

Rani srednji vijek od alpskih obronaka do Panonije

The Early Middle Ages from the Alpine Slopes to Pannonia

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Zahvaljujući istraživanjima na trasama autoceste uz tokove Drave i Mure, dobili smo značajne podatke o prvom naseljavanju i materijalnoj kulturi Slavena iz 6. i 7. st. Otkrivena su i brojna naselja kasnijeg razdoblja, 10.-15. st., koja zbog stanja istraženosti dobivaju značajnu ulogu u upoznavanju tog dijela povijesti. U prilogu navedeni radovi i nalazi sa C14 datacijama nude kvalitetan pristup obradi materijalne kulture, osobito keramičkih nalaza.

Ključne riječi: Alpski Slaveni, rani srednji vijek, Murska Sobota-Nova tabla, Zatak

The archaeological research on the motorway routes along the Drava and Mura rivers has yielded important data on the first Slavic settlement and their material culture from the 6th and 7th centuries. Numerous settlements from the later period, from the 10th to 15th century were discovered and these, due to the state of research, play an important role in the understanding of that period. The material mentioned in the paper, as well as the C14 dates, offer a quality approach to the analysis of material culture with special focus on pottery finds.

Keywords: Alpine Slavs, Early Middle Ages, Murska Sobota-Nova, Tabla, Zatak

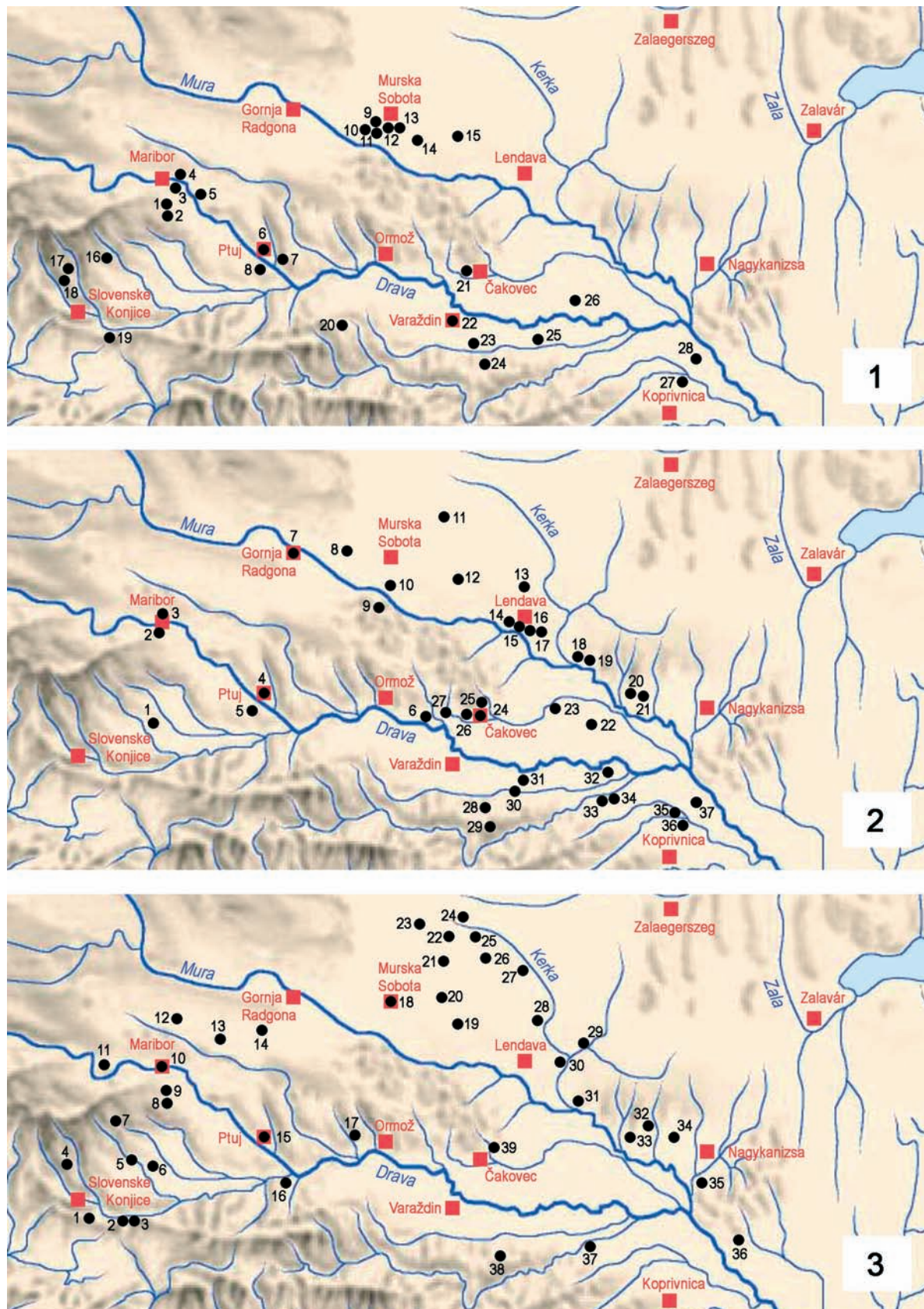
Zahvaljujući izgradnji dijelova trase autoceste u posljednjem desetljeću na koridoru od Budimpešte prema Mariboru i prema Zagrebu, na obje strane slovensko-mađarske granice kao i na potezu između Čakovca i Varaždina, na ravninama uz tokove Mure i Drave, izvedena su brojna arheološka istraživanja. Iskopavanjima na opsežnim nenaseljenim i intenzivno obrađivanim ravninama stvorena je potpuno nova, a prije svega s materijalnim dokazima dobro potkrijepljena, povijesna slika za razdoblje starog i srednjeg vijeka (Guštin 2002; Motorway 2003-2004; Zalai Múzeum 12-15, 2003-2006; Bekić 2006).

Uz mnoštvo podataka o prapovijesti i rimskom dobu, kao i iznimno važnih nalaza za povijest, u ovom prilogu nas posebno zanima naseljavanje nakon 568. god. na prostoru Mure i Drave i njihovih pritoka, kada rub istočnih Alpa i zapadne Panonije napuštaju germanski Langobardi. Doseljavanje tzv. alpskih Slavena u drugoj polovici 6. st. na administrativno prazan prostor s malobrojnim stanovništvom svakako je povezano s odlaskom političke i vojne elite Langobarda u Italiju (Grafenauer 1988).

Za Slavena koji se u drugoj polovici (bolje posljednjom

Owing to the construction of portions of the motorway route on the corridor from Budapest to Maribor and Zagreb during the last decade, numerous archaeological excavations were carried out on both sides of the Slovenian-Hungarian border, as well as on the section between Čakovec and Varaždin on the plains along the Mura and Drava rivers. The excavations on the vast, uninhabited and intensively cultivated plains helped create an entirely new historical picture of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which is above all well-substantiated by material evidence (Guštin 2002; Motorway 2003-2004; Zalai Múzeum 12-15, 2003-2006; Bekić 2006).

