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## Trgovina robljem i kršćanstvo u arheološkom zapisu - primjer ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije\*

*Promjene u pogrebnim običajima dalmatinskih Slavena tijekom 8. i 9. stoljeća popratna su pojava korjenitih društvenih transformacija uzrokovanih gospodarskim rastom i pojavom kršćanstva. Ovaj rad donosi raspravu o uzrocima ovih procesa i njihovoj manifestaciji u arheološkom zapisu.*

**Ključne riječi:** rani srednji vijek, ranosrednjovjekovna groblja, Dalmacija, Slaveni, Venecija, trgovina robljem, kršćanstvo.

## Slave trade and Christianity in the archaeological record – the example of early mediaeval Dalmatia\*

*Changes in the Dalmatian Slavs' funeral customs during the eighth and ninth centuries were a side-effect of radical social transformations caused by economic growth and the emergence of Christianity. This paper discusses the causes of these processes and their manifestation in the archaeological record.*

**Keywords:** early Middle Ages, early mediaeval cemeteries, Dalmatia, Slavs, Venice, slave trade, Christianity.

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Arheološki zapis ne može se jednostavnim postupkom prevesti u povijesni, a ni obrnuto.<sup>1</sup> Interpretiranje grobalja povezivanjem tipologije artefakata s velikim povijesnim događajima proizvodi iskrivljenu sliku, a jedna od mogućih posljedica je i zatvaranje kronologije groblja unutar povijesnog okvira. Takav pristup ulogu arheologije u rekonstrukciji prošlosti čini tautološkom i svodi na ilustriranje povijesnih stranica.<sup>2</sup> To ne znači da povijesni događaji nisu utjecali na arheološki zapis, već da jednostavno povlačenje linija između arheoloških i povijesnih točaka ne podrazumijeva nužno i njihovu kauzalnost. Međutim, detektiranjem procesa vidljivih u arheološkom i u povijesnom zapisu moguće je stvoriti referentni okvir u kojemu bi podaci iz tih različitih sustava trebali biti kompatibilni. Analiziranjem određenih društvenih i ekonomskih procesa takav ću postupak pokušati primijeniti na uzorku starije faze ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Dalmaciji.

Starija faza ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Dalmaciji najprepoznatljivija je po grobovima na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Međutim, ti grobovi nisu bili ukopište čitave zajednice, već samo desetak muškaraca povlaštenoga statusa.<sup>3</sup> Premda ne znamo sa sigurnošću gdje su sahranjivani ostali pripadnici zajednice, usporedbom s ostalim grobljima tog horizonta nedvojbeno se može reći da biskupijski grobovi po raskoši svojih inventara odskaču od najvećeg broja grobova.<sup>4</sup> Pojava tako opremljenih ukopa, u arheologiji često nazivana kneževskim grobovima, karakteristična je za društva u razdoblju političke nestabilnosti izazvane reakcijom na unutarnje ili vanjske procese.<sup>5</sup> O kakvim je procesima zapravo riječ? Karolinški mačevi i ratnička oprema kod najvećeg broja arheologa znače odraz intenzivnih, savezničkih kontakata lokalnih zajednica s

The archaeological record cannot be conveyed into historical in a simple procedure. The opposite is also valid.<sup>1</sup> Interpreting cemeteries by associating typologies of artefacts with major historical events produces a distorted picture, and one possible consequence is the limiting of the chronology of cemeteries within the historical framework. Such an approach renders the role of archaeology in the reconstruction of the past tautological and reduces it to illustrating the pages of history.<sup>2</sup> This does not mean that historical events have not influenced archaeological records, but rather that simple drawing of the lines between archaeological and historical points does not necessarily imply their causality. However, by detecting the processes visible in the archaeological and historical records, it is possible to create a reference framework in which the data from these different systems should be compatible. By analysing certain social and economic processes, I will try to apply such a procedure to a sample of the earlier phase of early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia.

The earlier phase of early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia is most recognisable by the graves at Crkvina in Biskupija. However, these graves were not the burial site of an entire community, but merely around ten men of privileged status.<sup>3</sup> Although we do not know for sure where the other members of the community were buried, a comparison with other cemeteries of that horizon undoubtedly shows that the Biskupija graves stand out from the bulk of the graves in terms of the splendour of their inventories.<sup>4</sup> The appearance of such equipped burials, often called princely tombs in archaeology, is characteristic of societies in periods of political instability caused by reactions to internal or external processes.<sup>5</sup> What processes are they, in fact? Most

<sup>1</sup> Neustupný 1993, str. 154–155.

<sup>2</sup> Moreland 2001, str. 10–11.

<sup>3</sup> Antropološki uzorak nije sačuvan, pa je zaključak izveden prema grobnim nalazima – mačevima i ostrugama. Upitan je grob 5, jer nalazi ne sugeriraju spol pokojnika. Određivanje spola prema grobnim nalazima najčešće je pouzdano, ali analize aDNK pokazuju da postoje i iznimke, zbog kojih ovakvo klasificiranje treba uzimati s oprezom (vidi: Přichystalová, Boberová 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Grobovi ostalih članova zajednice možda se nalaze na obližnjim istovremenim grobljima na položajima Bračića podvornice i Popovića dolovi ili na oranici Aćima Popovića (Petřinec 2005, str. 207).

<sup>5</sup> Childe 1945, str. 18; Parker Pearson 2006, str. 86–87.

<sup>1</sup> Neustupný 1993, pp. 154–155.

<sup>2</sup> Moreland 2001, pp. 10–11.

<sup>3</sup> The anthropological sample has not been preserved, so the conclusion is based on grave finds – swords and spurs. Grave 5 is questionable, because the finds do not suggest the sex of the skeletal remains. Gender determination by grave finds is usually reliable, but aDNA analyses show that there are exceptions, which is why such classifications should be taken with caution (see Přichystalová, Boberová 2020).

<sup>4</sup> The graves of other members of the community may be located in nearby contemporaneous cemeteries at the sites of Bračića podvornice and Popovića dolovi or on Aćim Popović's field (Petřinec 2005, p. 207).

<sup>5</sup> Childe 1945, p. 18; Parker Pearson 2006, pp. 86–87.

Franačkim Carstvom za vrijeme i nakon franačko-avarskog rata. Ta je pretpostavka prilično logična, s obzirom da su historijski događaji takvih razmjera morali ostaviti traga na političkom i društvenom ustrojstvu, ali i na materijalnoj kulturi dalmatinskih Slavena. No stječe se dojam kako je u slučaju ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmacije situacija ponešto simplificirana. Nije baš moguće da je svaki luksuzni franački nalaz posljedica ratnih operacija, diplomatskih odnosa ili prisutnosti franačkih misionara te bi rješenja trebalo tražiti i u drugim procesima, prvenstveno trgovini. S druge strane, solidi Konstantina V. i Lava IV. (760. - 775.) tumačeni su mnoštvom teorija; od ratnog plijena stečenog provalom Hrvata u obalne gradove, tributa koji su obalni gradovi platili Hrvatima u zaobalju, do pljačke avarskoga područja tijekom franačko-avarskog rata.<sup>6</sup>

Kako su predmeti stigli? Bilješke o jadranskoj trgovini u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća

Pojava kovanica Konstantina V. i Lava IV. u Dalmaciji ne mora biti rezultat velikih povijesnih događaja. Dapače, daleko brojniji nalazi nakita bizantskog stila u pravilu se pripisuju trgovini. Ta je mogućnost za nalaze novca gotovo zanemarena, vjerojatno zato što je gospodarstvo Slavena u dalmatinskom zaobalju bilo nemonetarno. Ipak i u takvim sustavima također postoje prakse razmjene definirane kao trampa i darivanje. Dok je ranosrednjovjekovni običaj darivanja, kao način redistribucije materijalnih roba s ciljem ostvarivanja društvenih ili političkih ciljeva, u literaturi prilično razrađen, o značaju i značenju trampe nije bilo dovoljno riječi, barem u hrvatskoj arheologiji.<sup>7</sup> Trampa je definirana kao oblik negativnog reciprociteta u kojemu skupina koja oskudijeva nekim dobrom mijenja za robu prihvatljivu drugoj strani.<sup>8</sup> Pregledom grobnih inventara relativno je lako odrediti predmete koji su u zajednicu mogli dospjeti trampom, to jest one koji su bili potrebni dalmatinskim Slavenima. No uvezeni artefakti opet predstavljaju tek dio pristigle robe, jer o prehrambenim namirnicama, sirovinama ili nekim drugim potrepštinama u ovome trenutku možemo tek nagađati. Uzmemo li u obzir samo nalaze franačkog i bizantskog porijekla, zaključit ćemo da su Slaveni potraživali predmete koji su

archaeologists regard Carolingian swords and warrior equipment as reflections of the intense contacts of local communities allied with the Frankish Empire during and after the Frankish-Avar war. This assumption is quite logical, given that historical events of such proportions must have left their mark on the political and social structures, but also on the material culture of the Dalmatian Slavs. However, one gets the impression that the situation is somewhat simplified in the case of early mediaeval Dalmatia. It is not entirely feasible that every lavish Frankish find is a result of war operations, diplomatic relations or the presence of Frankish missionaries. Therefore, clarifications should be sought in other processes, primarily trade. On the other hand, the solidi of Constantine V and Leo IV (760–775) have been interpreted with myriad theories: from the spoils of war gained in the invasion of the coastal towns by the Croats, the tributes paid by the coastal towns to the Croats in the hinterland, to the plunders in the Avar area during the Frankish-Avar war.<sup>6</sup>

How did the items arrive?

Notes on the Adriatic trade in the second half of the eighth century

The appearance of coins of Constantine V and Leo IV in Dalmatia was not necessarily due to great historical events. Indeed, far more numerous finds of Byzantine-style jewellery are generally attributed to trade. When it comes to coin finds, such an option has almost been neglected, probably because the Slavic economy in the Dalmatian hinterland was non-monetary. However, even in such systems, there were exchange practices defined as bartering and gifting. While the early mediaeval custom of gifting, as a method of redistributing material goods in order to achieve social or political goals, has been extensively elaborated in the literature, not enough has been told of the meaning and significance of barter, at least in Croatian archaeology.<sup>7</sup> Barter is defined as a form of negative reciprocity in which goods or services are traded between two or more parties without the use of money.<sup>8</sup> It is relatively easy to identify the items from grave inventories that could have been acquired by a community by

<sup>6</sup> Šeparović 2019, str. 30-33.

<sup>7</sup> Haviland 2004, str. 193; Curta 2006; Bilogrivić 2019, str. 115-119.

<sup>8</sup> Haviland 2004, str. 189-190.

<sup>6</sup> Šeparović 2019, pp. 30-33.

<sup>7</sup> Haviland 2004, p. 193; Curta 2006; Bilogrivić 2019, pp. 115-119.

<sup>8</sup> Haviland 2004, pp. 189-190.

igrali važnu ulogu u izražavanju individualnoga i formiranju grupnog identiteta. Trampa, ali i pristup nabavljenoj robi bili su pod kontrolom užeg broja članova zajednice koji je raspolagao viškovima i upravljao redistribucijom dobara. U suprotnom, to jest bez postojanja centraliziranog političkog sustava, kapital unesen u trampu bio bi raspršen, a pribavljena dobra manje prestižna i pretežno utilitarne naravi.

Što su dalmatinski Slaveni nudili zauzvat? Ovim pitanjem dolazimo na sklisko tlo, područje o kojemu nema izravnih indicija. Njihova naselja koja bi odala barem ponešto o naravi proizvodnje, nažalost, ne poznajemo, pa preostaje samo mogućnost deduciranja. Na grobljima toga vremena nisu primijećeni nalazi za koje bismo mogli pretpostaviti da su proizvedeni u dalmatinskom zaobalju, a izvoženi u druge krajeve. Štoviše, čini se da su samo predmeti poput keramičkih posuda, željeznih noževa, oruđa i sl. te najjednostavniji oblici nakita bili lokalni proizvodi. Čak i u slučaju da su proizvedeni viškovi ovih dobara, takva ponuda ne bi bila primamljiva stranom tržištu. Iz nešto kasnijih pisanih izvora znamo da su, ostavljajući luksuznu ili egzotičnu robu po strani, među najtraženijim artiklima u ranosrednjovjekovnoj trgovini bili sol, drvo, krzno i – robovi.<sup>9</sup> A sve se to moglo nabaviti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji.

Prvo bismo trebali odrediti s kim su dalmatinski Slaveni mogli razmjenjivati robu u vrijeme kovanja novca Konstantina V. i Lava IV. i nešto kasnije proizvodnje najranijih karolinških predmeta pronađenih u Dalmaciji. Najbliži su im bili upravo bizantski obalni gradovi, u kojima je dio predmeta pronađenih na grobljima, ponajprije nakita, mogao biti i proizveden. Trgovci iz dalmatinskih gradova mogli su trampiti i za dobra pristigla iz drugih krajeva Carstva, a moguće je da su u njima boravili i trgovci iz udaljenijih bizantskih i stranih područja. Premda za to nema izravnih potvrda, teško je zamisliti da pojava tolike količine predmeta bizantskoga stila na grobljima u zaobalju nije imala ništa s bizantskim gradovima u Dalmaciji, barem kao posrednicima.

Sljedeća je mogućnost razmjene sa sjevernotalijanskim trgovcima, o kojoj nije bilo previše riječi

barter, that is, those that were in demand among the Dalmatian Slavs. Notwithstanding, the imported artefacts still represent only a part of the incoming goods, because we can only speculate about foodstuffs, raw materials or some other necessities. If we take into account only the finds of Frankish and Byzantine origin, we can conclude that the Slavs sought objects that played important roles in the expression of individual and the formation of group identity. Barter, as well as access to procured goods, were under the control of a small number of community members who controlled surpluses and managed the redistribution of goods. Otherwise, that is – without a centralised political system – the capital invested in the barter would have been dispersed, and the acquired goods less prestigious and predominantly utilitarian in nature.

What did the Dalmatian Slavs offer in return? This question leads us to slippery ground, a sphere not corroborated by hard facts. Their settlements, which could reveal at least something about the nature of production, are unfortunately unknown to us, so our only option comes down to deduction. There have been no finds from the cemeteries of that time which could be assumed to have been produced in the Dalmatian hinterland and exported to other regions. Moreover, it seems that only items such as ceramic vessels, iron knives, tools, etc., and the simplest forms of jewellery were local products. Even if surpluses of such goods were produced, such an offer would not have been attractive to the foreign market. Somewhat later written sources reveal that, luxury or exotic goods aside, some of the most sought-after items in the early mediaeval trade were salt, wood, fur and – slaves.<sup>9</sup> All of the above could be obtained in early mediaeval Dalmatia.

We should first determine with whom the Dalmatian Slavs could have exchanged commodities at the time the coinage of Constantine V and Leo IV was minted and during the somewhat later production of the earliest Carolingian objects discovered in Dalmatia. Some of the items discovered in cemeteries, primarily jewellery, could have been made in Byzantine coastal towns, which were nearest to them. Merchants from Dalmatian towns could also

<sup>9</sup> Hoffmann 1968; Lane 1973, str. 7-8; Hodges, Whitehouse 1983, str. 94; Phillips 1985, str. 59-64; McCormick 2001, str. 729-759; Pirenne 2006, str. 150; Jacoby 2009, str. 371-372; Frankopan 2016, str. 102-135; Decker 2016, str. 161-171.

<sup>9</sup> Hoffmann 1968; Lane 1973, pp. 7-8; Hodges, Whitehouse 1983, p. 94; Phillips 1985, pp. 59-64; McCormick 2001, pp. 729-759; Pirenne 2006, p. 150; Jacoby 2009, pp. 371-372; Frankopan 2016, pp. 102-135; Decker 2016, pp. 161-171.

u hrvatskoj arheologiji. Do takve pretpostavke također dolazimo deduciranjem na temelju globalne historijske perspektive, ali i grobnih nalaza, o čemu će kasnije biti riječi. Gospodarski uzlet Venecije i Comacchija događa se upravo tijekom 8. stoljeća, potaknut uspostavljanjem trgovačke mreže diljem Mediterana. Nimalo slučajno, godine 776. osnovana je biskupija na Olivolu, otočiću venecijanskog arhipelaga Rialto, a za biskupiju u Comacchiju, otočiću u jednoj od laguna na padskome ušću, znamo od 781. godine.<sup>10</sup> U oba slučaja datumi osnutka pokazuju već uznapredovalu ekonomsku aktivnost, a ne njezine začetke.<sup>11</sup> Povijesni izvori, premda prilično oskudni, sugeriraju da su i Mlečani i *Comacchiesi* igrali važnu ulogu u tadašnjoj trgovini već početkom 8. stoljeća.<sup>12</sup> Među proizvodima kojima su trgovali u Padskoj nizini spominju se sol, ulje, garum i papar, što znači da su već tada uspostavljeni kontakti s istočnim tržištima.<sup>13</sup> Tri ili četiri desetljeća kasnije *Liber Pontificalis* donosi da su Mlečani kupovali robove u Rimu za njihovu preprodaju u Africi u doba Zaharijeva pontifikata (741. - 752.), što znači da su bili prisutni i na zapadnom Mediteranu.<sup>14</sup> No još je zanimljivija činjenica da se već sredinom osmog stoljeća Mlečani spominju u kontekstu transkontinentalne trgovine robljem. U pismu Karlu Velikome godine 776. papa Hadrijan I. poriče da Rimljani prodaju robove Saracenicima, za što optužuje Grke (Bizantince) i Langobarde.<sup>15</sup> U potonjem slučaju navedene etnike ne treba shvaćati doslovno, jer mogu imenovati stanovnike nominalno bizantskih i langobardskih lučkih gradova u Italiji bez obzira na njihov etnicitet, poput Venecije ili Comacchija. Trgovina robljem bila je i predmet sporazuma između Venecije i Karolinškog Carstva godine 840. (*Pactum Hlotharii*), kojim su se Mlečani, među ostalim, caru Lotaru obvezali da neće trgovati kršćanskim robovima.<sup>16</sup> Kako god, vlastodržcima je problem predstavljala isključivo prodaja kršćanskih robova u nekršćanske, to jest musli-

have bartered for goods arriving from other parts of the Empire, and it is possible that merchants from more distant Byzantine and foreign areas also stayed in those towns. Although we have no direct confirmation, it is hard to imagine that the presence of so many Byzantine-style objects in the hinterland cemeteries had nothing to do with Byzantine towns in Dalmatia, at least as intermediaries.

The next possibility concerns exchange with northern Italian merchants, which has not been discussed at length in Croatian archaeology. Again, we have arrived at such an assumption by deduction based on a global historical perspective, but also on grave finds, which will be discussed later. The economic rise of Venice and Comacchio took place precisely during the eighth century, spurred by the establishment of a trade network throughout the Mediterranean. It was no coincidence that a diocese was founded in 776 on Olivolo, an islet in the Venetian archipelago of Rialto, while the diocese of Comacchio, an islet in one of the lagoons at the mouth of the Po, has been known since 781.<sup>10</sup> In both cases, the dates of their establishment reflect already advanced economic activities, rather than their early stages.<sup>11</sup> Historical sources, although rather scarce, suggest that both the Venetians and the *Comacchiesi* played important roles in trade at the time as early as the eighth century.<sup>12</sup> Among the products traded in the Po Plain, salt, oil, garum and pepper are mentioned, which means that contacts with eastern markets were already established at that time.<sup>13</sup> Three or four decades later the *Liber Pontificalis* reported that the Venetians had been purchasing slaves in Rome for resale in Africa during the time of Zacharias's pontificate (741–752), which means that they were also present in the western Mediterranean.<sup>14</sup> However, all the more interesting is the fact that the Venetians were mentioned in the context of the transcontinental slave trade as early as the mid-eighth century. In his letter to Charlemagne from 776, Pope Adrian I denied

<sup>10</sup> Gasparri 2018, str. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Za primjer Comacchija vidi: Gelichi 2018, str. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Riječ je o sporazumima iz 713. i 715. godine kojima su bila utvrđena prava i obveze Comacchiesa i Mlečana u lukama Padske nizine, za vladavine langobardskog kralja Liutpranda (Gasparri 2018, str. 16; Borri 2018, str. 67).

<sup>13</sup> Gasparri 2018, str. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Phillips 1985, str. 62; McCormick 2001, str. 618; Gasparri 2018, str. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Phillips 1985, str. 62-63; McCormick 2001, str. 749.

<sup>16</sup> Phillips 1985, str. 63; McCormick 2001, str. 764.

<sup>10</sup> Gasparri 2018, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> For the Comacchio example, see Gelichi 2018, p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Viz. the treaties of AD 713 and 715 which established the rights and obligations of the Comacchiesi and Venetians in the ports of the Po Valley, during the reign of the Lombard king Liutprand (Gasparri 2018, p. 16; Borri 2018, p. 67).

<sup>13</sup> Gasparri 2018, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 62; McCormick 2001, p. 618; Gasparri 2018, p. 19.



Sl. 1. Solid Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. (760. – 775.) pronađen u sarkofagu s hipokampima na Crkvini u Biskupiji jedan je od sedamdesetak primjeraka pronađenih u dalmatinskome zaobalju (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 1 Solidus of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV (760–775) discovered in the sarcophagus with hippocampi at Crkvina in Biskupija is one of about seventy specimens unearthed in the Dalmatian hinterland (photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

manske zemlje. Iz pisanih je izvora vidljivo da su od sredine osmoga stoljeća mletačkim brodovima u Kalifat otpremani zarobljeni Langobardi. Međutim malo je vjerojatno, gotovo i nemoguće, da su Langobardi bili glavni i jedini resurs talijanskih trgovaca robljem, već se o njima piše samo zbog njihove kršćanske vjeroispovijesti. Taj ljudski bazen nije bio dostatan za održavanje stabilne trgovinske aktivnosti i zadovoljavanje potražnje za robovima u Africi. A potražnja je bila znatna.

Između 745. i 752. godine Afriku pogađa razorna epidemija bubonske kuge i odnosi živote četvrtine ili čak trećine gradskoga stanovništva. Gospodarske posljedice morale su biti nesagledive. Uspoređujući tadašnju kugu u Africi s historijski bolje posvjedočenom crnom smrću u Europi 14. stoljeća, Michael McCormick je zaključio kako je onda došlo do koncentracije imetka među manjim brojem ljudi, ali i do porasta potražnje za radom i porasta cijene rada.<sup>17</sup> Nedvojbeno je da su robovi pristizali iz Europe, koja tada nije pretrpjela demografsku katastrofu. Znamo i da su znatnu ulogu u opskrbi afričkih gradova europskim robljem odigrali Mlečani. Iz dosadašnjih je redaka očito da sugeriram kako je glavni mletački bazen za nabavu roblja u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća bila Dalmacija. No postoje li dokazi koji to mogu potvrditi?

that the Romans were selling slaves to the Saracens, accusing the Greeks (Byzantines) and Lombards instead.<sup>15</sup> In the latter case, such ethnics need not be taken literally, as they can include the inhabitants of nominally Byzantine and Lombard port cities in Italy regardless of their ethnicities, such as Venice or Comacchio. The slave trade was also the subject of the 840 agreement between Venice and the Carolingian Empire (*Pactum Hlotharii*), by which the Venetians, among other things, pledged to Emperor Lothair not to trade Christian slaves.<sup>16</sup> Notwithstanding, the problem for the leaders lied solely in the sale of Christian slaves to non-Christian, that is, Muslim countries. It is evident from written sources that captured Lombards were transported to the Caliphate on Venetian ships since the mid-eighth century. However, it is highly doubtful, well-nigh impossible, that the Lombards were the main and only resource for the Italian slave traders, but they were written about only because of their Christian religion. This human reservoir was not sufficient to maintain stable trade activities and meet the demand for slaves in Africa. Indeed, the demand was substantial.

Between 745 and 752, Africa was hit by a devastating bubonic plague epidemic, which claimed the lives of a quarter or even a third of its urban population. The economic consequences must have been immense. Comparing the then plague in Africa with the historically more substantially witnessed Black Death in 14th-century Europe, Michael McCormick concluded that wealth had become concentrated among fewer people, and that labour demand and prices of labour had increased.<sup>17</sup> There is no doubt that the slaves were brought from Europe, which did not suffer a demographic catastrophe at that time. We also know that the Venetians played a significant role in supplying African cities with European slaves. The above makes it obvious that I suggest that the main Venetian reservoir for the supply of slaves in the second half of the eighth century was Dalmatia. However, is there any evidence to support this?

<sup>15</sup> Phillips 1985, pp. 62–63; McCormick 2001, p. 749.

<sup>16</sup> Phillips 1985, p. 63; McCormick 2001, p. 764.

<sup>17</sup> McCormick 2005, p. 753.

<sup>17</sup> McCormick 2005, str. 753.

## Gospodarski rast na ničijoj zemlji

Dalmatinsko zaobalje u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća prilična je nepoznanica. Štoviše, tu kronološku prazninu treba proširiti na razdoblje od sredine 6. pa sve do kasnoga 8. stoljeća. Nakon obilja kanoantičkih arheoloških nalaza, prva koherentna skupina artefakata javlja se tek u podmaklom 8. stoljeću – zlatnici Konstantina V. i Lava IV. (760. - 775.), bizantski nakit te karolinško oružje i ratnička oprema. Ti nalazi imaju sporednu vrijednost za datiranje ukopa, jer ne možemo precizno odrediti kada su deponirani u arheološki kontekst, ali bi datum njihove proizvodnje trebao odgovarati vremenu kada se dogodio trgovinski i kulturni kontakt. Kada tako posložimo stvari, otvara se mogućnost razmatranja datuma početka uvoza u dalmatinsko zaobalje i njegova tumačenja.

Za datiranje dolaska novca u Dalmaciju najčešće se uzima njegova gornja granica, koja je kronološki bliža grobovima horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina.<sup>18</sup> No s obzirom da se nijedan od grobova s tim kovanicama ne može utemeljeno datirati ni u dva desetljeća nakon 775. godine, njihovo kronološko približavanje nema previše smisla. Inzistiranje na niskim datumima grobova s novcem ujedno i potkopava gornju granicu horizonta, svrstavajući najveći broj karolinških nalaza u vrlo kratko razdoblje, te ignorira vrlo očite tipološke i kronološke razlike između mačeva i ostruga. Teoretski, svaka godina između 760. i 775. podjednako vjerojatno predstavlja datum kovanja novca.

