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Prilog proučavanju društveno-gospodarskih odnosa u ranom srednjem vijeku – primjer Rižinica

Na temelju arheoloških iskapanja, posebice kampanje iz 2021. godine kojom je zahvaćeno ranosrednjovjekovno groblje, te koristeći se antropološkim analizama i povijesnim izvorima, autori prvo pokušavaju ustvrditi gospodarsku i društvenu strukturu rižiničkog veleposjeda. Nadalje, teže definirati grobišni prostor na Rižinicama kao smisleno organiziran pomoću određenih modela koji bi bili upotrebljivi i za druga groblja na području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske. Takvu grobišnu organizaciju konačno povezuju s osnovnom društvenom jedinicom na ruralnom području, a to je kućanstvo ili rodbinsko-dvorna zajednica, pri čemu definiraju njezinu strukturu i veličinu.

Ključne riječi: *Rižinice, rani srednji vijek, samostan, gospodarstvo, robovi, organizacija groblja, kućanstvo.*

A contribution to the study of socio-economic relations in the Early Middle Ages – the case of Rižinice

Based on archaeological excavations, particularly the archaeological campaigns in 2021 focussing on the early medieval cemetery, and supported by anthropological analyses and historical sources, the authors seek to establish the economic and social structure of the estate in Rižinice and eventually to define the burial ground there as a deliberately organized space by using specific models, which could also be applied to other cemeteries within the territory of early medieval Croatia. Lastly, they link such a type of burial organization to the primary social unit in rural areas: the household or kinship/court community, and thereby define its structure and size.

Keywords: *Rižinice, Early Middle Ages, monastery, economy, slaves, organization of the cemetery, household.*

UVODNE NAPOMENE

Godine 1891. u solinskom predjelu Rupotini pronađen je ukrašeni kamen s uklesanim natpisom PRO DUCE TREPIME(ro) (sl. 1). Nalaz je odmah dospio do arheologa don Frane Bulića, koji je u natpisu razaznao ime kneza Trpimira, pa je i prije početka iskopavanja pretpostavio da se radi o lokaciji benediktinskog samostana koji je podigao spomenuti knez.¹



Sl. 1. Ulomak zabata oltarne ograde s natpisom PRO DUCE TREPIME(ro) (preuzeto iz: Bulić 1895, T. V, 3)

Fig. 1 Fragment of the altar-screen gable with the inscription PRO DUCE TREPIME(ro) (taken from: Bulić, 1895, T. V., 3).

Naime, u Trpimirovoj darovnici, pisanoj u nedalekim Bijaćima 852. godine, stoji kako je njezin

¹ Bulić 1891, str. 84–86. Bulić je pri objavi Trpimirova natpisa, prije početka iskopavanja, tvrdio da je taj natpis nađen u međi vinograda, da bi u izvješću o prvim iskopavanjima napisao kako je prema riječima zemljoradnika ovaj natpis pronađen u ruševinama crkve (Bulić 1896, str. 21), što zapravo odgovara prvim skicama lokaliteta, na kojima je na području crkve ucrtana gomila za koju stoji da je u njoj pronađen spomenuti natpis. Na ovom posljednjem podatku zahvaljujem Robertu Kordiću, koji ga je i pronašao u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, u arhivu don Luke Jelića.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In 1891, an ornamented stone bearing the inscription PRO DUCE TREPIME(ro) (Fig. 1) was discovered in the Rupotine area of Solin. The find quickly attracted the attention of archaeologist Frane Bulić, who identified the name of Duke Trpimir in the inscription. Even before excavations began, Bulić speculated that this was the site of the Benedictine monastery founded by the duke himself.¹

Namely, in the Charter of Duke Trpimir, written in nearby Bijaći in 852 AD, it is stated that the duke, *deeply concerned for the salvation of his soul*, had built and furnished a monastery, and brought in a congregation of monks.² While the deed of donation does not explicitly specify the monastery's location, it was eventually identified and suggested based on the 18th-century writings of canon Jerolim Bernardi from Split, as recorded in *Illyricum Sacrum* by Daniele Farlati. According to Bernardi, Duke Trpimir built and then endowed a church and monastery to the Benedictines in the area located between Solin and Klis.³ Four years after the discovery of Trpimir's inscription, remnants of a rectangular building with an apse on its northern side were uncovered at the site, along with several rectangular rooms to the east and west. Following the initial excavations, Bulić eventually concluded that the site was more likely the royal court of Croatian rulers rather than a monastery. His reasoning was that a monastery church would typically be larger than the dimensions of the uncovered building, which measured only 14.5 meters in length and 7.4 meters in width at that time.⁴ After Bulić, excavations were resumed in 1930 and led by Danish architect Ejnar Dyggve, who concluded that the site was an early Christian

¹ Bulić 1891, pp. 84 – 86. Bulić, upon publication of the inscription of Trpimir and before excavations began, claimed that it was discovered at the edge of a vineyard. However, in his report on the initial excavations, he stated that, according to local farmers, the inscription was found among the ruins of a church (Bulić 1896, p. 21). This account aligns with the earliest sketches of the site, which mark a heap in the church area and note that said inscription was discovered within it. I would like to express my gratitude to Robert Kordić for providing this information, which he uncovered in the archives of Don Luka Jelić at the Archaeological Museum in Split.

² Klaić 1972, pp. 20–21.

³ Farlati 1765, p. 50.

⁴ Bulić 1986, pp. 22 and 26–29.



Sl. 2. Pogled na lokalitet (Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 2 View of the site (Photo: Z. Alajbeg).

tvorac, *veoma zabrinut za spas duše svoje*, sagradio i opremio samostan te u njega doveo zbor redovnika.² Iako darovnica ne donosi podatke o lokaciji tog samostana, njegova ubikacija izvela se prema kazivanju splitskog kanonika Jerolima Bernardija iz 18. st., zabilježenom u djelu *Illyricum Sacrum* Daniela Farlatija. Ondje stoji da je knez Trpimir sagradio i potom benediktincima darovao crkvu i samostan na prostoru između Solina i Klisa.³ Četiri godine kasnije, na mjestu gdje je pronađen Trpimirov natpis, otkriveni su ostatci pravokutne građevine s apsidom na sjevernoj strani, a zapadno i istočno od nje evidentirano je nekoliko pravokutnih prostorija. Nakon početnih iskapanja Bulić je ipak zauzeo stav da bi na tom mjestu trebao biti dvor hrvatskih vladara, prije nego samostan, jer bi samostanska crkva trebala biti nešto većih dimenzija od ove, kojoj je u njegovo doba izmjerena dužina od 14,50 m i širina od 7,40 m.⁴ Iskapanja će nakon Bulića, 1930. godine, nastaviti danski arhitekt Ejnar Dyggve. On će pak zaključiti da se radi o ranokršćanskom samostanu s kapelom, adaptiranom u ranom srednjem vijeku za potrebe benediktinaca.⁵ Dyggveovi zaključci široko su prihvaćeni do danas, pa se shodno

monastery with a chapel, later adapted for the needs of the Benedictines in the Early Middle Ages.⁵ Dyggve's conclusions have since been widely accepted, and thus the remains are now believed to belong to the oldest known monastery in Croatia, an endowment by Duke Trpimir himself. As a result, Rižinice has become one of the most well-known sites in Croatian national history.

The archaeological site of Rižinice is located in the Rupotine area of Solin, on the eastern slope of Kozjak, along the right bank of the stream called Ilijin potok (Fig. 2). It lies at the very western edge of the fertile Solin-Klis valley, which is part of a larger flysch zone that runs along the coastal slopes of the central Dalmatian mountains. In this area, the zone extends inland, where the slopes of Kozjak and Mosor are split, thus making their slopes gentler and more cultivable.

At the contact with their carbonate layers, conditions are created for numerous springs, which feed both permanent and seasonal streams.⁶ One of these permanent streams is the above mentioned stream Ilijin potok, named after the nearby church at the archaeological site Crkvine.⁷ About 500 meters downstream, it passes also along the site of Rižin-

² Klaić 1972, str. 20–21.

³ Farlati 1765, str. 50.

⁴ Bulić 1986, str. 22, 26–29.

⁵ Dyggve 1951, str. 62.

⁵ Dyggve 1951, p. 62.

⁶ Matas 2009, pp. 177–179.

⁷ For information on the site, see: Uroda 2008.

tome smatra da su ovdje otkriveni ostatci najstarijeg poznatog samostana u Hrvata, zadužbina samog Trpimira. S tim u vezi, Rižinice su i jedan od najpoznatijih lokaliteta nacionalne prošlosti.

Arheološki lokalitet Rižinice nalazi se u solinskom predjelu Rupotini, na istočnoj padini Kozjaka i uz desnu obalu Ilijina potoka (sl. 2). Radi se o samom zapadnom rubu plodne solinsko-kliške uvale kao dijelu veće flišne zone, koja se može pratiti uz primorske padine srednjodalmatinskih planina.

Ovdje se ta zona uvlači dublje u kopno, na mjesto rascjepa Kozjaka i Mosora te čini njihove padine blažim i obradivim, a na dodiru s njihovim karbonatnim slojevima tvori i uvjete za brojna vrela iz kojih potječu stalni ili sezonski vodotoci.⁶ Jedan od stalnih vodotoka je i gore spomenuti Ilijin potok, koji je dobio ime po obližnjoj crkvi u sklopu arheološkog lokaliteta Crkvine.⁷ Oko 500 metara nizvodno potok prolazi uz lokalitet Rižinice, a potom i uz lokalitet Ilirska Salona, da bi se nakon nešto više od 2 kilometra puta ulio u rijeku Jadro u blizini arheološkog lokaliteta Šuplja crkva.⁸ Stalan protok vode te prisojne i plodne padine Kozjaka podarile su ovom predjelu izrazito povoljne reljefno-klimatske osobine i potencijal za agrarno iskorištavanje i naseljavanje. Također, u blizini Rižinica nalazi se zapadni završetak Grebena, na čijem je nasuprotnom i najvišem dijelu smještena Kliška tvrđava. Ta reljefna greda zapravo je barijera prolazu u zaobalje, Kliškom prijevoju, koji je kroz povijest bio jedan od najfrekventnijih prolaza na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Greben se može zaobići s istočne strane, tjesnacem uz greben Ozrnu ili blažim, ali nešto dužim usponom upravo kroz Rupotinu. Preko Rupotine se tako može pristupiti Kliškom prijevoju sa sjeverne strane tvrđave i ispod Markezine grede, a blažim se usponom preko Grebena može doći i do samog podgrađa i Kliške tvrđave. Ova trasa povezivanja obale i zaobalja koristi se i danas, u vidu županijske ceste Klis – Solin (Ž 6253) ili pak lokalne ceste (L 67074), a prethodno su preko Rupotine trasirane i kolne ceste 19. st., ona iz doba francuske, a potom i austrijske uprave. Ovdje se nalazila i mletačka cesta, a istim su cestovnim pravcem s obale dopremljeni i topovi pri mletačkom osvojenju Kliške tvrđave 1648. godine.⁹ Logično je onda

ice, then continues along the site of Illyrian Salona, and eventually flows after just over 2 kilometres into the Jadro River, near the archaeological site of Šuplja crkva (Hollow Church).⁸ The constant water flow, combined with the south-facing, fertile slopes of Kozjak, has provided this region with highly favourable relief and climatic conditions, making it ideal for agricultural use and settlement. Additionally, near Rižinice lies the western end of Greben, with the Klis Fortress situated on its opposite and highest point. This ridge acts as a natural barrier to passage into the hinterland, specifically the Klis Pass, which has historically been one of the most important and frequently used routes along the eastern Adriatic coast. The ridge can be bypassed from the east through a narrow passage along the Ozrna ridge or via a gentler, though slightly longer ascent through Rupotine. Thus, access to the Klis Pass from the northern side of the fortress and below the ridge Markezina greda is possible via Rupotine, while a more gradual ascent over Greben leads directly to the lower town and the Klis Fortress. This route, connecting the coast to the hinterland, is still in use today as the county road Klis – Solin (Ž 6253) or the local road (L 67074). In the past, i.e. during the 19th century, cart tracks were also laid out through Rupotine, first during the French and later Austrian rule. A Venetian road also traversed this area, along which cannons were transported from the coast during the Venetian conquest of the Klis Fortress in 1648.⁹ It is therefore logical that remains of a Roman and a medieval road have also been localised in Rupotine, slightly east of the stream Ilijin potok.¹⁰ Thus the area of Rupotine, where the archaeological site of Rižinice is located, occupies an exceptionally favourable position that is rich in resources and serves as a natural link between the coastal region of central Dalmatia and its hinterland. It is therefore no surprise that a large number of archaeological sites has been identified and located in such a small area. In addition to those already mentioned, there are also several other sites that have yielded archaeological finds, particularly those of an agricultural and rural nature.¹¹

⁶ Matas 2009, str. 177–179.

⁷ O lokalitetu vidi: Uroda 2008.

⁸ Katić 2010, str. 7–17.

⁹ Šuta 2020, str. 117–131.

⁸ Katić, 2010, pp. 7-17.

⁹ Šuta 2020, pp. 117-131.

¹⁰ Uroda 2008, p. 73.

¹¹ Idem, p. 73, Katić 1955, p. 22.

što su i u Rupotini, nešto istočnije od Ilijina potoka, također ubicirani ostatci rimske i srednjovjekovne ceste.¹⁰ Dakle, prostor Rupotine, u sklopu kojeg je smješten arheološki lokalitet Rižinice, nalazi se na izrazito povoljnom prostoru koji obiluje životnim resursima i predstavlja prirodnu poveznicu obalnog dijela srednje Dalmacije s njezinim zaobljem. Ne čudi stoga što je na tako malom prostoru ubiciran velik broj lokaliteta, a osim već navedenih, tu je i nekoliko drugih položaja s kojih potječu arheološki nalazi, i to posebice poljoprivredno-ladanjskog karaktera.¹¹

HISTORIJAT ISTRAŽIVANJA

Takav karakter prostora prisutan je i na arheološkom nalazištu na Rižinicama. Stručna iskopavanja na tom lokalitetu započela su 1895. godine, a don Frane Bulić sa svojim društvom „Bihać“ tamo je iskopao još i 1896., 1899., 1905. i 1908. godine na prostoru od nekoliko stotina četvornih metara.¹² Otkrivene su spomenuta građevina s apsidom i dodatne prostorije, od kojih je jedna prostorija definirana kao kuhinja, s obzirom na nalaze keramičkog materijala i ugljena, a druga, prema grobovima koji su u njoj zatečeni, kao pogrebna kapela.¹³ U tim su iskopavanjima pronađeni dijelovi liturgijskog namještaja pa je izvedena i grafička rekonstrukcija oltarne ograde s djelomično rekonstruiranom pisanom porukom. Također, istraženo je i nekoliko grobova koji su bili pozicionirani na tom dijelu lokaliteta, a čija se datacija proteže kroz čitav srednji vijek.¹⁴ Istraživanja je potom 1930. godine nastavio E. Dyggve, koji je iskapanja proširio na prostor južno od crkve i samostana. Prateći većinom pružanje zidova, Dyggve je uvidio da se zapravo radi o antičkom gospodarskom zdanju, vili rustici, koje je u kasnoj antici dobilo crkvu, a koje su potom u srednjem vijeku revitalizirali knez Trpimir i benediktinci (sl. 3).¹⁵

Nakon njegovih istraživanja ponovo je nastupila veća stanka, sve do 1972. godine, kada Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu obavlja manja iskopavanja kojima je glavni cilj bio konzervacija crkve i samostana te izvođenje tehničke dokumen-

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The archaeological site at Rižinice exhibits precisely the features of agricultural and rural life as mentioned above. Professional excavations at this location began in 1895. Father Frane Bulić, along with his ‘Bihać’ society, also conducted excavations in 1896, 1899, 1905 and 1908, covering an area of several hundred square meters.¹² These excavations revealed the previously mentioned structure with an apse and adjoining rooms. One room was identified as a kitchen, based on the discovery of ceramic materials and charcoal, while another was determined to be a burial chapel, evidenced by the presence of graves within it.¹³ These excavations uncovered also parts of liturgical furniture, which enabled the graphic reconstruction of the altar screen, including a partially reconstructed inscription. Furthermore, several graves situated in this section of the site were investigated, with their dating spanning the entirety of the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Research continued in 1930 under the direction of E. Dyggve, who expanded the excavations to the area south of the church and monastery. By mostly following the alignment of the walls, he discovered that it was, in fact, an ancient agricultural complex – a *villa rustica* – to which a church had been added during late antiquity. This site was later revitalized in the Middle Ages, particularly under Duke Trpimir and the Benedictine monks (see Fig. 3).¹⁵

Following these excavations, there was a significant pause in research until 1972, when the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split carried out smaller excavations primarily aimed at conserving the church and monastery, as well as preparing technical documentation. Since 1992, the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split has taken responsibility for the Rižinice site, initially carrying out smaller digs that gradually evolved into ongoing archaeological campaigns since 2011. During this period, the area in front of the church was excavated, revealing two ancient sarcophagi re-used in the Middle Ages,¹⁶ several more medieval graves and some elements of the Roman *villa rustica*. In recent years, Rižinice has been transformed into an archaeological park,

¹⁰ Uroda 2008, str. 73.

¹¹ Uroda 2008, str. 73; Katić 1955, str. 22.

¹² Piteša 1992, str. 116; Bulić 1922, str. 14.

¹³ Bulić 1895, str. 22–23.

¹⁴ Bulić 1895, str. 24–26.

¹⁵ Piteša 1992, str. 116.

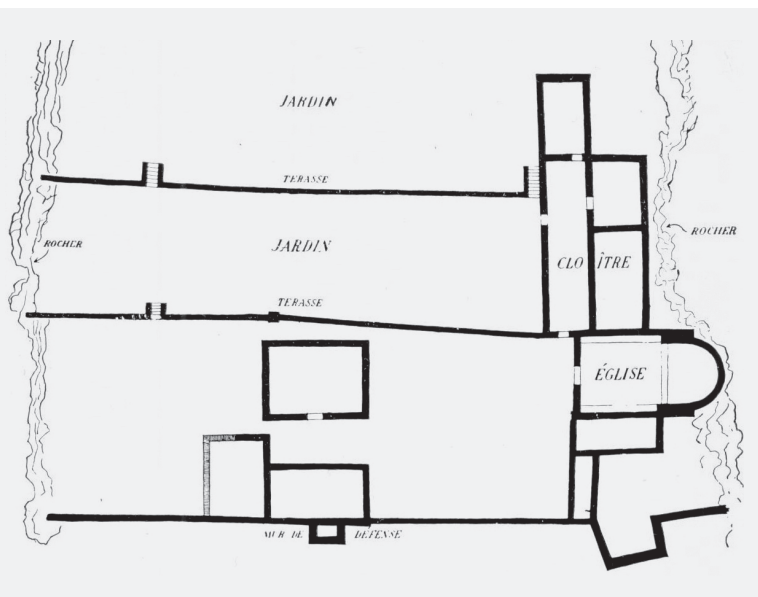
¹² Piteša 1992, p. 116, Bulić 1922, p. 14.

¹³ Bulić 1895, pp. 22–23.

¹⁴ Idem, pp. 24–26.

¹⁵ Piteša 1992, p. 116.

¹⁶ Zekan 2011, p. 638.



Sl. 3. Tlocrt s istraživanja 1930. godine (preuzeto iz: Dyggve 1951, fig. III, 19)

Fig. 3 Ground plan from the 1930 excavations (taken from: Dyggve 1951, Fig. III, 19).

tacije. Brigu o Rižinicama od 1992. godine vodi Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu pa se tada izvode i manja istraživanja, koja se od 2011. godine stabiliziraju u kontinuirane arheološke kampanje. U tom razdoblju istražen je prostor pred crkvom, pri čemu su otkrivena dva antička sarkofaga preupotrijebljena u srednjem vijeku,¹⁶ još nekoliko srednjevjekovnih grobova i neki elementi rimske vile rustike. Rižinice su kroz to razdoblje uređene u arheološki park, koji često posjećuju učenici osnovnih i srednjih škola u sklopu nastave u prirodi.¹⁷ Posljednja arheološka kampanja provedena je 2021. godine. Tom prilikom istražena je središnja terasa lokaliteta, koja je definirana kao vrt i datirana u kasnu antiku na temelju tehnike gradnje i odnosa struktura. Međutim, terasa je u ranom srednjem vijeku priređena u grobišni prostor. Naime, na njoj su

where many elementary and high school students visit the site within the scope of field trips.¹⁷ The most recent archaeological campaign took place in 2021, during which the central terrace of the site was excavated. Based on construction techniques and the arrangement of structures, it was dated to the late ancient period and defined as a garden. However, in the Early Middle Ages, this terrace was adapted into a burial ground. Namely, a total of 54 graves were recorded on the terrace, and based on the finds, primarily jewellery, these graves are dated to the period from the mid-9th to the end of the 11th century, with the 10th century being the most prominent one there (Fig. 4).¹⁸

All graves feature stone grave architecture, with vertically placed head- and footstones. The side panels were made of two to three rows of stone or, more often, from vertically placed slabs. Some graves also show the use of clay as a binder and filler for the gaps between the stone slabs, and some included lateral reinforcements made of stacked stones. Most graves had a preserved lid comprised of several stone slabs, while two were covered with a single massive monolithic slab. However, nine graves on the eastern edge of the cemetery lacked covers, which according to documented drawings had already been excavated in 1930. In fact, most of the graves on this terrace had been either previously excavated without proper documentation or, more likely, looted. Namely, only two graves contained the complete, *in situ* remains of the deceased. In the majority of graves, i.e. in 31 graves, only the lower parts of the skeletons were found *in situ*, including foot bones, lower legs, femurs and pelvises, with arm and hand bones less frequently preserved. This suggests that the graves were opened to remove artefacts, as the area of the skeleton where jewellery could be typically expected is either missing or dis-

¹⁶ Zekan 2011, str. 638.

¹⁷ Istraživanja je 2011. godine vodio djelatnik muzeja M. Zekan (vidi: Zekan 2011, str. 637–642), a od 2013. do 2019. brigu o lokalitetu preuzeo je Lj. Gudelj, također djelatnik istog muzeja, čijom je energijom i zalaganjem ovaj lokalitet ne samo istraživao i djelomično konzerviran već i pretvoren u učionicu na otvorenom za sve dobronamjerne posjetitelje. O tadašnjim radovima na lokalitetu vidi: Gudelj 2013, str. 573–574; Gudelj 2014, str. 614–616; Gudelj 2015, str. 714–715; Gudelj 2016, str. 778–781; Gudelj 2017, str. 789–791; Gudelj 2018, str. 822–824.

¹⁷ Excavations in 2011 were led by museum staff member M. Zekan (see: Zekan 2011, pp. 637–642). From 2013 to 2019, Lj. Gudelj, another museum staff member, took over responsibility for the site. Through his dedication and efforts, the site was not only explored and partially conserved but also transformed into an open-air classroom, welcoming all interested and well-meaning visitors. For further details on the work carried out at the site during this period, see: Gudelj 2013, pp. 573–574, idem 2014, pp. 614–616, idem 2015, pp. 714–715, idem 2016, pp. 778–781, idem 2017, pp. 789–791, idem 2018, pp. 822–824.

¹⁸ Katić, Tojčić 2021, pp. 30–33



Sl. 4. Groblje na središnjoj terasi istraženoj 2021. godine (A. Alajbeg)
 Fig. 4 Cemetery on the central terrace excavated in 2021 (A. Alajbeg).

evidentirana ukupno 54 groba, koja se na temelju nalaza u njima, mahom nakita, mogu datirati unutar razdoblja od sredine 9. do kraja 11. st., s težištem na 10. st. (sl. 4).¹⁸

Svi grobovi imaju kamenu grobnu arhitekturu koja se sastoji od okomito postavljenih kamenih ploča u vidu doglavnice i donožnice, dok su bočne stranice u manjem broju slučajeva zidane, u dvama ili trima redovima kamenja, a češće rađene od okomito postavljenih ploča. Na nekoliko grobova evidentirana je upotreba gline kao veziva i zapune praznog prostora među kamenim pločama, a dio grobova imao je i bočna ojačanja izrađena od posloženog kamenja. Na većini grobova očuvao se pokrov od nekoliko kamenih ploča, dok je na dvama grobovima evidentiran pokrov od jedne masivne monolitne ploče. Bez pokrova je zatečeno devet grobova s istočnog ruba groblja, koje je, prema nacrtnoj dokumentaciji, već istraženo 1930. godine. Zapravo je većina grobova s ove terase prethodno istražena, ali nije dokumentirana ili je, još vjerojatnije, opljačkana.

turbed. Additionally, a large number of graves had completely disturbed skeletons, but interestingly, in some cases, the skeletal remains, after being disturbed, were carefully rearranged (Fig. 5).

For example, in one grave, long bones were found in the lower section, while all other bones were piled in the centre. In another case, long bones and skull fragments were arranged in the middle of the grave, while all other bones were removed.¹⁹ Such disturbances likely occurred before the site's formal excavations. The graves excavated in 1930 are located along the eastern wall of the terrace and were left without covers, while the others were covered, suggesting that these graves were not opened during that period. The fact that these graves were not explored at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries by Father Frane Bulić is supported by the similar situation at the nearby site Crikvine, where Bulić noted that the graves contained mostly jumbled bones.²⁰ Based on the bone material, the

¹⁸ Katić, Tojčić 2021, str. 30–33.

¹⁹ Idem pp. 20–30.

²⁰ Bulić 1931, 63–68.



Sl. 5. Grob 11 (D. Tojčić)
Fig. 5 Grave 11 (D. Tojčić).

na. Naime, samo su dva groba sadržavala cjelovite, *in situ* očuvane ostatke pokojnika. Kod većine grobova, njih 31, očuvani su *in situ* tek donji dijelovi skeleta, dakle kosti stopala i potkoljenice, bedrene kosti te zdjelica, a rjeđe kosti ruku i šake. Ovakva situacija upućuje na otvaranje grobova radi vađenja nalaza, s obzirom na to da upravo područje skeleta u kojem se mogu očekivati primjerci nakita nedostaje ili je poremećeno. Također, velik broj grobova imao je potpuno poremećene skelete, a zanimljivo je da su u određenim slučajevima skeletni ostatci nakon što su poremećeni bili i brižljivo poslagani (sl. 5).

presence of as many as 143 individuals has been recorded.²¹ However, as the remains are significantly mixed, as evidenced by the fact that a grave constructed for a child also contained bones of adults, it is believed that a considerable portion of human remains may have been relocated from other areas within the site. This theory is supported by the presence of early medieval jewellery discovered there, which dates the cemetery to the early medieval period when most graves typically contained a single deceased individual. In cases of multiple burials, it was common to place the deceased one above the other.²² Notably, such multiple burials have been documented at Rižinice in two cases. Due to these reasons, we focused our analysis of the cemetery on skeletal remains that could be confidently associated with specific graves. This included a total of 50 individuals who were fully or partially *in situ* and could be linked to specific graves. Additionally, there are 7 graves where it was not possible to associate the remains with a particular individual, but each of them certainly contained at least one deceased individual. Therefore, the cemetery likely contained 57 buried individuals or slightly more.

TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE ROMAN VILLA RUSTICA INTO AN EARLY MEDIEVAL MONASTERY

As already mentioned earlier in the text, construction at Rižinice began during antiquity with the establishment of a rural agricultural estate (*villa rustica*), likely no later than the 1st century.²³ This estate was one of many similar properties within the ager of Salona and likely just one of a few in this area of the ager,²⁴ situated in what is now the eastern part of the field of Klis.²⁵ The late antique period was marked by the transformation of many social, economic and political aspects of the classical Roman civilization, including rural estates. One of the main challenges was the supply of labour, as the influx of slaves had significantly decreased. This crisis led to a change in the status of slaves—*servi* were allowed to marry, establish families and even own land and movable property or *pecunium*,

²¹ See the appendix included in this text.

²² Petrinec 2009, pp. 105-106.

²³ Gudelj 2018, pp. 789-791

²⁴ For details on the scope of the Salona ager, see: Suić 1956.

²⁵ Uroda 2008, pp. 73-74.

Tako, primjerice, u jednom grobu nailazimo na ostatke dugih kostiju smještene u donjem dijelu groba dok su sve ostale kosti naslagane na hrpi po sredini groba. U drugom slučaju duge kosti i kosti lubanje poslagane su po sredini groba, a sve ostale kosti u potpunosti su uklonjene.¹⁹ Vjerojatno se radi o činu koji se dogodio prije samih iskopavanja lokaliteta. Naime, grobovi istraženi 1930. godine nalaze se uz istočni zid terase i ostavljeni su bez poklopnica dok su ostali grobovi s poklopticama, pa smatramo da ti grobovi s poklopticama nisu bili otvarani u spomenutom razdoblju. Da ih krajem 19. i početkom 20. st. nije istraživao don F. Bulić, svjedoči slična situacija na obližnjem lokalitetu Crikvine, za čije grobove Bulić navodi da većim dijelom sadrže ispremiješane kosti.²⁰ Na temelju koštanog materijala evidentirana je prisutnost čak 143 osobe.²¹ Međutim, kako se radi o uvelike ispremiješanim ostatcima, čemu svjedoči i činjenica da se u grobu koji je po konstrukciji rađen za dijete nalaze i kosti odraslih osoba, smatramo da je značajan dio ljudskih ostataka ovamo dospio i s drugih položaja na istom lokalitetu. Tome u prilog ide i podatak da se na temelju pronađenog nakita ovo groblje datira u rani srednji vijek, što je vrijeme kada se u najvećem broju slučajeva u grobovima nalazi po jedan pokojnik, a kod višestrukih ukopa često je postavljanje pokojnika po principu jedan iznad drugoga.²² Takvi višestruki pokopi na Rižinicama su evidentirani u dvama slučajevima. Zbog svih navedenih razloga odlučili smo ovo groblje analizirati na temelju onih skeletnih ostataka za koje smo bili sigurni da su pripadali određenim grobovima. Tako smo izdvojili ukupno 50 pokojnika koji su cjelovito ili djelomično *in situ* te se mogu dovesti u vezu s određenim grobovima. Osim toga, postoji još sedam grobova s kojima nije bilo moguće povezati ostatke pokojnika, ali je sigurno da se u njima nalazio barem jedan pokojnik. Prema tome, na ovom groblju treba računati s 57 ili nešto malo više pokojnika.

TRANSFORMACIJA RIMSKE VILE RUSTIKE U RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNI SAMOSTAN

Kako je već navedeno u prethodnim pasusima, građevinska aktivnost na Rižinicama započela je još u doba antike, organiziranjem ruralnog gospodar-

as noted in historical sources. Additionally, rural estates underwent significant structural changes during this period, often consolidating into larger units. Evidence suggests that many *villae rusticae* in the ager of Salona ceased to function in late antiquity. Those that remained active transformed into expansive estates,²⁶ and this appears to have been the case at Rižinice as well. Namely, the majority of coins and possibly many smaller artefacts found at the site date to the late ancient period. During this time, the estate underwent notable expansions: a complex of rooms was constructed to the north, and a garden-like area was developed to the west.²⁷

A significant number of late ancient villas in the ager of Salona actually continued to function in the early medieval period,²⁸ when most of the ager—with the exception of the Split peninsula—became the direct property of Croatian rulers, known as the so-called *territorium regale*. Under the patronage of these rulers, a considerable number of churches within these villas were revitalized. If Trpimir's charter was indeed written in 852, it can be reasonably assumed that the revitalization at Rižinice took place shortly before that year. In the charter, Trpimir mentions the assistance of the Archbishop of Split in equipping the church and monastery, for which the archbishop was generously rewarded. Trpimir granted him the Church of St. George in nearby Putalj, along with all the land and people (*servos quidem et ancillas*) that had earlier been endowed to the church during its consecration by Duke Mislav, Trpimir's predecessor.²⁹ Trpimir went even a step further by reconfirming his predecessor's gifts and privileges to the Archbishop of Split, including lands in the nearby settlements of Lažani and Tugari, along with the people on the lands (*cum servis et ancillis*) and a tithe from the royal estate in Klis. All of these individuals are referred to as *servi et ancillae*, terms denoting unfree male and female populations, i.e., slaves or serfs. The charter itself was written in Bijaći,³⁰ a site where a *villa rusti-*

¹⁹ Katić, Tojčić 2021, str. 20–30.

²⁰ Bulić 1931, str. 63–68.

²¹ Vidi *Prilog* u sklopu ovog teksta.

²² Petrincec 2009, str. 105–106.

²⁶ Burić 2015, pp. 544–547.

²⁷ Katić, Tojčić 2021, pp. 10–13.

²⁸ Burić 2021, p. 545.

²⁹ See: CD I, pp. 45–47.

³⁰ All the sites mentioned in this deed of donation are located near Rižinice. Putalj is situated in the area of Kaštel Sućurac, only 6 km away from Rižinice in a straight line, while Lažani is located in Kaštel Kambeľovac, just 9 km away from Rižinice. Bijaći is also in the Kaštela area, 17 km from Rižinice, and Tugare is in today's central Poljica, 15 km from Rižinice.

skog zdanja, vile rustike, najkasnije u 1. st.²³ Bilo je to jedno od mnogih sličnih zdanja u salonitanskom ageru,²⁴ a zasigurno i jedno od tek nekoliko njih na ovdašnjem prostoru tog agera, današnjem istočnom dijelu Kliškog polja.²⁵ Kasna antika predstavlja razdoblje transformacije mnogih društvenih, ekonomskih i političkih aspekata klasične rimske civilizacije, pa tako i ruralnog gospodarstva. Jedan od glavnih izazova bila je opskrba radnom snagom, s obzirom na znatno smanjen priljev robova. Takva kriza rezultirat će promjenom robovskog statusa – *servi* će moći sklapati brakove i zasnivati obitelj, ali i posjedovati zemlju i pokretnine – *pecunium*, kako će to nazivati povijesni izvori. Također, ruralna gospodarstva prolaze i kroz strukturne promjene, odnosno okrupnjavaju se. Pokazalo se da mnoge vile rustike salonitanskog agera prestaju funkcionirati u kasnoj antici, a one koje su se nastavile koristiti evoluirale su u neku vrstu veleposjeda.²⁶ Čini se da je tako bilo i na Rižinicama. Naime, većina pronađenog novca na lokalitetu, a možda i sitnih nalaza uopće, pripada razdoblju kasne antike. U to se vrijeme i postojeće zdanje širi prema sjeveru, gdje se gradi kompleks prostorija, te prema zapadu, gdje se formira nekakav vrt.²⁷

Dobar dio tih kasnoantičkih vila salonitanskog agera zapravo funkcionira i u ranom srednjem vijeku,²⁸ kada većina agera, uz iznimku splitskog poluotoka, postaje direktni posjed hrvatskih vladara, tzv. *teritorium regale*. Upravo pod pokroviteljstvom hrvatskih vladara u tim vilama revitalizira se značajan broj crkava. Ako je Trpimirova darovnica pisana 852. godine, možemo pretpostaviti da se ta revitalizacija na Rižinicama dogodila nešto prije spomenute godine. Trpimir u navedenoj darovnici spominje pomoć splitskog nadbiskupa u opremanju crkve i samostana, zbog čega ga i obilato nagrađuje. Daruje mu crkvu sv. Jurja na obližnjem Putalju, zajedno sa svom zemljom i ljudstvom (*servos quidem et ancillas*) kojima je crkvu obdario knez Mislav, Trpimirov prethodnik, prilikom njezina posvećenja.²⁹ Trpimir nije ostao samo na tome, već splitskom nadbiskupu potvrđuje darove i privilegije svog prethodnika, odnosno zemlje u obližnjim

ca with an adjoining church was located in the late ancient period. This church had been revitalized already by the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century.³¹

At the same location, precisely 40 years later, the nobles of the Croatian Principality gathered to advise Duke Muncimir and witness the ruling in a dispute between the Archbishop of Split and the Bishop of Nin. The ruling confirmed the right of the Archdiocese of Split to the Church of St. George at Putalj, along with all its revenues, slaves (*cum servis et ancillis*) and estates, including all movable and immovable property. The specified estates included fields, vineyards, pastures and forests.³² Thus, these are the types of properties that formed the economic foundation of an early medieval institution, enabling it to remain sustainable. A similar economic model could also be applied to the early medieval monastery in Rižinice. According to this, it would have owned land of various agricultural types from which it derived income. The characteristics of the environment surrounding the monastery suggest another possible economic activity, one that was quite typical for monasteries of the time. As mentioned in the introduction, a stream with a constant water supply runs along the site. Approximately a hundred meters to the north of the site, extending up to the source of the stream, several mills are still visible today. These were likely built between the end of the Candian War and the early 20th century.³³ During the Candian War (1645–1669), the Venetian Republic expanded its territories in Dalmatia at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Klis was conquered in 1648, leading to the settlement of new inhabitants in the area. As a result, by 1675, a cadastral plan of Klis and its surrounding area was created by the commander of Klis, Zorzio Calergi,³⁴ who marked two small squares on the stream Ilijin potok and included the legend *Vestigie d'altri molini distrutti...* (Fig. 6).³⁵

When his cadastral map is overlaid with a modern topographical or satellite map of the same scale, it clearly reveals that the remains of the destroyed

²³ Gudelj 2018, str. 789–791.

