

# Križnica sablje ili paloša Drugog avarskog kaganata iz Nina

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# Križnica sablje ili paloša Drugog avarskog kaganata iz Nina

## Second Avar Khaganate Sabre or Pallos Cross-guard from Nin

Prethodno priopćenje  
Ranosrednjovjekovna arheologija

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U članku je riječ o ranosrednjovjekovnoj križnici sablje ili paloša iz Nina. Autori ju pripisuju Drugom avarskom kaganatu, kojem pripada još desetak nalaza takve vrste oružja s prostora kontinentalne Hrvatske. Križnica iz starohrvatske prijestolnice za sada je jedinstven nalaz u Dalmaciji. Otkrivena je 2000. godine u arheološkim istraživanjima ispred pročelja župne crkve sv. Anselma, nekadašnje ninske katedrale.

*Ključne riječi:* Nin, sablja/paloš, križnica, Drugi avarski kaganat, rani srednji vijek

*The article discusses an early mediaeval sabre or pallos cross-guard from Nin. The authors have assigned the cross-guard to the Second Avar Khaganate, to which a dozen finds of this sort of weapon from the territory of continental Croatia also belong. The cross-guard from the ancient Croatian capital represents a unique find in Dalmatia. It was unearthed in 2000 in archaeological excavations in front of the façade of Saint Anselm's parish church, which once was Nin Cathedral.*

*Key words:* Nin, sabre/pallos, cross-guard, Second Avar Khaganate, Early Middle Ages

U Ninu je prije desetak godina otkriven rijedak arheološki predmet koji baca dodatno svjetlo na slabo poznato razdoblje druge polovice 8. i početka 9. stoljeća na tlu sjeverne Dalmacije, nama osobito zanimljivo, jer se tada na tom području odvijao proces stvaranja ranosrednjovjekovne Dalmatinske Hrvatske. To su ujedno vrijeme i prostor odakle i odkud možemo pratiti nastanak i razvoj hrvatskog naroda. Vrijeme prije početka 9. stoljeća za povijest Hrvata i dalje je obavijeno gotovo potpunim mrakom.

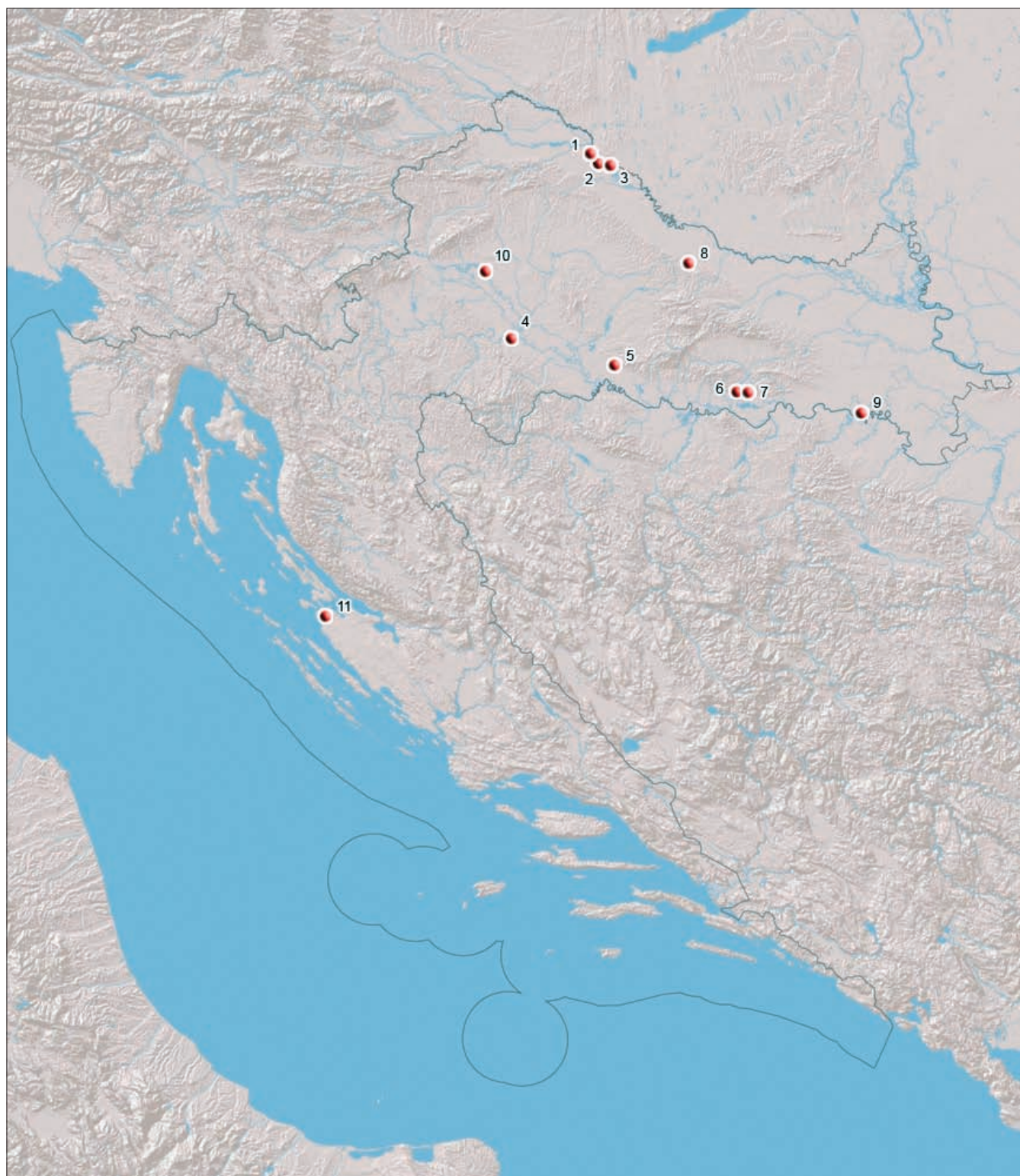
Dakle, u Muzeju ninskih starina čuva se križnica sablje ili jednosjeklog mača, tzv. paloša<sup>1</sup> ili kard iz razdoblja Dru-

<sup>1</sup> Ova riječ se u hrvatskim narječjima javlja u više oblika: paloš, palošina, palaš, pala, a uvijek označava ravan jednosjekli mač ili bojni nož. Obično se javlja uz attribute teškog i velikog oružja čime se vrši distinkcija u odnosu na zakrivljenu sablju koja je u pravilu lakša i kraća. Riječ istog značenja i istog korijena javlja se i u osmanskoturskom jeziku, ali je izgleda bizantskog podrijetla. Vidjeti o tome kod: Škaljić 1985: 508, gdje se navode komentari M. Salahi i Lehdžei-Osmani kako je riječ podrijetlom novogrčka, dok ju Barbier de Meynard dovodi u svezu s grčkom riječju *pālē*, *pála*. O riječi paloš vidjeti i u: Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik, Zagreb, 2002, str. 910, s. v. *paloš*. U južnoj Hrvatskoj uvijek se javlja u obliku paloš o čemu svjedoče venecijanske isprave na talijanskom jeziku poput „*spada palosso*“ kojom se naziva specifični južnohrvatski mač tipa schiavona. Stoga držimo da je oblik paloš ispravniji od oblika palaš koji je zapravo germanizam. Ali isto tako i epske narodne pjesme u kojima se javlja u oblicima paloš, palošina. O tome ispitati kod: Mažuranić 1975: 889. U mađarskom jeziku javlja se u obliku *pallos*, a u njemačkom *Pallasch*.

About ten years ago, a unique archaeological artefact was unearthed in Nin which has shed light on the poorly known period of the second half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century in the territory of northern Dalmatia, which is of particular interest to us because of the contemporaneous formation of early mediaeval Dalmatian Croatia in the area. This period and location offer us a starting point in the study of the origin and development of the Croats. In the history of the Croats, the period before the beginning of the ninth century is still shrouded in mystery.

The Museum of Nin Antiquities keeps the cross-guard of a sabre or a single-edged sword, a so-called pallos<sup>1</sup> or kard,

<sup>1</sup> In Croatian dialects, this word appears in several forms: *paloš*, *palošina*, *palaš* and *pala*, always denoting a straight single-ended sword or rapier. Usually, it has the attributes of a heavy and large weapon, thus being distinctive from a curved sabre which, as a rule, is lighter and shorter. A word with the same meaning and the same root also occurs in Ottoman Turkish, but seems to be of Byzantine origin. See: Škaljić 1985: 508, where the comments of M. Salahi and Lehdžei-Osmani assert that the word is of modern Greek origin, while Barbier de Meynard associates it with the Greek word *pale* or *pála*. On the word *paloš*, see also: Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik [Croatian Encyclopaedic Dictionary], Zagreb 2002, p. 910, s. v. *paloš*. In Southern Croatia, it always occurs in the form *paloš*, as testified to by references in Venetian documents in Italian, such as *spada palosso* used to denote a specific southern Croatian sword of the schiavona type. Therefore, in our opinion, the form *paloš* is more correct than the form *palaš*, which in fact is of German origin. On the other hand, there are also folk epics in which the forms *paloš* and *palošina* occur. For more, see: Mažuranić 1975: 889. In Hungarian, it occurs as *pallos*, and in German as *Pallasch*.



Karta 1 Nalazišta sablji ili paloša drugog avarskog kaganata: 1–3 Šoderica – Koprivnica; 4 Kupa kod Siska; 5 Novska; 6–7 Brodski Drenovac; 8 Borova kod Suhopolja; 9 Sava kod Slavanskog Broda; 10 Struga Nardska; 11 Nin

Map 1 Sites containing sabres or palloses from the Second Avar Khaganate: 1–3 Šoderica – Koprivnica; 4 Kupa near Sisk; 5 Novska; 6–7 Brodski Drenovac; 8 Borova near Suhopolje; 9 Sava near Slavanski Brod; 10 Struga Nardska; 11 Nin



Sl. 1 Križnica paloša, Nin, Muzej ninskih starina (snimio: M. Ilkić)  
Fig. 1 Pallos cross-guard, Nin, Museum of Nin Antiquities (photo: M. Ilkić)

gog avarskoga kaganata. Nađena je 2000. godine prigodom arheoloških istraživanja u središtu povijesnog dijela Nina (Karta 1: 11), i to uz pročelje župne crkve sv. Anselma.<sup>2</sup> Otkrivena je kao zaseban artefakt u kulturnome sloju dubine između 113 i 140 cm,<sup>3</sup> iznad kojega je legao grob koji se prema grozdolikoj naušnici može datirati u drugu polovicu 8. i prvu polovicu 9. stoljeća.<sup>4</sup> Taj grob je *terminus ante quem* za datiranje križnice.

Križnica je izrađena od bronce. Duga je 5,8 cm, široka 2,7 cm, a debela 1,1 cm (sl. 1). Ima dva široka, ali kratka kraka koji završavaju polukružnim proširenjem ukrašenim, čini se, samo na jednoj strani, i to s četiri romboidno raspoređena mala kružna udubljenja. Po sredini, uz proboj kroz koji se provlači trn sječiva, s njegove donje i gornje strane nalaze se parovi roščića trokutastog oblika, tzv. jelaca. Svrha im je da križnica pravilno ulegne na drvenu dršku, odnosno da sablja bolje nasjedne na usta korica, čime se sječivo štiti od prodora atmosferilija, tj. kiše i vlage.

Ninska križnica za sad je prvi nalaz takve vrste s područja Dalmacije. U kontinentalnom dijelu Republike Hrvatske, i to u Podravini i Posavini, prema nama dostupnim podacima, pronađeno je ukupno 10 sablji i paloša Drugog avarskog

from the period of the Second Avar Khaganate. It was unearthed in the course of 2000 in an archaeological campaign in the centre of the historical part of Nin (Map 1: 11), near the front of Saint Anselm's parish church.<sup>2</sup> It was uncovered as an individual artefact at a depth of 113 to 140 cm in the cultural layer,<sup>3</sup> above which there was a grave, which on the basis of a bunch-shaped earring can be dated to the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> The grave is a *terminus ante quem* for dating the cross-guard.

