

Maja Petrinec

Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika

Museum of Croatian

Archaeological Monuments

Stjepana Gunjače 3, HR – 21 000 Split

petrinec65@gmail.com

UDK: 739.2(497.581.2)“07/08”

904:726.8](497.581.2)“07/08”

Izvorni znanstveni rad

Original scientific paper

O nakitu iz Golubića i ženskoj nošnji iz razdoblja 8. i prve polovine 9. stoljeća

U radu se donose novi podaci o pojedinim predmetima iz groba otkrivenog 1932. godine na Stolićevoj njivi u Golubiću kod Knina. U razmatranje se potom uzimaju i svi srodni nalazi iz istaknutih ženskih grobova istog ukopnog horizonta, na osnovi kojih se nastoji rekonstruirati nošnja ženske elite iz razdoblja 8. i ranog 9. stoljeća na prostoru na kojem će uskoro nastati Hrvatska Kneževina i susjedne joj sklavinije na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Također se nastoji preciznije vremenski opredijeliti pojedine ženske grobove na temelju stratigrafskih pokazatelja sustavno istraženih grobalja.

Ključne riječi: *Golubić, nakit, ženska elita, nošnja, grobovi.*

On jewellery from Golubić and female costumes from the eighth and the first half of the ninth century

This paper presents new information on certain artefacts from a grave discovered in 1932 on Stolićeva njiva in Golubić near Knin. It also considers all related finds from prominent female graves of the same burial horizon, based on which I attempt to reconstruct the elite female costume from the eighth and the early ninth century in the area that would soon become the Croatian Principality and its adjacent sclavinia on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. I also aim to date respective female graves with more precision, based on stratigraphic indicators of systematically investigated graveyards.

Keywords: *Golubić, jewellery, female elite, costume, graves.*

Nalaz iz Golubića – pregled starije literature

Luksuzni zlatni nakit iz sela Golubića kod Knina (T. 8) u hrvatskoj je arheološkoj literaturi prisutan već osamdesetak godina, no o okolnostima njegova otkrića ne zna se gotovo ništa. Jedini podatak donosi godine 1960. S. Gunjača u prigodi rekognosciranja na području tog sela navodeći kako je riječ o grobnom nalazu:

„Na sjevernoj strani puta, što od komšiluka Zelembaba vodi u komšiluk Stručevića, na njivi Ilije Stolića pronašla se g. 1932. poznata zlatna ogrlica. Nalaznik nam je pokazao položaj groba, u kojemu je pronašao ogrlicu i taj je bio na sjevernoj strani njive oko 20 m pred njenim krajem, koji se završavao na nogostupu zvanom ‘Mali potok’. I preko ovog nogostupa, na njivama seljaci nailaze na grobove pri oranju. Na njivi Stolićevoj kao i po svim okolnim njivama nailazi se po površini malter, a naročito fragmenti rimske keramike.“¹

Nakit je prvi put objavljen 1940. godine u poznatom članku Lj. Karamana *Iskopine društva „Bihaća“ u Mravincima i starohrvatska groblja*.² Karaman navodi da je riječ o nalazu zlatnih predmeta koji se čuvaju u kninskom muzeju, a koji se sastoji od zlatne ogrlice, dva para zlatnih naušnica i zlatnog prstena.³ Na priloženoj fotografiji, na kojoj Karaman zahvaljuje tadašnjem kustosu muzeja S. Gunjači, nalaze se, međutim, samo ogrlica i naušnice dok prsten nedostaje.⁴ Znakovito je i to da u tekstu Karaman o prstenu uopće ne raspravlja što znači da ga nije dobio na uvid, odnosno da je već tada bio ili zagubljen ili nestao.

Uzimajući u razmatranje ogrlicu, Karaman ju odmah uspoređuje s ogrlicom iz drugoga poznatog ansambla zlatnog nakita, onom iz groba odličnice u Trilju kod Sinja te s jednom ogrlicom s langobardske nekropole Castel Trosino. Sve te ogrlice smatra karakterističnima za krajeve pod utjecajem bizantske kulture. Naušnice uspoređuje sa sličnima pronađenim na Siciliji, ali i pojedinim primjercima iz Mađarske i Ukrajine. Ustvrdjuje da golubički nakit najvjerojatnije potječe iz 7. stoljeća, a pripadnost etniku (slavenskom, avarskom ili romanskom) koji u to doba nastanjuje prostor Dalmacije ili u njemu kraće boravi ostavlja otvorenim. Iz zadnjeg pasusa u poglavlju u navedenom članku razvidno je da Karaman nije raspolagao podatkom da je u slučaju

The Golubić find – a review of older literature

The luxurious gold jewellery from the village of Golubić near Knin (Fig. 1; Pl. 8) has been covered in the Croatian archaeological literature for eighty odd years, but almost nothing is known about the circumstances of its discovery. S. Gunjača provided the only piece of information in 1960 on the occasion of a surveying in the village, noting that it was a grave artefact:

“On the north side of the road from Zelembabe to Stručevići, in Ilija Stolić’s field, the renowned gold necklace was found in 1932. The finder showed us the position of the grave in which he had discovered the necklace, on the north side of the field, about 20 m away from its border, ending on the so-called ‘Small Brook’ footway. Peasants are still finding graves when ploughing, even beyond this footway. In Stolić’s field, as well as in all other adjacent fields, mortar is found on the surface, and particularly fragments of Roman pottery”¹.

The first publication of the jewellery was the renowned 1940 article by Lj. Karaman – *Iskopine društva „Bihaća“ u Mravincima i starohrvatska groblja*.² Karaman noted that the unearthed gold objects were kept in the Knin museum, and that they consisted of a gold necklace, two pairs of earrings, and a gold ring.³ However, the corresponding photograph, that Karaman thanked the then museum curator S. Gunjača for, showed only the necklace and the earrings, while the ring was missing.⁴ It is also indicative that Karaman did not discuss the ring at all, which means that it had not been at his disposal, i.e. that it had already been either misplaced or missing.

In his analysis of the necklace, Karaman instantly compared it with a necklace from another gold jewellery assemblage, viz. from the grave of a noble woman in Trilj near Sinj, and with a necklace from the Langobardic necropolis of Castel Trosino. He regarded all those necklaces as characteristic of the areas under the influence of Byzantine culture. He compared the earrings with the similar ones found in Sicily, but also with certain examples from Hungary and Ukraine. He declared that the Golubić jewellery had most likely been made in the seventh century, but left open the question of the ethnic group inhabiting Dalmatia at the time or residing in it for a while (Slavic, Avarian, or Roman). The

¹ Gunjača 1960, str. 276.

² Karaman 1940, str. 19, sl. 18; str. 22.

³ Karaman 1940, str. 22

⁴ Karaman 1940, str. 19, sl. 18.

¹ Gunjača 1960, p. 276.

² Karaman 1940, p. 19, Fig. 18; p. 22.

³ Karaman 1940, p. 22

⁴ Karaman 1940, p. 19, Fig. 18.



Sl. 1. Zlatni nakit iz Golubića
(preuzeto iz Karaman 1940, str. 19, sl. 18)
Fig. 1 Gold jewellery from Golubić
(taken from: Karaman 1940, p. 19, Fig. 18)

Golubića riječ o grobnom nalazu.⁵ Zanimljivo je napomenuti i to da je naušnice srodne golubićkima u jednom svom starijem tekstu Karaman odredio kao nakit bizantskog podrijetla iz predslavenskih grobnica.⁶

Godine 1952. Z. Vinski također ustvrđuje da je nakit iz Golubića teško bilo kome pripisati te zaključuje kako je s obzirom na kvalitetu i način izrade vjerojatno kasnoantičkog, bizantskog podrijetla i da je možda proizveden u radionicama jednog od dalmatinskih gradova, koji su bili pod bizantskom vlašću.⁷ Ukazuje i na jednu srodnu naušnicu iz Solina (T. 41, 4), koju je davno publicirao F. Bulić te nekoliko naušnica s nepoznatih lokaliteta u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (sl. 28; T. 41, 2, 5-6; T. 42, 1-2). Sve ih zajedno određuje kao naušnice mediteransko-bizantskog obilježja koje pripadaju približno 7. stoljeću, ali nije isključeno da su pojedini primjerci u uporabi i kasnije, premda u nešto slabijoj izradi.⁸

U tekstu iz godine 1955. Vinski bitno mijenja svoje zaključke. Golubićkom nalazu najprije pridružuje jedan zlatni prsten uz napomenu da se prethodno spominjao, ali začudo nije bio publiciran (sl. 2). Kako nedostaje dodatno pojašnjenje zbog čega prsten nije ranije objavljen, pretpostaviti je da je u međuvremenu bio pronađen u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.⁹ Publicirani prsten Vinski određuje kao kasnoantički te smatra da ga treba datirati u 6. stoljeće.¹⁰ Sukladno tome ostavlja otvorenom mogućnost datacije čitavog nalaza u 6. stoljeće, iako za naušnice navodi analogije iz druge

final paragraph in a chapter of the article reveals that Karaman had no knowledge of the information that the Golubić find was a grave artefact.⁵ Interestingly enough, in one of his earlier texts, Karaman had already specified the earrings related to those from Golubić as jewellery of Byzantine origin from pre-Slavic tombs.⁶

In 1952, Z. Vinski also noted that it was difficult to attribute the jewellery from Golubić, and concluded that in the light of its quality and design it was most likely of late antique, Byzantine provenance, perhaps made in the workshops of one of the Dalmatian towns under Byzantine rule.⁷ He also pointed out a related earring from Solin (Pl. 41, 4) already discussed in a much earlier published text by F. Bulić, as well as several earrings from unknown sites, kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (Fig. 28; Pl. 41, 2, 5-6; Pl. 42, 1-2). He classified all of them as earrings with Mediterranean-Byzantine features, approximately from the seventh century, with a possibility that certain specimens, albeit inferior in quality, had still been in use later on.⁸

Vinski radically modified his conclusions in his 1955 text. First he augmented the Golubić find with a gold ring, noting that it had been mentioned before, but surprisingly not in any publication. Since there are no additional explanations as to why the ring had not been mentioned in earlier publications, it can be assumed that it had been found in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in the meantime.⁹ Vinski classified the published ring as late antique, deeming it should be dated to the sixth century.¹⁰ Consequently, he left open the possibility of dating the whole find to the sixth century, though he did mention analogies from the second half of the seventh century with regard to the earrings. Following this publication, the affiliation of the ring to the Golubić assemblage became unquestionable, and it has appeared in all subsequent papers on Golubić jewellery as an important chronological determinant.

In 1989, Vinski changed his mind about the dating of the earrings, too, and denoted the modest cast silver earring from grave 82 at Grebalj in Knin and its counterparts from the necropolises

⁵ Karaman 1940, str. 22.

⁶ Karaman 1930-1934, str. 22-23. T. XVIII.

⁷ Vinski 1952, str. 32.

⁸ Vinski 1952, str. 40.

⁹ Vinski 1955, str. 233, 235, sl. 6.

¹⁰ Vinski 1955, str. 233-234.

⁵ Karaman 1940, p. 22.

⁶ Karaman 1930-1934, pp. 22-23. Pl. XVIII.

⁷ Vinski 1952, p. 32.

⁸ Vinski 1952, p. 40.

⁹ Vinski 1955, pp. 233, 235, Fig. 6.

¹⁰ Vinski 1955, pp. 233-234.



Sl. 2. Ansambl zlatnog nakita iz Golubića s pridruženim prstenom (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
 Fig. 2 Gold jewellery assemblage from Golubić with associated ring (photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

polovine 7. stoljeća. Nakon ove objave pripadnost prstena ansamblu iz Golubića postaje neupitna i on se, kao bitna kronološka odrednica, pojavljuje u svim kasnijim radovima koji su se bavili golubićkim nakitom.

Godine 1989. Vinski se predomišlja i oko datacije naušnica pa skromnu lijevanu srebrnu naušnicu iz groba 82 na Greblju u Kninu i njoj istovjetne naušnice s nekropola Duvno-Korita i Kašić-Glavčurak označava kao naušnice lokalno–starosjedilačkog obilježja nastale po uzoru na raskošne zlatne granulirane naušnice 6. st., čime ih izravno povezuje s Golubićem i spušta dataciju čitavog ansambla u 6. stoljeće.¹¹

Ostali autori koji su se nakon Karamana i Vinskog osvrtnali na golubićki nalaz i njemu srodne nalaze uglavnom preuzimaju njihove interpretacije smatrajući da je riječ o bizantskom nakitu u radioničkom smislu čiji su nositelji bili kasnoantički predslavenski žitelji Dalmacije u 6. ili 7. stoljeću.

J. Belošević godine 1965. objavljuje lijevanu naušnicu s ukrasom u obliku znatih trokutića iz sela Visočani kraj Nina (T. 42, 3) smatrajući da njezina skromna tehnika izrade dopušta da ju se smatra nešto mlađom od golubićkih primjeraka.¹²

of Duvno-Korita and Kašić-Glavčurak as earrings with local-indigenous features, modelled after the luxurious gold granulated earrings from the sixth century. In effect, he directly connected them with Golubić, and lowered the dating for the whole assemblage to the sixth century.¹¹

The other authors who discussed the Golubić find and its related artefacts after Karaman and Vinski mainly adopted their interpretations, believing that the jewellery was Byzantine in the workshop sense, and that it had been used by late antique pre-Slavic inhabitants of Dalmatia in the sixth or the seventh century.

In 1965, J. Belošević published a text on a cast earring with decoration in the form of granular small triangles from the village of Visočani near Nin (Pl. 42, 3), deeming that its modest construction allowed for its somewhat later dating than the Golubić specimens.¹²

Based on the analogies with the Golubić jewellery, the gold earrings with unknown circumstances of their discovery from Kablič Mali near Livno (Pl. 41, 3) and Smrdelji near Skradin (Pl. 41,1) were also dated to the sixth/seventh centuries.¹³

¹¹ Vinski 1989, str. 30.

¹² Belošević 1965, str. 148-149.

¹¹ Vinski 1989, p. 30.

¹² Belošević 1965, pp. 148-149.

¹³ Miletić 1980, pp. 297-298; Mardešić, Buškariol 1986, showcase 2, No 4.

Na osnovi analogija s golubićkim nakitom u 6.–7. stoljeće datirane su i zlatne naušnice nepoznatih okolnosti otkrića iz Kablića Malog kod Livna (T. 41, 3) i Smrdelja kod Skradina (T. 41, 1).¹³

Z. Gunjača, pak, pozivajući se na prvotnu Karamanovu dataciju, smatra da je srebrna lijevana pseudogranulirana naušnica pronađena u grobu 15 u Dubravicama kod Skradina (T. 2, 9) zbog srodnosti s golubićkim naušnicama dokaz da se na tom groblju s ukopavanjem započelo najkasnije početkom 8. stoljeća.¹⁴

U posljednjih 20 godina u okviru sustavnih arheoloških iskopavanja otkrivena su još dva ženska groba s ansamblima nakita srodnim golubićkom pa se o pitanju podrijetla, pripadnosti i dataciji tih nalaza razvila živa rasprava u domaćoj arheološkoj literaturi.

U sklopu arheoloških istraživanja 1996. godine kod župne crkve sv. Asela (Anselma) u Ninu, nekadašnje katedrale ninskoga i hrvatskog biskupa, u jednoj prostoriji koja je pripadala ranokršćanskom razdoblju bilo je pronađeno osam grobova, među kojima se posebno ističe grob 41, s istovremenim ukopom dviju bogato opremljenih pokojnica (sl. 3; T. 19, 1-22).¹⁵ Nalaz do danas nije u potpunosti publiciran pa je tako još uvijek nepoznato što je kojoj od pokojnica pripadalo. Riječ je pretežito o zlatnom i srebrnom nakitu, koji pokazuje određenu srodnost s nakitom iz Golubića. Grob 41 sadržavao je tri para zlatnih naušnica i jednu pojedinačnu zlatnu naušnicu, par srebrnih karičica, dva srebrna torkvesa, jedan zlatni prsten i tri srebrna, željezni okov kopče, tri željezna nožića, jedan glineni pršljen, jednu staklenu perlu i jedan bakreni rimski novac iz 4. stoljeća. U kratkom izvještaju grobovi u spomenutoj prostoriji pa tako i grob 41 interpretirani su kao ukopi manje kršćanske zajednice bez bližeg vremenskog određivanja.

Nalazi iz groba prvi put su objavljeni u katalogu izložbe *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ali u prvom dijelu knjige (*Rasprave i vrela*) uz tekst Ž. Rapanića posvećen kasnoantičkom razdoblju.¹⁶ Iako se sam grob u tom tekstu ne spominje, a nedostaje i datacija uz kataloške jedinice, podrazumijeva se njegova pripadnost predslavenskom supstratu na teritoriju antičke

Z. Gunjača, on the other hand, referring to the original Karaman's dating, took it that the silver cast pseudo-granulated earring found in grave 15 at Dubravice near Skradin was proof, due to its similarities with the Golubić earrings, that burials had been commenced in that graveyard no later than in the early eighth century.¹⁴

Systematic archaeological excavations during the past 20 years have resulted in the discoveries of two more female graves with jewellery assemblages similar to the Golubić one. This has sparked agitated debates in national archaeological literature on the matters of origin, provenance and dating.

During the 1996 archaeological investigations near the parish church of St. Asel (Anselm) in Nin, the former cathedral of the Bishop of Nin and Croatia, eight graves were found in a room from the early Christian period, most prominent among them being grave 41, with simultaneously buried two richly equipped deceased women (Fig. 3; Pl. 19, 1-22).¹⁵ This find has not been fully published yet, and so it remains unknown which artefacts belonged to which deceased woman. Mainly gold and silver jewellery was found, showing certain similarities with the jewellery from Golubić. Grave 41 contained three pairs of gold earrings and a single gold earring, a pair of silver links, two silver torques, one gold and three silver rings, an iron buckle frame, three small iron knives, one clay whorl, one glass bead, and one copper Roman coin from the fourth century. The graves in said room, including grave 41, were interpreted in a brief report as burials of a small Christian community, with no specified dating.

The grave finds were published for the first time in the catalogue of the *Hrvati i Karolinzi* [*Croats and Carolingians*] exhibition, in the opening section of the book (*Rasprave i vrela* [*Texts and sources*]), i.e. Ž. Rapanić's text dedicated to the late antique period.¹⁶ Even though the grave was not mentioned in the text, and there was no dating of catalogue entries, its affiliation to the pre-Slavic substrate in the territory of ancient Dalmatia is implicit.¹⁷ In the Italian version of the catalogue, the grave was dated to the fourth/fifth century.¹⁸ I should point out here

¹³ Miletić 1980, str. 297-298; Mardesić, Buškariol 1986, 2, br. 4.

¹⁴ Gunjača 1995, str. 162, str. 286, sl. 13.

¹⁵ Kolega 1996, str. 43-48.

¹⁶ Kolega 2000, str. 62-63

¹⁴ Gunjača 1995, p. 162, p. 286, Fig. 13.

¹⁵ Kolega 1996, pp. 43-48.

¹⁶ Kolega 2000, pp. 62-63.

¹⁷ Cf. Rapanić 2000, pp. 32-67.

¹⁸ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, pp. 284-285 (Cat. No II/12), Fig. on p. 273.



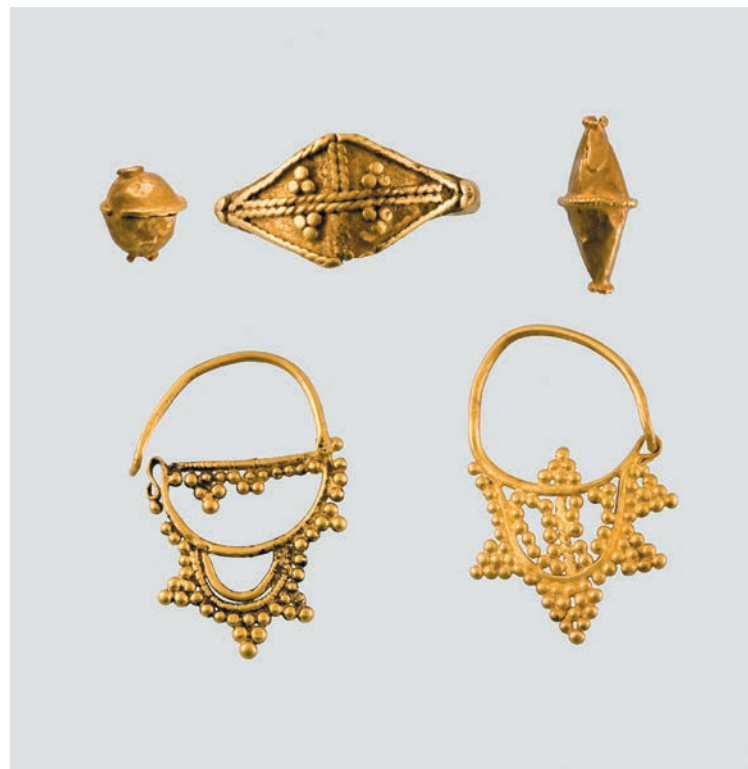
Sl. 3. Grob 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 3 Grave 41 near the church of St. Anselm in Nin
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

Dalmacije.¹⁷ U talijanskoj verziji istoga kataloga grob je datiran u 4.–5. stoljeće.¹⁸ Odmah napominjem i to da samo dva para naušnica tzv. zvjezdolikog tipa iz ninskoga groba pokazuju određenu srodnost s onima iz golubićkog ansambla, dok ostatak grobnog inventara ima analogije u horizontu grobova zadnje trećine 8. i prve polovine 9. stoljeća, o čemu će kasnije biti riječi. Također, naušnice iz sv. Asela kvalitetom izrade daleko zaostaju za onima iz Golubića kao i za pojedinačnim primjercima iz Solina, Kablića Malog, Smrdelja i nekima od naušnica s nepoznatih nalazišta koje se čuvaju u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.

¹⁷ Usp. Rapanić 2000, str. 32-67.

¹⁸ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, str. 284-285 (kat. br. II/12), sl. na str. 273.



Sl. 4. Grob 223, Sv. Martin u Lepurima kod Benkovca
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 4 Grave 223, St. Martin in Lepuri near Benkovac
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

that only two pairs of earrings of the so-called star-shaped type from the Nin grave are somewhat related to those from the Golubić assemblage, whereas there are analogies for the rest of the grave inventory in the horizon of the graves from the last third of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century, which will be discussed below. Furthermore, the workmanship of the earrings from St. Asel is rather inferior compared with that of the Golubić ones and certain specimens from Solin, Kablić Mali, Smrdelji, as well as of some earrings from unknown sites, kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.

Another female grave (grave 223) with gold jewellery was discovered during the archaeological excavations in June 2002 at the multilayer site of St. Martin's graveyard in Lepuri near Benkovac (**Fig. 4; Pl. 18**). Since the results of the investigations have not been published, the broader context of the find has remained unknown.¹⁹ The grave contained

¹⁹ I would like to thank my colleague N. Uroda, PhD, from the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, for the information on the circumstances of the discovery.

U lipnju 2002. u okviru arheoloških iskopavanja na višeslojnom lokalitetu na groblju sv. Martina u Lepurima kod Benkovca otkriven je još jedan ženski grob (grob 223) sa zlatnim nakitom (**sl. 4; T. 18**). Kako rezultati tih istraživanja nisu objavljeni, širi kontekst nalaza ostao je nepoznat.¹⁹ Grob je sadržavao dvije međusobno različite zlatne lunulasto-zvezdolike naušnice, zlatni prsten i dva zlatna zrna (jagodice), koji su pripadali ogrlici. Ovaj je nakit, poput ninskog, lošije kvalitete izrade od golubićkog. Grob je prvi put objavljen 2008., a kataloški obrađen 2009. godine.²⁰

Grob 41 iz Nina i grobovi iz Glavica kod Sinja

Ninski grob 41 prva sam u znanstvenoj literaturi ozbiljnije razmatrala 2002. godine, prigodom objave rezultata arheoloških iskopavanja ranosrednjovjekovnoga groblja na položaju „Iza Grede“ u zaseoku Poljaci u Glavicama kod Sinja.²¹ Baveći se dvama grobovima starijeg sloja ukapanja na spomenutom nalazištu (grob 1 na Gluvinim kućama I i grob 11 na Jojinim kućama), zamijetila sam izravne analogije za pojedine primjerke naušnica i karičica upravo u ninskome grobu 41, kao i opću srodnost s nalazima golubićkog tipa, ali isto tako i niz analognih nalaza u ženskim grobovima zadnje trećine 8. st. i prve polovine 9. stoljeća (Trilj, Grborezi kod Livna, Kašić – Maklinovo brdo, Nin – Ždrijac, Stranče – Gorica i dr.). Također sam ukazala i na izravne analogije za zlatni prsten iz groba 41 s prikazom križa i golubica u prstenju sa Škripa na otoku Braču i sa Zduša u Vrlici. U zaključnom dijelu teksta prvi put sam vrlo oprezno predložila kasnije vremensko opredjeljivanje nalaza golubićkoga tipa i to u prvu trećinu 8. st., najkasnije do sredine tog stoljeća.²²

U šest godina zakasneloj reakciji na moj tekst, u okviru knjige posvećene upravo nalazištu u Glavicama, A. Milošević osobito se opsežno bavio istim dvama glavičkim grobovima, navodno nastojeći osporiti zaključke do kojih sam došla.²³ Iako bi bio nužan opširniji osvrt na tu knjigu, nastojat ću

two unpaired gold lunular star-shaped earrings, a gold ring, and two gold beads from a necklace. The workmanship of this jewellery, like in the case of Nin, is inferior to that of the Golubić find. The grave was first published in 2008, and catalogued in 2009.²⁰

Grave 41 from Nin and graves from Glavice near Sinj

I was first to cover grave 41 from Nin in depth in scientific literature in 2002, on the occasion of publishing the results of archaeological excavations of an early mediaeval graveyard at the “Iza Grede” location in the hamlet of Poljaci in Glavice near Sinj.²¹ While working on two earlier burial layer graves at the site (grave 1 at Gluvine kuće I, and grave 11 at Jojine kuće), I perceived direct analogies for certain earrings and links with the very Nin grave 41, as well as a general proximity with the Golubić-type finds and a number of analogous finds in female graves from the last third of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century (Trilj, Grborezi near Livno, Kašić-Maklinovo brdo, Nin-Ždrijac, Stranče-Gorica, etc.). I also noted the direct analogies for the gold ring from grave 41 with the depiction of the cross and doves on the rings from Škrip on the island of Brač and from Zduš in Vrlika. In the final part of the text I introduced a very cautious proposal for a later dating of the Golubić-type finds, viz. the first third of the eighth century, and no later than the middle of that century.²²

As a belated reaction, six years after my text, in a book dedicated to the very Glavice find, A. Milošević discussed the same two Glavice graves in great detail, allegedly attempting to challenge my conclusions.²³ Although a more thorough review of the book would be required, I will attempt not to stray from the topic at hand here, i.e. the graves with the Golubić-type finds. Here we should comment not only on sections of said book, but also some texts written by Milošević and me which preceded it.

Grave 1 at Gluvine kuće I (**Fig. 5; Pl. 4**) belongs to an earlier burial layer at the site and is oriented differently (in the south-north direction) compared with later graves. One more grave (grave 10, with

¹⁹ Na podacima o okolnostima otkrića zahvaljujem kolegici dr. sc. N. Uroda iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.

²⁰ Jakšić 2008, str. 105, sl. 5, str. 107; Petrinec 2009, str. 92-93, 134-136; str. 151, sl. 49; str. 405, T. 81, 1-21.

²¹ Petrinec 2002, str. 213-215.

²² Petrinec 2002, str. 215.

²³ Milošević 2008, str. 14-41.

²⁰ Jakšić 2008, p. 105, Fig. 5, p. 107; Petrinec 2009, pp. 92-93, 134-136; p. 151, Fig. 49; p. 405, Pls. 81, 1-21.

²¹ Petrinec 2002, pp. 213-215.

²² Petrinec 2002, p. 215.

²³ Milošević 2008, pp. 14-41.

na ovome mjestu ostati u okvirima zadane teme, odnosno zadržati se na grobovima s nalazima tipa Golubić. Ovdje se, osim na dijelove citirane knjige, potrebno osvrnuti i na moje i Miloševićeve tekstove koji su joj prethodili.

Grob 1 na Gluvinim kućama I (sl. 5; T. 4) pripadao je starijem sloju ukapanja na tom položaju i bio je drugačije orijentiran (u pravcu jug-sjever) u odnosu na mlađe grobove. Istom sloju pripadao je još jedan grob (grob 10 s pokojnikom orijentiranim u pravcu sjever-jug) ukopan u običnoj zemljanoj raci i pokriven kamenim pločama te djelomično preslojen mlađim grobovima 11 i 12. To je jasno istaknuto u prvoj Miloševićевой objavi rezultata istraživanja iz 1997. godine, a podaci su preuzeti iz grobnih zapisnika koje sam osobno vodila.²⁴ U zaključku se ističe:

„Stariji grobovi kod Gluvinih kuća u Glavicama nisu dio većeg groblja, nego pojedinačni ukopi, možda u okviru todobnog posjeda pokojnika...“²⁵

Isto je razvidno i iz moga teksta iz 2002. godine na koji se Milošević kasnije osvrće, a vidljivo je i na ovdje priloženom tlocrtu (**Plan 1**).²⁶ Međutim 2008. godine Milošević doslovno navodi sljedeće:

„...Analizom ukupnih ostataka utvrđeno je da svi osim jednoga (grob 1) pripadaju istome vremenskom horizontu...“²⁷

Što se samoga groba tiče, podaci iz prve objave nisu točni.²⁸ Naime, grob sam čistila osobno pa i dalje odgovorno tvrdim da su svi predmeti pripadali istom pokojniku.

Inventar groba 1 čini par nepotpunih srebrnih lijevanih psuedogranuliranih naušnica s karikom ukrašenom znatim trokutićima, dva limena brončana prstena s graviranim ukrasom u obliku križa, koštani iglenik sa željeznom iglom i brončanom alkom za vješanje, keramička posuda, rimska brončana fibula i rimsko zvono (muzički instrument). U grobu su utvrđeni ostaci dvaju kostura: jedan *in situ* i jedan čije su kosti bile ispremišane i položene u južnom dijelu grobne rake. Prilikom polaganja kostiju tog drugog pokojnika bila je oštećena i izmaknuta lubanja kostura *in situ*. Tada je jedna od naušnica upala između dviju ploča podnice groba, a druga je dislocirana uz lijevo stopalo pokojnika *in situ*. Svi ostali predmeti bili su neporemećeni te su se nalazili uz skeletne ostatke pokojnika *in situ*.

Ovo je bilo bitno naglasiti jer Milošević iznosi

the deceased person in the north-south direction) belongs to the same layer. It is a simple earth pit, covered with stone plates, and partly overlaid by later graves 11 and 12. This was clearly noted in Milošević's first publication of the 1997 investigation results, with the information retrieved from my personal logs on the graves.²⁴ The conclusion pointed out the following:

“The earlier graves near Gluvinne kuće in Glavice are not part of a larger graveyard, but rather single burials, maybe on the then property of the deceased...“²⁵

The same had been obvious in my 2002 text, later discussed by Milošević, and is shown in the ground plan attached hereto (**Plan 1**).²⁶ Notwithstanding, in 2008 Milošević literally claimed the following:

“...Analysis of all remains established that all but one (grave 1) belong to the same temporal horizon...“²⁷

As to the grave itself, the information from the first publication is incorrect.²⁸ Namely, I personally worked on the grave, and I still claim that all the items belonged to one and the same deceased person.

The inventory of grave 1 comprises a pair of incomplete silver cast pseudo-granulated earrings with links decorated with granular triangles, two sheet bronze rings with engraved decoration in the form of the cross, a bone needle-case with an iron needle and a bronze hook, a ceramic vessel, a Roman bronze fibula, and a Roman bell (musical instrument). The remains of two skeletons were found in the grave: one *in situ* and one whose bones were shuffled and laid in the southern part of the grave pit. The skull of the second deceased person was damaged and shifted *in situ* during the interment. Simultaneously, one of the earrings fell into the space between two grave floorboards, while the other was dislocated by the deceased's left foot *in situ*. All other items were undisturbed, lying by the skeletal remains of the deceased *in situ*.

It is important to point this out since Milošević claimed that the shuffled bones in the southern part of the grave had belonged to the original burial, and that the earrings, fibula and bell had been property of the deceased person from this original interment. The rest of the items from the grave (the needle-case, rings, ceramic vessel) would belong to a

²⁴ Milošević 1997.

²⁵ Milošević 1997, str. 121.

²⁶ Petrinc 2002, str. 209.

²⁷ Milošević 2008, str. 14.

²⁸ Milošević 1997, str. 118.

²⁴ Milošević 1997.

²⁵ Milošević 1997, p. 121.

²⁶ Petrinc 2002, p. 209.

²⁷ Milošević 2008, p. 14.

²⁸ Milošević 1997, p. 118.



Sl. 5. Grob 1 (Glavice- Gluvine kuće I)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 5 Grave 1, Glavice – Gluvine kuće I
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

da su izmiješane kosti u južnom dijelu groba pripadale prvotnom ukopu te da pokojniku iz tog prvog ukopa pripadaju naušnice, fibula i zvono. Ostali pak predmeti u grobu (iglenik, prstenje, keramička posuda) pripadali bi kasnijem ukopu, odnosno grob je prema njegovu mišljenju bio preuporabljen. Zaključuje da je prvi pokojnik ukopan u drugoj polovini 7. stoljeća, a drugi u prvoj polovini 8. stoljeća.²⁹

Zanimljivo je ukazati i na činjenicu da pišući o igleniku iz groba 1 na Gluvinim kućama Milošević donosi crteže inventara četiriju grobova s nalazima iglenika s nekropole Ždrijac u Ninu te ističe sljedeće:

later burial, that is, according to him, the grave was reused. He concluded that the first deceased person had been buried in the second half of the seventh century, and the second one in the first half of the eighth century.²⁹

It is also interesting to note the fact that Milošević's text on the needle-case from grave 1 at Gluvine kuće was accompanied with drawings of the inventory from four graves with needle-case finds from the Ždrijac necropolis in Nin. He pointed out the following:

“The needle-case from grave 54, namely, was found, inter alia, with two silver rings with a hammered and stamped crown, and the items from graves 48 and 227 with star-shaped or typologically similar filigree earrings.³⁰”

Regardless of his dating all those graves to the seventh century, it should be noted that graves 48 (Pl. 21, 4-12) and 227 (Pl. 28, 1-4) from Ždrijac contained pseudo-filigree earrings similar to those from Glavice, and that the inventory of all Ždrijac graves with needle-cases is completely akin to that from grave 1 in Glavice, which is clear evidence that all items from that grave had most likely belonged to the same deceased woman, which could be concluded even if we did not know the previously discussed circumstances of the discovery.

Grave 11 from the Jojine kuće site in Glavice (Fig. 6; Pl. 6) was discovered in 1997. Its inventory was first published in my 2002 article.³¹ There were two simultaneously buried deceased persons in the grave: a woman with an infant in her arms. The child was laid on the left side of the woman's chest. The grave contained three pairs of silver links, a silver sheet ring with oval widening, a necklace with silver metal and glass beads, and a small iron knife. In my first publication I also listed all analogies known at the time with regard to the items discovered in the grave:

“Grave 11 from Jojine kuće, however, as a whole, with three pairs of links, a necklace and a ring, can best be connected with grave 112 in Grborezi. Its ties with this grave are even tighter because of identical silver links with an engraved line of rhombi, silver links with clasp and outward-curved loop, and silver pressed necklace beads, as well as a small iron knife. The link with engraved rhombi and the necklace with glass and metal beads also connect grave 11 with Bračića podvornice in Biskupija, where identical jewellery was found in two different graves. It is interesting to note that the links with engraved rhombi were discovered in grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin, which is further related to the group of

²⁹ Milošević 1997, p. 121

³⁰ Milošević 1997, pp. 119–121.

³¹ Petrinc 2002, pp. 211–212; p. 241, Pl. V.

²⁹ Milošević 1997, str. 121

„Igljenik iz groba 54, naime, nađen je, pored ostalog, uz dva srebrna prstena raskovanog i punciranjem ukrašenog kruništa, a primjerci iz groba 48 i 227 uz primjerke zvjezdolikih ili njima tipološki srodnih filigranskih naušnica.“³⁰

Neovisno o tome što on sve te grobove datira u 7. stoljeće, zapaziti je da grobovi 48 (T. 21, 4-12) i 227 (T. 28, 1-4) sa Ždrijaca sadrže pseudofiligranske naušnice slične onima iz Glavica, kao i to da svi ždrijački grobovi s igljenicima imaju inventar potpuno srodan onom iz glavičkoga groba 1, pa jasno svjedoče da su svi predmeti iz tog groba najvjerojatnije pripadali istoj pokojnici, što bi se moglo zaključiti čak i u slučaju kad ne bismo poznavali okolnosti otkrića o kojima je prethodno bilo riječi.

Grob 11 s položaja Jojinih kuća u Glavicama (sl. 6; T. 6) otkriven je 1997. godine, a njegov inventar prvi je put objavljen u mojem članku iz 2002. godine.³¹ U grobu su bila dva istovremeno ukopana pokojnika: žena s malim djetetom u naručju. Dijete je bilo položeno na lijevoj strani ženina prsnog koša. Grob je sadržavao tri para srebrnih karičica, srebrni limeni prsten s ovalnim proširenjem, ogrlicu od srebrnih metalnih jagodica i staklenih perlica i željezni nožić. U prvoj objavi navela sam i sve dotad poznate analogije za predmete otkrivene u grobu:

„Grob 11 s Jojinih kuća, pak, kao cjelina, s tri para karičica, ogrlicom i prstenom najbolje se može povezati s grobom 112 u Grborezima. S tim ga grobom još uže vezuju identične srebrne karičice s graviranim nizom rombova, srebrne karičice s kvačicom i prema van izvijenom petljom, te srebrne tiještene jagodice u ogrlici, a također i željezni nožić. Karičica s graviranim nizom rombova i ogrlica sa staklenim i metalnim jagodicama vezuju grob 11 i uz Bračića podvornice u Biskupiji, gdje se identičan nakit pojavljuje u dva različita groba. Interesantna je činjenica da su karičice s graviranim rombovima otkrivene u grobu 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu, koji se pak vezuje uz skupinu nalaza golubičkog tipa, a sadržava i zvjezdolike naušnice, te prsten s križem i golubicama poput primjera iz Škripa i Vrljike.“³²

Ovdje još jednom naglašavam (jer je iznimno važno za temu) da sam prije 17 godina prva pokušala interpretirati i vremenski opredijeliti inventar ninskoga groba 41:

„Grob 41 zanimljiv je, ne samo zbog toga što se zvjezdolikim naušnicama i prstenjem s kršćanskom simbolikom vezuje uz skupinu nalaza tipa Golubić nego i zbog ostalog inventara. Već smo naveli da najveći par srebrnih karičica iz groba 11 na Jojinim kućama u Glavicama, kao i primjerci iz njemu srodnih grobova na Bračića podvornicama i u Grborezima, imaju direktnu analogiju u jednom paru karičica iz groba 41 u Ninu. U tom se grobu također pojavljuju dva srebrna torkvesa, vrsta nakita koju



Sl. 6. Grob 11 (Glavice – Jojine kuće)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 6 Grave 11, Glavice – Jojine kuće
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

Golubić-type finds. It contained star-shaped earrings and a ring with the cross and doves like the specimens from Škrip and Vrljika.³²

Here I would like to reiterate (since it is of great importance for this topic) that I was the first to attempt to interpret and date the inventory of grave 41 from Nin 17 years ago:

“Grave 41 is interesting not only because it is related to the Golubić-type group of finds due to its star-shaped earrings and rings with Christian symbolism, but also on account of the rest of its inventory. We have already mentioned that the largest pair of silver links from grave 11 at Jojine kuće in Glavice, as well as other specimens from the related graves at Bračića podvornice and in Grborezi, are directly analogous to a pair of links from grave 41 in Nin. This grave also contained two silver torques. This type of jewellery was also found in grave 112 in Grborezi, and in grave 53 at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić. Both graves contained necklaces with metal and glass beads like grave 11 at Jojine kuće. The Nin grave also comprised small iron knives, a glass bead, a clay whorl, and a late antique coin, viz. a number of elements specific to the female costume and generally to the inventory of female graves in the earliest, pagan-related old-Croatian skeletal tiered graveyards.”³³

I dated both Glavice graves to the second half of the eighth century, assuming a long-term use of the Golubić-style objects, beyond the year 700:

³⁰ Milošević 1997, str. 119-121.

³¹ Petrinc 2002, str. 211-212; str. 241, T. V.

³² Petrinc 2002, str. 213.

³² Petrinc 2002, p. 213.

³³ Petrinc 2002, p. 214.

ponovno pronalazimo u grobu 112 u Grborezima, kao i u grobu 53 na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću, a oba ta groba sadržavaju ogrlice s metalnim jagodicama i staklenim perlicama poput groba 11 na Jojinim kućama. Ninski grob uz to sadržava željezne nožice, staklenu perlu, glineni pršljen i kasnoantički novac, dakle brojne elemente, koji će biti karakteristični za žensku nošnju i općenito inventar ženskih grobova u sklopu najstarijih, poganski obilježenih starohrvatskih kosturnih grobalja na redove.³³

Oba glavička groba datirala sam u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća, uz pretpostavku o dužem korištenju predmeta stila Golubić koje bi prelazilo godinu 700.:

„Međutim, nalazi iz dvaju ženskih grobova, osobito nakit, koji snažnim oslanjanjem na predmete golubičkog stila ukazuje na preuzimanje elemenata ženske nošnje kasnoantičkog razdoblja, kao i određene analogije na istarskom i sjevernoalbanskom prostoru, dozvoljavaju da se ovi grobovi vremenski opredijele u 8. stoljeće. Takvu dataciju iziskuje i činjenica da su kod Jojinih kuća, ovi grobovi dijelom preslojeni mladim kosturnim grobovima, koji predstavljaju treću fazu ukapanja na tom položaju.“³⁴

„...Ti se grobovi, s velikom vjerojatnošću, mogu datirati u 8. stoljeće, a s obzirom na stratigrafske pokazatelje u Glavicama, tj. odnos starijih i mlađih kosturnih grobova, moguće ih je opredijeliti u razdoblje iza sredine, dakle u drugu polovinu toga stoljeća.“³⁵

U osvrtu na grob 41 iz Nina Milošević potpuno preuzima sve analogije koje sam navela 2002. godine kao da je on prvi koji ih uočava, a moj tekst u tom dijelu rasprave uopće ne citira.³⁶ Zanimljivo je i to da oba groba (grob 41 iz Nina i glavički grob 11) datira u 8. stoljeće, a sloj grobova u kojem se nalazi grob 11 u „veći dio 8. stoljeća“. Za grob 41 zaključuje kako je opći dojam da pripada 7. stoljeću, ali da ga zbog brojnosti nalaza treba datirati u 8. stoljeće jer je moguće da se radi o „obiteljskom blagu“.³⁷

Milošević se pri objašnjenju razvoja glavičkih grobalja u Poljacima približava kako mojim datacijama iz 2002. tako i mojoj interpretaciji nastanka i širenja navedenih grobalja, odnosno moglo bi se reći da u tom smislu potpuno preuzima moje zaključke pa čak i dijelove mojih rečenica, i to ponovo bez navođenja, kao da je riječ o njegovim vlastitim spoznajama koje se u tom obliku prvi put pojavljuju u literaturi.³⁸

“However, the finds from the two female graves, particularly the jewellery, are strongly related to Golubić-style objects, revealing borrowed elements from late antique female costumes, as well as certain analogies in Istria and north Albania. Therefore, they allow for the dating of these graves to the eighth century. This dating is also corroborated by the fact that the graves at Jojine kuće were partly overlaid by later skeletal graves, representing the third burial phase at that site.³⁴”

“...These graves can in all likelihood be dated to the eighth century, and with respect to the stratigraphic indicators in Glavice, i.e. the relations between the earlier and later skeletal graves, they can be dated to a period after the mid-century, viz. to its second half.³⁵”

In his comment on grave 41 from Nin, Milošević completely adopted all analogies that I had noted in 2002, as if he had been the first to identify them, whilst altogether failing to quote my text in that part of the discussion.³⁶ It is also interesting that he dated both graves (grave 41 from Nin, and grave 11 from Glavice) to the eighth century, and the layer of graves comprising grave 11 to “a major part of the eighth century”. As to grave 41, he concluded that it was the general impression that it belonged to the seventh century, but should be dated to the eighth century due to the volume of finds, since it was possibly a “family treasure”.³⁷

In his elaboration of the Glavice graveyards in Poljaci, Milošević was closer both to my dating from 2002 and my interpretation of the emergence and expansion of said graveyards. In fact, it could be said that in this sense he completely adopted my conclusions and even parts of my sentences, again with no references, as if the findings were his own, appearing in literature for the first time.³⁸

As I have already pointed out concerning the publication of the graveyards at Gluvine kuće I in Glavice, Milošević was in favour of discontinuity, i.e. he believed there was no link between the earlier and later grave layers and that they were at the same spot only by the merest coincidence. However, since later investigations at other sites had revealed a continuity of burials, he changed his mind, and in order to retain the dating of the allegedly “discontinued” grave 1 with two separate burials at Gluvine

³³ Petrincec 2002, str. 214.

³⁴ Petrincec 2002, str. 215, 223.

³⁵ Petrincec 2002, str. 214-215.

³⁶ Milošević 2008, str. 34-36.

³⁷ Međutim, kad se uzme u obzir da su u grobu bile ukopane dvije pokojnice te da su obje bile opremljene nakitom, taj broj nalaza i nije tako velik, štoviše, manji je od onog uz pojedinačne ukope u Grborezima ili Trilju.

³⁸ Milošević 2008, str. 37-41.

³⁴ Petrincec 2002, pp. 215, 223.

³⁵ Petrincec 2002, pp. 214-215.

³⁶ Milošević 2008, pp. 34-36.

³⁷ However, considering that there were two deceased women interred in the grave, and that both were equipped with jewellery, this number of finds is not that large, but rather smaller than that with single burials in Grborezi or Trilj.

³⁸ Milošević 2008, pp. 37-41.

Kao što sam već naglasila kod objave groblja na Gluvinim kućama I u Glavicama, Milošević se zalagao za diskontinuitet, odnosno smatrao je da nema poveznice između starijega i mlađeg sloja grobova te da su se na istome mjestu našli tek pukim slučajem. No budući da su kasnija istraživanja na ostalim položajima pokazala kontinuitet ukapanja, promijenio je mišljenje, pa kako bi ipak mogao zadržati dataciju navodnog „diskontinuiranoga“ groba 1 s dva različita ukopa na Gluvinim kućama I iz 7. i 8. st. jednostavno ponovno manipulira podacima s istraživanja i prešućuje, odnosno negira postojanje još jednoga groba istog sloja na tom položaju. Grobove mlađeg sloja opredjeljuje ipak nešto ranije nego u prvoj objavi.³⁹

Kad se sve sabere, može se ustvrditi da Milošević 2008. godine dolazi do potpuno istih zaključaka kao i ja godine 2002., iako se njegova rasprava dijelom navodno temelji na kritici mojega teksta. Ono u čemu se ovaj autor i ja navodno bitno razilazimo jest pitanje etničke pripadnosti pokojnika u glavčkim grobovima, na što ću se, premda sam o tome već pisala, ovdje još jednom opširnije osvrnuti, a tiče se golubičkog i ostalih grobnih nalaza sa zlatnim nakitom.

U prvoj objavi grobova na Gluvinim kućama I iz 1997. godine Milošević izričito etnički određuje pokojnike:

„Shodno svim navedenim izravnim i neizravnim kulturnološkim usporedbama i prihvaćanjem dobro utemeljenih datacija dijagnostičkog arheološkog materijala, slično možemo promatrati i nalaze iz groba 1 ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja kod *Gluvinih* kuća u Glavicama. Prihvatimo li, pak, tako predloženo kulturno određenje tih nalaza, dakle s jakim osloncem na kasnoantičku tradiciju, u dobroj smjeri odredili i njihovog mogućeg etničkog nositelja, pri čemu iz svega proizlazi da ovaj glavčki grob u prvoj fazi ukopa pripada drugoj polovici 7., a u drugoj fazi, prvoj polovici 8. stoljeća, odnosno etnički, kasnoantičkom stanovništvu, koje na *Gredi*, uz sjeverni rub Sinjskog polja, brani zadnje ostatke nekada prostrane provincije Dalmacije.“⁴⁰

„Mlađi ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi kod *Gluvinih* kuća ukopani su pokraj ovih pukim slučajem, i ne pokazuju kontinuitet ukopišta, nego možda tek kontinuitet naseljenosti, s obzirom da su vrlo vjerojatno i jedni i drugi bili u blizini naselja. Kako su u ovim mlađim ranosrednjovjekovnim grobovima nađene uglavnom rasporene jednojagodne naušnice, a s obzirom na navedene srodne nalaze iz Dalmacije, kao i s obzirom na nalaz brončane ‘S’ naušnice, predložili smo datiranje te skupine grobova u 11. i 12. stoljeće, tj. u starohrvatsko razdoblje cetinske prošlosti, odnosno u vrijeme kada cijeli prostor današnje Cetinske krajine, kao i najveći dio Dalmacije, već dobro napučuju Hrvati.“⁴¹

kuće I from the seventh and the eighth centuries, he simply again manipulated the investigation information and suppressed, that is, denied the existence of one more grave of the same layer at the site. He still dated the graves of a later layer to a somewhat earlier period than in the first publication.³⁹

All told, it can be stated that in 2008 Milošević came to the conclusions identical to mine from 2002, even though his discussion was in part allegedly based on a critique of my text. Our allegedly significantly differing opinions concern the ethnicity of the deceased persons in the Glavice graves – discussed in more detail below, although I have already written about it – which touches upon the Golubić and other grave finds with gold jewellery.

In his first publication of the graves at Gluvin kuće I from 1997, Milošević explicitly defined the ethnicity of the deceased:

“In accordance with all the above direct and indirect cultural comparisons, and having accepted the well-founded dating of diagnostic archaeological material, the finds from grave 1 in the early mediaeval graveyard at *Gluvin* kuće in Glavice can also be regarded in a similar vein. However, were we to accept such proposed cultural specifications of the finds, i.e. heavily relying on the late antique tradition, we would pretty much determine their ethnic background, and therefore it follows that the first burial phase of this Glavice grave dates to the second half of the seventh century, and its second phase to the first half of the eighth century, whilst ethnically it belongs to the late antique population, defending the last remains of the formerly spacious province of Dalmatia at *Greda*, along the northern border of Sinjsko polje.“⁴⁰

“The later earlier medieval graves at *Gluvin* kuće were made close by mere coincidence, and reveal no continuity of burial, but rather maybe only a continuity of habitation, since both groups were most likely in the vicinity of a settlement. Since mainly odd single-bead earrings were found in these later early mediaeval graves, and given the mentioned related finds from Dalmatia, and with respect to the found bronze ‘S’ earring, we have proposed to date this group of graves to the 11th and 12th century, i.e. to the old Croatian period of the Cetina era, viz. the time when the whole area of modern-day Cetinska krajina, as well as the bulk of Dalmatia, were quite inhabited by the Croats.“⁴¹

Milošević’s text clearly showed that he regarded the jewellery and other items found in early mediaeval graves as a sort of ethnic marker, and that they were direct evidence of the ethnicity of the deceased. He used the ethnic determination of the deceased in the Glavice graves as the foundation for a conclusion on ethnic diversity of today’s Cetins-

³⁹ Milošević 2008, str. 20.

⁴⁰ Milošević 1997, str. 121.

⁴¹ Milošević 1997, str. 121.

³⁹ Milošević 2008, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Milošević 1997, p. 121.

⁴¹ Milošević 1997, p. 121.

Iz Miloševićeva teksta potpuno je jasno kako smatra da su nakit i ostali predmeti pronađeni u ranosrednjovjekovnim grobovima svojevrsni etnički marker, odnosno da oni izravno dokazuju etničku pripadnost pokojnika. Etničko određivanje pokojnika u glavičkim grobovima služi mu kao uporište za zaključak o etničkoj različitosti današnje Cetinske krajine u ranom srednjem vijeku u odnosu na ostala područja koja će ući u sastav Hrvatske Kneževine.⁴²

Iz mojeg pak teksta jasno je da groblja u Glavicama vežem uz razdoblje formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine, uključujući i vjerojatni slavenski element u njima, te ih smatram srodnima svim ostalim istodobnim grobljima na čitavom njezinom teritoriju.⁴³ Također je jasno da ni u jednom slučaju izravno etnički ne opredjeljujem pokojnike iz bilo kojega groba u Glavicama, a pogotovo ne na osnovi u njima pronađenog nakita.

Grobovi iz Nina, Lepura i Golubića u novijoj literaturi

Godine 2008. nalaze iz Nina, Lepura i Golubića usputno je razmatrao N. Jakšić. Ovaj autor iznosi mišljenje da unatoč avaro-slavenskim prodorima u Dalmaciju i dalje tijekom 7. pa čak i 8. st. pod bizantskom kontrolom funkcionira stara prometnica koja je iz Knina vodila prema Zadru. Otišao je i korak dalje ustvrdivši da su pod okriljem utvrda u Nadinu, Aseriji i Varvariji uz navedenu prometnicu u to doba u uporabi i pojedine ranokršćanske crkve. Dodatnu potvrdu navedenoj pretpostavci pronašao je upravo u tri grobna nalaza sa zlatnim nakitom pripisujući ih kršćanskim pokojnicama iz 8. stoljeća bez preciznijeg opredjeljivanja unutar tog stoljeća.⁴⁴

U knjizi objavljenoj 2009. godine ponovo sam se osvrnula na sve dosad spominjane nalaze (grobovi iz Nina, Lepura i Golubića, grobovi 1 i 11 iz Glavica, grob 53 s Maklinova brda u Kašiću, grob odličnice iz Trilja, grob 112 iz Grboreza kod Livna, grob 127 sa Stranča u Vinodolu) (**T. 19, 1-22; T. 18; T. 8; T. 4; T. 7; T. 13; T. 38; T. 9; T. 37**), te zaključila da pripadaju jednom oblikovno, kulturno i vremenski definiranom horizontu. Riječ je o kraju 8. st. i prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća, odnosno razdoblju formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine.⁴⁵ O tome sam pisala još u nekoliko navrata, konstatirajući da

ka krajina in the early Middle Ages compared with other areas which had subsequently become parts of the Croatian Principality.⁴²

Notwithstanding, my text clearly pointed out the affiliation of the Glavice graveyards with the formative period of the Croatian Principality, including the probable Slavic element as their part, and that I deemed them related to all other contemporary graveyards in its whole territory.⁴³ It is also evident that I never attempted to directly determine the ethnicity of the deceased from any grave at Glavice, especially based on the jewellery found therein.

