

RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNI UKOP S NOVCEM BAZILIJA I. IZ STANKOVACA

EARLY MEDIEVAL BURIAL CONTAINING COIN OF BASIL I FOUND IN STANKOVCI

U radu se objavljuje nalaz ranosrednjovjekovnog groba koji je otkriven na rubnom dijelu polja u mjestu Stankovci kod Benkovca. U grobu su pronađeni solid Bazilija I., u funkciji obola, zatim željezna pojasna kopča, cjevasti okov pojasa i željezno šilo. Ti se nalazi u literaturi vezuju za groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja, koja se datiraju uglavnom do sredine 9. stoljeća. U grobu pronađeni zlatnik Bazilija I. kovan je u Konstantinopolu, između 867. i 882. godine. Grob iz Stankovaca pokazuje da se nalazi koji se drže specifičnima za groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja sigurno javljaju i u posljednjim desetljećima 9. stoljeća. Sukladno tome treba pomaknuti i gornju granicu datiranja spomenutih groblja. Taj nalaz također ističe potrebu opreznijeg pristupa prilikom datiranja s osloncem na pojedinačne numizmatičke nalaze, koji mogu poslužiti isključivo kao *terminus post quem*.

Ključne riječi: groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja, ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi, obol, Bazilije I.

The paper presents the findings of an early medieval grave discovered on the edge of a field in Stankovci near Benkovac. The solidus of Basil I with the function of an obol was found in the grave, along with an iron belt buckle, a tubular belt fitting, and an iron awl. According to sources, these findings are associated with cemeteries with pagan burial features, dating mainly to the middle of the 9th century. The gold coin of Basil I found in the grave was minted in Constantinople between 867 and 882. The grave from Stankovci shows that findings specific to row cemeteries with pagan burial features certainly appear in the last decades of the 9th century. The upper dating limit of the mentioned cemeteries should be moved accordingly. This finding also highlights the need for a more cautious approach to dating on the basis of individual numismatic findings, which can serve exclusively as a *terminus post quem*.

Key words: cemeteries with pagan burial features, early medieval graves, obol, Basil I.

UVOD

U radu se donosi opis ranosrednjovjekovnog ukopa slučajno pronađenog u listopadu 2021. u Stankovcima. Iako je riječ o tek jednom grobu, uokolo kojeg će vjerojatno uslijediti daljnja istraživanja, pojedinačno objavljivanje groba opravdava značenje koje nalaz ima za razmatranje kronologije groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države.¹ Na početku se iznose podatci o položaju i okolnostima pronalaska. Slijedi opis groba i valorizacija pojedinačnih predmeta koji su u grobu zatečeni. Na koncu razmatra se položaj tog nalaza u kontekstu kronologije ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države.

OKOLNOSTI NALAZA

Grob je otkriven na sjevernom rubnom dijelu polja koje se proteže u pravcu jugoistok-sjeverozapad, podno sela Stankovaca.² Taj položaj udaljen je oko 2,5 kilometra sjeverozapadno od crkve Male Gospe, ispod koje je pronađena antička vila, a u blizini koje je istraženo ranosrednjovjekovno groblje kod Klarića kuća i jedan pojedinačni srednjovjekovni grob.³ Prilikom izlaska na teren zatekli smo iskopanu



Slika 1. Poklopnica groba zatečena na mjestu iskopavanja
Figure 1. The cover of the grave found at the excavation site

foto / photo: I. Čondić

- 1 U ovom radu nazivom *groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja* ne ističe se poganski, odnosno nekršćanski karakter groblja ili ukopa. Taj i njemu slični nazivi koriste se uglavnom da bi se označio u ranijim radovima prepoznat i relativno kronološki izdvojen korpus nalaza.
- 2 O nalazu groba doznali smo od gospodina Martina Pelajića koji nas je telefonski obavijestio da je njegov otac Marinko oruči zemlju izvukao veću kamenu ploču. Po dojavu smo s gospodinom Marinkom dogovorili izlazak na teren. Ovom prilikom želim zahvaliti obitelji Pelajić i susjedima na gostoprimstvu i potpori tijekom četverodnevno istraživanja.
- 3 Vidi J. Belošević 1985.

INTRODUCTION

The paper presents a description of an early medieval burial discovered accidentally in October 2021 in Stankovci. Although it is a single grave, which is likely to be followed by further research, the individual publication of the grave is justified because of the significance of the finding for the chronology of row cemeteries with pagan burial features in the early medieval Duchy of Croatia.¹ At the beginning, information on the position and the circumstances about the discovery are presented. This is followed by a description of the grave and the valorisation of individual items found in the grave. Finally, the position of this finding is considered in the context of the chronology of early medieval cemeteries in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY

The grave was discovered on the northern edge of the field which stretches in the southeast-northwest direction, at the foot of the village of Stankovci.² This site is located about 2.5 kilometres northwest of the church of Our Lady, under which an ancient villa was found. An early medieval cemetery near Klarića kuća and a single medieval grave were



Slika 2. Oblik istočnog kraja grobne jame vidljiv u tlu nakon uklanjanja poklopnice

Figure 2. The shape of the eastern end of the grave-pit visible in the ground after the removal of the cover

foto / photo: I. Čondić

- 1 In this paper, the term *row cemetery with pagan burial features* does not emphasize the pagan or non-Christian character of a cemetery or a burial. This and similar terms are used mainly to denote the corpus of findings recognized, and relatively chronologically separated in earlier papers.
- 2 We learned about the grave discovery from Mr. Martin Pelajić, who informed us by phone that his father Marinko had pulled out a large stone slab while ploughing the ground. After receiving the tip, we arranged a visit to the field with Mr. Marinko. On this occasion, I would like to thank the Pelajić family and the neighbours for their hospitality and support during the four-day research.

kamenu ploču i obilježen položaj na kojem je pronađena. Prema kazivanju vlasnika iskopana je plugom kojim se ora- lo do dubine oko 50 centimetara. Od sredine prošlog sto- ljeća mještani su na tom položaju, na potezu 40 do 50 me- tara sjeverozapadno i jugoistočno od mjesta pronalaska te ploče, tijekom obrade zemlje također nailazili na kamene ploče, a prilikom postavljanja stupova za struju, pronašli su i jedan grob. Na temelju prikupljenih informacija može se pretpostaviti postojanje groblja koje se proteže uz rub po- lja u dužini oko 90 metara.

Na mjestu koje je označio pronalazač pronašli smo i istražili jedan grob. Nad grobom su se vjerojatno nalazi- le dvije kamene ploče načinjene od pločasto uslojenog vapnenca, bez naknadne dorade površina. Jedna je od njih ranije spomenuta ploča izvađena prilikom oranja, dok je druga zatečena nad jugoistočnim krajem groba, na svom izvornom položaju (Sl. 1).⁴ Grobnu komoru predstavlja jama iskopana u tlu, orijentirana sjeveroza- pad-jugoistok. Zapuna jame bila je znatno tamnija od okolnog tla (Sl. 2), što je omogućilo utvrđivanje njezinih gabarita. Izduženog je pravokutnog tlocrta, duga do 225 i široka do 70 cm (Sl. 3, 4). Pod pretpostavkom da razina na kojoj je zatečena ploča nad grobom predstavlja razinu tla u vrijeme kopanja jame, možemo zaključiti da je grobna jama bila duboka 54 cm. Na dnu jame, is- pod prsnog dijela kostura, nalazila se tanja kamena plo- ča položena okomito na uzdužnu os groba. Isto tako, ispod potkoljenica nalazile su se, okomito na uzdužnu os položene, dvije kamene ploče (Sl. 4). Svrha tako po- stavljenih ploča nije jasna. Jedna je od mogućnosti da su postavljene da bi se na njih položila daska ili mrtvač- ki sanduk s tijelom pokojnika. Treba ipak naglasiti da tragovi drveta, koji bi govorili u prilog toj pretpostavci, nisu uočeni. Zapunu groba činila je zemlja uglavnom tamnija od okolnog tla. Zapuna je sadržavala manju ko- ličinu sitnijih ulomaka gareži, sporadične nalaze uloma- ka grube keramike i dvije manje kosti životinjskog po- drijetla. Jedan od ulomaka keramike, s nizom horizon- talnih, paralelnih brazda na vanjskoj stijenci, nalazio se direktno na kostima pokojnika. U grobu je zatečen ko- stur odrasle osobe, pokopan na leđima, u ispruženom položaju, s rukama ispruženim niz tijelo i glavom na sjeverozapadu (Sl. 3).⁵

explored in the vicinity of the church.³ During the field visit we found an excavated stone slab and a marker indicating the location of the discovery. According to the owner, it was dug out with a plough to a depth of about 50 centimetres. Since the middle of the last century, while cultivating the land, the locals have found stone slabs in this position, 40 to 50 meters northwest and southeast of the location where this slab was found. Based on the collected information, it can be assumed that there is a cemetery that stretches for about 90 meters along the edge of the field.

At the site marked by the discoverer, we found and ex- plored a single grave. Above the grave, there were probably two stone slabs made of slab-layered limestone, with no sub- sequent finishing of the surfaces. One of them is the previous- ly mentioned slab taken out during the ploughing, while the other was found above the south-eastern end of the grave, in its original position (Fig. 1).⁴ The burial chamber is a pit exca- vated in the ground, oriented northwest-southeast. The filling of the pit was significantly darker than the surrounding soil (Fig. 2), which made it possible to determine its dimensions. It has an elongated rectangular ground plan, up to 225 cm long and up to 70 cm wide (Figs. 3, 4). Assuming that the level at which the slab above the grave was found represents the ground level at the time of digging the pit, we can conclude that the grave-pit was 54 cm deep. At the bottom of the pit, below the thorax of the skeleton, there was a thinner stone slab laid perpendicular to the longitudinal axis of the tomb. Also, below the tibias, two stone slabs were laid perpendicular to the longitudinal axis (Fig. 4). The purpose of such slabs is not clear. One possibility is that they were placed to lay a plank or coffin with the body of the deceased on them. However, it should be emphasized that there were no observable traces of wood which would support this assumption. The grave was filled with earth mostly darker than the surrounding soil. The filling contained a smaller amount of smaller fragments of charcoal, sporadic findings of fragments of coarse pottery, and two small bones of animal origin. One of the pottery frag- ments with a series of horizontal, parallel grooves on the outer wall was found directly on the bones of the deceased. An adult skeleton was found in the grave, buried on its back, in an out- stretched position, with its arms outstretched down its body and head pointing to the northwest (Fig. 3).⁵

3 See J. Belošević 1985.

4 A previously excavated slab is 123 cm long, 66 cm wide and 11 cm thick, while a slab discovered during an excavation over the grave is 116 cm long, 68 cm wide and 11 cm thick.

