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## Sredina srednjoavarskog perioda: opaske o polukružnim privjescima s alkom

The Middle Way of the Middle Avar Age:  
Remarks on the Semicircular Pendants with  
Open-Work Ornament.

Zanimljiva debata nedavno se razvila između Ante Miloševića i Maje Petrinec oko naizgled nevažne vrste artefakata – polukružnih privjesaka s alkonom, poput onoga pronađenog u grobu 54 s groblja Kašić-Malkinovo brdo. Tko je u pravu? Problem je puno širi od puke kronologije ovog predmeta. Milošević već dugo zastupa hipotezu o kontinuitetu lokalne populacije od kasne antike do ranoga srednjeg vijeka. Petrinec, pak, inzistira na kulturnom jazu između kasnoantičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih grobnih cjelina koje možemo pripisati "starohrvatskoj" kulturnoj skupini. Datirati grob 54 s Maklinovog brda u 7. stoljeće znači implicirati kako je sahranjivanje u ovom groblju započelo mnogo ranije od datuma koji se najčešće pripisuje početcima "starohrvatske" kulture. U krajnjem slučaju, to također predstavlja izazov ideji o migraciji Hrvata u nekom trenutku oko godine 800. Kroz analizu dvadesetprvog do sada poznatog polukružnog privjeska s alkonom, ovaj rad predlaže novi datum za datiranje ove vrste artefakata. Primjerak iz Stona je vrlo sličan nedavno otkrivenom privjesku iz Krneze, koji je povezan s alkicom za vješanje na remenu, datiranom u srednjoavarski period (630.-680.). Sličan datum potvrđuje i nalaz polukružnog privjeska s fibulom s povijenom nogom iz groba 1 iskopanog u Prosek (Albanija). Rad zaključuje kako je srednja trećina 7. stoljeća najizgledniji period za datiranje polukružnih privjesaka s alkonom. Drugim riječima, ovi predmeti se ne mogu datirati niti u početak 7. stoljeća, niti u 8. stoljeće.

Ključne riječi: Kašić - Maklinovo brdo, Komani kultura, srednjoavarski period, Hrvatska, Albania

A curious dispute has recently erupted between Ante Milošević and Maja Petrinec over an apparently insignificant category of artifacts—the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament, such as found in grave 54 of the cemetery excavated in Maklinovo Brdo, near the village of Kašić. Who then is right? At stake appears to be more than just chronology. For a long while now, Milošević has been an advocate for the continuity of the local population from Late Antiquity into the early Middle Ages. Petrinec, however, insists upon the cultural chasm separating the late antique from the earliest medieval assemblages that could be attributed to the "Old Croats." To say that grave 54 in the Kašić-Maklinovo brdo cemetery is of a 7th-century date is to imply, therefore, that that cemetery began much earlier than the date commonly accepted for the "Old Croatian culture." Ultimately, that also means to challenge the idea of a migration of the Croats into Croatia at some point during the 9th century. Through the examination of 21 semicircular pendants with open-work ornament known so far, this article proposes a new date for this category of artifacts. The specimen from Ston is very similar to that recently discovered in Krneza, which is associated with a belt suspension ring dated to the Middle Avar age (630-680). To a similar date points the association in grave 1 of the cemetery excavated in Prosek (Albania) of a semicircular pendant with a fibula with bent stem. The middle third of the 7th century is therefore most likely the date for the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament. In other words, those artifacts are neither of an early 7th-, nor of an 8th-century date. They are most likely of a different age - the Middle Avar age.

Key words: Kašić - Maklinovo brdo, Komani culture, middle Avar Age, Croatia, Albania

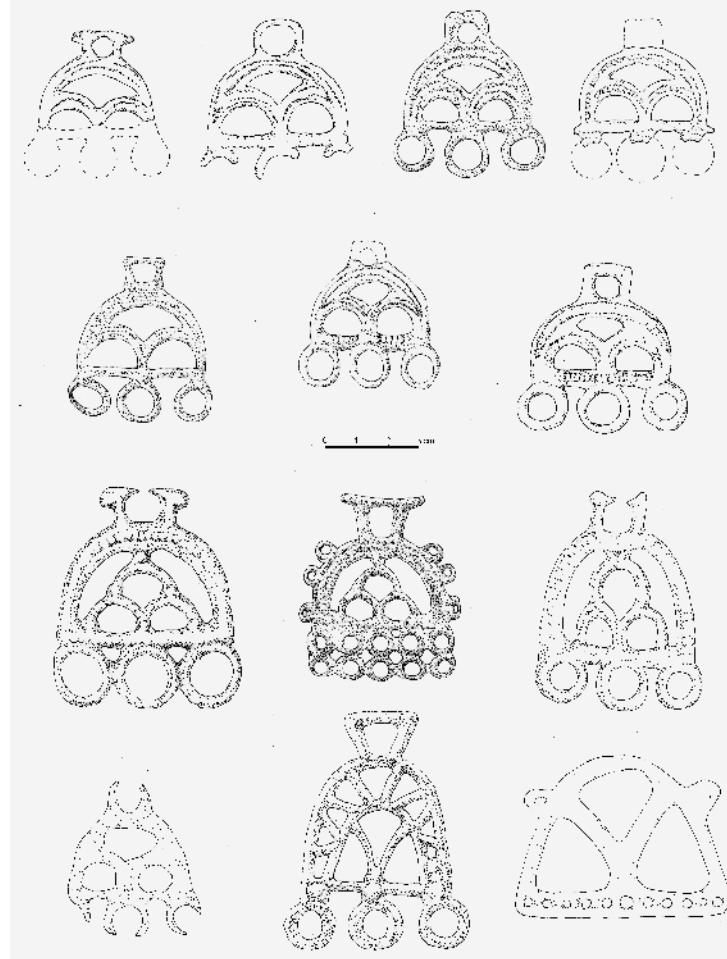
A curious dispute has recently erupted between two Croatian archaeologists over a rather insignificant category of artifacts - the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament, such as found in grave 54 of the cemetery excavated in 1967 by Janko Belošević in Maklinovo Brdo near the village of Kašić<sup>1</sup>. In an article published 27 years ago, Ante Milošević gathered all published pendants, and added two specimens from Croatia - one from Drvenik, the other from an unknown location, but preserved in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split<sup>2</sup>. He rightly pointed to analogies from sites in Albania and western Macedonia, which are attributed to the so-called Komani culture<sup>3</sup>. He dated all pendants to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the specimen found in Ston together with a "Byzantine" buckle<sup>4</sup>. He thus explicitly rejected

<sup>1</sup> J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Starohrvatsko groblje na Maklinovu brdu u selu Kašiću kod Zadra*. Split, 2010, pp. 52 and 86-91; 230 pl. XXXV.4

<sup>2</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi i pitanje kasnoantičkog kontinuiteta u materijalnoj kulturi ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije, *Diadora* 11, Zadar, 1989, pp. 347-362.

<sup>3</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, pp. 350-353. The literature on the Komani culture is abundant. For the most recent studies, all post-dating Milošević's article, and dealing with the chronology of burial assemblages, see E. NALLBANI, La civilisation de "Komani" de l'Antiquité tardive au Haut Moyen Age, Ph. D. Dissertation, Université de Paris-I Sorbonne, Paris, 2002. – M. MILINKOVIĆ, Einige Bemerkungen zu spätromanischen Funden in Süddalmatien und Montenegro, in: *Reliquiae gentium. Festschrift für Horst Wolfgang Böhme zum 65. Geburtstag*, (ed. C. Dobiat), Rahden, 2005, pp. 303-317. – E. AGOLLI, The distribution of arrowheads in Koman culture burials (6th-8th centuries A.D.), in: *New Directions in Albanian Archaeology. Studies Presented to Muzafer Korkuti*, (ed. L. Bejko, R. Hodges), Tirana, 2006, pp. 287-293. – E. NALLBANI, Quelques objets parmi les plus anciens de la culture de Komani, in: *De l'Âge du fer au haut Moyen Âge. Archéologique funéraire, princes et élites guerrières. Actes des tables rondes Longroy I (1er et 2 septembre 1998) et Longroy II (24 et 25 août 1999)*, (ed. X. Delestre), Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 2006, pp. 173-179. – T. FILIPOSKI, The Komani-Krue settlements, and some aspects of their existence in the Ohrid-Struga valley (VII-VIII century), *Macedonian Historical Review* 1, Skopje, 2010, pp. 67-80.

<sup>4</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, pp. 353-354. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi i pitanje kasnoantičkog kontinuiteta u materijalnoj kulturi ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije, in: *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, (ed. N. Budak), Zagreb, 1995, p. 102. It is not clear to me how Milošević came up with the idea that the Ston buckle must be dated to the second quarter of the



sl. 1. Polukružni privjesci s alkom: 1. Drvenik; 2. Kašić; 3, 5, 9, 11. Koman; 4. Nepoznato nalazište u Hrvatskoj; 6. Lezhë; 7. Prosek; 8. Krneza; 10. Ston; 12. Radolišta; 13. Nepoznato nalazište u Istri.

fig. 1 Semicircular pendants with open-work ornament: 1. Drvenik; 2. Kašić; 3, 5, 9, and 11. Koman; 4. unknown location in Croatia; 6. Lezhë; 7. Prosek; 8. Krneza; 10. Ston; 12. Radolišta; 13. unknown location in Istria.

Nedavno se razvila zanimljiva debata između dvaju hrvatskih arheologa o naoko nevažnoj vrsti arheoloških nalaza: polukružnim privjescima s alkonom, poput onog kojeg je pokojni Janko Belošević pronašao 1967. godine u grobu 54, na starohrvatskom groblju na Maklinovom brdu blizu Kašića<sup>1</sup>. U radu objavljenom prije 27 godina, Ante Milošević je obradio sve publicirane privjeske, uključujući i nalaz iz Drvenika, te drugi primjerak s nepoznate lokacije, koji se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u

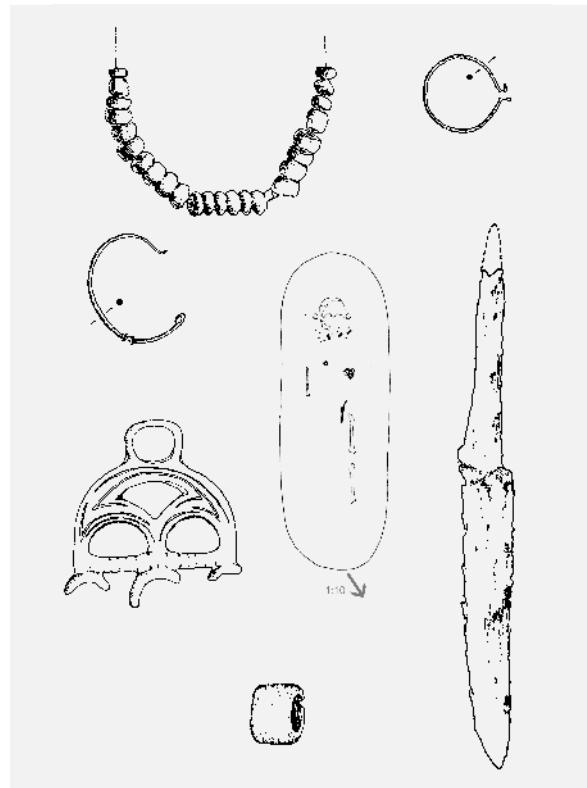
<sup>1</sup> J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Starohrvatsko groblje na Maklinovu brdu u selu Kašiću kod Zadra*, Split, 2010, str. 52 i 86-91; 230, pl. XXXV.466.

Splitu<sup>2</sup>. Autor je ispravno ukazao na analogije s albanskih i zapadno-makedonskih lokaliteta, koji se pripisuju takozvanoj Komani kulturi<sup>3</sup>. Milošević datira sve polukružne privjeske u prvu polovinu 7. stoljeća na osnovi primjera iz Stona, pronađenog skupa s „bizantskom” pojasmom kopčom<sup>4</sup>. On tako eksplisitno negira datiranje privjeska u rano 8. stoljeće, koje je Belošević predložio za grob 54 iz

<sup>2</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi i pitanje kasnoantičkog kontinuiteta u materijalnoj kulturi ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije, *Diadora* 11, Zadar, 1989, str. 347-362.

