

BARANJA U SJENI KAGANATA – KRITIČKA REINTERPRETACIJA STARIH I INTERPRETACIJA NOVIH AVARODOBNIH NALAZA

BARANJA IN THE SHADOW OF THE KHAGANATE – CRITICAL REINTERPRETATION OF OLD AVAR PERIOD FINDS, AND INTERPRETATION OF NEW ONES

Anita Rapan Papeša

Gradski muzej Vinkovci
Trg bana Josipa Šokčevića 16
HR – 32100 Vinkovci
anita@muzejvk.hr

Anita Dugonjić

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19
HR – 10000 Zagreb
adugonjic@amz.hr

Anita Rapan Papeša

Municipal Museum Vinkovci
Trg bana Josipa Šokčevića 16
HR – 32100 Vinkovci
anita@muzejvk.hr

Anita Dugonjić

Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19
HR – 10000 Zagreb
adugonjic@amz.hr

UDK / UDC: 904(369.2:497.543)

Pregledni rad / Review

10.52064/vamz.59.1.5

Dostupni podatci o avarskome razdoblju u Baranji zasad se uglavnom temelje na slučajnim nalazima koji su često izdvojeni iz izvornoga arheološkog konteksta ili nedovoljno dokumentirani prema suvremenim standardima arheološke prakse. Takva struktura podataka znatno otežava precizniju interpretaciju društvene organizacije, naseljenosti i svakodnevnoga života avarodobnih zajednica na ovome prostoru. Upravo je potreba za sustavnim sagledavanjem raspoloživih podataka potaknula izradu ovoga rada. Cilj rada bio je popisati sva poznata, ali i potencijalna nalazišta avarodobne provenijencije na području Baranje te analizom dostupnih rezultata zaštitnih istraživanja, sustavnih terenskih pregleda, arhivske građe i starije literature, kao i podataka iz zbirke hrvatskih muzeja i muzeja u susjednim zemljama, predstaviti cjelokupni korpus avarodobne materijalne baštine. Pri stvaranju ovoga rada posebna je pozornost posvećena kritičkoj reinterpetaciji starijih nalaza i podataka koji su u literaturi preuzimani nekritički, bez jasna uvida u izvornu dokumentaciju, bez okolnosti pronalaska ili valorizacije stupnja njihove pouzdanosti. Takav pristup omogućio je preispitivanje ranijih atribucija i uključivanje slabije poznatih ili dosad neobjavljenih nalaza u znanstveni diskurs. Rezultati analize prikupljenih podataka pokazuju da je prostor današnje Baranje bio naseljen već od ranoga razdoblja avarske prisutnosti u Panoniji. Prostorni raspored nalazišta slijedi prepoznatljive obras-

The currently available data on the Avar period in Baranja derives largely from chance finds, which are frequently removed from their original archaeological context, or insufficiently documented according to contemporary standards of archaeological practice. That the available evidence has such a structure significantly hinders more precise interpretations of the social organisation, settlement patterns and everyday life of Avar-period communities in this area. The need for a stronger systematic reassessment of the available data provided the primary impetus for this study. This paper aims to compile a comprehensive inventory of all known, as well as potential, sites of Avar-period provenance in the Baranja region. It also aims to present the entire corpus of Avar-period material heritage from this area on the basis of the results provided by rescue excavations, systematic field surveys, archival sources and earlier scholarly literature – together with data from collections held in Croatian museums and museums in neighbouring countries. Particular attention is devoted to the critical reinterpretation of earlier finds and data that have often been uncritically reproduced in various literary sources, without providing clear insight into the original documentation, circumstances of discovery, or degree of their reliability. Such an approach has enabled a reassessment of previous attributions and the inclusion of lesser-known, or previously unpublished, finds into the scholarly discourse. The analysis of the collected data

ce povezane s prirodnim i komunikacijskim obilježjima krajolika. Posebno se ističe povezanost avarodobnih nalazišta s trasama rimskih prometnica, koja upućuje na kontinuitet korištenja komunikacijskih pravaca te njihovu važnost u organizaciji prostora i oblikovanju mreže naselja i grobalja. Premda trenutno stanje istraženosti, obilježeno velikim brojem slučajnih nalaza i zasad neobjavljenim rezultatima novijih istraživanja, još uvijek ograničava mogućnost donošenja detaljnih interpretacija, rezultati ovoga rada pružaju cjelovitiji uvid u rasprostranjenost i karakter avarodobne materijalne baštine u Baranji. Rad donosi prvu kritičku sintezu avarodobnih nalaza i nalazišta s područja Baranje te revidira dosadašnje spoznaje o njihovoj distribuciji i kontekstu, čime se taj prostor jasnije pozicionira unutar širega panonskog prostora avarskoga razdoblja, otvarajući nove mogućnosti za komparativna regionalna istraživanja.

Ključne riječi: Baranja, avarsko razdoblje, muzejske zbirke, literatura, katalog, nalazišta, slučajni nalazi, kolekcionari

indicates that the territory of present-day Baranja had already been settled in the early phase of Avar presence in the Pannonian Basin. The spatial distribution of sites follows recognisable patterns associated with natural geomorphological features and communication routes within the landscape. The relationship between Avar-period sites and the routes of Roman roads is of particular significance, suggesting a continuity in using those communication corridors, highlighting their geospatial importance, and shaping networks of settlements and cemeteries. Although the current state of research – characterised by a large number of chance finds and, in some cases, still unpublished results of more recent investigations – continues to limit the possibility of creating more detailed interpretations, the results of this study provide comprehensive insight into the distribution and character of Avar-period material heritage in Baranja. This paper also offers the first critical synthesis of Avar-period finds and sites of the Baranja region, and revises previous understanding of their distribution and context. In doing so, it positions this area much more clearly within the broader Pannonian framework of the Avar period, and opens up new possibilities for comparative regional research.

Keywords: Baranja, Avar period, museum collections, bibliography, catalogue, sites, chance finds, collectors

Uvod

Baranja je područje izuzetno povoljnoga geografskog položaja i raznolikoga prirodnog bogatstva, zbog čega je u prošlosti bila privlačan prostor za naseljavanje i boravak različitih populacija, o čijem prisustvu svjedoči bogata arheološka ostavština. Prvi nalazi pronađeni na području Baranje početkom 20. stoljeća posredstvom kolekcionara i sakupljača završili su u velikim europskim muzejima. Glavni dobavljač arheološke građe s toga područja bio je skupljač starina i kolekcionar Heinrich (Hinko) Bátor. Zahvaljujući poznanstvu s geologom Rudolfom Hoernesom, Bátor je stupio u kontakt s njegovim bratom Moritzom Hoernesom, koji je kao arheolog djelovao u Beču. Uz nalaze je prilagao skice i lokaciju pronalaska, no bez podataka o okolnostima nalaza.¹ Dio nalaza iz Batine, Draža, Kotline i Zmajevca upravo je na taj način završio izvan granica Baranje – u Budimpešti i Beču. Osim što je građu otkupljivao od lokalnih seljaka, taj „umirovljeni službenik“ vjerojatno se i sam upuštao u amaterska arheološka istraživanja, što potvrđuje njegova korespondencija.²

Tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata, prema dostupnim podacima, arheološko istraživanje kasnoavarodobnoga groblja u Dražu provodili su mađarski arheolozi. Međutim, u vihoru rata ni nalazi ni dokumentacija s tih istraživanja nisu sačuvani, a saznanja o njima temeljena su isključivo na sačuvanim bilješkama.³

Introduction

Baranja is a region characterised by an exceptionally favourable geographical position, and by abundant natural resources. As a result, it has represented an attractive area for settlement and habitation by various populations throughout history, as evidenced by its rich archaeological record. The first finds discovered in Baranja at the beginning of the twentieth century reached major European museums through the activities conducted by collectors and antiquarians. The principal supplier of archaeological material from this area was the antiquarian and collector Heinrich (Hinko) Bátor. Owing to his acquaintance with the geologist Rudolf Hoernes, Bátor established contact with his brother, Moritz Hoernes, who was working as an archaeologist in Vienna. Bátor provided sketches of the items and indicated their place of origin, omitting the information regarding the circumstances of their discovery.¹ In this way, a number of finds from Batina, Draž, Kotlina and Zmajevac ultimately left the territory of Croatian Baranja and entered museum collections in Budapest and Vienna. In addition to purchasing items from local villagers, this 'retired official' most likely also undertook amateur archaeological investigations, as suggested by his surviving correspondence.²

During the Second World War, according to the information available, archaeological excavations of a Late Avar cemetery

1 Ložnjak Dizdar, Dujmić, Dizdar 2021, 22.

2 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 29.

3 ADAM 2002, 118–119.

1 Ložnjak Dizdar, Dujmić, Dizdar 2021, 22.

2 Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 29.

U vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije interes za to područje iskazivali su Zdenko Vinski iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu te zaposlenici Muzeja Slavonije Osijek Mirko Bulat i Danica Pinterović. Malen broj nalaza koje su prikupili uglavnom je završio u osječkomu muzeju (nalazi iz Popovca). Posebnu vrijednost imaju podatci koje je Kornelija Minichreiter prikupila terenskim pregledima u okviru rada za Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Osijeku (danas Konzervatorski odjel Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske). Osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća postojala je ideja o osnivanju Muzeja Baranje u Dardi, u kojemu su trebale biti sustavno predstavljene arheologija i povijest te regije. K. Minichreiter u svojim objavama iz toga razdoblja redovito spominje Muzej Baranje, navodeći da je on u postupku osnivanja i da se tamo nalazi dio materijala.⁴ Međutim, materijal koji je trebao biti pohranjen u Muzeju Baranje navodno je izgubljen u Domovinskome ratu, a osnivanje Muzeja započeto 1985. godine nikada nije dovršeno. Muzej Baranje u Dardi s radom nije započeo jer se, među ostalim, nije smjestio u za to predviđen prostor – donji dio dvorca Esterházy u Dardi.⁵

Stvaranjem Republike Hrvatske interes za arheološku baštinu na području „trokuta“ ne jenjava, što pokazuju brojna sustavna rekognosciranja, ali i zaštitna i sustavna istraživanja koja ponovno potvrđuju važnost toga prostora u proučavanju svih arheoloških razdoblja. Područje Baranje u posljednjih je deset godina obuhvaćeno opsežnim infastrukturnim radovima – prije svega izgradnjom autoceste A5 prema granici s Mađarskom, čija je izgradnja dovršena 2025. godine. Navedeni su radovi 2014. godine potaknuli prva velika zaštitna arheološka istraživanja, u trajanju do 2023. godine,⁶ koja su omogućila uvid u nova, dosad nepoznata nalazišta. Ta su istraživanja značajno doprinijela razumijevanju avarskoga razdoblja na tome prostoru.

Pregled literature

Iako su pojedinačni nalazi s područja Baranje objavljivani i ranije, u ovome pregledu naglasak je stavljen na radove koji sustavno popisuju i analiziraju avarodobna nalazišta. Prvi kompletan popis avarodobnih arheoloških nalazišta objavio je 1956. godine Dezső Csallány u knjizi *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*.⁷ Služeći se prvenstveno podacima o

in Draž were conducted by Hungarian archaeologists. However, amidst the turmoil of war, neither the finds nor the excavation documentation have been preserved, and information deriving from those investigations is based solely on surviving notes.³

Numerous archaeologists showed interest in this region during the period of socialist Yugoslavia, including Zdenko Vinski of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, as well as staff members of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, Mirko Bulat and Danica Pinterović. Some of the finds they collected – primarily those from Popovac – were deposited in the Osijek Museum. Of particular importance is the data gathered by Kornelija Minichreiter obtained through field surveys conducted as part of her work for the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Osijek (the present-day Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture and the Media of the Republic of Croatia). Plans for establishing the Museum of Baranja in Darda were made during the 1980s, aiming to systematically present not only the archaeology, but also the history, of the region. In her publications from that period, Minichreiter regularly refers to the Museum of Baranja as an institution in the process of being founded, and notes that some of the material discovered had already been deposited there.⁴ However, the material intended for the museum was reportedly lost during the Croatian War of Independence, while the process of establishing the institution – initiated in 1985 – has never been completed. The Museum of Baranja in Darda never got to commence its activities, partly because it has not moved into the premises originally intended for it, namely the lower section of Esterházy Castle in Darda.⁵

Following the establishment of the Republic of Croatia, scholarly interest in the so-called ‘triangle’ area did not diminish. Numerous systematic surveys, rescue excavations and research projects have been carried out, confirming the importance of this region for the study of all archaeological periods. Over the past decade, the Baranja area has also been affected by extensive infrastructure construction projects – most notably the construction project of the A5 motorway towards the Hungarian border, completed in 2025. Those activities prompted the first large-scale rescue archaeological research, initiated in 2014 and conducted until 2023,⁶ which identified several previously unknown archaeological sites. The results of this research significantly contribute to our understanding of the Avar period in this region.

Overview of the published data

Although individual finds from the Baranja region have been published earlier, this review focuses primarily on bibliography that systematically lists and analyses sites dating to the Avar period. The first comprehensive catalogue of such archaeological sites was published in 1956 by Dezső Csallány, in the monograph *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mit-*

4 Minichreiter 1987, 43–142; 1990, 142.

5 Na informacijama zahvaljujemo prof. Petru Matiću.

6 HAG 11/2014; 12/2015; 15/2018.

7 Csallány 1956.

3 ADAM 2002, 118–119.

4 Minichreiter 1987, 43–142; 1990, 142.

5 The authors would like to thank Prof. Petar Matić for kindly providing this information.

6 HAG 11/2014; 12/2015; 15/2018.

materijalu čuvanome u mađarskim muzejima, uključio je sljedeća nalazišta s područja Baranje: Batinu, Draž, Kneževu Vinogradu, Kotlinu, Popovac i Zmajevac. Ti su se podatci dalje prenosili i prepisivali bez kritičkoga osvrta sve do danas.

Katalog izložbe *Seoba naroda – arheološki nalazi jugoslovenskog Podunavlja* (dalje *Seoba naroda*), u kojemu su zastupljena ista baranjska nalazišta i nalazi, popratio je izložbu postavljenu u Narodnome muzeju u Zemunu 1962. godine.⁸ Autori izložbe bili su Danica Dimitrijević, Jovan Kovačević i Zdenko Vinski. *Arheološki nalazi seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji* publikacija je nastala 1980. godine prema magistarskom radu Dušana Mrkobrada, a sadrži kompilaciju podataka o nalazima iz razdoblja od kraja 4. do početka 9. stoljeća.⁹ U radu su korišteni isključivo objavljeni podatci koji, s područja Baranje, ponovno uključuju Batinu, Draž, Kneževu Vinogradu, Kotlinu, Popovac i Zmajevac.

Kornelija Minichreiter u nekoliko radova objavljuje rezultate terenskoga pregleda u kombinaciji s poznatim lokacijama s područja Baranje.¹⁰ Potpun pregled svih podataka donosi u opsežnome radu *Arheološko blago Baranje*,¹¹ uključujući bogat uvod i popis nalazišta s pripadajućom literaturom. Nalazišta koje veže za rani srednji vijek jesu Batina, Bilje, Draž, Duboševica, Jagodnjak–Brdašće, Kotlina, Luč, Popovac i Zmajevac.

Djelo Tajane Sekelj Ivančan publikacija je u bazi Instituta za arheologiju koja je prvi put na jednome mjestu objedinila sva do 1991. poznata srednjovjekovna nalazišta iz razdoblja od kraja 4. do početka 16. stoljeća. Njezin rad pod naslovom *Catalogue of Medieval Sites in Continental Croatia*,¹² objavljen na engleskome jeziku, navedene je podatke učinio dostupnima širemu krugu stručnjaka. Uz nalazišta koja se već pojavljuju u ranijim popisima (Batina, Draž, Kotlina, Popovac, Zmajevac), u rad su uvrštena i nalazišta čije je postojanje utvrđeno provedenim terenskim pregledima (Bilje, Duboševica, Jagodnjak–Brdašće, Luč).

Druga velika europska monografija o avarodobnim nalazima, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa* (dalje *ADAM*), urednika Józsefa Szentpéterija, nastavak je ideje D. Csallányi iz 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Iako u izradi izdanja iz 2002. nisu sudjelovali stručnjaci s područja Hrvatske, ono sadržava većinu nalazišta već poznatih iz literature. Za pojedine nalaze koji se čuvaju u mađarskim muzejima, usprkos kratkoj formi objave, također donosi niz podataka koji dotad nisu bili poznati. Tako u *ADAM*-u nalazimo sljedeća nalazišta: Batinu, Draž, Kotlinu, Popovac i Zmajevac.¹³ Članak Krešimira Filipca *Kasnoavarski ukrasni okov (falera) u obliku veprove glave iz Siska*, u kontekstu nalaza i tada novoobjavljene publikacije *ADAM*, donosi i *Prilog* u kojemu su popisana nalazišta koja se nalaze u navedenome djelu, nadopunjen podacima koji su istraživačima bili nepoznati. U *Prilogu* su navedeni Batina, Draž, Kotlina i Popovac.¹⁴

teleuropa.⁷ Primarily using data concerning the archaeological material preserved in Hungarian museums, he included the following sites in Baranja: Batina, Draž, Kneževu Vinogradu, Kotlina, Popovac and Zmajevac. His data has subsequently been repeatedly reproduced in the literature, often without critical reassessment.

The exhibition catalogue *Seoba naroda – arheološki nalazi jugoslovenskog Podunavlja* (hereafter *Seoba naroda*), accompanying the exhibition held at the National Museum in Zemun in 1962,⁸ presented the same Baranja sites and finds. The exhibition was curated by Danica Dimitrijević, Jovan Kovačević and Zdenko Vinski. The publication *Arheološki nalazi seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji*, produced in 1980, and based on the MA thesis of Dušan Mrkobrad, contains a compilation of data on finds dating from the late fourth century to the early ninth.⁹ The study relied exclusively on previously published information and, for the Baranja region, again included the sites of Batina, Draž, Kneževu Vinogradu, Kotlina, Popovac and Zmajevac.

Kornelija Minichreiter published the results of field surveys combined with previously known locations in several studies concerning the Baranja region.¹⁰ A comprehensive overview of all available data was presented in her extensive work *Arheološko blago Baranje*,¹¹ which includes a substantial introductory discussion, and a catalogue of sites accompanied by relevant bibliography. The sites she associates with the early medieval period include Batina, Bilje, Draž, Duboševica, Jagodnjak–Brdašće, Kotlina, Luč, Popovac and Zmajevac.

Tajana Sekelj Ivančan produced a publication compiled within the database of the Institute of Archaeology. For the first time it encompassed all medieval sites known up to 1991, covering the period from the late fourth century to the early sixteenth. Her work *Catalogue of Medieval Sites in Continental Croatia*,¹² published in English, made the data much more accessible to a wider scholarly audience. In addition to the sites already appearing in earlier lists (Batina, Draž, Kotlina, Popovac, Zmajevac), the study also included locations obtained through field surveys (Bilje, Duboševica, Jagodnjak–Brdašće, and Luč).

The second major European monograph on Avar-period finds, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa* (hereafter *ADAM*), edited by József Szentpéteri, represents a continuation of the idea originally initiated by Csallány in the 1950s. Although experts from Croatia did not participate in its preparation, the 2002 edition includes most sites previously known from the literature. Despite the concise format of the entries, the publication addresses certain finds preserved in Hungarian museums with a range of data that had previously been unknown. *ADAM* lists the following sites: Batina, Draž, Kotlina, Popovac and Zmajevac.¹³ Krešimir Filipec, in his arti-

8 Seoba naroda 1962.

9 Mrkobrad 1980.

10 Minichreiter 1984; 1987; 1990.

11 Minichreiter 1987, 43–142.

12 Sekelj Ivančan 1995.

13 ADAM 2002, 45, 118–119, 210, 293, 433–434.

14 Filipec 2003, 129–135.

7 Csallány 1956.

8 Seoba naroda 1962.

9 Mrkobrad 1980.

10 Minichreiter 1984; 1987; 1990.

11 Minichreiter 1987, 43–142.

12 Sekelj Ivančan 1995.

13 ADAM 2002, 45, 118–119, 210, 293, 433–434.

U Vodiču kroz stalni postav *Seoba naroda i srednji vijek* Arheološkoga muzeja u Osijeku (dalje: *Vodič*) predstavljena je avarodobna građa s područja Osječko-baranjske županije, a prikazane su fotografije predmeta, među ostalima i dijelovi pojasne garniture te sjekira i trozub iz Popovca.¹⁵ U knjizi *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju (od konca 4. do konca 11. stoljeća)* povjesničara Hrvoja Gračanina,¹⁶ proizašloj iz njegove doktorske disertacije, pregled povijesnih vrela i historio-grafske građe obogaćen je podacima o arheološkim nalazima koji potkrepljuju pojedine navode. Posljednji objavljeni pregled avarodobnih nalazišta na području kontinentalne Hrvatske objavila je Pia Šmalcelj Novaković u časopisu *Medieval Archaeology* pod naslovom *Research Problems Concerning 8th-Century Material Heritage in Continental Croatia Revisited: New Directions, Challenges and Ideas*.¹⁷ U radu je abecedno popisana većina avarodobnih nalazišta na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske, uključujući i novu interpretaciju za pojedine od njih. U radu su kao potvrđena avarodobna nalazišta s područja Baranje, preuzeta iz literature, navedena: Batina, Draž, Jagodnjak–Krčevine, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kotlina, Popovac–Ulica V. Nazora i Zmajevac.

Katalog nalazišta i nalaza

Polazište u izradi *Kataloga nalazišta i nalaza* bila je objavljena literatura. Na temelju tih podataka provedena je rekonstrukcija mreže avarodobnih nalazišta u Baranji (karta 1). Objavljeni podatci ovom se prilikom nadopunjuju i ispravljaju s opisima nalaza koji se čuvaju u muzejskim zbirkama.¹⁸ Katalog nalazišta složen je abecednim redom, a na kraju rada prikazan je tablični popis nalazišta s relevantnim informacijama za ovaj rad (tab. 1) i kronološkim odrednicama (tab. 2).

U *Kasnoavarski ukrasni okov (falera) u obliku veprove glave iz Siska*, published in the wake of the *ADAM* edition, included an appendix listing the sites mentioned in *ADAM*, supplemented with additional data that had previously been unavailable to researchers. The appendix lists the sites of Batina, Draž, Kotlina and Popovac.¹⁴

Avar-period finds from the Osijek-Baranja County are presented in the Guide to the Permanent Exhibition *Seoba naroda i srednji vijek* of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek (hereafter *Vodič*). It includes photographs of artefacts, such as elements of belt sets, also including the axe and trident from Popovac.¹⁵ In the book *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju (od konca 4. do konca 11. stoljeća)*, which the author, historian Hrvoja Gračanin,¹⁶ based upon his doctoral dissertation, the overview of historical sources and historiographical material is enriched by references to archaeological finds supporting particular interpretations. The most recent published overview of Avar-period sites in the continental part of Croatia was provided by Pia Šmalcelj Novaković in the article *Research Problems Concerning 8th-Century Material Heritage in Continental Croatia Revisited: New Directions, Challenges and Ideas*, published in the journal *Medieval Archaeology*.¹⁷ The study demonstrates an alphabetical list which includes most Avar-period sites in northern Croatia, and offers new interpretations for some of them. The sites in Baranja included in the study – identified in the literature as securely belonging to the Avar period – are Batina, Draž, Jagodnjak–Krčevine, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kotlina, Popovac–93 Nazor Street, and Zmajevac.

Catalogue of sites and finds

The published articles and other sources were the starting point for the compilation of the Catalogue of Sites and Finds. The information discovered allowed the creation of a reconstruction of the network of Avar-period sites in Baranja (Map 1). The published information is here supplemented and, where necessary, corrected through the description of items preserved in museum collections.¹⁸ The catalogue is arranged alphabetically by site. A tabulated list of sites with information relevant to this study is provided at the end of the paper (Table 1), together with chronological indicators (Table 2).

15 Vodič 2009, 23–32.

16 Gračanin 2011.

17 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 54–83.

18 Zahvaljujemo kolegama koji su nam nesebično pomogli u prikupljanju građe za ovaj rad: Antonio Lovrinčević i Valentina Vujeva-Hranić, Arheološki muzej Osijek; Viktorija Uzelac, Gradski muzej Sombor; Gergely Szenthe i Zsófia Básti, Mađarski nacionalni muzej u Budimpešti; Lilla Oberling-Jeles, Gergő Szabó i Mira Májdán, Muzej Ivana Česmičkog u Pečuhu; Chloe Potter, Alice Schumacher i Vinzenz Kern, Prirodoslovni muzej u Beču; Dina Koproščec, Vlatka Revald-Radolić i Mirela Ravas, Ministarstvo kulture i medija – Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine – Područni konzervatorski ured Osijek. Također zahvaljujemo kolegicama Ani Solter i Jacqueline Balen iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu na arhivskim podacima i na neobjavljenim podacima o nalazištu Šumarine, kao i kolegama iz privatnih arheoloških tvrtki (Arheolog d. o. o., Geoarheo d. o. o., Kaducej d. o. o. i Temenos d. o. o.) koji su zajednički istraživali nalazište Šumarine–Krčevine.

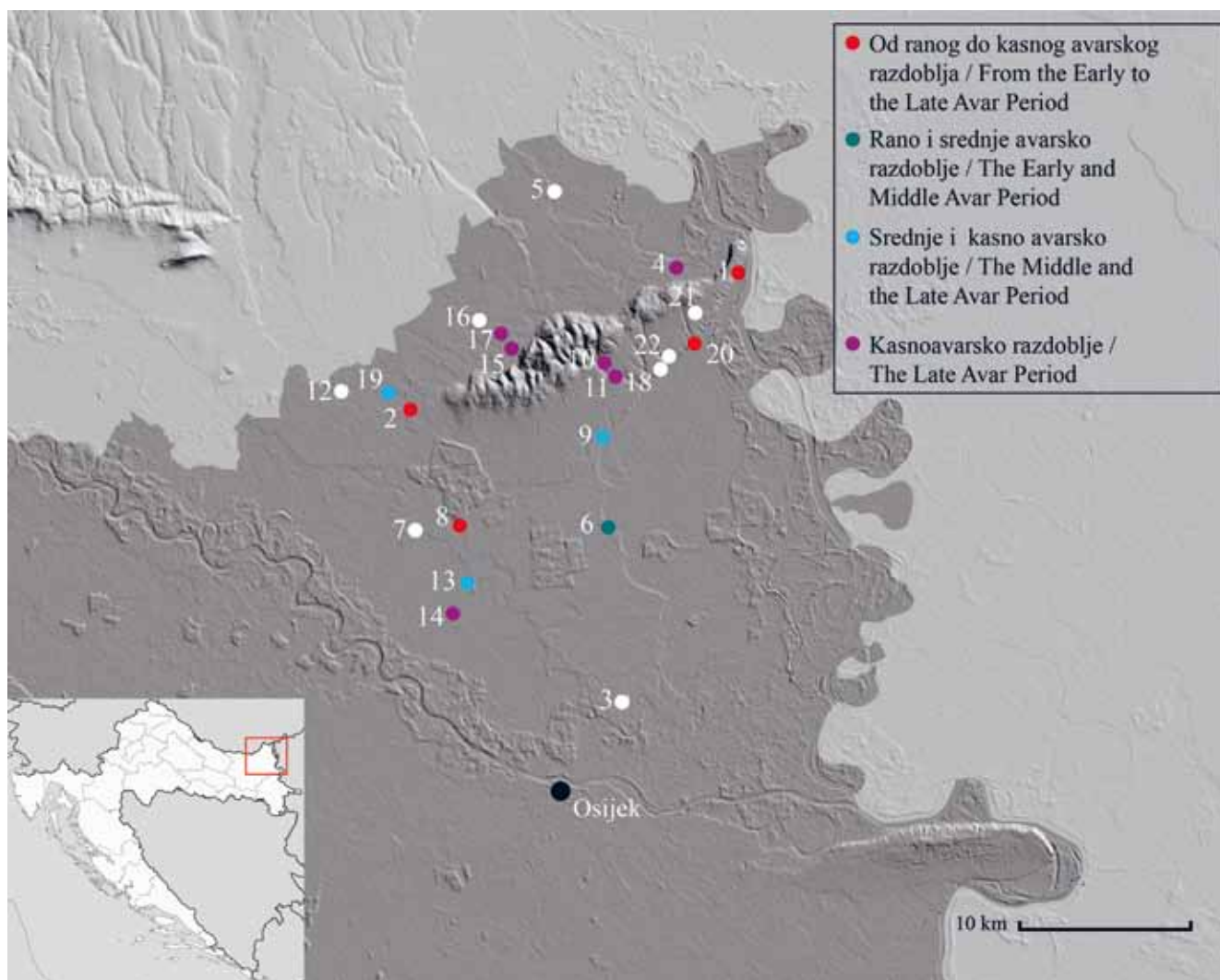
14 Filipec 2003, 129–135.

15 Vodič 2009, 23–32.

16 Gračanin 2011.

17 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 54–83.

18 We are grateful to the colleagues who generously assisted us in gathering material for this study: Antonio Lovrinčević and Valentina Vujeva-Hranić, Archaeological Museum in Osijek; Viktorija Uzelac, Sombor City Museum; Gergely Szenthe and Zsófia Básti, Hungarian National Museum; Lilla Oberling-Jeles, Gergő Szabó and Mira Májdán, Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs; Alice Schumacher and Vinzenz Kern, Natural History Museum Vienna; and Dina Koproščec, Vlatka Revald-Radolić and Mirela Ravas, Ministry of Culture and the Media of the Republic of Croatia, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Regional Conservation Office in Osijek. We would also like to thank Ana Solter and Jacqueline Balen of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb for providing archival information and unpublished data on the site of Šumarine, as well as colleagues in private archaeological companies (Arheolog d.o.o., Geoarheo d.o.o., Kaducej d.o.o. and Temenos d.o.o.) who jointly carried out excavations at the site of Šumarina–Krčevine.



KARTA 1. Područje Baranje s obilježenim nalazištima navedenima u tekstu: 1. Batina, 2. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, 3. Bilje, 4. Draž, 5. Duboševica, 6. Grabovac, 7. Jagodnjak–Brdašće, 8. Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, 9. Kneževi Vinogradi, 10. Kotlina, 11. Kotlina–Cigány Heverős, 12. Luč–Henja, 13. Novi Čeminac–Jauhov salaš, 14. Novi Čeminac–Čemin, 15. Popovac–Ulica Vladimira Nazora 93, 16. Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza, 17. Popovac, 18. Suza–Csátar 2, 19. Šumarina–Krčevine, 20. Zmajevac, 21. Zmajevac–Eszealja 1, 22. Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1 (osnovnu kartu prema EUDEM-u izradio D. Tresić Pavičić, doradila A. Dugonjić).

