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## Starohrvatska groblja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima

*U radu je dan prikaz starohrvatskih grobalja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima. Do sada su otkrivena i istražena dva groblja tog horizonta, a ukazano je i na položaje još dvaju koji bi se možda mogli pripisati istom. Prema obredu pokapanja, te tipologiji nalaza i priloga u grobovima, starohrvatska groblja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima uklapaju se u širu sliku grobalja u Kliškoj županiji, kao i u opću sliku na povijesnom tlu ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske. Prema njihovim značajkama i ovdje ih možemo razvrstati u dvije faze: poganski horizont 8. st. i prijelazna/završna faza poganskog horizonta prve polovice 9. st. Njihova veličina i položaj ukazuju na društvenu i prostornu strukturu naselja kojima pripadaju.*

**Ključne riječi:** Kaštela, starohrvatska groblja, poganski horizont, rani srednji vijek, jednojagodne naušnice.

## Early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela

*This paper presents an overview of early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela. So far, two cemeteries of this horizon have been discovered and explored, while the locations of two more that could possibly belong to the same horizon have also been pointed out. Based on burial rites and the typology of finds and grave goods, the early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela fit into the broader picture of cemeteries in the county of Klis, as well as into the general picture of the historical territory of early medieval Croatia. According to their characteristics, these cemeteries can be classified into two phases: the pagan horizon of the 8th century and the transitional/final phase of the pagan horizon of the first half of the 9th century. Their size and position indicate the social and spatial structure of the settlements to which they belonged.*

**Key words:** Kaštela, early Croatian cemeteries, pagan horizon, Early Middle Ages, single-bead earrings.



Karta I. Kaštela na istočnoj obali Jadrana (izradio A. Šundov)  
 Map I Kaštela on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea (created by A. Šundov)

## Uvod

Današnja Kaštela, organizirana u sklopu teritorijalnog ustroja Hrvatske kao grad, prepoznatljiva su povijesno-geografska mikroregija u Splitsko-dalmatinskoj županiji na priobalju srednje Dalmacije (Karta I).

O povijesti Kaštela i o regionimu Kaštela napisane su već na stotine stranica pa to ovdje nije potrebno ponavljati.<sup>1</sup> Za ovu temu dovoljno je dati okvirnu sliku zbivanja na zadanom prostoru od kasne antike do konca ranoga srednjega vijeka. Geografske odlike kaštelanskog prostora od prapovijesti su generirale snažnu imigracijsku privlačnost za razne populacije. U jednome od tih seobnih valova zbilo se i doseljavanje hrvatskoga etnosa na istočnu obalu Jadrana i u njezino zaleđe, a Kaštelansko polje je, uz Solinsko, uskoro postalo i jedno

## Introduction

Present-day Kaštela, organized as a city within the territorial organisation of Croatia, is a recognizable historical-geographical micro region that is located in the Split-Dalmatia County and on the coast of central Dalmatia (Map I).

As hundreds of pages have already been written about the history of Kaštela and its regionym, there is no need to repeat it here.<sup>1</sup> For the subject-matter of this work, it is sufficient to provide a general outline of events in the given area from late antiquity to the end of the Early Middle Ages. The geographical features of the Kaštela area have attracted various populations to immigrate this region since prehistory. During one of these migration waves, the Croatian ethnic group settled on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and in its hinterland. As a result, the plain

<sup>1</sup> Za opći pregled usp. Omašić 2001; Babić 1984. U ova dva temeljna djela o Kaštelima navedena je i sva važnija literatura.

<sup>1</sup> For a general overview cf. Omašić 2001; Babić 1984. These two fundamental works on Kaštela provide a comprehensive list of relevant literature.

od glavnih središta ranofeudalne Hrvatske. Taj pojas plodnoga zemljišta uz sjevernu obalu Kaštelskog zaljeva tvorilo je središnju jezgru starohrvatske Kliške županije, pa je tu i gustoća naseljenosti u ranom srednjem vijeku (7. – 11. st.) bila daleko veća negoli u širokom krševitom pojasu zaobalja iza brda Kozjaka i planine Mosora te uz obalni pojas od Trogira do Rogoznice. Sukladno tome i gustoća arheoloških lokaliteta je tu znatno veća, ne samo u ranom srednjem vijeku nego i u svim epohama općenito od prapovijesti do danas. Stoga je sasvim razumljivo da je i broj otkrivenih starohrvatskih<sup>2</sup> grobalja u tom pojasu zamjetno veći u odnosu na susjedne prostore. U ovom radu donosim samo analizu starohrvatskih grobalja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima, jer groblja kristijaniziranog horizonta zbog većeg broja ukopišta i brojnosti nalaza traže posebnu obradu. Uz analizu priloga i nalaza u grobovima osvrnut ću se i na njihovu disperziju u prostoru naselja kojima su pripadala.

### Povijesno-geografski okvir

Već je u uvodu naglašeno da je prostor Kaštela zauzimao većinu središnjeg dijela Kliške županije.<sup>3</sup> Na tom teritoriju pružao se u antici *ager centuriatus* kolonije *Salonae*, metropole rimske provincije Dalmacije. Sredinom 7. st. s propašću rimske – točnije tada bizantske – vlasti, a nakon što je *Salona* osvojena od Slavena, prostor njezinog agera zaposjele su slavenske rodovske zajednice, među kojima i one iz hrvatskog etničkog korpusa. Organizirane na principima gentilnoga društvenog ustroja, koji se temeljio na nerazvijenoj prirodnoj autarkičnoj privredi ratarsko-stočarskog tipa, one su u prvih stoljeće i pol ostavile malo tragova svojega boravka u

of Kaštela quickly became one of the primary centres of early feudal Croatia, alongside Solin. This belt of fertile land along the northern coast of the Kaštela bay was the central core of the early Croatian county of Klis, and thus the population density in the Early Middle Ages (7<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century) was much higher there than in the rocky region behind the Kozjak hill and the Mosor mountain range, and along the coastal strip from Trogir to Rogoznica. Accordingly, the density of archaeological sites is significantly higher in this area, not only those from the Early Middle Ages, but generally from all epochs ranging from prehistory to the present day. Thus, it is understandable that the number of discovered early Croatian cemeteries<sup>2</sup> in this belt is higher compared to neighbouring areas. This paper focuses solely on the analysis of early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela, since Christian cemeteries require a more comprehensive analysis, given their higher number and the abundance of finds. In addition to analysing grave goods and the finds in the graves, I will also address their dispersion within the settlements to which they belonged.

### Historical-Geographical Framework

As stated in the introduction, the area of Kaštela comprised most of the central part of the county of Klis.<sup>3</sup> In ancient times, this region was part of the *ager centuriatus* of the colony of *Salonae*, which was the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. By the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century and with the collapse of the Roman or rather Byzantine authority at that time, and after *Salona* was conquered by the Slavs, their

<sup>2</sup> Pod pojmom „starohrvatski“ podrazumijevam ukupnu materijalnu i duhovnu kulturu ranoga srednjeg vijeka (7. – 11. st.) na prostoru povijesnih hrvatskih zemalja, za razliku od one u kasnijim stoljećima razvijenoga (12. – 13. st.) i kasnog srednjeg vijeka (14. – 15. st.). Detaljnije o tome u: Burić 2007, str. 107-108, bilj. 5.

<sup>3</sup> O Kliškoj županiji postoji već obimna literatura od 19. st. do danas, ali još nema cjelovite sinteze o toj važnoj teritorijalno-administrativnoj jedinici ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske. Ovdje ću navesti samo važnije radove u kojima se o njoj raspravljalo: Barada 1952, str. 1, 6-7, 23-26, 33-34; Kostrenčić 1956, str. 115-117, 138-139; Katić 1960, str. 159-160; Gunjača 1975, str. 84-102; Budak 1994, str. 14, 17, 21, 74; Goldstein 1995, str. 151-166; Smiljanić 1995, str. 178-190; Smiljanić 2010, str. 15-17, 24-25; Omašić 2001, str. 24, 82-83, 94; Burić 2020, str. 40-48; 2022, 98, 101.

<sup>2</sup> The term “early Croatian” refers to the overall material and spiritual culture of the Early Middle Ages (7<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> century) in the territory of historical Croatian lands, as opposed to the one in the later centuries of the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century) and the Late Middle Ages (14<sup>th</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> century). For further details, see Burić (2007), pp. 107-108, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Extensive literature on the county of Klis from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present day already exists. However, a comprehensive synthesis of this important territorial-administrative unit of early medieval Croatia is still lacking. Here, I will only mention the important works that have discussed it: Barada 1952, 1, 6-7, 23-26, 33-34; Kostrenčić 1956, 115-117, 138-139; Katić 1960, 159-160; Gunjača 1975, 84-102; Budak 1994, 14, 17, 21, 74; Goldstein 1995, 151-166; Smiljanić 1995, 178-190; 2010, 15-17, 24-25; Omašić 2001, 24, 82-83, 94; Burić 2020, 40-48; 2022, 98, 101.

novom zavičaju. Uz rijetke pisane izvore i skromne arheološke tragove o ranoj prisutnosti tih zajednica u salonitanskom ageru ponajbolje svjedoči očuvana slavenska toponimija, posebice ona poganskog značenja, kroz koju nam je eksplicitno potvrđen kult slavenskog boga Peruna u toponimiji Kozjaka.<sup>4</sup> Poganska slavenska religija koju su te zajednice prenijele na istočne obale Jadrana iz svoje zakarpatske pradomovine u zapadnoj Ukrajini i jugoistočnoj Poljskoj ostavila je, uz toponimiju, najviše traga u pogrebnim običajima. Uz rijetka groblja s ukopima spaljenih pokojnika iz 7. st. brojna groblja 8. st. s inhumiranim pokojnicima sadrže u grobovima različite predmete iz poganskoga pogrebnog ritusa.<sup>5</sup> Ulaskom hrvatskih zemalja u franačku interesnu sferu Karla Velikog početkom 9. st. dolazi do formiranja prve države Hrvata na istočnoj obali Jadrana, što je ujedno omogućilo i čvršću etničku integraciju raznorodnih slavenskih plemena pod hrvatskim imenom.<sup>6</sup> Paralelno s tim odvija se intenziviranje procesa pokršćavanja, koje uz pomoć franačkih misionara ulazi u završnu fazu.<sup>7</sup> U sastav te ranofeudalne kneževine Hrvata nisu ušli gradovi Split i Trogir, koji su i dalje priznavali vlast bizantskoga cara, a administrativno su bili u sklopu bizantske arhontije, potom teme Dalmacije, sa sjedištem u Zadru.<sup>8</sup> Kliška županija bila je jedno od središta te mlade državne tvorevine, jer je na njezinom teritoriju stasala i prva hrvatska vladarska dinastija Trpimirovića, čiji su glavni posjedi bili upravo u Kaštelanskom i Solinskom polju, a glavna središta u Solinu i na veleposjedu Bijaći. U okvirima tih imanja i pojedinih sela rodovskih zajednica izvan vladarskih posjeda nastala su, još i prije osnutka države, i najstarija starohrvatska groblja, o kojima će ovdje biti govora. Spomen tih naselja nalazimo u ranosrednjovjekovnim dokumentima,<sup>9</sup> a materijalne tragove groblja potvrđuju arheološki nalazi.<sup>10</sup>

tribal communities, including those from the Croatian ethnic group, occupied the territory of its ager. They were organized on the principles of a gens/clan-based social structure that relied on a rudimentary, autarkic economy of agriculture and animal husbandry, and left little trace of their presence in their new homeland in their first century and a half. In addition to scarce written sources and modest archaeological evidence, the preserved Slavic toponymy, especially those of pagan significance, best bears witness to the early presence of these communities in the ager of Salona and also explicitly confirms the cult of the Slavic god Perun in the toponymy of Kozjak.<sup>4</sup> The pagan Slavic religion, which these communities brought to the Adriatic east coast from their Carpathian homeland in western Ukraine and south-eastern Poland, left its mark not only in the toponymy, but particularly in the burial rites. In addition to rare cemeteries with cremation burials from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, numerous 8<sup>th</sup>-century cemeteries feature graves with inhumed deceased and various objects belonging to pagan burial rites.<sup>5</sup> In the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Frankish sphere of interest under Charlemagne expanded to include Croatian lands, which eventually led to the formation of the first Croatian state on the eastern Adriatic coast and hence facilitated a stronger ethnic integration of various Slavic tribes under the Croatian name.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the Christianization process intensified and, with the assistance of Frankish missionaries, entered its final phase.<sup>7</sup> The early feudal principality of the Croats did not include the cities of Split and Trogir, which maintained allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor and remained administratively linked to the Byzantine archonty. Later, these cities became the theme of Dalmatia with its administrative centre in Zadar.<sup>8</sup> The county of Klis was one of the centres of this young state and it was on its territory that the first Croatian ruling dynasty of Trpimirović emerged. Their main estates were located precisely in the fields of Kaštela and

<sup>4</sup> Burić 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Jelovina 1976, str. 77-82; Belošević 1980; Petrincec 2009, str. 8-49, 119-199; Burić 2022, str. 85-87.

<sup>6</sup> Za proces etnogeneze Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku usp. Budak (ur.) 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Šišić 1990<sup>2</sup>, str. 266-316; Klaić 1971, str. 141-220; Budak 1994, str. 9-20, 79-99; Goldstein 1995, str. 76-251; Delonga 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Ferluga 1957; Goldstein 1992.

<sup>9</sup> Omašić 2001, str. 38-80.

<sup>10</sup> Burić 2007; Burić 2001, str. 151-158.

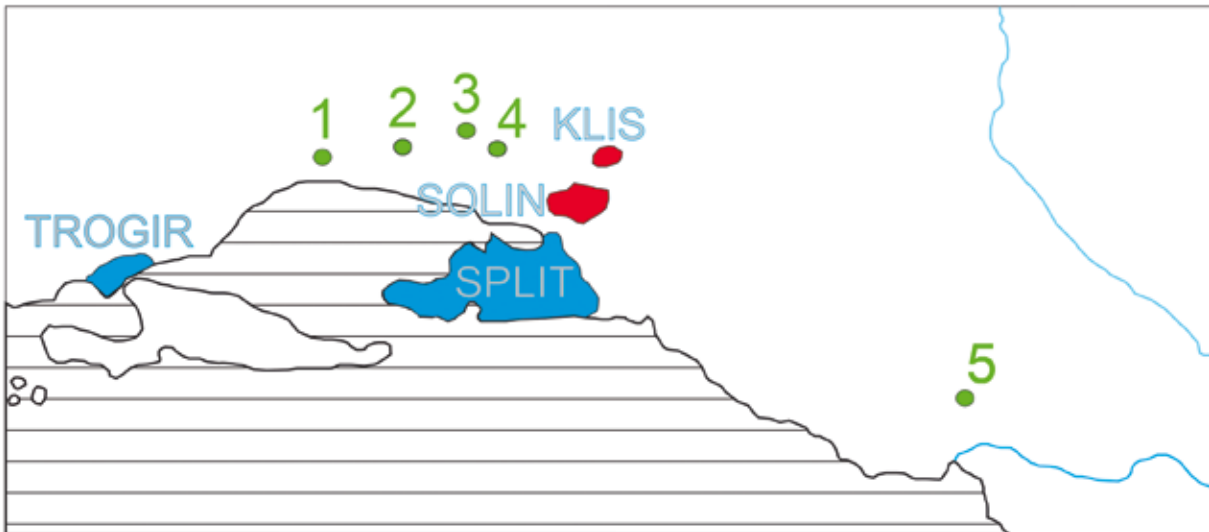
<sup>4</sup> Burić 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Jelovina 1976, 77-82; Belošević 1980; Petrincec 2009, 8-49, 119-199; Burić 2022, 85-87.

<sup>6</sup> For more information on the process of the ethnogenesis of Croats in the Early Middle Ages, cf. Budak (ed.) 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Šišić 1990<sup>2</sup>, 266-316; Klaić 1971, 141-220; Budak 1994, 9-20, 79-99; Goldstein 1995, 76-251; Delonga 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Ferluga 1957; Goldstein 1992.



Karta II. Starohrvatska groblja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima: 1. Svećurje – Radun, 2. Budrine/Gajine (?), 3. Orišine (?), 4. Putalj i 5. Grebčine – Naklice u Poljicima (izradio A. Šundov)

Map II Early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela: 1. Svećurje – Radun, 2. Budrine/Gajine (?), 3. Orišine (?), 4. Putalj and 5. Grebčine – Naklice in Poljica (created by A. Šundov)

### Historijat istraživanja i opis nalazišta i nalaza

Starohrvatska groblja u Kaštelima danas su sastavni dio sinteza o srednjovjekovnim grobljima u Hrvatskoj.<sup>11</sup> Ukupno ih je do sada poznato deset, od čega ih je osam u cijelosti ili djelomice istraženo, a dva su ubicirana. Ovdje ćemo posebno raspravljati o četiri (Karta II.).

Dva koja su istražena i pripadaju poganskom horizontu 8. st. - pr. pol. 9. st. (Svećurje – Kaštel Stari i Putalj – Kaštel Sućurac) i dva koja su tek ubicirana (Orišine – Kaštel Sućurac, Budrine/Gajine – Kaštel Kambelovac), ali će im se pripadnost određenom horizontu moći odrediti tek nakon završenih istraživanja, što ću detaljnije argumentirati u analizi. Groblja kristijaniziranog horizonta (dr. pol. 9. - 11. st.) su: Gajine – Kaštel Sućurac, Svećurje – Kaštel Novi, Stombrate – Bijaći i Pišćine-Lepin – Kaštel Štafilić, te dva groblja oko crkava: Sv. Marta – Bijaći i Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Kaštel Stari.<sup>12</sup>

Istraživanja starohrvatskih groblja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima provodio je Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Putalj, Svećurje – Kaštel Stari<sup>13</sup>). Osobno sam rukovodio tim istraživanjima,

Solin, with the main centres being in Solin and on the large estate of Bijaći. The oldest early Croatian cemeteries analysed here were established even before the foundation of the state within the boundaries of aforementioned estates, but also within individual villages of clan communities, located outside the rulers' estates. References of these settlements can be found in early medieval documents,<sup>9</sup> while material traces of the cemeteries are confirmed by archaeological finds.<sup>10</sup>

### History of research and description of sites and finds

The early Croatian cemeteries in Kaštela are an integral part of the syntheses on medieval cemeteries in Croatia today.<sup>11</sup> There are ten known cemeteries so far, eight of which have been fully or partially explored, and two precisely located. This article will focus on four of them (Map II.); two, which belong to the pagan horizon of the 8<sup>th</sup>-early 9<sup>th</sup> century and have been explored (Svećurje – Kaštel Stari and Putalj – Kaštel Sućurac), and two others (Orišine – Kaštel Sućurac, Budrine/Gajine – Kaštel Kambelovac) that have only been located.

<sup>11</sup> Karaman 1940, str. 2, 35, 37, sl. 30-31; Jelovina 1976, str. 32-33, 59; Tab. LXXXIX; Petrinc 2009, str. 49-50, 55-56, 62, 76-77.

<sup>12</sup> Za osnovne podatke o ovim grobljima usp. literaturu iz prethodne bilješke.

<sup>13</sup> Lokalitet Svećurje u Kaštel Starom obuhvaća širi pro-

<sup>9</sup> Omašić 2001, 38-80.

<sup>10</sup> Burić 2007; 2001, 151-158.

<sup>11</sup> Karaman 1940, 2, 35, 37, Fig. 30-31; Jelovina 1976, 32-33, 59; Tab. LXXXIX; Petrinc 2009, 49-50, 55-56, 62, 76-77.

a još dva lokaliteta sam ubicirao pomoću arhivskih zabilježbi i slučajnih nalaza (Orišine u Kaštel Sućurcu i Budrine/Gajine u Kaštel Kambelovcu). U Orišinama je 1903., ili neposredno prije, pronađeno 13 grobova na zemlji Šimuna Barića, vjerojatno prigodom krčenja tla za sadnju vinograda. Taj se položaj još zove i Stara strana/Strana sedra. O tim grobovima nema nikakvih podataka, niti su njihovo iskopavanje pratili arheolozi. Preostao je samo podatak o dvije naušnice s tog lokaliteta u „Imovniku društva Bihać“ u katalogu C. Kovine pod rednim brojem 102. („Bakrena naušnica („obodac““)<sup>14</sup> i 103. („Bakrena naušnica polumjesečnog oblika (rimska?“). Budući da su te naušnice kasnije zagubljene, ili pomiješane s nalazima s drugih lokaliteta, možemo se osloniti samo na navedene opise.<sup>15</sup> Buduće istraživanje tog ukopišta dat će odgovor na pitanje pripada li ono poganskom ili kristijaniziranom horizontu, a do tada Orišine ostaju potencijalno moguć lokalitet poganskog horizonta.

Isto možemo kazati i za lokalitet Budrine/Gajine u Kaštel Kambelovcu, za koji sam slučajno doznao koncem devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, kada sam u veljači 1998. vodio arheološka istraživanja u

To determine the horizon of the latter two will require further research, as I will argue more extensively in the analysis. Cemeteries belonging to the Christian horizon (second half of the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries) are as follows: Gajine – Kaštel Sućurac, Svećurje – Kaštel Novi, Stombrate – Bijaći and Piščine-Lepin – Kaštel Štafilić, including two cemeteries surrounding churches: St. Marta – Bijaći and St. George of Radun – Kaštel Stari.<sup>12</sup>

Excavations at early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela were conducted by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split (Putalj, Svećurje – Kaštel Stari<sup>13</sup>). I personally led the excavations, and during my work, I was also able to precisely locate two more sites using archival notes and chance finds (Orišine in Kaštel Sućurac and Budrine/Gajine in Kaštel Kambelovac). In Orišine, 13 graves were found on the land of Šimun Barić, likely during land clearing for vineyard planting in 1903 or shortly before. This location is also known under the name *Stara strana/Strana sedra*. There is no available data about these graves, and their excavation was not conducted in the presence of archaeologists. The only information we have is about two earrings from that site in the *Inventory of the Bihać Society* in catalogue C. Metal objects under serial numbers 102 (“copper earring (“earring”“)<sup>14</sup> and 103 (“crescent-shaped

stor oko predromaničke crkve sv. Jurja od Raduna. Predio Radun u Kaštel Starom očuvao je ime srednjovjekovnog sela, pa ću u daljnjem tekstu ovo groblje nazivati radunsko Svećurje, kako bi ga se razlikovalo od Svećurja u Kaštel Novom u predjelu Rudine, a u okvirima srednjovjekovnog sela Žestinj, zbog čega to groblje nazivam žestinjsko Svećurje.

