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Dječji grobovi s lokaliteta Rivine – Crkvina u Bosni i Hercegovini

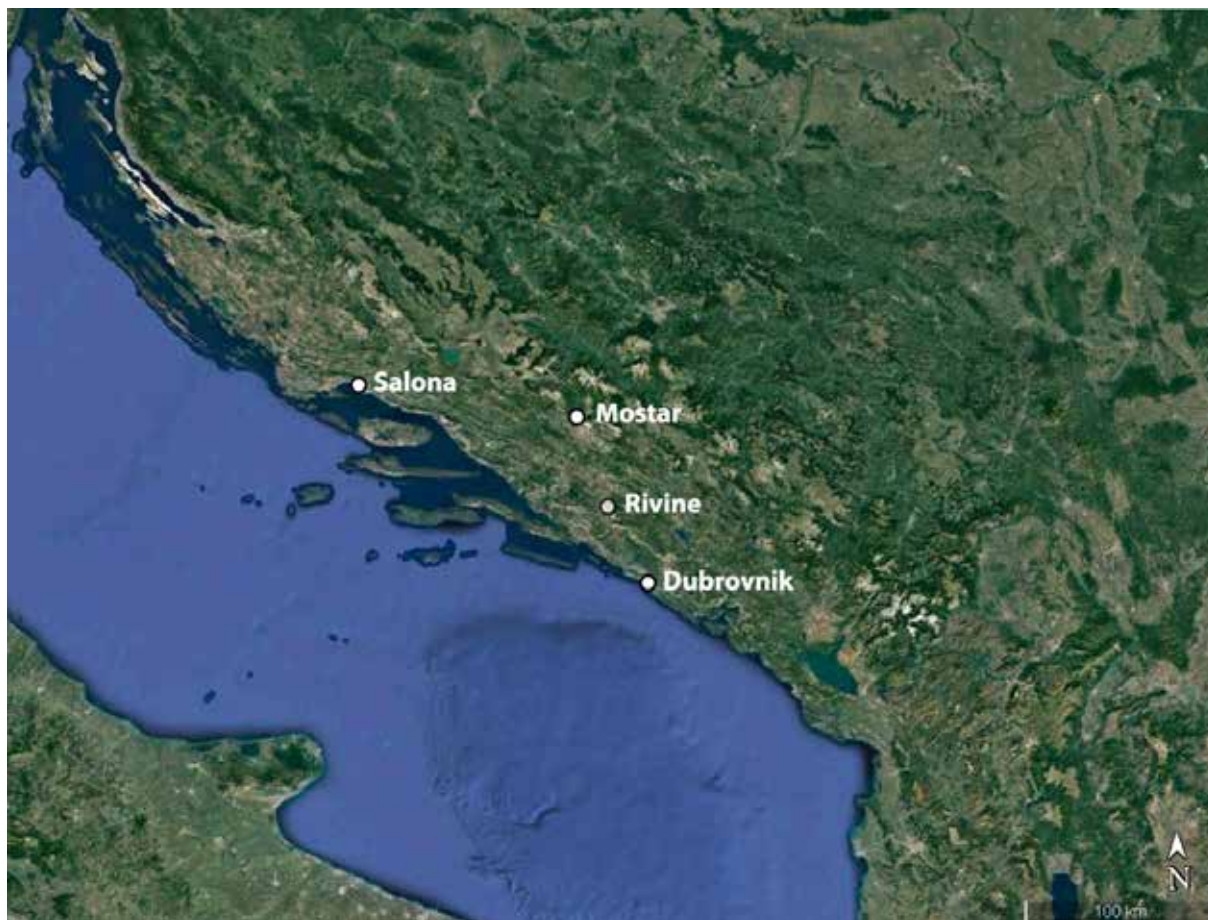
Položaj Rivine – Crkvina kod Stolca (BiH) na prvi se pogled doima kao poprilično rustičan kasnoantički arheološki lokalitet smješten u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije. Nasuprot tomu, on je zapravo pun osobitosti koje nije jednostavno razumjeti i objasniti. Jedna od tih osobitosti jesu dječji grobovi na zapadnom, odnosno pretežito jugozapadnom dijelu crkve, koji u mnogočemu isto tako odgovaraju uobičajenoj praksi ukapanja djece u tom razdoblju. Zanimljivost lokaliteta je i organizacija grobova odraslih osoba u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini, koji su po svemu sudeći nastali nešto kasnije. Oni su datirani metodom ¹⁴C i kao terminus post quem non daju okvirnu kronologiju cjelokupne kasnoantičke faze lokaliteta.

Ključne riječi: dječji grobovi, grobovi odraslih, kasna antika, starokršćanska crkva, napuštena crkva.

Children's graves from the archaeological site Rivine – Crkvina in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The site Rivine–Crkvina by Stolac, Bosnia and Herzegovina, seems at first glance a fairly rustic Late Antique archaeological site located in the interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia. However, quite to the contrary, it is full of distinctive features that are not easy to understand or explain. One of these features is the children's graves in the west or mainly southwest part of the church, which in many ways are consistent with the usual practice of children's burials in this period. An interesting feature of the site is the organisation of the graves of adults in their immediate vicinity, which, from all the evidence, were created later. They were dated by C14 and as a terminus postquem non provide an outline chronology of the whole Late Antique phase of the site.

Keywords: children's graves, adults' graves, Late Antiquity, Early Christian church, abandoned church.



Sl. 1. Karta s naznačenim položajem lokaliteta Rivine – Crkvina (preuzeto s google.hr)
 Fig. 1 Map showing the position of Rivine-Crkvina (taken from google.hr)

1. Uvod

Rivine – Crkvina je kasnoantički/starokršćanski arheološki lokalitet koji se nalazi sjeverozapadno od grada Stolca u Bosni i Hercegovini, od njega udaljen 6 km zračne linije (sl. 1).

On je gotovo u potpunosti otkriven arheološkim istraživanjima, a tek je jedan manji dio grobnice na svod koja se nalazi u sakralnom dijelu kompleksa bio poznat prije arheoloških iskopavanja, isto kao i nekoliko manjih ulomaka kamene crkvene plastike.¹ Istraživanja su provedena u razdoblju od 2011. do 2014. godine, u četiri istraživačke kampanje, a njima je obuhvaćena površina od oko 700 metara četvornih.²

¹ Čuljak, Tomas 2013, str. 341-343; Baraka Perica, Uglešić, Rašić 2019, str. 518, 525; Baraka Perica, Uglešić (u tisku).

² Sustavno arheološko istraživanje lokaliteta organizirao je i proveo Studij arheologije Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Mostaru pod stručnim vodstvom prof. dr. sc. Brunislava Marijanovića, kojemu zahvaljujemo na ustupanju rezultata istraživanja za objavu. Zahvaljujemo i kolegi

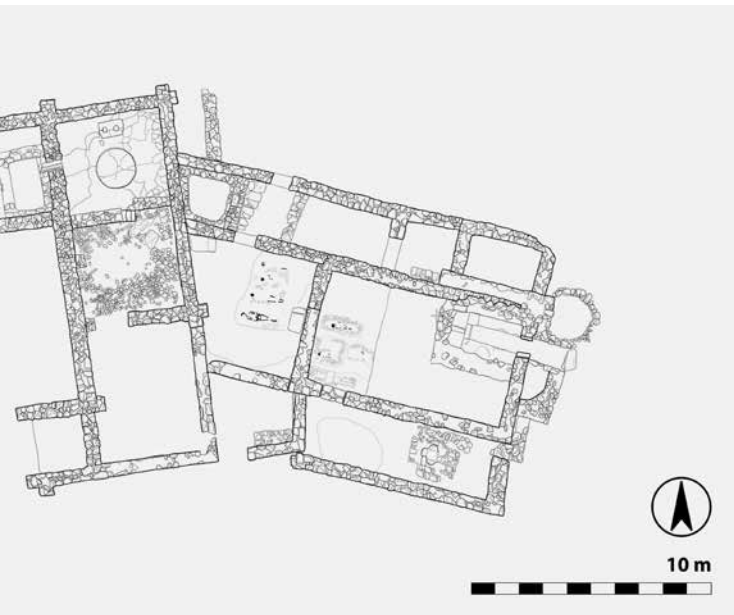
1. Introduction

Rivine–Crkvina is a Late Antique or Early Christian archaeological site that lies 6 km as the crow flies to the north west of the city of Stolac in Bosnia and Herzegovina (fig. 1).

It has been almost entirely revealed by archaeological excavations, and just a small part of a vaulted tomb that lies in the consecrated part of the complex was known before the start of excavations, as were a few smaller fragments of stone church decoration.¹ The excavations were carried out during the period from 2011 to 2014 in four excavation campaigns, which covered an area of about 700 square metres.²

¹ Čuljak, Tomas 2013, pp. 341-343; Baraka Perica, Uglešić, Rašić 2018, p. 518, 525; Baraka Perica, Uglešić (in the press).

² Systematic archaeological research into the site was organised and carried out by the Archaeology School of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Mostar University, the principal researcher being Dr Brunislav Marijanović whom we thank for making the results of the research available for publication. We also thank col-



Sl. 2. Tlocrt istočnog dijela lokaliteta
(izradio: D. Vujević)

Fig. 2 Ground plan of the eastern part of the site
(drawn by: D. Vujević)

Lokalitet se sastoji od sakralno-funeralnog i proizvodno-gospodarskog dijela, koji su nastajali tijekom više faza, a zbog kompleksnosti i značenja rezultati njegova istraživanja bit će detaljno objavljeni u sklopu zasebne monografije (sl. 2-3).

Taj vrlo zanimljiv arheološki položaj, iako u mnogočemu odgovara sličnim lokalitetima na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine, karakterizira niz specifičnosti koje svakako zaslužuju osobitu znanstvenu pozornost. Jedna od njih jest pojava grupiranih, odvojenih dječjih grobova unutar prostora crkvene građevine koja vjerojatno više nije bila u funkciji u vrijeme njihova nastanka. Grobovi se nalaze u blizini grupiranih grobova odraslih osoba, ali su od njih ipak odvojeni. Takva pogrebna praksa nije rijetka u kasnoj antici, a za razumijevanje specifične situacije na Rivinama potrebno je pojasniti složenost nastajanja sakralnog dijela, što donosimo samo ukratko.

Sakralno-funeralni prostor zauzima istočni dio lokaliteta. Na tom su prostoru ujedno utvrđeni najstariji dijelovi arhitekture, koji vjerojatno potječu iz rane antičke faze, no sačuvani su samo mjestimično u tragovima, pa im nije moguće objasniti

The site consists of a sacred and sepulchral and a production and economic part, formed in several phases, and because of the complexity and importance, the results of the research will be published in detail in a separate monograph (figs. 2-3).

