

O TOPOGRAFSKOJ KRONOLOGIJI RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNIH GROBALJA S POGANSKIM OSOBINAMA POKAPANJA U SJEVERNOJ DALMACIJI

Analizom tlorisa ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću i na Ždrijacu u Ninu, autor prepoznaje skupine grobova starije od zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. Odsutnost karakterističnog materijala prema kojemu bi se mogla postaviti pouzdana kronologija objašnjava gospodarskim i društvenim promjenama u tadašnjem istočnojadranskom zaobalju.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Kašić – Maklinovo brdo, Nin – Ždrijac, groblja, rani srednji vijek, kasna antika, društvena organizacija, ekonomija*

Nastanak ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja u Dalmaciji nije vremenski određen.¹ Ključni problem predstavlja potpuna odsutnost arheološkog materijala za kojega se pouzdano može utvrditi da je stariji od zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, što je rezultate arheoloških istraživanja dovelo u svojevrstni sraz s vijestima iz srednjovjekovnih povijesnih izvora. Donju vremensku granicu ovih grobalja moguće je tek okvirno postaviti negdje u 8. stoljeće, ostavljajući pritom potpuno otvorenim je li riječ o njegovu početku, sredini ili pak kraju. Međutim, veliki broj grobova na nekim nekropolama ovoga horizonta poput onih na Ždrijacu u Ninu ili u Velimu kod Stankovaca daje osnovu za pretpostaviti kako je pokapanje na njima trajalo više od polovice, pa čak i od čitavog stolje-

1 U nedostatku prikladnog izraza, termin „groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja“ ovdje koristim isključivo kao skupni naziv za ranosrednjovjekovne nekropole u dalmatinskom zaobalju koje karakterizira pokapanje s predmetima koji ne pripadaju samo nakitu ili odjeći pokojnika, smatrajući ga ništa manje preciznim, ili bolje reći nepreciznim, od nekih drugih dosad korištenih termina.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY MEDIAEVAL CEMETERIES WITH PAGAN BURIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN NORTHERN DALMATIA

Based on an analysis of the ground-plan of early mediaeval cemeteries at Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić and at Ždrijac in Nin, the author identifies grave groups dating back further than the last third of the 8th century. The absence of characteristic artefacts upon which a reliable chronology could be determined is explained by economic and social changes in the eastern Adriatic hinterland of the time.

KEY WORDS: *Kašić – Maklinovo Brdo, Nin – Ždrijac, cemetery, Early Middle Ages, Late Antiquity, social organisation, economy*

It has not been chronologically determined when early mediaeval cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics in Dalmatia came into existence.¹ The key problem is the complete absence of archaeological artefacts which can with certainty be identified as dating back further than the last third of the 8th century. This means that the results of archaeological campaigns partly contradict the evidence from mediaeval historical sources. The oldest period of burials in these cemeteries can only approximately be dated to the 8th century. However, at the same time, it is still completely uncertain whether it was the initial, central or final burial stage. Nevertheless, a large number of graves at certain necropolises of this horizon, such as the ones at Ždrijac in Nin or Velim near Stankovci, suggest that burials in these locations

1 The term “cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics” is used exclusively as a collective name for early mediaeval necropolises in the Dalmatian hinterland characterised by burials with artefacts which are not only part of the jewellery or attire of the deceased individual due to the absence of a more appropriate expression. This does not imply that the term is considered to be less precise, or rather less imprecise than other terms used to date.

ća. Budući da nisu svi pokopani na tim grobljima umrli „preko noći“, trebalo bi utvrditi zakonitosti u širenju pojedine nekropole i njihov kronološki slijed, koji sasvim sigurno postoji, a koji bi mogao barem djelomično odgovoriti na pitanje o njihovoj donjoj granici. Kao uzorak za razmatranje nude se dva najveća sustavno istražena i potpuno objavljena groblja ovoga horizonta: već spomenuta nekropola na Ždrijacu u Ninu te kosturno groblje na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću.

Istraživač ovih dvaju lokaliteta Janko Belošević smatra kako se horizontalno-stratigrafski slijed pokapanja na njima ne može pratiti zbog svrstavanja grobova u skupine prema kriteriju obiteljske ili rođovske pripadnosti.² Drugačije je razmišljanje iznio Vladimir Sokol; za Maklinovo brdo pretpostavlja da je „struktura te nekropole horizontalno-stratigrafski relativno ujednačena“ te ističe kako „osim na planu vidljive dominantne jednolike *skupine* s keramikom, pravilno raspršene po nekropoli, ona ne sadržava druge skupine.“³ No, rasprostiranje grobova s priloženim keramičkim posudama po čitavoj površini nekropole ne znači da horizontalna stratigrafija groblja ne postoji. To zapravo znači samo da je groblje korišteno za vrijeme običaja prilaganja keramičkih posuda u grobove. Nadalje, izrazom *skupina* Sokol označava „homogenu prostornu koncentraciju određenih oblika materijalne kulture, kao keramike ili nakita–naušnica“. Takav pristup nije prihvatljiv iz najmanje dva razloga: njegovim ćemo dosljednim primjenjivanjem na planu groblja pronaći i „dominantnu jednoliku skupinu sa željeznim noževima“, kojih na groblju nalazimo 39 primjeraka, za razliku od 23 keramičke posude. Budući da na grobljima s poganskim osobinama pokapanja u grobnim cjelinama s noževima ili zemljanim posudama pronalazimo baš sve nalaze karakteristične za spomenuto razdoblje (od predmeta dnevne upotrebe i ratničke opreme do nakita), ovakav pristup ne nudi objašnjenje horizontalne stratigrafije nijednog groblja. Nadalje, drugi razlog jest samo poimanje ideje horizontalne stratigrafije nekropole. Traženjem „pravilnih prostornih skupina“ na groblju, Sokol presumira način formiranja i širenja nekropole. Grupiranje grobova s vremenski bliskim i tipološki srodnim materijalom na određenom prostoru može biti tek jedno od rješenja horizontalne stratigrafije, ali ne i jedino. Razmatrajući groblje na Ždrijacu, odnosno

lasted more than half a century or even longer than a century. Since not all the people buried in these cemeteries died at once, it was necessary to identify any regularities in the way a certain necropolis spread and also its chronological sequence, which certainly exists, and which could at least partly answer the question regarding the oldest burial period. As far as samples for consideration are concerned, the two largest systematically excavated and completely published cemeteries of this horizon can be indicated: the already mentioned necropolis at Ždrijac in Nin and the skeleton cemetery at Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić.

The explorer of the two sites, Janko Belošević, believed that the horizontal-stratigraphic sequence of burials in these cemeteries could not be determined by grouping the graves according to family or clan classification criteria.² A different opinion was held by Vladimir Sokol, who assumed that the structure of the Maklinovo Brdo necropolis was relatively balanced in terms of horizontal stratigraphy, pointing out that apart from an obvious predominant, uniform pottery group regularly dispersed across the necropolis, it also contained other groups.³ However, the distribution of graves with enclosed ceramic vessels across the entire necropolis area does not imply that the cemetery had no horizontal stratigraphy. It actually only implies that the cemetery was used in the period during which the custom of enclosing ceramic vessels in graves was practised. Furthermore, for Sokol, the word *group* denotes a “homogenous spatial concentration of certain forms of material culture, such as pottery or jewellery (earrings)”. Such an approach is unacceptable for at least two reasons. If applied consistently, the predominant, uniform group in the area of the cemetery is that of iron knives, with 39 specimens, which is larger than the group of ceramic vessels, which contains 23 specimens. Since all the finds (from articles of daily use and warrior equipment to jewellery) in collective burials containing knives or earthen vessels in cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics are representative of the mentioned period, such an approach offers no explanation of the horizontal stratigraphy of any cemetery. Another reason is the very notion of the idea of the horizontal stratigraphy of necropolises. By identifying “regular spatial groups” in the cemetery, Sokol presumes the way the necropolis was formed and expanded. Grouping graves in terms of chronologically close and typologically related artefacts in a certain

2 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 28; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 65.

3 V. SOKOL, 2006, 49.

2 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 28; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 65.

3 V. SOKOL, 2006, 49.

njegov zapadni dio, Sokol je izdvojio dvije skupine (odnosno tri, uzmemo li u obzir manju skupinu grobova 10. i 11. stoljeća koji su djelomično preslojili krajnje zapadni dio lokaliteta) prema kriteriju prisutnosti keramičkih posuda u grobovima.⁴ Prvu skupinu s keramičkim posudama tako smatra starijom od one druge bez istih nalaza. No, takvom se podjelom ne može objasniti zašto se Lotarov srebrni denar, najmlađi nalaz na ždrijačkom groblju, nalazi u „starijoj“ skupini grobova. Štoviše, upravo taj nalaz pokazuje da običaj prilaganja keramičkih posuda nije prikladan za kronološko razlikovanje pojedinih grobova na istom lokalitetu, i to pogotovo u vrlo kratkom vremenskom rasponu od pola stoljeća, koliko Sokol pretpostavlja da je pokapanje na grobljima s poganskim osobinama trajalo.⁵

Prije izlaganja potrebno je u kratkim crtama pojasniti terminologiju te osnove pristupa i razmatranja. Izraz „horizontalna stratigrafija“, koji je često korišten u domaćoj znanosti, Edward C. Harris u svojoj poznatoj raspravi o arheološkoj stratigrafiji odbacuje kao neprikladan zato što se stratigrafija temelji isključivo na superpoziciji slojeva i interfacija, a horizontalnu stratigrafiju smatra pogrešnim nazivom za običnu analizu prostornog međuodnosa artefakata.⁶ U skladu s tim izraz „vertikalna stratigrafija“ je pleonazam, kako naglašava i Andrej Pleterski, s obzirom na to da je stratigrafija sama po sebi vertikalna.⁷ Analizirajući bajuvarsku nekropolu u Altenerdingu, Pleterski je prihvatio termin „topografska kronologija“ kojim se koriste Patrick Pèrin i René Legoux pri datiranju merovinških grobalja.⁸ Osnovno polazište takvoga pristupa jest pretpostavka kako groblje nastaje u određenom trenutku na određenom dijelu nekropole i kako se u širenju iz ishodišnog dijela groblja mogu uočiti određene zakonitosti. Na temelju toga grobovi u ishodišnom dijelu morali bi sadržavati najstarije predmete, a oni kojima se može pretpostaviti mlađa datacija trebali bi ukazivati na način razvitka i vremensko trajanje nekropole. Pritom, dakako, treba imati na umu da ne nastaju sva gro-

area can be just one possible horizontal stratigraphic solution, but not the only one. In his study of the western part of Ždrijač cemetery, based on the occurrence of ceramic vessels in graves, Sokol pointed out two groups (or three, if we consider the smaller group of 10th and 11th-century graves, which were partly superimposed on the westernmost part of the site).⁴ He considers the first group, containing ceramic vessels, to be older than the second group, which is lacking in such finds. However, such a classification does not explain why a silver denarius of Lothair, the earliest find at the Ždrijač cemetery, is in the group of “later” graves. What is more, it is precisely this find that demonstrates that the custom of enclosing ceramic vessels is not appropriate for a chronological classification of individual graves at the same site, in particular within a very short time span of half a century, the period Sokol assumed that burials in the cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics lasted.⁵

Let us briefly explain the terminology and background concerning our approach and observations. The expression “horizontal stratigraphy”, frequently used in Croatian research, was discarded as inappropriate by Edward C. Harris in his famous treaty on archaeological stratigraphy, because stratigraphy is based exclusively on the superposition of layers and interfaces. He considers horizontal stratigraphy to be an inaccurate expression denoting the simple analysis of the spatial interrelationships of artefacts.⁶ Accordingly, the expression “vertical stratigraphy” is a pleonasm, as pointed out by Andrej Pleterski, since stratigraphy itself is vertical.⁷ In his analysis of the Bajuvarian necropolis in Altenerding, Pleterski accepted the term “topographical chronology” used by Patrick Pèrin and René Legoux in dating Merovingian cemeteries.⁸ The basic starting point for such an approach is the assumption that the cemetery begins at a certain moment in a particular part of the necropolis, and that certain regularities can be found in the way the initial part of the cemetery expands. Thus, graves in the initial part should contain the oldest artefacts, while those for which a more recent dating can be assumed should suggest the ways in

4 V. SOKOL, 2006, 58-59.

5 V. SOKOL, 2006.

6 E. C. HARRIS, 1989, 128.

7 A. PLETERSKI, 2002, 36-37.

8 P. PÈRIN, 1980; R. LEGOUX, 1980; A. PLETERSKI, 2002. Ipak, Pleterski ne koristi topografsku kronologiju za datiranje groblja u Altenerdingu jer navodi da se pokapanje odvijalo na više ili manje istom prostoru tijekom čitavog trajanja groblja (A. PLETERSKI, 2002, 37).