Dok se za ostruge, mačeve i nakit može utemeljeno reći kako nisu svi predmeti pristigli istodobno, a s nešto manje sigurnosti i da nisu svi došli na isti način, za zlatnike Konstantina V. i Lava IV. vrijedi upravo suprotno. Premda su iskovanani u carskoj kovnici u Sirakuzi, nijedan primjerak nije pronađen u drugim dijelovima Carstva, pa ni na samoj Siciliji.<sup>19</sup> Sve poznate kovanice potječu iz Dalmacije i šireg zaobalja, s time da je jedini obalni grad u kojemu je ovaj zlatnik pronađen, nimalo slučajno – Nin. Geografska izoliranost ovih nalaza implicira da nisu pristizali postupno, već u određenom trenutku, i to neposredno nakon kovanja. Bilo kakva latencija

## Economic growth on no man's land

The Dalmatian hinterland in the second half of the eighth century is quite an unknown entity. Moreover, this chronological gap should be extended to the period from the mid-sixth to the late eighth century. Following the profusion of late antique archaeological finds, the first coherent group of artefacts originates from as late as the advanced eighth century – gold coins of Constantine V and Leo IV (760–775), Byzantine jewellery, and Carolingian weapons and warrior equipment. These finds have a subordinate value for dating the burials, as we cannot precisely determine the time they were deposited in the archaeological context, but the date of their production should correspond to the period of the trade and cultural contacts. When things are arranged in this way, the possibility opens up to consider the start date of the import to the Dalmatian hinterland and its interpretations.

When dating the arrival of coins in Dalmatia, its upper limit is most often taken into account, which is chronologically closer to the graves of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon.<sup>18</sup> However, since none of the graves with such coins can be reasonably dated even to the period of two decades after 775, their chronological approximation makes little sense. Insisting on low dates of graves with coins also undermines the upper limit of the horizon, classifying most Carolingian finds within a very short period, thus ignores the quite obvious typological and chronological differences between swords and spurs. Theoretically speaking, each year between 760 and 775 represents the date of minting with equal probability.

While, when it comes to spurs, swords and jewellery, it can be reasonably said that not all items arrived at the same time, and with somewhat less certainty that not all were brought in the same way, the exact opposite is true for the gold coins of Constantine V and Leo IV. Though struck at the imperial mint in Syracuse, no specimens have been found in other parts of the Empire, not even on Sicily itself.<sup>19</sup> All known coins originate from Dalmatia and the wider hinterland, while the only coastal town

<sup>18</sup> Šeparović 2003, str. 132; Šeparović 2019, str. 33.

<sup>19</sup> Zapravo je jedini primjerak izvan Dalmacije pripisan položaju Sv. Jur kraj Bratislave, ali uz prilično nejasne okolnosti pronalaska (vidi: Hunka 2009, str. 397). Na ovom podatku zahvaljujem kolegi Tomislavu Šeparoviću.

<sup>18</sup> Šeparović 2003, p. 132; Šeparović 2019, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> In fact, the only specimen from outside Dalmatia is attributed to the site of Svätý Jur near Bratislava, but with rather unclear circumstances of its discovery (see Hunka 2009, p. 397). I am grateful to my colleague Tomislav Šeparović for this information.

omeđena trenutcima kovanja i dolaska novca rezultirala bi njegovim pronalaskom i na drugim područjima. Stoga su pretpostavke o pljačkanju bizantskih gradova u Dalmaciji ili avarskoga teritorija u Panoniji početkom 9. stoljeća malo vjerojatne.<sup>20</sup> Teorija o tributu uvjerljivija je od potonjih, ali, sudeći po arheološkim pokazateljima, u vremenu kovanja novca u dalmatinske zaobalju nije postojala organizacija koja bi ugrožavala utvrđene obalne gradove.

Umjesto kao rezultat diplomatskih dogovora, migracija ili osnivanja potpuno novih groblja, pojavu uvezenih artefakata treba promatrati ponajprije kao odraz gospodarskog rasta. Na dvama najvećim objavljenim grobljima tog razdoblja u Dalmaciji, Ždrijacu u Ninu i Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću, vidljivi su topografsko-kronološki obrasci pomoću kojih se može pratiti razvoj groblja od njihova nastanka do kraja.<sup>21</sup> S obzirom da se u oba slučaja sav uveze-

in which this gold coin was found is Nin, which is no mere coincidence. The geographical isolation of these finds implies that they were not arriving gradually, but at a certain point in time, immediately after minting. Any latency limited by the times of minting and the arrival of coinage would result in its discovery in other areas as well. Therefore, assumptions about the plunder of Byzantine towns in Dalmatia or the Avar territory in Pannonia at the beginning of the ninth century are unlikely.<sup>20</sup> The tribute theory is more convincing than the latter ones, but, judging by archaeological indicators, there was no organisation in the Dalmatian hinterland that could have threatened the fortified coastal towns at the time of minting.

The appearance of imported artefacts should be regarded primarily as a reflection of economic growth, rather than as a result of diplomatic arrangements, migrations, or the establishment of entirely new cemeteries. Topographic-chronological patterns can be seen in the two largest published cemeteries from that period in Dalmatia – Ždrijac in Nin and Maklinovo brdo in Kašić – which can be used to trace the development of cemeteries from their origin to the end.<sup>21</sup> Since all imported jewellery

<sup>20</sup> Pregled teorija o dolasku novca vidi u: Šeparović 2003, str. 129-132. Milošević je pretpostavio da su Hrvati opljačkali bizantske obalne gradove tijekom franačko-bizantskog sukoba (Milošević 2000, str. 119).

<sup>21</sup> Alajbeg 2015. Pristup kritiziraju Vladimir Sokol (Sokol 2019, str. 28-29) i djelomično Maja Petrinec (vidi bilješku 85 u ovome tekstu). Na ovome mjestu ponovno naglašavam da je termin horizontalna stratigrafija potpuno pogrešan i da navodi arheologe da ideje i pretpostavke smatraju činjenicama. Stratigrafija je znanstvena metoda koja svoj analitički doprinos temelji na razdvajanju jedinica koje pokazuju razlike u tvorbi i izgledu depozita ili struktura. Da je, na primjer, ždrijački grob 227 pronađen u sloju ispod groba 62, tada bismo sa sigurnošću mogli reći da su granulirane naušnice u ovom slučaju starije od grozdolikih. Budući da nema fizičkog razgraničenja između konteksta u kojim su pronađeni ovi grobovi, relativnu kronologiju ne možemo postaviti stratigrafskom metodom. Metoda kojom sam analizirao groblja u Ninu i Kašiću nije stratigrafska, već topografsko-kronološka, jer se oslanja na pretpostavku (naglašavam, pretpostavku) o prostornom razvoju groblja praćenjem topografskog rasporeda kronoloških determinanti. Manje je pouzdana nego stratigrafska iz tri jednostavna razloga: arbitrarna je, ne temelji se na načelu superpozicije i ne pruža mogućnost preciznog razdvajanja jedinica. Jedino što je Sokol točno primijetio jest da je postupak temeljen na tipološkoj analizi, što je i prilično očito. Međutim, on svoju metodu smatra stratigrafskom, to jest onom koja "arheološku struku čini znanstvenom" (Sokol 2019, str. 28), a samim time i vrlo pouzdanom. Da njegov postupak nije stratigrafski, bez obzira kako ga nazvali, najbolje dokazuje glavni kriterij razlikovanja: nije riječ o boji ili teksturi tla, već o prisutnosti keramičkih posuda u grobovima. Konačno, da se uistinu radi o stratigrafskoj metodi, ne bi bilo moguće da mu se najmlađi nalaz javlja u starijoj skupini grobova kao što je slučaj s njegovom analizom pokapanja na Ždrijacu

<sup>20</sup> For an overview of theories about the arrival of coins, see Šeparović 2003, p. 129–132. Milošević assumed that Croats had plundered Byzantine coastal cities during the Frankish-Byzantine conflict (Milošević 2000, p. 119).

<sup>21</sup> Alajbeg 2015. The approach is criticised by Vladimir Sokol (Sokol 2019, pp. 28–29) and to some extent by Maja Petrinec (see footnote 85 in this paper). I would hereby like to reiterate that the term horizontal stratigraphy is completely wrong and leads archaeologists to consider ideas and assumptions as facts. Stratigraphy is a scientific method that bases its analytical contribution on the superposition of units that show differences in the formation and appearance of deposits or structures. For instance, had grave 227 at Ždrijac been found in the layer under grave 62, it would have been possible to say with certainty that the granulated earrings were earlier than the grape-shaped ones in this case. Since there is no physical division between the contexts in which these graves were discovered, relative chronology cannot be established by means of the stratigraphic method. The method I used to analyse the cemeteries in Nin and Kašić is not stratigraphic, but topographic-chronological, because it relies on the assumed (and I emphasise the word assumed) spatial development of the cemeteries by following the topographic layout of chronological determinants. It is less reliable than the stratigraphic one for three simple reasons: it is arbitrary, not based on the principle of superposition, and does not enable precise division of units. The only thing that Sokol correctly observed is that



ni nakit i ratnička oprema javljaju prema rubovima groblja, jasno je da priljev uvezenih predmeta više nalikuje dugotrajnom procesu negoli jednokratnom događaju. Najraniji mogući datum početka gospodarskog rasta je, prema kovanicama Konstantina V. i Lava IV., početak zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. U to su vrijeme mogli stići i nalazi poput zvjezdolikih naušnica te prstenja od raskovanog lima, a možda i najstariji primjerci grozdolikih naušnica, koje će biti u upotrebi sve do druge polovine 9. stoljeća. Uskoro zatim mogli su se pojaviti i prvi karolinški predmeti – mač i lagane ostruge s ušicama iz Morpolače (grob A) te mačevi iz Orlića, proizvođeni također od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća.<sup>22</sup> Pojava tih artefakata na dalmatinskim grobljima predstavlja materijalni dokaz gospodarskog rasta, koji je bio generiran porastom ukupne potražnje i ukupne ponude. Što se potonjeg tiče, nema nikakvih indicija da je gospodarstvo dalmatinskih Slavena tada raslo zbog porasta radne učinkovitosti, eksploatacije sirovina ili tehnološkog napretka. Još je manje vjerojatno da je gospodarski rast uzrokovan sudjelovanjem Hrvata u franačko-avarskom ratu, ili njihovim dolaskom krajem 8. stoljeća, koji se, uzgred budi rečeno, nije ni dogodio.<sup>23</sup> Uzlet gospodarstva dal-

and warrior equipment appear towards the edges of the cemetery in both cases, it is clear that the influx of imported items is more like a long-term process than a one-off event. The earliest possible date of the beginning of economic growth is the beginning of the last third of the eighth century, based on the coins of Constantine V and Leo IV. Finds such as star-shaped ear-rings and rings made of hammered sheet metal could have arrived at that time, perhaps including the earliest specimens of grape-shaped ear-rings, which were in use until the second half of the ninth century. Soon after, the first Carolingian objects could have appeared – the sword and light spurs with slots from Morpolača (grave A), and the swords from Orlić – also made from the beginning of the last third of the eighth century.<sup>22</sup> The appearance of these artefacts in Dalmatian cemeteries is

(Alajbeg 2015, str. 143). Raspravu ipak smatram korisnom, to više što ih u hrvatskoj srednjovjekovnoj arheologiji ima premalo, ali moram istaknuti i kako Sokol koristi neke argumente i jezične konstrukcije kojima ne bi smjelo biti mjesta u znanstvenom diskursu. Tako na stranici na kojoj raspravlja o stratigrafiji groblja na Ždrijacu donosi da “su sve rimske vile (osobno iskustvo pisca) preorane do zadnjeg kamena i povaden, npr., svaki željezni predmet“ (Sokol 2019, str. 28, bilj. 6). Iz potonjeg se može zaključiti da je Sokol istražio sve rimske vile, ili da smatra kako je iskopavanje nekoliko njih dovoljno za donošenje zaključaka o svima. Također, odbacivanje radiokarbonskih datuma s lokaliteta Vinkovci - Duga ulica samo zato što su raniji od tobožnjeg potpisivanja ugovora između Vojnomira i Karla Velikog je neznanstveno i neprihvatljivo te pokazuje duboko nerazumijevanje primjene radiokarbonskog datiranja u arheologiji (Sokol 2019, str. 165, 178). Izdanje na engleskom jeziku dobrim je dijelom pročišćeno od ovakvih metodoloških kikseva (Sokol 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Goran Bilogrivić je mač iz Morpolače odredio kao varijantu I kombinacijskog tipa 1 po Geibigu, a ostrugu iz istoga groba kao ranu varijantu tipa VI po Wachowskom. Oba orlička mača tipološki su vrlo bliska morpolačkome (Bilogrivić 2011, str. 87-89; Bilogrivić 2019, str. 120).

<sup>23</sup> Teoriju o dolasku Hrvata krajem 8. stoljeća iznesenu u publikaciji *Hrvati i Karolinzi* (Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000) argumentirano je pobio Goran Bilogrivić (Bilogrivić 2018).

the procedure is based on typological analysis, which is quite obvious in itself. However, he considers his method to be stratigraphic, that is, as one that “makes the archaeological profession scientific” (Sokol 2019, p. 28), and ipso facto very reliable. The best proof that his procedure is not stratigraphic, or whatever it may be called, is the main criterion of distinction: it is not a matter of colour or texture of the soil, but the presence of ceramic vessels in graves. Finally, if it were indeed a stratigraphic method, it would not be possible for the latest find to occur in an earlier group of graves as in his analysis of burials at Ždrijac (Alajbeg 2015, p. 143). Nonetheless, I still find the discussion useful, especially since they are too few in Croatian mediaeval archaeology, but I also have to point out that Sokol uses some arguments and wording that should have no place in scientific discourse. Thus, on the page where he discusses the stratigraphy of the cemetery at Ždrijac, he states that “all Roman villas (according to the author’s personal experience) were ploughed to the last sod and every object, for example, made from iron, was removed” (Sokol 2019, p. 28, fn. 6). From the latter, it can be concluded that Sokol researched all the Roman villas, or that he believes that excavating a few of them is enough to draw conclusions about all of them. Also, the rejection of radiocarbon dates from the site of Vinkovci-Duga ulica only because they are earlier than the alleged signing of the treaty between Vojnomir and Charlemagne is unscientific and unacceptable and indicates a deep misunderstanding of the application of radiocarbon dating in archaeology (Sokol 2019, pp. 165, 178). The English edition is largely free of such methodological fallacies (Sokol 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Goran Bilogrivić classified the sword from Morpolača as Geibig combination type 1, variant I, and the spur from the same grave as an early variant of Wachowski type VI. Both swords from Orlić are typologically very close to the sword from Morpolača (Bilogrivić 2011, pp. 87–89; Bilogrivić 2019, p. 120).



Sl. 2. Ostruga iz groba A u Morpolači kraj Bribira, proizvedena oko 775. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 2 Spur from grave A in Morpolača near Bribir, made around AD 775 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

matinskih Slavena u zadnjoj trećini 8. stoljeća vjerojatnije je povezan s najprofitabilnijom gospodarskom aktivnošću toga doba – trgovinom robljem.

Kao što sam već istaknuo, mletački i drugi talijanski trgovci robljem svoje zalihe nisu mogli temeljiti na zarobljenim Langobardima. Također, prodaja kršćanskih robova nekršćanskim kupcima nailazila je na jasno protivljenje karolinškog dvora i crkvenih vlasti. Stoga je logičan korak bio pronaći najbliže nekršćane koji nisu bili zaštićeni državnom organizacijom, a takvi su živjeli upravo u Dalmaciji. S obzirom da u dalmatinskom zaoblju nije arheološki zabilježena trajna prisutnost ni Bizantinaca ni Avara tijekom 7. i 8. stoljeća, može se reći da je to područje praktički bilo ničija zemlja između bizantskih posjeda na obali te avarskoga teritorija u Panoniji. Bizantinci se nisu nepotrebno izlagali mogućim avarskim naletima udaljavanjem od sigurnosti obalnih gradova i luka, a Avarima nije odgovarala brdovita konfiguracija dinarskoga krša i boravak u blizini obale na koju je bizantska flota u bilo kojem trenutku mogla iskrcati čitavu vojsku. To su područje nastanjivali Slaveni koji, sudeći po grobovima starijim od zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, tada žive u necentraliziranom političkom sustavu.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Alajbeg 2015, str. 157–158.

material evidence of economic growth, generated by an increase in total demand and total supply. As for the latter, there is no indication whatsoever that the economy of the Dalmatian Slavs was growing at the time due to increased labour efficiency, exploitation of raw materials, or technological progress. It is even less likely that the economic growth was caused by the participation of Croats in the Frankish-Avar War, or their arrival at the end of the eighth century, which, incidentally, did not even happen.<sup>23</sup> The rise of the economy of the Dalmatian Slavs in the last third of the eighth century is more probably associated with the most profitable economic activity at the time – the slave trade.

As I have already pointed out, Venetian and other Italian slave traders could not have based their inventories on captured Lombards. In addition, the sale of Christian slaves to non-Christian buyers met with clear opposition from the Carolingian court and church authorities. Therefore, the logical step was to find the closest non-Christians who were not protected by a state organisation. Precisely such people lived in Dalmatia. Given that no permanent presence of either Byzantines or Avars during the seventh and eighth centuries has been archaeologically recorded in the Dalmatian hinterland, it can be said that this area was practically no man's land between Byzantine coastal estates and the Avar territory in Pannonia. The Byzantines did not unnecessarily expose themselves to possible Avar incursions by moving away from the security of coastal towns and ports, and the Avars were not partial to the hilly configuration of the Dinaric karst and staying near the coast, where the Byzantine fleet could land an entire army at any time. The area was inhabited by Slavs who, judging by the graves earlier than the last third of the eighth century, lived in a non-centralised political system at the time.<sup>24</sup> For such a classification, it is crucial not only that there are no so-called princely graves from that time, but the absence of imported items is also indicative, which means that there were no trade contacts, and thus no accumulation of surplus as one of the symptoms of social stratification. In addition to possible internal turmoils, the moment of the first contact of

<sup>23</sup> The theory of the arrival of the Croats at the end of the eighth century presented in the publication *Hrvati i Karolinzi* (Hrvati i Karolinzi/Croats and Carolingians 2000) has been arguably refuted by Goran Bilogrivić (Bilogrivić 2018).

<sup>24</sup> Alajbeg 2015, pp. 157–158.

Za takvu klasifikaciju nije presudno samo to što tada nema tzv. kneževskih grobova, nego je indikativna i odsutnost uvoznih predmeta, koja znači da ne postoje trgovinski kontakti, a samim time ni akumuliranje viška, što je jedan od simptoma društvene stratifikacije. Uz moguća previranja na unutarnjem planu, za početak društvenih i gospodarskih transformacija ključan je bio trenutak prvoga kontakta stranih trgovaca robljem s vođama slavenskih regionalnih skupina.<sup>25</sup> Sa slavenske strane u tom procesu nisu sudjelovali specijalizirani trgovci kao posrednici, kojih tada nije ni bilo, nego sami pripadnici novoformirane elite, trampeći ekonomski višak na koji su polagali pravo i ostvarujući svoj privilegij kontakta i razmjene sa stranim specijaliziranim trgovcima, ponajprije Mlečanima. A taj su višak bili Slaveni.

Na području Veneta pronađene su ostave zlatnika i srebrnjaka kovanih u Africi, Egiptu, Bagdadu i Konstantinopolu, od kojih se glavnina može datirati u drugu polovinu, a posebno u zadnju četvrtinu 8. stoljeća.<sup>26</sup> Vrlo je znakovit i McCormickov dijagram s brojkama crkava sagrađenih u Veneciji između 7. i 12. stoljeća: nagli se porast dogodio u 8. st., dok je tijekom 9. st. osnovano najviše crkava u razdoblju sve do 13. stoljeća.<sup>27</sup> Tadašnji položaj Venecije možda još i najbolje ilustrira činjenica da je kovala franački novac unatoč tome što nije bila dio Franačkog Carstva; zapravo, ne unatoč tome što je bila izvan carskih granica, nego upravo zato. Dirhami dopremljeni iz Kalifata bili su taljeni i ponovno kovani u karoliške denare s otisnutim križevima i natpisima *XRISTIANA RELIGIO* kako bi mogli cirkulirati Carstvom.<sup>28</sup> Venecija, u koju su morem stizali islamski dirhami, a iz koje su kopnom nastavljali put u obliku kršćanskih denara, u samo nekoliko desetljeća postala je jedno od najznačajnijih trgovačkih središta tadašnje Europe.

Trgovina dalmatinskim, a svakako i drugim slavenskim robovima nesumnjivo je bila značajna za mletački gospodarski rast, koji se ogleda upravo

foreign slave traders with the leaders of Slavic regional groups was crucial for the beginning of social and economic transformations.<sup>25</sup> On the Slavic side, there were no specialised traders acting as intermediaries in this process, since they did not even exist at the time, but members of the newly formed elite did take part, trading the economic surplus to which they claimed their right and exercising their privilege of contacts and exchanges with foreign specialised traders, primarily Venetians. That surplus were the Slavs.

In the Veneto area, hoards of gold and silver coins minted in Africa, Egypt, Baghdad and Constantinople have been found, the majority of which can be dated to the second half, and especially to the last quarter of the eighth century.<sup>26</sup> McCormick's chart with the numbers of churches built in Venice between the seventh and 12th centuries is also very significant: a sharp increase occurred in the eighth century, while there were more church foundations in the ninth century than in any other century before 1200.<sup>27</sup> The position of Venice at the time is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that it minted Frankish coins despite not being part of the Frankish Empire; in fact, not in spite of being outside the imperial borders, but precisely because of that. Dirhams brought from the Caliphate were melted and reminted into Carolingian denarii with imprinted crosses and inscriptions *XRISTIANA RELIGIO* so that they could circulate through the Empire.<sup>28</sup> Venice, where Islamic dirhams arrived by sea, and from which they continued their journey by land in the form of Christian denarii, became one of the most important trading centres in Europe at the time in the space of only a few decades.

The trade in Dalmatian and certainly other Slavic slaves was undoubtedly important for Venetian economic growth, reflected in the very inflow of foreign coins and the construction of churches. Venetian merchants, who already based their success on a trade network spreading from Western

<sup>25</sup> Pritom mislim na vode poput Velikog Čovjeka (*Big-Man*) Marshalla Sahlinsa (Sahlins 1963; Haviland 2004, str. 320; Džino 2014; Alajbeg 2015, str. 164-165). Naravno, taj je antropološki koncept prilično monolitni i nije potpuno primjenjiv na svako područje i razdoblje, ali je u ovome slučaju prihvatljiv jer podrazumijeva sličnu vrstu autoriteta i jednak način raspodjele viškova.

<sup>26</sup> McCormick 2001, str. 526.

<sup>27</sup> McCormick 2001, str. 530.

<sup>28</sup> McCormick 2001, str. 758.

<sup>25</sup> By this I am referring to leaders such as Marshall Sahlins's *Big-Man* (Sahlins 1963; Haviland 2004, p. 320; Džino 2014; Alajbeg 2015, pp. 164-65). Of course, this anthropological concept is quite monolithic and not fully applicable to all areas and periods, but it is acceptable in this case because it implies a similar kind of authority and the same method of allocating surpluses.

<sup>26</sup> McCormick 2001, p. 526.

<sup>27</sup> McCormick 2001, p. 530.

<sup>28</sup> McCormick 2001, p. 758.



Sl. 3. “Pokrštavanje” islamskih srebrnjaka? Početkom 9. stoljeća u Veneciji djeluje kovnica koja kuje karolinške dinare premda se nalazila izvan Franačkoga Carstva. Možda je jedna od tih “pokrštenih” kovanica upravo ovaj denar Ludovika Pobožnog, iskovan u Veneciji između 822. i 840. godine, a pronađen na groblju ispred crkve sv. Martina u Lepurima kraj Bribira (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 3 “Christianisation” of Islamic silver coins? At the beginning of the ninth century, there was a mint in Venice that was striking Carolingian dinars, although it was located outside the Frankish Empire. Perhaps one of these “Christianised” coins is precisely this denarius of Louis the Pious, minted in Venice between AD 822 and 840, and discovered in the cemetery in front of the church of St. Martin in Lepuri near Bribir (photo: Z. Alajbeg).*

u dotoku stranog novca i gradnji crkava. Mletački trgovci, koji su svoj uspjeh već tada temeljili na trgovačkoj mreži razgranatoj od zapadne Europe do sjeverne Afrike, a čini se i Bliskog istoka,<sup>29</sup> lokalnim su slavenskim vođama zauzvrat mogli ponuditi praktički sve uvozne predmete pronađene na dalmatinskim grobljima tog doba: nakit bizantskoga stila, bizantske zlatnike i karolinško oružje. Dakle, dalmatinski gospodarski rast posljedica je ranijega rasta na mletačkome području, također vidljivog prema nalazima kovanica. Abasidski zlatnici iz okolice Knina iskovani za kalifâ Al-Mansura (760. - 763.) i Al-Hadija (786.) ukazuju na neizravan kontakt dalmatinskih Slavena i Kalifata, koji je također mogao biti ostvaren preko mletačkih posrednika.<sup>30</sup> Kalifatske kovanice još su jedna poveznica između Dalmacije i Veneta, ali postoji i jedna bitna razlika – tijekom 8. stoljeća u dalmatinskoj zaobilju nije sagrađena ni jedna crkva.



Sl. 4. Dinar kalifa Al-Mansura iskovan u Bagdadu između 760. i 763. godine, a pronađen u okolici Knina, ukazuje na neizravni kontakt dalmatinskih Slavena s Abasidskim Kalifatom (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 4 A dinar of Caliph al-Mansur, minted in Baghdad between AD 760 and 763, discovered in the vicinity of Knin, indicates indirect contacts of the Dalmatian Slavs with the Abbasid Caliphate (photo: Z. Alajbeg).*

Europe to North Africa, and apparently the Middle East,<sup>29</sup> were in turn able to offer local Slavic leaders virtually all imported items found in Dalmatian cemeteries from that time: Byzantine-style jewellery, Byzantine gold coins, and Carolingian weapons. Hence, Dalmatian economic growth was a consequence of earlier growth in the Venetian area, also manifested in coin finds. Abbasid gold coins from the vicinity of Knin, struck under Caliphs al-Mansur (760–763) and al-Hadi (786), indicate indirect contacts between the Dalmatian Slavs and the Caliphate, which could also have been made through Venetian intermediaries.<sup>30</sup> Caliphate coins are yet another link between Dalmatia and the Veneto, but there is one important difference – not a single church was built in the Dalmatian hinterland during the eighth century.