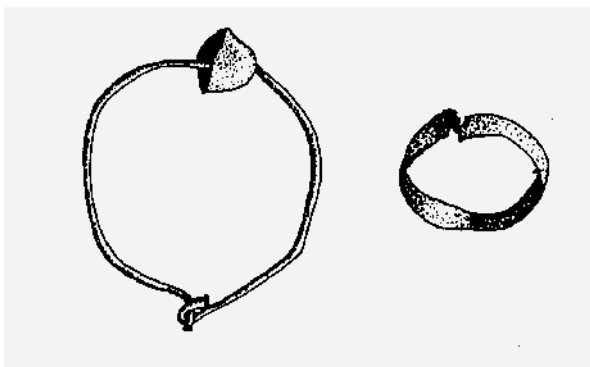
<sup>14</sup> Za termin *obodac* konzultirao sam tada (1985.) dr. sc. Dušana Jelovinu, u to vrijeme najboljeg poznavatelja starohrvatskog nakita, te prof. Ildu Vidović – Begonja, direktoricu Etnografskog muzeja u Splitu, ali mi nisu znali kazati ništa određeno (usp. Burić 1985, str. 310, bilj. 24). Naknadno sam za potrebe ovoga rada došao do podataka o tom terminu koji je već od 19. st. bio poznat u rječnicima srpskoga i hrvatskog jezika (Đ. Daničić, Iveković – Broz, T. Maretić), a koji je zabilježen u srednjovjekovnim ćirilskim dokumentima u kojima označava općenito naušnice, a ne neki poseban tip. Maretić ga ovako definira: „Obodac, oboca (naušnica) je deminutiv od riječi obod (onaj koji bode, obada.) Stoga je i razumljiva njegova pojava u inventarnoj knjizi Bihaća 1903, ali nam ne pomaže pri određenju konkretnog tipa naušnice. Šire o tom nazivu usp. Kurtović 2019, str. 24-26, bilj. 132.

<sup>15</sup> Burić 1985, str. 307, 310, 316; Burić 1992, 107-108/bilj. 24. Za utvrđivanje točnog položaja lokaliteta (usp. shematski prikaz srednjovjekovnog Sućurca u navedenim radovima) posebnu zahvalnost dugujem gospođi Mariji Sokol, unuci Šimuna Barića, i njezinom sinu Pavi Sokolu.

<sup>12</sup> For basic information on these cemeteries, cf. the literature cited in the previous note.

<sup>13</sup> Site Svećurje in Kaštel Stari encompasses a wider area around the pre-Romanesque Church of St. George of Radun. The Radun area in Kaštel Stari has retained the name of the medieval village, so I will refer to this cemetery as Svećurje in Radun in the following text, to distinguish it from Svećurje in Kaštel Novi in the Rudine area, and the one within the medieval village of Žestinj, which is why I call this cemetery Svećurje in Žestinj.

<sup>14</sup> For the term *obodac*, I consulted Dr. Dušan Jelovina at the time (1985), who was then the foremost expert on early Croatian jewellery, and Prof. Ilda Vidović-Begonja, director of the Ethnographic Museum in Split, but they couldn't provide any specific information. (cf. Burić 1985, 310, note 24.). For the purposes of this work, I later obtained information about this term, which had been known since the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Serbian and Croatian language dictionaries (Đ. Daničić, Iveković-Broz, T. Maretić), and was recorded in medieval Cyrillic documents where it generally referred to earrings, but not a specific type. Maretić defines it as follows: “*Obodac, oboca* (earring) is a diminutive of the word *obod* (one that pierces, stabs). Therefore, its appearance in the inventory book of Bihać in 1903 is



Sl. 1. Naušnica i prsten iz groba na predjelu Budrine/Gajine (crtež S. Juraga)

*Fig. 1 Earring and ring from a grave in the area of Budrine/Gajine (drawing by S. Juraga)*

sklopu konzervatorskih radova na crkvi sv. Mihovila od Lažana, koje je obavljao Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu.<sup>16</sup> U tim je radovima, na inicijativu župnoga Pastoralnog vijeća Kaštel Kambelovca i tadašnjeg župnika don Mira Šestana, sudjelovao veći broj župljana, među kojima je bio i danas pokojni Marko (Ivuško) Britvić, tada vitalni sedamdesetogodišnjak. U razgovoru s njim doznao sam da on posjeduje jedan prsten i jednu oštećenu naušnicu koje su njegov otac i stric našli u jednom grobu koncem 20-ih godina prošlog stoljeća krčeći teren za sadnju vinograda. Grob je otkriven u predjelu Budrine/Gajine, ali gospodin Ivuško nije znao na kojoj se čestici grob točno nalazio, pa nije bilo moguće provesti probno sondiranje. Također nisu poznati ni drugi detalji o tom grobu (konstrukcija grobne rake, broj ukopa u grobu itd.). U daljnjem razgovoru on je ljubazno pristao ustupiti te nalaze i poklonio ih je Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. Oba su predmeta od bronce (sl. 1.).

Naušnica je jednojagodnog tipa bikonične glatke jagode, kojoj jedna kalota nedostaje, a prsten je vitica zalemljenih krajeva. Po svemu sudeći radi se o položaju još jednoga starohrvatskog groblja, koje se nalazilo sjeverozapadno od Sv. Mihovila na padinama Kozjaka, u sklopu srednjovjekovnog sela Lažani.<sup>17</sup> Spomenuta naušnica i prsten su po svojim oblicima tipični za starohrvatski kulturni krug ranoga srednjeg vijeka. Time je približno određen položaj još jednoga starohrvatskoga groblja, koje je pripadalo srednjovjekovnom selu Lažani. Za razliku od Orišina u Kaštel Sućurcu ovdje nam nije poznat točan položaj nalazišta, već samo širi predio,

copper earring (Roman?)<sup>15</sup>). Since those earrings were later lost or mixed with finds from other sites, we can only rely on the provided descriptions.<sup>15</sup> Future research of this burial site will determine whether it belongs to the pagan or Christian horizon, and until then, Orišine remains potentially a site of the pagan horizon.

The same can be said with regard to site Budrine/Gajine in Kaštel Kambelovac. I learned about it accidentally in the late 1990s while leading archaeological excavations within the scope of the conservation works on the church of St. Michael of Lažani, which was carried out by the Conservation Department in Split in February 1998.<sup>16</sup> During the aforementioned works, at the initiative of the pastoral council of Kaštel Kambelovac and the then parish priest Don Miro Šestan, a significant number of parishioners participated, including the late Marko (Ivuško) Britvić, who was then a lively seventy-year-old. In conversation with him, I learned that he possessed a ring and a damaged earring his father and uncle had found in a grave in the late 1920s while clearing land for vineyards. The grave was discovered in the area of Budrine/Gajine. However, he did not know the exact location of the parcel where the grave was found, thus making it impossible to conduct a trial excavation there. Also, no other details about the grave (structure of the grave pit or the number of burials etc.) are known. In further conversation, Mr. Britvić kindly agreed to hand over these finds and donated them to the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. Both objects are made of bronze (Fig. 1).

The earring is a single-bead type of earring with a biconical smooth bead, which is missing one calotte. The ring is a band with soldered ends. It appears that this location was once another early Croatian cemetery, situated northwest of St. Michael on the slopes of the Kozjak hill within the medieval village of Lažani.<sup>17</sup> The afore-mentioned

understandable, but it does not help us in determining a specific type of earring. For more on this term, cf. Kurtović 2019, 24-26/note 132.

<sup>15</sup> Burić 1985, 307, 310, 316; Burić 1992, 107-108/note 24. For the determination of the exact location of the site (cf. schematic representation of medieval Sućurac in the cited works), I am particularly grateful to Mrs. Marija Sokol, the granddaughter of Šimun Barić, and her son Pave Sokol.

<sup>16</sup> Burić 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Burić 1999; 2019, 486/note 41.

<sup>16</sup> Burić 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Burić 1999; Burić 2019, str. 486, bilj 41.



ali i u ovom slučaju možemo – kao i kod Orišina – ostaviti otvorenom mogućnost, koju mogu potvrditi samo iskopavanja, da groblje pripada poganskom horizontu.

Prvi grobovi poganskog horizonta otkriveni su i istraženi tijekom višegodišnjih sustavnih iskopavanja na lokalitetu Sv. Juraj od Putalja (1988. - 1995.) u okviru programa Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. Tim je iskopavanjima započela najnovija, suvremena faza u istraživanju starohrvatskih grobalja u Kaštelima, kao i arheoloških lokaliteta općenito.<sup>18</sup> Na tom kompleksnom višeslojnom nalazištu izdvojena je manja skupina od osam starohrvatskih grobova (Pl. I.), koji se prema stratigrafskim relacijama, osobinama priloga i nalaza u njima, kao i po konstrukcijama grobnih raka, jasno razlikuju od kasnijega horizonta grobova iz razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka (12. - 13. st.). Ti grobovi vremenski pripadaju završnoj fazi poganskoga horizonta iz prve polovice 9. st. Daljnje širenje toga groblja prekinuto je zbog obnove starokršćanske crkve sredinom 9. st.<sup>19</sup> Istraživanjima na Putalju rukovodio je viši kustos Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Tonči Burić, uz asistenciju kolega prof. dr. sc. Slobodana Čače s Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru i višeg kustosa Ive Fadića iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru.

Putaljski starohrvatski grobovi samo su jedan manji segment složene stratigrafske slike toga lokaliteta općenito i faza ukopišta na njemu. Istraživanjem je utvrđeno da između tih osam grobova poganskog horizonta i sloja grobova razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka (12. - 13. st.) oko crkve sv. Jurja nedostaje cijeli kristijanizirani horizont ranoga srednjeg vijeka,<sup>20</sup> što dodatno potvrđuje pripadnost ovih osam grobova poganskom horizontu. Njihov raspored u prostoru bjelodano ukazuje da su ti ukopi izvršeni prije obnove starokršćanske bogomolje i njezinog opremanja predromaničkim kamenim namještajem za vladavine kneza Mislava (oko 835. - 845.).<sup>21</sup> Drugim riječima, ranosrednjovjekovni ukopi razbacani su u raštrkanom rasporedu preko i uokolo ruševina starokršćanske crkve, a njihov raspored daje naslutiti da bi se tu oblikovalo uobičajeno groblje na redove da nije naglo došlo do pre-

earring and ring are, in terms of their shape, typical of the early Croatian cultural circle during the Early Middle Ages. Given the aforementioned, we could hence approximately determine the location of yet another early Croatian cemetery, which belonged to the medieval village of Lažani. Unlike Orišine in Kaštel Sućurac, the exact location of the site is not known, only the broader area. However, as with Orišine, it remains possible, but can only be confirmed by excavations, that the cemetery belongs to the pagan horizon.

The first graves of the pagan horizon were discovered and explored during systematic excavations at the site of St. George of Putalj (1988-1995), which were conducted over several years within the scope of the programme of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. These excavations marked the beginning of the latest, modern phase in the research of early Croatian cemeteries in Kaštela and archaeological sites in general.<sup>18</sup> Within this complex multi-layered site, a smaller group of eight early Croatian graves (Pl. I) has been identified, which, based on stratigraphic relations, the characteristics of grave goods, finds within the graves and the structure of grave pits, are clearly different from the later horizon of graves from the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century). Chronologically, these graves belong to the final phase of the pagan horizon from the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The further expansion of this cemetery was interrupted due to the renovation of the early Christian church in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> The excavations at Putalj were led by Tonči Burić, the senior curator at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, with the assistance of his colleagues, Professor Slobodan Čača from the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar and senior curator Ivo Fadić from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

The early Croatian graves at Putalj represent only a small part of the complex stratigraphy of this site and the phases of burials on it. Research revealed that, between these eight graves of the pagan horizon and the layer of graves from the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century), located around the church of St. George, the entire Christian horizon of

<sup>18</sup> Za pregled starijih istraživanja usp. Kamenjarin 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Burić 2001, str. 151-158, sl. 37-38, T. I, Plan II; Burić 2019, str. 482, Karta 2, str. 485.

<sup>20</sup> Ta činjenica traži odgovarajuće objašnjenje, što podrazumijeva dodatne analize, pa to ovom prigodom izostavljam (usp. Burić 2001, str. 199-200).

<sup>21</sup> Burić 2001, str. 158-193.

<sup>18</sup> For an overview of earlier research *cf.* Kamenjarin 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Burić 2001, 151-158, Fig. 37-38, T. I, Plan II; 2019, 482/Map 2, 485.



kida ukopavanja zbog uređenja predromaničkoga sakralnog objekta. To znači da su godine Mislavovog kneževanja *terminus ante quem* za starohrvatsko groblje. O izostanku kristijaniziranog horizonta posredno svjedoči i broj od ukupno 80 grobova razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka, koji predstavljaju prvi sloj grobova oko crkvenoga objekta na Putalju. Taj broj ukazuje na to da bi broj starohrvatskih grobova bio daleko veći da je ukopavanje nastavljeno dalje do 11. st.

Nalazi su pronađeni u tri groba (G-3, G-4, G-9), a prilog u jednome (G-6). Nalazi pripadaju nakitu glave (naušnice – pet primjeraka) i ruku (prstenje – dva primjerka), a prilog predstavljaju ulomci ručno rađenog lonca grube fakture i jedna ptičja kost, koji su bili uz donožnicu s vanjske strane (sl. 2).

Od naušnica je nađen par srebrnih karičica (G-9) te par grozdolikih naušnica s navojima na donjem dijelu karike, uz još jednu s navojima bez grozda (G-4). Nađena su također i dva primjerka jednostavnog prstenja (G-3, G-4). Na postojanje još grobova te faze ukazuje i nalaz brončane jednojagodne naušnice s bikoničnom neukrašenom jagodom.<sup>22</sup> Pronađena je u poremećenom sloju ispod velikog i dubokog groba (G-179) iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, pri vađenju njegovih obložnica i onamo je, po svemu sudeći, dospjela iz uništenoga starohrvatskog groba.

Navedeni putaljski grobovi svojom tipologijom također ukazuju na poganski horizont, u kojemu su vrlo česti. Radi se o običnim rakama ukopanim u zemlju ili sloj lapora, a oko rake je u nepravilnim razmacima raspoređeno pojedinačno amorfno kamenje. Taj tip je jedan od osnovnih u razdoblju do 9. st., a javlja se u manjoj mjeri i kasnije. Belošević ga naziva „grob u običnoj zemljanoj raci s djelomičnom upotrebom kamena“, koji su korišteni od kasne antike sve „do u puni srednji vijek (to bi trebao biti razvijeni srednji vijek (12. - 13. st.), op. T. B.) na širem evropskom području“.<sup>23</sup> I Petrincec ga, u okviru grobalja poganskog horizonta, naziva „grob u običnoj zemljanoj raci djelomično obloženoj kamenom“, te donosi brojne analogije kod nas i kod drugih slavenskih skupina u srednjoj i jugoistočnoj Europi.<sup>24</sup> Stoga i po tom elementu treba navedene grobove na Putalju pripisati poganskom horizontu. U svim grobovima bio je ukopan samo

the Early Middle Ages is missing,<sup>20</sup> which further confirms the affiliation of these eight graves to the pagan horizon. Their spatial arrangement clearly indicates that the burials took place prior to the renovation of the early Christian church and its furnishing with pre-Romanesque stone furniture during the reign of Duke Mislav (around 835-845).<sup>21</sup> In other words, the early medieval burials seem to have been placed in a scattered manner around and over the ruins of the early Christian church. However, their arrangement suggests that a typical ‘row-grave’ cemetery would have formed there eventually, if the burials had not been abruptly abandoned due to the furnishing of the pre-Romanesque sacred structure, which means that the years of Mislav’s rule serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the early Croatian cemetery. The total number of 80 graves from the High Middle Ages, which represent the first layer of graves around the church at Putalj, indirectly testifies to the absence of a Christian horizon. It is likely that the number of early Croatian graves would have been much larger if burials had continued to take place there until the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Finds were discovered in three graves (G-3, G-4, G-9), while one grave contained goods (G-6). These finds were jewellery specimens for the head (earrings - five pieces) and hands (rings - two pieces), while the grave good was represented by fragments of a handcrafted pot of rough texture and one bird bone, all placed beside the foot on the outer side (Fig. 2).

Among the specimens of jewellery, there was a pair of silver circlets (G-9), a pair of grape-shaped earrings with threads at the bottom of the loop, and another one with threads but without the grape-shaped decoration (G-4). Two specimens of simple rings were also found (G-3, G-4). The existence of additional graves belonging to this phase is indicated by the discovery of a bronze single-bead earring with a biconical unadorned bead.<sup>22</sup> It was found in a disturbed layer beneath a large and deep grave (G-179) from the Late Middle Ages, during the removal of its lining. It seems that this earring ended up there from a destroyed early Croatian grave.

<sup>22</sup> Burić 2001, str. 263, Tab. I, 1.

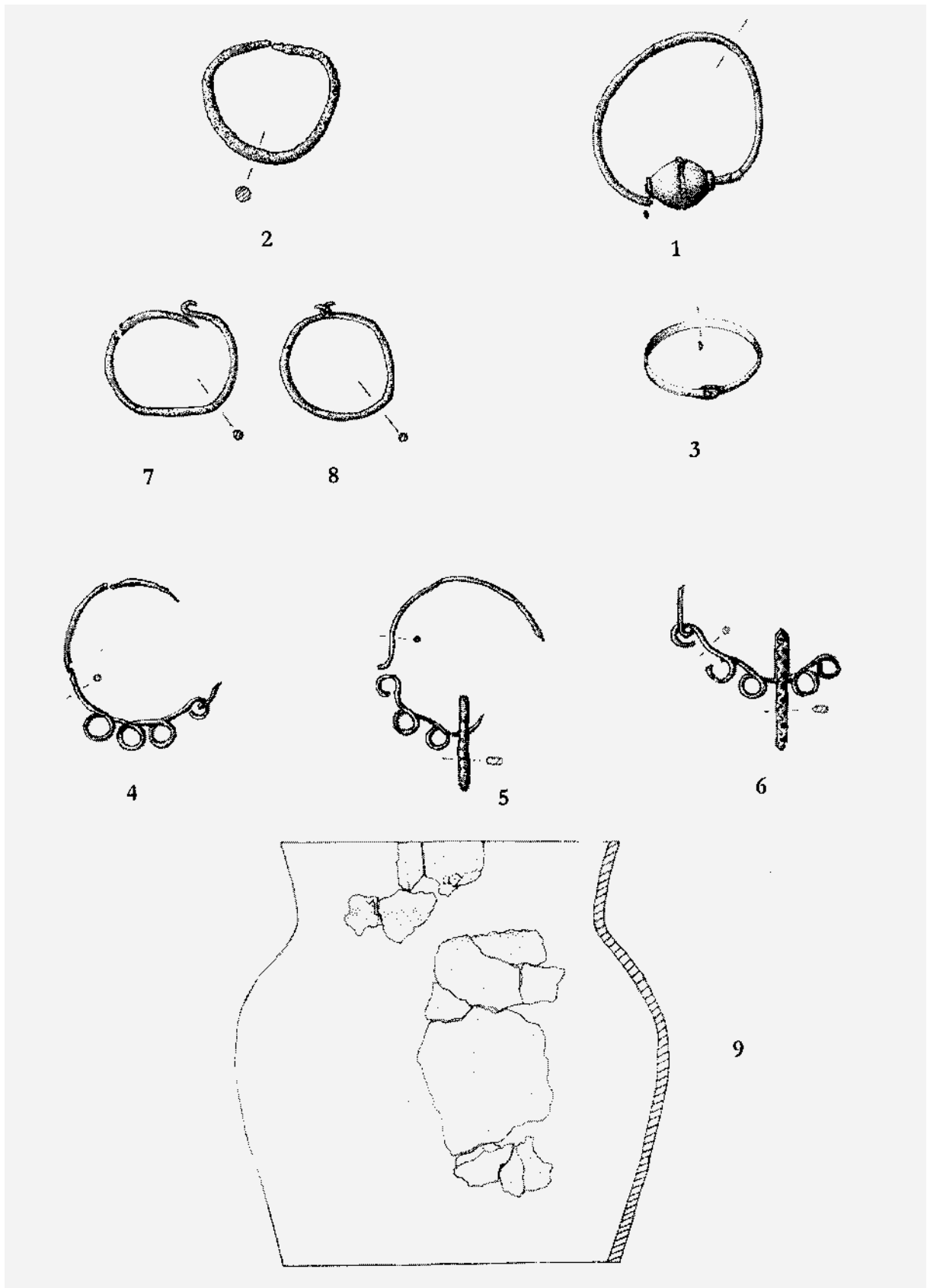
<sup>23</sup> Belošević 1980, str. 73.

<sup>24</sup> Petrincec 2009, str. 107, 108.

<sup>20</sup> This fact requires adequate explanation, which involves additional analysis, so I will omit it on this occasion (cf. Burić 2001, 199-200).

<sup>21</sup> Burić 2001, 158-193.

<sup>22</sup> Burić 2001, 263, Tab. I, 1.



Sl. 2. Nalazi i prilog iz starohrvatskih grobova na Putalju  
(crtež S. Juraga): u sloju (1), G-3 (2), G-4 (3-6), G-9 (7-8) i G-6 (9)  
Fig. 2 Finds and grave good from the early Croatian graves at Putalj  
(drawing by S. Juraga): in layer (1), G-3 (2), G-4 (3-6), G-9 (7-8) and G-6 (9)

po jedan pokojnik, a jednokratni ukopi su također prevladavajući način sahrane ne samo u poganskom horizontu nego i tijekom cijeloga ranoga, pa većim dijelom i razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka.<sup>25</sup> S obzirom na mali broj grobova trajanje tog ukopišta ne može biti duže od približno dva desetljeća. Zbog toga, mogućeg manjeg broja uništenih grobova te kronološkog repera utvrđenog Mislavovom obnovom crkve, kao i opće slike nalaza i priloga u njima, putaljsko groblje vremenski okvirno spada u drugo ili treće desetljeće 9. st. Za sada je to prvi slučaj korištenja tog tipa groba u ranom srednjem vijeku u Kaštelima, koji pripisujem završnoj/prijelaznoj fazi poganskog horizonta.

