

# Avari i Slaveni

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**AVARI  
I SLAVENI**

—  
**AVARS  
AND SLAVS**







# AVARI I SLAVENI

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## AVARS AND SLAVS

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ANITA DUGONJIĆ  
ANITA RAPAN PAPEŠA



arheološki  
muzej  
u zagrebu  
archaeological  
museum  
in zagreb

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2019.



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Međunarodni izložbeni projekt Avari i Slaveni rezultat je suradnje dvaju hrvatskih muzeja – Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci, s potporom i suradnjom s Podunavskim Muzejom u Komárnu. Ideja o stvaranju projekta s ciljem prikazivanja arheološke baštine avarskih i slavenskih populacija na teritoriju dviju slavenskih zemalja, Slovačke i Hrvatske, nastala je prije nekoliko godina prilikom odlaska u Komárno na izložbu Avari i Slaveni sjeverno od Dunava, prilikom čega smo s autorima izložbe i slovačkim kolegama arheolozima, koji su iskazali želju za suradnjom, razmotrile mogućnost gostovanja izložbe u Hrvatskoj.

Izložbeni projekt bio je zahtjevan i zanimljiv proces tijekom kojeg smo ostvarili suradnju s raznim muzejskim i znanstvenim institucijama. Bogatstvo muzejskih zbirki na izložbi je prikazano kroz različitu arheološku građu koja potječe iz fundusa hrvatskih muzeja (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Gradski muzej Vinkovci, Muzej grada Koprivnice, Gradski muzej Varaždin, Muzej Međimurja Čakovec, Arheološki muzej Osijek, Muzej Brodskog Posavlja, Gradski muzej Sisak, Muzej grada Iloka) i privatnih zbirki (Arheološka zbirka obitelji Zvijerac, Muzejska zbirka obitelji Sajko), uključujući predmete pronađene prilikom nedavnih arheoloških istraživanja (Institut za arheologiju, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Odsjek za arheologiju, Kaducej d.o.o.). Na izložbi su, također, prikazani predmeti iz fundusa pojedinih slovačkih muzeja (Podunajské múzeum v Komárne, Tribečské múzeum v Topoľčanoch, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine) i institucija (Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra) te predmeti iz fundusa Mađarskog nacionalnog muzeja (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum).

U Hrvatskoj dosad nisu postavljane i prikazane izložbe ovako specifične tematike, tj. izložbe koje prikazuju avarski i slavenski arheološki materijal. Pojedini arheološki nalazi prikazivani su u sklopu drugih, većih izložbi, poput izložbe *Hrvati i Karolinzi* koja je prikazana u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu (krajem 2000. – sredine 2001. godine), zatim *Slavonija, Baranja i Srijem - vrela europske civilizacije* u Galeriji Klovićevi dvori (2009. godine) i izložbenog međumuzejskog projekta *Zlato i srebro srednjeg vijeka...* realiziranog u četiri hrvatska muzeja tijekom 2014. i 2015. godine (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Arheološki muzej u Zadru i Muzeju Slavonije Osijek). Kroz izložbeni projekt se hrvatskoj javnosti po prvi put na jednom mjestu prikazuje kulturno-povijesna baština razdoblja koje je prethodilo ili je vremenski paralelno s doseljnjem Hrvata u današnju Hrvatsku, tj. razdoblje arheološke prošlosti koje se proteže od sredine 6. do sredine 9. stoljeća.

The international exhibition project Avars and Slavs is a result of a cooperation between the two Croatian Museums: the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the Municipal Museum Vinkovci, in collaboration and support of the Danube Region Museum in Komárno. The idea of creating a project aimed at displaying the archaeological heritage of Avar and Slavic populations on the territory of two Slavic countries, Slovakia and Croatia, came about a few years ago when visiting Komárno for the exhibition Avars and Slavs north of the Danube, when we considered the possibility of hosting the exhibition in Croatia with our Slovakian colleagues who also expressed their desire for cooperation.

The exhibition project was a demanding and interesting process during which we established cooperation with numerous museum, and scientific institutions. The richness of the museum collections in the exhibition is displayed through various archaeological material coming from the collections of Croatian museums (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Municipal Museum Vinkovci, Koprivnica Town Museum, City Museum Varaždin, Museum of Međimurje Čakovec, Archaeological Museum Osijek, The Brodsko Posavlje Museum, City Museum Sisak, City Museum Ilok), private collections (Archaeological Collection of Zvijerac Family, Museum Collection of Sajko Family), including the items discovered during recent archaeological excavations (The Institute of Archaeology, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department for Archaeology, Kaducej d.o.o.). The exhibition includes items from the collections of several Slovak museums (Danube Region Museum in Komárno, Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany, The Slovak National Museum – Museums in Martin), and institutions (Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences), as well as the items from the Hungarian National Museum.

So far, exhibitions covering such a specific topic, that is exhibitions displaying Avar and Slavic archaeological heritage, have not been on display in Croatia. Certain archaeological finds were on display as part of other, larger exhibitions, such as the exhibition *Hrvati i Karolinzi* which was on display in The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Split (from 2000 to the middle of 2001), then *Slavonia, Baranya and Syrmia: the Origins of European Civilisation* in the Klovićevi Dvori Gallery (2009), and an inter-museum exhibition project *Zlato i srebro srednjeg vijeka...* on display in four Croatian museums during 2014 & 2015 (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Archaeological Museum in Split, Archaeological Museum in Zadar, and Museum of Slavonia Osijek). The exhibition project for the first time displays to the Croatian general public the cultural and historical heritage of



Izložbeni projekt Avari i Slaveni uključuje i ciklus događanja koji se sastoji od predavanja koja će održati kolege arheolozi i povjesničari i radionica za sve uzraste tijekom kojih će navedeno razdoblje biti prikazano na zabavan, ali edukativan način.

Cijeli izložbeni projekt ne bi bilo moguće ostvariti bez suradnje s kolegama iz hrvatskih muzeja i institucija kojima se ovim putem srdačno zahvaljujemo na pozitivnom stavu i bezrezervnoj podršci.

Na potpori zahvaljujemo Ministarstvu kulture Republike Hrvatske i Gradu Zagrebu te partnerima Muzeju grada Koprivnice i tiskari FED.

Urednice

the period which preceded, or is parallel to the settlement of Croats to the Croatian territory, that is, the period which spans from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The Avars and Slavs exhibition project also includes various events such as lectures delivered by fellow archaeologists and historians, and workshops for persons of all ages, during which the aforementioned period will be presented in a fun, but also educational way.

The entire exhibition project would not have been possible without cooperation with colleagues from Croatian museums and institutions, to whom we would like to express our deepest gratitude for their positive attitude, and unreserved support.

We extend our gratitude towards the Ministry of Culture of Republic of Croatia and City of Zagreb for their support, as well as our partners on the project the Koprivnica Town Museum, and printing house FED.

Editors



ΧΡ(ΙΣΤΕ) Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΒΟΗΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ Κ ΕΡΥΞΕΩΝ  
ΤΟΝ ΑΒΑΡΙΝ ΚΕ ΠΥΛΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑΝ  
ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ ΑΜΗΝ

Kriste Gospodine, pomozhi gradu,  
zaustavi Avarina, zaštiti Romaniju  
i onog koji je ovo napisao. Amen.

Lord Christ, save our city,  
stop the Avars, protect the Romans  
and the one who wrote this. Amen.

Natpis s opeke pronađene u Sremskoj Mitrovici  
Inscription from a brick found at Sremska Mitrovica

## 1. POVIJESNA POZADINA

Propadanje Rimskog Carstva krajem 4. i početkom 5. stoljeća očituje se i u povlačenju rimskih vojnih posada iz zapadnih dijelova Karpatske kotline, s područja granice (limesa) koja više nije mogla biti branjena. Ova su pogranična područja Rimskog Carstva nastanjivali različiti barbarski, uglavnom germanski (npr. Goti, Heruli, Langobardi) i nomadski narodi (Huni). Međusobno su ratovali, uzajamno se ugrožavali i istiskivali sa zauzetog teritorija. Prema mišljenju dijela istraživača, nakon odlaska većine germanske populacije na zapad još prije kraja 5. stoljeća na srednjoeuropskom se prostoru prvi put pojavljuju Slaveni. Međutim, uglavnom se smatra da su Slaveni počeli naseljavati Panoniju uz sam rub srednjeg Podunavlja u prvoj polovini ili sredinom 6. stoljeća. Pojedini stručnjaci smatraju da je slavenska doseoba bila vezana isključivo uz Avare; drugim riječima, da se Slaveni u Karpatskoj kotlini nisu pojavili sve do druge polovine 6. stoljeća. U svakom slučaju je moguće reći kako je veći prodor Slavena u izravnoj vezi s Avarima i pripada vremenu nakon sredine 6. stoljeća. Slaveni migriraju u nekoliko valova, preko karpatskih planinskih prijevoja, iz svoje pradomovine koja se rasprostirala sjeverno od Karpata.

Sredinom 6. stoljeća Avari se pojavljuju na bizantskim granicama u donjem Podunavlju, a u dogovoru s Langobardima ruše gepidsko kraljevstvo. Nakon pobjede nad Gepidima i seobe Langobarda u Italiju 568. godine ponovno su ujedinili istočni i zapadni dio Karpatske kotline. Na srednjem Dunavu stvaraju snažni savez, tzv. kaganat, vojno-političku organizaciju koja je sve do kraja 8. stoljeća bila dominantna snaga na ovom području. Avari su sa Slavenima vodili mnoge pljačkaške pohode protiv Bizantskog Carstva (koje ih je pokušavalo smiriti isplatama u zlatu), rušili pogranične gradove i utvrde, naselja i mjesta, a važan događaj svakako predstavlja zauzimanje jednog važnog središta u Panoniji. *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica) već 568. godine opsjedaju Avari kana Bajana, ali ga ne uspijevaju osvojiti. Pohod ponavljaju petnaestak godina kasnije i tek nakon opsade koja je trajala od 580. do 582. godine osvajaju grad. Tijekom opsade nastala je opeka s natpisom urezanim grčkim pismom: **ΧΡ(ΙΣΤΕ) Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΒΟΗΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ Κ ΕΡΥΞΕΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΒΑΡΙΝ ΚΕ ΠΥΛΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑΝ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ ΑΜΗΝ** [*Kriste Gospodine, pomozhi gradu, zaustavi Avarina, zaštiti Romaniju i onog koji je ovo napisao. Amen.*]. Osvajanjem Sirmija Avari su zaokružili svoje područje u Karpatskoj kotlini, a Istočno Rimsko Carstvo im je tada moralo i službeno priznati vlast u cijeloj jugoistočnoj Panoniji. Tijekom sljedećih godina Avari su provalili i u Dalmaciju. Iako nije moguće odrediti koliko su duboko prodrli (pa čak niti kojim su se pravcima kretali), izvori navode da su u ovoj navali razorili četredeset utvrda, a smatra se i da je pohod otvorio put samostalnim

## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The decline of the Roman Empire at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries can be seen in the withdrawal of Roman military troops from the western parts of the Carpathian basin, from those border areas (limes) that could no longer be defended. This outer area of the Roman Empire was inhabited by various barbarian peoples, mostly German (e.g. Goths, Heruls, Lombards) and nomadic (Huns). They fought among themselves, threatening and pushing one another out of the occupied territory. Some experts think that after the departure of most of the German population to the west even before the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Slavs first appeared in the Central European region. However, it is usually considered that the Slavs began to settle Pannonia along the very edge of the central Danubian region in the first half or middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Individual scholars insist that the Slavic conquest was related exclusively to the Avars; in other words that the Slavs did not appear in the Carpathian basin until the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In any case, it is possible to state that the largest penetration by the Slavs occurred in direct connection with the Avars and in the period after the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The Slavs migrated in several waves across the mountain passes from their ancestral homeland that extended north of the Carpathians.

In the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Avars appeared on the Byzantine border in the lower Danubian basin, and in an agreement with the Lombards, they destroyed the Kingdom of the Gepids. After victory over the Gepids and the subsequent migration of the Lombards to Italy in AD 568, the eastern and western parts of the Carpathian basin were again reunited. A powerful alliance was formed along the central Danube, known as the Avar Khaganate, a military-political organization that represented the dominant power in this area up to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The Avars, along with the Slavs, led many looting raids against the Byzantine Empire (which attempted to pay them off with tributes in gold), where they demolished border towns and fortresses, settlements and villages. One particularly important event was the capture of an important urban center in Pannonia. *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica) had been besieged in AD 568 by the Avar Khan Bayan, but he did not succeed in conquering it. Fifteen years later, he again invaded and only after a siege that lasted from AD 580 to 582 did he capture the city. During the siege, a brick was made with an inscription in Greek: **ΧΡ(ΙΣΤΕ) Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε ΒΟΗΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ Κ ΕΡΥΞΕΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΒΑΡΙΝ ΚΕ ΠΥΛΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑΝ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑ ΑΜΗΝ** [*Lord Christ, save our city, stop the Avars, protect the Romans and the one who wrote this. Amen.*]. Through the conquest of Sirmium, the Avars expanded their area of control in and beyond the Carpathian ba-









The Croatian state was first headed by a prince, and then by a king from the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, it was under the influence of the powerful Frankish Empire (whose influence in religious conversion and Christianization is undisputable, and whose traces are numerous), but it was on the way to its independence that occurred during the reign of Prince Branimir (879 – 892). His successors succeeded in preserving this independence. The collapse of the Croatian kingdom began after the death of King Zvonimir (1075 - 1089), when fighting for the Croat throne began. Soon after, the Hungarian ruler Coloman gained the Croatian throne, and Croatia entered into a dynastic union with Hungary (1102).



Okov glavnog remena, Nuštar, grob 16  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Main strap fitting, Nuštar, grave 16  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

—  
Razvodnik konjske orme,  
Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grob 10  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Harness strap separator,  
Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grave 10  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

—  
Žvale, Šarengrad-Klopare, grob 14  
(Muzej grada Iloka)

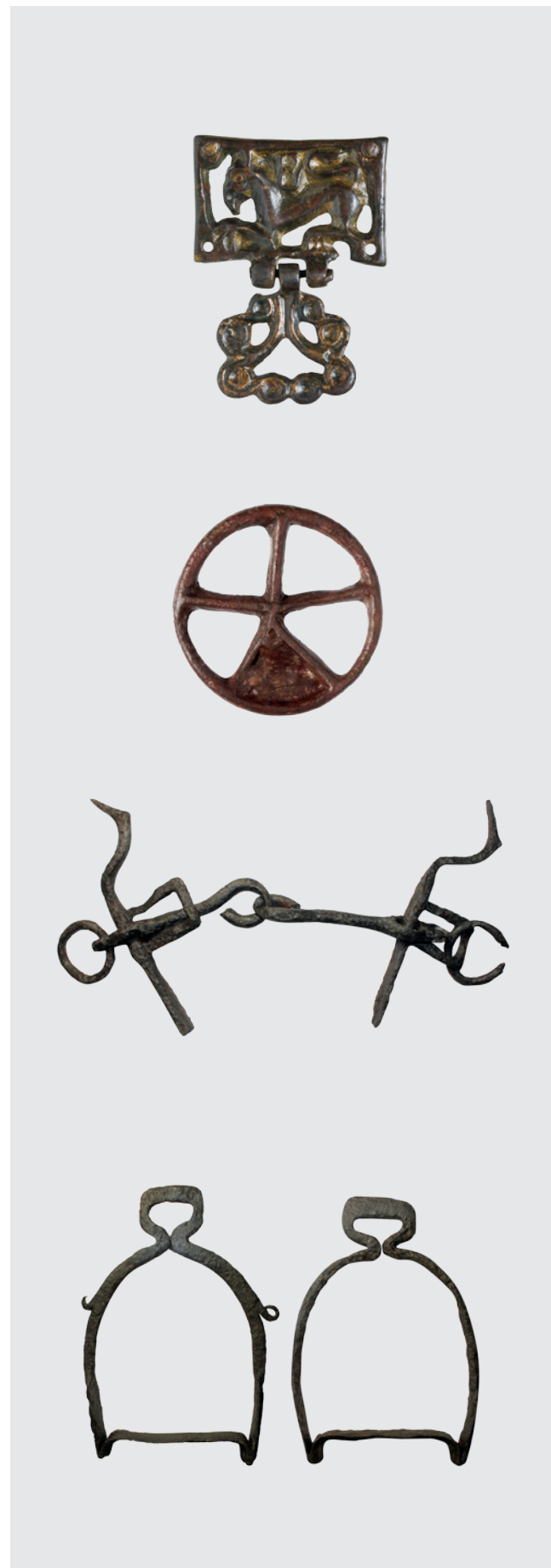
Bit, Šarengrad-Klopare, grave 14  
(City Museum Ilok)

—  
Par stremena, Šarengrad-Klopare, grob 14  
(Muzej grada Iloka)

Stirrups, Šarengrad-Klopare, grave 14  
(City Museum Ilok)

Kopča za pletenice/perčin,  
okolica Komárna (Podunajské  
múzeum v Komárne)

Hairclip, vicinity of Komárno  
(Danube Region Museum in  
Komárno)



## 1.1 AVARSKO DRUŠTVO

Avari su azijski nomadi nejasnog porijekla i etno-lingvističke pripadnosti, složena skupina sastavljena od različitih etničkih fragmenata. Njihova je društvena struktura sastavljena od hijerarhijski dominantne elite nomadskih ratnika-konjanika kojima su se pridružili i drugi nomadski narodi (Sabiri, Kutriguri, Onoguri, Bugari). U pojedinim područjima koje su Avari pokorili pridružili su im se već prisutni, ali i novopridošli Slaveni, ostaci transilvanijskih i panonskih Germana (Gepidi, Langobardi) te od ranije u Panoniji zaostalo ili s Balkana dovedeno tek zarobljeno romansko stanovništvo. Ove heterogene etničke skupine koje su tvorile osnovu Avarskog Kaganata povezivala je podložnost avarskoj vrhovnoj vlasti koja se trudila spriječiti stvaranje većih zajednica koje bi mogle ugroziti njihovu vlast.

O ustroju i uređenju avarskog društva, kao i o životu, vjerovanjima i društvenim odnosima među etnički i kulturno heterogenim stanovništvom Avarskog Kaganata, najviše podataka pružaju nalazi prikupljeni istraživanjima avarodobnih lokaliteta, ponajviše grobova u kojima su pronađeni vrijedni predmeti: od oružja i oruđa do ostataka hrane i dijelova nošnje. Vrlo je teško, međutim, rekonstruirati njihov svakodnevni život isključivo na temelju očuvane materijalne kulture.

Vojno-politička organizacija kaganata temelji se na centraliziranoj vlasti u rukama kagana, a središte mu se nalazi u međurječju Dunava i Tise, gdje su pronađeni i istraživani bogati „kneževski“ grobovi. Svoje najveće rasprostiranje (van granica Karpatske kotline) dosegao je krajem 6. i početkom 7. stoljeća, kad su bili okrenuti isključivo ratnim akcijama. Na čelu kaganata stajao je vojni vođa, kagan, koji je držao cjelokupnu vlast, a slijedili su ga dostojanstvenici (jugur, tarkan, katun). Avari su se, kako su prije svega bili vojna organizacija, isticali naprednom bojnom taktikom lake konjice, o čemu svjedoče bizantski izvori koji pružaju važne informacije o avarskoj vojsci, konjanicima i njihovoj bliskosti s konjima koja se očituje u običaju da ih se zajedno sahranjuje. Nomadska kultura koju donose očituje se u općem izgledu (naoružanje, odjeća), gospodarstvu (uzgoj velikih životinja), razvijenim zanatima (kovanje, topljenje i lijevanje metala, obrada drva i kosti itd.) i korištenju runskog pisma.

Avari su bili pod jakim utjecajem Bizantskog Carstva jer su u to vrijeme dijelili granicu, a Bizant im je usto i plaćao redoviti tribut za mir. Tribut je bio toliko visok (i do opsade Konstantinopola sve viši) da je činio čvrstu osnovu avarskog gospodarstva. Od kraja 8. stoljeća sve veći utjecaj na avarsko društvo vrši i Franačko Kraljevstvo.

## AVAR SOCIETY

The Avars were an Asian nomad people of unclear origin and ethno-linguistic affiliation, a complex group composed of different ethnic fragments. Their social structure was composed of a hierarchically dominant elite of nomadic warriors-horsemen, which was joined by other nomadic peoples (Sabiri, Kutriguri, Onoguri, Bulgari). In individual regions that the Avars had conquered, they were joined by already present or newly arrived Slavs, remains of the Transylvanian and Pannonian Germans (Gepids, Lombards), and the Romanic population left in Pannonia from earlier or newly enslaved and brought from the Balkans. These heterogeneous ethnic groups that created the basis for the Avaric Khaganate were connected by their submission to the Avaric supreme authority, which sought to prevent the creation of larger communities that could threaten their power.

The greatest amount of information about the organization and structure of Avar society, as well as the life, beliefs, and social relations between the ethnic and culturally heterogeneous populations of the Avaric Khaganate is offered by finds gathered from excavations of Avar period sites, particularly graves in which valuable objects were discovered: from weapons and tools to remains of food and elements of attire. It is very difficult, however, to reconstruct their everyday life exclusively on the basis of the preserved material culture.

The military and political organization of the Khaganate was based on centralized power in the hands of a Khagan, and its center was located in the area between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, where rich “princely” graves were located and investigated. The greatest expansion (beyond the boundaries of the Carpathian basin) was achieved at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, when they were oriented exclusively to military efforts. The Khaganate was headed by a military leader, a Khagan, who held all authority, followed by various officeholders (Jugur, Tarkhan, Katun). The Avars, as a primarily military organization, were prominent for their advanced battle tactics using light cavalry, as shown by Byzantine sources that offer important information about the Avar army, horsemen, and their close relationship with their horses, which can be seen in the custom of burying them together. The nomadic culture they bear is manifested in the general appearance (weaponry, equipment, clothing), the economy (raising large animals), developed craftsmanship (the forging, smelting, and casting of metal, wood and bone working, etc.), and the use of a Runic script.

Sablja, Botovo-Šoderica  
(Muzej grada Koprivnice)

Sabre, Botovo-Šoderica  
(Koprivnica Town Museum)

—

Paloš, Legrad-Jegeniš  
(Arheološka zbirka obitelji Zvijerac)

Pallos, Legrad-Jegeniš  
(Archaeological Collection of  
Zvijerac Family)

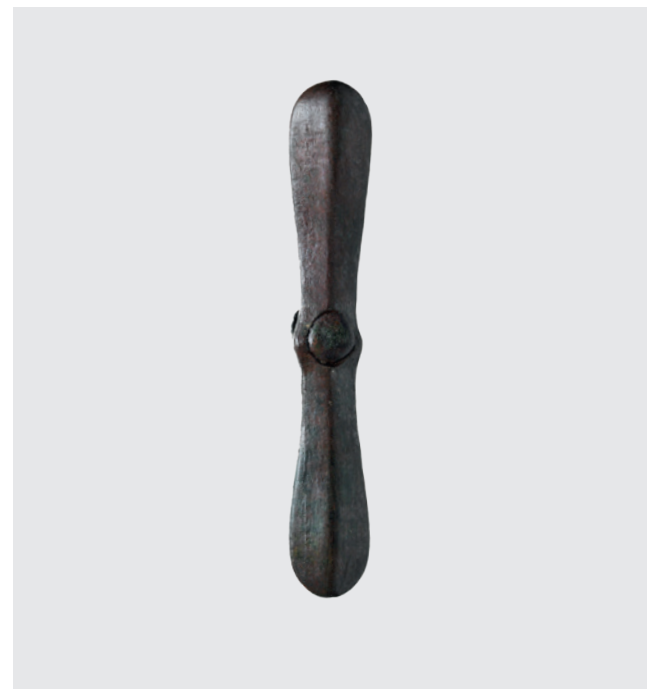
Strelica, Sisak-Kupa  
(Gradski muzej Sisak)

Arrowhead, Sisak-Kupa  
(City Museum Sisak)

—

Propeler - okov, Nuštar, grob 10  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Propeller belt fitting, Nuštar, grave 10  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)



Muškarci avarskog društva postajali su punopravni članovi društva tek nakon opasavanja, tj. nakon dobivanja pojasa, prilikom čega su vjerojatno dobivali i novo ime. Kosu koju su ukrašavali ukrasnim kopčama nosili su svezanu u pletenice. Ukrašavali su se i naušnicama i bogato ukrašenim pojasevima. Njihov se društveni položaj najbolje prepoznaje u pogrebnim običajima. Visoko rangirani ratnici sahranjeni su s vlastitim konjem, iako je zanimljiv i podatak da su muškarce najvišeg društvenog ranga uvijek nalazili pokopane samostalno, bez konja. Na sličan način (odvojeno) pokapani su i zanatlije, što svjedoči o uvažavanju zanatskih vještina.

O položaju žena i djece u avarskom društvu postoje samo skromni podaci. Na području Slovačke metalni dijelovi remena nikada nisu pronađeni u ženskim grobovima, dok je situacija posve drugačija na području Hrvatske: ovdje su, u pojedinim ženskim i dječjim grobovima, pronađene raskošne pojasne garniture (lokalitet Nuštar kraj Vinkovaca). Na temelju pogrebnih običaja unutar skupine ženskih ukopa moguće je uočiti društvene razlike: društveno visokopozicionirane žene ili žene u srodstvu s visokopozicioniranim muškarcima u svojim su grobovima imale dragocjene predmete (nakit, dijelove nošnje). Prema rezultatima antropoloških analiza, neke su žene sahranjivane i sa konjima, što je inače isključiva vlastica muškarca – ratnika (ovaj pogrebni običaj prisutan je Slovačkoj, dok u Hrvatskoj do danas nije ustanovljen). Djeca do dobi opasavanja (približno 10-12 ili 14-16 godina) nisu bila punopravni članovi društva, što se očitovalo i u načinu sahranjivanja (grobovi su se nalazili na rubovima groblja i pliće su ukopavani). Da je muško dijete postalo punopravni član društva, da je dobilo pojas i bilo inicirano u svijet odraslih, prepoznaje se u dječjim grobovima koji posjeduju pojas, tj. pojasnu garnituru. Djevojčice pak dobivaju više nakita, osim karičica prisutne su i naušnice, a često i pršljenci.

The Avars were under strong influence from the Byzantine Empire, as they shared a border at the time, and Byzantium also paid them regular tributes to maintain the peace. The tribute was so high (and was increasingly so up to the siege of Constantinople) that it formed the firm foundation of the Avar economy. Increasing influence on Avar society by the Frankish Kingdom can also be seen from the end of the 8th century.

The male members of Avar society became full-fledged members of society only after they had become “belted”, i.e. had ceremonially received a belt, at which time they probably also received a new name. Their hair, which they decorated with clasps, was worn in braids. Other decorative attire elements included earrings and richly ornamented belt sets. Their social positions can best be recognized through the burial rituals. Warriors with elevated status were buried with their horses, although it is interesting to note that men of the very highest rank were always buried only by themselves, without an accompanying horse. Artisans were buried in a similar manner (separately), bearing witness to the respect held for craft skills.

Only scarce data are available about the position of women and children in Avar society. In Slovakia, metal belt elements are never found in female graves, while the situation is completely different in Croatia: in individual female and child graves luxurious belt sets have been discovered (at the site of Nuštar near Vinkovci). It is possible to distinguish social differences on the basis of funerary customs within the group of female burials: women highly positioned in society or women related to highly ranked men had valuable objects in their graves (jewelry, attire elements). According to the results of anthropological analysis, some women were also buried with horses, which otherwise was an exclusive privilege of men, specifically warriors (this burial ritual is present in Slovakia, while it has not yet been established for Croatia). Children up to the age of gaining a belt (approximately 10-12 or 14-16) were not full members of society, as is evident from the burial rites (the graves were located on the edges of the cemetery and were more shallowly buried). A male child becoming a full member of society, receiving a belt, and being initiated into the adult world can be perceived in the child graves that contain a belt, or rather a belt set. Female children, on the other hand, received more jewelry, in the form of circlets and also earrings, and also spindle-whorls.

Pojasni jezičac, Nuštar, grob 10  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Belt strap end, grave 10  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

—

Pojasna kopča, Nuštar, grob 10  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Belt buckle, Nuštar, grave 10  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

—

Okov sporednog jezičca, Nuštar,  
grob 10 (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Side strap fitting, Nuštar, grave 10  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

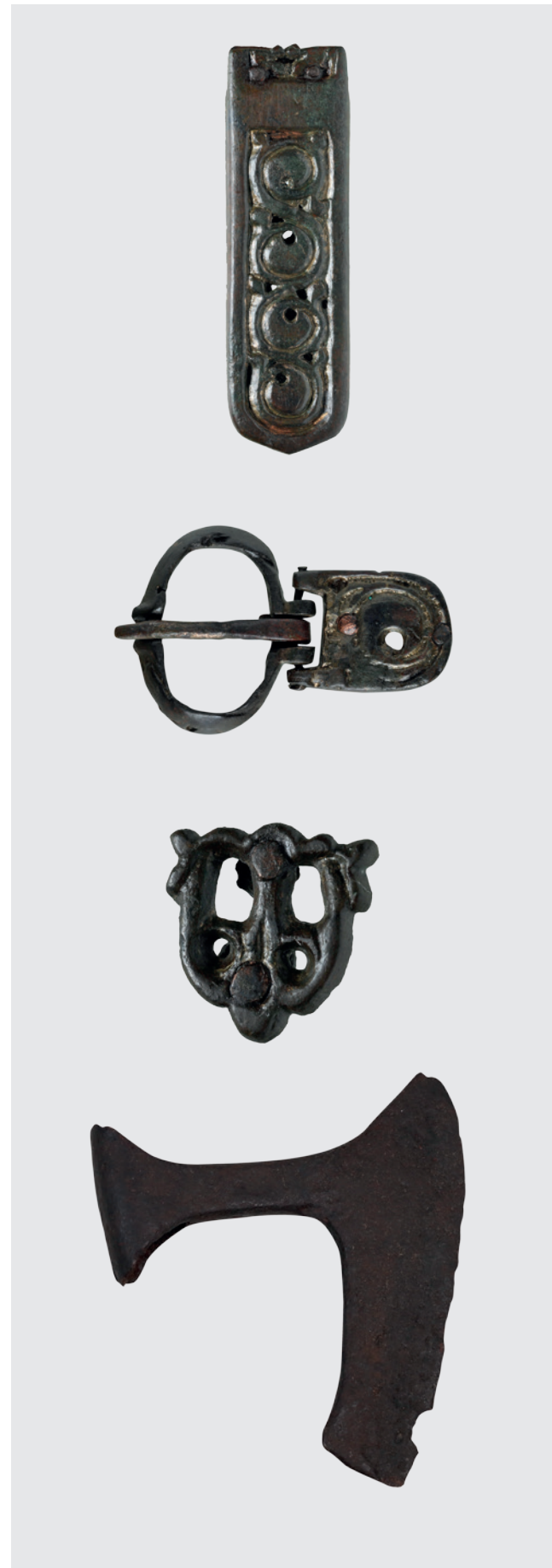
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Sjekira, Botovo-Šoderica  
(Arheološka zbirka obitelji Zvijerac)

Axe, Botovo-Šoderica  
(Archaeological Collection of  
Zvijerac Family)

Posuda, Brodski Drenovac-Plana, grob 7  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Vessel, Brodski Drenovac-Plana, grave 7  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



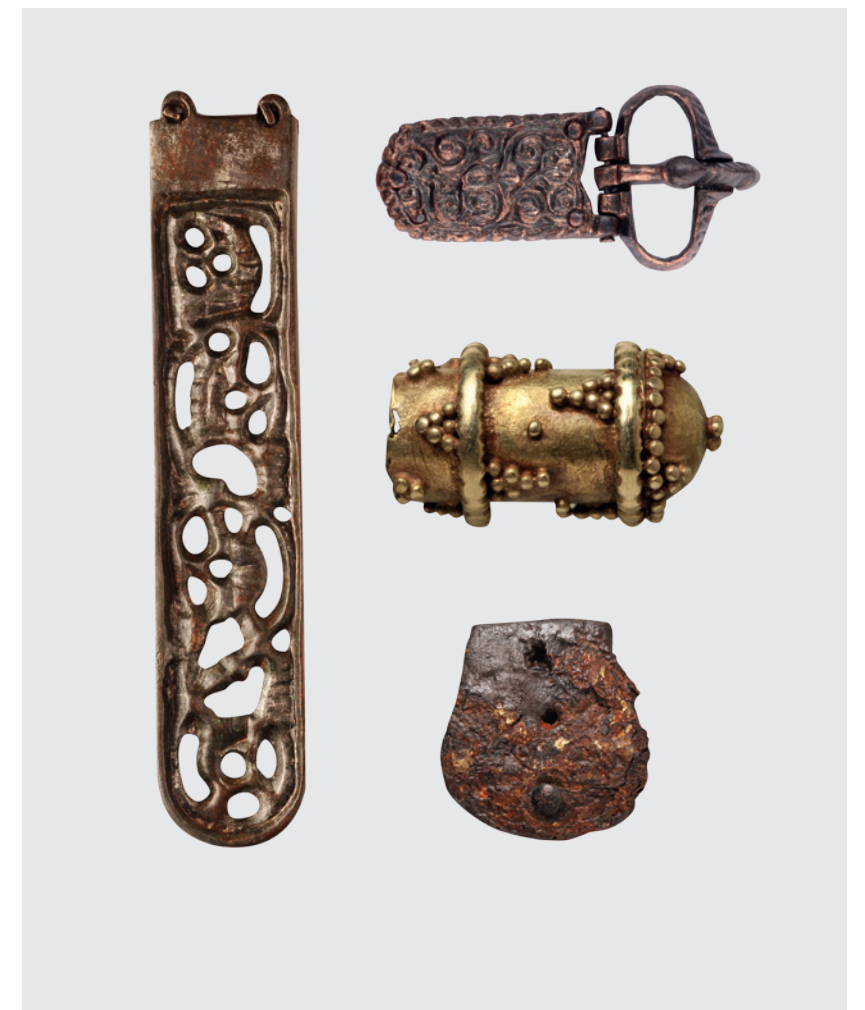
Jezičci, Radvaň nad Dunajom-  
Žitava I (Slovenské národné  
múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Belt strap ends, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I (The Slovak  
National Museum – Museums in  
Martin)

—

Jezičac, kopča, privjesak naušnice,  
okov, Nuštar (Gradski muzej  
Vinkovci)

Strap end, buckle, earring pendant,  
mount, Nuštar (Municipal Museum  
Vinkovci)



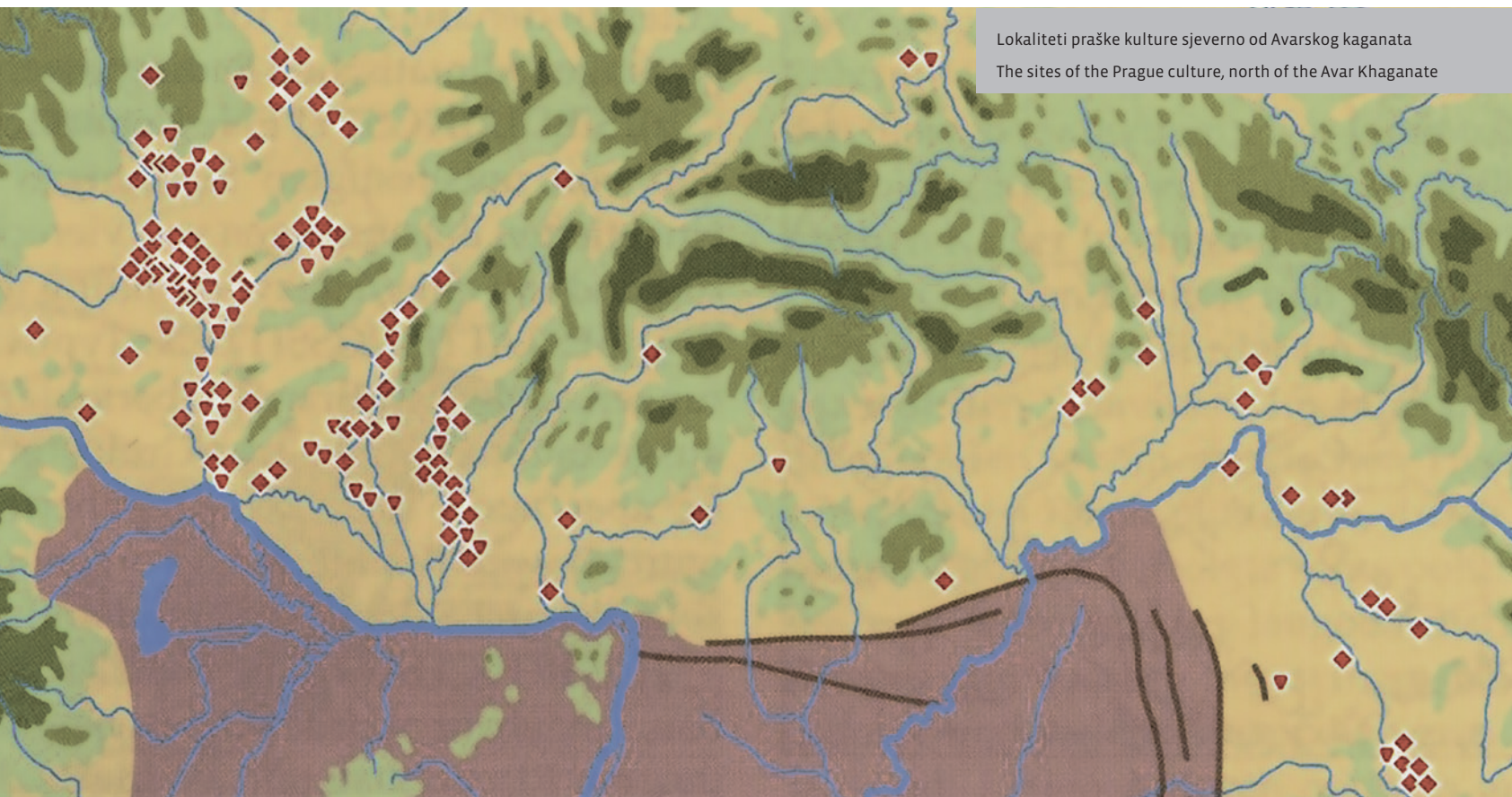


Fibula, Zagreb-Stenjevec  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Fibula, Zagreb-Stenjevec  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

—  
Lokaliteti praške kulture sjeverno  
od Avarskog kaganata  
(Fusek 2008, 648, Abb. 4)

The sites of the Prague culture,  
north of the Avar Khaganate  
(Fusek 2008, 648, Abb. 4)



## 1.2 SLAVENSKO DRUŠTVO

## SLAVIC SOCIETY

Slaveni su skupina etnički i jezično srodnih rodovskih zajednica. S područja istočno od Karpata gdje su prepoznate rane slavenske kulture (praško-korčakovska, penkovska i koločinska kultura) Slaveni se postupno (od 5. do 7. stoljeća) sele prema jugu zaposjedajući sjeverne dijelove Karpatske kotline. Za najranija vremena nedostaju pisana vrela, jer se bizantski pisci za Slavene počinju zanimati tek od 6. stoljeća. Dolazak slavenskih skupina postao je izrazitiji nakon odlaska Langobarda iz Panonije 568. g. U svojim kretanjima prema zapadu koriste rijeke i brzo napreduju, tako da s Avarima u Dalmaciju prodiru već oko 588. godine, a oko 600. godine prodiru i na istočnojadransku obalu.

Do sredine 7. stoljeća slavenska kultura je prepoznatljiva na prostoru od Bjelorusije i Ukrajine na istoku do srednje Njemačke i Donje Austrije na zapadu te od Baltika na sjeveru do Jadranskog i Egejskog mora na jugu Europe.

U razdoblju prije migracija Slaveni su živjeli u rodovskoj organizaciji na čelu koje je stajao izabrani starješina. Osnovne su jedinice rodovske organizacije bile velike obitelji u kojima je glavno mjesto imao otac – patrijarh. Obitelji su bile monogamne, a više žena mogli su imati samo načelnici. Najviše su društvene jedinice bila plemena koja su udruživala više rodova. Vodeći su položaj u plemenima zauzimali izabrani pojedinci, načelnici ili vojvode. Pisani izvori iz sredine 6. stoljeća, međutim, svjedoče da ovi načelnici nisu raspolagali apsolutnom vlasti.

Do raspada Avarskog Kaganata Slaveni su činili jedan dio heterogenog sustava avarskog društva. Avari su u Karpatskoj kotlini omogućili i nesmetano širenje Slavena, jer su od toga i sami imali korist vrbujući među slavenskim populacijama vojnike i koristeći njihove resurse. Avari su sprečavali uzdizanje slavenske ratničke elite strahujući da bi ona u konačnici mogla ugroziti njihov status, iako su bili svjesni očite etničke premoći Slavena, napose na graničnim dijelovima kaganata. Prateći navedene pojave, izrazitije promjene u društvenoj strukturi pojavljuju se tek u 7. stoljeću. Kako su Avari u kasnijim razdobljima kaganata sve više prelazili na sjedilački način života, razlika u načinu života između Avara i Slavena bilo je sve manje. Počeci osamostaljivanja Slavena povezani su s propašću Avarskog Kaganata početkom 9. stoljeća, kad se na rubnim područjima nekadašnjeg kaganata počinju formirati slavenske političke tvorevine pod utjecajem Franačkog Carstva.

Kao posljedica gospodarskih promjena i kontakata s naprednijim uređenjima, do Slavena počinju dopirati i protofeudalni elementi. Proces upliva protofeudalnih elemenata doseže vrhunac

The Slavs are a group of ethnically and linguistically related clan-based communities. From the area east of the Carpathians, where traces of early Slavic cultures have been recognized (Prague-Korchak, Penkova, and Kolochin Cultures), the Slavs gradually (from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries) moved towards the south, occupying the northern parts of the Carpathian basin. Written sources are lacking for the earliest period, as the Byzantine writers first began to be interested in the Slavs from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The arrival of Slavic groups became more pronounced after the departure of the Lombards from Pannonia in AD 568. They used river routes in their invasions towards the west and quickly advanced, so that they penetrated into Dalmatia with the Avars around AD 588, and they reached the eastern Adriatic coast around the year 600.

By the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Slavic culture was recognizable in the region of Belarus and the Ukraine in the east, to central Germany and Lower Austria in the west, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas in the south of Europe.

In the period before their migrations, the Slavs lived in clan-based organizations headed by elected elders. The main units of the clan organizations were large families where the main position was held by a father – patriarch. The families were monogamous, and only the chiefs could have multiple wives. The largest social units were tribes formed by joining several clans. The leading positions in the tribes were occupied by chosen individuals, chiefs, or war-leaders. Written sources from the mid-sixth century, however, note that these chiefs were not granted absolute authority.