The cross-guard is made of bronze. It is 5.8 cm long, 2.7 cm wide and 1.1 cm thick (Fig. 1a). It has two wide but short arms ending in a semi-circular enlargement decorated, as it seems, on only one side with four small circular depressions in a rhomboidal arrangement. In the middle, next to the slot through which the blade's tang is threaded, on its lower and upper sides, there are pairs of triangularly-shaped quillons, also known as *jelce*. Their purpose is to make the cross-guard fit the wooden grip regularly, i.e. to enable the sabre to better fit the scabbard's throat, thus protecting the blade from atmospheric factors, i.e. rain and moisture.

#### The Nin cross-guard is the first such find in the territory

2 O crkvi sv. Anselma (bivša katedrala u Ninu), koja svoje ishodište ima još u starokršćanskom razdoblju, vidjeti u: Vežić 1986: 201–215; 2005: 113–118.

3 U inventarnoj knjizi križnica je zavedena pod brojem 909. Dozvolu za njezinu objavu dobili smo od voditelja Muzeja ninskih starina Mate Radovića, na čemu mu najljepše zahvaljujemo.

4 Naušnica je zavedena u inventarnu knjigu pod brojem 904. Izrađena je od srebra. Pripada varijanti s privjeskom u obliku stiliziranog klasa, odnosno u obliku grozda koji podsjeća na klas. Nađena je na dubini 109–111 cm, i to kao inventar groba 106. Riječ je o rijetkoj vrsti naušnica kakve su za sada poznate samo sa Ždrijca u Ninu i iz Crkvine u Biskupiji nedaleko od Knina. O toj vrsti nakita vidjeti u: Belošević 1980: 88; 2007: 256–259; Petrinec 2010: 125–126. U tipološko-kronološkom opredjeljivanju naušnice pomogla nam je Karla Gusar te joj se na toj darovanoj dobroti od srca zahvaljujemo, kao i Anamariji Kurilić na nizu korisnih savjeta.

2 For more on St. Anselm's Church (the former Nin Cathedral), which originates from the early Christian period, see: Vežić 1986: 201–215; 2005: 113–118.

3 In the Inventory Book, the cross-guard is registered under number 909. We gratefully acknowledge permission for its publication from the Head of the Museum of Nin Antiquities, Mate Radović.

4 The earring is registered in the Inventory Book under number 904. It is made of silver. It belongs to the variety with a pendant in the form of a stylised bunch of grapes reminiscent of the shape of an ear of corn. It was unearthed at a depth of 109–111 cm as part of the inventory of grave 106. It is a rare type of earring, which is so far known only from Ždrijac in Nin and from Crkvinu in Biskupija in the vicinity of Knin. For more on this type of jewellery, see: Belošević 1980: 88; 2007: 256–259; Petrinec 2010: 125–126. In the typological-chronological classification of the earring, we were assisted by Karla Gusar, whose kindness we appreciate very much. We also owe a special word of gratitude to Anamarija Kurilić for her useful advice.

kaganata (Karta 1: 1–10).<sup>5</sup> U Hrvatskoj se čuva još nekoliko primjeraka za koje nisu poznata mjesta pronalaska, od kojih jedan potječe iz sjeverozapadnoga dijela Bosne i Hercegovine. Prema tomu, osim križnice iz Nina, to su još i sljedeći artefakti:

1. Paloš, 8. stoljeće (sl. 2a–b). Željezo-čelično sječivo



Sl. 2 Paloš, Šoderica kod Koprivnice, Gradski muzej Koprivnica, inv. br. 5574

Fig. 2 Pallos, Šoderica near Koprivnica, Town Museum Koprivnica, inv. no. 5574

je ravno, jednosjeklo i peterokutnog presjeka. Vrh mu je odlomljen. Trn je dulji i širi s jednim probojem za zakovicu.

<sup>5</sup> Fotografije primjeraka iz Gradskog muzeja u Virovitici dobili smo od Silvije Salajić na čemu joj se najljepše zahvaljujemo, kao i Željku Demić na ustupljenim fotografijama primjeraka iz Brodskih Drenovaca koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Fotografiju primjerka iz Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja u Zagrebu dobili smo od Dore Bošković i Ankice Pandžić, kojima također zahvaljujemo. Autor fotografija križnice iz Nina je Mato Ilkić. Ilustracije ostalih artefakata i kartu izradio je Tomislav Aralica.

of Dalmatia. In the continental part of the Republic of Croatia, particularly in Podravina and Posavina, according to available data, 10 Second Avar Khaganate sabres and palloses have been unearthed (Map 1: 1–10).<sup>5</sup> In Croatia, there are several other specimens, one of which originates from the north-western part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the locations of where they were found are unknown. Apart from the cross-guard from Nin, there are also the following artefacts:

1. Pallos, 8<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 2a–b). The iron-steel blade is straight, single-edged, and with a pentagonal cross-section. Its point is broken off. The tang is longer and wider,



Sl. 3 Sablja, Šoderica kod Koprivnice, Gradski muzej Koprivnica, inv. br. 5575

Fig. 3 Sabre, Šoderica near Koprivnica, Town Museum Koprivnica, inv. no. 5575

<sup>5</sup> Photos of the specimens from Virovitica Town Museum were provided for us by Silvija Salajić, for which we owe her special gratitude. Our thanks also go to Željko Demić for the photograph of the specimens from Brodski Drenovci, which are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Photo of the specimen from Croatian History Museum in Zagreb was given to us by Dora Bošković and Ankica Pandžić, to whom we are also grateful. The author of the photos of the cross-guard from Nin is Mato Ilkić. The illustrations of other artefacts and the map were made by Tomislav Aralica.

Križnica je željezna, kratka, plošna, s kratkim kracima koji završavaju školjkastim proširenjem, dok su rošćići po sredini križnice trokutasti i kratki. S prednje strane, tj. one koja se vidi kad se sablja vješa na lijevi bok nositelja, križnica je ukrašena zrakasto raspoređenim žljebovima kojima je sječište po njezinoj sredini. S unutarnje strane je glatka, bez dekoracija. Ispod križnice je željezni okovratnik trna sječiva s dubljim uzdužnim brazdama. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 750 mm; duljina križnice: 60 mm. Čuva se u Gradskom muzeju u Koprivnici, gdje je zaveden pod inv. br. 5574. Paloš nije objavljen. Pronađen je tijekom eksploatacije pijeska i šljunka iz starog korita rijeke Drave, u Šoderici pokraj Koprivnice. Inače, tamo je nađena veća količina oružja iz različitih vremenskih razdoblja. Najvjerojatnije se tu tijekom antike i srednjeg vijeka nalazio gaz, odnosno prijelaz preko rijeke.

2. Sablja, 8. stoljeće (sl. 3a–b), ima blago zakrivljeno jednosjeklo željezno-čelično sječivo peterokutnog presjeka bez žljebova s kratkim jalmanom. Vrh je tipa „šaranov jezik“.<sup>6</sup> Dugi široki trn ima dva proboja za zakovicu. Križnica je željezna. Njeni krakovi završavaju školjkastim proširenjem dok su središnji rošćići trokutasti i kratki. Jedan krak križnice je deformiran i zakrivljen. Sablja je nekoć imala i okovratnik trna sječiva što je vidljivo po tome što križnica ne nasjeda na ramena sječiva. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 910 mm; duljina križnice: 68 mm. Sablja je pronađena u starom koritu rijeke Drave, u Šoderici pokraj Koprivnice. Čuva se u koprivničkom Gradskom muzeju gdje je zavedena pod inv. br. 5575 (Tomičić 2000: 154; Petrinc 2000: 90, kat. br. II. 10).

3. Paloš, 8. stoljeće (sl. 4). Čelično jednosjeklo sječivo je peterokutnog presjeka i bez jalmana. Oblik vrha je sličan vrhovima japanskih katana, inačice fukura-kareru. Naime, vrh je u pravcu pružanja hrpta, a brid oštrice vrha je ravan nakon čega se lomi pod tupim kutom i prelazi u brid oštrice tijela sječiva. Trn je dug, bez proboja za zakovicu. Križnica i ostali dijelovi rukohvata nedostaju. Zanimljivo je da je ovo



Sl. 4 Paloš, Šoderica kod Koprivnice, Gradski muzej Koprivnica, inv. br. 5585

Fig. 4 Pallos, Šoderica near Koprivnice, Town Museum Koprivnica, inv. no. 5585

čelično sječivo izrađeno tehnikom mehaničkog damaska, tj. zavarivanjem i prekivanjem željeznih i čeličnih šipki i pločica s različitim udjelom ugljika i drugih legiranih elemenata, zbog čega se na površini predmeta ukazuje damaska šara. To je na ovom artefaktu osobito vidljivo jer je u novije doba bio obrađivan korištenjem agresivnih kiselina i pjeskarenjem. Ovakva tehnika mehaničkog damaska primjenjivana je u izradi osobito kvalitetnih rimskih spata te kasnije germanskih, merovinških i karolinških mačeva iz razdoblja od 5. do 10. stoljeća. Ovo je jedini nama poznat primjerak sječiva avarskog paloša izrađenog tehnikom mehaničkog damaska. Maja Petrinc datira ovaj paloš u kraj 8. stoljeća. Nađen je u starom koritu rijeke Drave, u Šoderici pokraj Koprivnice.

6 Vrh tipa „šaranov jezik“ je jedan od pet najčešćih vrsta vrhova sječiva sablji. Taj tip vrha je simetričan, razmjerno kratak i naoštren s obje strane. O tome vidjeti u: Aralica 2007: 17.

with a slot for the rivet. The cross-guard is made of iron, and is short and flat, with short arms ending in a shell-formed enlargement, while the quillons in the middle of the cross-guard are triangular and short. On the front side, i.e. the side visible when the sabre is mounted on the left hip of its bearer, the cross-guard is decorated with radially arranged fullers, intersecting at its centre. The inside is smooth, without decoration. Below the cross-guard, there is the iron collar of the blade's tang with rather deep longitudinal furrows. The artefact's overall length is 750 mm, and the length of the cross-guard is 60 mm. It is kept in Koprivnica Town Museum, where it is registered under Inv. No. 5574. The pallos has not been published. It was unearthed in the course of sand and pebble extraction from the old riverbed of the Drava in Šoderica near Koprivnica. A rather large quantity of weapons from various periods has been found at the same site. There was most probably a ford here during Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

2. Sabre, 8<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 3a–b), with a slightly curved single-edged iron-steel blade with a pentagonal cross-section without fullers, and with a short yelmen. The point is of the “carp's tongue” type.<sup>6</sup> The long and wide tang has two slots for rivets. The cross-guard is made of iron. Its arms end in a shell-formed enlargement, while the central quillons are triangular and short. One arm of the cross-guard is deformed and curved. The sabre used to have a blade tang collar, which is evident from the fact that the cross-guard does not fit into the blade's shoulders. The artefact's overall length is 910 mm, and the length of the cross-guard is 68 mm. The sabre was found in the old Drava riverbed in Šoderica near Koprivnica. It is kept in Koprivnica Town Museum, where it is registered under Inv. No. 5575 (Tomičić 2000: 154; Petrinc 2000: 90, Cat. No. II 10).

3. Pallos, 8<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4). The single-edged blade made of steel has a pentagonal cross-section and no yelmen. The point form is similar to that of the Japanese katana of the fukura-kareru type. The point is in the direction in which the edge extends, and the edge of the point is straight, after

which it breaks under an obtuse angle, to turn into the edge of the blade's body. The tang is long, without slots for the rivets. The cross-guard and other parts of the hilt are missing. It is interesting that this steel blade was made using the mechanical Damascus technique, i.e. by welding and covering the iron and steel bars and plates with various carbon and other alloyed elements, due to which the surface of the artefact has the typical Damascus pattern. This is particularly evident in this artefact, which has recently been processed through the application of aggressive acids and sand-blasting. The mechanical Damascus technique was applied in the manufacturing of Roman spathae of particularly high quality, and later of Germanic, Merovingian and Carolingian swords from the period from the 5<sup>th</sup> through to the 10<sup>th</sup>

6 The point of the “carp's tongue” type is among the five most frequent types of sabre blade points. This point type is symmetrical, relatively short and sharpened on both sides. For more, see: Aralica 2007: 17.



Sl. 5 Sablja, Kupa kod Siska, Hrvatski povijesni muzej, inv. br. 1905

Fig. 5 Sabre, Kupa near Sisak, Croatian History Museum, inv. no. 1905

Čuva se u Gradskom muzeju u Koprivnici gdje je zaveden pod inv. br. 5585 (Tomičić 2000: 154; Petrinec 2000: 90, kat. br. II. 11).