#### Nin – a Slavic emporium?

Some imported goods probably reached the Dalmatian hinterland via Byzantine coastal towns, primarily Zadar. However, one coastal town archaeologically matches the sites in the hinterland, which certainly makes it a candidate for a possible trading station. It is, of course, Nin. Nin is the only Adriatic town with a Roman tradition that was under Slavic control at the time. Undoubtedly, it was very im-

<sup>29</sup> McCormick 2001, str. 523-531.

<sup>30</sup> Šeparović 2020, str. 40-41; Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, str. 362-363.

<sup>29</sup> McCormick 2001, pp. 523–531.

<sup>30</sup> Šeparović 2020, pp. 40–41; Hrvati i Karolinzi (Croats and Carolingians) 2000, pp. 362–363.

## Nin – slavenski emporij?

Dio uvezene robe u dalmatinsko je zaobalje vjerojatno stigao preko bizantskih obalnih gradova, ponajprije Zadra. No jedan se obalni grad po arheološkoj slici podudara s lokalitetima u zaleđu, što ga svakako kandidira za moguću trgovinsku postaju. Riječ je, naravno, o Ninu. Nin je jedini jadranski grad rimske tradicije koji je u tom razdoblju bio pod kontrolom Slavena. Nesumnjivo im je bio vrlo značajan; na otočiću i njegovoj bliskoj okolici zabilježena je najveća koncentracija starijih ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Dalmaciji, a ondje je osnovana i prva hrvatska biskupija u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća. Ninski otočić nije slučajno izabran za prvo crkveno središte, jer upravo je ondje sudar slavenske i rimske tradicije bio najizravniji. Kao i u slučaju Venecije i Comacchija, osnivanje biskupije u Ninu bilo je rezultat gospodarskog rasta utemeljenog na trgovinskoj aktivnosti. Premda nisu pronađeni ranosrednjovjekovni dokovi, skladišta ili nekakve druge lučke strukture, teško je zamisliti da se Slaveni nisu koristili lagunom koja bi im omogućila neposredni i neovisni kontakt s najvažnijim trgovinskim i političkim akterima na Jadranu. Rane poveznice sa sjevernom Italijom i istočnim Mediteranom već su uočili Richard Hodges i Tina Milavec.<sup>31</sup> Snažna izloženost utjecaju sjevernotalijanskoga područja rezultirala je i pojavom vrlo ranih relikvijara, koji sugeriraju da su upravo u Ninu ostvareni možda i najraniji konkretni doticaji dalmatinskih Slavena s kršćanstvom.<sup>32</sup> Dodatna vrijednost ninskog područja bila je potencijal za proizvodnju soli. Kako je već prethodno istaknuto, sol je bila jedan od najznačajnijih artikala u ranosrednjovjekovnoj trgovini. Sudeći po arheološkom zapisu, solane od Nina do Ljubackog zaljeva bile su pod slavenskim nadzorom, a nema razloga da pomislimo kako je proizvodnja krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća bila obustavljena.

portant to them. The largest concentration of early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia has been recorded on the islet and its immediate surroundings. In addition, the first Croatian diocese was established there in the second half of the ninth century. The islet of Nin was not selected as the first church centre by accident, because it was there that the clash of Slavic and Roman traditions was most direct. As in the case of Venice and Comacchio, the establishment of the diocese of Nin was the result of economic growth based on trading. Although no early mediaeval docks, warehouses or any other port facilities have been found, it is hard to imagine that the Slavs did not use the lagoon that would allow them direct and independent contact with the most important trade and political actors in the Adriatic. Early connections with northern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean have already been noted by Richard Hodges and Tina Milavec.<sup>31</sup> Strong exposure to the influence of the northern Italian area also resulted in the appearance of very early reliquaries, which suggest that Nin was the very spot where the earliest tangible contacts of Dalmatian Slavs with Christianity were possibly made.<sup>32</sup> An added value of the Nin area was its potential for salt production. As pointed out earlier, salt was one of the most important items in early mediaeval trade. Judging by the archaeological record, the salt-works from Nin to Bay of Ljubač were under Slavic control, and there is no reason to believe that production was suspended at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. On the contrary, the power of the community that controlled the greater Nin area was probably based on the production and sale of salt.<sup>33</sup> In addition, Nin was emerging as an ideal port for the export of slaves, the most profitable industry in the Mediterranean at the time. This is

<sup>31</sup> Hodges ističe oružje karakteristično za langobardsko područje s neobjavljenoga groblja kod crkve sv. Asela, (Hodges 2008, str. 276), a Milavec je reinterpretacijom staklenih nalaza iz grobova 322 i 310 sa Ždrijaca argumentirano pokazala da je riječ o dvama peharima sjevernotalijanske produkcije i boci istočnomediterranske ranosrednjovjekovne produkcije (Milavec 2018). Boca je pronađena i u sarkofagu iz Vaćana, što naglašava značenje uvezenih staklenih proizvoda u pogrebnom obredu pripadnika društvene elite (Milavec 2018, str. 246-247).

<sup>32</sup> Relikvijar sv. Asela i relikvijar u obliku sarkofaga mogu se datirati oko 800. godine (vidi: Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, str. 288-290).

<sup>31</sup> Hodges points out the weapons characteristic of the Lombard area from the unpublished cemetery near the church of St. Asel, (Hodges 2008, p. 276), while Milavec reinterprets the glass finds from graves 322 and 310 at Ždrijac and thus provides valid arguments that they are two goblets made in northern Italy and a bottle of Eastern Mediterranean early mediaeval origin (Milavec 2018). A bottle was also discovered in the sarcophagus from Vaćani, which emphasises the importance of imported glass products in the funeral rites of members of the social elite (Milavec 2018, pp. 246–247).

<sup>32</sup> The reliquary of St. Asel and the sarcophagus-shaped reliquary can be dated to around AD 800 (see Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, pp. 288–290).

<sup>33</sup> Uglešić 2017, p. 664.



Sl. 5. Zračna snimka Nina – jednog od centara ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 5 Aerial photograph of Nin, one of the centres of the early mediaeval Croatian state (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

Dapače, na proizvodnji i prodaji soli vjerojatno se i temeljila moć zajednice koja je tada kontrolirala šire područje Nina.<sup>33</sup> Usto, Nin se nameće i kao idealna luka za izvoz robova, tada najprofitabilnije gospodarske grane na Mediteranu. Zato nije nimalo čudno što je u toj muljevitoj laguni nastalo jedno od središta ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države.

Ne treba pretjerivati i Nin uspoređivati s vikinškodobnim Hedebyjem, franačkim Dorestadom ili Quentovicom – u ovome je trenutku dovoljno istaknuti mogućnost da je Nin bio svojevrsni emporij dalmatinskih Slavena. Kontrola nad Ninom značila je kontrolu uvoza, a uvozni su predmeti, kao i sama mogućnost izravnog kontakta sa stranim trgovcima, bili temelj novoga društvenog poretka.

Darovi za drugi svijet: pogani ili kršćani?

Opremanje grobova širokim rasponom artefakata najjasnija je kulturna značajka starijega horizon-

why it is not at all strange that one of the centres of the early mediaeval Croatian state was born in this sludgy lagoon.

One should not exaggerate and compare Nin with Viking-age Hedeby, Frankish Dorestad or Quentovic. At present, it is enough to point out the possibility that Nin was a kind of emporium of the Dalmatian Slavs. Control over Nin meant control of imports, and imported objects, as well as the very possibility of direct contact with foreign traders, were the foundation of the new social order.

Gifts for the other world:  
 pagans or Christians?

Equipping graves with a wide range of artefacts is the clearest cultural feature of the earlier horizon of early mediaeval cemeteries in the Dalmatian hinterland.<sup>34</sup> Despite the fact that a number of Carolin-

<sup>33</sup> Uglešić 2017, str. 664.

<sup>34</sup> In her recent works, Maja Petrinec does not mention cemeteries with pagan burial features, but prefers chronological determinants – the central point is the

ta ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u dalmatinskoj zaobalju.<sup>34</sup> Unatoč tome što su u grobnim cjelinama pronađeni brojni karolinški predmeti, pogrebni običaj prilaganja tih predmeta sasvim sigurno nije uvezen iz Franačke, jer je na tom području iščeznuo u kasnom merovinškom razdoblju. Ne možemo ga nazvati ni slavenskim, jer ne odaje ništa što bi bilo svojstveno samo Slavenima. Štoviše, običaj opremanja grobova u dalmatinskoj zaobalju javlja se još u kasnoantičko doba, čak i pred starokršćanskim crkvama.<sup>35</sup> Pritom ne mislim da takva pojava ujedno znači i kontinuitet iz kasne antike u rani srednji vijek, bilo kronološki ili etnički, nego želim reći da se olako koristila kao kronološko razgraničenje ili etnički marker.

Kako je istaknuo C. J. Arnold, kao osnovni razlikovni kriterij poganskog od kršćanskog groblja često se uzima prisutnost ili odsutnost grobnih priloga. Takav pristup dovodi do paradoksa u kojem se grobovi bez priloga na grobljima gdje je zastupljen običaj prilaganja pripisuju "siromašnim" poganim ili robovima, dok su grobovi na nekropolama bez običaja prilaganja kršćanski, čak i onda kada sadrže grobne priloge.<sup>36</sup> Opremanje grobova obilježje je i grobalja na kršćanskim područjima merovinške Galije, anglosaske Britanije početkom 7. stoljeća, ali i bliže tzv. komanske kulture od 7. do 9. stoljeća.<sup>37</sup> Stoga zašto bi običaj pokapanja s prilozima bio poganski samo onda kada ga promatramo na slavenskom području? Opremanje grobova u ovome kontekstu ponajprije je društveni fenomen; posljedica kulturne prakse kojom ožalošćeni pokazuju svoj odnos prema preminulome, ali također i ocrtavaju njegov identitet.<sup>38</sup> Čak i cjelovito istražena groblja ne prikazuju potpunu sliku društvenih odnosa, nego samo jedan idealizirani aspekt.<sup>39</sup> Zato

gian objects have been discovered in burial units, the funeral custom of placing such objects had certainly not been imported from Francia, since it disappeared there in the late Merovingian period. We cannot call it Slavic either, because it does not exhibit anything that would be unique to the Slavs. Moreover, the custom of furnishing graves in the Dalmatian hinterland dates back to late antiquity, even in front of early Christian churches.<sup>35</sup> By this I do not mean to say that such a phenomenon also means continuity from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages, either chronologically or ethnically, but I want to impart that it was easily used as a chronological demarcation or an ethnic marker.

As pointed out by C. J. Arnold, the presence or absence of grave goods is often taken as the basic distinguishing criterion between pagan and Christian cemeteries. Such an approach leads to a paradox in which graves without goods in cemeteries where it was customary to place them are attributed to "poor" pagans or slaves, while graves in necropolises without such a custom are regarded as Christian, even when they contain grave goods.<sup>36</sup> Equipping graves is also a trait of cemeteries in the Christian areas of Merovingian Gaul, Anglo-Saxon Britain in the early seventh century, but also closer to the so-called Koman culture from the seventh to the ninth century.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, why would the custom of burials with goods be pagan only when regarded in the Slavic area? Furnishing graves in this context is primarily a social phenomenon, a consequence of the cultural practice by which the mourners showed their attitude towards the dead, but also define their identity.<sup>38</sup> Even completely researched cemeteries do not reveal a complete picture of social relations, but only one idealised aspect.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, grave inventories should not be taken as a means test of the

<sup>34</sup> Maja Petrinec u novijim radovima ne spominje groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja, nego preferira kronološke odrednice – središnja je točka horizont Biskupija - Crkvina (zadnja desetljeća 8. i prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća), a za nalaze koji izlaze iz njegovih granica rabi izraze starije ili mlađe razdoblje (Petrinec 2019). Također, za razliku od prethodno iznesenog razmišljanja o terminologiji grobalja (Alajbeg 2015, str. 147), u ovome radu ipak odustajem od termina groblja s poganskim osobinama pokapanja jer neizbježno implicira religijski značaj pogrebnih običaja.

<sup>35</sup> Milošević 1990; Milošević 2005; Gudelj 2011, str. 25-28; Alajbeg 2015, str. 160.

<sup>36</sup> Arnold 2005, str. 164.

<sup>37</sup> Effros 2002; Arnold 2005; Härke 2014, str. 42-43.

<sup>38</sup> Parker Pearson 2006, str. 84. Bilogrivić 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Hodder 2012, str. 143.

Biskupija-Crkvina horizon (the final decades of the eighth and the initial decades of the ninth century), and uses the terms earlier or older period for the finds beyond its framework (Petrinec 2019). Furthermore, in contrast to the previously stated thoughts on the terminology of cemeteries (Alajbeg 2015, p. 147), in this paper I nevertheless abandon the term cemetery with pagan burial features because it inevitably implies the religious significance of funeral customs.

<sup>35</sup> Milošević 1990; Milošević 2005; Gudelj 2011, pp. 25-28; Alajbeg 2015, p. 160.

<sup>36</sup> Arnold 2005, p. 164.

<sup>37</sup> Effros 2002; Arnold 2005; Härke 2014, pp. 42-43.

<sup>38</sup> Parker Pearson 2006, p. 84. Bilogrivić 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Hodder 2012, p. 143.

grobne inventare ne treba shvaćati ni kao imovinski cenzus pokopanih članova zajednice, jer je nemoguće razlikovati predmete koji su bili u vlasništvu pokopane osobe od onih koji su bili priloženi kao poklon prilikom sprovoda, kao i zaključiti u kojoj mjeri grobni nalazi predstavljaju nečiji ukupan imetak.<sup>40</sup> Također, značajnija diferencijacija između grobnih inventara ne znači ujedno i proporcionalnu korelaciju između društvene organizacije i ukopa. Kada bi pojava diferenciranog pogrebnog obreda predstavljala zaokret prema složenijem društvu, to bi pogrešno impliciralo da groblja s manje složenim i ujednačenijim grobnim inventarima pripadaju manje stratificiranim društvima.<sup>41</sup> Usporedba grobalja prije i nakon sredine 9. stoljeća u dalmatinskom zaobalju, to jest takozvanih grobalja s poganskim i kršćanskim obilježjima pokapanja, pokazuje da to ne može biti slučaj.

Pogrebni obred nije isključivo religijski čin. Promatrajući grobne cjeline na lokalitetima poput Ždrijaca, možemo zaključiti da je pitanje “koje je vjere bio ovaj pokojnik?” potpuno pogrešno.<sup>42</sup> A razlog je vrlo jednostavan – na ovome groblju, koje vremenski potpuno pokriva razdoblje pojave kršćanstva među dalmatinskim Slavenima, malo je grobova za koje se sa sigurnošću može reći da pripadaju kršćanima. S druge strane, na tlocrtu Ždrijaca ili drugih suvremenih dalmatinskih grobalja ne možemo prstom pokazati ni tko je Slaven, Hrvat ili pripadnik kasnoantičkog autohtonog stanovništva. Takvo simplificiranje religijskih i etničkih identiteta bilo bi posljedica nezgrapnog povezivanja s onim što znamo iz pisanih izvora. Društveni događaji poput pogreba bili su namijenjeni samo članovima lokalne zajednice, pa stoga njihova simbolika nije nužno morala nositi religijske ili etničke konotacije, koje bi bile najvidljivije u dihotomnim okolnostima.<sup>43</sup>

Ekstravagantno opremljeni grobovi, kao posebnost horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina, ponajprije su odraz tadašnjih korjenitih društvenih promjena i previranja unutar zajednica dalmatinskih Slavena. Te su turbulencije uzrokovane rastakanjem necentraliziranog političkog sustava u korist novoformi-

buried members of a community, because it is impossible to distinguish objects owned by the buried persons from those that were placed as gifts during the funeral, or to conclude the extent to which grave finds represent someone's entire belongings.<sup>40</sup> In addition, a more significant differentiation between grave inventories does not also signify a proportional correlation between social organisation and burial. If the emergence of a differentiated funeral rite represented a turn towards a more complex society, it would erroneously imply that cemeteries with less complex and more uniform grave inventories belong to less stratified societies.<sup>41</sup> A comparison of cemeteries before and after the mid-ninth century in the Dalmatian hinterland, i.e. the so-called cemeteries with pagan and Christian burial features, shows that this cannot be the case.

Funeral rites are not exclusively religious acts. Considering the graves at sites like Ždrijac, it can be concluded that the question of the religious affiliation of the dead is completely wrong.<sup>42</sup> The reason is very simple. This cemetery, which completely covers the period of the emergence of Christianity among the Dalmatian Slavs, has few graves that can be regarded with certainty as belonging to Christians. On the other hand, one cannot even tell apart the Slavs, Croats or members of the late antique autochthonous population at Ždrijac or in other contemporaneous cemeteries. Such a simplification of religious and ethnic identities would be the consequence of an awkward association with what we know from written sources. Social events such as funerals were intended only for the members of local communities, and therefore their symbolism did not necessarily have to carry religious or ethnic connotations, which would be most conspicuous in dichotomous circumstances.<sup>43</sup>

Extravagantly furnished graves, as a distinctive feature of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon, are primarily a reflection of the then radical social changes and turmoil within the communities of Dalmatian Slavs. These turbulences were caused by the erosion of a non-centralised political system in favour

<sup>40</sup> Parker Pearson 2006, str. 85; Přichystalová, Boberová 2020, str. 119.

<sup>41</sup> Childe 1945, str. 16; Hodder 2012, str. 144–145.

<sup>42</sup> David Petts donosi općenitu raspravu o arheološkom poimanju ranosrednjovjekovnog kršćanstva s naglaskom na anglosasku Englesku (Petts 2011, str. 102).

<sup>43</sup> Milavec 2020, str. 92.

<sup>40</sup> Parker Pearson 2006, p. 85; Přichystalová, Boberová 2020, p. 119.

<sup>41</sup> Childe 1945, p. 16; Hodder 2012, pp. 144–145.

<sup>42</sup> David Petts presents a general discussion on the archaeological notion of early mediaeval Christianity with emphasis on Anglo-Saxon England (Petts 2011, p. 102).

<sup>43</sup> Milavec 2020, p. 92.



rane elite stvorene iz trgovine robljem. Prilaganje karolinške ratničke opreme i luksuznog bizantskog nakita bilo je zapravo način legitimiranja novoga društvenog poretka putem pogrebnog obreda. Opremanje grobova skupocjenim uvoznim predmetima služilo je kao alat nove nasljedne strategije.<sup>44</sup> U tom su procesu pretendenti na nasljeđivanje ili zadržavanje pozicije ostalim članovima zajednice pokazivali kolikom moći raspolažu. Uvozni predmeti u ovome kontekstu bili su više od materijalne vrijednosti – nedvosmisleno su pokazivali društveni status, ali i simbolizirali pravo na pristup procesu trampe, koje je samo po sebi bilo društvena povlastica. Promatrajući iz ovoga gledišta, možemo reći i da je prilaganje zlatnika Konstantina V. i Lava IV. u grobove, kao najstarijih predmeta horizonta Biskupija - Crkvina, bilo jedan od najznačajnijih simbola novoga društvenog ustrojstva. Simboličko značenje tih kovanica utoliko je veće što se u grobove prilažu sve do samoga kraja tog horizonta, kao izravna poveznica s utemeljiteljima organizacije koja je tada već prerasla u kneževinu. Dakle, ni pojava obola nema isključivo religijski značaj.<sup>45</sup>

Pokapanje s keramičkim posudama traje sve do samog kraja starijeg horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja, kao što je vidljivo iz groba 62 na Ždrijacu s Lotarovim srebrnjakom (840. - 855.). Tumačenje takve pojave retencijom poganskih

of a newly formed elite created from the slave trade. The placing of Carolingian warrior equipment and luxury Byzantine jewellery was in fact a way of legitimising the new social order by way of funeral rites. Equipping graves with expensive imported objects served as a tool for a new hereditary strategy.<sup>44</sup> In this process, candidates for inheriting or retaining positions demonstrated their power to other members of the community. In this context, imported objects were worth more than their material value – they unequivocally exhibited social status, but also symbolised the right to take part in barter, which was a social privilege per se. From this point of view, we can also say that the placing of gold coins of Constantine V and Leo IV in graves, as the earliest objects of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon, was one of the most significant symbols of a new social structure. The symbolic meaning of these coins is all the greater because they were placed in graves until the very end of that horizon, as a direct link with the founders of the organisation which at the time had already grown into a principality. Therefore, the appearance of obols does not have a purely religious significance.<sup>45</sup>

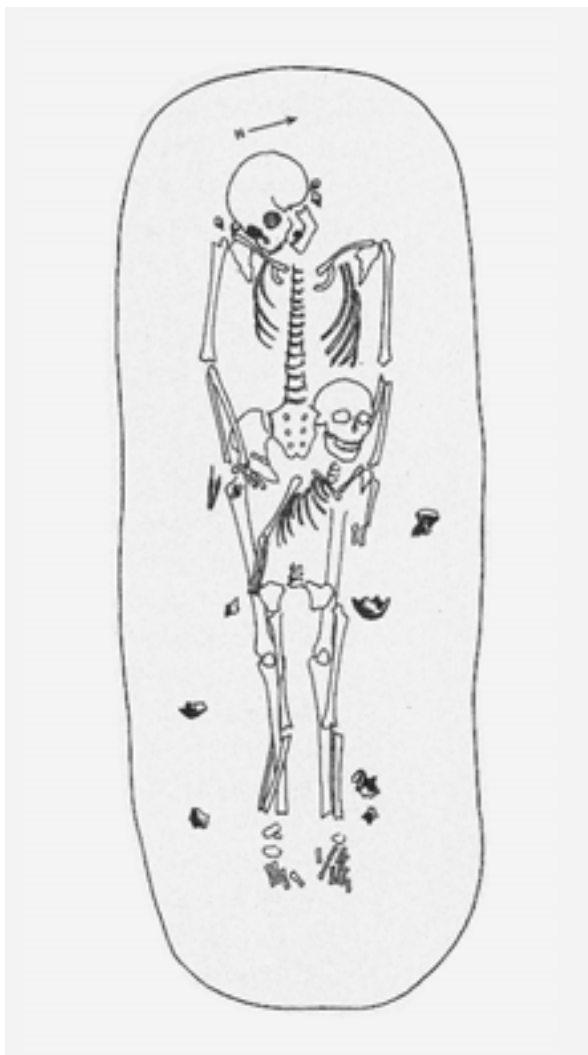
Burials with ceramic vessels lasted until the very end of the earlier horizon of early mediaeval

<sup>44</sup> Hodges 1989, str. 53. Richard Hodges do takvog zaključka dolazi razmatranjem anglosaskih grobalja oko godine 700., ali i ističe da je takav običaj bio raširen i u Austraziji, Neustriji te Lombardiji.

<sup>45</sup> Maja Petrinec je zaključila da obol na ranosrednjovjekovnim grobljima ne može biti tzv. Haronov obol preuzet od autohtonog stanovništva, jer je ta pojava iščeznula dosta ranije, te ga je povezala s franačkim kulturnim krugom (Petrinec 2009, str. 198-199). Razmatrajući merovinška groblja, Bonnie Effros je primijetila kako je u tim grobovima Haronov obol barem djelomično ili čak potpuno izgubio svoje izvorno religijsko značenje. Svoju tvrdnju temelji na drugačijem razmještaju kovanica različitih nominalnih vrijednosti u odnosu na predmerovinške grobove (Effros 2003a, str. 146). Radoslav Katičić i Ante Milošević obol na dalmatinskim grobljima smatraju kršćanskim običajem zbog prikaza križa na bizantskim solidima, kao i zbog natpisa *XRISTIANA RELIGIO* na franačkom denaru iz ždrijačkoga groba 62 (Katičić 2007, str. 221-222; Milošević 2005, str. 459). Ipak, kao što pojavu obola u ovome kontekstu ne možemo izravno povezati s poganskim pogrebnim obredom, teško je reći i da je riječ o kršćanskom običaju. Baš kao i kod pokapanja s oružjem ili keramičkim posudama, nema razloga da običaj prilaganja obola promatramo samo kao religijski čin.

<sup>44</sup> Hodges 1989, p. 53. Richard Hodges came to this conclusion by considering Anglo-Saxon cemeteries from around AD 700, but he also pointed out that such a custom had been widespread in Austrasia, Neustria and Lombardy.

<sup>45</sup> Maja Petrinec concluded that the obols in early mediaeval cemeteries could not be so-called Charon's obols, adopted from the autochthonous population, because this phenomenon had disappeared much earlier, and she associated it with the Frankish culture circle (Petrinec 2009, pp. 198–199). In her discussion on Merovingian cemeteries, Bonnie Effros remarked that Charon's obol had at least partially or even completely lost its original religious significance in their graves. She based her claim on a varied placement of coins of different denominations compared to pre-Merovingian graves (Effros 2003a, p. 146). Radoslav Katičić and Ante Milošević consider obols in Dalmatian cemeteries a Christian custom because of the depiction of the cross on Byzantine solids, as well as because of the inscription *XRISTIANA RELIGIO* on the Frankish denarius from grave 62 at Ždrijac (Katičić 2007, pp. 221–222; Milošević 2005, p. 459). However, just as the appearance of obols in this context cannot be directly associated with pagan funeral rites, it is difficult to say that it is a Christian custom. As with burials with weapons or ceramic vessels, there is no reason to regard the custom of placing obols solely as a religious act.



