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Jure Šućur
Odjel za arheologiju
Sveučilišta u Zadru
Department of Archaeology,
University of Zadar
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. 2
Zadar, HR-23000
jsucur@gmail.com

Tumuli u Dalmaciji i ranosrednjovjekovni horizont ukapanja

U radu se razmatraju pojedina pitanja vezana za tumule i ranosrednjovjekovni horizont ukopa: pitanje podizanja novih tumula po doseljenju Slavena uz istočni Jadran i pitanje orijentacije grobova, a osobita se pozornost posvećuje tumulima s više ranosrednjovjekovnih grobnih horizonata. Povijest istraživanja i analiza tog tipa lokaliteta je duga, a u radu se tematika razmatra na temelju najvažnijih istraživanja od Drugog svjetskog rata do danas.

Ključne riječi: *ranosrednjovjekovna groblja, tumuli, Dalmacija.*

Tumuli in Dalmatia and the early medieval burial horizon

This paper examines key issues concerning tumuli and the early medieval burial horizon, including the construction of new tumuli after the arrival of the Slavs on the eastern Adriatic, questions of grave orientation, and, in particular, tumuli that contain multiple early medieval burial horizons. It reviews the history of research and analysis of this site type, drawing on the most significant investigations conducted from the Second World War to the present.

Keywords: *early medieval cemeteries, tumuli, Dalmatia*

Uvod

Ukopi u ranom srednjem vijeku predstavljaju jedan od najbolje istraženih vremenskih horizonata ukapanja u Dalmaciji,[1] što ne čudi s obzirom na početke istraživanja još u 19. stoljeću i važnost koju su imali u razvoju nacionalne povijesti. To se očituje i u periodičnom, možemo reći generacijskom, sumiranju spoznaja u sinteznim radovima – od Karamanove objave groblja u Mravincima,[2] preko knjiga *Starohrvatske nekropole* Dušana Jelovine[3] i *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od 7 – 9. stoljeća* Janka Belošević[4] do posljednje sinteze *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države* iz pera Maje Petrinec.[5] U svim spomenutim radovima ukopima pod tumulima posvećena je pažnja kao specifičnom obliku ukopa tijekom ranog srednjeg vijeka, u skladu s tadašnjim spoznajama.[6]

Ne pokušavajući donijeti cjelokupnu sliku dosadašnjih spoznaja i interpretaciju navedenog horizonta u Dalmaciji, u radu će se iznijeti neka opažanja kojima se nije posvetilo dovoljno pažnje, koja se uopće ne razmatraju ili su, po mojem mišljenju, pogrešno interpretirana, a koja su, sveukupno gledajući, važna za znanstveno utemeljeni pogled na temu.

Važno je istaknuti da ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi ukopani u tumule nisu jedini vremenski horizont ukapanja u tumule, čak i ako izostavimo više prapovijesnih horizonata. Najbrojniji naknadni ukopi u već postojeće tumule na prostoru između Zrmanje i Neretve pripadaju kasnom srednjem vijeku, a tek potom slijede oni ranosrednjovjekovni, bilo da gledamo broj lokaliteta ili broj grobova (sl. 1).[7]

Naravno, uz spomenute sintezne radove, u razmatranju ove teme od iznimne su važnosti i obrade pojedinačnih lokaliteta, osobito na području sje-

1 Prostorni termini, kao što je Dalmacija, ako ih ne prati vremenska oznaka, odnose se na današnji opseg spomenutih prostornih jedinica.

2 Karaman 1940. Ovim je radovima možda prethodio drugi svezak knjige *Hrvatski spomenici u kninskoj okolici uz ostale suvremene iz doba hrvatske narodne dinastije* don Frane Bulića, no kako je njezin rukopis izgubljen, to bi bilo puko nagađanje.

3 Jelovina 1976.

4 Belošević 1980.

5 Petrinec 2009.

6 Karaman 1940, str. 26; Jelovina 1976, str. 77; Belošević 1980, str. 70–71; Petrinec 2009, str. 103–104.

7 Šućur 2017, str. 120–121.

Introduction

Burials in the Early Middle Ages represent one of the most extensively researched burial horizons in Dalmatia,[1] which is not surprising given that research began as early as the 19th century, as well as the importance these studies had in the development of national history. This is also reflected in the periodic, one might say generational summarization of research results through synthetic studies — from Karaman's publication of the cemetery in Mravinci,[2] through Dušan Jelovina's book *Early Croatian necropolises*[3] and Janko Belošević's monograph *Material culture of the Croats from the 7th to the 9th century*[4], to the most recent synthesis, *Cemeteries from the 8th to the 11th century in the area of the early medieval Croatian state*[5] by Maja Petrinec. In each of these works, burials within tumuli were addressed in accordance with the prevailing state of research,[6] as a distinct form of burial practice in the early medieval period.

Without attempting to present a comprehensive overview of current findings and an interpretation of the aforementioned horizon in Dalmatia, this paper outlines several observations that have received insufficient attention, have not been considered at all, or, in the author's view, have been misinterpreted, yet are nonetheless very significant for a scientifically grounded understanding of the topic.

It is important to note that early medieval graves within tumuli do not represent the only chronological horizon of burials in tumuli, even if multiple prehistoric horizons are excluded from consideration. Namely, the most numerous subsequent burials in already existing tumuli in the area between the Zrmanja and Neretva rivers belong to the Late Middle Ages, followed only thereafter by those from the early medieval period, whether assessed

1 Spatial terms, such as Dalmatia, refer to the present-day extent of the mentioned geographical units unless accompanied by a chronological designation.

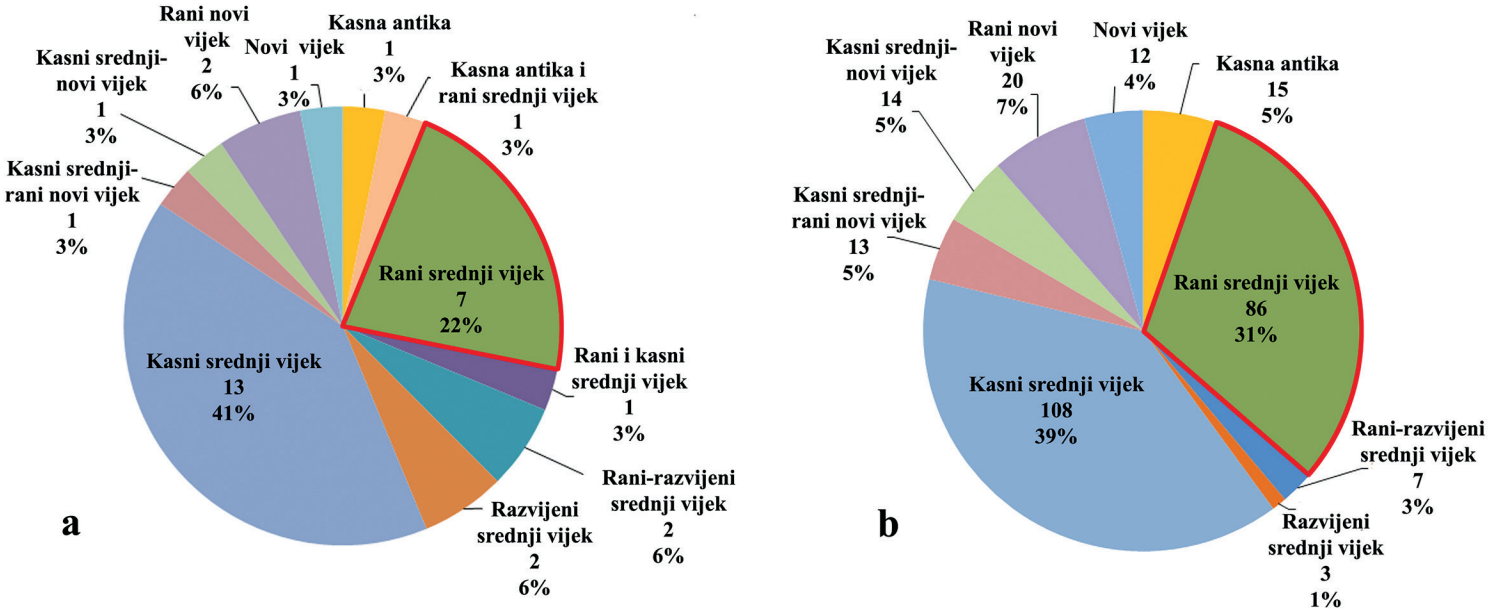
2 Karaman 1940. These works may have been preceded by a second volume of the book *Hrvatski spomenici u kninskoj okolici uz ostale suvremene iz doba hrvatske narodne dinastije* by don Frane Bulić, however, since the manuscript has been lost, this remains merely speculative.

3 Jelovina 1976.

4 Belošević 1980.

5 Petrinec 2009.

6 Karaman 1940, p. 26; Jelovina 1976, p. 77; Belošević 1980, pp. 70-71; Petrinec 2009, pp. 103-104.



Sl. 1 - Sekundarni ukopi u tumule u Dalmaciji po užim vremenskim horizontima s obzirom na broj tumula (a) i broj grobova (b) (izrada: J. Šućur)

Fig. 1 – Secondary burials in tumuli in Dalmatia by narrow time horizons with regard to the number of tumuli (a) and the number of graves (b) (compiled by: J. Šućur)

verne Dalmacije, koje su rezultat različitih, nekad sretnih, a nekad nesretnih okolnosti. Među važnijima treba spomenuti kronološki najstariju objavu – Belošević publiciranje prethodno provedenih istraživanja oko tumula Materiza u okolici Nina.[8] Slijedi objava grobova s tumula Glavčurak u Donjem Kašiću,[9] a kronološki posljednja su istraživanja triju tumula na prostoru sela Krneze i Podvršja.[10] Na prostoru srednje Dalmacije, zapadno od Cetine, s iznimkom tumula u Konjskom polju[11] i dvaju tumula u Kozici kod Vrgorca,[12] većinom je riječ o pojedinačnim nalazima ili devastiranim grobnim cjelinama[13] te zaštitnim istraživanjima dijelom devastiranih tumula koja je u Poljicima vodila Vedrana Delonga 1990. i 2004. godine.[14]

Dakle, svoj prilog istraživanju ove teme dala je i V. Delonga, kojoj je posvećen ovaj broj časopisa, a time i ovaj rad. Iznimno mi je žao što to činimo posthumno, pa neka mi bude oprošteno nekoliko osobnih rečenica. Vedrana je prvi profesionalni arheolog kojeg sam upoznao u životu. To je bilo kra-

by the number of sites or the number of graves (Fig. 1).[7]

Alongside the aforementioned synthetic studies, analyses of individual sites are certainly of particular importance for this topic, especially in the area of northern Dalmatia, which are the result of sometimes fortunate and sometimes unfortunate circumstances. Among the most significant contributions is the chronologically earliest publication, i.e. Belošević's study of earlier excavations around the tumulus at Materiza in the vicinity of Nin.[8] This is followed by the publication of graves from the tumulus at Glavčurak in Donji Kašić,[9] while the most recent investigations are those of three tumuli in the villages of Krneza and Podvršje.[10] In the area of central Dalmatia, west of the Cetina River, with the exception of the tumulus in the plain of Konjsko Polje[11] and two tumuli in Kozica near Vrgorac[12], the evidence largely consists of isolated finds or severely disturbed burial contexts,[13] as well as from rescue excavations of partially damaged tumuli conducted

8 Belošević 1962; Belošević 1973.
9 Belošević 1968.
10 Gusar 2012; Gusar, Vujević 2009; Gusar, Vujević 2012.
11 Petrinec 2005; Petrinec 2006.
12 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011.
13 Šućur 2015a, str. 87–122.
14 Delonga 1991; Delonga [1993]; Delonga 2005.

7 Šućur 2017, pp. 120-121.
8 Belošević 1962; Belošević 1973.
9 Belošević 1968.
10 Gusar 2012; Gusar, Vujević 2009; Gusar, Vujević 2012.
11 Petrinec 2005; Petrinec 2006.
12 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011.
13 Šućur 2015a, pp. 87-122.

jem proljeća 1998., neposredno pred prijemni ispit na tadašnjem Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru, gdje sam se prijavio na studije geografije, arheologije i povijesti, za čiju mi je pripremu trebala literatura – nekoliko debelih povijesnih sinteza koje mi je posudila upravo Vedrana. Nakon nekoliko godina, kada sam već bio siguran da je zaboravila na tu epizodu, stiglo je pitanje gdje sam i kako mi ide studij, pa je to povuklo i nekoliko terenskih dana provedenih u Gornjim Poljicima i u Sumpetru, kod crkava sv. Stjepana i sv. Antuna opata. I na nekoliko drugih istraživanja dospio sam zahvaljujući upravo njoj kao izvoru informacija, osobi koja je uvijek bila spremna spojiti ljude, podijeliti znanje, uputiti i izreći jednostavne, a opet bitne misli, koje danas i sam prenosim mlađim generacijama. Uvijek spremna saslušati probleme i izazove te ponuditi savjete i promišljanja koji bi se redovito pokazali odličnim rješenjem i primjerenim odgovorom na raznorazne arheološke žalopojke, što, uostalom, s obzirom na njezino dugogodišnje iskustvo, ne bi trebalo čuditi. U Splitu, koji mi je i danas dom, usprkos tomu što prebivalište na osobnoj iskaznici sugerira nešto drugo, knjižnica MHAS-a i Vedranin ured bili su nezaobilazna stanica. Jednom društveno nespretnom, introvertiranom, slučajnom arheologu ta stanica itekako nedostaje.