Graves from Nin, Lepuri and Golubić in recent literature

In 2008, the finds from Nin, Lepuri and Golubić were briefly discussed by N. Jakšić. He presented his opinion that the old road from Knin to Zadar had still been in operation under Byzantine control during the seventh and even the eighth century, despite the Avaro-Slavic incursions in Dalmatia. He went even further, arguing that certain early Christian churches had been in use at the time under cover of the fortifications in Nadin, Asseria and Varvaria. He found further confirmation for this assumption in three grave finds with gold jewellery, attributing them to Christian deceased women from the eighth century, but with no precise dating within that century.⁴⁴

In a book published in 2009, I commented on all the mentioned finds yet again (the graves from Nin, Lepuri and Golubić, graves 1 and 11 from Glavice, grave 53 from Maklinovo brdo in Kašić, the grave of a noble woman from Trilj, grave 112 from Grborezi near Livno, grave 127 from Stranče in Vinodol) (**Pl. 19, 1-22; Pl. 18; Pl. 8 Pl.4; Pl. 7; Pl. 13; Pl. 38; Pl. 9; Pl. 37**), and concluded that they belonged to one horizon defined in terms of design, culture and time. This regards the end of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century, i.e. the formative period of the Croatian Principality.⁴⁵ I have written about this on several other occasions, stating that the jewellery finds from female graves (links, earrings, rings, necklaces, torques) belonged to contemporary Byzantine production, and as such were not proof of a direct continuity from the late

⁴² Milošević 1997, str. 121.

⁴³ Petrinc 2002, str. 215.

⁴⁴ Jakšić 2008, str. 104-107.

⁴⁵ Petrinc 2009, str. 313-314.

⁴² Milošević 1997, p. 121.

⁴³ Petrinc 2002, p. 215.

⁴⁴ Jakšić 2008, pp. 104-107.

⁴⁵ Petrinc 2009, pp. 313-314.

nalazi nakita u ženskim grobovima (karičice, naušnice, prstenje, ogrlice, torkvesi) pripadaju suvremenoj bizantskoj produkciji i kao takvi ne svjedoče o izravnom kontinuitetu iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja, a još manje o etničkoj pripadnosti pokojnica koje su ih nosile.⁴⁶

U novije se vrijeme nakita iz Golubića i Nina dotaknuo i F. Curta.⁴⁷ Na navedene Curtine tekstove već sam se usputno osvrnula, ali smatram potrebnim na ovome mjestu još jednom upozoriti na pogreške koje je načinio pri pokušaju vremenskog opredjeljivanja tog nakita.⁴⁸ U knjizi *Neglected Barbarians* kao analogiju zlatnim zvjezdolikim naušnicama iz groba 25 na grčkom lokalitetu Tigani Curta navodi naušnice iz Golubića pozivajući se na objavu u katalogu *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi; Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi* iz 2001. godine.⁴⁹ Uporište za dataciju pronalazi u košarastim naušnicama (!) u golubićkome grobu za koje ističe da su karakteristične za kasno 6. st. i 7. stoljeće u alpskoj regiji i Mađarskoj. Pritom uredno citira stranicu s kataloškim jedinicama koje se odnose na Golubić, ali navodi pogrešnu fotografiju s nalazima iz groba 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu.⁵⁰ U tom se grobu, za razliku od golubićkoga, naime, zaista nalazi par naušnica s košarastim privjeskom. Međutim, u slučaju groba 41 nikako nije riječ o tipičnim košarastim naušnicama koje bi imale datacijsku vrijednost za spomenuti grob.

Zahvaljujući sljedećem tekstu, jasno je da se u prethodnome radilo samo o površnosti, budući da Curta uopće nije mislio na ninske košaraste naušnice iz groba 41, već na košarastu naušnicu koja je na fotografiji u spomenutom katalogu pridružena zlatnom ansamblu nakita iz Golubića.⁵¹

Ista fotografija publicirana je prvi put u katalogu izložbe *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, odakle je i preuzeta u citirani talijanski katalog (sl. 7).⁵² Međutim u hrvatskom je katalogu ona tek popratna ilustracija uz tekst Ž. Rapanića te nema pripadajuće kataloške jedinice. U legendi ispod fotografije jasno je naznačeno da se radi o zlatnom nakitu iz Golubića kod Knina, a ne o ženskom grobu na položaju Stolićeve

antique period, and even less so of ethnicity of the deceased women who had used the artefacts.⁴⁶

More recently, the jewellery from Golubić and Nin was also commented upon by F. Curta.⁴⁷ I have already mentioned said Curta's texts, but I deem it necessary to point out once again the errors he made in his attempt to date the jewellery.⁴⁸ In the book *Neglected Barbarians* he mentioned the Golubić earrings as analogous to the gold star-shaped earrings from grave 25 at the Greek site of Tigani Curta, referring to the information from the 2001 catalogue *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi; Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi*.⁴⁹ He found the grounds for the dating in basket-shaped earrings (!) from the Golubić grave, which he denoted as characteristic for the late sixth and the seventh centuries in the Alpine region and Hungary. In so doing, he duly quoted the page with catalogue entries related to Golubić, but referenced a wrong photograph of the finds from grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin.⁵⁰ Namely, this grave, as opposed to the Golubić one, really did contain a pair of earrings with basket-shaped pendant. However, in the case of grave 41, these are not the typical basket-shaped earrings with dating validity for the grave.

Thanks to the next text, it is clear that the previous one comprised some cursory elements, since Curta did not mean to reference the Nin basket-shaped earrings from grave 41 at all, but rather the basket-shaped earring as photographed in said catalogue and associated with the gold jewellery assemblage from Golubić.⁵¹

The same photograph had been first published in the catalogue of the *Hrvati i Karolinzi* exhibition, and later reused in the mentioned Italian catalogue (Fig. 7).⁵² However, in the Croatian catalogue it is but an illustration in Ž. Rapanić's text, with no appurtenant catalogue entry. In the caption of the photograph it was clearly indicated that it showed the gold jewellery from Golubić near Knin, rather than the female grave at the Stolićeva njiva site.⁵³ Namely, the gold basket-shaped earring in the upper left-hand corner is from Golubić indeed, but

⁴⁶ Petrinc 2010, Petrinc 2015, str. 109-114.

⁴⁷ Curta 2010; Curta 2011.

⁴⁸ Petrinc 2015, str. 126-127.

⁴⁹ Curta 2011, str. 440, bilj. 124.

⁵⁰ Curta 2011, str. 440 bilj. 124.

⁵¹ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, sl. na str. 270 (u lijevom gornjem kutu).

⁵² Rapanić 2000, sl. na str. 61.

⁴⁶ Petrinc 2010, Petrinc 2015, pp. 109–114.

⁴⁷ Curta 2010; Curta 2011.

⁴⁸ Petrinc 2015, pp. 126–127.

⁴⁹ Curta 2011, p. 440, fn. 124.

⁵⁰ Curta 2011, p. 440, fn. 124.

⁵¹ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, Fig. on p. 270 (in the upper left-hand corner).

⁵² Rapanić 2000, Fig. on p. 61.

⁵³ Rapanić 2000, p. 61 (the caption under the figure)

njive.⁵³ Naime, zlatna košarasta naušnica u gornjem lijevom kutu fotografije jest iz Golubića, ali ne i iz spomenutoga groba. U talijanskom katalogu naušnica je kataloški obrađena ispod nalaza iz groba sa Stolića njive, ali također nigdje ne piše da je riječ o istoj grobnoj cjelini, nego samo o grobnim priložima (*corredi funerari*),⁵⁴ za razliku od slučaja ninskoga groba (*tomba 41*).⁵⁵ No unatoč tome što prisutnost košaraste naušnice na fotografiji može djelovati zbunjujuće, treba podsjetiti da je nalaz iz groba na Stolića njivi u Golubiću u hrvatskoj arheološkoj literaturi kao i u raznim popularnim edicijama objavljen nebrojeno puta prije pojave u spomenutim katalozima, ali nikad i nigdje s košarastom naušnicom kao dijelom te grobne cjeline. Košarastu naušnicu Curta određuje kao *tip Allach* i datira u kasno 6. i ili rano 7. st. dok za zvjezdolike naušnice predlaže dataciju u posljednju četvrtinu 6. stoljeća ili malo prije godine 600.⁵⁶

Zanimljivo je da je potpuno ista fotografija s košarastom naušnicom objavljena i u najnovijem katalogu izložbe *Istočni Jadran i Bizant*, koji potpisuju A. Milošević i N. Uroda.⁵⁷ U kataloškoj obradi predmeta ovdje su svi dosad spominjani nalazi (Golubić, Lepuri, grobovi iz Glavica, Trilj) datirani u prijelaz 8. i 9. stoljeća.⁵⁸ Grob 1 s položaja Gluvinih kuća u Glavicama kod kojeg se u dva prethodno citirana Miloševićeva teksta inzistira na dva različita ukopa (jedan iz druge polovine 7. i jedan iz prve polovine 8 st.) ovdje je objavljen kao jedan ukop i također opredijeljen u prijelaz 8. i 9. stoljeća.⁵⁹ Budući da katalog ne sadržava ozbiljniji popratni tekst, potpuno je izostalo objašnjenje za novu interpretaciju groba kao cjeline, također i za novo predloženo vremensko opredjeljivanje. Uz kataloške jedinice uopće nije navedena literatura, kao da se predmeti ovdje prvi put objavljuju, a katalog nije popraćen ni nekim općim popisom korištene literature.⁶⁰

⁵³ Rapanić 2000, str. 61 (legenda ispod slike).

⁵⁴ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, str. 283, kat. br. II. 8.

⁵⁵ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, str. 284, kat. br. II. 12.

⁵⁶ Curta 2010, str. 30, bilj. 79.

⁵⁷ Milošević, Uroda 2018, str. 56, kat. br. 47.

⁵⁸ Milošević, Uroda 2018, str. 60, kat. br. 49.1-5; str. 69, kat. br. 63, str. 71, kat. br. 63.1-8; str. 81, kat. br. 77.2.1-8.

⁵⁹ Milošević, Uroda 2018, str. 69, kat. br. 63. Tu su u 8./9. st. opredijeljeni i glavički grobovi koji pripadaju mlađem sloju ukapanja, napose grob 23 na položaju Jojinih kuća (vidi: Milošević, Uroda 2018, str. 70, kat. br. 63. 12-17).

⁶⁰ Milošević, Uroda 2018.



Sl. 7. Fotografija nakita iz Golubića sa zlatnom košarastom naušnicom iz kataloga *Hrvati i Karolinzi* (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 7 Photograph of the Golubić jewellery with a gold basket-shaped earring from the "Hrvati i Karolinzi" catalogue (photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

not from said grave. In the Italian catalogue, the earring was catalogued as part of the find from the Stolića njiva grave, albeit with no mention whatsoever of one and the same grave unit, but rather of grave goods (*corredi funerari*),⁵⁴ unlike in the case of the Nin grave (*tomba 41*).⁵⁵ Yet, despite the fact that the presence of the basket-shaped earring in the photograph may be confusing, one should remember that the grave find from Stolića njiva in Golubić had been published a number of times in Croatian archaeological literature and other popular editions prior to the publication in the mentioned catalogues, but never and nowhere with the basket-shaped earring as part of this grave unit. Curta classified the basket-shaped earring as the *Allach* type and dated it to the late sixth or the early seventh century. As

⁵⁴ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, p. 283, Cat. No II. 8.

⁵⁵ Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001, p. 284, Cat. No II. 12.

Novi podaci o nalazima iz groba u Golubiću i o položaju s kojeg potječu

U uvodnom dijelu ukazala sam na prvu Karamanovu objavu nakitnog ansambla iz Golubića popraćenu fotografijom bez prstena i bez rasprave o istom.⁶¹ Također sam ukazala i na objavu Z. Vinskog iz 1955. godine u kojoj je golubićkom nalazu pridodan zlatni prsten koji se i danas smatra dijelom ove cjeline.⁶²

Međutim, u Arhivu Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika čuvaju se tri fotografije golubićkog nalaza iz razdoblja dok je još bio izložen u starim stalnim postavima u Kninu. O vremenu njihova nastanka na žalost nema podataka, ali se može pretpostaviti da su snimljene između 1932. godine (kada je grob otkriven) i početka Drugog svjetskog rata. Na jednoj od fotografija, kao i kod prve Karamanove objave iz 1940. godine, prsten nedostaje (sl. 8).

Ali pojavljuje se na drugim dvjema fotografijama (sl. 9 i sl. 10) i već na prvi pogled jasno je da nije riječ o prstenu koji donosi Z. Vinski. Te dvije fotografije nisu nastale u isto vrijeme, što je vidljivo iz različitog rasporeda predmeta na njima kao i iz različitih podloga na kojima su snimljeni. U oba slučaja riječ je o istom prstenu, koji se danas, na žalost, više ne nalazi među predmetima u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika i vjerojatno je bio izgubljen još prije Drugog svjetskog rata, o čemu najbolje svjedoči četvrta fotografija, ona koju je Lj. Karaman objavio 1940. godine.⁶³

Djeluje gotovo nevjerojatno da su fotografije o kojima je riječ ostale nezapažene punih osam desetljeća, ali tome su, osim nesređenog muzejskog arhiva, pridonijele i neke druge okolnosti. Kao prvo, sam nalaz potječe iz 1932. godine, iz vremena kada je L. Marun, u političkim okolnostima nastalim nakon uvođenja šestosiječanjske diktature jugoslavenskog kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića, bio izbačen iz Muzeja. Tada je već ugašena i druga serija *Starohrvatske prosvjete*, pa sam nalaz, bez obzira na njegovo značenje, nije bio odmah publiciran. To je ujedno i razdoblje u kojem Marun više ne vodi *Starinarski dnevnik*.⁶⁴ Otkriće pada u vrijeme neposredno prije imenovanja Stjepana Gunjače kustosom muzeja 1933. godine. Karamanova poznata sinteza *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* tiskana je

to the star-shaped earrings, he proposed their dating to the last quarter of the sixth century or a period shortly before the year 600.⁵⁶

Interestingly, the exact same photograph of the basket-shaped earring was also published in the latest catalogue of the *Istočni Jadran i Bizant [The Eastern Adriatic and Byzantium]* exhibition by A. Milošević and N. Uroda.⁵⁷ All the mentioned finds (Golubić, Lepuri, the graves from Glavice, Trilj) were dated to the turn from the eighth to the ninth century under its catalogued items.⁵⁸ Grave 1 from Gluvine kuće in Glavice, for which Milošević, in his two above quoted texts, insisted on two different burials (one from the second half of the seventh century and another from the first half of the eighth century) was depicted there as a single burial and also dated to the turn from the eighth to the ninth century.⁵⁹ Since the catalogue lacked a more comprehensive accompanying text, an elaboration of the new interpretation concerning the grave unit and the new proposed dating was conspicuously missing. No bibliography whatsoever was listed for the catalogue entries, as if the items had been published for the first time, and the catalogue also contained no general list of used literature.⁶⁰

New information on the finds from the Golubić grave and the site of their origin

In the introductory part I pointed out the first publication on the jewellery assemblage from Golubić by Karaman, accompanied by a photograph with no ring and without any discussion about it.⁶¹ I also mentioned Z. Vinski's 1955 publication, in which the Golubić find was augmented with the gold ring, still regarded as its part.⁶²

However, three photographs of the Golubić find from the time when it was still on permanent exhibition in Knin are kept in the Archives of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. Un-

⁶¹ Karaman 1940, str. 19, sl. 18; str. 22.

⁶² Vinski 1955, str. 233–236, sl. 6.

⁶³ Karaman 1940, str. 19, sl. 18.

⁶⁴ Marun 1998.

⁵⁶ Curta 2010, p. 30, fn. 79.

⁵⁷ Milošević, Uroda 2018, p. 56, Cat. No 47.

⁵⁸ Milošević, Uroda 2018, p. 60, Cat. Nos 49.1–5; p. 69, Cat. No 63, p. 71, Cat. Nos 63.1–8; p. 81, Cat. Nos 77.2.1.–8.

⁵⁹ Milošević, Uroda 2018, p. 69, Cat. No 63. The Glavice graves, belonging to a later burial layer, particularly grave 23 at Jojine kuće (cf. Milošević, Uroda 2018, p. 70, Cat. Nos 63. 12–17) were also dated to the eighth/ninth century therein.

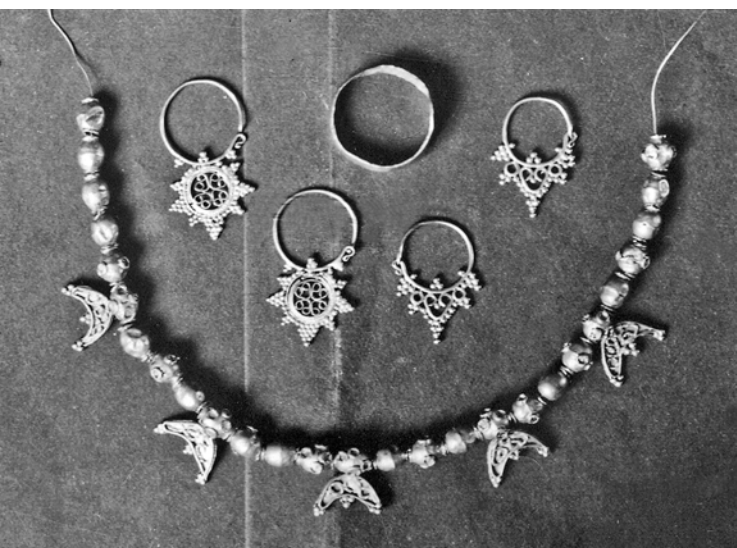
⁶⁰ Milošević, Uroda 2018.

⁶¹ Karaman 1940, p. 19, Fig. 18; p. 22.

⁶² Vinski 1955, pp. 233–236, Fig. 6.



Sl. 8. Nakit iz Golubića
(arhiv Muzeja hrv. arheoloških spomenika)
Fig. 8 Jewellery from Golubić (MHAS archive)



Sl. 9. Nakit iz Golubića
(arhiv Muzeja hrv. arheoloških spomenika)
Fig. 9 Jewellery from Golubić (MHAS archive)



Sl. 10. Nakit iz Golubića
(arhiv Muzeja hrv. arheoloških spomenika)
Fig. 10 Jewellery from Golubić (MHAS archive)

fortunately, we have no information on the time of their making, but it can be assumed they were taken between 1932 (when the grave was discovered) and the beginning of the Second World War. The ring is missing in one of the photographs, like in the first Karaman's 1940 publication (Fig. 8).

Yet, it is shown in two other photographs (Fig. 9, Fig. 10), and it is clear straight away that it is not the ring as discussed by Z. Vinski. The two photographs were not taken at the same time, as can be seen in different layouts of items depicted, as well as different backgrounds they were laid on. In both cases the ring is the same, but unfortunately it is no longer among the items in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, since it was most likely lost even before the Second World War, as best illustrated in the fourth photograph, the one Lj. Karaman published in 1940.⁶³

It seems almost incredible that the photographs would go unnoticed for full eight decades, which was due to unkempt museum's archives, as well as some other circumstances. First of all, the find is from 1932, the time when L. Marun was expelled from the Museum under political circumstances following the proclamation of the dictatorship of January 6 by the Yugoslav King Aleksandar Karađorđević. This is when the second series of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* was extinguished, and therefore the find was not published instantly, regardless of its significance. This was also the period when Marun no longer kept *Starinarski dnevnik*.⁶⁴ The discovery was made on the very eve of Stjepan Gunjača's appointment as the museum curator in 1933. Karaman's renowned synthesis *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* [From the Cradle of the Croatian Past] was printed in 1930, i.e. two years before the discovery at Stolićeva njiva.⁶⁵ Thus the Golubić jewellery was published for the first time as late as in Karaman's 1940 article.

The question of the ring's provenance, which Vinski added to the Golubić find in 1957, remains open. Marun's diary contains no mention of a found gold ring originating from Golubić.⁶⁶ In fact, the in-

⁶³ Karaman 1940, p. 19, Fig. 18.

⁶⁴ Marun 1998.

⁶⁵ Karaman 1930.

⁶⁶ During the 1957 surveying, Gunjača mentioned the field of Lučica at the Bašće site, owned by Nikola Jerković near the hamlet of Jerkovići, where graves had been found in 1950 and opened with no archaeologists' supervision. Allegedly, they contained no artefacts. Notwithstanding, Gunjača stated it was well

1930., dakle dvije godine prije nalaza na Stolića njivi.⁶⁵ Tako je golubički nakit prvi put objavljen tek u Karamanovu članku iz 1940. godine.

Ostaje otvoreno pitanje provenijencije prstena koji je 1957. godine Vinski pridodao golubićkom nalazu. U Marunovu dnevniku nigdje se ne spominje pronalazak zlatnog prstena koji bi potjecao iz Golubića.⁶⁶ Nepotpuni zlatni prsten debelog koluta koji je Vinski pridodao golubićkom nakitu zapravo se ne može ni vremenski opredijeliti u kasnoantičko ili ranosrednjovjekovno razdoblje. Riječ je najvjerojatnije o prstenu iz rimskog razdoblja, najkasnije iz 3. stoljeća.⁶⁷ Prsten sa Stolića njive na dvjema fotografijama iz arhiva Muzeja pripada sasvim drugome tipu. Iako ni na jednoj nije u potpunosti vidljiv, može se zaključiti da je načinjen od zlatnog raskovanog lima s laganim prednjim proširenjem, čime se približava tipu prstenja iz Lepura, Nina i ostalih srodnih nalaza iz ranosrednjovjekovnih ženskih grobova.

Što se tiče košaraste naušnice (tip *Allach*), ona se vjerojatno može povezati s jednim od dvaju zapisa iz Marunovih dnevnika. U zapisu iz 1892. stoji da je Marun kupio jednu zlatnu naušnicu pronađenu na gradini u Golubiću. Godine 1927., pak, otkupio je malu zlatnu naušnicu koju je Vasilije Borović pronašao na svojoj oranici zvanoj „Zlata“ u Golubiću.⁶⁸

Prigodom rekognosciranja na području sela Golubić 2010. godine A. Jurčević i ja utvrdili smo položaj groba na njivi Ilije Stolića na koju nas je odveo jedan stariji mještatinin (sl. 11). On se sjećao pronalaska, čak je izrijeком spomenuo zlatnu ogrlicu koja se nalazi u Muzeju u Splitu.

⁶⁵ Karaman 1930.

⁶⁶ Prilikom rekognosciranja 1957. Gunjača pak navodi polje Lučica na položaju Bašće u vlasništvu Nikole Jerkovića kod zaselka Jerkovići, gdje su 1950. godine bili pronađeni grobovi koji su otvarani bez arheološkog nadzora i koji su navodno bili bez nalaza. Međutim Gunjača navodi kako je poznato da je Nikolin otac prije Drugog svjetskog rata ondje pronašao par naušnica i prsten te ih prodao Marunu. Kako podatak potječe iz istog Gunjačinog izvještaja kao i onaj o nalazu na Stolića njivama, jasno je da se radi o posve drugom položaju i ne može se odnositi na zlatni nakit o kojem je ovdje riječ (usp. Gunjača 1960, str. 276). U Marunovu dnevniku spominje se 9. lipnja 1899. godine samo Simo Jerković iz Golubića, od kojeg je Marun otkupio polomljenu fibulu (Marun 1998, str. 102).

⁶⁷ Vjerojatno je riječ o *intaglio* prstenu u koji je bila uložena gema od jaspisa ili karneola. Usp. Spier 2012, str. 52.

⁶⁸ Marun 1998, str. 286



Sl. 11. Stolića njiva u Golubiću (foto: A. Jurčević)

*Fig. 11 Stolića njiva in Golubić
(photograph: A. Jurčević)*

complete gold ring with thick band that Vinski appended to the Golubić jewellery cannot be dated to the late antique or early mediaeval period. This ring is most likely from the Roman era, made no later than in the third century.⁶⁷ The ring from Stolića njiva from two photographs in the Museum's archive is of a completely different type. Although it is not completely visible in either of them, it can be concluded that it was made of gold hammered sheet with slight front widening, which makes it close to the type of the rings from Lepur, Nin and other related finds from early mediaeval female graves.

With respect to the basket-shaped earring (the *Allach* type), it can probably be connected to one of the two entries from Marun's diaries. An entry from 1892 states that Marun purchased a gold earring found at a hill-fort in Golubić. In 1927, he bought a small gold earring which Vasilije Borović had found in his field called "Zlata" in Golubić.⁶⁸

known that Nikola's father had found a pair of earrings there before WWII and sold it to Marun. Since this piece of information originates from the same report by Gunjača as the one concerning the find at Stolića njive, it clearly refers to an altogether different site and cannot regard the gold jewellery discussed herein (cf. Gunjača 1960, p. 276). Marun's diary entry for 9 June 1899 mentioned only Simo Jerković from Golubić, from whom Marun had purchased a broken fibula (Marun 1998, p. 102).

⁶⁷ It was probably an *intaglio* ring with an inserted jasper or carneole gem. Cf. Spier 2012, p. 52.

⁶⁸ Marun 1998, p. 286

Na kraju treba ustvrditi da ni rimski prsten ni naušnica tipa *Allach* nisu dio grobnog nalaza na Stolića njivi iz 1932. godine, već potječu s drugih položaja u istom selu, koje obiluje kako rimskim tako i srednjovjekovnim lokalitetima. U Golubiću, na žalost, nikada nisu provedena sustavna arheološka iskopavanja ni na jednom položaju.

Vremensko i kulturno opredjeljivanje
nalaza iz Golubića

a) Analogije

Naušnice

Za prvi par naušnica iz Golubića (T. 8, 1-2) ne može se pronaći izravna analogija. Najbliže paralele pronalazim u dva para zlatnih naušnica iz groba 41 u Ninu (Sv. Asel) s kružnim ukrasom u dnu karike na koji su aplicirani zrnati trokutići (T. 19, 14-15). Međutim, oba para iz groba 41 (T. 19, 1-2, 14-15), za razliku od golubićkih naušnica, nemaju središnju ispunu u obliku srcolikih vitica. Također, još jednom naglašavam da su naušnice iz groba 41 znatno lošije izrade od golubićkih.

Kod drugog para golubićkih naušnica (T. 8, 3-4) glavni ukras u dnu karike tvori upravo srcolika vitica. Ni ove naušnice nemaju izravnih analogija. Najsrodnije su im dvije potpuno istovjetne naušnice (jedna iz Smrdelja, a druga s nepoznatog nalazišta koja se čuva u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika), kojima su u dnu karike aplicirane po dvije srcolike vitice (T. 41, 1-2).⁶⁹

Istom tipu pripadaju i nešto jednostavnije izvedene zlatne naušnice s jednom srcolikom viticom iz Solina (T. 41, 4), s gradine Mali Kablič kod Livna (T. 41, 3) i četiri naušnice s nepoznatih nalazišta iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (T. 41, 5-6; T. 42, 1-2) kao i srebrna naušnica iz groba 15 u Dubravicama kod Skradina (T. 2, 9).

Kao dalje paralele, a zbog opće srodnosti s golubićkim i njima sličnim naušnicama, mogu se navesti par luksuznih zlatnih naušnica iz jednog davnog otkrivenoga groba na položaju oranice Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji kod Knina (sl. 12; T. 2, 1-2), obje zlatne lunulasto-zvezdolikie naušnice iz groba 223 u Lepurima (T. 18, 2-3) te lunulasta naušnica s ukrasom u obliku znatih trokutića iz groba 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu (T. 19, 13).

⁶⁹ Budući da naušnica potječe iz Marunove ostavštine u Arheološkome muzeju Splitu, moguće je i da ove dvije naušnice pripadaju istom paru, s obzirom na to da su posve jednake.

During the 2010 surveying in the village of Golubić, A. Jurčević and I determined the position of the grave in Ilija Stolić's field, which we located with a little help from an elderly villager (Fig. 11). He remembered the discovery, and even expressly mentioned the gold necklace kept in the Museum in Split.

Finally, it should be stated that neither the Roman ring nor the *Allach* type earring are parts of the 1932 grave find from Stolića njiva, but rather originate from other locations in the same village, rich in both Roman and mediaeval sites. Unfortunately, there have been no systematic archaeological excavations at any site in Golubić.

Dating and cultural provenance
of the Golubić find

a) Analogies

Earrings

No direct analogies can be found for the first pair of earrings from Golubić (Pl. 8, 1-2). I can trace the closest parallels in two pairs of earrings from grave 41 in Nin (St. Asel) with circular decoration on the lower part of the link with applied granular small triangles (Pl. 19, 14-15). However, both pairs from grave 41 (Pl. 19, 1-2; 14-15), in contrast to the Golubić earrings, have no central filling in the form of heart-shaped tendrils. In addition, I would like to reiterate that the workmanship of grave 41 earrings is rather inferior to that of Golubić specimens.

The very heart-shaped tendril is the main decoration on the bottom part of the links of the other pair of Golubić earrings (Pl. 8, 3-4). There are no direct analogies for these earrings either. They are most closely related to two completely identical earrings (one from Smrdelji, and the other from an unknown site, kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments), with two heart-shaped tendrils applied on the bottom of each of their links (Pl. 41, 1-2).⁶⁹

The gold earrings of a simpler design with one heart-shaped tendril from Solin (Pl. 41, 1), the pair from the Mali Kablič hill-fort near Livno (Pl. 41, 3), and three earrings from unknown sites, kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (Pl. 41, 5-6; Pl. 42, 1-2), as well as the silver

⁶⁹ Since the earring originates from Marun's estate in the Archaeological Museum in Split, it is possible that these two earrings belong to the same pair, given that they are completely identical.



Sl. 12. Par naušnica iz zidane grobnice otkrivene na položaju oranice Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 12 Pair of earrings from a walled tomb discovered in Aćim Popović's field in Biskupija (photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

S golubićkim naušnicama usporedive su i lošije lijevane imitacije naušnica u obliku zrnatih trokutića – zlatna iz Visočana (T. 42, 3) te srebrna iz groba 2 na nalazištu Nin-Banovac (T. 20, 5), iz groba 1 na Gluvinim kućama I u Glavicama kod Sinja (T. 4, 3-4) i iz groba 227 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu (T. 28, 2-3).

Zbog granuliranih ili pseudogranuliranih trokutića s objiju strana središnjeg ukrasa navodim još tri zlatne naušnice iz groba 112 u Grborezima (T. 9, 12-14) i par srebrnih naušnica iz groba 48 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu (T. 21, 4-5), iako pripadaju grozdolikom tipu.

Premda su zvjezdolike naušnice omiljen tip nakita tijekom ranoga srednjeg vijeka (od 6. do 10. stoljeća) te široko rasprostranjene i brojno zastupane u srednjoj i istočnoj Europi i na istočnom Mediteranu, naušnicama iz Golubića i njima srodnim primjercima veoma je teško pronaći prave paralele izvan užeg prostora na kojem će se oformiti Hrvatska Kneževina.⁷⁰

Osim luksuznih primjeraka izrađenih tiještenjem ili u tehnici filigrana i granulacije već od kraja 7. stoljeća među zvjezdolikim naušnicama pojavljuju se i jednostavnije inačice izrađene lijevanjem u dvodijelnom kalupu, no riječ je o naušnicama koje

earring from grave 15 in Dubravice near Skradin, are all of the same type (Pl. 2, 9).

As more remote parallels, and due to general similarities to the Golubić and other related earrings, we can mention a pair of luxurious gold earrings from a long ago discovered grave in Aćim Popović's field in Biskupija near Knin (Fig. 12; Pl. 2, 1-2), both gold lunular star-shaped earrings from grave 223 in Lepuri (Pl. 18, 2-3), and the lunular earring with decoration in the form of granular small triangles from grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin (Pl. 19, 13).

The inferior cast imitations of earrings in the shape of granular small triangles are comparable to the Golubić earrings – the gold one from Visočane (Pl. 42, 3), and the silver ones from grave 2 at the Nin-Banovac site (Pl. 20, 5), from grave 1 at Gluvine kuće I in Glavice near Sinj (Pl. 4, 3-4), and from grave 227 at Ždrijac in Nin (Pl. 28, 2-3).

Because of granulated or pseudo-granulated small triangles on both sides of the central decoration, I would like to mention another three gold earrings from grave 112 in Grborezi (Pl. 9, 12-14), and the pair of silver earrings from grave 48 at Ždrijac in Nin (Pl. 21, 4-5), though they are of the grape-shaped type.

Although the star-shaped earrings were a favourite type of jewellery during the early Middle Ages (from the sixth to the tenth century) and widespread as well as numerous in Central and Eastern Europe and in the eastern Mediterranean, it is very difficult to find genuine parallels to the Golubić earrings and their related specimens beyond the Croatian Principality proper.⁷⁰

In addition to the luxurious specimens made by pressing or in the form of filigree work and granulation, as early as in the late seventh century there also appeared simpler specimens among the star-shaped earrings, made by casting in two-piece moulds. Notwithstanding, these earrings are not true parallels to the Golubić ones.⁷¹ Therefore, I will focus here only on luxurious gold specimens which have already been regarded as the closest parallels to the Golubić earrings, and often deemed as relevant for the dating of our finds.

Among the luxurious gold specimens of star-shaped earrings from the eastern Mediterranean, we can mention several pairs and single finds from

⁷⁰ Opširnije vidi: Petrinc 2009, str. 134-138, 144-147.

⁷⁰ For more details cf. Petrinc 2009, pp. 134-138, 144-147.

⁷¹ Petrinc 2009, p. 145.



Sl. 13. Naušnica iz bizantske zbirke muzeja Dumbarton Oaks u Washingtonu (preuzeto iz Ross 1965, str. 10, kat. br. 6G)

Fig. 13 Earring from the Byzantine collection of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington (taken from: Ross 1965, p. 10, Cat. No 6G)

ne predstavljaju prave paralele golubičkima.⁷¹ Stoga ću se ovdje ograničiti samo na luksuzne zlatne primjerke koji su i ranije smatrani najbližim paralelama za golubičke naušnice, a često i relevantnima za dataciju naših nalaza.

Među luksuznim zlatnim primjercima zvjezdolikih naušnica na prostoru istočnog Mediterana može se navesti nekoliko parova i pojedinačnih nalaza koji potječu iz kolekcija bizantskog nakita, a čuvaju se u New Yorku (*Brooklyn Museum*) i u bizantskoj zbirci muzeja *Dumbarton Oaks* u Washingtonu (sl. 13). Potječu iz Sirije, Egipta i s nepoznatih nalazišta.⁷² Treba odmah napomenuti da su te naušnice nešto većih dimenzija od hrvatskih primjeraka (visina naušnice sa zvjezdolikim ukrasom u dnu karike kreće se u rasponu od 3,8 do 5,1 cm, dok su naše naušnice od 2,2 do 3,2 cm) i da imaju drugačiji način pričvršćivanja.

Za istočnomediterranske naušnice kronološki je relevantan nalaz ostave zlatnog nakita iz Sirije gdje uz dvije ogrlice s privjescima (križić-privjesak, amuletne kapsule i dr.), pojasnu kopču i dva prstena pronalazimo i jednu zlatnu zvjezdoliku naušnicu. Ostava sadržava i dva zlatna solida cara Heraklija (610–641.) kovana u Konstantinopolu između 613. i 630. godine, što čitav nalaz okvirno datira u prvu polovinu 7. stoljeća.⁷³ I drugi predmeti iz ostave imaju analogije među nalazima 7. stoljeća s područja Egipta, Cipra, južne Rusije i langobardske Italije. Zvjezdolika naušnica iz sirijske ostave zatvarala se uticanjem karike u valjkastu cjevčicu nataknutu

Byzantine jewellery collections, kept in New York (the *Brooklyn Museum*) and in the Byzantine collection of *Dumbarton Oaks* in Washington (Fig. 13). They originate from Syria, Egypt and various unknown sites.⁷² It should first be noted that these earrings are somewhat larger than their Croatian counterparts (the earrings with star-shaped decoration on the bottom of the link is 3.8 to 5.1 cm high, whereas ours measure 2.2 to 3.2 cm), and that they have a different fastening mechanism.

For the east-Mediterranean earrings, of chronological relevance is a gold jewellery hoard found in Syria, i.e. two necklaces with pendants (cross pendants, amulet capsules, etc.), a belt buckle, and two rings, as well as one gold star-shaped earring. The hoard also comprises two gold solidi of Emperor Heraclius (610–641.), minted in Constantinople between 613 and 630, which generally dates the whole find to the first half of the seventh century.⁷³ There are also analogies for other items from the hoard in finds from the seventh century from Egypt, Cyprus, southern Russia and Langobardic Italy. The star-shaped earring from the Syrian hoard has the fastening mechanism whereby its link is inserted into a small cylindrical tube affixed on the link close to the central decoration. No Croatian earring has this fastening mechanism, but clasp and loop instead. The luxurious examples regularly have a loop with S-shaped end, but also a common eyelet loop.

Another find very close to those from the Syrian hoard is the female jewellery from Halič (Hungarian: Gács) in Slovakia (Fig. 14).⁷⁴ This primarily regards a pair of gold earrings with star-shaped decoration. Their dimensions are almost identical to those from the Syrian hoard (earring height of around 4 cm, including the link bottom decoration), and the Halič find also comprises a similar necklace. They differ in the sense that the small cylindrical tube is but a decorative element, and the earrings are fastened by clasp and loop. In the first detailed publication in 1980, É. Garam proposed their dating to the late seventh century, believing that the Halič jewellery should be connected to the Avar settlement in central Slovakia during the Middle Avar Period.⁷⁵ However, in 1993 she changed her mind and interpreted the find as a Byzantine product from the sixth century.⁷⁶

⁷² Cf. Ross 1965, p. 10, Cat. No 6G; p. 55, Cat. No 85.

⁷³ Ross 1965, pp. 10–12.

⁷⁴ Garam 1993, p. 65, Cat. No 26; p. 155, Pl. 30.

⁷⁵ Garam 1980, pp. 169–172.

⁷⁶ Garam 1993, p. 65.

⁷¹ Petrinc 2009, str. 145.

⁷² Vidi: Ross 1965, str. 10, kat. br. 6G; str. 55, kat. br. 85.

⁷³ Ross 1965, str. 10–12.

na kariku u blizini središnjeg ukrasa. Ovaj način pričvršćivanja ne nalazimo ni na jednoj hrvatskoj naušnici, već se one sve zatvaraju pomoću kvačice i petlje. Na luksuznijim primjercima to je redovito petlja sa S-završetkom, ali pojavljuje se i obična petlja u obliku ušice.

Veoma blizak nalazima iz sirijske ostave je i nalaz ženskog nakita iz Haliča (mađ. Gács) u Slovačkoj (sl. 14).⁷⁴ To se u prvom redu odnosi na par zlatnih naušnica sa zvjezdolikim ukrasom. One su i dimenzijama (visina naušnice uključujući i ukras u dnu karike je oko 4 cm) gotovo istovjetne onoj iz sirijske ostave, a halički nalaz sadržava i srodnu ogrlicu. Razlikuju se po tome što je valjkasta cjevčica u ovom slučaju tek dekorativni element, a naušnice se pričvršćuju pomoću petlje i kvačice. Pri prvoj detaljnijoj objavi 1980. godine É. Garam predložila je dataciju u kraj 7. stoljeća, držeći da nakit iz Haliča treba dovesti u vezu s avarskim naseljavanjem u središnjoj Slovačkoj tijekom srednjoavarskog razdoblja.⁷⁵ Međutim, ista autorica 1993. godine mijenja mišljenje i nalaz interpretira kao bizantski proizvod 6. stoljeća.⁷⁶

Nekoliko zlatnih zvjezdolikih naušnica potječe sa Sicilije; i one su znatno većih dimenzija (promjer karike im je između 4,3 i 5,6 cm) pa su s obzirom na masivnost još manje srodne golubićkim i drugim hrvatskim naušnicama. Riječ je o dvjema zlatnim naušnicama iz Taormine (sl. 15) i jednoj iz Naksas (Náksos).⁷⁷ U literaturi se najčešće navodi naušnica s poluotoka Magnisi (antički *Tapsos*), ali ona nije zlatna, već je načinjena od srebra. Ta naušnica pronađena je zajedno s novcem Tiberija II. Konstantina (578. – 582.), što ju vremenski opredjeljuje u kraj 6. stoljeća.⁷⁸

Dva para luksuznih zvjezdolikih naušnica s područja su današnje Grčke i u oba je slučaja riječ o grobnim nalazima. Prvi par potječe iz antičkoga grada Europosa (sl. 16) u blizini Kilkisa smještenog u grčkom dijelu Makedonije. F. Curta donosi podatak da je riječ o zlatnim naušnicama dok I. Baldini Lippolis navodi da su srebrne.⁷⁹ Naušnice su jedini



Sl. 14. Nalaz iz Haliča (Gács) u Slovačkoj (preuzeto iz: Garam 1993, str. 155, T. 30)

Fig. 14 Find from Halič (Gács) in Slovakia (taken from: Garam 1993, p. 155, Pl. 30)

Several gold star-shaped earrings, originating from Sicily, are also quite larger (link diameter from 4.3 to 5.6 cm), and are even less similar to the Golubić and other Croatian earrings given their bulkiness. These are two gold earrings from Taormina (Fig. 15) and one from Naxos (*Náksos*).⁷⁷ The earring most frequently mentioned in the literature is the one from the Magnisi peninsula (ancient *Tapsos*), but it is silver, rather than gold. This earring was found together with a coin of Tiberius II Constantine (578–582), which means it is from the end of the sixth century.⁷⁸

We should also mention two pairs of luxurious star-shaped earrings from the area of modern-day Greece. Both are grave finds. The first pair origi-

⁷⁴ Garam 1993, str. 65, kat. br. 26; str. 155, T. 30.

⁷⁵ Garam 1980, str. 169-172.

⁷⁶ Garam 1993, str. 65.

⁷⁷ Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 101, kat. br. 2.II.6a/8 i kat. br. 2. II. 6b/3-4.

⁷⁸ Ne raspoložem fotografijom te naušnice kao ni podatkom o njezinim dimenzijama. Usp. Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 101, kat. br. 2. II 6a/11.

⁷⁹ Curta 2011, str. 424-425, sl. 12. 3/1; Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 101, kat. br. 2. II. 6a/10.

⁷⁷ Baldini Lippolis 1999, p. 101, Cat. No 2.II.6a/8, and Cat. Nos 2. II, 6b/3-4.

⁷⁸ I do not have a photograph of the earring or any information on its dimensions. Cf. Baldini Lippolis 1999, p. 101, Cat. No 2. II 6a/11.

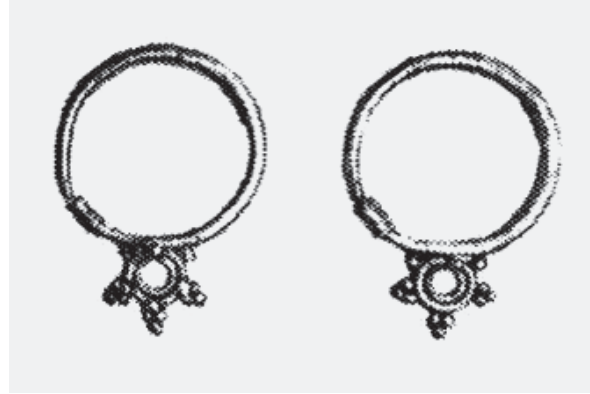


Sl. 15. Naušnica iz Taormine na Siciliji (preuzeto iz: Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 101, kat. br. 2.II.6a/8)
Fig. 15 Earring from Taormina in Sicily (taken from: Baldini Lippolis 1999, p. 101, Cat. No 2.II.6a/8)

nalaz s malog, dijelom opljačkanoga groblja u blizini akropole antičkoga grada.⁸⁰

Curta ih uspoređuje s već spominjanim naušnicama iz Magnisija datiranim novcem Tiberija II. te s naušnicama s groblja Piatra Frecăței (antički grad *Beroe*) u Rumunjskoj (sl. 17).⁸¹ Potonje su pronađene u grobu E 143, koji pripada horizontu kasnog 6. i ranog 7. stoljeća, a dataciju osim fibula s podvijenom nogom pronađenih unutar toga groba potvrđuje i niz grobova istoga ukopnog sloja s nalazima bizantskih pojasnih kopči tipa Sucidava.⁸² Međutim, ovdje nije riječ o luksuznim zlatnim naušnicama, već o lijevanim naušnicama načinjenima od lošeg srebra te su one potpuno neusporedive s nalazima iz Hrvatske. Naušnice iz Europosa, pak, koliko se može zapaziti na crtežu koji donosi Curta, na jednom dijelu karike imaju valjkastu cjevčicu za pričvršćivanje poput prethodno spominjanih naušnica iz sirijske ostave i Haliča.

Drugi par naušnica potječe s groblja Mani Tegani na jugu Peloponeza (sl. 18). Grobovi su pronađeni u unutrašnjosti trobrodne bazilike i pri objavi okvirno datirani u 7. st.⁸³ Zahvaljujući novim otkrićima srodnih nalaza iz datiranog konteksta kronologija groblja u Teganiju proširena je na cijelo 7. i



Sl. 16. Naušnice iz Europosa u Grčkoj (preuzeto iz: Curta 2011, str. 425, sl. 12.3 (1))
Fig. 16 Earrings from Europos in Greece (taken from: Curta 2011, p. 425, Fig. 12.3 (1))

nates from the ancient town of Europos (Fig. 16) in the vicinity of Kilkis in the Greek part of Macedonia. F. Curta noted that they were gold earrings, while I. Baldini Lippolis stated they were made from silver.⁷⁹ The earrings are the only find from a small, partly looted graveyard in the vicinity of the ancient town's acropolis.⁸⁰

Curta compared them with the mentioned earrings from Magnisi with the dated coin of Tiberius II and with the earrings from the Piatra Frecăței graveyard (the ancient town of *Beroe*) in Romania (Fig. 17).⁸¹ The latter were found in grave E 143, belonging to the horizon of the late sixth and early seventh centuries. In addition to the fibulae with bent stems found in this grave, a number of graves of the same burial layer with Byzantine belt buckles of the Sucidava type corroborate the dating.⁸² However, these are not luxurious gold earrings, but cast ones, made from substandard silver, and therefore cannot be compared with the Croatian finds. As to the Europos earrings, as far as can be gathered from the drawing provided by Curta, they have a cylindrical fastening tube on one part of the link, like the mentioned earrings from the Syrian hoard and Halič.

The other pair of earrings is from the Mani Tegani graveyard in the south of the Peloponnese (Fig. 18). The graves were found inside a triple-naved basilica and were tentatively dated to the seventh

⁸⁰ Curta 2011, str. 424-425.

⁸¹ Curta 2011, str. 424.

⁸² Za nalaze iz Pietra Frecăței vidi Fiedler 1992, Teil 1, str. 50-57; str. 53, sl. 4, 13-14.

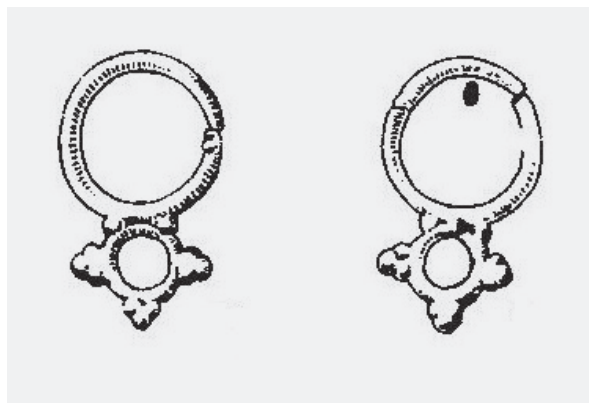
⁸³ Curta 2011, str. 440, sl. 12. 5 (1).

⁷⁹ Curta 2011, pp. 424-425, Fig. 12. 3/1; Baldini Lippolis 1999, p. 101, Cat. No 2. II. 6a/10.

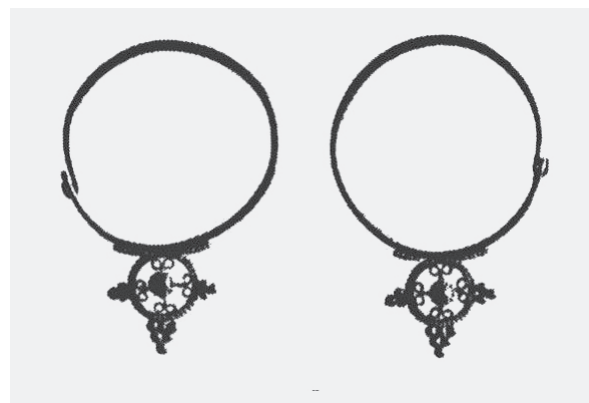
⁸⁰ Curta 2011, p. 424.

⁸¹ Curta 2011, p. 424.

⁸² For the Pietra Frecăței finds cf. Fiedler 1992, Teil 1, pp. 50-57; p. 53, Figs. 4, 13-14.



Sl. 17. Naušnice s groblja Piatra Frecăței u Rumunjskoj (preuzeto iz: Fiedler 1992, str. 53, sl. 13-14)
Fig. 17 Earrings from the Piatra Frecăței graveyard in Romania (taken from: Fiedler 1992, p. 53, Figs. 13–14)



Sl. 18. Naušnice s lokaliteta Mani Tegani u Grčkoj (preuzeto iz Curta 2011, str. 440, sl. 12.5 (1))
Fig. 18 Earrings from Mani Tegani in Greece (taken from: Curta 2011, p. 440, Fig. 12.5 (1))

8. stoljeće, a pojedini nalazi mogu biti čak i mlađi. Zlatne zvjezdolike naušnice otkrivene su u grobu 25. Riječ je o pojedinačnom ženskom ukopu pomno pokrivenom kamenom pločom, koja je grob dijelila u dva sloja. Osim naušnica uz pokojnicu je pronađena bizantska pojasna kopča tipa *Korint* (E6 po Schulze-Dörrlamm) te dvije staklene boce (*unguentaria*). S obzirom na kopču grob se može datirati najranije u drugu polovinu 7. stoljeća.⁸⁴ I ovaj par naušnica znatno je veći od hrvatskih primjeraka (ukupna visina uključujući središnji ukras iznosi 4,8 cm), a zatvaraju se pomoću kvačice i obične petlje.

Ogrlica

Ogrlica iz Golubića sastoji se od 28 zlatnih jagodica, od kojih poneke nose ukras u obliku apliciranih filigranskih kružnica, te 6 zlatnih lunulastih privjesaka ukrašenih filigranskim viticama i zrnatim trokutićima na vrhu i po sredini. Nema izravnih paralela na području Hrvatske ni šire.

Najsrodnija joj je ogrlica sastavljena od 24 zlatne jagode iz pojedinačnoga groba otkrivenog u Trilju (sl. 19; T. 38, 11).⁸⁵ Dvadeset jagoda te ogrlice ukrašeno je apliciranim filigranskim viticama u obliku lire, a četiri, koje su manjih dimenzija, glatke su i neukrašene površine. Triljska ogrlica otkrivena je zajedno s tri para zlatnih grozdolikih naušnica,

century when published.⁸³ Thanks to new discoveries of related artefacts and their dated contexts, the chronology of the Tegani graveyard has been extended to the whole seventh and eighth centuries, with the proviso that certain finds could even be later. A pair of gold star-shaped earrings was discovered in grave 25. This was a single female burial, carefully covered with a stone slab separating the grave in two layers. In addition to the earrings, a Byzantine belt buckle of the Corinth type (E6 according to Schulze-Dörrlamm), and two glass bottles (*unguentaria*) were found with the deceased woman. In the light of the buckle, the grave can be dated to the second half of the seventh century at the earliest.⁸⁴ This pair of earrings is also larger than the Croatian specimens (total height, including the central decoration, is 4.8 cm), and has a clasp with common loop.

The necklace

The Golubić necklace consists of 28 gold beads, of which some are decorated in the form of applied filigree circles, and six gold lunular pendants decorated with filigree tendrils and small granular triangles on the top and in the middle. There are no direct parallels in Croatia and beyond.

Its most closely related counterpart is the necklace with 24 gold beads from a single grave discov-

⁸⁴ Poulou-Papadoimitriou, Tzavella, Ott 2012, str. 393–394. Za dataciju kopči tipa *Korint* vidi i Poulou-Papadoimitriou 2005, str. 698–699; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, Band 30,2, str. 19–26.

⁸⁵ Karaman 1921.

⁸³ Curta 2011, pp. 440, Figs. 12. 15–2.

⁸⁴ Poulou-Papadoimitriou, Tzavella, Ott 2012, pp. 393–394. For the Corinth type buckles dating cf. Poulou-Papadoimitriou 2005, pp. 698–699; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, Band 30, 2, pp. 19–26.



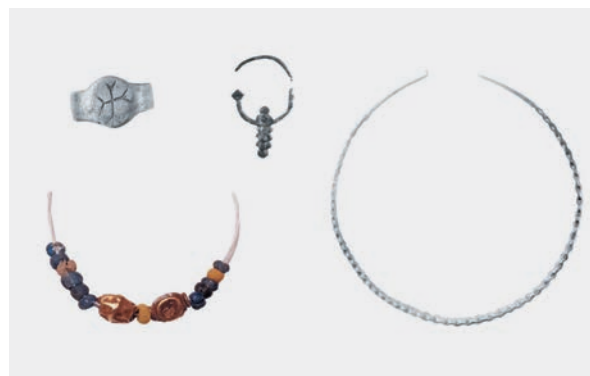
Sl. 19. Zlatni nakit iz Trilja (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 19 Gold jewellery from Trilj (photograph: Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 20. Zlatni nakit iz Višića (preuzeto iz Busuladžić,
Koprčina 2014, kat. br. 15 i 16)
Fig. 20 Gold jewellery from Višići (taken from:
Busuladžić, Koprčina 2014, Cat. Nos 15 and 16)

dva puceta, luksuznim prstenom i bizantskim zlatnim solidom Konstantina V. i Lava IV.

