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Regionalne skupine ranosrednjovjekovnog luksuznog nakita, usporedba arheoloških analiza i povijesnih interpretacija

U radu se analiziraju tri regionalne skupine ranosrednjovjekovnog luksuznog nakita: skupine iz Moravske i Bohemije, datirane u 9. i prvu polovicu 10. stoljeća, te skupina iz Poljske, koja se okvirno datira u razdoblje od 10. do 11. stoljeća. Ranija istraživanja objašnjavala su nastanak ovih regionalnih skupina dolaskom stranih majstora iz susjednih područja često povezujući taj proces s nekim od važnih povijesnih događaja. Autor uspoređuje tradicionalno stajalište s najnovijim saznanjima u istraživanjima. Prvo naglašava da je poznavanje svih triju skupina uvelike uvjetovano prirodom arheoloških izvora (kosturni ukopi s grobnim priložima ili ostave s fragmentima srebrnih predmeta odnosno „hacksilver“). Zatim navodi da je luksuzni nakit u tim regijama mogao biti u upotrebi i tijekom razdoblja iz kojih nisu sačuvani slični značajni arheološki nalazi. Na kraju ističe dugogodišnje postojanje ranosrednjovjekovne aristokracije, čiji su pripadnici održavali međusobne veze unatoč velikim geografskim udaljenostima dodajući da su takvi odnosi igrali ključnu ulogu u širenju luksuznog nakita, no da je samo mali dio tih veza zabilježen u sačuvanim pisanim izvorima.

Ključne riječi: rani srednji vijek, luksuzni nakit, društvena elita, Velika Moravska, Bohemija, Poljska.

Regional groups of early medieval luxury jewellery: their archaeological analysis versus historical interpretation

The article deals with three regional groups of early medieval luxury jewellery: in Moravia, in Bohemia (both from the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century) and in Poland (roughly the 10th-11th centuries). Earlier research explained the emergence of these regional groups as the result of the arrival of foreign craftsmen from the neighbouring region and often linked it to one of the important historical events. The author confronts this traditional view with the current state of research. First,

he emphasizes that the knowledge of all three groups is strongly determined by the nature of the archaeological sources (inhumation graves with grave goods, or hack-silver hoards); however, the luxury jewellery could also be used in the mentioned regions in periods from which similarly significant archaeological sources have not been preserved. Secondly, it is necessary to draw attention to the long-term existence of the early medieval aristocracy, whose members maintained contacts with each other even over considerable geographical distances. Such contacts played a key role in the spread of luxury jewellery, but only a small part of them is recorded in the surviving written sources.

Keywords: Early Middle Ages, luxury jewellery, social elite, Great Moravia, Bohemia, Poland

1. Uvod

Luksuzni ženski nakit, izrađen od plemenitih metala i ukrašen tehnikama poput granulacije ili filigrana, u ranom srednjem vijeku nije bio isti u cijeloj Europi, već se sastojao od nekoliko više ili manje različitih regionalnih skupina.¹ Primjerice, tipovi nakita u Dalmaciji razlikuju se od onih u Moravskoj ili Poljskoj. Međutim, postoje i očite sličnosti među tim regionalnim skupinama. Samo postojanje tih skupina općenito je prihvaćeno, no njihove granice i međusobni odnosi rijetko su predmet rasprava.² Današnje spoznaje o ovim regionalnim skupinama nakita uglavnom se temelje na postojanju ranosrednjovjekovnih carstava ili država, poput Velikomoravske Kneževine, Hrvatske ili Poljske, te na dugogodišnjoj tradiciji povijesnih i arheoloških istraživanja povezanih s tim područjima. Ipak, ne postoji jasna i izravna poveznica između određene države i odgovarajuće regionalne skupine nakita. Države i carstva dokumentirani su u pisanim izvorima, no njihov zemljopisni opseg kroz povijest se često mijenjao. S druge strane, nakit potječe iz arheoloških konteksta čija je povijesna interpretacija nerijetko upitna (detaljnije o tome u nastavku teksta). Definiranje regionalne skupine nakita prvenstveno je pitanje arheološke analize, a rezultati takve analize uvijek su donekle subjektivni jer ovise o korištenim kriterijima. Kada se izdvoje pojedine vrste nakita koje se smatraju karakterističnim za određenu skupinu, može se utvrditi da njihova vremenska i prostorna distribucija nije potpuno usklađena. Na primjer, skupina može obuhvaćati vrste nakita koje su bile u upotrebi tijekom duljeg vremenskog razdoblja i one koje su bile samo kratkotrajno popularne kao i one koje su imale lokalnu ili, suprotno tome, nadregionalnu rasprostranjenost. Stoga će određivanje granica (tipoloških, kronoloških i geografskih) uvijek biti donekle proizvoljno i subjektivno, tj. ovisiti o istraživaču.³

¹ Srdačno zahvaljujem K. Tomková i D. Kalhousu na ohrabrujućim komentarima na prvu verziju teksta.

² Značajno je da pojmovi „regionalizacija nakita“ i „regionalna skupina“ nisu često prisutni u stručnoj literaturi. U široj analizi nakita obično se spominju samo specifične regije ili zemlje.

³ Isto tako, koji nakit još uvijek smatramo „luksuznim“, a koji već „popularnim“ itd. pitanje je određene konvencije, no između dviju skupina prijelaz je prirodan i bez jasne granice, usp. npr. Poláček *et al.* 2024, 100–101. Kako tekst ne bi postao predug, izostavljamo jeftin i masovno proizveden nakit.

1. Introduction

Luxurious women's jewellery, made of precious metals and decorated with granulation, filigree, etc., was not the same throughout early medieval Europe, but formed several more or less distinct regional groups.¹ For example, the spectrum of jewellery types in Dalmatia is different from what we find in Moravia or Poland. On the other hand, there are also unmistakable similarities between these regional groups. The very existence of these groups is generally accepted, but their boundaries and mutual relations are not frequently discussed topics.²

Our current knowledge of the mentioned regional groups of jewellery is largely based on the existence of early medieval empires or states, such as Great Moravia, the Croatian or Polish states, and on the long-term research tradition (historical and archaeological) associated with each of the mentioned states. Nevertheless, there is no clear and direct relationship between the given state and the relevant regional jewellery group. States or empires are documented through written sources, and their geographic extent may have varied significantly over the years. On the other hand, the jewellery comes from archaeological contexts whose historical interpretation is often debatable (cf. in more detail below). The very definition of a regional jewellery group is primarily a matter of archaeological analysis; and its result will always be somewhat subjective, as it depends on what criteria we use. When we select a few types of jewellery that we consider characteristic of a given group, it may turn out that the dating and geographical distribution of these types are not completely identical. For instance, they can include types used over a long period as well as short-term fads, or types with rather local or, on the contrary, supra-regional occurrence, etc. It follows that the chosen demarcation (typological, chronological and geographical) will always be to a certain extent arbitrary and influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher.³

¹ I cordially thank K. Tomková and D. Kalhous for stimulating comments on the first version of the text.

² It is already significant that the terms “regionalization of jewellery” and “regional group” are not commonly found in the specialised literature; in a broader analysis of jewellery, only specific regions or lands are usually mentioned.

³ In the same way, it is a matter of a certain convention which jewellery we still consider “luxurious” and which already “popular” (etc.), between the two

Na istraživanje regionalnih skupina nakita utječe činjenice da su se arheološka istraživanja ranog srednjeg vijeka tradicionalno provodila unutar granica suvremenih država, a iako je međunarodna suradnja značajno napredovala, ta praksa je, iz različitih razloga, i dalje prisutna. U tom smislu, ni nakit ne predstavlja iznimku, što možemo vidjeti u novijim analizama nakita pronađenog na području današnje Slovačke i Bugarske.⁴ To se očito ne može izbjeći, jer je obrada nalaza iz samo jedne države već vrlo zahtjevan zadatak. Međutim, određene regionalne skupine prostirale su se preko teritorija nekoliko današnjih država, što dodatno komplicira istraživanje. Jedan takav primjer je takozvana bjelobrdská kultura, kontroverzni naziv⁵ za groblja iz razdoblja od druge polovice 10. do 12. stoljeća koja se nalaze diljem Panonske nizine i sadrže specifičan ženski nakit.⁶ Obrada i analiza takvih regionalnih skupina zahtijeva blisku suradnju i otvorenu komunikaciju među znanstvenicima iz svih zemalja na čijim se područjima ovaj nakit pronalazi. Pri proučavanju ovih regionalnih skupina znanstvenici su se suočili s nizom pitanja: kako su nastale, kakva je bila interakcija među njima i što je uzrokovalo njihove međusobne „utjecaje“. Cilj ovog istraživanja je, preko odabranih primjera, prikazati kako su istraživači do sada tumačili ove fenomene i koje su argumente iznosili. Te interpretacije nazivamo „tradicionalnim“ ili „povijesnim“ jer se uklapaju u širi okvir ranosrednjovjekovne arheologije, u kojoj se fenomeni često analiziraju uz pomoć povijesnih događaja kao referenci. U drugom dijelu rada usporedit ćemo ta tumačenja s aktualnim rezultatima istraživanja.

2. Tradicionalna tumačenja

2.1. Velika Moravska

Brojni primjerci nakita izrađenog od zlata, srebra ili pozlaćenog bakra, ukrašeni granulacijom, filigranom i drugim zahtjevnim tehnikama izrade nakita, povezani su s Velikomoravskim Carstvom,⁷ čije je središte u 9. stoljeću obuhvaćalo područje

The research of the regional groups of jewellery is influenced by the fact that the archaeology of the Early Middle Ages was traditionally practiced within the borders of modern states, and to a large extent – despite developing international cooperation – this has remained true to this day for many reasons. Not even jewellery is an exception, as an example we can cite its newer treatment on the territory of today's Slovakia or Bulgaria.⁴ Obviously, this cannot be avoided, since the processing of finds from one country is already a very demanding task. However, some of the regional groups spread over the territory of several states, an example can be the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, which is a controversial designation⁵ for burial sites from the second half of the 10th century to the 12th century, which are found throughout the entire area of the Carpathian Basin and contain specific female jewellery.⁶ In particular, the processing of such regional groups requires close cooperation and dialogue between researchers from all the concerned countries.

For each of the regional groups, interested researchers asked themselves the question of how the group was formed and how it interacted with neighbouring groups, or what was behind these “influences”. The aim of the presented study is to show, using selected examples, what interpretations researchers were creating until recently and how they argued. I refer to these interpretations as “traditional” or also as “historical”, as they fit into the wider context of early medieval archaeology, in which the archaeological record was often interpreted using references to historical events. In the second part of the paper, I confront these interpretations with the current state of research.

2. Traditional interpretations

2.1. Great Moravia

Numerous examples of jewellery made of gold, silver, or gilded copper and decorated with granulation, filigree, and other demanding jewellery

⁴ Hanuliak 2004; Grigorov 2007.

⁵ Usp. Ungerman 2021, str. 76–77, bilj. 87, s literaturom.

⁶ Najnoviji primjeri: Tomičić 2019; Radišić 2020; oba s referencama.

⁷ Za najnovije spoznaje u istraživanju ove regionalne skupine vidi: Ungerman 2017; Ungerman 2021; Poláček *et al.* 2024.

groups there is a very smooth transition and not a clear division, cf. e.g. Poláček *et al.* 2024, pp. 100–101. So that the text does not spread too widely, I leave out cheap, mass-produced jewellery.

⁴ Hanuliak 2004; Grigorov 2007.

⁵ Cf. Ungerman 2021, pp. 76–77, fn. 87, with the references.

⁶ Most recently e.g. Tomičić 2019; Radišić 2020; both with the references.

današnje Moravske i zapadnog dijela Slovačke.⁸ Najranija istraživanja tamošnjih kosturnih groblja provedena su krajem 19. i prvom polovicom 20. stoljeća. Tadašnji znanstvenici nisu mogli pretpostaviti da bi tako bogato ukrašen nakit mogao biti proizveden upravo u Velikoj Moravskoj. L. Niederle, tada vodeći autoritet na tom polju, među primjercima nakita prepoznao je razlike u podrijetlu, temeljem čega ih je podijelio na „bizantsku“ i „orijentalnu“ skupinu. U skupinu „bizantskog“ nakita uglavnom je svrstao grozdolike naušnice, za koje je smatrao da potječu iz Konstantinopola ili istočnog Sredozemlja, a općenito joj je pripisivao upotrebu zlata i tehnike grube granulacije (s većim granulama). S druge strane, „orijentalni“ nakit uključivao je naušnice s metalnim ili košarastim jagodama koje su bile izrađene od srebra i ukrašene sitnom granulacijom ili filigranom. Smatrao je da su se takve naušnice proizvodile u Mezopotamiji (istočnoj Siriji i Iraku) i Turkestanu, vjerojatno misleći na područja današnjih srednjoazijskih država smještenih istočno od Kaspijskog mora. Međutim, nije dodatno objašnjavao način na koji su ovi „uvozi“ iz dalekih zemalja stizali u Veliku Moravsku.⁹

V. Hrubý, koji je proučavao nalaze s velikog groblja na lokalitetu Staré Město – Na valách, pod utjecajem Niederle klasificirao je zlatne i srebrne naušnice kao „naušnice s bizantsko-orijentalnim karakterom“.¹⁰ Na temelju nalaza zlatne sirovine (u obliku kapljica, grumena, komadića zlatnog lima i sl.) u nekoliko grobova na spomenutom lokalitetu, zaključio je da je značajan dio luksuznog nakita proizveden u lokalnim radionicama.¹¹ Ipak, Hrubý je smatrao da lokalni majstori u Moravskoj te nakitne predmete vjerojatno nisu izradili potpuno samostalno, već da su tijekom njihove izrade bili prisutni određeni strani utjecaji, odnosno znanja i vještine stranih majstora, koji su pritom imali ključnu ulogu. Prema njemu, to se najvjerojatnije moglo dogoditi „u vrijeme najbližih kontakata s Bizantom“.¹² Budući da je sav luksuzni nakit na tom lokalitetu datirao u drugu polovicu 9. i prvu polovicu 10. stoljeća (sl. 1),¹³ možemo s pravom zaključiti da je pod

techniques are associated with the Great Moravian Empire,⁷ the core of which spread over the territory of present-day Moravia and southwestern Slovakia in the 9th century.⁸ The earliest excavations of the inhumation cemeteries there go back to the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The researchers working at the time could not yet imagine that lavishly decorated jewellery could be produced directly in Great Moravia. L. Niederle, who was then the main authority on the matter, distinguished between their dual provenance, “Byzantine” and “Oriental”. He mainly placed grape earrings in the group of “Byzantine” jewellery, which he assumed was produced in Constantinople or the Eastern Mediterranean. More generally, he associated the use of gold and the so-called coarse granulation (with granules of a relatively larger size) with this group of jewellery. On the contrary, he considered mainly earrings with metal beads or basket beads, made of silver and decorated with finer granulation or filigree, to be “Oriental”. He saw the place of their production in Mesopotamia (eastern Syria and Iraq) and in Turkestan, by which he probably meant the territory of today’s Central Asian republics east of the Caspian Sea. He did not elaborate on the method of introducing these “imports” from distant countries to Great Moravia.⁹

V. Hrubý, who processed the finds from the extensive burial ground in the Staré Město – Na valách, described the gold and silver earrings there under the influence of L. Niederle as “earrings of Byzantine-Oriental character”.¹⁰ On the basis of the findings of gold raw material – in the form of a drop, a nugget, a scrap of gold sheet, etc. – in several Staré Město graves, he came to the conclusion that a non-negligible part of luxury jewellery had been made in local workshops.¹¹ However, he did not consider it likely that these jewels would have been created completely independently in Moravia. He expected an external impulse during their creation, in the form of the arrival of foreign craftsmen who brought the art of their production to Moravia. According to him, this could most likely have happened “at the time of the closest contacts with

⁸ Najnovije sažeto u npr. Kouřil (Ed.) 2014; Poláček *et al.* 2020.

