witigis started anew operations for liberation of the eastern Adriatic coast which took place around Scardona and particularly around Salona which was defended by the army leader Constantianus by concentrating units from all forts along land and naval communications<sup>44</sup> and renewing city walls (probably reinforced by pentagonal towers, particularly in the northern part). Failure at Salona made the Ostrogoths leave Dalmatia again.

According to the opinion of Goldstein Dalmatia was a resting place and a shelter of the Byzantine army. Procopius mentions that the Ionius' bay was controlled by the Byzantines.<sup>45</sup> In 549 new Ostrogothic king Totila with his army leader Indulf attacked Dalmatia (the Makarska littoral), but not Salona. This attempt failed. In 550 Byzantine army spent winter in Salona, and in 551 it defeated the Ostrogothic fleet near Senigallia.

Under the imperial government of Justinian I Italy was finally united only in 563 by expelling Franks from Veneto. That fact definitely affected indirectly relative

<sup>41</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 25.

<sup>42</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 25.

<sup>43</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 27, b. 28.

<sup>44</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 28.

<sup>43</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 27, b. 28.

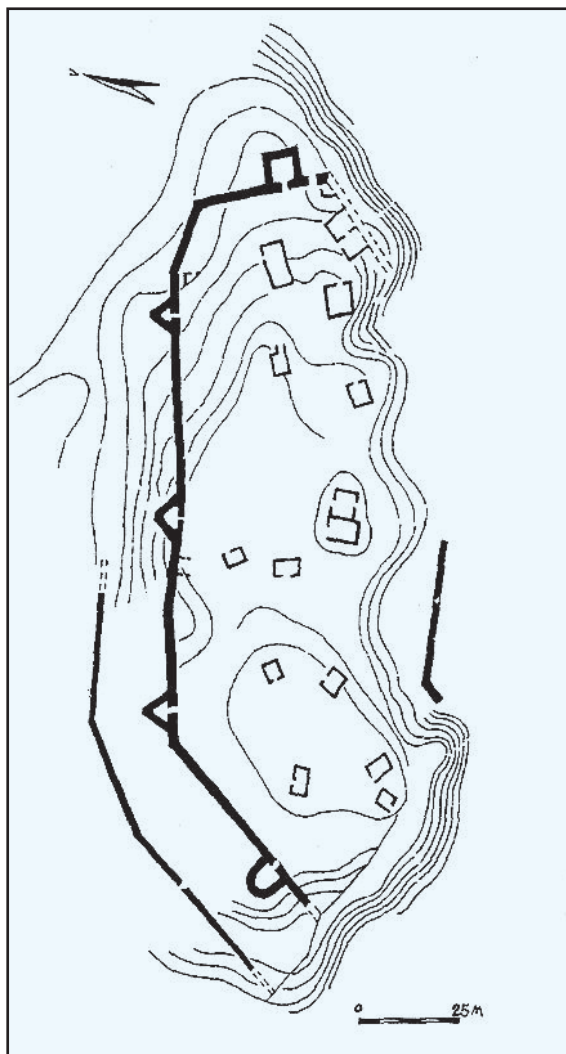
<sup>44</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 28.

<sup>45</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 29; PROKOPIUS, VII, 2, 16.

vojske. Prokop navodi da je Jonijev zaljev bio pod kontrolom Bizantinaca.<sup>45</sup> Novi ostrogotski kralj Totila 549. godine napao je s vojskovođom Indulfom Dalmaciju (Makarsko primorje) ali ne i Salonu. Bilo je to bez uspjeha. Bizantska vojska je 550. prezimila u Salonu a 551. je porazila brodovlje Istočnih Gota kraj Senigalije.

Pod carskom upravom Justinijana I. Italija je konačno ujedinjena tek 563. godine potiskivanjem Franaka iz Veneta pa je i ta činjenica svakako imala neposrednog odraza na relativnu sigurnost promatranog područja uz istočnu jadransku obalu.

4. Pored te izvanjske prometne magistrale Jadranom u priobalju i zaobalju Dalmacije od antičkih vremena postojala je razgranana cestovna mreža. Važnost primorske longitudinalne i baze uočena je znatno ranije kako je to posebice dobro prepoznato od našeg vrsnog znanstvenika S. Čače, koji s pravom drži podjednako važnom, tj. prioritetnom i kopnenu primorsku magistralu od Jadera do Narone.<sup>46</sup> Još u ranoj etapi Augustove vladavine, tj. ranih 20-ih godina pr. Kr., kada nastupa urbano uređenje kolonije Jader i gradnja bedema, pada i uređenje ceste sa Salonu, urbanim središtem provincije. Tada pored Skardone, važne luke prolazi cesta za Salonu a Skardona je ishodištem prometnice do Burnuma, nedalekog ključnog vojnog uporišta.<sup>47</sup> Povezanost Aserije s



Sl. 12. Kastron Qaffa u Albaniji s primjerom predzidova (proteichizma) (prema: Gj. Karaiskaj, 1998.)

*Fig. 12. Castron Qaffa in Albania with exemplary outer wall (proteichisma) (after Gj. Karaiskaj, 1998).*

security of the observed area along the eastern Adriatic coast.

4. Besides this outer Adriatic communication, in the coastal region of Dalmatia and its hinterland there was a developed road system. Importance of the coastal longitudinal and basis

<sup>45</sup> I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 29; PROKOPIUS, VII, 2, 16.

<sup>46</sup> S. ČAČE, 2008.

<sup>47</sup> S. ČAČE, 2008, 19.

tom "jadranskom cestom" bila je izvrsna. To se odnosi na cestovnu svezu s Jaderom, potom u smjeru pristaništa (Pakoštani) u okolini Biograda te prema Skardoni.<sup>48</sup>

Dakle, upoznali smo neke bitne elemente antičke matrice na kojoj će se tijekom 6. st. oblikovati kasnoantička, pa potom i ranosrednjovjekovna matrica. Pored te važne prometne mreže naslućeni su i analizom *Kozmografije* dokazani najstariji podatci o nastajanju novoga sustava naseljavanja u našem primorju.<sup>49</sup> Dakle, utvrđivanje je prostora na temelju podataka iz *Kozmografije* anonimnog Ravenjanina "...uvelike uznapredovalo još i prije 6. st., kada će sustavnim naporima, vjerojatno već od ostrogotske vlasti, a zatim osobito pod Justinijanom, čitava pokrajina biti prekrivena gustom mrežom raznih utvrđenja, od gradova do malih tvrđava i izvidnica"<sup>50</sup>.

Justinijanova rekonkvista unosi novine u obrambenom graditeljstvu diljem njegova ogromnog sredozemnog carstva, pri

was noticed considerably earlier as excellently recognized by our outstanding scholar S. Čače who rightfully considers land coastal road from Iader to Narona just as important i.e. having priority.<sup>46</sup> In the early phase of the Augustus' reign i.e. in the early 20s BC when the colony of Iader was organized urbanistically and its walls were built, road to Salona, urban center of the province was also built. Road to Salona passed by Scardona, an important port, which was a starting point of the road to Burnum, a nearby crucial military stronghold.<sup>47</sup> Asseria was well connected with this "Adriatic road". This refers to the road connection to Iader, then in the direction of the port (Pakoštane) in the vicinity of Biograd and towards Scardona.<sup>48</sup>

We have presented some important elements of the ancient pattern on which late antique pattern was about to be formed in the sixth century, and early medieval one later on. Besides this important road system, the earliest data about the formation of new settlement system in our littoral were assumed and

<sup>48</sup> Prometnica Jader – Salona morala je prema mišljenju S. Čače imati veliko značenje. Tijekom stabilizacije rimske vlasti Aserija je dobila izvrsnu cestovnu vezu s dvama gradovima koji su u to doba u punom usponu, Jaderom i Skardonom, kao i provincijskom metropolom, Salonom. To je prema mišljenju S. Čače (2008, 25) svakako moralo doprinijeti privlačnosti maloga grada u srcu Kotara, pored plodnoga zemljišta i ujedno na gotovo idealnom mjestu za povezivanje primorja sa zaleđem. To je svakako bilo poticajem ranog doseljavanja imućnih i poduzetnijih rimskih elemenata koji su se očividno dobro snašli u domaćoj sredini (A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 7-72).