Posljednjim dvjema veoma je bliska ogrlica iz groba C9 u Višićima kraj Čapljine (sl. 20) u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini, na nalazištu smještenom na teritoriju kasnije Zahumske kneževine. Ogrlica se sastoji od 9 zlatnih jagodica ukrašenih naizmjenično postavljenim zrnatim trokutićima, jedne ja-



Sl. 21. Grob 53 na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću (preuzeto iz: J. Belošević 2010, str. 241, T. XLVI, 2)
Fig. 21 Grave 53 at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (taken from: J. Belošević 2010, p. 241, Pl. XLVI, 2)

ered in Trilj (Fig. 19; Pl. 38, 11).⁸⁵ Twenty beads from that necklace are decorated with applied filigree tendrils in the form of the lyre, whereas the surface of the remaining smaller four beads is smooth and without decoration. The Trilj necklace was discovered together with three pairs of gold grape-shaped earrings, two buttons, a luxurious ring, and a Byzantine gold solidus of Constantine V and Leo IV.

⁸⁵ Karaman 1921.

gode ukrašene apliciranim polukružnicama od filigranske niti te dvije staklene perle izrađene u tehnici *mille fiori*. Uz ogrlicu je pronađen par zlatnih naušnica s četiri jagode.⁸⁶

Dvije međusobno različite zlatne limene jagodice iz groba 223 u Lepurima (T. 18, 4-5) vjerojatno su također bile dio ogrlice.⁸⁷

Dvije zlatne jagodice pronalazimo na ogrlici iz groba 53 na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću (sl. 21; T. 13, 1), gdje su kombinirane s 13 žutih i modrih perlica od staklene paste,⁸⁸ kao i na ogrlici iz jednog od nedokumentiranih grobova pronađenih 1897. godine na Bračića podvornicama u Biskupiji na kojoj su još bili nanizani jedan crveni granat poliedarskog oblika, dvije dvočlane perle s ostacima srebrne folije, jedna sferična crvena te dvije bijele, jedna modra i jedna smeđa sitna perla od staklene paste (T. 40, 8).⁸⁹

Navodim još i ogrlice sa srebrnim limenim jagodicama. Tu se posebno ističe velika ogrlica iz groba 127 na vinodolskom nalazištu Gorica u Strančama (T. 37, 1) sastavljena od 16 srebrnih jagoda ukrašenih apliciranim kružnicama od filigranske žice (potpuno jednako kao i na golubićkim jagodama) te 83 staklene perle pretežito plave ili modre (65), zatim žute (10), crne (4), bijele (2) i sedefne boje (2).⁹⁰ Uz ogrlicu u grobu otkrivene su dvije keramičke posude (T. 37, 2-3).⁹¹

Slična, ali skromnija ogrlica potječe iz groba 112 u Grborezima, a sastavljena je od 8 srebrnih glatkih jagoda, koje su na spoju polutki ukrašene filigranskom žicom i 9 modrih sitnih plosnatih perli od staklene paste (T. 9, 3).⁹²

Potonjoj je srodna i ogrlica iz groba 11 na Jojinim kućama u Glavicama s nanizanih 12 srebrnih jagoda i dvije višočlane perle obavijene zlatnom folijom (T. 6, 10). Dio te ogrlice je i srebrna rebrasta cjevčica s otvorom po sredini.⁹³ Srebrne i staklene jagodice navode se kao nalaz i u jednom grobu s oranice Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji.⁹⁴

The two mentioned specimens have a closely-related counterpart in the necklace from grave C9 in Višići near Čapljina (Fig. 20) in modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, at a site in the territory of the later principality of Zachlumia. The necklace consists of nine gold beads decorated with alternate small granular triangles, one bead decorated with applied semicircles of filigree wire, and two *millefiori*-style glass beads. A pair of gold earrings with four beads was found with the necklace.⁸⁶

Two gold sheet beads from grave 223 in Lepuri (Pl. 18, 4-5), dissimilar from each other, were most likely parts of the necklace.⁸⁷

Two gold beads were found on the necklace from grave 53 at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (Fig. 21; Pl. 13, 1), combined with 13 yellow and blue glass paste beads,⁸⁸ like on the necklace from one of the unrecorded graves found in 1897 at Bračića podvornice in Biskupija, which also comprised a string of one red garnet polyhedral in shape, two two-part beads with silver foil remains, one spherical red and two white ones, one blue and one tiny brown glass paste bead (Pl. 40, 8).⁸⁹

I would also like to mention necklaces with silver sheet beads. The most prominent among them is the large necklace from grave 127 at the Vinodol site of Gorica in Stranče (Pl. 37, 1), comprising 16 silver beads decorated with applied circles of filigree wire (exactly the same as the Golubić beads), and 83 glass beads, mainly light or dark blue (65), as well as yellow (10), black (4), white (2) and mother-of-pearl (2) in colour.⁹⁰ Two ceramic vessels (Pl. 37, 2-3) were discovered in the grave together with the necklace.⁹¹

A similar, but more modest necklace originates from grave 112 in Grborezi. It consists of eight silver smooth beads, decorated with filigree wire at the joint of their halves, and nine blue tiny flat glass paste beads (Pl. 18, 9,3).⁹²

The latter is related to the necklace from grave 11 at Jojine kuće in Glavice, with a string of 12 silver beads and two multi-part beads, coated with gold foil (Pl. 6, 10). A small silver finned tube with opening in the middle is also part of this necklace.⁹³ Silver and glass beads have also been mentioned

⁸⁶ Čremošnik 1965, str. 202-203, T. X, 9-10.

⁸⁷ Petrinc 2009, str. 92-93; str. 151, sl. 49.

⁸⁸ Belošević 2010, str. 51-52, str. 241, T. XLVI, 2.

⁸⁹ Hrvati i Karolinzi (katalog), str. 197, kat. br. IV, 24a.

⁹⁰ Cetinić 2011, str. 90; str. 161, T. XLII.

⁹¹ Cetinić 2011, str. 90; str. 159, T. XLI, 1-2.

⁹² Bešlagić, Basler 1964, str. 30-31, T. XX, 4.

⁹³ Petrinc 2002, str. 241, T. V.

⁹⁴ Petrinc 2005a, str. 175-176; Zekan 2010, str. 173, bilj. 21.

⁸⁶ Čremošnik 1965, pp. 202-203, Pls. X, 9-10.

⁸⁷ Petrinc 2009, pp. 92-93; p. 151, Fig. 49.

⁸⁸ Belošević 2010, pp. 51-52, p. 241, Pl. XLVI, 2.

⁸⁹ Hrvati i Karolinzi (catalogue), p. 197, Cat. No IV, 24a.

⁹⁰ Cetinić 2011, p. 90; p. 161, Pl. XLII.

⁹¹ Cetinić 2011, p. 90; p. 159, Pls. XLI, 1-2.

⁹² Bešlagić, Basler 1964, pp. 30-31, Pl. XX, 4.

⁹³ Petrinc 2002, p. 241, Pl. V.

Na kraju treba spomenuti i dvije još neobjavljene ogrlice od srebrnih bikoničnih jagodica otkrivene na položaju Bojna-Brekinjova kosa kraj Gline.⁹⁵

Iako se ogrlice s metalnim jagodastim i lunulastim privjescima u raznim inačicama i na širokom području pojavljuju tijekom kasnoantičkog razdoblja i kroz cijelo srednjovjekovno razdoblje, a široki krug njihovih nositelja etnički je i kulturno veoma raznolik, za primjerke iz Hrvatske ne pronalazim prave analogije.⁹⁶

Stoga na ovome mjestu ukratko ukazujem tek na bizantske zlatne ogrlice kojima su popraćene neke od gore navedenih zlatnih zvjezdolikih naušnica, kao i nekolicinu potonjima srodnih zlatnih ogrlica iz datiranog konteksta.

Dvije ogrlice dio su sirijske ostave pohranjene u bizantskoj zbirci muzeja *Dumbarton Oaks* iz koje potječe već spominjana zlatna zvjezdolika naušnica.⁹⁷ Obje nemaju nikakvih dodirnih točaka s ogrlicom iz Golubića niti bilo kojom ogrlicom iz ostalih ženskih grobova o kojima je ovdje bilo riječi. Prva se sastoji od okruglih medaljona s palmetom u sredini rađenih na proboj i tri privjeska (pločasti s ukrasom u obliku križa i dva listolika privjeska). U drugom slučaju riječ je o lančiću sastavljenom od niza međusobno povezanih srcolikih ukrasa te kružnim medaljonima rađenim na proboj ukrašenima nasuprotno postavljenim srcolikim viticama na kojima su kopčice za pričvršćivanje. Srcoliki ukrasi slični su onima na oba para golubićkih zvjezdolikih naušnica i pojedinim njima srodnim primjercima. Na ogrlicu su nanizani križić i dvije amuletne kapsule.⁹⁸ Već je napomenuto da je ostava sadržavala dva zlatna solida cara Heraklija kovana u Konstantinopolu između 613. i 630. godine, a tu je još nekoliko databilnih predmeta: bizantska pojasna kopča tipa Trapezunt (tip E18 po M. Schulze-Dörrlamm), dva križića i dva prstena.⁹⁹ Svi ovi nalazi mogu se datirati u 7. stoljeće.

Sirijskim ogrlicama donekle je srodna i ogrlica iz Halića (sl. 14) pronađena u grobu uz par pret hodno spominjanih zvjezdolikih naušnica. Ogrlica je načinjena od uvijene pletene zlatne žice, a na njoj se nalazi i pet bikoničnih jagoda od zlatnog lima.¹⁰⁰

as finds from a grave in Aćim Popović's field in Biskupija.⁹⁴

Finally, two as yet unpublished necklaces with silver biconical beads should be mentioned. They were discovered at the Bojna-Brekinjova kosa site near Gline.⁹⁵

Although necklaces with metal bead-like and lunular pendants appeared during the late antique period and throughout the Middle Ages in different varieties and over a wide area, and a large range of their users was ethnically and culturally quite diverse, I can see no genuine analogies to the Croatian specimens.⁹⁶

Therefore, here I would like to briefly point out Byzantine gold necklaces accompanying some of the mentioned gold star-shaped earrings, as well as a few of their related gold necklaces from the dated context.

Two necklaces kept in the Byzantine collection of *Dumbarton Oaks* belong to the Syrian hoard, which was also the point of origin of the mentioned gold star-shaped earring.⁹⁷ Both have nothing in common whatsoever with the Golubić necklace or any other necklace from other female graves discussed in this paper. The first consists of circular medallions with palmette in the middle, made by punching, and three pendants (a plate one with decoration in the form of the cross, and two leaf-like pendants). The second one is a chain made of a string of interconnected heart-shaped decorations and circular medallions made by punching, decorated with oppositely arranged heart-shaped tendrils with fastening clips. The heart-shaped decorations are similar to those on both pairs of the Golubić star-shaped earrings, and certain other related specimens. The necklace has a string with a small cross and two amulet capsules.⁹⁸ It has already been pointed out that the hoard contained two gold solidi of Emperor Heraclius, minted in Constantinople between 613 and 630, as well as several other datable items: a Byzantine belt buckle of the Trebizond type (type E18 according to M. Schulze-Dörrlamm), two small crosses and two rings.⁹⁹ All those finds can be dated to the seventh century.

⁹⁵ Hina, Arheološko nalazište kod Gline, Jutarnji list, 16. 4. 2019. (foto: Dragan Matić).

⁹⁶ Petrinc 2009, str. 155-160.

⁹⁷ Ross 1965, str. 10-12, T. XII-XIII.

⁹⁸ Ross 1965, T. XII.

⁹⁹ Za dataciju kopči tipa Trapezunt vidi: Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, Band 2, str. 55-61.

¹⁰⁰ Garam 1993, str. 155, T. 30, 1.

⁹⁴ Petrinc 2005a, pp. 175-176; Zekan 2010, p. 173, fn. 21.

⁹⁵ Hina, Arheološko nalazište kod Gline, Jutarnji list, 16/4/2019 (photograph: Dragan Matić).

⁹⁶ Petrinc 2009, pp. 155-160.

⁹⁷ Ross 1965, pp. 10-12, Pls. XII-XIII.

⁹⁸ Ross 1965, Pl. XII.

⁹⁹ For the Trebizond type buckle dating cf. Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, Band 2, pp. 55-61.

Riječ je o izduženim jagodama na koje donekle podsjeća jedna od jagoda pronađenih u grobu 223 u Lepurima. Kopčice za pričvršćivanje nalaze se na dva medaljona načinjena na proboj s ukrasom u obliku dviju stiliziranih ptica. Kao što je već napomenuto, Garam čitav nalaz smatra bizantskim proizvodom 6. stoljeća. S obzirom na brojne srodne ogrlice iz pouzdano datiranog konteksta osobno mi je prihvatljiviji njezin prvi prijedlog datacije u srednjoavarsko razdoblje, odnosno u kraj 7. stoljeća.¹⁰¹ Ovdje navodim tek nekoliko datiranih primjeraka.

U Abusiru nedaleko od Aleksandrije u Egiptu (antički grad *Taposiris Magna*) uz temelje kršćanske crkve otkrivena je ostava koja je sadržavala zlatnu ogrlicu sastavljenu od pločastih medaljona i od medaljona rađenih na proboj sa središnjim ukrasom u obliku križa. Uz ogrlicu pronađeno je i pet bizantskih zlatnika kovanih u Konstantinopolu; dva su pripadala caru Mauriciju Tiberiju (582.–602.), dva caru Foki (602.–610.) i jedan Herakliju (610.–641.). Ovaj posljednji kovan je nakon godine 613. jer se na njemu uz Heraklija pojavljuje i Konstantin III. Heraklijev novac predstavlja *terminus post quem* za ukopavanje ostave koje se dovodi u vezu s arapskim upadom u Egipat 40-ih godina 7. stoljeća.¹⁰²

Za kronološko opredjeljivanje bitna je i ostava iz Mitilene na otoku Lezbosu, gdje se među ogrlicama u obliku lančića nalazi i jedna sa zatvaračem s dva medaljona rađena na proboj i amuletnim privjeskom. Ostava je sadržavala 4 Fokina i 28 Heraklijevih zlatnika na osnovi kojih se datira u prvu polovinu 7. st.¹⁰³

U razdoblje od 630. do 640. godine moguće je vremenski smjestiti i ostavu iz Mersina u Turskoj.¹⁰⁴

Srodne ogrlice mogu biti datirane i u drugu polovinu 7. st. te na sam početak 8. stoljeća. U tom su smislu relevantni nalazi iz pojedinih sicilijanskih i egipatskih ostava.

Ostava iz Pantalice na Siciliji sadržavala je 15 nakitnih predmeta. Od toga je šest zlatnih ogrlica od kojih su neke potpuno srodne prethodno navedenim primjercima. Nalaz je s više od stotinu novaca Konstantina II., Konstantina IV. i Tiberija III. opredijeljen u zadnju trećinu 7. stoljeća.¹⁰⁵

The necklace from Halič (**Fig. 14**), found in a grave with the pair of mentioned star-shaped earrings, is somewhat related to the Syrian necklaces. The necklace is made of twisted braided gold wire, and has five gold sheet biconical beads.¹⁰⁰ The beads are elongated, and are somewhat similar to one of their counterparts found in grave 223 in Lepuri. The fastening clips are affixed on two medallions made by punching with decoration in the form of two stylised birds. As I have already mentioned, Garam believed that the whole find was a Byzantine product from the sixth century. Given the numerous related necklaces from reliably dated contexts, personally I find her first dating proposal more acceptable, i.e. the Middle Avar Period, or the end of the seventh century.¹⁰¹ I will mention here but a few dated examples.

The hoard discovered by the foundations of a Christian church in Abusir near Alexandria in Egypt (the ancient town of *Taposiris Magna*) contained a gold necklace made of plate and punched medallions with central decoration in the form of the cross. In addition to the necklace, several coins were found: five Byzantine of Mauricius Tiberius (582–602), two of Emperor Phocas (602–610), and one of Heraclius (610–641). The last one was minted after 613, since it depicts both Heraclius and Constantine III. The coin of Heraclius represents the *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard which is associated with the Arab invasion of Egypt in the 640s.¹⁰²

For the purpose of chronological determination, the hoard from Mytilene on the island of Lesbos is also significant with one necklace with a clip with two medallions made by punching and an amulet pendant found among chain-shaped necklaces. The hoard contained four gold coins of Phocas and 28 of Heraclius, based on which it was dated to the first half of the seventh century.¹⁰³

The hoard from Mersin in Turkey can also be dated to the period from 630 to 640.¹⁰⁴

Related necklaces can also be dated to the second half of the seventh century and the very beginning of the eighth century. In this respect, finds from some Sicilian and Egyptian hoards are relevant.

The hoard from Pantalica in Sicily contained 15

¹⁰¹ Garam 1980, str. 169-172.

¹⁰² Petrina 2016, str. 186, sl. 2.

¹⁰³ Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 36-37, sl. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 36, sl. 15; str. 38.

¹⁰⁵ Baldini Lippolis 1999, str. 39-40.; Baldini Lippolis 2010, str. 128-129, T. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Garam 1993, p. 155, Pl. 30, 1.

¹⁰¹ Garam 1980, pp. 169–172.

¹⁰² Petrina 2016, p. 186, Fig. 2.

¹⁰³ Baldini Lippolis 1999, pp. 36–37, Fig. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Baldini Lippolis 1999, p. 36, Fig. 15; p. 38.

Na jednoj od triju ogrlica iz druge sicilijanske ostave u Campobello di Mazara del Valo kao medaljoni s kopčicama i centralni ukras uporabljeni su zlatni solidi Honorija i Teodozija II., no njezino se ukapanje na osnovi novca Konstantina V. (741.–775.) dovodi u vezu s muslimanskim upadom na otok.¹⁰⁶

Može se navesti i jedna od ogrlica iz ostave Shekh Abada u Egiptu, koja sadržava novac u širokom rasponu od Justinijana (527.–565.) do Tiberija III. (698.–705).¹⁰⁷

Na kraju, mogu samo ponoviti prethodnu konstataciju da navedene zlatne ogrlice ne predstavljaju paralele za ogrlicu iz golubičkoga groba i drugih srodnih cjelina osim što općim ukusom i stilom ukazuju na pripadnost kasnoantičkom, odnosno bizantskom zlatarstvu. To vrijedi i za zvjezdolike naušnice koje su u dva slučaja udružene s takvim ogrlicama, a i druge gore navedene zlatne naušnice istog tipa koje se kako dimenzijama tako i načinom pričvršćivanja bitno razlikuju od hrvatskih primjerala.

Lunulasti privjesci na golubičkoj ogrlici također nemaju izravnih analogija, ali su takvi privjesci na ogrlicama široko rasprostranjeni na mediteranskom području još u rimskom razdoblju, a podrijetlo im seže sve do u brončano doba. Povezuju se s obožavanjem lunarnih božica (Ištar, Tanit, Artemida, Afrodita-Dijana, Selena i dr.). Tijekom cijelog srednjeg vijeka kao dio nošnje (privjesci na ogrlici) u širokoj su uporabi na raznim područjima. Nemaju značenja pri kronološkom opredjeljivanju golubičkog nalaza.¹⁰⁸

Prsten

Prsten koji je izvorno pripadao golubičkom grobu, o čemu je prethodno bilo riječi, odavno je izgubljen, a na osnovi dviju fotografija na kojima je vidljiv može se tek pretpostaviti da pripada tipu sa središnjim ovalnim proširenjem. Osim navedenih fotografija ne postoje nikakvi drugi podaci o tom prstenu.

pieces of jewellery. Six of them are gold necklaces, of which some are quite related to the mentioned examples. The find comprises more than a hundred coins of Constans II, Constantine IV and Tiberius III, and was dated to the last third of the seventh century.¹⁰⁵

Gold solidi of Honorius and Theodosius II serve as medallions with small fasteners and central decoration on one of the three necklaces from another Sicilian hoard in Campobello di Mazara del Valo. Its burial, however, is associated with the Muslim incursion of the island, based on a coin of Constantine V (741–775).¹⁰⁶

We can also mention one of the necklaces from the Shekh Abada hoard in Egypt, containing a wide array of coins from that of Justinian (527–565) to Tiberius III (698–705).¹⁰⁷

Finally, I can merely reiterate that the mentioned gold necklaces do not represent parallels to the Golubić grave necklace and other related finds, except that their general design and style reveal their affiliation to the late antique, i.e. Byzantine goldsmithing. The same goes for star-shaped earrings, twice combined with such necklaces, as well as other mentioned gold earrings of the same type which differ significantly from the Croatian specimens both in dimensions and the fastening mechanism.

There are no direct analogies to the lunular pendants on the Golubić necklace either, but such pendants on necklaces were widespread in the Mediterranean area as early as during the Roman era, while their origins go back all the way to the Bronze Age. They are associated with the worship of lunar goddesses (Ishtar, Tanit, Artemis, Aphroditus – Diana, Selena, etc.). They were widely used as parts of costumes (pendants on necklaces) in various areas during the entire mediaeval period. They possess no significance for the chronological determination of the Golubić find.¹⁰⁸

The ring

The ring, originally belonging to the Golubić grave, has been lost for a long time, as already mentioned. Based on the two photographs depicting it, it can only be assumed that it is of the type with

¹⁰⁶ Baldini Lippolis 2010, str. 130, T. 21–22.

¹⁰⁷ Petrina 2014, str. 42, sl. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Opširnije o lunulastim privjescima vidi: Khamayko 2012, str. 503.

¹⁰⁵ Baldini Lippolis 1999, pp. 39–40.; Baldini Lippolis 2010, pp. 128–129, Pl. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Baldini Lippolis 2010, p. 130, Pls. 21–22.

¹⁰⁷ Petrina 2014, p. 42, Fig. 6.

¹⁰⁸ For more details on lunular pendants cf. Khamayko 2012, p. 503.

b) Kratak osvrt na pojedine predmete iz drugih bogatih ženskih grobova s inventarom srodnim golubićkome nalazu

Torkvesi

Torkvesi su dosad registrirani u četiri groba: u grobu 112 u Grborezima (T. 9, 2), u grobu 53 na Maklinovom brdu u Kašiću (T. 13, 2), u grobu 322 na Ždrijacu u Ninu (T. 32, 1) i u grobu 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu (dva primjerka) (T. 19, 5 i 18). Prema podacima iz dnevnika fra Luje Maruna jedan torkves otkriven je i u ženskom grobu (zidanoj grobnici) na oranici Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji. Svi su, osim ždrijačkog primjerka koji je brončani, bili načinjeni od srebra. Pojavljuju se u grobovima istaknutih žena, odnosno može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o ukopima pripadnica najvišega društvenog sloja. U grobu 322 na Ždrijacu torkves i ogrlica pripadali su ukopanom djetetu (T. 32, 2).

Premda su nalazi iz Grboreza, Maklinova brda i Ždrijaca poznati već desetljećima, u literaturi se dugo vremena smatralo da je riječ o predmetima u sekundarnoj uporabi.¹⁰⁹ Tijekom prethodnog desetljeća, međutim, uglavnom je prihvaćeno mišljenje da ih treba smatrati dijelom suvremene ženske nošnje.¹¹⁰

Kao i u slučaju ogrlica radi se o nakitu koji je poznat još od prapovijesnih vremena i tijekom cijele antike te osobito u ranobizantskoj kulturi, posredstvom koje u 5. i 6. st. ulazi u uporabu kod raznih naroda na europskom tlu.¹¹¹

Kao najbliže prostorne i vremenske paralele našim nalazima navodim dva brončana torkvesa otkrivena u grobu C 10 Višićima kod Čapljine na prostoru buduće Zahumske Kneževine (T. 39, 1-2).¹¹² Naglašavam i da je u susjednom grobu C 9 pronađena već spominjana zlatna ogrlica, a u grobu C8 dva brončana limena prstena sa srednjim rombičnim proširenjem te da sva tri groba pripadaju istom ukopnom sloju. Slični brončani torkvesi registrirani su i na nalazištima kulture Komani-Kruje u Albaniji (Komani, Bukel, Derjan na Mati), Crnoj Gori (Mijele kod Virpazara) i Makedoniji (Sv. Erazmo kod Ohrida i Cigansko grobište-Radolište kod Struge).¹¹³ Pronalaze se isključivo u ženskim grobovima. Pojedini noviji nalazi s područja te kulture

central oval widening. Save the mentioned photographs, there exists no other information on this ring.

b) A brief overview of certain items from other wealthy female graves with inventories similar to the Golubić find

Torques

To date, torques have been recorded in four graves: in grave 112 in Grborezi (PI. 9,2), in grave 53 at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (PI. 13, 2), in grave 322 at Ždrijac in Nin (PI. 32, 1), and in grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin (two specimens) (PI. 19, 5 and 18). According to Friar Lujo Marun's diary, one torques had also been found in the female (walled) tomb on Aćim Popović's field in Biskupija. They are all made from silver, except for the bronze Ždrijac specimen. They were found in graves of distinguished women, i.e. presumably from the highest social class. The torques and necklace from grave 322 belonged to a buried child (PI. 32, 2).

Although the finds from Grborezi, Maklinovo brdo and Ždrijac have been known for decades, for a long time it has been indicated in the literature that the items had been in secondary use.¹⁰⁹ In the previous decade, however, it was generally accepted that they should be regarded as parts of the contemporary female costume.¹¹⁰

As in the case of necklaces, this jewellery had been in use since prehistoric times and throughout the ancient era, and particularly in the early Byzantine culture, through which it was introduced to various peoples on European soil in the fifth and sixth centuries.¹¹¹

I should mention two bronze torques, discovered in grave C 10 in Višići near Čapljina in the territory of the subsequent principality of Zachlumi (PI. 39, 1-2), as the closest spatial and temporal parallels.¹¹² I would also like to point out that the mentioned gold necklace was found in the adjacent grave C 9, while grave C8 contained two bronze sheet rings with central rhombic widening, and that all three graves belong to the same burial layer. Similar bronze torques have also been recorded at the sites of the Komani-Kruje culture in Albania

¹⁰⁹ Belošević 1980, str. 92.

¹¹⁰ Belošević 2007, str. 268-269; Petrincec 2009, str. 152-155; Belošević 2010, str. 84-86.

¹¹¹ Petrincec 2009, str. 152-155; Belošević 2010, str. 84-86.

¹¹² Čremošnik 1965, str. 202-203, T. IX, 17-18.

¹¹³ Манева 1992, str. 63-64.

¹⁰⁹ Belošević 1980, p. 92.

¹¹⁰ Belošević 2007, pp. 268-269; Petrincec 2009, pp. 152-155; Belošević 2010, pp. 84-86.

¹¹¹ Petrincec 2009, p. 152-155; Belošević 2010, pp. 84-86.

¹¹² Čremošnik 1965, pp. 202-203, Pls. IX, 17-18.

upućuju na vremensko opredjeljivanje u 8. stoljeće, što je potvrđeno i rezultatima radiokarbonske analize. U tom smislu posebno je značajan nalaz iz groba 321 s nalazišta Komani (nekad Dalmace), koji sadržava ogrlicu, torkves, tri para naušnica, prsten, tzv. komanski privjesak s lančićima i željeni nožić.¹¹⁴ Riječ je o najmlađem ukopu na spomenutom groblju, koji pripada 8. stoljeću.¹¹⁵

Donekle srodni našim torkvesima su i primjerci s područja Karpatske kotline otkriveni u avarodobnim ženskim grobovima u rasponu od kraja 7. do prijelaza iz 8. u 9. stoljeće. Tu se posebno ističu dva srebrna torkvesa iz Igar i jedan zlatni iz ženskog kneževskog ukopa na lokalitetu Ozora – Tótipuszta, sva tri s privjeskom u obliku zlatnih amuletih kapsula.¹¹⁶ Dio bogatog inventara groba iz Ozora – Tótipuszta pokazuje određene sličnosti s ranije spominjanim predmetima iz sirijske ostave pohranjene u muzeju *Dumbarton Oaks*, koja je sadržavala ogrlicu i zlatnu zvjezdoliku naušnicu. U susjednom muškom grobu u Ozori pronađen je bizantski solid Konstantina IV. kovan između 668. i 673. godine, što nalaze čitavog horizonta Tótipuszta–Igar–Dunapentelle datira u zadnju trećinu 7. stoljeća.¹¹⁷

Međutim, pretežit broj nalaza torkvesa na navedenom prostoru pripada 8. stoljeću. Riječ je o torkvesima načinjenim od glatke ili uvijene brončane žice s grobalja Devínska Nová Ves (grobovi 466 i 470),¹¹⁸ Holiare (grobovi 349, 386, 406, 547),¹¹⁹ Želovce (269, 295),¹²⁰ Šebastovce (grobovi 49, 79, 180, 185, 197a, 231 (2 primjerka), 412),¹²¹ Štúrovo (grob 16, grob 86)¹²² i Žitavska Tôn (grob 26 (2 primjerka)).¹²³ Pojavljuju se u ženskim i dječjim grobovima (gdje je to bilo moguće utvrditi, radilo se o grobovima djevojčica) i u sličnim kombinacijama kao i u Albaniji i Hrvatskoj (s lunulasto-zvjezdolikim, zvjezdolikim i grozdolikim naušnicama i ogr-

(Komani, Bukel, Derjan on the Mati), Montenegro (Mijeje near Virpazar), and Macedonia (St. Erasmus near Ohrid and Cigansko grobište-Radolište near Struga).¹¹³ They were found in female graves only. Certain more recent finds from the area of this culture suggest their dating to the eighth century, as corroborated by radiocarbon analysis. In this respect, the find from grave 321 at the site of Komani (former Dalmace) is especially significant. It comprises a necklace, a torques, three pairs of earrings, a ring, a so-called Komani pendant with chains, and a small iron knife.¹¹⁴ This is the latest burial in the graveyard, belonging to the eighth century.¹¹⁵

The specimens from the Carpathian Basin, discovered in female graves from the Avar era ranging from the late seventh to the turn from the eighth to the ninth century, are also somewhat related to our torques. The most prominent among them are two silver torques from Igar and a golden one from the princely female burial at the Ozora-Tótipuszta site, all three with a pendant in the form of gold amulet capsules.¹¹⁶ A part of the rich grave inventory from Ozora-Tótipuszta shows certain similarities with the mentioned items from the Syrian hoard kept in *Dumbarton Oaks*, comprising a necklace and a gold star-shaped earring. A Byzantine solidus of Constantine IV was found in the adjacent male grave in Ozora. It was minted between 668 and 673, which dates the finds from the whole horizon of Tótipuszta-Igar-Dunapentelle to the last third of the seventh century.¹¹⁷

However, the bulk of the torques found in the area is from the eighth century. These are torques made of smooth or twisted bronze wire from graveyards in Devínska Nová Ves (graves 466 and 470),¹¹⁸ Holiare (graves 349, 386, 406, 547),¹¹⁹ Želovce (269, 295),¹²⁰ Šebastovce (graves 49, 79, 180, 185, 197a, 231 – 2 specimens, 412),¹²¹ Štúro-

¹¹⁴ Nallbani 2017, str. 331, sl. 6.

¹¹⁵ Nallbani 2017, str. 330.

¹¹⁶ Awaren 1985, str. 57, sl. 50.

¹¹⁷ Opširno o nalazu i svim mišljenjima u literaturi u Garam 1993, str. 41–48.

¹¹⁸ Eisner 1952, str. 106–107 sl. 48, 5–6; str. 107, sl. 49, 4.

¹¹⁹ Točík 1968a, str. 61, T. LX, 8; str. 67, T. LXIV, 11; str. 70, T. LXV, 15; str. 84–85, T. LXXII, 4.

¹²⁰ Čilinská 1973, str. 83, T. XLV, 12; str. 88, T. XLIX, 14.

¹²¹ Budinský-Krička, Točík 1991, str. 16, T. IV,2; str. 21, T. VIII, 7; str. 41, T. XXIX, 4; str. 41, T. XXV, 1; str. 43, T. XXVI, 8; str. 49–50, T. XXXII, 5, 10; str. 79–80, T. LIII, 1.

¹²² Točík 1968b, str. 14, T. XVII, 12; str. 30–31, T. XXV, 3.

¹²³ Čilinská 1963, str. 94, T. IX, 10–11.

¹¹³ Манева 1992, pp. 63–64.

¹¹⁴ Nallbani 2017, p. 331, Fig. 6.

¹¹⁵ Nallbani 2017, p. 330.

¹¹⁶ Awaren 1985, p. 57, Fig. 50.

¹¹⁷ For more on the find and all opinions in the literature cf. Garam 1993, pp. 41–48.

¹¹⁸ Eisner 1952, pp. 106–107, Figs. 48, 5–6; p. 107, Fig. 49, 4.

¹¹⁹ Točík 1968a, p. 61, Pl. LX, 8; p. 67, Pl. LXIV, 11; p. 70, Pl. LXV, 15; pp. 84–85, Pl. LXXII, 4.

¹²⁰ Čilinská 1973, p. 83, Pl. XLV, 12; p. 88, Pl. XLIX, 14.

¹²¹ Budinský-Krička, Točík 1991, p. 16, Pl. IV,2; p. 21, Pl. VIII, 7; p. 41, Pl. XXIX, 4; p. 41, Pl. XXV, 1; p. 43, Pl. XXVI, 8; pp. 49–50, Pl. XXXII, 5, 10; pp. 79–80, Pl. LIII, 1.

licama od staklenih perli i metalnih jagodica), pa se može ustvrditi da je riječ o široj modi 8. i ranog 9. stoljeća nastaloj pod snažnim bizantskim utjecajem. Također ponekad dva ili tri torkvesa pripadaju istoj pokojnici. Najviše kasnoavarskih primjeraka potječe s nekropola sjeverne periferije Avarskog Kaganaata smještenih u jugozapadnoj Slovačkoj.¹²⁴

Među navedenim nalazima posebno se ističe unikatni zlatni torkves iz Donjih Petrovaca u Vojvodini.¹²⁵ Pretpostavlja se da je pripadao istoj cjelini kao i zlatna grozdolika naušnica s perlicama i devet arapskih zlatnih dirhema (Abas al Šafah (1), Muhamed el Mehidi (7) i Harun al-Rašid (1)), iz razdoblja od 786. do 809. godine.¹²⁶ Riječ je o jedinstvenom kasnoavarskom skupnom zlatnom nalazu datiranom novcem. Zbog tipološki srodne grozdolike naušnice nalaz se povezuje i s poznatom skupinom zlatnih predmeta otkrivenih u Brestovcu kod Požege (sl. 26), gdje se uz kasnoavarske nalaze pojavljuju i primjerci ženskog nakita među kojima i primjerci (grozdolika naušnica, prsten sa štitolikim ukrasom, zlatna puceta) veoma srodni nakitu u našim luksuznim ženskim grobovima.¹²⁷

Torkvesi od brončane žice sporadično se pojavljuju i na grobljima ranokarolinškog razdoblja u Njemačkoj.¹²⁸

Obične karičice

Veoma su čest nalaz u ženskim grobovima najstarijeg ukopnog sloja na području na kojem će se oformiti Hrvatska Kneževina. Pojavljuju se u tri inačice:

a) Srebrne karičice kvadratnog presjeka ukrašene punciranim rombovima i sa završetkom u obliku S-petlje (u grobu 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu (T. 19, 16-17), u grobu 112 u Grborezima (T. 9, 8-9) i grobu 11 na položaju Jojinih kuća u Glavicama (T. 6, 6-7), dva primjerka nepoznatih okolnosti otkrića potječu iz Biskupije kod Knina (T. 40, 1-2)). Može im se pridružiti i neukrašena karičica zadebljanog donjeg dijela iz groba 169 na Ždrijacu u Ninu.¹²⁹

b) Obične srebrne i brončane karičice sa završetkom u obliku S-petlje (registrirane su u grobu 112

vo (grave 16, grave 86),¹²² and Žitavska Tôn (grave 26 – 2 specimens).¹²³ They were found in female and infant graves (viz. girls' graves, as far as it was possible to determine it) and in similar combinations to those in Albania and Croatia (with lunular star-shaped, star- and grape-shaped earrings with glass and metal beads), so it can be concluded that they were in wide vogue in the eighth and the early ninth centuries under a strong Byzantine influence. Furthermore, two or three torques belonged to one deceased woman in some cases. The greater part of the late Avar era specimens originates from the necropolises in the northern peripheral regions of the Avar Khaganate in south-western Slovakia.¹²⁴

The most prominent among the mentioned finds is the unique gold torques from Donji Petrovci in Vojvodina.¹²⁵ It is assumed that it belonged to the same assemblage as a gold grape-shaped earring with beads and nine Arab gold dirhams (Abbas al-Saffah – 1, Muhammed el-Mehdi – 7, and Harun al-Rashid – 1), dating from 786 to 809.¹²⁶ This is a one-of-the-kind late-Avar era gold hoard dated via coins. Because of the typologically related grape-shaped earring, the find is associated with the group of gold artefacts discovered in Brestovac near Požege (Fig. 26), comprising late-Avar era finds, as well as specimens of female jewellery, of which some pieces (a star-shaped earring, a ring with shield-shaped decoration, gold buttons) are quite similar to the jewellery in our lavish female graves.¹²⁷

Torques of bronze wire have occasionally also been found in graveyards from the early Carolingian period in Germany.¹²⁸

Plain links

These are very common finds in female graves of the earliest burial layer in the area of the later Croatian Principality. They appear in three versions:

a) Silver links of square cross-section, decorated with stamped rhombi and ending in the form

¹²² Točić 1968b, p. 14, Pl. XVII, 12; p. 30–31, Pl. XXV, 3.

¹²³ Čilinská 1963, p. 94, Pls. IX, 10–11.

¹²⁴ They have also been found on the southern (south-western) outskirts, as evidenced by one still unpublished specimen from Privlaka near Vinkovci. (I would like to thank my colleague P. Šmalcelj Novaković from the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb for this information.)

¹²⁵ Demo 2014, p. 62, Cat. No 17. 1.

¹²⁶ Demo 2014, pp. 63–64, Cat. No 17. 2.

¹²⁷ For more details on Brestovac cf. Bühler 2014.

¹²⁸ Stein 1967, pp. 67–68, Pl. 49, 5; Pl. 59, 5; Pl. 64, 8.

¹²⁴ Pojavljuju se i na južnoj (jugozapadnoj) periferiji, o čemu svjedoči jedan još nepublicirani primjerak iz Privlake kod Vinkovaca (na podatku zahvaljujem kolegici P. Šmalcelj Novaković iz Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu).

¹²⁵ Demo 2014, str. 62, kat. br. 17. 1.

¹²⁶ Demo 2014, str. 63–64, kat. br. 17. 2.

¹²⁷ Opsežno o Brestovcu vidi: Bühler 2014.

¹²⁸ Stein 1967, str. 67–68, T. 49, 5; T. 59, 5; T. 64, 8.

¹²⁹ Belošević 2007, str. 261, sl. 3, 9.



Sl. 22. Grob 22 u Svećurju (Kaštel Novi)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 22 Grave 22 in Svećurje (Kaštel Novi)
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

u Grborezima (T. 9, 10-11), u grobu 11 na Jojinim kućama u Glavicama (T. 6, 4-5), u grobu 40 na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću (T. 11, 7-8), u grobu 21C na Greblju u Ostrovici (T. 35, 7-8), u grobovima 100,¹³⁰ 139,¹³¹ 310 (T. 29, 4-5) i 324 (T. 33, 7-8) na Ždrijacu u Ninu i u grobu 15 u Dubravicama kod Skradina¹³²).

c) Obične zlatne, srebrne i brončane karičice sa završetkom u obliku obične petlje i kvačice (zlatni primjerci u grobu 5 na Crkvini u Biskupiji (T. 1, 3) i grobu 81 uz crkvu Svetog Križa u Ninu (T. 20, 1),¹³³ srebrne u grobu 11 na Jojinim kućama u Glavicama (T. 6, 2-3), u grobovima 41 (T. 12, 2-3) i 54 (T. 14, 1-2) na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću, grobu 13 na Jokinoj glavici u Podvršju (T. 36, 3-4), u grobovima 53 (T. 22, 1-2), 150 (T. 27, 1-2) i 237 (T. 28, 7-8) na Ždrijacu u Ninu i grobu 141 uz crkvu sv. Križa u Ninu (T. 20, 2), a brončane u grobovima 65 (T. 25, 5) i 324 (T. 33, 7-8) na Ždrijacu u Ninu, grobu 36 na Razbojinama u Kašiću (T. 15, 2-3), grobu 141 uz Sv. Križ u Ninu i grobu 3 na Banovcu u Ninu (T. 20, 7-8).

Same karičice nisu relevantne za kronološko opredjeljivanje, može se tek ustvrditi da se redovito pojavljuju u bogatijim ženskim grobovima, a primjerci inačice pod a) u najistaknutijim grobovima. Radiokarbonska analiza uzorka iz groba 13 na Jokinoj glavici u Podvršju, u kojem je otkriven i jedan par običnih srebrnih karičica, dala je rezultat u rasponu 777. - 900.¹³⁴

of S-shaped loop (in grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin (Pl. 19, 16-17) in grave 12 in Grborezi (Pl. 9, 8-9), and in grave 11 at Jojine kuće in Glavice (Pl. 6, 6-7), two specimens with unknown circumstances of their discovery, originating from Biskupija near Knin (Pl. 40, 1-2)). We can add here a non-decorated link with a thicker lower section from grave 169 at Ždrijac in Nin.¹²⁹

b) Plain silver and bronze links ending in the form of S-shaped loop (recorded in grave 112 in Grborezi (Pl. 9, 10-11), in grave 11 at Jojine kuće in Glavice (Pl. 6, 4-5), in grave 40 at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (Pl. 11, 7-8), in grave 21C at Greblje (Pl. 35, 7-8) in Ostrovica, in graves 100,¹³⁰ 139,¹³¹ 310 (Pl. 29, 4-5), and 324 (Pl. 33, 7-8) at Ždrijac in Nin, and in grave 15 in Dubravice near Skradin¹³²).

c) Plain gold, silver and bronze links ending in the form of plain loop with clasp (gold specimens in grave 5 at Crkvina in Biskupija (Pl. 1, 3), and grave 81 near the church of the Holy Cross in Nin (Pl. 20, 1),¹³³ silver – two pairs – in grave 11 at Jojine kuće (Pl. 6, 2-3) in Glavice, in graves 41 (Pl. 12, 2-3) and 54 (Pl. 14, 1-2) at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić, in grave 13 at Jokina glavica in Podvršje (Pl. 36, 3-4), in graves 53 (Pl. 22, 1-2), 150 (Pl. 27, 1-2) and 237 (Pl. 28, 7-8) at Ždrijac in Nin, and in grave 141 near the church of the Holy Cross in Nin (Pl. 20, 2), as well as bronze ones in graves 65 (Pl. 25, 5) and 324 (Pl. 33, 7-8) at Ždrijac in Nin, in grave 36 at Razbojine in Kašić (Pl. 15, 2-3), in grave 141 near the church of the Holy Cross in Nin, and in grave 3 at Banovac in Nin (Pl. 20, 7-8)).

The very links are not relevant for chronological determination, and it can only be stated that they have been regularly found in more lavish female graves, and the version a) specimens in the most distinguished graves. The result of radiocarbon analysis of samples from grave 13 at Jokina glavica in Podvršje, where a pair of plain silver links had been discovered, was in the range from 777 to 900.¹³⁴

Rings

The most common ring type in female graves is made from bronze, silver or gold sheet with oval,

¹³⁰ Belošević 2007, str. 261, sl. 3, 2.

¹³¹ Belošević 2007, str. 261, sl. 3, 6.

¹³² Karičica nije publicirana.

¹³³ Belošević 1998, T. XXIII, 9.

¹³⁴ Gusar 2012, str. 63.

¹²⁹ Belošević 2007, p. 261, Fig. 3, 9.

¹³⁰ Belošević 2007, p. 261, Fig. 3, 2.

¹³¹ Belošević 2007, p. 261, Fig. 3, 6.

¹³² The link has not been published.

¹³³ Belošević 1998, Pl. XXIII, 9.

¹³⁴ Gusar 2012, p. 63.

Prstenje

Najčešći tip prstena u ženskim grobovima jest prstenje od brončanog, srebrnog ili zlatnog lima s ovalnim, rombičnim ili štitastim prednjim proširenjem. Prisutno je u gotovo svim grobovima navedenim ovdje u prilogu 1 pa se može ustvrditi da je to najzastupljeniji ženski nakit u to doba.¹³⁵ Ukrašeno je graviranim ili punciranim kršćanskim ili geometrijskim ornamentima. Posebno se ističe nekoliko primjeraka. To je u prvom redu zlatni prsten iz groba 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu¹³⁶ (sl. 3; T. 19, 22) s izravnim analogijama u gotovo istovjetnom srebrnom prstenu sa Zduša u Vrlici (T. 39, 3) i srebrnom prstenu iz Škripa na otoku Braču.¹³⁷ Riječ je o primjercima ukrašenim osmerokrakim križem (Kristovim monogramom). Sa svake strane križa nalazi se po jedna golubica prikazana u obrnutom položaju. Kristovim monogramom ukrašeno je i pojedino srebrno prstenje s Maklinova brda u Kašiću (T. 11, 9; T. 12, 6) i Ždrijaca u Ninu (T. 22, 3). Grčki križ u točkastoj kružnici nalazi se i na dva srebrna limena prstena iz groba 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu (T. 19, 19 i 21).¹³⁸ Iz groba 52 na Maklinovu brdu potječe srebrni prsten s ugraviranim križem račvastih krajeva (T. 13, 5). U pojedinim ždrijačkim grobovima (T. 33, 9; T. 34, 3) kao i u grobu 22 u Žestinju (Kaštel Novi) (sl. 22) otkriveno je prstenje ukrašeno pentagramom.¹³⁹

Zlatni prsten iz groba 223 u Lepurima (sl. 4; T. 18, 1) također je ukrašen križem formiranim od dvostruke filigranske pletenice koja rombično proširenje dijeli u četiri polja dekorirana znatim trokutićima. Najveći broj srebrnog i brončanog prstenja ovog tipa ornamentiran je geometrijskim motivom jednostrukog ili dvostrukog romba izvedenog tremoliranim linijama ili kružnicama s točkom u sredini, a registrirani su i neukrašeni primjerci.

Slično prstenje pojavljuje se u ostavštini grobalja na raznim područjima srednje i jugoistočne Europe, o čemu sam opširnije pisala u nekoliko navrata pa upućujem na te tekstove.¹⁴⁰ Pronalazimo ga na područjima s izraženom kasnoantičkim etničkim kontinuitetom, ali i na područjima naseljenim ger-

rhombic or shield-shaped frontal widening. They have been found in almost all graves listed here in Annex 1, so it can be stated that this was the most abundant female jewellery at the time.¹³⁵ They are decorated with engraved or stamped Christian or geometric ornaments. Several specimens are particularly notable. The most prominent one is the gold ring from grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin (Fig. 3; Pl. 19, 22),¹³⁶ with direct analogies to the almost identical silver ring from Zduš in Vrlika (Pl. 39, 3) and the silver ring from Škrip on the island of Brač.¹³⁷ These specimens are decorated with the eight-pointed cross (the monogram of Christ). On each side of the cross there is one dove in the inverse position. Certain silver rings from Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (Pl. 11, 9; Pl. 1, 6) and Ždrijac in Nin (Pl. 22, 3) are also decorated with the monogram of Christ. Two silver tin rings from grave 41 near the church of St. Asel in Nin (Pl. 19, 19 and 21) are decorated with the Greek cross in dotted circle.¹³⁸ A silver ring with engraved cross with bifurcated ends originates from grave 52 at Maklinovo brdo (Pl. 13, 5). Rings decorated with the pentagram were discovered in some Ždrijac graves (Pl. 33, 9; Pl. 34, 3), as well as in a grave in Žestinj (Kaštel Novi) (Fig. 22).¹³⁹

The gold ring from grave 223 in Lepuri (Fig. 4; Pl. 18, 1) is also decorated with the cross made of double filigree plait separating the rhombic widening in four fields decorated with small granular triangles. The majority of silver and bronze rings of this type have ornaments with geometric motifs of single or double rhombi in tremolated lines or circles with a dot in the middle, but there have also been recorded examples without decorations.

Similar rings have been found in graves in various areas of central and south-east Europe, which I have discussed in detail on several occasions in texts I would like to refer the readers to.¹⁴⁰ They have also been found in areas with distinct late antique ethnic continuity, but also in those settled by the Germans, Slavs and Avars from the sixth to the ninth centuries.

¹³⁵ Petrinc 2009, str. 147-151.

¹³⁶ Jurić 2015, str. 49-50, kat. br. 5.8.

¹³⁷ Za prstenje iz Škripa i Vrlike opširnije vidi Gjurašin 1990. Za interpretaciju i vremensko opredjeljivanje Petrinc 2002, str. 212, i Petrinc 2009, str. 148.

¹³⁸ Jurić 2015, str. 51-52, kat. br. 5.10 i 5.11.

¹³⁹ Burić 2008, sl. G-22.

¹⁴⁰ Petrinc 2005, str. 35-37; Petrinc 2009, str. 147-191.

¹³⁵ Petrinc 2009, pp. 147-151.

¹³⁶ Jurić 2015, pp. 49-50, Cat. No 5.8.

¹³⁷ For more details on the rings from Škrip and Vrlika cf. Gjurašin 1990. For the interpretation and dating cf. Petrinc 2002, p. 212, and Petrinc 2009, p. 148.

¹³⁸ Jurić 2015, pp. 51-52, Cat. Nos 5.10 and 5.11.

¹³⁹ Burić 2008, Fig. G-22.

¹⁴⁰ Petrinc 2005, pp. 35-37; Petrinc 2009, pp. 147-191.

manskom, slavenskom i avarskom populacijom u razdoblju od 6. do 9. stoljeća.

Posebno mjesto zauzima zlatni prsten iz Trilja s ovalnom krunom zalemljenom na kariku kružnog presjeka (sl. 19; T. 38, 10).¹⁴¹ U krunu je umetnuto zrno staklene paste ljubičaste boje optočeno pseudogranulama, a uokolo su raspoređene četiri kalote od zlatnog lima okružene tiještenim pseudogranulama. Prsten se može usporediti s pojedinim luksuznim primjercima iz kruga bizantskog zlatarstva otkrivenim u avarodobnim grobovima te u okviru grobalja 9. st. u Moravskoj, za koje se u najnovije vrijeme pretpostavlja da su nastali na temelju predložaka koje su već od 8. stoljeća izrađivali zlatari pristigli iz gradova na jadranskoj obali.¹⁴² Najsličniji je raskošan zlatni prsten iz već spominjanoga ženskog kneževskog groba Ozora-Tótipuszta s kraja 7. st. čiji inventar predstavlja izravni import iz Bizanta.¹⁴³ Taj prsten također ima četiri kalote raspoređene oko ovalne krune u koju je umetnut crveni almandin. Kao analogija triljskom prstenu može se navesti i jedan od prstenova iz groba 71 groblja Zalavár-Vársziget, čiji sadržaj neodoljivo podsjeća na triljski nalaz.¹⁴⁴

Naušnice grozdolikog tipa

Naušnice grozdolikog tipa najzastupljeniji su i najomiljeniji nakit ranoga srednjeg vijeka. U raznim inačicama pojavljuju se u razdoblju od 8. do 12. stoljeća gotovo u cijeloj srednjoj, jugoistočnoj i istočnoj Europi. I na prostoru Hrvatske registrirane su u znatnom broju kao dio inventara bogatijih ženskih grobova o kojima je ovdje riječ.¹⁴⁵

Načinjene su od zlata (tri primjerka iz groba 112 u Grborezima (T. 9, 12-14), tri para iz groba u Trilju (T. 38, 1-6), jedan par iz groba 62 na Ždrijacu (T. 24, 1-2), jedna iz ženskoga groba na oranici Aćima Popovića (T. 2, 3), par iz Skradina (T. 42, 5-6) i pojedinačni primjerci iz Ivoševaca (T. 42, 4) i Biskupije (T. 40, 4)), pozlaćenog srebra (par iz groba 15 na Ždrijacu u Ninu (T. 21, 2-3), naušnica iz groba

A special place is held by a gold ring from Trilj, with oval crown soldered on a link of circular cross-section (Fig. 19; Pl. 38, 10).¹⁴¹ A purple glass paste bead, edged with pseudo-granules, is inserted in the crown, surrounded with four gold sheet calottes, encompassed by pressed pseudo-granules. The ring can be compared to certain luxurious products of Byzantine goldsmithing as discovered in Avar era graves, and within the framework of ninth-century graveyards in Moravia, most recently presumed to have been made based on templates which had been manufactured since the eighth century by goldsmiths from towns on the Adriatic coast.¹⁴² The most similar is the gold ring from the mentioned princely female grave of Ozora-Tótipuszta from the end of the seventh century, with grave goods directly imported from Byzantium.¹⁴³ This ring also has four calottes arranged around an oval crown with inserted red almandin. As analogy to the Trilj ring, we can mention one of the rings from grave 71 in the Zalavár-Vársziget graveyard, the contents of which is quite resemblant of the Trilj find.¹⁴⁴

Grape-shaped earrings

Grape-shaped earrings were the most abundant and favourite jewellery in the early Middle Ages. They appeared in different varieties from the eighth to the twelfth centuries in almost the whole of central, south-east and east Europe. They have also been recorded in great numbers in Croatia, as parts of inventories in wealthier female graves discussed in this paper.¹⁴⁵

They are made from gold (three specimens from grave 112 in Grborezi (Pl. 9, 12-14), three pairs from the Trilj grave (Pl. 38, 1-6), one pair from grave 62 at Ždrijac (Pl. 24, 1-2), one from the female grave in Aćim Popović's field (Pl. 2,3), a pair from Skradin (Pl. 42, 5-6) and single examples from Ivoševci (Pl. 42, 4) and Biskupija (Pl. 40, 4));

¹⁴¹ Piteša 2009, str. 92, kat. br. 129; Piteša 2014, str. 71, kat. br. 20.6.

¹⁴² Ungerman 2017, str. 33, sl. 5; str. 35, sl. 6, str. 37, sl. 9, str. 39, sl. 10; str. 45, sl. 16. i dr. Za podrijetlo prstenja vidi na str. 58, 75-77.

¹⁴³ Garam 1993, str. 210, T. 85,8.

¹⁴⁴ Szöke 2008, str. 43-46. Uz grob 71 tu je i grob 269 s jedinim nalazom karolinških ostruga tzv. hrvatskog tipa izvan područja Hrvatske Kneževine i susjednih joj sklavinija. Vidi i Szöke 2010, str. 36-37.

¹⁴⁵ Opširnije vidi u: Petrinc 2009, str. 140-144.

