

Marino Kumir

**MEMORY AND AUTHORITY IN THE NINTH-CENTURY
DALMATIAN DUCHY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2016

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by

Marino Kumir

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how ninth-century elites of the Dalmatian duchy used the imported trends of weapon burial rites and church-building as ways of expressing and performing authority and constructing and maintaining memory. Dalmatian duchy, like the whole eastern coast of Adriatic, underwent a dramatic process of transformation from the late eighth to the early ninth century. The evidence of this change was most apparent in the material culture where, among other things, weapons began to be deposited inside the graves of the elite. The new burial customs would not last for long, however, and they were gradually replaced by the increasingly more popular church-building trend. I argue that unlike the weapon rite which were single events confined by their temporality, the building of churches enabled the elites to express their power in more visible and permanent ways. The possibility to have a text carved upon the altar beams of churches gave them an opportunity to memorialize their names, their marriage, their rank within the society, their political allegiance and their piousness.

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this thesis to my family, whose love and support throughout my life made all of this possible.

I would like to thank the whole faculty and staff here at CEU for providing such a welcoming and invigorating environment for learning about the Middle Ages. Special thanks to Daniel Ziemann, for his advice, guidance and support in the long and heavy process of writing this thesis. I owe thanks to Tom Rooney and Zsuzsa Reed for the pains my early drafts must have given them. I am grateful to Marianne Sághy and Andra Juganaru for the challenging and affable atmosphere of their classes which surely broadened my horizons. In addition, I am thankful to Ivan Basić for guiding me through the first steps of my academic career.

It would be remiss of me to skip over my friends and colleagues here in Budapest, without whom I surely would not have survived. Thanks also to my friends back in Split, for their constant support and encouragement. Last, but not the least, to Iliana and Dan, whose friendship and late night card games I will never forget.

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
Research objective	2
A question of terminology	6
Chapter I – The Dawn of Early Medieval Archaeology in Dalmatia	8
Chapter II – Commemorating the Dead: Reinterpreting the Familial Past.....	15
Chapter III – Constructing Memory: Intervening into the Landscape.....	28
Chapter IV – Performing Authority: The Short-Lived Trend of Burials with Weapons.....	38
Chapter V – A View from the Outside: The Frankish Royal Annals and Their Treatment of Dalmatia.....	52
Chapter VI – Towards a Shared Identity: (Re)Affirmation of Church-Building and Its Role in the Preservation of Memory	58
Conclusion	66
Bibliography	70
Appendix.....	80

List of Figures

Figure 1: The plan of the architectural complex at Biskupija-Crkvina together with the position of eighth-ninth century graves (Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 351).	18
Figure 2: The location of the sarcophagus from the sacristy at Galovac-Crkvina (Belošević, “Osvrt na rezultate istraživanja lokaliteta ‘Crkvina,’” appendix).....	21
Figure 3: The placement of graves 253 and 258 at Begovača-Crkvina (Josipović, “Prijedlog za čitanje imena kneza Mislava s Begovače,” 130)	29
Figure 4: The names of Sebedrago and Trpimir entered in the Gospel of Cividale.	36
Figure 5: The ground plan of the church at Koljane Gornje-Crkvina (left) and Biskupija-Crkvina (right) (Jurčević, “Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture,” 68).	40
Figure 6: The finds of type K swords in Europe, made by Müller-Wille, updated by Bilogrivić (“Karolinški mačevi tipa K,” 130).	47
Figure 7: Distribution of eighth-ninth and tenth-eleventh century swords found in the region. ..	49
Figure 8: Distribution map of sites where fragments attributable to the workshops active in the late eighth and ninth century have been discovered.	60

List of Abbreviations

<i>Ann. inst. archaeol.</i>	<i>Annales instituti archaeologici</i>
<i>Cod. dipl.</i>	Codex diplomaticus
<i>Diadora</i>	<i>Diadora: glasilo Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru</i>
<i>HAM</i>	<i>Hortus Artium Medievalium</i>
<i>Izdanja HAD-a</i>	<i>Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva</i>
JAZU	Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>Epp.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores</i>
<i>SS rer. Germ.</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
MHAS	Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika
<i>Opusc. Archaeol.</i>	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina
<i>SHP</i>	<i>Starohrvatska prosvjeta</i>
<i>VAHD / VAPD</i>	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju / povijest dalmatinsku</i>
<i>VAMZ</i>	<i>Vijesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu</i>
<i>Viestnik HAD-a</i>	<i>Viestnik Hrvatskoga arheologičkoga društva</i>

Introduction

When Charlemagne expanded his great Empire up to the Adriatic, the societies of early medieval Dalmatia suddenly found themselves in contact with a new imperial power.¹ Once established, these connections had profound influence on the aristocratic culture of the region which gradually adopted Carolingian models of governance, power and religiosity. It was the Empire which provided the periphery with the framework needed for the establishment of a Christian *regnum*, a process which was underway for the much of the ninth century.² Despite these contacts, however, the duchy was, for the most part, left on its own. This positioned it somewhere in-between; it was neither inside the Empire nor completely outside it. Its elites occupied offices which used the available Slavic terminology, but which closely resembled Carolingian models.³ The imports from the west, like the aristocratic practice of church-building, became reappropriated to the specific local situation where a tradition of such expressions of authority did not exist.

The changes which happened in the material culture of the region, especially in the burials from late eighth century onwards, appear in such a sharp contrast to the previous periods that some scholars interpreted them as results of large scale migrations.⁴ Regardless of the questions of

¹ For some general overviews on this topic, see Neven Budak, "Identities in Early Medieval Dalmatia (7th-11th c.)," in: *Franks, Northmen and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary and Przemysław Urbanczyk (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008), 223-41; and "Croats between Franks and Byzantium," *HAM* 3 (1997): 15-22; Mladen Ančić, "From Carolingian Official to Croatian Ruler: The Croats and the Carolingian Empire in the First Half of the Ninth Century," *HAM* 3 (1997): 7-13, and "Lombard and Frankish Influences in the Formation of the Croatian Dukedom," In *L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia*, ed. Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Paolo Delogu (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005), 213-28.

² Evangelos Chrysos, "The Empire, the *gentes* and the *regna*," in: *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 13.

³ Ančić, "Lombard and Frankish Influences in the Formation of the Croatian Dukedom," 25.

⁴ This idea originally proposed by Lujo Margetić presented a drastic theoretical break with *Völkerwanderung* theses prevalent in Croatian scholarship which dated the supposed 'arrival' of the Croats to the seventh century ("Konstantin Porfirogenet i vrijeme dolaska Hrvata" [Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the time of the arrival of the Croats], *Zbornik Historijskog zavoda JAZU* 8 (1977): 5-88). Walter Pohl put forward a similar idea, which explained the change in the burial culture through the migration of a single social group that was supposedly

demography, it is apparent that the change in the burial rite was the first step of many other changes that followed in the ninth century like the disappearance of weapon burial rites, the appearance and the expansion of church-building, the usage of the written word and the spread of Christian religiosity. All these developments were part of a larger process which Danijel Dzino cleverly termed the process of “becoming Croat”. Yet, even though the final result of this transformation might be to a great extent clear, the process which led to the creation of the *gens* and *regnum Chroatorum* is certainly not.

Research objective

The purpose of this thesis is to identify and to interpret how memory was constructed, maintained and manipulated in the society of the Dalmatian duchy which did not create its own written narratives. Indeed, much work has been done on the role of memory within early medieval societies in general, even though the majority of it was written on the basis of narrative works rather than material objects.⁵ We are repeatedly facing dilemmas and problems when we try to define what constitutes memory in societies which did not actively use writing. In this thesis I therefore provide one viable way of interpreting memory through selected elements of the material culture, namely the churches and the process of church-building which

formed at the edges of the Avar Khaganate (“Osnove hrvatske etnogeneze: Avari i Slaveni” [The basis of Croatian ethnogenesis: Avars and Slavs], in: *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, ed. Neven Budak (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta, 1995), 92-96). These two ideas were most recently reinvigorated by Mladen Ančić (“U osvit novog doba: Karolinško carstvo i njegov jugoistočni obod” [At the dawn of a new era: Carolingian Empire and its southeastern edge], in: *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: MHAS, 2000), 70-103). However, all three proposals are based on *deus ex machina* solutions for historical changes and processes which are based only on circumstantial evidence and unfounded assumptions. The alternative point of view, which stresses transformation of the society as the reason for the changes in the burial culture, was most coherently expressed in Danijel Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat: Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010).

⁵ James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 144–72; Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 30-45; Matthew Innes, “Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society” *Past and Present* 158 (1998): 3-36; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

I identify as a way of constructing memory and performing authority. Moreover, because of the innate interconnectedness of memory and identity, I also analyze how the changes in the material culture relate to the development of the identity in the duchy.⁶

Indeed, a great deal of scholarly work has been done on the specific problems of archaeology dealing with the ninth-century material culture of the Dalmatian duchy.⁷ However, even though a large number of works have been written on the issues of ethnicity and identity, no clear attempts have been made to incorporate this large corpus of research into a coherent overview of the history of memory.⁸ Thus, this thesis attempts to bridge this gap by looking at the material evidence—primarily grave goods and churches—as remnants of conscious human action which served a variety of functions such as expressing and performing one’s authority and creating and maintaining one’s memory.

⁶ To note all of the important works on this topic would take a whole publication. Some of the more recent publications which have tackled this problem theoretically include: Walter Pohl, “Archaeology of Identity: Introduction,” in: *Archaeology of identity - Archäologie der Identität*, ed. Walter Pohl and Mathias Mehofer (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 17) (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 9–24, and “Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies,” in: *Eastern Central Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Conflicts, Migrations and Ethnic Processes*, ed. Walter Pohl, Cristina Spinei, and Catalin Hriban (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Romane, 2008), 17–28; Hans-Werner Goetz, “Introduction,” in: *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–11; Peter J. Heather, “Ethnicity, Group Identity, and Social Status in the Migration Period,” in: *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs. Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary and Przemysław Urbanczyk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 17–50. For the deconstruction of the concept of the universal Slavic ethnicity which has, among other things, also revitalized the studies of the ninth-century Dalmatian duchy, see Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500–700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Also see the theoretical discussion on the problems of ethnicity in Dalmatia in Danijel Dzino, “Novi pristupi izučavanju ranog hrvatskog identiteta” [New approaches to researching early Croatian identity], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 41 (2009): 33–54.

⁷ Generally, however, these books tend to concentrate in cataloguing all the finds from cemeteries of the so-called ‘Old-Croat culture, rather than providing thematic discussions. For the most recent among the long line of such books, see Maja Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države* [Cemeteries from eighth to eleventh century in the area of early medieval Croatian state] (Split: MHAS, 2009). For the older examples, see Dušan Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole* [Old Croat cemeteries] (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1976); Janko Belošević, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od 7.-9. stoljeća* [Material culture of the Croats from seventh to ninth centuries], Zagreb, 1980.

⁸ The study by Vedrana Delonga on the function of early medieval inscriptions remains the most coherent approach to the problem. *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Medieval Croatia* (Monumenta medii aevi Croatiae 1) (Split: MHAS, 1996), 312–49. Some smaller-scale attempts have been done, however. See Ante Milošević, “Karolinški utjecaji u kneževini Hrvatskoj u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza” [Carolingian influences in the Duchy of Croatia in the light of archaeological finds], in: *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: MHAS, 2000), 106–39.

Firstly, from a purely archaeological point of view I analyze the spatial distribution of burials with swords, which appear as early as the last quarter of the eighth century, as well as the context of their finds. I problematize the available material evidence by understanding archaeological reports as historical sources in their own right. Taking into consideration the unique situation of ninth-century Dalmatia, I propose some solutions and reasons behind the appearance and consequent disappearance of swords from local burial rites. Secondly, I analyze the introduction of the process of church-building in the landscape of the early medieval Dalmatia and the appearance of inscriptions and burials *infra ecclesiae* that followed it. By looking at selected individual sites such as Biskupija-Crkvina, Biljane Donje-Begovača and Koljane Gornje-Crkvina, I discuss the different strategies which the elites used when they chose the places of their burials, the locations of their churches and the texts of the inscriptions.

Finally, I use a limited, but varied number of written sources, mostly written from the ‘outside’. These unfortunately do not provide a deeper insight into the main topic of my thesis, but remain useful in the contextualization of the archaeological material in the wider historical perspective. They include narrative sources which originated from the Carolingian Empire, primarily the Frankish Royal Annals which give scarce but valuable insights into the processes through which the hinterland of Dalmatia underwent in the second and third decades of the ninth century.⁹ The Annals’ treatment of Dalmatia is supplemented by certain passages written by the two imperial biographers: Einhard and the Astronomer.¹⁰ From around the middle of the ninth century the written sources relevant to this topic intensify. Among these perhaps the most important ones are papal letters which were sent to dukes and bishops of Dalmatia in the later

⁹ The passages on the rebellion of Ljudevit which are discussed in Chapter V are especially useful. *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SS rer. Germ. 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895), 149-61.

¹⁰ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1911); Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SS rer. Germ. 64 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), 279-555.

parts of the century.¹¹ These letters, although certainly formulaic, offer glimpses into the internal conflicts which were happening inside the duchy. The so-called Venetian Chronicle written by John the Deacon adds the much needed chronological perspective to the papal letters.¹² Perhaps the most important of all the written sources is the much-discussed Charter of Duke Trpimir, which, although interpolated, offers an immensely valuable insight into the whole process of church-building and subsequent process of memorialization connected to it.¹³ It is followed by the Charter of Duke Muncimir, which supplements it.¹⁴ Finally, several other sources are also used. These include Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*, writings of Gottschalk of Orbais, the letter of Emperor Louis II to Byzantine Emperor Basil and the written inscriptions from the churches discovered throughout the Dalmatian duchy.¹⁵

Structurally, the thesis is divided into six chapters which are organized problematically and thematically rather than chronologically. The main reason behind this approach to the organization of the material is to allow freedom for the gradual introduction of research problems from the more general to more specific. Thus, I start with the chapter on the beginnings and the legacy of early medieval archaeology in Croatia, which has left us with a large number of material evidence, but without the context necessary to understand it. I

¹¹ *Epistolae Hadriani I papae: Epistolae selectae pontificum romanum Carolo Magno et Ludowico Pio regnantibus scriptae*, ed. K. Hampe, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, vol. 3, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin: 1898), 1-84; *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, ed. E. Caspar, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, vol. 5, MGH Epp. 7 (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1978) 1-272; *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII papae*, ed. E. Caspar, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, vol. 5, MGH Epp. 7 (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1978), 273-312. But also the valuable information from Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Interpretatio Synodi VIII generalis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, PL 128 (Paris, 1852), col. 39.

¹² John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum et Gradense usque ad a. 1008*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 1-47.

¹³ *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, ed. Marko Kostrenčić, Jakov Stipišić and Miljen Šamšalović (Zagreb: JAZU, 1967), 3-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-25.

¹⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, tr. Romilly James Heald Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967); Cyrille Lambott, *Oeuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescals d'Orbais* (Louvain: Université catholique, 1945); *Ludowici II imperatoris epistola*, ed. W. Henze, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, vol. 5, MGH Epp. 7 (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1978), 385-94. The inscriptions have been gathered and published by Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*. An inscription that was discovered after the publication of this book is available in Nikola Jakšić, "Novi natpis s imenom kneza Branimira" [New inscription with the name of Duke Branimir] in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, ed. Miljenko Jurković and Ante Milošević (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu; Motovun: Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek, 2012), 213-21.

approach the reports written by these archaeological pioneers as historical sources in their own right which reflected ideologies, politics and problems of the time. In the second chapter I analyze the complex archaeological site Biskupija-Crkvina in which an eighth-ninth century cemetery was discovered under a church. Specific attention is devoted to an analysis of the relationship between the burials and the architecture of the church, with consideration of the strategies and decisions involved in it. In the third chapter, I give attention to the investigation of the alternative forms through which ninth-century elite could reinterpret the past via the process of church-building. Conclusions made from the available archaeological material are then compared to the relevant written sources: The Charter of Duke Trpimir and the so-called Gospel of Aquilea. In the fourth chapter, burials with swords found throughout the region are analyzed both in the wider, European perspective, as well as regionally. These are then interpreted through the prism of their physical relationship with the churches and the landscape. Finally, in the fifth and sixth chapters I analyze the available written sources in the context of insights gained from the investigation of the archaeological material where special attention is given to the problems of continuity and long-term changes.

A question of terminology

Finally, another issue needs to be briefly considered: what is Dalmatia and what is Croatia? In the context of the ninth century, the terms certainly overlap, but they are not quite the same.¹⁶ And while Croatia designates only one specific thing—the polity of the *gens Chroatorum*—

¹⁶ The issue of what Dalmatia meant in the late antique and early medieval sources is a highly debated topic. For the debate see Mate Suić, “Granice Liburnije kroz stoljeća” [The borders of Liburnia through the centuries], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 2 (1955): 279-80; Julian Medini, “Provincia Liburnia,” *Diadora* 9 (1980): 364; Mate Suić, “Liburnia Tarsaticensis,” in: *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua: Zbornik radova posvećen Grgi Novaku*, ed. Vladimir Mirosavljević et al. (Zagreb: Arheološki institut Filozofskog fakulteta, 1970), 706-7; Tin Turković and Ivan Basić, “Kasnoantička i ranosrednjovjekovna Tarsatička Liburnija (*Liburnia Tarsaticensis*) u svjetlu geografskih izvora” [Late Antique and early medieval Liburnia Tarsaticensis in the light of geographical sources], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 40 (2013): 47-52; Ivan Basić, “*Dalmatiae, Dalmatiarum* u jadranskoj historijskoj geografiji” [Dalmatiae, Dalmatiarum: A study in historical geography of the Adriatic], in: *Illyrica Antiqua 2: In honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević* (Zagreb: Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Muzej grada Šibenika, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2013), 11 et pass.

Dalmatia can mean many things at the same time which do not always correspond to one another. The latter can thus be both the territory where an early medieval polity known as *regnum Chroatorum* gradually developed throughout the ninth century, and the place where other (proto)political entities existed, such as Narentania, Zachlunia, Travunia, Diocleia and a loosely (dis)connected network of Dalmatian coastal towns. Even though the subject of this study is specifically the polity which the later sources would call and understand as *regnum Chroatorum*, I find it necessary to use the term Dalmatian duchy instead. My decision is based on several factors. First and foremost, to use the adjective “Croatian” to refer to this polity before the second half of the ninth century would be both anachronistic and misleading as it would blur the processes of the construction of memory and the formation of ethnicity and identity which were underway at this time.¹⁷ Secondly, this choice is not completely without historical grounds. When the Frankish Royal Annals first mention this polity as a territorial unit, they understand it as a duchy that is in Dalmatia.¹⁸ This is precisely how I use the term as well. This is not to suggest that the peoples living within the borders of the duchy considered themselves to be Dalmatians or *Dalmatini* at this time, but it is rather an adjective that contextualizes the duchy geographically rather ethnically, thus avoiding the trap of superficial treatment of the ninth century.

¹⁷ For more recent attempts to deal with this issue see Danijel Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, and “The Rise and Fall of the Dalmatian ‘Big-men’: Social Structures in Late Antique, Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia (ca. 500-850),” *Studia academica Šumenensia* 1 (2014): 127-52; Budak, “Identities in Early Medieval Dalmatia, 223-41; Marino Kumir, “Od Justinijanovih kastrona do Borninih kaštela: Transformacija Dalmacije u kontaktu s Carstvom” [From Justinian's kastron to Bornina's castella: The transformation of Dalmatia through contact with the empire], MA diss. (Split: Filozofski fakultet, 2014), 59-71; Goran Bilogrivić, “Etnički identiteti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj: Materijalni i pisani izvori” [Ethnic identities in early medieval Croatia: Material and written sources], PhD diss. (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2016).

¹⁸ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 151.

Chapter I – The Dawn of Early Medieval Archaeology in Dalmatia

The archaeological research of early medieval sites from the territory of modern Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina faces major conceptual, methodological and attributional problems. For the most part, however, this is an issue of the legacy of pioneering archaeological research. Some of the most important sites datable to the ninth century were originally discovered and researched by amateur archaeologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consequently, the results of these excavations were influenced by intentions, desires and expectations of the few people who were involved in them.

The most prominent among these was Lujo Marun, a friar with peculiar interest for archaeology whose pioneering research has largely determined the direction of Croatian early medieval archaeology.¹⁹ Marun, who lead the first organized excavations of an early medieval site in the territory of Croatia in 1885 at Knin-Kapitul, quickly realized that his efforts would have to be funded by private donations rather than the state.²⁰ After gathering support from several wealthier local merchants he founded the Committee for the Exploration of Croatian Antiquities in the Area of Knin which was to become the Antiquarian Society of Knin in

¹⁹ For scholarly biographies on Marun see Karlo Jurišić, *Fra Lujo Marun: Osnivač starohrvatske arheologije, 1857-1939* [Fra Lujo Marun: The founder of Old Croat archaeology, 1857-1939] (Split: Zbornik Kačić, 1979); Mate Zekan, “Fra Lujo Marun (1857.-1939.): Utemeljitelj, misionar i vizionar hrvatske arheologije” [Fra Lujo Marun (1857.-1939.): Founder, missionary and visionary of Croatian archaeology], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 34 (2007): 9-56.