Tumuli i ranosrednjovjekovni horizont ukopa u Dalmaciji i šire

U hrvatskoj arheologiji najduže se raspravlja o ukopima pod tumulima u ranom srednjem vijeku, ponajprije zbog pitanja jesu li slavenske skupine po dolasku na istočni Jadran i u njegovo zaleđe podizale tumule, kao što su to činile u drugim dijelovima Europe, ili su pak samo koristile već postojeće grobne humke.[15] Budući da su kod svih dosad istraženih tumula s ranosrednjovjekovnim horizontom ukapanja pronađeni i prapovijesni grobovi i/ili nalazi, dosadašnja istraživanja nisu pružila dokaze da su Slaveni podizali tumule radi ukopa. Ipak, usprkos relativno dobroj istraženosti, nije isključeno da će buduća istraživanja donijeti nova saznanja i otvoriti prostor za drukčije zaključke. Naime, na prostoru Ravnih kotara postoje još neistraženi tumuli, od kojih će neki, poput Pekinice kod Nina, vjerojatno pokazati prapovijesnu komponentu, no niz manjih,

[15] Belošević 1980, str. 70–71; Petrinec 2009, str. 103–104.

in Poljica by Vedrana Delonga in 1990 and 2004.[14]

Thus, V. Delonga, to whom this issue of the journal and consequently this paper are dedicated, has also made a significant contribution to the study of this topic. I deeply regret that this tribute must be written posthumously, and I hope I may be forgiven for including a few personal remarks. Vedrana was the first professional archaeologist I ever met. This occurred in late spring of 1998, shortly before the entrance exam at the then Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar, where I had applied to study geography, archaeology and history. In preparation for the exam, I needed appropriate literature, including several substantial historical syntheses, which Vedrana kindly lent me. Several years later, when I was already certain that she had long forgotten this episode, she contacted me to ask where I was and how my studies were progressing. This eventually led to several days of fieldwork together in Gornja Poljica and in Sumpetar, near the churches of St. Stephen and St. Anthony the Abbot. Thanks to her, I also had the opportunity to participate in several other excavations. She was an invaluable source of knowledge and someone who was always willing to connect people, share her expertise, offer guidance and express simple yet profound insights—many of which I now find myself passing on to younger generations. She was always willing to listen to problems and challenges and to offer advice and insights that consistently proved to be excellent solutions and appropriate responses to various archaeological concerns, which, given her many years of experience, is hardly surprising. In Split, which still is my home, regardless of what the address on my ID card may say, the library of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and her office were indispensable places to stop by. For a socially awkward, introverted, accidental archaeologist like myself, those visits are now deeply missed.

Tumuli and the early medieval burial horizon in Dalmatia and beyond

In Croatian archaeology, the longest-standing debate concerns early medieval burials within tumuli, specifically the question of whether Slavic groups, upon their arrival in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, built tumuli, as they did in other parts of Europe, or merely reused pre-existing burial

[14] Delonga 1991; Delonga [1993]; Delonga 2005.

grupiranih tumula, poput onih na tromeđi sela Visočana, Briševa i Dračevca,[16] koji sliče srednjoeuropskim slavenskim nekropolama, možda bi mogao pružiti drukčiji odgovor na to pitanje. Čak i ako se u Dalmaciji ne pronađu tumuli podignuti u ranom srednjem vijeku, to ne bi trebalo čuditi, analogno situaciji s ranosrednjovjekovnim naseljima. Jednako kao što su zidovi antičkih zdanja, više ili manje srušeni, pružali materijal i mjesto za obitavanje novopridošlih Slavena, tako su i postojeći prapovijesni tumuli u istom prostoru pružali dovoljno prilika za, vjerojatno još kratkotrajno, prakticiranje *starih* običaja.

Zanimljiva je usporedba s drugim prostorima naseljenim Slavenima u ranom srednjem vijeku. Naime, jedan od uobičajenih slavenskih pogrebnih ritusa uključuje gradnju tumula nad incineracijskim ili inhumacijskim grobovima.[17] Brojni primjeri ranosrednjovjekovnih slavenskih tumula potvrđeni su na prostoru srednje Europe – od tumula u Skalici u Slovačkoj,[18] preko niza tumula u Moravskoj[19] i južnoj Češkoj.[20] Zanimljiv je primjer nekropola u Brandýsku, gdje se prazni prostor u središtu među grobovima 9. – 10. stoljeća tumačio kao mjesto drvene crkve, dok Ladislav Šmejda, analizirajući pejzaž, iznosi alternativnu hipotezu prema kojoj je riječ o tumulima.[21]

Većina slavenskih tumula na prostoru Češke i uz srednji tok Dunava datira se između sredine 8. i početka 11. stoljeća. Humci starijeg datuma su rijetki, a slično je i s onima mlađima, među kojima se pojedini uz obalu Baltika mogu datirati do 12. stoljeća. Sekundarno ukapanje u već postojeće tumule na tim prostorima također je rijetko, iako su zabilježeni ranosrednjovjekovni ukopi u prapovijesne tumule. Zanimljivi su primjeri iz Češke, gdje podizanje novih tumula prestaje sredinom 10. stoljeća, a u pojedinim prapovijesnim tumulima zabilježeni su ukopi datirani u 11. i 12. stoljeće.[22] Takvi kasni ukopi u postojeće tumule mogli bi upućivati na postojanje zajednica koje su sporije prihvaćale kršćanstvo i ustrajale na starijim pogrebnim tradicijama.

[16] Zahvaljujem prof. dr. sc. dr. h. c. Anti Uglešiću, koji me upozorio na spomenuti lokalitet.

[17] Niederle 1954, str. 65–94; Měřínský 2009, str. 101–114.

[18] Budinský-Krička 1959.

[19] Dostál 1966, str. 17–25.

[20] Turek 1958; Lutovský 2011, str. 26–39.

[21] Šmejda 2001.

[22] Hejhal, Lutovský 2012.

mounds.[15] Since all tumuli investigated to date that contain an early medieval burial horizon have also yielded prehistoric graves and/or prehistoric finds, current research has not provided evidence that Slavic groups constructed tumuli specifically for burial purposes. Nevertheless, despite the relatively advanced state of research, the possibility that future research may yield new findings and lead to different conclusions cannot be excluded.

Namely, in the area of the Ravni Kotari region, there are still unexcavated tumuli, some of which, such as the tumulus at Pekinica near Nin, will likely reveal a prehistoric component. However, several smaller, grouped tumuli, such as those located at the tri-border area of the villages Visočane, Briševo and Dračevac,[16] which resemble central European Slavic necropolises, might provide different answers to this question. Even if tumuli constructed in the Early Middle Ages are not found in Dalmatia, such an absence should not be considered surprising, as it is analogous to the situation with early medieval settlements. Just as the walls of ancient structures, whether partially or extensively ruined, provided both building material and habitation space for newly arrived Slavic communities, so too did existing prehistoric tumuli within the same landscape offer sufficient opportunities for the continuation of *older* burial practices, presumably for a limited period of time.

An interesting comparison may be drawn with other regions inhabited by Slavic populations during the Early Middle Ages. One of the characteristic Slavic burial practices involved the erection of tumuli over cremation or inhumation graves.[17] Numerous examples of early medieval Slavic tumuli have been confirmed in central Europe, ranging from the tumuli at Skalica in Slovakia[18] to the numerous examples recorded in Moravia[19] and southern Bohemia.[20] A particularly noteworthy example is the necropolis at Brandýsek, where the empty space in the centre among graves, dated to the 9th

[15] Belošević 1980, pp. 70-71; Petrinec 2009, pp. 103-104.

[16] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Ante Uglešić, PhD, who drew my attention to the mentioned site.

[17] Niederle 1954, pp. 65-94; Měřínský 2009, pp. 101-114.

[18] Budinský-Krička 1959.

[19] Dostál 1966, pp. 17-25.

[20] Turek, 1958; Lutovský, 2011, pp. 26-39.

Zanimljivi i relativno bliski primjeri poznati su s prostora Austrije. Za razliku od Češke i Slovačke, ranosrednjovjekovni tumuli u Austriji manjih su dimenzija te se najčešće pojavljuju grupirani. Među značajnijim primjerima su nekropole Wimm i Schanze kod grada Thunaua am Kamp u Donjoj Austriji. Na nekropoli Wimm istraženo je 55 tumula sa 79 grobova, datiranih u 8. stoljeće.[23] Na nekropoli Schanze, u i oko triju tumula, od ukupno 13 koliko ih čini skupinu, otkriveno je šest grobova iz prve polovine 9. stoljeća.[24]

Sekundarni ukopi rijetki su i na prostoru Austrije. U Donjoj Austriji, u Bernhardsthalu, u željeznodobni tumul ukapalo se i u ranom srednjem vijeku, točnije u 9. stoljeću.[25] Još jedan, geografski bliži, primjer predstavlja željeznodobni tumul iz Grabelsdorfa (Grbalja Vesi) u Koruškoj, gdje su grobovi datirani oko 700. godine.[26] Slični primjeri u Mađarskoj su rijetki, no postojanje takve prakse potvrđuje bjelobrdska nekropola Szentes – Szentlászló. Ondje je najveći dio od 112 grobova ukopan u dvama tumulima. Nekropola se datira u 11. stoljeće.[27] U Makedoniji su na tumulu Čukarka u selu Očipala u površinski sloj tumula iz 1. i 2. stoljeća ukopana 42 groba iz 10. – 12. stoljeća,[28] dok 192 groba ukopana u i pored tumula Gruda Boljevića kod Podgorice u Crnoj Gori izlaze iz ranosrednjovjekovnog okvira jer se datiraju u 12. stoljeće.[29]

Povijest istraživanja horizonta u Dalmaciji

No vratimo se na prostor Dalmacije, gdje se ranosrednjovjekovni ukopi u tumule razmatraju od samih početaka arheologije kao znanstvene discipline. Još je don Frane Bulić 1886. godine u okolici Muća zabilježio legendu o nastanku Rotne gomile, prema kojoj je gomila nastala kamenovanjem kralja Rotanda,[30] što je kasnije povezano s legendom o smrti kralja Zvonimira.[31] Bulić u svojem pregledu razvoja arheologije navodi kako je pretražena 1912. godine „te se pokazalo da je prethistorička“,[32] no

[23] Breibert 2005.
[24] Breibert 2013, str. 127–130.
[25] Kerchler 1977; Szameit 1993a.
[26] Eichert 2010, str. 106–116; Szameit 1993b.
[27] Széll 1941, str. 233–244; Giesler 1981, str. 26–27.
[28] Maneva 2004, str. 43–146.
[29] Saveljić-Bulatović 2015, str. 48.
[30] Bulić 1888, str. 19.
[31] Šišić 1990, str. 587, bilj. 81.
[32] Bulić 1925, str. 125. Pritom se Frane Bulić poziva na *Viestnik Hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga družtva* iz 1879.

and 10th centuries, was initially interpreted as the location of a wooden church. However, Ladislav Šmejda, through an analysis of the surrounding landscape, proposed an alternative hypothesis suggesting that it represented tumuli.[21]

Most Slavic tumuli in the territory of the present-day Czech Republic and along the middle course of the Danube are dated between the mid-8th and the beginning of the 11th centuries. Examples from earlier periods are rare, as are those from later centuries, although some tumuli along the Baltic coast have been dated as late as the 12th century. Secondary burials within pre-existing tumuli in these regions are uncommon, although early medieval burials in prehistoric tumuli have also been documented there. Notable examples are known from the Czech Republic, where the construction of new tumuli ceased in the mid-10th century, while burials dated to the 11th and 12th centuries have been recorded in certain prehistoric mounds.[22] Such late interments in pre-existing tumuli may indicate the presence of communities that adopted Christianity more slowly and persisted in maintaining older burial traditions.

Interesting and relatively close parallels are found in Austria. Unlike the examples from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, early medieval tumuli in Austria are generally smaller and most commonly occur in clustered groups. Among the most significant sites are the necropolises of Wimm and Schanze, near the town of Thunau am Kamp in Lower Austria. At the necropolis in Wimm, excavations uncovered 55 tumuli containing a total of 79 graves, dated to the 8th century.[23] At the necropolis in Schanze, six graves from the first half of the 9th century were discovered in and around three tumuli, which form part of a group of 13 mounds.[24]

Secondary burials are also uncommon in the territory of Austria. One example comes from Bernhardsthal in Lower Austria, where an Iron Age tumulus was reused for burials during the Early Middle Ages, more precisely in the 9th century.[25] Another geographically closer example is the Iron Age tumulus at Grabelsdorf (Grbalja vesi) in Carinthia, where graves have been dated to around the

[21] Šmejda 2001.
[22] Hejhal, Lutovský 2012.
[23] Breibert, 2005.
[24] Breibert, 2013, pp. 127-130.
[25] Kerchler, 1977; Szameit, 1993a.

Stjepan Gunjača iznosi više argumenata protiv istinitosti te legende.[33]

Odmičući se od legendi prema konkretnijim istraživanjima iz tog vremena, iz dnevnika fra Luje Maruna vidljivo je da je „istraživao" tumule na više mjesta. Ti su podatci često oskudni te se iz njih ne može ocijeniti jesu li „gromile" koje spominje uvijek tumuli i kakav je karakter grobova pronađenih u njima. Po opisu izgleda da je u najvećem broju slučajeva riječ o ruševinama, ali u nekim je slučajevima nedvojbeno riječ o tumulima s naknadnim ukopima. Godine 1896. na položaju Ležajića glavica u Đevrskama fra Lujo Marun pretražio je više srednjovjekovnih grobova u kamenom tumulu: „kako će se daljnjim pretraživanjem tih gromila, po srodnosti mrtvačkih priloga, dovesti u svezu grobovi u ravnu s ovim u gromilama, koje su mnogobrojne na Gjevrskama."[34] Uredništvo *Starohrvatske prosvjete* sljedeće godine u poglavlju *Razne viesti* obavještava kako je 12. prosinca 1896. fra Lujo Marun posjetio okolicu Đevrsaka te dalje navodi: „Tu je kušao da kopa u dvie gromile, te se je uvjerio da su prepune grobova iz prvog doba srednjega vieka. Grobovi su liepo zidani a uz mrtvace nahode se naušnice srebrne i sliepočno prstenje, po kojemu se može nagadjati da su starohrvatski."[35] Ovi i drugi zapisi svjedoče da je Marun bio svjestan naknadnih ukopa u prapovijesne tumule, i to kroz cijelo vrijeme srednjeg vijeka, dok je za neke dvojio jesu li u pitanju prapovijesni tumuli.[36]

Odmah po završetku Drugog svjetskog rata započela su istraživanja zemljanog tumula na položaju Materiza, oko 900 m jugoistočno od ninskog otočića. Godine 1947. zadarski konzervator Grga Oštrić iskopao je pokusnu sondu. Sljedeće godine Mate Suić proveo je istraživanja dijela tumula, pri čemu je istražio 16 grobova na jugoistočnom rubnom dijelu tumula. Nastavak istraživanja uslijedio je 1955. godine pod vodstvom Mate Suića i Šime

godine, u kojem je nemoguće izvijestiti o istraživanjima koja će se provesti tridesetak godina kasnije, pa je očito došlo do pogreške te mi nisu poznati rezultati tog „pretraživanja".