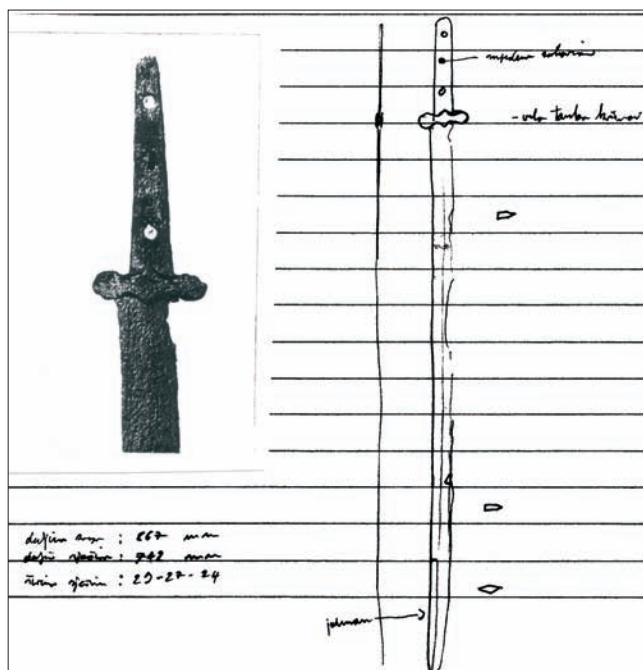
**4.** Sablja, 8. stoljeće (sl. 5). Usko željezno-čelično sječivo ima kratak jalman šiljatog vrha koji je malo okrhnut. Sječivo je pravilnog klinastog presjeka. Trn je dug s jednim probojem za zakovicu. Željezna križnica je razmjerno masivna, ravnih krakova, a bočno gledano nalik je pravilnom četverokutu. Dok su krakovi križnice uski, ona je u sredini, gledano odozgo, jako proširena. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 830 mm; širina sječiva: 28–24–18 mm. Čuva se u Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju pod inv. br. 1905. Sablja je izjaruzana iz Kupe kod Siska 1912. godine. Prilikom prve objave ovaj artefakt nije bio atribuiran (Šercer 1979: kat. br. 682). Nedavno ga je publicirala Dora Bošković, ali bez datiranja (Bošković 2009: 125, kat. br. 72).

**5.** Sablja, 8. stoljeće (sl. 6). Vrlo blago zakrivljeno čelično-željezno sječivo peterokutnog presjeka i bez žlijeba ima vrh oblika „šaranovog jezika“ te jalman. Trn je dug s dva proboja za zakovice. Križnica je željezna, kratka i tanka. Ima dva kratka kraka koji završavaju školjkastim proširenjima te male trokutaste roščiće po sredini. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 867 mm; duljina sječiva: 742 mm; širina sječiva: 29–27–24 mm. Nalazi se u privatnoj zbirci starina i etnografskih predmeta Živka Sajka iz Novske. Nađena je 1. lipnja 1978. godine prilikom skidanja humusnog sloja na mjestu izgradnje nove tvornice Kozara u istočnom dijelu Novske, iznad željezničke stanice. Sablja je uočena na hrpi zemlje, zgurane i nabacane radnim strojevima, a moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je pripadala manjoj avaro-slavenskoj nekropoli. Vjerojatno je bila prilog ratničkom grobu. Neobjavljeno.

**6.** Sablja, druga polovica 8. – prva polovica 9. stoljeća (sl. 7a–c). Blago zakrivljeno jednosjeklo željezno-čelično

century. This is the only known example of the blade of an Avar pallos manufactured using the mechanical Damascus technique. Maja Petrinec has dated the pallos to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. It was found in the old Drava riverbed in Šoderica near Koprivnica. It is kept in Koprivnica Town Museum, where it is registered under Inv. No. 5585 (Tomičić 2000: 154; Petrinec 2000: 90, Cat. No. II 11).

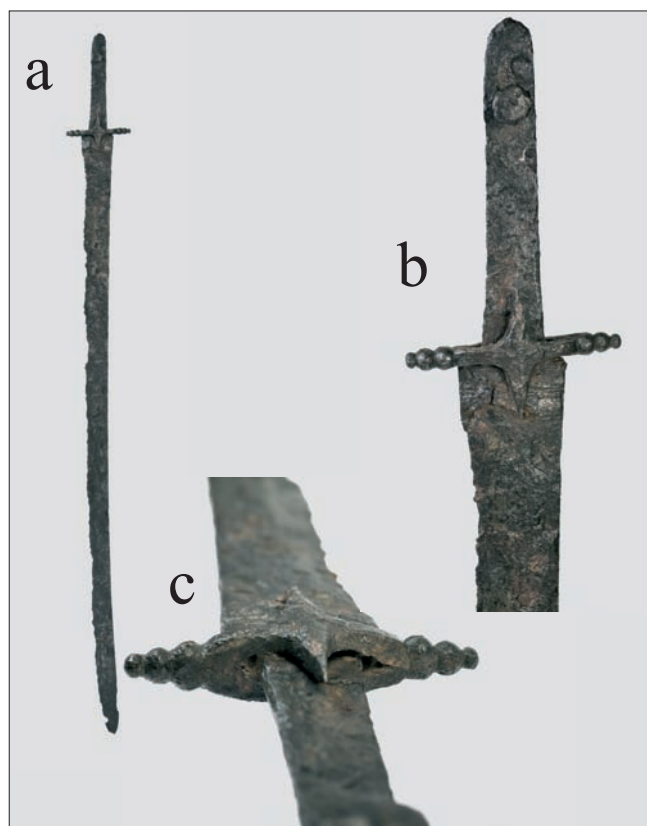
**4.** Sabre, 8<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 5). The narrow iron-steel blade has a short yelman with a pointed tip, part of which is slightly broken off. The blade has a regular wedge-shaped cross-section. The tang is long with a slot for a rivet. The iron cross-guard is relatively large, with straight arms, and viewed from the sides it resembles a regular rectangle. While the cross-guard arms are narrow, the middle is extraordinarily enlarged when viewed from above. Its overall length is 830 mm, and the blade width is 28–24–18 mm. It is kept in the Croatian Historical Museum under Inv. No. 1905. The sabre was recovered from the Kupa near Sisak in 1912. When first published, the artefact was not attributed (Šercer 1979: Cat. No. 682). Recently it was published by Dora Bošković but without datation (Bošković 2009: 125, cat. no. 72).



Sl. 6 Sablja, Novska, u privatnoj zbirci starina i etnografskih predmeta Živka Sajka iz Novske

Fig. 6 Sabre, Novska, in private collection of antiquities and ethnographic objects of Živko Sajko from Novska

**5.** Sabre, 8<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 6). A very slightly curved steel-iron blade with a pentagonal cross-section and no fuller. Its point is in the form of a “carp’s tongue”, and it has a yelman. The tang is long, with two slots for rivets. The cross-guard is made of iron, and is short and thin. It has two short arms ending in shell-formed enlargements and small triangular quillons in the middle. Its overall length is 867 mm, the blade length 742 mm, and the blade width 29–27–24 mm. It is part of Živko Sajko’s private collection of antiquities and ethnographical objects from Novska. It was unearthed on 1 June 1978 when the humus layer was taken off the construction site of the new Kozara factory in the eastern part of Novska above the railway station. The sabre was



Sl. 7 Sablja, Brodski Drenovac, grob 14, Arheološki muzej Zagreb, inv. br. 718

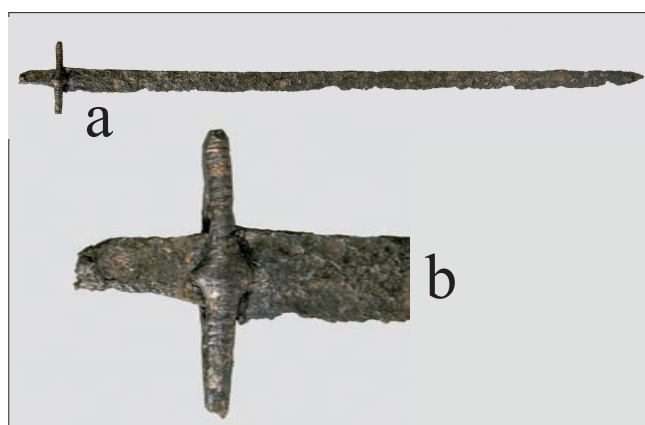
Fig. 7 Sabre, Brodski Drenovac, grave 14, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 718

sječivo je peterokutnog presjeka bez žlijeba, s kratkim jalmanom pri vrhu. Vrh je tipa „šaranov jezik“. Na trnu ima proboj za jednu zakovicu koja je, također, sačuvana, zajedno s rozetama na koje se zakovica zakivala. Sačuvani su i ostaci glavice drške koja je imala oblik kapice, naprstka, te dva željezna čavlića kojima je glavica bila pričvršćena na drvenu dršku. Križnica je željezna i ima ravne krakove koji završavaju s po tri kuglasto-člankasta ukrasa. Prva dva su šira, a onaj završni je uži. Također, ima i dva para trokutastih roščića. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 820 mm. Između križnice i sječiva nalazi se željezni nazuvak koji se prilikom montaže ruko hvata natakne na trn sječiva prije križnice. On je poprječno brazdan i nešto širi od sječiva, a namjena mu je da začepi usta korica nakon što se sablja stavi u korice i tako sprječava prodor atmosferilija. Ovakvi nazuvci javljaju se na sabljama i palošima istočne Europe i srednje Azije od 7. pa do 12. stoljeća. Udomaćili su se i u Japanu gdje tamošnje sablje, tijekom čitavog srednjeg vijeka, sve do modernih vremena, imaju ovakve nazuvke koje tamo zovu *habaki* (okovratnik) (Yumoto 1958: Pl. 29). Stoga i mi u daljnjem tekstu ovaj dio sablje nazivamo „okovratnik trna sječiva“. Pronađena je u zatvorenoj arheološkoj cjelini, tj. u ratničkom konjaničkom grobu broj 14 nekropole u Brodskom Drenovcu. Čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, gdje je zavedena pod inv. br. 718. Nekropolu kod Brodskog Drenovca, kao i predmete ondje nađene tijekom iskapanja 1953. godine, njeni istraživači datiraju u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća, u razdoblje slavonske kneževine u Slavoniji kojom je vladao najprije Ljudevit

identified in a heap of earth, pushed and thrown aside by engineering vehicles, and presumably belonged to a small Avar-Slav necropolis. Probably, it was a burial object in a warrior's grave. Unpublished.

6. Sabre, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century/first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 7a–c). The slightly curved single-edged iron-steel blade has a pentagonal cross-section, no fuller, and a short yelmen near the top. The point is of the “carp’s tongue” type. The tang has a slot for a rivet that has also been preserved, along with the rosettes to which the rivet used to be welded. Remains of the hilt’s pommel have also been preserved. This had the shape of a little cap, a thimble, and two little iron nails with heads fixed to the wooden grip. The cross-guard is made of iron and has straight arms, each of which ends in three spherically jointed ornaments. The first two are wider, and the final one is narrower. It also has two pairs of triangular quillons. The overall length of the artefacts is 820 mm. Between the cross-guard and the blade, there is an iron locket which is put on the tang in front of the cross-guard when mounting the hilt. The locket is diagonally furrowed and somewhat wider than the blade, and its purpose was to close the throat after the sabre had been inserted into the scabbard, thus preventing the penetration of atmospheric factors. Such lockets occur on sabres and palloses in Eastern Europe and central Asia from the seventh until the twelfth century. They were also widely used in Japan, where local sabres had such lockets throughout the entire Middle Ages until the modern period, and were called *habaki* (collars) (Yumoto 1958: Pl. 29). Therefore, in the following text, we shall call this part of the sabre the “the blade tang collar”. It was unearthed in a closed archaeological complex, i.e. grave number 14 of a warrior horseman at the necropolis in Brodski Drenovac. It is kept at the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, where it is registered under Inv. No. 718. The necropolis near Brodski Drenovac, as well as the artefacts unearthed there in the course of the 1953 campaign, have been dated to the first half of the ninth century and the period of the Slavic principality in Slavonia, ruled first by Ljudevit Posavski (810–823) and then by Ratimir (829–838) and their followers (Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958: 154). More recently, a hypothesis has been published that the warriors from Brodski Drenovac were Slavs equipped according to Avar fashion (Tomičić 2000: 155–156; Simoni 2000: 86, Cat. No. 4a).