¹⁴¹ Piteša 2009, p. 92, Cat. No 129; Piteša 2014, p. 71, Cat. No 20.6.

¹⁴² Ungerman 2017, p. 33, Fig. 5; p. 35, Fig. 6, p. 37, Fig. 9, p. 39, Fig. 10; p. 45, Fig. 16., etc. For the origin of the rings cf. pp. 58, 75-77.

¹⁴³ Garam 1993, p. 210, Pl. 85,8.

¹⁴⁴ Szöke 2008, pp. 43-46. In addition to grave 71, there is also grave 269 with the only Carolingian spurs of the so-called Croatian type found outside the area of the Croatian Principality and its neighbouring slavonia. Also cf. Szöke 2010, pp. 36-37.

¹⁴⁵ For more details cf. Petrinc 2009, pp. 140-144.



Sl. 23. Srebrne grozdolike naušnice s Crkvine u Biskupiji (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 23 Silver grape-shaped earrings from Crkvina in Biskupija (photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

9 na Crkvini u Biskupiji (T. 2, 7)), srebra (par iz groba 112 u Grborezima (T. 9, 6-7), jedan od parova iz groba 62 (T. 24, 3-4) i parovi iz grobova 48 (T. 21, 4-5) i 326 (T. 34, 5-6) na Ždrijacu, naušnica iz groba 21 (T. 10, 4) i dvije međusobno različite naušnice iz groba 53 na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću (T. 13, 3-4), naušnica iz groba 37 u Dubravicama kod Skradina (T. 2, 7), par iz groba 38 na Stombrotama u Bijaćima (T. 1, 1-2) naušnica iz groba 83 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu (T. 19, 23), naušnica iz groba 25 na Brzici u Civljanima (T. 3, 1), naušnica iz groba XVIa uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini (T. 3, 6) i par naušnica iz Biskupije kod Knina (sl. 23; T. 40, 5-6)), posrebrene bronce (par naušnica iz groba 4 na položaju Livade u Konjskom polju (T. 16, 1-2)) i bronce (naušnica iz groba 23 na Jojinim kućama u Glavicama (sl. 25; T. 7, 5), naušnice iz grobova 6 (T. 5, 1-2), 11 (T. 5, 4-5) i 21 (T. 5, 7-8) na položaju Gluvine kuće II u Glavicama, parovi naušnica iz grobova 15/16 (T. 17, 1-2) i 17 (T. 17, 3-4) na Livadama u Konjskom polju, naušnice iz groba 35 na Brzici u Civljanima kod Vrlike (T. 3, 4-5), parovi iz grobova 22 (sl. 22) i 44 (sl. 24) sa Svećurja (Žestinj) u Kaštel Novom i par iz groba 4 na Putalju iznad Kaštel Sućurca).

Pojavljuju se u raznim inačicama. U najvećem broju slučajeva glavni ukras je plastično oblikovan grozd izveden u tehnici granulacije ili lijevanja, a u velikom broju slučajeva karika je ukrašena koljenčima u obliku jednostrukog ili dvostrukog vjenčića od granuliranih zrnaca (dva para iz Trilja, naušnica

or from gold-plated silver (the pair from grave 15 at Ždrijac in Nin (Pl. 21, 2-3), the earring from grave 9 at Crkvina in Biskupija (Pl. 2, 7)); or from silver (the pair from grave 112 in Grborezi (Pl. 9, 6-7), one of the pairs from grave 62 (Pl. 24, 3-4) and the pairs from graves 48 (Pl. 21, 4-5) and 326 (Pl. 34, 5-6) at Ždrijac, the earring from grave 21 (Pl. 10, 4) and two mutually different earrings from grave 53 at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (Pl. 13, 3-4), the earring from grave 37 in Dubravice near Skradin (Pl. 2, 7), the pair from grave 38 at Stombrote in Bijaći (Pl. 1, 1-2), the earring from grave 83 near the church of St. Asel in Nin (Pl. 19, 23), the earring from grave 25 at Brzica in Civljane (Pl. 3, 1), the earring from grave XVIa near the church of the Holy Salvation in Cetina (Pl. 3, 6), and a pair of earrings from Biskupija near Knin (Fig. 23; Pl. 40, 5-6)); from silver-plated bronze (the pair of earrings from grave 4 at the Livade site in Konjsko polje (Pl. 16, 1-2)); and from bronze (the earring from grave 23 at Jojine kuće in Glavice (Fig. 25; Pl. 7, 5), the earrings from graves 6 (Pl. 5, 1-2), 11 (Pl. 5, 4-5) and 21 (Pl. 5, 7-8) at the Gluvine kuće II site in Glavice, the pairs of earrings from graves 15/16 (Pl. 17, 1-2) and 17 (Pl. 17, 3-4) at Livade in Konjsko polje, the earrings from grave 35 at Brzica in Civljane near Vrlika (Pl. 3, 4-5), the pairs from graves 22 (Fig. 22) and 44 (Fig. 24) from Svećurje (Žestinj) in Kaštel Novi, and the pair from grave 4 at Putalj above Kaštel Sućurac).

They appeared in different varieties. In most cases, their main decoration are plastically rendered grapes, either granulated or cast, with the link often decorated with nodes in the form of small single or double garlands of granulated beads (two pairs from Trilj, the earring from the grave in Aćim Popović's field in Biskupija, the earring from grave 9 at Crkvina in Biskupija, both pairs from grave 62 and the pairs from graves 15 and 326 at Ždrijac in Nin, the pair of silver earrings from grave 112 in Grborezi), or of coiled filigree wire (one pair from the Trilj grave), as well as cast imitations of double garland or of wire in the form of single or double widening on the link (the earring from Ivoševci, the earring from grave 37 in Dubravice near Skradin, all earrings from Maklinovo brdo in Kašić, the earring from grave 83 near the church of St. Asel in Nin, the pair of earrings from grave 48 at Ždrijac in Nin, the pair from grave 4 at Livade in Konjsko polje).

The particularly luxurious specimens from Trilj have two thirds of their links decorated with gar-



Sl. 24. Grob 44 u Svećurju (Kaštel Novi)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 24 Grave 44 in Svećurje (Kaštel Novi)
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

iz groba na oranici Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji, naušnica iz groba 9 na Crkvini u Biskupiji, oba para iz groba 62 i parovi iz grobova 15 i 326 na Ždrijacu u Ninu, par srebrnih naušnica iz groba 112 u Grborezima) ili ovijene filigranske žice (jedan par iz groba u Trilju) te lijevane imitacije dvostrukog vjenčića ili žice u obliku jednostrukoga ili dvostrukog zadebljanja na karici (naušnica iz Ivoševaca, naušnica iz groba 37 u Dubravicama kod Skradina, sve naušnice iz Maklinova brda u Kašiću, naušnica iz groba 83 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu, par naušnica iz groba 48 na Ždrijacu u Ninu, par iz groba 4 na Livadama u Konjskom polju).

Posebno luksuzni primjerci iz Trilja imaju dvije trećine karice ukrašene vijencima od pletene filigranske žice (T. 38, 1-4), dok je na paru naušnica iz Skradina prostor između središnjeg grozdolikog ukrasa i koljenaca ukrašen granulacijom (T. 42, 5-6).

Među grozdolikim naušnicama posebno se ističe skupina sa središnjim ukrasom u obliku sasvim stiliziranoga grozda, odnosno ukrasom u obliku klasa. Najluksuzniji među potonjima su srebrni par iz groba 15 na Ždrijacu, jedan također srebrni par nepoznatih okolnosti otkrića s Crkvine u Biskupiji, srebrni par iz groba 38 na Stombratama u Bijaćima, srebrna naušnica iz groba 25 na Brzici u Civljanima te njoj identična srebrna naušnica iz groba XVIa s groblja uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini.¹⁴⁶ Mogu im se pridružiti i posrebrene naušnice iz groba 4 na Livadama u Konjskom polju. No najveći broj ovih naušnica načinjen je od lijevane bronce (svi primjerci iz

¹⁴⁶ Belošević 2007, str. 261, sl. 3,13; Kamenjarin 2009, str. 91; str. 105, T. VIII, 4-5.; Petrincec 1996, str. 112.



Sl. 25. Grob 4 (Livade – Konjsko polje)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 25 Grave 4, Livade – Konjsko polje
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

lands of braided filigree wire (Pl. 38, 1-4), while the area between the central grape-shaped decoration and nodes on the pair of earrings from Skradin is decorated with granulation (Pl. 42, 5-6).

Particularly notable among the grape-shaped earrings is the group with central decoration in the form of fully stylised grape, or spike, as termed by some authors. The most luxurious among the latter ones are the silver pair from grave 15 at Ždrijac, another silver pair from Crkvina in Biskupija with unknown circumstances of its discovery, the silver pair from grave 38 at Stombrate in Bijaći, the silver earring from grave 25 at Brzica in Civljane, and the identical silver earring from grave XVIa in the cemetery near the church of the Holy Salvation in Cetina.¹⁴⁶ They can be associated with the silver-plated earrings from grave 4 at Livade in Konjsko polje. Notwithstanding, the bulk of such earrings is made from cast bronze (all specimens from Glavice near Sinj, the earrings from graves 15-16 and 17 in Konjsko, the earring from grave 35 at Brzica in Civljane,¹⁴⁷ and the earrings from Putalj above Kaštel Sućurac¹⁴⁸). The latter ones, like the pair from grave 11 at Gluvine kuće II in Glavice, belong to a separate subtype with the hook bent into loops and with grape-shaped decoration.

¹⁴⁶ Belošević 2007, p. 261, Fig. 3,13; Kamenjarin 2009, p. 91; p. 105, Pls. VIII, 4-5.; Petrincec 1996, p. 112.

¹⁴⁷ Petrincec 2009, p. 19, p. 329, Pls. V, 2-3, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001, p. 307, Pls. I, 5-6.

Glavica kod Sinja, naušnice iz grobova 15-16 i 17 iz Konjskog, naušnica iz groba 35 s Brzice u Civljani-ma¹⁴⁷ i naušnice s Putalja iznad Kaštel Sućurca¹⁴⁸). Potonje, kao i par iz groba 11 na Gluvinim kućama II u Glavicama, pripadaju posebnom podtipu s karikom povijenom u petlje i grozdolikim ukrasom.

U dva slučaja grozdolike su naušnice pronađene s novcem. Grob iz Trilja sadržavao je zlatnik Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. (760.–775),¹⁴⁹ koji se pojavljuje u većem broju grobova arheološkog horizonta o kojem je ovdje riječ, a grob 62 na Ždrijacu u Ninu srebrni franački denar Lotara I. (840.–855.),¹⁵⁰ pa se može konstatirati da su grozdolike naušnice u modi u razdoblju od posljednjih desetljeća 8. do sredine 9. stoljeća. Ovu dataciju potvrđuje i rezultat radiokarbonske analize provedene na uzorku iz groba 18 na Livadama u Konjskom polju s kalibriranim datumom 768.–896.¹⁵¹

O uporabi grozdolikih naušnica još tijekom početka druge polovine 9. stoljeća svjedoči i grob 83 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu, gdje su pronađene zajedno s naušnicama načinjenim od nasuprotno postavljenih srcolikih vitica (tzv. žminjski tip) (T. 19, 24).

Puceta u triljskom grobu i pitanje datacijske vrijednosti novca Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV.

U grobu u Trilju pronađena su dva kuglasta puceta od zlatnoga lima, kojima je donja polovina ukrašena gusto raspoređenim granulama (sl. 19, T. 38, 8-9).¹⁵² Predstavljaju jedini takav nalaz u nekom ženskom grobu na teritoriju na kojem će se oformiti Hrvatska Kneževina i susjedne joj sklavinije.¹⁵³ Ta okolnost, kao i specifično ukrašene karike dvaju parova naušnica iz istoga groba s paralelama na području Moravske i zapadne Mađarske, poslužili su 1991. godine P. Korošec kao jedan od ključnih argumenata za reinterpretaciju čitavog nalaza u kojem ona uočava elemente narodne nošnje moravske odličnice iz druge polovine 9. stoljeća.¹⁵⁴ Ta je od-

Grape-shaped earrings were found together with coins on two occasions. The grave from Trilj contained a gold coin of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV (760–775),¹⁴⁹ which has been found in a number of graves of the archaeological horizon discussed in this paper, while grave 62 at Ždrijac in Nin comprised a silver Frankish denarius of Lothair I (840–855),¹⁵⁰ so it can be stated that grape-shaped earrings were in vogue during the period from the final decades of the eighth century to the mid-ninth century. This dating has been corroborated by the results of radiocarbon analysis of a sample from grave 18 at Livade in Konjsko polje with a calibrated date of 768–896.¹⁵¹

The use of grape-shaped earrings as early as the beginning of the second half of the ninth century is evidenced by grave 83 near the church of St. Asel in Nin, where they were found together with earrings made of oppositely arranged heart-shaped tendrils (the so-called Žminj type) (Pl. 19, 24).

The buttons from the Trilj grave and the dating validity of coins of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV

Two spherical buttons made from gold sheet were found in the Trilj grave (Fig. 19; Pl. 38, 8-9). Their lower halves are decorated with densely arranged granules.¹⁵² They are the only such find in a female grave in the territory that would become the Croatian Principality and its neighbouring sclavinia.¹⁵³ This circumstance, as well as specifically decorated links of two pairs of earrings from the same grave with parallels in Moravia and western Hungary, served P. Korošec in 1991 as one of the key arguments for reinterpretation of the whole find, in which she found elements of the folk costume of a Moravian noble woman from the second half of the ninth century.¹⁵⁴ This noble woman, according to said author, had arrived in Croatia for unknown reasons, died here and was buried in the Trilj cemetery. Korošec relied on the dating of related Moravian

¹⁴⁷ Petrinc 2009, str. 19, str. 329, T. V, 2-3, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001, str. 307, T. I, 5-6.

¹⁴⁹ Piteša 2014, str. 72, kat. br. 20.7.

¹⁵⁰ Belošević 2007, str. 491, T. CXXXIX, 5.

¹⁵¹ Analiza je napravljena na *Queen's University* u Belfastu u Sjevernoj Irskoj. Na podatku zahvaljujem dr. sc. Mariju Novaku.

¹⁵² Piteša 2014, str. 68-69, kat. br. 20.4a-b.

¹⁵³ Nalazi puceta učestaliji su u grobovima mlađega rano-srednjovjekovnog ukopnog horizonta. Vidi: Petrinc 2009, str. 294-296.

¹⁵⁴ Korošec 1991, str. 87-96.

¹⁴⁹ Piteša 2014, p. 72, Cat. No 20.7.

¹⁵⁰ Belošević 2007, p. 491, Pl. CXXXIX, 5.

¹⁵¹ The sample was analysed at the *Queen's University* in Belfast, Northern Ireland. I would like to thank Mario Novak, PhD, for this information.

¹⁵² Piteša 2014, pp. 68–69, Cat. No 20.4a–b.

¹⁵³ Button finds are more frequent in graves of later early-medieval burial horizon. Cf. Petrinc 2009, pp. 294–296.

¹⁵⁴ Korošec 1991, pp. 87–96.



Sl. 26. Nalazi iz Brestovca kod Požege (preuzeto iz: *Hrvati i Karolinzi* 2000, str. 98, kat. br. II, 26.)
Fig. 26 Finds from Brestovac near Požega (taken from: *Hrvati i Karolinzi* 2000, p. 98, Cat. No II, 26.)

ličnica, prema mišljenju navedene autorice, iz nepoznatih razloga došla u Hrvatsku, ovdje je umrla te je pokopana na triljskom groblju. Pritom se Korošec oslanjala na datacije srodnih moravskih i slovačkih nalaza iz starije literature u kojoj su oni bili opredjeljivani najranije u drugu polovinu 9. stoljeća. Danas su datacije tih nalaza s pojedinih lokaliteta koje Korošec navodi, ali i u cijelosti za područje o kojem je riječ, u potpunosti revidirane.¹⁵⁵ Treba naglasiti i to da je tekst P. Korošec nastao u vrijeme kad je i u stranoj i u domaćoj literaturi prevladavalo mišljenje da novac Konstantina V. i Lava IV. nema datacijsku vrijednost za grobove u kojima je pronađen, već ga se smatralo dijelom riznice jedne hrvatske kneževske obitelji iz koje se po potrebi uzimao i stavljao u grobove tijekom čitavog 9. stoljeća.¹⁵⁶

U vezi s pučetima, ali i s pitanjem datacijske vrijednosti novca svakako treba ukazati na poznati ukop u tzv. sarkofagu s hipokampima s Crkvine u Biskupiji. Tu je, uz lijevo rame ukopanog pokojnika, koji nedvojbeno pripada najvišem društvenom sloju, pronađen privjesak-puce od ahata optočen zlatnim filigranskim nitima i s ušicom za pričvršćivanje na preklop.¹⁵⁷ Grob je sadržavao luksuzne

and Slovakian finds from older literature, in which they had been dated to the second half of the ninth century at the earliest. In the meantime, the dating of such finds from certain sites as cited by Korošec, as well as the whole area, has been completely revised.¹⁵⁵ It should also be pointed out that P. Korošec's text was produced the time when both foreign and national authors mostly believed that coins of Constantine V and Leo IV had no dating value for the graves in which they had been found, but were rather deemed as parts of the treasury of a Croatian princely family, from which coins had been taken and placed in graves when required throughout the ninth century.¹⁵⁶

With regard to the buttons, as well as the dating value of coins, the well-known burial in the so-called sarcophagus with hippocampi from Crkvina in Biskupija should be taken into consideration. A pendant-button made from agate, set in gold filigree wires and with an overlap fastening eye was found in it by the left shoulder of the buried man, undoubtedly from the highest social class.¹⁵⁷ The grave contained luxurious gold-plated spurs, and a gold Byzantine solidus identical to the one from the Trilj grave. One brand new find represents an additional point of interest. It is grave 4 at the Brekinjova kosa site in the vicinity of Glina, where, in addition to luxurious gold-plated silver spurs with relief decoration, an almost identical button-pendant made from rock crystal and yet another solidus of Constantine V and Leo IV were found.¹⁵⁸ As an interesting aside, I would like to reiterate that two

¹⁵⁵ O novim kronološkim sustavima za češko-moravsko-slovački prostor (posebno s obzirom na nakit) vidi: Ungerman 2011, Ungerman 2017; Ungerman 2018; Chorvátová 2004; Chorvátová 2007; Chorvátová 2015.

¹⁵⁶ Pitanje datacijske vrijednosti novca povezano je s problematikom tzv. horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina. Opširnije vidi: Jurčević 2011; Petrincec, Jurčević 2015, str. 347-353; Bilogrivić 2019, str. 122-125.

¹⁵⁷ Radić 1896, str. 77, T. II, 6; str. 83-84. Radić navo-

¹⁵⁵ For new chronological systems concerning the Czech-Moravian-Slovakian region (in particular with regard to jewellery) cf. Ungerman 2011, Ungerman 2017; Ungerman 2018; Chorvátová 2004; Chorvátová 2007; Chorvátová 2015.

¹⁵⁶ The dating validity of coins is related to the matter of the so-called Biskupija-Crkvina horizon. For more details cf. Jurčević 2011; Petrincec-Jurčević 2015, p. 347-353; Bilogrivić 2019, pp. 122-125.

¹⁵⁷ Radić 1896, p. 77, Pl. II, 6; pp. 83-84. Radić stated that the pendant was from agate or glass paste. In later literature it was noted that the pendant was from red jasper (cf. Milošević 2000, p. 136; Milošević 2009, pp. 556-557, p. 562, fn. 31), albeit no evidence was provided whatsoever. The pendant was most likely black, as indicated in an entry from L. Marun's diary from 24 April 1891, in which he wrote about a similar button find: "...and one black pierced button, similar to the button found in the sarcophagus, but smaller, without the form, and torn off from the knob..." (cf. Marun 1998, str. 31).

¹⁵⁸ Madiraca *et al.*, pp. 164-182, the coin on p. 178, Fig. 14, the button on p. 176, Fig. 13.

pozlaćene ostruge, ali i zlatni bizantski solid jednak onome iz triljskoga groba. Dodatnu zanimljivost predstavlja i jedan posve novi nalaz. Riječ je o grobu 4 na položaju Brekinjove kose nedaleko od Gline, gdje su uz luksuzne reljefno ukrašene srebrne pozlaćene ostruge pronađeni gotovo istovjetno puće-privjesak od gorskog kristala te ponovo solid Konstantina V. i Lava IV.¹⁵⁸ Kao dodatnu zanimljivost još jednom navodim okolnost da su u jednom još nepubliciranom ženskom grobu na Brekinjovoj kosi pronađene dvije ogrlice načinjene od srebrnih jagodica.¹⁵⁹

Dva zlatna puceta registrirana su i u poznatom nalazu iz Brestovca kod Požege (sl. 26), gdje se kao dijelovi ženske nošnje pojavljuju i grozdolika naušnica i prsten sa štitastim proširenjem. Brestovački je nalaz na osnovi kasnoavarodobnih predmeta i jednoga karolinškog jezičca s pupoljkastim završetkom datiran oko godine 800.¹⁶⁰

Sva tri groba, muški iz Biskupije i Bojne (Brekinjova kosa) te ženski iz Trilja, dakle, sadrže puceta-privjeske te treba ustvrditi da se takvi nalazi pojavljuju kako u muškoj tako i u ženskoj nošnji, kao i to da novac Konstantina V. ima datacijsku vrijednost za ova tri groba, ali i za sve ostale grobove u kojima je pronađen.¹⁶¹

di da je riječ o privjesku od ahata ili staklene paste. Kasnije se u literaturi pojavljuje podatak da je riječ o privjesku od crvenog jaspisa (usp. Milošević 2000, str. 136; Milošević 2009, str. 556-557, str. 562, bilj. 31) premda za to nisu navedeni nikakvi dokazi. Privjesak je vjerojatno bio crne boje, o čemu svjedoči jedna zabilješka iz dnevnika fra L. Maruna od 24. travnja 1891. u kojoj navodi nalaz sličnog puceta: „...i jedno puće crno probušeno, slično pucu našastu u šarkofagu, ali manje od onoga i bez pojasa, nego odlomljeno od ostalog okvira...” (usp. Marun 1998, str. 31).

¹⁵⁸ Madiraca *et alii*, str. 164-182, novac na str. 178, sl. 14, puće na str. 176, sl. 13.

¹⁵⁹ Hina, Arheološko nalazište kod Gline, Jutarnji list, 16. 4. 2019. (foto: Dragan Matić).

¹⁶⁰ Opsežni prikaz nalaza u Bühler 2014.; vidi i Jarak 2016, str. 15-19.

¹⁶¹ Uz grobove sa Crkvine u Biskupiji, grob iz Trilja te grobove iz Dubravica i s groblja u okolišu crkve Sv. Križa u Ninu treba navesti i još nepublicirani nalaz iz jednog od bogatih muških grobova na nalazištu Vaćani kraj Skradina. U grobu su osim novca registrirane i ranokarolinške ostruge te mač tipa *K*, jednako kao i u biskupijskim grobovima. Dakle, sve pojave novca Konstantina V. u grobnom kontekstu pripadaju ranom horizontu ranosrednjovjekovnih kosturnih grobalja na području na kojem će se formirati Hrvatska Kneževina.

necklaces made of silver beads were found in an as yet unpublished grave at Brekinjova kosa.¹⁵⁹

Two gold buttons were also recorded as part of the find from Brestovac near Požega (Fig. 26), with a grape-shaped earring and a ring with shield-shaped widening as components of a female costume. The Brestovac find has been dated approximately to the year 800, based on late Avar era items and a Carolingian prong with bud-shaped end.¹⁶⁰

All three graves, the male ones from Biskupija and Bojna (Brekinjova kosa), and the female one from Trilj, contained buttons-pendants, and therefore it should be stated that such finds have been common both in male and female costumes. Furthermore, coins of Constantine V do have the dating value for the three graves, as well as for all other graves in which they have been found.¹⁶¹

c) Positions of certain graves with female jewellery in systematically investigated graveyards

Female graves in the layer with coins of Constantine V and Leo IV

In addition to the mentioned graves, directly dated based on coins of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV, two more sites should be pointed out.

In Dubravice near Skradin, grave 37 with a silver cast grape-shaped earring, a silver link and a ring with shield-shaped widening was found buried immediately behind a walled tomb (grave 34) containing the mentioned gold coin.¹⁶² In the same grave layer, in grave 15, albeit in the part of the graveyard which can be assumed to be somewhat earlier than that with graves 34 and 37, a silver earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril and a

¹⁵⁹ Hina, Arheološko nalazište kod Gline, Jutarnji list, 16/4/2019 (photograph: Dragan Matić).

¹⁶⁰ For a detailed description of the find cf. Bühler 2014.; also cf. Jarak 2016, pp. 15-19.

¹⁶¹ In addition to the graves at Crkvina in Biskupija, the grave from Trilj, and the graves from Dubravice and the cemetery around the church of the Holy Cross in Nin, we should also mention a yet unpublished find from one of the wealthy male graves at the Vaćani site near Skradin. In addition to a coin, the grave also contained early Carolingian spurs and a type *K* sword, the same as the Biskupija graves. Therefore, all coins of Constantine V in the burial context belong to the early horizon of early medieval skeletal graves in the area of the later Croatian Principality.

¹⁶² Hrvati i Karolinzi (catalogue) 2000, p. 257, Cat. Nos IV.127 and IV.128.

c) *Položaj pojedinih grobova sa ženskim nakitom u okviru sustavno istraženih grobalja*

*Ženski grobovi u sloju s novcem
Konstantina V. i Lava IV.*

Osim na prethodno navedene grobove izravno datirane novcem Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. treba ukazati na još dva lokaliteta.

U Dubravcima kod Skradina grob 37 sa srebrnom lijevanom grozdolikom naušnicom, srebrnom karičicom i prstenom sa štitastim proširenjem ukopan je odmah iza zidane grobnice (grob 34) s nalazom spomenutog zlatnika.¹⁶² U istom je sloju grobova, u grobu 15, ali u dijelu groblja za koji se može pretpostaviti da je nešto stariji od onog u kojem se nalaze grobovi 34 i 37, otkrivena srebrna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice i srebrna karičica sa S-završetkom.¹⁶³

Na položaju Banovac u Ninu u grobu 2 otkrivena je srebrna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku zrnatih trokutića i ogrlica od staklene paste, a u grobu 3 par brončanih karičica sa završetkom u obliku kvačice i petlje. Ovi ženski grobovi nalazili su se u okruženju grobova s keramičkim posudama i željeznim oruđem.¹⁶⁴ Sonda sa spomenutim grobovima na Banovcu izravno se vezuje na dio groblja u okolišu crkve Sv. Križa koji je prethodno istražio J. Belošević, a gdje su bili registrirani grobovi najstarijeg ukopnog sloja, među kojima i grob 140 sa zlatnikom Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV., te susjedni grob 41 sa srebrnim i brončanim karičicama i grob 81 u kojem je pronađena zlatna karičica.¹⁶⁵ Tijekom istraživanja M. Radović je utvrdio da su ranije istraženi grobovi uz crkvu Sv. Križa i grobovi na Banovcu dio istoga groblja i istog ukopnog sloja.¹⁶⁶

Nužno je još jednom ukazati i na okolnost da je u funkciji obola (umjesto novca Konstantina V. i Lava IV.) u grobu 9 na Crkvini u Biskupiji pronađena srebrna pozlaćena grozdolika naušnica (**T. 1, 5**).¹⁶⁷ Riječ je o muškom grobu u kojem su bile

silver link with S-shaped end were found.¹⁶³

At the Banovac site in Nin, a silver earring with decoration in the form of small granular triangles and a necklace made from glass paste were found in grave 2, while a pair of bronze links with clasp and loop end was found in grave 3. These female graves were surrounded with graves containing ceramic vessels and iron tools.¹⁶⁴ The trench with the mentioned graves at Banovac is directly linked to a part of the cemetery around the church of the Holy Cross, previously investigated by J. Belošević, where graves of the earliest burial layer were recorded, among them grave 140 with a gold coin of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV, and the adjacent grave 41 with silver and bronze links, and grave 81 with a gold link.¹⁶⁵ During the investigation, M. Radović determined that the previously investigated graves near the church of the Holy Cross and the graves at Banovac had been parts of the same cemetery and the same burial layer.¹⁶⁶

It is important to reiterate that a gold-plated silver grape-shaped earring was found in grave 9 at Crkvina in Biskupija as an obol (rather than coins of Constantine V and Leo IV).¹⁶⁷ This is a male grave, which also contained rather damaged iron spurs, unfortunately not preserved. The grave was in the same burial layer as the known graves 1–8 with rich goods – Carolingian weapons and equestrian equipment, metalware and buckets, and gold coins of Copronymus as oboli. Long ago now, these graves, along with some other Croatian finds, gave the name to the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon in European literature.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² Hrvati i Karolinzi (katalog) 2000, str. 257, kat. br. IV.127 i IV.128.

¹⁶³ Gunjača 1995, str. 162; str. 286, sl. 13.

¹⁶⁴ Radović 2010.

¹⁶⁵ Belošević 1998, str. 121, 129.

¹⁶⁶ Radović 2010, str. 166–167.

¹⁶⁷ Petrincec 1009, str. 78, T. 101, 4. Naušnicu je prvi objavio Lj. Karaman (usp. Karaman 1930–1934, T. XVIII, slika u sredini lijevo). Marun nije želio vjerovati da je naušnica bila u funkciji obola. No naušnica je pronađena 22. 6. 1892. u muškom grobu sa željeznim ostru-

¹⁶³ Gunjača 1995, p. 162; p. 286, Fig. 13.

¹⁶⁴ Radović 2010.

¹⁶⁵ Belošević 1998, pp. 121, 129.

¹⁶⁶ Radović 2010, pp. 166–167.

¹⁶⁷ Petrincec 1009, p. 78, Pl. 101, 4. The earring was first published by Lj. Karaman (cf. Karaman 1930–1934, Pl. XVIII, centre left figure). Marun refused to believe that the earring had been used as an obol. However, the earring was found on 22 June 1892 in a male grave, together with iron spurs. “I was on horseback inspecting the works in Biskupija. Between the fourth pylon and the presbytery, by the south wall of the basilica, two meters away, a deceased person was found at a normal depth, with spurs poorly preserved. The workers claim, which I find hard to believe, that a silver earring was found in the dead person’s mouth and delivered to me” (cf. Marun 1998, p. 45).

¹⁶⁸ Giesler 1974.

pronađene i veoma oštećene željezne ostruge, koje nisu sačuvane. Grob se nalazio u istom ukopnom sloju kao i poznati grobovi 1-8 s bogatim priložima karolinškog oružja i konjaničke opreme, metalnog posuđa i vjedrica te s Koprionimovim zlatnicima kao obolima. Riječ je o grobovima koji su uz još neke hrvatske nalaze davno u europskoj literaturi dali ime horizontu Biskupija-Crkvina.¹⁶⁸

Odnos grobova sa ženskim nakitom i grobova s nalazima karolinške provenijencije (horizont Biskupija-Crkvina)

Osim eponimnog lokaliteta Crkvina u Biskupiji u obzir se može uzeti još nekoliko grobalja, koja su istražena u većem opsegu.

Na prvome mjestu svakako treba istaknuti groblje na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću (**Plan 2**), o čemu sam pisala u nekoliko navrata.¹⁶⁹ Istraživač J. Belošević navodi da je istraženo oko 80 % groblja dok je ostatak uništen te ističe da se radi o jednoslojnom groblju.¹⁷⁰ Stratigrafijom groblja bavili su se i V. Sokol¹⁷¹ i A. Alajbeg.¹⁷² Sokol također smatra kako je struktura nekropole horizontalno-stratigrafski relativno ujednačena, dok Alajbeg pokušava odrediti pravac njezina širenja. Kao jezgru i ishodišni dio groblja određuje skupinu od 24 groba, koja je na zapadu omeđena grobom 5, na sjeveru grobom 20, na istoku grobom 41 te na jugu grobom 31. Te grobove, drži autor, karakterizira nedostatak nalaza koji bi se mogli datirati nakon početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća.

No u kontekstu ovdje razmatrane problematike bitna je krajnja istočna skupina grobova s databilnim materijalom (grobovi 52, 53, 54, 55) (**T. 43; T. 13; T. 14; T. 44**). Grob 52 sadržavao je par željeznih ostruga s garniturama (**T. 43, 1-4, 6**),¹⁷³ dok je u također muškom grobu 55 otkriven jedan lijevani brončani kasnoavarski jezičac (**T. 44, 5**).¹⁷⁴ Jezič-

gama. „Bio sam na konju u Biskupiji pregledati radju. Izmedj četvrtoga piona i presbiterija, uz podnevni zid bazilike, daleko dva metra, u običajnoj dubljini našast je jedan mrtvac sa ostrugam loše sačuvanim, a radnici tvrde, što je meni mučno vjerovati, da u ustima mrtca našla se je jedna srebrna naušnica, koja mi je i bila predana“ (usp. Marun 1998, str. 45).

¹⁶⁸ Giesler 1974.

¹⁶⁹ Petrinc 2007; Petrinc 2015, str. 113-120.

¹⁷⁰ Belošević 2010, str. 89.

¹⁷¹ Sokol 2006, str. 49-55.

¹⁷² Alajbeg 2014, str. 150-154.

¹⁷³ Belošević 2010, str. 51; str. 228, T. XXXIII.

¹⁷⁴ Belošević 2010, str. 52-53, str. 231, T. XXXVI.

Relations between the graves with female jewellery and those with artefacts of Carolingian provenance (the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon)

Several other graveyards, investigated on a larger scale, can also be considered in addition to the eponymous site of Crkvina in Biskupija.

In the first place we should note the graveyard at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić (**Plan 2**), which I have covered in several papers.¹⁶⁹ Researcher J. Belošević stated that around 80 % of the graveyard had been researched and the rest devastated, pointing out that it was a single-layer graveyard.¹⁷⁰ V. Sokol¹⁷¹ and A. Alajbeg also dealt with the stratigraphy of the graveyard.¹⁷² Sokol deemed it that the structure of the necropolis was relatively balanced horizontally-stratigraphically, while Alajbeg attempted to determine the direction of its enlargement. He pin-pointed a group of 24 graves as the core and root of the graveyard, bounded by grave 5 in the west, grave 20 in the north, grave 41 in the east, and grave 31 in the south. The author believed that these graves were characterised by a lack of finds which could be dated to a period after the beginning of the last third of the eighth century.

However, in the context of the topic at hand, the easternmost group of graves with datable material is important, i.e. graves 52, 53, 54, and 55 (**Pl. 43; Pl. 13; Pl. 14; Pl. 44**). Grave 52 contained a pair of iron spurs with fastening sets (**Pl. 43, 1-4, 6**),¹⁷³ while a cast bronze late Avar era prong was discovered in the male grave 55 (**Pl. 44, 5**).¹⁷⁴ Prongs of this type have been dated to the second half of the eighth century, but they also appeared later, in the first decade of the ninth century, as parts of composite sets in post-Avar graveyards in the northern peripheral regions of the Avar Khaganate.¹⁷⁵ Infant grave 54 contained one semilunar pendant (the so-called Koman pendant) (**Pl. 14, 5**).¹⁷⁶ Such pendants, although appearing as early as in the last third of the seventh century, had still been in use during the eighth century, which I was first to point out.

¹⁶⁹ Petrinc 2007; Petrinc 2015, pp. 113–120.

¹⁷⁰ Belošević 2010, p. 89.

¹⁷¹ Sokol 2006, pp. 49–55.

¹⁷² Alajbeg 2014, pp. 150–154.

¹⁷³ Belošević 2010, p. 51; p. 228, Pl. XXXIII.

¹⁷⁴ Belošević 2010, pp. 52–53, p. 231, Pl. XXXVI.

¹⁷⁵ For information on parts of late Avar era belt sets in the territory of the Croatian Principality cf. Petrinc 2009, pp. 172–183.

¹⁷⁶ Belošević 2010, p. 52; p. 230, Pl. XXXV.

ci tog tipa datiraju se u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća, ali se pojavljuju i nešto kasnije, u prvom desetljeću 9. st., u kompozitnim garniturama na postavarskim grobljima na području sjeverne periferije Avarskog Kaganata.¹⁷⁵ Dječji grob 54, pak, sadržavao je jedan polumjesečasti privjesak (tzv. komanski privjesak) (T. 14, 5).¹⁷⁶ Takvi privjesci, premda se pojavljuju već od zadnje trećine 7. stoljeća, u uporabi su i tijekom 8. stoljeća, na što sam prva ukazala, a što u posljednje vrijeme pouzdano potvrđuju i rezultati radiokarbonskih analiza.¹⁷⁷ Svi navedeni grobovi u neposrednoj su blizini groba 53 (T. 13), u kojem pronalazimo velik broj karakterističnih elemenata ženske nošnje: torkves, ogrlicu od zlatnih limenih jagodica i perlica staklene paste, lijevane srebrne grozdolike naušnice, prsten s prednjim proširenjem ukrašen križem. Pripadaju vremenu horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina te se mogu datirati u kraj 8. ili prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća. Ako se prihvati pretpostavka A. Alajbega o radijalnom širenju groblja, u tom bi slučaju navedena četiri groba pripadala najmlađim ukopima na spomenutom groblju, odnosno na istraženom dijelu toga groblja.¹⁷⁸

Za razliku od situacije na Maklinovu brdu grob 154 s karolinškim ostrugama na groblju Gorica u vinodolskim Strančama (Plan 3) pripada ishodišnom dijelu groblja te se nalazi u okruženju grobova s jednostavnim željeznim i keramičkim materijalom.¹⁷⁹ Od prvih dvaju redova ovaj dio groblja širi se u smjeru zapada. Već u sljedećem redu pojavljuje se ženski grob 166, s nalazom kobaltnoplavih perlica od staklene paste.¹⁸⁰ U daljnjim redovima može se izdvojiti još nekoliko grobova sa ženskim nakitom. To se ponajprije odnosi na grob 127 u kojem je otkrivena velika ogrlica sastavljena od srebrnih limenih jagodica i raznobojnih perlica staklene paste (T. 37, 1).¹⁸¹ Srebrne jagodice te ogrlice ukrašene su jednako kao one na golubičkoj ogrlici. U blizini groba 127 je i grob 132, s brončanim karičicama i koštanim češljem,¹⁸² te grob 128, s neukrašenim koštanim recipijentom čija se pojava u okviru grobalja

This has been reliably corroborated by radiocarbon analyses.¹⁷⁷ All mentioned graves are in the immediate vicinity of grave 53 (Pl. 13), which contained quite a number of elements characteristic for female costumes: a torques, a necklace with gold sheet and glass beads, cast silver grape-shaped earrings, a ring with frontal widening, decorated with the cross. They belong to the Biskupija-Crkvina temporal horizon, and can be dated to the late eighth century or the first decades of the ninth century. If we accepted A. Alajbeg's assumption on radial spreading of the graveyard, the mentioned four graves would then belong to the latest burials in the graveyard, that is, in its investigated section.¹⁷⁸

In contrast to the situation at Maklinovo brdo, grave 154 with Carolingian spurs from the Gorica graveyard in Vinodol Stranče (Plan 3) belongs to the initial part of the graveyard. It is surrounded with graves which contained simple iron and ceramic items.¹⁷⁹ This part of the graveyard spreads westward from the first two rows. The very next row is home to female grave 166, which contained cobalt blue glass paste beads.¹⁸⁰ Several graves with female jewellery from other rows are worthy of mention. In the first place, I am referring to grave 127, in which a large necklace with silver tin and glass paste beads of various colours was discovered (Pl. 37, 1).¹⁸¹ The silver beads on this necklace are decorated in the same way as those on the Golubić necklace. In the vicinity of grave 127 we have grave 132 with bronze links and a bone comb,¹⁸² and grave 128, with a non-decorated bone recipient, whose appearance in the graves from this paper is associated with the Avars, but also with the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon.¹⁸³ The other two investigated segments of the graveyard in the south and north belong to later periods (the second half of the ninth century, the tenth century, and the first half of the eleventh century).

It is also interesting to note the relations of the graves containing Carolingian items with the fe-

¹⁷⁵ O pojavi dijelova kasnoavarskih pojasnih garnitura na teritoriju Hrvatske Kneževine vidi Petrinc 2009, str. 172-183.

¹⁷⁶ Belošević 2010, str. 52; str. 230, T. XXXV.

¹⁷⁷ Gusar, Vujević 2012, str. 118; Petrinc 2015, str. 109-115; Nallbani 2017, str. 330-331.

¹⁷⁸ Alajbeg 2014, str. 150-154.

¹⁷⁹ Cetinić 2011, str. 104, str. 169-170, T. L-LI.

¹⁸⁰ Cetinić 2011, str. 107.

¹⁸¹ Cetinić 2011, str. 39, 90, str. 160-161, T. XLI-XLII.

¹⁸² Cetinić 2011, str. 93, str. 166, T. XLVII.

¹⁷⁷ Gusar, Vujević 2012, p. 118; Petrinc 2015, pp. 109-115; Nallbani 2017, pp. 330-331.

¹⁷⁸ Alajbeg 2014, pp. 150-154.

¹⁷⁹ Cetinić 2011, p. 104, pp. 169-170, Pls. L-LI.

¹⁸⁰ Cetinić 2011, p. 107.

¹⁸¹ Cetinić 2011, pp. 39, 90, pp. 160-161, Pls. XLI-XLII.

¹⁸² Cetinić 2011, p. 93, p. 166, Pl. XLVII.

¹⁸³ Cetinić 2011, pp. 234-235, Figs. 101-102; p. 91, p. 163, Pl. XLIV. For information on similar finds and their interpretations in older literature cf. Petrinc 2009, pp. 214-218.

o kojima je riječ dovodi u vezu s avarskim miljeom, ali i horizontom Biskupija-Crkvina.¹⁸³ Ostala dva istražena segmenta groblja s južne i sjeverne strane pripadaju mladim razdobljima (druga polovina 9. st., 10. stoljeće i prva polovina 11. st.).

Zanimljiv je i odnos grobova s karolinškim materijalom i ženskih grobova s nakitom na dvjema ždrijačkim nekropolama.

Na prvome mjestu navodim grob 322 na Ždrijacu u Ninu s tri istovremena ukopa (**T. 30-32**).¹⁸⁴ Torkves, koji je pripadao djetetu u grobu, čini zajedničku cjelinu s ranokarolinškim mačem, kopljem i konjaničkim ostrugama. Grob se nalazio na istočnoj ždrijačkoj nekropoli (**Plan 4**) u gusto zbijenoj skupini grobova unutar koje je još jedan grob s karolinškim materijalom (grob 312)¹⁸⁵ te nekoliko ženskih grobova s nakitom (grobovi 65, 310, 311, 324 i 326).¹⁸⁶ Nešto dalje, ali ne previše odmaknuti od spomenute skupine, su grob 74, s karolinškom ostrugom,¹⁸⁷ i ženski grob 327 s nakitom (**T. 34**).¹⁸⁸ Da je riječ istaknutim pripadnicima zajednice koja se ovdje pokapala, svjedoči još nekoliko osebujnih nalaza iz grobova iste skupine (kalotaste aplikacije u grobovima 322 (**T. 31, 4**) i 324 (**T. 33, 14**) i križna aplikacija u grobu 324 (**T. 33, 1**), karakteristične za kasnoavarsko i postavarsko razdoblje, te staklena boca iz groba 322 i staklene čaše iz istoga groba (**T. 32, 3-4**) i iz groba 310 (**T. 29, 1**).¹⁸⁹ Ostali grobovi u navedenoj skupini na istočnoj nekropoli sadrže jednostavne keramičke i željezne nalaze karakteristične za najstariji horizont kosturnog ukapanja na prostoru na kojem će nastati Hrvatska Kneževina.

U ženskim grobovima istočne nekropole pronalazimo, dakle, obične karičice, grozdolike naušnice, torkves, ogrlice od staklene paste i prstenje s prednjim proširenjem ukrašeno kršćanskom simbolikom. Ti se nalazi, imajući u vidu položaj grobova u kojima su otkriveni, kao i s obzirom na dataciju predmeta karolinške i kasnoavarske provenijencije mogu okvirno vremenski opredijeliti u sam kraj 8. st. ili početna desetljeća 9. st., odnosno u razdoblje trajanja horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina.

male graves comprising jewellery in two necropolises at Ždrijac.

First I would like to mention grave 322 at Ždrijac in Nin with three simultaneous burials (**Pl. 30-32**).¹⁸⁴ The torques, belonging to the interred child, is part of an assemblage with an early Carolingian sword, a spear and equestrian spurs. The grave is located in the east Ždrijac necropolis (**Plan 4**), in a tightly packed group of graves comprising yet another grave with Carolingian artefacts (grave 312),¹⁸⁵ and several female graves with jewellery (graves 65, 310, 311, 324, and 326).¹⁸⁶ A little farther away, but not too distant from the mentioned group, we have grave 74, with a Carolingian spur,¹⁸⁷ and female grave 327 with jewellery (**Pl. 34**).¹⁸⁸ The fact that the deceased were distinguished members of the community which interred its individuals here is evidenced by several other lush finds from graves of the same group (calotte-like appliqués in graves 322 (**Pl. 31, 4**) and 324 (**Pl. 33, 14**), and a cross-shaped appliqué in grave 324 (**Pl. 33, 1**), specific for the late- and post-Avar eras, as well as a glass bottle from grave 322 (**Pl. 32, 3-4**), and glasses from the same grave and grave 310 (**Pl. 29, 1**).¹⁸⁹ Other graves from the mentioned group in the east necropolis comprised simple ceramic and iron artefacts characteristic for the earliest horizon of skeletal burials in the area that would soon become the Croatian Principality.

To wit, the female graves in the east necropolis contained plain links, grape-shaped earrings, a torque, glass paste necklaces, and rings with frontal widening, decorated with Christian symbols. Considering the location of the graves, and given the dating of the artefacts of Carolingian and late Avar provenances, these finds can tentatively be dated to the very end of the eighth century or the first decades of the ninth century, i.e. to the period of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon.

The situation is much more complex with the west Ždrijac necropolis. Even researcher Janko Belošević believed that the burial sequence could not be traced due to the irregularity of rows and varying distances between the graves, as well as the kin-based grouping of graves.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ Cetinić 2011, str. 234-235, sl. 101-102; str. 91, str. 163, T. XLIV. O sličnim nalazima i njihovoj interpretaciji u starijoj literaturi vidi Petrincec 2009, str. 214-218.

¹⁸⁴ Belošević 2007, str. 241, T. CII; str. 243, T. CII.

¹⁸⁵ Belošević 2007, str. 237, T. C.

¹⁸⁶ Belošević 2007, str. 149, T. LVI; str. 235, T. XCIX; str. 245, T. CIV.

¹⁸⁷ Belošević 2007, str. 151, T. LVII.

¹⁸⁸ Belošević 2007, str. 245, T. CIV.

¹⁸⁹ Petrincec 2009, str. 166-169.

¹⁸⁴ Belošević 2007, p. 241, Pl. CII; p. 243, Pl. CII.

¹⁸⁵ Belošević 2007, p. 237, Pl. C.

¹⁸⁶ Belošević 2007, p. 149, Pl. LVI; p. 235, Pl. XCIX; p. 245, Pl. CIV.

¹⁸⁷ Belošević 2007, p. 151, Pl. LVII.

¹⁸⁸ Belošević 2007, p. 245, Pl. CIV.

¹⁸⁹ Petrincec 2009, pp. 166-169.

¹⁹⁰ Belošević 2007, p. 28.

Situacija je znatno složenija kada je u pitanju zapadna ždrijačka nekropola. Sam istraživač Jan-ko Belošević smatrao je da se slijed ukopavanja ne može pratiti zbog nepravilnosti redova i nejednakih razmaka među grobovima kao i zbog grupiranja grobova po familijarnom srodstvu.¹⁹⁰

V. Sokol drži da se zapadna nekropola širila u smjeru od zapada prema istoku te da su kronološki najmlađi grobovi smješteni u njezinu istočnom dijelu, s iznimkom manje skupine na krajnjem sjeveroistoku (grobovi 55, 57-63, 92) (**Plan 5**). Također izdvaja skupinu grobova u sjeverozapadnom dijelu koji su preslojili starije grobove, a pripadaju 10.-11. stoljeću (grobovi 16, 17, 22, 24, 32, 34, 94, 96, 116, 117, 118, 137).¹⁹¹ Te je grobove kao najmlađe već prethodno izdvojio J. Belošević.

A. Alajbeg pretpostavlja drugačiji redoslijed širenja nekropole (**Plan 6**). Ishodište joj pronalazi u središnjem dijelu istraženog segmenta, gdje se, prema njegovu mišljenju, nalaze najstariji ukopi (njih ukupno 75), pri čemu kao kronološki relevantne ističe upravo nalaze (naušnice) iz ženskih grobova 48 i 227. Smatra da je riječ o dijelu nekropole s materijalom starijim od zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, a ukopi se najprije šire u smjeru jug-sjever prema morskoj obali. Kada širenje na sjever postaje nemoguće, započinje se s ukapanjem zapadno i istočno od samog središta groblja, pa se s obje strana ishodišnog dijela nalaze mlađi grobovi – jedni nastavljaju sa širenjem prema zapadu, a drugi prema istoku.¹⁹²

No kada je u pitanju ždrijačka zapadna nekropola, treba istaknuti sljedeće. Grobovi na Ždrijacu, u skladu s tada uobičajenom metodom istraživanja, iskopavani su na način da se nije definirala i potom praznila grobna raka, već se grob čistio tek kada bi se došlo do kostura. Kostur se potom ostavljao ili u ravnini s dnom iskopa (zdravicom) ili čak na postamentu.¹⁹³ Na taj način zapravo i nije bilo moguće tijekom samog istraživanja, a još manje kasnije utvrditi međusobni odnos pojedinih grobova ili redova. Također je posve jasno i više puta istaknuto od samog istraživača Beloševića da se sjeverni dio obje nekropole nalazio pod morem te da je na taj način uništen nepoznat broj grobova, pa se stoga obalna linija ždrijačke plaže ne može smatrati periferijom

V. Sokol thought that the west necropolis had been spreading from the west to the east, and that chronologically the earliest graves were located in its eastern part, with an exception of a smaller group in its north-easternmost part (graves 55, 57–63, 92) (**Plan 5**). He also singled out a group of graves from the tenth to eleventh centuries in the north-western part, which had overlaid earlier graves (graves 16, 17, 22, 24, 32, 34, 94, 96, 116, 117, 118, 137).¹⁹¹ These graves had already previously been pin-pointed by J. Belošević.

A. Alajbeg assumed a different sequence of enlargement of the necropolis (**Plan 6**). He found its root in the central part of the investigated segment, where, according to him, the earliest burials were located (75 in total). He pointed out that the finds (earrings) from female graves 48 and 227 were chronologically relevant. He believed that this part of the necropolis contained artefacts dating from before the last third of the eighth century, and that the burials had started spreading in the south-north direction, toward the sea coast. When it was no longer possible to expand northward, burials were initiated to the west and east of the very centre of the graveyard. Thus, as a result of this westward and eastward enlargement, there exist later graves on both sides of the initial section.¹⁹²

The following should be pointed out with regard to the Ždrijac west necropolis. In accordance with the then common investigation method, graves at Ždrijac were excavated in such a way that grave pits were not defined and then emptied, but rather cleared only upon reaching the skeletons. The skeletons would then be left either flush with the excavation bottom (sub-soil) or even on the base.¹⁹³ Therefore, it was actually not possible to determine the correlations between respective graves or rows during the very investigation, and even less so later on. It is also completely clear and also pointed out a number of times by researcher Belošević himself that northern parts of both necropolises had been under the sea, which had devastated an unknown number of graves. This is why the coastal line of the Ždrijac beach cannot be regarded as peripheral part of neither the east nor the west necropolis in line with Alajbeg's interpretation. Therefore, any attempt to interpret the horizontal stratigraphy of

¹⁹⁰ Belošević 2007, str. 28.

¹⁹¹ Sokol 2006, str. 58–59.

¹⁹² Alajbeg 2014, str. 155–158.

¹⁹³ Vidi fotografije u Belošević 2007, str. 465–485, T. CLXIV–CLXXXIV.

¹⁹¹ Sokol 2006, pp. 58–59.

¹⁹² Alajbeg 2014, pp. 155–158.

¹⁹³ Cf. photographs in Belošević 2007, pp. 465–485, Pls. CLXIV–CLXXXIV.

ni istočne ni zapadne nekropole na način na koji to tumači Alajbeg. Stoga svaki pokušaj naknadnog tumačenja horizontalne stratigrafije ždrijačkih groblja treba ipak uzeti s rezervom.

U okviru zapadne nekropole ističe se jedna veća skupina databilnih grobova. To su sve odreda muški grobovi (166, 167, 168, 160 i 161)¹⁹⁴ smješteni jedan pored drugoga u istom redu, koji sadrže materijal karolinške provenijencije (**Plan 7**). Najbliži ženski grobovi nalaze se niže u istom redu – grob 165, s dvije srebrne karičice s kvačicom i petljom,¹⁹⁵ i grob 169, s brončanom karičicom sa zadebljanjem u donjem dijelu karike i kvačicom i petljom za pričvršćivanje.¹⁹⁶ Sjeverno od ove skupine je i dječji grob 100, s parom brončanih karičica koje su se zatvarale pomoću kvačice i petlje.¹⁹⁷ Podalje, ali još uvijek donekle u ravnini sa spomenutim grobovima, nalazi se grob 15, s parom lijevanih srebrnih naušnica koje pripadaju grozdolikom tipu, ali sa središnjim ukrasom u obliku klasa.¹⁹⁸ U tom se grobu nalazio i koštani češalj.

U sljedećem redu u smjeru zapada smješten je dječji grob 104, u kojem su otkrivene srebrne filigranske naušnice s jagodicama na bočnim stranama karike i zrnatim trokutićem kao središnjim ukrasom. Sam grob bio je poprilično oštećen te u njemu osim nekoliko koščica nisu zatečeni ostaci pokojnika *in situ*.¹⁹⁹

U krajnjem zapadnom dijelu istraženog segmenta zapadne nekropole nalazi se još nekoliko ženskih grobova. To su grobovi 28, 138, 140 i 150,²⁰⁰ položeni u redu iza groba 104, te grobovi 95 i 139, u sljedećem redu prema zapadu.²⁰¹ U tom dijelu groblja dolazi do preslojavanja mlađim ukopima koje navode Belošević i Sokol; međutim, dokumentirana situacija nije posve jasna. Kao mlađi ukopi izdvojeni su uglavnom grobovi s rakama obloženim kamenom u suhozidu, a većina ih je bez nalaza. No preslojavanje je na tlocrtu uočljivo i kod grobova u običnim rakama. Tako grobovi 38 (s keramičkom posudom) i 95 (ženski grob s karičicom i prstenom)

Ždrijac graves *ex post facto* should be taken with a grain of salt.