In addition to a wealth of information about prehistory and the Roman period, as well as exceptionally important historical finds, this paper focuses particularly on settlement in the territory along the Mura and Drava rivers with their tributaries after 568, when the German Langobards left the edge of the eastern Alps and western Pannonia. The immigration of the so-called Alpine Slavs in the second half of the 6th cent. to an administratively vacant area with sparse population is certainly connected with the departure of the political and military elite of the Langobards to Italy



Sl. 1 Nalazišta srednjovjekovnog naseljavanja oko Drave i Mure (na osnovu radova: Luka Bekić, Tajana Sekelj Ivančan, Branko Kerman, Timotej Knific, Marina Šimek, Željko Tomičić, Ilona Valter, Marijan Zadnikar. Kartu realizirali: Daša Pavlovič i Andrej Preložnik)

Fig. 1 Sites of medieval settlement along the rivers Drava and Mura (after works of: Luka Bekić, Tajana Sekelj Ivančan, Branko Kerman, Timotej Knific, Marina Šimek, Željko Tomičić, Ilona Valter, Marijan Zadnikar. Map realization: Daša Pavlovič i Andrej Preložnik)

1 RANA SLAVENSKA NASELJENOST / *EARLY SLAVIC SETTLEMENT* (6.-9. st.), Slovenija/Slovenia (1-19), Hrvatska/Croatia (20-28): 1 Hoče, 2 Slivnica, 3 Maribor-Pobrežje, 4 Malečnik, 5 Zgornji Duplek, 6 Ptuj-Ptujski grad, 7 Ptuj- Brstje, 8 Turnišče pri Ptuju, 9 Grofovsko, 10 Krog-Žabnjek, 11 Krog-Pod Kotom (jug, sever, cesta), 12 Kotare-baza, 13 Murska Sobota-Nova tabla, 14 Lipovci- Popava, 15 Turnišče-Kalimovnjek, 16 Jurišna vas-Ančnikovo gradišče, 17 Brezje nad Zrečami, 18 Brinjeva gora, 19 Zbelovska gora, 20 Donja Voča-Vindija, 21 Nedelišče-Stara ves, 22 Varaždin, 23 Varaždina-Brezje, 24 Jakopovec-Blizna, 25 Zbelava-Pod lipom, 26 Prelog-Cirkovljan, 27 Torčec (Prečno pole I, Blaževo pole 6), 28 Đelekovec-Jegeniš.

2 NASELJENOST NAKON UPADA MADŽARA / *SETTLEMENT AFTER HUNGARIAN RAIDS* (10.-13. st.), Slovenija/Slovenia (1-17), Madžarska/Hungary (18-21), Hrvatska/Croatia (22-37): 1 Črešnjevec, 2 Maribor-Radvanje, 3 Maribor-Piramida, 4 Ptuj-Ptujski grad, 5 Hajdina, 6 Središče pri Dravi-Cirkevca, 7 Gornja Radgona, 8 Nemška vrata, 9 Veržej, 10 Dokležovje, 11 Selo-Gradišče 12 Turnišče-Gorice, 13 Dolga vas-Gornje njive, 14 Dolnji Lakoš-Oloris, 15 Lendava-Pri Muri, 16 Zatak, 17 Pince-Pod Grunti, 18 Muraszemenye-Hosszú-dülö, 19 Muraszemenye-Gály-parlag, 20 Letenye-Egyeduta, 21 Letenye-Korongi-tábla, 22 Goričan, 23 Sv. Juraj u Trnju, 24 Čakovec, 25 Šenkovec, 26 Nedelišče-Stara ves, 27 Macinec, 28 Jakopovec-Blizna, 29 Varaždinske toplice-Ciglenica, 30 Šemovec-Šarnjak, 31 Šemovec-Kupinje, 32 Veliki Bukovec, 33 Ludbreg, 34 Sigetec Ludbreški-Loke, 35 Torčec (Gradić, Cirkvišče), 36 Torčec (Prečno pole I, Blaževo pole 6, Ledine), 37 Đelekovec.

3 CRKVENA ROMANIKA / *CHURCH ROMANESQUE ART*, Slovenija/Slovenia (1-24), Madžarska/Hungary (25-36), Hrvatska/Croatia (37-39): 1 Žiče (samostanska cerkev, Špitalič), 2 Poljčane, 3 Studenice, 4 Koritno pri Oplotnici, 5 Slovenska Bistrica, 6 Črešnjevec, 7 Šmartno na Pohorju, 8 Slivnica, 9 Hoče, 10 Maribor, 11 Vuzenica, 12 Jarenina, 13 Jurovski Dol, 14 Benedikt, 15 Ptuj (Dominikanski samostan, Sv. Jurij), 16 Dravinjski vrh, 17 Velika Nedelja, 18 Murska Sobota, 19 Turnišče, 20 Bogojina, 21 Selo-Sv. Nikolaj, 22 Domanjševci-Sv. Martin, 23 Gornji Petrovci, 24 Hodoš, 25 Kerca-Szent Venzel, 26 Velemér, 27 Csesztreg, 28 Gosztola, 29 Pàka, 30 Szécsisziget-Màrok, 31 Muraszemenye, 32 Becschely-Pola, 33 Letenye-Szentkereszt, 34 Szepetnek, 35 Móriczhely, 36 Csurgó, 37 Križovljan, 38 Kelemen, 39 Miho-vljan.

trećini) 6. st. doseljavaju u Pomurje, Podravinu i dalje do ravničarskih prostora Friulija te zaleđa morske obale u Istri, u stručnoj je literaturi uvriježen termin alpski Slaveni. O njima smo do nedavno imali na raspolaganju samo pisana vrela koja za političku i vojnu povijest bilježe sukobe Samove plemenske zajednice (623.-658.) s Francima i Avarima i postojanje Karantanije (664.-772.) koja se u strahu od avarske dominacije povezala s Bavarima, a time posredno i s franačkim kraljem te kršćanskom crkvom (Bitenc, Knific 2001; Guštin 2004 s literaturom).

Opsežna su arheološka istraživanja dokazala intenzivno naseljavanje i u kasnijim razdobljima, a posebno od 10. do 15. st. jer su otkrivena brojna, dobro dokumentirana naselja, posebno na prostoru između Beltinci, Pince kraj Lendave, na drugoj strani današnje granice sa Mađarskom između Mure i potoka Ledava/Lendva, kao i na višeslojnim nalazištima u okolici Varaždina i Čakovca (Guštin 2006; Bekić 2006).

Prilikom arheoloških iskopavanja u Slivnici kod Maribora 1996. god. otkrivene su prve ovalne, do 0,80 cm duboke jame, interpretirane kao ranosrednjovjekovne zemunice (Ciglencečki, Strmčnik Gulić 2002), karakteristična prebivališta tog vremena u kontinentalnoj Europi (Šalkovsky 2001; 2006). Nalazima jama kasnije su se pridružili slični objekti na nekoliko lokacija u okolici Murske Sobote, gdje predstavljaju najraniji i najveći opseg dokumentiranog ranosrednjovjekovnog naseljavanja južnog ruba istočnih Alpa (Guštin 2002; Motorway 2003-2004).