Drugo groblje poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima je ono na lokalitetu Svećurje u Kaštel Starom, u predjelu Radun (Pl. II.).<sup>26</sup> Tu se slučajno naišlo na grobove za vrijeme iskopa temelja za gradnju obiteljske kuće Ante Grbeše koncem 2001. Zahvaljujući ljubaznosti vlasnika, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika je u dvije kampanje 2002. proveo istraživanja na tom nalazištu, gdje je otkriveno ukupno 13 grobova stotinjak metara sjeverozapadno od Sv. Jurja od Raduna i njemu pripadajućega groblja. Areal groblja je u potpunosti definiran. Dva do tri metra istočno od grobova otkriven je segment jedne staze koja je pravcem sjever-jug vodila do obližnjeg izvora vode, a činilo ju je nabijeno amorfnu kamenje. Time je definirana istočna granica ukopišta. Za zapadnu je relevantna činjenica da su najzapadniji grobovi oštećeni bagerom pri kopanju temelja za novogradnju obiteljske kuće bili na njezinom istočnom rubu, dok ih dalje ka zapadu nema. Pokojnici su ukapani u grobne rake obzidane okomito usađenim kamenim pločama, koje su tvorile grobni kovčeg pokriven također kamenim pločama, a dna grobova bila su popločana manjim tankim kamenim pločicama. Posebnu zanimljivost predstavljaju pojedinačni kameni blokovi, ili dva do tri manja, nađeni 30-50 cm iznad razine poklopnice, ali izvan prostora koji je zapremao grobni kameni kovčeg. U svim slučajevima ti su blokovi bili nad glavama pokojnika uz zapadni (G-5, G-11, G-12) ili jugozapadni rub groba (G-1), zbog čega ih tumačim kao nadzemna obilježja groba.<sup>27</sup> U većini grobova

In terms of their typology, the mentioned Putalj graves also indicate a pagan horizon, in which they are very common. These are simple graves, consisting of a hole dug into the ground or a layer of marl, with amorphous stones irregularly placed around the grave. This type of grave was one of the most common up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but also occurred less frequently later on. Belošević refers to it as “a grave in a simple earthen pit with partial use of stone”, which was used from late antiquity until the “*full Middle Ages* (which should refer to the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century), author’s note) in the broader European area”.<sup>23</sup> Petrinec also describes it as “a grave in a simple earthen pit partially lined with stone” within the cemetery of the pagan horizon, and provides numerous analogies in Croatia and among other Slavic groups in central and south-eastern Europe.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, and based on this element, the graves found in Putalj should also be attributed to the pagan horizon. Only one deceased person was buried in each grave. In general, single burials were also the predominant burial practice, not only in the pagan horizon but also throughout the Early and, for the most part, the High Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup> Given the small number of graves, it is likely that this burial ground was in use for no longer than approximately two decades. Due to this possibly smaller number of destroyed graves and the chronological reference established by Mislav’s church restoration, as well as the general picture of finds and grave goods in them, the Putalj cemetery can be dated to the second or third decade of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. So far, this has been the first known case of this type of grave being used in the Early Middle Ages in Kaštela, which can be attributed to the final/transitional phase of the pagan horizon.

The second cemetery of the pagan horizon in Kaštela is located at site Svećurje in Kaštel Stari, i.e. in the area of Radun (Pl. II.).<sup>26</sup> It was discovered by chance during excavation works for the foundations of Ante Grbeša’s family house at the end of 2001. Thanks to the owner’s kindness, the Museum

<sup>23</sup> Belošević 1980, 73.

<sup>24</sup> Petrinec 2009, 107, 108.

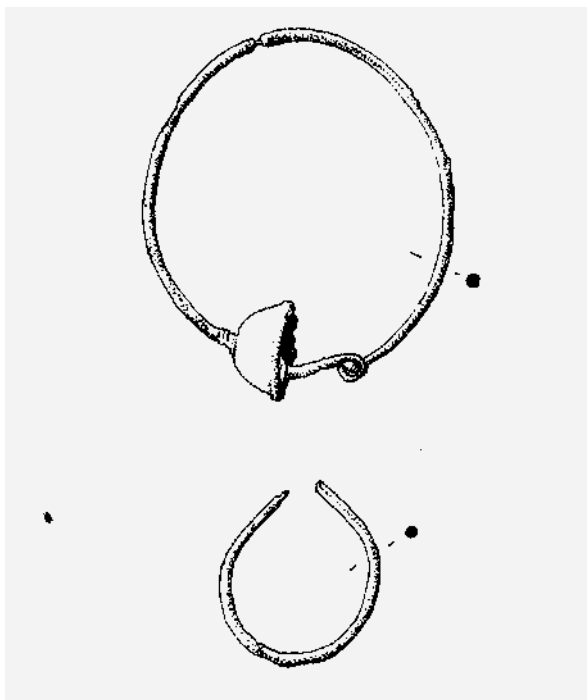
<sup>25</sup> Burić 2001, 152, 153/note 6, 203. Unfortunately, the anthropometric measurement of the skeletons was not possible, because secular and ecclesiastical authorities insisted to store them in the ossuary, built during the restoration of the Church of St. George in Putalj and the surrounding area.

<sup>26</sup> Burić 2007.

<sup>25</sup> Burić 2001, str. 152, 153, bilj. 6, str. 203. Na žalost, antropometrijska obrada kostura nije bila moguća, jer su svjetovne i crkvene vlasti inzistirale na njihovoj pohrani u kosturnicu podignutu u sklopu obnove crkve sv. Jurja na Putalju i cijelog prostora oko nje.

<sup>26</sup> Burić 2007.

<sup>27</sup> Burić 2007, str. 113. Ako je to točno, bio bi to prvi



Sl. 3. Naušnice iz starohrvatskih grobova na radunskom Svećurju (crtež S. Juraga): jednojagodna naušnica (G-12) i karičica (G-3)

*Fig. 3 Earrings from the early Croatian graves at Svećurje in Radun (drawing by S. Juraga): single-bead earring (G-12) and circlet (G-3)*

pokopan je po jedan pokojnik (9 grobova), u dva slučaja po dva, a u dva zbog oštećenosti broj ukopa nije bilo moguće utvrditi. Antropološkom analizom utvrđen je ukop četiri ženske i tri muške osobe te šestero djece. Kod manjeg broja kostura spol nije bilo moguće odrediti zbog oštećenosti. Od nalaza su nađene samo dvije brončane naušnice (sl. 3.), i to u dječjim grobovima.

To su jedna karičica (G-3) i jednojagodna naušnica glatke okruglaste jagode (G-12). Iskopavanjima su otkrivena i tri vatrišta sa sitnim ulomcima obredne keramike (G-4, G-5, G-6) i gusti sloj sitne žerave na torzu djeteta (G-9). Nalazi i ostatci pogrebnih obreda oko grobova i u njima pripadaju fazi

takav slučaj u ranom srednjem vijeku arheološki potvrđen. Do sada se o tome hipotetski raspravljalo kao o mogućnosti (Karaman 1940, str. 7-8; Jelovina 1976, str. 75), iako Karaman spominje registrirani učelak na starohrvatskom groblju u Gajinama u Kaštel Sućurcu. Do sada su vanjska obilježja grobova potvrđena *in situ* tek u kasnom srednjem i ranom novom vijeku. To su tzv. „učelci“ kakvi su primjerice nađeni i na Putalju (Burić 2001, str. 218, 220). Čini se, ipak, da su vanjska obilježja grobova bila poznata još u ranom srednjem vijeku, ali nisu očuvana, ili ih u starijim istraživanjima arheolozi nisu prepoznali.

of Croatian Archaeological Monuments was able to conduct excavations at this site in two campaigns in 2002, during which thirteen graves were discovered approximately one hundred meters northwest of St. George of Radun and its associated cemetery. The plot of the cemetery is entirely defined. Elements of a path, composed of compacted amorphous stones, were discovered two to three meters east of the graves, leading from north to south towards a nearby water source and defining the eastern boundary of the burial ground. Regarding the western boundary, it is important to note that the graves that were damaged by a digger during the excavation works for the foundations of the new family house were located at the eastern edge of the boundary, with no additional graves to the west. The deceased were buried in grave pits that were lined with vertically placed stone slabs, forming a stone coffin that was also covered with stone slabs. The bottoms of the graves were paved with smaller, thin stone slabs. Particularly interesting are individual stone blocks, or two to three smaller ones respectively, found 30-50 cm above the level of the covering stones but outside the space occupied by the coffin itself. In all these cases, these blocks were positioned above the heads of the deceased along the western (G-5, G-11, G-12) or south-western edge of the grave (G-1), which suggests that they were above-ground markers of the grave.<sup>27</sup> In the majority of graves (9 graves), a single deceased person was interred. In two instances, two individuals were buried, while the number of burials in two other graves could not be determined due to damage. Anthropological analysis identified the burial of three male and four female individuals, as well as six children. In a smaller number of cases, the gender of the skeleton remains could not be determined due to damage. Only two bronze earrings (Fig. 3) were found

<sup>27</sup> Burić 2007, 113. If this is accurate, it would be the first archaeologically confirmed case from the Early Middle Ages. Until now, it has been hypothetically discussed as a possibility (Karaman 1940, 7-8; Jelovina 1976, 75), although Karaman mentions a recorded headstone at the early Croatian cemetery in Gajine in Kaštel Sućurac. External markers of graves have only been confirmed *in situ* for the Late Middle Ages and early modern period, such as the headstones found in Putalj (Burić 2001, 218, 220). However, it appears that external markers of graves were known as early as the Early Middle Ages, but have not been preserved, or archaeologists simply did not recognize them during earlier research campaigns.

poganskog horizonta iz 8. st., što je potvrđeno i <sup>14</sup>C analizom. Istraživanjima je rukovodio muzejski savjetnik Tonči Burić.

Iz ovoga kratkog pregleda vidljivo je da do otkrića ove kategorije lokaliteta uglavnom dolazi slučajno, prigodom pripreme poljoprivrednih površina za nove nasade ili pak prigodom građevinskih radova u novije vrijeme. To je samo po sebi razumljivo, budući da grobovi ranoga srednjeg vijeka u pravilu nisu vidljivi na terenu i nema nikakvih indikatora koji bi upućivali na njihovo postojanje. Kako u zadanom arealu Kaštela treba u budućnosti očekivati pronalazak većeg broja takvih lokaliteta, nadati se je da će takvi nalazi biti na vrijeme prijavljeni nadležnim ustanovama i istraženi na odgovarajući način.

### Analiza

Na temelju prikaza dvaju istraženih starohrvatskih grobalja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima i njihovih osnovnih značajki moguće je iznijeti određene spoznaje i zakonitosti koje analiza nalazišta i materijala iz grobova pruža. Ta groblja na kronološkoj ljestvici slijede jedno za drugim. Istražena su u cijelosti i mogu se s velikom vjerojatnošću datirati u uži vremenski odsjek. Groblje na radunskom Svećurju spada u sredinu i/ili drugu polovinu 8. st., dakle u puni poganski horizont, a putaljsko na početak 9. st., u završnu fazu poganskoga horizonta ili prijelaznu fazu između poganskoga i kristijaniziranoga horizonta. Kronološku razliku ta dva ukopišta najbolje oslikavaju razlike u pogrebnom ritusu te različitosti u broju nalaza nakitnih predmeta. U prethodnom odjeljku ukazao sam na mogućnost da i dva neistražena, ali identificirana starohrvatska groblja (Orišine – Kaštel Sućurac, Budrine/Gajine – Kaštel Kambelovac) mogu pripadati poganskom, ali i kristijaniziranom horizontu, ovisno koje rezultate će dati njihova iskopavanja. Stoga se za sada mogu s prostora Kaštela samo ukopište na radunskom Svećurju i ranosrednjovjekovna faza groblja na Putalju sa sigurnošću pribrojiti grobljima poganskog horizonta. To su manja ukopišta koja prethode kristijaniziranim starohrvatskim grobljima, čija se pojava veže uz intenziviranje procesa pokrštavanja što ga provode franački misionari, koji su u Kliškoj županiji imali središte upravo u Bijaćima uz crkvu sv. Marte.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Karaman 1930, str. 170-176; Delonga 2001, str. 6-82; 2004; Burić 2019.

among the finds, both in children's graves. These were a circlet (G-3) and a single-bead earring with a smooth, round bead (G-12).

Excavations also revealed three fire pits with small fragments of ritual pottery (G-4, G-5, G-6) and a dense layer of fine charcoal on the torso of the child (G-9). Carbon-14 analysis confirms that the finds and the remains of the burial rites around and in the graves belong to the pagan horizon of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The research was led by the museum advisor Tonči Burić.

It is clear from this brief overview that this type of site was usually discovered accidentally during land clearing works for agricultural purposes, such as new plantings or during construction works in recent times. This is quite understandable since early medieval graves are generally not visible on the ground, and there are no indicators whatsoever pointing to their existence. As discoveries of a larger number of such sites can be expected in the given area of Kaštela in the future, it is hoped that they will be reported to the relevant authorities in a timely manner and adequately researched.

### Analysis

Based on the presentation of the two researched early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela and their basic characteristics, certain insights and regularities can be outlined from the analysis of the sites and the material from the graves. These cemeteries follow each other chronologically and have been completely explored, allowing for confident dating to specific time periods. The cemetery at Svećurje in Radun belongs to the mid- and/or second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century or the entire pagan horizon respectively, while the Putalj cemetery dates to the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the final phase of the pagan horizon or the transitional phase between the pagan and Christian horizons. The difference in burial rites and the amount of jewellery finds best reflect the chronological difference between these two burial grounds. In the previous section, I indicated the possibility that two early Croatian cemeteries (Orišine – Kaštel Sućurac, Budrine/Gajine – Kaštel Kambelovac), which have been identified but not yet explored, may belong to the pagan, but also to the Christian horizon, depending on the results of their excavations. Therefore, only the burial ground at Svećurje in Radun and the early medieval phase of the Putalj cemetery can be confi-

Poganski horizont starohrvatskih grobalja sustavno je prvi obradio Janko Belošević<sup>29</sup> i to je danas općeprihvaćeno u znanstvenoj literaturi.<sup>30</sup> Prati-mo ga od prvih grobalja iz 7. st., od kojih su manjim dijelom ona s ritusom incineracije, pa do završne faze u prvoj polovici 9. st., koja predstavlja prije-laznu fazu ka grobljima kristijaniziranog horizonta ranoga srednjeg vijeka od sredine 9. do 11. st. U kaštelanskim primjerima dokumentirani su pogan-ski prilozi i ostatci obrednih radnji tijekom pokopa. Tu spada nalaz ulomaka lonca od grube keramike na Putalju (G-6) i nalazi ugljena i pepela triju vatri-šta uz poklopnice grobova na radunskom Svećurju (G-4, G-5 i G-6), u kojima su nađeni sitni ulomci nepečenih posuda, koje nije bilo moguće rekonstru-irati. Njima treba pribrojiti i dječji grob na istom lokalitetu u kojemu je tijelo pokojnika bilo posuto gustim slojem sitnih ulomaka žerave (G-9).<sup>31</sup> Ovdje je važno napomenuti da je na Putalju možda bilo još grobova s loncima kada je dio lokaliteta istražen tijekom Bulićevih iskopavanja 1926., ali dokumen-tacija nije vođena. Na tu mogućnost ukazuju izjave radnika koji su sudjelovali u tim iskopavanjima, a čija sam sjećanja svojedobno zabilježio. Tako mi je Roko Barić, rođen 1911., kazivao da su – uz ostale nalaze – u pojedinim grobovima nalaženi zemljani lonci manjih dimenzija, koji su se lako lomili, pa ni jedan nije sačuvan. Isto mi je potvrdila i Marija So-kol, koja je tada nosila vodu radnicima na Putalj.<sup>32</sup> Za putaljske grobove (G-3 do G-10) treba naglasiti da se grobnim konstrukcijama vidno razlikuju od svih ostalih na starohrvatskim grobljima u Kaštelima. Naime, nemaju uobičajene kamene kovčege u grobnoj raci, već su ukopani u zemlju ili zdravicu, a grobne konstrukcije sastoje se od djelomično ras-poređenog amorfnog kamenja oko tijela pokopanih osoba. Također nemaju ni poklopnice. Takav oblik groba najčešći je u poganskom horizontu 7. – 8. st., premda se već tada javljaju i grobovi s kamenim kovčezima, kakvi su potvrđeni na radunskom Sve-ćurju.<sup>33</sup>

S ova dva predočena groblja prvi put je potvrđen poganski horizont u Kaštelima, do sada vidljiv samo

dently attributed to the pagan horizon in the Kaštela area for now. These are smaller burial grounds that predate the Christian early Croatian cemeteries, the occurrence of which is associated with the intensi-fication of the Christianization process carried out by Frankish missionaries, whose centre in the coun-ty of Klis was located precisely in Bijaći near the church of St. Martha.<sup>28</sup>

Janko Belošević was the first to systematically study the pagan horizon of early Croatian ceme-teries,<sup>29</sup> which is now widely accepted in scholar-ly literature.<sup>30</sup> We trace it from the earliest ceme-teries from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, some of which feature cremation rites, to the final phase in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which represents the transition-al phase towards cemeteries of the Christian hori-zon of the Early Middle Ages from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In the respective cases in Kaštela, pagan grave goods and remnants of burial rituals have been recorded. These finds include fragments of coarse pottery at Putalj (G-6) and traces of coal and ashes from three fire pits discovered next to the grave cover slabs at Svećurje in Radun (G-4, G-5, and G-6), which featured also small fragments of unfired vessels, which could not be reconstructed. Additionally, we should include the child's grave at the same site where the body of the deceased was covered with a dense layer of fine charcoal (G-9).<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that there may have been more graves with pots at site Putalj, when part of the site was excavated during Bulić's excavations in 1926, but unfortunately, no records were kept at that time. This possibility is indicated by statements from workers who participated in these excava-tions, whose memories I was able to record then. For example, Roko Barić, born in 1911, reported that, among other finds, earthen pots of small di-mensions were discovered in individual graves, but they were so fragile that none was preserved. Mari-ja Sokol, who used to bring water to the workers at Putalj, confirmed the same.<sup>32</sup> Regarding the graves in Putalj (G-3 to G-10), it is important to note that their structures differ significantly from all others

<sup>29</sup> Belošević 1980.

<sup>30</sup> Jurić 1981, str. 53-55; Burić 2001, str. 151-158; Petri-nec 2009, str. 13-49, 119-199; Jarak 2002.

<sup>31</sup> Za Putalj usp. Burić 2001, str. 151-158, 262-263, 307, Tab. I, a za radunsko Svećurje Burić 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Burić 1985, str. 311, bilj. 29.

<sup>33</sup> Belošević 1980, str. 72-74; Jarak 2002, str. 50; Petri-nec 2009, str. 107-109.

<sup>28</sup> Karaman 1930, 170-176; Delonga 2001, 76-82; 2004; Burić 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Belošević 1980.

<sup>30</sup> Jurić 1981, 53-55; Burić 2001, 151-158; Petrinec 2009, 13-49, 119-199; Jarak 2002.

<sup>31</sup> For Putalj *cf.* Burić 2001, 151-158, 262-263, 307/Tab. I, for Svećurje in Radun Burić 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Burić 1985, 311/note 29.

posredno, kroz pogansku sakralnu toponimiju,<sup>34</sup> čime je ujedno potvrđen i etnički kontinuitet novodoseljenoga slavenskog/hrvatskog življa od 7. st. nadalje. Uz navedena groblja i nalaze u njima vežu se i razlike u datiranju, kojima bih ovdje posvetio više pažnje, jer je to važno za širi kontekst, kako same periodizacije starohrvatskih grobalja u Kaštelima, tako i općenito u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj, te za pitanje tipološko-kronološke skale starohrvatskog nakita. Pri tome ću se zadržati samo na paralelama koje su bitne za analizu nalaza i grobalja u Kaštelima, ne ulazeći u sveobuhvatni prikaz navedenih pitanja, jer to prerasta okvire ovoga rada i traži temeljitu analizu na cijelom prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske.

Za datiranje grobalja na Putalju i na radunskom Svećurju od presudne su važnosti pogrebni obredi i prilozima, na koje sam i do sada ukazivao, ali to nije adekvatno registrirano u dosadašnjoj literaturi. Primjerice, putaljski grobovi poganskog horizonta tretiraju se kao grobovi kristijaniziranog horizonta oko crkve sv. Jurja. Tako Maja Petrinec u svojoj tipologiji grobova poganskoga horizonta nije među groblja s „grobovima u običnim zemljanim rakama djelomično obloženim kamenjem“ ubrojila i starohrvatske grobove na Putalju, a ne osvrće se ni na nalaz lonca u G-6, već zbog nakitnih predmeta u njima pripisuje te grobove 9. st. i kristijaniziranom horizontu.<sup>35</sup> Ona je starohrvatski sloj grobova na Putalju uvrstila u svoje poglavlje „Groblja uz crkve s fazom ukapanja od 8. do 11. stoljeća“<sup>36</sup>, gdje kaže: „Oko sredine 9. st. podižu se prve crkve ili renoviraju starokršćanska sakralna zdanja, ... te se i uz njih počinju razvijati groblja, ... ali se i dalje većinom formiraju po principu groblja na redove. I na tim grobljima u najstarijim slojevima grobova pronalazimo naušnice s karikom povijenom u petlje ...“ (tu ubraja Putalj i druga nalazišta). Ta tvrdnja općenito stoji, ali za Putalj treba ukazati na činjenicu da su starohrvatski grobovi ukopani u ruševinama starokršćanskoga kompleksa prije obnove crkve za kneza Mislava (oko 835. - 845.), pa to ne može biti groblje uz crkvu, već je to ranije groblje s početka 9. st. iz završne faze poganskog horizonta.<sup>37</sup> I Sokol

found on other early Croatian cemeteries in Kaštela. Unlike the typical stone coffins found in grave pits, the individuals were buried directly in the ground or the bedrock, with partially scattered amorphous stones around the deceased bodies serving as the burial structures. Additionally, there had no grave covers. Such types of graves are most commonly found in the pagan horizon of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, although graves with stone coffins also appeared during this period, as has been recorded at site Svećurje in Radun,<sup>33</sup>

With these two cemeteries, the pagan horizon in Kaštela has been confirmed for the first time. This horizon was previously only indirectly visible through pagan sacred toponymy,<sup>34</sup> thus also confirming the ethnic continuity of the newly settled Slavic/Croatian population from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Additionally, as differences in dating are associated with these cemeteries and their finds within them, I will also pay particular attention to this aspect. This is significant for understanding the broader context, including both, the periodization of early Croatian cemeteries in Kaštela and generally in early medieval Croatia, as well as for the question of the typological-chronological scale of early Croatian jewelry. I will thereby focus only on the parallels that are relevant to the finds and cemeteries in Kaštela, without delving into a comprehensive overview of these issues, as it exceeds the scope of this work and requires thorough analysis across the entire territory of early medieval Croatia.