⁹ Niederle, Zelnitius 1929; Niederle 1926–1927; Niederle 1930.

¹⁰ Hrubý 1955, str. 228–246.

¹¹ Najnovije: Galuška 2015, str. 198–199.

¹² Hrubý 1955, str. 308–313.

¹³ Hrubý 1955, str. 206–214, 228–246; usp. Chorvátová 2023, str. 1–66.

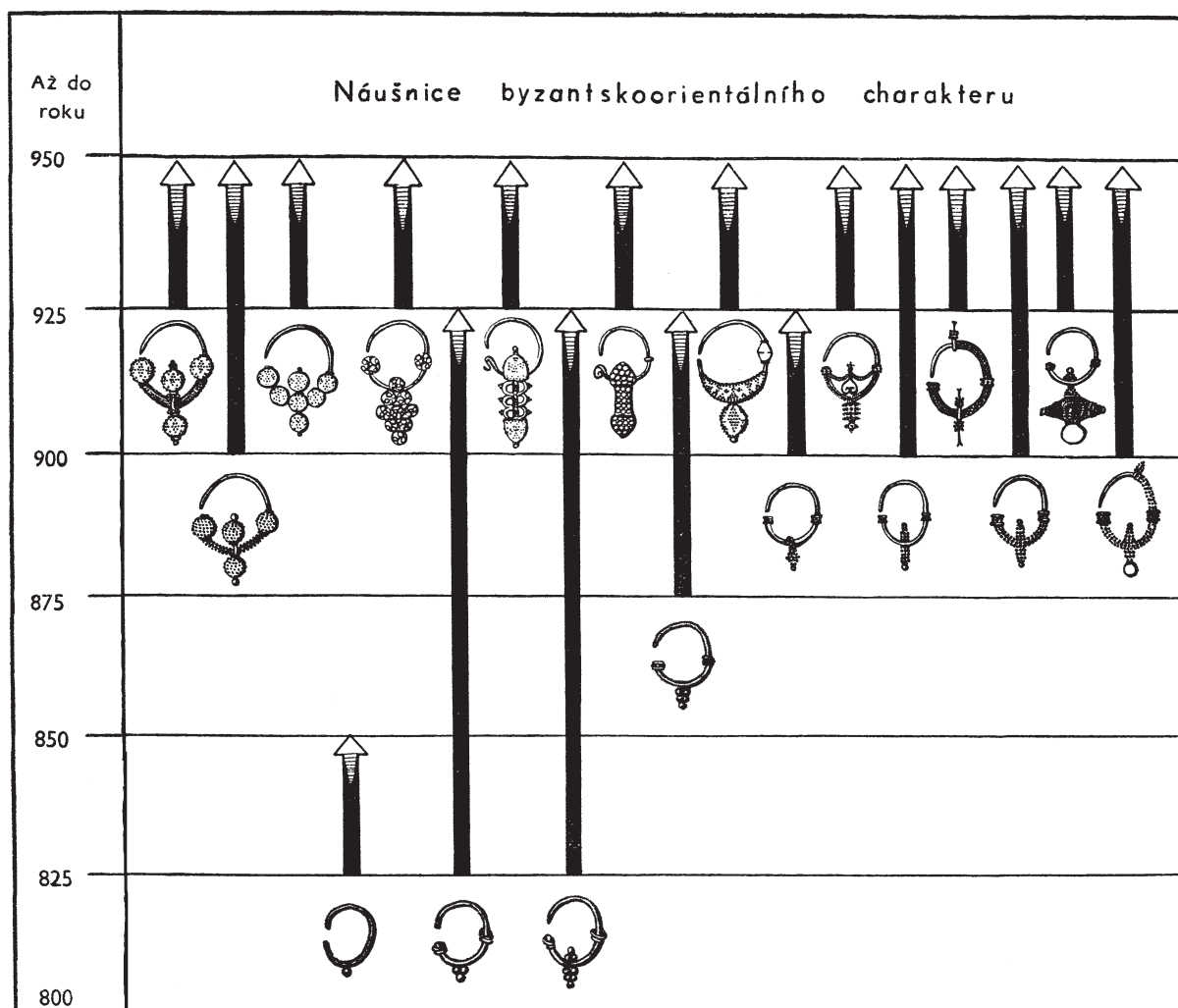
⁷ For the current state of research of this regional group, see Ungerman 2017; 2021; Poláček *et al.* 2024.

⁸ Most recently in summary, e.g. Kouřil (Ed.) 2014; Poláček *et al.* 2020.

⁹ Niederle, Zelnitius 1929; Niederle 1926–1927; 1930.

¹⁰ Hrubý 1955, pp. 228–246.

¹¹ Most recently Galuška 2015, pp. 198–199.



Sl. 1. Datiranje velikomoravskih luksuznih naušnica s lokaliteta Staré Město – Na valách (Moravska) prema V. Hrubýju (1955, sl. 41), izmijenjeno

Fig. 1 Dating of the Great Moravian luxury earrings in Staré Město – Na valách (Moravia) after V. Hrubý (1955, Fig. 41). Modified.

„najbližim kontaktima“ mislio na dolazak crkvene misije Ćirila i Metoda u Moravsku 863. godine.¹⁴

Tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća čehoslovačka arheologija razvila je drukčiji pogled na podrijetlo velikomoravskog nakita. Istraživači su također smatrali da je nakit najvjerojatnije domaćeg podrijetla, ali uz pretpostavku da su moravski zlatari svoje vještine temeljili na kasnoantičkoj kulturnoj baštini koristeći i elemente drugih suvremenih kultura te da su na taj način stvarali vlastite originalne kreacije. Međutim, „kulturni utjecaji i tradicije“ koji su se spominjali u tom procesu često su se prikazivali na prilično apstraktan način.¹⁵ U proučava-

Byzantium”.¹² Since he dated all the ostentatious jewellery on the site to the second half of the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century (Fig. 1),¹³ we can rightly conclude that by those “closest contacts” he meant the arrival of the ecclesiastical mission of Constantine and Methodius to Moravia in 863.¹⁴

During the second half of the 20th century, Czechoslovak archaeology acquired a different perspective on the origin of the Great Moravian jewellery. The researchers were inclined towards its local origin, whereby Moravian jewellers were supposed to draw on the late antique cultural heritage

¹⁴ Sažeto u Kouřil *et al.* 2014.

¹⁵ Npr. Poulik 1963, str. 110; Benda 1978; Turčan 1982. Usporedi pojam takozvanog Blatnica – Mikulčice stila, za koji se također pretpostavljalo da ima izrazito

¹² Hrubý 1955, pp. 308–313.

¹³ Hrubý 1955, pp. 206–214, 228–246; cf. Chorvátová 2023, esp. pp. 1–66.

¹⁴ It is summarised in Kouřil *et al.* 2014.

nim radovima rijetko se spominju utjecaji Bizantskog Carstva ili Orijenta, a glavni razlog tome bio je nedostatak poznatog luksuznog nakita s istočnog Sredozemlja i Bliskog istoka koji bi bio sličan velikomoravskom.¹⁶ T. Štefanovičová dijelila je ovo mišljenje, no umjesto izravnog utjecaja Bizantskog Carstva, istaknula je ulogu Avarskog Kaganata kao posrednika u Panonskoj nizini.¹⁷ U drugoj polovici 8. stoljeća na tom području djelovali su obrtnici koji su u svojim radovima koristili biljne motive. Ti ukrasi dosežu svoj vrhunac, primjerice, na zlatnim posudama koje čine blago pronađeno u Sânnicolau Mareu (poznatom i kao Nagyszentmiklós na mađarskom) u Rumunjskoj.¹⁸ Štefanovičová smatra da su na prijelazu iz 8. u 9. stoljeće, kada je Avarski Kaganat prestao postojati, neki lokalni obrtnici prešli u službu susjednih slavenskih vladara uključujući one u Moravskoj. Njihov utjecaj objašnjiv je zahvaljujući činjenici da se iskucani biljni ukras s žigosanom pozadinom pojavljuje na velikomoravskim šupljim kuglastim gumbima.¹⁹ Avarski zlatari koji su se doselili u Moravsku imali su ključnu ulogu i u izradi drugih vrsta nakita. Naime, izrađivali su složenije oblike u skladu s ukusima svojih novih klijenata,²⁰ poput jednostavnih naušnica s grozdolikim privjescima i limenim jagodama te lunulastih naušnica, koje su već bili poznate u avarskoj kulturi.

Od 1990-ih godina pristup datiranju luksuznog nakita iz razdoblja Velike Moravske postupno se mijenja. Dok su Hrubý i njegovi suvremenici smatrali da se ovaj nakit koristio otprilike od sredine 9. stoljeća, današnja istraživanja sugeriraju da se on pojavljuje već u najranijim inhumacijskim grobovi-

and use elements of other contemporary cultures, which they were supposed to transform artistically into original creations. However, the “cultural influences and traditions” used in this process were often conceived quite abstractly.¹⁵ There is little or no mention of influences from Byzantium or the Orient in the works concerned; it was mainly due to the fact that in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East there was no known luxury jewellery that would more closely resemble the Great Moravian one.¹⁶ This opinion was also shared by T. Štefanovičová, who instead of the direct influence of Byzantium emphasized the mediating role of the Avar Khaganate in the Carpathian Basin.¹⁷ Craftsmen were active there in the second half of the 8th century, who decorated their products with plant ornament, which is found in its highest form, for example, on the gold vessels from the treasure in Sânnicolau Mare (Nagyszentmiklós in Hungarian) in Romania.¹⁸ When the Avar Khaganate disappeared at the turn of the 9th century, according to T. Štefanovičová, some of the local craftsmen went into the service of neighbouring Slavic magnates, including Moravian ones. Their influence explained the fact that chased plant decoration on a punched background appears on Great Moravian hollow spherical buttons.¹⁹ The Avar goldsmiths who came to Moravia were also to participate in the creation of other types of jewellery, when they created more complex shapes adapted to the tastes of new customers²⁰ from simple earrings with grape pendant,

sinkretički karakter (Justová 1977, s. referencama). O tome kritički u: Ungermana 2011; Robaka 2017.

¹⁶ Također Klanica 1974, str. 46–54.

¹⁷ Štefanovičová 1984; Štefanovičová 1995.

¹⁸ Najnovije o tome u: Daim *et al.* 2015; Bühler, Freiberger 2018.

¹⁹ Slično tome vidi u Mesterházy 1999, str. 239–243. Za gumbe vidi sveobuhvatni pregled u Poláček *et al.* 2020, str. 295–315. Dolazak avarskih obrtnika u Moravsku ranije je razmatran na općenitoj razini, usp. npr. Benda 1965, str. 81; Benda 1966, str. 59; Zábojník 2005, str. 104.

²⁰ Naziv „veligradski nakit“ odražava široko prihvaćeno mišljenje da je luksuzni nakit iz Velike Moravske lokalnog podrijetla. Izraz je najvjerojatnije prvi put upotrijebio J. Eisner (1960, str. 200, bilj. 56), no u širu upotrebu ušao je tek 1990-ih godina, kada je zamijenio raniji termin „bizantsko-orijentalni nakit“ (usp. Poláček *et al.* 2024, 78–79.

¹⁵ E.g. Poulik 1963, p. 110; Benda 1978; Turčan 1982. Cf. the concept of the so-called Blatnica-Mikulčice style, which was also supposed to have a distinctly syncretic character (Justová 1977, with the references). On that critically, see Ungerman 2011; Robak 2017.

¹⁶ Also Klanica 1974, pp. 46–54.

¹⁷ Štefanovičová 1984; 1995.

¹⁸ On that most recently Daim *et al.* (Hrsg.) 2015; Bühler, Freiberger 2018.

¹⁹ In the same way, see Mesterházy 1999, pp. 239–243; for the buttons, see comprehensively Poláček *et al.* 2020, pp. 295–315. On a more general level, the arrival of Avar craftsmen in Moravia was considered earlier, cf. e.g. Benda 1965, p. 81; 1966, p. 59; Zábojník 2005, p. 104.

²⁰ Its naming as “Veligrad-jewellery” corresponds to the prevailing opinion about the local genesis of the luxury Great Moravian jewellery. The term was most likely coined by J. Eisner (1960, 200, note 56), but it began to be used more widely only from the 1990s, when it replaced the then prevailing designation “Byz-



Sl. 2. Inventar groba 193/51 na lokalitetu Staré Město – Na valách (klasificiran kao jedan od najranijih inhumacijskih grobova na tom lokalitetu, približno s prijelaza iz 8. u 9. stoljeće) (prema Galuška 2013, sl. 202)

Fig. 2 The furnishings of Grave 193/51 in Staré Město – Na valách, classified among the earliest inhumation graves at the site (roughly from the turn of the 9th century). After Galuška 2013, Fig. 202.

ma na području Moravske, datiranim na prijelaz iz 8. u 9. stoljeće (sl. 2).²¹ Ova revizija datiranja pružila je istraživačima dodatne osnove za povezivanje nastanka luksuznog nakita iz Velike Moravske s padom Avarskog Kaganata. Primjerice, L. Galuška iznosi pretpostavku da su Moravci možda bili među Slavenima koji su, nakon propasti Kaganata, napali ostatke avarske vlasti u Panonskoj nizini.²² Plijeu osvojen u tim pohodima, uključujući zlato i srebro, mogao je poslužiti kao materijal za izradu luksuznog nakita. Galuška također smatra da su „vješti draguljari i zlatari, od kojih su neki možda bili podrijetlom iz Bizantskog Carstva, mogli doći u Moravsku ili biti dovedeni kao dio plijena“.²³

2.2. Bohemija

Čehoslovački arheolozi, osobito oni koji su istraživanja provodili od druge polovice 20. stoljeća, smatrali su kako je razvoj luksuznog nakita u Bohemiji bio usko povezan s razvojem nakita u Moravskoj.²⁴ Među istraživačima koji su bili aktivni sredinom 20. stoljeća posebno se ističe J. Eisner,

with sheet metal beads, or lunula-earrings, which are already found in Avar culture.

Since the 1990s, the dating of luxury Great Moravian jewellery has been gradually revised. While V. Hrubý and his contemporaries were of the opinion that this jewellery was used from about the middle of the 9th century (see above), today's consensus is that it is already found in the earliest inhumation graves, which in Moravia are dated to the turn of the 8th and 9th century (Fig. 2).²¹ Thanks to the aforementioned revision of the dating, it was even more tempting for researchers to connect the beginnings of Great Moravian luxury jewellery with the demise of the Avar Khaganate. For instance, L. Galuška considers it likely that the Moravians were among those Slavs who attacked the remnants of Avar power in the Carpathian Basin after the collapse of the Khaganate²² and obtained booty in the process, including gold and silver, from which they subsequently also made luxury jewellery. He also believes that “skilled jewellers and goldsmiths, some of them maybe also of Byzantine origin, may have arrived in, or been brought as booty, to Moravia”.²³

2.2. Bohemia

Czechoslovak archaeologists – if we limit ourselves to research in the second half of the 20th century and later – had no doubt that the development of lavish jewellery in Bohemia took place in close connection with the development in Moravia.²⁴ Of the researchers active around the middle of the 20th century, we can mention, for example, J. Eisner, who counted on a significant influx of jewellery imported to Bohemia from Moravia. He placed it mainly in the second third of the 9th century, because in his opinion “after the death of Svatopluk, we cannot think of a longer duration of close cultural contacts between the two lands”.²⁵ In contrast,

antine-Oriental jewellery” (cf. Poláček *et al.* 2024, 78–79).

²¹ Ungerman 2017, 20–23, with the references; more broadly to the current state of Moravian early medieval chronology, see Ungerman 2021, pp. 53–72.