U prilog određivanja etničke pripadnosti stanovništva iz okolice Murske Sobote slavenskoj grani govori nekoliko obilježja od kojih neke vrijede kao značajke srednjeg i istočnoeuropskog prostora, a u kombinaciji nude mogućnost etničkog opredjeljivanja (ako uzmemo u obzir rezerviranost koja se u posljednje vrijeme često navodi, npr. Brather 2004). Za prvi val važno je naseljavanje na ravnici uz vodu, s raspršenim pojedinačnim seoskim gospodarstvima ili manjim zaseocima od nekoliko gospodarstava sa kućama za stanovanje i gospodarskim objektima te s pripadajućim inventarom.

Prvi stanovnici grade jednostavne kuće, ukopane u zemlju, prekrivene s krovom od trstike u obliku šatora. Lagani krov bio je pričvršćen na konstrukciju od granja koja nije imala nosive stupove za krov, a sljeme je bilo dodatno pričvršćeno s kamenjem da je ne bi otpuhao vjetar. U jednoj kući je u niši sa strane pronađeno pravokutno ognjište napravljeno od oblutaka i gline. Inventar u jamama za stanovanje i u pomoćnim jamama predstavlja prostoručno načinjena, porozna i u većini primjeraka neukrašena keramika, koja odgovara poznatom praškom tipu.

Rana datacija na kraj 6. i početak 7. st., potvrđena brojnim C^{14} analizama, kronološki se podudara s pisanim vrelima o slavenskoj seobi nakon 568. god. Određivanje etničke pripadnosti tih ranosrednjovjekovnih naseobina, uz pomoć neposredne usporedbe materijalne kulture sa

(Grafenauer 1988).

The "Alpine Slavs" is the conventional term used in scholarly literature for the Slavs who moved into Pomurje (the Mura basin), Podravina (the Drava basin) and further to the lowland territories of the Friuli and the coastal hinterland of Istria in the second half (or better, the last third) of the 6th century. Until recently, our knowledge about them was limited to written sources recording the political and military history with the confrontations of Samo's tribal union (623-658) with the Franks and Avars, as well as the existence of Karantania (664-772), which, fearing the Avar domination, came into tied itself to the Bavarians and consequently indirectly also to the Frankish king and the Christian church (Bitenc, Knific 2001; Guštin 2004 with bibliography).

The extensive archaeological excavations provided evidence of intensive settlement even in the later periods, particularly from the 10th to 15th cent., as numerous, well-documented settlements were discovered, especially in the territory between Beltinci, Pince by Lendava, on the other side of the present-day border with Hungary between the Mura and the Ledava/Lendva stream, as well as on the multi-layer sites in the vicinity of Varaždin and Čakovec (Guštin 2006; Bekić 2006).

In the 1996 archaeological excavations in Slivnica near Maribor the first oval pits, up to 80 cm deep, were discovered and interpreted as early medieval pit-houses (Ciglencečki, Strmčnik Gulić 2002), the characteristic dwellings of that period in Continental Europe (Šalkovsky 2001; 2006). The finds of pits were to be later accompanied by similar structures found on several sites in the vicinity of Murska Sobota, where they represent the earliest and most extensively documented early medieval settlement on the southern edge of the eastern Alps (Guštin 2002; Motorway 2003-2004).

Several features speak in favour of ethnically ascribing the population from the surroundings of Murska Sobota to the Slavonic branch. Some of these features are regarded as traits of the Central and Eastern European areas and together offer the possibility of ethnic attribution (if we take into consideration the reservations that are often cited recently, e.g. Brather 2004). The first wave is characterized by the settlement on plains adjacent to water, with scattered individual farms or smaller hamlets comprising several farms, with simply constructed dwelling houses and economic structures, with the accompanying inventory.

The first inhabitants built simple houses dug into the soil and covered with a tent-like thatched roof. The light roof was attached to a structure of branches without roof-supporting posts and was additionally reinforced with stones on the ridge, lest the wind should blow it away. A rectangular hearth made of pebbles and clay was found in a side niche in one of the houses. The inventory of the dwelling pits and the accessory pits consisted of hand-made, porous and in most cases undecorated pottery, corresponding to the well-known Prague type.

The early dating to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, substantiated by numerous C^{14} analyses coincides chronologically with the written sources on the Slavonic migration after 568. The determination of

srodnim nalazima iz zapadne Slovačke i Moravske, koji zajedno s navedenim značajkama naseljavanja, gradnje objekata i inventarom, dobro potvrđuju slavensko doseljavanje na južni rub Alpa sa sjevera kroz Moravska vrata (Guštin, Tiefengraber 2002, 60-62; Guštin 2004, 264; Bekić 2006, 211-220).

Seoske naseobine s raspršenim, ali bolje izgrađenim, seoskim gospodarstvima i gospodarskim objektima iz okolice Murske Sobote, bez očitog prekida nastavlja se i u 8. st. Prvim žanim grobovima, otkrivenim 2006. god. na Popovi kraj Lipovaca (iskopavanje Irene Šavel, Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota, neobjavljeno), slijede groblja s kosturnim pokopima koje, na temelju dijelova nošnje i priloženih lonaca, možemo opredijeliti kao baštinu pretkršćanskog doba (usporediti Knific 2002; Tomičić 2002; Guštin 2004, sl. 7; Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2006).

Život se u naseobinama „slavenske pokrajine“ oko Murske Sobote u 9. st. ne nastavlja. Izgleda da u to vrijeme, s vladavinom Pribine i njegova sina Koclja u Donjoj Panoniji i njihova novoizgrađenog upravnog centra Blatograd, odnosno Blatenskog Kostela (Masapurch, Zalavár), dolazi do većih društvenih promjena, povezanih s oblikovanjem feuda i misionarskim radom kršćanske crkve, a time i pomicanjem naseljavanja prema novim središtima koja postaju nosioci uprave karolinške države.

Jedan važan povijesni izvor, poznat kao Rižanski placit, ukazuje na naseljavanje Slavena u zaleđu jadranske obale. Dokument iz 804. godine je ekcerpt jednog sudskog procesa Karla Velikog zbog prelaska iz bizantinske u franačku vlast, zastupanog njegovim delegatima. Lokalnu franačku vlast je zastupao vojvoda Johannes a na drugoj strani su bili zastupnici crkve i gradskih vlasti gradova Istre (biskupi in primateso). Između ostalog se spominje i slavanska kolonizacija Istre (Krahwinkler 2004).

Na širem području Murske Sobote za rano razdoblje slavenskog naseljavanja, na temelju vrlo brojnih nalaza horizontalne stratigrafije, odnosno rasporeda objekata, s pojedinačnim područjima naseljavanja, tipoloških obilježja keramike i radiokarbonskih rezultata, raspoložemo s jasno opredijeljenim stupnjevima razvoja materijalne kulture. Najstarije ranosrednjovjekovne nalaze predstavljaju dobro očuvane ovalne zemunice i prije svega karakteristična građa kao što su jednostavni, prostoručno napravljeni porozni i neukrašeni lonci, koje možemo pripisati poznatom praškom tipu (Murska Sobota horizont 1a ; Curta 2001). Tipološke usporedbe i C14 datacije postavljaju priličan broj zemunica kod Murske Sobote u drugu polovicu 6. st. (s rezervom zbog širokog vremenskog raspona radiokarbonskog datiranja; usporediti Curta 2006, 25, op. 64).