For the dating of the cemeteries at sites Putalj and Svećurje, burial rites and grave goods are crucial. I have pointed out this before, but regrettably it has not been adequately acknowledged in existing literature. For instance, the graves of the pagan horizon at site Putalj are treated as graves of the Christian horizon around the Church of St. George. Maja Petrinec in her typology of graves from the pagan horizon, did not include the early Croatian graves in Putalj among the cemeteries with “graves in simple earthen pits partially lined with stone”. She also did not take into account the discovery of the vessel in grave G-6. Instead, she dated these graves to the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the Christian horizon due to the jewelry found in them.<sup>35</sup> She rather included the ear-

<sup>34</sup> Burić 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 76-77, 241.

<sup>36</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 275.

<sup>37</sup> Burić 2001, str. 151-158, Tab. I, Plan 2. Oko Sv. Jurja od Putalja počinje se oblikovati groblje tek na prijelazu 11. u 12. st., koje traje sve do sredine 16. st.

<sup>33</sup> Belošević 1980, 72-74; Jarak 2002, 50; Petrinec 2009, 107-109.

<sup>34</sup> Burić 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Petrinec 2009, 76-77, 241.



pripisuje starohrvatske grobove na Putalju „kristijaniziranom horizontu crkve sv. Jurja nalaza polovine IX. stoljeća ...“<sup>38</sup> i kaže za nakit iz tih grobova da se veže „blisko sloju kneza Mislava“ (ostaje nejasno značenje te sintagme?), a zatim ga uspoređuje s nalazima na Stombratama i žestinjskom Svećurju (koji zaista jesu iz druge polovice 9. i dijelom 10. st.) i datira „kroz drugu polovinu IX. stoljeća“. Dakle, i on prešutno preskače arheološku i povijesnu stratigrafiju na Putalju, previdjevši činjenicu da su ti grobovi nastali prije obnove crkve za kneza Mislava, štoviše, G-6 je nađen po sredini kasnije srednjovjekovne crkve ispod velikoga zidanog groba pred oltarom (G-105), a također se ne osvrće ni na nalaz lonca uz njega. Ni on ne uzima u obzir to da na Putalju nema starohrvatskih grobova kristijaniziranog horizonta, što također govori u prilog tome da su putaljski starohrvatski grobovi iz vremena prije obnove crkve. Te povijesne i arheološke činjenice su reper zbog kojega te grobove valja datirati prije Mislavove vladavine, u prva desetljeća 9. st., u završnu fazu poganskog horizonta.

Starohrvatskih je grobova na Putalju bilo još, ali su uništeni kasnijim srednjovjekovnim ukopima, o čemu ponajbolje svjedoči jednojagodna naušnica otkrivena u sloju ispod jednog dubokog zidanog kasnosrednjovjekovnoga groba (G-179), o čemu će biti više govora u daljnjem tekstu. Zbog svega ovdje iznesenog ustrajem na tvrdnji da starohrvatski grobovi na Putalju pripadaju završnoj fazi poganskoga horizonta i mogu se prema nalazima i povijesnim podacima pisanih izvora datirati u prva desetljeća 9. st., svakako prije 835., kako sam ustvrdio u obradi tih grobova u sklopu monografije o Putalju. Ukapanje na tom groblju je prekinuto kada je započela obnova starokršćanske crkve, koja je opremljena predromaničkim kamenim namještajem.<sup>39</sup> Kao i na radunskom Svećurju mali broj grobova, svega osam, ne dopušta šire kronološke raspone, maksimalno dva desetljeća.

Groblje na radunskom Svećurju posebice je važno u kontekstu pojave grobova poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima. U objavi tog lokaliteta 2007. istaknuo sam elemente poganskog ritusa registrirane u četiri groba, ali sam pri određivanju datacije tog ukopišta predložio početak 9. st., na što me je u prvom redu navela jednojagodna naušnica iz G-12 i izostanak lonaca kao uobičajenog priloga u grobovima po-

ly Croatian layer of graves in Putalj in her chapter ‘Cemeteries near churches with a burial phase from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries’,<sup>36</sup> in which she states: “Around the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, the first churches were built or early Christian sacred buildings were renovated, ... and cemeteries began to develop alongside them. ... but they mostly continued to be established based on the principle of row-grave cemeteries. And on these cemeteries, namely in the oldest layers of graves, we have found earrings with the circlet bent into loops...” (where she includes Putalj and other sites). This assertion generally holds true. However, it should be noted that in the case of Putalj, the early Croatian graves were buried in the ruins of an early Christian complex before the church was rebuilt for Duke Mislav (around 835-845). Therefore, it cannot be considered a cemetery next to a church. Instead, it is an earlier cemetery from the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, which belongs to the final phase of the pagan horizon.<sup>37</sup> Sokol also attributes the early Croatian graves at Putalj to the “Christian horizon of the church of St. George due to the finds from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>38</sup> He associates the jewellery from these graves with the “layer of Duke Mislav” (the meaning of this phrase remains unclear?) and then compares it with finds from Stombrate and Svećurje in Žestinj (which indeed date from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> and partly 10<sup>th</sup> centuries) and dates it “to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century”. Hence, he also tacitly overlooks the archaeological and historical stratigraphy at Putalj, ignoring the fact that these graves were formed before the renovation of the church for Duke Mislav. Moreover, grave G-6 was found in the central part of the later medieval church, beneath a large built grave in front of the altar (G-105), and he also does not take into account the discovery of a pot next to it. Furthermore, he does not consider the fact that there are no early Croatian graves of the Christian horizon at Putalj, which also speaks in favour of the fact that the early Croatian graves there date back to the time before the renovation of the church. These historical and archaeological facts are the reference point for dating these graves to the time before Mislav’s reign,

<sup>36</sup> Petrinec 2009, 275.

<sup>37</sup> Burić 2001, 151-158, Tab. I, Plan 2. The cemetery surrounding the Church of St. George in Putalj began to take shape only at the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, lasting until the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>38</sup> Sokol 2019, 218, 227, 240-241.

<sup>38</sup> Sokol 2019, str. 218, 227, 240-241.

<sup>39</sup> Burić 2001, str. 156-157.

ganskog horizonta.<sup>40</sup> Tada sam, naime, i sam pristajao uz tradicionalnu dataciju jednojagodnih naušnica, prema kojoj se one javljaju od 9. st., pri čemu je na taj stav utjecala i datacija putaljske jednojagodne naušnice. U međuvremenu je provedena <sup>14</sup>C analiza osteološkog materijala iz G-5 na Svećurju, čiji rezultati su definitivno spustili vremenski okvir toga groblja u sredinu ili drugu polovicu 8. st.<sup>41</sup> Analiza je obavljena na uzorku zubnoga kolagena iz zuba žene stare između 40 i 45 godina.

Rezultati analize su sljedeći:

95,4 % probability

(73,9 %) 668-776 cal AD

(17,8 %) 786-830 cal AD

(3,6 %) 853-874 cal AD

To govori da je ta žena pokopana najvjerojatnije između 668. i 776. godine, a kako je ukupan broj grobova na groblju 13, taj se rezultat može uzeti *pars pro toto* i za cijelo groblje. Naime, ukopavanje na tom ukopištu moglo je trajati jedno do dva desetljeća, najviše tri, uzevši u obzir broj pokojnika i pretpostavljenu stopu smrtnosti u tom razdoblju. Ako bismo u obzir uzeli i drugi rezultat od 17,8 % vjerojatnosti, on bi i dalje bio u okvirima poganskog horizonta (786. - 830.), ali iz prijelazne faze. U prilog prvom rezultatu ukazujem na činjenicu da je uz grob te žene bilo i jedno od tri vatrišta ( $v_3$ ) koja su na ovom groblju utvrđena, a što je izraziti element poganskog ritusa pokapanja, kakvi nisu potvrđeni na grobljima prijelazne faze.

Dataciju u 8. st. podupire i važna paralela s groblja poganskog horizonta na lokalitetu Materiza kod Nina, okvirno datiranog u 8. st., gdje je potvrđena pojava vatrišta prigodom sahranjivanja pokojnika u tri groba, koji su bili ukopani uz zemljani humak. Ovdje bih citirao mišljenje koje je o toj pojavi na Materizama iznio Belošević: „Među karakteristikama u načinu sahranjivanja valja istaći pojavu paljenja vatre u grobovima, poviše njih ili oko njih. To se s pravom smatra kao izrazito poganski običaj u vezi sa zagrobnim vjerovanjima, a tumači se kao ritualni čin kojim se pokojnici oslobađaju zlih duhova. Takvo sahranjivanje utvrđeno je na nekropoli

i.e. to the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the final phase of the pagan horizon.

Certainly, there had been more early Croatian graves at Putalj, but they were destroyed by later medieval burials. This is best evidenced by a single-bead earring found in a layer beneath a deep and built late medieval grave (G-179), which will be discussed further in the text. Based on the aforementioned, I remain firm on the assertion that the early Croatian graves at Putalj belong to the final phase of the pagan horizon and can, according to finds and historical data from written sources, be dated to the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. certainly before 835, as concluded in my analysis of the graves within the scope of the monograph about Putalj. Burials in this cemetery were interrupted when the reconstruction of the early Christian church began, which was then also furnished with pre-Romanesque stone furniture.<sup>39</sup> Like in the case of Svećurje in Radun, only a small number of graves, or eight in total, do not allow for a broader chronological range, at most two decades.

The cemetery at Svećurje in Radun is particularly significant in the context of the appearance of graves from the pagan horizon in Kaštela. In the 2007 publication of that site, I pointed out elements of the pagan rite, which were found in four graves. However, when determining the dating of this burial ground, I suggested the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, primarily due to the find of the single-bead earring in grave G-12 and the absence of vessels as common grave goods in graves from the pagan horizon.<sup>40</sup> At that time, I myself adhered to the traditional dating of single-bead earrings, according to which they appeared from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This stance was also influenced by the dating of the single-bead earring from Putalj. However, the results of a radiocarbon analysis of osteological material from G-5 at Svećurje, which was conducted in the meantime, have definitively placed the time frame of that cemetery in the mid or second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> The analysis was done on a sample of dental collagen from the tooth of a woman aged between 40 and 45 years.

<sup>40</sup> Burić 2007, str. 112-113.

<sup>41</sup> Analiza <sup>14</sup>C obavljena je u Beta Analytic laboratoriju u Miamiju na Floridi (USA). Ovdje mi je ugodna dužnost najsrdačnije zahvaliti kolegi i prijatelju prof. dr. sc. Anti Uglešiću s Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru, koji mi je kroz svoj program omogućio izradu te analize.

<sup>39</sup> Burić 2001, 156-157.

<sup>40</sup> Burić 2007, 112-113.

<sup>41</sup> The radiocarbon analysis was conducted at the Beta Analytic laboratory in Miami, Florida (USA). I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague and friend, Prof. Dr. Ante Uglešić from the Department of Archaeology at the University of Zadar, who facilitated this analysis through his program.

uz humak Materiza kod groba 16, 20 i 21.<sup>42</sup> U novije vrijeme su i na starohrvatskim grobljima u Glavicama kod Sinja (položaji Jojine kuće i Gluvine kuće) registrirane jame s paljevinom, ali po svemu sudeći tu se ne radi o vatrištima uz grob.<sup>43</sup> Stoga, radunsko Svećurje, kao i ono na Materizi, pripada poganskom horizontu 8. st., jer su na njima potvrđena paljenja obrednih vatri u sklopu pogrebnog ritusa, na što sam već ranije ukazao.<sup>44</sup> U kontekstu tih poganskih obreda još jednom ukazujem na nalaz iz dječjega groba G-9, u kojemu je iznad kosturnih ostataka dječjeg torza registriran gusti sloj sitnih grumena žerave, što je po svemu sudeći imalo istu obrednu funkciju kao i vatrišta. Uz predočenu <sup>14</sup>C analizu to je više nego dostatan argument za dataciju groblja u poganski horizont 8. st. Zbog toga moram ispraviti svoju dataciju groblja na radunskom Svećurju koju sam postavio prilikom prve objave, a na koju je presudan utjecaj imalo tada općeprihvaćeno mišljenje o datiranju jednojagodnih naušnica. Prema ovdje iznesenim novim saznanjima najvjerojatnijim se čini datacija u treću četvrtinu 8. st., s mogućim manjim otklonima. Unatoč tome radunsko Svećurje Petrincec i Sokol tretiraju kao groblje kristijaniziranog horizonta druge polovice 9. st., i to samo zbog nalaza jednojagodne naušnice iz G-12.<sup>45</sup> Ni u ovom slučaju dosljedno se ne osvrću na nalaze triju vatrišta uz grobove i žeravu na tijelu djeteta u grobu. Na to je, moguće, dijelom utjecala i moja prva datacija toga groblja, na koju je također utjecao nalaz spomenute naušnice. U prilog mojem mišljenju donosim i ono M. Petrincec koje je iznijela o groblju Materize: „Svih 26 ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova pripada horizontu s poganskim načinom pokapanja.“ i „Među najučestalije običaje vezane uz obred pokapanja mogu se uvrstiti paljenje vatre nad grobovima ili unutar grobnih raka i namjerno razbijanje zemljanog posuđa. Tragovi paljevine registrirani su dosad uz pojedine grobove na Materizama u Ninu, Trljugama u Biljanima Donjim i Klarića kućama u Stankovcima.“<sup>46</sup>

Nedavna istraživanja Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru u sklopu terenske nastave 2007. i

The results of the analysis are as follows:

95.4% probability  
(73,9%) 668-776 cal AD  
(17,8%) 786-830 cal AD  
(3,6%) 853-874 cal AD

This tells us that this woman was likely buried between 668 and 776 AD, and since the total number of graves in the cemetery is 13, this result can be taken *pars pro toto* for the entire cemetery. It suggests that burials at this site likely occurred over a period of one to two, at most three decades, based on the number of deceased and the assumed mortality rate during that time. Even if we consider the second result of a 17.8% probability, it would still fall within the pagan horizon timeframe (786-830), but the transitional phase. However, it is worth noting that next to the grave of this woman, there was one of the three fire pits ( $v_3$ ) identified in this cemetery, which is a distinctive element of the pagan burial rite and not confirmed in cemeteries from the transitional phase. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the first result is more likely to be accurate.

The dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> century is supported by a significant parallel with the cemetery from the pagan horizon at the Materiza site near Nin, which is approximately dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and where the presence of fire pits during the burial of the deceased in three graves was confirmed, which were buried next to an earthen mound. Here, I would like to quote Belošević's opinion regarding this phenomenon at Materiza: “Among the characteristics of burial methods, it is worth mentioning the occurrence of fire burning in graves, above or around them. This is rightfully considered an extremely pagan custom related to afterlife beliefs, and interpreted as a ritual act by which the deceased were liberated from evil spirits. Such burial practices were confirmed at the necropolis next to the Materiza mound at graves 16, 20, and 21.”<sup>42</sup> More recently, pits with soot have also been recorded at the early Croatian cemeteries in Glavice near Sinj (sites Jojine kuće and Gluvine kuće), but apparently, these are not fire pits near graves.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, the cemetery at Svećurje in Radun, as the one at Materiza,

<sup>42</sup> Belošević 1980, str. 20, 79. Autor tu navodi i paralele sa srednjoeuropskog prostora naseljenog Slavenima.

<sup>43</sup> Petrincec 2002, str. 206-209, 223. Autorica je sklona tumačenju da se tu radi o ostatcima grobova s incineracijom iz druge polovice 7. st.

<sup>44</sup> Burić 2007, str. 111-112.

<sup>45</sup> Petrincec 2009, str. 55, 469; Sokol 2019, str. 258-259.

<sup>46</sup> Petrincec 2009, str. 23, 112.

<sup>42</sup> Belošević 1980, 20, 79. The author also mentions here parallels from the Central European region inhabited by Slavs.

<sup>43</sup> Petrincec 2002, 206-209, 223. The author is inclined to interpret these as remains of cremation graves from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

2008. iznijela su na vidjelo još tri groblja poganskog horizonta otkrivena u iskopavanjima triju zemljanih tumula u selima Krneza i Podvršje (Jokina glavica, Duševića glavica i Matakova glavica).<sup>47</sup> To su izvorno prapovijesni tumuli koji su sekundarno korišteni za pokapanje i u ranom srednjem vijeku, a jedan (Matakova glavica) ima i sloj kasnoantičkih grobova. Ranosrednjovjekovna ukopišta su manja rodovska groblja, poput putaljskoga i onoga na radunskom Svećurju. Na sva tri je ustanovljen poganski horizont grobova (Jokina glavica – 6, Duševića glavica – 9, dok na Matakovoj glavici broj grobova nije utvrdiv zbog velike oštećenosti površinskog sloja), a na Jokinoj glavici i kristijanizirani (12 grobova). Kako s tih groblja raspoložemo i sa <sup>14</sup>C analizama osteološkog materijala (osim za Matakovu glavicu, gdje zbog iznimno jake kiselosti tla i intenzivne obrade kosturi nisu sačuvani), oni su veoma važne paralele za kaštelanska groblja.

Osnovni podatci za grobove poganskog horizonta na tim tumulima su sljedeći:<sup>48</sup>

**Jokina glavica:** ukopi u zemljane rake, drvene sanduke i rake s kamenim okvirom. U četiri groba donjega sloja (poganski horizont) nađeni su nalazi i prilozima. Od nalaza ističem par srebrnih karičica i ogrlicu od staklenih perli (G-13), a od priloga dva lonca (jedan u G-13, a drugi uz G-18) te još njih 7 uokolo grobova u istom sloju. U gornjem, kristijaniziranom sloju, u dva groba od 12, nađena je jedna srebrna jednojagodna naušnica i vitica te još jedna vitica u G-17. Na osteološkom uzorku iz G-13 analiza <sup>14</sup>C dala je rezultat od 95,4 % vjerojatnosti u okviru kojega 87,7 % otpada na vremenski raspon 770. – 900. Za analogije se donose istodobni horizonti groblja u sjevernoj Dalmaciji (Materiza – Nin i Dubravice kod Skradina), a autorica datira oba sloja u drugu polovicu 8. st. i 9. st.

**Duševića glavica:** Devet starohrvatskih grobova na ovom lokalitetu tipološki pripada grobovima u običnoj zemljanoj raci djelomično obloženoj kamenom, kakvi su bili i grobovi na Putalju, a taj tip je vrlo čest u poganskom horizontu. Većina predmeta iz tih grobova ili iz sloja oko njih pripada prilozima, i to zemljanim loncima. Nađeno ih je ukupno 5, tri u grobovima (G-1, G-6, G-9) i dva između grobova. Analiza <sup>14</sup>C osteološkog materijala iz G-9 dala je

belongs to the pagan horizon of the 8<sup>th</sup> century because ritual fires as part of the burial rite have been confirmed there, as I have previously pointed out.<sup>44</sup> In the context of these pagan rites, I once again highlight the find in the child's grave G-9, in which a dense layer of small pieces of charcoal was registered above the skeletal remains of the child's torso, which apparently had the same ritual function as the fire pit. This, along with the presented radiocarbon analysis, provides sufficient evidence to date the cemetery to the pagan horizon of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, I need to correct the dating of the cemetery at Svećurje in Radun, which I have determined during the first publication and which was influenced primarily by the then generally accepted opinion on the dating of single-bead earrings. However, based on the new findings presented here, the dating to the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century seems most likely, with possible minor deviations. Nevertheless, Petrinc and Sokol still consider Svećurje in Radun a cemetery of the Christian horizon of the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, solely due to the discovery of a single-bead earring in grave G-12,<sup>45</sup> and consequently disregard the three fire pits found near the graves or the charcoal on the child's body in the grave. It is possible that my initial dating of this cemetery, which was also based on the discovery of said earring, may have influenced their perspective. In support of my opinion, I quote M. Petrinc's statement regarding the Materiza cemetery: "All 26 early medieval graves belong to the horizon with pagan burial customs." and "Burning fires above graves or inside grave pits, and the intentionally breaking of earthenware vessels are among the most common customs associated with burial rites. Traces of soot have been registered so far near individual graves at Materiza in Nin, Trljuge in Biljane Donje, and site Klarića kuće in Stankovci."<sup>46</sup>

Recent research by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Zadar, as part of field trips in 2007 and 2008, has revealed three additional cemeteries from the pagan horizon. These were discovered during excavations of three earthen tumuli in the villages of Krneza and Podvršje (Jokina glavica, Duševića glavica and Matakova glavica).<sup>47</sup> Originally prehistoric tumuli, they were later in secondary

<sup>47</sup> Marijanović (ur.) 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Gusar 2012, str. 49-57, 60-64; Gusar, Vujević 2012a, str. 103-104, 107, 112, 117-118, 120; Gusar, Vujević 2012b, str. 151, 157, 160-164.

<sup>44</sup> Burić 2007, 111-112.

<sup>45</sup> Petrinc 2009, 55, 469; Sokol 2019, 258-259.

<sup>46</sup> Petrinc 2009, 23, 112.

<sup>47</sup> Marijanović (ed.) 2012.

kronološki raspon od 640. do 770., pa ga autori s pravom datiraju u 8. st., ili najranije koncem 7., što onda vrijedi i za preostalih 8 grobova na tom ukopištu. Autori su uvjerljivim argumentima datirali groblje na Duševića glavici u poganski horizont, i to u „ranije razdoblje poganskog horizonta, tj. vrijeme 8. stoljeća, kada uglavnom dominiraju keramički nalazi, dok se u kasnijem razdoblju poganskih nekropola pojavljuju raznolikiji nalazi nakita, oruđa i oružja koji na ovom groblju nedostaju“.