This very interesting archaeological position, although in many ways it corresponds to similar sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is characterised by a number of specific features that certainly deserve particular scholarly attention. One of these is the appearance of a separate group of children's graves within the space of the church building that was probably no longer in use when they came into being. These graves lie in the vicinity of grouped graves of adults, but are nevertheless separate from them. Such an interment practice is not rare in Late Antiquity but for an understanding of the particular situation in Rivine the complexity of the origination of the consecrated part has to be explained, which will be addressed in brief below.

The consecrated and funeral space occupies the eastern part of the site. In this space the oldest parts of the architecture have been identified, probably coming from the early Antique phase; however they are preserved only locally and in traces, and it is impossible to explain their function. As for the Late Antique phase, first of all the vaulted tomb was created (Grave 1); then above it the room that after that became a church with a mortar floor was constructed; in the presbytery part it was raised one step higher. To the south of the church a baptistery was formed, and to the north a smallish pastophorion. In a later phase, the door that communicated with the baptistery was closed and at that moment the church building probably lost its sacred function. For apart from the door to the baptistery being closed, in the space of the former church building, in the western part, a smallish cemetery for children was formed (of five graves, tomb no 4 being divided into two parts). When these graves were dug, the mortar floor of the church was breached (Floor 1). After that the western part of the former church that was lower than the presbytery at the place where the children's graves were formed was levelled with red earth and a new mortar floor was made on top of it, and in this way in this phase of building the level of the room (of the former church) became the same

izv. prof. dr. sc. Dariju Vujeviću, na iscrpnoj i detaljnoj dokumentaciji arheoloških istraživanja. Istraživanja su organizirana u sklopu godišnje terenske nastave i prakse.

league Dr Dario Vujević for exhaustive and detailed documentation of the excavations, which were organised as part of the annual field studies and practical work.



Sl. 3. Zračna snimka istočnog dijela lokaliteta (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 3 Aerial photograph of the eastern part of the site (photograph: D. Vujević)



Sl. 4. Pogled na Podnicu 2 i zatvorena vrata prema krstionici (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 4 View of Floor 2 and the closed-off door into the baptistery (photograph: D. Vujević)

throughout (Floor 2).

The interior of the room was then rendered in white, best to be seen on the southern wall, that is, in the place where there was once a passage through to the baptistery. When Floor 2 was laid down, the children's graves were no longer to be seen, but a floor was subsequently made in front of the church, a new room being created, the walls of which were also rendered (plastered), and a series of rooms were added north of the former church, the westernmost being a cistern. Red earth was used for levelling the ground in this space too. In this phase the eastern and the western part of the site were linked. In some later phase within the western room and below the former church, the floor was breached and the burials of adults were organised (four graves). The graves occupied the north-east corner of the room.

2. Children's graves

The children's graves at the Rivine–Crkvina site are on the west, in fact mainly the south west part of the room defined, the former church (figs. 2-5).

funkciju. Što se tiče kasnoantičke faze, najprije je nastala grobnica na svod (Grob 1), zatim se iznad nje gradi prostorija koja nakon toga postaje crkva sa žbukanom podnicom koja je u predjelu prezbiterija podignuta za visinu jedne stepenice, dok južno od crkve nastaje krstionica, a sjeverno jedna manja pastoforija.

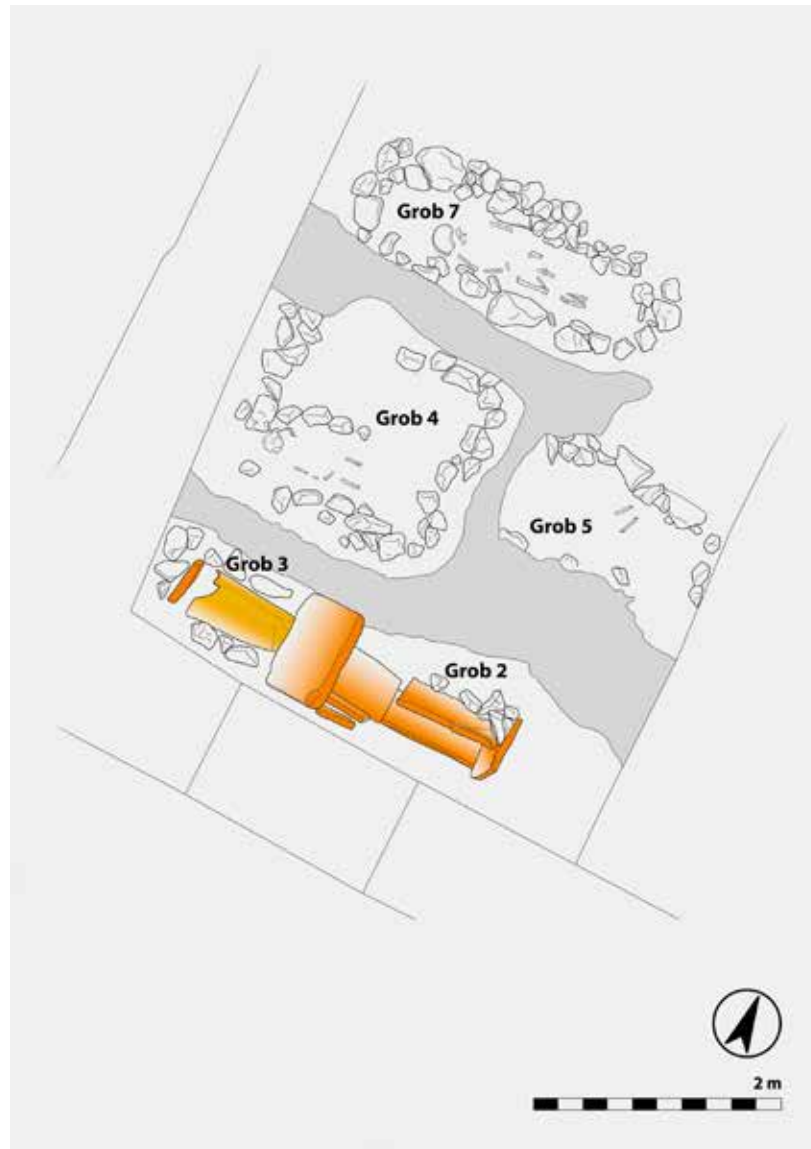
U jednoj kasnijoj fazi vrata koja komuniciraju s krstionicom se zatvaraju te u tom trenutku crkvena građevina vrlo vjerojatno gubi sakralnu funkciju. Naime, osim što se zatvaraju vrata prema krstionici, na prostoru nekadašnje crkvene građevine, na njezinu zapadnom dijelu, nastaje manje dječje groblje (pet grobova, s time da je grob 4 bio podijeljen na dva dijela). Izgradnjom tih grobova probijena je spomenuta podnica crkve (Podnica 1). Nakon toga zapadni dio nekadašnje crkve koji je bio niži od prezbiterija, na mjestu gdje su nastali dječji grobovi, nivelira se zemljom crvenicom te se stavlja novi žbukani pod, pa na taj način u toj fazi izgradnje nivo prostorije (nekadašnje crkve) postaje svugdje isti (Podnica 2).

Unutrašnjost prostorije tada je ožbukana bijelom žbukom, što se najbolje vidi na južnom zidu, odnosno na mjestu gdje je nekad bio prolaz prema krstionici. Gradnjom Podnice 2 dječji grobovi više nisu bili vidljivi, no podnica se nakon toga radi i ispred crkve, pri čemu nastaje nova prostorija, kojoj se također žbukaju zidovi, a sjeverno od nekadašnje crkve dodaje se niz prostorija, od kojih je najzapadnija cisterna. Za niveliranje terena i na tom prostoru poslužila je zemlja crvenica. U toj su fazi istočni i zapadni dio lokaliteta postali povezani. U nekoj kasnijoj fazi unutar zapadne prostorije i ispred nekadašnja crkve probija se podnica i organiziraju se ukopi odraslih osoba (četiri groba). Grobovi su zauzeli sjeveroistočni kut prostorije.

2. Dječji grobovi

Dječji grobovi na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina nalaze se na zapadnom, odnosno pretežito jugozapadnom dijelu utvrđene prostorije, nekadašnje crkve (sl. 2-5).

Orijentirani su u smjeru istok – zapad i svi su, osim Groba 2, nastali probijanjem Podnice 1, zatim su bili prekriveni Podnicom 2, a unutrašnji zidovi prostorije bili su ožbukani bijelom žbukom (sl. 4). U trenutku pronalaska te gornje (mlađe) Podnice 2 i pri njezinu čišćenju, grobovima koji su se nalazili ispod nazirali su se obrisi, odnosno vidjela su se



Sl. 5. Crtež dječjih grobova (izradio: D. Vujević)

*Fig. 5 Drawing of children's graves
(drawn by: D. Vujević)*

They are oriented east to west and all, save Grave 2, were formed by the breaching of Floor 1, and were then covered over with Floor 2, and the interiors of the walls were rendered in white (fig. 4). When this upper or later Floor 2 was found, and while it was being cleaned, the outlines of the grave beneath them could be discerned, that is, depressions in the flooring in the places where they were could be made out. So it is extremely clear that these graves were formed in the phase between the functioning of Floor 1 and the making of the new Floor 2.

Grave 2 is additionally interesting, for it was put down immediately alongside the now closed entrance to the baptistery; it is, in fact, as will be seen

uleknuća podnice na mjestima gdje su se oni nalazili. Dakle, sasvim je jasno da su ti grobovi nastali u fazi između prestanka funkcije Podnice 1 i nastanka nove Podnice 2.

Grob 2 je i dodatno zanimljiv jer je postavljen neposredno uz već zatvoreni ulaz prema krstionici; radi se, kako ćemo dalje vidjeti, o najmlađem dječjem grobu. Prilikom arheoloških istraživanja jedinim je dijelom bio vidljiv, odnosno stršio je iz Podnice 2 (sl. 4).

2.1. Grob 2

Arhitektura Groba 2 izrađena je od tegula, a postavljena je na zatvoreni ulaz na južnom zidu crkve (sl. 6). Zapravo je riječ o pravokutnoj škrinji izrađenoj od tegula, a dvije tegule postavljene su i na dno groba.

Zapunu groba činila je pjeskovita zemlja koja je takav sastav dobila zbog ostataka raspadnute žbuke u kojoj su još bili ulomci imbreksa i tegula. Vjerovatno je riječ o ostatcima poklopnice. U zapuni groba nisu pronađene kosti pokojnika. Vanjska dužina arhitekture iznosi 125 cm, a unutarnja dužina 110 cm. Vanjska širina arhitekture je 50 cm, a unutarnja 35 cm. Zapadna stranica arhitekture koja izlazi iz razine donje žbukane podnice crkve (Podnice 1)



Sl. 6. Grob 2 (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 6 Grave 2 (photograph: D. Vujević)

below, the latest or most recent child grave. During the archaeological research, in one part it was visible, that is, it protruded from Floor 2 (fig. 4).