Sl. 6. Nin - Ždrijac, grob 62, sredina 9. stoljeća  
(preuzeto iz: Belošević 2007, str. 55)

Fig. 6 Nin-Ždrijac, grave 62, mid-ninth century (taken from: Belošević 2007, p. 55)

običaja u doba podmakle kristijanizacije također vodi u logički paradoks – na merovinškim ili komanskim grobljima taj je običaj kršćanski, dok bi u kontekstu dalmatinskih grobalja ta ista pojava trebala biti poganska. Tumačenju poganskih pogrebnih običaja, koje ne negiram, potreban je ipak znatno nijansiraniji pristup. U tom bi smislu pozornost trebalo usmjeriti prema običaju paljenja vatre uokolo grobova i u samim grobovima, analizirati položaje keramičkih posuda u grobovima i pratiti moguće promjene prema gornjoj granici grobalja te analizirati zemlju unutar posuda i njihove stijenke.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Običaj paljenja vatre registriran je na Ždrijacu (u ruci groba 77 pronađene su djelomično izmještene i spaljene kosti pokojnika, vidi: Belošević 2007, str. 80) te uz humak Materiza u Ninu (Belošević 1980, str. 20),

cemeteries, as evident from grave 62 at Ždrijac with Lothair's silver coin (840–855). Interpreting such a phenomenon as retention of pagan customs in an age of advanced Christianisation also leads to a logical paradox – in Merovingian or Roman cemeteries this custom is Christian, while in the context of Dalmatian cemeteries the same circumstance is supposed to be pagan. Interpreting pagan funeral customs, which I do not deny, still requires a much more nuanced approach. In this respect, attention should be focused on the custom of burning fires around graves and in very graves, the positions of ceramic vessels in graves should be analysed, possible changes towards the upper boundaries of cemeteries monitored, and the soil inside the vessels and their walls analysed.<sup>46</sup> In addition, it is necessary to contextualise customs such as placing whole or broken ceramic vessels outside graves, laying stones on dead bodies and generally deviant burial rites.<sup>47</sup> Instead of claiming that such phenomena confirm pagan burial rituals, it should be clarified what is actually pagan about them, compare them with late antique and earlier mediaeval cemeteries, and put them into context with grave inventories and adjacent graves. Indeed, such phenomena can be better explained by analysing the contexts in which they occurred than by seeking confirmation in historical sources.

The emergence of Christianity among the Dalmatian Slavs undoubtedly influenced the funeral rite, but in a substantially different way from the banal concept of converting burials with goods into burials without goods. As contradictory as it may

<sup>46</sup> The custom of burning fires was recorded at Ždrijac (partially displaced and burned bones of the skeleton were discovered in the pit of grave 77, see Belošević 2007, p. 80) and next to the Materiza mound in Nin (Belošević 1980, p. 20), at Maklinovo brdo (where fragments of coal and ashes are not traces of fire lit in graves, but had been brought from cult hearths, perhaps exactly as the one found in Podvršje and Stankovci, see Belošević 2010, pp. 69–70), and at Vlačine in Kašić (Belošević 1980, p. 60), at Trluge in Biljane Donje (Belošević 1980, p. 60), at the Matakova glavica mound in Podvršje (a hearth discovered in the early mediaeval layer, see Gusar, Vujević 2009, p. 341), as well as at the site of Klarića kuće in Stankovci (a hearth which may have been used for cult fires during burials, see Belošević 1980, p. 55).

<sup>47</sup> Deviant burial rites and placing of ceramic vessels in these cemeteries are interpreted as Slavic rites of terror or mortuary feasts (triznas) (Petrinec 2009, pp. 112–115).

Usto, potrebno je i kontekstualizirati običaje poput prilaganja čitavih ili razbijenih keramičkih posuda izvan grobova, polaganja kamenja na tijela pokojnika i općenito devijantnih pogrebnih rituala.<sup>47</sup> Umjesto izjava kako takve pojave potvrđuju poganski pogrebni ritual, trebalo bi razjasniti što je u njima zapravo pogansko; usporediti ih s kasnoantičkim i mlađim srednjovjekovnim grobljima te dovesti u kontekst s grobnim inventarom i okolnim grobovima. Jer takve se pojave bolje mogu objasniti analiziranjem konteksta u kojemu su se dogodile negoli traženjem potvrde u povijesnim izvorima.

Pojava kršćanstva među dalmatinskim Slavenima nedvojbeno je utjecala na pogrebni obred, ali na bitno drukčiji način od banalnog koncepta pretvorbe pokapanja s priložima u pokapanje bez priloga. Koliko god to zvučalo kontradiktorno, ekstravagantno opremljeni grobovi zapravo koincidiraju s kristijanizacijom. Dolazak kršćanstva u slavenske zajednice bio je proces koji je utjecao na gotovo sve sfere društvenog života. Promatrajući iz sociopolitičkoga gledišta, prihvaćanje kršćanstva lokalnim je slavenskim vođama donosilo vanjskopolitičku legitimaciju, ali i potencijalne disrupcije unutar zajednice. Bogatim opremanjem grobova pripadnici novonastale elite evocirali su mitsku prošlost i pokazivali privrženost tradicionalnoj zajednici, kako bi legitimirali svoj unutarnjopolitički položaj.<sup>48</sup> Premda je pokapanje s priložima obilježje cijeloga

sound, extravagantly furnished graves actually coincided with Christianisation. The arrival of Christianity among the Slavic communities was a process that affected almost all spheres of social life. From a socio-political point of view, the adoption of Christianity brought about legitimacy for the local Slavic leaders in terms of foreign policy, but also potential disruptions within the community. By their richly equipping graves, members of the newly formed elite evoked the mythical past and exhibited commitment to the traditional community, in order to legitimise their domestic political position.<sup>48</sup> Although burials with goods are a feature of the entire earlier horizon of the early mediaeval Dalmatian cemeteries, its intensity over that time was not equal. From the establishment of cemeteries in the first half of the eighth century, graves were equipped quite uniformly, most often with ceramic vessels, knives and a few items of daily use. From the late eighth century, a wider range of often imported objects started appearing in graves, while the funeral rite, as a reflection of social rearrangements, was becoming more complex.

When discussing the relationship between the graves and the church of St. Mary in Biskupija, the graves earlier than the church are often attributed to pagans. However, it should be borne in mind that, to use chronological terminology, the date of construction of the church is only a *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of Christianity in the community. The monumental three-nave church with a detailed altar screen and architectural sculpture can hardly be the first glimmer of Christianisation in Biskupija. Moreover, certain social processes had to take place from the appearance of Christianity to the construction of such a structure, and it was very likely that some simple transitory building had been erected, and obviously a certain amount of time had to pass. The famous burials in Crkvina, those in wooden coffins, vaulted tombs and a decorated sarcophagus, demonstrate this very transitional period. Goran Bilogrivić has pointed out minor chronolog-

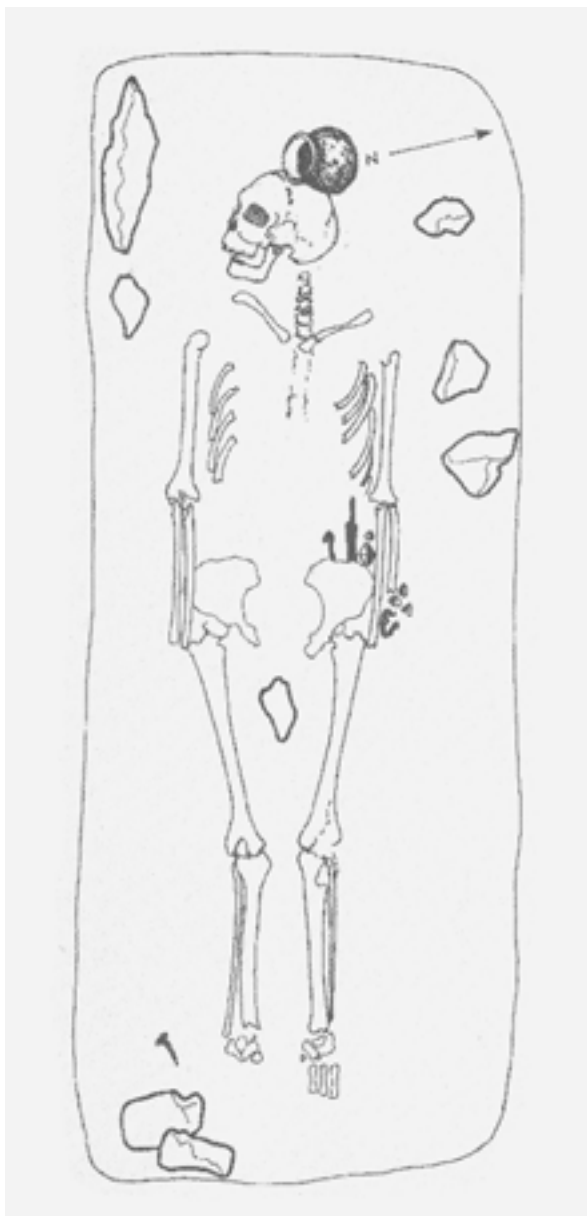
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na Maklinovu brdu (ovdje ulomci ugljena i pepeo nisu tragovi vatre koja je paljena u grobovima, već su doneseni s kulturnih vatrišta, možda upravo onakvog kakvo je utvrđeno u Podvršju i Stankovcima, vidi: Belošević 2010, str. 69-70) i na Vlačinama u Kašiću (Belošević 1980, str. 60), na Trljugama u Biljanima Donjim (Belošević 1980, str. 60), na humku Matakova glavica u Podvršju (riječ je o vatrištu pronađenom u ranosrednjovjekovnom sloju, vidi: Gusar, Vujević 2009, str. 341), kao i na položaju Klarića kuće u Stankovcima (na ovom je položaju pronađeno vatrište koje je možda služilo za paljenje kultne vatre pri pokapanju pokojnika, vidi: Belošević 1980, str. 55).

<sup>47</sup> Devijantni pogrebni rituali i prilaganje keramičkih posuda na ovim su grobljima tumačeni slavenskim obredom strave ili mrtvačkim gozbama (trizna) (Petřinec 2009, str. 112-115).

<sup>48</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, str. 124. U ovom slučaju može se reći čak i da je riječ o svojevrsnom izmišljanju tradicije, da se poslužim konceptom Erica Hobsbawma, koja je imala bitnu ulogu u formiranju novog identiteta. Richard Hodges smatra da je kristijanizacija dodatno potaknula pojavu tzv. *climax graves* početkom 7. stoljeća u Istočnoj Angliji, poput čuvenog ukopa na položaju Sutton Hoo (Hodges 1989, str. 41-56).

<sup>48</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, p. 124. In this case, it can even be said that a kind of invention of tradition was at play, according to Eric Hobsbawm's concept. It had an important role in the formation of a new identity. Richard Hodges believes that Christianisation further encouraged the emergence of the so-called *climax graves* in the early seventh century in East Anglia, such as the famous burial at the Sutton Hoo site (Hodges 1989, pp. 41-56).



Sl. 7. Kašić - Maklinovo brdo, grob 34. Ovaj ukop smješten u samome središtu starijeg dijela groblja na Maklinovu brdu datira se u prvu polovinu 8. stoljeća, ali predstavlja primjer pogrebnog obreda koji se primjenjuje sve do sredine 9. stoljeća (preuzeto iz: Belošević 2010, str. 208)

*Fig. 7 Kašić-Maklinovo brdo, grave 34. This burial, located in the very centre of the earlier part of the cemetery at Maklinovo brdo, dated to the first half of the eighth century, is an example of a funeral rite practised until the mid-ninth century (taken from: Belošević 2010, p. 208).*

starijeg horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih grobalja, ono se tijekom tog vremena nije odvijalo jednakim intenzitetom. Od osnutka grobalja u prvoj polovini 8. stoljeća grobovi su opremani vrlo jednolično, najčešće keramičkim posudama, nože-

ical differences among the finds in these graves, which can be significant when considering cultural processes.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the inventories of graves in Biskupija indicate gradual changes in the funeral rite. In order to observe them more objectively, the graves at Crkvina can be divided into three spatial groups: the first comprises graves 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8, in which all three swords were found, and is also characterised by the finds of knives, spurs, wooden buckets, etc. The second group includes graves 7, 9, and 10, located slightly to the east, with the following finds: a pair of damascened spurs and a solidus (grave 7), poorly preserved iron spurs and a grape-shaped ear-ring (grave 9), and a knife in a wooden sheath, a bronze belt buckle, three bronze crotaled bells, and remnants of cloth (grave 10). The third group consists of the graves within the parameter of the westwork and the church of St. Mary itself – grave 4, three vaulted tombs and two sarcophagi, again with spur finds as its feature. A much more northern grave 88, with a wooden coffin, in which another pair of spurs was found, is completely separated.<sup>50</sup> As Bilogrivić has assumed, the graves with swords can be regarded as somewhat earlier due to a wider range of artefacts in the burial units.<sup>51</sup> The second, that is, the eastern group of graves exhibits the same features as the third: the dead are equipped with a more limited range of objects, mostly spurs and possibly a gold coin or an ear-ring as obols. The remote grave 88 can be added to them, whereas the contrary is valid for the burial in an undecorated sarcophagus in the south room of the westwork. Namely, we can say with certain-

<sup>49</sup> He considers graves 1, 2, 4, 6 and 8 to be the earliest, with swords, spurs, buckets and other goods. Graves 7, 88, and perhaps grave 3 are somewhat later. In addition to spurs, they sometimes contained a gold solidus of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV. Vaulted tombs belong to the same phase. He considers the burial in the decorated sarcophagus, containing spurs and a solidus, to be the latest. He maintains that these graves originated in a span of three or four decades (Bilogrivić 2019, pp. 122–124).

<sup>50</sup> The locations of the graves were not recorded during the excavations. For a reconstructed layout based on the available data, see Petrinec, Jurčević 2015, p. 351, Fig. 22. A description of the circumstances of the find and the burial units was provided by M. Petrinec and A. Milošević in the catalogue of the *Hrvati i Karolinzi* edition (Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, pp. 209–228), but some information has been revised in later works (Petrinec 2006, pp. 26–27).

<sup>51</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, pp. 122–123.

vima i ponekim predmetom dnevne upotrebe. Od kasnijeg 8. stoljeća u grobovima se javlja veći raspon često uvoznih predmeta, a pogrebni obred, kao odraz društvenih preslagivanja, postaje složeniji.

Kada se raspravlja o odnosu grobova i crkve sv. Marije u Biskupiji, često se grobove starije od crkve pripisuje poganima. Međutim, treba imati na umu da je, poslužiti će se kronološkom terminologijom, datum izgradnje crkve tek *terminus ante quem* za pojavu kršćanstva u zajednici. Monumentalna trobrodna crkva s detaljno razrađenom oltarnom ogradom i arhitektonskom plastikom teško može biti prvi tračak kristijanizacije u Biskupiji. Štoviše, od pojave kršćanstva do izgradnje takvog objekta morali su se odvijati određeni društveni procesi, vrlo vjerojatno je bila podignuta neka jednostavna efemerna građevina, a sasvim sigurno – moralo je proteći određeno vrijeme. A čuveni ukopi na Crkvini, oni u drvenim ljesovima, presvođenim grobnicama i ukrašenom sarkofagu, svjedoče upravo o tom prijelaznom razdoblju. Goran Bilogrivić istaknuo je da se među nalazima u tim grobovima naziru male kronološke razlike koje mogu biti značajne za razmatranje kulturnih procesa.<sup>49</sup> I zaista, inventari biskupijskih grobova ukazuju na postupne promjene u pogrebnom obredu. Kako bismo ih objektivnije promotrili, grobove na Crkvini možemo podijeliti u tri prostorne skupine: prvoj pripadaju grobovi 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 i 8, u kojoj su pronađena sva tri mača, a karakteriziraju je još i nalazi noževa, ostruga, drvenih vjedrica i dr. Drugoj skupini pripadaju grobovi 7, 9 i 10, smješteni nešto istočnije, u kojima su nađeni: par tauširanih ostruga i solid (grob 7), slabo sačuvane željezne ostruge i grozdolika naušnica (grob 9) te nožić u drvenim koricama, brončana pojasna kopča, tri brončana praporca i ostatci tkanine (grob 10). U treću možemo svrstati grobove unutar parametra *westwerka* i same crkve sv. Marije – grob 4, tri presvođene grobnice i dva sarkofaga, a njezino su obilježje također nalazi ostruga. Potpuno je izdvojen znatno sjeverniji grob 88, u drvenom lijesu,

ty that this destroyed sarcophagus belongs to a later period, because it was located on the westwork pavement, unlike the deeply buried graves of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon. On the other hand, the sarcophagus with hippocampi was discovered deep under the westwork pavement, on carved bed-rock. Considering the coin of Constantine V and Leo IV, the pendant made of a precious stone and the typological features of the spurs, this burial undoubtedly belongs to the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon. It can be closely associated with other graves of the third and second groups, also specific for a more limited range of artefacts. Finally, there is another interesting fact about the graves of the second and third groups – children's burials. The children were buried in grave 10 from the second group (a small knife, crotal bells, and a belt buckle), and in vaulted graves in the south nave of the church (a pair of children's spurs made of silver-plated bronze, a belt set), as well as in the southern part of the westwork (a pair of gilded children's spurs, bronze circlets and crotal bells) from the third group. Since children's burials of this horizon are quite rare, such a high share in the total number of graves merits a specific clarification. At present, we can only point out that the incidence of children's graves seems to have been growing towards the end of the earlier horizon of early mediaeval cemeteries. In contrast to the extremely low number of children's burials at Maklinovo brdo or Ždrijac, in the contemporaneous cemeteries in Istria, as well as the later ones in Dalmatia, significantly higher percentages have been recorded.<sup>52</sup> In addition to indicating a change in burial customs, the appearance of children's graves potentially also carries chronological implications and may be further confirmation that the second and third groups of graves are later than the graves with swords.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Najstarijima smatra grobove 1, 2, 4, 6 i 8, s mačevima, ostrugama, vjedricama i drugim priložima. Nešto su mlađi grobovi 7, 88, a možda i grob 3, koji uz ostruge sadrže još eventualno i zlatni solid Konstantina V. i Lava IV., a njihovoj fazi pripadaju i presvođene grobnice. Najmlađim smatra ukop u ukrašenom sarkofagu, s ostrugama i solidom. Drži da navedeni grobovi nastaju u rasponu od tri ili četiri desetljeća (Bilogrivić 2019, str. 122-124).

<sup>52</sup> Evans 1989, pp. 177–179.

<sup>53</sup> Naturally, the number of graves at Biskupija is too small for statistical analysis, but in the western part of the Ždrijac cemetery there is an overt pattern indicating a linear increase in the number of children's burials towards the mid-ninth century. If we divide the western part of the Ždrijac cemetery into three parts, according to the typological-chronological features of grave inventories (see Alajbeg 2015, p. 150, Fig. 3), it can be noticed that the lowest share of children's graves is in the central, i.e. the earliest section (12 %). It is slightly higher in the western part (17 %), characterised by graves with spurs, while in the eastern segment of graves, marked with an ear-ring of the so-called

u kojemu je također pronađen par ostruga.<sup>50</sup> Kao što je pretpostavio Bilogrivić, grobove s mačevima možemo smatrati nešto starijim zbog većeg raspona artefakata unutar grobnih cjelina.<sup>51</sup> Druga, to jest istočna skupina grobova pokazuje ista obilježja kao i treća: pokojnici su opremljeni manjim rasponom predmeta, uglavnom ostrugama i eventualno zlatnikom ili naušnicom u svojstvu obola. Njima možemo pridodati udaljeni grob 88, ali i oduzeti ukop u neukrašenom sarkofagu u južnoj prostoriji *westwerka*. Naime, za taj uništen sarkofag sa sigurnošću možemo reći da pripada mlađem razdoblju, jer se nalazio na pločniku *westwerka*, za razliku od duboko ukopanih grobova horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina. Sarkofag s hipokampima pronađen je pak duboko ispod pločnika *westwerka*, na klesanoj živoj stijeni. S obzirom na kovanicu Konstantina V. i Lava IV., privjesak od dragog kamena te tipološka obilježja ostruga, taj ukop nedvojbeno pripada horizontu Biskupija - Crkvina. Njega možemo bliže povezati s ostalim grobovima treće i druge skupine, koji su također karakteristični po manjem rasponu artefakata. Konačno, postoji još jedna zanimljivost kod grobova druge i treće skupine – dječji ukopi. Djeca su bila pokopana u grobu 10 iz druge skupine (nožić, praporci i pojasna kopča), te u presvođenim grobovima u južnom brodu crkve (par dječjih ostruga od posrebrene bronce, pojasna garnitura) i u južnom dijelu *westwerka* (par pozlaćenih dječjih ostruga, brončane karičice i praporci) iz treće skupine. Budući da su dječji ukopi ovoga horizonta prilično rijetki, ovako visok udio u ukupnom broju grobova zahtijeva posebno objašnjenje. Zasad možemo samo istaknuti kako se čini da je incidencija dječjih grobova veća prema kraju starijeg horizonta rano-srednjovjekovnih grobalja. Za razliku od ekstremno niskog broja dječjih ukopa na Maklinovome brdu ili Ždrijacu, na istovremenim grobljima u Istri, ali i na kasnijim u Dalmaciji, zabilježeni su znatno veći postotci.<sup>52</sup> Osim što ukazuje na promjenu pogrebnih običaja, pojava dječjih grobova potencijalno nosi i

## Dating

It seems that socio-economic processes, manifest as side effects of economic growth and Christianisation in this case, may also help in dating graves. However, first we should see what dates we have from previous researches. Unfortunately, it should be made clear at the beginning that the number of dated organic samples from graves of the earlier horizon in early mediaeval cemeteries is too small. At present, the only methodologically correctly published samples are those from the early mediaeval graves in the tumuli of Duševića glavica and Jokina glavica in Krneza near Zadar. Thus, the dead woman's bones from grave 13 at Jokina glavica, equipped with a ceramic vessel, a pair of silver circlets, a necklace of glass beads and a poorly preserved bronze wire object, were dated by <sup>14</sup>C analysis to cal AD 770–900.<sup>54</sup> This burial was discovered in a layer with five more graves comprising a relatively small number of finds: a tinder with flints, an iron awl and two iron knives. At the neighbouring Duševića glavica, also above a prehistoric layer, three ceramic vessels, two iron knives and a belt set of two bronze pendants and an iron link were found in nine early medieval tombs. The dead woman's bones from grave 9, equipped with a ceramic vessel and a poorly preserved iron object, were dated by <sup>14</sup>C analysis to cal AD 640–770.<sup>55</sup>

Not so long ago, excavations in Vačani near Bribir discovered a relatively small early mediaeval cemetery with 18 graves. Two dead bodies were found in the sarcophagus containing a Carolingian sword of type K with a belt set, a pair of spurs, a ceramic whorl, a glass bottle and a gold coin of Constantine V and Leo IV. The skeleton from the second half of the seventh century had been shifted to the bottom of the sarcophagus, and all the discovered objects belonged to the subsequently buried dead person.<sup>56</sup> This should prove that the sarcophagus

Köttlach type and a silver coin of Emperor Lothair, the share of children's graves is the largest (29 %). Given that opening this topic means going beyond the scope of the text, children's burials will be discussed in another paper.

<sup>54</sup> Gusar 2012, pp. 53–54, Fig. 5; Gusar 2013, p. 229.

<sup>55</sup> Gusar, Vujević 2012, p118, Fig. 10; Gusar 2013, p. 233.

<sup>56</sup> The information is provided by Jelena Jović and Željko Krnčević in the catalogue of the *Varvaria/Breberium/Bribir* exhibition (Jović, Krnčević 2019), citing a forthcoming text (Novak *et al.*, Osteobiografija dva starohrvatska odličnika iz Vačana – rezultati multi-

<sup>50</sup> Smještaj grobova nije dokumentiran prilikom iskopavanja. Rekonstruirani tlocrt prema dostupnim podacima vidi u: Petrinec, Jurčević 2015, str. 351, sl. 22. Opis okolnosti pronalaska i grobnih cjelina donose M. Petrinec i A. Milošević u katalogu izdanja *Hrvati i Karolinzi* (Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, str. 209-228), ali neke su informacije prepravljene u kasnijim radovima (Petrinec 2006, str. 26-27).

<sup>51</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, str. 122-123.

<sup>52</sup> Evans 1989, str. 177-179.



Sl. 8. Biskupija - Crkvina, dječje ostruge iz presvođene grobnice ispod južnog pregradnog zida *westwerka* (820. – 840.) Zajedno s grobnicom pronađenom ispod južnog broda crkve i ostalim ukopima pod *westwerkom*, ovaj grob predstavlja primjer promjene pogrebnih običaja krajem horizonta Biskupija - Crkvina. Svi ovi grobovi prethode izgradnji crkve (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 8 Biskupija-Crkvina, children's spurs from the vaulted tomb under the south partition wall of the westwork (AD 820–840). Together with the tomb discovered under the south nave of the church and other burials under the westwork, this grave is an example of the change in funeral customs at the end of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon. All these graves precede the construction of the church (photo: Z. Alajbeg).*

kronološke implikacije te može biti dodatna potvrda da su druga i treća skupina grobova mlađe od grobova s mačevima.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Naravno, broj biskupijskih grobova premalen je za statističku analizu, ali na zapadnome dijelu ždrijačkoga groblja vidljiv je obrazac koji upućuje na linearni rast broja dječjih ukopa prema sredini 9. stoljeća. Podijelimo li zapadni dio ždrijačkoga groblja na tri dijela, prema tipološko-kronološkim obilježjima grobnih inventara (vidi: Alajbeg 2015, str. 150, sl. 3), primijetit ćemo da je najniži udio dječjih grobova u središnjem, to jest najstarijem bloku (12 %); u zapadnome bloku, koji karakteriziraju grobovi s ostrugama, nešto je viši (17 %), dok je u istočnome bloku grobova, obilježenom naušnicom tzv. ketlaškog tipa i srebrnjakom cara Lotara udio dječjih grobova najveći (29 %). S obzi-

was reused during the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon, which opens the possibility that the Biskupija sarcophagus with hippocampi was also in secondary use.<sup>57</sup> However, the burial in the Vaćani sarcophagus could be somewhat earlier than the one from Biskupija, considering its larger range of artefacts, more cognate to grave 322 from Ždrijac. Each contained a Carolingian sword, although of different types, but the clearest link between these burials is a glass bottle of early mediaeval Eastern Mediterranean origin.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, the results of the excavations of the cemetery in Vaćani have not been published yet, so one should refrain from far-reaching conclusions.