33 Gunjača 1952, str. 309–311.

34 *Izvještaj* 1896, str. 267.

35 *Razne viesti* 1897, str. 41.

36 Prigodom izleta u Nin 1925. godine Marun je zabilježio razmišljanja o crkvi sv. Nikole na Prahuljama, za koju drži da je podignuta na tumulu koji krije grob hrvatskog velikaša, suvremenog vremenu gradnje crkve. Marun 1998, str. 272.

year 700.[26] Comparable examples are likewise uncommon in Hungary. Nevertheless, the existence of such a practice is confirmed by the Bijelo Brdo necropolis of Szentes–Szentlászló, where the majority of the 112 graves were buried in two tumuli. The necropolis is dated to the 11th century.[27] In Macedonia, at the tumulus of Čukarka in the village of Očipala, 42 graves dated to the 10th to 12th centuries were discovered in the surface layer of a tumulus originally dating to the first and second centuries AD.[28] In contrast, the 192 graves documented within and around the tumulus of Gruda Boljevića near Podgorica in Montenegro fall outside the early medieval framework, as they are dated to the 12th century.[29]

History of research into the burial horizon in Dalmatia

In Dalmatia, the topic of this paper, i.e. early medieval burials in tumuli have been discussed since the very beginnings of archaeology as a scholarly discipline. As early as 1886, Don Frane Bulić recorded a local legend near Muć about the origin of the mound Rotna Gomila, according to which the mound was formed by the stoning of King Rotando,[30] a tradition later associated with the legend of the death of King Zvonimir.[31] In his overview of the development of archaeology, Bulić notes that the mound was excavated in 1912 and "found to be prehistoric,"[32] whereas Stjepan Gunjača later presented several arguments questioning the credibility of the legend.[33]

Moving beyond legend and toward more substantive research from the period, the diary of Friar Lujo Marun reveals that he "investigated" tumuli at several locations. These accounts are often brief and insufficiently detailed, making it impossible

26 Eichert, 2010, pp. 106-116; Szameit, 1993.b.

27 Széll 1941, pp. 233-244; Giesler 1981, pp. 26-27.

28 Maneva 2004, pp. 43-146.

29 Saveljić-Bulatović 2015, p. 48.

30 Bulić 1888, p. 19.

31 Šišić 1990, p. 587, fn. 81.

32 Bulić 1925, p. 125. In this regard, Frane Bulić refers to the *Viestnik Hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga družtva* from 1879, in which it would have been impossible to provide a report on excavations that were to be conducted some thirty years later. It is therefore evident that an error occurred, and the results of this "investigation" remain unknown to me.

33 Gunjača 1952, pp. 309-311.



Sl. 2 - Pogled s jugoistoka na humak Materizu tijekom istraživanja (fototeka AMZD 478 1339)
Fig. 2 – View from the southeast of the Materiza mound during excavation (photo archives AMZD 478 1339)



Sl. 3 - Devastirani lokalitet Glavčurak u Donjem Kašiću s osteološkim ostacima iz uništenih grobova (fototeka AMZD 3320 10313)
Fig. 3 – The devastated site of Glavčurak in Donji Kašić with osteological remains from destroyed graves (photo archives AMZD 3320 10313)

Batovića, pri čemu je na sjeverozapadnoj strani istraženo još devet grobova (sl. 2).[37]

[37] Belošević 1962, str. 237–238; Belošević 1973, str. 221. Batović spominje i istraživanja iz 1961. godine, što Belošević ne navodi, pa je možda riječ o istraživanju prapovijesnog horizonta (Batović 1968, str. 8). Ipak, po sačuvanoj fotodokumentaciji ne može se zaključiti da je Materiza u cijelosti istražena, a tumul još uvijek stoji u prostoru, sve više okružen suvremenim objektima.

to determine whether the "*gromile*" mentioned by Marun always refer to tumuli or to establish the exact character of the graves discovered within them. Based on his descriptions, it appears that in the majority of cases these features represented ruins; however, in certain instances, there is no doubt that they were tumuli containing later burials. In 1896, at the site of Ležajića glavica in Đevrske, Marun examined several medieval graves within a stone tumulus, noting: "…further investigations of these mounds, based on similarities of the grave goods, will establish a connection between the flat graves and those within the mounds, which are numerous in Gjevrske."[34] The editorial board of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* reported the following year, in the section *Razne viesti* (various news), that Marun visited the surroundings of Đevrske on 12th December 1896. It further states: "There he attempted to excavate two mounds and became convinced that they were filled with graves from the first period of the Middle Ages. The graves are well constructed, and alongside the deceased there are silver earrings and temple rings, from which it can be inferred that they are early Croatian."[35] These and other records testify that Marun was aware of later burials within prehistoric tumuli throughout the Middle Ages, while in some instances he remained uncertain whether the features in question were indeed prehistoric tumuli.[36]

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, an earthen tumulus was excavated at the site of Materiza, approximately 900 m southeast of the island of Nin. In 1947, Grga Oštrić, a conservator from Zadar, opened a trial trench. The subsequent year, Mate Suić investigated a section of the tumulus, thereby examining 16 graves in its southeastern peripheral area. Research works continued in 1955 under the direction of Mate Suić and Šime Batović, during which an additional 9 graves were excavated on the northwestern side (Fig. 2).[37]

[34] Izvještaj, 1896, p. 267.

[35] Razne viesti 1897, p. 41.

[36] During a field trip to Nin in 1925, Marun recorded his reflections on the Church of St. Nicholas at Prahulje, which he believed had been built on a tumulus that hides the grave of a Croatian noble who lived around the time of the church's construction. Marun 1998, p. 272.

[37] Belošević 1962, pp. 237-238; Belošević 1973, p. 221. Batović also mentions the excavations in 1961, which are not cited by Belošević, so these may have

Godine 1965. istražen je pješčani tumul Glavčurak u selu Donjem Kašiću, oko 600 m jugozapadno od crkve sv. Ilije. Prilikom eksploatacije pijeska 1962. godine uništen je dio lokaliteta, oko 20 grobova, pa se 1964. pristupilo geodetskom snimanju lokaliteta kako bi se u narednom razdoblju istražio.[38] No iste je godine vlasnik nastavio s radovima na vađenju pijeska te je pritom uništio veći dio lokaliteta (sl. 3). Prema procjeni, na tom je položaju uništeno više stotina grobova iz razdoblja od početka 6. do 11. stoljeća, od kojih je dio bio ukopan u tumul na južnom rubu lokaliteta, a pripadao je svim trima ondje zabilježenim vremenskim horizontima – onom iz vremena istočnogotske vlasti te starijem (2. pol. 8. – 1. pol. 9. st.) i mlađem ranosrednjovjekovnom horizontu (9. – 11. st.). Do dolaska arheologa ostao je očuvan samo zapadni dio tumula i devet grobova na prostoru sjeverno od njega. Na prostoru tumula i u njegovoj blizini istraženo je 15 grobova datiranih u razdoblje 8. – 11. stoljeća i jedan iz vremena seobe naroda, dok je na sjevernom dijelu istraženo devet grobova koji također pripadaju vremenu seobe naroda.[39]

Godine 2002., u sklopu zaštitnih istraživanja pri gradnji Jadranske autoceste (A1), pod vodstvom Darka Periše istražen je tumul na položaju Livade u Konjskom polju u zaleđu Splita.[40] Grobovi su ukopani do baze tumula, u pravilnim redovima, te su orijentirani zapad-istok s otklonima, pa se može reći da je riječ o uobičajenom groblju na redove (sl. 4). Veći dio grobova, njih 25, nalazio se na kamenozemljanom tumulu, a riječ je o grobnim rakama u zemlji, odnosno u nanosu tumula (sl. 5). Kamenje koje se javlja oko ili ispod nekih pokojnika predstavlja manje ili veće plohe kamena živca, dok se pojedini lomljeni kamen iz nanosa tumula ne može povezati s ukopima. Nekropola se širi i izvan areala tumula, na njegovoj jugozapadnoj strani, gdje se nalaze još dva groba koja se razlikuju od ostalih. Riječ je o grobovima s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom, a najzapadniji grob je devastiran (sl. 4 i 13).[41]

In 1965, the sandy tumulus at Glavčurak in the village of Donji Kašić was investigated, located about 600 m southwest of the Church of St. Elijah. During sand exploitation in 1962, part of the site, i.e. around 20 graves, was destroyed; consequently, a geodetic survey of the site was undertaken in 1964 in preparation for future research.[38] However, in the same year, the owner continued sand extraction works and thereby destroyed most of the site (Fig. 3). It is estimated that several hundred graves dating from the period between the beginning of the 6th and 11th centuries were destroyed in the process. Part of them had been buried in the tumulus on the southern edge of the site, representing all three chronological horizons documented there — the period of Ostrogothic rule, the older early medieval horizon (second half of the 8th century – first half of the 9th century), and the younger early medieval horizon (9th – 11th century). By the time archaeologists arrived, only the western part of the tumulus remained intact, along with 9 graves in the area north of the tumulus. Within the area of the tumulus and its immediate surroundings, 15 graves dated to the period between the 8th and 11th centuries were excavated, along with one grave from the Migration Period. In the northern part, 9 graves were investigated, which also belong to the Migration Period.[39]

In 2002, as part of the rescue excavations conducted during the construction of the Adriatic Highway (A1), a tumulus at the site of Livade in Konjsko Polje, in the hinterland of Split, was investigated under the direction of D. Periša.[40] The graves were buried deep down to the base of the tumulus and arranged in regular rows, with a west–east orientation exhibiting slight deviations. The site may thus be characterized as a typical row-grave cemetery (Fig. 4). Most of the graves, 25 in total, were situated on the stone-earth tumulus and consisted of grave pits cut into the ground or into the tumulus deposit (Fig. 5). The stones that appear around or beneath some of the deceased represent small or larger surfaces of bedrock, while individual broken stones from the

38 Belošević 1968, str. 221–222; Belošević 1965.

39 Belošević 1968, str. 223–239.

40 Petrinec 2005; Petrinec 2009, str. 56.

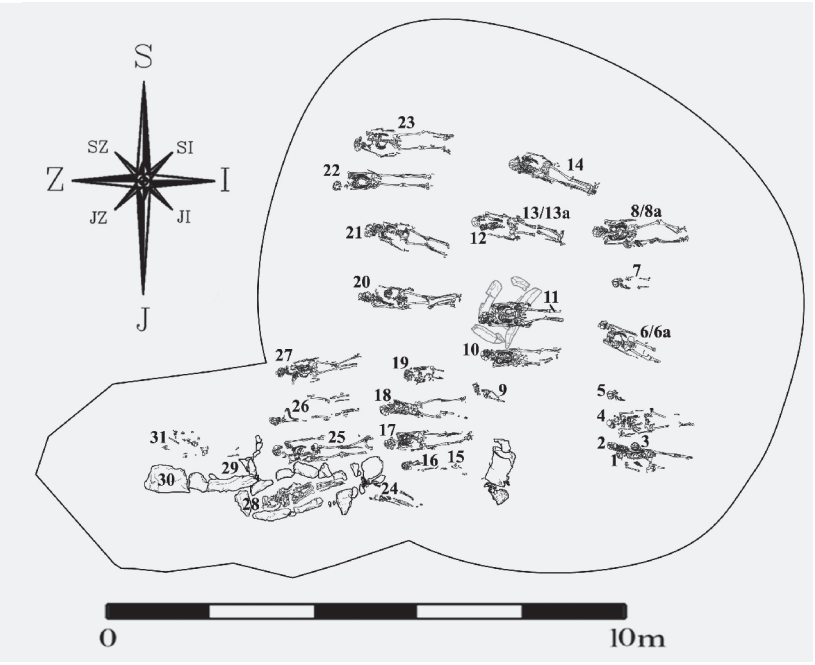
41 Ovdje naveden ukupan broj grobova razlikuje se od objave srednjovjekovnog horizonta (Petrinec 2005). Naime, srednjovjekovni grobovi označeni su brojevima 1 – 31, no u pojedinim su slučajevima pojedine osobe dobivale zasebne brojeve iako su sahranjene na istom mjestu; primjerice, grobovi 2 i 3 po mojem su mišljenju jedan grob u kojem je sahranjeno dvo-

concerned the prehistoric horizon. Batović 1968, p. 8. However, based on the preserved photo documentation, it cannot be concluded that Materiza was fully excavated. The tumulus still stands at the site and is being more and more surrounded by modern structures.

38 Belošević 1968, pp. 221-222; Belošević 1965.

39 Belošević 1968, pp. 223-239.

40 Petrinec 2005; Petrinec 2009, p. 56.



Sl. 4 - Tlocrt nekropole u Konjskom polju (modificirani tlocrt iz terenske dokumentacije, crtež: L. Roki)

Fig. 4 – Plan of the necropolis in Konjsko polje (modified plan from field documentation, drawing: L. Roki)

Razmatrajući nalaze, Maja Petrinec ukapanje je datirala u 9. stoljeće, odnosno, uže govoreći, u drugu trećinu 9. stoljeća, s mogućnošću trajanja do kraja stoljeća. Kronološki odnosi mogu se naslutiti u materijalu, pa se kao najstariji izdvajaju grobovi 4, 15 i 16, dok su grobovi na jugozapadnom dijelu vjerojatno najmlađi.[42]

U sklopu istih zaštitnih istraživanja, ali jugoistočnije, u Kozici kod Vrgorca istražena su 2008.

je djece. Iako se grob 1 nalazi na istom mjestu, ispod grobova 2 i 3, smatram da nije riječ o istodobnom ukopu nego stratigrafska pozicija sugerira neodrediv vremenski odmak. Također, kada bi se antropološkom analizom utvrdilo postojanje dodatnih kostura, dodavala se oznaka „a“, pa postoje grobovi 6 i 6a, 8 i 8a te 13 i 13a, pri čemu je riječ o jednom grobu s više osoba koje nisu individualizirane tijekom istraživanja nego naknadnom bioarheološkom analizom. Zbog svega navedenog smatram da trebamo baratati manjim brojem grobova u odnosu na objavu (npr. kosturi označeni kao 12, 13 i 13a brojani su kao jedan grob). Također smatram da su ostatci označeni kao grobovi 29, 30 i 31 dijelovi jednog uništenog groba koji je prvotno bio ograđen kamenom (poput groba 28), čemu rezultati bioarheološke analize ne proturječe. Dakle, srednjovjekovnih grobova ukupno je 27 (Šućur 2015b, str. 155–183).