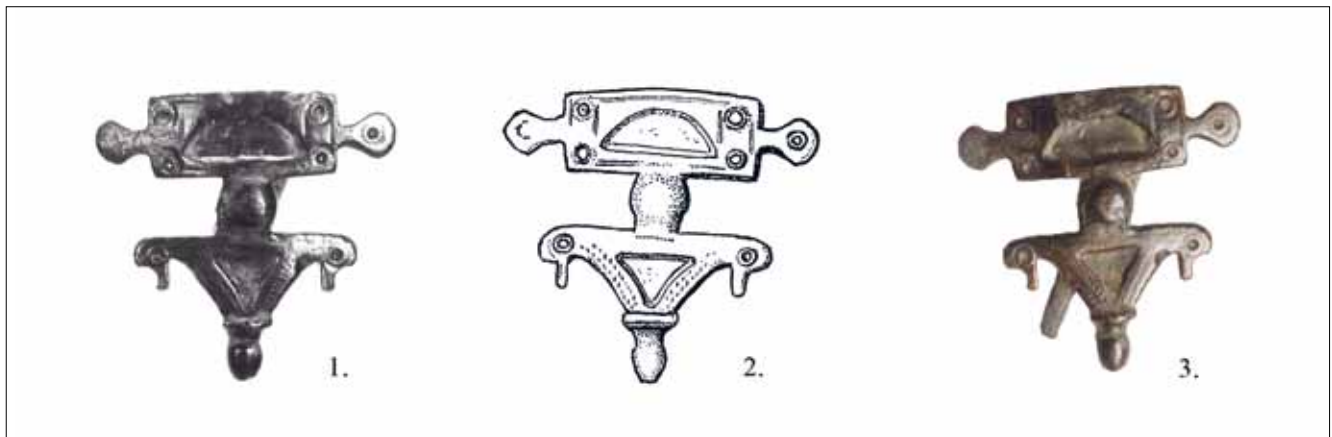
MAP 1. The Baranja region with marked sites mentioned in the text: 1. Batina, 2. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, 3. Bilje, 4. Draž, 5. Duboševica, 6. Grabovac, 7. Jagodnjak–Brdašće, 8. Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, 9. Kneževi Vinogradi, 10. Kotlina, 11. Kotlina–Cigány Heverős, 12. Luč–Henja, 13. Novi Čeminac–Jauhov Salaš, 14. Novi Čeminac–Čemin, 15. Popovac–93 Nazor Street, 16. Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza, 17. Popovac, 18. Suza–Csátar 2, 19. Šumarina–Krčevine, 20. Zmajevac, 21. Zmajevac–Eszealja 1, 22. Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1 (basemap EUDEM made by D. Tresić Pavičić, adapted by A. Dugonjić).

Batina

Batina (ponekad Batina Skela, mađ. *Kiskőszeg*, njem. *Donau-Daru-Winkel*) nalazi se na krajnjem sjeveroistoku Baranje, na mjestu gdje Bansko brdo strmo završava kao visoka desna obala Dunava. Kontinuitet naseljavanja zabilježen je od mlađega kamenog doba kroz sva razdoblja pretpovijesti, dok je u antičkome razdoblju ubiciran vojni kaštel na limesu i pripadajuće civilno naselje. Istraživanja se na prostoru Batine provode dulji niz godina,¹⁹ ali avarodobni su nalazi zasad samo oni slučajni, prikupljeni na površini. S obzirom na arheološki potencijal koji

Batina

Batina (sometimes referred to as *Batina Skela*; Hung. *Kiskőszeg*; Ger. *Donau-Daru-Winkel*) is situated in the far north-eastern part of Baranja, at the point where the Bansko Brdo range descends steeply, forming the high right bank of the Danube. Continuous presence of human population in the area can be traced from the Neolithic period through all stages of prehistory, with the Roman period attested to by a military *castellum* on the frontier (*limes*), and an associated civilian settlement. Archaeological research has been conducted in Batina for a long time.¹⁹



SLIKA 1. Fibula iz Batine: 1. – 2. Fotografija i crtež iz Arhive Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu (AAMZ 210-1); 3. Fotografija predmeta iz antičke zbirke Arheološkoga muzeja u Osijeku (bez mjerila, Fotoarhiva Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek).

FIGURE 1. Fibula from Batina: 1. – 2. Photograph and drawing from the Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AAMZ 210-1); 3. Photograph of the item from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek (no scale, Photo Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek).

potječe iz svih vremenskih razdoblja, Batina je jedno od malo-brojnihi nalazišta koja se spominju u svim važnijim pregledima avarodobnih nalazišta. Tako D. Csallány spominje Batinu kao mjesto nalaza dviju žvala i trobridne strelice.²⁰ U svojem članku *O nalazima 6. i 7. stoljeća u Jugoslaviji s posebnim obzirom na arheološku ostavštinu iz vremena prvog avarskog kaganata* Z. Vinski te nalaze spominje samo u bilješci.²¹ Zemunski katalog *Seoba naroda* prenosi te informacije s općenitom datacijom – u vrijeme avarske dominacije.²² Batinu kao nalazište iz vremena avarske dominacije, ali iz *I. talasa* (ranoavarodobnoga razdoblja) bilježi D. Mrkobrad.²³ Nalazište koje pripada svim vremenskim razdobljima, uključujući i avarodobno, K. Minichreiter spominje pod nazivom Batina Skela.²⁴ T. Sekelj Ivančan navodi Batinu Skelu kao mjesto pronalaska slučajnih nalaza, najvjerojatnije iz grobova čiji je položaj nepoznat.²⁵ Osim redovito citiranih nalaza žvala i strelica, koje se na tome mjestu stavljaju pod upitnik, u *ADAM*-u se kao slučajni nalazi iz Batine također navode narukvice, prsten i okov.²⁶ K. Filipec prema slučajnim nalazima nalazište u Batini datira u 8. stoljeće,²⁷ dok ga H. Gračanin navodi kao avarsko nalazište iz 7. stoljeća,²⁸ što u svojem radu navodi i P. Šmalcelj Novaković.²⁹

However, Avar-period finds are, for the time being, limited only to chance finds collected from the surface. Owing to its archaeological potential scattering across all time periods, Batina is one of the few sites regularly mentioned in major overviews of Avar-period sites. Dezső Csallány, for instance, records Batina as the findspot of two bits and a three-lobed arrowhead.²⁰ Zdenko Vinski, in his article *O nalazima 6. i 7. stoljeća u Jugoslaviji s posebnim obzirom na arheološku ostavštinu iz vremena prvog avarskog kaganata*, refers to those finds only in a footnote.²¹ The Zemun exhibition catalogue *Seoba naroda* reproduces this information and provides a very broad dating: that is, “during the period of Avar dominance”.²² Dušan Mrkobrad likewise lists Batina as a site belonging to the first wave of Avar presence²³ (Early Avar period). Kornelija Minichreiter mentions the site under the name Batina Skela, mentioning its archaeological remains from various time periods, including the Avar period.²⁴ Tajana Sekelj Ivančan mentions Batina Skela as the location of chance finds from graves.²⁵ In addition to the frequently-cited bits and arrowheads – whose attribution to Batina is here treated with caution – the *ADAM* volume lists bracelets, a ring and a belt fitting as chance finds from Batina.²⁶ Krešimir Filipec dates the chance finds from Batina to the eighth century,²⁷ whereas Hrvoje Gračanin refers to Batina as an Avar site of the seventh century.²⁸ Batina is likewise included in the overview by Pia Šmalcelj Novaković.²⁹

20 Csallány 1956, 141, br. 476.

21 Vinski 1958, 46, bilj. 114.

22 *Seoba naroda* 1962, 67, br. 64.

23 Mrkobrad 1980, 146–147.

24 Minichreiter 1987, 102–104.

25 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 226.

26 *ADAM* 2002, 45.

27 Filipec 2003, 132.

28 Gračanin 2011, 287.

29 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 59.

20 Csallány 1956, 141, no. 476.

21 Vinski 1958, 46, n. 114.

22 *Seoba naroda* 1962, 67, no. 64.

23 Mrkobrad 1980, 146–147.

24 Minichreiter 1987, 102–104.

25 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 226.

26 *ADAM* 2002, 45.

27 Filipec 2003, 132.

28 Gračanin 2011, 287.

29 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 59.

SLIKA 2. Slučajni nalazi iz Batine u Mađarskome nacionalnom muzeju u Budimpešti: 1. Žvale; 2. Vršak strelice s tuljcem za nasad; 3. Par narukvica (Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

FIGURE 2. Chance finds from Batina in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest: 1. Horse bits; 2. Socketed arrowhead; 3. Pair of bracelets (Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).



U literaturi se spominje i ranoslavenska fibula iz Batine; na marginama rada o nalazima ranoga srednjeg vijeka u Jugoslaviji prvi je spominje Z. Vinski, navodeći je kao primjer lučne fibule „skupine Rybakov-Werner“ pronađene na rimskome kaštelu u Batini.³⁰ Isti nalaz ponovno spominje tek M. Dizdar u tekstu o ranosrednjovjekovnim nalazima u Vinkovcima, navodeći je kao brončanu lučnu fibulu s antropomorfnom maskom.³¹ U novijim radovima na ovu temu³² fibula se ne spominje iz jednostavnog razloga – niti u jednoj objavi nije prikazana u crtežu ili fotografiji. Uvidom u Arhiv Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu³³ pronađeni su fotografija i crtež predmeta na čijim je poledinama napisano (vjerojatno rukom Z. Vinskog): *Batina, 25.8. 1970. bronca, 1:1, castrum Ad Miliare ili Ad Militare*, a na poledini je crteža, uz navedeni tekst, dodana i riječ *pseudokopča*.³⁴ Po svemu sudeći, Z. Vinski je najvjerojatnije dobio fotografiju predmeta i nikada nije imao uvid u sam nalaz, zbog čega ga samo spominje u članku iz 1971.,³⁵ ali kao fibulu – ne kao pseudokopču (sl. 1: 1–2). Uvidom u građu Arheološkoga muzeja u Osijeku (AMO) utvrđeno je da se navedeni predmet tamo čuva, ali u antičkoj zbirci (sl. 1: 3).³⁶ Analogiju nalazimo u fibuli iz Čuruga, koja se pripisuje sarmatskomu razdoblju i datira u 3. stoljeće, a čuva se u Muzeju Vojvodine u Novom Sadu.³⁷ Iz svega navedenog smatramo da je Z.

The literature mentions an early Slavic fibula from Batina, as well. It was briefly noted for the first time by Vinski in his study on early medieval finds in Yugoslavia, where he cites it as an example of an arched fibula of the “Rybakov-Werner group”, discovered at the Roman *castellum* in Batina.³⁰ The find has later been mentioned only by Marko Dizdar, in a discussion about early medieval finds from Vinkovci, where he described it as a bronze bow fibula with an anthropomorphic mask.³¹ In more recent works³² on the subject, the fibula is not discussed, primarily because it has never been illustrated or photographed in any publication. An inspection of the Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb³³ has revealed both a photograph and a drawing of the item. On the back of the photograph, the following note is written (most probably in the hand of Vinski): *Batina, 25 August 1970, bronze, 1:1, castrum Ad Miliare or Ad Militare*. On the back of the drawing, the same note appears accompanied by the additional term *pseudobuckle*.³⁴ It therefore appears that Vinski most likely received only a photograph of the item, and never had direct access to the item itself, which may explain why he mentioned it in his 1971 article³⁵ merely as a fibula (Fig. 1: 1–2). An inspection of the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek has shown that the item is pre-

30 Vinski 1971, 62. „...nedavno je nađena još jedna u Baranji, na kaštelu panonsko-rimskog dunavskog limesa *Ad Miliare*, tj. u Batini; ...“. Autor međutim ne citira otkud mu ovaj podatak.

31 Dizdar 1999, 71.

32 usp. Curta 2011, Ivanišević 2021.

33 U dokumentaciju koja je ostala od Z. Vinskog (AAMZ 210-1).

34 AAMZ 210-1. Fotografija i crtež nalazili su se u papirnoj vrećici na kojoj je bilo napisano *Batina 25.8.70. u vinogradu nešto sjevernije od Parloga uz zapadni rub kose*.

35 Vinski 1971, 62.

36 Na margini kuverte u kojoj se nalaze fotografija i crtež stoji olovkom napisano: „original navodno u Osijeku!“ (AAMZ 210-1); inv. br. AMO-ASV-9005.

37 Stanković-Pešterac 2013, 75.

30 Vinski 1971, 62, states that “...another one was recently found in Baranja, at the castellum of the Pannonian-Roman Danubian limes, *Ad Militare*, i.e. at Batina...”. However, the author does not provide a reference for this information.

31 Dizdar 1999, 71.

32 cf. Curta 2011, Ivanišević 2021.

33 In the archival documentation of Zdenko Vinski (AAMZ 210-1).

34 AAMZ 210-1. The photograph and drawing were preserved in a paper envelope bearing the note: “*Batina, 25 August 1970, in the vineyard somewhat north of Parlog, along the western edge of the ridge*”.

35 Vinski 1971, 62.

36 In pencil, on the margin of the envelope containing the photograph and drawing, is written: “*original supposedly in Osijek!*” (AAMZ 210-1); inv. no. AMO-ASV-9005.



SLIKA 3. Batina, nalaz perle iz fundusa Muzeja Ivana Česmičkog u Pečuhu (snimio M. Helesfai, Muzej Ivana Česmičkog – Arheološki odjel).

FIGURE 3. Batina, bead from the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs (photo by M. Helesfai, Janus Pannonius Museum, Department of Archaeology).



SLIKA 4. Keramička posuda iz Batine iz fundusa Gradskoga muzeja Sombor (bez mjerila, Fotoarhiva Gradskoga muzeja Sombor).

FIGURE 4. Ceramic vessel from Batina in the collection of the Sombor City Museum (no scale, Photo Archive of the Sombor City Museum).

Vinski vrlo brzo shvatio da je riječ o predmetu mnogo starijem od razdoblja u koje je prethodno datiran, pa ga iz toga razloga dalje nije navodio.

Za razliku od prethodno navedenoga predmeta, koji se čuva u Hrvatskoj, preostali dosad evidentirani predmeti iz Batine pohranjeni su u muzejskim institucijama izvan Republike Hrvatske, tj. u Mađarskoj i Srbiji, pri čemu avarodobni nalazi u većini slučajeva nisu podvrgnuti cjelovitoj znanstvenoj i stručnoj obradi. Uvidom u Inventarnu knjigu Arheološkoga odjela i Odjela za oružje Mađarskoga nacionalnog muzeja (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – MNM*) G. Szenthe ušao je u trag sljedećim predmetima iz Batine: trima željeznim žvalama, željeznom vršku strelice, narukvici od slitine bakra i okovu pojasa. Od triju žvala samo jedne pripadaju avarodobnom razdoblju (dvije su iz kasnijih razdoblja). Riječ je o željeznim višedijelnim žvalama; vodoravne prečke četvrtasta presjeka spojene su u sredini kukama, a završavaju okruglim ušicama kroz koje su provučene okomite blago zakrivljene prečke (S-psalije) s četvrtastom ušicom za remen i jednom okruglom karikom za vođice (sl. 2: 1).³⁸ Željezni vršak strelice pripada masivnim tipovima s tuljcem za nasad i romboidnim vrškom (sl. 2: 2).³⁹ Par narukvica⁴⁰ i okov pojasa od slitine bakra⁴¹ naknadno su prebačeni u antičku zbirku. Okov je,

served in the Museum, although it is being kept within the Roman collection (Fig. 1: 3).³⁶ A parallel example is found in a fibula from Čurug, attributed to the Sarmatian period, and dated to the third century, currently kept in the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad.³⁷ It is therefore likely that Vinski soon realised that the item belonged to a much earlier period than had initially been assumed, and consequently decided not to mention it again in later publications.

Unlike the item described above, which is kept in Croatia, all other currently recorded finds from Batina are housed in museum institutions outside the Republic of Croatia, specifically in Hungary and Serbia. In most cases, the Avar-period finds have not yet undergone comprehensive scholarly analysis. By examining the inventory books of the Archaeological Department and the Department of Arms and Armour of the Hungarian National Museum (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – MNM*), Gergely Szenthe attributed the following items to Batina: three iron bits, an iron arrowhead, bracelets made of copper alloy, and a belt fitting. Of the three bits, only one belongs to the Avar period, while the other two belong to later periods. The Avar-period example consists of a multipart iron bit: horizontal bars with a square cross-section are connected in the centre

38 MNM inv. br. 59.7880 1910/11–1; dužine 25,5 cm, širine 12,5 cm.

39 MNM inv. br. 24/1908–6; visine 6 cm, širine 1,1 cm.

40 MNM inv. br. 5/1907.7–8; promjer 6 cm.

37 Stanković-Pešterac 2013, 75.

38 MNM inv. no. 59.7880 1910/11–1; length 25,5 cm, width 12,5 cm.

nažalost, zagubljen, ali narukvice su bile dostupne na uvid. Unatoč tomu što danas pripadaju antičkoj zbirci, ovo je prilika da ih prikazemo s obzirom na to da se u dosadašnjim publikacijama navode kao avarodobni nalazi iz Batine (sl. 2: 3).

U Inventarnim knjigama Muzeja Ivana Česmičkog u Pečuhu (*Janus Pannonius Múzeum – JPM*) Lilla Oberling-Jeles pronašla je jedne željezne žvale i perlu iz Batine, koje su u muzej dospjele otkupom. Kao i u slučaju nalaza iz Budimpešte, žvale pripadaju kasnijem razdoblju, dok je perla avarodobna. Riječ je o zelenkasto perli u obliku koštice dinje (njem. *melonenkern*) s ukrasom od žutih traka (sl. 3).⁴² Perle toga tipa čest su nalaz u grobovima avarskoga razdoblja, pronalaze se u različitim bojama i imaju široku dataciju, od sredine 7. do 9. stoljeća.

U Gradskome muzeju Sombor (*Градски музеј Сомбор – GMS*) čuva se keramička posuda čije je mjesto pronalaska također Batina (sl. 4). Posuda pripada starom inventaru Istorijškoga društva Bač-Bodroške županije (postoji od 1883. do 1918. godine), a kao darivatelj naveden je Husváth István (Hušvet Stevan).⁴³ Riječ je o loncu doradenome na spororotirajućem lončarskom kolu, grube fature s puno primjesa, ukrašenom horizontalno urezanim linijama na ramenu i truhu posude.⁴⁴ Informacije o mjestu i uvjetima pronalaska, nažalost, nisu zabilježeni, pa pitanje konteksta ostaje otvoreno. Međutim, na temelju dimenzije, izrade i sačuvanosti smijemo pretpostaviti da je posuda bila grobni prilog i stoga je možemo datirati u 8. stoljeće.

Zaključno, moguće je pretpostaviti da se negdje na području Batine nalazi avarodobno nalazište, a po svemu sudeći i kasnoavarodobno groblje, jer repertoar nalaza – od konjske opreme do elemenata muške i ženske nošnje – upravo to i sugerira. Točan položaj nije poznat – moguće je (kao u slučaju Dalja, Borova i nekih drugih istovremenih nalazišta uz Dunav) da je uništen erozijom vode, ali opet postoji velika vjerojatnost da će spomenuto nalazište u budućnosti biti pronađeno, možda na nekom od geografski povišenih predjela u Batini. Poziciju nalazišta moguće je vezati za položaj Polja 1, gdje je terenskim pregledom pronađena keramika za koju se pretpostavlja da pripada manjemu naselju iz razdoblja od 7. do 9. stoljeća.⁴⁵

Beli Manastir–Šumarina

Beli Manastir (mađ. *Pél, Pélmónostor*) smješten je na jugozapadnim padinama Banskog brda, na lesnoj terasi, gotovo na pola puta između Osijeka i Mohača. U dosadašnjim pregledima avarodobnih nalazišta Beli Manastir uopće se ne spominje, s obzi-

by hooks, and they terminate in circular loops through which are inserted slightly curved vertical bars (S-shaped cheek-pieces), each with a square loop for the strap, and a single circular ring for the reins (Fig. 2: 1).³⁸ The iron arrowhead belongs to the massive type with a socketed shaft and a rhomboid blade (Fig. 2: 2).³⁹ The pair of copper-alloy bracelets⁴⁰ and the belt fitting⁴¹ have subsequently been transferred to the Roman collection. Unfortunately, the belt fitting has since been lost, although the bracelets were available for examination. Despite their present classification within the Roman collection, they are presented here because they have been cited in earlier publications dealing with Avar-period finds from Batina (Fig. 2: 3).

In the inventory books of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs (*Janus Pannonius Múzeum – JPM*), Lilla Oberling-Jeles identified a set of iron bits and a bead from Batina, purchased by the museum. As with the finds in Budapest, the bits belong to a later period, while the bead can be attributed to the Avar period. It is a greenish bead of the so-called *melon seed* type (*Ger. Melonenkern*), decorated with yellow bands (Fig. 3).⁴² Beads of this type are common finds in Avar-period graves; they occur in various colours, and are broadly dated from the mid-seventh century to the ninth.

The Sombor City Museum (*Градски музеј Сомбор – GMS*) keeps a ceramic vessel recorded as originating from Batina (Fig. 4). The vessel belongs to the old inventory of the Historical Society of Bács-Bodrog County (active between 1883 and 1918), and the donor is listed as István Husváth (Hušvet Stevan).⁴³ The vessel is a pot, finished on a slow-turning potter's wheel, manufactured of coarse fabric with numerous inclusions, and decorated with horizontally incised lines on the shoulder and the body.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, information concerning the exact findspot and circumstances of discovery was not recorded, leaving its context uncertain. Nevertheless, from its size, manufacture and state of preservation, it is reasonable to assume that the vessel may have served as a grave good. On the basis of these characteristics, it can be dated to the eighth century.

In conclusion, it may be assumed that an Avar-period site existed somewhere in the vicinity of Batina, and that it most likely included a Late Avar cemetery, as suggested by the repertoire of finds ranging from horse equipment to elements of both male and female dress. The precise location remains unknown. As in the case of several other contemporary sites along the Danube (e.g. Dalj and Borovo), it is possible to assume that the river destroyed and eroded some parts of the site. Neverthe-

41 MNM inv. br. 5/1907.17.

42 JPM inv. br. 2716; dužina 1,2 cm i širina 0,9 cm. Otkup 1940. godine, neobjavljeno.

43 Zbirke Istorijškoga društva Bač-Bodroške županije, kasnije Istorijškoga društva Sombor (1936. – 1944.) čine osnovu fundusa današnjega Gradskoga muzeja Sombor (<https://gms.rs/o-nama/istorijat>; Godišnjak).

44 GMS inv. br. 2426; visine 10,5 cm; pr. ruba 8,8 cm; max. širina 10,1 cm, promjer dna 5,5 cm. Neobjavljeno.

45 Bojčić et al. 2009, 128–129.

39 MNM inv. no. 24/1908–6; height 6 cm; width 1.1 cm.

40 MNM inv. no. 5/1907.7–8; diameter 6 cm.

41 MNM inv. no. 5/1907.17.

42 JPM inv. no. 2716; length 1.2 cm, width 0.9 cm. Purchased in 1940, unpublished.

43 The collections of the Historical Society of Bač-Bodrog County, later the Historical Society of Sombor (1936 – 1944), form the core of the present holdings of the Sombor City Museum (<https://gms.rs/o-nama/istorijat>; *Godišnjak*).

44 GMS Inv. no. 2426; height 10.5 cm; rim diameter 8.8 cm; max. width 10.1 cm, base diameter 5.5 cm. Unpublished.



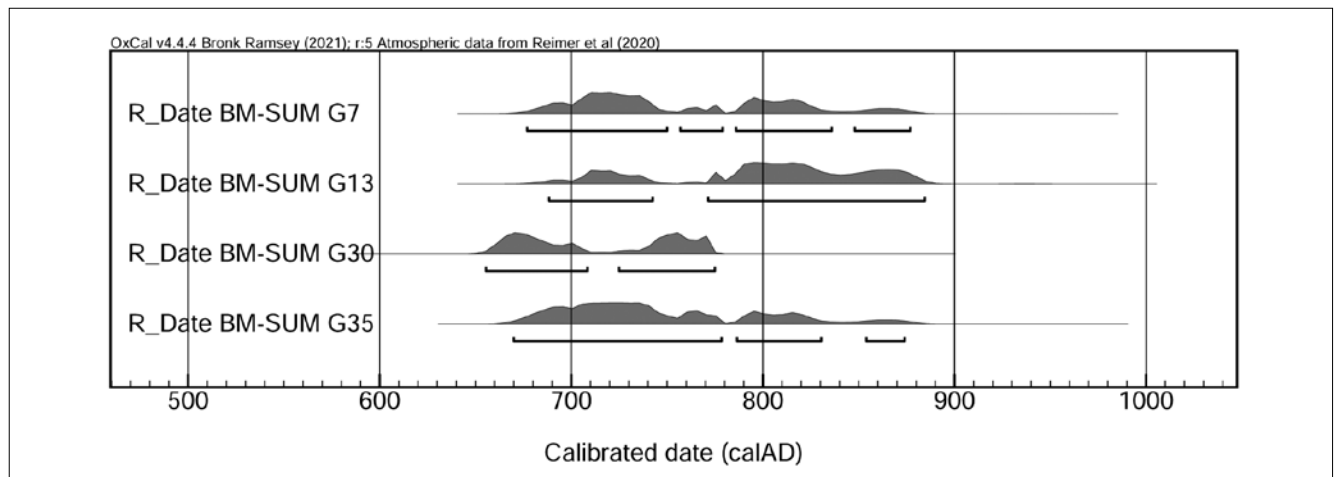
SLIKA 5. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, grob 30 tijekom istraživanja (Balen 2020, 8, sl. 9).

FIGURE 5. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, grave 30 during excavation (Balen 2020, 8, sl. 9).

less, a considerable potential for future discoveries still exists, particularly on elevated areas around Batina. One of the possible locations may be associated with the area known as *Polje 1*, where the field survey has yielded pottery that may belong to a small settlement dating to between the seventh and ninth centuries.⁴⁵

Beli Manastir–Šumarina

Beli Manastir (Hung. *Pél, Pélmonostor*) is located on the south-western slopes of Bansko Brdo, on a loess terrace, approximately halfway between Osijek and Mohács. In previous overviews of Avar-period sites, Beli Manastir has not been mentioned, as finds from this period were previously unknown. The site of Beli Manastir–Šumarina lies south of the former course of the River Karašica, not far from the settlements of Šumarina and Širine, on the western side of the town of Beli Manastir.⁴⁶ Archaeological research has identified features dating from the Neolithic,



SLIKA 6. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, kalibrirani radiokarbonski datumi iz koštano-ga kolagena na uzorcima iz četiri groba, Isotopech Zrt., Debrecen, Mađarska (kalibracija napravljena preko OxCal online, <https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal/OxCal.html>).

FIGURE 6. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, calibrated radiocarbon dates from bone collagen on samples from four graves, Isotopech Zrt., Debrecen, Hungary (calibration made using OxCal online, <https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal/OxCal.html>).

rom na to da nalazi iz ovog razdoblja nisu bili poznati. Nalazište Beli Manastir–Šumarina nalazi se južno od staroga korita rijeke Karašice, nedaleko od naselja Šumarine i Širine, na zapadnoj strani grada Belog Manastira.⁴⁶ Na nalazištu su ustanovljeni objekti iz razdoblja mlađega kamenog, bakrenoga, brončano-

Copper Age, Bronze Age and Late Iron Age, as well as from the Roman and Late Roman periods, in addition to features belonging to the Avar period. It was precisely in the northern part of the excavated area that Avar-period burials were discovered: twenty-one inhumation graves, a partial burial including a skull,

⁴⁶ Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu proveo je tijekom 2020. godine zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na ovome položaju u sklopu zaštitnih istraživanja na trasi obilaznice oko grada Belog Manastira (Balen 2020).

⁴⁵ Bojčić *et al.* 2009, 128–129.

⁴⁶ In 2020, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb carried out rescue archaeological excavations at this location as part of the investigations conducted along the route of the Beli Manastir bypass road (Balen 2020).

ga, mlađega željeznog doba, zatim iz razdoblja antike i kasne antike, ali i objekti iz avarodobnoga razdoblja. Upravo su na sjevernome dijelu istraženoga područja istraženi avarodobni grobovi koji uključuju 21 kosturni grob, parcijalni ukop lubanje i sedam životinjskih ukopa. Grobovi pripadaju uglavnom odraslim osobama i sadrže vrlo malo priloga ili su bez njih. Pokojnici su položeni na leđa u smjeru I – Z. U pojedinim su grobovima ustanovljene i niše (sl. 5). Analiza C14 metodom obavljena je na uzorcima iz četiriju grobova, a rezultati su pokazali jednake datume u rasponu od 7. do 9. stoljeća (sl. 6). U grobovima su pronađeni sljedeći predmeti: nakit (naušnice, praporci i perle), dijelovi pojasnih garnitura (jednostavne željezne pređice i karike), noževi, kremen i kresiva te keramičke posude.⁴⁷ Iako malobrojni, ti nalazi potvrđuju dataciju dobivenu metodom C14 i pokazuju sličnosti s grobljima iz toga razdoblja na području Baranje i srednjega Podunavlja.

Bilje

Bilje (mađ. *Bellye*) nalazi se na krajnjem jugoistočnom dijelu Baranje, na samom rubu lesne grede koja zauzima veći dio Baranje i prelazi u močvarna područja Kopačkog rita i Dunava prema istoku te poplavna područja rijeke Drave prema jugu. Kao potencijalno nalazište po prvi ga put spominje J. Kovačević, uz navođenje mađarskoga oblika imena naselja *Belje* i nepoznatoga nalaza, vjerojatno germanske provenijencije.⁴⁸ Tragom toga podatka krenula je K. Minichreiter, koja spominje grobove rano-srednjovjekovne nekropole, iako rekognosciranjem nije utvrđen točan položaj nalazišta.⁴⁹ Podatak prenosi T. Sekelj Ivančan, navodeći Bilje kao slučajni nalaz inhumacijskoga groblja na redove.⁵⁰ Budući da istraživanja nisu provedena, a pregledom muzejskih zbirki nije potvrđeno postojanje nalaza s toga nalazišta, nije moguće tvrditi da na području Bilja postoji avarodobno nalazište. Međutim, njegovo postojanje nije moguće ni u potpunosti isključiti.