4 V. SOKOL, 2006, 58-59.

5 V. SOKOL, 2006.

6 E. C. HARRIS, 1989, 128.

7 A. PLETERSKI, 2002, 36-37.

8 P. PÈRIN, 1980; R. LEGOUX, 1980; A. PLETERSKI, 2002. However, Pleterski does not apply topographical chronology to date the Altenerding cemetery, because he states that the burials continued in more or less the same area throughout the entire duration of the cemetery (A. PLETERSKI, 2002, 37).

blja na isti način i da taj proces uvjetuje više čimbenika, poput mikrotopografskog smještaja lokaliteta ili ukupnog broja grobova. Također, grobovi su mogli biti grupirani po rodovskoj pripadnosti, zatim uokolo crkvenih građevina (na kasnijim grobljima) ili grobova društveno povlaštenih pojednaca, pa čak i smješteni između zidova starijih građevina (Nin – Sv. Križ). Ipak, mislim da se na grobljima na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću i na Ždrijacu u Ninu mogu razlučiti ishodišni, najstariji dijelovi, iz kojih su se nekropole i razvile.

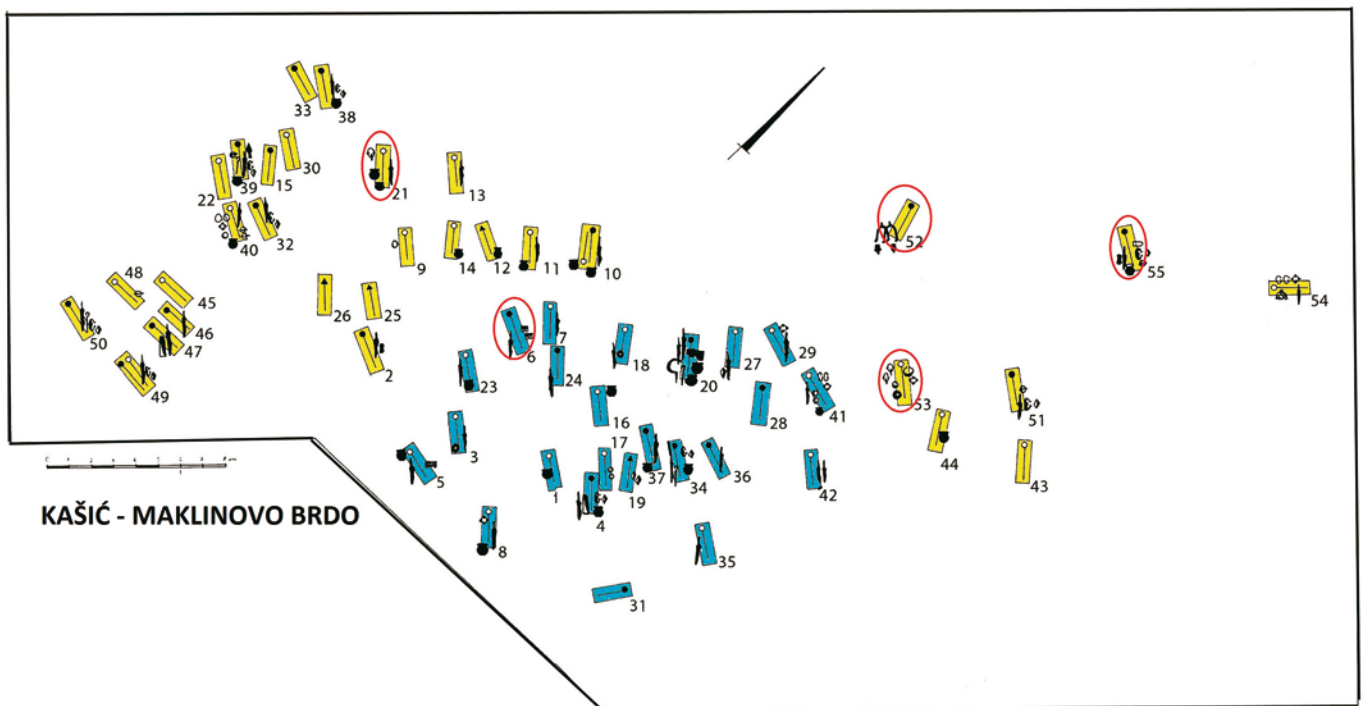
KOSTURNO GROBLJE NA MAKLINOVU BRDU U KAŠIĆU

Groblje je longitudinalnog tlorisa i pruža se od zapada prema istoku uz veće ili manje otklanjanje pojedinih grobova. U njegovom središtu može se izdvojiti skupina od 24 groba, koja je na zapadu omeđena grobom 5, na sjeveru grobom 20, na istoku grobom 41 te na jugu grobom 31 (Sl. 1). Zajedničko obilježje ove skupine grobova jest potpuni izostanak predmeta datiranih u vrijeme nakon početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, poput ponekih

which the necropolis developed and also its duration. At the same time, one should, of course, bear in mind that not all cemeteries come into existence in the same way, and that the process is conditioned by several factors, such as the micro-topographic position of the site or the overall number of graves. In addition, graves may have been grouped according to clan classification, around church buildings (in later cemeteries) or the graves of socially privileged individuals, or even positioned between the walls of older buildings (Nin: Church of the Holy Cross [Sv. Križ]). However, in my opinion, in the cemeteries at Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić and Ždrijac in Nin it is possible to identify the initial, oldest parts from which the necropolises developed.

THE SKELETON CEMETERY AT MAKLINOVO BRDO IN KAŠIĆ

The cemetery has a longitudinal ground-plan and stretches from west to east, with individual graves representing greater or smaller exceptions to this rule. In its centre, it is possible to identify a group of 24 graves, marked in the west by grave 5, in the



SL. I. / FIG. I.

Tloris groblja na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću. Plavom bojom označeni su grobovi starijeg, a žutom mlađeg sepulkralnog horizonta. U grobovima zaokruženima crvenom bojom pronađen je materijal kojega je moguće preciznije datirati (tloris: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 251; oznake grobova bojom: A. Alajbeg).

Ground-plan of the cemetery at Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić. Graves from the older sepulchral horizon are marked in blue and those from the newer sepulchral horizon in yellow. In graves circled red, artefacts were unearthed which can be more precisely dated (ground-plan: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 251; marking of graves: A. Alajbeg).

inačica nakita bizantskog porijekla ili karolinške ratničke opreme i oružja. Od nakitnih predmeta u izdvojenom središnjem dijelu groblja pronađene su ogrlice od staklenih perlica tamnoplave boje (grobovi 8 i 29), dva jednostavna prstena od svijenog brončanog lima (grob 17), a u najistočnijem grobu 41 nađeni su par karičica od srebrne žice kružnog presjeka, ogrlica od plavkastih staklenih perlica, kao i dva prstena od tankog srebrnog lima sastavljenih krajeva. U grobu 6 pronađen je i željezni pojasni okov prelomljen na dva dijela. Ostalim nalazima u ovoj skupini grobova pripadaju predmeti dnevne upotrebe poput noževa, šila, češlja te po jedan primjerak srpa i sjekire, kao i nešto brojnije keramičke posude.

Predmeti dnevne upotrebe odražavaju izrazitu konzervativnost u tipološkim promjenama tijekom duljeg razdoblja, što ih čini neprikladnim za preciznije datiranje tipološko-stilskom analizom. Ogrlice od staklenih perlica pronađene u središnjem dijelu nekropole, izuzev dalmatinskih grobalja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja, imaju čitav niz analogija na istarskim „barbariziranim“ grobljima 7. i 8. stoljeća, nekropolama komanske kulture, na području velikomoravskog kulturnog kruga, kao i na avarsko-slavenskim grobljima.⁹ Riječ je o naširoko rasprostranjenom nakitu kasnoantičke tradicije čija se upotreba nastavlja kroz čitavo srednjovjekovno razdoblje.

U grobu 17 pronađena su dva neukrašena prstena od brončanog lima preklapljenih kolutova, dok su u grobu 41 nađena dva prstena od srebrnog lima sastavljenih krajeva ukrašena graviranim geometrijskim motivima.¹⁰ Premda se ovi prstenovi razlikuju po načinu zatvaranja koluta, oni pripadaju istoj tehnološko-tipološkoj skupini nakita. Prstenje od raskovanog lima je osim na dalmatinskim grobljima s poganskim osobinama pokapanja (Nin – Ždrijac, Nin – Sv. Križ, Nin – Sv. Asel, Nin – Materiza, Kašić – Maklinovo brdo, Gluvine i Jojine kuće u Glavicama, Dubravice, Vrlika – Zduš, Ostrovica, Grborezi, Rudići) pronađeno i na grobljima komanske kulture od 6. do 8. stoljeća te na „barbariziranim“ nekropolama 7. i 8. stoljeća u Istri.¹¹ Nadalje, prstenovi iste skupine nađeni su i na grobljima 7. stoljeća u Kalabriji, kao i na langobardskoj nekropoli Castel Trosino,

north by grave 20, in the east by grave 41, and in the south by grave 31 (Fig. 1). A common characteristic of this group of graves is the complete absence of artefacts dating back to the time after the beginning of the last third of the 8th century, such as variants of jewellery of Byzantine origin or Carolingian warrior equipment and weapons. With regard to jewellery artefacts, in the separate, central part of the cemetery, dark blue glass-bead necklaces (Graves 8 and 29) and two simple, light-coloured bronze-sheet rings (Grave 17) were found. In the easternmost Grave 41, a pair of circlets made of silver wire with a round cross-section, a blue glass-bead necklace, and two thin silver-sheet rings with closed ends were unearthed. In Grave 6, an iron belt fitting was unearthed, broken into two pieces. Other finds from this group of graves include articles of daily use such as knives, awls, combs, a sickle, an axe, and numerous ceramic vessels.

The articles of daily use reflect an extraordinary conservatism in terms of typological changes over the course of a rather long period, which makes them inappropriate for a more precise dating based on a typological-stylistic analysis. The glass-bead necklaces unearthed in the central part of the necropolis, besides Dalmatian cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics, have a whole range of analogies in Istrian “barbarianised” 7th and 8th-century cemeteries, in necropolises of the Komani culture, in the area of the Greater Moravian cultural circle, as well as in Avar-Slavic cemeteries.⁹ They represent a widely distributed form of jewellery of the Late Antiquity tradition that continued throughout the entire mediaeval period.

In Grave 17, two undecorated bronze-sheet overlapping rings were found, and in Grave 41 two silver-sheet rings with closed ends, decorated with engraved geometrical motifs, were unearthed.¹⁰ Although the rings differ in the way their ends are closed, they belong to the same technological-typological group of jewellery. Besides Dalmatian cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics (Nin – Ždrijac, Nin – Church of the Holy Cross, Nin – Church of St. Anselm, Nin – Materiza, Kašić – Maklinovo Brdo, Gluvine Kuće and Jojine Kuće in Glavice, Dubravice, Vrlika – Zduš, Ostrovica, Grborezi, Rudići), hammered sheet rings were also unearthed in 6th-8th-century Komani culture cemeteries, as well as 7th and 8th-century “barbarianised” necropolises in Istria.¹¹ In addition,

9 M. PETRINEC, 2009, 140; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 82.

10 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 220, T. XXV.

11 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 263-264; M. PETRINEC, 2009, 131-134; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 78-81.

9 M. PETRINEC, 2009, 140; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 82.

10 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 220, T. XXV.

11 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 263-264; M. PETRINEC, 2009, 131-134; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 78-81.

a na položajima karantansko-ketlaške kulture u Sloveniji datirani su u prvu polovicu 9. stoljeća.¹² Prstenje od raskovanog lima je nakit kasnoantičke tradicije koji je na širem mediteranskom području u optjecaju još od 6. stoljeća, a primjerak pronađen u ždrijačkom grobu 62 s denarom Lotara I. (840. – 855.) potvrđuje njegovo korištenje kroz čitavo trajanje groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja.¹³

Karičice od srebrne žice kružnog presjeka kojima krajevi završavaju petljom i kvačicom pronađene su još i na Ždrijacu te kod Sv. Križa i Sv. Asela u Ninu, na Razbojinama u Kašiću, u Dubravicama, a spominju se i među nalazima iz uništenih grobova na Zdušu u Vrlici i u Morpolači.¹⁴ Poput prstenova od raskovanog lima i obične karičice treba svrstati u nakit kasnoantičke tradicije čija upotreba traje kroz čitavo vrijeme pokapanja na grobljima s poganskim osobinama pokapanja u Dalmaciji.