²² Cf. Pohl 2018, pp. 385–389.

²³ Galuška 2014, p. 133.

²⁴ The history of research was described in detail by K. Tomková (2020).

²⁵ Eisner 1955, p. 218. According to D. Třeštík (1997, p. 338), the Moravian prince Svatopluk ruled Bohemia around 883; he died in 894. More broadly on that, see Štefan 2014; 2019.

²¹ Ungerman 2017, str. 20–23, s referencama. Općenitije o trenutnom stanju ranosrednjovjekovne kronologije u Moravskoj vidi u Ungerman 2021, str. 53–72.

²² Usp. Pohl 2018, str. 385–389.

²³ Galuška 2014, str. 133.

²⁴ Povijest istraživanja detaljno je opisala K. Tomková (2020).



Sl. 3. Srebrne naušnice iz groba 106b u Staroj Kouřimu (Bohemija)
(prema Wieczorek, Hinz (Hrsg.) 2000, sl. na str. 214)
Fig. 3. Silver earrings from Grave 106b in Stará Kouřim (Bohemia).
After Wieczorek, Hinz (Hrsg.) 2000, Fig. on p. 214.

koji je pretpostavljao da je značajan dio nakita u Bohemiju uvezen iz Moravske. Većinu tih predmeta datirao je u drugu trećinu 9. stoljeća, uz zaključak kako „nakon smrti Svatopluka nije moguće očekivati dulje razdoblje bliskih kulturnih veza između dviju zemalja”.²⁵ Suprotno Eisnerovim zaključcima, M. Šolle je, na temelju novih spoznaja, revidirao svoje stavove nekoliko godina kasnije. Istražujući groblje u Staroj Kouřim, definirao je tri horizonta. Za najmlađi horizont (III) karakteristične su, među ostalim, velike i bogato ukrašene naušnice, za koje se pretpostavlja da su izrađene u radionici nakita smještenoj u Staroj Kouřim ili njezinoj neposrednoj blizini (sl. 3). Tamošnji obrtnici kreativno su razvijali velikomoravsko nasljeđe, dok je u samoj Moravskoj takvog nakita bilo sve manje i manje. Šolle je također tvrdio da su radionica i njezini proizvodi pripadali obrtnicima koji su izvorno djelovali u Moravskoj, ali su nakon „razornog mađarskog napada” i propasti Velikomoravskog Carstva početkom 10. stoljeća migrirali i naselili se u Staroj Kouřim. Na temelju toga, horizont III smjestio je u razdoblje od 910-ih do 930-ih ili 940-ih godina.²⁶

M. Šolle under the influence of new findings thought differently just a few years later. When he explored the cemetery in Stará Kouřim, he divided it into three horizons. For the latest horizon III, large and richly decorated earrings are typical, among other things, which should have been made in a jewellery workshop operating either directly on the site or in the immediate vicinity (Fig. 3). The producers there creatively developed the Great Moravian heritage, whereas in Moravia itself such jewellery is already lacking. The researcher explained the presence of the workshop and the nature of its products by saying that they were craftsmen who originally worked in Moravia, but after the “ravaging invasion of the Magyars” and the demise of the Great Moravian Empire at the beginning of the 10th century, they left there and settled in Stará Kouřim. Accordingly, he dated horizon III to the 910s through the 930s or 940s.²⁶

Another important find site of ostentatious jewellery of the Great Moravian style in Bohemia is the burial ground of Prague Castle – Lumbe Garden.²⁷ Here, too, specimens were found that were imported from Moravia or produced in Bohemia faithfully imitating Moravian models, as well as a group of ornaments innovatively developing the Moravian tradition. Z. Smetánka thought about how Great Moravian jewellery could have reached Bohemia. For the period preceding the demise of the Great Moravian Empire (which is traditionally placed in 906 or 907), he judged that it could most likely have happened due to the arrival of members of the Moravian elite (warriors participating in Svatopluk’s conquest of Bohemia, brides from among the Moravian aristocracy, etc.), and at the same time Moravian jewellers could also have come with them. For the period after the demise of Great Moravia, he preferred the eventuality in the form of craftsmen who left the territory of Moravia torn by chaos and sought refuge in Bohemia, where they began working for wealthy local customers.²⁸

2.3. Poland

An important regional group of luxury jewellery is found in Poland and eastern Germany and is

²⁵ Eisner 1955, str. 218. Prema D. Třeštiku (1997, str. 338), moravski knez Svatopluk vladao je Bohemijom oko 883., a umro je 894. godine. Više o tome vidi u Štefan 2014; Štefan 2019.

²⁶ Šolle 1959, npr. str. 478, 482–483; slično u Šolle 1966, str. 147–159.

²⁷ Šolle 1959, esp. pp. 478, 482–483; similarly, Šolle 1966, pp. 147–159.

²⁸ Frolík (Ed.) 2014; Frolík, Smetánka 2014; Ottenwelter 2022.

Smetánka 2003, pp. 38–49.

Drugo važno nalazište luksuznog nakita velikomoravskog stila u Bohemiji predstavlja groblje u vrtu Lumbe na Praškom dvorcu.²⁷ Na ovom su lokalitetu također otkriveni primjerci nakita koji su ili uvezeni iz Moravske ili pak izrađeni u Bohemiji vjerno imitirajući moravske uzore. Uz to, pronađena je i skupina ukrasa koja kreativno nadograđuje velikomoravsku tradiciju. Z. Smetánka razmatrao je različite mogućnosti dolaska velikomoravskog nakita u Bohemiju. Za razdoblje koje je prethodilo propasti Velikomoravskog Carstva (obično datirano u 906. ili 907. godinu) Smetánka je smatrao da je najvjerojatniji način uvoza nakita bio dolazak pripadnika moravske elite, poput ratnika iz Svatoplukove vojske ili nevjesta iz aristokracije, a s njima su mogli doći i moravski zlatari. Smetánka je pretpostavljao da su nakon propasti Velike Moravske nakit u Bohemiju donijeli obrtnici koji su pobjegli iz kaotičnih prilika u Moravskoj i pronašli utočište u Bohemiji, gdje su počeli raditi za imućne lokalne klijente.²⁸

2.3. Poljska

Važna regionalna skupina luksuznog nakita potječe iz Poljske i istočne Njemačke, a čine je ponajprije brojne ostave od rezanih srebrnih predmeta („hacksilver“) (sl. 4), koje su na tim područjima zakopane od druge polovice 10. do 12. stoljeća.²⁹

Tijekom 1960-ih godina, među poljskim i čehoslovačkim istraživačima, prevladavalo je mišljenje o povezanom kontinuiranom razvoju lokalnog nakita s nakitom Velike Moravske. Ovo stajalište bilo je, među ostalim, uvjetovano geografskom i vremenskom bliskošću dviju regionalnih skupina.³⁰ Zbog sličnosti određenih tipova nakita u objema skupinama, J. Sláma razmatrao je mogućnost da su „isti utjecaji (posebice bizantski i orijentalni) doprinijeli stvaranju obiju skupina“. Ipak, isticao je i važnost „preseljenja određenih proizvođača iz Moravske u

represented mainly by numerous hack-silver hoards (Fig. 4), which were deposited there from the second half of the 10th century to the 12th century.²⁹

Especially in the 1960s, there was a widespread opinion among Polish and Czechoslovak researchers about the developmental continuity of local jewellery with that of Great Moravia, which was due, among other things, to the geographical and chronological proximity of the two regional groups.³⁰ Given the mutual similarity of some types of jewellery in both groups, J. Sláma considered the possibility that “the same stimuli (i.e. mainly Byzantine and Oriental) contributed to the creation of both groups”. But he also attached importance to “the resettlement of some producers from Moravia to Poland after the fall of Great Moravian Empire”.³¹ In his study from 1965, B. Dostál collected and mapped selected types of jewellery from Great Moravian cemeteries and analogous or similar types in a wide geographical area stretching from Poland through Ukraine to the northern Balkans. He considered jewellery similar to that of Great Moravia, even though the pieces were found in regions considerably distant from today’s Moravia, either direct imports from Great Moravia, or local products made under Great Moravian influence. An important prerequisite for the aforementioned spread of jewellery was the territorial expansion of the Great Moravian Empire at the time of Duke Svatopluk, which at its maximum extent was supposed to include, among other things, large areas in today’s southern Poland and east of the Carpathian Arch (Volhynia). Dostál’s assumption that the Moravians controlled part of the basin of the River Vistula, Upper Silesia and Kraków during the 10th century also played a role, i.e. even in the period after the demise of the Great Moravian Empire. According to B. Dostál, the jewellery itself could have spread in various ways (trade, diplomatic gifts, spoils of war, marriages of members of the elite, etc.). He further assumed that artisans from the core of Great Moravia came to the newly annexed areas and es-

²⁷ Frolík 2014; Frolík, Smetánka 2014; Ottenwelter 2022.

²⁸ Smetánka 2003, str. 38–49.

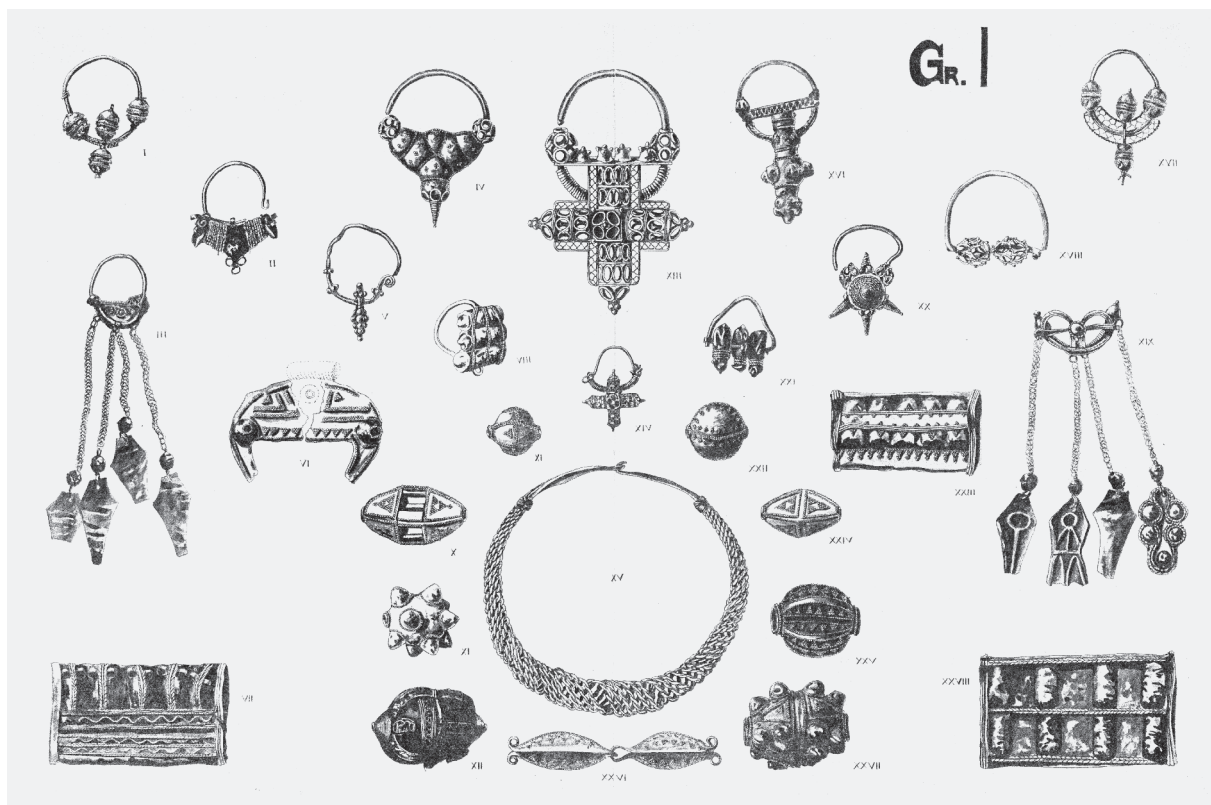
²⁹ Za detaljan pregled ove teme vidi Biermann *et al.* (Hrsg.) 2022. S druge strane, ostave s kompletnim nakitom rijetko se nalaze na spomenutim područjima, poput lokaliteta Zawade Lanckorońska (Zoll-Adamikowa *et al.* 1999; Poleski 2017, str. 85–87).

³⁰ Uz dolje spomenuto, vidi npr. Kostrzewski 1962. Za više detalja o povijesti istraživanja vidi Kieseler 2022; Ungerman 2022.

²⁹ For a representative overview of the issue, see Biermann *et al.* (Hrsg.) 2022. On the contrary, hoards containing complete jewellery are only rarely found in the mentioned regions, e.g. Zawada Lanckorońska (Zoll-Adamikowa *et al.* 1999; Poleski 2017, pp. 85–87).

³⁰ In addition to the below mentioned, see e.g. Kostrzewski 1962. For more detail on the history of research, see Kieseler 2022; Ungerman 2022.

³¹ Sláma 1963, p. 262.



Sl. 4. Glavni tipovi nakita u ostavama sa sitnim srebrnim predmetima na području današnje Poljske i istočne Njemačke (prema Jakimowicz 1933, pl. XIV)

Fig. 4 The main types of jewellery in the hack-silver hoards on the territory of today's Poland and eastern Germany. After Jakimowicz 1933, Pl. XIV.

Poljsku nakon propasti Velike Moravske³¹. B. Dostál u svom istraživanju iz 1965. godine prikupio je i mapirao odabrane tipove nakita pronađene na velikomoravskim grobljima kao i njihove analogne oblike na širem geografskom prostoru, od Poljske preko Ukrajine do sjevernog Balkana. Smatrao je da nakit sličan onom iz Velike Moravske, iako pronađen u regijama udaljenim od današnje Moravske, predstavlja ili direktne uvoze iz Velike Moravske ili lokalne proizvode nastale pod njezinim utjecajem. Za širenje nakita bio je važan teritorijalni opseg Velikomoravskog Carstva u vrijeme vladavine vojvode Svatopluka. U razdoblju najveće ekspanzije Carstvo je obuhvaćalo i velike dijelove današnje južne Poljske i regije istočno od Karpatskog luka (Volinija). Dostálova pretpostavka da su Moravci kontrolirali dijelove porječja rijeke Visle, Gornju Šlesku i Krakov tijekom 10. stoljeća također je bila ključna, čak i nakon propasti carstva. Dostál je smatrao da se nakit mogao širiti na različite načine (trgovinom, diplomatskim darovima, kao ratni plijen ili sklapa-

tablished local workshops there, which began to produce jewellery in the Great Moravian tradition.³²

Since the 1970s, there has been a certain shift in opinion in the sense that researchers stopped emphasizing the immediate Great Moravian influence on the creation of Polish jewellery.³³ H. Kóčka-Krenz, the author of the most detailed analysis of early medieval jewellery in Poland, then connected the beginnings of lavish jewellery in the hack-silver hoards with the emergence of the social elite of the then-forming Piast state. A key role in the creation of this new jewellery was to be played by Bohemian jewellers, who “kept alive” the Great Moravian jewellery tradition and further developed it. In this context, she also mentioned a specific historical event, when Doubravka from the Přemyslid dynasty came from Bohemia in 965 and married the Polish prince Mieszko I; along with her, “also a numerous court, where even goldsmiths could not have been lacking”, was to move to Poland.³⁴

³² Dostál 1965, esp. pp. 365–369, 376–400.

³³ E.g. Gąssowska 1979, pp. 168–169.