Pri analizi materijalnih ostataka posebno je važno da za kronološko opredjeljivanje keramike horizonta Murska Sobota 1 u najstariju fazu, raspoložemo dobrim analogijama i iz okolice Varaždina, npr. Jakopovec-Blizna, Nedelišće-

ethnic affiliation of these early medieval settlements with the help of a direct comparison of the material culture with similar finds from western Slovakia and Moravia, which together with the mentioned features of the settlement, the construction of structures and the inventory, demonstrate the Slavonic immigration to the southern edge of the Alps from the north through the Moravian Gate very well (Guštin, Tiefengraber 2002, 60-62; Guštin 2004, 264; Bekić 2006, 211-220).

The rural settlements with scattered, but more solidly constructed farmsteads and economic structures from the surroundings of Murska Sobota, continue without apparent interruption also through the 8th cent. The first cinerary graves, discovered in 2006 at Popova near Lipovci (excavation by Irena Šavel, Regional Museum of Murska Sobota, unpublished) are followed by cemeteries with skeletal burials, which, based on pieces of costume and furnished pots, can be seen as the legacy of the pre-Christian period (compare Knific 2002; Tomičić 2002; Guštin 2004, Fig. 7; Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2006).

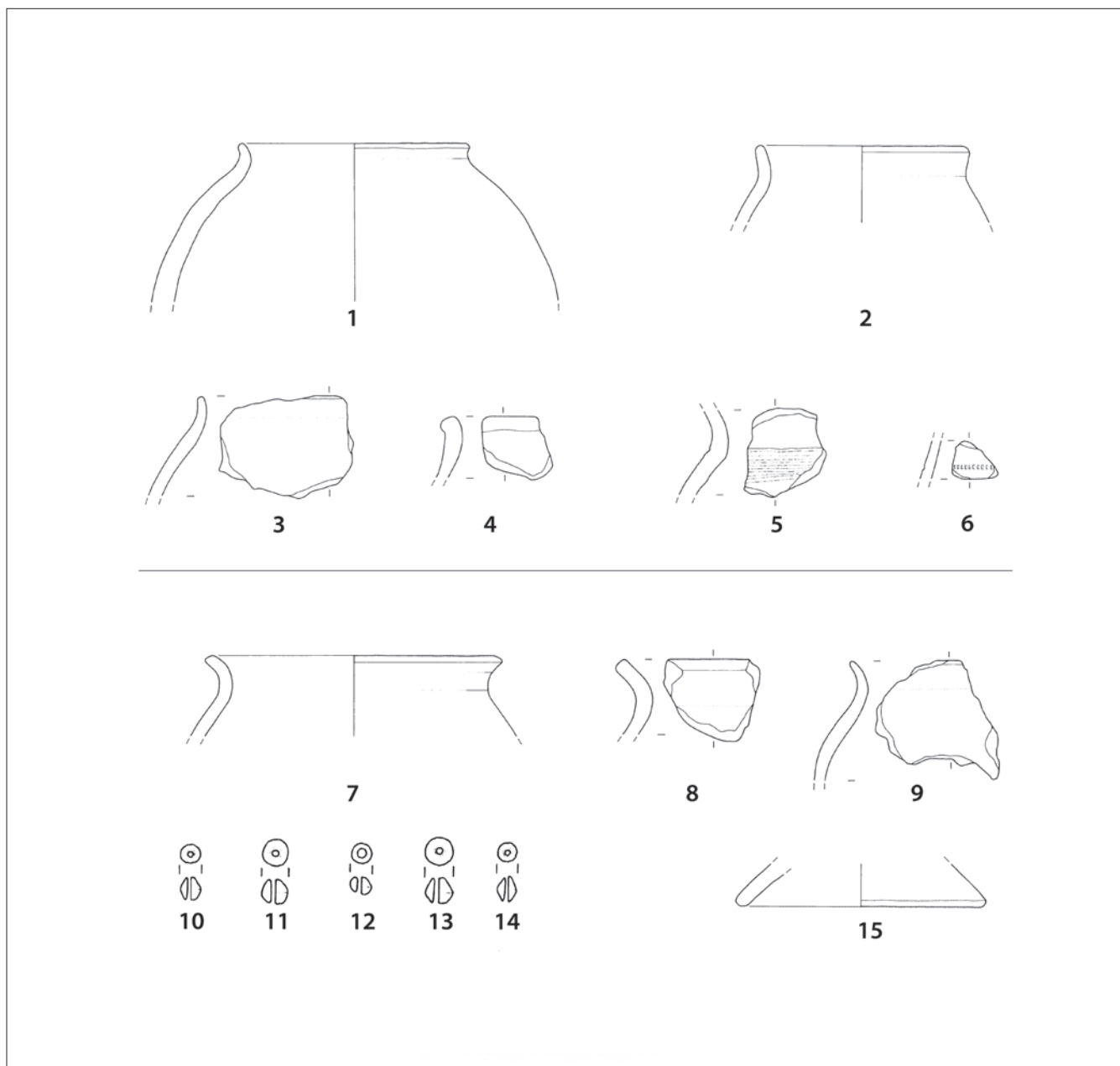
Life in the settlements of the “Slavonic province” around Murska Sobota does not continue in the 9th cent. It appears that at that time, with the rule of Pribina and his son Kocelj in Lower Pannonia and their newly-built administrative centre of Blatograd that is Blatenski Kostel (Masapurch, Zalavár), major social changes occurred, related to the founding of a fiefdom and with the missionary work of the Christian church and thus also with the shift of settlement toward new centres that become the agents of the administration of the Carolingian state.

An important document, known as the Rižana agreement, reports of the Slavic migrations towards the hinterland of the Adriatic Sea. It is a transcript of a trial in a court of justice constituted by order of Charlemagne and in the presence of his delegates dealing with a transition of the region from Byzantine under Franconian feudal rule. The local Franconian authority was represented by the Duke Johannes, whereas on the other side were the representatives of the church and profane authorities of Istrian cities (bishops in primateso). They discussed also about colonisation of Istria with Slavic settlers (Krahwinkler 2004).

We have at our disposal clearly defined developmental phases of material culture for the early period of Slavonic settlement in the wider area of Murska Sobota, based on horizontal stratigraphy, the layout of structures with individual zones of settlement, on the typological features of pottery and radiocarbon results, respectively.

The oldest early medieval finds consist of well-preserved oval pit-houses and, above all, characteristic material, such as simple, hand-made, porous and undecorated pots that we can attribute to the well-known Prague type (Murska Sobota horizon 1a – Curta 2001). The typological comparisons and C14 dates place a substantial number of pit-houses near Murska Sobota in the second half of the 6th cent. (with a reservation due to the wide chronological span of the radiocarbon dating; compare Curta 2006, 25, note 64).