Treba spomenuti i željezni okov pojasa koji je pronađen u grobu 6 (Sl. 2). Izrađen je od tankog probušenog lima kroz kojeg su bile provučene četiri brončane alke, od kojih jedna nedostaje. Takvi su okovi karakteristični za avarsku nošnju u vremenu Drugog Kaganata, a najbliže poveznice pronađene su na avarsko-slavenskim lokalitetima u Nuštru i Otoku kod Vinkovaca.¹⁵ Grob 4 iz Otoka u kojemu je pronađen pojasni okov sličan kašićkom je prema nalazima lijevane garniture s kopčom limenog okova, kao i lijevanog jezičca s prikazom životinjske borbe i srolikih vitica, datiran u prva desetljeća 8. stoljeća.¹⁶

Dakle, nakitni predmeti pronađeni u središnjem dijelu kosturnog groblja na Maklinovu brdu su na širem mediteranskom području u upotrebi još od kasnoantičkog razdoblja, a do druge polovice 9. stoljeća, kada groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja poput ovih na Ždrijacu i Maklinovu brdu bivaju napuštena, ne doživljavaju značajnije tipološko-tehničke preinake. Tako široka datacija ovoga nakita, a posebno njegova gornja vremenska granica nije značajna za preciznije određivanje kronologije ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja. No,

rings from the same group have also been found in 7th-century cemeteries in Calabria, as well as at the Langobard necropolis at Castel Trosino, and in Carantanian-Köttlach culture sites in Slovenia they have been dated to the first half of the 9th century.¹² Hammered sheet rings represent jewellery from the Late Antiquity tradition that had been widely used in the broader Mediterranean region ever since the 6th century, and the specimen unearthed from Grave 62 at Ždrijac with a denarius of Lothair I (840–855) confirms their use throughout the entire period of cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics.¹³

Silver wire circlets with a round cross-section, ending in a loop and a hook, were also found at Ždrijac and at the Church of the Holy Cross and the Church of St. Anselm, both in Nin, at Razbojine in Kašić, and in Dubravice. They are also mentioned among finds from destroyed graves at Zduš in Vrlika and in Morpolača.¹⁴ Analogous to the hammered sheet rings, plane circlets should also be classified as jewellery of the Late Antiquity tradition, and were used throughout the entire burial period in cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics in Dalmatia.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning the iron belt fitting unearthed in Grave 6 (Fig. 2). It was made from a thin perforated sheet, through which four bronze rings ran, of which one is missing. Such fittings are characteristic of Avar attire in the period of the Second Khaganate, and the closest analogies have been found at Avar-Slavic sites in Nuštar and Otok near Vinkovci.¹⁵ Based on the find of a cast belt garniture with a metal-sheet mounted buckle, as well as a cast strap-end picturing animals fighting and heart-shaped tendrils, Grave 4 from Otok, where a belt fitting similar to that from Kašić was unearthed, was dated to the first decade of the 8th century.¹⁶

Thus, jewellery artefacts found in the central part of the skeleton cemetery at Maklinovo Brdo were in use in the broader Mediterranean area as early as the Late Antiquity period up until the second half of the 9th century, when cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics, such as the ones at Ždrijac and Maklinovo Brdo, were deserted. They did not undergo

12 M. PETRINEC, 2009, 131-134; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 78-81.

13 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 70-72.

14 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 93-95; M. PETRINEC, 2009, 119-120.

15 A. RAPAN PAPEŠA, 2012.

16 M. PETRINEC, 2012 (u tisku). Petrinec prenosi podatke iz neobjavljenog diplomskog rada P. Šmalcelj *Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje Otok kod Vinkovaca* obranjenog 2012. na Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu pod mentorstvom dr. sc. Krešimira Filipca.

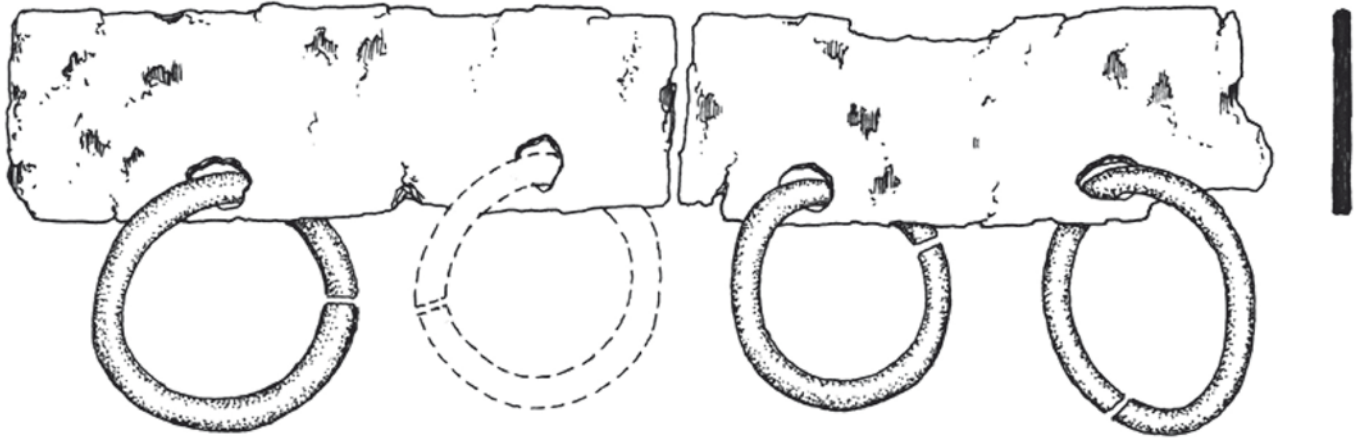
12 M. PETRINEC, 2009, 131-134; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 78-81.

13 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 70-72.

14 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 93-95; M. PETRINEC, 2009, 119-120.

15 A. RAPAN PAPEŠA, 2012.

16 M. PETRINEC, 2012 (in print). Petrinec quotes data from the unpublished diploma paper by P. Šmalcelj *The Early Mediaeval Cemetery at Otok near Vinkovci*, defended in 2012 at the Archaeology Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb under the mentorship of Krešimir Filipac, PhD.



SL. 2. / FIG. 2.

Kašić – Maklinovo brdo: željezni pojasni okov iz groba 6 (J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 219, T. XXIV, 1).

Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo: Iron belt fitting from Grave 6 (J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 219, T. XXIV, 1).

važna odrednica za relativno datiranje može biti i izostanak pojedinih predmeta. Na Maklinovu brdu su pronađena ukupno četiri groba s materijalom za kojega se može pouzdano utvrditi da je mlađi od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća: riječ je o grobovima 21, 52, 53 i 55 za koje se na planu groblja vidi da su smješteni izvan njegovog središta. U grobovima 21 i 53 pronađene su naušnice grozdolikog tipa, u grobu 52 karolinške ostruge s garniturom za zakopčavanje, a u grobu 55 brončani kasnoavarski pojasni jezičac. Grozdolike naušnice na dalmatinskim grobljima s poganskim osobinama pokapanja su kronološki određene popratnim nalazima novca, i to solida Konstantina V. i Lava IV. (760. – 775.) pronađenog u grobu kod crkve sv. Mihovila u Trilju, kao i prethodno spomenutog denara Lotara I. (840. – 855.) iz ždrijackog groba 62.

Grob 52 s nalazom karolinških ostruga smješten je pri samome rubu kašićke nekropole. Riječ je o masivnim željeznim ostrugama čiji je trn presvučen mjedenim limom ukrašenim naizmjenično postavljenim trokutićima, a sačuvana su još i dva pticolika željezna jezičca koji su pripadali garnituri za zakopčavanje. Toj inačici pripadaju još i ostruge sa Ždrijaca u Ninu (grob 161), iz Ostrovice te s oranice Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji, a mogu se datirati u kraj 8. stoljeća. Istom razdoblju pripada i obližnji grob 55 u kojemu je pronađen brončani kasnoavarski pojasni jezičac. Izrađen je u tehnici lijevanja s prelamanjem, a ukrašen je motivom stilizirane lozice. Bliske poveznice pronađene su na Crkvini i u Mravićevom vinogradu u Biskupiji, u Orliću, kao i u Stinici kod Senja, no ti predmeti, nažalost, ne

any significant typological-technical changes. Such a broad dating of this type of jewellery, in particular its upper chronological boundary, is not significant in providing a more precise chronological determination of early mediaeval cemeteries. However, the absence of individual artefacts can also be an important determinant in relative dating. At Maklinovo Brdo, all in all, four graves were found with artefacts that can with certainty be identified as being more recent than the beginning of the last third of the 8th century. These are Graves 21, 52, 53 and 55, which the cemetery map suggests were located outside the centre. In Graves 21 and 53, raceme type earrings were found, while in Grave 52 Carolingian spurs with a buckle set were unearthed, and in Grave 55 a late Avar bronze strap-end was found. Raceme earrings in Dalmatian cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics were chronologically determined based on accompanying finds of coins, in particular the *solidi* of Constantine V and Leo IV (760-775) unearthed in a grave near the Church of St. Michael in Trilj, as well as the previously mentioned *denarius* of Lothair I (840-855) from Grave 62 at Ždrijac.

Grave 52, with the find of Carolingian spurs, is situated on the margin of the Kašić necropolis. These are massive iron spurs with a tongue covered with a brass sheet decorated with alternately arranged small triangles, and with two preserved bird-shaped iron strap-ends, which were part of a clasping garniture. Spurs from Ždrijac in Nin (Grave 161), from Ostrovice, and from Aćim Popović's farmland in Biskupija, were also classified as this variant and can be dated to the end of the 8th century. Nearby Grave 55, in

potječu iz sustavno istraženih grobnih cjelina.¹⁷ Pojavu kasnoavarskog pojasnog jezičca na Maklinovu brdu treba promatrati u kontekstu kasnog horizonta avarsko-slavenskih grobalja, odnosno vremena franačko-avarskih vojnih sukoba.

Treba spomenuti i grob 54, smješten na krajnjem istočnom rubu nekropole, u kojemu je nađen brončani polumjesečasti privjesak. O potonjem se predmetu i njemu srodnim nalazima zadnjih desetljeća povela žustra rasprava, i to ne samo u kontekstu nalaza na Maklinovu brdu.¹⁸ Mislim da je riječ o predmetu neprikladnom za užu dataciju groba u kojemu je nađen, s obzirom na to da poput prstenova od raskovanog lima ukazuje na izrazitu kasnoantičku tradiciju i ne doživljava bitnije tipološke preinake tijekom 7. i 8. stoljeća. To nipošto ne znači da neki grobovi s nalazima polumjesečastih privjesaka ne bi smjeli biti datirani ranije, u drugu polovicu 7. ili prvu polovicu 8. stoljeća, već da prilikom njihovog datiranja treba dati prednost kronološki osjetljivijim predmetima, ako se takvi pronađu u istoj grobnoj cjelini. Kada nije takav slučaj, poput groba 54 na Maklinovu brdu, oslonac za datiranje treba tražiti u najbližim okolnim grobovima. Riječ je o maločas spomenutim grobovima 52 i 55 s ostrugama i pojasnim jezičcem koji nesumnjivo pripadaju kraju 8. stoljeća, a upravo tada treba datirati i njima najbliži grob 54 u kojemu je pronađen polumjesečasti privjesak.

Također, grobovi 21, 52, 53 i 55 upućuju i na način razvitka groblja na Maklinovu brdu: u odnosu na središnji dio nekropole, mlađi su grobovi iskopani u pravcima prema zapadu, sjeveru i istoku. Takvo radijalno širenje groblja bilo je moguće jer prostor za pokapanje nije bio ograničen građevinama, mikrotopografskim osobitostima poput litica i strmina, ili pak morem, kakav je slučaj s grobljem na Ždrijacu u Ninu.

which a late-Avar bronze strap-end was unearthed, also belongs to the same period. This piece was made in the *plique-à-jour* casting technique, and is decorated with a motif of stylised vines. Close analogies have been unearthed at Crkvina and in Mravić's vineyard in Biskupija, in Orlić, and at Stinica near Senj. However, the artefacts unfortunately do not originate from systematically excavated graves.¹⁷ The occurrence of a late-Avar belt strap at Maklinovo Brdo should be seen within the context of the late horizon of Avar-Slavic cemeteries, i.e. the period of Frankish-Avar military conflict.