³⁴ Kóčka-Krenz 1993, pp. 151–157, quote on pp. 155–

³¹ Sláma 1963, str. 262.

njem brakova među pripadnicima elite). Također je pretpostavio da su obrtnici iz središta Velike Moravske migrirali u nova anektirana područja i tamo otvarali lokalne radionice koje su izrađivale nakit prema velikomoravskoj tradiciji.³²

Od 1970-ih godina došlo je do promjene mišljenja u smislu da su istraživači prestali isticati izravan velikomoravski utjecaj na razvoj poljskog nakita.³³ H. Kóčka-Krenz, autorica najopsežnije analize ranosrednjovjekovnog nakita u Poljskoj, povezuje pojavu raskošnog nakita u riznicama srebra s usponom društvene elite tadašnje države Pjasta. Bohemski zlatari imali su ključnu ulogu u izradi ovog novog nakita, s obzirom na to da su tradiciju velikomoravskog nakita „održali na životu“ i nastavili je razvijati. U tom kontekstu, spomenula je i važan povijesni događaj iz 965. godine, kada se Doubravka iz dinastije Přemyslovića iz Bohemije udala se za poljskog princa Mieška I., pri čemu je uz nju u Poljsku došao „i brojni dvor, gdje ni zlatara nije moglo nedostajati“.³⁴

2.4. Rezultati

Na temelju navedenih stavova o podrijetlu velikomoravskog, bohemijskog i poljskog nakita, može se uočiti način na koji su istraživači pristupali ovom pitanju. Prvi korak uključivao je datiranje početaka regionalnih skupina nakita i stvaranje barem okvirne slike o utjecajima koji su pridonijeli njihovu stvaranju. Često se pretpostavlja da je nastanak novih regionalnih skupina posljedica dolaska stranih majstora, čija su napredna znanja i tehnike izrade luksuznog nakita prenesena u određenu regiju gdje takve vještine ranije nisu postojale.³⁵ Međutim, većina istraživača nije bila potpuno zadovoljna tim

2.4. Result

Based on the above-mentioned opinions about the origin of Great Moravian, Bohemian, and Polish jewellery, we can observe how some researchers thought about this matter. First, they had to date the beginnings of the relevant regional group and get at least an approximate idea of where the impulses for its constitution came from. Very often there is an interpretation that the emergence of a new regional group was due to the arrival of a group of foreign craftsmen who mastered the technologically demanding production of luxury jewellery and brought it to the region in question, where the necessary technologies were not yet known.³⁵ However, most researchers were not satisfied with this; moreover, they sought to find a historical event to which the emergence of a regional group could be linked and which would provide a context for it. When the archaeological dating was revised, it was necessary to find another historical event that would fit the changed dating better. So when, for example, in Moravia, the creation of luxury jewellery was re-dated from the second half of the 9th century to early 9th century, researchers stopped connecting the arrival of foreign craftsmen with the ecclesiastical mission of Constantine and Methodius, but began to relate it to the disintegration of the Avar Khaganate. In the case of somewhat later regional groups in Bohemia and Poland, their origin was very often justified by a reference to the territorial expansion of Great Moravia or the departure of craftsmen from the core of the Great Moravian Empire after the disintegration and demise of this political entity, or to an even later historical event in the form of the marriage of Mieszko I to Doubravka.

³² Dostál 1965, posebno str. 365–369, 376–400.

³³ Npr. Gąssowska 1979, str. 168–169.

³⁴ Kóčka-Krenz 1993, str. 151–157, citat na str. 155–156; usp. Ungerman 2022, str. 212–215. O važnosti braka vidi npr. Sobiesiak 2015, str. 107–111.

³⁵ Ovo je potpuno opravdan zaključak, jer se bit potrebnih tehnologija ne može razumjeti samo promatranjem gotovog proizvoda. Proizvodni postupak moguće je savladati jedino uz nadzor iskusnog majstora koji prenosi svoje znanje i iskustvo na učenika (Košta, Barčáková 2023, str. 161–164). L. Galuška (1989, str. 447) sugerirao je da su domaći majstori mogli odlaziti u druge zemlje kako bi stekli potrebne vještine, nakon čega su se vraćali u svoju domovinu. Više o tehnologijama vidi u npr. Ungerman 2020a; Ottenwelter 2022, posebno str. 87–126. O mobilnosti majstora usp. Marano 2023.

156; cf. Ungerman 2022, pp. 212–215. On the importance of the marriage, see e.g. Sobiesiak 2015, pp. 107–111.

³⁵ This is a completely justified assumption, because the essence of the necessary technologies cannot be deduced by simply observing the finished product. The production procedure can only be mastered under the supervision of an experienced master, who will pass on all the necessary knowledge and experience to the adept (Košta, Barčáková 2023, pp. 161–164). L. Galuška (1989, p. 447) raised the possibility that domestic craftsmen could go to other countries to acquire the necessary know-how and then return home. More broadly on the technologies used, see e.g. Ungerman 2020a; Ottenwelter 2022, esp. pp. 87–126. On the mobility of craftsmen, c.f. Marano 2023.

objašnjenjem te su nastojali povezati pojavu regionalne skupine s određenim povijesnim događajem koji bi je bolje objasnio i smjestio u širi kontekst. U slučajevima revidiranog arheološkog datiranja tragali su za alternativnim povijesnim događajem koji bi bolje odgovarao novim kronološkim okvirima. Tako su, primjerice, u Moravskoj, kada je izrada luksuznog nakita predatirana s druge polovice 9. stoljeća na početak istog stoljeća, istraživači odustali od povezivanja dolaska stranih obrtnika s crkvenom misijom Ćirila i Metoda. Umjesto toga, počeli su ovu pojavu dovoditi u vezu s raspadom Avarskog Kaganata. U slučaju nešto mlađih regionalnih skupina, u Bohemiji i Poljskoj, nastanak nakita često se objašnjavao širenjem teritorija Velike Moravske, zatim odlaskom majstora iz središta Velikomoravskog Carstva nakon njegova raspada ili pak povezivanjem s kasnijim povijesnim događajem poput braka Mieška I. i Doubravke.

Ova metoda argumentacije bila je vrlo raširena u srednjoj Europi tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća. Istraživači su nastojali povezati brojna arheološka otkrića s poznatim povijesnim događajima, čime su im nastojali dati dublji smisao i, možda podsvjesno, povećati uvjerljivost svojih zaključaka. Takav pristup neizbježno otvara pitanje odnosa između arheologije i povijesti, teme koja je već obrađena u brojnim znanstvenim radovima.³⁶ Ranosrednjovjekovna arheologija uvijek je bila snažno povezana s poviješću, s obzirom na to da je razdoblje koje proučava, barem u osnovnim crtama, objašnjeno pisanim izvorima. U suradnji s povijesnim disciplinama, arheologija je težila rasvijetliti podrijetlo suvremenih naroda i drugih ključnih aspekata tog doba. Međutim, u posljednjim desetljećima arheologija je doživjela značajne promjene u metodologiji, a promijenilo se i razumijevanje materijalnih izvora i njihove informativne vrijednosti.³⁷ Iz tih i drugih razloga, raniji stavovi o nastanku regionalnih skupina luksuznog nakita danas više nisu prihvatljivi bez temeljite kritičke analize.

Prije svega, neki rezultati povijesnih istraživanja iz tog razdoblja danas mogu biti zastarjeli ili metodološki sporni. Drugi razlog bio je, iz današnje perspektive, pretjerano miješanje arheoloških

The mentioned method of argumentation was quite common in Central Europe in the second half of the 20th century. At that time, researchers tried to integrate a whole range of archaeologically discovered phenomena into the context of known historical events so that they “make sense”, perhaps they also (subconsciously?) tried to increase the credibility of their conclusions in this way. Here we inevitably come to the relationship between archaeology and history, which has already been analysed in many papers.³⁶ Early medieval archaeology in general always had a strong historical undertone, as the period of its interest is at least in its basic features illuminated by written sources; along with historical science, it tried to clarify the origins of today’s nations, etc. On the other hand, archaeology has undergone a significant change in its methodology in recent decades, and the understanding of material sources and their informative value has also changed.³⁷ Therefore, the above-mentioned earlier views on the emergence of regional groups of luxury jewellery cannot be accepted uncritically today, for a variety of reasons.

First of all, some results of historical research of the time may be outdated or methodologically questionable today. Secondly, in some earlier works, there was a – from today’s point of view, too much – mixing of archaeological and historical arguments,³⁸ so there was a danger of circular reasoning. This can be shown, for example, in the above-mentioned study by B. Dostál from 1965. The researcher based his work on the work of historian L. Havlík on the geographical extent of Great Moravian Empire, which at the time of its greatest expansion of power under Duke Svatopluk should have extended roughly from Upper Lusatia to southern Pannonia (Fig. 5).³⁹

³⁶ Třeštík 2001b; Profantová, Profant 2003; Klápště 2003; Hasil, Novák 2020; for the German milieu most recently, see e.g. von Rummel 2010; Burmeister, Müller-Scheessel 2011; Schreg 2013.

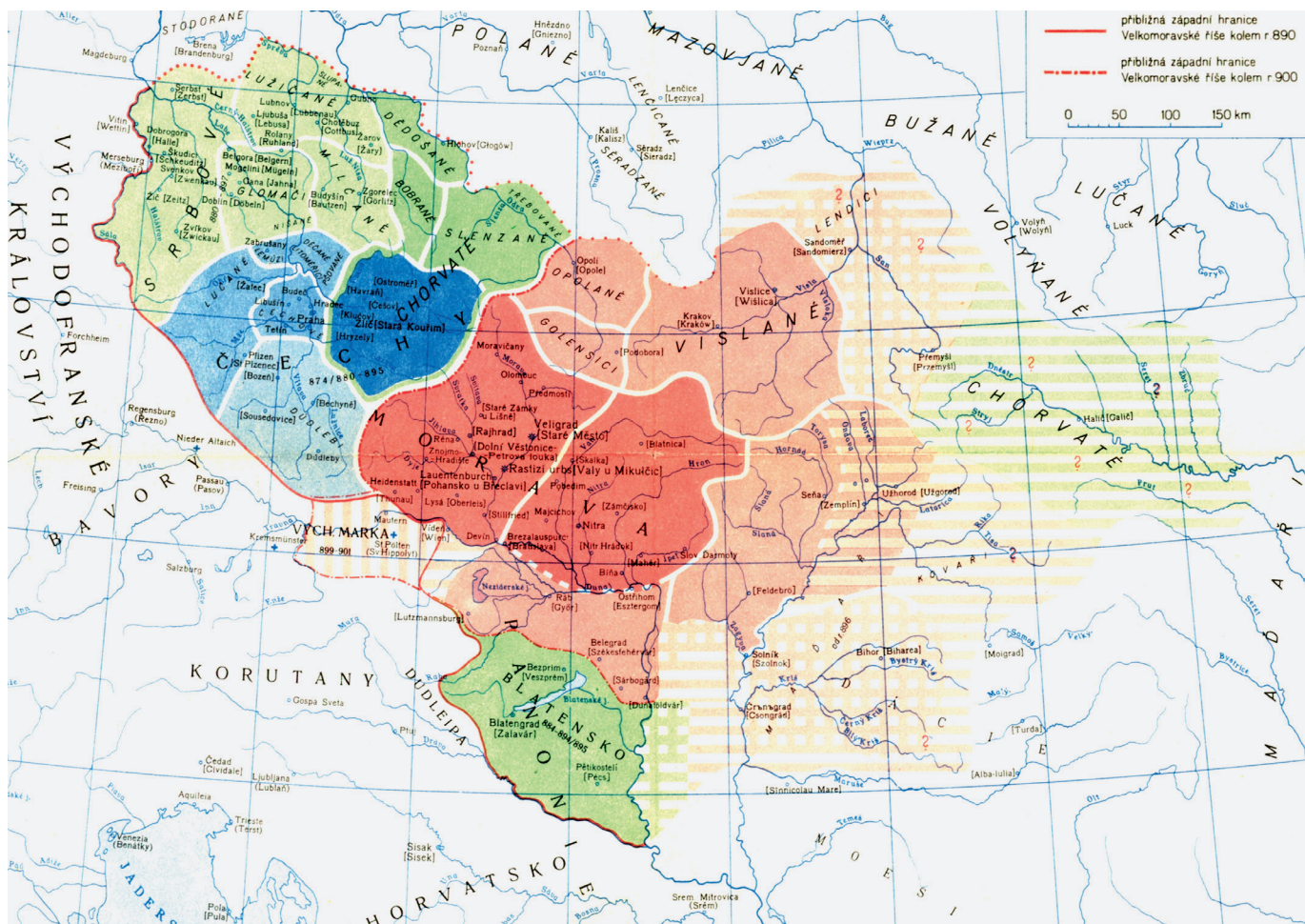
³⁷ E.g. Neustupný 2009.

³⁸ A certain role was likely played by the fact that archaeological methodology was far from being as sophisticated as it is today, and many archaeologists had a high-quality historical education, which is not so common nowadays. On a more general level, it is obvious that the view of the historical interpretation of archaeological phenomena will always be individual to a certain extent with researchers, and it is difficult to find any universally valid solution.

³⁹ Havlík 1960; 1964, maps in the appendix.

³⁶ Třeštík 2001b; Profantová, Profant 2003; Klápště 2003; Hasil, Novák 2020; za njemačko područje najnovije, vidi npr. von Rummel 2010; Burmeister, Müller-Scheessel 2011; Schreg 2013.

³⁷ Npr. Neustupný 2009.



Sl. 5. Najveći teritorijalni opseg Velikomoravskog Carstva (prijelaz iz 9. u 10. stoljeće) prema L. Havlíku (1964, nenumerirana karta u dodatku), izmijenjeno

Fig. 5 The maximum territorial extent of the Great Moravian Empire at the turn of the 10th century after L. Havlík (1964, unnumbered map in the appendix). Modified.

i povijesnih argumenata u ranijim radovima,³⁸ što je dovelo do opasnosti od kružnog zaključivanja. Primjer za to može se naći u već spomenutom radu B. Dostála iz 1965. godine. On je svoje istraživanje temeljio na radu povjesničara L. Havlíka o geografskom području Velikomoravskog Carstva, koje je u vrijeme najveće ekspanzije, pod vladavinom vojvode Svatopluka, obuhvaćalo približno područje od Gornje Lužice do južne Panonije (sl. 5).³⁹

L. Havlík zaključio je da je većina perifernih

For most of the peripheral territories, L. Havlík concluded that they belonged to the Great Moravian Empire only on the basis of very sporadic and considerably vague written references or mere indications.⁴⁰ That is why the mentioned “maximalist” scope of Great Moravia deserves a critical revision. Nevertheless, B. Dostál still considered the picture outlined by L. Havlík to be more or less a *fait accompli* and, moreover, reckoned that the control of some parts of today’s southern Poland by the Moravians lasted well into the 10th century (which, from today’s point of view, also does not appear to be very realistic). The leitmotif of Dostál’s study was that he interpreted all ornaments similar to luxurious Great Moravian jewellery that were found in the regions adjacent to the core of Great Moravia

³⁸ Jedan od čimbenika koji je na to vjerojatno utjecao jest činjenica da arheološka metodologija tada nije bila ni približno razvijena kao danas, a mnogi arheolozi imali su kvalitetno povijesno obrazovanje, što danas nije tako česta pojava. Na općenitijoj razini, jasno je da će povijeno tumačenje arheoloških fenomena uvijek biti u određenoj mjeri subjektivno, ovisno o istraživaču, te je teško pronaći neko rješenje koje bi bilo univerzalno prihvaćeno.

³⁹ Havlík 1960; Havlík 1964, karte u dodatku.