The west necropolis comprises one notable larger group of datable graves. It consists solely of male graves (166, 167, 168, 160, and 161),¹⁹⁴ arranged side by side in one row (**Plan 7**). They contained artefacts of Carolingian provenance. The nearest female graves are down the line in the same row – grave 165, with two silver links with clasp and loop,¹⁹⁵ and grave 169, with a bronze link widened on the lower part and with clasp and loop for fastening.¹⁹⁶ North of this group there is infant grave 100, which contained a pair of bronze links with clasp and loop.¹⁹⁷ Farther away, but still relatively in line with the mentioned graves, there is grave 15, which contained a pair of cast silver earrings of the grape-shaped type, but with central decoration in the form of spike.¹⁹⁸ This grave also contained a bone comb.

In the next row toward the west, there is infant grave 104, which contained silver filigree earrings with beads on link sides and a small granular triangle as central decoration. The grave was rather damaged, and only a few small bones of the interred person were found *in situ*.¹⁹⁹

In the westernmost part of the investigated segment of the west necropolis, there are several other female graves. These are graves 28, 138, 140, and 150,²⁰⁰ arranged in a row beyond grave 104, and graves 95 and 139 in the adjacent row to the west.²⁰¹ Overlaying by later burials occurred in this part of the graveyard, as mentioned by Belošević and Sokol; notwithstanding, the records do not provide a clear-cut picture. Mainly the graves with pits lined with stacked stone have been classified as later burials. Most of them contained no artefacts. However, overlaying is patent in the ground plan even in graves in simple pits. Thus, graves 38 (with a ceramic vessel) and 95 (a female grave with a link and a ring) overlay grave 102, but they have not been recorded as graves of a later layer, since all are buried in simple earth pits. The situation con-

¹⁹⁴ Belošević 2007, str. 187, T. LXXV; str. 189, T. LXXVI; str. 191, T. LXXVII; str. 181, T. LXXII; str. 183, T. LXXIII.

¹⁹⁵ Belošević 2007, str. 187, T. LXXV.

¹⁹⁶ Belošević 2007, str. 191, T. LXXVII.

¹⁹⁷ Belošević 2007, str. 155, T. LIX.

¹⁹⁸ Belošević 2007, str. 137, T. L.

¹⁹⁹ Belošević 2007, str. 157, T. LX.

²⁰⁰ Belošević 2007, str. 139, T. LI; str. 169, T. LXVI; str. 171, T. LXVII; str. 175, T. LXIX.

²⁰¹ Belošević 2007, str. 153, T. LVIII; str. 169, T. LXVI.

¹⁹⁴ Belošević 2007, p. 187, Pl. LXXV; p. 189, Pl. LXXVI; p. 191, Pl. LXXVII; p. 181, Pl. LXXII; p. 183, Pl. LXXIII.

¹⁹⁵ Belošević 2007, p. 187, Pl. LXXV.

¹⁹⁶ Belošević 2007, p. 191, Pl. LXXVII.

¹⁹⁷ Belošević 2007, p. 155, Pl. LIX.

¹⁹⁸ Belošević 2007, p. 137, Pl. L.

¹⁹⁹ Belošević 2007, p. 157, Pl. LX.

²⁰⁰ Belošević 2007, p. 139, Pl. LI; p. 169, Pl. LXVI; p. 171, Pl. LXVII; p. 175, Pl. LXIX.

²⁰¹ Belošević 2007, p. 153, Pl. LVIII; p. 169, Pl. LXVI.

preslojavaju grob 102, a ne navode se kao grobovi mlađeg sloja, jer su svi ukopani u običnim zemljanim rakama. Slična je situacija i s grobom 138, koji preslojava grob 145. Oba groba su u običnim zemljanim rakama, no grob 138 istaknut je kao mlađi ponajprije zbog toga što sadrži brončane jednojagodne naušnice koje se pretežito pojavljuju u mlađem ranosrednjovjekovnom ukopnom horizontu na području Hrvatske Kneževine. Stoga ostaje otvoreno pitanje datacije pojedinih grobova u ovom dijelu groblja kao i njihov odnos prema muškim grobovima s karolinškim materijalom. Jedino se može ustvrditi da su svi grobovi zapadno od reda s karolinškim materijalom vremenski mlađi, uz pretpostavku širenja nekropole prema zapadu. To djelomično odgovara pretpostavci A. Alajbega, a u potpunosti je suprotnosti sa Sokolovom interpretacijom prema kojoj bi taj dio zapadne nekropole (osim grobova s kamenim ogradama) bio najstariji. No kako sam već naglasila, ništa od navedenog nije moguće tvrditi sa sigurnošću s obzirom na metodu iskopavanja u kojoj se nisu respektirale grobne rake.

Naposljetku treba istaknuti i činjenicu da su najbogatiji ženski grobovi s najvećim brojem karakterističnih elemenata ženske nošnje (65, 310, 322, 324, 326) koncentrirani na istočnoj nekropoli, o čemu je prethodno bilo riječi, ali isto tako ih u većem broju pronalazimo u skupini na krajnjem sjeveroistočnom dijelu istraženog segmenta zapadne nekropole (grobovi 48, 53, 54, 62). U blizini navedene skupine su i nešto skromniji grobovi 63 i 93,²⁰² kao i grob 55, s nalazom koštanog češlja.²⁰³

Grob 62 sadržavao je dva para grozdolikih naušnica (jedne zlatne i jedne srebrne) izrađenih u tehnici filigrana i granulacije, prsten s prednjim rombičnim proširenjem i srebrni denar franačkog vladara Lotara I. (840. - 855.), kralja Italije (T. 24, 7).²⁰⁴ Nalaz ovog novca datira spomenuti ukop oko sredine 9. stoljeća, a to vrijedi i za grobove u njegovoj blizini (93 i 63). Nešto zapadnije smještena su još tri bogata ženska groba, 53 (T. 22), 54 (T. 23) i 48 (T. 21). U grobu 48 pronađene su lijevane grozdolike naušnice, a u grobu 53 obične karičice. Grobovi 53 i 54 sadržavaju i prstenje s rombičnim proširenjem te koštane iglenike. No zaista nije moguće utvrditi na koji se način nekropola razvijala u ovom dijelu. Sokol smatra da grobovi grupirani u sjeveroistočnom dijelu oko groba 62 (od 57 i 55 do

cerning grave 138, overlaying grave 145, is similar. Both graves are in simple earth pits, but grave 138 has been classified as later, above all because it contained silver single-bead earrings which had mainly appeared in the early mediaeval burial horizon in the territory of the Croatian Principality. Therefore, the question of dating respective graves in this part of the graveyard still remains open, as well as their relation to the male graves with Carolingian artefacts. It can only be stated that all graves west of the row with Carolingian artefacts are later, assuming the westward expansion of the necropolis. This partially corresponds to A. Alajbeg's assumption, and is in total contradiction to Sokol's interpretation that this part of the west necropolis (bar the graves with stone fences) is earliest. However, as I have already pointed out, none of the above can be stated with certainty, given the excavation method which paid no heed to grave pits.

Finally, we should also point out the fact that the wealthiest female graves with the greatest number of elements specific to female costumes (65, 310, 322, 324, 326) are concentrated in the east necropolis, as mentioned above, but a number of them can also be found in the group located in the north-easternmost part of the investigated segment in the west necropolis (graves 48, 53, 54, 62). In the vicinity of said group there are somewhat more modest graves 63 and 93,²⁰² as well as grave 55, in which a bone comb was discovered.²⁰³

Grave 62 contained two pairs of grape-shaped earrings (one gold and the other silver) made in filigree technique with granulation, a ring with frontal rhombic widening, and a silver denarius of the Frankish ruler Lothair I (840–855), King of Italy (PI. 24, 7).²⁰⁴ This coin facilitates the dating of the mentioned burial to the mid-ninth century, which also applies to the graves in its vicinity (93 and 63). Somewhat further to the west, there are another three lavish female graves – 53 (PI. 22), 54 (PI. 23), and 48 (PI. 21). Cast grape-shaped earrings were found in grave 48, whereas grave 53 contained plain links. Graves 53 and 54 also contained rings with rhombic widening, and bone needle-cases. However, the way the necropolis developed in this part cannot possibly be determined. Sokol believed that the graves grouped in the north-eastern part around grave 62 (from 57 and 55 to 63) belonged

²⁰² Belošević 2007, str. 149, T. LVI; str. 153, T. LVIII.

²⁰³ Belošević 2007, str. 145, T. LIV.

²⁰⁴ Belošević 2007, str. 147, T. LV; str. 491, T. CXXXIX.

²⁰² Belošević 2007, p. 149, PI. LVI; p. 153, PI. LVIII.

²⁰³ Belošević 2007, p. 145, PI. LIV.

²⁰⁴ Belošević 2007, p. 147, PI. LV; p. 491, PI. CXXXIX.

63) pripadaju starijem dijelu nekropole, a grobove ispod njih smatra najmlađim dijelom nekropole.²⁰⁵ Potonji bi stoga, slijedom navedene interpretacije, vremenski zalazili duboko u drugu polovinu 9. stoljeća, što nije osobito vjerojatno. Alajbeg pak striktno odvaja grobove od 53 i 54 pa oštrom linijom prema jugu u ravnini s njima određuje prvi red najstarijeg ishodišnog dijela nekropole.²⁰⁶ Treba, međutim, zapaziti da svi ženski grobovi čija je najveća koncentracija upravo u gornjem sjevernom dijelu istraženog segmenta zapadne ždrijačke nekropole imaju gotovo istovjetan inventar, a elementi ženske nošnje pojavljuju se u njima u sličnim kombinacijama, pa je pitanje kakve bi bile pretpostavke da grob 62 ne sadržava novac sredine 9. stoljeća.

U slučaju zapadne ždrijačke nekropole može se konstatirati samo to da u blizini izrazite skupine muških grobova s karolinškim materijalom nema luksuznih grobova s grozdolikim ili zvjezdolikim naušnicama, s izuzetkom potpuno oštećenoga dječjega groba 104. Kako je riječ o veoma oštećenom grobu u dijelu nekropole u kojem dolazi do preslojavanja, teško je utvrditi kojem je ukopnom horizontu taj grob pripadao.

Grob 62 s novcem franačkog vladara Lotara I. u funkciji obola potvrđuje, pak, da su grozdolike naušnice u modi još i sredinom 9. stoljeća.

Na kraju ukazujem na još dva nedovoljno dokumentirana nalazišta bitna za uočavanje međusobnog odnosa luksuznih ženskih grobova i muških grobova s karolinškim materijalom.

Prvo je na položaju oranice Aćima Popovića u Biskupiji. Tu su, još u Marunovo doba, bila otkrivena dva ranosrednjovjekovna groba, jedan uz drugi. Ženski grob nalazio se u zidanoj grobnici za koju se navodi da nalikuje onima u nartekso bazilike sv. Marije na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Grob je sadržavao tri zlatne naušnice (jedan par naušnica s ukrasom u obliku nabranih vitica i zrnatih trokutića i jednu naušnicu grozdolikog tipa (**T. 2, 1-3**)) te torques i ogrlicu od metalnih i staklenih jagodica, koji su izgubljeni. Odmah do ovoga groba u običnoj zemljanoj raci ograđenoj suhozidom bio je ukopan muškarac sa željeznim ostrugama s brončanom oplatom na šiljku. Ostruge su imale brončane garniture s jezičcima i petljama pticolikog oblika karakteristične za stariju fazu horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina. Na predjelu zdjelice pokojnika nalazio se još jedan

to an earlier part of the necropolis, and regarded the graves below them as the latest part of the necropolis.²⁰⁵ Following this interpretation, the latter would hence date from the second half of the ninth century, which is not very likely. Alajbeg, on the other hand, strictly separated the graves from 53 and 54, and by drawing a sharp line to the south conforming with them he determined the first row of the earliest initial part of the necropolis.²⁰⁶ Notwithstanding, it should be noted that all female graves, mostly concentrated in the very upper northern part of the investigated segment of the west Ždrijac necropolis, contained almost identical artefacts, with female costume elements in similar combinations, which raises the question as to what would the assumptions have been like had grave 62 not contained a mid-ninth century coin.

In the case of the west Ždrijac necropolis, it can only be stated that there are no lush graves with grape- or star-shaped earrings in the vicinity of male graves, except for the damaged infant grave 104. Given a high level of devastation of the grave, in the part of the necropolis with overlayering, it is difficult to determine its burial horizon.

Grave 62 with the coin of the Frankish ruler Lothair I as an obol confirms that grape-shaped earrings were still in vogue in the mid-ninth century.

Finally, I should point out two as yet insufficiently recorded sites, significant for detecting correlations between lavish female graves and male graves with Carolingian artefacts.

The first one is located in Aćim Popović's field in Biskupija. Two early mediaeval graves were discovered there side by side as early as in Marun's era. The female grave was in a walled tomb, said to resemble those in the narthex of the basilica of St. Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija. The grave contained three gold earrings (one pair with decoration in the form of corrugated tendrils and small granular triangles, and one earring of the grape-shaped type (**PI. 2, 1-3**)), as well as a torques and a necklace with metal and glass beads, which are lost. Adjacent to this grave, a male with iron spurs with bronze plating on a spike was buried in a simple earth pit enclosed by a stacked stone wall. The spurs had bronze fastening sets with prongs and bird-shaped loops, specific for a later period of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon. Yet another artefact, now lost, was found on the deceased's pelvis. Marun defined

²⁰⁵ Sokol 2006, str. 58-59.

²⁰⁶ Alajbeg 2014, str. 156-158.

²⁰⁵ Sokol 2006, pp. 58-59.

²⁰⁶ Alajbeg 2014, pp. 156-158.

predmet, koji Marun određuje kao mjedeno ovčje zvono, koji je izgubljen.²⁰⁷ Ako su Marunovi podaci točni, nalazi iz jednog i iz drugog groba mogu se datirati oko godine 800.

Na groblju na položaju Brzica u Civljanima kod Vrlike prilikom izgradnje punionice za vodu 2007. godine otkriveno je četrdesetak ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova.²⁰⁸ Grobovi su bili u velikoj mjeri uništeni poljoprivrednim radovima, ali i kasnijim ukopima iz 17. st. i s početka 18. st. U dva ranosrednjovjekovna groba otkrivene su grozdolike naušnice (jedna srebrna, s ukrasom u obliku klasa, i par brončanih, s lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom), zatim u susjednom grobu prsten s prednjim rombičnim proširenjem, a u jednom plugom razvučenom i veoma oštećenom grobu ostaci garnitura za pričvršćivanje karolinških ostruga (par brončanih štitačkih jezičaca, par petlji sa željeznom pređicom i brončanom ovalnom prednjom pločicom te ulomak željezne kopče).²⁰⁹ I ovdje dakle registriram pojavu karakterističnog ženskog nakita i karolinške konjaničke opreme u istom ukopnom sloju.

Naposljetku, isto je uočeno i na najnovijem nalazištu Brekinjova kosa kod Gline, gdje se u horizontu s nalazima karolinške provenijencije i novcem Konstantina V. i Lava IV. pojavljuju i dvije ogrlice od srebrnih jagodica.²¹⁰

it as a brass sheep-bell.²⁰⁷ If Marun's information is correct, the finds from both graves can be approximately dated to the year 800.

During the construction of a water bottling plant in 2007, about forty early mediaeval graves were discovered at the Brzica site in Civljane near Vrlika.²⁰⁸ The graves were damaged to a large extent by agricultural activities and subsequent burials from the 17th and early 18th centuries. Grape-shaped earrings (a silver one with decoration in the form of spike, and a bronze pair with cast grape-shaped decoration) were found in two early mediaeval graves. The adjacent grave contained a ring with frontal rhombic widening. In another grave, rather damaged by ploughing, there were remains of Carolingian spur strap-ends (a pair of bronze shield-shaped prongs, a pair of loops with iron curb bit and bronze oval frontal plate, and an iron buckle fragment).²⁰⁹ Here I would also like to record the appearance of characteristic female jewellery and Carolingian equestrian equipment in the same burial layer.

Finally, the same has been observed at the most recent site of Brekinjova kosa near Gline, with two necklaces with silver beads appearing in the horizon with finds of Carolingian provenance and coins of Constantine V and Leo IV.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Petrinc 2005a, str. 175-176; Petrinc 2009, str. 17-18; Zekan 2010, str. 173, bilj. 21.

²⁰⁸ Petrinc 2009, str. 19, str. 329-330, T. 5-6.

²⁰⁹ Petrinc 2009, str. 329, T. 5, G 46, 4-5.

²¹⁰ Lokalitet se nalazi na samoj granici rimske Dalmacije i Panonije, koju je, pretpostavlja se, slijedila i kasnija srednjovjekovna granica između Hrvatske Kneževine i Panonske Kneževine Ljudevita Posavskog početkom 9. stoljeća. Premda pojedini nalazi s lokaliteta s obzirom na način ukrašavanja pokazuju veliku srodnost s kasnoavarsko/ranokarolinškim horizontom na području Karpatske kotline, treba naglasiti njihovu snažnu povezanost s grobovima horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina na teritoriju Hrvatske Kneževine. O tome posebno svjedoči nalaz novca Konstantina V. i Lava IV., kovan u Sirakuzi i potpuno istovjetan onom koji se pronalazi isključivo na teritoriju Hrvatske Kneževine. Stoga se ne mogu složiti s interpretacijom da je na Brekinjovu kosu dospio nakon pljačke avarskog hringa u doba franačko-avarskih ratova krajem 8. stoljeća (usp. Madiraca *et alii*, str. 181). Ovaj novac sigurno dolazi iz istog izvora i na isti način kao i onaj otkriven u grobovima u Dalmaciji. Opširnije o novcu vidi: Šeparović 2003. Vidi i Šeparovićev članak u ovom broju *Starohrvatske prosvjete*.

²⁰⁷ Petrinc 2005a, pp. 175–176; Petrinc 2009, pp. 17–18; Zekan 2010, p. 173, fn. 21.

²⁰⁸ Petrinc 2009, p. 19, pp. 329–330, Pls. 5-6.

²⁰⁹ Petrinc 2009, p. 329, Pls. 5, G 46, 4–5.

²¹⁰ The site is located on the very border between Roman Dalmatia and Pannonia, presumably retained as the medieval boundary between the Croatian Principality and the Pannonian Principality of Ljudevit Posavski in the beginning of the ninth century. Although certain finds from the site are quite similar to the late Avar/early Carolingian horizon in the Carpathian Basin in terms of their decorations, it should be pointed out that they are tightly connected with the graves of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon in the territory of the Croatian Principality. This is particularly corroborated by the coin of Constantine V and Leo IV, minted in Syracuse and completely identical to those found solely in the territory of the Croatian Principality. Therefore, I cannot agree with the interpretation that it ended up at Brekinjova kosa following the sacking of the Avar hring during the Frankish-Avar wars in the late eighth century (cf. Madiraca *et al.*, p. 181). This coin surely came from the same source and in the same manner as those discovered in Dalmatian graves. For more on the coin cf. Šeparović 2003. Also cf. Šeparović's paper in this edition of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*.

Ostala kronološki relevantna nalazišta i nalazi

U posljednjih dvadesetak godina pojavila se nova velika skupina grozdolikih naušnica, i to zahvaljujući sustavno provedenim arheološkim iskopavanjima. Pretežito su načinjene od bronce i izrađene tehnikom lijevanja. Kod dijela ovih naušnica lijevanjem se imitira granulirani grozd, a pojedini ma se središnji pojednostavljeni grozdoliki ukras približava obliku klasa.

Do godine 1992. bila su poznata samo dva para naušnica sa središnjim ukrasom u obliku klasa. Oba su načinjena od srebra, te ih se u starijoj literaturi nije posebno odvajalo od dotad poznatog fonda grozdolikih naušnica. Jedan par potječe iz već spominjanog groba 15 na Ždrijacu u Ninu, a drugi je s Crkvine u Biskupiji, ali okolnosti otkrića nisu poznate.

Srodna srebrna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku klasa otkrivena je 2007. godine u grobu 25 na već spominjanom lokalitetu Brzica u Civljanima, u sloju s karolinškim materijalom.²¹¹ U istom sloju grobova otkriven je i par lijevanih brončanih grozdolikih naušnica. Srebrna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku klasa istovjetna civiljanskoj iz groba 25 otkrivena je i u grobu XVIa na groblju uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini, koje je samo nekoliko kilometara udaljeno od lokaliteta u Civljanima.²¹² Premda davno pronađena i objavljena, naušnica je ostala nezapažena i neprepoznata. Njezina pojava u jednom od grobova na navedenom lokalitetu otvara niz pitanja vezanih uz kronologiju groblja uz crkvu Sv. Spasa. Grob je otkriven u unutrašnjosti crkve u okruženju kasno-srednjovjekovnih i ranonovovjekovnih grobova, a u njemu je u običnoj zemljanoj raci bio ukopan jedan pokojnik.²¹³ To je jedini grob u običnoj zemljanoj raci na prostoru unutar crkve. U formularu i terenskom dnevniku nedostaju podaci o položaju nalaza pa tako ostaje nepoznato je li nakit pripadao ukopanom pokojniku ili je možda u grobu završio naknadno u zasipu rake. No treba ustvrditi da naušnicu o kojoj je riječ nije moguće uklopiti u kronološki okvir groblja za koje se pretpostavlja da se oko crkve započinje razvijati najranije na prijelazu 10. i 11. stoljeća. Tako postoji mogućnost da je riječ o starijem grobu koji je prethodio podizanju crkve krajem 9. stoljeća ili se, pak, radi o predmetu koji je u grobu XVIa završio prilikom zasipavanja grobne

Other chronologically relevant sites and finds

Over the past twenty odd years, a new large group of grape-shaped earrings has emerged, thanks to systematic archaeological excavations. They are mostly cast and made from bronze. Some of them were cast to imitate granulated grapes, while certain specimens have a simplified central decoration almost resembling spikes.

Until 1992, only two pairs of earrings with central decoration in the form of spike were known. Both are made from silver, and were not distinguished in the older literature from the then known stock of grape-shaped earrings. One pair originates from the mentioned grave 15 at Ždrijac in Nin, while the other is from Crkvina in Biskupija, but the circumstances of the discovery are not known.

A related silver earring with decoration in the form of spike was discovered in 2007 in grave 25 at the mentioned site of Brzica in Civljane, in the layer containing Carolingian artefacts.²¹¹ A pair of cast bronze grape-shaped earrings was also discovered in the same burial layer. A silver earring with decoration in the form of spike, identical to the one from grave 25 in Civljane, was discovered in grave XVIa in the cemetery near the church of the Holy Salvation in Cetina, only a few kilometres away from the Civljane site.²¹² This earring has remained unnoticed and unrecognised although it had been discovered and published a long time ago. Its appearance in one of the graves at the mentioned site prompts a series of questions regarding the chronology of the cemetery near the church of the Holy Salvation. The grave was discovered inside the church, amid late mediaeval and early modern age graves, with one person interred in a simple earth pit.²¹³ This is the only grave in a simple earth pit inside the church. The information on the position of the find is missing in the field form and log, and so it remains unknown whether the jewellery belonged to the interred person or maybe it ended up in the back-filled pit subsequently. However, it should be stated that the earring cannot be integrated in the chronological framework of the cemetery, which presumably started developing near the church around the turn from the tenth to the eleventh century at the earliest. Thus there is a possibility that this is an earlier grave which preceded the construction

²¹¹ Petrinec 2009, str. 329, T. 5,7.

²¹² Petrinec 1996, str. 112.

²¹³ Petrinec 1996, str. 106-112.

²¹¹ Petrinec 2009, p. 329, Pl. 5,7.

²¹² Petrinec 1996, p. 112.

²¹³ Petrinec 1996, pp. 106-112.

rake. No i u tom slučaju mora se računati da je na groblju uz crkvu Sv. Spasa postojao i jedan stariji sloj grobova.

Skupini srebrnih naušnica s ukrasom u obliku klasa može se pridružiti i par naušnica iz groba 38 otkrivenih na položaju Stombrate u okviru groblja na redove 50-ak metara udaljenog od crkve sv. Marthe u Bijaćima.²¹⁴ I ovdje je riječ o vremenski nešto mlađem groblju, koje se može opredijeliti u razdoblje druge polovine 9. st. i u 10. stoljeće.

Jedna brončana naušnica u obliku klasa potječe iz groba 23 na položaju Jojinih kuća u Glavicama kod Sinja.²¹⁵

Ovdje se razvoj groblja može pratiti u smislu horizontalne i vertikalne stratigrafije (**Plan 8**). Najstariji sloj grobova nalazi se na istočnoj strani (grobovi 1-8, 9/15, 10-14, 25-33). Većina ovih grobova je u običnim zemljanim rakama, a nekoliko njih ima obložnice od nepravilnih kamenih ploča. Sloju pripada i bogati grob 11, s tri para srebrnih karičica i ogrlicom sa srebrnim i staklenim jagodicama te prstenom s prednjim rombičnim proširenjem. Ukoپی se šire u smjeru zapada, pa se najmlađi grobovi (grobovi 17-23) nalaze na zapadnoj periferiji istraženoga segmenta groblja. Tu je došlo do izravnog preslojavanja pa se tako grob 19 nalazio iznad zemljane raku groba 26. Ovi mlađi grobovi razlikuju se i grobnom arhitekturom; načinjeni su od fino klesanih ploča od muljike.²¹⁶ U grobu 23 mlađeg sloja otkrivena je brončana naušnica s ukrasom u obliku klasa zajedno s velikom ogrlicom od staklenih perlica i tri prstena, od kojih jedan ima prednje rombično proširenje. Dakle, može se ustvrditi da je ženski grob 11 stariji od ženskoga groba 23.

Tri para brončanih grozdolikih naušnica pronalazimo i na obližnjem položaju Gluvine kuće II u Glavicama.²¹⁷ U grobu 6 pronađen je par s lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom i ogrlicom od staklenih perlica,²¹⁸ u grobu 11 par s ukrasom u obliku klasa i karikom povijenom u petlje,²¹⁹ a u grobu 21 par s ukrasom u obliku klasa.²²⁰ Sva tri groba pripadaju mlađem sloju ukapanja na spomenutom položaju te imaju obložnice od fino obrađenih ploča od muljike.

of the church in the late ninth century, or that the artefact wound up in grave XVIa in the process of back-filling the grave pit. Notwithstanding, even in the latter case, the fact that there was also an earlier layer of graves in the cemetery near the church of the Holy Salvation should also be taken into consideration.

A pair of earrings from grave 38, discovered at the Stombrate site in a tiered graveyard some 50 metres away from the church of St. Martha in Bijaći, can be associated with the group of silver earrings with decoration in the form of spike.²¹⁴ This graveyard is also from a somewhat later period, and can be dated to the second half of the ninth century and the tenth century.

One bronze spike-shaped earring originates from grave 23 at the Jojine kuće site in Glavice near Sinj.²¹⁵

Here we can trace the development of the graveyard in terms of horizontal and vertical stratigraphy (**Plan 8**). The earliest layer of graves is on the east side (graves 1–8, 9/15, 10–14, 25–33). The majority of these graves are in simple earth pits, while several have covers of irregular stone slabs. This layer also comprises the lavish grave 11, with three pairs of silver links and a necklace with silver and glass beads, as well as a ring with frontal rhombic widening. The burials spread to the west, and so the latest graves (17–23) are located on the western outskirts of the investigated graveyard segment. A direct overlaying had occurred there, and thus grave 19 was above the earth pit of grave 26. These later graves also differ in tomb architecture, since they are made of finely dressed siltstone slabs.²¹⁶ In grave 23 of the later layer, a bronze earring with decoration in the form of spike was discovered together with a large necklace with glass beads and three rings, one of which has frontal rhombic widening. Therefore, it can be stated that female grave 11 is earlier than female grave 23.

Three pairs of bronze grape-shaped earrings were also found at the nearby site of Gluvine kuće II in Glavice.²¹⁷ A pair with cast grape-shaped decoration and a necklace with glass beads were found in grave 6,²¹⁸ a pair with decoration in the form of spike and a link bent into loops was discovered in

²¹⁴ Kamenjarin 2009, str. 91; str. 105, T. VIII, 4-5.

²¹⁵ Petrinec 2009, str. 48, str. 444, T. 120.

²¹⁶ Petrinec 2002, str. 236, Prilog 6.

²¹⁷ Petrinec 2009, str. 48.

²¹⁸ Petrinec 2009, str. 445, T. 121, 1-2.

²¹⁹ Petrinec 2009, str. 446, T. 122, 1-2.

²²⁰ Petrinec 2009, str. 446, T. 122, 3.

²¹⁴ Kamenjarin 2009, p. 91; p. 105, Pls. VIII, 4–5.

²¹⁵ Petrinec 2009, p. 48, p. 444, Pl. 120.

²¹⁶ Petrinec 2002, p. 236, Annex 6.

²¹⁷ Petrinec 2009, p. 48.

²¹⁸ Petrinec 2009, p. 445, Pls. 121, 1–2.

Tri para naušnica sa središnjim ukrasom u obliku klasa potječu iz maloga groblja ukopanog u prapovijesni humak na položaju Livade u Konjskom polju (**Plan 9; T. 16, 1-2; T. 17, 1-4**).²²¹ Prvi par načinjen je od posrebrene bronce i nalazi se u prvom redu u najstarijem dijelu groblja.²²² Druga dva para otkrivena su u središnjem dijelu groblja, jedan u dvojnog dječjem grobu 15-16, a drugi u grobu 17.²²³ U istome redu, odmah do groba 17, je grob 18, na kojemu je napravljena 14C analiza s kalibriranim datumom 768. - 896. I ovdje je riječ o groblju u čijem se najzapadnijem dijelu već pojavljuju sljepoočničarke s jagodama, najavljujući početak novog, mlađeg horizonta grobalja na redove na području Hrvatske Kneževine.

Istome vremenskom razdoblju pripada i istraženi segment groblja na Svećurju (Žestinj) u Kaštel Novom, u kojem se u istom sloju grobova pojavljuju naušnice s ukrasom u obliku klasa (grobovi 22 i 44), ali i sljepoočničarke s jagodama.²²⁴

Zaključak

U nošnji ženske elite u razdoblju formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine i susjednih sklavinija pojavljuju se sljedeći nakitni oblici:

- a) naušnice tzv. zvjezdolikog tipa (i razne inačice sa srčolikim ukrasom ili zrnatim trokutićima)
- b) naušnice grozdolikog tipa (i inačice s ukrasom u obliku klasa)
- c) obične karičice
- d) pojedini primjerci naušnica s limenim jagodicama (grob 104 sa Ždrijaca, naušnice iz Višića kod Čapljine)
- e) limeno prstenje sa srednjim rombičnim, ovalnim ili štitastim proširenjem
- f) torkvesi
- g) ogrlice od metalnih jagodica
- h) ogrlice kombinirane od metalnih jagodica i perlica staklene paste
- i) ogrlice sastavljene od perlica staklene paste i ulomaka rimskog stakla u sekundarnoj uporabi

Svi ti elementi ženske nošnje dio su šire mode zastupljene među raznim etničkim i kulturnim skupinama na području srednje i jugoistočne Europe te



Sl. 27. Grob 23 (Glavice – Jojine kuće)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 27 Grave 23, Glavice – Jojine kuće
(photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

grave 11,²¹⁹ and a pair with decoration in the form of a spike was unearthed in grave 21.²²⁰ All three graves belong to the later burial layer at this site, and have covers of finely dressed siltstone slabs.

Three pairs of earrings with central decoration in the form of spike originate from a small graveyard earth-banked in a prehistoric mound at the Livade site in Konjsko polje (**Plan 9; Pl. 16, 1-2; Pl. 17, 1-4**).²²¹ One pair, made from silver-plated bronze, was found in the front row of the earliest part of the graveyard.²²² The remaining two pairs were discovered in the central part of the graveyard, one in the double infant grave 15–16, and the other in grave 17.²²³ In the same row, right next to grave 17, there is grave 18. Its calibrated date, according to 14C analysis, is 768–896. This is also a graveyard with temple earrings with beads appearing in its westernmost part, heralding the beginning of a new, later tiered graveyard horizon in the Croatian Principality.

The investigated segment of the graveyard at Svećurje (Žestinj) in Kaštel Novi is from the same time period. Earrings with decoration in the form of spike (graves 22 and 44), as well as temple earrings with beads were found there in the same grave layer.²²⁴

²¹⁹ Petrinc 2009, p. 446, Pls. 122, 1–2.

²²⁰ Petrinc 2009, p. 446, Pl. 122, 3.

²²¹ Petrinc 2005.

²²² Petrinc 2005, pp. 21–22, 46–47, p. 50, Pls. I, 4a–b.

²²³ Petrinc 2005, pp. 23, 26–30; p. 51, Pl. II, 15a–b; p. 52, Pl. III, 17a–b.

²²⁴ Burić 2008.

²²¹ Petrinc 2005.

²²² Petrinc 2005, str. 21–22, 46–47, str. 50, T. I, 4a–b.

²²³ Petrinc 2005, str. 23, 26–30; str. 51, T. II, 15a–b; str. 52, T. III, 17a–b.

²²⁴ Burić 2008.



Sl. 28. Zlatni nakit iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (razna nalazišta) (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
 Fig. 28 Gold jewellery from Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (different sites)
 (photograph: Z. Alajbeg)

istočnog Mediterana. Njihovo oslanjanje na kasnoantičku tradiciju posredstvom suvremene bizantske kulture ne svjedoči o etničkoj pripadnosti pokojnica, odnosno ne može se smatrati etničkim markerom. Razlike među navedenim nalazima rezultat su proizvodnje u različitim radionicama.

Ženska nošnja o kojoj je riječ pojavljuje se u Hrvatskoj unutar vremenskog trajanja tzv. horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina obilježenog nalazima karolinške provenijencije (zadnja desetljeća 8. st. i prva desetljeća 9. st.), a pojedini njezini elementi i u nešto mlađem razdoblju (do sredine, odnosno do kraja druge trećine 9. st.). O tome svjedoče novcem datirani nalazi, rezultati 14C analiza i stratigrafija sustavno istraženih grobalja. Datacijska vrijednost novca Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. u najstarijem horizontu kosturnih grobalja, koja je vrlo često bila dovođena u pitanje, nedvojbeno je potvrđena novim arheološkim nalazima. Također se može pretpostaviti da se pojedini ovdje razmatrani nakitni oblici pojavljuju i ranije tijekom 8. stoljeća, odnosno u vremenu koje prethodi horizontu Biskupija-Crkvina.

Karta rasprostranjenosti nalazišta s razmatranim ženskim grobovima jasno svjedoči da oni nisu vezani uz prežitke kasnoantičkoga stanovništva u 7. stoljeću, već su raspoređeni na čitavom teritoriju buduće Hrvatske Kneževine i susjednih istočnih sklavinija, a napose tamo gdje će kasnije nastati važna srednjovjekovna središta (Nin, Knin, Livno, Solin i zahumska središta u okolini Čapljine).

Zahvaljujući dosad nepoznatim podacima iz Arhiva Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, kao i ukazivanjem na pogreške u literaturi u vezi s krivim atribuiranjem pojedinih predmeta, obavljena je nova analiza luksuznog inventara ženskoga groba otkrivenog 1932. godine na Stolićevoj njivi u Golu-

Conclusion

The following jewellery forms were parts of female elite costumes in the formative period of the Croatian Principality and its neighbouring sclavinia:

- a) earrings of the so-called star-shaped type (and variants with heart-shaped decoration or small granular triangles)
- b) earrings of the grape-shaped type (and variants with decoration in the form of spike)
- c) plain links
- d) single earrings with sheet beads (grave 104 at Ždrijac, the earrings from Višići near Čapljina)
- d) sheet rings with central rhombic, oval or shield-shaped widening
- e) torques
- f) buttons
- g) necklaces with metal beads
- h) necklaces with combined metal and glass paste beads
- i) necklaces made of glass paste beads and fragments of Roman glass in secondary use

All these elements of female costume are parts of a broader fashion as represented in various ethnic and cultural groups in central and south-east Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. Their reliance on late antique traditions by way of the contemporary Byzantine culture is no testimony to ethnicity of deceased women, i.e. it cannot be regarded as an ethnic marker. The variances in the mentioned finds are the result of their origination in different workshops.

The female costume in question appeared in Croatia during the period of the so-called Biskupija-Crkvina horizon, characterised by finds of Carolingian provenance (the final decades of the eighth and the first decades of the ninth centuries), while some of its elements are somewhat later (occurring

biću. Ta analiza pokazala je da ovaj inventar ničim ne odudara od drugih srodnih inventara u najstarijem horizontu kosturnih grobalja te stoga nema argumenata za njegovo vremensko opredjeljivanje u 6. ili 7. stoljeće.

until the middle, and the end of the second third of the ninth century). This is reflected in the finds dated via coins, the results of 14C analyses, and the stratigraphy of systematically investigated graveyards. The dating value of coins of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV in the earliest horizon of skeletal graveyards, very often disputed, has been confirmed beyond doubt by new archaeological finds. It can also be assumed that certain jewellery forms discussed in this paper also appeared earlier during the eighth century, in the era preceding the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon.

The map of distribution of the sites with the discussed female graves clearly shows that they are not connected to the remaining late antique population in the seventh century, but are rather located all over the future Croatian Principality and its neighbouring eastern sclavinia, particularly in places of later significant mediaeval centres (Nin, Knin, Livno, Solin, and Zachlumian hubs around Čapljina).

Owing to previously unknown information from the Archives of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, as well as through pointing out errata in literature regarding incorrect attributions of certain artefacts, a new analysis of the lavish inventory of the female grave discovered in 1932 in Stolićeva njiva in Golubić has been made. This analysis has revealed that this inventory is in no way at odds with the other related inventories in the earliest horizon of skeletal graveyards, and thus there are no arguments for its dating to the sixth or seventh centuries.



Karta – Rasprostranjenost luksuznog ženskog nakita

Map – Distribution of luxurious female jewellery finds

1. Bijaći, 2. Biskupija, 3. Civljane, 4. Cetina, 5. Dubravice, 6. Glavice, 7. Golubić, 8. Grborezi, 9. Kašić,
10. Kaštel Novi, 11. Konjsko, 12. Lepuri, 13. Nin, 14. Ostrovica, 15. Podvršje, 16. Trilj, 17. Višići, 18. Ivoševci,
19. Kablič Mali, 20. Skradin, 21. Smrdelji, 22. Solin, 23. Visočane

Prilog 1

POPIS NAJVAŽNIJIH ŽENSKIH GROBOVA S NALAZIMA NAKITA²²⁵

BIJAĆI – STOMBRATE

Grob 38 (T. 1, 1-2)

a. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom i koljencima.
Lit. Kamenjarin 2009, str. 91; str. 105, T. VIII.

BISKUPIJA – CRKVINA

(istraživanja L. Marun)

tzv. grob 5 (T. 1, 3-4)

a. zlatna karičica s pločicom; b. željezni nožić
Lit. Petrincec 2009, str. 77, str. 426, T. 102, 7-8.

tzv. grob 9 (T. 1, 5)

a. srebrna pozlačena naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom i koljencima (navodno je bila u funkciji obola u grobu s oštećenim željeznim ostrugama koje nisu sačuvane)

Lit. Petrincec 2009, str. 78, str. 425, T. 101, 4.

BISKUPIJA – ORANICA AĆIMA

POPOVIĆA (istraživanja L. Maruna)

Grob u zidanoj presvdoenoj grobnici (T. 2, 1-3)

a. par zlatnih naušnica sa zvjezdolikim ukrasom; b. zlatna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; c. ogrlica od limenih i staklenih jagodica (izgubljena); d. torkves (izgubljen)

Lit. Petrincec 2005; Petrincec 2009, str. 17-18, str. 409, T. 85, 1; str. 410, T. 86, 1; Zekan 2010, str. 173, bilj. 21.

CIVLJANE – BRZICA

Grob 25 (T. 3, 1-2)

a. srebrna naušnica sa središnjim grozdolikim ukrasom (u obliku klasa); b. željezni nožić s okovom korica
Lit. Petrincec 2009, str. 19, str. 329, T. V, 7-8.

Grob 28 (T. 3, 3)

a. srebrni prsten sa srednjim rombičnim proširenjem ukrašen graviranim rombovima; b. keramička posuda
Lit. Petrincec 2009, str. 19, str. 329, T. V, 1.

Grob 35 (T. 3, 4-5)

a. par brončanih naušnica sa središnjim lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom

Lit. Petrincec 2009, str. 19, str. 328, T. V, 2-3.

Annex 1

LIST OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FEMALE GRAVES WITH JEWELLERY FINDS²²⁵

BIJAĆI – STOMBRATE

Grave 38 (Pl. 1, 1-2)

a. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration; b. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration and nodes.
Bibl. Kamenjarin 2009, p. 91; p. 105, Pl. VIII.

BISKUPIJA-CRKVINA

(investigations by L. Marun)

so-called grave 5 (Pl. 1, 3-4)

a. gold link with plate; b. small iron knife
Bibl. Petrincec 2009, p. 77, p. 426, Pls. 102, 7-8.

so-called grave 9 (Pl. 1, 5)

a. gold-plated silver earring, with grape-shaped decoration and nodes (reportedly used as an obol in the grave, with damaged iron spurs which have not been preserved)

Bibl. Petrincec 2009, p. 78, p. 425, Pl. 101, 4.

BISKUPIJA – AĆIM POPOVIĆ'S FIELD,

(investigated by L. Marun)

Grave in walled vaulted tomb (Pl. 2, 1-3)

a. pair of gold earrings with star-shaped decoration; b. gold earring with grape-shaped decoration; c. necklace with sheet and glass beads (lost); d. torques (lost)

Bibl. Petrincec 2005; Petrincec 2009, pp. 17-18, p. 409, Pl. 85, 1; p. 410, Pl. 86, 1; Zekan 2010, p. 173, fn. 21.

CIVLJANE-BRZICA

Grave 25 (Pl. 3, 1-2)

a. silver earring with central grape-shaped decoration (in the form of spike); b. small iron knife with sheath iron parts

Bibl. Petrincec 2009, p. 19, p. 329, Pls. V, 7-8.

Grave 28 (Pl. 3, 3)

a. silver ring with central rhombic widening, decorated with engraved rhombi; b. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Petrincec 2009, p. 19, p. 329, Pl. V, 1.

Grave 35 (Pl. 3, 4-5)

a. pair of bronze earrings with central cast grape-shaped decoration

Bibl. Petrincec 2009, p. 19, p. 328, Pls. V, 2-3.

²²⁵ U popis nisu uvršteni svi grobovi s nakitom. Također nisu uvršteni grobovi s naušnicama s karikom povišenom u petlje, od kojih dio pripada istom ukopnom sloju, kao ni svi grobovi s polumjesečastim („koman-skim“) privjescima u istom sloju. O njima pripremam poseban rad.

²²⁵ The list does not include all graves with jewellery. It also does not comprise graves with earrings with the hook bent into loops, some of which belong to the same burial layer, nor all the graves with semilunar („Koman“) pendants in the same layer. I am preparing a separate paper on this topic.

CETINA – SV. SPAS

Grob XVI (T. 3, 6)

a. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom (ukrasom u obliku klasa)

Lit. Petrinec 1996, str. 112.

**DUBRAVICE – GROBLJE UZ ŽUPNU
CRKVVU GOSPE FATIMSKE**

Grob 15 (T. 2, 9)

a. srebrna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice; b. srebrna pozlaćena karičica sa S-završetkom; c. željezni nožić; d. keramička posuda

Lit. Gunjača 1995, str. 162, str. 286, sl. 13.

Grob 37 (T. 2, 4-8)

a. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom i koljencima; b. srebrna karičica (izgubljena); c. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima s rombičnim prednjim proširenjem ukrašenim urezanim ornamentom; d. keramička posuda; e. keramička posuda; f. keramička posuda; g. ljuske jajeta

Lit. Hrvati i Karolinzi (katalog) 2000, str. 257, kat. br. IV. 128.

GLAVICE – GLUVINE KUĆE I

Grob 1 (T. 4, 1-9)

a. par srebrnih naušnica s ukrasom u obliku znatih trokuta; b. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima sa središnjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima sa središnjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; d. koštani iglenik sa željeznom iglom i brončanom alkicom za vješanje; e. željezni nožić; f. rimska brončana fibula; g. rimsko brončano zvonu - glazbeni instrument; h. keramička posuda

Lit. Milošević 1997; Petrinec 2002, str. 240, T. IV; Petrinec 2009, str. 46-47, str. 441, T. 117.

GLAVICE – GLUVINE KUĆE II

Grob 6 (T. 5, 1-3)

a. par brončanih naušnica s lijevanim grozdolikim privjeskom; b. ogrlica sastavljena od 35 staklenih zrna; sitne perle od taljenog stakla zelene su i modre boje, a veće, dvočlane i tročlane perle žute su boje, pojedine i posrebrene

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 48, str. 445, T. 121, 1-2.

Grob 11 (T. 5, 4-6)

a. par brončanih naušnica s karikom povijenom u četiri petlje i lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom, b. brončani prsten trokutastog presjeka preklopljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 48, str. 446, T. 122, 1-2.

Grob 21 (T. 5, 7-8)

a. par brončanih naušnica s lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 48, str. 446, T. 122, 3.

CETINA – SV. SPAS (HOLY SALVATION)

Grave XVI (Pl. 3, 6)

a. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration (in the form of spike)

Bibl. Petrinec 1996, p. 112.

**DUBRAVICE – CEMETERY NEAR THE
PARISH CHURCH OF OUR LADY
OF FATIMA**

Grave 15 (Pl. 2, 9)

a. silver earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril; b. gold-plated silver link with S-shaped end; c. small iron knife; d. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Gunjača 1995, p. 162, p. 286, Fig. 13.

Grave 37 (Pl. 2, 4-8)

a. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration and nodes; b. silver link (lost); c. bronze ring from hammered sheet with rhombic frontal widening decorated with an engraved ornament; d. ceramic vessel; e. ceramic vessel; f. ceramic vessel; g. egg-shells

Bibl. Hrvati i Karolinzi (catalogue) 2000, p. 257, Cat. No IV. 128.

GLAVICE – GLUVINE KUĆE I

Grave 1 (Pl. 4, 1-9)

a. pair of silver earrings with decoration in the form of small granular triangles; b. bronze ring from hammered sheet with central oval widening and engraved decoration; c. bronze ring from hammered sheet with central oval widening and engraved decoration; d. bone needle-case with an iron needle and bronze ring for hanging; e. small iron knife; f. Roman bronze fibula; g. Roman bronze bell – musical instrument; h. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Milošević 1997; Petrinec 2002, p. 240, Pl. IV; Petrinec 2009, p. 46-47, p. 441, Pl. 117.

GLAVICE – GLUVINE KUĆE II

Grave 6 (Pl. 5, 1-3)

a. pair of bronze earrings with a cast grape-shaped pendant; b. necklace with 35 glass beads; tiny molten glass beads are green and blue, while the larger two- and three-piece beads are yellow, and some even plated with silver

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 48, p. 445, Pls. 121, 1-2.

Grave 11 (Pl. 5, 4-6)

a. pair of bronze earrings with the hook bent into loops and with cast grape-shaped decoration, b. bronze ring of triangular cross-section with overlapping ends fixed by riveting

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 48, p. 446, Pls. 122, 1-2.

Grave 21 (Pl. 5, 7-8)

a. pair of bronze earrings with cast grape-shaped decoration

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 48, p. 446, Pl. 122, 3.

GLAVICE – JOJINE KUĆE

Grob 11 (T. 6, 1-10)

a. par srebrnih karičica kvadratnog presjeka; b. par srebrnih karičica; c. par srebrnih karičica; d. ogrlica od srebrnih limenih jagodica, srebrne narebrene cilindrične cjevčice i višečlane pozlaćene perlice; e. prsten od srebrnog raskovanog lima s rombičnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom

Lit. Petrinec 2002, str. 241, T. V; Petrinec 2009, str. 47-48, str. 443, T. 11.

Grob 23 (T. 7, 1-6)

a. brončana naušnica s lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom; b. prsten od brončanog raskovanog lima s prednjim rombičnim proširenjem; c. srebrni prsten preklapljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva; d. brončani prsten preklapljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva; e. bronačni prsten preklapljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva; f. ogrlica od žutih, modrih, zelenih i posrebrnenih perlica staklene paste, te sekundarno uporabljenim rimskim amuletnim privjeskom

Lit. Petrinec 2002, str. 243, T. VII; Petrinec 2009, str. 48, str. 444, T. 120.

GOLUBIĆ

Grob na njivi Ilije Stolića (T. 8, 1-5)

a. par zlatnih naušnica sa zvjezdolikim ukrasom; b. par zlatnih naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srolike vitice; c. ogrlica od zlatnih limenih jagodica i polumjesečastih privjesaka; d. zlatni prsten od raskovanog lima (izgubljen).

Lit. Karaman 1940, str. 19, sl. 18.

GRBOREZI – MRAMORJE

Grob 112 (T. 9, 1-14)

a. tri istovjetne zlatne naušnice s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. par srebrnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; c. par srebrnih karičica s kvadratnim presjekom; d. ogrlica od srebrnih jagodica i žutih i modrih staklenih perlica; e. srebrni torkves; f. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima sa srednjim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; g. srebrni prsten kaneliranog obruča sa srednjim proširenjem i kasetom za umetanje uloška od stakla ili dragog kamena; h. keramička posuda

Lit. Bešlagić, Basler 1964, str. 30-31, T. IX-XX.

KAŠIĆ – MAKLIŃOVO BRDO

Grob 21 (T. 10, 1-5)

a. srebrna naušnica sa središnjim grozdolikim ukrasom; b. perla *millefiori*; c. željezni nožić; d. keramička posuda; e. keramička posuda

Lit. Belošević 2010, str. 40, str. 222, T. XXVII.

Grob 40 (T. 11, 1-9)

a. par srebrnih karičica sa S-završetkom; b. ogrlica od modrih i žutih zrnaca staklene paste; c. prsten od srebrnog iskucanog lima, zatvorenog koluta i s pred-

GLAVICE – JOJINE KUĆE

Grave 11 (Pl. 6, 1-10)

a. pair of silver links of square cross-section; b. pair of silver links; c. pair of silver links; d. necklace with silver sheet beads, silver ribbed cylindrical tubes and multi-part gold-plated beads; e. ring from silver hammered sheet with rhombic widening and engraved decoration

Bibl. Petrinec 2002, p. 241, Pl. V; Petrinec 2009, p. 47-48, p. 443, Pl. 11.

Grave 23 (Pl. 7, 1-6)

a. bronze earring with cast grape-shaped decoration; b. ring from bronze hammered sheet with frontal rhombic widening; c. silver ring with overlapping ends fixed by riveting; d. bronze ring with overlapping ends fixed by riveting; e. bronze ring with overlapping ends fixed by riveting; f. necklace with yellow, blue, green and silver-plated glass paste beads, and a secondarily used Roman amulet pendant

Bibl. Petrinec 2002, p. 243, Pl. VII; Petrinec 2009, p. 48, p. 444, Pl. 120.

GOLUBIĆ

Grave on Ilija Stolić's field (Pl. 8, 1-5)

a. pair of gold earrings with star-shaped decoration; b. pair of gold earrings with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril; c. necklace with gold sheet beads and semilunar pendants; d. gold ring from hammered sheet (lost).

Bibl. Karaman 1940, p. 19, Fig. 18.

GRBOREZI – MRAMORJE

Grave 112 (Pl. 9, 1-14)

a. three identical gold earrings with grape-shaped decoration; b. pair of silver earrings with grape-shaped decoration; c. pair of silver links of square cross-section; d. necklace with silver beads and yellow and blue glass beads; e. silver torques; f. silver ring from hammered sheet with central widening and engraved decoration; g. silver ring with fluted hoop and central widening and casing for inserting glass or precious stone; h. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Bešlagić, Basler 1964, pp. 30-31, Pls. IX-XX.

KAŠIĆ – MAKLIŃOVO BRDO

Grave 21 (Pl. 10, 1-5)

a. silver earring with central grape-shaped decoration; b. *millefiori* bead; c. small iron knife; d. ceramic vessel; e. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Belošević 2010, p. 40, p. 222, Pl. XXVII.

Grave 40 (Pl. 11, 1-9)

a. pair of silver links with S-shaped end; b. necklace with blue and yellow glass paste beads; c. ring from silver forged sheet, with closed band and frontal oval widening decorated with an engraved motif; d. ceramic vessel

njim ovalnim proširenjem ukrašenim urezanim motivom; d. keramička posuda

Lit. Belošević 2010, str. 46, str. 225, T. XXX.

Grob 41 (T. 12, 1-7)

a. par srebrnih karičica; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima, zatvorenog koluta i s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem ukrašenim urezanim motivom; c. vrpčasti prsten od srebrnog iskucanog lima, zatvorenog koluta i ukrašen urezanim motivom; d. ogrlica sastavljena od žutih i modrih zrnaca i kuglaste perle ukrašene režnjevima; e. oštećeni željezni nož; f. keramička posuda

Lit. Belošević 2010, str. 47, str. 226, T. XXXI.

Grob 53 (T. 13, 1-6)

a. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; c. ogrlica od zlatnih limenih jagodica i modrih i žutih staklenih perlica; d. srebrni torkves; e. prsten od srebrnog raskovanog lima s ovalnim prednjim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; f. keramički pršljen

Lit. Belošević 2010, str. 51-52, str. 229, T. XXXIV.

Grob 54 (T. 14, 1-6)

a. par srebrnih karičica; b. brončani polumjesečasti privjesak; c. ogrlica od tamnoplavih perlica od staklene paste i jedne olovne perle; d. željezni nož

Lit. Belošević 2010, str. 52, str. 230, T. XXXV.

KAŠIĆ – RAZBOJINE

Grob 36 (T. 15, 1-4)

a. par brončanih karičica s krajevima koji završavaju petljom izvijenom prema van i kvačicom; b. željezni nož; c. oštećena keramička posuda

Lit. Jelovina 1968, str. 38-39, T. X, 1-3.