²⁰ For a brief overview of earliest excavations conducted by Marun see Dušan Jelovina, “Osnivanje i rad kninskog starinarskog društva” [The foundation and activities of the Antiquarian Society of Knin], in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Kninu i Kninskoj krajini*, ed. Božidar Čečuk (Zagreb: HAD, 1992), 11-21. The board committee of the Antiquarian Society of Knin published their own recap of the beginnings of their association in a series of articles, see [Lujo Marun], “Glasnik starinarskog društva u Kninu: Bilješke kroz starinarske izkopine u Kninskoj okolini od god. 1885-1890” [The journal of the Antiquarian Society of Knin: Notes on the archaeological excavations around Knin], pts. 1-7, *Viestnik HAD-a* 12, no. 2 (1890): 60-68; 12, no. 4 (1890): 141-44; 13, no. 2 (1891): 62-64; 13, no. 3 (1891): 93-96; 13, no. 4 (1891): 127-28; 14, no. 1 (1892): 29-32; 14, no. 3 (1892): 95-96.

1887.²¹ Marun intended the newly-founded society to be headed by some of the already established historians and archaeologists, but he faced disappointment when he was left without their official support. Left to his own devices, he was determined to make the discoveries by himself. Motivated by nationalistic sentiment and the desire to discover the place of death of the eleventh-century king Zvonimir of Croatia, Marun started excavating sites in the vicinity of Knin.²² His primary goal was to discover as much evidence for the activities of the early medieval Croatian principality in as little time as possible. This meant that priority was given to the quantity over the quality of the research.

The Antiquarian Society of Knin remained underfunded, undermanned and underqualified throughout its beginnings. In order to overcome the first two difficulties, attempts were repeatedly made to mobilize the rural population of Dalmatia in order to get the local communities to excavate the sites around their villages.²³ More often than not, these digs ended up in the care of local parish priests and teachers, who traditionally played the role of ‘credible’ men in rural Dalmatia. This approach resulted in an ever-increasing number of finds from sites throughout the region which would have otherwise been unreachable to the Antiquarian Society. The problems with it, however, only became apparent at a later time when the novelty of research wore off and new generations of scholars had to face problems such as damaged or

²¹ Jelovina, “Osnivanje i rad kninskog starinarskog društva,” 12-13. The Committee was founded in 1885 as *Odbor za istraživanje hrvatskih starina u kninskoj okolini*, which later became a society under the name of *Kninsko starinarsko društvo*.

²² Ibid., 13. For an overview and bibliography on the historiographical problem of King Zvonimir's death see Dražen Nemet, “Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira: problem, izvori i tumačenja” [The death of Croatian king Zvonimir: Problems, sources and interpretations], *Radovi* 38 (2006): 73-92.

²³ The Antiquarian Society of Knin made frequent appeals to the public. One example is an article containing a series of questions which were intended to guide their local helpers into identifying objects and sites of interest, see Upraviteljstvo Hrvatskog starinarskog društva, “Pitanja na sve prijatelje domaćih starina i hrvatske povjesti” [Questions to all the friends of Croatian history and antiquities], *SHP* ser. 1, no. 1 (1895): 54-55.

destroyed sites, lack of documentation and the absence of the context in which many finds were discovered.²⁴

The efforts of Marun and the Antiquarian Society of Knin did not go unnoticed for long because the early excavations done in the 1890s yielded surprisingly good results. The discoveries made at Biskupija-Crkvina, which is to this day the richest ninth-century site in the whole region, quickly attracted larger interest within the scientific community of Croatia as well as Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁵ Among these was Frane Bulić, the director of the Archaeological Museum in Split, who had supported the efforts of the Antiquarian Society from the very beginnings. His interest in the period grew over time as Marun's digging efforts uncovered more and more artifacts. However, Bulić eventually clashed with Marun over the question of where to publish the finds, which left him frustrated and angry. The situation escalated when Marun refused to house his finds in the Archaeological Museum of Split, after which Bulić decided to start an archaeological society of his own.²⁶

²⁴ The greatest damage was done at Koljane Gornje-Crkvina where the excavations of 1936 were delegated to Velimir Tešanović, a local teacher, and to Đuro Kalinić, the owner of the plot. They did not keep any documentation of their activities and by the time they were finished the foundations of the church was permanently removed from the ground so that the latter may start a vineyard. See, Stjepan Gunjača, "Kratak osvrt na prilike i rad muzeja u Kninu" [A short review of the circumstances and activities of the museum in Knin], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 1 (1949): 290; Dušan Jelovina, "Ranosrednjovjekovni položaj Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima kod Vrlike: Istraživanja i nalazi" [Early medieval site Crkvina i Gornji Koljani near Vrlika: Excavations and finds], in: *Cetinska Krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka*, ed. Božidar Čečuk, Ivan Marović and Željko Rapanić (Split: HAD, 1984): 228-30.

²⁵ Shortly after the first discoveries at Crkvina were made, the Antiquarian Society was given its own subsection within the Journal of the Croatian Archaeological Society (*Viestnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*), fending off an attempt made by the Viennese Zentral-kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunstund historischen Denkmale which promised funding in return for the primacy over the publication of the finds. See Ela Jurdana, "Iz Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja: pisma fra Luje Maruna don Šimi Ljubiću" [From the Croatian History Museum: Letters from fra Lujo Marun to don Šime Ljubić], *VAMZ*, ser. 3, no. 43 (2010): 523.

²⁶ Rivalry seems to have depend when Marun chose *Viestnik HAD-a* to publish his finds, thus rejecting Bulić's offer to have it published in his *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*. Marun complained about his deteriorating relationship with Bulić in his private letters sent to archaeologist Šime Ljubić, see Jurdana, "Pisma fra Luje Maruna don Šimi Ljubiću," 522-23. It was on the day of the opening of the First Museum of Croatian Monuments (Prvi muzej hrvatskih spomenika) that Bulić finally decided to leave the Antiquarian Society, angry at Marun's refusal to house his finds in the Archaeological Museum of Split, see Jelovina, "Osnivanje i rad kninskog starinarskog društva," 16.

The new association, named Bihać: the Croatian Society for the Exploration of Local History, might have differed in name and personnel, but its objectives and methods were essentially the same as that of the Antiquarian Society of Knin.²⁷ Indeed, both groups shared a common nationalistic perspective and faulty methodological approaches characterized by the lack of documentation and an obsession with material artefacts. These conceptual and methodological flaws are most apparent in the letters exchanged between the researchers.²⁸ For example, Pavao Perat, one of the managers of the excavations conducted by the Bihać Society at Bijaći-Stombrate, wrote a letter to Frane Bulić in 1902, reporting on various day-to-day activities done on the site. Among other things, Perat complained: “Today was a day of disappointment. Instead of Mutimir [i.e. Muncimir] we got some lousy Sumpertus [i.e. Gumpertus]!”²⁹ The cry of distress is striking; instead of an inscription bearing the name of Duke Muncimir (c. 892-910), whose charter dated to 892 mentions the church which Bihać Society had been excavating, the young site-manager uncovered a fragment carrying the name of a foreign clergyman and missionary: Gumpertus.³⁰ The priest’s name, which was discovered on three other inscriptions at the same site, did not conform to the objectives of the national history and archaeology under which the excavations have been conducted.³¹ The implicit meaning behind Perat’s annoyance is clear. What was of interest to him, and those around him, was the history

²⁷ The original name of the society was Bihać: Hrvatsko društvo za istraživanje domaće povijesti.

²⁸ The letters have been published in Hrvoje Gjurašin, “Arheološka istraživanja kod crkve Sv. Marte od 1902. do 1905 godine” [Archaeological excavations at the church of St. Martha, 1902-1905], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 26 (1999): 7-96.

²⁹ Gjurašin, “Arheološka istraživanja kod crkve Sv. Marte,” 38: “*Danas je bio dan razočaranja. Mjesto Mutimira dobili smo nekakvog ušljivog Sumpertusa!*” For a brilliant analysis of the archaeological research conducted on the church of Saint Martha in Bijaći, see Mladen Ančić, “Od vladarske curtis do gradskoga kotare: Bijaći i crkva Sv. Marte od početka 9. do početka 13. stoljeća” [From the regnal curtis to the town borough: Bijaći and St. Martha from the beginning of the ninth until the beginning of the thirteenth century], *SHP*, ser. 3, no. 26 (1999): 191 et passim.

³⁰ The Charter of Duke Muncimir was, in fact, created in front of the church of St. Martha in Bijaći. *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 4: “Actum est in Biaci ante fores ecclesiae sanctae Martae martirae.” The earlier charter, that of Duke Trpimir from the middle of the ninth century, was also issued at the same site. *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 5: “Actum in loco, qui dicitur Byaci.”

³¹ Vedrana Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 50-53: cat. no. 1: + EGO GVMPERTVS DIACON[vs...]; cat. no. 3: [ego Gv]MPERTVS PRESBITE[r...]; cat. no. 4: EGO GVMP(er)TV[s] [p](res)B(yte)R ISTVM D[o]MVM [fi]ERI ROGAV[i]; cat. no. 5: [Eg]O GVMP(er)TV[s...].

of the Croatian state, particularly the kind of history that was fleshed out around the figures of national importance—the dukes and magnates whose names appeared in the charters—around which the national history could be (re)written.

However, the legacy of such an approach is not confined to the problems of interpreting the sites excavated by these pioneers, but it is also present in modern-day archaeological efforts which still primarily concentrate on the investigations of churches and cemeteries. Croatian archaeology was, and still is, more interested in researching how people died rather than how they lived. Despite efforts undertaken in Istria and continental Croatia where some recent research has been done on early medieval settlements, there has been generally very little effort to excavate this kind of sites in Dalmatia.³² The only exception to this rule is, perhaps, Bribir, a spacious fort in Northern Dalmatia that was in continual use since pre-history. But even there, the majority of research has been conducted on churches and cemeteries.³³

The problems of attribution are another consequence of the flawed methodological approach to archaeological research. Because the process of excavation was poorly documented (if at all) grave goods were often unrecorded, piled together, mixed-up or lost. For example, a large number of coin finds of Byzantine origin produced in the second half of the eighth century

³² For Istria see Miljenko Jurković, Jean Terrier and Iva Marić, “Ranosrednjovjekovno naselje Guran” [Early medieval settlement Guran], *Histria Antiqua* 20 (2011): 109-34. For continental Croatia see Tajana Sekelj Ivančan, “Torčec, Ledine 2004.: Ranosrednjovjekovno naselje” [Torčec, Ledine 2004: An early medieval settlement], *Ann. inst. archaeol.* 1 (2005): 45-49; Tajana Sekelj Ivančan and Tatjana Tkalčec, “Medieval Settlements in the Virovitica Region of the Drava River Basin in the Period from the 7th to the 11th Centuries,” in: *Srednji vek. Arheološke raziskave med Jadranskim morjem in Panonsko nižino*, ed. Mitja Guštin (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2008), 113-28.

³³ On Bribir the literature is extensive, see Kosjenka Laszlo Klemar, “Bribir (Varvarija) i organizacija teritorija od antike do Šubića” [Bribir (*Varvaria*) and the organization of the territory from Antiquity until the Šubić dynasty], PhD diss., (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012); Kosjenka Laszlo Klemar and Maja Zeman, “Naselja i organizacija prostora na srednjem istočnom Jadranu od antike do ranoga srednjeg vijeka: pitanje kontinuiteta (Bribir, Donje šibensko polje)” [Settlements and the organization of space in the central part of the eastern Adriatic, from the Roman period until the early Middle Ages: The question of continuity], in: *Stjepan Gunjača i hrvatska srednjovjekovna povijesno-arheološka baština*, ed. Tomislav Šeparović (Split: MHAS, 2010), 147-65; Hrvoje Gjurašin, *Bribir: 100 godina arheoloških istraživanja 1910.-2010* [Bribir: a hundred years of research, 1910-2010] (Split: MHAS, 2010).

remain largely unattributed, preventing researchers from setting up more precise chronologies and the temporal relationships between various sites throughout the region. Only a portion of the numerous golden *solidi* of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) and his son Leo IV the Khazar (775-780), minted at Syracuse and datable to the period between 760 and 775, have been attributed to specific sites.³⁴ The same problem is at work in the case of two golden Abbasid dinars from the reigns of Al-Mansur (754-775) and Al-Hadi (785-786). They were discovered in 1893 somewhere in the vicinity of Knin but nothing else is known about the context in which they were found.³⁵ Their presence in this area is certainly surprising, yet the lack of documentation hampers attempts to interpret them. Moreover, nothing is known about the circumstances of discovery of a silver denarius of Charlemagne, minted in Milan between 793 and 812 and found at Bribir—the only such find within the whole territory of the Dalmatian duchy.³⁶

Apart from coins whose role in establishing chronological order is invaluable, there are cases of other important finds which remain unattributed or were at some point attributed to wrong sites. As late as 1992 archaeologist Mate Zekan noticed that ten eighth-ninth century swords kept at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split were in fact nine swords, because one pommel and a blade with partially preserved hilt were discovered to fit together.³⁷ Not only were the two previously thought to belong to two different swords, but they were also

³⁴ Vedrana Delonga, “Bizantski novac u zbirci Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu” [Byzantine coins in the collection of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 11 (1981): 202-7; Ivan Mirnik, “Novac iz starohrvatskih grobova” [Coin finds from Old Croat graves], *VAMZ* ser. 3, no. 37 (2004): 210.

³⁵ *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog* [Croats and Carolingians: Catalogue], ed. Ante Milošević (Split, MHAS, 2000), 362-63.

³⁶ Tomislav Šeparović, “Nove spoznaje o nalazima ranosrednjovjekovnog novca u južnoj Hrvatskoj” [New insights into the finds of early medieval coins in southern Croatia], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 30 (2003): 127-28.

³⁷ Mate Zekan, “K novoj atribuciji nalazišta mačeva karolinškoga obilježja iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu” [Some revised proveniences for swords with Carolingian characteristics from the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split] in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Kninu i Kninskoj krajini*, ed. Božidar Čečuk (Zagreb: HAD, 1992), 131-34.

attributed to different sites.³⁸ On the basis of documentation Zekan also discovered that five other swords from the museum were also misattributed. His revision thus not only yielded archival results, but shed new light on the spatial distribution of swords, as it became clear that swords of certain types appeared more regularly in some places than previously thought. Still, there are a great deal of grave goods, especially spurs, whose exact place of discovery remains unknown.³⁹ Since the spurs were a marker of elite identity, knowing the context of their finds would contribute to a better understanding of burial rituals and the development of cemeterial complexes.

As our corpus of eighth-ninth century sites grows, the patterns shared between them become increasingly more nuanced. Consequently, the gaps in our knowledge of the materials and sites also become more apparent as the actual process of past archaeological research, especially that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is slowly turning into an object of studies in its own right. Revision of documentation and the analysis of letters sent and received by the people involved in these excavations are now viable research topics which sometime give better results than the actual field work.⁴⁰ This is why I approach each individual site both as an archaeological source and as a narrative constructed by archaeologists and researchers who investigated it.

³⁸ Ibid., 134. The sword in question is now known as the sword from Morpolāča-Tubića kuće. Its pommel was previously attributed to Plavno and its blade to Gračac.

³⁹ *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog*, 360-62 et passim.

⁴⁰ For example, at Koljane Gornje revision is of no use anymore, as the site has been permanently destroyed, see footnote 26 bellow. Likewise, the plan of the original excavations done at Biskupija-Crkvina was only discovered in 2004, in the archives of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb, see Mirnik, “Novac iz starohrvatskih grobova,” 206-7 and 225; Maja Petrinc and Ante Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology of the Site from Late 8th to 15th Century,” in: *Swords, Crowns, Censers and Books: Francia Media: Cradles of European Culture*, ed. Marina Vicelja Matijašić (Rijeka: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Rijeka, 2015), 335.

Chapter II – Commemorating the Dead: Reinterpreting the Familial Past

Among the sites that were excavated by the pioneers of early medieval archaeology in Croatia, Biskupija-Crkvina is arguably the most important one.⁴¹ Originally researched under the guidance of Lujo Marun between 1886 and 1908, the site has produced some of the most lavish grave goods datable to the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Apart from rich burials, Crkvina is also known for its elaborate architectural complex that was developing from ninth until at least twelfth century. Even though more than one hundred and thirty years have passed since these first excavations, it is still considered as the most representative early medieval site in the region.

As was the case with other sites investigated at the turn of the century, the first excavations at Biskupija-Crkvina were done by amateurs. In fact, Marun, the leader of the excavating effort, did not record findings of graves in the first two years of the campaign. Indeed, his original research objective was to uncover the remains of the church architecture that was still visible above the ground, hoping that among the rubble he would discover fragments bearing names of early medieval rulers of Croatia.⁴² It was only because of the frequency and aesthetics of the goods deposited in graves that he first began noting them in his excavation journals.⁴³ After the discovery of especially lavish burials in 1891, Marun quickly realized that graves might also yield important finds: a notion that would have him constantly turn back to Crkvina in the next

⁴¹ For a recent overview of the main opinions, research and problems, see Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 327-72.

⁴² Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole*, 21, and “Osnivanje i rad kninskog starinarskog društva,” 11. Marun’s hopes were based on the accidental find made in 1871, when an inscription bearing the name of Duke Branimir was discovered during the reconstruction of a parish church at Muć Gornji. Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 133: cat. no. 91: [...] BRANIMIRI ANNOR(vm) CHR(ist)I SACRA DE VIRG(ine) CARNE VT SV(m)PS(it) S(vnt) DCCCLXXX ET VIII VI Q(ue) INDIC(tio).

⁴³ The excavation journals were published in Lujo Marun, *Starinarski dnevници* [The diaries of antiquities] (Split: MHAS, 1998).

two decades. As research uncovered more and more grave finds the Antiquarian Society of Knin began lobbying for financial and political support that was needed in order to start a new museum which was to house the constantly growing collection of early medieval finds.⁴⁴ The museum was finally officially founded in 1894, but by that time Marun and his supporters already mobilized considerable amount of helpers and outside associates.⁴⁵ In this excavating rush, to a large extent fueled by the success at Biskupija, paperwork and documentation were of secondary importance as excavators rushed to find the next lavish grave, often ignoring the lesser ones.⁴⁶ Marun would later lament that “the whole Committee [for the Exploration of Croatian Antiquities in the Area of Knin] had no archaeological education whatsoever, so that nobody could even read the simplest epigraphical abbreviations, such as, for example, D(is) M(anibus).”⁴⁷

Dušan Jelovina speculated that around one thousand graves have been dug up in the excavation efforts of Marun.⁴⁸ Another 124 new graves were discovered in the major revision works conducted by Stjepan Gunjača in the 1950s and several others have been discovered since.⁴⁹ Out of all these graves, however, only a handful actually contained grave goods datable to the

⁴⁴ [Marun], “Bilježke kroz starinarske izkopine u Kninskoj okolici od god. 1885-1890,” pt. 3, 63.

⁴⁵ Jelovina, “Osnivanje i rad kninskog starinarskog društva,” 16-17.

⁴⁶ Jurdana, “Pisma fra Luje Maruna don Šimi Ljubiću,” 525 et passim. Marun’s letters to Šime Ljubić, the director of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb and the editor of the journal *Viestnik za hrvatsku arheologiju*, sent in 1891, carry the sentiment of excitement as Croatian archaeologists tried to make sense of the new finds. Cf. Stjepan Gunjača, “Revizija iskopina u Biskupiji kod Knina godine 1950” [Revision excavations done in Biskupija near Knin in the year 1950], *Ljetopis JAZU* 57 (1953): 10; Željko Rapanić, “Spomenici nepotpune biografije *De ecclesiis datandis* (2)” [Monuments of incomplete biography *De ecclesiis datandis* (2)], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 13-14 (1996-97): 87.

⁴⁷ “Čitav ovaj odbor, zajedno sa naučnim izvjestiteljem, nije imao nikakve arheološke spreme, tako da nijedan u epigrafiji nije znao čitati najjednostavnije skraćenice, kao što bi na primjer bila D(is) M(anibus).” Lujo Marun, “Ruševine crkve Sv. Luke na Uzdolju kod Knina sa pisanom uspomenom hrvatskoga kneza Mutimira” [The ruins of the church of St. Luke in Uzdolje near Knin with the written memory of Croatian duke Mutimir], *SHP* ser. 2, no. 1-2 (1927): 10.

⁴⁸ Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole*, 22. More recently, Petrinec and Jurčević have come to the same number speculating that since eighty graves were uncovered in the excavations between August 16 to September 2 in 1897, the total number should exceed one thousand graves. See Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 347-48.

⁴⁹ Gunjača, “Revizija iskopina u Biskupiji,” 32; Maja Petrinec “Groblje na Crkvini u Biskupiji: Rezultati revizijskih istraživanja Stjepana Gunjače” [The cemetery at Crkvina in Biskupija: The results of revision excavations conducted by Stjepan Gunjača], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 36 (2009): 166-81; Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 352-53.

eighth-ninth centuries. These can be divided into three groups: burials in wooden caskets interred directly in the soil; burials in re-used walled vaulted tombs built in Late Antiquity; and two cases of burials inside sarcophagi.

In total eleven burials in wooden caskets have been located at the site. One of these, Grave 4, was discovered under the foundations of the narthex which means that it actually predated it. Four walled vaulted tombs have also been discovered lying under the foundations of both the basilica itself as well as the narthex.⁵⁰ This would imply that they too predated the architecture. This assumption is supported by the orientation of most of the eighth-ninth century burials which are not aligned in the same direction as the basilica, suggesting that the church did not exist at the time when these burials were made.