²⁴ O rasprostriranju salonitanskog agera vidi u: Suić 1956. Uroda 2008, str. 73–74.

²⁵ Burić 2015, str. 544–547.

²⁶ Katić, Tojčić 2021, str. 10–13.

²⁷ Burić 2021, str. 545.

²⁸ Vidi: CD I, str. 45–47.

³¹ Milošević 1999, pp. 256–259.

³² CD I, pp. 72–73.

³³ Information was taken from a lecture by I. Alduk about the mills that are located along the stream Ilijin potok. The lecture was held on 23rd October 2023, in the premises of the Rupotine local council in Solin.

³⁴ Slukan – Altić 2000, p. 177.

³⁵ HR – DAZd - 6

Lažanima i Tugarima, također s ljudstvom koje je na njima (*cum servis et ancillis*), kao i desetinu s vladarskog posjeda u Klisu. Svo spomenuto ljudstvo navodi se kao *servi et ancillae*, što je termin za neslobodno muško i žensko stanovništvo odnosno robove. Darovnica je pisana u Bijaćima,³⁰ na mjestu gdje se u kasnoj antici nalazila *vile rustike* s pripadajućom crkvom. Ta crkva revitalizirana je već krajem 8. ili početkom 9. st.³¹

Na istom mjestu, 40-ak godina kasnije, velikaši Hrvatske Kneževine okupili su se kako bi savjetovali kneza Muncimira i svjedočili presudi u sporu splitskog nadbiskupa i ninskog biskupa. Presudom je Splitskoj nadbiskupiji potvrđeno pravo na crkvu sv. Jurja na Putalju, sa svim njezinim prihodima, robovima (*cum servis et ancillis*) i posjedima kao i uopće svim pokretninama i nekretninama. Kao posjedi preciziraju se polja, vinogradi, pašnjaci i šume.³² Dakle, riječ je o vrstama posjeda koje čine gospodarsku osnovu jedne institucije ranog srednjeg vijeka, koja osigurava da ta institucija uopće bude u stanju održivosti. Sličan gospodarski model mogao bi se primijeniti i na ranosrednjovjekovni samostan u Rižinicama. On bi, prema tome, bio posjednik zemljišta različitih poljoprivrednih karakteristika iz kojih bi izvlačio prihode. Karakteristike okoliša u kojem je samostan smješten indiciraju još jednu mogućnost gospodarske aktivnosti, koja je prilično tipična za tadašnje samostane. Već je u uvodu spomenuto kako uz lokalitet protječe potok sa stalnim dotokom vode. Na stotinjak metara sjeverno od lokaliteta, pa sve do izvora potoka, još i danas su vidljivi ostatci nekoliko mlinica koje su građene vjerojatno u rasponu od završetka Kandij-skog rata do početka 20. st.³³ Tijekom Kandij-skog rata (1645. – 1669.) Mletačka Republika proširila je svoje posjede u Dalmaciji nauštrb Osmanskog Car-

mills are located precisely at Rižinice, about 50 meters away from the archaeological site. While the mills mentioned in the 17th century are not conclusive evidence that they originate from medieval times, let alone that they were constructed to serve the needs of an early medieval monastery, this document does confirm that the area where the early medieval monastery was located had significant potential for milling, i.e. for the installations required for mechanical grinding of grains and the processing of olive pulp primarily. Such resources would have made the site an ideal choice for the Benedictines, who, between the 9th and 11th centuries, were the owners of most mills in Western Europe, from which they earned significant income.³⁶ In the 9th century, the St. Germain des Prés monastery alone owned 84 mills. Based on the reports from this monastery, it can be concluded that the skill and technology for building mills at the time allowed them to be constructed only on smaller streams with gentler slopes.³⁷ The site where Calergi marked the destroyed mills is exactly like this, as the water gradient here is much gentler compared to the steeper section 150 meters upstream, where the remains of modern stone mills are still visible. Medieval mills, as archaeology and historical sources reveal, were often made of wood. For instance, the Bobbio Monastery in Italy did not hire masons for their construction, but rather carpenters.³⁸ The need for water, especially at monasteries, was not limited to powering the mills. It was also necessary to ensure drinking water, irrigation for fields, and, very importantly for monasteries, cleanliness of the body. Therefore, almost all of them were located near important watercourses to meet all these needs, which required carefully selected locations and planning of the water supply. As a result, monks often chose terraces that were lower than the riverbed, where water could be constantly supplied through a system of upstream dams and canals, using gravity.³⁹ The area of Rižinice, with its layout, was particularly suited for such a system. In fact, just 100 meters upstream, the stream Ilijin potok sits several meters higher than the site. From here, the water flows in cascades and then eventually more gently a few meters below at the site itself. This made it possible

³⁰ Svi lokaliteti koji se spominju u navedenoj darovnici smješteni su nedaleko od Rižinica. Putalj se nalazi na području Kaštel Sućurca i udaljen je od Rižinica svega 6 km zračne linije, dok se Lažani nalaze u Kaštel Kambelovcu, udaljeni tek 9 km zračne linije od Rižinica. Bijaći se također nalaze u Kaštelima i udaljeni su 17 km zračne linije, dok se Tugare nalaze u današnjim Srednjim Poljicima i udaljene su 15 km zračne linije od Rižinica.

³¹ Milošević 1999, str. 256–259.

³² CD I, str. 72–73.

³³ Informacija je preuzeta s predavanja I. Alduka o mlinicama na Ilijinu potoku, koje je održano 23. listopada 2023. u prostorijama mjesnog odbora „Rupotina“ u Solinu.

³⁶ Lucas 2006, p. 105

³⁷ Benoit – Rouillard 2000, p. 171

³⁸ Magnusson – Squatriti 2000, p. 261

³⁹ Benoit – Rouillard 2000, pp. 181–182.



Sl. 6. Calergijeva karta iz 1965. godine s označenim područjem lokaliteta Rižinice (zeleno) i porušenim mlinicama (plavo) (preuzeto iz: HR-DAZD-6)

Fig. 6 Calegri's map from 1965 showing the marked area of the Rižinice site (in green) and the destroyed mills (in blue) (taken from: HR – DAZd – 6).

stva. Osvojen je i Klis 1648. godine pa je na njegovo područje doseljeno novo stanovništvo. Stoga je već 1675. godine kliški zapovjednik Zorzi Calergi izradio katastarski plan Klisa i okolice.³⁴ Calergi je na Ilijinu potoku ucrtao dva kvadratića uz koje je priložio legendu *Vestigie d'altri molini distrutti...* (sl. 6).³⁵

Kada se njegova katastarska karta preklopi s današnjom topografskom ili satelitskom kartom istog mjerila, dobije se rezultat da se ostatci tih porušenih mlinica nalaze upravo na Rižinicama, tek pedesetak metara od arheološkog lokaliteta. Naravno, ruševne mlinice koje se navode u 17. st. nisu potvrdile da su one srednjovjekovnog podrijetla, a posebice ne da su izgrađene za potrebe ranosrednjovjekovnog samostana. Međutim, taj dokument potvrđuje da je područje na kojem je smješten ranosrednjovje-

to continuously supply the site with water from the stream by using gravity, while excess water, as well as wastewater, could easily be diverted downstream into the stream. Perhaps it was the possibility of a continuous water supply to the site that resulted in the absence (or, it has yet to be found) of a water storage system, i.e. the so-called cisterns, which almost always appear at Roman or late antique rural estates, and which one would expect to find at a medieval monastery as well. This situation suggests the possibility that there was a system for the continuous supply of fresh water at Rižinice, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages, which ensured stable use without the concern of contamination that occurs when stored in tanks. Of course, such hypotheses need to be archaeologically confirmed, but it is certainly plausible that the Rižinice area was carefully selected by those who established their agricultural-residential complex here. This is especially likely when we consider how the Rupotine area, where Rižinice is located, is highly favourable for life, agriculture and the routing of roads.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE RIŽINICE ESTATE

Let us return once more to the royal charters to further examine the social and economic conditions that may have applied to the monastery of Rižinice. Two documents from the 9th century have previously been mentioned, both written in Bijaći, in front of the Church of St. Martha, and both mentioning the Church of St. George at Putalj. In both documents, within the scope of the lands granted or confirmed by the ruler, i.e. on the previously royal estate, an unfree population is mentioned. A similar reference appears in a document from King Coloman from the 12th century. Supposedly, Coloman once again confirmed the possession of the village of St. George at Putalj to the church of Split, along with all its inhabitants (*servis et ancillis*). Interestingly, this section of the charter suggests that all the inhabitants of the village were unfree, or slaves. Another significant aspect of the same charter is that King Coloman confirmed to the church of Split the possession of several villages in the area of mountain Mosor, namely Srinjine, Gate, Tugare and Sitno, along with their slaves (*servis et ancillis*) as well as their descendants. This implies that the status of the

³⁴ Slukan – Altić 2000, str. 177.

³⁵ HR-DAZD-6.

kovni samostan zaista imalo potencijal za mlinsko gospodarstvo, prvenstveno za instalacije mehaničkog mljevenja žitarica i razbijanja pulpe maslina. Moguće je da su to područje, kao takvo, pomno odabrali benediktinci, koji su u razdoblju od 9. do 11. st. bili posjednici najvećeg broja mlinova u zapadnoj Europi, od čega su ubirali značajne prihode.³⁶ Samo je samostan St. Germain des Prés u 9. st. bio vlasnikom ukupno 84 mlinice. Na temelju izvještaja tog samostana može se zaključiti kako su vještina i tehnologija gradnje mlinica tada omogućavale njihovo podizanje isključivo na manjim vodotocima s blažim nagibom.³⁷ Položaj na kojem je Calergi ucrtao porušene mlinice upravo je takav. Na tom mjestu nalazi se puno blaži pad vode nego što je to na oko 150 metara uzvodno, gdje se još uvijek vide ostatci kamenih novovjekovnih mlinica. Srednjovjekovne mlinice bile su, kako nam to otkrivaju arheologija i povijesni izvori, češće rađene od drva. Tako, primjerice, samostan Bobbio u Italiji za njihovu izgradnju nije angažirao zidare, već tesare.³⁸ Potrebe za vodom, pogotovo kod samostana, nisu bile svedene samo na pokretanje mlina. Bilo je potrebno osigurati pitku vodu, irigaciju polja, ali i ono samostanima vrlo važno – čistoću tijela. Gotovo svi samostani smješteni su u blizini važnih vodotoka kako bi zadovoljili sve te potrebe, a to zahtjeva pomno biranu lokaciju i planiranje vodne opskrbe. Stoga su redovnici za položaj često birali terase koje su niže od korita vode, do kojih se sustavom uzvodne brane i kanala može regulirati slobodni pad vode, čime se osigurava stalna opskrba.³⁹ Rižinice se za takav sustav čine idealnim. Naime, manje od 100 metara uzvodno Ilijin potok nalazi se na nekoliko metara višoj koti od lokaliteta. Odande se voda spušta u slapovima, da bi kod samog lokaliteta, na nekoliko metara nižoj koti, počela mirnije teći. Zbog toga je voda iz Ilijina potoka mogla po gravitacijskom modelu stalno opskrbljivati lokalitet, ali se i višak vode, kao naravno i otpadne vode, mogao lako preusmjeriti nizvodno u potok. Možda je upravo mogućnost stalnog dotoka vode na lokalitet rezultirala time da na Rižinicama nema (odnosno još uvijek nije pronađen) sustava za njezino spremanje, tzv. cisterni, koje se gotovo bez izuzetaka javljaju na lokalitetima rimskog ili kasnoantič-

unfree population was hereditary.⁴⁰ Although early medieval historical sources still use Roman terms (*servus* and *ancilla*) for the unfree population, their meaning is yet somewhat different. While slaves could still be acquired through warfare, plunder or purchased from specialized traders, it was not uncommon for individuals to voluntarily submit to unfree status due to debt, poverty or to avoid punishment.⁴¹ However, this voluntary submission to slavery was unknown to the Romans. Unlike the “other” mostly non-Christian slaves, these individuals were often from the same cultural background and, nominally, were not treated the same. Such servitude often occurred within a specific time frame agreed upon with the master. As a result, the status of unfreedom, i.e. the degree of control over one’s fate and the type of relationship with the master, differed from person to person, and therefore it is often described as a “spectrum of unfreedom” in the context of the Early Middle Ages.⁴² The monastery at Rižinice undoubtedly also possessed such labour. Like nearby Putalj, Lažani or the Mosor villages of Srinjine, Tugare, Gata and Sitno, Rižinice was a royal estate, and thus likely included an unfree population living on the estate and performing tasks for the benefit of their master. The presence of an unfree population on monastic or church estates was not unique to this area. According to inventory books from the monasteries St. Germain des Prés and St. Remi from the 9th century, it is estimated that about 10% of the population on the estates of St. Germain des Prés and over 20% on the estates of St. Remi were unfree.⁴³ One village owned by the St. Remi monastery was fully documented. It had a population of 1,202 in the 9th century, of which 546 were adults. The ratio of free to unfree adults was 3:1 in favour of the free. However, most of the free population, i.e. 216 individuals, were classified with a term that is translated as “liberated.”⁴⁴ This suggests that the majority of the village’s population had once been unfree but also that most of them, after gaining freedom, remained on the same estates and continued working in similar capacities. The landowners of the village were primarily focused on maintaining a reliable workforce and a steady

³⁶ Lucas 2006, str. 105.

³⁷ Benoit, Rouillard 2000, str. 171.

³⁸ Magnusson, Squatriti 2000, str. 261.

³⁹ Benoit, Rouillard 2000, str. 181–182.

⁴⁰ Budak 1985, pp. 258–259.

⁴¹ Rio 2021, pp. 435–437.

⁴² Fynn-Paul 2021, p. 30.

⁴³ Rio 2021, p. 443.

⁴⁴ Flecher, Fontaine 2021, p. 595.

kog ruralnog gospodarstva te bismo ih očekivali i u sklopu srednjovjekovnog samostana. Ovakva situacija ukazuje na mogućnost da je na Rižinicama, u antici i srednjem vijeku, postojao sustav stalne dopreme svježe vode, koji je korisnicima omogućavao stabilnost upotrebe bez brige o mogućoj kontaminaciji koja se događa čuvanjem u spremnicima. Naravno, ovakve premise potrebno je i arheološki potvrditi, ali je svakako izgledno da su oni koji su ovdje podizali svoj gospodarsko-naseobinski kompleks pomno odabrali područje Rižinica, pogotovo ako se uz to sjetimo kako je prostor Rupotine, na kojem se ovaj lokalitet nalazi, izrazito povoljan za život, zemljoradnju i trasiranje prometnica.

DRUŠTVENO-GOSPODARSKA STRUKTURA RIŽINIČKOG VELEPOSJEDA

Vratit ćemo se ponovo na vladarske darovnice kako bismo dalje istražili društveno-gospodarske prilike koje bi mogle biti primjenjive na rižinički samostan. Prethodno su navedene dvije isprave iz 9. st., obje pisane u Bijaćima pred crkvom sv. Marte i obje sa spomenom Sv. Jurja na Putalju. Također, na obama dokumentima se u sklopu zemalja koje vladar daruje ili potvrđuje, dakle na prethodno vladarskom posjedu, spominje neslobodno stanovništvo. Isto se spominje i u dokumentu kralja Kolomana iz 12. st. Navodno je Koloman splitskoj Crkvi ponovo potvrdio posjedovanje sela Sv. Jurja na Putalju sa svim ljudstvom (*servis et ancillis*). Zanimljivo, iz ovog dijela darovnice može se zaključiti kako su svi stanovnici tog sela bili neslobodni, odnosno robovi. Važna je i druga stavka iz te darovnice. Naime, Koloman potvrđuje splitskoj Crkvi i mosorska sela Srinjine, Gate, Tugare i Sitno, također s robovima (*sevis et ancillis*), ali i njihovim potomcima, iz čega proizlazi da je status neslobodnih bio nasljeđan.⁴⁰ Iako povijesni izvori ranog srednjeg vijeka još uvijek koriste rimske termine (*servus* i *ancilla*) za neslobodno stanovništvo, njihovo je značenje ipak ponešto drukčije. Još uvijek se robovi mogu nabaviti ratovanjem, pljačkom i kupovinom od specijaliziranih trgovaca, ali nije rijedak slučaj dobrovoljnog predavanja u neslobodni status zbog duga, siromaštva ili izbjegavanja kazne.⁴¹ Ovo posljednje, neprisilno postajanje robom, Rimljanima nije poznato. Takvi su robovi zapravo iz istog kulturnog podneblja, za razliku od onih „drugih“, većinom

flow of tributes, suggesting that mechanisms were in place to ensure this, regardless of the legal status of the workers. From the perspective of the unfree, their status might have made marriage, relocation or changes in occupation more difficult. However, their economic position could have been very similar, if not identical, to that of the free population living and working on large estates. Evidence supporting this assumption could be the fact that the unfree population had the right to own property, whether movable or immovable (*peculium*), as noted in the deed of donation by King Zvonimir.⁴⁵ Additionally, in the 11th century for example, unfree individuals even owned a mill in Solin, from which they generated income.⁴⁶

Based on historical sources, which refer to nearby church estates that were previously royal, as is the case with Rižinice, we can conclude that a significant portion of the population on the Rižinice estate was unfree, and that traces of this population might be found in the researched cemetery. Anthropological analyses were conducted on the skeletal remains of 50 individuals from the central terrace excavated in 2021, as well as on remains of the deceased found in a sarcophagus and a grave in between, which were located next to the church's façade. These latter individuals were likely of higher social status, as there are no signs of heavy physical labour or malnutrition in their remains.⁴⁷ In contrast, the remains of the deceased from the central terrace suggest that those buried there endured harsh living conditions, often suffering from malnutrition, with their daily lives involving heavy physical labour. Men, in particular, seem to have engaged in more strenuous work than women.⁴⁸ Among the sample from the central terrace at Rižinice, caries is notably more frequent than in the composite sample of early medieval cemeteries. In this sample, the percentage of caries is slightly higher in women, while at Rižinice, it is more common in men.⁴⁹ This indicates

⁴⁵ See: Budak 1985, p. 258.

⁴⁶ Idem, p. 263.

⁴⁷ Bašić, Anterić 2014.

⁴⁸ See the Appendix in this text

⁴⁹ The composite sample was derived from anthropological and bio-archaeological data collected from four early medieval cemeteries: Donje Polje – St. Lawrence near Šibenik, Radašinovci – Vinogradine near Benkovac, Glavice – Gluvine kuće near Sinj, and Velim – Velištak near Benkovac (see Šlaus 2006, pp. 41–44). According to Šlaus (2006, T.17), the rate of

⁴⁰ Budak 1985, str. 258–259.

⁴¹ Rio 2021, str. 435–437.

nekršćanskih robova, pa se nominalno i nisu tretirali na jednak način. Također, takva vrsta robovanja često se odvija u određenom vremenskom periodu, dogovorenom s gospodarom, zbog čega neslobodni status, odnosno razina kontrole nad vlastitom sudbinom i model odnosa s gospodarom, nije kod svakog isti, pa se u kontekstu ranog srednjeg vijeka često govori o „spektru neslobode“.⁴² Takvu je radnu snagu zasigurno posjedovao i samostan na Rižinicama. Naime, kao i obližnji Putalj, Lažani ili morskarska sela Srinjine, Tugare, Gata i Sitno, Rižinice su bile vladarski posjed i kao takve bi, analogno, obuhvaćale i neslobodno stanovništvo koje je živjelo na imanjima rižiničkog samostana i obavljalo poslove za benefit svojih gospodara. Neslobodno stanovništvo na samostanskim ili crkvenim imanjima nije nikakav specifikum ovog prostora. Na temelju inventarnih knjiga samostana St. Germain des Pres i St. Remi iz 9. st. procjenjuje se da je oko 10 % stanovništva na imanjima prvog spomenutog i preko 20 % na imanjima drugog spomenutog samostana bilo neslobodno.⁴³ Jedno selo u vlasništvu samostana St. Remi kompletno je popisano. U njemu je u 9. st. živjelo 1202 stanovnika, od čega 546 odraslih, a omjer između slobodnih i neslobodnih odraslih stanovnika bio je 3 : 1 u korist slobodnih. Međutim, većina slobodnih, njih 216, obuhvaćena je terminom koji se prevodi kao oslobođenici.⁴⁴ To bi značilo da je prethodno većina stanovnika tog sela ipak bila neslobodna, ali i to da većina stanovništva po oslobođenju ostaje na istim imanjima i da se eksploatacija iste radne snage nastavlja. Gospodarima tog sela bilo je najvažnije da imaju radnu snagu i stalan priljev podavanja, pa se čini da postoje i nekakvi mehanizmi koji im to omogućuju, bez obzira na pravni status radnika. Iz perspektive neslobodnih, taj bi status mogao otežavati ženidbu, promjenu lokacije, poslova i sl., ali bi njihov ekonomski položaj zapravo mogao biti vrlo sličan, možda čak i identičan slobodnom stanovništvu koje živi i radi na veleposjedima. U prilog tome može govoriti i to što neslobodno stanovništvo ima pravo na imovinu, bilo pokretnu ili nepokretnu (*peculium*), kako stoji i u Zvonimirovoj darovnici.⁴⁵ Osim toga, neslobodni su, primjerice, u 11. st. raspolagali mlinicom u Solinu, od koje su ostvarivali prihode.⁴⁶

that the diet of both sexes at Rižinice was primarily based on carbohydrates,⁵⁰ i.e. agricultural products, which suggests that everyone was closely tied to the land and agricultural activities, from which they were literally barely able to live. Another notable feature of this cemetery, compared to the composite sample of early medieval cemeteries, is the numerical ratio of men to women. The composite sample from early medieval cemeteries in Croatia consists of 117 men (35.3%), 112 women (33.8%), and 102 children (30.8%).⁵¹ Expressed in ratios, these are 1:0.96:0.87, indicating a fairly equal number of men and women, with slightly fewer children. Since we will use examples from the sites Knin – Spas, Bribir – Vratnice, and Kašić – Mastirine in our analyses, the ratios from these locations will also be presented here. At the cemetery Spas in Knin, the sex and age of 201 individuals could be determined. Among them, 66 were men (32.8%), 70 were women (34.8%) and 65 were children (32.2%).⁵² At the cemetery Vratnice in Bribir, 27 men (22.3%), 45 women (37.2%) and 49 children (40.5%) were identified.⁵³ At the cemetery Mastirine in Kašić, there were 88 skeletons with identifiable sex. Of these, 45 (40.5%) were men, 43 (38.7%) were women and 23 (20.7%) were children.⁵⁴ Expressed in ratios, these are 0.94:1:0.92 for Spas, 0.55:0.91:1 for Vratnice, and 1:0.95:0.51 for Mastirine. At Rižinice, the anthropological analysis identified 14 children, as well as two additional children, as two graves, which were certainly children's graves, were empty. Furthermore, 14 female and 22 male individuals were identified, with one more added later whose sex was determined only after the anthropological report was completed.⁵⁵ This results in the following numbers: 23 men (43.3%), 14 women (26.4%) and 16 children (30.2%), which corresponds to a ratio of 1:0.60:0.69. This ratio deviates significantly from the composite sample of early medieval cemeteries, as well as from the graves in the additional

caries in these cemeteries was 15.6% for women and 11.9% for men. In contrast, the Rižinice site revealed a higher caries rate, with 27.3% observed in men and 21.4% in women (see the anthropological appendix at the end of the text).

⁴² Fynn-Paul 2021, str. 30.

⁴³ Rio 2021, str. 443.

⁴⁴ Fletcher, Fontaine 2021, str. 595.

⁴⁵ Vidi: Budak 1985, str. 258.

⁴⁶ Budak 1985, str. 263.

⁵⁰ Fujita 1995, 25-37

⁵¹ Šlaus 2006, T. 14.

⁵² Jelovina 1989, p. 204.

⁵³ Idem 1990, p. 33.

⁵⁴ Idem 1982, p. 56.

⁵⁵ See the Appendix in this text

Na temelju povijesnih izvora koji govore o obližnjim crkvenim imanjima, prethodno u posjedu vladara, kao što je to slučaj i za Rižinice, možemo zaključiti da je značajan dio stanovništva na rižiničkom veleposjedu bio neslobodan te da bi tragovi tog stanovništva mogli biti pronađeni na istraženom groblju. Antropološke analize izvedene su na koštanim ostatcima 50 osoba sa središnje terase istražene 2021. godine, a prethodno i na koštanim ostatcima pokojnika iz sarkofaga i jednog groba između njih koji su postavljeni uz pročelje crkve. Ovi posljednji zasigurno su bili boljeg društvenog statusa s obzirom na to da na njima nema tragova teškog fizičkog rada i pothranjenosti.⁴⁷ Nasuprot tome, ostaci pokojnika sa središnje terase govore u prilog tome da su osobe koje su tu pokapane živjele u teškim uvjetima, nerijetko pothranjene i da im se svakodnevica sastojala od teškog fizičkog rada, nešto težeg kod muškaraca nego kod žena.⁴⁸ Kod razmatranog uzorka sa središnje terase na Rižinicama karijes se pojavljuje znatno češće nego što je to određeno za kompozitni uzorak ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja. Na tom je uzorku ponešto veći postotak karijesa kod žena, dok je na primjeru Rižinica on veći kod muškaraca.⁴⁹ To bi značilo da se na Rižinicama prehrana pripadnika obaju spolova bazirala najvećim dijelom na ugljikohidratima,⁵⁰ odnosno poljoprivrednim proizvodima, što ukazuje na to da su svi bili poprilično vezani za zemlju i poljoprivredne aktivnosti, od kojih su, doslovno, preživljavali. Još jedna značajka ovog groblja odudara od kompozitnog uzorka ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja. Radi se o brojčanom odnosu muškaraca i žena. Kompozitni uzorak na hrvatskim ranosrednjovjekovnim grobljima obuhvaća 117 muškaraca (35,3 %), 112 žena (33,8 %) i 102 djece (30, 8 %),⁵¹ što bi iskazano u omjeru bilo 1 : 0,96 : 0,87. Dakle, riječ je o prilično jednakom

three examples. In all the other examples, the ratio of women to the dominant group never falls below 0.90. At Rižinice, however, this number is significantly lower. While the disproportionate number of men at the cemetery Vratnice remains unclear, we propose that the well below-average number of women at the cemetery at Rižinice can be attributed to the unfree status of the population buried on the central terrace. Namely, as previously noted, unfree status restricted mobility and the ability to find marriage partners.⁵⁶ This, coupled with the higher demand for men as labourers in agricultural work, likely led to an imbalance within unfree groups on agricultural estates, with men outnumbering women. In Trpimir's deed of donation for example, *servi* are mentioned in Mosor, noting six married men and six single men, resulting in a total of twelve men compared to six women. This disparity in the ratio of men to women was even more pronounced among the workforce acquired for the monastery of St. Peter in Selo. Of the 59 individuals acquired, as many as 46 were men. However, these figures reflect the count at the moment of acquisition, and it is certain that in the subsequent period, the population of this monastery was further reorganized and shaped. Another early medieval source, the charter of Ban Stjepan Praska, also provides insights into the number of male *servi* and female *ancillae* on estates. In his donation of an estate to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, he explicitly stated that the estate included six men and four women. He also donated a second estate with 12 individuals and a third one with 8 individuals.⁵⁷ This data highlights a recurring and somehow logical pattern: the number of men among the unfree workforce on agricultural estates consistently exceeded the number of women. Based on the information from historical sources, along with the nature of the archaeological site, anthropological analyses and the numerical ratio of men to women, it is believed that the population buried on the central terrace of Rižinice likely belonged to the unfree population living on the farms that belonged to this large estate. These individuals performed agricultural work, for both their own and their master's benefit. Despite harsh living and working conditions, this population might have owned some property, either movable or immovable, as evidenced by items such as jewellery, some

⁴⁷ Bašić, Anterić 2014.

⁴⁸ Vidi *Prilog* u sklopu ovog teksta.

⁴⁹ Kompozitni uzorak izveden je na temelju antropoloških ili bioarheoloških podataka s četiriju ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja. Riječ je o lokalitetima Donje Polje – Sv. Lovre kod Šibenika, Radašinovci – Vinogradine kraj Benkovca, Glavice – Gluvine kuće kraj Sinja te Velim – Velištak kraj Benkovca (vidi: Šlaus 2006, str. 41–44), a za slučaj karijesa iznosi 15,6 % za žene i 11,9 % za muškarce (Šlaus 2006, T. 17). S druge strane, na Rižinicama je utvrđen postotak karijesa od 27,3 % za muškarce i 21,4 % za žene (vidi antropološki prilog na kraju teksta).

⁵⁰ Fujita 1995, 25–37.

⁵¹ Šlaus 2006, T. 14.

⁵⁶ Budak 1985, p. 266.

⁵⁷ Idem, pp. 257–258, 265, 259.

broju muškaraca i žena te tek nešto manjem broju djece. S obzirom na to da ćemo u daljnjim analizama koristiti primjere s lokaliteta Knin – Spas, Bribir – Vratnice i Kašić – Mastirine, iznijet ćemo i omjere s tih lokaliteta. Na groblju Spas u Kninu spol i dob mogli su se odrediti kod 201 pokojnika. Među njima je bilo 66 muškaraca (32,8 %), 70 žena (34,8 %) i 65 djece (32,2 %).⁵² Na Vratnicama na Bribiru se među pokojnicima odredilo 27 muškaraca (22,3 %), 45 žena (37,2 %) i 49 djece (40,5 %),⁵³ dok je na Mastirinama u Kašiću bilo 88 kostura koji su se mogli odrediti prema spolu, 45 muškaraca (40,5 %) i 43 žene (38,7 %), te 23 dječja pokojnika (20,7 %).⁵⁴ Prikazano omjerima to bi bilo 0,94 : 1 : 0,92 za prvi slučaj, 0,55 : 0,91 : 1 za drugi slučaj i 1 : 0,95 : 0,51 za treći slučaj. Antropološkom analizom na Rižinicama je utvrđeno postojanje 14 djece, kojima bismo trebali pridodati još dvoje s obzirom na to da su dva groba, zasigurno dječja, bila prazna. Također je prepoznato 14 ženskih i 22 muška pokojnika, kojima treba pribrojiti još jednog muškog pokojnika čiji je spol utvrđen tek nakon sastavljanja antropološkog izvješća.⁵⁵ Time dobivamo evidentirano stanje od 23 muškarca (43,3 %), 14 žena (26,4 %) i 16 djece (30,2 %), koje izraženo u omjeru iznosi 1 : 0,60 : 0,69. Takvo stanje odudara od kompozitnog uzorka za ranosrednjovjekovne grobove kao i grobove u dodatnim trima primjerima. U ni jednom od njih odnos žena naspram dominantnoj grupi nije ispod 0,90, dok je taj broj na Rižinicama poprilično manji. Nije nam jasno što se dogodilo s muškarcima na primjeru groblja na Vratnicama, ali za znatno ispodprosječan broj žena na groblju u Rižinicama priložit ćemo objašnjenje o neslobodnom karakteru populacije pokopane na središnjoj terasi. Naime, kako je već navedeno, neslobodan status otežavao je mobilnost i pronalaženje ženidbenih partnera,⁵⁶ što je uz muškarce kao traženiju radnu snagu na poljoprivrednim poslovima vjerojatno rezultiralo time da u grupacijama neslobodnih na poljoprivrednim imanjima postoji nesrazmjern broj muškaraca i žena u korist prvih. U Trpimirovoj darovnici tako se spominju *servi* u Mosoru, njih 6 oženjenih i 6 samaca, iz čega proizlazi da je ukupno bilo 12 muškaraca naspram 6 žena. Omjer muškaraca i žena bio

of which was made of precious metals. Such a situation, even among the unfree population, is not entirely surprising as they might have earned income that allowed them to acquire such possessions.

In conclusion, a combination of historical records, the circumstances related to the site itself and analogies with similar estates from the same period strongly suggests that the monastery at Rižinice owned extensive fields, vineyards, pastures, forests and, due to the steady supply of fresh water, also milling facilities. On this large estate, or to use the terminology of the time, *curtis*, hard physical labour was performed by unfree and probably partially free individuals who likely lived near the central part of the estate. These individuals may have owned property, both movable and immovable.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BURIAL GROUND

What further captures our interest and is discussed in greater detail in the text are the burial practices of the population in regard to the orientation of the graves on the central terrace excavated in 2021. Namely, already during the archaeological excavation, it became evident that most graves in this part of the site did not have the “usual” east-west orientation, and that these deviations cannot be explained solely by conventional factors such as the orientation of nearby structures, terrain relief, desires for proximity to sacred places, roads, etc. It is believed that Christian burials are typically oriented east-west, with the head of the deceased positioned to the west so they face east, in the direction of the sunrise. Deviations from the true or geographic east in the orientation of the graves can be explained by the solar arc model, which reflects the changing position of the sunrise throughout the year. For example, if the deceased and their graves were aligned with the sunrise on the day of burial, natural variations in their orientation would occur. At Rižinice, this would mean that graves oriented toward the east would fall within the azimuth range of 56° (summer solstice) to 124° (winter solstice), or 34° north and 34° south of true east.⁵⁸ Out of the 54 graves on the central terrace at Rižinice, only 18 fall within the mentioned range, meaning just 33.33% (Fig. 7). In other words, only 18 graves can be considered east-oriented. These 18 graves are divided into two groups: one consisting of 11

⁵² Jelovina 1989, str. 204.