The dates obtained from excavations of a small early mediaeval cemetery in Bojna near Glina are quite interesting. The analysed wood and bone samples seem to indicate two burial horizons: the earlier one, consisting of graves 5 (cal AD 707 ± 41 and cal AD 736 ± 41) and 7 (cal AD 726 ± 36), while the later one possibly comprises grave 3 (cal AD 780 ± 62), and beyond doubt grave 1, with a bent Carolingian spur, and grave 4 (cal AD 829 ± 42 and cal AD 791 ± 60).<sup>59</sup> The possibility of the horizons overlapping in time is small, and given the later date of the sample from grave 4 it is close to impossible.<sup>60</sup>

disciplinarnu analizu, *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* [Osteobiography of two early Croatian noblemen from Vaćani – the results of the multidisciplinary analysis, Croatian Archaeological Society Editions]).

<sup>57</sup> Such an idea is not new, because it has already been presented by Nenad Cambi and accepted by Janko Belošević (Cambi 1983, p. 82; Cambi 2010, p. 131; Belošević 1995, p. 337).

<sup>58</sup> Milavec 2018, pp. 246–247.

<sup>59</sup> Madiraca *et al.* 2017, p. 189, Fig. 15. The dates are published without calibration curves and probability percentages.

<sup>60</sup> At this site, called Brekinjeva kosa, 11 graves were discovered inside and around a masonry building of undetermined purpose and date. The layout of the cemetery shows no apparent pattern of grave grouping, so it makes no sense to regard it as a standard row cemetery. Moreover, it seems that the main criterion for the layout of the graves was the building whose remains did not yield sufficient data for interpretation. The most interesting is grave 4, due to its finds. It is strikingly similar to the burial in the sarcophagus with the hippocampi at Biskupija. <sup>14</sup>C analysis of two samples of the grave wood lining yielded consistent dates, as already mentioned, but the date of the bone sample is somewhat more problematic: analysis of a tarsal dated the burial to cal AD 610 ± 24. In the publication of the excavations, that date was declared contaminated and rejected in the interpretation of the site (Madiraca

## Datiranje

Čini se da socioekonomski procesi, u ovome slučaju vidljivi kao popratne pojave gospodarskog rasta i kristijanizacije, mogu biti od pomoći i za datiranje grobova. No prvo bismo trebali vidjeti kakvim datumima raspoložemo iz dosadašnjih istraživanja. Nažalost, na početku treba jasno reći da je broj datiranih organskih uzoraka iz grobova starijeg horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja premalen. Zasada su jedini metodološki pravilno objavljeni uzorci oni iz ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova u tumulima Duševića i Jokina glavica u Krnezi kod Zadra. Tako je <sup>14</sup>C analiza kosti pokojnice iz groba 13 na Jokinoj glavici, koja je bila opremljena keramičkom posudom, parom srebrnih karičica, ogrlicom od staklenih perli te loše sačuvanim predmetom od brončane žice, datirala pokapanje u razdoblje Cal AD 770. - 900.<sup>54</sup> Taj je ukop pronađen u sloju s još pet grobova s relativno malim brojem nalaza: kresivo s kremenjem, željezno šilo i dva željezna noža. Na susjednoj Duševića glavici, također iznad prapovijesnog sloja, u devet ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova pronađene su tri keramičke posude, dva željezna noža te pojasna garnitura od dva brončana privjeska i željezne alke. Kostu pokojnice iz groba 9, opremljene keramičkom posudom i slabo sačuvanim željeznim predmetom, <sup>14</sup>C analizom datirane su u razdoblje Cal AD 640. - 770.<sup>55</sup>

Ne tako davnim iskopavanjem u Vaćanima kod Bribira otkriveno je relativno maleno ranosrednjovjekovno groblje s 18 grobova. U sarkofagu u kojemu su pronađeni karolinški mač tipa K s pojasnom garniturom, par ostruga, keramički pršljen, staklena boca te zlatnik Konstantina V. i Lava IV., bila su sahranjena dva pokojnika. Kostur iz druge polovine 7. stoljeća bio je izmješten u dno sarkofaga, a svi pronađeni predmeti pripadali su naknadno pokopanom pokojniku.<sup>56</sup> To bi trebao biti dokaz da je sarkofag ponovno upotrijebljen za vrijeme horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina, što otvara mogućnost da je i biskupij-



Sl. 9. Krneza - Duševića glavica, grob 9 datiran između 640. i 770. godine (preuzeto iz: Gusar, Vujević 2012, str. 128)  
 Fig. 9 Krneza-Duševića glavica, grave 9, dated between AD 640 and 770 (taken from: Gusar, Vujević 2012, p. 128)

Grave 4 exhibits striking similarities with the burial in the sarcophagus with hippocampi in Biskupija. It contained an iron knife, a pair of gilded bronze spurs, a precious stone pendant and a gold coin of Constantine V and Leo IV, and the bones of the skeleton were almost completely decomposed due to the high acidity of the soil. An additional, albeit somewhat broader, link with Biskupija is the specific construction of grave 4: the architecture of the tomb with a pre-chamber indicates the late

rom da otvaranjem ove teme izlazim iz okvira teksta, o dječjim ukopima bit će riječi u drugome radu.

<sup>54</sup> Gusar 2012, str. 53-54, sl. 5; Gusar 2013, str. 229.

<sup>55</sup> Gusar, Vujević 2012, str 118, sl. 10; Gusar 2013, str. 233.

<sup>56</sup> Podatak donose Jelena Jović i Željko Krnčević u katalogu izložbe *Varvaria / Breberium / Bribir* (Jović, Krnčević 2019), citirajući tekst u tisku (Novak *et al.*, Osteobiografija dva starohrvatska odličnika iz Vaćana – rezultati multidisciplinarnе analize, *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*).

*et al.* 2017, pp. 191–192). If the archaeological context is presented in detail, I would like to point out the possibility that the analysed bone had belonged to the primary burial in the tomb from the end of the sixth or the first third of the seventh century, and that in the first half of the ninth century the tomb was lined with boards, and a dead person was buried in it with spurs and other finds. The rejected bones of the primary burial could be precisely those marked as grave 9, found a meter or two west of grave 4 (see the layout of the cemetery: Madiraca *et al.* 2017, p. 152, Fig. 3).



ski sarkofag s hipokampima bio u sekundarnoj upotrebi.<sup>57</sup> No ukop u vaćanskom sarkofagu mogao bi biti nešto stariji od biskupijskoga, s obzirom na veći raspon priloženih artefakata, kojim više nalikuje grobu 322 sa Ždrijaca. U oba je pronađen karolinški mač, premda drukčijeg tipa, ali najjasnija poveznica između ovih ukopa je staklena boca ranosrednjovjekovne istočnomediteranske produkcije.<sup>58</sup> Nažalost, rezultati iskopavanja groblja u Vaćanima još nisu objavljeni, pa se u ovome trenutku valja suzdržati od dalekosežnih zaključaka.

Vrlo su zanimljivi datumi dobiveni iskopavanjem maloga ranosrednjovjekovnoga groblja u Bojni pokraj Gline. Čini se da analizirani uzorci drveta i kostiju pokazuju dva horizonta pokapanja: starijega tvore grobovi 5 (Cal AD 707 ± 41 i Cal AD 736 ± 41) i 7 (Cal AD 726 ± 36), dok bi mlađemu možda pripadao grob 3 (Cal AD 780 ± 62), ali sasvim sigurno grob 1, s presavijenom karolinškom ostrugom, te grob 4 (Cal AD 829 ± 42 i Cal AD 791 ± 60).<sup>59</sup> Mogućnost da se horizonti vremenski preklapaju je malena, a uz kasniji datum uzorka iz groba 4 gotovo je nevjerojatna.<sup>60</sup> Grob 4 pokazuje



Sl. 10. Nin-Ždrijac, grob 322  
(preuzeto iz: Belošević 2007, str. 125)

*Fig. 10 Nin-Ždrijac, grave 322  
(taken from: Belošević 2007, p. 125)*

<sup>57</sup> Takva zamisao nije nova, jer ju je već iznio Nenad Cambi, a prihvatio Janko Belošević (Cambi 1983, str. 82; Cambi 2010, str. 131; Belošević 1995, str. 337).

<sup>58</sup> Milavec 2018, str. 246-247.

<sup>59</sup> Madiraca *et al.* 2017, str. 189, sl. 15. Datumi su objavljeni bez kalibracijskih krivulja i postotaka vjerojatnosti.

<sup>60</sup> Na Brekinjovoj kosi, kako glasi naziv lokaliteta, pronađeno je 11 grobova smještenih unutar i uokolo zidnog objekta neutvrđene namjene i datiranja. Na tlocrtu groblja nema vidljivog obrasca grupiranja grobova pa ga nema smisla promatrati kao standardno groblje na redove. Štoviše, čini se da je glavni kriterij za raspored grobova bila građevina čiji ostaci nisu pružili dovoljno podataka za interpretaciju. Zbog nalaza je najzanimljiviji grob 4, koji pokazuje izrazite sličnosti s biskupijskim ukopom u sarkofagu s hipokampima. <sup>14</sup>C analiza dvaju uzoraka drvene obloge groba pokazala je ujednačene datume, kao što je navedeno, međutim datum koštanog uzorka nešto je problematičniji: analiza tarzalne kosti datirala je ukop u razdoblje Cal AD 610 ± 24. U objavi iskopavanja taj je datum proglašen kontaminiranim i odbačen je pri interpretaciji lokaliteta (Madiraca *et al.* 2017, str. 191-192). Ako je arheološki kontekst detaljno prezentiran, onda bih istaknuo i mogućnost da je analizirana kost pripadala primarnom ukopu u grobnici iz kraja 6. ili prve trećine 7. st., a da je u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća grobnica obložena daskama i u njoj je pokopan pokojnik s ostrugama i ostalim nalazima. Odbačene kosti primarnog ukopa mogle bi biti upravo one označene kao grob 9, pronađene metar ili dva zapadno od groba 4 (vidi tlocrt groblja: Madiraca *et al.* 2017, str. 152, sl. 3).

antique sepulchral tradition, as discernible in the vaulted tombs from Biskupija and the sarcophagi from Biskupija and Vaćani. This connection should not lead to the banal conclusion that all those early mediaeval dead bodies were buried in late antique graves; each case should be regarded in its own specific context, because it is indeed possible that the burials primary, as well as secondary burials. One way or another, elements of the late antique sepulchral tradition in the context of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon were certainly quite significant in shaping new identities – suffice it to recall that Charlemagne himself was buried in an ancient sarcophagus brought from Rome.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, p. 132.

izrazite sličnosti s biskupijskim ukopom u sarkofagu s hipokampima. U njemu je pronađen željezni nož, par brončanih pozlaćenih ostruga, privjesak od dragog kamena i zlatnik Konstantina V. i Lava IV, a kosti pokojnika bile su gotovo u potpunosti razgrađene zbog visoke kiselosti tla. Dodatna, premda nešto šira poveznica s Biskupijom je i specifična konstrukcija groba 4: arhitektura grobnice s pretkomorom upućuje na kasnoantičku sepulkralnu tradiciju, kakva se nazire i u biskupijskim presvođenim grobnicama te sarkofazima iz Biskupije i Vačana. Ta veza ne bi trebala voditi prema banalnome zaključku da su svi ti ranosrednjovjekovni pokojnici ukopani u kasnoantičkim grobovima; svaki slučaj treba promotriti u njegovu kontekstu, jer je zaista moguće da se radi o primarnim, ali i sekundarnim ukopima. Kako god, elementi kasnoantičke sepulkralne tradicije u kontekstu horizonta Biskupija - Crkvina sasvim su sigurno imali veliko značenje u oblikovanju novih identiteta – dovoljno je prisjetiti se da je sam Karlo Veliki pokopan u antičkom sarkofagu donesenom iz Rima.<sup>61</sup>

Dakle, datum groba 9 s Duševića glavice (640. - 770.) potvrđuje da pokapanje na ovim grobljima počinje znatno prije kraja 8. stoljeća, no u ovome trenutku nema indicija za preciznije datiranje. Florin Curta je grob 6 s Duševića glavice, u kojemu je nađen polumjesečasti privjesak karakterističan za tzv. komansku kulturu, datirao u srednju trećinu 7. stoljeća.<sup>62</sup> Ostali grobovi istoga sloja s Duševića glavice ne sadrže nalaze pogodne za pobliže datiranje, pa možemo samo istaknuti da njihovi inventari nalikuju grobovima starijeg horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Dalmaciji, koji traje sve do sredine 9. stoljeća. No to nije dovoljan razlog za opovrgavanje Curtina datiranja. Raspravu treba vratiti na lokalitet od kojega je sve počelo – inhumacijsko groblje na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću i grob 54. U tom je dječjem grobu također pronađen srodni polumjesečasti privjesak, ali u bitno drukčijem kontekstu.<sup>63</sup> Najbliži su mu grobovi 55, 52 i 53, s kasnoavarskim pojasnim jezičcem, karolinškim ostrugama i grozdolikim naušnicama, i zato bi trebalo i grob 54 pripisati istome razdoblju, to jest podmaklome 8. stoljeću, kako je i utvrdila Maja Petrinc. U suprotnome bi na Maklinovu brdu, a najvjerojatnije i na Duševića glavici, grobovi s polumjesečastim pri-

Therefore, the date of grave 9 from Duševića glavica (640–770) confirms that burials in these cemeteries began well before the end of the eighth century, but currently there are no indications for more precise dating. Grave 6 from Duševića glavica, containing a crescent-shaped pendant characteristic of the so-called Koman culture, was dated by Florin Curta to the middle third of the seventh century.<sup>62</sup> The other graves from the same layer at Duševića glavica do not contain finds suitable for more precise dating, so we can only point out that their inventories resemble the graves of the earlier horizon in early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia, which lasted until the mid-ninth century. Notwithstanding, this is not a sufficient reason to refute Curta's dating. The discussion should be returned to the site from which it all began – the inhumation cemetery at Maklinovo brdo in Kašić and grave 54. A related crescent-shaped pendant was discovered in that child's grave, but in a significantly different context.<sup>63</sup> Its closest counterparts are graves 55, 52 and 53, with a late Avar belt strap end, Carolingian spurs and grape-shaped ear-rings, which is why grave 54 should also be dated to the same period, i.e. the advanced eighth century, as determined by Maja Petrinc. Otherwise, graves with crescent-shaped pendants at Maklinovo brdo, and most likely at Duševića glavica, would be a sort of time capsule among the graves that are a century earlier. This does not pose a problem for Curta, since he never even claimed that these graves indicated the continuity of burials from the middle third of the seventh to the end of the eighth century, which he deems as the start of burials of other graves in Kašić.<sup>64</sup> As a final confirmation of his assumption, he points out the different orientation of grave 54 in Kašić and grave 6 in Krneza in relation to other graves in those cemeteries.<sup>65</sup> Grave 54 in the southwest-northeast direction is definitely oriented differently from the others, but a closer look at the floor plan of Maklinovo brdo reveals that the orientation of the graves is generally rather arbitrary. Unlike Ždrijac, only a small group in the south-western part of the cemetery in Kašić is properly oriented in the west-east

<sup>62</sup> Curta 2016.

<sup>63</sup> See Petrinc 2019, p. 43.

<sup>64</sup> Curta supports Vladimir Sokol's chronology, based on the alleged arrival of Croats at the end of the eighth century and their Christianisation in the mid-ninth century (Curta 2016, p. 213).

<sup>65</sup> Curta 2016, p. 214.

<sup>61</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, str. 132.

<sup>62</sup> Curta 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Vidi: Petrinc 2019, str. 43.

vjescima bili svojevrsne vremenske kapsule među grobovima koji su jedno stoljeće mlađi. Za Curta to pak to ne predstavlja problem jer nije ni rekao da ti grobovi ukazuju na kontinuitet pokapanja od srednje trećine 7. pa do kraja 8. stoljeća, kada vjeruje da započinje ukapanje ostalih grobova u Kašiću.<sup>64</sup> Kao konačnu potvrdu svojoj pretpostavci ističe drukčiju orijentaciju groba 54 u Kašiću i groba 6 u Krnezi u odnosu na ostale grobove na tim grobljima.<sup>65</sup> Grob 54 u smjeru jugozapad-sjeveroistok definitivno je drukčije orijentiran od ostalih, ali kada bolje promotrimo tlocrt Maklinova brda, primijetiti ćemo da je orijentacija grobova općenito dosta neuredna. Za razliku od Ždrijaca, u Kašiću tek mala skupina u jugozapadnome dijelu groblja ima pravilnu orijentaciju zapad-istok, dok ostali pokazuju značajne otklone. Na primjer, grob 52, s karolinškim ostrugama, gotovo je idealno orijentiran sjever-jug, a grob 31 jedini je položen u smjeru sjeveroistok-jugozapad, potpuno suprotno od groba 54. Curta isto ističe i udaljenost groba 54 od ostatka groblja, koja je zaista neobična, ali nije bitno veća od udaljenosti groba 55 s kasnoavarskim pojasnim jezičcem. A što se Duševića glavice tiče, Curta donosi pogrešan podatak da je grob 6 orijentiran sjeverozapad-jugoistok, to jest suprotno od grobova 7 i 9. Istina je da je grob 6 dobrim dijelom uništen i da ostataka kostiju nema, pa nema ni sigurnih naznaka o njegovoj orijentaciji.<sup>66</sup> Čak i da je grob zaista bio tako orijentiran, ni to ne bi pomoglo Curtinoj pretpostavci, jer je poprilično očito da orijentacija ukopa u ovome slučaju nema veze s njihovim datiranjem. Pokušamo li dosljedno primijeniti takav pristup na ovim dvama grobljima, lako ćemo primijetiti da tu nešto ne štima, jer se u Kašiću tako pojavljuju grobovi iz barem pet faza, a na Duševića glavici iz dvije ili tri faze, i to među samo četiri groba. Teoretski je moguće da su arheolozi među grobovima 8. ili 9. stoljeća naišli

direction, while the others show significant deviations. For instance, grave 52, with Carolingian spurs, is almost ideally oriented in the north-south direction, while grave 31 is the only one laid in the northeast-southwest direction, completely opposite to grave 54. Curta also points out the distance of grave 54 from the rest of the cemetery, which is unusual indeed, but it is not significantly greater than the distance of grave 55 with the late Avar belt strap end. As for Duševića glavica, Curta provides an erroneous piece of information that grave 6 is oriented in the northwest-southeast direction, that is, opposite to graves 7 and 9. Truth be told, grave 6 was largely destroyed and there are no remains of bones, and thus there are no definite indications of its orientation.<sup>66</sup> Even if the grave had been so oriented, it would not have helped Curta's assumption either, for it is quite obvious that the orientation of the burials has nothing to do with their dating in this case. An attempt to consistently apply such an approach to these two cemeteries clearly indicates that something is wrong, because there are graves in Kašić from at least five phases, and in Duševića glavica from two or three phases – in four graves only. It is theoretically possible that archaeologists discovered graves from the middle third of the seventh century among those from the eighth or ninth century, especially if one recalls the chronological difference in the mentioned cemetery in Bojna, but it is hard to believe that a single grave among significantly later burials would have been involved in both cases. Therefore, the possibility that crescent-shaped pendants were in use for a good part of the eighth century seems much more probable. In addition to the contexts from Kašić and Krneza, a major contribution to the discussion would be made by publication of the results of the excavations in the large cemetery at Velim near Stankovci, where the crescent-shaped pendant seems to have reappeared in a similar context.

I have based the presumed dating of the beginning of burials on Maklinovo brdo and Ždrijac to

<sup>64</sup> Curta podupire kronologiju Vladimira Sokola, koja je postavljena prema tobožnjem dolasku Hrvata krajem 8. st. i njihovom pokrštavanju sredinom 9. stoljeća (Curta 2016, str. 213).

<sup>65</sup> Curta 2016, str. 214.

<sup>66</sup> Curta vjeruje kako orijentacija SZ-JI osnažuje njegovu interpretaciju situacije u Krnezi, ali ona se ne odnosi na grob 6, već na grob 6a, koji je radiokarbonski datiran u razdoblje 1630. - 1450. g. pr. Kr. Zapravo je grob 1 jedini ranosrednjovjekovni grob orijentiran SZ-JI. Ostaci konstrukcije groba 6 sugeriraju da je pokojnik mogao biti orijentiran SI-JZ ili JZ-SI. Vidi tlocrt ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova: Gusar, Vujević 2012, str. 127, T. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Curta believes that the NW-SE orientation strengthens his interpretation of the situation in Krneza, but it does not regard grave 6, but grave 6a instead, radiocarbon-dated to the period from 1630 to 1450 BC. In fact, grave 1 is the only early mediaeval grave oriented NW-SE. The remains of the structure of grave 6 suggest that the skeleton may have been oriented NE-SW or SW-NE. See the layout of the early medieval graves: Gusar, Vujević 2012, p. 127, Pl. 1.

na grobove iz srednje trećine 7. st., pogotovo ako se prisjetimo kronološke razlike na već spomenutom groblju u Bojni, ali teško je povjerovati da bi baš u oba slučaja bila riječ o jednom jedinom grobu među znatno mlađim ukopima. Stoga se mogućnost da su polumjesečasti privjesci bili u upotrebi tijekom dobrog dijela 8. stoljeća čini znatno vjerojatnijom. Uz kontekste iz Kašića i Krneze, raspravi bi znatno pridonijelo objavljivanje rezultata iskopavanja velikoga groblja u Velimu kod Stankovaca, gdje izgleda da se polumjesečasti privjesak ponovno javlja u sličnom kontekstu.

Pretpostavljeno datiranje početka pokapanja na Maklinovu brdu i Ždrijacu u početak druge četvrtine 8. stoljeća utemeljio sam na tipološkoj analizi nalaza i smjeru širenja groblja, ali nažalost ne i na radiokarbonskim analizama, koje nisu provedene.<sup>67</sup> Grob 52 s Maklinova brda, u kojemu je pronađen par karolinških ostruga, jedan je od najmlađih grobova na tom lokalitetu i pripada razdoblju 790. - 820. godine.<sup>68</sup> S druge strane, grob 6 iz središnje skupine grobova, u kojemu je pronađen pojasni okov avarskoga stila, datira se u prvu polovinu 8. stoljeća. Možda se radi baš o početku druge četvrtine 8. stoljeća, kako je i bilo predloženo, no ta se pretpostavka u ovom trenutku ne može snažnije poduprijeti.<sup>69</sup> Topografsko-kronološka analiza Ždrijaca implicira da dobar dio grobova prethodi ukopima s ostrugama, ali i da pokapanje traje tijekom nekoliko idućih desetljeća. Gornja kronološka granica groblja potvrđena je Lotarovim denarom (840. - 855.), ali donja je ipak znatno teže odrediva. No ova analiza također pokazuje da pojavu uvoznih proizvoda, ali i promjenu pogrebnih običaja treba promatrati kao procese, a ne kao događaje. Još je jedna prilično važna stvar – velik broj grobova na Ždrijacu, ali i na cijelom području Nina. Istovremena groblja pronađena su još i na položajima Sv. Križ, Sv. Asel, Banovac i Materiza, a arheolozi sasvim sigurno nisu pronašli njihov ukupan broj. Tadašnji Nin teško je mogao biti prenapučeno područje pa nije odveć vjerojatno da su svi ti grobovi nastali tijekom pola stoljeća. Kronologija Vladimira Sokola, po kojoj ove lokalitete datira i Florin Curta, sva ta groblja smješta u

the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century on a typological analysis of the finds and the direction of enlargement of the cemetery, but unfortunately not on radiocarbon analyses, which have not been carried out.<sup>67</sup> Grave 52 from Maklinovo brdo, in which a pair of Carolingian spurs were discovered, is one of the latest graves at the site and belongs to the period from 790 to 820.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, grave 6 from the central group of graves, in which an Avar-style belt fitting was unearthed, is dated to the first half of the eighth century. It may be the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century, as suggested, but this assumption cannot be more strongly supported at this point.<sup>69</sup> The topographic-chronological analysis of Ždrijac implies that a large part of the graves precedes the burials with spurs, but also that burials lasted for the next few decades. The upper chronological limit of the cemetery has been confirmed by a denarius of Lothair (840–855), but the lower limit is much more difficult to determine. However, this analysis also shows that the emergence of imported products, as well as the change of funeral customs, should be regarded as processes rather than events. There is another quite important thing at play – a large number of graves on Ždrijac, as well as also in the entire area of Nin. Contemporaneous cemeteries have also been found at the sites of the Holy Cross, St. Asel, Banovac and Materiza, and archaeologists have certainly not discovered all of them. At the time, Nin could hardly have been an overcrowded area, so it is not very likely that all these graves occurred in the space of half a century. Vladimir Sokol's chronology, according to which Florin Curta dates these sites, places all these cemeteries in the period from around 795 to 850/855,<sup>70</sup> supposedly implying that the population of the islet of Nin suffered a demographic cataclysm at the time. The fact that certain items discovered in cemeteries of this period had been made at least a quarter of a century before the proposed start of burials was accounted for by various thesauri and looting, all in order to

<sup>67</sup> Alajbeg 2015.

<sup>68</sup> U tekstu o topografskoj kronologiji predloženo je datiranje u kraj 8. stoljeća, koje je moguće, ali ipak bi ga trebalo produljiti i u dio 9. stoljeća (Alajbeg 2015, str. 159). Zasad bi se trebalo suzdržati od preciznijih pokušaja datiranja, jer za to nema čvrstih temelja.

<sup>69</sup> Alajbeg 2015, str. 159.

<sup>67</sup> Alajbeg 2015.

<sup>68</sup> The text on topographic chronology suggests dating to the end of the eighth century, which is possible, but should nevertheless be extended to a part of the ninth century (Alajbeg 2015, p. 159). For the time being, more precise attempts at dating should be refrained from for the lack of a sound basis.

<sup>69</sup> Alajbeg 2015, p. 159.

<sup>70</sup> Sokol 2006; Sokol 2016; Sokol 2019; Curta 2016, p. 213.

razdoblje od oko 795. do 850./855. godine,<sup>70</sup> valjda podrazumijevajući da je stanovništvo ninskog otočica tada pretrpjelo demografsku kataklizmu. Činjenica da su određeni predmeti pronađeni na grobljima ovoga razdoblja proizvedeni barem četvrt stoljeća prije predloženog početka pokapanja, objašnjena je kojekakvim tezaurima i pljačkama, a sve zbog podređivanja kronologije datumu početka franačko-avarskog rata i tobožnjem tadašnjem dolasku Hrvata.<sup>71</sup> A da ne zaboravimo, grob 9 s Duševića glavice probija donju granicu Sokolove kronologije za najmanje četvrt stoljeća. Grobovi 5 i 7 s Brekinjove kose pokraj Bojne također su dobro stariji od samoga kraja 8. stoljeća, ali, za razliku od groba 4, njih ne smijemo olako povezati s dalmatinskim grobljima toga vremena, jer uz pokojnike nisu pronađeni nikakvi predmeti koji bi podržali kulturnu korelaciju.