Draž

Draž (mađ. *Darázs*) nalazi se u sjeveroistočnome dijelu Baranje, na obroncima Banskog brda, koji uz Dunav prelaze u močvarno tlo. U općim pregledima avarodobnih nalazišta prvi ga spominje D. Csallány navodeći nalaze koje povezuje s grupom nalaza s viticama i grifonima.⁵¹ U analizi nalaza s groblja u Brodskom Drenovcu, u popisu tada poznatih (kasno)avarodobnih nalazišta, između ostalih spominje se i Draž.⁵² D. Mrkobrad svrstava ga u skupinu nalazišta *II. talasa*, odnosno u kasnoavarodobna nalazišta,⁵³ a Z. Bojčić navodi ga u svojemu preglednom radu o

and seven animal burials. The graves belong mainly to adult individuals, and they contain very few grave goods, or none at all. The deceased were laid in a supine position with an east – west orientation. Niches were recorded in several graves (Fig. 5). Radiocarbon (C14) analysis was carried out on samples from four graves, yielding consistent dates ranging from the seventh century to the ninth (Fig. 6). The finds recovered from the graves include jewellery items (earrings, bells and beads), elements of belt sets (simple iron buckles and rings), knives, flint and fire-steels, and ceramic vessels.⁴⁷ Although relatively few in number, these artefacts corroborate the radiocarbon dates, and display characteristics comparable to cemeteries of the same period in Baranja and the Middle Danube regions.

Bilje

Bilje (Hung. *Bellye*) lies in the south-easternmost part of Baranja, at the very edge of the loess ridge that occupies much of the region, and transitions eastwards into the marshlands of Kopački Rit and the Danube, and southwards into the floodplains of the River Drava. It was first mentioned as a potential archaeological site by Jovan Kovačević, who cited the Hungarian form of the settlement name (*Belje*), and referred to an unspecified find of probable Germanic provenance.⁴⁸ Pursuing this information, Minichreiter reported the existence of graves belonging to an early medieval cemetery. However, the field survey conducted did not establish the precise location of the site.⁴⁹ The information was later repeated by Sekelj Ivančan, who listed Bilje as a chance find of a row-grave inhumation cemetery.⁵⁰ Due to the fact that archaeological research has not been conducted, and the inspection of museum collections has not revealed any finds attributable to this location, it is not possible at this time to confirm the existence of an Avar-period site around Bilje. Nonetheless, such a possibility should not be completely ruled out.

Draž

Draž (Hung. *Darázs*) is in the north-eastern part of Baranja, on the slopes of BANSKO BRDO, which descend towards the marshy terrain along the Danube. In general overviews of Avar-period sites, Draž was first mentioned by Csallány, who referred to finds associated with a group of items decorated with tendrils and griffins.⁵¹ In the analysis of finds from the cemetery at Brodski Drenovac, Draž is also listed among the then-known Late Avar sites.⁵² Mrkobrad attributed Draž to the group of sites belonging to the 'second wave', that is, the Late Avar period,⁵³

47 Balen 2020.

48 Kovačević 1960, 41.

49 Minichreiter 1987, 109–110.

50 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 226.

51 Csallány 1956, 101.

52 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 152.

53 Mrkobrad 1980, 147.

47 Balen 2020.

48 Kovačević 1960, 41.

49 Minichreiter 1987, 109–110.

50 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 226.

51 Csallány 1956, 101.

52 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 152.

53 Mrkobrad 1980, 147.



SLIKA 7. Inventar ženskoga groba iz Draža u fundusu Mađarskoga nacionalnog muzeja u Budimpešti: 1. Ogrlica od crnih neprozirnih perli, 2. Narukvica otvorenih i blago proširenih krajeva, 3. Spojke sa staklenim umetcima (Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

FIGURE 7. Assemblage of a female grave at Draž in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest: 1. Necklace of opaque black beads; 2. Bracelet with open, and slightly expanded, ends; 3. Clasps with glass inlays (Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

ranosrednjovjekovnim nalazima istočne Slavonije i Baranje.⁵⁴ K. Minichreiter navodi Draž kao ranosrednjovjekovnu nekropolu,⁵⁵ dok T. Sekelj Ivančan na području Draža bilježi nepoznatu lokaciju inhumacijskoga groblja sa slučajnim nalazima nakita koje datira u 8. stoljeće.⁵⁶ Poprilična količina podataka nalazi se u ADAM-u: nalaz ženskoga groba iz Draža prodao je Mađarskomu nacionalnom muzeju H. Bátor (1910.), a manje istraživanje u vinogradu I. Dömötera proveo je J. Dombay 1943. godine. Međutim, nalazi koji se spominju (žute i sive posude, predmeti s motivima grifona) nisu sačuvani.⁵⁷ K. Filipec bilježi Draž kao mjesto kasnovarodobnih nalaza,⁵⁸ kao nalazište avaro-slavenske kulture datirano u 8. stoljeće navodi ga H. Gračanin,⁵⁹ dok P. Šmalcelj Novaković interpretira Draž kao uništen ženski grob.⁶⁰

Predmete smatrane dijelom inventara ženskoga groba prvi je objavio N. Fettich 1929. godine, donoseći fotografiju svih nalaza,⁶¹ ali malo više pažnje posvećuje samo spojkama.⁶² Nalazi iz (vjerojatno) ženskoga groba, tj. slučajni nalazi iz 1911. godine, detaljnije su opisani u zemunskome katalogu *Seoba naroda*.⁶³

while Zvonko Bojčić included it in his overview of early medieval finds from eastern Slavonia and Baranja.⁵⁴ Minichreiter described Draž as an early medieval cemetery,⁵⁵ whereas Sekelj Ivančan recorded an unidentified location of an inhumation cemetery with chance finds of jewellery, and dated it to the eighth century.⁵⁶ Considerable information about the site is provided in ADAM. According to this source, finds from a female grave at Draž were sold to the Hungarian National Museum by Heinrich Bátor in 1910. Furthermore, János Dombay carried out a small excavation in the vineyard of I. Dömöter in 1943. However, the finds discovered in the course of the research, and subsequently mentioned – yellow and grey pottery vessels alongside items decorated with griffin motifs – have not been preserved.⁵⁷ Filipec describes Draž as a location of Late Avar finds,⁵⁸ while Gračanin interprets it as a site of Avar-Slavic culture, dated to the eighth century.⁵⁹ Šmalcelj Novaković, on the other hand, interprets the finds from Draž as part of a repertoire of finds belonging to a destroyed female grave.⁶⁰

54 Bojčić 1984, 215.

55 Minichreiter 1987, 114.

56 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 227.

57 ADAM 2002, 118–119.

58 Filipec 2003, 133.

59 Gračanin 2011, 296.

60 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 60.

61 Fettich 1929, T. 11: 1–4.

62 Fettich 1929, 77. Samo u bilješci ovaj nalaz spominje i Z. Vinski (1958, 46, bilj. 114).

63 Seoba naroda 1962, 68.

54 Bojčić 1984, 215.

55 Minichreiter 1987, 114.

56 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 227.

57 ADAM 2002, 118–119.

58 Filipec 2003, 133.

59 Gračanin 2011, 296.

60 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 60.

Spojke iz Draža D. Mrkobrad svrstava u grupu *paft*e, ali ih izdva-
ja zbog pozlate, dok narukvice svrstava u skupinu jednostavnih
narukvica.⁶⁴ Spojki iz Draža dotiče se i A. Rapan Papeša 2022. go-
dine u radu o spojkama s područja istočne Hrvatske.⁶⁵

Inventar navedenoga ženskog groba danas se čuva u Mađar-
skome nacionalnom muzeju u Budimpešti. Sastoji se od dviju
pozlaćenih spojki od slitine bakra,⁶⁶ narukvice od slitine bakra⁶⁷
i ogrlice od perli.⁶⁸ Ogrlica se uglavnom sastoji od crnih nepro-
zirnih perli oblika koštice dinje (njem. *melonkern*), narukvica
je otvorenih i blago proširenih krajeva, a spojke sa staklenim
umetcima taj grob datiraju u sam kraj 8. stoljeća (sl. 7: 1–3).
Takvu dataciju dodatno podupiru i opisi nalaza s istraživanja
provedenoga 1943. godine (pojasne garniture ukrašene vitica-
ma i grifonima, posude od tzv. žute keramike), iako su nalazi
zagubljeni u vihoru Drugoga svjetskog rata. U Dražu ili okolici,
slično kao i u Batini, treba pretpostaviti postojanje kasnoava-
rodoznoga groblja, vjerojatno na obroncima Banskog brda (što
sugerira podatak o vinogradima). Usprkos mnogim pokušajima,
dosad nisu pronađene osobe koje se prisjećaju istraživanja ili
pozicije vinograda spomenutoga vlasnika, a zbog raznih koma-
sacija provedenih u prošlosti iz arhivskih podataka nije moguće
preciznije odrediti položaj nalazišta.

Duboševica

Duboševica (mađ. *Dályok*, lokalno *Daljok*) nalazi se na krajnjem
sjeverozapadnom rubu Baranje, na samom rubu velike lesne
grede koja zauzima veći dio Baranje i na tome mjestu prelazi
u polojna tla. Kao potencijalno avarodobno nalazište prva ga
spominje K. Minichreiter, pozivajući se na arhivu Muzeja Slavo-
nije u Osijeku i navodeći nalaz konjaničkoga groba iskapanoga
1950. godine. Nalaz je završio u privatnome vlasništvu i njegova
datacija nije poznata, ali položaj je rekognosciranjem ubiciran

The items considered to form part of the inventory of this fe-
male grave were first published by Nándor Fettich in 1929,
who presented a photograph of all the finds,⁶¹ but devoted
particular attention to the clasps only.⁶² The finds that prob-
ably belonged to a female grave – chance discoveries made in
1911 – were described in greater detail in the Zemun exhibition
catalogue *Seoba naroda*.⁶³ Mrkobrad classified the clasps from
Draž into the *paft*e group, although he distinguished them on
the basis of their gilding, whereas the bracelets were assigned
to the group of simple types.⁶⁴ The clasps from Draž were also
discussed by Anita Rapan Papeša in a 2022 study of clasps from
eastern Croatia.⁶⁵

The inventory of this female grave is today preserved in the
Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. It consists of two
gilded copper-alloy clasps,⁶⁶ a copper-alloy bracelet,⁶⁷ and a
necklace composed of beads.⁶⁸ The necklace consists mainly
of opaque black beads of the so-called melon-seed shape (Ger.
Melonkern). The bracelet has opened and slightly expanded
terminals, while the clasps, with glass inlays, date the grave to
the very end of the eighth century (Fig. 7: 1–3). This dating is fur-
ther supported by descriptions of finds from the 1943 excava-
tions (belt sets decorated with tendrils and griffins, and vessels
of so-called ‘yellow pottery’), although those items were lost
during the turmoil of the Second World War. It is reasonable
to presume the existence of a Late Avar cemetery in Draž or its
vicinity, as seen in the case of Batina, that is probably located
on the slopes of BANSKO BRDO, based upon the information
about the small-scale excavations conducted in the vineyards.
Despite attempts to locate the site, it is impossible to find an
individual who recalls the excavation, or the exact position of
the vineyard belonging to the owner mentioned. Furthermore,
due to the extensive re-parcelling that has taken place in the
past, archival data does not provide useful information about
the precise location of the presumed archaeological site.

Duboševica

Duboševica (Hung. *Dályok*, locally *Daljok*) is located at the
north-western edge of Baranja, at the margin of the extensive
loess ridge that occupies much of the region, and transitions
into alluvial soils. The site was first mentioned as a potential Av-
ar-period location by Minichreiter, who referred to the archival
records of the Museum of Slavonia, mentioning the discovery
of a horseman’s grave excavated in 1950. The find finished up in
a private collection, and its dating is therefore unknown. How-

64 Mrkobrad 1980, 96–97.

65 Rapan Papeša 2022, 89.

66 MNM inv. br. 105/1911.3–4; promjer spojki 2,6 cm; promjer središnje ćelije 1,1 cm; debljina 0,6 cm.

67 MNM inv. br. 105/1911.1; promjer 7,2 cm; debljina 0,4 cm; prošireni krajevi 0,5 × 0,7 cm. Druga narukvica, inv. br. 105/1911.2, više nije dio zbirke jer je nestala u razdoblju tijekom ili nakon II. svjetskog rata.

68 MNM inv. br. 105/1911.5; ogrlica sadrži oko 25 perli, dužine 0,7 – 1,3 cm; ši-
rine 0,8 – 1 cm.

61 Fettich 1929, Pl. 11: 1–4.

62 Fettich 1929, 77; the find is also mentioned only in a footnote by Vinski (1958, 46, n. 114).

63 Seoba naroda 1962, 68.

64 Mrkobrad 1980, 96–97.

65 Rapan Papeša 2022, 89.

66 MNM inv. no. 105/1911.3–4; diameter of the clasps 2.6 cm; diameter of the central cell 1.1 cm; thickness 0.6 cm.

67 MNM inv. no. 105/1911.1; diameter 7.2 cm; thickness 0.4 cm; expanded terminals 0.5 × 0.7 cm. A second bracelet (inv. no. 105/1911.2) is no longer part of the collection, having been lost during or after World War II.

68 MNM inv. no. 105/1911.5; necklace consists of about 25 beads, length 0.7–1.3 cm; width 0.8–1 cm.



SLIKA 8. Vršak koplja iz Grabovca iz fundusa Muzeja Ivana Česmičkog u Peču (snimio M. Helesfai, Muzej Ivana Česmičkog – Arheološki odjel).

FIGURE 8. Spearhead from Grabovac in the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs (photo by M. Helesfai, Janus Pannonius Museum, Department of Archaeology).

na toponimu „Vir, Selska bara i Brijeg/Brdo“, na obali potoka Borza.⁶⁹ Kao nalazište sa slučajnim nalazom utvrđeno terenskim pregledom i određeno kao inhumacijsko groblje s ukopom konjanika s konjem navodi ga i T. Sekelj Ivančan,⁷⁰ a kao pojedinačni grob H. Gračanin.⁷¹

Osim zapisa o nalazu i terenskoga pregleda, drugi podatci o tome nalazištu nisu dostupni, tako da ostaje upitno je li Duboševicu moguće smatrati avarodobnim nalazištem. Ipak, spomenuti ukop konja i konjanika najvjerojatnije upućuje na to da je Duboševicu moguće okarakterizirati kao avarodobno nalazište.

Grabovac

Grabovac (mađ. *Albertfalva*, njem. *Albertsdorf*) nalazi se u središnjem istočnom dijelu Baranje, u prostoru koji obilježavaju močvarna tla. U literaturi se ne spominje kao avarodobno nalazište, no čuvaonica Muzeja Ivana Česmičkog u Peču čuva željezni vršak koplja (sl. 8).⁷² Prema klasifikaciji G. Csikya, ono pripada kopljima s vrhom u obliku trske kojima su oštrica i tuljac za nasad jednake duljine (P.I.B/3). Takvi primjerci najbrojniji su u ranoavarodobnome razdoblju, iako se sporadično pojavljuju i kasnije.⁷³ Najslikhnija analogija nalazu iz Grabovca nalazi se u grobu 719 na groblju Budakalász–Dunapart.⁷⁴ S obzirom na to da je riječ o slučajnome, usamljenome i pojedinačnome nalazu, teško je odrediti karakter nalazišta u Grabovcu. Ne treba isključiti mogućnost da je riječ o dijelu ostave (bilo oružja bilo predmeta kao sirovine), ali i o nalazu koji upućuje na mjesto potencijalnoga sukoba. Važnost toga nalaza leži upravo u činjenici da je riječ o dosad nepoznatome i nezabilježenome nalazu koji dopunjuje naše spoznaje o avarodobnoj Baranji.

ever, the results of the field survey conducted indicated the approximate location of the site at the toponym “Vir, Selska bara i Brijeg/Brdo”, on the bank of the Borza stream.⁶⁹ The site is also mentioned by Sekelj Ivančan⁷⁰ as a location identified through field survey, and characterised as an inhumation cemetery containing an equestrian burial, whereas Gračanin refers to it as a single grave.⁷¹

Apart from the brief record of the find, and the results of the field survey, other information about this site is currently unavailable. It therefore remains unclear whether Duboševica can definitively be classified as an Avar-period site. Nonetheless, the reported equestrian burial could point to an Avar context.

Grabovac

Grabovac (Hung. *Albertfalva*, Ger. *Albertsdorf*) lies in the central eastern part of Baranja, within an area characterised by marshy terrain. It has not been mentioned in the literature as an Avar-period site. However, an iron spearhead kept in the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs provides an indication that Grabovac might be connected with this period (Fig. 8).⁷² According to the classification proposed by Gergely Csiky, the spearhead belongs to the type with a reed-shaped blade in which the blade and the socket are of equal length (P.I.B/3). Examples of this type are most numerous during the Early Avar period, although they occasionally appear in later contexts as well.⁷³ The closest parallel to the specimen from Grabovac appears in grave 719 of the Budakalász–Dunapart cemetery.⁷⁴ Since the item represents an isolated chance find, it is difficult to determine the character of the site at Grabovac. It may be possible that the item forms part of a hoard (either weapons or raw material), or it belongs to a context associated with a possible conflict that took place there. The significance of this find lies precisely in the fact that it represents a previously unknown and undocumented discovery that contributes towards better understanding of the Avar period in Baranja.

69 Minichreiter 1987, 115.

70 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 227.

71 Gračanin 2011, 296.

72 JPM inv. br. 2081; duljina 14,4 cm i širina 1 – 2 cm. Darovao Péter Hitzhaus, a u inventarnu knjigu uvedeno 1940. godine.

73 Csiky 2015, 87.

74 Csiky 2015, 89, sl. 26: 5; Pásztor, Vida 2024, 221, T. 89:12.

69 Minichreiter 1987, 115.

70 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 227.

71 Gračanin 2011, 296.

72 JPM inv. no. 2081; length 14.4 cm; width 1–2 cm. Donated by Péter Hitzhaus; entered into the inventory in 1940.

73 Csiky 2015, 87.

74 Csiky 2015, 89, Fig. 26: 5; Pásztor, Vida 2024, 221, Pl. 89:12.

Jagodnjak

Jagodnjak (mađ. *Kácsfalu*, njem. *Katschfeld*, lokalno *Kačvala* ili *Kačvola*) nalazi se u jugozapadnome dijelu Baranje, na graniči lesne terase i naplavnoga (fluvijalno akumulacijskoga) područja s lijeve obale Drave. Pripada istoimenoj općini Jagodnjak, jugozapadno od Belog Manastira.

Jagodnjak–Brdašće

K. Minichreiter donosi prvi podatak o nalazima kosturnih grobova na relativnoj dubini od 2 m na položaju Brdašće, odnosno na položaju južno od današnje Ulice Dositeja Obradovića 3A u samome mjestu Jagodnjak. Iako je iskopavanje obavljeno bez stručnjaka i bez prikupljenih nalaza, nalazište je pripisano razdoblju kasne antike ili ranoga srednjeg vijeka.⁷⁵ T. Sekelj Ivančan nalazište utvrđeno terenskim pregledom opisuje kao groblje s inhumacijskim ukopima, s kontinuitetom od rimskoga do ranosrednjovjekovnoga razdoblja,⁷⁶ dok H. Gračanin to nalazište označava kao slavensku nekropolu neodređene datacije.⁷⁷ Osim navedenih, nema drugih podataka ili oni nisu dostupni, pa predložena datacija zasad stoji i to nalazište možemo samo uvjetno smatrati avarodobnim.

Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara

Nalazište Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara smješteno je na istočnoj strani naselja Jagodnjak.⁷⁸ Na nalazištu su zastupljene tvorevine iz svih arheoloških razdoblja, a avarodobnomu horizontu pripadaju naseobinski objekti i groblje. Zabilježeno je više od dvadeset naseobinskih objekata, a keramički, koštani (propletači i recipijent) i metalni predmeti (strelice, noževi i sl.) iz zapuna u procesu su obrade i objave (sl. 9).⁷⁹ Groblje je preliminarno analizirano i objavljeno 2022. godine,⁸⁰ a riječ je o sveukupno 36 grobova raspoređenih u tri grupe i šest pojedinačnih grobova na ostatku istražene površine. Osim prostorne podjele na tri grupe, groblje karakterizira pojedinačno pokapanje (osim u jednome slučaju, kada su u istu raku pokopana tri pokojnika), uglavnom u smjeru I – Z, s laganim odklonom. Na groblju je na primjeru od ukupno 11 grobova ustanovljena grobna arhitektura, odnosno tragovi u obliku rupa od okomitih i vodoravnih greda u duljim, bočnim stranicama ukopa, a u nekima su dokumentirana i doglavna i donožna udubljenja, odnosno tzv. pogrebna postelja. U većinu su grobova prilagane keramičke posude i životinjske kosti, najčešće uz potkoljenice i stopala. Dječji su grobovi imali najbogatije nalaze, poput nakita i dijelova nošnje, što

Jagodnjak

Jagodnjak (Hung. *Kácsfalu*, Ger. *Katschfeld*, locally *Kačvala* or *Kačvola*) is located in the south-western part of Baranja, on the boundary between the loess terrace and the alluvial (fluvio-accumulative) zone along the left bank of the River Drava. It forms part of the Jagodnjak borough, located south-west of Beli Manastir.

Jagodnjak–Brdašće

Minichreiter published the first report of skeletal graves discovered at a depth of approximately 2 m at the location known as Brdašće, south of the present-day address Ulica Dositeja Obradovića 3A in the Jagodnjak settlement. Although the excavation was conducted without professional supervision and void of collected items, the site was broadly attributed to Late Antiquity or the early medieval period.⁷⁵ Sekelj Ivančan later described the site – identified through field survey – as a cemetery with inhumation burials showing continuity from the Roman period to the early medieval,⁷⁶ whereas Gračanin interpreted it as a Slavic cemetery of undetermined date.⁷⁷ Additional information is currently not available; therefore, the proposed dating remains provisional, and the site can only conditionally be considered an Avar-period site.

Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara

The site of Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara is located on the eastern side of the Jagodnjak settlement.⁷⁸ Archaeological features from all periods are represented at the site, while the Avar-period horizon includes both settlement structures and a cemetery. More than twenty settlement features have been recorded, and the ceramic, bone (including weaving tools and a receptacle) and metal artefacts (arrowheads, knives etc.) recovered from their fills are currently undergoing analysis and are awaiting publication (Fig. 9).⁷⁹ The cemetery was preliminarily analysed and published in 2022.⁸⁰ It consists of a total of thirty-six graves arranged in three clusters, together with six isolated graves distributed across the remaining excavated area. In addition to this spatial organisation, the cemetery is characterised by predominantly single burials (except in one case where three individuals were buried within the same grave pit), usually oriented east – west with a slight deviation. Grave architecture has been identified in eleven graves, consisting of traces of vertical and horizontal wooden beams along the longer sides of the grave pits. In several cases, head and foot recesses – interpreted as elements of a so-called funerary bed – have been doc-

75 Minichreiter 1984; 1987, 117–118.

76 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 227.

77 Gračanin 2011, 300.

78 Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na trasi autoceste A5 provela je tvrtka Kaducej d. o. o. tijekom 2014. i 2015. godine (Tresić Pavičić 2015, 39–41).

79 Kaducej d. o. o. i Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu.

80 Dugonjić et al. 2022.

75 Minichreiter 1984; 1987, 117–118.

76 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 227.

77 Gračanin 2011, 300.

78 Rescue archaeological excavations along the route of the A5 motorway were carried out by Kaducej d.o.o. in 2014 and 2015 (Tresić Pavičić 2015, 39–41).

79 Kaducej d.o.o. and the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

80 Dugonjić et al. 2022.



SLIKA 9. Jagodnjak-Krčevine-Selska bara, nalazi iz naselja: 1. Ukrašeni koštani recipijent T-oblika; 2. Vršak željezne trobridne strelice s trnom za nasad; 3. – 4. Propletači (snimili I. Krajcar, P. Dugonjić).

FIGURE 9. Jagodnjak-Krčevine-Selska Bara, finds from the settlement: 1. Decorated T-shaped bone container; 2. Three-bladed tanged arrowhead; 3, 4. Thatching tools (photo by I. Krajcar, P. Dugonjić).



SLIKA 10. Jagodnjak-Krčevine-Selska bara, nalazi iz groba 18 (Dugonjić et al. 2022, 44, Fig. 3).

FIGURE 10. Jagodnjak-Krčevine-Selska bara, finds from grave 18 (Dugonjić et al. 2022, 44, Fig. 3).

SLIKA 11. Kneževi Vinogradi, vršak trobridne strelice s trnom za nasad iz fundusa Muzeja Ivana Česmičkog u Pečuhu (snimio M. Helesfai, Muzej Ivana Česmičkog – Arheološki odjel).

FIGURE 11. Kneževi Vinogradi, three-bladed tanged arrowhead from the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs (photo by M. Helesfai, Janus Pannonius Museum, Department of Archaeology).



najzornije prikazuju grob 22, u kojemu je četverogodišnje dijete pokopano s torkvesom od slitine bakra, ogrlicom od staklenih perli i karičicom od slitine bakra (s keramičkom posudom kao prilogom), i grob 29, u kojemu je jednogodišnje dijete pokopano sa zlatnim naušnicama s privjeskom u obliku grozda, ogrlicom od limenih perla od slitine bakra i keramičkom posudom kao prilogom.⁸¹ Osim nakita, pronađeni su dijelovi pojasnih garnitura, noževi, iglenik, kresivo i kremen. Grob 18 pripada mladomu muškarcu, a ističe se pojasnom garniturom koja sadrži željeznu predicu, okov i bizantsku kopču tipa Balgota od slitine bakra (sl. 10).⁸² Pojasne garniture zabilježene u preostalim sedam grobova skromne su i sastoje se uglavnom od željeznih predica. Bioarheološke analize pokazuju relativno visoku smrtnost djece, ali i neuobičajeno dug životni vijek odraslih pokojnika, čija se prehrana velikim dijelom temeljila na žitaricama.⁸³ Prema tipološkim obilježjima nalaza, ali i C14 analizama, groblje i naselje datirani su u razdoblje od kraja 6. do sredine 9. stoljeća.

Kneževi Vinogradi

Kneževi Vinogradi (mađ. *Herczegszöllös*) nalaze se u središtu Baranje, na padinama Banskog brda, uz rub močvarnoga pojasa prema Dunavu. Unatoč izostanku sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja na području općine Kneževi Vinogradi koja bi omogućila točno ubiciranje nalazišta, pojedini autori na temelju pokretnoga arheološkog materijala pretpostavljaju njegovu dataciju u avarsko razdoblje. Prvi spomen postojanja avarodobnoga nalaza strelice donosi J. Kalmár u svojem radu o tipovima ava-

umented. Ceramic vessels and animal bones represented grave goods placed in most graves, typically next to the feet. The richest assemblages were recorded in children's graves, including jewellery and elements of attire. Particularly illustrative is grave 22, containing a four-year-old child, buried alongside a copper-alloy torc, a necklace of glass beads, and a copper-alloy circlet (with a ceramic vessel as an additional grave contribution), and grave 29, containing a one-year-old child buried with gold earrings with a grape-shaped pendant, a necklace composed of sheet-metal beads made of copper alloy, and a ceramic vessel.⁸¹ In addition to jewellery, finds include elements of belt sets, knives, a needle case, and fire-steels with flints. Grave 18, belonging to a young adult male, stands out due to its belt set, consisting of an iron buckle, a fitting and a copper-alloy Byzantine buckle of the Balgota type (Fig. 10).⁸² The belt sets recorded in another seven graves are modest, and mainly include simple iron buckles. Bioarchaeological analysis indicates a relatively high mortality rate among children, but also an unusually long life expectancy among adults, whose diet was largely based on cereals.⁸³ On the basis of the typological characteristics of the finds, as well as radiocarbon (C14) analysis, both the cemetery and the associated settlement are dated from the end of the sixth century to the mid-ninth.