⁴⁰ On the Polish regions, see Havlík 1960, pp. 38–47; cf. Boroń, Foltyn 2011, pp. 11–12; Poleski 2017, pp. 50–51.

područja pripadala Velikomoravskom Carstvu oslanjajući se pritom isključivo na vrlo rijetke i prilično nejasne pisane izvore ili površne naznake.⁴⁰ Iz tog razloga, spomenuti „maksimalistički“ okvir Velike Moravske treba podvrgnuti kritičkoj reviziji. Unatoč tome, B. Dostál i dalje je smatrao da je slika koju je predstavio L. Havlík više-manje „fait accompli“ te da je, štoviše, Moravska kontrola nad dijelovima današnje južne Poljske trajala sve do 10. stoljeća, što se iz današnje perspektive čini malo vjerojatno. Lajtmotiv u Dostálovu istraživanju bilo je tumačenje cjelokupnog nakita sličnog luksuznom velikomoravskom nakitu, koji je pronađen u područjima blizu samog središta Velike Moravske (današnja Moravska i jugozapadni dio Slovačke), kao posljedice utjecaja velikomoravske vještine izrade nakita.⁴¹ To može stvoriti dojam da je početna teza o velikom teritorijalnom opsegu Velike Moravske točna i da arheološki dokazi podržavaju tu tezu, čime se zatvara kružni argument.

Treći važan čimbenik koji treba uzeti u obzir jest nedostatak pisanih izvora. Izvori vezani za Veliku Moravsku često su toliko sažeti i nejasni da su povjesničari na temelju tek jednog ili dvaju kratkih spomena razvijali dalekosežne teorije, koje su u svoje vrijeme bile široko prihvaćene, a ponekad su čak i utjecale na arheološka istraživanja. Međutim, kada se racionalno sagleda samo ono što je preostalo od tih spomena, postaje očito da su narativne mogućnosti tih izvora često bile znatno precijenjene. D. Třeštík to je jasno pokazao na primjeru vojvode Pribine i njegova protjerivanja iz Nitre.⁴² Kada je riječ o nastanku regionalnih skupina nakita, valja napomenuti da su događaji poput propasti Avarskog Kaganata privlačni za teoretiziranje uglavnom zbog toga što velik broj drugih značajnih povijesnih događaja nije zabilježen u pisanim izvorima. Tako mnogi drugi događaji na istočnom rubu Franačkog Carstva očito nisu bili poznati ili se nisu smatrali dovoljno važnima da bi ih franač-

(which was the territory of today's Moravia and southwestern Slovakia) as the result of the influence of Great Moravian jewellery craftsmanship.⁴¹ This, in turn, can easily give the reader the impression that the initial thesis about the huge territorial extent of Great Moravia is correct and that the archaeological evidence confirms this thesis (the circular reason thus comes full circle).

The third circumstance that needs to be considered is the gap in written sources. The sources dealing with Great Moravia are often so laconic and sketchy that historians have built far-reaching constructions based on one or two brief mentions, which were generally accepted at their time and sometimes even influenced archaeological research. When looking soberly at only those surviving mentions, however, it is clear that those constructions greatly overestimate the narrative ability of the relevant sources. D. Třeštík showed it vividly using the example of Duke Pribina and his expulsion from Nitra.⁴² In relation to the emergence of regional jewellery groups, it can be noted that events such as the demise of the Avar Khaganate are tempting for interpretation, primarily because many more similarly significant historical events are not recorded in written sources. Many other events on the eastern periphery of the Frankish Empire were apparently not learned of or deemed necessary to write down by Frankish chroniclers and annalists.⁴³ For celebratory and propaganda reasons, they wrote down reports about the campaigns of their ruler Charlemagne against the Avars, but we do not learn anything from them about whether, for example, the Moravians fought on the side of the Franks, or whether they later attacked the remnants of the Avars, whether they gained any booty in the process, etc.; we can at most imagine this. In the case of the demise of Great Moravia, the sources are even more patchy – from this time, Frankish chroniclers

⁴⁰ O poljskim područjima vidi Havlík 1960, str. 38–47; usp. Boroń, Foltyn 2011, str. 11–12; Poleski 2017, str. 50–51.

⁴¹ S druge strane, zanemario je pitanje o tome kako je točno nastao velikomoravski nakit i, što je još važnije, nije razmotrio mogućnost da sličan nakit u okolnim regijama ne mora nužno biti posljedica utjecaja, na primjer, Bizanta itd. (vidi u nastavku).

⁴² Třeštík 2001a, str. 112–135; Třeštík 2001b, str. 360; usp. nedavno Harvát 2022.

⁴¹ On the other hand, he left aside the question of how the Great Moravian jewellery was actually created and, above all, whether analogous jewellery in neighbouring regions is not the result of impulses from, for example, Byzantium, etc. (cf. below).

⁴² Třeštík 2001a, pp. 112–135; 2001b, p. 360; cf. recently Harvát 2022.

⁴³ Not to mention treatises such as *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, the author of which was very familiar with the history of the Middle Danube, but concealed all the facts that did not suit him (e.g. Wolfram 1994, pp. 12–15).

ki kroničari i analitičari zabilježili.⁴³ Oni tako, primjerice, iz političkih i propagandnih razloga bilježe pohode svog vladara Karla Velikog protiv Avara, ali ne donose informacije o tome jesu li Moravci sudjelovali u tim borbama s Francima, jesu li kasnije napali preostale Avere ili možda stekli plijen tijekom tih sukoba. Odgovore na ta pitanja možemo samo naslutiti. O slučaju propasti Velike Moravske izvori su još oskudniji. Franački kroničari samo su spomenuli bitku kod Brezalauspurca (današnja Bratislava) 907. godine,⁴⁴ no sudbina Velike Moravske tijekom ostatka 10. stoljeća ostaje u potpunosti nepoznata. Stoga su pretpostavke o bijegu dijela Moravaca (uključujući obrtnike) u susjedna područja samo spekulacije koje nije moguće ni potvrditi ni opovrgnuti. Ukratko, u ovakvim i sličnim slučajevima trebalo bi uvijek naglasiti da se udaljavamo od čisto arheološke argumentacije i ulazimo u nesigurno područje povijesti, gdje su izvori jednako fragmentarni kao i arheološki zapisi.

3. Trenutno stanje istraživanja

U sljedećem odlomku želimo pokazati da je napredak u istraživanjima posljednjih desetljeća omogućio nešto drukčiji pogled na pitanje nastanka regionalnih skupina nakita. Smatramo da su trenutna stajališta o njihovu datiranju i načinu izrade, osim ranije spomenutih činjenica, previše uvjetovana „doslovnim“ tumačenjem arheoloških zapisa, kao da oni izravno odražavaju stvarnu prošlost.

3.1. Velika Moravska

Kao što je već spomenuto u poglavlju 2.1. i za razliku od prethodnih istraživanja, suvremena istraživanja općenito prihvaćaju da se širok raspon oblika luksuznog nakita pojavljuje već u najranijim ženskim kosturnim grobovima na području središnje Velike Moravske. Najbolji primjeri dokumentirani su na groblju na lokalitetu Staré Město – Na valách (sl. 2).⁴⁵ S druge strane, datiranje početaka inhumacije na ovom i drugim lokalitetima ostalo je nepromijenjeno u odnosu na ranija istraživanja,

briefly recorded the battle of *Brezalauspurc* (apparently today's Bratislava) in 907,⁴⁴ but for the rest of the 10th century they are silent about the fate of Moravia, so considerations about the flight of some Moravians (including artisans) to neighbouring areas are just our speculation, which cannot be confirmed or refuted. In short, in these and similar cases, we should always actively emphasise that we are already abandoning purely archaeological argumentation and embarking on the uncertain ground of history, the sources of which are as fragmentary as the archaeological record.

3. The current state of the research

In the following passage, I would like to demonstrate that thanks to the progress in research in recent decades it is possible to look at the question of the emergence of regional jewellery groups in a somewhat different way. In my opinion, the current view of their dating and the method of creation was influenced – in addition to the facts just mentioned – also by a too “literal” interpretation of the archaeological record, in the sense that it was considered to be a direct reflection of the past reality.

3.1. Great Moravia

As I already indicated in Chap. 2.1, unlike earlier research, it is now generally accepted that a wide range of types of luxury jewellery can already be found in the earliest female inhumation graves in the core area of Great Moravia. It is best documented at the cemetery in Staré Město – Na valách (Fig. 2).⁴⁵ On the other hand, the dating of the beginnings of inhumation at this and other locations has not changed compared to the earlier research – it is still placed roughly at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, and attempts to move them farther into the past have not yet been more widely accepted.⁴⁶ However, it is necessary to explicitly point out that all archaeological dating – presented here as absolute dating for the sake of clarity – are by their nature only indicative and cannot be attributed the same accuracy as the dates in the works of historians.⁴⁷

In general, all our knowledge about Great Moravian luxury jewellery is conditioned exclu-

⁴³ Nema potrebe spominjati djela poput *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, čiji je autor bio dobro upoznat s poviješću srednjeg Podunavlja, ali je prešućivao sve činjenice koje mu nisu bile po volji (npr. Wolfram 1994, str. 12–15).

⁴⁴ Štefanovičová, Hulínek 2008; vidi također Szőke 2021, str. 295–301.

⁴⁵ Galuška 2013, str. 182–251; Chorvátová 2023.

⁴⁴ Štefanovičová, Hulínek (Eds.) 2008; cf. Szőke 2021, pp. 295–301.

⁴⁵ Galuška 2013, pp. 182–251; Chorvátová 2023.

⁴⁶ Ungerman 2023, pp. 73–87, with ref.

⁴⁷ Ungerman 2023, pp. 63–65, 191–194.

ono se i dalje smješta u vrijeme oko prijelaza iz 8. u 9. stoljeće, a pokušaji pomicanja tih početaka na ranije razdoblje još uvijek nisu naišli na široko prihvaćanje.⁴⁶ Međutim, potrebno je jasno istaknuti da su sva arheološka datiranja, ovdje prikazana kao apsolutna radi lakšeg razumijevanja, samo indikativna i ne mogu imati istu preciznost kao datumi u povijesnim istraživanjima.⁴⁷

Općenito govoreći, sve naše spoznaje o luksuznom nakitu Velike Moravske uvjetovane su isključivo praksom pokapanja nespaljenih tijela s grobnim priložima, jer se takav nakit ne pojavljuje u drugim arheološkim kontekstima (ostave, stambeni objekti i slojevi itd.). Drugim riječima, da su stanovnici Moravske u 9. i 10. stoljeću prakticirali neki drugi pogrebni obred, koji bi bio manje povoljan za očuvanje krhkog nakita, danas ne bismo imali nikakav dokaz o njegovu postojanju. Ta potpuna ovisnost očuvanja luksuznog nakita o inhumaciji povezanoj s polaganjem grobnih priloga – ovdje dolazimo do ključnog dijela argumentacije – u ranijim istraživanjima nije bila dovoljno uzeta u obzir. Bez dublje analize pretpostavljalo se da je ovaj nakit nastao upravo u razdoblju kada se pojavio u arheološkim izvorima. Međutim, smatramo kako je malo vjerojatno da postoji izravna uzročno-posljedična veza između ovih dvaju fenomena, jer je svaki bio povezan s različitim aspektom života, konkretno, s promjenom većine pogrebnih običaja ili postojanjem društvene elite te s načinom na koji se ta elita prikazivala. Pripadnice moravske elite mogle su nositi isti ili sličan luksuzni nakit i prije nego što je inhumacija postala uobičajena.⁴⁸

U 8. stoljeću, u Moravskoj i Bohemiji, prakticirao se obred kremacije, zbog čega luksuzni nakit nije moguće dokumentirati u pogrebnim kontekstima. Sačuvano je tek nekoliko kremacijskih grobova iz tog razdoblja, a oni, osim toga, ne sadrže vrijedne predmete. Ženski ukrasi poznati su uglavnom iz naseljeničkih slojeva ili kao pojedinačni nalazi, pri čemu su sačuvani uglavnom masivniji lijevani komadi. Radi se prvenstveno o brončanim zvjezdolikim naušnicama (sl. 6: 1–5) i naušnicama s lijevanim piramidalnim privjeskom koji je vjerojatno bio ukrašen staklenim ili nekim drugim umetkom (sl. 6: 6–7). Takvi ukrasi korišteni su i u drugim dijelovima srednje i jugoistočne Europe, a geografski naj-

sively by the burial of unburnt bodies with grave goods, as such jewellery does not appear in other find contexts (hoards, settlement objects and layers, etc.). In other words, if the inhabitants of Moravia had practiced a different burial rite in the 9th and 10th centuries, which would have been less favourable to the preservation of fragile ornaments, we would have no idea of their existence today. This total dependence of the preservation of the luxury jewellery on the inhumation associated with the burial of grave goods – and here I am already getting to the heart of my argument – was not sufficiently taken into account by previous research: without deeper reflection, it was assumed that this jewellery was created at the very time when it appeared in the archaeological record. In my opinion, however, it is unlikely that there is any deeper causal connection between the two phenomena, as each was connected with a different aspect of life: specifically, with the change in the majority funeral rite, or with the existence of a social elite and its external representation. Members of the Moravian elite could wear the same or similar luxurious jewellery even before the introduction of inhumation.⁴⁸

In the 8th century, the cremation rite was practiced in Moravia and Bohemia, as a result of which it is not possible to document lavish jewellery in funerary contexts, as only a few cremation graves from this period have been preserved, and moreover, they do not contain any valuable objects. Women's ornaments are thus only known from settlement layers or as isolated finds, while mainly more massive cast pieces have been preserved. They are primarily bronze star-shaped earrings (Fig. 6: 1–5) and earrings with a cast pyramidal pendant, originally most likely equipped with a glass or other inlay (Fig. 6: 6, 7). They are types of ornaments that were also used in other regions of Central and South-Eastern Europe, the geographically closest analogues are found in the Carpathian Basin.⁴⁹ The inhabitants of the Czech lands at the time, who wanted to purchase such ornaments, certainly did not rely exclusively on imports. Craftsmen who had mastered the necessary technologies were already active here and produced other items for the needs of the social elite, especially cast belt fittings of the late Avar style.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ungerman 2020b, pp. 275–277, 281–285.

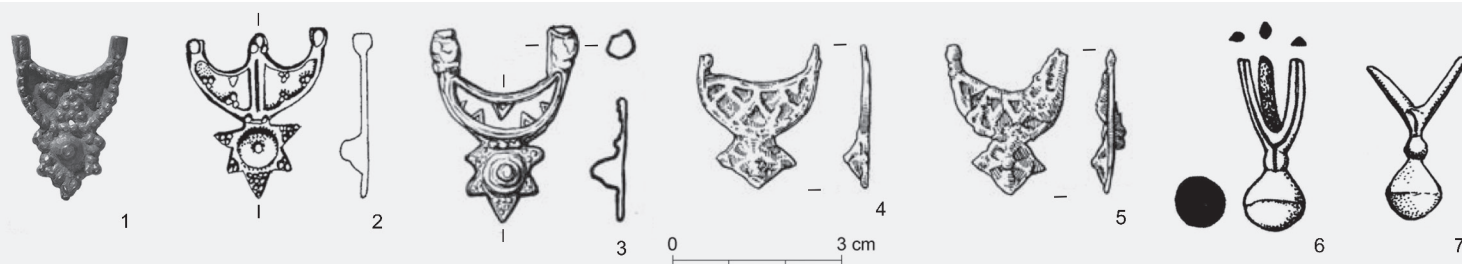
⁴⁹ E.g. Ungerman 2023, p. 56, Fig. 37, with the references.

⁵⁰ Recently Profantová *et al.* 2020, esp. pp. 242–251;

⁴⁶ Ungerman 2023, str. 73–87, s referencama.

⁴⁷ Ungerman 2023, str. 63–65, 191–194.

⁴⁸ Ungerman 2020b, str. 275–277, 281–285.