7. Pallos, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century/first half of the 9<sup>th</sup>



Sl. 8 Paloš, Brodski Drenovac, grob 19, Arheološki muzej Zagreb, inv. br. 746

Fig. 8 Pallos, Brodski Drenovac, grave 19, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. 746



Posavski (810. – 823.), zatim Ratimir (829. – 838.) i njihovi sljedbenici (Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958: 154). U novije vrijeme izneseno je mišljenje da su ratnici iz Brodskoga Drenovca bili Slaveni opremljeni po avarskoj modi (Tomičić 2000: 155–156; Simoni 2000: 86, kat. br. 4a).

**7.** Paloš, druga polovina 8. – prva polovina 9. stoljeća (sl. 8a–b). Gotovo ravno jednosjeklo želježno-čelično sječivo peterokutnog je presjeka bez žlijeba. Vrh je tipa „šaranov jezik“. Željezna križnica je okruglog presjeka. Ima dulje, deblje, člankasto narebrene krakove i dva para manjih trokutastih roščića. Trn je širi s jednim probojem za zakovicu. Sačuvani su i ostaci glavice drška od željeznog lima, a od korica samo donji okov od željeza nejasnog oblika. Duljina predmeta: 810 mm. Čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu pod inv. br. 746. Paloš je nađen u zatvorenoj grobnoj cjelini,

century (Fig. 8a–b). An almost straight single-edged iron-steel blade with a pentagonal cross-section and no fuller. The point is of the “carp’s tongue” type. The iron cross-guard has a round cross-section. It has rather long jointed ribbed arms and two pairs of smaller triangular quillons. The tang is rather wide, with a slot for the rivet. The remains of the hilt’s pommel, which is made of sheet iron, have also been preserved, while of the scabbard only a lower iron fitting of an unclear form has remained. The artefact’s length is 810 mm. It is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb under Inv. No. 746. The pallos was unearthed in a closed grave complex from the grave of a warrior, number 19 of the necropolis in Brodski Drenovac (Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958: 157, Pl. IV: 1; Pl. XV: 4–7; Tomičić 2000: 155–156; Simoni 2000: 88, Cat. No. II 6a).



Sl. 9 Sablja, Borova kod Suhopolja, Gradski muzej Virovitica, inv. br. 21  
Fig. 9 Sabre, Borova near Suhopolje, Town Museum Virovitica, inv. no. 21

u ratničkom grobu broj 19 nekropole u Brodskom Drenovcu (Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958: 157, T. IV: 1; T. XV: 4–7; Tomičić 2000: 155–156; Simoni 2000: 88, kat. br. II. 6a).

**8.** Sablja, druga polovica 8. – prva polovica 9. stoljeća (sl. 9). Blago zakrivljeno jednosjeklo čelično-željezno sječivo klinastog je presjeka. Na dugom trnu je zakovica od željeza. Od iste kovine je i križnica dugih ravnih i jednostavno oblikovanih krakova ovalnog presjeka. Na njezinom središtu su dva para malih roščića trokutastog oblika. Ispod križnice je okovratnik trna sječiva. Sablja potječe iz uništenog ratni-

**8.** Sabre, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup>/first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 9). Slightly curved single-edged steel-iron blade with a wedge-shaped cross-section. On the long tang, there is an iron rivet. The cross-guard, made of the same metal, with long straight and simply shaped arms, has an oval cross-section. In its centre, there are two pairs of small triangular quillons. Below the cross-guard, there is a blade tang collar. The sabre originates from a damaged warrior’s grave from the village of Borova in the vicinity of Suhopolje. It is kept in Virovitica Town Museum under Inv. No. 21 (Tomičić 2000:



Sl. 10 Paloš, Sava blizu Slavanskog i Bosanskog Šamca (?), privatna zbirka Donalda Josipovića  
Fig. 10 Pallos, Sava near Slavonski and Bosanski Šamac (?), private collection of Donald Josipović

kog groba u selu Borova nedaleko od Suhopolja. Čuva se u Gradskom muzeju u Virovitici pod inv. br. 21 (Tomičić 2000: 154–155; Salajić 2000: 104–105, kat. br. II. 42).

**9.** Paloš, druga polovica 8. – početak 9. stoljeća (sl. 10a–b). Paloš ima ravno jednosjeklo čelično-željezno sječivo peterokutnog presjeka, vrh poput „šaranovog jezika“ i kratki

154–155; Salajić 2000: 104–105, Cat. No. II 42).

**9.** Pallos, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century/beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 10a–b). The pallos has a straight single-edged steel-iron blade with a pentagonal cross-section, a “carp’s tongue” point and a short yelmen (85 mm). In places where it has corroded more, it is evident that the blade has a complex construction. It was made using the demanding

jalman dug 85 mm. Na mjestima jače korodivne nagrizenosti opaža se kako je sječivo složene konstrukcije, rađeno zahtjevnom tehnikom mehaničkog damaska i višestrukog preslagivanja i prekivanja slojeva čelika i željeza. Trn i drška nedostaju, ali su dobro sačuvani križnica i okovratnik trna sječiva. Križnica je željezna, ima ravne krakove čiji krajevi završavaju s po dvije člankaste kuglice, dok su roščići trokutasti i kratki. Križnica je ukrašena s četiri središnja rebra i četiri brazde raspoređene poput Andrijinog križa. Okovratnik trna sječiva je vodoravno brazdan te ima naizmjenično tri uska i tri široka žlijeba. Križnica i okovratnik trna sječiva izrazito nalikuju istim dijelovima sablje na primjerku nađenom u konjaničkom grobu br. 14 nekropole u Brodskom Drenovcu (kat. br. 6). Duljina cijelog predmeta: 702 mm; duljina sječiva: 688 mm; duljina križnice 60 mm; širina sječiva:

mechanical Damascus technique, with multiple rearranged layers of steel and iron. The tang and grip are missing, but the cross-guard and the collar of the blade's tang have been well preserved. The cross-guard is made of iron, with straight arms, each of them ending in two little jointed spheres, while the quillons are triangular and short. The cross-guard is decorated with four central ribs and four furrows arranged as a St. Andrew's cross. The collar of the blade's tang has horizontal furrows, while three narrow and three wide grooves interchange. The cross-guard and the collar of the blade's tang are very similar to the same parts of a sabre specimen unearthed from grave No. 14 of a horseman at the Brodski Drenovac necropolis (Cat. No. 6). The overall length is 702 mm, blade length 688 mm, cross-guard length 60 mm, and blade width 24.8–23.8–21.7 mm. It is kept in Donald Josipović's collection. The exact location of its unearthing is not known. Presumably it was found a long time



Sl. 11 Sablja, Sava blizu Slavenskog Šamca (?), privatna zbirka Donalda Josipovića  
Fig. 11 Sabre, Sava near Slavonski Šamac (?), private collection of Donald Josipović

24,8–23,8–21,7 mm. Čuva se u privatnoj zbirci Donalda Josipovića. Točno mjesto nalaza nije poznato. Pretpostavlja se da je nekoć davno pronađena u koritu rijeke Save, na ušću rijeke Bosne, u blizini Slavenskog i Bosanskog Šamca. Neobjavljeno.

**10.** Sablja, kraj 8. – 9. stoljeće (sl. 11). Sablja ima zakrivljeno jednosjeklo čelično-željezno sječivo peterokutnog presjeka s izraženim jalmanom i izrazito ušiljenim vrhom. Pri vrhu sječivo je suženo te je jalman „uvučen“. Sječivo sa svake strane ima po jedan širok i plitak žlijeb. Trn je dug i nema proboja za zakovicu, što znači da se glavica drške zakivala na njega. Trn je na vrhu savinut što je vjerojatno posljedica oštećenja. Željezna križnica ima dva uža, naniže savinuta kraka četvrtastog presjeka. S donje strane, oko proboja za trn, križnica ima trbušasto proširenje prema sječivu. Ispod nje se nalazi željezni okovratnik trna sječiva koji je gladak, bez uobičajenih brazda. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 971 mm; duljina sječiva: 822 mm; duljina križnice 89,2 mm; širina sječiva: 49–40–26 mm. Čuva se u privatnoj zbirci Donalda Josipovića. Točno mjesto nalaza nije poznato. Pretpostavlja se da je nekoć davno pronađena u koritu rijeke Save u blizini Slavenskog Šamca. Ova sablja odudara od uobičajenih oblika ove vrste oružja. Naime, mnogo je krupnija i teža od avarskih sabli i paloša 8. stoljeća. Ipak, ona je nedvojbeno rano-srednjovjekovna. Oblikom okovratnika trna sječiva srodna je avarskim sabljama i palošima. Neobjavljeno.

**11.** Paloš, druga polovina 8. – početak 9. stoljeća (sl. 12a–b). Paloš posjeduje ravno željezno-čelično jednosjeklo sječivo koje pokazuje tragove višeslojnog prekivanja. Peterokutnog je presjeka. Ima vrh nalik šaranovom jeziku i jalman dug svega 81 mm. Na 112 mm dugom trnu su četiri proboja za zakovice. Željezna križnica ima ravne krakove četverokutnog presjeka i male trokutaste roščiće s ušiljenim vrhovima. Ispod križnice je okovratnik trna sječiva s gustim

ago in the Sava riverbed, at the mouth of the River Bosna in the vicinity of Slavonski and Bosanski Šamac. Unpublished.

**10.** Sabre, end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century/9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 11). The sabre has a curved single-edged steel-iron blade with a pentagonal cross-section, an accentuated yelmen and an extraordinarily pointed tip. Near the top, the blade is narrower, and the yelmen “inverted”. On each side of the blade, there is a wide and shallow groove. The tang is long and has no slots for a rivet, suggesting that the pommel was welded onto it. The tang is bent at the top, probably as a consequence of damage. The iron cross-guard has two rather narrow arms folded downwards, with a rectangular cross-section. On the lower parts, around the slot for the tang, the cross-guard has a belly-shaped enlargement towards the blade. Below it, there is an iron blade tang collar, which is smooth and without the usual furrows. The overall length is 971 mm, blade length 822 mm, cross-guard length 89.2 mm, and blade width 49–40–26 mm. It is kept in Donald Josipović's collection. The exact location of its unearthing is not known. Presumably it was found a long time ago in the Sava riverbed in the vicinity of Slavonski Šamac. The sabre is different from the usual forms of this type of weapon. Namely, it is much larger and heavier than 8<sup>th</sup> century Avar sabres and palloses. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly early mediaeval. The form of the blade tang collar is related to Avar sabres and palloses. Unpublished.

**11.** Pallos, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century/beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 12a–b). The pallos has a straight iron-steel single-edged blade showing traces of a multi-layered covering. It has a pentagonal cross-section. Its point resembles a carp's tongue, and its yelmen is only 81 mm long. On the 112 mm-long tang, there are four slots for rivets. The iron cross-guard has straight arms with a rectangular cross-section and small triangular quillons with pointed tips. Below the cross-guard, there is a blade tang collar with thick diagonal furrows and ribs. The overall length is 796 mm, the blade length 677 mm, the span of the cross-guard arms 79 mm, the span of the cross-guard quillons 42 mm, the bla-



Sl. 12 Paloš, Struga Nartska, zbirka starina Osnovne škole Rugvica  
 Fig. 12 Pallos, Struga Nartska, collection of antiquities of Primary School Rugvica

poprječnim brazdama i rebrima. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 796 mm; duljina sječiva: 677 mm; raspon krakova križnice: 79 mm; raspon roščića križnice: 42 mm; širina sječiva: 33 (okovratnik) – 30 (odmah ispod okovratnika) – 25 (po sredini sječiva) – 22 mm (na početku jalmana); debljina hrpta: 6,8 mm do 5,1 mm. Čuva se u zbirci starina Osnovne škole Rugvica. Njega je lokalni učitelj i ljubitelj starina, danas pokojni Stjepan Horvat iz Dugog Sela, dobio od žitelja Struge Nartske. Nađen je prilikom vađenja i separacije pijeska u obližnjoj šljunčari. Nalaz je sigurno stariji od 70-tih godina 20. stoljeća kad je učitelj Horvat formirao školsku zbirku. Pokraj Struge Nartske, a u blizini rijeke Save, postoji sedam velikih jezera nastalih eksploatacijom šljunka. Tu se, vjerojatno, tijekom antike i srednjeg vijeka pružalo staro korito Save koja danas teče nešto južnije. U njima je pronađen veći broj različitog želznog i brončanog oružja i oruđa koje se može datirati od prapovijesti pa do razvijenog srednjeg vijeka.<sup>7</sup> Predmet je odlično sačuvan i prekriven je plemenitom željeznom patinom od getita.<sup>8</sup>

**12.** Sablja, druga polovica 8. – prva polovica 9. stoljeća (sl. 13a–b). Želježno-čelično jednosjeklo sječivo peterokutnog presjeka je blago zakrivljeno. Nema žlijeb. Ima vrh nalik „šaranovom jeziku“ i kratak jalman. Željezna križnica ravnih krakova je ovalnog presjeka s dva para trokutastih i ušiljenih roščića. Ispod nje je okovratnik trna sječiva. On je kraći, s jednim probojom za zakovicu, ali mu vrh nedostaje. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 890 mm; duljina sječiva: 785 mm; širina sječiva na nasadu 22 mm. Mjesto nalaza nije poznato. Čuva se u jednoj zagrebačkoj privatnoj zbirci (Kovač 2003: kat. br. 29).