Matakova glavica: Zbog specifičnih okolnosti (intenzivna obrada tla i veoma jaka kiselost tla, zbog koje kosti pokojnika nisu sačuvane) broj grobova na ovom lokalitetu nije moguće utvrditi. Između grobova nađena su dva cijela lonca i ulomci istovrsne keramike, kao i jedno vatrište promjera 50 cm. Prema tim nalazima autori su ovaj lokalitet pripisali „ranom horizontu hrvatsko-dalmatinske materijalne kulture“ iz 8. i prve polovice 9. st. i kažu: „Da je riječ uistinu o vremenu prije njihova pokrštavanja, svjedoče različiti poganski običaji, poput prilaganja keramičkih posuda u grobove ili uz njih, kao i nadasve rijetka pojava vatrišta, koje se također može povezati s poganskim grobnim obredima.“

Što se tiče datacija triju opisanih grobalja u tumulima, one su okvirno dobro postavljene, ali po mom sudu preširoko. Naime, tako mali broj ukopa, ispod ili oko 10, ne može pripadati širem razdoblju od cijelog stoljeća ili čak pola stoljeća. To su groblja veličine ovih u Kaštelima (Putalj – 8, radunsko Svećurje – 13) i vijek njihova trajanja ne može biti duži od jednog do dva, najviše tri desetljeća. Stoga bi bilo dobro pokušati i za ova ravnokotarska groblja utvrditi preciznije kronološke okvire unutar 8. st. i u 9. st., kako sam to ovdje iznio za kaštelanska ukopišta.

Starohrvatska groblja poganskog horizonta u tumulima sela Krneza i Podvršje veoma su važna paralela za istodobna groblja u Kaštelima na Putalju i radunskom Svećurju. Uz razumljive razlike povezuje ih prilaganje lonaca u grobove ili pokraj njih (sva tri groblja u tumulima i Putalj) te pojava vatrišta uz grobove (radunsko Svećurje, Matakova glavica). Apostrofirajući vatrište na ukopištu Matakova glavica, Gusar i Vujević ističu: „Pojava vatrišta, međutim, predstavlja uistinu zanimljiv nalaz koji je do sada na tlu Dalmacije zabilježen jedino na nekropoli Stankovci – Klarića kuće.“ Pri tome su previdjeli nalaze triju vatrišta na radunskom Svećurju, objavljene pet godina ranije, kao i ona koje Petri-

use for burials in the Early Middle Ages. One of them, Matakova glavica, also contains a layer of late ancient graves. The early medieval burial grounds are smaller cemeteries of clans, similar to those at Putalj and Svećurje in Radun. Graves of the pagan horizon have been found at all three sites: Jokina glavica (6 graves), Duševića glavica (9 graves) and Matakova glavica (the number of graves cannot be determined due to extensive damage of the surface layer). Additionally, at Jokina glavica, there are 12 graves belonging to the Christian horizon. As we also have the radiocarbon analyses of osteological material available for these cemeteries, except for Matakova glavica where the bones have not been preserved due to high soil acidity and intensive land cultivation, they are important parallels for the cemeteries in Kaštela.

The basic data for the graves of the pagan horizon at these tumuli are as follows:<sup>48</sup>

Jokina glavica: burials in earthen pits, wooden coffins and stone-lined pits. Four graves of the lower layer (pagan horizon) contained various finds and grave goods. Notable among the finds are a pair of silver circlets and a necklace made of glass beads (G-13), while the grave goods consisted of two pots, one in G-13 and the other next to G-18, and seven more around the graves in the same layer. In the upper Christian layer, a silver single-bead earring and two bands were found in 2 out of the 12 graves, and another band in grave G-17. The radiocarbon analysis of the osteological sample from G-13 resulted in a probability of 95.4%, within which 87.7% falls within the time span of 770-900. The cemeteries in northern Dalmatia (Materiza - Nin and Dubravice near Skradin) from the same time period are mentioned as analogies, and the author dates both layers to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Duševića glavica: the 9 early Croatian graves at this site typologically belong to graves in a simple earth pit, partially lined with stone, and are like the ones at Putalj. This type of grave is very common in the pagan horizon. Most of the objects found in these graves or in the layer around them belong to grave goods, mostly earthenware pots. A total of five pots were found, three in graves (G-1, G-6, G-9) and two between the graves. The radiocarbon analysis of the osteological material from G-9 yielded

<sup>48</sup> Gusar 2012, 49-57, 60-64; Gusar, Vujević 2012a, 103-104, 107, 112, 117-118, 120; Gusar, Vujević 2012b, 151, 157, 160-164.

nec spominje na Materizi kod Nina i u Trljugama u Donjim Biljanima.<sup>49</sup> Taj oblik pogrebnog ritusa ima poganske odlike *par excellence*, a osnažen <sup>14</sup>C analizama čvrsto povezuje kaštelanski i ravnokotarski prostor u 8. st. unatoč razumljivim razlikama. Također im je promaknula objava putaljskog G-6 s loncem uz grob, kada navode istovrsnu pojavu na Materizi kod Nina i na Jokinoj i Duševića glavici.

Kako je nalaz jednojagodne naušnice u G-12 na radunskom Svećurju doveo do različitih datacija istoga ukopišta, ovdje je prigoda raspraviti o vremenu pojave jednojagodnih naušnica općenito, i to na temelju analize grobalja u Kaštelima, kao i nekih paralela među nalazima 8. st., ali bez ulaženja u tipološke podjele i terminologiju, kao i u raspravu o kriterijima po kojima su pojedini autori oblikovali svoje viđenje faza u razvoju srednjovjekovnog nakita u Hrvatskoj, jer bi to uvelike preraslo okvire ovoga rada. U starijoj literaturi starohrvatski je nakit općenito datiran od 9. do 11. st., s težištem na 9. i 10. st., dok se za 11. st. naglašava opadanje zlatarske tehnike i sve manji broj nalaza u grobovima, a jednojagodne naušnice datirane su od početka 9. do konca 10. st.<sup>50</sup> U novije vrijeme tipologijom i kronologijom starohrvatskog nakita bavio se veći broj istraživača, od kojih izdvajam R. Jurića, N. Jakšića, M. Zekana, M. Jarak, V. Sokola i M. Petrincec.<sup>51</sup>

Najprije su početkom 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća objavljene kronološko-tipološke podjele Jakšića i Jurića. Jurić je u više radova sustavno obradio starohrvatski nakit i podijelio ga kronološki u tri faze: I (7. – sredina 9. st.), II (sredina 9. – 12. st.) i III (12. – 15. st.).<sup>52</sup> Jednojagodne naušnice on smješta u okvire svoje II faze, dakle od sredine 9. st. Time je napravljen odmak od datacija Karamana i Jelovine, koji su početak upotrebe tog tipa naušnica stavljali na početak 9. st.

Teza koju je netom prije Jurića iznio Jakšić, znatno se razlikuje od svih do sada objavljenih. On je kopernikanskim obratom cijelu starohrvatsku skupinu od 9. do 11. st. prebacio u razvijeni srednji

a chronological range from 640 to 770. Therefore, the authors correctly date it to the 8<sup>th</sup> century or, at the earliest, the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This dating also applies to the remaining eight graves at the site. The authors have dated the cemetery at Duševića glavica to the pagan horizon based on strong arguments, i.e. “to the earlier period of the pagan horizon i.e. time of the 8<sup>th</sup> century when ceramic finds were dominant, whereas in the later period of pagan necropoles more diverse finds of jewellery, tools and weapons appeared which are not present at this cemetery.”

Matakova glavica: the number of graves at this site cannot be determined due to specific circumstances (intensive land cultivation and strong soil acidity, which resulted in the bones of the deceased not being preserved). Two complete pots and fragments of similar pottery were found between the graves, along with a fire pit measuring 50 cm in diameter. Based on these finds, the authors have attributed this site to “the early horizon of the Croatian-Dalmatian material culture” from the 8<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and further note that “various pagan rites, such as putting ceramic vessels in or next to the graves as grave goods, as well as the very rare occurrence of fire pits, which can also be associated with pagan burial rites, is evidence that they can be dated to the period prior to Christianization.”

The dating of these three cemeteries in tumuli is more or less well set, but in my opinion, too broad. Namely, such a small number of burials, below or around 10, cannot belong to a broader time period than a whole century or even half a century. These are cemeteries the size of those in Kaštela (Putalj - 8, Svećurje in Radun - 13) and they could have been in use no longer than one to two, at most three decades. Therefore, a more precise chronological framework within the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries should also be established for these cemeteries in the Ravni Kotari region, as I have outlined here for the burial sites in Kaštela.

The early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in tumuli of the villages Krneza and Podvršje represent very important parallels to the cemeteries from the same time in Kaštela, i.e. at Putalj and Svećurje in Radun. Despite apparent differences, they are still linked by the placement of pots in graves or next to them (all three cemeteries in tumuli and Putalj), as well as the presence of fire pits

<sup>49</sup> Burić 2007, Petrincec 2009, str. 112.

<sup>50</sup> Karaman 1936, str. 14-15, 25; Jelovina 1976, str. 92-93, 97-99.

<sup>51</sup> Kako u ovom radu težište nije na detaljnoj tipološko-kronološkoj skali nakita kao takvog, izostavljam radove autora koji su o jednojagodnim naušnicama pisali u okvirima objave pojedinih lokaliteta.

<sup>52</sup> Jurić 1981, str. 51-61; Jurić 1992, str. 136-145; Jurić 1993, str. 117-118.

vijek (12. – 13. st.), što apsolutno ne stoji.<sup>53</sup> O tome sam već raspravljao u obradi putaljskoga groblja, pa to ovdje ne bih ponavljao,<sup>54</sup> već ću samo ukazati na još neke argumente zbog kojih je to mišljenje neodrživo. Naime, Jakšić groblja poganskog horizonta prebacuje iz 7. – 8. st. u 9. – 11. st., a ona kristijaniziranog horizonta (9. – 11. st.) u razvijeni srednji vijek (12. – 13. st.), njegovu romaničku fazu. U kontekstu povijesnog razvoja ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske spontano se nameće pitanje kako je moguće da tijekom prva tri stoljeća nakon prihvaćanja kršćanstva u grobovima nalazimo grobne posude kao dio poganskoga pogrebnog rituala *par excellence*. Isto tako, ako su groblja kristijaniziranog horizonta romanička (12. – 13. st.), zbog čega velik broj tih groblja nema crkvu? To se pitanje postavlja jer su ugarsko-hrvatski kralj Koloman, a prethodno i ugarski kralj Ladislav I, svojim ediktima izričito zabranili ukapanja kršćana izvan crkvenih ukopišta.<sup>55</sup> Drugim riječima, Jakšić tim svojim mišljenjem osporava cjelokupni tijek crkvene povijesti u Hrvatskoj u srednjem vijeku. Stoga ustrajem u stavu da tu hipotezu treba u potpunosti odbaciti i vratiti se ustaljenim kronologijama faza zacrtanim još od Karamana i Jelovine i prihvaćenim od kasnijih istraživača, uključujući i pojedine razlike u mišljenjima. Na kraju ove raspre još bih se samo osvrnuo na terminologiju kojom se Jakšić služi. On uvodi u literaturu sintagme predromanički, romanički i gotički horizont za pojedine kronološke faze srednjovjekovnih groblja, čime u arheologiju unosi strukovnu terminologiju povijesti umjetnosti. Načelno nisam protiv takvih izraza kada njima obilježavamo nakit i druge predmete umjetničkog obrta koje nalazimo u grobovima, budući da njihova produkcija nosi stilska obilježja svojega vremena, ali sam protiv tih izraza kada njima obilježavamo groblja kao takva, jer ona nemaju umjetničko-stilska obilježja.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Jakšić 1989, str. 420. i dalje, a posebice str. 422-423.

<sup>54</sup> Burić 2001, str. 243-244.

<sup>55</sup> O tome smo višekratno pisali Ž. Tomičić i ja. Usp. naše novije radove na tu temu, gdje je i starija literatura: Tomičić 2021, str. 171-173, bilj. 27; Burić 2001, str. 244-246; Burić 2020, 187, bilj. 661.

<sup>56</sup> Usput napominjem da je tu Jakšićevu terminologiju označavanja grobljanskih faza usvojila i M. Jarak u svom radu o grobljima 7. i 8. st. u Dalmaciji, premda njegov rad iz *Diadore* ne citira: Jarak 2002, str. 247, 249. Ona s obzirom na temu rada govori samo o „predromaničkom horizontu 9. i 10. st.“. Istini za volju i ja sam u monografiji o Putalju koristio te nazive, ali u navodnim znakovima za pobijanje Jakšićeve teze:

next to the graves (Svećurje in Radun, Matakova glavica). Emphasizing the fire pit at the burial site Matakova glavica, Gusar and Vujević state: “The appearance of a fire pit represents a truly interesting find that has so far been recorded only on the territory of Dalmatia at the necropolis Stankovci – Klarića kuće.” However, they overlooked the finds of three fire pits at Svećurje in Radun, published five years earlier, as well as those mentioned by Petrincec in Materiza near Nin and Trljuge in Biljane Donje.<sup>49</sup> This form of burial rite features pagan characteristics *par excellence* and, supported by the radiocarbon analysis, strongly connects the area of Kaštela with the Ravni Kotari region in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, despite understandable differences. They also overlooked the publication of grave G-6 in Putalj with a pot next to it, when citing the same occurrence in Materiza near Nin and at Jokina glavica and Duševića glavica.

Since the discovery of the single-bead earring in grave G-12 at Svećurje led to differing datings of the same burial site, it is pertinent to address the timeframe of their appearance in general, based on the analysis of the cemeteries in Kaštela, as well as on some parallels among the finds of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. However, we should not delve into typological divisions and terminology, as well as into a discussion of the criteria by which certain authors formed their views on the phases in the development of medieval jewellery in Croatia, as this would greatly exceed the scope of this work. In older literature, early Croatian jewellery is typically dated from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, with a focus on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, while the 11<sup>th</sup> century is marked by a decline in goldsmithing technique and a decrease in the number of finds in graves. Single-bead earrings are dated from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup> In recent years, several researchers have studied the typology and chronology of early Croatian jewellery, including R. Jurić, N. Jakšić, M. Zekan, M. Jarak, V. Sokol and M. Petrincec.<sup>51</sup>

Namely, in the early 1980s, Jakšić and Jurić published chronological-typological classifications.

<sup>49</sup> Burić 2007, Petrincec 2009, 112.

<sup>50</sup> Karaman 1936, 14-15, 25; Jelovina 1976, 92-93, 97-99.

<sup>51</sup> Since the focus of this work is not on a detailed typological-chronological scale of jewellery, I have excluded the works of authors who wrote about single-bead earrings within the scope of the publication of individual sites.



Zato bih i dalje koristio izraz starohrvatska groblja (s podjelom na poganski i kristijanizirani horizont) te groblja razvijenoga (12. – 13. st.) i kasnog (14. – 15. st.) srednjeg vijeka.

Na jednojagodne naušnice tih se godina osvrnuo i Zekan, ali nije ulazio u njihovu sustavnu tipološku klasifikaciju. On je, obrađujući materijal iz starohrvatskih grobalja na Bribiru, različite inačice jednojagodnih naušnica uglavnom datirao u 9. i početak 10. st., a pojedine čak i u „kraj 8. – 9. st.“. I pojedine druge tipove nakita i naušnica datirao je također koncem 8. st.<sup>57</sup> Iz njegovog je teksta vidljivo da ostaje u okvirima tradicionalne kronološke podjele Karamana i Jelovine, s time da mu ni jedna datacija pojedinih primjeraka u katalogu ne prelazi početak 10. st., što se ne čini uvjerljivim.

Preostaju još tri rada nastala u prvom desetljeću ovoga stoljeća, u kojima se opširnije raspravlja i o jednojagodnim naušnicama. Najprije je svoje mišljenje o njima iznijela Jarak pišući o grobljima 8. i 9. st. u današnjoj Dalmaciji.<sup>58</sup> Akcent je u tom članku na kontinuitetu između grobalja poganskog i onih kristijaniziranog horizonta, uključujući i etnički kontinuitet. U sklopu analize grobnih nalaza i priloga autorica je pozornost posvetila i jednojagodnim naušnicama. Ovdje opširnije donosim njezino mišljenje o dataciji tog tipa naušnica, jer se iz njega može jasno sagledati slijed dosadašnjih kronoloških repera o tom pitanju.<sup>59</sup> Za starohrvatska groblja kristijaniziranog horizonta kaže da prevladavaju „okvirne datacije u predromaničko doba“.<sup>60</sup> Zatim ukazuje na to da su jednojagodne naušnice „najkarakterističnije obilježje kristijaniziranog starohrvatskog perioda“ i da datiranje početka tih grobalja koja nemaju stariji poganski sloj ovisi o „preciznijoj dataciji pojave jednojagodnih naušnica (sljepoočničarki)“. Ukazuje, dalje, da se početak pojave grobalja kristijaniziranog horizonta u novijoj literaturi sve češće stavlja u sredinu 9. st., pa se uz to povezuje i pojava jednojagodnih naušnica kao amblematskog tipa nakita te faze ili, kako Jarak

Jurić systematically analysed early Croatian jewellery in several works and divided it chronologically into three phases: I (7<sup>th</sup> - mid-9<sup>th</sup> century), II (mid-9<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> century) and III (12<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>52</sup> He placed the single-bead earrings within phase II, i.e. from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century and thus deviates from the datings proposed by Karaman and Jelovina, who placed the beginning of the use of this type of earring at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Jakšić's thesis, presented just before Jurić provided his, differs significantly from all previously published ones. He shifted, in a kind of Copernican revolution, the entire early Croatian group from the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century to the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century), which is absolutely untenable.<sup>53</sup> I have already discussed this issue in the analysis of the cemetery at Putalj, so I shall not repeat it here.<sup>54</sup> However, I will address some other arguments as to why this opinion is unsustainable. Namely, Jakšić shifted the cemeteries of the pagan horizon from the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century to the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century, and those of the Christian horizon (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century) to the High Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century), its Romanesque phase. When considering the historical development of early medieval Croatia, one may question how it is possible that over the course of the first three centuries after the acceptance of Christianity grave vessels were still present in graves as part of the pagan burial rite *par excellence*. Additionally, if the cemeteries of the Christian horizon had been Romanesque (12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century), why do a large number of these cemeteries lack a church? This question arises due to the fact that the Hungarian-Croatian King Coloman, and Hungarian King Ladislaus I before him, explicitly banned the burial of Christians outside church cemeteries with their edicts.<sup>55</sup> In other words, Jakšić with his opinion challenges the entire course of church history in Croatia during the Middle Ages. Therefore, I strongly recommend to reject this hypothesis completely and rather return to the chronologies of phases, which have been established since Karaman and Jelovina and accepted by later researchers, including some differences of opinion. In conclu-

Burić 2001, str. 243.

<sup>57</sup> Zekan 1987, str. 46, 51-58. Isto ponavlja i u drugom izdanju tog kataloga iz 1995.

<sup>58</sup> Jarak 2002. Taj rad ima širi analitički pristup, kako o grobljima i pogrebnim običajima, tako i o pojedinim grobnim nalazima i priložima.

<sup>59</sup> Jarak 2002, str. 249-253-254.

<sup>60</sup> Još jednom ističem da stilska odrednica iz leksika povijesti umjetnosti nije primjerena arheološkom kontekstu kronološke raščlambe grobalja.

<sup>52</sup> Jurić 1981, 51-61; 1992, 136-145; 1993, 117-118.

<sup>53</sup> Jakšić 1989, 420. *et pass.* and especially pp. 422-423.

<sup>54</sup> Burić 2001, 243-244.

<sup>55</sup> Ž. Tomičić and I have written about this multiple times. *Cf.* our recent works, including references to older literature: Tomičić 2021, 171-73, note 27.; Burić 2001, 244-246, 2020, 187, note 661.

kaže, da su jednojagodne naušnice „najkarakterističniji grobni inventar predromaničkog kristijaniziranog horizonta“ te da one „ubrzo nakon završetka predromaničkog razdoblja posve iščezavaju“ i da su baš zbog toga „karakteristično obilježje predromaničkog starohrvatskog razdoblja“. Govoreći dalje o kontinuitetu između dvaju starohrvatskih horizonata grobalja, opširnije analizira i grozdolike naušnice, koje po njoj prethode pojavi jednojagodnih naušnica, pri čemu se poziva i na mišljenje Jurića. Nakon toga slijedi rečenica „Temeljni nakitni oblik starohrvatske kulture od sredine 9. do kraja 11. st. predstavljaju jednojagodne naušnice“ i s tom tvrdnjom se načelno i ja slažem. Uz to ističe da su one „glavni oblik naušnica“ na grobljima oko „novih predromaničkih crkava“ iz sredine i druge polovice 9. st., a da je isti tip teže datirati u okvirima 9. st. iz nalaza s grobalja na redove bez crkvenog objekta. U prilog dataciji od sredine 9. st. poziva se na grobove iz prve polovice 9. st., u kojima nalazimo grozdolike naušnice, ali nema jednojagodnih. I u konačnici zaključuje: „Očito je da je njihova pojava vezana uz početak djelovanja domaćih zlatarskih radionica, koje se javljaju sredinom 9. st.“ Za daljnju analizu pitanja pojave jednojagodnih naušnica važno je još ukazati i na sljedeće stavove M. Jarak: „Iako postoje navodi o njihovoj pojavi sredinom 9. st., ipak u našoj literaturi prevladavaju okvirne datacije jednojagodnih naušnica od 9. do 11. ili 12. stoljeća.“ Za daljnju raspravu ukazujem na njezin završni pasus, gdje se poziva na Zekanove datacije bibrirskih starohrvatskih grobalja od konca 8. st., a u kojima nalazimo i jednojagodne naušnice. Cijeli dio teksta o tom pitanju završava ovim riječima: „Kakva je točna datacija tih naušnica i javljaju li se one već početkom 9. st., zaista je, bez detaljnog proučavanja cijelog inventara tih grobalja, nemoguće reći. To vrijedi i za pojavu jednojagodnih naušnica na brojnim drugim grobljima na redove.“ Time je ostavila otvorenom mogućnost i ranije datacije od sredine 9. st., što je pri ovakvoj analizi metodološki sasvim opravdano.

Najnoviju sintezu starohrvatskih grobalja predstavlja monografija M. Petrincec *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države*, objavljena 2009. u seriji Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika *Monumenta mediaevi Croatiae* 3. To je svakako najopsežnija od svih dosadašnjih sinteza, sa širokim izborom domaće i strane literature i opsežnim ilustrativnim prilogima (crteži

sion, I will briefly address the terminology used by Jakšić. He introduces the terms ‘pre-Romanesque’, ‘Romanesque’, and ‘Gothic horizons’ to describe specific chronological phases of medieval cemeteries, thus applying professional terminology from art history to archaeology. In principle, I am not against such terms when we use them to describe jewellery and other objects of artistic craftsmanship found in graves, as their production bears stylistic features of their time. However, it is not appropriate to use them to describe cemeteries as such, as they lack artistic-stylistic features.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, I recommend to continue using the term early Croatian cemeteries (with a division into pagan and Christian horizon), as well as cemeteries of the High (12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century) and Late (14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century) Middle Ages.