2.1 Grave 2

The architecture of this grave is composed of tegulae, and it is placed at the closed in entrance in the southern wall of the church (fig. 6). It is actually a rectangular casket made of tegulae, and two tegulae were also placed on the bottom of the grave.

The fill of the grave consisted of sandy soil, this composition arising because of the remains of decaying mortar in which there were also fragments of imbrices and tegulae. Probably they were the remains of lids. No bones of the decedent were found in the grave fill. The outer length of the structure was 125 cm and the interior length 110 cm. The exterior width was 50 and the interior 35 cm. The western side of the architecture that protrudes from the lower level of the mortar floor of the church (Floor 1) shows that the grave was built immediately before the upper mortar floor of the church was laid down. This would tend to be confirmed by the fact that the architecture of the tomb covers the closed southern entrance to the church. The grave is above an amphora grave (Grave 3), with the architecture of which it is contiguous. It is almost abutting Grave 3 and it is very likely it was the last to be formed.

2.2 Grave 3

Grave three is an amphora burial, and it is located in the south-west corner of the church (figs. 7-8). The rectangular outline of the grave was bounded by the mortared Floor 1, which confirms that the flooring had to be breached in the making of the grave.

In this grave there is a difference between the external architecture composed of a series of small amorphous stones placed alongside the edge of the contour to reinforce the amphora, and the internal architecture that consists, in fact, of the amphora itself. The top segment has been broken off (from shoulder to rim), and a vertically placed piece of a tegula has been put there as a lid.

The amphora was laid in the east to west (the opening) direction, and one of the tegulae of the construction of Grave 2 rests upon the bottom of the amphora. The fill of the amphora consist of a little loose soil in which the scattered bones of a



Sl. 7. Grob 3 (foto: D. Vujević)
Fig. 7 Grave 3 (photograph: D. Vujević)

svjedoči da je grob podignut neposredno prije nego je stavljena gornja žbukana podnica crkve. Tomu u prilog ide i činjenica što arhitektura groba prekriva zatvoreni južni ulaz u crkvu. Grob 2 stoji iznad groba u amfori (Grob 3) kojem i dodiruje arhitekturu. Gotovo je naslonjen na Grob 3 i velika je vjerojatnost da je nastao kao posljednji.

2.2. Grob 3

Grob 3 je pokop u amfori, a nalazi se u jugozapadnom kutu crkve (sl. 7-8). Četvrtasti obris groba bio je omeđen žbukanom Podnicom 1, što potvrđuje da je podnica probijana pri izradi groba.

Kod groba se razlikuje vanjska arhitektura sastavljena od niza sitnog amorfnog kamena postavljenog uz rub obrisa radi učvršćenja amfore i unutrašnje arhitekture koju zapravo čini sama amfora. Njoj je otkinut gornji segment (od ramena do oboda), a kao poklopac otvora stavljen je okomito postavljen komad tegule.

Amfora je bila polegnuta u smjeru istok-zapad (otvor), a na dno amfore naslanja se tegula od konstrukcije Groba 2. Zapunu amfore činilo je malo rahle zemlje u kojoj su pronađene razbacane kosti malog djeteta. Vanjska dužina arhitekture je 90 cm, a unutarnja 70 cm. Vanjska širina arhitekture je 45 cm, a unutarnja 25 cm.

2.3. Grob 4

Grob 4 nalazio se sjeverno od Groba 3 (sl. 9). Širina obrisa u žbuci bila je dimenzija 140 x 125 cm.



Sl. 8. Grob 3 (foto: D. Vujević)
Fig. 8 Grave 3 (photograph: D. Vujević)

small child were found. The external length of the architecture is 90 cm, the internal 70 cm. The external width of the architecture is 45 and the internal 25 cm.

2.3 Grave 4

Grave 4 lies to the north of Grave 3 (fig. 9) The width of the contours in the mortar were 140 x 125 cm. The architecture of the tomb consists of rows of amorphous stones. The grave was in fact divided into two parts, into two graves, but bones were found only in the southern part. In this case too, it is a child's grave that we are looking at.

The decedent was placed supine, head to the west. From the remains of the right arm it can be inferred that the arms were bent at the hip. The skeleton was found in a very poor condition. The lower parts of the legs were missing, the whole of the rib cage and the left arm; the skull was also in bad condition. There were no other finds in the grave. The outer and inner lengths of the architecture were 130 and 95 cm, respectively. The outer width was 50 cm, the interior 35 cm. The skeleton itself was 50 cm long and 20 cm wide.

2.4 Grave 5

To the north of Grave 2 lies Grave 5 (fig. 10). It is divided from Grave 2 by a strip of mortared flooring 50 to 70 cm wide.

The architecture of the grave is composed of rows of amorphous stones. The fill is earth and at



Sl. 9. Grob 4 (foto: D. Vujević)
 Fig. 9 Grave 4 (photograph: D. Vujević)

Arhitektura groba sastavljena je od niza amorfno kamenja. Grob je zapravo bio podijeljen na dva dijela, tj. dva groba, no kosti su pronađene samo u južnom dijelu. I u tom slučaju riječ je o pokopu djeteta.

Pokojnik je položen u ispruženi položaj na leđa, s glavom na zapadu. Prema sačuvanoj desnoj ruci može se zaključiti da su ruke bile svijene na zdjelici. Kostur je pronađen u vrlo lošem stanju. Nedo-staju mu donji dijelovi nogu, cjelokupan prsni koš i lijeva ruka, a lubanja je također bila u lošem stanju. U grobu nije bilo nalaza. Vanjska dužina arhitekture iznosi 130 cm, a unutarnja 95 cm. Vanjska širina arhitekture je 50 cm, a unutarnja 35 cm. Dužina kostura je 50 cm i širina 20 cm.

2.4. Grob 5

Sjeverno od Groba 2 nalazio se Grob 5 (sl. 10). Od Groba 2 dijeli ga traka žbukane podnice širine 50 – 70 cm.

Arhitektura groba sastavljena je od niza amorfno kamenja. Zapunu groba čini zemlja i manja količina kamena na vrhu. Od skeleta je sačuvana samo manja količina kostiju, vjerojatno ruke, na središnjem dijelu, dok su ostali ulomci kostiju, u jako lošem stanju očuvanosti, pronađeni uz sjeverni rub groba. Unutarnja dužina arhitekture iznosi 120 cm, a širina 65 cm.



Sl. 10. Grob 5 (foto: D. Vujević)
 Fig. 10 Grave 5 (photograph: D. Vujević)

Na vrhu groba nalazi se malo kamenja. Samo nekoliko kostiju je sačuvano od skeleta, vjerojatno ruke u centralnom dijelu, dok su preostali dijelovi kostiju u vrlo lošem stanju očuvanosti pronađeni duž sjeverne strane groba. Unutarnja dužina arhitekture bila je 120 cm, a širina 65 cm.

2.5 Grave 7

Grob 7 je na sjeveru od Grobova 4 i 5 (fig. 11). Arhitektura groba sastavljena je od amorfno kamenja položeno bez upotrebe maltera.

Decedent je položen na leđa s glavom na zapadu. Glava je položena na lijevu stranu i gledala prema sjeveru. Kostur je bio u vrlo lošem stanju i lomio se pri dodiru. Sudbina kostiju s desne ruke ukazuje na to da su ruke bile složene na pelvisu. Prema veličini kostiju pretpostavlja se da se radi o grobu djeteta. Nije bilo drugih nalaza i predmeta u grobu. Vanjska dužina arhitekture bila je 170 cm, unutarnja 145 cm. Dužina kostura bila je 85 cm.

3. Adult graves

Četiri groba odraslih osoba pronađena su ispred nekadašnje crkve, unutar prostorije na zapadu, u sjevero-istočnom kutu, neposredno ispred nekadašnje ulazne kapije crkve. Radi se o Grobovima 6A, B, C i D (figs. 12-13).

2.5. Grob 7

Grob 7 nalazio se sjeverno od Grobova 4 i 5 (sl. 11). Arhitektura groba napravljena je od amorfne kamena poslaganog bez korištenja žbuke.

Pokojnik je položen na leđa u ispruženom položaju, s glavom na zapadu. Glava je položena na lijevu stranu i gleda prema sjeveru. Lubanja je bila u lošem stanju i raspadala se na dodir. Sudeći prema kostima desne ruke, ruke su bile savijene na zdjelici. Prema veličini kostiju možemo pretpostaviti da je riječ o grobu djeteta. U grobu nije bilo nikakvih nalaza ni priloga. Vanjska dužina groba iznosi 170 cm, a unutarnja 145 cm. Dužina kostura je 85 cm.

3. Grobovi odraslih osoba

Četiri groba odraslih osoba pronađena su ispred nekadašnje crkve, unutar zapadne prostorije, odnosno u njezinu sjeveroistočnom kutu, neposredno ispred nekadašnjeg ulaza u crkvu. To su Grobovi 6A, B, C i D (sl. 12-13).

Pri njihovoj organizaciji i smještaju probijena je podnica u sjeveroistočnom kutu zapadne prostorije. Kopanjem grobova nastao je četvrtasti obris u podnici. Temeljem podataka dobivenih analizom ¹⁴C može se zaključiti sa su grobovi odraslih osoba nastajali postupno, u dužem vremenskom razdoblju.³

Grob 6A najsjeverniji je od četiri pokopa pronađena unutar tog sloja, a nalazi se uz zid na dubini od 85 cm od vrha podnice. Prema sačuvanim kostima pokojnik je bio položen na leđa, s glavom na zapadnoj strani. Od skeleta se sačuvala samo lubanja (iako je i ona oštećena) i dvije kosti noge. Iz groba je uzet uzorak kostiju za analizu ¹⁴C, koja je pokazala dataciju između 475. i 485. godine. Grob 6B, isto kao i prethodni grob, nalazio se na dnu iskopa unutar uništenja podnice zapadne prostorije, neposredno južno od Groba 6A. Nekoliko amorfnih kamenova uokolo ukazivalo je na postojanje grobne konstrukcije. Pokojnik je položen na leđa s glavom na zapadu.