<sup>49</sup> S. ČAČE, 1993, 431.

<sup>50</sup> S. ČAČE, 1993, 430.

<sup>46</sup> S. ČAČE, 2008.

<sup>47</sup> S. ČAČE, 2008, 19.

<sup>48</sup> Road Jader – Salona had to have great importance according to S. Čače. During the stabilization of the Roman power Asseria had excellent road connection with two cities which were blossoming at the time, Iader and Scardona, as well as with the provincial metropolis, Salona. In the opinion of S. Čače (2008, 25) this definitely had to contribute to attractiveness of the small town in the heart of Kotari, besides fertile land and almost ideal position in connecting the littoral with the interior. This was definitely an impetus for settling of the wealthy and enterprising Roman elements who evidently accommodated well in the local surroundings. (A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 7-72).

čemu je učestala pojava tzv. proteichisme – predzidova,<sup>51</sup> odnosno određenih tipova kula te niza drugih inovacija. Analizirajući vojno graditeljstvo 6. i početka 7. stoljeća u Albaniji Gj. Karaiskaj izdvaja kao znakovit primjer kastel na prijevoju Qaffa (Čafa) na kojem se kao primjer novog elementa obrambenog graditeljstva pojavljuje predzid, tzv. *proteichisma*, primjeren Justinijanovoj epohi /Sl. 12/.<sup>52</sup> Na istočnoj obali Jadrana nailazimo na vrlo lijepi primjer proteichizme uokolo justinijanskih kasta na položajima *Gradina* i *Gustijerna* na otoku Žirju. Posebice je znakovit primjer predzida na položaju *Gradina* na otoku Žirju kojega oblikuju veliki kamenerni blokovi – “megaliti“, vješto raspoređeni poput dodatnog vijenca uokolo impozantnih zidina kastrona. Kao znakoviti primjer pojave predzidova izdvojili bi u Makedoniji kastron Scupi (Skopje) i kastel Taor, vjerojatno Tauresium u kojem je rođen car Justinijan I. Veliki grad Antiohija također je u elemente fortifikacije uvrstila predzidove. Proteichisma je, uz ostale novine u obrambenom graditeljstvu, bila sigurno vrlo raširena novina

confirmed by the analysis of *Cosmographia*.<sup>49</sup> Fortification of the region on the basis of the information from *Cosmographia* by an anonymous author from Ravenna «... had progressed considerably even before the sixth century, when the entire province was covered with dense system of fortifications, from cities to small forts, due to systematic efforts, probably from the Ostrogothic power onwards, and then particularly under Justinian». <sup>50</sup>

Justinian's reconquista introduced novelties in the defensive architecture across his vast Mediterranean Empire, with frequent use of the so-called proteichisma – outer wall,<sup>51</sup> then also certain tower types and a series of other innovations. In the analysis of the military architecture of the sixth and early seventh centuries in Albania, Gj. Karaiskaj singles out as an interesting example a castellum at the Qaffa saddle which has an outer wall (*proteichisma*) as an example of a new element of defensive architecture, characteristic of the Justinian's era /Fig. 12/.<sup>52</sup> On the eastern Adriatic coast we can

<sup>51</sup> Д. ОБЧАПОВ, 1973, 11-23; B. ALEKSOVA – C. MANGO, 1971, 265-277.

<sup>52</sup> Gj. KARAIKAI, 1998, 869, Abb. 5. U kasnojustinijansko doba obično se zazidava ulaz u predzidu, a glavni se ulaz u utvrdu suzuje. To je odraz razdoblja velikih opasnosti! Pojava zazidavanja vrata u justinijansko se doba primjećuje primjerice na gradu Byllisu u Albaniji. Pored toga Prokop spominje brojna mjesta u kojima su u njegovo doba bili zazidavani ulazi. U Onchesmosu (Albanija) se također pojavljuje predzid (*proteichisma*) a istodobno se zazidava i sjeverni ulaz u grad. Taj su grad između 578.-582. razorili Slaveni.

<sup>49</sup> S. ČAČE, 1993, 431.

<sup>50</sup> S. ČAČE, 1993, 430.

<sup>51</sup> Д. ОБЧАПОВ, 1973, 11-23; B. ALEKSOVA – C. MANGO, 1971, 265-277.

<sup>52</sup> Gj. KARAIKAI, 1998, 869, Abb. 5. In the late Justinian's era entrance into the outer wall was walled, and the main entrance into the fort is narrowed. This is a reflection of the period of great perils! Phenomenon of walling the doors in the Justinian's era can be noticed e.g. in the city of Byllis in Albania. In addition Procopius mentions numerous places in which entrances were walled in his time. In Onchesmos (Albania) outer wall (*proteichisma*) also appears, and northern entrance to town is simultaneously walled. This city was destroyed by the Slavs between 578 and 582.

na brojnim primjerima diljem prostranog justinijanskog carstva.

Česti su i potpornji, tj. kontrafori a unutar većih kasta sakralni objekti, ali i cisterne za vodu. Problem brojnih utvrda ranobizantskog doba posebice je dobro proučen u Makedoniji.<sup>53</sup>

Opasnost mogućeg brzog povratka Istočnih Gota na utvrđene točke koje su od ranije koristili unutar svojeg kraljevstva, pa tako i u Aseriji, označili su potrebu užurbanog ojačavanja fortifikacija.<sup>54</sup> Stoga je razumljivo da se pri žurnoj gradnji proteihisme, kontrafora i kula, razgrađuju i objekti, koji su stradali tijekom ranijeg ratovanja Bizanta s Istočnim Gotima. Pritom se pored elemenata graditeljstva s javnih građevina (arhitravne grede) koriste i oni votivnog i sepulkralnog, dakle duhovnog karaktera (statua!). U toj razgradnji i podizanju snažnog predziđa, odnosno dodatnom pojačavanju obrambenog pojasa bedema Aserije ističe se odlučnost Justinijanove vojske da trajno obrani dosegnute točke na oslobođenoj crti ovog dijela sredozemne bojišnice.

Prema mišljenju Fadića tijekom 6. stoljeća uslijedila je posljednja faza izmjena obrambenog sustava Aserije. Tada se na sjeverozapadnoj strani Aserije podiže

find fine examples of proteichisma around the Justinianian castra at the positions of *Gradina* and *Gustijerna* on the island of Žirje. Example of the outer wall at the position of *Gradina* on the island of Žirje is particularly indicative as it is formed by large stone blocks – “megaliths”, skillfully arranged as an additional wreath around the monumental walls of the kastron. As other indicative examples of the appearance of the outer walls we may mention castrum Scupi (Skopje) in Macedonia and castellum Taor, probably Tauresium in which emperor Justinian I was born. Big city of Antiochia also used outer walls as an element of fortification. Proteichisma, together with other novelties in the defensive architecture, was definitely a very widespread new element on numerous examples across the vast Justinian’s empire.

Counterforts are also frequent, and within larger castra there were sacral objects as well as water cisterns. The problem of numerous forts of the early Byzantine period is particularly well studied in Macedonia.<sup>53</sup>

Danger of the possible quick return of the Ostrogoths to the fortified points that they used earlier within their kingdom, including Asseria, caused hasty reinforcement of the fortifications.<sup>54</sup> Therefore it is understandable that certain objects which were

<sup>53</sup> I. MIKULČIĆ, 1982.