Zekan also briefly addressed the single-bead earrings in the 1980s, but did not delve into its systematic typological classification. While analysing the material from early Croatian cemeteries in Bribir, he dated various versions of single-bead earrings mostly to the 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, and some specimens even to the “late 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century”. He also dated certain other types of jewellery and earrings to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>57</sup> It is evident from his work that he followed the traditional chronological classification set by Karaman and Jelovina, with none of the datings of individual specimens in his catalogue exceeding the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, which seems unconvincing.

Three additional studies were published in the first decade of this century, which provided a more detailed discussion on single-bead earrings. Jarak was the first to express her opinion on them while writing about 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>-century cemeteries in present-day Dalmatia.<sup>58</sup> The focus of her paper was on the continuity between cemeteries of the pagan horizon and those of the Christian horizon, including

<sup>56</sup> Worth mentioning is the fact that Jakšić’s terminology for cemetery phases was also adopted by M. Jarak in her work on 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>-century cemeteries in Dalmatia, although his work from *Diadora* is not cited there: Jarak 2002, 247, 249. Given the topic of her work, she only speaks about the “pre-Romanesque horizon of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries.” Truth be told, I also used these terms in the monograph on Putalj, but in quotation marks to refute Jakšić’s thesis: Burić 2001, 243.

<sup>57</sup> Zekan 1987, 46, 51-58. He repeats the same in the second edition of this catalogue from 1995.

<sup>58</sup> Jarak 2002. This work takes a comprehensive analytical approach to both cemeteries and burial customs, as well as individual burial finds and grave goods.

i fotografije, tipološko-kronološke table) i svako predstavlja važan korak naprijed u proučavanju materijalne kulture starohrvatskog razdoblja Ovdje ću se osvrnuti na autoričino tumačenje Putalja i radunskog Svećurja, te na kronologiju jednojagodnih naušnica, što je neposredno povezano s temom ovoga rada, o čemu sam iznio svoj stav u prethodnim redcima.

Na kraju slijedi monografska sinteza hrvatske arheološke baštine srednjega vijeka od V. Sokola, u kojoj su među inima obrađene i jednojagodne naušnice. Ta knjiga je svoje prvo izdanje doživjela 2006., a ovo iz 2019. je prošireno i dopunjeno izdanje. On se u njoj u više navrata osvrnuo na kontekst starohrvatskih grobova na Putalju, dok one s radunskog Svećurja ne uzima u razmatranje. Svoj stav o njegovom tumačenju putaljskih grobova također sam iznio u prethodnim redcima, pa ovdje preostaje kazati nešto više o kronologiji jednojagodnih naušnica.

Sumirajući sve dosadašnje kronološke sistematizacije, izuzevši iz razumljivih razloga onu Jakšićevu, mogu se izdvojiti dva osnovna mišljenja o vremenu pojave jednojagodnih naušnica.<sup>61</sup> Prvo je donio još Karaman, koji pojavu te vrste naušnica stavlja u početak 9. st., a vijek trajanja proteže u 9. i 10. st. Slično mišljenje, uz manje dopune, daje i Jelovina, koji ipak u svojim radovima proteže njihov vijek trajanja i u 11. st., eventualno početak 12. st.<sup>62</sup> Ta je kronološka skala bila općeprihvaćena u literaturi, pa sam je i sam koristio, kako pokazuju moje ranije datacije nalaza toga tipa na Putalju i radunskom Svećurju.

Drugo mišljenje, koje zastupa mlađa generacija arheologa, je ono po kojemu jednojagodnih naušnica nema prije sredine 9. st. Ono je temeljeno na sveobuhvatnoj tipološko-kronološkoj skali nakita starohrvatskog razdoblja, na kojoj i jednojagodne naušnice zauzimaju važno mjesto. Prvi je takvu podjelu po fazama donio Jurić, koji je starohrvatski

ethnic continuity. Within the scope of her analysis of grave finds and grave goods, the author also addressed single-bead earrings. Hereinafter, I will provide a more detailed account of her opinion on the dating of this type of earrings as it clearly illustrates the course of previous chronological markers on this issue.<sup>59</sup> Regarding early Croatian cemeteries of the Christian horizon, she states that “approximate datings into the pre-Romanesque period” prevail.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, she points out that single-bead earrings are “the most characteristic feature of the Christian early Croatian period” and that the dating of the beginning of these cemeteries, which lack an older pagan layer, depends on “the more precise dating of the appearance of single-bead earrings (temple rings).” She further notes that, in recent literature, the beginning of the appearance of cemeteries of the Christian horizon is more frequently placed in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore the appearance of single-bead earrings as an emblematic type of jewellery of that phase is associated with it; or as Jarak states: the single-bead earrings are “the most characteristic item in the grave inventory of the pre-Romanesque Christian horizon,” and that they “soon disappear completely after the end of the pre-Romanesque period”, hence making them a “characteristic feature of the pre-Romanesque early Croatian period.” In her further discussion on the continuity between the two horizons of early Croatian cemeteries, Jarak also analyses grape-shaped earrings, which she believes precede the appearance of single-bead earrings, and also refers to the opinion of Jurić to support her argument. It is followed by the sentence “Single-bead earrings represent the fundamental jewellery form of the early Croatian culture from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century”. I generally agree with this statement. Additionally, the author highlights that single-bead earrings are the “main type of earrings” in cemeteries surrounding “new pre-Romanesque churches” from the mid and second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, while the same type, discovered at row-grave cemeteries without a church, is more challenging to date within the 9<sup>th</sup> century. To support the dating to the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, the author refers to graves from the first

<sup>61</sup> Ovdje naravno spadaju i neki drugi tipovi naušnica i ostalog nakita, ali, kako sam već prethodno naglasio, ograničit ću se na temu ovoga rada, u kojemu je riječ o dva lokaliteta u Kaštelima i o tipovima naušnica nađenim na njima. Cjelovita obrada svih tipova i kronoloških gradacija može biti provedena samo u monografskim sintezama poput onih već navedenih u ovom radu.

<sup>62</sup> Karaman 1936, str. 14-15, 25; Jelovina 1976, str. 92-93, 97-99.; Jelovina 1985, str. 222-224.

<sup>59</sup> Jarak 2002, 249-253-254.

<sup>60</sup> I emphasize once again that the stylistic determinant from the lexicon of art history is not suitable for the archaeological context of chronological analysis of cemeteries.

nakit razvrstao u dvije faze (njegova faza I i II).<sup>63</sup> Daleko složeniju i detaljnije razrađenu podjelu na pojedine tipove i inačice dala je Petrinc u svojoj sintezi starohrvatskih grobalja.<sup>64</sup> Za razliku od cjelovitog pregleda materijalne kulture starohrvatskog razdoblja koju je razradila Petrinc, Sokol je do u detalje pristupio razradi gotovo isključivo nakita i na toj tipološko-kronološkoj podjeli temelji se njegova sinteza. Naušnica s radunskog Svećurja našla je mjesto u njegovom poglavlju *Jednojadodne prave male naušnice glatkih jagoda*. Taj tip se na njegovoj kronološkoj ljestvici javlja „već od odmakle druge polovine IX. stoljeća“.<sup>65</sup>

Razlike između moje datacije ovog tipa naušnice na radunskom Svećurju i Putalju i one Petrinc i Sokol su očite. One nisu samo kronološke naravi već zadiru i u pitanje interpretacije dvaju osnovnih horizonata starohrvatske epohe, poganskog i kristijaniziranog. Naime, prihvatimo li svrstavanje radunskog ukopišta u kristijanizirani horizont, treba objasniti vidljivu pojavu vatrišta i žerave u grobovima i uz njih, kao dio obreda, koji se kosi s osnovnim postulatima kršćanskoga obreda pokapanja. To nisu samo prežitci nekadašnjih obreda koji su preostali u pogrebnim običajima kao dio folklor, poput sporadičnog prilaganja jaja u grob,<sup>66</sup> već potvrda živih vjerskih obreda prigodom poganskog ukopa. Dodatno to potvrđuju i nagorjeli sitni ulomci nepečenih lonaca koji su nađeni u vatrištima radunskog Svećurja. Zbog toga ustrajem u mišljenju da je to groblje poganskog horizonta iz 8. st., što uz spomenuta vatrišta potvrđuje i priložena analiza <sup>14</sup>C. Polazeći od toga rezultata, ne preostaje drugo nego

half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century containing grape-shaped earrings but lacking single-bead ones. Ultimately, the author concludes: “It is evident that their appearance is related to the beginning of work of domestic goldsmith workshops, which emerged in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.” For the further analysis of the appearance of single-bead earrings, it is important to provide some more views of M. Jarak: “Although there are mentions of their appearance in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, approximate datings of single-bead earrings from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> centuries prevail in our literature.” Furthermore, I point to her concluding paragraph, where she refers to Zekan’s datings of early Croatian cemeteries in Bribir from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, where single-bead earrings were also found. The entire section of the text on this issue concludes with these words: “Without a detailed study of the entire inventory of these cemeteries, it is impossible to determine the exact dating of these earrings and whether they appeared already in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. This also applies to the appearance of single-bead earrings in numerous other row-grave cemeteries.” Thus, she leaves open the possibility of earlier datings than those from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, which is methodologically justified in such an analysis.

The monograph by M. Petrinc, titled “Cemeteries from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the territory of the early medieval Croatian state,” published in 2009 as part of the series *Monumenta medii aevi Croatiae* 3 by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, presents the latest synthesis of early Croatian cemeteries. It is the most comprehensive synthesis to date, incorporating a wide range of domestic and foreign literature, as well as extensive illustrative materials such as drawings, photographs and typological-chronological tables. It also represents a significant advancement in the study of the material culture of the early Croatian period. I refer here to the author’s interpretation of Putalj and Svećurje in Radun, and the chronology of single-bead earrings, which is directly related to the topic of this work, and on which I have already given my opinion about in the preceding paragraphs.

Following this is V. Sokol’s monographic synthesis of the Croatian archaeological heritage from the Middle Ages, which includes an analysis of single-bead earrings among other things. The book’s first edition was published in 2006, whereas the 2019 edition is an expanded and updated version.

<sup>63</sup> Jurić 1981. Tu svoju podjelu zadržao je i u kasnijim radovima koje u ovom radu citiram.

<sup>64</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 585-622 (Tipološko – kronološke tablice), gdje je dan pregled ukupnog fundusa nalaza, a ne samo nakita. Za jednojadodne naušnice usp. str. 580-581, Tab. 310-311.

<sup>65</sup> Sokol 2019, str. 258-260, br. 14. U njegovom posebnom prilogu Apsolutno-kronološka tablica naušnica – 31 osnovnih oblika taj tip je donesen pod brojem 13, a broj 14 imaju četverojadodne naušnice, što izaziva zabunu kod pažljivijeg čitatelja.

<sup>66</sup> Jaje kao prilog u grobu zabilježeno je na nekoliko starohrvatskih grobalja mahom kristijaniziranog horizonta, a ovdje samo navodim i najmlađi, meni poznati primjer, iz G-76 župnoga groblja na Putalju iz 12. st. (Burić 2001, str. 233, gdje je i popis ostalih grobalja s nalazima ljuske jaja). Vrijedi istaknuti još da su sva kristijanizirana groblja u kojima su zabilježeni nalazi jaja iz Kliške županije.

preispitati predočene kronološke tablice, ali i stariju kronologiju Karamana i Jelovine. Na datacije Karamana i Jelovine utjecalo je po svemu sudeći formiranje hrvatske kneževine po franačkom modelu oko početka 9. st. Datacije Jurića, Petrinec i Sokola temeljene su na širokim tipološkim ljestvicama, koje su – dakako – nužne i dobrodošle, ali čini se da se u njima gube određeni detalji koji su bitni za interpretaciju pojedinih kronoloških nijansi, što ovaj primjer radunskog Svećurja veoma dobro oslikava. Naime, nije sporno da je najveći dio jednojagodnih naušnica ovog tipa nađen u grobovima kristijaniziranoga horizonta od sredine 9. st. nadalje, međutim, čvrsti reperi koje sam utvrdio za te naušnice na Putalju i radunskom Svećurju omogućuju mi da početke pojave toga tipa sagledam u znatno ranijem vremenu od druge polovice 9. st. Radunski nalaz smješta najstariju poznatu takvu naušnicu u drugu polovicu 8. st., što do sada nije bilo potvrđeno ni na jednome drugom nalazištu, a bitno mijenja kronološki raspon trajanja toga tipa. Putaljski primjerak, pak, samo je potvrdio davno Karamanovo mišljenje, koje je doradio Jelovina, da se te naušnice javljaju od početka 9. st.

Između tih dvaju stavova je analiza koju je provela Jarak. Ona se, doduše, također drži datacije u drugu polovinu 9. st., ali ostavlja otvorenom mogućnost i ranije, ako to buduća istraživanja pokažu, pozivajući se pri tom na Zekanove datacije bibrirskih grobalja.<sup>67</sup> Ovdje provedena analiza u potpunosti ide u prilog takvu razmišljanju. Rana datacija jednojagodnih naušnica neukrašene jagode ne znači da se one odmah javljaju u velikom broju, već samo ukazuje na njihovu raniju pojavu negoli su do sada bile datirane u literaturi, te postupnu evoluciju tijekom 9. i 10., pa sve do 11. st., o čemu sam već pisao pri definiranju malih grobalja iz prijelazne faze poganskog horizonta (tada sam još groblje na radunskom Svećurju ubrajao u tu fazu).<sup>68</sup> To je ujedno i dodatni razlog da za atribuciju grobalja Orišine i Budrine/Gajine jednom od starohrvatskih horizonta treba pričekati njihova iskopavanja.

<sup>67</sup> Jarak 2002, str. 253-254. U njezinoj analizi svakako vrijedi istaknuti mišljenje o povezivanju poganskoga i kristijaniziranoga horizonta „u jedinstven kulturni i etnički horizont“, čime uspješno pobija tezu o doseobi Hrvata koncem 8. ili početkom 9. st., no to je već sasvim druga tema. Do istih je zaključaka došla i Petrinec u analizi srednjovjekovnih ukopišta u Glavicama kod Sinja (Petrinec 2002, str. 223-224).

<sup>68</sup> Burić 2019, str. 491.

In it, Sokol discusses the context of early Croatian graves at Putalj on several occasions, while those from Svećurje in Radun are not considered. I have already expressed my opinion regarding Sokol's interpretation of the Putalj graves in the previous paragraphs, so I will focus more on the chronology of single-bead earrings in the following.

Summarising all previous chronological systematizations, except for Jakšić's for understandable reasons, two basic views on the time of appearance of single-bead earrings can be distinguished.<sup>61</sup> The first one was introduced by Karaman, who places the appearance of this type of earrings at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, with their presence extending through the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jelovina, though with minor amendments, shares a similar opinion in his works, but extends their presence through the 11<sup>th</sup> century, possibly to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> This chronological scale has been widely accepted in literature, and I myself have used it, as evidenced by my earlier datings of finds of this type at Putalj and Svećurje in Radun.

The second view, advocated by the younger generation of archaeologists, is that single-bead earrings did not exist before the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. This opinion is based on a comprehensive typological-chronological scale of early Croatian jewellery, where single-bead earrings hold an important place. Jurić was the first to introduce such a division into phases, categorizing early Croatian jewellery into two phases (his phase I and II).<sup>63</sup> A far more comprehensive and detailed classification of individual types and variants was provided by Petrinec in her synthesis of early Croatian cemeteries.<sup>64</sup> Unlike Petrinec's comprehensive overview of the material culture of the early Croatian period,

<sup>61</sup> Other types of earrings and other jewellery also certainly belong here, but, as I have already emphasized, I will limit myself to the topic of this paper, which deals with two sites in Kaštela and the types of earrings found there. A comprehensive analysis of all types and chronological gradations can only be done in monographic syntheses such as those already mentioned in this paper.

<sup>62</sup> Karaman 1936, 14-15, 25; Jelovina 1976, 92-93, 97-99.; 1985, 222-224.

<sup>63</sup> Jurić 1981. He maintained this division in later works, which are cited in this paper.

<sup>64</sup> Petrinec 2009, 585-622 (Typological-chronological tables), which provides an overview of the total finds, and not only of jewellery. For single-bead earrings cf. pp. 580-581, Tab. 310-311.

Slično je i s datiranjem naušnica grozdolikog tipa, kakve su nađene na Putalju u G-4 i njima sličnih inačica u srednjodalmatinskom zaleđu. Analiza koju je provela Petrinec pokazuje da se one javljaju u završnoj fazi poganskog horizonta i potom u kristijaniziranom horizontu.<sup>69</sup> Kako se na Putalju ta dva tipa naušnica javljaju istodobno, ne stoji tvrdnja M. Jarak da grozdolike naušnice prethode jednojagodnima,<sup>70</sup> posebice nakon nove datacije tog tipa na radunskom Svećurju.

Uz iznesenu argumentaciju za raniju dataciju jednojagodnih naušnica iznio bih još neka zapažanja koja joj idu u prilog. Bikonične glatke jagode korištene su, osim za naušnice, i za zrna ogrlice, što zorno potvrđuje nalaz ogrlice na srednjovjekovnom groblju Mramorje u Grborezima kod Livna (G-112).<sup>71</sup> Te naušnice Bešlagić i Basler pogrešno datiraju od 10. do 12. st. To je s pravom korigirao Belošević i pripisao ih vremenu konca 8. st., čemu u prilog idu i drugi nalazi iz tog groba, posebice onaj keramičkog lonca. Istog je mišljenja i Petrinec, koja ogrlice s jagodama datira u drugu polovicu 8. st. u sklopu poganskog horizonta globalja, pa tako i onu iz Grboreza.<sup>72</sup> Kao i kod naušnica i ovdje je očit kontinuitet izrade istovrsnih jagoda na ogrlicama i u kristijaniziranom horizontu, kako lijepo svjedoči nalaz gotovo identične ogrlice u G-32 na žestinjskom Svećurju iz druge polovice 9. st.<sup>73</sup> Isto mišljenje zastupa i Petrinec, uz napomenu da su takve ogrlice češće u ranijoj fazi kristijaniziranog horizonta, a imaju bliske paralelu u poganskom horizontu.<sup>74</sup> Zaključak se nameće sam od sebe. Ako su zlatari izrađivali jagode za ogrlice u 8. st., nema razloga da te iste jagode ne budu istodobno korištene i za naušnice, umjesto da se na to čeka više od pola stoljeća.

U sklopu rasprave o jednojagodnim naušnicama iznio bih još pojavu jedne takve naušnice na velikom groblju Ždrijac kod Nina. U monografskoj objavi tog iznimno važnog groblja ranoga srednjeg vijeka njegov istraživač Belošević donosi nalaz jednog para jednojagodnih naušica u G-138, ali

Sokol focused on the detailed analysis of almost exclusively jewellery, and his synthesis is based on this typological-chronological division. The earring from Svećurje in Radun is included in his chapter *Single-bead true small earrings with smooth beads*, which appears on his chronological scale “as early as the advanced second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>65</sup>

The differences between my dating of this type of earrings at sites Svećurje and Putalj and those of Petrinec and Sokol are obvious. They pertain not only to chronology but also touch upon the issue of interpretation of the two basic horizons of the early Croatian epoch: the pagan and Christian ones. Namely, if we accept the categorisation of the burial ground in Radun into the Christian horizon, we must explain the visible presence of the fire pit and charcoal in and around the graves, which as part of a rite contradicts the basic tenets of Christian burial rites. These are not just remnants of past rites that have persisted in burial customs as part of folklore, such as the sporadic placing of eggs in the grave,<sup>66</sup> but evidence of living religious rituals during pagan burials. This is further confirmed by charred fragments of unfired pottery found in the fire pits at Svećurje in Radun. I therefore stand by my view that this cemetery belongs to the pagan horizon of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, which is confirmed not only by the aforementioned fire pits, but also by the presented radiocarbon analysis. These results thus necessitate a reassessment of the presented chronological tables, as well as the older chronology of Karaman and Jelovina. The dating of Karaman and Jelovina appears to have been influenced by the establishment of the Croatian Principality based upon the Frankish model at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Jurić, Petrinec and Sokol base their dating on broad typological scales, which are certainly necessary and welcome, but it seems that they overlook

<sup>65</sup> Sokol 2019, 258-260/No. 14. In his separate work, the Absolute-Chronological Table of Earrings – 31 basic shapes, this type is listed as number 13, while number 14 belongs to four-beaded earrings, which may confuse the careful reader.

<sup>66</sup> Eggs as grave goods have been recorded in several early Croatian cemeteries, almost all of the Christian horizon. I mention in this case only the youngest example known to me, from grave G-76 at the parish cemetery in Putalj from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Burić 2001, 233, where there is also a list of other cemeteries with finds of eggshell). It is worth noting that all Christian cemeteries with recorded egg finds are located in Klis County.

<sup>69</sup> Petrinec 2002, str. 231, 233.

<sup>70</sup> Jarak 2002, str. 253-254.

<sup>71</sup> Bešlagić, Basler 1964, str. 30-31, 86-89.

<sup>72</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 273.

<sup>73</sup> Burić 2015, str. 175, 186-189. Tu sam iznio mišljenje da su grboreška ogrlica i ona sa žestinjskog Svećurja proizvodi iste radionice, koja je, sudeći po tome, djelovala dulje vrijeme, barem jedno stoljeće.

<sup>74</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 248-250.

o njima ne raspravlja u opisu naušnica u odjeljku „Naušnice“ (str. 253-262), već se usputno osvrće na njih u kataloškom opisu grobova,<sup>75</sup> u kojemu je G-138 pripisao mlađem, kristijaniziranom sloju grobova. Čini se da je na taj stav utjecala upravo pojava tog para naušnica koje su izradom i oblikom veoma slične putaljskom i radunskom primjerku. Međutim, taj grob se nalazi na zapadnom rubu groblja, gdje su i G-135 i G-140, u kojima su do stopala pokojnika položeni lonci (u G-140 čak dva), pa sam skloniji pripisati taj par naušnica poganskom horizontu druge pol. 8. ili početka 9. st. i vremenski ih paralelizirati s kaštelanskim primjercima.