Od skeleta se sačuvala samo dosta oštećena lubanja te dvije kosti ruke. Grob 6C nalazio se južno od Groba 6B. Prema sačuvanim kostima pokojnik je bio položen na leđa u ispruženom položaju. Glava pokojnika je na zapadu. Od skeleta sačuvala se dio lubanje i kosti noge. Grob 6D najjužniji je od pronađenih grobova. Uokolo kostiju primjećivali su se obrisi plitke jame. Od četiri pronađena ovo



Sl. 11. Grob 7 (foto: D. Vujević)
Fig. 11 Grave 7 (photograph: D. Vujević)



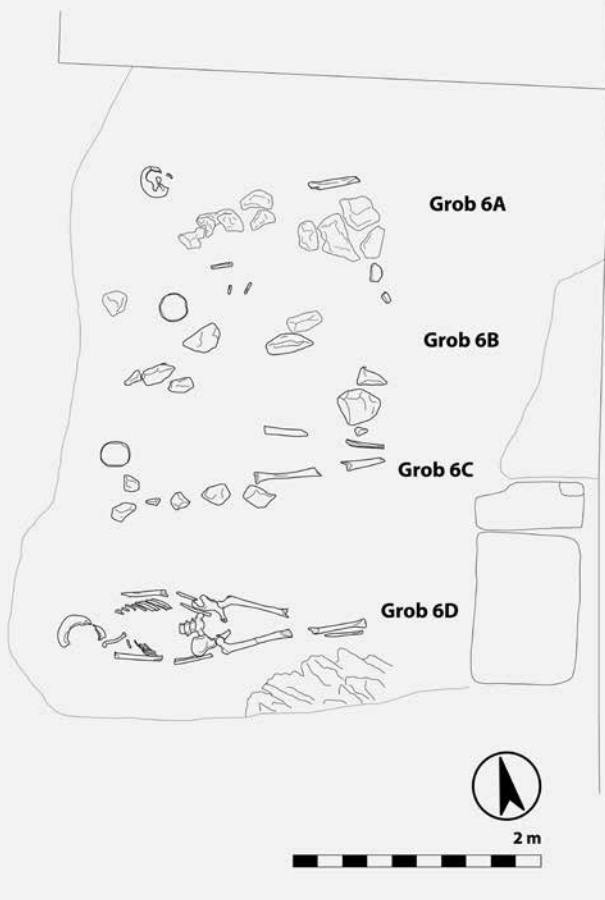
Sl. 12. Grobovi 6A, 6B, 6C i 6D unutar zapadne prostorije (foto: D. Vujević)
Fig. 12 Graves 6A, 6B, 6C and 6D in the western room (photograph: D. Vujević)

When they were organised and located, the flooring of the north east corner of the western room had to be breached. By the digging of the graves, a squarish outline in the flooring was created. Pursuant to date obtained from C¹⁴ analysis we infer that the graves of these adults came into being gradually, over a longish period of time.³

Grave 6A is the northernmost of the four burials found within this stratum, and lies alongside the

³ Analizu je napravio laboratorij Beta Analytic, Miami, Florida, USA.

³ Analysis was conducted by Beta Analytic, Miami, Florida, USA.



Sl. 13. Crtež grobova 6A, 6B, 6C i 6D unutar zapadne prostorije (izradio: D. Vujević)

Fig. 13 Drawing of graves 6A, 6B, 6C and 6D in the western room (drawn by: D. Vujević)

je najbolje sačuvan skelet. Pokojnik je položen na leđa u ispruženom položaju, s lubanjom na zapadnoj strani. Ruke su mu stavljene uz tijelo. Nedostaje jedna potkoljениčna kost i kosti stopala i šake, a ni lubanja nije cjelovita. Dužina kostura je 155 cm. Iz toga groba je također uzet uzorak kostiju za analizu ¹⁴C, koja je pokazala dataciju između 535. i 620. godine.

4. Općenita zapažanja o dječjim grobovima u antici i kasnoj antici

Dječji ukopi, osobito male djece, često se pronalaze odvojeni od ukopa odraslih.⁴ Najpoznatiji način ukapanja tako izrazito male djece u rimskom svijetu je *suggrundarium*, odnosno to su tzv. ukopi pod strehom, koji vuku porijeklo još iz prapovijes-

wall at a depth of 85 from the top of the floor. From the existing bones, the decedent was placed supine with head to the west. Of the skeleton, only the skull is preserved (although it too is damaged) and two leg bones. A specimen of bone was taken from the grave for ¹⁴C analysis, which provided dating from 475 to 485. Grave 6B, like the previous grave, was at the bottom of the excavations inside the destroyed flooring of the western room, just south of Grave 6A. Several amorphous stones around suggest the existence of a grave construction. The decedent was placed supine with the head to the west.

Only a fairly damage skull and two arm bones remained of the skeleton. Grave 6C lay to the south of 6B. From the extant bones the decedent was supine and in an extended position. The head was to the west. Part of the skull and leg bones remained. Grave 6D is the southernmost of the graves found. Around the bones, the outlines of a shallow pit were found. Of the four found, this was the best preserved skeleton. The decedent was placed on its back in an extended position with the head to the west. The arms followed the line of the body. Missing is one bone of the lower leg and the bones of hands and feet, and not even the skull is complete. The length of the skeleton was 155 cm. A sample for ¹⁴C analysis was taken from this grave too, and the analysis indicated a date of between 535 and 620.

4. General remarks about children's graves in Antiquity and Late Antiquity.

Children's graves, particularly those of infants, are often found apart from the graves of adults.⁴ The best known manner of burying very small children in the Roman world is *suggrundarium*, that is, what are called burials under the eaves, a custom that derived from prehistory.⁵ Fulgentius says that *suggrundarium* was used for infants younger than 40 days, who could be buried only at night under the threshold or walls at the corners of the house.⁶ What is particularly interesting is that during the Late Antique period this type of burial flourished and was found right up to the 7th century.⁷ It very

⁴ Soren et al., 1999; Vitale 2015, p. 197-202; Barbiera 2017, pp. 226-228.

⁵ Fulgentius, *Sermones Antiqui*, 7, in: Soren et al. 1999, p. 478. See also Vitale 2015, p. 198. Newborns were not considered full members of the family, and so for the burials of such small children the normal rules about the ban on burials within the city did not hold.

⁶ Wiedemann, 1989, p. 179; Soren, et al 1999, p. 478; Carroll 2011, pp. 99-100.

⁷ Vitale 2015, p. 198.

⁴ Soren et al. 1999; Vitale 2015, str. 197-202; Barbiera 2017, str. 226-228.

sti.⁵ Fulgentius kaže kako se *suggrundarium* koristio za novorođenčad mlađu od 40 dana, a djeca mlađa od 40 dana mogla su se pokapati jedino noću ispod kućnog praga ili zidova na kutovima kuće.⁶ Ono što je zanimljivo za razdoblje kasne antike, jest činjenica da takav tip ukopa doživljava procvat i pronalazi se sve do 7. stoljeća.⁷ On se vrlo često javlja unutar još uvijek korištenih prostorija (kuća i sl.), ispod njihovih podnica, uz zidove prostorija ili unutarnjih pregrada.⁸ Odvojena dječja groblja pronalaze se ispod podnica radionica, kuhinja ili sličnih prostora, kao što je to slučaj s dva lokaliteta u Francuskoj. Naime, na lokalitetu Salleles d'Aude otkrivena je nekropola tek rođenih beba i mlađe djece ispod podnice galo-rimske radionice za proizvodnju keramike iz 1. stoljeća. Netom rođene bebe pokapane su u vrlo jednostavne grobove, a u nekim slučajevima je zid građevine služio kao dio arhitekture. Starija djeca pokapana su s više pažnje. Na lokalitetu Lezoux pronađena su dva dječja groba ispod podnice radionice za keramiku, a na lokalitetu Alise otkrivena je mala nekropola iz 1. stoljeća s dječjim ukopima. Na lokalitetu Springhead u Kentu četrnaest grobova pronađeno je ispod podnice kuhinje.⁹

Odvojena dječja groblja često se organiziraju na prostorima napuštenih vila. Najveće poznato rimsko dječje groblje pronađeno je u vili u Hambletonu (Buckinghamshire), u dolini Middle Thames. Ondje je pronađeno devedeset i sedam skeleta koji se datiraju u kasno 3. stoljeće. Na lokalitetu La Fontanaccia u Italiji dječje groblje pronađeno je unutar ruševina rimske građevine koja se datira u Augustovo doba, a za koju se pretpostavlja da bi mogla biti vila napuštena zbog nepoznate katastrofe. Prostor u toj građevini pretvoren je u groblje u kasnom 2. stoljeću. Dječje nekropole pronađene su i u Tunisu, na položaju El Jem. Na farmi u Owlesburyju u Engleskoj dječji su ukopi pronađeni na više mjesta, gdje se pokazalo da su djeca starija od 18 mjeseci uko-

often occurs within rooms still used (houses and so on), beneath the floors, alongside the walls of the rooms or partition walls.⁸ Separate children's graveyards are found under the floors of workshop, kitchens and similar areas as is the case in two sites in France. At Salleles d'Aude, a necropolis of newborns and young children was found under the floor of a Gallo-Roman workshop for ceramics of the 1st century. Newborns were buried in very simple graves, in some cases the wall of a building would serve as part of the architecture. Older children were buried with more attention. At Lezoux two children's graves were found under the floor of a pottery workshop, and at Alise a small graveyard of the 1st century with children's graves was found. At Springhead in Kent, fourteen graves were found beneath the flooring of a kitchen.⁹

Separate children's graveyards were often organised in the premises of abandoned villas. The biggest known Roman child cemetery was found in a villa in Hambleton (Buckinghamshire) in the middle Thames Valley. Twenty-seven skeletons were found, dating to the late 3rd century. At La Fontanaccia in Italy a children's graveyard was found in the ruins of a Roman building dating back to the time of Augustus; it has been hypothesised that the villa was perhaps abandoned because of some unknown disaster. The space in this building was turned into a cemetery in the late 2nd century. Children's cemeteries were found in Tunisia too, at the position of El Jem. A farm in Owlesbury in England revealed several places where children were buried; it proved that children older than 18 months were buried with more care and attention than smaller children. The best known Late Antique children's graveyard is Poggio Gramignano of the mid-5th century, where in all sixty children's graves have been found.¹⁰ Recent DNA analysis of samples from the spot showed that the children died from malaria (bearing out earlier suppositions)¹¹ and it was confirmed that the cemetery was formed in a short period of time within an abandoned Early Antique villa where the architecture of its various previous rooms served as grave plots. The newborns and foetuses the burials of which prevail in the cemetery and larger children

⁵ Fulgentius, *Sermones Antiqui*, 7, u: Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 478. Vidi i Vitale 2015, str. 198. Novorođenčad se nije smatrala punopravnim članovima obitelji, pa za ukope tako male djece nije vrijedio zakon o zabrani ukopa unutar gradskog pomerija,

⁶ Wiedemann, 1989, str. 179; Soren, *et al.* 1999, str. 478; Carroll 2011, str. 99-100.

⁷ Vitale 2015, str. 198.