Kneževi Vinogradi

Kneževi Vinogradi (Hung. *Herczegszöllös*) is located in the central part of Baranja, on the slopes of Bansko Brdo, near the edge of the marshy belt stretching towards the Danube. Archaeological excavations have not yet been carried out across the territory of the Kneževi Vinogradi borough that would suggest the exact position of a presumed Avar-period site. However, several authors attribute the character of the area to the Avar period. The first reference to Avar-period finds from Kneževi Vinogradi

81 Dugonjić et al. 2022, 45, sl. 4, 47, sl. 6.

82 Dugonjić et al. 2022, 44, sl. 3.

83 Dugonjić et al. 2022, 26–61.

81 Dugonjić et al. 2022, 45, Fig. 4, 47, Fig. 6.

82 Dugonjić et al. 2022, 44, Fig. 3.

83 Dugonjić et al. 2022, 26–61.

rodobnih vršaka strelica (dio o trobridnim vršcima strelica),⁸⁴ no bez preciznijih podataka. D. Csallány spominje više grobnih nalaza iz Kneževih Vinograda (mjesto naziva *Jesszeföld*), koji se čuvaju u Pečuhu.⁸⁵ Z. Vinski prenosi iste podatke u *Seobi naroda*, navodeći strelice u množini.⁸⁶ D. Mrkobrad pak Kneževe Vinograde ubraja u opću skupinu avarodobnih nalazišta s obzirom na to da nema poznatih podataka o samome nalazištu niti o samome nalazu, odnosno nalazima, jer ih navodi u množini.⁸⁷

Nakon spomena u navedenim izvorima nalazište pada u zaborav i ne spominje se u većim pregledima sve do H. Gračanina, koji, prema zemunskome katalogu, nalazište definira kao avarsko i datira ga u 7. stoljeće.⁸⁸ Kao nalazište s grobljem opisuje ga i P. Šmalcelj Novaković, pozivajući se na prethodne objave.⁸⁹

U čuvaonici pečuskoga muzeja danas se od nalaza iz Kneževih Vinograda čuva samo jedan vršak željezne strelice, što odgovara objavi J. Kalmára. Riječ je o trobridnome vršku strelice s trnom za nasad (sl. 11),⁹⁰ a predstavlja jedan od tipičnih avarodobnih nalaza.⁹¹ Kako nam okolnosti pronalaska toga, zasad jedinoga, nalaza ostaju nepoznate, u Kneževim Vinogradima moguće je pretpostaviti postojanje groblja, ostave ili pak slučajnoga nalaza. Tragovi u profilu iza kuća u Glavnoj ulici br. 59 – 61 ukazuju na moguće postojanje groblja, dok pokretni materijal (željezna karika ili prsten) upućuje na potencijalne ukope ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova.⁹² Isti se spominju u Rješenju o registraciji lokaliteta, iako nalazi nisu pronađeni do dovršetka pisanja ovoga članka.⁹³ U istoj ulici izvršeno je sondažno iskopavanje koje je rezultiralo samo pronalaskom ulomaka životinjskih kostiju u istome profilu koji pripada pretpovijesnomu razdoblju.⁹⁴ U Registru kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske, u opisu arheološkoga nalazišta na položaju Dragojlov brijeg, navodi se da je otkriveno nekoliko ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova, također bez detaljnijih podataka.⁹⁵

– specifically an arrowhead – was made by János Kalmár in his study of Avar-period arrowhead types (in the section on three-lobed arrowheads),⁸⁴ although without providing more precise information. Csallány later mentioned several grave finds at Kneževi Vinogradi (under the place name *Jesszeföld*), currently preserved in Pécs.⁸⁵ Vinski reiterated the same information in the catalogue of the exhibition *Seoba naroda*, referring to arrowheads in the plural.⁸⁶ Mrkobrad classified Kneževi Vinogradi among Avar-period sites in a general sense, noting that both the exact location and the circumstances of the find (or finds, as he also refers to them in the plural) are unknown.⁸⁷

Subsequently, the site fell largely into obscurity, and was not mentioned in major overviews until Gračanin, on the basis of the Zemun catalogue, defined it as an Avar site dating to the seventh century.⁸⁸ Šmalcelj Novaković also described it as a site with a cemetery, referring to earlier publications.⁸⁹

Only a single iron arrowhead from Kneževi Vinogradi is currently preserved in the collections of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs, corresponding to the record published by Kalmár. It is a three-lobed arrowhead with a tang (Fig. 11),⁹⁰ a type typical of Avar-period contexts.⁹¹ Since the circumstances of discovery connected to what is, so far, the only known find remain unknown, it is difficult to determine the age of the site at Kneževi Vinogradi. It is possible to suggest the existence of a cemetery, a hoard, or simply of an isolated chance find. Indicators supporting the existence of a cemetery are provided by traces visible in a profile behind houses at 59–61 Main Street, where movable material (an iron ring or finger-ring) suggests possible early medieval burials.⁹² They are mentioned in the official document pertaining to the registration of the site. However, they had not been located by the time of the completion of this article.⁹³ Test trenching carried out in the same street did not produce archaeological finds other than fragments of animal bones from the same profile, which are believed to belong to the prehistoric period.⁹⁴ In the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia, the description of the archaeological site at the location known as Dragojlov Brijeg notes the discovery of several early medieval graves, though again without further details.⁹⁵

84 Kalmár 1945, 286.

85 Csallány 1956, 132.

86 Seoba naroda 1962, 68–69.

87 Mrkobrad 1980, 99, 147, bilj. 669.

88 Gračanin 2011, 303.

89 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

90 JPM inv. br. 920; duljina 6,3 cm, duljina trna 2,5 cm. Darovao Péter Hitzhaus, a u inventarnu knjigu uvedeno 1939. godine.

91 Zábójnik, Holeščák 2018, 485.

92 U rješenju o registraciji lokaliteta OŠ Kneževi Vinogradi (Rješenje o zaštiti Arheološkog nalazišta Osnovna škola u Kneževim Vinogradima: KLASA: UP/I-612-08/22-06/0001, URBROJ: 532-06-02-02-02/1-22-1, od 11. 1. 2022. Broj dosjea: 922).

93 Na poveznici <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-6472> isti grobovi navode se kao srednjovjekovni, bez detalja.

94 Istraživanje je provedeno 2014. godine pod vodstvom Arheološkoga muzeja u Osijeku (Vukmanić 2014).

95 <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-6118>

84 Kalmár 1945, 286.

85 Csallány 1956, 132.

86 Seoba naroda 1962, 68–69.

87 Mrkobrad 1980, 99, 147, n. 669.

88 Gračanin 2011, 303.

89 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

90 JPM inv. no. 920; length 6.3 cm; tang length. 2.5 cm. Donated by Péter Hitzhaus; entered into the inventory in 1939.

91 Zábójnik, Holeščák 2018, 485.

92 In the decision on the registration of the site OŠ Kneževi Vinogradi (*Decision on the Protection of the Archaeological Site 'Primary School in Kneževi Vinogradi'*: KLASA: UP/I-612-08/22-06/0001, URBROJ: 532-06-02-02-02/1-22-1, 11 January 2022, file no. 922).

93 In the entry for the site (Z-6472) in the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia (<https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-6472>), the same graves are recorded simply as medieval, without additional details.

94 The excavation was carried out in 2014 under the direction of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek (Vukmanić 2014).

95 <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-6118>.

Kotlina

Kotlina (mađ. *Sepse*, lokalno *Šepša*) nalazi se na sjevernim obroncima Banskog brda, u središnjem dijelu Baranje. Kotlina je jedan od rijetkih nalazišta koje se u literaturi dosljedno navodi kao avarodobno.

Kotlina–nepoznato nalazište

H. Bator je 1906. godine Prirodoslovnemu muzeju u Beču (*Naturhistorisches Museum Wien – NHMW*) prodao grobne nalaze otkrivene oko 1900. godine. Prvi ih, pod nazivom *Sepse*, objavljuje D. Csallány, navodeći nalaze pojasne garniture i (kasnoavarodobne) posude.⁹⁶ Rad o groblju u Brodskom Drenovcu sadrži popis tada poznatih (kasno)avarodobnih nalazišta, između ostalih i Kotlinu.⁹⁷ Sumarnu objavu pojasne garniture prvi je dao Z. Vinski u katalogu izložbe *Seoba naroda*,⁹⁸ navodeći dva jezičca, četiri okrugla okova, okov tipa propeler, pravokutni okov, držač remena i dva ulomka od slitine bakra. D. Mrkobrad Kotlinu smješta u skupinu nalazišta *II. talasa*, odnosno u kasnoavarodobno vrijeme.⁹⁹ Daje više podataka, ali opet bez detaljnoga opisa: jezičac s motivom grifona, okrugli okovi s geometrijskim ukrasom, neukrašeni okov oblika elise,¹⁰⁰ očito koristeći samo ilustracije iz zemenskoga kataloga, ali ne i opise iz teksta (ostale nalaze ne spominje). Kotlinu spominje i Z. Bojčić u svojem preglednom radu o ranosrednjovjekovnim nalazima istočne Slavonije i Baranje.¹⁰¹ Kompletan nalaz pojasne garniture u crtežu (bez opisa) donosi G. Kiss i nalaze datira u prvu polovinu 8. stoljeća.¹⁰² Kao ranosrednjovjekovnu nekropolu na nepoznatoj lokaciji Kotlinu spominje i K. Minichreiter,¹⁰³ a T. Sekelj Ivančan je definira kao mjesto pronalaska slučajnih nalaza inhumacijskoga groblja na redove, koje datira na kraj 8. i početak 9. stoljeća.¹⁰⁴ U *ADAM*-u se spominje samo dio nalaza iz Kotline datiranih u 8. stoljeće.¹⁰⁵ K. Filipec Kotlinu opisuje kao nalazište s kasnoavarodobnim nalazima,¹⁰⁶ a H. Gračanin je definira kao avaro-slavensko nalazište iz 8. stoljeća.¹⁰⁷ Kao uništen kasnoavarodobni grob zabilježena je i u pregledu P. Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁰⁸

Predmeti iz Kotline, danas smješteni u Prirodoslovnome muzeju u Beču, u literaturi se vode kao nalaz jedinstvene pojasne garniture. Međutim, već je na prvi pogled jasno da garnitura nije cjelovita (npr. nedostaju kopča i jezičac glavnoga remena), a ujedno se čini da ta skupina predmeta potječe iz većega broja ukopa

Kotlina

Kotlina (Hung. *Sepse*, locally *Šepša*) lies on the northern slopes of BANSKO BRDO, in the central part of Baranja. It is one of the few sites consistently described as belonging to the Avar period.

Kotlina–unknown site

Grave finds discovered near Kotlina around 1900 were sold in 1906 by Bátor to the Natural History Museum Vienna (*Naturhistorisches Museum Wien – NHMW*). These finds were first published under the name *Sepse* by Csallány, who mentioned elements of a belt set and (Late Avar) pottery vessels.⁹⁶ The study of the cemetery at Brodski Drenovac also includes Kotlina⁹⁷ in its list of then-known (Late) Avar sites. A brief publication of the belt set was first provided by Vinski in the catalogue of the exhibition *Seoba naroda*.⁹⁸ He lists two strap ends, four round fittings, a propeller-shaped fitting, a rectangular fitting, a strap holder, and two fragments made of copper alloy. Mrkobrad placed Kotlina within the group of sites belonging to the ‘second wave’, that is, the Late Avar period.⁹⁹ His description provides somewhat more information, though still without detailed analysis: a strap end with a griffin motif, round fittings with geometric decoration, and an undecorated propeller-shaped fitting¹⁰⁰ – apparently based only on the illustrations in the *Seoba naroda* catalogue, rather than the accompanying descriptions. The site was also mentioned by Bojčić in his overview of early medieval finds from eastern Slavonia and Baranja.¹⁰¹ Gábor Kiss later published a drawing of the complete belt set without a description, and dated the finds to the first half of the eighth century.¹⁰² Minichreiter referred to Kotlina as an early medieval cemetery of unknown location,¹⁰³ while Sekelj Ivančan defined it as a chance find from a row-grave inhumation cemetery dated to the late eighth or early ninth century.¹⁰⁴ Only some of the Kotlina finds are listed in the *ADAM* volume, dated to the eighth century.¹⁰⁵ Filipec describes Kotlina as a site with Late Avar finds,¹⁰⁶ whereas Gračanin defines it as an eighth-century Avar-Slavic site.¹⁰⁷ Šmalcelj Novaković also acknowledges the site as a destroyed Late Avar grave.¹⁰⁸

The bibliography attributes the items from Kotlina, today preserved in the Natural History Museum Vienna, as a find of a

96 Csallány 1956, 186. Gradski muzej Sombor navodi kao mjesto gdje se čuva kasnoavarska posuda.

97 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 152.

98 Seoba naroda 1962, 69.

99 Mrkobrad 1980, 147.

100 Mrkobrad 1980, 87–88, 90–91.

101 Bojčić 1984, 215.

102 Kiss G. 1985, 150, T. 8.

103 Minichreiter 1987, 125.

104 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 229.

105 ADAM 2002, 210.

106 Filipec 2003, 133.

107 Gračanin 2011, 305.

108 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 61.

109 NHMW inv. br. PA040800 (4 komada); promjer okova je 2 cm, debljina 0,3 cm, debljina sa zakovicom 0,6 cm.

96 Csallány 1956, 186. The Late Avar vessel is reported to be kept in the Sombor City Museum.

97 Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958, 152.

98 Seoba naroda 1962, 69.

99 Mrkobrad 1980, 147.

100 Mrkobrad 1980, 87–88, 90–91.

101 Bojčić 1984, 215.

102 Kiss G. 1985, 150, Pl. 8.

103 Minichreiter 1987, 125.

104 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 229.

105 ADAM 2002, 210.

106 Filipec 2003, 133.

107 Gračanin 2011, 305.

108 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 61.

109 NHMW inv. no. PA040800 (4 pieces); diameter 2 cm, thickness 0.3 cm, thickness with rivet 0.6 cm.



SLIKA 12. Dijelovi pojasnih garnitura iz Kotline iz fundusa Prirodoslovnoga muzeja u Beču: 1. Okrugli okovi glavnoga remena ukrašeni geometrijskim ukrasom; 2. Jezičac pojasa ukrašen viticama; 3. Jezičac pojasa s prikazom grifona; 4. Jezičac od lima s tuljcem; 5. Jedna polovina dvodijelnoga jezičca; 6. Okov pojasa od lima; 7. Držać remena ukrašen punciranim trokutima; 8. Propeler-okov od lima (snimila A. Schumacher, Prirodoslovni muzej u Beču).

FIGURE 12. Parts of belt sets from Kotlina in the collection of the Natural History Museum Vienna: 1. Round main-belt fittings decorated with geometric ornament; 2. Belt strap end decorated with tendrils; 3. Belt strap end depicting a griffin; 4. Sheet strap end with a socket; 5. One half of a two-part strap end; 6. Belt fitting made of sheet metal; 7. Strap holder decorated with punched triangles; 8. Sheet propeller fitting (photo by A. Schumacher, Natural History Museum Vienna).

i ne čini cjelinu (sl. 12). Riječ je o ukupno jedanaest predmeta od slitine bakra: okrugli okovi glavnoga remena s geometrijskim ukrasom (sl. 12: 1),¹⁰⁹ jezičac pojasa ukrašen viticama (sl. 12: 2),¹¹⁰ jezičac pojasa s prikazom grifona (sl. 12: 3),¹¹¹ jezičac od lima s tuljcem (sl. 12: 4),¹¹² jedna polovina dvodijelnoga jezičca (sl. 12: 5),¹¹³ okov pojasa od lima (sl. 12: 6),¹¹⁴ držać remena ukrašen punciranim trokutima (sl. 12: 7)¹¹⁵ i propeler-okov od lima (sl. 12: 8).¹¹⁶ Okrugli okovi glavnoga remena s geometrijskim ukrasom pripadaju skupini iznimno rijetkih nalaza. Osim u Kotlini, zabilježeni su još samo u grobu 40 na nalazištu Szentes-Lapistó¹¹⁷ i u grobu

single, unique belt set. However, even a cursory examination shows that the assemblage is incomplete (missing the buckle and the main strap end, for example), and it appears likely that the items originate from several burials, rather than from a single context (Fig. 12). Eleven copper-alloy items are preserved in total: round fittings from the main belt with geometric decoration (Fig. 12: 1),¹⁰⁹ a strap end decorated with tendrils (Fig. 12: 2),¹¹⁰ a strap end with a depiction of a griffin (Fig. 12: 3),¹¹¹ a sheet-metal strap end with a socket (Fig. 12: 4),¹¹² one half of a two-part strap end (Fig. 12: 5),¹¹³ a sheet-metal belt fitting (Fig. 12: 6),¹¹⁴ a strap holder decorated with punched triangles (Fig. 12: 7),¹¹⁵ and a propeller-shaped sheet-metal fitting (Fig. 12: 8).¹¹⁶

110 NHMW inv. br. PA040802; dužine 3 cm, širine 1,7 cm, debljine 0,5 cm.

111 NHMW inv. br. PA040803; dužine 4,1 cm, širine 1,3 cm, debljine 0,4 cm.

112 NHMW inv. br. PA040805; dužine 1,9 cm; širine 1,5 cm.

113 NHMW inv. br. PA040801; dužine 2,4 cm; širine 2,2 cm, debljine 0,4 cm.

114 NHMW inv. br. PA040807; dužine 1,9 cm; širine 1,2 cm, debljine 0,1 cm.

115 NHMW inv. br. PA040806; dužine 3,4 cm; širine 0,8 cm; debljine 0,1 cm.

116 NHMW inv. br. PA040804; dužine 4,5 cm; širine 1,2 cm; debljine 0,1 cm.

117 Csallány 1956, 298.

110 NHMW inv. no. PA040802; length 3 cm, width 1.7 cm, thickness 0.5 cm.

111 NHMW inv. no. PA040803; length 4.1 cm, width 1.3 cm, thickness 0.4 cm.

112 NHMW inv. no. PA040805; length 1.9 cm; width 1.5 cm.

113 NHMW inv. no. PA040801; length 2.4 cm; width 2.2 cm, thickness 0.4 cm.

114 NHMW inv. no. PA040807; length 1.9 cm; width 1.2 cm, thickness 0.1 cm.

115 NHMW inv. no. PA040806; length 3.4 cm; width 0.8 cm; thickness 0.1 cm.

116 NHMW inv. no. PA040804; length 4.5 cm; width 1.2 cm; thickness 0.1 cm.

1225 na nalazištu Zamárdi-Rétiföldek, gdje su datirani u prvu polovinu 8. stoljeća.¹¹⁸ Prema klasifikaciji P. Stadlera, pripadaju tipu HRB:07890 (lijevani, rozeta, palmeta),¹¹⁹ a prema klasifikaciji G. Szenthea, tipu VI.2.1. (rotacijski simetrični uzorci, okrugli s tri grane i jednim listom).¹²⁰ Pri analizi predmeta iz Zselickislaka, G. Kiss, između ostalih, okove iz Kotline svrstava u skupinu predmeta bizantske produkcije,¹²¹ što se čini sasvim opravdanim. Jezičac od lima s tuljcem moguće je usporediti s onim iz groba 369 na nalazištu Nové Zámky,¹²² ukopu konjanika s konjem u kojemu je predmet opisan kao petlja od slitine bakra, a cjelokupan ukop datiran je u početak 8. stoljeća i pripada skupini grobova s garniturom izrađenom od lima. Držać remena ukrašen punciranim trokutima također nije čest nalaz, a njegove analogije nalazimo u grobu 249 na nalazištu Alattyán, datiranome u prijelaz iz 7. u 8. stoljeće. U istome grobu nalazimo i analogije za limene jezičce¹²³ u grobovima 194 i 334 na nalazištu Szebény I, datiranim u početak kasnoavarodobnoga razdoblja,¹²⁴ a prostorno je najbliža analogija u grobu 100 na nalazištu Kékesd, datiranome u početak 8. stoljeća.¹²⁵ Analogiju za okov tipa propeler, rezan iz lima s trodijelnim valovitim rubom na sredini, nalazimo u grobu 205 na nalazištu Budakalász-Dunapart.¹²⁶

Posuda iz Gradskoga muzeja Sombor koju spominje D. Csallány,¹²⁷ prema priopćenju kolegice V. Uzelac, nije dio inventara i, sukladno tomu, u inventaru nemaju avarodobne predmete iz Kotline.

Kotlina–Cigány Heverős

Informacije o postojanju ranosrednjovjekovnih nalaza na ovome položaju donosi Z. Bojčić, koji ih, na osnovi keramičkih ulomaka prikupljenih tijekom terenskoga pregleda, opisuje kao ulomke iz „avaro-slavenskog“ razdoblja.¹²⁸ Keramički materijal prikupljen tim terenskim pregledom čuva se u Arheološkome muzeju u Osijeku. Malobrojni ulomci trbuha i dna posuda koje je moguće opredijeliti u ranosrednjovjekovno razdoblje vrlo su sitni i zbog toga ih je teško preciznije datirati. Bez obzira na navedeno, tih nekoliko ulomaka može sugerirati da na navedenome položaju postoji ranosrednjovjekovno nalazište.

Round fittings of the main belt with geometric decoration are extremely rare finds. Excluding Kotlina, they are known only from grave 40 at Szentés-Lapító cemetery,¹¹⁷ and grave 1225 at Zamárdi-Rétiföldek cemetery,¹¹⁸ both dated to the first half of the eighth century. According to the classification of Peter Stadler, they belong to type HRB:07890 (cast rosette with palmette),¹¹⁹ whilst the classification of Gergely Szenthe places them in type VI.2.1 (rotationally symmetrical patterns, round fittings with three branches and a leaf).¹²⁰ In his analysis of material from Zselickislak, Gábor Kiss classified the fittings from Kotlina among items of Byzantine production,¹²¹ providing an interpretation that appears entirely plausible. The sheet-metal terminal with a tubular attachment has a parallel in grave 369 at Nové Zámky cemetery,¹²² an equestrian burial where the item is described as a copper-alloy loop. The burial is dated to the beginning of the eighth century and belongs to the group of graves with sheet-metal belt sets. The strap holder decorated with punched triangles is likewise a relatively uncommon find. Analogies occur in grave 249 at Alattyán cemetery, dated the turn of the eighth century, where sheet-metal strap-end analogies are also present.¹²³ Further analogies are known from graves 194 and 334 at Szebény I cemetery, dated to the beginning of the Late Avar period,¹²⁴ while the geographically closest parallel derives from grave 100 at Kékesd cemetery, dated to the early eighth century.¹²⁵ An analogy for the propeller-shaped fitting – cut from sheet metal with a three-part wavy central edge – occurs in grave 205 at Budakalász-Dunapart cemetery.¹²⁶

The vessel mentioned by Csallány,¹²⁷ supposedly kept in the Sombor City Museum, according to information kindly provided by colleague Viktorija Uzelac, is not part of the museum's inventory, and additional Avar-period items from Kotlina have not been recorded there.

Kotlina–Cigány Heverős

Bojčić provided information concerning the early medieval finds discovered at this location. He described the pottery fragments collected during field survey as finds from the “Avar-Slavic” period.¹²⁸ The ceramic material collected during this survey is preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Osijek. The small number of sherds belonging to the bodies and bases of various vessels are very fragmented, and do not provide a lot of information for a definite identification, although they can be attributed to the early medieval period. Nevertheless, these few fragments suggest the presence of an early medieval site at this location, even though its exact location is unknown.

118 Garam 2018, 110, 116.

119 Stadler 2005, CD-ROM.

120 Szenthe 2020, 248; nalaze iz Kotline ne navodi u svome radu.

121 Kiss G. 2003, 310, 314, 318.

122 Čilinská 1966, 72, 299, T. 57: 369/18.

123 Kovrig 1963, 148–151, T. 20.

124 Garam 1975, 65, 74, 97, sl. 14: 194/3, sl. 23: 334/11.

125 Kiss A. 1977, 53, 59, T. 16: 100/2.

126 Pásztor, Vida 2024, I, 84–85; II, 37, T. 30.

127 Csallány 1956, 186.

128 Bojčić et al. 2010, 85.

117 Csallány 1956, 298.

118 Garam 2018, 110, 116.

119 Stadler 2005, CD-ROM.

120 Szenthe 2020, 248; the items from Kotlina are not discussed in his work.

121 Kiss G. 2003, 310, 314, 318.

122 Čilinská 1966, 72, 299, Pl. 57: 369/18.

123 Kovrig 1963, 148–151, Pl. 20.

124 Garam 1975, 65, 74, 97, Fig. 14: 194/3, Fig. 23: 334/11.

125 Kiss A. 1977, 53, 59, Pl. 16: 100/2.

126 Pásztor, Vida 2024, I, 84–85; II, 37, T. 30.

127 Csallány 1956, 186.

128 Bojčić et al. 2010, 85.

Luč–Henja

Luč (mađ. *Lőcs*) nalazi se na zapadu Baranje, na visokoj lesnoj gredi. Nalazište Henja leži zapadno od naselja, na padini iznad potoka Gradac. M. Bulat u radu o antičkome akroteriju s te lokacije navodi da je Henja (kasno)srednjovjekovno selo koje je napušteno za vrijeme Osmanlija, a da je Luč njegov nasljednik.¹²⁹ Nalazište spominje K. Minichreiter, navodeći površinske nalaze ulomaka keramike koje je možda moguće povezati sa srednjovjekovnim naseljem.¹³⁰ T. Sekelj Ivančan nalazište navodi kao naselje i groblje iz ranoga srednjeg vijeka.¹³¹ S obzirom na to da uvid u nalaze nije moguć,¹³² pitanje datacije ostaje otvoreno, kao i pitanje pripadnosti toga nalazišta avarodobnomu razdoblju ili nekomu drugom, kasnijem razdoblju.

Novi Čeminac

Novi Čeminac (mađ. *Újlaskafalu*) naselje je u općini Čeminac. Nalazi se kraj Jagodnjaka i nedaleko od grada Belog Manastira, na rubu lesne terase i plavnoga područja lijevoga toka rijeke Drave

Novi Čeminac–Jauhov salaš

Na nalazištu Novi Čeminac–Jauhov salaš pronađeni su i dokumentirani tragovi od pretpovijesti pa sve do kasnoga srednjeg vijeka,¹³³ odnosno naseobinski elementi svih arheoloških razdoblja, što pokazuje da je taj položaj bio povoljan za naseljavanje i kontinuirano korišten. Razdoblju ranoga srednjeg vijeka moguće je pripisati petnaestak objekata manjih dimenzija i s manjom količinom keramike u zapuni. Keramički je materijal u svim objektima tipološki sličan, a riječ je o većinski gruboj, rupičastoj keramici, na pojedinim ulomcima ukrašenoj motivom višestrukih valovnica. U jednome je objektu pronađena i keramika tankih stijenki žute boje, proizvedena na kolu.¹³⁴

Novi Čeminac–Čemin

Nedaleko od Jauhovog salaša nalazi se položaj Čemin.¹³⁵ Od srednjovjekovnoga naselja istražen je njegov rubni dio, koji čine tri jame zapunjene srednjovjekovnom keramikom, preliminarno datirane u razdoblje od 9. do 11. stoljeća.¹³⁶

Luč–Henja

Luč (Hung. *Lőcs*) is located in western Baranja, on a high loess ridge. The site of Henja lies west of the settlement, on a slope above the Gradac stream. Mirko Bulat, in a study pertaining to a Roman acroterion at this location, noted that Henja was a (late) medieval village abandoned during the Ottoman period, and that the present settlement of Luč has developed as its successor.¹²⁹ The site is also mentioned by Minichreiter, who refers to surface finds of pottery fragments that may possibly be associated with a medieval settlement.¹³⁰ Sekelj Ivančan lists the site as an early medieval settlement and cemetery.¹³¹ Due to the fact that direct examination of the finds has not been possible,¹³² the question of dating remains open, as does that of whether the site belongs to the Avar period, or it represents remains from a later chronological horizon.

Novi Čeminac

Novi Čeminac (Hung. *Újlaskafalu*) is a settlement in the borough of Čeminac. It is located near Jagodnjak, not far from the town of Beli Manastir, on the edge of a loess terrace and the floodplain of the left bank of the River Drava.

Novi Čeminac–Jauhov Salaš

Traces of archaeological material from prehistory to the late Middle Ages have been found and documented at the Novi Čeminac–Jauhov Salaš site, including settlement elements from all archaeological periods,¹³³ indicating a favourable and continuously-used location. About fifteen features can be attributed to the early Middle Ages. They are smallish in size, and they contain a smallish amount of pottery in the fill. The ceramic material is typologically similar in all structures, consisting mostly of coarse, porous pottery, with some fragments decorated with a motif of multiple wavy lines. Yellow thin-walled pottery manufactured on a wheel was also found in one of the features.¹³⁴

Novi Čeminac–Čemin

Not far from Jauhov Salaš lies the site of Čemin.¹³⁵ Its peripheral part of the medieval settlement has been excavated, including three pits filled with medieval pottery, preliminarily dated to the period from the ninth century to the eleventh.¹³⁶

129 Bulat 1972, 7.

130 Minichreiter 1987, 127.

131 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 229.

132 U Arheološkome muzeju u Osijeku nemaju podatke ni nalaze koji potječu s ovoga položaja.

133 Položaj Jauhov salaš obuhvaćen je zaštitnim arheološkim istraživanjima na trasi autoceste A5 tijekom 2014. i 2015. godine. Istraženo je nešto više od 70.000,00 m², a istraživanja je proveo Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu (Balén 2015; Balén et al. 2016, 11–24).

134 Daljnja je obrada u tijeku u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu.

135 Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja izvedena su u razdoblju od 21. svibnja do 15. srpnja 2015. godine na trasi autoceste (A5) pod vodstvom Muzeja Slavonije Osijek. Keramički ulomci nalaze se u Arheološkome muzeju u Osijeku i trenutno nisu dostupni na uvid.

136 HAG 12/2015, 54–55; TAIUH 2016.

129 Bulat 1972, 7.

130 Minichreiter 1987, 127.

131 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 229.

132 The Archaeological Museum in Osijek holds neither records nor finds originating from this location.

133 The Jauhov Salaš site was covered by rescue archaeological excavations along the A5 motorway route during 2014 and 2015. A little over 70,000 m² were excavated, and the excavations were carried out by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Balén 2015; Balén et al. 2016, 11–24).

134 Further processing is under way at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

135 Rescue archaeological excavations were carried out from 21 May to 15 July 2015 on the motorway route (A5) under the leadership of the Museum of Slavonija, Osijek. The pottery fragments are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Osijek and are currently not available for inspection.

136 HAG 12/2015, 54–55; TAIUH 2016.

Popovac

Popovac (mađ. *Baranyabán*) nalazi se na sjeveru Baranje, na padinama Banskog brda, iznad polojnih nizina natopljenih vodama Dunava.

Popovac–Ulica Vladimira Nazora 93

Uništeni konjanički grob u Ulici Vladimira Nazora 93 prvi spominje D. Pinterović, navodeći da je grob otkriven na dubini od 2,5 m pri izgradnji podruma te dajući prvi opis i dimenzije sačuvane sjekire.¹³⁷ D. Mrkobrad Popovac svrstava ga u skupinu nalazišta *II. talasa*, odnosno u kasnoavarodobno vrijeme,¹³⁸ a nalaze sjekire i trozupca donosi u crtežu.¹³⁹ Nalazi su opisani i prikazani u crtežu i u zemunskome katalogu *Seoba naroda*,¹⁴⁰ a u fotografiji su objavljeni u *Vodiču*.¹⁴¹ Konjanički grob spominje i K. Minichreiter,¹⁴² a T. Sekelj Ivančan to nalazište bilježi pod nazivom „Buđak“ i navodi ga kao inhumacijsko groblje s ukopom konjanika i konja.¹⁴³ Kasnoavarodobni konjanički grob datiran u 8. stoljeće navodi se i u *ADAM*-u, pri čemu se u pitanje dovođa avarodobna datacija trozupca.¹⁴⁴ Uništen kasnoavarodobni grob na toj poziciji spominje i K. Filipec.¹⁴⁵ Nalaze određene kao avarske iz 8. stoljeća na toj poziciji spominje i H. Gračanin,¹⁴⁶ dok konjanički grob smješta na lokaciju Pogan, o čemu će više riječi biti u nastavku teksta. Naposljetku, bilježi ga i P. Šmalcelj Novaković kao uništen grob.¹⁴⁷

Sjekira je izrađena od željeza (sl. 13: 1)¹⁴⁸ i pripada tipu 2C prema klasifikaciji avarodobnih sjekira F. Szűcsija.¹⁴⁹ Analogiju nalazimo na nalazištu Šebastovce u grobu konjanika s konjem (292)¹⁵⁰ i pojasmom garniturom datiranom u kraj 8. stoljeća. Trozubac (sl. 13: 2),¹⁵¹ predmet koji zasad nije zabilježen na području avarske države, vjerojatno ne pripada tomu razdoblju.¹⁵² U literaturi se predlaže da je moguće riječ o šamanskome rekvizitu,¹⁵³ vjerojatno palici, ali i ta sugestija zahtijeva dodatna istraživanja i provjeru.