⁵³ Jelovina 1990, str. 33.

⁵⁴ Jelovina 1982, str. 56.

⁵⁵ Vidi *Prilog* u sklopu ovog teksta.

⁵⁶ Budak 1985, str. 266.

⁵⁸ Piplović 1991, p. 175.

je znatno veći među radnom snagom nabavljenom za potrebe samostana sv. Petra u Selu. Računa se da je među 59 angažiranih osoba bilo čak 46 muškaraca. Međutim, ovdje se radi o trenutku nabave, a zasigurno se u narednom razdoblju ljudstvo ovog samostana dodatno preslagivalo i oblikovalo. Još jedan ranosrednjovjekovni izvor koji spominje broj muškaraca *serva* i žena *ancila* na imanjima je darovnica bana Stjepana Praske. On zadarskom samostanu sv. Krševana poklanja jedno imanje sa 6 muškaraca i 4 žene, što izričito navodi. Također, poklanja i drugo imanje s 12 i treće s 8 osoba.⁵⁷ Iz priloženog se dakle vidi ono što se čini i logično, a to je da bi među neslobodnim stanovništvom na poljoprivrednim imanjima broj muškaraca bio veći u odnosu na žene. Stoga, na temelju navoda iz povijesnih izvora, karaktera arheološkog lokaliteta, antropoloških analiza i brojčanog odnosa muškaraca i žena, smatramo da bi populacija pokapana na središnjoj rižiničkoj terasi mogla pripadati upravo neslobodnom stanovništvu koje je živjelo na imanjima tog veleposjeda obavljajući poljoprivredne poslove za svoju, ali i gospodarevu korist. Usprkos teškim uvjetima života i rada, i ova je populacija mogla posjedovati nekakvu imovinu, pokretnu ili nepokretnu, koja se ovdje može očitavati u primjercima nakita, od koji su neki rađeni i od plemenitog metala. Smatramo da takva situacija čak i kod neslobodnog stanovništva ne treba čuditi. Dakle, i neslobodno stanovništvo moglo je imati prihode koji su im omogućili stjecanje takve imovine.

Da zaključimo, na temelju kombinacije povijesnih izvora, stanja na terenu i analogija s imanjima sličnog tipa i vremena, sasvim se izglednim čini da je samostan na Rižinicama posjedovao polja, vinograde, pašnjake i šume, stalni dotok svježe vode pa čak i mlinsku industriju. Na tom veleposjedu, ili da se izrazimo terminologijom onog vremena, *curtis*-u, teške fizičke poslove obavljalo je neslobodno, a vjerojatno i dijelom slobodno stanovništvo, koje je živjelo negdje u blizini centralnog dijela imanja, a koje je moglo posjedovati svoju imovinu, pokretnu ali i nepokretnu.

ORGANIZACIJA GROBIŠNOG PROSTORA

Ono što nas dalje zanima i čemu smo posvetili više mjesta u tekstu jest način pokapanja tog stanovništva s obzirom na orijentaciju grobova na sre-

graves and the other of 7 graves, separated by another group of graves with a different orientation. Within the group of 11 graves, all are oriented north of geographic east, while the group of 7 graves is oriented south of geographic east. The remaining 36 graves (66.66%) fall outside the solar arc range, but their orientations still suggest a deliberate planning. Namely, graves with the same orientation are consistently positioned next to each other, forming distinct groups that are separated from neighbouring groups by either different orientations and/or visible spatial gaps in the cemetery layout.

Over the past three decades, studies of medieval cemeteries, particularly in Britain and across western, northern and central Europe, have expanded beyond merely analysing the identity and social status of individuals through grave goods. Cemeteries are now recognized as spaces rich with emotions, actions and care, and as places where the living not only buried their dead but also came to remember them.⁵⁹ In this context, these cemeteries are seen as products of social activity, shaped by cultural practices and shared semiotic knowledge.⁶⁰ This shift in perspective, i.e. the perception of the complex relationship between the living and the dead, placed the focus on the phenomena of burial practices, which also include the systematic organization and management of burial grounds. Thus, the visual and topographical features of cemeteries have gained greater significance as long-lasting markers in expressing the spectrum of the deceased's identity, arguably more enduring than grave goods, which are visible only during the burial itself.⁶¹

ANGLO-SAXSON AND FRANKISH EXAMPLES

Due to the availability of materials and language barriers, most of the literature we consulted on this phenomenon focuses on early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in England (5th–8th centuries). Various authors, some relying solely on the examination of cemetery layouts and others using complex statistical analyses,⁶² have observed the existence of

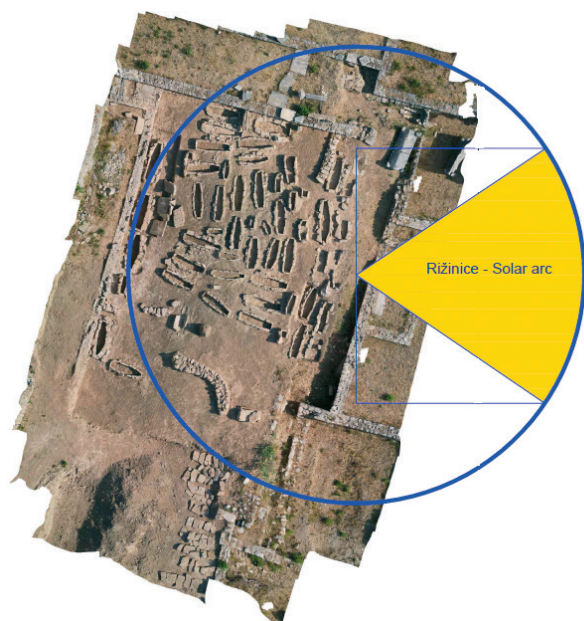
⁵⁹ Gilchrist 2022, pp. 120–122.

⁶⁰ Sayer 2020, p. 37.

⁶¹ Effros 2003, pp. 175–176.

⁶² As demonstrated using Ripley's K-function by D. Sayer and M. Wienhold, this is a statistical method used to detect certain patterns, specifically clustering and dispersion of data across multiple spatial levels (see: Sayer, Wienhold 2012, pp. 77–78).

⁵⁷ Budak 1985, str. 257–259, 265.



Sl. 7. Prikaz solarnog luka na lokalitetu Rižinice (izradio D. Tojčić)

Fig. 7 Image of the solar arc at the Rižinice site (Created by D. Tojčić).

dišnjoj terasi, onoj istraženoj 2021. godine. Naime, već tijekom arheološkog iskopavanja bilo je jasno kako većina grobova na ovom dijelu lokaliteta nema „uobičajenu“ istok-zapad orijentaciju i kako se te devijacije ne mogu tumačiti samo klasičnim objašnjenjima kao što su orijentacija građevina, reljef terena, težnje za blizinom svetog mjesta, prometnicama i sl.

Naime, smatra se da su kršćanski pokopi većinom orijentirani u smjeru istok-zapad, tj. da je glava pokojnika postavljena na zapadu kako bi pogled bio usmjeren k istoku, mjestu izlaska sunca. Devijacije od pravog ili zemljopisnog istoka kod grobova se mogu objasniti modelom solarnog luka, odnosno promjenjivom pozicijom izlaska sunca tijekom godine. Tako bi, u slučaju da se pokojnici i njihovi grobovi orijentiraju prema izlasku sunca na dan pokopa, postojale određene razlike u njihovoj generalnoj orijentaciji. Na Rižinicama bi to značilo da su pokojnici pokapani prema istoku bili oni čiji su grobovi orijentirani između 56. (ljetni solsticij) i 124. stupnja (zimski solsticij) azimuta odnosno 34 stupnja sjeverno i 34 stupnja južno od zemljopisnog istoka.⁵⁸ Od ukupno 54 groba na središnjoj terasi Rižinica, samo je njih 18 unutar spomenutog raspona, dakle tek 33,33 % (sl. 7). Drugim riječima, tek se za 18 grobova može smatrati da su orijentira-

a deliberate spatial organization. Although the “organization of diversity” was not always carried out according to the same principles among cemeteries of the same period, and sometimes even within the same cemetery, the most common model of visual differentiation, known as grouping, has been identified.⁶³ This grouping is done in several main ways: density of graves, orientation and spatial separation. In some cemeteries, there is also a combination of these differentiation methods present, and in larger cemeteries, there is often further subdivision of groups into subgroups, with groups separated in one way developing into subgroups separated in an entirely different manner.⁶⁴ Therefore, there is frequently a combination of methods used to organize the cemetery into distinct and visible burial groups and subgroups.

Although we will not conduct an extensive analysis of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, we will briefly highlight several examples. For instance, the Wakerley cemetery (Northamptonshire) is spatially divided into three groups,⁶⁵ similar as also the Dunstable cemetery (Bedfordshire).⁶⁶ At the Mill Hill cemetery (Kent), three groups are also evident, yet there are differentiated by spatial distance and grave density.⁶⁷ A similar pattern is observed at the Polhill cemetery, where four groups of graves are identified,⁶⁸ and at the larger Buckland cemetery in Dover, where up to 11 to 19 groups are separated using the same methods.⁶⁹ In contrast, at the Apple Down cemetery (West Sussex),⁷⁰ groups are defined by orientation, while at the Berinsfield (Oxfordshire) and Petersfinger (Wiltshire) cemeteries, spatial grouping is further emphasized by differences in orientation.⁷¹ A similar observation can be made for the Great Chesterfield cemetery (Essex) (Fig. 8 and 9).⁷²

⁶³ When discussing visual methods of differentiation, we refer to features that would have been visible to a visitor at the cemetery during their visit. This implies that the graves must have had some form of surface markers; without them, the organized arrangement of burials would not have been possible.

⁶⁴ Sayer 2020, pp. 84-85

⁶⁵ Idem, pp. 45-47, fig. 2.3

⁶⁶ Idem, p. 57, fig. 2.10

⁶⁷ Idem, fig. 2.6

⁶⁸ Idem, fig. 2.6

⁶⁹ Idem, pp. 55-56, fig. 2.9

⁷⁰ Idem, p. 80, fig. 2.20

⁷¹ Idem, pp. 63-64, fig. 2.13

⁷² Idem, p. 64, fig. 2.14

⁵⁸ Piplović 1991, str. 175.

ni prema istoku. Tih 18 grobova odvojeno je u dvije grupe, od 11 i 7 grobova, koje razdvaja druga, različito orijentirana grupa grobova. Uz to, u grupi od 11 grobova svi grobovi imaju orijentaciju sjeverno od zemljopisnog istoka dok u grupi sa 7 grobova svi imaju orijentaciju južno od zemljopisnog istoka. Ostali grobovi, njih 36 ili 66,66 %, ne ulaze u raspon solarnog luka, no njihove orijentacije ostavljaju dojam planiranja i pažljivog odabira. Naime, grobovi s istom orijentacijom uvijek se nalaze jedan do drugog formirajući tako određene grupe koje se od susjednih grupa grobova odvajaju upravo različitošću u orijentaciji i/ili vidljivim razmakom u krajo-liku groblja.

Proučavanje srednjovjekovnih groblja, posebice u Britaniji, zapadnoj, sjevernoj i srednjoj Europi, već 30-ak godina razvija se sa značajnijim odmakom od isključivog ispitivanja identiteta i društvenog statusa pojedinog pokojnika na temelju sadržaja njegova groba. Groblja se smatraju pozornicama emocija, djelovanja i brige, gdje ljudi ne samo da pokapaju svoje mrtve već i dolaze kako bi ih se prisjetiti.⁵⁹ U tom smislu, groblja postaju rezultat društvenog djelovanja u granicama kulturne prakse i zajedničkog semiotičkog znanja.⁶⁰ Ova promjena u perspektivi, odnosno percepcija kompleksnog odnosa živih s mrtvima, stavila je naglasak na fenomene pogrebnih praksi, što uključuje i sustavno organiziranje i upravljanje grobišnim prostorom. Vizualne i topografske značajke groblja tako dobivaju na važnosti kao dugotrajnije obilježje iskazivanja spektra identiteta pokojnika, za razliku od grobnih priloga koji su vidljivi samo za vrijeme pogreba.⁶¹

ANGLOSAKSONSKI I FRANAČKI PRIMJERI

Zbog dostupnosti materijala i jezične barijere najveći dio literature koju smo koristili o ovom fenomenu odnosi se na rana anglosaksonska groblja u Engleskoj (5. – 8. st.). Različiti autori, neki tek na temelju promatranja tlocrta groblja, a neki čak i kompleksnim statističkim analizama,⁶² primijetili

Analyses of grave goods and skeletal remains have indicated that these separations may be linked to chronological differences. For example, at the Mill Hill cemetery, where three groups are present, Group C, which differs in density from the other two, is younger in terms of dating.⁷³ A very similar situation is observed at Buckland cemetery, where groups with lower grave density tend to be younger than those with higher density.⁷⁴ Chronological differences are also noticeable among groups separated by orientation, as is the case in Lechlade, where graves with a northwest-southeast orientation are younger than those with a northeast-southwest orientation.⁷⁵ However, the time period is not the only grouping criterion in cemeteries. The example of the Finglesham cemetery (Kent) illustrates the spatial separation between three burial groups, two of which are contemporaneous but differ in social status, while the third group, consisting of individuals of higher status, was organized at a later time.⁷⁶

A status-based separation, indicated by grave goods and skeletal traumata, is also observed at the Apple Down cemetery. Belonging to the first group were graves of individuals with a higher status that were oriented east-west, while individuals of lower status were buried in a north-south alignment. Additionally, the second group showed a notable absence of children's graves.⁷⁷ Interestingly, children's graves show a different orientation from those of adults at the Long Wittenham (Berkshire), Alton (Hampshire) and West Heslerton cemeteries,⁷⁸ suggesting that separation based on age is also a factor. Furthermore, there are instances where groups were set apart by gender, as at the Sewerby cemetery, where female individuals or those with jewellery are oriented differently from those with weapon-related grave goods. At the Howletts cemetery, gender separation was achieved through spatial division, with male graves located in the northern part and female graves in the southern part of the cemetery.⁷⁹ In this regard, we can say that the visual clustering of graves was accomplished through spatial distance, density and orientation. Furthermore, graves can also be grouped based on

⁵⁹ Gilchrist 2022, str. 120–122.

⁶⁰ Sayer 2020, str. 37.

⁶¹ Effros 2003, str. 175–176.

⁶² Kao što su to uz pomoć Ripleyjeve K funkcije izveli D. Sayer i M. Wienhold. Radi se o statističkoj metodi pomoću koje se otkrivaju određeni obrasci odnosno združivanja i razdvajanja podataka na više razina u određenom prostoru (vidi: Sayer, Wienhold 2012, str. 77–78).

⁷³ Idem 2009, pp. 155–159.

⁷⁴ Idem 2020, p. 55.

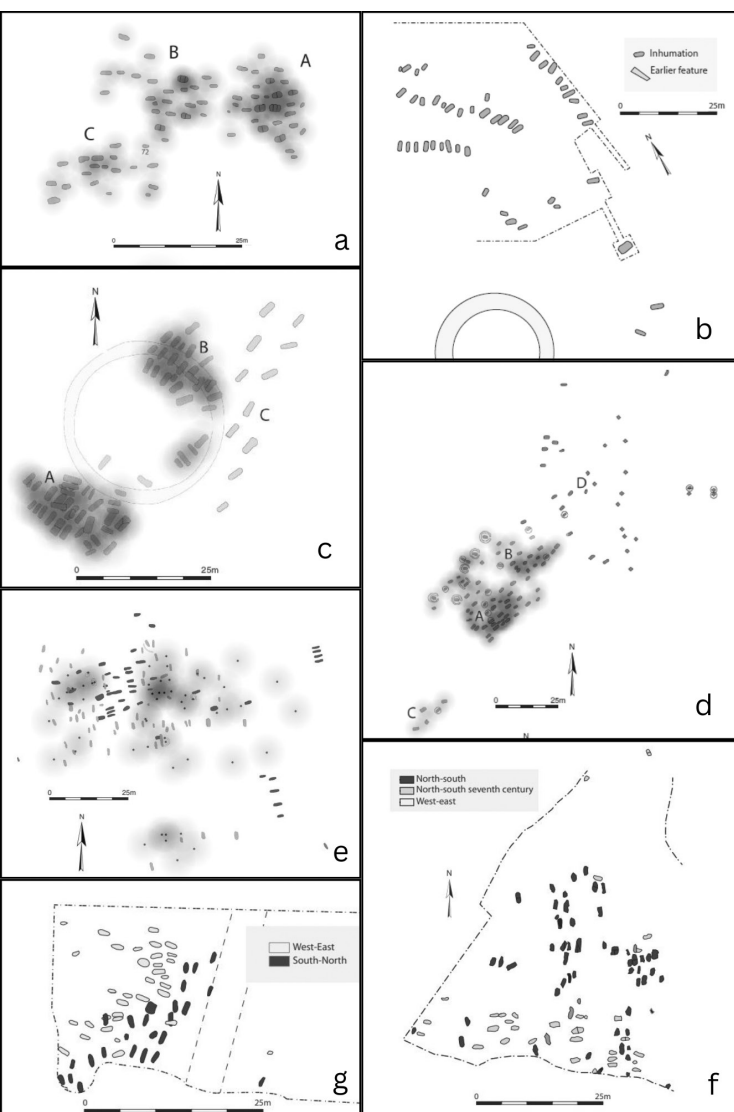
⁷⁵ Lucy 2000, p. 132.

⁷⁶ Sayer 2009, pp. 160–166.

⁷⁷ Idem 2020, pp. 25–27.

⁷⁸ Lucy 2000, pp. 130–132.

⁷⁹ Idem, p. 132.



Sl. 8. Primjeri anglosaksonskih groblja: a) Wakerley, b) Dunstable, c) Mill Hill, d) Polhill, e) Apple Down, f) Berinsfield, g) Petersfinger (preuzeto iz: Sayer 2020, fig. 2.3, 2.6, 2.10, 2.13, 2.20)

Fig. 8 Examples of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries – a) Wakerley, b) Dunstable, c) Mill Hill, d) Polhill, e) Apple Down, f) Berinsfield, g) Petersfinger (taken from: Sayer 2020, Fig. 2.3, 2.6, 2.10, 2.13, 2.20).

su postojanje smišljene prostorne organizacije. Iako „organiziranje različitosti“ nije uvijek izvedeno prema istim principima među grobljima istog razdoblja, a ponekad čak i na istom groblju, ipak je prepoznat najčešći model vizualne diferencijacije – grupiranje.⁶³ Ono se izvodi na nekoliko glavnih

⁶³ Kada govorimo o vizualnim načinima diferencijacije, mislimo na ono što bi tadašnjem posjetitelju groblja trebalo biti vidljivo prilikom boravka na njemu. To bi također značilo da su ti grobovi morali imati neka površinska obilježja, jer bi u suprotnom organizacija

various factors, including dating, status, gender and age. The existence of other factors for grouping, such as ethnicity and religion, is more difficult to determine due to the nature of the issue, though this does not mean they did not occur. Additionally, we have seen that the method of grouping actually varies from cemetery to cemetery, as do the underlying factors.⁸⁰ In larger cemeteries with a long history, we also notice that a combination of methods and factors for grouping is present.

It is particularly fascinating to follow the process of changes in burial practices at these cemeteries that began in the 6th century. Notably, the influence of the Frankish and Scandinavian regions on the material in the graves became evident,⁸¹ while simultaneously, there was a noticeable reduction in the number of grave goods.⁸² However, this reduction did not imply that the organization of burial rituals and the relationship with the dead became simplified. On the contrary, it seems that the expression of the deceased's identity increasingly shifted from within-grave markers to outside-grave identifiers. This transition was particularly reflected in the organization of cemeteries, where visual grouping became even more pronounced. In terms of the groups themselves, the deceased with rich grave goods, around whom other group members were buried in a satellite pattern, did not dominate anymore within them.⁸³ These processes are especially evident in cemeteries that show continuity from the 6th to the 7th centuries, such as Mill Hill, Polhill, Lechlade and Buckland. In the 6th century, spatial separation created groups there that centred around a richly equipped deceased, while the groups in the 7th century were still separated by distance, but they no longer featured a central core of wealthier individuals. Instead, the groups became more homogeneous, both in terms of spatial arrangement and social status.⁸⁴ The comparison between 6th-century cemeteries, such as Wakerley, Norton or Blacknall Field, and cemeteries from the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, such as Dunstable and

⁸⁰ Harke 1992, pp. 151-153.

⁸¹ Lucy 2000, pp. 4-5.

⁸² It is believed that the decrease of grave goods in England began in the second or third quarter of the 6th century, with the practice of burying individuals with grave goods being fully abandoned by the 680s (see: Brownlee 2021, p. 143).

⁸³ Sayer 2009, pp. 167-169.

⁸⁴ Idem 2020, pp. 132, 141, 176, 252.

načina: gustoćom grobova, orijentacijom i prostornim razmakom. Kod nekih groblja prisutna je kombinacija načina diferencijacije, a kod većih groblja često je i daljnje razdvajanje grupa u podgrupe, i to tako da se grupe odvojene na jedan način razvijaju u podgrupe odvojene na skroz drukčiji način.⁶⁴ Dakle, nerijetko postoji kombinacija načina na koje se groblje organizira u različite i vidljive grobišne grupe i podgrupe.

Nećemo ovdje raditi neku obimniju analizu anglosaksonskih groblja, već ćemo samo prenijeti nekoliko primjera u najkraćim crtama. Primjerice, groblje Wakerley (Northamptonshire) prostornim razmakom razdvojeno je na tri grupe,⁶⁵ slično kao i groblje Dunstable (Bedfordshire).⁶⁶ Tri grupe vidljive su na primjeru groblja Mill Hill (Kent), ali se one ondje diferenciraju prostornim razmakom i gustoćom grobova.⁶⁷ Sličan primjer predstavlja i groblje Polhill, na kojem se primjećuju četiri grupe grobova,⁶⁸ ali i veće groblje Buckland (Dover), gdje se istim načinima odvaja čak 11 do 19 grupa.⁶⁹ Orijentacijom se odvajaju grupe grobova na središnjem dijelu groblja Apple Down (West Sussex),⁷⁰ dok se na grobljima Berinsfield (Oxfordshire) i Petersfinger (Wiltshire) prostorno grupiranje dodatno pojačava različitošću u orijentaciji.⁷¹ Slično se može reći i za groblje Great Chesterford (Essex) (sl. 8 i 9).⁷²

Analize grobnih priloga i skeletnih ostataka ukazale su na to da se ove razdvojenosti mogu vezati za kronološke razlike, poput groblja Mill Hill koje ima tri grupe, od kojih je grupa C, koja se gustoćom razlikuje od drugih dviju grupa, mlađa po dataciji.⁷³ Veoma slična situacija je i na groblju Buckland, gdje su grupe grobova s manjom gustoćom generalno mlađe od grupa s većom gustoćom ukopa.⁷⁴ Kronološke razlike primjetne su i kod grupa odvojenih orijentacijom, kao što je to slučaj u Lechladeu, gdje su grobovi orijentacije sjeverozapad-jugoistok mla-

Street House, reveals a similar pattern.⁸⁵ The latter two cemeteries, which are organized in rows, are separated in terms of status into relatively homogeneous groups, unlike the mentioned cemeteries from the 6th century, where the groups show heterogeneity, often with a core grave containing a richly equipped individual.⁸⁶ According to D. Sayer's interpretation, this change in cemeteries, where the emphasis shifts from the special role of the individual to that of certain communities, reflects a broader shift in socio-political relations. This suggests that in the 6th century, identity was more closely tied to the "extended household," whose head would have received special treatment upon death.⁸⁷ In this sense, the extended household would have consisted not only of the nuclear family but also of extended family members and unfree labourers. The wealthier households may have potentially also had their own craftsmen, priests and soldiers. These households could also have had satellite households dependent on them. The prominent figure among the members of the household was naturally the head of the family, who organized the relationships and work within the household, and may have also served as a kind of political official in a specific area.⁸⁸ According to the same author, however, these households experienced a decline in importance during the 7th century, giving way to a stronger focus on kinship identity amid the ongoing conflict between wealthy families and the emerging powerful kingdoms.⁸⁹ In other words, due to certain socio-political circumstances, identity became more strongly rooted in belonging to a family, regardless of its social status. Interestingly, a similar trend regarding grave goods can be observed in the Frankish world at the time, or at least within territories under the rule of the Merovingian dynasty. In these regions, a reduction and eventual cessation of grave goods is also noticeable during the same period.⁹⁰ G. Halsall's analysis of the Metz region revealed that, throughout the 6th century, burials with wealthier goods tended to occur also in larger cemeteries, whereas in the 7th century, burials with fewer grave goods became more common and were conducted in smaller cemeteries. Halsall

pokapanja bila onemogućena.

⁶⁴ Sayer 2020, str. 84–85.

⁶⁵ Sayer 2020, str. 45–47, fig. 2.3.

⁶⁶ Sayer 2020, str. 57, fig. 2.10.

⁶⁷ Sayer 2020, fig. 2.6.

⁶⁸ Sayer 2020, fig. 2.6.

⁶⁹ Sayer 2020, str. 55–56, fig. 2.9.

⁷⁰ Sayer 2020, str. 80, fig. 2.20.

⁷¹ Sayer 2020, str. 63–64, fig. 2.13.

⁷² Sayer 2020, str. 64, fig. 2.14.

⁷³ Sayer 2009, str. 155–159.

⁷⁴ Sayer 2020, str. 55.

⁸⁵ Idem, fig. 2.3, 2.4, 2.10, 2.11.

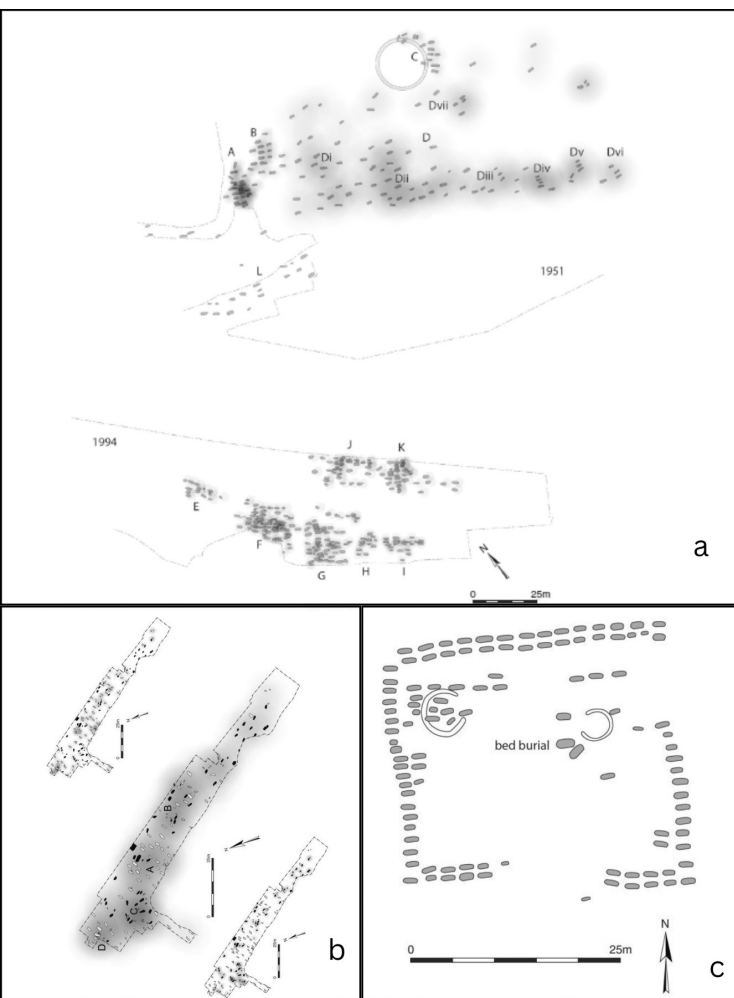
⁸⁶ Idem, p. 141.

⁸⁷ Idem 2009, pp. 141, 167–169.

⁸⁸ Idem 2020, pp. 246–247.

⁸⁹ Idem 2009, pp. 141, 167–169.

⁹⁰ Effros 2003, p. 176.



Sl. 9. Primjeri anglosaksonskih groblja: a) Buckland, b) Great Chesterford, c) Street House (preuzeto iz: Sayer 2020, fig. 2.9, 2.11, 2.14)

Fig. 9 Examples of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries – a) Buckland, b) Great Chesterford, c) Street House (taken from: Sayer 2020, Fig. 2.9, 2.11, 2.14).

di od onih orijentiranih u smjeru sjeveroistok-jugo-
gozapid.⁷⁵ Međutim, nije vremenski period jedina
osnova po kojoj se izvodi grupiranje na grobljima.
Slučaj groblja Finglesham (Kent) pokazuje prostori-
ni razmak među trima grupama grobova, od kojih
su dvije istovremene, ali su statusno različite, dok
je treća grupa, statusno viših osoba, naknadno or-
ganizirana.⁷⁶

Odvajanje na temelju statusa, sudeći prema
grobnim priložima i skeletnim traumama, prisutno
je i na groblju Apple Down. Prvoj, statusno višoj
grupi pripadali su grobovi orijentirani u pravcu
istok-zapad dok su nižem statusu pripadali pokoj-
nici orijentirani u smjeru sjever-jug. Primijećen

further suggests that 6th-century grave goods pri-
marily reflected age and gender as key principles of
the social organization. By the 7th century, however,
grave goods were more closely tied to wealth and
status.⁹¹ He attributes this transformation to shifts
in power dynamics. Namely, during the 6th century,
local elites and powerful figures struggled to assert
their own authority at the expense of royal power, a
struggle that ultimately succeeded in the 7th centu-
ry. The local elites evolved into an aristocracy that
legally transferred their wealth and status to sub-
sequent generations, eliminating the need to em-
phasize such distinctions through funeral rites.⁹² In
this context, Halsall emphasizes the identity of the
group or family, much like Sayer did in his analysis
of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. However, the key dif-
ference lies in their explanatory contexts, which are
diametrically opposed. Halsall places burials with
grave goods within the framework of the struggle
of local elites against the royal dynasty, explaining
that the cessation of this practice was a result of the
aristocracy's victory. Sayer, on the other hand, in-
terprets the end of burials with grave goods within
the context of the fight of the local elite against an
emerging powerful kingdom. In both cases, as pre-
viously mentioned, it is believed that kinship and
family ties began to play a fundamental role in the
organisation of society. This actually corresponds
with the decrease of grave goods and the new ways
of organizing cemeteries. According to these con-
clusions, visual clustering of graves, within a spe-
cific socio-political context, may also be based on
family or kinship.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CEMETERIES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CROATIA – EXAMPLES OF GROUPING BY SPATIAL SEPARATION

Although the phenomenon of the spatial organ-
ization of cemeteries in early medieval Croatia has
not been given particular attention—at least not to
the extent seen in the case of Anglo-Saxon ceme-
teries—the existence of grouping has nonetheless
been observed on several occasions. Authors who
noted these groupings also offered plausible expla-
nations. For example, J. Belošević observed spatial
separation of a chronologically and socially homo-

⁷⁵ Lucy 2000, str. 132.

⁷⁶ Sayer 2009, str. 160–166.

⁹¹ Halsall 1992, p. 274.

⁹² Idem, pp. 273–278.

je, uz to, i nedostatak dječjih grobova u drugoj grupi.⁷⁷ Dječji grobovi, zanimljivo, imaju različitu orijentaciju od grobova odraslih na grobljima Long Wittenham (Berkshire), Alton (Hampshire) i West Heslerton.⁷⁸ Vidimo tako da je moguće i odvajanje prema dobi pokojnika. Također su zabilježeni i slučajevi odvajanja grupa s obzirom na spol, kao kod groblja Sewerby, gdje su pokojnice ili pokojnici s nakitom orijentirani drukčije od onih s prilogom u vidu oružja. Na groblju Howletts se pak odvajanje po spolu izvelo prostornim razdvajanjem na muške grobove na sjevernom i ženske grobove na južnom dijelu groblja.⁷⁹ Prema tome, vizualno grupiranje grobova izvedeno je prostornim razmakom, gustoćom i orijentacijom, a grobovi se mogu grupirati na osnovi datacije, statusa, spola i dobi. Postojanje drugih osnova za grupiranje, poput etniciteta i religije, zbog prirode problematike teže je određivo, što ne znači da ih nije bilo. Također, vidjeli smo da odabir načina grupiranja varira zapravo od groblja do groblja, kao i osnova za grupiranje,⁸⁰ te da je kod većih groblja dugog vijeka prisutna kombinacija načina i osnova za grupiranje.

Zanimljivo je na ovim grobljima pratiti i proces promjene pogrebnih praksi, koja se događa od sredine 6. st. Naime, u grobnom materijalu primijećeni su utjecaji franačkog i skandinavskog područja,⁸¹ a paralelno s tim i redukcija broja grobnih priloga.⁸² Ta redukcija u prilogima, međutim, nije značila da se organizacija rituala pokapanja i odnos s mrtvima pojednostavnio. Zapravo se čini kako je izražavanje pokojnikova identiteta doživjelo još snažniju tranziciju s unutargrobnih na izvangrobne identifikatore pokojnika. To se posebno odrazilo na organizaciju groblja, na kojima vizualna odvajanja na grupe postaju snažnija, a u samim grupama ne dominira više pokojnik s bogatim grobnim prilogima uokolo kojeg se satelitski pokapaju ostali članovi grupe.⁸³ Takvi se procesi posebice vide na grobljima koja imaju kontinuitet od 6. do 7. st., poput Mill

geneous group in the eastern part of the cemetery at Ždrijac in Nin. Concluding that these were relatives, he suggested that the irregularities in the rows of graves in the larger, western part of the cemetery could also be explained by groupings based on kinship and clan affiliation.⁹³ He came to a similar conclusion in the case of the cemetery Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić (Fig. 10), namely that it is a row-grave cemetery whose regularity is disrupted by groupings based on family and clan ties.⁹⁴

Grouping based on the same principle is also noted by M. Petrinec, emphasizing cases of several cemeteries located in a smaller area, such as in Glavice near Sinj, where 5 groups of graves lie within a distance of 50 to 100 meters, other locations in the Sinj area, and at site Bračića podvornica in Biskupija, where cemeteries were identified at 4 different locations. Petrinec concluded that such cemeteries could be classified as settlement and clan-family cemeteries, meaning that they were used for burials of communities consisting of one large family or several families connected by kinship ties.⁹⁵ A similar conclusion was drawn from the analysis of the cemetery at Bukorovića podvornica in Biskupija, as well as the cemetery in the tumulus at Konjsko-Livade. In the publication of her research on the tumulus at Konjsko, which contained 27 graves, Petrinec also presents a more general conclusion. Namely, she suggests that these smaller cemeteries that are based on family/kinship and a settlement emerged during the Late Merovingian period, gradually replacing the larger cemeteries from the Migration Period. Petrinec sees the context of this change in the development of the feudal organization and a subsistence economy.⁹⁶ A. Alajbeg also addresses smaller cemeteries, particularly those whose dating can be placed in the 8th century. Alajbeg compares the situation of several individual cemeteries in Glavice with the site of Razbojine in Kašić, where groups of graves are clearly spatially separated. He then links such type of grouping to other smaller cemeteries, such as Kulice in Smilčić, Trljuge in Biljani Donji, Klarići in Stankovci, and the tumuli in Krneza and others, suggesting that these smaller sites are merely parts of larger cemeteries, divided into separate groups, with archaeo-

⁷⁷ Sayer 2020, str. 25–27.