⁸ Isto.

⁹ Za sve navedene primjere vidi: Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 478-480.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ For all these examples see Soren *et al.* 1999, pp. 478-480.

¹⁰ Soren *et al.* 1999; Montagnetti *et al.* 2020, pp. 279-302.

¹¹ Soren *et al.* 1999, 478-480; Montagnetti *et al.* 2020, p. 284.

pana s više brige i pozornosti nego manja djeca. Od kasnoantičkih dječjih groblja najpoznatije je Poggio Gramignano iz sredine 5. stoljeća, gdje je pronađeno ukupno šezdeset dječjih grobova.¹⁰ Ondje je nedavna DNK analiza pokazala da su djeca umrla od posljedica malarije (što se i ranije pretpostavljalo)¹¹ te se potvrdilo kako je groblje nastalo u kratkom vremenskom razdoblju unutar napuštene ranoantičke vile, gdje je arhitektura nekadašnjih njezinih različitih prostorija poslužila za grobne parcele. Novorođenčad i fetusi čiji ukopi dominiraju na groblju i veća djeca nisu bili pokapani unutar istih prostorija, a većoj djeci se posvećivala veća brižnost pri organizaciji samoga groba.

Odvojeni dječji grobovi pronađeni su i unutar istih, većih nekropola. Kod takvih slučajeva na većoj nekropoli postoji zaseban dio samo za djecu, ali su ona također pokapana i uz odrasle, kao što je to kod kasnoantičkoga groblja Vaste – Fondo Giuliano u talijanskoj pokrajini Puglia.¹²

Osim navedenih primjera pronalaze se i odvojene manje skupine dječjih grobova, često u blizini grobova odraslih, kakav je slučaj i na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina. Takvi zasebni dječji ukopi grupirani u manje skupine u blizini grobova odraslih zapravo „imitiraju“ situacije na većim nekropolama, koje su organizirane po principu obiteljskih/klanskih zajednica. Formalno je riječ o zajedničkim ukopima djece i odraslih, no činjenica je da su oni ipak odvojeni. Grobovi su zapravo grupirani po ćelijama, gdje više takvih ćelija čini jedno veće groblje, s time da se u takvim slučajevima vjerojatno radi o ukopima samo jednog klana kod kojih broj dječjih grobova obično ne prelazi šest grobova,¹³ a broj grobova odraslih osoba sedam po skupini.¹⁴

were not buried in the same rooms, and more care was devoted to the bodies of older children when the actual grave was being formed.

Separate children's graves were found inside larger necropolises. In such cases, at a larger cemetery there would be a separate part just for children, but they would also be buried alongside adults, as was the case in the Late Antique cemetery of Vaste-Fondo Giuliana in Puglia in Italy.¹²

Apart from these examples, separate smaller groups of children's graves have been found, often in the vicinity of the graves of adults, as was the case at Rivine-Crkvina. Such separate children's graves grouped into small sets close to the graves of adults in fact imitate the situations at larger cemeteries that are organised according to family/clan communities. Formally, there are common burials of children and adults, but the fact is that they were actually separate. In essence the graves were grouped according to cells, several such cells making a larger cemetery, with the proviso that in such cases it was probably a matter of a single clan, the number of children's graves not usually exceeding six,¹³ and the number graves for adults in a group would be seven.¹⁴

Archaeology has recorded multiple child burials in a single grave. Five children were found inside the same number at Pallantion (the Peloponnese). Such a grave, most likely, was not far from the graves of adults and alongside the architecture of a settlement of Late Antiquity.¹⁵ In our area we find a Late Antique grave with multiple child burials in Smratine on Vir Island. As many as seven children were buried there; it was found alongside the southern wall of an Early Christian church, outside the actual church, while the remaining Late Antique graves of adults were grouped principally within the building of the church.¹⁶

¹⁰ Soren *et al.* 1999; Montagnetti *et al.* 2020, str. 279-302.

¹¹ Soren *et al.* 1999, 478-480; Montagnetti *et al.* 2020, str. 284.

¹² Za lokalitet Vaste – Fondo Giuliano vidi: D'Andria *et al.* 2006, str. 231-322.

¹³ Vitale 2015, 197-199. U Italiji neki od lokaliteta su: Ferento (4 groba odvojena su od grobova odraslih i u njima su pokopana tri fetusa i jedna netom rođena beba), Castro dei Volsci (grobovi djece uz bočne, vanjske strane grobova odraslih), San Stino di Livenza (dječji grobovi udaljeni su od grobova odraslih, uz strukturu koja je identificirana kao pogrebna mensa).

¹⁴ Ova brojka se odnosi na situacije na velikim grobljima na redove, kod kojih je uočeno da su organizirani po obiteljskim skupinama (klanovi, ćelije). Vidi također: Barbiera 2017, str. 179.

¹² For the site of Vaste – Fondo Giuliano cf.: D'Andria *et al.*, 2006, pp. 231-322.

¹³ Vitale 2015, 197-199. In Italy, some of the sites are: Ferento (4 graves separate from adults' graves in which three fetuses and one newborn were placed); Castro dei Volsci (children's graves alongside the outer sides of adult graves); San Stino di Livenza (children's graves at a distance from the graves of adults, alongside a structure identified as sepulchral mensa).

¹⁴ This number relates to situations in big cemeteries in rows in which it has been observed they were organised by family groups (clans, cells), Cf. Barbiera 2017, p. 179.

¹⁵ Metaxas, Tritsaroli, 2017, p. 143-166. Cf.: Fabijanić 2020, p. 393, n. 53.

¹⁶ Fabijanić 2020, pp. 381-395.

Arheologija je zabilježila i višestruke dječje ukope unutar jednoga groba. Petero djece unutar istoga groba pronađeno je npr. na lokalitetu Pallantion (Peloponez, Grčka). Ondje se takav grob po svemu sudeći nalazio nedaleko od grobova odraslih i uz arhitekturu kasnoantičkog naselja.¹⁵ Na našim prostorima kasnoantički grob s višestrukim dječjim pokopima nalazimo na lokalitetu Smratine na otoku Viru. U njemu je pokopano čak sedmero djece, a nađen je uz južni zid starokršćanske crkve, tj. izvan crkve, dok su ostali kasnoantički grobovi odraslih grupirani pretežito unutar crkvene građevine.¹⁶

Jedan od najčešćih tipova grobova za malu djeću su ukopi u običnu zemljanu raku bez arhitekture. Treba istaknuti da se, kada je jako malo dijete (ili fetus) pokopano na taj način, može dogoditi da ako kosti u potpunosti propadnu, ne možemo prepoznati grob na terenu, a zna se dogoditi da se i ljudske kosti pobrkaju sa životinjskim.¹⁷ Takav tip grobova najčešći je ispod podnica građevina i može biti naznačen s jedva primjetnim amorfnim kamenjem bez žbuke;¹⁸ no vrlo su česti i grobovi u amforama, gdje srećemo razne varijante ukopa, od onih u cjelovitim ili raspolovljenim amforama do pokopa u amfori stavljenoj u drugu fragmentarnu amforu. Zastupljeni su i grobovi s arhitekturom rađenom od tegula, gdje se pojavljuju varijante od ukopa položenih na jednu tegulu do onih pod tegulama slaganim u obliku krova ili s dvostrukim redom crjepova koji su slagani kao sanduk te s vrlo jednostavnom grobnom arhitekturom kod koje kamenje može, ali i ne mora, biti povezano žbukom.¹⁹ Zanimljivost je da se amfore ili tegule i imbreksi, tj. različiti tipovi crjepova, najčešće koriste za ukope fetusa ili netom rođene djece sve do 7. stoljeća.²⁰ Na lokalitetu Vaste – Fondo Giuliano odvojeni dječji grobovi klesani su u stijeni.²¹

O razlozima zbog kojih se grobovi djece, osobito oni male djece, odvajaju od grobova odraslih još uvijek postoji znanstvena rasprava, a pretežito se vežu uz niz praktičnih, društvenih, ritualnih ili

One of the most common types of small-child graves is the ordinary earth pit without any architecture. It has to be said that when a very small child or a foetus was buried in this way it can happen that if the bones decay completely, it will be impossible to recognise a grave in the field, and it has happened that animal and human bones have been confused.¹⁷ Such a type of grave is mostly under the floors of buildings and can be indicated with a hardly noticeable amorphous stone without any rendering,¹⁸ but very often there are amphora graves, where we can meet different variants of burial, from those in complete or in halved amphorae to burials in an amphora placed in some other fragmentary amphora. Also represented are graves with architecture made out of tegulae, with variations ranging from burials placed on one tegula to those underneath tegulae formed in the shape of a roof or with a double row of tiles arranged like a casket with a very simple grave architecture where stone might or might not be bonded with mortar.¹⁹ An interesting feature is that amphorae or tegulae and imbrices, i.e., various types of roof tiles, were most often used for the burials of foetuses or newborns up to the 7th century.²⁰ At Vaste-Fondo Giuliano separate children's graves were carved into the rock.²¹

There is still academic discussion of the reasons for children's graves, particularly those of very small children, being separated from the graves of adults; they tend to be connected to a number of practical, social, ritual or religious factors. Funeral rituals in the Roman world in the case of child deaths were separate and incomplete with respect to the public, the wider social community. A still birth or the death of a new born was a private event, and so everything took place in the home. There the child was born and knew its first moments, and at the end was buried there, very practically.²² This explanation is acceptable for burials of the *suggrundarium* type. Hygienic reasons are mentioned, as in the case of the graveyard at the site Poggio Gramignano, where, as already mentioned, DNA analysis

¹⁵ Metaxas, Tritsaroli 2017, str. 143-166. Vidi i u: Fabijanić 2020, str. 393, bilj. 53.

¹⁶ Fabijanić 2020, str. 381-395.

¹⁷ Barbiera 2017, str. 226-228.

¹⁸ Vitale 2015, str. 199.

¹⁹ Većina grobova ovih tipologija zastupljena je na groblju Poggio Gramignano; vidi u: Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 490.

²⁰ Vitale 2015, str. 199.

²¹ Za lokalitet Vaste – Fondo Giuliano vidi: D'Andria *et al.* 2006, sl. 16.

¹⁷ Barbiera 2017, pp. 226-228.

¹⁸ Vitale 2015, p. 199.

¹⁹ Most of the graves of these typologies can be seen at the Poggio Gramignano cemetery, cf.: Soren *et al.* 1999, p. 490.

²⁰ Vitale 2015, p.199.

²¹ For Vaste-Fondo Giuliano cf. D'Andria *et al.*, 2006, fig. 16.