Furthermore, all of the eleven burials in wooden caskets seem to have belonged to males. For nine of them such a suggestion is straightforward enough because the grave goods found inside them included combinations of spurs together with either swords, knives, Byzantine *solidi*, parts of belt sets, wooden pails, etc.⁵¹ The other two, however, are more unusual cases. The burial in Grave 5 included only a knife and a small golden earring, but since a man buried with spurs in Grave 9 also had an earring attached to his left ear, albeit of a different type, we can presume that wearing them was not uncommon, at least among the elites buried at Crkvina.⁵² Furthermore, in Grave 10, a small child, presumably also male, was buried with a bronze buckle and a small knife.⁵³ The child was perhaps too little to be given spurs, but the burial of another boy was discovered in a walled tomb in the very foundations of the partition walls of the

⁵⁰ Maja Petrinec, "Sedmi grob i nekoliko pojedinačnih nalaza s Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina" [The seventh grave and other individual finds from Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 33 (2006): 21.

⁵¹ For the full inventory of the graves in question see Maja Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 66-68; Petrinec "Groblje na Crkvini u Biskupiji: rezultati revizijskih istraživanja Stjepana Gunjače," 181.

⁵² Marun, O najznamenitijim starohrvatskim grobovima na groblju otkrivene biskupske bazilike S. Marije u Biskupiji kod Knina" [On the most important Old Croat graves at the cemetery of the discovered episcopal basilica of St. Mary in Biskupija near Knin], *SHP*, ser. 1, no. 3-4 (1898): 118; Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 68.

⁵³ Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 68.

narthex.⁵⁴ This boy was interred with luxurious spurs datable roughly to the same period as spurs found in some of the burials in wooden caskets.⁵⁵ This suggests that the burials in wooden caskets and the burials in walled vaulted tombs were put into the ground roughly at the same period and that they can be considered to be a part of the same horizon which makes Biskupija-Crkvina an important reference point for the investigation of eighth-ninth century cemeteries in the whole region.

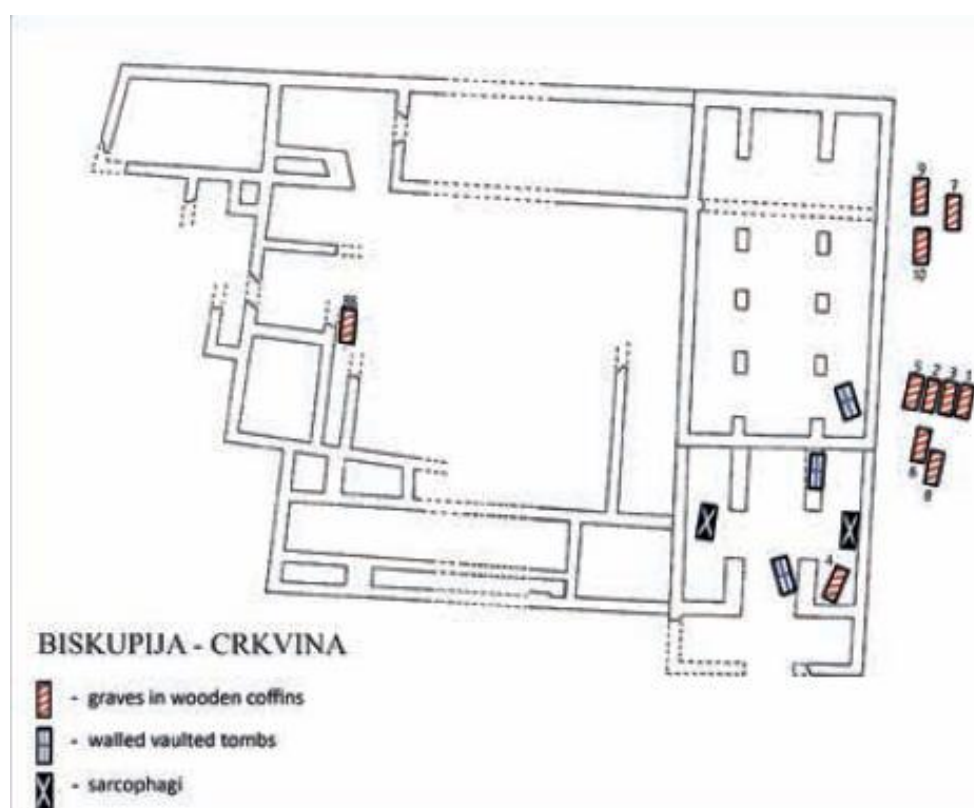


Figure 1: The plan of the architectural complex at Biskupija-Crkvina together with the position of eighth-ninth century graves (Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 351).

⁵⁴ Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 350.

⁵⁵ Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 68, 168-72; Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 350.

Four different sets of the upper parts of altar rails have been identified to have belonged to the three-nave basilica of Saint Mary at different periods of time.⁵⁶ Morphological analysis of the fragments suggests that three of these can be dated to the ninth century, while the fourth one is datable to the second half of the eleventh century.⁵⁷ The three ninth-century sets have been identified as products of the so-called Master of Koljani Panel, the Court's Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir and the Benedictine Workshop. These three stone-carving workshops have been identified by art historians on the basis of their morphological and iconographic peculiarities. Both the Court's Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir and the Benedictine Workshop have been relatively securely dated to the last quarter of the ninth century on the basis of preserved inscriptions bearing the names of Duke Branimir (879-c. 892) and Duke Muncimir (c. 892-910).⁵⁸ For the workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel, however, there are no such preserved inscriptions, which makes it more difficult to date and to contextualize.

The work of the Master of Koljani Panel was found at five early medieval sites: Bijaći-Stombrate, Biskupija-Crkvina, Koljane Gornje-Crkvina, Galovac-Crkvina and Rupotine-

⁵⁶ Nikola Jakšić, "Zabati oltarne pregrade iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina" [The gables of the altar fences at Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21 (1980): 97-110, and "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije" [Stonemasonry in the service of evangelization], in: *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, ed. Ante Milošević (Split: MHAS, 2000), 204-13. Recently, it has been proposed that at least six stonecarvers' workshops operated at the site from ninth to twelfth century, however only three of these were active in the ninth century, see Ante Jurčević, "O klesarskim radionicama koje su djelovale na lokalitetu Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina" [On the stone carving workshops active at Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 41 (2014): 153 et passim. The corpus of reliefs from Biskupija was further expanded by Jakšić who argued that the reliefs carved by the Benedictine Workshop which were discovered in secondary usage in Uzdolje, originate from Crkvina. Nikola Jakšić, "U selu Uzdolju kod Knina nije bilo izgrađene crkve u vrijeme kneza Muncimira" [There was no built church in the village Uzdolje near Knin at the time of Duke Muncimir], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 40 (2013): 135-53.

⁵⁷ Jakšić, "Zabati oltarne pregrade iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina," 105-8, and "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije," 204-13.

⁵⁸ The said time frame is determined by various sources. There are papal letters written in 879 documenting Branimir's accession to rule, which is also attested in the chronicle of John the Deacon. (Cf. *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 12-17; John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, 21). When exactly Branimir died is impossible to determine. An inscription from Muć Gornji-Crkva sv. Petra shows that he was still the duke in 888. Four years later, however, Muncimir appears as the head of the dukedom. (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 133: cat. no. 91; *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 22-25). For the workshops see Nikola Jakšić, "Klesarska radionica iz vremena kneza Branimira" [The Stone Carving Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 22 (1995): 141-50, and "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije," 204-13, and "Između Europe i Mediterana [Between Europe and the Mediterranean], in: *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2006), 81-85, and "U selu Uzdolju kod Knina nije bilo izgrađene crkve u vrijeme kneza Muncimira," 135-53.

Rižinice.⁵⁹ There are many other parallels that link these sites beyond the reliefs themselves. For example, at Biskupija and Koljane Gornje a total of six Carolingian swords have been discovered, three at each. These account for more than a quarter of such finds in the whole region and as many as one third of all the eighth-ninth century swords found inside the borders of the Dalmatian duchy.⁶⁰ While at Galovac-Crkvina no such swords have been discovered, it is the only site in Dalmatia, apart from Biskupija, where a sarcophagus was discovered inside the walls of a church.⁶¹ Both the sarcophagus in the northern room of the narthex at Biskupija and the one discovered in the sacristy at Galovac have been carved out of antique architraves by the Master of Koljani Panel.⁶² Furthermore, Bijaći-Stombrata and Rupotine-Rižinice are mentioned in the only two preserved charters made by ninth-century dukes of Dalmatia. The former appears as the place in which both of the charters were created, while the latter is the site of Benedictine monastery mentioned in the Charter of Duke Trpimir, who was also its founder. All five sites are thus presumed to be somehow connected with the ruling elite, perhaps the ducal dynasty itself.

⁵⁹ Ivan Josipović, “Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske između Zrmanje i Krke do kraja 9. stoljeća” [Pre-Romanesque reliefs in the territory of Sclavinia Croatia between Zrmanja and Krka before the end of the ninth century], PhD diss. (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2013), 57-84; Nikola Jakšić and Ivan Josipović, “Majstor koljanskog pluteja u kontekstu predromaničkih reljefa s lokaliteta Stombrata u Bijaćima” [Master of the Koljane Chancel Panel in the context of Pre-Romanesque reliefs from archaeological site Stombrata in Bijaći], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 42 (2015): 145-64.

⁶⁰ See Table 1. in the appendix.

⁶¹ Janko Belošević, “Dva kamena sarkofaga s Crkvine u Galovcu kod Zadra” [Two stone sarcophagi from Crkvina in Galovac near Zadar], *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 12 (1996): 127-41. The recently discovered sarcophagi at Rupotine-Rižinice, although reburials in antique sarcophagi, belong to a later period. Interestingly, a fragment of a ninth-century ciborium was discovered in secondary usage under the base of the sarcophagi. Marijana Batarello-Jelavić, “Srednjovjekovni ukopi u rimskodobnim sarkofazima” [Medieval burials in Roman sarcophagi], *Solinska kronika*, January 15, 2012, 21, and “Novootkriveni ostaci upućuju na novu interpretaciju” [Newly found remains point to a new interpretation], *Solinska kronika*, October 15, 2011, 19.

⁶² Nikola Jakšić, “Vladarska zadužbina sv. Bartula u srednjovjekovnom selu Tršći” [The ruler's endowment of St. Bartholomew in the medieval village Tršći], *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 42 (2000): 45-46; Josipović, “Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske,” 76-77.

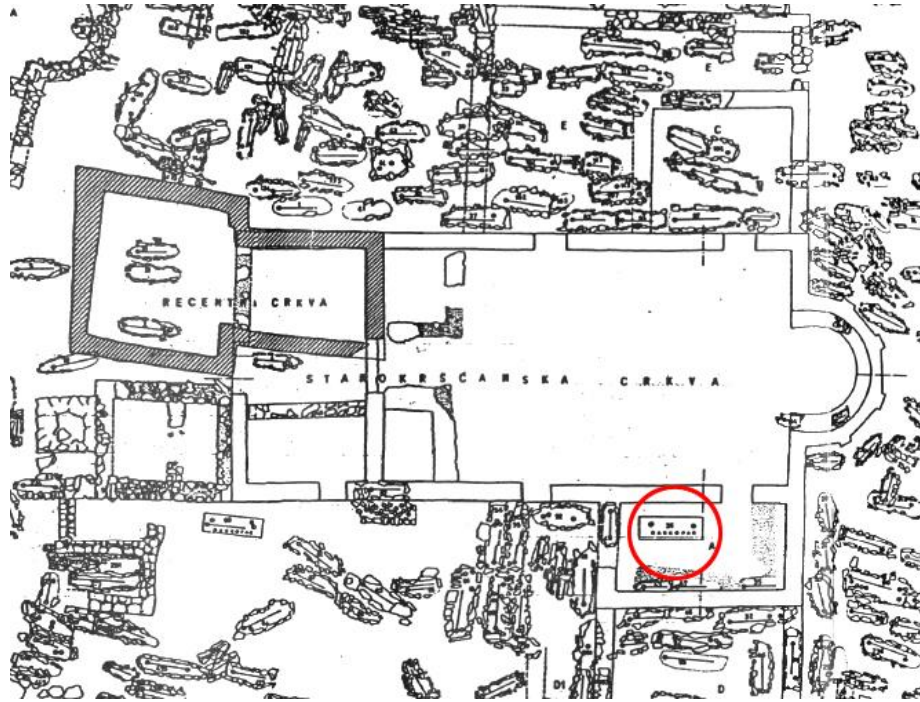


Figure 2: The location of the sarcophagus from the sacristy at Galovac-Crkina (Belošević, “Osvrt na rezultate istraživanja lokaliteta ‘Crkvina,’” appendix).

Unfortunately, at Biskupija-Crkina, legible inscriptions from the earliest ninth-century altar fence have not been found, leaving us without precious information about the original donor and the reasons behind his church-building. For the other two ninth-century interventions, however, more evidence is available. A fragment from a gable of a later ninth-century set mentions a certain DVX GLO[riosvs].⁶³ Since this piece has been attributed to the Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir, it is presumably Duke Branimir who was mentioned in connection to this title. His name has been preserved on six other fragments from altar fences found throughout Dalmatia, a sharp increase in numbers when compared to those of his predecessors, whose names appear only twice in the currently available corpus of the ninth-century inscriptions.⁶⁴ Since the fragment in question is too small and out of context, it is

⁶³ Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 72, cat. no. 25; Jakšić, “Zabati oltarne pregrade iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina,” 107.

⁶⁴ Mate Zekan, “Pet natpisa kneza Branimira s posebnim osvrtom na nalaz iz Otrsa” [The five inscriptions of Duke Branimir with special emphasis on the find from Otrsa], *Zbornik Kačić* 25 (1993): 405-20; Jakšić, “Novi natpis s imenom kneza Branimira,” 213-21. For the catalogue of finds refer to Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*. The inscriptions are as follows: Duke Trpimir: *ibid.* 138, cat. no. 94: Rupotine-Rižinice, and Duke Muncimir: *ibid.* 166-67, cat. no. 118: Uzdolje. For the five inscriptions of Duke Branimir see: *ibid.* 133, cat. no.

impossible to determine whether Branimir is the subject, that is the donor of the second altar fence at Biskupija-Crkvina, or is he mentioned only for dating purposes.⁶⁵ Recently, a case has been made that an altar fence discovered in secondary usage at Uzdolje, inscribed with the name of Duke Muncimir and dated to the year 895, originally stood in the church of Saint Mary at Biskupija.⁶⁶ Like the fragments of the third altar fence found at Crkvina, this piece was also carved by the Benedictine Workshop. Together with Duke Branimir's inscription from Šopot, it is the only ninth-century epigraphic text in which the duke is mentioned as a donor, which, yet again, attests to the importance of the church of Saint Mary for the ruling dynasty.⁶⁷

Even though inscriptions from the earliest altar fence at Biskupija-Crkvina have not been preserved, it is still possible to provide an approximate chronological frame. It has been claimed that the workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel is the only ninth-century stonecarving group that is known to have used antique and late antique spolia in their work. This suggests that they were the earliest among the workshops which were working on the sites connected with the elites of the duchy. On one side their working period can be narrowed down when compared to the activities of several workshops connected with the coastal towns of Byzantine Dalmatia which did not work on the churches in the hinterland of Dalmatia after the Treaty of Aachen in 812.⁶⁸ This is most apparent at Galovac-Crkvina where the first altar fence was built

91: Muć Gornji; ibid. 218-19, cat. no. 174: Nin; ibid. 228-29, cat. no. 182: Otres; ibid. 176-77, cat. no. 130: Šopot; ibid. 264, cat. no. 228: Ždrapanj 72: cat. no. 25; and for the sixth, discovered in Lepuri near Benkovac in 2002, see Jakšić, "Novi natpis s imenom kneza Branimira," 217-18.

⁶⁵ Opinions on the matter differ, but a conclusion is impossible to reach at this stage. It is also possible that the fragment does not refer to Branimir at all, but to Muncimir. For different opinions compare Jakšić, "Zabati oltarne pregrade iz Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina," 107; Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 176-77.

⁶⁶ + OCTINGENTI [non]AGINTA ET Q(ui)NQ[ue] [an]NOR(um) D(omi)NI FERE T(er) DE[n ...] [...hu]NC BENE CO(m)PSIT OPVS PRINCEPS NA(m)Q(ue) MUNCIMYR [...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 166-67, cat. no. 118). Jakšić, "U selu Uzdolju kod Knina nije bilo izgrađene crkve u vrijeme kneza Muncimira," 135-53. The argument is based on the fact that the inscription on some pieces of the altar fence was carved out and replaced with a new text at a later time. Jakšić argues that the church of Saint Luke at Uzdolje was only built in the twelfth century and so the altar fence from 895 could not have originated from there. The site at Uzdolje is only a few kilometers away from Biskupija.

⁶⁷ Duke Branimir's inscription found at Šopot was also brought there from another, yet unidentified, church.

⁶⁸ Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 56 and 195-97. Namely, the workshops which were active on the territory of the Dalmatian duchy do not appear within coastal sites and vice versa. The only exception seems to be the Benedictine Workshop, active in the last quarter of the ninth century.

by the Workshop of the Zadar's Cathedral Panel. It was not long after that a new altar rail was built for the church, but this time it was done through the efforts of the Master of Koljani Panel workshop.⁶⁹ The temporal proximity of these two interventions suggest that the subsequent effort done by the Master of Koljani Panel has served as an reappropriation of the church which found itself on the territory of the Dalmatian duchy after the Treaty of Aachen.

On the other side of the chronological frame is the Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir, roughly datable to the fourth, fifth and parts of the sixth decade of the ninth century. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient evidence to prove whether this workshop ever worked at the same sites as the workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel.⁷⁰ But the relatively small number of sites at which the latter group is detected would suggest that its activity was confined to a narrower time frame with the year 812 being a sort of *terminus post quem*.⁷¹

The two burials in sarcophagi discovered at the basilica of Saint Mary in Biskupija help us situate the workshop of Master of Koljani Panel in context. The sarcophagus uncovered under the norther room of the antechamber contained remains of a man found *in situ*. In fact, his clothes have been so remarkably preserved that some of the researchers thought he might have been buried just a couple of years before the discovery.⁷² However, the man was found with a *solidus* of Emperor Constantine V and Leo IV inside his mouth, a practice that was also found in several other burials at the same site.⁷³ Traces of shoes were found on his feet to which a

⁶⁹ Ivan Josipović, “‘Majstor koljanskog pluteja’ u stilskom razvrstavanju predromaničke sculpture iz Galovca kod Zadra” [The Master of the Koljani Panel in the stylistic categorization of the Pre-Romanesque sculpture from Galovac near Zadar], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 34 (2010): 7-18.

⁷⁰ The only exception might be Rupotine-Rižinice where a chancel panel attributed to the Master of Koljani Panel was discovered in 2011 (ibid., 78-79), while a fragment of a gable bearing the inscription PRO DVCE TREPIME[ro...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 138, cat. no. 94) was discovered in 1891. However, as the excavations at the site have not been completed and both pieces have been discovered in secondary usage, the situation is far from being comprehensive.

⁷¹ Josipović, “Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske,” 193-98.

⁷² Frano Radić, “Grobna raka iz starohrvatske biskupske bazilike s. Marije u Biskupiji kod Knina i u njoj nađeni mrtvački ostanci” [Grave from the Old Croat bishopric basilica of Saint Mary in Biskupija near Knin and the remains of the deceased found within it], *SHP* 2 (1896): 73.

⁷³ Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 66-68. These were also found in graves 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7.

heavy pair of gold-plated spurs was once attached to. A belt buckle bellow his chest still held together the remaining layers of his clothes, while a golden pendant found by his shoulder once hung around his neck.⁷⁴ The sarcophagus, in which this obviously wealthy individual had been buried, was made out of an Roman architrave decorated with two *hippocampi*.⁷⁵ The workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel which made the sarcophagus also carved a cross on it, thus unquestionably marking it as a Christian burial.⁷⁶

The sarcophagus found in the southern room of the antechamber, however, had at one point been broken into and set on fire.⁷⁷ Its lid was removed and displaced, while the original remains of the deceased were taken out and placed into a hole dug into the soil bellow it. At an unidentified later period, a man was put inside the charred sarcophagus and buried without the lid. When the sarcophagus was eventually discovered in 1888 a large temple ring was found at this person's feet, which was datable to the last third of the ninth century, at the earliest.⁷⁸ Not long after, the other member of the pair was discovered in the soil nearby. Since these two temple rings formed a pair and both showed traces of fire just like the bones discovered in the hole under the sarcophagus, it is clear that they were all part of the original female burial.⁷⁹

While this sarcophagus was discovered above the level of the architecture, the one in the northern room was found under it.⁸⁰ It is precisely for this reason that the former has been

⁷⁴ Frano Radić, "Grobna raka iz starohrvatske biskupske bazilike s. Marije," 75-76 and 83-85.

⁷⁵ Nikola Jakšić, "Vladarska zadužbina sv. Bartula u srednjovjekovnom selu Tršći," 45-46; Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 76-77.

⁷⁶ Ante Jurčević, "Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture s lokaliteta Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima i Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina" [Comparison of sculpture and architecture from the sites Crkvina in Gornji Koljani and Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 36 (2009): 55-81 et passim; Petrincec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology," 354. For a different opinion on the attribution of the sarcophagus see Ante Milošević, "Sarkofag kneza Branimira" [The sarcophagus of Duke Branimir], *Histria Antiqua* 18 (2009): 561-66.