Sl. 6. Primjeri lijevanih brončanih naušnica koje su se nosile u Bohemiji i Moravskoj prije uvođenja prakse kosturnog ukopa. Zvezdolikie naušnice: 1 – Břeclav – Lány (prema Macháček *et al.* 2021, sl. 9: 11; 30); 2 – Tismice (prema Profantová, Stolz 2006, sl. 3: 9); 3 – Kouřim – Sv. Jiří (prema Profantová 2010, sl. 13: 8); 4 i 5 – Mikulčice (prema Profantová 2010, sl. 23: 1–2). Naušnice s privjeskom u obliku piramide: 6 – Jevíčko; 7 – Semčice (prema Vích *et al.* 2021, sl. 16: 1–2).

Fig. 6 Examples of cast bronze earrings worn in Bohemia and Moravia before the introduction of inhumation. Star-shaped earrings: 1 – Břeclav – Lány (after Macháček *et al.* 2021, Abb. 9: 11; 30); 2 – Tismice (after Profantová, Stolz 2006, Fig. 3: 9); 3 – Kouřim – Sv. Jiří (after Profantová 2010, Abb. 13: 8); 4, 5 – Mikulčice (after Profantová 2010, Abb. 23: 1, 2). Earrings with a pyramid-shaped pendant: 6 – Jevíčko; 7 – Semčice (after Vích *et al.* 2021, Fig. 16: 1, 2).

bliže analogije mogu se naći u Panonskoj nizini.⁴⁹ Tadašnji stanovnici čeških zemalja, koji su željeli takve ukrase, sigurno se nisu oslanjali isključivo na uvoz. Obrtnici koji su vladali potrebnim vještinama već su bili prisutni u društvu i proizvodili druge predmete za društvenu elitu, posebice lijevane pojasne okove kasnoavarskog stila.⁵⁰

Iz svega navedenog proizlazi da nije opravdano tvrditi da luksuzni nakit u Moravskoj potječe s prijelaza iz 8. u 9. stoljeće, jer je to razdoblje kada se on tek počinje stavljati u inhumacijske grobove. Zbog toga nije nužno, kao u prethodnim istraživanjima, povezivati početke proizvodnje ovog nakita s dolaskom obrtnika iz nekadašnjeg Avarskog Kaganata. Sasvim je moguće da su kvalificirani obrtnici tijekom ranog srednjeg vijeka dolazili u Moravsku, možda čak i u više navrata. Međutim, nije moguće sa sigurnošću utvrditi iz kojih su točno regija potjecali ni kojoj su etničkoj skupini pripadali. U svakom slučaju, rad obrtnika, kako domaćih tako stranih, ovisio je o potražnji lokalnih kupaca za njihovim uslugama, koja je bila više-manje stalna. Stoga nije potrebno „pozitivistički“ povezivati mogući dolazak stranih majstora s nekim značajnim povijesnim događajem. Uostalom, u 8. stoljeću nisu poznati značajni događaji koji bi mogli poslužiti kao referentna točka, s obzirom na to da nema

From what has been said, it follows that it is not justified to place the origin of luxury jewellery in Moravia at the turn of the 9th century, at this time people just started putting it in inhumation graves. Therefore, it is not necessary to relate the beginnings of the production of this jewellery directly to the arrival of craftsmen from the former Avar Khaganate, as earlier research did. Of course, qualified craftsmen could come to Moravia during the Early Middle Ages, and even repeatedly, but it is impossible to determine with certainty from which region, or what their ethnicity would have been. In any case, the activities of craftsmen – domestic and foreign – depended on the demand for their work from local customers, which was more or less permanent. Therefore, there is no need to “positivistically” connect the possible arrival of foreign masters with this or that significant historical event. After all, for the 8th century, there are no major events “to choose from”, because no written sources have survived about the events in the Avar Khaganate and among the *gentes* in its sphere of influence before the outbreak of the Frankish-Avar wars.⁵¹

The majority opinion that the lavish Great Moravian jewellery is primarily a product of local development (albeit with the contribution of foreign craftsmen), which has prevailed in the last

⁴⁹ Npr. Ungerman 2023, str. 56, sl. 37, s referencama.

⁵⁰ Nedavno Profantová *et al.* 2020, osobito str. 242–251; Macháček *et al.* 2021, str. 406–411; više o tome vidi u Ungerman 2023, str. 261–265.

Macháček *et al.* 2021, pp. 406–411; more broadly, see Ungerman 2023, pp. 261–265.

⁵¹ Pohl 2018, p. 344. The Moravians are first mentioned only in 822 (e.g. Třeštík 2001a, pp. 101–103).

sačuvanih pisanih izvora o zbivanjima u Avarskom Kaganatu i među narodima (*gentes*) pod njegovim utjecajem prije početka franačko-avarskih ratova.⁵¹

Kritičku reviziju zaslužuje i prevladavajuće mišljenje iz posljednjih desetljeća da je raskošni velikomoravski nakit prvenstveno proizvod lokalnog razvoja (premda uz doprinos stranih obrtnika). Ovo mišljenje uglavnom se temelji na tvrdnji da ne postoje preciznije analogije za pojedine tipove velikomoravskog nakita na području Bizantskog Carstva i susjednih regija pod njegovim kulturnim utjecajem. Trenutno takva argumentacija, koja se oslanja na odsutnost analogija, više nije održiva, ni metodološki ni materijalno. Prvo, ako su se osobito u središtu Bizantskog Carstva u 8. i 9. stoljeću nakit i ostali grobni prilozi polagali u grobove u vrlo malim količinama, to znatno otežava mogućnost da saznamo kako je taj nakit zapravo izgledao. Drugo, očito je da je nedostatak analogija u određenoj mjeri bio uzrokovan i stanjem istraživanja ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja, koja su u mnogim balkanskim državama započela tek tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća i koja su još uvijek zapostavljena u zemljama poput Grčke i Turske. Danas je dostupno puno više materijala za usporedbu iz jugoistočne Europe nego što je to bio slučaj 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina, kada je taj materijal bio na raspolaganju većini čehoslovačkih istraživača koji su se bavili ovom tematikom. Međutim, i ovaj materijal značajno je pod utjecajem ritualnih i kronoloških faktora (poput velikomoravskih groblja), s obzirom na to da inhumacijski grobovi s grobnim priložima u nekoliko balkanskih država datiraju iz 10. stoljeća i kasnije, dok se raniji nalazi ove vrste pojavljuju samo rijetko ili ih uopće nema. Osim toga, trenutna kronologija nekih lokaliteta ili cijelih područja prilično je neodređena i potrebno ju je detaljnije utvrditi.⁵²

Jedan od problematičnih aspekata ranije rasprave o podrijetlu velikomoravskog nakita bio je taj što se ona vodila na vrlo općenitoj razini. Kako bi se izbjegli generalizirani i pojednostavljeni zaključci, važno je razmotriti pojedine vrste nakita zasebno, jer je proces njihove izrade mogao biti potpuno različit. Smatramo da je potrebno analizirati jasno definirane vrste nakita, po mogućnosti na što većem teritoriju i bez unaprijed određenog kronološkog

few decades, also deserves a critical revision. It is largely based on the claim that there are no more precise analogies for the individual types of Great Moravian jewellery in the territory of the Byzantine Empire and its culturally influenced neighbouring regions. Currently, the argumentation based on the absence of analogies is no longer tenable, either methodologically or materially. First, if especially in the centre of the Byzantine Empire in the 8th and 9th centuries, jewellery and other burial goods were placed in graves only sporadically, this greatly complicates the possibilities of our knowledge of what the jewellery there actually looked like. Second, it is obvious that the absence was to a certain extent also caused by the state of research on early medieval cemeteries, which was just beginning to take off in many Balkan countries during the second half of the 20th century, and is neglected even today in Greece or Turkey. Currently, we have substantially more material to compare from South-Eastern Europe than was available in the 1960s and 1970s, and which most Czechoslovak researchers who dealt with the topic at that time could work with. However, even this material is significantly influenced by ritual and chronological factors (just like the Great Moravian cemeteries), since inhumation burials with grave goods in several Balkan countries date from the 10th century onwards, while earlier finds of this type appear only sporadically or are completely absent. Furthermore, the existing chronology of some localities or entire regions is rather vague and needs to be made more precise.⁵²

A problematic point of the earlier discussion about the origin of Great Moravian jewellery was also that it was conducted on a very general level. To avoid blanket and short-cut conclusions, it is necessary to examine individual types of jewellery separately, because the way they were created could have been fundamentally different. I consider it necessary to analyse clearly defined types, if possible on the largest possible territory and without a predetermined chronological limitation. At the current state of research, it appears that the types of jewellery represented in Great Moravian burial grounds often differ significantly from each other in terms of their geographical and chronological occurrence. One pole is types with significantly supra-regional occurrence and with a distinctly longer period

⁵¹ Pohl 2018, str. 344. Moravci se prvi put spominju tek 822. godine (npr. Třeštík 2001a, str. 101–103).

⁵² Za više detalja vidi: Ungerman 2017, str. 27–29; Ungerman 2021, str. 96–116, 145–147.

⁵² In more detail, see Ungerman 2017, pp. 27–29; 2021, pp. 96–116, 145–147.

ograničenja. S obzirom na trenutno stanje istraživanja, čini se da se vrste nakita koje su prisutne na velikomoravskim grobljima često znatno razlikuju prema geografskoj rasprostranjenosti i vremenskom okviru pojavljivanja. S jedne strane postoje vrste sa značajnom nadregionalnom prisutnošću i s duljim razdobljem trajanja od samog postojanja Velike Moravske (za takve vrste vjerojatno je odgovoran strani, prvenstveno bizantski, utjecaj).⁵³ S druge strane, ako se određena vrsta nakita nalazi isključivo na području središta Velike Moravske i to uglavnom u razdoblju njezina postojanja, treba ozbiljno razmotriti mogućnost da je riječ o inovaciji lokalnog porijekla.

3.2. Bohemija

Na Bohemiju se može primijeniti vrlo sličan pristup kao i u slučaju Moravske, jer je i ovdje najraniji poznati luksuzni nakit sačuvan samo zahvaljujući činjenici da su neke zajednice u središnjim dijelovima zemlje prestale s kremacijom i počele pokapati pokojnike. Najraniji inhumacijski grobovi s grobnim priložima u vidu zlatnog i srebrnog nakita uključuju, na primjer, bogati dvojni grob u Kolínu te najstariju skupinu grobova u Staroj Kouřim.⁵⁴ No, pitanje je kako apsolutno datirati te grobove. Prema J. Košti, oni pripadaju vremenu od prve do treće četvrtine 9. stoljeća.⁵⁵ Smatramo da je pokapanje u Bohemiji započelo s određenim kašnjenjem u usporedbi s Moravskom. S obzirom na to da u Bohemiji gotovo nema nakita karakterističnog za tzv. raniji velikomoravski horizont (oko prve polovice 9. stoljeća),⁵⁶ dolazi se do zaključka da pokapanje na tom prostoru započinje otprilike sredinom 9. stoljeća. Točno datiranje, međutim, nije od ključne važnosti u kontekstu ove rasprave. Ono što je važnije jest da je razvoj nakita koji nalazimo

of occurrence than the duration of Great Moravia – foreign, primarily Byzantine, inspiration is likely for such.⁵³ Conversely, if a certain type occurs only in the territory of the heart of Great Moravia and roughly only during its existence, it is necessary to seriously consider the possibility that it is an innovation of local origin.

3.2. Bohemia

A very similar perspective can be applied to Bohemia as was in the case of Moravia, because even here the earliest known luxury jewellery was preserved only thanks to the fact that some communities in the central parts of the country abandoned cremation and started burying by inhumation. The earliest inhumation graves with grave goods in the form of gold and silver jewellery include, for example, a rich double grave in Kolín or the earliest group of graves in Stará Kouřim.⁵⁴ The question is how to date these graves absolutely. According to J. Košta, they belong to the 1st to 3rd quarter of the 9th century.⁵⁵ I personally believe that the inhumation took place here – as compared to Moravia – with a certain delay. As the types of ornaments that are characteristic of the so-called earlier Great Moravian horizon (approx. 1st half of the 9th century)⁵⁶ are more or less absent in Bohemia, it could be concluded that the beginnings of inhumation in Bohemia date back to around the middle of the 9th century. Exact dating, however, is not so important in the context of the discussed issue. What is more important is that the development of jewellery that we find in Bohemian cemeteries took place in close connection with Moravia⁵⁷ and apparently dates to

⁵³ Primjeri uključuju naušnice s četirima jagodama ili košaricama (Ungerman 2021; Ungerman, u tisku) i prstenje s hemisferičnim gumbom ukrašenim granulacijom (Ungerman 2017, str. 58–63; Ungerman 2020c). Istraživači su danas prilično skeptični prema značajnijem utjecaju „orijentalnog“, pretežno islamskog nakita. Međutim, takav stav ponajviše je rezultat nedostatka adekvatnih izvora, jer raspolažemo s vrlo malo pouzdanih informacija o islamskom nakitu koji je datiran u 10. stoljeće ili ranije (Ungerman 2020b, str. 275–276; Ottenwelter 2022, str. 373–375; oba s referencama).

⁵⁴ Košta, Lutovský 2014; Šolle 1966, str. 69–87.

⁵⁵ Košta, Barčáková 2023, str. 203–204.

⁵⁶ Usp. Ungerman 2005; Galuška 2013, str. 223–241, sl. 215.

⁵³ Examples can be earrings with four beads or baskets (Ungerman 2021; Ungerman, in press) and finger rings with a hemispherical button decorated with granulation (Ungerman 2017, 58–63; 2020c). Today, research is rather sceptical about the more significant influence of “oriental”, i.e., mainly Islamic jewellery. However, it is greatly influenced by the unfavourable state of the source base, as we know very little about Islamic jewellery reliably dated to the 10th century or even earlier (Ungerman 2020b, pp. 275–276; Ottenwelter 2022, pp. 373–375; both with the references).

⁵⁴ Košta, Lutovský 2014; Šolle 1966, pp. 69–87.

⁵⁵ Košta, Barčáková 2023, pp. 203–204.

⁵⁶ Cf. Ungerman 2005; Galuška 2013, pp. 223–241, Fig. 215.