Up to the collapse of the Avar Khaganate, the Slavs composed one part of the heterogeneous system of Avar society. The Avars in the Carpathian Basin allowed the undisturbed expansion of the Slavs, as they themselves benefited from this, recruiting soldiers from among the Slavic populations and utilizing their resources. The Avars prevented the rise of a Slavic warrior elite, fearing that it could ultimately jeopardize their status, although they were aware of the evident ethnic dominance of the Slavs, especially in the border sections of the Khaganate. Accompanying this, more pronounced changes in the social structure appeared only in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. As the Avars in the later periods of the Khaganate increasingly chose a settled lifestyle, there were less and less differences in the Avar and Slavic manners of living. The beginnings of the independence of the Slavs are tied to the collapse of the Avar Khaganate at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when Slavic political entities began to form under

Sjekira, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej  
akadémie vied)

Axe, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Institute of Archaeology of the  
Slovak Academy of Sciences)

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Sjekira, Marinbrod  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Axe, Marinbrod  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

—  
Posuda, ulomak, Stružani  
(Muzej Brodskog Posavlja)

Vessel, fragment, Stružani  
(The Brodsko Posavlje Museum)

—  
Posuda, ulomak, Varaždin-Brezje V  
(Gradski muzej Varaždin)

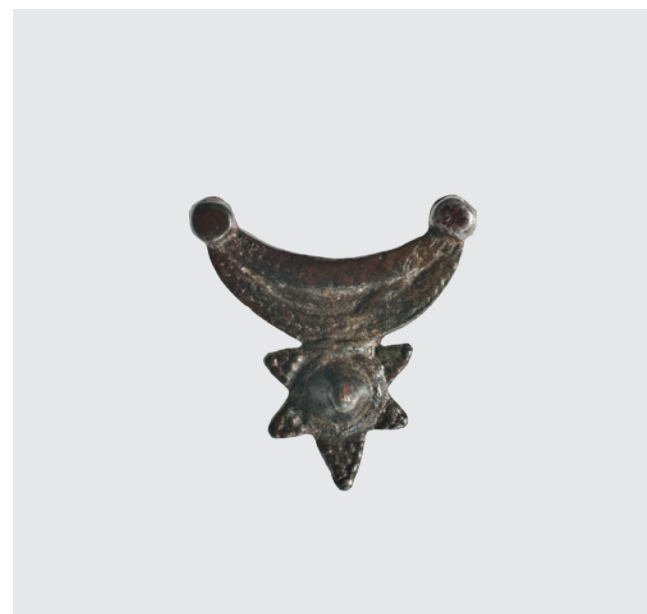
Vessel, fragment, Varaždin-Brezje V  
(City Museum Varaždin)

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Posuda, Pleso-zračna luka  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Vessel, Pleso-airport  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

Naušnica sa zvjezdolikim  
privjeskom, Dalj  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Star-shaped earring, Dalj  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



tek na prijelazu 9. u 10. stoljeće. Promjene su se u praksi očito-  
vale u nastojanjima načelnika (vojvoda) da koncentriraju i za-  
drže vlast. Od plemenskih su načelnika postali nasljedni knezo-  
vi, okruženi rodovskim plemstvom s vojnim drušinama. Sjedišta  
ovih knezova, središnji gradovi, mogu se smatrati plemenskim  
centrima (primjerice Nitra, Ducové pri Piešťanoch, Mikulčice na  
Morave u Slovačkoj te Nin, Klis, Bijaći, Sisak i Knin u Hrvatskoj).  
Osim središnjih gradova, postojali su i manje značajni gradovi  
kojih je bilo znatno manje, a predstavljali su glavne točke potpo-  
re obrani zemlje. U gradovima su živjele manje skupine stanov-  
ništva, no u vrijeme opasnosti sklonište je ovdje moglo pronaći i  
stanovništvo iz šire okolice. Najrasprostranjenije naseljene jedi-  
nice bila su manja neutvrđena naselja poljoprivrednog karaktera.  
Osnivana su ponajprije u blizini vodenih tokova, u plodnim nizi-  
nama i u kotlinama, a rjeđe u višim gorskim predjelima.

Karakter slavenskog društva vjerojatno je već u 8. stoljeću bitno  
promijenio dolazak nove religije – kršćanstva. Stari nekršćanski  
običaji su se povukli, no nisu u potpunosti nestali te se u kultu-  
rama slavenskih zemalja prepoznaju i danas. U praksi se povlače-  
nje običaja očitovale u zabrani mnogoženstva, trgovine robljem  
i drugih običaja. Prvotni se pogrebni obred spaljivanja postu-  
pno pretvorio u biritualnost (istovremeno je postojao pogrebni  
obred spaljivanja i kosturnog sahranjivanja, odnosno inhumaci-  
je), no kasnije je pogrebnim obredom dominirala isključivo inhu-  
macija. S obzirom na ove radikalne promjene, prihvaćanje nove  
religije bilo je dugotrajan proces.

the influence of the Frankish Empire in the border areas of the  
former state.

As a result of economic changes and contacts with more ad-  
vanced states, proto-feudal elements begin to reach Slavs. The  
process of the introduction of proto-feudal elements reached a  
peak only at the transition from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. As  
a rule, such changes were reflected in attempts by the head-  
man (chief, duke) to concentrate and retain power. From tribal  
leaders they evolved into hereditary princes, surrounded by a  
clan-based aristocracy with organized military units. The seats  
of these princes, as fortresses or cities, can be considered tribal  
centers (such as Nitra, Ducové pri Piešťanoch, and Mikulčice na  
Morave in Slovakia, and Nin, Klis, Bijaći, Sisak, and Knin in Croa-  
tia). In addition to the central cities, there were also less signif-  
icant towns that were considerably smaller, which represented  
the main points of defense for the country in question. Small  
groups of inhabitants lived in the cities, but in times of danger  
the population from the wider vicinity could also find shelter  
there. The most widely distributed settlement units were small  
unfortified villages of agricultural character. They were estab-  
lished primarily near watercourses, in fertile plains and river  
basins, and more rarely in elevated heights.

The character of Slavic society was probably greatly changed as  
early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century by the arrival of a new religion – Chris-  
tianity. The old non-Christian customs were disaffirmed, but  
they did not completely disappear and can be recognized even  
today in the cultures of Slavic lands. The original sole burial cus-  
tom of cremation was transformed into the contemporaneous  
existence of cremation and inhumation (burial of the body), but  
later the burial ritual was exclusively inhumation. Considering  
the radical changes that accompanied it, the acceptance of the  
new religion was a lengthy process.



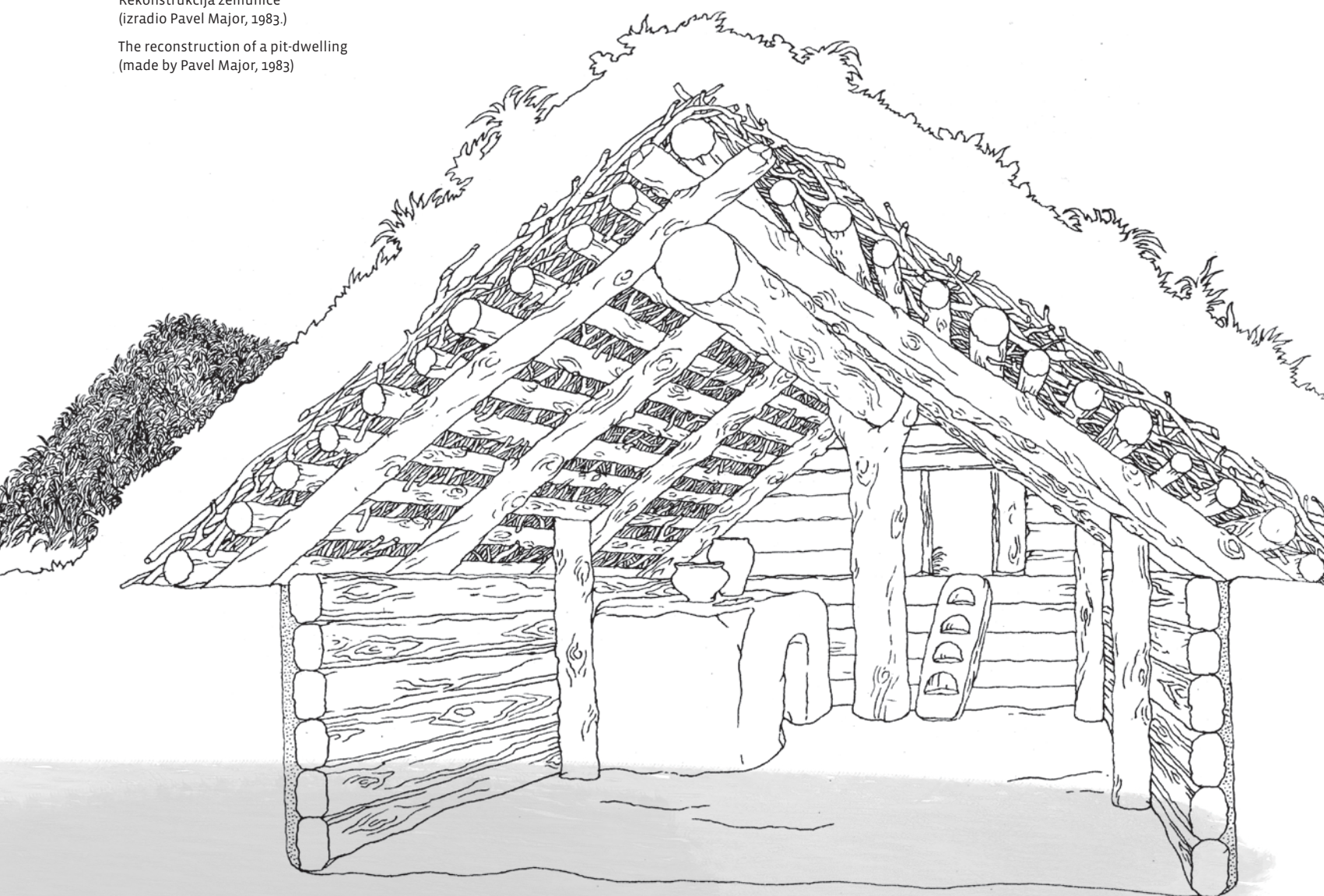


2. AVARI I SLAVENI  
SJEVERNO  
OD DUNAVA

AVARS AND SLAVS  
NORTH OF THE  
DANUBE



Rekonstrukcija zemunice  
(izradio Pavel Major, 1983.)  
The reconstruction of a pit-dwelling  
(made by Pavel Major, 1983)



Donedavno je iz razdoblja Avarskog kaganata bio poznat tek mali broj naselja. Ova se činjenica objašnjava nomadskim načinom života Avara, koji su živjeli u šatorastim nastambama, tzv. yurtama. Međutim, zbog porasta broja naselja pronađenih u posljednje vrijeme možemo govoriti, u najmanju ruku, o polusjedilačkom načinu života ovih skupina. Njihove su nastambe većinom bile jednostavne četvrtaste ukopane kuće s dvostrukom konstrukcijom koja je držala krov te s glinenim ili kamenim pećima u unutrašnjosti. Ovakve su poluzemunice bile poznate i šire od prostora Avarskog kaganata.

U blizini nastambi bile su iskopane jame za skladištenje i otpad. Dio prostora u blizini nastambe bio je namijenjen životinjama. Naselja su imala i kanale za odvod vode te bunare. Izbor predmeta pronađenih u naseljima siromašniji je u odnosu na one pronađene na grobljima. Većinom se pronalaze ulomci keramike (posude i peke) proizvedene na spororotirajućem ručnom kolu. Keramičke posude bile su ukrašavane jednostavnim kružnim linijama i valovnicama. U lončarskoj proizvodnji ističe se tzv. žuta keramika, keramičke posude žute boje rađene na brzorotirajućem lončarskom kolu, koja je mnogo kvalitetnija od keramike napravljene na spororotirajućem lončarskom kolu.

Među često pronađene predmete iz svakodnevne upotrebe ubrajaju se kremen i brus koje je vjerojatno uz sebe nosio svaki muškarac, a u grobovima označavaju muški spol pokojnika. Uz žene su se najviše prilagali koštani iglenici i glineni pršljenci koji su se koristili za šivanje i tkanje. Koristili su i predmete za osobnu toaletu (češljeve, koštane kutijice i pincete) te soljenke.

Slične su se nastambe pojavljivale i na području sjeverno od prostora Avarskog kaganata. Osnovni tip slavenske nastambe u ranom srednjem vijeku bile su jednostavne ukopane zemunice ili nadzemne gradnje četvrtastog tlocrta. U ukopanim su nastambama bile kamene peći, u nadzemnima otvorena ognjišta. Zidovi i podovi bili su premazani glinom, krovovi su imali sedlastu konstrukciju. U gorskom su se podneblju gradile i nadzemne brvnare na kamenim temeljima. U unutrašnjosti su se nalazili ležaj, škrinje i ostali drveni namještaj. Osim predmeta za svakodnevnu upotrebu, mogu se pronaći i žrvnjevi za mljevenje žitarica. Među uobičajene kućanske predmete ubrajaju se i vjedra od drvenih daščica stegnuta željeznim obručima s polukružnom drškom. Ostali stolarski proizvodi uključuju bačve, zdjele i posude, od kojih su očuvani samo željezni obruči, metalni dijelovi i drške ili ručke.

Until recently, only a few settlements were known from the Avar Khaganate period. This could be explained by the nomadic lifestyle of the Avars, who lived in portable above-ground dwellings, known as yurts. Numerous settlements discovered recently, however, allow us to talk about an at least partially sedentary lifestyle of these groups. These dwellings were mostly simple buildings with a quadrangular foundation and dual-axis construction, supporting a saddle-shaped roof, with a clay or stone hearth inside. Such dwellings were used throughout a wide area.

Storage and waste pits were located near the dwellings, and certain areas near the dwellings were reserved for animals. The settlements also had drainage systems and wells. The range of items discovered in the dwellings is limited compared to those found in the graves. The most common finds are pottery fragments (from vessels and so-called baking lids) made on a slow pottery wheel. They were decorated with simple horizontal and wavy lines. The so-called “yellow” ware, of much better quality than the usual coiled (grey) pottery, is particularly prominent.

Frequently found everyday items include flints and firesteels, which every man carried, that serve today as grave markers by indicating that the buried individual is male. Items associated with women include bone needle-cases and clay spindle whorls for sewing and spinning. Women additionally utilized toiletry articles (combs, bone boxes, and tweezers) and salt storage containers.

Similar dwellings can also be found north of the Avar Khaganate. The basic type of early medieval Slavic dwelling was a simple pit-dwelling or square above ground building. The pit-dwellings contained stone ovens, with an open hearth in the above ground structures. The walls and floors were covered with a layer of clay, and the roof was saddle-shaped. In mountainous areas, the above ground dwellings were built on stone foundations. They were furnished with a bed, a chest, and other wooden furniture. In addition to other everyday items, the finds also included querns to grind grain. Common household items included buckets made from vertical wooden strips fastened by an iron hoop with an arched handle. Other products made by coopers included tubs, vats, and kegs, from which only iron hoops, fragments, and handles remain.



Posuda (žuta keramika), Holiare, grob 623  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Vessel (yellow pottery), Holiare, grave 623  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

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Posuda (žuta keramika), Komárno IX  
Lodenica, grob 11 (Podunajské múzeum  
v Komárne)

Vessel (yellow pottery), Komárno IX  
Lodenica, grave 11 (Danube Region  
Museum in Komárno)

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Pršljeni, Čičov; Komárno VI, Radnička  
čtvrť; VII obala Dunava (Podunajské  
múzeum v Komárne)

Spindle whorls, Čičov; Komárno VI,  
Robotnícka district; VII Danube coast  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)



Ručka vjedra, Závada  
(Tribečské múzeum v Topoľčanoch)

Bucket handle, Závada  
(Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)

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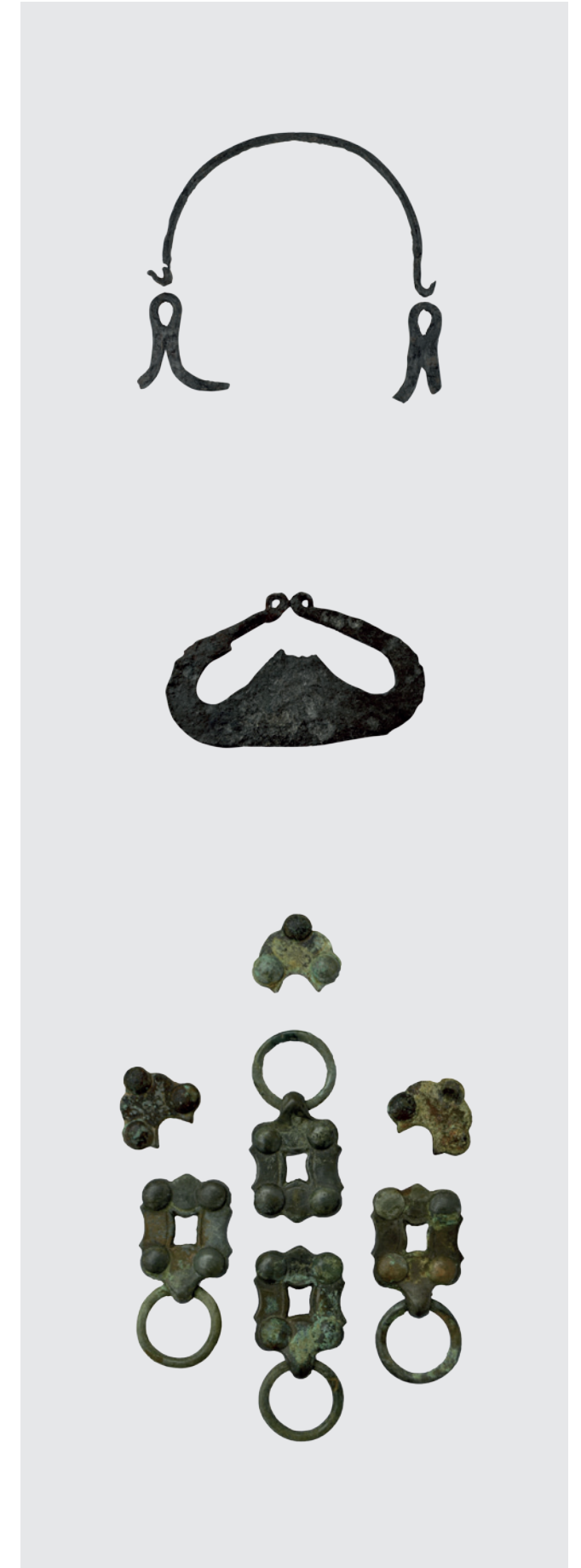
Kresivo, Skalica-Vysoké pole  
(Slovenské národné múzeum –  
Múzeá v Martine)

Firesteel, Skalica-Vysoké field  
(The Slovak National Museum –  
Museums in Martin)

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Dijelovi pojase garniture,  
Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grob XXVI  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v  
Martine)

Parts of a belt set,  
Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXVI  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums  
in Martin)



Jezičac konjske orme,  
Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 1  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Belt strap end of a horse harness,  
Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 1  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)



Okovi konjske orme,  
Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 1 i 33  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Horse harness fittings,  
Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 1 and 33  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)



## 2.2 POVIJEST NALAZA IZ BLATNICE I NJIHOVA INTERPRETACIJA

Predmeti poznati kao „nalazi iz Blatnice“ navodno su pronađeni u blizini nalazišta Blatnica. Sa sigurnošću je, međutim, utvrđeno samo da su bili preneseni iz oružarnice dvorca Sklabiňa – u najmanje tri navrata (1876., 1880. i 1897.) – u Mađarski Nacionalni Muzej kao dar baruna Ferenc Révaya. Uz ostale nalaze, među ovim predmetima nalazi se i oružje avarske i karolinške provenijencije. Ova specifična, heterogena grupa nalaza dobila je ime „Blatnica“ te je kasnije povezana s nalazima iz Mikulčica i datirana u rana desetljeća 9. stoljeća (horizont Blatnica-Mikulčice). Zbog određenih nedosljednosti među „nalazima iz Blatnice“ i problema pri dataciji nalaza povezanih s ovim horizontom, znanstvenici u posljednje vrijeme sve češće kritiziraju ovakvu interpretaciju tih predmeta.

## HISTORY OF THE FINDS FROM BLATNICA AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

The artefacts known as the “Blatnica finds” were allegedly found in the vicinity of the Blatnica site. However, the only confirmed fact is that they were taken from the armoury of the Sklabiňa castle – during at least three occasions (in 1876, 1880 and 1897) – to the Hungarian National Museum as a gift from Baron Ferenc Révay. Among other artefacts, the finds include arms and weapons of Avar and Carolingian provenance. This specific, heterogeneous group of finds was named “Blatnica”, and was later linked to the finds from Mikulčice and dated to the early decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Blatnica-Mikulčice horizon). In recent times, because of the disparities among the “Blatnica finds” and the problems with the dating of finds linked with this horizon, the researchers have started to criticize this way of interpreting these objects.



Okov u obliku glave vepra,  
Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 33  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Fitting in a shape of a boar's head,  
Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 33  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

Zbog povećane gospodarske proizvodnje i sve veće potražnje za boljim proizvodima neke je proizvodne procese bilo potrebno usavršiti, specijalizirati. Ovaj se razvoj odnosio na sve zanate, od lončarstva do kovanja i izrade nakita. Najviše arheoloških dokaza razvijene i specijalizirane zanatske proizvodnje pronađeno je u oblasti obrade metala (metalurgija, kovanje, izrada nakita). Proizvodili su se posebni alati za poljoprivredu i razne zanate, predmeti za domaćinstvo, pomoćni alati za trgovinu, ukrasi i nakit za viši društveni sloj, ali i oružje i vojna oprema.

Sam proces proizvodnje željeza započinjao je crpljenjem ruda. Željezo se dobivalo taljenjem rude u posebnim pećima, koje su djelomično bile ukopane. Rastaljeno se željezo odlijevalo u poluproizvode, koji su se potom prevozili kovačima na daljnju obradu. Dok su kovači na selima izrađivali i popravljali uglavnom jednostavne alate, u većim su mjestima izrađivali i predmete čija je izrada zahtijevala veću spretnost i korištenje kompliciranijih tehnologija.

Jedan od najvažnijih zanata bilo je lončarstvo. Budući da su ulomci keramike predmeti koji se najčešće pronalaze, danas raspoložemo relativno bogatim saznanjima o lončarskoj proizvodnji u prošlosti. Osnovni je keramički oblik bio lonac koji se najčešće pojavljuje, a koristio se uglavnom za skladištenje i kuhanje namirnica. Osim lonaca, ali u nešto manjoj mjeri, upotrebljavale su se i zdjele i boce. Zdjele su većinom bile ukrašene valovnicama, vodoravnim linijama i ubodima.

Posude, tanjuri, žlice, razni pribor, igračke, namještaj i ostali predmeti proizvodili su se od drveta. Raznolikost i kvaliteta materijalne kulture označava i višu razinu razvijenosti zanatske proizvodnje, koja obrađuje kožu, tekstil, kosti, rogovlje i kamen. Zlatari i izrađivači nakita radili su samo za više društvene slojeve, što se očituje i u njihovom društvenom položaju. Njihovi su proizvodi dobar pokazatelj razine kulture u vremenu u kojem su djelovali. Konačna kvaliteta i izvedba nakita ovisila je o bogatstvu i ukusu naručitelja. Među osnovne se proizvode uglavnom ubrajaju metalni nakit, dijelovi odjeće te dijelovi konjskih ormi.

The growing economy and the constantly increasing demand for better products made advances and specialization in the manufacturing processes necessary. This development was first and foremost related to all crafts, from forging to pottery and jewellery making. The majority of archaeological evidence connected to a developed and specialized craft is related to metalworking (metallurgy, forging, jewellery making). Special tools for cultivation and other aspects of the economy were manufactured, as well as household items, tools for trade, decoration and jewellery for high-ranking members of society, as well as weapons and other military equipment.

The very process of iron production begins with the extraction of ore. Iron was produced by smelting ore in special partially dug-in furnaces. The melted iron was poured into moulds for ingots or semi-finished products, which were transported to blacksmiths for further processing. While the blacksmiths in villages mostly produced and repaired simple tools, in larger centres they produced items that required greater expertise and more complicated technology.

One of the most important crafts was pottery. The most common items that are discovered are pottery fragments, so a fair amount is known about pottery. The main pottery object was a vessel that usually served for storage or cooking. In addition to pots, bowls or flask-shaped items were also found. The pottery artefacts were usually decorated with circles, wavy lines, straight lines, and stab-marks.

Bowls, plates, spoons and various cutlery, toys, furniture, and other artefacts were made of wood. The diversity and high quality of the material culture also implies a higher level of artisanship, related to production from leather, textile, bone, horn, and stone. Gold items and jewellery were made only for the highest levels of society, which reflected their social status, too. These products represent sensitive indicators of the cultural level of the period in which they were used. The resulting quality and jewellery design depended on the wealth and taste of the client. Some of the more basic products were, first and foremost, metal jewellery items, attire elements, and horse equipment.

Okov konjske orme s dvjema rozetama,  
Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grob XXXVI  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Fitting of a horse harness with two rosettes,  
Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXXVI  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums  
in Martin)

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Klobučasta falera, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 85  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Domed phalera, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 85  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

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Okovi konjske orme, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 76  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Fittings of a horse harness, Komárno IX Lodenica,  
grave 76 (Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

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Ispupčeni pravokutni okovi konjske orme,  
Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I i Komárno III,  
Franjevačka ulica (Slovenské národné múzeum –  
Múzeá v Martine, Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Protruding rectangular fittings of a horse harness,  
Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I and Komárno III,  
Františkánov street (The Slovak National Museum  
– Museums in Martin, Danube Region Museum in  
Komárno)



Iglenik, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 51  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Needle-case, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 51  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

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Kovačka ostava, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied)

Blacksmith hoard, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak  
Academy of Sciences)

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Posuda, Dvorec  
(Tribečské múzeum v Topoľčanoch)

Vessel, Dvorec  
(Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)





Ralo, Kúty  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Ploughshare, Kúty  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in Martin)

Kosa, Kúty  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Scythe, Kúty  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in Martin)

Ralo, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied)

Plow, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences)



Ostava poljoprivrednih alatki,  
Žabokreky nad Nitrou  
(Tribečské múzeum v Topoľčanoch)

The hoard of agricultural tools,  
Žabokreky nad Nitrou  
(Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)



## 2.4 POLJOPRIVREDA I GOSPODARSTVO

U ranom se srednjovjekovlju većina stanovništva bavila poljoprivredom. Polja su se obrađivala plugom koji je u početku cijeli bio od drveta, a od 8. stoljeća imao je željezno ralo peterokutnog oblika. Ispred rala bio je smješten masivni nož koji je rezao zemlju i time olakšavao prolazak rala kroz nju. Plug je rahlio zemlju, ali je nije prevrtao. Sve do 13. stoljeća prednost se umjesto dubokom oranju davala plitkom oranju s ručnim sijanjem. U plug su bila upregnuta goveda, najčešće u paru. Žito se žalo srpovima. Nakon mlačenja žito se skladištilo u drvenim škrinjama, u silosima ili u jednostavnim jamama u zemlji ( jamama za skladištenje) koje se prilikom arheoloških istraživanja relativno često pronalaze. Žito za brašno mljelo se ručnim kamenim mlinovima – žrvnjevima. Od brašna su se pripremala jela, pekao se kruh, kuhala se slana i slatka kaša. Med i voće koristili su se kao sladilo. Najčešće su se sijale žitarice (žito, ječam, zob), u najvećoj mjeri pšenica. Ljudi su vjerojatno dio žita žali dok još nije bilo zrelo, a onda su ga pekli. Osim žitarica uzgajale su se i velike količine mahunarki, najviše grašak i leća. Od uljnih su se biljaka uzgajale repica, mak, lan i konoplja. Na jelovniku nije nedostajalo ni povrće, koje se uzgajalo na manjim površinama, u vrtovima. Uspijevali su kupus, luk, češnjak, mrkva, celer, bundeva i krastavci. U vrtovima su rasli i kim, mažuran te druge ljekovite biljke. Od voća su poznavali jabuke, kruške, šljive, trešnje i višnje, sakupljali su ribiz, maline, kupine, jagode, borovnice, brusnice, trnine, orahe i šipak. Zemlja se obrađivala ručno, lakim motikama i teškim pijucima. Među poljoprivredni alat ubrajaju se i tzv. otke koje su služile za kopanje, rezanje korova i grmova te čišćenje rala prilikom oranja.

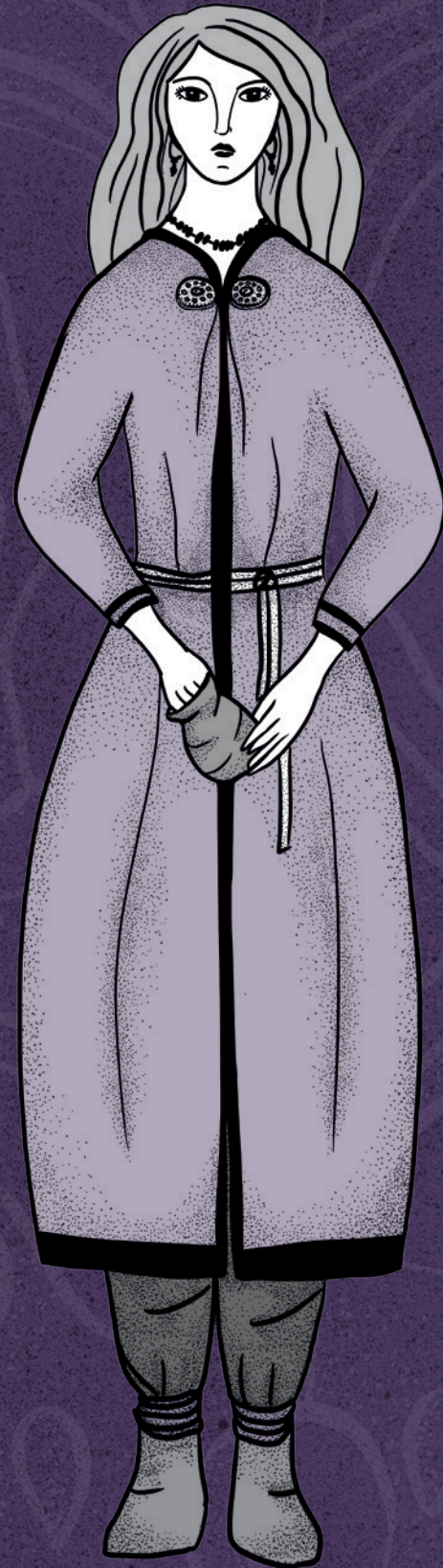
Glavni je dio prehrane Slavena činilo meso uzgojenih domaćih životinja (goveda, ovce, svinje, guske, kokoši), rijetko i ulovljenih životinja (npr. veprovi, jeleni) te eventualno riba. Slaveni su voljeli mlijeko i mliječne proizvode, prije svega sir. Dokaz uzgoja životinja su i pronalasci željeznih škara za strižu ovaca. U Slavena je bilo rašireno i pčelarstvo. Med se koristio kao sladilo za jela, a bio je i glavni sastojak u proizvodnji alkoholnog pića medovine. Pivo su proizvodili uz pomoć fermentacije kruha i hmelja.

## AGRICULTURE AND THE ECONOMY

In the Early Middle Ages, the majority of the population depended on agriculture. The fields were ploughed with ploughshares, which were, at first, made completely out of wood, but from the 8<sup>th</sup> century they were made of iron in an irregular four-sided shape. In front of the ploughshare was a massive coulter, which chopped the soil so that the ploughshare could pass more easily. The ploughshare cut into the soil, but did not turn it over. Until the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a shallow furrow was preferred and the planting was done manually. The ploughshare was pulled by cattle or oxen, usually in a pair. The grains were harvested with sickles. After the grain had been ground, it was stored in wooden cases or granaries or in simple storage pits, which are found relatively often by archaeologists. The grain was ground into a flour with a manual stone millstone or quern and was used for various dishes like baked bread or sweet or savoury gruel. The most common sweeteners were honey and dried fruits. They usually planted grains (rye, barley, oat), with wheat being the most predominant. It is probable that some grains were harvested before ripening and then roasted for snacking. In addition to grains, they also planted many legumes, mainly peas and lentils. There were also oil giving plants like turnips, poppy, flax, and hemp. And of course, we cannot forget the essential green vegetables, which were planted in smaller fields and gardens. The most common ones were cabbage, onion, garlic, carrot, squash, and cucumbers. You could also find caraway, marjoram, and other medicinal herbs in these gardens. The fruits they were familiar with were apples, pears, plums, cherries, and sour cherries, and they also picked currants, raspberries, blackberries, strawberries, blueberries, cranberries, blackthorns, nuts, and rose hips. The ground was cultivated by hand with light hoes and mattocks and heavy pickaxes. There was also an agricultural tool called an otka, which was a bar used for digging, cutting weeds, and cleaning the ploughshare.

The Slavic diet was based on meat from domestic animals (cows, sheep, pigs, geese, chickens). They sometimes also ate meat from wild animals (e.g. boars, deer) and fish. The Slavs loved milk and milk products, especially cheeses. Evidence for livestock breeding includes iron shears for sheep shearing. Beekeeping was also widespread among the Slavs. Honey was used as a sweetener, but it was also the main ingredient in an alcoholic beverage called mead. Beer was brewed with bread yeast and hops.





S obzirom na kratak životni vijek organskih materijala, teško je rekonstruirati izgled ranosrednjovjekovne odjeće. Materijali od kojih se izrađivala odjeća sačuvani su tek rijetko i u malim količinama, stoga se prilikom rekonstrukcija, osim arheoloških nalaza, u obzir većinom uzimaju i shematski ikonografski prikazi osoba te malobrojni pisani izvori. Pritom je potrebno uvažiti nekoliko faktora – spol, dob, društveni položaj, prirodno okruženje i godišnja doba. Iz spomenutih je izvora vidljivo da su se za tkanje tekstila od biljnih vlakana koristili konoplja, kopriva, liko i lan, a od životinjskih vlakana svila, moher, vuna i krzno te ljudska kosa. Vlakna su se obrađivala na drvenim tkalačkim stanovima, od kojih su do danas sačuvani samo metalni dijelovi (čavli, okovi i slično) i glineni utezi. Prilikom rada s vlaknima korišteni su i glineni pršljenci, preslice i uglavnom koštane igle. Važna je sirovina pri izradi odjeće bila i koža. Puk je nosio ovčje kožuhe, dok je vladajući sloj nosio kožuhe od koža divljih životinja. Materijali za odjeću mogli su biti različito obojeni, ovisno o društvenom položaju pojedinca i s time povezanom dostupnosti bojila. Obojeni je tekstil pronađen, primjerice, u mjestima Boleradice, Břeclav-Pohansko, Dolní Dunajovice, Mikulčice, Staré Město i Velké Hostěradky. Bio je obojen u crnu, smeđu, bijelu i zlatnu boju. Najdragocjenijim su se bojama smatrala plava i ljubičasta.

Nakit u ranom srednjem vijeku nisu nosile samo žene, već i muškarci. Žene su uglavnom nosile ogrlice od perli te s privjescima, torkvase, narukvice, naušnice, prstenje, kopče za odjeću, tzv. agrafe i sl. Od svih skupina poznajemo više tipova koji su se s vremenom mijenjali. Najčešći su prilog u grobovima naušnice i perle, stoga je njihovoj tipologiji posvećena i najveća pozornost. Prilikom izrade ukrasa koristili su se plemeniti metali i različite tehnike izrade nakita (granulacija, filigran, pozlaćivanje, stakleni umetci i druge). Pretpostavlja se da je polumjesečasti privjesak krajeva okrenutih prema dolje imao značenje osiguravanja plodnosti i zaštite od zlih sila.

It is hard to reconstruct the early medieval wardrobe, because of the rapid decay of organic material. Only a few pieces of material from which clothing was made have been found. Hence, for reconstruction, in addition to the archaeological finds, schematic iconographic depictions of figures and the scarce written sources must also be taken into account. It is also necessary to consider several factors – gender, age, social status, surroundings, and the season. It is clear from the above mentioned sources that the materials used for weaving textiles were plant fibres (hemp, nettle, bast, and flax) and animal fibres and pelts (silk, mohair, wool, fur, hide, and human hair). The fibres were first processed on wooden boards, from which only metal parts and clay weights remain. During further processing, clay whorls, spindles, and bone needles were used. An important raw material for the production of clothing were animal pelts, the common population mostly used sheepskins, hides, and fur, while rulers also used pelts from wild animals. Clothing materials could be dyed in different colours, depending on the social status of the individual and the availability of the dye. Dyed textiles have been found at Boleradice, Břeclav-Pohansko, Dolní Dunajovice, Mikulčice, Staré Město, and Velké Hostěradky. The textile was coloured black, brown, white, and gold. The rarest and most precious dye colours were blue and purple.

In the Early Middle Ages both men and women wore jewellery. Women usually wore necklaces of beads with pendants, torcs, bracelets, earrings, rings, and fibulae or clothing clasps, and so forth. Several types of items from each of these groups are known, as are the changes that occurred over the course of time. Earrings and beads are the items most often found in graves, so more attention was paid in determining their typology. Precious metals and various jewellery techniques (granulation, filigree, gilding, glass and stone inserts, etc.) were used to make the ornaments. It is assumed that the downward-facing crescent-shaped headpiece was used to ensure fertility and as an amulet protecting from evil.





Naušnice, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grob XXVI  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)  
Earrings, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXVI  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in Martin)

Jezičac i okov pojasa, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 12  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)  
Belt strap end and fitting, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave  
12 (Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

Otisci textíla, Skalica (Slovenské národné  
múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)  
Textile imprints, Skalica (The Slovak National  
Museum – Museums in Martin)

Okrugli okov s prikazom ľudske glave, Komárno IX  
Lodenica, grob 149 (Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)  
Round fitting with the decoration in the shape of a  
human head, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 149  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)



Ogrlica od perli, Skalica  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)  
Beaded necklace, Skalica  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in Martin)

Ogrlica od perli, Komárno VI, Radnička čtvrt, grob 3  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)  
Beaded necklace, Komárno VI, Robotnícka district,  
grave 3 (Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

Praporci, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied)  
Small bell pendants, Klátová Nová Ves (Institute of  
Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences)

Agrafa (spojnica), Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 81  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)  
Clothing clasp, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 81  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)





Falera s lijevanim ukrasom u obliku lavlje glave, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 103 (Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Phalera with a cast decoration in the shape of a lion's head, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 103 (Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

Brončane limene falere s lijevanim ukrasom u obliku lavlje glave, Orosháza-Bónum téglagyár, grob L (Nagy Gyula Területi Múzeum, Orosháza)

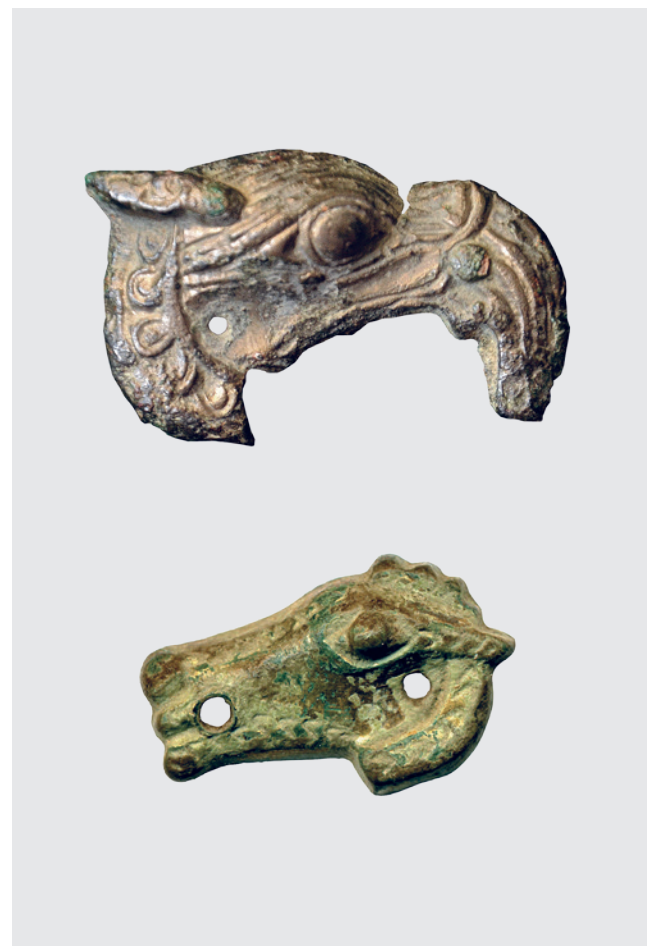
Bronze phaleras with a cast decoration in the shape of a lion's head, Orosháza-Bónum téglagyár, grave L (Nagy Gyula Területi Múzeum, Orosháza)

Lijevani okov u obliku glave grifona, Csanádapáca, br. 29 (Nagy Gyula Területi Múzeum, Orosháza)

Cast mount in the shape of a griffin's head, Csanádapáca no. 29 (Nagy Gyula Területi Múzeum, Orosháza)

Okov u obliku životinjske glave, Nepřevázka (Archeologický ústav AV ČR, Praha, v.v.i.)

Fitting in the shape of an animal's head, Nepřevázka (Institute of Archaeology of the CAS, Prague, v.v.i.)