<sup>54</sup> Iz sredine 6. stoljeća potječe i vijest iz Prokopa (Gotski ratovi III, 35) po kojoj je 549. godine bizantski vojni zapovjednik Klaudijan, “koji tada upravlja Salonom“, protiv Gota, koji su se iskrcali na dalmatinskoj obali, poslao bizantsku vojsku na brodovima, ali je doživio težak poraz.

<sup>53</sup> I. MIKULČIĆ, 1982.

<sup>54</sup> According to an information from Procopius (Gothic wars III, 35) which can be dated to the mid-sixth century, Byzantine military leader Claudian, „who was in charge of Salona at the time“, sent Byzantine army on ships against the Ostrogoths who landed on the Dalmatian coast, but experienced a difficult defeat.

obrambeni predzid s nasipom do ranocar-skog bedema.<sup>55</sup> Taj je predzid podignut na udaljenosti od oko 5 metara od kasnorepublikanskog masivnog bedema i iznenađujuće je ispunjen spolijama koje su nekad bili elementi monumentalne urbane i grobne arhitekture. To su nadgrobni spomenici tipa stele, grobne are, tzv. liburnski cipusi i sl.<sup>56</sup>

Općenito se kasnoantičko razdoblje na Aseriji prepoznaje na temelju velikih promjena u sustavu utvrđivanja grada i njegovom urbanom tkivu. Tome u prilog prije svega govore dogradnje i adaptacije fortifikacijskog sustava s predzidovima na sjevernoj i zapadnoj strani grada /Sl. 11/.<sup>57</sup> Potom je svakako od posebne važnosti i pojava ranokršćanskog sakralnog objekta na položaju antičkog foruma koji je prepoznat nakon uspješnih istraživanja slojevitog graditeljskog kontinuiteta unutar crkve sv. Duha u središnjem dijelu zaravni Aserije.<sup>58</sup>

devastated during the wars between Byzant and the Ostrogoths were deconstructed since proteichisma, counterforts and towers were built in a rush. In that process besides architectural elements from the public buildings (architave beams), elements of votive and sepulchral i.e. spiritual character (statue!) were also used. In this deconstruction and raising strong outer walls, i.e. additional reinforcement of the defensive belt of the Asseria walls, determination of the Justinian's army is emphasized to permanently defend reached points on the liberated line of this part of the Mediterranean warzone.

According to I. Fadić during the sixth century the last phase of the alterations of the defensive system of Asseria happened. That was when the defensive outer wall with the fill all the way to the early Imperial wall was built on the north-western side of Asseria.<sup>55</sup> This outer wall was built at the distance of about 5 m from the late Republican massive wall and it is surprising that it was filled with spolia which were once elements of monumental urban and cemeterial architecture. These are funerary monuments of the stela type, funerary altars, i.e. Liburnian cippi etc.<sup>56</sup>

Late antique period in Asseria can generally be recognized on the basis of great changes in the system of fortifying the city and its urban corpus. Annexes and adaptations of the fortification system with the

<sup>55</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 421-423, Sl. 12.

<sup>56</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 422, Sl. 12.

<sup>57</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001a, 69-89; I. FADIĆ, 2003, 1-103; I. FADIĆ, 2003a, 424.

<sup>58</sup> Uglešić je, čini nam se, vrlo uvjerljivo pokušao rekonstruirati izgled tlorisa ranokršćanske crkve sagrađene na samom forumu nekadašnje rimske Aserije (kraj Podgrađa) (A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 65, Sl. 51). Istraživanja na forumu je obavio svojedobno Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut iz Beča a potom od 1998. arheolozi iz Zadra (I. FADIĆ, 1999, 66-70). Ostatke ranokršćanskog kamenog namještaja i ukrasnih dijelova arhitekture iz te crkve na forumu objavili su F. Radić (1898, 21-26) i L. Marun (1998, *Stari-narski dnevnik*, prepisala i za tisak pripremila M. Petrinec (Katalozi i monografije, 4), Split. Na kapitel i stupiće bifore s ukrasom križa upozorio je Fadić (1999, 67-68, Sl. 1.) koji je istraživao položaj crkve sv. Duha.

<sup>55</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 421-423, Fig. 12.

<sup>56</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 422, Fig. 12.

Krajem 6. stoljeća na sjevernom plaštu ranocarskog bedema, između druge i treće, te između treće i četvrte rane kule podiže se po pet kontrafora /Sl. 9 i Sl. 10/.<sup>59</sup>

Vrlo je važan kronološki podataka za posljednju građevinsku fazu, koja se odnosi na sjeverozapadni obrambeni pojas Aserije, činjenica da je prvi od ranije spomenutih potpornjaka u sjevernom dijelu bedema nalegao na starokršćansku grobnicu na svod.<sup>60</sup> Postojanje svodene grobnice kao dijela groblja logično je uputilo autora istraživanja Aserije na nedaleki cemeterijalni sakralni objekt kojega datira na svršetak 5. ili početak 6. stoljeća.<sup>61</sup> Dakle, urbanu mikrotopografiju Aserije dopunjuje još jedna ranokršćanska crkva. Na postojanje te druge, vrlo vjerojatno, cemeterijalne crkve uputili su nalazi otkriveni u šuti s vanjske strane sjevernog gradskog bedema Aserije tijekom 2001. godine.<sup>62</sup> U šuti se naišlo na kameni crkveni namještaj, tj. poglavito dijelove pluteja. Riječ je o prostoru na kojem se otkrila nekropola kao i presvođena ranokršćanska grobnica.<sup>63</sup> Nadalje, nalaz grobnica zidanih od klesanog kamena i spolija iz ranoantičkog razdoblja, tehnikom gradnje kao i na temelju rijetkih popratnih pokretnih nalaza može se pripisati razdoblju od svršetka 5.

outer walls on the northern and western side of the city support this thesis /Fig. 11/.<sup>57</sup> Appearance of the early Christian sacral object at the position of the ancient forum is definitely particularly important which was recognized after successful excavations of the stratified architectural continuity within the Church of the Holy Spirit in the central part of the Asseria plain.<sup>58</sup>

Five counterforts were built at the end of the sixth century on the northern surface of the early Imperial wall, between the second and the third as well as between the third and the fourth early tower /Fig. 9 and Fig. 10/.<sup>59</sup>

The fact that the first out of previously mentioned counterforts in the northern segment of the wall laid on an early Christian vaulted tomb is very important chronologically for the last building phase which refers to the north-western defensive belt of

<sup>59</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, Sl. 13.

<sup>60</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 424, Sl. 13, 14.

<sup>61</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 423.

<sup>62</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2002, 56.

<sup>63</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 66.

<sup>57</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2001a, 69-89; I. FADIĆ, 2003, 1-103; I. FADIĆ, 2003a, 424.

<sup>58</sup> Uglešić tried to reconstruct the layout of the early Christian church built at the forum of Roman Asseria (near Podgrađe) very convincingly (A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 65, Fig. 51). Research at the forum was conducted by Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut from Vienna, and then from 1998 by archaeologists from Zadar (I. FADIĆ, 1999, 66-70). Remains of the early Christian stone furnishings and decorative architectural fragments from this church at the forum were published by F. Radić (1898, 21-26) and L. Marun (1998, *Starinarski dnevnik*, transcribed and prepared for the press by M. Petrincec (Katalozi i monografije, 4), Split. I. Fadić, who explored the position of the Church of the Holy Ghost payed attention to the capital and small columns of a mullioned window with a cross ornament (1999, 67-68, Fig. 1.).