<sup>3</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, str. 350-353. Literatura o Komani kulturi je iscrpna. Za najnovije studije koje se bave kronologijom grobnih priloga, napisane nakon Miloševićevog rada, vidi: E. NALLBANI, *La civilisation de "Komani" de l'Antiquité tardive au Haut Moyen Age*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Université de Paris-I Sorbonne, Paris, 2002. – M. MILINKOVIĆ, Einige Bemerkungen zu spätromanischen Funden in Süddalmatien und Montenegro, u: *Reliquiae gentium. Festschrift für Horst Wolfgang Böhme zum 65. Geburtstag*, (ur. C. Dobiat), Rahden, 2005, str. 303-317. – E. AGOLLI, The distribution of arrowheads in Komani culture burials (6th-8th centuries A.D.), u: *New Directions in Albanian Archaeology. Studies Presented to Muzafer Korkuti*, (ur. L. Bejko, R. Hodges), Tirana, 2006, str. 287-293. – E. NALLBANI, Quelques objets parmi les plus anciens de la culture de Komani, u: *De l'Âge du fer au haut Moyen Âge. Archéologique funéraire, princes et élites guerrières. Actes des tables rondes Longroy I (1er et 2 septembre 1998) et Longroy II (24 et 25 août 1999)*, (ur. X. Delestre), Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 2006, str. 173-179. – T. FILIPOSKI, The Komani-Krue settlements, and some aspects of their existence in the Ohrid-Struga valley (VII-VIII century), *Macedonian Historical Review* 1, Skopje, 2010, str. 67-80.

<sup>4</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, str. 353-354. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi i pitanje kasnoantičkog kontinuiteta u materijalnoj kulturi ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije, u: *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, (ur. N. Budak), Zagreb, 1995, str. 102. Nije mi najjasnije kako je Miloševiću pala na pamet ideja da kopča iz Stona mora biti datirana u drugu četvrtinu 7. stoljeća. On je vjerojatno bio upoznat sa sličnim kopčama iz Istre (grob 8 u Brkaču) i Albanije (grob 34 iz Komana). Komanska kopča se spominje u: Z. VINSKI, Kasnoantički starosjedoci u Salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatiniku* 69, Split, 1967, str. 28-29; pl. XX.3; a istarska u: B. MARUŠIĆ, Nekropole VII. i VIII. stoljeća u Istri, *Arheološki vestnik* 18, Ljubljana, 1967, str. 347, pl. VI.6. Oba rada se navode u prvoj fusnoti Miloševićevog rada. Jedanaest godina poslije, stonski nalazi se datiraju u sredinu 7. stoljeća u: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Karolinški utjecaji u Hrvatskoj kneževini u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza, u: *Hrvati i karolinzi. Rasprave i vrela*, (ed. A. Milošević), Split, 2000, str. 107.



sl. 2. Kašić - Maklinovo brdo, nalazi iz groba 54: staklene perle, naušnice, polukružni privjesak i nož (prema: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *La nécropole paléocroate*, vidi Dodatak).

fig. 2 Kašić - Maklinovo brdo, grave 54 and associated finds: glass beads, earrings, semicircular pendant and knife (after: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *La nécropole paléocroate*, see Appendix).

the early 8<sup>th</sup>-century date that Janko Belošević had proposed for grave 54 in Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo<sup>5</sup>. The matter remained dormant for more than 15

7<sup>th</sup> century. However, he must have known about such buckles found in Istria (grave 8 in Brkač) and in Albania (grave 34 in Koman). The latter is mentioned by Z. VINSKI, Kasnoantički starosjedoci u Salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatiniku*, 69, Split, 1967, pp. 28-29; pl. XX.3; the former was first published by B. MARUŠIĆ, Nekropole VII. i VIII. stoljeća u Istri, *Arheološki vestnik* 18, Ljubljana, 1967, pp. 347 pl. VI.6. Both articles are cited in the first two footnotes of Milošević's article. Eleven years after that article, the Ston assemblage was dated to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century in A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Karolinški utjecaji u Hrvatskoj kneževini u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza, in: *Hrvati i karolinzi. Rasprave i vrela*, (ed. A. Milošević), Split, 2000, p. 107.

A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, p. 354; see J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od VII do IX stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1980, pp. 92-93; see now J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Starohrvatsko groblje*, p. 89.

years. Prompted by the discovery of another pendant in Velim, Maja Petrinec then published a short article in which she rejected Milošević's dating of the grave in Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo and pointed to a votive fresco in the northeastern side chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, as an alternative way to date the semicircular pendants. The fresco is believed to show the adoptive children of the patron, Theodotus, an important official at the papal court. Theodotus's daughter wears an outer garment with floral patterns over a sleeved tunic. The latter was probably girdled, as a chain or plaited cord is visibly hanging from the waist to mid-thigh. According to Petrinec, the object hanging from the chain or cord is a semicircular pendant with open-work ornament, like those from Kašić and Velim<sup>6</sup>. Neither one of them, therefore, could be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, since the chapel in Rome was painted under Pope Zacharias (741–752), who is otherwise shown in the fresco<sup>7</sup>. Petrinec left unanswered the

Kašića<sup>5</sup>. Tema je ostala netaknuta više od 15 godina. Potaknuta otkrićem novog privjeska u Velimu, Maja Petrinec objavljuje kratki rad u kojem negira Miloševićeve datiranje groba u Kašiću – Maklinovom brdu ukazujući na zidnu fresku u sjeveroistočnom dijelu kapele crkve Santa Maria Antiqua u Rimu, kao alternativni način za datiranje privjeska. Prepostavlja se da ova freska prikazuje posvojenu djecu patrona, Theodota, značajnog dužnosnika s papinskog dvora. Theodotova posvojena kći je prikazana u ogrtaču s cvjetnim motivima nošenog preko tunike s rukavima. Tunika je vjerojatno bila potpasana, jer se lančić ili vrpca u obliku pletenice vidi kako visi od pojasa do sredine bedara. Po Maji Petrinec, predmet koji visi s lančića (ili vrpce) je polumjesečasti privjesak s obručima, poput onih iz Kašića i Velima<sup>6</sup>. Po Petrinec, niti jedan od njih ne može se datirati u 7. stoljeće, pošto je kapela u Rimu oslikana u vrijeme pape Zaharija (741. – 752.), koji se također nalazi na fresci<sup>7</sup>. Petrinec nije odgovorila

<sup>6</sup> M. PETRINEC, "Komanski privjesci" i pojasni jezičac s Bribirske Glavice, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 34, Split, 2007, pp. 80-81 and 84 (English text, without corresponding Croatian text). Petrinec has "discovered" the fresco in F. DAIM, "Byzantinische" Gürtelgarnituren des 8. Jahrhunderts, in: *Die Awaren am Rand der byzantinischen Welt. Studien zu Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter*, (ed. F. Daim), Innsbruck, 2000, pp. 77-204 (esp. 136-159). The early 7<sup>th</sup>-century date of the assemblage in grave 54 from Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo has also been rejected by V. SOKOL, Sokol, *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna arheološka baština od Jadranu do Save*, Zagreb, 2006, p. 109. However, Sokol's opinions have evolved. Because of the "semicircular pendant with suspension rings," he now admits the possibility that grave 54 is earlier than all other graves excavated in the Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo cemetery. See V. SOKOL, *Medieval Jewelry and Burial Assemblages in Croatia. A Study of Graves and Grave Goods, ca. 800 to ca. 1450*, Leiden & Boston, 2016, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> M. PETRINEC, "Komanski privjesci", p. 82: "No istodobno naglašavam da ne postoji ni jedan valjani arheološki argument na osnovi kojeg bi se početak ukapanja na grobljima tipa Kašić -Maklinovo brdo mogao spustiti u sredinu ili drugu polovinu 7. stoljeća. (my emphasis)." For the date of the fresco, see H. BELTING, Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41, Washington, 1987, p. 55. The idea that the two children are those that Theodotus adopted was first put forward by N. TETERIATNIKOV, For whom is Theodotus praying? An interpretation of the program of the private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua, *Cahiers archéologiques* 41, Paris, 1993, p. 41. Teteriatnikov believed the boy to be the future Pope Hadrian I (772-795).

<sup>5</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, str. 354. Vidi: J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od VII do IX stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1980, str. 92-93. – J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Starohrvatsko groblje*, str. 89.

<sup>6</sup> M. PETRINEC, „Komanski privjesci“ i pojasni jezičac s Bribirske glavice, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. 3, sv. 34, Split, 2007, str. 80-81 (hrvatski) i 84 gdje engleski sažetak prepričava hrvatski tekst. Petrinec je „otkrila“ fresku u: F. DAIM, "Byzantinische" Gürtelgarnituren des 8. Jahrhunderts, u: *Die Awaren am Rand der byzantinischen Welt. Studien zu Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter*, (ur. F. Daim), Innsbruck, 2000, str. 77-204 (osobito 136-159). Datiranje groba 54 s Maklinovog brda u rano 7. stoljeće također je osporeno u: V. SOKOL, *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna arheološka baština od Jadranu do Save*, Zagreb, 2006, str. 109. No Sokolo je u međuvremenu promijenio mišljenje. Zbog „... semicircular pendant with suspension rings“ on sada prihvata mogućnost da je grob 54 raniji od svih drugih grobova s Maklinovog brda. Vidi: V. SOKOL, *Medieval Jewelry and Burial Assemblages in Croatia. A Study of Graves and Grave Goods, ca. 800 to ca. 1450*, Leiden & Boston, 2016, str. 92.

<sup>7</sup> M. PETRINEC, „Komanski privjesci“, str. 82: „No istodobno naglašavam da ne postoji ni jedan valjani arheološki argument na osnovi kojeg bi se početak ukapanja na grobljima tipa Kašić-Maklinovo brdo mogao spustiti u sredinu ili drugu polovinu 7. stoljeća (istaknuo F. Curta).“ Za datiranje freske vidi: H. BELTING, Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41, Washington, 1987, str. 55. Ideja da su dvoje djece, Theodotova posvojena djeca prvi put je navodena u: N. TETERIATNIKOV, For whom is Theodotus praying? An interpretation of the program of the private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua,

na pitanje kako stonski nalazi mogu biti datirani, uvezši u obzir povezanost polukružnog privjeska s kopčom Balgota tipa, koji se datira prije ca. 700. godine<sup>8</sup>.

Miloševiću nije trebalo dugo za uzvratiti. U sljedećem radu ukazuje kako predmet koji visi s vrpce na portretu Theodotove kćeri nije vidljiv u svim fotografskim reprodukcijama freske<sup>9</sup>. Stoviše, Milošević pokazuje kako predmet koji visi s lančića ili vrpce nije privjesak nalik onima iz Kašića i Vellima, već lunulasti privjesak s trima završetcima u obliku suze<sup>10</sup>. No Petrinec nastavlja vjerovati kako freska iz Rima predstavlja jak argument za datiranje polukružnih privjesaka s alkoma. Slično Miloševićevom pomicanju datiranja stonskih nalaza iz druge četrtine u sredinu 7. stoljeća, Petrinec sada vjeru-

question of how could the assemblage in Ston be dated, given the association of a semicircular pendant with a Balgota-type buckle that cannot be later than ca. 700<sup>8</sup>.

Ante Milošević did not take too long to reply. He pointed out that the object hanging from the girdle in the portrait of Theodosius's daughter was not visible in all photographic reproductions of the fresco<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, Milošević pointed out that the object hanging from the chain or plaited cloth strip was not a pendant like those from Kašić and Vellim, but a lunula with three drop-like finials<sup>10</sup>. But Maja Petrinec persists in believing that the fresco in Rome is a solid, incontrovertible argument for dating the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament. Much like Milošević's dating of the Ston assemblage moved from the second quarter to the

<sup>8</sup> *Cahiers archéologiques* 41, Paris, 1993, str. 41. Tetrajanikov vjeruje kako je dječak s freske budući papa Hadrijan I. (772.- – 795.).

<sup>9</sup> M. PETRINEC, „Komanski privjesci“, str. 80. Prvi put je stonska kopča klasificirana kao Balgota tip u: Z. VINSKI, Kasnoantički starosjedioci, str. 28-29.