Finally, let us also look at Grave 54, situated on the easternmost margin of the necropolis, in which a bronze semi-crescent pendant was unearthed. The latter artefact and related finds have been the subject of lively discussion in recent decades, and not only in the context of the finds at Maklinovo Brdo.¹⁸ In my opinion, the artefact is unsuitable for a more precise dating of the grave in which it was unearthed, since (like the hammered sheet rings) it is characterised by a pronounced late antique tradition that underwent no significant typological changes in the course of the 7th and 8th centuries. This by no means implies that certain graves with finds of semi-crescent pendants should not be dated earlier, to the second half of the 7th or the first half of the 8th century, but rather that in terms of chronological determination it is necessary to prioritise chronologically more sensitive artefacts, if any are unearthed in the same grave. Where this is not the case, as in Grave 54 at Maklinovo Brdo, the dating should rely on the closest surrounding graves. These are the abovementioned Graves 52 and 55 with spurs and belt-strap, undoubtedly belonging to the end of the 8th century, and Grave 54 with the find of a semi-crescent pendant, which comes closest to this group and which should also be dated to the same period.

In addition, Graves 21, 52, 53 and 55 also point to the way the Maklinovo Brdo cemetery developed. In relation to the central part of the necropolis, newer graves were unearthed towards the west, north and east. Such a radial expansion of the cemetery was possible because the burial area was not limited by structures, micro-topographical factors such as crags or inclines, or the sea, as was the case with the Ždrijac cemetery in Nin.

17 M. PETRINEC, 2009, 151-160.

18 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1996; A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, 107; M. PETRINEC, 2007; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 86-90; K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012, 114-117; F. CURTA, 2013, 193-194.

17 M. PETRINEC, 2009, 151-160.

18 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1996; A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, 107; M. PETRINEC, 2007; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2010, 86-90; K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012, 114-117; F. CURTA, 2013, 193-194.

GROBLJE NA ŽDRIJACU U NINU

Najveće ranosrednjovjekovno groblje s poganskim osobinama pokapanja u Dalmaciji nastalo je na pješčanom prudu Ždrijacu, koji sa sjeverne strane zatvara ninsku lagunu. Ukupno 337 istraženih grobova pronađeno je na dva položaja međusobno udaljena tridesetak metara, od kojih na zapadni dio lokaliteta otpada 281, a na istočni 56 grobova. Njihovu prostornu odvojenost potvrđuju sterilne sonde, što je jasno vidljivo na općem planu groblja.¹⁹ Prvo pitanje koje se nameće jest vremenska korelacija tih dviju skupina grobova: da li se pokapanje odvijalo istovremeno i može li se za jednu skupinu utvrditi da je starija od druge? Među kronološki određivim predmetima najzastupljeniji su nalazi karolinške provenijencije, koji su pronađeni na oba dijela ždrijačkoga groblja. Premda je njihova disperzija upadljivo gušća na manjem, istočnom dijelu lokaliteta, nalazi ostruga u grobovima 161, 166 i 167 svjedoče da su u istom vremenskom horizontu korištena oba dijela nekropole. Dakle, istočni dio groblja nedvojbeno pripada vremenu karolinške prevlasti od samog kraja 8. do sredine 9. stoljeća, a predmeti ni iz jednog groba te skupine ne daju za naslutiti nešto raniju dataciju. Usto, pregled topografske kronologije pokazuje ujednačenost grobnih inventara, pa se može pretpostaviti da ovaj dio nekropole nastaje grupiranjem prema rodovskoj ili nekoj drugoj pripadnosti, kako je i utvrdio Belošević,²⁰ te da traje kroz kraće razdoblje.

Na zapadnom dijelu ždrijačkoga groblja situacija je kudikamo složenija zbog brojnosti i gušće porazanosti grobova, no ipak se određene zakonitosti mogu primjetiti već pri površnom pregledu plana lokaliteta (Sl. 3). Prvo, *terminus ante quem* pokapanja na Ždrijacu, srebrni denar Lotara I., pronađen je na krajnjem istočnom dijelu ove skupine grobova. Drugo, grobovi s karolinškim ostrugama su prostorno vrlo bliski, što potvrđuje kronološko grupiranje grobova. I treće, kao i na Maklinovu brdu, može se izdvojiti oveci središnji dio groblja kojega karakterizira odsutnost predmeta poput grozdolikih naušnica, franačke ratničke opreme ili novca, a koji se pouzdano datiraju nakon sredine 8. stoljeća. Štoviše, neki nakitni predmeti pronađeni u središnjoj skupini grobova ukazuju na primitivniju i jednostavniju tehniku proizvodnje, o čemu će biti riječi u sljedećim redovima.

ŽDRIJAC CEMETERY IN NIN

The largest early mediaeval cemetery with pagan burial characteristics in Dalmatia was the one on the Ždrijac sandbar, enclosing the Nin lagoon from the north. A total of 337 excavated graves were unearthed at two sites, over a distance of approximately thirty metres. 281 graves were found in the western part of the site, and 56 in the eastern part. Their spatial separation was confirmed by sterile trial trenches, as is clearly evident in the cemetery's master plan.¹⁹ The first question that comes to mind is that of the chronological correlation between the two grave groups: did the burials take place simultaneously or can one group be identified as being older than the other? Among the chronologically determinable artefacts, the most commonly represented are finds of Carolingian origin, which are found in both parts of the Ždrijac cemetery. Although they are markedly more densely dispersed in the smaller, eastern part of the site, finds of spurs in Graves 161, 166 and 167 confirm that in the same chronological horizon both parts of the necropolis were used. Thus, the eastern part of the cemetery undoubtedly belongs to the period of Carolingian rule from the end of the 8th century until the mid-9th century, and no artefacts from any of the graves of that group suggest an earlier dating. In addition, an overview of the topographical chronology demonstrates a homogeneity in terms of grave inventories, so that it can be assumed that this part of the necropolis was formed as a result of grouping by clan or other affiliations, as also stated by Belošević,²⁰ and that it lasted for a shorter period.

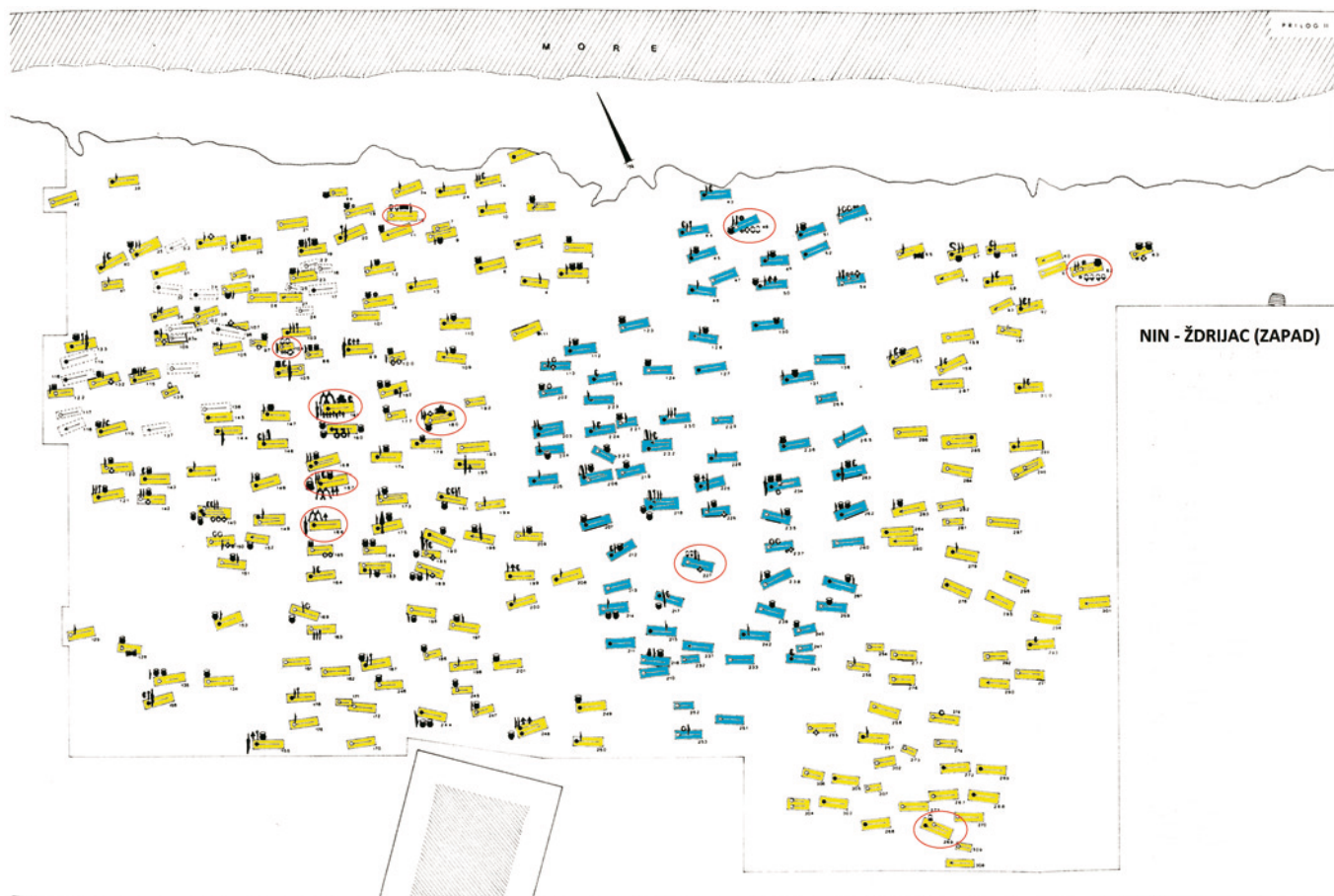
In the western part of the Ždrijac cemetery, the situation is significantly more complex due to the larger number and more dense arrangement of graves. Nevertheless, certain regularities are evident even after a superficial overview of the site map (Fig. 3). Firstly, the *terminus ante quem* of burials at Ždrijac, the silver *denarius* of Lothair I, was unearthed in the easternmost part of this group of graves. Secondly, graves with Carolingian spurs are spatially very close, which confirms the chronological grouping of the graves. Thirdly, just as at Maklinovo Brdo, a rather large central part of the cemetery can be identified, which is characterised by an absence of artefacts such as raceme earrings, Frankish warrior equipment or coins which can with certainty be dated to the period after the middle of the 8th century. What is more, cer-

19 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 531-535, priloga 1.

20 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 28.

19 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 531-535, Annex 1.

20 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 28.



SL. 3. / FIG. 3.

Plan groblja na Ždrijacu u Ninu. Plavom bojom označeni su grobovi starijeg, a žutom mlađeg sepulkralnog horizonta. U grobovima zaokruženim crvenom bojom pronađen je materijal kojega je moguće preciznije datirati (tloris: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, prilog II; oznake grobova bojom: A. Alajbeg).

Ground-plan of the cemetery at Ždrijac in Nin. Graves from the older sepulchral horizon are marked in blue and those from the newer sepulchral horizon in yellow. In graves circled red, artefacts were unearthed which can be more precisely dated (ground-plan: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, Annex I; marking of graves: A. Alajbeg).

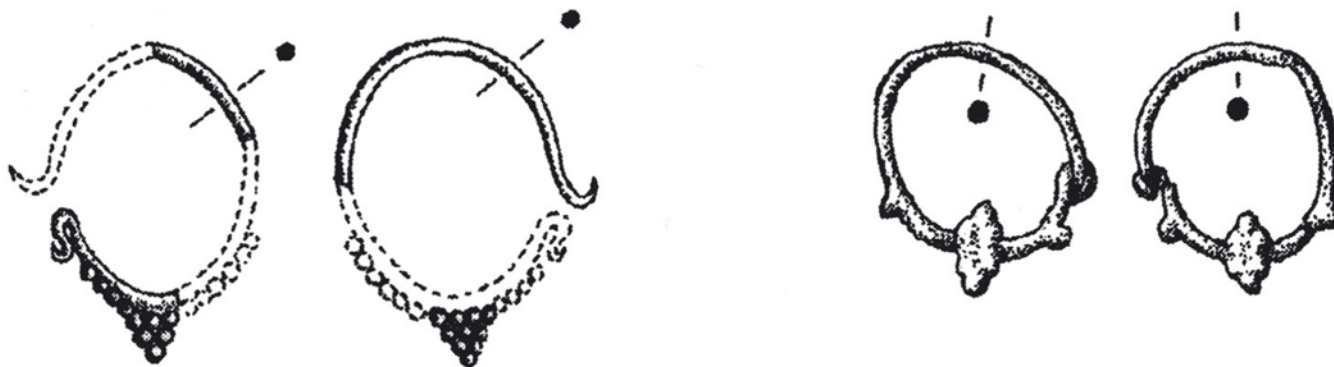
Među naušnicama pronađenim na središnjem dijelu groblja najbrojnije su karičice izrađene od brončane ili srebrne žice pronađene u grobovima 53, 113, 202, 234, 237 i 253. One su, kako je već navedeno za kašičke primjerke, nakit kasnoantičke tradicije korišten u dugačkom vremenskom rasponu. Isto treba ponoviti i za prstenove od raskovanog brončanog ili srebrnog lima koji su pronađeni u grobovima 53, 54 i 237, a njihovoj skupini može se pridodati i neukrašena brončana vitica iz groba 48. Staklene perlice, također kronološki neosjetljiv materijal kasnoantičkog mediteranskog kruga, nađene su u grobovima 48, 54, 113, 226, 227 i 237.