<sup>59</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, Fig. 13.



do početka 6. stoljeća.<sup>64</sup> Prema Fadićevom uvjerenju kontrafori su mogli nastati krajem 6. ili na početku 7. stoljeća.<sup>65</sup>

U nedavno objavljenom pregledu novijih fibula i metalnih ukrasa otkrivenih tijekom sustavnih istraživanja Aserije u grobovima i uz vanjsku stranu gradskih zidina, sjeveroistočno od Trajanovih vrata i pored istočnog novog ulaza, M. Buora je prepoznao i nakit kojega opravdano datira u 6. a djelomično i u 7. stoljeće.<sup>66</sup> Posebice značkoviti nalaz predstavlja fibula nalik križu o kojoj je već ranije bilo govora a koja je česta pojava tijekom 6. stoljeća.<sup>67</sup> Nadalje, od posebne važnosti za našu temu je i primjerak bizantske fibule s povijenom nogom, vrlo raširene na prostoru pod neposrednim utjecajem Bizantskog carstva uz donji tok Dunava, dok su rjeđe u središnjem i istočnom Balkanu.<sup>68</sup> Preciznije kartiranje i analizu fibula s povijenom nogom obavio je Z. Vinski i dokazao njihovu relativno široku rasprostranjenost u sklopu donjo-dunavskog ranobizantskog limesa, potom diljem Balkanskog poluotoka, dok je najveću njihovu gustoću na tlu Dalmacije prepoznao u

Asseria.<sup>60</sup> Existence of the vaulted tomb as a part of a cemetery logically directed the author of the research of Asseria to a nearby cemeterial sacral object which was dated to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth centuries.<sup>61</sup> We can see that urban microtopography of Asseria is supplemented by another early Christian church. Existence of this other, probably, cemeterial church was indicated by the finds in the debris on the outer side of the northern city wall of Asseria during 2001.<sup>62</sup> Stone church furnishings i.e. particularly fragments of plutei were found in the debris. This was the area where a necropolis and a vaulted early Christian tomb were found.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, discovery of tombs made of dressed stones and spolia from the early Antiquity, can be dated to the period from the late fifth to the beginning of the sixth centuries on the basis of the building technique and scarce accompanying movable finds.<sup>64</sup> According to I. Fadić's opinion counterforts may have been made at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh centuries.<sup>65</sup>

In a recently published overview of newer fibulae and metal ornaments discovered during the systematic research of Asseria in

<sup>64</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 423, sl. 15, 16; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003; M. BUORA, 2008.

<sup>65</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 423.

<sup>66</sup> M. BUORA, 2008, 61-62.

<sup>67</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 20, 97; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003, 195-207; R. JURIĆ, 2005, 99-118; M. BUORA, 2008, 62, T. 1:8, bilj. 15-18.

<sup>68</sup> I. MIKULČIĆ, 2002, 19, 115; M. SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM, 1986; V. IVANIŠEVIĆ – P. ŠPEHAR, 2005, 138, Fig. 3, 1-4.

<sup>60</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 424, Fig. 13, 14.

<sup>61</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 423.

<sup>62</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2002, 56.

<sup>63</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 66.

<sup>64</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 423, Fig. 15, 16; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003; M. BUORA, 2008.

<sup>65</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 423.

Saloni i njezinoj regiji.<sup>69</sup> Fibule s povijesnom nogom prepoznate su kao učestala pojava 6. stoljeća, primjerena starosjedilačkom romaniziranom etnosu, karakteristična justinijanskoj i postjustinijanskoj epohi, kako u urbanim aglomeracijama, često utvrdama, tako i u grobljima. Često su združene s kopčama tipa *Sucidava* koje se također dovode u svezu sa romaniziranim etnosom.<sup>70</sup> Fibule s povijesnom nogom traju i nakon 600. godine u područjima gdje se romanizirani etnos uspio održati mimo asimilacijskog procesa prouzročenog novim valom slavenskih doseljenika.<sup>71</sup>

Stvarni trenutak propasti kasnoantičke Aserije dogodio se prema uvjerenju Fadića početkom 7. stoljeća, dakle u doba kada je i Salona doživjela propast.<sup>72</sup> Je li neki oblik kohabitacije autohtonog pučanstva i novodoseljenog etničkog superstrata ipak postojao? To je svakako vrlo važno pitanje na koje ćemo potvrdan ili negativan odgovor moći dobiti tek nastavkom sustavnih istraživanja na Aseriji.

5. U nastavku ćemo pokušati dati doprinos razumijevanju moguće uloge kasnoantičke Aserije u poznavanju organizacije Dalmacije u epohi cara Justinijana I. što je uz netom obrađena potpoglavlja i srž našeg priloga. Pritom valja naglasiti kako pod

graves and near the outer side of the city walls, north-eastern of the Trajan's gate and near the eastern new entrance, M. Buora recognized jewelry which he rightfully dated to the sixth, and partially also to the seventh centuries.<sup>66</sup> A cross-shaped fibula which has already been mentioned represents a particularly indicative find. This type of fibula is frequent during the sixth century.<sup>67</sup> Specimen of a Byzantine fibula with a folded foot is particularly interesting regarding our theme, which was very widespread in the region under the direct influence of the Byzantine Empire along the lower course of the Danube, whereas they are less frequent in the central and eastern Balkans.<sup>68</sup> A more precise mapping and analysis of the fibulae with a folded foot was provided by Z. Vinski testifying to their relatively widespread distribution within the early Byzantine limes on the lower Danube, then also across the Balkan Peninsula, whereas their densest distribution was recognized in Salona and its surrounding.<sup>69</sup> Fibulae with a folded foot were recognized as a frequent phenomenon of the sixth century, characteristic of the indigenous Romanized ethnos and Justinianian and post-Justinianian period, in urban agglomerations and forts, and at the

<sup>69</sup> Z. VINSKI, 1974, 38-39, tab. XXXII, 5-8, tab. XXXIII, 1-12, tab. XXXIV.

<sup>70</sup> Z. VINSKI, 1974, 40, prilog B.

<sup>71</sup> Z. VINSKI, 1974, 40.

<sup>72</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 424.

<sup>66</sup> M. BUORA, 2008, 61-62.

<sup>67</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 20, 97; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003, 195-207; R. JURIĆ, 2005, 99-118; M. BUORA, 2008, 62, T. 1:8, notes 15-18.

<sup>68</sup> I. MIKULČIĆ, 2002, 19, 115; M. SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM, 1986; V. IVANIŠEVIĆ – P. ŠPEHAR, 2005, 138, Fig. 3, 1-4.

<sup>69</sup> Z. VINSKI, 1974, 38-39, tab. XXXII, 5-8, tab. XXXIII, 1-12, tab. XXXIV.

pojmom Justinijanove epohe u našem radu u obzir uzimamo šire razdoblje do svršetka 6. odnosno i početka 7. stoljeća. Dakle, riječ je o justinijanskom i postjustinijanskom dobu unutar kojega je Dalmacija u vlasti cara u Konstantinopolu.

Diljem Justinijanova carstva se nakon uspješnih ratova sa sasanidskom Perzijom, Vandalima, Istočnim Gotima te Vizigotima a donekle i s novom silom sjeverno od Dunava – Slavenima i Avarima, podižu pojasevi raznolikih utvrda. Sve se to odigrava i na području Dalmacije, kako tijekom prve polovine 6. stoljeća, tako i do uspješnog okončanja dugotrajnog rata s Istočnim Gotima (555.), ali i do svršetka 6. stoljeća nakon kojega se ondje pojavljuju Slaveni.

Pri razmatranju slučaja Aserije i sličnih naselja svakako valja u obzir uzeti i uvjerljiva razmišljanja o realno postojećoj prethodnoj prapovjesnoj i potom antičkoj matrici u kojoj, u organizaciji prostora, prepoznajemo jasne potvrde postojanja jezgri utvrđenih naselja koja su se, obzirom na pogodne prirodne danosti položaja i šire agrarne okolice te prometne infrastrukture, održala i razvijala u prethodnim epohama. Jedna od takvih točaka svakako je bila liburnska te potom antička Aserija.