KAŠTEL NOVI – SVEĆURJE (ŽESTINJ)

Grob 22 (sl. 22)

a. par brončanih naušnica s lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom u obliku klasa; b. brončani prsten s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem ukrašenim pentagramom; ogrlica u nizovima sastavljena od raznobojnih perlica staklene paste i ulomaka rimskog stakla

Lit. Burić 2008.

Grob 44 (sl. 24)

a. par brončanih naušnica s lijevanim grozdolikim ukrasom u obliku klasa; b. brončani uzdužno kanelirani prsten

Lit. Burić 2008.

KONJSKO POLJE – LIVADE

Grob 4 (T. 16, 1-5)

a. par posrebrnenih brončanih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom u obliku klasa; b. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim proširenjem i punciranim ukrasom; d. brončani uzdužno kanelirani prsten

Lit. Petrincec 2005, str. 21, str. 50, T. I, 4a-e.

Bibl. Belošević 2010, p. 46, p. 225, Pl. XXX.

Grave 41 (Pl. 12, 1-7)

a. pair of silver links; b. silver ring from hammered sheet, with closed band and frontal oval widening decorated with an engraved motif; c. ribbon-like ring from silver hammered sheet, with closed band and decorated with an engraved motif; d. necklace with yellow and blue beads and a spherical bead decorated with lobes; e. damaged iron knife; f. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Belošević 2010, p. 47, p. 226, Pl. XXXI.

Grave 53 (Pl. 13, 1-6)

a. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration; b. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration; c. necklace with gold sheet beads and blue and yellow glass beads; d. silver torques; e. ring from silver hammered sheet with oval frontal widening and engraved decoration; f. ceramic whorl

Bibl. Belošević 2010, pp. 51-52, p. 229, Pl. XXXIV.

Grave 54 (Pl. 14, 1-6)

a. pair of silver links; b. bronze semilunar pendant; c. necklace with dark blue glass paste beads and one lead bead; d. iron knife

Bibl. Belošević 2010, p. 52, p. 230, Pl. XXXV.

KAŠIĆ – RAZBOJINE

Grave 36 (Pl. 15, 1-4)

a. pair of bronze links with outward curled loop ends and a hook; b. iron knife; c. damaged ceramic vessel

Bibl. Jelovina 1968, p. 38-39, Pls. X, 1-3.

KAŠTEL NOVI – SVEĆURJE (ŽESTINJ)

Grave 22 (Fig. 22)

a. pair of bronze earrings with cast grape-shaped decoration in the form of spike; b. bronze ring with frontal oval widening decorated with the pentagram; necklace with strings of glass paste beads and Roman glass fragments of various colours

Bibl. Burić 2008.

Grave 44 (Fig. 24)

a. pair of bronze earrings with cast grape-shaped decoration in the form of spike; b. bronze longitudinally fluted ring

Bibl. Burić 2008.

KONJSKO POLJE – LIVADE

Grave 4 (Pl. 16, 1-5)

a. pair of silver-plated bronze earrings with grape-shaped decoration in the form of spike; b. bronze ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening decorated with engraved ornament; c. bronze ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and stamped ornament; d. bronze longitudinally fluted ring

Bibl. Petrincec 2005, p. 21, p. 50, Pls. I, 4a-e.

Grob 15-16 (T. 17, 1-2)

a. par brončanih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom u obliku klasa.

Lit. Petrinec 2005, str. 23, str. 51, T. II, 15a-b.

Grob 17 (T. 17, 3-6)

a. par brončanih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom u obliku klasa; b. brončani prsten preklopljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva; c. brončani prsten preklopljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva.

Lit. Petrinec 2005, str. 23, str. 52, T. III, 17a-d.

LEPURI – SV. MARTIN

Grob 223 (T. 18, 1-5)

a. zlatna naušnica s lunulasto-zvezdolikim ukrasom; b. zlatna naušnica s lunulasto-zvezdolikim ukrasom; c. zlatni prsten; d. zlatna jagoda ogrlice; e. zlatna jagoda ogrlice

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 92-93, str. 151, sl. 49; str. 406, T. 82.

NIN – SV. ASEL

Grob 41 (T. 19, 1-22)

a. par zlatnih naušnica sa zvezdolikim ukrasom; b. par zlatnih naušnica sa zvezdolikim ukrasom; c. par zlatnih naušnica s košarastim privjeskom; d. zlatna naušnica s lunulastim ukrasom; e. par srebrnih karičica s graviranim kvadratićima; f. zlatni prsten od raskovanog lima; g. srebrni prsten s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem; h. srebrni prsten s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; i. srebrni prsten s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; j. srebrni torkves; k. srebrni torkves; l. staklena perla; m. keramički pršljen; n. željezni nožić; o. željezni nožić; p. željezni nožić; r. brončani rimski novac; s. ulomak raskovanog željeznog lima s probušenom rupicom

Lit. Kolega 2000, str. 62-63.

Grob 83 (T. 19, 23-24)

a. srebrna naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom i koljencima; b. par srebrnih naušnica s dva nasuprotno postavljena srcolika ukrasa; c. ogrlica od 98 raznobojnih staklenih zrnaca (neobjavljeno)

Lit. Jurić 2002, str. 295-312; Petrinec 2009, str. 95, str. 405, T. 81, 18-19.

NIN – SV. KRIŽ

Grob 81 (T. 20,1)

a. zlatna karičica

Lit. Belošević 1998, str. 121, T. XXII, 10.

Grob 141 (T. 20, 2-3)

a. srebrna karičica s kukicom i petljom; b. brončana karičica s ostatkom koničnog navoja.

Lit. Belošević 1998, str. 129, T. XXIII, 3, 9.

Grave 15-16 (Pl. 17, 1-2)

a. pair of bronze earrings with grape-shaped decoration in the form of spike.

Bibl. Petrinec 2005, p. 23, p. 51, Pls. II, 15a-b.

Grave 17 (Pl. 17, 3-6)

a. pair of bronze earrings with grape-shaped decoration in the form of spike; b. bronze ring with overlapping ends fixed by riveting; c. bronze ring with overlapping ends fixed by riveting.

Bibl. Petrinec 2005, p. 23, p. 52, Pls. III, 17a-d.

LEPURI – ST. MARTIN

Grave 223 (Pl. 18, 1-5)

a. gold earring with lunular star-shaped decoration; b. gold earring with lunular star-shaped decoration; c. gold ring; d. gold necklace bead; e. gold necklace bead

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 92-93, p. 151, Fig. 49; p. 406, Pl. 82.

NIN – ST. ASEL

Grave 41 (Pl. 19, 1-22)

a. pair of gold earrings with star-shaped decoration; b. pair of gold earrings with star-shaped decoration; c. pair of gold earrings with a basket-shaped pendant; d. gold earring with lunular ornament; e. pair of silver links with small engraved squares; f. gold ring from hammered sheet; g. silver ring with frontal oval widening; h. silver ring with frontal oval widening and engraved decoration; i. silver ring with frontal oval widening and engraved decoration; j. silver torques; k. silver torques; l. glass bead; m. ceramic whorl; n. small iron knife; o. small iron knife; p. small iron knife; r. bronze Roman coin; s. fragment of a hammered iron sheet with a pierced hole

Bibl. Kolega 2000, pp. 62-63.

Grave 83 (pl. 19, 23-24)

a. silver earring with grape-shaped decoration and nodes; b. pair of silver earrings with two oppositely arranged heart-shaped decorations; c. necklace with 98 glass beads of various colours (unpublished)

Bibl. Jurić 2002, pp. 295-312; Petrinec 2009, p. 95, p. 405, Pls. 81, 18-19.

NIN – THE HOLY CROSS

Grave 81 (pl. 20, 1)

a. gold link

Bibl. Belošević 1998, p. 121, Pl. XXII, 10.

Grave 141 (Pl. 20, 2-3)

a. silver link with a small hook and loop; b. pair of bronze links attached to each other; c. bronze link with remnants of taper thread.

Bibl. Belošević 1998, p. 129, Pl. XXIII, 3, 9.

NIN – BANOVAČ (SV. KRIŽ)

Grob 2 (T. 20, 4-6)

a. srebrna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku zrnatih trokuta; b. ogrlica od staklenih zrna, c. željezna pojasna kopča

Lit. Radović 2010, str. 163, str. 175, T. IV, 1-3.

Grob 3 (T. 20, 7-10)

a. par običnih brončanih karičica s kukicom i petljom; b. brončani prsten od tankog lima; c. brončani prsten od tankog lima

Lit. Radović 2010, str. 163, str. 175, T. IV, 4-6.

NIN – ŽDRIJAC

Grob 15 (T. 21, 1-3)

a. par srebrnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. koštani češalj; c. željezni nožić

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 42, str. 137, T. L, 4-7.

Grob 48 (T. 21, 4-12)

a. par srebrnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. srebrni prsten *D*-presjeka; c. ogrlica od modrih zrna staklene paste; d. koštani iglenik s dvije željezne igle; e. željezni nožić; f. keramički pršljen; g. keramička posuda

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 60, str. 143, T. LIII, 5-14.

Grob 53 (T. 22, 1-5)

a. par srebrnih karičica; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim proširenjem i punciranim ukrasom; c. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim prošupljenim rombičnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; d. željezni nožić.

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 64, str. 145, T. LIV, 4-8.

Grob 54 (T. 23, 1-5)

a. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s rombičnim prednjim proširenjem i ovalnim ukrasom; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s rombičnim prednjim proširenjem i ovalnim ukrasom; c. ogrlica od modrih zrnaca staklene paste; d. koštani iglenik s brončanom alkom i karičicom za vješanje; e. željezni nožić

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 64, 66, str. 143, T. LIV, 9-14.

Grob 62 (T. 24, 1-9)

a. par zlatnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. par srebrnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; c. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima sa središnjim proširenjem i rombičnim izrezom po sredini; d. željezni nožić; e. željezni nožić; f. keramička posuda; g. srebrni denar Lotara I.

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 70, 72, str. 147, T. LV, 9-17.

Grob 65 (T. 25, 1-6)

a. brončana karičica; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. srebrni prsten tankog koluta sa zalemljenom neukrašenom prednjom pločicom; d. četiri zrna ogrlice od staklene paste; e. koštani iglenik s brončanom alkom i lančićem za vješanje; f. željezni nožić

NIN – BANOVAČ (THE HOLY CROSS)

Grave 2 (Pl. 20, 4-6)

a. silver earring with decoration in the form of small granular triangles; b. necklace with glass beads, c. iron belt buckle

Bibl. Radović 2010, p. 163, p. 175, Pls. IV, 1-3.

Grave 3 (Pl. 20, 7-10)

a. pair of plain bronze links with hook and loop; b. bronze ring of thin sheet; c. bronze ring of thin sheet

Bibl. Radović 2010, p. 163, p. 175, Pls. IV, 4-6.

NIN – ŽDRIJAC

Grave 15 (Pl. 21, 1-3)

a. pair of silver earrings with grape-shaped decoration; b. bone comb; c. small iron knife

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 42, p. 137, Pls. L, 4-7.

Grave 48 (Pl. 21, 4-12)

a. pair of silver earrings with grape-shaped decoration; b. silver ring, *D*-shaped; c. necklace with blue glass paste beads; d. bone needle-case with two iron needles; e. small iron knife; f. ceramic whorl; g. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 60, p. 143, Pls. LIII, 5-14.

Grave 53 (Pl. 22, 1-5)

a. pair of silver links; b. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and stamped ornament; c. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal hollowed rhombic widening and engraved decoration; d. small iron knife.

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 64, p. 145, Pls. LIV, 4-8.

Grave 54 (Pl. 23, 1-5)

a. silver ring from hammered sheet with rhombic frontal widening and oval decoration; b. silver ring from hammered sheet with rhombic frontal widening and oval decoration; c. necklace with blue glass paste beads; d. bone needle-case with bronze hook and link for hanging; e. small iron knife

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 64, 66, p. 143, Pls. LIV, 9-14.

Grave 62 (Pl. 24, 1-9)

a. pair of gold earrings with grape-shaped decoration; b. pair of silver earrings with grape-shaped decoration; c. bronze ring from hammered sheet with central widening and central rhombic cut; d. small iron knife; e. small iron knife; f. ceramic vessel; g. silver denarius of Lothair I

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 70, 72, p. 147, Pls. LV, 9-17.

Grave 65 (Pl. 25, 1-6)

a. bronze link; b. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and an engraved ornament; c. silver ring with thin band and soldered non-decorated frontal plate; d. four glass paste necklace beads; e. bone needle-case with bronze hoop and chain for hanging; f. small iron knife

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 72, 74, str. 149, T. LVI, 7-15.

Grob 104 (T. 26, 1-8)

a. par srebrnih naušnica s jagodama na bočnim stranama karike i zrnatim trokutićem u dnu; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s rombičnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima sa središnjim neukrašenim ovalnim proširenjem; d. ogrlica od zrnaca staklene paste i jedne režnjaste perle; e. željezni nožić; f. ulomak kamenog brusa

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 94, str. 157, T. LX, 11-17.

Grob 150 (T. 27, 1-6)

a. par srebrnih veoma oštećenih karičica s koljenicama (središnji ukras nedostaje); b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s ovalnim prednjim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. ogrlica od zrnaca staklene paste i jedne mozaičaste perle; d. željezni nožić; e. keramička posuda

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 124, 126, str. 175, T. LXIX, 9-19.

Grob 227 (T. 28, 1-4)

a. par srebrnih karičica s ukrasom u obliku zrnatog trokutića i S-završecima; b. ogrlica sa zrnacima od tamnoplave staklene paste; c. koštani iglenik s brončanom alkam za vješanje

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 182, str. 219, T. XCI, 4-13.

Grob 237 (T. 28, 5-8)

a. par srebrnih karičica; b. brončani prsten od raskovanog lima s rombičnim neukrašenim proširenjem; c. ogrlica od modrih zrnaca staklene paste

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 188, str. 223, T. XCIII, 1-4.

Grob 310 (T. 29, 1-7)

a. par srebrnih karičica sa S-završetkom; b. zrna ogrlice od staklene paste i bademasta perlica; c. staklena čaša žute boje; d. željezni nožić; e. željezni nožić; f. željezna strjelica

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 218, 220, str. 235, T. XCIX, 1-11.

Grob 322 (T. 30, 1-9; T. 31, 1-7; T. 32, 1-4)

a. brončani torkves; b. ogrlica sastavljena od zrnaca staklene paste pretežito plave boje, u manjoj mjeri žute boje i srebrnom cjevčicom s otvorom po sredini; c. željezni dvosjekli mač u drvenim koricama; d. željezno koplje listolikog oblika s dva ispupčenja pri dnu tuljca, koja su možda ostaci krilaca; e. par željeznih ostruga s garniturama za pričvršćivanje na obuću; f. željezni nož; g. željezni nož; h. dva brončana praporca; i. brončana pojasna kopča; j. lijevana brončana rebrasta aplikacija; k. željezno kresivo i tri kremenca; l. staklena boca žućkastozelene boje; m. staklena čaša plavozelene boje; n. keramička posuda; o. keramička posuda; p. probušeni brončani rimski novac-privjesak

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 226, 228, 230, 232, str. 241, T. CII, 1-24; str. 243, T. CIII, 25-37.

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 72, 74, p. 149, Pls. LVI, 7-15.

Grave 104 (Pl. 26, 1-8)

a. pair of silver earrings with beads on sides of the link and a small granular triangle on the bottom; b. silver ring from hammered sheet with rhombic widening and engraved decoration; c. silver ring from hammered sheet with central non-decorated oval widening; d. necklace with glass paste beads and one lobed bead; e. small iron knife; f. fragment of a grindstone

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 94, p. 157, Pls. LX, 11-17.

Grave 150 (Pl. 27, 1-6)

a. pair of rather damaged silver links with nodes (central decoration is missing); b. silver ring from hammered sheet with oval frontal widening and engraved decoration; c. necklace with glass paste beads and one mosaic bead; d. small iron knife; e. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 124, 126, p. 175, Pls. LXIX, 9-19.

Grave 227 (Pl. 28, 1-4)

a. pair of silver links with decoration in the form of small granular triangle and with S-shaped ends; b. necklace with dark blue glass paste beads; c. bone needle-case with bronze hoop for hanging

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 182, p. 219, Pls. XCI, 4-13.

Grave 237 (Pl. 28, 5-8)

a. pair of silver links; b. bronze ring from hammered sheet with non-decorated rhombic frontal widening; c. necklace with blue glass paste beads

Bibl. Belošević 2007, p. 188, p. 223, Pls. XCIII, 1-4.

Grave 310 (Pl. 29, 1-7)

a. pair of silver links with S-shaped end; b. glass paste necklace beads and an almond-shaped bead; c. yellow glass beaker; d. small iron knife; e. small iron knife; f. iron arrow

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 218, 220, p. 235, Pls. XCIX, 1-11.

Grave 322 (Pl. 30, 1-9; Pl. 31, 1-7; Pl. 32, 1-4)

a. bronze torques; b. necklace with glass paste beads, mostly blue, some yellow, and with a silver tube with central opening; c. iron double-edged sword in a wooden sheath; d. leaf-shaped iron spear with two projections toward the bottom of the cone, possibly remains of fletching; e. pair of iron spurs with fastening sets for footwear; f. iron knife with preserved remains of a wooden sheath; g. iron knife; h. iron knife; i. two bronze bells; j. bronze belt buckle; k. cast bronze ribbed appliqué; l. iron tinder and three flints; m. yellowish-green glass bottle; n. blue-green glass beaker; o. ceramic vessel; p. ceramic vessel; r. pierced bronze Roman coin-pendant

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 226, 228, 230, 232, p. 241, Pls. CII, 1-24; p. 243, Pls. CIII, 25-37.

Grob 324 (T. 33, 1-14)

a. pozlaćeni brončani križić jednakih krakova s plastično izvedenim ljudskim maskama i prikazima oranata; b. par brončanih karičica sa završecima u obliku S-petlje; c. par običnih brončanih karičica; d. oštećeni brončani prsten zatvorenog obruča; e. prsten od srebrnoga raskovanog lima zatvorenog obruča s ovalnim prednjim proširenjem ukrašenim urezanim ornamentom; f. oštećeni prsten od srebrnoga raskovanog lima s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem, ukrašen urezanim ornamentom; g. ogrlica sastavljena od modrih zrnaca staklene paste; h. lijevana brončana rebrasta aplika poluloptastog oblika s rupicom na sredini; i. keramički pršljen; j. željezni nož; k. željezni nož

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 232, 234, str. 245, T. CIV, 3-16.

Grob 326 (T. 34, 1-8)

a. par srebrnih pozlaćenih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; d. ogrlica sastavljena od žutih, zelenih i modrih zrnaca staklene paste, ulomka staklene rimske posude i jedne perle *millefiori*; e. brončana ukrasna igla osmerokutnog presjeka; f. željezni nožić; g. željezni nožić

Lit. Belošević 2007, str. 236, 238, str. 245, T. CIV, 22-31.

OSTROVICA – GREBLJE

Grob 21c (T. 35, 1-8)

a. par srebrnih karičica sa S-završetkom; b. srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim ovalnim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom; c. ogrlica sastavljena od modrih i žutih zrnaca staklene paste; d. željezni nožić; e. keramička posuda

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 50, str. 454, T. 130, 1-5.

PODVRŠJE – JOKINA GLAVICA

Grob 13 (T. 36, 1-6)

a. par brončanih naušnica s privjeskom od uvijene žice; b. par srebrnih karičica sa završecima u obliku petlje i kvačice; c. ogrlica od staklenih perli žute i tamnoplave boje; d. keramička posuda

Lit. Gusar 2012, str. 76, T. VII, 1-6.

STRANČE – GORICA

Grob 127 (T. 37, 1-3)

a. ogrlica od srebrnih limenih jagodica i žutih i modrih staklenih zrna; b. keramička posuda; c. keramička posuda

Lit. Cetinić 2010, str. 90, T. XLI, 1-2 i T. XLII.

Grave 324 (Pl. 33, 1-14)

a. small gold-plated bronze cross with equal legs and plastically rendered human masks and depictions of orantes; b. pair of bronze links with S-shaped loop ends; c. pair of plain bronze links; d. damaged bronze ring with closed band; e. ring from silver hammered sheet with closed band and oval frontal widening decorated with an engraved ornament; f. damaged ring from silver hammered sheet with frontal oval widening, decorated with an engraved ornament; g. necklace with blue glass paste beads; h. cast bronze hemispherical ribbed appliqué with a central hole; i. ceramic whorl; j. iron knife; k. iron knife

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 232, 234, p. 245, Pls. CIV, 3-16.

Grave 326 (Pl. 34, 1-8)

a. pair of silver gold-plated earrings with grape-shaped decoration; b. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and an engraved ornament; c. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and an engraved ornament; d. necklace with yellow, green and blue glass paste beads, a fragment of a Roman vessel, and one *millefiori* bead; e. bronze decorative pin of octagonal cross section; f. small iron knife; g. small iron knife

Bibl. Belošević 2007, pp. 236, 238, p. 245, Pls. CIV, 22-31.

OSTROVICA – GREBLJE

Grave 21c (Pl. 35, 1-8)

a. pair of silver links with S-shaped end; b. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and an engraved ornament; c. necklace with blue and yellow glass paste beads; d. small iron knife; e. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 50, p. 454, Pls. 130, 1-5.

PODVRŠJE – JOKINA GLAVICA

Grave 13 (Pl. 36, 1-6)

a. pair of bronze earrings with a pendant of twisted wire; b. pair of silver links with loop-and-hook ends; c. necklace with yellow and dark blue glass beads; d. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Gusar 2012, p. 76, Pls. VII, 1-6.

STRANČE – GORICA

Grave 127 (Pl. 37, 1-3)

a. necklace with silver sheet beads and yellow and blue glass beads; b. ceramic vessel; c. ceramic vessel

Bibl. Cetinić 2010, p. 90, Pl. XLI, 1-2 and Pl. XLII.

TRILJ

Pojedinačni srednjovjekovni grob na mjesnom groblju sv. Mihovila (T. 38, 1-11)

a. par zlatnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; b. par zlatnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; c. par zlatnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom; d. ogrlica od zlatnih limenih jagodica; e. zlatni prsten s ukovanim modrim uloškom; f. dva zlatna puceta; g. bizantski zlatni solid Konstantina V. i Lava IV.

Lit. Karaman 1921; Piteša 2014, str. 60-72, kat. br. 20-20.7.

VIŠIĆI – RIMSKA VILA

Grob C8 (sl. 20)

a. par naušnica s četiri jagode ukrašene u tehnici filigrana i granulacije; b. ogrlica sastavljena od 9 zlatnih perli i 2 staklene.

Lit. Čremošnik 1965, str. 202-203, T. X, 6-7, 9-10.

Grob C9

a. prsten od raskovanog brončanog lima s ovalnim prednjim proširenjem; b. prsten od raskovanog lima s ovalnim prednjim proširenjem (neobjavljeni)

Lit. Čremošnik 1965, str. 202.

Grob C10 (T. 39, 1-2).

a. brončani torques rombičnog presjeka; b. brončani torques rombičnog presjeka

Lit. Čremošnik 1965, str. 202, T. IX, 17-18.

Prilog 2

POPIS VAŽNIJIH POJEDINAČNIH NALAZA NAKITA

BISKUPIJA – CRKVINA ili BRAČIĆA PODVORNICE

1. obična srebrna karičica zadebljana u donjem dijelu ukrašena punciranim rombovima sa završetkom u obliku S-petlje i kvačice (T. 40, 1)

Lit. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Katalog) 2000, str. 237, kat. br. IV, 97; Petrinc 2009, str. 135, sl. 43 (u donjem lijevom uglu), str. 409, T. 85, 13

2. obična srebrna karičica zadebljana u donjem dijelu i ukrašena punciranim rombovima sa završetkom u obliku S-petlje i kvačice (T. 40, 2)

Lit. Petrinc 2009, str. 135, sl. 43 (u donjem desnom uglu), str. 409, T. 85, 14.

3. obična srebrna karičica sa završetkom u obliku S-petlje i kvačice (T. 40, 3)

Lit. Petrinc 2009, str. 409, T. 85, 15.

4. zlatna naušnica sa središnjim grozdolikim ukrasom i s koljencima u obliku granuliranih zrnaca (T. 40, 4)

TRILJ

Single medieval grave in the local cemetery of St. Michael (Pl. 38, 1-11)

a. pair of gold earrings with grape-shaped decoration; b. pair of gold earrings with grape-shaped decoration; c. pair of gold earrings with grape-shaped decoration; d. necklace with gold sheet beads; e. gold ring with stamped blue inlay; f. two gold buttons; g. Byzantine gold solidus of Constantine V and Leo IV

Bibl. Karaman 1921; Piteša 2014, pp. 60-72, Cat. No 20-20.7.

VIŠIĆI – ROMAN VILLA

Grave C8 (Fig. 20)

a. pair of earrings with four beads with decorations made in filigree technique and with granulation; b. necklace with nine gold and two glass beads.

Bibl. Čremošnik 1965, pp. 202-203, Pls. X, 6-7, 9-10.

Grave C9

a. ring from hammered bronze sheet with oval frontal widening; b. ring from hammered sheet with oval frontal widening (unpublished)

Bibl. Čremošnik 1965, p. 202.

Grave C10 (Pl. 39, 1-2)

a. bronze torques of rhombic cross-section; b. bronze torques of rhombic cross-section

Bibl. Čremošnik 1965, p. 202, Pls. IX, 17-18.

Annex 2

LIST OF SIGNIFICANT SINGLE JEWELLERY FINDS

BISKUPIJA – CRKVINA or BRAČIĆA PODVORNICE

1. plain silver link with thickening on the lower part, decorated with stamped rhombi ending in the form of S-shaped loop with clasp (Pl. 40, 1)

Bibl. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Catalogue) 2000, p. 237, Cat. No IV, 97; Petrinc 2009, p. 135, Fig. 43 (in the lower left corner), p. 409, Pl. 85, 13.

2. plain silver link with thickening on the lower part, decorated with stamped rhombi ending in the form of S-shaped loop with clasp (Pl. 40, 2)

Bibl. Petrinc 2009, p. 135, Fig. 43 (in the bottom right corner), p. 409, Pl. 85, 14.

3. plain silver link with its end in the form of S-shaped loop and clasp (Pl. 40, 3)

Bibl. Petrinc 2009, p. 409, Pl. 85, 15.

4. gold earring with central grape-shaped decoration and nodes in the form of granulated beads (Pl. 40, 4)

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 141, sl. 45 (zadnja desno u donjem redu), str. 410, T. 86, 2.

5. par srebrnih naušnica sa središnjim ukrasom u obliku klasa. **(T. 40, 5-6)**

Lit. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Katalog) 2000, str. 238, kat. br. IV, 99; Petrinec 2009, str. 141, sl. 45 (prva i posljednja u gornjem redu), str. 410, T. 86, 6.

6. srebrna naušnica grozdolikog tipa s koljencima u obliku granuliranih zrnaca **(T. 40, 7)**

Lit. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Katalog) 2000, str. 238, kat. br. IV, 98; Petrinec 2009, str. 141, sl. 45 (srednja u gornjem redu), str. 410, T. 86, 4.

7. Ogrlica s nanizanim crvenim granatom poliedarskog oblika, dvjema dvočlanim perlama s ostacima srebrne folije, jednom sferičnom crvenom te dvama bijelim, jednom modrom i jednom smeđom sitnom perlom od staklene paste **(T. 40, 8)**

Lit. Hrvati i Karolinzi (katalog) 2000, str. 197, kat. br. IV, 24; Petrinec 2009, str. 156, sl. 54 (gore u sredini), str. 410, T. 86, 9.

IVOŠEVCI – ŠUPLJAJA

1. zlatna lijevana naušnica sa središnjim grozdolikim ukrasom i koljencima na karici. **(T. 42, 4)**

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 141, sl. 45 (druga s lijeve strane u donjem redu) str. 410, T. 96, 3.

KABLIĆ MALI (gradina na rubu Livanjskog polja)

1. zlatna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice. **(T. 41, 3)**

Lit. Miletić 1980, str. 297-298, sl. 2; Petrinec 2009, str. 409, T. 85, 9.

SKRADIN

1. Par zlatnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom i donjom polovinom karike ukrašenom gustom granulacijom. **(T. 42, 5-6)**

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 410, T. 86, 5; Piteša 2014, str. 58-59, kat. br. 19a-b.

SMRDELJI

1. Par zlatnih naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice²²⁶ **(T. 41, 1-2)**

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 409, T. 85, 2 i 11; Piteša 2014, str. 57, kat. br. 18.

SOLIN

1. Zlatna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice **(T. 41, 4)**

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 409, T. 85, 10; Piteša 2014, str. 26, kat. br. 17.

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 141, Fig. 45 (the last on the right-hand side in the bottom row), p. 410, Pl. 86, 2.

5. pair of silver earrings with central decoration in the form of spike. **(Pl. 40, 5-6)**

Bibl. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Catalogue) 2000, p. 238, Cat. No IV, 99; Petrinec 2009, p. 141, Fig. 45 (the first and last in the top row), p. 410, Pl. 86, 6.

6. silver earring of grape-shaped type with nodes in the form of granulated beads **(Pl. 40, 7)**

Bibl. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Catalogue) 2000, p. 238, Cat. No IV, 98; Petrinec 2009, p. 141, Fig. 45 (in the centre of the top row), p. 410, Pl. 86, 4.

7. Necklace with a string of one red garnet polyhedral in shape, two two-part beads with silver foil remains, one spherical red and two white ones, one blue and one tiny brown glass paste bead **(Pl. 40, 8)**

Bibl. Hrvati i Karolinzi (Catalogue) 2000, p. 197, Cat. No IV, 24; Petrinec 2009, p. 156, Fig. 54 (top centre), p. 410, Pl. 86, 9.

IVOŠEVCI – ŠUPLJAJA

1. gold cast earring with central grape-shaped decoration and nodes on the link. **(Pl. 42, 2)**

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 141, Fig. 45 (second on the left hand-side in the bottom row) p. 410, Pl. 96, 3.

KABLIĆ MALI (hill-fort at the edge of Livanjsko polje)

1. gold earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril. **(Pl. 41, 3)**

Bibl. Miletić 1980, pp. 297-298, Fig. 2; Petrinec 2009, p. 409, Pl. 85, 9.

SKRADIN

1. Pair of gold earrings with grape-shaped decoration and the bottom half of the loop decorated with dense granulation. **(Pl. 42, 5-6)**

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 410, Pl. 86, 5; Piteša 2014, pp. 58-59, Cat. No 19a-b.

SMRDELJI

1. Pair of gold earrings with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril **(Pl. 41, 1-2)**²²⁶

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 409, Pl. 85, 2 and 11; Piteša 2014, p. 57, Cat. No 18.

SOLIN

1. Gold earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril **(Pl. 41, 4)**

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 409, Pl. 85, 10; Piteša 2014, p. 26, Cat. No 17.

²²⁶ Vrlo je vjerojatno da je riječ o paru naušnica iako se jedna nalazi u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, a druga u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Vidi bilj. 69.

²²⁶ This is most likely a pair of earrings, although one is kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, and the other in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Cf. fn. 69.

VISOČANE – STRAŽA

1. Zlatna lijevana naušnica s ukrasom u obliku zrnatih trokutića (**T. 42, 3**)

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 409, T. 85, 12.; Jurić 2014, str. 38, kat. br. 4.1.

VRLIKA – ZDUŠ

1. Srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima s prednjim proširenjem i ugraviranim ornamentom (**T. 39, 3**)

Lit. Gjurašin 1990, str. 255, sl.1; str. 257, sl. 3.

NEPOZNATA NALAZIŠTA U SJEVERNOJ ILI SREDNJOJ DALMACIJI

1. obična srebrna karičica sa završetkom u obliku S-petlje i kvačice

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 409, T. 85, 15

2. Zlatna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice (**T. 42, 1**)

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 135, sl. 44, 409, T. 85, 4.

3. Zlatna naušnica s ukrasom u obliku srcolike vitice (**T. 42, 2**)

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 135, sl. 44, str. 409, T. 85, 5.

VISOČANE – STRAŽA

1. Gold cast earring with decoration in the form of small granular triangles. (**Pl. 42, 3**)

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 409, Pl. 85, 12.; Jurić 2014, p. 38, Cat. No 4.1.

VRLIKA - ZDUŠ

1. silver ring from hammered sheet with frontal widening and an engraved ornament (**Pl. 39, 3**)

Bibl. . Gjurašin 1990, p. 225, Fig. 1; p. 257, Fig. 3.

UNKNOWN SITES IN NORTH OR CENTRAL DALMATIA

1. plain silver link with its end in the form of S-shaped loop and clasp

Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 409, Pl. 85, 16

2. Gold earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril (**Pl. 42, 1**)

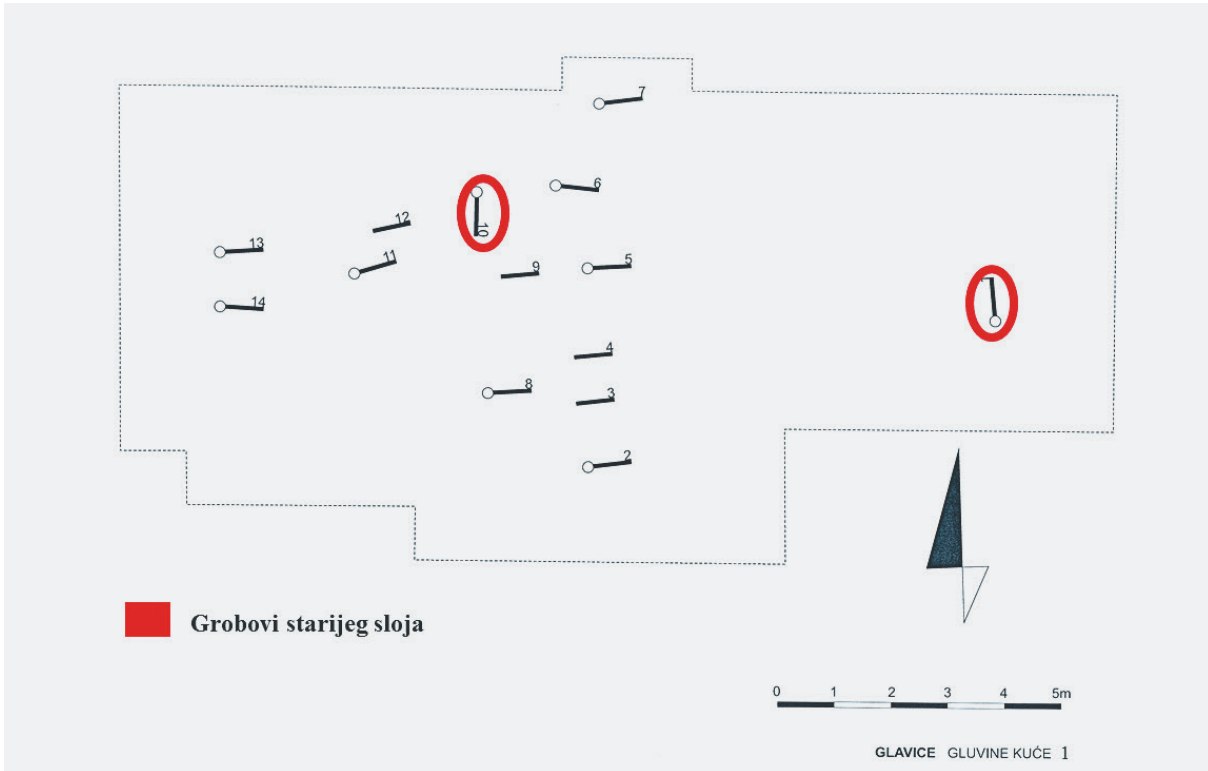
Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 135, Fig. 44, p. 409, Pl. 85, 2.

3. Gold earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril (**Pl. 42, 2**)

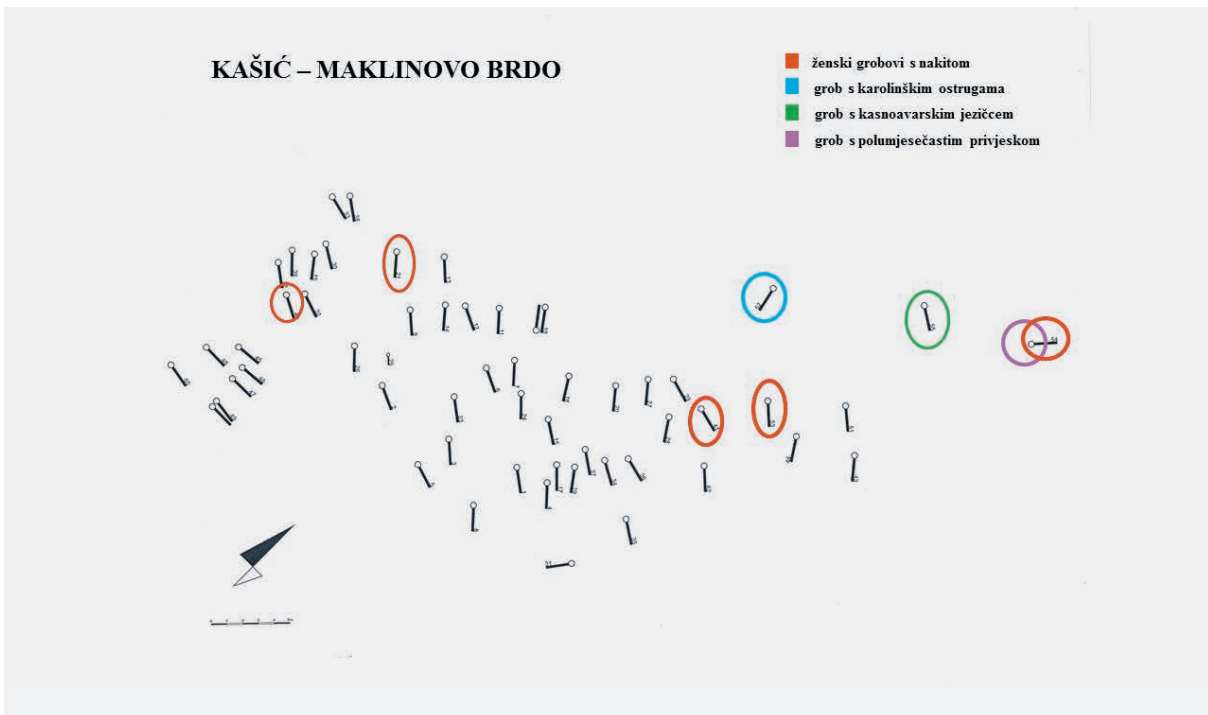
Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 135, Figs. 44, 409, Pl. 85, 4.

4. Gold earring with decoration in the form of heart-shaped tendril

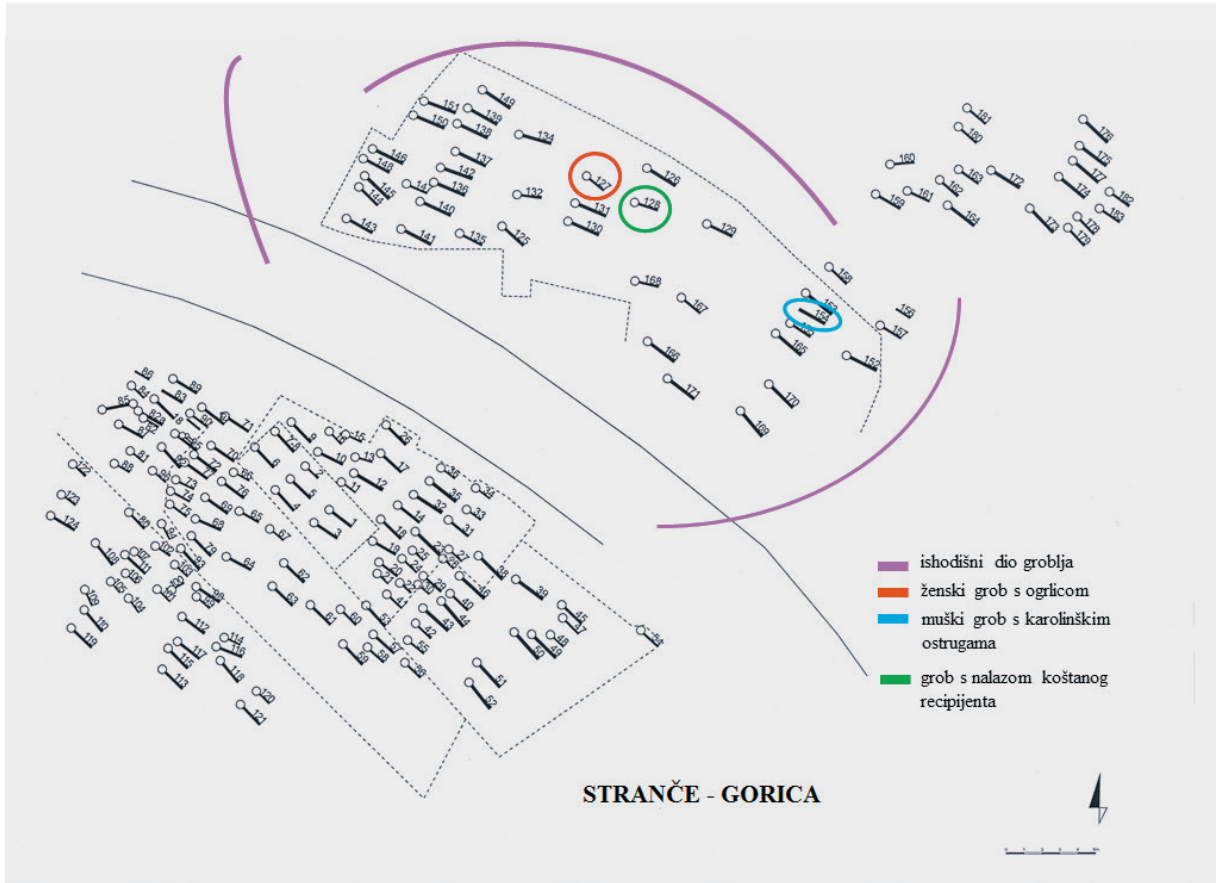
Bibl. Petrinec 2009, p. 135, Fig. 44, p. 409, Pl. 85, 5.



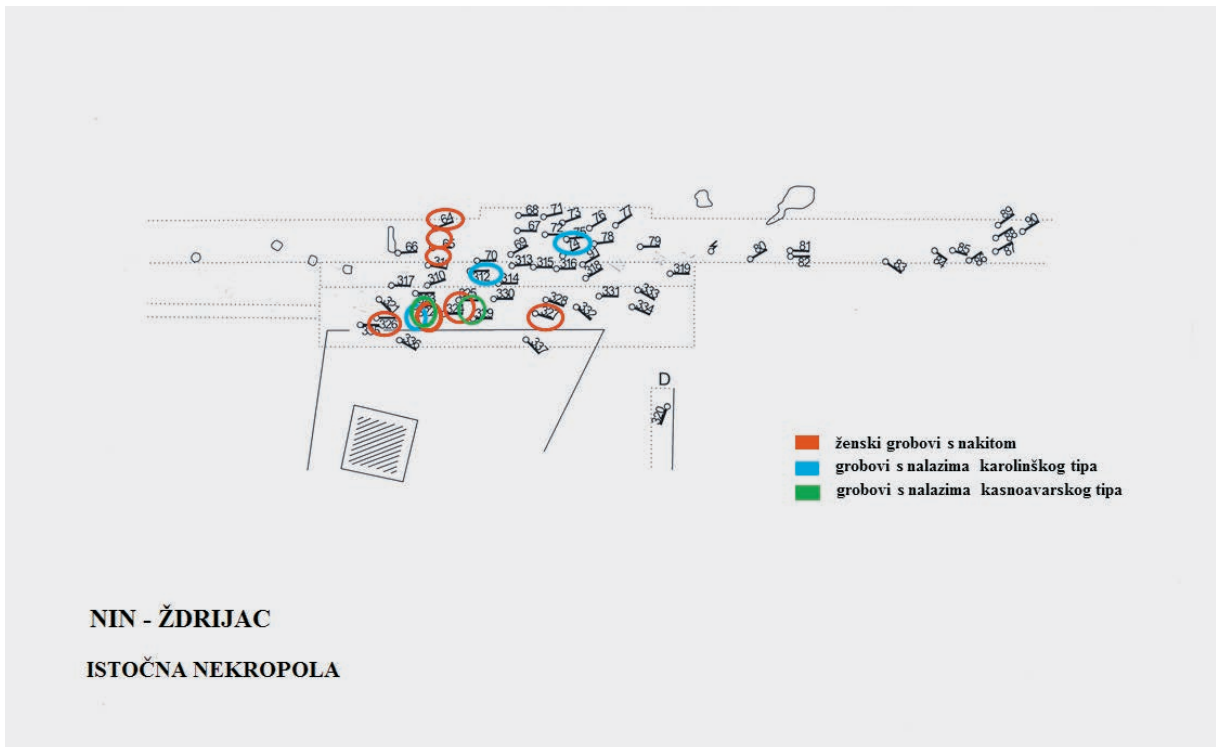
Plan 1. Glavice – Gluvine kuće 1
Plan 1 Glavice – Gluvine kuće 1



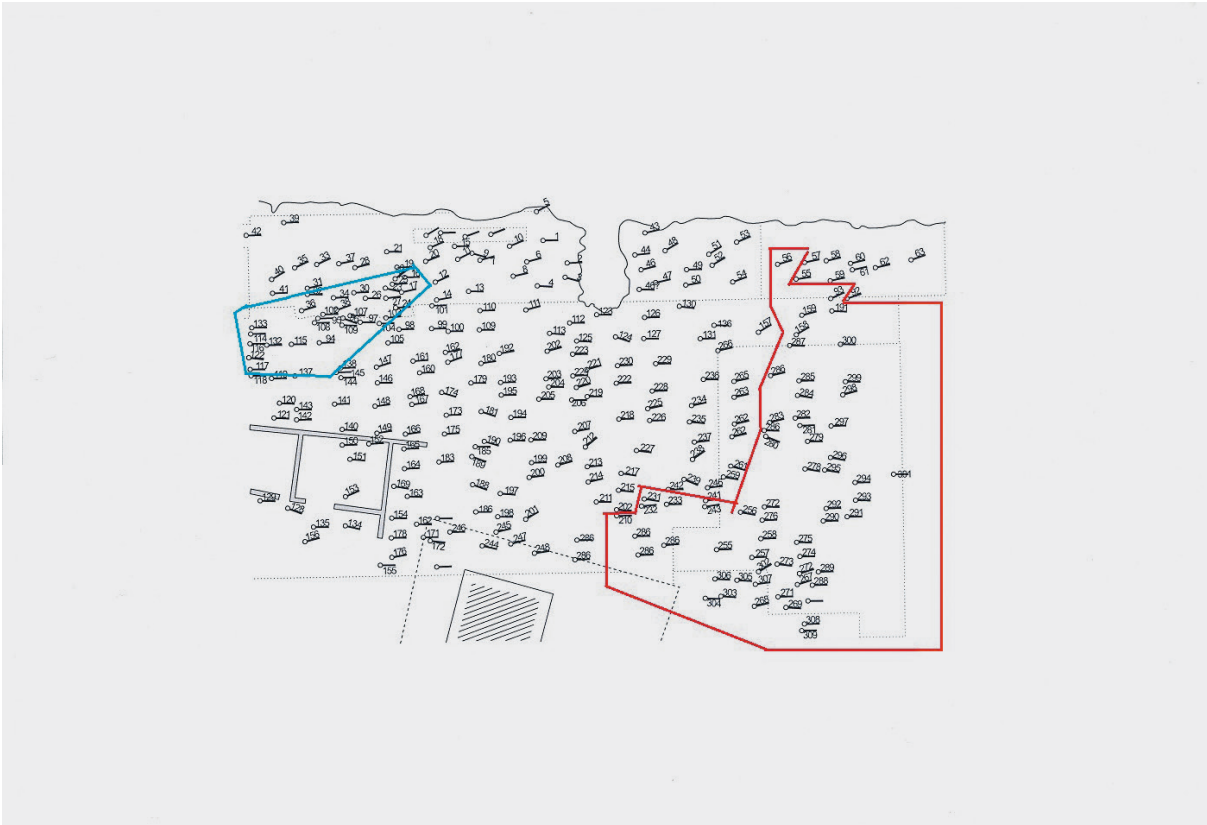
Plan 2. Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (ženski grobovi s nakitom, grobovi s karoliškim i kasnoavarskim materijalom)
Plan 2 Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (female graves with jewellery, graves with Carolingian items and late Avar era finds)



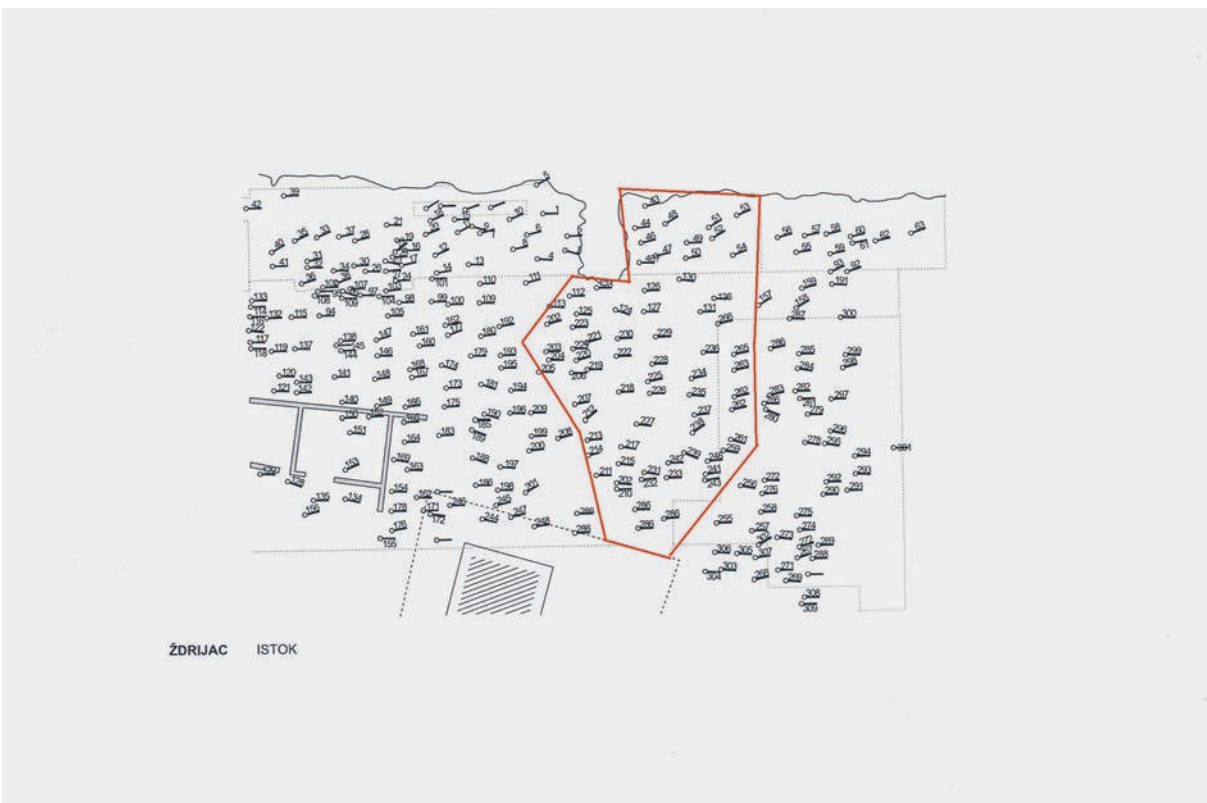
Plan 3. Stranče – ženski grobovi s nakitom, grobovi s karolinškim i kasnoavarskim materijalom
Plan 3 Stranče – female grave with jewellery, graves with Carolingian items and late Avar era finds



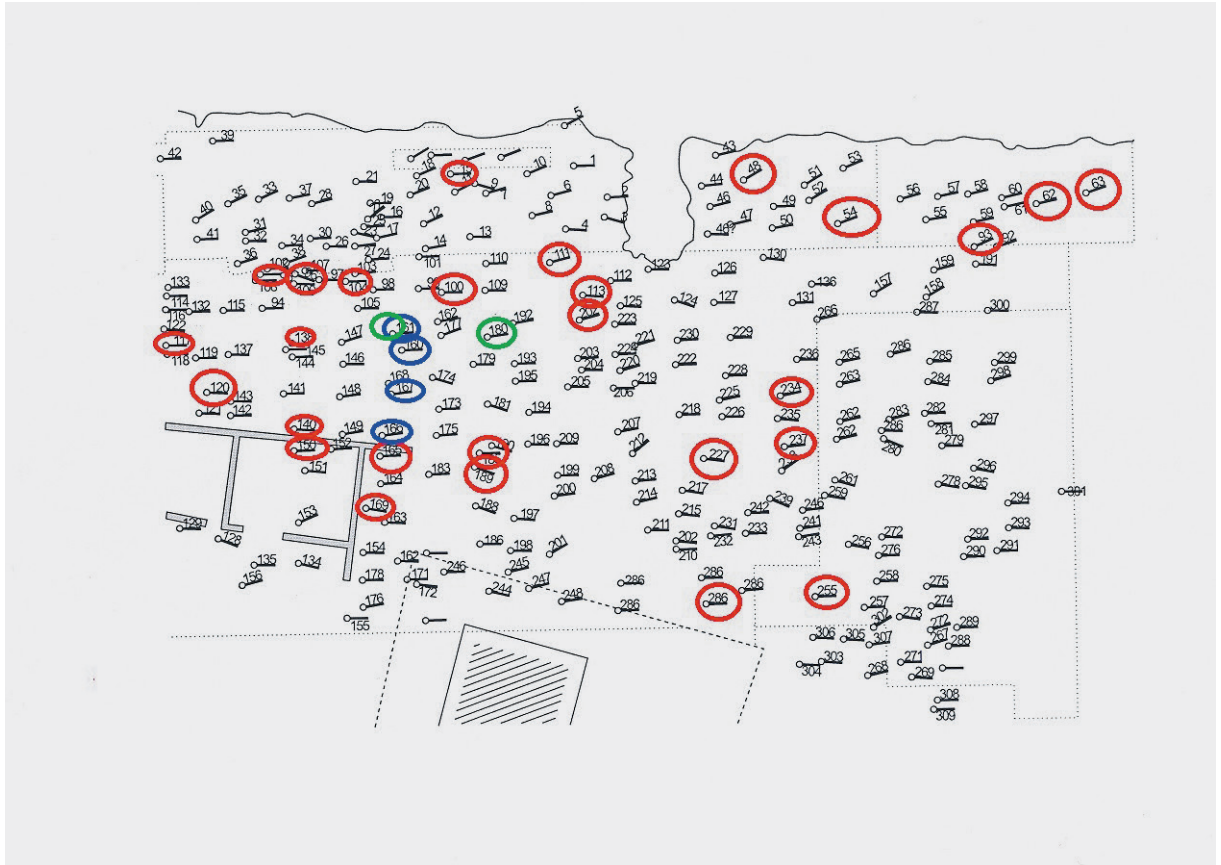
Plan 4. Ždrijac, istočna nekropola (ženski grobovi s nakitom, grobovi s karolinškim i kasnoavarskim materijalom)
Plan 4 Ždrijac, east necropolis (female graves with jewellery, and graves with Carolingian items and late Avar era finds)