Lijevane srebrne naušnice iz groba 48 jedinstvene su u nakitnom repertoaru grobalja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja (Sl. 4). Neupitno je riječ o nakitu kasnoantičkog uzora koje Belošević uvjetno svrstava u skupinu grozdolikih, ali i zvjezdolikih naušnica, te donosi pretpostavku da je grob u ko-

tain jewellery artefacts found in the central group of graves suggest a more primitive, simpler production technique, which shall be discussed later in the text.

Among the earrings found in the central part of the cemetery, the largest in number are circlets made of bronze or silver wire. These are found in Graves 53, 113, 202, 234, 237 and 253. Like the Kašić specimens, they represent jewellery from the Late Antiquity tradition that was used over a long time span. The same needs to be stated once more about the hammered bronze and silver sheet rings found in Graves 53, 54 and 237. The undecorated bronze tendril from Grave 48 can also be added to the group. Glass beads, also chronologically insensitive artefacts of the Late Antiquity Mediterranean circle, were found in Graves 48, 54, 113, 226, 227 and 237.

The cast silver earrings from Grave 48 are unique amongst the jewellery repertoire of the cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics (Fig. 4). Undoubt-



SL. 4. / FIG. 4.

Nin – Ždrijac: naušnice iz grobova 227 i 48 (J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 261, Sl. 3).

Nin – Ždrijac: Earrings from graves 227 and 48 (J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 261, Fig. 3).

jemu su pronađene jedan od najstarijih na Ždrija-
cu.²¹ Mislim da tehnika izrade i način oblikovanja
ovih naušnica te njihova unikatnost pružaju osnovu
za pomisao da ih je izradio neki lokalni obrtnik, a
položaj groba 48 u središnjem dijelu groblja može
dodatno podržati navedenu Beloševićevu pretpo-
stavku. Nadalje, tipološki su vrlo zanimljive i nauš-
nice od srebrne žice ukrašene tehnikom granulacije
iz groba 227, koje Belošević povezuje s naušnicama
iz groba 1 na Gluvinim kućama u Glavicama i s nauš-
nicom iz Visočana.²² Morfološki su vrlo slične i
naušnici iz groba 82 kasnoantičke nekropole Knin
– Greblje, u kojemu se još nalazila i obična karičica
te ogrlica od perli.²³ Dakle, i za ovaj se par naušnica
može ustvrditi kako je riječ o nakitu kasnoantičkog
kulturnog kruga, a njihova izrazita sličnost s knin-
skim primjerkom može podržati raniju dataciju.
Pritom mislim da nije slučajno što se grob 227 u
kojemu su pronađene nalazi u samome središtu is-
hodišnog dijela ždrijačkoga groblja.

Treba spomenuti i lijevani brončani medaljon
pronađen u grobu 216, prostorno vrlo bliskom spo-
minjanom grobu 227. U središnjem dijelu medaljo-
na prikazana su dva ili tri antitetično postavljena
ljudska lika. Analogije ovome ukrasnom predmetu
nisu pronađene na preostalim grobljima s pogan-
skim osobinama pokapanja u Dalmaciji, kao ni na
širem kulturnom području ranog srednjeg vijeka,
čemu je znatno doprinijela slaba razlučivost likov-
nog prikaza. Belošević smatra da medaljon pripada
zapadnoeuropskom kulturnom krugu te ga dovodi

edly, they are jewellery based on a late antique model,
which Belošević conditionally classified in the raceme
group, but also include star-shaped earrings, suggest-
ing that the grave in which they were found was one
of the oldest on Ždrijac.²¹ In my opinion, the produc-
tion technology and modelling of the earrings, as well
as their uniqueness, offer a basis for the assumption
that they were made by a local craftsman, while the
location of Grave 48 in the central part of the cem-
etery additionally supports Belošević's assumption.
The silver wire earrings decorated using the granula-
tion technique that were unearthed in Grave 227 are
also very interesting typologically. Belošević associ-
ated these with the earrings from Grave 1 at Gluvine
Kuće in Glavice and the earring from Visočane.²² In
terms of morphology, they are also very similar to
the earring from Grave 82 of the Late Antiquity necro-
polis of Knin-Greblje, in which a simple circlet
and beaded necklace were also found.²³ Thus, it can
also be concluded that this pair of earrings represents
jewellery from the Late Antiquity cultural circle, and
their evident similarity to the Knin specimen might
support an earlier dating. At the same time, in my
opinion, it is no coincidence that Grave 227 in which
they were found is situated in the very centre of the
initial part of the Ždrijac cemetery.

It is also worth mentioning the cast bronze medal-
lion unearthed in Grave 216, which is spatially very
close to the abovementioned Grave 227. In the cen-
tral part of the medallion, two or three antithetically
arranged human figures are shown. No analogies for

21 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 254.

22 M. PETRINEC, 2002, 240, T. IV, 3; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 254; M. PETRINEC, 2009, 363, T. 85, 12.

23 Z. VINSKI, 1989, 62, T. XIII, 10.

21 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 254.

22 M. PETRINEC, 2002, 240, T. IV, 3; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 254; M. PETRINEC, 2009, 363, T. 85, 12.

23 Z. VINSKI, 1989, 62, Pl. XIII, 10.

u vezu s aplikom križnog oblika iz ždrijačkog groba 324, koju je datirao u kraj 8. ili u početak 9. stoljeća.²⁴ Ante Milošević je pretpostavio da je riječ o reljefnom prikazu Svetoga Trojstva, čije je štovanje bilo posebno rašireno u zapadnom kršćanstvu karolinškog doba.²⁵ Ipak, bez pravih analogija i pouzdanog čitanja likovnog prikaza ovaj predmet nužno gubi svoju datacijsku vrijednost.

Dakle, u dijelu groblja koji sam označio kao ishodišno, s ukupno 75 grobova, nije pronađen nijedan predmet kojega bi trebalo datirati nakon početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. Ti se predmeti, štoviše, nalaze u grobovima bliže periferiji ili na samome rubu zapadnoga dijela groblja na Ždrijacu. Tako su karolinške ostruge pronađene u grobovima 161, 166 i 167, naušnica s karikom povijenom u petlje i provješanim lančićima u krajnjem jugoistočnom grobu 269, par naušnica s dvije jagode i središnjim ukrasom oblika granuliranih trokutića u grobu 104, jedna grozdolika naušnica u grobu 15, a dva para grozdolikih naušnica u krajnjem istočnom grobu 62, u kojemu je pronađen i Lotarov srebrni denar. Čak su i ukrašeni koštani recipijenti, koje se uvjetno može povezati s vremenskim horizontom franačko-avarskih sukoba, pronađeni u grobovima 180 i 161 (u potonjem grobu zajedno s ostrugama).

Prostorni razmještaj grobova s materijalom mlađim od zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća svjedoči o načinu širenja ždrijačkoga groblja; nakon što su ukopi u ishodišnom dijelu nekropole popunili prostor do obalne crte, njezino širenje na sjever više nije bilo moguće, pa su mlađi grobovi iskopani zapadno i istočno od samoga središta groblja. Potkraj 8. stoljeća, kada su ukopani pokojnici s karolinškim ostrugama, počinje pokapanje i na tridesetak metara istočnijem položaju. Osnivanje novoga groblja na Ždrijacu moglo je jednostavno biti uzrokovano nedostatkom prostora za ukapanje, ili pak željom za razdvajanjem grobova na rodovskoj osnovi, pri čemu je karolinška ratnička oprema zasigurno imala ulogu statusnog simbola.

this decorative artefact have been found in other cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics in Dalmatia or in the broader cultural area of the Early Middle Ages. This is also largely the result of the poor visibility of the images. Belošević believed that the medalion belonged to the western European cultural circle and associated it with a cross-shaped appliqué from Grave 324 at Ždrijac, which he dated to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century.²⁴ Ante Milošević assumed that it was a relief illustration of the Holy Trinity, whose worship was particularly widespread in the western Christianity of the Carolingian period.²⁵ However, without real analogies and a reliable interpretation of the illustration, the artefact has to be discarded in terms of its value for dating.

Thus, in the part of the cemetery which I have marked as the initial section, which has a total of 75 graves, not a single artefact has been unearthed that can be dated to after the beginning of the final third of the 8th century. What is more, the artefacts are found in graves closer to the periphery or at the very margins of the western part of the cemetery at Ždrijac. Thus, Carolingian spurs were unearthed in Graves 161, 166 and 167, an earring with a looped circlet and hanging chainlets in the south-easternmost Grave 269, a pair of two-beaded earrings and a central decoration in the form of granulated small triangles in Grave 104, a raceme earring in Grave 15, and two pairs of raceme earrings in the easternmost Grave 62, in which a silver *denarius* of Lothair was also unearthed. Even the decorated bone containers, which can conditionally be associated with the time horizon of the Frankish-Avar conflicts, were found in Graves 180 and 161 (in the latter grave along with spurs).

The spatial arrangement of graves with material from later than the last third of the 8th century demonstrates the way in which the Ždrijac cemetery expanded. After the burials in the initial part of the necropolis had filled the area up to the coastline, its expansion to the north was not possible anymore. Therefore, newer graves were dug west and east of the cemetery's very centre. Near the end of the 8th century, when the deceased individuals with Carolingian spurs were buried, burials also started at a site approximately thirty metres further east. The establishment of a new cemetery at Ždrijac might simply have been the result of a lack of burial space, or the wish to separate graves based on clan affiliation, in which the Carolingian warrior equipment certainly played the role of status symbol.

24 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 269.

25 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, 134.

24 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 2007, 269.

25 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, 134.

DATACIJA I VREMENSKA KORELACIJA GROBALJA NA MAKLINOVU BRDU I NA ŽDRIJACU

Uz kosturno groblje na Maklinovu brdu, na području sela Kašića postojala su još najmanje dva groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja, koja su, nažalost, uvelike uništena gospodarskim radovima. Na položaju Razbojine spašeno je 37 grobova, a na Glavčurku tek dva, premda Belošević pretpostavlja da ih je moglo biti i više od pedeset.²⁶ Usto, na položaju Vlačine pronađeni su tragovi također uništenog groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja, o čemu svjedoče nalazi ljudskih kostiju, ulomaka keramičkih posuda, kao i tragovi paljevine na samoj površini zemlje.²⁷ Brojnost grobalja istog horizonta na području Kašića ukazuje na gustu naseljenost, a neizravno svjedoči i o segmentiranosti tadašnjeg društva u istočnojadranskom zaobalju. Groblje na Maklinovu brdu je, dakle, bilo ukopište jedne od nekoliko rodovskih zajednica koje su nastanjivale uže kašićko područje tijekom 8. stoljeća. Njegova je gornja vremenska granica precizno utvrđena nalazima karolinških ostruga i kasnoavarskog pojasnog jezičca iz grobova 52 i 55 koji se datiraju u kraj 8. stoljeća. Vrijeme početka pokapanja teže je određivo, no topografska kronologija i utvrđeni smjerovi širenja groblja pokazuju da je određena skupina grobova starija od zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. Broj grobova u toj skupini, točnije njih 24 od ukupno 55 na čitavoj nekropoli, dopušta pretpostaviti da je riječ o nešto dužem razdoblju, što znači da je pokapanje na Maklinovu brdu moglo započeti sredinom prve polovine 8. stoljeća. Tome neizravno svjedoči odsutnost mlađeg materijala, ali i nalaz fragmentiranog pojasnog okova avarske provenijencije iz groba 6 datiranog prije sredine 8. stoljeća, kojega treba uzeti kao grubu *terminus post quem* nastanka kašićkog groblja.