5 The bones are well preserved. The hands of the deceased were slightly bent at the elbows, and the bones of the right hand were on the right side of the pelvis, and the left on the left side. The radial bone of the right hand was not found in its original position. The skull was found turned to the left, and it was completely crushed under the pressure of the ground. The mandible was not found in its original location; one half of it was found at the left shoulder and the other at the right side of the thorax. Partial depression of the skeleton is noticeable, in the area northwest of the slab which was found below the thorax of the deceased. The position of the long bones of the legs speaks volumes about the certain movement of the bones during the decay of the skeleton.

4 Ranije izvađena ploča duga je 123, široka 66 i debela 11 cm, dok je ploča otkrivena tijekom istraživanja nad grobom duga 116, široka 68 i debela 11 cm. Kostu su dobro sačuvane. Ruke pokojnika blago su savijene u laktovima, kosti desne šake nalazile su se na desnoj, a lijeve na lijevoj zdjelici. Palčana kost desne ruke nije zatečena u izvornom položaju. Lubanja je zatečena okrenuta na lijevu stranu, pod pritiskom tla u potpunosti je bila zgnječena. Mandibula nije zatečena na izvornom mjestu, jedna polovica nalazila se kod lijevog ramena, a druga na desnoj strani prsiju. Primjetno je utonuće dijela kostura, na prostoru sjeverozapadno od ploče koja se nalazila ispod prsnog koša pokojnika. O određenom pomicanju kostiju tijekom raspadanja kostura slikovito govori položaj dugih kostiju nogu.



Slika 3. Očišćen grob s kosturom

Figure 3. Cleaned grave with skeleton

foto / photo: I. Čondić

NALAZI U GROBU

Ispod desne zdjelice kostura pronađena je željezna pojasna kopča, a uz njezin vanjski rub željezni cjevasti okov jezičca pojasa (Sl. 5: 1–2). Željezna pojasna kopča sastoji se od polukružne pređice narebrenog oboda i četvrtastog okova načinjenog od željeznog lima presavijenog preko osovine pređice. Okov je dvjema zakovicama bio pričvršćen na remen. Širina je pređice 50 mm, a dužina 33 mm. Okov je širok 35 i dug 30 mm. Cjevasti okov jezičca pojasa načinjen je od debljeg željeznog lima presavijenog u cjevčicu, tako da se krajevi ne dodiruju, pa po sredini ima otvor. Na vanjskoj strani ukrašen je nizom rebara. Okov je dužine 66 mm i promjera 11 mm. Na temelju istovjetnog narebrenog ukrasa i položaja na kojem su zatečeni, može se zaključiti da kopča i jezičac čine komplet garniture pojasa. S garniturom pojasa iz Stankovaca usporedive su garniture iz Koljana kod Vrlike, iz groba 13 s Razbojina u Kašiću, iz groba 312 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu, iz groba 165 na Begovači i iz Jasenskog kod Sinja, koje se također sastoje od pojasne kopče s



Slika 4. Grob nakon vađenja kostura

Figure 4. The grave after the exhumation of the skeleton

foto / photo: I. Čondić

FINDINGS FROM THE GRAVE

An iron belt buckle was found under the right side of the skeleton's pelvis, and an iron tubular fitting of the belt pin was found along its outer edge (Fig. 5: 1–2). The iron belt buckle consists of a semi-circular frame with a ribbed rim and a square fitting made of iron sheet folded over the axis of the buckle. The fitting was fastened to the belt with two rivets. The width of the buckle is 50 mm, and the length is 33 mm. The fitting is 35 mm wide and 30 mm long. The tubular fitting of the belt pin is made of thicker iron sheet folded into a tube so that the ends do not touch, so it has an opening in the middle. The outer part of the fitting is decoratively ribbed. The fitting is 66 mm long and 11 mm in diameter. Based on the identical ribbed decoration and the position in which they were found, it can be concluded that the buckle and the pin form a belt set. The belt sets from Koljan near Vrlika, from grave 13 from Razbojina in Kašić, the grave 312 from Ždrijac in Nin, the grave 165 in Begovača and from Jasenski near Sinj are comparable to the belt set from Stankovci, which also consists of a belt buckle with a semi-circular frame and the corresponding tubular pin fitting.⁶ Based on the description given by F. Radić, it can be assumed that an iron set found in Biskupija in the sarcophagus adorned with hippocampi can also be compared.⁷ A. Milošević was the first to comment on the

6 F. Radić 1897, 103–106, 108; D. Jelovina 1968, 28, 44, pl. 3: 5–6; J. Belošević 1980, pl. 28: 4–5; D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović. 1981, 79–80, pl. 9; A. Milošević 1984, 196–197, figs. 19–20. The set from grave 168 from Ždrijac near Nin might also be included in this group. Due to its poor preservation, it is not possible to determine whether the fibula was semi-circular or rectangular. Cf. J. Belošević 2007, 142, 298, pl. 77: 4–6.

7 F. Radić 1896, 75–76, 84; A. Milošević 2009, 556.

polukružnom pređicom i pripadajućeg cjevastog okova jezičca.⁶ Na temelju opisa koji donosi F. Radić, može se pretpostaviti da je usporediv željezni komplet pronađen i u sarkofagu s hipokampima u Biskupiji.⁷ Na cjevaste okove jezičca pojasa, pronađene na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine, prvi se osvrnuo A. Milošević. Tom je prilikom njihovu pojavu doveo u vezu s početkom znatnijih franačkih utjecaja na našem prostoru, pa je shodno tome tu grupu predmeta datirao u 9. stoljeće.⁸ O cjevastim okovima opširnije je pisala i M. Petrinec. Ona ukazuje na nalaz tog tipa okova u grobu 181 na nekropoli Greblje u Kninu, datiran u 7. stoljeće, pa iznosi mišljenje da makar dio takvih nalaza iz ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova s poganskim obilježjima pokapanja ne treba dovoditi u vezu s franačkim importom.⁹ Na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine nabraja deset nalaza cjevastih okova jezičca pojasa i iznosi mišljenje da se oni ne javljaju u grobljima s kršćanskim načinom pokapanja, odnosno nakon sredine 9. stoljeća.¹⁰ J. Belošević sumira zaključke ranije spomenutih autora te cjevaste okove datira u kraj 8. i prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća.¹¹ Za razliku od cjevastih okova jednostavne pojasne kopče s pravokutnim okovom i polukružnom pređicom ne drže se kronološki uže opredjeljivima.¹² Ipak, na temelju određenih analogija, na koje je ranije ukazao i A. Milošević, kopču s polukružnom pređicom nabranog oboda s Vukovića mosta u Koljanima M. Petrinec datira u kraj 8. i početak 9. stoljeća.¹³ Uvidom u katalog nalaza grobova od 8. do 11. stoljeća, koji donosi M. Petrinec, čini se da pojasne kopče tog oblika u potpunosti izostaju u ranosrednjovjekovnim grobovima s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja, dok su u grobovima s poganskim značajkama pokapanja susreću učestalije.¹⁴

Uz donji dio kralješnice kostura pronađeno je željezno šilo (Sl. 5: 3). Dužine je 68 mm, pravokutnog presjeka, jedan kraj mu je zašiljen, a drugi povijen u ušicu. Taj tip šila, kod kojeg je jedan kraj povijen u ušicu, pokazuje se specifičnim za naš prostor te se u drugim suvremenim slavenskim grobljima uglavnom ne pojavljuje.¹⁵ Slična šila javljaju se u kasnoantičkim grobovima zbog čega se

tubular fittings of the belt pin found in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia. On that occasion, he linked their appearance with the beginning of the significant Frankish influences in our area, and he accordingly dated this group of objects to the 9th century.⁸ M. Petrinec also wrote in detail about tubular fittings. She points to the discovery of this type of fitting in grave 181 at the Greblje necropolis in Knin, dating to the 7th century, and argues that at least some of these findings from early medieval tombs with pagan burial features should not be linked to Frankish import.⁹ In the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia, she lists ten findings of belt pin tubular fittings and expresses the opinion that they do not appear in cemeteries with Christian burial methods, i.e. after the middle of the 9th century.¹⁰ J. Belošević summarizes the conclusions of the previously mentioned authors and dates the tubular fittings to the end of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century.¹¹ Unlike tubular fittings, simple belt buckles with rectangular fittings and semi-circular frames cannot be chronologically narrowed down.¹² However, based on certain analogies indicated earlier by A. Milošević, M. Petrinec dates the buckle with a semi-circular frame and a ribbed rim from the Vukovića most in Koljani to the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century.¹³ An insight into the catalogue of grave findings from the 8th to the 11th century, published by M. Petrinec, apparently shows that belt buckles of this shape are completely absent in the early medieval tombs with Christian burial features, while they are more common in graves with pagan burial features.¹⁴

An iron awl was found along the lower part of the skeleton spine (Fig. 5: 3). It is 68 mm long with rectangular cross-section; one end is pointed and the other is bent into a loop. This type of awl, with one end bent into a loop, proves to be specific to our area and does not generally appear in other modern Slavic cemeteries.¹⁵ Similar awls occur in Late Antique graves, which is why they are assumed to have been taken directly from the indigenous population.¹⁶ Their function has not yet been clarified.¹⁷ According to other findings of graves with pagan burial features, the awls are also dated approximately to the 8th and the first

6 F. Radić 1897, 103–106, 108; D. Jelovina 1968, 28, 44, T. 3: 5–6; J. Belošević 1980, T. 28: 4–5; D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović. 1981, 79–80, T. 9; A. Milošević 1984, 196–197, sl. 19–20. U ovu bi se grupu možda mogla ubrojiti i garnitura iz groba 168 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu. Kod nje se zbog loše očuvanosti ne može se utvrditi je li pređica bila polukružnog ili pravokutnog oblika. Usp. J. Belošević 2007, 142, 298, T. 77: 4–6.
7 F. Radić 1896, 75–76, 84; A. Milošević 2009, 556.
8 A. Milošević 1984, 208–209.
9 M. Petrinec 2006, 22–24.
10 M. Petrinec 2009, 139–140, 149–151, 599. Autorica spominje deset nalaza cjevastih okova. Iz korpusa je isključila okov iz groba 168 sa Ždrijaca, kao i okov iz groba 322 s istog nalazišta, koji interpretira kao dio ogrlice.
11 J. Belošević 2007, 298–299.
12 M. Petrinec 2009, 149, 599.
13 A. Milošević 2000, 118; M. Petrinec 2009, 177.
14 Usp. M. Petrinec 2009.
15 J. Belošević 1980, 120–121; 2007, 290–291; 2010, 112–114; M. Petrinec 2009, 183. Autori donose popis do tada objavljenih nalaza.