42 Petrinec 2005, str. 40–42.

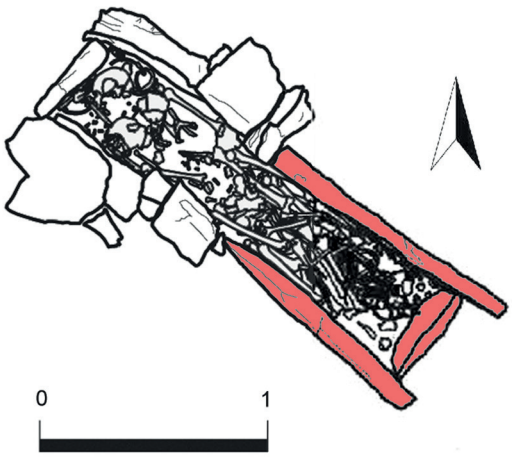


Sl. 5 - Tumul u Konjskom polju tijekom istraživanja (foto: Z. Sunko)

Fig. 5 – Tumulus in Konjsko polje during excavation (photo: Z. Sunko)

tumulus deposit cannot be associated with the burials. The necropolis also extends beyond the tumulus area, on its southwestern side, where two additional graves are located. These graves differ from the others in that they feature stone grave architecture. The westernmost grave has been severely damaged (Fig. 4; Fig. 13).[41]

41 The total number of graves presented here differs from that given in the publication of the medieval horizon. Petrinec 2005. Namely, medieval graves are numbered 1–31; however, in several instances individual persons were assigned separate numbers despite being buried in the same spot. For example, graves 2 and 3 should, in my opinion, be regarded as a single grave containing the remains of two children. Although grave 1 is located in the same area, beneath graves 2 and 3, I do not consider it to represent a simultaneous burial. Rather, its stratigraphic position suggests a chronological interval of indeterminate duration between the burials. Furthermore, when anthropological analysis identified the presence of additional individuals within a burial context, the designation “a” was added to the grave number. This resulted in graves 6 and 6a, 8 and 8a, and 13 and 13a. In these cases, the designation refers to a single burial context containing multiple individuals who were not differentiated during the excavation but were recognized only through subsequent bioarchaeological analysis. For these reasons, I consider that the number of medieval graves should be understood as lower than that presented in the original publication (for example, the remains designated as graves 12, 13 and 13a are counted here as a single grave). Likewise, I consider the remains marked as graves 29, 30, and 31 to represent parts of a single disturbed grave, which was originally enclosed by a stone construction (comparable to that of grave 28). This interpretation is not contradicted by the results of the bioarchaeological analysis. Accordingly, the total number of medieval graves should be considered to be 27.
Šućur 2015b, pp. 155-183.



Sl. 6 - Kozica – Tumul 1, grob G14, u srednjem vijeku preinačeni prapovijesni grob (crveno)(izdvojeno iz: Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 74-75)

Fig. 6 – Kozica – Tumulus 1, grave G14, a prehistoric grave modified in the Middle Ages (red) (extracted from: Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, pp. 74-75)

godine tri tumula na položaju Košćen, od kojih su na tumulima 1 i 2 istraženi i ranosrednjovjekovni ukopi. Prilikom istraživanja tumula 1 istraženo je ukupno 27 grobova. Zanimljiv je slučaj prapovijesnog groba 14, čija je arhitektura prilikom naknadnih ukopa preinačena; grob je produžen i iskorišten za novi ukop u ranom srednjem vijeku, što svjedoči o tome da su zajednice koje su ih tada koristile za ukope bile svjesne njihove prvotne funkcije (sl. 6). Ostali se grobovi mogu podijeliti u dvije grupe: grobovi bez kamene grobne arhitekture predstavljaju raniji sloj ukopa, a oni s kamenom arhitekturom kasniji. Stariji sloj ukopa datiran je od 9. do 11. stoljeća. Dvadeset grobova s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom datirano je u kasni srednji i rani novi vijek.[43]

Tumul 2 nalazi se oko 20 m jugoistočno od tumula 1. Na tumulu je istraženo ukupno dvadeset grobnih cjelina, od kojih tri pripadaju prapovijesti, a svaka od njih kasnije je iskorištena i za srednjovjekovne ukope, pri čemu su devastirani osteološki ostatci prapovijesnih pokojnika te je njihova arhitektura modificirana (sl. 7).[44] Srednjem vijeku, da-

After examining the finds, Maja Petrinec dated the burials to the 9th century, more specifically, to the second third of the 9th century, with the possibility that interments continued until the end of that century. The chronological relationships can be inferred from the material, whereby graves 4, 15 and 16 appear to be the oldest, while the graves in the southwestern part of the tumulus are likely the youngest ones.[42]

Within the scope of the same rescue excavations, but further to the southeast, three tumuli were investigated in 2008 at the site of Košćen in Kozica near Vrgorac, which included investigations of early medieval burials in tumulus 1 and tumulus 2. During the investigation of tumulus 1, a total of 27 graves were excavated. An interesting case is the prehistoric grave no. 14, whose architecture was modified during subsequent interments. The grave was extended and reused for a new burial in the Early Middle Ages, thus suggesting that the communities using these tumuli for burials were aware of their original function (Fig. 6). The remaining graves can be divided into two groups: graves without stone grave architecture, representing the earlier burial phase, and graves with stone architecture, representing a later phase. The earlier phase is dated between the 9th and 11th centuries. Twenty graves with stone grave architecture are attributed to the Late Middle Ages and the early modern period.[43]

Tumulus 2 is located approximately 20 m southeast of tumulus 1. A total of twenty grave units were investigated there, three of which belong to prehistory. Each of these was subsequently reused for medieval burials, during which the osteological remains of the prehistoric individuals were disturbed and the original architecture modified (Fig. 7).[44] In

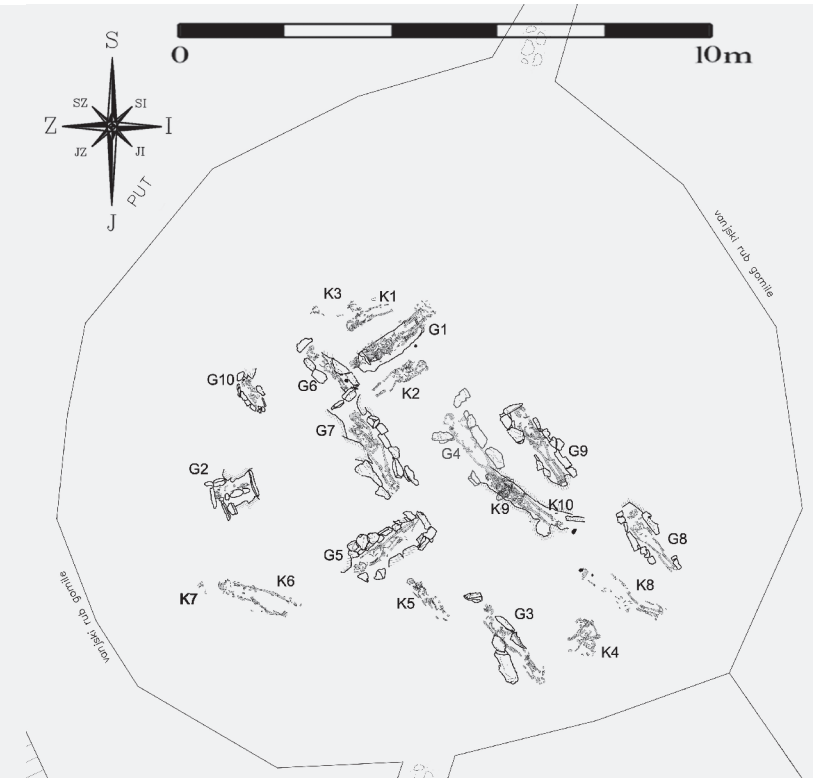
43 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 72–80.

44 Istraživanja su objavljena djelomično, a navedeno, s obzirom na dostupan tlocrt, nije moguće provjeriti. Sa sjeverozapadne strane groba 1 nalazi se jedna veća kamena ploča, koja se eventualno može tumačiti kao ostatak prapovijesnog groba. Grob 2 koristi kamen živac i manji kamen, dok se kod groba 3 nalaze četiri

42 Petrinec 2005, pp. 40-42.

43 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, pp. 72-80.

44 The excavations have only been partially published, but given the available ground plan, this cannot be verified. Near grave 1, a larger stone slab is located to the northwest of the grave, which may potentially be interpreted as the remains of a prehistoric grave. For grave 2 the bedrock and one smaller stone were used, while grave 3 contains four stones of different sizes. In this respect, both graves correspond to the characteristics of medieval burials. Once photographs and a separate ground plan of the prehistoric graves are published, if such documentation exists, it will be possible to assess more reliably the extent of secondary use of prehistoric graves within this tumulus. Šućur 2015a, pp. 113, fn. 485; Šućur 2015b, pp. 375-378.



Sl. 7 - Kozica – Tumul 2, tlocrt (modificirani tlocrt iz terenske dokumentacije, crtež: A. Vulić)

Fig. 7 – Kozica – Tumulus 2, plan (modified plan from field documentation, drawing: A. Vulić)

kle, pripada dvadeset grobova, od kojih deset ima grobnu arhitekturu (uz tri već spomenuta, grobovi G4 – G10), a deset je nema (K1 – K10), svi datirani od 9. do 12. stoljeća.[45]

Od 2007. do 2008. godine Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru istražio je tri zemljana tumula na prostoru sela Krneze i Podvršja, od kojih je na Duševića i Jokinoj glavici zabilježeno više grobova iz ranog srednjeg vijeka.[46] Na Duševića glavici definirano je devet srednjovjekovnih ukopa koji se na osnovi nalaza pojasne garniture i keramike te radiokarbonske analize datiraju na kraj 7. i u 8. stoljeće.[47] Najveći broj grobova istražen je kod najsjevernijeg od triju tumula – Jokine glavice. Tu su definirana dva ranosrednjovjekovna horizonta: jedan datiran u

kamena različite veličine, čime se ova dva groba uklapaju u srednjovjekovne grobove. Kada budu objavljene fotografije i poseban tlocrt prapovijesnih grobova, ako postoji, moći ćemo više suditi o sekundarnom korištenju prapovijesnih grobova na ovom tumulu. Šućur 2015a, str. 113, bilj. 485; Šućur 2015b, str. 375–378.

45 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 83–85.

46 Gusar, Vujević 2009; Gusar 2012; Gusar, Vujević 2012.

47 Gusar, Vujević 2012, str. 123.

total, twenty graves belong to the medieval period, namely ten with grave architecture (including the three previously mentioned graves G4–G10) and ten without architecture (K1–K10), all dated between the 9th and 12th centuries.[45]

Between 2007 and 2008, the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar investigated three earthen tumuli in the area of the villages of Krneza and Podvršje, where several early medieval graves were recorded at Duševića glavica and Jokina glavica.[46] At Duševića glavica, 9 medieval burials were identified, which were dated on the basis of a belt set, pottery finds and radiocarbon analysis to the end of the 7th and the 8th centuries.[47] The largest number of graves was investigated at the northernmost of the three tumuli—Jokina glavica. Two early medieval horizons were identified there: one dated to the 8th and the first half of the 9th century (graves 13–16, 18 and 19), and a somewhat later horizon dated to the 9th century (graves 1–11, 17).[48]

Individual graves and finds from numerous tumuli investigated from the end of the Second World War to the present day could be added to the sites mentioned above, like for example those recorded in the research conducted by Ivan Marović in the Cetina and Imotski regions, in Poljica and the Neretva delta,[49] in Batović's investigations in the area of Nin,[50] and the graves from three tumuli at Torine in Dragljani near Vrgorac,[51] and many others. However, these examples would not substantially contribute to the characteristics discussed here, either because of the impossibility of precise dating or due to the partial publication of results. An exception will be made for two additional sites investigated by Vedrana Delonga.

In 1990, Vedrana Delonga conducted rescue excavations on behalf of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments at the site of Naklice–Grebčine in Poljica. During these investigations, 21 graves dated to the 9th century were excavated within the area of a disturbed tumulus from the Iron Age. The tumulus and the associated necropolis were not fully excavated, as these were only rescue

45 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, pp. 83-85.

46 Gusar, Vujević 2009; Gusar 2012; Gusar, Vujević 2012.

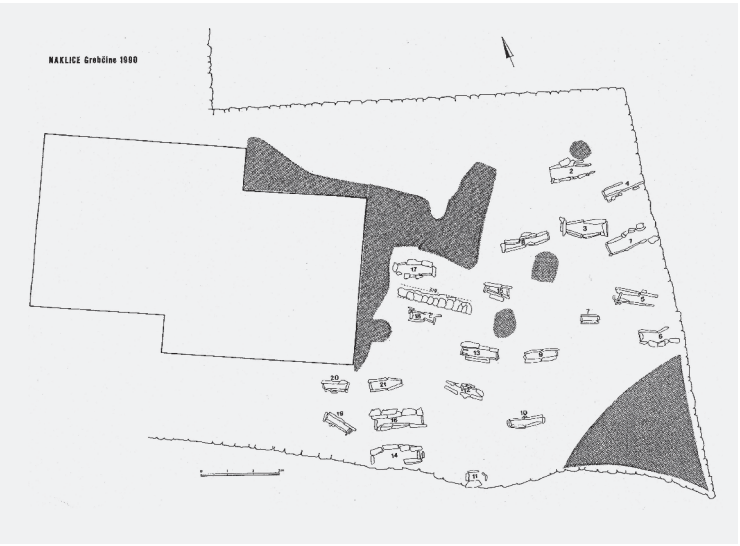
47 Gusar, Vujević 2012, p. 123.