Slično kao u Kašiću, na području Nina postoji više grobalja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja: uokolo humka Materiza istraženo je 25 grobova, kod crkve sv. Križa 55 grobova, a istraživanja pored srednjovjekovne katedrale sv. Asela traju do danas.²⁸ Također, postojanje groblja istog horizonta vrlo je izgledno na položajima Pekinica i Prahulje u neposrednoj blizini Nina. Groblje na

DATING AND CHRONOLOGICAL CORRELATION OF THE CEMETERIES AT MAKLINOVO BRDO AND ŽDRIJAC

Along with the skeleton cemetery at Maklinovo Brdo, in the area of the village of Kašić there were at least two more cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics, which were unfortunately largely damaged by industrial works. At the Razbojine site, 37 graves were saved, and at Glavčurak only two, although Belošević assumed that there could have been more than fifty of them.²⁶ In addition, at the Vlačine site, traces of another damaged cemetery with pagan burial characteristics were found, as confirmed by finds of human bones, shards of ceramic vessels, and traces of incineration on the surface of the ground.²⁷ The large number of cemeteries of the same horizon in the Kašić area suggests a dense population, and represents direct testimony to the segmented nature of contemporary society in the eastern Adriatic hinterland. Thus, the cemetery at Maklinovo Brdo served as a burial place for one of several clan communities populating the narrower Kašić area in the course of the 8th century. Its upper chronological boundaries have been precisely determined by the finds of Carolingian spurs and a late-Avar belt strap from Graves 52 and 55, dated to the end of the 8th century. The period of the beginning of burials is rather hard to determine. However, the topographical chronology and the determined cemetery expansion directions demonstrate that a certain group of graves is older than the last third of the 8th century. The number of graves in that group, 24 out of 55 in the entire necropolis, suggests that it was a rather long period, implying that burials at Maklinovo Brdo may have started in the middle of the first half of the 8th century. This is indirectly confirmed by the absence of more recent artefacts, but also the find of a fragmented belt fitting of Avar origin from Grave 6, dated to the period before the middle of the 8th century, which should be taken as a rough *term post quem* of the formation of the Kašić cemetery.

Similar to Kašić, in the Nin area there are several cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics. Around the Materiza mound, 25 graves were excavated, and near the Church of the Holy Cross 55, while the campaign next to the mediaeval Cathedral of St. Anselm has lasted up to the present.²⁸ In addition, the existence of a cemetery of the same horizon is highly likely at the

26 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 48-50.

27 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 60-61.

28 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1974; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 22.

26 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 48-50.

27 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 60-61.

28 J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1974; J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1980, 22.

Ždrijacu služilo je za pokapanje najmanje jedne rodovske zajednice s ninskog područja, vjerojatno i dvije, ako je početak sahranjivanja na odvojenom istočnom dijelu ždrijačke nekropole uvjetovan rodovskim svrstavanjem. Vremenska korelacija ovih dvaju grobalja određiva je prema nalazima karolinških ostruga iz groba 52 na Maklinovu brdu i groba 161 na Ždrijacu. Riječ je o ostrugama koje ukrasom na trnu i pticolikim jezičcima garniture za zakopčavanje međusobno vrlo nalikuju i svaka-ko pripadaju istom vremenskom horizontu, odnosno kraju 8. stoljeća. Te su ostruge *terminus ante quem* pokapanja na Maklinovu brdu, no pokapanje na Ždrijacu probija kronološki okvir kašićkog groblja te se nastavlja sve do sredine 9. stoljeća, kako i sugerira Lotarov srebrni denar. Ukupno 75 grobova smještenih u središnjem dijelu ždrijačkog groblja bez nalaza mlađih od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća daje za naslutiti kako je pokapanje počelo ranije, vjerojatno sredinom prve polovice 8. stoljeća, kao i na Maklinovu brdu. Usto, naušnice iz groba 48 ukazuju na nešto primitivniji način proizvodnje, dok je paru naušnica iz groba 227 najbliža poveznica pronađena u grobu 82 kasnoantičke nekropole Knin – Greblje. Također, mnogi grobovi u ishodišnim dijelovima kašićke i ždrijačke nekropole svojim popratnim nalazima vrlo podsjećaju upravo na one pronađene na spomenutoj kasnoantičkoj nekropoli, koja je ujedno i najveće groblje toga razdoblja na čitavom istočnojadranskom zaobalju. Predmeti poput noževa, keramičkih pršljena, igala i kresiva prilagani su u grobovima 6. stoljeća,²⁹ koji se od onih na grobljima s poganskim osobinama pokapanja razlikuju uglavnom po odsustvu keramičkih posuda. No, keramičke ili staklene posude ponekad su čak i bile prilagane u kasnoantičkim grobovima, što dokazuju nalazi iz Lučana i Gale kod Sinja, Gorice i Ciste Velike kod Imotskog te Vrbe kod Glamoča.³⁰

Kronološka rupa između kasnoantičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja je svakako otežala zadatak onima koji su raspravljali o odnosu nekropola ova dva horizonta, bez obzira na to govorili u prilog njihovom kontinuitetu ili diskontinuitetu. Pritom su oči bile uprte u donju vremensku granicu ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja, dok je gornja granica kasnoantičkih nekropola u zaobalju nekako ostala u mrtvom kutu gledišta, prem-

Pekinica and Prahulje locations in the direct vicinity of Nin. The Ždrijac cemetery served for the burials of at least one clan community from the Nin area, probably even two, if the beginning of the burials in the separated eastern part of the Ždrijac necropolis was a result of clan affiliation. The chronological correlation of the two cemeteries can be determined based on the finds of Carolingian spurs from Grave 52 at Maklinovo Brdo and Grave 161 at Ždrijac. These are spurs which, based on the tongue decoration and bird-like shapes of the clasping garniture, are very similar to each other and certainly belong to the same chronological horizon, i.e. the end of the 8th century. The spurs are a *terminus ante quem* of burials at Maklinovo Brdo, but burials at Ždrijac are outside the chronological framework of the Kašić cemetery and continued until the middle of the 9th century, as also suggested by the silver denarius of Lothair. The 75 graves located in the central part of the Ždrijac cemetery without finds more recent than the beginning of the last third of the 8th century suggest that burials started earlier, probably in the middle of the first half of the 8th century, as is the case at Maklinovo Brdo. In addition, the earrings from Grave 48 suggest somewhat more primitive production methods, while the closest analogy with the pair of earrings from Grave 227 was found in Grave 82 of the late antique necropolis of Knin-Greblje. In addition, many graves in the initial parts of the Kašić and Ždrijac necropolises with their accompanying finds are largely reminiscent of the ones found at the aforementioned late antique necropolis, which is at the same time also the largest cemetery of the period in the entire eastern Adriatic hinterland. Artefacts such as knives, ceramic whorls, pins and flints were enclosed in 6th-century graves,²⁹ the difference between them and the objects found in cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics being the absence of pottery. However, ceramic or glass vessels were sometimes enclosed even in late antique graves, as confirmed by finds from Lučani and Gala near Sinj, Gorica and Cista Velika near Imotski, and Vrba near Glamoč.³⁰

The chronological gap between late antique and early mediaeval cemeteries has certainly made it hard for those discussing the relationship between the necropolises of the two horizons, no matter whether they speak in favour of their continuity or discontinuity. At the same time, eyes have been fixed on the lower chronological boundary of early mediaeval

29 K. SIMONI, 1989, 75-119.

30 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1990; A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2005; LJ. GUDELJ, 2011, 25-28.

29 K. SIMONI, 1989, 75-119.

30 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1990; A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2005; LJ. GUDELJ, 2011, 25-28.

da pokušaje određivanja ovih dvaju relativnih datuma često povezuje isti metodološki problem – uklapanje arheoloških nalaza u okvir povijesnog narativa. Ulogu međaša između dva vremenska horizonta tako je dobila godina „razorenja“ Salone prije koje nije moglo biti grobalja slavenskih došljaka, a poslije koje nije trebalo očekivati postojanje nekropola autohtonog stanovništva.³¹ Pozitivističko čitanje predaja Konstantina VII. i Tome Arhiđakona postavilo je dakle Prokrustovu postelju prema kojoj su datacije grobalja arbitrarno skraćivane ili rastezane. Dok je danas u istočnojadranskom zaobalju pronađen razmjerno veliki broj grobalja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja, kasnoantičke nekropole su i dalje ostale prilično nepoznate. Najveća od njih, a moglo bi se reći i jedina, ona u Kninu na položaju Greblje s 218 sustavno istraženih grobova, nikada nije cjelovito objavljena, već je samo predstavljen izbor pojedinih grobnih cjelina s karakterističnim nakitom izrađenim po bizantskom ili germanskom ukusu.³² Unatoč tome što Zdenko Vinski nekim predmetima navodi analogije i među materijalom 7. stoljeća, predložio je dataciju groblja u period ostrogotske vlasti i drugu polovicu 6. stoljeća koja se najbolje uklopila u zadani povijesni okvir.³³ Zaboravimo li na trenutak „godinu pada Salone“ i već uvriježene datacije nekropola, pojaviti će se mogućnost postavljanja više datacije kninskoga groblja, što dio pronađenih predmeta svakako dopušta. Takvo što bi znatno približilo

cemeteries, while the upper boundary of late antique necropolises in the hinterland has somehow remained in a blind spot, although attempts at determining the two relative dates have frequently been associated with the same methodological problem of how to fit archaeological finds into the framework of a historical narrative. The role of landmark between the two chronological horizons has thus been awarded to the year of the destruction of Salona, before which there could have been no cemeteries of the Slav incomers, and after which no necropolises of the indigenous population are to be expected.³¹ The positivist interpretation of the tradition of Constantine VII and Thomas the Archdeacon is somewhat Procrustean and thus cemetery datings have arbitrarily been cut off or stretched to fit the bed. While a relatively large number of cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics have been unearthed in the eastern Adriatic hinterland, late Antique necropolises have remained relatively unknown. The largest of them, or possibly the only one, that in Knin at the Greblje site, which has 218 systematically excavated graves, has never been comprehensively published. Only a selection of individual graves with characteristic jewellery produced to meet Byzantine or Germanic tastes has been presented.³² Even though Zdenko Vinski identified analogies with certain artefacts among the 7th-century material, he proposed dating the cemeteries to the period of Ostrogoth rule and the second half of the 6th century, which best fits the given historical framework.³³ If for a while we forget the year of the fall of Salona

31 Opširan pregled starije literature o godini pada Salone vidi u: I. MAROVIĆ, 2006. Predloženi datumi sežu od Fokine vladavine (602. – 610.) do tridesetih godina 7. stoljeća. Koncept pada Salone kritiziran je u radovima Ž. Rapanića i I. Goldsteina, (Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1980; I. GOLDSTEIN, 1992, 83-95; I. GOLDSTEIN, 1995, 115-122), a u novije vrijeme kritički stav je zauzeo i D. Dzino (D. DZINO, 2009, 38; D. DZINO, 2010a, 155-161; D. DZINO, 2010b).

32 Z. VINSKI 1989; K. SIMONI 1989.

33 Vinski navodi da su pređice sa štitolikim bazama trna, kojih je pronađeno devet primjeraka, tipične za 6. i rano 7. stoljeće (Z. VINSKI, 1989, 17); ranobizantske pojasne kopče s okovnom pločicom „U“ oblika, kakva je pronađena u grobu 181, datira u kasnije 6. i pogotovo 7. stoljeće (Z. VINSKI, 1989, 26), a prsten pečatnjak iz groba 120 datira u 6. stoljeće, premda njegovu prikazu navodi analogije na lokalitetima u Španjolskoj, Albaniji i Italiji koji su datirani u 7. stoljeće (Z. VINSKI, 1989, 19). Za dataciju je vrlo zanimljiv spomenuti dvojni grob 120 u kojemu su pronađene dvije pređice sa štitolikim bazama trna, pojasna kopča mediteranskog tipa, prsten pečatnjak i ulomci željeznog nožića i britve. Svi se nalazi unutar groba uklapaju u kronološki okvir 7. stoljeća (za datacije ranobizantskih pređica i pojasnih kopči vidi T. FABIJANIĆ, 2004, 66-70, 92-96). Gotovo identična pojasna kopča mediteranskog tipa pronađena je i u grobu 84, zajedno sa željeznim kresivom, brončanim dugmetom i jednom staklenom perlicom. Ipak, ključni problem pri kronološkom određivanju grobova ostaje nepoznavanje situacijskog plana nekropole koji nije nikada objavljen.

31 For an extensive overview of older literature on the year of the fall of Salona, see: I. MAROVIĆ, 2006. The proposed dates extend from the rule of Phocas (602–610) until the thirties of the 7th century. The concept of the fall of Salona has been criticised in papers by Ž. Rapanić and I. Goldstein (Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1980; I. GOLDSTEIN, 1992, 83-95; I. GOLDSTEIN, 1995, 115-122), and recently a critical position has also been presented by D. Dzino (D. DZINO, 2009, 38; D. DZINO, 2010a, 155-161; D. DZINO, 2010b).