⁷⁷ Marun, "O najznamenitijim starohrvatskim grobovima na groblju otkrivene biskupske bazilike S. Marije," 116.

⁷⁸ [Marun], "Bilježke kroz starinarske izkopine", pts. 2 and 4, 144 and 93-94, and "O najznamenitijim starohrvatskim grobovima na groblju otkrivene biskupske bazilike S. Marije," 116-18; Petrincec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology," 355.

⁷⁹ Such a conclusion was already made by Marun ("O najznamenitijim starohrvatskim grobovima na groblju otkrivene biskupske bazilike S. Marije," 118).

⁸⁰ Petrincec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology," 355.

reused, while the latter was not. Moreover, it also means that the sarcophagus from the northern room of the narthex had been put into the soil before the narthex was even built. However, this happened at the time when the basilica was already built, as the sarcophagus was clearly oriented in line with it.⁸¹ The position of the sarcophagus with the two *hippocampi* within the narthex and its relation to the partition walls suggests that the expansion of the church was planned around it. Indeed, the sarcophagus is so precisely aligned with the antechamber that it would be difficult to assume that the construction of the narthex did not begin immediately after it was put into the ground. Moreover, since the sarcophagus from the southern room obviously post-dates the construction of the narthex, its placement into the ground serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the antechamber.

There is ample evidence to suggest that the man buried in the sarcophagus decorated with the *hippocampi* was the original donor who had financed the construction of the church. Soon after his death and interment, a narthex was built as an extension of the church that physically joined the burial in the sarcophagus with the sacred space of the basilica. At some later period, a woman was buried inside the sarcophagus in the southern room of the narthex. Based on the dating of the temple rings with which she was buried, this had taken place at least a couple of decades later. On the basis of evidence, it seems justifiable to suggest that she was the wife of the donor buried under the northern narthex. Even though she must have outlived him by quite some time, it is impossible to determine the exact dating of either of the two burials. An approximate dating, proposed by Ante Jurčević, argues that the workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel should be dated between 820 and 830.⁸² However, as it was previously discussed, there is not enough evidence to determine the exact time frame within which this workshop

⁸¹ Ibid., 354.

⁸² Jurčević, “Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture s lokaliteta Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima i Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina,” 70 et passim; and, “O klesarskim radionicama koje su djelovale na lokalitetu Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina,” 130; Petrinec and Jurčević, “Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology,” 353-55.

operated as it might have been active a decade earlier or a decade later. Furthermore, it is impossible to determine at which point the sarcophagus from the northern room was put into the ground. Certainly, the find of Byzantine *solidus* of Constantine V and Leo IV implies that this happened not long after the burials in wooden caskets and walled vaulted tombs were interred, but this does not help to establish a more precise dating. Thus, identifying the deceased in this sarcophagus as Duke Borna, who died in 821, is perhaps premature as it is difficult to connect it to the burial discovered in the southern room of the narthex.⁸³ The man buried there might have very well been Borna's successor Duke Vladislav (c. 821-c. 830) or perhaps even Duke Mislav (c. 830 – c. 840). Assuming latter may even bridge the temporal distance between the two sarcophagi burials, putting them just decades apart. Moreover, it also allows for further contextualization of the aforementioned inscription of Duke Muncimir from 895 which could then be read as a rebuilding effort made by the duke in honor of his grandfather.⁸⁴

The Venetian chronicler John the Deacon provides us with a rare insight into the burial choices of the elites around the basin of the Adriatic. Deacon writes that the body of the Venetian doge Peter Candiano, who died in the fights with the Narentines in 887 around the area of Makarska, was taken back to Grado and buried there inside the atrium of a church.⁸⁵ While this is a slightly later event, the story of Candiano's death and burial is similar to that of the unknown man interred in the northern room of the narthex of the church of Saint Mary in Biskupija.

Despite the uncertain identity of the donor from Biskupija, the location of the church itself tells us a great deal about the strategies of memorialization used by the elites of the duchy in the

⁸³ Petrinec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology," 353-55; "Interea Borna dux Dalmatiae atque Liburniae defunctus est, et petente populo atque imperatore consentiente nepos illius nomine Ladasclavus successor ei constitutus est." *Annales Regni Francorum*, 151.

⁸⁴ It is usually assumed that Duke Mislav was the father of Duke Trpimir, who in turn was the father of Duke Muncimir, his third son.

⁸⁵ "Tenuit autem ducatum idem Petrus dux menses 5. Fuit autem vir bellicosus et audax, sapiens et amodum largus; ecclesiam vero in tantum frequentans, ut nullo tempore divino careret officio. Cuius corpus Andreas tribunus latenter a Sclavis sublatum Gradensem urbem misit, ibique sepultus est in atrio ecclesiae." John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, 22.

first half of the ninth century. Namely, the financier of the basilica of Saint Mary chose to build his church on top of the row-grave cemetery that was in use by his ancestors for at least half a century. Even though there is no way to determine whether the persons buried inside the wooden caskets and walled vaulted tombs were Christian or not, the donor of the church certainly was, and through his actions he included his own ancestry into the Christian oikoumene. But this was not a one-way process because the older row burials gave the newly-built church both cultural and religious significance. The donor was actively reappropriating his own familial past by bringing together two completely different burial practices, which henceforth appeared uniform.

Chapter III – Constructing Memory: Intervening into the Landscape

The choice of having a church built upon ancestral graves, however, is not a frequently recorded phenomenon in the territory of Dalmatian duchy. Churches were far more often built on top of Roman *villae rusticae* or they were (re)constructions of late antique churches which were originally built in the fifth-sixth centuries. In the latter two cases, the decisions behind the location suitable for church-building were influenced either by basic practicality or by implied sanctity that an already-existing Christian site obviously had.

Archaeological research conducted between 1959 and 1962 at the site called Begovača, situated at the very edges of Biljane Donje, uncovered a large cemetery with 602 graves which was in use, with possible interruptions, from the ninth until the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ The unidentified settlement presumably connected to the graveyard never gained any importance, although the number of burials suggests that it reached its zenith during the High Middle Ages.⁸⁷ It is relatively difficult to identify graves from its earliest, ninth-century, phase. Only four burials—namely graves 165, 253, 258 and 263—contain grave goods that can be reliably dated to the ninth century.⁸⁸ In two of these cases, individuals were interred with spurs at their feet, linking them to the eighth-ninth century warrior elite of the duchy. And while the spurs found at the feet of the individual buried in grave 253 have been preserved in poor condition, the ones from grave 258 have been identified as locally made reproductions based on Carolingian models.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole*, 17, 32; Dušan Jelovina and Dasen Vrsalović, “Srednjovjekovno groblje na ‘Begovači’ u selu Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra” [Medieval cemetery at ‘Begovača’ in the village Biljani Donji near Zadar], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 11 (1981): 62.

⁸⁷ Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole*, 31.

⁸⁸ Nikola Jakšić, “Crkve na Begovači i problem starohrvatskih nekropola” [The churches at Begovača and the problem of Old Croat cemeteries], *Diadora* 11 (1989): 410; Vladimir Sokol, *Medieval Jewelry and Burial Assemblages in Croatia: A Study of Graves and Grave Goods, ca. 800 to ca. 1450*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, vol. 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 53.

⁸⁹ Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 175.

Finds typologically connected to them come from Biskupija-Crkvina, Koljane Gornje-Crkvina, Nin-Ždrijac, Ostrovica and Podgrađe near Benkovac. The first three of these are important cemetery complexes, while the latter two are forts. And since all these sites are located in Northern Dalmatia, there is good reason to believe that the spurs were also produced there.

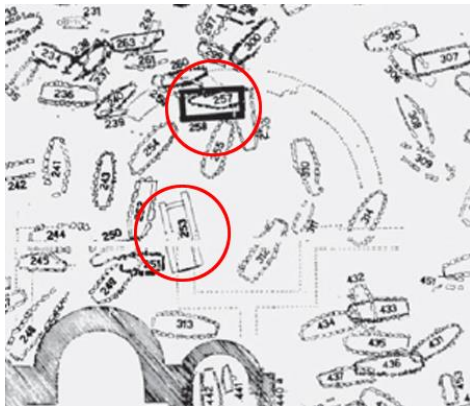


Figure 3: The placement of graves 253 and 258 at Begovača-Crkvina (Josipović, "Prijedlog za čitanje imena kneza Mislava s Begovače," 130)

However, two equestrian graves at Begovača did not contain finds of offensive weapons such as swords and/or lances as was the case at the cemeteries in Biskupija, Koljane Gornje and Nin.⁹⁰ Moreover, the man in grave 322 at Nin-Ždrijac was buried not only with the same type of spurs as the person from grave 258 at Begovača, but he also had a Carolingian type H sword and a spear interred with him.⁹¹ Furthermore, he was

buried together with a woman and a child, also accompanied with numerous and varied grave goods which included, among other things, three knives, a belt buckle, a clay container and extremely rare glass vessels; all suggesting that the burial should be dated to the same time as the ones from the earlier phase at Biskupija-Crkvina.⁹² Yet, this dating is contradicted by the finds of the aforementioned spurs which in other cemeteries appear without the numerous grave goods and thus seem to be datable to a slightly later phase. However, the Carolingian sword of the Petersen type H in the context of other Dalmatian sites suggests an earlier dating. To make matters even more complicated, grave 322 from Nin-Ždrijac was flanked by two others in which a large number of grave goods was discovered, but which also contained some items

⁹⁰ At Biskupija and Koljane however, the burials do not contain the same combination of this particular type of spurs and sword.

⁹¹ Belošević, *Materijalna kultura Hrvata od 7.-9. stoljeća*, 99-101.

⁹² Ibid., 100; Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 26-27. Zdenko Vinski, however, has argued that the burial should be dated to the middle of the century, but his proposal was based solely on the basis of the sword ("O nalazima karolinških mačeva u Jugoslaviji" [On the finds of Carolingian swords in Yugoslavia], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 11 (1981): 39-40.

decorated with Christian symbols—again pointing to a later period.⁹³ Nevertheless, the unique burial of a whole family inside a single grave suggests that they died prematurely, albeit in uncertain circumstances. Thus, presuming that the individuals buried with similar grave goods at geographically different sites—had the same access to these objects at the same time, we must allow a wider time frame in which they could have been put into the ground. Since the situation in grave 322 implies the abrupt death of the whole family it would explain why, for example, spurs which at Begovača appear in a burial from the third or fourth decade of the ninth century, at Ždrijac appear in a grave from the first quarter of the century.⁹⁴

Two small knives and a small axe were also deposited together with the aforementioned pair of spurs alongside the skeleton from grave 258 at Begovača, even though they tell us very little about the equestrian buried there.⁹⁵ Both grave 253 and 258 are double burials, presumably of two married couples. Moreover, their physical location is quite revealing. Both of them are located within the apse of a church that was first built in Late Antiquity.⁹⁶ The church was then rebuilt sometime during the second quarter of the ninth century, most likely at the time of Duke Mislav during the 830s, through the effort and finances of an anonymous donor and his wife.⁹⁷

Analysis of visual and morphological characteristics of the architrave fragments discovered at

⁹³ Janko Belošević, *Starohrvatsko groblje na Ždrijacu u Ninu* [Old Croat cemetery at Ždrijac in Nin] (Zadar: Arheološki muzej Zadar, 2007), 232-38; Bilogrivić, “Etnički identiteti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj,” 138.

⁹⁴ However, it is very difficult to determine the reasons behind the peculiar burial in grave 322. See, Belošević, *Starohrvatsko groblje na Ždrijacu u Ninu*, 30.

⁹⁵ Goran Bilogrivić suggested that the finds of knives, for example could be interpreted as symbolic representations of the hunt (“Ratnici ili lovci? Noževi i strijele u grobovima na području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske” [Warriors or Hunters? Knives and arrows in graves on the territory of early medieval Croatia], *SHP* ser. 3, vol. 41 (2014): 23-32).

⁹⁶ The results of the original archaeological research conducted on the site misidentified what is now known to be a Romanesque church from the twelfth century as the ninth century church. But a review of evidence by Nikola Jakšić challenged this view. Cf. Jakšić, “Crkve na Begovači i problem starohrvatskih nekropola,” 407-33; Jelovina, Dušan. “Nikola Jakšić, Crkve na Begovači i problem starohrvatskih nekropola (Kratki osvrt)” [Churches at Begovača and the problem of Old Croat cemeteries (A short review)], *SHP* 20 (1990): 301-8.

⁹⁷ Ivan Josipović. “Prijedlog za čitanje imena kneza Mislava na natpisu s Begovače” [A Proposed Reading of Duke Mislav's Name in the Inscription from Begovača], *Archaeologia Adriatica* 6 (2012): 144. Unfortunately, the part of the architrave bearing the name of the donor had not been found, and his wife is not mentioned by name. One of the preserved fragments reads CVM CO[nivge...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 182, no. 137).

the site confirm this dating, linking it to the early stages of church-(re)building efforts on the territory of the duchy.⁹⁸ Indeed, as the burial in grave 258 can be relatively safely dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, it would be difficult to imagine that it pre-dated the church. If this was the case a larger cluster of contemporary graves would be found inside and around the perimeter of the basilica, which is not the case at Begovača. On the contrary, the Pre-Romanesque church became a focal point around which the burials were carefully placed only from the eleventh century onwards, as burials from earlier periods are rather rare.⁹⁹ In the thirteenth century this church was destroyed and over a portion of it, a much smaller Romanesque church was built bringing about another re-alignment in the layout of the cemetery, which was from then on oriented in relation to it.¹⁰⁰

Thus, unlike the case of the basilica of Saint Mary at Biskupija-Crkvina—that was built upon the remains of the donor’s ancestors—the church from Begovača had no such connections. The anonymous donor couple wanted a link to a strictly Christian, rather than familial past, which is why they used a different approach: relying on the continual sanctity of the site they had chosen as their place of burial. The couple’s main concern had been the salvation of their own souls and not the souls of their ancestors. Explicitly, this had been conceptualized through an inscription bearing that same idea and stretching across the whole architrave of the altar beam tying them together with the very stone fabric of the church they had funded.¹⁰¹ The construction of the church for the well-being of their souls was apparently not enough. Their salvation was to be further insured by the careful choice of location of their burials.

⁹⁸ Art historians have identified it as a product of the so-called *Stonemasonry Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir*. This workshop has been identified by Nikola Jakšić in 1986 and it has been used as a concept ever since. Despite the name association with Trpimir, the workshops period of operation falls to the fourth, fifth and sixth decade of the ninth century and thus is not exclusively tied with his reign. For an overview of the activities of this group, see Josipović, “Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske,” 103-8.

⁹⁹ Jakšić, “Crkve na Begovači i problem starohrvatskih nekropola”, 420-421.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 420-23.

¹⁰¹ The inscription reads: [...pr]O REMED(io) A(n)IME SVE REN(ovavit) HVNC TE[implvm...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 138, cat. no. 94).

Unsurprisingly, this happened to be at the most holy place inside the church—under the altar itself.

This concern for the well-being of one's soul was not uncommon among the elites of the ninth-century Dalmatian duchy. Indeed, epigraphic evidence found at various sites throughout Dalmatia testifies that privately founded churches were a powerful tool which the elites could utilize in order to secure the salvation of their souls, as well as to insure the perseverance of the memory of their donations and rank within society. The Charter of Duke Trpimir, the only preserved mid-ninth century document from the duchy, recounts the strategies, concerns and setbacks associated with the process of bestowal:¹⁰²

That is why I, Trpimir, by divine grace the duke of the Croats, although a sinner, and since I do not know when my last day and hour will come, greatly concerned for the salvation of my soul, I took council with all of my *župani* and I built a monastery and brought monks in it. Touched by their pleas and wanting that their prayers free me of sins, I started thinking how to acquire some utensils for the church of that monastery. And as there was not enough of silver to complete the creation of the liturgical vessels, Peter, the archbishop of the church of Salona and our dear godfather, gave us eleven ounces of silver.¹⁰³

The duke's concern for the salvation of his soul cannot be ascribed to literary convention only. Indeed, the monastery of which the charter speaks is presumed to be the one discovered at

¹⁰² The charter, however, was preserved only in several later copies, with the oldest being datable to 1568. Moreover, diplomatic as well as linguistic analysis have proven that parts of the charter have been later interpolations. The cited part, however, is believed to be authentic. For the most notable contributions to the discussions, see Miho Barada, "Dvije naše vladarske isprave" [Two of our royal charters], *Croatia sacra* 7 (1937): 1-96; Nada Klaić, "O Trpimirovoj darovnici kao diplomatskom i historijskom dokumentu" [On the Charter of Trpimir as a diplomatic and historical document], *Vijestnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 62 (1960): 105-55; Olja Perić, "Jezični slojevi Trpimirove darovnice" [Linguistic layers of the Charter of Trpimir], *Živa antika* 34/1-2 (1984): 165-70; Lujo Margetić, "Bilješke uz Trpimirovu ispravu (CD I, 3-8)" [Notes on the Charter of Trpimir], *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu* 30/1 (1993): 47-51, and "Krsni list Hrvatske (Trpimirova darovnica) i međunarodni položaj Hrvatske države narodnih vladara" [The birth-certificate of Croatia (the Charter of Trpimir) and the international position of Croatia at the time of the local dynasty], *Starine* 62 (2004): 1-42; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "1150. obljetnica darovnice kneza Trpimira" [1150th anniversary of the Charter of Duke Trpimir], in: *100 godina Arheološkog muzeja Istre u Puli: Nova istraživanja u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Darko Komšo (Izdanja HAD-a, vol. 25) (Zagreb: HAD, 2010), 9-19.

¹⁰³ "Unde ego, licet peccator, Trpimir, dux Chroatrum, iuuuus munere diuino incertus de die nouissimo et hora, quam nescit homo, sollicitus nimis animę meę commune consilium meis cum omnibus zuppanis construxi monasterium ibique cateruas fratrum adhibui, quorum sedulis uotis et frequens oratio nos immunes redderet deo peccatis, in hanc adiecit mens nostra, eiusdem monasterii ecclesię aliquid in utensilibus pręparare. Cum autem non sufficeret in argento ipsa uasa perficiendum, accomodauit nobis Petrus, Salonitanę ecclesie archiepiscopus et dilectus compater, undecim libras argenteas." *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 4-5.

Rupotine-Rižinice, not far from the ducal fort of Klis, an important stronghold controlling the roads from the hinterland to the Bay of Kaštela.¹⁰⁴ The monasterial complex at Rižinice has been re-excavated by archaeologists in 2011 during which the remains of a single-nave church, presumably from the ninth century, have been discovered.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, the research at the site was stalled and it is still on-hold.¹⁰⁶

But Duke Trpimir's religiosity is present in another source: his name is recorded in a Gospel book that was once thought to have contained the autograph of Saint Mark the Evangelist.¹⁰⁷ The Gospel book, bearing a large number of Slavic, Lombard and Frankish names, was used as a sort of *Liber vitae* or *Liber memorialis* that served to commemorate pilgrimages undertaken to a monastery in Aquileia, where the codex was kept.¹⁰⁸ An entry in the book would have certainly been followed by the giving of gifts to monks in return for the prayers which were expected to be said on behalf of the pilgrims.¹⁰⁹ Trpimir, of course, also expected the same from the monks that he brought to the monastery in Rižinice. Indeed, he made an

¹⁰⁴ PRO DVCE TREPIME[ro...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 138, cat. no. 94). The inscription was found by chance in 1891, for the context of the find, see Frane Bulić, "Nadpis Trpimira bana hrvatskoga našast u Solinskom Polju" [The inscription of Trpimir, the ban of Croatia, discovered in Solinsko Polje], *Viestnik HAD-a* 14, no. 2 (1892): 54-58.

¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, the research of the site was never completed and it is still on hold. The results have not yet been published. Reports from the research have been summarized in a series of newspaper articles, see Marijana Batarelo-Jelavić, "Novootkriveni ostaci upućuju na novu interpretaciju" [Newly found remains point to a new interpretation], *Solinska kronika*, October 15, 2011, 19, and "Otkrivena Trpimirova crkva" [The church of Trpimir has been discovered], *Solinska kronika*, December 15, 2011, 19, and "Srednjovjekovni ukopi u rimskodobnim sarkofazima" [Medieval burials in Roman sarcophagi] *Solinska kronika*, January 15, 2012, 21.

¹⁰⁶ On the problems the research is facing, see Mate Zekan, "Zar će opet cesta pregaziti baštinu?!" [Will the road yet again cover the heritage?!], *Solinska kronika*, February 15, 2013, 21.

¹⁰⁷ C. L. Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift zu Cividale," in *Neues Archiv*, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1876), 112-28; Uwe Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung: prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Liber vitae von San Salvatore in Brescia und des Evangeliars von Cividale* (MGH, Studien und Texte, vol. 25) (Hannover: Hahn, 1999), 175-77. It is also worthy to mention that Trpimir also received and hosted Gottschalk of Orbais, a Saxon monk who was a proponent of the predestination doctrine. Gottschalk's experiences at the court of Trpimir were later noted down in his writing, see Lambott, *Oeuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescalc d'Orbais*, 169. Recently, Željko Rapanić has criticized Croatian historiography which took Gottschalk's report on the battle between 'King' Trpimir and an anonymous Greek patrician at face value ("Kralj Trpimir, Venecijanci i Dalmatinci u raktu teologa Gottschalka iz Orbaisa," *Povijesni prilozi* 44 (2013): 27-67).