<sup>10</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo o nalazima „komanskog“ obilježja u Dalmaciji, *Godišnjak. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 38, Sarajevo, 2009, str. 105, 106, sl. 3. Milošević usporeduje crtež na kojem je Petrinec temeljila svoju interpretaciju s onim objavljenim u trećem tomu H. P. L'ORANGE, H. TORP, *Il tempietto longobardo di Cividale*, Rome, 1979, str. 86, sl. 37. Predmet je jasno vidljiv u: W. de GRÜNEISEN, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, str. 215, sl. 162, kao i u najnovijoj publikaciji A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel des 8. Jahrhunderts in Santa Maria Antiqua (Rom), u: *Die Awaren am Rand der byzantinischen Welt. Studien zu Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter*, (ur. F. Daim), Innsbruck, 2000, str. 271, sl. 3. Rettnerov rad je tiskan u istom zborniku u kojem se pojavio Daimov rad („Byzantinische“ Gürtelgarnituren des 8. Jahrhunderts, str. 77-204), na kojeg se Petrinec i Milošević referiraju u njihovoj debati. Iako je Daim jasno naveo Rettnera, iz nekog neobičnog razloga ni Petrinec, ni Milošević nisu bili svjesni postojanja fotografije i detaljnog opisa freske koji je Arno Rettner objavio u istom zborniku.

<sup>10</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo, str. 107: „Tom liku na kraju lanca o pojasu visi trokraki polumjesečasti (ne polukružni) privjesak...“ To je upravo kako A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel, str. 272 opisuje predmet: „lunulaförmiger Anhänger mit drei tropfenartigen Abschlüssen“ (vidi isto str. 273: „lunulaförmiger‘ Anhänger“). Kao paralele predmetu prikazanom na fresci, Rettner citira predmete kao primjerice: privjesak iz srednjoavarškog perioda pronađen u grobu D48 iz Zillingtala, olovni privjesak iz groba 231 u Üllő, datiran u početak 8. stoljeća, te privjesak iz groba 572 u Čakajovcima, datiran u rano 10. stoljeće (A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel, str. 272 s bilj. 15).

<sup>8</sup> M. PETRINEC, “Komanski privjesci”, p. 80. The first to classify the Ston buckle as of the Balgota type was Z. VINSKI, Kasnoantički starosjedioci, pp. 28-29.

<sup>9</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo o nalazima “komanskog” obilježja u Dalmaciji, *Godišnjak. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 38, Sarajevo, 2009, p. 105, 106 fig. 3. Milošević compared the drawing on which Petrinec based her interpretation with that published in the third volume of H. P. L'ORANGE - H. TORP, *Il tempietto longobardo di Cividale*, Rome, 1979, p. 86 fig. 37. However, the object is clearly visible in W. de GRÜNEISEN, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, p. 215 fig. 162, as well as in the most recent picture published by A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel des 8. Jahrhunderts in Santa Maria Antiqua (Rom), in: *Die Awaren am Rand der byzantinischen Welt. Studien zu Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter*, (ed. F. Daim), Innsbruck, 2000, p. 271 fig. 3. Rettner's article appeared in the same volume as Falko Daim's paper (“Byzantinische” Gürtelgarnituren des 8. Jahrhunderts, pp. 77-204), to which both Petrinec and Milošević referred in their dispute. Although Daim duly acknowledged Rettner's contribution, for some bizarre reason neither Petrinec, nor Milošević seemed to be aware of the existence of the photograph and the detailed description of the fresco that Arno Rettner has published in that same book.

<sup>10</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo, p. 107: „Tom liku na kraju lanca o pojasu visi trokraki polumjesečasti (ne polukružni) privjesak...“ This is exactly how A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel, p. 272 describes the object: “lunulaförmiger Anhänger mit drei tropfenartigen Abschlüssen” (see also p. 273: “lunulaförmiger‘ Anhänger“). As parallels to the object represented in the fresco, Rettner cites such artifacts as the Middle Avar-age pendant from grave D48 in Zillingtal, the early 8<sup>th</sup>-century lead pendant from grave 231 in Üllő, and the early 10<sup>th</sup>-century pendant from grave 572 in Čakajovce (A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel, p. 272 with n. 15).

middle of the seventh century, Petrinec now believes the fresco in Rome to be from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, she does not think that one can date with any degree of accuracy any of the artifact types associated with the Komani culture<sup>12</sup>. Petrinec also maintains that the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament were attached to the girdle in the same way as the object shown in the fresco in Rome, which, according to her, appears in the same position in relation to the body of Theodosius's daughter as that in which the pendant was found in relation to the skeleton of the woman buried in Velim<sup>13</sup>. To support her idea that the latter assemblage, as well as grave 54 in Kašić - both with semicircular pendants with open-work ornament - must be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>, and not to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Petrinec brings up another burial assemblage with one such pendant, namely grave 6 in the prehistoric barrow recently excavated by Karla Gusar in Krneza<sup>14</sup>. She believes that the date of 640-777 obtained through radiocarbon analysis supports her interpretation of the situation in Kašić<sup>15</sup>. In reality, that date refers to the assemblage in grave 9, while the radiocarbon analysis of organic material from grave 6 produced a date of 1630 to 1450 BC<sup>16</sup>. A bit stronger is her other argument, namely that in grave 6, the semicircular pendant with open-work ornament was associated with a belt suspension ring with trapeze-shaped loop of Zábojník's type 203. Since one such ring has been found in a Late Avar grave in Bernolákovo, the type must be of an

<sup>11</sup> It is important to note in this respect that the heads of Pope Zacharias and of Theodosius's children are all represented with square haloes - a visual convention, ever since the 7<sup>th</sup> century, to signal that the depicted persons were still living. See A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel, p. 271. The *terminus ante quem* of the fresco is therefore 752, the year in which Pope Zacharias died.

<sup>12</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber aus Orlić angesichts bisheriger Erkenntnisse über den Horizont mit heidnischen Bestattungsmerkmalen, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 42, Split, 2015, pp. 111, 115.

<sup>13</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> K. GUSAR, A contribution to research on the early Slavs in Croatia - new data from Krneza, in: *The Early Slavic Settlement in Central Europe in the Light of New Dating Evidence*, (ed. M. Dulinicz, S. Moździoch), Wrocław, 2013, pp. 233, 232 fig. 8.

<sup>15</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, in: *Tumuli iz Krneze i Podvršja kod Zadra*, (ed. B. Marijanović), Zadar, 2012, p. 106. – K. GUSAR, A contribution, p. 233.

je kako je freska iz Rima nastala u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća<sup>11</sup>. U isto vrijeme, ona ne misli kako se predmeti povezani s komanskom kulturom mogu pecizno datirati<sup>12</sup>. Također ostaje pri mišljenju kako su polukružni privjesci bili pričvršćeni za vrpcu na isti način kao i predmet na rimskoj fresci, koji se, prema ovoj autorici, pronalazi u identičnom položaju u odnosu na tijelo, kako kod Theodotove kćeri tako i kod skeleta žene sahranjene u Velimu<sup>13</sup>. Kako bi osnažila argument o kasnijem datiranju groba 54 iz Kašića u 8., ne u 7. stoljeće, Petrinec navodi još jednu grobnu cjelinu s takvim privjeskom – pojASNU garnituru iz groba 6 pronađenog uz pretpovijesnom tumulu u Krnezi, kojeg je nedavno iskopavala Karla Gusar<sup>14</sup>. Petrinec vjeruje kako datiranje 640. – 777., dobiveno radiokarbonskom analizom, osnažuje njezinu interpretaciju situacije u Kašiću<sup>15</sup>. Zapravo, ovo datiranje se odnosi na grobnu cjelinu iz groba 9, dok je radiokarbonsko datiranje organskog materijala iz groba 6 rezultiralo datiranjem 1630. – 1450. prije Krista<sup>16</sup>. Nešto jači je njen drugi argument kojim se ukazuje da je u grobu 6 polukružni privjesak sa željeznom alkrom usporediv s pojasnim okovom koji ima trapezastu (kvadratičnu) ušicu Zábojníkovog tipa 203. S obzirom na to da je okov s takvom ušicom pronađen u kasnoavarskom grobu u Bernolákovo, ovaj tip bi morao biti datiran u 8. stoljeće, datum koji se, prema Petrinec, može primijeniti i na privjesak iz Krneze<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Značajno je naglasiti u ovom kontekstu kako su glave pape Zaharija i Theodotove djece prikazane s četvrtstimm aurama, što predstavlja vizualnu konvenciju još od 7. stoljeća, za prikazivanje ljudi koji su još živući. Vidi: A. RETTNER, Zu einem vielteiligen Gürtel, str. 271. *Terminus ante quem* za datiranje freske je, prema tome, 752., godina u kojoj je papa Zaharije umro.

<sup>12</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber aus Orlić angesichts bisheriger Erkenntnisse über den Horizont mit heidnischen Bestattungsmerkmalen, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. 3, sv. 42, Split, 2015, str. 111, 115.

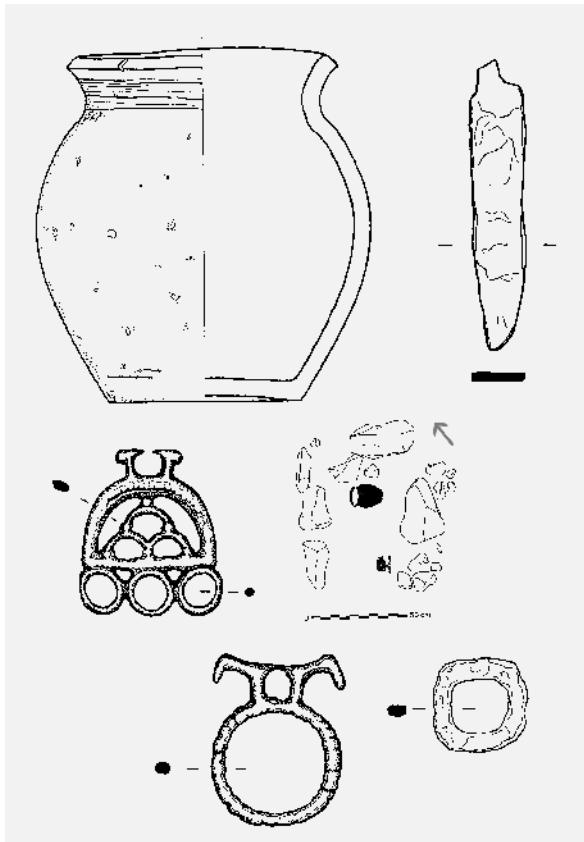
<sup>13</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, str. 112.

<sup>14</sup> K. GUSAR, A contribution to research on the early Slavs in Croatia - new data from Krneza, u: *The Early Slavic Settlement in Central Europe in the Light of New Dating Evidence*, (ur. M. Dulinicz, S. Moździoch), Wrocław, 2013, str. 233, 232, sl. 8.

<sup>15</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, str. 114.

<sup>16</sup> K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, u: *Tumuli iz Krneze i Podvršja kod Zadra*, (ur. B. Marijanović), Zadar, 2012, str. 106. – K. GUSAR, A contribution, str. 233.

<sup>17</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, str. 117-118, 120. – J. ZÁBOJNÍK, Seriation von Gürtelbeschlagsgarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und



sl. 3. Krneza - Duševića glavica, nalazi iz groba 6: keramički lonac, polukružni privjesak, prstenasti privjesak i nož (prema: K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, vidi bilj. 16).

fig. 3 Krneza - Duševića glavica, grave 6 and associated finds: ceramic pot, semicircular pendant, suspension rings, and knife (after: K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, see n. 16).

Najmanje 125 godina razdvaja najraniji od najkasnijeg datuma, do sada, predloženog za polukružne privjeske s alkrom. Ali zašto je toliko bitno hoćemo li te privjeske datirati u 7. ili u 8. stoljeće? Radi se o stvarima koje su mnogo značajnije od datiranja ovog privjeska. Ante Milošević već duže vrijeme zastupa ideju o kontinuitetu lokalne populacije iz kasne antike u rani srednji vijek. Maja Petrinec inzistira na kulturnoj provaliji koja razdvaja kasnoantičke od najranijih srednjovjekovnih grobnih cjelina pripisivanih „starohrvatskoj“ populaciji. Reći kako je grob 54 s Maklinova brda datiran u 7. stoljeće direktno implicira da je ovo groblje započelo funkcioniрати puno prije najranijeg datuma do sada određenog za „starohrvatsku“ kulturu, što proturječi ideji

Österreichs, u: *K problematike osídlenia stredodunajskej oblasti vo včasnom stredoveku*, (ur. Z. Čilinská), Nitra, 1991, str. 315, pl. 36.16-17.

8<sup>th</sup>-century date, a date that could then be applied to the Krneza pendant as well<sup>17</sup>.