### Zaključna razmatranja

Detaljnijom analizom dvaju malih starohrvatskih grobalja u Kaštelima, Putalj – Kaštel Sućurac (8 grobova), Svećurje (Radun) – Kaštel Stari (13 grobova),<sup>76</sup> definitivno je potvrđen poganski horizont starohrvatskih grobalja u obje svoje faze, tj. puni poganski horizont 8. st. (radunsko Svećurje) i završna/prijelazna faza prve polovice 9. st. prije kristijaniziranog horizonta u drugoj polovici 9. st. (Putalj). Groblje na Svećurju pružilo je prve nalaze vatrišta obrednih vatri uz obložnice južno od rijeke Krke, tj. Ravnih kotara, a koje su paljene prije zatrpavanja kamenoga grobnog kovčega. U tim vatrištima nađeni su sitni ulomci keramičkog posuđa od sirove gline, izmiješane s gareži i ulomcima izgorenog drva. To posuđe izrađeno je za jednokratnu upotrebu u funkciji pogrebnog rituala i razbijeno tijekom obreda. Izravnu analogiju predstavljaju im vatrišta na groblju poganskog horizonta Materiza – Nin, također datiranog u 8. st. Datacija radunskog Svećurja u 8. st. potvrđena je osim vatrištima i analizom <sup>14</sup>C zuba iz G-5, čime je napokon preciznije određen najraniji, poganski horizont starohrvatskih grobova u Kaštelima, koji sam teoretski pretpostavio u obradi poganske sakralne toponimije Kaštela,<sup>77</sup> a potom i u radu o utjecaju franačkih vjer-

certain details essential for interpreting specific chronological nuances, as this example of Svećurje in Radun illustrates very well. Namely, it is undisputed that a large number of single-bead earrings of this type was found in graves of the Christian horizon from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but the strong reference points I have established for these earrings at Putalj and Svećurje allow me to consider the beginnings of their appearance much earlier than the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The find from Radun indicates that the earliest known earring of this type dates back to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, which has not been confirmed at any other site so far, thus significantly changing the chronological range of the presence of this type. The Putalj specimen on the other hand merely confirms Karaman's long-held view, elaborated by Jelovina, that these earrings started to appear from the early 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

In between these views is the analysis conducted by Jarak, who also adheres to the dating in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but also leaves open the possibility of an earlier date if future research confirms it, thereby referring to Zekan's dating of the cemeteries in Bribir.<sup>67</sup> This analysis fully supports such thinking. The early dating of single-bead earrings with an undecorated bead does not necessarily imply their immediate widespread use, but rather indicates their earlier appearance than previously dated in literature and their gradual evolution through the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, up to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. I have already written about this matter when I defined small cemeteries from the transitional phase of the pagan horizon (at that time, I still included the cemetery at Svećurje in Radun in that phase).<sup>68</sup> This is also an additional reason to await excavations for the attribution of the cemeteries in Orišine and Budrina/Gajina to one of the early Croatian horizons.

A similar case is the dating of grape-shaped earrings, such as those found at Putalj in G-4 and

<sup>75</sup> Belošević 2007, str. 75, Tab. XIX, 138; str. 114, 116/G-138; 260-261, br. 18.

<sup>76</sup> Na Putalju je broj grobova vjerojatno bio nešto veći, no u osnovi su oba groblja približno jednaka po broju grobova.

<sup>77</sup> Burić 2011, str. 72: „No, ako je iz očuvanih sakralnih toponima slavenskoga mitološkog izraza očito da su imenovani od slavenofonih poganskih zajednica, onda ne može biti sumnje da se u arealu tih naseobina nalaze i njihova groblja, koja spadaju u ovdje sumarno skicirani „poganski horizont“. Samo je pitanje vremena

<sup>67</sup> Jarak 2002, 253-254. In her analysis, it is certainly worth noting her opinion on linking the pagan and Christian horizons “into a unified cultural and ethnic horizon,” by which she successfully refutes the thesis of the arrival of Croats at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but that is a completely different topic. Petrinec reached the same conclusions in the analysis of medieval burial sites in Glavice near Sinj (Petrinec 2002, 223-224.)

<sup>68</sup> Burić 2019, 491.



skih misija na pogrebne običaje u Kliškoj županiji.<sup>78</sup> Do različitoga tumačenja pripadnosti ovoga groblja u okviru starohrvatskog razdoblja, a time i do kronoloških razilaženja, došlo je zbog nalaza jednojagodne naušnice glatke, neukrašene jagode (G-12). Slijedeći razrađene tipološko-kronološke skale, taj tip naušnice drugi su autori datirali u kristijanizirani horizont druge polovice 9. st. (Jurić, Petrinec, Sokol), a i ja sam pod utjecajem Karamanove i Jelovinine datacije toga tipa u prvoj objavi to groblje datirao u početak 9. st. U međuvremenu je <sup>14</sup>C analiza pružila sigurnu potvrdu za 8. st. Time je otvoren puta za pomicanje dobne granice početka izrade tog tipa naušnice u sredinu ili drugu polovicu 8. st., na što su već ukazivali pojedini nalazi nakita s hrvatskog povijesnog prostora u ranom srednjem vijeku (Grborezi, a čini se i Ždrijac). Analogija iz Grboreza učvršćuje moje tumačenje ranije pojave takvih oblika nakita (ogrlica i jednojagodnih naušnica) i njihov kontinuitet iz poganskog u kristijanizirani horizont. Ukratko, pojavu jednojagodnih naušnica, koje su kao tip obilježile starohrvatsku materijalnu kulturu, treba spustiti u drugu polovicu 8. st., dok bi gornju granicu i dalje predstavljalo 11. st. Razvrstavanje pojedinih inačica toga tipa i njihova kronološka gradacija bit će svakako predmetom nekih budućih analiza. Ovdje je analiza pokazala da je njihova pojava registrirana već u poganskom horizontu od druge polovice 8. st., na što su već ukazivali i rezultati koje je iznio Zekan u obradi bibrirskih grobišta, a što je kao mogućnost prihvatila i Jarak.

Starohrvatski grobovi na Putalju nekoliko su desetljeća mlađi od onih na radunskom Svećurju i spadaju u završnu ili prijelaznu fazu poganskog horizonta. To potvrđuje još uvijek prisutan običaj stavljanja priloga u grob u kontekstu poganskog obrednog rituala, ovdje u vidu keramičkog lonca uz čije ulomke je nađena i ptičja kost (G-6), ali i učestalija pojava nakita kao nalaza u grobovima (G-3, G-4, G-9) ili u sloju iz uništenih grobova (jednojagodna naušnica), što će postati značajka kristijaniziranog horizonta. Vidjeli smo u predočenoj analizi da se prvi tipovi ranosrednjovjekovnog nakita javljaju već u poganskom horizontu, od kojih neki – poput jednojagodnih naušnica – postaju u raznim inačicama dominantna vrsta nakita u kristijanizira-

kada će takva groblja izaći na vidljelo.“ I eto izašla su kroz dopunjenu interpretaciju ukopišta na radunskom Svećurju.

<sup>78</sup> Burić 2019, str. 485.

similar variants in the hinterland of central Dalmatia. Petrinec's analysis shows that they appeared in the final phase of the pagan horizon and then in the Christian one.<sup>69</sup> As both types of earrings appear simultaneously at Putalj, M. Jarak's claim that grape-shaped earrings preceded single-bead earrings is invalid,<sup>70</sup> especially after the new dating of this type at Svećurje in Radun.

Furthermore, in addition to the argumentation presented for the earlier dating of single-bead earrings, I would like to provide some more observations that support it. Biconical smooth beads were used not only for earrings but also for necklace beads, as clearly confirmed by the find of a necklace at the medieval cemetery of Mramorje in Grborezi near Livno (G-112).<sup>71</sup> Bešlagić and Basler wrongly dated these earrings from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. However, Belošević corrected this by attributing them to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, which is further supported by other finds from the same grave, especially a ceramic pot. Petrinec shares the same opinion, dating the necklaces with beads to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and placing them within the pagan horizon of the cemetery. The same applies to the specimen from Grborezi.<sup>72</sup> As in the case of earrings, there is a continuity in the production of very similar beads on necklaces in the Christian horizon, as clearly evidenced by the find of the almost identical necklace in G-32 at Svećurje in Žestinj from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> Petrinec also shares this view, observing that such necklaces are more prevalent in the earlier phase of the Christian horizon, but also have close parallels in the pagan horizon.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, the conclusion is self-evident. If goldsmiths were making beads for necklaces in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, there is no reason why these same beads would not have been used for earrings at the same time, instead of waiting for over half a century.

Within the scope of the discussion on single-bead earrings, it is worth mentioning the discovery of such an earring at the large cemetery of

<sup>69</sup> Petrinec 2002, 231, 233.

<sup>70</sup> Jarak 2002, 253-254.

<sup>71</sup> Bešlagić – Basler 1964, 30-31, 86-89-

<sup>72</sup> Petrinec 2009, 273.

<sup>73</sup> Burić 2015, 175, 186-189. I expressed the opinion in this work that the necklace from Grborezi and the one from Svećurje in Žestinj were produced by the same workshop, indicating that it operated for at least one century.

<sup>74</sup> Petrinec 2009, 248-250.

nom horizontu, dok se drugi – kao što su grozdolike naušnice – javljaju u završnoj fazi poganskog horizonta i iščezavaju koncem 9. st. Bez sumnje se pod zemljom u Kaštelima nalazi još veći broj ovakvih ili sličnih grobalja poganskog horizonta, kao i kristijaniziranog, koji čekaju svoje istraživače, kako bi slika starohrvatskog razdoblja bila što potpunija.

Oba prikazana groblja pokazuju raznolikost u više detalja, koja potvrđuje do sada uočene različitosti kod grobalja poganskog horizonta. Tako putaljski grobovi pripadaju tipu groba koji je dominirao u 7. i 8. st., iako su oni iz prijelazne faze s početka 9. st., a oni na radunskom Svećurju imaju svi kamene kovčege, popločanja i poklopnice, što je oblik koji se češće javlja u prijelaznoj fazi, a u kristijaniziranom horizontu u cijelosti dominira. I dok u sjevernoj Dalmaciji u 7. i 8. st. poganski grobovi imaju vrlo često lonce kao prilog u grobu, na radunskom Svećurju su isključivo vatrišta, a lonaca nema. S druge pak strane lonac je nađen u kontekstu devastiranog ukopa na Putalju, dok na tom groblju nema vatrišta. Lonci su inače sporadično zastupljeni u grobljima poganskog horizonta južno od rijeke Krke u granicama Kliške i Cetinske županije. Ovdje ću se ograničiti na prostor Kliške županije, u koji spada i Putalj, da ne širim analizu i na teritorij Cetinske i Kninske županije, gdje su također zabilježeni pojedinačni nalazi lonaca.<sup>79</sup> Putaljskom nalazu najbliži je nalaz lonca u jednom grobu na lokalitetu Grebčine u Naklicama (Poljica), također uz obložnicu izvan groba.<sup>80</sup> Ostali primjerci su slučajni nalazi s područja Solina. To je zemljani lonac kojemu nalazište nije poznato, a datiran je okvirno u 8. st.<sup>81</sup> Kako je očuvan u cijelosti, najvjerojatnije potječe iz groba. Jelovina u svojoj sintezi pri opisu nalazišta Rižinice spominje „nekoliko jednostavnih grobova“, a u jednome od njih je pronađen zemljani lonac pored glave.<sup>82</sup> Ovdje se javlja dvojba radi li se

Ždrijac near Nin. In the monographic publication of this extremely important early medieval cemetery, its researcher Belošević reports on the find of a pair of single-bead earrings in grave G-138. However, these earrings are not discussed in the section on Earrings (pages 253-262). Instead, the author briefly mentions the earrings in the catalogue description of the graves,<sup>75</sup> attributing grave G-138 to the younger, Christian layer of graves. It seems that this stance was influenced by the appearance of this pair of earrings, which are very similar in craftsmanship and shape to the specimens from Putalj and Radun. However, this grave is situated on the western edge of the cemetery, alongside graves G-135 and G-140, in which pots next to the feet of the deceased were found (even two pots in G-140). Therefore, I am inclined to attribute these earrings to the pagan horizon of the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> century and place them at the same time as the specimens from Kaštela.

### Concluding remarks

The detailed analysis of the two small early Croatian cemeteries in Kaštela, Putalj - Kaštel Sućurac (8 graves) and Svećurje (Radun) - Kaštel Stari (13 graves),<sup>76</sup> has definitively confirmed the pagan horizon of early Croatian cemeteries in both of its phases, i.e. the full pagan horizon of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Svećurje in Radun) and the final/transitional phase of the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century before the Christian horizon in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Putalj). The cemetery at Svećurje provided the first finds of fire pits from ritual fires next to stone-lined pits, discovered south of the Krka River or the Ravni Kotari region respectively. They were lit before the stone coffin was covered with earth and contained small fragments of pottery made of raw clay, mixed with ash and fragments of burnt wood. The pottery was made for one-time use in the burial rites and was broken during the ceremony. A direct analogy are the fire pits at the cemetery of the pagan horizon in Materiza-Nin, also dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The dating of Svećurje in Radun to the 8<sup>th</sup> century has been confirmed not only by the fire pits, but also the radiocarbon analysis of a tooth

<sup>79</sup> Za Cetinsku županiju usp. Milošević 1985, str. 228, crtež 1, str. 229, crtež 2, a za Kninsku Petrinec 2015, str. 94, sl. 17E.

<sup>80</sup> Delonga 1993; Zekan 1995-1996, str. 325; Petrinec 2009, str. 58. Petrinec ovo groblje stavlja u kristijanizirani horizont zbog većeg broja naušnica u grobovima, što je u skladu s njezinim viđenjem te kategorije nalaza.

<sup>81</sup> Šarić 1993, str. 145-146, sl. 3. 21 (donosi i popis starije literature), str. 160-163, datacija: 8. st. - rano 9. st.; Piteša 2009, str. 78, br. 112, datacija: 7. - 8. st.

<sup>82</sup> Jelovina 1976, str. 58, bilj. 148. Šarić i Piteša nisu uočili ovaj Jelovinin podatak, koji je on preuzeo iz Buličevih izvještaja.

<sup>75</sup> Belošević 2007, 75/Tab. XIX, 138; 114, 116/G-138; 260-261, No. 18.

<sup>76</sup> The Putalj cemetery likely had slightly more graves, but both cemeteries are similar in terms of the number of graves.

tu o dva lonca ili jednome s Rižinica, koju sam već iznio prije četiri godine.<sup>83</sup> U svakom slučaju radi se o nalazima koji indiciraju poganski horizont grobova ili njegovu završnu fazu i u Solinu.

Uočene razlike u pogrebnom ritusu između globalja poganskog horizonta u sjevernoj i srednjoj Dalmaciji, pa time i u Kaštelima, traže pobliže objašnjenje. Ne ulazeći u detalje tih varijacija, ističem onu bitnu, a to je masovna upotreba keramičkih lonaca kao priloga u grobovima, koja je potvrđena na brojnim grobljima u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, dok je u srednjoj ona zabilježena sporadično u pojedinačnim grobovima, ili uz njih, kao primjerice na Putalju i na Grebčinama u Naklicama. Ta *differentia specifica* u odnosu na sjevernodalmatinski prostor potvrđena je i u drugim regijama ranosrednjovjekovnog hrvatskog prostora (zapadna Bosna, Lika) i svakako traži šira dodatna istraživanja. Na to su nedavno upozorili Bekić i Uglešić pri objavi jednog ranokarolinškog mača iz Škabrnje kod Zadra, datiranog ne samo prema tipološkim odlikama već i prema <sup>14</sup>C analizi uzorka kostiju noge iz razorenoga groba iz kojeg mač potječe u konac 8. ili početak 9. st. Pri tome su iznijeli mišljenje da se te razlike među pojedinim regijama mogu tumačiti i kao odraz doseljavanja više srodnih slavenskih rodovskih skupina na budući hrvatski etnički prostor, koje u okviru zajedničkoga religijskog poimanja svijeta i pogrebnih rituala pokazuju i pojedine razlike u pogrebnoj praksi.<sup>84</sup> To je svakako intrigantna teza, koju bi bilo vrijedno dalje razrađivati.

Svi navedeni primjeri analogija pokazali su, unatoč pojedinim razlikama, da je horizont poganskih globalja podjednako zastupljen na širem prostoru ne samo sjeverne već i srednje Dalmacije, pri čemu posebno ističem važnost kaštelanskih primjera, koji su popunili do tada bijelu kartu toga horizonta između Krke i Cetine kakva je prezentirana u sintezama Beloševića.<sup>85</sup> Za sam prostor Kaštela važno je istaknuti da je pojava grobova poganskog horizonta 8. i prve polovice 9. st. na prostorima naselja u kojima se kasnije organiziraju i ukopišta kristijaniziranog horizonta, a potom i župna srednjo-

from G-5, which finally determined more precisely the earliest pagan horizon of early Croatian graves in Kaštela. In theory, I have already assumed this in the analysis of pagan sacred toponymy in Kaštela,<sup>77</sup> and then in the work on the influence of Frankish religious missions on burial rites and customs in the county of Klis.<sup>78</sup> Different interpretations of the affiliation of this cemetery within the early Croatian period, and thus chronological divergences, arose from the find of a single-bead earring with a smooth, undecorated bead (G-12). While following established typological-chronological scales, this type of earring has been dated to the Christian horizon of the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century by several authors (Jurić, Petrinc, Sokol). Initially, under the influence of Karaman's and Jelovina's dating of this type, I also dated this cemetery to the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. However, the radiocarbon analysis has since provided secure confirmation for the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This suggests that the time frame regarding the beginning of the production of this type of earring could be shifted to the mid- or second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, as has already been indicated by individual finds of jewellery from the Croatian historical territory in the Early Middle Ages (in Grborezi and possibly Ždrijac). The analogy from Grborezi affirms my interpretation of the earlier appearance of these types of jewellery (necklaces and single-bead earrings), and their continuity from the pagan to the Christian horizon. In summary, the appearance of single-bead earrings, which as a type marked the early Croatian material culture, should be placed in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while the 11<sup>th</sup> century should remain its upper time limit. The chronological gradation and classification of individual variants of this type will likely be the subject of future analyses. However, this analysis has shown that their appearance was already recorded in the pagan horizon from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, as has also been already indicated by

<sup>83</sup> Burić 2019, str. 481, bilj. 24.

<sup>84</sup> Bekić, Uglešić 2020, str. 235-237, bilj. 8, sl. 6; 2 str. 41-242. Zahvaljujem kolegi Uglešiću na kolegijalnoj razmjeni mišljenja o tom pitanju i o pojedinim detaljima s nalazišta sjeverne Dalmacije.

<sup>85</sup> Belošević 1980, Tab. C, CI; Belošević 2007, str. 506, Karta 1; Belošević 2010, Karta i popis nalazišta na str. 255-256.

<sup>77</sup> Burić 2011, 72: "However, if it is obvious from preserved sacred toponyms of the Slavic mythological expression that they were named by Slavophone pagan communities, then there can be no doubt that their cemeteries were also located within the area of their settlements, which belong to the summarily outlined "pagan horizon" here. It is only a matter of time before such cemeteries are discovered." This eventually happened through the complemented interpretation of burial grounds at Svećurje in Radun.

<sup>78</sup> Burić 2019, 485.

vjekovna groblja pojedinih sela, nepobitan dokaz etničkog kontinuiteta u početnim fazama hrvatske etnogeneze na istočnojadranskoj obali, na što je već upozorila Jarak u ovdje citiranom radu. Rodovske i plemenske razlike u tim prvim stoljećima nakon doseljenja (7. – 9. st) ubrzano nestaju nakon osnutka ranofeudalne kneževine Hrvata s dinastijom Trpimirovića na čelu. Sa širenjem i jačanjem njihove države uže plemensko ime Hrvata proširit će se i na neodređeni broj srodnih slavenskih plemenskih zajednica, koje će do konca srednjega vijeka biti objedinjene pod hrvatskim imenom. To je, naravno, tema šireg značenja, koja ne spada u uže okvire ovoga rada.

Na kraju bih se još ukratko osvrnuo na socijalnu kategorizaciju ovdje analiziranih grobalja. Pri tome ću se poslužiti mojom razdiobom grobalja starohrvatskog razdoblja koju sam iznio u analizi groblja na žestinjskom Svećurju. Tu sam, slijedeći Baradinu definiciju društvenih zajednica u srednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj, starohrvatska groblja do 50 grobova nazvao porodičnim grobljima, pri čemu pod porodičnom podrazumijevam skup nekoliko inokosnih obitelji (*nuclear family*). To su tzv. zadružne obitelji ili kućne zadruge (*cooperative family*), u kojima živi nekoliko generacija šire obitelji povezanih krvnim srodstvom, koje tvore jednu ekonomsku zajednicu. Takav tip obitelji i gospodarskog modela bio je dugo prisutan u pojedinim agrarnim sredinama u Hrvatskoj sve do 19. st., a sporadično do sredine 20. st.<sup>86</sup> Slijedom Baradine definicije putaljsko groblje i groblje na radunskom Svećurju pripadali bi porodičnim grobljima, na kojima se pokapaju članovi jedne dvorne zajednice. Nakon osnutka hrvatske ranofeudalne kneževine porodična groblja se ubrzano napuštaju i prerastaju u naseobinska groblja. Ona su u pravilu veća i broje od 50 do 200 grobova, a rijetko i više od 300. Toj kategoriji pripada većina grobalja kristijaniziranog horizonta, na kojima se pokapaju članovi nekoliko dvornih zajednica objedinjenih u jednom zaseoku (*vicus*) pojedinog sela. U Kaštelima su to Gajine (169), žestinjsko Svećurje (47, cca 50 %), Bijaći – Stombrate (54) i Pišćine – Lepin (42 u istraženom dijelu groblja), a u Kliškoj županiji još Solin – Glavičine (130) i najvjerojatnije Majdan – Solin (?). Poganski rito pokapanja je napušten, osim rijetkih prežitaka koji opstaju kao dio folklorne tradicije (polaganje jaja u grob), a ta groblja će biti osnovni oblik ukopišta do kraja

the results presented by Zekan in his analysis of the cemeteries in Bribir, and which Jarak also accepted as a possibility.