Popovac

Popovac (Hung. *Baranyabán*) is located in the northern part of Baranja, on the slopes of Bansko Brdo, above floodplain soils saturated by the waters of the Danube.

Popovac–93 Nazor Street

The destroyed equestrian grave at 93 Nazor Street was first mentioned by Danica Pinterović, who stated that the grave had been discovered at a depth of 2.5 m during the construction of a cellar. The mention provides the first description, and the dimensions of the preserved axe.¹³⁷ Mrkobrad classifies Popovac in the group of sites from the ‘second wave’, i.e. from the Late Avar period,¹³⁸ and presents drawings of the axe and the three-pronged item (trident).¹³⁹ The finds are described and presented in drawings in the Zemun exhibition catalogue *Seoba naroda*,¹⁴⁰ and were additionally displayed through photographs in *Vodič*.¹⁴¹ The equestrian grave is also mentioned by Minichreiter,¹⁴² while Sekelj Ivančan refers to this site under the name ‘Buđak’, and lists it as an inhumation cemetery containing a burial of a horseman and a horse.¹⁴³ The Late Avar-period equestrian grave dated to the eighth century is also mentioned in *ADAM*, where the Avar-period dating of the trident is questioned.¹⁴⁴ The destroyed Late Avar-period grave at this location is also mentioned by Filipec.¹⁴⁵ Avar finds from the eighth century at this location are also mentioned by Gračanin.¹⁴⁶ He, on the other hand, places the equestrian grave at the Pogan site, which will be discussed below. Finally, it is also recorded by Šmalcelj Novaković as a destroyed grave.¹⁴⁷

The axe is made of iron (Fig. 13: 1)¹⁴⁸ and belongs to type 2C according to the classification of Avar-age axes by Frigyes Szűcsi.¹⁴⁹ An analogy is found at the site of Šebastovce, in the grave of a horseman with a horse (G292),¹⁵⁰ with a belt set dated to the end of the eighth century. The trident (Fig. 13: 2),¹⁵¹ an item that has so far not been recorded in the territory of the Avar state, probably does not belong to this period.¹⁵² The suggestion that it is a prop belonging to a shaman,¹⁵³ or even possibly a staff, also appears in the literature, but this thesis also requires additional research.

137 Pinterović 1960, 44.

138 Mrkobrad 1980, 147.

139 Mrkobrad 1980, 99.

140 Seoba naroda 1962, 69.

141 Vodič 2009, 31.

142 Minichreiter 1987, 133.

143 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230.

144 ADAM 2002, 293.

145 Filipec 2003, 134.

146 Gračanin 2011, 318–319.

147 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 62.

148 Inv. br. AMO-200190 (AMO-621); dužina 17 cm, širina 6 cm.

149 Szűcsi 2014, 148.

150 Budinský-Krička, Točík 1991, 60.

151 Inv. br. AMO-200191 (AMO-622); dužina 32,5 cm, širina 6,2 cm, debljina 0,7 cm.

152 ADAM 2002, 293.

153 Mrkobrad 1980, 99.

137 Pinterović 1960, 44.

138 Mrkobrad 1980, 147.

139 Mrkobrad 1980, 99.

140 Seoba naroda 1962, 69.

141 Vodič 2009, 31.

142 Minichreiter 1987, 133.

143 Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230.

144 ADAM 2002, 293.

145 Filipec 2003, 134.

146 Gračanin 2011, 318–319.

147 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 62.

148 Inv. no. AMO-200190 (AMO-621); length 17 cm, width 6 cm.

149 Szűcsi 2014, 148.

150 Budinský-Krička, Točík 1991, 60.

151 Inv. no. AMO-200191 (AMO-622); length 32.5 cm, width 6.2 cm, thickness 0.7 cm.

152 ADAM 2002, 293.

153 Mrkobrad 1980, 99.



SLIKA 13. Sjekira i trozubac iz Popovca iz fundusa Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek (bez mjerila, Fotoarhiva Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek).

FIGURE 13. Axe and trident from Popovac in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek (no scale, Photo Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek).

Položaj Pogan u literaturi se navodi kao (kasno)antičko nalazište slijedom jedne rečenice koju je u tekst o rezultatima terenskoga pregleda toga nalazišta ubacio M. Bulat: „*Lokalitet se nalazi na niskom brežuljku Poganu zapadno od sela [...]. Naročito mnogo nalaza ima na sjevernoj strani brežuljka. U samom selu nađen je ranosrednjovjekovni konjanički grob [bilj. 16: D. Pinterović 1960], a u novije vrijeme...*“.¹⁵⁴ U literaturi se Pogan također navodi kao mjesto pronalaska konjaničkoga groba,¹⁵⁵ no u Popovcu nisu nađena dva konjanička groba, već je, prema dostupnim podatcima, riječ samo o onome u Ulici Vladimira Nazora, a nalazi iz groba (sjekira i trozubac) čuvaju se u Arheološkome muzeju u Osijeku.

Zaključno, u prilog postojanju ratničkoga groba na tome položaju svjedoči nalaz sjekire, dok ostatak repertoara ostaje nepoznat, kao i informacija je li taj grob bio usamljen ili je bio dio manjega ili većega avarodobnog groblja.

Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza

Nalazište Velika Međa / Velika Loza nalazi se na izduženoj gredi smjera istok – zapad sjeverno od Popovca. K. Minichreiter opisuje nalazište kao kasnoantičku ili ranosrednjovjekovnu nekropolu,¹⁵⁶ a T. Sekelj Ivančan kao ranosrednjovjekovno groblje na redove (ubicirano i potvrđeno terenskim pregledom).¹⁵⁷ Drugi podatci ili nalazi do trenutka objave ovoga rada nisu pronađeni.

The literature refers to Pogan as a (Late) Antique site, following a sentence inserted by Bulat into the text about the results of the field survey of this site (*“The site is located on the low hillock of Pogan, west of the village [...]. There are particularly many finds on the northern side of the hillock. In the village itself, an early medieval equestrian grave was found [Pinterović 1960, n. 16], and in more recent times...”*).¹⁵⁴ Various sources in the literature also cite Pogan as the place of discovery of an equestrian grave.¹⁵⁵ However, this assertion stems from the misconception that two equestrian graves were found in Popovac. According to available data, there is only the one in Nazor Street, while the two finds (axe and trident) are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Osijek.

In conclusion, the existence of a warrior grave at this location is supported by the discovered axe, while the rest of the assemblage remains unknown, as does information on whether this was an isolated grave, or part of an Avar-period cemetery, large or small.

Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza

The site of Velika Međa / Velika Loza is located on an elongated ridge running east – west, north of Popovac. The site is described as a Late Antique or early medieval cemetery, recorded by Minichreiter,¹⁵⁶ while Sekelj Ivančan describes it as an early medieval row cemetery, identified through a field survey.¹⁵⁷ Other data or finds were not found prior to the publication of this paper.

¹⁵⁴ Bulat 1969, 44.

¹⁵⁵ Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230; Gračanin 2011, 319.

¹⁵⁶ Minichreiter 1987, 133.

¹⁵⁷ Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230.

¹⁵⁴ Bulat 1969, 44.

¹⁵⁵ Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230; Gračanin 2011, 319.

¹⁵⁶ Minichreiter 1987, 133.

¹⁵⁷ Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230.

SLIKA 14. Nalazi iz Popovca iz fundusa Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek: 1. Jednodijelna kopča tipa Sirakuza; 2. Jednodijelna kopča; 3. Ukrašen okov kopče (bez mjerila, Fotoarhiva Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek).

FIGURE 14. Finds from Popovac in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek: 1. One-piece buckle of Syracuse type; 2. One-piece buckle; 3. Decorated buckle plate (no scale, Photo Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek).



Popovac–nepoznato nalazište

Najveći broj nalaza iz Popovca koje je objavio Z. Bojčić¹⁵⁸ dolazi s nepoznate lokacije,¹⁵⁹ dok je dio predstavljen i u *Vodiču*.¹⁶⁰ Među najranije nalaze iz Popovca uvrštena je kopča tipa Sirakuza od slitine bakra (jednodijelna kopča čija je pločica okova ukrašena urezanim likom ptice raširenih krila iznad koje stoji križ),¹⁶¹ a slijedi ju jednodijelna pojasna kopča od slitine bakra¹⁶² i pozlaćeni okov kopče od slitine bakra ukrašen geometrijskim motivima (sl. 14: 1–3).¹⁶³ Sve tri datirane su u 7. stoljeće. Kasnoavarodobnoj produkciji pripadaju tri dvodijelna okova glavnoga remena od slitine bakra¹⁶⁴ i dva jezičica sporednoga remena od slitine bakra (sl. 15).¹⁶⁵ Budući da su prethodno opisani nalazi dijelovi različitih pojasnih garnitura, također sugeriraju postojanje groblja na nepoznatoj lokaciji u Popovcu. Ako su oni povezani s nalazom groba u Ulici Vladimira Nazora 93, u blizini obale rijeke Karašice, potrebno je potražiti i ubicirati lokaciju groblja.

Popovac–unknown site

The largest number of finds from Popovac originate from an unknown location.¹⁵⁸ They were published by Bojčić,¹⁵⁹ while some were also presented in the *Vodič*.¹⁶⁰ A Syracuse-type buckle made of copper alloy (a one-piece buckle whose plate is decorated with an incised depiction of a bird with outstretched wings, above which stands a cross) belongs to the earliest finds from Popovac.¹⁶¹ Those finds also include a one-piece belt buckle made of copper alloy,¹⁶² and a gilded buckle fitting made of copper alloy decorated with geometric motifs (Fig. 14).¹⁶³ All three are dated to the seventh century. Three two-piece fittings of the main belt made of copper alloy,¹⁶⁴ and two strap ends of the secondary belt made of copper alloy,¹⁶⁵ belong to Late Avar production (Fig. 15). These finds, since they represent parts of different belt sets, suggest the existence of a cemetery at an unknown location in Popovac. If these finds are connected with the discovery of the grave at 93 Nazor Street, the position of the cemetery should be sought near the bank of the River Karašica.

¹⁵⁸ Bojčić 2011.

¹⁵⁹ Predmeti su u Arheološki muzej u Osijeku stigli otkupom, a u Inventarnim knjigama AMO-a nije navedena točna lokacija.

¹⁶⁰ Vodič 2009, 23, 26, 28–29.

¹⁶¹ Inv. br. AMO-200194 (AMO-625); dužina 3 cm, širina 2,3 cm, dužina trna 2,2 cm (Bojčić 2011, 111, sl. 7).

¹⁶² Inv. br. AMO-200193 (AMO-624), dužina 2,9 cm, širina 2,1 cm, dužina trna 1,7 cm (Bojčić 2011, 111, sl. 8).

¹⁶³ Inv. br. AMO-200192 (AMO-623), visina 2,6 cm, širina 2,3 cm, dužina 0,4 cm

¹⁵⁸ The items arrived at the Archaeological Museum in Osijek through purchase, and the exact location is not stated in the AMO inventory book.

¹⁵⁹ Bojčić 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Vodič 2009, 23, 26, 28–29.

¹⁶¹ Inv. no. AMO-200194 (AMO-625); length 3 cm, width 2.3 cm, pin length 2.2 cm (Bojčić 2011, 111, Fig. 7).

¹⁶² Inv. no. AMO-200193 (AMO-624), length 2.9 cm, width 2.1 cm, pin length 1.7 cm (Bojčić 2011, 111, Fig. 8).

¹⁶³ Inv. no. AMO-200192 (AMO-623), height 2.6 cm, width 2.3 cm, length 0.4



SLIKA 15. Dijelovi pojasnih garnitura iz Popovca iz fundusa Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek: 1. – 3. Dvodijelni okovi; 4. – 5. Jezičci pojasa (bez mjerila, Fotoarhiva Arheološkoga muzeja Osijek).

FIGURE 15. Parts of belt sets from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek: 1 – 3. Two-piece fittings; 4 – 5. Belt strap ends (no scale, Photo Archive of the Archaeological Museum in Osijek).

Suza–Csatár 2

Suza (mađ. *Csúza*) nalazi se između Zmajevca i Kneževih Vinograda, u istočnome dijelu središnje Baranje. Dosad nije bila spominjana kao avarodobno nalazište, ali s obzirom na njezin prostorni smještaj, potencijal za prisutnost ranosrednjovjekovnih nalaza nije iznenađujuć. Informacije o postojanju ranosrednjovjekovnih nalaza na tome položaju donosi Z. Bojčić, koji na temelju keramičkih ulomaka prikupljenih tijekom terenskoga pregleda ističe njihovu pripadnost „avaroslavenskom“ razdoblju.¹⁶⁶ Prikupljeni keramički materijal dostupan je na uvid u Arheološkome muzeju u Osijeku. Izrazito je fragmentiran i obuhvaća ulomke iz više vremenskih razdoblja, što otežava izvođenje konačnih zaključaka. Upravo je zbog fragmentiranosti moguće pretpostaviti postojanje naselja koje je djelomično ili potpuno uništeno obradom zemljišta.

Suza–Csatár 2

Suza (Hung. *Csúza*) is located between Zmajevac and Kneževi Vinogradi, in the central-eastern part of Baranja. It has not been mentioned so far as an Avar-period site; but, considering its geographical position, the potential for the presence of early medieval finds is not surprising. Bojčić has provided information about early medieval finds at this location. On the basis of ceramic fragments collected during a field survey, he specifies their provenance to the ‘Avar-Slavic’ period.¹⁶⁶ The ceramic material collected is available for inspection at the Archaeological Museum in Osijek. It is extremely fragmented and includes fragments deriving from several time periods, which makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions. The aforementioned fragmented state of finds indicates there might exist a settlement that was partially or completely destroyed by agricultural cultivation.

(Bojčić 2011, 111, sl. 9). U istoj objavi navodi se kao jezičac, a u sljedećim publikacijama kao okov kopče (Vodić 2009, 28; Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 87).

¹⁶⁴ Okovi glavnoga remena navode se u Vodiću (2009, 23, 29) kao „pojasni jezičac“, a kao okov pojasa u sljedećoj objavi (Bojčić 2011, 112–113). Inv. br. AMO-200203–200205 (AMO-634–636), dužina 5/4,5/3 cm, širina 3,5/2,4/1,8 cm (Bojčić 2011, 112–113, sl. 11–13).

¹⁶⁵ Inv. br. AMO-200206–200207 (AMO-637–638), dužina 2/2,9 cm, širina 1,4 cm (Bojčić 2011, 113, sl. 14–15).

¹⁶⁶ Bojčić et al. 2010, 85.

cm (Bojčić 2011, 111, Fig. 9). In the same publication, it is referred to as a strap end, and in subsequent publications as a buckle fitting (Vodić 2009, 28; Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 87).

¹⁶⁴ The main belt fittings are listed in the Vodić (2009, 23, 29) as a “belt strap end”, and as a belt fitting in the following publication (Bojčić 2011, 112–113). Inv. no. AMO-200203–200205 (AMO-634–636), length 5/4,5/3 cm, width 3,5/2,4/1,8 cm (Bojčić 2011, 112–113, Figs. 11–13).

¹⁶⁵ Inv. no. AMO-200206–200207 (AMO-637–638), length 2/2,9 cm, width 1,4 cm (Bojčić 2011, 113, Figs. 14–15).

¹⁶⁶ Bojčić et al. 2010, 85.



SLIKA 16. Šumarina–Krčevine, fotografija groblja tijekom istraživanja (Izvešće AN4 Šumarina–Krčevine 2024, 23, sl. 7).

FIGURE 16. Šumarina–Krčevine, photograph of the cemetery during excavation (Izvešće AN4 Šumarina–Krčevine 2024, 23, sl. 7).

Šumarina–Krčevine

Šumarina (mađ. *Benge*) je naselje smješteno sjeverozapadno od grada Belog Manastira, na lesnoj terasi. Na nalazištu Šumarina–Krčevine istraženo je groblje na redove s preko 200 grobova ukopanih u pravokutne rake (sl. 16).¹⁶⁷ Pokojnici su položeni na leđa, ruku ispruženih uz tijelo u smjeru I – Z. Osim pojedinačnih grobova, dokumentirani su dvostruki i trostruki ukopi, ali i ukopi konja (sl. 17). Ostaci konja i konjanika položeni su u liniju, jedan iza drugoga, u raku izduženoga pravokutnog tlocrta. U konjaničkim grobovima dokumentirani su dijelovi konjske opreme, stremeni, žvale i okovi, a u ostalima keramičke i metalne posude, pojasne garniture, nakit (naušnice, narukvice, ogrlice) te oružje (sjekire). U pojedinim grobovima evidentirana je grobna arhitektura u vidu otisaka horizontalne i vertikalne drvene konstrukcije ili kombinacije navedenih. Neki su ukopi stepeničastoga presjeka, a u pojedinima su ustanovljene niše sa zapadne ili istočne strane u koje je djelomično bio položen pokojnik.¹⁶⁸ Prema dostupnim nalazima i informacijama, groblje je moguće datirati u razdoblje između 7. i početka 9. stoljeća.

Šumarina–Krčevine

Šumarina (Hung. *Benge*) is a settlement located northwest of the town of Beli Manastir, on a loess terrace. Over 200 graves belonging to a row cemetery were excavated at the site, dug into rectangular pits (Fig. 16).¹⁶⁷ The deceased were laid on their backs, with their arms extended alongside their bodies, in an east – west direction. Double and triple burials, as well as horse burials, have been documented in addition to individual graves (Fig. 17). The remains of a horse and a rider are placed in a line, one behind the other, in a pit with an elongated rectangular ground plan. Elements of horse harness have been documented in equestrian graves: stirrups, bits and fittings, while the others included ceramic and metal vessels, belt sets, jewellery (earrings, bracelets, necklaces) and weapons (axes). Grave architecture was recorded in certain graves in the form of impressions of horizontal and vertical wooden structures, or a combination of these. Some burials have a stepped cross-section, and some have niches established on the western or eastern side in which the deceased were partially laid.¹⁶⁸ According to the available finds and information, the cemetery can be dated to a period from the seventh century to the early ninth.

167 Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na nalazištu Šumarina–Krčevine (AN4), na trasi autoceste A5, provele su tvrtke Arheolog d. o. o., Geoarheo d. o. o., Kaducej d. o. o. i Temenos d. o. o. tijekom 2023. godine (Izvešće AN4 Šumarina–Krčevine 2024).

168 Pokretni je materijal s nalazišta u procesu obrade i objave u Institutu za arheologiju u Zagrebu.

167 Rescue archaeological excavations at the site of Šumarina–Krčevine (AN4), on the route of the A5 motorway, were carried out by the companies Arheolog d.o.o., Geoarheo d.o.o., Kaducej d.o.o. and Temenos d.o.o. during 2023 (Izvešće AN4 Šumarina–Krčevine 2024).

168 The material from the site is in the process of analysis and publication at the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb.



SLIKA 17. Šumarina-Krčevine, konjanički ukop (Izvešće AN4 Šumarina-Krčevine 2024, 26, sl. 15).

FIGURE 17. Šumarina-Krčevine, equestrian burial (Izvešće AN4 Šumarina-Krčevine 2024, 26, Fig. 15).

Zmajevac

Naselje Zmajevac (mađ. *Vörösmart*) nalazi se na središnjem istočnom dijelu Baranje i mjesto je iznimne arheološke važnosti jer su na njegovu području dokumentirana i istraжена mnoga nalazišta od pretpovijesnoga do novovjekovnoga razdoblja. Svoje bogatstvo prije svega zahvaljuje značajnomu položaju u blizini rijeke Dunava, na rubu lesne zaravni, podno Banskog brda.

Zmajevac–nepoznato nalazište

Zmajevac se, kao i Batina, spominje u svim važnijim pregledima avarodobnih nalazišta, iako iz toga razdoblja u ovome stupnju istraživanja poznajemo samo slučajne nalaze poznate od početka 20. stoljeća i prisutne u literaturi. Riječ je o pojedinačnim nalazima: zlatnoj naušnici, željeznome koplju, keramičkoj posudi i jednome skupnom nalazu bogate opreme konja koji su danas dio zbirke Muzeja u Budimpešti i Pečuhu.¹⁶⁹

Zlatnu naušnicu prodao je Mađarskomu nacionalnom muzeju u Budimpešti 1900. godine Oszkár Frimmel (Oskar Friml Antunović),¹⁷⁰ već poznat djelatnicima muzeja kao jedan od trgovaca raznim umjetninama. Naušnica je 1901. godine objavljena u *Archaeologiai Értésítő* kao novi predmet zbirke Muzeja.¹⁷¹ Zlatna ovalna karičica šesterokutnoga presjeka otvorenih krajeva ukrašena je granuliranim koljencima na nasuprotnim stranama karike. Privjesak od ametista drži zlatna žica okrugloga presjeka, na koju su s jedne i druge strane karike nalemljene zlatne granule, a na gornjoj strani žice nedostaje perla. U gornjem dijelu karike nalazi se još jedna žica s granuliranim krajevima pa je moguće da je držala još jednu perlu (sl. 18: 1).¹⁷² D. Csallány

Zmajevac

The settlement of Zmajevac (Hung. *Vörösmart*) is located in the central-eastern part of Baranja, and represents a site of exceptional archaeological importance, because many sites ranging from the prehistoric period to the modern have been documented and excavated in its area. It owes its wealth primarily to its significant position near the River Danube, on the edge of the loess plateau, at the foot of Bansko Brdo.

Zmajevac–unknown site

Zmajevac, like Batina, is mentioned in all major reviews of Avar-period sites, although, for the time being, we only know of chance finds that have been known and existent in the literature since the beginning of the twentieth century. The finds in question are a gold earring, an iron spearhead, a ceramic vessel and one rich collective find of a horse harness, all of which are included in the museum collections in Budapest and Pécs.¹⁶⁹

Oszkár Frimmel (Oskar Friml Antunović),¹⁷⁰ already known to the museum staff as one of the dealers in various artworks, sold the gold earring to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest in 1900. The earring was published in 1901 in *Archaeologiai Értésítő* as a new item in the Museum's collection.¹⁷¹ The oval gold earring has a hexagonal cross-section and open ends; it is decorated with granulated joints on opposite sides of the hoop. The amethyst pendant is held by a round-section gold wire, holding soldered gold granules on either side of the hoop alongside a bead, missing from the upper side of the wire. Another wire with granulated ends is located on the upper part of the hoop; therefore, it is possible that it held yet another bead

169 U zemunskome katalogu Seoba naroda 1962, 70, navode se i „nestali“ nalazi koji su se nalazili u Gradskome muzeju Sombor. Prema priopćenju kolegice V. Uzelac, u fondusu Gradskoga muzeja Sombor nema avarodobnih predmeta iz Zmajevca.

170 <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/antunovic-oskar-f>

171 Hampel 1901, 188.

172 MNM inv. br. 84/1900.1. – N 683. Dimenzije naušnice su 4,1 x 1,7 cm, a težina 7,58 g.

169 In the Zemun exhibition catalogue Seoba naroda (1962, 70), 'lost' finds that were kept in the Sombor City Museum are also listed. According to the communication of colleague Viktorija Uzelac, there are no Avar-period items from Zmajevac in the collections of the Sombor City Museum.

170 <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/antunovic-oskar-f>

171 Hampel 1901, 188.

spominje je usputno kao zlatni privjesak,¹⁷³ a isto je tako navode autori *Seoba naroda*, ali uz dodatak da je nalaz manje značajan bez oznake nalazišta.¹⁷⁴ É. Garam u svojem članku *Nalaz iz Vörösmarta u arheološkoj ostavštini iz doba Avara*, u kojemu obrađuje sve dotad poznate nalaze iz Zmajevca, daje najviše podataka o samoj naušnici, koju datira u prva desetljeća 8. stoljeća¹⁷⁵ i prilaže njezinu fotografiju. Naušnicu kataloški obrađuje 1993. godine, gdje ju opširno opisuje i prikazuje njezin crtež, ovaj je put datirajući u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća.¹⁷⁶ Nakon opširne obrade naušnica se nastavlja navoditi u literaturi u osnovnim crtama i s istom datacijom. Svoje mjesto nalazi i u J. Szentpéterijevu ADAM-u,¹⁷⁷ a navodi se i kod H. Gračanina,¹⁷⁸ A. Dugonjić, A. Rapan Papeša¹⁷⁹ i P. Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁸⁰ Najbliže analogije zmajevačkoj koje potvrđuju navedenu dataciju jesu naušnice iz Bačke Palanke (koje su otkupljene iste godine, od istoga prodavača, za Mađarski nacionalni muzej),¹⁸¹ Mártélyja¹⁸² i Donjih Petrovaca.¹⁸³

Vrh željeznoga koplja s nepoznatoga položaja u Zmajevcu sa šturim informacijama prvi objavljuje D. Csallány,¹⁸⁴ a prenose D. Dimitrijević, J. Kovačević i Z. Vinski.¹⁸⁵ Radi se o vršku koplja oštrice u obliku trske, sa spojnicom i tuljcem za nasad (sl. 18: 2).¹⁸⁶ Više podataka daje É. Garam, koja navodi da je koplje otkupljeno za Mađarski nacionalni muzej 1910. godine. Daje fotografiju predmeta i ne smatra ga dijelom bogatoga konjaničkog groba iz Zmajevca jer tvrdi da nije karakterističan za grobove navedenoga razdoblja.¹⁸⁷ Slične podatke daje ADAM, u kojemu je koplje datirano u zadnju četvrtinu 7. stoljeća,¹⁸⁸ a istu informaciju prenose H. Gračanin i P. Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁸⁹ Koplje je detaljnije proučio G. Csiky, koji ga svrstava u tip P.I.A/3.d, tj. najrjeđi tip, jer su na području Avarije poznata samo tri primjerka (uz Zmajevac, koji je slučajni nalaz, druga su dva grobni nalazi: to su Buda-kalász–Dunapart grave No. 281¹⁹⁰ i Csákberény–Orondpuszta grave No. 396).¹⁹¹ Sve ih datira u rano avarsko razdoblje.¹⁹²



SLIKA 18. 1–2. Slučajni nalazi iz Zmajevca iz fundusa Mađarskoga nacionalnog muzeja u Budimpešti: 1. Zlatna naušnica s privjeskom od ametista (bez mjera); 2. Vršak željeznoga koplja (Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

FIGURE 18. 1–2. Chance finds from Zmajevac in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest: 1. Earring with amethyst pendant (no scale); 2. Spearhead (Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

(Fig. 18: 1).¹⁷² Csallány mentions it briefly as a gold pendant.¹⁷³ Likewise, it is also listed by the authors of the *Seoba naroda* catalogue, but with the addition that it is a find of minor significance with an unknown place of discovery.¹⁷⁴ Éva Garam, in her article 'The Find from Vörösmart in the Archaeological Legacy of the Avar Period', in which she published all the finds known from Zmajevac up to that time, provides the most information about the earring itself, accompanied by a photograph, and dates it to the first decades of the eighth century.¹⁷⁵ She continues in 1993, where she describes it in detail and provides a drawing, this time dating it to the second half of the eighth century.¹⁷⁶ After a detailed process of cataloguing the items, the earring continues to be cited in the literature in basic outline and with the same dating. It also finds a place in József Szentpéter's ADAM,¹⁷⁷ and it is also cited by Gračanin,¹⁷⁸ Dugonjić and Rapan Papeša,¹⁷⁹ and Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁸⁰ The closest analogies to the Zmajevac earring are the earrings from Bačka Palanka (which one was purchased the same year from the same seller for the Hungarian National Museum),¹⁸¹ Mártély¹⁸² and Donji Petrovci,¹⁸³ which confirm the stated dating.

173 Csallány 1956, 216, br. 1063.

174 Seoba naroda 1962, 70, br. 70.

175 Garam 1982, 209, sl. 14.

176 Garam 1993, 16, 27, 109, kat. br. 148, T. 99: 12.

177 ADAM 2002, 433, 07-00-0460-01.

178 Gračanin 2011, 341.

179 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 98–99. Naušnica je prikazana zajedno s predmetima iz konjaničkoga groba, ali nije dio toga nalaza.

180 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

181 Garam 1984, 87, sl. 1: 1; Garam 1993, 95, kat. br. 116, T. 69: 14.

182 Garam 1984, 90, sl. 2: 1–2, 5–6; Garam 1993, 93, kat. br. 110.a, c, T. 70: 1–2, 5–6.

183 Demo 2014, 63–64 (s ostalom literaturom).

184 Csallány 1956, 216, br. 1064.

185 Seoba naroda 1962, 70.

186 MNM inv. br. 61.202.1., dužine 23,9 cm; max. širine 3,1 cm; debljine 0,7 cm.

187 Garam 1982, 209–210, sl. 15.

188 ADAM 2002, 433.

189 Gračanin 2011, 341; Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

190 Pásztor, Vida 2024, 103.

191 László 2015, 88.

192 Csiky 2015, 76, 80, sl. 18: 2.

172 MNM inv. no. 84/1900.1 – N 683. The dimensions of the earring are 4.1 x 1.7 cm, weight 7.58 g.

173 Csallány 1956, 216, no. 1063.

174 Seoba naroda 1962, 70, no. 70.

175 Garam 1982, 209, Fig. 14.

176 Garam 1993, 16, 27, 109, cat. no. 148, Pl. 99: 12.

177 ADAM 2002, 433, 07-00-0460-01.

178 Gračanin 2011, 341.

179 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 98–99. The earring is displayed together with the items from the equestrian grave, however, it is not part of that find.

180 Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

181 Garam 1984, 87, Fig. 1: 1; Garam 1993, 95, cat. no. 116, Pl. 69: 14.

182 Garam 1984, 90, Fig. 2: 1–2, 5–6; Garam 1993, 93, cat. no. 110.a, c, Pl. 70: 1–2, 5–6.

183 Demo 2014, 63–64 (with the cited literature).



SLIKA 19. Keramička posuda iz Zmajevca iz fundusa Muzeja Ivana Česmičkog u Pečuhu (snimio M. Helesfai, Muzej Ivana Česmičkog – Arheološki odjel).

FIGURE 19. Ceramic vessel from Zmajevac in the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs (photo by M. Helesfai, Janus Pannonius Museum, Department of Archaeology).