In analysing the material remains it is of particular importance that we have good analogies for the chronological



Sl. 2 Murska Sobota, horizont 1a: 1-6 zemunica SZ 11 (C¹⁴ datacija AD 602), 7-15 zemunica SZ 9 (C¹⁴ datacija AD 630). Karakteristična porozna keramika blagih profila. Lonac ukrašen s kotačićem (6) i ulomak poklopca (15) pronađeni su zajedno s dijelovima opeke i pripadaju prethodnom, rimskodobnom naseljavanju. M=1:3, staklo 10-14= 1:1.

Fig. 2 Murska Sobota horizon 1a: 1-6 characteristic pottery from residential pit SZ 11 (dated AD 602); 7-15 residential pit SZ 9 (AD 630). Characteristic porous pottery with simple cross-sections. Pot decorated with wheel (6) and fragment of a lid (15) were found together with bricks and date to the previous, Roman settlement. M=1:3, glass beads 10-14= 1:1.

Stara ves (Bekić 2006, 125-126, T. 27, 211-218, T. 6-8). Većinu keramike horizonta Murska Sobota 1a možemo povezati s karakterističnim oblicima rane romensko-borševske skupine, koju isto tako odlikuju narezani, razbrazdani rubovi i karakteristični pekači (Eisner 1966, 267-268, obr. 37).

I u kronološkoj shemi G. Fuseka (1994) keramika prvog horizonta Murske Sobote karakteristična je za ranoslavensko doba u Slovačkoj. Lonci te vrste uobičajeni su među ranosrednjovjekovnim materijalom 6. i 7. st. na prostoru koji seže do područja Penkivske skupine u Moldaviji (Teodor 1994). Zajedno s tipom prebivališta omogućava pra-

tribution of the pottery of the Murska Sobota horizon 1 to the oldest phase from the surroundings of Varaždin, e.g. Jakopovec-Blizna, Nedelišće-Stara Ves (Bekić 2006, 125-126, Pl. 27, 211-218. Pl. 6-8). The majority of the pottery of the Murska Sobota horizon 1a can be compared to the characteristic forms of the early Romensko-Borševská group, likewise characterized by incised, grooved mouths and characteristic baking lids (Eisner 1966, 267-268, Fig. 37).

The ceramics of the first horizon of Murska Sobota is also characteristic for the early Slavonic period in Slovakia in the chronological scheme by Gabriel Fusek (1994). Pots of that type appear regularly in the early medieval material

ćenje slavenskih pridošlica u Prekmurju i sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj preko Slovačke i Moravskih vrata do njihove pramovine.

Već poznatom materijalu tog najstarijeg horizonta slavenskog naseljavanja oko Murske Sobote dodajemo objavu inventara zemunica SZ 9 (vel. 5,4 x 2,7 m, dubina 0,63 m) i SZ 11 (vel. 6,29 x 1,83 m, dubina 0,26 cm), iskopanih 2002. god. na Novoj Tabli kod Murske Sobote, koji zajedno s brojnim drugim dobro dopunjavaju sliku ranog slavenskog naseljavanja. S tim primjerima inventara zemunica (sl. 2), pridružujemo se nastojanjima prof. dr. Željka Tomičića (1978; 2002) za prepoznavanjem i razumijevanjem kulture tog prvog vala naseljavanja Slavena, kao i puno kasnijih ranosrednjovjekovnih naseobinskih faza.

Zemunice SZ 9 i SZ 11 s pripadajućim spaljenim kamenjem koje je učvršćivalo krovnu konstrukciju, keramikom te izvanredno malim perlicama crne, žute i zelene boje, pripadaju horizontu Murska Sobota 1, što potvrđuju i kalibrirani datumi AD 602 (SZ 11) i AD 630 (SZ 9), radiokarbonskih analiza iz Leibniz-laboratorija u Kielu.

Sljedeći horizont Murska Sobota 1b datira iz prve polovice 7. st. i u proizvodnji keramike pokazuje napredak. Posude su još uvijek prostoručno napravljene i porozne, a njihove pojedinačne valovite linije i pojasevi već ukazuju na daljnji razvoj. Taj horizont prisutan je i na lokaciji Nedelišće-Stara ves (Bekić 2006, 211-216).

Keramika horizonta Murska Sobota 1c iz sredine i druge polovice 7. st. za sada je skromno objavljena. Tu su već očite tehnološke promjene pri izradi keramike. Lonci, uglavnom ukrašeni valovnicama ili horizontalnim urezima, već su doručeni, odnosno u cijelosti napravljeni na kolu (usporedi u Macháček 1996).

U drugoj polovici 7. st. naseljavanje na rubu jugoistočnih Alpa postaje gušće. To je dobro vidljivo i u vezi procesa akulturacije, koja se na keramici izražava prije svega u preuzimanju ukrasa valovnice, inače karakteristične već za kasno antičko romansko stanovništvo. Nalazi tog doba u rijetkim se slučajevima pojavljuju i na visinskim nalazištima, pa čak i u alpskom svijetu, oko jezera na Bledu i nisu, kao u prethodnoj najstarijoj fazi, ograničeni na ravničarske prostore. Bez očitog prijeloma taj se razvoj nastavlja u 8. st., kada je naseljavanje još intenzivnije i kada se uspostavljaju prva skeletna groblja (usporedi Knific 2002; Guštin 2004).

Početak horizonta Murska Sobota 2 predstavlja odlučan prijelom kontinuiranog naseljavanja. Dok je u starijem horizontu bilo moguće prepoznati naseljavanje po prilično brojnim prebivalištima, kao što su, primjerice, ukopane zemunice ovalnih oblika, sada se uz brojne plitke, nepravilno oblikovane, ponekad i okrugle jame prije svega pojavljuju kuće, izgrađene od kolaca (za tipove slavenskih kuća vidjeti Šalkovsky 2001; 2006).

Keramika s groblja na Novoj Tabli ima odgovarajuće

of the 6th and 7th cent. in the territory reaching the area of the Penkovka group in Moldova (Teodor 1994). Together with the type of dwellings this makes it possible to trace the Slavonic immigrants in Prekmurje and northwestern Croatia across Slovakia and the Moravian Gate to their ancestral homeland.

To the already known material of the oldest horizon of Slavonic settlement we add the publication of the inventory of pit-houses SZ 9 (measuring 5,4 x 2,7 m, depth 0,63 m) and SZ 11 (measuring 6,29 x 1,83 m, depth 0,26 m), excavated in 2002 at Nova Tabla near Murska Sobota, which, together with numerous other assemblages, nicely complement the picture of the early Slavonic settlement near Murska Sobota. With this (Fig. 2), as well as with a much later horizon (Fig. 3), we are joining the attempts of Prof. Željko Tomičić (1978; 2002) to recognize and understand the culture of the first wave of Slavic settlement, as well as the much later early medieval settlement phases.