7 Nešto od te arheološke građe je i publicirano. O tome vidjeti u: Simoni 1982. Autorica misli kako se ovdje radi o ranosrednjovjekovnoj ostavi. No, mi o tome imamo drugačije mišljenje. Naime, oružje i oruđe ondje nađeno može se datirati od kasnog brončanog doba pa do razvijenog srednjeg vijeka. Gotovo sigurno je ovdje riječ, kao i u većem broju sličnih slučajeva, o komunikacijskom čvorištu i mjestu prijelaza preko rijeke. Na takvim mjestima u burnim ratnim i nemirnim vremenima dolazi do oružanih sukoba kad se oružje gubi te iz različitih razloga dospjeva, katkad zajedno sa svojim vlasnikom, u korito rijeke gdje ga više nije moguće lako pronaći.

8 Getit je željezni oksihidroksidni mineral (kemijska formula  $\alpha\text{-FeOOH}$ ) nazvan po velikom njemačkom književniku Johannu Wolfgangu von Goetheu. Stabilan je pri umjerenim temperaturama i zbog toga vrlo rasprostranjen u prirodi. Najstabilniji je i najrasprostranjeniji željezov oksihidroksid, naročito čest u morskim i jezerskim sedimentima. Najbolji je konzervator željeznih iskopina.

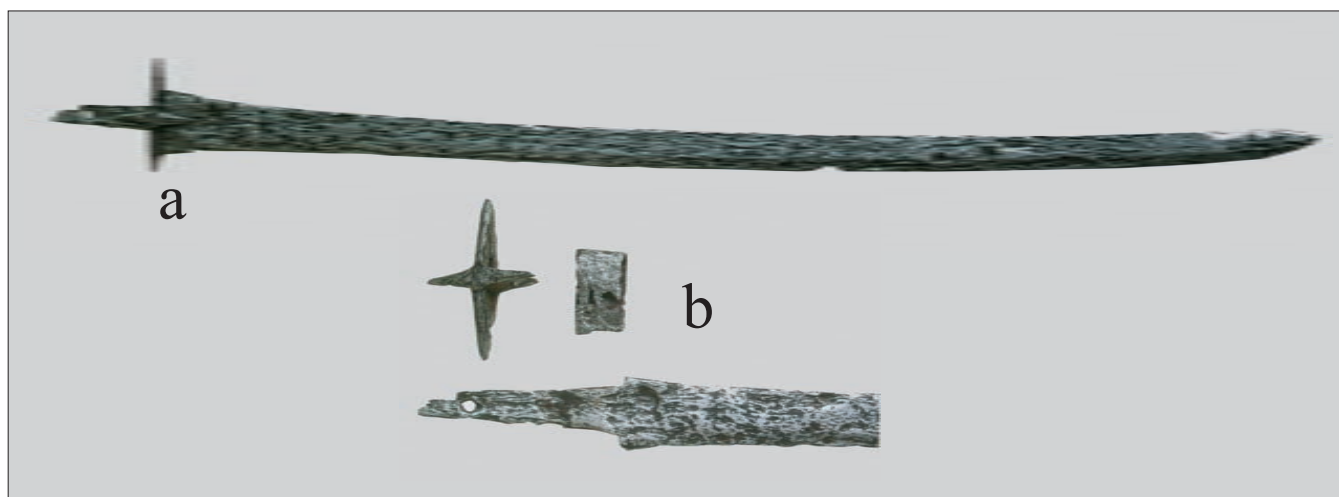
de width 33 (collar)–30 (immediately under the collar)–25 (in the centre of the blade)–22 mm (at the beginning of the yelmen), and the edge thickness 6.8 mm to 5.1 mm. It is kept in the Antiquity Collection of Rugvica Primary School. The local teacher and antiquities enthusiast, the late Stjepan Horvat from Dugo Selo, obtained it from a man from Struga Nartska. It was uncovered during the extraction and separation of sand from a nearby gravel pit. The find is certainly older than the 1970s, when Mr Horvat formed the School Collection. There are seven large lakes near Struga Nartska in the vicinity of the River Sava that came into being as a result of gravel exploitation. This is probably where in the course of Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages the old Sava riverbed stretched, which today is somewhat further south. A large number of various iron and bronze weapons and tools have been recovered from these lakes. They can be dated from Prehistory up to the High Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> The pallos has been very well preserved and is covered with a noble iron patina from goethite.<sup>8</sup>

**12.** Sabre, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup>/first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 13a–b). The iron-steel single-edged blade with a pentagonal cross-section is slightly curved. It has no fuller. Its point resembles a “carp’s tongue” and its yelmen is short. The iron cross-guard with straight arms has an oval cross-section with two pairs of triangular and pointed quillons. Below it, there is a blade tang collar. It is shorter, with a slot for the rivet, but its point is missing. The overall artefact length is 890 mm, the blade length 785 mm, and the blade width at the forte 22 mm. The location of its unearthing is not known. It is kept in a Zagreb private collection (Kovač 2003: Cat. No. 29).

**13.** Sabre, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup>/first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 14). The narrow iron-steel single-edged blade is only slightly curved but with an extraordinarily pointed tip. It has

7 Part of this archaeological material has also been published. For more, see: Simoni 1982. The author believes that this is an early mediaeval hoard. However, we disagree. Namely, the weapons and tools found there can be dated from the Late Bronze Age to the High Middle Ages. It is almost certain that, as in most similar cases, this was a road junction and a river crossing. In turbulent times, such places witness conflict and weapons are lost. For various reasons, they (sometimes together with their owners) end up on riverbeds, where it is not easy to find them.

8 Goethite is an iron oxyhydroxide mineral (chemical formula  $\alpha\text{-FeOOH}$ ) which is named after the great German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. It is stable at moderate temperatures and therefore very widely distributed in nature. The most stable and most widely distributed is iron oxyhydroxide, which is particularly common in sea and lake sediments. It is the best conservant of excavated iron artefacts.



Sl. 13 Sablja, nepoznato nalazište, privatna zbirka  
Fig. 13 Sabre, unknown site, private collection



Sl. 14 Sablja, Una pokraj Krupe, privatna zbirka u Zagrebu  
Fig. 14 Sabre, Una near Krupa, private collection in Zagreb

**13.** Sablja, druga polovica 8. – prva polovica 9. stoljeća (sl. 14). Usko željezno-čelično jednosjeklo sječivo ima vrlo blagu zakrivljenost i izrazito ušiljeni vrh. Peterokutnog je presjeka, bez žlijeba. Trn je dug, s jednim probojem za zakovicu na njegovom samom kraju. Križnica ima dulje krakove. Nema roščiće, ali posjeduje, s prednje strane, jedno bočno ispušćeno dugme. Ispod nje je okovratnik trna sječiva širok svega 6 mm. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 1025 mm; duljina sječiva: 884 mm. Sablja je nađena u rijeci Uni pokraj Krupe. Čuva se u jednoj zagrebačkoj privatnoj zbirci (Kovač 2003:

a pentagonal cross-section and no fuller. The tang is long, with a slot for a rivet at its very end. The cross-guard has slightly longer arms. There are no quillons, but on its front side it has a button embossed on one side. Below it, there is a blade tang collar, which is only 6 mm wide. Its overall length is 1,025 mm and the blade length 884 mm. The sabre was found in the River Una near the town of Krupa. It is kept in a Zagreb private collection (Kovač 2003: Cat. No. 30).<sup>9</sup>

**14.** Sabre, second half of the 8<sup>th</sup>/first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 15). The narrow iron-steel single-edged blade with no fuller is very slightly curved and has a yelman. Its profile



Sl. 15 Sablja, Sava kraj Slavonskog Broda (?), privatna zbirka Donalda Josipovića  
Fig. 15 Sabre, Sava near Slavonski Brod (?), private collection of Donald Josipović

kat. br. 30).<sup>9</sup>

**14.** Sablja, druga polovica 8. – prva polovica 9. stoljeća (sl. 15). Usko željezno-čelično jednosjeklo sječivo bez žlijeba vrlo je blago zakrivljeno i ima mali jalman. Profil mu je u obliku izduljenog peterokuta. Trn je širok i skraćen zbog loma na mjestu gdje se nalazi proboj za zakovicu. Uslijed korozije trn se rascijepio na dvije polovice što dokazuje ka-

has the shape of a long pentagram. The tang is wide and shortened because it has been broken at the slot for the rivet. As a result of corrosion, the tang has broken in two, confirming that the blade was made using the advanced forging technique. This involves the folding and re-forging of layers of iron and steel. There is no blade collar. The cross-guard is made of iron, with straight arms having a rectangular cross-section, slightly narrowing towards the ends. It

<sup>9</sup> Analogiju za ovaj oblik križnice vidjeti u: Bálint, Daim 1989: sl. 75.

<sup>9</sup> For analogies with this cross-guard type, see: Bálint, Daim 1989: Fig. 75.

ko je sječivo izrađeno naprednom tehnologijom kovanja. Riječ je o presavijanju i ponovnom kovanju slojeva željeza i čelika. Nema okovratnika sječiva. Križnica je željezna, ravnih krakova četvrtastog presjeka koji se prema krajevima malo sužavaju. Iskovana je od dvije zavarene polovice. Duljina cijelog predmeta: 684 mm; duljina sječiva: 635 mm; duljina križnice 81,5 mm; širina sječiva: 27,6–26,3–21,8 mm. Točno mjesto nalaza nije poznato, ali se pretpostavlja da je nađena u okolini Slavenskog Broda. Možda je nalaz iz Save. Čuva se u privatnoj zbirci Donalda Josipovića. Neobjavljeno.

U domaćoj znanstvenoj literaturi malo je radova koji tematiziraju avarske sablje i paloše.<sup>10</sup> Uostalom, nedovoljno je rasvijetljena cjelokupna problematika vezana uz razdoblje kaganata na našem prostoru. Proučavanjem ranosrednjovjekovnih sablji i paloša znatno više su se bavili znanstvenici u Mađarskoj<sup>11</sup> i Slovačkoj,<sup>12</sup> gdje su pronađene mnogobrojne avarsko-slavenske nekropole. Sovjetska i ruska arheološka znanost poznaje sustavna djela o ranosrednjovjekovnim sabljama i palošima (Merpert 1955), ali se ona temelje na nalazima iz euroazijskih stepa, srednje Azije, Sibira i Altajskoga gorja, koji imaju, doduše, značajnih analogija s materijalnom kulturom nađenom na području avarskog kaganata između Karpata, Alpa i Jadranskog mora. No, postoje i velike razlike.

Arheolozi i povjesničari, koji se bave avarskim kaganatom u Podunavlju i jugoistočnoj Europi te slavenskim državama koje su nastale nakon njegova urušavanja, uglavnom se slažu u tome kako se taj dugi period dijeli na tri razdoblja: Prvi avarski kaganat (568. – 670.), Drugi avarski kaganat (670. – 796.) te razdoblje trojice pokrštenih kagana i slavenskih država koje traje od 796. do upada Mađara u Podunavlje 898. godine.<sup>13</sup>

U razdoblju Prvog kaganata ugledni avarski ratnici-konjanici koriste ravne mačeve uskog jednosjeklog sječiva koji na vrhu drške često imaju prstenastu željeznu glavicu, a na koricama su perajasta proširenja u obliku slova P na koje se vezuju remenčići za koje je sablja pričvršćena na pojas ratnika (Bálint, Daim 1989: 156). Sablja savinutog sječiva, i njoj sličan paloš, javljaju se tek početkom razdoblja Drugog avarskog kaganata (Bálint, Daim 1989: 161).