8 A. Milošević 1984, 208–209.
9 M. Petrinec 2006, 22–24.
10 M. Petrinec 2009, 139–140, 149–151, 599. The author mentions ten findings of tubular fittings. She excluded from the corpus the fittings from grave 168 from Ždrijac, as well as the fittings from grave 322 from the same site, which she interprets as part of a necklace.
11 J. Belošević 2007, 298–299.
12 M. Petrinec 2009, 149, 599.
13 A. Milošević 2000, 118; M. Petrinec 2009, 177.
14 Cf. M. Petrinec 2009.
15 J. Belošević 1980, 120–121; 2007, 290–291; 2010, 112–114; M. Petrinec 2009, 183. The authors provide a list of findings published so far.
16 J. Belošević 1980, 121–122.
17 J. Belošević argues that they mainly had the function of cutlery. A. Milošević tries to further strengthen this opinion by remarking that they are regularly found with larger or smaller knives in graves in Dalmatia, which is not the case with the grave in question from Stankovci. See J. Belošević 1980, 121–122; A. Milošević 1984, 209–210.



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Slika 5. Nalazi iz groba

foto / photo: I. Čondić

pretpostavlja da su izravno preuzeta od autohtonog stanovništva.¹⁶ Funkcija im još uvijek nije razjašnjena.¹⁷ Sukladno ostalim nalazima grobova s poganskim načinom ukapanja i šila se datiraju okvirno u 8. i prvu polovinu ili pak rano 9. stoljeće.¹⁸ M. Petrinec također ih definira kao inventar grobova s poganskim značajkama pokapanja, ali ih datira do kraja 9. stoljeća.¹⁹ U novije vrijeme željezno šilo pronađeno je u grobu 14, na tumulu Jokina

Figure 5. Findings from the grave

half or the early 9th century.¹⁸ M. Petrinec also defines them as an inventory of graves with pagan burial features, but dates them to the end of the 9th century.¹⁹ Recently, an iron awl was found in grave 14, on the Jokina glavica tumulus in Krneza near Zadar. This grave is a part of a smaller group of six graves with pagan burial features, approximately dating to the 8th and first half of the 9th century, among which one burial is dated by the ¹⁴C method between 770 and 900.²⁰ A single awl was found in the grave 14 at the Banovac site in Nin, which is roughly dated to the 8th and first half of the 9th century, while one of the graves, attributed

16 J. Belošević 1980, 121–122.

17 J. Belošević priklanja se mišljenju da im je osnovna namjena bila ta da su služili kao pribor za jelo. To mišljenje A. Milošević pokušava dodatno učvrstiti primjedbom da se oni u grobovima u Dalmaciji redovito nalaze s većim ili manjim nožem, što nije slučaj s predmetnim grobom iz Stankovaca. Vidi J. Belošević 1980, 121–122; A. Milošević 1984, 209–210.

18 J. Belošević 1980, 136; A. Milošević 1984, 209; J. Belošević 2010, 114.

19 M. Petrinec 2009, 183–184, 617.

18 J. Belošević 1980, 136; A. Milošević 1984, 209; J. Belošević 2010, 114.

19 M. Petrinec 2009, 183–184, 617.

20 K. Gusar 2012, 49, 54, 63, 64, 66.

glavica u Krnezi kod Zadra. Taj grob dio je manje skupine od šest grobova s poganskim načinom pokapanja, koja se okvirno datira u 8. i prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća, među kojima je jedan ukop datiran ¹⁴C metodom između 770. i 900. godine.²⁰ Jedno šilo pronađeno je u grobu 14 na položaju Banovac u Ninu, koji se okvirno datira u 8. i prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća, dok je jedan od grobova, pripisan istom horizontu, ¹⁴C metodom datiran između 769. i 901. godine.²¹

Uz desnu stranu lubanje pokojnika u grobu iz Stankovaca pronađen je solid cara Bazilija I. (867. – 886.), kovan u Konstantinopolu (Sl. 5: 4).²² Vrijeme puštanja tog tipa novca u optjecaj nije pouzdano utvrđeno. Vezuje se za prigodu krunjenja njegova starijeg sina i suvladara Konstantina (prosinac 867. – veljača 868.), uz razdoblje prije krunjenja njegova mlađeg sina Lava (870.), uz prigodu komemoriranja smrti njegova starijeg sina Konstantina (879.) i supruge Eudokije (882.) te uz trijumfalni završetak kampanje u Siriji (879.).²³ Na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine, za razliku od velikog broja zlatnika Konstantina V. Kopronima (760. – 775.), kovanih u Sirakuzi, i brojnih zlatnika cara Teofila (829. – 842.), rijetki su nalazi zlatnika tog vladara.²⁴ Jedan zlatnik Bazilija I. bez poblize određenih okolnosti nalaza potječe iz Smokovca kod Knina.²⁵ Za vrijeme vladavine Bazilija I. na prostoru istočne obale Jadrana osnovana je bizantska tema Dalmacija. Dalmatinski gradovi koji su bili dio teme, plaćali su tribut vladarima susjednih Sklavinija u zlatu.²⁶ U tom kontekstu nalaz solida Bazilija I. u grobu u Stankovcima, na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine, može se smatrati očekivanim. Dapače, s obzirom na politiku koju je taj vladar vodio u odnosu na istočnu obalu Jadrana, trebalo bi ih očekivati znatno više no što je do sada pronađeno.²⁷ Novac bizantskih vladara pronađen je za sada u trinaest ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova na prostoru Hrvatske. U svim slučajevima riječ je o solidima Konstantina V., kovanim u Sirakuzi.²⁸ Prilikom prve objave jedan od njih prepoznat je kao novac cara Bazilija I., što je kasnije odbačeno.²⁹

to the same horizon, is dated by the ¹⁴C method between 769 and 901.²¹

A solidus of Emperor Basil I (867–886) minted in Constantinople, was found along the right side of the skull of the deceased in the grave from Stankovci (Fig. 5: 4).²² The date of minting of this type of coin has not been reliably determined. It is associated with the coronation of his older son and co-ruler Constantine (December 867–February 868), with the period before the coronation of his younger son Leo (870), with the commemoration of the death of his older son Constantine (879) and his wife Eudokia (882), and with the triumphant end of the campaign in Syria (879).²³ In the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia, findings of gold coins of this ruler are rare, unlike a large number of gold coins of Constantine V Copronymus (760–775) minted in Syracuse, and numerous gold coins of Emperor Theophilus (829–842).²⁴ A single gold coin of Basil I, without any closely determined circumstances, was discovered in Smokovci near Knin.²⁵ A Byzantine theme of Dalmatia was founded on the eastern Adriatic coast during the reign of Basil I. The Dalmatian cities that were part of the theme paid tribute to the rulers of the neighbouring Slaveni in gold.²⁶ In this context, the finding of the solidus of Basil I in the grave in Stankovci can be considered as an expected finding in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia. Indeed, given the policy led by this ruler regarding the eastern Adriatic coast, more coins should be expected than there has been found so far. The coins of the Byzantine rulers have been found so far in thirteen early medieval graves in Croatia.²⁷ In all cases, these are the solidus of Constantine V, minted in Syracuse.²⁸ During the first publication, one coin was recognized as the coin of Emperor Basil I, which was later rejected.²⁹ In addition to thirteen burials with Byzantine gold coins, two graves with the Carolingian deniers of Lothar I (840–855) were also found.³⁰ The coins from Stankovci are currently the earliest

20 K. Gusar 2012, 49, 54, 63, 64, 66.

21 M. Dadić 2020, 368, bilj. 29.

22 Promjer novca 19,8 mm; težina: 4,47 g. Avers: +BASILIOS AUGUST' b', okrunjena bista Bazilija I. u lorosu, u desnoj ruci drži globus s patrijarhalnim križem, u lijevoj akakiju. Revers: COHSTAHT S EVDOCIA, bista Konstantina u klamidi i njegove pomajke Eudokije u lorosu. C. Morrison 1970, 541, tip 2; P. Grierson 1993, 489, Class III.

23 F. Füeg 2007, 31; C. Morrison 1970, 538; P. Grierson 1993, 476, 481; V. Penna 2010, 670, 671, 673.

24 U muzejima u južnoj Hrvatskoj, prema T. Šeparoviću, čuva se 75 zlatnika Konstantina V. i više desetaka zlatnika cara Teofila. T. Šeparović 2020, 24, 34, 35, 40, bilj. 3. Autor u novoj knjizi donosi i ažuriran popis. Vidi T. Šeparović 2021, 58–66, 80–82, 259.

25 V. Delonga 1981, 217, kat. 37, T. 10: 37.

26 N. Klaić 1971, 242–244.

27 Na ovu činjenicu upozorio je T. Šeparović 2021, 84.

28 M. Petrinec 2009, 195–196; T. Šeparović 2020, 24–27.

29 Determinaciju po Š. Ljubiću, a kasnije i fotografiju spornog zlatnika donio je F. Radić. Fotografija, koju naknadno donosi F. Radić, prikazuje solid Konstantina V. Noviji autori uglavnom su suglasni da je Š. Ljubić pogrešno odredio novac. Posebno uvjerljive argumente vezane za ovo pitanje iznio je T. Šeparović. Vidi F. Radić 1896, 71, 72, 74, 75, 84; F. Radić 1896b, 146, sl. 2; V. Delonga 1981, 206, kat. 20; T. Šeparović 2020, 28–29; T. Šeparović 2021, 68.

21 M. Dadić 2020, 368, n. 29.

22 Coin diameter 19.8 mm; weight: 4.47 g. Obverse: +BASILIOS AUGUST' b', a crowned bust of Basil I in loros, holding a globe with a patriarchal cross in his right hand, and an acacia in his left. Reverse: COHSTAHT S EVDOCIA, a bust of Constantine in chlamys and his stepmother Eudokia in loros. C. Morrison 1970, 541, type 2; P. Grierson 1993, 489, Class III.