²² Vitale 2015, p. 200.

religijskih razloga. Naime, pogrebni rituali unutar rimskog svijeta u slučaju smrti djeteta bili su posebni i „necjeloviti“ prema javnosti, odnosno prema široj društvenoj zajednici. Rođenje mrtvog djeteta ili njegova smrt neposredno nakon rođenja jest zapravo privatna događaj i zato se sve odvijalo u kući. Ondje se dijete rađalo i provodilo svoje prve trenutke, a na kraju se i pokapalo, što je bilo iznimno praktično.²² Takvo objašnjenje svakako je prihvatljivo za ukop tipa *suggrundarium*. Spominju se i higijenski razlozi, kao primjerice u slučaju nekropole na lokalitetu Poggio Gramignano, gdje je, kao što je već navedeno, DNK analiza potvrdila pretpostavke velike smrtnosti pretežito tek rođene djece i fetusa od malarije.²³

Djeci koja su umirala u kasnijoj dobi pridavala se veća briga oko organizacije sprovoda i groba te će se češće pronaći zajedno i na istim mjestima s grobovima odraslih ili unutar grobova odraslih, što se osobito može pratiti na većim, dobro organiziranim nekropolama. Kod talijanskih primjera antropološka analiza koja je napravljena tamo gdje je to bilo moguće, pokazala je da se *suggrundarium* koristi kod djece od nulte do treće godine života.²⁴

Unutar antičkoga svijeta, o čemu osobito svjedoče podatci koje prenosi Plutarh, djeca se nisu smatrala punopravnim članovima obitelji sve dok ne bi progovorila, prohodala i imala konkretniju interakciju s odraslima.²⁵ Spomenuto je i da se ne prinosi libacija djeci koja su umrla u vrlo ranoj dobi, ali da se i ne čine bilo kakve druge ritualne radnje, jer takva djeca nemaju nikakve veze s ovozemaljskim stvarima. Također napominje da se ožalošćeni nisu zadržavali na mjestima na kojima se obavlja pogreb (na grobu ili pokraj kreveta), naglašavajući kako im zakoni brane žalovanje za dojenčadi.²⁶

Širenjem kršćanstva i njegovim postupnim potpunim afirmiranjem odnos prema djeci se dosta mijenja,²⁷ no arheologija ipak u kasnoj antici potvrđuje u ritualima kontinuitet iz rane antike, osobito spram pokopa izrazito male djece, tek rođenih ili mrtvorodenih. Tomu su izravni dokaz npr. groblja

confirmed the assumption of the great mortality of mainly just born children and fetuses because of malaria.²³

More care was devoted to the funeral and grave of children who had grown and were older and they are more often to be found together with and in the same places as the graves of adults or within the graves of adults, which can in particular be traced in large and well organised cemeteries. In the Italian examples, anthropological analysis carried out there, where possible, showed that *suggrundarium* was used for children from birth to three years old.²⁴

In the ancient world, which is particularly borne out by information conveyed by Plutarch, children were not considered fully-fledged members of the family until they spoke, walked and had more pronounced interactions with adults.²⁵ It is also mentioned that libations were not made for children who died in a very early age, nor were any other ritual actions performed, for such children had no connections with things of this world. It is also mentioned that the mourners did not stay at the places where the burial was performed (by the bed or at the grave), emphasising that the laws forbade mourning for infants.²⁶

With the spread of Christianity and its gradual full affirmation the attitude to children changed a lot,²⁷ but still in Late Antiquity archaeology confirms the continuity of rituals from Early Antiquity, that is, with respect to the burial of very small children, newborn or still-born. A direct proof of this are for example the cemeteries at Poggio Gramignano and Vaste-Fondo Giuliano, for these are areas that converted to Christianity. Soren notes that separate children's graveyards are much more common from the time of Late Antiquity.²⁸ The growing influence of Christianity made the basic question whether the child had been baptised or not. The unbaptised could not have a church burial, and the same fate was meted out to children who died before baptism.

²² Vitale 2015, str. 200.

²³ Montagnetti *et al.* 2020, str. 284.

²⁴ Vitale 2015, str. 198.

²⁵ Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 479.

²⁶ Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 493.

²⁷ To je vidljivo npr. u području ideologije; ideja da su sva ljudska bića nastala na sliku Božju utjecala je na pozitivno gledanje na djecu – smatrana su ljudskim bićima u punini od rođenja. Usp. Aasgaard 2006, str. 23–46.

²³ Montagnetti *et al.* 2020, p. 284.

²⁴ Vitale 2015, p. 198.

²⁵ Soren *et al.* 1999, p. 479.

²⁶ Soren *et al.* 1999, p. 493.

²⁷ This is visible in the domain of ideology; the idea that all human beings are created in the Divine Image produced a positive view of children, who were considered to be full human beings from birth on. Cf. Aasgaard 2006, p. 23–46.

²⁸ Soren *et al.* 1999, p. 482.

Poggio Gramignano ili Vaste – Fondo Giuliano jer se radi o pokrštenim područjima. Soren primjećuje da su zasebna dječja groblja mnogo češća od razdoblja kasne antike.²⁸ S afirmacijom kršćanstva osnovno je pitanje postalo ono je li dijete kršteno ili nije. Nekrštena osoba nije mogla imati crkveni pogreb, a ista je sudbina zadesila i djecu koja su preminula prije krštenja. Sudbina novorođenčeta usko je bila vezana uz majku. Majka je smatrana čistom tek četrdeseti dan nakon poroda i tada je dijete moglo biti kršteno.²⁹ Krštenja su se obično i obavljala tog četrdesetog dana od poroda, a u rijetkim slučajevima i ranije, i to kad su postojali veliki rizici smrtnosti. Stoga ne iznenađuje što se ukopi izrazito male djece pronalaze odvojeni i u dosta kasnijim razdobljima te što je ukop tipa *suggrundarium* bio popularan u kasnoj antici.

Od samog početka širenja kršćanstva javljaju se rasprave o tomu smiju li se krstiti djeca. Problem je zapravo predstavljala visoka smrtnost djece. Krštenja male djece javljaju se još u 2. i 3. stoljeću, ali sporadično.³⁰ Zapravo, u prva četiri stoljeća nedostaju pravila i norme. Od 4. stoljeća dosta se raspravljalo o tomu u kojoj dobi bi bilo prikladno da dijete primi krštenje. Od tada nadalje ono se polagano uvodi, ali cijeli proces traje jako sporo i nije isti u svim regijama. Od 5. stoljeća nadalje uvodi se praksa kumova, koji su bili dužni pred zajednicom podučiti dijete kršćanskim vrijednostima i vjerovanjima. Raspravljalo se i o tomu koja je dječja dob najprikladnija za primanje sakramenta. Od 6. i 7. stoljeća krštenje male djece je opće prihvaćeno na Zapadu i na Istoku. Od 6. stoljeća nadalje crkve na istočnom dijelu nekadašnjega Rimskog Carstva većinom više nemaju odvojene krstionice, već samo recipijent tipa zdenaca za krštenje malog djeteta.³¹

Budući da dokazi sugeriraju kako je bilo uobičajeno da rimske obitelji ukapaju djecu unutar kućne arhitekture, ne iznenađuje ukapanje djece na grobljima koja su nastala nad ruševinama vila.³² Situacija na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina vrlo je specifična, jer se dječje groblje nalazi u zapadnom dijelu manje crkve, koja tada vrlo vjerojatno više nije bila u funkciji; zašto tako mislimo objasniti ćemo dalje u tekstu.

The fate of the newborn was closely connected with the mother. A mother was considered clean on the fortieth day after delivery and then the child could be baptised.²⁹ Baptism was then usually carried out the fortieth day after birth, and in rare cases even earlier when there was a high risk of mortality. And so there is no surprise in the burials of very young children being found separately even in fairly late periods, and that burial of the *suggrundarium* type was popular in Late Antiquity.

From the beginning of the spread of Christianity there were discussions about whether children should be baptised or not. The problem was compounded by the high child mortality. The christening of little children occurred sporadically in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.³⁰ In fact, in the first four centuries there were no rules or norms. From the fourth century there was a lot of discussion about at what age it would be appropriate for children to undergo baptism. From then on it was gradually introduced, but the whole process lasted very slowly and was not the same in all regions. Starting from the 5th century came the practice of engaging godparents, who were bound before the community to teach the child Christian values and beliefs. There was also discussion of the age from which the child could take communion. From the 6th and 7th century, baptism of young children was generally accepted in both West and East. Mostly from the 6th century, the churches in the eastern part of the former Roman Empire stopped having separate baptisteries, only a recipient of the font type for the christening of small children.³¹

Since evidence suggests it was common for Roman families to bury children within the architecture of the house, the burial of children at cemeteries that were formed over the ruins of villas should not surprise.³² At Rivine-Crkvina we have a very particular situation in which the children's cemetery is found in the western part of a smallish church that then very likely was no longer in use; why we think this is explained below.

²⁸ Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 482.

²⁹ Tritsaroli, Valentin 2008, str. 95.

³⁰ Detalje o povijesti dječjih krštenja vidi u: Ferguson 2009, str. 629-632; Orlandi 2017, str. 68-77.

³¹ Ferguson 2009, str. 628-631.

³² Soren *et al.* 1999, str. 480.

²⁹ Tritsaroli, Valentin 2008, p. 95.

³⁰ For details of the history of child baptism, cf. Ferguson 2009, pp. 629-632; Orlandi 2017, pp. 68-77.

³¹ Ferguson 2009, pp. 628-631.

³² Soren *et al.* 1999, p. 480.

5. Zaključna razmatranja

1. Na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina pronađeno je ukupno pet dječjih grobova, koji se nalaze na zapadnom, odnosno jugozapadnom dijelu crkve. Sve upućuje na to da su organizirani u vrlo kratkom vremenskom razdoblju. Grobovi imaju istu orijentaciju, gusto su raspoređeni jedan uz drugoga i točno se znalo gdje se koji grob nalazi. Grob 2 je nastao posljednji, što se može zaključiti prema njegovu odnosu prema Grobu 3, na koji dijelom naliže i stratigrafski se nalazi iznad njega, a nastao je i neposredno prije gradnje Podnice 2, iz koje je stršio u trenutku pronalaska.

U nedostatku antropološke analize, na temelju tipologije grobova, njihove veličine, raspadnutosti kostiju (u Grobu 2 i sjevernom dijelu Groba 4 kosti nisu ni pronađene), njihova namjernog grupiranja i odvajanja od grobova odraslih, smještanja uz kut i prag arhitekture, možemo s velikom dozom sigurnosti pretpostaviti da se radi o iznimno maloj djeci. Moguće je da su neka od njih umrla pri rođenju ili neposredno nakon rođenja i sl. U Grobu 7 je možda bilo pokopano nešto starije dijete, do tri godine života.