## 2.6 PRIMJERI UDALJENIH KONTAKATA

### Grifoni i lavovi u okolici Orosháze

Poznato je da su na groblju Komárno-Lodenica pronađene falere u obliku lavlje glave i u obliku glave grifona (Trugly 1987; 1993). Najbliži spomenuti falerama potječu s groblja Orosháza-Bónum (Juhász 1995). Nedavno su u okolici Orosháze, na lokalitetu Csanádapáca, pronađeni fragmenti falere u obliku glave grifona vrlo sličnog onome iz Komárna, što nipošto ne može biti slučajnost. Oba područja valja promatrati kao jedinstvenu cjelinu. György Dénes (2003) je prema lokalnim toponimima Pest i Nándor/Lándor skicirao mogući put transilvanijske soli u smjeru Moravske. Komárno i Orosháza nalaze se uz ovaj put, koji je i u razdoblju Avarskog kaganata mogao biti važna trgovačka veza. [BGy][RZ]

### Sličnosti na sjeverozapadu

U Češkoj i Moravskoj poznati su i predmeti koji bi, s obzirom na svoju izradu, mogli potjecati iz avarskih radionica. Tumačenje ovih predmeta ne mora uvijek biti jednoznačno (Profantová 1992; 2010). Dosad je najveća zbirka metalnih predmeta s avarskim obilježjima u Češkoj, dijelovi pojasa i konjske orme (preko 130 predmeta), pronađena na utvrdi u mjestu Tismice, koja se rasprostire na oko 25 ha. Kronološki najstariji predmeti su bizantska kopča i limeni okovi. Značajni su i nalaz kalupa za izradu ukrasa konjske orme, pozlaćeni gornji dijelovi falera, okov u obliku konjske glave i drugi. Većina predmeta potječe iz druge polovine 8. stoljeća, na temelju čega se ne može isključiti da su tamo dospjeli tijekom franačkih ratova kao ratni plijen. Bitno je naznačiti istodobno pojavljivanje kasnoavarskih i ranih karolinških predmeta u slučaju Tismica s kovanicama Karla Velikog. Važni nalazi su i brončane i željezne ostruge s kukom, jer su se avarski jahači koristili bičem. Lokalni ratni vođe kombinirali su ukrašene pojaseve avarskog tipa s lokalnim ostrugama i karolinškim oružjem. Na povišenom položaju iznad Taslarova mlina, kod mjesta Kosoř i Prag-Radotín, pronađeni su metalni okovi pojasa iz razdoblja Avarskog kaganata. Na tri okova uočeni su motivi figure koja jaše na morskoj nemani. Ovaj kvalitetan prikaz kasnoantičkog mita proizvod je zanatlije upoznatog s bizantskim zlatarstvom. Vlasnik je mogao biti neki cijenjeni čovjek iz Kaganata ili pripadnik lokalne elite koji je ovaj metalni okov iz Karpatske kotline dobio kao dar ili na neki drugi način. Slični metalni okovi nisu samo dokaz tadašnjeg značaja

## EXAMPLES OF DISTANT CONTACTS

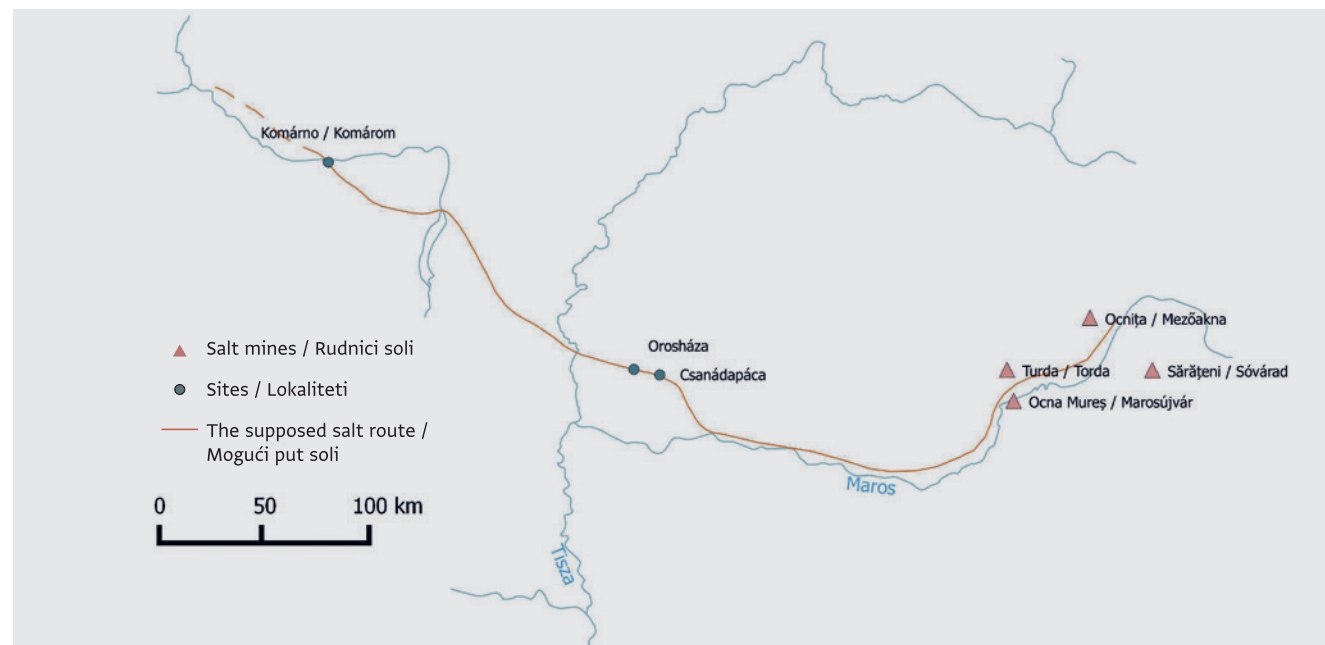
### Griffin and lion images near Orosháza

It is widely known that phalerae with mounts shaped like lion's and griffin's heads were found at the Komárno-Lodenica cemetery (Trugly 1987, 1993). The best analogies are from the Orosháza-Bónum graveyard (Juhász 1995). Recently, in the vicinity of Orosháza, at the Csanádapáca site, a fragmented metal piece of a griffin's head was found, notably similar to the one from Komárno. This cannot be a coincidence, and both of these sites need to be considered as a whole. Based on the local names Pest and Nándor/Lándor, György Dénes (2003) suggested the existence of a salt road from Transylvania to Moravia. Komárno and Orosháza are both on that road, which could also have been an important trade road even during the Avar period. [BGy][RZ]

### Analogies in the northwest

Some finds were also discovered in Bohemia and Moravia that can be connected to Avar workshops. There can be more than one interpretation of these solitary examples, however (Profantová 1992; 2010). So far the largest site with Avar metal artefacts in Bohemia is Tismice fortress (about 25 ha). The metal pieces found there (more than 130) consist of parts of a belt set and horse equipment. The earliest pieces are thin metal fragments and a Byzantine buckle. Other significant finds include a mould for equestrian equipment, gilded phalera tips, metal pieces shaped like a horse's head, and other items. The majority of the finds are from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, meaning it cannot be excluded that some of them were introduced during the Frankish Wars. The simultaneous occurrence of Late Avar and early Carolingian artefacts is also important at Tismice with the discovery of a denarius of Charlemagne. Important local finds also include bronze and iron spurs with hooks, as Avar riders used a horse whip. The local warlords combined decorated belts of the Avar type with local spurs and Carolingian weapons. On elevated positions above Taslar's Mill near Kosoř and Prague-Radotín, belt fittings from the Avar period were found. Three of the fragments bear a motif of a figure riding on a sea monster. The well-made depiction of an ancient myth must be the work of a craftsman acquainted with Byzantine goldsmithing. Its owner could only be an important individual from the Khaganate or a local elite person who acquired it from the Carpathian basin as a gift or in some other way. Similar





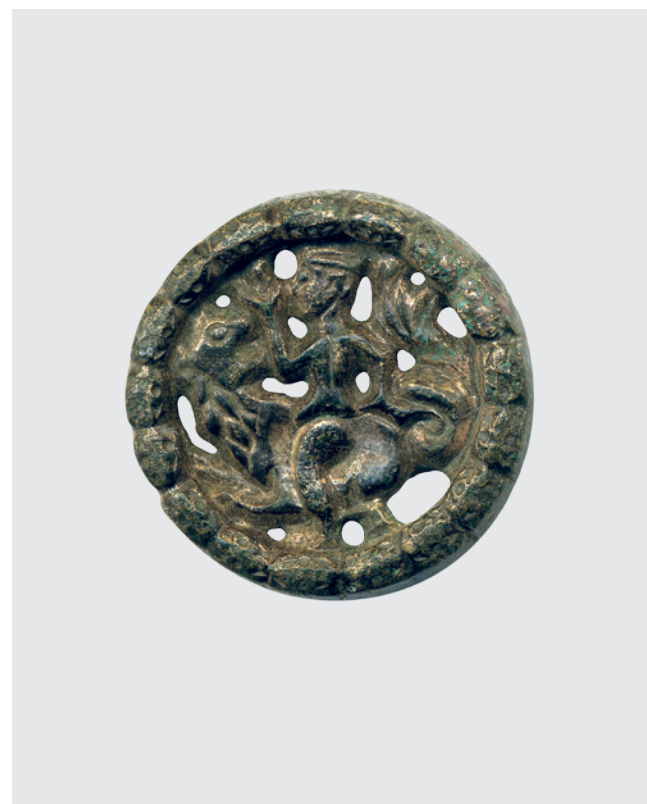
Mogući put soli iz Transilvanije.  
Rekonstrukcija na temelju lokalnih naziva Pest  
i Nándor/Lándor (izradio Csaba Fejes)

The presumed salt route from Transylvania.  
The reconstruction based on local names Pest  
and Nándor /Lándor (made by Csaba Fejes)

—

Okov s motivom figure koja jaše na morskoj  
nemani - Hipokampu, Kosoř (Archeologický  
ústav AV ČR, Praha, v.v.i.)

Fitting depicting a motif of a figure riding a sea  
monster - the Hippocampus, Kosoř (Institute of  
Archaeology of the CAS, Prague, v.v.i.)



povišenih lokaliteta, već svjedoče i o tome da se lokalna elita uključila u političke i vojne događaje na kraju 8. i početku 9. stoljeća (Profantová 2015a; 2015b).

Grad Kal u istočnoj Češkoj značajan je lokalitet, ponajprije zbog svojeg naglog uništenja. Osim lokalnog groblja urni o tome svjedoče i pronalasci vojne opreme (uglavnom vršci strijela usmjereni prema gradu, sjekire, konjske orme). Sudeći prema ovome, nekadašnji je grad osvojila vojska barem djelomično sastavljena od ratnika iz avarske sredine. [NP]

#### Lokalna proizvodnja ukrasa

U posljednjih nekoliko godina u Češkoj Republici otkriveni su nalazi koji potvrđuju lokalnu proizvodnju avarskih okova, među kojima su možda najvažniji kalupi za tiještenje okova konjske opreme, okova pojasa te naušnica (Tismice, Jíkev: Srednja Bohemija, Břeclav-Pohansko - Južna Moravska), kao i proizvodi za lijevanje s nepravilnostima nastalim tijekom procesa lijevanja (Hostim - Srednja Češka, Lány - Južna Moravska). Ovo dokazuju i nalazi poluproizvoda, ingota (Tismice), nedovršenih proizvoda bez rupa za zakovice, djelomično rastopljenih okova i otpadaka. Na utvrđi Doubravčice pronađen je lonac s talogom obojenih metala. Na utvrđi Tismice možemo dokazati proces topljenja zlata koji se odvijao krajem 8. i tijekom 9. stoljeća te istovremeno, s istog lokaliteta, znamo za skupinu od 21 komada spojenih pozlaćenih ukrasa.

U 7. stoljeću (Roztoky u Prahy, Štítary), ali i od sredine 8. stoljeća, zanatlije su ukrase izrađivali prema bizantsko-avarskim modelima. Ova se kulturna orijentacija promijenila tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća, početkom imitacije karolinških proizvoda. [NP]

Brončane pozlaćene kopče remena iz slovačkog grada Želiezovce ubrajaju se među primjere karolinškog umjetničkog zanatstva s početka 9. stoljeća. Dijelovi ratne opreme karolinškog stila na teritoriju današnje Morave i Slovačke u većem su se broju počeli pojavljivati krajem prve četvrtine 9. stoljeća. Dokaz su izravnih i intenzivnih kontakata slavenskih i karolinških (uglavnom bavarskih) elita u razdoblju pada Avarskog kaganata i neposredno nakon njega. Slični su metalni primjerci pronađeni i u opremi velikaškog groba iz grada Stará Kouřim (Češka Republika). [ZR]

metal items are not merely evidence of the importance of elevated positions, but they also bear witness that the local elites were actively engaged in the political and military events at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries (Profantová 2015a; 2015b).

The Kal fortress in Eastern Bohemia is a significant site primarily because of its violent downfall. Evidence of this includes traces of fire and several military artefacts that were discovered there (arrowheads pointed in the direction of the fortress, axes, horse equipment). According to the evidence, the fortress was conquered by an army that consisted at least in part of Avar warriors. [NP]

#### The local production of ornaments

In the last few years, finds documenting the local production of Avar-type fittings were discovered in the Czech Republic, most importantly a mould for pressed sheetmetal decorations of horse equipment, belt fittings, and earrings (Tismice, Jíkev: Central Bohemia, Břeclav-Pohansko - South Moravia), and also finds of cast products with imperfections caused by the access ports for pouring the metal (Hostim-Central Bohemia, Lány- South Moravia). This evidence consists of finds of semi-finished products, ingots (Tismice), unfinished products without holes for rivets, partially melted fittings, and casts. In the Doubravčice fortress, a smelting pot with a residue of non-ferrous metals was found. In the Tismice fortress, the melting of gold can be proven for the late 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, with about 21 specimens of gilded ornaments from the site.

Metalworkers and artisans produced ornaments from the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Roztoky u Prahy, Štítary), and from the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, they made ornaments according to Byzantine-Avar models. This cultural orientation changed during the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to imitating Carolingian products. [NP]

The bronze gilded belt buckles from Želiezovce are an example of Carolingian artistic craftsmanship from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. As they became a part of the Carolingian style battle equipment in today's Moravia and Slovakia, a great amount of them dated to the end of the first quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century could be found. They are proof of direct and intensive contact between the Slavic and Carolingian (mainly Bavarian) elites during the fall of the Avar Khaganate and soon after it. Similar items can be found in a nobleman's grave in Stará Kouřim (Bohemia). [ZR]

Ostava Horné Orešany  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej  
akadémie vied)

Horné Orešany hoard  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak  
Academy of Sciences)

Ostava Pružina-Mesciská  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej  
akadémie vied)

Pružina-Mesciská hoard  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak  
Academy of Sciences)



Blaga ili tzv. ostave predstavljaju samostalnu, vrlo specifičnu skupinu arheoloških predmeta koji su iz nekog razloga namjerno sakriveni. Razlozi za to mogli su biti različiti: sakriveni su u vrijeme opasnosti, a njihov se vlasnik više nije mogao vratiti, ili je mogla biti riječ o spremljenoj zalihy robe, ili o prinošenju žrtve. U slučaju kad ostave čine predmeti od plemenitih metala (zlato, srebro), one pobuđuju nemalu pozornost šire javnosti. Zanimljiv je primjer blago iz mjesta Zemiansky Vrbovok pronađeno 1937. godine, koje se sastojalo od srebrnog nakita, kolekcije posuda i 18 srebrnih novčića (Svoboda 1953) na temelju kojih se cijela pronađena cjelina datira u posljednju četvrtinu 7. stoljeća. O svrsi skrivanja blaga mnogo nam može reći mjesto njegova pronalaska. Ako je ostava pronađena u močvarnom kraju ili na teško dostupnom terenu, možemo pretpostaviti da je prinesena kao žrtva. Ako je pronađena uz poznati trgovački put, uz plićak ili planinski prijevoj, može biti riječ o zalihy robe, eventualno o predmetima sakrivenima od opasnosti. Ostave čine predmeti različitog karaktera. To mogu biti sredstva plaćanja (primjerice ingoti i novac), poljoprivredni alati, posuđe, nakit, oružje i oprema, poluproizvodi i neuspjeli proizvodi, ili kombinacije svih ovih predmeta.

#### Horné Orešany

Značajna je znamenitost u mjestu Horné Orešany grad koji se nalazi na vrhu Rekomberek (384 m). Stjenoviti dijelovi i strme padine iskorišteni su za izgradnju nasipane utvrde. Dio nasipa očigledno je izgrađen od kamenja. Na temelju pronađenih predmeta, može se zaključiti da je ovo mjesto bilo korišteno već krajem 8. stoljeća, a najmlađi predmeti potječu iz razdoblja od 10. do 11. stoljeća. Najznačajniji je pronalazak velika zbirka predmeta koji su slučajno pronađeni u dolini na desnom pritoku Parne koja je okružena masivima Vápenice na jugozapadu i Kumberka (409 m) na sjeveroistoku. Zbirka se sastoji od najmanje 90 predmeta. Riječ je o brončanim i srebrnim dijelovima ratničkih poja-seva i metalnim okovima konjske orme. Dio je predmeta oštećen u požaru. Riječ je o predmetima kasnoavarskog stila s kraja 8. stoljeća. Opravdano možemo pretpostaviti da su ovo blago, vjerojatno ratni plijen ili žrtveni dar božanstvima, u zemlju sakrili Slave-ni (Robak, Pieta 2016).

Ranosrednjovjekovni su predmeti pronađeni i na Slepom vrhu. Na istočnoj padini, oko 100 m ispod nasipane utvrde, pronađena

Treasures, or hoards, are a separate, very specific group of archaeological finds that were hidden for certain reasons. There could be various reasons for hiding them: they could have been hidden in the face of danger and the owner could not retrieve them, or they could have been a stored supply of goods, or a sacrifice. When the hoards include items made out of precious metals (gold, silver), they attract the attention of the wider public. An interesting example was the treasure from Zemiansky Vrbovok found in 1937, which consisted of jewelry made of silver beads, vessel sets, and 18 silver coins (Svoboda 1953), the latter dating the items to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The place where the hoard was found can reveal a lot about the reason why it was hidden. If the hoard was found in a marshland or a hard-to-reach terrain, it can be assumed to have been a sacrifice. If it was found near a famous trade road, a sandbank, or a crossing, it was most probably a stock of supplies, or items hidden because of danger. Many kinds of items can be found in these hoards. They can include some kind of money, e.g. coins, or agricultural tools, pottery, beads, weapons and armour, semi-finished products and materials, or combinations of these items.

#### Horné Orešany

An important monument in Horné Orešany is the fortress on Rekomberek Peak (384 m). Natural rock formations and steep slopes were used to build a fortification. The stones themselves are a part of the fortification. According to the finds, this site was used at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while the latest finds come from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The most significant discovery was a large find of artefacts found in a valley with a tributary of the Parna, which is enclosed by the Vápenice massifs in the southwest and Kumberk Mountain (409 m) in the northeast. At least 90 items were found, consisting of bronze and silver belt mounts and metal elements for equestrian equipment. Several items were damaged by fire. The items were made in the late Avar style from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. We can rightly believe that these treasures, whether they were war loot or sacrifices for deities, were hidden by the Slavs (Robak, Pieta 2016).

Some early medieval artefacts were found on Slepývrch Peak. On the eastern slope, about 100 meters below the fortress wall,





Ostava Žabokreky nad Nitrou  
(Tribečské múzeum v Topoľčanoch)

Žabokreky nad Nitrou hoard  
(Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)

Izbor predmeta iz ostave Zemiansky Vrbovok  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

A selection of finds from the Zemiansky Vrbovok hoard  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)



je velika zbirka poljoprivrednog alata iz 9. stoljeća. Ona uključuje i tri srpa i dvije kratke kose koje su se koristile za žetvu. [KP]

#### Klátová Nová Ves

Iz katastra općine Klátová Nová Ves, iz utvrde Šiance potječu ranosrednjovjekovni predmeti iz 8. i s početka 9. stoljeća, tj. iz velikomoravskog razdoblja. Na temelju slabih tragova naseljavanja unutar grada pretpostavlja se da grad nije bio stalno naseljen, već je korišten tek kao povremeno utočište. Među predmete vrijedne pažnje ubrajaju se dijelovi naoružanja i odjeće, kao i konjske orme. Mnogi se od njih vežu uz avarsku sredinu (vršak koplja, stremen, okov u obliku veprove glave, okovi pojasa), na temelju čega ih je moguće interpretirati kao ratni plijen ili kao izvor sirovina za obrt. Ostali predmeti (ostruge) dokazuju prisutnost zanatlija u gradu. Otkrivena su i dva velika skupna nalaza od kojih je prvi sadržavao dva čekića i nakovnja, a drugi devet vršaka strelica s drškama i kukicama (Robak, Pieta 2016). [ZR]

#### Blago iz Zemianskog Vrbovka

Blago iz Zemianskog Vrbovka ubraja se među najdragocjenije arheološke nalaze na teritoriju Slovačke. Čine ga srebrni nakit, novac, posude te razni oštećeni predmeti i ulomci koji su mogli služiti kao sirovina (za zanatliju). Moguće je da su ove krotine planirali rastaliti i od metala napraviti nove, vrijednije predmete. Datiranje blaga omogućuje prisutnost 18 kovanica iz vremena bizantskog cara Konstansa II. (641.–668.) i njegova sina Konstantina IV. (668.–685.). Na temelju ovoga skrivanje blaga se može datirati u posljednju četvrtinu 7. stoljeća. Prvotno je blago moglo biti imovina nekog bizantskog zanatlije ili njegovog kupca. [MB]

#### Žabokreky nad Nitrou

Na lokaciji Pod Striebornicom godine 1961. otkrivena su dva skupna nalaza željeznih predmeta datirana u razdoblje od 9. do 10. stoljeća. Prvi skupni nalaz poljoprivrednih predmeta potječe iz jame duboke oko 200 cm. U jami se nalazio ljudski kostur u zgrčenom položaju, a pored njega je bio smješten željezni kotlić koji je sadržavao sljedeće željezne predmete: srpove, kose, ralo, raonik i ingote. Druga je zbirka poljoprivrednog alata otkrivena nepuna 2 metra od mjesta prvog pronalaska. Sadržavala je motiku, srpove, kose, rala, raonike, motike i sjekiru. [MŽ]

a hoard of 9<sup>th</sup> century agricultural tools was found. There were three sickles and two short scythes, used for harvesting. [KP]

#### Klátová Nová Ves

The early medieval finds from Šiance fortress are from the 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, i.e. from the period of Great Moravia. Based on the scarce traces of settlement within the fortress, it is assumed that the fortress was still not inhabited at the time, but was only temporarily used as a refuge. Some of the remarkable finds include armour and clothing, as well as equestrian equipment. Many of the items found are related to the Avar community (a pierced spearhead, stirrups, a metal element shaped like a boar's head, belt mounts), so it is safe to assume that they were war booty or raw material for craftsmen. Other finds (spur) suggest the presence of artisans in the fortress. There were also two hoards, the first one included two hammers and an anvil, the other one 9 socketed arrowheads (Robak, Pieta 2016). [ZR]

#### The treasure from Zemiansky Vrbovok

The treasure from Zemiansky Vrbovok is one of the most valuable archaeological finds in Slovakia. It consists of silver beads, coins, pottery, and many varied damaged items and fragments, which could represent raw material used by craftsmen. It is probable that their plan was to melt the broken fragments, and make new, more valuable, objects with the metal. Definition of the timeframe of the items revealed that the 18 coins came from the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine II (641-668) and his son emperor Constantine IV (668-685). Based on that, we can date the hoard to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The hoard could originally have been the property of a Byzantine craftsman or a merchant. [MB]

#### Žabokreky nad Nitrou

At the site of Pod Striebornicou, two major finds with iron artefacts from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, were discovered in 1961. The first large find of agricultural artefacts was in a 200 cm deep pit. The pit contained a human skeleton in a fetal position with an iron cauldron next to it with the following iron items: sickles, ploughshares, scythes, shovels, and axe heads. Another find with agriculture tools was discovered not even 2 m away from the first one. It contained a hoe, some sickles, scythes, shovels, ploughshares, and axe heads. [MŽ]

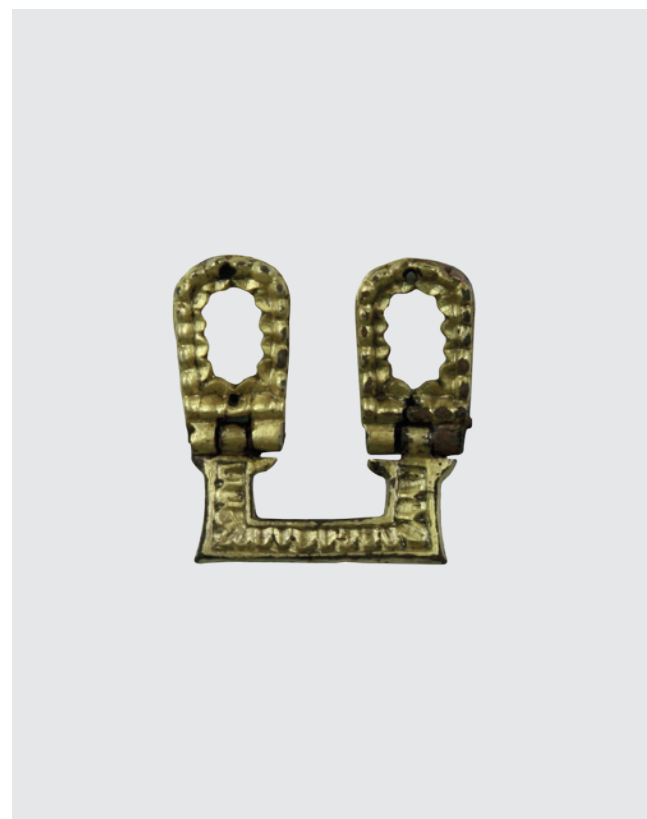


Ukrasni dijelovi konjskog oglavlja, Komárno-Lodenica (Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Decorative parts of a horse harness, Komárno-Lodenica (Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

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Dvodijelni okov, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 121 (Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Two-part fitting, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 121 (Danube Region Museum in Komárno)



## 2.8 POGREBNI OBIČAJI

## BURIAL RITES AND CUSTOMS

Poimanje smrti u poganskim društvima podrazumijevalo je posvećivanje velike pažnje pogrebnim običajima. Smrću život ne završava, već se nastavlja na drugoj razini. Način ukopa odražava vjeru, religijsko poimanje i način razmišljanja ondašnjih ljudi. Grobovi su ukapani na točno određena mjesta - groblja. Ona su bila smještena podalje od obradivih površina, ali u blizini naselja. Groblja su se u Avarskom kaganatu često dugo koristila i stoga su bila veća. Među groblja s najvećim brojem otkrivenih grobova na teritoriju Slovačke ubrajaju se, primjerice, lokaliteti u mjestima Devínska Nová Ves, Holiare i Nové Zámky. Među ukopima se nalaze grobovi ratnika s konjima, koji su zbog bogate posmrtno opreme često bili pljačkani. Bogatstvo pokopanih ponajprije je ovisilo o gospodarskom stanju njihove zajednice. Poznata su i manja, ali izrazito bogata groblja, kao primjerice ona iz mjesta Komárno i Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava.

Na teritoriju Avarskog kaganata uglavnom se pokapalo cijelo tijelo. Tijelo pokojnika zajedno s priložima polagalo se u grobnu jamu. Grobovi s urnama su rijedak nalaz. Neke su zajednice pokapale inhumacijom i kremacijom, stoga su poznata i biritualna groblja. Na većini su groblja tijela sahranjenih orijentirana u smjeru SZ (glava) - JI (noge), ponekad s odstupanjima. Poznata su i groblja sa suprotnom, odnosno drugačijom dominantnom orijentacijom. Na grobljima su pronađeni i zajednički grobovi više pojedinaca te konjanički grobovi (s pokopanim konjima), a pronađene su i različite preinake grobnih jama.

Od početka ranog srednjeg vijeka pa sve do početka 9. stoljeća na teritoriju sjeverno od Avarskog kaganata, koji su naseljavali Slaveni, prevladava spaljivanje. Nakon smrti tijela su spaljivana na lomačama, a pepeo s ljudskim ostacima polagao se u plitku jamu u zemlji ili u glinenu posudu (urnu) koja bi potom također bila položena u zemlju. U gorskim su oblastima Slovačke iznad ovih ostataka ponekad nasipavani grobni humci. Značajnija se promjena u pogrebnom obredu događa kad se tijela pokojnika počinju polagati u grobove. Tijela pokojnika najčešće su pokapana u ispruženom položaju na leđima s rukama položenim uz tijelo. Uglavnom su bila orijentirana u smjeru Z-I, s glavom okrenutom na zapad. Uzrok promjene moglo je biti prodiranje kršćanske vjere, utjecaj Avarskog kaganata ili oponašanje elita. Većinu poznatih slavenskih groblja

Pagan societies in general assigned great importance to the end of a life, depending on their understanding of death. Death did not represent the end of a life, but rather a continuation of it on a different level. The burial reflected the faith, the religious beliefs, and the mind-set of the people. Graves were concentrated in certain places – cemeteries. These were located near a given settlement, but away from the area used for cultivation. As the Avar Khaganate graveyards were often used for a long time, they can be quite large. The cemeteries at Devínska Nová Ves, Holiary, and Nové Zámky represent some graveyards with the largest number of uncovered graves in Slovakia. The deceased included warriors buried with horses, which had often been robbed because of their rich equipment provided for the afterlife. The wealth of the buried graves depended on the economic status of a given community. Smaller, but extremely rich graveyards are also known at Komárno and Radvaň na Dunajom-Žitava.

The body was usually interred in the Avar Khaganate. The bodies were placed in graves with certain items. Cremation graves were less common. Some communities used both inhumation burials and cremations, hence there are also bi-ritual graveyards. The body (the head) of the deceased was mostly oriented NW-SE, with some deviations. But some graveyards with the opposite orientation of the bodies are also known. Mass graves of various individuals also existed at the graveyards, as well as equestrian graves (buried together with horses), and other varied types of graves.

From the beginning of the Early Middle Ages, until the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Slavs living in the north of the Avar Khaganate preferred cremation. After death, the bodies were burnt at a pyre and the ashes from the remains were placed in a shallow pit in the ground or in a pottery container (urn), which was also placed in the ground afterwards. In the mountainous areas of Slovakia, sometimes tumulus embankments were built above these remains. A significant change to the burial rites was made when they started utilizing inhumation type graves. The deceased were usually buried in a straight position on their back with the arms at the side of the body. The usual orientation was W-E with the head on the west. The most likely reasons for the change could be: conversion to Christianity, influence from the Avar Khaganate, or imitating



Ogrlica od perli, Skalica  
(Slovenské národné múzeum –  
Múzeá v Martine)

Beaded necklace, Skalica  
(The Slovak National Museum –  
Museums in Martin)

—

Okovi pojasa, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I,  
grob XXXI (Slovenské národné múzeum –  
Múzeá v Martine)

Belt fittings, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I,  
grave XXXI (The Slovak National Museum –  
Museums in Martin)

—

Tauširana železna falera, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I, grob XXXI (Slovenské  
národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Iron phalera with an inlay, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXXI (The Slovak  
National Museum – Museums in Martin)

—

Žvane, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grob  
XXIV (Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v  
Martine)

Bit, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXIV  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in  
Martin)

Urne iz tumula Veľké Hoste-Chrástky  
(Tribečské múzeum v Topoľčanoch)

Urns from the Veľké Hoste-Chrástky tumuli  
(Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)



možemo okarakterizirati kao mala i na njima se tek iznimno može pronaći više od nekoliko desetaka grobova. Grobnih priloga i nalaza u grobovima bilo je malo. U većini grobova nije pronađen nijedan predmet, eventualno tek jedna posuda ili nekoliko sitnih željeznih predmeta (npr. nož). Iznimka su bogati grobovi, poput onih iz regije Turiec (Malý Čepčín, Martin-Priekopa) i ostalih regija (Veľké Hoste-Chrástky), u kojima su vjerojatno bili pokopani pripadnici viših društvenih slojeva. Među najznačajnija groblja u Slovačkoj ubrajaju se tumuli u Skalici. Tamo je zabilježeno više od 60 humaka, no mnogo ih je uništeno zbog gospodarske djelatnosti.

elites. Most of the Slavic graveyards can be defined as small – with seldom more than a few dozen graves. Not many items were placed in the graves. No grave goods were found in most of the graves, only sometimes a pot or a few small iron artefacts (such as a knife). The exceptions were the graves of the wealthy, the likes of which we can find in Turiec (Malý Čepčín, Martin-Priekopa) and other regions (Veľké Hoste-Chrástky), in which high-ranking people were probably buried regularly. One of the most significant tumulus graveyards in Slovakia is located in Skalica. More than 60 tumuli were documented there, while many more were destroyed by farming.



Pogled na dio nalazišta u Skalici koje se danas nalazi u šumi

Scenery of the part of the tumuli site in Skalica, currently located in forrest

—  
Humak 61, jedan od najvidljivijih humaka  
Barrow 61, one of the most visible barrows

—  
Humak 59, jedan od najvidljivijih humaka  
Barrow 59, one of the most visible barrows



Slavenski grobni humak u Malý Čepčín, položaj Homôlka (fotografirano 1933.)

Slavic burial mound Malý Čepčín, location Homôlka (photographed in 1933)

Fragment okova, Malý Čepčín (Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Fitting fragment, Malý Čepčín (The Slovak National Museum – Museums in Martin)







Ratnici su u ranosrednjovjekovnom društvu imali vrlo važnu ulogu. Održavali su red, služili u obrani domaćeg stanovništva i u slučaju potrebe napadali neprijatelja. Nomadske skupine poput Avara uglavnom su koristile taktiku lake konjice. Njihovo su omiljeno oružje bili lukovi, koplja, sablje, mačevi i sjekire. Tijela jahača štiti su, osim kožnih, metalni i karičasti oklopi. Oklop je bio toliko dragocjen da su njegove dijelove tek iznimno stavljali u grobove. Osim oružja i opreme, iz grobova jahača poznajemo i široku lepezu dijelova konjske orme koja uključuje i funkcionalne (žvale, stremen, metalni i koštani dijelovi sedla) i dekorativne dijelove. Avarsku su vojku činile i druge borbene jedinice i pomoćne snage, ponajprije pješadija.

Kod Slavena je najstarija organizacija vojne obaveze proizlazila iz rodovske strukture jer su u slučaju potrebe rodovi svakog borbeno sposobnog muškarca zvali „na oružje“. Kasnije, u vrijeme kneževina, već su postojale družine i stalna vojska s kneževskom konjicom. Postojanje konjice arheološki se može potvrditi ponajprije pronalascima ostruga, stremena i žvala. Jezgru vojske činile su pješadija (pretežno vojnici naoružani lukovima i kopljima) i malobrojna konjica. Ratnici su bili naoružani sukladno svojem društvenom položaju. Mogli su imati metalni oklop i kacigu, dvosječne i jednosječne mačeve, koplja i bodeže, sjekire i lukove. Za obranu su im služili drveni štيتovi, uglavnom okruglih oblika.

Dio muške odjeće i u ranom su srednjovjekovlju bili vrlo omiljeni metalni dijelovi pojasa, koji su u ukasnoj izvedbi od plemenitih metala pripadali višem društvenom sloju. Remen pojasa na jednom je kraju završavao kopčom kroz koju se provlačio suprotni kraj s metalnim jezičcem. Na pojas se moglo pričvrstiti i bočno remenje. Osim pojasa, ratnici su nosili i oružni opasač za mač. Funkcionalni dijelovi konjske orme (žvale, sedlo i stremen) mijenjali su se tijekom vremena, sukladno potrebama i razvoju borbene taktike. Oprema konjanika u 9. stoljeću sastojala se i od ostruga, koje su mogle biti pokazatelj višeg društvenog položaja.

Warriors played a crucial part in early medieval societies. They kept order, defended the inhabitants, and when necessary, they would attack an enemy. The nomad groups, specifically the Avars, usually favoured a light cavalry technique. Their favourite weapons were bows, spears, sabres, swords, and axes. Along with leather protective clothing, the bodies of riders were also protected by lamellar and chainmail armour. The armour was so precious that only in exceptional cases were elements placed in a grave. In addition to weapons and equipment, a wide range of equestrian equipment was also found in the graves of riders. The majority of horse harness finds was found in graves. This included functional elements (bits, stirrups, and metal and bone saddle and bridle parts) and also decorative items. In addition to the cavalry, the Avar army also consisted of other battle units and auxiliary forces, particularly the infantry.

The oldest military organization on the Slavic side resulted from the military obligation of the *gens* establishment. The *gens* would, if necessary, call every available male to arms. Later, in the principality period, military troops existed in the form of a permanent army, with the prince's cavalry. The existence of the cavalry can be archaeologically proven through the discoveries of spurs, stirrups, and bits. The infantry was the core of the army (mainly archers and spearmen), and the cavalry was minimal. The warriors were equipped according to their social status. The equipment included metal armour and a helmet, swords (double and one-sided), spears, daggers, axes, and bows. They used wooden, usually round shields for defence.

Some of the most beloved male attire items in the Early Middle Ages were metal belt elements, which had a decorative design and were made from precious metals for the upper classes. The leather belt itself had a buckle on one side, through which the other side with a metal strap end was pulled and fastened. The belt could also have solid auxiliary side belts with mounts. In addition to the regular belt, a sword belt could also be worn. Functional items of equestrian equipment consisted of the bridle, the saddle, and the stirrups, which changed through time according to necessity and the development of battle tactics. One rider from the 9<sup>th</sup> century was also wearing spurs, which could indicate that he was a high-ranking member of society.



Ostruga, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied)

Spur, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak  
Academy of Sciences)

—  
Ulomak žvala, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied)

Bit fragment, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak  
Academy of Sciences)

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Obujmica grive konjskog oglavlja, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I, grob XXVI  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Mane clamp, part of a horse harness, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXVI  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in  
Martin)



Okovi pojasa i konjske orme, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I, grob X (Slovenské národné  
múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Belt and horse harness fittings, Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I, grave X (The Slovak National  
Museum – Museums in Martin)



Sablja, Komárno IX Lodenica, grob 142  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Sabre, Komárno IX Lodenica, grave 142  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)

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Vršci strijela, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied)

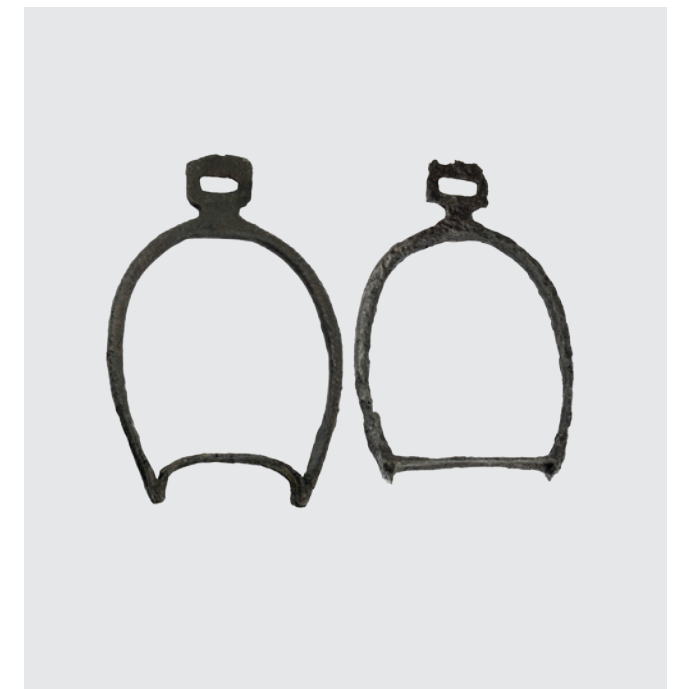
Arrowheads, Klátová Nová Ves  
(Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy  
of Sciences)

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Sjekira, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grob XXXI  
(Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

Axe, Radvaň nad Dunajom-Žitava I, grave XXXI  
(The Slovak National Museum – Museums in  
Martin)

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Stremeni, Komárno IX Lodenica; Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I (Podunajské múzeum v Komárne,  
Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeá v Martine)

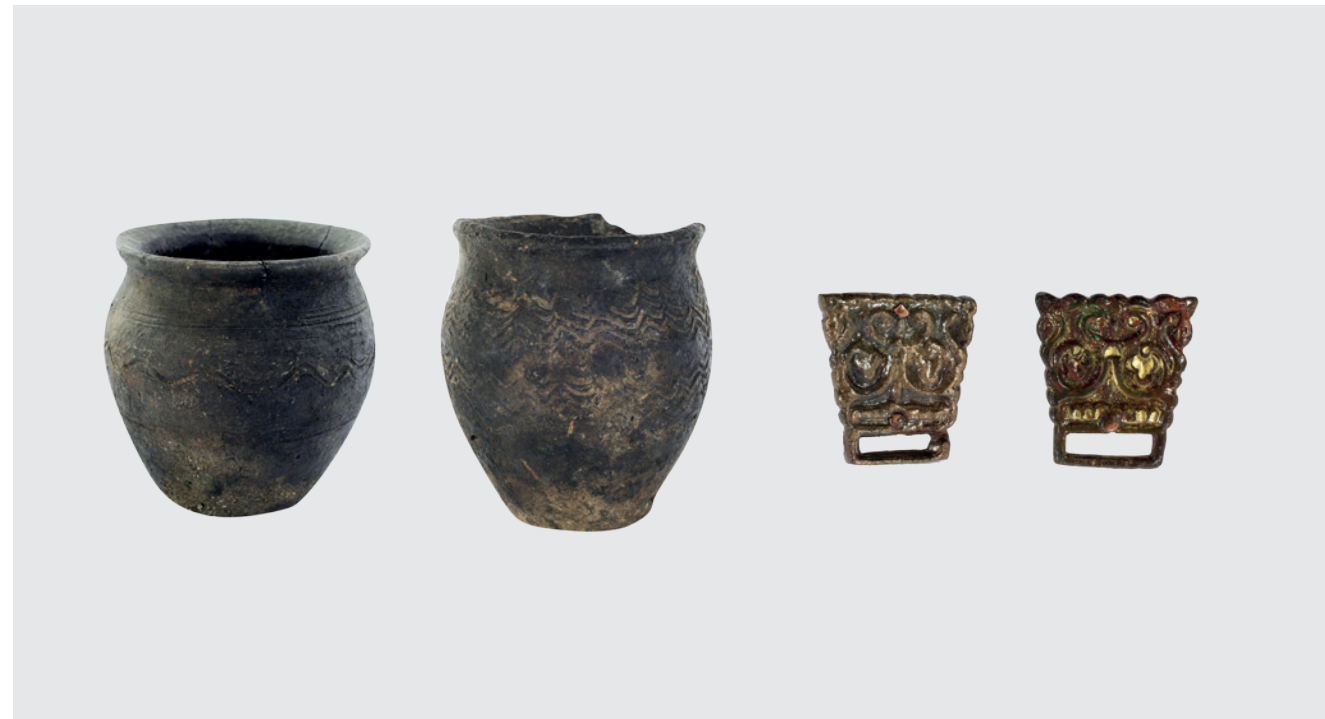
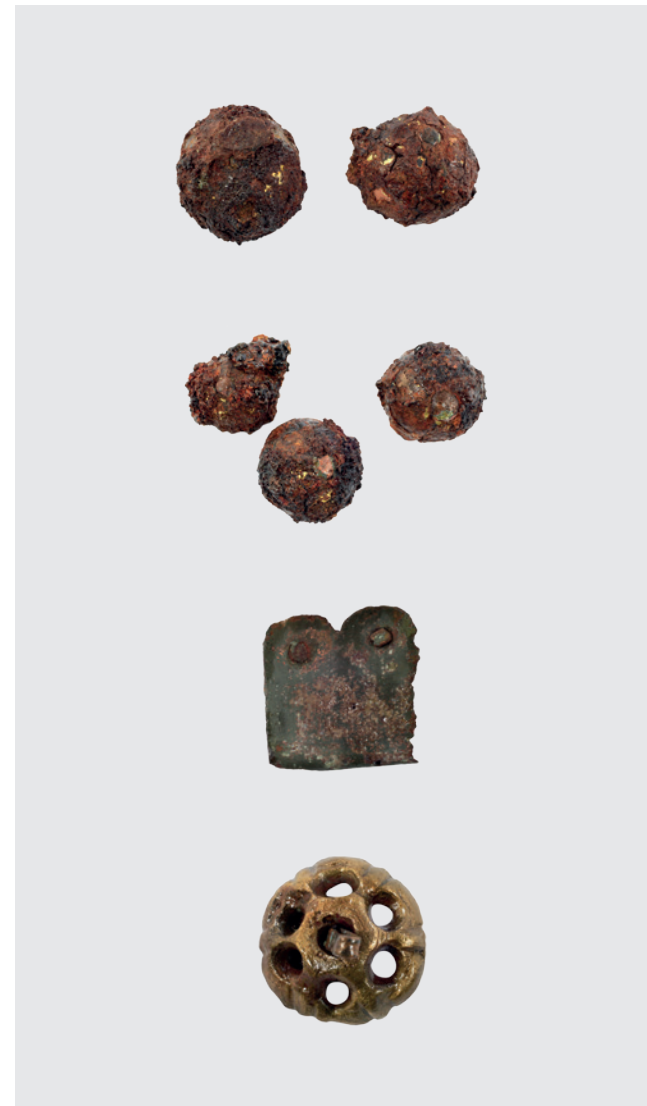
Stirrups, Komárno IX Lodenica; Radvaň nad  
Dunajom-Žitava I (Danube Region Museum  
in Komárno, The Slovak National Museum –  
Museums in Martin)





Komárno IX Lodenica, ženski konjanički grob 134  
(Podunajské múzeum v Komárne)

Komárno IX Lodenica, female equestrian grave 134  
(Danube Region Museum in Komárno)



## 2.10 ŽENE RATNICE

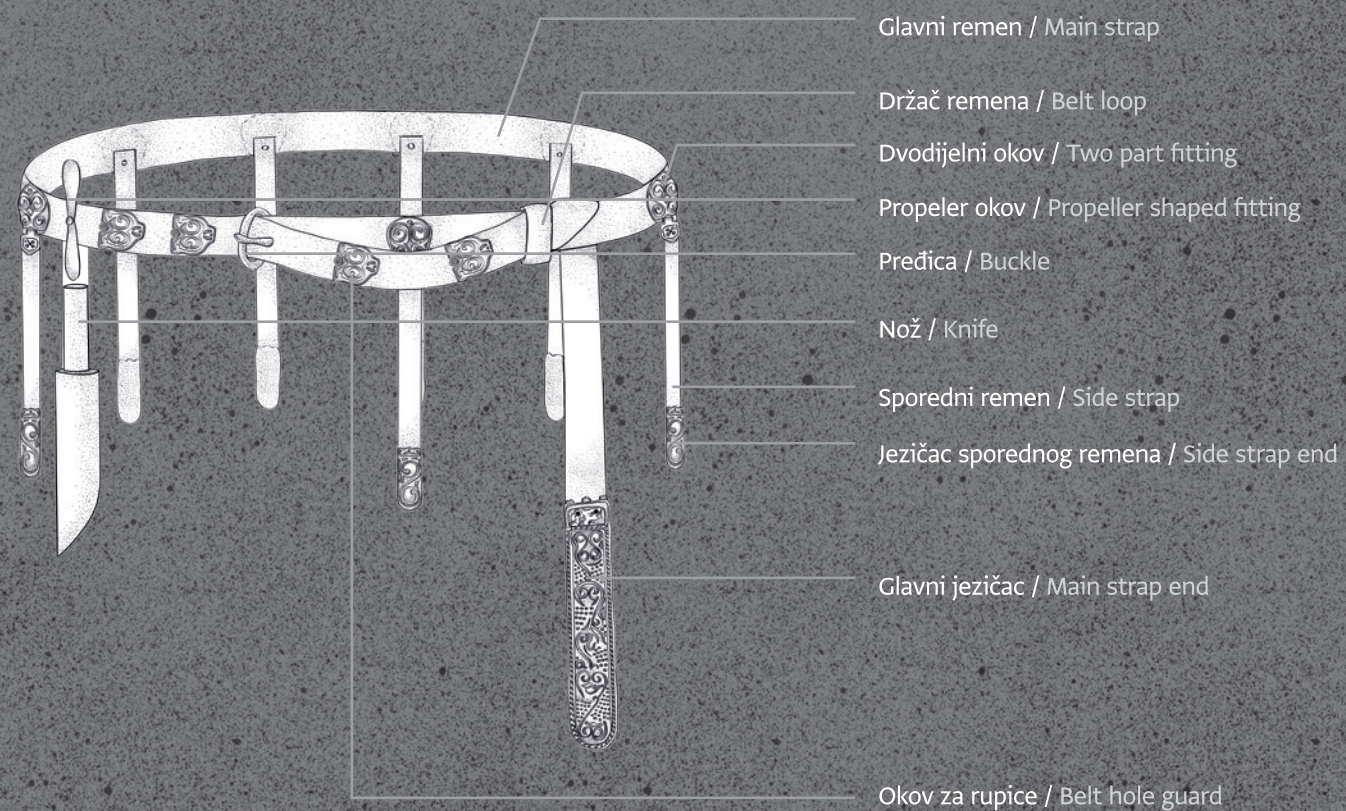
## FEMALE WARRIORS

Među konjaničkim grobovima na sjevernoj periferiji Avarskog Kaganata antropološkim je analizama otkriveno nekoliko slučajeva ženskih ukopa (u okolici arheoloških nalazišta Komárno i Košice). Te su žene bile pokopane s konjima zbog svojeg visokog društvenog statusa, što upućuje na mogućnost da su u kasnoavarskom razdoblju i žene mogle imati visoki status među slobodnim pripadnicima avarskog društva. U tim slučajevima pokojnice nisu bile pokopane s oružjem i pojasnim garniturama, koji su karakteristični samo za grobove slobodnih odraslih muškaraca (ratnika), ali u grobnim priložima konjske opreme nije bilo nikakvih razlika.