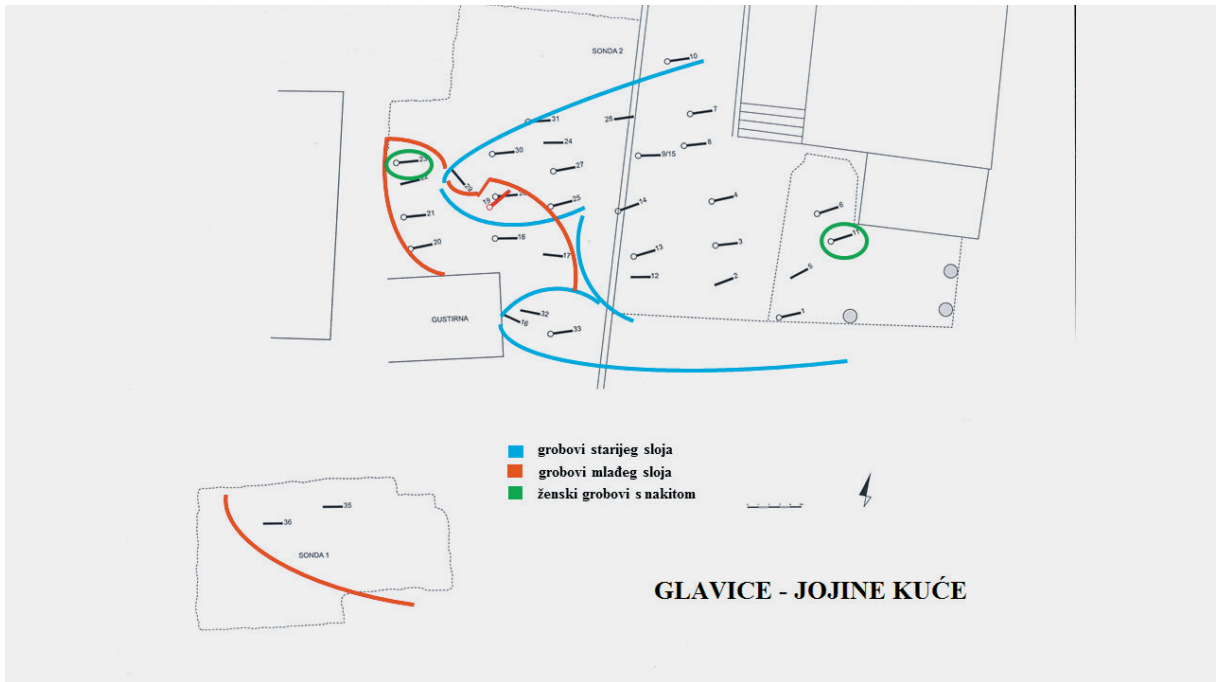
Plan 5. Ždrijac, zapadna nekropola (prema V. Sokolu)
Plan 5 Ždrijac, west necropolis (acc. to V. Sokol)



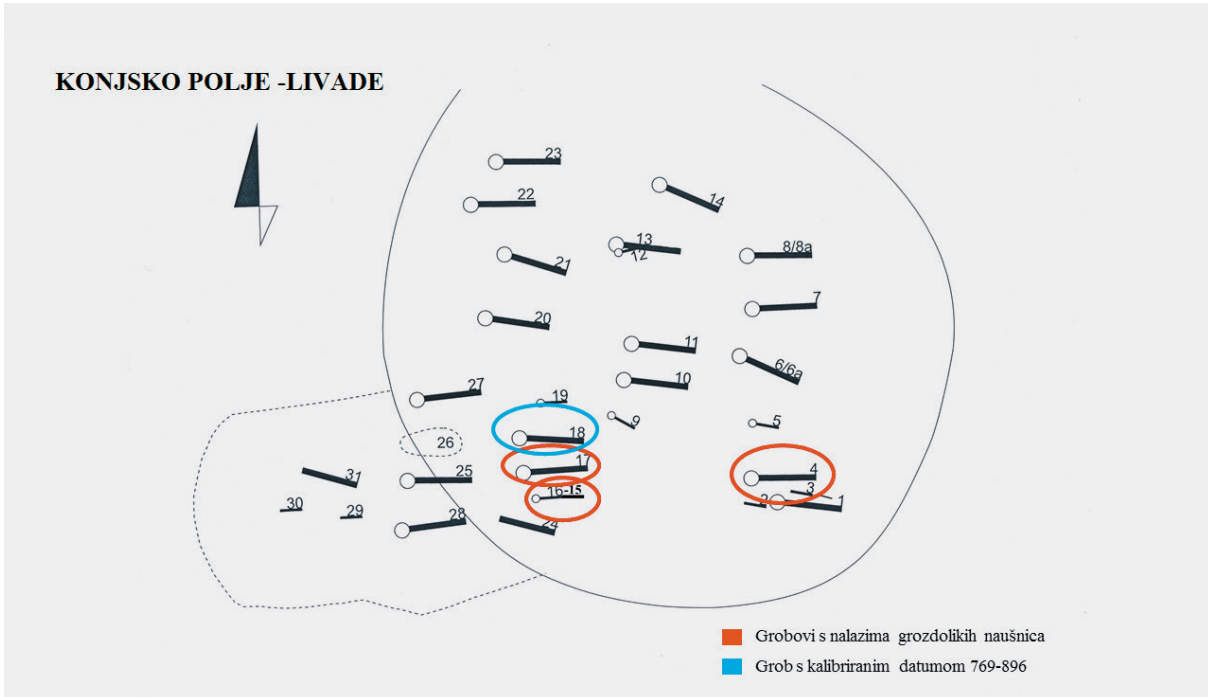
Plan 6. Ždrijac, zapadna nekropola (prema A. Alajbegu)
Plan 6 Ždrijac, west necropolis (acc. to A. Alajbeg)



Plan 7. Ždrijac, zapadna nekropola (ženski grobovi s nakitom, grobovi s karolińskim i kasnoavarskim materijalom)
 Plan 7 Ždrijac, west necropolis (female graves with jewellery, and graves with Carolingian items and late Avar era finds)



Plan 8. Glavice – Jojine kuće
 Plan 8 Glavice – Jojine kuće



Plan 9. Konjsko polje – Livade
Plan 9 Konjsko polje – Livade

T./PL. 1



1



2



3



4



5

T./PL. 2



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

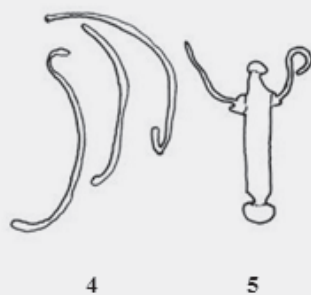
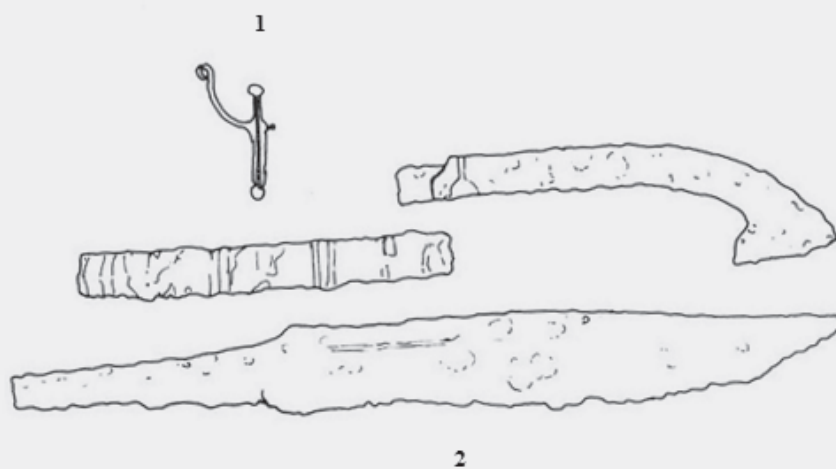


8

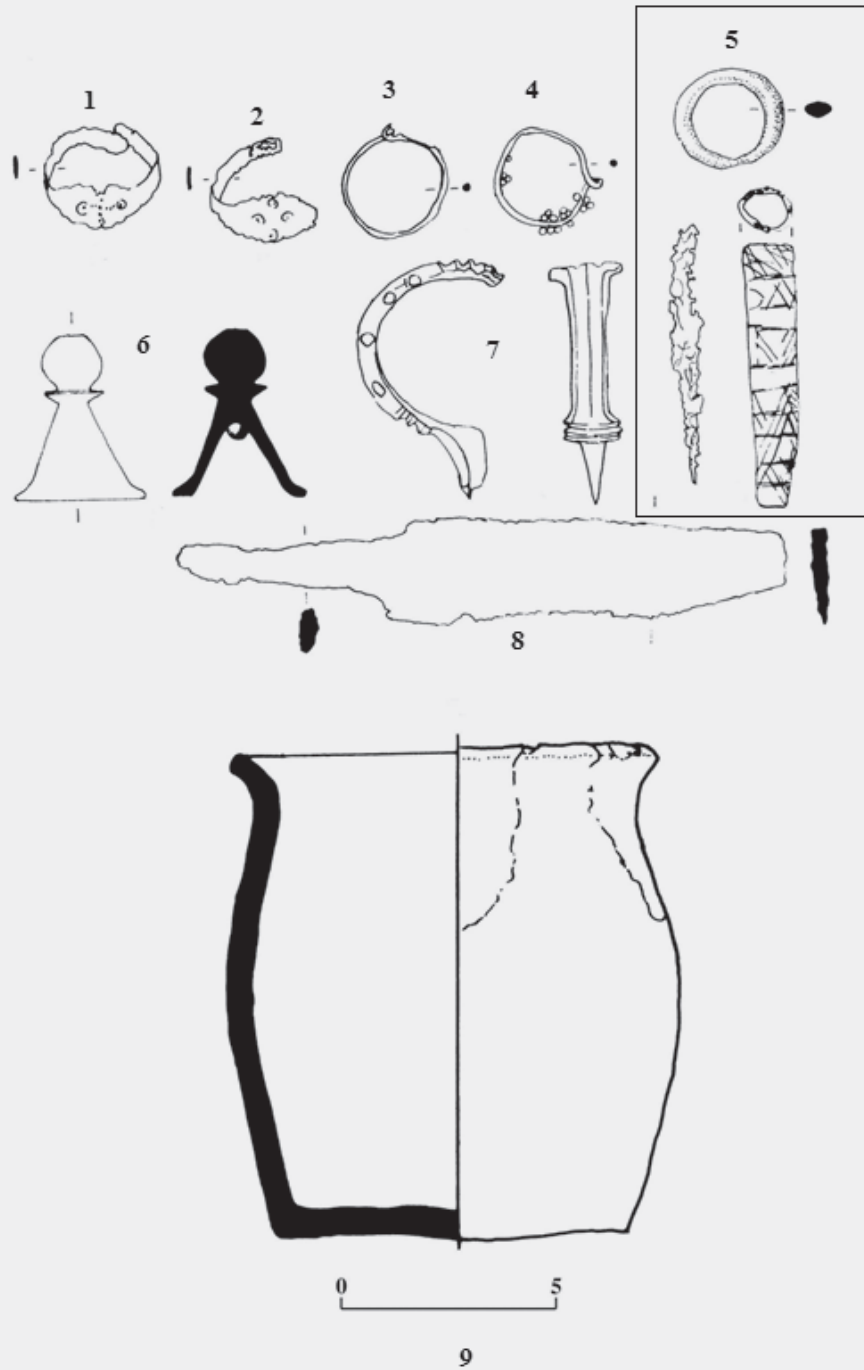


9

T./PL. 3



T./PL. 4



T./PL. 5



T./PL. 6



1



2

3



8



4

5

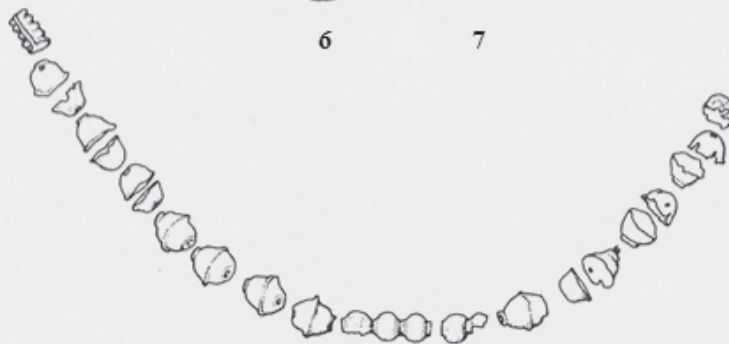


6

7

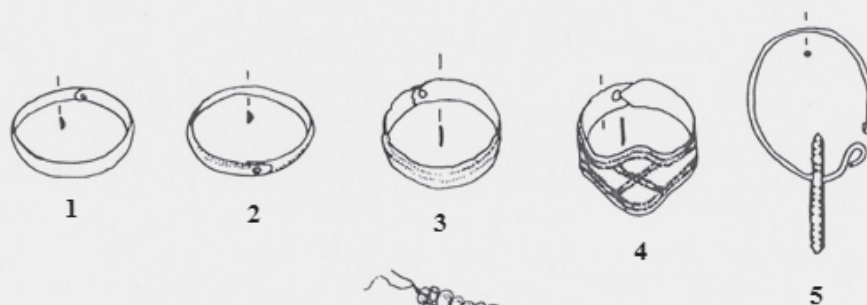


9



10

T./PL. 7



T./PL. 8



1



2



3

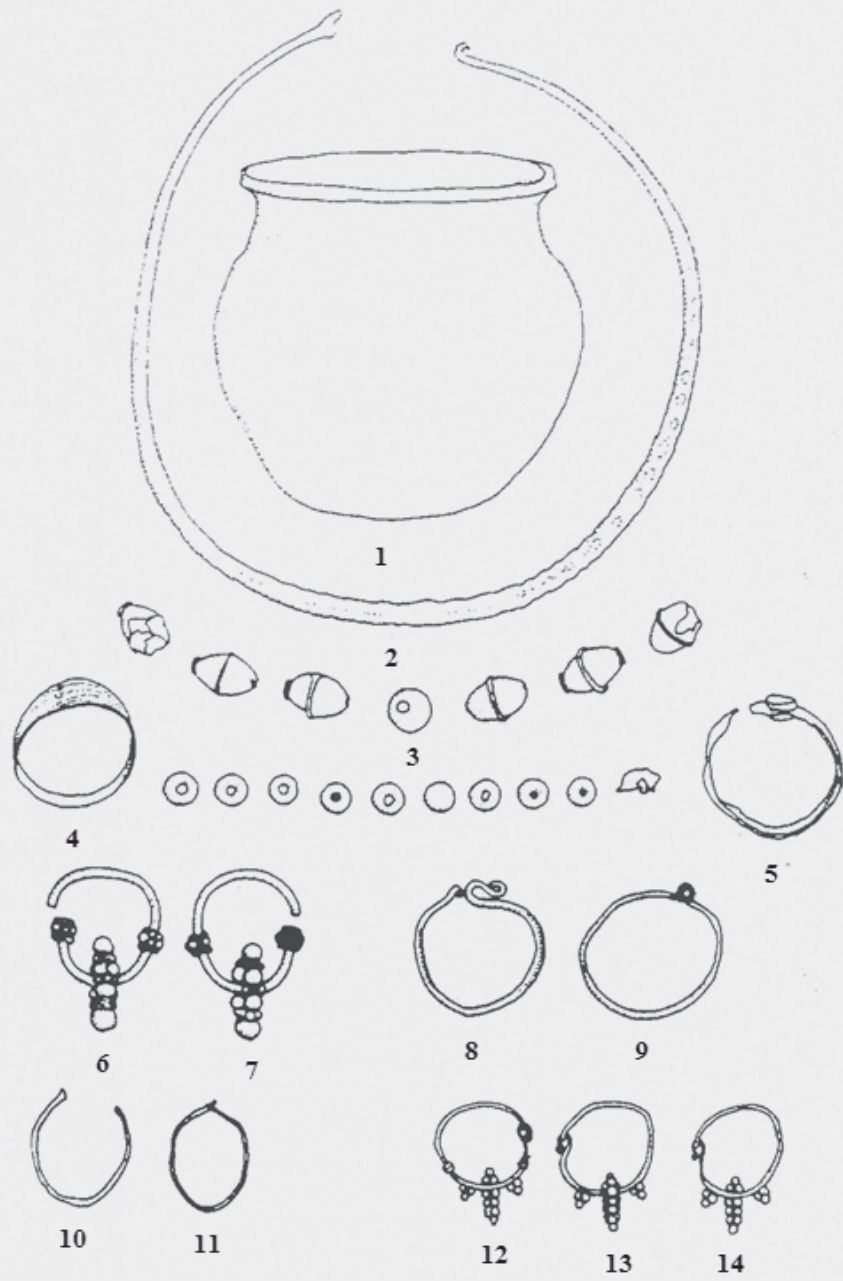


4

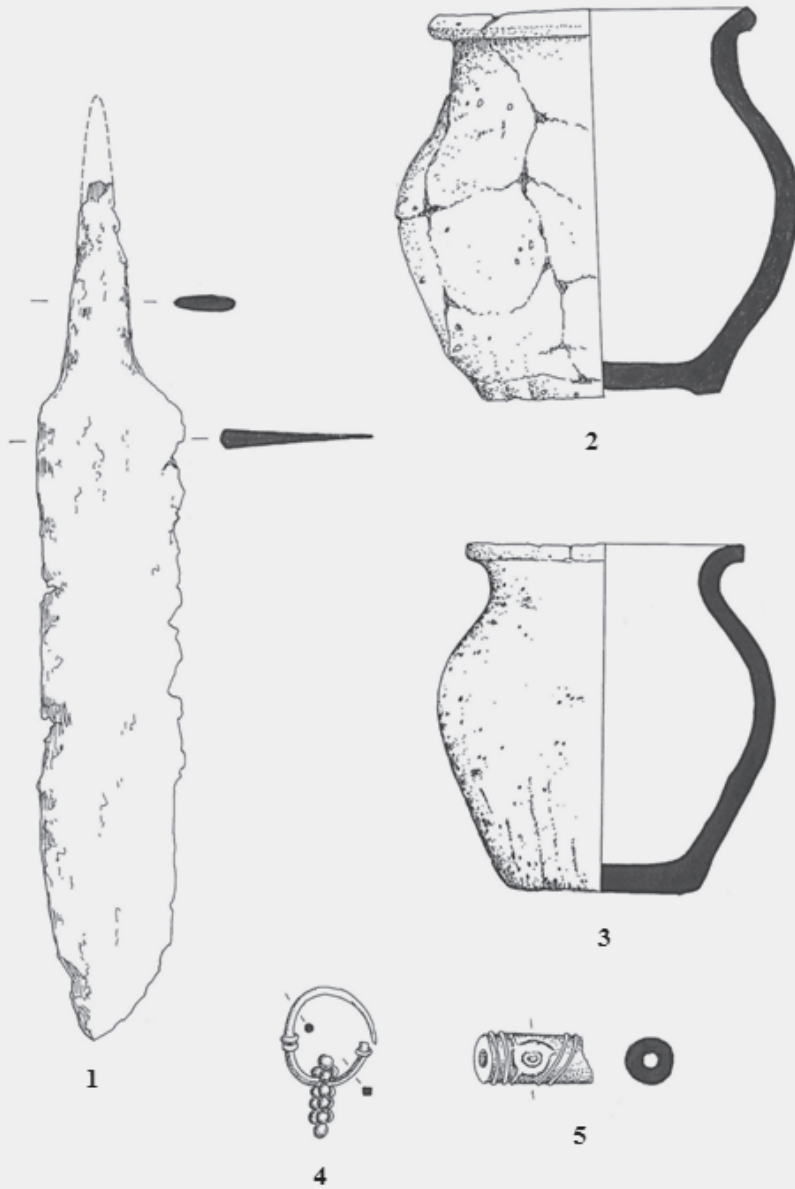


5

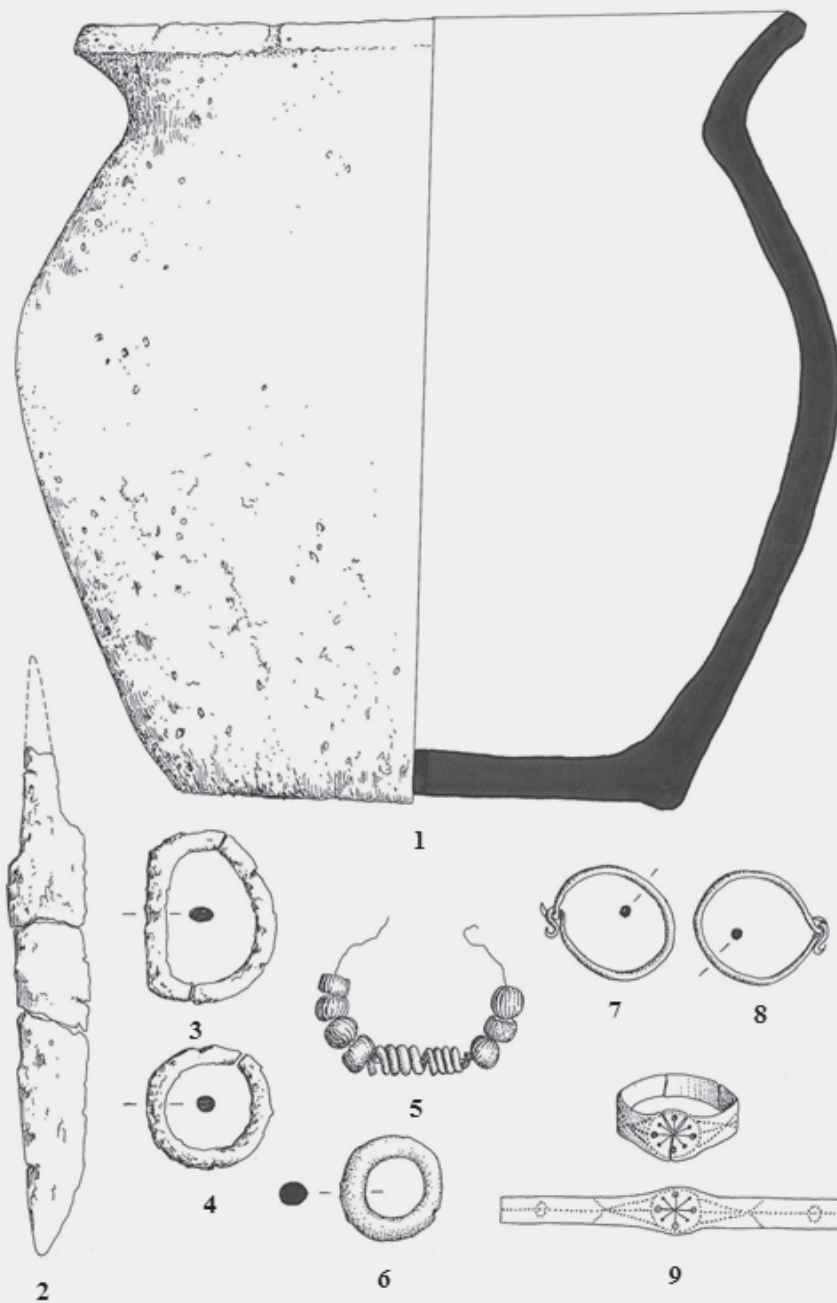
T./PL. 9



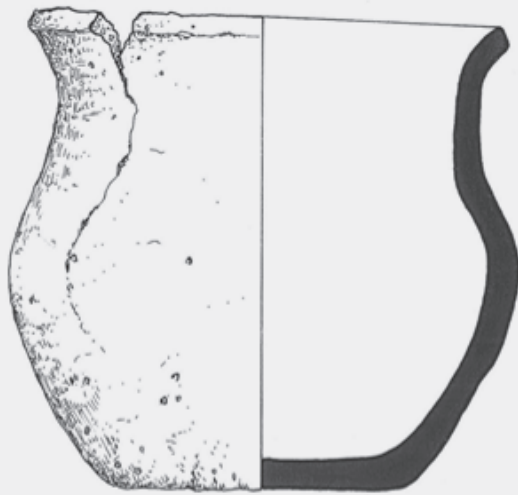
T./PL. 10



T./PL. 11



T./PL. 12



1

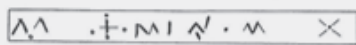


2

3



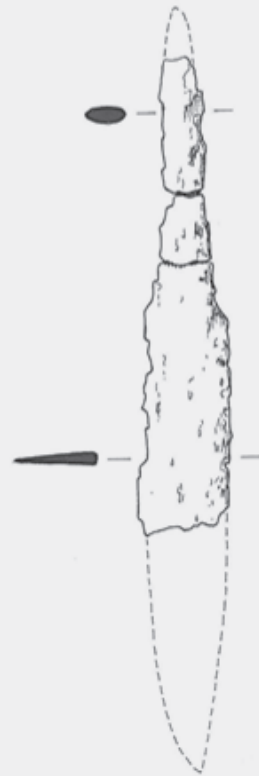
4



5



6

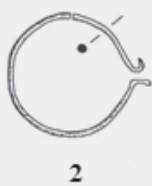


7

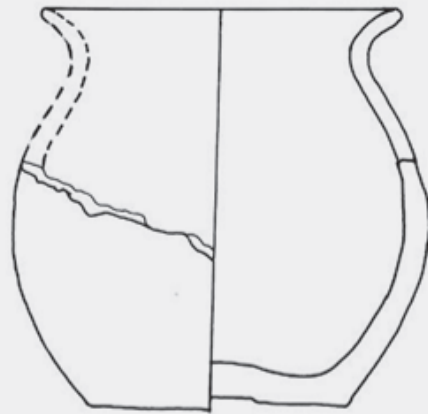
T./PL. 13



T./PL. 14



T./PL. 15



1



2

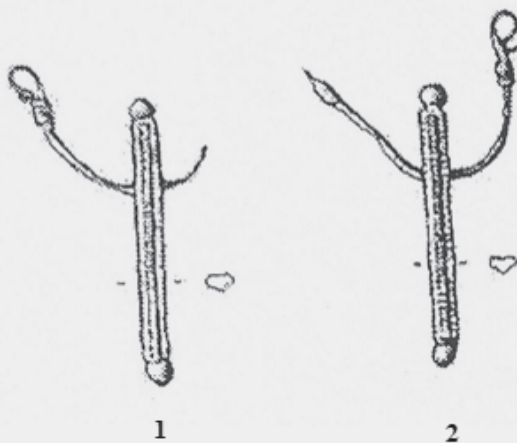


3



4

T./PL. 16



T./PL. 17



1



2



3



4



5



6

T./PL. 18



1



2



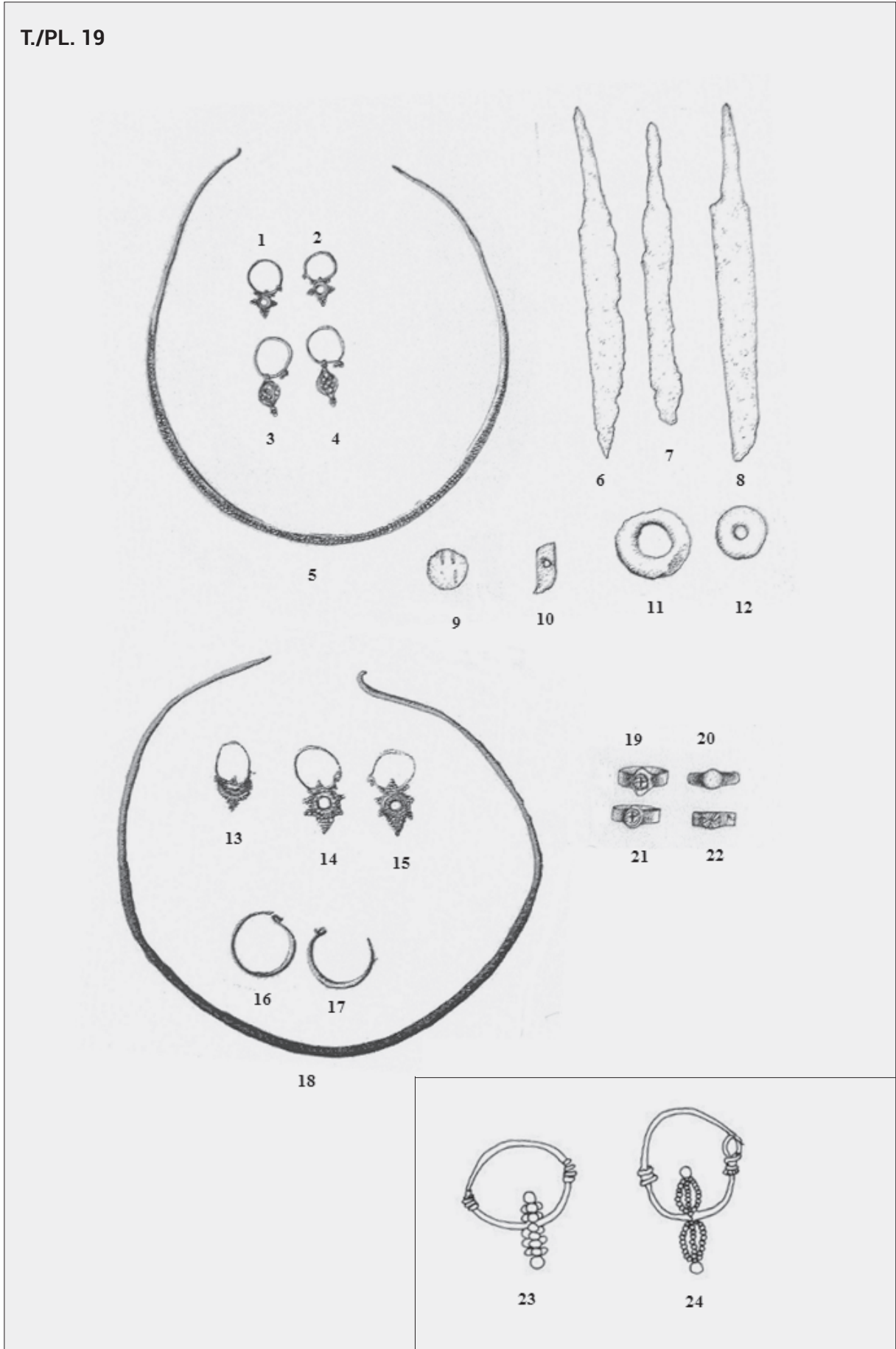
3



4



5



T./PL. 20



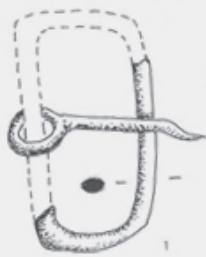
1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8

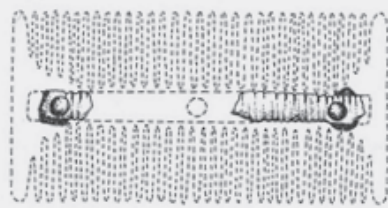


9



10

T./PL. 21



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10

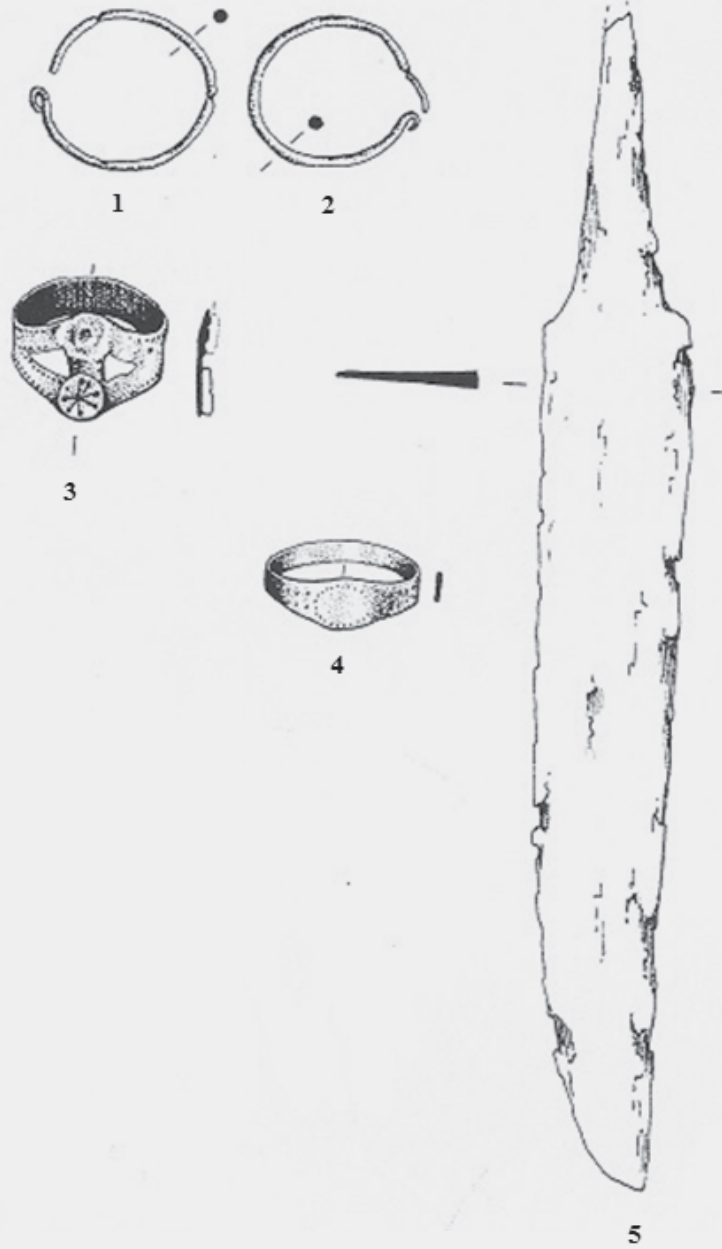


11

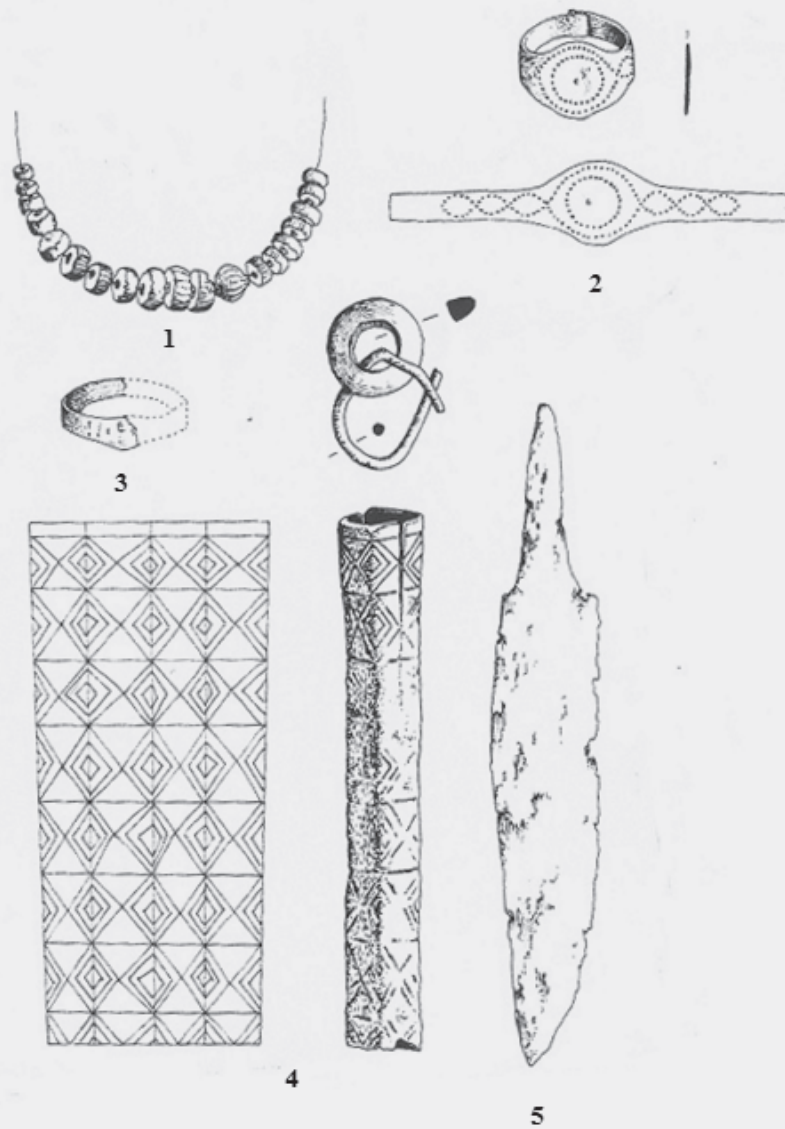


12

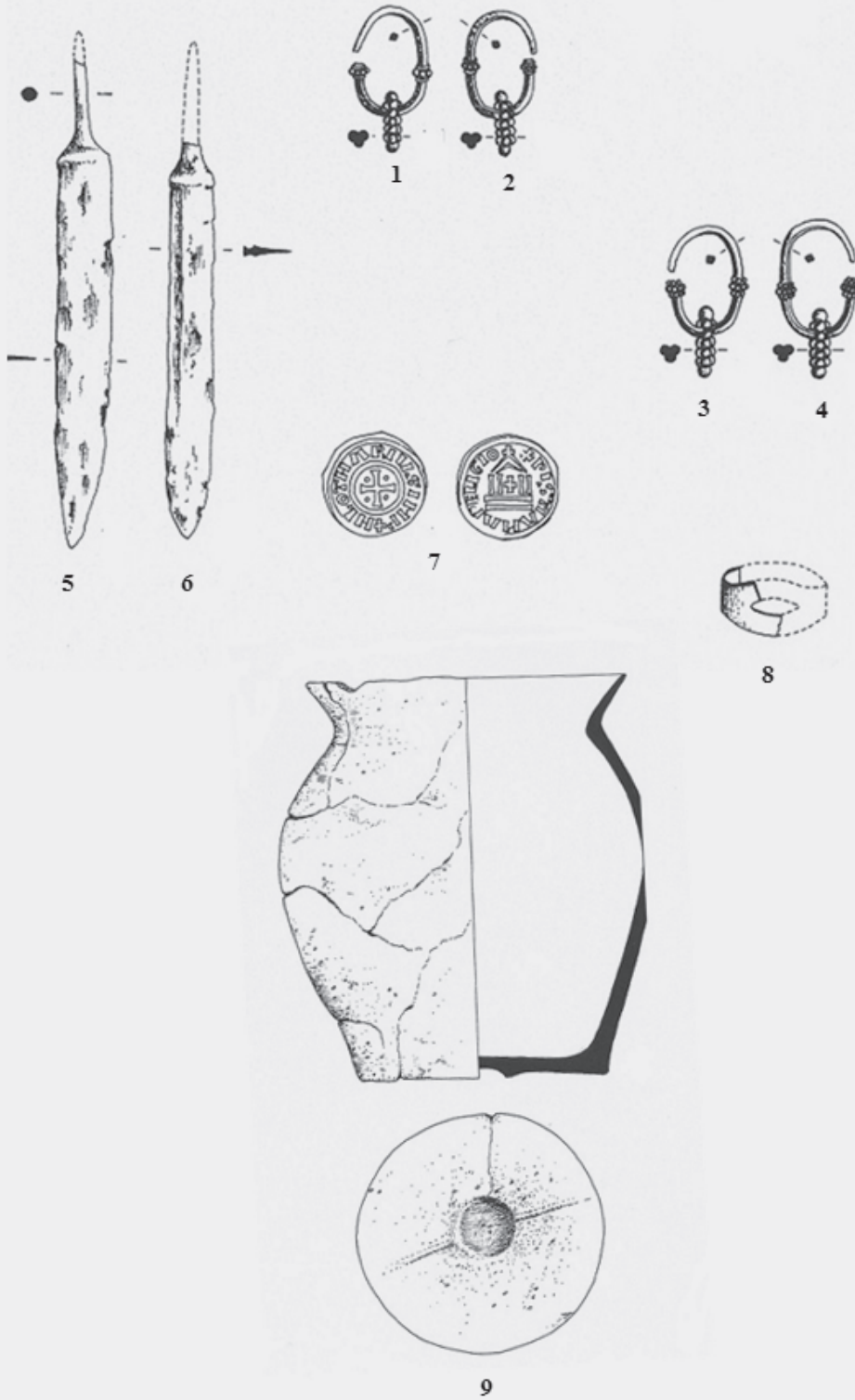
T./PL. 22



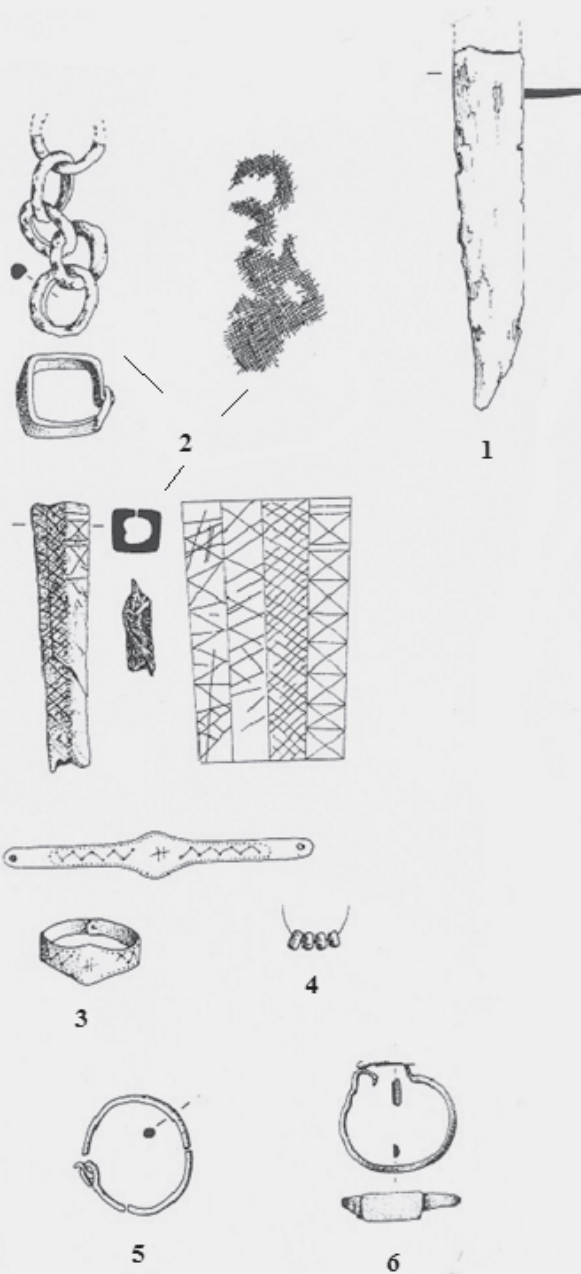
T./PL. 23



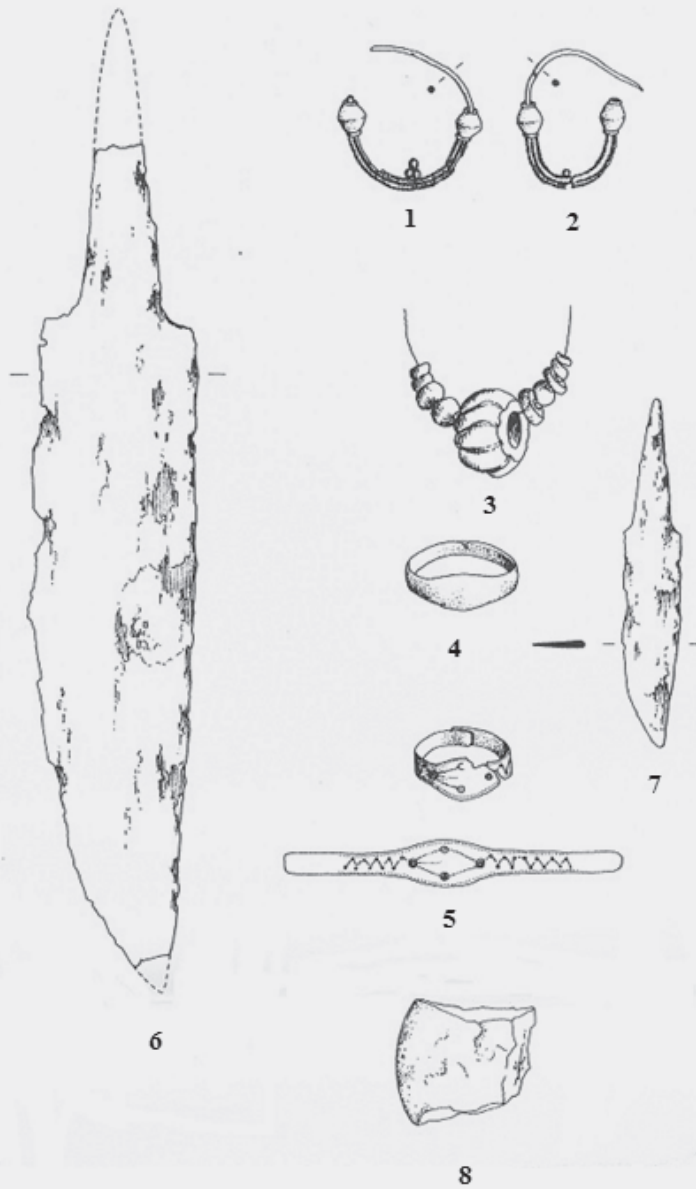
T./PL. 24



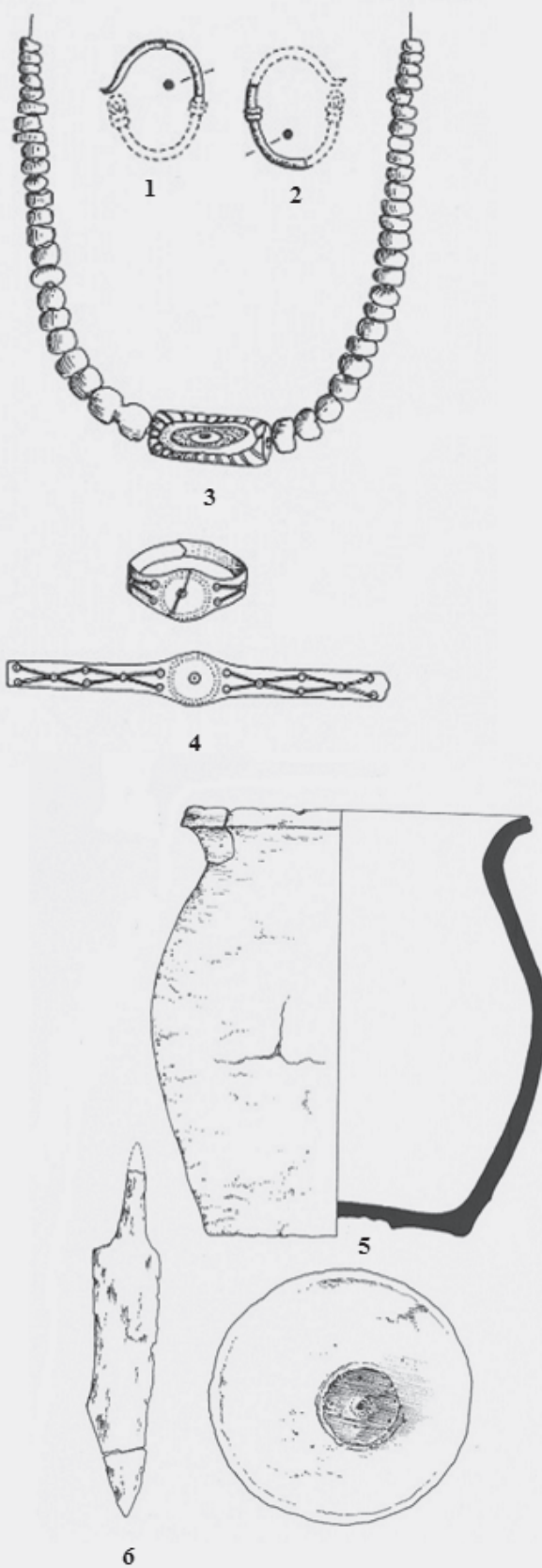
T./PL. 25



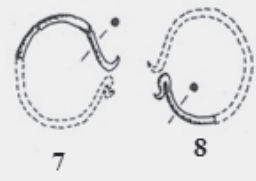
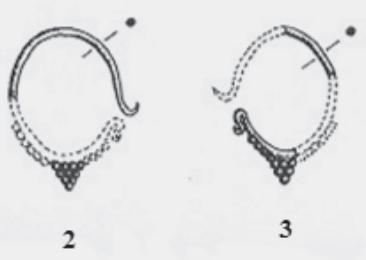
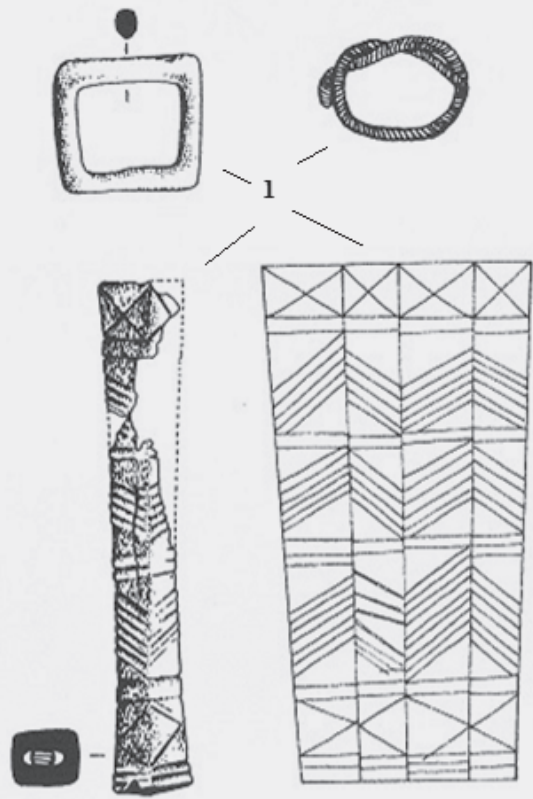
T./PL. 26



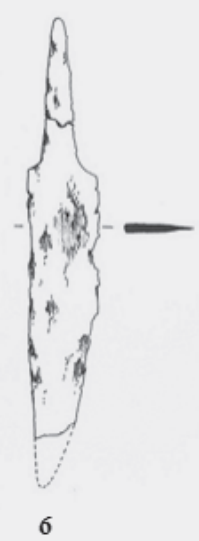
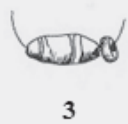
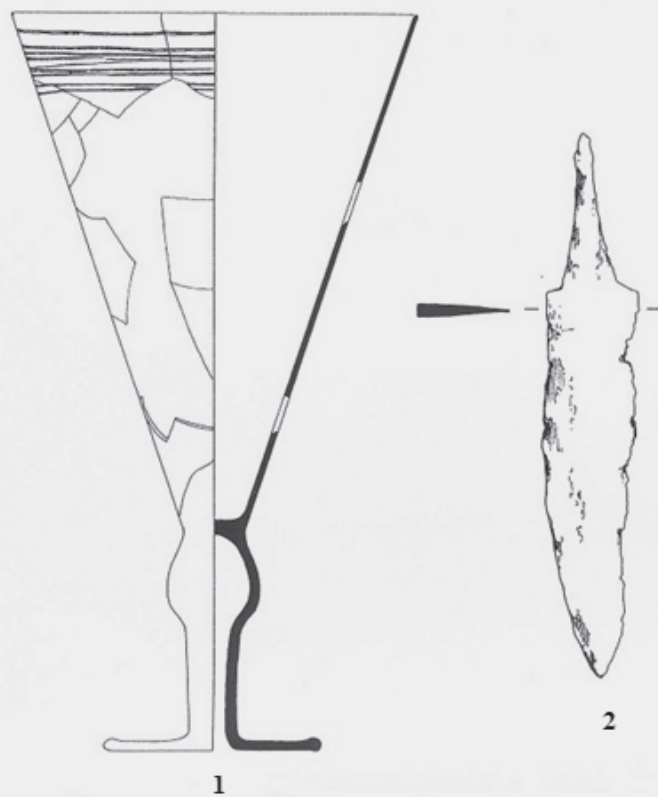
T./PL. 27