Moguće su te užurbane dopune i konstantne obnove obrambenog sustava brojnih kstra Justinijanove epohe, prepoznatog po našem uvjerenju i na primjeru Aserije, a prema povijesnim vrelima (Prokop i dr.) i na brojnim drugim utverdama na ogromnom prostoru Ilirika, odnosno južno od tokova Dunava i rijeke Save od Jadrana

cemeteries. They often appear with the Sucidava type of buckles which are also related to the Romanized ethnos.<sup>70</sup> Fibulae with a folded foot continue their existence after the year 600 in the regions where Romanized ethnos managed to sustain despite assimilation process caused by a new wave of Slavic settlers.<sup>71</sup>

In the opinion of I. Fadić, actual moment of Asseria's decline happened at the beginning of the seventh century, at the same time when Salona was destroyed.<sup>72</sup> Was there some form of cohabitation of the autochthonous population and the newly-settled ethnic superstratum? This is definitely a very important question which will be answered only after the continuation of the systematic research at Asseria.

5. In the continuation we will try to contribute to understanding of the possible role of late antique Asseria in the understanding of the organization of Dalmatia in the emperor Justinian I era which is the essence of our article alongside presented subchapters. It is worth mentioning that we consider the Justinian' era a broad period until the end of the sixth, i.e. beginning of the seventh centuries. We are discussing Justinianian and post-Justinianian period in which Dalmatia was under the rule of the emperor in Constantinople.

Across the Justinian's empire belts of various forts were built after the successful wars with the Sassanid Persia, Vandals, Ostrogoths and Visigoths, and to some extent

<sup>70</sup> Z. VINSKI, 1974, 40, appendix B.

<sup>71</sup> Z. VINSKI, 1974, 40.

<sup>72</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2003, 424.

do Crnoga mora, dočekale i trenutak masovnih prodora Slavena oko 600. godine. Dakle, te su utvrde, na tlu kasnoantičke Dalmacije vrlo vjerojatno očuvale materijalne i duhovne tragove suživota starosjedilačkog autohtonog liburnskog, potom poglavito romanskog pučanstva, odnosno ostataka germanskih skupina, ponajprije Istočnih Gota i Gepida, kao i pridošlih velikih šarolikih skupina panonskog pučanstva koje je tijekom razdoblja vladavine Justinijanovih nasljednika tražilo utočište u sigurnosti utvrđenih priobalnih gradova ili u sustavu kasta istočnog zaobalja Jadrana te i na arhipelagu. O tom šarenom multietničkom sastavu pučanstva Dalmacije tijekom završnih borbi s Istočnim Gotima govori podatak, da bizantski vojskovođa Narzes početkom 553. godine s flotom iz Salone preko Jadrana prema području Venecije prebacuje velike vojničke postrojbe sastavljene od Langobarda, Herula, Gepida, Huna i drugih barbarskih vojskovođa.<sup>73</sup> O nazočnosti germanskih skupina Istočnih Gota i Gepida u Dalmaciji nalazimo tvarne potvrde na nekoliko nalazišta.<sup>74</sup>

Složenim problemom organizacije vojne i civilne vlasti u Dalmaciji tijekom 6. stoljeća, posebice u epohi cara Justinijana I., posebno se i vrlo usmjerenom bavio naš istaknuti pravni povjesničar – romanist akademik Lujo Margetić, pa na ovom mjestu, s pravom, iscrpno koristimo njegove

with new power north of the Danube – Slavs and Avars. All this happened also in the Dalmatia region, during the first half of the sixth century, until the successful ending of the lengthy war with the Ostrogoths (555), and until the end of the sixth century after which Slavs appeared in this region.

In considering the case of Asseria and similar settlements we need to study plausible considerations about the realistically existing previous prehistoric and ancient pattern in which, in the spatial organization, we recognize clear confirmations of the existence of cores of fortified settlements which developed in previous epochs. One of such positions was definitely Liburnian and later Roman Asseria.

It is possible that these hasty annexes and constant renewals of the defensive system of numerous castra of the Justinian's era, in our belief recognized on the example of Asseria as well, and according to historical sources (Procopius etc.) on many other forts in the vast region of Illyricum, i.e. south of the Danube and Sava rivers from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, saw the moment of massive penetrations of Slavs around the year 600. These forts, in the area of late antique Dalmatia probably retained material and spiritual traces of coexistence of the indigenous autochthonous Liburnian, and particularly Roman population, i.e. remains of Germanic groups, primarily Ostrogoths and Gepids, and large newly-arrived diverse groups of the Pannonian population which were looking for a shelter in fortified coastal cities or in the castra system in the interior of the eastern Adriatic and the archipelago. Information that the Byzantine army leader Narses

<sup>73</sup> PROKOPIUS, VIII, 26, 22-23; I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 33.

<sup>74</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 1990; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 1996; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003a; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2007.

utemeljene spoznaje. Prema Margetiću ni u Africi ni u Italiji nije bio predviđen vrhovni vojni zapovjednik koji bi ujedinjavao vojnu komponentu nove bizantske vlasti.<sup>75</sup> Za egzarha, vojnoga zapovjednika bizantskog dijela Italije, znamo tek počevši od 584. godine. Justinijanove Novele sadrže vijesti o značajnim upravnim reorganizacijama provincija od 535. godine i dalje, ali o organizaciji Dalmacije nema ni u jednoj njegovoj Noveli ni riječi. Prema Margetiću Dalmacija ni potkraj 6. stoljeća nije bila prokonzularna provincija. Car Mauricije (582.-602.) poslao je u Dalmaciju Marcelina, osobu svoga povjerenja, koja je 593. imala titulu skolastika, a poslije prokonzula Dalmacije (ali ne prokonzula provincije Dalmacije)! Dalmacija čak još koncem 6. i početkom 7. stoljeća uopće nije bila provincija – ni prokonzularna ni konzularna, ni “obična” s praesesom na čelu. Dalmacija je potkraj 6. stoljeća bila pod vojnom upravom, što se vidi iz pisama pape Grgura I. Tako se u jednom pismu iz 596. godine, upućenom zadarskom kleru, *nobilibus ac popul* posebno spominje još i *militēs*, tj. vojska koja stoji preko svojih zapovjednika izravno pod središnjom vlašću.<sup>76</sup> I u pismu upućenom Maksimu “koji je prigrabio salonitansku biskupiju” spominje se *manus militaris*.<sup>77</sup> Svaki zapovjednik vojnog garnizona (froua) ili vojne postaje (filakterion), odnosno grada

at the beginning of 553 with a fleet transferred great military units consisting of Langobards, Heruli, Gepids, Huns and other barbaric army leaders from Salona over the Adriatic towards the Venice region speaks about this diverse multiethnic composition of the population of Dalmatia during the final battles with the Ostrogoths.<sup>73</sup> Presence of Germanic groups of Ostrogoths and Gepids is confirmed by material evidence at several sites in Dalmatia.<sup>74</sup>

Complex problem of organization of military and civilian government in Dalmatia during the sixth century, particularly in the Emperor Justinian's era, was studied comprehensively and in detail by our prominent lawyer and historian-romanist academician Lujo Margetić so that we will use his well-argued theses. According to Margetić, nor in Africa neither in Italy was there a head military commander who would unite military component of the new Byzantine power.<sup>75</sup> We know about the exarch, military commander of the Byzantine part of Italy, only after the year 584. Justinian's Novels contain news about the important administrative reorganizations of the provinces from the year 535 and further on, but there is not a word about the organization of Dalmatia in any of his Novels. According to Margetić Dalmatia was not a proconsular province not even at the end of the sixth century. The emperor

<sup>75</sup> L. MARGETIĆ, 2002, 474, bilj. 5, 475, 480.

<sup>76</sup> L. MARGETIĆ, 2002, n. 25.