Uz <sup>14</sup>C datume i tipološka obilježja grobnih nalaza, raspravi o datiranju starijeg horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Dalmaciji trebalo bi pridodati i analizu promjena u pogrebnom običaju, o čemu je bilo riječi u prethodnome poglavlju. Nakon određenog razdoblja karakterističnog po jednostavnim i ujednačenim grobnim inventarima, pojavljuju se grobovi opremljeni širokim rasponom uvezenih artefakata. Tu je pojavu zasad nemoguće precizno datirati, ali određeni predmeti dopuštaju mogućnost da se taj proces odvija već od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća (vidi poglavlje o gospodarskom rastu). No s obzirom da datiranje tih predmeta ne znači ujedno i datum smrti njihovih vlasnika, svakako treba računati s određenim vremenskim otklonom. Međutim, datum proizvodnje tih predmeta datira početak gospodarskih odnosa dalmatinskih Slavena s vodećim trgovinskim akterima na Mediteranu, a samim time i početak kulturnih i društvenih promjena. Značajan priljev bogatstva najprije se odrazio na pogrebne običaje, koji tada dobivaju važnu ulogu u

subordinate the chronology to the start date of the Frankish-Avar War and the alleged arrival of the Croats at the time.<sup>71</sup> Let us not forget that grave 9 from Duševića glavica is beyond the lower limit of Sokol's chronology by at least a quarter of a century. Graves 5 and 7 from Brekinjova kosa near Bojna are also much earlier than the very end of the eighth century, but, unlike grave 4, they must not be easily associated with Dalmatian cemeteries of that time, because no objects supporting the cultural correlation have been unearthed.

In addition to <sup>14</sup>C dates and typological features of grave finds, the discussion on dating the earlier horizon of early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia should also include an analysis of changes in funeral customs, discussed in the previous chapter. After a certain period characterised by simple and uniform grave inventories, there appeared graves equipped with a wide range of imported artefacts. It is currently impossible to date this phenomenon precisely, but certain objects allow for the possibility that this process was going on since the beginning of the last third of the eighth century (see the chapter on economic growth). However, since the dating of these items does not also imply the dates of death of their owners, a certain time lag should certainly be taken into account. However, the date of production of these items dates the beginning of economic relations of the Dalmatian Slavs with the leading trade actors in the Mediterranean, and ipso facto the beginning of cultural and social changes. A significant influx of wealth was first reflected in funeral customs, which gained an important role in the formation and maintenance of social organisation. The culmination of the extravagant furnishing of graves should be dated to the period between 790 and 820. It occurred as a result of internal turmoil in local communities, most conspicuous in examples such as grave 322 at Ždrijac in Nin, graves with swords at Crkvina in Biskupija, the burial in the sarcophagus from Vaćani, etc.<sup>72</sup> Disruptions in

<sup>70</sup> Sokol 2006; Sokol 2016; Sokol 2019; Curta 2016, str. 213.

<sup>71</sup> Madiraca *et al.* 2017, str. 181; Sokol 2019, str. 366. Prema Sokolu, franačka vojska nije mogla izaći na kraj s Avarima sve dok Karlo Veliki nije potpisao ugovor s Vojnomirom. Vojnomirovi su Hrvati zatim po kratkom postupku razbili Avarski Kaganat, popljačkali Hring i prevezli 50 tona zlata u Aachen. Iako se Sokol deklarativno poziva na analize ugljikovih izotopa i nekakve matematičke module koje nikome nije pokazao, njegovi zaključci i kronologija ostaju utemeljeni samo na vrlo upitnim interpretacijama vrlo upitnih povijesnih izvora.

<sup>71</sup> Madiraca *et al.* 2017, p. 181; Sokol 2019, p. 366. According to Sokol, the Frankish army was unable to deal with the Avars until Charlemagne signed the treaty with Vojnomir. Vojnomir's Croats then made short shrift of the Avar Khaganate, sacked Hring and transported 50 tons of gold to Aachen. Although Sokol refers by way of declaration to analyses of carbon isotopes and some sort of mathematical modules that he showed no one, his conclusions and chronology remain based only on very questionable interpretations of very questionable historical sources.

<sup>72</sup> For comparison, see the periodisation and chronology

formiranju i održavanju društvenog ustrojstva. Kulminaciju ekstravagantnog opremanja grobova treba smjestiti u razdoblje između 790. i 820. godine, a javlja se kao posljedica unutarnjih previranja u lokalnim zajednicama, koja je najvidljivija u primjerima poput groba 322 na Ždrijacu u Ninu, grobova s mačevima na Crkvini u Biskupiji, ukopa u sarkofagu iz Vačana i dr.<sup>72</sup> Disrupcije u zajednicama nastajale su zbog nasljeđivanja imovine i društvenog položaja, a franačko-avarski rat i nemiri prije sklapanja sporazuma u Aachenu mogli su dodatno potaknuti unutarnje konflikte. U trećem i četvrtom desetljeću 9. stoljeća društvena se situacija stabilizira ne samo zbog smirivanja političkih okolnosti, nego i zbog prvih vidljivih utjecaja Crkve na društvo dalmatinskih Slavena. Postupno napuštanje pokapanja s priložima također je i rezultat nove nasljedne strategije: kao posrednik u tom procesu nametnula se Crkva, čime je znatno smanjena mogućnost izravnih obračuna između pretendenta na visoke društvene položaje. Crkva je na tome, među ostalim, temeljila svoj društveni utjecaj, ali je i polagala pravo na svoj brokerski udio u transakciji, kako je napisao Richard Hodges.<sup>73</sup> Rekristijanizacija istočnojadranskoga zaobalja korjenito je promijenila i sredstvo na kojem je slavenska elita temeljila svoju moć: to više nije bilo pokretno bogatstvo, nego posjedovanje zemlje, koje je imalo simboličnu, vojnu i proizvodnu vrijednost.<sup>74</sup> Umjesto ulaganja u luksuzno opremanje grobova, pripadnici slavenske elite darivali su Crkvi i tako održavali ili stjecali svoj društveni status. Početci takve strategije naziru se upravo u tzv. kneževskim grobovima bez opremanja oružjem ili drugim skupocjenim predmetima

communities arose due to inheritance of property and social status, while the Frankish-Avar War and unrest before the conclusion of the Treaty of Aachen could have further incited internal conflicts. In the third and fourth decades of the ninth century, the social situation was stabilised not only due to the calming of political circumstances, but also because of the first visible influences of the Church on the society of Dalmatian Slavs. The gradual abandonment of burials with goods was also the result of a new hereditary strategy: the Church imposed itself as a mediator in this process, which significantly reduced the possibility of direct confrontations between contenders for high social positions. The Church had based its social influence on this, inter alia, but it had also claimed rights to commission from transactions, as Richard Hodges wrote.<sup>73</sup> The re-Christianisation of the eastern Adriatic hinterland also radically changed the means on which the Slavic elite based their power: it was no longer movable wealth, but land ownership, which had symbolic, military and productive values.<sup>74</sup> Instead of investing in luxurious furnishing of graves, members of the Slavic elite donated to the Church and thus maintained or acquired their social status. The beginnings of such a strategy can be seen in the so-called princely graves without goods such as weapons or other valuable objects that were not parts of costume. The most apparent examples of such graves are burials in vaulted tombs and in the sarcophagus with hippocampi in Biskupija, as well as grave 4 in Bojna, which should be dated to the period between 820 and 840.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Za usporedbu vidi periodizaciju i kronologiju karolinške ratničke opreme na području Karpatske kotline koju donosi Zbigniew Robak (Robak 2018). Horizont Biskupija - Crkvina okvirno je smjestio između 780./790. godine i 840./850. godine, s tim što razlikuje rani (Biskupija - Crkvina I) i kasni (Biskupija - Crkvina II) horizont, koji bi približno koincidirali s rano-karolinškim (faza I) i kasnokarolinškim horizontom 1 (faza 2). Predloženi datumi i podjela horizonta djeluju prilično precizno, s tim što mislim da masivne ostruge s trnovima ukrašenim trokutićima pripadaju prvoj fazi horizonta Biskupija-Crkvina. Razdoblje između 790. i 820. g., kojemu pripadaju spomenuti grobovi, odgovaralo bi prvoj fazi horizonta Biskupija - Crkvina prema Robakovoj periodizaciji, to jest fazi 1 (Robak 2018, str. 331-332).

<sup>73</sup> Hodges 1981, str. 57. Hodges razmatra promjene u anglosaskom društvu početkom 7. stoljeća.

<sup>74</sup> Hodges 1981, str. 57.

of Carolingian warrior equipment in the Carpathian Basin presented by Zbigniew Robak (Robak 2018). He approximately dates the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon to the period between AD 780/790 and 840/850, but distinguishes the early (Biskupija-Crkvina I) and late (Biskupija-Crkvina II) horizons, which would roughly coincide with the early Carolingian (Phase 1) and late Carolingian horizon 1 (Phase 2). The proposed dates and division of the horizon seems quite tenable, except that I think that the massive spurs with pricks decorated with small triangles belong to phase one of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon. The period between 790 and 820, to which the mentioned graves belong, would correspond to phase one of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon according to Robak's periodisation, i.e. Phase 1 (Robak 2018, pp. 331–332).

<sup>73</sup> Hodges 1981, p. 57. Hodges discussed changes in Anglo-Saxon society in the early seventh century.

<sup>74</sup> Hodges 1981, p. 57.

<sup>75</sup> This period would correspond to Robak's phase two of the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon, that is, the late Carolingian horizon 1 (Robak 2018, pp. 332–334).





Sl. 12. Biskupija - Crkvina, ostruge ukrašene križevima iz sarkofaga s hipokampima, između 820. i 840. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 12 Biskupija-Crkvina, spurs decorated with crosses from the sarcophagus with hippocampi, between AD 820 and 840 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

sarkofag ne pokazuje ni jedno jedino obilježje inače bogatoga ornamentalnog repertoara te radionice. Drugo, položaj sarkofaga sugerira da nije ni na koji način povezan s crkvom sv. Marije – ni dubinom, ni orijentacijom. Treće, ostruge iz sarkofaga tipološki se podudaraju s ostrugama iz presvođenih grobnica, koje su preslojene izgradnjom crkve i *westwerka*. S obzirom da Jurčević tipološka obilježja ostruga koristi za datiranje izgradnje crkve, paradoksalno je da ta ista crkva preslojava presvođenu grobnicu s ostrugama koje bi trebale biti istovremene onima u sarkofagu. Stoga se čini da je u ovoj raspravi tumačenje ukopa u sarkofagu bezrazložno opterećeno datiranjem kamene plastike i izgradnje crkve sv. Marije. I četvrto, stapanje datuma početka gradnje crkve i datuma njezina ukrašavanja u jednu točku na vremenskoj crti jako je problematično. Takvim se pojednostavnjivanjem izgradnja i opremanje crkve promatra poput izrade ostruga ili naušnica. Ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati koliki je bio vremenski raspon od polaganja temelja do postavljanja krova

in no way connected with the church of St. Mary – neither in depth nor in orientation. Thirdly, the spurs from the sarcophagus typologically coincide with the spurs from the vaulted tombs, which were overlaid with the construction of the church and the westwork. Considering that Jurčević uses the typological features of the spurs to date the construction of the church, it is paradoxical that the very church overlays the vaulted tomb with the spurs that should be contemporaneous with those in the sarcophagus. Therefore, it seems that the interpretation of the burial in the sarcophagus in this discussion is unreasonably burdened by the dating of the stone sculpture and the construction of the church of St. Mary. Fourthly, merging the date of the beginning of the construction of the church with the date of its decoration into one point on the timeline is rather problematic. Such simplification means that the construction and equipping of the church is regarded as the making of spurs or ear-rings. One cannot know with certainty the time span from laying the foundation to the roofing or carving of the architectural sculpture and the altar screen, as this mostly depends on the purchasing power of the investor. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to regard the construction and equipping of the church as a process rather than as an event. Since the amateur excavations in the late 19th century failed to collect a large part of information, many a question will remain unanswered. However, the relationship between the graves and the building is not one of them – all the burials are earlier than the church, including the sarcophagus with hippocampi. The beginning of the construction of the church of St. Mary should be regarded in the framework of a slightly later dating, shortly after the burial in the sarcophagus with hippocampi, but certainly before the burial in the undecorated sarcophagus on the westwork pavement, which probably contained single-bead ear-rings from the late ninth century. The process of building and equipping the church of St. Mary in Biskupija can be approximately dated to the middle third of the ninth century, while any other more precise dating would be mere conjecture at this point.

Any change in funeral customs did not mean that all graves had to contain uniform inventories from a certain point in time. This is particularly valid for elite male graves and a new way of dealing with inheritance through the Church. The rest of the community was able to continue with the tradition-



ili klesanja arhitektonske plastike i oltarne ograde, jer to ovisi najviše o platežnoj moći investitora. Zato bi bilo prikladnije izgradnju i opremanje crkve promatrati kao proces, a ne kao događaj. Budući da amaterskim iskopavanjima krajem 19. stoljeća nije prikupljen dobar dio podataka, mnoga će pitanja ostati neodgovorena. Ali odnos grobova i građevine nije jedno od njih – svi su ukopi stariji od crkve, uključujući i sarkofag s hipokampima. Početku gradnje crkve sv. Marije treba potražiti nešto mlađe datiranje, nedugo nakon ukopa u sarkofagu s hipokampima, ali svakako prije ukopa u neukrašenom sarkofagu na pločniku *westwerka*, kojem su vjerojatno pripadale jednojagodne naušnice iz kasnog 9. stoljeća. Proces izgradnje i opremanja crkve sv. Marije u Biskupiji može se okvirno smjestiti u srednju trećinu 9. stoljeća, a svako preciznije datiranje u ovome bi trenutku bilo puko nagađanje.

Promjena u pogrebnim običajima ne znači da od određenog trenutka svi grobovi moraju sadržavati ujednačene inventare. To se pak najviše odnosi na elitne muške grobove i nov način rješavanja nasljeđivanja posredstvom Crkve. Ostatak zajednice mogao je još neko vrijeme nastaviti s tradicionalnim pogrebnim obredom, koji prema sredini 9. stoljeća postaje sve rjeđi, a ubrzo zatim se potpuno gubi. Nažalost, za datiranje gornje kronološke granice ovih grobalja ne raspolažemo radiokarbonskim datumima, pa je periodizacija i dalje temeljena samo na tipološkim obilježjima naušnica i jednome nalazu novca – Lotarovu denaru sa Ždrijaca. No datiranje u sredinu 9. stoljeća ili neposredno nakon toga čini se dosta uvjerljivim, jer na ovim grobljima nisu zabilježeni predmeti karakteristični za drugu polovinu 9. stoljeća, a tu ponajprije mislim na jednojagodne naušnice.<sup>77</sup> Ipak, <sup>14</sup>C datumi potrebni su za

al funeral rite for some time. However, towards the mid-ninth century it became less and less frequent, and vanished after a short while. Unfortunately, we do not have radiocarbon dates to define the upper chronological limit of these cemeteries, so the periodisation is still based solely on the typological features of the ear-rings and one coin find – the denarius of Lothair from Ždrijac. As to the dating to the mid-ninth century or immediately thereafter, it seems quite convincing, since no items characteristic of the second half of the ninth century have been recorded in these cemeteries, primarily when it comes to single-bead ear-rings.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>77</sup> Soňa Dvořáčková (Hendrychová) criticises Maja Petrinec's datings (Petrinec 2009) and concludes that Croatian chronology is not reliable. She believes that separating the grape-shaped and single-bead ear-rings into different horizons, that is, pagan and Christian, is contentious. She takes it that the major chronological determinant of the so-called pagan cemeteries in Dalmatia is the presence of ceramic vessels in graves, and that this very misconception results in chronological differences between Moravian and Dalmatian early medieval cemeteries (Hendrychová 2018, pp. 158–159). However, the chronology of Dalmatian cemeteries is based not only on the awkward pagan-Christian dichotomy, but also on the dichotomy of some groups of artefacts. Ear-rings with confronted heart-shaped ornaments indicate that there is no chronological gap between the two horizons, because they were discovered with a denarius of Lothair in Buzet, and with a grape-shaped ear-ring in grave 83 in front of the church of St. Asel in Nin (Petrinec 2009, p. 206; Petrinec 2019, p. 38). However, single-bead ear-rings cannot be included in the group of chronological links, since they have not been discovered in any of a number of cemeteries of the earlier horizon. Considering that grape-shaped ear-rings were unearthed in one of the latest graves of the earlier horizon (grave 62 at Ždrijac), and that single-bead ear-rings could theoretically be found from one of the earlier graves of the later horizon, it is not impossible that these two types of ear-rings will one day be discovered in the same cemetery, perhaps in the same grave. Nonetheless, even if that happened, such a discovery would not cause a tectonic shift because there is no predicted gap between the horizons in the periodisation. The fact that these two types of ear-rings have not yet been found in the same context only confirms that the possible period of their overlap was quite short and that it coincided with the abandonment of the old and the establishment of new cemeteries. A chronological discrepancy, if any, can even be the result of observing different areas. Theoretically, it would suffice that the grape-shaped ear-rings in Dalmatia disappeared a decade or two earlier to cause this seemingly drastic chronological discrepancy with the cemeteries in Moravia. Despite the similarities in grave finds, Moravia and Dalmatia of that time cannot be

pouzdanije tumačenje, i to ne samo gornje i donje kronološke granice grobalja, i ne isključivo grobova s mačevima, ostrugama i skupocjenim nakitom. Analiziranje uzoraka samo iz takvih grobova dovest će do redundancije i inflacije inače dragocjenih podataka. Jednostavno opremljeni grobovi, pa čak i oni bez nalaza, vjerojatno kriju najveći potencijal za razumijevanje kronologije i kulturnih procesa, za što je dobar primjer analiza uzorka iz groba 9 na Duševića glavici.<sup>78</sup> Uzorkovanje bi dakle trebalo biti vođeno strateškim pristupom istraživanju grobalja, a ne sretnim pronalascima.

<sup>14</sup>C dates are required for a more reliable interpretation, not only for the upper and lower chronological limits of the cemeteries, and not exclusively of the graves with swords, spurs and expensive jewellery. Analyses of samples only from such graves would result in redundancy and inflation of otherwise valuable data. Simply equipped graves, even those without finds, probably possess the greatest potential for understanding the chronology and cultural processes, as well exemplified by the analysis of a sample from grave 9 at Duševića glavica.<sup>78</sup> Sampling should therefore be guided by a strategic approach to cemetery research, rather than by chance finds.

sv. Asela u Ninu s grozdolikom naušnicom (Petrinec 2009, str. 206; Petrinec 2019, str. 38). No skupini kronoloških poveznica ne možemo dodati i jednojagodne naušnice, kojih nema ni na jednom od brojnih grobalja starijeg horizonta. S obzirom da su grozdolike naušnice pronađene u jednom od najmlađih grobova starijega horizonta (grob 62 na Ždrijacu), a da jednojagodne naušnice teoretski mogu biti nalaz iz jednih od starijih grobova mlađeg horizonta, nije nemoguće da će te dvije vrste naušnica jednoga dana biti pronađene na istome groblju, možda baš i u istome grobu. Ali čak i da se to dogodi, takvo otkriće ne bi izazvalo tektonski poremećaj jer u periodizaciji nije predviđena praznina između horizonata. Činjenica da ta dva tipa naušnica dosad nisu pronađena u istome kontekstu, samo potvrđuje da je moguće razdoblje njihova preklapanja bilo prilično kratko i da koincidira s napuštanjem starih i osnivanjem novih grobalja. Kronološka diskrepancija, ako uopće postoji, može čak biti posljedica promatranja različitih područja. Teoretski je sasvim dovoljno da grozdolike naušnice u Dalmaciji nestaju desetljeće ili dva ranije da bi izazvale ovu naizgled drastičnu kronološku nepodudarnost s grobljima u Moravskoj. Bez obzira na sličnosti u grobnim nalazima, Moravsku i Dalmaciju toga doba ne možemo promatrati kao jedinstveno tržište i kulturno područje. Sličnost ne znači istovjetnost, a sama činjenica da u Dalmaciji nekad tijekom 9. stoljeća dolazi do osnivanja novih grobalja, kako god ih netko nazivao i tumačio, to najbolje pokazuje. Ipak, razmišljanja Dvořáčkove opravdano ukazuju na neadekvatnu terminologiju periodizacije dalmatinskih grobalja, nedovoljno objašnjene kulturne procese te na potrebu za radiokarbonskim datiranjem najmlađih grobova starijega i najstarijih grobova mlađeg horizonta.

<sup>78</sup> Tina Milavec predložila je fokusiranje na radiokarbonsko datiranje grobova bez nalaza na kasnoantičkim grobljima u jugoistočnim Alpama, kako bi se izbjeglo njihovo automatsko pripisivanje kronološkim prazninama, u ovome slučaju 5. i 7. stoljeću (Milavec 2020, str. 95). Takav bi pristup bio vrlo koristan za razjašnjavanje problematike ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Dalmaciji.

### Slave trade and archaeology

The idea that the slave trade was the economic base of some early mediaeval Slavic organisation is not really that new. The Czech historian Dušan Třeštík concluded 20 years ago that the very slave trade had been the main driver for the Great Moravian economy in the ninth century.<sup>79</sup> Třeštík's assumption, together with McCormick's considerations a year later in *Origins of the European Economy*, meanwhile gained many proponents among archaeologists and historians, as well as critics, of course, who considered that giving so much importance to the slave trade was inordinate.<sup>80</sup> In the mid-ninth century, Venetian merchants were very present in Moravia, most likely precisely in order to purchase slaves, but there is no archaeological proof of this information in written sources.<sup>81</sup> The

regarded as a single market and cultural area. Similarities are not equal to equivalence, as best illustrated by the mere fact that new cemeteries, or whatever someone may call and interpret them, were established in Dalmatia sometime during the ninth century. Notwithstanding, Dvořáček's notions reasonably point to inadequate terminology of the periodisation of Dalmatian cemeteries, insufficiently clarified cultural processes, and the need for radiocarbon dating of the latest graves of the earlier and the earliest graves of the later horizon.

<sup>78</sup> Tina Milavec suggested focusing on radiocarbon dating of graves without finds in late antique cemeteries in the south-eastern Alps, to avoid their automatic attribution to chronological gaps, in this case the fifth and seventh centuries (Milavec 2020, p. 95). Such an approach would be very useful for clarifying the matter of early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia.

<sup>79</sup> Třeštík 2000, pp. 53–65; Macháček 2020, pp. 4–5.

<sup>80</sup> For an overview of the research, see Macháček 2020.

<sup>81</sup> Charvát 2014.

## Trgovina robljem i arheologija

Zamisao da je trgovina robljem bila ekonomska baza neke ranosrednjovjekovne slavenske organizacije, zapravo i nije velika novost. Češki povjesničar Dušan Třeštík je prije 20 godina zaključio da je upravo trgovina robljem bila glavni pokretač velikomoravskoga gospodarstva u 9. stoljeću.<sup>79</sup> Třeštíkova je pretpostavka, zajedno s McCormickovim razmatranjima godinu dana kasnije u *Origins of the European Economy*, u međuvremenu naišla na mnoge pobornike među arheolozima i povjesničarima, ali, naravno, i na kritičare, koji su ocijenili da je pridavanje tolikoga značaja trgovini robljem pretjerano.<sup>80</sup> Sredinom 9. stoljeća mletački su trgovci itekako prisutni u Moravskoj, i to najvjerojatnije upravo zbog otkupa robova, no za te podatke iz pisanih izvora nema arheološke potvrde.<sup>81</sup> Najveći je problem što su nedvosmisleni dokazi o trgovini robljem, poput često spominjanih željeznih okova s položaja Staré Zámky pokraj Brna i Staré Město, prilično rijetki i nikako ne potvrđuju presudnu ulogu ove pojave u ekonomskom rastu. Prodaja robova sasvim sigurno nije ostavila jasnog arheološkog traga poput trgovanja mačevima ili naušnicama. Ipak, nepobitna je činjenica da su slavenski robovi bili jedan od najvažnijih artikala u ranosrednjovjekovnoj europskoj trgovini, pa je teško zamisliti da trgovina robljem nije ostavila traga na moravskom području. Raspravljajući o mogućim arheološkim pokazateljima, Jiří Macháček ukazuje na prostrane ograđene građevine u Mikulčicama, za koje pretpostavlja da su mogle služiti kao privremene smještajne jedinice za zarobljenike prije prodaje. S druge strane, u Pohanskom je situacija nešto drukčija. Unutar utvrđene zone tzv. Velmoškog dvorca Macháček također prepoznaje nadzemne pravokutne objekte u kojima su mogli biti smješteni robovi, no u ovome slučaju ne za prodaju, jer su u neposrednoj blizini pronađene radionice koje sugeriraju njihov trajni boravak. Te su građevine potpuno drukčije od tipičnih nastambi pronađenih u južnom predgrađu Pohanskog, a da su bile namijenjene robovima, možda baš ukazuju grobovi raspršeni između zgrada, često s devijantnim položajima pokojnika i gotovo bez grobnih priloga.<sup>82</sup>

most difficult problem lies in the fact that unambiguous evidence of the slave trade, such as the oft-mentioned iron shackles from Staré Zámky near Brno and Staré Město, is quite rare and in no way confirms the crucial role of this phenomenon in economic growth. The sale of slaves certainly left no patent archaeological traces like the trade in swords or ear-rings. However, it is an undeniable fact that Slavic slaves were one of the most important items in early mediaeval European trade, so it is hard to imagine that the slave trade left no trace in the Moravian area. In his discussion on possible archaeological indicators, Jiří Macháček points to the spacious enclosed buildings in Mikulčice, and assumes they could have served as temporary accommodation units for prisoners before their sale. On the other hand, the situation is somewhat different in Pohansko. Macháček also recognises above-ground rectangular structures in which slaves could have been housed within the fortified zone of the so-called Magnate Court, but in this case they had not been for sale, since workshops were found in the immediate vicinity, suggesting their permanent stay. These buildings are completely different from the typical dwellings found in the southern suburbs of Pohansko, and their intended use for slaves may be indicated by the very graves scattered between the buildings, often with deviant positions of skeletons and almost without grave goods.<sup>82</sup>

These assumptions cannot be compared with the situation in Dalmatia, where no remains of any early mediaeval settlement have been discovered to date. I do not wish to resort to mentioning the want of research and declare that the slave trade in Dalmatia will be proven when archaeologists discover settlements, because it is quite clear that indicators are not abundant even in the more extensively studied areas either. Yet, can unequivocal confirmations of the slave trade be recognised in the early mediaeval cemeteries in Dalmatia? The answer, it seems, has to be negative. Not even one particular pair of spurs or ear-rings can be said with certainty to have been bartered for slaves. Therefore, two possibilities arise as to why we cannot clearly distinguish such a phenomenon: the first would be that the slave trade was not a key influence on social processes, or even that Dalmatian Slavs did not hunt and sell Dalmatian Slavs to Venetians or other traders at all. The second one comes down to the possibility that our question is completely wrong.