The pit-houses SZ 9 and SZ 11 with the associated burnt stones used to reinforce the roof construction, with pottery and exceptionally small beads of black, yellow and green colour, belong to the Murska Sobota horizon 1, which is confirmed by calibrated dates AD 602 (SZ 11) and AD 630 (SZ 9) with radiocarbon analyses from the Leibniz Laboratory in Kiel.

The next horizon, Murska Sobota horizon 1b, dating to the first half of the 7th cent., shows advances in the production of pottery. The vessels are still hand-made and porous but their single wavelines and belts already point to further development. This horizon is present at the site of Nedelišće-Stara Ves, as well (Bekić 2006, 211-216).

The pottery of the Murska Sobota horizon 1c from the middle and the second half of the 7th cent. Has only been modestly published until now. It already shows obvious technological changes in the production of pottery. The pots, generally decorated with wavelines or horizontal incisions, are mostly finished on a wheel or they are entirely wheel-made (compare also Macháček 1996).

In the second half of the 7th cent. settlement on the edge of the southeastern Alps becomes denser. This is quite obvious in relation to the acculturation process expressed, above all, in pottery with the taking over the waveline motif, otherwise characteristic for the Roman population of Late Antiquity. The finds from that period are also found, although seldomly, on elevated sites and even in the Alpine regions around the Bled lake and are not, like in the previous, oldest phase, restricted to the lowlands. This development continues with no apparent break into the 8th cent., when settlement gains in intensity and when the first skeletal cemeteries are established (compare Knific 2002; Guštin 2004).

The beginning of the Murska Sobota horizon 2 represents a clear break in continuous settlement. While it was possible to recognize settlement by fairly numerous dwellings in the older phase, such as e.g. oval dug-in pit-houses, now, above all, houses built of stakes, in addition to numerous shallow, irregularly-shaped and occasionally circular pits appear (for the types of Slavonic houses see Šalkovsky

analogije među naseobinskom keramikom horizonta Murska Sobota 2, a posebno među oblicima i ukrasima mlađe faze koja je značajna za drugu polovicu 8. st i već označava prijelaz u 9. st.

Početak 9. st., na kraju horizonta Murska Sobota 2b, napuštene su dosadašnje naseobine, što je vjerojatno posljedica većih društvenih promjena, povezanih s oblikovanjem feuda i s misionarskim radom crkve te se na taj način naseljavanje usmjerava prema novim zemljoposjedničkim ili vjerskim središtima koji postaju nositelji uprave karolinške države.

U prilog etničkom opredjeljivanju najstarijeg rano-srednjovjekovnog stanovništva na Novoj tabli kod Murske Sobote slavenskom stablu, govore sljedeće točke: položaj naseobine na ravnici uz vodu, niz karakterističnih gospodarskih objekata i kuća – zemunice bez jama za kolce s ognjištem u niši, karakteristična prostoručno napravljena, porozna i neukrašena keramika, prije svega lonci i pekači te rana datacija nalaza (kraj 6. i početak 7. st.), na temelju analogija oblika posuda sa slično oblikovanim materijalom iz Slovačke i apsolutno na temelju radiokarbonskih analiza.

Prema povijesnim podacima i arheološkim istraživanjima, naseobinska slika Pomurja i Podravine u vrijeme „sumraka“ između 9. i 13. st. vrlo je skromna, jer se oslanja na nekolicinu slučajnih nalaza i groblja s karakterističnim pridacima ketlaške i bjelobrdске kulture. Malobrojni predromanički i nešto brojniji romanički sakralni i profani zidani objekti te manji broj groblja iz tog doba, ispunjava prazninu do nastanka dobro prepoznatljivih srednjovjekovnih naseobinskih zidanih struktura (Kerman 1997; Valter 2005; Guštin 2006).

Arheološkim iskopavanjima u sklopu programa izgradnje autocesta donekle je ispunjena praznina u poznavanju naseobina, vrste naseljavanja i značajka gospodarskih objekata i kuća tog doba u okolici Lendave, otkrićem priličnog broja lokacija. Istraživanja na lokaciji Gornje njive kod Dolge vasi od 1997. do 1998. god., a posebno 2006. god. (Šavel 2004) i na lokaciji Pince (Kerman, neobjavljeno) te lokaciji Zatak 2005. god. (Guštin 2005, 29-31; 2006), kao i u manjem opsegu na nalazištu Ciglenica kod Varaždinskih toplica, Blizni kod Jakopovca i Staroj vesi kod Nedelišča, a i neobjavljeni nalazi iz Brezja kod Varaždina, Šarnjaka kod Šemovca (Bekić 2006), pružila su dokaze u prilog o intenzivnom naseljavanju u razdoblju između 10. i 15. st., s posebnim naglaskom na ravničarskom prostoru uz brežuljkasto zaleđe Gorica, koje dijele prostor Mure i Ledave od Zale u Mađarskoj.

Prema rezultatima terenskih istraživanja, u ranom i srednjem vijeku u široj okolici Lendave nalaze se ruralna naselja, koja djelomično ukazuju na seoski uzorak, koji se vremenom razvija u zbijeni tip naselja. Najstarija seoska gospodarstva sastavljena su od jednostavnih drvenih

2001; 2006).

The pottery from the cemetery at Nova Tabla has corresponding analogies among the settlement pottery of the Murska Sobota horizon 2, and particularly among the forms and decorations of the younger phase, which is typical for the second half of the 8th cent. and already marks the transition to the 9th cent.