The early Croatian graves at Putalj are several decades younger than those at Svećurje in Radun and belong to the final or transitional phase of the pagan horizon. This is confirmed by the then still present custom of placing goods in the grave within the context of the pagan ritual. In the case of Putalj, these were in form of a ceramic pot with a bird bone found among its fragments (G-6), but also by the more frequent occurrence of jewellery as finds in graves (G-3, G-4, G-9) or in layers from destroyed graves (single-bead earring), which eventually became a characteristic of the Christian horizon later on. This analysis shows that the first types of early medieval jewellery were already present in the pagan horizon. Some of these, such as single-bead earrings, became in various variants the dominant type of jewellery in the Christian horizon, while others, like grape-shaped earrings, only appeared in the final phase of the pagan horizon and disappeared by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Undoubtedly, there are certainly many more cemeteries of this kind or similar ones, belonging to the pagan, but also the Christian horizon in Kaštela, waiting to be unearthed by researchers, which will help to create a more complete picture of the early Croatian period.

Both cemeteries presented here show diversity in several details, confirming the differences observed so far in cemeteries of the pagan horizon. The graves at Putalj belong to the dominant type prevalent in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, despite the fact that they are from the transitional phase at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast, the graves at Svećurje in Radun have stone coffins, cladding and stone covers, which is a form more commonly found in the transitional phase and entirely dominant in the Christian horizon. And while pagan graves in northern Dalmatia often contained pots as grave goods in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, only fire pits and no pots were found at Svećurje in Radun. On the other hand, a pot was found in the context of a devastated burial at Putalj, but there were no fire pits at that cemetery. Pots have been found sporadically at cemeteries of the pagan horizon south of the Krka River within the borders of the counties of Klis and Cetina. This analysis focuses only on the area of the county of Klis, to which Putalj

<sup>86</sup> Svirac 2003; Pavličević 2010.

11. st. Ta je promjena odraz razvoja ranofeudalnog društva u Hrvatskoj pod franačkim utjecajem, kao i crkvenih institucija i misija. Drugim riječima, porodična groblja dominiraju u poganskom horizontu u obje faze, dok u kristijaniziranom prevagu odnose nasebinska groblja, koja su odraz prostorne i socijalne strukture naselja. Ključnu ulogu u napuštanju poganskoga ritusa pokapanja odigrali su franački misionari, čije je sjedište bilo na kneževskom veleposjedu Bijaći.<sup>87</sup>

Porodična groblja su u pravilu smještena neposredno uz naselje kojem pripadaju, i to na prikladnim nižim terenima. I premda ranosrednjovjekovna naselja u Kaštelima još nisu arheološki potvrđena, za dva ovdje obrađena groblja može se približno locirati pripadajući nasebinski kompleks. Starohrvatsko groblje na radunskom Svećurju, kao i susjedna crkva sv. Jurja s pripadajućim župnim grobljem oko nje, nalaze se na povišenom terenu iznad polja, a iznad njih ka sjeveru je jedna oniža litica pod kojom sam pretpostavio položaj jednog od radunskih zaselaka, kojemu je pripadalo i starohrvatsko groblje. Kuće na tom položaju zabilježio je još 1726. trogirski biskup Kačić u svojoj vizitaciji. On govori o ostatcima većeg naselja sjeverno od crkve sv. Jurja, koji su tada još bili vidljivi.<sup>88</sup> Pretpostavljeni položaj tog zaselka udaljen je svega oko 200 do 300 m od crkve i starohrvatskoga groblja.

Starohrvatski grbovi na Putalju ukopište su jednoga od zaselaka sela koje će do kraja ranoga srednjeg vijeka po crkvi sv. Jurja dobiti ime *villa sancti Georgii* (kasnije *villa Suzzuraz*). Taj zaselak se prema konfiguraciji terena morao nalaziti iznad putaljskog brijega, gdje se pravcem istok-zapad pruža manja zaravan plodne zemlje s izvorima vode, nad kojom se izdiže strmina završnoga masiva Kozjaka. I tu udaljenost između naselja i groblja približno iznosi 200 do 300 metara, kao i na Radunu.

Srednjovjekovna sela organizirana su u skladu s prirodnim resursima, i to su najčešće decentralizirana naselja difuznog tipa s više zaselaka (*vici*) disperziranih u prostoru, koji su uvijek smješteni na povišenim i zaklonjenim položajima u blizini izvora vode ili stalnih tekućica, a uokolo dragocjenih obradivih površina.<sup>89</sup> Radunski primjer svojedobno sam analizirao pri obradi prostornih struktura naselja u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj. Tu sam,

belongs, without extending it to the territory of the counties of Cetina and Knin, where individual finds of pots have also been recorded.<sup>79</sup> The closest find to the one at Putalj is a pot discovered in a grave at site Grebčine in Naklice (Poljica), also next to the stone-lined pit, but outside the grave,<sup>80</sup> while other specimens are chance finds from the area of Solin. This is an earthen pot whose site is unknown, dated approximately to the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>81</sup> As it has been entirely preserved, it most likely originates from a grave. Jelovina in his synthesis, describing the Rižinice site, mentions “several simple graves,” and in one of them, an earthen pot found next to the head.<sup>82</sup> This raises a dilemma as to whether there were two pots or one at Rižinice, which I pointed out already four years ago.<sup>83</sup> In any case, these are finds that indicate the pagan horizon of graves or its final phase in Solin.

A closer explanation is required for the observed differences in burial rites between cemeteries of the pagan horizon in northern and central Dalmatia, including those in Kaštela. Without delving into the details of these variations, I will point out the significant one, which is the widespread use of ceramic pots as grave goods, confirmed in numerous cemeteries in northern Dalmatia, in contrast to central Dalmatia, where they have only been sporadically recorded in individual graves or next to them, like for instance at Putalj and Grebčine in Naklice. This *differentia specifica*, compared to the area of northern Dalmatia, has also been confirmed in other regions of the early medieval Croatian territory, such as western Bosnia and Lika, and certainly requires further research. Bekić and Uglešić recently pointed this out when they published an early Carolingian sword from Škabrnja near Zadar, which was dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>79</sup> For county of Cetina cf. Milošević 1985, 228/drawing 1, 229/drawing 2, for the county of Knin Petrinec 2015, 94, Fig. 17E

<sup>80</sup> Delonga 1993; Zekan 1995-1996, 325; Petrinec 2009, 58. Petrinec places this cemetery into the Christian horizon due to the larger number of earrings in graves, which is in accordance with her view of that category of finds.

<sup>81</sup> Šarić 1993, 145-146, Fig. 3. 21 (provides also the list of older literature), 160-163 – dating 8<sup>th</sup> -early 9<sup>th</sup> century.; Piteša 2009, 78, No. 112. – dating 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>82</sup> Jelovina 1976, 58/note 148. Šarić and Piteša did not notice this data provided by Jelovina, which he took from Bulić's reports.

<sup>83</sup> Burić 2019, 481, note 24.

<sup>87</sup> Burić 2015, str. 208; Burić 2019, str. 490-491.

<sup>88</sup> Burić 2010, str. 16-18; Katić 1958, str. 316.

<sup>89</sup> Burić 1985, str. 319-320.

slijedeći Baradinu raščlambu srednjovjekovnih seoskih zajednica, uz Radunu susjedni Ostrog, dao i prikaz prostorne strukture naselja u selu Glavice kod Sinja, gdje ima više manjih grobalja od 7. do 9. st. ispod oniže sinklinale zvane Greda. Uz nju su bili i naseobinski položaji, a nešto niže i lokacije grobalja.<sup>90</sup> To bi također trebala biti porodična groblja. U glavičkom je primjeru udaljenost između naselja i groblja još kraća negoli u Kaštelima.

Predočena kronološka i tipološka skala starohrvatskih grobalja poganskog horizonta u Kaštelima može poslužiti kao oslonac za daljnje povezivanje s paralelama na širem hrvatskom ranosrednjovjekovnom prostoru, ponajprije na teritoriju Kliške i susjedne joj Cetinske županije, a vidjeli smo da su značajne i one s prostora Ninske županije. S nadom da će nova istraživanja iznijeti na vidjelo još argumentata u prilog ovdje iznesenom mišljenju privodim ovaj rad kraju.

not only based upon its typological features but also by radiocarbon analysis of leg bone samples from the destroyed grave in which the sword was found in. They suggested that these differences among individual regions can be interpreted as a reflection of the migration of several related Slavic tribal groups to the future Croatian ethnic territory, who shared a common religious worldview and burial rites, but showed certain differences in their burial practices.<sup>84</sup> This is certainly an intriguing thesis that would be worth further elaboration.

Despite some differences, all the analogies mentioned here have shown that the horizon of pagan cemeteries is widely represented in both northern and central Dalmatia. The examples from Kaštela are particularly important as they have filled a previously blank area on the map of that horizon between the Krka and Cetina rivers, as presented in Belošević's syntheses.<sup>85</sup> Regarding the area of Kaštela, it should be noted that the appearance of graves of the pagan horizon from the 8<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries in areas of settlements where later burial grounds of the Christian horizon were established, and then medieval parish cemeteries of individual villages, is undeniable evidence of ethnic continuity in the initial phases of the Croatian ethnogenesis on the eastern Adriatic coast, as already pointed out by Jarak in the cited work. Tribal and clan differences in those early centuries after settlement (7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries) rapidly disappeared after the establishment of the early feudal Principality of the Croats under the rule of the Trpimirović dynasty. As the state expanded and strengthened, the narrower tribal name of the Croats was extended to an indefinite number of related Slavic tribal communities, which were unified under the Croatian name by the end of the Middle Ages. This is, of course, a topic of broader significance that goes far beyond the scope of this work.

In conclusion, I'd like to briefly address the social categorization of the here analysed cemeteries, using thereby my division of cemeteries from the early Croatian period, I have established in the analysis of the cemetery at Svećurje in Žestinj. Follow-

<sup>90</sup> Burić 2012, str. 42-45, Karta 3. i 4. Detaljnije o grobljima u Glavicama usp. Petrincec 2002.

<sup>84</sup> Bekić, Uglešić 2020, 235-237/note 8, Fig. 6; 241-242. I would like to thank my colleague Uglešić for the friendly exchange of views on this issue and individual details from sites in northern Dalmatia.

<sup>85</sup> Belošević 1980, Tab. C, CI; 2007, 506, Map 1; 2010, Map and list of sites on pp. 255-256.

ing Barada's definition of social communities in medieval Croatia, I have named cemeteries with up to 50 graves as family cemeteries. By "family," I mean a group of several nuclear families. These formed the so-called cooperative families with multiple generations of an extended and blood-related family living together, creating a single economic community. Such a type of family and economic model persisted in certain agrarian communities in Croatia until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and sporadically into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> According to Barada's definition, the cemeteries at Putalj and Svećurje in Radun would be considered family cemeteries, where members of one court community were buried. With the establishment of the early feudal Principality of Croatia, family cemeteries were gradually abandoned, or turned into cemeteries of settlements. These were typically larger, ranging from 50 to 200 graves, and occasionally exceeding 300 graves. Most cemeteries of the Christian horizon fall into this category, where members of several court communities within a hamlet (*vicus*) of a settlement were buried. In Kaštela, these are Gajine (169 graves), Svećurje in Žestinj (47, approximately 50%), Bijaći – Stombrate (54) and Piščine – Lepin (42 in the explored part of the cemetery). In the county of Klis, these are Solin – Glavičine (130) and most probably Majdan – Solin (?). The pagan burial rite was abandoned, except for rare survivals that persisted as part of folklore tradition (placing eggs in graves). These cemeteries remained the basic form of burial grounds until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This change in fact reflects the development of the early feudal society in Croatia under Frankish influence, as well as of church institutions and missions. In other words, family cemeteries dominate in the pagan horizon in both phases, while settlement cemeteries prevail in the Christian horizon, reflecting the spatial and social structure of settlements. Frankish missionaries, whose centre was on the princely estate of Bijaći, played a key role in abandoning the pagan burial rite.<sup>87</sup>

Family cemeteries were usually situated right next to the settlements they belonged to, often on suitable lower terrain. Although there is no archaeological confirmation of the early medieval settlements in Kaštela yet, it is possible to approximately locate the corresponding settlement complex for the

two cemeteries discussed here. The early Croatian cemetery at Svećurje in Radun, as well as the neighbouring church of St. George with the associated parish graveyard surrounding it, are located on an elevated terrain above the fields. North of them is a lower cliff, under which I assume was the location of one of the hamlets of Radun, to which the early Croatian cemetery belonged. Houses at this location were first recorded as early as 1726 by Bishop Kačić of Trogir during his visitation. He also mentioned the remains of a larger settlement located to the north of the church of St. George, which were still visible at that time.<sup>88</sup> The presumed position of this hamlet is only about 200 to 300 meters away from the church and the early Croatian cemetery.

The early Croatian graves at Putalj were the burial ground of one of the hamlets of the village, which by the end of the Early Middle Ages was named *villa sancti Georgii* (later *villa Suzzuraz*) after the church of St. George. Based upon the terrain configuration, the hamlet must have been situated above the hill of Putalj, where a small plateau of fertile land with water sources extends in an east-west direction. This plateau is overlooked by the steep slopes of the mountain massif Kozjak. The distance between the settlement and the cemetery is also around 200 to 300 meters, which is similar to that in Radun.

Medieval villages were often organized in accordance with natural resources, with decentralized and diffused settlements comprised of multiple hamlets (*vici*) dispersed in space. These hamlets were typically situated on elevated and in sheltered positions near water sources or streams, and surrounded by valuable arable land.<sup>89</sup> In this context, I previously analysed the example of Radun while examining spatial structures of settlements in early medieval Croatia. Based on Barada's division of medieval rural communities, I presented the spatial structure of Ostrog, which is adjacent to Radun, but also of the village of Glavice near Sinj, where several smaller cemeteries from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries are located below the lower syncline called Greda. Along the syncline were the locations of settlements, while somewhat lower were those of cemeteries,<sup>90</sup> i.e. most probably family cemeteries. In the

<sup>88</sup> Burić 2010, 16-18; Katić 1958, 316.

<sup>89</sup> Burić 1985, 319-320.

<sup>90</sup> Burić 2012, 42-45, Map 3. and 4. For more details on cemeteries in Glavice cf. Petrinec 2002.

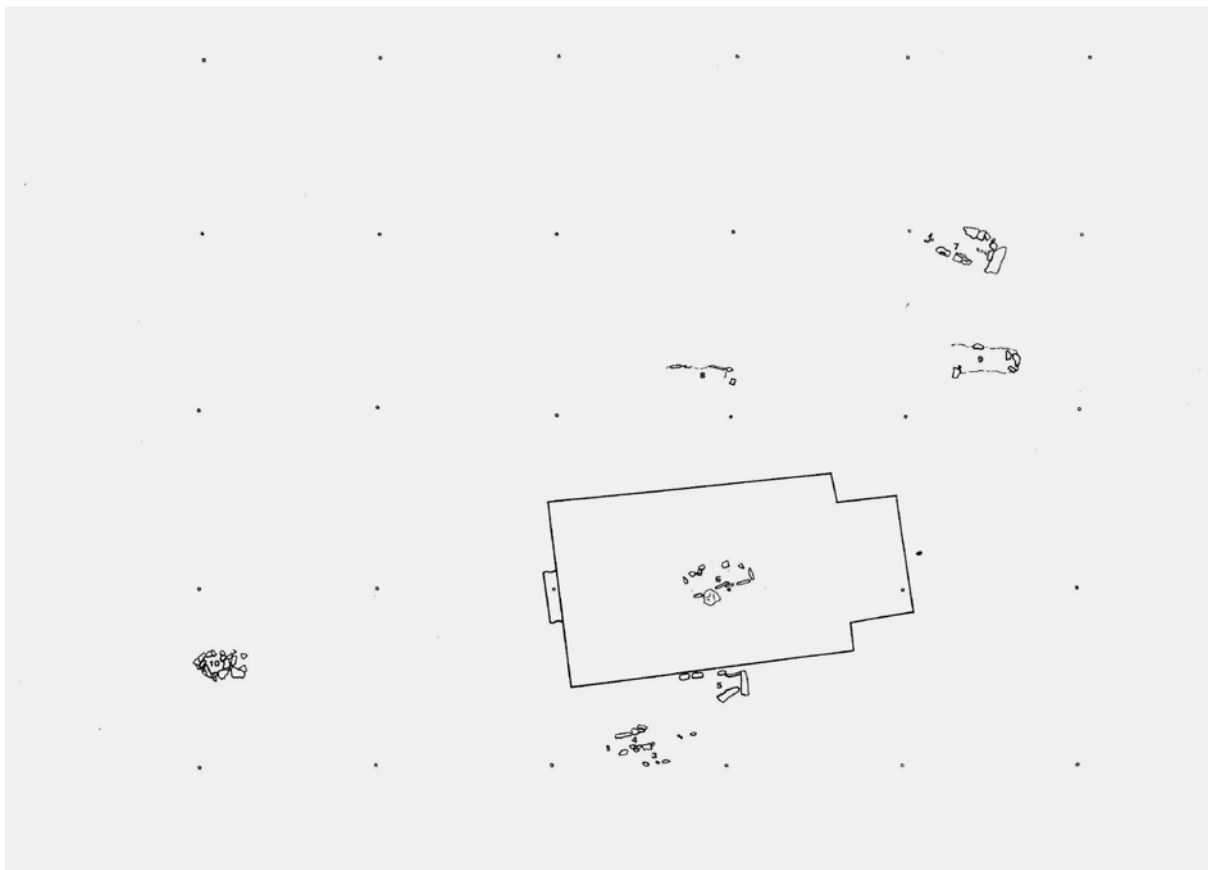
<sup>86</sup> Svirac 2003.; Pavličević 2010.

<sup>87</sup> Burić 2015, 208; 2019, 490-491.

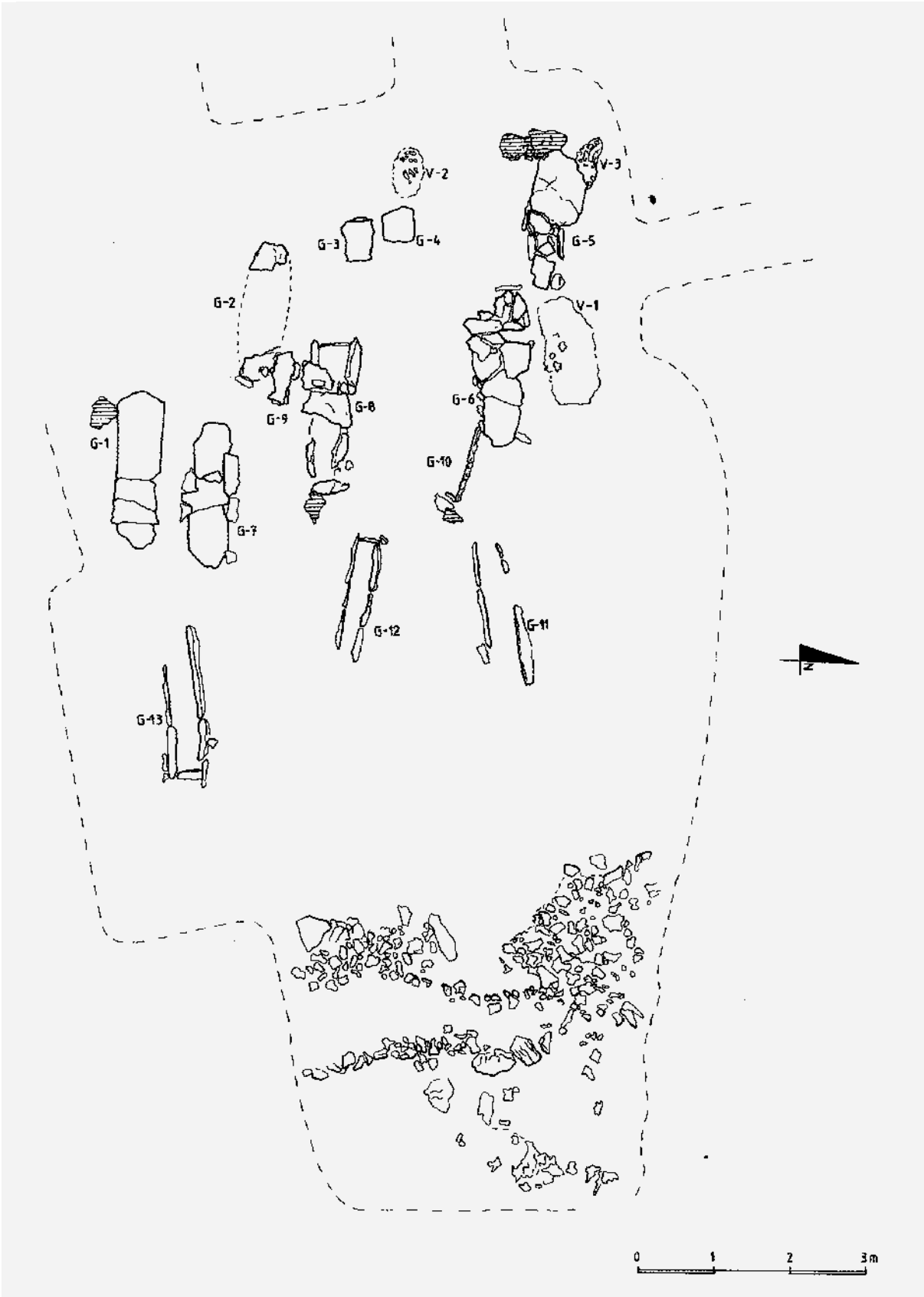


case of Glavice, the distance between the settlement and the cemetery is even shorter than in Kaštela.

The presented chronological and typological scale of early Croatian cemeteries of the pagan horizon in Kaštela can serve as a base for establishing further connections with analogies in the wider Croatian early medieval territory, primarily in the county of Klis and its neighbouring county Cetina, but also with those from the county of Nin as they are noteworthy and also significant. Concluding this work, I express hope that new research will bring to light more arguments in support of the opinion presented here.



Plan I. Tlocrt groblja poganskog horizonta na Putalju (izradila S. Juraga)  
*Plan I Layout of the cemetery of the pagan horizon at Putalj (created by S. Juraga).*



Plan II. Tlocrt groblja poganskog horizonta na radunskom Svećurju (izradila S. Juraga)  
*Plan II Layout of the cemetery of the pagan horizon at Svećurje in Radun (created by S. Juraga).*

## Popis kratica/ *Abbreviations*

KZ = Kaštelanski zbornik, Kaštela  
 SHP = Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split  
 OA = *Opuscula archaeologica*, Zagreb  
 Starine JAZU = Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb  
 VAHD = Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

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