48 Gusar 2012, pp. 63-64.

49 Marović 1963; Marović 1976; Marović 1980; Marović 1991.

50 Batović 1984, pp. 16-17; Batović 1986, pp. 21-24.

51 Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, pp. 143-150.



Sl. 8 - Tlocrt istraženog dijela nekropole u Naklicama (crtež: M. Palčok)
Fig. 8 – Plan of the excavated part of the necropolis in Naklice (drawing: M. Palčok)

8. i prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća (grobovi 13 – 16, 18 i 19) te drugi, nešto kasniji, datiran u 9. stoljeće (grobovi 1 – 11 i 17).[48]

Spomenutim bi se lokalitetima mogli pridodati pojedinačni grobovi i nalazi s brojnih tumula istraženih od Drugog svjetskog rata do danas, primjerice oni koje je istraživao Ivan Marović u Cetinskoj i Imotskoj krajini, Poljicima i delti Neretve,[49] zatim oni koje je istraživao Batović kod Nina[50] te grobovi iz triju tumula s Torina u Dragljanima kod Vrgorca[51] i drugi, no to ne bi pridonijelo ovdje razmatranim karakteristikama, bilo zbog nemogućnosti uže datacije ili parcijalne objave rezultata. Iznimka će biti izdvajanje još dvaju lokaliteta čije je istraživanje provela Vedrana Delonga.

Godine 1990. Delonga je u ime Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika provela zaštitno istraživanje lokaliteta Naklice – Grebčine u Poljicima. Tada je na prostoru devastiranog željeznodobnog tumula istražen 21 grob datiran u 9. stoljeće. Tumul i nekropola nisu istraženi u cijelosti jer se radilo o zaštitnim istraživanjima koja su obuhvatila prostor koji nije uništen ranijom gradnjom (sl. 8). Prapovijesni grob nije pronađen, ali konfiguracija terena i brojni nalazi željeznodobne keramike svjedoče o excavations limited to the part of the site that had not been destroyed by earlier construction activities (Fig. 8). Although prehistoric graves were not identified, the configuration of the terrain and numerous finds of Iron Age pottery attest to the prehistoric origin of the tumulus. The covers and sides of the graves were constructed from rectangular stone slabs, and the graves contained primarily individual burials. The most numerous finds include earrings, bronze and silver ringlets and single-bead earrings, along with bronze appliqués and ceramic spindle whorls. Next to the outer lining of one grave, a ceramic vessel displaying clear late ancient traditions was discovered.[52]

The tumulus in Tugare, at the site of Donji Vrtal north of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was investigated in 2004. Constructed as an earthen mound, it was fully excavated, although its peripheral parts had already been destroyed before archaeologists arrived on the site (Fig. 9). Vedrana Delonga published a brief report in the *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* (Croatian Archaeological Yearbook) and, in both the report and the field documentation, she identified three prehistoric graves (graves 1P–3P) and four early medieval graves (graves G1–G4). The medieval burials were dated to the 9th to 10th centuries, because the "typology of the grave structures and the forms of the grave goods correspond to the cemetery" at the site of Gornji Vrtal.[53]

Nin – Materiza and the question of the graves' orientation

The previously mentioned multiple investigations of the tumulus in Materiza near Nin were not published by the researchers themselves, but rather by Janko Belošević in two separate contributions following the completion of the fieldwork. First, the finds of Slavic pottery were published,[54] and later the complete results of the early medieval horizon were presented,[55] which may be considered a kind of turning point in the study of this topic.

Belošević based his studies on documentation he found in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. He analysed 25 graves, which he dated to the 8th century[56] and which are located southeast and northwest

48 Gusar 2012, str. 63–64.
49 Marović 1963; Marović 1976; Marović 1980; Marović 1991.
50 Batović 1984, str. 16–17; Batović 1986, str. 21–24.
51 Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, str. 143–150.
52 Delonga 1991; Delonga [1993].
53 Petrinec 2000, p. 242; Delonga 2005, p. 251.
54 Belošević 1962.
55 Belošević 1973.
56 Belošević 1973, p. 241.



Sl. 9 - Zatečeno stanje tumula u Tugarima na položaju Donji Vrtal (foto: M. Palčok)
Fig. 9 – Current state of the tumulus in Tugare at the Donji Vrtal site (photo: M. Palčok)

prapovijesnom podrijetlu lokaliteta. Pokrov grobova, kao i bočne strane, građen je pravokutnim kamenim pločama, a uglavnom je riječ o pojedinačnim ukopima. Najbrojniji nalazi su naušnice: brončane i srebrne karičice te jednojagodne naušnice, a uz njih su nađene i brončane aplike i keramički pršljeni. Uz vanjsku obložnicu jednog groba pronađena je i keramička posuda s vidljivim kasnoantičkim tradicijama.[52]

Tumul u Tugarima na položaju Donji vrtal, sjeverno od crkve Blažene Djevice Marije, istražen je 2004. godine. Bio je građen od zemljanog nanosa. U potpunosti je istražen, premda su mu rubni dijelovi bili uništeni prije izlaska arheologa na teren (sl. 9). Vedrana Delonga objavila je kratak izvještaj u *Hrvatskom arheološkom godišnjaku*, u kojem, kao i u terenskoj dokumentaciji, izdvaja tri prapovijesna (grobovi 1P – 3P) i četiri ranosrednjovjekovna groba (grobovi G1 – G4). Srednjovjekovni grobovi datirani su u 9. – 10. stoljeće jer „tipologijom grobne konstrukcije i oblicima grobnog inventara korespondiraju groblju“ na položaju Gornji vrtal.[53]

Nin – Materiza i pitanje orijentacije grobova

Već spomenuta višekratna istraživanja tumula Materiza kod Nina nisu objavili njegovi istraživa-

[52] Delonga 1991; Delonga [1993].
[53] Petrinec 2000, str. 242; Delonga 2005, str. 251.

of the tumulus itself. Three graves dug directly into the earthen deposit of the tumulus were not analysed; he instead noted that they were “chronologically much younger and most likely originate from the Late Middle Ages, and it cannot be excluded that they are even of more recent origin.”[57] This dating was based on the position and preservation of the skeletons and, although not explicitly stated, presumably also on the fact that these three graves are the only ones where the deceased had both arms crossed on the chest.

Two separate maps of the necropolis were presented in the study: map I, depicting the situation in 1948 with the graves located to the **southeast of the tumulus**, and map II, illustrating the situation in 1955 with the graves situated to the **northwest of the tumulus**. The position of the tumulus is not marked on either map; however, it can be inferred from the statement that graves 3, 5 and 8 were located “on the mound,” in contrast to the early medieval graves, which “were situated on the southeastern and northwestern sides of the mound.”[58] This description, along with the possibility of approximately locating the tumulus and thereby “joining” the two maps, as well as the presence of a north orientation marker on both maps, allows for a partial reconstruction of the situation, as shown in Figure 10. This reconstruction illustrates a fact that should already have been clear from the description itself, namely, Belošević’s claim that the deceased were “buried in such a way that their heads were positioned toward the mound”[59] is unfounded. It is evident that some of the deceased are indeed oriented with their heads towards the tumulus (graves 1, 2, 9, 16, 17, 18, and 20), but this is coincidental because the tumulus lies to the west or northwest of them, which corresponds to the customary burial orientation in this region throughout the medieval and modern periods. All graves northwest of the tumulus are oriented southwest–northeast (seven graves without architecture or with partially used stone) or west–east (two graves with stone grave architecture). Consequently, none of the individuals in this area are oriented with their heads toward the tumulus, and therefore Belošević’s unsupported conclusion should no longer be reiterated.

[57] Belošević 1973, p. 221.
[58] Belošević 1973, p. 221.
[59] Belošević 1980, p. 20.

či nego Janko Belošević u dvama navratima nakon istraživanja. Najprije su objavljeni nalazi slavenske keramike,[54] a zatim cjelokupni rezultati ranosrednjovjekovnog horizonta,[55] što se može smatrati svojevrsnom prekretnicom u razmatranju ove teme.

Belošević je svoje radove temeljio na dokumentaciji koju je zatekao u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru. Obradio je 25 grobova koje je datirao u 8. stoljeće,[56] a koji se nalaze jugoistočno i sjeverozapadno od samog tumula. Tri groba ukopana u sam zemljani nanos tumula ne obrađuje, već za njih navodi da su „vremenski mnogo mlađi i najvjerojatnije potječu iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka, a nije isključeno da su čak recentni".[57] Takva je datacija određena na osnovi položaja i očuvanosti kostura, a iako se to ne navodi izričito, pretpostavljam i na osnovi činjenice da su ta tri groba jedini grobovi s pokojnicima čije su ruke prekrižene na prsnom košu.

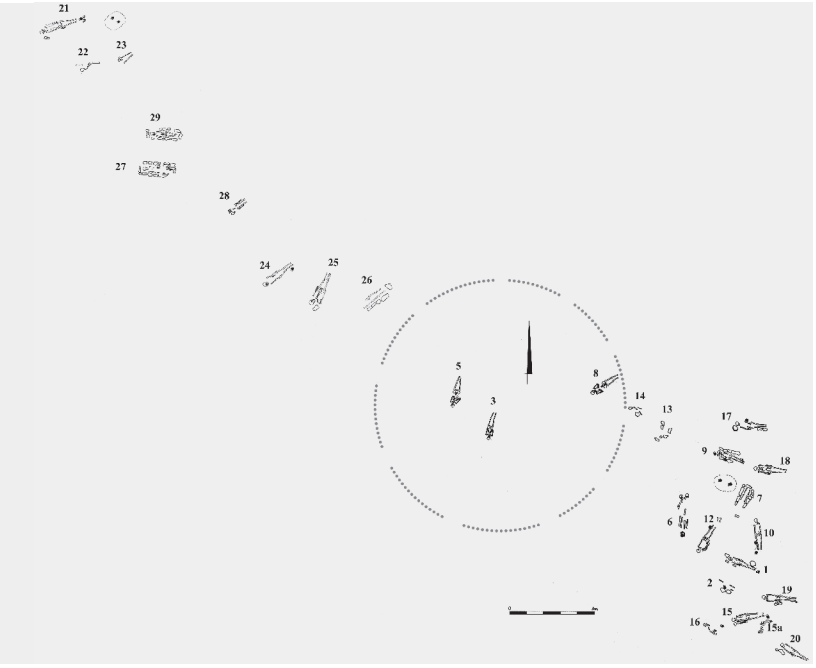
U radu su objavljena dva odvojena plana nekropole – plan I sa situacijom iz 1948., odnosno grobovima **jugoistočno od tumula**, i plan II sa situacijom iz 1955. godine, odnosno grobovima **sjeverozapadno od tumula**. Ni na jednom planu nije označen položaj tumula, no možemo ga pretpostaviti s obzirom na navod da su grobovi 3, 5 i 8 „na humku", za razliku od ranosrednjovjekovnih koji „su se nalazili s jugoistočne i sa sjeverozapadne strane humka".[58] Ovaj opis i mogućnost da se barem približno ubicira tumul te tako „spoje" dva plana, kao i postojanje oznake sjevera na obama planovima, omogućuju djelomičnu rekonstrukciju situacije, što je prikazano na slici 10. To je samo ilustracija činjenice da Beloševićeva tvrdnja da su pokojnici bili „ukopani tako da im je glava bila na strani humka"[59] ne stoji, što je trebalo biti jasno već iz opisa. Vidljivo je da je dio pokojnika orijentiran glavom prema tumulu (grobovi 1, 2, 9, 16, 17, 18 i 20), no to je slučajnost jer se tumul nalazi zapadno odnosno sjeverozapadno od njih, a pokojnici imaju uobičajenu orijentaciju ukopa na ovim prostorima kroz srednji i novi vijek. Svi grobovi sjeverozapadno od tumula orijentirani su u smjeru jugozapad-sjeveroistok (sedam grobova bez arhitekture ili s djelomično korištenim kamenom) ili zapad-istok

In general, the most frequent grave orientations are northwest–southeast and west–east. This is the usual orientation found on all tumuli. In this way, the deceased were typically interred with their heads positioned on the western or northwestern side to face the direction of sunrise.[60] Namely, the main direction of the relief along the eastern Adriatic coast, which runs northwest–southeast, is precisely the reason why this orientation predominates. The west–east orientation occurs sporadically, and only at one tumulus does it predominate. At the tumulus in Konjsko Polje, all graves except grave 6 and the disturbed grave located outside the tumulus have a west–east orientation, which corresponds to the direction of the local relief in that area (the field and karst ridges on both sides of it).

Attention should also be given to the deviations from the prevailing burial orientation documented on individual tumuli. At the tumulus of Duševića glavica, the graves for which their orientation can be determined are located closer to the top of the tumulus than to its edge, and all five are positioned parallel to the edge of the segment in which they lie. At Jokina glavica, only grave 3 deviates from the usual orientation and is placed in a northeast–southwest direction, again parallel to the edge of the tumulus. At tumulus 2 in Kozica, there are numerous variations in orientation (Fig. 7), which can largely be attributed to the relief of the base into which the graves were dug.[61]

Considering the overall pattern presented by early medieval graves on or within tumuli in Dalmatia, it appears that individual deviations in grave orientation are largely conditioned by the terrain. On the one hand, when graves are cut into the bedrock at the base of a tumulus, the direction of karst fissures or the configuration of the bedrock surface plays a significant role. On the other hand, in the case of higher tumuli where graves are dug into the mound deposits, the relief of the tumulus itself is taken into account, and the graves are therefore placed parallel to the edge or slope of the mound. Radial burials, by contrast, have not been recorded on these tumuli, since such burials would have required a slanted grave construction and an inclined placement of the deceased, whereas a parallel alignment allows the entire length of the grave to be constructed at the same level.