<sup>77</sup> L. MARGETIĆ, 2002, 481.

<sup>73</sup> PROKOPIUS, VIII, 26, 22-23; I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 33.

<sup>74</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 1990; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 1996; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2003a; A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2007.

<sup>75</sup> L. MARGETIĆ, 2002, 474, note 5, 475, 480.

(vojni zapovjednici – tribuni), bio je u Dalmaciji u doba prvobitnog oslobađanja (zaposjedanja) pod vojnim zapovjedništvom čitavog područja (npr. Klaudijan), a poslije, od Mauricija, egzarha Italije, kao izravnog carevog predstavnika. U Justinijanovo doba je neposredna vojna vlast rješavala i civilna pitanja. Crkva je 550. godine u Dalmaciji imala patrimonium S. Petri pa je pravni poredak, u kojem je Crkva imala povlašteni položaj, postojao.<sup>78</sup> Dalmacija je najkasnije od 538. godine u potpunoj vlasti Bizanta.

6. Kakvo je stanje bilo na pragu ranoga srednjovjekovlja na ovdje promatranom dijelu zaobalja Jadrana? Na to vrlo složeno pitanje pruža nam samo djelomične odgovore *Cosmographia* anonimnog Ravenjanina.<sup>79</sup> U djelu “Kozmografija“, nastalom na razmeđu antike i srednjega vijeka, vjerojatno u 7. ili 8. stoljeću djelujući u Ravenni anonimni kozmograf promatra nasuprotno zaobalje istočne obale Jadrana, ali i dubine Panonije te bilježi ceste, putne postaje i udaljenosti među njima. *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* među imenima gradova, tj. *civitates* koji se redaju na važnoj cesti iz Salone spominje Aseriju pod nazivom *Seriem*.<sup>80</sup> Na toj sekciji Ravenjaninova itinerara u Kozmografiji (4, 16, 210, 17-18 i 211, 1-7) u blizini Aserije navode se i *civitates* Arberie (*Alveria*), Crambeis (*Clambetae* – Cvijina glavica)

Mauricius (582-602) sent to Dalmatia Marcellinus, a person whom he trusted, who had the scholastic title in 593, and later proconsul of Dalmatia (but not proconsul of the province of Dalmatia)! At the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries Dalmatia was still not a province – nor proconsular neither consular or “regular” with a praeses at the head. At the end of the sixth century Dalmatia was under the military rule which is evident from the letters of the Pope Gregory I. In a letter from 596, addressed to the Zadar clergy, *nobilibus ac populo* particularly mentions *militēs* i.e. army which was under the direct central rule through its commanders.<sup>76</sup> In a letter addressed to Maximus „who took over the Salonitan diocese“ *manus militaris* was mentioned.<sup>77</sup> Each commander of a military garrison (*froua*) or a military station (*filakterion*), i.e. of a city (military commanders – tribunes), was in Dalmatia under the military command of the entire region (e.g. Claudian) in the period of primary liberation (*seige*) and later, from Mauricius, exarch of Italy, as a direct emperor’s representative. In the Justinian’s era direct military government also dealt with civil questions. The church in Dalmatia in the year 550 had the patrimonium S. Petri indicating that there was legal constitution, with the church in a privileged position.<sup>78</sup> Dalmatia was under the rule of Byzantium from 538 at the latest.

<sup>78</sup> A. ŠKEGRO, 2001.

<sup>79</sup> S. ČAČE, 2003, 7-43.

<sup>80</sup> *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, Berolini, 1860, 210.

<sup>76</sup> L. MARGETIĆ, 2002, n. 25

<sup>77</sup> L. MARGETIĆ, 2002, 481.

<sup>78</sup> A. ŠKEGRO, 2001.

i Edino, zacijelo, Nadin (ant. *Nedinum*). Kozmograf iz Ravenna nam *de facto* ocrta "otoke života" koji postoje u 7. i 8. stoljeću u zaleđu Zadra. To su postaje, uz važnu prometnicu prema onodobnom središtu života – Jaderu (Zadru), koje su očuvale i u vrlo nemirnom dobu, na prijelazu iz kasne antike u rani srednji vijek, jasan kontinuitet života. Te postaje ujedno zadržavaju prvotnu ulogu čuvara preostalog autohtonog pučanstva koje se sklanja unutar snažnih bedema kasta. Civitas Seriem očuvao je svoju temeljnu ulogu tijekom prijelaza iz kasne antike u rani srednji vijek. Nakon doseljavanja Slavena oko 600. godine a nedugo potom i Hrvata, miješa se zatečeno autohtono pučanstvo s novonaseljenim etnosom. Poneke od tih navedenih kasnoantičkih utvrda svjedoče kontinuitet života od prapovijesti do u 17. stoljeće. U tom je smislu arheološki kompleks u Nadinu posebice znakovit primjer koji dokazuje kronostratigrafiju od ranog brončanog doba do 17. stoljeća.<sup>81</sup>

Od Justinijanove vladavine, točnije barem od 538. do 565. i sve do svršetka 6. stoljeća promatrani prostor pripadao je Dalmaciji, tj. Bizantskom carstvu. Gradovi koje su prekrili seobeni valovi početkom 7. st. (*Aenona*, *Scardona*, *Blandona* i sl.) nestali su zauvijek kao politička, crkvena i gospodarska središta okolnog stanovništva, dok je Zadar s agerom dočekao to doba kao živ

6. What was the situation like at the beginning of the Early Middle Ages in the hinterland of the Adriatic coastal region discussed here? Only partial answers to this very complex question can be found in *Cosmographia* by an anonymous author from Ravenna.<sup>79</sup> In the work *Cosmographia* written at the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages, probably in the seventh or eighth centuries, anonymous cosmographer from Ravenna observed coastal hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast, and of the depth of Pannonia recording roads, road stations and distances between them. *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* mentions Asseria under the name *Seriem* among the cities i.e. *civitates* on the important road from Salona.<sup>80</sup> In the vicinity of Asseria *civitates* Arberie (Alveria), Crambeis (Clambetae – Cvijina glavica) and Edino, probably, Nadin ( *Nedinum*) are also mentioned in this section of his itinerary in *Cosmographia* (4, 16, 210, 17-18 and 211, 1-7). Cosmographer from Ravenna depicts „islands of life“ which existed in the seventh and eighth centuries in the interior of Zadar. These stations, along an important road towards center of life at the time - Iader (Zadar) retained clear life continuity in a very restless period of transition from antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. These stations at the same time kept the primary role of protectors of the remaining autochthonous population which hid within the strong walls of the

<sup>81</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ – J. CHAPMAN, 1987, 72-74; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 11-80.

<sup>79</sup> S. ČAČE, 2003, 7-43.