⁷⁸ Lucy 2000, str. 130–132.

⁷⁹ Lucy 2000, str. 132.

⁸⁰ Härke 1992, str. 151–153.

⁸¹ Lucy 2000, str. 4–5.

⁸² Smatra se da je proces redukcije grobnih priloga u Engleskoj započeo u drugoj ili trećoj četvrtini 6. st. te da je pokapanje s prilogima bilo potpuno napušteno najkasnije do 680-ih godina (vidi: Brownlee 2021, str. 143).

⁸³ Sayer 2009, str. 167–169.

⁹³ Belošević 2007, p. 28

⁹⁴ Idem 2010, p. 65

⁹⁵ Petrinec 2009, pp. 102–103.

⁹⁶ Idem 2005a, p. 26

Hilla, Polhilla, Lechladea ili Bucklanda. Ondje se u 6. st. prostornim razmakom odvajaju grupe koje imaju jezgru s bogato opremljenim pokojnikom, a grupe iz 7. st., koje su razmaknute na isti način, više nemaju jezgru, već su prilično homogene i po prostornoj poziciji i po statusu.⁸⁴ Isto se vidi kada usporedimo groblja iz 6. st., poput Wakerleyja, Nortona ili Blacknall Fielda, s grobljima s kraja 6. i početka 7. st., poput Dunstablea i Street Housea.⁸⁵ Ova dva posljednja primjeri su groblja na redove koji su odvojeni u statusno prilično homogene grupe, za razliku od nabrojenih groblja 6. st. čije grupe pokazuju heterogenost i jezgru s bogatim pokojnikom.⁸⁶ Prema tumačenju D. Sayera, ova promjena na grobljima, gdje se više ne izražava posebna uloga pojedinca, već određene zajednice, zapravo ocrta i promjenu društveno-političkih odnosa. To bi značilo da je u 6. st. identitet bio više vezan za „prošireno kućanstvo“, čija bi glavna osoba po smrti imala poseban tretman.⁸⁷ Prošireno kućanstvo bi se u tom smislu sastojalo ne samo od nuklearne obitelji već i proširene obitelji, neslobodne radne snage, a ona moćnija kućanstva mogla su posjedovati i svoje obrtnike, svećenike i vojnike te su o njima mogla ovisiti druga, satelitska kućanstva. Među pripadnicima kućanstva ističe se glava obitelji koja organizira odnose i rad tog kućanstva, a može biti i vrsta političkog činovnika na određenom prostoru.⁸⁸ Prema istom autoru, ova kućanstva su u 7. st. izgubila na važnosti u korist rodbinskog identiteta, što se dogodilo u kontekstu tadašnjeg konflikta bogatih obitelji s novim sustavom moćnih kraljevstava.⁸⁹ Drugim riječima, identitet je zbog određenih društveno-političkih okolnosti postao više baziran na pripadnosti obitelji, bez obzira na njezin društveni status. Zanimljivo, slična situacija s grobnim priložima događa se u tadašnjoj Franačkoj, ili barem na dijelu teritorija pod vlašću merovinske dinastije. Naime, i na tom području se u isto vrijeme može pratiti njihovo smanjenje i prestanak.⁹⁰ G. Halsall analizirao je regiju Metz i zaključio da se kroz 6. st. odvija pokapanje s bogatijim priložima i na većim grobljima, a da u 7. st. dominira pokapanje s manje grobnih priloga i na manjim grobljima. Također

logical excavation having only uncovered one such group. Based on this, Alajbeg eventually concludes that the social order was structured around kinship, which subsequently influenced burial practices.⁹⁷ A more comprehensive spatial analysis and explanation of the grouping was provided by T. Burić in his publication of the research results from Svećurje in Kaštel Novi. It is a cemetery, which the author dated to the mid-9th to first decades of the 10th century and identified as a row-grave cemetery that was organized into four groups or burial lots (Fig. 11).⁹⁸

Burić linked the data about the cemetery, particularly on its size and spatial organization, to M. Barada's theories on the social structure in early medieval Croatia that were based on the Poljica Statute from the 14th and 15th centuries. In his work, Barada defines the *kinship-court community* as the fundamental social unit of the early medieval Croatian village. It consisted of a single or nuclear family, or several families that were related to each other. This community shared ownership of real estate and movable property (excluding personal items like clothing and jewellery), including the residential house and agricultural buildings (barns, storage buildings, pigsties, chicken coops, etc.). Barada referred to this cluster of buildings, in the terminology of that time, as a *court place*. Several such *court place* were often located in close proximity, because the separation and division of *kinship-court communities* was done based on shared property.⁹⁹ This situation also suggests the formation and existence of hamlets inhabited by relatives. This social structure, as outlined by Barada, was also used by Burić in his analysis of the Svećurje cemetery. Burić examined 47 graves containing 50 individuals, noting that the cemetery had not been fully excavated. He identified four visually distinct groups, which he referred to as burial lots. He then defined these burial lots as burial places for individual *kinship-court communities*, which had their *court place* or hamlets (*vicus*) on a slightly elevated position to the cemetery, which was near the church of St. George, located about a hundred meters to the north. In this context, Burić proposed the term *settlements' cemeteries* to describe this type of cemetery, as opposed to the other type – the *family cemeteries*. The latter would be cemeteries with a smaller number of graves, up

⁸⁴ Sayer 2020, str. 132, 141, 176, 252.

⁸⁵ Sayer 2020, fig. 2.3, 2.4, 2.10, 2.11.

⁸⁶ Sayer 2020, str. 141.

⁸⁷ Sayer 2009, str. 141, 167–169.

⁸⁸ Sayer 2020, str. 246–247.

⁸⁹ Sayer 2009, str. 141, 167–169.

⁹⁰ Effros 2003, str. 176.

⁹⁷ Alajbeg 2022, pp. 64–65.

⁹⁸ Burić 2015, p. 25

⁹⁹ Barada 1957, pp. 12, 19–20, 80, 84, 126–130.

smatra da grobni prilozi 6. st. ukazuju na dob i spol kao glavne principe društvene organizacije, a da su u 7. st. oni više vezani za bogatstvo i status.⁹¹ Takvu promjenu objašnjava ponajviše promjenom odnosa moći. U 6. st. lokalne elite i moćnici bili su u fazi borbe za uspostavu svoje moći nauštrb kraljevske moći, što im je i uspjelo u 7. st., kada lokalne elite postaju aristokracija koja svoje bogatstvo i status legalno prenose na slijedeće generacije, čime se izgubila potreba za isticanjem pogrebnim obredom.⁹² U tom smislu Halsall stavlja naglasak na identitet grupe odnosno obitelji, kao što je to prethodno radio Sayer na primjeru anglosaksonskih groblja. Razlika između ove dvojice autora očituje se u njihovim objašnjenjima, čiji su konteksti dijametralno suprotni. Halsall postavlja pokapanje s priložima u kontekst borbi lokalnih elita s kraljevskom dinastijom, a prestanak takvog običaja objašnjava aristokratskom pobjedom, dok Sayer, s druge strane, prestanak pokapanja s priložima stavlja u kontekst borbi lokalnih elita s nastajućim moćnim kraljevstvom. U oba pak slučajeve, kako je već navedeno, smatra se da rodbinske veze, odnosno obitelj, počinju imati temeljnu ulogu u ustroju društva, što korespondira s redukcijom grobnih priloga i novim načinima u organizaciji groblja. Prema tim zaključcima, vizualno grupiranje grobova, u određenom društveno-političkom kontekstu, moguće je i po obiteljskoj odnosno rodovskoj osnovi.

ORGANIZACIJA GROBLJA U RANOSREDNJOVEKOVNOJ HRVATSKOJ – PRIMJERI GRUPIRANJA PROSTORNIM RAZMAKOM

Iako se fenomenu prostorne organizacije groblja u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj nije pridavala posebna pažnja, barem ne onakva kakva je posvećena anglosaksonskim grobljima, u nekoliko navrata ipak je primijećeno postojanje grupiranja. Autori koji su to uočili ujedno su ponudili i primjerena objašnjenja. Tako je J. Belošević na Ždrijacu u Ninu primijetio prostorno razdvajanje jedne kronološki i statusno homogene grupe na istočnom dijelu groblja. Zaključivši da se radi o srodnicima, smatrao je da se i nepravilnosti u grobnim redovima na zapadnom, većem dijelu groblja mogu objasniti upravo grupiranjem po srodstvu i rodovskoj pripadnosti.⁹³ Sličan zaključak izveo je i na primjeru groblja na

to about 50, where members of several families united in a *kinship-court community* would have been buried. According to Burić, the cemetery in Gajine in Kaštel Sućurac and Glavčine in Mravinci would thus belong to the first type, while the previously mentioned cemeteries in Glavice near Sinj would belong to the second type.¹⁰⁰ Notably, a similar situation to the cemeteries at Glavice, Gajine, Glavčine and Bračića podvornica can be observed at Bijaći. In this area, early medieval cemeteries were discovered at three locations: one around the church of St. Martha,¹⁰¹ another at Stombrate, about 150 meters north of the church,¹⁰² and a third at the Lepin site, approximately 500 meters further north to the church.¹⁰³ Based on the number of graves, all three Bijaći cemeteries would be classified as *family cemeteries*, as defined by Burić.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, at site Stombrate, grouping or the existence of burial lots may be discernible, while at Lepin, this is clearly visible (Fig. 12).

Here, the graves are clearly divided into at least five distinct groups.¹⁰⁵ While we do not intend to discuss all examples of grouping based on spatial separation within these cemeteries, we will only mention some of the more well-known sites where such grouping is evident. These include sites in the Kašić area, where those at Maklinovo brdo and Razbojine have already been mentioned. Based on the spatial separation at Maklinovo brdo, at least five groups of graves can be defined, not counting individual, spatially separated graves. Interestingly, all the deceased from a clearly separated group in the southern part of the cemetery (G 45 - G 50) are male, while all the deceased from the group located from the middle towards the western part of the cemetery (G 9 - G 14, G 21), whose sex has been identified, are female.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, at Razbojine, at least six groups of graves can be defined, one of

⁹¹ Halsall 1992, str. 274.

⁹² Halsall 1992, str. 273–278.

⁹³ Belošević 2007, str. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Burić 2015, 44–46.

¹⁰¹ Jelovina 1999, p. 101.

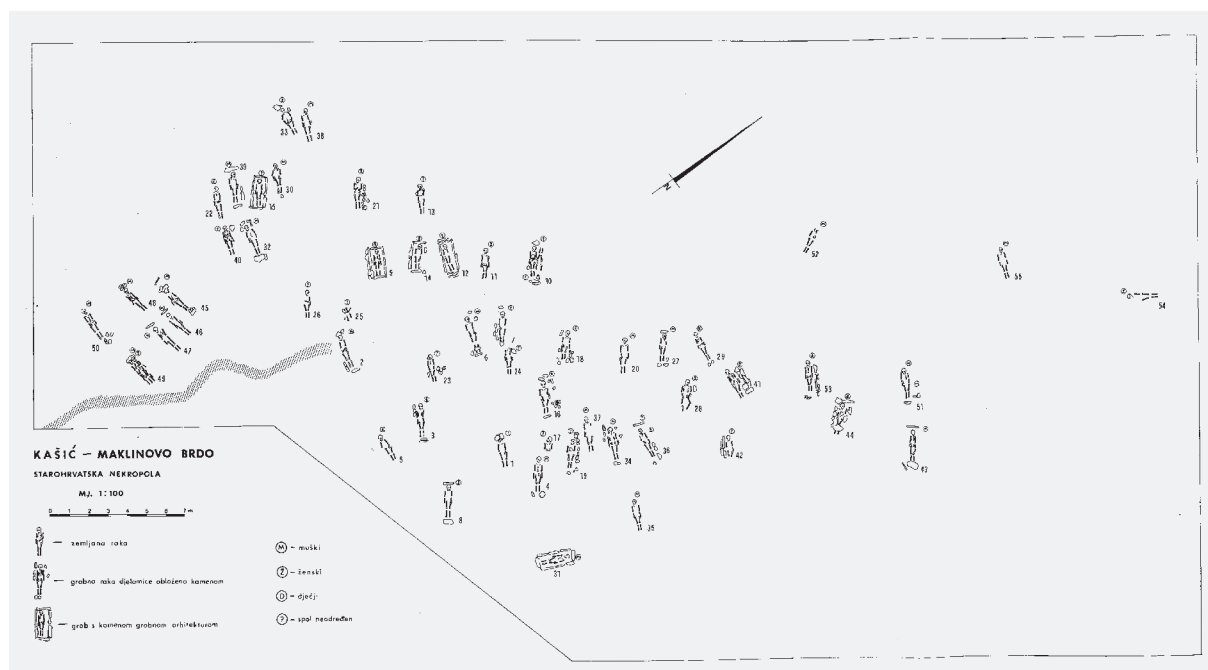
¹⁰² Kamenjarin 2009.

¹⁰³ Jelovina 1985.

¹⁰⁴ A total of 13 graves were investigated around the Church of St. Martha, generally dated from the 9th to the 11th century (Jelovina p. 101), while the cemetery at Stombrate is dated to the 9th – 10th centuries and features a total of 54 graves (Kamenjarin 2009, pp. 87–92, 96–97). The cemetery at Lepin is dated from the 9th to the 12th centuries, containing a total of 42 graves (Jelovina 1985, pp. 218, 222–223).

¹⁰⁵ See cemetery layout in: Jelovina 1985, T. IV.

¹⁰⁶ See cemetery layout in: Belošević, appendix III and IV.



Sl. 10. Lokalizet Kašić – Maklinovo brdo (preuzeto iz: Jelovina 1982)

Fig. 10 Site Kašić – Maklinovo Brdo (taken from: Jelovina 1982).

Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću (sl. 10), gdje je ustvrdio da se radi o groblju na redove čija je pravilnost poremećena grupiranjem po obiteljskoj i rodovskoj osnovi.⁹⁴

Grupiranje po istoj osnovi primjećuje i M. Petrinc ističući slučajeve nekoliko groblja koja se javljaju na užem prostoru, kao u Glavicama kod Sinja, gdje se pet skupina grobova nalazi u razmaku od 50 do 100 metara, zatim na drugim lokalitetima na sinjskom području te na Bračića podvornicama u Biskupiji, gdje su groblja evidentirana na četiri različitim položajima. Zaključuje potom da se takva groblja mogu odrediti kao naseobinska i rodovsko-porodična, odnosno da se na njima pokapaju zajednice koje se sastoje od jedne velike obitelji ili nekoliko obitelji povezanih rodbinskim vezama.⁹⁵ Isti zaključak donosi i analizirajući groblje na Bukorovića podvornici u Biskupiji kao i groblje u tumulu na lokalitetu Konjsko – Livade. Prilikom objave istraživanja tumula u Konjskom, koji sadrži 27 pokojnika, Petrinc donosi i jedan opći zaključak. Smatra da su ova manja, rodbinsko-porodična i naseobinska groblja nastala u kasnomerovinškom razdoblju zamijenivši velika groblja iz perioda seobe naroda. Kontekst ove promjene vidi u razvo-

which, similar to the case at Maklinovo brdo, could be distinguished based on sex (Fig. 13).

Namely, the group of graves in the north-eastern part of the cemetery (G 5 – G 14) contained seven male individuals, while the sex of the deceased could not be determined in three graves. However, one of these undetermined (G 5) ones contained an iron spindle, which typically occurs with male burials.¹⁰⁷ Another site in the Kašić area where the spatial division into groups or burial lots is noticeable is the cemetery at Mastirine, which contained as many as 136 graves, distributed across more than 10 groups.¹⁰⁸ A similar pattern is noticeable at the cemeteries in Biskupija near Knin. At Bukorovića podvornica, where burials occurred from the mid-9th to the 11th century, again in the area of a church, the spatial separation of some grave groups is also clearly visible. M. Petrinc notes that one particular group of graves, concentrated to the east of the church's apse, is oriented differently from the majority of graves at the site (Fig. 14). While most graves at the site are oriented east-west, these few graves are positioned along a different axis, namely north-south.¹⁰⁹

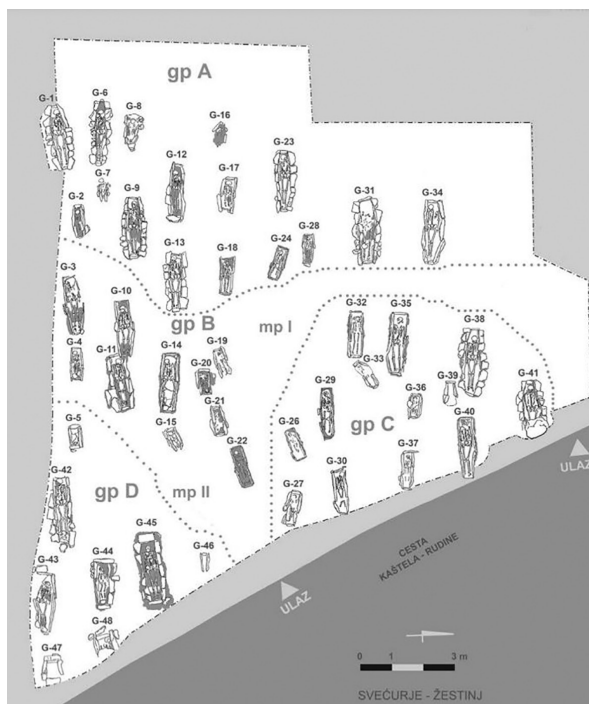
⁹⁴ Belošević 2010, str. 65.

⁹⁵ Petrinc 2009, str. 102–103.

¹⁰⁷ See cemetery layout in: Belošević 1980, appendix V.

¹⁰⁸ Jelovina 1982, pp. 36–54.

¹⁰⁹ Petrinc 2005b, p. 188.



Sl. 11. Lokalitet Svećurje – Žestinj
(preuzeto iz: Burić 2015, sl. 6)
Fig. 11 Site Svećurje – Žestinj
(taken from: Burić 2015, Fig. 6).

ju feudalne organizacije i prirodne privrede.⁹⁶ A. Alajbeg također se dotiče manjih groblja, posebice onih kojima se datacije mogu uspostaviti u 8. st. Alajbeg uspoređuje situaciju s nekoliko odvojenih groblja u Glavicama s lokalitetom Razbojine u Kašiću, gdje su skupine grobova jasno prostorno odvojene. Takvo grupiranje grobova potom dovodi u vezu s manjim grobljima, poput Kulice u Smilčiću, Trljuga u Biljanima Donjim, Klarića kućama u Stankovcima, tumula u Krnezi i sličnih lokaliteta, pretpostavljajući da se zapravo radi o dijelovima groblja koja su podijeljena na skupine i na kojima je arheološki zahvaćena tek jedna od njih. Iz ovakve situacije Alajbeg izvodi zaključak o društvenom poretku baziranom na srodstvu, koje tako postaje kriterij i u načinu pokapanja.⁹⁷ Nešto opširniju prostornu analizu i objašnjenje grupiranja ponudio je T. Burić pri objavi rezultata istraživanja u Svećurju u Kaštel Novom. Riječ je o groblju koje je autor datirao od sredine 9. do prvih desetljeća 10. st., a okarakterizirao ga je kao groblje na redove koje je organizirano u četiri skupine odnosno grobišne parcele (sl. 11).⁹⁸

A similar situation is present at the nearby site Lopuska glavica, although the cemetery dates somewhat later, from the 11th to the 13th century. It is believed that the end of burials at Bukorovića podvornica coincided with the beginning of burials at Lopuska glavica.¹¹⁰ However, the spatial organization of the cemetery follows the same model. At least two groups of graves can be identified, spatially separated by the church, and there is also a distinct group of graves in the north-eastern part of the site. Not only is this group spatially separated, but its distinctiveness is also emphasized by a different orientation compared to the other graves.¹¹¹

THE ORGANIZATION OF CEMETERIES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CROATIA – EXAMPLES OF GROUPING BY ORIENTATION

A greater deviation in the orientation of graves, which was outside the annual cycle of the sun's position at sunrise, has been explained by factors such as the configuration and characteristics of the terrain or the presence of architectural and infrastructural structures near the cemetery. The only explanation I am currently aware of, which does not align with the one presented here, is the one given for the group of graves east of the apse at Bukorovića podvornica, where no topographical features of the terrain were considered as criteria. While it is possible that the orientation of these graves was influenced by the terrain's configuration, particularly since these are the last graves to the east of the church, this certainly will not be the case for some other sites. Apart from Rižinice, which has already been mentioned and whose deviations in orientation cannot be linked to established models, I will present a few more obvious examples here. Their orientation is, however, associated with the organization of the cemetery based on grouping, similar to how spatial separation was done. The difference lies in the selected model used in the organization of the cemetery, which could have depended on local needs conditioned by the burial terrain and/or local tradition. We will try to explain this with several examples.

⁹⁶ Petrinc 2005a, str. 26.

⁹⁷ Alajbeg 2022, str. 64–65.

⁹⁸ Burić 2015, str. 25.

¹¹⁰ Idem, p. 207

¹¹¹ See cemetery layout in: Gunjača 1954.

Burić je podatke o groblju, posebice o njegovoj veličini i prostornoj organizaciji, povezao s postavkama M. Barade o društvenoj strukturi ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske, koje se temelje na Poljičkom zakoniku iz 14. i 15. st. Barada u svom radu definira *rodbinsko-dvornu zajednicu* kao osnovnu društvenu jedinicu starohrvatskog sela, a ona se sastoji od jedne inokosne odnosno nuklearne obitelji ili više obitelji koje su rodbinski povezane. Takva zajednica posjeduje zajedničko imovno pravo nad nekretninama i pokretninama (osim osobnih stvari poput odjeće i nakita), među kojima su stambena kuća i gospodarske zgrade (staja, sprema, svinjac, kokošinjac i sl.). Skup zgrada jedne takve zajednice Barada ondašnjim rječnikom naziva *dvorno mjesto*. Često se nekoliko takvih *dvornih mjesta* nalazi u neposrednoj blizini, jer se odvajanje i cijepanje *rodbinsko-dvornih zajednica* odvija na temelju zajedničke imovine.⁹⁹ Takva situacija ukazivala bi i na formiranje i postojanje zaseoka unutar kojih prebivaju srodnici. Društvenu strukturu koju je ocrtao Barada Burić je prenio na slučaj Svećurja. Pronađenih 47 grobova s 50 pokojnika, s tim da groblje nije u cijelosti istraženo, Burić je podijelio na četiri vizualno odvojene grupe koje naziva grobišnim parcelama. Te je grobišne parcele potom definirao kao ukopišta pojedinih *rodbinsko-dvornih zajednica* koje su svoja *dvorna mjesta*, odnosno zaselak (*vicus*), imale na nešto povišenom položaju u odnosu na groblje, vjerojatno u blizini crkve sv. Jurja, stotinjak metara sjevernije. U tom smislu, Burić za ovu vrstu groblja predlaže termin *naseobinska groblja*, za razliku od drugog tipa, *porodičnih groblja*. Ova posljednja bila bi groblja s manjim brojem grobova, do oko 50, a na njima bi se pokapali članovi nekoliko obitelji objedinjenih u jednu *rodbinsko-dvornu zajednicu*. Prvom tipu groblja, prema Buriću, pripadala bi i groblja u Gajinama u Kaštel Sućurcu te na Glavčinama u Mravincima, dok bi drugom tipu pripadala već spomenuta groblja u Glavicama kod Sinja.¹⁰⁰ Ovdje ćemo napomenuti da je slična situacija kao kod groblja u Glavicama, Gajinama, Glavčinama i Bračića podvornici postojala i u Bijaćima. Ondje su na trima položajima otkrivena ranosrednjovjekovna groblja: uokolo crkve sv. Marte,¹⁰¹ zatim na Stombratama, oko 150 metara sjeverno od

Knin - Spas

On hill Spas in Knin, a cemetery with a total of 228 graves has been excavated, which was dated from the end of the 9th to the end of the 11th century. The cemetery is located on a levelled plateau of the hill and above the remains of destroyed Roman structures,¹¹² and likely around an early medieval church that was later completely demolished.¹¹³ D. Jelovina, who researched this site, noticed that a large number of graves deviated from the usual east-west orientation. Out of the total 228 graves, only 103 had a “proper” alignment. While a clear tendency for burials to face east is evident, the proportion of graves not adhering to this principle is certainly significant. However, we do not believe that the deviations in the orientation of graves at this site were caused by the terrain features. Namely, if we highlight the graves on the cemetery plan according to their orientations, as presented in the research publication, certain patterns emerge that lead us to the conclusion that the selection of orientation was a more deliberate process (Fig. 15).

According to such plan, we notice that graves oriented east-west are found almost everywhere in the cemetery, except in the south-eastern part, where the majority of graves are oriented north-west-southeast. Graves with such an orientation are also grouped in the north-western part of the site, where a smaller group of graves aligned north-south is located. This last group dominates in the eastern part of the site but can be divided into subgroups with deceased individuals oriented north-south and south-north. The configuration of the terrain certainly did not influence this group of graves, or the mentioned subgroups, as they all follow the same direction of alignment. What distinguishes them is the orientation of the deceased within them. Both subgroups are homogeneous and clearly separated from each other, so that their difference is further emphasized. The fact that the configuration or features of the terrain do not necessarily affect the orientation of the graves is evident in the examples from the south-western and north-eastern parts of the cemetery, where graves with significantly different orientations are found, yet there is a clear tendency for graves with the same orientation to be next to one another. As a result, distinct groups have

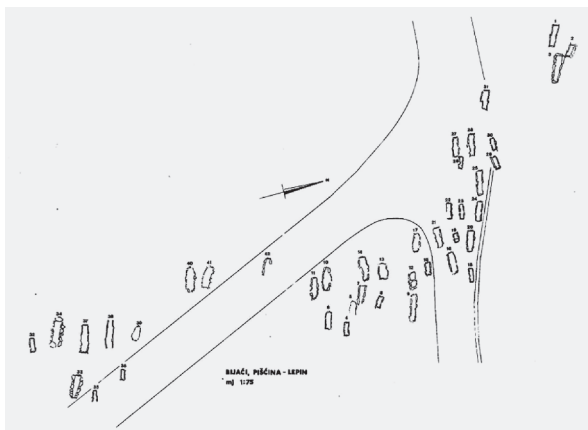
⁹⁹ Barada 1957, str. 12, 19–20, 80, 84, 126–130.

¹⁰⁰ Burić 2015, str. 44–46.

¹⁰¹ Jelovina 1985, str. 101.

¹¹² Jelovina 1989, pp. 121–124.

¹¹³ Petrinc 2009, pp. 77–78.



Sl. 12. Lokalizet Bijaći – Lepin
(preuzeto iz: Jelovina 1985)
Fig. 12 Site Bijaći – Lepin
(taken from: Jelovina 1985).

crkve,¹⁰² te na položaju Lepin, 500-tinjak metara sjeverno od crkve.¹⁰³ Sva bijaćka groblja, s obzirom na broj grobova, pripadala bi tipu koji je Burić definirao kao *porodična groblja*.¹⁰⁴ Uz to, na položaju Stombrate možda se mogu nazrijeti i grupiranja, odnosno postojanje grobišnih parcela, dok je to na položaju Lepin jasno vidljivo (sl. 12).

Ondje su grobovi prostorno razdvojeni u najmanje pet skupina.¹⁰⁵ Nemamo namjeru sada prolaziti kroz sve primjere grupiranja prostornim razmakom na istom groblju, pa ćemo samo spomenuti neke od poznatijih lokaliteta na kojima je takvo grupiranje očigledno. To su lokaliteti na području Kašića, od kojih su oni na Maklinovu brdu i Razbojinama već spomenuti. Na temelju prostornog razmaka na Maklinovu brdu može se definirati barem pet skupina grobova, ne računajući pojedinačne, prostorno odijeljene grobove. Zanimljivo je da su svi pokojnici iz jasno odijeljene skupine na jugu groblja (G 45 – G 50) muški, a da su svi pokojnici iz skupine koja se nalazi od sredine prema zapadnom dijelu groblja (G 9 – G 14, G 21), a kojima je prepoznat spol, ženski.¹⁰⁶ Na isti način u Razbojinama se može definirati barem šest skupina grobova, od kojih bi

formed, which can be easily distinguished from adjacent groups. In this context, we have created a schematic representation of the grouping of graves, based on the differences in orientation from neighbouring groups, and combined it with the already established patterns of grouping by spatial separation and the existing architecture. As a result, we were able to identify 43 distinct groups of graves (Fig. 16), each containing both children and adults, with no discernible gender-based separation.

It is more likely, considering that the groups typically include members of both sexes and all ages, that these are groups that, in other cemeteries, are represented by spatial separation and have been previously defined as groups of relatives or, according to Burić, *kinship-court communities*. It is worth noting that these graves likely had some kind of surface markers, whether in the form of burial mounds or some other type of markers that have not been preserved. Namely, of the 228 excavated graves, only 13 can be said to have, through their later burials, and even then only partially, disturbed the preceding graves.¹¹⁴ The situation becomes even more intriguing when considering that, among these 13 graves, only 2 contained adult deceased individuals, while as many as 11 were intended for children. Thus, given the small number of graves disturbed by later burials, with minimal destruction of the grave architecture and the deceased within them, and the prominent dominance of children's graves in this context, we believe that this cemetery must have had some external markers that served the purpose of organizing the cemetery and hence allowed the preservation of the memory of the deceased.

Bribir - Vratnice

We also believe a similar pattern of spatial organization of the cemetery can be observed at the Vratnice site in Bribir. Situated on the western slope of Bribirska Glavica, near the entrance to ancient Varvaria and medieval Bribir, there is a cemetery

¹⁰² Kamenjarin 2009.

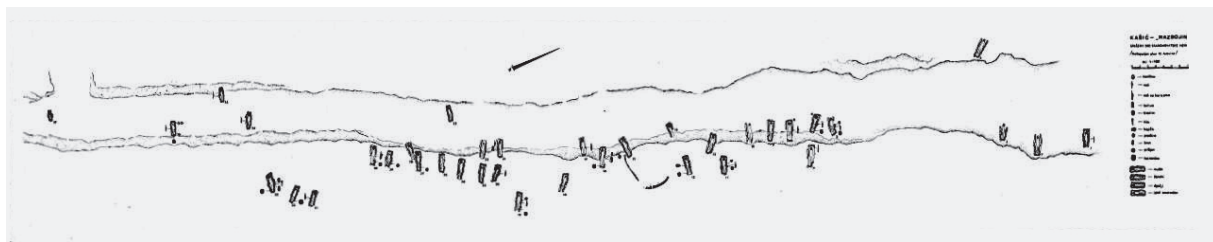
¹⁰³ Jelovina 1985.

¹⁰⁴ Uokolo crkve sv. Marte istraženo je ukupno 13 grobova koji se generalno datiraju od 9. do 11. st. (Jelovina 1985, str. 101), dok je groblje u Stombratama datirano u razdoblje 9. – 10. st., a brojilo je ukupno 54 groba (Kamenjarin 2009, str. 87–92, 96–97). Groblje na položaju Lepin datirano je od 9. do 12. st., a sadržavalo je ukupno 42 groba (Jelovina 1999, str. 218, 222–223).

¹⁰⁵ Vidi plan groblja u: Jelovina 1985, T. IV.

¹⁰⁶ Vidi plan groblja u: Belošević, prilog III i IV.

¹¹⁴ D. Jelovina notes 15 graves that destroyed earlier graves, including G 66, 196 and 197 (Jelovina 1989, pp. 162–163). However, I believe that G 66 did not disturb the adjacent grave, as it contained an excellently preserved body despite lacking architectural features. In contrast, G 196 and G 197 could not have disturbed each other, but one did disturb the other. This leads me to conclude that there were 13 graves that partially disturbed earlier graves.



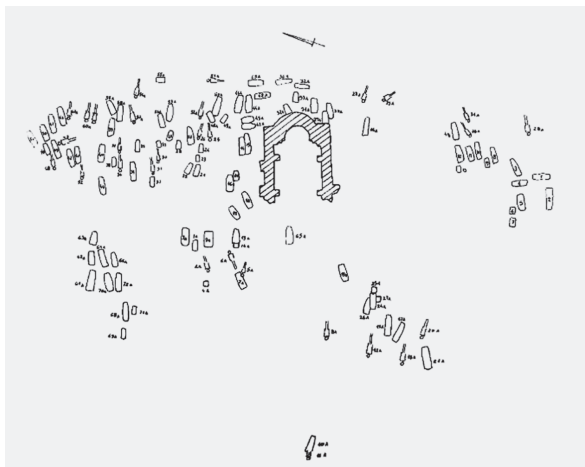
Sl. 13. Lokalitet Kašić – Razbojine (preuzeto iz: Belošević 1980, Prilog V)

Fig. 13 Site Kašić – Razbojine (taken from: Belošević 1980, Appendix V).

jedna, slično slučaju na Maklinovu brdu, mogla biti odijeljena na osnovi spola (sl. 13).

Naime, skupina grobova na sjeveroistočnom dijelu groblja (G 5 – G 14) sadržavala je 7 muških pokojnika, dok su 3 groba bila spolno neutvrđena. Ipak, jedan od tih spolno neutvrđenih grobova (G – 5) posjeduje željeznu predicu, a ona se javlja uz muške pokojnike.¹⁰⁷ Na još jednom lokalitetu s prostora sela Kašića može se lako uočiti prostorna podjela na grupe grobova ili grobišne parcele. Radi se o groblju na Mastirinama koje je brojilo čak 136 grobova raspoređenih u preko 10 skupina.¹⁰⁸ Slična situacija može se primijetiti i na grobljima u Biskupiji kod Knina. Na Bukorovića podvornici pokapanje se odvijalo u razdoblju od sredine 9. do 11. st., također unutar crkvenog areala. I ovdje se može jasno raspoznati prostorno odvajanje nekih skupina grobova, a M. Petrinc uz to primjećuje i da je jedna skupina grobova, koncentrirana istočno od apside crkve, drukčije orijentacije od većine grobova na lokalitetu (sl. 14). Dok je većina grobova na lokalitetu orijentirana u smjeru istok-zapad, tih nekoliko grobova orijentirano je po drugoj prostornoj osi, sjever-jug.¹⁰⁹

Slična je situacija i na obližnjoj Lopuškoj glavici, iako se groblje datira nešto kasnije, od 11. do 13. st. Zapravo se smatra da je prestankom pokapanja na Bukorovića podvornici započelo pokapanje na Lopuškoj glavici,¹¹⁰ međutim, prostorna organizacija groblja jednako je modelirana. Tako se mogu uočiti barem dvije skupine grobova koje su prostorno odijeljene crkvom, a očita je i jedna skupina grobova na sjeveroistočnom dijelu lokaliteta koja ne samo da je prostorno odijeljena već je njezina svojstvenost naglašena i drukčijom orijentacijom u odnosu na ostale grobove.¹¹¹



Sl. 14. Lokalitet Biskupija – Bukorovića podvornica (preuzeto iz: Petrinc 2005a, str. 175)

Fig. 14 Site Biskupija – Bukorovića Podvornica (taken from: Petrinc 2005a, p. 175).

from the 9th and 10th centuries that has been fully excavated. It contains 128 graves, only a small number of which adhere to the “proper” east-west orientation. D. Jelovina suggests that this deviation from the east-west orientation was influenced by the terrain’s configuration, since the cemetery is located on a slope beneath an at the time existing path leading to the main entrance and above the cliff-like terrain of the hilltop. However, Jelovina also notes the presence of dry-stone walls at the cemetery, which were used to create horizontal surfaces for the graves on the naturally sloping ground.¹¹⁵ This adaptation indicates that burials along any axis were technically feasible. In the eastern part of the site, Jelovina observed a row of graves aligned with the mentioned path and detected that the central area had the highest density of graves. He suggested that orientation played no role here, but rather that it was a matter of rational utilization of space.¹¹⁶ However, when the graves are marked on the cemetery map according to the main spatial directions, as was

¹⁰⁷ Vidi plan groblja u: Belošević 1980, prilog V.