At least 125 years separate the earliest from the latest date advanced so far for the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament. But why does it matter that such pendants are either of a 7<sup>th</sup>- or an 8<sup>th</sup>-century date? At stake, of course, is more than just chronology. While Ante Milošević has been for a long time now an advocate for the continuity of the local population from Late Antiquity into the early Middle Ages, Maja Petrinec insists upon the cultural chasm separating the late antique from the earliest medieval assemblages that could be attributed to the “Old Croats.” To say that grave 54 in the Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo cemetery is of a 7<sup>th</sup>-century date is to imply, therefore, that that cemetery began much earlier than the earliest date so far admitted for the “Old Croatian culture.” That, in turn, runs against the idea of a migration of the Croats into Croatia at some point during the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>.

Those are questions too complicated to be tackled in this paper. My purpose is more modest, namely to elucidate the question of the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament. I have previously dealt with them only tangentially when discussing the relation between the cremations and the inhumations found in Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo. The excavator, Janko Belošević, believed the former to be earlier than the latter (he dated the cremations to the 7<sup>th</sup>-century, and the inhumations to the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> century). However, in the 1980s, Zdenko Vinski proposed that Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo was a

<sup>17</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, pp. 117-118, 120. – J. ZÁBOJNÍK, Seriation von Gürtelschlaggarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und Österreichs, in: *K problematike osídlenia stredodunajskej oblasti vo včasnom stredoveku*, (ed. Z. Čilinská), Nitra, 1991, p. 315, pl. 36.16-17.

<sup>18</sup> Ante Milošević believes the migration to have taken place in the late 8<sup>th</sup> or the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, while Maja Petrinec, while following the traditional interpretation of the 31<sup>st</sup> chapter in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, does not recognize the existence of the “Old Croatian” culture before the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The literature on the migration of the Croats into Croatia is considerable. For brief, but very good surveys, see D. DZINO, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformation in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*, Leiden & Boston, 2010, pp. 179-182. – D. E. ALIMOV, Migracija ili transformacija? Proiskhozhdenie khorvatov v diskurske postmoderna, *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*, 2012, 1, pp. 203-226.

biritual cemetery<sup>19</sup>. Without necessarily endorsing any one of those two interpretations, I was simply pointing out the fact that Ante Milošević's re-dating of grave 54 on the basis of the semicircular pendant with open-work ornament implied that at least one inhumation was much earlier than the date both Belošević and Vinski were ready to admit for the entire cemetery. In a footnote, I rejected Maja Petrinec's use of the fresco in Rome as an argument for the dating of the pendants, because the "object to which Petrinec points as a parallel to semicircular pendants with open decoration has in fact no resemblance to the latter"<sup>20</sup>. Because of the buckle (which I have in fact mis-classified as of the Pergamon, instead of the Balgota type)<sup>21</sup>, with which the semicircular pendant from Ston was associated, I therefore dated the assemblage in grave 54 in Kašić to the first half or the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The chronology of Pergamon-type buckles is indeed based on the specimens from grave 90 and 116 in Castel Trosino and grave 16 in Campochiaro (Molise), all three of which are to be dated to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup>. However, there are also examples

<sup>19</sup> F. CURTA, The early Slavs in the northern and eastern Adriatic region. A critical approach, *Archeologia Medievale* 37, Florence, 2010, pp. 317-318. – F. CURTA, Etnicitet u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arheologiji: primjer ranoslavenskih nalaza u jadranskoj regiji, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 37, Split, 2010, pp. 30-31.

<sup>20</sup> F. CURTA, The early Slavs, p. 318 with note 90. – F. CURTA, Etnicitet, p. 31 with note 84.

<sup>21</sup> The error, while inexcusable, was nonetheless based on the relatively late distinction between the two types. Although the Pergamon type was first recognized by K. NEEFT, Byzantijnse gespen en riembeslag in Amsterdam, *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam. Mededelingenblad* 43, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 4-6. – V. VARSIK, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen im mittleren und unteren Donauraum im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert, *Slovenská Archeológia* 40, Bratislava, 1992, 1, p. 84 still classified Pergamon-type buckles as belonging to the Balgota type. E. RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen aus der Sammlung Diergardt im Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln, *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 28, Cologne, 1995, p. 784 believed the Pergamon to be just a variant of the Balgota type.

<sup>22</sup> E. RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, p. 783. Two buckles of the Pergamon type are associated in grave 13 and 23 from Athens with buckles of the Boly-Želovce and Bologna types, respectively, which substantiates the proposed date. For the graves in Athens, see J. TRAVLOS - A. FRANTZ, The church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite and the palace of the archbishop of Athens in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *Hesperia* 34, Cambridge (Mass.), 1965, p. 3, pl. 43a. For the dating

o migraciji Hrvata u Hrvatsku u nekom trenutku u 9. stoljeću<sup>18</sup>.

Pitanje migracije ili kontinuiteta je preobimno za diskusiju u ovom kratkom radu. Moja namjera je mnogo skromnija, a to je pojasniti problem polukružnih privjesaka s alkrom. Dotakao sam ih se u prijašnjem radu, ali vrlo površno, kada sam diskutirao odnos između obreda incineracije i inhumacije utvrđenog u groblju Kašić – Maklinovo brdo. Janko Belošević je vjerovao kako obred kremaciju treba datirati prije inhumacije s grobnim prilozima, stavljajući kremirane ukope u 7., a inhumirane s prilozima u 8. i 9. stoljeće. Ovo mišljenje je osporeno u 1980-tim, kada je Zdenko Vinski iznio ideju da je groblje na Maklinovu brdu zapravo bilo biritualno<sup>19</sup>. Bez priklanjanja ijednoj od interpretacija, jednostavno sam ukazao kako je Miloševićeva revizija datiranja groba 54 na bazi polukružnog privjeska s alkrom implicirala da je barem jedna inhumacija mnogo starija od datiranja koje su Belošević i Vinski predlagali za ovo groblje. U fusnoti sam odbio korištenje freske u Rimu kao argument za datiranje privjesaka jer: „... nijedan objekt na koji se ukazuje kao na usporedbu s polumjesečastim privjescima, zapravo ne podsjeća na njih.“<sup>20</sup> Zbog pojasne kopče (koju sam pogrešno prepoznao kao tip Pergamon, umjesto Balgota)<sup>21</sup>, s kojom je polukružni privjesak

<sup>18</sup> Ante Milošević vjeruje da se migracija dogodila u kasnom 8. ili ranom 9. stoljeću, dok Maja Petrinec, iako slijedi tradicionalnu interpretaciju 31. glave spisa *De administrando imperio*, ne prepoznaje postojanje „starohrvatske“ kulture prije 8. stoljeća. Literatura o migraciji Hrvata je obimna. Za kratke, ali vrlo dobre pregledne vidi: D. DZINO, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformation in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*, Leiden & Boston, 2010, str. 179-182. – D. E. ALIMOV, Migracija ili transformacija? Proiskhozhdenie khorvatov v diskurske postmoderne, *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 1, GradSankt-Peterburg?, 2012, str. 203-226.

<sup>19</sup> F. CURTA, The early Slavs in the northern and eastern Adriatic region. A critical approach, *Archeologia Medievale* 37, Florence, 2010, str. 317-318. – F. CURTA, Etnicitet u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arheologiji: primjer ranoslavenskih nalaza u jadranskoj regiji, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. 3, sv. 37, Split, 2010, str. 30-31.

<sup>20</sup> F. CURTA, The early Slavs, str. 318, bilj. 90. – F. CURTA, Etnicitet, str. 31, bilj. 84.

<sup>21</sup> Greška u prepoznavanju tipa, za koju nema isprike, se temelji na relativno kasnoj razlici između dvaju tipova. Iako je Pergamon tip prvi put prepoznat u: K. NEEFT, Byzantijnse gespen en riembeslag in Amsterdam, *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam. Mededelingenblad* 43, Amsterdam, 1988, str. 4-6, drugi autori poput V. VARSIK, Byzantinische

iz Stona povezan, datirao sam grobnu cjelinu groba 54 u Kašiću u prvu polovinu ili sredinu 7. stoljeća. Kronologija pojasnih kopči Pergamon tipa oslanja se na primjerke iz grobova 90 i 116 u Castel Trosini te groba 16 u Campochiaru (Molise), koji se svi mogu datirati u prvu polovinu 7. stoljeća<sup>22</sup>. No treba spomenuti da postoje također primjeri iz kasnijih grobnih cjelina, poput groba 67 iz Gyóda, u kojem je kopča tipa Pergamon povezana s dvjema pojasnim kopčama tipa Oberpiebing i Untereching, obje datirane u posljednju trećinu 7. stoljeća<sup>23</sup>. Kako sam ukazao na drugom mjestu, ovo nam daje mogućnost produživanja datiranja polukružnih privjesaka iz Kašića i Stona u kasno 7. stoljeće<sup>24</sup>.

Maja Petrinec me, s pravom, kritizirala zbog prihvaćanja dvaju različitih datiranja groba 54 s Maklinovog brda<sup>25</sup>. Iako je ona u principu u pravu, ovo je zapravo sporna točka. Upravo kao i njezina neadekvatna interpretacija predmeta prikazanog na rimskoj fresci, moja greška u klasificiraju ne utječe na datiranje polukružnih privjesaka. Ponajviše stoga jer se tipovi Pergamon i Balgota vremenski poklapaju. Izuzev osam pojasnih kopči Balgota tipa, poznatih do sada iz ranoavarških cjelina, postoje

Gürtelschnallen im mittleren und unteren Donauraum im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert, Slovenská Archeológia 40, Bratislava, 1992, 1, str. 84 još uvijek klasificiraju Pergamon tip kao Balgota. E. RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen aus der Sammlung Diergardt im Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln, Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 28, Cologne, 1995, str. 784, vjeruje da je tip Pergamon samo podvrsta tipa Balgota.

<sup>22</sup> E. RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, str. 783. Dvije kopče tipa Pergamon su povezane u grobovima 13 i 23 iz Atene s kopčama tipova Boly-Želovce i Bologna, što dodatno potvrđuje predloženo datiranje. Za atenske grobove vidi: J. TRAVLOS - A. FRANTZ, The church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite and the palace of the archbishop of Athens in the 16th century, *Hesperia* 34, Cambridge (Mass.), 1965, 3, pl. 43a. Za datiranje tipova Boly-Želovce i Bologna, vidi: VARSÍK, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, str. 84, 86.

<sup>23</sup> E. RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, str. 783.

<sup>24</sup> F. CURTA, Some remarks on bow fibulae of Werner's class I C, *Slavia Antiqua* 49, Warsaw, 2008, str. 55. Za ispravak nekoliko omaški učinjenih u tom radu, vidi: F. CURTA, Werner's class I C: *erratum corrigendum cum commentariis*, *Ephemeris Napocensis* 21, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, str. 63-110.

<sup>25</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, str. 110.

<sup>26</sup> É. GARAM, *Funde byzantinischer Herkunft in der Awarenzzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest, 2001, str. 99. Takve pojanske kopče se ne nalaze u grobnim cjelinama kasnoavarškog perioda.

from later assemblages, such as grave 67 in Gyód, in which a Pergamon-type buckle was associated with two buckles of the Oberpiebing and Untereching classes, both dated to the last third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>. As I was pointing out elsewhere, that raises the possibility of extending the dating of the semi-circular pendants with open-work decoration from Kašić and Ston to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>.

Maja Petrinec promptly took me to task for supporting two different dates for the assemblage in grave 54 of the cemetery excavated in Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo<sup>25</sup>. Although she is right in principle, that is ultimately a moot point. Much like her inadequate use of the object depicted in the Rome fresco, my classification error has no bearing on the chronology of the semicircular pendants with open-work decoration. For the Pergamon and Balgota types coincided in time. To be sure, besides eight buckles of the Balgota type known so far from Early Avar assemblages, there are also specimens that have been found in burials dated to the Middle Avar age<sup>26</sup>. Judging from that evidence, Ellen Riemer has therefore proposed that Balgota-type buckles remained in use after the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup> Her conclusion was based on the date traditionally accepted in Hungarian archaeology for the Middle Avar age, which was believed to have begun ca. 680. The reason for that date had much to do with

of the Boly-Želovce and Bologna types, see V. VARSÍK, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, pp. 84, 86.

<sup>23</sup> E. RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, p. 783.

<sup>24</sup> F. CURTA, Some remarks on bow fibulae of Werner's class I C, *Slavia Antiqua* 49, Warsaw, 2008, p. 55. For a correction of several mistakes that I have made in that article, see F. CURTA, Werner's class I C: *erratum corrigendum cum commentariis*, *Ephemeris Napocensis* 21, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, pp. 63-110.

<sup>25</sup> M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, p. 110.