Among the horsemen graves on the north periphery of Avar Khaganate, the anthropological analyses discovered some cases of female burials (in the area around the archaeological sites Komárno and Košice). These women were buried with horses because of their high social status, which might indicate that in the Late Avar period women also could have had high status among the free members of Avar society. In these cases, the deceased were not buried with weapons and belt sets, which are characteristic only for the graves of free adult men (warriors), however there were no differences in the horse harness grave goods.

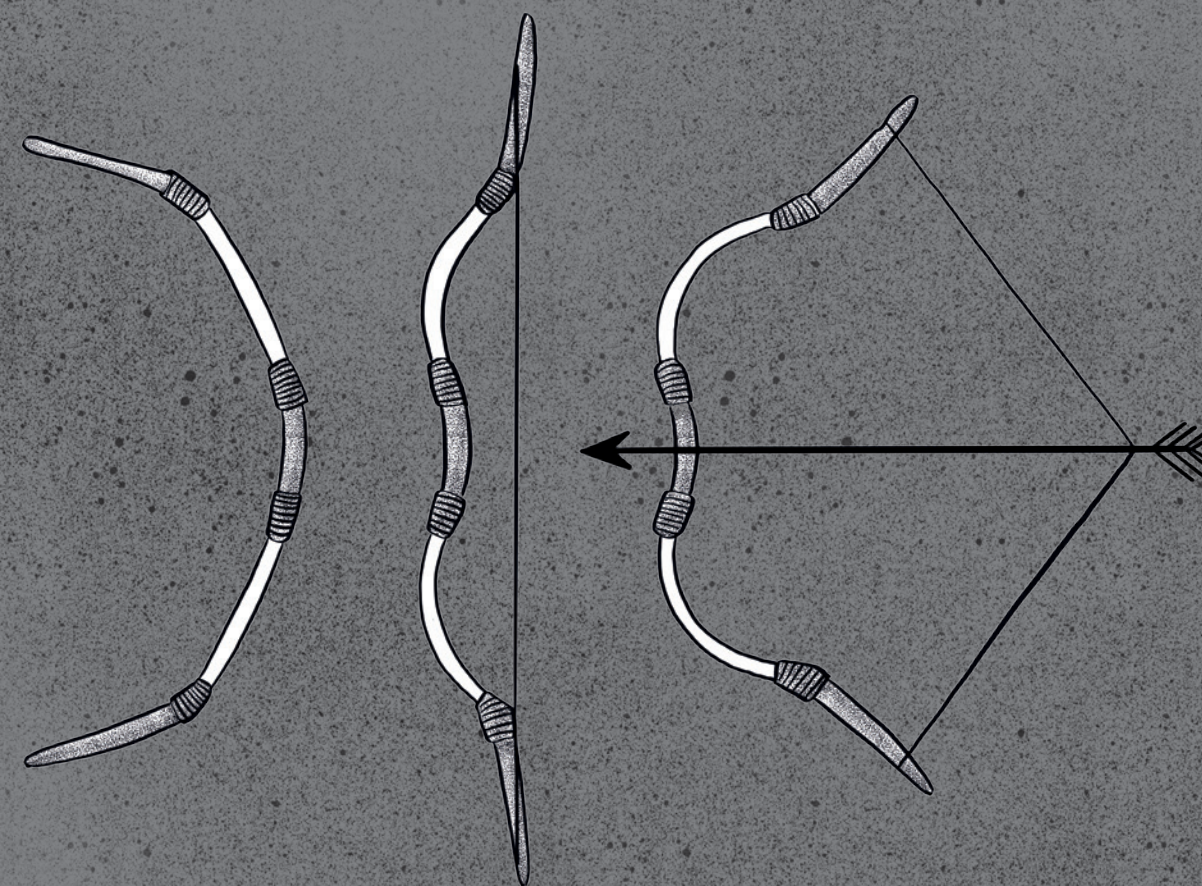


POJASNA GARNITURA  
BELT SET



REFLEKSNI LUK  
REFLEX BOW

Refleksni luk s prekrivnim pločicama na drški i krajevima /  
Reflex bow with composite elements on the grip and ends



A  
Bez žice za napinjanje  
Without the string for bracing

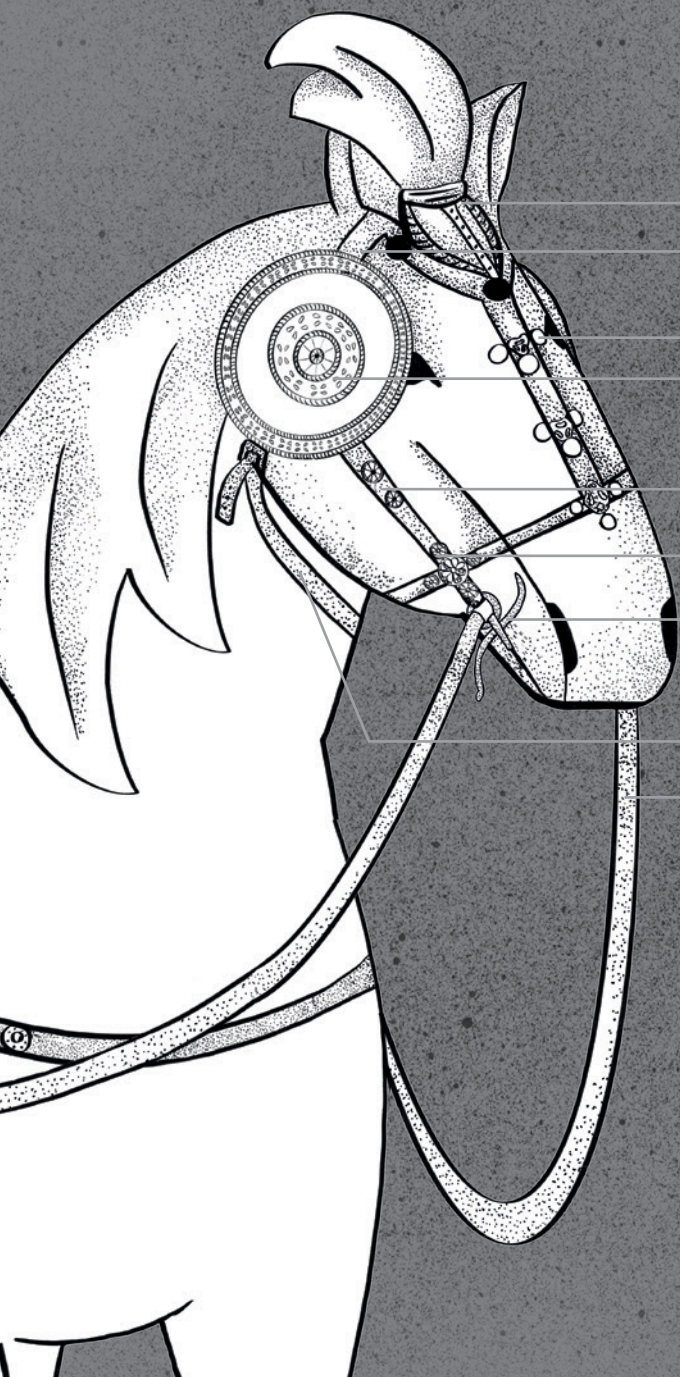
B  
U stanju mirovanja  
At rest

C  
U napetom stanju  
Braced



OPREMA  
KONJSKOG OGLAVLJA

HORSE  
HARNESS-HEADGEAR



- Držac perčina / Headpiece
- Tjemeni remen / Front strap
- Okov / Fitting
- Falera / Phalera
- Obrazni remen / Cheek strap
- Razdjelnici za remen / Strap dividers
- Žvala s prečkama / Bit with rods
- Podgušni remen / Curb
- Vođice / Rein

SEDLO

SADDLE



- Okov sedla / Saddle fitting
- Sjedište / Seat
- Unkaš / Swell (or Pomell)
- Svod / Tree
- Trbušni remen / Girth
- Remen stremena / Stirrup leather
- Pređica / Buckle
- Prsni remen / Neck strap
- Stremen / Stirrup

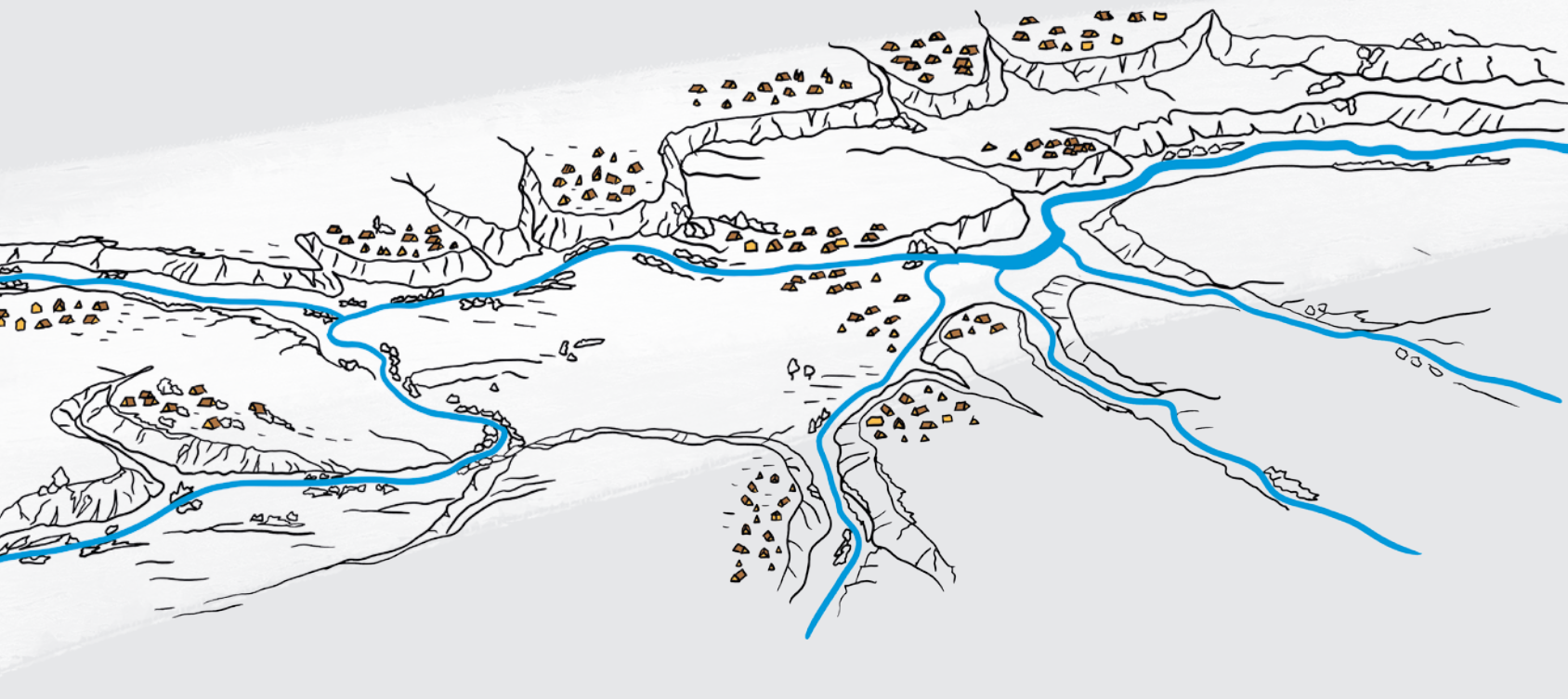


3. AVARI I SLAVENI  
JUŽNO OD DRAVE

AVARS AND SLAVS  
SOUTH OF THE  
DRAVA RIVER





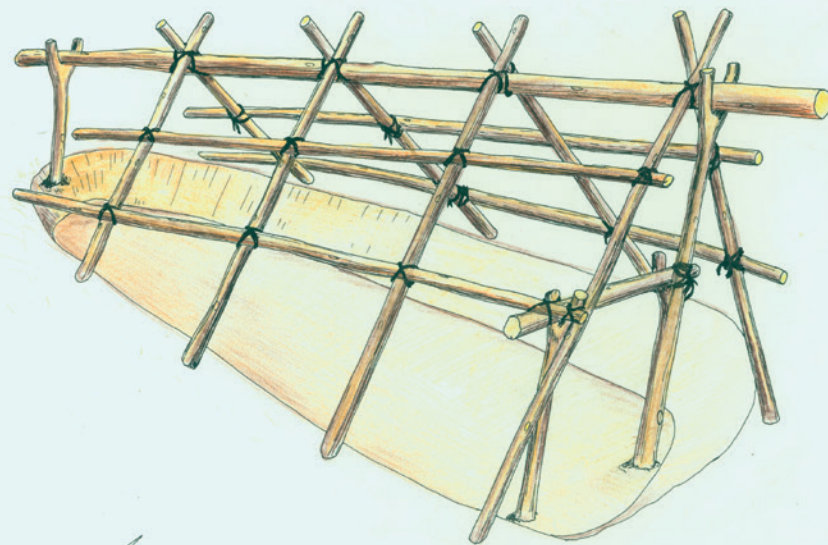


Stari Pekovci, Debela šuma

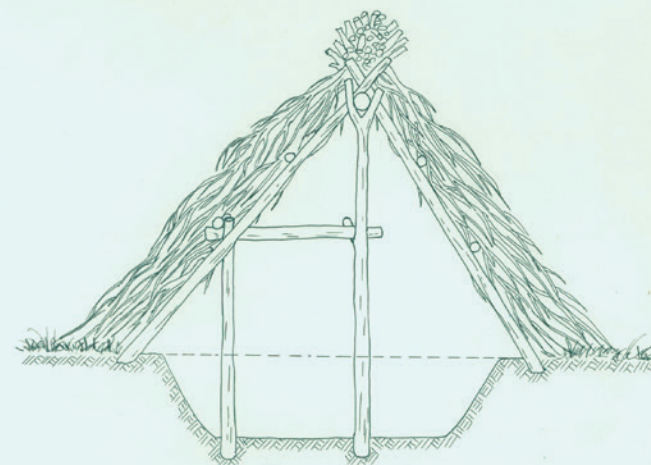
Rekonstrukcija srednjovjekovnog stambenog objekta  
Reconstruction of a medieval house



Mogući izgled objekta  
Potential layout of the house



Pogled na konstrukciju pročelja objekta  
s jugoistočne strane  
View of the structure of the facade  
from the southeast side



Pogled na konstrukciju pročelja objekta  
s istočne strane  
View of the structure of the facade  
from the east side

M 1:25

Ranosrednjovjekovna avarodobna naselja iz razdoblja od sredine 6. do prve polovine 9. stoljeća nisu brojna – ne zato što ih nije bilo, nego zato što su istraživana uglavnom u zaštitnim istraživanjima. Većina istraženih naselja pripisuje se Slavenima i njihovom naseljavanju, dok se s Avarima i ostalim populacijama na području kontinentalne Hrvatske (romansko stanovništvo, germanske populacije) istraženi naseobinski lokaliteti teško mogu povezati.

Prostorna organizacija ranosrednjovjekovnih naselja uočava se u formiranju naselja uz vodotokove: naselja nizinskog tipa prate obalu obližnje rijeke ili potoka, ili su smještena na blago povišene položaje u blizini povoljnih riječnih prijelaza. Vodotoci su korišteni kao izvor vode, hrane, ali i kao način putovanja, tj. plovidbe. Vjerojatno su koristili monoksile (čamce izdubljene u deblu), što se pretpostavlja zbog monoksila pronađenog u ranoslavenkom naselju u Mikulčicama. Kako su ustanovljene samo manje skupine objekata (do desetak nastambi), naselja očito nisu zauzimala velik prostor, ali je uočena pravilnost prema kojoj se drugo naselje nalazi nekoliko kilometara uzvodno ili nizvodno pa je možda moguće govoriti o komunikaciji među naseljima.

Stambene objekte ili nastambe čine blago ukopani objekti različitih tlocrta; četvrtasti tlocrti se prepoznaju kao najčešći oblici od 9. do 11. stoljeća (s ognjištem ili bez), dok su tlocrti izduženo ovalnih objekata tipični za najranija razdoblja 7. i 8. stoljeća. Naravno, treba uzeti u obzir to da sam tlocrt objekta ne predstavlja nastambu, već samo njezin najdublji dio. Konstruktivni elementi poput rupa od stupova rijetka su pojava u ovom periodu, a nisu pronađeni ni ostaci koji bi upućivali na postojanje nadzemnih objekata. Nastambe su najčešće jednodimenzionalne kuće, s polukružnim krovom od isprepletenog šiblja prekrivenog slamom ili krovom šatorastog tipa do zemlje, odnosno hodne površine. Ognjišta za grijanje i spremanje hrane u većini slučajeva nisu pronađena unutar nastambi i smatra se da su bila smještena van objekta, dok su u samo nekoliko slučajeva pronađena ognjišta od oblutaka ili nepravilnog kamenja te peći od opeka ili pečene gline unutar objekta, smještene uz sam rub ukopa. Gospodarski objekti nalaze se u neposrednoj blizini kuća i čine sastavni dio domaćinstava: vatrišta, samostalne peći, skladišni prostori, torovi za stoku te radionički prostori.

Najstarija naselja istražena su u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj: Torčec-Prečno Pole I i Stara Ves-Nedeljšće se prema pronađenim nalazima datiraju u prijelaz na 7. i 7. stoljeće. Naselja Šemovec-Šarnjak, Varaždin-Brezje IV, Varaždin-Brezje V, Virje-Volarski breg, Virje-Sušine, Buzin i Stružani datiraju se u 8. stoljeće, a kraju 8. pa sve do

Early medieval Avar period settlements from the period from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries are not numerous – not because they did not exist, but rather because they have mostly been investigated in rescue excavations. Most of the excavated settlements are attributed to the Slavs and their migrations, while the investigated settlement sites are difficult to connect with the Avars and the other populations in the area of continental Croatia (the Romanic and Germanic groups).

The spatial organization of early medieval settlements can be observed in the formation of settlements along watercourses: lowland settlements followed the banks of nearby rivers or streams, or were located in slightly elevated positions near accessible river crossings. These watercourses were used as sources of water and food, but also as a means of travel, by boat. They probably utilized monoxylons or dugout canoes, which is presumed because of the dugout canoe discovered at Mikulčice. As only small groups of structures were discovered (up to ten dwellings), it is evident that the settlements did not occupy any great area, but a regularity was noted in the spacing of settlements several kilometers up- or down- stream, so it is possible to speak of communication between individual settlements.

The residential structures or dwellings consists of slightly dug-in structures with various ground plans: rectangular forms have been recognized as the most common forms from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries (with or without a hearth), while elongated oval structures were typical for the earliest period of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Of course, it must be taken into consideration that the plan of a structure by itself does not represent the actual form of the dwelling, but merely its lowest part. Structural elements like post-holes appear only rarely in this period, nor were elements discovered that would indicate the existence of above-ground structures. The dwellings were most often single roomed houses with a semicircular roof of wattles covered by thatch or a polygonal tent-like roof reaching to the ground surface. Hearths for heating and preparing food in most cases were not found within the dwellings, and it is thought that they were usually located outside of the structures, as in only a few cases have hearths of cobbles or irregular stones and ovens of brick or fired clay been found within such structures, located along the very edge of the house foundations. Economic facilities were located in the immediate vicinity of the house and formed an integral part of each household, consisting of a fireplace, a separate oven, storage areas, stock pens, and workshops.



Pršljen, Nedelišće-Stara Ves  
(Muzej Međimurja Čakovec)

Spindle whorl, Nedelišće-Stara Ves  
(Museum of Međimurje Čakovec)

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Gorski kristal, Bojna-Brekinjova kosa  
(Gradski muzej Sisak)

Rock crystal, Bojna-Brekinjova kosa  
(City Museum Sisak)

—

Gorski kristal, Nedelišće-Stara ves  
(Muzej Međimurja Čakovec)

Rock crystal, Nedelišće-Stara Ves  
(Museum of Međimurje Čakovec)

—

Ulomak češlja, Varaždin-Brezje V  
(Gradski muzej Varaždin)

Fragment of a comb, Varaždin-Brezje V  
(City Museum Varaždin)

Pojasni jezičac, Virje-Sušine  
(Institut za arheologiju)

Belt strap end, Virje-Sušine  
(The Institute of Archaeology)

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Nož, Virje-Sušine  
(Institut za arheologiju)

Knife, Virje-Sušine  
(The Institute of Archaeology)



prve polovine 9. stoljeća pripadaju naselja Torčec-Prečno Pole I, Varaždin-Brezje I, Varaždin-Brezje V, Jakopovec-Blizna, Virje-Sušine, Šepkovčica-Gradići, Stari Perkovci-Debela šuma, Virovitica-Kiškorija jug, Kaznica-Rutak, Stari Jankovci-Gatina i Čepinski Martinci-Dubrava. Stari Jankovci-Gatina čine iznimku jer predstavljaju jedino do danas istraženo naselje smješteno nedaleko kasnoavaro-dobnog groblja.

Život u naselju ne traje dugo, tek nekoliko desetljeća, a glavni razlog tome je poljoprivreda, odnosno način života u kojem se zemlja obrađuje i koristi dok se ne iscrpi, nakon čega se seli na novu lokaciju. Domaćinstva su držala i koristila životinje; većinom goveda, svinje i perad.

Najčešći i najbrojniji nalaz u svakom ranoslavenskom objektu su ulomci keramičkih posuda, razlog čega je svakako krhkost posuda. Tipični oblici posuda pronađeni u ranosrednjovjekovnim naseljima su lonac i pekač (najčešće okrugli pladanj koji je vjerojatno korišten za pečenje kruha i pripremu žitarica). Keramičke posude su najčešće izrađivane na tri načina: ručno rađene bez upotrebe lončarskog kola, vjerojatno tehnikom valjičica gline koji se lijepe jedni na druge; ručno rađene s doradom na sporom kolu (sporom rotacijom) i izrađene na brzom kolu (brzom rotacijom). Keramiku najstarijeg razdoblja karakteriziraju neukrašene ručno rađene posude ili posude s vrlo malo ukrasa, a jedan od najstarijih i najčešćih ukrasa je višestruka valovnica koja se javlja u prvoj polovini 7., a koristi se do kraja 8. stoljeća. Ostali motivi ukrasa su češljaste valovnice i višestruke vodoravne linije, kazetni ukras (dva pojasa višestrukih vodoravnih linija povezanih okomitim kratkim višestrukim linijama), utiskivanje krugova, urezivanje krugova poput sunca, ubadanje točkica u nizu. Specifičnost najstarijih razdoblja je rupičasta keramika, najranija skupina slavenske keramike na ovom području, a pronađena je u jamama datiranim na kraj 6. i kroz 7. stoljeće te kao rijedak nalaz i u nekolicini iz 8. stoljeća, kad i nestaje. Rupičastost se postiže primjesama sitno mljevenog drvenog ugljena i/ili vapnenca, a ta je keramika vrlo čvrsta i postojana. Ponekad se uočavaju i otisci kola na dnu, tj. mali kružni utori na sredini dna posude, koji najvjerojatnije predstavljaju trag osovine podloge koja se vrti.

U naseljima (ali često i u ženskim grobovima) su pronađeni i pršljenovi koji služe za pređenje niti lana ili vune. Jednostavnog su koničnog, oblog i plosnatog oblika, a često su napravljeni i od ulomaka antičkih tegula ili amfora. Također su pronađeni i dvostrani koštani češljevi, kao toaletni pribor i ukras za kosu. Čest nalaz su i propletači, kao i kameni brusovi koji su uglavnom napravljeni od tvrdog pješčenjaka (za oštrenje oruđa i oružja).

Obrađeni gorski kristal predstavlja jedinstven nalaz u ranosrednjovjekovnim naseljima i grobovima, ali u doba seobe naroda i ranog srednjeg vijeka privjesci od gorskog kristala nisu neuobičajena pojava, kod mnogih naroda. Nalaz gorskog kristala može se dovesti u vezu s poganskim slavenskim vjerovanjem prema kojem se gorski kristal povezuje s Perunom – gromovnikom, odnosno Perunovim strijelama – gromovima, a često mu se pridaju i zaštitničke osobine pa je korišten kao amulet.

The earliest settlements have been excavated in northern Croatia: Torčec-Prečno Pole I and Stara Ves-Nedelišće are dated according to the discovered finds to the transition to and in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The settlements of Šemovec-Šarnjak, Varaždin-Brezje IV, Varaždin-Brezje V, Virje-Volarski breg, Virje-Sušine, Buzin, and Stružani are dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while the settlements of Torčec-Prečno Pole I, Varaždin-Brezje I, Varaždin-Brezje V, Jakopovec-Blizna, Virje-Sušine, Šepkovčica-Gradići, Stari Perkovci-Debela šuma, Virovitica-Kiškorija jug, Kaznica-Rutak, Stari Jankovci-Gatina, and Čepinski Martinci-Dubrava belong to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and up to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The site of Stari Jankovci-Gatina is an exception, as it represents the only settlement excavated to the present that was located not far from a late Avar cemetery.

Life in such a settlement did not last long, just a few decades, and the main reason for this was agriculture, or the way in which the land was cultivated and used until it became exhausted, after which the village was moved to a new location. Domestic animals were kept by households; mostly cattle, pigs, and poultry.

The most common and most numerous finds in early Slavic structure were fragments of pottery, the reason of which is certainly the fragility of the vessel. Typical vessel forms found at early medieval settlements are pots and baking pans (most often a circular platter probably used to bake bread and prepare grain). The pottery vessels were usually made in three manners: hand made without the use of a pottery wheel, probably utilizing clay strips that were glued to one another; hand made with finishing on a slow wheel (slow rotation), and made on a fast wheel (fast rotation). The pottery of the earliest period was characterized by undecorated hand-made vessels or vessels with very little decoration, while one of the earliest and most frequent decorations was a multiple wavy line that appeared in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and was used to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Other decorative motifs included combed wavy lines and multiple horizontal lines, a coffered decoration (two fields of multiple horizontal lines connected with short vertical multiple lines), stamped circles, incised sun-like circles, stamped dots in a row. One specific feature of the earliest period is vesicular pottery, the earliest group of Slavic pottery in this region, discovered in pits dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and through the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, and as a rare find at several sites from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when it disappears. Its vesicular nature was achieved through an admixture of finely ground charcoal and/or limestone, and this pottery was very hard and durable. Sometimes prints from the wheel can be seen on the base, in the form of small circular impressions in the center of the vessel base, which most likely represent traces of the shaft of the spinning surface.

In the settlements (but often also in female graves), spindle whorls that served for spinning linen or wool have been found. They have simple conical, oblong, and flat shapes, and were often made from fragments of a Roman tegula or amphora. Other finds include two-sided bone combs, used as an accessory and as a hair decoration. Thatching tools are also frequently found, as well as whetstones mostly made from hard sandstone (for sharpening tools and weapons).



Posuda, Sotin  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)  
Vessel, Sotin  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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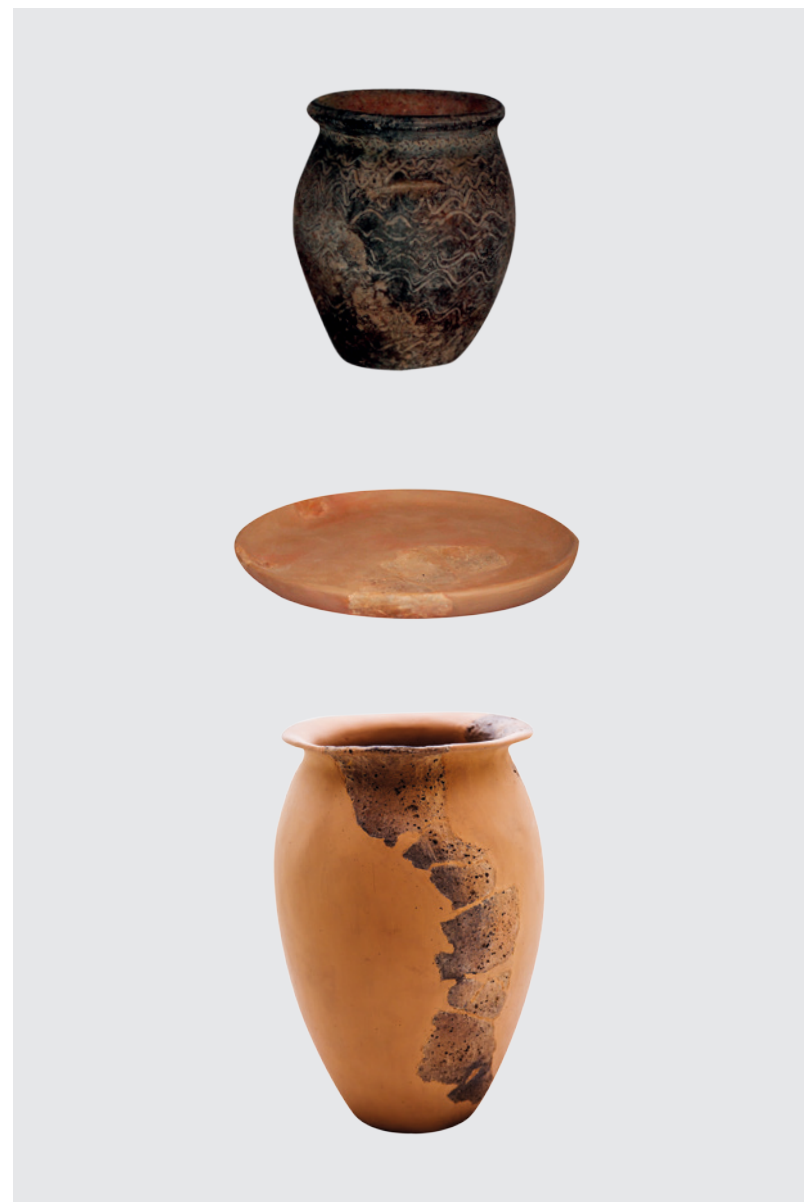
Pekač, Stružani  
(Muzej Brodskog Posavlja)

Baking pan, Stružani  
(The Brodsko Posavlje Museum)

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Posuda, Nedelišće-Stara Ves  
(Muzej Međimurja Čakovec)

Vessel, Nedelišće-Stara Ves  
(Museum of Međimurje Čakovec)



Propletači, Buzin  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Thatching tools, Buzin  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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Propletač, Jagodnjak-Krčevine  
(Kaducej d.o.o.)

Thatching tool, Jagodnjak-Krčevine  
(Kaducej d.o.o.)



## Propletači

U obilju arheološke građe neki predmeti, posebno ako su vizualno neatraktivni, često ostanu u sjeni reprezentativnijih komada. Takav je slučaj s propletačima, malim koštanim alatima čija točna svrha i namjena još uvijek nisu poznate, ali se polako sve više nameću kao zanimljiv nalaz u naseljima i grobljima ranog srednjeg vijeka.

Propletači su alatke izrađene od kosti, zašiljene na jednom kraju i ravno odrezane na drugom, širem kraju. Ponekad na tom širem kraju postoji i probušena rupa. Istraživači još uvijek raspravljaju jesu li te rupe služile da bi se predmet objesio o pojas, ili su imale sličnu funkciju kao ušice na iglama, ali za deblje materijale. Propletači su izrađivani od potkoljениčnih kostiju manjih životinja (ovca, koza, pas, zec). Ove alatke korištene su za prepletanje biljnih vlakana, lika, pruča, slame i slično. Moguće je da su služile za izradu ribarskih mreža ili košara od pruča. U starijoj literaturi pretpostavlja se i da su služile kao crtala za ukrašavanje keramičkih posuda, ili kao šila za probadanje kože ili tkanine. Međutim, za razliku od propletača, šila imaju poliran zašiljen vrh i izrađivana su od pune kosti te su služila za probijanje rupa (u koži, tkanini i slično).

Worked rock crystal represents a unique find in early medieval settlements and graves, but during the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages, pendants of rock crystal were not unusual, having been popular among many peoples. Finds of rock crystal can also be linked to pagan Slavic beliefs connecting rock crystal to Perun – the God of Thunder, or the arrows of Perun – lightning bolts, and it was often considered to have protective features, and was used as an amulet.

## Thatching tools

Among the abundance of archeological material, some objects, particularly if they are visually unattractive, often remain in the shade of more luxurious artifacts. This is the case with thatching needles, small bone tools whose exact function and purpose still remain unknown, but which are slowly becoming increasingly interesting as finds at early medieval settlements and cemeteries.

Thatching needles are tools made of bone, sharpened at one end and cut off straight at the other, wider end. Sometimes there is a drilled hole in this wider end. It is still a subject of debate as to whether these holes served to hang this tool from a belt or did the hole actually have a function similar to the eye of a needle, but for much thicker materials. Thatching needles were made from the lower leg bones of small animals (sheep, goats, dogs, rabbits). These tools were used for interweaving plant fibers, reeds, wicker, wattle, straw, and so forth. They may also have been used for making fishing nets or wicker baskets. In the earlier literature, it was thought that they had been used as a tool for decorating pottery vessels, or as an awl for leather or fabric. However, unlike thatching needles, awls have a polished pointed tip and were made of solid bone, as this better served to punch holes (in leather, fur, fabric, etc.).





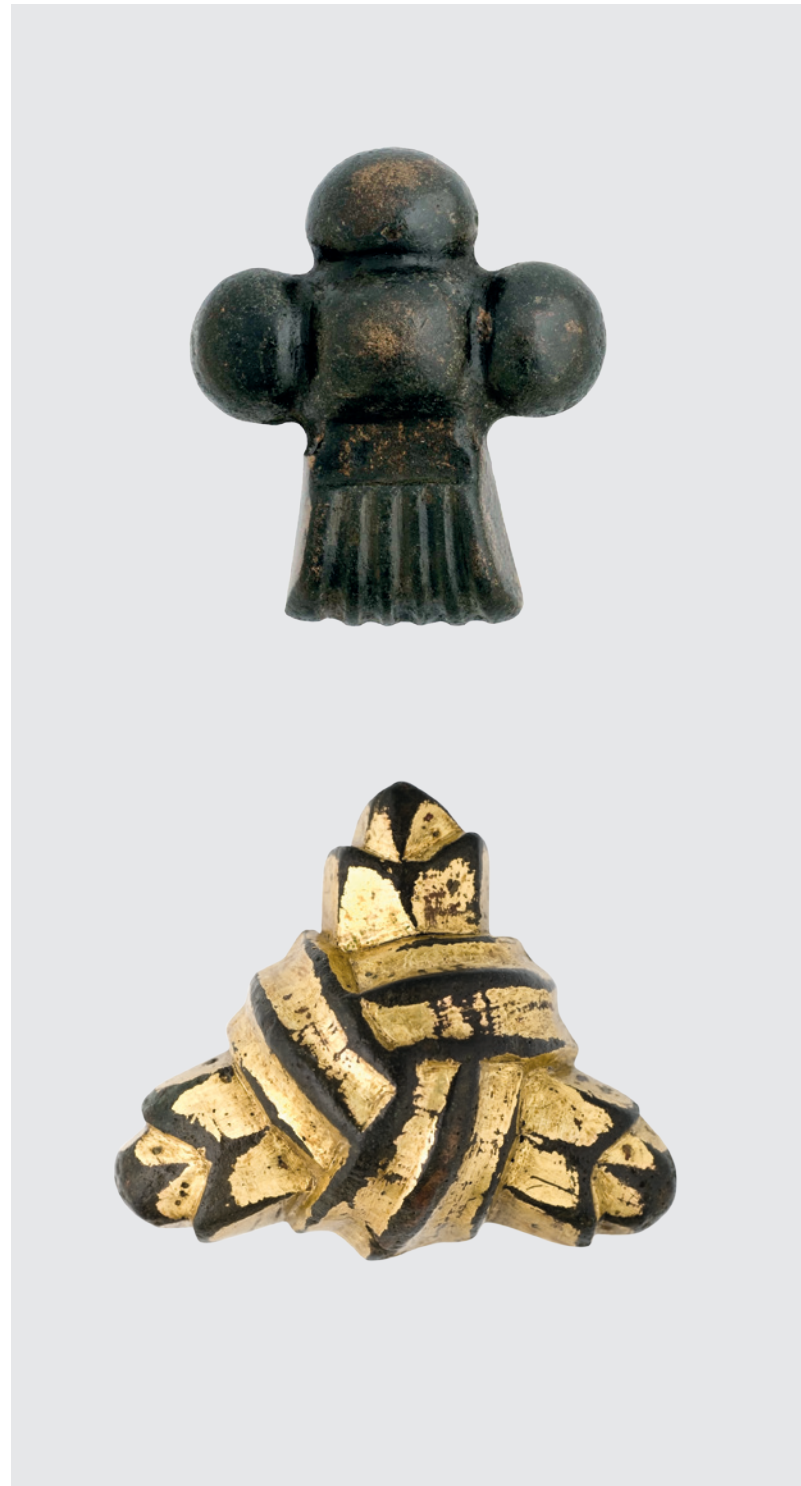
Kalup za tiještenje okova konjske orme, Sisak (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Mould for pressing horse harness fittings, Sisak (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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Okov u obliku čvora, Sotin (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Fitting with a knotted design, Sotin (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



Zanat se definira kao djelatnost obrtnika i izučenih majstora koji posjeduju posebne vještine, umijeća i znanja. O umješnosti avardobnih zanatlija najbolje svjedoče grobni nalazi, kojih je najviše sačuvano. Osim pojedinačnih grobova diljem kaganata u kojima prilozi uz pokojnika – alati – svjedoče o njegovom zanatu za života, trenutno nema osobito konkretnih svjedočanstava o specijaliziranosti u pojedinim djelatnostima koje obuhvaćaju obradu metala, gline, kosti, drveta i stakla. Pretpostavlja se da su se predmeti proizvodili lokalno, sukladno potrebama zajednice, dok su se samo iznimno koristile usluge putujućih majstora.

Metalurška djelatnost obuhvaća proizvodnju predmeta od željeza, bronce, olova, kositra, srebra i zlata. O tehnikama obrade metala zaključci se stvaraju na temelju gotovih proizvoda, ali i alata, kalupa te ostava koje sadrže polugotove proizvode. To dovodi do sljedećih glavnih tehnika izrade metalnih predmeta: lijevanje, kovanje, iskucavanje i tiještenje. Lijevanje uključuje uporabu kalupa, koji mogu biti jednodijelni ili dvodijelni. Kovanjem se obrađuje užareni metal, uz uporabu čekića i nakovnja. Iskucavanje također uključuje čekić, ali se radi na mekoj podlozi i na hladnom metalu. Tiještenjem se iz hladnih metalnih ploča pomoću matrica (kalupa) dobivaju određeni oblici. Ovako nastali metalni predmeti još su i dodatno obrađivani, što uključuje tehnike površinskog izravnavanja, poliranja, glaziranja i tehnike ukrašavanja (npr. pozlata, *niello*).

Kasnoavarsko razdoblje obilježeno je industrijom lijevane bronce. Brončani predmeti lijevani su u kalupe metodom izgubljenog voska, a osim glinenih upotrebljavani su i kameni kalupi te tehnika lijevanja u pijesak. Rezultati analiza kemijskog sastava bronce upućuju na različite sastave bronce za pojasne garniture i nakit, a osim novih sirovina koristila se i antička bronca. Od bronce su izrađivani ukrasni dijelovi pojasnih garnitura, pređice, spojke, karičice, naušnice, kopče ogrlica, torkvesi, narukvice, prstenje, pincete, praporci i ukrasni dijelovi konjskog oglavlja.

Pri obradi željeznih predmeta u vrijeme avarske vladavine koristili su se svi stupnjevi obrade željeza: prženje rude, taljenje, ponovno zagrijavanje i kovanje. Od željeza su izrađivani sljedeći predmeti: pređice, narukvice, strelice, mačevi, sjekire, koplja, noževi, kresiva, britve, žvale, falere, stremeni i kopče sedla. Za sada je locirana i istražena samo jedna talionička radionica sa svim pripadajućim elementima (peći, pomoćni objekti, ruda i zgura) i to u blizini Virja, na položaju Volarski breg. Na obližnjem položaju Sušine istražena je kasnoantička talionička radionica, što je česta kombinacija i u drugim dijelovima Avarije.