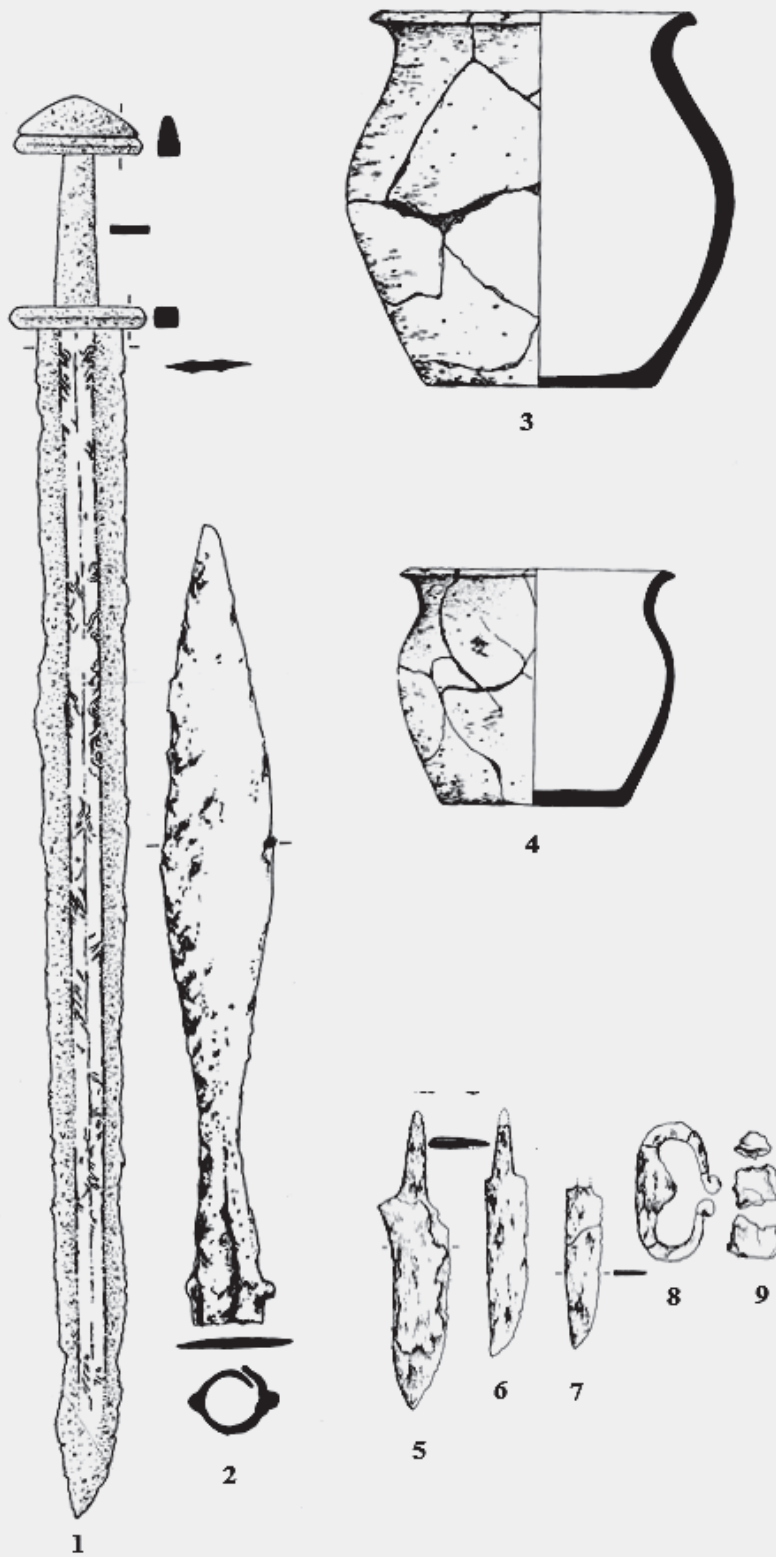
T./PL. 28



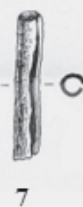
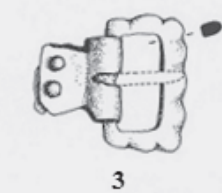
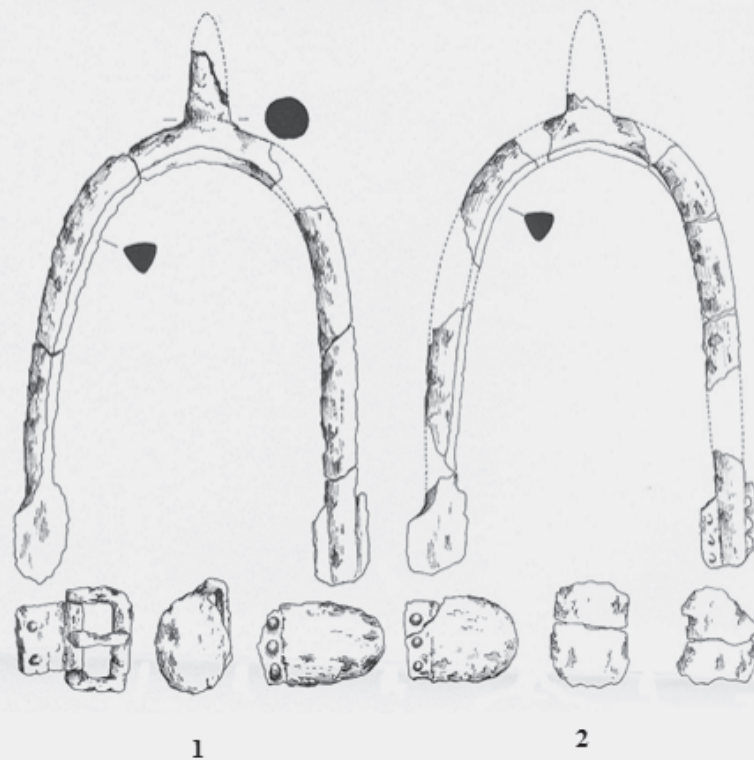
T./PL. 29



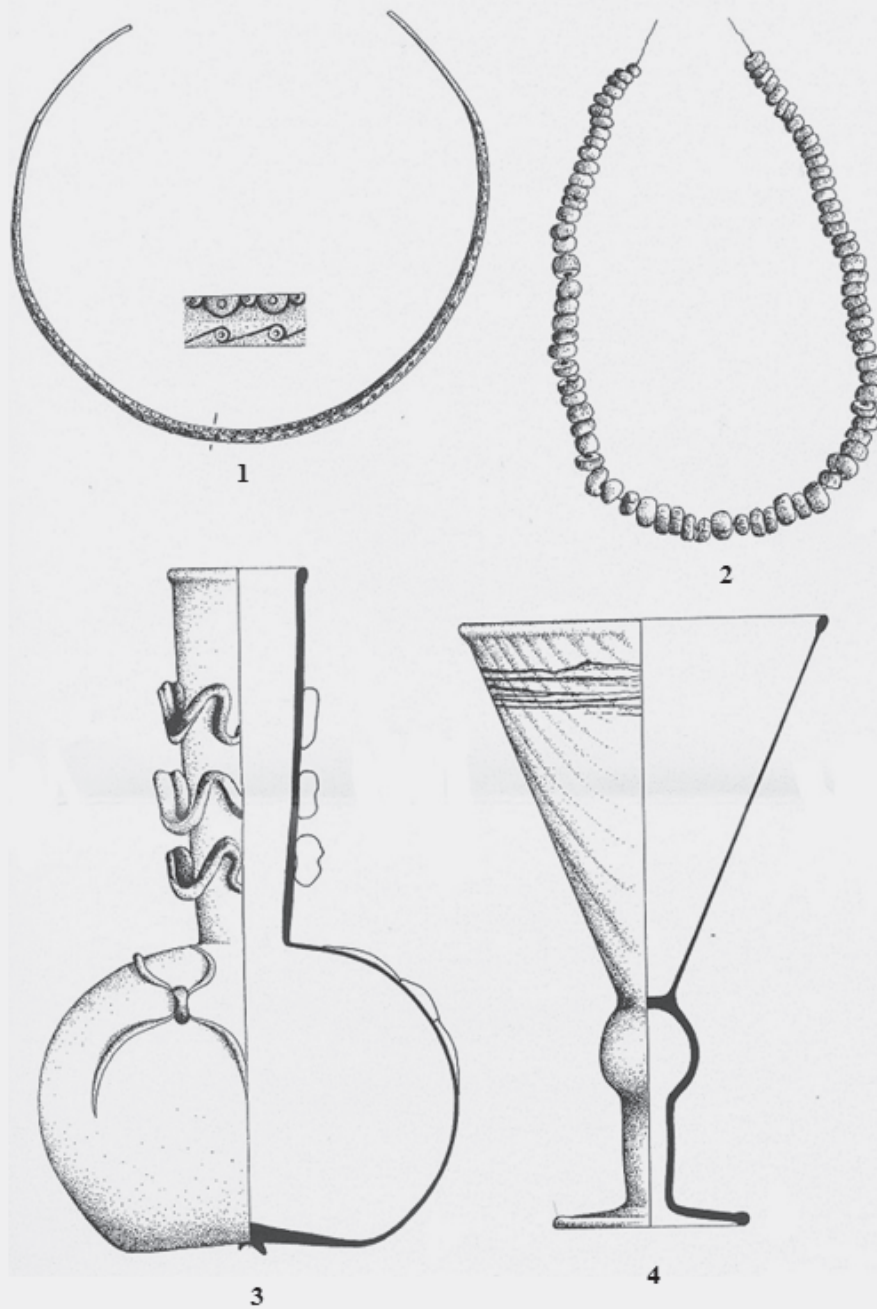
T./PL. 30



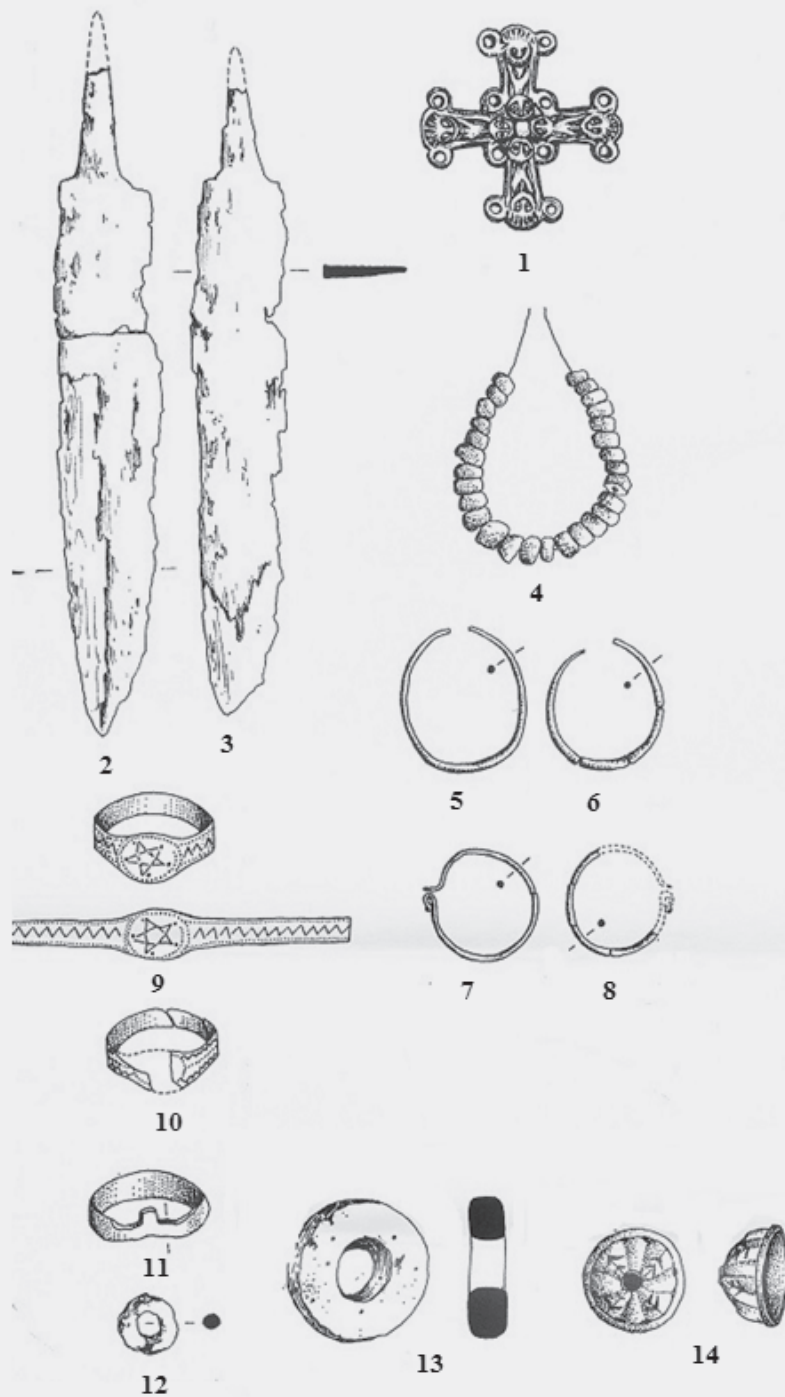
T./PL. 31



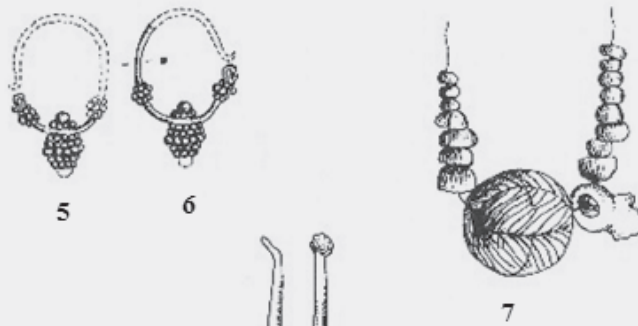
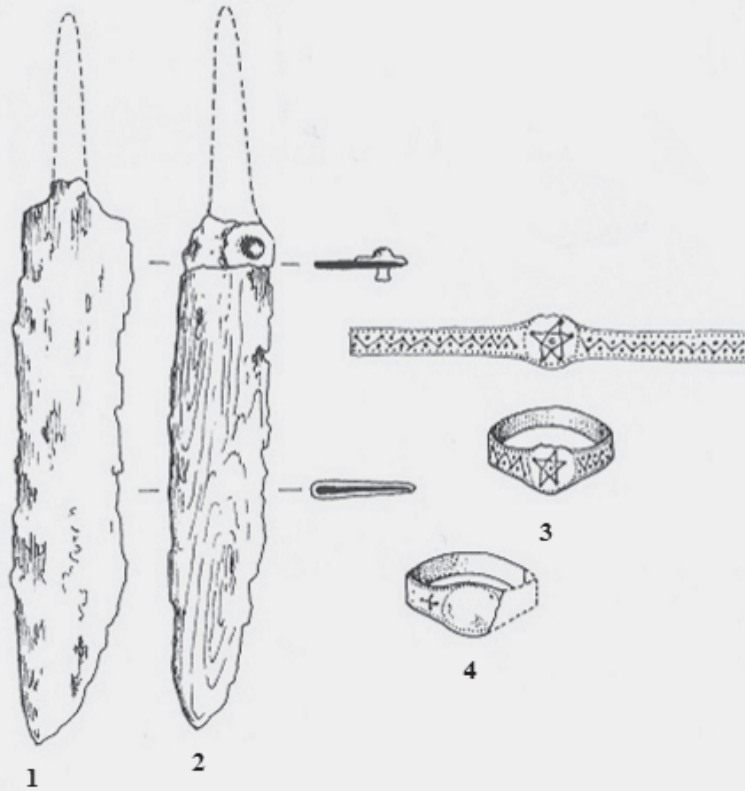
T./PL. 32



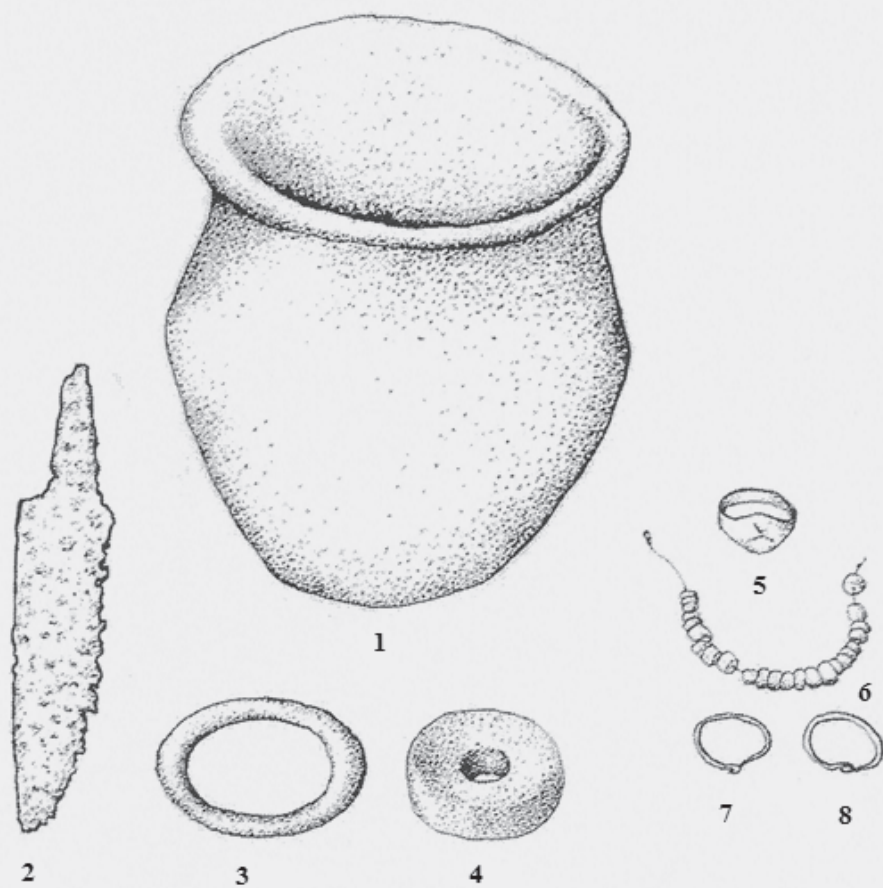
T./PL. 33



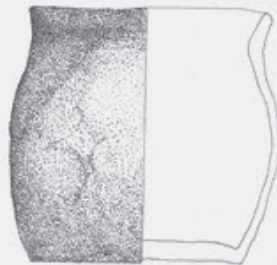
T./PL. 34



T./PL. 35



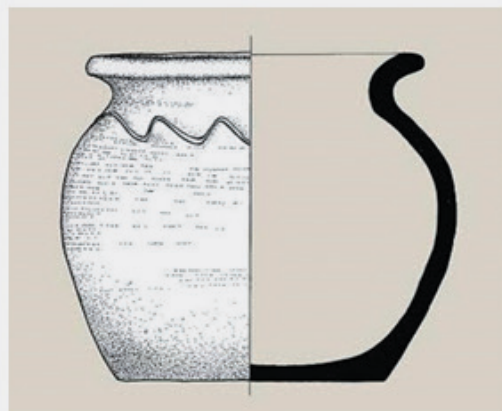
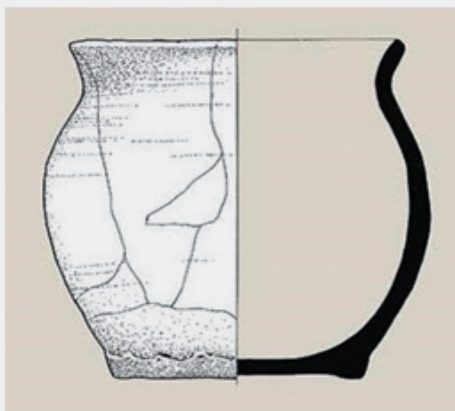
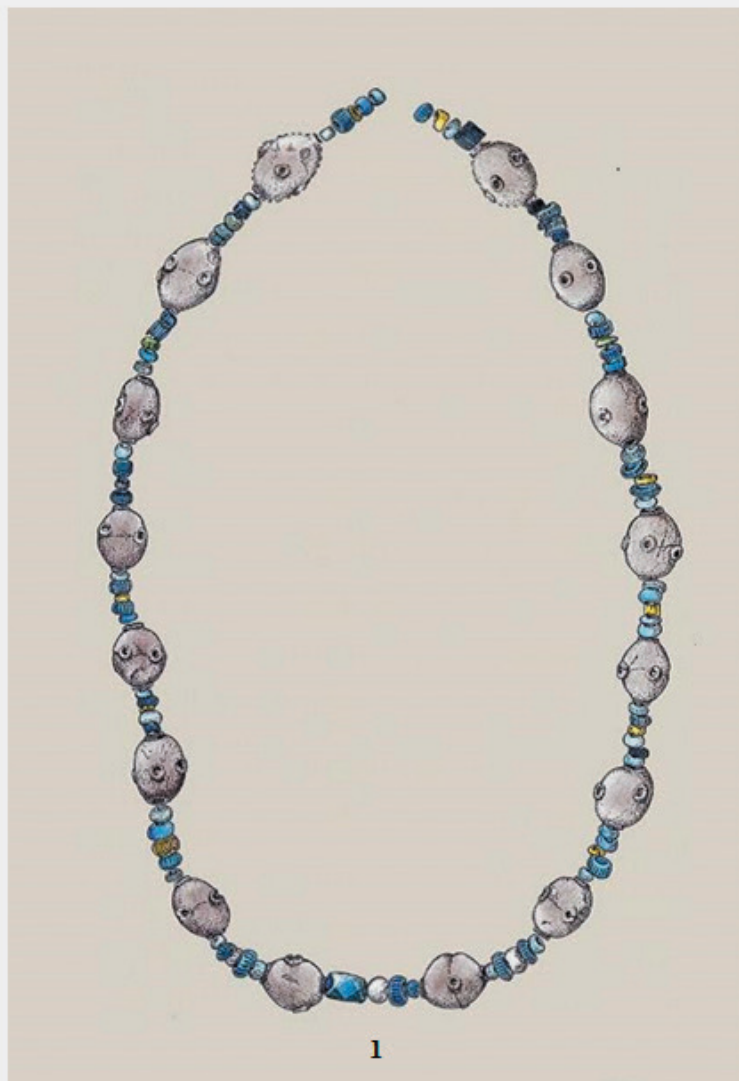
T./PL. 36



6



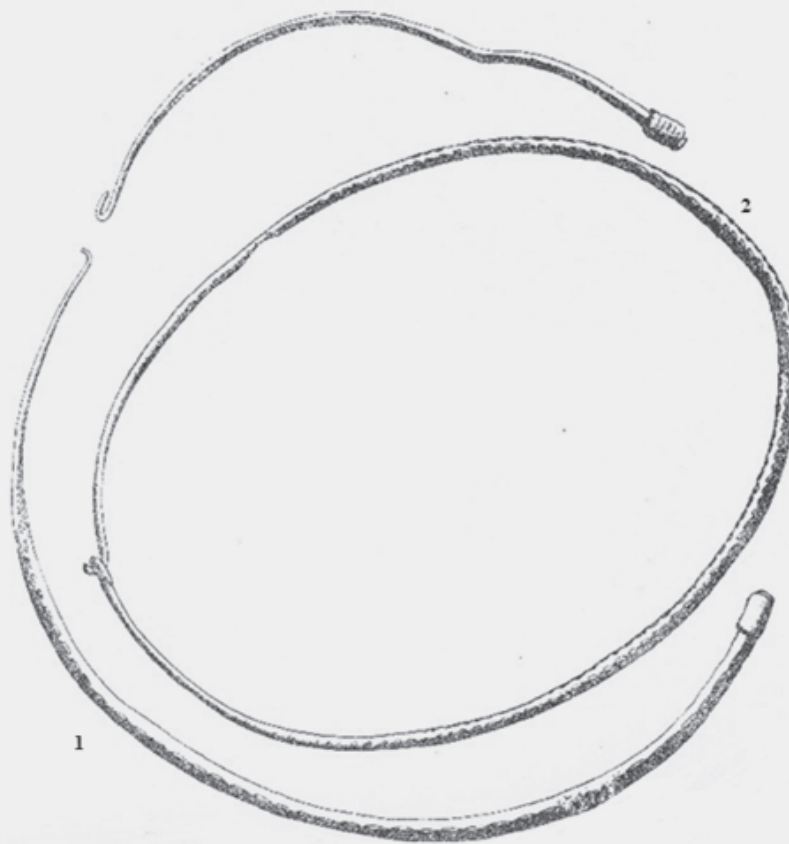
T./PL. 37



T./PL. 38



T./PL. 39



T./PL. 40



1



2



3



4



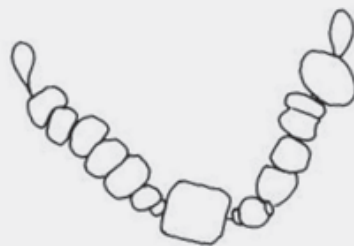
5



6



7



8

T./PL. 41



1



2



3



4



5



6

T./PL. 42



1



2



3



4

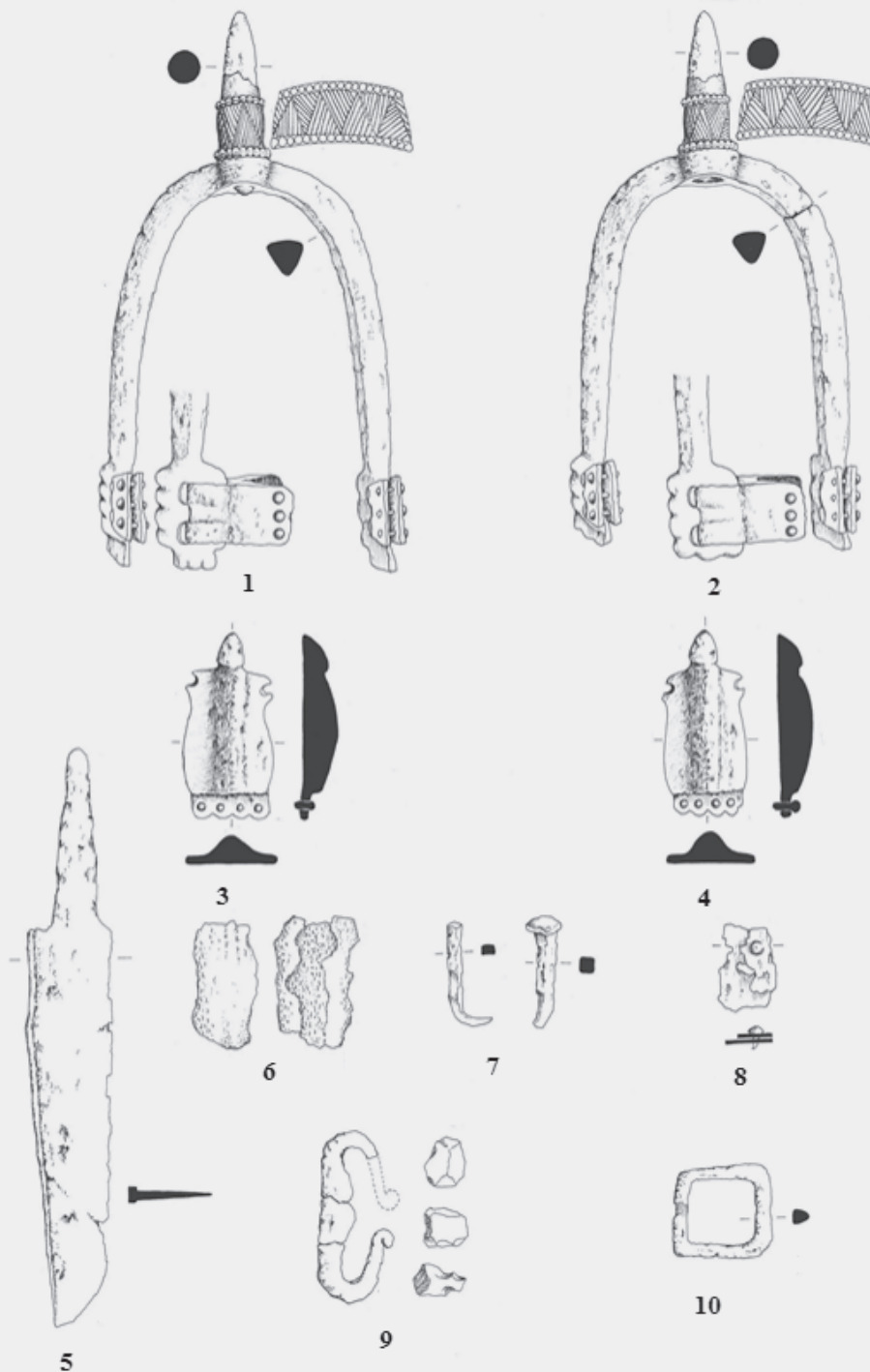


5

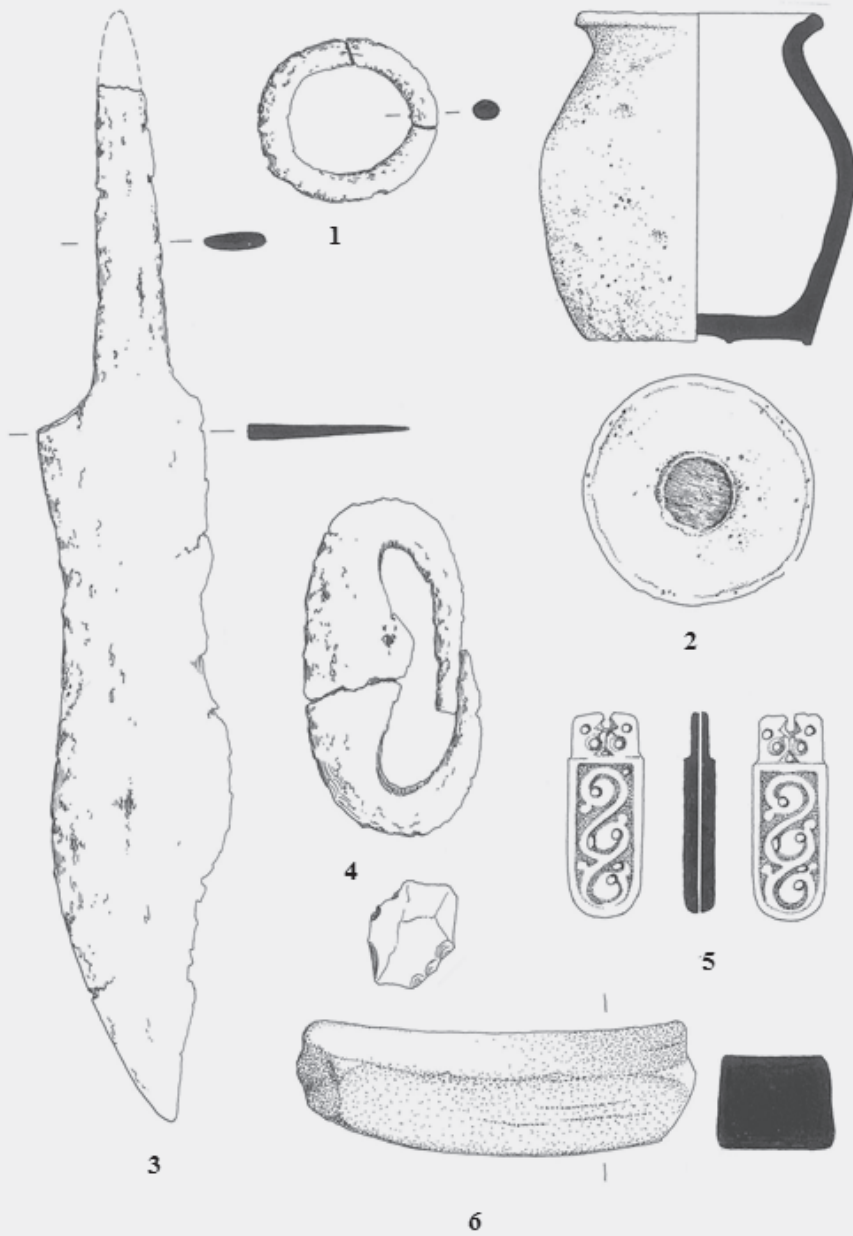


6

T./PL. 43



T./PL. 44



- T. 1, 1-2 Bijaći – Stombrate (prema Kamenjarin 2009.)
 Pl. 1, 1-2 *Bijaći – Stombrate (acc. to Kamenjarin 2009.)*
- T. 1, 3-5 Biskupija – Crkvina (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 1, 3-5 *Biskupija – Crkvina (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 2, 1-3 Biskupija – Crkvina (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 2, 1-3 *Biskupija – Crkvina (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 2, 4-9 Dubravice (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 2, 4-9 *Dubravice (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 3, 1-5 Civljane – Brzica (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 3, 1-5 *Civljane – Brzica (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 3, 6 Cetina – Sv. Spas (prema Petrinec 1996.)
 Pl. 3, 6 *Cetina – St. Saviour (acc. to Petrinec 1996.)*
- T. 4 Glavice – Gluvine kuće I (prema Petrinec 2002.)
 Pl. 4 *Glavice – Gluvine kuće I (acc. to Petrinec 2002.)*
- T. 5 Glavice – Gluvine kuće II (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 5 *Glavice – Gluvine kuće II (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 6-7 Glavice – Jojine kuće (prema Petrinec 2002.)
 Pl. 6-7 *Glavice – Jojine kuće (acc. to Petrinec 2002.)*
- T. 8 Golubić – Stolićeva njiva (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 8 *Golubić – Stolićeva njiva (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 9, 1-14 Grborezi – Mramorje (prema Bešlagić, Basler 1964.)
 Pl. 9, 1-14 *Grborezi – Mramorje (acc. to Bešlagić, Basler 1964.)*
- T. 10-14 Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (prema Belošević 2010.)
 Pl. 10-14 *Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (acc. to Belošević 2010.)*
- T. 15 Kašić – Razbojine (prema Jelovina 1968.)
 Pl. 15 *Kašić – Razbojine (acc. to Jelovina 1968.)*
- T. 16-17 Konjsko polje – Livade (prema Petrinec 2005.)
 Pl. 16-17 *Konjsko polje – Livade (acc. to Petrinec 2005.)*
- T. 18 Lepuri – Sv. Martin (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 18 *Lepuri – St. Martin (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 19 Nin – Sv. Asel (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 19 *Nin – St. Anselm (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 20, 1-3 Nin – crkva Sv. Križa (prema Belošević 1998.)
 Pl. 20, 1-3 *Nin – Church of the Holy Cross (acc. to Belošević 1998.)*
- T. 20, 4-10 Nin – Banovac (prema Radović 2010.)
 Pl. 20, 4-10 *Nin – Banovac (acc. to Radović 2010.)*
- T. 21-34 Nin – Ždrijac (prema Belošević 2007.)
 Pl. 21-34 *Nin – Ždrijac (acc. to Belošević 2007.)*
- T. 35 Ostrovica – Greblje (prema Petrinec 2009.)
 Pl. 35 *Ostrovica – Greblje (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 36 Podvršje – Jokina Glavica (preuzeto iz: Gusar 2012.)
 Pl. 36 *Podvršje – Jokina Glavica (taken from: Gusar 2012.)*

- T. 37 Stranče – Gorica (preuzeto iz: Cetinić 2011.)
Pl. 37 *Stranče – Gorica (taken from: Cetinić 2011.)*
- T. 38 Trilj – Sv. Mihovil (prema Korošec 1991.)
Pl. 38 *Trilj – St. Michael (acc. to Korošec 1991.)*
- T. 39, 1-2 Višići – rimska vila (preuzeto iz: Čremošnik 1965.)
Pl. 39, 1-2 *Višići – roman villa (taken from: Čremošnik 1965.)*
- T. 39, 3 Vrlika – Zduš (preuzeto iz: Gjurašin 1990.)
Pl. 39, 3 *Vrlika – Zduć (taken from: Gjurašin 1990.)*
- T. 40 Biskupija – razna nalazišta (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 40 *Biskupija – different sites (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 41, 1-2 Smrdelji (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 41, 1-2 *Smrdelji (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 41, 3 Kabličići Mali (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 41,3 *Kabličići Mali (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 41, 4 Solin (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 41,4 *Solin (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 41, 5-6 Nepoznata nalazišta (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 41, 5-6 *Unknown sites (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 42, 1-2 Nepoznata nalazišta (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 42, 1-2 *Unknown sites (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 42, 3 Visočane (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 42, 3 *Visočane (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 42, 4 Ivoševci (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 42, 4 *Ivoševci (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 42, 5-6 Skradin (prema Petrinec 2009.)
Pl. 42, 5-6 *Skradin (acc. to Petrinec 2009.)*
- T. 43-44 Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (prema Belošević 2010.)
Pl. 43-44 *Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (acc. to Belošević 2010.)*

Literatura / Bibliography

Alajbeg 2014

A. Alajbeg, O topografskoj kronologiji ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja u Sjevernoj Dalmaciji/On the topographical Chronology of early mediaeval Cemeteries with pagan burial Characteristics in Northern Dalmatia, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 8, Zadar 2014, 147-168

Awaren 1985

Awaren in Europa, Schätze eines asiatischen Reitervolkes 6.-8. Jh., Frankfurt am Main 1985.

Baldini Lippolis 1999

I. Baldini Lippolis, *L'oreficeria nell'impero di Costantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo*, Bari 1999.

Baldini Lippolis 2010

I. Baldini Lippolis, Sicily and southern Italy: Use and Production in the Byzantine *Koiné*, u/in: *Intelligible Beauty, British Museum Research Publication 178*, Ch. Entwistle, N. Adams, (Eds.) London 2010, 123-132

Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi 2001

Bizantini, Croati, Carolinigi, alba e tramonto di regni e imperi (C. Bertelli, G. P. Brogiolo, M. Jurković, I. Matejčić, A. Milošević, C. Stella), (Eds.) Milano 2001.

Belošević 1965

J. Belošević, Nekoliko srednjovjekovnih metalnih nalaza s područja sjeverne Dalmacije, *Diadora* 3, Zadar 1965, 145-158

Belošević 1980

J. Belošević, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od 7. do 9. stoljeća*, Zagreb 1980.

Belošević 1998

J. Belošević, Srednjovjekovno groblje u okolišu crkve Sv. Križa u Ninu, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 37 (24)/1998, Zadar 1999, 105-154

Belošević 2007

J. Belošević, *Starohrvatsko groblje na Ždrijacu u Ninu*, Zadar 2007.

Belošević 2010

J. Belošević, *Starohrvatsko groblje na Maklinovu brdu u selu Kašić kod Zadra/Altkroatisches Gräberfeld auf Maklinovo brdo im Dorf Kašić bei Zadar*, Split 2010.

Bešlagić, Basler 1964

Š. Bešlagić, Đ. Basler, *Grborezi – srednjovjekovna nekropola*, Sarajevo 1964.

Bilogriović 2019

G. Bilogrivić, Formiranje identiteta elite u istočnojadranskoj zaleđu na prijelazu 8. u 9. stoljeće - uloga karolinškog oružja, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* LII, Zagreb 2019, 113-147

Budinský-Krička, Točik 1991

V. Budinský-Krička, A. Točik, *Šebastovce, Gräberfeld aus der Zeit des Awarischen Reiches*, Nitra 1991.

Bühler 2014

B. Bühler, *Der „schatz“ von Brestovac, Kroatien*, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz 2014.

Burić 2008

T. Burić, Svećurje, *Starohrvatsko i srednjovjekovno groblje sela Žestinj s crkvom sv. Jurja*, Split 2008.

Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001

T. Burić, A. Čače, I. Fadić, *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*, Katalozi i monografije 12, Split 2001.

Busuladžić, Koprčina 2014

A. Busuladžić, A. Koprčina, *Nakit iz Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu – izložba s povodom*, Muzej Mimara, Zagreb 2014.

Cetinić 2011

Ž. Cetinić, *Stranče - Vinodol, Starohrvatsko groblje na Gorici*, Rijeka 2011.

Chorvátová 2004

H. Chorvátová, K relativnej chronológii pohrebiska Staré Město v polohe Na valách, *Acta historica neosoliensia*, 7, Banská Bystrica 2004, 199-236

Chorvátová 2007

H. Chorvátová, "Horizonty byzantsko-orientálneho šperku na tzv. veľ'komoravských pohrebiskách", *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea Archeológia Supplementum*, 2, Bratislava 2007, 83-101

Chorvátová 2015

H. Chorvátová, Schmuckkolektionen an den mittleren Donau, u/in: *Archäologische Forschungen in Niederösterreich*, Neue folge, band 5, Krems 2018, 125-137

Curta 2010

F. Curta, Etnicitet u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arheologiji: Primjer ranoslavenskih nalaza u jadranskoj regiji, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 37, Split 2010, 17-50

Curta 2011

F. Curta, Still waiting for the barbarians? The making of the Slavs in „Dark-Age“ Greece, u: „*Neglected Barbarians (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 32)*“, F. Curta (Ed.), Turnhout 2011, 403-478

Čilinská 1963

Z. Čilinská, Slovansko-avarské pohrebisko v Žitavskej Tōňi, *Slovenská archeologia*, XI-1, Nitra 1963, 87-120

Čilinská 1973

Z. Čilinská, *Frühmittelalterliches Gräberfeld in Želovce*, Bratislava 1973.

Čremošnik 1965

I. Čremošnik, Rimska vila u Višićima, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, n. s., sv. XX, Sarajevo 1965, 147-221

Demo 2014

Ž. Demo, *Zlato & srebro srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu* (s prilogom Maje Bunčić), Zagreb 2014.

Eisner 1952

J. Eisner, *Devínska Nová Ves, Slovanské pohřebiště*, Bratislava 1952.

Fiedler 1992

U. Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau*, Teil 1 und Teil 2, Bonn 1992.

Garam 1980

É. Garam, VII századi aranyékszerek a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményeiben, *Folia Archaeologica XXXI*, Budapest 1980, 157-176

Garam 1993

É. Garam, *Katalog der awarenzeitlichen Goldgegenstände und der Fundstücke aus den Fürstengräbern im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum, Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Seria archaeologica I*, Budapest 1993.

Giesler 1974

U. Giesler, Datierung und Herleitung der vogelförmigen Riemenzungen, *Studien zur vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie*, München 1974, 521-543

Gjurašin 1990

H. Gjurašin, Kasnoantički nalazi iz Škripa na otoku Braču i srebrni prsten iz Vrlike, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 20 (1990.), Split 1992, 251-264.

Gunjača 1960

S. Gunjača, Trogodišnji rad Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (1955., 1956. i 1957. godine.), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 7, Zagreb 1960, 269-281

Gunjača 1995

Z. Gunjača, Groblje u Dubravicama kod Skradina i druga groblja 8.-9. stoljeća u Dalmaciji; u/in: *Etnogeza Hrvata*, N. Budak (Ed.), Zagreb 1995, 159-168

Gusar 2012

K. Gusar, Jokina glavica-ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi, u: *Tumuli iz Krneze i Podvršja kod Zadra*, Zadar 2012, 49-83.

Gusar, Vujević 2012

K. Gusar, D. Vujević, Duševića Glavica, u: *Tumuli iz Krneze i Podvršja kod Zadra*, Zadar 2012, 103-135

Hina, Jutarnji list 2019

Hina, Jutarnji list, Arheološko nalazište kod Gline otkrilo tajne nepoznatog hrvatskog vladara, Otvoreno je novo poglavlje u poznavanju najranije hrvatske povijesti, objavljeno/published: 16. 04. 2019.

Hrvati i Karolinzi (katalog) 2000

Hrvati i Karolinzi, Katalog izložbe, A. Milošević (Ed.), Split 2000.

Jakšić 2008

N. Jakšić, Il ruolo delle antiche chiese rurali nella formazione del ducato Croato medievale, *Hortus Artium Medievalum* 14, Zagreb-Motovun 2008, 103-112

Jarak 2016

M. Jarak, Arheološko-kulturna određenja u interpretaciji ranosrednjovjekovnih grobnih nalaza iz Čadavice i Požeškog Brestovca, u/in: *Groblja i pogrebni običaji u srednjem i ranom novom vijeku na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske*, Zbornik radova prvog međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa srednjovjekovne arheologije Instituta za arheologiju, Zagreb, 4. lipnja 2014 (S. Krznar, T. Sekelj Ivančan, T. Tkalčec, J. Belaj, (Ed.), Zagreb 2016, 7-22

Jelovina 1968

D. Jelovina, Ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola na „Razbojinama“ u selu Kašiću kod Zadra, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 10, Zagreb 1968, 23-52

Jurčević 2011

A. Jurčević, Nalazi ranokarolinškog oružja i konjaničke opreme u doba formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 38, Split 2011, 111-147

Jurić 2002

R. Jurić, Nova istraživanja srednjovjekovnih groblja na zadarskom području, *Histria Antiqua* 8, Pula 2002, 295-312

Jurić 2015

R. Jurić, *Zlato i srebro srednjega vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar/The medieval Gold and silver of the Archaeological Museum Zadar*, Zadar 2015.

Kamenjarin 2009

I. Kamenjarin, Bijaći – Stombrate, rezultati arheoloških istraživanja starohrvatskoga groblja, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 36, Split 2009, 85-111

Karaman 1921

Lj. Karaman, Zlatni nalaz na Trilju nedaleko od Sinja, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, god. XLIV, Split 1921, 3-20

Karaman 1930

Lj. Karaman, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti*, Zagreb 1930.

Karaman 1930-1934

Lj. Karaman, Starohrvatsko groblje na „Majdanu“ kod Solina, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, sv. LI, Split 1930-1934, 3-36

Karaman 1940

Lj. Karaman, Iskopine društva „Bihaća“ u Mrvincima i starohrvatska groblja, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, knjiga 268. umjetničkog razreda 4., Zagreb 1940, 1-44

Khamayko 2012

N. Khamayko, Crescent pendants (lunnitsa) in 11th-13th century Rus': Pagan Amulet of Christian Ornament, u/in: „*Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe (Archeological and Historical Evidence)*“, M. Salamon, M. Woloszyn, A. Musin, P. Špehar (Eds.), vol 2, Kraków, Leipzig, Rzeszów, Warszawa 2012, 503-525

Kolega 1996

M. Kolega, Nin – zaštitna istraživanja u sklopu župne crkve sv. Asela u Ninu, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, XXVIII, Zagreb 1996, 43-48

Kolega 2000

M. Kolega, Nin-Sv. Asel, Grob 41, u: *Hrvati i Karolinzi, Rasprave i vrela*, A. Milošević (Ed.), Split 2000, 62-63

Korošec 1991

P. Korošec, Kronološka i kulturna ocjena triljskog nalaza, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 21 (1991), Split 1996, 87-96

Madiraca et alii 2017

V. Madiraca, V. Koprivnjak, M. Miletić, T. Zubin Ferri, L. Bekić, Ranosrednjovjekovni nalazi s lokaliteta Brekinjova Kosa (Rezultati istraživanja 2011. i 2015. godine/Early Medieval Finds from the Brekinjova Kosa archaeological Site (Results of Excavations in 2011 and 2015)), *Archaeologia Adriatica* 11, Zadar 2017, 145-215

Манева 1992

Е. Манева, *Средновековен накит од Македонија*, Скопје 1992.

Mardešić, Buškariol 1986

J. Mardešić, F. Buškariol, *Nakit od 8. do 12. stoljeća u srednjoj Dalmaciji*, Split 1986.

Marun 1998

L. Marun, *Starinarski dnevnici*, (prepisala i za tisak priredila M. Petrincec), Split 1998.

Miletić 1980

N. Miletić, Reflets de l'influence byzantine dans les trouvailles paléoslaves en Bosnie-Herzégovine, u/in: *Rapports du IIIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave*, B. Chropovský (Ed.), Bratislava 7-14 Septembre 1975, Tome 2, Bratislava 1980, 287-306

Milošević 1997

A. Milošević, Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje kod Gluvinih kuća u Glavicama kod Sinja, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 24, Split 1997, 111-126

Milošević 2000

A. Milošević, Karolinški utjecaji u Hrvatskoj kneževini u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza, u: *Hrvati i Karolinzi, Rasprave i vrela*, A. Milošević (Ed.), Split 2000, 106-139

Milošević 2008

A. Milošević, *Križevi na obložnicama ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova u okolici Sinja*, Dubrovnik-Split 2008.

Milošević 2009

A. Milošević, Sarkofag kneza Branimira, *Histria Antiqua* 18, Pula 2009, 555-570

Milošević, Uroda 2018

A. Milošević, N. Uroda, *Istočni Jadran i Bizant/ The Eastern Adriatic and Byzantium*, A. Milošević (Ed.), Split 2018.

Nallbani 2017

E. Nallbani, Early Medieval North Albania: New Discoveries, Remodeling Connections, The Case of Medieval Komani, u/in: *Adriatico altomedievale (VI-IX secolo), Scambi, porti, produzioni*, S. Gelicchi, C. Negrelli (Eds.), Studi e ricerche 4, Venezia 2017, 311-346

Petrina 2014

Y. Petrina, Jewellery from Late Antique Egypt, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, 21, London 2014, 31-43

Petrina 2016

Y. Petrina, Das spätantike Schätzchen von Taposiris Magna (Ägypten), u/in: *Zwischen Byzanz und der Steppe, Archäologische und historische Studien*, Festschrift für Csanád Bálint zum 70. Geburtstag, Á. Bollók, G. Csiky, T. Vida (Eds.), Budapest 2016, 183-194

Petrinec 1996

M. Petrinec, Kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje kod crkve sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici (katalog), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 23, Split 1996, 7-138

Petrinec 2002

M. Petrinec, Dosadašnji rezultati istraživanja ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja u Glavicama kraj Sinja kao prilog razrješavanju problema kronologije starohrvatskih groblja, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 26, Zagreb 2002, 205-246

Petrinec 2005a

M. Petrinec, Dva starohrvatska groblja u Biskupiji kod Knina, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, vol. 98, Split 2005, 171-212

Petrinec 2005b

M. Petrinec, Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje na položaju Livade u Konjskom polju, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 32, Split 2005, 21-52.

Petrinec 2007

M. Petrinec, Komanski privjesci i pojasni jezičac s Bribirske glavice, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 34, Split 2007, 79-87.

Petrinec 2009

M. Petrinec, *Gräberfelder aus dem 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert im Gebiet des frühmittelalterlichen kroatischen Staates*, Split 2009.

Petrinec 2010

M. Petrinec, Metal Objects of byzantine Origin in Medieval Graves from Croatia, in: *Towards rewriting? New approaches to byzantine archaeology, Proceedings of the Symposium on byzantine art and archaeology, Cracow, September 2008*, Piotr Ł. Grotowski and Sławomir Skrzyński (Eds.), Series Byzantina, vol. VIII, Warsaw 2010, 197-212

Petrinec 2015

M. Petrinec, Frühmittelalterliche Gräber aus Orlic angesichts bisheriger Erkenntnisse über den Horizont mit heidnischen Bestattungsmerkmalen, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 42, Split 2015, 81-130

Petrinec, Jurčević 2015

M. Petrinec, A. Jurčević, Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into Chronology of the Site from late 8th to 15th Century, u: *Swords, Crowns, Censers and Books, Francia Media – Cradles of European Culture*, M. Vicelja (Ed.), Rijeka 2015, 328-372

Piteša 2009

A. Piteša, *Katalog nalaza iz vremena seobe naroda, srednjeg i novog vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu/Catalogue of finds from the Migration Period, Middle Ages and Early Modern Period in the Archaeological Museum in Split*, Split 2009.

Piteša 2014

A. Piteša, *Zlato i srebro srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu/ Medieval gold and silver in the Archeological Museum in Split*, Split 2014.

Poulou-Papadimitriou 2005

N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, Les plaques-boucles byzantines de l'Île de Crète (fin VIe-IXe siècle), *Travaux et mémoires 15 (Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sordini)*, Paris 2005, 687-704

Poulou-Papadimitriou, Tzavella, Ott 2012.

N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Tzavella, J. Ott, Burial practices in byzantine Greece: Archeological evidence and methodological problems for its interpretation, u/in: *„Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe (Archeological and Historical Evidence)“*, M. Salamon, M. Woloszyn, A. Musin,

- P. Špehar (Eds.), vol. 1., Kraków, Leipzig, Rzeszów, Warszawa 2012, 377-428
- Radić 1896
F. Radić, Grobna raka iz starohrvatske biskupske bazilike S. Marije u Biskupiji kod Knina, i u njoj nađeni mrtvački ostanci., *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. I, god.II, br. 2, Knin-Zagreb 1896, 71-86
- Radović 2010
M. Radović, Starohrvatski grobovi otkriveni na položaju Banovac u Ninu/Early Croatian graves discovered at the site of Banovac in Nin, *Diadora* 24, Zadar 2010, 161-178
- Rapanić 2000
Ž. Rapanić, Od grčkih kolonista do franačkih misionara, Povijesno kulturna slika hrvatskoga prostora, *Hrvati i Karolinzi, Rasprave i vrela*, A. Milošević (Ed.), Split 2000, 32-67
- Ross 1965
M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and early mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2, *Jewelry, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period*, Washington D.C. 1965.
- Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009
M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge, Kataloge Vor- und Frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer*, Band 30, 1-2, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz 2009.
- Sokol 2006
V. Sokol, *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna arheološka baština od Jadrana do Save*, Zagreb 2006.
- Spier 2012
J. Spier, *Byzantium and the West; Jewellery in the first Millennium*, New York 2012.
- Stein 1967
F. Stein, *Adelsgräber des achten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (mit einem Beitrag von Friedrich Prinz), Berlin 1967.
- Szöke 2008
B. M. Szöke, Pannonien in der Karolingerzeit, Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des frühmittelalterlichen Fundmaterials in Westungarn, *Schild von Steier*, Beiheft 4, Graz 2008, 41-56.
- Szöke 2010
B. M. Szöke, Mosaburg/Zalavár und Pannonien in der Karolingerzeit, *Antaeus* 31, Budapest 2010, 9-52
- Šeparović 2003
T. Šeparović, Nove spoznaje o nalazima ranosrednjovjekovnog novca u južnoj Hrvatskoj, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 20, Split 2003, 127-137.
- Točik 1968a
A. Točik, *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Holiare*, Bratislava 1968.
- Točik 1968b
A. Točik, *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Štúrovo*, Bratislava 1968.
- Ungerma 2011
Š. Ungerma, Tzv. blatnicko-mikulčický horizont a jeho vliv na chronologii raného středověku, u/in: *Zborník Slovenského Národného múzea, Archeológia Supplementum* 4, 135-151
- Ungerma 2017
Š. Ungerma, Prachtfingerringe im frühmittelalterlichen Mähren (9.-10. Jahrhundert). Bemerkungen zur Chronologie und Provenienz des großmährischen Luxusschmucks, *Přehled výzkumů*, ročník 58, číslo 2, Brno 2017, 19-95
- Ungerma 2018
Š. Ungerma, Vznik honosného veľikomoravského šperku. Stav výzkumu a jeho perspektivy, u/in: *Inspirationen und Funktion der Ur- und Frühgeschichtlichen Kunsten*, B. Gediga, A. Grossman, W. Piotrowski (Eds.), Biskupin-Wrocław 2018, 509-534
- Vinski 1952
Z. Vinski, Naušnice zvjezdolikog tipa u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu s posebnim obzirom na nosioce srebrnog nakita Čadavica, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 2, Zagreb 1952, 29-56
- Vinski 1955
Z. Vinski, Ponovno o naušnicama zvjezdolikog tipa, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, n. s. sv. X, Sarajevo 1955, 231-238
- Vinski 1989
Z. Vinski, Razmatranja o iskopavanju u Kninu na nalazištu Greblje, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 19 (1989), Split 1991, 5-73.
- Zekan 2010
M. Zekan, Uz jedno kronološko pitanje starohrvatske arheologije (postavljeno od Ljube Karamana), *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 4, Zadar 2010, 167-176