<sup>26</sup> É. GARAM, *Funde byzantinischer Herkunft in der Awarenzzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest, 2001, p. 99. There are no such buckles in any burial assemblage of the Late Avar age.

<sup>27</sup> E. RIEMER, *Romanische Grabfunde des 5.-8. Jahrhunderts in Italien*, Rahden, 2000, pp. 159-160. Only V. B. KOVALEVSKAIA, *Poiasnye nabory Evrazii IV-IX vv. Priazhki*, Moscow, 1979, p. 23 maintained, without any arguments, that in Crimea, such buckles were still in use in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. However, and contrary to her assertion, the specimen from the burial chamber 288 in Skalistoe was associated with a belt buckle with diamond-shaped plate and bird heads, which has good analogies in 6<sup>th</sup>-century assemblages in Italy. See E. V. VEIMARN - A. I. AIBABIN, *Skalistinskii mogil'nik*, Kiev, 1993, p. 57 fig. 36.18; RIEMER, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen, pp. 783-784.

István Bóna's thesis of a new (Avar) migration into the Carpathian Basin<sup>28</sup>. While the thesis has meanwhile been abandoned, the date has been modified by the results of new research based on wiggle matching of radiocarbon dates with sequence dates from the seriation of Avar-age burial assemblages. The year 680 now marks the beginning of the Late, not Middle Avar age, and the latter is now dated to the half-century between ca. 630 and ca. 680<sup>29</sup>. Was I (together with Ante Milošević) then right to date grave 54 in Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo to the first half or the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century? Instead of rushing to give an answer to that question, it is perhaps better to take a new and fresh look at the archaeological evidence pertaining to semicircular pendants with open-work decoration.

No less than 21 specimens are known so far from sites primarily in the western Balkans (see Appendix)<sup>30</sup>. The largest number of specimens (7) is from Koman, in northern Albania. They were most likely found in graves of the large cemetery excavated since 1898 near the village, on a rocky plateau called Kalaja Dalmaces. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the circumstances in which they have been found, or the grave goods with which they may have been associated. However, at a closer examination it appears that they are not all the same. Most intriguing is a unique specimen with elaborate decoration in the form of a false-bead ornament around the semicircle, and two rows of 10 rings attached to the lower part<sup>31</sup>. The striated or-

<sup>28</sup> Bóna's thesis was based primarily on the numismatic evidence. For a thorough critique of Bóna's thesis, see Cs. BÁLINT, Der Beginn der Mittelawarezeit und die Einwanderung Kubers, *Antaeus* 29-30, Budapest, 2008-2009, pp. 29-61.

<sup>29</sup> P. STADLER, *Quantitative Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren I*, Vienna, 2005, p. 129. – P. STADLER, Avar chronology revisited, and the question of ethnicity in the Avar qaganate, in: *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, (ed. F. Curta), Leiden & Boston, 2008, pp. 56, 58; 57 fig. 9; 58 fig. 10; 59 Table 1.

<sup>30</sup> I have left out the specimen from Konjsko known only from a footnote in A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, p. 353 n. 22. The site is located on the western shore of Lake Prespa, not far from the Greek-Macedonian border. If there was an artifact found there, and if that was a semicircular pendant with open-work ornament, Konjsko represents both the southernmost and the easternmost specimen of the series.

<sup>31</sup> For an excellent, color picture of this artifact, see *Shqiperia arheologjike*, (ed. M. Korkuti, M. Kallfa), Tirana, 1971, pl. 130.

i primjeri pronađeni u ukopima srednjoavarskog perioda<sup>26</sup>. Sudeći po njima, Ellen Riemer je predložila da Balgota tip pojasnih kopči ostaje u upotrebi nakon sredine 7. stoljeća<sup>27</sup>. Njezin zaključak se temelji na datiranju, tradicionalno prihvaćenom u mađarskoj arheologiji za srednjoavarski period, čiji je početak datiran oko 680. godine. Razlog takvom datiranju je teza Istvána Bóna o novoj (avarškoj) migraciji u Karpati bazen<sup>28</sup>. Mada je ova pretpostavka u međuvremenu opovrgнута, datum je u međuvremenu modificiran rezultatima novih istraživanja koji se temelje na *wiggle matching* metodi radiokarbonskog datiranja avarskih grobnih cjelina. Godina 680. u suvremenim interpretacijama označava početak kasnoavarskog, a ne srednjoavarskog perioda, koji je sada datiran između 630. i 680. godine<sup>29</sup>. Jesam li bio u pravu kada sam (s Antom Miloševićem) datirao grob 54 s Maklinovog brda u prvu polovicu ili sredinu 7. stoljeća? Nije potrebno u ovom trenutku žuriti s odgovorom, možda je bolje ponovo pogledati arheološke dokaze koji se odnose na polukružne privjeske s alkoma.

Najmanje 21 primjerak je poznat do sada, s nalazišta na zapadnom dijelu Balkanskoga poluotoka (vidi dodatak)<sup>30</sup>. Najveći broj privjesaka (7) je iz

<sup>27</sup> E. RIEMER, *Romanische Grabfunde des 5.-8. Jahrhunderts in Italien*, Rahden, 2000, str. 159-160. Samo je V. B. KOVALEVSKAIA, *Poiasnye nabory Evrazii IV-IX vv. Priazhki*, Moscow, 1979, str. 23, bez valjanih argumenata, mišljenja da su se na Krimu takve kopče još uvijek koristile u 8. stoljeću. No nasuprot njezinu ideji, primjerak iz grobne komore 288 u Skalistou je povezan s pojasmom kopčom koja ima pločicu oblika dijamanta i ptice glave, za koju se mogu naći dobre analogije iz 6. stoljeća u Italiji. Vidi: E. V. VEIMARN - A. I. AIBABIN, *Skalistinskii mogil'nik*, Kiev, 1993, str. 57, sl. 36.18. – E. RIEMER, *Byzantinische Gürteleschnallen*, str. 783-784.

<sup>28</sup> Teza Bóna se prvenstveno temelji na numizmatičkim dokazima. Za detaljniju kritiku vidi: Cs. BÁLINT, Der Beginn der Mittelawarezeit und die Einwanderung Kubers, *Antaeus* 29-30, Budapest, 2008-2009, str. 29-61.

<sup>29</sup> P. STADLER, *Quantitative Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren I*, Vienna, 2005, str. 129. – P. STADLER, Avar chronology revisited, and the question of ethnicity in the Avar qaganate, u: *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, (ur. F. Curta), Leiden & Boston, 2008, str. 56, 58; 57, sl. 9; 58, sl. 10; 59, Tab. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Izostavio sam primjerak iz Konjskog, poznat samo iz bilješke u: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, str. 353, bilj. 22. Lokalitet se nalazi na zapadnoj obali Prespanskog jezera, blizu grčko-makedonske granice. Ako je zbilja primjerak pronađen u Konjskom, i ako

Komana u sjevernoj Albaniji. Oni su najvjerojatnije pronađeni u grobovima velikoga groblja iskapanog od 1898. godine na kamenitom platou Kalaja Dalmaces. Nažalost, ništa se ne zna o okolnostima u kojima su bili pronađeni ili drugim nalazima s kojima su bili povezani u grobnim cjelinama. Pažljivom analizom može se ustanoviti da svи privjesci ne izgledaju isto. Najzanimljiviji je jedinstveni primjerak s izvedenom pseudogranulirano dekoracijom oko polukruga, i dva reda od po 10 alki pričvršćenih za donji dio<sup>31</sup>. Narebreni ornament s donjeg dijela polukruga je također vidljiv na primjercima iz Kašića, Lješa i Proseka. U dodatku, unutarnja dekoracija komanskog privjeska odvojena je od polukruga. U ovom slučaju, komanski privjesak vrlo je sličan onima iz Stona i Krneze, kod koji je vidljiva slična situacija<sup>32</sup>. Štoviše, primjeri iz Stona i Krneze su slični jedan drugom i zato jer imaju otvorenu petljicu u obliku dviju stiliziranih ptičjih glava, antietično postavljenih jedna nasuprot drugoj. Ova dva privjeska su se morala koristiti sa širokim pojasom, vjerojatno od kože, jer bilo koji drugi oblik pričvršćivanja – poput lanca ili upletenog konopa – ne bi mogao stajati. Fragmentarno stanje tri druga privjeska (Koman, Lješ i nepoznati lokalitet u Hrvatskoj) može objasniti zašto su njihove petljice otvorene ili jednostavno nedostaju, dok je odsustvo takvih petljica razvidno kod primjerka iz Sv. Erazma i nepoznatog lokaliteta u Istri, jer ni jedan ne pokazuje znakove oštećenja. Na nekoliko privjesaka – nepoznati lokalitet u Hrvatskoj, Koman, Drvenik i Kašić – vide se rebarca koja naglašavaju polukrugove privjesaka, detalj koji inače nedostaje na dekoracijama drugih primjeraka<sup>33</sup>. S izuzetkom privjeska iz Kašića, koji je načinjen od srebra, svи

se radi o polukružnom privjesku s alkonom, onda bi taj primjerak bio najjužniji i najistočniji primjerak ovog tipa.

<sup>31</sup> Za izvrsnu sliku u boji ovog primjerka vidi: *Shqiperia arheologjike*, (ur. M. Korkuti, M. Kallfa), Tirana, 1971, pl. 130.

<sup>32</sup> Sudeći po objavljenim ilustracijama, polukrug stonskog privjeska je narebreno dekoriran, što bi mogla biti imitacija ornamenta s komanskog primjerka, koji opet podsjeća na dekoraciju polukruga privjeska s Radolišta. No, za razliku od komanskog primjerka, privjesci iz Stona, Krneza i Radolišta, nemaju šest alki ni na jednoj strani polukruga.

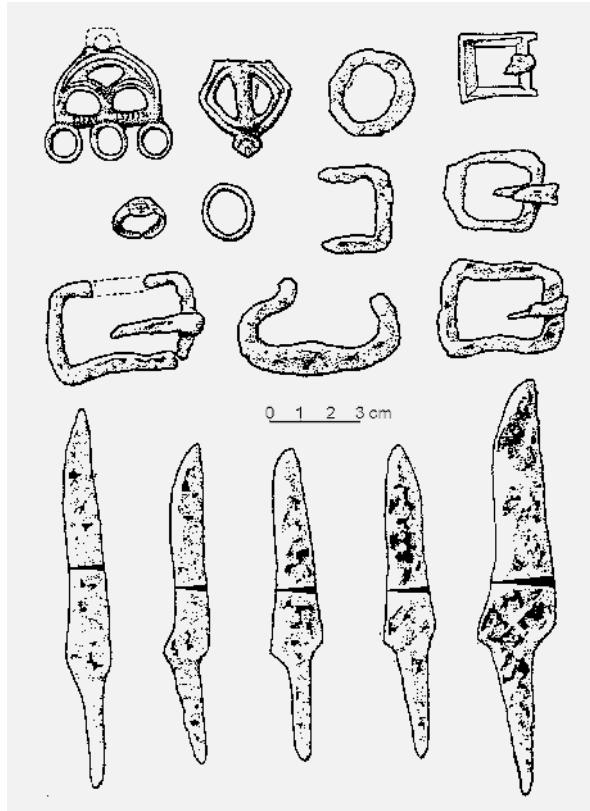
<sup>33</sup> Ako ćemo vjerovati R. JURIĆ, Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje u Velimu kod Benkovca, *Diadora* 22, Zadar, 2007, str. 221, privjesak iz Velima vrlo je sličan onom iz Kašića i nepoznatog lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj. Ostaje nejasno odnosi li se to i na dekoriranje polukrugova.

gement on the lower part of the semicircle is also visible on the specimens from Kašić, Lezhë, and Prosek. In addition, the inner, open-work decoration of the Koman pendant is separated from the semicircle. In this respect, the Koman pendant is very similar to those from Ston and Krneza, both of which have the same arrangement of the open-work decoration<sup>32</sup>. Moreover, the Ston and Krneza specimens are very similar to each other in terms of the open attachment loop in the form of two stylized bird heads facing each other. Those two pendants must have been used with a wide strap, possibly of leather, for any other mode of attachment - such as a chain or a plaited cord - would have failed. To be sure, while the fragmentary state of three other pendants (Koman, Lezhë, and an unknown location in Croatia) may explain why their attachment loops are open or simply missing, the deliberate absence of such loops is evident in the case of the specimens from Sv. Erazmo and an unknown location in Istria, both of which show no signs of damage. Several pendants - unknown location in Croatia, Koman, Drvenik, and Kašić - display ridges highlighting the semicircles of the open-work decoration, a detail otherwise missing from the decoration of the other specimens<sup>33</sup>. With the exception of the pendant from Kašić, which is made of silver, all others are cast in a copper alloy. Without a close examination, however, it is impossible to recognize miscasts among fragmentary specimens, such as two pendants from Koman. Nor is any mould known so far, and no casting implements have been found that could be associated with the production of those pendants<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Judging from the published illustration, the semicircle of the Ston pendant is decorated with striations, which may well be an imitation of the false bead-ornament on the Koman specimen. That in turn is reminiscent of the decoration of the semicircle on the Radolišta pendant. However, unlike the Koman specimen, the Ston, Krneza and Radolišta pendants lack the six rings on either side of the semicircle.