Kulturna dobra Drugog kaganata znatno se razlikuju od kulturnih dobara pronađenih u grobovima avarske vladajuće ratničke konjaničke elite iz razdoblja Prvog kaganata. Drugi avarski kaganat posebno karakteriziraju mjedeni pojasni jezičci ukrašeni rovašenjem s motivima lozice i grifona, kao i korištenje sablji od strane elitnog ratničkog konjaničkog društvenog sloja. Ali to nije sve. Antropološkim analizama kostura ukopanih u avarskim nekropolama ranog razdo-

was forged from two welded halves. The overall length is 684 mm, the blade length 635 mm, the cross-guard length 81.5 mm, and the blade width 27.6–26.3–21.8 mm. The exact location of its unearthing is not known, but it is assumed that it was found in the environs of Slavonski Brod. The find is possibly from the Sava. It is kept in the Donald Josipović collection. Unpublished.

In Croatian academic literature, there are few works on Avar sabres and pallošes.<sup>10</sup> Generally, the entire subject of the Khaganate period on the territory of present-day Croatia has not been studied sufficiently. The study of early mediaeval sabres and pallošes has been studied to a much greater extent by researchers in Hungary<sup>11</sup> and Slovakia,<sup>12</sup> where numerous Avar-Slav necropolises have been unearthed. Soviet and Russian archaeological science has produced systematic works on early mediaeval sabres and pallošes (Merpert 1955), but these are based on finds from the Eurasian steppes, Central Asia, Siberia and the Altai Mountains, which admittedly have significant analogies with the material culture encountered in the area of the Avar Khaganate between the Carpathians, the Alps and the Adriatic Sea. However, there are also huge differences.

Archaeologists and historians engaged in the study of the Avar Khaganate in the Danube region and south-eastern Europe and also the Slavic states that emerged after its collapse mostly agree that this long period is divided into three periods: the First Avar Khaganate (568–670); the Second Avar Khaganate (670–796); and the period of the three Christian Khagans and the Slavic states, which lasted from 796 until the invasion of the Hungarians of the Danube Region in 898<sup>13</sup>.

In the Age of the First Khaganate, prominent Avar horsemen used straight swords with a narrow single-edged blade, often with a ring-formed iron pommel at the top of the hilt, while on the scabbard there were fin-shaped enlargements in the shape of the letter P, to which little straps were tied which fastened the sabre to the warrior's belt (Bálint, Daim 1989: 156). Sabres with a curved blade and the similar palloš occur only at the beginning of the period of the Second Avar Khaganate (Bálint, Daim 1989: 161).

Cultural artefacts from the Second Khaganate vary significantly from the cultural artefacts found in graves of the Avar horseman-warrior elites from the period of the First Khaganate. Brass belt chapes decorated with notches with motifs of vines and griffons were particularly characteristic of the Second Avar Khaganate, as was the use of sabres on the part of the horseman-warrior social elite. However, this is not all. In anthropological analyses of skeletons buried in Avar necropolises of the early period and those buried in the period of the Second Avar Khaganate, anthropological differences have been identified. While the ruling warrior class of the first Avar Khaganate mostly had Europoid raci-

<sup>10</sup>Osim već citiranih autora, tom vrstom oružja bavio se i Zdenko Vinski obrađujući ih u sklopu ranosrednjovjekovnih mačeva. O tome vidjeti u: Vinski 1955.

<sup>11</sup>Literatura mađarskih arheologa, koji se bave kulturnim dobrima iz razdoblja avarskog kaganata, je golema. Od novijih radova spomenuli bismo znanstvena djela arheologa Attila Kissa (Kiss 1977; 1987) i Eve Garam (Garam 1987; 1993), ali i druge publikacije koje se spominju niže u tekstu.

<sup>12</sup>Vidjeti sintezu: Zábojník 2004 i radove na koje se ovdje upućuje.

<sup>13</sup>O periodizaciji avarske povijesti i kulture u jugoistočnoj Europi vidjeti u: Kovačević 1977: 41–100; Bálint, Daim 1989: 151–167, te broju drugu literatura koja se ondje spominje.

<sup>10</sup>Apart from the already-quoted authors, Zdenko Vinski has also studied these types of weapons, dealing with them within the context of early mediaeval swords. For more, see: Vinski 1955.

<sup>11</sup>The bibliography of Hungarian archaeologists dealing with artefacts from the Avar Khaganate period is very extensive. Of more recent works, we should point to papers by the archaeologists Attila Kiss (Kiss 1977; 1987) and Eva Garam (Garam 1987; 1993), but also certain other publications mentioned below in the text.

<sup>12</sup>For a synthesis, see: Zábojník 2004 and the papers referred to in it.

<sup>13</sup>About periodisation of Avar history and culture in southeast Europe see in: Kovačević 1977: 41–100; Bálint, Daim 1989: 151–167 and other literature mentioned there.

blja i onih ukopanih u razdoblju Drugog avarskog kaganata uočene su antropološke razlike. Dok je vladajući ratnički sloj Prvog avarskog kaganata pretežito imao europeidne rasne karakteristike, onaj iz Drugog avarskog kaganata ima mongoloidne rasne karakteristike. Najčešće se javljaju tri mongoloidna rasna tipa: kineski ili dalekoistočni mongoloid, bajkalski ili paleosibirski te tunguski, a rijetko jenijski ili amerikanoidni i centralnoazijski ili sjevernomongolski. Uočeni su i neki drugi rasni tipovi kod vladajućeg ratničkog sloja Drugog avarskog kaganata, pa i miješani mongoloidno-europeidni tipovi, što ukazuje na zaključak da je do miješanja europeidnih i mongoloidnih tipova došlo još prije doseljavanja nositelja drugog avarskog vala u Podunavlje (Kovačević 1977: 83–85).

Znanstvenici nude različita objašnjenja ovog fenomena. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o tome da je oko 670. godine došlo do jedne velike migracije nomadskih plemena iz euroazijskih stepa koja su se pridružila vladajućim strukturama Prvog avarskog kaganata donijevši sa sobom nova kulturna dobra, poput sablje i paloša, simetričnog luka i ukrasnog stila lozice i grifona. Pretpostavlja se kako su taj nomadski val uglavnom činili turkofoni onogurski Bugari, koje je na migraciju potaknuo pritisak turkofonih Hazara koji su oko 670. godine razbili konfederaciju onogurskih Bugara na tlu današnje Ukrajine. Približno istodobno dio onogurskih i utrigurskih Bugara, pod vodstvom kana Asparuha, upada u Balkan i današnju Bugarsku, gdje formiraju vlastitu državu koja s avarskom državom u Podunavlju nema veze.<sup>14</sup> Dapače, ove dvije države, odnosno njihove vladajuće elite, međusobno su sukobljene.

Da je ta teza više nego moguća, vidljivo je usporedbom arheoloških nalaza koji se pripisuju Bugarima na području Stare Velike Bugarske (poznata i kao onogursko Bugarsko Carstvo) koja se protezala, u vrijeme vladavine kana Kubrata (ustanovio ju je 632. i vladao njome do svoje smrti 665.), na području Kubana, u porječju Dona i na dijelu Ponta. Mada mač kana Kubrata, nađen u njegovoj basnoslovno bogatoj grobnici u Maloj Perešćepini,<sup>15</sup> predstavlja tipičan raskošni avarski kneževski mač ukrašen zlatnim limenim oblogama iz razdoblja Prvog avarskog kaganata, u drugim bugarskim nekropolama pronađeni su paloši i sablje nalik onima, gore opisanim, nađenim na tlu Hrvatske i drugdje širom Podu-

14 Bálint, Daim 1989: 169, te brojni drugi autori koji se ondje spominju.

15 O nalazima iz Malaje Perešćepine mnogo je pisano. Vidjeti u: Zaleskaya et al. 1989: 42–52; Werner 1984: 5–45, T. 1–32; i stariju literaturu koja se ondje spominje. Svakako nije na odmet spomenuti kako je nalaz iz Malaje Perešćepine, po mišljenju nekoć vodećeg europskog stručnjaka za rani srednji vijek, pokojnog Joachima Wernera, zapravo prilog grobu bugarskog kana Kubrata, nekadašnjeg avarskog podložnika koji je pokidao sve veze s Avarskim kaganatom te uspostavio savezništvo s Bizantom i to u vrijeme cara Heraklija, negdje između 634. i 640. godine. Ime ovog kana se različito interpretira, i to kao Kubrat, Kuvrat, Hobrat, Kobrat ili Krobat (Zaleskaya et al. 1989: kat. br. 70). Postoji vrlo jaka indicija kako se radi o etnonimu, dakle o vlastitom imenu nastalom od imena naroda, plemena ili socijalnog sloja, a to može biti pleme, narod ili socijalni sloj iz kojeg je potekla vladajuća elita koja je dala ime ranosrednjovjekovnoj hrvatskoj državi. Također možemo zamijetiti kako je odnos između cara Heraklija i kana Kubrata vjerojatno ona povijesna istina koja je poslužila kao podloga za tvrdnje cara Konstantina Porfirogeneta o doseljavanju Hrvata.

al characteristics, those from the Second Avar Khaganate had Mongoloid racial characteristics. Most frequently three Mongoloid racial types occur: Chinese or Far-East, Baikal or Paleosiberian, and Tungusian. More rarely, there are also Yeniseian or Americanoid and Central Asian or North-Mongolian Mongoloids. Some other racial types among the ruling warrior class of the Second Avar Khaganate have been identified, as well as mixed Mongoloid-Europoid types, suggesting that the mixing of Europoid and Mongoloid types had happened even before the arrival of the second Avar wave in the Danube region (Kovačević 1977: 83–85).

Scientists have come up with different explanations for this phenomenon. Most probably, around 670 a great migration of nomadic tribes from the Eurasian steppes occurred. These joined the ruling structures of the First Avar Khaganate, having brought along new cultural artefacts such as the sabre and pallos, symmetrical bow and the ornamental style of vines and griffons. It is assumed that this nomadic wave consisted mostly of the Turcophone Onogur Bulgars, who were forced to migrate as a result of pressure from Turcophone Khazars, who around 670 broke the confederation of Onogur Bulgars in the territory of present-day Ukraine. At approximately the same time, part of the Onogur and Utrigur Bulgars, led by Khan Asparuh, invaded the Balkans and present-day Bulgaria, where they formed their own state, which had no connections with the Avar state in the Danube region<sup>14</sup>. What is more, the two states, i.e. their ruling elites, were at war.

That this thesis is more than possible is evident from a comparison of archaeological finds assigned to the Bulgars in the territory of Old Great Bulgaria (also known as the Onogur Bulgar Empire) that existed at the time of Khan Kubrat's reign (who established it in 632 and reigned until his death in 665) in the area of Kuban in the River Don basin and in part of Ponte. Although Khan Kubrat's sword, found in his fabulously rich tomb in Malaja Perešćepina,<sup>15</sup> represents a typical luxurious Avar prince's sword from the period of the First Avar Khaganate, decorated with a gold-leaf covering, in other Bulgarian necropolises palloses and sabres have been unearthed that resemble the ones described above that have been uncovered on the territory of Croatia, as well as in many parts of the Danube region. In the heart of the Onogur Bulgar empire, in the Bulgarian necropolis of Borisovskiy Mogilnik on the River Kuban in the vicinity of present-day Novorossiysk, six palloses and sabres with cross-guards with quillons, resembling the ones described above, have been unearthed. One of the cross-guards (Merpert 1955: 145, Pl. 3: 1–4) resembles the cross-guard of sabre No. 6 uncovered at Šoderica near Koprivnica, but also the one

14 Bálint, Daim 1989: 169, and other authors mentioned there.

15 A lot was written about finds from Malaja Perešćepina. See in: Zaleskaya et al. 1989: 42–52; Werner 1984: 5–45, T. 1–32; and older bibliography mentioned there. It is worth mentioning that find from Malaja Perešćepina, according to late Joachim Werner, once leading European expert for Early Middle Ages, is actually burial offering in a burial of Bulgarian khan Kubrat, former Avar subject. He cut all ties with Avar Khaganate and made alliance with Byzantines during the time of Emperor Heraclius, somewhere between 634 and 640. This khan's name is differently interpreted: as Kubrat, Kuvrat, Hobrat, Kobrat or Krobat (Zaleskaya et al. 1989: cat. no. 70). There is a very strong indication that this name is an ethnonime i.e. the personal name derived from the name of the people, tribe or social class. This tribe, people or social class can be the one from which the governing elite, that gave name to the early mediaeval Croatian state, originates. It is also worth noting that the relationship between Emperor Heraclius and khan Kubrat was the base of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus's statement about migration of Croats.

navlja. U srcu onogurskog Bugarskog Carstva, u bugarskoj nekropoli Borisovski mogilnik, na Kubanu, u blizini današnjeg Novorosijska, nađeno je šest paloša i sablji koji imaju križnice s roščićima nalik onima gore opisanim. Jedna od tih križnica (Merpert 1955: 145, T. 3: 1–4) je nalik križnici na sablji br. 6 nađenoj u Šoderici pokraj Koprivnice, a također i onoj nađenoj u Ninu. U Novorosijsku i okolici nađen je još niz bugarskih nekropola u kojima su otkriveni slični paloši i sablje. Zanimljivo je da većina ima okovratnik trna sječiva i križnice s roščićima. Većina ih ima obredno savinuta sječiva. U to je vrijeme, i na tom mjestu, postojao obred „ubijanja“ oružja kojem je, ponajprije, bila svrha da u očima potencijalnih pljačkaša učini oružje nevrjednim. Ove bugarske sablje i paloši mogu se datirati u kraj 7. i početak 8. stoljeća.