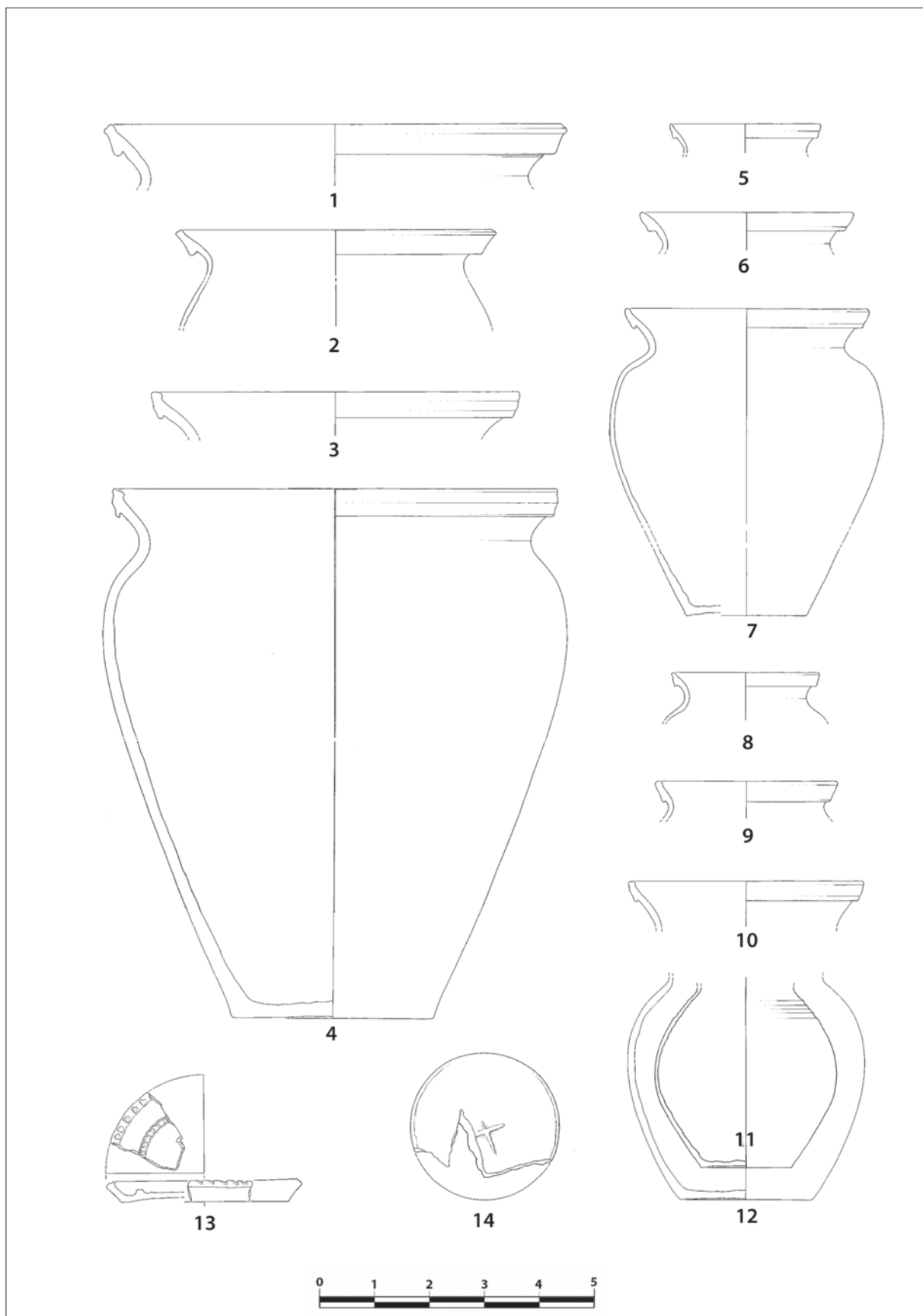
At the beginning of the 9th cent., at the end of the Murska Sobota horizon 2b, the settlements inhabited until then are abandoned, probably a consequence of major social changes related with the establishment of the fiefdom and the missionary work of the church. In this way settlement is directed toward new land-owning or religious centres that become the managing agents of the Carolingian state.

The following points speak in favour of the ethnic attribution of the oldest early mediaeval population at Nova Tabla near Murska Sobota to the Slavonic tree: the position of the settlement on a plain adjacent to water; a series of characteristic economic structures and houses – pit-houses without stake-pits with a hearth in a niche; characteristic hand-made, porous and undecorated pottery, primarily pots and baking lids and the early dates of the finds (the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th cent.) based on vessel forms analogies with similarly shaped material from Slovakia, and absolutely based on radiocarbon analyses.

Based on historical data and archaeological excavations, the population picture of Pomurje and Podravina during the “twilight” between the 9th and 13th cent. is very modest, as it relies on a few chance finds and cemeteries with characteristic finds of the Köttlach and Bijelo Brdo cultures. Few pre-Roman and somewhat more numerous Roman sacral and profane built structures, as well as a small number of cemeteries from that period, fill in the vacuum until the appearance of well-recognizable built medieval settlement structures (Kerman 1997; Valter 2005; Guštin 2006).

The discovery of a significant number of sites during the archaeological excavations undertaken as part of the motorway building program the gaps in the knowledge about settlements, the type of colonization and the features of the economic structures and houses of that period in the vicinity of Lendava were filled up to a certain extent. The excavations at the site of Gornje Njive near Dolga Vas between 1997 and 1998, and particularly in 2006 (Šavel 2004) as well as at the sites of Pince (Kerman, unpublished) and Zatak in 2005 (Guštin 2005, 29-31; 2006), and on a smaller scale at the sites of Ciglenica near Varaždinske Toplice, Blizna near Jakopovec and Stara Ves near Nedelišče, together with the unpublished finds from Brezje near Varaždin and Šarnjak near Šemovec (Bekić 2006), offer evidence in favour of intensive colonization in the period between the 10th and 15th cent., with emphasis on the lowland region along the hilly hinterland of Gorica, which separates the territory of the Mura and Ledava from Zala in Hungary.

According to the results of fieldwork research, there were rural settlements in the wider surroundings of Lendava during the early Middle Ages, which partly indicate a rural pattern that eventually developed into a compact type of settlement. The oldest farmsteads were composed of sim-



Sl. 3 Zatak kod Lendave, keramika iz kuće 496 (C¹⁴ datacija AD 1277). Izbor karakteristične trbušaste keramike jako i raznoliko profiliranog ruba, u jednom slučaju je na dnu lonca urezan križ, a pod brojem 13 je svjetiljka. M=1:5.

Fig. 3 Zatak by Lendava, pottery from the residential house 496 (dated AD 1277). Selection of characteristic pot-bellied pottery with strongly profiled rims, a cross is engraved on the bottom of one pot. Number 13 is a fragment of a lamp. M=1:5.

objekata, dijelom ukopanih u zemlju, zbog čega su označeni kao poluzemunice. Ognjišta čine sastavni dio kućnog tlocrta. U jednom primjeru dobro su očuvana ognjišta uz vanjske zidove kuće (Guštin 2006). Slično kao i kod ostalih kuća, i te su okružene otpadnim jamama nastalim prilikom iskopa ilovače. Za ranosrednjovjekovnu kontinentalnu Europu takve su kuće uobičajene, pa njihovim stanovnicima teško možemo odrediti etničku pripadnost.

Na nalazištu Zatak kod Lendave kuća 1, s obilježjima poluzemunice s konceptom ognjišta postavljenih na stranu, izvan tlocrta kuće, ima dobre analogije u kući 1 na ranosrednjovjekovnom nalazištu Feldsöszolza-Várdomb (Takacs 2003, T. 6,2). Već smo objavili karakterističan tlocrt iz Zataka sa specifičnim položajem, zajedno s inventarom dvije jame, s karakterističnom, na kolu izrađenom i kotačićem ukrašenom keramikom iz jame 32 i keramikom iz jame 522, s novcem Albrechta I. (1282.-1298.). Kuća i keramika dobro ilustriraju specifičnu materijalnu kulturu stanovništva na tom području (usporediti i Guštin 2005; 2006) te opredjeljuju navedene primjerke u kasno doba dinastije Arpadovića (859.-1301.).

Prije sistematske obrade cijele naseobine Zatak kod Lendave, u zborniku posvećenom prof. dr. sc. Željku Tomičiću, kao ilustraciju ćemo predstaviti još jedan zaključeni naseobinski objekt, čiji je inventar karakterističan za drugu polovicu 13. st. na tom području. Izabrali smo objekt SO 496 koji je otkriven u središnjem dijelu naselja. Jama većih dimenzija bila je ukopana u zdravicu. Prilično pravilnog ovalnog oblika u tlocrtu i polukružnog presjeka, veličine 2,20 x 1,80 m, a ispod razine oranja je sezala do dubine 0,50 m. Ispuna jame je siva sipka pješćana ilovača s rijetkim dodacima manjeg kamenja, lijepa i ugljena i čak 354 ulomaka keramike (sl.3). Pomoću ugljena datirana je u vrijeme oko 1277. god.