A craft is defined as the activity of craftsmen and trained masters possessing special skills, artistry, and knowledge. The grave finds, as the most preserved elements, best testify to the skills of the Avar craftsmen. Other than individual graves throughout the Khaganate in which the grave goods placed with the deceased – the tools – bear witness to his or her profession while alive, at the moment no particularly concrete testimonies exist about specialization in activities involving the working and processing of metal, clay, bone, wood, and glass. It is assumed that the items were produced locally, according to the needs of the community, while only exceptionally would the services of traveling masters be used.

Metallurgical activities included the production of objects from iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver, and gold. Conclusions can be made about the techniques of metal working on the basis of the finished items, but also tools, molds, and hoards that contain semi-finished products. This leads to the following main techniques of making metal objects: casting, forging, embossing, and pressing. Casting involves the use of a mold, which can be one-part or two-part. Forging is the working of red-hot metal, using a hammer and anvil. Embossing also involves hammering, but this is done on a padded surface with unheated metal. By pressing unheated metal plates into a matrix (mold), certain forms could be obtained. Metal objects such as this could be further worked, including the techniques of surface leveling, polishing, glazing, and ornamentation (e.g. gilding, *niello*).

The Late Avar period is marked by the industry of casting bronze. Bronze objects were cast in a mold using the lost wax method, and in addition to clay molds, stone molds were also used, along with the technique of casting in sand. The results of the analysis of the chemical composition of the bronze indicate that different bronze alloys were used for belt sets and for jewelry, and in addition to freshly acquired raw material, Roman bronze was also used. Bronze was used to make the decorative parts of belt sets, belt-buckles, clasps, circlets, earrings, necklace fasteners, torcs, bracelets, rings, tweezers, small bells, and decorative sections of horse headgear.

All phases of working iron were utilized during the period of Avar rule to make iron objects: firing ore, smelting, reheating, and forging. The following items were made of iron: belt buckles, bracelets, arrows, swords, axes, spears, knives, firesteels, razors, bits, phalerae, stirrups, and saddle buckles. To date, only one smelting workshop with all the relevant elements (furnaces, auxiliary facilities, ore, and slag) has been located and excavated



Okov u obliku glave vepra, Sisak-Kupa  
(Gradski muzej Sisak)

Mount in the shape of a boar's head, Sisak-  
Kupa (City Museum Sisak)

Okov u obliku glave vepra, Sotin  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Mount in the shape of a boar's head, Sotin  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

Soljenka od roga, Privlaka, grob 10  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Salt container, Privlaka, grave 10  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

Rekonstrukcija drvene vjedrice s brončanim  
okovima, Nuštar, grob 9 (Gradski muzej  
Vinkovci)

Reconstructed wooden bucket with bronze  
hoops, Nuštar, grave 9 (Municipal Museum  
Vinkovci)

Željezni nož s očuvanom mineraliziranom  
tkaninom, Nuštar, grob 58 (Gradski muzej  
Vinkovci)

Iron knife with traces of mineralised  
textile, Nuštar, grave 58 (Municipal  
Museum Vinkovci)



Lončarstvom su se lokalno vjerojatno bavile žene, iako postoje pretpostavke i o većim centralnim radionicama u kojima su možda radili i muškarci. Keramički predmeti izrađivani su od gline. U arheologiji glina označava materijal kojem se dodaju primjese kako bi bio podatniji za obradu i voda kako bi se lakše oblikovao, a čijim se zagrijavanjem, odnosno pečenjem, dobiva konačni proizvod – keramika. Avarodobnu keramičku ostavštinu čine dvije skupine nalaza, grobna i naseobinska keramika, među kojima nema većih razlika.

Koštana industrija prati razvoj čovječanstva od njegovih početaka, budući da kost kao nusproizvod prehrane životinjskim mesom nudi cijeli niz mogućnosti za izradu oružja, oruđa i nakita. U vrijeme avarske vladavine kost (i rog) se koristi za izradu uporabnih predmeta – spremnika u kojima su čuvani sitni predmeti, ali i za izradu višenamjenskog oruđa. Od kosti su izrađivane iglenice i spremnici te oruđe poput propletača, šila i razlabljivača, a od roga soljenke.

Stakleni predmeti iz vremena avarske vladavine nisu uporabni (posude), nego ukrasni (perle). Izrada staklenih perli odvijala se kroz dvije faze; prva faza obuhvaćala je pripremu sirovine, a druga miješanje s dodacima (radi boje) i topljenje staklene mase te formiranje perli.

Čini se da je zlatarstvo koje obuhvaća izradu predmeta od plemenitih kovina (poput zlata i srebra) bilo u domeni putujućih bizantskih majstora koji su putovali diljem kaganata i na licu mjesta izrađivali ili dovršavali poluproizvode. Također su se koristile usluge bizantskih radionica, što upućuje i na trgovačku djelatnost. Od plemenitih materijala izrađivan je nakit te elementi nošnje i konjske opreme.

Kamen se za izradu oruđa i oružja koristi od starijeg kamenog doba. Kako u nizinskoj Hrvatskoj ne postoje prirodni izvori kamena, on je morao biti dopreman iz rijeke Save ili iz nekog drugog izvora. S obzirom na to da tehnika izrade kamenih odbitaka nije komplicirana, vrlo je mala vjerojatnost da su kameni odbojci reciklirani s mlađekamenodobnih nalazišta, pogotovo ako se u obzir uzme činjenica da su se kremeni donedavno izrađivali u selima. Upravo su kremeni za kresiva najčešće korišteni u ovom razdoblju.

Djelatnosti koje je arheološki teško utvrditi, a pripadaju sferi zanata, svakako su drvodjelstvo, kožarstvo i obrada tekstila. Za svo troje postoje samo indikativni dokazi. Iako su drveni predmeti morali činiti gotovo jednak udio kao i metalni, samo na temelju slabo sačuvanih tragova drveta ili metalnih okova se zna da se u vrijeme avarske vladavine od drveta izrađivalo sljedeće: vjedrice, drške i korice noževa, lukovi, sedla, namještaj, preslice, a drvo se koristilo i u grobnoj arhitekturi, u obliku sanduka, greda i dasaka te pogrebnih nosiljki. Osim nalaza pršljenaka za vretena i utega za tkalačke stanove, o uporabi tekstila i kože svjedoče komadići tekstila i kože sačuvani mineralizacijom na metalnim predmetima. Analizama je dokazana uporaba vlakana biljnog i životinjskog podrijetla, kao i različita faktura tkanja, od finog platna koje je nošeno uz tijelo do grubljih sukana koja su korištena kao vanjski dijelovi odjeće.

near Virje, at the site of Volarski breg. At the nearby site of Sušine, a Late Roman smelting workshop was excavated, which was a common combination in other parts of Avaria.

Pottery was probably locally produced, primarily by women, though hypotheses have been made about major central workshops where men might have worked. Pottery objects are made of clay. In archeology, clay designates the material to which other elements are added to make it more pliable for working and also water to be easier to form, and subsequent baking or firing results in the final product – pottery. The Avar period ceramic legacy is made up of two groups of finds, cemetery and settlement pottery, with no major differences between them.

The production of bone artifacts has followed the development of mankind from its very beginnings, since bone, as a by-product of eating animal flesh, offers multiple possibilities for making weapons, tools, and jewelry. In the period of Avar rule, bone (and horn) was used for making utilitarian objects – such as containers for small objects, but also for making multi-purpose tools. Bone was used to make needle holders and containers for tools such as thatching needles, awls, and knot looseners, and from horn salt cellars.

Glass products from the period of Avar rule were not for everyday use (such as vessels), but were instead decorative (beads). The production of glass beads took place in two phases; the first phase involved the preparation of the raw material, and the second mixing it with additives (for color), melting the glass, and the actual formation of the beads.

It appears that goldsmith activities, which encompasses the manufacture of objects from precious metals (such as gold and silver), were in the domain of traveling Byzantine master craftsmen, who traveled throughout the Khaganate and made various items on the spot or completed semi-finished products. The services of Byzantine workshops were also used, which also indicates trade activity. Jewelry, attire elements, and horse equipment were made from precious metals.

Stone, and particularly flint, has been used to make tools and weapons from the Paleolithic period. As there are no natural sources of flint suitable for tool production in lowland areas of Croatia, such stone must have come from the Sava River or some other source. Given that the technique of making stone flakes is not complicated, it is very unlikely that stone flakes would have been recycled from Neolithic sites, particularly considering the fact that flints for starting fires and for firing weapons were until recently produced widely in rural surroundings. Flints for striking sparks off firesteels were the most commonly used stone artifacts in the Avar period.

Activities that are difficult to establish archeologically, but certainly belong in the sphere of craftsmanship, include woodworking, leather making, and producing textiles. Only indirect evidence exists for all three. Although wooden objects must have been almost as common as metal, if not more so, only on the basis of poorly preserved traces of wood or the corresponding



Ogrlica od perli, Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grob 10  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Beaded necklace, Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grave 10  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



metal fittings the following are known to have been made from wood during the Avar period: buckets, handles/hilts and scabbards of knives, bows, saddles, furniture, and spindles, while wood was also used in funerary architecture, in the form of coffins, beams, and boards, as well as funerary transport.

In addition to finds of spindle-whorls and loom weights, the production and use of textiles and leather is proven by small pieces of textile and leather preserved by mineralization on metal objects. Analysis has proven the use of fibers of plant and animal origin, as well as various textures of weaving, from fine cloth worn on the body to rough tweeds used as outer garments.

Peći u paru, dio talioničke radionice na lokalitetu Virje-Volarski breg

Two furnaces, part of the smelting workshop at the site of Virje-Volarski breg



Kresivo i kreneni, Brodski Drenovac-Plana, grob 4 (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Firesteel and flints, Brodski Drenovac-Plana, grave 4 (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)







Željezni srp, Otok, grob 8  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Iron sickle, otok, grave 8  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

Šarengrad-Klopare, grob 12  
(Muzej grada Iloka)

Šarengrad-Klopare, grave 12  
(City Museum Ilok)

Detalj dječjeg ukopa s ljuskama jaja, Nuštar,  
grob 44 (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

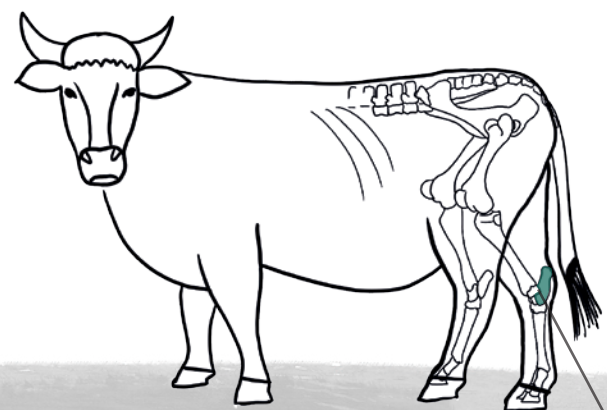
Detail of child burial with egg shells, Nuštar,  
grave 44 (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

Petna kost goveda, Nuštar, grob 81  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Bovine calcaneus, Nuštar, grave 81  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)



Petna kost goveda  
Bovine calcaneus



### 3.3 GOSPODARSTVO

### THE ECONOMY

Uvriježena slika o nomadima i nomadskom načinu života potpognutom pljačkom i bizantskim dankom u zlatu uobičajena je percepcija avarodobnog gospodarstva. Međutim, novija istraživanja potvrđuju (polu)sjedilački način života, što uključuje i drugačiju ekonomiju.

The usual image of nomads and the nomadic way of life as being assisted by looting and Byzantine tributes in gold represents the common perception of the Avar period economy. However, recent research has confirmed a (semi) sedentary way of life, which would predicate a different economy.

Koliki su udio životinje imale u svakodnevnom životu avarodobnog društva pretpostavlja se samo na temelju nalaza kostiju u grobovima. Zooarheološkim analizama potvrđena je prisutnost goveda, malih preživača (ovce/koze), svinje, konja, pasa, ptica (kokoši) te nešto divljih životinja (jelen, srna). Čini se da je govedarstvo bilo osnovna stočarska grana, prvenstveno zbog okolišnih uvjeta (livade, pašnjaci) te nomadske tradicije. Naime, goveda su lako mobilna, ne traže posebne uvjete za uzgoj (staje), a kod razmnožavanja mladi su gotovo odmah pokretljiviji (za razliku od npr. svinja, koje traže posebno mjesto, a mladi su dulje razdoblje vezani uz nastambu). Osim toga, goveda su važan izvor raznih sirovina: mlijeka, mesa, dlake, kože, kostiju, tetiva itd.

The importance of animals in the daily life of Avar society is presumed only on the basis of finds of bones in the graves. Zooarcheological analysis has confirmed the presence of cattle, small ruminants (sheep/goats), pigs, horses, dogs, birds (chickens), and some wild animals (deer, roe deer). It seems that cattle represented the basic livestock branch, primarily due to environmental conditions (plenty of meadows and pastures) and also nomadic traditions. In fact, cattle are quite mobile, require no special conditions for raising (such as barns), and newly born animals are almost instantly mobile (as opposed to pigs, for example, which require pens, and where the young remain for a longer period of time). In addition, cattle are an important source of various raw materials: milk, meat, hair, skin, bones, tendons, etc.

Zastupljenost kostiju malih preživača upućuje na činjenicu da su se uzgajale i ovce i koze, ali očito u puno manjem broju. Nomadska tradicija i okolišni uvjeti nisu bili dobar preduvjet za masovni uzgoj, iako i ovce i koze predstavljaju jednak izvor sirovina kao i goveda. Prehrana se vjerojatno nadopunjavala i divljim životinjama, ali njihova uloga u pogrebnim običajima ne reflektira značaj i udio ovih vrsta. Moguće je čak i da su divlje životinje bile totemi i da je njihova konzumacija bila dozvoljena samo u iznimnim situacijama. Kostii peradi/ptica upućuju na njihov uzgoj radi mesa i jaja.

The presence of the bones of small ruminants points to the fact that sheep and goats were raised, but obviously in a much smaller number. The nomadic tradition and environmental conditions were not a good prerequisite for massive breeding, though sheep and goats represent a similar source of raw materials as cattle. The food supplies were probably supplemented by wild animals, but their role in funeral customs does not reflect the importance and presence of these species. It is even possible that wild animals represented totems and that their consumption was permitted only in exceptional situations. Poultry/bird bones point to their having been bred for meat and eggs.

Poljoprivreda, odnosno obrada zemlje i uzgoj biljaka, ali i prikupljanje samoniklog bilja, činila je osnovu prehrane, sudeći po analizama kostiju i zubi pokojnika. Arheobotaničkim analizama utvrđena je prisutnost prosa, pšenice, klipastog muhara, ječma i pira. Od korova su zabilježene vrste koje i danas postoje: bijela loboda, zelena muhara, ljubičasta svračica; međutim, vjerojatno su tada bile korištene i u prehrani.

Agriculture, working the soil and cultivating plants, as well as gathering self-propagating plants, provided the main basis for the diet, judging by analyses of the bone and teeth of the deceased. Archaeobotanical analyses revealed the presence of millet, wheat, foxtail millet, barley, and spelt. Weeds included types that still exist today: pigweed, green foxtail, crabgrass; however, then they were probably utilized in the diet.

Od poljoprivrednog alata pronađeno je samo nekoliko srpova, no vjerojatno su korišteni i drugi alati poput rala za plugove, motika i vila, koji se nisu očuvali zbog toga što ili nisu polagani u grobove, ili su bili izrađeni od drveta koje je s vremenom propalo.

The category of agricultural tools included only a few sickles, but other tools were presumably also used, such as plows, hoes, and pitchforks, which have not been preserved either because they were not placed in graves, or they were made of wood that decayed over time.





Medvedička-k.br. 38, grobni nalaz  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Medvedička-house no. 38, grave  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



### 3.4 KULTURNI UTJECAJI

### CULTURAL INFLUENCES

Uspostavljanjem avarske države (kaganata) na području Panonije u posljednjoj trećini 6. stoljeća populacije koje su tu već obitavale postaju njezin sastavni dio. Ponajviše se to odnosi na romansko stanovništvo, a uz njega i na pojedine germanske grupacije poput Gepida, Langobarda i drugih. Romansko i germansko stanovništvo unutar kaganata svojom je produkcijom i kulturnim nasljeđem utjecalo na avarsku materijalnu kulturu, a osim ovih unutarnjih utjecaja, avarska država bila je izložena i snažnim vanjskim utjecajima. Najdominantniji je svakako utjecaj Bizantskog Carstva, koji je ponajviše vidljiv kroz arheološke nalaze pojasnih garnitura, raznih tipova nakita i luksuznog posuđa u avarskom kontekstu. Najreprezentativniji primjer takvog materijala je nalaz iz Čadavice, koji se datira u treću četvrtinu 7. stoljeća. Ranoavarski period bio je obilježen sukobima s Bizantom koji su trajali sve do neuspjele opsade Konstantinopola 626. godine. Sukobe su zamijenili diplomatski odnosi i trgovina, a jedan od predstavnika tog novog vremena je i slučajni nalaz bizantske pojasne kopče iz Popovca, koja se datira u razdoblje prve tri četvrtine 7. stoljeća. Ono što popovačku kopču izdvaja od ostalih kopči tog vremena je rovašeni ukras na okovu s prikazom orla visoko podignutih raširenih krila s križem iznad glave. Ovaj motiv pojavljuje se na pečatima i prstenima koji se povezuju s bizantskom administracijom, a nalazi pojasnih kopči s prikazom takvog motiva izrazito su rijetki.

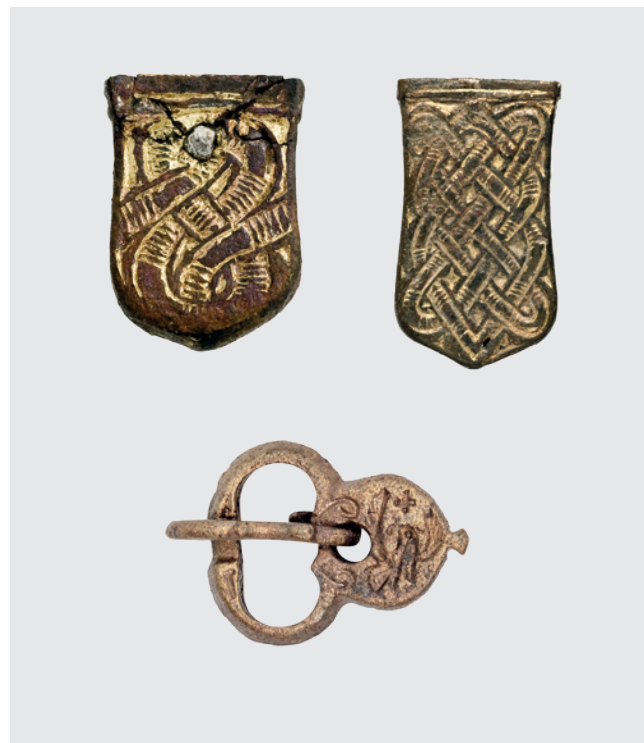
Uz bizantske, na području avarske države nalazimo i tragove germanskih utjecaja. U arheološkom materijalu germanski se utjecaji od samog početka očituju kroz predmete koji stižu s područja izvan kaganata te kroz lokalnu produkciju pod germanskim utjecajem unutar kaganata. Zanimljiv primjer stranih utjecaja koji se na tlu avarske države prožimaju i tvore specifičan novi stil ukrašavanja predmeta može se vidjeti u razvoju zupčastog ornamenta (*Zahnschnitt*) koji se u pravilu javlja na dijelovima pojasnih garnitura, kao i na raznim tipovima nakita od posljednje trećine 6. do u drugu trećinu 7. stoljeća. Zupčasti ornament se najčešće nalazi u kombinaciji s geometrijskim ornamentom u različitim varijacijama prepleta, gdje se spajaju mediteranski i germanski utjecaj, ili pak u kombinaciji s drugim životinjskim stilom ili njegovim apstrahiranim derivatom kao odraz čistog germanskog utjecaja. Nalazi iz konjaničkog groba iz Osijeka i slučajni nalaz okova kopče iz Popovca reprezentativni su primjeri ovakvog načina ukrašavanja, a datiraju se u treću četvrtinu 7. stoljeća.

Tijekom kasnoavarskog perioda germanske populacije unutar kaganata postaju slabo arheološki prepoznatljive pa se germanski utjecaji mogu pratiti tek kroz import predmeta i ideja

With the establishment of an Avar state (Khaganate) in the area of Pannonia in the last third of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the peoples that had already inhabited it now became its integral population. This primarily refers to the Romanic inhabitants, and also to certain Germanic groups, such as the Gepids, Lombards, and others. The Romanic and Germanic population within the Khaganate influenced the Avar material culture with their cultural inheritance and items of production. Other than these interior influences, the Avar state was also exposed to strong external influences. The Byzantine Empire was certainly the most dominant in terms of influence, as is most evident through the archaeological finds of belt sets, various types of jewelry, and fine pottery in the Avar context. The most luxurious example of such material in the region between the Sava, Drava and Danube Rivers is the find from Čadavica, which is dated to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The early Avar period was characterized by clashes with Byzantium, which continued to the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in AD 626. Such conflicts were replaced by diplomatic relations and trade, and one representative of this new era was the chance find of a Byzantine belt buckle from Popovac, which is dated to the first three quarters of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. What distinguishes this buckle from other buckles of the same period is the incised decoration on the mount depicting an eagle with raised spread wings and a cross above its head. This motif appears on seals and rings associated with the Byzantine administration, and finds of belt buckles with such a motif are extremely rare.

In addition to the Byzantines, traces of Germanic influence can be found in the area of the Avar state. At the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Avars were fighting on their western borders with the Franks, Bavarians, and Lombards, but nonetheless it can be said that peace generally reigned on the western border of the Khaganate during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Germanic influences in the archeological material can be noted from the very beginning in the form of objects coming from the region outside the Khaganate and through local production under German influence within it. An interesting example of foreign influences that penetrated into the Avar state and created a specific new style of decorating objects can be seen in the development of the dentil decoration (*Zahnschnitt*), which usually can be found on parts of belt sets, as well as on various types of jewelry from the last third of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the second third of the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. The dentil ornamentation is most often found in combination with a geometric ornamentation in various interlaced variations, where both Mediterranean and German influences are combined, or even in combination with another





Jezičac remena konjske orme,  
Osijek-Zelena polje (Arheološki muzej u  
Zagrebu)

Belt strap end for horse harness,  
Osijek-Zelena polje (Archaeological  
Museum in Zagreb)

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Pojasni jezičac, Osijek-Zelena polje  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Belt strap end, Osijek-Zelena polje  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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Kopča, Popovac  
(Arheološki muzej Osijek)

Buckle, Popovac  
(Archaeological Museum Osijek)



Dugi bojni nož, Prelog-šljunčara Prelog  
(Muzej Međimurja Čakovec)

Long battle knife, Prelog-gravel pit of Prelog  
(Museum of Međimurje Čakovec)

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Mač (tip K), Cirkovljan – šljunčara Diven  
(Muzej Međimurja Čakovec)

Sword (type K), Cirkovljan-gravel pit Diven  
(Museum of Međimurje Čakovec)

—

Koplje s krilcima, Dugo Selo  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Winged spear, Dugo Selo  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

s područja izvan kaganata. Ti su utjecaji uočljivi u naoružanju avarskih ratnika koje dolazi iz merovinškog kulturnog kruga; prvenstveno u pojedinim tipovima kopalja i bojnih noževa (*Sax*) koji su bili proizvod inozemnih ili avarskih radionica po uzoru na izvornike. Bojni noževi postali su relativno uobičajen dio opreme avarskih ratnika, a najčešće se pronalaze u konjaničkim grobovima u sjevernim i zapadnim dijelovima kaganata. Na avarskom području prevladava tip dugog bojnog noža (*Langsax*). Primjeri ovog tipa oružja s područja sjeverne Hrvatske potječu s lokaliteta Prelog-Šljunčara Prelog koji se datira u 8. stoljeće i Botovo-Šoderica u blizini Koprivnice, koji se datira u kasno 8. ili rano 9. stoljeće.

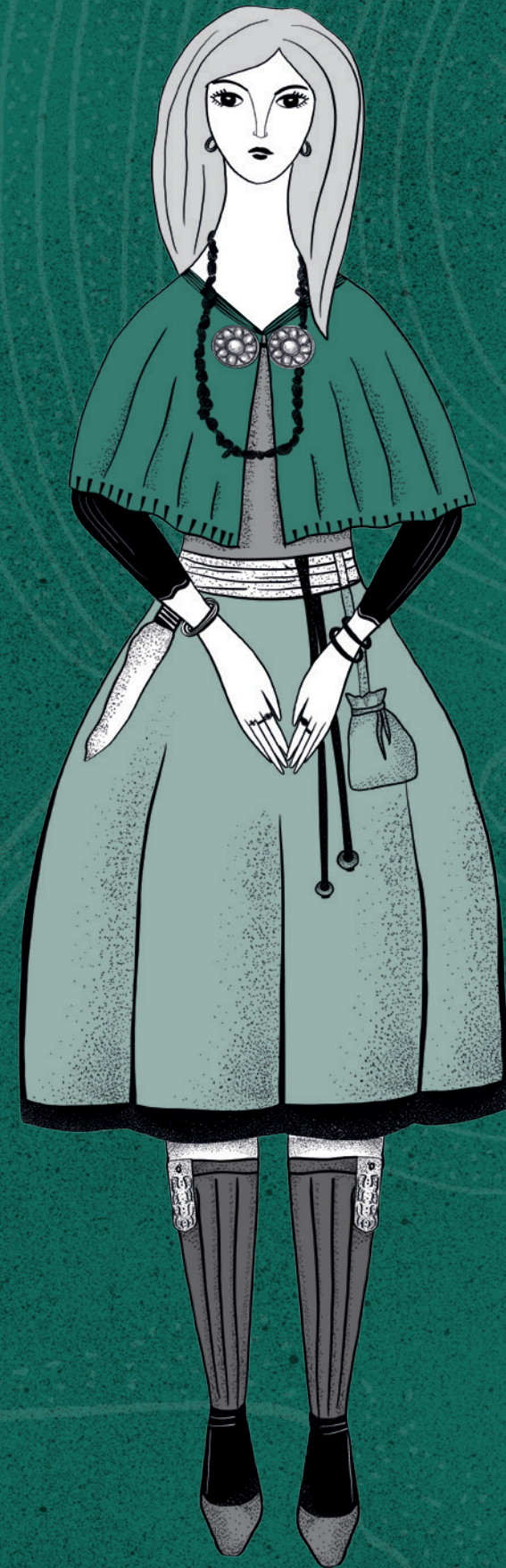
Širenjem franačke sile pod vodstvom Karla Velikog krajem 8. stoljeća dolazi do dugotrajnog rata između Avara i Franaka. Iz ovog perioda potječu arheološki nalazi tipičnog franačkog materijala kao što su dvosjekli mačevi, koplja s krilcima i dijelovi pojasnih garnitura. U tom kontekstu osobito je zanimljiv grob ratnika iz Medvedičke u kojem su pronađeni dvosjekli mač, bojna sjekira, nož, pojasni jezičac i okovi vjedrice, a datira se oko 800. godine. Predmeti pronađeni u grobu upućuju na vojnika u franačkoj službi, a najzanimljiviji nalaz je pozlaćeni pojasni jezičac sa životinjskim ornamentom tipičnim za karolinšku produkciju posljednje trećine 8. stoljeća. Takva se ornamentika u pravilu nalazi na vojnoj opremi, iako se može naći i na sakralnim predmetima, a vrlo rijetko i na nakitu. Nastavak franačkog utjecaja na ovom području može se pratiti i dalje, kroz arheološki materijal u 9. stoljeću, dok Avari polako nestaju s povijesne pozornice u Karpatskoj kotlini. [VR] [BM]

animal style or its abstracted derivative as a reflection of pure German influence. The finds from the horseman grave from Osijek and the chance find of the buckle from of Popovac are representative examples of this type of decoration, dated to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

During the late Avar period, the Germanic populations within the Khaganate become poorly recognizable archeologically, and Germanic influence can only be traced through the import of objects and ideas from areas outside the Khaganate. Such influences can be seen in the weaponry of the Avar warriors, which came from the Merovingian cultural circle, primarily certain types of spears and daggers (*sax*), which were products of foreign or Avar workshops based on originals. Daggers became a relatively common part of an Avar warrior's equipment, and are most often found in the horseman graves in the northern and western parts of the Khaganate. In the Avaric region, a type of long battle knife predominated (*langsax*), a single-edged striking weapon that appeared in the Merovingian circle at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and arrived in the Khaganate at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. It is characterized by a blade length of 50 to 70 cm and a width of 4-5 cm. Examples of this type of weapon from northern Croatia come from the sites of Prelog-gravel pit of Prelog, dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and Botovo-Šoderica near Koprivnica, dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The expansion of the Franks under the leadership of Charlemagne at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century led to a long-lasting war between the Avars and the Franks, which in AD 803 would lead to the final collapse of the Avar Khaganate. Archaeological finds of typical Frankish material come from this period in the region between the Sava, Drava, and Danube Rivers, such as two-edged swords, spears with wings, and parts of belt sets. The grave of a warrior from Medvedička is particularly interesting in this context, with finds of a two-edged sword, a battle axe, a knife, a belt strap-end, and bucket mounts, dated to about AD 800. The objects found in the grave point to a soldier in Frankish service, and the most interesting find is the gold-plated belt strap-end with animal ornament (in the so-called Tassilo chalice style) typical of Carolingian production in the last third of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Such ornamentation is usually found on military equipment, although it can also be found on sacral objects, but very rarely on jewelry. The continuation of Frankish influence in this area can be followed further through archaeological material from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, while the Avars slowly disappeared from the historical stage in the Carpathian basin. [VR] [BM]





U nomadskim društvima svako se dijete smatralo blagoslovom, bez obzira na spol. Nažalost, izvori ne govore puno o ženama u avarodobnom društvu. Pretpostavlja se da su djevojčice od rane dobi sudjelovale u „ženskim“ poslovima: pripremi hrane, održavanju kućanstva i brizi za mlađu djecu. Uz to su vjerojatno sudjelovale i u čuvanju stoke, obradi zemlje, izradi tkanina i predmeta od drveta, a možda i u izradi jednostavnijih metalnih predmeta. Uza sve navedeno, sudjelovale su i u održavanju života u naseljima. Visoka smrtnost u reproduktivnoj dobi povezuje se s trudnoćama i komplikacijama pri porodu, ali antropološke analize dokazuju i da su neke žene doživjele duboku starost.

Najviše saznanja o ženama u avarodobnom društvu zapravo dolazi iz grobnih rituala. Uz opće predmete koji su svojstveni svim dobnim i spolnim skupinama (pređice, noževi) postoje i arheološki specifični nalazi koji sugeriraju ženski spol. Djevojčice već u ranoj dobi, oko desete godine, ulaze u svijet odraslih žena. Prepoznatljive su po skromnim nalazima nakita, ali i nekim tipičnim nalazima kao što su pršljenci za vretena, iglenice, češljevi te toaletni pribor. Zamjetno je da se inventar s godinama obogaćuje, što se povezuje s opremanjem za udaju te kasnije s društvenim položajem supružnika. Pojedine studije posvećene opremi žena u avarodobnim grobovima govore o razlikama na dvije razine: dobnoj i društvenoj. Naime, po grobnoj opremi se razlikuju grobovi djevojčica, djevojaka, odraslih i starijih žena, a istovremeno se njihova oprema razlikuje i po položaju koji su imale za života.

Nakit se ubraja među najbrojnije nalaze u srednjovjekovnim grobljima općenito, pa tako i u avarodobnim. Izraz *nakit* koristi se kao skupni naziv za dekorativne predmete kojima ljudi ukrašavaju svoje tijelo; dijeli se na nakit glave, nakit vrata i prsa i nakit ruku. Osim ukrasne, nakit je često imao i magičnu funkciju, a koristio se i kao vidljiva oznaka društvenog položaja i imovinskog stanja nosioca.

U nakit glave ubrajaju se karičice i naušnice koje su izrađene od različitih materijala; najčešće bronce, zatim željeza, srebra i zlata. Karičice su jednostavan okrugli ukras otvorenih ili zatvorenih krajeva, izrađen od žice različitog promjera, odnosno debljine. Za razliku od karičica, naušnice predstavljaju razvijeniji oblik nakita glave. Sastoje se od karike koja može biti okrugla ili ovalna te dodatno ukrašena elementima na samoj karici i/ili privjescima. Izrađivane su od žice okruglog ili romboidnog presjeka. Ukraši i privjesci na karici mogu biti izvedeni u istom materijalu, ali i u kombinaciji sa staklom i staklenom pastom.

Nakit vrata i prsa predstavljaju ogrlice i torkvesi. Ogrlice se sasto-

In nomadic societies, every child was considered a blessing, regardless of gender. Unfortunately, the sources do not say much about women in Avar period society. It is assumed that from an early age girls would have participated in “women’s work”: preparing food, maintaining the household, and caring for younger children. In addition, they probably participated in guarding livestock, cultivating the land, manufacturing fabrics and wooden objects, and perhaps even producing simple metal objects. In addition to all of the above, they also took part in maintaining life in the settlements. High mortality in the reproductive age is associated with pregnancy and childbirth complications, but anthropological analysis also proves that some women have reached an advanced old age.

The most knowledge about women in Avar society actually comes from burial rituals. In addition to general items that are common to all age and gender groups (buckles, knives), archeologically specific finds exist that suggest the female gender. From an early age, around ten years old, girls enter the world of adult women. They are recognizable from their modest finds of jewelry, but also certain typical finds such as spindle-whorls, needles, combs, and toiletries. It can be noted that the inventory becomes richer with age, which is tied to marriage preparations, and later to the social position of the spouse. Individual studies devoted to the equipment of women in Avar period graves indicate differences evident at two levels: age and social status. Specifically, graves of girls, young women, adults, and older women can be distinguished according to the grave goods, while at the same time their equipment may differ in terms of the position they held in life.

Jewelry is among the most numerous finds in medieval cemeteries in general, and this is also true in the Avar period graveyards. The term jewelry is used as a collective term for various decorative objects that people use to adorn their bodies: it can be divided into jewelry for the head, for the neck and chest, and for the hands and arms. In addition to a decorative function, it often also had a magical function, and additionally could be used as a visible marker of the social position and wealth of the person wearing it.

The jewelry for the head includes circlets and earrings made of different materials; most often bronze, followed by iron, silver, and gold. Circlets have a simple circular form with open or closed ends, made of wire with various diameters. Unlike circlets, earrings represent a more developed form of jewelry for the head. They consist of a circlet that can be round or oval, and can be additionally decorated with elements on the circlet itself and/or pendants. They were made of wire with a round or rhomboid



Naušnica tipa obrnute piramide, Velika Kladuša (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Earring in the form of an inverted pyramid, Velika Kladuša (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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Naušnica sa zvjezdolikim privjeskom, Otok, grob 3D (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Star-shaped earring, Otok, grave 3D (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Naušnica s kuglastim privjeskom, Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grob 14 (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Earring with a globular pendant, Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grave 14 (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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Naušnica, Nuštar, grob 144 (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Earring, Nuštar, grave 144 (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Naušnica, Šarengrad - Klopore, grob 22 (Muzej grada Iloka)

Earring, Šarengrad-Klopore, grave 22 (City Museum Ilok)

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Naušnica, Jagodnjak-Krčevine, grob 29 (Kaducej d.o.o.)

Earring, Jagodnjak-Krčevine, grave 29 (Kaducej d.o.o.)

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Sljepoočnica, Privlaka, grob 136 (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Temple-ring, Privlaka, grave 136 (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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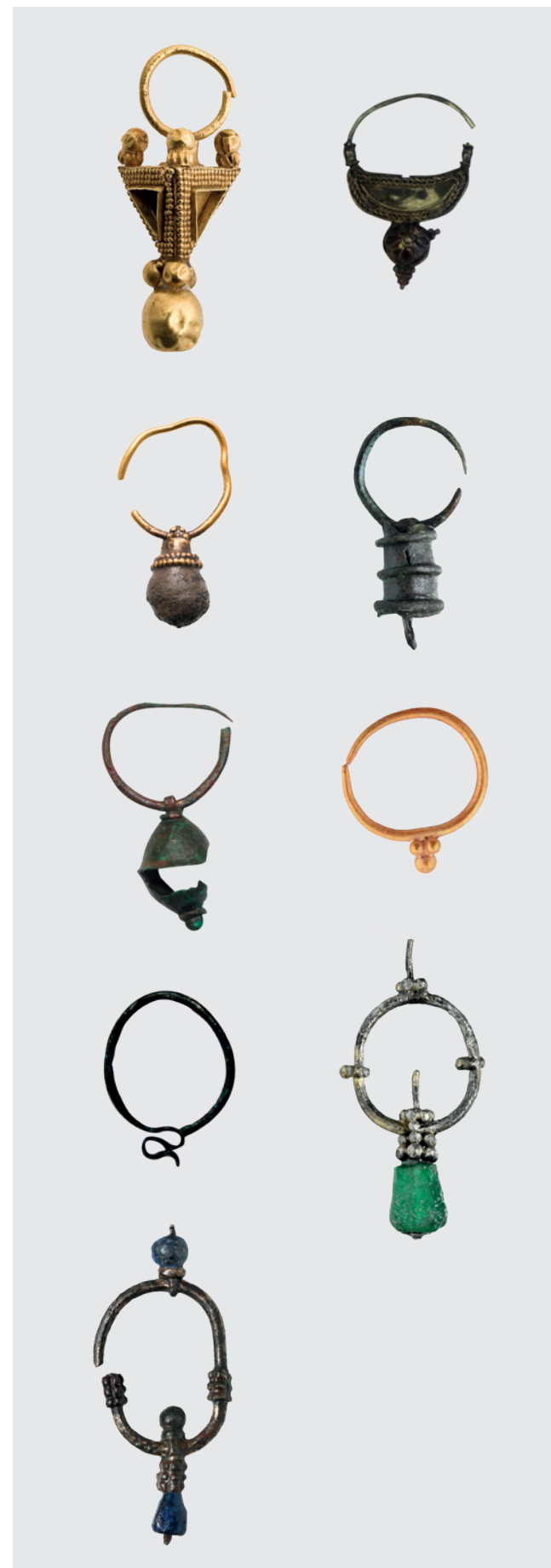
Naušnica, Nuštar (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Earring, Nuštar (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Naušnica, Nuštar, grob 32 (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Earring, Nuštar, grave 32 (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)



je od perli koje mogu biti jednake ili različite, ali su složene u nisku koja je vezana i nošena oko vrata. Osim staklenih nalaze se i brončane i olovne perle, zatim brončani privjesci i brončane kopčice. Torkvesi su specifičan jednodijelni tip ogrlice izrađen od metalne žice (brončane ili srebrne). Za razliku od prethodno opisanih ogrlica koje su savitljive i pomične, torkvesi ne mogu mijenjati veličinu i oblik. Izrađeni su od glatke ili uvrnute žice savijene u oblik kruga, a kopčaju se ušicom i kukicom na krajevima.

U nakit ruku ubrajaju se narukvice i prstenje. Narukvice su nakit najčešće nošen na zapešću, ali i na podlakticama i nadlakticama. Osim kao dekorativni element, mogle su biti korištene i kao graničnik na rubu rukava. Prsten je nakit nošen na prstima, izrađivan od različitih materijala tehnikama lijevanja, kalupa, granulacije, filigrana ili kombinacijom prethodno navedenog. Razlikuje se nekoliko tipova prstenja, od jednostavnijih oblika izrađenih od spiralno namotane žice ili raskucanih okruglih, ponekad ukrašenih punciranim točkama, pa sve do imitacija ili uvezenih luksuznih primjeraka sa umetcima od stakla ili poludragog kamenja okruženog finim filigranskim radom.

section. Decorations and pendants on the circlet could be made from the same material, but also could be combined with glass and glass paste.

Jewelry for the neck and chest consists of necklaces and torcs. Necklaces are composed of beads that can be identical or different, but are arranged in a stringed row that is fastened and worn around the neck. In addition to glass beads, bronze and lead beads are also known, as well as bronze pendants and bronze clasps. Torcs are a specific single-piece type of necklace made from metal wire (bronze or silver). Unlike the necklaces described above, which are flexible and movable, the size and shape of the torcs cannot be changed. They are made of smooth or twisted wire, coiled into the shape of a circle, and are fastened with a hook and eye at the ends.

Jewelry for the arms and hands includes bracelets and rings. Bracelets are most often worn on the wrists, but also on the forearms and even upper arms. In addition to being a decorative element, they could also be used as a sleeve-holder. Rings are worn on the fingers, made of different materials in the techniques of casting, molding, granulation, filigree, or a combination of the above. Several types of rings can be distinguished, ranging from simple forms made of spirally coiled wire or embossed circular ones, sometimes embellished with punched dots, to imitations or imported luxurious specimens with inserts of glass or semi-precious stones surrounded by fine filigree work.