Keramička posuda jedina je posuda iz toga razdoblja s područja Zmajevca koja se nalazi u Muzeju Ivana Česmičkog u Pečuhu. É. Garam donosi prve i osnovne podatke o tome slučajnom nalazu – da je u muzeju u Pečuhu izložena kasnoavarska posuda, visoka 13,5 cm, tamnosive boje (sl. 19).¹⁹³ U ADAM-u su predstavljeni isti podatci¹⁹⁴ koji se ponavljaju kod H. Gračanina i P. Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁹⁵ Keramička posuda, odnosno lonac, tamnosive je boje, naglašenoga trbušastog tijela s maksimalnom širinom u sredini posude, zaobljenoga, prema van izvijenoga ruba.¹⁹⁶ Lonac je ukrašen na ramenu posude plitkom valovnicom, a na temelju svojih osobina datiran je u kraj 8. i početak 9. stoljeća.

Nalazi iz bogatoga konjaničkog groba u Zmajevcu otkupljeni su 1902. godine posredstvom mađarskih vlasti od B. Kuschela za Mađarski nacionalni muzej u Budimpešti (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*), ali podatci o približnome mjestu i uvjetima pronalaska nisu poznati.¹⁹⁷ Nalaze je iste godine objavio J. Hampel i prikazao trima tablama crteža, a zatim ih ponovno objavio 1905. g. u svojemu značajnom djelu *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*,¹⁹⁸ gdje ih prema njihovim značajkama datira u 8. stoljeće.¹⁹⁹ Riječ je o velikome broju predmeta od zlata, srebra i željeza (oko 60 predmeta) koji su najvjerojatnije pripadali bogatomu konjaničkom grobu, odnosno konjskoj opremi. Zlatni

The iron spearhead from an unknown location in Zmajevac, with scant information, was first published by Csallány,¹⁸⁴ and subsequently cited by Dimitrijević, Kovačević and Vinski.¹⁸⁵ It is a reed-shaped spearhead with connecting chap and closed socket (Fig. 18: 2).¹⁸⁶ More data is provided by É. Garam, who writes that the spearhead was purchased for the Hungarian National Museum in 1910. She provides a photograph of the item and does not consider it to be part of the equestrian grave at Zmajevac, because she states that it does not bear the character of graves from this period.¹⁸⁷ Similar data is provided by ADAM, which dates the spearhead to the last quarter of the seventh century,¹⁸⁸ which is also cited by Gračanin, and by Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁸⁹ Csiky paid more attention to the spearhead, and classified it as of the rarest type, P.I.A/3.d – rarest because only three examples are known from the territory of Avaria. (Zmajevac is a chance find, and the other two are grave finds: Budakalász–Dunapart grave no. 281¹⁹⁰ and Csákberény–Orondpuszta grave no. 396.)¹⁹¹ He dates all of them to the Early Avar period.¹⁹²

The ceramic vessel from the Zmajevac area is the only vessel from this period located in the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs. Garam provides the first and basic data about this chance find, stating that a Late Avar vessel, 13.5 cm high, dark grey in colour, is displayed in the museum in Pécs (Fig. 19).¹⁹³ The same data is provided in ADAM,¹⁹⁴ and repeated by Gračanin and by Šmalcelj Novaković.¹⁹⁵ The ceramic vessel, i.e. pot, is dark grey in colour, with a pronounced bulbous body reaching its maximum width in the middle of the vessel, and a rounded, outwardly everted rim.¹⁹⁶ The pot is decorated on the shoulder with shallow wavy lines, and on the basis of its characteristics it can be dated to the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth.

The finds from the rich equestrian grave in Zmajevac were purchased through the intermediary of the Hungarian authorities in 1902 from B. Kuschel for the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, but the approximate location and circumstances of the discovery are unknown.¹⁹⁷ The finds were published by József Hampel the same year. He presented the material in three plates of drawings, and then again in 1905 in his significant work *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*,¹⁹⁸

193 Garam 1982, 209.

194 ADAM 2002–1, 433–434.

195 Gračanin 2011, 341; Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

196 JPM inv. br. 882; visina 13,5 cm; širina 14,5 cm; promjer ruba 10,8 cm; promjer dna 6,1 cm. Otkup 1939. godine.

197 Garam 1982, 187.

198 Hampel 1902, 433–436; 1905–1, 815, 849; 1905–2, 844–846; 1905–3, T. 498–500. Nalaze smješta u treću grupu (od sredine 6. do 9. stoljeća) i datira u 8. stoljeće (Hampel 1905–1, 13, 24–26, 815, 849).

199 Hampel 1905–1, 815, 849.

184 Csallány 1956, 216, no. 1064.

185 Seoba naroda 1962, 70.

186 MNM inv. no. 61.202.1, length 23.9 cm; max. width 3.1 cm; thickness 0.7 cm.

187 Garam 1982, 209–210, Fig. 15.

188 ADAM 2002, 433.

189 Gračanin 2011, 341; Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

190 Pásztor, Vida 2024, 103.

191 László 2015, 88.

192 Csiky 2015, 76, 80, Fig. 18: 2.

193 Garam 1982, 209.

194 ADAM 2002–1, 433–434.

195 Gračanin 2011, 341; Šmalcelj Novaković 2022, 65.

196 JPM inv. no. 882; height 13.5 cm; width 14.5 cm; rim diameter 10.8 cm; base diameter 6.1 cm. Purchased in 1939.

197 Garam 1982, 187.

198 Hampel 1902, 433–436; 1905–1, 815, 849; 1905–2, 844–846; 1905–3, Pl. 498–

predmeti izrađeni su tehnikom tiještenja i ukrašeni motivom prepleta. Dijelove konjske opreme koji ukazuju na vrhunsko umijeće izrade čine zlatni okov jednoga obraznog elementa konjskih žvala (sl. 20: 1),²⁰⁰ sedam pravokutnih jezičaca od zlatnoga lima s donjom srebrnom pločicom (sl. 20: 2),²⁰¹ dvadeset i dva zlatna okova u obliku šesterolatičnih rozeta (sl. 20: 3)²⁰² te par stremena od željeza tauširanih srebrom (sl. 20: 4).²⁰³ Ostatak konjske opreme čine razvodnik od posrebrene bakrene slitine (sl. 20: 5),²⁰⁴ dvije željezne predice s trnom²⁰⁵ i dvije željezne žvale (manje i veće),²⁰⁶ što ukazuje na ukop dvaju konja. Uz te nalaze pronađen je velik broj željeznih predmeta, poput šila, škara povezanih lancem te niz okova, klamfi i čavala, koji ukazuju na postojanje lijesa, možda i nadgrobne konstrukcije. Nakon objave J. Hampela predmeti se nastavljaju prikazivati u literaturi, ali najčešće nisu u kompletu, već su prikazani parcijalno, prema funkciji ili ukrasu.²⁰⁷ Od 30-ih do 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća nalaze najčešće povezuju s protobugarskim i bugarskim populacijama,²⁰⁸ s jednom iznimkom,²⁰⁹ a od 1956. nadalje navode se isključivo kao predmeti avarskoga razdoblja i datiraju u 7. stoljeće, odnosno drugu polovinu 7. stoljeća.²¹⁰ Prvu cjelovitu obradu nakon J. Hampela izradila je É. Garam 1982. godine,²¹¹ nakon čega slijedi nekoliko kraćih objava,²¹² a materijalu se É. Garam ponovno vraća u skraćenom kataloškom obliku 1993. godine.²¹³ U članku iz 1982. godine donosi novo objašnjenje okova jednoga obraznog elementa konjskih žvala rogalikoga oblika koji se od Hampelove objave navodio kao dio (jedna polovina / jedna trećina) narukvice i smatrao dijelom opreme konjanika.²¹⁴ É. Garam interpretira

where he dates the finds, on the basis of their characteristics, to the eighth century.¹⁹⁹ The items in question are represented by a large number of items made of gold, silver and iron (around 60 items), which most likely belonged to a rich equestrian grave, i.e. horse harness. The gold items were made using the pressing technique, and decorated with an interlace motif. The horse harness consists of a gold fitting of one cheekpiece of the horse bit (Fig. 20: 1),²⁰⁰ seven rectangular strap ends made of gold sheet with a silver back plate (Fig. 20: 2),²⁰¹ twenty-two gold fittings in the shape of six-petalled rosettes (Fig. 20: 3),²⁰² and a pair of iron stirrups inlaid with silver (Fig. 20: 4),²⁰³ all of which indicate exceptional craftsmanship. The rest of the horse harness consists of a harness divider made of silvered copper alloy (Fig. 20: 5),²⁰⁴ two iron buckles with pins,²⁰⁵ and two iron bits (one smaller and one larger),²⁰⁶ which may indicate there were two horses buried. A large number of iron items were discovered alongside those finds, such as an awl, scissors connected by a chain, and a series of fittings, clamps and nails that indicate there might have been a coffin, perhaps even some kind of grave architecture. After Hampel's publication, the items are noted in the literature, although not as a set, but rather according to their function or decoration.²⁰⁷ In the period from the 1930s to the 1950s, the finds are most often associated with Proto-Bulgarian and Bulgarian populations²⁰⁸ with one exception,²⁰⁹ and from 1956 onwards they are referred to exclusively as items of the Avar period and dated to the seventh century, or the second half of it.²¹⁰ The first comprehensive processing after Hampel

200 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.10 – N 416; dužine 7 cm; širine/promjera 1,9 cm na najširem dijelu i 0,8 cm na nasuprotnome najužem dijelu; težine 7,88 g.

201 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.1–8 – N 415; dimenzije 6,1 x 3 cm, ukupne težine 44,11 g.

202 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.11–32 – N 414; promjera 2,8 – 3,1 cm, visine 1,3 – 1,5 cm, ukupne težine 63,82 g.

203 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.35–36; dužine 18,2 cm, širine 10,3 cm.

204 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.34; dužine 4,4 cm.

205 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.39–40. Nedostaju iz zbirke, najvjerojatnije nestali u razdoblju prije, tijekom ili nakon II. svjetskog rata.

206 MNM inv. br. 89/1902.37–38. Nedostaju iz zbirke, najvjerojatnije nestali u razdoblju prije, tijekom ili nakon II. svjetskog rata.

207 Kalmár 1943, 155, T. 26:6 (razvodnik orme); Csallány 1953, 133–141, T. 32: 7–37 (rozete i razvodnik orme); Nagy 1998, 434–435, sl. 27: 2–2a, 457–458, sl. 42: 3 (jezičci s ukrasom četverostruke pletenice).

208 Мавродинов 1936, 239–240; Kalmár 1943, 155, T. 26: 6; Csallány 1953, 133–141, T. 32: 7–37. N. Mavrodinov nalaze iz Zmajevca navodi u članku *Umjetnička industrija Protobugara*, poglavljju *Umjetnička industrija podunavskih protobugara krajem 8. i u 9. stoljeću* (Мавродинов 1936, 239–240, sl. 258–259). Preuzima tablu od J. Hampela, ali daje i nekoliko fotografija. Na sl. 258 prikazuje nalaze iz Blatnice, ali autor tu stavlja fotografiju četiriju zmajevačkih nalaza: jezičca, rozete, rogalikoga okova i razvodnika pojasa (Мавродинов 1936, 239, sl. 258: 1–4).

209 Fettich 1938, 153–154.

210 Csallány 1956, 216, br. 1063; Vinski 1958, 26, T. 11: 1–10; Seoba naroda 1962, 70–71, sl. 2–5; Mrkobrad 1980, 96, 99, 101.

211 Garam 1982, 187–213.

212 Bojčić 1984, 215; Kiss A. 1986, 136, br. 56; Minichreiter 1987, 95–100, 136–137, sl. 55; Szentpéteri 1992, 38, sl. 3: 1.

213 Garam 1993, 110, br. 149.

214 Hampel 1902, 433–436; 1905–1, 815; 1905–2, 844–845; 1905–3, T. 498: 7. Kao narukvicu navode je sljedeći autori: Мавродинов 1936, 240; Fettich 1938, 153–154; Vinski 1958, 26 (pod upitnikom); Seoba naroda 1962, 70 (pod upitnikom); Mrkobrad 1980, 96, T. 77: 6; Minichreiter 1987, 95–100, 136–137, sl. 55; Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230, br. 748; Tomićić 1996, 152–153, sl. 4; Tomićić 1999, 227, sl. 2; Gračanin 2011, 341 (autor je navodi kao *rukotvorinu nalik narukvici od zlatnog lima*).

500. He places the finds in the third group (from the mid-6th century to the 9th) and dates them to the 8th century (Hampel 1905–1, 13, 24–26, 815, 849).

199 Hampel 1905–1, 815, 849.

200 MNM inv. no. 89/1902.10 – N 416; length 7 cm; width/diameter 1.9 cm at the widest part and 0.8 cm at the opposite narrowest part; weight 7.88 g.

201 MNM inv. no. 89/1902.1–8 – N 415; dimensions 6.1 x 3 cm, total weight 44.11 g.

202 MNM inv. no. 89/1902.11–32 – N 414; diameter 2.8–3.1 cm, height 1.3–1.5 cm, total weight 63.82 g.

203 MNM inv. no. 89/1902.35–36; length 18.2 cm, width 10.3 cm.

204 MNM inv. no. 89/1902.34; length 4.4 cm.

205 MNM inv. no.: 89/1902.39–40. Missing from the collection, most likely lost in the period before, during, or after World War II.

206 MNM inv. no.: 89/1902.37–38. Missing from the collection, most likely lost in the period before, during, or after World War II.

207 Kalmár 1943, 155, Pl. 26: 6 (harness divider); Csallány 1953, 133–141, Pl. 32: 7–37 (rosettes and harness divider); Nagy 1998, 434–435, Fig. 27: 2–2a, 457–458, Fig. 42: 3 (strap ends decorated with an interlace pattern).

208 Мавродинов 1936, 239–240; Kalmár 1943, 155, Pl. 26: 6; Csallány 1953, 133–141, Pl. 32: 7–37. Nikola Mavrodinov cites the finds from Zmajevac in his article 'The Artistic Industry of the Proto-Bulgarians'; in the chapter 'The Artistic Industry of the Danubian Proto-Bulgarians at the End of the 8th century and in the 9th' (Мавродинов 1936, 239–240, Figs. 258–259); he not only reproduces a plate from Hampel, but also provides several photographs. In Fig. 258, he presents finds from Blatnica; however, the author places there a photograph of four finds from Zmajevac: a strap end, a rosette, a horn-shaped fitting and a harness divider (Мавродинов 1936, 239, Fig. 258: 1–4).

209 Fettich 1938, 153–154.

210 Csallány 1956, 216, no. 1063; Vinski 1958, 26, Pl. 11: 1–10; Seoba naroda 1962, 70–71, Fig. 2–5; Mrkobrad 1980, 96, 99, 101.



SLIKA 20. Zmajevac, predmeti iz konjaničkoga groba iz fundusa Mađarskoga nacionalnog muzeja u Budimpešti: 1. Zlatni okov jednoga obraznog elementa konjskih žvala; 2. Pravokutni jezičci od zlatnoga lima; 3. Zlatni okovi u obliku šesterolatičnih rozeta; 4. Par stremena od željeza tauširani srebrom; 5. Razvodnik konjske opreme (bez mjerila, Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

FIGURE 20. Zmajevac, items from an equestrian grave, in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest: 1. Gold fitting of one cheekpiece of the horse bit; 2. Rectangular strap ends made of gold sheet with a silver back plate; 3. Gold fittings in the shape of six-petalled rosettes; 4. A pair of iron stirrups inlaid with silver; 5. Horse-harness divider made of silvered copper alloy (no scale, Hungarian National Museum Public Collection Centre).

predmet i argumentira u prilog opreme konjanika, ali kao rog za piće (njem. *goldener Trinkhornbeschlag*), dajući njegovu rekonstrukciju u crtežu, iako navodi i različito mišljenje kolega.²¹⁵ Njezina interpretacija predmeta dobro je prihvaćena i prenosi se u sljedećim objavama, s kasnijim usamljenim pokušajem interpretacije predmeta kao signalnoga vojnog instrumenta.²¹⁶ A. Kiss 1995. godine detaljno argumentira zašto je ipak riječ o

was done by Garam in 1982,²¹¹ followed by several shorter publications.²¹² Garam returns to the items again in a shortened catalogue form in 1993.²¹³ In her 1982 article, she provides a new explanation for the fitting of one cheekpiece of the horse bit, which is horn-shaped in form and which, since Hampel's publication, had been named as part (one half/one third) of a bracelet and treated as a part of the rider's equipment.²¹⁴ Garam

215 Garam 1982, 192. Piše da D. Csallány (1953, 140) i autori Seobe naroda (1962, 70) razmišljaju o mogućnosti da je predmet dio konjske orme. Uz É. Garam, predmet kao rog za piće navode sljedeći autori: Kiss A. 1986, 136, no. 56; Tomićić 2000, 147–148; ADAM 2002–1, 433.

216 Szentpéteri 1992, 38–40.

211 Garam 1982, 187–213.

212 Bojčić 1984, 215; Kiss A. 1986, 136, no. 56; Minichreiter 1987, 95–100, 136–137, Fig. 55; Szentpéteri 1992, 38, Fig. 3: 1.

213 Garam 1993, 110, no. 149.

214 Hampel 1902, 433–436; 1905–1, 815; 1905–2, 844–845; 1905–3, Pl. 498: 7. It is referred to as a bracelet by the following authors: Мавродинов 1936, 240;

dijelu konjske orme,²¹⁷ a općeprihvaćenu funkciju predmeta kao okova obraznoga elementa oglavine konja navodi i u svim sljedećim objavama na tu temu,²¹⁸ prije svega zahvaljujući pronalasku *in situ* okova prečki žvala od zlatnoga ili srebrnoga lima (kao npr. iz Gyenesdiása i Zamárdi-Rétiföldeka), koje su potvrdile funkciju takvih nalaza te dovele do preispitivanja zaključaka koji su dotad korišteni u literaturi.²¹⁹ Naposljetku, sama É. Garam u navođenju nalaza iz Zmajevca iz 2018. godine govori o okovu drvene prečke uzda.²²⁰ Prema svemu navedenome, zanimljiva je činjenica da u potpunosti nedostaje oprema konjanika (pojasna garnitura, nakit), ali i njegovo oružje, no izostanak opreme nije nevjerojatan jer je moguće da su konj i konjanik sahranjeni u dva zasebna groba, pokazujući prilično raširen običaj avarskoga društva.²²¹ Bez obzira na nedostatak opreme ratnika-konjanika, nalazi su vrhunske izrade i ukazuju na ukop vrlo važnoga pojedinca visokoga društvenog položaja, a sve ih možemo datirati u zadnju trećinu 7. stoljeća.²²²

Zmajevac-Eszealja 1

Informacije o postojanju ranosrednjovjekovnih nalaza na ovom položaju sjeveroistočno od mjesta Zmajevac, na lesnoj zaravni, donosi Z. Bojčić, koji na osnovi prikupljenih keramičkih ulomaka tijekom terenskoga pregleda iste opisuje kao ulomke iz „avaro-slavenskoga“ razdoblja.²²³ To nalazište vjerojatno upućuje na naselje manje zajednice.²²⁴ Uvidom u građu nije utvrđena prisutnost ulomaka ranosrednjovjekovnoga razdoblja.

interprets the item and argues in favour of rider's equipment, but as a drinking horn (Ger. *goldener Trinkhornbeschlag*), providing its reconstruction in drawing, although she also notes the differing opinion of her colleagues.²¹⁵ Her interpretation of the item was well accepted, and it is repeated in subsequent publications, with a later solitary attempt to interpret the item as a military signalling instrument.²¹⁶ In 1995, Attila Kiss argued in detail why it is, after all, a part of the horse harness,²¹⁷ and the generally accepted function of the item as a fitting of the cheekpiece of the horse's bit is also stated in all subsequent publications handling this topic.²¹⁸ It is so primarily thanks to the *in situ* discovery of fittings of bit cheekpieces made of gold or silver sheet (such as those from Gyenesdiás and Zamárdi-Rétiföldek) which confirmed the function of such finds, and led to a re-examination of the conclusions that had been used in the literature up to that point.²¹⁹ Finally, in 2018, Garam also refers to the fitting of the wooden cheekpiece of the bit when citing the finds from Zmajevac.²²⁰ On the basis of everything stated, the fact that the rider's equipment (belt set, jewellery) and his weapons are completely missing is interesting, but not improbable, since it is possible that the horse and rider were buried in two separate graves, displaying a quite widespread custom in Avar society.²²¹ Regardless of the lack of warrior-rider equipment, the finds are of exceptional craftsmanship, and indicate the burial of a very important individual of high social rank. All finds can be dated to the last third of the seventh century.²²²

Zmajevac-Eszealja 1

Information about the existence of early medieval finds at this location, northeast of the settlement of Zmajevac, on the loess plateau, is provided by Bojčić, who described the pottery fragments collected during a field survey as fragments from the “Avar-Slavic” period.²²³ This site likely indicates a settlement of one of the smaller communities.²²⁴ Upon examination of the material, the presence of fragments from the early medieval period was not confirmed.

217 Kiss A. 1995, 280–281, bilj. 3.

218 Lőrinczy, Straub 2005, 149, bilj. 20; Csuthy 2015.

219 Müller 2002, 43; Lőrinczy, Straub 2005, 149, bilj. 20; Csuthy 2015, 59–60.

220 Garam 2018, 356.

221 Kiss A. 1962, 153–162; Reiternomaden in Europa 2022, 233, br. 3.5; Szenthe, Gáll 2022, 315–335.

222 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 98–99.

223 Bojčić et al. 2010, 85.

224 Vukmanić 2010, 9.

Fettich 1938, 153–154; Vinski 1958, 26 (as questionable); Seoba naroda 1962, 70 (as questionable); Mrkobrad 1980, 96, Pl. 77: 6; Minichreiter 1987, 95–100, 136–137, Fig. 55; Sekelj Ivančan 1995, 230, no. 748; Tomičić 1996, 152–153, Fig. 4; Tomičić 1999, 227, Fig. 2; Gračanin 2011, 341 (the author cites it as a *gold-sheet artefact resembling a bracelet*).

215 Garam 1982, 192. He writes that Csallány (1953, 140) and the authors of *Seoba naroda* (1962, 70) consider the possibility that the item is part of a horse harness. Garam cites the item as a drinking horn, as do the following authors: Kiss A. 1986, 136, no. 56; Tomičić 2000, 147–148; ADAM 2002–1, 433.

216 Szentpéteri 1992, 38–40.

217 Kiss A. 1995, 280–281, n. 3.

218 Lőrinczy, Straub 2005, 149, n. 20; Csuthy 2015.

219 Müller 2002, 43; Lőrinczy, Straub 2005, 149, n. 20; Csuthy 2015, 59–60.

220 Garam 2018, 356.

221 Kiss A. 1962, 153–162; Reiternomaden in Europa 2022, 233, no. 3.5; Szenthe, Gáll 2022, 315–335.

222 Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 98–99.

223 Bojčić et al. 2010, 85.

224 Vukmanić 2010, 9.

Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1

Podatke o postojanju ranosrednjovjekovnih nalaza na ovome položaju jugozapadno od mjesta Zmajevac, također na lesnoj zaravni, donosi Z. Bojčić, koji na temelju prikupljenih keramičkih ulomaka tijekom terenskoga pregleda iste opisuje kao ulomke iz „avar-slavenskoga“ razdoblja.²²⁵ Riječ je o višeslojnom nalazištu, a ranosrednjovjekovni nalazi u vezi su s naseljem manje zajednice.²²⁶ Na osnovi samo jednoga prikupljenog ulomka nije moguće sa sigurnošću potvrditi ranosrednjovjekovnu prisutnost na tome nalazištu.

Rasprava

U radu su predstavljena ukupno 22 nalazišta na kojima su pronađeni arheološki tragovi koji upućuju na prisutnost avarskih populacija na prostoru Baranje ili su tako interpretirani u dosadašnjoj literaturi. Od nabrojanih, pet je pronađenih i dokumentiranih tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na trasi autoceste A5 (Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, Novi Čeminac–Jauhov salaš, Novi Čeminac–Čemin i Šumarina–Krčevine), osam je dokumentiranih terenskim pregledom (položaj Polje 1 u Batini, položaj Vir, Selska bara i Brijeg/Brdo u Duboševici, Kotlina–Cigány Heverós, Luč–Henja, Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza, Suza–Csatár 2, Zmajevac–Eszealja 1 i Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1), dok slučajni nalazi potječu s područja sedam različitih općina (Batina, Draž, Grabovac, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kotlina, Popovac i Zmajevac).

Od nalazišta navedenih u Katalogu na području Bilja, Duboševice, Jagodnjaka (Brdašće), Luča (Henja), Popovca (Velika Međa / Velika Loza), Suze (Csatár 2) i Zmajevca (Eszealja 1 i Csatari Szanto 1), u literaturi se spominje postojanje avarodobnih/ranosrednjovjekovnih tragova, no bez dostupnih materijalnih nalaza ili s nalazima koji ne daju indicaciju da su navedeni položaji bili korišteni u navedenome razdoblju. Upravo reinterpetacijom podataka utvrđeno je da dio materijala, koji je u ranijoj literaturi pripisivan ranosrednjovjekovnomu horizontu, zapravo potječe iz drugih razdoblja, što za posljedicu ima važne implikacije za preciziranje kronologije i razumijevanje kontinuiteta ili diskontinuiteta naseljavanja.

Nalazišta pronađena tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja većinom su neobjavljena (osim preliminarne objave groblja Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara) ili su u procesu obrade, stoga su i podatci o samim nalazištima rudimentarni i ne sadrže relevantne informacije. Na većini je dokumentirano samo groblje, osim na položaju Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, gdje je dokumentirano i naselje. Isključivo nasebinski objekti dokumentirani su na položajima Jauhov salaš i, vjerojatno, Čemin u Čemincu. Moguće je da će obrada i objava ostalih nalazišta s trase autoceste iznijeti na vidjelo i naselja u neposrednoj blizini groblja, što je bio slučaj i u Jagodnjaku. Groblja Beli Manastir–Šumarina i Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara slični su zbog malih cjelina,

Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1

Information on the existence of early medieval finds at this location, southwest of the settlement of Zmajevac, also on the loess plateau, is provided by Bojčić, who described the ceramic fragments collected during a field survey as fragments from the “Avar-Slavic” period.²²⁵ This is a multi-layer site, and the early medieval finds are associated with a settlement of one of the smaller communities.²²⁶ On the basis of a single collected fragment, it is not possible to confirm early medieval presence at this location.

Discussion

The paper presents a total number of 22 sites holding archaeological traces that indicate the existence of an Avar population in Baranja, or sites interpreted and noted in the literature in the same manner. Of those listed, five were discovered and documented during rescue archaeological excavations on the route of the A5 motorway (Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, Novi Čeminac–Jauhov Salaš, Novi Čeminac–Čemin and Šumarina–Krčevine), eight were documented through field survey (location Polje 1 in Batina, locations Vir, Selska bara and Brijeg/Brdo in Duboševica, Kotlina–Cigány Heverós, Luč–Henja, Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza, Suza–Csatár 2, Zmajevac–Eszealja 1 and Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1), and chance finds originate from the area of seven different boroughs (Batina, Draž, Grabovac, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kotlina, Popovac and Zmajevac).

Among the sites listed in the Catalogue for the area of Bilje, Duboševica, Jagodnjak (Brdašće), Luč (Henja), Popovac (Velika Međa / Velika Loza), Suza (Csatár 2), Zmajevac (Eszealja 1 and Csatari Szanto 1), the literature mentions the existence of Avar-period / early medieval traces, but without available finds, or with finds that do not indicate the use of these locations in this period. Exactly through reinterpretation of the data provided, it has been established that some of the material attributed in earlier literature to the early medieval horizon actually originates from other periods, which has important implications for refining the chronology and understanding the continuity or discontinuity of the settlement processes.

With the exception of the preliminary publication of the cemetery at Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, the sites discovered during rescue excavations either are still being analysed or remain unpublished, and the available data on them is rudimentary. Aside from Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, where settlement features were identified alongside the cemetery, the excavations have so far yielded either only burial grounds or, as documented at Jauhov Salaš and probably at Čemin in Čeminac, only settlement features. It is possible that the analysis, and ultimately the publication, of the sites on the motorway route will reveal settlements in the immediate vicinity of the

225 Bojčić *et al.* 2010, 85.

226 Vukmanić 2010, 9.

225 Bojčić *et al.* 2010, 85.

226 Vukmanić 2010, 9.

odnosno više grupiranih grobova na groblju, dok je na položaju Krčevine u Šumarini dokumentirano veliko groblje na redove. Ta nova istraživanja pružaju nove uvide u avarodobni horizont te proširuju postojeće spoznaje izvan dosadašnjih metodoloških i teorijskih okvira.

Konjanički grobovi, tj. nalazi koji upućuju na konjanički ukop i koji su jedna od važnih karakteristika avarske kulture ustanovljeni su u Batini i Zmajevcu, s velikom vjerojatnošću da je takav ukop postojao u Duboševici i Popovcu (Ul. Vladimira Nazora 93), a jedino nalazište s istraženim konjaničkim ukopima nalazi se nedaleko Belog Manastira na položaju Šumarina–Krčevine. Navedena nalazišta smještena su u sjevernome dijelu Baranje, oko i sjeverno od Banskog brda, dok južnije nisu ustanovljena, čak ni kroz slučajne nalaze. Tek u Osijeku susrećemo nalaze koji sugeriraju konjanički ukop (Osijek–Zeleno polje).²²⁷

Neobjavljeni nalazi s većega broja nalazišta značajno nadopunjuju i dijelom preoblikuju dosadašnju sliku prostora Baranje i ranosrednjovjekovnih zajednica koje su nastanjivale taj prostor. Grabovac je na avarodobnoj karti Baranje do danas bio nepoznat, ali pronalazak željeznoga koplja²²⁸ promijenio je tu sliku, a neobjavljene perla²²⁹ i keramička posuda²³⁰ obogatile su repertoar već poznatih nalaza iz Batine.

Pregled starih podataka iz literature i njihova usporedba s postojećim nalazima omogućili su uočavanje suptilnih razlika koje su u ranijim pregledima ostale nezamijećene. Time se potvrđuje važnost kritičkoga preispitivanja i provjere podataka koji se u literaturi često nekritički prenose iz rada u rad. Navedeni pristup posebice dolazi do izražaja na primjeru tzv. ranoslaven-ske fibule iz Batine, koju Z. Vinski spominje tek usputno,²³¹ a postojeća se informacija potom u kasnijoj literaturi preuzima bez kritičkoga preispitivanja. Budući da dosad nisu provedene provjere starosti ili kontekstualni status predmeta, izostala je mogućnost njihova prepoznavanja i identifikacije kao nalaza iz 3. stoljeća. Takva korekcija atribucije ne dovodi u pitanje vrijednost prethodnih spoznaja, već ih nadograđuje i jača metodološki utemeljenim uvidima, čime je omogućeno preciznije sagledavanje regionalnih društvenih i kulturnih procesa.