Bugari su tek jedna od etničkih skupina koja koristi ovakve sablje i paloše. Sasvim sigurno njima se potkraj 7. i početkom 8. stoljeća koriste i drugi nomadski konjanički narodi, poput Alana, Hazara i drugih. Međutim, po svemu sudeći bugarska plemena su ta koja su u avarski kaganat, Podunavlje i Balkan, donijela sablju i njoj srodan paloš, prilikom svojih migracija između 670. i 680. godine.

Mada je ova migracija Bugara jedina nomadska migracija 7. i 8. stoljeća u jugoistočnu Europu koju su zabilježila pisana vrela, najvjerojatnije su i dalje na tlo avarskog kaganata pristizale srodne nomadske skupine donoseći kulturna dobra iz euroazijskih stepa i srednje Azije, pa tako i neka novija tipološka i tehnološka rješenja u proizvodnji sablji.

Tijekom čitavog 8. stoljeća sablja i paloš Drugog avarskog kaganata predstavljaju tipično oružje njegove vladajuće ratničke konjaničke elite. Ali to nisu i jedini, od njih korišteni, tipovi ove vrste oružja. U grobovima zatječemo i jedan osobit tip dvosjeklog mača s kraćim sječivom oblika izduženog trokuta,<sup>16</sup> zatim germanske, točnije, bavarske duge bojne noževe tipa *sax* i *scramasax*<sup>17</sup> i, na samom kraju kaganata, franačke dvosjekle mačeve.<sup>18</sup> Ovakve sablje i paloši nalaženi su u grobovima uglednih ratnika, često pokapanima s njihovim konjima, ili pak samo s dijelovima tijela tih plemenitih životinja. Takvi grobovi su otkriveni u nekropolama Igar, Dunapentele, Rékás, Kassa, Györ (Marosi, Fetich 1936: T. I; Hampel 1905: T. 278, 276,

unearthed in Nin. In Novorossiysk and its surroundings, a series of Bulgarian necropolises have been unearthed with finds of similar palloses and sabres. Interestingly, the majority have a blade tang collar and cross-guards with quillons. Most of them have ritually bent blades. At that time, and in that place, the rite of “killing” weapons was widespread, its main purpose being to make the weapon unworthy in the eyes of potential plunderers. The Bulgarian sabres and palloses can be dated to the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century.

The Bulgars are just one ethnic group who used such sabres and palloses. Near the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century, they were certainly also used by other nomadic peoples, such as the Alans and Khazars. However, to all appearances, it was the Bulgar tribes who brought the sabre and related pallos to the Avar Khaganate, the Danube region and the Balkans during their migrations between AD 670 and 680.

Although the migrations of the Bulgars was the only nomadic migration of the seventh and eighth century to south-eastern Europe that is recorded in historical sources, most probably other related nomadic groups continued arriving in the territory of the Avar Khaganate, bringing cultural artefacts from the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia, including newer typological and technological solutions concerning sabre manufacturing.

In the course of the eighth century, the sabre and pallos of the Second Avar Khaganate represented a typical weapon of its ruling horseman-warrior elites. But these were not the only forms of this weapon used by them. In graves, a special type of double-edged sword with shorter blades has also been found in the form of elongated triangular<sup>16</sup>, than Germanic, or more precisely Bavarian, battle knives of the *sax* and *scramasax*<sup>17</sup> types, and at the very end of the Khaganate, Frankish double-edged swords.<sup>18</sup> Such sabres and palloses have been unearthed from the graves of eminent warriors, who were frequently buried with their horses or with parts of the body of these noble animals. Such graves have been unearthed in the necropolises at Igar, Dunapentele, Rékás, Kassa, Györ (Marosi, Fetich 1936: Pl. I; Hampel 1905: Pl. 278, 276, 478), Öskü, Szentes-Kaján, Barca, Wien-Liesing (Pástor 1954: Pl. I; Mossler 1948: Pl. 64), Úllö

16 O tom tipu avarskog mača vidi kod: Lőrinczy 1992: 109, Abb.12: 3; Csallány 1939: 137–138; Bóna 1979: 28.

17 Jedan velik, tipičan i odlično sačuvan primjerak ovog tipa oružja, dug čak 720 mm, u kasnoavarskoj ili ranoslavenskoj upotrebi, nađen je u konjaničkom grobu uglednog ratnika iskopanog u Krugama, u Zagrebu, na prudištu Štrbac, 1911. godine. Grob i njegovi prilozi datiraju se u kraj 8. ili početak 9. stoljeća (Klemenc 1935: T. II, 8–10; Vinski 1960: 52; Simoni 1981: sl. 4 i 5); slični bavarsko-franački bojni noževi nađeni su i u avarsko-slavenskoj nekropoli Devinska Nova Ves te u uništenoj nekropoli u Prelogu, u Međimurju (Tomičić 1978: 212, sl. 5: 5).

18 Najljepši takav primjerak nađen je u Turčianskoj Blatnici, danas u središnjem dijelu Slovačke, pretpostavljalo se u grobu nekog visokog uglednika iz samog početka 9. stoljeća, a danas tvrde kako je riječ o ostavi, zajedno s kasnoavarskim tipom pozlaćenih mjedenih pojasnih garnitura stila Blatnica. Na rukohvatu, ukrašenom inkrustacijom mjedenih pločica i srebrene žice, ima osebujne dekoracije u obliku niza stiliziranih ljudskih glava. Grob je pronađen 1876. Mač i ostale nalaze otkupio je lokalni vlastelin, grof Ferenc Révay, i potom darovao Narodnom muzeju u Budimpešti gdje se i danas nalaze (Kovačević 1977: sl. 75; Dekan 1980: sl. 82 i 88).

16 About this type of Avar sword see in: Lőrinczy 1992: 109, Abb.12: 3; Csallány 1939: 137–138; Bóna 1979: 28.

17 One big, typical and perfectly preserved exemplar of this type of weapon, 720 mm long, in the late Avar or early Slav use, was found in the grave of notable warrior excavated in 1911 at Kruga in Zagreb, at the dune site Štrbac. Grave and its goods are dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> ct. (Klemenc 1935: T. II, 8–10; Vinski 1960: 52; Simoni 1981: Fig. 4 and 5); similar Bavarian-Frankish battle knives were also found at the Avar-Slav necropolis Devinska Nova Ves and in the devastated necropolis in Prelog, Međimurje (Tomičić 1978: 212, Fig. 5: 5).

18 The best such exemplar was found in Turčianska Blatnica, in today's central Slovakia, presumably in the grave of some high ranking person from the very beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> ct. Today it is believed that it was a part of a hoard, found together with the late Avar type of gilded brass belt set of Batajnica style. The hilt, decorated with incrustated brass plates and silver wire, shows specific decoration in the shape of series of stylized human heads. Grave was found in 1876. Sword and other find were bought by local nobleman, count Ferenc Révay, and latter donated to the National museum in Budapest where they can be found today (Kovačević 1977: Fig. 75; Dekan 1980: Fig. 82 and 88).

478), Öskű, Szentes-Kaján, Barca, Wien-Liesing (Pástor 1954: T. I; Mossler 1948: T. 64), Üllö I, Žitavska Tôni (Horváth 1935: T. XXII), Devinska Nova Ves i mnogim drugim. Bez obzira što je u Podunavlju i okolici pronađeno barem stotinjak primjeraka ovog tipa oružja, do danas nije objavljeno sustavno djelo koje bi monografski obradilo sablje i paloše iz razdoblja Drugog avarskog kaganata, njihovu genezu i razvoj.

Ipak, moguće je razlikovati tri razvojne faze ovog tipa oružja. Najranija faza pripada vremenu od doseljenja novog vala nomadskih plemena oko 670. godine pa do kraja 7. stoljeća. Mađarska literatura to razdoblje naziva „srednjoavarskim dobom“ (Bálint, Daim 1989: 159–161). Primjerak jedne takve rane sablje nađen je u bogatom konjaničkom grobu na nekropoli Gyensdiás u neprednoj blizini Kestelja, blizu obale Blatnog jezera. Ugledni ratnik pokopan je sa svojim konjem, a uz njegovu lijevu stranu nađena je sablja ukrašena srebrnim i zlatnim okovima. Sablja ima izrazito dugu dršku i jednostavan okov glavice, nalik malom krovu. Rukohvat je dug 21,5 cm, dok je samo sječivo duljine 77 cm. Čitava sablja s ostacima korica duga je 105 cm. Sječivo nema okovratnik vrata trna. Križnica je metalna, s trokutastim jelicima i kratkim krakovima blago proširenih krajeva streličastog završetka. Korice su imale dvije drvene ili kožnate „peraje“ okovane srebrnim rubnim žlijebom i ukrašene aplikama koje su služile za pričvršćenje remenja na kome je sablja visjela na pojasu nositelja. Slične sablje nađene su u nekropolama Barcs, Dunapentele, Igar, Iváncsa, Janoshida, Kecskemet-Miklostelep i Ozora-Tótipusta (Müller 1989: 143–157). Na nekima od ovih sablji prvi put zatječemo okovratnik trna sječiva. Ovakve sablje/paloše datiramo između oko 670. i oko 700. godine.

Izgleda kako je izloženi tip rukohvata, posebice križnice sa srolikim završecima, perzijskog podrijetla jer takve križnice zatječemo na ranoj sablji iz Neishabura (North 1989: 138; Khorasani 2006: 130–132) te na poznatom zlatnim limom optočenom izuzetno raskošnom palošu iz sjeverozapadnog Irana koji se danas čuva u Metropolitan muzeju u New Yorku (Masía 2001: 283) i datira u 7. stoljeće.<sup>19</sup>

Iz tipa križnice, koju zatječemo na sabljama iz Gyensdiása, Ozora-Tótipuste<sup>20</sup> te njima sličnim, razvila se križnica s kratkim krakovima koji završavaju srolikim proširenjem, a kakva je, između ostalog, nađena i u Ninu. Stoga smo skloni sablje s takvim križnicama datirati približno u prvu polovicu 8. stoljeća, ali moramo dozvoliti i nešto kasniju uporabu. One uvijek imaju okovratnik trna sječiva. Sablje s takvim križnicama spadaju u drugu razvojnu fazu avarskih sablji/

<sup>19</sup>Utjecaj sasanidske materijalne kulture na nomadske narode srednje Azije spominje više pisaca. Nedavno je i Marko Aleksić iznio zanimljiva zapažanja i usporedio sličnost sasanidskih mačeva s avarskim. O tome vidjeti u: Aleksić 2010: 126–127.

<sup>20</sup>Ove dvije sablje su izrazito srodne po obliku, križnici, okovima pa i po koricama te predicama na remenu za sablju. Razlikuju se, međutim, po tome što je sablja iz Ozora-Tótipuste ukrašena zlatnim okovima te ima pozlaćenu križnicu i zato je mnogo raskošnija. Očito je riječ o ukupu visokog avarskog uglednika. U njegovom grobu nađeno je i mnogo drugih zlatnih i srebrenih predmeta, pa tako i solid bizantskog cara Konstantina IV. iskovan između 668. i 673. godine, i to u funkciji obola. Ovaj zlatnik predstavlja donju vremensku granicu datiranja čitavog nalaza. Vidjeti u: Garam 1993: 96–103, Taf. 72–88.