32 Z. VINSKI 1989; K. SIMONI 1989.

33 Vinski stated that belt buckles with shield-shaped tongue bases, of which 9 specimens have been unearthed, were typical of the 6th and the early 7th century (Z. VINSKI, 1989, 17). Early Byzantine belt buckles with a u-shaped fitting panel, such as the one found in Grave 181, were dated to the late 6th and particularly 7th century (Z. VINSKI, 1989, 26), and a signet ring from grave 120 was dated to the 6th century, although he mentioned analogies with its images at sites in Spain, Albania and Italy which were dated to the 7th century (Z. VINSKI, 1989, 19). The dual grave 120, mentioned above, is very interesting in terms of dating. This contained two belt buckles with shield-shaped tongue bases, a Mediterranean type belt buckle, a signet ring and fragments of a small iron knife and a razor. All the finds inside the grave fit the chronological framework of the 7th century (for a dating of the early Byzantine buckles and belts, see T. FABIJANIĆ, 2004, 66-70, 92-96). An almost identical belt buckle of the Mediterranean type was unearthed in Grave 84 along with an iron flint, bronze button and a glass bead. Nevertheless, the key problem in the chronological determination of the graves remains not knowing the situation plan of the necropolis, which has never been published.

gornju granicu kasnoantičkih s donjom granicom ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja. Pritom svakako treba naglasiti da početak pokapanja na grobljima s poganskim osobinama pokapanja ne znači nužno i datum dolaska novog stanovništva, a to najbolje pokazuje osnivanje novih grobalja sredinom 9. stoljeća koje nitko ne povezuje s migracijama.

DVA SEPULKRALNA HORIZONTA

Topografsko-kronološkim pregledom grobalja na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću i na Ždrijacu u Ninu mogu se razlučiti najmanje dva sepulkralna horizonta: prvi ponajviše karakteriziraju nalazi karolinške ratničke opreme i skupocjenog bizantskog nakita prema kojima se ovaj horizont može datirati od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća do polovice 9. stoljeća. Njegovo bitno obilježje je svakako i pojava grobova društveno povlaštenih pojedinaca koja pokazuje da je bazična egalitarnost društva tada već potpuno narušena; izdvojio se sloj onih koji kontroliraju pristup temeljnim resursima poput zemljišta i hrane. Isti su nadzirali i trgovinu s bizantskim gradovima na obali koja je intenzivirana upravo od nastanka ovoga sepulkralnog horizonta.³⁴ Razloge društvenim i gospodarskim promjenama u zaobalju treba tražiti podjednako među unutaršnjim i vanjskim čimbenicima, od kojih su ovi potonji znatno lakše odrediti. Iste godine 751. Langobardi zauzimaju Ravenu i Pipin Mali postaje franački kralj, a posljedice tih događaja bile su dalekosežne za čitavo jadransko područje.³⁵ Gubitkom Istre su bizantski posjedi u Dalmaciji postali strateški još značajniji, a to se moralo odraziti i na situaciju u zaobalju, koje je tada snažnije integrirano u globalna politička događanja. S druge strane, dotadašnji ustroj društva u zaleđu dalmatinskih gradova više nije bio ekonomski logičan, što je nužno dovelo do društvene transformacije i izdvajanja elite. Iz nekakvog oblika necentraliziranog političkog sustava društvo je poprimilo oblik poglavištva – regionalne zajedni-

and the already accepted dating of the necropolises, it is possible to opt for several datings of the Knin cemetery, which part of the unearthed artefacts certainly allows for. This would bring the upper boundary of the late antique cemeteries and the lower boundary of the early mediaeval cemeteries significantly closer to each other. At the same time, it certainly needs to be pointed out that the beginning of burials at cemeteries with pagan burial characteristics does not necessarily imply the date of the arrival of the new population, as is best demonstrated by the establishment of new cemeteries in the middle of the 9th century, which nobody has associated with migrations.

TWO SEPULCHRAL HORIZONS

A topographical-chronological survey of cemeteries at Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić and at Ždrijac in Nin suggests at least two sepulchral horizons. The first is mostly characterised by finds of Carolingian warrior equipment and luxury Byzantine jewellery, based on which this horizon can be dated from the beginning of the last third of the 8th century to the middle of the 9th century. Its significant characteristic is certainly the occurrence of graves of socially privileged individuals, demonstrating that the basic social equality had already been completely disturbed. A layer of individuals controlling access to basic resources, such as land and food, is evident. The same individuals were also in control of trade with the Byzantine coastal towns, which intensified particularly after the formation of this sepulchral horizon.³⁴ The reasons for social and economic changes in the hinterland should be looked for both in internal and external factors, of which the latter are much easier to determine. In 751, the Langobards occupied Ravenna and Pepin the Short became King of the Franks. The consequences of these events were far-reaching for the entire Adriatic region.³⁵ With the loss of Istria, the Byzantine estates in Dalmatia became strategically even more important, which necessarily reflected itself in the situation in the hinterland, which was then more intensely integrated into global political events. The previous social structure in the

34 Huw Evans je intenziviranje trgovine između obalnih gradova i zaobalja povezo s uspostavom županijske organizacije i stvaranjem centara moći u njihovim sjedištima (H. M. A. EVANS, 1989, 223). Slično razmišlja i Dzino, koji je te društveno-gospodarske promjene datirao nakon sredine 8. stoljeća (D. DZINO, 2010a, 173).

35 R. HODGES, 2008; M. McCORMICK, 2008, 410-414; T. S. BROWN, 2008, 443-444; D. DZINO, 2010a, 176-177.

34 Huw Evans associates the intensifying of trade between the coastal towns and the hinterland with the establishment of local organisation and the formation of centres of power (H. M. A. EVANS, 1989, 223). Dzino argues along similar lines, dating the social-economic changes to after the middle of the 8th century (D. DZINO, 2010a, 173).

35 R. HODGES, 2008; M. PETRINEC, 2008, 410-414; T. S. BROWN, 2008, 443-444; D. DZINO, 2010a, 176-177.

ce u kojoj je više skupina organizirano pod jednim vladarom, a u kojoj središnja vlast nadzire gospodarske aktivnosti, proizvodne viškove i njihovu preraspodjelu.³⁶ Pravo na vlast bilo je nasljedno, u istočnojadranskom zaobalju zasigurno patrilinearno, a vladaru je bilo omogućeno zgrtanje velikog bogatstva na kojemu je uostalom i temeljio svoju moć. Danijel Džino tvrdi da je to ujedno i vrijeme nastanka novoga kulturnog habitusa kada su stanovnici dalmatinskog zaobalja u očima vanjskih promatrača „postali“ Slavenima, za razliku od stanovništva u obalnim gradovima.³⁷ Ipak, zašto bi se takav proces odvijao baš u trenutku snažnije interakcije obale i zaobalja? Vjerojatnije je zato da je do akulturacije Slavena i autohtonog stanovništva te konstrukcije novoga identiteta (ili više njih) došlo još ranije, za vrijeme pada robne razmjene i slabijega kontakta dvaju područja u 7. i prvim desetljećima 8. stoljeća, a samim time i do prepoznavanja promjena s gledišta vanjskih promatrača. Naglašavanje ekonomskih promjena kao ključnih u transformaciji identiteta stanovništva u zaobalju pritom ne isključuje, pa čak ni ne umanjuje značaj slavenskih migracija u tom složenom procesu.

Drugi, odnosno stariji sepulkralni horizont na Maklinovu brdu i na Ždrijacu nastaje sredinom prve polovice 8. stoljeća. Karakterizira ga pojava jednostavnih inačica bizantskog nakita poput jednostavnih limenih prstenova ili običnih karičica, dok skupocjenog nakita gotovo da i nema, a nalazi ratničke opreme i oružja potpuno izostaju. Sve to upućuje ne samo na slabije trgovačke veze s obalnim gradovima, nego i na drugačije društveno ustrojstvo jer su ta dva čimbenika razmjerno povezana. Riječ je dakle o obliku necentraliziranog političkog sustava na razini plemenske organizacije ili segmentirane zajednice u kojemu vlada načelo osnovne egalitarnosti pojedinaca.³⁸ Proizvodnja služi isključivo podmirivanju osnovnih potreba zajednice; budući da svaka plemenska loza proizvodi isto, nitko ne ovisi o drugima za robu ili usluge.³⁹ Politička organizacija u takvim zajednicama je neformalna i privremena, i to samo u situacijama koje zahtijevaju integraciju nekoliko grupa, poput

hinterland of Dalmatian towns ceased to be economically logical, which necessarily caused a social transformation and the formation of an elite. From a non-centralised political system, society took on the form of a chiefdom, a regional community in which several groups were organised under a single ruler, and in which a central authority was in control of economic activities, and production surpluses and their reallocation.³⁶ Power was hereditary, and in the eastern Adriatic hinterland certainly patrilineal, and the ruler was able to amass great wealth, on which he based his power. Danijel Džino suggests that this was at the same time the period of the formation of a new cultural habitus, when the inhabitants of the Dalmatian hinterland became Slavs in the eyes of outside viewers, as opposed to the population in the coastal towns.³⁷ However, why should such a process have taken place precisely at the moment of a more intense interaction between the coast and the hinterland? It is more likely that the acculturation of the Slavs and the indigenous population and the construction of a new identity (or several of them) occurred earlier in the course of the decline of trade and less intense contacts between the two areas in the 7th and first decades of the 8th century, and consequently the changes were also identified by outside observers. At the same time, the emphasis on economic changes as being crucial to the transformation of the identity of the hinterland population does not exclude or even decrease the significance of Slavic migrations in this complex process.

The other, older sepulchral horizon at Maklinovo Brdo and at Ždrijac was formed in the middle of the first half of the 8th century. It was characterised by the occurrence of simple variants of Byzantine jewellery such as simple metal-sheet rings or common circlets, while there is almost no luxury jewellery. Finds of warrior equipment and weapons are completely missing. All this suggests not only poorer trade links with the coastal towns, but also a different social structure, the two factors being relatively connected. Thus, it was a form of non-centralised political system at the level of a tribal organisation or segmented community, in which the principle of basic equality among individuals ruled.³⁸ Production served exclusively to satisfy the basic needs of the community.

36 W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 324-325; C. RENFREW, P. BAHN, 2008, 179.

37 D. DŽINO, 2010a, 171-174.

38 W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 318-323; C. RENFREW, P. BAHN, 2008, 179.

39 W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 321.

36 W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 324-325; C. RENFREW, P. BAHN, 2008, 179.

37 D. DŽINO, 2010a, 171-174.

38 W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 318-323; C. RENFREW, P. BAHN, 2008, 179.

obrane ili pljačkaških pohoda.⁴⁰ Kako god odredili oblik vlasti u tadašnjem zaleđu dalmatinskih obalnih gradova, činjenica jest da do formiranja društvene elite dolazi tek u zadnjoj trećini 8. stoljeća. Stoga, uzroke trgovinskom padu prije navedenoga razdoblja ne treba tražiti u paralizi prometnih pravaca koju su uzrokovali Slaveni, jer do toga vjerojatno nikada nije ni došlo. Proizvodnja malog opsega u pravilu nije akumulirala viškove pa stanovništvo u zaobalju nije imalo što ponuditi zauzvrat trgovcima iz bizantskih gradova, dok bi eventualni proizvodni višak razmijenili na lokalnom području za neku drugu vrstu hrane ili obrtničke proizvode.⁴¹ S druge strane, robna razmjena na Mediteranu nije zamrla, ali je globalno gledajući bila u opadanju.⁴² Još je i važnija činjenica da je mediteranska trgovina bila regionalizirana, na što ukazuju teritorijalno ograničena distribucija pojedinih proizvoda i gotovo ugašeni trgovački kontakti s udaljenim područjima.⁴³ Primjerice, nalazi regionalne inačice pojasnih kopči „Bologna/Balgota“ datiranih u 7. stoljeće karakteristični su samo za područje južne Italije i juga istočne obale Jadrana, koje je tada očito tvorilo trgovačku mikroregiju.⁴⁴ Regionalizacija trgovine u ranom srednjem vijeku pripomogla je učvršćivanju promašenog koncepta arheološke kulture kao materijalnog zrcala etničkih identiteta, poput komanske kulture koja se pripisuje kasnoantičkom autohtonom stanovniš-

Since each tribal lineage produced the same products, nobody was dependant on others for goods or services.³⁹ Political organisation in such communities was informal and temporary, and only in situations that required the integration of several groups, such as defence or looting expeditions.⁴⁰ No matter how we determine the form of power in the hinterland of Dalmatian coastal towns, it is a fact that the formation of a social elite occurred as late as in the last third of the 8th century. Therefore, the causes of a decline in trade before the mentioned period should not be looked for in a paralysis of transport routes caused by the Slavs, because this probably never even occurred. As a rule, small-scale production accumulated no surpluses. Thus, the hinterland population had nothing to exchange with traders from Byzantine towns, and possible product surpluses were exchanged locally for other types of food or artisan products.⁴¹ On the other hand, trade exchange in the Mediterranean did not cease, but in global terms demonstrated a declining trend.⁴² Even more important is the fact that Mediterranean trade was regionalised, as suggested by the territorially restricted distribution of individual products and the almost broken trade contacts with distant areas.⁴³ For example, finds of regional variants of “Bologna/Balgota” belt buckles, dating to the 7th century, are characteristic only of southern Italy and the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast, which at that time obviously formed a trading

40 Razmatranjem razlika između načina plemenskog rukovođenja, Marshall D. Sahlins razvio je koncept „Velikog Čovjeka“ (*Big-Man*), vođe neke teritorijalne skupine unutar necentraliziranog političkog sustava čiji autoritet nije ni formalan ni nasljedan, već se temelji na djelima kojima se izdiže iznad ostalih članova zajednice (M. D. SAHLINS, 1963; W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 320). Danijel Dzino u svom najnovijem radu raspravlja upravo o društvenim promjenama u dalmatinskom zaobalju od oko 500. do 850. godine. Transformaciju društvenog ustrojstva prepoznaje u postjustinijanskoj Dalmaciji: zbog političkih promjena, bliske avarske prisutnosti i militarizacije tadašnjeg društva, smatra da se uzdižu oni koji su bili sposobni preuzeti vodstvo u kriznim trenucima – dalmatinski *Big-Men* (D. DZINO, 2014).