¹⁰⁸ Jelovina 1982, str. 36–54.

¹⁰⁹ Petrinc 2005b, str. 188.

¹¹⁰ Petrinc 2005b, str. 207.

¹¹¹ Vidi plan groblja u: Gunjača 1954.

¹¹⁵ Jelovina 1990, pp. 9–11, 56, 60.

¹¹⁶ Idem, pp. 10–11.

ORGANIZACIJA GROBLJA U RANOSREDNJOVJEKOVNOJ HRVATSKOJ – PRIMJER GRUPIRANJA ORIJENTACIJOM

Veće odstupanje u orijentaciji grobova, koje bi bilo izvan godišnjeg ciklusa sunčevog položaja u trenutku izlaska, objašnjavalo se konfiguracijom i obilježjima terena ili arhitektonskim i infrastrukturnim objektima uz koje se groblje nalazilo. Jedino nama za sada poznato objašnjenje koje nije u skladu s ovdje iznijetim odnosi se na skupinu grobova istočno od apside na Bukorovića podvornici, gdje kao kriterij nisu uzete nikakve topografske značajke terena. Iako bi se u ovom slučaju zaista moglo raditi o tome da je orijentaciju uzrokovala konfiguracija terena, s obzirom na to da je riječ o posljednjim grobovima istočno od crkve, za neke lokalitete to zasigurno neće biti slučaj. Osim Rižinica, koje su već spomenute, a čija se odstupanja u orijentaciji nikako ne mogu povezati s ustaljenim modelima, ovdje ćemo prezentirati još nekoliko očiglednih slučajeva. Njihovu orijentaciju dovodimo u vezu s organizacijom groblja po modelu grupiranja, kao što je to rađeno prostornim odvajanjem. Razlika je bila u odabiru modela organizacije groblja, što je moglo ovisiti o lokalnim potrebama koje su uvjetovane grobišnim terenom i/ili lokalnom tradicijom. Pokušat ćemo to objasniti na nekoliko primjera.

Knin – Spas

Na brdu Spasu u Kninu istraženo je groblje s ukupno 228 grobova, koje se datira od kraja 9. do kraja 11. st. Groblje je organizirano na zaravnatom platou brda, nad ostacima porušenih rimskih građevina¹¹² i vjerojatno uokolo ranosrednjovjekovne crkve koja će kasnije biti porušena do temelja.¹¹³ Istraživač ovog lokaliteta, D. Jelovina, primijetio je da velik broj grobova odstupa od uobičajene orijentacije I-Z. Od ukupnog broja grobova, naveo je da tek njih 103 imaju takvu, „pravilnu“ orijentaciju. Dakle, iako je prisutna težnja za pokapanjem s pogledom na istok, udio onih koji nisu vođeni tim principom svakako je nezanemariv. Ipak, ne smatramo kako su devijacije u orijentaciji grobova na ovom lokalitetu uzrokovane obilježjima terena. Naime, ako se na planu groblja pokojnici istaknu po orijentacijama, onako kako je to doneseno u objavi istraživanja, uočavaju se određene pravilnosti koje

done for the cemetery at hill Spas, distinct patterns of regularity emerge (Fig. 17).¹¹⁷

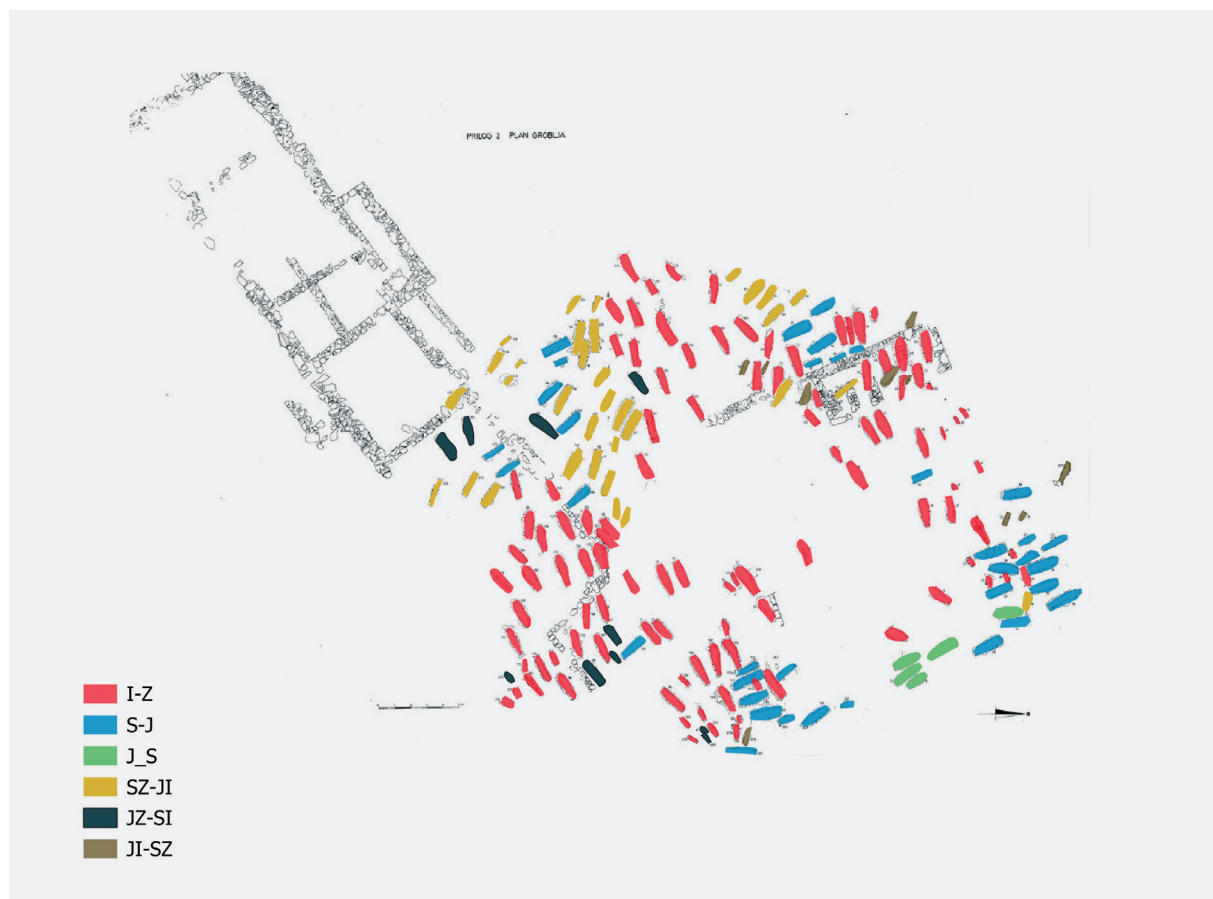
Graves oriented east-west are found only in the central part of the cemetery, while those oriented north-south are mostly concentrated in the north-western part and to a lesser extent in the south-western part of the cemetery. Graves with a southeast-northwest orientation are predominantly in the north-eastern part, and those oriented north-east-southwest can be divided into two subgroups: one with an optimal northeast-southwest orientation, located in the south-eastern and partly in the south-western part of the cemetery, and the other with a greater deviation toward the north, situated in the north-western part of the cemetery. If we apply the same criteria for cemetery organization here as we did for the cemetery at hill Spas near Knin, namely grouping by spatial separation and a combination of similar and differing orientations, we can identify 24 burial groups (Fig. 18).

In this case, the density and differences in orientation in the central part of the cemetery no longer seem random but rather represent the intersection of several grave groups. Unlike the cemetery at hill Spas in Knin, there is no evidence of group separation based on age or on gender. Based on the finds discovered in graves, D. Jelovina suggests that the deceased buried here were of the same social status. This leads us to consider the possibility that family or kinship ties formed the basis for grouping. We also believe that this cemetery had clearly visible grave markers above the ground, as the number of graves that had disturbed earlier graves with their burials is extremely small. There are only 8 such cases, a number we consider surprisingly few for such a densely organized cemetery on difficult terrain. Furthermore, half of these graves are those of children, which could perhaps be correlated with the case at hill Spas, thus emphasizing once again that these were deliberate actions related to the organization of the burial ground.

¹¹⁷ Similar to the publication on the research at Spas in Knin, the author presents a catalogue of graves also in the publication of the research results at this cemetery. However, the orientations provided in the catalogue frequently diverge from the cemetery's actual layout. As a result, in our layout, we based the orientations solely on the actual layout observed, rather than on catalogue data (Compare: D. Jelovina, pp. 11-27 and P. I).

¹¹² Jelovina 1989, str. 121–124.

¹¹³ Petrinec 2009, str. 77–78.



Sl. 15. Lokalitet Knin – Spas, orijentacija s obzirom na glavne zemljopisne pravce (izradio D. Tojčić prema: Jelovina 1989, prilog 2)

Fig. 15 Site Knin – Spas, orientation with respect to cardinal directions (created by D. Tojčić based on: Jelovina 1989, Appendix 2).

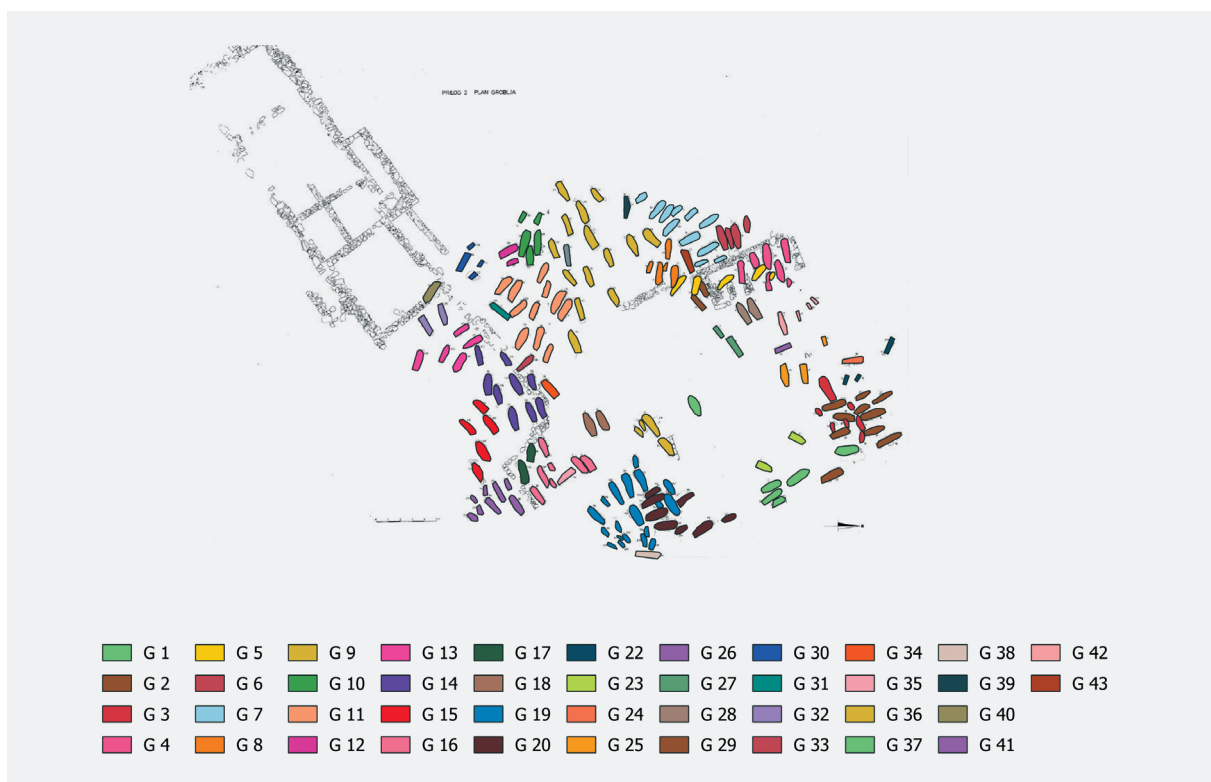
nas mogu uputiti na zaključak da je odabir orijentacije bio ipak smisleniji postupak (sl. 15).

Prema takvom planu uočava se da su grobovi orijentirani u smjeru I-Z prisutni gotovo posvuda na groblju, osim u jugoistočnom dijelu gdje se nalaze većinom grobovi orijentirani po pravcu SZ-JI. Grobovi takve orijentacije grupiraju se još i na sjeverozapadnom dijelu lokaliteta, gdje se nalazi i manja grupa grobova orijentirana po pravcu S-J. Ova posljednja grupa dominira na istočnom dijelu lokaliteta, a može se razdvojiti u podgrupe s pokojnicima orijentiranim S-J i J-S. Na tu grupu grobova, odnosno na spomenute podgrupe, zasigurno nije utjecala konfiguracija terena, jer se radi o istom smjeru pružanja grobova, a razlikuje ih orijentacija pokojnika u njima. Obje podgrupe homogene su i međusobno distancirane, pa je naglasak na njihovoj različitosti dodatno naglašen. Da konfiguracija ili obilježja terena ne utječu nužno na orijentaciju grobova, može se vidjeti i na primjerima u jugozapadnom i sjeveroistočnom dijelu groblja, gdje se nalaze grobovi

Ostrovica - Greblje

Deliberate choice of the burial orientation undoubtedly existed at site Greblje in Ostrovica, near Bribir, where a total of 115 graves has been excavated across three distinct sectors, though the actual number of graves might have been much higher. The northern sector at the cemetery, dated to the early 9th century, features graves with stone architecture, oriented northeast-southwest. In the southern sector, most graves share similar characteristics, with the exception of three in the north-western corner, which are oriented east-west and contain remains interred in wooden coffins. A similar pattern is observed in the central sector, dated to the 9th and 10th centuries, where a total of 82 graves was found, some oriented east-west and others northeast-southwest (Fig. 19).

The fact that these orientations are not related to the position of the sun or deviations, nor are they a random choice, is indicated by the architecture of the graves. Specifically, the east-west orient-



Sl. 16. Lokalizet Knin – Spas, grobišne grupe (izradio D. Tojčić prema: Jelovina 1989, prilog 2)
 Fig. 16 Site Knin – Spas, grave groups (created by D. Tojčić based on: Jelovina 1989, Appendix 2).

prilično različitih orijentacija s evidentnom težnjom da grobovi istih orijentacija budu jedni uz druge. Na taj način zapravo su formirane grupe koje se od susjednih grupa mogu jasno raspoznati. Za ovaj lokalitet izradili smo shemu grupiranja grobova po modelu razlike u orijentaciji od susjednih grupa kombinirajući je s već posvjedočenim grupiranjem prostornim razmakom i postojećom arhitekturom. Na taj način prepoznali smo čak 43 grupe grobova (sl. 16).

Sve grupe sadržavaju i dječje i odrasle pokojnike, a također nije primijećeno odvajanje po spolu. Vjerojatnije je, uzevši u obzir da se u grupama najčešće nalaze pripadnici obaju spolova i svih dobnih skupina, da se radi o grupama koje su na drugim grobljima predstavljene prostornim razmakom, a koje su prethodno definirane kao grupe rodbinski povezanih pokojnika, ili prema Buriću, *rodbinsko-dvorne zajednice*. Iskoristit ćemo ovdje priliku da ukažemo i na to da su ovi grobovi svakako trebali imati nekakva površinska obilježja, bilo da se radi o grobnom humku ili kakvoj drugoj vrsti biljega koji se nisu sačuvali. Naime, od 228 istraženih grobova tek se za njih 13 može reći da su svojim kasnijim ukopom, i to samo djelomično, poremetili prethod-

ed graves contained wooden coffins, while those oriented northeast-southwest featured stone grave architecture.¹¹⁸ Additionally, spatial separation is recognizable in certain areas of the cemetery. However, as the cemetery has not been fully excavated and the research was conducted only in distinct sectors, the results of the grouping analysis may be less accurate than in previous examples. Therefore, it is sufficient to establish for the time being that the burial ground here was also deliberately organized and that one of the models for organizing and grouping was orientation.

THE CASE OF RIŽINICE

Thus, inspired by the models and conclusions applied to Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and considering the insights of colleagues on spatial grouping in early medieval Croatian cemeteries, along with our own analysis of specific examples, we reached two key conclusions. First, cemeteries in early medieval Croatia may have also been deliberately organized in terms of space. Second, the choice of grave orientation could have been a purposeful practice aimed

¹¹⁸ Delonga, Burić, 1990, pp. 35-37 and Delonga, Burić 1998, pp. 18-21.

ne grobove.¹¹⁴ Situacija se čini još zanimljivija kada se uzme u obzir da su među tih 13 grobova samo 2 groba s odraslim pokojnicima, odnosno da je čak 11 grobova bilo namijenjeno djeci. S obzirom na mali broj poremećenih grobova uslijed narednih ukopa, koji zapravo nisu značajnije destruirali grobnu arhitekturu i pokojnike u njoj, te izraženu dominaciju dječjih grobova u tom smislu, smatramo da je ovo groblje trebalo imati nekakva vanjska obilježja koja su služila upravo u organizaciji groblja kao i u održavanju uspomene na preminule.

Bribir – Vratnice

Smatramo da je slična situacija s prostornom organizacijom groblja kao i kod prethodno opisanog primjera vidljiva na lokalitetu Vratnice na Bribiru. Na zapadnoj padini Bribirske glavice, u blizini ulaza u antičku Varvariju i srednjovjekovni Bribir, nalazi se groblje iz 9. i 10. st. Groblje je u cijelosti istraženo i broji 128 grobova, od kojih je tek njih nekoliko „pravilne“, I-Z orijentacije. D. Jelovina smatra da je ovakvo odstupanje od I-Z orijentacije uvjetovano konfiguracijom terena, s obzirom na to da je groblje organizirano na padini, podno tada postojećeg puta koji je vodio na glavni ulaz i na prostor poviše litičastog terena glavice. Međutim, i sam Jelovina upućuje na to da su na groblju postojali suhozidi koji su služili tome da od prirodnog nagiba terena stvore horizontalne površine za smještaj grobova.¹¹⁵ U tom smislu je pokapanje po bilo kojoj osi zapravo i bilo moguće. Jelovina je na istočnom dijelu lokaliteta primijetio i liniju grobova koji su orijentirani s obzirom na spomenuti put kao i da se najveća gustoća grobova nalazi u središtu groblja, te je smatrao da na ovom lokalitetu orijentacija nije imala nikakvu ulogu, već da se radi o racionalnom korištenju prostora.¹¹⁶ Međutim, kada se na planu groblja označe grobovi prema glavnim prostornim pravcima, slično kao i na primjeru groblja na Spasu, mogu se uočiti određene pravilnosti (sl. 17).¹¹⁷

at organizing the burial ground. In certain cemeteries, orientation may have reflected the differences of individuals or groups, with these differences less commonly associated with gender, age or status, as seen in the aforementioned examples. Though a more comprehensive approach is required for the analysis of chronological differences, we shall leave it aside for now. However, it is worth noting that no significant chronological differences are observed at the sites Rižinice and Vratnice, while at Greblje, they are visible in certain groups. Furthermore, chronological difference within groups do not necessarily rule out the possibility of grouping based on family or kinship ties, or, as T. Burić has suggested in archaeological discussions, based on *kinship-court communities*.

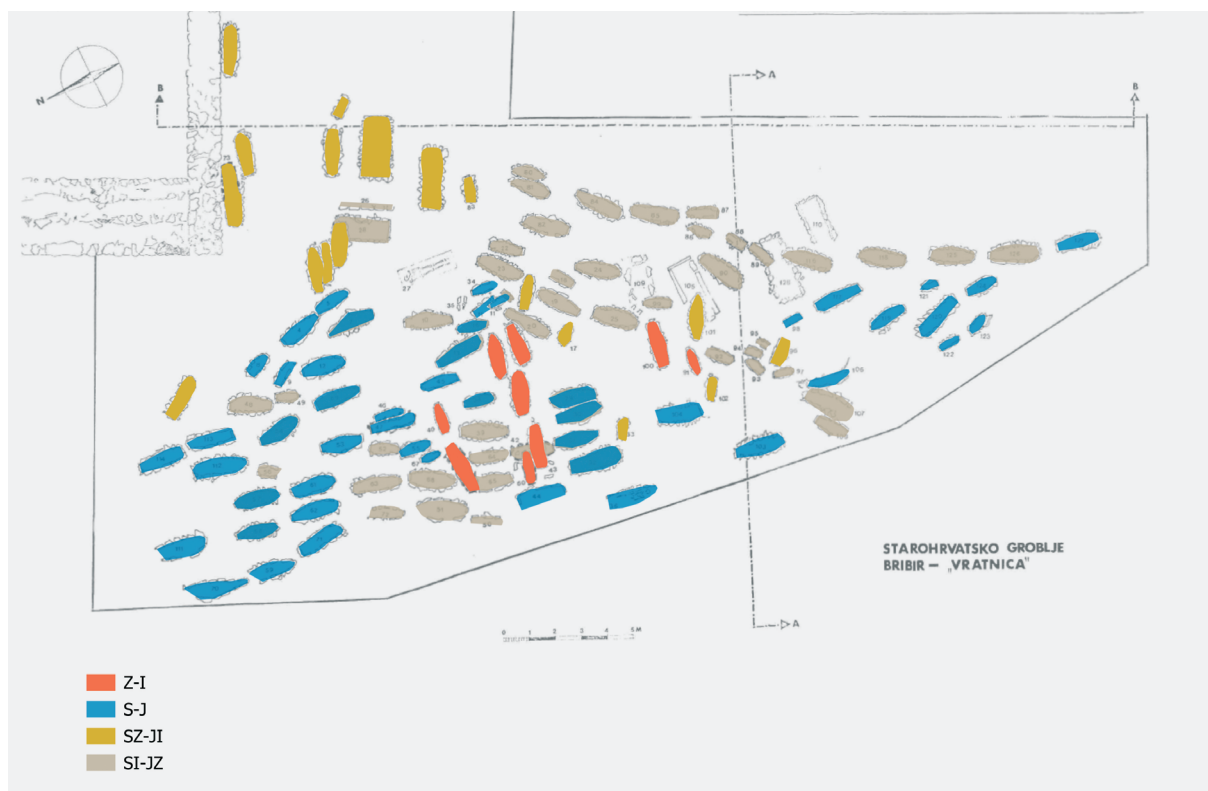
We are confident that grouping based on kinship or family ties also existed at Rižinice. The cemetery on the site's central terrace was deliberately organized, as indicated by the differences in orientation that cannot be explained by conventional models. Only 33.33% of the graves can be considered “properly oriented,” and their deviations from the true or geographic east are difficult to correlate with the position of the sun on the day of burial. Notably, the deceased with similar or identical deviations from the geographic east were most often buried next to each other. The fact that the remaining graves, or 66.66% respectively, were not oriented towards the surrounding infrastructure is evident from the large, possibly even majority, number of these graves that are oriented along the north-south axis, which does not follow at all the alignment of the church or any other architecture at the site. Also, graves whose orientation can be explained by their alignment to the east or the infrastructure are often separated by differently oriented graves into distinct groups. Graves oriented to the east have a group of graves between them which are oriented north-south, and these three groups are divided by two groups of graves oriented northeast-southwest, i.e. in line with the surrounding infrastructure. Furthermore, it is noticeable that the grouping of graves with the same orientation occurs in specific locations within the cemetery, often in a manner that their homogeneity is emphasized by the fact that the adjacent group is oriented clearly differently. Based on these conclusions, we have proposed a schematic representation of the organization of the examined burial ground into seven groups (Fig. 20).

¹¹⁴ D. Jelovina navodi 15 grobova koji su svojim ukopom devastirali prethodne grobove, među njima i G 66, G 196 i G 197 (Jelovina 1989, str. 162–163). Ipak, smatramo da G 66 nije poremetio grob do sebe jer je u tom grobu, iako bez arhitekture, pokojnik odlično sačuvan. S druge strane, G 196 i G 197 nisu mogli poremetiti jedan drugoga, već je jedan od njih poremetio drugi. Na taj način dolazim do ukupnog broja od 13 grobova koji su djelomično poremetili prethodne grobove.

¹¹⁵ Jelovina 1990, str. 9–11, 56, 60.

¹¹⁶ Jelovina 1990, str. 10–11.

¹¹⁷ Slično kao i u objavi istraživanja na brdu Spasu u



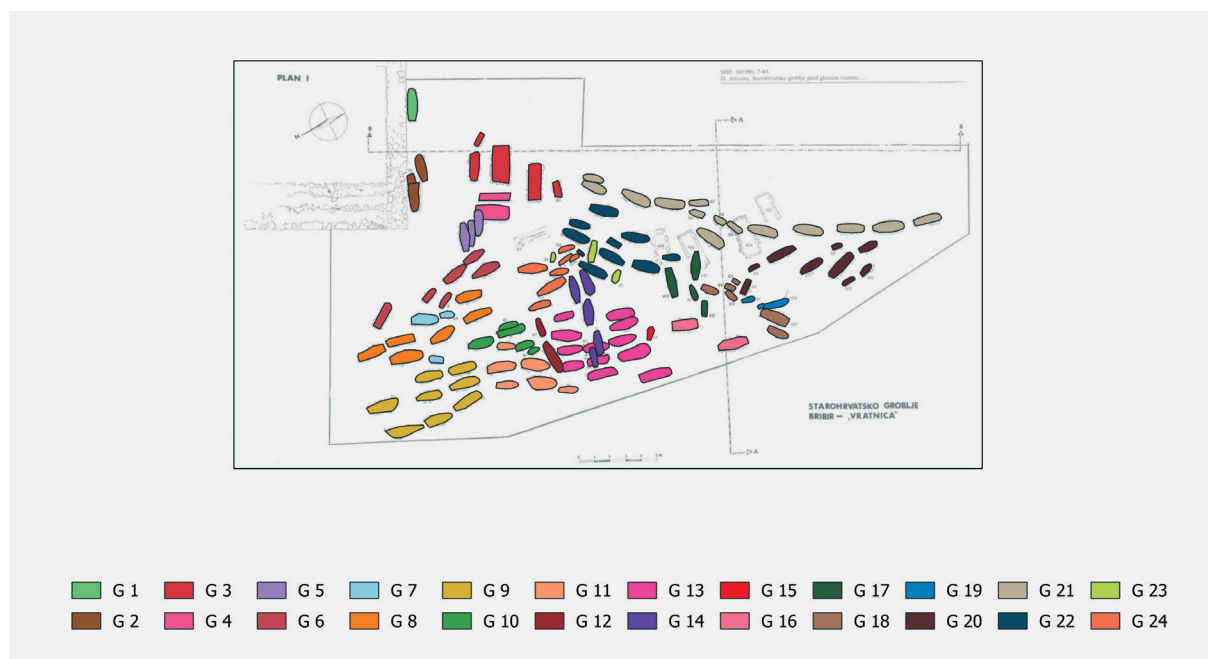
Sl. 17. Lokalizet Bribir – Vratnice, orijentacija s obzirom na glavne zemljopisne pravce (izradio D. Tojčić prema: Jelovina 1990, plan 1)

Fig. 17 Site Bribir – Vratnice, orientation with respect to cardinal directions (created by D. Tojčić based on: Jelovina 1990, Plan 1).

Tako se grobovi orijentirani I-Z mogu naći samo u središnjem dijelu groblja, oni orijentacije S-J koncentrirani su ponajviše u sjeverozapadnom i manjim dijelom u jugozapadnom dijelu groblja, a oni orijentacije JI-SZ ponajviše na sjeveroistočnom dijelu groblja. Grobovi koji su orijentirani u smjeru SI-JZ mogu se pak podijeliti u dvije podgrupe: one koji su optimalne SI-JZ orijentacije i one koji imaju veći odklon prema sjeveru. Prva podgrupa nalazi se na jugoistočnom i manjim dijelom na jugozapadnom dijelu groblja dok se druga podgrupa nalazi na sjeverozapadnom dijelu groblja. Ako i na ovo groblje primijenimo iste kriterije organizacije koje smo primijenili na groblje na brdu Spasu kod Knina, a to su grupiranje prostornim razmakom te kombinacijom istih i različitih orijentacija, dobit ćemo 24 grobišne grupe (sl. 18).

Kninu, autor i pri objavi rezultata istraživanja ovog groblja donosi katalog grobova. Međutim, i ovdje se često orijentacije donesene u katalogu ne poklapaju sa stanjem na tlocrtu groblja. Stoga se u našem tlocrtu s obzirom na orijentacije nismo vodili informacijama iz kataloga grobova već samo stanjem na tlocrtu (usporedi: Jelovina, str. 11–27 i P. I).

The first group contains 5 graves with 7 deceased individuals, the second group has 7 graves, the third group has 20 graves with 21 deceased individuals, the fourth group has 10 graves, the fifth has 2 graves, the sixth has 9 graves, and the seventh has 1 grave. The latter grave is set apart in its own group because, although it is located near the first group, it deviates entirely in orientation, but it is also sufficiently distant from the group whose orientation it matches. Had it belonged to the nearby group, this grave could have been oriented in accordance with it, as there was indeed space for that. All six groups contain men, women and children, so separation based on gender and age must be excluded. Grouping based on chronology also seems unlikely, as material of similar dating was found in all the grave groups. Our anthropological analysis suggests that the deceased from this terrace lived under harsh conditions with similar working and dietary experiences, which excludes status differentiation. We will therefore, in the following section of the text, focus on further discussing family and kinship, or *kinship-court communities*, as the basis for grouping.



Sl. 18. Lokalitet Bribir – Vratnice, grobišne grupe (izradio D. Tojčić prema: Jelovina 1990, plan 1)
Fig. 18 Site Bribir – Vratnice, grave groups (created by D. Tojčić based on: Jelovina 1990, Plan 1).

U tom slučaju, gustoća i različitost orijentacija u središtu groblja više se ne čine kao slučajnost, već kao sjecište nekoliko grupa grobova. Ovdje nema slučaja, kao na spomenutom primjeru groblja na brdu Spasu, da se jedna grupa odvaja na temelju dobi. Također, nije zabilježeno ni odvajanja na temelju spola, a na temelju grobnih nalaza D. Jelovina smatra da su pokojnici pokapani na ovom mjestu bili društvenog istog statusa. Ostaje nam, dakle, tek promišljati o obiteljskim, odnosno rodbinskim vezama kao osnovi za grupiranje. Smatramo kako su i na ovom groblju postojala nadzemna, jasno vidljiva obilježja grobova, jer je primijećen vrlo mali broj grobova koji su svojim ukopavanjem oštetili prethodno postavljene grobove. Radi se tek o 8 slučajeva, što smatramo uistinu malim brojem za ovako gusto organizirano groblje na nepogodnom terenu. Uz to, polovica tih grobova pripadala je djeci, što bismo možda mogli korelirati sa slučajem na brdu Spasu i time ponovo naglasiti da se radi o smišljenim postupcima vezanim za organizaciju grobišnog prostora.

Ostrovica – Greblje

Smišljeni postupci u izboru orijentacije grobova postojali su zasigurno i na lokalitetu Greblje u Ostrovici, u blizini Bribira. Ondje je istraženo ukupno 115 grobova u trima različitim sektorima, a broj

MEDIEVAL HOUSEHOLDS

To test this hypothesis, we will compare early medieval sources discussing households and families with specific archaeological data. In this context, the property inventories of two early medieval monasteries—St. Germain des Prés in France and Santa Maria di Farfa in Italy—prove useful. Both inventories, compiled in the 9th century, have been analysed by historians to define the number, structure, property, relationships and, to some extent, the lifestyle of the populations living and working on these monastic estates.

The inventory compiled by Abbot Irminon in the early 9th century for the monastery of St. Germain des Prés near Paris lists nearly 8,000 individuals across a total of 1,378 agricultural estates, including both free and unfree populations. Even the unfree typically lived with their families on their own estates, which they cultivated for their own benefit, but with payment of customary rents.¹¹⁹ The population was organized into households, with the average household size calculated at 5.74 individuals, with 6 being the median number.¹²⁰ Interest-

¹¹⁹ Herlihy 1985, pp. 56-57.

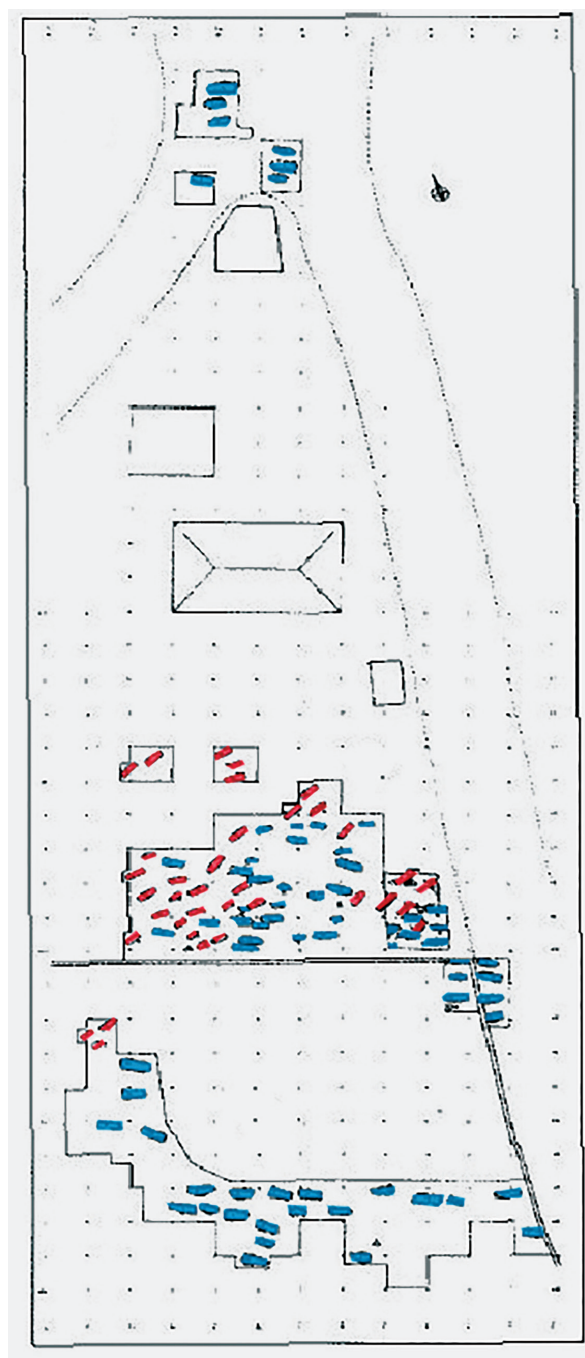
¹²⁰ Idem, p. 69. The average number refers to the total number of people divided by the total number of households, while the median number refers to the number of people per household, with half of the total

grobova mogao bi biti i puno veći. Sjeverni sektor datiran je u rano 9. st., a u njemu se nalaze grobovi s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom, orijentirani u smjeru SI-JZ. U južnom sektoru groblja nalaze se većinom grobovi istih karakteristika, osim u njegovu sjeverozapadnom kutu, gdje su tri groba orijentirana u smjeru I-Z, a pokojnici su bili u drvenim ljesovima. Takva je situacija i u središnjem sektoru, koji se datira u 9. i 10. st. Ondje se nalazi ukupno 82 groba, od kojih je dio orijentiran u smjeru I-Z, a dio u smjeru SI-JZ (sl. 19).