23 F. Füeg 2007, 31; C. Morrison 1970, 538; P. Grierson 1993, 476, 481; V. Penna 2010, 670, 671, 673.

24 According to T. Šeparović, 75 gold coins of Constantine V and dozens of gold coins of Emperor Theophilus are kept in museums in southern Croatia. T. Šeparović 2020, 24, 34, 35, 40, n. 3. The author brings an updated list in the new book. See T. Šeparović 2021, 58–66, 80–82, 259.

25 V. Delonga 1981, 217, cat. 37, pl. 10: 37.

26 N. Klaić 1971, 242–244.

27 T. Šeparović warned about this fact in T. Šeparović 2021, 84.

28 M. Petrinec 2009, 195–196; T. Šeparović 2020, 24–27.

29 The classification according to Š. Ljubić, and later a photograph of the disputed gold coin was presented by F. Radić. The photograph, which was subsequently presented by F. Radić, shows the solidus of Constantine V. Newer authors generally agree that Š. Ljubić had classified the coin incorrectly. Particularly convincing arguments related to this issue were presented by T. Šeparović. See F. Radić 1896, 71, 72, 74, 75, 84; F. Radić 1896b, 146, fig. 2; V. Delonga 1981, 206, cat. 20; T. Šeparović 2020, 28–29; T. Šeparović 2021, 68.

30 J. Belošević 1980, 26; M. Petrinec 2009, 195; T. Šeparović 2020, 36–37.

Osım trinaest ukopa s bizantskim zlatnicima pronađena su i dva groba s karolinškim denarima Lotara I. (840. – 855.).³⁰ Novac iz Stankovaca za sada je najmlađi primjerak novca pronađen u ranosrednjovjekovnim grobovima na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine. Nalazi novca 8. i 9. stoljeća u grobovima na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine vezuju se u pravilu za poganski horizont ukapanja.³¹ J. Belošević drži da se pojava novca u grobovima može dovesti u vezu s franačkim i bizantskim utjecajima na prijelazu iz 8. u 9. stoljeće, a traje do druge polovine 9. stoljeća.³² M. Petrinec ukazuje na to da se na zapadu u ranokarolinškom razdoblju pojavljuju oboli koji će zamijeniti sve druge priloge u grobovima, pa konstatira da su Hrvati taj običaj preuzeli sa zapada, što se prema njoj moglo dogoditi i prije 800. godine.³³ T. Šeparović ustvrdio je da su običaj polaganja obola u grobove Hrvati preuzeli sa zapada, prije 800. godine. Običaj se zadržao do sredine 9. stoljeća, o čemu svjedoči grob 62 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu.³⁴

Pronađeni nalazi grob iz Stankovaca svrstavaju među grobove tipične za groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine.³⁵ U nedostatku kronoloških pokazatelja, pitanje najranijih datuma pojave tih groblja smatra se još uvijek otvorenim. Za razliku od toga, gornja granica datiranja groblja, pa time i nalaza tipičnih za njih, drži se čvršće određenom.³⁶ Važnu ulogu u definiranju gornje granice datiranja groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine imao je srebrni denar Lotara I. s groblja na Ždrijacu u Ninu, koji je do pronalaska novca Bazilija I. u Stankovcima bio najmlađi novac pronađen u grobovima koji se pripisuju tom horizontu. U daljnjem tekstu donosi se kratak presjek načina na koje se pristupalo nalazu spomenutog denara kako za datiranje granica horizonata ukapanja tako i za datiranje pojedinih tipova arheološke građe. Razmatra se i značenje koje u tom kontekstu ima nalaz solida Bazilija I. iz Stankovaca.

specimen of coins found in early medieval graves in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia. The findings of coins in graves from the 8th and 9th centuries in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia are usually associated with the horizon of pagan burials.³¹ J. Belošević believes that the appearance of coins in graves can be linked to Frankish and Byzantine influences at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, which lasted until the second half of the 9th century.³² M. Petrinec points out that the obol appeared in the west during the early Carolingian period and that it would go on to replace all other grave contributions. She concludes that the Croats appropriated this custom from the west which, according to her, could have happened even before 800.³³ T. Šeparović states that the custom of placing obols in graves was appropriated by Croats from the west, before the year 800. The custom lasted until the middle of the 9th century, as evidenced by grave 62 from Ždrijac in Nin.³⁴

The discovered findings classify the grave from Stankovci among the graves typical of row cemeteries with pagan burial features in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia.³⁵ In the absence of chronological indicators, the question of the earliest date of the appearance of these cemeteries still remains open. In contrast, the upper dating limit of the cemeteries, and thus their typical findings, is believed to be more closely determined.³⁶ A silver coin of Lothar I from the cemetery in Ždrijac in Nin, which was the earliest coin found in graves attributed to that horizon until the discovery of the coin of Basil I, played an important role in defining the upper dating limit of a row cemetery with pagan burial features in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia. The following is a brief overview of the approach to the finding of the mentioned denier, of dating the limits of burial horizons, and of dating certain types of archaeological material. The significance of the finding of the solidus of Basil I from Stankovci is also considered in this context.

30 J. Belošević 1980, 26; M. Petrinec 2009, 195; T. Šeparović 2020, 36–37.

31 J. Belošević 1980, 131; M. Petrinec 2009, 115, 198–199, 274.

32 J. Belošević 2007, 425.

33 M. Petrinec 2009, 199.

34 T. Šeparović 2020, 28, 32.

35 O aktualnim i ranijim podjelama ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja i pregledu ranijih istraživanja vidi V. Sokol 2006, 14–28; M. Petrinec 2009, 8–10.

36 J. Belošević 1980, 135–136; 2010, 57–58; V. Sokol 2006, 105; M. Petrinec 2009, 274.

31 J. Belošević 1980, 131; M. Petrinec 2009, 115, 198–199, 274.

32 J. Belošević 2007, 425.

33 M. Petrinec 2009, 199.

34 T. Šeparović 2020, 28, 32.

35 On current and earlier divisions of early medieval cemeteries and a review of earlier research, see V. Sokol 2006, 14–28; M. Petrinec 2009, 8–10.

36 J. Belošević 1980, 135–136; 2010, 57–58; V. Sokol 2006, 105; M. Petrinec 2009, 274.

DENAR LOTARA I. I DATIRANJE RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNIH GROBLJA NA PROSTORU RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNE HRVATSKE KNEŽEVINE

Groblja na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine i korpus za njih karakterističnih nalaza, koja se u današnjoj literaturi uglavnom podrazumijevaju pod pojmom *groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja*, prvi je sustavno opisao i definirao J. Belošević.³⁷ Na temelju nalaza denara Lotara I. (840. – 855.) on je grob 62 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu datirao u sredinu, odnosno potkraj prve polovine 9. stoljeća i odredio ga kao najmlađi grob s poganskim načinom pokapanja na toj nekropoli.³⁸ Za ostale nalaze, poput grozdolikih naušnica, keramičke posude i prstena koji su također pronađeni u grobu 62, drži da su najmlađi primjerci u skupini srodnih nalaza te pojavu srodnih nalaza u ostalim grobovima i na grobljima datira do sredine 9. stoljeća.³⁹ Sukladno tome starohrvatske nekropole poganskog horizonta datira do sredine 9. stoljeća.⁴⁰ Iz navedenog možemo zaključiti da pojedinačni nalazi novca za njega ne predstavljaju *terminus post quem*, već ih koristi za uže vremensko određenje cjeline u kojoj su pronađeni ili za određivanje gornje granice (*terminus ante quem non*) trajanja groblja na kojem je novac pronađen, kao i svih ostalih groblja koja svrstava u isti vremenski horizont. U jednom drugom primjeru numizmatički nalaz koristi kao *terminus ante quem* formiranja groblja.⁴¹

T. Sekelj novac Lotara I. s groblja Mala vrata ispod Buzeta upotrijebila je za neposredno datiranje naušnica pronađenih s novcem te ostalih naušnica istog tipa na drugim nalazištima u vrijeme kada je novac bio u upotrebi, odnosno u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća.⁴²

A. Milošević na osnovi nalaza novca Lotara I. u grobu 62 na Ždrijacu i nalaza novca Konstantina V. u Trilju grozdolike filigranske naušnice, koje su pronađene uz spomenuti novac, datira u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća. Naušnice s dva nasuprotno postavljena srcolika privjeska, pronađene s novcem Lotara I. u Buzetu, datira u polovinu 9. stoljeća ili neznatno poslije.⁴³ On također novac koristi za uže datiranje popratnih nalaza, pa i skupina nalaza, a ne isključivo kao *terminus post quem*. U drugom radu, suprotno tome, ukop u sarkofagu s hipokampima, na nalazištu Biskupija, uz koji je pronađen i zlatnik Konstantina V., datira u kraj 9. stoljeća.⁴⁴ Time ostavlja otvorenom

THE DENIER OF LOTHAR I AND THE DATING OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES IN THE AREA OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL DUCHY OF CROATIA

The cemeteries in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia and its corpus of characteristic findings, which in today's sources are generally understood as *cemeteries with pagan burial features*, were first systematically described and defined by J. Belošević.³⁷ Based on the findings of the denier of Lothar I (840–855), he dated tomb 62 from Ždrijac to Nin in the middle or at the end of the first half of the 9th century, and designated it as the earliest grave with pagan burial features in that necropolis.³⁸ He believes that the other findings such as grape-shaped earrings, ceramic vessels, and rings also found in grave 62 are the earliest specimens in a group of related findings, and he dates the appearance of the related findings in other graves and cemeteries to the middle of the 9th century.³⁹ Accordingly, he dates the old Croatian necropolises of pagan horizon to the middle of the 9th century.⁴⁰ From the information above it can be concluded that individual coin findings do not represent the *terminus post quem* for him; instead he uses them to determine the narrower period for the unit in which they were found or to determine the upper limit (*terminus ante quem non*) for the duration of the cemetery where the coins were found, as well as all other cemeteries which he classifies in the same time horizon. In another example, he uses the numismatic finding as a *terminus ante quem* for the formation of the cemetery.⁴¹

T. Sekelj used the coin of Lothar I from the Mala vrata cemetery below Buzet to indirectly date the earrings found with coins, and other earrings of the same type found at other sites to the period when the coins were in use, i.e. in the first half of the 9th century.⁴²

A. Milošević, based on the findings of the coin of Lothar I in grave 62 on Ždrijac, and the findings of the coin of Constantine V in Trilj, dates the grape-shaped filigree earrings, which were found with the mentioned coins, to the first half of the 9th century. He dates the earrings with two opposing heart-shaped pendants, found with the coins of Lothar I in Buzet, to the middle of the 9th century or slightly after.⁴³ He also uses the coins for the narrower dating of the accompanying findings, and even a group of findings, and not exclusively as a *terminus post quem*. In contrast to another

37 J. Belošević 1980.

38 J. Belošević 1980, 90, 131; 2007, 310.

39 J. Belošević 1980, 66, 90, 94, 95, 115, 136, 137; 2007, 259, 263, 285, 310, 454; 2010, 76, 78.

40 J. Belošević 1980, 135; 2010, 57.

41 Riječ je o novcu Konstantina V., pronađenom u grobu kod crkve Sv. Križa u Ninu. Istovjetan nalaz iz Trilja koristi kao argumentaciju za datiranje grozdolikih naušnica iz Trilja, Ivoševaca i Kašića u drugu polovinu i kraj 8. stoljeća. Vidi J. Belošević 1980, 22, 89, 90; J. Belošević 1999, 106, 108.