Iako je današnja slika krajolika uvelike promijenjena u odnosu na razdoblje ranoga srednjeg vijeka, kad je na taj prostor došla avarska populacija, područje je bilo zanimljivo za naseljavanje zbog ostataka infrastrukture iz rimskoga razdoblja i sličnosti sa šumsko-stepskim područjima. Prostorni raspored (karta 1) pokazuje da su nalazišta smještena na povoljnim geografskim položajima, na što ukazuje i zastupljenost građe iz više arheoloških razdoblja, od pretpovijesti do novoga vijeka. Također je vidljivo da naseljenost nekih položaja u ranome srednjem vijeku koincidira s pozicijama suvremenih naselja, što je svakako

cemeteries, as was the case in Jagodnjak. The cemeteries at Beli Manastir–Šumarina and Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara are similar due to small units, i.e. several grouped graves within the cemetery, while a large row cemetery has been documented at the site of Krčevine–Šumarina. Those new investigations provide new insights into the Avar-period horizon, and expand existing knowledge beyond previous methodological and theoretical frameworks.

Equestrian burials – one of the defining characteristics of Avar-period funerary practice – have been identified at Batina and Zmajevac, with a high probability of similar burials at Duboševica and Popovac (93 Navor Street). To date, the only site with systematically excavated equestrian burials is Šumarina–Krčevine, located near Beli Manastir. These sites are concentrated in the northern part of the Baranja region, in the area around and north of the Basko Brdo range. Notably, such burials – whether excavated or documented as chance finds – have not been recorded further south. The southernmost indication of a possible equestrian burial comes from Osijek (Zeleno Polje).²²⁷

Unpublished finds from several sites significantly expand and, in part, reshape the current understanding of the Baranja region and the early medieval inhabitants of the area. Until now, Grabovac has been absent from the Avar-period map of Baranja. However, the discovery of an iron spearhead has altered this picture.²²⁸ Similarly, an unpublished bead²²⁹ and a ceramic vessel²³⁰ have enriched the assemblage of already known finds from Batina.

The review of previously published data and their comparison with the existing finds has made it possible to identify subtle differences that had remained unnoticed in earlier studies. This underscores the importance of critically reassessing and verifying data that are often uncritically repeated from one publication to another. This approach is particularly evident in the case of the so-called Early Slavic fibula from Batina, which Zdenko Vinski mentions only in passing,²³¹ and which was later subsequently uncritically adopted and copied in various sources. Since neither its dating nor its contextual status had ever been verified, the possibility of recognizing it as a third-century find was precluded. This correction of attribution does not undermine the value of previous knowledge, but rather builds upon it, and strengthens it with methodologically grounded insights, thereby enabling a more precise understanding of regional social and cultural processes.

Although the present-day landscape differs considerably from that of the early medieval period – the time of the Avar populations' arrival in the region – the area nevertheless offered fa-

227 Vinski 1958, 26; Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 87–88.

228 Muzej Ivana Česmičkog, inv. br. 2081.

229 Muzej Ivana Česmičkog, inv. br. 2716.

230 Gradski muzej Sombor, inv. br. 2426.

231 Vinski 1971, 62.

227 Vinski 1958, 26; Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša 2019, 87–88.

228 Janus Pannonius Museum, inv. no. 2081.

229 Janus Pannonius Museum, inv. no. 2716.

230 Sombor City Museum, inv. no. 2426.

231 Vinski 1971, 62.

uvjetovano i samim reljefom Baranje.²³² Geomorfološki gledano, na prostoru Baranje razlikujemo ravničarski kraj prekriven holocenskim i pleistocenskim sedimentima (les, lesolike naslage, pijesci), Bansko brdo na sjeveru te pojas uz Dunav i Dravu tj. poplavno područje s mnogo sporednih riječnih rukavaca i močvarnih predjela.²³³ Batina leži na granici strmih obronaka Banskog brda i naplavne ravnice Dunava²³⁴ kao i Beli Manastir, Kotlina, Suza i Zmajevac, koji su smješteni na granici jugozapadnih obronaka Banskog brda i naplavne ravnice Dunava.²³⁵ Luč leži na prapornim sedimentima uz rijeku Karašicu, čiji je tok danas reguliran sustavom kanala, dok je u prošlosti imala poplavnu zonu široku oko 2 km, unutar koje su se formirali praporni otoci.²³⁶ Na sjevernim obroncima Banskog brda nalaze se Popovac²³⁷ i Draž, u čijim je predjelima spoj naplavnih ravnica Karašice i Dunava,²³⁸ dok se Duboševica, koja se nalazi nešto sjevernije, nalazi u zoni poplavnoga područja rijeke Dunav. Kneževi Vinogradi smješteni su na granici zaravni koju je formirala rijeka Drava, visine 2 – 4 m, i zaravni koju je formirao Dunav, visine 1 – 3 m.²³⁹ Grabovac je smješten na povišenoj terasi prema zaravni rijeke Drave,²⁴⁰ Jagodnjak i Novi Čeminac leže na rubu lesne terase i poplavnoga područja Dravske potoline,²⁴¹ dok je Bilje smješteno na samom rubnom području Kopačkog rita. Navedeno potvrđuje da raspored nalazišta, ali i suvremenih naselja, nije slučajna, već je uvjetovan okolišnim i komunikacijskim karakteristikama i prednostima. Ranosrednjovjekovna nalazišta smještena su pretežito na rubovima terasa i prijelazima između povišenih dijelova reljefa i poplavnih ravnica, čime je bio osiguran pristup resursima nizinskoga prostora, ali i sigurnost od sezonskih poplava.

Uz geografski, važan aspekt u proučavanju avarodobne Baranje čine rimska cestovna mreža i granično područje Carstva – *limes*. Iz više izvora poznato je da su rimske prometnice nadživjele Rimsko Carstvo i da su korištene i u srednjem vijeku, predstavljajući komunikacijsku poveznicu dviju ili više točaka u prostoru i predstavljajući te točke nositeljima političke, vojne, gospodarske i kulturološke poruke. Glavna rimska prometnica kroz Baranju, odsječak Podunavske ili Limeske ceste, pratila je granicu na Dunavu. Prema dostupnim podatcima iz literature, više je potencijalnih pravaca, no svi su oni varijacija iste okosnice baranjskoga prostora, tj. pravac sjever-jug (sjeverozapad-jugoistok) preko ocjeditih lesnih ravnina. Jedan je od njih pravac koji je išao preko Kopačeva i Vardarca do Luga, zatim kroz Grabovac, sve do Kneževih Vinograda. Drugi započinje u Mursi i pruža se do okolice Bilja, gdje je bilo raskrižje putova i odvojak

favourable conditions for settlement purposes. These were largely due to the surviving remnants of Roman-era infrastructure and its environmental resemblance to forest-steppe zones. The spatial distribution (Map 1) indicates that the sites are situated in strategically favourable geographic positions, a conclusion further supported by the presence of material remains spanning multiple archaeological periods, from prehistory to the modern era. It is also evident that early medieval settlement patterns closely correspond to the locations of contemporary settlements – a phenomenon largely conditioned by the topographic characteristics of the Baranja region.²³² From a geomorphological perspective, the Baranja region can be divided into several distinct units: the lowland area covered by Holocene and Pleistocene sediments (including loess, loess-like deposits, and sands), Bansko Brdo in the north, and the fluvial belts along the Rivers Danube and Drava – a floodplain characterised by numerous secondary river channels and wetlands.²³³ Batina is located at the interface between the steep slopes of Bansko Brdo and the Danube floodplain.²³⁴ A similar topographic position characterises Beli Manastir, Kotlina, Suza and Zmajevac, which lie on the boundary between the southwestern slopes of Bansko Brdo and the Danube's alluvial plain.²³⁵ Luč is located on loess sediments along the River Karašica – now changed by water-management processes, but historically flanked by a floodplain approximately 2 km wide, within which were formed loess islands.²³⁶ On the northern slopes of Bansko Brdo lie Popovac²³⁷ and Draž, the latter positioned at the confluence of the Karašica and Danube floodplains.²³⁸ Further north, Duboševica is situated within the Danube's floodplain zone. Kneževi Vinogradi occupies the transitional zone between the Drava-formed terrace (elevation 2–4 m) and the Danube-formed terrace (elevation 1–3 m).²³⁹ Grabovac is located on an elevated terrace overlooking the Drava plain,²⁴⁰ while Jagodnjak and Novi Čeminac lie at the edge of the loess terrace bordering the Drava Basin floodplain.²⁴¹ Finally, Bilje is situated on the outermost margins of the Kopački Rit wetlands. This indicates that the spatial distribution of both archaeological sites and contemporary settlements was not arbitrary, but rather shaped by environmental advantages and communication routes. Early medieval sites are predominantly positioned along terrace margins and at the interfaces between elevated terrain and floodplains. Such positions facilitated access to lowland resources while simultaneously offering protection against seasonal flooding.

232 Slične zaključke analizom prostora susjedne Bačke dobio je i I. Bugarski (Bugarski 2008).

233 Bognar 1990; Klemenčić 1992, 16.

234 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 7.

235 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 10.

236 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 10.

237 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 63.

238 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 7, 10.

239 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 52.

240 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 52.

241 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 68.

232 Comparable results were obtained by Ivan Bugarski in his spatial analysis of the adjacent Bačka region (Bugarski 2008).

233 Bognar 1990; Klemenčić 1992, 16.

234 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 7.

235 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 10.

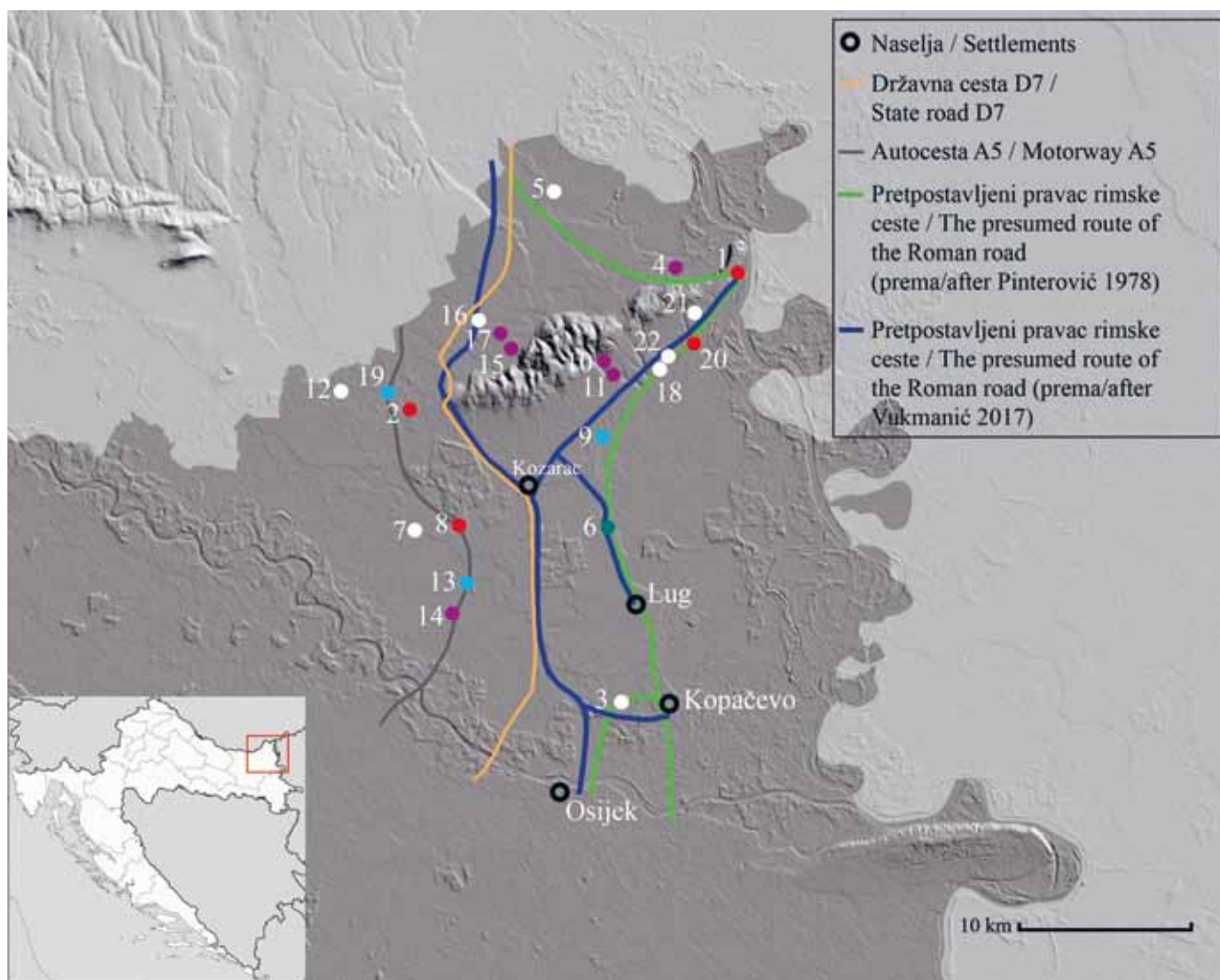
236 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 10.

237 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 63.

238 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 7, 10.

239 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 52.

240 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 52.



KARTA 2. Raspored nalazišta i njihov odnos s pretpostavljenim pravcima rimske ceste i suvremenih pravaca: 1. Batina, 2. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, 3. Bilje, 4. Draž, 5. Duboševica, 6. Grabovac, 7. Jagodnjak–Brdašće, 8. Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, 9. Kneževi Vinogradi, 10. Kotlina, 11. Kotlina–Cigány Heverős, 12. Luč–Henja, 13. Novi Čeminac–Jauhov salaš, 14. Novi Čeminac–Čemin, 15. Popovac–Ulica Vladimira Nazora 93, 16. Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza, 17. Popovac, 18. Suza–Csátar 2, 19. Šumarina–Krčevine, 20. Zmajevac, 21. Zmajevac–Eszealja 1, 22. Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1 (osnovnu kartu prema EUDEM-u izradio D. Tresić Pavičić, doradila A. Dugonjić).

MAP 2. Distribution of sites and their relationship with the assumed routes of the Roman road: 1. Batina, 2. Beli Manastir–Šumarina, 3. Bilje, 4. Draž, 5. Duboševica, 6. Grabovac, 7. Jagodnjak–Brdašće, 8. Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, 9. Kneževi Vinogradi, 10. Kotlina, 11. Kotlina–Cigány Heverős, 12. Luč–Henja, 13. Novi Čeminac–Jauhov Salaš, 14. Novi Čeminac–Čemin, 15. Popovac–93 Nazor Street, 16. Popovac–Velika Međa / Velika Loza, 17. Popovac, 18. Suza–Csátar 2, 19. Šumarina–Krčevine, 20. Zmajevac, 21. Zmajevac–Eszealja 1, 22. Zmajevac–Csatari Szanto 1 (basemap EUDEM made by D. Tresić Pavičić, adapted by A. Dugonjić).

prema Kopačevu. Od okolice Bilja cesta je prolazila kroz Čeminac, južno od Karanca, zatim se s jedne strane pravac usmjeravao kroz šume Halicu i Haljevo, južno od Belog Manastira, vjerojatno do današnjega sela Širine, a s druge na jugoistok prema pustari Mitrovcu, skrećući potom prema položaju Dragojlov brijeg u Kneževim Vinogradima i prema selu Mirkovcu, dalje kroz Kamenac i Bansku kosu do Popovca. Odatle je pravac išao dalje prema Kólkedu (u današnjoj Mađarskoj).²⁴² Jedan je od predloženih pravaca i Beli Manastir – Kozarac – Čeminac – Bilje – Podravlje – Osijek, s lateralnim pristupnim putevima (prema Zmajevcu i Batini).²⁴³ Niz lokacija spomenutih kao mjesta na rimskim prometnicama poklapaju se s lokacijama avarodobnih nalazišta

Geographical factors aside, the Roman road network and the *limes* frontier are essential to understanding Avar-period Baranja. Roman roads survived the Empire's collapse and continued to be used during the Middle Ages, serving as communication links and conduits for political, military, economic and cultural exchange. The principal Roman route through Baranja – a section of the Danubian Limes Road – ran along the Danube. While numerous possible courses are proposed by various sources in the literature, all are variations of the same regional axis: a north-south (northwest-southeast) corridor crossing the well-drained loess plateaus. One of the proposed routes passed through Kopačevo and Vardarac to Lug, then continued via Grabovac to Kneževi Vinogradi. Another started at Mursa and extended towards the Bilje region, where there was a road junction branching to Kopačevo. From the vicinity

²⁴² Gračanin 2010, 29–32 (sa starijom literaturom).

(karta 2). Naravno da takav raspored nalaza nije karakterističan isključivo za baranjsko područje; slična studija napravljena je za prostor između Sirmija i Singidunuma, sa zaključkom da se većina kasnoavarodobnih nalazišta u Srijemu nalazi na ili u neposrednoj blizini rimskih cesta i naselja uz cestu.²⁴⁴ J. Kovačević tu pojavu tumači kao vojnu granicu, tj. područje Avarije koje čini zonu prema (bizantskom) Beogradu. Međutim, za iste podatke i činjenice postoji i alternativno tumačenje.²⁴⁵ H. Gračanin tako smatra da su, prvenstveno zbog kronološke udaljenosti pojedinih nalazišta, ona odraz zaposjedanja povoljnih položaja na križanjima putova i prijelazima preko rijeka, a ne homogena i planirana vojna granica. Studija odnosa antičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih nalazišta napravljena je i na području koprivničko-đurđevačke Podravine i Prekodravlja. Uz pretpostavku da ranosrednjovjekovno stanovništvo koristi trase i smjerove antičkih cesta i naselja koja su uz njih smještena, nametnuo se zaključak prema kojemu su ranosrednjovjekovna nalazišta smještena u neposrednoj blizini ili na samim trasama antičkih cesta.²⁴⁶ Slične su podatke pokazale i analize odnosa antičkih nalazišta i cesta s avarodobnim nalazištima na sjevernome dijelu Vukovarsko-srijemske županije. Raspored avarodobnih nalazišta poklapa se s trasama antičkih cesta ili se nalazi u blizini antičkih nalazišta.²⁴⁷ Zanimljiva je i analiza prostora u mađarskome Mezőföldön, prostoru između brda Transdanubije i Alfölda, s tom razlikom da se u blizini antičkih naselja i prometnica mogu pronaći ranoavarodobni nalazi, dok su kasnoavarodobni nalazi i nalazišta izmješteni u odnosu na antičke pozicije. F. Szűcsi nudi i zadovoljavajuće objašnjenje te pojave: ranoavarodobna populacija naseljava antička nalazišta koja su zbog postojećih struktura bila pogodna za organizaciju naselja i izvor sirovina. Ta su naselja nastavila postojati i u kasnoavarodobnome razdoblju pa su novopridošle populacije tada birale nove položaje za naseljavanje.²⁴⁸

Usporedna analiza pokretnih nalaza i prostornih obrazaca pokazuje da su pojedine pojave, ranije interpretirane kao izolirani ili kratkotrajni fenomeni, rezultat složenijih i dugotrajnijih procesa, što otvara prostor za preciznije modele i buduća istraživanja.

Mreža avarodobnih nalazišta u mađarskome dijelu Baranje nazgled je puno gušća od one u hrvatskome dijelu, što je svakako posljedica stanja istraženosti, a ne odraz stvarne situacije na terenu. A. Kiss u monografiji *Avar Cemeteries in County Baranya* iz 1977. godine obrađuje 43 nalazišta, ali u Uvodu spominje da ih je nešto više. Naime, nisu uključena već objavljena ili tijekom pisanja istraživana groblja, tako da ih spominje ukupno 60.²⁴⁹ U djelu *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa (ADAM)* iz 2002. godine nabrojano je ukupno 72 nalazišta.²⁵⁰

of Bilje, the road traversed Čeminac, south of Karanac, where it split: one branch veered northwest through the Halica and Haljevo forests, south of Beli Manastir, probably reaching the modern village of Širine; the other turned southeast towards the Mitrovac farmstead, then redirected towards Dragojlov Brijeg in Kneževi Vinogradi, continuing through Kamenac and across Bansko brdo to Popovac. From there, the route proceeded onwards to Kölked (in present-day Hungary).²⁴² An additional proposed corridor follows the line Beli Manastir - Kozarac - Čeminac - Bilje - Podravlje - Osijek, supplemented by lateral access routes towards Zmajevac and Batina.²⁴³ A number of sites mentioned as sites along Roman roads coincide with the positions of Avar-period finds (Map 2). This pattern is, of course, not unique to the Baranja region. A comparative study conducted for the area between Sirmium and Singidunum concluded that most Late Avar sites in Syrmia are situated on, or in the immediate vicinity of, Roman roads and roadside settlements.²⁴⁴ Jovan Kovačević interprets this as a military frontier – a zone of Avaria oriented towards (Byzantine) Belgrade. However, the same data and facts are also open to alternative interpretations.²⁴⁵ Hrvoje Gračanin thus argues that – primarily due to chronological disparities among individual sites – these sites reflect the occupation of strategically favourable positions at road intersections and river crossings, rather than a homogeneous and deliberately planned military frontier. A study examining the relationship between antique and early medieval sites was also conducted in the Koprivnica-Đurđevac Podravina and Prekodravljje regions. Operating on the premise that the early medieval population made use of antique road routes and the settlements along them, the study concluded that early medieval sites are situated in the immediate vicinity or directly along the alignments of Roman roads.²⁴⁶ Similar findings emerged from an analysis of the relationship between antique sites and roads and Avar-period sites in the northern part of Vukovar-Syrmia County. The distribution of Avar-period sites coincides with the routes of Roman roads or is located in the vicinity of antique settlements.²⁴⁷ Equally instructive is the spatial analysis conducted in the Hungarian Mezőföld region, located between the Transdanubian hills and the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld). A notable distinction emerges: Early Avar finds are located in proximity to antique settlements and roads, whereas Late Avar finds and sites are displaced relative to these antique positions. The author offers a plausible explanation for this pattern: the Early Avar population made use of antique sites as positions readily adaptable for settlement construction and as valuable sources of raw materials. By the Late Avar period, however, with the arrival of new populations, these positions were no longer available for occupation, as they continued to be inhabited during the Late Avar phase.²⁴⁸

243 Vukmanić 2017, I: 173–174, II: 477, karta 39.

244 Kovačević 1973, 52.

245 Gračanin 2011, 141.

246 Valent, Zvijerac 2017.

247 Rapan Papeša 2021.

248 Szűcsi 2015.

249 Kiss A. 1977, 9.

250 ADAM 2002, karte F3, F4, G3, G4.

241 Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015, 68.

242 Gračanin 2010, 29–32 (with the cited literature).

243 Vukmanić 2017, I: 173–174, II: 477, Map 39.

244 Kovačević 1973, 52.

245 Gračanin 2011, 141.

246 Valent, Zvijerac 2017.

247 Rapan Papeša 2021.

248 Szűcsi 2015.

U odnosu na površinu Baranye²⁵¹ i Baranje²⁵² gustoća nalazišta iznosi približno 1,6 nalazišta na 100 km² u Baranyi te 1,9 nalazišta na 100 km² u Baranji. Drugim riječima, oba područja pokazuju usporedivu gustoću, pri čemu Baranja bilježi tek neznatno veći broj nalazišta u odnosu na površinu.

Ako kronološki promotrimo baranjski prostor (na nalazištima na kojima je kronološka odrednica vidljiva), uočavamo da je prostor nejednako korišten kroz tri arheološka razdoblja avarske dominacije (tab. 2). Nalaze koje povezujemo s ranoavarodobnim vremenom pratimo na nalazištima Batina, Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Grabovac, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara i Zmajevac. Nadalje, u srednjeavarodobnom razdoblju to su Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, Kneževi Vinogradi, Novi Čeminac–Jauhov salaš, Šumarina–Krčevine i Zmajevac. Veći broj nalaza pripada kasnoavarodobnom razdoblju s nalazišta Batina, Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Draž, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kotlina, Novi Čeminac (Jauhov salaš i Čemin), Popovac, Suza, Šumarina–Krčevine, Zmajevac. Zanimljivo je i da se na pojedinim nalazištima (Zmajevac, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska bara, Beli Manastir–Šumarina) prati kontinuitet naseljavanja, što dodatno naglašava važnost tih pozicija.

Spoznaje o kronologiji i broju nalazišta upućuju na složenije obrasce naseljavanja i korištenja prostora, što nas dovodi do revidiranja postojećih interpretacija. Pokazalo se da pojedini elementi, koji su prethodno smatrani izoliranima ili sekundarnima, zapravo čine dio šire i koherentnije cjeline. Ovi rezultati potvrđuju važnost ponovne analize arhivske građe i starijih nalaza u svjetlu novih metodoloških mogućnosti.

Comparative analysis of material culture and spatial patterning demonstrates that phenomena once regarded as isolated or ephemeral are, in fact, products of more intricate and sustained processes. This realization paves the way for more refined models and future research.

While the distribution of Avar-period sites in the Hungarian Baranya seems far denser than in its Croatian counterpart, this disparity is almost certainly a product of differential research intensity rather than a genuine reflection of past settlement patterns. In his 1977 monograph *Avar Cemeteries in County Baranya*, A. Kiss analysed 43 sites, though he mentions in the introduction that the actual number is somewhat higher; specifically, published cemeteries or those under investigation at the time of writing were not included, bringing the total number of sites mentioned to 60.²⁴⁹ The 2002 publication *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa (ADAM)* lists a total of 72 sites.²⁵⁰ Relative to the area of Baranya²⁵¹ and Baranja,²⁵² site density amounts to approximately 1.6 sites per 100 km² in Baranya and 1.9 sites per 100 km² in Baranja. In other words, both regions exhibit a comparable density of recorded archaeological sites, with Baranja showing only a slightly higher number of sites relative to its area.

Chronological analysis of Baranja (where determinable) reveals uneven site distribution across the three periods of Avar rule (Table 2). Finds attributed to the Early Avar period are recorded at the sites of Batina, Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Zmajevac, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara and Grabovac. The Middle Avar period is represented at Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Kneževi Vinogradi, Zmajevac, Novi Čeminac–Jauhov Salaš, Šumarina–Krčevine, and Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara. A larger number of finds date to the Late Avar period, originating from Batina, Beli Manastir–Šumarina, Draž, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kotlina, Novi Čeminac (Jauhov Salaš and Čemin), Popovac, Suza, Šumarina–Krčevine, and Zmajevac. Notably, continuity of occupation is observed at certain locations – Zmajevac, Jagodnjak–Krčevine–Selska Bara, and Beli Manastir–Šumarina – which further underscores the enduring significance of these positions.

The chronological and quantitative data indicate more complex settlement and land-use patterns, calling for revised interpretations. Elements formerly seen as isolated or peripheral are now understood as part of a larger, coherent network. These results highlight the critical role of reanalysing archival data and legacy assemblages using updated methodological frameworks.

251 4.429,6 km² (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baranya_County)

252 1.147 km²

249 Kiss A. 1977, 9.

250 ADAM 2002, Maps F3, F4, G3, G4.

251 4,429.6 km² (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baranya_County)

252 1,147 km²

Zaključak

Ljepota arheologije leži u činjenici da svako istraživanje otvara nova pitanja i donosi nove spoznaje, a ovaj rad potvrđuje takav istraživački potencijal i u kontekstu avarodobne arheologije Baranje. Istraživanje je provedeno na više razina te je, osim sinteze dosadašnjih spoznaja i novih podataka prikupljenih zaštitnim arheološkim istraživanjima te sustavnim terenskim pregledima, u njega uključena i kritička analiza arhivske građe i starije literature, čime su preispitani podatci koji su u znanstvenome diskursu često prenošeni nekritički, bez jasna uvida u njihovu izvornu dokumentaciju, kontekst nastanka ili stupanj pouzdanosti, čime je istovremeno dobiven uvid u nepoznate i dosad neobjavljene predmete. Ovakav metodološki pristup omogućio je jasnije sagledavanje trenutačnoga stanja istraženosti avarodobne arheologije u Baranji, ali i identifikaciju strukturalnih problema u podacima na kojima se temelje dosadašnja, provedena istraživanja. Na osnovi analiziranoga materijala moguće je zaključiti da je prostor današnje Baranje bio naseljen već od samoga dolaska avarskih populacija u Panoniju. Razmještaj nalazišta pritom ne pokazuje slučajni karakter, već slijedi jasno prepoznatljive prostorne obrasce koje je moguće povezati s prirodnim i komunikacijskim obilježjima krajolika. Posebno se ističe povezanost avarodobnih nalazišta s trasama rimskih prometnica, što je pojava zabilježena i na širem panonskom prostoru. Takav kontinuitet korištenja komunikacijskih pravaca upućuje na njihovu dugotrajnu važnost u organizaciji prostora, neovisno o političkim i etničkim promjenama. Prometnice su djelovale kao stabilne osi kretanja, razmjene i kontakata i imale presudnu ulogu u izboru lokacija za formiranje naselja, a posljedično i groblja. Činjenica da se slični komunikacijski pravci mogu prepoznati i u suvremenome krajoliku dodatno potvrđuje njihovu trajnu funkcionalnu vrijednost.

Unatoč navedenim spoznajama, potrebno je naglasiti da većinu dostupnih informacija o avarskome razdoblju u Baranji zasad većinski čine slučajni nalazi, izdvojeni iz izvornoga arheološkog konteksta i nedovoljno dokumentirani prema suvremenim standardima arheoloških istraživanja. Postojeća struktura podataka znatno ograničava mogućnost stvaranja preciznijih interpretacija o društvenoj organizaciji, naseljenosti i svakodnevnome životu avarodobnih zajednica. Upravo iz toga razloga ovaj rad ne teži konačnim zaključcima, već predstavlja analitički okvir i polazište za buduća istraživanja. Sustavna obrada i objava nalazišta otkrivenih i istraženih u posljednjem desetljeću, uz primjenu ujednačenih metodoloških kriterija, omogućit će donošenje detaljnijih i argumentiranijih zaključaka o razvoju i karakteru avarodobnih populacija na području Baranje, kao i njihovoj ulozi u širem panonskom kontekstu.