54 Belošević 1962.
55 Belošević 1973.
56 Belošević 1973, str. 241.
57 Belošević 1973, str. 221.
58 Belošević 1973, str. 221.
59 Belošević 1980, str. 20.
60 Šućur 2015a, pp. 168-169.
61 Šućur 2015a, p. 169; Šućur 2015b, pp. 374-395.



Sl. 10 - Mogući kompozitni tlocrt tumula Nin – Materiza (izrada: J. Šućur, prema: Belošević 1973, Plan I, II).

Fig. 10 – Possible composite plan of the Nin – Materiza tumulus (compiled by: J. Šućur, after: Belošević 1973, Plan I, II)

(dva groba s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom). Dakle, nijedan pokojnik na tom dijelu nije orijentiran glavom prema tumulu, pa je potrebno prestati ponavljati taj Beloševićev neutemeljeni zaključak.

Općenito, najčešća je orijentacija grobova u smjeru sjeverozapad-jugoistok i zapad-istok. To je uobičajena orijentacija koja se javlja na svim tumulima. Na taj je način pokojnik položen glavom na zapadnoj ili sjeverozapadnoj strani kako bi gledao prema strani svijeta na kojoj izlazi sunce.[60] Upravo je glavni pravac pružanja reljefa na istočnojadranskoj obali u smjeru sjeverozapad-jugoistok razlog što takva orijentacija prevladava. Orijentacija zapad-istok javlja se povremeno, a samo je na tumulu u Konjskom polju većina grobova tako orijentirana; iznimku predstavljaju grob 6 i devastirani grob izvan tumula. Takva orijentacija odgovara pružanju reljefa na tom prostoru (polje i krške grede s obiju strana).

Pogledajmo i odstupanja od uobičajene orijentacije na pojedinim tumulima. Na tumulu Duševića glavica grobovi kojima je moguće odrediti orijentaciju smješteni su bliže tjemenu tumula nego njego-

[60] Šućur 2015a, str. 168–169.

Tumuli with multiple early medieval burial horizons

The overview of the investigated tumuli containing early medieval graves clearly shows that, in the case of some tumuli, several distinct burial horizons have been recorded, dating from the 7th to the 11th century.

At the site of Glavčurak in Donji Kašić, 9 graves from the Migration Period, that is, from the first half of the 6th century, were excavated north of the tumulus.[62] One grave from the same period was documented on the tumulus itself, while 15 belong to the Early Middle Ages[63] and are dated from the mid-8th to the 11th century.[64] Of these, 13 were located on the tumulus itself and two beside it. The graves from the Migration Period lacked stone grave architecture, whereas the early medieval graves belong to two chronological horizons: an earlier phase without stone grave architecture (graves 14 and 15), dated to the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century, and a stratigraphically higher layer containing graves with various forms of stone architecture made of slabs (from the 9th to 11th century).[65]

As emphasized by T. Fabijanić in his doctoral dissertation, the destruction of most of this necropolis represents "an extremely great loss… because this site contained an uninterrupted sequence of burials from the 6th to the 11th centuries, and, even more importantly, continuity of burials at the same location by the late ancient indigenous population, the Ostrogoths, and the newly arrived Slavic, that is, Croatian population, whose graves display both pagan and Christian burial characteristics."[66]

With the exception of the horizon from the Migration Period, a comparable situation is noticeable at the tumulus of Jokina glavica. Two early medieval horizons were identified there: one dated to the 8th and the first half of the 9th century (graves 13–16, 18 and 19) and a somewhat later horizon dated to the 9th century (graves 1–11 and 17). These two chronological horizons are clearly visible in the stratigraphic relationships—graves 2, 4 and 5 above grave 14; graves 6 and 9 above grave 13; grave 10 above grave 18; and grave 17 above grave 19—as well as in their differing characteristics (Fig. 11).

[62] Belošević 1968, p. 237.
[63] Belošević 1968, pp. 223-224.
[64] Belošević 1968, pp. 238-239.
[65] Belošević 1968, pp. 225-226.
[66] Fabijanić 2008, p. 132.

vu rubu, a svih pet položeno je paralelno s rubom segmenta u kojem se nalaze. Na Jokinoj glavici samo grob 3 odstupa od uobičajene orijentacije; postavljen je u smjeru sjeveroistok-jugozapad, ponovno paralelno s rubom tumula. Na tumulu 2 u Kozici postoji velik broj varijacija u orijentaciji (sl. 7), što se u najvećoj mjeri može pripisati reljefu baze u koju su grobovi ukopani.[61]

Gledajući cjelokupnu sliku koju nam u Dalmaciji pružaju ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi na ili pod tumulima, čini se da su pojedina odstupanja u orijentaciji grobova najvećim dijelom rezultat reljefa. S jedne strane, ako se grobovi ukapaju u bazu tumula, pružanje škrapa, odnosno ploha kamena živca, ima značajnu ulogu, a s druge strane, ako je riječ o višim tumulima u čiji se površinski nanos ukapaju grobovi, pritom se vodi računa o reljefu samog tumula pa se grobovi ukapaju paralelno s rubom, odnosno padinom tumula. Suprotno, odnosno radijalno pokapanje nije zabilježeno na ovim tumulima jer bi ono dovelo do kose gradnje groba i polaganja pokojnika, dok paralelno ukapanje omogućava gradnju cijele dužine groba u istoj razini.

Tumuli s više ranosrednjovjekovnih horizonata ukapanja

Iz pregleda istraženih tumula s ranosrednjovjekovnim grobovima vidljivo je da je kod pojedinih tumula zabilježeno više odvojenih horizonata ukapanja iz razdoblja od 7. do 11. stoljeća.

Na položaju Glavčurak u Donjem Kašiću sjeverno od tumula istraženo je devet grobova iz vremena seobe naroda, odnosno iz prve polovine 6. stoljeća,[62] dok je na tumulu istražen jedan grob iz tog vremena, a 15 ih pripada ranom srednjem vijeku,[63] odnosno razdoblju od sredine 8. do 11. stoljeća.[64] Od toga je na samom tumulu istraženo 13 grobova, a dva su bila pored tumula. Grobovi iz vremena seobe naroda nisu imali kamenu grobnu arhitekturu, dok su ranosrednjovjekovni pripadali dvama vremenskim horizontima: raniji nisu imali kamenu grobnu arhitekturu (grobovi 14 i 15; 2. pol. 8. i 1. pol. 9. st.), a u stratigrafski višem sloju nađeni su grobovi s različitom arhitekturom od kamenih ploča (9. – 11. st.).[65]

The lower layer of the graves is characterized by burials without grave architecture in simple earthen pits (grave 15), in wooden coffins (grave 18) and burials with the partial use of stone (a single stone in graves 16 and 19, and several unworked stones surrounding the deceased in graves 13 and 14). Grave goods were discovered in four graves (13, 14, 16 and 18). In grave 13, a pair of silver ringlets was discovered,[67] together with fragments of bronze wire,[68] a necklace composed of glass beads,[69] and a ceramic vessel.[70] This vessel differs from the other, relatively numerous ceramic vessels recorded in this layer but found outside the graves.[71] In grave 14, a fire striker with four flints was recovered,[72] along with an iron knife and an awl located next to the right leg of the deceased.[73] Grave 16 yielded an elongated iron object, whose purpose is unknown.[74] Another iron object was discovered in grave 18, together with a rivet, suggesting that these were the remains of a knife and its sheath fittings.[75] Traces of a wooden coffin were identified next to this grave, and a ceramic vessel was found on its eastern side.[76] Given the characteristics of the grave architecture, evidence of ritual activities, the presence of grave goods and other associated finds, this lower and earlier burial layer has been dated to the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century. Radiocarbon analysis of osteological remains from grave 13, calibrated to the period between 770 and 900, further supports the attribution of this layer to the pagan horizon of early Croatian necropolises.[77]

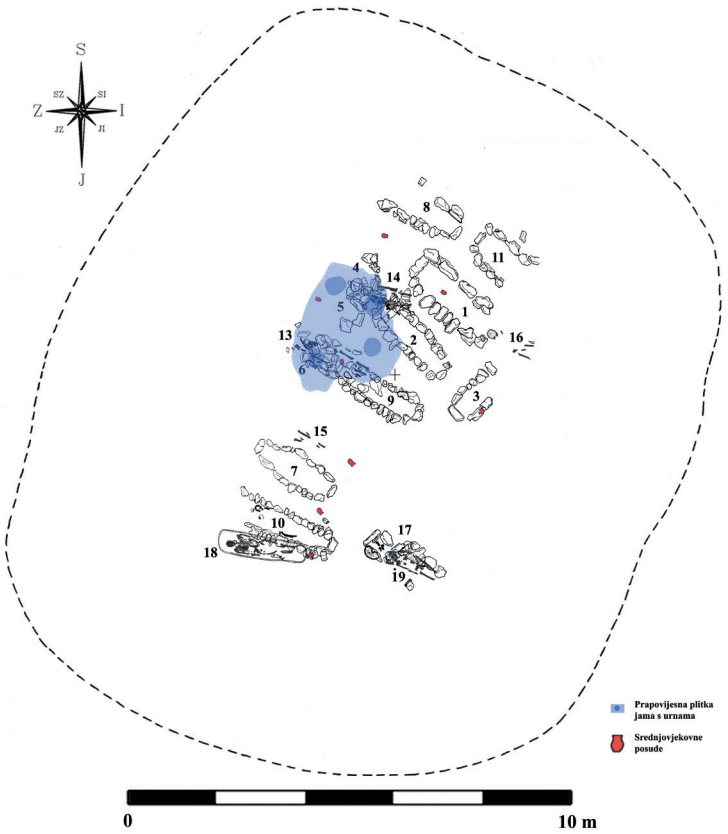
The upper layer of graves is characterized by the extensive use of undressed stone on all sides, forming a grave pit for the deceased, sometimes with several rows of arranged stones. In certain cases, this grave architecture has not been completely preserved due to subsequent disturbances of these graves, which were located in the upper layers of the tumulus. As for the finds, they are relatively scarce in this layer. Grave 10 yielded a pair of

61 Šućur 2015a, str. 169; Šućur 2015b, str. 374–395.
62 Belošević 1968, str. 237.
63 Belošević 1968, str. 223–224.
64 Belošević 1968, str. 238–239.
65 Belošević 1968, str. 225–226.

67 Gusar 2012, p. 76, Pl. VII, 3-4.
68 Gusar 2012, p. 76, Pl. VII, 1-2.
69 Gusar 2012, p. 76, Pl. VII, 5.
70 Gusar 2012, p. 76, Pl. VII, 6.
71 Gusar 2012, pp. 53-54.
72 Gusar 2012, p. 77, Pl. VIII, 1-5.
73 Gusar 2012, p. 77, Pl. VIII, 6-7.
74 Gusar 2012, p. 78, Pl. IX, 1.
75 Gusar 2012, p. 78, Pl. IX, 2.
76 Gusar 2012, p. 78, Pl. IX, 3.
77 Gusar 2012, p. 63.

Kako je u svojem doktoratu istaknuo T. Fabijanić, uništavanje najvećeg dijela ove nekropole predstavlja „iznimno veliku štetu […] jer je riječ o položaju na kojemu je postojao neprekinuti vremenski slijed pokapanja od VI. do XI. stoljeća, ali što je još i važnije, i kontinuitet pokapanja na istom mjestu kasnoantičkog autohtonog stanovništva, Istočni Goti i novodoseljenog slavensko, odnosno hrvatskog stanovništva čiji grobovi imaju i poganske i kršćanske osobine pokapanja.“[66]

Slična situacija ponavlja se i kod tumula Jokina glavica, ali bez horizonta iz vremena seobe naroda. Tu su definirana dva ranosrednjovjekovna horizonta: jedan datiran u 8. i prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća (grobovi 13 – 16, 18 i 19) te drugi, nešto kasniji, datiran u 9. stoljeće (grobovi 1 – 11 i 17). Ova dva vremenska horizonta jasno se očituju u stratigrafskim odnosima – grobovi 2, 4 i 5 iznad groba 14, grobovi 6 i 9 iznad groba 13, grob 10 iznad groba 18 te grob 17 iznad groba 19 – ali i u njihovim različitim karakteristikama (sl. 11). Donji sloj grobova karakteriziraju ukopi bez grobne arhitekture u običnoj zemljanoj raci (grob 15), u drvenom lijesu (grob 18) te ukopi s djelomičnom uporabom kamena (po jedan kamen kod grobova 16 i 19 te više neobrađenog kamena oko pokojnika u grobovima 13 i 14). Grobni nalazi zabilježeni su u četirima grobovima (13, 14, 16 i 18). U grobu 13 pronađeni su par srebrnih karičica,[67] fragmenti brončane žice,[68] ogrlica od staklenih perli[69] i keramička posuda[70] koja se razlikuje od ostalih, relativno brojnih keramičkih posuda nađenih u ovom sloju, ali izvan grobova.[71] U grobu 14 pronađeni su kresivo i četiri kremenčića,[72] a uz desnu nogu željezni nož i šilo.[73] U grobu 16 pronađen je željezni predmet izduženog oblika i nepoznate namjene.[74] U grobu 18 također je pronađen željezni predmet, a uz njega i zakovica, pa je moguće da je riječ o ostatcima noža i okova korica.[75] Uz taj grob, uz tragove drvenog lijesa, pronađena je s istočne strane i keramička posuda.[76]



Sl. 11 - Kompozitni tlocrt grobnih cjelina s tumula Jokina glavica (izrada: J. Šućur, crtež: Z. Bakić)
Fig. 11 – Composite plan of the grave units from the Jokina glavica tumulus (compiled by: J. Šućur, drawing: Z. Bakić)

silver single-bead earrings[78] and a finger ring,[79] while grave 17 contained another finger ring[80] and two fragments of an iron object heavily damaged by corrosion.[81] These features and finds clearly distinguish this layer of graves from the earlier one, but do not help with its precise dating. Karla Gusar associates it with the site of Nin–Materiza, where she identifies the greatest amount of comparative material (while noting that the necropolis there lies beside the mound rather than on it) and dates it to the second half of the 8th and the 9th centuries.[82]

As previously noted, at the site of Košćen in Kozica two groups of graves were identified during the investigation of tumulus 1: an older layer of graves without stone grave architecture and a younger

66 Fabijanić 2008, str. 132.
67 Gusar 2012, str. 76, T. VII, 3–4.
68 Gusar 2012, str. 76, T. VII, 1–2.
69 Gusar 2012, str. 76, T. VII, 5.
70 Gusar 2012, str. 76, T. VII, 6.
71 Gusar 2012, str. 53–54.
72 Gusar 2012, str. 77, T. VIII, 1–5.
73 Gusar 2012, str. 77, T. VIII, 6–7.
74 Gusar 2012, str. 78, T. IX, 1.
75 Gusar 2012, str. 78, T. IX, 2.
76 Gusar 2012, str. 78, T. IX, 3.