42 T. Sekelj 1990, 58, 60.

43 A. Milošević 2000, 137–139.

44 A. Milošević 2009, 557, 558, 566.

37 J. Belošević 1980.

38 J. Belošević 1980, 90, 131; 2007, 310.

39 J. Belošević 1980, 66, 90, 94, 95, 115, 136, 137; 2007, 259, 263, 285, 310, 454; 2010, 76, 78.

40 J. Belošević 1980, 135; 2010, 57.

41 This is the coin of Constantine V, found in a grave near the church of The Holy Cross in Nin. He uses the same finding from Trilj as an argument for dating the grape-shaped earrings from Trilj, Ivoševci and Kašić to the second half and the end of the 8th century. See J. Belošević 1980, 22, 89, 90; J. Belošević 1999, 106, 108.

42 T. Sekelj 1990, 58, 60.

43 A. Milošević 2000, 137–139.

moćnost ukapanja pokojnika s novcem i 120 godina nakon prestanka njegova kovanja.

M. Jarak u raspravi vezanoj za teoriju o kasnijem doseljenu Hrvata, u kojoj polemizira sa stajalištima iznesenim u katalogu izložbe *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, prihvatila je datiranje groba s novcem Lotara I. u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća. Ona također i pojavu grozdolikih naušnica kakve su pronađene u Trilju sa zlatnikom Konstantina V. i na Ždrijacu s denarom Lotara I. datira do polovine 9. stoljeća. Drži da ukop s novcem Lotara I. omogućuje sigurno određivanje gornje granice ukapanja na Ždrijaču. Slijedom toga, budući da je na nekropoli istraženo više od 300 grobova, pretpostavlja da je groblje moralo nastati dosta davno, odnosno najkasnije početkom 8. stoljeća.⁴⁵

V. Sokol novac Lotara I., pronađen u funkciji obola, drži važnim za utvrđivanje uže kronologije ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja. Na temelju nalaza tog novca na Ždrijacu i u Buzetu, te još nekih nalaza koje u tom kontekstu spominje, drži da su godine Lotarova i Trpimirova vladanja doba kada se obavljaju posljednji ukopi nekršćanskim načinom. Kraj svog prvog ili ranog, odnosno poganskog horizonta datira do 850./855. godine.⁴⁶

M. Petrincec na sličan način koristi nalaze novca Konstantina V. i Lotara I. za određivanje okvirnog vremena uporabe naušnica grozdolikog tipa i datiranje prstena iz groba 62.⁴⁷ Na temelju nalaza novca Lotara I. pretpostavlja da se običaj razbijanja posuda nad grobovima, polaganja posuda u grobove i polaganja obola u grobove zadržao do sredine 9. stoljeća.⁴⁸ Na temelju nalaza novca Lotara I. u grobovima na Ždrijacu i u Buzetu vremensku granicu pojave nalaza karakterističnih za groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja i nalaza karakterističnih za groblja s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja datira oko sredine 9. stoljeća.⁴⁹ U novijem radu navodi da se od zadnje trećine 9. stoljeća zamjećuju promjene u grobnom ritualu čime započinje arheološki horizont koji se u literaturi označuje kao horizont s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja, a dalje u tekstu drži da donju granicu pojave tog horizonta svakako treba tražiti već oko sredine 9. stoljeća.⁵⁰

T. Šeparović ne dovodi u pitanje prevladavajući stav da je novac Lotara I. sa Ždrijaca dokaz da se običaj polaganja novca u grobove zadržao do sredine 9. stoljeća, o čemu svjedoči grob 62 sa Ždrijaca u Ninu. Prema njegovu mišljenju, tijekom tog razdoblja, odnosno do sredine ili kraja prve trećine 9. stoljeća, i Kopronimovi su zlatnici

paper, he dates the burial in a sarcophagus adorned with hippocampi from the Biskupija site, along with a gold coin of Constantine V, to the end of the 9th century.⁴⁴ This leaves open the possibility of burying the deceased with coins even 120 years after the cessation of their minting.

In a discussion on the theory of the later settlement of the Croats, in which she argues about the views expressed in the catalogue of the exhibition *Croats and Carolingians*, M. Jarak accepted the dating of the grave containing the coin of Lothar I in the first half of the 9th century. She also dates the appearance of grape-shaped earrings, such as ones found in Trilj along with the gold coin of Constantine V, and in Ždrijac with the denier coin of Lothar I, to the middle of the 9th century. She believes that the burial with the coin of Lothar I enables the safe determination of the upper limit of the burial from Ždrijac. Consequently, since more than 300 graves have been excavated in the necropolis, she assumes that the cemetery must have been built a long time ago, at the beginning of the 8th century at the latest.⁴⁵

V. Sokol considers the coin of Lothar I, found in the function of an obol, important for the establishment of a narrower chronology of early medieval cemeteries. Based on the findings of coins in Ždrijac and Buzet, and some other findings he mentions in this context, he believes that the last non-Christian burials were performed during Lothar's and Trpimir's reign. He dates the end of the first or early, i.e. pagan horizon back to 850/855.⁴⁶

M. Petrincec similarly uses the findings of coins of Constantine V and Lothar I to determine the approximate period of the use of grape-type earrings, and to date the ring from grave 62.⁴⁷ Based on the findings of coins of Lothar I, she assumes that the custom of breaking the vessels over the graves, the laying of the vessels in graves, and the laying of obol in graves was maintained until the middle of the 9th century.⁴⁸ Based on the findings of coins of Lothar I in the graves in Ždrijac and Buzet, she dates the time limit of the occurrence of findings characteristic of cemeteries with pagan burial features, and the findings characteristic of cemeteries with Christian burial features around the middle of the 9th century.⁴⁹ In a recent paper, she states that changes have been noticed in burial rituals since the last third of the 9th century, thus marking the beginning of the archaeological horizon, which is indicated in the sources as a horizon with Christian burial features. Further in the text, she believes that the lower limit of the appearance of that horizon should be sought as soon as the middle of the 9th century.⁵⁰

45 M. Jarak 2002, 248, 252.

46 V. Sokol 2006, 105, 109, 181, 182.

47 M. Petrincec 2009, 126, 133, 164, 274; 2020, 82, 91.

48 M. Petrincec 2009, 114, 194, 199.

49 M. Petrincec 2009, 206, 274.

50 M. Petrincec 2014, 89–91.

44 A. Milošević 2009, 557, 558, 566.

45 M. Jarak 2002, 248, 252.

46 V. Sokol 2006, 105, 109, 181, 182.

47 M. Petrincec 2009, 126, 133, 164, 274; 2020, 82, 91.

48 M. Petrincec 2009, 114, 194, 199.

49 M. Petrincec 2009, 206, 274.

50 M. Petrincec 2014, 89–91.

mogli biti prilagani kao oboli. Polaganje novca Lotara I. u grob na Ždrijacu po njemu je pokazatelj da u tom trenutku više nema zlatnika Konstantina V., koji su do tada polagani u grobove.⁵¹ Na temelju skupnih nalaza upozorava na to da se karolinški novac mogao zadržati u upotrebi i više od 100 godina nakon vremena kovanja te za nalaz novca Ludovika Pobožnog iz Lepura ostavlja mogućnost da je u zemlju dospio i u vrijeme vladavine kneza Branimira.⁵²

U recentnijem radu A. Alajbeg drži da je novac Lotara I. najmlađi nalaz na ždrijačkom groblju pa ga ujedno koristi i kao *terminus ante quem* pokapanja na Ždrijaču.⁵³

Suprotno od navedenih autora, N. Jakšić navodi da novac Lotara I. treba tumačiti samo kao *terminus ante quem non* ukopa u kom je pronađen. Na temelju nalaza naušnica karantanskog tipa na grobljima Begovača, Ždrijac i Trljuge, pretpostavlja da nalazi uobičajeni za groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja iščekavaju oko sredine 11. stoljeća. Spomenute naušnice datirao je u kraj 11. st. tek posredno, na temelju njihova pronalaska u grobu 356 na groblju Begovača, ukopanom u blizini groba 422 koji je pak sadržavao novac s početka 12. st.⁵⁴

Ovaj kratak presjek oslikava kako se pristupa nalazu novca Lotara I. prilikom pokušaja utvrđivanja apsolutne kronologije ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja i grobnih nalaza. Spomenuti nalaz novca korišten je kao važan oslonac za utvrđivanje vremena prestanka pojave ukopa i nalaza koji se drže karakterističnima za groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja i za pojavu ukopa s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja i nalaza specifičnih za ta groblja. Pritom nije korišten isključivo kao *terminus post quem*, već je poslužio za utvrđivanje preciznijeg datuma koji je određen uglavnom u sredinu 9. stoljeća. Na taj se datum poziva većina autora prilikom obrade ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja i grobnih nalaza s prostora ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine.⁵⁵