⁵⁷ However, it is not easy to distinguish whether a particular product is an import from Moravia or whether it originated in Bohemia following Moravian models.

na češkim grobljima bio blisko povezan s Moravskom⁵⁷ i da očito pripada razdoblju kada se u Bohemiji još uvijek prakticirala kremacija pokojnika. Čak se i usvajanje nakita „velikomoravskog stila“ u Bohemiji ne može izravno povezati ni s jednim od događaja spomenutih u pisanim izvorima. Bio je to dio dugotrajnog procesa u kojem je bohemij-ska elita prvo usvojila simbole visokog društvenog statusa karakteristične za Avarski Kaganat,⁵⁸ a nakon njegova propadanja, one iz Franačkog Carstva i Velike Moravske. Međutim, u posljednjem slučaju nije se radilo samo o pasivnom preuzimanju tradicije izrade velikomoravskog nakita, već i o njezinu aktivnom razvoju.⁵⁹

3.3. Poljska

Arheološki izvori za proučavanje luksuznog nakita u Poljskoj znatno se razlikuju od onih na području bivše Čehoslovačke. Najveći broj nalaza čine fragmenti srebrnog nakita pronađeni u ostavama sitnih srebrnih predmeta, dok su se ostave s većim brojem nakita počele polagati u zemlju od sredine 10. stoljeća nadalje.⁶⁰ Raskošniji ukrasi polagani su u kosturne grobove kao grobni prilozi tek sporadično, a običaj ukopa pokojnika zamijenio je kremaciju tek krajem 10. stoljeća.⁶¹ Budući da je sačuvan vrlo mali broj primjeraka iz tog dugog razdoblja, slika o nakitu u Poljskoj od 7. do prve polovice 10. stoljeća fragmentirana je i nepotpuna, što može stvoriti dojam da je društvena elita bila slabo razvijena i da se luksuzni nakit nosio rijetko ili se čak uopće nije koristio. Međutim, s obzirom na nedostatak inhumacijskih grobova i ostava s ukrasima i nakitom, iz kojih općenito saznajemo o pojavi nakita, nije moguće procijeniti stvarnu razinu upotrebe luksuznog nakita. Rijetki sačuvani primjerci takvog luksuznog nakita stoga dobivaju još veću

the period when burials were still carried out by cremation in Bohemia. Even the adoption of the jewellery of the “Great Moravian style” in Bohemia cannot be directly linked to any of the events documented by written sources. It was part of a long-term process, when the elite in Bohemia first adopted the symbols of high social status common in the Avar Khaganate,⁵⁸ and after its demise again from the Frankish Empire and Great Moravia. In the last case, however, it was not just a passive reception of the Great Moravian jewellery-making tradition, but also an active development of it.⁵⁹

3.3. Poland

The archaeological record for the research of luxury jewelry in Poland is significantly different than in the territory of the former Czechoslovakia. Most of the specimens are fragments of silver ornaments that come from hack-silver hoards, while hoards with a larger representation of jewellery were deposited in the ground sometime from the middle of the 10th century onwards.⁶⁰ More lavishly designed decorations were deposited as grave goods in the inhumation graves rather sporadically, while the change of funeral rite from cremation to inhumation only occurred from the end of the 10th century.⁶¹ We have only a vague idea of the jewellery in Poland for the period from the 7th century to the first half of the 10th century, as only a very limited number of specimens are preserved from this long period. This could lead to the impression that there was only a weakly developed social elite and that more ornate jewellery was worn little or not at all. However, it is impossible to estimate the real level of use of luxury jewellery, because the absence of inhumation graves and hoards containing ornaments are a direct “killer combination” for learning about the appearance of luxury jewellery.

⁵⁷ Međutim, nije jednostavno utvrditi je li određeni predmet uvezen iz Moravske ili je nastao u Bohemiji prema moravskim uzorcima. Također je jasno da su u Bohemiji postojale radionice koje su proizvodile predmete specifičnog karaktera, poput grozdolikih naušnica tipa Jízdárna ili duguljastih jagoda od limenog metala (Košta, Barčáková 2023, str. 204–209; usp. Ungerman 2023, str. 194–197; Poláček *et al.* 2024, 90).

⁵⁸ Nedavno npr. Profantová 2021; Profantová 2022.

⁵⁹ Ottenwelter 2022; Košta, Barčáková 2023, str. 76–88, 130–132, 209–216.

⁶⁰ O evoluciji sastava ostava sa sitnim srebrnim predmetima vidi npr. Bogucki 2011.

⁶¹ Suchodolski 2023; Urbańczyk 2023.

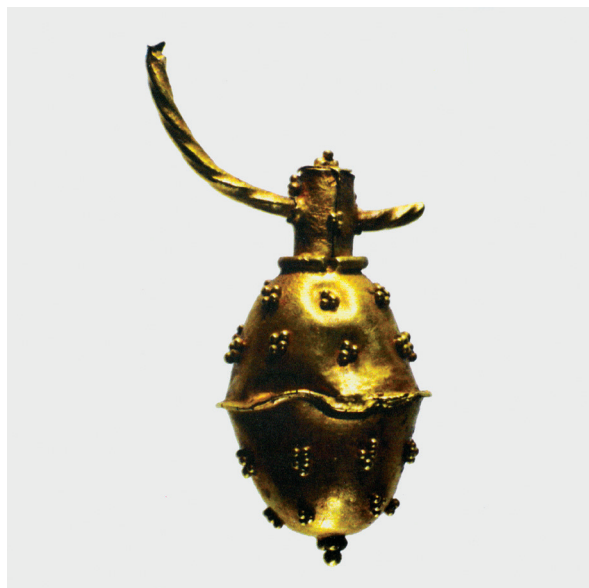
It is also obvious that there were workshops in Bohemia whose production had a somewhat specific character, examples being the grape-shaped earrings of the Jízdárna type or longitudinally segmented beads made of sheet metal (Košta, Barčáková 2023, pp. 204–209; cf. Ungerman 2023, pp. 194–197; Poláček *et al.* 2024, 90).

⁵⁸ Recently e.g. Profantová 2021; 2022.

⁵⁹ Ottenwelter 2022; Košta, Barčáková 2023, pp. 76–88, 130–132, 209–216.

⁶⁰ For the evolution of the composition of hack-silver hoards, see e.g. Bogucki 2011.

⁶¹ Suchodolski 2023; Urbańczyk 2023.



Sl. 7. Djelomično sačuvana zlatna naušnica s jednom jagodom iz humka na lokalitetu Izbicko, Poljska (prema Wachowski 1997, str. 113, tab. I). Visina sačuvanog dijela naušnice iznosi 1,6 cm.

Fig. 7 Incomplete gold earring with a bead from the barrow in Izbicko, Poland. After Wachowski 1997, 113, Tab. I. The height of the preserved part of the earring is 1.6 cm.

vrijednost. Kao primjer iz razdoblja 7. i 8. stoljeća može se spomenuti zlatna naušnica s jednom granuliranom jagodom pronađena u tumulu na lokalitetu Izbicko u južnoj Poljskoj. Naušnica je djelomično sačuvana i nagorena (sl. 7), pa se pretpostavlja da je bila izložena pogrebnoj vatri, no iz nekog razloga nije potpuno uništena.⁶²

Istraživači su i klasificirali samo mali broj primjeraka nakita, a među njima i neke ukrase od obojenih metala, koji su u 9. i prvoj polovici 10. stoljeća bili namijenjeni širokim društvenim slojevima u južnoj Poljskoj.⁶³ Nakit od plemenitih metala ukrašen granulacijom i filigranom i danas se smatra „en bloc“ uvozom iz Velike Moravske ili dokazom velikomoravskog utjecaja na lokalnu proizvodnju nakita.⁶⁴ Ipak, važno je napomenuti da su poljski istraživači većinom, ili čak isključivo, tražili ana-

The unique pieces that have been preserved in the archaeological record are all the more valuable. For the period of the 7th-8th centuries, it is possible to cite as an example a gold earring with one granulated bead found in a barrow at the site of Izbicko in southern Poland, which is incomplete and the preserved part is slightly damaged by heat (Fig. 7), so it most likely escaped complete destruction in the heat of the funeral pyre by chance.⁶²

Furthermore, researchers have classified only a small collection of jewellery, some of which are ornaments made of non-ferrous metals, which were intended for broad sections of the population, in the 9th century and the 1st half of the 10th century in southern Poland.⁶³ Jewellery made of precious metals and decorated with granulation and filigree are still considered *en bloc* as imports from Great Moravia or as evidence of Great Moravian influence on local jewellery production.⁶⁴ However, it cannot be overlooked that the Polish researchers were looking for analogies mainly or exclusively in the territory of the former Czechoslovakia, so they could not actually come to a different conclusion. In my opinion, at least in some cases, a larger geographical area should be considered. As an example, we can mention three earrings made of silvered bronze from the Lubomia hillfort, which are characterised by a shorter or a longer one-sided grape pendant and an undecorated bead (Fig. 8).⁶⁵ The combination of both mentioned construction elements and the overall shape of the pendant are atypical for the Great Moravian luxury jewellery, as well as the technology of silvering the bronze; I am not aware of any adequate analogy for the specimens from Lubomia from the territory of the heart of Great Moravia, so their origin will have to be sought elsewhere.

In this context, I would also like to draw attention to one methodological problem. When we attribute a Great Moravian origin to a particular piece

⁶² Pazda 1973, str. 228–229; Pazda 1983, str. 114, 148–149; Wachowski 1997, str. 19, 113, tab. I.

⁶³ Npr. Jaworski 2005, str. 273, sl. 147: b, d, e; Poleski 2013, str. 131, sl. 100: 4.

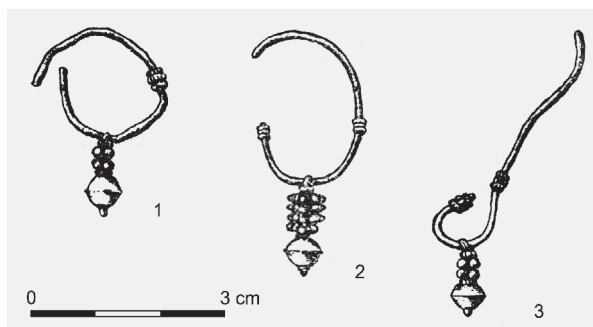
⁶⁴ Wachowski 1994; Wachowski 1997, str. 44–60; Boroń, Foltyn 2011, str. 15; Poleski 2013, str. 131, sl. 100: 2–3, 5. Za najnovija istraživanja o velikomoravskim i bohemijским utjecajima na Poljsku vidi Bogucki 2016, str. 229–234; Matla 2020; Pankiewicz 2022.

⁶² Pazda 1973, pp. 228–229; 1983, pp. 114, 148–149; Wachowski 1997, pp. 19, 113, Tab. I.

⁶³ E.g. Jaworski 2005, p. 273, Fig. 147: b, d, e; Poleski 2013, p. 131, Fig. 100: 4.

⁶⁴ Wachowski 1994; 1997, pp. 44–60; Boroń, Foltyn 2011, p. 15; Poleski 2013, p. 131, Fig. 100: 2, 3, 5. For the current state of research on Great Moravian and Bohemian influences on Poland, see Bogucki 2016, pp. 229–234; Matla 2020; Pankiewicz 2022.

⁶⁵ Szydlowski 1974, p. 211, Fig. 5: a–c; Boroń, Foltyn 2011, p. 20.



Sl. 8. Posrebrene brončane naušnice s gradine Lubomije, Poljska (prema Szydlowski 1974, sl. 5: a–c, izmijenjeno)

Fig. 8 Silvered bronze earrings from the hillfort at Lubomia, Poland. After Szydlowski 1974, fig. 5: a–c. Modified.

logije na području bivše Čehoslovačke, zbog čega nisu mogli doći do drukčijih zaključaka. Smatramo da bi, barem u nekim slučajevima, trebalo razmotriti šire geografsko područje. Kao primjer možemo navesti tri naušnice od posrebrene bronce s kraćim ili dužim jednostranim grozdolikim privjeskom i neukrašenom jagodom s gradine Lubomije (sl. 8).⁶⁵ Kombinacija obaju navedenih konstruktivnih elemenata, oblik privjeska kao i tehnologija posrebrivanja bronce netipični su za luksuzni velikomoravski nakit. Nije pronađena analogija s područja središta Velike Moravske koja bi odgovarala ovom primjeru, pa ju je potrebno potražiti na nekom drugom mjestu.

U ovom kontekstu želimo istaknuti i jedan metodološki problem. Kada određenom primjerku nakita pripisujemo velikomoravsko podrijetlo, obično automatski pretpostavljamo da je njegovo apsolutno datiranje u drugoj polovici 9. i prvim desetljećima 10. stoljeća. Međutim, ako je navedeno podrijetlo pogrešno određeno, to može dovesti do netočnog vremenskog određivanja konteksta nalaza, a u nekim slučajevima, kada nema drugih elemenata koji bi pomogli u datiranju, i cijelog nalazišta. S druge strane, podrijetlo iz drugih područja, poput Balkana ili istočne Europe, obično ne implicira sličnu preciznost datiranja.

U Poljskoj je od druge polovice 10. stoljeća nadalje, zahvaljujući ostavama sitnog srebra, sačuvan neusporedivo veći broj primjeraka i tipova luksuznog nakita nego iz ranijih razdoblja. Međutim, ovaj bogat arheološki materijal još uvijek nije u

of jewellery, it follows more or less automatically that its absolute dating is roughly to the second half of the 9th century and the first decades of the 10th century. If the given provenance is wrong, it can distort the dating of the relevant find context or – if other dating supports are missing – even the entire site. On the other hand, other provenances, for example from the Balkans or Eastern Europe, in themselves usually do not imply similarly precise dating.

From the second half of the 10th century onwards, thanks to the hoards of hack-silver in Poland, an incomparably greater number of specimens and types of luxury jewellery have been preserved than from earlier periods. However, this rich archaeological record has not yet been fully scientifically exploited. Since the publication of the seminal – and already mentioned above – monograph by H. Kóčka-Krenz in 1993, we have not found a researcher in Poland who would deal with this jewellery in a long-term and systematic way; at most we will encounter the treatment of individual hoards or a few selected types of ornaments. Due to the number of types of earrings, temple rings, beads, pendants, finger rings, etc., H. Kóčka-Krenz limited herself more or less to the analysis of their construction and dating, on the other hand, she had to leave questions of their origin aside to a large extent. In my opinion, the starting point for determining the provenance of a specific type of jewellery is primarily the mapping of all known specimens – in this respect, the types of ornaments represented in the hack-silver hoards differ greatly from each other. In terms of geographical distribution, three groups of types can be distinguished: A) types occurring only in Poland and eastern Germany; B) types occurring in the territory of the former Czechoslovakia in addition to the countries mentioned; C) types with a clearly supra-regional occurrence, which can include a large number of European countries.⁶⁶ This diversity alone at least suggests that all types of jewellery known from hack-silver hoards would not have had the same origin and distribution mechanism.

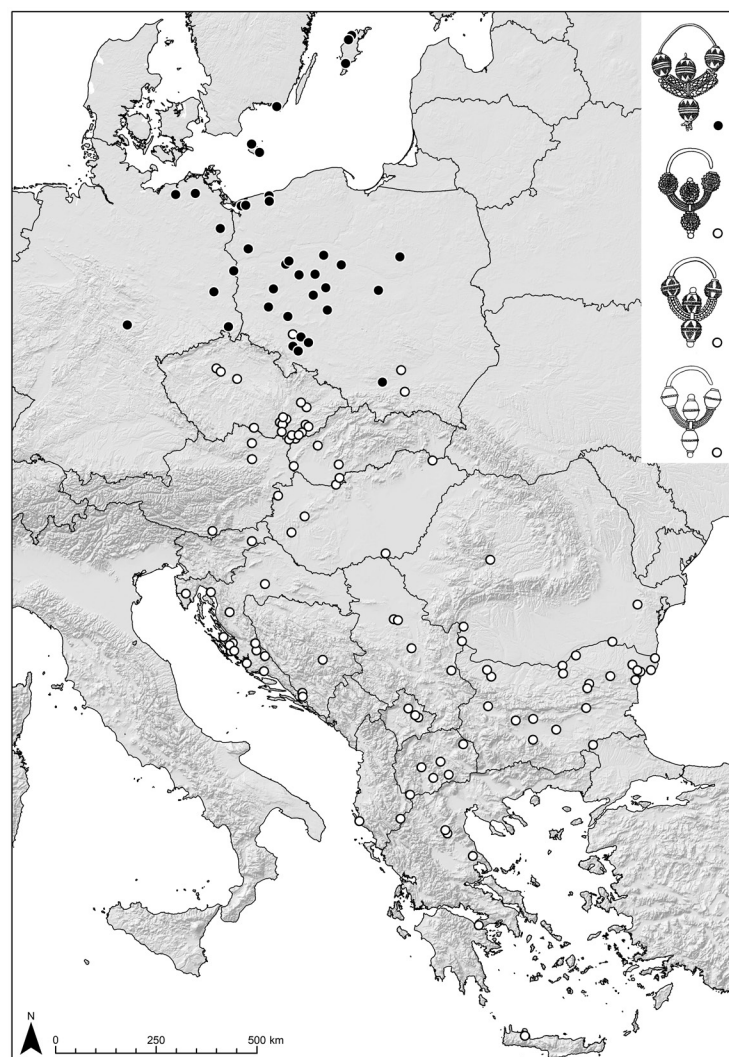
In the context under discussion, above all, supra-regionally widespread types are important, earrings with four beads, including the Świątki (Tempelhof) type, will serve as an illustrative example. Earrings with four beads – let's ignore the minor regional differences in their construction and decoration – are found over a wide area from southern

⁶⁵ Szydlowski 1974, str. 211, sl. 5: a–c; Boroń, Foltyn 2011, str. 20.