78 Gusar 2012, p. 75, Pl. VI, 1-2.
79 Gusar 2012, p. 75, Pl. VI, 3.
80 Gusar 2012, p. 75, Pl. VI, 4.
81 Gusar 2012, pp. 52-53.
82 Gusar 2012, p. 64.

S obzirom na karakteristike grobne arhitekture, tragove ritualnih radnji, grobne priloge i nalaze, ovaj donji, stariji sloj datiran je u 8. i prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća. Radiokarbonska analiza osteoloških ostataka iz groba 13 – kalibrirana datacija od 770. do 900. godine – predstavlja još jedan prilog datiranju ovog sloja grobova u poganski horizont starohrvatskih nekropola.[77]

Gornji sloj grobova karakterizira obilna upotreba neobrađenog kamena sa svih strana, pri čemu se formira grobna raka, ponekad i s više redova uslojenog kamena. U nekim se slučajevima ta grobna arhitektura nije u potpunosti očuvala, što je posljedica naknadnih devastacija grobova smještenih u površinskim slojevima tumula. Što se tiče nalaza, oni su u ovom sloju malobrojni. U grobu 10 pronađeni su par srebrnih jednojagodnih naušnica[78] i prsten vitica,[79] dok su u grobu 17 pronađeni još jedan prsten tipa vitice[80] i dva ulomka željeznog predmeta uništenog korozijom.[81] Ovakve karakteristike i nalazi jasno izdvajaju ovaj sloj grobova u odnosu na prethodni, ali ne pomažu njegovoj dataciji. Karla Gusar povezuje ga s lokalitetom Nin – Materiza, gdje nalazi najviše komparativnog materijala (uz ogradu da je ondje nekropola uz humak, a ne na njemu), te ga datira u drugu polovinu 8. i 9. stoljeće.[82]

Kao što je već spomenuto, u Kozici na položaju Košćen prilikom istraživanja tumula 1 uočene su dvije skupine grobova: stariji sloj grobova bez kamene grobne arhitekture i mlađi sloj koji čine grobovi s kamenom arhitekturom (sl. 12).[83] Premda ovdje nije riječ o dvama ranosrednjovjekovnim horizontima, tumul 1 važno je spomenuti zbog tumula 2, udaljenog svega 20 m.[84] Istraživači lokaliteta sa

77 Gusar 2012, str. 63.

78 Gusar 2012, str. 75, T. VI, 1–2.

79 Gusar 2012, str. 75, T. VI, 3.

80 Gusar 2012, str. 75, T. VI, 4.

81 Gusar 2012, str. 52–53.

82 Gusar 2012, str. 64.

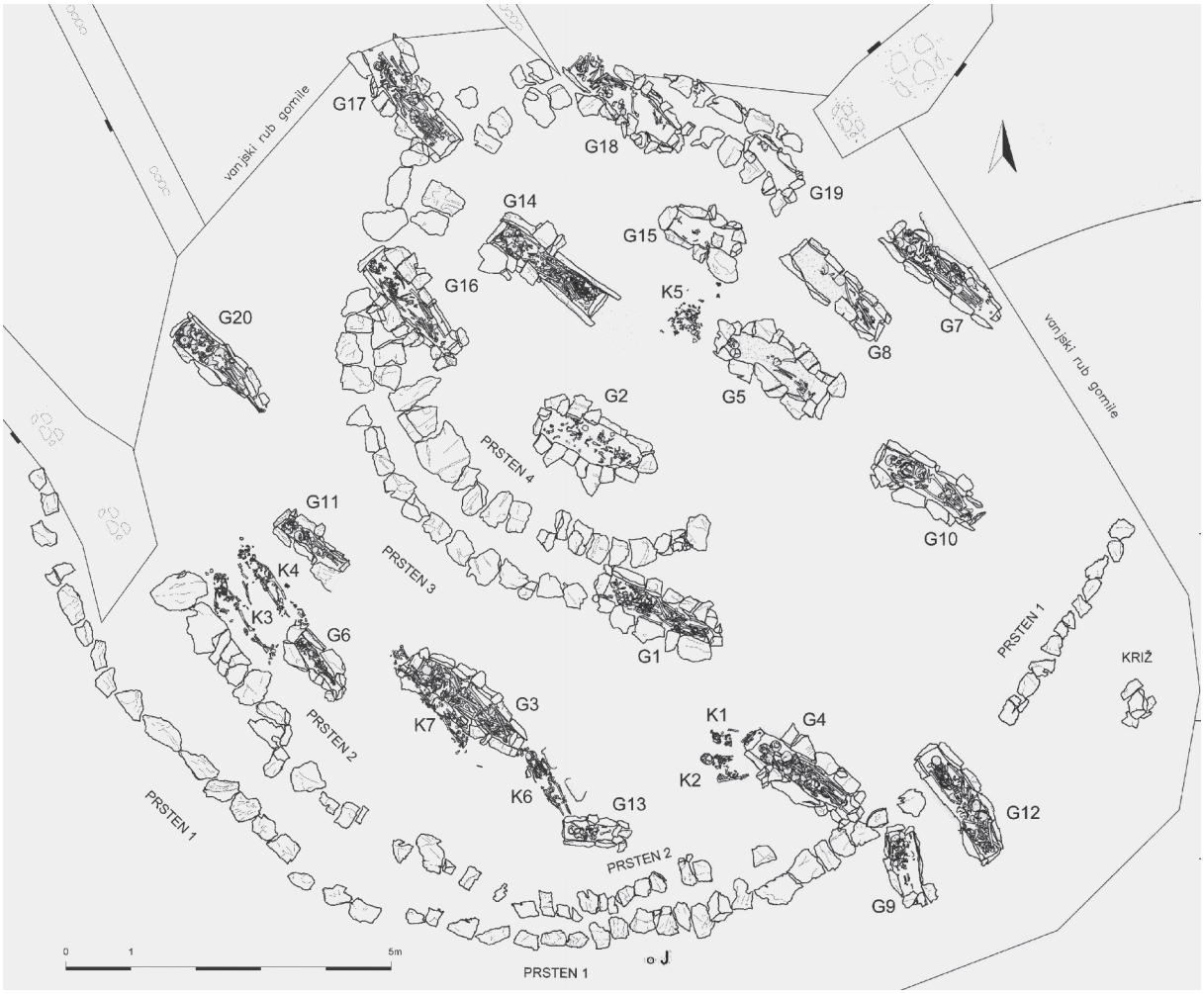
83 Grobovi bez grobne arhitekture označeni su kao K1 – K7, a grobovi s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom kao G1 – G20. U prvoj skupini izdvaja se grob K5 jer se nalazi na suprotnoj strani tumula u odnosu na ostale slične grobove; nalazi se u kamenom nasipu, a riječ je o ispremiješanim kostima koje su vjerojatno izbačene iz nekog od obližnjih grobova prilikom naknadnih ukopa, kako su istraživači i pretpostavili (Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 77).

84 Dvadeset grobova s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom datirano je u kasni srednji i rani novi vijek s obzirom na njihove karakteristike (učelci, kameni vijenci) i nalayer consisting of graves with stone architecture (Fig. 12).[83] In this case, however, the two layers do not represent two early medieval horizons, yet it is worth mentioning due to the presence of tumulus 2 located only 20 m away.[84] The archaeologists investigating the site cautiously dated the older burial layer at tumulus 1 to the period between the 9th and 11th centuries, referring to a number of characteristics associated with the pagan horizon of graves in the region between the Zrmanja and Cetina rivers. These include burials in the ground without grave architecture, the simultaneous burial of pairs of individuals, the "placement of shards of broken ceramic vessels within the graves", and the presence of simple ringlets with straight-cut ends. Such features, together with the relatively slower process of Christianization in this region, led the researchers to propose such a dating.[85] In addition to a small number of finds, which are chronologically insen-

83 Graves without grave architecture are designated K1–K7, while those with stone grave architecture are labelled G1–G20. Within the first group, grave K5 is particularly noteworthy because it is located on the opposite side of the tumulus in relation to other similar graves of this type, within a stone embankment. It consists of mixed skeletal remains, which the researchers interpret as bones displaced from nearby graves during subsequent burial activities. Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, p. 77.

84 Twenty graves with stone grave architecture have been dated to the late medieval and early modern periods based on their characteristics (head-slabs and stone wreaths) as well as associated finds (horseshoes from footwear, buttons and rosary beads). According to the researchers, burials within these graves may have continued until the mid-18th century. Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, p. 80. However, the authors do not provide a clear explanation for proposing such a late chronological range. The finds they cite—such as rosary beads or horseshoes from footwear—occur both in this later period and in earlier contexts; therefore, the dating should more cautiously be placed within the broader framework of the late medieval and early modern periods. Šućur 2015a, pp. 112-113.
A comparable situation is observed at the northern tumulus at the site of Velika Crljivica in Cista Velika near Imotski. In 2004, 24 graves were excavated within the preserved part of the mound. One horizon consists of graves with stone grave architecture constructed from vertically set slabs and is dated to the 14th and 15th centuries. A stratigraphically older horizon comprises six graves without architecture, which are difficult to date due to the absence of associated finds. Gudelj 2005, pp. 196-198.

85 M. BILIĆ et al., 2011.a, 78-80.



Sl. 12 - Kozica – Tumul 1, tlocrt (preuzeto: Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 74-75, neznatno modificirano)
Fig. 12 – Kozica – Tumulus 1, plan (taken from: Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, pp. 74-75, slightly modified)

znatnom su rezervom stariji sloj ukopa na tumulu 1 datirali u razdoblje od 9. do 11. stoljeća, pozivajući se na niz karakteristika poganskog horizonta grobova na prostoru između Zrmanje i Cetine. Te karakteristike (potkovice za obuću, puceta, perle krunica). Prema istraživačima, pokapanje u njima moglo je trajati i do sredine 18. stoljeća (Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 80). Zašto autori pretpostavljaju tako kasno ukapanje, nije navedeno. Nalazi koje u tom kontekstu spominju – perle krunica i potkove za obuću – javljaju se tada, ali i ranije, te je stoga potrebno dataciju postaviti dosta široko, u kasni srednji i rani novi vijek (Šućur 2015a, str. 112–113). Slična situacija zabilježena je na sjevernom tumulu na lokalitetu Velika Crljivica u Cisti Velikoj kod Imotskog, gdje su 2004. godine istražena 24 groba u očuvanom dijelu tumula. Jedan horizont predstavljaju grobovi s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom od okomito postavljenih ploča koji se datiraju u 14. i 15. stoljeće. Stratigrafski stariji je horizont od šest grobova bez grobne arhitekture koje je teško datirati zbog nedostatka nalaza (Gudelj 2005, str. 196–198).

sitive, a radiocarbon analysis was conducted on the osteological remains from grave K4. The results of this analysis yielded a date of 1014 ± 23, which, after 2 Sigma calibration, corresponds to 982–1041 (with 94.4% certainty) and 1109–1116 (with 1% certainty), narrowing the dating of the burials without grave architecture to the end of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century.[86]

At tumulus 2, situated approximately 20 m southeast of tumulus 1, twenty grave units from the medieval period were investigated.[87] Ten of these graves feature stone architecture, while the remaining ten do not.[88] In graves G4–G10, the side

[86] According to data from radiocarbon dating of sample KIA44677 carried out in Kiel. Calibration using CALIB rev. 5.01 with IntCal04 data.

[87] Some are assumed to be modified prehistoric graves. See footnote 46.

[88] Graves were again marked differently depending on the (non)existence of architecture.

ristike uključuju ukop u zemlju bez grobne arhitekture, istodobne ukope parova, „prilaganje ulomaka razbijenih keramičkih posuda u grobove“ te nalaz običnih karičica s ravno odsječenim krajevima, što ih je, uz sporiji proces pokrštavanja na ovom prostoru, navelo na takvu dataciju.[85] Uz malen broj nalaza, i to kronološki neosjetljivih, dostupna je i radiokarbonska analiza osteoloških ostataka iz groba K4. Rezultati te analize dali su vrijeme 1014 ± 23, odnosno nakon 2 sigma kalibracije 982. – 1041. (s 94,4 % sigurnosti) i 1109. – 1116. godine (s 1 % sigurnosti), što bi suzilo dataciju ukopa bez grobne arhitekture na kraj 10. i prvu polovinu 11. stoljeća.[86]

Na tumulu 2, oko 20 m jugoisto**čn**o od tumula 1, istraženo je dvadeset grobnih cjelina koje pripadaju srednjem vijeku.[87] Deset grobova ima kamenu arhitekturu, a deset je nema.[88] Kod grobova G4 – G10 bočne su strane građene od neobrađenog lomljenog kamena manjih dimenzija, koji u cijelosti, djelomično ili u kombinaciji s kamenom živcem tvori grobnu raku. Samo je grob G9 djelomično pokriven kamenim pločama. Uz određeni oprez autori kao analogiju za arhitekturu ovih grobova navode djelomično ili potpuno ograđene grobove bez poklopnica na starohrvatskim grobljima, posebno ističući grob 9 s nekropole Kašić – Maklinovo brdo. Ukop odrasle osobe s četvero djece u grobu 1 i ukop žene s djetetom u grobu 5 vezuju za takve ukope na nekropoli Nin – Ždrijac.[89] Grobovi K1 – K10 nemaju arhitekturu i u njima je uglavnom pokopan po jedan pokojnik (osim groba K8, gdje su pokopani žena i dijete). Svi su pokopani u ispruženom položaju na leđima, osim u grobu K4 u škrapi, za koji autori smatraju da sadržava kosti izbačene iz prapovijesnog groba G3 prilikom naknadnog ukopa.[90] Dakle, i kod ovog tumula, kao i kod tumula 1, postoje dva tipa srednjovjekovnih ukopa: oni bez kamene arhitekture i oni s njom, no ovdje su, prema autorima, obje skupine datirane u isto vrijeme, od 9. do 12. stoljeća.[91] Kamena grobna arhitektura ovih grobova

85 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 78–80.