T. Šeparović does not question the prevailing view that the coin of Lothar I from Ždrijaci is a proof that the custom of placing coins in graves remained until the middle of the 9th century, as evidenced by grave 62 from Ždrijaci in Nin. According to his opinion, during that period, that is until the middle or the end of the first third of the 9th century, Copronymus' gold coins could have also been enclosed as obols. According to him, the placement of coins of Lothar I in the grave at Ždrijac is an indication that during that period there were no more gold coins of Constantine V, which had been laid in the graves until then.⁵¹ Based on the collective findings, he warns that the Carolingian coins could have been kept in use for more than a hundred years after their minting, and offers the possibility that the coins of Louis the Pious, found in Lepuri, could have reached the country during the reign of Duke Branimir.⁵²

In his more recent work, A. Alajbeg believes that the coin of Lothar I is the earliest finding in the Ždrijac cemetery, so he also uses it as a *terminus ante quem* for burials in Ždrijac.⁵³

Contrary to the above-mentioned authors, N. Jakšić states that the coin of Lothar I should be interpreted only as a *terminus ante quem non* for the burial in which it was found. Based on the findings of the Carantanian-type earrings in the Begovača, Ždrijac and Trljuge cemeteries, he assumes that findings common to cemeteries with pagan burial features disappeared around the middle of the 11th century. He dated the mentioned earrings to the end of the 11th century only indirectly, based on their discovery in grave 356 in the Begovača cemetery, located near grave 422, which in turn contained coins from the beginning of the 12th century.⁵⁴

This brief overview depicts how the discovery of coin of Lothar I was approached in an attempt to establish an absolute chronology of early medieval cemeteries and grave findings. The mentioned finding was used as an important brace for determining the period of cessation of burials, and findings that are characteristic of cemeteries with pagan burial features, and also for the emergence of burials with Christian burial features and findings specific to those cemeteries. It was not used exclusively as a *terminus post quem*, but it served to establish a more precise date, which was set mainly in the middle of the 9th century. Most authors refer to this date when processing the early medieval cemeteries and grave findings from the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia.⁵⁵

51 T. Šeparović 2020, 28, 32; 2021, 76.

52 T. Šeparović 2012, 37, 39, 40.

53 A. Alajbeg 2015, 143, 149, 154.

54 N. Jakšić 1990, 430, 432, 433, bilj. 61.

55 Vidi Ž. Cetinić 1998, 101; T. Burić 2001, 248, 251, 252, 260; R. Jurić 2002, 312; K. Gusar 2012, 63; K. Gusar, D. Vujević 2012, 163, 165; M. Dadić 2020, 363, 366.

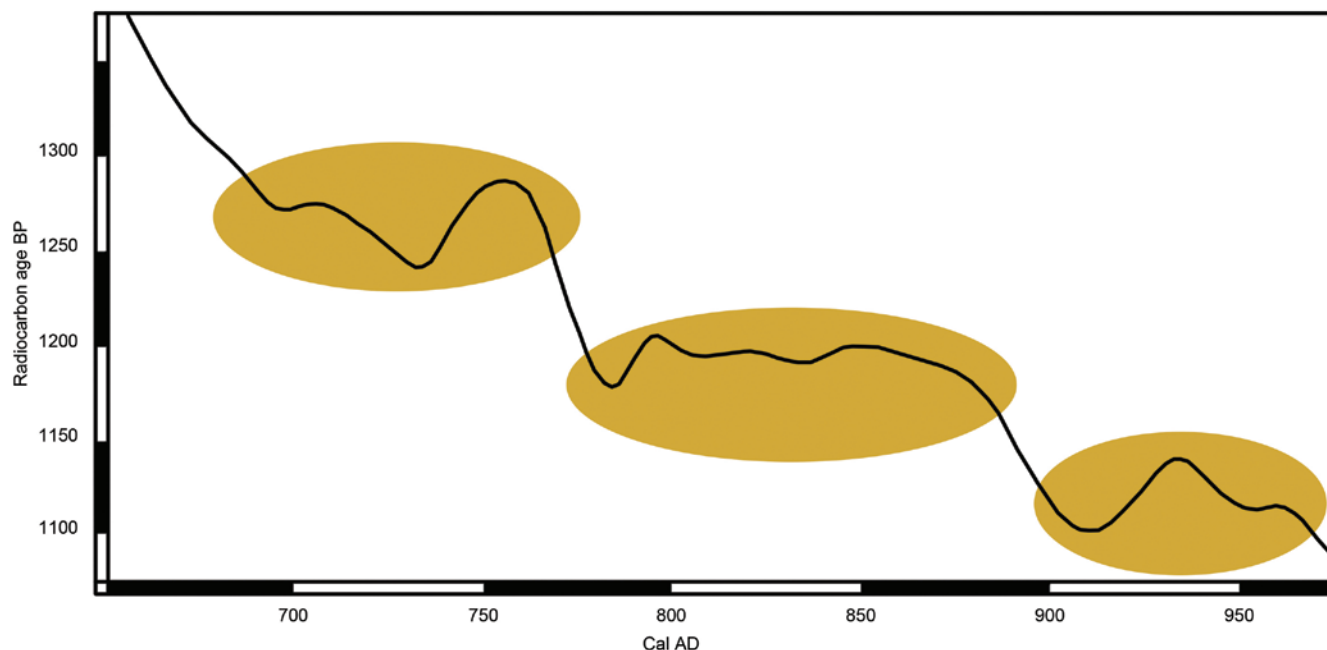
51 T. Šeparović 2020, 28, 32; 2021, 76.

52 T. Šeparović 2012, 37, 39, 40.

53 A. Alajbeg 2015, 143, 149, 154.

54 N. Jakšić 1990, 430, 432, 433, n. 61.

55 See Ž. Cetinić 1998, 101; T. Burić 2001, 248, 251, 252, 260; R. Jurić 2002, 312; K. Gusar 2012, 63; K. Gusar, D. Vujević 2012, 163, 165; M. Dadić 2020, 363, 366.



Slika 6. Kalibracijska krivulja

Figure 6. Calibration curve

prema / according to: P. J. Reimer *et al.* 2020; priredio / prepared by: J. Vučić

SOLID BAZILIJA I. IZ STANKOVACA U KONTEKSTU AKTUALNE APSOLUTNE KRONOLOGIJE

Nalaz novca Bazilija I. u Stankovcima neupitan je *terminus post quem* ukopa groba u kojem je pronađen. Dokazuje da se i nakon 867. odnosno 882. godine, na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine, u grobovima još uvijek mogu zateći predmeti istovrsni onima pronađenim u grobu iz Stankovaca te se još uvijek zadržava i običaj polaganja novca u grobove. Običaj polaganja novca u grobove na prostoru istočnog franačkog carstva znatno se rjeđe susreće od sredine 9. stoljeća, dok se u zapadnom sve rjeđe prakticira nakon smrti Karla Čelavog (877.). Općenito običaj polaganja novca u grobove znatno opada početkom 10. stoljeća, iako ne iščezava u potpunosti.⁵⁶ Vezano za razmatranje značenja nalaza novca za kronologiju groblja na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine potrebno je ovom prilikom ukazati i na činjenicu da je novac Lotara I. na prostoru Europe nerijetko registriran u sklopu skupnih nalaza datiranih između 864. i 985. godine.⁵⁷ Na temelju nalaza iz Stankovaca i slike koju pružaju nalazi novca u grobovima te skupni nalazi novca ranog

THE SOLIDUS OF BASIL I FROM STANKOVCI IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

The finding of coin of Basil I in Stankovci is an unquestionable *terminus post quem* for the burial in the grave in which it was found. It proves that even after 867 and 882, respectively, the objects identical to those found in the grave from Stankovci could still be found in the graves, and the custom of placing coins in graves was still preserved in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia. The custom of placing coins in graves in the area of the Eastern Frankish Empire has been much less common since the middle of the 9th century, while in the west it was practiced less and less after the death of Charles the Bald (877). In general, the custom of placing coins in graves declined considerably in the early 10th century, although it did not disappear completely.⁵⁶ Regarding the significance of the findings of coins for the chronology of cemeteries in the early medieval Duchy of Croatia, it is necessary to point out the fact that the coins of Lothar I in Europe are often registered as a group of findings dating between 864 and 985.⁵⁷ Based on the findings from Stankovci and the image provided by the findings of coins in graves, and the collective findings of early Middle Ages in Europe, we can conclude that there is no firm basis for the dating of graves with individual findings of coins of Lothar I at Ždrijac in Nin, and at the Mala vrata near Buzet to the middle of the 9th century. Accordingly, on the basis of the mentioned findings of coins

56 M. Schulze-Dörlamm 2012, 342, 371. Na prostoru karolinškog carstva autor je katalogizirao 96 grobova s nalazima jednog ili više komada novca, datiranih između 751. i 911. godine.

57 S. Coupland 2011, 216–221, 224–225, kat. 129, 130, 154, 163, 168, 171, 186, 208, 217, 273, 279.

56 M. Schulze-Dörlamm 2012, 342, 371. In the Carolingian Empire, the author catalogued 96 graves with findings of one or more pieces of coin dating between 751 and 911.

57 S. Coupland 2011, 216–221, 224–225, cat. 129, 130, 154, 163, 168, 171, 186, 208, 217, 273, 279.

srednjeg vijeka na prostoru Europe, možemo zaključiti da ne postoji konkretno uporište za datiranje grobova s pojedinačnim nalazima novca Lotara I. na Ždrijacu u Ninu i kod Malih vrata u blizini Buzeta u sredinu 9. stoljeća. Sukladno tome na temelju spomenutih nalaza novca Lotara I. ne može se sredina 9. stoljeća postaviti kao vremenska granica između relativno kronološki izdvojenih korpusa nalaza koji karakteriziraju groblja s poganskim i kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja. Nalaz novca i predmeta koji pripadaju korpusu materijala specifičnog za groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja u grobu u Stankovcima jasno ukazuju na to da granicu treba datirati nakon 867. odnosno 882. godine. Pritom treba naglasiti da novac Bazilija I. iz Stankovaca ne ukazuje na približno vrijeme, već isključivo označava *terminus post quem*. Koliko je vremena proteklo od datuma kovanja novca do njegova polaganja uz pokojnika pokopanog u grobu u Stankovcima, za sada nije moguće utvrditi. Djelomičan odgovor na to pitanje može sugerirati ¹⁴C analiza kostura koja će uslijediti tijekom nastavka istraživanja groblja. U međuvremenu određene pretpostavke moguće je steći na temelju objavljenih ¹⁴C datuma drugih ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova s prostora ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države.