<sup>80</sup> *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, Berolini, 1860, 210.

organizam.<sup>82</sup> Doseljavanjem novog pretežito slavenskog stanovništva dolazi i do promjene naziva *Asseria* u *Seriem*,<sup>83</sup> odnosno *Nedinum* u *Edino*, tj. Nadin te primjerice *Aenona* u Nin. Te znakovite jezične promjene susrećemo od početka 7. stoljeća diljem Dalmacije (*Narona* – Norin/ Kula Norinska, *Salona* – Solin, *Tnina* – Knin, *Aenona* – Nin, *Scardona* – Skradin i sl.). Od kopnenih gradova kasnije srednjovjekovne Donje Dalmacije, nije se ni jedan grad održao kao živo naselje. Sva središta antičke Liburnije redom su propala: *Varvaria* (Bribir), *Blandona* (na mjestu srednjovjekovnog Biograda), *Asseria* (Podgrađe kod Benkovca), *Scardona* (Skradin), *Aenona* (Nin), *Nedinum* (Nadin), *Clambetae* (Cvijina gradina) i drugi. Razlika je među njima bila možda samo u tome što je nekima posve nestao trag dok se kod drugih sačuvao bar kontinuitet imena i naseljenosti (Nin, Bribir, Skradin itd.). Propala su, prema tome, gotovo sva kopnena naselja na teritoriju Liburnije, pa i ona na samoj obali s izuzetkom Jadera (Zadra).<sup>84</sup>

Valja naglasiti, kako se u slučaju Aserije ili Ravenjaninova *Seriem*-a očuvala uspomena i na još jednu vrlo važnu sastavnicu njezine urbane mikrotopografije. Novodoseljeno slavensko pučanstvo zateklo je svakako nekakav suburbij Aserije i očuvalo uspomenu na njega u prevedenici *Podgray*

*castra*. *Civitas Seriem* preserved its basic role during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. After the arrival of Slavs about the year 600, and Croats shortly after, the autochthonous population mixed with the settlers. Some of the mentioned late antique forts testify to the continuity of life from prehistory until the 17th century. In that sense archaeological complex in Nadin is particularly indicative confirming chronostratigraphy from the Early Bronze Age until the 17th century.<sup>81</sup>

From the Justinian's reign, more precisely from 538 to 565 and until the end of the sixth century region in question belonged to Dalmatia, i.e. the Byzantine Empire. The cities which were overrun by migration waves at the beginning of the seventh century (*Aenona*, *Scardona*, *Blandona* etc.) disappeared for ever as political, ecclesiastical and economic centers of the surrounding population, whereas Zadar with the ager saw this period as a living organism.<sup>82</sup> Settling of new predominantly Slavic population caused the name *Asseria* to be changed to *Seriem*,<sup>83</sup> *Nedinum* to *Edino*, i.e. Nadin and for instance *Aenona* into Nin. These significant linguistic changes can be found from the beginning of the seventh century across Dalmatia (*Narona* – Norin/ Kula Norinska,

<sup>82</sup> N. KLAJIĆ, 1976, 52.

<sup>83</sup> S. ČAČE, 1995, 48, bilj. 142. Naziv grada *Seriem* očuvao se sve do 11./12. stoljeća kada se posljednji put spominje u ispravama.

<sup>84</sup> N. KLAJIĆ, 1976, 60.

<sup>81</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ – J. CHAPMAN, 1987, 72-74; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 11-80.

<sup>82</sup> N. KLAJIĆ, 1976, 52.

<sup>83</sup> S. ČAČE, 1995, 48, note 142. City name *Seriem* was preserved until the 11th/12th centuries when it was mentioned for the last time in the documents.



kojega susrećemo do naših dana u ojkonimu Podgrađe. Međutim, bitno je naglasiti kako današnje selo Podgrađe nije na položaju nekadašnjeg podgrađa Aserije ali je ono, što je od posebne važnosti, usmenom predajom prenijelo do naših dana jezičnu uspomenu na postojanje nekoć stvarnog kasnoantičkog podgrađa. Dakle, stara antička urbana jezgra Aserije u kasnoj antici, od Justinijanova doba (527.-565.), tj. barem od 538. godine, pa kroz čitavo 6. stoljeće, oblikuje se kao tipični kastron (proteichisma, kontrafori, kule, sakralni objekt te cisterna za vodu unutar grada i cemetrijalna crkva iz 5./6. st. s grobljem izvan sjeverozapadnog dijela bedema), uklopljen u onodobni obrambeni sustav Dalmacije sa središtem u Saloni. Pored ili podno tog utvrđenog naselja oblikuje se u kasnoj antici podgrađe koje će potom tijekom ranog srednjovjekovlja zadržati uspomenu na podgrađe, tj. naselje pod gradom – Aserijom/Seriem-om. Zanimljiv je i toponim *Gradina* na mjestu nekadašnje Aserije koji je očuvao uspomenu na postojanje nekadašnje utvrđene aglomeracije.<sup>85</sup>

Ranobizantska oppida, tj. gradovi kasteli, imali su akropole (akropolis), odnosno snažno utvrđeni, povišeni dio, poput onoga na sjeverozapadnom dijelu Aserije. Taj akropolis bio je pod vojnim zapovjedništvom. U takovom akropolisu bile su unutar perimetra bedema neke javne građevine, primjerice crkve, cisterne za vodu, stambeni i drugi objekti. Podno akropolisa razvijao se

*Salona – Solin, Tnina – Knin, Aenona – Nin, Scardona – Skradin etc.*). Out of inland cities of later medieval Lower Dalmatia, none retained as a living settlement. All centers of ancient Liburnia were ruined: *Varvaria* (Bribir), *Blandona* (at the place of medieval Biograd), *Asseria* (Podgrađe near Benkovac), *Scardona* (Skradin), *Aenona* (Nin), *Nedinum* (Nadin), *Clambetae* (Cvijina gradina) and others. The only difference between them was perhaps that some of them were completely erased whereas other retained at least the continuity of name and settlement. (Nin, Bribir, Skradin etc.). All inland settlements in the territory of Liburnia were ruined, and even the ones on the coast with the exception of *Iader* (Zadar).<sup>84</sup>

It is worth mentioning that in the case of Asseria or Seriem according to anonymous cosmographer from Ravenna a memory was preserved of a very important component of its urban microtopography. Newly-settled Slavic population definitely found a kind of suburbium of Asseria and kept a memory of it in a translation *Podgray* which is found in the oikonym Podgrađe until present day. However it is important to mention that present-day village of Podgrađe is not situated at the position of former suburbium of Asseria, but it transferred in oral tradition linguistic memory of the existence of a late antique suburbium which is particularly important. We can see that old ancient urban core of Asseria in Late Antiquity, from the Justinian's era (527-565), i.e. at least from

<sup>85</sup> Toponim *Gradina* vidljiv je na topografskom zemljovidu 1:25000 na mjestu Aserije.

<sup>84</sup> N. KLAJIĆ, 1976, 60.

tzv. astipolis, tj. suburbij, odnosno podgrađe, koje je civilnog karaktera, a u njemu su vrlo vjerojatno nekoć bili stambeni objekti, prodavaonice, radionice, kao i javni objekti, odnosno sadržaji duhovnog karaktera, primjerice crkve i pripadajuća groblja.

Podgrađa su ponekad bila također utvrđena ili otvorenoga tipa. Na taj način su takove utvrde (kasteli) postale pravi onodobni gradovi s čisto gradskim civilnim obilježjima. Dakle, potkraj antike ulogu polisa preuzele su takove utvrde kao sjedišta administracije, crkvene uprave, trgovine i gospodarstva za određeno područje.

Usporedno s Justinijanovom rekonkvistom diljem oslobođenih područja carstva pa sukladno tome i u Dalmaciji uslijedila je i duhovna obnova. Stoga je logično da se u tom razdoblju rane bizantske vlasti, odnosno vladavine cara Justinijana, prepoznaje snažan i izražen ponovni procvat kršćanstva. Ta je pojava prepoznata u onodobnom velikom urbanom središtu – Zadru i na cijelom njegovu području, tj. podjednako na arhipelagu, u priobalju i širem zaobalju.<sup>86</sup> To je općenito doba kada nastaje najveći broj ranokršćanskih crkava. Primjerice, u samom Zadru dograđuje se katedralni kompleks, a najvjerojatnije se obnavljaju i već postojeće crkve. Nove crkve nastaju i u Enoni, Aseriji, Nedinumu i drugim središtima.<sup>87</sup> S obzirom na to

the year 538 and throughout the sixth century, was formed as a typical kastron (proteichisma, counterforts, towers, sacral object, a water cistern within the city and a cemeterial church from the fifth and sixth centuries with a cemetery outside north-western segment of the wall), incorporated into the defensive system of Dalmatia with the center in Salona. Next to or underneath this fortified settlement suburbium was formed in Late Antiquity which will retain memory of suburbium during the Early Middle Ages i.e. memory of a settlement underneath a town – Asseria/Seriem. The toponym *Gradina* is also interesting preserving memory of the existence of the former fortified agglomeration.<sup>85</sup>

Early Byzantine oppida i.e. cities-castella had acropoleis i.e. strongly fortified, elevated segment, such as the one on the north-western part of Asseria. This acropolis was under the military command. In such an acropolis some public buildings were within walls perimeter such as churches, water cisterns, residential and other objects. Underneath the acropolis the so-called astipolis developed, i.e. suburbium which had a civilian character. Probably residential objects, shops, workshops and public objects were once situated in it as well as objects of spiritual character such as the churches and the accompanying cemeteries.