<sup>33</sup> To trust R. JURIĆ, Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje u Velimu kod Benkovca, *Diadora* 22, Zadar, 2007, p. 221, the pendant from Velim is very similar to those from Kašić and an unknown location in Croatia. It remains unclear whether that refers to the highlighting of the semicircles.

<sup>34</sup> There is therefore no evidence to support Petrinec's idea that such pendants were made in workshops located in cities on the eastern Adriatic coast: M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, p. 120. By contrast, two Viking-age moulds found in Haithabu and Gnezdovo, respectively, were most likely used for the cast-



sl. 4. Lezhë, nalazi iz groba 32: polukružni privjesak, fragment "slavenske" lučne fibule, prstenasti privjesci, pojasne kopče, prsten, kresivo i noževi (prema: F. PRENDI, Një varrezë, vidi Dodatak).

fig. 4 Lezhë, grave 32 and associated finds:  
semicircular pendant, fragment of "Slavic" bow fibula,  
suspension rings, belt buckles,  
finger-ring, flint steel and knives  
(after: F. PRENDI, Një varrezë, see Appendix).

It also remains unclear what exactly was the function of the pendants (if that is what they were)<sup>35</sup>. Ante Milošević believed that the pendants were cheaper replicas of luxury specimens, such as that from the Cleveland Museum of Art, which probably

ing of lunula-shaped pendants like the one hanging from the girdle of Theodosius's daughter. See B. LÖNBORG, Godtkøbskram, *Skalk*, 6, Aarhus, 1994, 3, pp. 14-15. – N. V. ENIOSOVA, Liteinje formy Gnezdova, in: *Istoricheskaja arkheologija. Tradicii i perspektivy. K 80-letiju so dnia rozhdeniya Daniila Antonovicha Avdusina*, (ed. A. E. Leont'ev, T. A. Pushkina), Moscow, 1998, pp. 66-81.

<sup>35</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Karolinški utjecaji (see note 4), p. 98 with n. 7. For a but not very convincing interpretation of the pendants as amulets with religious significance, see N. CHAUSIDIS, Nakit "Komani"-kulture, njegova ikonografija, simbolika i obredni karakter, *Glasnik odjeljenja umjetnosti* 11, Titograd, 1992, pp. 45-46, 82 pl. I.

drugi su napravljeni od legure bakra. Bez pobližeg ispitivanja, nemoguće je prepoznati greške u izradi kod fragmentarnih primjeraka, kao što su dva primjerka iz Komana. Također, do sada nije poznat niti jedan kalup kao ni drugi pribor za lijevanje povezan s proizvodnjom ovih privjesaka<sup>34</sup>.

Ostaje nejasno i koja je točno bila funkcija ovih privjesaka (ako su zbilja i bili privjesci)<sup>35</sup>. Milošević vjeruje kako se radilo o jeftinim replikama luksuznih primjeraka, poput onih iz clevelandskog Muzeja umjetnosti, koji vjerojatno potječe iz Egipta<sup>36</sup>. No to je bio privjesak naušnice i njegov karakteristični „m“ oblik odaje kasno 6. ili rano 7. stoljeće. Nemamo indikacija da su polukružni privjesci bili pričvršćeni za naušnice. Istina, ništa ne znamo o položaju privjeska u odnosu na skelete iz grobova u Drveniku, Lješu, Proseku i Stonu. U Krnezi, privjesak je nađen ispod alkice za vješanje na remenu, odmah do noža, ali su skeletni ostaci iz groba pripisani ranobrončanodobnom ukopu<sup>37</sup>. Privjesak iz Velima pronađen je između gornjih dijelova bedrenih kostiju, dok je privjesak iz Kašića bio na gornjem lijevom dijelu skeleta koji je bio vrlo loše očuvan. U oba slučaja, povezanost s naušnicama (inače pronađenim u oba slučaja)<sup>38</sup> ne može

<sup>34</sup> Prema tome, nema dokaza koji bi podržali ideju M. Petrinec da su ovakvi privjesci pravljeni u radionicama na istočnojadranskoj obali (M. PETRINEC, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber, str. 120). Štoviše, dva kalupa iz vikingškog doba pronađeni u Haithabu i Gnezdovu, bili su najvjerojatnije korišteni za odljeve polujmješastih privjesaka poput onoga što je visio s vrpce Theodotove posvojene kćerke. Vidi: B. LÖNBORG, Godtkøbskram, *Skalk* 6, Aarhus, 1994, 3, str. 14-15. – N. V. ENIOSOVA, Liteinje formy Gnezdova, u: *Istoricheskaja arkheologija. Tradicii i perspektivy. K 80-letiju so dnia rozhdeniya Daniila Antonovicha Avdusina*, (ur. A. E. Leont'ev, T. A. Pushkina), Moscow, str. 66-81.

<sup>35</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Karolinški utjecaji, str. 98 i bilj. 7. Neuvjerljivo objašnjenje privjesaka kao amuleta s religioznim značenjem dao je N. CHAUSIDIS, Nakit „Komani“-kulture, njegova ikonografija, simbolika i obredni karakter, *Glasnik odjeljenja umjetnosti* 11, Titograd, 1992, str. 45-46, 82, pl. I.

<sup>36</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo, str. 112, 113, sl. 7. Za privjeske naušnica vrlo sličnog tipa vidi: É. GARAM, Bizánci típusú csungó preselőmintájá Tiszafüredről, *Folia Archaeologica* 41, Budapest, 1990, str. 82, 83, sl. 6.2. Za par naušnica s polukružnim privjescima vidi: P. G. SPANU, *La Sardegna bizantina tra VI e VII secolo*, Oristano, 1998, str. 221, sl. 209.

<sup>37</sup> K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, str. 113, sl. 9, 106-107.

<sup>38</sup> Prije publikacije naušnica s Velimskoga groblja, rasprava Ante Miloševića i Maje Petrinec o broju ispre-

se uspostaviti. Čak iako su oba skeleta u Velimu i u Kašiću identificirana kao ženska, ne možemo zaključivati o načinu na koji su privjesci nošeni, jer ostaje nejasno jesu li pričvršćivani na ovaj ili onaj način za odjeću ili ostavljeni (možda ritualno) na tijelo tijekom ukopa<sup>39</sup>.

Povezivanje privjeska iz Krneza s alkicom za vješanje na remenu nije osobito korisno u rasvjetljavanju problema, jer nemamo pojASNUTU u toj grobnoj cjelini. Alkica za vješanje na remenu bi mogla biti primjerak Zábojníkovog tipa 203, kako Petrinec vjeruje. No ovaj tip alkica za vješanje bio je popularan ponajviše u srednjoavarskom, ne ka-snoavarskom periodu<sup>40</sup>. Štoviše, samo su dvije analogije poznate za specifične pojASNE alkice za vješanje iz Krneze, sa specifičnim završetcima u obliku dviju stiliziranih ptičjih glava izvijenih prema van<sup>41</sup>. Nijedan se ne može datirati s preciznošću. Temeljni zaključci mogu se izvući na osnovi kombinacije nalaza iz dvojnog ili čak trojnog ukopa u grobu 1

pleteno dekoriranih privjesaka i/ili spiralnih petljica na jednoj jedinoj naušnici s polukružnim privjeskom je besmislena. Na temelju referata Radomira Jurića sa simpozija u Rabu 2004., V. SOKOL, *Medieval Jewelry*, str. 152, klasificira pet naušnica s Velima (što vjerojatno uključuje i naušnicu s polukružnim privjeskom iz ženskog groba) u njegov tip 4 („links with three interlaced pendants on the lower part of the hoop and spiral hoops on the links“). Po njemu, takve naušnice ne mogu biti datirane u Hrvatskoj prije sredine 9. stoljeća, iako izgleda da se radi o imitacijama takozvanog buzetskog tipa (kasno 6. do 8. stoljeća). Ne treba reći kako u odsutnosti valjane publikacije velimskih nalaza, niti jedna od ovih tvrdnji ne može biti potvrđena.

<sup>39</sup> Pomalo slični privjesci na tri ili četiri alkice za vješanje i lančića na pojasnim garniturama, pronađenim u grobnim cjelinama ženskih ukopa 7. i 8. stoljeća, s područja gornje Kame u Rusiji pripisuju se Lomovatovo kulturi. Obično su pronađeni na grudima, što sugerira da su bili zakačeni za odjeću, možda kao pektoralni ornamenti. Vidi: R. D. GOLDINA, *Lomovatovskaja kul'tura v Verkhnem Prikam'e*, Irkutsk, 1985, str. 44, 223, pl. XV.3-6. Paralela sa sličnim privjescima pronađenima u Rusiji se također nalazi u: Đ. JANKOVIĆ, *Srpsko Pomorje od 7. do 10. stoljeća*, Beograd, 2007, str. 199.

<sup>40</sup> J. ZÁBOJNÍK, Seriation, str. 235. Pace Petrinec, alkica za vješanje iz Bernolákova je zapravo vrlo različita od one iz Krneza.

<sup>41</sup> Mejica, slučajan nalaz: M. TORCELLAN, *Le tre necropoli altomedioevali di Pinguente*, Florence, 1986, pl. 6.9. Jászapati, grob 4: L. MADARAS, Előzetes jelentés a Jászapáti-Nagyállás úti avar temető fel-tárásáról (Az avar kori csontveretes tegezek társadalomtörténeti jelentősége), *A Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve* 7, Szolnok, 1990, str. 205, sl. 21.8.

came from Egypt<sup>36</sup>. That, however, was an earring pendant, and its characteristic “m” shape betrays a late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century date. There is no indication that the semicircular pendants with open work ornament were attached to earrings. True, nothing is known about the position of the pendant in relation to the skeletons in the Drvenik, Lezhë, Prosek, and Ston graves. In Krneza, the pendant was found underneath the belt suspension ring and next to the knife, but the skeletal remains in the grave have been attributed to an Early Bronze-Age burial<sup>37</sup>. The Velim pendant was found between the upper ends of the femurs, while that from Kašić was on the upper left side of the otherwise badly preserved skeleton. In both cases, a relation to earrings (present in both cases<sup>38</sup>) is out of question. Even though both the Velim and the Kašić skeletons have been identified as female, no conclusion could therefore be drawn about the manner in which the pendants were worn, since it remains unclear whether they were attached in some way or another to the dress, or otherwise deposited (perhaps ritually) upon the body at the time of the burial<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo, pp. 112, 113, fig. 7. For earring pendants of a very similar shape, see É. GARAM, Bizánci típusú csungó preselőmintája Tiszafüredről, *Folia Archaeologica* 41, Budapest, 1990, pp. 82, 83, fig. 6.2. For a pair of earrings with semicircular pendants, see P. G. SPANU, *La Sardegna bizantina tra VI e VII secolo*. Oristano, 1998, p. 221 fig. 209.

<sup>37</sup> K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, pp. 106-107, 113, fig. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Before the proper publication of the earrings from the Velim cemetery, the dispute between Ante Milošević and Maja Petrinec regarding the number of interlaced pendants and/or spiral hoops on the single earring found in the grave with a semicircular pendant is simply ridiculous. On the basis of Radomir Jurić's 2004 talk at a symposium in Rab, V. SOKOL, *Medieval Jewelry*, p. 152 puts five earrings from Velim (that presumably includes the one from the female grave with a semicircular pendant) into his type 4 (“links with three interlaced pendants on the lower part of the hoop and spiral hoops on the links”). According to him, although they appear to be imitations of the so-called Buzet type (late 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century), in Croatia such earrings cannot be dated before the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. It goes without saying that in the absence of a proper publication of the Velim finds, none of those statements can be verified.