Ukopi djece na Rivinama u mnogočemu odgovaraju uobičajenoj praksi ukapanja djece u tom razdoblju: svi su grobovi završili ispod podnice (Podnice 2), odvojeni su od ostalih, a pri njihovoj organizaciji probijena je Podnica 1, koja je pripadala crkvi dok je još uvijek sigurno bila u funkciji. Dakle, kronologija njihove organizacije jasno je definirana dvama podnicama, s time da su vrata prema krstionici već bila zatvorena.

2. Sagledavajući problematiku iz današnje perspektive, prvo što bismo mogli pomisliti jest da se radi o privilegiranim dječjim ukopima unutar renovirane crkve, osobito ako polazimo od činjenice da su djeca smatrana čistom i da samim time zaslužuju takav privilegij ako su krštena; arheološka istraživanja, međutim, potvrdila su sasvim drugačiju situaciju. U vrijeme nastanka dječjih ukopa crkva je bez krstionice, bez stepenice prema prezbiteriju, na sjevernoj i zapadnoj strani lokaliteta grade se novi prostori, s posve drugačijom namjenom (gospodarske zgrade).

U prethodnom dijelu tekstu već smo istaknuli da je u kasnoj antici, iako kršćanstvo u odnos prema djeci unosi brojne promjene, naslijeđe još uvijek čvrsto vezano uz ranija antička razdoblja, no način organizacije dječjih groblja unutar starokršćanskih

5. Concluding discussion

At Rivine-Crkvina, a total of five children's graves were found, in the western or south-western part of the church. All this suggests that they were organised in a very short period of time. The graves have the same orientation, are placed hard by each other and it was known precisely where which grave actually lay. Grave 2 was formed the last, which can be concluded from its relationship to Grave 3, on which it partly lies and is to be found in stratigraphic terms above it, and was formed just before the construction of Floor 2, from which it was protruding at the moment of discovery.

For want of anthropological analysis, pursuant to the typology of the graves, their sizes, the disintegration of the bones (in Grave 2 and the northern part of G. 4 no bones were found at all), their deliberate grouping and separation from the graves of the adults, the location by the corner and threshold of the architecture, we can with a large deal of confidence assume that these were very small children. Perhaps some died at birth or just after. In Grave 87 along perhaps a somewhat older child was buried, up to the age of three.

The burials of children in Rivine in many ways correspond to the ordinary practice of child burial in this period – all the graves are underneath the flooring (Floor 2), are separate from the others, and in this organisation, Floor 1 was penetrated, a floor that belonged to the church while it was for certain still being used. The chronology of their organisation is clearly defined by the two floors and by the door into the baptistery being already closed up.

2. Considering all the problems involved from the current perspective, the first thing that we might think of is that these were privileged children buried within the renovated church since we start off from the fact that children were considered pure and ipso facto deserved such a privilege if they were baptised; however, archaeological research bore out a very different situation. At the time of the formation of the children's graves the church had no baptistery, had no steps onto the presbytery, and on the northern and western sides of the site new premises were built with very different purposes – utilitarian and economic.

In the previous part of the text we have pointed out that in Late Antiquity, although Christianity brought in many changes with respect to children, the heritage was still closely connected to earli-

crkava kakav je i na Rivinama nije uobičajena pojava, a osobito se to odnosi na njihov smještaj ispod nove podnice građevine, odnosno između stare i nove podnice. U literaturi se spominju sporadični ukopi, npr. u krstionicama ili uzduž perimetralnih vanjskih zidova crkava.³³

Dječji grobovi u sakralnim građevinama mnogo su češći u kasnijim razdobljima, a tada se čak u nekim regijama u crkvi češće pokapaju djeca negoli odrasli. Istraživanja u Grčkoj na grobljima Thebes u Boeotiji, Xironomi u Boeotiji i groblju Spata na Atici pokazuju da su takvi ukopi učestali u narteksu, ali u srednjem i kasnom bizantskom razdoblju.³⁴ Na lokalitetu Cencelle u Italiji trinaest dječjih grobova pronađeno je unutar prostorija ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Petra (uz pročelje i tri uz krstionicu). Dječji grobovi dominiraju i ispred te crkve. Unutar istog lokaliteta, uzduž sjevernih zidina grada, pronađeno je groblje novorođenčadi iz 14. stoljeća.³⁵

3. Trenutno stanje i rezultati arheoloških istraživanja kao i dostupna literatura više upućuje na to da prostorija u kojoj je nekad bila crkva na Rivinama mijenja namjenu. Već smo u nekoliko navrata naglasili da situacija kod ukopa djece na tom lokalitetu u mnogočemu odgovara uobičajenoj praksi ukapanja djece u kasnoj antici. Zapravo ti grobovi spadaju u tipičan *suggrundarium*, odnosno ukop pod strehom, koji je najčešći upravo ispod podnica radionica ili stambenih građevina, ali i trgovina i drugih prostora koji su još uvijek u funkciji. Na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina renoviranje govori u prilog tomu da je istočni dio lokaliteta itekako u funkciji i nakon ukopa djece. Čak su osim nove podnice nadodane i nove prostorije sa sjeverne i zapadne strane, osim prostorije na krajnjoj sjeveroistočnoj strani, koja je u fazi s prvotnom crkvom.

Logično bi bilo postaviti pitanje čemu je služila nekadašnja crkva kada nije više bila u sakralnoj funkciji. Moguće je da se njezina namjena može povezati uz neku djelatnost, eventualno proizvodnu, ali i stanovanje, što je manje vjerojatno. Na mogućnost povezivanja tog prostora s proizvodnim djelom upućuju gradnje i dogradnje: na istočnom djelu lokaliteta, zidovi zapadne prostorije i prostorije ras-

er periods of Antiquity. The manner of organising children's cemeteries in Early Christian churches, of the kind there was at Rivine, was not common, and this refers in particular to their accommodation beneath the new floor of the building, rather, between the old and the new floor. The literature has references to sporadic burials in baptisteries, for example, or along the perimeter walls of the outsides of churches.³³

Children's graves in religious buildings were much more common in later periods; children were in some regions buried more frequently in a church than adults. Research in Greece at cemeteries in Thebes in Boetia, Xironomi in Boetia and Spata in Attica show that such burials were common in the narthex, but this dated to the central and later Byzantine period.³⁴ In Cencelle in Italy, thirteen children's graves were found in the room of an early medieval church, St Peter's (along the facade and three by the baptistery). Children's graves are also dominant in front of this same church. In the same site, along the northern walls of the building, a cemetery of newborns of the 14th century was found.³⁵

3. The present state of affairs and the results of excavations as well as accessible scholarship tend more to suggest that the room in which the church at Rivine had once been had changed its purpose. Several times we have pointed out that the situation with the burial of children in this site in many ways is consistent with the usual practice of child burial in Late Antiquity. Actually, these graves belong to the *suggrundarium* type, that is, burial under the eaves, which is most common under the floor of workshops or residential buildings, but also of shops and other spaces that were still in working use. At Rivine-Crkvina the renovation tells us that the eastern part of the building was very much being put to its original purpose after the burial of the children. In addition to the new floor, new rooms were even added on the northern and western sides, apart from the room in the extreme north-east which is in phase with the original church,

It would be logical to ask what the former church was used for when it was no longer a consecrated space. Perhaps it can be correlated with some eco-

³³ Vitale 2015, str. 200. U Hrvatskoj je zanimljiv primjer ukopa djeteta unutar prostorije (mauzoleja) pored krstionice starokršćanske bazilike u Osoru. Usp. Čaušević 2003, str. 209; 2006, str. 35-36.

³⁴ Tritsaroli, Valentin 2008, str. 93-113.

³⁵ Vitale 2014, str. 44.

³³ Vitale 2015, p. 200 In Croatia there is an interesting example of the burial of a child in a room (mausoleum) by the baptistery of an Early Christian basilica, in Osor. Cf. Čaušević 2003, p. 209; 2006, pp. 35-36.

³⁴ Tritsaroli, Valentin 2008, p. 93-113.

³⁵ Vitale 2014, p. 44.

poređene na sjevernoj strani. Svi navedeni prostori nastali su nakon što je crkva izgubila sakralnu funkciju i povezani su upravo s gospodarsko-proizvodnom djelatnošću.³⁶ Nažalost, u određivanju funkcije nekadašnjega crkvenog prostora sitan pokretni arheološki materijal ne može mnogo pomoći jer s cjelokupnog lokaliteta, uključujući njegov tzv. proizvodni i sakralni dio, takvi nalazi mogu stati doslovno u nekoliko manjih kartonskih kutija.

U prilog pretpostavci da prostorija (crkva) mijenja funkciju ide i podatak što se većinom radi o ukopima zaista jako male djece, za koju je teško povjerovati da su već bila krštena. Nekrštena djeca ne mogu biti pokopana u crkvi. Ako crkva više nije crkva, imamo situaciju kod koje je ona dekonsekri-rana već u razdoblju kasne antike, što je poprilična rijetkost, te nam u trenutnoj fazi znanstvenog istraživanja nisu poznati slični primjeri,³⁷ iako je praksa napuštanja crkvenih objekata vjerojatno postojala. Ne smije se zaboraviti ni činjenica da je grobnica na svod uvjetovala gradnju starokršćanske crkve i da se ona nalazi u neposrednoj blizini dječjih grobova. Grobnica je pronađena u vrlo lošem stanju očuvanosti i postoji velika vjerojatnost da je upravo njezino urušavanje utjecalo na odluku o napuštanju crkve kao sakralne građevine kao i na promjenu njezine namjene. U grobnici su ostatci kostiju pokojnika pronađeni samo u fragmentima, smješteni u uskim nišama na zapadnoj strani grobnice. Moglo se prepoznati da se radi o jednoj odrasloj osobi i jednom djetetu.³⁸ Urušavanje grobnice utjecalo je i na urušavanje velikog dijela crkve, osobito njezine podnice.

4. Zanimljivost malog dječjeg groblja na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina jest i organizacija grobova odraslih osoba u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini (s druge strane zida). Grobovi odraslih osoba zasigurno su nastali kasnije od dječjih. Naime, kao što je već rečeno, pri njihovu formiranju probijena je podnica zapadne prostorije, koja je vjerojatno nastala u trenutku renoviranja istočnog dijela lokaliteta. Stoga je velika vjerojatnost da je sistematiziranje grobova odraslih zadnja kasnoantička faza istočnog

nom activity, production, perhaps, or residence, which is less probable. That the space can be referred to some productive work is suggested by the buildings and re-buildings: in the east of the site, the walls of the western room and the rooms arranged in the north. All these spaces were created after the church had lost its religious function and are consistent with some economic and productive activity.³⁶ Alas, in determining the function of the former church space the small moveable archaeological material cannot help much for from the whole site, including its productive-sacred part, such finds can be fitted literally into a few small cardboard boxes.