Spojka, Nuštar, grob 9  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Breastclasp, Nuštar, grave 9  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Prsten, Nuštar, grob 137  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Ring, Nuštar, grave 137  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Prsten, Nuštar, grob 109  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Ring, Nuštar, grave 109  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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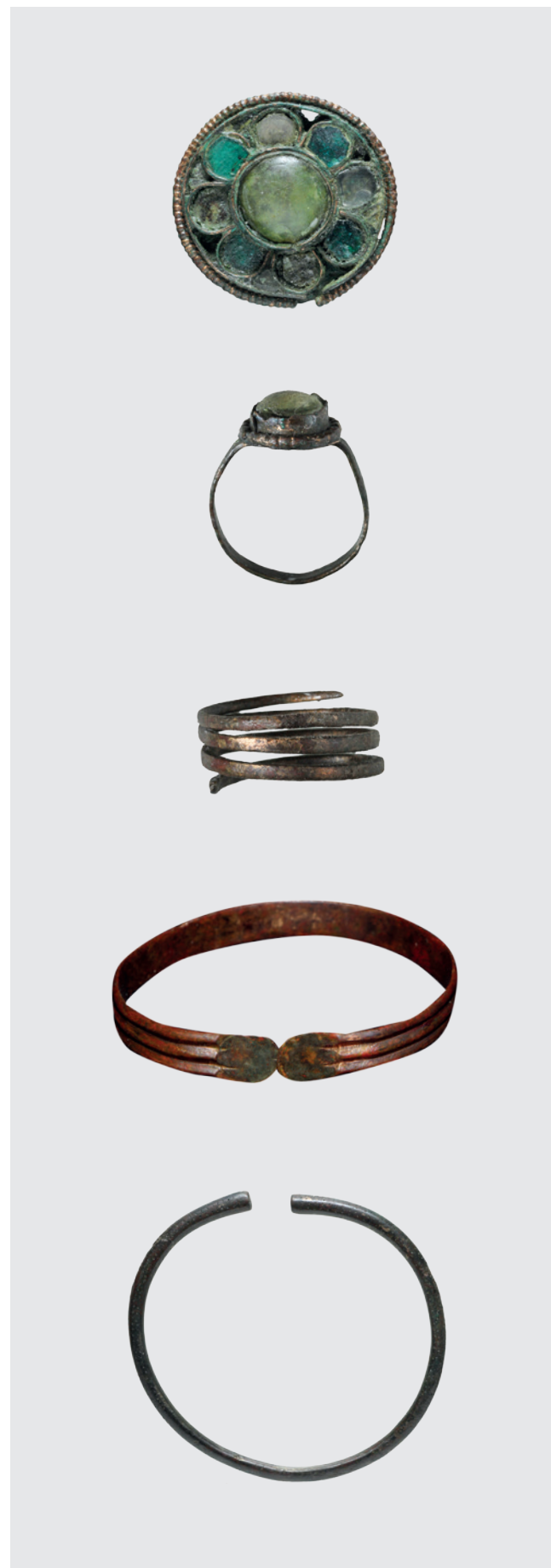
Narukvica, Nuštar  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Bracelet, Nuštar  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Narukvica, Nuštar, grob 176  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Bracelet, Nuštar, grave 176  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)



Ogrlica od perli,  
Brodski Drenovac-Plana, grob 25  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Beaded necklace,  
Brodski Drenovac-Plana, grave 25  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

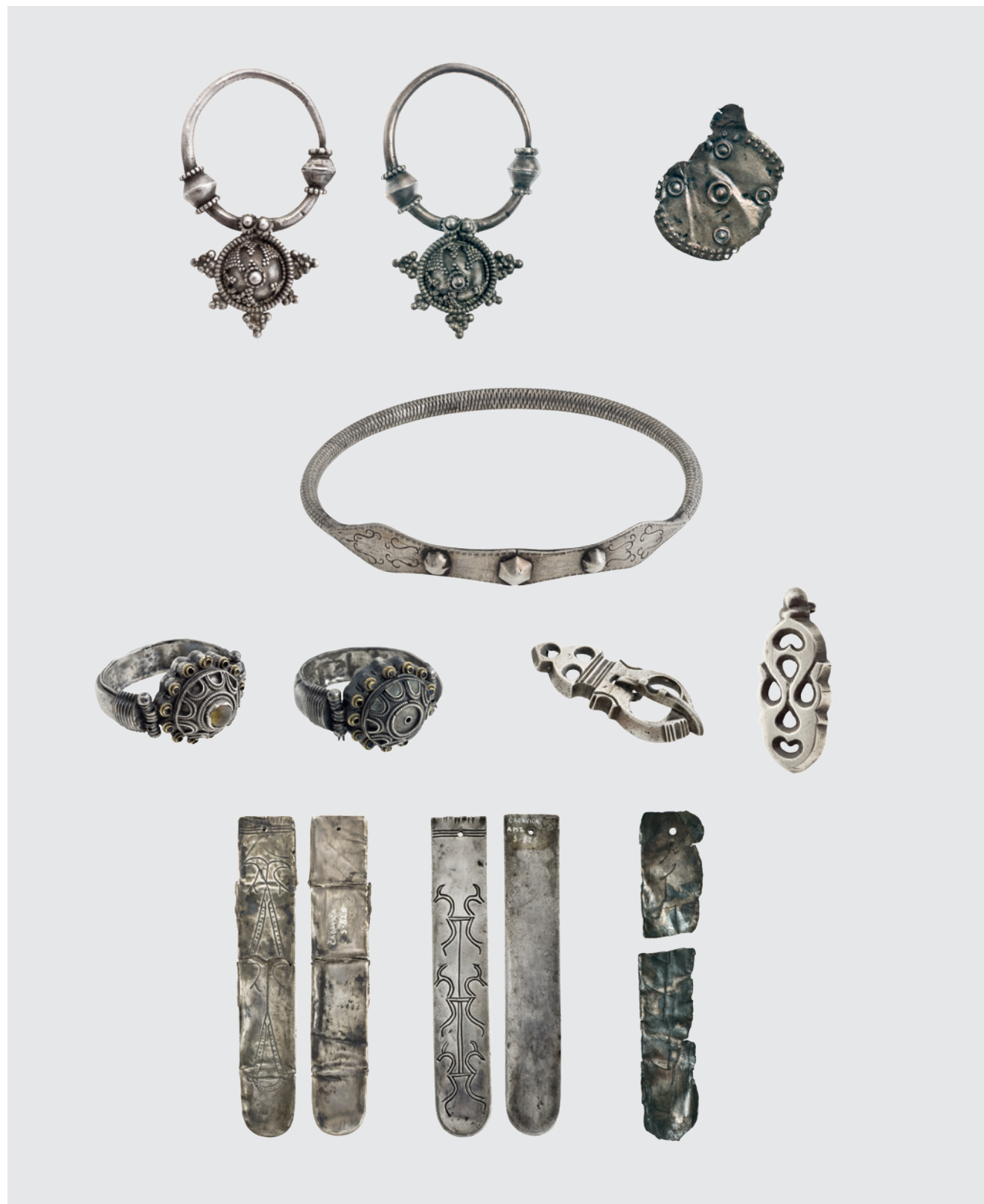
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Koštana iglenica,  
Stari Jankovci, grob 43  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Bone needle-case,  
Stari Jankovci, grave 43  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)







Skupina slučajno pronađenih predmeta, grobni ili skupni nalaz, Čađavica (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Group of objects discovered by chance, a grave find, or a hoard, Čađavica (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

### 3.6 IZNIMNI NALAZI

### EXCEPTIONAL FINDS

Predmeti koji predstavljaju iznimne nalaze upravo zbog svoje atraktivnosti zavređuju posebnu cjelinu unutar izložbe. Riječ je o predmetima koji su u većini slučajeva pronađeni slučajno, od strane osoba koje nisu bile arheolozi, ali je često bila riječ o zaljubljenicima u arheologiju. Često kontekst pronalaska nije poznat i nema odgovarajuće dokumentacije. Treba uzeti u obzir da je riječ o predmetima koji su nađeni krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća i stoga o njima postoji vrlo malo zapisanih informacija.

Ovakvi se nalazi često nazivaju „blagom“ (*Schatz, Treasure*), bez obzira na to jesu li pronađeni u grobu ili grobovima ili kao dio ostave, jer su vrlo često napravljeni od plemenitih metala (zlatu i srebru) te stoga i izazivaju veću pozornost javnosti i vlasti.

The objects that represent exceptional finds, due to their attractiveness, deserve a special place within the exhibition. In most cases, these objects were found by chance by people who were not archeologists, but were often archeology enthusiasts. Often the context of the discovery is unknown and no proper documentation exists. It should be noted that these objects were found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and therefore very little information is available.

These finds are often referred to as “treasures” (*Schatz, treasure trove, hoard*), whether found in graves or cemeteries or as part of a hoard, as they are very often composed of precious metals (gold and silver), and therefore attract greater attention from both the general public and the authorities.

#### Skupina predmeta iz Čađavice

U blizini sela Čađavice u Virovitičko-podravskoj županiji otkriven je 1929. g. niz srebrnih predmeta: par srebrnih zvjezdolikih naušnica, privjesak za ogrlicu, torkves, pojasna kopča i okov za pojas, tri pojasna jezičca i par narukvica s mehanizmom za zakopčavanje. Okolnosti pronalaska ovih predmeta nisu razjašnjene i do danas ostaje upitno jesu li predmeti pripadali jednom ili možda dva groba (muškom i ženskom), ili su dio ostave. Predmete je Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu prodao šumski radnik Vlado Maurić koji se smatra i najvjerojatnijim nalaznikom. Predmeti su vrhunske izrade te predstavljaju rad jedne od vodećih bizantskih zlatarskih radionica.

Čađavičkom nalazu najbližnja su dva skupna nalaza srebrnih predmeta: prvi iz Zalesja u jugozapadnoj Ukrajini, a drugi iz Zemianskog Vrbovoka u južnoj Slovačkoj, zbog kojih se nalaz iz Čađavice datira u treću četvrtinu 7. stoljeća i, prema jednom dijelu stručnjaka arheologa, povezuje s dolaskom novih nomadskih skupina i naseljavanjem Slavena na ovom području.

#### The group of objects from Čađavica

A number of silver objects were discovered near the village of Čađavica in Virovitica-Podravina County in 1929: a pair of silver star-shaped earrings, a necklace pendant, a torc, a belt buckle and belt mount, three belt strap-ends, and a pair of bracelets with fasteners. The circumstances surrounding the discovery of these objects have not been elucidated, and it is unclear to this very day whether the objects belonged to one or perhaps two graves (male and female?) or had they been part of a hoard. The objects were sold to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb by the forest worker Vlado Maurić, who is also considered the most likely finder. The objects are of superior craftsmanship and represent the work of one of the leading Byzantine goldsmith workshops.

The Čađavica find is most similar to two hoards of silver objects: the first from Zalesye in southwestern Ukraine, and the second from Zemianský Vrbovok in southern Slovakia, because of which the find from Čađavica is dated to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and, according to one group of archaeologists, would be linked to the arrival of new nomadic groups and the settlement of Slavs in this area.





Nalazi iz konjaničkog groba, Zmajevac  
(Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum)

The finds from a equestrian grave, Zmajevac  
(Hungarian National Museum)

Prsten, Ilok  
(Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum)

Ring, Ilok  
(Hungarian National Museum)



Pojedini avarodobni nalazi s područja teritorija Republike Hrvatske nalaze se u Mađarskom nacionalnom muzeju u Budimpešti (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*). Riječ je o jednom zlatnom prstenu iz Iloka (Srijem) i velikom broju nalaza iz Zmajevca u hrvatskoj Baranji. Arheološko bogatstvo ova naselja zahvaljuju svojem značajnom položaju u blizini rijeke Dunav, a naseljena su od pretpovijesti sve do današnjih dana. U vrijeme Rimskog Carstva imala su važnu ulogu u obrani granica (limesa), na što ukazuju ostaci rimskih vojnih utvrda, dok nalazi iz razdoblja velike seobe naroda i ranog srednjeg vijeka pokazuju da u tom periodu i dalje drže važan strateški položaj.

#### Zlatni prsten iz Iloka

**Zlatni prsten** iz Iloka otkupio je Mađarski nacionalni muzej u Budimpešti od Adolfa Wolfa 1894. g. Riječ je o zlatnom prstenu s krunom u koju je umetnut obrađeni gorski kristal obrubljen granulacijom. Njegove stilske karakteristike upućuju na izradu u bizantskim radionicama u razdoblju 6. i 7. stoljeća.

#### Nalazi iz Zmajevca

**Zlatnu naušnicu** je 1900. g. Muzeju prodao Oszkár Frimmel, već poznat djelatnicima muzeja kao jedan od trgovaca raznim umjetninama. Naušnicu čini ovalna karičica ukrašena granuliranim koljencima s privjeskom od ametista. Na temelju stilskih karakteristika datirana je u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća.

**Nalazi iz bogatog konjaničkog groba** otkupljeni su posredstvom mađarskih vlasti 1902. g. od B. Kuschela, ali podaci o mjestu i uvjetima pronalaska nisu poznati. Riječ je o predmetima od zlata, srebra i željeza koji su najvjerojatnije pripadali bogatom konjaničkom grobu, odnosno opremi konja, izrađenima tehnikom tiještenja i ukrašenima motivom prepleta. U dijelove opreme konja ubrajaju se: zlatni okov jednog obraznog elementa konjskih žvala, sedam pravokutnih jezičaca od zlatnog lima s donjom srebrnom pločicom, dvadeset i dva zlatna okova u obliku šesterolatičnih rozeta, a najznačajniji nalaz svakako predstavlja par stremena od željeza tauširanih srebrom, koji ukazuju na vrhunsko umijeće izrade. Oprema konjanika i oružje nažalost nisu dospjeli u Muzej zajedno s ovim nalazima. Bez obzira na nedostatak opreme ratnika-konjanika, ovi nalazi ukazuju na ukop vrlo važnog pojedinca iz visokog društvenog staleža, a datiraju se u zadnju trećinu 7. stoljeća.

Osim u Budimpešti, vrijedni nalazi s područja Hrvatske nalaze se i u mnogim drugim muzejima, a dio njih svoje je mjesto našao i u Muzeju povijesti umjetnosti u Beču (*Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*).

Some Avar period finds from the territory of the Republic of Croatia are kept in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*). One is a gold ring from Ilok (Syrmia), along with a large number of finds from Zmajevac in Croatian Baranja. The archeological wealth of these settlements is related to their significant positions on the Danube River, and they have also been inhabited from prehistoric times to the present. In the period of the Roman Empire, they played an important role in the defense of the border (limes), as indicated by the remains of Roman military forts, while finds from the Migration Period and the early Middle Ages show that they still retained an important strategic position at this time.

#### The gold ring from Ilok

**The gold ring** from Ilok was purchased by the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest in 1894 from Adolf Wolf. This was a gold ring with a crown holding a faceted rock crystal bordered by granulation. Its stylistic features indicate it was made in a Byzantine workshop in the period of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

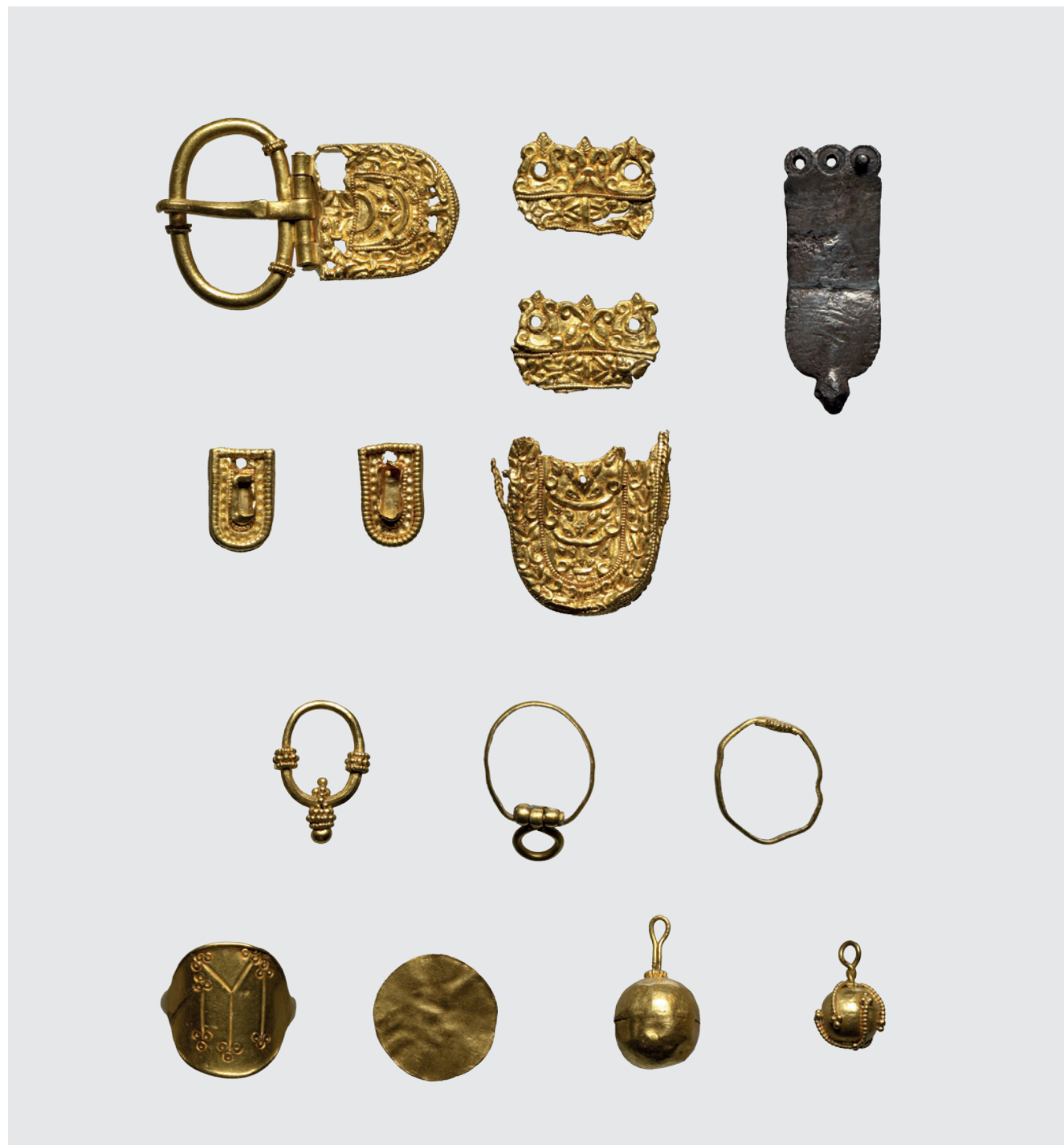
#### The finds from Zmajevac

In 1900, a **gold earring** was sold to the museum by Oszkár Frimmel, already known to museum staff as a dealer in various art works. The earring is composed of an oval circlet decorated with granulated joints and a pendant of amethyst. Based on stylistic features, it is dated to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

**The finds from a rich horseman grave** were purchased from B. Kuschel through the mediation of the Hungarian government in 1902, but information about the site and the details of the discovery remain unknown. These were items of gold, silver, and iron, which most probably belonged to a rich equestrian grave, representing the equipment of the horse, made in a stamped technique and decorated with an interlaced motif. The components of the horse equipment include: a gold fitting for one cheek element of a horse bit, seven rectangular strap ends of gold sheet metal with a lower silver plate, and twenty-two gold fittings in the form of hexagonal rosettes, while the most important find was certainly a pair of iron stirrups damascened with silver, displaying an excellent level of manufacturing skill. Unfortunately, the equipment of the horseman himself and his weapons did not reach the museum together with these finds. Despite the lack of equipment of the warrior-horseman, these finds indicate the burial of a very important individual from an elevated social class, dated to the last third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition to the State Museum in Budapest, valuable finds from the territory of Croatia are also located in many other museums, and some of them are kept in the Museum of Art History in Vienna (*Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*).





Brestovačko blago,  
Brestovac kraj Požege  
(Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

The Treasure Trove from Brestovac,  
Brestovac near Požega  
(Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

### Brestovačko blago

Godine 1820. u Brestovcu kraj Požege, na zemlji Emericha Nagya, pronađeni su iznimno vrijedni zlatni i srebrni predmeti. Netom nakon pronalaska poslani su u Mađarski nacionalni muzej u Budimpeštu, međutim, već sljedeće godine nalaze se u Muzeju povijesti umjetnosti u Beču, u tadašnjem *Antikenkabinettu* koji je iste predmete otkupio naredne, 1821. godine.

*Brestovačko blago* čini trinaest predmeta od zlata (dijelovi pojasne garniture: kopča i tri pojasna jezičca, disk ili obol, grozdolika naušnica i tri prstena: jedan s ugraviranim slovom Y i dva okrugla privjeska s ušicom) i jedan predmet od srebra (pojasni jezičac). Smatra se da su nalazi sakupljeni iz više grobova jer predmeti pripadaju i muškoj i ženskoj osobi. Zlatni predmeti su unikatni i visoke kvalitete, napravljeni tehnikom iskucavanja i ukrašeni reljefnim biljnim ornamentom te filigranskom i upletenom žicom. Kvaliteta i tehnika izrade govore u prilog mogućnosti da su izrađeni u radionicama na periferiji Carstva, ali je vjerojatnija mogućnost da su izrađeni u radionicama na periferiji Carstva, ali znanjem zanatlija i tehnologijom Carstva. Predmeti su datirani u kraj 8. i početak 9. stoljeća, tj. u kasnoavarsko razdoblje, što ukazuje na njihovu iznimnu vrijednost i značaj, jer se u tom razdoblju obično pojavljuju i koriste brončane, tek ponekad pozlaćene pojasne garniture. Samo je jedan predmet od srebra: neukrašeni pojasni jezičac sa završetkom u obliku pupoljka koji svojim stilskim osobinama ukazuje na karolinšku izradu, a govori o prisutnosti Franaka na ovom području tijekom rata s Avarima.

Svi navedeni predmeti ukazuju na kulturne utjecaje koji su bili prisutni u Slavoniji na kraju 8. i u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća, kad je Slavonija bila granično područje avarske, bugarske, bizantske i franačke vlasti.

### The Treasure Trove from Brestovac

In 1820, extremely valuable gold and silver objects were found in Brestovac near Požega, on the land of Emerich Nagy. Shortly after their discovery, they were sent to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest; however, in the following year they were transferred to the Museum of Art History in Vienna, in what was then the *Antikenkabinett*, which purchased them in the following year, 1821.

*The Brestovac Treasure Trove* consists of thirteen gold objects: (parts of a belt set: buckles and three strap ends, a disc or obol, a raceme-shaped earring, and three rings (one with the engraved letter Y), and two circular pendants with a loop), and one silver object (belt strap end). The finds are considered to have been collected from multiple graves, as the items belonged to both male and female individuals. The gold objects are unique and of high quality, made with the embossing technique and decorated with relief floral ornament and filigree and woven wire. The quality and technique of workmanship support the possibility that they were imported from the Byzantine Empire, but it is more likely that they were made in workshops on the outskirts of the Empire, where knowledge of the workmanship and technology of the Empire was known. The objects are dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, to the Late Avar period, which indicates their exceptional value and importance, as in that period bronze, and only sometimes gilded, belt sets were normally utilized. Only one artifact was made of silver: an undecorated belt strap-end with a bud-shaped ending pointing to Carolingian workmanship through its stylistic features, and indicating Frankish presence in this area during the war with the Avars.

All the above items show the cultural influences that were present in Slavonia at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Slavonia was the border area of the Avar, Bulgarian, Byzantine, and Frankish states.





#### Šamanizam, vjerovanja, običaji, glazba

S obzirom na manjak relevantnih izvora, duhovna sfera avarodobnog društva predstavlja posebnu enigm u interpretaciji njihovog svakodnevnog života. Uvrštavanje avarodobnog društva u sferu poganstva na prvi pogled rješava problem, ali iza tog se pojma krije kompleksan sustav vjerovanja. Iz predmeta materijalne kulture iščitava se postojanje određenog vjerskog sustava koji se temelji na vezi neba i zemlje. Tu vezu simbolički predstavlja stablo života, ukorijenjeno u podzemlju i s vrhovima na nebu, a oko njega životinje, simboli stepe. Uza stepske tradicije uočavaju se i elementi praznovjerja, amuleta, žrtvovanja životinja... Kroz tu „šumu“ elemenata provlači se duhovni vođa, šaman. Takvo „nebesko vjerovanje“ zapravo se sastoji od nekoliko isprepletenih slojeva: šamanizam, totemizam (kult životinje), dualistički gnosticizam (vatrena voda), fetišizam (kult mača), mitologija (heroji, demoni). Na nekim grobljima u Avariji otkriveni su i kršćanski elementi (križevi), što pojedini istraživači povezuju s ranim pokrštavanjem, dok su drugi skloniji tumačenjima da se radi o lijepim predmetima koji su preuzeti iz estetskih razloga i bez posebnog značenja.

Šamanizam se temelji na vjerovanju da duhovi vladaju prirodom i da određene skupine ljudi – šamani – pod određenim uvjetima mogu s njima komunicirati. Ti uvjeti uključuju razne rekvizite (bubnjeve, trube, rogove, biljne napitke) i prividno razdvajanje tijela i duše. Iz pisanih izvora je poznato da je postojao vrhovni šaman – *bookolabras*. Ostali šamani su, čini se, mogli biti i muškarci i žene, a bavili su se proricanjem budućnosti i liječenjem zajednice. Šamani su povezani i s uskrnućem, obnovom života.

Totemizam se temelji na vjerovanju u životinjski simbol kao pretka čovjeka i njegove skupine – klana. Uključuje obredne elemente kroz koje se iskazuje štovanje određenoj životinji, biljci ili predmetu. Pretpostavlja se da prikazi različitih životinja na elementima pojasnih garnitura upućuju na pripadnost određenom klanu i štovanje totema klana.

Dualistički gnosticizam uključuje komplicirano vjerovanje u nebesko podrijetlo čovjeka i težnju da se on vrati u tu harmoniju. Prikaz scene na drugom vrču blaga iz Nagyszentmiklósa tumači se kao prikaz obitelji prvog avarskog princa koja je očito potekla od nebeske majke. Izvorni legitimitet roda Kagana mogao bi biti dio avarske mitologije.

#### Shamanism, Beliefs, Customs, Music

Given the lack of relevant sources, the spiritual sphere of Avar society represents a particular enigma in interpreting their daily lives. The inclusion of Avar society into the sphere of paganism at first glance would solve the problem, but beyond this concept lies a complex belief system. The existence of a particular religious system, based on the relationship between heaven and earth, can be perceived from the objects of the material culture. This connection is symbolically represented by the tree of life, rooted in the underground and with its peaks in the sky, surrounded by animals, the symbols of the steppe. Along with the steppe tradition, elements of superstition, amulets, and animal sacrifices can also be noted... A spiritual leader, a shaman, led the way through this “forest” of elements. Such a “celestial belief” is actually composed of several intertwined layers: shamanism, totemism (the cult of animals), dualistic gnosticism (fiery water), fetishism (the cult of swords), and mythology (heroes and demons). Christian elements (crosses) have also been discovered at some cemeteries in Avaria, which some researchers associate with early Christianization, while others are more inclined to think that they were merely considered to be beautiful objects that were utilized for aesthetic reasons but without any special meaning.

Shamanism is based on the belief that spirits rule over nature and that certain groups of people – shamans – can interact with them under certain conditions. These conditions may include varied equipment (drums, trumpets, horns, herbal beverages) and an apparent separation of body and soul. It is known from written sources that there was a supreme shaman – the *bookolabras*. Seemingly, other shamans could be either men or women, and they were occupied with predicting the future and healing the community. Shamans were also associated with resurrection and the restoration of life.

Totemism is based on a belief in an animal symbol as the ancestor of a human group – the clan. It includes ritual elements through which worship of a particular animal, plant, or object is expressed. It is presumed that the depictions of various animals on elements of belt sets would indicate membership in a particular clan and worship of this clan totem.



Praporac, Nuštar, grob 10  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Small bell pendants, Nuštar, grave 10  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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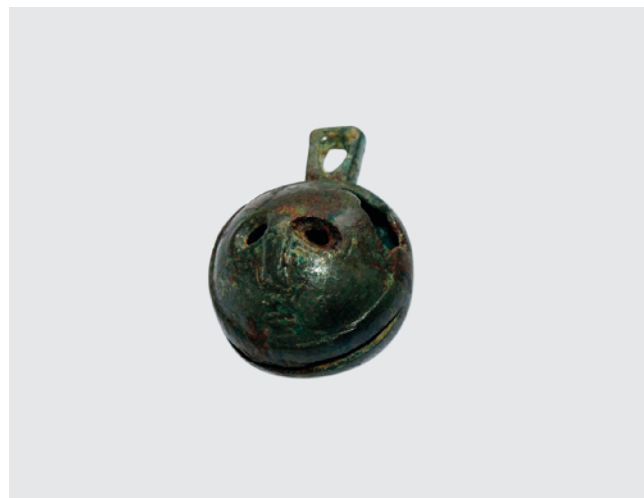
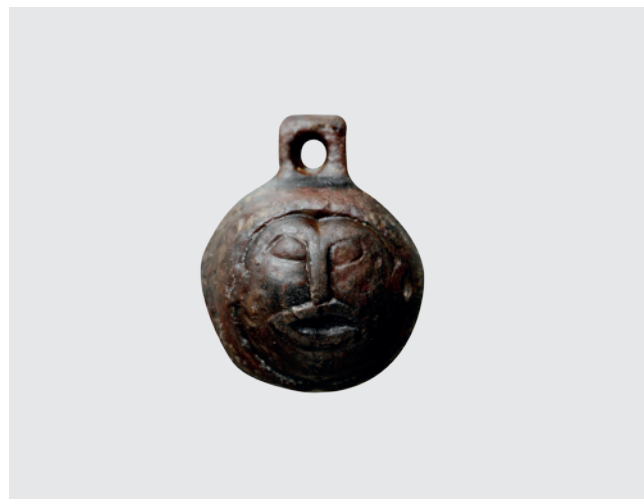
Praporac, Privlaka, grob 51  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Small bell pendants, Privlaka, grave 51  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Svirala, Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grob 16  
(Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Pipe, Bijelo Brdo-Bajer, grave 16  
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



Fetišizam je vjerovanje da neki predmet ima nadnaravne moći. Ovaj segment duhovnog života avarodobnog društva veže se uz istočne nomadsko-stepske tradicije.

Mitologija je skup mitova (priča, legendi) nekog društva. Iz prikaza na pojedinim elementima pojasnih garnitura i predmeta od plemenitih materijala pretpostavlja se da su na njima zabilježene određene mitološke priče avarodobnog društva: borbe junaka s fantastičnim zvijerima, fantastične zvijeri poput krilatih demona koji jašu/muče ljude, ali sam sadržaj tih priča ostaje nepoznat. Uz mitologiju se veže se i stablo života kao priča o stvaranju svijeta.

Zaključno, može se ustvrditi da avarodobni duhovni život predstavlja kombinaciju istočnih, stepsko-nomadskih i antičkih elemenata, koji su posredstvom Bizantskog Carstva također odigrali veliku ulogu u formiranju duhovnog života.

Praporci (metalni šuplji privjesci s kamenčićem ili metalnom kuglicom u središtu) nalaze se u grobovima svih spolnih i dobnih skupina. Pretpostavlja se da se radi o amuletima koji su zvukom tjerali zle duhove.

Svjedočanstvo o glazbi u avarodobnom društvu su, primjerice, pronalasci koštanih frulica.

Dualistic Gnosticism involves a complicated belief in the celestial origin of man and a desire to return to that harmony. The scene on the second jug from the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure is interpreted as depicting the family of the first Avar prince, apparently descended from a heavenly mother. The original celestial legitimacy of the Khagan's clan could represent part of Avar mythology.

Fetishism is the belief that a given object has supernatural powers. This segment of the spiritual life of Avar period society is linked to eastern nomadic-steppe traditions.

Mythology is a set of myths (stories, legends) common to a given society. The depictions on individual elements of belt sets and objects made from precious metals suggest that certain mythological stories of Avar society were recorded on them: the battles of heroes with fantastic beasts, fantastic beasts like winged demons riding/tormenting people, but the actual contents of these stories remain unknown. Mythology is also linked to the tree of life as the story of the creation of the world.

In conclusion, it can be established that Avar period spiritual life represented a combination of eastern, steppe-nomadic, and Roman elements, while the Byzantine Empire also played a major role in the formation of spiritual life.

Small bells (hollow metal pendants with a pebble or metal ball in the center) can be found in the graves of all sex and age groups. They are considered to have been amulets intended to drive evil spirits away with their sound.

Evidence of playing music in Avar period society can be seen, for example, in the discoveries of bone flutes.





Groblje Šarengrad-Klopare  
The cemetery at Šarengrad-Klopare

—  
Ukop konja i konjanika,  
Šarengrad-Klopare

Burial of a horse and horseman,  
Šarengrad-Klopare

—  
Ukop djeteta, Jagodnjak-Krčevine, grob 22

Child burial, Jagodnjak-Krčevine, grave 22



### 3.8 GROBLJA I POGREBNI OBIČAJI

### CEMETERIES AND BURIAL RITES

Preko 60 000 poznatih i istraženih grobova u Panonskoj nizini najbogatiji su izvor saznanja o životu avarodobnih stanovnika ovih krajeva jer uvelike nadmašuju broj poznatih i istraženih naselja. Svako groblje je odraz naselja jer se populacija naselja odražava u groblju pa je upravo na temelju njih moguće rekonstruirati dnevni život i socijalni sastav stanovništva.

Avarodobna groblja u osnovi su prilično slična: radi se o rakama ukopanim u zemlju u više-manje pravilnim redovima (groblja na redove), ponekad s grobnom konstrukcijom, a najčešće bez nje. Groblja na redove odlika su ranosrednjovjekovnog razdoblja; formiraju se u prostoru neovisno o postojećim građevinama (npr. crkvama), a pokojnici su ukopani jedan do drugoga, zbog čega su preslojavanja vrlo rijetka. Pokojnici su u grobove polagani u odjeći, često s prilozima (tzv. poganski ukopi). Što se tiče oblika i veličine grobnih raka, nameću se sljedeći zaključci: najveći broj raka je pravokutnog oblika, s više ili manje zaobljenim uglovima, a zabilježene su i rake trapezoidnog oblika. Kod ovih raka razlikuju se rake koje su šire kod glave, a uže kod nogu i rake koje su uže kod glave, a šire kod nogu. Kod većine raka stranice su okomite, a dna ravna, odnosno nije uočena nikakva grobna arhitektura.

Na grobljima s grobnom arhitekturom, koja je izvorno bila drvena, uočeno je nekoliko različitih tipova raka. Tako postoje rake s dublje ukopanim dijelovima na mjestima ispod glave i nogu pokojnika: tzv. doglavna i donožna udubljenja. Ovi ukopi ponekad imaju i dodatnu grobnu arhitekturu u obliku rupa od okomitih i vodoravnih greda u duljim, bočnim stranicama, a na koje su slagane daske koje su pokojnika štatile od izravnog doticaja sa zemljom. Zabilježeno je i sužavanje raka bočnim stepenicama blizu dna (banak); svrha suženja je bila da se na dobiveno proširenje poslažu daske koje pokojnika štite od zemlje. Grobna arhitektura za sada je zabilježena samo na grobljima u Nuštru, Jagodnjaku i Šarengradu. Na temelju zbijenih kostiju pretpostavlja se da su pojedini pokojnici bili umotavani u platno ili kožu, a ponekad željezne spojnice svjedoče i o ukopima u drvnim sanducima. Kad se govori o dimenzijama, odnosno veličini grobnih raka (duljini, širini i dubini), opće je pravilo da ona ovisi o veličini pokojnika, ali i o društvenom položaju. Općenito gledano, djeca su pokapana u manje i pliće grobove, dok su bogato opremljeni grobovi ukopani duboko. U grobovima je u pravilu pokopan jedan pokojnik, u ispruženom položaju na leđima, s rukama uz tijelo i ispruženih nogu. Odjeven je i opremljen predmetima koje je koristio za ži-

The over 60,000 known and excavated graves in the Pannonian Plain are the best source of knowledge about the life of the Avar inhabitants of these regions, because they greatly exceed the number of known and explored settlements. Each cemetery is a reflection of the corresponding settlement, because the population of the settlement is in itself reflected in the cemetery, so on this basis, it is possible to reconstruct the daily life and social composition of the population.

Avar cemeteries are basically all quite similar: they consist of pits buried in the ground in more or less regular rows (row cemeteries), sometimes with a grave structure, but most often without one. Row cemeteries are characteristic for the early medieval period; they were formed in a space independent of existing buildings (e.g. churches), and the deceased were buried side by side, which is why superimposition is very rare. The deceased were laid to rest in their clothes, often with grave goods (so-called pagan burials). In terms of the shape and size of the grave pits, the following conclusions can be made: most pits are rectangular in shape, with more or less rounded corners, while trapezoidal pits have also been documented. The latter pits can further be classified into those that are wider at the head and narrower at the feet and those that are narrower at the head and wider at the feet. In most pits, the sides are perpendicular and the bottoms are flat, and no grave architecture was noted.

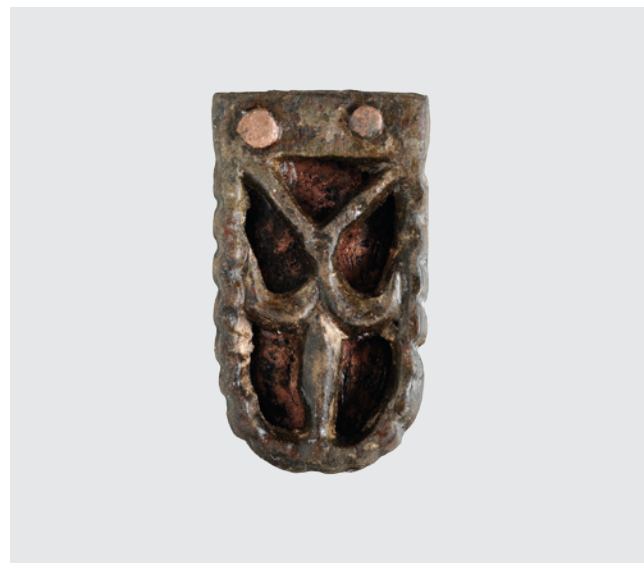
Several different types of grave pits have been observed in cemeteries with burial architecture that was originally wooden. Thus, there are pits with more deeply buried parts under the head and feet of the deceased: so-called head and feet recesses. These burials sometimes also have additional funerary architecture in the form of holes from vertical and horizontal beams in the longer, lateral sides, into which boards were placed that protected the deceased from direct contact with the ground. Narrowing of the pits with lateral steps near the base (bank) was also noted; the purpose of the narrowing was also to place planks to protect the deceased from the ground.

Grave architecture has so far been noted only at the cemeteries in Nuštar, Jagodnjak, and Šarengrad. On the basis of bones found close together, it is assumed that some of the deceased were wrapped in cloth or leather, and the occasional iron clamps testify to burials in wooden coffins. When it comes to the dimensions,









Pojasni jezičac, Nuštar, grob 29  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

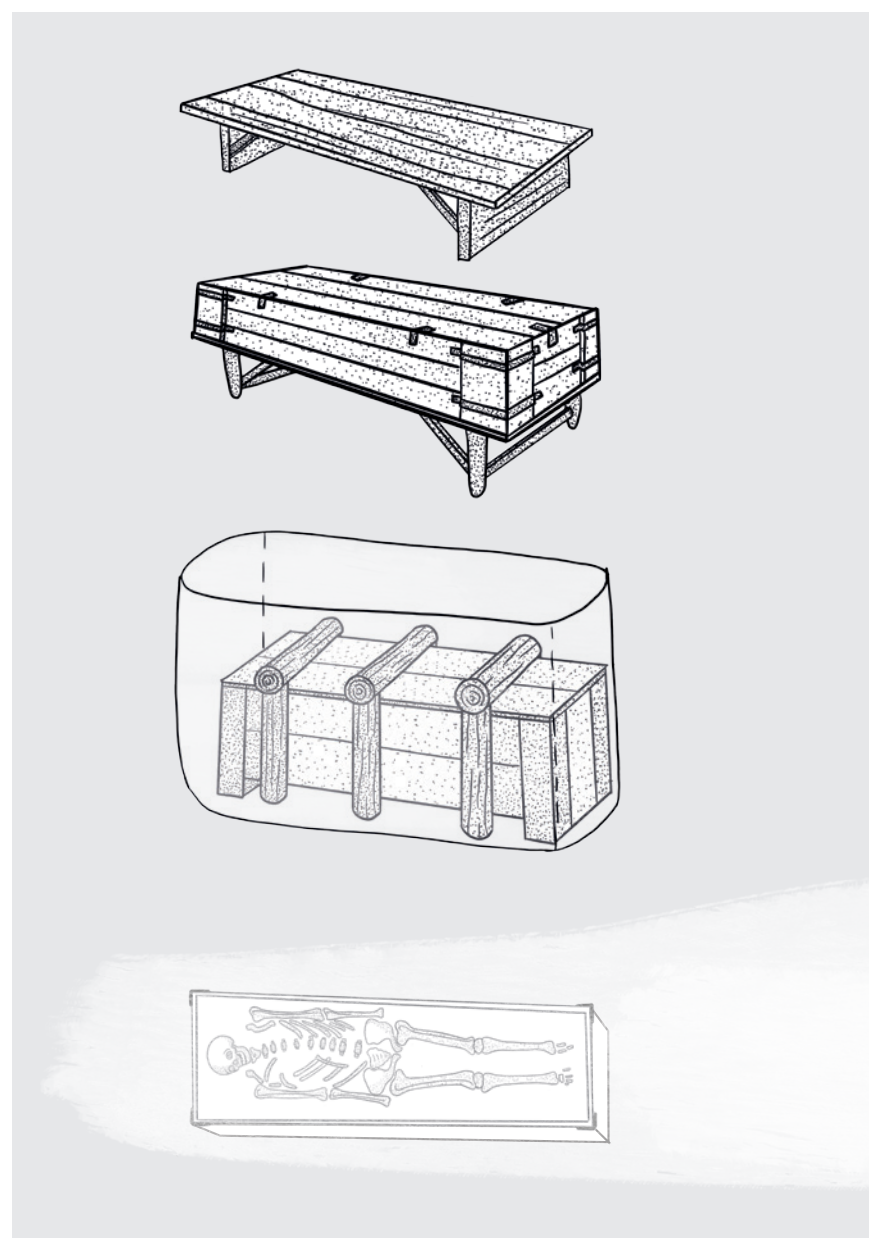
Belt strap end, Nuštar, grave 29  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

Trostruki ukop, Jagodnjak-Krčevine, grob 14

Triple burial, Jagodnjak-Krčevine, grave 14

Idejne rekonstrukcije drvene  
grobne arhitekture

Conceptual reconstructions  
of the wooden grave architecture



vota i s popudbinom u obliku hrane (lonci, meso i kosti životinja, jaja). Međutim, zabilježeni su i slučajevi dvostrukih i trostrukih ukopa te parcijalni ukopi. Orijentacija grobova najčešće se kreće u rasponu od zapada do sjevera (položaj glave), iako se javljaju i suprotno orijentirani grobovi. Prevladava orijentacija u smjeru jugoistok – sjeverozapad, a slijedi je orijentacija u smjeru zapad – istok i sjeverozapad – jugoistok. Pokojnici su sahranjivani prema redosljedju umiranja, odnosno nisu posebno izdvojene neke spolne ili dobne kategorije. Na nekim grobljima pretpostavlja se ukop prema rodovskoj ili klanskoj pripadnosti, odnosno smatra se da je jedan ratnički grob središnji, a oko njega su sahranjene njegove žene, djeca, članovi obitelji, podanici i robovi. Ukop ovog tipa pretpostavlja se na grobljima Privlaka – Gole njive i Otok – Gradina.

Posebnu skupinu ukopa predstavljaju ukopi konja i konjanika. U istu grobnu raku ukopani su jahač i njegov konj, oboje s opremom i predmetima koje su koristili za života. Tako jahači imaju pojas, sukladno svom položaju bogatije ili skromnije ukrašen, oruđe i oružje koje su koristili te popudbinu u obliku priloga hrane (lonci, meso). Konji su opremljeni funkcionalnim dijelovima opreme: žvalama, stremenima, kopčama za kolan sedla te ukrasnim dijelovima oglavlja (falere, rozete, jezičci). Po jedan konjanički grob istražen je u Bijelom brdu, Zmajevcu, Osijeku, Privlaci, Starim Jankovcima i Bapskoj, po dva groba u Otoku i Nuštru, tri groba u Brodskom Drenovcu, dok je u Šarengradu istraženo sedam konjaničkih grobova.

Bioarheologija je znanost koja analizira ljudske koštane ostatke iz arheološkog konteksta kako bi rekonstruirala način života i uvjete u prošlosti. Antropološke analize provedene na kosturima iz grobova omogućuju nam uvid u demografsku sliku razdoblja (određivanje spola i dobi), ali i neke druge aspekte života arheoloških populacija; analize patoloških promjena na kostima ukazuju na uvjete života kao što su prehrambeni stres, fizički rad, zarazne bolesti, traume i bolesti zuba, na temelju čega se potom mogu donositi daljnji zaključci. Općenito, može se reći da su uvjeti života bili loši: prehrana je bila neadekvatna za razvoj, populacija je bila izložena raznim bolestima uslijed čega je bila velika stopa mortaliteta djece, ali i odraslih. Svi su bili izloženi teškim fizičkim poslovima (bez obzira na društveni položaj), a zanimljivo je, s obzirom na predodžbu koju imamo o Avarima – ratnicima, da je stopa trauma, odnosno ozljeda prouzrokovanih u (ratnim) sukobima iznimno niska.