41 S. T. LOSEBY, 2008, 619.

42 M. WHITTOW, 2008, 467-472; D. ABULAFIA, 2011, 241-251. U odnosu na 6. stoljeće, broj brodoloma u 7. stoljeću je više nego dvostruko manji, a u 8. stoljeću čak deset puta manji (A. E. LAIOU, C. MORRISSON, 2007, 38-42). Lučki kapaciteti u Konstantinopolu, u kojemu je kontinuitet pomorske trgovine najvidljiviji, reducirani su za četvrtinu (M. WHITTOW, 1996, 89-95), a novija istraživanja ravenske luke Classe također pokazuju značajan trgovinski pad tijekom 7. stoljeća (R. HODGES, 2008, 274).

43 C. WHICKAM, 2005, 717. Na to ukazuje i gradnja brodova srednjih dimenzija i manje nosivosti, koji su bili prikladniji za kraće trgovačke rute. Brod iz Dor D brodoloma bio je dugačak 20 metara, a onaj pronađen kod Yassi Ade bio je dug 21 metar, nosivosti oko 500 tona i sadržavao je oko 800 amfora (A. E. LAIOU, C. MORRISSON, 2007, 40-42).

44 T. FABIJANIĆ, 2008.

39 W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 321.

40 After having studied the differences between tribal governance methods, Marshall D. Sahlins developed the concept of the “Big Man”, the leader of a territorial group within a non-centralised political system, whose authority is neither formal nor hereditary, but rather dependent on the activities that make him stand out from the other community members (M. D. SAHLINS, 1963; W. A. HAVILAND, 2004, 320). In his most recent paper, Danijel Dzino discusses the social changes in the Dalmatian hinterland from around 500 until 850. He identifies the transformation of the social order in post-Justinian Dalmatia. Due to political change, the nearby Avar presence and the militarisation of contemporary society, he believes that those who were capable of taking a lead in times of crisis – the Dalmatian “Big Men” – stood out (D. DZINO, 2014).

41 S. T. LOSEBY, 2008, 619.

42 D. ABULAFIA, 2011, 241-251; Compared to the 6th century, the number of shipwrecks in the 7th century is more than twice as small, and in the 8th century even ten times smaller (A. E. LAIOU, C. MORRISSON, 2007, 38-42). The port capacities in Constantinople, where the continuity of sea trade is most evident, were reduced by a quarter (M. WHITTOW, 1996, 89-95), while more recent research on Classe, the Port of Ravenna, also demonstrates a significant decline in trade in the course of the 7th century (R. HODGES, 2008, 274).

43 C. WHICKAM, 2005, 717. This is also suggested by the construction of medium-sized ships with a smaller deadweight, which were more suitable for shorter trade routes. The ship from the Dor D shipwreck was 20 metres long, and the one found at Yassi Ada was 21 metres long, with a capacity of approximately 500 tons, and containing approximately 800 amphorae (A. E. LAIOU, C. MORRISSON, 2007, 40-42).

tvu, starohrvatske kulture koja pripada ranosrednjovjekovnim Hrvatima, ili karantansko-ketlaške kulture koja se povezuje s alpskim Slavenima. Disperzija određenih proizvoda na ograničenom području u ovim slučajevima može samo ukazati na vrstu robne razmjene i veličinu tržišta te u pravilu ne daje za naslutiti mnogo više od toga.

Nedostatak karakterističnih nalaza druge polovice 7. i prve polovice 8. stoljeća na grobljima u zaobalju uzrokovan je dakle općim trgovinskim poremećajem i necentraliziranim društvenim ustrojem. Taj je problem u dalmatinskom zaobalju daleko izraženiji negoli primjerice na dalmatinskoj obali i otocima, u Istri ili pak na području današnje Albanije, gdje su nalazi datirani u spomenuto razdoblje ipak pronađeni. Gospodarski i politički sustav potonjih područja omogućavao je kontinuitet robne razmjene, pa makar u znatno smanjenom razmjeru i na znatno reduciranom tržištu. S druge strane, u političkom sustavu dalmatinskog zaobalja nedvojbeno dolazi do snažnijeg urušavanja što je bitno odredilo vrstu i razmjer sveukupnih gospodarskih aktivnosti. Premda treba izbjegavati tvrdnje o potpunom diskontinuitetu ili o katastrofalnoj depopulaciji, čemu je posebno bila sklona starija historiografija, jednako je pogrešno tvrditi da se tada ništa bitno nije dogodilo. Do velikih promjena je svakako došlo, a to se najbolje ogleda u prestanku liturgije u starokršćanskim crkvama te u propadanju gospodarskog sustava kasnoantičkih vila, koje su tvorile okosnicu tadašnjeg gospodarstva.⁴⁵ Necentralizirani politički sustav, vidljiv u starijem sepulkralnom horizontu grobalja na Maklinovu brdu i na Ždrijacu, nije bio kompatibilan s crkvenom organizacijom i s veleposjedničkim gospodarskim sustavom, koji su proizvodi složene socioekonomske strukture kasnoantičkoga društva. Budući da se ti

micro-region.⁴⁴ The regionalisation of trade in the Early Middle Ages has contributed to the strengthening of the failed concept of archaeological culture as a material mirror of ethnic identity, such as the Komani culture being assigned to the Late Antiquity autochthonous population, the early Croatian culture as belonging to the early mediaeval Croats, or the Carantanian-Köttlach culture being associated with Alpine Slavs. The dispersion of certain products in a restricted area in these cases can only suggest the type of trade exchange and size of the market, and as a rule does not disclose much more than that.

Thus, the absence of characteristic finds from the second half of the 7th and first half of the 8th century in cemeteries in the hinterland was a consequence of a general disruption in trade and a non-centralised social order. This problem is much more evident in the Dalmatian hinterland than, for example, along the Dalmatian coast and on the islands, in Istria, or in the area of present-day Albania, which are the sites where finds dated to the mentioned period have been unearthed. The economic and political system of the mentioned area enabled the continuity of trade, though on a significantly smaller scale and in a significantly reduced market. On the other hand, the political system of the Dalmatian hinterland undoubtedly experienced a collapse, which significantly determined the type and scope of overall economic activities. Although statements should be avoided about a complete discontinuity or catastrophic depopulation, which old historiography was particularly prone to, it is equally erroneous to assert that nothing significant happened at this time. Huge changes certainly occurred, as is best seen in the discontinuation of the liturgy in Old Christian churches, as well as the decline of the economic system of Late Antiquity villas, which created the basis of the economy of the time.⁴⁵ The

45 Nijedna starokršćanska crkva u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije nema dokazani sakralni kontinuitet kroz 7. i 8. stoljeće. Radoslav Katičić je pretpostavio da je do izgradnje predromaničkih crkava u 9. stoljeću liturgija obavljena u starokršćanskim crkvama, a kao primjer navodi vrlo dobro očuvanu crkvu sv. Martina u Pridrazi iz 6. stoljeća (R. KATIČIĆ, 2007, 223). Međutim, takvo što upućuje samo na statički kontinuitet crkvenih zidova i nipošto ne znači da je unutar njih obavljena liturgija. Arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Martina pokazala su da je crkva tijekom svoga postojanja doživjela više obnova i preinaka koje, nažalost, nisu vremenski određene. Pronađeni ulomci kamenog crkvenog namještaja su iznenađujuće malobrojni, od kojih tek manji dio pripada starokršćanskom razdoblju (vidi: A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 52-56). Nema niti dokaza o nastavku proizvodnje na kasnoantičkim vilama u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije, pa se može pretpostaviti da su nekoć veliki jedinstveni zemljišni posjedi bili znatno parcelizirani, u skladu s tadašnjim socioekonomskim promjenama.

44 T. FABIJANIĆ, 2008.

45 There is no confirmed sacral continuity for any Old Christian churches in the Dalmatian hinterland throughout the 7th and 8th centuries. Radoslav Katičić assumed that by the time of the construction of pre-Romanesque churches in the 9th century, the liturgy took place in Old Christian churches, and as an example he mentioned the very well preserved 6th-century church of St. Martin in Pridraga (R. KATIČIĆ, 2007, 223). However, this merely suggests a static continuity of church walls, and by no means implies that the liturgy took place inside them. An archaeological campaign at the Church of St. Martin demonstrated that in the course of its existence the church had undergone several reconstructions and conversions which unfortunately are chronologically uncertain. Unearthed fragments of stone church furniture are surprisingly few in number, and only a smaller part of them belong to the Early Christian Age (see: A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2002, 52-56). There is no evidence of a continuity of production in Late Antiquity villas in the Dalmatian hinterland. Therefore, it can be assumed that what once had been large and united estates had become parcelled plots of land, in line with contemporary social and economic changes.

sustavi međusobno isključuju, njihovo supostojanje zato nije bilo moguće. Stoga je nedostatak uvezenih nakitnih predmeta u zaobalju, koji bi se mogli pozdano datirati u drugu polovicu 7. i prvu polovicu 8. stoljeća, zapravo logična posljedica tadašnjih društvenih i gospodarskih promjena.

Topografska kronologija dvaju razmatranih ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja dakle pokazuje postojanje skupine grobova iz razdoblja niske trgovinske aktivnosti, to jest prije početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. Budući da čak i površna analiza inventara nekih grobova s kasnoantičke nekropole Knin – Greblje daje snažnu osnovu za pretpostaviti kako pokapanje traje i kroz 7. stoljeće, pregled topografske kronologije toga lokaliteta mogao bi ponuditi odgovor na pitanje odnosa kasnoantičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja. Međutim, radi nepoznavanja situacijskog plana i svih grobnih cjelina kninske nekropole taj je problem i dalje nerješiv, a time i kronologija kasnoantičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja nužno ostaje „krezuba“.

non-centralised political system, visible in the older sepulchral horizon of cemeteries on Maklinovo Brdo and at Ždrijac, was not compatible with ecclesiastical organisation and an economic system based on large estates, which were a result of the complex social and economic structure of Late Antiquity society. Since the systems excluded each other, their coexistence was not possible. Therefore, the absence of imported jewellery artefacts in the hinterland, which could with certainty be dated to the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century, was actually a logical consequence of the social and economic changes of the time.

Thus, the topographical chronology of the two analysed early mediaeval cemeteries suggests the existence of a group of graves from the period of low trade activity, i.e. before the beginning of the last third of the 8th century. Since a superficial analysis of the inventory of certain graves from the Late Antiquity Knin-Greblje necropolis offers a strong basis for assuming that burials also took place during the course of the 7th century, an overview of the topographical chronology of the site might offer an answer to the question of the relationship between the late antique and early mediaeval cemeteries. However, due to the lack of a situation plan and knowledge about all the graves of the Knin necropolis, the problem remains unresolved, and consequently the chronology of late antique and early mediaeval cemeteries necessarily remains incomplete.

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