¹⁰⁸ Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung*, 192; McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, 162-72.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 167.

effort to procure liturgical vessels made out of precious metals for the monasterial church so that the monks would reciprocate with prayers for his soul and probably for the souls of his family members.

Furthermore, Trpimir was not the only Dalmatian duke who was interested in memorializing his life through bestowals to religious communities. Duke Branimir (879-c. 892) who came to power after murdering Trpimir's son and Byzantine protégée Zdeslav, also visited Aquileian pilgrimage site together his wife Mariosa.¹¹⁰ We do not know if Branimir shared any kinship relations with Duke Trpimir, but his rule was in many ways a continuation of the policies started by Trpimir. It was a period of accelerated church-building efforts throughout the territory of the duchy, as attested by the presence of two different workshops which operated at this time.¹¹¹ Indeed the number of sites in which new churches were erected or old ones were reconstructed greatly outnumbers those from the remainder of the ninth century. During the rule of Branimir the building of churches seems to have become even more widespread. It was certainly less concentrated around the most powerful elite circles, as church-building became more available and thus geographically much wider, extending up to the periphery of the duchy.¹¹²

Trpimir and Branimir were only two of a number of high dignitaries from the Alpine-Adriatic region who visited the pilgrimage site in Aquileia. Among the names listed in the codex we find, for example, Pabo, Richeri and Engelschalk, the leaders of the Eastern Prefecture.¹¹³ Other Slavic princes from this region also found their way to the monastery, including Pribina and Braslav, the two dukes of the neighboring Lower Pannonia. The Bulgarian Khan Boris and

¹¹⁰ Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift zu Cividale," 126; Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung*, 271.

¹¹¹ Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 198-200.

¹¹² See Figure 8 and the discussion in the Chapter VI for the full scope of the problem.

¹¹³ Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung*, 201-13.

his diplomatic retinue also appear among the pilgrims.¹¹⁴ But perhaps the most notable visitors were the two members of the Carolingian imperial dynasty: Louis of Italy and Charles the Fat, both contemporaries of Trpimir and Branimir.¹¹⁵

In fact, Duke Trpimir seems to have visited the pilgrimage site with an entourage of his own which included his son Peter and some others whose names have been written by the same hand in the same column of the manuscript.¹¹⁶ Peter also visited the pilgrimage site on another occasion, this time without his father.¹¹⁷ He was accompanied by a certain Presila, who had signed his name onto the pages of the codex in his own hand.¹¹⁸ It is possible that this is the same person who appears among the high dignitaries who acted as witnesses for Duke Trpimir's donation. In the charter, as a second witness out of fifteen, a person with the title *iuppanus* appears under the name of Pretilia or Precila.¹¹⁹ Judging from this coincidence, it appears very likely that the three orthographical variations refer to the same high dignitary, who was close both to the duke and to his son.¹²⁰

Moreover, a certain Sebedra(g) who held the rank of *hostiarius*, presumably at the court of Trpimir, also came to the Aquileian monastery. As a portion of the text is unreadable, it is unclear whether he had the name of Duke Trpimir written down for the well-being of his soul, or if he just accompanied him during his visit.¹²¹ It is also uncertain whether this Sebedra(g) is

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 243; Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift zu Cividale," 119-20 and 124.

¹¹⁵ Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung*, 186.

¹¹⁶ Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift zu Cividale," 115; Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung*, 218-26.

¹¹⁷ Bethmann, "Die Evangelien Handschrift zu Cividale," 125.

¹¹⁸ Mirjana Matijević Sokol makes a point that both Peter and Presila could have been literate ("1150. obljetnica darovnice kneza Trpimira," 15).

¹¹⁹ *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 6.

¹²⁰ This was noted by Ferdo Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi o hrvatskoj narodnoj dinastiji" [Genealogical notes on the Croatian ruling dynasty], *VAMZ* 13 (1914): 6.

¹²¹ Trpimir Vedriš suggested that the form "Tripimiro" might suggest a dative case, but unless the line between is somehow read, the problem will remain unsolved ("Nekoliko opažanja o začetcima štovanja sv. Krševana u Dalmaciji u ranome srednjem vijeku" [Notes on the beginnings of the cult of St Chrysogonus in Dalmatia in the Early Middle Ages], in: *Spalatumque dedit ortum*, ed. Ivan Basić and Marko Rimac (Split: Filozofski fakultet Split, 2014), 218).

the same person who financed the replacement of the altar screen in a small Pre-Romanesque church discovered at Otres in Northern Dalmatia.¹²² Alternatively he may be identical to Sibidrago, the *iuppanus* of Klis, who was one of the witnesses listed at the end of the Charter of Duke Muncimir from 892.¹²³

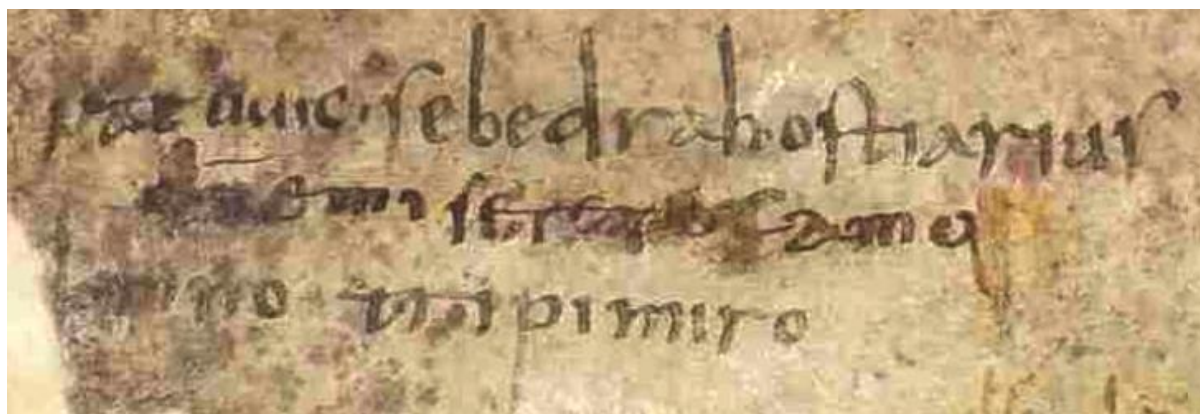


Figure 4: The names of Sebedrago and Trpimir entered in the Gospel of Cividale.

Religious concerns thus played an important part in the church-building plans of the elites. But the possibility to have a text carved upon the altar beams gave them an opportunity to memorialize their names, their rank and their group-identity. The donor couple from Biljane Donje-Begovača not only articulated their piousness, but also expressed what is currently known as the earliest authentic evidence for the appearance of a shared identity, at least among a portion of the elites, within the Duchy of Dalmatia.¹²⁴ The anonymous couple dated the church, whose (re)construction they had financed, by the reign of Duke Mislav, which is currently the earliest preserved example of a practice that was to become the norm in the later parts of the century. Indeed, the inscriptions carved on the altar beams of churches were always

¹²² For the suggestion, see Vedriš, “Nekoliko opažanja o začetcima štovanja sv. Krševana,” 217. + IN N(omine) D(omi)NI TE(m)POR[e] DOMNO [Br]ANNI[mero] DVCI EGO C[ede]DRA[go] [ad ho]NORE(m) BEATI PETRI ET S(an)C(ta)E MARIE S(an)C(t)I GEORGII S(an)C(t)I STEFANI S(an)C(t)I MARTINI S(an)C(t)I GRISOGONI S(an)C(ta)E CRVCIS (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 228-29, cat. no. 182).

¹²³ *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, 24: “Sibidrago, zuppano Clesae;” Vedriš, “Nekoliko opažanja o začetcima štovanja sv. Krševana,” 218-19.

¹²⁴ While the Frankish Royal Annals might have hinted to the existence of some kind of group identity in the second and third decade of the ninth century, it is only at Begovača that we finally find conclusive evidence.

exclusively dated by the reigns of local dukes. But the importance of this choice becomes apparent only after taking into consideration the available alternatives. Namely, the other option for the elites was to date their foundations through the reigns of Carolingian dynasts as it was done, for example, by Duke Trpimir himself, who dated his charter by the reign of Emperor Lothar I. The magnates' choice not to follow the same example, but to look inside instead of outside of the duchy, was the first step in the establishment of a shared elite identity.

Chapter IV – Performing Authority: The Short-Lived Trend of Burials with Weapons

On the eastern slopes of Kamešnica hill in the region of Završje, in the western parts of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, a cemetery complex which now lies under the artificial lake was discovered and excavated in 1987.¹²⁵ There, a Late Antique basilica was built perhaps as early as the time of Constantine the Great.¹²⁶ Traces of burnt material were discovered throughout its perimeter suggesting that it had, at one point, vanished in the fire, perhaps around the beginning of the seventh century.¹²⁷ But unlike the church from Begovača, this basilica was never renovated. In fact, by the time the first early medieval graves were dug into it, it was already covered by a thick layer of sand, soil and debris. The placement and orientation of the seven graves uncovered within its perimeter negated the architecture, suggesting that not only the existence of the church had been forgotten by the ninth century, but that it was also invisible in the landscape.¹²⁸ Five of the burials were placed directly into the soil, while the remaining two were lined with stone slabs.¹²⁹ Two of the former contained finds identifiable as the so-called equestrian elite of the region. The man inside grave 3 was buried with spurs, whose closest analogies are found at Nin-Ždrijac and Bajagić-Banova draga.¹³⁰ The spatial distribution of this type of spur tells us very little, as these sites are relatively far away from each other. However, the spurs of a man buried in grave 4, which is positioned within the walls of the apse of the destroyed Late Antique church, most closely resemble those discovered at Koljane Gornje-Vukovića most.¹³¹ In fact, this is not the only parallel between the two burials,

¹²⁵ The results and the catalogue of the excavations were published in Mato Bono Vrdoljak, "Starokršćanska bazilika i ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola na Rešetarici kod Livna" [Late Antique basilica and early medieval cemetery at Rešetarica near Livno], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 8 (1988): 119-94.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹³⁰ Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 175.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 174; Vrdoljak, "Starokršćanska bazilika i ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola na Rešetarici kod Livna," 184.

as both men were found with Petersen's Carolingian type K swords by their sides.¹³² It is therefore fairly certain that these two geographically distant individuals had the same access to these, presumably luxurious items, roughly at the same time.

The burials at Podgradina-Rešeterica were never valorized with a construction of a new church over the burials as was the case, for example, at Biskupija-Crkvina. An early medieval church might have been built nearby, in the place of a modern church of Saint Elijas, which was built in 1928 on top of "the old foundations," but no archaeological research has been done at that site.¹³³ The same might have happened at Koljane Gornje-Vukovića most, where research has uncovered a burial site with only three ninth-century graves.¹³⁴ Four hundred meters to the east of this site, however, a church and a cemetery complex termed Koljane Gornje-Crkvina were uncovered in the excavations at the end of the nineteenth century.¹³⁵ A burial with a sword was also discovered in the same graveyard, but unlike the one from Vukovića most, this one contained a type H sword. Another type K sword was accidentally discovered on the other bank of Cetina River, at the site Koljane Donje-Slankovac.¹³⁶ All three swords from Koljane, as well as the one from Rešetarica, can be dated to the first quarter of the ninth century. Therefore, the situation at Koljane is obviously drastically different than that from Biskupija-Crkvina, where all three swords were discovered in the same cemetery complex, physically close to one another.

¹³² For the catalogue of grave goods, see Petrinc, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 20-21 and 28. Norwegian scholar Jan Petersen devised a categorization scheme of the early medieval swords that was first published in 1919, but still in use today (*De norske vikingesverd. En typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben* (Kristiania, 1919), 54-181).

¹³³ Vrdoljak, "Starokršćanska bazilika i ranosrednjovjekovna nekropola na Rešetarici kod Livna," 121 and 192.

¹³⁴ The site was reexcavated 1956, but no other burials were discovered. Stjepan Gunjača, "Rad Muzeja hrvatskih starina u godini 1953" [The Annual report of the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, 1953], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 5 (1956): 201-16.

¹³⁵ For an overview of the research, see Jelovina, "Ranosrednjovjekovni položaj Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima kod Vrlike," 227-40.

¹³⁶ Ante Milošević, "Novi mač iz Koljana u svjetlu kontakata s nordijskim zemljama u ranom srednjem vijeku" [Newly found sword from Koljani seen in the light of contacts with Nordic countries in the early Middle Ages], *Histria Antiqua* 21 (2012): 459-70.

It is rather difficult to attempt to make sense of the situation in Koljane. The site itself was located on a strategically important river-crossing that is now submerged under an artificial lake.¹³⁷ This would imply that the elites associated with it enjoyed a high status within the dukedom. Indeed, like the basilica of Saint Mary in Biskupija, the church of an unknown titular at Koljane Gornje-Crkvena was also built by the stone carving workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel.¹³⁸ Indeed, this group appears so rarely on the sites within the duchy that it is certain that these two basilicas were built approximately at the same time, in the third-fourth decade of the ninth century. It is apparent that the two churches also share architectural similarities. Namely, the eastern sides of both of these basilicas ended with straight walls partitioned inwards into three separate sanctuaries. Moreover, both churches appear to have had extensions built to their front sides, identifiable as *westwerk*, which came at a slightly later period.¹³⁹

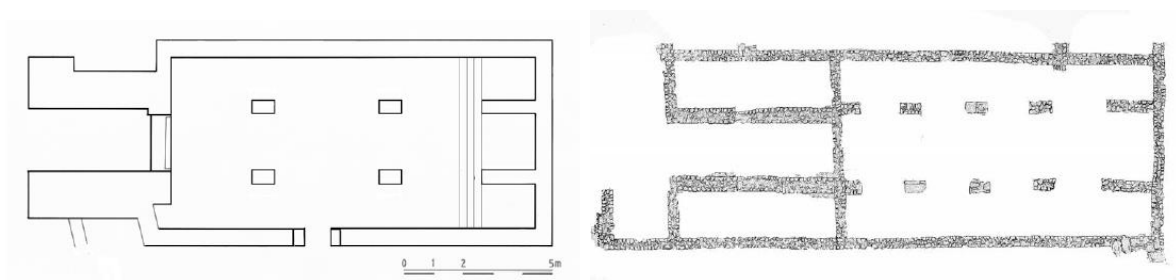


Figure 5: The ground plan of the church at Koljane Gornje-Crkvena (left) and Biskupija-Crkvena (right) (Jurčević, “Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture,” 68).

Unfortunately, the research done by amateur archaeologists in the thirties completely devastated the site where the ninth-century basilica once stood, thus preventing us from understanding the relationship between burials and architecture.¹⁴⁰ However, we can find

¹³⁷ Ibid., 459-61.

¹³⁸ Jurčević, “Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture s lokaliteta Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima i Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina,” 68-69.

¹³⁹ While at Biskupija this can be attested, as discussed, by the position of the two sarcophagi discovered in the narthex, at Koljane it is less certain and such an assumption is based on the seeming difference in wall thickness inferred from the plans of the basilica, see Ibid., 68-69.

¹⁴⁰ Firstly, the site was delegated to a local associate Peter Stanić, a parish priest from a nearby village of Vrlika, with a peculiar interest in Antiquity. He undertook excavations on two occasions in 1890 and 1891, but

evidence in the scarce documentation that two of the burials with riding spurs were discovered inside the atrium of the church.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, it is not clear which of the five spurs known to have been discovered at this site were worn by these two persons.¹⁴² The exact location of the graves within the atrium and their orientation is also unknown. Apart from the fact that they appear in the narthex, like the two burials in sarcophagi from Saint Mary in Biskupija, it is impossible to interpret them any further. Taking everything into consideration, Koljane Gornje-Crkvina generally shows a remarkably similar situation to that of Biskupija-Crkvina, more so than any other known site in Dalmatia. But unless some new documentation about early research is discovered, it will remain impossible to fully understand this complex site and its surroundings.

What the situation at Koljane and Biskupija do reveal, however, is the connection between cemeteries characterized by burials with weapons and the subsequent churches that were built on top of them. Among the grave goods, perhaps the most telling ones are swords. Unlike the more numerous finds of spurs, the sheer scarcity of sword finds, and the chronologically short timeframe in which they appear in burials, suggests that they did have some kind of a symbolic meaning of power and authority.¹⁴³ While the spurs were successfully produced locally, and thus perhaps less of a luxury, the swords remained a precious import.

concentrated primarily on finds of Roman inscriptions (Ibid., “Izvješće o izkopinama na starohrvatskoj crkvi u Gornjim Koljanima kod Vrlike” [The report about the excavations done at the Old Croat church in Gornji Koljani near Vrlike], *Viestnik HAD-a* 14, no. 3 (1892): 73-76). The site was then revisited in 1936, but due to hostile political climate within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, work was delegated to Velimir Tešinović, a local teacher. Like Stanić before him, Tešinović also did not keep a record about the excavations. After the digs have ended, the site was completely devastated and the remains of the church were for the most part pulled out of the ground by the owner of the plot. Subsequent revision excavations have not managed to reconstruct the original appearance of the site and only rare side notes tell us about the location of certain graves. (Stjepan Gunjača, *Trogodišnji rad Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika* [The activities of the Museum of Croatian archaeological monuments in the last three years] *SHP*. ser. 3, no. 7 (1960): 273)

¹⁴¹ Upraviteljstvo, “Izvještaj Upraviteljstva hrvatskoga starinarskoga društva u Kninu o društvenom radu i napredku kroz zadnji tromjesec” [The report of the Management of the Croatian Antiquarian Society of Knin about the society’s work and progress in the last three months], *SHP* ser. 1, no. 4/2 (1898): 104.

¹⁴² Petrinc, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 80-81.

¹⁴³ Heinrich Härke argued a similar case in his influential and often cited article on the Anglo-Saxon burials with weapons. He pointed out that the weapon burial rites were not directly connected with the warrior function, but

Out of twenty-eight swords datable to the eighth-ninth centuries which were found in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, twenty-five of them can be classified as double-edged Carolingian or Viking type swords.¹⁴⁴ Three of these twenty-five were discovered in the territory of present-day northern Croatia (Cirkovljan-Diven, Medvedička and Podsused-Susedgrad) which is, however, not a region of interest for the purpose of this thesis. The rest, numbering twenty-two finds, are all somehow connected with the Dalmatian duchy, whether directly or indirectly. Furthermore, fourteen of these swords were discovered at sites across modern Dalmatia, four in Herzegovina, two in Lika and two in Završje. These finds stretch from Prozor-Gornja Luka to the north-west all the way to Stolac-Čairi to the southeast. Out of the aforementioned twenty-two swords, sixteen of them can be safely attributed to the territory of the Dalmatian duchy, with an additional two specimens found in the border region with Pagania in the lower flow of Cetina River, while the remaining four finds seem not to have been directly connected with the territory of the Dalmatian duchy, but were either from Pagania or Zachlunia.

Moreover, most of the known swords do not come from systematic archaeological research, but were accidental finds, sometimes sold to museums at a much later time. Despite these setbacks, they provide us with rich information about the social status of the individuals who were buried with them and the changes which occurred in the society in the period of late eighth

were rather “the ritual expression of an ethnically, socially and perhaps ideologically based ‘warrior status’” (ibid., “‘Warrior Graves’? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite,” *Past and Present* 126 (1990): 22-43). Despite the obvious dangers of explaining the situation of one region with a study based on another one, the meagre available evidence suggests that the symbolic expression of power played an equally important role for the elites of the duchy.

¹⁴⁴ Jan Petersen, *De norske vikingesverd. En typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben* (Kristiania, 1919), 54-181. It is necessary to note that the two terms, Carolingian and Viking, are merely conceptual, as choice of terms varies according to the field of research. So while continental scholars are more likely to use the term Carolingian type swords, insular and Scandinavian scholars prefer to use the label Viking type swords. Since the swords found on the territory of modern Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina have no apparent connection with the Vikings, but are a product of political, cultural, social and economic ties with the Carolingian Empire, I will use the continental terminology. However, recently a proposal was made which tried to forge this connection between the Dalmatian duchy and the Viking workshops, but it is based primarily on circumstantial evidence and the migrationalist perspective, see Milošević, “Novi mač iz Koljana u svjetlu kontakata s nordijskim zemljama u ranom srednjem vijeku,” 466-68.

and early ninth century. The introduction of swords into the burial culture was a unique phenomenon for this region, influenced by external, rather than internal factors. In fact, all swords found in the region are assumed to be imports from the Carolingian Empire. This is most clearly attestable in the cases of swords which contained some kind of an inscription. Two of these—both type K swords—discovered at Prozor-Gornja Luka and grave 1 at Biskupija-Crkvina, bear the mark of the Ulfberht workshop, clearly pointing to a Frankish production center.¹⁴⁵ They belong to a group of over 135 specimens that bore this inscription, out of which only five can be categorized as type K swords.¹⁴⁶

The third one, also a type K sword, discovered at Zadvarje-Poletnice, has a personal name inscribed upon the crossguard, now preserved only in fragments as [...]A[...]ERTV(s).¹⁴⁷ The name, which clearly does not belong to the Slavic onomastic stock, seems to be a Germanic one, presumably Frankish.¹⁴⁸ Apart from the inscription, the sword's crossguard was also decorated by a silver wire with trefoil or grape motifs that was hammered into the sword, and two crosses anchory (*crux ancorata*) on the other side of the crossguard.¹⁴⁹ On the basis of both the inscription and the decoration, the sword can be connected to seven other type K swords found across Europe, namely in Norway, Ireland, France, Germany and Netherlands.¹⁵⁰ Whether the name on the crossguard of this particular sword is actually a craftsman's name or

¹⁴⁵ For more on this group of swords, see Anne Stalsberg, "The Ulfberht swordblades reevaluated," 2008, 1-25, <<http://www.jenny-rita.org/Annestamanus.pdf>> (accessed 19 May, 2016).