I, Žitavska Tôni (Horváth 1935: Pl. XXII), Devinska Nova Ves and elsewhere. Regardless of the fact that in the Danube region and its surroundings at least a hundred specimens of this type of weapon have been unearthed, until the present no systematic works have been published which deal in a monograph with the sabres and palloses from the period of the Second Avar Khaganate, their genesis and development.

However, it is possible to differentiate between three development stages in this type of weapon. The earliest stage belongs to the period of the immigration of the new wave of nomadic tribes around 670 until the end of the seventh century. Hungarian literature calls this period the “Middle Avar period” (Bálint, Daim 1989: 159–161). A specimen of such an early sabre has been found in a rich horseman’s grave at the Gyensdiás necropolis in the immediate vicinity of Keszthely near the shore of Lake Balaton. This eminent warrior was buried with his horse, and on his left side a sabre was unearthed, decorated with silver and golden fittings. The sabre has an extraordinarily long grip and a simple pommel fitting, resembling a small roof. The length of the hilt is 21.5 cm, and that of the blade 77 cm. The sabre’s overall length, including the remains of the scabbard, is 105 cm. The blade has no tang neck collar. The cross-guard is metal, with triangular quillons and short arms with slightly enlarged ends with arrow-shaped tips. The scabbard had two wooden or leather “fins” fitted with a silver marginal groove and decorated with appliques which served to fasten the bearer’s belt from which the sabre used to hang. Similar sabres have been found in the necropolises of Barcs, Dunapentele, Igar, John, Janoshida, Kecskemet-Miklostelep and Ozora-Tótipusztá (Müller 1989: 143–157). On some of these sabres, the blade tang collar occurs for the first time. Such sabres/palloses are dated to between approximately 670 and 700.

It seems that the exhibited type of hilt, particularly the cross-guard with heart-shaped endings, is of Persian origin, as such cross-guards are encountered on an earlier sabre from Neishabur (North 1989: 138; Khorasani 2006: 130–132) and on the well-known extraordinarily luxurious pallos fitted in a gold sheath from north-western Iran, which is currently kept in the New York Metropolitan Museum (Masía 2001: 283) and which has been dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup>

The cross-guard with short arms ending in a heart-shaped enlargement, as found, among other places, in Nin, developed from the cross-guard type encountered in sabres from Gyensdiás, Ozora-Tótipusztá<sup>20</sup>, etc. Therefore, we tend to date sabres with such cross-guards to approximately the first half of the eighth century, but we have to also allow for a somewhat later use. These always have the blade

<sup>19</sup>The influence of Sassanian material culture on the nomadic peoples of Central Asia has been mentioned by several writers. Marko Aleksić also recently made some interesting remarks and pointed to the similarity of Sassanid and Avar swords. For more on this, see: Aleksić 2010: 126–127.

<sup>20</sup>These two sabres are very similar in their shape, cross-guard, fittings and even the sheath as well as the clasps on the sabre belt. The difference is in the decoration of the sabre from Ozora-Tótipusta: it is decorated with gold fittings and it has gilded cross-guard, which makes it lavish. It is clearly a burial of high ranking Avar person. Many gold and silver objects were found in his grave together with solidus of Byzantine Emperor Constantin IV, minted between 668 and 673, in the function of obolus. This solidus represents the lowest time line for dating the whole find. See: Garam 1993: 96–103, Taf. 72–88.



paloša, koju datiramo između oko 700. i oko 775. godine.<sup>21</sup>

Zadnja razvojna faza su sablje/paloši s kratkim jednoručnim rukohvatom i ravnim križnicama koje su katkad cizelirane na način da imaju člankast oblik, a katkad su jednostavnog oblika, okruglog ili četvrtastog presjeka. I one uvijek imaju okovratnik trna sječiva. Ove sablje/paloše moguće je približno datirati između oko 750. i oko 840. godine. Tipični primjerci ove skupine su sablja i paloš iz Brodskog Drenovca. Za njih je važno napomenuti da su se nastavili koristiti i izrađivati i nakon propasti kaganata te stvaranja slavenskih država na potezu od Jadrana do Karpatskog gorja početkom 9. stoljeća. O tome nam svjedoče zatvorene grobne cjeline u kojima su pronađene sablje/paloši treće razvojne faze, a uz njih mjedeni okovi stila Blatnica.<sup>22</sup> Takav jedan okov nađen je, primjerice, u konjaničkom grobu 1 nekropole u Brodskom Drenovcu (Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958: T. IX: 1–6), a u istoj nekropoli otkrivene su sablja i paloš koji su ovdje opisani kao kataloški brojevi 6. i 7. Mjedene okove stila Blatnica nalazimo i u grobnim cjelinama koje se sa sigurnošću datiraju u odmaklo 9. stoljeće (Poulik 1975: T. 19–20). U nekim slučajevima nađeni su u slavenskim ratničkim grobovima uz franačke dvosjekle mačeve koji od početka 9. stoljeća, na području slavenskih država izniklih na prostoru između Jadrana i Karpata, postupno istiskuju avarske sablje/paloše. Sasvim se logično može očekivati da se elementi materijalne kulture Drugog avarskog kaganata nastave koristiti na teritoriju kaganata i nakon njegove političke propasti. Dapače, ukrasni okovi i pojasni jezičci Drugog avarskog kaganata upotrebljavaju se sve do početka 10. stoljeća.<sup>23</sup> Dobro poznat primjer takvog kontinuiteta je avarsko-slavenska nekropola kod Devinske Nove Vesi, u današnjoj Slovačkoj blizu Bratislave (Eisner 1952).

Ovaj kontinuitet materijalne kulture vladajućih ratničkih slojeva iz avarskog i slavenskog razdoblja daje poticaj zaključku da je avarski ratnički vladajući sloj bio postupno slaveniziran, možda čak i prije propasti kaganata.

U Dalmaciji, njezinom dijelu gdje je početkom 9. stoljeća nikla ranosrednjovjekovna hrvatska država, otkriveni su na više lokaliteta nalazi materijalne kulture Drugog avarskog kaganata. Uglavnom su to artefakti koji pripadaju njezinoj tzv. lijevanoj brončanoj industriji.<sup>24</sup> Svi ovi artefakti potječu s lokaliteta za koje nam je znano da su kasnije bila izravna ili

tang collar. Sabres with such cross-guards belong to the second development stage of Avar sabres/palloses, dated to between around 700 and 775.<sup>21</sup>

The last development stage is represented by sabres/palloses with a short single-handed hilt and flat cross-guards, sometimes engraved so that they take a jointed form, and sometimes with a simple form, with a round or rectangular cross-section. As a rule, these too have a blade tang collar. The sabres/palloses can be dated to approximately somewhere between AD 750 and 840. Typical specimens of this group are the sabre and pallos from Brodski Drenovci. In this context, it is important to point out that their use and manufacture continued after the decline of the Khaganate and the formation of the Slavic states in the area from the Adriatic to the Carpathian Mountains at the beginning of the ninth century. This is confirmed by closed grave complexes in which sabres/palloses of the third development stage have been unearthed along with brass fittings of the Blatnica style<sup>22</sup>. One of these fittings was for example found in the warrior horseman's Grave 1 at the necropolis of Brodski Drenovac (Vinski-Gasparini, Ercegović 1958: Pl. IX: 1–6). In the same necropolis the sabre and palos, here described as catalogue numbers 6 and 7, were found. Brass fittings of the Blatnica style have also been found in grave complexes which can with certainty be dated to the late ninth century (Poulik 1975: Pl. 19–20). In some cases, they have been uncovered in Slavic warriors' graves next to Frankish double-edged swords which from the beginning of the ninth century in the territory of the Slavic states emerging in the territory between the Adriatic and Carpathians gradually replaced Avar sabres/palloses. It is entirely logical to expect that elements of the material culture of the Second Avar Khaganate continue being used in the territory of the Khaganate even after its political decline. Indeed, the decorative fittings and belt chapes of the Second Avar Khaganate were in use until the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> A well-known example of such continuity is the Avar-Slav necropolis near Devinska Nova Ves, in what is now Slovakia, near Bratislava (Eisner 1952).

This continuity of the material culture of the ruling warrior classes from the Avar and Slavic periods suggests that the Avar ruling warrior class was gradually Slavicised, possibly even before the decline of the Khaganate.

In Dalmatia, i.e. where at the beginning of the ninth century the early mediaeval Croatian state emerged, finds of the material culture of the Second Avar Khaganate have been uncovered at several sites. These are mostly artefacts belonging to its so-called cast bronze industry.<sup>24</sup> All these artefacts originate from sites which are known to have later served as direct or indirect powerbases for Croatian princes

21 Zbog nalaza jednog ovakvog paloša u grobu bugarskog ratnika iz kraja 7. ili početka 8. st. otkrivenog 1938. u ruševinama antičkog Korinta i krive interpretacije toga artefakta, neki autori paloše s križnicom srocolikih krakova smatraju bizantskim tipom mača, ili sugeriraju njegovo „južnjačko“ podrijetlo, što je nama posve neprihvatljivo. Neki znanstvenici taj tip nazivaju „Aradac-Korinth-Pergamon“ po mjestima nalaza takve vrste oružja, odnosno križnica. O tome vidjeti u: Weinberg 1974: 512–521; Garam 1991: 164, sl. 10; Kiss 1987: 193–210; Yotov 2010: 114.

22 O okovima stila Blatnica i o njihovom datiranju vidjeti u: Simoni 1986, te brojnoj literaturi koja se ondje navodi.

23 Kasnoavarske remene jezičke pronalazimo i u slavenskim te podunavskim nekropolama 10. stoljeća, zajedno s predmetima Bjeolobrdske kulture. Primjerice u velikoj nekropoli Lijeva Bara u Vukovaru. O tome vidjeti u: Demo 1996: 72, grob 71.

24 O dalmatinskim nalazima Drugog avarskog kaganata vidjeti u: Belošević 1980: 65, 97; 2010: 23–25; Petrinec 2010: 151–160.

21 Because of one such pallos from the Bulgarian warrior's grave, dated at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th ct., discovered in 1938 in remains of Roman Corinth, and wrong interpretation of this artefact, some authors consider palloses with cross-guard with heart shaped arms as Byzantine type of sword or suggest its "southern" origin, a theses unacceptable by us. Some scientists these types of sword call "Aradac-Corinth-Pergamon" type, according to the sites where this type of weapon (or cross-guard) was found. About that see in: Weinberg 1974: 512–521; Garam 1991: 164, sl. 10; Kiss 1987: 193–210; Yotov 2010: 114.

22 About fittings of Blatnica style and its dating see in: Simoni 1986, and bibliography there mentioned.

23 Late Avar belt chapes can also be found in necropolises in Slavonia and Danube region in 10<sup>th</sup> ct. together with object belonging to Bjelo Brdo culture. Example: big necropolis Lijeva Bara in Vukovar. About that see in: Demo 1996: 72, Grave 71.

24 For Dalmatian finds of the Second Avar Khaganate, see: Belošević 1980: 65, 97; 2010: 23–25; Petrinec 2010: 151–160.

posredna uporišta vlasti hrvatskih knezova tijekom 9. stoljeća (Nin, Biskupija kraj Knina, Smrdelje kraj Skradina, Kašić i drugi). Križnica iz Nina je prvi arheološki trag o uporabi avarske sablje/paloša na tlu Dalmacije tijekom prve polovice 8. stoljeća. Sve to sugerira da se vlast u Dalmatinskoj Hrvatskoj početkom 9. stoljeća formirala slično kao i u Moravskoj te gornjoj i donjoj Panoniji, i to kao socijalno preslagivanje na ostacima urušenog sustava vlasti starije državne formacije.

in the course of the ninth century (Nin, Biskupija near Knin, Smrdelji near Skradin, Kašić and others). The cross-guard from Nin is the first archaeological trace of the use of an Avar sabre/pallos in the territory of Dalmatia in the course of the first half of the eighth century. All this suggests that power in Dalmatian Croatia at the beginning of the ninth century was formed, as in Moravia and Upper and Lower Pannonia, as social reorganisation on the remains of the fallen system of power of the previous state.

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