⁶⁶ Ungerman 2022, pp. 246–248.

potpunosti istražen i znanstveno obrađen. Od objave ključne, ranije spomenute monografije H. Kóčka-Krenz, 1993. godine, poljski znanstvenici nisu se sustavno i kroz duži period bavili proučavanjem ovog nakit, već se najčešće susrećemo s analizama pojedinih ostava ili nekoliko odabranih tipova ukrasa. Zbog velikog broja vrsta naušnica, sljepoočnica, jagoda, privjesaka, prstenja i sličnih ukrasa, Kóčka-Krenz uglavnom se koncentrirala na analizu njihove izrade i datacije, dok je pitanje njihova podrijetla u velikoj mjeri ostavila po strani. Smatramo da polazište za određivanje podrijetla pojedine vrste nakita treba biti prvenstveno mapiranje svih poznatih primjeraka. U tom pogledu, vrste ukrasa zastupljene u ostavama sitnog srebra uvelike se razlikuju. Što se tiče geografske rasprostranjenosti, možemo razlikovati tri skupine vrsta nakita: vrste koje su prisutne samo u Poljskoj i istočnoj Njemačkoj, vrste koje su, osim u spomenutim državama, zastupljene i na području bivše Čehoslovačke te vrste koje se nedvojbeno pojavljuju nadregionalno i mogu biti prisutne u cijelom nizu europskih zemalja.⁶⁶ Ova raznolikost sugerira da tipovi nakita poznati iz ostava sitnih srebrnih predmeta nisu imali isto podrijetlo niti su se distribuirali na isti način.

U ovom kontekstu posebno su značajni tipovi nakita koji su rasprostranjeni izvan granica svojih regija, poput naušnica s četirima jagodama, uključujući tip Świątki (Tempelhof), koji će ovdje poslužiti kao ilustrativni primjer. Naušnice s četirima jagodama, zanemarujući sitne regionalne razlike u njihovoj konstrukciji i ukrasima, rasprostranjene su na širokom području, od južne Švedske do Krete (sl. 9). U ranijim poljskim istraživanjima primjerci s lokaliteta Zawada Lanckorońska i Wiślica – Regia smatrali su se dokazom „utjecaja Velike Moravske“.⁶⁷ Međutim, razlog tome bio je taj što su istraživači uzimali u obzir samo komparativni materijal iz Moravske, kao najbliže geografske regije, dok su zanemarivali slične primjerke iz drugih područja. Analiziranjem značajki konstrukcije naušnica s četirima jagodama na cijelom području njihova rasprostiranja, došli smo do zaključka da one potječu s prostora istočnog Sredozemlja (Bizantsko Carstvo), odakle su se proširile u jugoistočnu i središnju Europu. Zbog svoje konstrukcije i dimenzija, poljski primjerci više podsjećaju na naušnice prona-



Sl. 9. Geografska rasprostranjenost naušnica tipa Świątki (crna točka) i drugih naušnica s četirima jagodama bez obzira na varijantu (krug) (prema Ungerman 2022, sl. 11, izmijenjeno).

Fig. 9 Geographical distribution of Świątki type earrings (black dot) and other earrings with four beads regardless of the variant (circle). After Ungerman 2022, Abb. 11. Modified.

Sweden to Crete (Fig. 9). In earlier Polish research, specimens from the localities of Zawada Lanckorońska and Wiślica – Regia in particular were considered evidence of “Great Moravian influence”.⁶⁷ However, the reason was only that the researchers only took into account comparative material from Moravia as the geographically closest region and ignored analogous pieces from other regions. When I analysed the construction features of earrings with four beads throughout the territory of

⁶⁶ Ungerman 2022, str. 246–248.

⁶⁷ Ungerman 2021, str. 65–76; Ungerman 2022, str. 223–231; oba s referencama.

⁶⁷ Ungerman 2021, pp. 65–76; 2022, pp. 223–231; both with the references.

đene na Balkanu i u Panonskoj nizini nego na moravske primjerke.⁶⁸

Istraživanje podrijetla nakita iz 10. i 11. stoljeća na području današnje Poljske još uvijek je u ranoj fazi. Za sada se čini da većina vrsta nakita ne potječe s istog područja i da im ishodište nije bila Přemyslovićevska Bohemija, kako je sugerirala H. Kóčka-Krenz. Njezinu hipotezu smatramo malo vjerojatnom, osobito kada je riječ o tipovima koji se uopće ne pronalaze u Bohemiji (kao što je gore spomenuta skupina tipova rasprostranjena u Poljskoj i istočnoj Njemačkoj) i u slučaju tipova s nadregionalnom rasprostranjenosti, među kojima su naušnice s četirima jagodama (koje su općenito vrlo rijetke u Bohemiji). Proces definiranja skupina vrsta nakita u ostavama sitnog srebra zasigurno je bio puno složeniji od toga da se svede na kratko razdoblje nakon sredine 10. stoljeća i poveže s određenim povijesnim događajem, poput vjenčanja Mieška I. i Doubravke, bez obzira na značaj tog događaja.

4. Zaključak

U prvom dijelu ovog rada nastojali smo prikazati kako su znanstvenici u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća (a i kasnije) datirali i interpretirali pojavu regionalnih skupina ranosrednjovjekovnog luksuznog nakita u srednjoj Europi, posebice u Velikoj Moravskoj, Bohemiji i Poljskoj. Ukratko, može se reći da su datiranje temeljili na najstarijim sačuvanim primjercima nakita, da su najčešće interpretirali pojavu regionalnih skupina kao posljedicu dolaska obrtnika iz tehnološki naprednijih susjednih regija te da su povezivali dolaske stranih obrtnika s važnim povijesnim događajem toga vremena. U drugom dijelu rada usporedili smo ova tri aspekta s rezultatima novijih istraživanja.

Što se tiče prvog aspekta, danas je jasno da sačuvani arheološki zapisi nisu neposredan i vjerodostojan prikaz povijesne stvarnosti. S nekoliko iznimaka, krhki ranosrednjovjekovni nakit sačuvan je samo u slučajevima kada je bio priložen u grob zajedno s tijelom preminulog člana zajednice ili kao dio ostave zakopane u zemlji. Obje prakse – polaganje grobnih priloga i zakopavanje ostava – kulturno su uvjetovane, tj. ljudi u određenoj regiji u jednom trenutku prihvatili su ove prakse i običaje, počeli ih širiti te su ih nakon kraćeg ili dužeg vremena napustili. No, takvi običaji nisu nužno povezani s

their occurrence, I came to the conclusion that the place of their origin was the Eastern Mediterranean (Byzantine Empire) and from there they spread to South-Eastern and Central Europe. The Polish pieces, in their construction and size, resemble more earrings found in the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin than Moravian specimens.⁶⁸

Research on the origin of jewellery from the 10th-11th centuries, located on the territory of today's Poland, is more or less still at the beginning. So far, it does not seem that most of the types have the same origin and that the starting area was Přemyslid Bohemia, as suggested by H. Kóčka-Krenz. I consider her hypothesis improbable, especially in the case of types that are completely absent in Bohemia (cf. the above-mentioned group of types with spatial distribution A), as well as in the case of types with supra-regional distribution, which include earrings with four beads (which, after all, are found in Bohemia only very rarely). The process of constituting a set of jewellery types in the hack-silver hoards was certainly much more complex than it being possible to reduce it to a short period after the middle of the 10th century and connect this with a specific historical event (the wedding of Mieszko I with Doubravka), however significant.

4. Conclusion

In the first part of the presented paper, I tried to show how researchers in the second half of the 20th century (or even later) dated and interpreted the emergence of regional groups of early medieval luxury jewellery in Central Europe: Great Moravian, Bohemian, and Polish. In short, it can be summarised that 1) when dating their creation, they were based on the earliest extant examples of jewellery; 2) they mostly interpreted the emergence of regional groups as a consequence of the arrival of craftsmen from one of the neighbouring, more technologically advanced regions; and 3) they often associated this arrival of foreign craftsmen with one of the important contemporary historical events. In the second part of the paper, I confronted these three aspects with the results of more recent research.

Regarding the first aspect, today it is quite clear that the preserved archaeological record cannot be considered as an immediate and faithful image of the past reality. With few exceptions, early medi-

⁶⁸ Ungerman 2021, pogotovo str. 126–147.

⁶⁸ Ungerman 2021, esp. pp. 126–147.

pitanjem korištenja luksuznog nakita na određenom mjestu i u određeno vrijeme. Drugim riječima, odsutnost takvog nakita u arheološkim nalazima (kao na primjer u Moravskoj u 8. stoljeću) ne treba automatski tumačiti kao dokaz da ga tada nije bilo. S pravom možemo pretpostaviti da je luksuzni nakit postojao, osobito kada imamo dokumentirane dokaze o postojanju društvene elite.

Drugi aspekt najmanje je sporan. Smatramo da je elitni nakit u srednjoj Europi uglavnom izrađivan po narudžbi, pri čemu bi klijent od obrtnika naručio specifične komade i osigurao mu potrebnu količinu plemenitog metala za izradu. Proces usvajanja vještine izrade nakita morao je biti jednako izravan kao i kontakt između kupca i proizvođača, te su šegrtri napredne zanatske tehnike, poput granulacije ili filigrana, savladavali isključivo uz mentorstvo majstora. Teško je zamisliti drukčiji način širenja tih vještina u regiji u kojoj proizvodnja sofisticiranog nakita još nije bila prisutna osim dolaskom zlatara iz drugih zemalja ili tako da su lokalni obrtnici stekli znanja u inozemstvu. O samim obrtnicima, stranim i domaćim, međutim, ne zna se gotovo ništa, jer na grobljima nije moguće identificirati njihove grobove.⁶⁹ U nastojanju određivanja podrijetla tih navodnih stranih majstora, jedino na što se možemo osloniti jest sveobuhvatna stilistička analiza pripadajuće regionalne skupine.

Treći aspekt odnosi se na široko rasprostranjenostu tendenciju u arheologiji ranog srednjeg vijeka u srednjoj Europi da se arheološki otkriveni fenomeni povezuju s važnim povijesnim događajima. U slučaju gore analiziranih regionalnih skupina luksuznog nakita, takav pristup postaje problematičan, jer sačuvani pisani izvori pružaju informacije tek o majem dijelu tadašnjih događaja. U odnosu na povijesne događaje koji su oblikovali prošlost, željeli bismo istaknuti još jednu važnu činjenicu, a ona se odnosi na dugotrajno postojanje ranosrednjovjekovne aristokracije, čiji su članovi održavali međusobne kontakte (diplomatske odnose, vojne saveze, brakove itd.) čak i na velikim geografskim udaljenostima. Zahvaljujući tim kontaktima, svijest o novoj modi luksuznog nakita mogla se brzo širiti, osobito ako je ta moda potekla iz najrazvijenijih centara tadašnjeg svijeta, poput Bizantskog Carstva. Kontakti među članovima aristokracije bili su dio svakodnevice, pa kroničari tog vremena nisu smatrali nužnim zabilježiti većinu tih kontakata, po-

eval jewellery of fragile construction has survived to the present day only if people chose to bury it in a grave with the body of a deceased member of the community or as part of a hoard hidden in the ground. Both practices – depositing grave goods and depositing hoards – are culturally conditioned, i.e. people in a given region at some point adopted them, began to practice them more widely, and after a longer or shorter time abandoned them. However, both customs have no direct connection with whether or not luxury jewellery was used in a given place and time. In other words, its absence in the archaeological record (e.g. in Moravia in the 8th century) cannot be unthinkingly interpreted as evidence of its absence in contemporary living culture. Especially if we have documented the existence of a social elite, we can reasonably assume the use of luxury jewellery.

The second aspect is relatively the least problematic. In my opinion, elite jewelry in Central Europe was mainly made to order, when the client ordered the manufacture of specific pieces of jewelry from the manufacturer and supplied him with the necessary amount of precious metal. The learning process had to be just as direct as the customer's contact with the manufacturer, where the apprentice learned from his master – there was no other way to acquire the know-how to produce jewellery decorated with granulation, filigree, and other sophisticated jewellery craftsmanship techniques. There are not many other ways to imagine the extension of the necessary know-how to a region in which demanding jewellery production has not yet been practiced, than the arrival of jewellers from a foreign land or lands, or that, on the contrary, domestic craftsmen gained experience abroad. However, we know almost nothing about the craftsmen themselves – whether foreign or domestic – because we cannot identify their graves in the cemeteries.⁶⁹ When searching for the country of origin of those supposed foreign masters, we are dependent only on the overall stylistic analysis of the relevant regional group.

The third aspect is part of the tendency – widely spread in Central European early medieval archaeology – to connect archaeologically discovered phenomena with significant historical events. In the case of the regional groups of luxury jewellery analysed above, such a procedure is problematic

⁶⁹ Vidi Ungerman 2020a, str. 179–180.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ungerman 2020a, pp. 179–180.

gotovo kada je riječ o regijama na granici tada poznatog civiliziranog svijeta, poput Velike Moravske ili Poljske u 10. stoljeću.⁷⁰ Postojanje aristokracije i njezina potreba za luksuznim nakitom stoga spadaju u dugotrajne fenomene, što predstavlja dodatni argument protiv povezivanja nastanka regionalnih skupina nakita s političkim događajima. Naravno, moguće je da je sudbinu aristokracije u određenoj regiji značajno oblikovao dramatičan politički preokret, poput propasti Velike Moravske početkom 10. stoljeća. Međutim, iz šire perspektive, promjene u prirodi arheoloških izvora imaju mnogo veći značaj za naše razumijevanje luksuznog nakita.

Prikazana studija rezultat je istraživačkog projekta „Unutar velikomoravskog nakita. Interdisciplinarna istraživanja, analitička očuvanje i dokumentiranje proizvodnje nakita s lokaliteta Mikulčice i Staré Město” (program NAKI III, br. DH23P03OVV020) provodi Institut za arheologiju Češke akademije znanosti, Brno, i Moravski Muzej u Brnu.

already because the preserved written sources inform us only about a small section of contemporary events. Compared to the history-making events, I would therefore like to emphasize another thing – the long-term existence of the early medieval nobility, the members of which maintained contacts with each other (diplomatic relations, military alliances, marriages, etc.), even over considerable geographical distances. Thanks to them, the awareness of the new fashion in luxury jewellery could spread quickly, especially if it came from the most advanced centres of the known world at the time, such as the Byzantine Empire. At the same time, contacts between members of the aristocracy took place quite normally, they were part of everyday life, so contemporary chroniclers did not consider it necessary to record the vast majority of them, especially when the region in question lay on the borders of the then civilized world, which was, for example, Great Moravia or Poland in the 10th century.⁷⁰ The existence of the aristocracy and its demand for luxury jewellery thus belong to long-lasting phenomena – this is another argument rather against connecting the emergence of regional jewellery groups with events in political history. Of course, it could happen that the fate of the aristocracy in a region was fundamentally affected by a dramatic political upheaval, such as the demise of Great Moravia at the beginning of the 10th century. Seen from a broader perspective, however, changes in the character of the archaeological record are far more important for our understanding of luxury jewellery.

The presented study is the output from the research project ‘Into the Great Moravian jewellery. Interdisciplinary research, analytical conservation and documentation of jewellery production from the Mikulčice and Staré Město sites’ (NAKI III programme, No. DH23P03OVV020) implemented by the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno, and the Moravian Museum in Brno.

⁷⁰ Ungerman 2021, str. 150.

⁷⁰ Ungerman 2021, p. 150.

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