Da se ne radi o orijentacijama prema suncu i njihovim devijacijama ili pak o slučajnom odabiru, ukazuje arhitektura grobova. Naime, u pravcu I-Z pokapani su pokojnici u drvenim ljesovima, a oni orijentirani SI-JZ bili su pokapani u grobove s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom.¹¹⁸ Također, na određenim dijelovima istraženog groblja može se nazrijeti i odvajanje prostornim razmakom. Međutim, budući da groblje nije u cijelosti istraženo, već su istraživanja provedena po odvojenim sektorima, rezultati analize grupiranja mogli bi imati puno više pogrešaka nego u prethodnim primjerima. Stoga ćemo smatrati dovoljnim tek ustanoviti da je grobišni prostor i na ovom lokalitetu bio smišljeno organiziran te da je jedan od modela organizacije i grupiranja bila orijentacija.

PRIMJER RIŽINICA

Inspirirajući se modelima i zaključcima koji su primijenjeni na anglosaksonskim grobljima, uvažavajući promišljanja kolega o prostornim grupiranjima na ranosrednjovjekovnim hrvatskim grobljima te na temelju vlastitih analiza određenih primjera, došli smo do dvaju osnovnih zaključaka. Prvi je da su i groblja s prostora ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske mogla biti smišljeno prostorno organizirana, a drugi je da je izbor orijentacije grobova također mogao biti smislen postupak u svrhu organizacije grobišnog prostora. Orijentacija je tako na određenim grobljima mogla odražavati različitost pojedinca ili skupine, a ta bi se različitost rjeđe odnosila na spol, dob i status, kako je vidljivo na spomenutim primjerima. Analiza kronoloških razlika zahtjeva nešto opširniji posao, koji ćemo ovdje morati izostaviti. Ipak, valja spomenuti kako na primjeru Rižinica i Vratnica ne primjećujemo neke osjetljivije



Sl. 19. Lokalitet Ostrovica – Greblje, orijentacije (izradio D. Tojčić prema: Delonga, Burić 1998, sl. 24)
Fig. 19 Site Ostrovica – Greblje, orientations (created by D. Tojčić based on: Delonga, Burić 1998, Fig. 24).

ingly, many households consisted of only one person, mostly male, and the size of each household correlates with the amount of cultivable land they owned.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Delonga, Burić 1990, str. 35–37; Delonga, Burić 1998, str. 18–21.

number of households having more people and half having fewer.

¹²¹ Idem, T. 3.2.

kronološke razlike, dok su na lokalitetu Greblje one vidljive u određenim grupama. Također, kronološke razlike unutar grupa ne moraju nužno isključivati grupiranje po obiteljskoj ili rodovskoj osnovi ili, kako je to T. Burić uveo u arheološku raspravu, po osnovi *rodbinsko-dvorne zajednice*.

Grupiranje po toj osnovi, uvjereni smo, postojalo je i na Rižinicama. Groblje na središnjoj terasi tog lokaliteta organizirano je smišljeno, čemu svjedoče razlike u orijentacijama grobova koje se ne mogu objasniti ustaljenim modelima. Naime, za samo 33,33 % grobova može se reći da su „pravilno“ orijentirani, a njihove devijacije od pravog ili zemljopisnog istoka opet se teško mogu dovesti u vezu s položajem sunca na dan pogreba. Također, pokojnici s istom ili sličnom devijacijom od zemljopisnog istoka najčešće su pokopani jedni uz druge. Da se ostatak grobova, a to je 66,66 %, nije orijentirao prema okolnoj infrastrukturi, svjedoči to što je velik, možda čak i natpolovičan, broj tih grobova orijentiran po osi S-J, koja uopće ne prati pružanje crkve ili druge arhitekture na lokalitetu. Također, grobovi kod kojih se orijentacija može objasniti pružanjem prema istoku ili s obzirom na infrastrukturu često su razdvojeni drukčije orijentiranim grobovima u određene grupe. Grobovi orijentirani prema istoku među sobom imaju grupu grobova koja je orijentirana S-J, a te tri grupe razdvajaju u dvije grupe grobove orijentirane SI-JZ, odnosno sukladno infrastrukturi. Primjetno je i grupiranje grobova s istom orijentacijom na određenim pozicijama na groblju, i to najčešće na način da je njihova homogenost naglašena time što je susjedna grupa jasno drukčije orijentirana. S obzirom na ove zaključke, iznijeli smo shemu organizacije razmatranog grobišnog prostora u sedam grupa (sl. 20).

Prvoj grupi pripada 5 grobova sa 7 pokojnika, drugoj grupi 7 grobova, trećoj 20 grobova s 21 pokojnikom, četvrtoj 10 grobova, petoj 2 groba, šestoj 9 grobova, a sedmoj 1 grob. Taj jedan grob izdvojen je u posebnu grupu jer, iako se nalazi uz prvu grupu, u potpunosti odudara orijentacijom, a dovoljno je daleko od grupe s čijom je orijentacijom sukladan. Da je pripadao obližnjoj grupi, i ovaj bi se grob mogao orijentirati sukladno njoj, s obzirom na to da je za to zaista bilo prostora. U svih šest grupa nalaze se muškarci, žene i djeca, stoga se odvajanje na osnovi spola i dobi mora isključiti. Grupiranje na kronološkoj osnovi treba također isključiti, jer je u svim grobišnim grupama pronađen materijal slične



Sl. 20. Rižinice, grobišne grupe (izradio D. Tojčić)
Fig. 20 Rižinice, grave groups (created by D. Tojčić).

The Santa Maria di Farfa monastery near Rome, which benefited from the patronage of Lombard dukes and later Carolingian kings and emperors, became one of the wealthiest and most influential monasteries in Italy. Around 820, the monastery conducted a survey and inventory of its estates. The second section of this inventory records dependent households and the population in the central Apennines, listing over 1,200 people, 271 households in 31 different settlements, including information on the *household head*, his wife, unmarried children, married sons with their wives and children, as well as details about the house, property and the number of domestic animals.¹²² Based on the 244 households where 1,147 individuals are listed, the average household size can be estimated at 4.7 people. However, children in this inventory represent a problem, particularly female children who were poorly documented. It is therefore believed

¹²² Ring 1979, pp. 2-4.

datacije. Antropološka analiza sugerira da su pokojnici s ove terase živjeli u teškim uvjetima, sa sličnim radnim iskustvima i prehrambenim navikama, što pak isključuje i statusnu diferencijaciju. Stoga ćemo u sljedećem dijelu teksta prionuti tome da pokušamo dodatno raspraviti obiteljsku i rodbinsku odnosno *rodbinsko-dvornu zajednicu* kao osnovu za grupiranje.

SREDNJOVJEKOVNA KUĆANSTVA

Kako bismo provjerili spomenutu pretpostavku, usporedit ćemo ranosrednjovjekovne izvore koji govore o kućanstvima i obiteljima s određenim arheološkim podacima. Pri tome bi nam od pomoći mogli biti imovinski popisi dvaju ranosrednjovjekovnih samostana: St. Germain des Prés u Francuskoj i Santa Maria di Farfa u Italiji. Oba popisa sastavljena su u 9. st., a povjesničari su na temelju informacija u njima definirali broj, strukturu, imovinu, odnose i djelomično način života stanovništva koje je živjelo i radilo na tim samostanskim imanjima.

Na popisu koji je sastavio opat Irminon početkom 9. st. za potrebe samostana St. Germain des Prés u blizini Pariza nalazi se gotovo 8000 ljudi na ukupno 1378 poljoprivrednih imanja, među kojima su i oni slobodnog kao i neslobodnog statusa. Čak i neslobodni većinom žive sa svojim obiteljima na svojim imanjima koja obrađuju za vlastitu korist, uz uobičajenu rentu.¹¹⁹ Popisano stanovništvo živi u kućanstvima, a prosječan broj osoba po kućanstvu izračunat je na 5,74, dok je središnji broj bio 6.¹²⁰ Zanimljivo je primijetiti i da mnoga kućanstva čini samo jedna osoba, većinom muška, te da veličina kućanstva u smislu broja osoba korespondira s veličinom obradive zemlje koju to kućanstvo posjeduje.¹²¹

Samostan Santa Maria di Farfa kod Rima uživao je patronat langobardskih kneževa, a kasnije i karolinških kraljeva i careva, čime je postao jedan od bogatijih i utjecajnih samostana u Italiji. Oko 820. godine i ovaj je samostan proveo istraživanje i sastavio popis imanja. U drugoj sekciji tog popi-

that the average number of people per household should have been at least 5. More interestingly, the author's table of households by number of residents shows that among the 244 households, 11 consisted of a single individual, while on the other end, there was one household with 13 people. This provides insight into the range of household sizes. R.R. Ring, studying the structure of these households, proposed a classification into five models. The first model refers to the previously mentioned single-person households or *solitaries*, of which there were 11 or 4% of the total, and like in the case of St. Germain des Prés, these were mostly male. The second type of household included those where unmarried brothers or sisters lived together (*co-resident siblings*), with three such households, or 1% of the total. The most common type of household, comprising 194 or 72% of the total, was the *simple (or nuclear) family household*, i.e., those consisting of a nuclear or single family with a married couple with or without children, or a widow/widower with children. The *extended household* is a term used for a household that included one single or nuclear family, along with at least one person who was not part of the nuclear family but was related to it. These might include a widowed father or mother, or unmarried brothers and sisters. There were 16 such households, or 6%. The last model is the *multiple household*, which constitutes 46 or 17% of the total, and refers to households where two or more nuclear families lived together. This could mean that a household contained a married couple or a widow/widower with children, of whom at least one son was married and possibly had children, or married brothers with their children.¹²³ The most common household model, which was the *simple or nuclear family household*, usually consisted of up to 6 people (91%), while most households with 7 or more people fall into the category of *extended household*, which can even include three generations.¹²⁴

It is interesting to note that the household structures on the estates of St. Germain des Prés and Santa Maria di Farfa from the 9th-century, closely resemble those described in the Poljica Statute from

¹¹⁹ Herlihy 1985, str. 56–57.

¹²⁰ Herlihy 1985, str. 69. Prosječan broj odnosi se na ukupan broj ljudi podijeljen s ukupnim brojem kućanstava, a središnji broj bi se trebao odnositi na broj osoba po kućanstvu ispod kojeg i iznad kojeg se nalazi polovica ukupnog broja.

¹²¹ Herlihy 1985, T. 3.2.

¹²³ Idem, pp. 8–15. In the literature referenced, these types of households are presented in English as: *solitaries*, *co-resident siblings*, *simple (or nuclear) family households*, *extended households*, and *multiple households* (see: Ring 1979, pp. 8–9). However, in the Croatian text, we have used a free translation of these terms.

¹²⁴ Ring 1979, pp. 12–13.

sa nalaze se ovisna kućanstva i stanovništvo u središnjim Apeninima. Na tom području popisano je više od 1200 ljudi te 271 kućanstvo u 31 različitom mjestu, a navedeno je i tko je u tim kućanstvima voditelj (*household head*), zatim njegova žena, neoženjena djeca, oženjeni sinovi s njihovim ženama i djecom, bilješka o kući i imovini te broj domaćih životinja.¹²² Broj osoba u kućanstvima može se donijeti na temelju 244 kućanstva u kojima je popisano 1147 osoba. Iz toga slijedi da je prosječan broj osoba po kućanstvu bio 4,7. Međutim, na ovom su popisu problematična djeca, posebice zbog slabog navođenja ženske djece, pa se smatra da je prosječan broj osoba po kućanstvu trebao biti barem 5. Nadalje, još je zanimljivije pogledati autorovu tablicu s kućanstvima po broju stanovnika. U njoj se vidi da među 244 kućanstva postoji čak njih 11 s jednom osobom, dok s druge strane postoji i jedno kućanstvo s 13 osoba. Tako dobivamo uvid u raspon veličine kućanstva. Proučavajući strukturu tih kućanstava, R. R. Ring priložio je klasifikaciju u 5 modela. Prvi model odnosi se na već spomenuta *samačka kućanstva*, kojih je 11 odnosno 4 %, a u kojima, kao i u slučaju samostana St. Germain des Pres, dominiraju muškarci. Drugi tip kućanstva odnosi se na ona u kojima skupa žive *neoženjena braća ili sestre*, a kojih je ukupno 3 odnosno 1 %. Najviše kućanstava, čak 194 odnosno 72 %, čine *jednostavna ili nuklearna kućanstva*, tj. ona u kojima se nalazi nuklearna odnosno inokosna obitelj. U tim slučajevima radi se o oženjenom paru s ili bez djece ili o udovici/udovcu s djecom. *Prošireno kućanstvo* je termin za kućanstvo koje ima jednu inokosnu ili nuklearnu obitelj s barem jednom osobom koja ne spada u tu nuklearnu obitelj, ali je s njom rodbinski povezana. Takve bi osobe bile otac udovac, majka udovica ili neoženjena braća i sestre, a takvih je kućanstava 16, odnosno 6 %. Posljednji model kućanstva je *višestruko kućanstvo*, kojih je ukupno 46 odnosno 17 %, a radi se o tipu kućanstva u kojem se nalaze dvije ili više nuklearnih obitelji. To bi značilo da se u istom kućanstvu mogu nalaziti oženjeni par ili udovica/udovac s djecom od kojih je barem jedan sin oženjen i možda ima djecu ili oženjena braća sa svojom djecom.¹²³ Najzastuplje-

the late medieval period. Specifically, the household head in the examples from the monastic estates is a man, as is the case in the *kinship-court communities* mentioned in the Poljica Statute. Additionally, we observe the same patterns of household expansion and fragmentation in all cases. For instance, the older son typically brought his wife into the household after marriage, while younger brothers generally established new households upon marriage and less frequently remained in the paternal household. Daughters, on the other hand, left the household upon marriage, while unmarried siblings, more likely stayed.¹²⁵ Given the identical relationships and processes surrounding the formation, expansion and fragmentation of households, the numbers and patterns observed in 9th-century rural households in Italy and France could likely be applied to households in the area of Poljica during the late medieval period. Unfortunately, we have almost no direct information on households in early medieval Croatia, whether from historical or archaeological sources, making it difficult to draw direct comparisons with the examples above. Croatian archaeological research has yet to yield material evidence that offers insights into early medieval households or settlements, and historical records remain silent on this topic. The only extensive, albeit older, study on the Poljica Statute from the later periods of the Middle Ages, along with several shorter, mostly spatial studies by T. Burić focussing on the Kaštela region,¹²⁶ provide some information, on which basis overly general conclusions can be made that are also difficult to verify. Nevertheless, these studies represent valuable contributions by introducing hypotheses that merit further discussions and by establishing a foundation for future research.

THE CASE OF BABA LOKVE

Just as Barada and Burić relied on late medieval sources to define conditions in the Early Middle Ages, we too will, in the absence of early medieval sources, examine a somewhat later example. One such notable example is Burić's research on the late medieval-early modern house, which, to the best of our knowledge, represents the only explored medieval house in Dalmatia. Located just 16 kilometres

¹²² Ring 1979, str. 2–4.

¹²³ Ring 1979, str. 8–15. U korištenoj literaturi ovi se tipovi kućanstava donese na engleskom jeziku kao: *solitaries*, *co-resident siblings*, *simple (or nuclear) family households*, *extended households* i *multiple households* (vidi: Ring 1979, str. 8–9). U našem smo tekstu pak koristili vlastiti, slobodan prijevod ovih pojmova.

¹²⁵ Cf.: Barada 1957, pp. 19–20 and 80–85 with Ring 1979 and Herlihy 1985, pp. 71–78.

¹²⁶ Examples: Burić 2015 and Burić 2021.

niji model kućanstva, *jednostavno ili nuklearno kućanstvo*, najčešće broji do 6 osoba (91 %), dok većina kućanstava koja ima 7 ili više osoba spada u *višestruka kućanstva* koja mogu obuhvaćati i tri generacije.¹²⁴

Zanimljivo je primijetiti da su odnosi u kućanstvima u ovim dvama samostanskim primjerima, dakle na imanjima samostana St. Germain des Pres i Santa Maria di Farfa, koji datiraju iz 9. st., zapravo identični onima opisanim u Poljičkom statutu iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka. Konkretno, voditelj kućanstva u primjerima samostanskih imanja je muškarac kao i u *rodbinsko-dvornoj zajednici* Poljičkog statuta. Također, u svim slučajevima riječ je o istom modelu proširivanja i cijepanja kućanstva, u smislu da stariji sin po ženidbi dovodi ženu u svoje (očinsko) kućanstvo, da mlađa braća najčešće po ženidbi osnivaju nova kućanstva, a rjeđe ostaju u očinskom kućanstvu, da ženska djeca po udaji odlaze iz kućanstva, dok neoženjena braća i neudane sestre češće ostaju u kućanstvu.¹²⁵ Zbog identičnih odnosa i procesa nastanka, proširivanja i cijepanja kućanstva, brojevi koji vrijede za seoska kućanstva 9. st. u Italiji i Francuskoj trebali bi biti primjenjivi na poljička kućanstva kasnog srednjeg vijeka. Nažalost, o kućanstvima na području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske gotovo da nemamo podataka iz neposrednih izvora, bilo povijesnih ili arheoloških, što otežava usporedbu stanja s gore iznesenim primjerima. Domaća arheološka znanost još uvijek ne pruža materijale za uvid u kućanstva ili naselja ranog srednjeg vijeka, a povijesni izvori o njima ne donose nikakve informacije. Samo jedna opsežnija, ali starija studija o Poljičkom zakoniku iz kasnijih razdoblja srednjeg vijeka i nekoliko kraćih, većinom prostornih studija T. Burića vezanih za područje Kaštela¹²⁶ pružaju informacije na temelju kojih se mogu donijeti tek preopćeniti i teško provjerljivi zaključci. Međutim, te studije ipak probijaju led, a donose i neke teze koje valja raspraviti kao i osnove na kojima je potrebno graditi buduća istraživanja.

PRIMJER BABA LOKVE

Kao što su Barada i Burić koristili kasnosrednjovjekovne izvore u definiranju stanja u ranom srednjem vijeku, tako ćemo i mi ovdje u nedostat-

in a straight line from Rižinice, likely within the area of the former estate in Bijaći in Kaštela, lies the site known as Baba Lokva. Here, Burić examined the remains of several structures that should belong to what he describes as a *kinship-court community*—a concept analogous to what is referred to as a household in the aforementioned examples from the monasteries. The residential house, which primarily contained a range of artefacts related to habitation such as fine and coarse pottery and glass, also includes a semi-dugout structure built from amorphous stone in its lower part, which supports a pitched wooden roof, likely covered with straw or a similar material. Surrounding the house are several smaller buildings, presumably used for agricultural purposes, as well as a levelled platform identified by the researcher as a village or household threshing floor (Fig. 21).

Among the small finds were grindstones, whetstones, ceramic spindle whorls, metal awls, nails, spikes, as well as arrows, jewellery and elements belonging to clothing.¹²⁷ The single-room residential house with a surface area of 30 m² had a rectangular form and measured approximately 9 meters in length. Particularly striking regarding this house was the discovery of movable items within it that dated from the 14th to the 16th centuries, i.e. spanning a full three centuries.¹²⁸ This type of elongated, rectangular house is comparable to houses found in, for example, England, where rural dwellings, due to their rectangular floor plan, are referred to as “long houses”. Interestingly, these houses were repaired by each successive generation that inhabited them, suggesting they were poorly constructed yet had a long lifespan.¹²⁹ More specific information about such houses has been found in Italy, specifically at the San Pietro monastery estate in Villamagna near Rome, where a Roman *villa rustica* once stood. By the 10th century, a monastery was established there, which was endowed with lands cultivated by both free and unfree populations. The centre of the monastic estate was, naturally, the monastery with its church. It has been established that prominent ecclesiastical figures were buried inside the church, while men, women and children, i.e. the peasants from the surrounding monastic villages, were bur-

¹²⁴ Ring 1979, str. 12–13.

¹²⁵ Usporedi Barada 1957, str. 19–20, 80–85 s Ring 1979 i Herlihy 1985, str. 71–78.

¹²⁶ Primjerice: Burić 2015; Burić 2021.

¹²⁷ Burić et alii 2013, pp. 4–25.

¹²⁸ Idem, pp. 6 and 11.

¹²⁹ Hurst 1965, pp. 190–191.



Sl. 21. Lokalitet Baba lokva, ostatci kuće i gospodarskih prostorija (prema Burić *et al.* 2013, str. 8)

Fig. 21 Site Baba Lokva, remains of a house and utility rooms (according to: Burić *et al.*, 2013, p. 8).

ku ranosrednjovjekovnih izvora obraditi jedan nešto kasniji primjer. Taj primjer je upravo Burićevo istraživanje kasnosrednjovjekovno-ranonovovjekovne kuće, koja je ujedno i jedina, koliko nam je poznato, istražena srednjovjekovna kuća na području Dalmacije. Na tek nekih 16 km zračne linije od Rižinica, vjerojatno na području nekadašnjeg bijačkog imanja u Kaštelima, nalazi se lokalitet Baba lokva. Ondje je Burić istražio ostatke nekoliko objekata koji bi trebali pripadati onome što on sam određuje kao *rodbinsko-dvornu zajednicu*, a što je u navedenim samostanskim primjerima označeno kao kućanstvo. Stambenoj kući, u kojoj je i pronađen većinom stambeni repertoar nalaza poput fine i grube keramike te stakla, pripada poluukopani objekt koji je u donjem dijelu građen od amorfnog kamenja, na što se oslanja dvoslivni drveni krov prekriven slamom ili sličnim materijalom. Uokolo stambene kuće nalazi se više manjih objekata, vjerojatno gospodarske namjene, i jedan zaravnati plato koji istraživač definira kao seosko ili kućno gumno (sl. 21).

Od sitnih nalaza pronađeni su još i žrvnjevi, brusovi, keramički pršljenovi, metalna šila, čavli, kli-

ied outside.¹³⁰ Part of one such village, located around 400 meters from the church and monastery, has also been excavated. Here, two long wooden houses with storage spaces, measuring 15-16 x 5-6 meters, were recorded, along with nine smaller huts with hearths, each measuring 5 x 3.5 meters. These structures served both residential and agricultural purposes. They had clay floors, laid on a foundation of rubble and earth, with timber frames supporting walls made of branches, mud and clay. In addition to these buildings, waste pits containing food waste, fragments of querns, spindle whorls and other artefacts associated with domestic production were also uncovered. What is notable when comparing them to the structures at Baba Lokva, aside from the types of houses and movable artefacts, is their longevity. Namely, it has been recorded that the floor surface in one of these buildings was repaired as many as nine times over a span of 300 years, from the 11th to the 13th century. This suggests that the structure was rebuilt about every 35 years, or once per generation of its inhabitants. Thus, we arrive at the same conclusion as drawn for England, which is fully applicable also to Baba Lokva: medieval rural households were physically long-lasting, even though they were built from weaker materials, and they housed a considerable number of generations, each inheriting the estate from the previous one. The physical remains of the household in Baba Lokva align with the conceptual reconstruction of the *courtyard* mentioned in the Poljica Statute, which is not surprising given the corresponding dating of these two sources. The hypothesis that the types of households described in the Poljica Statute should correspond to early medieval households in France and Italy finds some additional support here. The physical remains of the 10th-century household in Villamagna, though constructed with different materials, share the same form, function and overall concept as the household at Baba Lokva. These types of households most probably did not emerge only in the final phase of the Croatian medieval period. As we can observe, similar households existed much earlier in Italy and France, making it reasonable to assume that they were also present in early medieval Croatia, at least as early as the mid-9th century. These were households, or, to use the more local term *kinship-court communities*, who resided at their *court place* that included a residential

¹³⁰ Goodson 2018, pp. 53-55 and 57-59.

novi, ali i strelice, nakit te dijelovi nošnje.¹²⁷ Stambena kuća je pravokutna i jednočelijska, dužine oko 9 m, s ukupnom površinom od 30 m², a ono što na prvi pogled zapanjuje jest da je u sklopu kuće pronađen pokretni materijal koji je datiran od 14. do 16. st., dakle, u rasponu od punih triju stoljeća.¹²⁸ Međutim, ovaj tip kuće izduženog pravokutnog oblika odgovara kućama, na primjer, u Engleskoj, gdje su seoske kuće, upravo zbog svog pravokutnog tlocrta, nazvane *long house* tipom. Zanimljivo je da su te kuće popravljale sve generacije koje su u njima obitavale, što znači da su bile slabe gradnje, ali i dugog vijeka.¹²⁹ Nešto preciznije podatke o takvim kućama pronašli smo na prostoru Italije, i to na imanju samostana San Pietro u Villamagni, nedaleko od Rima. Ondje se prethodno nalazila rimska *villa rustica*, a u 10. st. organiziran je samostan obdaren zemljama, koje je obrađivalo slobodno i neslobodno stanovništvo. Središte samostanskog posjeda bio je, naravno, samostan s crkvom. Prepoznato je da su se unutar crkve pokapali istaknuti crkveni pojedinci, dok su izvan crkve pokapani muškarci, žene i djeca, odnosno seljaci samostanskih sela.¹³⁰ Dio jednog sela je i istražen, a nalazi se na oko 400 m udaljenosti od crkve i samostana. Ondje su evidentirane dvije duge drvene kuće sa spremištem, dimenzija 15 – 16 × 5 – 6 m, te devet manjih kuća, dimenzija 5 × 3,5 m, koje su imale ognjište. Radi se o građevinama stambene i gospodarske namjene koje su imale glineni pod postavljen na temelj od šute i zemlje, a zidovi od granja, blata i gline bili su postavljeni na drveni okvir. Osim navedenih građevina, nađene su i otpadne jame s ostacima hrane, fragmenti žrvnjeva, pršljenovi i drugi nalazi koji pripadaju jednom kućnom gospodarstvu. Ono što je značajno za usporedbu s objektima u Baba lokvi, pored tipova kuća i pokretnog materijala, jest njihova dugovječnost. Naime, evidentirano je da je jedna od tih građevina, u razdoblju od 300 godina, tj. od 11. do 13. st., čak devet puta doživjela prepravak poda. To bi značilo da je ovaj objekt u prosjeku popravljan svakih 35 godina, odnosno jednom u generaciji svojih žitelja. Tako ponovo dolazimo do zaključka koji je izveden i za Englesku, a koji je u potpunosti primjenjiv i na Baba lokvu, a to je da su srednjovjekovna seoska kućanstva bila fizički dugovječna,

building and associated structures required for the household economy, along with their own lands. Such households were long-lasting, serving multiple generations, each of which maintained established internal relationships, connections with other households, as well as ties to the generations that preceded them and those that came later into these households. In a time when the members of these households had no possibility to formalize their undoubtedly complex social and property relations through written records, their only option was to preserve and manage memory. To make this memory effectively accessible, it needed to be shaped into symbols that would remain visible and enduring. Cemeteries, in this regard, serve as an ideal setting for such a display.

GAME OF NUMBERS

To test the hypothesis regarding the existence of the mentioned types of households (or *kinship-court communities*) in early medieval Croatia and, in general, the organization of cemeteries based on these structures, we will compare relevant data. On one side, we will present figures derived from studies regarding the presence of households on the estates of the monasteries of St. Germain des Prés and Santa Maria di Farfa from the 9th century, while on the other, we will examine figures from our analysis of the organizational structure of several early medieval cemeteries. These include the sites of Knin – Spas, Bribir – Vratnice and Solin – Rižinice. We will also take into account the cemetery at site Kašić – Mastirine. This site is notable for being one of the larger early medieval cemeteries, containing over 100 graves, and its dating aligns closely with that of the previously mentioned cemeteries.¹³¹ Cemeteries with a larger number of graves or deceased individuals are considered more reliable samples, as they tend to produce lower numerical errors compared to smaller cemeteries. Furthermore, the cemetery at Mastirine in Kašić stands out as a site where the clustering of most burial groups is clearly visible on the ground plan. Unlike the other three examples, these groups are not primarily distinguished by orientation but rather by spatial separation, which provides a useful basis for comparing different cemeteries.

¹²⁷ Burić *et al.* 2013, str. 4–25.

¹²⁸ Burić *et al.* 2013, str. 6, 11.

¹²⁹ Hurst 1965, str. 190–191.

¹³⁰ Goodson 2018, str. 53–55, 57–59.

¹³¹ Jelovina 1982, pp. 36 and 64.

iako su građena od slabijeg materijala, te je u njima obitavao popriličan broj generacija koje nasljeđuju jedna drugu ujedno nasljeđujući i imanja. Fizički ostatci kućanstva u Baba lokvi odgovaraju idejnoj rekonstrukciji *dvornog mjesta* iz Poljičkog zakonika, što naravno ne čudi s obzirom na sukladnu dataciju tih dvaju izvora. Pretpostavci da bi tipovi kućanstava iz Poljičkog zakonika trebali odgovarati ranosrednjovjekovnim kućanstvima opisanim u Francuskoj i Italiji upravo ovdje nalazimo mali prilog. Fizički ostatci kućanstva u Villamagni iz 10. st. drukčijeg su materijala, ali su iste forme i funkcije, dakle iste koncepcije kao kućanstvo u Baba lokvi. Takvi tipovi kućanstava vjerojatno se nisu razvili tek u završnoj fazi hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja. Oni su, kako vidimo, postojali već mnogo ranije u Italiji i Francuskoj, pa je za pretpostaviti da su postojali i na području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske, barem od sredine 9. st. Radi se, dakle, o kućanstvima ili, da upotrijebimo lokalno specifičniji termin, *rodbinsko-dvornoj zajednici* koja obitava na svom *dvornom mjestu* koje se sastoji od stambene zgrade i popratnih objekata za potrebe kućnog gospodarstva, a koja raspolaže i vlastitim zemljištima. Takvo kućanstvo je dugovječno i koristi se generacijama, pri čemu svaka generacija ima uređene međusobne odnose, odnose s drugim kućanstvima, ali i generacijama koje su joj prethodile i onima koje dolaze u njezino kućanstvo. U razdoblju kada pripadnici tih kućanstava nemaju mogućnost birokratizirati svoje, zasigurno kompleksne, društveno-imovinske odnose pisanom riječju, preostaje im jedino čuvanje i raspolaganje memorijom. Kako bi se takvom memorijom moglo učinkovito raspolagati, trebalo ju je uobličiti u simbole koji će biti dostupni i vidljivi tijekom dužeg vremena. Za takav „igrokaz“ upravo se groblja čine kao idealna pozornica.

IGRA BROJEVA

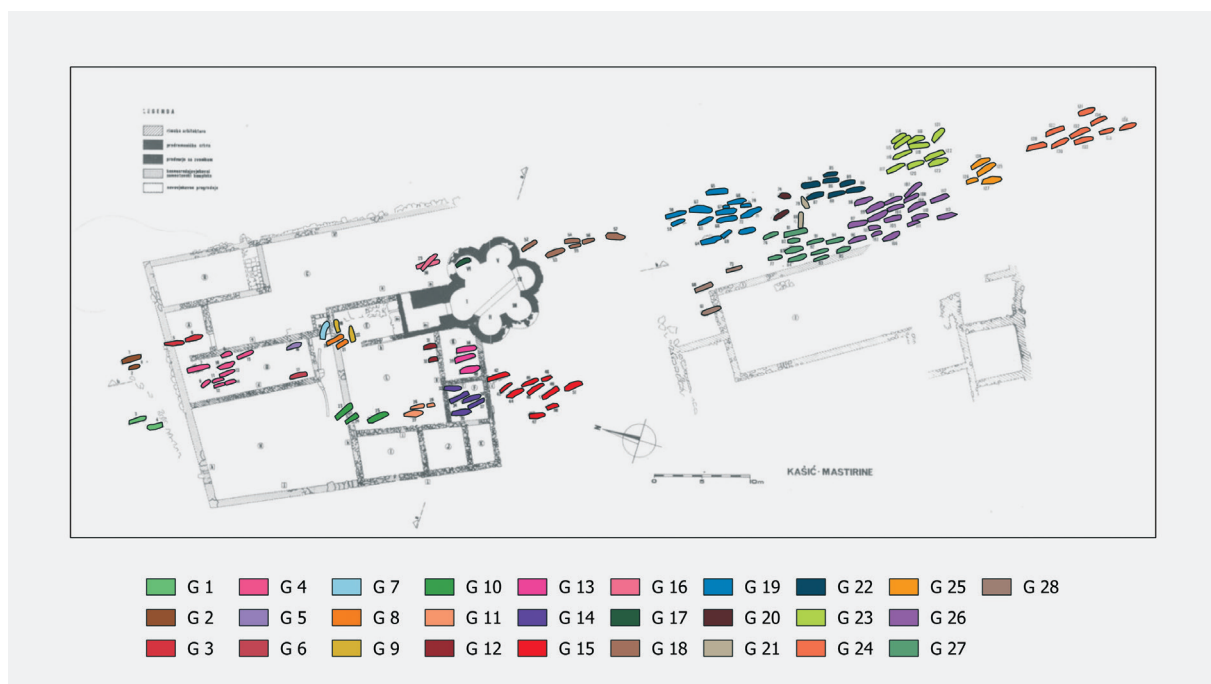
Kako bismo provjerili pretpostavku o postojanju navedenih tipova kućanstava (ili *rodbinsko-dvornih zajednica*) u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj te o organizaciji groblja na tim osnovama, ovdje ćemo usporediti poznate brojke. Postavit ćemo s jedne strane brojke proizašle iz istraživanja kućanstava na imanjima samostana St. Germain des Prés i Santa Maria di Farfa iz 9. st., a s druge strane one proizašle iz naše organizacijske raščlambe nekoliko ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja. Radi se o lokalitetima Knin – Spas, Bribir – Vratnice i Solin – Rižinice.

Let us examine the data. On the estates of the St. Germain des Prés monastery, 1,142 households with a total of 8,125 individuals were analysed. The minimum number of people per household was 1, while the maximum number was not provided. The average number of people per household, calculated simply, is 5.75, while the median number per household is 6. According to a table correlating household size with the arable land assigned to each household, the majority of households fell into the category of those averaging up to six people.¹³² These households would predominantly belong to the type of *simple or nuclear household*, comprising a married couple with or without children or a widow/widower with children—thus consisting of at least two people. According to data from the Santa Maria di Farfa monastery, 72% of all households fell into this category, with 9% of such households having 7 or more people.¹³³ This leads to the calculation that on the estates of this monastery, the proportion of *simple or nuclear households* containing 2 to 6 people was 65.5%. In total, 244 households were analysed, comprising 1,147 individuals. This yielded an average household size of 4.7 people or a median number of 6.5. However, as noted earlier, children were not consistently recorded in this census, so it is assumed that the average household size should be slightly higher, at least 5. The minimum number of people per household on these estates was 1, while the maximum recorded was 13 people in one household.