<sup>39</sup> Slightly similar pendants with three or four suspension rings and chains have been found in 7<sup>th</sup>- to 8<sup>th</sup>-century female burial assemblages attributed to the Lomovatovo culture of the Upper Kama region in Russia. They were often found on the chest, which suggests that they were attached to the clothes, perhaps as a pectoral.

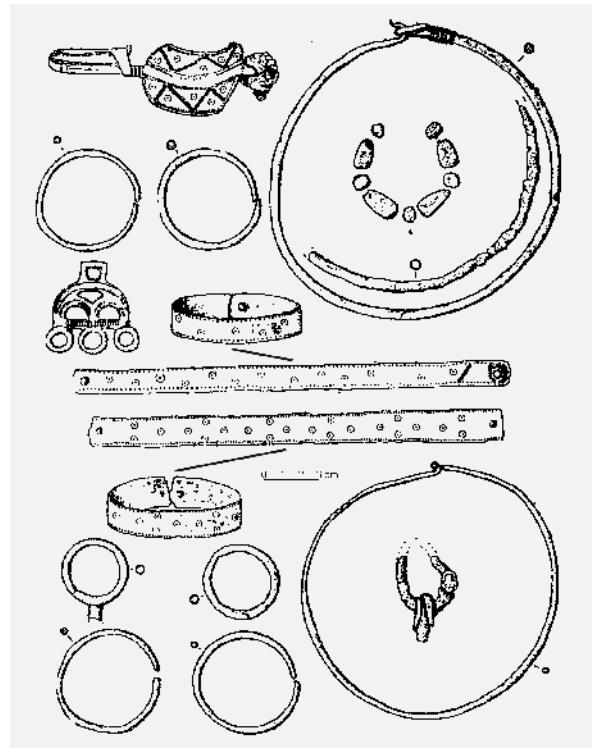
The association in Krneza of a pendant with a belt suspension ring is not particularly helpful in elucidating the problem, for there are no belt fittings in that assemblage. The belt suspension ring may well be a specimen of Zábojník's type 203, as Petrinec believes. However, that type of suspension rings was popular primarily in the Middle, and not the Late Avar age<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, only two analogies are known for the specific suspension ring found in Krneza, with its peculiar attachment loop in the shape of two stylized bird-heads facing out<sup>41</sup>. None of them may be dated with any degree of precision. Much firmer conclusions could be drawn on the basis of the combination of artifacts from grave 1 in Prosek. A double or triple burial, that assemblage included two bronze-band bracelets, three torcs, four simple links, and a fibula with bent stem. The fibula points to a date within the second third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, for such dress accessories were in fashion in the western Balkans between ca. 630 and ca. 660<sup>42</sup>. Two other fibulae with bent stem are known from a male burial assemblage discovered at some point after 1900 in Koman together with a bronze belt buckle with rectangular, profiled loop similar to that found in grave 32 of the Lezhë cemetery together with a semicircular pendant with open-work or-

ral ornament. See R. D. GOLDINA, *Lomovatovskaia kul'tura v Verkhnem Prikam'e*, Irkutsk, 1985, pp. 44, 223 pl. XV.3-6. The parallel to the similar pendants found in Russia also appears in Đ. JANKOVIĆ, *Srpsko Pomorje od 7. do 10. stopeća*, Belgrade, 2007, p. 199.

<sup>40</sup> ZÁBOJNÍK, Seriation, p. 235. Pace Petrinec, the belt suspension ring from Bernolákovo is actually quite different from that found in Krneza.

<sup>41</sup> Mejica, stray find: M. TORCELLAN, *Le tre necropoli altomedioevali di Pinguente*, Florence, 1986, pl. 6.9. Jászapati, grave 4. – L. MADARAS, Előzetes jelentés a Jászapáti-Nagyállás úti avar temető feltárásáról (Az avar kori csontveretes tegezek társadalomtörténeti jelentősége), *A Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve* 7, Szolnok, 1990, p. 205 fig. 21.8.

<sup>42</sup> F. CURTA, Seventh-century fibulae with bent stem in the Balkans, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 17, Sofia, 2013, 1, p. 61. Also included in that assemblage were nine glass beads, two shaped like melon seeds. The latter type of beads came into fashion in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century in the Balkans, Sicily, the Crimea, and the region of the North Caucasus. See H. DANNHEIMER, *Byzantinische Grabfunde aus Sizilien. Christliches Brauchtum im frühen Mittelalter*, Munich, 1989, pp. 9-10, fig. 6.60. – T. VIDA - Th. VÖLLING, *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia*, Rahden, 2000, p. 85.



sl. 5. Prosek, nalazi iz groba 1: fibula s povijenom nogom, torques, staklene perle, naušnice, polukružni privjesak, narukvice i prstenasti privjesci (prema: N. DODA, Varreza arbërore, vidi Dodatak).

fig. 5 Prosek, grave 1 and associated finds: fibula with bent stem, torcs, glass beads, earrings, semicircular pendant, bracelets, and suspension rings (after: N. DODA, Varreza arbërore, see Appendix).

u Proseku. Ova grobna cjelina uključivala je dvije brončane narukvice, tri torkvesa, četiri jednostavne kopče i fibulu s povijenom nogom. Fibula ukazuje na drugu trećinu 7. stoljeća, jer su takvi dodaci u odijevanju bili popularni na zapadnom dijelu Balkanskoga poluotoka između ca. 630. i ca. 660. godine<sup>42</sup>. Dvije druge fibule s povijenom nogom pronađene su nešto iza 1900. godine u muškoj grobnoj cjelini u Komani, skupa s brončanom pojasmnom kopčom koja je imala kvadratičnu, profiliranu ušicu, sličnu onoj iz groba 32 u groblju u Lješu koja je

<sup>42</sup> F. CURTA, Seventh-century fibulae with bent stem in the Balkans, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 17, Sofia, 2013, 1, str. 61. U cjelinu je također uključeno i devet staklenih zrna, od kojih su dva oblika tikvinog sjemena. Kasniji tip zrna dolazi u modu sredinom 7. stoljeća na Balkanskom poluotoku, Siciliji, Krimu i sjevernom Kavkazu. Vidi: H. DANNHEIMER, *Byzantinische Grabfunde aus Sizilien. Christliches Brauchtum im frühen Mittelalter*, München, 1989, str. 9-10, sl. 6.60. – T. VIDA, Th. VÖLLING, *Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia*, Rahden, 2000, str. 85.

pronađena s polukružnim privjeskom s otvorenim ornamentom<sup>43</sup>. Konačno, fibula s povijenom nogom pronađena je u grobu 34, iskopanom 1961. godine u Komanim skupa s pojasmom kopčom Balgota tipa, za koju je najbliza analogija primjerak iz Stona<sup>44</sup>. S druge strane, vrijedi spomenuti kako nijedna „slavenska“ fibula Wernerovog tipa I C, s jednim parom pticjih glava, ne može biti datirana nakon ca. 650. godine. Cjelina groba 32 iz Lješa imala je samo fragment takve fibule, za koju se može odrediti najraniji datum iz druge trećine 6. stoljeća<sup>45</sup>. Predmet je, dakle, ranijeg datuma negoli većina ostalih, pa ne može biti korišten za datiranje cjeline.

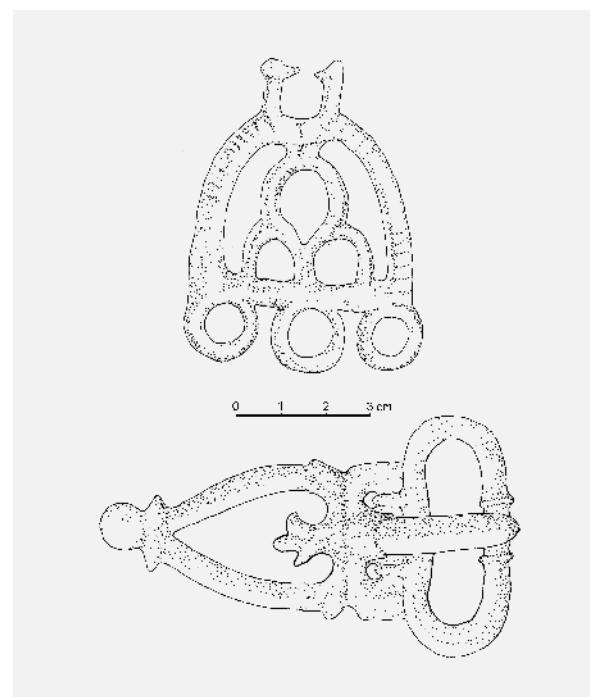
Kad kombiniramo zaključke izvučene iz raščlambe grobnih cjelina iz Krneze, Proseka i Lješa s onim što znamo o kronologiji pojasnih kopči Balgota tipa, poput onog iz Stona, nameće se jasan obrazac za interpretaciju. Sve ove cjeline se kronološki preklapaju tijekom druge trećine 7. stoljeća. To je, dakle, najvjerojatniji datum za datiranje polukružnih privjesaka s alkonom. Bez obzira na Miloševićeve tvrdnje u suprotno, takvi privjesci su kasniji od druge četvrtine i sredine 7. stoljeća. U isto vrijeme, Maja Petrinec grijšeći u tvrdnji da su se privjesci još uvijek koristili u 8. stoljeću. Ništa ne ukazuje na to, posebice ne rimska freska. U stvarnosti, polukružni privjesci su najvjerojatnije izišli iz upotrebe nešto prije 700. Grob 54, prema tome, treba datirati najmanje stoljeće prije većine drugih ukopa groblja na Maklinovom brdu, za koje se vjeruje kako se počelo koristiti malo prije 800. godine<sup>46</sup>. Lociran na sjevernom rubu groblja, daleko od glavne koncentracije grobova, grob 54 ima orijentaciju JZ-SI, koja je u suprotnosti s drugim grobovima ovog groblja.

<sup>43</sup> Th. IPPEN, Denkmäler verschiedener Altersstufen in Albanien, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* 10, Vienna, 1907, str. 17-20, 17, sl. 25.11. Druga takva pojasma kopča poznata je iz grobne komore s 30 skeleta (grob 29) u Draču. Brojni nalazi tamo pronađeni su povezani s novčićem kovanim u doba cara Konstansa II. 654./655. Vidi: F. TARTARI, Një varrezë e mesjetës së hershme në Durrës, *Iliria* 14, Tirana, 1984, 1, str. 230-231, pl. IV.12.

<sup>44</sup> H. SPAHIU, Varreza arbërore e Kalasë së Dalmacës (Gërmime të vitit 1961), *Iliria* 9-10, Tirana, 1979-1980, str. 30-31, pl. V.12. Druga bliska analogija je primjerak iz groba 1/II u Budvi (Crna Gora). Vidi: M. MILINKOVIĆ, Einige Bemerkungen, 310, 307, sl. 3.8.

<sup>45</sup> F. CURTA, "Slavic" bow fibulae: twenty years of research, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 93, Mainz, 2012, str. 268, 270.

<sup>46</sup> V. SOKOL, *Medieval Jewelry*, str. 97, 99.



sl. 6. Ston, grobni prilozi: polukružni privjesak i kopča (prema: J. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Arheologija i istorija*, vidi Dodatak).

fig. 6 Ston, grave goods: semicircular pendant and buckle (after: J. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Arheologija i istorija*, see Appendix).

nament<sup>43</sup>. Finally, a fibula with bent stem was found in grave 34 excavated in 1961 in Koman together with a belt buckle of the Balgota type, the closest analogy for which is the specimen from Ston<sup>44</sup>. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that, while no "Slavic" bow fibulae of Werner's class I C with one pair of bird heads can be dated after ca. 650, the assemblage in grave 32 of the Lezhë cemetery contained only a fragment of one such fibula, the earliest date for which covers the middle third of the 6<sup>th</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Th. IPPEN, Denkmäler verschiedener Altersstufen in Albanien, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* 10, Vienna, 1907, pp. 17-20, 17 fig. 25.11. Another such buckle is known from a burial chamber with 30 skeletons (grave 29) in Durrës. The many artifacts found there were associated with a coin struck for Emperor Constans II in 654/5. See F. TARTARI, Një varrezë e mesjetës së hershme në Durrës, *Iliria* 14, Tirana, 1984, 1, pp. 230-231, pl. IV.12.

<sup>44</sup> H. SPAHIU, Varreza arbërore e Kalasë së Dalmacës (Gërmime të vitit 1961), *Iliria* 9-10, Tirana, 1979-1980, pp. 30-31, pl. V.12. Another close analogy is the specimen from grave 1/II in Budva (Montenegro). See M. MILINKOVIĆ, Einige Bemerkungen, pp. 310, 307 fig. 3.8.

century<sup>45</sup>. The artifact, therefore is of a date earlier than that of most other grave goods, and cannot be used for dating the entire assemblage.