Tending to support the assumption that the room (the church) changed its purpose is the fact that on the whole these burials were of really very small children who can hardly be supposed to have been baptised. Unbaptised children cannot be buried in a church. If it was no longer a church however, then we have a situation in which it was deconsecrated in Early Antiquity, which is quite a rarity; in the current phase of scholarly research we do not know of any similar examples³⁷, although the practice of abandoning church buildings probably did exist. One should not forget that the vaulted grave meant the building of an Early Christian church and that it lay in the immediate vicinity of the children's graves. This grave was found in a poor state of preservation and there is a good chance that its collapse was partially responsible for the decision to abandon the church as consecrated structure and to repurpose it. In the tomb the remains of the bones of the deceased were found only in fragments, placed in the narrow niches on the western side of the tomb. It can be supposed that it contained an adult and a child.³⁸ The collapse of the tomb resulted in the collapse of a large part of the church particularly the floor.

4. A particularly interesting feature of the little children's graveyard in Rivine-Crkvina is the organisation of the graves of adults in the immediate vicinity (on the other side of the wall). The adults' graves must certainly have been formed later than

³⁶ Nakon svih dogradnji i pregradnji gospodarsko-proizvodni dio lokaliteta u konačnici je funkcionirao kao vinarija.

³⁷ Ukopi djece u napuštenim crkvama poznati su u Irskoj u kasnijim razdobljima; to su tzv. *cillin* ukopi, za koje se biraju napuštena groblja, napuštene crkve, ruševine dvoraca ili neke druge stare građevine. Vidi npr. Finlay 2000, str. 407-422.

³⁸ Baraka, Perica, Uglešić, Rašić 2019, str. 518, 525.

³⁶ After all the extensions and rebuilding works the economic-production part of the site ultimately was used as a winery.

³⁷ Burials of children in abandoned churches are known in Ireland in later periods, so-called *cillin* burials for which abandoned cemeteries, abandoned churches, castle ruins or some other old buildings are also chosen. Cf. Finlay 2000, pp. 407-422.

³⁸ Baraka, Uglešić, Rašić 2018, p. 518, 525.

dijela lokaliteta. Odrasli su pokapani postupno, tj. u više navrata, što jasno potvrđuje analiza ¹⁴C (Grob 6A: 475. – 485. Grob 6D: 535. – 620.). Težnja ukopa na zajedničkom mjestu upućuje na ukope obitelji/klana. Vrlo vjerojatno su pri ukopu i znali da su tamo grobovi djece, kao i grobnica na svod, s druge strane zida te ih je zato to mjesto i privuklo.

Po svemu sudeći, promjene na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina odvijale su se u relativno ne odveć dugom razdoblju. Za ukope djece možemo pretpostaviti razdoblje oko sredine 5. stoljeća, ne kasnije od njegove druge polovice, a odrasli se okvirno ukapaju od zadnjih desetljeća 5. do polovice 6. stoljeća. Veća ili manja groblja unutar prostora napuštene arhitekture (osobito vila), neovisno o dobi pokojnika, uobičajena su pojava tog razdoblja.³⁹

Naime, sitni arheološki materijal koji bi, s obzirom na druge slične lokalitete s pogonom za proizvodnju, trebalo očekivati u velikom broju, kako smo to već istaknuli, gotovo u potpunosti nedostaje. Sve upućuje na to da je lokalitet s namjerom „počišćen“ i napušten te da nakon toga postupno nastaju grobovi odraslih.

5. Svako daljnje istraživanje bilo koje teme koje smo se u ovom radu dotaknuli, osobito dječjih ukopa, možda će nás ili nekoga drugog u budućnosti navesti na neke nove zaključke. Literature o djeci i uz njih vezane arheološke tragove, pa samim time i o dječjim ukopima općenito, neovisno o razdoblju, sve je više.⁴⁰ Isto tako, sve je veći broj naslova koji se odnosi na djecu i djetinjstvo, kako u antici, tako i u kasnoj antici i pod utjecajem kršćanstva.⁴¹

Na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine, osim lokaliteta Rivine – Crkvina, za sada nam nisu poznati slični primjeri takvih ukopa. U Hrvatskoj su o toj temi osobito zanimljivi kasnoantički dječji grobovi pronađeni u Hrvojevoj ulici u Splitu⁴² i nedavno pronađena kasnoantička nekropola u gradu Hvaru u kojoj dominiraju dječji ukopi i većina ima vrlo zanimljive priloge.⁴³ Ništa manje važan nije ni već spomenuti Grob 13 s lokaliteta Smratine na otoku Viru.⁴⁴

those of the children. As we have already remarked, while they were being formed, the floor of the western room was breached, and this was probably done when the eastern part of the site was being renovated. Hence there is a considerable probability that the systematising of the graves of the adults was the last Late Antique phase of the eastern part of the site. There were gaps of time between the burials of the adults, as is clearly shown by the C14 analysis (Grave 6A: 475 – 485; Grave 6: 545-630). The tendency for graves to be made in a common place suggests that it was members of a clan or a family. Very likely during the interments they knew that there were children's graves there, as well as a vaulted tomb, on the other side of the wall, and that is why they were drawn to the place.

From all accounts, the changes at Rivine-Crkvina took place in a relatively not very long period of time. We can assume a period of about the middle of the 5th century for the children's burials, not later than the second half of it, while the adults were buried in approximately the last decades of the 5th to the middle of the 6th. Larger and small cemeteries in the space of abandoned buildings (particularly of villas), no matter what the age of the deceased, were common phenomena in this period.³⁹ That is, the small archaeological material that, judging from similar sites with production facilities, could be expected in large numbers, but as we have pointed out, it is almost totally wanting here. Everything suggests that this site was deliberately cleansed and abandoned and after that the graves of the adults were gradually formed.

5. All further research into any of the themes we have touched on in this paper, particularly that of children's burials, perhaps will induce us or some others to make new conclusions in the future. Scholarship about children and the archaeological traces of them, and accordingly about children's burials in general, independent of the period, is increasingly ample.⁴⁰ There is an ever-greater number of titles that refer to children and childhood, in antiquity, Late Antiquity and in the Christian-influenced age.⁴¹

³⁹ Di Gennaro, Griesbach 2003, str. 123-166. Vidi i Brogiolo, Chavarría Arnau 2005, str. 53-60.

⁴⁰ Literatura za dječje ukope općenito: Murphy, Le Roy, 2017, str. 1-18; Pearce 2000, str. 125-142; Carroll 2011, str. 99-120; Becker 2006, 655-658.

⁴¹ Za kršćanstvo i djecu vidi razne teme u: Mustakallio, Laes, 2011; Soren *et al.* 1999; Aasgaard 2006, str. 23-46.

⁴² Rismondo, Šarić 2006; Bubić 2016, str. 65-66; Vyrubal, Bedić 2020, str. 261-284.

⁴³ Visković 2021 (Izvještaj s istraživanja, neobjavljeno).

⁴⁴ Fabijanić 2020, str. 381-395.

³⁹ Di Gennaro, Griesbach 2003, p. 123-166. Cf. Brogiolo, Chavarría Arnau 2005, pp. 53-60.

⁴⁰ Literatura za dječje ukope općenito: Murphy, Le Roy, 2017, 1-18; Pearce 2000, s 125-142; Carroll 2011, pp. 99-120; Becker 2006, 655-658.

⁴¹ For Christianity and children see various themes in: Mustakallio, Laes, 2011; Soren *et al.* 1999; Aasgaard 2006, pp. 23-46.

Ruralni kasnoantički/starokršćanski lokalitet Rivine – Crkvina naizgled je poprilično rustičan lokalitet smješten u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije, no on je zapravo pun osobitosti koje nije jednostavno razumjeti ni objasniti.

Na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina pronađeno je samo 10 grobova, ali kod njih se mogu razlikovati čak tri faze organizacije:

1. Grobnica na svod, koja je najstarija, nastala je prije crkve i uvjetovala je gradnju sakralnog objekta.

2. Pet dječjih grobova u nekadašnjoj crkvi iznad kojih se gradi podnica (grobovi pod stromom, s time da je Grob 4 podijeljen na dva dijela). Za Grob 2 nije isključeno da je možda čak nastao nakon Podnice 2, tj. njezinim probijanjem, ali zbog cjelokupne uništenosti podnice na tom dijelu lokaliteta, nije to bilo moguće s potpunom sigurnosti utvrditi.

3. Četiri groba odraslih osoba u tada već napuštenoj zapadnoj prostoriji, ispred nekadašnje sakralne građevine koji su datirani metodom ¹⁴C i kao *terminus post quem non* daju okvirnu kronologiju cjelokupne kasnoantičke faze lokaliteta jer arheološki tragovi upućuju na to da je položaj korišten i u kasnijim razdobljima.

Posveta: Rad posvećuju dragom prijatelju i kolegi dr. sc. Tonču Buriću: *Antonio de Punta Bianca* i *Comitissa de Pustimano*.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, except at Rivine-Crkvina, similar examples to these burials have not yet been found, as far as we know. In Croatia some Late Antique children's graves, very interesting for this theme, were found in Hrvojeva ulica in Split⁴² and recently a Late Antique cemetery in the city of Hvar dominated by child burials has recently been found, most of them with interesting goods.⁴³ No less interesting is the already mentioned Grave 13 from Smratine, Vir Island.⁴⁴

The rural Late Antique / Early Christian site of Rivine-Crkvina is ostensibly at least a fairly rustic place located in the interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia, but it is in fact full of interest that is not entirely easily understandable or explicable.

Only ten graves were found at this site, but three phases of organisation can nevertheless be distinguished.

1. The vaulted tomb, the earliest, created before the church; it was the reason for the building of the consecrated structure.

2. Five children's graves in the former church, above which a floor was laid down (grave beneath the eaves, with G. 4 being divided into two parts). It is not to be excluded that Grave 2 was formed after Floor 2, by its breaching, but because of the general destruction of the floor in this part of the site it was not possible to determine this with certainty.

3. Four graves of adult persons in the then already abandoned western room, in front of the former ecclesiastical building, dated by C¹⁴ analysis and as the *terminus postquem non* provide the outline chronology of the whole of the Late Antique phase of the site, for archaeological clues indicate that the site was used in later periods as well.

Dedication: This paper is dedicated to a dear friend and colleague, Dr Tonči Burić: *Antonio de Punta Bianca* and *Comitissa de Pustimano*.

(G. M.)

⁴² Rismondo, Šarić 2006; Bubić 2016, pp. 65-66; Vyroubal, Bedić 2020, pp. 261-284.

⁴³ Visković 2021 (Excavation report, unpublished).

⁴⁴ Fabijanić 2020, pp. 381-395.

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