Suburbia were also occasionally fortified or of the open type. In that way such forts (castella) became true cities of the time with unmistakable urban civil characteristics. At the

<sup>86</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>87</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>85</sup> Toponym *Gradina* is visible on a topographic map 1:25000 at the place of Asseria.

da se život kasne antike velikim dijelom odvijao na posjedima u ageru, taj duhovni krajobraz dopunjavaju, gotovo na svim rustičnim vilama ili u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini crkve. One također nastaju u ruralnim naseljima (vikusima i pagusima). Takav primjer pruža crkva s grobljem u selu Lepurima u bližoj okolini Aserije. Kršćanstvo doživljava svoju najveću kulminaciju, dopire do svih prostora, a pokrštava se sve pučanstvo i gotovo u potpunosti nestaje i posljednjih prežitaka poganstva.<sup>88</sup>

S obzirom na to da je Jader bio dijelom Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva, i Zadarska je biskupija od svoga osnutka bila podređena Rimskoj crkvi, međutim, dolaskom pod vlast Bizanta a posebice uspostavljanjem bizantskog egzarhata u Raveni, u čiji sastav ulazi i cijela Dalmacija, zadarska biskupija potpada pod jurisdikciju Carigradske crkve.<sup>89</sup> Jader se razvijao na antičkoj osnovi a usprkos pustošenjima u kojima su poglavito stradavala naselja u zaobalju Dalmacije, zadržao je ne samo staru jezgru već i teritorij oko nje, tj. relativno prostrani ager pa time i vitalnost u kasnijim stoljećima.<sup>90</sup>

end of antiquity the role of polis was overtaken by such forts as seats of administration, ecclesiastical administration, trade and economy for a certain area.

Parallely with the Justinian's reconquista across the liberated regions of the empire including Dalmatia, a spiritual renewal followed. Therefore it is logical that in this period of the early Byzantine rule, i.e. of the Emperor Justinian's rule, a strong and distinct new rising of Christianity can be recognized. This phenomenon was recognized in the great urban center of the time – Zadar and in its entire surrounding, i.e. equally on the archipelago, coastal region and coastal hinterland.<sup>86</sup> This is generally the period when the greatest number of the early Christian churches was created. For instance, in Zadar the cathedral complex was extended, and the existing churches were most likely renewed. New churches were built in Aenona, Asseria, Nedinum and other centers.<sup>87</sup> Considering the fact that life in Late Antiquity was concentrated largely in the estates in ager, this spiritual landscape was enriched, at almost all rustic villas or their surrounding, with churches. They were also built in rural settlements (vici and pagi). Such example is provided by a church with a cemetery in the village of Lepuri in the vicinity of Asseria. Christianity reached its highest peak, penetrating all regions. All population was christianized and last traces of paganism almost completely disappeared.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>89</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>90</sup> N. KLAJČIĆ, 1976, 54.

<sup>86</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>87</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>88</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

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Naš osvrt na spoznaje pribavljene o kasnoantičkoj, tj. ranobizantskoj Aseriji, prepoznatoj u fortifikacijskom i sakralnom ustroju te u mikrotopografiji toga važnog nalazišta, zaključujemo mislimo, kako je u kontinuitetu naziva *Asseria – Seriem – Pograde* očuvana samo djelomična uspomena na jednu od relativno vitalnih točaka dugoga trajanja u prostoru Dalmacije. Važnu ali još uvijek nedovoljno istraženu premosnicu života tvori *civitas Seriem*, otkonim kojega nam je podario anonimni Ravenjanin u svojoj dragocjenoj Kozmografiji. Ta je postaja u prostoru vjerojatno zadržala neke rudimentarne oblike kontinuiteta života i u ranom srednjem vijeku, kako to razabiremo obzirom na blizinu crkve Sv. Martina s grobljem kraj nedalekog sela Lepuri,<sup>91</sup> smještene u zahvatu važne žile kucavice, tj. cestovnog prometnog pravca poznatog još u srednjovjekovnim povijesnim vrelima pod nazivom *Via magna*.<sup>92</sup> Dakle, na podlozi antičke ceste nastaje srednjovjekovna prometnica koja uži promatrani prostor povezuje s Ninom, područjem Biograda i što je posebice važno Zadrom. Zahvaljujući poglavito blizini novog snažnog središta moći u doba vladavine hrvatskoga kneza Branimira (Šopot kraj Benkovca), potvrđena je

<sup>91</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 1984. – Na položaju crkve Sv. Martina u Lepurima potvrđena je konstanta svetog mjesta u kontinuitetu crkava i sinkronih grobalja, koji su nastajali u rasponu od 6. i potom 9. stoljeća sve do razdoblja gotike i naših dana.

<sup>92</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 1985; N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a.

Considering the fact that Zadar was a part of the Western Roman Empire, the Zadar diocese was under the Roman Church. However, after the Byzantine rule and particularly the Byzantine exarchate in Ravenna was established, encompassing the entire Dalmatia, the Zadar diocese fell under the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Church.<sup>89</sup> Iader developed on the ancient basis despite ravages which particularly affected settlements in the coastal hinterland of Dalmatia, retaining not only the old core but also the territory around it, i.e. relatively spacious ager granting it vitality in the subsequent centuries.<sup>90</sup>

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Our consideration of the insights about the late antique i.e. early Byzantine Asseria, recognized in fortification and sacral constitution as well as microtopography of this important settlement will be concluded by a thought that in the continuity of the name *Asseria – Seriem – Pograde* only a partial memory of one of the relatively vital and lengthy positions in the Dalmatian region was retained. Important but insufficiently explored link of life is *civitas Seriem*, an oikonym which was preserved owing to the Anonymous Cosmographer from Ravenna and his precious work *Cosmographia*. This station probably kept some rudimentary forms of life continuity in the

<sup>89</sup> A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 8.

<sup>90</sup> N. KLAJČIĆ, 1976, 54.

i opravdanost odabira pogodnoga položaja ponad prometne transverzale sve do naših dana u kojima je, upravo otkonimom Podgrađe očuvana trajna uspomena na postojanje antičkog grada – Aserije.

Early Middle Ages as can be discerned considering the proximity of the church of St. Martin with a cemetery next to the nearby village of Lepuri,<sup>91</sup> situated on the important road known in the medieval historical sources under the name *Via magna*.<sup>92</sup> On the basis of a Roman-era road a medieval communication was formed which connected the observed area with Nin, the Biograd region, and Zadar, which was particularly important. Owing to the vicinity of a new strong center of power in the period of the Croatian Duke Branimir's reign (*Šopot* near Benkovac), justification of the selection of a favourable position above the road was confirmed. In the oikonym Podgrađe a memory of the existence of an ancient city – Asseria has been permanently preserved.

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<sup>91</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 1984. – At the position of the Church of St. Martin in Lepuri a constancy of a sacred place was confirmed in the continuity of churches and synchronous cemeteries which were formed in the range from the 6th, then 9th, until the Gothic period and present day.

<sup>92</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, 1985; N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

HA – Histria Antiqua, Pula

JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien

OA – Opuscula archaeologica, Zagreb

ShP – Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split

VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

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