¹⁴⁶ Goran Bilogrivić, "Karolinški mačevi tipa K" [Type K Carolingian swords], *Opusc. Archaeol.* 33 (2009 [2010]): 152-54.

¹⁴⁷ Ante Piteša, "Karolinški mač s natpisom iz Zadvarja (Žeževica Donja)" [Carolingian sword with an inscription found at Zadvarje (Žeževica Donja)] *VAHD* 94 (2001): 347-54; Ivo Donelli, "Rekonzervacija i konzervacija karolinškog mača iz Zadvarja" [Reconservation and conservation of the Carolingian sword from Zadvarje], *VAHD* 94 (2001): 361-66.

¹⁴⁸ Piteša, "Karolinški mač s natpisom iz Zadvarja," 349-52.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 349.

¹⁵⁰ Goran Bilogrivić, "Carolingian Swords from Croatia: New Thoughts on an Old Topic," *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis: Series Historica* 10 (2013): 68.

that of the sword-bearer is difficult, if not impossible, to determine.¹⁵¹ In either case, it points to an outside origin of the sword.¹⁵²

The three combinational type swords, discovered in Morpolača and Orlić—two localities in northern Dalmatia—are the earliest produced ones among the currently known specimens.¹⁵³ On the basis of the morphology, their production has been dated to the second quarter of the eighth century.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, all three finds were discovered in the same way: by local peasants doing fieldwork.¹⁵⁵ And since they were discovered during the early stages of Croatian medieval archaeology—in 1908, 1921 and 1927 respectively—they have at one point been misattributed to different sites: a mix-up that was only resolved in 1992.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the swords cannot be ascribed to any of Petersen's main typological categories.¹⁵⁷ Because of their

¹⁵¹ It is necessary to note that five of the swords belonging to this group have names inscribed on them. The specimens are inscribed with the name HILTIPREHT, while another one has HARTOLFR. Since the inscription from the sword from Zadvarje is obviously different, it is difficult to interpret it in the same way as, for example, the swords with the inscription HILTIPREHT. For different opinions, cf. Bilogrivić, "Karolinški mačevi tipa K," 137-41; Bilogrivić, "Carolingian Swords from Croatia," 70; Milošević, "Novi mač iz Koljana u svjetlu kontakata s nordijskim zemljama," 463; Vinski, ("O nalazima karolinških mačeva u Jugoslaviji," 20, *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog*, 131; Ante Piteša, *Katalog nalaza iz vremena seobe naroda, srednjeg i novog vijeka u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu* [Catalogue of finds from the Migration Period, Middle Ages and Early Modern Period in the Archaeological Museum of Split] (Split: Arheološki muzej, 2009), 55.

¹⁵² Basically, no final answer can be provided to the question: how this sword made its way into a burial at the very borderline area of the duchy and whether the man who carried it into his grave was the original owner of the sword or not?

¹⁵³ Goran Bilogrivić, "O mačevima posebnog tipa u Hrvatskoj" [On Special type swords found in Croatia], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 38 (2011): 88.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁵⁵ Marun, *Starinariski dnevници*, 162-164, 250, 286, 292-93 and 297; Zekan, "K novoj atribuciji nalazišta mačeva karolinškoga obilježja," 132-34.

¹⁵⁶ Zekan, "K novoj atribuciji nalazišta mačeva karolinškoga obilježja," 131-34. This mix-up prevented researchers from seeing patterns between the appearances of swords belonging to the same type. The sword from Morpolača was misattributed to two different sites (!): its pommel, which was broken, was categorized as a find from Plavno near Knin, while the blade together with the hilt was attributed to Gračac near Skradin. For the two swords from Orlić, the mix up was even more complex. The sword from grave A was at one point switched with a sword from Kninsko polje (which was also at that misattributed to yet another site: Vrpolje) because of the similar damage of their blades. The *spatha* from grave B was, however, misattributed to Biskupija-Crkvina.

¹⁵⁷ Petersen, *De norske vikingsverd*, 54-81; Bilogrivić, "O mačevima posebnog tipa u Hrvatskoj," 86. Previously these combinational type swords have been grouped as Special type I swords, but Bilogrivić argued that such a classification is not very precise and, consequently, not very useful as a research tool. The Special type category of swords has been created by Petersen to encompass those swords that could not be otherwise classified. That is, the sword under this umbrella term do not share the main morphological characteristics of those more numerous swords classified as main types. Apart from these three specimens and an additional three swords whose hilttops have not been sufficiently preserved to allow classification, all the other swords found in this area can be identified as either Petersen type K or type H swords.

peculiar morphology, these swords are notoriously difficult to categorize.¹⁵⁸ Their closest parallels also do not give us much information. The sword from Morpolača and the one from grave B at Orlić are rather similar morphologically, but the decoration of the latter suggests it was a high-value piece.¹⁵⁹ Its pommel and cross-guard are gold-plated and decorated by minutely detailed hatching which make it perhaps the most luxurious among all Dalmatian swords.¹⁶⁰ The closest parallel to these two swords is the one found at Bockhorn in Lower Saxony, which has a similarly shaped pommel.¹⁶¹ For the third combinational sword, from grave A at Orlić, the closest parallel seems to be the *spatha* from grave 65 found at Břeclav-Pohansko in Southern Moravia.¹⁶² However, no further connection can be traced between these specimens apart from morphological similarities and the fact that the sites in question appear to be located at the periphery of the Carolingian Empire.¹⁶³

No other grave goods were discovered with the two swords from Orlić, but a single, poorly preserved iron spur was found in the burial with the sword at Morpolača.¹⁶⁴ The spur is considered to be among the earliest ones found in the region.¹⁶⁵ Recently, it was discovered that another spur, previously attributed to Biskupija-Crkvena site, should be reattributed to

¹⁵⁸ Bilogrivić has suggested classifying the three Dalmatian Special type swords as Geibig combinational type 1, although he also acknowledges the difficulties with dealing with this kind of swords (“O mačevima posebnog tipa u Hrvatskoj,” 86).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 86. It is worthy to note, for clarity sake, that the author of the cited article mixed up the two swords from Orlić by attributing them to wrong graves, a terminological error that I do not follow.

¹⁶⁰ *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog*, 313.

¹⁶¹ Bilogrivić, “O mačevima posebnog tipa u Hrvatskoj,” 86.

¹⁶² Ibid., 86.

¹⁶³ A coincidence that is, perhaps, more a product of eighth-ninth century burial customs in these regions, rather than anything else.

¹⁶⁴ At Morpolača amateurish archaeological research conducted at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century discovered a large row-grave cemetery. But, again, lack of technical documentation makes it difficult to evaluate the site and to identify its early phases. The early medieval burials were discovered in the vicinity of an early Romanesque church of Saint Peter. Even though no excavations have been done at the church itself, the situation is reminiscent of Biljane Donje-Begovača. There a thirteenth-century Romanesque church had been built on top of the remains of the older, ninth-century church. The situation at Orlić could be similar, at least theoretically. The site where the graves were found was briefly excavated by Lujo Marun in 1928, shortly after the discovery of the second sword. The remains of antique architecture have been uncovered, but no additional graves were found (Marun, *Starinarski dnevnik*, 250, 286 and 297).

¹⁶⁵ Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 21-22 and 169.

Morpolača.¹⁶⁶ It was discovered in a grave adjacent to the one with the Carolingian sword.¹⁶⁷ The closest parallels to this reattributed pair from Morpolača are spurs found in graves 1 and 4 from Biskupija. All three examples are assumed to be luxurious imports.¹⁶⁸ Linking these finds together means that the burials in question can be assumed to have taken place approximately at the same time. Accordingly, an identical argument can be made for the two burials with swords from Orlić. Moreover, among the goods discovered in the two graves in question from Biskupija-Crkvina were also *solidi* of Byzantine emperors Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV, which provide a safe *terminus post quem*.¹⁶⁹ Thus, it seems plausible to date this whole group of burials to the last quarter of the eighth century.¹⁷⁰

Petersen's Carolingian type K swords, which were produced from the late eighth up to the end of the ninth century, are the most numerous of all the *spatha* found in the Dalmatian duchy, outnumbering type H swords eleven to five.¹⁷¹ However, the latter appear far more frequently in the rest of Europe.¹⁷² Type K swords are rarely found in larger numbers at single sites. Apart from their triple appearance at Biskupija-Crkvina, all the other sites where they have been found in multiple numbers are Viking sites.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁶ Petrinc, "Sedmi grob i nekoliko pojedinačnih nalaza s Crkvine u Biskupiji kod Knina," 27.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 27; Petrinc, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 169-70.

¹⁶⁸ Petrinc, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 169.

¹⁶⁹ The earliest time these coins could have been minted is the year 760. For an overview of all the known coin-finds from the region, see Mirnik, "Novac iz starohrvatskih grobova" 205-50.

¹⁷⁰ The *solidus* from grave 4 at Biskupija-Crkvina is reported to have been stolen by workers during the excavations. Marun, *Starinarski dnevnik*, 35 and 42-45; Petrinc, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća*, 65. When dating the burials containing the Byzantine *solidi* of Constantine V and Leo IV we should perhaps keep in mind the often omitted finds of two Abbasid dinars whose appearance in this region is still unexplainable. The earlier one of these two coins is datable to AD 786. For the catalogue information on the two Abbasid dinars see *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog*, 362-63.

¹⁷¹ For the list of finds, see Table 1 in the appendix.

¹⁷² Petersen, *De norske vikingsverd*, 89-101; Ian G. Peirce, *Swords of the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 50.

¹⁷³ These include Kilmainham in Ireland, Haithabu in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, and Wiskiauten in Russia' Kaliningrad Oblast (Michael Müller-Wille, *Das Bootkammergrab von Haithabu* (Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu, vol. 8) (Neumünster: Wacholtz, 1976), 66-77; Bilogrivić, "Karoliški mačevi tipa K," 30 et passim).

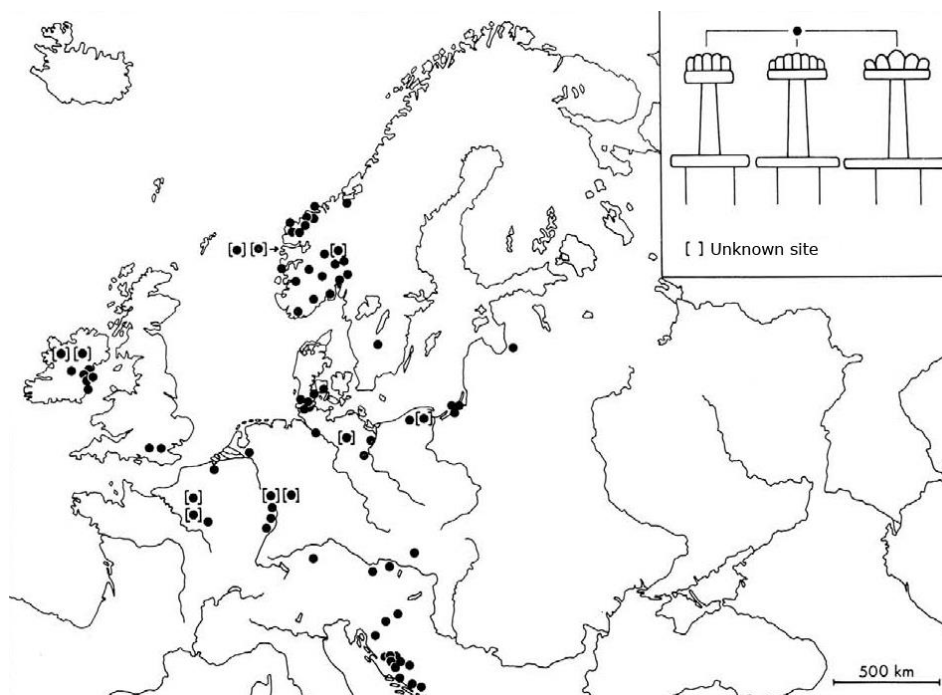


Figure 6: The finds of type K swords in Europe, made by Müller-Wille, updated by Bilogrivić (“Karolinški mačevi tipa K,” 130).

Only about seventy-seven type K swords are known from locations scattered throughout Europe.¹⁷⁴ In Norway, where around 3,000 Viking Age swords were discovered, only twenty-three belong to the type K.¹⁷⁵ This is in stark contrast to the situation in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina where they represent almost half of all early medieval sword finds. The distribution map of type K swords found throughout Europe shows a clear bias towards areas in which weapons were still deposited as grave goods in the eighth-ninth century.¹⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the swords of this type appear in visual sources such as manuscripts illuminations and frescos created and distributed within the Carolingian Empire.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Bilogrivić, “Karolinški mačevi tipa K,” 130.

¹⁷⁵ Irmelin Martens, “Indigenous and Imported Viking Age Weapons in Norway: A Problem with European Implications,” *Journal of Nordic Archaeological Science* 14 (2004): 126-7.

¹⁷⁶ Müller-Wille, *Das Bootkammergrab von Haithabu*, 49; Bilogrivić, “Karolinški mačevi tipa K,” 130.

¹⁷⁷ For a general overview of sword depictions, see Simon Coupland, “Carolingian Arms and Armor in the Ninth Century,” *Viator* 21 (1990): 42-46. The visual sources have inspired Ante Milošević to propose that type K swords were the ‘official’ weapon of Carolingian soldiers. However, such a proposal ignores a large corpus of available sources. (“Karolinški utjecaji u kneževini Hrvatskoj u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza” 127-31).

Carolingian swords presented a novelty in the burial culture of the region. As has been lamented by archaeologists many times before, material objects were rarely put into graves before the late eighth century, making them difficult to date and to otherwise differentiate in any kind of way.¹⁷⁸ The lack of any kind of continuity and tradition of the weapon burial rite suggests that something changed dramatically in this area at this time.¹⁷⁹ Specifically, swords seem to have found their way into the duchy by means of gifts bestowed to the local elites by Carolingian centers of power.¹⁸⁰ Although we are very much in the dark about the context and the scope of these relations, some evidence points to this conclusion. Namely, most of the swords found within the borders of the duchy are morphologically similar and unusually dominated by Petersen's type K swords. If the swords were to be gained by trading or raiding, we would expect to encounter a greater typological and morphological diversity between them.¹⁸¹ As it stands, it appears these *spathae* were perhaps part of larger scale gift-giving in the period when Carolingian dynasty began spreading its influence in Italy and the rest of the Adriatic basin.¹⁸² The eighth-ninth century swords certainly appear in a much narrower territory than the tenth-eleventh century swords. This suggests that the luxurious imports from the earlier period were primarily available to those elites living closer to the Adriatic sea,

¹⁷⁸ For brief overviews of the problem together with the bibliography, see Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, 118-54; Goran Bilogrivić, "Čiji kontinuitet? Konstantin Porfirogenet i hrvatska arheologija o razdoblju 7-9. stoljeća" [Whose continuity? Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Croatian archaeology on the seventh to ninth centuries], *Radovi: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010): 37-48.

¹⁷⁹ Indeed, this change was so dramatic that some scholars used a migrationalist theory to explain it. Cf. Margetić "Konstantin Porfirogenet i vrijeme dolaska Hrvata" 5-88; Pohl, "Osnove hrvatske etnogeneze: Avari i Slaveni," 92-6; Ančić, "U osvjet novog doba: Karolinško carstvo i njegov jugoistočni obod," 70-103; Milošević, "Novi mač iz Koljana u svjetlu kontakata s nordijskim zemljama u ranom srednjem vijeku" 466-68; Vladimir Sokol, *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna arheološka baština od Jadrana do Save* [Croatian medieval archaeological heritage between Adriatic and Sava River] (Zagreb: Golden marketing-tehnička knjiga, 2006). However, recent trends have favored seeing these changes as a processes of transformation, which did not imply change through migration, see, for example, Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, 182-210; "Od Justinijanovih kastrona do Borninih kaštela," 59-71, Bilogrivić, "Etnički identiteti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj," 88-151.

¹⁸⁰ Bilogrivić, "Etnički identiteti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj," 118-20. For an excellent study on the rituals of integration and the symbolic power of the gifts of weapons, see Régine Le Jan, "Frankish Giving of Arms and Rituals of Power: Continuity and Change in the Carolingian Period," in: *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 8) (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 290-94. For a wider perspective on the social function of gifts, see Florin Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving," *Speculum* 81 (2006): 671-99.

¹⁸¹ Bilogrivić, "Etnički identiteti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj," 120.

¹⁸² Ibid., 118-20.

where, after all, gains from trade, warfare and farming were more available than deeper inland.¹⁸³



Figure 7: Distribution of eighth-ninth and tenth-eleventh century swords found in the region.

Sites with eighth-ninth century swords: 1. Prozor-Gornja Luka 2. Nin-Ždrijac 3. Zvonigrad 4. Kninsko Polje-Gugine kuće 5. Biskupija-Crkvina (3 swords) 6. Orlić (2 swords) 7. Morpolaća-Tubića kuće 8. Drniš-Gradac 9. Koljane (3 swords) 10. Rudići-Grebnice 11. Podgradina-Rešetarica 12. Kreševo-Zgon 13. Zadvarje-Poletnica 14. Mostar-Vukodol 15. Ljubuški-Humac 16. Čapljina Mogorjelo 17. Stolac-Čairi. Sites with tenth-eleventh century swords: 1. Karlovac-River Kupa 2. Dabar-Korać 3. Velebit-Divoselo 4. Jasenovac-River Sava 5. Bosanska Gradiška-River Sava 6. Biskupija-Crkvina 7. Glamoč 8. Travnik.

¹⁸³ See Figure 7. It is worthy to note that tenth-eleventh century swords reached even further to the east than depicted on the map, appearing also on the territory of Serbia (Zdenko Vinski, “Razmatranja o poslijekarolinškim mačevima 10. i 11. stoljeća u Jugoslaviji” [Considerations on post-Carolingian swords from tenth and eleventh centuries in Yugoslavia], *SHP* vol. 3, no. 13 (1983): 42). Moreover, the spatial distribution of known early medieval swords in this region is partially influenced by modern archaeology. Namely, a lot more systematic archaeological research has been done on sites in Dalmatia than in Lika or Western Bosnia.

In fact, the burial of a man from Mostar-Vukodol contained a greatly damaged sword, together with a pair of spurs and a metal piece to which a banner was once attached.¹⁸⁴ The possessions of the man buried there seem rather personal. The original pommel of the sword was broken off by usage and an *ad hoc* solution was made by its bearer to replace it with a surrogate piece made out of wood.¹⁸⁵ Certainly, the bannerman from Mostar-Vukodol found his sword either precious or lucky enough to have it fixed by any means necessary. In the end, he was buried with it, just like he had carried it in life, with the sword deposited by his left side.¹⁸⁶

The three cases of weapon burials with swords from Biskupija-Crkvina, however, clearly suggest that they were a familial affair. They were deposited, together with numerous other goods, not only to display the status of the individuals buried in these particular graves, but also to show status and rank of their family. After all, burials always have to be seen as actions of the living, rather than the dead. The swords at Biskupija were put into burials because the living could afford it and not because they were just valuable personal property of the deceased.¹⁸⁷ If these newly introduced burial rites are to be believed, the wealth of the family who buried its members at Crkvina was, at least partially, amassed during the last third of the ninth century.¹⁸⁸ The surplus of luxurious items made it possible for them to display their rank,

¹⁸⁴ Vukosava Atanacković-Salčić, "Vukodol, Mostar, Hercegovina: Antički, ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi" [Vukovar, Mostar, Hercegovina: Antique and early medieval graves], *Arheološki pregled* 8 (1966) 160-62. This man, however, was buried within the territory of the Sclavinia Zachlunia and not the Dalmatian duchy. At this point we can only guess how he gained access to the weapon in question.

¹⁸⁵ Zdenko Vinski, "Ponovno o karolinškim mačevima u Jugoslaviji" [Again on Carolingian swords in Yugoslavia], *VAMZ* ser. 3, no. 16-17 (1983-84): 189.

¹⁸⁶ Atanacković-Salčić, "Vukodol, Mostar, Hercegovina," 161.

¹⁸⁷ Härke's study of Anglo-Saxon burials with weapons stresses that burials with weapons were a familial rather than individual affair. Indeed, the families which appear to have been wealthier were more likely to deposit swords into the burials of their deceased ("Warrior Graves? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite," 42-43). For the significance of leaving the swords to the descendants, see Christina La Rocca and Luigi Provero, "The Dead and Their Gifts: The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and His Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863-864)," in: *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 8) (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 250-55.