We begin by comparing these numbers with data from three larger cemeteries which we have analysed: Knin – Spas, Bribir – Vratnice, and Kašić – Mastirine. At the first site, we identified 43 burial groups based on orientation and spatial separation. These groups included at least 258 deceased individuals buried in 228 graves. Unfortunately, based on the published excavation reports, we know with certainty of only 4 graves with multiple burials, though there were at least 36 such cases. Consequently, we must consider that the figures in certain analyses should likely be adjusted slightly upward, by a decimal. The average number of individuals per burial group, calculated based on the presented data, is 6, while the median number is 7.5. The minimum number of individuals per burial group is 1, while the maximum is 19. Burial groups containing

¹³² Herlihy 1985, p. 69 and T. 3.2.

¹³³ Ring 1979, pp. 11-12.



Sl. 22. Lokalitet Kašić – Mastirine, grobišne grupe (izradio D. Tojčić prema: Jelovina 1982)
Fig. 22 Site Kašić – Mastirine, grave groups (created by D. Tojčić based on: Jelovina 1982).

Njima pridodajemo i groblje na lokalitetu Kašić – Mastirine jer ono spada u veća ranosrednjovjekovna groblja, tj. groblja s preko 100 grobova, a datacijom je slično prethodno navedenim grobljima.¹³¹ Groblja s većim brojem grobova ili pokojnika smatramo kvalitetnijim uzorkom koji rezultira manjom pogreškom u rezultatskom broju u odnosu na manja groblja. Uz to, na groblju na Mastirinama u Kašiću grupiranje većeg dijela grobišnih grupa jasno je vidljivo na tlocrtu. Te se grupe, za razliku od drugih triju primjera, ne izdvajaju dominantno orijentacijom već prostornim razmakom, što nam može poslužiti i za usporedbu groblja.

Na imanjima samostana St. Germain des Pres analizirana su 1142 kućanstva s ukupno 8125 ljudi. Minimalan broj osoba po kućanstvu je 1, a maksimalan broj nije utvrđen. Prosječan broj osoba po kućanstvu, dobiven jednostavnom računom, iznosi 5,75, dok je središnji broj osoba po kućanstvu 6. Prema tablici veličine kućanstava u odnosu na obradivu zemlju koja je vezana za kućanstvo, može se izvući podatak da je većina kućanstava pripadala onima koja u prosjeku imaju do 6 osoba.¹³² Takva bi kućanstva u velikoj većini slučajeva pripadala tipu *jednostavnog ili nuklearnog kućanstva*, a to su ona

2 to 7 individuals make up 53% of the total. At the Bribir – Vratnice site, we analysed a total of 135 individuals across 128 graves. The cemetery was divided into 24 burial groups, with one special group containing a child burial, which will not be taken into account in this case. This resulted in an average of 5.86 individuals per burial group, with the median number being 5.5. The smallest group contained 1 individual, and the largest contained 14. Notably, 58% of the groups had between 2 and 7 individuals. At the site Kašić – Mastirine is a cemetery with 162 deceased individuals in 136 graves,¹³⁴ most from the Early Middle Ages. This cemetery was divided into 28 groups, primarily based on spatial separation (Fig. 22). In these groups, the minimum number of deceased was 1, and the maximum was 18. The average number of deceased per burial group is 5.78, and the median is 7. Burial groups containing 2 to 7 individuals make up 64% of the total (T. 1).

When comparing the known figures from the monastic estates with those derived from the breakdown of these cemeteries into burial groups, we get quite similar results. The similarity is especially noticeable in the minimum number of individuals per household and per burial group. However, the number of individuals tends to be slightly higher in

¹³¹ Jelovina 1982, str. 36, 64.

¹³² Herlihy 1985, str. 69, T. 3.2.

¹³⁴ Jelovina 1982, pp. 36-54.

koja sadržavaju oženjeni par s ili bez djece ili udovca/udovicu s djecom. Dakle, radi se o minimalno dvjema osobama po kućanstvu. Prema podacima vezanim za samostan Sanata Maria di Farfa, čak 72 % svih kućanstava pripadalo je upravo tom tipu, s tim da je 9 % takvih kućanstva imalo 7 ili više osoba.¹³³ Tako dolazimo do računica da je na imanjima ovog samostana udio *jednostavnih ili nuklearnih kućanstava* koja sadrže od 2 do 6 osoba bio 65,5 %. Ovdje je analizirano ukupno 244 kućanstva s ukupno 1147 ljudi, što daje prosječan broj od 4,7 osoba po kućanstvu, a središnji broj iznosi 6,5. Međutim, kao što je već spomenuto, djeca se u ovom popisu nisu dosljedno evidentirala, pa se računa da bi prosječan broj osoba po kućanstvu trebao biti ipak nešto veći, barem 5. Minimalan broj osoba po kućanstvu na ovim imanjima je 1, a maksimalan zabilježeni broj je 13 osoba u jednom kućanstvu.

S ovim brojevima prvo ćemo usporediti podatke s triju većih groblja koja smo analizirali: Knin – Spas, Bribir – Vratnice i Kašić – Mastirine. Na prvom lokalitetu uspjeli smo na temelju orijentacija i prostornog razmaka razdvojiti čak 43 grupe. U njima se nalazi barem 258 pokojnika u 228 grobova. Nažalost, na temelju objavljenog izvještaja s istraživanja precizno znamo tek za 4 groba s višestrukim ukopima iako je ukupno zabilježeno najmanje 36 takvih slučajeva. Stoga moramo računati s tim da bi brojke u određenim analizama trebale biti zapravo nekoliko decimala više. Prosječan broj pokojnika po grobišnoj grupi, izračunat na temelju iznesenih brojeva, jest 6, a središnji broj bio bi 7,5. Minimalan broj osoba po grobišnoj grupi je 1, a maksimalan 19, dok bi udio grobišnih grupa koje imaju 2 do 7 pokojnika iznosio 53 %. Na lokalitetu Bribir – Vratnice analizirali smo ukupno 135 pokojnika u 128 grobova. Raščlanjujući ovo groblje na ukupno 24 grobišne grupe, od kojih posebnoj grupi pripada 1 dječji pokojnik, kojeg ovdje nećemo uračunati, dobili smo prosječan broj od 5,86 pokojnika, odnosno središnji broj 5,5. Minimalan broj pokojnika po grobišnoj grupi bio je 1, a maksimalan 14, dok je udio grupa s 2 do 7 pokojnika bio 58 %. Na lokalitetu Kašić – Mastirine nalazi se groblje s ukupno 162 pokojnika u 136 grobova,¹³⁴ od kojih većina pripada ranom srednjem vijeku. Ovo smo groblje raščlanili u 28 grupa, ponajviše na osnovi prostornog razmaka (sl. 22). U tim grupama minimalan broj pokoj-

the burial groups when comparing the maximum number of individuals and deceased. This discrepancy can likely be attributed to the high child mortality during this period, which would lead to a higher number of children in cemeteries than in households. Additionally, children were probably not consistently recorded in household records, likely for the same reason. The slight discrepancies in the average and median numbers, which slightly favour the burial groups, are understandable. For monastic estates, these numbers are 5+ and 5.75 for the median number, while the same type of analysis of the burial groups shows figures such as 5.78, 5.86 and 6. When their averages are compared, the difference is minimal, with only a decimal difference favouring the number of deceased individuals in burial groups. The same applies to the median number. The median number for monastic estates is 6 and 6.5, while for analysed cemeteries, it is 5.5, 7 and 7.5, which, on average, is only a slight decimal difference. There is also a discrepancy regarding *simple or nuclear households*, which typically consisted of 2 to 6 individuals. Based on the table provided earlier, it is reasonable to assume that more than 50% of households at the St. Germain des Prés estates fell into this category, though precise numbers are difficult to determine with the available data. For the estates of the monastery Santa Maria di Farfa, this proportion is 65.5%. Given that we have previously established that cemeteries, at least due to child mortality and inconsistencies in recording children, were likely to contain more deceased individuals, an observation that aligns with the earlier presented figures, we have decided to define the range for burial groups as 2 to 7 individuals. Nearly identical proportions of burial groups with 2 to 7 individuals were found at the Kašić – Mastirine site (64%), while the figures for Knin – Spas and Bribir – Vratnice are slightly lower (53% and 58%, respectively). On average, the analysed cemeteries have about 7% fewer burial groups in this range compared to the households with 2 to 6 individuals at the estates of Santa Maria di Farfa. However, this difference does not appear to be significant. Ultimately, if burial groups with 2 to 7 individuals are interpreted as *simple or nuclear households*, the results align with the example of monastic estates, namely this is the fairly dominant type of household (T. 1).

¹³³ Ring 1979, str. 11–12.

¹³⁴ Jelovina 1982, str. 36–54.

nika bio je 1, a maksimalan 18, dok prosječan broj pokojnika po grobišnoj grupi iznosi 5,78, a središnji broj je 7. Udio grobišnih grupa s 2 do 7 pokojnika iznosi 64 % (T. 1).

Iznošenjem poznatih podataka sa samostanskih imanja i njihovom usporedbom s brojevima koji proizlaze iz raščlambe ovih groblja na grobišne grupe dobili smo rezultat koji bi se mogao tumačiti kao poprilično sličan. Sličnost je evidentna u minimalnom broju osoba po kućanstvu i pokojnika po grobišnoj grupi, dok je u slučaju usporedbe maksimalnog broja osoba i pokojnika taj broj ipak nešto veći kod grobišnih grupa. Takva situacija mogla bi se tumačiti velikom smrtnošću djece u to doba, zbog čega bi na grobljima trebalo biti više djece nego u kućanstvima, u kojima se ta djeca, vjerojatno iz istog razloga, nisu dosljedno popisivala. Razumljivim se stoga čine i mala odstupanja u prosječnom i središnjem broju u korist pokojnika u grobišnim grupama. Tako na samostanskim imanjima taj broj iznosi 5+ i 5,75 za središnji broj, dok ista vrsta analize na grobišnim grupama pokazuje brojke 5,78, 5,86 i 6. Kada se usporedi njihov prosjek, radi se tek o decimalnoj razlici u korist broja pokojnika u grobišnim grupama. Isto je i sa središnjim brojem, koji je za samostanska imanja 6 i 6,5, dok bi na analiziranim grobljima bio 5,5, 7 i 7,5, što u prosjeku opet predstavlja povećanje tek za decimalnu vrijednost. Odstupanje postoji i kod *jednostavnih ili nuklearnih kućanstava* koja u većini slučajeva sadrže od 2 do 6 osoba. Na temelju spomenute tablice može se pretpostaviti da je udio takvih kućanstava na imanjima samostana St. Germain des Pres vjerojatno prelazio 50 %, no konkretan broj, barem prema nama dostupnim podatcima, teško je precizno utvrditi. Za imanja samostana Santa Maria di Farfa taj udio iznosi 65,5 %. S obzirom na to da smo prethodno ustanovili kako je na grobljima, barem zbog visoke smrtnosti i nedosljednosti u popisivanju djece, zasigurno bilo više pokojnika, što se poklapa i s prethodno iznesenim brojkama, ovdje smo za grobišne grupe odlučili uzeti raspon od 2 do 7 osoba. Gotovo identičan udio takvih grupa dobili smo na lokalitetu Kašić – Mastirine, 64 %, dok je na lokalitetima Knin – Spas i Bribir – Vratnice on nešto manji, 53 % i 58 %. U prosjeku, na analiziranim grobljima ima oko 7 % manje grobišnih grupa s 2 do 7 pokojnika nego kućanstava s 2 do 6 osoba na imanjima Santa Maria di Farfa, što se i ne čini kao „razlika koja čini razliku“. U konačnici, ako

The situation at Rižinice differs slightly from the figures observed at other estates and cemeteries. On the central terrace, we identified 54 graves containing at least 57 deceased individuals. The burial groups, established based on their orientation, were clearly visible prompting us to explore their purpose and who they served, or what they might have represented. It was relatively easy to divide the cemetery into 7 burial groups, with the smallest group containing 1 individual and the largest containing 21. Other groups had 2, 7 (two groups), 9 and 10 deceased individuals. This results in an average of 8.14 individuals per burial group, with a median number of 8. Furthermore, only 42% of the groups contained 2 to 7 individuals. This suggests that the numbers at Rižinice are higher and exhibit greater deviation compared to the previously analysed sites. However, it's important to note that this is a cemetery with a smaller number of graves, where one group had even 21 deceased individuals, which can certainly distort the real situation. This highlights the importance of larger sample sizes for more accurate representations. Nevertheless, this sample provides valuable complementary data, such as the clear evidence of a deliberate organization of the burial ground, the presence of a group with only one deceased individual, and the existence of a number of groups with more than 7 deceased individuals, not exceeding 50%. Perhaps the most significant factor contributing to this difference is the age distribution within the group of 21 deceased individuals. This group consisted of 9 men, 9 children and only 3 women. Among the 9 children, 7 died before the age of 5, accounting for 33.33% of the entire group. This ratio contrasts sharply with the composite sample from early Croatian cemeteries, where the child mortality rate for those under 5 years old was 16%.¹³⁵ This suggests that, in this particular group—or household, as we believe—the child mortality rate was exceptionally high, which likely contributed to the unusually large size of the burial group. Without such a significant deviation in child mortality, this cemetery would still have exhibited larger numbers, but not as dramatically larger compared to the other cemeteries examined. If we apply the thesis from the first part of this text, which suggests that this cemetery may represent the burial site of unfree individuals, then these deviations should be further explained.

¹³⁵ Šlaus 2006, pp. 98-99, T. 14

grobišne grupe s 2 do 7 pokojnika prevedemo kao *jednostavna ili nuklearna kućanstva*, dobivamo rezultat kao i na primjeru samostanskih imanja, da se radi o prilično dominantnom tipu kućanstva (T. 1).

Situacija na Rižinicama ipak značajnije odstupa od brojčanih podataka dobivenih za razmatrana imanja i groblja. Na središnjoj terasi tog lokaliteta zabilježena su 54 groba s ukupno barem 57 pokojnika. Grobišne grupe izvedene na osnovi orijentacije bile su prilično evidentne, što nas je i inspiriralo da potražimo odgovore na pitanja čemu i za koga su služile, odnosno što su predstavljale te grupe. Spomenuto groblje relativno je lako raščlaniti u 7 grobišnih grupa, od kojih je najmanja grupa imala 1 pokojnika, a najveća čak 21. Druge grupe imale su po 2, 7 (dvije grupe), 9 i 10 pokojnika, što bi značilo da je u prosjeku bilo 8,14 pokojnika po grobišnoj grupi i da je središnji broj bio 8. Uz to, samo 42 % grupa pripadalo bi onima koje imaju 2 do 7 pokojnika. Iz ovog proizlazi da brojke na Rižinicama imaju veću vrijednost i veće odstupanje u odnosu na prethodno razmatrane lokalitete. Međutim, radi se o groblju s manjim brojem grobova na kojem jedna grupa ima čak 21 pokojnika, što itekako može iskriviti realnu sliku. Zbog toga je, naravno, uvijek bolje raspolagati većim uzorcima. No, i ovaj uzorak sadržava neke komplementarne podatke, a to su evidentno smišljeno organiziranje grobišnog prostora, postojanje grupe s 1 pokojnikom i broj grupa s više od 7 pokojnika koji ne prelazi 50 %. Međutim, možda najznačajniji detalj koji doprinosi ovoj razlici jest dobna struktura unutar te grupe s 21 pokojnikom. Naime, radi se o čak 9 muškaraca, 9 djece i tek 3 žene. Među tih 9 djece, njih 7 umrlo je u dobi do 5. godine života, što čini ukupno 33,33 % cijele grupe. Takav omjer odudara od kompozitnog uzorka za starohrvatska groblja, gdje je udio smrtnosti djece u prvih 5 godina života 16 %. ¹³⁵ Ovakva situacija sugerira da je u ovoj grupi, odnosno kućanstvu, kako smo uvjereni, smrtnost djece bila izrazito visoka, što je pridonijelo i veličini same grobišne grupe. Da nije bilo takve izrazite devijacije u smrtnosti djece, ovo groblje pokazivalo bi još uvijek veće, ali ne toliko značajno veće brojke od drugih razmatranih groblja. Ako se poslužimo tezom zagovaranom u prvom dijelu ovog teksta, a to je da bismo ovo groblje mogli promatrati i kao groblje neslobodnih ljudi, onda bismo ove devijacije mogli i dodatno pojasniti. U grupi od 21 po-

The group of 21 deceased consisted largely of men, who, due to a lack of landownership, may have had difficulty establishing new households. These men could have been labourers on a specific estate within a larger one, and in this way they would have belonged to the same household.

In conclusion, we believe that these numbers, considering they should generally be slightly higher for burial groups compared to individuals in households for the mentioned reasons (except in the case of *simple or nuclear households*), demonstrate significant similarities that are likely not coincidental. In fact, these similarities lead us to the conclusion that we are dealing with the same models, which manifest in one way in the context of living households or *kinship-court communities*, and in another, only slightly different yet logically distinct way, as burial groups. Therefore, burial groups, at least in the cemeteries analysed here, correspond to households, which we assume also served as the basis for the organization of the burial ground. From this conclusion, the more general one follows logically, namely there were household types, both structurally and physically, in early medieval Croatia within its rural environment, that can be defined based on early medieval historical sources related to monasteries in Italy and France, as well as the late medieval Poljica Statute. This relation was previously already suggested by T. Burić. He assumed that cemeteries containing more than 50 individuals are associated with several *kinship-court communities* living in the same village or hamlet, while those with fewer than 50 individuals correspond to a single *kinship-court community*. However, based on the match between household numbers and burial groups, this analysis suggests that even smaller cemeteries could be linked to a single *kinship-court community*, but only if generations inheriting the same *courtyard* and other immovable property were buried there. In such a case, a cemetery with, for example, 40 individuals would likely represent about six generations, a pattern that should be chronologically observable in the field.

¹³⁵ Šlaus 2006, str. 98–99, T. 14.

Tablica 1. Odnosi brojeva u kućanstvima i grobišnim grupama

	ST. GERMAIN DES PRES (kućanstva)	SANTA MARIA DI FARFA (kućanstva)	KNIN – SPAS (grobišne grupe)	BRIBIR – VRATNICE (grobišne grupe)	KAŠIĆ – MASTIRINE (grobišne grupe)	Prosjek za samostanska kućanstva (ukupno)	Prosjek za groblja (ukupno)	SOLIN – RIŽINICE (grobišne grupe)
Ukupan broj osoba / pokojnika	8125	1147	258	135	162			57
Ukupan broj kućanstava / grobišnih grupa	1412	244	43	24	28			7
Minimalan broj osoba po kućanstvu / grobišnoj grupi	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maksimalan broj osoba po kućanstvu / grobišnoj grupi	-	13	19	14	18	13	17	21
Prosječan broj osoba po kućanstvu / grobišnoj grupi	5,75	5+	6,00	5,86	5,78	5,32+	5,88	8,14
Središnji broj osoba po kućanstvu / grobišnoj grupi	6	6,5	7,5	5,5	7	6,25	6,66	8
Udio jednostavnog tipa kućanstva s 2 – 6 osoba / grobišnih grupa s 2 – 7 pokojnika	-	65 %	53 %	58 %	64 %	65 %	58,33 %	42 %

Table 1 Ratio between household numbers and numbers in grave groups

	ST. GERMAIN DES PRES (households)	SANTA MARIA DI FARFA (households)	KNIN – SPAS (grave groups)	BRIBIR – VRATNICE (grave groups)	KAŠIĆ – MASTIRINE (grave groups)	Average for monastery households in total	Average for grave groups in total	SOLIN -RIŽINICE (grave groups)
total number of people / deceased individuals	8.125	1.147	258	135	162			57
total number of households / grave groups	1.412	244	43	24	28			7
minimum number of people per household / grave group	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
maximum number of people per household / grave group	-	13	19	14	18	13	17	21
average number of people per household / grave group	5,75	5+	6,00	5,86	5,78	5,32+	5,88	8,14
median number of people per household / grave group	6	6,5	7,5	5,5	7	6,25	6,66	8
percentage of simple type of household (2-6 people)/ grave groups with 2-7 deceased	-	65 %	53 %	58 %	64 %	65 %	58,33 %	42 %

kojnika nalaze se velikom većinom muškarci, koji bi upravo zbog manjka vlastite zemlje mogli imati problema s osnivanjem novih kućanstava. Tako su oni mogli biti radna snaga na određenom imanju u sklopu veleposjeda te na taj način pripadati istom kućanstvu.

Nakon svega, smatramo da ovi brojevi, uzimajući u obzir da bi zbog navedenih razloga oni morali biti nešto viši kod grobišnih grupa u odnosu na osobe u kućanstvima (osim u slučaju udjela *jednostavnog ili nuklearnog kućanstva*), pokazuju sličnosti koje ne bi trebale biti slučajne. Zapravo, te nas sličnosti navode na zaključak da se radi o istim modelima koji se na jedan način manifestiraju u okolnostima živog kućanstva ili *rodbinsko-dvorne zajednice*, a na drugi, tek nešto različit, ali ipak logično različit, kao grobišne grupe. Dakle, grobišne grupe, barem na ovdje analiziranim grobljima, odgovaraju kućanstvima na osnovi kojih se, pretpostavljamo, i organizira grobišni prostor. Iz takvog zaključka proizlazi i onaj drugi, općenitiji, a to je da su na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske, u njezinu ruralnom ambijentu, postojali oni tipovi kućanstva, i strukturalno i fizički, koji se mogu definirati na temelju ranosrednjovjekovnih povijesnih izvora vezanih za samostane u Italiji i Francuskoj kao i prema kasnosrednjovjekovnom Poljičkom statutu. Takav je odnos već prethodno naslutio i T. Burić. On je pretpostavio da groblja s više od 50 pokojnika pripadaju nekoliko *rodbinsko-dvornih zajednica* koje obitavaju u jednom selu ili zaseoku, dok ona s manje od 50 pokojnika pripadaju jednoj *rodbinsko-dvornoj zajednici*. Međutim, ovdje se na temelju podudarnosti u broju kućanstava i grobišnih grupa zastupa mišljenje kako i ona manja groblja mogu biti vezana za jednu *rodbinsko-dvornu zajednicu*, što je moguće u slučaju da se na tom mjestu pokapaju generacije koje baštine to isto *dvorno mjesto* i drugu nepokretnu imovinu. U tom bi slučaju brojka od, primjerice, 40 pokojnika morala odgovarati približno 6 generacija, a što bi trebalo biti i kronološki uočljivo na terenu.

ZAKLJUČAK

Tri su osnovna fenomena kojima smo ovdje prilagali argumente kako bismo uvjerali čitatelja u njihovo postojanje: mogućnost određivanja populacije pokapane na središnjoj terasi Rižinica kao neslobodne, prisustvo smišljene organizacije grobišnog prostora na grobljima ranosrednjovjekovne

CONCLUSION

There are three basic phenomena discussed here, with supporting arguments to convince the reader of their existence: the possibility of identifying the population buried on the central terrace of Rižinice as unfree individuals, the presence of a deliberate organization of the burial grounds in early medieval Croatian cemeteries, and the existence of certain types of households or *kinship-court communities* during the same period. Additionally, we sporadically tried to define the main economic activity of the Rižinice estate.

We believe that information from historical sources about geographically nearby estates can be redirected and applied to the case of Rižinice. This is because such sources offer valuable insights into the economic structures of estates with similar status and character, which experienced comparable property and legal transformations. These estates were once part of royal holdings, *territorium regaliae*, but eventually came into the possession or were used by church institutions for their economic activities, which were linked to a variety of land types, including fields, vineyards, pastures and forests. We have concluded that such an economic model, based on diverse types of lands, likely also applied to the Rižinice estate. After all, the location was deliberately selected by the Benedictines due to its access to water resources. As we see from later sources, such resources could have certainly fostered the organization of a milling industry within the site, and based on the study of the environment and architectural remains, also the regulation of the nearby stream for a steady, controlled supply of fresh water, as well as an organized drainage system. Historical sources also mention the presence of inhabitants living and working on these nearby estates, primarily noting individuals of unfree status. However, analogies suggest that they were not the only type of workers or residents there. Using the example of Rižinice, we can conclude that it was possible to uncover the physical remains of the unfree population. This population was buried on the central terrace of the site and thus physically separated from the graves located on the lower terrace or in front of the church respectively. The deceased on the central terrace, compared to those buried in front of the church, lived under harsher conditions, closely tied to the land and agricultural work. The noticeably higher number of men in

Hrvatske i postojanje određenih tipova kućanstava ili *rodbinsko-dvornih zajednica* u istom tom vremenu. Sporadično smo, međutim, pokušali definirati i gospodarsku osnovu rižiničkog veleposjeda.

Smatramo da se podatci iz povijesnih izvora koji se odnose na geografski bliska imanja mogu primijeniti i na slučaj Rižinica, jer donose natruhe o gospodarskoj strukturi tih obližnjih imanja sličnog statusa i karaktera, koja su uz to prošla kroz prilično sličan imovinsko-pravni proces. Radi se o imanjima koja su bila u sklopu vladarskog posjeda (*territorium regale*), a koja su potom prešla u vlasništvo crkvenih institucija ili su na njima crkvene institucije organizirale svoja gospodarstva. To gospodarstvo sastojalo se od zemljišta različitog karaktera, kao što su polja, vinogradi, pašnjaci i šume. Zaključili smo da bi takva gospodarska osnova, koja uključuje različite vrste zemljišta, bila primjenjiva i na rižinički veleposjed, uz napomenu da su ovu lokaciju benediktinci pomno birali i zbog resursa vode. Takvi resursi, kako vidimo iz kasnijih izvora, svakako su mogli podržavati i organiziranje mlinske industrije u sklopu lokaliteta, a na temelju proučavanja okoliša i arhitektonskih ostataka možemo pretpostaviti i regulaciju obližnjeg potoka u svrhu osiguravanja stalne opskrbe svježom vodom kao i uređen sistem njezine odvodnje. Na obližnjim imanjima spominje se i stanovništvo koje ondje živi i radi. Povijesni izvori dotiču se tek onih neslobodnog statusa, no na temelju analogija možemo pretpostaviti da oni nisu bili jedini radnici i žitelji na tim imanjima. Na primjeru Rižinica smatramo da se uspjelo doprijeti do fizičkih ostataka neslobodnog stanovništva. Radi se o populaciji koja je sahranjena na središnjoj terasi lokaliteta te je tako fizički odvojena od grobova smještenih na nižoj terasi, odnosno pred crkvom. Pokojnici na središnjoj terasi, u usporedbi s onima pred crkvom, živjeli su u težim životnim uvjetima, poprilično vezani za zemlju i poljoprivredne poslove. Osjetno veći broj muškaraca u toj populaciji mogao bi, uz druge antropološke indikatore, ukazivati na to da je uistinu riječ o neslobodnoj populaciji koja je zbog otežane mobilnosti i ženidbe, a također i većim zahtjevima za muškarcima na poljoprivrednim poslovima, rezultirala brojčanim nesrazmjerom u usporedbi s drugim grobljima istog vremena.

Ta ista populacija s Rižinica pokapana je u grobovima s prilično različitim orijentacijama, koje se ne mogu tumačiti već ustaljenim modelima orijen-

this population, along with other anthropological indicators, may suggest that this was indeed an unfree population. Their limited mobility, marriage constraints, and the increased demand for men in agricultural labour could have contributed to the demographic imbalance observed when compared to other cemeteries from the same period. The same population from Rižinice was buried with significantly different orientations, which cannot be explained by the established models based upon the orientation toward the sunrise or surrounding infrastructural and architectural features. However, this difference in orientation does not appear to be a random choice made by the users of the cemetery, but rather a deliberate one. This led us to examine the organization of the burial ground, which in turn prompted the hypothesis that similar organizational patterns observed and analysed at other contemporary cemeteries might also be present at cemeteries in early medieval Croatia. The most prominent models would involve grouping based on spatial separation and orientation. The first type of grouping has already been identified by Croatian experts at certain cemeteries, and we propose that the orientation of the deceased may have served a similar purpose. This purpose has previously been defined as the separation of related individuals or families, or *kinship-court communities* respectively, as introduced into archaeological discourse by T. Burić. In this context, we propose in this paper to view cemeteries in early medieval Croatia as spaces that were not only carefully organized but also systematically maintained. These spaces were not just burial grounds for deceased members of the community but also served the needs of the living members of the same community. The hypotheses regarding a kin- and family-based organization of burial grounds was examined by comparing the analysis of some cemeteries in early medieval Croatia with historical sources and studies focused on defining the basic units of a community on agricultural estates or in rural environments. Such a community, in early medieval sources referred to as *households* on monastic estates in France and Italy, and based upon the late medieval Poljica Statute as *kinship-court communities*, exhibit actually identical characteristics in terms of structure and processes, and we believe also in the numbers, we have then used for comparisons. We are confident that these numbers correspond to our breakdown

tacije prema izlasku sunca ili infrastrukturnim i arhitektonskim objektima u okolini. S druge strane, različitost u orijentacijama ne čini se kao nasumičan odabir korisnika groblja, već kao njihov pažljivi izbor. Zbog toga smo i pristupili istraživanju problematike organizacije grobišnog prostora, a što nas je navelo da pretpostavimo kako se i na grobljima ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske ocrtavaju neki modeli organizacije već primijećeni i analizirani na drugim istodobnim grobljima. Najistaknutiji modeli bili bi grupiranje po principu prostornog razmaka i orijentacije. Prvu vrstu grupiranja već su uočili neki domaći stručnjaci na određenim grobljima, a mi smo ovdje pretpostavili da bi i orijentacija pokojnika služila istoj svrsi. Ta svrha već je prethodno definirana kao izdvajanje rodbinski povezanih pokojnika ili obitelji odnosno *rodbinsko-dvornih zajednica*, kako to u arheološku raspravu uvodi T. Burić. S tim u vezi, ono što zagovaramo u ovom radu jest promatranje groblja ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske kao prostora koji je mogao biti itekako smišljeno organiziran i pod sustavnom brigom, odnosno prostora na kojem ne samo da se pokapaju preminuli članovi zajednice nego koji također koriste i preživjelim članovima te iste zajednice.

Teze o rodbinskim i obiteljskim osnovama za organizaciju grobišnog prostora pokušali smo provjeriti uspoređujući raščlambu nekih groblja ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske s povijesnim izvorima, odnosno radovima čiji je glavni cilj bio definiranje osnovne jedinice zajednice na poljoprivrednim imanjima ili u ruralnom okolišu. Takva zajednica, koja se prema ranosrednjovjekovnim izvorima na samostanskim imanjima u Francuskoj i Italiji naziva *kućanstvom*, a prema Poljičkom zakoniku iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka *rodbinsko-dvornom zajednicom*, pokazuje zapravo iste karakteristike u strukturi i procesima, pa vjerujemo da je tako i s brojevima koji su nam poslužili za usporedbu. Ti brojevi, uvjereni smo, odgovaraju našoj raščlambi groblja na grobišne grupe, što nas dovodi do zaključka da su groblja organizirana upravo prema principima takvih zajednica. One mogu biti različito sastavljene: od samo jedne osobe, nekoliko srodnika, nuklearne obitelji, nuklearne obitelji sa srodnikom ili više nuklearnih obitelji. Među njima dominiraju zajednice odnosno kućanstva koja se sastoje od nuklearnih obitelji, u kojima je najčešće do 6 osoba, a potom i zajednice/kućanstava s dvjema, rjeđe i više nuklearnih obitelji, u kojima može biti i preko 10 osoba.

of cemeteries into burial groups, leading us to conclude that the organization of cemeteries was based on the principles of such communities. They could have been composed in various ways—ranging from a single individual, a few relatives, a nuclear family, a nuclear family with a relative, or multiple nuclear families. The most dominant form were households consisting of nuclear families with up to six members, followed by those comprising two, and less frequently, more nuclear families, which could include over ten individuals.

Such communities, as suggested by the Poljica Statute, had complex and well-defined internal relationships, as well as interactions with other neighbouring communities, particularly regarding matters of property ownership. Archaeological evidence from the sites where these communities lived indicates that their dwellings and associated farm buildings were used over long periods, spanning multiple generations. In this sense, these communities must have also had structured and organized ‘relations’ with the communities that preceded them and those that succeeded them. Up until at least the Late Middle Ages, there was no possibility for the complex relationships among rural communities from the same or different time periods, to be formalized into a bureaucratic and written legal framework that could be referenced when needed. In the absence of such formalization, these complex relationships undoubtedly required different, yet equally stable symbols which could preserve but also reflect these relationships. Cemeteries appear to be ideal for this purpose. They are inherently places where the past resides, and where, with care and organization, and through the use of specific symbols, that past can be preserved and utilized.

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that this topic, along with the hypotheses it has introduced, represents merely an attempt to provide new interpretations or refresh older ones regarding certain phenomena of the early medieval period in Croatia. In doing so, we aim to steer the discussion in a direction we believe holds research potential and significance. This is especially true for the organization of cemeteries and their linking to social communities and social structure. These phenomenon has rarely been explored within the framework of national archaeology, and here we not only expect but also encourage further research on the subject. In this context, we acknowledge that a more

Takve zajednice, sudeći prema Poljičkom statutu, imaju prilično složene i definirane unutarnje odnose kao i odnose s drugim, susjednim zajednicama, što uključuje i vlasništvo nad imovinom. Arheološki pokazatelji s mjesta na kojima su one obitavale ukazuju na to da su njihove nastambe i gospodarski objekti uz njih bili korišteni tijekom dugog perioda, tj. da ih je koristilo više generacija. U tom smislu, te zajednice morale su imati uređene i organizirane „odnose“ sa zajednicama koje su im prethodile i onima koje ih nasljeđuju. Sve do barem kasnog srednjeg vijeka nije bilo mogućnosti da se svi ti složeni odnosi među seoskim zajednicama istog i različitog vremena birokratiziraju i na taj način urede u pisani zakonski okvir na koji se, prema potrebi, mogu obratiti. U tom nedostatku, kompleksni odnosi zasigurno su zahtijevali od svojih korisnika upotrebu drukčijih, ali isto tako stabilnih simbola u koje su se ti odnosi mogli pohraniti i iz kojih se mogu tumačiti. Groblja se zaista čine idealnima za takvo što. Ona su već sama po sebi mjesta na kojima se nalazi prošlost i na kojima se, uz brigu i organizaciju te upotrebom određenih simbola, ta prošlost može čuvati i upotrebljavati.