Osim kostura, u avarodobnim je grobovima pronađeni širok spektar drugih nalaza koji se mogu podijeliti u dvije glavne skupine: grobna oprema (dijelovi nošnje i nakit, odnosno odijelo pokojnika) i grobni prilozii (hrana, piće, oružje, uporabni predmeti). Pri tome prva skupina nalaza, grobna oprema, predstavlja odraz kulturološke pripadnosti zajednici, dok druga skupina nalaza, grobni prilozii, odražava vjerska uvjerenja zajednice. Među grobnom opremom se razlikuju predmeti koji su karakteristični za sve dobne i spolne skupine (npr. željezne predice), zatim predmeti koji su karakteristični za određeni spol, ali se nalaze i izvan tog spektra (npr. za ženski spol karakteristične su karičice, naušnice, ogrlice, ali ih se nalazi sporadično i u muškim grobovima) te predmeti koji su karakteristični za određeni spol (npr. pojasne

i.e. the size of grave pits (length, width, and depth), it is a general rule that this depended on the size of the deceased, as well as his or her social position. Generally speaking, children were buried in smaller and shallower graves, while richly equipped graves were deeply buried. As a rule, one deceased individual was buried in each grave, in an extended position on the back, with arms along the body and the legs extended. The deceased was attired and equipped with the objects he/she had used during life, and with travel provisions in the form of food (pots, meat represented in the form of animal bones, eggs). However, cases of double and even triple burials, as well as partial burials, have also been reported. The orientation of the graves usually ranged from west to north (head position), although oppositely oriented graves also occur. The prevailing orientation is southeast – northwest, followed by a west – east and northwest – southeast. The deceased were buried according to the order of death, meaning that no specific gender or age categories were identified. In some cemeteries, burial according to lineage or clan affiliation can be presumed, in that one warrior's grave is thought to be central, and around it are buried his wives, children, family members, subjects, and slaves. Burial of this type is hypothesized for the cemeteries of Privlaka – Gole Njive and Otok – Gradina.

One special group of burials is represented by the burials of horses and horsemen. The rider and his horse were buried in the same grave, both with their equipment and objects used in life. Thus, riders have a belt, richer or more modestly decorated corresponding to their social position, along with the tools and weapons they used, and provisions for the afterlife in the form of food (pots, meat). The horses were equipped with functional pieces of equipment: bits, stirrups, saddle belt buckles, and decorative headgear (phalerae, rosettes, strap ends). One horseman grave each was excavated in Bijelo Brdo, Zmajevac, Osijek, Privlaka, Stari Jankovci, and Bapska, two graves each in Otok and Nuštar, three graves in Brodski Drenovac, while seven horsemen graves were excavated in Šarengrad.

Bioarchaeology is the science that analyzes human bone remains from archaeological contexts to reconstruct the manner of life and conditions in the past. Anthropological analysis conducted on skeletons from graves enable an insight into the demographic picture of the period (determination of sex and age), as well as certain other aspects of the life of archaeological populations; analysis of pathological changes to the bones indicates conditions of life such as nutritional stress, physical labor, infectious diseases, traumas, and dental disease, on which basis further conclusions can be drawn. In general, it can be said that the living conditions were poor: the diet was inadequate for proper development, and the population was exposed to various diseases, resulting in high mortality rates for children and also adults. Everyone was exposed to extensive physical work (regardless of their social position), and it is interesting, considering the perceptions we have about Avar warriors, that the amount of trauma or injury caused in (war) conflicts was extremely low.

In addition to skeletons, a wide range of other finds were found in Avar period graves that can be divided into two main groups: grave equipment (attire elements and jewelry, or the clothing



Grob 6, Vinkovci-Duga ulica 99

Grave 6, Vinkovci-Duga ulica 99

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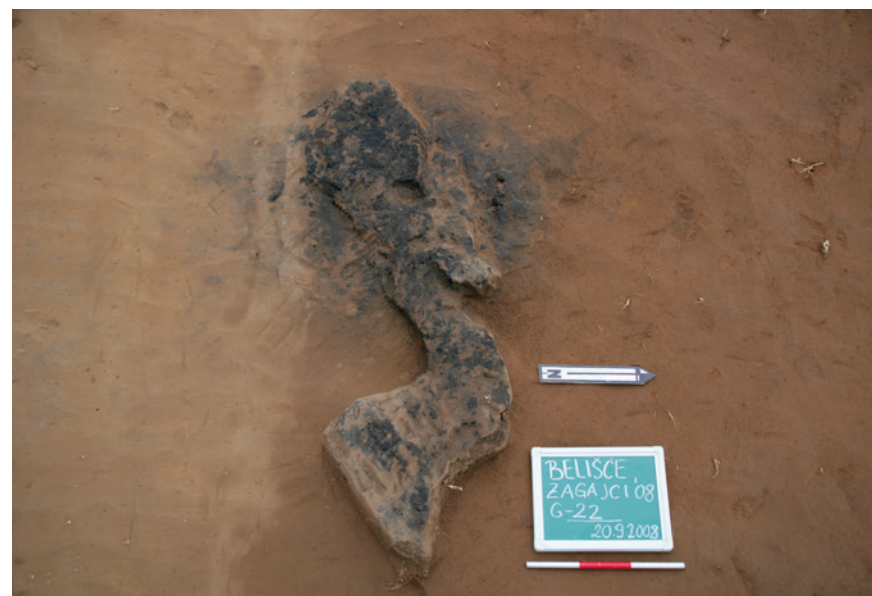
Grob 22, Belišće-Zagajci

Grave 22, Belišće-Zagajci

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Grob 35, Belišće-Zagajci

Grave 35, Belišće-Zagajci



gariture za muške grobove i spojke ili jezičci podvezica za ženske grobove). Grobni prilozi puno su uniformiraniji: prilozi u hrani i piću (lonci, meso, kosti) nalaze se u grobovima svih spolnih i dobnih skupina, dok se nalazi oružja vezuju uz muškarce ratnike. Uporabni predmeti se također razlikuju; željezni nož kao najčešći uporabni predmet imaju sve dobne i spolne skupine, dok se neki drugi predmeti vezuju uz određene skupine (pršljenci za vretena uz žene, kresiva uz muškarce). Naravno da i tu postoje manja odstupanja, ali ona su statistički zanemariva.

Uz vrijeme avarske vladavine vezuje se i jedan drugi pogrebni ritus, a to je spaljivanje ili incineracija. Proces sahranjivanja ljudskih ostataka spaljenih na lomači u urnama ili grobnim jamama običaj je koji se prvenstveno veže uza slavenski etnik unutar Avarije i nije karakterističan način sahranjivanja. Za sada na području kontinentalne Hrvatske postoje samo tri istraжена paljevinska groblja: Vinkovci – Duga ulica 99 i Belišće – Zagajci koja se datiraju u razdoblje od 7. do 8. stoljeća te paljevinski grob iz Lobra koji se datira u razdoblje od 8. do 9. stoljeća. Tijekom zaštitnih istraživanja na groblju Šarengrad – Klopore provedenih u lipnju 2019. godine također je istraženo nekoliko paljevinskih grobova, što ovo groblje svrstava u red prvih biritualnih ranosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj.

#### Belišće – Zagajci, ranosrednjovjekovno paljevinsko groblje

Tijekom rujna i listopada 2008. provedena su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na položaju Belišće – Zagajci (II). Susretljivošću mještana i općine Belišće istražen je cijeli lokalitet i njegova najbliža okolica i stoga je ovo jedino cjelovito istraženo ranosrednjovjekovno paljevinsko groblje u Hrvatskoj. Iskopavanja su financirana u okviru znanstvenog projekta *Južna Panonija u ranom srednjem vijeku*, a arheološka istraživanja vodio je Krešimir Filipec.

Arheološkim iskopavanjima istražena su ukupno 32 groba u koje su bili položeni spaljeni ostaci pokojnika. Pretežno je riječ o ukopima u običnoj jami (22 ukopa), potom slijede ukopi u urnama koje su, također, bile položene u šire grobne jame (9 ukopa), a u jednom je slučaju otkriven i grob bez zemljane urne. Riječ je o ukopu u neki organski materijal čiji se ostaci nisu očuvali.

Kako je lokalitet bio stoljećima izoravan, a u najnovije doba i oštećen prilikom iskopa pijeska, niti jedna grobna jama nije neoštećena. Sve su se grobne jame nalazile na relativno maloj dubini, većina odmah ispod trave i humusnog sloja. Dakle, sve su oštećene, a na nekima se jasno vidi i kako ih je plug prigodom oranja razvukao. U nekim jamama registriran je samo gar i pepeo, a u većini je ipak pronađen sitni ulomak keramičke posude te željezni predmet ili nož. U grobnim jamama se obično nalazilo više tipova keramičkih posuda, a u grobnoj jami br. 10. samo jedan tip, koji je rekonstruiran u priručnoj terenskoj radionici. U keramičkim posudama, urnama, nađeni su veći ulomci ljudskih, ali i životinjskih kostiju. Gar, pepeo, ulomci keramičkih posuda te metalni željezni i brončani predmeti nađeni su u humusu, kao i prilikom iskopa jama koje ne pripadaju groblju, već je riječ o jamama iskopanim prilikom podizanja voćnjaka.

Većina keramičkih posuda, kako onih razlomljenih i ubačenih

of the deceased) and grave goods (food, drink, weapons, items of everyday use). In terms of this, the first group of finds, grave equipment, is a reflection of cultural affiliation to the community, while the second group of finds, grave goods, reflects the religious beliefs of the community. The grave equipment can include items that are characteristic for all age and gender groups (e.g. iron buckles), as well as items that are specific to a particular gender but can also be found outside that spectrum (e.g. circlets, earrings, and necklaces are characteristic for the female gender, but are also sporadically found in male graves), as well as gender-specific items (e.g. belt sets for male graves, and clasps or garter strap ends for female graves). The grave goods are much more uniform: the offerings of food and drink (pots, meat, bones) are located in the graves of all sex and age groups, while finds of weapons are related to male warriors. Items of everyday use also vary; all ages and genders have an iron knife as the most common utility item, while certain other items are tied to specific groups (spindle-whorls for females, firesteels for males). Of course minor deviations exist, but they are statistically negligible.

Another funeral rite associated with the period of Avar rule is cremation or incineration. The process of the burial of human remains burnt at a stake or in a pyre in urns or grave pits is a custom is primarily related to the Slavic ethnic component within Avaria, and cannot be considered a characteristic burial custom. So far only three cremation cemeteries have been excavated in continental Croatia: Vinkovci – Duga ulica 99, and Belišće – Zagajci, which date from the period of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the cremation grave from Lobra, which dates to the period from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. During rescue investigations at the Šarengrad – Klopore cemetery conducted in June 2019, several cremation graves were also explored, which classifies this cemetery as one of the first biritual early medieval cemeteries in northern Croatia.

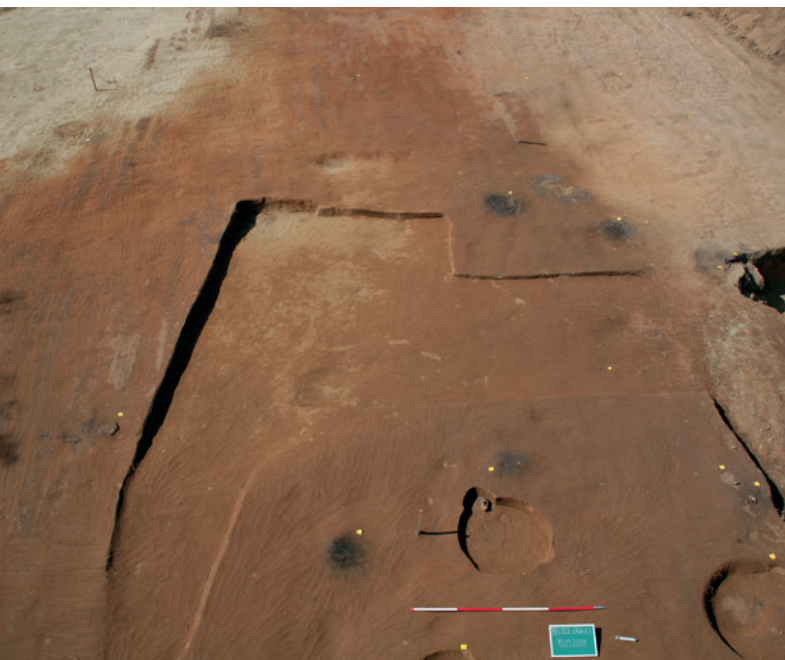
#### Belišće – Zagajci, an early medieval cremation cemetery

Rescue archaeological investigations were carried out at the Belišće – Zagajci (II) site during September and October 2008. Thanks to the kindness of the local inhabitants and the municipality of Belišće, the entire site and its nearest surroundings was excavated, making this is the only completely investigated early medieval cremation cemetery in Croatia. The excavations were funded in the framework of the scientific project *Southern Pannonia in the Early Middle Ages*, and the archaeological excavations were directed by Krešimir Filipec.

A total of 32 graves into which the burnt remains of the deceased were laid were investigated through archaeological excavations. These consisted primarily of burials in an ordinary pit (22 burials), followed by burials in urns that were also placed in wide grave pits (9 burials), and in one case a grave without a pottery urn was also discovered. This had been a burial in some organic material whose remains have not been preserved.

As the site had been plowed for centuries and recently damaged during the extraction of sand, not a single grave pit was undamaged. All the burial pits were located at a relatively shallow depth, mostly just below the grass and humus layer. Hence, all of them





Paljevinsko groblje Belišće-Zagajci  
Cremation cemetery at Belišće-Zagajci



Posuda, Belišće-Zagajci, grob 10  
(Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu –  
Odsjek za arheologiju)

Vessel, Belišće-Zagajci, grave 10  
(University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities  
and Social Sciences – Department for  
Archaeology)



u grobne jame, tako i urni, izrađena je od loše pročišćene gline. Opća karakteristika posuda i ulomaka jest vrlo gruba izrada, sa ili bez upotrebe kola, te jednostavno profilirani i ravno odsječeni rub. Ukrašene su pojedinačnom ili višestrukum valovnicom. Veliki dio posuda i ulomaka je neukrašen. Svi ulomci su vrlo slične strukture, smeđe, tamnosmeđe ili oker boje te su vrlo dobro pečeni. Veliki broj posuda nema očuvan gornji dio.

Groblje na položaju Zagajci osnovala je mala slavenska zajednica koja se naselila na strateški povoljnoj poziciji nedaleko od rijeka Karašice i Drave te prijelaza preko njih. Svoje su groblje smjestili na pješćanoj gredi, na njezinom istočnom rubu, na ocjeditom položaju, pored pozicije gdje je i u pretpovijesti bilo paljevinsko groblje. S grede se pruža vrlo lijep pogled na okolicu, posebno prema brdima u pravcu sjevera, prema rijeci Dravi i Mađarskoj. Suvremeno naselje nalazi se južno od groblja te nije isključeno da se u tom dijelu nalazilo i ranosrednjovjekovno naselje. Ta manja zajednica svoje je mrtve ondje pokapala relativno kratko vrijeme i prema obredu koji je karakterističan za njihovu pradomovinu. Prema ulomcima keramičkih posuda, to se zbilo najranije krajem 7. i u prvoj polovini 8. stoljeća. [KF]

are damaged, and on some it is clearly visible how the plowing stretched them out. In some pits, only soot and ash were noted, but most nonetheless contained a tiny fragment of a pottery vessel and an iron object or knife. Several types of pottery vessels were usually found in the burial pits, but only one type in grave pit 10, which was reconstructed in a field workshop. The pottery vessels, urns, contained large fragments of human and also animal bones. Soot, ash, fragments of pottery vessels, and metal (iron and bronze) objects were also found in the humus, as well as during the excavation of pits that did not belong to the cemetery, but were dug when establishing orchards.

Most of the pottery vessels, both those broken and tossed into the grave pits, as well as those used as urns, were made of poorly refined clay. A general characteristic of the vessels and fragments is a very coarse workmanship, with or without the use of a wheel, and a simply profiled and straight-cut rim. They are decorated with a single or multiple wavy lines. Many of the vessels and fragments are undecorated. All the fragments are very similar in structure, brown, dark brown, or ocher in color, and are very well fired. The upper part is not preserved on a large number of vessels.

The cemetery at Zagajci was founded by a small Slavic community that settled at a strategically advantageous position not far from the Karašica and Drava Rivers and fords across them. They placed their cemetery on a sandy crest, on its eastern edge, in a well-drained position, next to the site where a cremation cemetery had been located in the prehistoric period. There is a very nice view of the surroundings from the crest, especially towards the hills to the north, towards the Drava River and Hungary. The present-day settlement is located south of the cemetery, and it is not excluded that the early medieval settlement had also been located there. This small community buried their dead there for a relatively short time, according to the rite characteristic of their ancestral homeland. According to the fragments of the pottery vessels, this took place at the earliest at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> and in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. [KF]





U avarodobnom društvu ratnici su najvažniji društveni sloj, pokretači gospodarstva, sigurnosne snage (održavanje reda, obrana, napad) i politička elita. Kao i o mnogim drugim aspektima života, najviše saznanja o ratnicima potječe iz grobova, ali i iz onovremenih povijesnih izvora. Taktike (konjica) i naoružanje koje su koristili ostavili su dubok utisak na suvremenike, koji su zbog toga posvetili više pažnje opisima.

Ratnikom se postajalo vjerojatno nekim oblikom inicijacije, i to u relativno mladoj dobi od 13 do 15 godina. Uz rijetke nalaze oružja, odlika ratnika u grobu prvenstveno je pojasna garnitura, važna društvena insignija te vjerojatno i oznaka pripadnosti rodu. Riječ je o kožnom pojasu s metalnim ukrasima koji se sastojao od glavnog remena na čijim se završecima s jedne strane nalazi pojasna kopča, a s druge strane glavni pojasni jezičac. S glavnog remena može, ali i ne mora, visjeti nekoliko kratkih sporednih remena koji završavaju manjim jezičcima. I glavni i sporedni remen mogu biti dodatno ukrašeni manjim okovima. Uz ovakav, paradni pojas, često se nosio i jednostavniji, funkcionalni pojas sa željeznom pređicom. Pojasne kopče, jezičci i ukrasi pomažu kronološki odrediti pojedine grobove. Osim kronološke odrednice moguće je pratiti i razvoj ratnika, jer se čini da su se pojedini elementi pojasnih garnitura dodavali tijekom života zbog raznih zasluga. Naravno, postoji i kategorija grobova u kojima su pokopani djeca i žene s pojasnim garniturama, što se, naravno, ne tumači time da su oni bili ratnici, već pripadnici najvišeg društvenog sloja i u najbližem srodstvu s nekim ratnikom.

Osim pojasnih garnitura odlika ratnika je i njegovo oružje, koje se ipak nije uvijek stavljalo u grob, najvjerojatnije zbog njegove vrijednosti. Oružje se dijeli na napadačko (ofenzivno) i obrambeno (defenzivno). Kod avarodobnih se ratnika kao omiljeno oružje susreću lukovi i strijele, koplja, sablje, mačevi i sjekire. Lukovi koji su korišteni su kompozitni (odnosno sastavljeni od različitih materijala, što daje veću elastičnost i snagu – npr. drvo ojačano koštanim oplatama) i refleksi. Refleksni luk ima suprotan oblik u napetom i nenapetom položaju; u napetom položaju slični slovu D, a u nenapetom položaju slovu C. Iz lukova su ispućavane strelice sa željeznim vršcima, različitih oblika i tipova nasada. Tako postoje trobridne strelice, strelice u obliku lastinog repa i listolike strelice te tuljac ili trn za nasad. Sablje, mačevi i palaši su hladna oružja koja su koristili pješaci i konjanici za napad, ali i obranu, sječenjem ili ubadanjem. Sastoje se od zašiljene jednosječne

In Avar period society, warriors were the most important social class, the drivers of the economy, the security forces (for maintaining order, defense, and attack), and the political elite. As in many other aspects of life, most of the knowledge about warriors comes from graves, but also from contemporary historical sources. The tactics (cavalry) and the weapons that they used left a deep impression on their contemporaries, who therefore paid more attention to the descriptions.

One became a warrior probably through some form of initiation, at the relatively young age of 13-15 years old. Along with rare finds of weapons, the characteristics of a warrior in a grave primarily consist of a belt set, representing important social insignia, and probably also a mark of gender. A belt set is a leather belt with metal ornaments, consisting of a main strap ending on one side with a belt buckle and on the other with a strap end fitting. There may or may not be several short side straps hanging from the main strap that end in smaller end fittings. Both the main and side straps can be further decorated with small mounts. A simpler, functional belt with an iron buckle was often worn along with such a “parade” belt. Belt buckles, strap ends, and other decorations help to classify individual graves chronologically. In addition to the chronological factors, it is also possible to trace the development of the warriors, as it seems that individual elements of the belt sets were added during the course of life due to various merits or reasons. A category of graves also exists in which children and women with belt sets are buried, which, of course, does not need to be interpreted as them being warriors, but rather members of the highest social class and closely related to a warrior.

In addition to the belt sets, a warrior can also be distinguished by his weapons, which nevertheless were not always placed in the grave, most probably because of their value. Weapons are divided into offensive and defensive. For Avar period warriors, bows and arrows, spears, sabers, swords, and axes were the favored weapons. Composite bows were used (meaning made up of different materials, which gives greater elasticity and strength – for example, wood reinforced with bone platelets), as well as reflex bows. A reflex bow has the opposite shape when strung and in released (unstrung) position; when strung it resembles the letter D, and in the unstrung position the letter C. The bows were used to shoot arrows with iron tips, of varied shapes and types of hafts. Thus, three-lobed arrows exist, along with swallow-tail arrows and





Pojasna garnitura i nož, Nuštar, grob 68B  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Belt set and a knife, Nuštar, grave 68B  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

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Sablja, Novska – tvornica Kozara  
(Muzejska zbirka obitelji Sajko Novska)

Sabre, Novska – factory Kozara  
(Museum Collection of Sajko Family)

Sjekira, Sisak-Kupa (Gradski muzej Sisak)

Axe, Sisak-Kupa (City Museum Sisak )

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Pojasni jezičci, Nuštar, grob 34  
(Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Belt strap ends, Nuštar, grave 34  
(Municipal Museum Vinkovci)







Oprema konjanika i konja, Stari Jankovci-Gatina, grob 88 (Gradski muzej Vinkovci)

Rider and horse equipment, Stari Jankovci-Gatina, grave 88 (Municipal Museum Vinkovci)

ili dvosječne oštrice i držaka. Sjekire su hladno oružje, ali i oruđe, u obliku plosnatog klina sa širokom oštricom koja se koristi kod cijepanja i sječenja. Često imaju rupu za nasad (drvene) drške. Koplje je hladno oružje zašiljeno za borbu ili lov. Može se koristiti za bacanje, ali i za ubadanje. Sastoji se od dva dijela: drvene motke (kopljišta) i oštrice (bodila).

Pojedini ratnici sahranjivani su sa svojim konjima. Konji su bili opremljeni funkcionalnim i ukrasnim elementima. U funkcionalne elemente konjske opreme ubrajaju se žvale, stremenje i dijelovi sedla. Žvale su metalni (željezni) umetak u gubici konja pomoću kojega ga jahač kontrolira; postavljaju se u osjetljivi međuzubni prostor u čeljusti. Stremenje su dio konjaničke opreme sastavljeni od remena i metalne papučice koja služi za uglavljanje stopala tijekom jahanja, čime se jahaču omogućuje lakše upravljanje konjem. Remen s kojeg vise učvršćuje se ispod sedla pa se često nalaze i željezne pređice kojima je remen bio zakopčan. U ukrasne elemente ubrajaju se metalni dijelovi na oglavlju konja. Remenje koje se postavlja konju na glavu, i koje se nastavlja u uzde koje jahač drži u ruci, naziva se oglavlje ili oglavina (ular). Sastoji se od dva remena koja obuhvaćaju glavu konja: jedan iznad nozdruva, a drugi oko čela i ispod uha; oba ova remena povezana su s remenjem koje od žvala koje se nalaze u ustima konja idu preko obrazina i kroz grivu preko vrha glave. Na žvale se vežu i uzde koje jahaču omogućuju upravljanje smjerom kretanja konja. Remenje se za glavu konja učvršćuje manjim kopčama ili zakovicama, a vrlo često je ukrašeno dodavanjem raznih elemenata. Falere (ili obrazine) su veći ukrasni elementi koji se nalaze na remenju na konjskim obrazima. Najčešće su kružne, ali pojavljuju se i u drugim oblicima, npr. oblikovane kao životinjske glave. Izrađene su od srebra, bronce, kositra ili željeza, a prema obliku, načinu izrade i ukrašavanja moguće ih je kronološki preciznije odrediti. Remenje koje složeno čini konjsko oglavlje često je ukrašeno manjim elementima (okovima) izrađenima od bronce, željeza ili srebra.

leaf-shaped arrows, with either sockets or tangs for hafting. Infantrymen and horsemen used sabers, swords, and scimitars to attack, but also to defend, by slicing or stabbing. They all consisted of a pointed single or double-edged blade and a hilt. Axes could be both weapons and tools, in the form of a flat wedge with a broad blade used for splitting and cutting. They often had holes for hafting a (wooden) handle. Spears had sharp points used for combat or hunting, and could be used both for throwing but also stabbing. A spear was composed of two parts: the wooden pole (spear) and the blade (spearhead).

Some warriors were buried with their horses. The horses were equipped with functional and decorative elements. Discovered functional elements of horse equipment include bits, stirrups, and saddle parts. Bits are a metal (iron) contraption placed in a sensitive interdental space in the jaw of a horse's mouth giving the rider control. Stirrups are part of equestrian equipment consisting of a strap and a flat metal section that served to steady the feet while riding, allowing the rider better control of the horse. The belt from which the stirrup hung was fastened under the saddle, and the iron buckle attaching the strap was often found. Decorative elements also included metal elements of the horse harness. The harness that is placed on the horse's head and continues into the reins that the rider holds in his or her hands is called a halter or bridle. It consists of two straps that encompass the head of the horse: one above the nostrils (noseband) and the other around the forehead and below the ears (browband); both these straps are connected to the straps leading from the bit in the mouth of the horse across the cheeks (cheekpiece) and across the poll (crownpiece). The reins are also attached to the bits, enabling the rider to control the direction of the horse. The horse harness was fastened with small buckles or rivets, and very often it was decorated with the addition of various elements. Phalerae (or cheekpieces) are large decorative elements found on the cheek sections of bridles. Most often they were circular, but they can also appear in other forms, such as zoomorphic heads. They were made of silver, bronze, tin, or iron, and they can be chronologically determined more precisely according to shape, the method of workmanship, and decoration. The straps that together compose a horse bridle were often decorated with small elements (fittings) made of bronze, iron, or silver.









Ostava matrica za tiještenje nakita, dijelova pojasnih garnitura i dijelova konjske orme, Biskupija (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

The hoard of matrices (dies) for pressing jewelry, parts of belt sets, and parts of horse harnesses, Biskupija (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Split)

#### 4.1 AVARSKI ARHEOLOŠKI NALAZI NA ISTOČNOJ OBALI JADRANA I U NJEZINU ZALEĐU

#### AVAR ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS ON THE EASTERN COAST OF THE ADRIATIC SEA AND ITS HINTERLAND

U jedinom povijesnom izvoru u kojem se spominje doseljenje Hrvata u Dalmaciju (*De administrando imperio* bizantskog cara Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta) izrijeком stoji: „Hrvati zateknu Dalmaciju pod vlašću Avara... Hrvati odnesu pobjedu i jedne od Avara pobiju, a ostale prinude na pokornost... u Hrvatskoj još uvijek ima avarskih potomaka i po njima se vidi da su Avari.“

Veći broj raznih vrela, pak, navodi avarske i slavenske upade na tlo nekadašnje velike i važne rimske provincije, koja je svoj ponovni kratki uzlet doživjela u vrijeme cara Justinijana u 6. stoljeću. Tako se u 29. poglavlju *DAI* govori o padu i razaranju prijestolnice u Saloni, a Menandar bilježi da je 568. g. kagan Bajjan pozvao „10 000 Huna koji se zovu Kutriguri“ da prijeđu Savu i opustoše Dalmaciju. Avarski je kagan osobno, u ljeto 597. g., polazeći vjerojatno iz neposredne okoline opsjednutog Sirmija, poveo svoje čete preko Save i provalio u Dalmaciju. Tom je prigodom, kako svjedoče Teofilakt Simokata i Teofan, razorio velik broj utvrda, među kojima i utvrđeni grad Bonke. Smatra se da su se avarski konjanici kretali rimskim prometnicama Sirmij-Salona i Servicij-Salona. Također je izraženo mišljenje da se grad Bonke može identificirati s antičkim Balojama (Baloie) koje su se nalazile na mjestu današnjeg Šipova na Plivi.

Okolo navedenih su se izvora posljednjih desetljeća prošlog stoljeća vodile brojne rasprave u okviru hrvatske povijesne znanosti i pojedini su autori nastojali dokazati da je u dubinu bivše rimske provincije Dalmacije, zajedno sa Slavenima, stigao i relativno velik broj Avara koji su tu neko vrijeme čak i vladali. U najnovijoj literaturi, pak, uglavnom je prihvaćena činjenica da nema dokaza koji bi svjedočili da su Avari držali ili imali pod kontrolom hrvatski ili nečiji drugi teritorij na području bivše provincije Dalmacije, unatoč povremenim prodorima njihovog (i kutrigurskog) konjanništva.

Arheološkim nalazima avarske provenijencije u literaturi je posvećena znatno manja pažnja nego povijesnim vrelima, tako da je većina dugo ostala potpuno nepoznata i neobjavljena te nikad nisu bili objedinjeni u nekoj publikaciji. Odmah na početku treba konstatirati da su takvi nalazi na području istočnojadranske obale i njezinog neposrednog zaleđa izuzetno rijetki. Među njima je, nažalost, i velik broj onih o čijim okolnostima otkrića nema nikakvih podataka.

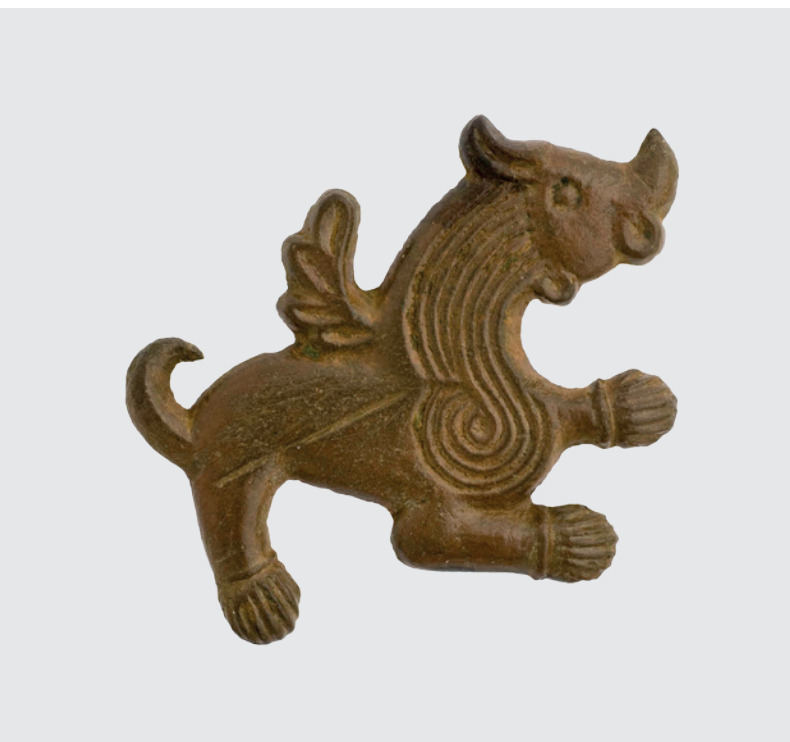
The only historical source that mentions the arrival of the Croats in Dalmatia (*De administrando imperio* by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus) explicitly states: “The Croats found Dalmatia under the rule of the Avars... The Croats were victorious and killed one of the Avars, and coerced the rest into obedience... There are still Avar descendants in Croatia and they can be seen to be Avars.”

A number of various sources, however, cite Avar and Slavic incursions onto the territory of this once great and important Roman province, which experienced a brief resurgence during the reign of the Emperor Justinian in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The 29<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *DAI* speaks of the fall and destruction of the capital in Salona, while Menander noted that in AD 568 the Khagan Bayan had summoned “10,000 Huns called the Kutriguri” to cross the Sava River and ravage Dalmatia. The Avar Khagan himself, in the summer of AD 597, probably arriving from the immediate vicinity of the besieged Sirmium, led his troops across the Sava River and penetrated into Dalmatia. On that occasion, as was testified by Theophylactus of Simocatta and Theophanes, a large number of fortresses were destroyed, including the fortified city of Bonke. The Avar horsemen are believed to have raided along the Roman roads of Sirmium-Salona and Servitium-Salona. It was also thought that the city of Bonke could be identified with the ancient Baloie, which was located at the site of present-day Šipovo on the Pliva River.

Many of these sources have been the subject of numerous discussions in the context of Croatian historical science in the last decades of the last century, and some authors have sought to prove that, together with Slavs, a relatively large number of Avars arrived in the depths of the former Roman province of Dalmatia, and even ruled there for some time. In the most recent texts, however, it is generally accepted that there is no evidence to show that the Avars held or had control over Croatian or any other territory in the former province of Dalmatia, despite the occasional raids by their (and Kutrigur) cavalry.

The archaeological finds of Avar provenance have received much less attention in the literature than the historical sources, so that most have long remained completely unknown and unpublished and have never been consolidated in a publication. It should be noted at the outset that such finds are extremely





Matrica za tiještenje okova konjske orme, Čitluk (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Die for pressing horse harness fittings, Čitluk (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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Pojasni jezičac, Kašić-Maklinovo brdo, grob 55 (Arheološki muzej Zadar)

Belt strap end, Kašić-Maklinovo brdo, grave 55 (Archaeological Museum in Zadar)



Najpoznatija je svakako ostava matrica za tiještenje nakita, dijelova pojasnih garnitura i dijelova konjske orme otkrivena još u 19. stoljeću na predjelu Pliskovo u Biskupiji kod Knina. To je ujedno i jedini nalaz koji se vremenski može smjestiti u ranoavarsko ili najkasnije na sam početak srednjoavarskog razdoblja. O provenijenciji i kulturnoj pripadnosti matrica iz biskupijske ostave (odnosno predmeta koji su se pomoću njih izrađivali) u literaturi su iznesena različita mišljenja.

Tako antropomorfne i zoomorfne matrice unutar ostave, kao i one za izradu ženskog nakita (zvjezdolika naušnica), pokazuju srodnost sa skupinom tzv. Martinovka ostava (ili antskih starina) na prostoru srednjeg Podnjeprovlja, gdje se povezuju s bizantskom komponentom u tim ostavama. Srodne su i pojedinim nalazima na Kavkazu i na prostoru donjeg Dnjepra.

Biskupijske se matrice također povezuju s pojedinim balkanskim nalazima, među kojima su najpoznatije tzv. tesalske bronce iz Velesiniona. I dok ih je starija literatura držala dokazom slavenskog naseljavanja na područje današnje Grčke, u najnovije im se vrijeme pretpostavlja izvorno bizantsko podrijetlo. Ovoj skupini još pripadaju i dva pojedinačna nalaza s našeg prostora – matrica u obliku fantastične životinje iz Čitluka kod Sinja i antropomorfna brončana kopča iz Karojbe u Istri.

Međutim, kao cjelina, biskupijske matrice ipak imaju najviše paralela u avarskom miljeu u Karpatskoj kotlini, osobito u inventaru istaknutih ranoavarodobnih zlatarskih grobova u Felncu (Fönlak) i Kunszentmártonu, ali i među pojedinačnim primjercima matrica s istoga područja (Szentés, Korond, Zselickislak, Paksgyapa). Također im se brojne analogije mogu pronaći u predmetima iz grobova iz razdoblja Prvog avarskog kaganata i to među elementima konjske orme i dijelova pojasnih garnitura, ali i među dijelovima ženske nošnje (agrafe). Ukapanje biskupijske ostave moglo bi se, stoga, povezati s avarskim upadima koje spominju povijesni izvori, ali se odmah mora naglasiti da među arheološkom ostavštinom ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji i šire duž istočne jadranske obale dosad nije otkriven niti jedan predmet za koji bi se moglo utvrditi da je izrađen pomoću neke od biskupijskih ili njima sličnih matrica. Stoga one ne predstavljaju svjedočanstvo trajnijeg zadržavanja ili pak avarskog naseljavanja na području Dalmacije u 7. stoljeću.

Svi ostali nalazi s područja istočnojadranske obale pripadaju srednjoavarskom ili kasnoavarskom razdoblju. Svega nekoliko ih je iz poznatog arheološkog konteksta i u svim slučajevima riječ je o grobnim nalazima. Mogu se podijeliti u četiri skupine:

- a) Dijelovi pojasnih garnitura
- b) Dijelovi konjske orme
- c) Oružje
- d) Tročlani koštani recipijenti T-oblika

rare in the region of the eastern Adriatic coast and its immediate hinterland. Unfortunately, many of them lack any accompanying information about the circumstances of the discovery.

The most famous is certainly the hoard of matrices (dies) for pressing jewelry, parts of belt sets, and parts of horse harnesses, discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Pliskovo area at Biskupija near Knin. This is also the only find that can be classified to the Early Avar period or at the latest to the very beginning of the Middle Avar period. Various opinions have been expressed about the provenance and cultural affiliation of the matrices from the Biskupija hoard (or rather, the objects they were used to make).

Both the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic matrices within the hoard, as well as those to make female jewelry (star-shaped earrings), show an affinity with the group called the Martynovka hoard (or Ante antiquities) in the Middle Dnieper area, where they are connected to the Byzantine component in these hoards. They are also similar to some finds from the Caucasus and in the lower Dnieper region.

The Biskupija matrices are also linked to individual Balkan finds, the most famous of which are the so-called Thessalian bronzes from Velesino. While earlier literature held them to be evidence of Slavic settlement in present-day Greece, in recent times they are presumed to be of Byzantine origin. This group also includes two individual finds from our area – a matrix in the form of a fantastic animal from Čitluk near Sinj and an anthropomorphic bronze buckle from Karojba in Istria.

However, as a whole, the Biskupija matrices nonetheless display the most parallels to the Avar milieu in the Carpathian Basin, especially in the inventory of the prominent early Avar period goldsmith hoards at Felnc (Fönlak) and Kunszentmárton, but also among individual examples of matrices from the same area (Szentés, Korond, Zselickislak, Paksgyapa). Many analogies can also be found in objects from graves dating from the First Avar Khaganate, among horse harness elements and parts of belt sets, but also among female attire elements (agraphe). The burial of the Biskupija hoard could therefore be linked to the Avar incursions mentioned by historical sources, but it must immediately be emphasized that so far among the archeological heritage of Dalmatia and beyond during the early medieval period along the eastern Adriatic coast not a single object could be identified as having been made using one of the Biskupija or similar dies. Therefore, they do not represent a testimony to some continued retention or even settlement of the Avars in the region of Dalmatia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

All other finds from the area of the eastern Adriatic coast belong to the Middle or Late Avar periods. Only a few come from known archeological contexts and these were all grave finds. They can be divided into four groups:

- a) Parts of belt sets
- b) Parts of horse harnesses
- c) Weapons
- d) Tripartite T-shaped bone containers



Jezičac s figuralnim prikazom (Viktorija) i srcoliki okov iz nartekse bazilike na Crkvini u Biskupiji (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Belt strap end with figural representation (Victoria) and heart-shaped fitting from narthex of the basilica at the site Crkvina in Biskupija (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments-Split)

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Jezičac, Lika-Vrebac (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Belt strap end, Lika-Vrebac (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Split)



Okov konjske orme i pojasni okovi iz jama s paljevinom u Smrdeljima kod Skradina (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Horse harness fitting, and belt fitting from cremation pits at the site Smrdelje near Skradin (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments-Split)



## a) Dijelovi pojasnih garnitura

Najviše ih potječe s ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja Kašić-Maklinovo brdo u Ravnim Kotarima. Tu su, u grobovima 4 i 55, otkriveni brončani lijevani jezičci s pokrajnjeg pojasnog remenja. Jedan je danas izgubljen, a drugi je ukrašen vegetabilnim motivom u obliku stilizirane lozice. Takvi jezičci pojavljuju se u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća, ali i kasnije, u kompozitnim garniturama s početka 9. stoljeća, u najvećem broju zabilježenima na području jugozapadne Slovačke. Još dva groba na Maklinovom brdu sadržavaju predmete koji se mogu dovesti u vezu s avarskim miljeom u Karpatskoj kotlini, ali i s nalazima tzv. komanske kulture u Sjevernoj Albaniji, Crnoj Gori i Makedoniji. U grobu 6 na pojasu pokojnika otkrivena su dva okova s visećim karikama, koji su danas, na žalost, izgubljeni. Srodni okovi s visećim karikama pojavljuju se uz najmlađe limene avarske garniture, odnosno u mješovitim ansamblima u kojima se uz limene pronalaze i prvi brončani lijevani okovi i jezičci iz tzv. skupine s grifonima i viticama. Uz ovu skupinu veže se i brončani okov s grifonom otkriven u zidanoj grobnici na Šipanskom polju.

Grobovi s navedenim elementima datiraju se u razdoblje nakon 710. g., odnosno u prva desetljeća 8. stoljeća, a najkasnije u sredinu 8. stoljeća. Predstavnici su novog „bizantskog“ stila u avarskom miljeu, a riječ je o ukrasima istočnomediteranskog kruga, koji u 8. stoljeću do Karpatske kotline dopiru posredstvom bizantske kulture. Ista kombinacija limenih i lijevanih elemenata pojasne garniture zapaža se i na albanskim nalazima iz Vrapa i Ersekëa, koji se smatraju opljačkanim kaganskim blagom proizvedenim u srednjem Podunavlju, a povezuju se i sa zanimljivom skupinom pojedinačnih elemenata ili cjelovitih garnitura s područja Bugarske (skupina Vrap-Velino). Novija literatura smješta ih u prvu trećinu 8. stoljeća. U grobu 54 na Maklinovom brdu otkriven je pak srebrni polumjesečasti privjesak, koji se donedavno također isključivo dovodio u vezu s tzv. komanskom kulturom. U novije vrijeme, i to upravo na obližnjim ravnokotarskom grobljima, pronađena su još dva slična privjeska. Jedan potječe s nepubliciranog ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja na Velištaku u Velimu pored Stankovaca. Drugi je otkriven kao dio pojasne garniture u grobu na Duševića glavici između Krneze i Podvršja. Garnitura je još sadržavala i apliku sa životinjskim protomama (ptičjim glavama) za koju se paralele mogu pronaći u avarodobnim grobovima na prostoru Karpatske kotline i to upravo u grobovima s mješovitim pojasnim garniturama (Bernolakovo, Nové Zámky), ali i na prostoru Albanije (groblja Komana, Bukel, Lješ i Sard) i to zajedno s visećim okovima istovjetnim onima pronađenim u grobu 6 na Maklinovom brdu u Kašiću. Što se tiče grobova 54 i 55 na Maklinovom brdu, treba istaknuti da su oni otkriveni u neposrednoj blizini groba 52 s nalazom ranokarolinških ostruga, što ih vremenski smješta na kraj 8. ili početak 9. stoljeća. Sličan slučaj zabilježen je i na ranosrednjovjekovnom groblju iz prve polovine 9. stoljeća uz južni zid utvrđenja u Keszthely – Fenékpuszta. Grob 1951/21 (u kojem je pronađena aplika s ptičjim protomama i središnjim zoomorfnim ukrasom sasvim srodna komanskim antropomorfnim i zoomorfnim aplikama) nalazi se u sloju grobova s karolinškim materijalom.