¹⁸⁸ Anthropological research of eighth-ninth century remains from Nin-Ždrijac discovered no significant difference in the quality of life between individuals buried without or with meagre grave goods and those buried with a wide range of luxurious items (Šlaus, Mario, Vlasta Vyroubal and Željka Bedić. "Neke karakteristike kvalitete života i zdravlja socijalno povlaštenog muškarca pokopanog na starohrvatskom groblju na Ždrijacu u Ninu" [Some characteristics of quality of life and the health of a socially prominent male buried at the Old Croat cemetery at Ždrijac in Nin]. *Archaeologica Adriatica* 4 (2010): 25-35). Research of Anglo-Saxon burials produced

status and wealth through burial rites. But it was a trend which did not last for a long time, as the Christian ideal of humility in death spread within the circles of the Dalmatian elite, thus making the burials much simpler again.¹⁸⁹ The swords were the first to be shed from the burial rites, as seen in the cases of those sites where we have a clearer chronological picture. They were replaced, on a symbolic level, by the act of church-building. Unlike the burials, the building of the churches enabled the elites to express their power by intervening directly into the world of the living rather than the world of the dead. While burials were single events, churches, of course, were permanent. The link between the two ways of performing authority, however, were the spurs. They remained present in the burial culture, even in the cases of burials inside the churches, as their symbolic meaning became transformed and reappropriated. Thus, they no longer represented the elite identity *per se*, but were rather merely a part of the basic aristocratic attire.

very similar results. Risk of starvation was discovered to be essentially the same for both the study group buried with weapons and those buried without them (Härke, "Warrior Graves? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite," 37-40).

¹⁸⁹ La Rocca and Provero, "The Dead and Their Gifts," 232.

Chapter V – A View from the Outside: The Frankish Royal Annals and Their Treatment of Dalmatia

In February 817, an ambassador named Nicephorus, sent by the Byzantine emperor Leo V, came to Aachen to parley with Louis the Pious on the “Dalmatian question.”¹⁹⁰ Apparently, the envoy came to express the emperor’s distress about the situation in Dalmatia, where the demarcation between the Byzantine coastal cities and the Slavic hinterland polity was still a point of dispute. The problem remained unsolved since, at least, the Treaty of Aachen in 812, and it was clearly bothering the Byzantines more than the Slavs.¹⁹¹ Emperor Louis, however, was not personally interested in the matters of the periphery, so he delegated the issue to Cadolah, count and prefect of the Friulian march which was responsible for the southeastern frontier.¹⁹² An imperial delegation headed by Cadolah was promptly sent to Dalmatia in order to deal with the problem which “concerned a great number of Romans as well as Slavs.”¹⁹³

The issue, which was obviously not a pressing matter for the Franks, remained unresolved, and the Byzantines reacted by sending yet another envoy later that year, but to no avail.¹⁹⁴ Up to this point the Frankish sources paid little attention to Dalmatia. We cannot be entirely sure when and how did the polity in its hinterland submit to the Franks. Einhard lists Dalmatia among provinces conquered by Charlemagne, but he makes no mention whether this was done by submission or by force.¹⁹⁵ He does note, however, the split between the parts of the

¹⁹⁰ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 145: “Dalmatinorum causa.”

¹⁹¹ Budak, “Croats between Franks and Byzantium,” 15.

¹⁹² Ibid., 15; Hrvoje Gračanin, *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju (od konca 4. do konca 11. stoljeća)* [South Pannonia in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages (from the beginning of the fourth until eleventh century)] (Zagreb: Plejada, 2011), 155; Kumir, “Od Justinijanovih kastrona do Borninih kaštela,” 48-50.

¹⁹³ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 145: “Et quia res ad plurimos et Romanos et Sclavos pertinebat.”

¹⁹⁴ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 146.

¹⁹⁵ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 18.

hinterland which submitted to Charlemagne's authority and the cities on the coast which did not.

However, as archaeology clearly shows, connections were made between the Dalmatian interior and the Carolingian Empire as early as the last quarter of the eighth century, and possibly, even earlier than that. These connections, however, remained outside of the interest of the Carolingian royal court. However, things quickly changed in the second decade of the ninth century, when a revolt started by Ljudevit, the renegade duke of Lower Pannonia, drew substantial interest from the imperial circles and the writers associated with them.¹⁹⁶ In the subsequent events which would feature four military campaigns undertaken against the rebel between 819 and 822, the Dalmatian duchy became an important strategic point. Borna, the first duke of Dalmatia mentioned in the written sources, stayed loyal to the Empire which did not go unnoticed by the imperial circles. From then on, the Annals mentioned him by name in every subsequent year until his death. Such an interest was never before or after shown to the Dalmatian dukes by Frankish chroniclers.¹⁹⁷ Duke Borna's military campaign against Ljudevit, undertaken in 819, ended in a military catastrophe at the Kupa River. However, his rule over the realm was powerful enough to withstand a counter-attack launched by the Pannonian duke in December of the same year.¹⁹⁸ Despite the defeat, Duke Borna seemed to have been rewarded for his participation in the campaign against the rebel by being given the mountainous region of Liburnia in present-day Gorski Kotar and Lika.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, soon after repelling

¹⁹⁶ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 149-51.

¹⁹⁷ A case has been made that Borna enjoyed good relationship with Cadolah, count of Friuli, because of his support during the demarcation negotiations in Dalmatia after the Treaty of Aachen in 812, see Hrvoje Gračanin, *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, 158.

¹⁹⁸ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 151

¹⁹⁹ This is, admittedly, still a hotly debated topic. Namely, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned an official figure within the Dalmatian duchy who had under his control the three *županija* which were situated in present-day Lika. The title this official had was "ban." Up until recently, it was always predominately interpreted as a word of Avar origin, which would explain why this region enjoyed a special status within the duchy. However, recently this etymology was disproven, first and foremost, on the basis of archaeological evidence, but also by alternative and more realistic etymological solutions which connected it to the Latin term *bannum* interpreted as the right to give orders (Gračanin, *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, 149-50; Vladimir

Ljudevit's forces from his realm, Borna personally appeared before the emperor in Aachen to give him council on military matters.²⁰⁰

There was also another novelty introduced by the Annals. Namely, when they mention Duke Borna's people, they do not use the generic terms such as *Sclavi* or *Dalmatini*; instead they call them *Guduscani*. This term, historically attested only in the Frankish Royal Annals and the sources derived from it, appears to refer to the peoples who were subjects of Borna. The Annals use three different titles when they refer to him.²⁰¹ At first he is called *dux Guduscanorum* in 818, a year later *dux Dalmatiae*, and, finally, he is posthumously mentioned as *dux Dalmatiae atque Liburniae*.²⁰² The third of these, as it was said, seems to indicate the expansion of his princely possessions by which Liburnia was added to his dominion. And while one of Borna's titles—*dux Guduscanorum*—defines him as a ruler of the peoples, the other two—*dux Dalmatiae [atque Liburniae]*—imply his territorial dominion.²⁰³ However, Borna could not have ruled the whole of Dalmatia, but parts of it which were inhabited by his subjects, the Guduscans. Indeed, to assume otherwise would be impossible, because a clear distinction is made between the cities on the coast which submitted to the Byzantine emperor and the hinterland which did not.²⁰⁴ Moreover, some other parts belonged to the Sorabi, who were, as Annals mention, "said to hold a large part of Dalmatia."²⁰⁵ Thus it can be inferred that all three

Sokol, "Starohrvatska ostruga iz Brušana u Lici. Neki rani povijesni aspekti prostora Like: Problem Banata" [Old Croat spur from Brušani in Lika. Some historical aspects of the territory of Lika: The problem of Banat], in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Lici i arheologija pećina i krša*, ed. Tatjana Kolak (Gospić and Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 2008), 185-87; Mladen Ančić, "Dva teksta iz sredine 14. stoljeća. Prilog poznavanju 'društvenog znanja' u Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu" [Two texts from the Middle of the fourteenth century. A contribution to the understanding of 'social knowledge' in the Kingdom of Croatia], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 40 (2013): 178-83; Kumir, "Od Justinijanovih kastrona do Borninih kaštela," 56-58.

²⁰⁰ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 152

²⁰¹ For a brief overview of the three basic models of interpretation of these couple of sentences, see Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, 183-5.

²⁰² *Annales Regni Francorum*, 149, 151 and 155.

²⁰³ Cf. Radoslav Katičić "Pretorijanci kneza Borne" [The praetorians of Duke Borna]. *SHP* ser. 3, no. 20 (1992): 68-9; Turković and Basić, "Kasnoantička i ranosrednjovjekovna Tarsatička Liburnija," 55; Ančić, "From Carolingian Official to Croatian Ruler," 7-8.

²⁰⁴ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 18.

²⁰⁵ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 158.

titles refer to the same thing, namely Borna's dukedom.²⁰⁶ In this sense, the two territorial titles were relative to the gentile one and *vice versa*.

Thus, it is no surprise that a problem arises when we try to identify who the Guduscans were. Traditionally, scholarship tried to connect them, on a purely etymological basis, with the inhabitants of Gacka (*Γουτζησκά*), one *županija* mentioned by tenth-century Byzantine author Constantine Porphyrogenitus.²⁰⁷ Recently, an alternative suggestion has been made to connect the Guduscans with the hydronym Guduča.²⁰⁸ This term first appears in a charter of Charles Robert dated to 1322, in which a toponym *Gudačerad* is listed in the margins.²⁰⁹ The hydronym is assumed to have come from Illyrian language stock, thus opening the possibility of interpreting Guduscans as the people from *županija* of Bribir (*Βρεβέρη*).²¹⁰ No direct evidence exists for either of these two suggestions, although available archaeology would certainly favor Bribir over Gacka. However, the main problem is that neither of the etymological solutions can really explain why Franks chose this particular term to refer to the peoples living under Duke Borna.

A solution can be found in the Annals themselves which report that in the Battle of Kupa, the Guduscani "deserted Borna at the first encounter, but he escaped under the cover of his praetorians."²¹¹ Certainly, Borna had no praetorians of his in the Classical sense of the word,

²⁰⁶ Which might have or might not have changed in size after the events of 819.

²⁰⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 145. For an overview of these interpretations see the discussions in Hrvoje Gračanin, "Guduskani/Guduščani - Gačani: Promišljanja o etnonimu Gačani i horonimu Gacka u svjetlu ranosrednjovjekovnih narativa i suvremenih historiografskih tumačenja" [Considerations on the etnonym Gačani and horonym Gacka in the light of early medieval narratives and contemporary historiographical interpretations], in: *Gacka u srednjem vijeku*, ed. Hrvoje Gračanin and Željko Holjevac (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2012), 49-69; Kumir, "Od Justinijanovih kastrona do Borninih kaštela," 39-45.

²⁰⁸ Damir Karbić, "Zlatni vijek Bribira" [The golden age of Bribir], *Hrvatska revija* 7, no. 2 (2007): 12-3.

²⁰⁹ *Cod. dipl. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 9, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1911), 80.

²¹⁰ Petar Šimunović, "Prvotna simbioza Romana i Hrvata u svjetlu toponimije" [The original symbiosis of Romans and Croats in the light of toponymy], *Rasprave: Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 10-11 (1985): 149.

²¹¹ Bernhard Walther Scholz, tr., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 106; *Annales Regni Francorum*, 151: "Borna vero dux Dalmatiae cum magnis copiis ad Colapium fluvium Liudewito ad se venienti occurrens in prima congressione a Guduscanis deseritur; auxilio tamen praetorianorum suorum protectus evasit."

but it is a direct translation of the phrase *praetorianorum suorum*. In fact, the term *praetoriani* appears only on one other occasion in the whole Frankish Royal Annals, namely in the context of the Byzantine royal guard—the Excubitors—who murdered Leo V (813-820).²¹² In both cases, the term was clearly used as a reference to the Classical terminology, and it had no connection to the actual terms used by the two, very different realms.²¹³ The report about the death of Leo V is sandwiched between two events about Ljudevit's revolt: one being the note on Borna's death and the succession of his nephew or grandson Vladislav, and other being the story of the escape of Fortunatus, the patriarch of Grado, who was discovered to have helped Ljudevit in his war against the Empire. Considering these connections, and the unique usage of the term *praetoriani*, it seems that the same person might have written all these reports.²¹⁴

The Astronomer's Life of Emperor Louis, which fully follows Royal Frankish Annals in respect to the Dalmatian reports, offers a Frankish interpretation of what the term *praetoriani* implied. Instead of the phrase *praetoriani sui*, the Astronomer used a much more clear-cut phrase: *auxilium domesticum suorum*.²¹⁵ This would mean that the Astronomer interpreted praetorians as the duke's own retinue, that is, the part of the Guduscans who owed military service directly to the duke rather than some other magnates.²¹⁶ This again presents us with a paradox if we are to understand the Guduscans as inhabitants of just one *županija*, as the etymology would suggest, because praetorians would then have to be literally interpreted as

²¹² *Annales Regni Francorum*, 155: "Adlatum est et de morte Leonis Constantinopolitani imperatoris, quod conspiratione quorundam optimatum suorum et praecipue Michahelis comitis domesticorum in ipso palatio sit interemptus qui suffragio civium et praetorianorum militum studio infulas imperii suscepisse dicitur." Cf. Warren T. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 433; Katičić, "Pretorijanci kneza Borne," 75-6.

²¹³ Katičić, "Pretorijanci kneza Borne," 76.

²¹⁴ For a general overview of the problems of authorship of the Annals, see McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, 101-111.

²¹⁵ *Annales Regni Francorum* 151: Borna vero dux Dalmatiae cum magnis copiis ad Colapium fluvium Liudewito ad se venienti occurrens in prima congressione a Guduscanis deseritur; auxilio tamen praetorianorum suorum protectus evasit.; Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, 394: "Sed Borna, Goduscanorum perfidia an timore desertus incertum, suorum tamen iutus auxilio domestico discrimen imminens tutus evasit, sed et desertores suos postea subegit."

²¹⁶ Katičić, "Pretorijanci kneza Borne," 78.

Guduscans, and the other members of the ducal army as non-Guduscans. Since this is clearly not the case, we should perhaps understand them not as a precise ethnical, tribal or geographical determiner, but as a group term.

Even though the origins of the term *Guduscani* might have been micro-regional, the Frankish sources used it as an umbrella term under which they could have referred to all subjects of Duke Borna, regardless of their ethnicity, location and language. Whether the term carries within itself some remnants of an ethnical or tribal distinction is impossible to trace. Indeed, archaeology does not show any kind of difference in the cultural habitus of the region. Quite, the contrary, the whole population had access to the same material objects and used the same burial strategies. Finally, the earliest inscription which bears the mention of an ethnicity within the duchy contains the name of Croats and not Guduscans.²¹⁷ Whether Guduscans ever existed as a separate ethnicity within Dalmatia, or were they merely a literary construct made by Frankish observers, which needed to make distinction among their Slavic allies, is impossible to determine. Whatever the case may be, after the events of the revolt of Ljudevit they were never mentioned again.

²¹⁷ DVX CRUATORV(m) COGIT[avit] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 176-77, cat. no. 130).

Chapter VI – Towards a Shared Identity: (Re)Affirmation of Church-Building and Its Role in the Preservation of Memory

By the time of Duke Borna's death in 821, the elites of the duchy had already incorporated elements of Carolingian cultural influence into their identity. Grave goods such as weapons, tools, foods and drinks were already beginning to disappear from burials. At some sites, especially those connected with the ruling family like Biskupija-Crkvina, this might have happened earlier than at others, like Nin-Ždrijac, where this kind of burial persisted into the second quarter of the century. In the case of Biskupija, this might have been the result of their ties to the outside areas and, as attested in scarce written sources, yearly travels to the imperial court. For Nin, however, this might be explainable by their, presumably, lower status within the hierarchy of the duchy.²¹⁸ But the society of the Dalmatian duchy was not without its inner conflicts. The Guduscans have, for reasons unknown, abandoned Duke Borna at the Battle of Kupa. And like the Astronomer, writing couple of decades after the events, we cannot comprehend the reasons behind this. It serves to remind us that things within the duchy were not as straightforward as the Frankish Royal Annals portrayed them.

The morphologically isolated relief group termed the Stonecarving Workshop of Trogir were found at eighth different sites in Dalmatia.²¹⁹ However, the inscriptions which were carved by the masters of this workshop were carefully chiseled away at some point.²²⁰ This *damnatio*

²¹⁸ This interpretation can perhaps be inferred from the obvious lack of more luxurious spurs inside the graves of the elites buried at that particular cemetery. However, some of the elites from Ždrijac did have access to drinking vessels made out of glass, which is a rare find among the grave goods in Dalmatia. Bilogrivić, "Etnički identiteti u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj," 137.

²¹⁹ For the history of research on this topic, see Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 85-89. Nikola Jakšić, "Reljefi Trogirske klesarske radionice iz crkve Sv. Marte u Bijaćima" [The reliefs of the Stone Carving Workshop of Trogir from the church of St. Martha in Bijaći], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 26 (1999): 265-86, and "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije," 206-8; Ivan Josipović, "Prilog trogirskoj klesarskoj radionici" [A contribution to the Stonecarving Workshop of Trogir], *Ars Adriatica* 1 (2011): 97-108.

²²⁰ Jakšić, "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije," 207; Josipović, "Prilog trogirskoj klesarskoj radionici," 97.

memoriae was targeted against the financiers of the reliefs.²²¹ It is difficult to determine when these events took place, as the chronological markers have been removed, but the aftermath of these actions shows that competition and conflict existed within the dukedom, targeting the very symbolic expressions of memory and power: the inscription-laden churches themselves.²²²

The known corpus of fragments connected to the Workshop of the Master of Koljani Panel also does not include any inscriptions with the names of the donors or the rulers. Whether this is a coincidence due to the rarity with which this workshop appears in the archaeological culture, or a consequence of internal turmoil and destruction, is rather difficult to assess. The sites associated with this workshop are presumed to be directly connected with the ruling family: Biskupija-Crkvina and Rupotine-Rižinice are sometimes interpreted as ducal mausoleums, Bijaći-Stombrate was a royal possession mentioned in both preserved ninth-century charters, while Galovac-Crkvina is dedicated to Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, a patron saint of several ruling dynasties of the time.²²³ At Koljane Gornje-Crkvina, where such a connection is currently unknown, the altar fence done by the Master of Koljani Panel was at one point damaged, and then patched-up with newly carved material which was inscribed with the same text.²²⁴ The reconstruction and repairs were done by a currently unidentified workshop and it remains unclear if the original piece was damaged deliberately or by wear-and-tear. The

²²¹ Jakšić, “Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije,” 207.

²²² The reliefs of this workshop most likely belong to the first quarter of the ninth century (Josipović, “Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske,” 102).

²²³ *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog*, 198-9; Ančić, “Od vladarske curtis do gradskoga kotare: Bijaći i crkva Sv. Marte od početka 9. do početka 13. stoljeća,” 189-236; Jakšić, “Vladarska zadužbina sv. Bartula u srednjovjekovnom selu Tršći,” 43-7; Neven Budak, “Was the Cult of Saint Bartholomew a Royal Option in Early Medieval Croatia?” in: *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 240-49.

²²⁴ Stjepan Gunjača, *Novi naučni rezultati u hrvatskoj arheologiji* [New scientific results in Croatian archaeology], (Zagreb: JAZU, 1958), 11-12; Jurčević, “Usporedba skulpture i arhitekture s lokaliteta Crkvina u Gornjim Koljanima i Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina,” 60; Josipović, “Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske,” 63, ft. 153. Cf. Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 124-26, cat. no. 78 and 81: [...]CONSTR(u)ISSET ET CONFIRMARI CO(n)R[...] and [...]IOS CONSTR(v)I ET CONFIRMARI C[...].

burning of the sarcophagus from the southern room of the narthex at Biskupija-Crkvina, together with the fact that the altar fence was already replaced as early as the fourth quarter of the ninth century, might be seen as further evidence of destruction and interregional conflicts.²²⁵

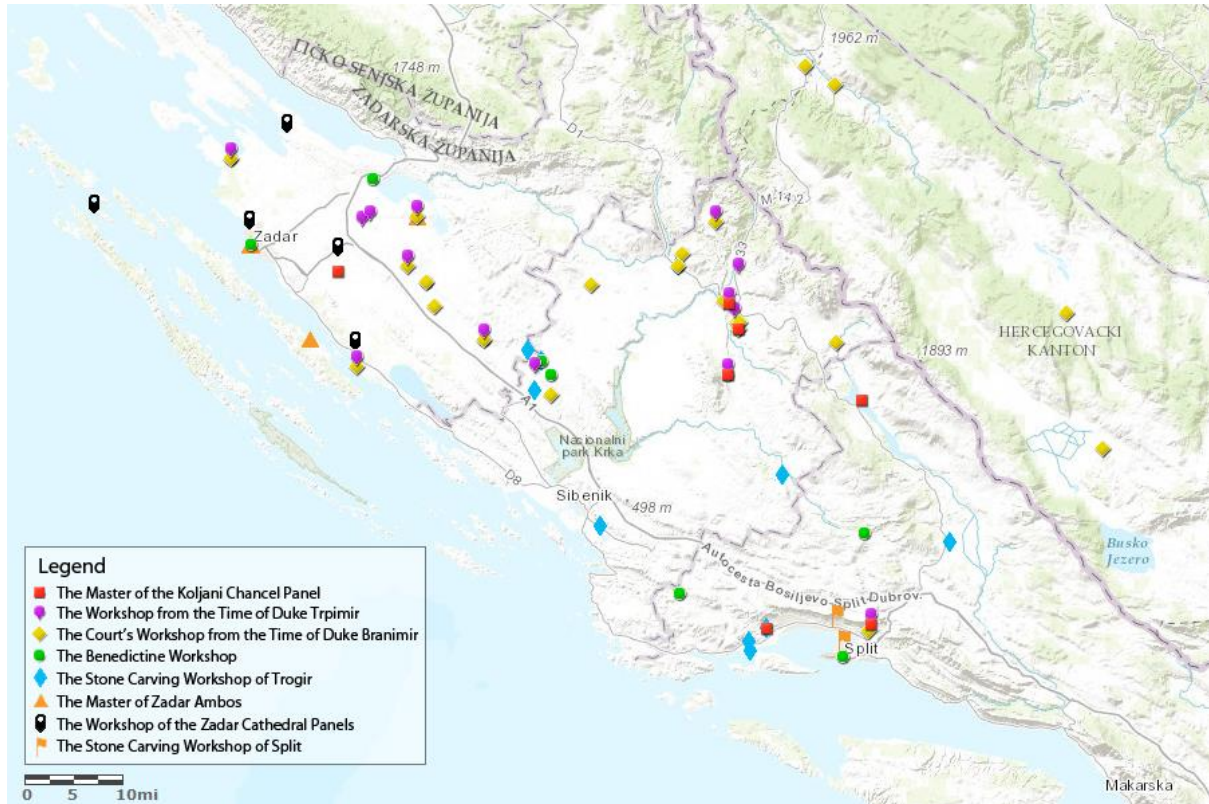


Figure 8: Distribution map of sites where fragments attributable to the workshops active in the late eighth and ninth century have been discovered.