<sup>79</sup> Třeštík 2000, str. 53-65; Macháček 2020, str. 4-5.

<sup>80</sup> Vidi pregled istraživanja u: Macháček 2020.

<sup>81</sup> Charvát 2014.

<sup>82</sup> Macháček 2020, str. 12-13.

<sup>82</sup> Macháček 2020, pp. 12-13.



Sl. 13. Dinar kalifa Al-Hadija iskovan u Bagdadu 786. godine, pronađen u okolici Knina (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
*Fig. 13 Dinar of Caliph al-Hadi, minted in Baghdad in AD 786, discovered near Knin (photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

Ove pretpostavke ne možemo usporediti sa situacijom u Dalmaciji, gdje do danas nisu pronađeni ostatci nijednoga ranosrednjovjekovnog naselja. Ne želim se pozivati na neistraženost i reći da će trgovina robljem u Dalmaciji biti dokazana onda kada arheolozi pronađu naselja, jer je sasvim jasno da ni na bolje pokrivenim područjima nema obilja pokazatelja. No mogu li se raspoznati nedvosmislene potvrde trgovine robljem na ranosrednjovjekovnim grobljima u Dalmaciji? Odgovor, čini se, mora biti negativan. Ni za jedan određeni par ostruga ili naušnica ne može se sa sigurnošću reći da su trampljeni za robove. Stoga se nameću dvije mogućnosti zašto ne možemo jasno razaznati takvu pojavu: prva bi bila da trgovina robljem nije imala ključni utjecaj na društvene procese ili čak da dalmatinski Slaveni uopće nisu lovili i prodavali dalmatinske Slavene Mlečanima ili drugim trgovcima. A druga je da postavljamo potpuno pogrešno pitanje.

Jesu li arheološkim iskopavanjima na otočićima venecijanske lagune pronađene jasne potvrde trgovine robljem? Odgovor je ponovno negativan, premda će malo tko osporiti da je preprodaja robova bila glavni pokretač mletačkoga gospodarstva u karolinško doba, a vrlo vjerojatno i nešto ranije. Naravno da robovi nisu bili jedina roba kojom su Mlečani tada trgovali, ali za njima je potražnja bila najveća, a nudila se i pozamašna zarada. Stoga je malo vjerojatno da veliki profit nije ostavio traga na materijalnoj kulturi. Umjesto potrage za nedvosmislenim dokazima koji u arheološkom zapisu najvjerojatnije ne postoje, trebalo bi primijeniti pristup kalibriran prema neizravnim odrazima te pojave na materijalnu kulturu. A neizravna posljedica ne ostavlja izravnu potvrdu o svom uzroku. To nipošto ne znači da arheologija ne može ili ne treba

Have archaeological excavations on the islets of the Venetian lagoon unearthed clear evidence of the slave trade? The answer is yet again negative, although few will dispute that the resale of slaves was a major driver of the Venetian economy in Carolingian times, and very likely also somewhat earlier. Naturally, slaves were not the only commodity that the Venetians traded at the time, but the demand for them was highest, and earnings were substantial. It is therefore not very likely that large profits left no mark on material culture. Instead of searching for unambiguous evidence that most likely does not exist in the archaeological record, an approach calibrated according to indirect reflections of this phenomenon on material culture should be applied. Indirect consequences offer no direct confirmation of their causes. This by no means signifies that archaeology cannot or should not consider such phenomena, since they affect material culture like the most obvious processes do. The same rules should apply to both the interpretation of epiphenomena and the interpretation of any other phenomenon. Firstly, the primary process, in this case the slave trade, should be viewed in the broader context of the time and then its possible causes determined. Secondly, it is necessary to find links in the archaeological, and preferably in the historical record, which must coincide with the time of the primary process and which indicate its geographical distribution. Thirdly, it is then necessary to determine whether any changes that may have occurred as a result of the primary process actually did occur during this period, and only then the possible epiphenomena visible in material culture can be discussed. When such a procedure is applied, the following can be inferred about the emergence of the early mediaeval slave trade in Dalmatia:

1. The slave trade occurred as a result of the expansion of the Venetian trade network in the second half of the eighth century. At the time, the Venetians were already among the leading slave traders in the Mediterranean. Together with the south-eastern Alps, Dalmatia was their closest area inhabited by non-Christians, who were moreover not protected by a state organisation, and these are the regions where the first Slavic slaves sent by Venetian ships to the Caliphate are to be sought.

2. Contacts with the Caliphate and Byzantium are indicated by finds such as Byzantine and Abbasid gold coins from the second half of the eighth

razmatrati takve pojave, jer one utječu na materijalnu kulturu kao i najočitiji procesi. Za tumačenje epifenomena trebala bi vrijediti jednaka pravila kao i za tumačenje bilo koje druge pojave. Prvo, primarni proces, u ovome slučaju trgovinu robljem, treba promotriti u tadašnjem širem kontekstu i utvrditi koji su mu sve mogli biti uzroci. Drugo, potrebno je pronaći poveznice u arheološkom, a poželjno i u historijskom zapisu koje moraju koincidirati s vremenom primarnog procesa i koje ukazuju na njegovu geografsku rasprostranjenost. Treće, nakon toga treba utvrditi događaju li se u tom razdoblju promjene koje su mogle nastati djelovanjem primarnog procesa, a tek onda možemo raspravljati o mogućim epifenomenima vidljivim u materijalnoj kulturi. Kada primijenimo ovakav postupak, o pojavi ranosrednjovjekovne trgovine robljem u Dalmaciji može se zaključiti sljedeće:

1. Trgovina robljem javlja se kao rezultat širenja mletačke trgovačke mreže u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća. Mlečani su već tada bili jedni od vodećih trgovaca robljem na Mediteranu. Uz prostor jugoistočnih Alpa Dalmacija im je bila najbliže područje naseljeno nekršćanima, koji usto nisu bili zaštićeni državnom organizacijom, te upravo u tim regijama treba tražiti prve slavenske robove koji su mletačkim brodovima otpremani u Kalifat.

2. Na kontakte s Kalifatom i Bizantom ukazuju nalazi poput bizantskih i abasidskih zlatnika druge polovine 8. stoljeća, bocā istočnomediterranske produkcije iz Nina i Vaćana položenih u grobove između 790. i 820. godine te brojni nalazi nakita bizantskog stila, čiji se najstariji tipovi javljaju već u zadnjoj trećini 8. stoljeća. Kontakti, barem kad je riječ o abasidskim nalazima, nisu bili izravni, već ostvareni preko mletačkih posrednika. Tim je putem stigao i dio karolinških nalaza.

3. U razdoblju kontakta vidljiv je priljev velike količine uvozne robe. To je arheološki pokazatelj snažnoga gospodarskog rasta, koji je nečim morao biti prouzročen. Promatranjem ekonomske situacije u Dalmaciji u širem mediteranskom kontekstu kao glavni razlog nameće se trgovina robljem. Epifenomen trgovine robljem u Dalmaciji je rastakanje dotadašnjeg necentraliziranog političkog sustava i uspostava novog društvenog poretka. Njegovi su nositelji bili slavenski poglavari koji su svoju moć temeljili na prodaji slavenskih robova, privilegiji kontakta sa stranim trgovcima i kontroli uvoza. Društvena je transformacija vidljiva u pojavi ek-

century, bottles of Eastern Mediterranean origin from Nin and Vaćani, placed in graves between AD 790 and 820, as well as numerous finds of Byzantine-style jewellery, the earliest types of which appeared as early as the last third of the eighth century. Contacts were not direct, at least when it comes to Abbasid finds, but made through Venetian intermediaries. Some of the Carolingian finds arrived that way.

3. An inflow of a large amount of imported goods during the period of contact is patent. It is an archaeological indicator of strong economic growth, which must have been generated by something. By observing the economic situation in Dalmatia in the wider Mediterranean context, the reason coming to the fore is the slave trade. An epiphenomenon of the slave trade in Dalmatia is the erosion of the previous non-centralised political system with the establishment of a new social order. Its operators were Slavic chieftains who based their power on the sale of Slavic slaves, the privilege of contacts with foreign traders, and the control of imports. The social transformation is visible in the appearance of extravagantly furnished tombs, culminating in the period between AD 790 and 820. However, the first imported items had appeared somewhat earlier, after the beginning of the last third of the eighth century (Byzantine and Abbasid gold coins, soon followed by the swords from Orlić, the spur and sword from Morpolača). The graves in which the items were found cannot be associated with that period with certainty, but the production and import, and consequently the beginnings of social upheaval in the Dalmatian hinterland, are dated to it.

There exists another reason why the Frankish-Avar War was not the primary cause of changes in the funeral custom and material culture of the Dalmatian Slavs. It is the social organisation. Had the Frankish expansion to the east reached the Slavic communities formed in non-centralised political systems, without chieftains and clear stratification, its impact on material culture would have been much less acute, and social changes would have become apparent only at a somewhat later stage. However, these developments found the Slavic society at an advanced stage of transformation caused by the slave trade. I do not deny the significance of the Frankish-Avar War and its impact on the archaeological record. Indeed, the formation of a clear social hierarchy before the Frankish-Avar War



Sl. 14. Nin - Ždrijac, inventar groba 322: uz karolinški mač, koplje i druge predmete pronađeni su i stakleni pehar sjevernotalijanske i boca istočnomediterranske produkcije. Ovaj je grob primjer ekstravagantno opremljenih ukopa između 790. i 820. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 14 Nin-Ždrijac, inventory of grave 322: in addition to a Carolingian sword, spear and other items, a glass goblet made in northern Italy and a bottle of eastern Mediterranean origin, were also unearthed. This grave is an example of extravagantly equipped burials from the period between AD 790 and 820 (photo: Z. Alajbeg).*

stravagantno opremljenih grobova koja kulminira u razdoblju između 790. i 820. godine. No prvi uvezeni predmeti javljaju se nešto ranije, nakon početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća (bizantski i abasidski zlatnici, uskoro zatim i mačevi iz Orlića, ostruga i mač iz Morpolače). U to razdoblje ne možemo sa sigurnošću smjestiti grobove u kojima su predmeti pronađeni, ali tada se datiraju proizvodnja i uvoz, a time i početci društvenog prevrata u dalmatinskom zaobalju.

Postoji još jedan razlog zašto franačko-avarski rat nije bio primarni uzrok promjena u pogrebnom običaju i materijalnoj kulturi dalmatinskih Slavena. Riječ je o društvenoj organizaciji. Da je franačka

further strengthened its influence. This enabled the compatibility and susceptibility of the Slavic communities vis-à-vis the new circumstances, and ipso facto had a strong and immediate reflection on their material culture. This is exactly why the changes in material culture and social organisation of the Dalmatian Slavs are dated somewhat earlier than in other Slavic areas.

#### The emergence of Christianity and archaeology

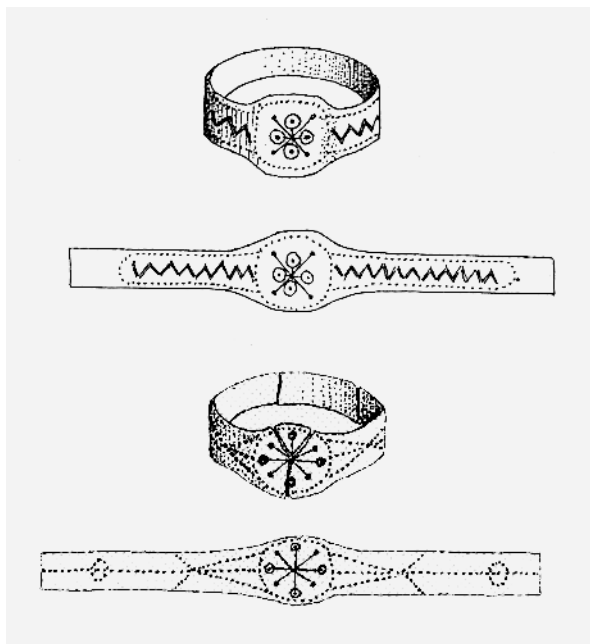
Can the appearance of Christianity be identified in the archaeological record?<sup>83</sup> The answer is certainly positive, but the basis for such a conclusion should be clarified. So far, the literature has proposed speculations that archaeology cannot be of much help in this case, mostly because of the so-called pagan graves with ceramic vessels that appeared until the mid-ninth century, when quite a few churches had been built.<sup>84</sup> Nonetheless, in this case it is a misconception of the influence of cultural processes on the formation of material culture. If burials with ceramic vessels continued even after the advent of Christianity, it does not necessarily mean that archaeology cannot discern when and how Christianity emerged, and there is a possibility that the assumption interpreting the funeral rite is on shaky feet. After all, the matter of the influence of Christianity on the funeral rite is much more complex, and it should be obvious that attempts to determine the religious affiliations of the deceased based on the presence or absence of vessels in graves are doomed to failure. Yet another problem is that the Christian funeral rite does not exist as a category, either in early mediaeval or in later and earlier cemeteries.

[FIGURE 16]

However, the emergence of Christianity is more evident than the slave trade, at least because of grave finds with Christian symbolism, but mostly because of its strong reflection on material culture, clearly visible in church architecture and art. As already noted, the first churches are not also the first trace of Christianity among the Dalmatian Slavs,

<sup>83</sup> For a discussion of Christianisation in the archaeological record, see Belošević 1998. A concise historical overview with a brief analysis of the archaeological record and a list of relevant literature is provided by Trpimir Vedriš (Vedriš 2015).

<sup>84</sup> Milošević 2005, pp. 459–460. Katičić 2007, p. 223.



Sl. 15. Kašić – Maklinovo brdo: prsteni iz grobova 40 i 41 predstavljaju možda i najranije nalaze s kršćanskom simbolikom na ovim grobljima (prema: Belošević 2010, str. 225-226)

*Fig. 15 Kašić-Maklinovo brdo: rings from graves 40 and 41 represent perhaps the earliest finds with Christian symbolism in these cemeteries (after: Belošević 2010, pp. 225–226).*

ekspanzija na istok dotakla slavenske zajednice formirane u necentraliziranim političkim sustavima, bez poglavara i jasne stratifikacije, njezin bi odraz na materijalnu kulturu bio bitno manje intenzivan, a društvene promjene postale bi vidljive tek nešto kasnije. Ali ta su zbivanja zatekla slavensko društvo u poodmakloj transformaciji prouzročenoj trgovinom robljem. Značenje franačko-avarskog rata i njegov utjecaj na arheološki zapis ne negiram. Dapače, formiranje jasne društvene hijerarhije prije franačko-avarskog rata dodatno je pojačalo njegov utjecaj. To je omogućilo kompatibilnost i prijemčivost slavenskih zajednica za nove okolnosti, a samim time i snažan i trenutačan odraz na njihovu materijalnu kulturu. Upravo se zato promjene u materijalnoj kulturi i društvenoj organizaciji dalmatinskih Slavena datiraju nešto ranije nego na drugim slavenskim područjima.

#### Pojava kršćanstva i arheologija

Je li pojava kršćanstva vidljiva u arheološkom zapisu?<sup>83</sup> Odgovor je svakako potvrđan, no treba

but rather a confirmation of an advanced process, the beginning of which should be sought somewhat earlier. Judging by the grave inventories, the first items with Christian symbolism appeared from the very beginnings of bartering, that is, after the beginning of the last third of the eighth century. This early group includes rings made of hammered sheet metal from grave 41 at Maklinovo brdo and grave 53 at Ždrijac.<sup>85</sup> Their common features are geometrised

<sup>85</sup> Belošević 2010, pp. 225–226; Belošević 2007, p. 265. With regard to the assumptions about the topographic chronology of these cemeteries, grave 41 from Kašić and grave 53 from Ždrijac are located within the zones marked as earlier parts of the cemetery, albeit at their very edges in both cases (Alajbeg 2015). The rings in these graves have not been designated as chronological determinants, since they are jewellery of late antique tradition that covers a very wide time span, but they are definitely interesting in the context of the appearance of objects with Christian symbolism. Grave 40 from Kašić is located in the western part of the cemetery, outside the presumed earlier zone, but on the opposite side from the graves with Carolingian spurs and a late Avar belt strap end. This grave is probably somewhat later than grave 41. This example makes it obvious that separating groups of graves with a line is not the most appropriate solution, as noted by Maja Petrinec (Petrinec 2019, p. 48). However, this is the chosen method because it is in line with the layout of the graves and offers a more or less objective criterion of separation as opposed to selective delimitation based on grave inventories, which would be contaminated from the start by chronological assumptions. Of course, it is possible that the lines separate the graves buried on the same day, but I still think that they exhibit general regularities in the origin and development of these cemeteries. These regularities are confirmed by the location of these graves directly adjacent to these lines, rather than in the interior of the earlier zones, which indicates that economic growth and the first reflections of Christianity on material culture occurred simultaneously, viz. several decades after the starting of the cemetery. Unlike Petrinec, I do not think that Belošević's excavation of Ždrijac was so methodologically incorrect that the relationship between the graves could not be understood, nor that abrasion caused the loss of too many graves for discussing the topographic chronology (Petrinec 2019, pp. 45–46). The imprecise demarcation of grave pits could have made it difficult to interpret the overlaying of graves in the western part of the western cemetery or the appearance of ceramic vessels outside the pits, but not the layout of most graves. In addition, a part of the graves on the northern edge is destroyed, but one of them, closest to the sea, is the latest dated grave in the cemeteries of this horizon in general, viz. grave 62. It is clear that few cemeteries can be completely spared the destruction wrought by post-depositional processes. Probably an even larger share of graves has been destroyed by

<sup>83</sup> Za raspravu o kristijanizaciji u arheološkom zapisu

pojasniti na temelju čega je donesen takav zaključak. U dosadašnjoj su se literaturi javljala razmišljanja kako arheologija u ovome slučaju ne može biti od velike pomoći, ponajviše zbog takozvanih poganskih grobova s keramičkim posudama koji se javljaju sve do sredine 9. stoljeća, kada je već dobar broj crkava bio izgrađen.<sup>84</sup> No u ovom se slučaju radi o pogrešnom poimanju utjecaja kulturnih procesa na formiranje materijalne kulture. Ako pokapanje s keramičkim posudama traje i nakon pojave kršćanstva, to ne mora značiti da arheologija ne može razaznati kada i kako se kršćanstvo javlja, već postoji mogućnost da pretpostavka kojom se tumači pogrebni obred stoji na klimavim nogama. Problematika utjecaja kršćanstva na pogrebni obred ipak je dosta složenija i trebalo bi biti očito da su pokušaji utvrđivanja vjerske pripadnosti pokojnika na temelju prisutnosti ili odsutnosti posude u grobu osuđeni na neuspjeh. Drugi je problem što kršćanski pogrebni obred kao kategorija ne postoji, kako na ranosrednjovjekovnim, tako ni na mlađim i starijim grobljima.

Pojava kršćanstva ipak je vidljivija od trgovine robljem, barem zbog grobnih nalaza s kršćanskom simbolikom, ali najviše zbog njezinog snažnog odraza na materijalnu kulturu, jasno vidljivog u crkvenom graditeljstvu i umjetnosti. Kako je već rečeno, prve crkve nisu ujedno i prvi tračak kršćanstva među dalmatinskim Slavenima, već potvrda o podmaklom procesu, čiji početak treba tražiti nešto ranije. Sudeći po grobnim inventarima, prvi predmeti s kršćanskom simbolikom javljaju se već od samih početaka razmjene, to jest nakon početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. U tu ranu skupinu spadaju prsteni od raskovanog lima iz groba 41 s Maklinova brda i groba 53 sa Ždrijaca.<sup>85</sup> Zajedničko

vidi: Belošević 1998. Koncizni historijski pregled s kraćim osvrtom na arheološki zapis i popisom relevantne literature donosi Trpimir Vedriš (Vedriš 2015).

<sup>84</sup> Milošević 2005, str. 459-460. Katičić 2007, str. 223.

<sup>85</sup> Belošević 2010, str. 225-226; Belošević 2007, str. 265. Što se tiče pretpostavki o topografskoj kronologiji tih grobalja, grob 41 iz Kašića i grob 53 sa Ždrijaca nalaze se unutar zona koje su označene kao stariji dijelovi groblja, ali u oba slučaja na njihovim samim rubovima (Alajbeg 2015). Prsteni u tim grobovima nisu bili označeni kao kronološke determinante, s obzirom da je riječ o nakitu kasnoantičke tradicije koji se javlja u vrlo širokom vremenskom rasponu, no definitivno su zanimljivi u kontekstu pojave predmeta s kršćanskom simbolikom. Grob 40 iz Kašića smješten je pak u zapadnom dijelu groblja, izvan pretpostavljene starije zone, ali na suprotnoj strani od grobova s karolinškim

Christograms depicted at their central widened sections, with a cross and the Greek letter *X*, the ends of which form an octagon.<sup>86</sup> The Christian symbolism on the ring with longer arms of its cross from grave 40 at Maklinovo brdo is somewhat more obvious. All three female graves in which they were discovered were equipped with a wide range of items, such as circlets, necklaces, knives and ceramic vessels. In addition, rings with clearly depicted crosses are somewhat later and probably coincide with the appearance of extravagantly furnished tombs between AD 790 and 820. The silver ring with a Y-shaped cross from grave 53 at Maklinovo brdo was discovered with two grape-shaped ear-rings, a torc, a necklace made of glass beads and two gold beads, as well as a ceramic whorl. Although more modest, this inventory resembles that from grave 41 next to the church of St. Asel in Nin, with two silver rings and one gold ring made of hammered sheet metal decorated with crosses, a cast silver ring with a frontal widening, silver circlets, two silver torcs, a star- and basket-shaped ear-rings, three iron knives, a glass bead, a ceramic whorl, and a late-antique coin.<sup>87</sup> A ring decorated with a small Greek cross was discovered in grave 326 at Ždrijac, again as part of a similar inventory – two iron knives, a bronze pin, a necklace made of glass beads, a ring made of silver sheet and a pair of grape-shaped ear-rings made of gilded silver. Nevertheless, grave 326 is later than those previously mentioned, because it contained a silver ring with an engraved pentagram characteristic of the latest graves at Ždrijac. Rings with a pentagram were also found in grave 63 in the western cemetery, and in grave 324, known for the oft-mentioned cruciform appliqué, in the eastern part of the graveyard. Grave 63 is the north-easternmost burial in the western cemetery, more easterly

erosion at Maklinovo brdo, which could have affected the chronology, but this does not necessarily mean that general regularities in the formation and development of cemeteries cannot be identified from the preserved graves.

<sup>86</sup> Petrinc 2009, p. 132.

<sup>87</sup> For a correlation of graves 53 from Maklinovo brdo and 41 next to the church of St. Asel, see Petrinc 2019. A very similar ring to the gold one made of hammered sheet metal from grave 41 in Nin originates from the destroyed grave at the site of Vrlika-Zduš. Among the finds from the remaining destroyed graves, Lujo Marun mentioned ceramic vessels, a pair of spurs and two silver circlets with their ends in the shape of the letter *S* (Marun 1998, p. 157).





Sl. 16. Kašić - Maklinovo brdo – prsten iz groba 53  
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 16 Kašić-Maklinovo brdo – ring from grave 53  
(photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

im je obilježje što su na središnjim proširenjima prikazani geometrizirani kristogrami s križem i grčkim slovom X, čiji krajevi zatvaraju osmerokut.<sup>86</sup> Nešto je očitija kršćanska simbolika na prstenu iz

ostrugama i kasnoavarskim pojasnim jezičcem. Taj je grob vjerojatno nešto mlađi od groba 41. Na ovome je primjeru uočljivo kako razdvajanje skupina grobova linijom nije baš najprikladnije rješenje, kako je primijetila Maja Petrinc (Petrinc 2019, str. 48). Ali takav je način odabran jer prati prostorni raspored grobova i pruža koliko-toliko objektivni kriterij razdvajanja, za razliku od selektivnog razgraničenja prema grobnim inventarima, koje bi unaprijed bilo kontaminirano kronološkim pretpostavkama. Naravno da je moguće da su tim linijama razdvojeni grobovi ukopani istoga dana, no i dalje mislim da pokazuju generalne pravilnosti u nastanku i razvoju ovih grobalja. Te pravilnosti potvrđuje i smještaj ovih grobova neposredno uz te linije, a ne u unutrašnjosti starijih zona, pokazujući da se gospodarski rast i prvi odrazi kršćanstva na materijalnu kulturu događaju istodobno, i to nekoliko desetljeća nakon osnutka grobalja. Za razliku od Petrinc, ne mislim da je Beloševićovo iskopavanje Ždrijaca bilo toliko metodološki nepravilno da se ne bi mogao razabrati odnos između grobova, kao ni da je zbog abra- zije izgubljen preveliki broj grobova za raspravljanje o topografskoj kronologiji (Petrinc 2019, str. 45-46). Neprecizno određivanje granica grobnih raka moglo je otežati tumačenje preslojavanja grobova na zapadnom dijelu zapadnoga groblja ili pojave keramičkih posuda izvan raka, ali ne i prostornog rasporeda najvećeg broja grobova. Također, dio grobova na sjevernome rubu jest uništen, no jedan od grobova najbližih moru upravo je najmlađe datirani grob na grobljima ovoga horizonta općenito – grob 62. Jasno je da malo koje groblje ostane potpuno pošteđeno destrukcije post-depozitnih procesa. Na Maklinovu je brdu erozijom uništen vjerojatno još veći udjel grobova, što je moglo utjecati i na kronologiju, ali to ne mora značiti da se iz sačuvanih grobova ne mogu razaznati generalne pravilnosti u formiranju i razvoju groblja.