86 Prema podatcima radiokarbonskog datiranja uzorka KIA44677, izvršenog u Kielu. Kalibracija programom CALIB rev. 5.01 s podatcima IntCal04.

87 Za dio se pretpostavlja da su preinačeni prapovijesni grobovi. Vidi bilj. 46.

88 Grobovi su ponovno različito označavani s obzirom na (ne)postojanje arhitekture.

89 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 82.

90 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, str. 83–84.

91 Autori nigdje decidirano ne iznose ovu tvrdnju, ali s

walls were constructed of smaller undressed broken stones, which entirely, partially or in combination with bedrock formed the grave pit. Only grave G9 was partially covered with stone slabs. The authors cautiously compare the architecture of these graves to partially and fully enclosed graves without lids at early Croatian cemeteries, specifically noting grave 9 from the necropolis at Kašić–Maklinovo brdo. They link the burials of an adult with four children in grave 1 and of a woman with a child in grave 5 to similar burials documented at the necropolis of Nin–Ždrijac.[89] Graves K1–K10 lack architecture and generally contain a single individual (except K8, which contains a woman and a child). All deceased lay straight and fully extended on the back, except for grave K4, located in a karst fissure, which the authors suggest consists of bones displaced from the prehistoric grave G3 during a later burial.[90] As in the case of tumulus 1, two types of medieval burials are present here, those without and those with stone architecture, but in this case both groups are dated by the authors to the same period, from the 9th to the 12th centuries.[91] The stone grave architecture of these graves differs from those of the neighbouring tumulus, as it consists of partial stone lining, using bedrock, while vertically placed stone slabs are rarely used. The sample from Grave G4 was dated by radiocarbon analysis to the period from the end of the 10th to mid-11th century, corresponding, after 2 Sigma calibration, to 985-1044 (90.6%), 1100–1119 (3.8%), and 1143–1146 (1%).[92] This aligns with the dating of graves lacking stone architecture at the adjacent tumulus. Consequently, these burials can be dated to the 10th century and the first half of the 11th century. Stratigraphic relationships observed in graves G4, K9 and K10 indicate that graves without architecture are earlier than those with architecture, but this does not imply a long time span. Accordingly, the chronological range of the graves without architecture would correspond to the 10th century, while the results from nearby tumulus 1 suggest they can be dated as late as the mid-11th century—a possibility I would, however, hesitate to support.

89 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, p. 82.

90 Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011, pp. 83-84.

91 The authors do not explicitly state this claim, but based on the dating of the material they cite, I consider this the timeframe for dating the graves.

92 According to data from radiocarbon dating of sample KIA44678 carried out in Kiel. Calibration using CALIB rev. 5.01 with IntCal04 data.

razlikuje se od one sa susjednog tumula jer je ovdje riječ o djelomičnom obzidavanju uz korištenje kamena živca, dok se okomito postavljene kamene ploče javljaju samo iznimno. Uzorak iz groba G4 radiokarbonskom analizom datiran je u razdoblje od kraja 10. do sredine 11. stoljeća, odnosno nakon 2 sigma kalibracije: 985. – 1044. (90,6 %), 1100. – 1119. (3,8 %) i 1143. – 1146. (1 %),[92] dakle u isto vrijeme kao i grobovi bez kamene grobne arhitekture na obližnjem tumulu. Zbog svega navedenog ove ukope možemo datirati u 10. i prvu polovinu 11. stoljeća. Stratigrafski odnosi vidljivi kod grobova G4, K9 i K10 upućuju na to da su grobovi bez arhitekture raniji od onih s arhitekturom, ali u ovom slučaju nije riječ o dužem vremenskom odsječku. Stoga bi vremenski raspon grobova bez arhitekture odgovarao 10. stoljeću, a rezultati sa susjednog tumula 1 sugeriraju da ih je moguće datirati sve do sredine 11. stoljeća, za što se ipak ne bih odlučio.

Možemo reći da su najstariji ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi na Košćenu ukopi bez grobne arhitekture na tumulu 1 i tumulu 2. Oni su vremenski bliski, možda čak i istovremeni, što otvara pitanje zbog čega bi se unutar jedne zajednice koristila dva tumula za ukope, osobito jer je na obama ostalo dovoljno mjesta za daljnje ukapanje. Iako su kasniji horizonti ukapanja nedvojbeno uništavali starije grobove, čini se da upravo ovakav raspored sugerira da se vrlo brzo prestalo s takvom grobnom praksom i prešlo na korištenje kamena za gradnju grobne rake. Sudeći prema radiokarbonskim analizama, a uzimajući u obzir mogućnost dužeg trajanja ukopa, taj bismo horizont trebali datirati u 10. i početak 11. stoljeća, nakon čega dolazi do prijelaza na grobove s kamenom arhitekturom. Taj horizont na tumulu 2 mogli bismo datirati na kraj 10. i u 11. stoljeće.[93]

obzirom na datiranje materijala koji navode, smatram da je to vremenski odsjek u koji datiraju grobove.

92 Prema podatcima radiokarbonskog datiranja uzorka KIA44678, izvršenog u Kielu. Kalibracija programom CALIB rev. 5.01 s podatcima IntCal04.

93 U doktorskom radu odlučio sam se za nešto šire datiranje – 9. i 10. stoljeće (Šućur 2015a, str. 114). Na datiranje od 9. stoljeća ponukao me poprilično širok raspon rezultata radiokarbonske analize osteoloških ostataka groba 3 s kamenom grobnom arhitekturom s lokaliteta Torine – tumul 3, datiranih u razdoblje od 870. do 1030. godine (Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, str. 145–147; Šućur 2015b, str. 412). Tumul se nalazi 4 km jugoistočno od Košćena, u susjednom selu Dragljanima. Nekoliko metara sjeveroistočno istražen je i tumul 2 na lokalitetu Torine, s kojeg potječu osteološki ostatci iz groba 1, datirani radiokarbonskom

It can be stated that the earliest early medieval graves at Košćen are those without stone grave architecture at both tumulus 1 and tumulus 2. These burials are chronologically close and may even be contemporaneous, raising the question of why a single community would use two tumuli for burials, particularly since both still had available space for additional burials. While later burial horizons undoubtedly destroyed older graves, this very pattern suggests that such burial practices were discontinued relatively quickly, giving way to the use of stone in the construction of grave pits. Based on radiocarbon analyses, and taking into account the possibility of extended use, this burial horizon should be dated to the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, after which there was a transition to graves with stone architecture. At tumulus 2, this horizon could be dated to the end of the 10th and the 11th centuries.[93]

The proposed sequence lacks support from datable finds and/or radiocarbon analyses of multiple graves, but it is based on the overall pattern observed across the two tumuli, which is reasonable given their proximity. These observations underscore the importance of treating the two burial horizons separately. It is therefore crucial, wherever possible and provided that the remains are sufficiently preserved, to subject both horizons to additional radiocarbon analyses, and potentially to other analytical methods now widely available, such as stable isotope analysis or aDNA studies.

In this context, it is worth noting the tumulus in Konjsko Polje, where two graves extending beyond the earthen mound exhibit stone grave architecture, in contrast to the other 25 graves within the tumulus itself (Figs. 4, 13).

The distinction between these horizons is visible in the grave architecture and their stratigraphic re-

93 In my doctoral thesis, I opted for a slightly broader dating—9th and 10th centuries. Šućur 2015a, p. 114. The dating from the 9th century onward was prompted by the rather broad result of the radiocarbon analysis of osteological remains from grave 3 with stone grave architecture at the Torine site – Tumulus 3, dated from 870 to 1030. Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, pp. 145-147; Šućur 2015b, p. 412. The tumulus is located 4 km southeast of Košćen, in the neighbouring village Dragljani. There, a few meters to the northeast, Torine – Tumulus 2 was excavated, from which osteological remains from grave 1 were radiocarbon dated to the period from 1020 to 1210. Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 147-150; Šućur 2015b, p. 404.



Sl. 13 - Konjsko polje – Ledine, grobovi s kamenom arhitekturom, u prvom planu devastirani grob 29-30-31, u pozadini s masivnom kamenom poklopnicom grob 28. (foto: Z. Sunko)

Fig. 13 – Konjsko polje – Ledine, graves with stone architecture, devastated grave 29-30-31 in the foreground, grave 28 with a massive stone slab in the background (photo: Z. Sunko)

Navedeni slijed nema uporište u databilnim nalazima ni u radiokarbonskim analizama većeg broja grobova nego se temelji na ukupnoj slici dvaju tumula, što je logično s obzirom na njihovu međusobnu udaljenost. Ova pitanja ukazuju na važnost odvojenog tretiranja dvaju horizonata, pa je, ako je to moguće, odnosno ako su ostatci očuvani, iznimno važno te horizonte podvrgnuti dodatnim radiokarbonskim analizama, a možda i drugim, danas sve dostupnijim analizama (poput analize stabilnih izotopa ili aDNA).

U ovom kontekstu treba spomenuti i tumul u Konjskom polju, gdje dva groba koja izlaze iz areala zemljanog humka imaju kamenu grobnu arhitekturu, za razliku od ostalih 25 grobova na samom tumulu (sl. 4 i 13).

analizom u razdoblje od 1020. do 1210. godine (Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, str. 147–150; Šućur 2015b, str. 404).

lationships, and, at Jokina Glavica and Kašić, also in the grave finds. Differences in the architecture of graves belonging to two early medieval horizons within the same tumuli further demonstrate that construction was influenced not only by the available material but also by prevailing burial customs. Although these are burial practices traditionally considered to change slowly, examples from tumulus 2 at Kozica, as well as graves 28 and 29–31 at the tumulus in Konjsko Polje, indicate that this change occurred within a relatively short period. The scarcity of finds in the younger horizons does not allow an analysis of whether these changes are linked to the adoption of Christianity. However, the dating of graves permits such an interpretation, despite the small sample size precluding firm conclusions. At Jokina glavica, this corresponds to the 9th century, as in Konjsko Polje, whereas at tumulus 2 in Kozica, the two horizons overlap at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, corre-

Razlika među tim horizontima vidljiva je u arhitekturi grobova i njihovim stratigrafskim odnosima, a na Jokinoj glavici i u Kašiću i u grobnim nalazima. Razlika u arhitekturi grobova dvaju ranosrednjovjekovnih horizonata na istim tumulima također pokazuje da pri gradnji nije samo raspoloživi materijal igrao ulogu nego i običaji. Iako je riječ o pogrebnim običajima koji su (navodno) podložni sporim promjenama, primjeri s tumula 2 u Kozici kao i grobovi 28 i 29-30-31 na tumulu u Konjskom polju svjedoče da je do te promjene došlo u relativno kratkom vremenu. Zbog nedostatka nalaza u mlađim horizontima nije moguće procijeniti mogu li se te promjene povezati s prihvaćanjem kršćanstva, no datiranje grobova ostavlja mogućnost takvog tumačenja, usprkos premalom uzorku za sigurne zaključke. Na Jokinoj glavici riječ je o 9. stoljeću, kao i u Konjskom polju, dok se na tumulu 2 u Kozici dva horizonta preklapaju krajem 10. i početkom 11. stoljeća, što odgovara kasnijem prihvaćanju kršćanstva na prostoru Paganije.

Zaključak

Ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi u i oko tumula po mnogim se obilježjima uklapaju u opću sliku istodobnih nekropola, no zbog svojih karakteristika, kao što su omeđenost i vlastita reljefnost, daju i nove odgovore koji se mogu primijeniti na druge nekropole. Navedeni slučajevi pokazuju da je kod nekih karakteristika odlučujuću ulogu imao praktičan pristup, na primjer u orijentaciji grobova (datost reljefa u širem i užem smislu), dok su kod drugih glavnu ulogu imali običaji, na primjer u arhitekturi grobova. Posebno su zanimljivi tumuli kod kojih višestruki horizonti ukapanja upućuju na konstantnu kultnu važnost položaja, ali i na promjene u pogrebnim običajima tijekom vremena, zbog čega imamo odgovornost da pri takvim istraživanjima iskoristimo što više mogućnosti koje nam suvremena arheološka istraživanja pružaju. Unatoč dugoj povijesti istraživanja i analiziranja, tema ranosrednjovjekovnih ukopa i tumula daleko je od iscrpljenosti, pa se nadamo da će buduća istraživanja donijeti novi materijal te dati odgovore na postojeća pitanja, ali i na ona nova koja će se vjerojatno otvoriti o posljednjim počivalištima ranosrednjovjekovnih zajednica.

sponding to the later adoption of Christianity in the region of Pagania.

Conclusion

Early medieval graves within and around tumuli largely conform, in many of their characteristics, to the general pattern observed at contemporaneous necropolises. At the same time, due to their distinctive features, such as enclosure and their own relief, they provide new insights that can be applied also to other necropolises. The cases discussed show that, for certain characteristics, practical considerations played a decisive role, for example, in the orientation of graves (where the local and broader relief determined placement), while in others, customs were the primary factor, such as in the architecture of the graves. Particularly interesting are tumuli where multiple burial horizons indicate not only the continuous cultic significance of the location but also changes in burial customs over time. Such cases underscore our responsibility to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by modern archaeological methods during research. Despite a long history of research and analysis, the topic and hence the study of early medieval burials and tumuli is far from exhausted. It is hoped that future research will bring new material, provide answers to old questions and likely new ones regarding the final resting places of early medieval communities.

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