Arheološkim istraživanjima na trasi autoceste u obližnjoj Mađarskoj, između Nagykanizse i Tornýszentmiklósa, otkriven je materijal koji taj prostor povezuje sa širim područjem porječja Ledave/Lendva u prilično dobro prepoznatljiv naseobinski uzorak. Prepoznavanje srodne i istodobne materijalne kulture na tom prostoru moguće je na temelju usporedbi oblika i ukrasa keramike (Kvassay 2003; 2004; 2006). Istodobno su, slično kao i u zaleđu Lendave, u okrugu Zala, očuvani ili prepoznati brojni sakralni objekti, među kojima se neki izvorno povezuju s vremenom vladanja Arpadovića (Valter 2005).

Između Save i Drave u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj brojni su nalazi tog razdoblja poznati (vidjeti Sekelj Ivančan 2001; Sekelj Ivančan et al. 2003), a u posljednje vrijeme u okolici Varaždina, na već spomenutim pustarama koje datiraju od 10. do 16. st., dobro je datiran niz nalaza koji se mogu usporediti s onima pronađenim na nalazištima oko Lendave: Ciglenica kod Varaždinskih toplica (C14 datacije 1279+6; 1543+65; 1560 +52; Bekić 2006, T. 2-14); Blizna kod Jako-

ple wooden structures, partly dug into the soil, a feature which earned them the description of semi-pit-houses. The hearths form an integral part of the house's ground plan. In one instance the hearths along the outer walls of a house were well-preserved (Guštin 2006). Similar to other houses, these are also surrounded by refuse pits, created by the digging of loamy clay. Such houses are a regular feature for early medieval central Europe, so it is difficult to determine the ethnic affiliation of their inhabitants.

House 1 at the site of Zatak near Lendava, with traits of a semi-pit-house with a group of hearths placed on the side outside the house's ground plan, has good analogies in house 1 on the early medieval site of Feldsöszolza-Várdomb (Takacs 2003, Pl. 6,2). We have already published the characteristic ground plan from Zatak with a specific position, together with the inventory of two pits, with typical wheel-made and wheel-decorated pottery from pit 32 and pottery from pit 522, with a coin of Albrecht I (1282-1298). The house and pottery nicely illustrate the specific material culture of the population of that area (compare also Guštin 2005; 2006) and attribute the mentioned pieces to the late period of the Arpád dynasty (859-1301).

Prior to the systematic analysis of the entire settlement of Zatak near Lendava in the publication dedicated to Prof. Željko Tomičić, we shall present, as an illustration, yet another closed settlement structure unit, whose inventory is characteristic of the second half of the 13th cent. in that area. We chose the structure SO 496 discovered in the central part of the settlement. A large-size pit was dug into the sterile soil. It had a fairly regular oval shape in the ground plan and a semi-circular cross-section. It measured 2,20 x 1,80 m and reached a depth of 0,50 m below the plowing level. The fill of the pit consisted of grey, loose, sandy clay loam with rare inclusions of smaller stones, daub and charcoal, and as many as 354 pottery fragments. It was dated by the charcoal to a time around 1277.

The archaeological excavations on the motorway route in nearby Hungary between Nagykanizsa and Tornýszentmiklós revealed material that ties this zone and the wider area of the Lendava/Lendva basin into an easily recognizable settlement pattern. The recognition of a similar and synchronous material culture in that area is possible based on the comparisons of pottery forms and decorations (Kvassay 2003; 2004; 2006). At the same time, resembling the situation in the hinterland of Lendava, numerous sacral structures have been preserved or recognized in the Zala district, among them some that are originally connected to the period of the Arpád rule (Valter 2005).

Numerous known finds from that period have been found in northern Croatia between the Sava and Drava rivers (see Sekelj Ivančan 2001; Sekelj Ivančan et al. 2003); and recently, a well-dated series of finds comparable to those discovered on the sites around Lendava has been found on the already mentioned barrens dated between the 10th and 16th cent. in the vicinity of Varaždin: Ciglenica near Varaždinske Toplice (C14 dates 1279+6; 1543+65; 1560 +52; Bekić 2006, Pl. 2-14); Blizna near Jakopovec (6th?-9th cent., 12th cent.?: Bekić 2006, Pl. 2-14; Pl. 28,9-10); Stara Ves near

povca (6.-9. st., 12. st.?: Bekić 2006, T. 2-14, T. 28,9-10); Stara ves kod Nedelišča (7.-11. st. C14 datacije 1080+47: Bekić 2006, T. 12-13, T. 14 (16. st.), a i neobjavljeni nalazi iz Brezja kod Varaždina 9.-12. st. i Šarnjaka kod Šemovca 8.-9. st. (podaci L. Bekić).

Niz spomenutih naselja iz okolice Lendave pruža kvalitetne podatke za razumijevanje geneze tog prostora, a pomoću materijalnih dokaza naseobinskih struktura i sitnih nalaza (sl. 3) dokazuje povezanost naseljavanja i prostora koji kasnije postaje sastavnim dijelom formiranja mađarskog pograničnog obrambenog pojasa, mađ. Gyepüelve (Kerman 1997; 1997a).

Takav je naseobinski uzorak dobro vidljiv na lokaciji Gornje njive kod Dolge vasi, gdje su iskopavanja u proljeće 2006. god. pod vodstvom Branka Kermana pokazala kako se radi o zbijenom naselju, čije se postojanje podudara s nastankom susjednog ranosrednjovjekovnog dvorca u Lendavi (*Lindvi*), vlasnika Haholda, kasnijih Bánffyja (Stopar 1997) i razvojem trga (*Alsólinda*) pod njim u 14. st. (Zelko 1982).*

Nedelišče (7th-11th cent., C14 dates 1080+47: Bekić 2006, Pl. 12-13, Pl. 14 (16th cent.), as well as the unpublished finds from Brezje near Varaždin (9th-12th cent.) and Šarnjak near Šemovec (8th-9th cent.) (information by L. Bekić).

The mentioned settlements from the vicinity of Lendava offer good information for the understanding of the genesis of this area and by means of the material evidence from settlement structures and small finds (Fig. 2-3), prove the close ties between settlement and the area, which is later to become an integral part of the formation of the Hungarian border defense zone, Hung. Gyepüelve (Kerman 1997; 1997a).

Such a settlement pattern is readily apparent at the site of Gornje Njive near Dolga Vas, where the excavations in the spring of 2006, led by Branko Kerman, showed that this was a compact settlement whose existence corresponds with the emergence of the neighbouring early medieval castle in Lendava (*Lindva*) owned by the Hahold family, later the Bánffy (Stopar 1997) and the development of a market (*Alsólinda*) below it in the 14th cent. (Zelko 1982).*

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