<sup>86</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 132.



Sl. 17. Nin - Ždrijac: prsteni s pentagramom iz grobova 63, 324 i 326, između 820. i 860. godine  
(prema: Belošević 2007, str. 265)

*Fig. 17 Nin-Ždrijac: rings with a pentagram from graves 63, 324 and 326, from the period between AD 820 and 860 (after: Belošević 2007, p. 265)*

than grave 62 with the denarius of Lothair, and can be dated to the mid-ninth century or immediately thereafter, while the two burials in the eastern cemetery could be contemporaneous or somewhat earlier. Therefore, graves 63, 324 and 326 from Ždrijac are later than the previously mentioned ones and date to the period between AD 820 and 860.

On the other hand, Christian symbolism on “male” items appears exclusively on Carolingian weapons and warrior equipment, such as the Petersen K-type swords from Zadvarje and Koljane, the spur fasteners from grave 4, and the spurs with fasteners from the sarcophagus with hippocampi at Crkvina in Biskupija.<sup>88</sup> The context of the origin of the swords is unknown, but these burials from Biskupija belong to the period between AD 820 and 840. The mentioned finds of jewellery from female graves and warrior equipment from male graves are direct indicators, but still few in number, and their

<sup>88</sup> Bilogrivić 2013; Milošević 2016; Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, pp. 213–214, 225–226, 356–358.

groba 40 s Maklinova brda, čiji su krakovi križeva dulji. Sva tri ženska groba u kojima su nađeni bila su opremljena širokim rasponom predmeta, poput karičica, ogrlica, noževa i keramičkih posuda. Nadalje, prstenje s jasno prikazanim križevima nešto je kasnije i vjerojatno koincidira s pojavom ekstravagantno opremljenih grobova između 790. i 820. godine. Srebrni prsten s račvastim križem iz groba 53 s Maklinova brda pronađen je uz dvije grozdolike naušnice, torkves, ogrlicu od staklenih perli i dvije zlatne jagodice te keramički pršljen. Premda skromniji, taj inventar nalikuje onome iz groba 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela u Ninu s dvama srebrnim prstenima i jednim zlatnim od raskovanog lima ukrašenim križevima, lijevanim srebrnim prstenom s prednjim proširenjem, srebrnim karičicama, dvama srebrnim torkvesima, zlatnim zvjezdolikim i košarastim naušnicama, trima željeznim noževima, staklenom perlom, keramičkim pršljenom i kasnoantičkom kovanicom.<sup>87</sup> Prsten ukrašen malim grčkim križem pronađen je u ždrijačkom grobu 326, i to ponovno u sličnom inventaru – dva željezna noža, brončana igla, ogrlica od staklenih perli, prsten od srebrnog lima i par grozdolikih naušnica od pozlaćenog srebra. Međutim, grob 326 mlađi je od prethodno razmatranih, jer je u njemu pronađen srebrni prsten s ugraviranim pentagramom svojstven najmlađim grobovima na Ždrijacu. Prsteni s pentagramom pronađeni su i u grobu 63 na zapadnom groblju, a na istočnome u grobu 324, poznatom po često spominjanoj križolikoj aplici. Grob 63 krajnji je sjeveroistočni ukop zapadnoga groblja, istočniji od groba 62 s Lotarovim denarom, te se može reći da datira u sredinu 9. stoljeća ili neposredno poslije, a dva ukopa na istočnome groblju mogli bi biti istovremeni ili nešto stariji. Dakle, grobovi 63, 324 i 326 sa Ždrijaca mlađi su od prethodno razmatranih i ukopani su između 820. i 860. godine.

S druge strane, kršćanska simbolika na „muškim“ predmetima javlja se isključivo na karolinškom oružju i ratničkoj opremi, poput mačeva Petersenova tipa K sa Zadvarja i iz Koljana, garnituri za zakopčavanje ostruga iz groba 4 te ostrugama i gar-

very presence does not confirm the huge impact of Christianisation on the society of Dalmatian Slavs. A chronological discrepancy is also apparent, since some female graves can be dated as early as the beginning of the last third of the eighth century, while the two male burials with spurs from Biskupija are much later. Naturally, this does not mean that women adopted Christianity before men, but rather that this phenomenon reflects differently on the material cultures of different sexes. There were probably also items of Christian symbolism made of materials subject to decay, such as wooden crosses, but unfortunately they did not survive the post-depositional processes. Finally, it remains to be answered whether the Christian symbols on Byzantine and Carolingian coins were significant to the beliefs of the persons buried with them. It is difficult to say, but it should be borne in mind that coins are the only group of grave finds that was mass-produced at the time, and that the crosses or *CHRISTIANA RELIGIO* inscriptions were not chosen by their owners, but rather by the mints in which they were made. Suffice it to recall that Abbasid dirhams were placed in Viking graves, which does not mean that Muslims were buried next to them.<sup>89</sup> After all, there were no other Byzantine and Frankish coins at that time, unlike rings or spurs with crosses, chosen according to taste, but also the religious views of the Dalmatian Slavs. As already mentioned, burials with Byzantine gold coins were primarily symbols of the new social order, and not a religious act.

Focusing on the typological and chronological features of the finds makes it impossible to see the bigger picture and recognise the changes that Christianisation brought to the Dalmatian hinterland. Given that the emergence of Christianity coincided with a period of economic growth and social rearrangements, it is to be expected that its influence on burial customs is not so recognisable. However, Christianisation did not directly impact the funeral rites, but its reflection should be viewed as an epiphenomenon. Christianity brought radical changes to the society of Dalmatian Slavs, and these social transformations were reflected in the funeral rites. Therefore, we can try the same procedure as used in the interpretation of the slave trade:

1. The first concrete exposures to Christianity were the result of intensive contacts of Dalmatian Slavs with foreign merchants and coincided with

<sup>87</sup> O korelaciji grobova 53 s Maklinova brda i 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela vidi: Petrinec 2019. Prsten vrlo sličan zlatnom od raskovanog lima iz ninskoga groba 41 potječe iz uništenoga groba s položaja Vrlika - Zduš. Među nalazima iz preostalih uništenih grobova Lujko Marun spominje keramičke posude, par ostruga i dvije srebrne karičice s krajevima u obliku slova S (Marun 1998, str. 157).

<sup>89</sup> Hodges, Whitehouse 1983, pp. 115–116.

nituri za zakopčavanje iz sarkofaga s hipokampima na Crkvini u Biskupiji.<sup>88</sup> Nepoznato je iz kakvoga konteksta potječu mačevi, ali ovi biskupijski ukopi pripadaju razdoblju između 820. i 840. godine. Navedeni nalazi nakita iz ženskih robova i ratničke opreme iz muških grobova jesu izravni pokazatelj, ali ipak malobrojni, i samom svojom prisutnošću nikako ne potvrđuju golem utjecaj kristijanizacije na društvo dalmatinskih Slavena. Primjetna je i kronološka diskrepancija, jer je neke ženske grobove moguće datirati već od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, dok su dva biskupijska muška ukopa s ostrugama dosta mlađa. Naravno da to ne znači da žene prihvaćaju kršćanstvo prije muškaraca, već da se ta pojava različito odražava na materijalnu kulturu različitih spolova. Vjerojatno je usto bilo i predmeta kršćanske simbolike izrađenih od materijala podložnih propadanju, poput drvenih križeva, no oni nažalost nisu preživjeli post-depozitne procese. Naposljetku ostaje pitanje jesu li kršćanski simboli na bizantskom i karolinškom novcu bili značajni za vjerovanja pokojnika koji su s njima sahranjeni. Teško je reći, no treba imati na umu da je novac jedina skupina grobnih nalaza koja je tada proizvedena serijski i da križevi ili natpisi *XRISTIANA RELIGIO* nisu bili odabir njihovih vlasnika, već kovnica u kojima su izrađeni. Dovoljno se prisjetiti da su abasidski dirhami prilagani u vikinškim grobovima i da to nipošto ne znači da su uz njih bili pokopani muslimani.<sup>89</sup> Drukčijih bizantskih i franačkih kovanica tada uostalom nije ni bilo, za razliku od prstenja ili ostruga s križevima, koje su bile birane prema ukusu, ali i vjerskom nazoru dalmatinskih Slavena. Kao što je već rečeno, pokapanje s bizantskim zlatnicima bilo je ponajprije simbol novoga društvenog poretka, a ne religijski čin.

Fokusiranje na tipološke i kronološke osobitosti nalaza onemogućuje sagledavanje šire slike i prepoznavanje promjena koje je kristijanizacija donijela u dalmatinsko zaoblje. S obzirom da pojava kršćanstva koincidira s vremenom gospodarskog rasta i društvenih preslagivanja, očekivati je da njezin utjecaj na običaje pokapanja nije toliko prepoznatljiv. No kristijanizacija i nije izravno utjecala na pogrebni obred, već njezin odraz treba promatrati kao epifenomen. Kršćanstvo je donijelo korjenite promjene u društvo dalmatinskih Slavena, a te su

the economic growth from the beginning of the last third of the eighth century onwards.

2. The emergence of Christianity is confirmed by the finds of rings made of hammered metal decorated with Christian symbols from graves at Ždrijac and Maklinovo brdo, which appeared from the beginning of the last third of the eighth century. Jewellery with Christian symbolism appeared in female graves until the cessation of burials in cemeteries of this horizon. In male graves, Christian symbols have been recorded only on spurs and their fasteners, viz. at Crkvina in Biskupija from burials between AD 820 and 840.

3. The epiphenomenon of Christianisation was a turning point in funeral customs from around AD 820 onwards and regards primarily elite male graves. Just as the emergence of earlier extravagantly furnished graves had been caused by social upheavals and conflicts over the inheritance of property and power, so the new custom appeared as a change in hereditary strategy. Instead of investing in rich grave goods, contenders for leading positions donated to the Church, which then took on the role of arbiter in the process of inheritance. The result of that social compact was the construction of the first churches, which required real and social capital. The focus on which Slavic leaders had hitherto based their power shifted from movable wealth to land ownership, which was also reflected in a reduction in the number of items in the graves of male members of the elite. Although brought about by Christianisation, the change in the funeral rite had no religious significance.

It should be said, however, that surveying Christianisation by way of the graves of members of the elite is a limited approach and can easily turn into an archaeological counterpart of the so-called Constantinian model of conversion, often applied in historical narratives.<sup>90</sup> According to such a notion, Christianisation started from a ruler who sought alliances and short-term political gains through religious conversion. Members of the social elite were Christianised along with him, while those closer to the bottom of the social pyramid were left to the mercy of missionaries.<sup>91</sup> This is not mere simplifying and compressing the process to a single point on the timeline, but also neglecting one of its main drivers – religiousness. In the case of re-Christian-

<sup>88</sup> Bilogrivić 2013; Milošević 2016; Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, str. 213-214, 225-226, 356-358.

<sup>89</sup> Hodges, Whitehouse 1983, str. 115-116.

<sup>90</sup> Petts 2011, pp. 22-26.

<sup>91</sup> Petts 2011, p. 22.

se društvene transformacije odrazile na pogrebni obred. Stoga možemo pokušati s istim postupkom kao kod tumačenja trgovine robljem:

1. Prvi konkretni doticaji s kršćanstvom rezultat su intenzivnih kontakata dalmatinskih Slavena sa stranim trgovcima i koincidiraju s gospodarskim rastom od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća nadalje.

2. Pojavu kršćanstva potvrđuju nalazi prstenja od raskovanog lima ukrašenog kršćanskim simbolima iz grobova na Ždrijacu i Maklinovu brdu, koji se javljaju od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća. Nakit s kršćanskom simbolikom javlja se u ženskim grobovima sve do prestanka pokapanja na grobljima ovog horizonta. U muškim su grobovima kršćanski simboli zabilježeni samo na ostrugama i njihovim garniturama za zakopčavanje, i to na Crkvini u Biskupiji iz ukopa između 820. i 840. godine.

3. Epifenomen kristijanizacije preokret je u pogrebnim običajima od oko 820. godine nadalje i odnosi se ponajprije na elitne muške grobove. Kao što su pojavu ranijih ekstravagantno opremljenih grobova uzrokovala društvena previranja i sukobi oko nasljeđivanja imovine i moći, tako je i novi običaj nastao kao promjena nasljedne strategije. Umjesto ulaganja u bogato opremanje grobova, pretendenti na vodeće položaje darivali su Crkvu koja je tada preuzela ulogu arbitra u procesu nasljeđivanja. Rezultat tog društvenog ugovora je i gradnja prvih crkava, koja je iziskivala stvarni i društveni kapital. Težište na kojemu su slavenski vođe dotad temeljili svoju moć prebacilo se s pokretnog bogatstva na posjedovanje zemlje, što se odrazilo i na reduiranje broja predmeta u grobovima muških pripadnika elite. Premda prouzročena kristijanizacijom, promjena u pogrebnom obredu nije imala religijski značaj.

Treba ipak reći da je promatranje kristijanizacije preko grobova pripadnika elite limitiran pristup i lako se može pretvoriti u arheološki pandan tzv. konstantinovskom modelu konverzije, često primjenjivanom u historijskim narativima.<sup>90</sup> Prema takvome shvaćanju kristijanizacija kreće od vladara koji vjerskim obraćenjem traži savezništva i kratkoročnu političku korist. Uz njega se pokrštavaju i pripadnici društvene elite, dok su oni bliži dnu društvene piramide prepušteni milosti misionara.<sup>91</sup> To nije samo pojednostavnjivanje i sabijanje procesa u jednu točku na vremenskoj crti, već i zanemarivanje



Sl. 18. Nin - Ždrijac, aplika u obliku križa iz groba 324 ukopanog između 820. i 860. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 18 Nin-Ždrijac, cross-shaped appliqué from grave 324, buried between AD 820 and 860 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

isation of the Dalmatian hinterland, it can be seen that the process was relatively long, even in regard to the social elite only, because more than half a century had passed from the appearance of the first Christian finds in cemeteries to the construction of the first pre-Romanesque churches. Also, the time of the first contacts can hardly be associated with a structured principality with central government and global political opportunism. Indeed, analyses of funeral customs suggest that the changes were gradual and that the most conspicuous social transformations caused by the conversion occurred between AD 820 and 840. Although this text discusses changes in the funeral customs of the social elite, it does not necessarily mean that Christianity did not also transform the customs of the rest of the community, but rather that their recognising requires a differently calibrated approach.

## Conclusion

Dalmatia is not particularly highlighted on the maps showing the main routes of the slave trade in Europe between AD 700 and 1000, and not without reason – the routes used by Venetian, Radhanite and other slave traders are marked according to historical records.<sup>92</sup> However, information later

<sup>90</sup> Petts 2011, str. 22-26.

<sup>91</sup> Petts 2011, str. 22.

<sup>92</sup> McCormick 2001, p. 762; Rotman 2009, pp. 60–61; Phillips 1985, p. 44.

jednog od njegovih glavnih pokretača – religioznosti. U slučaju rekristijanizacije dalmatinskoga zaobalja nazire se da je proces bio relativno dugotrajan, čak i ako promatramo samo društvenu elitu, jer je od pojave prvih kršćanskih nalaza na grobljima do izgradnje prvih predromaničkih crkava proteklo više od pola stoljeća. A u vremenu prvih kontakata teško da možemo govoriti o formiranoj kneževini sa središnjom vlašću i globalno-političkome oportunizmu. Dapače, analiza pogrebnih običaja sugerira da su se promjene odvijale postupno te da su najvidljivije društvene preobrazbe izazvane konverzijom nastupile između 820. i 840. godine. Iako su u ovome tekstu razmatrane promjene u pogrebnim običajima društvene elite, to ne mora značiti da kršćanstvo nije preobrazilo i običaje ostatka zajednice, već prije znači to da njihovo prepoznavanje traži drukčije kalibrirani pristup.

### Zaključak

Na zemljovidima koji prikazuju glavne rute trgovine robljem u Europi između 700. i 1000. godine Dalmacija nije posebno istaknuta, i to ne bez razloga – putanje kojima su se kretali mletački, radaniški i drugi trgovci robljem naznačene su prema podacima iz povijesnog zapisa.<sup>92</sup> Međutim, vijesti mlađe od sredine 9. stoljeća, prema kojima su karte i nacrtane, ne odaju previše o samim počecima trgovine slavenskim robljem. Koliko je vjerojatno da su prvi slavenski robovi bili baš oni oslobođeni od svete braće Ćirila i Metoda u Moravskoj i Panoniji? S priličnom dozom sigurnosti možemo reći malo ili nimalo. Mletačka je transkontinentalna trgovina robljem tada imala već stogodišnju tradiciju i u doba ovih događaja bila je na vrhuncu. Prostor jugoistočnih Alpa i zaobalje istočnog Jadrana Mlečanima je bilo najbliže područje naseljeno nekršćanima koji u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća nisu bili zaštićeni državnom organizacijom. U arheološkom je zapisu od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća vidljiv snažan rast gospodarstva dalmatinskih Slavena izazvan širenjem mletačke trgovačke mreže, ali i potaknut unutarnjim društvenim previranjima. Premda su u robnoj razmjeni vjerojatno bili zastupljeni i artikli poput soli i drva, glavni izvozni adut dalmatinskih Slavena bili su dalmatinski Slaveni. U Abasidskom Kalifatu vladala je velika potražnja za robovima

than the mid-ninth century, according to which the maps were made, does not reveal too much about the very beginnings of the trade in Slavic slaves. How probable is it that the first Slavic slaves were precisely those freed by the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius in Moravia and Pannonia? With a fair amount of certainty, we can say – little or nothing. At the time, the Venetian transcontinental slave trade had a hundred-year tradition and was at its peak at the time of these events. The south-eastern Alps and the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic were the closest areas to the Venetians inhabited by non-Christians, who were not protected by any state organisation in the second half of the eighth century. The archaeological record from the beginning of the last third of the eighth century reveals a strong growth of the economy of the Dalmatian Slavs, caused by the expansion of the Venetian trade network, but also compelled by internal social turmoil. Although items such as salt and wood were probably also parts of trade, the main export asset of the Dalmatian Slavs were the Dalmatian Slavs. There was a great demand for slaves in the Abbasid Caliphate due to labour shortages. The Frankish Empire craved for silver, on which the monetary system was based. Venice positioned itself as an intermediary between the leading geopolitical actors of the time. Some of that communication also reached the Dalmatian hinterland to the benefit of all interested parties, including the newly formed Slavic elite, albeit to the detriment of Slavic prisoners with less interest, who were transported by Venetian ships from Dalmatia to their “social death”, as Michael McCormick would put it.<sup>93</sup> The “Christianisation” of Abbasid dirhams by recasting into Carolingian denarii also brought about a wave of church building to Venice in the second half of the eighth and ninth centuries. In addition, strong connections with the Venetian market, brought not only imported items, but also new ideas to the Dalmatian Slavs. Items with Christian symbolism appeared in graves of women of higher social status from the beginning of the last third of the eighth century, simultaneously with the beginning of economic growth. The impact of Christianity on funeral customs was not direct, and the turning point in the custom of male elite burials from 820 onwards was a consequence of the social transformation caused by the integration of the Church into the social life of the

<sup>92</sup> McCormick 2001, str. 762; Rotman 2009, str. 60-61; Phillips 1985, str. 44.

<sup>93</sup> McCormick 2001, p. 744.

zbog deficita radne snage, u Franačkom Carstvu za srebrom na kojemu se temeljio monetarni sustav, a Venecija se postavila kao posrednik između vodećih geopolitičkih aktera toga doba. Rukavac te komunikacije dotakao je i dalmatinsko zaobalje na korist svih zainteresiranih strana, uključujući i novoformiranu slavensku elitu, ali na štetu manje zainteresiranih slavenskih zarobljenika koji su mletačkim brodovima iz Dalmacije prevoženi u “društvenu smrt”, kako bi rekao Michael McCormick.<sup>93</sup> „Pokršćavanje“ abasidskih dirhama pretapanjem u karolinške denare Veneciji je donijelo i val izgradnje crkava u drugoj polovini 8. i u 9. stoljeću. A snažno povezivanje s mletačkim tržištem je osim uvezenih predmeta dalmatinskim Slavenima donijelo i nove ideje. Predmeti s kršćanskom simbolikom javljaju se u grobovima pokojnica višeg društvenog statusa već od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, usporedno s početkom gospodarskog rasta. Utjecaj kršćanstva na pogrebne običaje nije bio izravan i preokret u običaju pokapanja muške elite od 820. godine nadalje posljedica je društvene transformacije prouzročene integracijom Crkve u društveni život dalmatinskih Slavena. S obzirom da promjene možemo pratiti od početka zadnje trećine 8. stoljeća, jasno je da franačko-avarski rat nije bio uzrok, već katalizator društvenih, ekonomskih i religijskih procesa.

Jedan od ciljeva ovoga teksta bio je pokazati da promjena u arheološkom zapisu ne mora biti posljedica velikog povijesnog događaja. Među takve promjene spadaju početak pokapanja na inhumacijskim grobljima u prvoj polovini 8. stoljeća, nekoliko desetljeća kasniji gospodarski rast potaknut trgovinom robljem te istovremeni prvi tragovi kristijanizacije. Odrzi društvenih transformacija na grobljima ukazuju da su se promjene odvijale postupno, što znači da u arheološkom zapisu možemo prepoznati procese, a ne događaje. Zato se čini da ostaje sve manje prostora za bombastične teorije koje sve objašnjavaju jednim događajem. Je li pretpostavka o trgovini robljem u Dalmaciji jedna od tih, prosudit će čitatelj. Nadam se da sam pojasnio kako barem jednako važnim smatram i društvena previranja na unutarnjem planu, odraze kristijanizacije, ali i posvemašnju militarizaciju društva koju je donio franački prodor na jugoistok. Vjerujem ipak da naglašavanje uloge trgovine robljem nije pretjerano. Gospodarski rast u dalmatinskome zaobalju nije nastao ni iz čega, niti su crkve u Veneciji sagra-



Sl. 19. “Pokršćavanje” abasidskih dinara? Na zlatniku kalifa Al-Mansura (760. – 763.) naknadno je urezan križić. Ovaj križić sugerira da su kršćanski simboli na kovanicama ipak bili važni njihovim vlasnicima, ali nažalost ne može se reći kada je zaista bio urezan (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 19. “Christianisation” of Abbassid dinars? A crosslet was subsequently engraved on the gold coin of Caliph al-Mansur (760–763). This crosslet suggests that Christian symbols on coins were important to their owners. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell when it was engraved (photo: Z. Alajbeg).*

Dalmatian Slavs. Given that changes can be traced from the beginning of the last third of the eighth century, it is clear that the Frankish-Avar War was not the cause but the catalyst of social, economic and religious processes.

One of the aims of this paper is to show that a change in the archaeological record does not have to be the result of a major historical event. Such changes include the beginning of burials in inhumation cemeteries in the first half of the eighth century, several decades later economic growth spurred by the slave trade, and simultaneous first traces of Christianisation. Reflections of social transformations in cemeteries indicate that the changes were gradual, meaning that processes rather than events can be recognised in the archaeological record. This is why there seems to be less and less room for bombastic theories that explain everything based on a single event. The readers will judge whether the assumption of the slave trade in Dalmatia is one of these. I hope I made it clear that I consider the internal social turmoil, the reflections of Christianisation, as well as the complete militarisation of

<sup>93</sup> McCormick 2001, str. 744.

đene od papra. Činjenica da u arheološkom zapisu nema izravnih dokaza na prvi pogled djeluje obehrabrujuće, no moramo se zapitati kakvi bi to dokazi uopće bili. Natpis na arhitravu oltarne ograde koji svjedoči da je donator crkve trgovac robljem? Brojni nalazi željeznih okova u ninskoj laguni i duž cesta prema unutrašnjosti? Jasno je da se trgovina robljem nije ni mogla odraziti na materijalnu kulturu na takav banalan način. Za groblja i kristijanizaciju bismo mogli reći isto da nije pronađeno svega nekoliko prstenova ili ostruga s kršćanskim simbolima koje približno datiraju proces, ali u tako malome broju nimalo ne odaju njegov značaj. Ipak, na grobljima su zabilježeni epifenomeni trgovine robljem i kristijanizacije vidljivi u socioekonomskim obilježjima pogrebnih običaja. Premda je riječ o neizravnim posljedicama, to ni najmanje ne umanjuje značenje ovih procesa u formiranju arheološkoga zapisa, a time ni mogućnost da se o njima raspravlja iz arheološkoga gledišta.

society brought about by the Frankish invasion of the south-east at least equally important. I believe, however, that the emphasis on the role of the slave trade is not inordinate. Economic growth in the Dalmatian hinterland did not come out of thin air, nor were the churches in Venice built of pepper. The fact that there is no direct evidence in the archaeological record seems daunting at first glance, but we have to ask ourselves what kind of evidence it would be, after all. An inscription on the architrave of an altar-screen that testifies that the donor of the church was a slave trader? Numerous finds of iron shackles in the Nin lagoon and along the roads inland? It is evident that the slave trade could not have reflected on material culture at all in such a banal way. The same could be said with regard to the cemeteries and Christianisation, i.e. that only a few rings or spurs with Christian symbols have been discovered, which approximately date the process, but do not reveal its significance at all in such small numbers. Nevertheless, the epiphenomena of the slave trade and Christianisation, visible in the socio-economic features of funeral customs, have been recorded in cemeteries. Although the consequences are indirect, this does not in the least diminish the significance of these processes in the formation of the archaeological record, and thus the possibility of discussing them from an archaeological point of view.

*(D. G.)*

## Kratice / Abbreviations

BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
EAA	European Association of Archaeologists
HAM	Hortus Artium Medievalium, Zagreb – Motovun
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split
TRW	Transformation of the Roman World Series, Leiden – Boston
VAMZ	Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split

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