Na samom kraju moramo spomenuti da je ova tema, odnosno sve pretpostavke koje ona sa sobom donosi, tek pokušaj da se nekim fenomenima ranog srednjeg vijeka u Hrvatskoj da nova ili osvježi stara interpretacija. Na taj način pokušali smo je pogurati u smjeru za koji vjerujemo da ima istraživačkog potencijala i važnosti. To se posebice odnosi na organizaciju groblja i njihovo povezivanje s društvenim zajednicama i društvenom organizacijom. Takav fenomen rijetko je razmatran u sklopu nacionalne arheologije, pa ovdje očekujemo, dapače, i potičemo daljnji rad. S tim u vezi shvaćamo da je za neki čvršći sud potrebno korigirati određene greške koje će se sigurno javiti u ovom radu, ali i dalje istraživati, primjerice, odnose grobišnih grupa s grobnim nalazima, grobnom arhitekturom, antropološkim rezultatima i sl., kao i da je potrebno puno više usporedbi lokaliteta i rezultata. Također, neke pojave potrebno je preciznije vremenski definirati, ali i sama arheološka istraživanja usmjeriti određenim pitanjima. Nadamo se i priželjkujemo da ćemo u narednim godinama na ovu temu moći raspravljati s više podataka i s više gledišta.

definitive conclusion will require correcting certain errors that are likely to arise in this work, as well as further exploring aspects such as the relationships between burial groups and grave finds, burial architecture, anthropological results, and so on. Moreover, there is a clear need for much more comparison of sites and results. Additionally, some phenomena need to be more precisely defined in terms of chronology, and archaeological research should be more focused on specific questions. We hope, and indeed look forward to, that in the coming years we will be able to discuss this topic with more data and from a broader perspective.

PRILOG

ANTROPOLOŠKA ANALIZA SKELETNIH OSTATAKA PRONAĐENIH 2021. GODINE NA LOKALITETU SOLIN – RIŽINICE

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja provedenih u ljeto 2021. godine istražena su ukupno 54 ranosrednjovjekovna groba. Zbog prethodnih iskopavanja ili pljačke, grobovi nisu bili u izvornom stanju, a koštani ostatci bili su izmiješani i vrlo loše očuvani. U analizu su uključeni koštani ostatci 50 osoba koje su pronađene *in situ*, što znači da se sa sigurnošću može zaključiti da su one pripadale ovom groblju i pojedinačno obrađenim grobovima.

MATERIJALI I METODE

Koštani ostatci prebačeni su u Laboratorij za forenzičnu i biološku antropologiju pri Sveučilišnom odjelu za forenzične znanosti Sveučilišta u Splitu. Osteološki materijal prvo je očišćen, zatim je procijenjen biološki profil svake osobe, izmjeren je svaki kostur te su ostatci fotografirani, dokumentirani i pohranjeni u koštanu zbirku.

Spol je procijenjen prema morfološkim karakteristikama zdjelice i lubanje. Ženska zdjelica je šira i plića, dok je muška uža i duža, pri čemu veliki sjedni urez ima veći kut kod žena nego kod muškaraca. Ženske lubanje su gracilnije, s ravnim čelom i ušiljenom donjom čeljusti, dok su kod muškaraca izraženiji nadočni lukovi, čelo je kosije, a brada četvrtastija. Kod djece spolni dimorfizam nije jako izražen, stoga se u antropološkim analizama procjenjivao spol samo odraslih osoba.¹³⁶ Za procjenu prosječne tjelesne visine korištena je najdulja mjera bedrene kosti, uvrštena u formule Trottera i Glesera.¹³⁷ Starost osoba procijenjena je pomoću promjena na aurikularnoj ploštini i pubičnoj simfizi zdjelice kosti¹³⁸ kao i prema degenerativnim promjenama na zglobnim plohama i zubnom statusu.¹³⁹ Doživljena dob kod djece procijenjena je na temelju zubnog statusa,¹⁴⁰ stupnja sraslosti epifiznih nast-

APPENDIX

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SKELETAL REMAINS FROM RIŽINICE IN SOLIN, DISCOVERED IN 2021

During archaeological excavations conducted in the summer of 2021, a total of 54 early medieval graves were investigated. However, due to prior excavations or looting, the graves were not in their original state and contained mixed and poorly preserved skeletal remains. The analysis focused on the skeletal remains of 50 individuals found *in situ*, which allows us to conclusively determine that these remains belonged to this particular cemetery, but also to certain graves that were individually examined.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The skeletal remains were transferred to the Forensic and Biological Anthropology Laboratory at the University Department of Forensic Sciences, University of Split. After the osteological material was first cleaned, the biological profile of each individual was assessed. Each skeleton was then measured, photographed, documented and stored in the bone collection. Sex was determined based on the morphological characteristics of the pelvis and skull. The female pelvis is wider and shallower, while the male pelvis is narrower and longer, with a larger angle of the greater sciatic notch in women compared to men. Female skulls tend to be more gracile, with a flatter forehead and a pointed lower jaw, whereas male skulls show more prominent supraorbital ridges, a sloping forehead and a squarer chin. In children, sexual dimorphism is not as pronounced, so sex determination was only done for adult individuals.¹³⁶ The average body height was estimated by using the maximum length of the femur, applied to the Trotter and Glesser formulae.¹³⁷ Age was estimated based on changes in the auricular surface and pubic symphysis of the pelvic bone,¹³⁸ as well as degenerative changes in joint sur-

¹³⁶ Krogman, Iscan 1986, str. 200–259.

¹³⁷ Trotter, Gleser 1958, str. 79–123.

¹³⁸ Lovejoy *et al.* 1985, str. 15–28; Brooks, Myers Suchey 1990, str. 227–238.

¹³⁹ Bass 2005, str. 12–25; Lysell *et al.* 1969, str. 271–281.

¹⁴⁰ Moorrees *et al.* 1963, str. 1490–1502.

¹³⁶ Krogman, Iscan 1986, pp. 200–259.

¹³⁷ Trotter, Gleser 1958, pp. 79–123.

¹³⁸ Lovejoy *et alii* 1985, pp. 15–28 and Brooks, Suchey 1990, pp. 227–238.

vaka i mjera duljine očuvanih dugih kostiju.¹⁴¹ Promatrane su patološke promjene kako bi se utvrdilo zdravlje i kvaliteta života pojedinaca, kao što su *cribra orbitalia*, zubni karijes, periostitis, osteoartritis, Schmorovi defekti i traume. Nalaz *cribra orbitalia* u svodovima orbita znak je kronične bolesti, najčešće anemije, koja je u arheološkoj populaciji uzrokovana fiziološkim stresom, poput sustavnih infekcija ili gladovanja.¹⁴² Osim navedenih oštećenja, kao indikatori zdravlja i prehrane bilježeni su prisutnost karijesa i apscesa te gubitak zuba tijekom života. Karijes nastaje zbog razvoja bakterija i mikroorganizama iz hrane, a višak tih bakterija može dovesti do razvoja gnojnog apscesa koji ostavlja oštećenje na kostima čeljusti.¹⁴³ Na zglobnim ploham vidljive su degenerativne promjene i bolesti, poput osteoartritisa, koji se očituje stvaranjem nove kosti u obliku osteofita ili uništenjem kosti uslijed propadanja hrskavice zbog prekomjernog trošenja.¹⁴⁴ Teškom fizičkom radu, uz osteoartritis, svjedoči i nalaz Schmorlovih defekata, odnosno oštećenja tijela kralježaka s bubrežastim udubljenjima nastalim oštećenjem i curenjem diska.¹⁴⁵ Periostitis je znak mehaničkog stresa ili nespecifične infekcije, a vidljiv je na membrani odnosno periostu koji obavlja dijafize kostiju. Periostitis može biti aktivan, kada je vidljiv rast nove kosti uz promjenu boje i morfologije, ili saniran, kada je proces zacjeljivanja upale završen.¹⁴⁶

Uz bolesti i biološke karakteristike, važan aspekt antropoloških analiza za bolje razumijevanje načina života prijašnjih populacija jest analiza trauma. Traume se dijele na antemortalne, one koje su nastale za vrijeme života osobe i koje se lako prepoznaju po vidljivom zacjeljivanju i razvoju koštanog kalusa, te perimortalne ozljede, odnosno one koje su uzrokovale smrt pojedinca.¹⁴⁷ Perimortalne traume nemaju znakove zacjeljivanja, a ozljeda je iste boje kao i ostatak kosti. Važno je razlikovati perimortalne traume i postmortalna oštećenja. Postmortalna oštećenja nastaju nakon smrti osobe i ne utječu na njezin život. U tim slučajevima, linije frakture su svjetlije boje od ostatka kosti.¹⁴⁸

faces and dental wear.¹³⁹ For children, age at death was estimated using dental status,¹⁴⁰ the degree of epiphyseal fusion, and measurements of preserved long bones.¹⁴¹ Pathological changes were examined to assess the health and quality of life of individuals, including conditions such as *cribra orbitalia*, dental caries, periostitis, osteoarthritis, Schmorl's nodes, and traumata. *Cribrā orbitalia*, observed in the orbital vaults, is a sign of a chronic disease, most often anaemia. In archaeological populations, anaemia was typically caused by physiological stress, such as systemic infections or starvation.¹⁴² In addition to these health problems, the presence of caries and abscesses, as well as tooth loss during life, were recorded as indicators of health and nutrition. Caries develops due to the growth of bacteria and microorganisms in food, while an excess of these bacteria can lead to the formation of purulent abscesses, which leave damage on the jawbones.¹⁴³ Degenerative changes and diseases, such as osteoarthritis, are evident on the articular surface. These manifest as the formation of new bone in the form of osteophytes or the destruction of bone due to cartilage degradation caused by excessive wear.¹⁴⁴ Indicators of heavy physical labour, alongside osteoarthritis, include Schmorl's nodes- damage to the vertebrae with kidney-shaped indentations resulting from disc damage and herniation.¹⁴⁵ Periostitis, a sign of mechanical stress or nonspecific infection, is visible on the periosteum, the membrane that envelops the diaphysis of bones. Active periostitis is marked by new bone growth with noticeable changes in colour and morphology, while healed periostitis indicates that the inflammatory process has fully resolved.¹⁴⁶

In addition to diseases and biological characteristics, the study of traumata is a crucial aspect of anthropological analysis for understanding the lifestyles of past populations. Traumata are classified into antemortem injuries, which occurred during a person's lifetime and are easily identified by visible healing and the formation of bone calluses, and pe-

¹⁴¹ Schaefer *et al.* 2009.

¹⁴² Wapler *et al.* 2004, str. 333–339.

¹⁴³ Ortner 2003, str. 590–593.

¹⁴⁴ Iscan, Steyn 2013, str. 306–308.

¹⁴⁵ Roberts, Manchester 2010, str. 417–421.

¹⁴⁶ Roberts, Manchester 2010, str. 406–408.

¹⁴⁷ Ortner 2003, str. 120–136.

¹⁴⁸ Šlaus 2006, str. 33–40.

¹³⁹ Bass 2005, pp. 12–25 and Lysell *et al.* 1969, pp. 271–281.

¹⁴⁰ Moorrees *et alii* 1963, pp. 1490–1502.

¹⁴¹ Schaefer *et alii* 2009.

¹⁴² Wapler *et alii* 2004, pp. 333–339.

¹⁴³ Ortner 2003, pp. 590–593.

¹⁴⁴ Iscan, Steyn 2013, pp. 306–308.

¹⁴⁵ Roberts, Manchester 2010, pp. 417–421.

¹⁴⁶ Idem, pp. 406–408.

REZULTATI

Demografska struktura

Uzorak kosturnih ostataka pronađenih *in situ* na lokalitetu Rižinice tijekom istraživanja provedenih 2021. godine obuhvaća 50 osoba, od čega je 22 muškarca (44 %), 14 žena (28 %) i 14 djece (28 %). Prosječna doživljena dob odraslih osoba iznosila je 35,22 godina, pri čemu je prosječna doživljena dob žena bila 32,07 godina (sd = 6,650), a muškaraca 40,71 godina (sd = 9,258). Najviši mortalitet kod djece evidentiran je u razdoblju između 2. i 5. godine života (42,8 %). Najviša smrtnost muškaraca zabilježena je između 45. i 49. godine života (22,7 %), dok je kod žena najviša smrtnost bila između 25. i 29. godine (35,7 %).

Tablica 2. Distribucija spola i dobi na kosturnom uzorku s lokaliteta Rižinice

Dob u godinama	Djeca	Žene	Muškarci
Neodređena dob		1	1
0 – 1	2		
1 – 2	1		
2 – 5	6		
5 – 9	2		
10 – 14	2		
15 – 19	1	1	
20 – 24		1	
25 – 29		5	2
30 – 34		2	3
35 – 39		2	4
40 – 44		1	4
45 – 49		1	5
50 – 54			1
55 – 59			2
> 60			
Ukupan broj osoba	14	14	22
Prosječna dob		32,07	40,17
Standardna devijacija		6,650	9,258

Prosječna tjelesna visina ranosrednjovjekovnih stanovnika lokaliteta Rižinice iznosi 174,053 cm za muškarce (sd = 4,40) i 161,667 cm za žene (sd = 2,692). Ovi podatci statistički se ne razlikuju od demografskih podataka dobivenih s drugih srednjovjekovnih lokaliteta srednje Dalmacije (Bijaći – Stombrata, Svećurje – Žestinj, Sv. Mihovil – Kučići), gdje je prosječna tjelesna visina iznosila 173,9 cm za muškarce ($P = 0,927$) i 161,3 cm za žene ($P = 0,8537$),¹⁴⁹ dok je životna dob žena procijenjena na 36,5 godina ($P = 0,244$), a muškaraca na 39,1 godina ($P = 0,5185$).¹⁵⁰

rimortem injuries, which were the cause of death.¹⁴⁷ Perimortem traumata show no signs of healing, and the injury matches the colour of the surrounding bone. It is essential to differentiate perimortem traumata from postmortem damage. Postmortem damage occurs after death and does not affect the individual's life. Such fractures are distinguished by lighter-coloured lines compared to the rest of the bone.¹⁴⁸

RESULTS

Demographic structure

The sample of skeletal remains found *in situ* at the Rižinice site during the excavations in 2021 includes 50 individuals. Of these, 22 were men (44%), 14 were women (28%), and 14 were children (28%). The average life expectancy of adults was 35.22 years. Specifically, women had an average life expectancy of 32.07 years (sd = 6.650), while men had a higher average of 40.71 years (sd = 9.258). The highest mortality rate among children occurred between the ages of 2 and 5, accounting for 42.8% of child deaths. For men, the peak mortality rate was observed between the ages of 45 and 49 (22.7%), while for women, the highest mortality rate was recorded between the ages of 25 and 29 (35.7%).

Table 2: Distribution of sex and age in the skeletal sample from the Rižinice site

Age in years	Children	Women	Men
Age not determined		1	1
0-1	2		
1-2	1		
2-5	6		
5-9	2		
10-14	2		
15-19	1	1	
20-24		1	
25-29		5	2
30-34		2	3
35-39		2	4
40-44		1	4
45-49		1	5
50-54			1
55-59			2
>60			
Persons in total	14	14	22
Average age		32,07	40,17
Standard deviation		6,650	9,258

¹⁴⁹ Anterić 2014, str. 157–158.

¹⁵⁰ Anterić 2014, str. 145–151.

¹⁴⁷ Ortner 2003, pp. 120–136.

¹⁴⁸ Šlaus, 2006, pp. 33–40.

Patološke promjene

Cribra orbitalia

Zbog loše očuvanosti koštanih ostataka, posebno nedostatka kranijalnih kostiju, ne možemo precizno odrediti učestalost *cribra orbitalia*. Međutim, znakovi su primijećeni u svodovima orbita kod sedam muškaraca pronađenih *in situ*, što može upućivati na to da je 31,8 % muškaraca u nekom trenutku života bolovalo od kronične bolesti, vjerojatno anemije. Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je u kumulativnom uzorku srednjovjekovnog stanovništva srednje Dalmacije *cribra orbitalia* bila češće prisutna kod muškaraca (23,08 %) nego kod žena (9,09 %).¹⁵¹

Zubni karijes

Zubni karijes je bolest koju uglavnom uzrokuju organske kiseline koje stvaraju bakterije tijekom fermentacije prehrambenih ugljikohidrata. Proučavanje bolesti tvrdih zubnih tkiva pomaže rekonstruirati prehrambene navike i njihove promjene tijekom prošlosti.¹⁵² Veći postotak zubnog karijesa prisutan je kod stanovnika čija se prehrana temeljila na poljoprivredi, odnosno ugljikohidratima, dok je kod populacija koje se pretežito hrane proteinima i bave lovom udio karijesa niži.¹⁵³ Kod starohrvatske populacije uočena je značajna razlika u pojavnosti karijesa između muškaraca i žena.¹⁵⁴ Ova razlika upućuje na to da su muškarci konzumirali više proteina dok su žene unosile više ugljikohidrata. Takva prehrambena razlika mogla bi biti povezana s različitim obavezama: žene su većinu vremena provodile radeći oko kuće, što je rezultiralo manjim, ali češćim obrocima, a muškarci su radili na poljima i imali rjeđe, ali obilnije obroke.¹⁵⁵ Na lokalitetu Rižinice karijes je prisutan kod šest muškaraca (27,3 %) i triju žena (21,4 %), što ukupno čini 25 % odrasle populacije. Podatci upućuju na to da su muškarci i žene dijelili istu prehranu te da su obavljali iste svakodnevne aktivnosti i poslove izvan kuće.

Periostitis

Periostitis (sl. 23), koji može biti znak nespecifične infekcije ili mehaničkog stresa, može se javiti u generaliziranom ili lokaliziranom obliku i

The average body height of the early medieval inhabitants at Rižinice was 174.053 cm for men (sd=4.40) and 161.667 cm for women (sd=2.692). These figures are consistent with demographic data from other medieval sites in central Dalmatia, such as Bijaći – Strombrate, Svećurje – Žestinj, and St. Michael – Kućice, where the average body height was 173.9 cm for men (P=0.927) and 161.3 cm for women (P=0.8537).¹⁴⁹ The life expectancy of women was estimated at 36.5 years (P=0.244), while for men it was 39.1 years (P=0.5185).¹⁵⁰

Pathological changes

Cribra orbitalia

Due to the poor preservation of the skeletal remains, particularly the lack of cranial bones, we cannot precisely determine the prevalence of *cribra orbitalia*. However, signs of this condition were observed in the orbital roofs of seven men found *in situ*, suggesting that approximately 31.8% of the men may have experienced chronic illness, likely anaemia, at some point in their lives. It is interesting to note that in the cumulative sample of the medieval population of central Dalmatia, *cribra orbitalia* was more commonly present in men (23.08%) than in women (9.09%).¹⁵¹

Dental caries

Dental caries is a disease primarily caused by organic acids produced by bacteria during the fermentation of dietary carbohydrates. The study of dental hard tissue diseases helps reconstruct dietary habits and their changes throughout history.¹⁵² Populations with an agriculture-based diet, rich in carbohydrates, tend to show a higher incidence of dental caries. In contrast, populations with diets focused on proteins and hunting typically exhibit lower caries rates.¹⁵³ In the early Croatian population, a notable difference in caries prevalence was observed between men and women.¹⁵⁴ This difference suggests that men consumed more protein, while women had a higher carbohydrate intake. Such a dietary disparity could be linked to different responsibilities: women, spending most of their

¹⁵¹ Anterić 2014, str. 159–163.

¹⁵² Larsen *et al.* 1991, str. 179.

¹⁵³ Fujita 1995, str. 23–37.

¹⁵⁴ Šlaus 2006, str. 116–117.

¹⁵⁵ Bašić *et al.* 2011, str. 346.

¹⁴⁹ Anterić, 2014, pp. 157–158.

¹⁵⁰ Idem, pp. 145–151.

¹⁵¹ Idem, pp. 159–163.

¹⁵² Larsen *et al.*, 1991, p. 179

¹⁵³ Fujita, 1995, 23–37.

¹⁵⁴ Šlaus, 2006, pp. 116–117.



Sl. 23. Aktivni periostitis na rebrima muškarca iz groba 15, lokalitet Rižinice (A. Curić)

Fig. 23 Active periostitis on the ribs of a man from grave 15, Rižinice (A. Curić).

biti aktivan ili pasivan. On predstavlja upalu periorsta (pokosnice), čvrste fibrozne membrane kosti. Kod djece je češći nalaz generaliziranog aktivnog periostitisa, jer su djeca manje otporna na zaraze.¹⁵⁶ Na lokalitetu Rižinice periostitis je prisutan kod 11 djece, što čini 78,5 % dječje populacije. Kod odraslih se periostitis češće javlja u saniranom obliku, kao posljedica preboljele traume ili infekcije. Među analiziranim kosturnim ostacima, 14 žena (100 %) i 16 muškaraca (72,7 %) imali su znakove periostitisa. Usporedba s drugim lokalitetima pokazuje da nema značajnih razlika, jer je periostitis tijekom srednjeg vijeka vrlo čest nalaz na koštanim ostacima.¹⁵⁷

Osteoarthritis

Za razliku od periostitisa, osteoarthritis (sl. 24) nije uzrokovan infekcijom, već je znak habitualnih aktivnosti i fizičkog rada, koji zbog stresa ostavljaju trag na koštanim ostacima.¹⁵⁸ Njegova raspodjela i količina upućuju na stupanj težine života arheološke populacije promatranog lokaliteta. Riječ je o neupalnom procesu koji dovodi do propadanja zglobne hrskavice, što može uzrokovati proširivanje zglobnog prostora (u obliku osteofita) ili potpuno uništenje hrskavice vidljivo u eburniziranoj kosti.¹⁵⁹ Na lokalitetu Rižinice osteoarthritis je prisutan kod 14 muškaraca (63,6 %) i 9 žena (64,3 %) pronađenih *in situ*. Podjednaka zastupljenost kod muškaraca i

time working at home, likely had smaller, more frequent meals, while men, engaged in fieldwork, had fewer but larger meals.¹⁵⁵ At the Rižinice site, caries was found in six men (27.3%) and three women (21.4%), resulting in an overall caries prevalence of 25% among adults. These findings suggest that the men and women at Rižinice had the same diets and performed similar daily activities and work outside the home.

Periostitis

Periostitis (Fig. 23), which can indicate either a nonspecific infection or mechanical stress, may manifest in a generalized or localized form and can be either active or passive. It refers to the inflammation of the periosteum, the dense fibrous membrane covering the bone. In children, generalized active periostitis is more common, as they are less resistant to infections.¹⁵⁶ At the Rižinice site, periostitis was found in 11 children, representing 78.5% of the child population. In adults, periostitis is more frequently observed in its healed form, resulting from a prior trauma or infection. Among the analysed skeletal remains, 14 women (100%) and 16 men (72.7%) showed signs of periostitis. When compared to other sites, there are no significant differences, as periostitis is a very common finding in medieval skeletal remains.¹⁵⁷

Osteoarthritis

Unlike periostitis, osteoarthritis (Fig. 24) is not caused by infection but results from habitual activities and physical labour. The stress from these activities leaves distinctive marks on skeletal remains.¹⁵⁸ The distribution and frequency of osteoarthritis provide insight into the level of physical strain endured by the archaeological population at the examined site. This non-inflammatory process leads to the degradation of joint cartilage, which can cause the joint space to widen through the formation of osteophytes or result in complete cartilage destruction, visible as eburnated bone.¹⁵⁹ At the Rižinice site, osteoarthritis was present in 14 men (63.6%) and 9 women (64.3%) found *in situ*. The similar prevalence rates in both genders suggest that men and

¹⁵⁶ Šlaus 2006, str. 136.

¹⁵⁷ Anterić 2014, str. 269–271.

¹⁵⁸ Ortner 2003, str. 545.

¹⁵⁹ Šlaus 2006, str. 201–202.

¹⁵⁵ Bašić et. al., 2011, 346.

¹⁵⁶ Šlaus, 2006, p. 136.

¹⁵⁷ Anterić, 2014, pp. 269-271.

¹⁵⁸ Ortner, 2003, p. 545.

¹⁵⁹ Šlaus, 2006, pp. 201-202.



Sl. 24. Osteoarthritis i eburnizacija na distalnom kondilu desne bedrene i goljenične kosti muškarca iz groba 40, lokalitet Rižinice (A. Curić)

Fig. 24 Osteoarthritis and eburnation on the distal condyle of the right femur and tibia of a man from grave 40, Rižinice (A. Curić).

žena može upućivati na to da su obje skupine jednako sudjelovali u obavljanju teškog fizičkog posla.¹⁶⁰

Schmorlovi defekti

Schmorlovi defekti (sl. 25), povezani s degeneracijom intervertebralnih diskova, nastaju kada disk pritišće površinu tijela kralježaka.¹⁶¹ Kao i osteoarthritis, najčešće su uzrokovani teškim fizičkim radom. Na Rižinicama su Schmorlovi defekti vidljivi na prsnim i slabinskim kralješcima kod 9 muškaraca (40,9 %) i 4 žene (28,6 %). Veći udio zabilježen je kod muškaraca, što se podudara s podacima antropoloških analiza starohrvatske populacije,¹⁶² a takav razlika ipak upućuje na određenu podjelu težih fizičkih poslova prema spolu.

Traume

U arheološkim uzorcima kostiju antemortalne (zaživotne) traume lako se prepoznaju po znakovima cijeljenja (sl. 26). Međutim, kod djece to može biti izazovno zbog njihova razvoja i remodeliranja kostiju, što može prikriti tragove saniranih prijeloma. Stoga je stvarni postotak trauma vjerojatno veći nego što se to morfološki prepoznaje. Važno je razlikovati perimortalne traume, koje su nastale u trenutku smrti, od postmortalnih oštećenja, koja su se dogodile nakon smrti i ne odražavaju život pokojnika.¹⁶³ Postotak trauma određene populacije



Sl. 25. Schmorlovi defekti na prsnim i slabinskim kralješcima muškarca iz groba 55, lokalitet Rižinice (A. Curić)

Fig. 25 Schmorl's nodes on the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae of a man from grave 55, Rižinice (A. Curić).

women participated equally in strenuous physical labour.¹⁶⁰

Schmorl's nodes

Schmorl's nodes (Fig. 25), associated with the degeneration of intervertebral discs, occur when the disc presses into the surface of the vertebral body.¹⁶¹ Similar to osteoarthritis, they are most often caused by heavy physical labour. At the Rižinice site, Schmorl's nodes were observed on the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae of nine men (40.9%) and four women (28.6%). The higher prevalence in men aligns with findings from other anthropological analyses of the early Croatian population,¹⁶² suggesting a gender-based division of heavier physical tasks.

Traumata

In archaeological bone samples, antemortem (before death) trauma is easily identified by the presence of healing signs (Fig. 26). However, identifying such trauma in children can be challenging due to their ongoing bone development and remodelling, which can obscure evidence of healed fractures. Therefore, the actual percentage of trauma is likely higher than what is morphologically identifi-

¹⁶⁰ Anterić 2014, str. 269.

¹⁶¹ Roberts, Manchester 2010, str. 343.

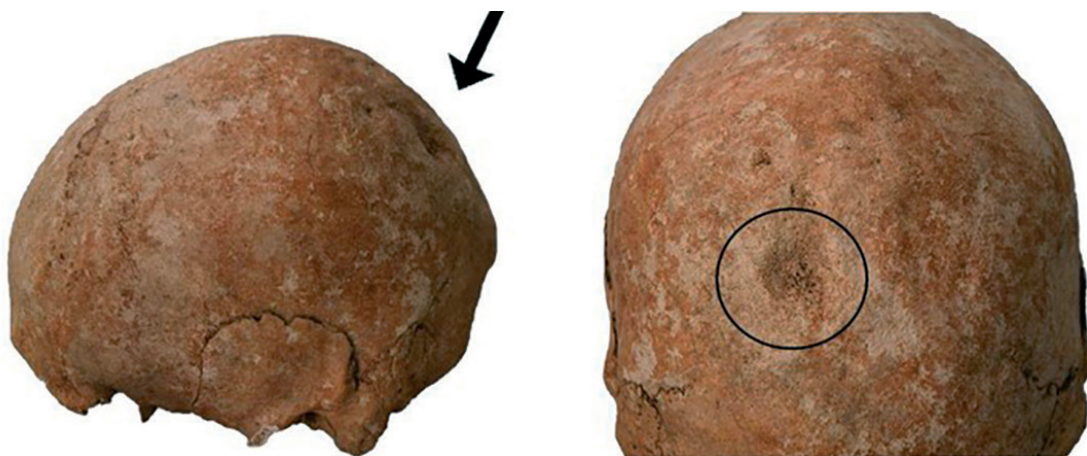
¹⁶² Šlaus 2006, str. 215.

¹⁶³ Ortner 2003, str. 119.

¹⁶⁰ Anterić, 2014, p. 269.

¹⁶¹ Roberts, Manchester 2010, p. 343.

¹⁶² Šlaus, 2006, p. 215.



Sl. 26. Antemortalna trauma nastala najvjerojatnije udarcem tupim predmetom na lubanji muškarca iz groba 52, lokalitet Rižinice (A. Curić)

Fig. 26 Antemortem trauma, likely caused by a blow from a blunt object, on the skull of a man from grave 52, Rižinice (A. Curić).

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daje uvid u životno okruženje, ekonomiju i učestalost međuljudskog nasilja, isto kao što zacjeljivanje ozljeda može upućivati na prehrambeni status, dostupnost liječenja i brigu o bolesnima.¹⁶⁴ Na lokalitetu Rižinice antemortalne traume vidljive su kod 9 muškaraca (40,9 %). Kao i u starohrvatskoj populaciji i kumulativnom uzroku srednje Dalmacije,¹⁶⁵ traume su prisutnije kod muškaraca nego kod žena. Iako traume mogu biti posljedica nesretnog slučaja, određene ozljede, poput ozljeda lubanje ili proksimalnog dijela dijafiza lakatne i palčane kosti, mogu biti znakovi nasilja.¹⁶⁶ Perimortalne traume nisu zabilježene.

ZAKLJUČAK

Ranosrednjovjekovno stanovništvo s lokaliteta Rižinice u potpunosti se uklapa u demografsku strukturu analiziranih koštanih ostataka iz srednje Dalmacije (Bijaći – Stombrata, Svećurje – Žestinj, Sv. Mihovil – Kućice).¹⁶⁷ Iz navedenog proizlazi da je stanovništvo živjelo u sličnim životnim uvjetima i imalo slične biološke značajke, da su uvjeti života bili podjednako teški te da su ekonomski i medicinski uvjeti bili slični. Podjednaka zastupljenost zubnog karijesa kod muškaraca i žena može upućivati i na sličnost u prehrambenim navikama i raspodjeli poslova. Učestalost periostitisa upućuje na česte mehaničke ozljede i nespecifične infekcije, koje

able. Distinguishing between perimortem trauma—injuries sustained at the time of death—and post-mortem damage, which occurs after death and does not reflect the individual's life, is essential.¹⁶³ The trauma rate of a population offers valuable insights into their living environment, economic conditions and the prevalence of interpersonal violence. Evidence of healed injuries can also shed light on nutritional status, access to medical care, and treatment of the sick people.¹⁶⁴ At the Rižinice site, antemortem trauma was observed in nine men (40.9%). Consistent with findings from the early Croatian population and the cumulative sample from central Dalmatia,¹⁶⁵ trauma was more common in men than in women. While some injuries may result from accidents, certain types of trauma—such as skull fractures or damage to the proximal diaphysis of the ulna and radius—can indicate violence.¹⁶⁶ Notably, no perimortem trauma was observed in the analysed remains.

CONCLUSION

The early medieval population from Rižinice fits entirely into the demographic structure of analysed skeletal remains from central Dalmatia (Bijaći – Stombrata, Svećurje – Žestinj, and St. Michael – Kućice).¹⁶⁷ This suggests that the population lived

¹⁶⁴ Roberts, Manchester 2010, str. 214–215.

¹⁶⁵ Šlaus 2006, str. 189–197; Anterić 2014, str. 289.

¹⁶⁶ Šlaus 2006, str. 181–186.

¹⁶⁷ Anterić 2006, str. 145–151.

¹⁶³ Ortner, 2003, p. 119.

¹⁶⁴ Roberts, Manchester 2010, pp. 214–215.

¹⁶⁵ Šlaus, 2006, pp. 189–197 and Anterić, 2014, p. 289.

¹⁶⁶ Šlaus, 2006, pp. 181–186.

¹⁶⁷ Anterić, 2006, pp. 145–151.

su mogle smanjiti duljinu i kvalitetu života mlađe populacije. Osteoarthritis i Schmorlovi defekti pružaju važne informacije o habitualnim aktivnostima i oštećenjima uzrokovanim teškim fizičkim radom. Iako je osteoarthritis podjednako zastupljen među muškarcima i ženama, veća učestalost Schmorlovih defekata kod muškaraca može biti pokazatelj njihova težeg fizičkog rada.

Na lokalitetu Rižinice nisu uočene perimortalne traume, što bi, u slučaju da je nalaz antemortalnih trauma nizak, moglo značiti da zajednica nije bila izložena većoj količini nasilja. No, nalaz većeg broja antemortalnih trauma, i to isključivo kod muškaraca, može se tumačiti kao pokazatelj nasilja, ali i slučajno zadobivenih ozljeda. Iako nalazi trauma uvijek upućuju na veću izloženost nasilju, oni mogu biti i dobar pokazatelj zdravstvene skrbi unutar zajednice. Naime, na analiziranom lokalitetu svi muškarci imali su samo antemortalne traume. Razlog tome može biti manji intenzitet ozljeda i uspješnije zalječivanje, ali i bolja kvaliteta zdravstvene skrbi unutar zajednice. Ovakvi primjeri pokazuju da antropološke analize trebaju holistički sagledati ne samo biološke informacije, poput dobi, visine i spola, već i društvene aspekte života u promatranom području i vremenu.

under similar conditions, shared comparable biological characteristics, and faced equally challenging living circumstances, with access to similar economic and medical resources. The equal prevalence of dental caries in men and women suggests that their diets were similar and that labour was likely divided in a comparable manner. The frequency of periostitis highlights the prevalence of mechanical injuries and nonspecific infections, which may have significantly impacted lifespan and quality of life, especially among younger individuals. Evidence of osteoarthritis and Schmorl's nodes offers insight into habitual activities and the toll of heavy physical labour. While osteoarthritis was equally common in both sexes, the higher incidence of Schmorl's nodes in men likely indicates their involvement in more physically demanding work.

No evidence of perimortem trauma was observed at the Rižinice site, which, in cases with low prevalence of antemortem trauma, could mean that the community was not exposed to significant levels of violence. However, the higher occurrence of antemortem traumata exclusively in men may indicate instances of violence or accidental injuries. Although evidence of traumata often indicates greater exposure to violence, they also serve as a valuable indicator of the level of healthcare within the community. Notably, all male individuals at the analysed site exhibited only antemortem traumata, which may suggest less severe injuries, better healing outcomes, or a relatively high standard of healthcare within the community. These findings emphasize the importance of a holistic approach in anthropological analyses, incorporating not only biological factors such as age, height and sex, but also the social and cultural aspects of the studied region and historical period.

Kratice / Abbreviations

AA	Archaeologia Adriatica
ADA	Advances in Dental Anthropology
AJPO	American Journal of Physical Anthropology
AOS	Acta Odontologica Scandinavica
AS	Anthropological Sciences
AV	Arhivski vjesnik
BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata
EME	Early Medieval Europe
HAG	Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak
HE	Human Evolution
HO	Human Osteology
JDR	Journal of Dental Research
JFH	Journal of Family History
MA	Medieval Archeology
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta
SSCR	Social Science Computer Review
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

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