Conclusion

The enduring appeal of archaeology lies in the fact that every investigation generates new questions and yields fresh insights – a premise confirmed by this study in the context of Avar-period Baranja. The research was conducted on numerous levels, encompassing not only a synthesis of existing knowledge and newly-acquired data from rescue excavations and systematic field surveys, but also a critical re-examination of archival materials and older literature. This approach enabled the reassessment of information that had frequently been perpetuated uncritically in the literature, without transparent verification of its source documentation, contextual provenance, or reliability. At the same time, it brought to light previously unknown and unpublished items. This methodological approach has achieved two important outcomes: it has provided a clearer picture of the current state of Avar-period research in Baranja, and it has revealed structural weaknesses in the data underlying previous studies. Analysis of the material indicates that the area of present-day Baranja was inhabited from the very beginning of Avar settlement in Pannonia. The distribution of sites is not random, but follows consistent spatial patterns shaped by the region's natural features and communication networks. One particularly significant finding is the strong correlation between Avar-period sites and the routes of Roman roads – a pattern also observed elsewhere on the Pannonian Plain. This continuity demonstrates that major communication routes retained their importance long after the Roman period, functioning as stable axes of movement, exchange and contact regardless of political or demographic changes. These roads played a decisive role in shaping where people chose to establish settlements and, consequently, their cemeteries. The enduring functional value of these routes is further confirmed by the fact that many of them can still be traced in the modern landscape.

Despite the insights presented, it must be emphasized that most of the available information on the Avar period in Baranja currently consists of chance finds. These are often removed from their original archaeological context, or insufficiently documented by modern standards. Such data structure significantly limits the potential for precise interpretations regarding the social organization, settlement patterns and daily life of Avar-period communities. For this reason, the present study does not aim to offer definitive conclusions. Rather, it provides an analytical framework and a point of departure for future research. Systematic processing and publication of sites discovered and excavated over the last decade – applying consistent methodological criteria – will eventually enable more detailed and substantiated conclusions about the development and character of Avar-period populations in Baranja, as well as their role in the broader Pannonian context.

Broj/ Number	Nalazište/Site	Nalaz/Find	Literatura (prva objava) / Bibliography (first published)	Atribucija u objavi / Attribution in the publication	Nova atribucija / New attribution	Mjesto pohrane / Kept by
1.	Batina	fibula	Vinski 1971, 62.	7. st. / 7th c.	3. st. / 3rd c.	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
1.	Batina	zvalc/bul	Csallany 1956, 141.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	zvalc/bul (2)	Csallany 1956, 141.	avarodobna/Avar period	kasnosrednjovjekovna / late medieval	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	strelac/arrowhead	Csallany 1956, 141.	trobradna, avarodobna / three-lobed, Avar period	romboidna, avarodobna / rhomboid, Avar period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	namakica/bracelet	ADAM 2002, 45.	avarodobna/Avar period	rimsko razdoblje / Roman period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	namakica/bracelet	ADAM 2002, 45.	avarodobna/Avar period	rimsko razdoblje / Roman period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	prsten/ring	ADAM 2002, 45.	avarodobna/Avar period	predmet izgubljen / item lost	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	ekos/fitting	ADAM 2002, 45.	avarodobna/Avar period	predmet izgubljen / item lost	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
1.	Batina	zvalc/bul	neobjavljeno/unpublished	-	kasnosrednjovjekovna / late medieval	Muzej Ivana Cestičkog / Janus Pannonius Museum
1.	Batina	perla/bead	neobjavljeno/unpublished	-	avarodobna/Avar period	Muzej Ivana Cestičkog / Janus Pannonius Museum
1.	Batina	posuda/vessel	neobjavljeno/unpublished	-	avarodobna/Avar period	Gradski muzej Sombor / Sombor City Museum
2.	Beli Manastir– Šumarina	groblje/cemetery	neobjavljeno/unpublished	-	avarodobna/Avar period	Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
3.	Bilje	nepoznati/unknown	Kovačević 1960, 41.	germansko, ranosrednjovjekovno / Germanic, early medieval	nepoznati/unknown	nepoznati / unknown
4.	Draž	urvenar ženskog groba / female burial assemblage	Fettich 1929, 77.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
4.	Draž	nalazi iz grobova / grave finds	Csallany 1956, 101 / ADAM 2002, 118–119.	avarodobna/Avar period	predmet izgubljen / item lost	nepoznati / unknown
5.	Duboševica	konjanički grob / equestrian grave	Minichreiter 1987, 115.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	privatno vlasništvo, nepoznati / private collection, unknown
6.	Grabovac	kopljac/spear	neobjavljeno/unpublished	-	avarodobna/Avar period	Muzej Ivana Cestičkog / Janus Pannonius Museum
7.	Jagodnjak–Brdace	groblje/cemetery	Minichreiter 1984, 32–36.	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	nepoznati/unknown	nepoznati / unknown
8.	Jagodnjak– Krčevine–Selska bara	naselje/settlement	Trošić Pavičić 2013, 39–41.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
8.	Jagodnjak– Krčevine–Selska bara	groblje/cemetery	Dugonjić <i>et al.</i> 2022, 26–61.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
9.	Kneževi Vinogradi	strelac/arrowhead	Kahnir 1945, 286.	više komada, avarodobna / more than one item, Avar period	jedna trobradna, avarodobna / one three-lobed, Avar period	Muzej Ivana Cestičkog / Janus Pannonius Museum
9.	Kneževi Vinogradi	groblje/cemetery	Arhiv Konzervatorskog odjela u Osijeku / Archives of the Conservation Department in Osijek	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	nepoznati/unknown	nepoznati / unknown
10.	Kotlina	nalazi pojasnih garnitura / belt set parts	Csallany 1956, 186.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Prirodoslovna muzej u Beči / Natural History Museum Vienna
11.	Kotlina–Cigany Heveris	naselje/settlement	Bojčić <i>et al.</i> 2010, 85.	avaro-slavenko / Avaro-Slavic	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
12.	Luč–Henja	naselje/settlement	Minichreiter 1987, 127.	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	nepoznati/unknown	nepoznati / unknown
13.	Novi Čeminae– Janšov Salaš	naselje/settlement	Holen <i>et al.</i> 2016.	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
14.	Novi Čeminae–Čemin	naselje/settlement	Filipović 2015, 54–55.	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	nepoznati/unknown	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
15.	Popovac–Ulica Vladimira Nazora 93 / 93 Nazor Street	sjekira/axe	Pinterović 1960, 44.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
15.	Popovac–Ulica Vladimira Nazora 93 / 93 Nazor Street	trozubac/trident	Pinterović 1960, 44.	avarodobna/Avar period	nepoznati/unknown	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
16.	Popovac–Velika Meda / Velika Loza	groblje/cemetery	Minichreiter 1987, 133.	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	nepoznati/unknown	nepoznati / unknown
17.	Popovac–nepoznati nalazište / unknown site	dijelovi pojasnog garnitura / belt set parts	Bojčić 2011, 101–116.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
18.	Suza–Čuštár 2	naselje/settlement	Bojčić <i>et al.</i> 2010, 85.	avaro-slavenko / Avaro-Slavic	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
19.	Šumarina–Krčevine	groblje/cemetery	neobjavljeno/unpublished	-	avarodobna/Avar period	Institut za arheologiju / Institute of Archaeology
20.	Zmajevac	namakica/earring	Hampel 1901, 188.	germanska/Germanic	avarodobna/Avar period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
20.	Zmajevac	kopljac/spear	Csallany 1956, 216.	nepoznati/unknown	avarodobna/Avar period	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
20.	Zmajevac	posuda/vessel	Garam 1982, 209.	avarodobna/Avar period	avarodobna/Avar period	Muzej Ivana Cestičkog / Janus Pannonius Museum
20.	Zmajevac	grob konja/ horse grave	Hampel 1902, 433–436.	8. stoljeće / 8th c.	zadnja trećina 7. st. / last third of the 7th c.	Mađarski nacionalni muzej / Hungarian National Museum
21.	Zmajevac–Eszelja I	naselje/settlement	Bojčić <i>et al.</i> 2010, 85.	avaro-slavenko / Avaro-Slavic	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek
22.	Zmajevac–Čutari Szamó I	naselje/settlement	Bojčić <i>et al.</i> 2010, 85.	avaro-slavenko / Avaro-Slavic	ranosrednjovjekovno / early medieval	Arheološki muzej Osijek / Archaeological Museum in Osijek

TABLICA 1. Popis avarodobnih nalazišta u Baranji (izradile A. Rapan Papeša, A. Dugonjić).

TABLE 1. List of Avar-period sites in Baranja (made by A. Rapan Papeša, A. Dugonjić).

Broj/Number	Nalazište/Site	550	600	650	700	750	800	850
1.	Batina							
2.	Beli Manastir - Šumarina							
3.	Bilje							
4.	Draž							
5.	Duboševica							
6.	Grabovac							
7.	Jagodnjak - Brdašće							
8.	Jagodnjak - Krčevine - Sejska Bars							
9.	Kneževi Vinogradi							
10.	Kotina - nepoznato nalazište / unknown site							
11.	Kotina - Čigány Heverős							
12.	Luč - Henja							
13.	Novi Čeminac - Jauhov Selaš							
14.	Novi Čeminac - Čemin							
15.	Popovac - Ulica Vladimira Nazora 93 / 93 Nazor Street							
16.	Popovac - Velika Meda / Velika Loza							
17.	Popovac - nepoznato nalazište / unknown site							
18.	Sura - Opatić 2							
19.	Šumarina - Krčevine							
20.	Zmajevac - nepoznato nalazište / unknown site							
21.	Zmajevac - Eszterija 1							
22.	Zmajevac - Csantari Szanto 1							

TABLICA 2. Nalazišta s približnim kronološkim opredjeljenjem (izradile A. Rapan Papeša, A. Dugonjić).

TABLE 2. Sites with approximate chronological attribution (made by A. Rapan Papeša, A. Dugonjić).

KRATICE

ABBREVIATIONS

AAMZ, Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

ADAM 2002, J. Szentpéteri (ur.), *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XIII/1, Budapest 2002.

HAG 11/2014, Z. Wiewegh (ur.), *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 11/2014*, Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Zagreb 2014.

HAG 12/2015, Z. Wiewegh (ur.), *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 12/2015*, Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Zagreb 2015.

HAG 15/2018, Z. Wiewegh (ur.), *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak 15/2018*, Ministarstvo kulture i medija, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Zagreb 2018.

TAIUH 2016, *Tekuća arheološka istraživanja u Hrvatskoj*, poster izložbe, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb 2016.

INTERNETSKI IZVORI

INTERNET SOURCES

<https://gms.rs/o-nama/istorijat>

<https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-6472>

<https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-6118>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baranya_County

<https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/antunovic-oskar-f>

BIBLIOGRAFIJA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balen 2015 – J. Balen, *Izvjeste o arheološkim istraživanjima nalazišta AN10A Novi Čeminac-Jauhov salaš*, unpublished report, Zagreb 2015.

Balen et al. 2016 – J. Balen, A. Đukić, A. Dugonjić, M. Maderić, Položaj Jauhov salaš u Novom Čemincu, *Godišnjak ogranka Matice Hrvatske u Belom Manastiru* 12, 2016, 11–24.

Balen 2020 – J. Balen, *Završni izvještaj o zaštitnom arheološkom istraživanju lokaliteta AN 1 Šumarina na trasi obilaznice oko Belog Manastira (Osječko – baranjska županija)*, unpublished report, 2020.

Bognar 1990 – A. Bognar, *Geomorfologija Baranje*, Savez geografskih društava Hrvatske, 1990.

Bojčić 1984 – Z. Bojčić, Pregled istraživanja i rasprostranjenosti ranosrednjovjekovnih arheoloških nalaza u istočnoj Slavoniji i Baranji, in Majnarić Pandžić, N. (ed.), *Arheološka istraživanja u istočnoj Slavoniji i Baranji*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 9, 1984, 211–222.

Bojčić 2011 – Z. Bojčić, Neobjavljeni nalazi iz ranog srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju Osijek, *Osječki zbornik* 30, 2011, 101–116.

Bojčić 2021 – Z. Bojčić, Batina – Arheološki svjetionik na Dunavu / Batina – An Archaeological Light-tower on the Danube, in Dizdar, M., Leleković, T., Hršak, T. (eds.), *Batina – tisućljetni svjetionik na Dunavu / Batina – a Millenium Light-tower on the Danube*, Arheološki muzej Osijek, 2021, 6–15.

Bojčić et al. 2009 – Z. Bojčić, M. Dizdar, T. Hršak, T. Leleković, Terenski pregled područja Batine, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 5, 2009, 125–129.

Bojčić et al. 2010 – Z. Bojčić, M. Dizdar, T. Hršak, I. Vukmanić, D. Dujmić, T. Leleković, Terenski pregled područja između Batine i Suze, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* 6, 2010, 80–87.

Budinský-Krička, Točík 1991 – V. Budinský-Krička, A. Točík, Šebastovce – Gräberfeld aus der Zeit des Awarischen Reiches, Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied Nitra, 1991.

Bugarski 2008 – I. Bugarski, The Geomorphological Matrix as a Starting Point for Determining the Position of Avar-time Settlements in Pannonia: The Example of the Bačka Region, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 38/3, 2008, 437–455.

Bulat 1969 – M. Bulat, Topografska istraživanja limesa u Slavoniji i Baranji, *Osječki zbornik* 12, 1969, 39–52.

Bulat 1972 – M. Bulat, Novi antički i srednjovjekovni nalazi u Muzeju Slavonije, *Glasnik slavonskih muzeja* 20, 1972, 6–8.

Csallány 1953 – D. Csallány, A bácsújfalusi avarkori hamvasztásos lelet. Adatok a kurgur-bolgárok (hunok) temetési szokásához és régészeti hagyatékához, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 80/2, 1953, 133–141.

Csallány 1956 – D. Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa: Schrifttum und Fundorte*, Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956.

Csikó 2015 – G. Csikó, *Avar-Age Polearms and Edged Weapons. Classification, Typology, Chronology and Technology*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, Brill, 2015.

Csuthy 2015 – A. Csuthy, *Včasnostredoveký konský postroj v Karpatskej kotline. Súčasť konského postroja z obdobia Avarského kaganátu a Veľkej Moravy*, unpublished PhD thesis, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity komenského, 2015.

Curta 2011 – F. Curta, Werner's Class I C: Erratum corrigendum cum commentariis, *Ephemeris Napocensis* 21, 2011, 63–110.

Čilinská 1966 – Z. Čilinská, *Slawisch-awarisches Gräberfeld in Nové Zámky*, Archaeologica Slovaca – Fontes 7, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1966.

Demo 2014 – Ž. Demo, *Zlato i srebro srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu*, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2014.

Dizdar 1999 – M. Dizdar, Rani srednji vijek, in Jozić, S. (ed.), *Vinkovci u svijetu arheologije*, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, 1999, 65–71.

Dugonjić, Rapan Papeša (eds.) 2019 – A. Dugonjić, A. Rapan Papeša (eds.), *Avari i Slaveni / Avars and Slavs*, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2019.

Dugonjić et al. 2022 – A. Dugonjić, D. Tresić Pavičić, M. Novak, The Early Medieval Cemetery in Jagodnjak (Croatian Baranja) – First Results of the Archaeological Excavations and Anthropological Analysis, in Rapan Papeša, A., Dugonjić, A. (eds.), *Avari i Slaveni, Dvije strane pojasnog jezička – Avari na sjeveru i jugu Kaganata / Avars and Slavs, Two sides of a belt strap end – Avars on the North and the South of the Khaganate*, Collectanea Archaeologica Musei Archaeologici Zagradiensis 5, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2022, 26–61.

Fettich 1929 – N. Fettich, Adatok az oszermán állatornamentumok II. stílusának eredetkéréséhez, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 43, 1929, 68–124.

Fettich 1938 – N. Fettich, Népvándorláskori Gyűjtemény, in *Vezető a régészeti gyűjteményben*, Országos Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1938, 147–163.

Filipec 2003 – K. Filipec, Kasnoavarski ukrasni okov (falera) u obliku veprove glave iz Siska, *Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja Sisak* 3–4/2002–2003, 2003, 117–143.

- Garam 1975 – É. Garam, The Szebény I-III cemetery, in Garam, É., Kovrig, I., Szabó, J. Gy., Török, Gy. (eds.), *Avar finds in the Hungarian National Museum, Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567–829) in Hungary* 3, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975, 49–120.
- Garam 1982 – É. Garam, Der Fund von Vörösmart im archäologischen Nachlaß der Awarenzeit, *Folia Archaeologica* 33, 1982, 187–213.
- Garam 1984 – É. Garam, Spätawarenzeitliche Goldgegenstände im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum, *Folia archaeologica* 35, 1984, 87–109.
- Garam 1993 – É. Garam, *Katalog der awarenzeitlichen Goldgegenstände und der Fundstücke aus den Fürstengräbern im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum*, Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Seria Archaeologica 1, Verlag Ungarisches Nationalmuseum, 1993.
- Garam 2018 – É. Garam, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld in Zamárdi-Rétiföldek* 3, Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica 12, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2018.
- Gračanin 2010 – H. Gračanin, Rimske prometnice i komunikacije u kasnoantičkoj južnoj Panoniji, *Scrinia Slavonica* 10, 2010, 6–69.
- Gračanin 2011 – H. Gračanin, *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju (od konca 4. do konca 11. stoljeća)*, Plejada, 2011.
- Hampel 1901 – J. Hampel, A nemzeti múzeum régiségosztályának gyarapodása 1900 áprilistól decemberig, *Archaeologiai Értésítő* U21, 1901, 186–190.
- Hampel 1902 – J. Hampel, A nemzeti múzeumi régiségtár gyarapodása 1902-ben, *Archaeologiai Értésítő* U22, 1902, 419–448.
- Hampel 1905 – J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des Frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* 1–3, Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1905.
- Ivanišević 2021 – V. M. Ivanišević, New Finds of “Slavic” Bow Fibulae Class I C from Northern Illyricum, in Ivanišević, V., Bikić, V., Bugarski, I. (eds.), *The Medieval World of Fortresses, Towns and Monasteries. Hommage to Marko Popović*, Arheološki institut Beograd, Dadov Omladinsko pozorište, 2021, 117–141.
- Izvešće AN4 Šumarina–Krčevine 2024 – *Izvešće o zaštitnom arheološkom istraživanju na arheološkom nalazištu AN4 Šumarina–Krčevine na trasi buduće autoceste A5 granica Republike Mađarske-Beli Manastir*, unpublished report, Arheolog d.o.o., Geoarheo d.o.o., Kaducej d.o.o. i Temenos d.o.o., 2024.
- Kalmár 1943 – J. Kalmár, Népvándorláskori akasztóhorgok és veretek / Metallhaken und Beschläge der ungarländischen Völkerwanderungszeit, *Archaeologiai Értésítő* III/4, 1943, 149–159.
- Kalmár 1945 – J. Kalmár, Az avar nyílhegy / Die Typen der awarischen Pfeilspitzen, *Archaeologiai Értésítő* III/5, 1945, 283–294.
- Kiss A. 1962 – A. Kiss, Az avar kori lovas-temetkezés szokásának vizsgálata, *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve*, 1962, 153–162.
- Kiss A. 1977 – A. Kiss, *Avar cemeteries in County Baranja*, Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567–829) in Hungary 2, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977.
- Kiss A. 1986 – A. Kiss, Die Goldfunde des Karpatenbeckens vom 5.–10. Jahrhundert: Angaben zu den Vergleichsmöglichkeiten der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, 1986, 105–145.
- Kiss A. 1995 – A. Kiss, A kunbábonyi 1. avar vezéri sír leleteinek belső összefüggései, a leletanyag azonosítása, *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, 1995, 267–284, <https://doi.org/10.54640/CAH.1995.267>
- Kiss G. 1985 – G. Kiss, Funde der Awarenzeit aus Ungarn in Wiener Museen 2, *Archaeologia Austriaca* 69, 1985, 147–163.
- Kiss G. 2003 – G. Kiss, Avar kori préselőminta Zselickislakról, *A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 24–25, 2003, 295–319.
- Klemenčić 1992 – M. Klemenčić, Baranja, Povijesno-geografski pregled, *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 4, 1992, 15–21.
- Kovačević 1960 – J. Kovačević, *Arheologija i istorija varvarske kolonizacije južnoslavenskih oblasti, Od IV do početka VII veka*, Posebna izdanja, Monographie 2, Vojvodanski muzej, 1960.
- Kovačević 1973 – J. Kovačević, Die awarische Militärgrenze in der Umgebung von Beograd im VIII. Jahrhundert, *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 14, 1973, 49–56.
- Kovrig 1963 – I. Kovrig, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Alattyán*, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963.
- László 2015 – Gy. László, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld in Csákberény-Orondpuszta*, Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica 11, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2015.
- Lőrinczy, Straub 2005 – G. Lőrinczy, P. Straub, Alpi típusú övgarnitúra a szegvár-ormodúlói 81. sírból, *Zalai Múzeum* 14, 2005, 137–167.
- Ložnjak Dizdar, Dujmić, Dizdar 2021 – D. Ložnjak Dizdar, D. Dujmić, M. Dizdar, *Povijest istraživanja Batine / Batina history research*, in Dizdar, M., Leleković, T., Hršak, T. (eds.), *Batina – tisućljetni svjetionik na Dunavu / Batina – a Millenium Light-tower on the Danube*, Arheološki muzej Osijek, 2021, 18–29.
- Мавродинов 1936 – Н. Мавродинов, Прабългарската Художествена индустрия, Мадара, Разкопки и проучвания 2/ *L'industrie d'art des protobulgares*, Madara, Trouvailles et recherches 2, 1936, 155–273.
- Metzner-Nebelsick 2002 – C. Metzner-Nebelsick, *Der „Thrako-Kimmerische“ Formenkreis aus der Sicht der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit im südöstlichen Pannonien*, Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen 23, Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 2002.
- Minichreiter 1984 – K. Minichreiter, Rekognosciranje arheoloških lokaliteta Baranje, *Obavijesti hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 2, 1984, 32–36.
- Minichreiter 1987 – K. Minichreiter, *Arheološko blago Baranje*, Anali Zavoda Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 5, Zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1987, 43–142.
- Minichreiter 1990 – K. Minichreiter, Arheološka istraživanja u Slavoniji i Baranji od 1985. do 1988. godine, *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku* 7, 1990, 141–170.
- Mrkobrad 1980 – D. Mrkobrad, *Arheološki nalazi seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji / Archäologische Funde der Völkerwanderungszeit in Jugoslawien*, Fontes Archaeologiae Iugoslaviae 3, Monografije 6, Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije, Muzej grada Beograda, 1980.
- Müller 2002 – R. Müller, Eine streifenplattierte Gürtelgarnitur aus dem awarischen Gräberfeld von Gyenesdiás, in *Germanen am Plattensee: Ausstellung des Balatoní Muzeums Keszthely im Museum für Frühgeschichte des Landes Niederösterreich, Schloss Traismauer, Vom 6. April bis 1. November 2002*, Katalog des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums 438, Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, 2002, 43–45.
- Nagy 1998 – M. Nagy, *Awarenzeitliche Gräberfelder im Stadtgebiet von Budapest* 1–2, Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica 2, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – MTA Régészeti Intézete, 1998.
- Pásztor, Vida 2024 – A. Pásztor, T. Vida, *Avar period cemetery at Budakalász-Dunapart I-II*, Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica 13, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum – MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2024.
- Pikija, Šikić, Trifunović 2015 – M. Pikija, K. Šikić, S. Trifunović, *Republika Hrvatska, osnovna Geološka karta 1 : 100000, Tumač za list Mohač L 34–74*, Hrvatski geološki institut, 2015.
- Pinterović 1960 – D. Pinterović, Jedan značajan posjet Baranji, *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske* 9/2, 1960, 43–45.
- Rapan Papeša 2021 – A. Rapan Papeša, *Avarodobni arheološki krajobraz u međuriječju Bosuta, Vuke i Dunava*, unpublished PhD thesis, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2021.
- Rapan Papeša 2022 – A. Rapan Papeša, Early fashion influencers or just ordinary women?, in Rapan Papeša, A., Dugonjić, A. (eds.), *Aviri i Slaveni, Dvije strane pojasnog jezičca – Aviri na sjeveru i jugu Kaganata / Avars and Slavs, Two sides of a belt strap end – Avars on the North and the South of the Khaganate*, Collectanea Archaeologica Musei Archaeologici Zagrabienensis 5, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2022, 88–105.
- Reiternomaden in Europa 2022 – *Reiternomaden in Europa: Hunnen, Awaren, Bulgaren, Ungarn*, F. Daim, D. Heher (eds.), Katalog der Ausstellung, 9. April – 6. November 2022, Schallaburg Kulturbetriebsges.m.b.H., 2022.
- Sekelj Ivančan 1995 – T. Sekelj Ivančan, *Catalogue of Medieval Sites in Continental Croatia*, BAR International Series 615, BAR Publishing, 1995.
- Seoba naroda 1962 – D. Dimitrijević, J. Kovačević, Z. Vinski, *Seoba naroda – Arheološki nalazi jugoslavenskog Podunavlja*, Narodni muzej Zemun, 1962.
- Stadler 2005 – P. Stadler, *Quantitative Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren I*, Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005.
- Stanković-Pešterac 2013 – T. Stanković-Pešterac, Fibule kroz prostor i vreme, in Balj, L., Stanković-Pešterac, T. (eds.), *Nakit skriveno značenje*, Muzej Vojvodine, 2013, 72–75.

Szenthe 2020 – G. Szenthe, *Növényi ornamentika a késő avar kori díszítőművészetben (Kr. u. 8. század – 9. század eleje)*, Magyarországtudató Intézet, 2020.

Szenthe, Gáll 2022 – G. Szenthe, E. Gáll, Steppe nomadic cultural phenomena in the context of a settled society – equestrian and weapon graves in the Late Avar-period Carpathian Basin (late 7th to early 9th century), in Meller, H., Daim, F. (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen – Reiternomaden in Mitteleuropa, ihre östlichen Wurzeln und Verbindungen / Crossing boundaries – Mounted nomads in Central Europe, their eastern roots and connections*, Tagungen des Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle 25, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, 2022, 315–335.

Szentpéteri 1992 – J. Szentpéteri, Ütközetre hívó harci kürt (Rhyton-leletek avar vezéri sírokban) / War-Cry of a Battle Bugle (Rhyton remains in avar Leaders' Graves) / Zum Kampf aufforderndes Signalthorn (Rhyton-Funde in awarischen Führergräbern), in Novák, L. (ed.), *Hiedelmek, szokások az Alföldön / Believes and customs on the Great Hungarian Plain / Glauben und Gebräuche auf der Grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene* 1, Acta Musei de János Arany Nominati VII, Arany Múzeum, 1992, 37–53.

Szűcsi 2014 – F. Szűcsi, Avar kori balták, bárdok, szekercék és fokosok. Baltafélék a 6-8. századi Kárpát-medencében / Awarezeitliche Streitäxte und Beile. Äxte im 6-8. Jahrhundert aus dem Karpatenbecken / Axes and Hammer Axes in the Avar Period. Axes in the 6-8. Century in the Carpathian Basin, *Alba Regia* 42, 2014, 113–186.

Szűcsi 2015 – F. Szűcsi, Térhasználat az Avar kori Mezőföldön, in Frisnyák, S. (ed.), *Történeti Földrajzi Közlemények*, 2015, 41–59.

Šmalcelj Novaković 2022 – P. Šmalcelj Novaković, Research Problems Concerning 8th-Century Material Heritage in Continental Croatia Revisited: New Directions, Challenges and Ideas, *Medieval Archaeology* 66/1, 2022, 54–83.

Tomičić 1996 – Ž. Tomičić, Ranosrednjovjekovni kulturni krajobraz savsko-dravskog međurječja / Early Medieval Cultural Landscape between the Sava and Drava Rivers, in Jurković, M., Lukšić, T. (eds.), *Starohrvatska spomenička baština, Rađanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža*, Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa održanog 6–8. listopada 1992., Muzejsko galerijski centar, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta, Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1996, 151–161.

Tomičić 1999 – Ž. Tomičić, *Panonski periplus, Arheološka topografija kontinentalne Hrvatske*, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Hrvatski studiji, Institut za arheologiju, 1999.

Tomičić 2000 – Ž. Tomičić, Arheološka slika ranoga srednjeg vijeka na prostoru međurječja Drave, Dunava i Save, in Milošević, A. (ed.), *Hrvati i Karolinzi, Rasprave i vrela*, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split, 2000, 142–161.

Trešić Pavičić 2015 – D. Trešić Pavičić, Jagodnjak-Krčevine-Selska bara (AN 7), *HAG* 12/2015, 2015, 39–41.

Valent, Zvijerac 2017 – I. Valent, I. Zvijerac, Okoliš kao faktor naseljavanja u razdoblju ranog srednjeg vijeka na prostoru koprivničke i đurđevačke Podravine, in Sekelj Ivančan, T., Tkalcic, T., Krznar, S., Belaj, J. (eds.), *Srednjovjekovna naselja u svjetlu arheoloških izvora*, Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju / Serta Instituti Archaeologici 6, Institut za arheologiju, 2017, 459–472.

Vinski 1958 – Z. Vinski, O nalazima 6. i 7. stoljeća u Jugoslaviji s posebnim obzirom na arheološku ostavštinu iz vremena prvog avarskog kaganata, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3, 1958, 6–57.

Vinski 1971 – Z. Vinski, Rani srednji vijek u Jugoslaviji od 400. do 800. godine, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 5, 1971, 47–71.

Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958 – K. Vinski-Gasparini, S. Ercegović, Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje u Brodskom Drenovcu, *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 1, 1958, 129–161.

Vodič 2009 – Z. Bojčić (ed.), *Seoba naroda i srednji vijek, Vodič kroz stalni postav*, Arheološki muzej Osijek, 2009.

Vukmanić 2010 – I. Vukmanić, Bansko brdo, *HAG* 6/2009, 2009, 7–11.

Vukmanić 2014 – I. Vukmanić, *Izvešće o sondažnom arheološkom iskopavanju u Kneževim Vinogradima na k.č.br. 835 k.o. Kneževi Vinogradi*, Muzej Slavonije, KO Osijek Ur. broj: 369/2014, 2014.

Vukmanić 2017 – I. Vukmanić, *Dunavski limes u Hrvatskoj* 1–2, unpublished PhD thesis, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2017.

Zábojnik, Holeščák 2018 – J. Zábojnik, M. Holeščák, Avar bow, Avar arrow, in Drauschke, J., Kislínger, E., Kühtreiber, K., Kühtreiber, T., Scharrer-Liska, G., Vida, T. (eds.), *Lebenswelten Zwischen Archäologie Und Geschichte, Festschrift Für Fal-ko Daim zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Sonderdruck Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum 150, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2018, 481–487.