In fact, even the reliefs attributed to the Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir, datable approximately to the middle of the ninth century, show considerable fragmentation.²²⁶ A third of the sites where this workshop was present were later revisited by those active in the last quarter of the century. In some of these places, like Plavno near Knin and Pridraga near Novigrad, altar panels chiseled by the stonemasons of the Workshop from the Time of Duke

²²⁵ However, it is impossible to determine when the sarcophagus in question was actually burned. Petrinec and Jurčević, "Crkvina-Biskupija: Insights into the Chronology," 347.

²²⁶ Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 141-3.

Trpimir were either diminished in size or some of their pieces were repaired and patched up by subsequent workshops which followed the original style.²²⁷

Art historians have identified two workshops which were active during the last quarter of the ninth century. These two, descriptively called the Court's Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir and the Benedictine Workshop, have been connected to the reigns of at least two Dalmatian rulers: Duke Branimir (879-c. 892) and Duke Muncimir (c. 892-910).²²⁸ Here, a clear chronological gap is easily discernable. There is approximately a quarter of a century difference between the assumed activity of the Workshop from the Time of Duke Trpimir and that from the time of Duke Branimir. This intermediate period was dominated by another dignitary, a certain Duke Domagoj. The context and exact time of his ascent to power is unclear, making it difficult to make conclusions about his origin. His reign was marked by recurring conflicts with the Venetians. Indeed, Duke Domagoj first appears in the written sources around the year 865 when Orso Participazio, the new doge of Venice, launched a naval attack against him.²²⁹ His death, a decade later, was greeted by relief in Venice. The worst duke of Slavs, as John the Deacon was to call him, relied on raiding activities to preserve his power.²³⁰ Indeed, his presumed participation at the siege of Bari in 871, headed by Emperor Louis II was probably determined by the promise of spoils of war rather than anything else.²³¹ The papacy certainly did not look positively at Duke Domagoj, who was accused of intercepting and robbing a papal envoy returning from the Fourth Council of Constantinople in

²²⁷ Ibid., 142-3.

²²⁸ Jakšić, "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije," 208-13; Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 149-54 and 169-74.

²²⁹ "Prelibatus quidem Ursus dux adversus Dommagoum, Sclavorum principem, cum navali expeditione properavit. Sed cernente eo Veneticorum multitudinem, prohibuit pugnam, pacem requisivit. Deinde acceptis obsidibus dux ad Venetiam repedavit." (John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, 19).

²³⁰ "Dehinc mortuo Domogoi, Sclavorum pessimo duce." (John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, 20).

²³¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 127 and 129. Such an interpretation is supported by the letter of Louis II to Emperor Basil who complains that the Slavs would not join the attack on Bari, if they knew that Basil was to attack them (*Ludowici II imperatoris epistola*, 392).

870.²³² The act of piracy provoked a rebuttal from the Byzantine naval forces which have used it as an excuse to attack a series of Slavic settlements throughout the eastern coast of Adriatic, including those of Domagoj's dukedom.²³³

A particularly devastating raid launched by a coalition of peoples from the eastern coast of Adriatic sacked four Istrian cities.²³⁴ The main target of the raiders were the churches and their moveable possessions made out of precious metals.²³⁵ The attacks sparked Pope John VIII to send a warning letter to the duke, protesting against his tolerance of the pirates.²³⁶ The same papal letter also reveals that Domagoj was dealing with an conspiracy around the same time. The pope addressed Duke Domagoj as a Christian, using religious sentiment to have him spare the life of those involved in the plot, but as later letters would reveal, a papal envoy, the presbyter John, found himself in the midst of the political turmoil, which suggests that the papacy was somehow involved in the whole scandal. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine Domagoj's own religiosity or even his control over the affairs of the polity. He certainly did not follow papal request regarding the fate of the conspirators, as he had the man who attempted to kill him executed.²³⁷ His reign also seems to be a point where the process of church-building abruptly stopped. Moreover, it has been proposed that he might have been directly or indirectly responsible for the destruction of certain churches connected with his

²³² Anastasius Bibliothecarius recounts how the two papal envoys separated after embarking at Dyrrachium. While his ship went directly across the Adriatic to Sipontum, the other one proceeded further north, planning to cut the trip short by heading to Ancona. As the boat was travelling by the eastern coast of Adriatic, Slavs intercepted it and captured the papal legates (Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Interpretatio Synodi VIII generalis*, col. 39).

²³³ *Ludowici II imperatoris epistola*, 392.

²³⁴ "Tunc Sclavorum pessime gentes et Dalmacianorum Ystriensem provinciam depredare ceperunt. Quattuor videlicet urbes ibidem devastaverunt, id est Umacus, Civitas nova, Sipiars, atque Ruinius" (John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, 20).

²³⁵ Quoniam hisdem princeps celitus victoriam consecutus, Sclavos quos in hos certamine ceperat liberos dimisit, ecclesiarumque res quae sublatae in prelibata provincia fuerant restituit, sicque triumphali cum gloria palatium reddiit (Ibid., 20).

²³⁶ "Preterea devocionis tue studium exhortamur, ut contra marinos latrunculos, qui sub pretextu tui nominis in Christicolis debacchantur, tanto vehementius accendatur quanto illorum pravitate famam tui nominis offuscatam fuisse cognoscis; quoniam, licet credi possit, quod te nolente illi navigantibus insidientur, tamen, quia a te conprimi posse dicuntur, nisi eos compresseris, innoxius non haberis. Scriptum quippe est: 'Qui crimina, cum potest emendare, non corrigit, ipse committit.'" (*Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII papae*, 295-96).

²³⁷ Ibid., 295.

predecessors and their magnates.²³⁸ It is undeniable that his rule was marked by recurrent raids and internal conflicts in which churches and their inventory presented an obvious target. It is not difficult to imagine that the stone altar fences of some of the churches might have been smashed into pieces during this period in order to erase the memory of Domagoj's political opponents, while the precious liturgical vessels proved an easy looting target.²³⁹ Duke Domagoj's reign presumably depended on his personal authority secured by military power rather than anything else, so that after his death in 876, his descendants could do little to maintain their position. They were ousted and banished by Zdeslav, a member of the family of Duke Trpimir, perhaps his second son, who had come to Dalmatia with the help of the Byzantine Empire.²⁴⁰ His rule was cut short by a conspiracy which ended in his murder and the ascension to the throne of a certain Branimir.²⁴¹ It is impossible to determine the connections Branimir had to either Zdeslav or Domagoj, but his reign seems to be a return back to the processes which were started in the first half of the century.

Duke Branimir's rule was characterized by the return and a dramatic increase of church-building and (re)furnishing. Indeed, sites at which the two workshops from the time of Branimir (and Muncimir) were discovered greatly outnumber those datable to the rest of the ninth century.²⁴² Repairs done to the altar fences from the churches built in the first half of the ninth century imply a revisionary aspect of Branimir's reign that is in clear contrast to Domagoj's period. Even though Branimir had Zdeslav murdered, it is impossible to determine his

²³⁸ Nikola Jakšić, "Varvarina praeromanica," in: *Studia Varvarina I*, ed. Bruna Kuntić Makvić (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu; Motovun: Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek, 2009), 38; Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 141-43.

²³⁹ This might explain the discovery of a richly decorated censer discovered in 1925. For the censer itself and the context of its find, see Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini, "Ranosrednjovjekovna kadionica iz Stare Vrljke" [Early medieval censer from Stara Vrljka], *SHP* ser. 3, no. 6 (1958): 95-103. *Hrvati i Karolinzi: Katalog*, 251-53.

²⁴⁰ John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, 21.

²⁴¹ Budak, "Croats between Franks and Byzantium," 17-18.

²⁴² Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 149-54 and 169-74.

connection to the family of Trpimir.²⁴³ He certainly honored the heritage of Trpimir by undergoing a pilgrimage to the Aquileian monastery, signing the same evangelium as Trpimir and his son Peter did before him. The increasing presence of Benedictines on the territory of the duchy also presented a continuation which started in the earlier parts of the century.²⁴⁴ The connection with Benedictines, whose center in this region was the coastal city of Zadar, in the Byzantine part of Dalmatia, as well as the attempts to take over the bishopric of Split testify to the increased orientation towards coastal cities.²⁴⁵ This process was at least partially influenced by the decision of Emperor Basil to have the coastal cities pay a tribute to the duke, which removed the necessity for raiding that was prevalent during Domagoj's reign.²⁴⁶

Moreover, an inscription found in secondary usage at a site in Šopot near Benkovac, mentions Branimir as DVX CRUATORV(m).²⁴⁷ Whether this was another affirmation of the politics of Duke Trpimir will perhaps never be answered.²⁴⁸ It was the term that would become synonymous with the peoples living within the dukedom. Unlike the term *Guduscani*, which came to us only from the Frankish sources, the term *Cruati* or *Chroati* was a product of local circumstances. The appearance of this ethnonym and its early usage is still clouded by uncertainty. Duke Branimir, who was presumably the author of the discussed inscription, must have found it useful and beneficial enough to have it inserted into his title. Surely, it was not

²⁴³ Inter-familial conflicts were hardly an anomaly in the ninth century, as attested most notably in the example of the imperial family. Pope John VIII makes an allusion to Branimir's ancestors in a letter sent to him, but it is unclear whether it is just a rhetorical figure or not. "tuę nobilitati dignas valde gratias his nostri apostolatus litteris agimus paternoque amore, utpote karissimum filium, ad gremium sancte sedis apostolicę, matris tuę, de cuius uidelicet purissimo fonte patres tui melliflua sanctę predicationis potauere fluentia redeuntem suscipimus et spiritalibus ampleximur ulmis" (*Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, 152).

²⁴⁴ Jakšić, "Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije," 210-11.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-13.

²⁴⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 147. Cf. Budak, "Croats between Franks and Byzantium," 17-18; Mladen Ančić, "The Waning of the Empire. The Disintegration of Byzantine Rule on the North Adriatic in the 9th Century," *HAM* 4 (1998): 15-24.

²⁴⁷ +BRANIMIRO COM[es] [...] DVX CRUATORV(m) COGIT[avit...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 176, cat. no. 130).

²⁴⁸ Trpimir is mentioned as *dux Chroatorum* in the much-discussed charter datable to the middle of the ninth century, but preserved only from later copies. It has been proven that at least some of the parts of the charter were later interpolations done in the interest of the Bishopric of Split. However, whether the titulation of Trpimir is a later addition or not will never be answered, unless, perhaps, another stone inscription is discovered.

yet in universal usage because the abbot Teudebert, a foreigner situated in Nin, and Pristina, who enjoyed the office of *župan*, still chose to call him the duke of the Slavs on the inscriptions they have put up.²⁴⁹

Finally, the reign of Branimir was a pinnacle for the processes which were underway through the much of the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The access to memory became much more widespread as church-building started to be available to the larger group of the elite. The distribution map shows that it was no longer concentrated only in Dalmatia, but it spread over to Western Bosnia as well.²⁵⁰ The low quality of the reliefs made by the Court's Workshop from the Time of Duke Branimir suggests an increased demand for the services of stonemasons among those less wealthy members of the elite. The duke and his more powerful magnates resorted to the services of the Benedictine Workshop, which provided reliefs of much greater quality.²⁵¹ The Benedictine center in Dalmatia was, however, in the city of Zadar. It is no surprise that it was precisely in this period that the connections with the coastal cities strengthened. The cities began paying tributes to the duchy, causing a new influx of wealth in the hinterland. If the numbers given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus are to be believed, the duchy received far greater payments than any of the other Slav polities in the region.²⁵² In slightly over a century, the hinterland of Dalmatia drastically changed, transforming itself into, a small and peripheral, yet fully formed, early medieval Christian *regnum*.

²⁴⁹ +BRANIMIRO COM[es] ... DVX CRUATORV(m) COGIT[avit...] (Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments*, 176, cat. no. 130)

²⁵⁰ See Figure 8.

²⁵¹ Josipović, "Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske," 153.

²⁵² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 147.

Conclusion

Between the late eighth and the early ninth century the society of the Dalmatian duchy became gradually more open towards outside influences. The evidence of this process is most apparent in the material culture which shows how imports from the outside, primarily from the west, became adapted and incorporated into the elite identity. This was not a straightforward process as change occurred slowly and was often initiated by the ducal family and those connected to it, which was afterwards copied by the rest of the elites.

The first clear signs of change are datable to the second half of the eighth century when a surplus of more luxurious movable items became more available to the elites of the duchy. Very shortly after these items found their ways into burials. Among these, perhaps the most symbolically invested were swords. They were certainly a novelty in this region whose, taking the form of status symbols. The appearance of lavishly furnished burials, however, was only a trend which was not to continue for a longer period of time. In less than a half of a century, swords again disappeared from the burials, which became much simpler in terms of grave goods. They were replaced by more tangible forms of expressing status and authority: the building of churches and putting up stone inscriptions. This new trend seems to have originated from the ruling family who were the first to introduce church-building into the dukedom. During the first half of the ninth century, it remained available only to the small circle of the wealthiest few among the elites. The process of church-building was temporarily paused in the third quarter of the ninth century when internal and external conflicts seemed to have occupied the local elites. However, it was to become more widespread after 879 with the ascension to power of Duke Branimir and the beginning of tributary payments made by the coastal cities of Dalmatia to the duchy.

Like the burials with the weapons, especially swords, church-building was also imported from the west. In its early forms, it was an appropriation of Carolingian and Lombard architectural style and liturgy. However, the elites of the duchy quickly seized upon the possibilities offered to them by the medium of stone altar fences. They must have seen it as a canvas on which memory can be created and made permanent. Even though these inscriptions were limited by conventions of religious expression and the performance of piety, they allowed their donors access to the written word. The writing could then be used to express and to memorialize different aspects of their lives such as their own names, the names of their partners, their social position and role within the society, their political allegiance and their piety. Once these things were set in stone, they became permanent and could, from then on, serve as a reference points of authority for both the people who have put them up and for their descendants.

Stone altar fences and church entrances also provided these dignitaries with an opportunity to impose their own authority upon the landscape of the communities in whose vicinities they built their churches. Despite the high levels of illiteracy, the inscriptions themselves were so simplistic in nature that their function was not necessarily connected to the literal act of reading them. Indeed, it was the common knowledge of what was written which counted. Thus, once these links were forgotten, the churches lost all of their significance and relevance, which is why so many of them were merely abandoned during the High Middle Ages.

It is perhaps not surprising to find out that the inscriptions predate any of the known charters. Unlike the private nature of the documents, stone churches were purely public in their appearance. They were deemed important enough to be repaired and to have their messages reproduced completely by those whose interests they symbolized. Some took considerable effort to carefully censor the inscriptions made by their political rivals by chiseling out their names. The preservation of memory was thus reserved for those who had the authority to

control it. In this sense, the access to church-building was necessarily intertwined with the questions of identity, political allegiance and social rank. To have the control over memory necessarily implied access to power and authority. The same was also true the other way round: authority could only be kept by the control of the memory.

Finally, in the background of these changes was another process: the development of an ethnic identity. The inscriptions show, however meagerly, that the magnates made conscious efforts to connect their activities to the ruler whose authority they accepted. Indeed, the magnates only picked-up on the trend of church-building after it had been established by the ruling family. Its acceptance among the highest strata of the society was to become a testament of tighter knit bonds between the financiers of the churches and the dukes themselves. These connections were codified and made permanent by being set into stone. The anonymous couple from Begovača or the *župan* Pristina and his wife from Ždrapanj consciously chose to connect their memorialization efforts to the reigns of their dukes, Mislav and Branimir respectively. Even though these inscriptions were put up fifty years apart from one another, they were still the results of the same elite culture. The terminology of the ducal title was perhaps less important to the people of the ninth century, but they certainly saw the figure of the duke as the common denominator shared by all those living under him. This was certainly an important step in the development of a shared identity. Whether this identity was known under a single name or not, is uncertain. What is certain is that dukes as individuals were used as markers of identification.

In the end, we must keep in mind that the inscriptions were not concerned with groups, but rather with individuals. The connections which the donors made with the dukes were personal ones. Their appearance on the stone was just one aspect of the relationships and bonds which were shared between the dukes and their magnates. If the meagre evidence we have available from other written sources is to be believed, the magnates went to and from the court, they

acted as witnesses and envoys and they fought one another. The full complexity of these relations will perhaps never be known to us, but the stone inscriptions offer us a rare insight into how memory was constructed by those who had the authority to do so. The inscriptions themselves might carry simplistic messages, but behind them stood a complex set of social relations to which access to memory and authority was of the utmost importance.

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Appendix

Table 1: List of eighth-ninth century swords found south of Sava River

#	Type of find	Site	Region	Sword Type	Date (sword)	Date (burial)	Disc.	Instit.	Inv. No.
1	individual find	Prozor-Gornja Luka	Lika	Petersen type K	first half of 9 th c.	-	1965	AMZg	3099
2	individual find	Zvonigrad	Lika	Cannot be determined	first half of 9 th c.	-	1980	ŠG	-
3	grave 322	Nin-Ždrijac	Dalmatia	Petersen type H	first quarter 9 th c.	first quarter of 9 th c.	1977	AMZd	1181
4	grave find	Rudići-Grebnice	Završje	Petersen type H	second half of 8 th c.	last quarter of 8 th c.	1972	ZMSa	505
5	grave find	Kninsko Polje-Gugine kuće	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	first quarter 9 th c.	first half of 9 th c.	1907	MHAS	928
6	grave 1	Biskupija-Crkvina	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	second half of 8 th c.	last quarter of 8 th c.	1892	MHAS	539
7	grave 6	Biskupija-Crkvina	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	second half of 8 th c.	last quarter of 8 th c.	1892	MHAS	579
8	grave 8	Biskupija-Crkvina	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	second half of 8 th c.	last quarter of 8 th c.	1891	MHAS	593
9	grave A	Orlić near Knin	Dalmatia	Combinational type	second quarter of 8 th	last quarter of 8 th c.	1921	MHAS	925
10	grave B	Orlić near Knin	Dalmatia	Combinational type	second quarter of 8 th	last quarter of 8 th c.	1927	MHAS	605
11	grave A	Morpolača-Tubića kuće	Dalmatia	Combinational type	second quarter of 8 th	last quarter of 8 th c.	1908	MHAS	1094 2094
12	grave find	Koljane Gornje-Crkvina	Dalmatia	Petersen type H	first quarter 9 th c.	first quarter of 9 th c.	1897	Unknown	1120
13	grave 1	Koljane Gornje-Vukovića most	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	first quarter 9 th c.	first quarter of 9 th c.		MHAS	
14	grave find	Koljane Donje-Slankovac	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	first quarter 9 th c.	first quarter of 9 th c.	2006	MHAS	
15	individual find	Driš-Gradac	Dalmatia	Petersen type H	last quarter of 8 th	-	1951/2	MHAS	2095
16	grave 4	Podgradina-Rešetarica	Završje	Petersen type K	last quarter of 8 th	first quarter 9 th c.	1987	FMLi	692
17	grave find	Zadvarje-Poletnica	Dalmatia	Petersen type K	last quarter of 8 th	first quarter 9 th c.	1896	AMSt	H 3381
18	grave find	Kreševo-Zgon	Dalmatia	Petersen type H	last quarter of 8 th	first half of 9 th c.	~1930	AMSt	S 141
19	grave find	Mostar-Vukodol	Herzegovina	Cannot be determined	first quarter 9 th c.	first half of 9 th c.	1964	Unknown	
20	grave find	Humac near Ljubuškog	Herzegovina	Cannot be determined	first quarter 9 th c.	first half of 9 th c.	Unk	MFSH	
21	grave find	Čapljina-Mogorjelo	Herzegovina	Petersen type K	first quarter 9 th c.	first half of 9 th c.	pre-1917	ZMSa	113
22	grave find	Stolac-Čairi	Herzegovina	Petersen type K	first quarter 9 th c.	first half of 9 th c.	1975	Unknown	