## a) Parts of belt sets

Most of them come from the early medieval cemetery of Kašić-Maklinovo Brdo in the Ravni Kotari region. Here, in graves 4 and 55, cast bronze strap end fittings from a lateral belt were discovered. Today one is lost, while the other is decorated with a vegetative motif in the form of a stylized vine. Such strap ends appear in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, but also later, in composite sets from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, mostly documented in the area of southwestern Slovakia. Two more graves at Maklinovo Brdo contain items that can be related to the Avar milieu in the Carpathian Basin, but also to finds from the so-called Komani Culture in northern Albania, Montenegro, and Macedonia. In grave 6, two fittings with hanging chains were discovered on the belt of the deceased, unfortunately lost today. Similar mounts with hanging chains also appeared with the latest Avar sheet-metal belt sets, or in mixed ensembles where along with sheet-metal elements, the first bronze cast fittings and strap ends can be found from the so-called group with griffons and tendrils. This group also includes a bronze mount with a griffon discovered in a masonry grave vault in Šipansko plain.

The graves with the above elements are dated to the period after AD 710, in the first decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and at the latest to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. These are representatives of the new “Byzantine” style in the Avar milieu, decorations from the Eastern Mediterranean circle, which reached the Carpathian Basin through influence from the Byzantine culture in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The same combination of sheet metal and cast elements of belt sets can also be observed in the Albanian finds from Vrap and Ersekë, which are considered to be looted Khagan treasures produced in the central Danube region, and are connected with an interesting group of individual elements or complete sets from the territory of Bulgaria (the Vrap-Velino group). Recent literature dates them to the first third of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. A silver crescent pendant was discovered in grave 54 at Maklinovo Brdo, which until recently was also exclusively associated with the so-called Komani Culture. More recently, two similar pendants have been found at nearby Ravni Kotari cemeteries. One comes from the unpublished early medieval cemetery at Velištak in Velim near Stankovci. The second was discovered as part of a belt set in a grave at Duševića Glavica between Krneza and Podvršje. The set also contained an appliqué with animal protomes (bird heads) for which parallels can be found in the Avar period graves in the area of the Carpathian Basin, in graves with mixed belt sets (Bernolakovo, Nové Zámky), but also in Albania (the cemeteries of Komani, Bukel, Lješ, and Sard), along with hanging mounts identical to those found in grave 6 at Maklinovo Brdo in Kašić. As for graves 54 and 55 at Maklinovo Brdo, it should be noted that they were discovered in the immediate vicinity of grave 52 with finds of early Carolingian spurs, which chronologically locates them at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. A similar situation was documented at the early medieval cemetery from the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century located along the southern wall of the fortress at Keszthely-Fenékpuszta. Grave 1951/21 (in which an appliqué with bird protomes and a central





Raspareni elementi pojasnih garnitura,  
Lika – nepoznata nalazišta,  
(Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Scattered elements of a belt sets,  
Lika – unknown sites  
(The Museum of Croatian Archaeological  
Monuments – Split)

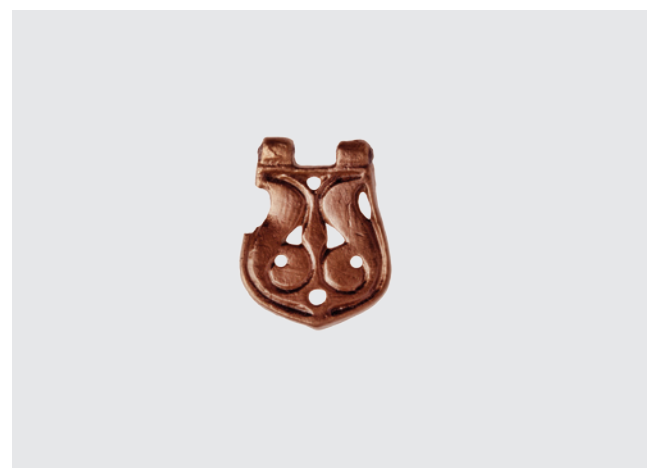
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Raspareni elementi pojasnih garnitura,  
Stinica kraj Jablanca  
(Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Scattered elements of a belt sets,  
Stinica near Jablanac  
(The Museum of Croatian Archaeological  
Monuments – Split)

Okov, Biskupija  
(Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Mount, Biskupija  
(The Museum of Croatian Archaeological  
Monuments – Split)



Nekoliko jezičaca s pokrajnjeg remenja otkriveno je i u zemlji ispod nartekse bazilike sv. Marije na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Može se pretpostaviti da potječu iz razorenih grobova koji su prethodili izgradnji crkve, a nalazili su se u istom sloju s poznatim grobovima s karolinškim oružjem i konjaničkom opremom. Jezičac iz Vrepca u Lici otkupljen 1897. g. također potječe iz groba, a isto se može pretpostaviti i za jezičac otkriven u okolini crkve sv. Križa u Ninu. Elementi avarskih pojasnih garnitura otkriveni su 1895. i 1896. g. u jamama s paljevinom na ranosrednjovjekovnom groblju u Smrdeljima kod Skradina. Iz prve potječe nekoliko dijelova jedne cjelovite pojasne garniture, a iz druge manji pojasni okovi.

S područja na kojem će se oformiti Hrvatska Kneževina još je nekoliko skupnih i pojedinačnih nalaza raspoređenih elemenata pojasnih garnitura kojima okolnosti otkrića nisu poznate. Šest ih je s područja Like, sedam iz Stinice kod Jablanca u Hrvatskom Primorju, šest s nepoznatih položaja u Biskupiji kod Knina, a četiri s nepoznatih nalazišta u Dalmaciji. Pojedinačni primjerci potječu s položaja vinograda J. Mravića i vinograda N. Bračića u Biskupiji, zatim iz Orlića kod Knina, iz Unešića kod Drniša te s nepoznatog položaja na Duvanjskom polju.

Motiv stilizirane lozice karakterističan je za drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća te ga se, osim na već spominjanom jezičcu iz groba 55 na Maklinovom brdu, pronalazi i na jezičcima iz Orlića i Stinice, kao i na jednom od jezičaca s prostora nartekse bazilike na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Također, zastupljen je i na nedovršenom jezičcu iz vinograda J. Mravića u istom selu i na jednom od jezičaca s nepoznatih nalazišta u Dalmaciji.

Istom vremenu pripadaju i veći dvodijelni zglobovi, vjerojatno s glavnog remena, koji potječu iz Biskupije, a ukrašeni su urezanim, odnosno reljefnim, nasuprotno postavljenim viticama u obliku slova S, te okovi u obliku rozeta iz Stinice kojima se u okviru kasnoavarodobnih grobalja Karpatske kotline može pronaći pozamašan broj odgovarajućih analogija. Velik broj paralela, koje je ovdje izlišno navoditi, mogao bi se pronaći i za male brončane trokutaste okove, izrađene u tehnici prolamanja ili s 3-4 rupice za zakovice, poput četiri primjerka otkrivena 1896. u drugoj jami s paljevinom u Smrdeljima.

Slijedi skupina međusobno sličnih malih jezičaca i dvodijelnih zglobovskih okova. Tu najprije treba navesti dva identična okova iz Biskupije, kojima je obod gornjeg većeg dijela zadebljan i narebren, a unutrašnje polje je ukrašeno stiliziranim biljnim ornamentom, dok im manji donji dio ima oblik rebraste prstenaste alke. Ovim okovima ukrašen je srodan jezičac otkriven u okolini crkve sv. Križa u Ninu, kao i jedan od jezičaca s nepoznatog nalazišta u Dalmaciji. Potom slijede dva okova, jedan iz Biskupije, a drugi s nepoznatog nalazišta u Dalmaciji, s gornjim dijelom ukrašenim polumjesečastim ljuskama i donjim u obliku prstenaste alke, odnosno glatkog i neukrašenog polukruga, te naposljetku, okov iz Smrdelja, rađen u tehnici prolamanja, također s polukružno oblikovanim donjim dijelom. Potonjem je, zbog stiliziranog biljnog ornamenta izrađenog u tehnici prolamanja, veoma srodan jezičac iz Vrepca u Lici.

zoomorphic decoration quite similar to the Komani anthropomorphic and zoomorphic appliqués was found) was located in the layer of graves containing Carolingian material.

Several strap end fittings from lateral straps were also discovered in the soil below the narthex of the basilica of St. Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija. It can be assumed that they originated from destroyed graves that preceded the construction of the church, and had been located in the same layer as the famous graves with Carolingian weapons and cavalry equipment. The strap end fitting from Vrebac in Lika, purchased in 1897, also came from a grave, and the same can be assumed for the fitting discovered in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin. Elements of Avar belt sets were also discovered in 1895 and 1896 in pits with cremations at an early medieval cemetery in Smrdelje near Skradin. The first contained several parts of a complete belt set, and the second, small belt fittings.

There are also several other group and individual finds of scattered elements of belt sets from the area in which the Croatian Principality was to be formed, where the circumstances of discovery remain unknown. Six are from the Lika region, seven from Stinica near Jablanac in the Croatian Littoral, six from unknown locations at Biskupija near Knin, and four came from unknown locations in Dalmatia. Individual examples come from the sites of the vineyards of J. Mravić and the vineyards of N. Bračić in the Biskupija, from Orlić near Knin, Unešić near Drniš, and also from an unknown site in Duvanjsko plain.

The motif of a stylized vine is characteristic for the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and is found on the previously mentioned strap end from grave 5 at Maklinovo Brdo, as well as on the strap ends from Orlić and Stinica, as well as on one of the strap ends from the narthex of the basilica at Crkvina in Biskupija. This was also represented on an unfinished strap end from the vineyard of J. Mravić in the same village, and on one of the strap ends from unknown sites in Dalmatia.

Large two-part jointed mounts, probably from the main belt, decorated with incised, or relief, oppositely placed S-shaped tendrils, also belong to the same period, and came from Biskupija, as well as rosette-shaped mounts from Stinica, for which an immense number of matching analogies can be found from the late Avar period cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin. A large number of parallels, which need not be cited here, can also be found for the small bronze triangular mounts, made in a perforated technique or with 3-4 rivet holes, such as the four examples discovered in 1896 in a second pit with a cremation grave at Smrdelje.

A group follows of mutually similar small strap ends and two-part jointed mounts. First, two identical mounts from Biskupija must be mentioned, where the rim of the upper part is thickened and ribbed, and the inner field is decorated with stylized floral ornamentation, while the smaller lower part has the form of a ribbed annular circllet. The decoration of these mounts is related to the strap end found in the vicinity of the church of the Holy Cross in Nin, as well as one strap end from an unknown site in Dalmatia. This is followed by two mounts, one from Biskupija





Dijelovi pojasne garniture, Smrdelji kraj Skradina, jama 1 (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Parts of a belt set, Smrdelji near Skradin, pit 1 (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Split)

Srcoliki okovi, Stinica (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

Heart-shaped mounts, Stinica (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

Jezičac ukrašen životinjskom ornamentikom, Biskupija (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Strap end decorated with zoomorphic ornament, Biskupija (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Split)



U okviru kasnoavarodobnih grobalja svi se ovi tipovi okova i jezičaca pojavljuju u kompozitnim garniturama ili zajedno s predmetima ukrašenim u tzv. blatničkom stilu, a pojedini od njih i sami su ukrašeni na spomenuti način. Gornji dio jednog takvog okova, ukrašen nizom urezanih trolisnih polupalmeta na punciranoj podlozi, nalazi se i među našim predmetima s nepoznatih dalmatinskih nalazišta. Značajne paralele svim navedenim okovima mogu se pronaći na grobljima jugozapadne Slovačke. Uz ovu skupinu vezuju se i glatki neukrašeni srcoliki okovi poput dvaju primjeraka s nepoznatih ličkih nalazišta te dvaju primjeraka otkrivenih na prostoru narтекса bazilike na Crkvini u Biskupiji. Ti okovi pojavljuju se u kasnom horizontu, a zabilježeni su i na brojnim grobljima Mađarske i Slovačke. Posebno valja izdvojiti groblja u Prši i Komárnom, najviše zbog toga što su glatki srcoliki okovi u tamošnjim grobovima združeni s gotovo svim tipovima jezičaca i trokutastih i dvodijelnih zglobnih okova kakve pronalazimo na području Dalmacije, što upućuje na zaključak da i naši nalazi pripadaju jednom užem vremenskom odsječku. Srcoliki okovi veoma su često ukrašeni palmetama ili polupalmetama na punciranoj podlozi, poput dvaju srcolikih okova iz Like i triju njihova sličnih okova iz Stinice.

Kasnoavarskom razdoblju pripada i jedan od jezičaca iz Biskupije, ukrašen životinjskom ornamentikom, srodan skupini ukrašenom motivom povorke životinja. Skupini kasnih jezičaca svakako pripada i brončani pozlaćeni jezičac izrađen tehnikom prolamanja s Duvanjskog polja. No jedan od najzanimljivijih primjeraka koji u širem smislu pripadaju tom horizontu jest brončani jezičac s antropomorfnim prikazom iz narтекса bazilike na Crkvini. Taj jezičac se ubraja u rijetku skupinu jezičaca i okova s helenističko-antičkim mitološkim prikazima, a na njemu se nalazi Viktorija s vidljivim gornjim dijelom tijela, s rukama u krilu i glavom lagano okrenutom u stranu.

Osobito su zanimljivi elementi pozlaćene pojasne garniture te okovi konjske orme otkriveni 1895. g. u prvom jami s paljevinom u Smrdeljima kod Skradina. Tih je predmeta prigodom otkrića bilo više i to iste vrste (izričito se spominje veći broj okova radenih tehnikom prolamanja i kružnih okova u obliku medaljona te jedan pokrajnji jezičac, ukupno oko 90 predmeta), što svjedoči da se u jami nalazila cjelovita pojasna garnitura. Uz spomenutu garnituru bio je pronađen i određeni broj okova konjske orme. Pozlaćeni brončani jezičac iz Smrdelja smatra se jednim od najljepših i najosebujnijih primjeraka toga tipa. S prednje je strane ukrašen četirima reljefno izrađenim pticama u nazubljenim medaljonima. Ptice imaju otvorene kljunove iz kojih visi vitičasti, odnosno zmi-joliki ukras. Taj se prikaz može povezati s kasnoantičkim motivom orla s ribom. Stražnja strana jezičca ukrašena je u dva polja; manje gornje polje vitičasto izvedenim brojem osam, a veće nizom od pet prema van izvijenih vitica strukturiranih u obliku slova U, koje podsjećaju na harfu. Podloga ukrasa s objiju strana jezičca je puncirana. S obzirom na prikaz ptica u medaljonima, sam jezičac nema analogija i tek je donekle usporediv sa sličnim jezičcima s prikazom grifona u vitičastom medaljonu iz grobova 113 i 1141 u Tiszafüredu, odnosno s jezičcima s četveronožnim životinjama iz Artánda i Mödlinga. Treba ukazati i na glavni brončani pozlaćeni pojasni jezičac iz Zemun Polja u Srbiji, s portretima prikazanima u profilu unutar medaljona s prednje te vegetabilnom dekoracijom

and the other from an unknown site in Dalmatia, with the upper part decorated with crescent-shaped scales and the lower in the form of a ring-shaped circlet, or a smooth and undecorated hemisphere, and finally, the mount from Smrdelje, made with the perforation technique, also with a semicircular shaped lower part. The latter, due to the stylized floral decoration made in the perforated technique, is very similar to the strap end from Vrebac in the Lika region.

In the framework of the late Avar period cemeteries, all these types of mounts and strap ends appear in composite sets or together with items decorated in so-called Blatnica style, and some of them are themselves decorated in this manner. The upper part of one such mount, decorated with a series of incised three-leaved half-palmettos on a punctured base, is also among the objects from unknown Dalmatian sites. Significant parallels to all these fittings can be found in the cemeteries of southwestern Slovakia. Smooth, unadorned heart-shaped mounts are associated with this group, such as two specimens from unknown sites in Lika, and two specimens discovered in the narthex of the basilica at Crkvina in Biskupija. These mounts appear in the late horizon, and have been recorded in numerous cemeteries in Hungary and Slovakia. The cemeteries in Prša and Komárno are particularly noteworthy, mainly because the smooth heart-shaped mounts in the graves there are joined with almost all types of strap ends and triangular and two-part jointed mounts such as can be found in the Dalmatia region, which indicates that our finds also belong to a narrower slice of time. Heart-shaped mounts are often decorated with palmettes or half-palmettes on a punctured base, such as two heart-shaped mounts from the Lika region and three similar mounts from Stinica.

One of the strap ends from Biskupija, decorated with zoomorphic ornaments, also belongs to the late Avar period, similar to a group decorated with a motif of an animal parade. The group of late strap ends certainly includes a bronze gilded strap end made in the perforated technique from Duvanjsko plain. But one of the most interesting examples that can be said to belong in general to this horizon is a bronze strap end with an anthropomorphic representation from the narthex of the basilica at Crkvina. This strap end belongs to a rare group of strap ends and mounts with Hellenistic-Antique mythological representations, in this case displaying Victoria with a visible upper body, her arms in her lap, and her head turned slightly to the side.

The elements of a gilded belt set and the mounts for a horse harness discovered in 1895 in the first pit with a cremation found at Smrdelje near Skradin are particularly interesting. More of these objects of the same kind had been found at the time of the discovery (specific mention is made of a number of mounts made in a perforated technique and circular mounts in the form of medallions, along with one lateral strap end, about 90 objects in total), which indicates that the burial pit contained a complete belt set. In addition to the aforementioned set, a number of horse harness mounts were also found. The gilded bronze strap end from Smrdelje is considered to be one of the most beautiful and unique specimens of this type. It is decorated on the front with four birds in relief in serrated medallions. The



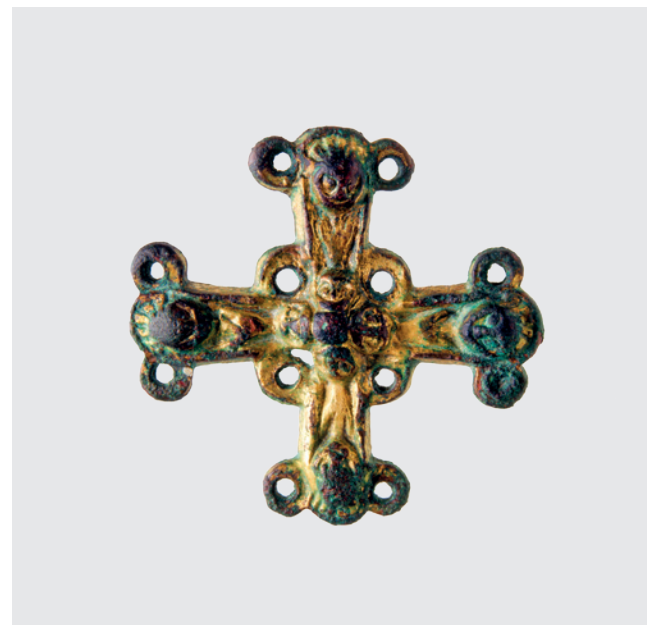


Jezičac, Biskupija-vinograd N. Bračića  
(Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Strap end, Biskupija-vineyard of N. Bračić  
(The Museum of Croatian Archaeological  
Monuments – Split)

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Križna aplika, Nin-Ždrijac, grob 324  
(Arheološki muzej Zadar)

Cross shaped applique, Nin-Ždrijac, grave 324  
(Archaeological Museum in Zadar)



sa stražnje strane, također na punciranoj podlozi. Da su tri obilno pozlaćena štitolika okova izrađena tehnikom prolamanja pripadala istoj garnituri, dokazuje njihov središnji stilizirani vegetabilni ukras u obliku vitičasto izvedenog slova U. Osobito su zanimljiva i dva kružna okova s reljefno izvedenim portretima u profilu te cizeliranom i punciranom podlogom. Oni pripadaju skupini okova s tzv. vladarskim portretima. Najbliža analogija našim primjercima ponovno se može pronaći u garnituri iz Zemun Polja, s time da su na tamošnjih pet okova poprsja i ramena prikazana en face, a glava u profilu.

Masivni pozlaćeni brončani jezičac s Bribirske glavice s pseudo-granuliranim okvirom i ukrasom u obliku nasuprotno postavljenih S-vitica srodan je jezičcima luksuzne pojasne garniture otkrivene u Hohenbergu u Austriji zajedno s ranokarolinškim mačem. Slični primjerci jezičaca dugo su smatrani proizvodima avarskog zlatarstva i vremenski smješteni nakon 800. godine. F. Daim je na predmetima hohenberškog nalaza proveo tehnološku analizu koja je otkrila pojedine detalje netipične za avarske pojasne garniture. Došao je do zaključka da se hohenberški jezičci i bribirski primjerak te njima srodni jezičci iz Bolzana u Italiji mogu dovesti u vezu s bizantskom reprezentativnom kulturom, u kojoj pojas također igra značajnu ulogu, te predložio nešto raniju dataciju, u drugu polovinu 8. stoljeća, temeljenu ponajprije na činjenici da je uz hohenberšku garnituru pronađen mač tipa Manheim.

Jezičac iz vinograda N. Bračića u Biskupiji, pak, karolinške je konture, ali obostrano ukrašen osebujnim narebrenim ornamentom u dva uzdužna polja, neuobičajenim na jezičcima karolinškog tipa. Donekle je usporediv s pojedinim avarskim brončanim jezičcima kasnog 8. stoljeća.

#### b) Dijelovi konjske orme

Zajedno s dijelovima pojasne garniture u prvoj jami s paljevinom na groblju u Smrdeljima otkrivena su i 3 kalotasta okova konjske orme izrađena tehnikom prolamanja, od kojih je danas sačuvan samo jedan. Najizravnije analogije spomenutim okovima ponovno su na grobljima jugozapadne Slovačke (Žitavska Toň, Komárno).

Nalazima iz Smrdelja mogu se pribrojiti i dvije kalotaste narebrene aplike otkrivene u grobovima 322 i 324 na Ždrijacu u Ninu, kojima se analogije ponovno mogu pronaći u kasnoavarodobnim grobovima na području Karpatske kotline i to u funkciji ukrasnih okova konjske orme (Hortobágy-Árkus, Holiare, Nové Zámky, Šebastovce, Radvaň nad Dunajom i dr.). Okovi i aplike istovjetni onima iz Smrdelja i sa Ždrijaca združeni su u ostavi iz Dolné Orešany u jugozapadnoj Slovačkoj, koja sadržava i gotovo sve tipove pojasnih jezičaca i okova kakvi se pojavljuju na području Dalmacije i o kojima je ovdje prethodno bilo riječi. Ostava je datirana u sam kraj 8. stoljeća.

Poznati grob 322 na Ždrijacu u Ninu s tri istovremeno ukopana pokojnika sadržavao je, pak, oružje zapadnokarolinškog tipa, koje se vremenski smješta na kraj 8. ili u prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća, pa ni kalotasta aplika nije u grob mogla dospjeti prije tog vremena.

birds have open beaks from which tendril- or snake-like decorations hang. This depiction can be related to the late Roman motif of an eagle catching a fish. The back side of the strap end fitting is decorated in two fields; a smaller upper field with a number eight composed of tendrils, and a larger row of five outwardly curved tendrils organized in a U-shape resembling a harp. The base of the decoration on both sides of the strap end is punctured. In terms of the representation of birds in the medallions, the strap end itself has no analogies and is only somewhat comparable to similar strap ends with the representation of a griffon in a tendril-like medallion from graves 113 and 1141 at Tiszafüred, or the strap ends with four-legged animals from Artánd and Mödling. The main bronze gilt strap end from Zemun Polje in Serbia should also be mentioned, with portraits shown in profile inside medallions on the front and vegetative decoration on the back, and also on the punctured background. That three richly gilded shield-shaped mounts made with the perforated technique belonged to the same set is proven by their central stylized vegetative ornament in the shape of the letter U formed by tendrils. Two circular mounts with relief portraits in profile and a repoussé and punctured base are particularly interesting. They belong to a group of mounts with what are known as ruler's portraits. The closest analogy to our examples can again be found in the set from Zemun Polje, where on the five mounts the bust and shoulders are depicted en face, while the head is in profile.

The massive gilded bronze strap end from Bribirska Glavica with a pseudo-granular frame and decoration in the form of oppositely placed S-shape tendrils is related to the strap ends of a luxury belt set discovered in Hohenberg, Austria along with an early Carolingian sword. Similar specimens of strap ends have long been considered products of Avar goldsmithing and dated after AD 800. F. Daim conducted a technological analysis of the objects from the Hohenberg find that revealed certain details atypical of Avar belt sets. He came to the conclusion that the Hohenberg strap ends and the example from Bribir, and related strap ends from Bolzano, Italy, could be linked to the Byzantine Culture, in which the belt also played a significant role, and suggested a slightly earlier date, in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, based primarily on the fact that a Manheim type sword was found along with the Hohenberg belt set.

The strap end from the vineyard of N. Bračić in Biskupija, however, has Carolingian outlines, but it is decorated on both sides with a distinctive ribbed ornamentation in two lengthwise fields, unusual for the strap ends of the Carolingian type. It is somewhat comparable to certain Avar bronze strap ends from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century.

#### b) Parts of horse harnesses

Together with the parts of the belt set in the first pit with a cremation in the cemetery at Smrdelje, 3 domed mounts for a horse harness made in the perforation technique were discovered, of which only one is preserved today. The most direct analogies to these mounts are again at the cemeteries of southwestern Slovakia (Žitavska Toň, Komárno).





Križnica sablje ili paloša, Nin (Arheološki muzej Zadar)

Cross-grip of sabre or pallos, Nin (Archaeological Museum Zadar)

Tročlani koštani recipijent T-oblika, Nin-Ždrijac, grob 161 (Arheološki muzej Zadar)

Tripartite T-shaped bone container, Nin-Ždrijac, grave 161 (Archaeological Museum in Zadar)

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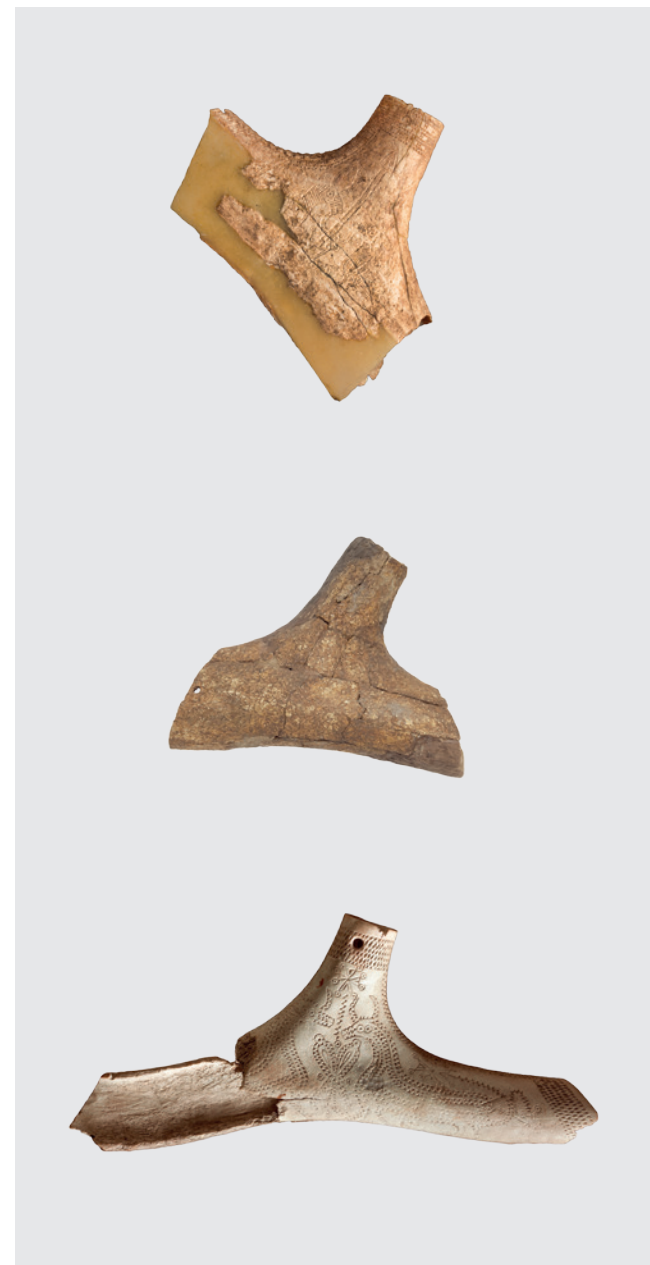
Tročlani koštani recipijent T-oblika, Stranče-Gorica u Vinodolu, grob 128 (Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja Rijeka)

Tripartite T-shaped bone container, Stranče-Gorica in Vinodol, grave 128 (Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral Rijeka)

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Tročlani koštani recipijent T-oblika, Kapitul kraj Knina (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika-Split)

Tripartite T-shaped bone container, Kapitul near Knin, (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments – Split)



U grobu 324 uz drugu kalotastu apliku konjske orme pronađena je i poznata križna aplika s krakovima ukrašenim reljefno izvedenim ljudskim likovima s uzdignutim rukama, tj. u adorantskom položaju. Po sredini križa, odnosno u korijenu krakova, nalaze se, također reljefno prikazane, četiri ljudske maske. Nedavno je izneseno mišljenje da je aplika prvotno bila u funkciji okova konjske orme te je u ždrijačkom grobu u sekundarnoj uporabi, što je prihvatljivo, za razliku od interpretacije i datacije koje su za ždrijačku apliku ponuđene u istom tekstu.

Najznačajnije paralele ponovo se nalaze na prostoru jugozapadne Slovačke i to u prvom redu u osebujnom kasnoavarodobnom ukrasu konjskog oglavlja iz groba 10 na nalazištu Žitavska Toň. Ukas oglavlja tvori jedan veći okov sastavljen od šest brončanih pozlaćenih ljudskih maski, međusobno spojenih križem, koje su bile pričvršćene na čeonom remenu, te tri manja okova sastavljena od tri međusobno spojene identične maske s bočnog remena oglavlja.

Zbog zajedničke pojave kasnoavarskih i karolinških predmeta zanimljiva je i usporedba ždrijačke aplikacije s pojedinim nalazima za koje se donedavno smatralo da potječu iz Blatnice u Slovačkoj. Ljudske maske tu se pojavljuju na nakrsnici karolinškog mača, okovima pojasa i okovima konjske orme. S obzirom na ždrijački križić, osobito je zanimljiv križni okov pojasa s krakovima ukrašenim zrcalno postavljenim ljudskim figurama i s četiri reljefno izvedene maske u izbočenom središnjem dijelu, koje su raspoređene posred plastično oblikovanog križa.

Na dva slična križića ukrašena ljudskim maskama s moravskog i češkog prostora već je odavno upozoreno u literaturi; jedan potječe iz kulturnog sloja uz tzv. petu crkvu u poznatom moravskom središtu u Mikulčicama, a drugi je bio u sekundarnoj uporabi u mlađem grobu otkrivenom uz rotundu sv. Petra u Budeču u Češkoj.

### c) Oružje

Na području istočne jadranske obale i njezina zaleđa otkriven je dosad samo jedan, necjeloviti primjerak oružja. Riječ je o križnici sablje ili jednosjeklog mača, tzv. paloša, iz kasnoavarskog razdoblja. Pronađena je 2000. godine prigodom arheoloških istraživanja uz pročelje župne crkve sv. Anselma u Ninu. Nalazila se u kulturnom sloju ispod groba koji je prema nakitu (grozdolika naušnica u obliku stiliziranog klasa) datiran u kraj 8. ili prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća.

### d) Tročlani koštani recipijenti T-oblika

Tročlani koštani recipijenti T-oblika otkriveni su u grobovima 161 i 180 na Ždrijacu u Ninu i u grobu 128 na Gorici u Strančama u Vinodolu, a jedan potječe s Kapitula kod Knina (potonji je dosad krivo pripisivan grobljima u Ivoševcima ili Ardalića baščama u Đevrskama). Slični recipijenti najbrojniji su u okviru avarodobnih grobalja na području Karpatske kotline. Najstarijima se smatraju neukrašeni primjerci s grobalja 7. i 8. stoljeća (Dunapentele, Abony, Kisköre, Alattyán, Mistelbach i dr.). Nešto mlađim smatraju se primjerci iz groba 115 u Devinskoj Novoj Vesi ukrašen

In addition to the finds from Smrdelje, two domed ribbed appliques discovered in graves 322 and 324 at Ždrijac in Nin can also be added, for which analogies can again be found in late Avar period graves in the area of the Carpathian Basin, utilized in the function of ornamental mounts for horse harnesses (Hortobágy-Árkus, Holiare, Nové Zámky, Šebastovce, Radvaň nad Dunaj, etc.). Mounts and appliques identical to those from Smrdelje and Ždrijac were united in a hoard from Dolné Orešany in southwestern Slovakia, which contains almost all types of belt strap ends and mounts that appear in the region of Dalmatia and were discussed earlier. The hoard is dated to the very end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

The well-known grave 322 at Ždrijac in Nin, with three simultaneous burials, contained weapons of the western Carolingian type, chronologically assigned to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or in the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, and even the domed appliqué could not have entered the grave before that time.

In grave 324, in addition to a second domed appliqué for a horse harness, a well-known cross appliqué was also found, with arms decorated with embossed human figures with arms raised, i.e. in the adorant position. In the middle of the cross, or at the base of the arms, there are four human masks in relief. Recently, it has been argued that the appliqué had originally been a mount for a horse harness and was in secondary use in the Ždrijac grave, which is acceptable, as opposed to the interpretation and dating offered in the same text for the Ždrijac appliqué.

The most significant parallels can again be found in the area of southwestern Slovakia, primarily in the distinctive late Avar decoration for a horse head from grave 10 at the Žitavska Toň site. The headgear is made up of one larger mount made up of six bronze gilded human masks, joined by a cross, which were attached to the frontal strap, and three smaller mounts composed of three interconnected identical masks from the side straps of the headband.

Given the appearance of late Avar and Carolingian objects together, it is interesting to compare the Ždrijac appliqué with certain finds that until recently were thought to have originated in Blatnica in Slovakia. Human masks also appear here on the crossbar of a Carolingian sword, the belt mounts, and the horse harness mounts. Considering the Ždrijac cross, the cross-shaped mount of the belt is particularly interesting, with the arms decorated with mirrored human figures and with four relief masks in the convex central part, arranged in the middle of the relief cross.

Two similar crosses decorated with human masks from the Moravian and Czech regions have long been noted in the literature; one originates from the cultural stratum at the so-called fifth church in the well-known Moravian center in Mikulčice, and the other was in secondary use in a later grave discovered by the rotunda of SS. Peter and Paul in Budeč in Czechia.

### c) Weapons

So far, only one incomplete weapon has been discovered in the area of the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. It is a cross-



mrežastim ornamentom s kraja 8. stoljeća, pretežito ukrašeni recipijenti s transdanubijskih globalja (Sopronkőhida, Zalaszabar-Dezsősziget, Esztergályhorváti-Alsóbárandpuszta i dr.) te primjerak s donjoaustrijskog groblja Pitten, svi datirani u 9. stoljeće. O funkciji i podrijetlu ovih predmeta, kao i o značenju likovnih prikaza na njima, postoje različita mišljenja. Međutim, nije sporno da su oni u avarskom miljeu imali kultnu funkciju i da potječu upravo iz tog kulturnog kruga, odakle su preuzeti i pojavljuju se na pojedinim grobljima prve polovine 9. stoljeća. Na Ždrijacu i Strančama pronalazimo ih u dijelovima groblja obilježenim karolinškim materijalom te se stoga datiraju u kraj 8. ili u prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća.

#### Zaključak

Svi nalazi poznatih okolnosti otkrića o kojima je ovdje bilo riječi potječu iz grobova najranijeg sloja kosturnih globalja na teritoriju na kojem će početkom 9. stoljeća nastati Hrvatska Kneževina. Ti grobovi uglavnom su u blizini ili u okruženju grobova s karolinškim materijalom, odnosno u ukopnom horizontu Biskupija-Crkvina. U pojedinim slučajevima predmeti kasnoavarske i karolinške provenijencije zabilježeni su čak i unutar istih grobnih cjelina. Niti u jednom slučaju ne može se govoriti o avarskom ukopu s obzirom na to da su u grobovima pronađeni raspareni dijelovi pojasnih garnitura ili elementi konjske orme u sekundarnoj uporabi. Pojava velike pozlaćene pojasne garniture i okova konjske orme u jami s paljevinom u Smrdeljima predstavlja izuzetak, a kako je riječ o nedokumentiranom nalazu iz 19. stoljeća pitanje njegove interpretacije zasad ostaje otvoreno.

Analogije za avarske predmete pronađene duž istočne jadranske obale pronalaze se u kasnoavarodobnim grobljima na prostoru Karpatske kotline, a u najvećoj mjeri na području jugozapadne Slovačke. Pojedine paralele mogu se uočiti i u sloju koji je u starijoj literaturi nazivan horizontom Blatnica ili Blatnica-Mikulčice, a vremenski se preklapa s horizontom Biskupija-Crkvina.

Zanimljivu skupinu nalaza predstavljaju pojedini predmeti za koje se, osim u avarskom miljeu u Karpatskoj kotlini, paralele pronalaze i na grobljima tzv. komanske kulture na prostoru Sjeverne Albanije, Crne Gore i zapadne Makedonije. Ti se lokaliteti, kao i oni u Dalmaciji, također nalaze u zaleđu istočnojadranske obale. I na njima je zamjetna prisutnost srednjoavarskih i kasnoavarskih elemenata muške nošnje (pojasnih garnitura), s paralelama u ostavi iz Vrapa i skupini Vrap-Velino iz prve polovine 8. stoljeća. Pojavljuju se i pojasni elementi s kraja 8. stoljeća, u potpunosti srodni nalazima iz Dalmacije. Oni se mogu pratiti duž brojnih komanskih lokaliteta, a dosežu i do jonskog otoka Krfa (groblja u Afioni i Paleokaistrisi). Redovito su praćeni pojavom polumjesečastih privjesaka poput onih s naših ravnokotarskih globalja, a posebno aplikama sa zoomorfnim ukrasom, poput aplikе s ptičjim protomama iz groba na Duševića glavici, kojoj se analogije pronalaze i u okviru avarodobnih globalja u Karpatskoj kotlini. Riječ je o predmetima izrazito bizantskog karaktera pa ostaje otvoreno pitanje njihovog dospijeaća na lokalitete u Hrvatskoj i Albaniji. Teško bi se, naime, za sve njih moglo ustvrditi da potječu iz avarskog miljea, već se mora pretpostaviti da pripadaju suvremenoj bizantskoj produkciji u

grip saber or a single-edged sword, the so-called pallos, from the late Avar period. It was found in 2000 during archaeological excavations along the front facade of the parish church of St. Anselm in Nin. It was located in a cultural stratum beneath a grave, dated on the basis of the jewelry (a raceme earring in the shape of a stylized grain of wheat) to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### d) Tripartite T-shaped bone containers

Three T-shaped bone recipients were discovered in graves 161 and 180 at Ždrijac in Nin and at grave 128 at Gorica in Stranče near Vinodol, while one comes from Kapitul near Knin (the latter has to date been wrongly attributed to cemeteries in Ivoševci or Đevrske - Ardalića bašča). Similar containers are most numerous in the framework of Avar period cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin. The earliest are considered to be the unadorned specimens from cemeteries of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries (Dunapentele, Abony, Kisköre, Alattyan, Mistelbach, etc.). Examples from grave 115 in Devinska Nova Ves decorated with a web ornament are considered somewhat later, from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while the mostly decorated containers from Transdanubian cemeteries (Sopronkőhida, Zalaszabar-Dezsősziget, Esztergályhorváti-Alsóbárandpuszta, etc.), and an example from the Pitten cemetery in Lower Austria, are all dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Opinions differ on the function and origin of these objects, as well as the meaning of the artistic depictions on them. However, it is undisputed that they had a cult function in the Avar milieu and that they originated precisely from this cultural circle, from which they were taken, subsequently appearing at certain cemeteries in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. At Ždrijac and Stranče, they can be found in the parts of the cemeteries characterized with Carolingian material, and therefore they can be dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### Conclusion

All the finds with known circumstances of discovery referred to here come from graves of the earliest stratum of skeletal cemeteries in the territory where the Croatian Principality would emerge at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. These graves were generally near or in the vicinity of graves with Carolingian material, specifically the burial horizon of Biskupija-Crkvina. In some cases, objects of late Avar and Carolingian provenance were even documented within the same grave units. Not in a single case can one speak of an Avar burial, as dispersed parts of the belt sets or elements of horse harnesses were found in the graves in secondary use. The large gilded belt set and horse harness mounts found in a pit with a cremation at Smrdelje represent exceptions, and since it was an undocumented 19<sup>th</sup> century find, the question of its interpretation remains open.

Analogies for the Avar objects discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast can be found in late Avar period cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, and to the greatest extent in the region of southwestern Slovakia. Certain parallels can also be observed in the stratum called (in earlier literature) the Blatnica

gradovima duž istočne jadranske obale, odakle dopiru u zaleđe.

Prisutnost pojedinih avarskih predmeta u Dalmaciji i Albaniji i općenito duž istočne obale Jadrana, daleko od matičnog prostora Avarskog kaganata, u literaturi je obično tumačena avaro-slavenskim prodorima ili plijenom osvojenim u franačko-avarskim ratovima. No većina tih predmeta pripada kasnoavarskom razdoblju, kad se više ne može govoriti o prodorima prema jugu. Treba, također, ukazati na činjenicu da je disperzija sličnih predmeta zamijećena i na nekim drugim područjima, udaljenim od avarskog kaganata (Češka i južna Poljska).

Stoga, na kraju se može zaključiti da nalazi o kojima je bilo riječi pokazuju određene veze s avarskim miljeom, ali ne svjedoče o avarskoj prisutnosti u Dalmaciji i drugdje duž istočne jadranske obale. Ako je takve prisutnosti i bilo, ona nije bila znatna i nije ostavila traga u materijalnoj ostavštini ranosrednjovjekovnih globalja na ovim prostorima. [MP]

or Blatnica-Mikulčice horizon, which overlaps chronologically with the Biskupija-Crkvina horizon.

An interesting group of finds consists of individual objects for which, except in the Avar milieu in the Carpathian Basin, parallels can also be found in the cemeteries of the Komani Culture in northern Albania, Montenegro, and western Macedonia. These sites, like those in Dalmatia, are also located in the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast. Similarly, a noticeable presence also exists of middle Avar and late Avar elements of male attire (belt sets), with parallels to the Vrap hoard and the Vrap-Velino group from the first half of the 8th century. Belt elements from the end of the 8th century appear, fully related to the finds from Dalmatia. They can be traced through numerous Komani Culture sites, extending to the Ionian island of Corfu (the cemeteries at Afion and Paleokastritsa). They are regularly accompanied by the appearance of crescent-shaped pendants, such as those from the cemeteries in the Ravni Kotari region, and especially appliqués with zoomorphic ornamentation, such as the appliqués with bird protomes from the grave at Duševića Glavica, for which analogies can also be found in the Avar period cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin. These are objects of distinctively Byzantine character, so the question of their arrival at sites in Croatia and Albania remains open. It would be difficult to claim for all of them that they originated from an Avar milieu, rather it must be hypothesized that they reflected contemporary Byzantine production in the cities along the eastern Adriatic coast, from there reaching the hinterland.

The presence of certain Avar objects in Dalmatia and Albania, and generally along the eastern Adriatic coast, far from the central area of the Avar khaganate, is usually interpreted in the literature as a result of Avar-Slavic raids or loot collected in the Frankish-Avar wars. But most of these items belong to the late Avar period, when one can no longer speak of raids to the south. It should also be pointed out that the dispersion of similar objects has also been observed in certain other areas quite distant from the Avar Khaganate (Czechia and southern Poland).

Therefore, it can be concluded that the finds in question show certain links with the Avar milieu, but do not testify to any Avar presence in Dalmatia or elsewhere along the eastern Adriatic coast. If such a presence had existed, it was insignificant and left no traces in the material legacy of the early medieval cemeteries in this region. [MP]



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**Barbara Smith Demo, Maja Novković, Pavle Dugonjić**

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