¹⁴C DATUMI I KRONOLOGIJA RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNIH GROBLJA NA PROSTORU RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNE HRVATSKE KNEŽEVINE

Za ovu analizu prikupili smo 27 dostupnih ¹⁴C mjerenja, koja su u literaturi predočena neujednačeno što otežava njihovu usporedbu. Grafički prikaz rezultata donosimo na Sl. 7. Suprotno novcu koji predstavlja *terminus post quem*, ¹⁴C mjerenja vrednovat ćemo kao *terminus ante quem*. Razmatrat ćemo gornju vrijednost, koja s određenom vjerojatnošću sugerira prije kojeg bi vremena trebalo datirati uzorak.

Prije analize ukazat ćemo ukratko na ograničenje i problem koji treba imati na umu prilikom interpretacije rezultata ¹⁴C mjerenja. Ograničenje te metode vezano je za nestalnu koncentraciju ugljikova izotopa u atmosferi tijekom prošlosti, pa je shodno tome i krivulja kojom se kalibriraju izmjerene vrijednosti ¹⁴C u uzorcima nepravilna oblika.⁵⁸ Zbog izrazitije horizontalnosti krivulje na određenim položajima pojedini se datumi, odnosno vremenski okviri vjerojatnog datiranja uzoraka, učestalije ponavljaju. Za vrijeme kojim se bavimo u ovom radu to su intervali između 670. i 770., 770. i 890. i 880. i 980. (Sl. 6). Osim ograničenja vezanog za kalibracijsku krivulju, značajan problem prilikom interpretacije predstavlja i takozvani efekt rezervoara. Taj problem uzrokovan je različitom razinom

of Lothar I, the middle of the 9th century cannot be set as a time limit for the relatively chronologically separated corpora of findings which characterize cemeteries with pagan and Christian burial features. The findings of coins and objects which belong to the corpus of material specific for the cemeteries with pagan burial features discovered in a grave in Stankovci, clearly indicate that the limit should be dated after 867 and 882, respectively. It should be emphasized that the coin of Basil I from Stankovci does not indicate the approximate period; it only denotes the *terminus post quem*. It is not possible, for now, to determine how much time has passed from the date of the minting of the coin to its placement with the deceased buried in the grave in Stankovci. A partial answer to this question can be suggested by the ¹⁴C analysis of the skeleton that will follow during the continuation of the research of the cemetery. In the meantime, certain assumptions can be made on the basis of the other published ¹⁴C dates of early medieval graves from the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia.

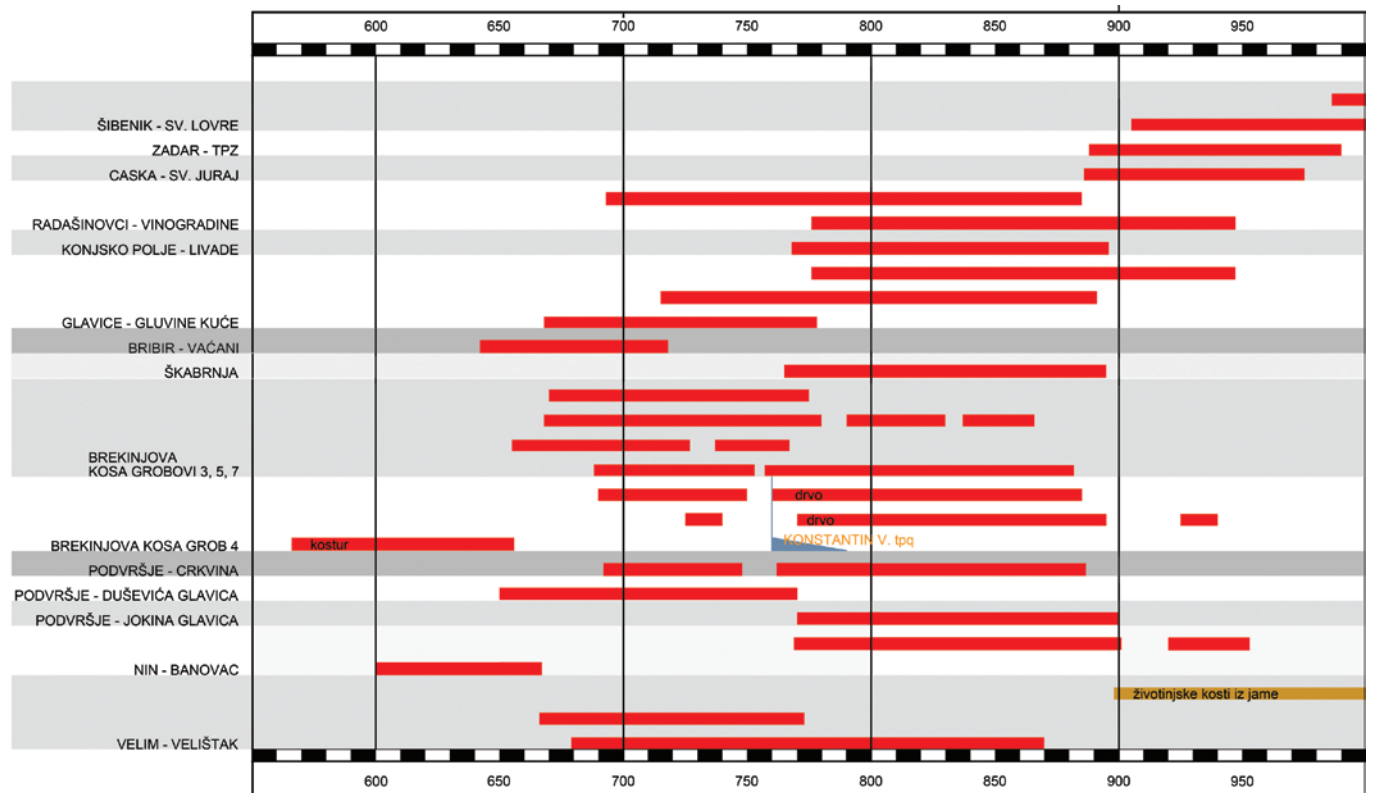
¹⁴C DATES AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL DUCHY OF CROATIA

For this analysis, we collected 27 available ¹⁴C measurements that are unevenly presented in the sources, which makes their comparison difficult. A graphical representation of the results is given in Fig. 7. In contrast to coin which represents a *terminus post quem*, ¹⁴C measurements will be evaluated as a *terminus ante quem*. We shall consider the upper value, which suggests, with a certain probability, the period before which the sample should be dated.

Before the analysis, we will briefly point out the limitations and the problem which should be considered when interpreting the results of ¹⁴C measurements. The limitations of this method are related to the volatile concentration of carbon isotopes in the atmosphere during the past, and consequently the curve used to calibrate the measured ¹⁴C values in the samples is irregular in shape.⁵⁸ Due to the more pronounced horizontality of the curve at certain positions, certain dates, i.e. time frames for the probable dating of the samples, are repeated more frequently. The periods we are considering in this paper are the intervals between 670 and 770, 770 and 890, and 880 and 980 (Fig. 6). In addition to the limitations related to the calibration curve, a significant problem for the interpretation is the so-called reservoir effect. This problem is caused by different levels of ¹⁴C concentration in freshwaters and seas in comparison to the concentration in the atmosphere. Different concentrations of ¹⁴C in these media cause different

58 Za najnovije korekcije krivulje vidi P. J. Reimer et al. 2020.

58 For the latest curve corrections see P. J. Reimer et al. 2020.



Slika 7. Grafički prikaz rezultata ^{14}C mjerenja uzoraka s ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine

priredio / prepared by: J. Vučić (prema podatcima navedenim u bilješkama 63–66)

Figure 7. Graphic presentation of the results of ^{14}C measurements of samples from early medieval cemeteries in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia

(according to the data given in notes 63–66)

koncentracije ^{14}C u slatkim vodama i morima u odnosu na njegovu koncentraciju u atmosferi. Različita koncentracija ^{14}C u navedenim medijima uzrokuje i različitu koncentraciju u organizmima koji u njima žive, pa organizmi iz slatkih i slanih voda prilikom mjerenja mogu pokazivati i stotine godina starije datume od stvarnih. Na isti način i kosti ljudi koji konzumiraju morske i riječne plodove mogu pokazivati znatno starije datume.⁵⁹ Slikovit primjer takvog slučaja pruža nam grob 4 iz Brekinjove kose. Mjerenje ^{14}C kostiju pokojnika datiralo je ukop između 566. i 656. godine. Uz pokojnika među priložima pronađen je solid Konstantina V., kovan nakon 760. godine, koji nedvojbeno ukazuje na to da je pokopan više od sto godina nakon datuma ^{14}C mjerenja. Mjerenje ^{14}C ostataka drvenog lijesa istog groba dalo je rezultate u skladu s nalazom novca (između 770. i 895. i između 760. i 885. godine). Na temelju toga autori su zaključili da je uzorak kosti kontaminiran.⁶⁰ Analizom vrijednosti $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ i $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ kostura utvrđeno je da je prehrana tog

concentrations in the organisms that live in them, so the organisms from freshwaters and salt waters can be measured as hundreds of years older than they really are.⁵⁹ A poignant example of such case is offered by grave 4 from Brekinjova kosa. The ^{14}C measurement of the bones of the deceased dated the burial between 566 and 656. A solidus of Constantine V, minted after 760 was found among the contributions buried with the deceased, which unequivocally indicates that he was buried more than a hundred years after the date of ^{14}C measurement. The measurement of ^{14}C remains of a wooden coffin from the same grave produced results in accordance with the coin finding (between 770 and 895, and between 760 and 885). Based on this, the authors concluded that the bone sample was contaminated.⁶⁰ The analysis of the skeleton values of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ showed that the diet of the deceased consisted of a lot of river fish.⁶¹ This example shows a clear influence

59 Za literaturu i informacije vezane za ovu problematiku vidi J. Dury 2021.

60 V. Madiraca et al. 2018, 188–191.

59 For sources and information related to this issue, see J. Dury 2021.

60 V. Madiraca et al. 2018, 188–191.

61 <https://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/knez-iz-bojne-bolje-se-hranio-od-ostalih-jeo-je-i-ribu-a-u-njegovu-naselju-bilo-je-politicko-srediste-1321149> (accessed on 14 January 2022).

pokojnika sadržavala dosta riječne ribe.⁶¹ Na tom primjeru vidi se jasan utjecaj slatkovodnog rezervoara na rezultate ¹⁴C mjerenja. Možda na isti problem ukazuje i grob 10 iz Vačana gdje je jedan od dva kostura iz sarkofaga u kojem je među priložima bio novac Konstantina V. datiran između 642. i 718. godine. Taj kostur pokazuje povišenu vrijednost $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ u odnosu na ostale kosture s istog nalazišta⁶² što bi također moglo ukazivati na konzumaciju ribe i sukladno tome ¹⁴C datum stariji od stvarnog.