When one combines the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the assemblages found in Krneza, Prosek and Lezhë with what is known about the chronology of belt buckles of the Balgota type, such as found in Ston, a pattern is clearly emerging. All those assemblages overlap chronologically during the middle third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. That is, therefore, the most probable date of the semicircular pendants with open-work ornament. Despite Milošević's claims to the contrary, such pendants are later than both the second quarter and the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. By the same token, Maja Petrinec is wrong when claiming that the pendants were still in use in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Absolutely nothing indicates that that was the case, especially not the fresco in Rome. In reality, the semicircular pendants were most likely out of fashion before 700. Grave 54 is thus at least a century earlier than most other burials in Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo, a cemetery believed to have begun shortly before 800<sup>46</sup>. Located at the northern edge of the cemetery, far away from the main cluster of graves, grave 54 has a southwest-northeast orientation, which is in sharp contrast to the northwest-southeast orientation of the other graves in the cemetery. The same, to some extent, is true about grave 6 in Krneza. Located immediately to the northwest from the center of the Bronze-Age barrow, this grave has a pit, which like in graves 7 and 9, is surrounded by stones. However, grave 6 has a northwest-southeast orientation, while the orientation of graves 7 and 9 is southwest-northeast<sup>47</sup>. In both Kašić and Krneza, burials with semicircular pendants with open-work ornament stand out among other graves in the cemetery. They are in fact of a different age - the Middle Avar age.

Isti zaključak može se primijeniti i na grob 6 iz Krneze. Lociran odmah sjeverozapadno od središta brončanodobnog tumula, ovaj grob ima udubljenje koje je okruženo kamenjem kao i u grobovima 7 i 9. No grob 6 ima orijentaciju SZ-JI, dok je orijentacija grobova 7 i 9 JZ-SI<sup>47</sup>. I u Kašiću i u Krnezi, ukopi s polukružnim privjescima se izdvajaju u odnosu na ostale grobove na groblju. Razlog je jasan – zato što su zapravo iz drugog perioda – srednjoavarskog.

<sup>45</sup> F. CURTA, "Slavic" bow fibulae: twenty years of research, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 93, Mainz, 2012, pp. 268, 270.

<sup>46</sup> V. SOKOL, *Medieval Jewelry*, pp. 97, 99.

<sup>47</sup> K. GUSAR, A contribution, p. 231 fig. 7.

<sup>47</sup> K. GUSAR, A contribution, str. 231, sl. 7.

## Dodatak: Polukružni privjesci s alkama

1. *Drvenik, pored Makarske (Hrvatska)*; pronađena u grobu skupa s ručno rađenom keramičkom posudom s dvije drške (A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi (vidi bilj. 2), str. 349-350, pl. I.2).

2. *Kašić, blizu Benkovca, Zadarska županija (Hrvatska)*; fragment pronađen u grobu 54, na lijevoj strani ženskog skeleta, skupa s dvije srebrne karičice, olovnom perlom, željeznim nožem i ogrlicom od perli napravljenih od staklene paste, od kojih su neke segmentirane (J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *La nécropole paléocroate Kašić-Maklinovo brdo*, Bonn, 1982, pl. 54.1. – J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Starohrvatsko groblje*, vidi bilj. 1, str. 52, 230, pl. XXXV.4).

3. *Koman, područje Skadra (Albanija)*; 7 primjera (od kojih dva u fragmentima, a jedan elaboriran s 10 alki) pronađenih u grobovima velikog groblja pored sela na kamenitom platou Kalaja Dalmaces, iskapanih od 1898. godine (A. DEGRAND, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*. Paris, 1901, str. 263. – Th. IPPEN, Denkmäler, vidi bilj. 42, str. 16, 18, sl. 27.4a-b; *Shqiperia*, vidi bilj. 31, pl. 130. – H. SPAHIU, Gjetje të vjetra nga varreza mesjetare e Kalasë së Dalmaces, *Iliria* 1, Tirana, 1971, str. 227-262, pl. VIII.4, 6-8. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo, vidi bilj. 9, str. 103, 104, sl. 2).

4. *Krneza, blizu Ljubača, Zadarska županija (Hrvatska)*; pronađen u grobu 6 skupa s keramičkom posudom napravljenom na spororotirajućem lončarskom kolu, nožem, željeznim prstenom i još jednim brončanim privjeskom; (K. GUSAR, A contribution (vidi bilj. 14), str. 233, 232, sl. 8. – K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, vidi bilj. 16, str. 124, 132, pl. VI.1).

5. *Lješ (Albanija)*; pronađen u grobu 32 skupa s 5 noževa, 5 željeznih kopči, kresivom, prstenom koji je imao polje u obliku štita dekoriranog prikazom ptice, fragment „slavenske“ lučne fibule Wernerovog tipa I C i perle od staklene paste, uključujući millefiori primjerke (F. PRENDI, Një va rrëzë e kulturës arbërore në Lezhë, *Iliria* 9-10, Tirana, 1979-1980, str. 129, 168, pl. XXII.4).

6. *Prosek, oblast Mirditë (Albanija)*; pronađen u grobu 1 (višestruki ukop), skupa s 4 brončane naušnice, 3 ogrlice (torques), 2 narukvice, fibulom sa savijenom nogom i perle od staklene paste, među

## Appendix: Semicircular pendants with open-work decoration

1. *Drvenik, near Makarska (Croatia)*; found in an inhumation burial together with a two-handled, handmade pot (A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, see n. 2, pp. 349-350, pl. I.2).

2. *Kašić, near Benkovac, district of Zadar (Croatia)*; fragmentary specimen found in grave 54 on the left side of a female skeleton, together with 2 silver earrings, a lead ring, a knife, and glass beads, some of which are segmented (J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *La nécropole paléocroate Kašić-Maklinovo brdo*, Bonn, 1982, pl. 54.1. – J. BELOŠEVIĆ, *Starohrvatsko groblje*, see n. 1, pp. 52, 230, pl. XXXV.4).

3. *Koman, district of Shkodër (Albania)*; 7 specimens (two of them are fragments, another a quite elaborate specimen with 10 rings) found in graves of the large cemetery excavated since 1898 near the village on a rocky plateau called Kalaja Dalmaces (A. DEGRAND, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris, 1901, p. 263. – Th. IPPEN, Denkmäler, see n. 42, p. 16, 18, fig. 27.4a-b. – *Shqiperia*, see n. 31, pl. 130. – H. SPAHIU, Gjetje të vjetra nga varreza mesjetare e Kalasë së Dalmaces, *Iliria* 1, Tirana, 1971, pp. 227-262, pl. VIII.4, 6-8. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Ponovo, vidi bilj. 9, pp. 103, 104, fig. 2).

4. *Krneza, near Ljubač, district of Zadar (Croatia)*; found in grave 6 together with a ceramic pot thrown on a tournette, a knife, an iron ring, and another bronze pendant (K. GUSAR, A contribution, see n. 14, pp. 233, 232 fig. 8. – K. GUSAR - D. VUJEVIĆ, Duševića glavica, see n. 16, pp. 124, 132, pl. VI.1).

5. *Lezhë (Albania)*; found in grave 32 together with 5 knives, 5 iron buckles, a flint steel, a finger-ring with shield-shaped bezel decorated with the image of a bird, a fragment of a “Slavic” bow fibula of Werner’s class I C, and glass beads, including millefiori specimens (F. PRENDI, Një varrezë e kulturës arbërore në Lezhë, *Iliria* 9-10, Tirana, 1979-1980, pp. 129, 168, pl. XXII.4).

6. *Prosek, district of Mirditë (Albania)*; found in grave 1 (multiple burial), together with 4 bronze earrings, 3 torcs, 2 band bracelets, a fibula with bent stem, and glass beads, among them, 2 melon seed-shaped specimens (N. DODA, Varreza arbërore e

Prosekut (rrethi i Mirditës), *Iliria* 19, Tirana, 1989, pp. 146, 164, pl. I.7).

7. *Radolišta, in Zagračani, near Struga (Macedonia)*; found in a grave of the cemetery located inside the ruins of the late antique basilica (V. MALENKO, Ranošrednovekovna materijalna kultura vo Ohrid i Ohridsko, in: *Ohrid i Ohridsko niz istorijata*, (ed. M. Apostolski et al.), Skopje, 1985, pp. 291-293, pl. XVIII.4).

8. *Ston, on the island of Pelješac, near Dubrovnik (Croatia)*; found in an inhumation grave, together with a belt buckle of the Balgota type (J. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Arheologija i istorija varvarske kolonizacije južnoslavenskih oblasti od IV do početka VII veka*, Novi Sad, 1960, p. 65, fig. 43).

9. *Sv. Erazmo, in Orman, near Ohrid (Macedonia)*; 4 specimens found in graves of the cemetery excavated inside and outside the ruins of the late antique basilica (V. MALENKO, Novi arkheoloshki naodi na lokalitetite "Kozluk", "Gabavci" i "Sv. Erazmo", *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 2, Skopje, 1976, pp. 222, 232-234, 234, fig. 14.6. – V. MALENKO, Ranošrednovekovna materijalna kultura, pp. 288-289, pl. VI.5, pl. IX.3, 4).

10. *Unknown location (Croatia)*; semicircular pendant, fragment (A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Komanski elementi, p. 350, pl. I.1).

11. *Unknown location in Istria, Croatia*; semicircular pendant (B. MARUŠIĆ, Varia archaeologica prima, *Histria Archaeologica* 11-12, Pula, 1980-1981, p. 54, pl. VIII.2).

12. *Velim, near Benkovac, district of Šibenik-Knin (Croatia)*; found in a female grave, between the upper ends of the femurs, together with two ceramic pots and a bronze earring with three interlaced pendants on the lower part of the and spiral hoops on the links (M. PETRINEC, "Komanski privjesci", see n. 6, p. 79. – R. JURIĆ, Ranošrednjovjekovno groblje, see n. 33, pp. 221, 228, pl. 3.2).

kojima 2 primjerka u obliku sjemena tikve (N. DODA, Varreza arbërore e Prosekut (rrethi i Mirditës), *Iliria* 19, Tirana, 1989, str. 146, 164, pl. I.7).

7. *Radolišta, u Zagračanima, pored Struge (Makedonija)*; pronađena u grobu u groblju unutar ostataka kasnoantičke bazilike (V. MALENKO, Ranošrednovekovna materijalna kultura vo Ohrid i Ohridsko, u: *Ohrid i Ohridsko niz istorijata*, /ur. M. Apostolski et al./, Skopje, 1985, str. 291-293, pl. XVIII.4).

8. *Ston, na poluotoku Pelješac (Hrvatska)*; pronađen u skeletnom grobu skupa s pojasmom kopčom Balgota tipa (J. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Arheologija i istorija varvarske kolonizacije južnoslavenskih oblasti od IV do početka VII veka*, Novi Sad, 1960, str. 65, sl. 43).

9. *Sv. Erazmo, u Ormanu, pored Ohrida (Makedonija)*; 4 primjerka pronađena u grobovima u groblju nastalom unutar i oko ostataka kasnoantičke bazilike; (V. MALENKO, Novi arkheoloshki naodi na lokalitetite "Kozluk", "Gabavci" i "Sv. Erazmo", *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 2, Skopje, 1976, str. 222, 232-234, 234, sl. 14.6. – V. MALENKO, Ranošrednovekovna materijalna kultura, str. 288-289, pl. VI. 5, pl. IX.3, 4).

10. *Nepoznati lokalitet u Hrvatskoj*; fragment polukružnog privjeska (A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Koman-ski elementi, str. 350, pl. I.1).

11. *Nepoznati lokalitet u Istri*; polukružni privjesak bez ušice (B. MARUŠIĆ, Varia archaeologica prima, *Histria Archaeologica* 11-12, Pula, 1980-1981, str. 54, pl. VIII.2).

12. *Velim, blizu Benkovca, Zadarska županija (Hrvatska)*; pronađen u ženskom grobu između nogu pokojnice, skupa s dvjema keramičkim posudama i brončanom naušnicom s petljama i kroz nju provješenim lančićima (M. PETRINEC, „Komanski privjesci“, vidi bilj. 6, str. 79. – R. JURIĆ, Ranošrednjovjekovno groblje, vidi bilj. 33, str. 221, 228, pl. 3.2).