Iz groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama ukapanja dostupno je 17 ¹⁴C datuma. Oni potječu s osam nalazišta: Velim – Velištak, Nin – Banovac, Podvršje – Jokina glavica, Podvršje – Duševića glavica, Podvršje – Crkvina, Brekinjova kosa, Škabrnja i Vačani.⁶³ Ranije spomenuti ¹⁴C datumi groba 10 iz Vačana i groba 4 iz Brekinjove kose neće se razmatrati zbog problema vezanog za efekt rezervoara. Također, iz uzorka ćemo isključiti grob 12 s Banovca u Ninu i životinjske kosti iz Velima jer se datumom znatno izdvajaju od ostalih, a nemaju priloga koji bi ih nedvojbeno vezali za grobove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja. Preostalih 13 datuma grupirano je u dvije skupine. Stariju skupinu čine četiri datuma kojima je *terminus ante quem* između 768. i 775. godine.⁶⁴ Mlađu skupinu čini devet datuma kojima je *terminus ante quem* između 866. i 901. godine. Na temelju toga može se pretpostaviti da je ukapanje grobova s materijalom tipičnim za groblja na redove s poganskim značajkama pokapanja započelo prije 770. godine i završilo prije 900. godine. Relativno kronološki mlađa skupina grobljima na redove s prisutnim kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja predstavljena je sa šest rezultata s tri nalazišta: Glavice – Gluvine kuće, Konjsko polje – Livade i Radašinovci – Vinogradine.⁶⁵ Jedan datum s nalazišta Glavice – Gluvine kuće znatnije odstupa, pa će ovom prilikom biti isključen. Preostalih pet datuma mogu se razvrstati u dvije grupe; tri starija ¹⁴C datuma sugeriraju da pojavu grobova s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja treba datirati prije 885. godine, dok dva datuma ukazuju na prestanak korištenja tih groblja prije 950. godine. Za groblja s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja vezana za crkve poznata su nam četiri ¹⁴C datuma s tri nalazišta, Caska – Sv. Juraj, Zadar – TPZ i Šibenik – Sv. Lovre.⁶⁶ Na temelju ¹⁴C datuma moglo bi se pretpostaviti da se ta groblja formiraju prije 975. godine.

of the freshwater reservoir on the results of ¹⁴C measurements. Perhaps the same problem is indicated by grave 10 from Vačani, where one of the two skeletons from the sarcophagus containing the coin of Constantine V, was dated between 642 and 718. This skeleton shows an elevated $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value in comparison to other skeletons from the same site,⁶² which could also indicate fish consumption, and, accordingly, a ¹⁴C date older than the actual one.

17 ¹⁴C dates are available for row cemeteries with pagan burial features. They originate from eight sites: Velim – Velištak, Nin – Banovac, Podvršje – Jokina glavica, Podvršje – Duševića glavica, Podvršje – Crkvina, Brekinjova kosa, Škabrnja i Vačani.⁶³ The previously mentioned ¹⁴C dates of grave 10 from Vačani and grave 4 from Brekinjova kosa will not be considered due to the problem related to the reservoir effect. Also, we will exclude grave 12 from Banovac in Nin from the sample, and the animal bones from Velim because their dating stands out significantly from the others, and there are no contributions that would undoubtedly link them to the graves with pagan burial features. The remaining 13 dates were divided into two groups. The later group consists of four dates whose *terminus ante quem* is between 768 and 775.⁶⁴ The earlier group consists of nine dates with a *terminus ante quem* between 866 and 901. Based on this, it can be assumed that burials in graves with materials typical of row cemeteries with pagan burial features began before 770 and ended before 900. A relatively chronologically earlier group of row cemeteries with present Christian burial features is presented by six results from three sites: Glavice – Gluvine kuće, Konjsko polje – Livade and Radašinovci – Vinogradine.⁶⁵ One date from the Glavice – Gluvine kuće site deviates significantly, so it will be excluded on this occasion. The remaining five dates can be divided into two groups; three older ¹⁴C dates suggest that the appearance of graves with Christian burial features should be dated before 885, while two other dates indicate the cessation of use of these cemeteries before 950. For cemeteries with Christian burial features related to churches, we know of four ¹⁴C dates from three sites, Caska – St. George, Zadar – TPZ and Šibenik – St. Lawrence.⁶⁶ Based on the ¹⁴C date, it could be assumed that these cemeteries were formed before 975.

61 <https://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/knez-iz-bojne-bolje-se-hranio-od-ostalih-jeo-je-i-ribu-a-u-njegovu-naselju-bilo-je-politicko-srediste-1321149> (pristupljeno 14. siječnja 2022.).

62 M. Novak *et al.* 2015.

63 E. Lightfoot, M. Šlaus 2012, 555–556; M. Dadić 2020, 366, 368, 370, bilj. 27, 29; K. Gusar 2012, 53, 54, 63; K. Gusar, D. Vujević 2012, 117, 118, 120, 125; A. Uglešić 2017, 662, bilj. 19; V. Madiraca *et al.* 2018, 188–191; L. Bekić, A. Uglešić 2020, 236–237, sl. 6; M. Novak *et al.* 2015.

64 U ovu skupinu možda je moguće ubrojiti i grob 33 iz Dubravica, za koji se navodi da je dendrokronološkom analizom datiran u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća. Vidi M. Petrinc 2005, 28, bilj. 34.

65 M. Petrinc 2005, 42; 2020, 82, 96; E. Lightfoot, M. Šlaus, T. C. O'Connell 2012, 555–556. Za datiranje groba s položaja Glavice – Gluvine kuće nisam dobio potvrdu voditeljice arheološkog iskopavanja, pa taj podatak držim dvojbenim.

66 E. Lightfoot, M. Šlaus, T. C. O'Connell 2012, 555–556; J. Vučić 2013, 242, bilj. 35.

62 M. Novak *et al.* 2015.

63 E. Lightfoot, M. Šlaus 2012, 555–556; M. Dadić 2020, 366, 368, 370, n. 27, 29; K. Gusar 2012, 53, 54, 63; K. Gusar, D. Vujević 2012, 117, 118, 120, 125; A. Uglešić 2017, 662, n. 19; V. Madiraca *et al.* 2018, 188–191; L. Bekić, A. Uglešić 2020, 236–237, fig. 6; M. Novak *et al.* 2015.

64 It may be possible to include grave 33 from Dubravica in this group, which is said to have been dated to the second half of the 8th century by the dendrochronological analysis. See M. Petrinc 2005, 28, n. 34.

65 M. Petrinc 2005, 42; 2020, 82, 96; E. Lightfoot, M. Šlaus, T. C. O'Connell 2012, 555–556. I have not received confirmation from the head of the archaeological excavation for the dating of the grave from the Glavica – Gluvine kuće site, so I consider this information doubtful.

66 E. Lightfoot, M. Šlaus, T. C. O'Connell 2012, 555–556; J. Vučić 2013, 242, n. 35.

Izneseni ^{14}C rezultati datumi sugeriraju da se između 885. i 900. godine na grobljima na redove postupno mijenja inventar u grobovima, iščezava materijal uobičajen za grobove s poganskim, a pojavljuje se materijal tipičan za grobove s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja. Prema tim rezultatima grob iz Stankovaca sa zlatnikom Bazilija I. ne bi trebao biti znatno mlađi od 900. godine. Prilikom vrednovanja tako dobivenih rezultata treba biti svjestan ograničenja vezanih za rezultate ^{14}C mjerenja, koja smo istaknuli na početku ovog poglavlja.

ZAKLJUČAK

Novac Bazilija I., pronađen kao prilog u grobu u Stankovcima, dokazuje da se običaj polaganja novca u grobovima na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine zadržao i nakon 867. odnosno 882. godine. Osim novca priloženog kao obol, i ostali nalazi iz groba prema recentnim, relativno kronološkim podjelama građe spadaju u korpus nalaza groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja.

Budući da je običaj polaganja novca u grobove na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske kneževine opstao i u vrijeme kovanja novca Bazilija I., a novac Lotara I. susreće se među skupnim nalazima novca pokopanima tijekom druge polovine 9. i tijekom 10. stoljeća, ne postoji opravdan razlog datirati grobove sa Ždrijaca i iz Buzeta s novcem Lotara I. u sredinu 9. stoljeća. Numizmatički nalazi za sada sugeriraju da granicu prestanka pojavljivanja nalaza specifičnih za groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja i pojave nalaza karakterističnih za groblja s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja treba pomaknuti od sredine prema kraju 9. stoljeća.

Isto razdoblje sugeriraju i ^{14}C datumi. Ipak za njih za sada nije jasno zrcale li stvarnu sliku ili su unaprijed definirani ograničenjima koja ta metoda nosi sa sobom.

The presented ^{14}C results suggest that between 885 and 900, the grave inventory of row cemeteries had gradually changed, the material common to pagan graves had disappeared, and the material typical of graves with Christian burial features emerged. According to these results, the grave from Stankovci with the gold coin of Basil I should not be significantly earlier than 900. When evaluating the results obtained in this way, one should be aware of the limitations related to the results of ^{14}C measurements, which was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter.

CONCLUSION

The coin of Basil I, found as a contribution to the grave in Stankovci, proves that the custom of placing coins in graves in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia persisted after 867 and 882, respectively. Apart from the coin contributed as obol, other findings from the grave according to recent, relatively chronological divisions of the material, belong to the corpus of cemetery findings with pagan burial features.

Since the custom of placing coins in graves in the area of the early medieval Duchy of Croatia had survived during the period of minting the coins of Basil I, and the coin of Lothar I is found among the collective coin findings buried during the second half of the 9th and during the 10th century, there is no justifiable reason to date the graves from Ždrijac and from Buzet with coins of Lothar I to the middle of the 9th century. The numismatic findings suggest, for now, that the limit of cessation of findings characteristic for cemeteries with pagan burial features, and the emergence of findings characteristic for cemeteries with Christian burial features, should be moved from the mid to the late 9th century.

The same period is suggested by the ^{14}C dates. However, it is not yet clear whether they reflect the real picture or if they are pre-defined by the limitations of this method.

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